Historical Code-Mixing in English Place-Names

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List of Symbols and Abbreviations

CS	code-switching
CM	code-mixing
CL	congruent lexicalization
ML	matrix language
EL	embedded language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame model
OE	Old English (c. 450 – c. 1100)
ME	Middle English (c. 1100 – c. 1500)
ModE	Modern English (c. 1500 – present day)
ON	Old Norse
NF	Norman French
CGmc	Continental Germanic
pn	place-name
pers.n	personal name
RO	rights and obligations
SSNY	Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire (Fellows-Jensen 1972)
SSNEM	Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands (Fellows-Jensen 1978)
SSNNW	Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North West (Fellows-Jensen 1985)
DB	Domesday Book (1086)
<	developed from
>	developed into
←	borrowed from
→	borrowed into
*	reconstructed form

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The phenomena of code-switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM) have received considerable amount of scholarly attention, with quite a heavy focus on syntax, especially on two major syntactic types: intrasentential and intersentential switching, analyzed from a chiefly synchronic perspective (e.g. Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993a, Muysken 2000, 2011, Bullock & Toribio 2009a, Gardner-Chloros 2009), while historical aspects of CS have been somewhat backgrounded and still receive less attention (e.g. Schendl & Wright 2011, Schendl 2012). In contrast with this, this book is concerned with diachronic code-mixing on a lexical level, as it is observable and contained within the boundaries of compound words that function as appellatival place-names.

The aim is to investigate the nature of CM found in hybrid settlement names of Britain, with a pronounced focus on Scandinavian-influenced and Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid place-name formations in the Danelaw area. It is argued that these English-Norse hybrid names and the various manifestations of cognate substitution found in Scandinavianized settlement names are in fact instances of code-mixing consistent with Muysken's category of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000: 122-153). In the case of other language pairs (i.e. Celtic-English, Latin-English, Celtic-Latin, Celtic-Scandinavian) borrowing is postulated to be the main route of hybrid toponym formation. The reason why Scandinavian-related names are at the focal point of the investigation is that they are by far in the largest numbers amongst hybrid toponyms in England, and they are the ones that are most likely to have been created by a bilingual speech community. Altogether six research questions pertaining to historical code-mixing and borrowing in general and to the

specific hybrid English toponyms will be formulated and answered in this book (see Section 1.3 below).

The empirical analysis will be carried out on a corpus of British place-names, containing altogether 10,311 entries of which there are 924 hybrid names in total in the following breakdown by language pairs: 596 English-Scandinavian hybrid formations, 198 English-Celtic hybrid names, 3 English-Latin hybrids, and 17 English-Norman French hybrids. For a detailed description of the corpus itself, the sources of data, the method of data collection and analysis and the distributions of various hybrid place-name formations see Chapter 5.

The present book builds on and largely incorporates my previous, preliminary study (Fekete 2015) on English-Scandinavian hybrid place-names, with that paper and its accompanying corpus forming the nucleus of the book's empirical analysis and the enlarged corpus compiled for it. This book aims to provide a wider perspective of hybrid toponyms than just Anglo-Norse ones, while also expanding on the theoretical background of code-switching and code-mixing and including a discussion of the structural and semantic characteristics of place-names in general. I will also examine the various processes of language change that affect proper names.

Besides the corpus-based analysis of hybrid names created by the various layers of settlers to the British Isles, the book also deals with historical linguistic aspects of the emergence of these toponyms. The place-names are treated as regular and originally transparent compound words, and are analyzed from a morphological viewpoint. The entire analysis is embedded in the framework of historical sociolinguistics and in the framework of code-mixing through Myers-Scotton's markedness theory (1982, 1989) and Muysken's (2000) taxonomy of code-mixing, with special attention to his treatment of congruent lexicalization. All of these theories and analytic frameworks were originally put forward with a synchronic perspective in mind, and in the present book their tenets and principles will be applied for speech communities from a diachronic aspect.

1.2. Background and purpose of the book

The purpose of this book is to examine the phenomenon of code-switching and to a lesser extent borrowing in the various layers of English toponyms, paying special attention to Scandinavianized names and English-Scandinavian hybrid place-names. The starting point of the entire investigation can be summarized with Fellows-Jensen's (1980: 192) observation, that

> "[b]etween about 600 B.C. and 1066 A.D. there were no less than five foreign conquests of England. Each of these conquests was accompanied by settlement and each wave of settlement resulted in both the coining of new place-names and the adaptation of old place-names to forms more congenial to the tongues of the newcomers."

Therefore, the historical backdrop of the research is the fact that the English language and its speakers were engaged in direct linguistic contact situations with three different languages (Celtic, Norse and Norman French) each some 300 years apart, and all of these contacts resulted in observable changes in and influences on the English language, including place-names. The contact of English with Latin is less direct than that of Celtic with Latin was, because Latin elements entered the English language primarily through Christianization and cultural prestige and not through conquest. The various waves of conquest and settlement that Fellows-Jensen (1980) quotation above talks about led to the emergence of contact situations which varied in closeness, depth, and extent. The first known settlers of the island who are relevant from the historical linguistic viewpoint of the book were the Celts. *Figure 1-1* below represents a generally accepted schematic timeline of conquest events and the languages in use in those eras during the history of England. The gaps between the arrivals of the different groups in the figure serve the purpose of mere illustration, and are obviously disproportionate compared to the actual length of the time periods.

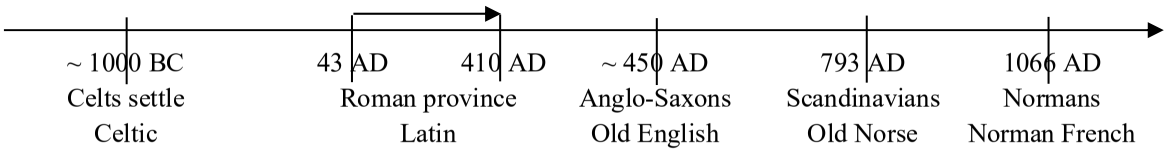

Figure 1-1. The timeline of conquests in England

This schematic representation gives a good impression about the extent of multilingualism that was present in medieval England, and it also reflects the external influences that English was exposed to during its history spanning more than one and a half millennia. Before the arrival of the Celts in the 1st millennium BC, several tribal groups mostly of Iberian origin inhabited the island, who will collectively be referred to as 'pre-Celtic' in future discussions. Little is known about this pre-Celtic population, although they did leave a mark on English place-names, mostly in the names of large geographical features, as a number of surviving place-names, river-names, and place-name elements testify to their existence. Questions of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Britain will also be briefly discussed in the book in the relevant subchapters.

The present book also aims to examine hybrid settlement names embedded in a socio-historical context. The reason why names are in the focal point of this book is twofold. One reason is that studies of code-switching and code-mixing, as pointed out above, have been preoccupied with describing mostly synchronic syntactic phenomena and that the study of names has been a rather neglected area in linguistic analyses and tend to be the focus of scholarly attention from a chiefly onomastic and language philosophic point of view. As van Langendonck (2007: 2-3) also observes,

> "[t]heoretical linguists have often treated proper names as the poor cousin of other grammatical categories. […] Onomasticians, however, have sometimes forgotten that proper names are part of the system of natural languages. Both onomasticians and linguists should be aware of the fact that proper names are words which deserve linguistic attention in the first place."

With this book therefore, I wish to involve hybrid toponyms in the study of code-switching, language contact phenomena, and historical sociolinguistics, broadening the scope of these disciplines. The other reason is that hybrid place-names carry important pieces of evidence about the sociolinguistic environment in which they emerged, which can be accessed by studying the patterns and use of generics and specifics originating from different languages within one toponym.

Owing to the fact that place-names originate in language as semantically transparent lexical items, they will be treated as regular

linguistic elements, with regular morphological and semantic characteristics (a detailed discussion of related issues will be presented in Chapter 3). The main underlying assumption for their analysis will be that they behave similarly to non-proprial compound words which undergo formal and semantic obscuration, i.e. become darkened compounds during the historical development of language, and this process of obscuration is similar to the one that lexical compounds undergo.

The novelty of the present book lies in the facts that (i) it deals with historical code-switching on the level of the lexeme as opposed to previous and mainstream approaches which are almost exclusively of a syntactic nature; (ii) it examines place-names from a morphological and phonological perspective in a socio-historical context and from a chiefly historical linguistic angle with special attention to language contact phenomena and processes of language change thereby fusing the description of changes observable on various levels of linguistic description with historical sociolinguistics; (iii) it does not consider proper names to be imbued with special qualities that would make them exempt from regular linguistic analysis; and (iv) it treats them as opaque compounds which were once semantically transparent and treats them in general as lexical items which behave like non-proprial lemmas albeit they are more prone to certain structural changes and are more likely to preserve certain lexical elements which have become extinct in the language at large (cf. Coates 2006a).

Quite a vast amount of previous research is available on the central topics of the book, however, to my knowledge at least, there has not been any investigation conducted on them in this specific way. Place-names have been mainly analyzed from a taxonomic and lexicographic perspective (e.g. Ekwall 1980, Mills 1998, 2011, SSNY, SSNEM, SSNNW), or with the purpose of providing a general overview and framework of analysis for them (e.g. Reaney 1987, Cameron 1996, Hoffmann 2007). Also, countless research papers have been published on the etymological analysis of individual names[1] (e.g. Fellows-Jensen (1987) on the name of *York*, just to mention one of the many). Linguistic analyses of toponyms

[1] In some cases, such as Aybes & Yalden's (1995) study about the possible distribution of wolves and beavers in Britain, these research papers can be very specific and interdisciplinary.

have focused mostly on their semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic characteristics (e.g. Anderson 2004, Coates 2006a, van Langendonck 2007, Colman 2014) or various theoretical or language philosophical questions (e.g. Algeo 2010). All of the above mentioned works contribute significantly to the theoretical foundations of the onomastic part of my book, while the dictionaries serve as the backbone of my corpus. With my research in this book and its forerunner paper, I intend to bring together fields of interest which have rarely if ever been combined before (such as historical code-switching and onomastics) and to explore new directions of utilizing corpora in historical linguistic research.

Concerning the classic treatments of place-names, Reaney's (1987) and to a considerably greater extent Cameron's (1996) monographs provide the main frame for analyzing and contextualizing the place-names of my corpus. In my book, I also relied in part on the Hungarian tradition of place-name analysis, especially Ditrói's (2017) description of toponymic systems and name-giving models (Ditrói 2017: 9-38), and Hoffmann's monograph (2007) which provides quite a detailed and thorough taxonomy of the possible types of place-name formations in Hungarian, and also offers insights into the development and genesis of place-names and the ways in which such names can actually be analyzed from a linguistic point of view. In the present research, I focus on the internal structure of the place-names and on the meanings of the constituents and I treat toponyms as genuine lexical items.

The sociolinguistic aspect of names has also been brought under scrutiny in the scholarly literature (e.g. Nicolaisen 1975, Fellows-Jensen 1990, 1991, Udolph 2012), and especially salient for the book are questions of superstratal and substratal influences (e.g. Bölcskei 2012). Hybrid place-names, however, have not yet been analyzed as results of historical code-switching, although historical CS is a very current and rapidly expanding area of sociolinguistics. The role of language contact in the emergence of such toponyms is also quite a neglected area of research, and the emergence of hybrid place-names and what they can reveal about the sociolinguistic context in which they were coined has not been given a lot of attention either.

The primary focal point of the research is appellatival hybrid toponyms, and to a lesser degree those place-names which have a personal

name as their specifics. The reason behind this is that it can hardly be construed as code-switching when a personal name from a different language is used in a recipient language, because with genuine CS speakers have a choice of which language's elements to use in their output, whereas with a foreign name no such choice can be made. Therefore, while such names will be considered hybrids in the book, they will not be considered to be instances of code-switching. With this in mind though, personal name hybrids are still valuable sources of historical sociolinguistic data, and they will be given equal consideration and treatment in the book as other types of hybrid names, but will not be construed as CS.

Summarizing the reason for choosing this topic, the book deals with hybrid place-names because they reflect the interaction of speech communities therefore they can be studied from the perspective of historical sociolinguistics especially concerning the linguistic manifestation and consequences of substratal and superstratal influences. Furthermore, place-names have not yet been utilized to research aspects of historical code-switching, and they might prove to be useful tools for exploring linguistic borrowing as well.

This book aims to address the above outlined issues and problems in a systematic manner, first surveying the already existing theories and available research results, then proceeding to analyze a corpus of English settlement names, and interpret the results in the light of the theoretical framework. The research questions of the book will be formulated in the next section.

1.3. Research questions

The research questions of the book can be divided into two different types. One half of the questions (Questions 1-3 below) are more of a theoretical nature, and they will be answered by the literature review and by the discussion of the theoretical underpinnings and frameworks of the empirical analysis outlined in Chapters 2-4. The other half of the questions (4-6) will be answered by the corpus-based empirical research in Chapter 5. The answers to the questions formulated below will be given and

discussed at the end of the book, in Chapter 6. The book is concerned with examining and answering the following research questions:

(1) How is it possible to draw a demarcation line between historical code-switching and lexical borrowing?
(1a) How can historical code-switching be embedded in a synchronic theoretical framework of code-switching?
(1b) Is it even necessary to distinguish sharply between these two phenomena?

This first question is a theoretical one, aimed at examining the possibility and necessity of distinguishing historical CS and borrowing. The issue of distinguishing the two phenomena has been addressed in the literature from the perspective of synchronic code-switching (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1989, Backus & Dorleijn 2009) but the question itself is still yet to be answered. The purpose of this research question is to provide a synthesis of arguments from the literature pertaining to synchronic aspects of CS and CM, and give an answer concerning the diachronic dimension based partly on the results of the empirical analysis and partly on extrapolation from synchronic theories.

(2) Are there certain levels of language (i.e. morphology and phonology) which are not or cannot be affected by code-switching?
(2a) How can phoneme substitution and cognate substitution (as described by Townend 2002) be accommodated in a model of code-switching?
(2b) How is phoneme substitution and cognate substitution manifested in hybrid place-names in relation to the sociolinguistic context in which they emerged?

This research question is related in part to the constraints that have been formulated for code-switching (e.g. Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993b, Gardner-Chloros & Edwards 2004) and in part to the analysis of hybrid place-names which came about via cognate substitution and sound replacement, most of which are English-

Scandinavian hybrids or Scandinavianized names. The second sub-question pertains to the corpus analysis, and aims to investigate whether any kind of correlation exists between the utilization of element substitution and the stratal relationship between the pair of languages.

(3) How can the emergence of hybrid toponyms be analyzed in the framework of historical code-switching and historical sociolinguistics?

This question is related to the emerging field of historical code-switching (Schendl & Wright 2011) and will be answered by a synthesizing discussion of a cross-section of the available scholarly literature on the subject along with my own suggestions regarding the question on the basis of the corpus analysis. In order to get valid and consistent results, the notions of code-switching, code-mixing, and hybrid place-names need to have a clear definition, which I will provide in the discussion. Clear terms will also be defined as to what constitutes code-mixing in the case of hybrid toponyms, and what kinds of names are to be considered hybrid ones.

(4) How is the process and the outcome of code-switching and place-name hybridization influenced by the genetic relationship and sociolinguistic status of the languages involved?

Moving on to the exclusively empirical set of research questions, the fourth one pertains mostly to the stratal relationship of the languages involved in the creation of the hybrid names. English is genetically related to all three of the languages that it came into direct contact with (i.e. Celtic, Norse, and Norman French), of which Old Norse was its closest relative. A degree of mutual intelligibility is likely to have existed between Old English and Old Norse which facilitated the transfer of loanwords and the creation of hybrid place-names. It will be argued that Old English and Old Norse were in an adstratal relationship, with superstratal tendencies of Old Norse. Concerning the other two languages, Old English was clearly superstratal to Celtic and substratal to Norman French. This question seeks

to investigate to what extent these relationships are reflected in hybrid toponyms and the usage of place-name elements. It is hypothesized that the adstratal status and mutual intelligibility were key contributing factors in the emergence of English-Scandinavian hybrids of every type, including ones created via element substitution.

(5) How is historical code-switching manifested in hybrid place-names, and what patterns can be observed?

The final two research questions of the book are the most important ones, as providing an answer for them is the main purpose of the entire corpus analysis. Question 5 deals with the actual analysis of hybrid toponyms, during which the various types of generics and specifics that occur in hybrid names will be examined and contrasted with their occurrence in monolingual toponyms. The way in which code-switching is observable in these names will be highlighted and the frequencies and distributional patterns of generics and specifics from different languages will also be provided and discussed. The examination of regional differences in the use of generics is also relevant for this question, therefore the notion of onomastic dialects (Nicolaisen 1980) will be of importance here, as different regional variants of the same language very often exhibit different naming patterns and preferences for using different place-name formants.

(6) What kind of hybridization processes are observable in the case of English place-names, and what can these hybrid names reveal about code-mixing and the linguistic contact situations in which they emerged?

The other main question of the book is related to the analysis of the empirical results in the light of the theoretical and socio-historical background outlined in the first half of the thesis to see how those theories correlate to actual place-name data and to examine the various routes through which hybrid formations can come about. The nature of contact situations that English entered into with different languages will also be correlated with the hybrid place-names to see what patterns and tendencies

are observable in the case of English-Celtic, English-Scandinavian, and English-French interactions. The context and nature of the contact situation is hypothesized to be determinative of the outcome of hybridization and the utilization of code-switching or borrowing. The possible origin, i.e. code-mixing, borrowing, or element substitution, of different types of hybrid toponyms will also be examined.

1.4. Structure of the book

The book is divided into eight chapters, the first of which serves the purpose of an introduction and the last contains the final conclusions and a recapitulation of the results of the research. The second and third chapters provide a theoretical background for the investigations presented in the book, with Chapter 2 describing and providing a critical overview and evaluation of the major theories of code-switching and contact linguistics relevant for the emergence and analysis of hybrid settlement names, while Chapter 3 discusses in a similar manner those theories of morphology, semantics, language change and onomastics that are relevant for the research, such as compounding, the appellatival origins and denotative function of place-names, the role of folk etymology and reanalysis and semantic transparency. Chapter 4 focuses on providing a more detailed historical background from pre-Celtic populations until the arrival of the Normans. Beside giving an overview of historical events, this chapter also discusses the linguistic situation and the sociolinguistic relations of the languages spoken during various eras of conquest as well as the settlement areas of the population groups involved. The fifth chapter is centered around examining the various layers of toponyms found in Britain, describing, first of all, the corpus of settlement names in detail, then discussing and analyzing the distribution of Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and French generics and specifics, as well as the various hybrid toponym formations which emerged through the contact scenarios these languages entered into with each other. In Chapter 6, the book ends with an overview of the results and insights gained from the corpus-based analysis.

1.5. Limitations of the research

Naturally, every research has its limitations and shortcomings and this book is no exception either. Perhaps the biggest challenge I faced while writing it was that the size of the overall existing place-name material is far larger than those **13,000** instances that form part of this investigation. Only those names are featured in this book and the accompanying corpus which could be found in the sources that were available at the author's disposal (which are the following: Ekwall 1980, Mills 1998, 2011, SPLNY, SSNY, SSNEM, SSNNW) which include only a fraction of all the possible English place-names.

The English Place-Name Society's (hitherto) 91-volume county-by-county survey record, which is the richest and most thorough collection of English toponyms, was sadly not available to be used as the basis of my corpus. Perhaps the greatest advantage of the EPNS survey is that it contains information about lost place-names, something that is absent from Mills' (1998, 2011) and Ekwall's (1980) dictionary, as these focus only on those place-names that have survived until the present day and unfortunately they do not have any records about lost names and depopulated settlements. Still, fortunately, Fellows-Jensen's (1972, 1978a, 1985) surveys do provide data about lost toponyms and those are included in the corpus. The EPNS surveys have a wealth of information available (such as for instance lost names, many more attested forms than in Ekwall's and Mills' dictionaries and Fellows-Jensen's monographs, microtoponyms, field-names, street names, etc.), and ideally a corpus should be constructed from those publications, but it is quite probably humanly impossible for one person to sift through and encode all of that by himself, especially in the limited time that was available for the completion of the present book. It would require an entire dedicated research team and years of work to cover all of it. The sheer size of the EPNS project is not only indicated by the 91 volumes published since the 1924 launch of the series but also by the fact that it is still incomplete and there are entire counties in England which have not been surveyed yet.

The conclusions drawn here are therefore to be understood in relation to the toponomastic material that is collected and included in the corpus, which, however extensive it may be, still cannot cover the entirety

of the English place-name material neither in breadth nor in depth. Bearing this in mind, the book still offers an interdisciplinary approach to language contact, historical linguistics, and toponomastics, and aims to provide a solid basis for future research in these areas.

CHAPTER 2

CODE-SWITCHING AND OTHER THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter those theories and frameworks of analyzing code-switching from either a synchronic or a diachronic perspective will be highlighted and surveyed which bear relevance to the formation of hybrid place-names in English. In particular Muysken's (2000) typology of code-mixing will be important, especially his category of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000: 122-153) and to a lesser degree that of insertion (ibid 60-95). Congruent lexicalization is a type of code-mixing whereby elements of the two languages involved are inserted into structures that are shared by both of the languages (Muysken 2000: 127), while insertion refers to that type of code-mixing whereby constituents of a language are embedded into the structure of another language. Congruent lexicalization primarily occurs between closely related languages (very often between varieties of one language: dialects, or a dialect and the standard variety) that share a common grammatical structure. Insertional code-mixing on the other hand is often analyzed in the context of lexical borrowing, and is seen by many researchers to be part of a continuum that also encompasses transfer and borrowing. Features of these two categories and Muysken's third type of CM, alternation, will be discussed in this chapter, along with their relevance for the emergence of hybrid toponyms. The notions of CS and CM can be defined in a variety of ways, as a preliminary stance, I will take CS to refer broadly to switching occurring in between sentences, and CM to refer to switching occurring within sentences.

Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame model (1993a) and markedness model (1983, 1989) will also be discussed in a separate subchapter and it will be demonstrated that in the context of English-Scandinavian hybrid place-names the distinction of a matrix language and an embedded language is not perfectly justified because congruent

lexicalization obtained in those cases. The number of hybrids with English generics and Norse specifics is roughly the same (N = 254) as the number of place-names that have ON generics and OE specifics (N = 342), therefore it cannot be established with absolute certainty whether OE elements were inserted into an ON frame or vice versa. In the case of other language pairs English acted as the matrix language, and Celtic, Latin, and Norman French as the embedded language.

Attention will also be devoted to more general theoretical questions, such as the notion of code-switching and code-mixing, their possible differentiation, and some of the numerous constraints that have been proposed for code-switching, all of which are ultimately flawed, as evidenced by the countless counterexamples that violate these constraints. The main focus will be on Poplack's (1980) free morpheme constraint and equivalence constraint, with a discussion of their relevance in the case of hybrid toponyms, and a survey of counterarguments from the literature and counterexamples from the corpus analysis will also be provided.

Since the notion of borrowing is also very important in the discussion of code-switching, as the two phenomena are strongly tied to each other, and can be conceptualized as part of a continuum with fuzzy boundaries. The final subchapter of this part of the book will be devoted to the discussion of the correlations and differences between CS and borrowing. In the discussion, the term borrowing itself will be clarified, and compared and contrasted with historical code-switching. The phenomenon of borrowing will be discussed in the framework of the markedness theory described by Myers-Scotton (1983, 1989) and Muysken's (2000) code-mixing typology, concluding with Backus' (2015) usage-based model which incorporates CS and borrowing into a unified model. Finally, the relevance of borrowing for hybrid place-names will also be discussed.

2.1. The notion of code-mixing and its relevance for hybrid place-names

Before proceeding to the discussion about the nature of code-switching and code-mixing, first and foremost giving a definition of hybrid place-names shall be in order. In the broad sense, a hybrid place-name is a

toponym which consists of at least two elements, one of which comes from a language that is different from the language of the other element in the toponym. In a narrow sense, however, only those place-names can be considered to be genuinely hybrid ones which did not come about through borrowing name formants from another language and utilizing them to create new names in the receiving language, but ones which were (likely) coined and accepted by a bilingual community via utilizing specifics and generics from both languages without the involvement of any borrowing. While the usage of both the broad and the narrow definitions can be justified, only the narrow one entails and permits code-mixing.

In his pioneering treatment of language contact, Weinreich (1953) provides a discussion of lexical interference in which he touches upon hybrid compound words and place-names too (Weinreich 1953: 50-53). In his account, he notes that lexical interference can be manifested in compounds and toponyms in the form of transfer of elements or reproduction of elements. This means that a compound can either be fully transferred from the donor language of only one element is taken over while the other is supplied from the word-stock of the recipient language. Weinreich also considers those words to be hybrid compounds in which the stem of a complex word is transferred and the derivational affix comes from the receiving language, which in modern analyses would not be construed of as a compound. In the case of hybrid toponyms, Weinreich points out that analyzable place-names are sometimes translated into the recipient language element-by-element, and in hybrid names only one element is transferred and the other is substituted for by a native element.

Gammeltoft (2007: 481) dismisses the claim that hybrid names exist, arguing that all seemingly hybrid formations are in fact monolingual ones which emerged as a result of borrowing place-name elements which were used productively in the receiving language (see the discussion in Sections 5.6 and 5.7 below about English-Scandinavian names for further details). Walther (1980: 144) on the other hand seems to be more permissive, yet he also formulates a restriction about what is to be construed as hybridization: in his view this term can refer only to the partial integration and adaptation of multi-element names, and the complete adaptation cannot be labeled as hybridization. This is a sound and logical point because if a foreign name is completely taken over and

gets integrated into a language in its entirety, then that name can no longer be seen as a foreign element. If a name is only partially taken over by a language then one of its elements will remain foreign, therefore a hybrid name emerges. This criterion, however, does not take into account those names which are created originally as hybrid names by a bilingual society, as it is concerned only with hybridization via borrowing and integration. The broad and narrow definitions I put forward above are still in agreement though with Walther's criteria for hybridization.

In a discussion of the possibility of medieval Slavic-German individual bilingualism in the territory of present-day Austria on the basis of Slavic-Germanic hybrid place-name formations in the area, Holzer (2015) argues that loan translations and hybrid name systems can be taken to be indicators of individual bilingualism. In his analysis, Holzer differentiates between bilingualism on a geographical level and bilingualism on the individual level, with the former referring to a setup whereby a territory is shared by different groups of people each speaking their own language separately, and the latter referring to an individual's ability to speak two languages. Territorial bilingualism is sufficient for place-names to be borrowed; therefore borrowed names and "etymologically bilingual" (Holzer 2015: 9) names alone do not necessarily indicate that the individual inhabitants were also bilinguals. The conclusion is that hybrid place-names can only be indicative of individual bilingualism if they are of a specific type, namely calqued toponyms, given that in order to translate a name element one has to be able to understand that language. Other types of hybrid names could have been formed by analogy after one of the languages had ceased to be spoken in the area. In the case of toponyms in my corpus, Celtic-English hybrids likely arose through the borrowing and extension of already existing place-names upon the arrival of the Germanic tribes, while English-Scandinavian hybrids possibly came about through cognate substitution (these would correspond to Holzer's calqued names) and as originally hybrid names.

Apart from the above cited passage from Weinreich (1953: 50-53) and papers by Walther (1980), Gammeltoft (2007), and Holzer (2015), of which only Weinreich's and Gammeltoft's contribution is written in English, to my knowledge the scholarly literature is rather silent about the topic of hybrid place-names, save for a few isolated, passing mentions of

the phenomenon. Even fewer sources can be found which deal with the possible relationship of hybrid toponyms and code-mixing. Sköld (1980) could perhaps be considered to somewhat belong among them, albeit he works with quite a different understanding of CS and his discussion is not specifically about hybrid names, but the integration of foreign names into a recipient language.

In a more recent publication on the subject, Martynenko (2015: 12) offers a brief definition of hybrid toponyms, describing them as "place names composed of lexical and/or grammatical means of two languages" which in itself is in accordance with the possible definitions I introduced at the beginning of this section. In her brief paper Martynenko deals with English-Spanish hybrid toponyms in the United States, but her focus is more on the historical aspects of the emergence of such place-names and giving a taxonomy and extensive lists of them, and less so on the actual linguistic analysis of the names themselves. Cameron (1996) also mentions hybrid names, but it is again restricted to taxonomizing the names and exploring the socio-historical context in which they emerged. Minkova & Stockwell (2009: 36) treat Celtic place-names such as *Kent*, or *Dover* and place-name elements like *-combe*, and *-torr* in English as borrowings and list the names *Yorkshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Canterbury* as hybrid Celtic-English toponyms (cf. Cameron 1996: 57, 60). In their discussion of Scandinavian loanwords, they consider the elements *by*, *thwait(e)* and *thorp(e)* to be borrowed elements in English (Minkova & Stockwell 2009: 39). This interpretation of these Celtic names is valid, as the simplex names and the generics were likely borrowed, and the multi-element names are hybrids in the broad sense, because they contain a foreign element, although they were probably not coined by a bilingual speech community. Concerning code-switching and proper names, Baukó (2015: 100) makes a very brief, passing reference as part of his discussion on contact onomastics, mentioning only that proper name code-switches can be encountered in written and spoken language, and that during code-switching more than one language is given an active role within a single discourse. In his monograph, Baukó (2015: 103) uses the term 'code-switching' to refer to Hungarian and Slovak personal names being used in Slovak and Hungarian discourse, respectively.

In theory, the primary focus of this book should be those hybrid names which conform to the narrow sense of my definition, but we must bear in mind that in reality for most of the time, it is quite difficult to tell apart which names are genuine hybrids and which ones involve borrowing. Still, we can at least to some extent rely on the frequency of occurrence of given specifics and generics to arrive at an approximate conclusion as to the history and origin of a given name. A high frequency of occurrence would likely hint at borrowing, while a low frequency would indicate that the element in question was used on a one-off basis characteristic of code-mixing behavior. The diversity and type/token ratio of generics that occur in these names can also be indicative of whether they arose through CS or borrowing. If there is only a limited amount of different generics that occur frequently then the case is likely to be borrowing, while if there is a wide variety of generics, many of which occur with low frequencies, then code-switching could prove to be the more plausible explanation. These frequencies, ratios, and their implications will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

For the purposes of this book, the amalgamation of two broad definitions of code-switching (and code-mixing) is adopted, namely that code-switching is "the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or *constituent*" (Poplack 1980: 583 [emphasis mine]) and also in an even broader approach it is "the use of more than one language during a single communicative event" (Muysken 2011: 301-302, cf. also Poplack 2015: 918). In analyses of code-switching this "communicative event" is usually taken to be a sentence or an utterance, yet in our case it will be further narrowed down to the production of a compound word, which is then used as a place-name, hence the adoption of Poplack's (1980) definition which includes code-switching within constituents.

Myers-Scotton (1989: 336) adds to this two slight, yet very important modifications, namely that CS is the "*speaker-motivated* use of two or more *linguistic varieties* (language, dialects or styles) in the same conversation" (emphasis mine). The claim that code-switching is speaker-motivated rests on the valid assumption that it is ultimately the speaker who is in control of their linguistic output. However, external influences can interfere with language use and dissuade the speaker from making

their original choice. Therefore, strictly speaking, any instance of code-switching that is necessitated by speaker-external forces, such as a change of topic or the person of the interlocutor, is not to be considered genuine CS under this definition. This is problematic because this approach would discard many actual code-switches on the grounds of them not being the result of the speaker's conscious decision to switch. This is an unnecessary restriction, especially compared to the more result-oriented approach that I adopt, whereby any concurrent use of segment from two different languages is considered CS. In this respect, I agree more with Pfaff (1979) who refers to code-switching as a socially motivated phenomenon. I should note here, however, that in this book I do not consider those hybrid place-names that have a personal name as their specific to be true instances of CS, because (as outlined in Section 1.2) foreign personal names are typically used in their original form or rendered as a close approximation therefore the speaker has no other choice but to use those names the way they are (cf. also Holzer 2015: 9 about the use of personal names in hybrid toponyms).

Myers-Scotton's other extension of the definition involves the broadening of the possible scope of CS by including switching between dialects or styles and not just separate languages. This is a very important addition, as it covers a host of different contexts and situations of code-switching, even including what would otherwise be subsumed under the label of style shifting and traditionally not considered to be code-switching.

In her highly influential paper, Poplack (1980) recapitulates and elaborates on two major constraints that she developed earlier and that still have currency in today's CS research, and should hold true for all instances of CS: the free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint. According to the free morpheme constraint, codes can be switched "after any constituent […] provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme" (Poplack 1980: 585), which means that no switches should occur between two inflectional or derivational morphemes and between a free and a bound morpheme. The equivalence constraint holds that switches are likely to occur at those points where the two languages share their structure or have some sort of structural similarity or congruity, which means that syntactic convergence facilitates the process of code-

switching. As Poplack (1980: 586) describes it "a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other."

These constraints are relevant in our case, given that hybrid place-names will be analyzed from the perspective of a specific type of code-switching known as congruent lexicalization in which, as will be seen from the discussion below, structural similarity is a key notion and requirement (albeit this similarity is mostly taken to be in the syntactic structure of the languages). The free morpheme constraint is also important in the case of place-names because switching and hybridization in these formations tends to occur between free morphemes (i.e. the constituents of the place-name). However, those English-Scandinavian hybrid names which contain a Scandinavian inflectional affix in their specific seem to violate the free morpheme constraint because they contain an English word in the generic after the Scandinavian inflectional bound morpheme found in the specific, a position where, as per the constraint, they should not occur at all. Due to the fact that for the emergence of English-Scandinavian hybrid toponyms a shared linguistic structure was a prerequisite, those names do not violate the equivalence constraint, and they also largely conform to the free morpheme constraint due to the reasons outlined above. Poplack's constraints will be taken up again and surveyed in greater detail in the next subchapter.

The practices of code-switching and code-mixing are closely related to bilingualism, and engaging in them requires a degree of bilingual competence (cf. Muysken 2011: 304). If speakers engage in the process of code-switching or code-mixing, they possess a degree of linguistic competence in both of the languages they mix, and in case the two languages involved are genetically related to each other, then essentially the speakers perform an act of cognate substitution. The term 'cognate substitution' itself refers to the process whereby speakers of two related languages, ideally closely related ones, engage in the act of code-switching during which the speakers substitute a word in their language with the cognate of that word from the other language. Due to the fact that the two languages are close relatives of each other, the speakers are essentially swapping in cognate words during communication. The message and the communicative content that the speaker intends to convey