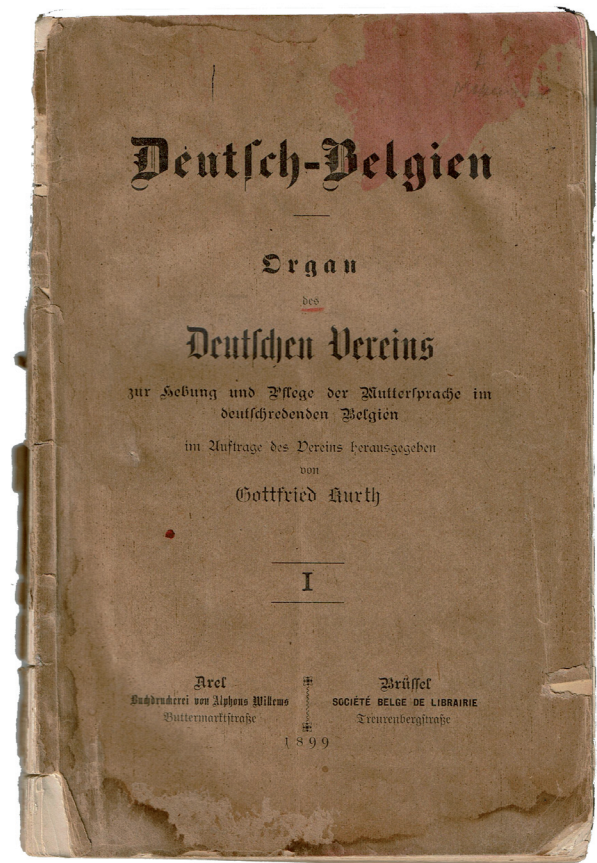


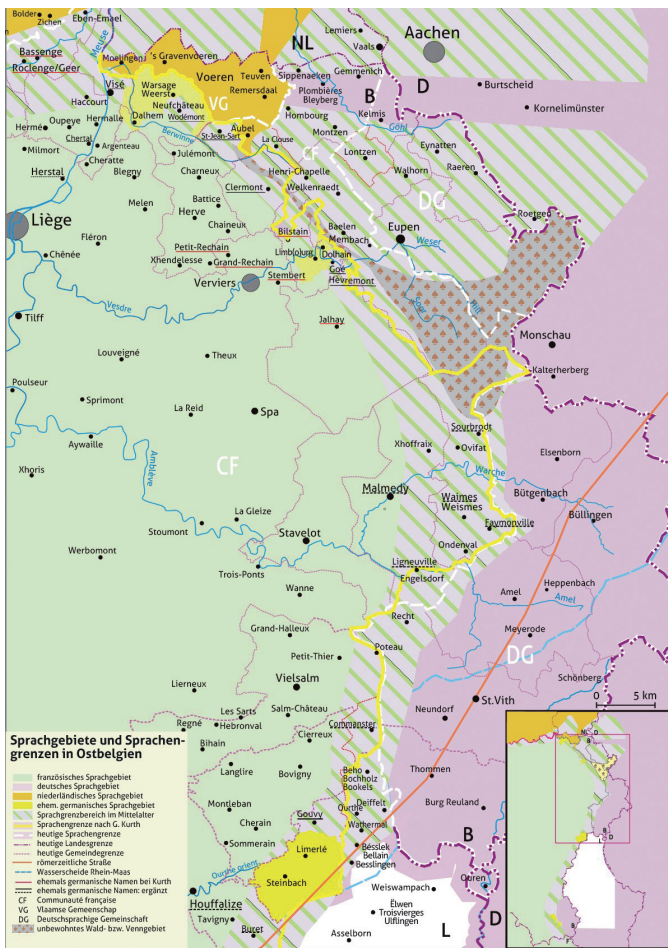
## ***Exonyms and endonyms in historical contact regions - standardization without levelling: the case of Eastern Belgium***

Dear listeners, I want to dedicate my speech to the memory of Godefroid, alias Gottfried KURTH (Frassem/Arlon 1847-Asse/Brussels 1916), Professor at the State University of Liège, founder of the Belgian School of Historians and at the same time initiator of the Toponymical research in our country. Under the thin layer let by the short episode of French occupation (1792-1814), Kurth could still feel the heartbeat of the different mentalities in the territories of the Ancien Régime. In my recent trilingual *“Vergleichender Sprachatlas des Karolingisch-Fränkischen”* (KF) (HELIOS, Aachen I, 2014, II 2016) I have, in II pp. 17-39, underlined the importance of his work *« La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France »*, Brussels I 1896, II 1898. We have moreover completed his basic map to describe in details the areas lost by the Germanic tongues in the Gallo-roman - Germanic contact zone from the Maas up to the French border (see below the maps from p. 20 and p. 33). Furthermore, G. Kurth openly defended the rights of the German speaking people in Eastern Belgium by founding the „Deutscher Verein zur Hebung und Pflege der Muttersprache im deutschredenden Belgien“ (editing a *Jahrbuch* from 1899 to 1914). In 1905 another section was founded in Montzen, where a “deutsches Dekanat” had been created since 1888. But the imperialistic attitude of Germany and its aggression of Belgium on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1914 rendered his activity fruitless; the same happened in the context of the German intrusion of May 1940 to his colleague and follower Heinrich Bischoff (Montzen 1873-Aachen 1940).

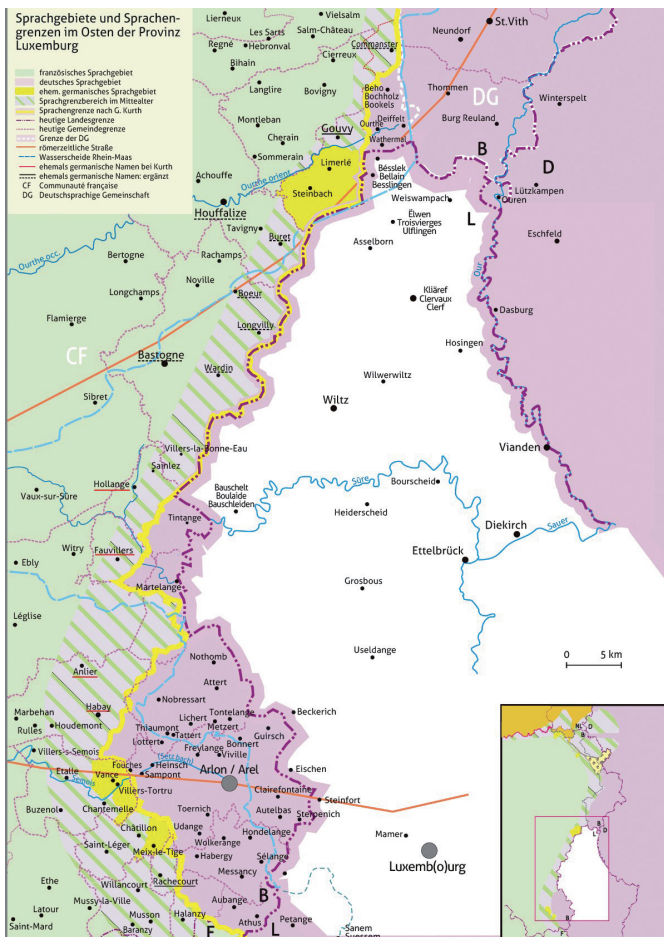


After the presentation of my Belgian colleague Jeanne Henrion about Brussels as a clearly bilingual area, I am going to deal with a mixed region where the limits and rights are quite intricate, historically and today. How then, under such circumstances, define what is an endonym, what an exonym...?

The previous commune of *Gemmenich* - today a part of *Plombières*, in local dialect /ob-ene Bliiberech/ in the Communauté française (CF) - is already attested in 888 as *Geminis*. It also occurs as *Gemminiacum*, a compound toponym formed of the Latin patronym Gemmo or Geminius followed by the German suffix -ini-, meaning clan, group, and ending on -acum from the Celtic affix -aco, meaning place. The whole multilingual alloy signifies: the property of the family of Gemmo/Geminius.



Still in Plombières, this time in the village of *Montzen*, the street name *Kinkenweg* - just as *Kinkebahn* in Raeren (deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft/DG) and the microtoponym *Kinkepées* in Kelmis (DG) - has a similar composition. The root *Kiem*, from the Gallo-roman *cam(m)inus* (forming in French „chemin“), still more frequent in the south (Luxemburg), has taken the velar Germanic diminutive ending */-ke/* causing the phonetic withdrawal of bilabial *m* to apical *n*. As the semantical content of *Kinke* „little road“ was no longer understood, the lexical elements *-weg*, *-bahn* or *-pées* (< Fr. *piste*?) were added, and so the bilingual tautology was completed... Similar mingled names can nearly be met everywhere in our country.



Therefore, on June 5th 1999, during an international meeting of our Royal Commission for Toponymy and Dialectology – that I had the honour to preside – organized at the *Palais des Académies* under the title « *Les doublets toponymiques en Belgique au cœur de la problématique des langues* », our colleague Dr Jacques Devleeschouwer was quite right when he called Belgium « *une véritable mosaïque ethnique* ».

Next to him I could welcome Dr Maria Besse (University of Saarbrücken) who gave a synthesis of her recent doctorate „*Namenpaare an der Sprachgrenze*“ (1997) based, under more, on the

well-known sources edition of Maurits Gysseling „*Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noordfrankrijk en Westduitsland vóór 1226*“ (Tongeren 1960).

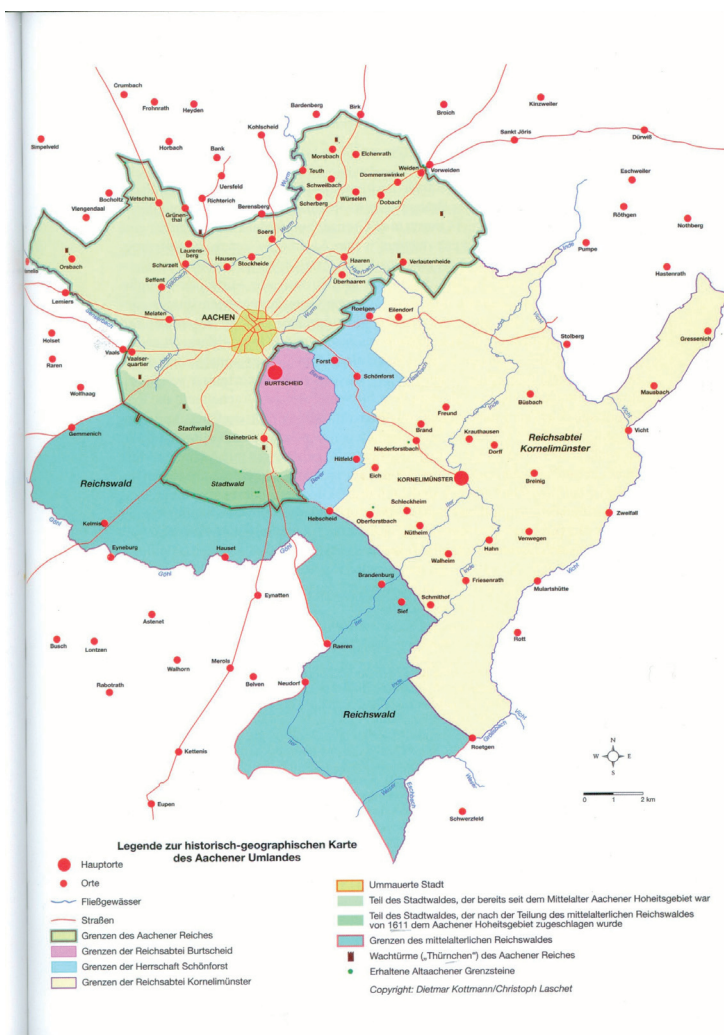
The presence of Romanic speaking populations in today Germanic speaking regions is moreover evidenced by present-day toponyms as *Wahlwiler* (NL), *Walheim* (D), *Walhorn* (B/DG ; in 888 still Harna) and *Wahlhausen* or *Welschbillig* (L). In the north of this latter country, in the so-called Ösling /Éislek/, the triple name of the village *Ēlwen* (L), *Ulflingen* (D), *Troisvierges* (F) shows the intense linguistic contacts occurring here quite normally. It recalls the existence of the probably pre-indoeuropean ‚matron cult‘ evidenced by little statues and other artefacts found in the near German Eifel, under more in Marmagen and Morken-Harff.

A remainder of a statue of the goddess *Arduenna* is the so-called ‚Wolf of the Dome‘, in local dialect /der Wowf va-je Mönster/ - in fact the remaining bear of the destroyed statue - inside the entrance to the Carolingian cathedral (built in 800) in the old central town of *Aachen /Oche/*. Just as the name Aquitaine (F), this toponym shows the presence of water, of thermal sources: the Latin genitive „*aquae gran(n)i*“ meaning the waters of the Celtic god Gran(n)us. The unshifted form *Aken* (NL) - in my dialect of Hergenrath (B) /*Ooke*/ (with a ‚hit tone‘) - is pronounced to the west and north of the Ripuarian town sounding there /*Oche*/. The French name *Aix-la-Chapelle* shows as well a kind of shift -ks- like (alternating with -h-) in toponyms as *Xhoffraix* or *Xhendelesse* (B).

NB : The so-called « consonantic shift » of the explosives p ; t ; k to the hissing sounds f ; ts ; s ; ch differentiating the Ripuarian dialects from the Low-Frankish ones can be synthesized in the sentence « This water, you just need to let it flow. » LF: *Dat Waater bruks-te mär loope te loote* // Rip.: *Dat Waser bruchs-te mär loofe tse lose*. The separating line is called „Benrather Linie“ (see map Pauwels and final map RF ). Between Vaals (NL) -Aachen (D) in the north and Gemmenich-Kelmis-Hergenrath (B) in the south it follows a woody hill which forms, since 1439 (*Philippe le Bon*, Duke of Burgundy as well as of Brabant-Limburg), the limit between the duchy of Limburg and the imperial town of Aachen, later the actual national border.



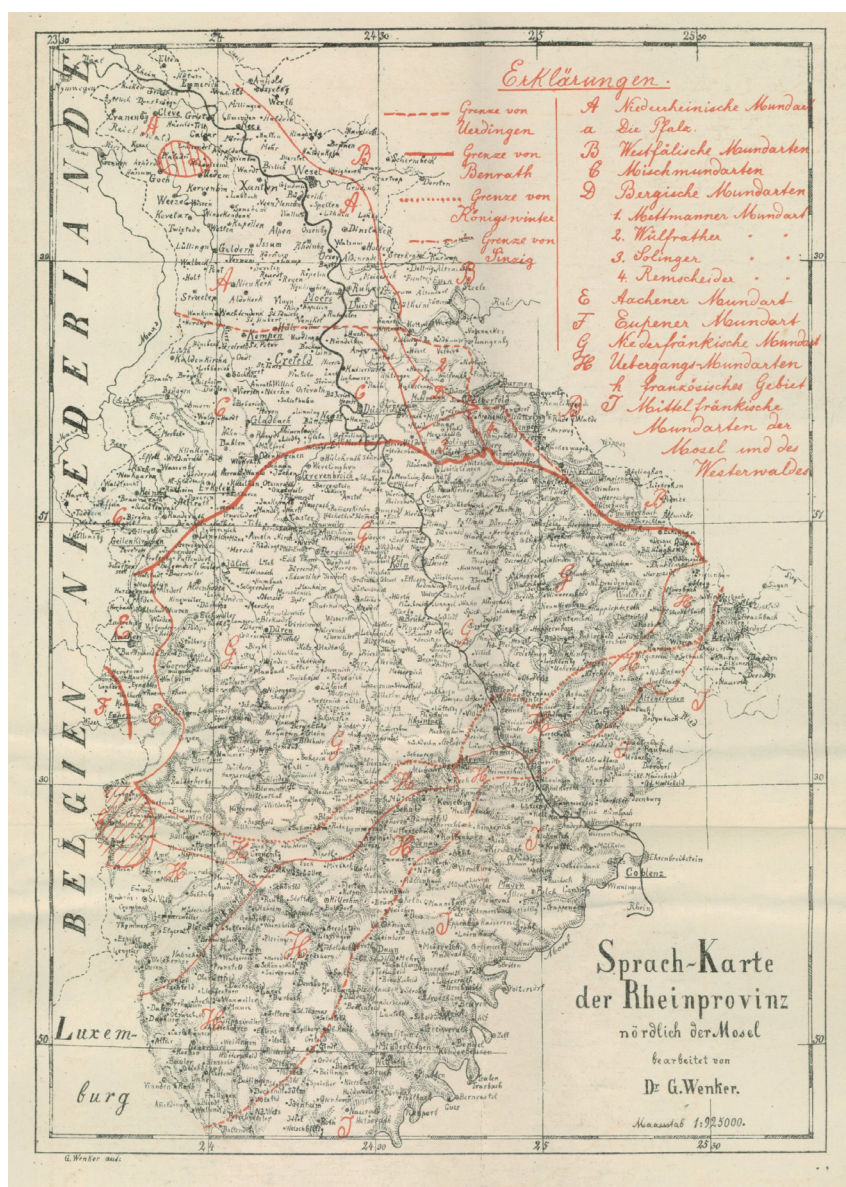
Of course, there are a lot of unshifted forms in the Ripuarian transition dialect of Aachen: *vloke* „to curse“, *zöke* „to search“ (even in Köln), *köte* „to shorten“, /kot/„short“ alternates with /kots/, /böche/ with /böke/„ beech-wooden“, *Déipde* „depth“ etc. When you take the bus to *DIEPENBENDEN* you seem to travel in a quite Low-Frankish town, for the German name would indeed be „Tiefenauen“... Moreover Low-Frankish words are ‚shifted‘: the Dutch words *raken* „to touch“ becomes /*raache*/, *vermak* „pleasure“ /*Vermaach*/, *kaak* „gallows, gibbet“/ *Katsch(hof)*/, a local microtoponym just behind the Town hall with its *Turris regia*, built in 800.



Farther to the west, the name of the Walloon town of *Liège* seems to have, at least partly, Germanic roots. The triple name *Liège /Wall. Liisch/, Lüttich (D) - both 'shifted', Luik (NI), unshifted, as well as the unshifted KF form Lük, kept even in Cologne, or disrounded to Léik, Lik in Luxemburg (Moselfränkisch), show a great variety.*

Farther to the south, there is another doublet: the old Celtic -acum name *Bastogne (Fr), Bastenaken (NI), Bas(t)nach, Basnesch (L)*. Astonishingly at the border of the Belgian Province Luxembourg, next to the commune of Burg Reuland (DG), we meet in the Belgian part of the Ösling in the Moselfrankish area two unshifted toponyms: The previous commune *Beho* (in French) is coming from Germanic *Bochholz* "beech forest" with shift. But the local dialects have all preserved the unshifted form /Bookels/. In the vicinity, we find the village of *Wathermal* with an unshifted t, just as for the commune of Watermael-Boitsfort in the heart of the Low-Frankish Brabant. Both villages are today integrated in the commune of *Gouvy (Fr)*, in Luxemburgish *Geilich*, both with -ch (lost in the French name) out of an old -k.

Still further to the south flows the river *Chiers*, in Luxemburgish *Korn* (with an old *k*), not far from the venerable town of *Arlon (Fr), Arel (NI)*, in fact *Lëtzebuergish Arel*, all of them with a Germanic *a* instead of the previous Celtic *o* in the historical name *Orolaunum*.



As a matter of fact, the „zweite oder hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung“ is the most characteristic phenomenon in Western Europe. The so-called „Rheinische Fächer“ (RF) - starting in 1877 with a quite pragmatic map of Dr Georg Wenker based on empirical field research - was soon misinterpreted through the imperialistic sight adopted by some linguists. So even the Rhinish pioneer Theodor Frings (1886-1968) evoked in his „Strahlungstheorie“ southern phonetical and morphological forms „conquering areas“ or „winning ground towards the North and the West“ up to the Benrather line and even the ‚Uerdinger Linie‘ (ik, ook/ich, ooch „I, also“) running in front of the gates of the Low-Frankish town Leuven... Those newer political aspirations made a RULE of the RF and some simply classified all the various transition dialects in the Netherlands, Eastern Belgium and Luxembourg as « deutsche Dialekte ». Whereas Georg Wenker had considered that the Low-Frankish area covered the “Rheinland” up to the south of Bonn (Dorp/Dorf-Linie „village“, or Eifel line), H. Protze edited a map, in 1965 (!), extending

the Ripuarian area up to the Uerdinger line! Already in 2000, I have criticized – during a plenary meeting of our Royal Commission CRTD/KCTD – the presence of this misleading map on the homepage of the StaGN, the German wing of the UNGEGN. Nevertheless, this provocation for Dutch and Flemish people is still there! Herewith, I do insist that the present German colleagues urge the responsible leaders to avoid such mis-takes for the future.

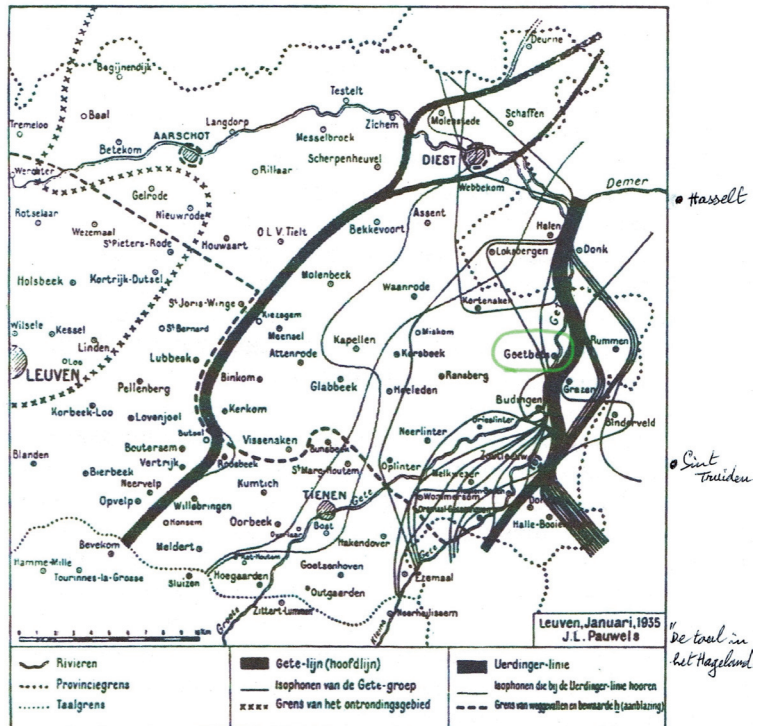
NB: As a consequence of my renewed written request after the Brussels UNGEGN Meeting, the Secretary of the StaGN has communicated me in December 2018 that they have now finally taken off the out-dated map of Helmut Protze.

Let us still consider as a sample one hydronym, that has often become a toponym. Its presence evidences how tight the cohabitation must have been before the re-romanization of the Walloon region. The old Germanic appellative \*baki > German *Bach*, Dutch *beek*, Danish *baek /bæg/*, English *beck* “mountain brook” appears in the Ripuarian area around Aachen-Vaals-Raeren as /de Baach/ (f. with ,trailed tone’). Only the preserving zone Walhorn-Lontzen-Eupen-Welkenraedt-Baelen has kept /de Bak/. The Voer villages Sint-Martensvoeren /Bäk/, ‘s Gravenvoeren /Biek/, Moelingen /Bjäk/ (with ,rising diptong’) are as well unshifted. In Teuven the (recent) tautology *Bachbeek* is quoted (De Vlaammse gemeentenamen, 2010). Kelmis and the villages towards the West pronounce /de Baach f./, e.g. in Montzen (centre) /Streverstroperbach/, in Clermont, next to Crawhez, (la) /Bach/ and /Quoidbach/.



Various river names appear in the eastern part of the Dutch Province Limburg with postvocalic shifted ending up to the trace of the ancient Roman street Boulogne-Bavai-Tongeren-Maastricht-Heerlen-Rimburg-Jülich-Köln. Noorbeek /Norbik/, in Walloon Na°debaye/, is today unshifted, but has historical shifted forms: in 1144 Nortbech(e), 1280 Nordebach, 1436 Nordebaie (gathered by P.L.M. Tummers - D.P. Blok, *Watervamen in Limburg en Drente*, Amsterdam 1962). Farther to the north, Tummers quotes Cortenbach /Kortemich/, Gitsbach /Gitsberich/, Palembach /Palemich/, Kronenbach /Kronemich/. We found moreover Craubeek /Kraubich/, Waubach /Waubich/ and Orsbach /Ueschbich/as well as in Wittem and Nijswiller the appellative “de Baach” (f.).

More to the south near Visé/Wezet the toponym *Bombaye* (Nl. Bolbeek, in KF /Bomb(e)lech/) shows a walloonized form of the shifted name. The countless hydronyms and derived toponyms on -baie, -bais, -baix, -bize (Orbais, Marbaix, Tubize etc.) in the Walloon region of Belgium and in the North of France (Roubaix) as well as numerous doublets -beek, -beck/-bech,-bets (See Maurits Gysseling, 1960) near the linguistic frontier prove the long lasting mutual interpenetration that I have called “mariage intime”. According to the authors, *Geetbets* (on Pauwels map surrounded in green) and *Walbets* (B Limburg) are due to Romanic influence (De *Vlaamse Gemeentenamen*, 2010). Must they all be considered as exonyms in the French speaking surroundings? So, this water name in the EUREGIO and in a big part of Belgium evidences in a very specific way, what I have long been supposing, namely that the consonantic shift is a consequence of the Rhaetian, Gallo-roman or Old-Belgian substrates on the language of the German newcomers.



In volume I of our comparative atlas (2014, p. 10) we have quoted the Belgian Netherlandist J. Leenen (Album Grootaers, Leuven 1950, p. 55) saying: “Zo was... deze zuidoostelijke hoek voortaan negatief gekenschetst als van het overige Nederlands afwijkend door zekere met het Hoogduits gemeenschappelijke bijzonderheden...”. I think, those divergences would have been easily accepted if they had been considered as autochthonous. But still in 1994 our colleague Jan Goossens defended in a deductive way and dictatorial style the so-called “Strahlungstheorie” sending the consonantic shift and other seemingly ‘High-German’ elements from far in the south towards the Low-Frankish area: “An der Auffassung, dass die Uerdinger Linie vorgeschobene Sprachformen südlicheren Ursprungs im niederfänkischen (sic!) Raum... begrenzt, ist nicht zu rütteln...” (*Sprachatlas des nördlichen Rheinlands und südöstlichen Niederlands*, II, p. 16). On p. 18 he even quotes the imperial style of Frings (1922): ,Die Uerdinger Linie ... das Ergebnis eines „letzten Eroberungsstadiums“.’ I presume, that some Flemish philologist, trying to insure the recently acquired autonomy and regard, preferred to accept a foreign influence in the east of their territory, i.e. in Limburg. The recognition of an ancient Carolingian language area with a historical radiation and linguistical structure of its own in the immediate neighbourhood seemed to form a greater concurrence to them than the far off German language region... Mind: historically it is known that the ‘Gesellen van den Spele’ of Diest in eastern Brabant (lying today inside the Uerdinger Linie) performed, on March 14<sup>th</sup> 1412, the ‘abele spel’ “Lanseloet” in Aachen. Since then, the similar idioms seem to have drifted away from one another...

In any case, if the migration from eastern Europe, since the fall of the Berlin wall (1989), and the nearly uncontrolled immigration from the Near East and from Africa ,growing during the last decade, went on (a kind of new “invasion barbare” as in the 5<sup>th</sup> century), the European language map will soon be quite overthrown. The hybrid regional tongues will quickly be lost, and with them a big part of our history and ancient culture. The sole remainders will then – provisionally – be our linguistically mingled toponyms. Of course, the “Rheinische Fächer” will then no longer cause any divergent meanings...

Let us consequently try to summarize: After decades of empiric comparative research, my standpoint about this famous ‘second consonantic shift’ is a quite different one: Similar shift phenomena have been caused everywhere in the languages of Western Europe by the progressive mixing of populations mainly since the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries the first millenary (after the fall of the Limes on December 31<sup>st</sup> 406) and developed differently in various areas.

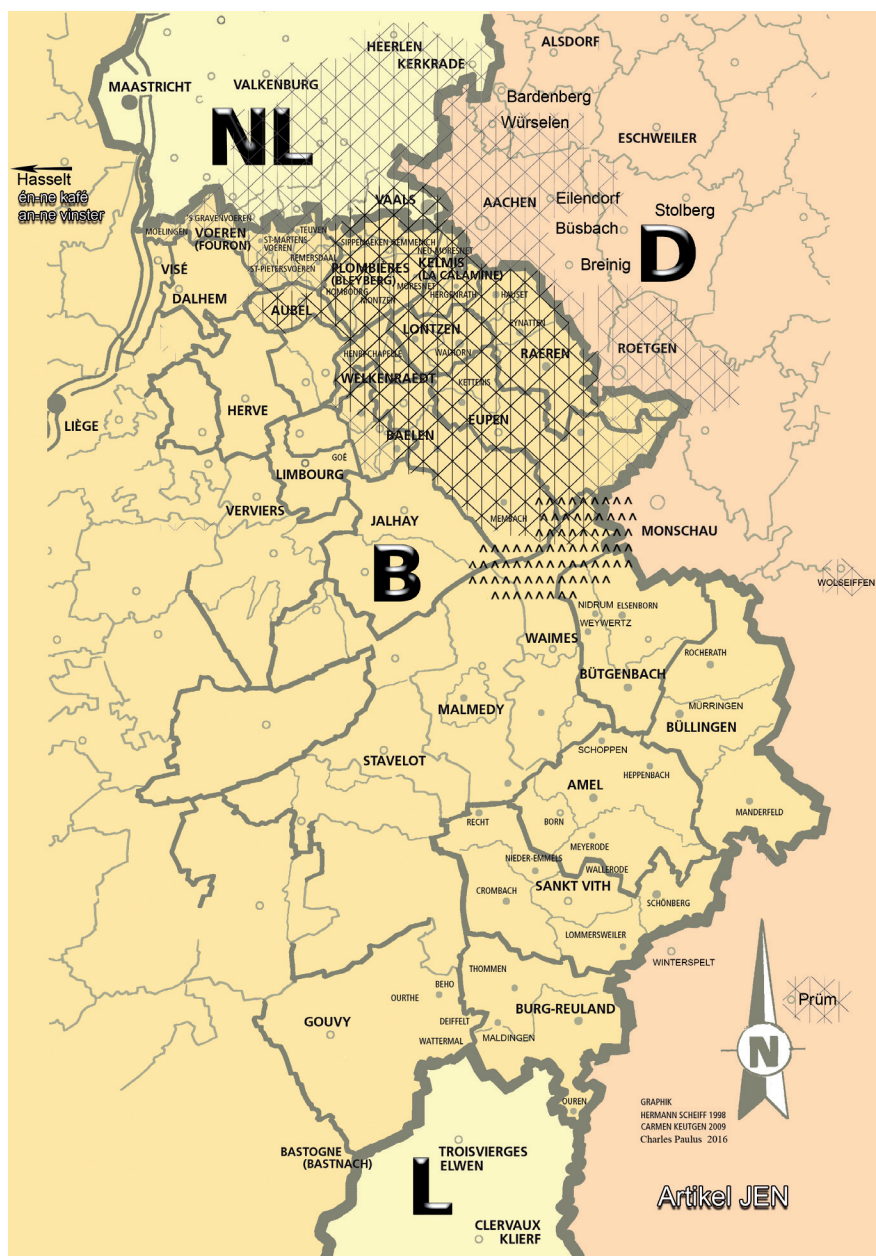
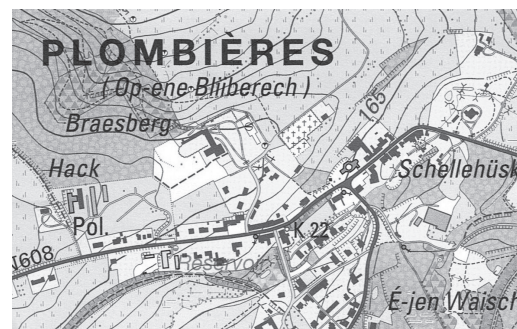
	latin	espagnol (occitan)	français	anglais/néerl.	allemand	danois
p	ripa	riba	rive	hope / hopen	hoffen	håbe hoobe
t	pater	padre	père			
	vita	vida	vie	let / laten	lassen	lade laa(de)
k	securu(m)	segur	sûr	-- /roken	rauchen	ryge rüü(fe)
th				father / vader	Vater	far faa(r)*

\* De même encore chez les vieilles générations de notre région : *Då verröön noch Vaar ån Moor*. "Il trahirait son père et sa mère".

Alternating unshifted and shifted forms can already be found in the present-day Celtic idioms e.g. cnwc, cnocc /cnwch, cnoch « bone; hill ». In medieval Latin the c /k/ is finally pronounced as a hissing sound /(t)s/ in front of the vowels e and i (see in French *cecil*). The Scandinavian languages have a tendency to (partly) shift the explosives and then drop them, e.g. in Danish « book » is written bog but pronounced /boow/, « search », søge pronounced /söøj(e)/. Consonantic shifts frequently appear in English words: chin, church (recalling the Alemannic diminutive *Chüchichäschtli* «kitchen board»), kitchen, breeches etc., in the personal pronoun 1<sup>st</sup> pers. singular / (without the -ch, just like Scandinavian jai, they come both from older < ic ), moreover in the suffix -ly, frequent in both systems, where the shifted ending has as well been dropped.

The common linguistical basis of the Carolingian-Frankish area with the Scandinavian languages is clearly shown through our verb /kale/ « speak » with the most elaborate semantical content, meanwhile English to call and Danish det kalder boget “that is named book” have slightly different restricted meanings. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plural and regional polite form of the personal pronoun /däär/ corresponds to modern Danish De and Icelandic Þaer. Another Scandinavism is the specific regional article for place and sometimes for time indications /é-jen Huus/ «in the house» or /ut-gen Vänster/ «out of the window» corresponding apparently to Swedish /ut genom fönstret/; it seems to find again its roots in Icelandic. Here street names in Teuven (Voeren, VG), Hergenrath (DG) and Plombières (CF) on an IGN map.

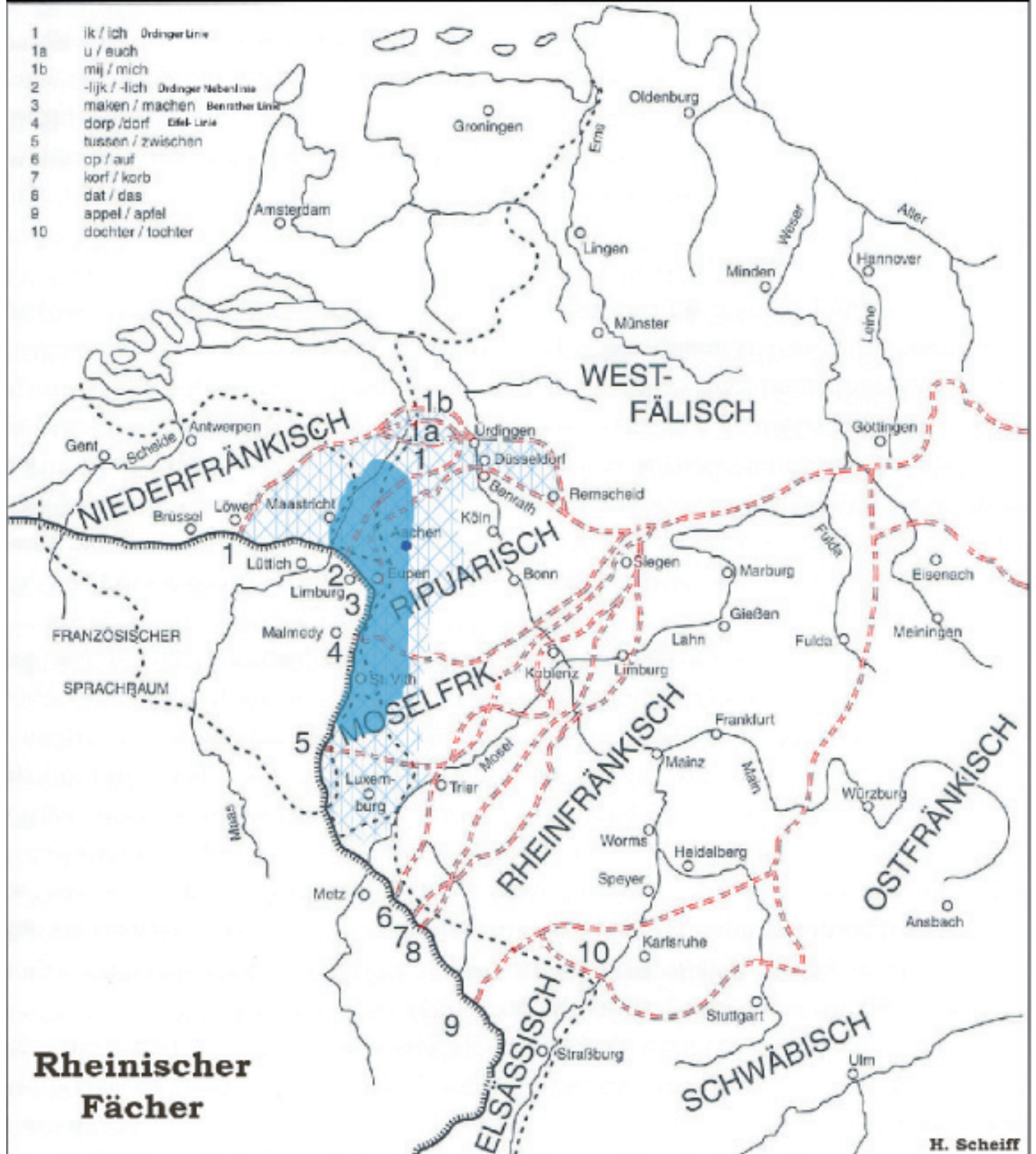
Moreover, the rising diphthongs appearing in the Belgian and Luxemburgish parts of the Ösling, e.g. in /Järest/ “autumn”, /Biärech/ “mountain” and /Dwaref/ “village” as well as in Aubel or Moelingen near the Maas the toponym /Bjän/ Berneau (< KF Ber(win)n + Au), Njääre “entrance hall” (Moelingen, cf. South Frankish “Ern”), kwake “to cook” (in Aubel) link our relict areas with the great Scandinavian and Slavonic language landscapes.



The imperial town of Aachen, centre of the Carolingian patrimony situated between Landen (B), Eschweiler (D) and Metz (F), lies in the eastern part of the broad Maas valley, but rather near to the river. Here, Charlemagne established his *Pfalz*, his fixed residence, at the end of the 8th century. Later, the kings of the so-called ‘Holy Roman Empire’ were crowned in its dome until 1531 (Ferdinand I). For centuries, its Royal Court administrated a changing parcel of Western Europe.

It is therefore unthinkable that Aix-la-Chapelle has not had any linguistical radiation. A fact is, that the dialectology and historical philology have too long forgotten – or (willingly) ignored (!) – the important role of the old cultural region Aachen-Limburg-Luxemburg.

We hope to have filled up – at least partly – this lack of pragmatcal information for the toponymist, the philologist, the historian and, above all, for the cultivated reader.



Der sog. Rheinische Fächer ohne ‚Strahlungstheorie‘ sollte sachgerecht westgermanischer Sprachfächer genannt werden. Die Laut- und Wortlinien dieses Konstrukts stellen u.E. Ausgleichslinien dar, die wohl seit dem späten Mittelalter Spracherscheinungen aus der Zeit der Bevölkerungsvermischung fixieren. Der westlichste Teil ist konkret als ‚Aachener Wirkungskreis‘ zu betrachten, denn die Krönungsstadt hat, u.a. auch als Appellationsgericht (ATLAS I, Karte S. 13), ohne Zweifel jahrhundertlang eine sprachbildende Wirkung auf ihre Großregion und auf weiter ab liegende Gebiete ausgeübt. Das engere und weitere Areal wird hier gestaffelt durch die Farbfläche und die umringende Rasterung dargestellt.

Leo WINTGENS,

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