Standardisation and the Wealth of Place Names

Aspects of a Delicate Relationship

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 6TH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PLACE NAMES 2021

Virtual event, 29 September – 1 October 2021

EDITOR
Chrismi-Rinda Loth

Conference Proceedings

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Jointly organised by the Joint IGU/ICS Commission on Toponymy and the UFS

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SUNBONANI CONFERENCE

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Published by Sun Media Bloemfontein (Pty) Ltd t/a SunBonani Media

Imprint: SunBonani Conference

ISBN 978-1-928424-96-3 (Print)
ISBN 978-1-928424-97-0 (Online)
DOI: https://doi.org/10.18820/9781928424970

Set in Cambria 10/15 pt
Cover design, typesetting and production by Sun Media Bloemfontein
This printed copy can be ordered directly from: media@sunbonani.co.za
The e-book is available at the following link: https://doi.org/10.18820/9781928424970

PEER REVIEW

Abstracts submitted to the symposium was each judged independently by two members of the symposium's scientific committee (comprised of experts in the field) with regards to relevance to the symposium's theme, scientific rigor, originality and contribution to the subject field. Authors whose abstracts were accepted after the stage one review process were included in the conference presentation programme. Authors who wished to do so submitted their full papers for the conference proceedings. The Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on Place Names 2021 involved a rigorous double-blind peer review process of the full papers. The review panel comprised of ten national and international experts on the subject matter, i.e., place names. Based on the outcome of the peer review process, papers for the proceedings were selected based on the following criteria:

- Whether or not the paper disseminates original research
- Relevance to the theme
- Quality of organisation and writing

The rigorous double-blind peer review process by the scientific review panel provided valuable comments and constructive criticism. Authors whose papers were accepted were provided with the anonymous reviewers' comments and requested to submit their revised papers. Provided that all comments were appropriately responded to, the final papers were included in the conference proceedings (ISBN: 978-1-928424-96-3). The members of the peer review panel were involved not in the review of their own authored or co-authored papers. The role of the Editor was to ensure that the final papers incorporated the reviewers' comments, that the papers fully comply to academic standards, and to arrange the papers into the final order as captured in the table of contents.

Scientific Panel (reviewers)

- Prof Theodorus du Plessis (University of the Free State, RSA)
- Prof Peter E Raper (University of the Free State, RSA)
- Dr Boga Manatsha (University of Botswana, Botswana)
- Dr Thabo Martins (National University of Lesotho, Lesotho)
- Dr Petrus Angula Mbenzi (University of Namibia, Namibia)
- Dr Lucie A Möller (University of the Free State, RSA)
- Dr Sambulo Ndlovu (Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe)
- ***Joint IGU/ICA Commission on Toponymy:***
- **Common Vice-Chair:** Prof Paulo Márcio Leal de Menezes (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
- **ICA Chair:** Prof Peter Jordan (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria / University of the Free State, RSA)
- **IGU Chair:** Prof Cosimo Palagiano (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

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FOREWORD

The 6th International Symposium on Place Names (ISPN) was held as a virtual event 29 September – 1 October 2021. It was jointly hosted by the Joint IGU/ICA Commission on Toponymy and the Department of South African Sign Language and Deaf Studies (incorporating the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment) at the University of the Free State, South Africa. These Proceedings are a selection of double-blind peer-reviewed papers from the symposium. Together with the ISPN Organising Committee, I sincerely thank all the reviewers for their invaluable input.

The theme of the symposium was "Standardisation and the wealth of place names – aspects of a delicate relationship". Topographic features, both natural and human made, are often known by multiple names simultaneously, including official, conventionalised, informal, and other alternative names. On a practical level place names serve as points of reference. Beyond that, place naming is a process of claiming spaces and proclaiming or imposing identity. Viewing place names as linguistic and cultural heritage artefacts, we need to consider what it means to document and use these alternative names. Not only are we interested in how these names come into being, but also in the roles they perform in social dynamics.

With this theme ISPN 2021 intended to address the balance between the standardisation, which implies choosing one or some place names over others, and the occurrence of multiple place names, which is tied in with heritage and cultural identity. The papers in this collection explore aspects of this 'delicate relationship', with the multiplicity of place names receiving particular attention. Exploring the symbolic and ideological roles of (multiple) place names remains important. However, as Prof Peter Jordan pointed out in his closing speech, standardisation is useful in administrative and educational contexts – therefore continued critical engagement around "standardising for whom and to what end" is necessary. In this publication, the range of research sites (Southern Africa, South

America, Europe, and East Africa and China) and analytical frameworks (procedural, language planning, critical toponymy, socio-onomastics, colonial and post-colonial linguistics, geographical, etc.) provide an array of contextual insights and generalisable understandings.

The keynote address by the Chair of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN), Pierre JAILLARD, analyses the orientation of this institution on the symposium theme. While, on the one hand, place-name standardisation is UNGEGN's core task, on the other hand its most prominent guiding principle is the safeguarding of cultural heritage. His speech explores the apparent contradiction between these two orientations through the example of exonyms, and also argues for further interdisciplinary toponymic research. Continuing with the issue of exonyms, JORDAN reflects on approaches to their standardisation on national level in three different European countries. RIEGER shows how exonyms can be utilised to shape impressions of history, in this case the presentation of Tanzania in German guidebooks.

The focus then turns to the matter of multiple place names. MAMVURA illuminates official and unofficial place-naming systems in Zimbabwe, positing that the latter constitutes a form of resistance. Unofficial names play a different role in Lesotho, where, through their poetic attributions, they serve to distinguish between places more effectively than the official names, as shown by KHANYETSI. Both these papers indicate an evaluation of 'endonyms' and 'exonyms' as defined by Jordan (this publication), where endonyms are those names accepted and used by the local community, and exonyms are different names not used by the local community. Implicitly applying the same concept, JENEY lays out the management of multiple and multilingual place names associated with linguistic minority groups in Vojvodina. DE MENEZES ET AL perform a geographical-linguistic analysis to trace the presence of minority indigenous language groups in Brazil.

Two papers explore the place names of another minority group, i.e., the Deaf community in South Africa. DE LANGE & DU PLESSIS report on the status of standardisation of signed place names internationally. Signed place names are mostly unrecognised contributors to multi-layered toponymies. LOTH, KOTZÉ & DE LANGE introduce their project towards creating awareness about these names.

Continuing the theme of toponymic wealth, CRLJENKO & FARIČIĆ explore the history of the rich toponymic layering in Croatia, with a reflection on what the impact of recently initiated standardisation will be. HUDSON & HENDERSON follow an anthropological-historical approach to naming in Mesoamerica, highlighting the socio-political benefits of an erstwhile vague toponymy. Providing another historical approach, LIŠČÁK uncovers toponymic proof of historical contact between East Africa and China.

A huge thank you to all the authors who submitted papers. As with the previous ISPN proceedings, their co-operation during a global pandemic is deeply appreciated. A special note of appreciation to the language editor, Elmarie Viljoen-Massyn, for her diligent work. The Organising Committee, including the host, Prof Annalene Van Staden, would also like to thank the colleagues who participated in the 2021 Symposium. With such stimulating collaboration, the ISPN series can continue to contribute meaningfully to toponymic research.

Chrismi-Rinda Loth

Okonjima, Namibia
August 2022

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
RECONCILING THE SAFEGUARDING AND THE STANDARDISATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Pierre Jaillard
Chair: United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names
pierre@jaillard.net

Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very honoured to have been invited to speak to you, and I am very grateful to the organisers of this symposium for thinking that I could make a useful contribution to your work. I presume that I owe this honour to the respective presidents of the International Geographical Union and the International Cartographic Association, Cosimo Palagiano and Peter Jordan, to whom I extend my friendly greetings and apologise for singling them out for reproach if my presentation does not meet your expectations. I am more confident in your unanimous approval, thanking also Chrismi Loth for her understanding and efficient technical support.

I am sure that the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) can learn from your work. Indeed, UNGEGN cannot be indifferent to your subject: standardisation of geographical names is its basic task, and its 60 years of experience fully confirm the sensitivity of the whole aim. Moreover, standardisation is a fundamentally paradoxical activity in the field of languages: it is both based on usage on the one hand, and intended to influence it on the other. It is, in short, a strange kind of medicine, the principle of which would be to cure the healthy variants of geographical names and finish the sick ones!

Yesterday, you considered geographical names as cultural heritage, after a workshop on the collection of informal geographical names. These may appear as resolutely contrary to this paradoxical medicine, but they have been issues of concern to UNGEGN since its origins, and they have become especially important in the last 20 years. As early as 1972, Resolution II/28 recognised geographical names as "living and vital parts of languages", and Resolution II/27 noted "the importance of field collection and office treatment of names for all countries of the world".

About that, Resolution IX/4 of 2007 refers to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This convention was adopted on 17 October 2003 under the aegis of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and its very existence places the issue at the highest level of the hierarchy of norms of international law. Since then, among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals for 2030, the United Nations has retained a target 11.4 entitled "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage".

Today, you will be working on the standardisation of place names. This topic is the historical basis of the work of the UNGEGN, as shown by the very name of the International Conferences "on the Standardization of Geographical Names" that have been organised every five years. It would be futile to try to quote the resolutions that serve this purpose, or even the main ones, since they are core elements to almost all the outputs of UNGEGN and of the Conferences.

However, this objective has never had the international recognition of a convention, like the safeguarding of cultural heritage. It could be linked to the "purpose" of "self-determination of peoples" included in the United Nations Charter (article 1), which implies that each people is free to determine its own name and that of the places it inhabits. But this same purpose could also be linked to the symmetrical right of each linguistic community to name in its own language a place in another language area. Therefore, this reference cannot be invoked without further developing the practical consequences that must be drawn from it to reconcile these two symmetrical interpretations.

Of course, a priority between those two objectives has only to be determined in the event of incompatibility between them, and every effort must be done to reconcile them, and thus to avoid having to apply a hierarchy. Moreover, aiming at both goals in the same set of rules is also to avoid putting them in competition, and is thus to lead the supporters of only one of them to also respect the one they would be rather inclined to neglect. In short, it is not only an intellectual satisfaction, it is also a condition of efficiency.

This reconciliation is precisely the subject I wish to address this morning, at the hinge between yesterday and today in the work of this symposium, by taking the case of exonyms, which our last session put back on the top of the pile of subjects to be addressed, and which will also be the topic of the next paper.

1. INCONSISTENCIES ABOUT EXONYMS

The last session of the UNGEGN, last May, recognised the existence of inconsistencies about exonyms in our resolutions: It “decided to conduct further discussions on finding guidelines that reconcile the current resolutions of the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names on exonyms and its acknowledgement of exonyms as part of the cultural heritage”.

This inconsistency arose between two historical layers of resolutions. The oldest, regularly reaffirmed for more than 50 years, have opposed the international use of exonyms. But resolutions adopted as early as 1972 (II/28) and especially since 2002 have recognised some of them, and geographical names in general, as “living and vital parts of the languages”, and as cultural heritage. These resolutions have therefore advocated their safeguarding.

1.1 A historical policy of reducing exonyms

The Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names have often considered exonyms as mere alterations of endonyms, and therefore less prestigious than the original names, and even less legitimate. This has led to treating them with condescension and has justified a strong distrust of them. This devaluation has long prevailed. In particular, from the Second Conference (II/1972) to the Eighth (VIII/2002), resolutions have invited to “prepare lists” of exonyms (II/28, III/18, III/19), to “avoid new exonyms” (III/17), to “limit” or to “reduce their use” (II/29, V/13, VIII/4) and, if not, to “show in addition the local official forms” (II/29, II/31), then to “give precedence to national official names” (V/13), to “delete” some exonyms (II/28), to “reduce their number” (III/18, IV/20), and even to “accelerate the process” toward “abolishing them” (II/35)!

For pragmatic reasons, however, the Conferences have more or less expressly, and in various ways, mitigated this hostility to exonyms. It was specified that the standardisation was aimed only at “international use” (II/31), then the limitation of exonyms was concentrated on those whose use “gives rise to international problems” (IV/20). Exonyms “differing from the official name only by the omission, addition or alteration of diacritics or the article, those differing from the official name by declension or derivation, those created by the translation of a generic term” (III/19) and those resulting from the “conversion from one writing system to another” (III/14) were more or less admitted.

More generally, the very purpose of standardisation is to reduce the formal variations around the same type, which will be fixed as the official form. One can easily understand the practical interest of such a standardisation. But in this perspective, exonyms are treated as if they were mere variations of the corresponding endonyms, which is indeed what most of them are, but not all of them.

1.2 The heritage value of geographical names

In fact, a significant number of exonyms have a completely different origin, and the variations themselves are not always the product of a simple slackening of language. Let us be more precise about this.

Some exonyms have no relation, or only a distant relation, with the corresponding endonyms, because they are endogenous to their language of origin. French *Allemagne* and English *Germany* for German *Deutschland,* Greek *Gallia* and Chinese *Fà guó* for French *France,* French *Madras* for English *Chennai* can only be explained by the cultural history of their language area.

Other exonyms are doublets of the corresponding endonyms, that is, they come from the same etymon as them, but have simply evolved differently in the language of use and in the local language, just as the same Latin word has given different French and Spanish words. For example, the exonym *Londres* is the result of the evolution in French of the Latin *Londinium,* like *London* in English; the German exonym *Lothringen* is derived from *Lothar,* 'Lothaire', like *Lorraine* in French, from different Latin suffixes.[1]

These exonyms are witnesses of the cultural history of their geographical areas in a way that no international recommendation should be able to undermine, but which on the contrary deserves to be valued for its potential for mutual understanding. More fundamentally, the Second Conference already recognised "that certain exonyms … form living and vital parts of languages", but it subordinated this recognition to their "need" by regretting that some of them "remain in the language after the need for them has diminished" (II/28).

It was the Eighth and Ninth Conferences (VIII/2002 and IX/2007) that fully recognised "the significance of inherited geographical names with respect to local, regional and national heritage and identity" (VIII/9), and then considered "that toponyms are indeed part of the intangible cultural heritage" within the meaning of the Convention for the

1 < *Lothariense regnum* for German *Lothringen,* < **Lothario regnum* for French *Lorraine.*

Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 (IX/4). A Working Group on Exonyms was then charged with developing "measures such as the categorization of exonym use, the publication of pronunciation guides for endonyms, and the formulation of guidelines ensuring a politically sensitive use of exonyms" (VIII/4).

1.3 Two ways that are hardly compatible

The work carried out since then has shown that exonyms are precisely linguistic and cultural outputs, and these particular geographical names are therefore both opposed by the oldest resolutions and protected by the most recent ones.

The unsustainability of this inconsistency is demonstrated by the number of countries that have chosen one or the other option. I will take just one example, the one I know best, and which dates back almost 30 years: France has first recommended the etymological restoration of certain French exonyms in the 1980s, but it expressly decided in 1993 to put an end to this policy and to favour from now on the safeguarding of the exonyms that remained in use. But the sessions of UNGEGN bring out many other examples in the course of the national activity reports. At our last session in May, Latvia announced that it had also decided in favour of preserving exonyms, which can only support Latvian declensions with an adapted ending.

Even more significantly, one only has to read the reports presented and listen to the discussions in our sessions to realise that exonyms are still overwhelmingly preferred to endonyms, even by the most knowledgeable experts on UNGEGN resolutions and in the most international setting imaginable, but it is almost exclusively English exonyms!

2. TOWARDS A RECONCILIATION

UNGEGN cannot be satisfied with noting divergences on such an important subject, and even less so since it has itself given points of support to both orientations through its own resolutions. The "vision" expressed in its new Strategic Plan calls for "a fully functioning and globally aligned policy framework, based on common principles". It remains to find ways of reconciling both.

2.1 Ways for reconciliation already open

Already, the mitigations to the policy against exonyms show possible ways of conciliation:

- The first way is the question of the exact boundary that distinguishes an exonym from the corresponding endonym (when the latter exists, because it is sometimes difficult to identify an endonym, either because there is none as in Antarctica, or because there are several local names as for many seas or for border rivers).
- The second way is the question of the context of use, which limits the scope of resolutions to international uses only (without defining them).
- The third way is the prevention or resolution of controversies only.

2.1.1 The boundary between exonym and endonym

The question of the boundary between exonym and endonym itself has at least two dimensions.

The first is the measure of the difference between the two names. Our resolutions have already admitted that neither a transliteration (III/14), nor a change of diacritical signs, nor the translation of the article or of a generic term, nor the application of a declension or a derivation (III/9) are sufficient to characterise, or at least to register, an exonym. Finally, an exonym differs from the corresponding endonym by at least one letter of the radical of the noun. But, for instance, we have seen that Latvian declensions can only be applied to exonyms adapting the root ending of the corresponding endonym. It should be noted that this difference only concerns the written form and makes no reference to the oral form.

Beyond that, a second dimension is that of the very existence of an endonym, and therefore of the definition given of it, whether there are several or none.

The definition of an endonym assumes that a language is spoken in the named place, which is not obvious, for example for Antarctica or for hydronyms. For the latter, the definition is extended to the language of the people living along the sea or the river. But a geographer's view often gives unity to features whose human and linguistic reality is fragmented. Even an inland sea, like the Mediterranean sea, bathes shores where Semitic and Romance languages, or Greek or Turkish, are spoken. But could one consider, for example, that its German name *Mittelmeer* would lose all legitimacy if German ceased to be spoken on the Adriatic coast, and would then have to be replaced in German by one of the many remaining endonyms?

And which endonym should be chosen then? Should German take the endonym for the Mediterranean only from the languages then spoken in the former Austrian harbours? The question arises in almost the same way for historical places. Does the standardisation of the name *Istanbul* prohibit speaking of *Constantinople* or *Byzantium* depending on the historical periods about which the city is spoken?

In this respect, the question of exonyms reminds me a bit of the linguistic question of the naming in French of men sent into space. It is not because Yuri Gagarin was the first *cosmonaute* that this term had to be imposed in English, and the Americans then had their *astronautes.* As for the French, they thought for a long time that they had to be satisfied with borrowing one or the other term, and they got into the habit of borrowing both, specialising them according to the nationality of the persons concerned.

It was not until Europe sent men into space that the endogenous neologism *spationaute* was coined for them. But it was especially when China sent a man into space that we realised that borrowing a word for each nationality of spationaut has led to artificially crumbling an obviously common concept, and that it was better to speak simply of a *spationaute chinois* than of a *taïkonaute,* and thus also of a *spationaute russe* or a *spationaute américain.* In the particular case of a place name, no concept allows this kind of generalisation, but on the other hand, the endogenous name also appears to be a much better solution than having to choose which endonym to use among those that exist.

It is clear from these few cases that a priority given to the "endonym" raises more questions than it solves, and even that the division between endonyms and exonyms remains impossible, useless, and maybe unfortunate.

2.1.2 The context of use or the focus on controversies only

Another way of reconciling the conflicting orientations was to limit UNGEGN recommendations to certain uses. The Conferences specified that the standardisation was aimed only at "international use" (II/31), and then the limitation of exonyms focused on those whose use "gives rise to international problems" (IV/20), which can cover both diplomatic controversies and cases of homonymy, such as the Italian *Monaco* for *Munich* as well as for *Monaco.*

However, it is difficult to define this "international use". Even if one assumes that it refers to the debates at the UN, one stumbles over the previously mentioned fact that most of the UNGEGN works use English exonyms almost exclusively! Even in an out-of-context use such as mentioning the name of a country after the name of a report's author, it is the exonym of the language of the report that is used, not the endonym, and that seems absolutely logical from the linguistic point of view.

It would seem that endonyms are only used in practice in cartography and international transportation, that is, as isolated mentions on maps or in lists. If we are satisfied with this, it would be better to make this clarification explicit.

2.2 A return to the underlying principles

If we wish to reconcile the two visibly contradictory orientations of the current UNGEGN resolutions, we must try to go beyond the practical orientations by going back to the principles on which they are based.

We have seen that the safeguarding of cultural heritage is in itself a principle, and even a legal imperative, enshrined in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and included among the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. This principle has a special status as a law necessity.

On the other hand, the reduction of the use of exonyms is not in itself a principle. It is rather a policy, itself based on principles, but which have remained implicit since the only motivation of the initial resolution on this subject (II/29, 1972) is limited to "recognizing the *desirability* of limiting the use of exonyms" (sic: that's all!). In order to clarify the underlying principles, it is therefore necessary to refer to the memory of the debates, which allows us to identify at least two of these underlying principles.

The first is the rationalisation of data management with the techniques of the time, with in particular a strong limitation on the volume of processing and on the capacity of memory – read-only memory and even more so on random access memory. The computer scientists of the time would undoubtedly have appreciated a limitation of the number of geographical names to one per place, whatever the language, and we can guess behind many resolutions this utopia – or dystopia, in the many cases where the extremes meet. But the current state of computer technology makes the practical interest in this respect of such a limitation of exonyms practically obsolete. By limiting the languages to the few hundreds that have official status somewhere in the world, current information systems can perfectly manage one name per place and per language, especially since exonyms only concern a very small part of the named places: those that have international cultural visibility.

The second underlying principle, obviously central to the United Nations, was political neutrality, mentioned as a "value" in our strategic plan, and the rejection of any form of domination, which was postulated to underlie the naming. But this postulate has not been challenged enough, or even "deconstructed". It is certain that the act of naming establishes at the anthropological level a particular relationship between the linguistic community that is the author of this naming and its object, whether it is a place, a thing or a concept, or even a person. But this particular relationship is only a form of domination or possession of a political or legal nature when it originates in a process of this same nature, that is, when it is created by a voluntary and official act. When it is created by the common usage of the speakers of a language, it expresses rather a form of proximity in the cultural domain, which is the domain of the languages themselves.

I must also quote the very strong principle set up by one line in the resolution I/4 (C, 1), which recommends that "unnecessary changing of names be avoided", for obvious practical reasons.

2.3 The contributions of other disciplines

2.3.1 Anthropology

The best example to illustrate this anthropological relationship established by naming was suggested to me a few days ago by Peter Jordan: it is the naming of a child. Those who do this (parents, godfather, godmother or so) are obviously not taking 'possession' of him; they are taking 'responsibility' for him, which is quite different. It seems to me that toponymists should dig deeper into anthropological studies of child naming. This would help them to rectify in people's minds the link established by naming: no, naming is not always dominating.

It may also be noted that the interpretation of the name in terms of possession reflects a territorial and static conception of geography. Communication ways are by nature the opposite of this conception, since their very vocation is to facilitate movement from one place to another. As a result, their names still often reflect a conception that is, on the contrary, linear and dynamic, when they are derived from the destination to which they lead: in the southeast of Paris we have a *Porte d'Italie,* and in the west an *Avenue de Versailles,* which joins an *Avenue de Paris* in Versailles. And nobody would imagine an *avenue de Paris* in Paris or an *avenue de Versailles* in Versailles!

In the light of these names, the current controversies over the names of seas seem significant of a type of relationship with maritime spaces that seems strangely at odds with the current era. In a dynamic conception consistent with commercial globalisation, the seas should be named in each country according to what they open up to, and then according to their other shores. However, in practice, the neighbouring countries tend to prefer to have their own names given to them, at the risk of making these names lose all meaning for their own use: What advantage would an island country have in giving its own name to each of the seas that surround it, rather than naming each one after the names of the spaces to which they give access?

2.3.2 Linguistics: orality and contacts between languages

According to linguistics, it is remarkable that our standardisation options appear to be adapted to the written use of geographical names and out of context. The main needs initially met by standardisation were undoubtedly of this kind: they were first and foremost cartography, lists of country names, databases, and so on. But to leave it at that would lead to a misunderstanding of the role of standardisation. To stop there is to lose sight of the fact that geographical names are first of all 'names', which fundamentally belong to languages. This was later admitted, when UNGEGN conceded the need to be able to apply declension to place names, but not really taken into account in the very definition of the policy towards exonyms.

In particular, apart from the translation of generic terms, the differences admitted by our resolutions between exonyms and endonyms concern only their written forms, not their oral forms. Now, the dynamics of languages and therefore of geographical names is oral: Languages live and evolve essentially orally, even when, by exception, they were born from the written form, as in the case of Italian, or have been resurrected from it, as in the case of Hebrew. The written forms are only transcriptions of the oral forms, and it is above all in the oral form that the differences between names must be appreciated. However, the graphic systems linking the oral and the written forms vary according to the languages, to the times, and sometimes even to the regions. As a result, the same written forms correspond to different oral forms from one language to another. And this is how the standardisation of written forms actually induces different oral forms, which we could call 'oral exonyms'.

Now, in contemporary everyday language – at least in French – the normal functioning of lexical borrowing generally consists in borrowing both the written and the oral local forms, even if it means deviating from the concordance between the two forms in the graphic system of the target language (in French, *club, land, macho,* are pronounced as in English, German or Spanish). The Belgian linguist Louis Deroy, author of a still valid survey on the subject of linguistic borrowing, explains it as follows:

> As a general rule, borrowers try to reproduce the foreign pronunciation accurately, if they have heard it and if it does not seem too off-putting, but the results are often imperfect … When possible, the knowledgeable borrower tries to preserve the foreign form and pronunciation as best he can.

And so on. The resulting discrepancy in the graphic system may persist for several centuries before usage eventually converges one of the two forms to the other, depending on various criteria such as the frequency of use of the word, or the degree of familiarity or prestige of the original language in relation to the host language.

The pre-eminence of usage in all matters of language can also lead to the quite artificial creation of exonyms when a usage persists after the change of a transliteration system. This is for instance the case of *Pékin,* whose natural pronunciation in French is much closer to the Chinese oral name than the French pronunciation of the current official written form *Beijing.* This can even be the case for two official systems, such as the romanisation of Arabic. While the 1972 Beirut variant B system reflects well the diversity of Arabic vowels, the 2017 Riyadh system limits them to three (A, I, U). This is the main reason why France does not consider conforming to this new system and therefore maintains spellings that have thus artificially become exonyms.

2.3.3 Political science and economics

It must be admitted that some places in the world radiate far beyond the linguistic communities that have named them, and that those who receive their image have felt the need to name them in their own way. They are not very numerous: for instance, the French-speaking division of UNGEGN has counted less than 1 500 exonyms in its database entitled “Le Tour du monde en français”.

Even fewer are those for which different countries have shared responsibility, as is the case for the Antarctic continent under the treaty of 1 December 1959. The stakes of a few others go far beyond state borders and some call for the expression of this solidarity through such shared responsibility, such as the Arctic Ocean or the Amazon forest. Of course, these places are designated in most languages in the world by exonyms. But conversely, it is obviously not the exonyms that characterise them: Just because speakers of a language have an exonym for a continent other than their own does not mean that they want to conquer it! The use of an exonym undoubtedly marks the interest of a foreign country in the fate of the place it designates, but it does not give that country any "right to interfere" in the affairs of the sovereign country for that place.

In fact, in a case such as the importance of the Amazon for the global climate, we are dealing with what economists call externalities related to public goods: The decisions made by the countries responsible for the Amazon produce effects on all other countries through the public good of climate stability. The academic literature on this subject deals with how to "internalize externalities", that is, how to make those responsible take these effects into account. In the cultural domain, naming and shaming are used extensively: Inscription by UNESCO on the World Heritage List plays both a role of recognition at the request of the responsible country, and a role of accountability through the attention given by peers, particularly in the case of inscription in the sub-category of World Heritage in Danger. Exonyms, which are a form of naming by their very nature, play a comparable, but spontaneous and informal role with respect to the corresponding places.

2.3.4 Law

Finally, in legal terms, UNGEGN underwent a reform in 2017, the main objective of which was to improve its functioning and its integration into the United Nations system, and in particular into the Economic and Social Council. The proper integration into the UN system implies fully adhering to their political objectives, among which is the safeguarding of cultural heritage, and therefore of cultural and linguistic diversity.

As for its functioning, the main novelty is that the new UNGEGN combines the functions not only of the former Group of Experts of the same name, but also of the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names. These Conferences have been held every five years and adopted in 50 years a bit more than two hundred resolutions. Access to these resolutions is made difficult by the great diversity of subjects in the same form: Even setting aside simple procedural motions as thanks for the organisation of a session, one finds among them the establishment of principles, deepenings or inflections, simple reiterations of previous resolutions, and so on. Helen Kerfoot, honorary Chair of UNGEGN, has therefore compiled and maintained a collection of all these resolutions, organised by topic, which still require some intellectual investment to use.

Moreover, the idea has gradually become established that the resolutions of the Conferences are definitive and cannot be challenged or modified, but only reinterpreted and possibly inflected at most. However, they do not come from a divine revelation, but from a more modest and imperfect human elaboration. In addition, consensus must not be confused with the status quo. Certainly, the principle of consensus always puts those who support the status quo in a strong position, since it is up to others to convince them that the status quo is not sustainable, and to lead them to evolve towards a new and stronger consensus. But it is still possible to evolve, and not only in theory, since in the early days of UNGEGN at least some resolutions revised earlier ones (I/20, III/16, etc.). And some issues are worth trying again. Such is the case of exonyms, as our last session recognised.

This is all the more worthwhile since exonyms appear more as a solution than a problem in toponymic controversies. Ideally, the simple fact of not having to qualify a geographical name of a given language, either as an endonym or as an exonym, would avoid having to set it in an implicit hierarchy and thus resolve the essential part of the associated controversies. The value of each one rests, in fact, on its own language and on the associated culture, each one as legitimate as the others, and the coexistence of the corresponding geographical names does not imply in reality any hierarchy between them. The standardised geographical names in each of these languages, whether they are considered as endonyms or exonyms, simply have to be put in equivalence to designate the same place. Only the question of homonyms would then remain, which does not seem enough to justify a global hostility to exonyms.

3. CONCLUSION

Thus revisited and expanded, the principles on which our resolutions are based appear much less contradictory than the consequences that have been drawn from them. Let us summarise. Among the relevant applicable principles, the most important is to safeguard the cultural heritage of exonyms created by usage. There are also two principles developed by UNGEGN or by the Conferences: to avoid unnecessary changes of geographical names and to avoid their use for purposes of domination. And we have seen that this use only concerns geographical names created voluntarily by official acts. Therefore, the contradictory principles do not apply to the same exonyms, and their reconciliation appears clearly: it would be enough to distinguish between spontaneous exonyms and deliberately created exonyms.

Our international recommendation not to deliberately create exonyms (III/17) is therefore perfectly consistent with the application to geographical names of the principle of non-domination and with the normal functioning of borrowing between languages. In accordance with these same two principles, France also interprets this recommendation as not opposing the possible recognition of the spontaneous creation of exonyms through usage, which France then ratifies and makes official in respect to the pre-eminence of usage in all matters of language.

Broadening the perspective to include other disciplines not only reconciles apparent inconsistencies within our own disciplines, but also broadens the basis for standardisation of geographical names and increases awareness and recognition of the involved issues. Among these other disciplines, I have touched on linguistics, of course, but also anthropology, political science, law and economics. There are undoubtedly others. In any case, our standardisation activity must be able to find avenues for development in multi-disciplinarity.

Dear Colleagues, these are the few avenues that, at this stage, seem to me to be explored in order to resolve the inconsistency that UNGEGN has identified between safeguarding and standardisation: that of exonyms.

This subject may also constitute a test for UNGEGN’s mode of action, which has not been fixed by either its recent reform or the strategic plan it has just adopted. The prioritisation of the principles it has adopted and the applications it has drawn from them would also enhance the readability and effectiveness of its recommendations. It would probably help to prevent the rise of other inconsistencies.

The challenge is indeed to base the framework for action by national toponymic authorities on common principles that are globally aligned, for a standardisation of geographical names that respects the associated cultures and heritages.

STANDARDISATION OF EXONYMS

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ABSTRACT

The standardisation of endonyms is practised in most countries. However, the standardisation of exonyms is much less a topic under discussion, although international organisations like the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO), the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) standardise place names, which are in most cases exonyms, for specific purposes. On the national level, hardly a country has explicitly regulated exonym standardisation. It is usually up to national place-name boards or institutions with a similar function to shoulder this task based on their own decision or on demand of their members. Thus, several rather divergent approaches to national exonym standardisation exist. In response to the questions 'Are exonyms standardised, who standardises them and how are they standardised?' the paper refers to three countries (Croatia, Finland, Austria) in more detail after having elaborated on exonym standardisation in general.

Keywords: Exonyms, place names, standardisation

1. INTRODUCTION

Is it possible and useful to standardise exonyms? And if yes, who is or should be entitled to perform this task? The standardisation of endonyms is common practice in most countries and the methods alone range from following the subsidiarity or bottom-up principle to the centralised or top-down approach. However, standardisation of exonyms is much less a topic under discussion. This is perhaps due to the fact that the United Nations as the supreme authority in place-name standardisation recommended the reduction of exonym use. (See especially Res. II/29-1972, Res. II/35-1972, Res. III/18-1977, Res. IV/20-1982, Res. V/13-1987 [UNGEGN 2022a] in the Appendix.) They do, however, encourage their member countries to publish lists of exonyms – in this way confining and regulating the use of exonyms, which can be understood as standardising them (Res. II/28-1972 [UNGEGN 2022a] in Appendix).

The question remains, who is entitled to do this. At the international level, the elevation of (mostly English) exonyms to the status of international names is already well regulated. For example, the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO), charged by their member countries, is entitled to standardise sea names for the purpose of navigation; the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) is entitled to standardise names of features on Antarctica; and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) standardises the English exonyms of airports.

On the national level standardisation is much less clear. While, for the standardisation of endonyms, administrative and other authorities are legalised or officially charged, hardly a country has regulated exonym standardisation. Thus, it is usually up to national place-name boards or institutions with a similar function to shoulder this task based on their own decision or on demand of their members, frequently of publishers and the educational sector, who are the most interested in a consistent use of exonyms. However, their results usually have the status of recommendations only and are not binding.

In this way, so far, several rather divergent approaches to national exonym standardisation have been followed. The paper refers to three of them (in Croatia, Finland, Austria) in more detail after first elaborating on the general problem of exonym standardisation.

The paper departs from the definitions of endonym and exonym as found in the UNGEGN Glossary of 2007 (UNGEGN 2022b:10):

- Endonym: Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated. Examples: *Vārānasī* (not *Benares*); *Aachen* (not *Aix-la-Chapelle*); *Krung Thep* (not *Bangkok*); *Al-Uqṣur* (not *Luxor*).
- Exonym: Name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken and differing in its form from the respective endonym(s) in the area where the geographical feature is situated. Examples: *Warsaw* is the English exonym for *Warszawa* (Polish); *Mailand* is German for *Milano*; *Londres* is French for *London*; *Kūlūniyā* is Arabic for *Köln*. The officially romanised endonym *Moskva* for *Москва* is not an exonym, nor is the Pinyin form *Beijing*, while *Peking* is an exonym. The United Nations recommends minimising the use of exonyms in international usage. See also name, traditional.

The UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms has, due to widespread dissatisfaction with these definitions after intensive discussions between 2007 and 2014 (see Jordan, Bergmann, Burgess & Cheetham 2011; Jordan & Woodman 2014, 2015), arrived at more comprehensive (and, in the opinion of the author, all-inclusive and more practicable) definitions. These were, however, never elevated to the status of official UNGEGN Glossary definitions due to a politically motivated veto. The definitions are:

- Endonym: Name accepted and used by the local community.
- Exonym: Name not used by the local community and different from the endonym.

In contrast to the official UN definitions of 2007, these definitions regard names in official languages not *eo ipso* as endonyms and do not refer to 'languages', but to 'communities', thus not excluding an intra-language endonym/exonym divide. They also do not accept transliterated names as endonyms as the still official UN definitions do.

In the context of this paper, the differences between official UNGEGN Glossary definitions and the definitions resulting from the consultations of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms are not important. For our purposes, the standardisation of geographical names is, according to the UNGEGN Glossary of Terms, understood as:

> The prescription by a names authority of one or more particular names, together with their precise written form, for application to a specific geographical feature, as well as the conditions for their use. In a wider sense, standardization of toponyms. (UNGEGN 2022b:24)

2. STANDARDISATION AND EXONYMS – A DELICATE RELATIONSHIP

Standardisation and exonyms are in a delicate relationship, since the original paradigm of standardisation is the 'one name for one feature principle' aiming at unambiguity for the sake of precise and safe orientation and avoiding conflict about which and whose name is the correct one. (It has, however, to be conceded that an early resolution of the UN allows more than one endonym in different languages, see Res. I/4D-1967 [UNGEGN 2022a] in the Appendix.) Exonyms are always names additional to the endonym, the primary name used by the local community. Exonyms thus violate this principle and do not conform to the idea of standardisation. This was also the reason why the UN and their Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) fought from the very beginning, in the 1970s and 1980s, against exonyms passing several resolutions that recommended the reduction of exonyms and their limited use (Res. II/29-1972, Res.

II/35-1972, Res. III/18-1977, Res. IV/20-1982, Res. V/13-1987 [UNGEGN 2022a] in the Appendix). These recommendations were to be implemented by their member states, i.e., by standardisation measures at the national level.

In the course of the 1980s, however, Ferjan Ormeling's (1983) seminal book on minority place names on maps very much promoted, but not initiated (see Res. I/4D-1967 [UNGEGN 2022a] in the Appendix), appreciation and respect for names used by minority and indigenous groups. The understanding rose that a name used by a minority or indigenous group co-inhabiting a place is not just another endonym like a name in a language variant or a nickname, but deserves to be elevated to a rank equal to the standardised name used by the majority. This relativised the 'one name for one feature principle'.

The second adaptation (after Res. I/4D-1967) followed in the 2000s, when the awareness of place names as part of cultural heritage rose. All kinds of place names and all their variants were now appreciated and the notion was that none of them should fall into oblivion, but if possible, be documented and kept in active use. This included exonyms as traditional, vital and functional parts of every language. The UN adopted this view in their resolutions (see Res. VIII/9-2002, Res. IX/4-2007 and Res. X/3-2012 [UNGEGN 2022a] in the Appendix), neither explicitly mentioning nor excluding exonyms, thus implicitly including them. The 'one name for one feature principle' of standardisation has thus, in practice, been replaced by a 'one name for one feature per language principle'. Furthermore, in formal terms, the UN resolutions referring to place names as cultural heritage actually contradict UN resolutions referring explicitly to exonyms, and a reconciliation between the two is still lacking.

3. STANDARDISATION OF 'INTERNATIONAL NAMES'

'International names' is not a term to be found in the UNGEGN Glossary (2022b) nor in the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS) List of Key Onomastic Terms (ICOS 2022) so far. However, it has been proposed by the author as a term for endonyms and exonyms of global trade languages like English or French defined by an international authority on behalf of its members for global use in a specific field of application and for a specific purpose (see Jordan 2016a; 2016b). Cases in point are the IHO, charged by their member countries to define sea names for the purpose of navigation (see Figure 1); the SCAR that defines names for features on Antarctica; and the ICAO that defines globally the English names of airports.

Most of these names are exonyms, and, based on the argument that a place name does not require an endonym as a counterpart to be classified as exonym, the author regards names for international waters also as exonyms. (For a detailed argumentation, see Jordan 2010, 2016a, 2016b.) However, the function of 'international names' surpasses the usual function of exonyms: While exonyms serve communication within a language and within a linguistic community, 'international names' serve international communication, i.e., communication between speakers of different languages. And these exonyms are standardised by an international authority.

So, standardisation of exonyms is nothing new. It has been practised related to 'international names' for many decades.

GULF OF SUEZ and GULF OF AQABA

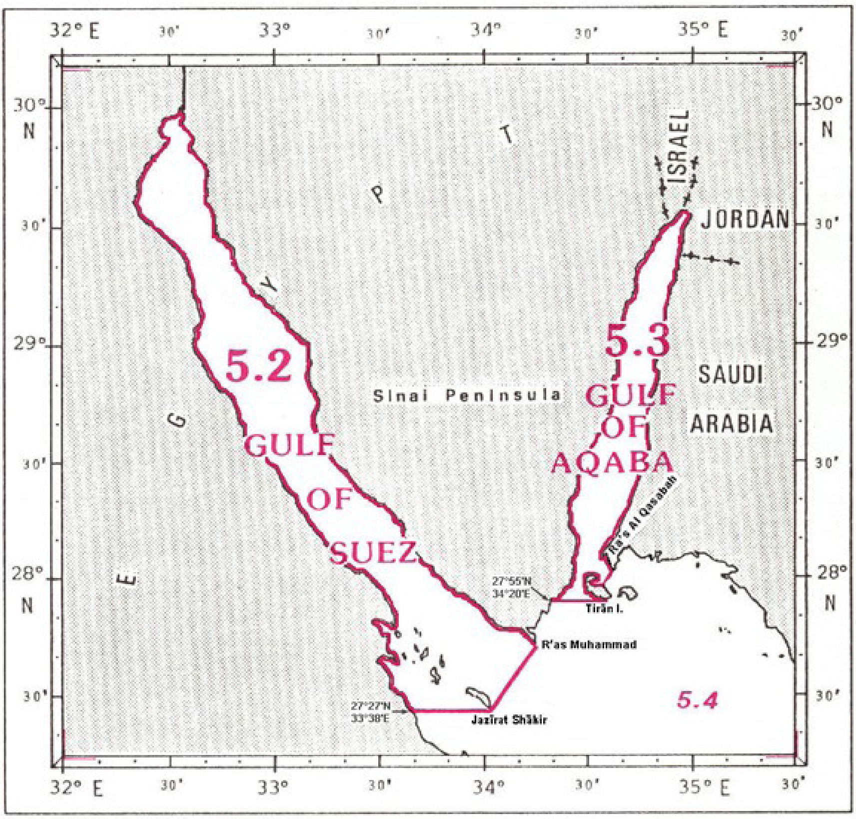


Figure 1: *Gulf of Suez and Gulf of Aqaba as standardised by IHO (Source: IHO [2002])*

4. NATIONAL STANDARDISATION OF EXONYMS

Due to the fact that the UNGEGN and the UN have for many decades been aiming at the reduction of exonyms and regarded them as not eligible for standardisation, 'standardisation of exonyms' sounds to be a contradiction in itself. They recommended compiling lists of exonyms (see Res. II/28-1972, Res. II/35-1972, Res. III/19-1977 [UNGEGN 2022a] in the Appendix) in an effort to confine their use, as a first step toward their elimination, as they were conceived by UNGEGN and the UN.

Several countries indeed compiled such lists, which in general did not only eliminate outdated and obsolete exonyms, reducing their number, but also defined the most appropriate version among alternatives and different orthographies. These lists, thus, succeeded in the sense of standardising exonyms and can be regarded as efforts in this direction under the auspices of the UN.

It is nevertheless true that the competences for national exonym standardisation are much less defined than those for the standardisation of endonyms. For the latter, administrative or scientific authorities are legally or officially charged and regulation usually applies by feature categories, following either the bottom-up (subsidiarity) or top-down (centralist) principle. For exonym standardisation, it depends on who feels responsible, takes the initiative, and has the authority to get results implemented, usually national place-name boards or institutions with a similar function. They shoulder this task based on their own decision or on demand of their members, frequently of publishers and the educational sector, who are the most interested in a consistent use of exonyms. However, their results usually have the status of recommendations only and are not binding. Three examples from Croatia, Finland and Austria will provide a more detailed picture.

4.1 Croatia

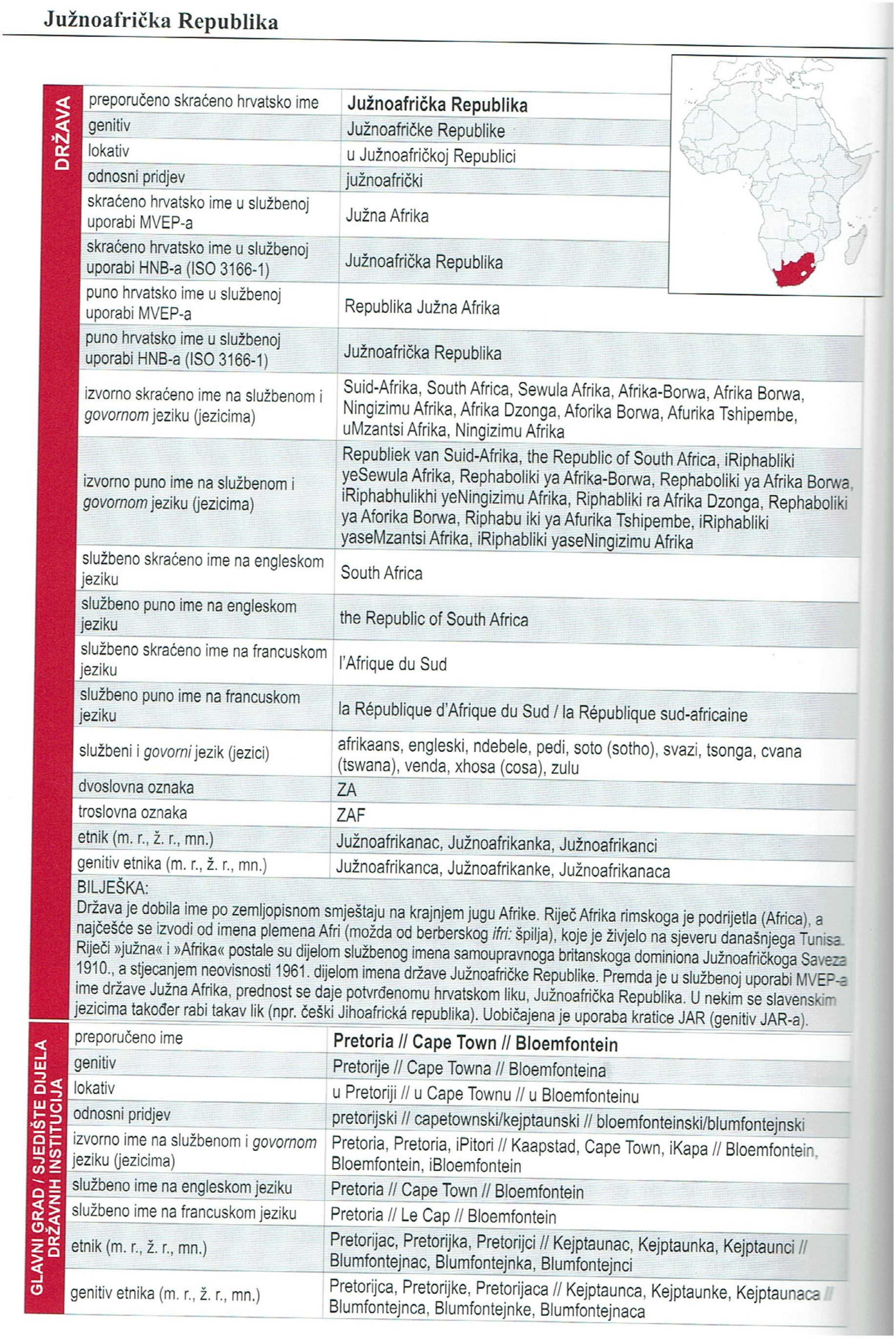
The Croatian directory was not drawn up and published by a place-names authority, which had not existed in Croatia until 2019 (see Frangeš 2021), but by the Lexicographical Institute Miroslav Krleža, known for its atlases and encyclopaedias – and there, to a large extent, by Ivana Crljenko, a long-time member of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms. The edition consists of two printed volumes and a digital directory of names (Crljenko 2016; 2018).

Volume 1 (see Figure 2, Crljenko [2016]) offers the recommended Croatian exonym for

- the country or territory name in its short form (e.g., *Južnoafrička Republika [Republic of South Africa]*),
- in the genitive (*Južnoafričke Republike [of the Republic of South Africa]*) for every sovereign state in the world, as well as in an appendix for dependent and autonomous territories,
- in the locative peculiar to the Croatian language, as well as other Slavic languages (*u Južnoafričkoj Republici [in the Republic of South Africa]*),
- in adjectival form (*južnoafrički [South African]*),
- short forms in official Croatian use (*Južna Afrika, Republika Južna Afrika)*,
- the full form in official Croatian use (*Južnoafrička Republika)*,
- the associated endonyms in their short form *(Suid-Afrika, South Africa, Sewula Afrika, Afrika-Borwa, Afrika Borwa, Ningizimu Afrika, Afrika Dzonga, Aforika Borwa, Afurika Tshipembe, uMzantsi Afrika, Ningizimu Afrika*),
- in their full form (*Republiek van Suid-Afrika, the Republic of South Africa, iRiphabliki yeSewula Afrika, Rephaboliki ya Afrika-Borwa, Rephaboliki ya Afrika Borwa, iRiphabhulikhi yeNingizimu Afrika, Riphabliki ra Afrika Dzonga, Rephaboliki ya Aforika Borwa, Riphabuiki ya Afurika Tshipembe, iRiphabliki yaseMzantsi Afrika, iRiphabliki yaseNingizimu Afrika*),
- the corresponding English exonym in its short form, if this applies (*South Africa* is not an exonym, but an endonym)
- and in its full form (*the Republic of South Africa,* which is also not an exonym, but an endonym),
- the corresponding French exonym in its short form (*l'Afrique du Sud*)
- and in its full form (*la République d'Afrique du Sud/la République sud-africaine*),
- official and colloquial language(s) in their Croatian name versions (*afrikaans, engleski, ndebele, pedi, soto/sotho, svazi, tsonga, cvana/tswana, venda, xhosa/cosa, zulu*),
- the abbreviation of the country or territory name in two (*ZA*) and three (*ZAF*) letters
- and the name of the inhabitants both in the nominative singular male (*Južnoafrikanac [South African]*), singular female (*Južnoafrikanka [South African]*) and plural (*Južnoafrikanci [South Africans]*), as well as in the genitive singular male (*Južnoafrikanca [of the South African]*), singular female (*Južnoafrikanke [of the South African]*) and plural forms (*Južnoafrikanaca [of the South Africans]*).

Each entry of a state or area ends with a brief history of the country or territory name, sometimes also supplemented with an outline of the history of the country or territory. It is accompanied by an entry about the capital(s). Here, too,

- the recommended Croatian exonym (*Pretoria / Cape Town / Bloemfontein*)
- is followed by its genitive (*Pretorije / Cape Towna / Bloemfonteina*)
- and locative form (*u Pretoriji / u Cape Townu / u Bloemfonteinu*),
- the adjective (*pretorijski / capetownski / keiptaunski / bloemfonteinski / blumfontejnski*),
- the name in the official and colloquial languages (*Pretoria, Pretoria, iPitori / Kaapstad, Cape Town, iKapa / Bloemfontein, Bloemfontein, iBloemfontein*),
- the English (*Pretoria, Cape Town, Bloemfontein*)
- and French *(Pretoria, Le Cap, Bloemfontein*) exonyms, even if the English names are no exonyms in this case,
- as well as the denomination of residents in the nominative singular male (*Pretorijac / Kejptaunac / Blumfontejnac*), singular female (*Pretorijka / Kejptaunka / Blumfontejnka*) and plural (*Pretorijci / Kejptaunci / Blumfontejnci*) versions, as well as in the genitive singular male (*Pretorijca / Kejptaunca / Blumfontejnca*), singular female (*Pretorijke / Kejptaunke / Blumfontejnke*) and plural (*Pretorijaca / Kejptaunaca / Blumfontejnaca*) forms.



Južnoafrička Republika

DRŽAVA

preporučeno skraćeno hrvatsko ime	**Južnoafrička Republika**
genitiv	Južnoafričke Republike
lokativ	u Južnoafričkoj Republici
odnosni pridjev	južnoafrički
skraćeno hrvatsko ime u službenoj uporabi MVEP-a	Južna Afrika
skraćeno hrvatsko ime u službenoj uporabi HNB-a (ISO 3166-1)	Južnoafrička Republika
puno hrvatsko ime u službenoj uporabi MVEP-a	Republika Južna Afrika
puno hrvatsko ime u službenoj uporabi HNB-a (ISO 3166-1)	Južnoafrička Republika
izvorno skraćeno ime na službenom i *govornom* jeziku (jezicima)	Suid-Afrika, South Africa, Sewula Afrika, Afrika-Borwa, Afrika Borwa, Ningizimu Afrika, Afrika Dzonga, Aforika Borwa, Afurika Tshipembe, uMzantsi Afrika, Ningizimu Afrika
izvorno puno ime na službenom i *govornom* jeziku (jezicima)	Republiek van Suid-Afrika, the Republic of South Africa, iRiphabliki yeSewula Afrika, Rephaboliki ya Afrika-Borwa, Rephaboliki ya Afrika Borwa, iRiphabhulikhi yeNingizimu Afrika, Riphabliki ra Afrika Dzonga, Rephaboliki ya Aforika Borwa, Riphabu iki ya Afurika Tshipembe, iRiphabliki yaseMzantsi Afrika, iRiphabliki yaseNingizimu Afrika
službeno skraćeno ime na engleskom jeziku	South Africa
službeno puno ime na engleskom jeziku	the Republic of South Africa
službeno skraćeno ime na francuskom jeziku	l'Afrique du Sud
službeno puno ime na francuskom jeziku	la République d'Afrique du Sud / la République sud-africaine
službeni i *govorni* jezik (jezici)	afrikaans, engleski, ndebele, pedi, soto (sotho), svazi, tsonga, cvana (tswana), venda, xhosa (cosa), zulu
dvoslovna oznaka	ZA
troslovna oznaka	ZAF
etnik (m. r., ž. r., mn.)	Južnoafrikanac, Južnoafrikanka, Južnoafrikanci
genitiv etnika (m. r., ž. r., mn.)	Južnoafrikanca, Južnoafrikanke, Južnoafrikanaca

BILJEŠKA:
Država je dobila ime po zemljopisnom smještaju na krajnjem jugu Afrike. Riječ Afrika rimskoga je podrijetla (Africa), a najčešće se izvodi od imena plemena Afri (možda od berberskog *ifri:* špilja), koje je živjelo na sjeveru današnjega Tunisa. Riječi »južna« i »Afrika« postale su dijelom službenog imena samoupravnoga britanskoga dominiona Južnoafričkoga Saveza 1910., a stjecanjem neovisnosti 1961. dijelom imena države Južnoafričke Republike. Premda je u službenoj uporabi MVEP-a ime države Južna Afrika, prednost se daje potvrđenomu hrvatskom liku, Južnoafrička Republika. U nekim se slavenskim jezicima također rabi takav lik (npr. češki Jihoafrická republika). Uobičajena je uporaba kratice JAR (genitiv JAR-a).

GLAVNI GRAD / SJEDIŠTE DIJELA DRŽAVNIH INSTITUCIJA

preporučeno ime	**Pretoria // Cape Town // Bloemfontein**
genitiv	Pretorije // Cape Towna // Bloemfonteina
lokativ	u Pretoriji // u Cape Townu // u Bloemfonteinu
odnosni pridjev	pretorijski // capetownski/kejptaunski // bloemfonteinski/blumfontejnski
izvorno ime na službenom i *govornom* jeziku (jezicima)	Pretoria, Pretoria, iPitori // Kaapstad, Cape Town, iKapa // Bloemfontein, Bloemfontein, iBloemfontein
službeno ime na engleskom jeziku	Pretoria // Cape Town // Bloemfontein
službeno ime na francuskom jeziku	Pretoria // Le Cap // Bloemfontein
etnik (m. r., ž. r., mn.)	Pretorijac, Pretorijka, Pretorijci // Kejptaunac, Kejptaunka, Kejptaunci // Blumfontejnac, Blumfontejnka, Blumfontejnci
genitiv etnika (m. r., ž. r., mn.)	Pretorijca, Pretorijke, Pretorijaca // Kejptaunca, Kejptaunke, Kejptaunaca // Blumfontejnca, Blumfontejnke, Blumfontejnaca

Figure 2: *Page on South Africa in Volume 1 (Source: Crljenko [2016])*

Volume 2 (Crljenko 2018) is dedicated to the names of all types of geographical features, using the recommended Croatian exonym (e.g., *Igleni rt*) as the keyword, followed by the corresponding endonym (*Kaap Agulhas / Cape Agulhas*), the language of the endonyms in their Croatian name versions (*afrikaans, engleski*), the feature category (*obalni reljefni oblik* 'coastal relief form'), the subtype of the feature category (*rt* 'cape'), the location by continent (*Afrika* 'Africa') and country (*Južnoafrička Republika* 'Republic of South Africa'). The last column provides information about how much the exonym is still in current use and whether there are historical or current variants.

The volume contains more than 3 000 exonyms declared in this way for current and historical (e.g., *Cislajtanija, [Cisleithanien]*) features. They are taken from 18 Croatian school and world atlases that have been published since 1887, which – as it is usually – depict areas closer to and of greater interest for the country of publication in a larger scale and other parts of the world in smaller scales. This and the intensity of historical and current relationships also result in the spatial density of exonyms.

The volume begins with explanations of the methodology and instructions on the use of exonyms and concludes with a glossary of important geographical terms and their equivalents in seven languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian). The Croatian work does not formulate any explicit recommendations for the current or further use of exonyms, so it does not make any explicit normative claims. It only indicates whether an exonym is already out of use, receding or still in current use. Editors faced with the question of whether or not to use an exonym can draw their own conclusions from this. The work only guarantees the correct spelling and makes selections when there are variants.

4.2 Finland

The Finnish list of standardised exonyms is the online version of Kerkko Hakulinen's and Sirkka Paikkala's (2013) book *From Paris to Papukaijannokka – Finnish place names in foreign countries and their foreign language equivalents* [Pariisista Papukaijannokkaan suomenkieliset ulkomaiden paikannimet ja niiden vieraskieleiset vastineet]. It was published online in 2018 and updated and supplemented by the authors in 2020 (see Onkamo & Paikkala 2019). It contains the most important Finnish exonyms in current use for all feature categories and for all countries. They amount to not less than 3 133. The Centre for Finnish Languages recommends that they be used in ordinary Finnish texts (see Centre for Indigenous Languages n.d). The list will be updated as necessary.

A digital directory like that offers various search functions, e.g., search by Finnish exonyms and by the corresponding names in 200 languages, including Latin. The name searched for appears in the first column in alphabetical order of the relevant language, e.g., *Cape Town*, when the search is for names in English, while the next five columns indicate the Finnish exonym (*Kapkaupunki*), the feature category (*kaupunki* 'city'), the location of the feature (*Etelä-Afrikka* 'South Africa'), the endonyms (*Cape Town / iKapa / Kaapstad*), and the exonyms in some other languages, i.e., Estonian (*Kaplinn*), German (*Kapstadt*), and French (*Le Cap*) (Figure 3). By clicking on the name all this information appears compactly in a box (Figure 4).

Haettu: englanti; hakutuloksia: 3132

Nimi englannin kielessä ↓	Eksonyymi (suomenkielinen nimi)	Paikan laji	Paikan sijainti	Endonyymi (paikallinen nimi) ja sen kieli	Nimi muussa kielessä
-	Atlasmaat	maaryhmä	Afrikka (= Marokko + Algeria + Tunisia)	–	Atlasländer *de*
-	Ruija	alue, historiallinen	Pohjois-Norja (= Tromssan ja Finnmarkin lääni Malankivuonoon asti)	Finnmarken *no*	Finnmark *de*
Aabenraa	Åbenrå (endonyymi) ~ Aabenraa	kaupunki	Tanska (Jyllanti)	Åbenrå ~ Aabenraa *da*	Apenrade *de*
Aabenraa Fjord	Åbenrånvuono ~ Aabenraanvuono	lahti	Vähä-Belt (Tanska, Jyllanti)	Åbenrå Fjord ~ Aabenraa Fjord *da*	Apenrader Förde *de*
Aarhus	Århus (endonyymi) ~ Aarhus	kaupunki	Tanska (Jyllanti)	Århus ~ Aarhus *da*	Aarhus *de fr no*
Aberdare Range	Aberdarevuoristo	vuoristo	Kenia	Aberdare Range *en*, Milima Aberdare *sw*	Aberdaregebirge *de*, montagnes Aberdare *fr*

Figure 3: *Screenshot indicating the directory's structure (Source: Centre for Indigenous Languages [n.d.])*

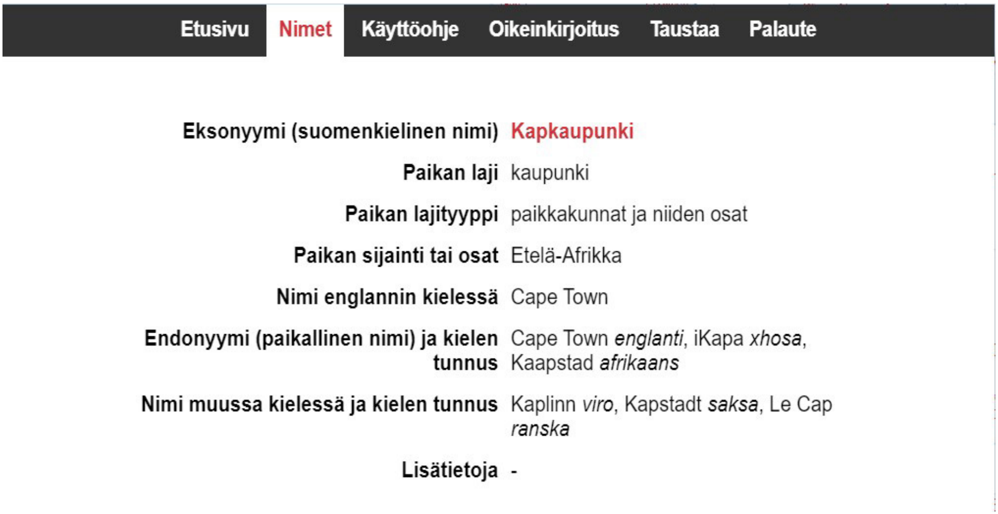


Figure 4: *Screenshot of the box presented after a search for 'Cape Town' (Source: Centre for Indigenous Languages [n.d.])*

In addition, the function of exonym and endonym is explained and a history of Finnish exonym use is presented, not concealing the impact of the UN recommendations of the 1970s and 1980s with the aim of exonym reduction. These are, however, not regarded as justified, since exonyms are conceived as functional and necessary. The explanatory section presents also the methodology of selecting the relevant Finnish exonyms and of composing this website.

4.3 Austria

In 2012 the *Recommendations for the rendering of geographical names in Austrian educational media* [Empfehlungen zur Schreibung geographischer Namen in österreichischen Bildungsmedien] were edited by the Austrian Board on Geographical Names (AKO) and published by Austrian Academy of Sciences Press (AKO 2012). They succeed similar recommendations published in 1994 (AKO 1994).

The working group who elaborated these new recommendations was composed of six AKO members of quite different scientific and professional background and met for approximately monthly sessions throughout almost seven years. The working group was chaired by Lukas Birsak, cartographer and head of the cartographic publisher, Ed. Hölzel. The other members were the late Otto Back, professor of linguistics at Vienna University; Michael Duschanek, geographer and historian, head of a public map collection; Isolde

Hausner, linguist at the Austrian Academy of Sciences; Peter Jordan, geographer and cartographer, contemporary chair of AKO; and the late Ingrid Kretschmer, professor of cartography at Vienna University.

The Recommendations contain a general chapter on principles of rendering geographical names, detailed recommendations for the romanisation of non-Roman scripts, and in their main part lists of German exonyms for geographical features of all categories and all countries of the world accompanied by information on official languages and other regulations concerning place names, country by country.

The German exonyms mentioned and recommended for use in Austrian educational media correspond to the toponymy of contemporary Austrian geographical school atlases (to features named in these atlases). These exonyms amount to about 2 900 and are selected according to a mixture of feature-, language- and user-related criteria. Special emphasis is laid on highlighting, via German exonyms, Austria's specific network of cultural, economic and political relations. It is indicated whether an exonym is to be used in the first position and followed by the endonym in brackets; to be used only after the endonym between brackets because it is a historical exonym or an exonym out of use; or to be used alternatively in the first position or between brackets depending on the context. The exonyms are presented by feature categories (see Figure 5, 6).

The Recommendations address not only editors of school atlases and school text books, but of educational media in general, including press and electronic media. Although they are recommendations only and not at all binding, all school atlases published and approbated for use in Austrian schools after 2012 respect them in all details.

Kap Peñas (dt)
Kap Trafalgar (dt)

Landschaften:

Altkastilien (dt)
Andalusien (dt)
Aragonien (dt)
Asturien (dt)
Baskenland (dt)
Ebrobecken (dt)
Galicien (dt)
Guadalquivirbecken (dt)
Katalonien (dt)
Leon (dt)
Neukastilien (dt)

Sri Lanka

Amtssprachen: Singhalesisch, Tamilisch

Empfohlene Sprachen/Transkriptionen:

1 Singhalesisch/Singhalesisch BGN
2 Tamilisch/Tamilisch BGN

Besonderheiten:
Im Norden und Osten des Landes gilt Tamilisch als Quellensprache, sonst das Singhalesische.

Inseln:

Adamsbrücke (dt)
Sri Lanka (End), [Ceylon] (dt)

Kaps:

Kap Dondra (dt)

Siedlungen:

Colombo (sing End) / Kolamba (tam End)
Jaffna (sing End) / Japanaja (tam End)
Kandy (sing End) / Mahanuwara (tam End)

Südafrika

Amtssprachen: Englisch (externe Amtssprache), Afrikaans (interne Amtssprache), Ndebele (interne Amtssprache), Nördliches Sotho (interne Amtssprache), Südliches Sotho (interne Amtssprache), Tswana (interne Amtssprache), Swasi (interne Amtssprache), Tsonga (interne Amtssprache), Venda (interne Amtssprache), Xhosa (interne Amtssprache), Zulu (interne Amtssprache)

Empfohlene Sprachen/Transkriptionen:

1 Afrikaans
2 Ndebele
3 Nördliches Sotho
4 Südliches Sotho
5 Tswana
6 Swasi
7 Tsonga
8 Venda
9 Xhosa
10 Zulu

Besonderheiten:
Als Quellsprache von Endonymen gilt die jeweilige regionale Amtssprache. Es wird empfohlen, Endonyme nur in dieser und nicht in allen landesweiten Amtssprachen anzugeben.

Berge, Gebirge:

Waterberge (dt)

Inseln:

Prinz-Eduard-Inseln (dt)

Kaps:

Kap der guten Hoffnung (dt)
Nadelkap (dt), [Kap Agulhas] (dt)

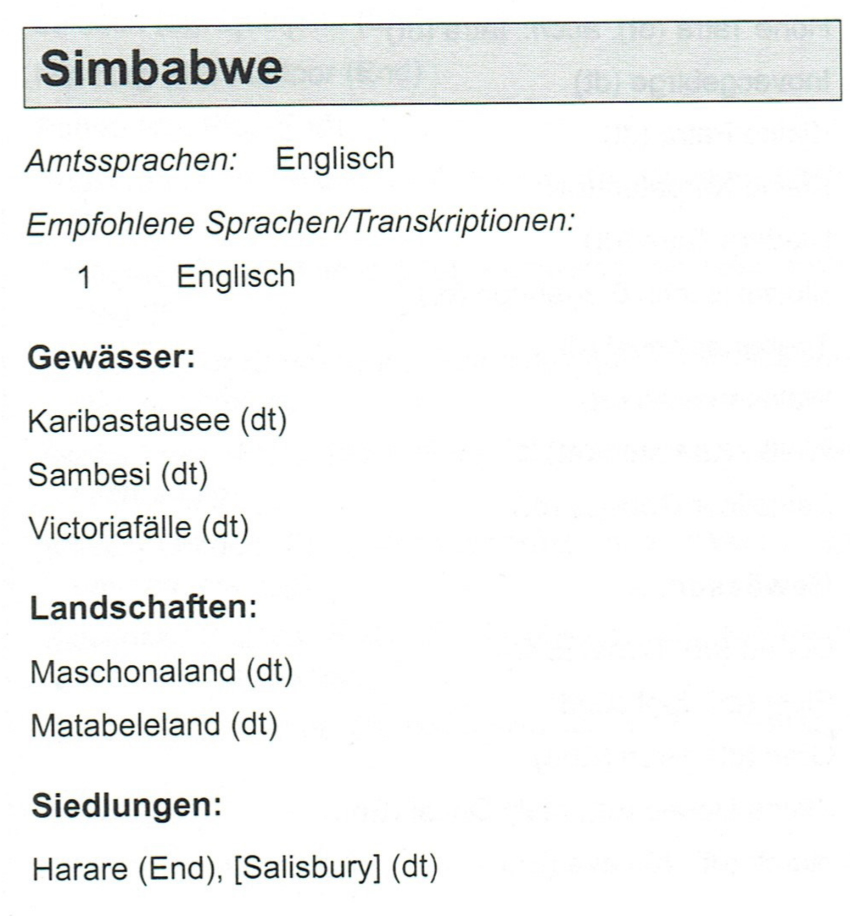
Landschaften:

Buschmannland (dt)
Große Karru (dt)
Kapland (dt)
Krüger-Nationalpark (dt)
Oranjefreistaat (dt)
Ostgriqualand (dt)
Transvaal (End)
Westgriqualand (dt)

Siedlungen:

Kapstadt (dt), Cape Town (eng End) / Kaapstad (afr End)
Pretoria (dt), Tshwane (End)

Figure 5: *Page on South Africa in the Recommendations (Source: AKO [2012:107])*



Simbabwe

Amtssprachen: Englisch

Empfohlene Sprachen/Transkriptionen:

1 Englisch

Gewässer:

Karibastausee (dt)

Sambesi (dt)

Victoriafälle (dt)

Landschaften:

Maschonaland (dt)

Matabeleland (dt)

Siedlungen:

Harare (End), [Salisbury] (dt)

Figure 6: *Page on Zimbabwe in the Recommendations (Source: AKO [2012:103])*

5. CONCLUSIONS

The case of 'international names', most of them exonyms, as well as the three examples of national standardisation cited in this paper, should have shown that exonyms are indeed being standardised, albeit within a much less elaborated organisational framework than for endonyms. What has to be emphasised is that the task of exonym standardisation is in the hands of the receiver, not the donor community. It is within the power of English, Italian or German, and the countries where these languages are official, whether they apply to Côte d'Ivoire or Belarus their exonyms or use the endonym, how they name places in the Holy Land or how they denote the sea between the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.

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Jordan P. 2016b. When exonyms and endonyms turn into international names. An additional function in need of a term. 29th UNGEGN Session, Bangkok, 25-29 April 2016, WP 8/10. [Retrieved 11 January 2022] https://bit.ly/3E4rvmB

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UNGEGN (ed). 2022b. *Glossary of terms for the standardization of geographical names.* [Retrieved 11 January 2022] https://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/pdf/Glossary_of_terms_revised.pdf

APPENDIX

Resolutions adopted at the Eleventh United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names (UNGEGN 2022a)

Res. I/4D-1967: "It is recommended that, in countries in which there exist more than one language, the national authority as appropriate: (a) Determine the geographical names in each of the official languages, and other languages as appropriate; (b) Give a clear indication of equality or precedence of officially acknowledged names; (c) Publish these officially acknowledged names in maps and gazetteers."

Res. II/28-1972: "The Conference, Desiring to facilitate the international standardization of geographical names, Recognizing that certain exonyms (conventional names, traditional names) form living and vital parts of languages, Recognizing further that certain exonyms (conventional names, traditional names) remain in the language after the need for them has diminished, Recommends that national geographical names authorities prepare lists of exonyms currently employed, review them for possible deletions, and publish the results."

Res. II/29-1972: "I The Conference, Recognizing the desirability of limiting the use of exonyms, Recommends that, within the international standardization of geographical names, the use of those exonyms designating geographical entities falling wholly within one State should be reduced as far and as quickly as possible. II The Conference, Recognizing that exonyms are losing ground, even in national use, 1. Recommends that in publications intended only for national use the reduction of exonyms should be considered; 2. Further recommends that in those cases where exonyms are retained, the local official forms should be shown in addition as far as possible."

Res. II/35-1972: "The Conference, Recognizing that the final publication of full national gazetteers may not be immediately possible in some countries, Further recognizing the necessity for having a basic stock of standardized names available for international use, Considering the keen interest expressed by various countries in abolishing exonyms and using nationally standardized names, and in order to accelerate this process, 1. Recommends that, in the interim, countries be encouraged to publish concise lists of their names of geographical entities, including administrative divisions, within a reasonable time; 2. Recommends further that, as far as possible, where these names are officially written in a non-Roman script for which a romanization system has been agreed at the First or Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, romanized names in accordance with those systems should be included in the lists."

Res. III/18-1977: "The Conference, Noting that, in accordance with resolution 28 of the Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, progress has been made in the matter of exonyms in so far as a number of countries have identified and prepared, or are preparing, lists of their own exonyms, Recognizing, nevertheless, that progress has not been uniform in all countries, Further recognizing that the reduction of both different types of languages and different linguistic categories of exonyms require different approaches, Recommends that (a) The countries concerned continue to work on the preparation of provisional lists of exonyms, singling out those suitable for early deletion; (b) The Group of Experts contribute to the exchange of information among the countries concerned on the results of the studies of different categories of exonyms made by those countries."

Res. IV/20-1982: “The Conference, Noting that, in accordance with resolutions 18 and 19 of the Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, further progress has been made in the reduction of the number of exonyms used and a number of States have prepared lists of their own exonyms, Realizing that the reduction of exonyms used has not been carried out with the same intensity by all States, Realizing further that the methods and principles aimed at a reduction of the number of exonyms used should constantly be reviewed for expeditious implementation of the resolution and understanding that not all countries can govern the content of maps and atlases published within their territories, Recommends that exonyms giving rise to international problems should be used very sparingly and published in parenthesis with the nationally accepted standard name.”

Res. V/13-1987: “The Conference, Recalling resolution 28 of the Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names and resolution 20 of the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Noting that progress has been made in reducing the use of exonyms in cartography and related fields, Observing that the reduction in the use of exonyms is being carried out at different rates in different countries, Considering that many public and private organizations other than names authorities play a significant and effective role in the dissemination of foreign place names, 1. Recommends a further reduction in the use of exonyms; 2. Recommends, more specifically, that countries intensify their efforts to persuade private and public organizations, such as educational institutions, transport companies and the media, to reduce the use of exonyms in their publications or, at least, to increase the use of geographical names in their local standardized form (that is, endonyms); 3. Also recommends that, where exonyms are used in publications, maps and other documents, precedence be given to national official names.”

Res VIII/9-2002: “The Conference, Recognizing the emphasis placed by delegates to the Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names on the importance of geographical names as part of a nation’s historical and cultural heritage, Noting that the collection of geographical names in many countries of the world is made increasingly difficult as a result of the rapid pace of socio-economic change impacting on society and landscape, Recalling the recommendation made by the Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in its resolution 27, as well as the recommendations made by the Seventh Conference in its resolution VII/5, that measures be taken nationally to ensure that names that are yet to be collected are recorded through fieldwork according to local usage of name forms, Urges countries that have not already done so, to undertake both the systematic collection of geographical names and the promotion of a greater understanding among the wider public of the significance of inherited geographical names with respect to local, regional and national heritage and identity."

Res IX/4-2007: "The Conference, Recalling its resolutions II/27, II/36, V122, VII/5, VIII/1 and VIII/9, Considering the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on 17 October 2003, Recognizing that toponyms are indeed part of the intangible cultural heritage, Noting that the use of certain toponyms which provide a sense of identity and of continuity is under a variety of threats, 1. Encourages the official bodies responsible for toponymy to: (a) Identify toponyms that meet the criteria for application of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage; (b) Submit them to the Committee set up by the Convention, for approval; (c) Prepare a programme to safeguard and develop that heritage in accordance with article 2, paragraph 3, and article 18 of the Convention; (d) Start implementing it. 2. Calls upon the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to give sympathetic consideration to requests for support that the High Contracting Parties submit to it for such activities."

Res X/3-2012: "The Conference, Noting the existence of a number of resolutions that address toponymy as part of a nation's cultural heritage and the necessity to preserve toponymic heritage, Recalling recommendation C of its resolution I/4 on the principles of office treatment of geographical names, Considering that, to develop these principles, it is recommended that unnecessary changes to geographical names should be avoided and that the treatment of names should not result in the suppression of significant toponymic elements."

COLONIAL TOPONYMS IN GERMAN GUIDEBOOKS FOR TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

From 1884 until the end of World War I, the German Reich was a colonial power. Their so-called protectorates included the area of present-day Tanzania. During their rule, Germans were responsible for countless crimes against humanity, including genocide. However, the German public shows little interest in its colonial past, as opposed to its ongoing mindfulness of National Socialism and the Holocaust. Against this background, guidebooks are tasked with attracting tourists to the destinations they respectively promote and providing them with interesting and useful on-site information. This raises the question of whether and, if so, how the German colonial period should be approached in guidebooks on Tanzania. This might not only exhume a dark past, but also risk broaching a topic that hardly anyone is interested in. In fact, most of the guidebooks analysed here chose to make only passing reference to the period of colonial rule in the section on the country's history. In the tourist section, however, a considerable number of German place names can be detected, almost all of which date back to the colonial period. As a more detailed analysis shows, these names can be divided into two groups, with the names of one group referring to geo-objects that today bear local names. The other group, by contrast, comprises names that have survived to the present day and continue to be used on international maps.

Keywords: Colonial toponyms, German East Africa, guidebooks, Tanzania

1. INTRODUCTION

The German culture of remembrance has long ignored its colonial past. As recently as July 2020, renowned political scientist Prof Henning Melber had to admit:

> It took 110 years until in 2015, the German government reluctantly recognised the genocide that happened in today's Namibia. Since then bilateral German-Namibian negotiations seek to come to terms with this shared history and its lasting consequences. The focus is on an apology and compensation for the crimes committed. This brought – not least thanks to a growing civil society movement manifesting in local postcolonial initiatives – a colonial past and its continued traces in German daily life more to the fore. But there remain puzzling blind spots in remembrance. (Melber 2020)

However, he went on to emphasise that German colonial amnesia "is not about a lack of historical research, but a failure to acknowledge – emotionally and politically – what is known" (Melber 2020). This assessment was confirmed in a speech by the German president, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, at the opening of the Humboldt Forum in September 2021:

> The truth is that, when it comes to the colonial era, we Germans who are usually so historically conscious have far too many blank spaces! We have blind spots in our memory and our perception of ourselves. (Steinmeier 2021)

What Steinmeier actually meant is that Germans show historical consciousness when it comes to the Third Reich and the Holocaust. This narrowing of the historical horizon is, in turn, often cited as the main reason for the suppression of German colonial history from public discussion and the collective memory of the German people. Moreover, German colonial rule lasted only about 30 years, being brusquely terminated by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. This, in turn, meant that the Germans were not directly affected by the political and social upheavals of decolonisation:

> Tourist brochures and the popular press still referred to Tanganyika in the late 1950s as the former "German East Africa", but the imperial interlude that ended at Versailles in 1919 dislimned behind the splashy images of elephants and giraffes silhouetted against a sunset over the savannas. Unencumbered by the decolonization crises that faced fellow Brits, Frenchmen, and Belgians, affluent West Germans could step confidently into a new role as cosmopolitan nature lovers … (Lekan 2020:2)

In today's German guidebooks for Tanzania, the name *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, i.e., German East Africa, only appears in historical contexts. There is, however, a striking number of toponyms from colonial times. The study of colonial place names is an area of interest in Colonial and Postcolonial Linguistics (CPCL):

> CPCL is a newly emerging field in Linguistics and Language Studies. Its central interest is to explore and unveil the relationships between language and colonialism. ... From a sociolinguistic point of view, the creation and affirmation of power relations, colonial hegemonies, and colonial ideologies through linguistic contributions is an area of research and debate of utmost importance. (IACPL 2022)

In researching the interplay of language and colonialism, place names are of particular importance because they express the centrality of spatial concepts in the colonial project:

> Names are part of both a symbolic and material order that provides normality and legitimacy to those who dominate the politics of (place) representation. ... Nationalist inspired "communities" are imaginary for numerous reasons, including the fact that they are represented as universal – that is applying to all members of a socio-geographic polity – when they are actually highly specific to members of the hegemonic class. (Berg & Kearns 2009:19-20)

The relationship between hegemonic claims to power, naming and place making is best illustrated by the toponyms *Deutsch-Ostafrika* and *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* ('German South West Africa'), for the names denote artificial political and geographical entities that were only brought into being by the power of European imperialism.

All types of guidebooks want to get their readers to travel to the destinations they promote. The guidebooks analysed here are aimed at individual travellers. In this particular type of guidebooks "great emphasis is placed on practical travel information ... and the proportion of descriptive text is, in purely quantitative terms, significantly lower than in classic art travel guides" (Dreppenstedt 2011:263; my translation). But individual travel guides also want to enable (future) travellers to get to know not only the country, but also its people. In view of these very different specifications, a particular challenge is whether or how to address events and circumstances that are difficult to reconcile with the expectations about the "most beautiful time of year". In the case of Tanzania, the German colonial period is one such event.

By mentioning a number of colonial place names, the guidebooks inevitably bring the German colonial period to the fore. At the same time, as explained above, it must be assumed that German tourists know rather little about their own colonial past and are quite unaware of the continuing effects of colonialism. This would also give the guidebooks the task of appropriately contextualising the names mentioned. Therefore, the aim of the study presented here was firstly to compile a set of colonial names mentioned in the guidebooks selected for analysis. Secondly, it examined whether and, if so, how the guidebooks prepare tourists for the confrontation with the German colonial heritage.

Accordingly, the paper is structured as follows: In the next section, the historical background is briefly outlined, with regard to selected historical events (2.1) and colonial-era naming practices (2.2). In section 3, the guidebooks and method of analysis are presented and the set of colonial place names are analysed from different points of view. The paper concludes with a brief summary in section 4.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This section first gives a brief historical overview of the colony of German East Africa in order to remind us, at least in broad outline, what the German exercise of power meant for the people living there (2.1). Section 2.2 then looks at colonial naming in that part of the colony that now forms mainland Tanzania.

2.1 German East Africa

Otto von Bismarck, first chancellor of the newly founded German Empire, was sceptical about embarking on national colonialist adventures, but was quite prepared to support private ones. Accordingly, German East Africa began as a private initiative. As is well known, Carl Peters, driven by fantasies of power, travelled to East Africa in 1884 with a few like-minded individuals, and stipulated treaties with a number of local rulers by which they ceded – at least from the German point of view – their sovereign rights to the German Empire. Although these treaties were, even at the time, untenable under international law, Peters nevertheless obtained an imperial letter of protection for his German East Africa Company in 1885. In 1888, he succeeded in forcing the Sultan of Zanzibar to cede to the company customs rights, administration and jurisdiction in the coastal region. This shift of power is considered to have triggered the rebellion led by Abushiri bin Salim al Harth and Bwana Heri, which spread throughout the coastal region and its immediate hinterland. After the rebellion was suppressed on 1 January 1891, the company lost its sovereign rights, which were formally transferred to the German Empire.

However, the territory was anything but pacified. For the next 15 years, the Germans were mainly involved in a brutal struggle throughout the country against African resistance from the Chagga in the north, the Nyamwezi around Isike in the west, the Yao around Machemba, and the Hehe led by Mkwawa in the south, to name just a few. A tragic first climax was reached in the years 1905 to 1907 with the Maji-Maji War, which, according to recent estimates, caused the deaths of up to 300 000 people from conflicts and famines (Bley 2021:315).

In World War I, the German colonialists once again exhibited all their brutality. With his senseless guerrilla war and the malicious scorched earth policy that accompanied it, General Lettow-Vorbeck was responsible for at least 500 000 further deaths (Bley 2021:315-316). After World War I, the British government took over the territory of what is now mainland Tanzania and decreed that all Germans, including missionaries, had to leave the colony.

2.2 German place names in German East Africa

Despite the great ideological and political symbolic power of place names, German colonialists made only moderate use of the so-called *droit de nommer.* There were two official decrees (DKB 1892:407; 1903:453-454) which, in addition to establishing a uniform spelling, stipulated that the endonyms were to be researched and retained "with the greatest care" (DKB 1903:453). As an analysis of the register of *Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas* (GDKA) (Sprigade & Moisel 1901–1915) – the *magnum opus* of German colonial cartography – shows, the regulations were generally followed, because the proportion of purely German place names in the African colonies is extremely small in relation to the endonyms recorded (Stolz & Warnke 2015:131-132).

For German East Africa, the GDKA lists about 20 000 place names. Of these, according to Stolz and Warnke (2015:132), 688 are hybrid formations of the type *Tanga-Bucht* ('Tanga Bay'), and only 86, i.e., less than half a per cent, are made up exclusively of German-language elements. Since the GDKA uses a fairly small scale, I have evaluated two other sources, namely a guidebook from that time (Karstedt 1914) and the address lists contained in the successive editions of *Deutsches Kolonial-Handbuch* (DKH) (Fitzner 1896, 1902–1904, 1906–1913; Fitzner 1901), i.e., a regularly updated handbook with mainly practical information about the colonies. Since my study deals with Tanzania, all colonial sources were evaluated only with regard to the corresponding area of German East Africa, i.e., excluding Burundi and Rwanda.

In this way I was able to collect 150 German names, which is still a vanishingly small number compared to the total number of toponyms recorded. Since the three source texts represent very different text genres, it was to be expected that the data would only partially overlap. Nevertheless, it is surprising that, of the 150 names, only the following six are mentioned in all three sources: the district stations *Bismarckburg, Neu-Langenburg,* and *Wilhelmstal*; the Usambara railway stop *Steinbruch*, i.e., 'stone quarry' (named after the original function of the site); the mission station *Neu-Bethel* in West Usambara; and the *Gottorp Saltworks* east of Lake Tanganyika. This means that, even in texts which all arose from the same colonial impetus, a place does not have absolute importance, but a relative importance that results from the context of use. I will return to this point later.

3. GERMAN NAMES IN MODERN GUIDEBOOKS

This section first presents the guidebooks analysed and the method of analysis (3.1). Section 3.2 presents an overview of the entire name inventory thus compiled. It will show that the names form two groups, discussed separately in the following subsections. Section 3.2.1 addresses the names still in use and highlights their common features. The question of why exactly these names have not changed is addressed as well. Section 3.2.2 deals with the names that disappeared along with the German colonisers. It will show that the selection of names does not follow any historically justified logic and that they are usually not contextualised either. Section 3.2.3 points out inaccuracies regarding some of the names.

3.1 The source texts and method of analysis

The following six current guidebooks for Tanzania were evaluated for the study:

- *Tansania, Sansibar, Kilimanjaro* by *Reise Know-How* in 2011 (1008 pages) (Gabriel 2011) and 2016 (903 pages) (Gabriel 2016) editions, hereafter RKH 2011 and RKH 2016,
- *Kenia, Tansania* by DuMont (2019; 448 pages) (Eiletz-Kaube, Korde & Schreiber 2019), hereafter DuMont,
- *101 Tansania. Die schönsten Reiseziele und Lodges* by Reisebuchverlag Iwanowski (2020; 252 pages) (Wölk 2020), hereafter Iwanowski,
- *Tansania. Stefan Loose Travel Handbücher* by DuMont (2017; 612 pages) (Eiletz-Kaube & Kaube 2017), hereafter Stefan Loose, and
- *Tansania, Sansibar* by Nelles Verlag (2021; 272 pages) (Frey 2021), hereafter Nelles.

In the case of RKH, DuMont and Iwanowski, the digital editions were used; at the time of the analysis, Stefan Loose and Nelles were available in printed form only.

As this list shows, there are clear differences with regard to the number of pages, which range from 252 to just over a thousand. Furthermore, Iwanowski is structured differently from conventional guidebooks. It consists of 101 short self-contained chapters, 53 of which present places, people and, sometimes, events, while the remaining chapters are dedicated to the presentation of mostly high-end resorts and lodges.

The first step in the analysis was to find all place names with a German-language-specific element. Since there was no *a priori* list of search terms, the text corpus had to be read page by page. In the case of the digitally available editions, the search process was repeated with the help of the automatic search function for the names that had initially been found in other travel guides only. The two printed guidebooks were worked through twice. In a further round, the linguistic and thematic context of all identified names was evaluated.

3.2 Results

The inventory thus compiled comprised 64 names. At this point, I must mention that the names of streets, squares or buildings within settlements were not taken into account, as this would have gone beyond the scope of this study. Almost all specific elements of the included names refer clearly to the German colonial period, and the list mentioned in section 2.2, as well as other historical sources, confirm that almost all of the names date from that time (for the exceptions see below). For simplicity, the term ‘name’ in the following refers to the names comprised in this inventory of 64 names.

As will be explained in more detail in the next sections, the names form two different groups, since 31 names are still in use, for example, on current international maps. This first subgroup will be referred to as ‘international names’ and is displayed in Table 1. As can be seen, the names are often composed of specific elements in German and general elements in English. Therefore, the designated geo-objects are indicated only where necessary. The occurrences in the guidebooks are indicated by grey shading in the narrow columns on the right-hand side:

Table 1: *International names*

	International Name	Location	A	B	C	D	E	F
1.	Bismarck Towers [prominent rock formation]	*1-20 on Kilimanjaro*						
2.	Credner Glacier							
3.	Decken Glacier							
4.	Drygalski Glacier							
5.	Furtwängler Glacier							
6.	Furtwängler Point							
7.	Hans Meyer Cave							
8.	Hans Meyer Notch							
9.	Hans Meyer Peak							
10.	Hans Meyer Point							
11.	Heim Glacier							
12.	Kersten Glacier							
13.	Klute Peak							
14.	Kofferberg [elevation]							
15.	Liebert Valley							
16.	Neumann Valley							
17.	Öhler Ridge							
18.	Ratzel Glacier							
19.	Ravenstein [glacier]							
20.	Rebmann Gletscher [glacier]							
21.	Augusta Is.	Lake Victoria						
22.	Baumann Gulf	Lake Victoria						
23.	Bismarck Mountains	[impossible to identify a geo-object with this name in Tanzania]						
24.	Edelweiß [coffee farm][2]	Ngorongoro area						
25.	Edith Bay	Lake Tanganyika						
26.	Emin Pasha Gulf	Lake Victoria						

2 See: https://www.trianoncoffee.com/products/tanzania-edelweiss [Retrieved 16 May 2022].

	International Name	Location	A	B	C	D	E	F
27.	Jäger Summit	Ngorongoro area						
28.	Rau Forest	Kilimanjaro area						
29.	Stiegler's Gorge	Rufiji river						
30.	Toten Island	Tanga harbour						
31.	Wissmann Bay	Lake Malawi						

(Key: A = RKH 2011; B = RKH 2016; C = DuMont; D = Iwanowski; E = Nelles; F = Stefan Loose)

Table 2 lists the group of 33 names that disappeared after the end of German colonial rule. The current names, as far as they are known, and the designated geo-objects are given as well:

Table 2: *Names that disappeared*

	Colonial name	Current name	Refers to	A	B	C	D	E	F
1.	Alt-Langenburg	Lumbila	settlement						
2.	Bismarckburg	Kasanga	settlement						
3.	Bismarck-Hütte	Mandara Hut	building						
4.	Elsass-Lothringen		farm						
5.	Herrnsdorf	Mgwashi	settlement						
6.	Hettner-Gipfel	Mt. Lolmalasin	mountain peak						
7.	Hohenfriedeberg	Hoheni	mission						
8.	Jägertal	Jegestal	valley						
9.	Kaiser-Wilhelm-Spitze	Uhuru Peak	mountain peak						
10.	Leudorf	Leganga	settlement						
11.	Mariahilf	Ushirombo	settlement						
12.	Marienfels	Mgeta	settlement						
13.	Neu-Bethel	Mtae	settlement						
14.	Neu-Bonn	Mikese	settlement						
15.	Neuhaus	Mvuha	settlement						
16.	Neu-Hornow		saw mill						
17.	Neu-Langenburg	Tukuyu	settlement						
18.	Neu-Trier	Mbulu	settlement						
19.	Neuwied	Buzengwe	settlement						
20.	Petershütte	Horombo Hut	building						
21.	Pommern		farm						
22.	Rau	Mandaka Mnono	settlement						
23.	Saline Gottorp	Uvinza	settlement						
24.	Schlesien		mission						
25.	Sphinxhafen	Liuli	settlement						
26.	Station Edelweiß	Morningside	area						
27.	Sylt Estate		farm						
28.	Uhlig-Gipfel		mountain peak						
29.	Wentzel-Heckmann-See	Ngosi	lake						
30.	Wiedhafen	Manda	settlement						
31.	Wilhelmsthal	Lushoto	settlement						
32.	Winter-Hochland		highlands						
33.	Zelewski-Denkmal	Lugalo	monument						

As can be seen from the two tables, there are considerable differences in the number of names cited in each guidebook, which is at least partly due to the widely differing number of pages. Accordingly, the great majority of names are found in the two comprehensive RKH guidebooks, namely 57 in its 2011 edition and 59 in its 2016 edition. However, the fact that the number of names is not directly proportional to the number of pages is demonstrated by Stefan Loose, which mentions only 13 names in its more than 600 pages. The same applies to the other three guidebooks, which list varying numbers of names despite a comparable number of pages,[3] namely Nelles 13, DuMont eight and Iwanowski as few as three.

3.2.1 Names that survived

Current Tanzanian maps are characterised by endonymic names. This also applies to areas that were once intensively colonised such as the coastal strip, Usambara and the area 'around' Kilimanjaro, where a number of German place names were in use at the time. However, if one looks at a detailed map of the Kilimanjaro massif, one will notice that a number of German names are inscribed in its summit region in particular. In fact, 20 of the inventory's international names refer to prominent points on Kilimanjaro.

The group of international names shows two characteristic features: They refer almost exclusively to natural features, and their specific elements are mostly anthroponyms referring to the metropole. In the case of Kilimanjaro there are 19 such names which commemorate men who are somehow connected to the mountain's 'European' history, most of them geographers, geologists and glaciologists with or without on-site experience. The only name with a descriptive rather than an anthroponymic-specific element is *Kofferberg*, literally 'trunk mountain'. The name is mentioned here because the so-called first climber Hans Meyer, responsible for several Kilimanjaro toponyms, proposed *Festungsberg* (Meyer 1900:89), literally 'fortress mountain', instead. However, the original name, given by the geologist Karl Lent, though much less elegant, prevailed.

As shown by Table 1, the specific elements of eight of the remaining 11 names in other areas are also anthroponyms, the names thus commemorating more or less well-known personalities of the metropolis. Finally, it should be mentioned that the two names *Bismarck Towers* (on Kilimanjaro) and *Stiegler's Gorge* (on the river Rufiji) differ from the other international names because, although they refer to individuals of the colonial era, they are not recorded on German colonial maps. According to Crom (2022:33)

3 Here one has to consider that DuMont covers Kenya and Tanzania.

relating to *Bismarck Towers*, and Baldus (2021) to *Stiegler's Gorge*, it is still unclear how the corresponding geo-objects got their names. It is clear, however, that the Rufiji Rapids were first called *Pangani Rapids* during the German colonial period (Kausch 1903:91), and only later became *Stiegler's Gorge*. The latter name is, by the way, the only one mentioned in all six guidebooks. The namesake seems to have been a German who was involved in constructing the Central Railway around 1910 and died during an elephant hunt (Baldus 2021).

For these international names, the question of why they are mentioned in the guidebooks is relatively easy to answer. Most of them only appear on maps, so the choice is more or less predetermined by the map material used. The more exciting question is how these German names came to be preserved, contrary to the general endonymisation of Tanzanian toponymy. An interesting explanatory approach comes from Stolz, Levkovych and Warnke (2018). In their paper on the role of anthroponymic elements in the coinage of colonial names, they conclude, also drawing on the results of previous studies, that:

> it may make a difference how important a given geo-object is for the colonizers – (easy to reach) settlements (preferably on or near the coastline) tend to rank particularly high on the scale of importance whereas unpopulated areas in the remote interior are treated differently when it comes to baptizing them. (Stolz *et al* 2018:192)

This prioritisation may also have played a role in the case of the names discussed here. For, in fact, the designated geo-objects are secondary places far from the shot. The fact that the name of the highest peak of Kilimanjaro was changed may serve as a first confirmation of this hypothesis.

3.2.2 Names that disappeared

As shown above in Table 2, 33 names have either disappeared completely or the corresponding geo-objects are (again) referred to by endonyms. Both cases are referred to as 'disappeared names' in the following. Unlike the group of international names, most disappeared names referred to man-made features, especially settlements and missions. From an onomastic point of view, this group is also less homogeneous with regard to form, since anthroponymic elements are less frequent, although a large part of the names refer directly to the metropolis. In this context, the name of the settlement *Langenburg* (literally 'long castle') is interesting for its dual reference. According to Kausch (1903:62), it is named after a member of the House of *Hohenlohe-Langenburg* as well as its 40-metre-long castle wall. In the guidebooks, the colonial name is generally added between brackets to the current endonym, often with the addition of 'formerly'.

As with international names, there are large numerical differences. Twenty-three of the disappeared names are mentioned only in RKH and no name appears in all the guidebooks. *Wilhelmstal*, today's Lushoto in West Usambara, is mentioned in five of the guidebooks, while *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Spitze* (Uhuru Peak) and *Neu-Langenburg* (Tukuyu) are indicated in four. As shown by the frequent mention of 'Tukuyu (Neu-Langenburg)' – a rather insignificant settlement in the south of Tanzania – both then and now, the selection of colonial names does not necessarily seem to be subject to historical criteria.

With the exception of RKH, which tries to convey a detailed picture of Tanzania – and is able to do so due to the number of pages – the other guidebooks present a rather subjective picture. In addition to the three "favorites", Stefan Loose mentions *Hohenfriedeberg*, a remote mission station in West Usambara, and the small settlement *Neu-Trier* (Mbulu) in the Ngorongoro area. The three favourites are also found in Nelles, as well as the former district station *Bismarckburg* on Lake Tanganyika. The only other names from this group are *Bismarck*- and *Petershütte*, the original names of Mandara Hut and Horombo Hut on the way to Uhuru Peak. DuMont mentions the "former Edelweiss Inn" (423; my translation) in addition to *Wilhelmstal*. Iwanowski even mentions only *Sphinxhafen* (Liuli), a harbour on Lake Malawi.

Even if RKH scores somewhat better in this respect, it must be stated on the whole that the guidebooks analysed offer a rather unsystematic selection of colonial names. In addition, the reference to German colonialism is mostly limited to mentioning the names and, if applicable, the existence of German colonial buildings in the respective places. Even the historical parts do not help much here, given that they are usually very brief, going from a few lines to one or two pages with, once more, the exception of RKH, which contains a comparatively detailed colonial history section. But even in this relatively detailed account, only five names are directly related to the colonial period.

3.2.3 Folk etymologies, ghost places and typos

Besides the lack of historical integration of the names, with regard to both their selection and their presentation, there is also some erroneous or incomplete information. The author of RKH attributes the colonial name of the north-eastern part of the Crater Highlands *Winter-Hochland* ('Winter Highland') to the cool temperatures prevailing there and so considers it to be an equivalent of the name in the Maasai language *o'lhoirobi* or 'cold highland' (RKH 2011:296; 2016:133; my translation). According to Jaeger (1911:9), two geographers, Fritz Jaeger and Carl Uhlig, named the geo-object after Otto Winter, whose foundation had financed an earlier trip by the two. On the map of West

Usambara (RKH 2011:382; 2016:214) and in the accompanying text (RKH 2011:385; 2016:203, 216), *Jägertal* is mentioned without an endonym, while the corresponding area near Lushoto is called *Jegestal* today – even on signposts. This form, of course, goes back to the German name.

On the map just mentioned one also finds *Hohenfriedeberg*. The name is assigned to a place called *Lunguza* too far eastward, while the mission station is actually located in the municipal area of Mlalo which is not indicated on the map. Already one of the founders of the mission station complained about the phonetic corruption of the name in *Hoheni* (Wohlrab 1915:32), but the mission is still known by this name today.

In the colonial source texts consulted, I was unable to find *Herrnsdorf* (RKH 2011:382; 2016:214), also recorded on the map of West Usambara mentioned above, or *Neuhaus* (RKH 2011:548; 2016:361) mentioned in connection with the Uluguru Mountains, maybe because the geo-objects in question were very small settlements. More curiously, no colonial or modern source records a Tanzanian mountain range called *Bismarck Mountains*, located by RKH (2011:557, 561; 2016:353, 371, 374) between Mikumi and Great Ruaha.

Lastly, the author of the Stefan Loose travel guide seems to have problems especially with Africa's highest peak. Not only does he call it "Uhuru Point" (Stefan Loose:595) instead of "Uhuru Peak", but he also gives an incorrect colonial version of it, namely *Kaiser-Wilhelm*s*-Spitze* (Stefan Loose:381; emphasis added). So-called fugue elements do occur in composites, but not in this case. On one map, the given name *Emin* becomes a title in "Emi**r** Pasha Gulf" (RKH 2016:442; emphasis added).

Crom (2022:136) points out that similar typos and even errors were made when German colonial maps were adopted by the British administration, as the two following examples referring to places on Kilimanjaro demonstrate: In the case of *Platz-Kegel*, the anthroponymic-specific element *Platz* was translated literally, so that the geo-object is now known as *Cone Place* rather than *Platz Cone,* and *Wissmann Peak* became the more innocuous *Weissman Peak*.

4. SUMMARY

The cover photos of the guidebooks analysed, which all show big game in a steppe landscape, consistently fulfil the ideas of many (future) external tourists of Africa as a largely uninhabited space through which at most a few Maasai roam. This stereotypical view, which remains on the surface of things, is also served up in connection with colonial place names, as these are by no means used for a differentiated presentation of colonialism and the German colonial period. In the historical overview section, which is usually very brief, they are hardly mentioned at all. In the tourist section, their function is exhausted in the simple reference to a locality's German colonial past. The authors also seem unaware of the ideological-political symbolic power of colonial names; hence the fact that no critical comment whatsoever is made concerning the persistence of a number of names that have inscribed German colonialism "firmly in the geonymy of Africa" (Stolz & Warnke 2015:122; my translation).

In the case of names that have disappeared, this non-critical attitude manifests itself in equating colonial names with contemporary ones. For example, although today's Lushoto shows clear traces of the German colonial period, the name by no means conveys the same semantic-connotative meanings as the colonial *Wilhelmstal*. And Mtae was not formerly called *Neu-Bethel* – as claimed by RKH (2016:223) – but the mission station was established on the municipal territory of Mtae*.*

Overall, the guidebooks show a predominantly non-critical attitude towards the German colonial era. Individual travel guides in particular claim to prepare their readers optimally for encounters with the country and its people. If they want to fulfil this claim, they must contribute to decolonising the view of formerly colonised countries. A start here would be to consider colonial place names not only as decorative accessories, but to situate them appropriately in their historical context.

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DUELLING NAMING SYSTEMS? OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL NAMING SYSTEMS IN CHITUNGWIZA, ZIMBABWE

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ABSTRACT

Urban local authorities usually create official toponymy for places under their jurisdiction. However, residents can contest, subvert, and resist the top-down naming system using overt or covert means. The study explored how indifference to official toponymy and the crafting of a bottom-up place-naming system constitute resistance. Because official place names constitute an insignificant part of their toponymy, African cities are different from what occurs in European and North American contexts. Most African urban place names are informal and exist as cognitive maps of the users. Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and ethnographic research methods. Theoretical perspectives from critical toponymy and socio-onomastics guided the analysis of urban toponymy in this research. The study demonstrated that some social variables influence the use and knowledge of informal names.

Keywords: African cities, critical toponymy, informal place names, oral linguiscapes, microtoponymy

1. INTRODUCTION

In Zimbabwe, local authorities are mandated to assign names to places under their jurisdiction, as stipulated in section 212 (1) of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) (Government of Zimbabwe 1996) and the different sections of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment No. 20 of 2013 (Government of Zimbabwe 2013). However, legislative ambivalence within and among the above legislative instruments causes conflicting interpretations of arenas and boundaries of authority over urban toponymic inscription between urban local government actors and the central state (Mamvura 2021:1). Whether done by central government or local authorities, (urban) place naming in Zimbabwe largely remains a top-down project done with little or no consultation of the people at the grassroots level. However, in their individual capacities or as collectives, the dominated can contest the hegemonic toponymic order if it does not accommodate their interests. In Zimbabwe, toponymic resistance has taken the form of legal challenges, defacing of official signage, and protests, especially on social media.

The Chitungwiza Municipality created official toponymy for places in the town and installed public signs bearing the names. The official city-text enables local authorities to tax, monitor and provide services to residents (Light & Young 2014; Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu 2010). On the other hand, the immediate community may assign names to spaces left unnamed on official maps, craft microtoponyms, or create alternative names. Kearns and Berg (2002:283) rightly note that "place names are not only inscribed on maps and within the landscape on signs, they are also – and more frequently – spoken". These names are known by different terms, such as colloquial names (Irvine, Memela, Dlongolo & Kepe 2021), slang toponyms (Ainiala, Lappalainen & Nyström 2016), informal or unofficial place names (Zuvalinyenga 2020), and nicknames (Mamvura 2017; Myers 1996).

The above non-compliant place names exist in a continuum without defined boundaries, and the difference among them is generally blurred (Bigon & Ben Arrous 2022:17). In this chapter, the terms 'informal' and 'unofficial' indicate that the names have not been approved or standardised by any naming authority. Unlike the official place-naming system that is systematic and standardised, informal place naming is usually sporadic and spontaneous. Bigon and Ben Arrous (2022:180) provide the defining characteristics of informal toponymy by saying:

> Toponymic informality means that streets might be nameless, have multiple names or have names that are not signposted. It also means that urban terminologies need to be decoded as text without the obligatory presence of written text (official street signs, accurate city maps).

Toponymical landscapes are constituent elements of linguistic landscapes. The linguistic landscape of most African cities is largely nondescript (Bigon 2020:5; Bigon & Ben Arrous 2022:180). It is also characterised by "toponymic ambiguity" (Bigon and Njoh 2018:202). Toponymic ambiguity entails the existence of two or more names for a single referent. In most cases, the unofficial name becomes popular and familiar to urban residents, while the official one remains less popular (Bigon & Njoh 2018:212).

The linguistic landscape should not be viewed strictly as the material environment, but be conceptualised in terms of 'landscaping' to include the discursive creation of the landscape (Pennycook 2009:310). Usually, residents create names for spaces left unmarked on maps or alternative names that run parallel to official toponymy. They can easily use the names to provide route directions. In rural Zambia, Banda and Jimaima (2015) observed that the non-existence of public signage does not affect spatial navigation because residents can create an oral linguiscape that becomes part of their toponymic repertoire. Several places that are critical to the everyday life of the Chitungwiza residents have no scripted signage. The slum settlements in most parts of Chitungwiza have invisible landscapes that exist outside the formal city mapping grid.

The study aimed to explore how urbanites imagine urban landscapes and relate with the official toponymy. It attempted to provide answers to the following questions:

i) How does an oral linguiscape serve as a manifestation of resistance?

ii) How do people perceive space and deploy place names in the place-making process?

iii) How do social variables condition the speakers' knowledge and use of toponyms?

The paper has the following structure: the current section is the introduction. The next section sets out the theoretical framework, followed by the methods of gathering data. Thereafter, the history of Chitungwiza is given before presenting the data. The analysis and discussion section follows. A conclusion summarises the study and indicates possible areas for further research.

2. THEORETICAL ANCHOR

Extant research has demonstrated that subordinate groups might resist a hegemonic place-naming system in various ways. Alderman (2008:204-208) argues that subordinate groups could exercise symbolic resistance through confrontation or symbolic means. Subordinate groups can use an alternative place-naming system to challenge the official one; they can use an alternative pronunciation of official place names or contest the power of the dominant groups through formal and political channels (Irvine *et al* 2021; Kearns & Berg 2002; Myers 1996). With regard to post-socialist Bucharest, Light and Young (2014) observe that habit, instead of resistance, explains why the population continued using old names despite a renaming exercise that introduced new names. This paper uses perspectives from the critical approach to place naming to examine how the existence of an informal place-naming system constitutes resistance.

The use of either official or unofficial names is directly related to the users' views about their identities. An individual can have multiple identity positions and move between these in different social contexts (Faleye & Adegoju 2012:16). Thus, identity is negotiated when individuals move from one context and/or relationship to the other. An individual's identity conditions their knowledge and use of place names. Following Ainiala *et al* (2016), this paper uses perspectives from socio-onomastics to examine the relationship between place-name use and social variables.

Africa's unofficial place names provide a unique urban toponymic profile that has received marginal attention in toponymic studies. Critical toponymy is largely preoccupied with how power is exercised and challenged. Accordingly, it focuses on official toponymy in analysing urban cultural geographies. However, focusing exclusively on official toponymy gives a partial view of the city's toponymy because official place names constitute only 20 to 30 per cent of the city's toponymy in Africa (Bigon 2020:4).

In Eurocentric critical toponymic tradition, the assumption that marked street names aid spatial orientation does not necessarily apply to Africa because of the dual nature of toponymic systems that pervades most urban centres (Bigon & Ben Arrous 2022:139). Unfortunately, the greater part of the developing African critical toponymic literature analyses top-down official place-naming systems (Mamvura 2020; Wanjiru-Mwita & Giraut 2020; Zuvalinyenga & Bigon 2020). Bigon and Ben Arrous (2022:15) bemoan that the quantitative growth of toponymic studies does not help in mainstreaming Africa within critical toponymic scholarship because they largely use the European, North American and Israeli template. Such studies neither broaden the conceptual horizons of critical toponymy nor improve the quality of research approaches to African urban toponymic studies. Instead, they peripherise the notion of toponymic pluralism that is prevalent in most African urban centres. Very few studies focus on informal place names in Africa (Bigon 2020; Irvine *et al* 2021; Mamvura 2017; Wanjiru & Matsubara 2017; Zuvalinyenga 2020).

The major contribution of this paper lies in its focus on the co-presence of multiple toponymic systems in African cities. Again, case studies from contexts beyond Europe, North America and Israel provide for comparisons to be made (Azaryahu 2011:29). They also expand "the epistemological, ontological, and methodological horizon of critical place name studies" (Rose-Redwood *et al* 2010:456).

3. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

This study looks at post-colonial Chitungwiza (1980-2022) as a case study. Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2018:317) rightly note that the in-depth case study approach is critical for revealing the nuances of toponymic politics, and it will unavoidably remain a pillar of critical toponymic research. The study also employed qualitative methods of gathering data. It has been a tradition in critical toponymic scholarship to use cartographic and archival research methods. However, Bigon (2020:1) argues that there is a need for embracing more novel and almost ethnographic research methodologies in studying everyday navigational channels and place referencing in Southern African cities. These methods provide answers to people's experiences on the grassroots regarding their everyday experiences as space users, their local navigational systems using available semiotic resources, and their perceptions of the official top-down naming system.

This study employed snowball sampling techniques in identifying participants. The participants recruited at the beginning referred us to other people they knew had the required knowledge needed for the study. We used age to put research participants into groups because the study investigated place names that developed during different stages in the historical development of Chitungwiza. Using a non-probability sampling method, we identified three age groups: 18-30, 30-50, and 50+.

The sample considered other social variables as well, such as occupation and social class. Occupation entails what an individual does for a living, while social class indexes a characteristic of a stratified society in which people are ranked in a hierarchy based on income and other material possessions. People in the same social class have a similar socio-economic status. Accordingly, the sample consisted of bus crews because they often use informal names in their work. The sample also consisted of vendors and ordinary residents that form the clientele base for these informal traders. The three sections of Chitungwiza (Seke, St. Mary's and Zengeza) were fairly represented. Seke, being the largest section, had 25 participants, 15 came from Zengeza, while 10 participants were drawn from St. Mary's.

We also considered the residents' length of stay in the area. Priority was given to home-owners and their offspring instead of tenants, because they have had a relatively long period of stay in the town. Some four senior and long-serving officials from the local authority were also interviewed to elicit their views on place naming. Because they are flexible, semi-structured interviews were chosen to elicit responses regarding the use of informal place names in Chitungwiza. A total of 54 interviews were conducted.

4. THE HISTORY OF CHITUNGWIZA

Chitungwiza is a high-density urban centre located about 30 km to the south of Harare. It derived its name from Dungwiza, the location of Prophet Chaminuka's shrine. He played an influential role during the 1893 and 1896 wars when Africans revolted against the colonial system (Mutswairo 1983).

Chitungwiza was established in 1978, bringing together three existing sections, namely Seke, St. Mary's and Zengeza. The development of Seke started in 1952, while that of St. Mary's began in 1962 under the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. It was taken over by the City of Salisbury (now Harare, Zimbabwe's capital) in 1971. Zengeza's development took off in 1974.

St. Mary's is the oldest suburb of Chitungwiza (Zinyama 1995:13-14). It consists of Manyame Park (New St. Mary's) and Old St. Mary's. Zengeza lies between St. Mary's and Seke and is divided into five sections, namely Zengeza 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The biggest shopping mall is called Chitungwiza Town Centre. Seke's sections are named after letters of the alphabet, A-P excluding I.

The colonial administration created Chitungwiza as a dormitory town of Salisbury. It was modelled after townships in South Africa, where black people were tolerated as an immigrant urban proletariat in 'white cities' only during working hours. After working hours, black people were supposed to retire to their houses in towns developed for them in communal lands close to main urban centres (Zinyama 1995:14). Chitungwiza is the third-largest urban centre in Zimbabwe, after Harare and Bulawayo. It is part of the Harare Metropolitan Province, alongside Norton, Epworth and Ruwa. It was awarded town council status in 1981 and became a municipality in 1996 (Schlyter 2003:17).

In new settlements, the local authority has essentially not produced an official toponymy. This is a feature found in Sub-Saharan Africa where most urban local authorities generally do not prioritise toponymic inscription and produce intelligible maps (Njoh 2010:427). In the recent past, a slum phenomenon has been witnessed in Chitungwiza. These are extensions of existing sections of the town and new sections that developed on open spaces. There are no named streets in Nyatsime, the greater part of Manyame Park, Unit N, O, and P extensions. This entails the existence of slum toponymy and several mechanisms that residents use to orientate themselves in the landscape.

5. DATA PRESENTATION

The Chitungwiza Municipality invented an official toponymy for the built environment for its administrative purposes (see Figure 1 below).

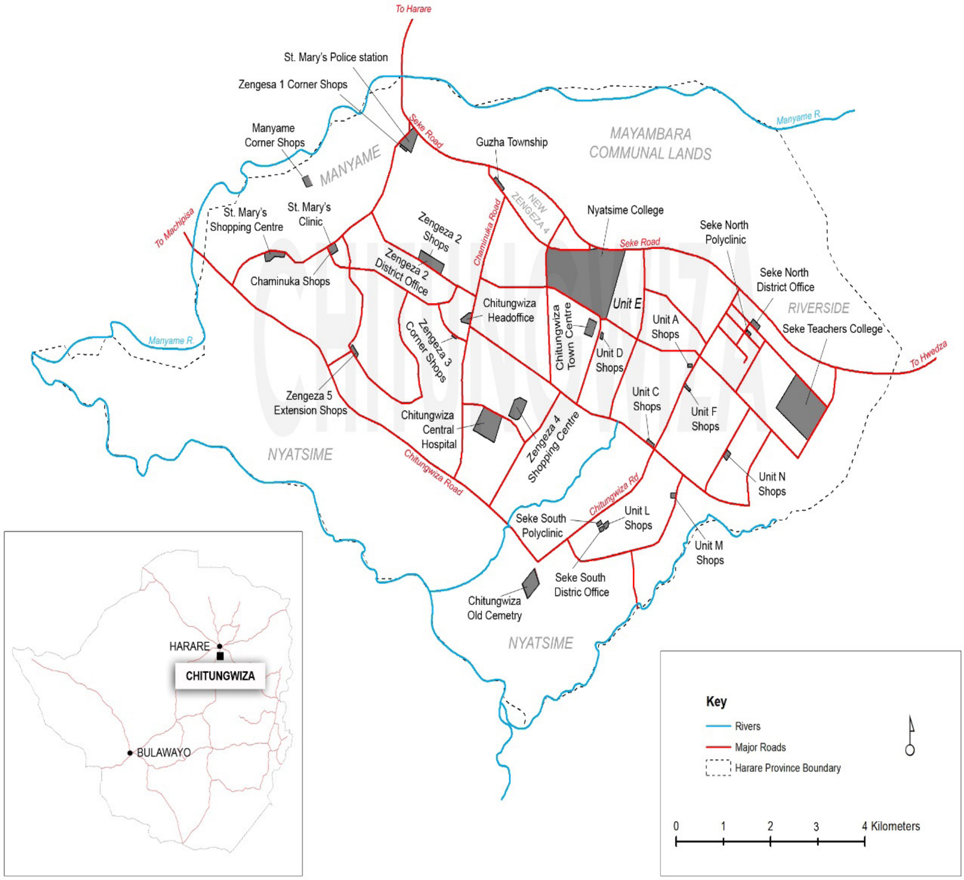

Figure 1: *The Map of Chitungwiza (Source: Drawing commissioned from Russell Kapumha, based on JICA [2013:4]).*

The official names appear on the local authority's official records and public signage. On the other hand, residents have developed an informal naming system. Our corpus shows that some informal place names take the form of alternative names. These are names given to places that already have official names. This category takes different morphosyntactic forms. Some differ radically from the official ones, while others are shortened forms of the formal names. We present the two sub-types in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: *Informal names that differ radically from formal ones*

Official name	Unofficial name
Chaminuka Shops	Huruyadzo
Chitungwiza Old Cemetery	paL ('at L')
Guzha Township	Chikwanha
Manyame Corner Shops	Forward
New Zengeza 4	Chirambahuyo
Seke North District Office	Makoni
Seke North Polyclinic	Makoni
Seke South District Office	paL ('at L')
Seke South Polyclinic	paL ('at L')
St. Mary's Clinic	Huruyadzo
St. Mary's Police Station	CA
St. Mary's Shops	Chigovanyika
Unit A Shops	Maruza
Unit C Shops	Mukanya
Unit D Shops	Chinomona
Unit E	MuMapositori ('in the apostolic sect area')
Unit F Shops	Chirasavana
Unit L Shops	paL ('at L')
Unit M Shops	Chirenje
Unit N Shops	Zvido
Zengeza 1 Corner Shops	Zanamwe Shops
Zengeza 3 Corner Shops	paDaddy ('at Daddy's place')
Zengeza 4 Shops	paGomba ('at the pit')
Zengeza 5 Extension Shops	Limbani

Some of the above names indicate the first prominent businesses that operated at the specific shopping centres in Chitungwiza. This explains the following informal place names: Chinomona, Chirasavana, Chirenje, Zanamwe, and others.

In some cases, residents may use the shopping centre's name for all the different places found within its boundaries. The Chitungwiza Municipality has a decentralised system of operation that saw it establishing council offices in the administrative districts of the town. The formal name for the one at Makoni Shopping Centre is Seke North District Office. Residents choose to use the name Makoni for it. The same applies to the Seke South District Office. It is informally referred to as paL ('at L'), while the Zengeza 2 District Office is informally known as pa2 ('at 2'). The same trend applies to council clinics located at Makoni Shops and Unit L Shops.

Some names chronicle the history of the place. For example, Huruyadzo ('champion') records the boxing tournaments that used to be held at this place in the past. The bus stop close to the shopping centre is called Mangoromera ('medicine to give strength during a fight'). Some names are descriptive. Mapositori (for Unit E) describes the white garment of members of an African-initiated church founded by Johane Masowe which constitute the bulk of the residents in this section of Seke. The informal name for St Mary's Police Station is CA. Our research shows that very few people know the derivation of this name. It comes from CPCA, the acronym for Central Province of Central Africa, which runs a mission next to the police station.

The following table shows that informal place names can be truncated forms of full official ones and slang names derived from official ones.

Table 2: *Shortened forms of formal names*

Official name	Unofficial name
Chitungwiza General Hospital	Jenarari/Chitungwiza
Chitungwiza Head Office	Head Office/Chitungwiza
St. Mary's	Santaz
Zengeza 2 District Office	pa2
Zengeza 2 Shops	pa2
Zengeza 3 Polyclinic	pa3

The other category of names consists of informal names that the immediate community assigns to places for navigational and convenience purposes. We divide these names into two categories: drop-off points for public transport users and miscellaneous. This category consists of names for places that have not been named before. The names are paChihuri, paDiaspora, paTsaona ('at the accident scene'), paSteven, paGeneral, paJ/D, Mangoromera and Musina.

The public transport sector is not regulated in Zimbabwe. It is highly informal, with private players dominating this economic sphere. While urban transport operators are given permits that give them the authority to ply specific routes, they rarely follow this rule. Instead, they usually ply routes that make them realise more returns. Of late, the state has been encouraging private players in this industry to join the Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO) franchise if they want to operate. ZUPCO is a parastatal company in Zimbabwe. This move has not brought any sanity to this industry because most bus operators have refused to comply with this government directive.

There are two main highways that connect Chitungwiza to Harare, namely Seke Road and Chitungwiza Road. The bus crews that ply the Harare–Chitungwiza route and the commuting public have dissected the Seke section into three, namely Seke 1 (Unit D, E, H, J), Seke 2 (Unit C, K, L, M) and Seke 3 (Unit A, F, N, O, P). Makoni is one of the main stops in Chitungwiza. However, the municipal authorities have divided Seke into Seke North and South. This indicates a different way of imagining and seeing the same landscape. The urban commuting public also treats the central part of the town as Pakati ('the central part'). There is a route called Makoni nepakati ('Makoni via the central part of the town'). Pakati includes St. Mary's, Zengeza 2 and 4, Units J, D, C, F, and A. The outlying parts on the south-eastern side are regarded as Kunze ('outside'). Hence, the route is called Makoni nekunze ('Makoni via the outlying route'). This is the Zengeza 5–Makoni via Units K, L, M, C and F route. Usually, this route is used by bus operators that ply the Chitungwiza–Machipisa route. Machipisa is a suburb under the City of Harare.

The different drop-off points have been named for the convenience of the commuting public. PaChihuri was named as such because the then Police Commissioner-General, Augustine Chihuri, had built a mansion close to the area. It is reported that he has since sold it. However, the name has persisted as part of the public discourse in the immediate community and among the commuting public.

Close to this drop-off point is paDiaspora, situated near a car parking lot where buses imported from the United Kingdom used to be parked. Although the buses have been removed, the name is still in currency among the urban commuting public in Chitungwiza. Clearly, a place name can continue to stick to the referent after the circumstances that gave rise to it have changed.

Some informal place names act as historical records for the community. The name paTsaona ('at the accident scene') refers to an incident that took place in 2011. Two women, in the company of two men alleged to be their boyfriends, were involved in a road traffic accident and all died at the spot. Other names indicate what the place is known for or the main activity happening in its vicinity. For example, paStephen ('at

Stephen's place') drop-off point found along the Machipisa–Makoni bus route got its name from a white garment apostolic sect led by a prophet called Madzibaba Stephen whose shrine is adjacent to this place.

The miscellaneous sub-class consists of names for points where sex workers solicit for clients and illegal vending sites in Chitungwiza. The generic informal place name for places where commercial sex workers market their services to potential clients is Touchline in the informal language. In sporting discourse, the word 'touchline' means the longer sides of a pitch. Usually, coaches give instructions from the touchline to players during a match. A person on the touchline is visible to everyone in the stadium. By way of metaphorical extension, the commercial sex workers choose strategic points that make them more visible to potential clients.

A street in Unit L, close to Unit L Shops, notoriously famous for the illicit sex trade, is called First Street. Commercial sex workers line up the street, especially at night, looking for clients. First Street in Harare is located in the central business district (CBD), lined up with plush buildings. Most people who have at least a fair knowledge of Harare know this street by name. During the colonial period, this street was an exclusive space for Europeans. It has some prestige when compared to other streets in Harare and has no history of housing prostitutes. Instead, the Harare red-light zone is generally the Avenues area, located on the periphery of the CBD. However, First Street's namesake in Chitungwiza is associated with transactional sex work that takes place any time of the day. The common ground between Harare's First Street and the one in Chitungwiza is notability. The two streets are highly notable, though for different reasons.

Vendors conduct business at undesignated sites to evade paying rentals to the local authority in Chitungwiza. Accordingly, municipal police and the Zimbabwe Republic Police constantly raid them. During such raids, vendors get arrested and their goods confiscated. One large illegal market on the margins of Unit M is called Jambanja (a Shona neologism meaning 'violence'). This name captures the violence and chaos that visit the vendors when law enforcement agents raid them for violating the law. Most illegal vending sites found at different shopping centres in the town go by the name Speed. 'Speed' indexes the running battles that vendors engage in with law enforcement agents during the persistent raids at these sites.

6. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS: COVERT RESISTANCE

The co-existence of informal and formal place-naming systems reflects a covert contestation between naming authorities and the urban populace. This demonstrates two layers of naming systems in the same community. Bigon and Ben Arrous (2022:173) note that "official and popular toponyms and neo-toponyms shape a multi-layered tapestry in which each layer does not eradicate the other but rather co-habits side by side with the other". Usually, the top-down place-naming system is carried out with little or no consultation of the dominated people. We established that the Chitungwiza Municipality place-naming system was primarily imposed on the residents because they had little input in its crafting. In some cases, residents were asked to make proposals of street names, but the power of approving them laid with the local authority. In most cases, the council did not approve the proposed names, but brought in completely new names. Bigon and Ben Arrous (2022:66) concur by saying that "[s]ignage policies are all prone to being contested since, manipulatively applied, they exclude whole groups of people from the production of public space".

The mere fact that residents have invented a new naming system that radically differs from the one created by the local authority is a sign of symbolic resistance to a hegemonic place-naming system. It is a bottom-up manifestation of a covert contestation over the production of urban cultural landscapes. Arguing from the same perspective, Irvine *et al* (2021:333) state that unofficial place names can be conceptualised as symbolic resistance since they implicitly challenge the imposed official names.

There are higher levels of counter-hegemony, such as legal challenges. However, resistance does not always have to be confrontational and overt because it can take less banal forms, such as refusal to embrace the imposed names. Most interview participants indicated that they were aware that some places in the town had official names, but they did not bother to know them because the immediate community does not use such names. They indicated that they only knew the informal names because they have a wider currency in the town. Bigon and Ben Arrous (2022:12) rightly note that:

> Widespread reliance on unofficial place names and relative indifference to official street naming may therefore be construed as counter-hegemonic practices in their own right. These practices do not confront political-bureaucratic institutions on their grounds … Rather, they ignore or indeed escape the toponymic standards that would lead to confronting powerful institutions (and thereby perhaps to lose, from the weak positions of everyday life, in an asymmetrical confrontation).

The indifference to official names and the subsequent invention of an informal place-naming system constitute covert forms of resistance. This conforms to Scott's (1985:136) "Weapons of the Weak" thesis that resistance to hegemonic systems does not always take visible forms, such as rebellions, but can take subtle forms in mundane and everyday human activities. Thus, the informal place names reflect the subaltern's perception of place and exhibit their everyday resistance. Such everyday resistance "erodes the illusion that a toponymic landscape is engineered and reengineered through formal decisions only" (Bigon & Ben Arrous 2022:14). The Chitungwiza residents have refused to rely on the imaginaries of the naming authorities. Instead, they have invented informal place names that reflect their perceptions of the places around them.

In some cases, residents have developed an informal toponymy partly because the official toponymy is not signposted or almost invisible. Most street signs in Chitungwiza have been degraded by rust and almost overshadowed by vegetation (see Figure 2 and 3 below), and there is limited scripted signage for the official toponymy.

Figure 2: *A street sign in Unit K, Chitungwiza (Source: Author)*

Figure 3: *A street sign in Unit C, Chitungwiza (Source: Author)*

The above figures are evidence of neglect and negligence by the local authority. The local authority displays little or no interest in rehabilitating old and/or vandalised infrastructure.

In some cases, subversion and resistance take the form of refusal to use the full formal name. This explains the use of truncated forms of full formal names as shown above. Subordinate groups may also display subversion by assigning new meanings to official names. For example, the poorer sections of Seke (Units N, O, P) are informally regarded as an acronym for 'Non-Organised People'. Usually, residents of other, better sections of the town used this pejorative name to refer to these sections of the town and the residents. Housing units in Units N, O and P are very small (two-roomed houses) on small plots (ca. 200 sq. m). This is different from the situation in Units A, B, F and G where there are bigger residential stands (ca. 300 sq. m). Units A, F and G have four-roomed houses, while Unit B is a medium-density section.

This study has shown that official toponymy is usually scripted on signs and maps, while unofficial names are often engraved in the form of residents' shared mental maps (Bigon & Ben Arrous 2022:7; Bigon & Njoh 2018:212; Irvine *et al* 2021:337). This argument needs further refinement because it assumes that all residents have the same level of knowledge of the informal names in the community. This might not be true because members of the same social group, age group, occupation, and social class are likely to have shared cognitive imaginaries of a place than outgroup individuals.

Our study noted that research participants aged 50 or older use certain informal names that the young generation does not use, and *vice versa*. For instance, the name Chirambahuyo is exclusively used by the few remaining older people in this town. The participants explained that New Zengeza 4 was sited at a place where a squatter camp by the name Chirambahuyo had existed in the late 70s and early 80s. The squatter camp was established to accommodate internally displaced people due to the 1966-1979 civil war in Zimbabwe. Initially, the people had settled at Derbyshire Squatter Camp. However, Derbyshire was bulldozed in 1976 and residents were relocated to Chirambahuyo. The post-colonial government adopted a non-squatter policy and demolished Chirambahuyo camp in 1982, and transferred most of the residents onto legal plots with ultra-low-cost cores, water, and electricity, especially in Units N, O, P. These were the poorer areas of Chitungwiza (Schlyter 2003:17).

Also, the elderly residents usually prefer the terms Supuritendendi/Sapuritendendi (a derivation from 'city superintendent') or Katsekera (a transphonological form for 'council') to refer to council offices. During the colonial and early post-independence periods, the city superintendent's office was housed at the District Administration Offices dotted throughout the town. Most young people (younger than 50) prefer to use the term Kanzuru ('council') for the same offices.

Residents who often use public transport are more likely to know informal place names relating to drop-off points and public transport zones than regular motorists in the town. Bus crews are more likely to use the same informal place names than people in other sectors of the informal economy. Vendors and the residents who buy from these traders are more likely to know the informal names for the illegal vending sites than any other residents. Residents of Chitungwiza, especially those with a lengthy stay in the town (and other people who frequent this town) have a fair knowledge of its toponymy (both formal and informal) when compared to strangers. Urbanites are usually known for using innovative language forms and neologisms, especially the youths (Chambers 2009:182-184). The name Jambanja, besides its meaning of 'violence' as referred to above, is onomatopoeic. It imitates the commotion that occurs during police raids at the illegal market site. The humour and wit in the name First Street, as described above, are also consistent with the urban youth culture.

7. CONCLUSION

The paper has demonstrated that urban toponymic landscapes do not only reflect the ideologies and worldviews of political elites, but also exhibit hybridity because the subaltern can configure them using different strategies. These strategies include, but are not limited to, the formulation of oral linguiscapes that reflect the everyday experiences of urban residents. The case study from Zimbabwe presented here makes a significant contribution to an emerging body of literature that has focused on the duality of formal and informal toponymies in African cities. The diversity of place-naming regimes in an urban environment has received little attention from the burgeoning body of critical toponymic literature in Africa. Most African toponymic studies have followed the American, European, and Israeli research tradition of focusing on official place names.

It was shown that, in most cases, the official place-naming system does not go beyond official contexts. In all the other contexts, the community prefers to use the informal naming system. Several factors explain this phenomenon. The top-down place-naming system is carried out with little or no consultation with those at grassroots levels, despite their being the people expected to use the official names. This unfortunate situation explains why people usually subvert and resist the names imposed on them by hegemonic naming authorities. Subordinate groups fail to identify with a place-naming system when they did not participate in its crafting. Instead of accepting the top-down place-naming system, residents create a parallel naming system that displays how they understand the world around them. It becomes a deliberate act of controlling the system of shaping urban cultural landscapes, an opportunity that naming authorities usually deny them.

Future research may consider exploring urban toponymic pluralism in different African cities and the non-visible landscape in extra-formal and illegal neighbourhoods. Extra-formal settlements are not necessarily non-conformist, but they do not have a secure system of land tenure. African cities have many of these settlements.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

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SOCIO-POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND CREATIVITY IN LANGUAGE: PLACE NAMING AMONG THE BASOTHO

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ABSTRACT

This study was propelled by the problem of duplicated place names in Lesotho and therefore sought to find strategies to solve this problem. The study hypothesised that the use of extended place names in Lesotho adds meaning to these names, distinguishing them from one another, which subsequently solves the duplication problem. For this purpose, the paper provides different categories of extended place names created at the grassroots level and shows how they contribute to solving the duplication problem in Lesotho, as Khotso (2014) indicated. A socio-onomastics framework guided the study to unravel the history of each name and reveal the socio-dynamic processes which have led to extended names for each place. Data was collected by reading Mokitimi's text, Lifela tsa litsamaea-naha: A literary analysis, to ground the study in the Sesotho culture of place naming at the grassroots level. The study concluded that place naming at the grassroots level results from socio-political dynamics and creativity in the Sesotho language, which, in turn, creates the opportunity for its speakers to produce names of places with extensions. Consequently, the study recommends that the extensions of place names in Lesotho be officialised as these extensions contribute significantly to solving the duplication problem.

Keywords: duplication, extension, grassroots, dynamics, *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha*

1. INTRODUCTION

Lesotho has been faced with the problem of duplicated place names since time immemorial. From a list of Lesotho villages and their corresponding codes (Lepheana 2020), it is clear that duplicated names occur not only among different districts, but also within one district. These names are without additional descriptions that help differentiate villages from one another. For instance, in the list of village names (Lepheana 2020), place names like "(23) Pela-tsoeu" and "(26) Pela-tsoeu" both occur in the Leribe district, similar in both spelling and pronunciation, with the only difference being the number allocated to them. In addition, it is not clear what these numbers signify. Other places are provided without mentioning the districts where they are found, though such names designate different villages in different districts in Lesotho.

Another contributing factor to this problem is that places are named after their chief. These names are duplicated due to the naming processes among the Basotho. A child is given the name of their elders. For instance, the reason why the place name *ha Maama* ('At Maama's place') is a reference to many villages in the country is because the grandsons of chief Maama, who had been named after him, also became chiefs of different places. Examples include *ha Maama (Roma-Maseru), ha Maama (Mantsonyane ha Mahlong-Thaba-Tseka)* and *ha Maama (Matomaneng).*

This study aimed to find a strategy to solve the duplication problem of place names among the Basotho from grassroots level, as the government of Lesotho is not addressing the issue. The initiative to solve social problems through a grassroots-level approach in Lesotho is not new. According to Moloi (2015), the problem of the Lesotho Language Policy of not including speakers of minority languages, for example, Xhosa, is addressed at the grassroots level while being ignored by government. Moloi (2015:272-273) alludes to efforts by private radio stations such as Moafrika and Harvest FM that have slots where presenters read news in Xhosa and allow people to air their views in Xhosa. Moloi (2015) concludes that efforts at grassroots level might be the shortest route to addressing these challenges.

This study analysed *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* to find a solution to the duplication problem, echoing Moloi's suggestion that the grassroots approach, as a bottom-up approach, might facilitate change. The expectation was that a close study of *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* would reveal a strategy that can be employed to solve the duplication problem.

Lifela tsa litsamaea-naha is poetry composed and chanted by the migrant labourers in Lesotho. Before the railway was extended from South Africa to Maseru (the capital of

Lesotho), Basotho walked 200 miles and more to their workplaces in the mines and on the farms of South Africa (Coplan 1987). It was on these journeys that Basotho men used their rich language and verbal art to create *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* (Coplan 1987). Mokitimi (1998) explains that the content of these poems exposes the problems and hardships of migrant labour. The experiences reflected in these poems refer to the labourers' homes and their journeys to and from the mines in the foreign country, South Africa. For Mokitimi (1998) the poets express the economic, social and historical changes of capitalism and imperialism.

However, besides expressing hardship, these poems are full of place names, as the poets relate their experiences on their journeys to and from South Africa by mentioning the names of the places they pass. They are careful to provide these place names, including descriptions of the surroundings, distinguishing places with the same name from one another. With these descriptions the poets extend the village names by using more than one word to give a place name a wider meaning.

In general, the word 'extend' refers to enlarging something from its original state. Language is fluid and therefore allows for being enlarged in its different aspects. According to Mathonsi (2009:88), semantic development is characterised by both the addition of new elements in meaning and the reorganisation of known elements. Mathonsi (2009:88) further states that the totality of meaning strata that a word can express can be extended because of the fluidity of verbal signification. Breal (1964) contends that the expansion of meaning is a natural phenomenon that must have a place among all people whose life is intense, whose thought is active. In our case, by using other words to describe a place name, the poets show that their lives are intense and their thoughts are active. By employing other words to describe the places they pass through, they accentuate the place they are referring to and, by so doing, distinguish it from other places.

Mathonsi (2009) explains that a change of meaning in a word can take two different directions, namely narrowing or expanding. By expanding, Mathonsi (2009) means that a word acquires a new meaning while retaining its previous meaning. In the case of the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* poems, place names gain expanded meaning with the use of descriptions, as the meaning of the names do not change, but acquire another meaning. If Mathonsi's (2009) explanation is accepted with regard to the place names in the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha*, then extended place names can be defined as names that consist of more than one word, some of which are derived from names of fauna in close proximity. By incorporating these other names, the place name expands its meaning. In this way, poets show creativity.

Broadly speaking, creativity is the ability to come up with something new, to use one's imagination to produce new ideas (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 2003:368). Therefore, the place names that the poets come up with can be referred to as products of their creativity. In addition, they seem to have a great passion for creating place names grounded in descriptions. Rankaki (2020) puts it thus:

> *… libaka tse 'maloa … Mafeteng li na le mabitso a boqhoele le bokheleke. Libaka tse kang 'Mapeng Malumeng, Terateng Likokong, Setlofe 'Mantekoane, Koti-se-phola, Tajane 'Mako, 'Malere Matelile … li utloahala li na le morethetho o bokheleke kahare. Mabitso a libaka tsena boholo a bopiloe ka mantsoe a mabeli ho ea holimo ho pakahatsa hore baahi ba teng ba ikotla sefuba ka ona.*
>
> … many place names in the Mafeteng district comprise shrewdness and eloquence. Places like 'Mapeng Malumeng, Terateng Likokong, Setlofe Mantekoane, Koti-se-phola, Tajane 'Moko, 'Malere Matelile … have flavour and rhythm of expressiveness in them. Most of these place names comprise two and more words to justify that the inhabitants of these places are proud of these place names. [own translation]

This study concurs with Rankaki's observation that inhabitants bestow names on places that reflect their passion for these names. Jordan (2020) agrees by stating that place names are indicators of how people perceive and build their environment. Besides, this study sees bestowing a place name as consisting of more than a single word as a strategy to solve the place-name problem of duplication. For example, some poets use the topographical features to distinguish one place from another, while others use all the names of the chief of the place. This attests to the poets' applying their imagination to distinguish the places.

1.1 Background and contextualisation of the research

The Basotho are a nation whose activities were based on farming: the rearing of animals and planting crops (Eldredge 1993). To stay energetic and focused on their tasks, they accompanied their work with different forms of entertainment including song, dance and praise poetry. Around 1871 to 1910, the British colonisers introduced compulsory tax (Eldredge 1993:167-181), which all Basotho men were forced to pay. Together with peasants and workers, they had to seek jobs in South Africa, in its coal mines (e.g., Kimberley) and on the farms (Mokitimi 1998). There was no transport to take them to these destinations, so they had to travel on foot. To make the distance at least somewhat bearable, they developed what has become popularly known as *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* ('travellers' poetry'). It was on these long journeys that the poems were composed and chanted.

Thus, according to Mokitimi (1998), the composition of *lifela tsa litsamaaea-naha* was brought on by these historical economic, social and political conditions and emerged under a capitalist system. Even when the journeys began to be made by trains and buses, the creation of this poetry continued. In this travellers' poetry, poets prominently included the names of the places they originated from, the areas they passed on their way to the mines, as well as those on their way back home. For these travellers, place names were an integral part of their poetry to distinguish a particular place from another. For Mamvura, Mutasa and Pfukwa (2017) and Zhou, Nhlanhla and Tshotsho (2020) place names are artefacts of historical events and aspects of the lived experience of people. The Basotho are not exceptional in this regard.

As mentioned earlier, this study was motivated by challenges resulting from duplicated place names in Lesotho. Mafa (in Khotso 2014:90) reports on a government primary school that was mistakenly built in Mohale's Hoek instead of in Qacha's Nek owing to a duplicated geographical name. Similarly, Kimane (2013 in Khotso 2014) conducted a research project at Peete in Berea district whereas the project should have been conducted at Peete close to Thaba-Bosiu in the Maseru district. Another example relates to Queen 'Mamohato Memorial Hospital (in the Maseru district) to which patients from other districts of Lesotho are frequently transferred to receive serious medical attention. When patients are returned home, they are often transferred to the wrong place, for example, to *ha Sekake* in Qacha's Nek instead of to *Mohale's Hoek ha Sekake* (Khotso 2014:90). Clearly, the consequences of duplicated place names are not only a matter of inconvenience, but also have a negative influence on different departments' budgets, such as health and education.

1.2 Methodology

This was a non-intrusive study that did not involve direct contact with participants through interviews but relied on secondary data. The researcher used Mokitimi's (1998) text as a secondary source, as well as Rankaki's (2020) posts on Facebook, to access already existing data to solve the research problem. The researcher read Mokitimi's text entitled *Lifela tsa litsamaea-naha poetry: A literary analysis* (1988) several times to identify the relevant content.

The advantage of seeking secondary data sources is that it saves time and the costs of acquiring information (Sekaran & Bougie 2013). Mokitimi's text was easily accessed as it was part of the researcher's collection of Sesotho texts in her office. This study was strictly a desktop study and did not use instruments, interview questions, or questionnaires to collect data.

The researcher's involvement in the study also included the fact that she is a Mosotho who is conversant with the names of places in Lesotho. According to Coia and Taylor (2009), a researcher can be part of the research in the case where she has knowledge and experience of the phenomenon under study. Therefore, the researcher participated in this study by including the names of places that she knows.

This study used a purposive sampling technique because place names in Lesotho can be accessed from a large population: books, newspapers, journals, dissertations, archives and inhabitants. However, place-name accessibility, time and economic factors did not allow the study to reach the whole population. Thus, it only focused on manageable data accessed easily from Mokitimi's (1998) text, Facebook (Rankaki 2020), and the list of villages in Lesotho (Lepheana 2020).

In its analysis, the study also used cultural artefacts, which are *inter alia* poems and songs. According to Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (2006), a systematic analysis of artefacts provides valuable information about the groups and individuals who created them. Place names are another example of artefacts. They are created by people. With artefact analysis, the present study analysed the place-name content of the Basotho poems to gain insight into the notion in question.

1.3 Theoretical framework

Socio-onomastics is a framework that focuses on name use in human interaction. According to Lombard (2015), socio-onomastics is concerned with the study of names, and to understand names, one has to understand the context in which names are used. Lombard also (2015:48) asserts that the use of social theory is crucial while studying a social phenomenon as it helps to create an understanding of the social context in which the phenomenon occurs, as well as its true meaning and significance. Lombard (2015) states that a socio-onomastic framework accounts for the socio-cultural context of names and provides a social basis for analysing the contextual meaning of names. She argues that this approach facilitates an accurate and socially realistic interpretation of socio-cultural meaning and significance. Her argument is that a socio-onomastics approach should consider the entire range of complex and reflective relationships that exist between names and social factors. Socio-onomastics should therefore attempt to explain the significance of factors that played a role in creating a name.

Though Lombard (2015) focused on cattle names, her research is vital to the current study. Through a socio-onomastic approach, researchers examine how the analysis of names in the present and in the historical time can provide essential perspectives on contemporary structural problems, challenges, and cultural developments. For Leslie and Skipper (1990) socio-onomastics determines that names originate and function within a defined context.

In the current study, the researcher examined how the place names featuring in *Lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* can provide solutions to the duplication problem, justifying the application of this framework. The following aspects of this framework will be discussed in this paper:

- The history of the place names used in this study,
- The function of extensions and descriptions in each place name,
- Social constructs whose meaning are brought to bear on place names, and
- The creativity behind each place name.

1.4 Literature review

Mokitimi (1998) analysed the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* focusing on what it portrays. She found that this poetry portrays the dehumanisation resulting from Lesotho's historical, social and political conditions which had led to migrant labour. Mokitimi's text provided a useful list of written poems for purposes of the study. However, Mokitimi was not interested in the place names that form part of the poems' content. Therefore, the current study differs from Mokitimi's in that it focused on place naming and aimed to look at how place naming in this genre can be used to solve the duplication problem in Lesotho.

Khotso (2017) also studied the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* in Mokitimi to determine how the poets portrayed masculinity and found that these poems emphasise toxic masculinity. Khotso's study informed the current study regarding the themes portrayed in this genre. However, this study is different from that of Khotso as it focused on how this poetry portrays place naming among the Basotho.

Bereng (1987) studied one *sefela* (singular, *lifela* plural) to ascertain how it portrays the naming of people among the Basotho, which he found to be a social activity. Bereng's findings provide vital insight to the current study on how the Basotho deal with the practice of naming people, although the current study focused on the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* to find out how they portray place naming among the Basotho.

Bereng (2014) also provides the history of the Basotho, especially regarding the names of chiefs. In his book, *Haboo*, he lists the names of chiefs and states how these names are given to their children and grandchildren in succession. He gives the background of how most places had acquired their names, namely from the ruling chiefs. Bereng's study is significant in that it informs the current study on the history behind place names. It reveals that place naming in Lesotho has been derived from ruling chiefs. However, this study is different from Bereng's as it was interested in the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* with regard to how place names are portrayed in this genre.

2. DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

This section categorises and analyses the collected data. The data is presented per category, first in a table, then followed by an analysis.

2.1 Chief's names inserted as extension

The place names in this category were derived from chiefs who ruled these places sometime back in the history of the Basotho.

Table 1: *Place names with names of chiefs as extension*

Place name	Chief name	District	Source
Ha Mojela Makaoteng	Mojela	Mafeteng	Mokokoane (in Mokitimi 1998)
Ha Toka Mojela Tumelisong		Thaba-Tseka	
Ha Maama koana Mantsonyane	Maama	Thaba-Tseka	Mokokoane (in Mokitimi 1998)
Ha Maama		Roma Maseru	
Ha Marakabei Pereng tse nala	Marakabei	Maseru	Mokokoane (in Mokitimi 1998)
Marakabei monontša		Butha-Buthe	

Within a socio-onomastic framework each name has a history and function. For example, *ha Mojela* was named as such due to the place-naming history of the Basotho, i.e., to give a place the name of a ruling chief (as mentioned in Section 1). Mamvura (2020) asserts that social realities influence naming, and the Basotho are no different. Their social reality is that they strongly believe in their chiefs and honour their chiefs by naming places after them. The place name *ha Mojela* is a referent for several places in Lesotho because there are many chiefs bearing this name.

To solve the duplication problem arising from this practice, the poets used creativity. They refer to *ha Mojela* at *Mantšonyane* in the Thaba-Tseka district by including the name of a small river *Tumelisong* and the first name of the chief who once ruled at this place, *Toka*. On the other hand, the place name *Mojela* in the Mafeteng district is distinguished from other places bearing the same name by attaching a popular place name *Makaoteng* and *Kholokoe*.

Another place name in this category is *ha Maama*, which is also a referent for a number of places in Lesotho as it is a popular name in the royal family. For example, there is *ha Maama* at Roma (Khotso & Chele 2020). *Ha Maama* in the Maseru district is distinguished from other areas with a similar name by attaching *Roma* and *Sekhutlong* ('gorge'). In contrast, *Maama* at *Mantšonyane* in the Thaba-Tseka district is distinguished as *ha Maama Letsie*. These attachments or extensions were the creative efforts of the residents and poets, again attesting to the fact that the creativity of poets can function as a technique to distinguish names from one another.

Ha Marakabei is another place name derived from a chief's name. Currently, the place is ruled by his grandson, Lerotholi. However, the name *Marakabei* is still a reference of this place, as well as of two popular places in Lesotho: *Marakabei* in the Butha-Buthe district and *Marakabei* in the Maseru district (Khotso 2014). To distinguish between these two places, the poets attached other descriptions to them. For example, *Monontša* ('something that makes fat') (Mabille & Dieterlen 2000:280) is popularly attached to *Marakabei* in Butha-Buthe, while *Pereng tse Nala* ('well-fed horses') is attached to *Marakabei* in Maseru. Again, the creativity of the attachments in both cases functions to distinguish them.

2.2 Qualificatives as extension

The names presented in the table below were formed by qualificatives as extension.

Table 2: *Place names with qualificatives as extension*

Place name	Qualificative	Source
Macheseng seliba setšo	setšo ('black')	Khotso (2021)
Mokotjana	Motšoana ('black')	Khotso (2021)

The place names in Table 2 are grounded with geographical descriptions to distinguish them from similar names. The name *Macheseng* was derived from the chief's name, Lechesa. Lechesa, like other chiefs' names in Lesotho, is popular, hence different places in Lesotho bear the name *Macheseng*. For example, there is a village called *Macheseng* in the Leribe district. In the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha*, poets refer to *Macheseng* in the southern part of the Thaba-Tseka district as *Macheseng seliba setšo* ('Macheseng at the black spring'). This specific *Macheseng* becomes unique by having included in its name a natural phenomenon, a spring found in this area.

Jordan (2020) indicates that place names tell something about geographical features, often describing natural characteristics, and cast light on the name-giving community. The poets not only mentioned a spring, but also the colour of that spring, which distinguishes the name even further. Another example is *Mokotjana* which is distinguished by the attachment *Motšoana* referring to a feminine black colour in Lesotho. This place is situated in *Lesobeng* in the Thaba-Tseka district.

2.3 Names of chiefs and adverbs as extension

In this category, the name of a place precedes the preposition of place, *ha*, followed by the name of the chief and the adverb.

Table 3: *Place names with chief names and adverbs as extension*

Place name	Place morpheme	Chief name	Adverb	Full name	Source
Malealea	Ha	Koma	Moreneng	Malealea ha Koma Moreneng	Rankaki (2020)
Ketanyane	Ha	Mothibi	Letsatseng	Ketanyane ha Mothibi Letsatseng	Rankaki (2020)

Place names in Table 3 are grounded by the chief's name and an adverb as extensions that distinguish them from similar place names. For example, *Malealea ha Koma Moreneng*, which has the attachments of *ha Koma* ('at Koma', the name of a chief) and *Moreneng* ('chiefs' places') to distinguish it from other places bearing the name *Malealea*.

2.4 Geographical descriptions as extension

Place names presented in the table below include geographical descriptions as extension of where the place is found.

Table 4: *Place names with geographical descriptions as extension*

Place name	Duplicated part	District	Source
Kolo Thaba Sehaula	Kolo	Mafeteng	Rankaki (2020)
Kolo Libataolong	Kolo	Mafeteng	Rankaki (2020)
Terateng Likokong	Terateng	Mafeteng	Rankaki (2020)
Boripa Terateng	Terateng	Mafeteng	Rankaki (2020)
Mapeng Lesobeng	Mapeng	Thaba-Tseka	Khotso (2021)
Mapeng Malumeng	Mapeng	Mafeteng	Rankaki (2020)

In Table 4, the place name *Kolo*, like the place names mentioned above, is duplicated. However, the attachments to it make it different. The other place name is *Kolo Thaba-Sehaula*. The place name *Kolo* is a reference to the nearby mountain Thaba-Sehaula while the other *Kolo* refers to the landscape *libataolong* meaning 'bare and hard place' (Mabille & Dieterlen 2000:391).

The place name *Terateng* is a reference to different places in the Mafeteng district. However, with the extensions given by the poets, the problem of duplication is solved. For example, there is *Terateng Likokong* and *Boripa Terateng*. Likokong is a place name that means a 'place where there are imaginary things to frighten children' (Mabille & Dieterlen 2000:153), while *Boripa* refers to 'the herdboys' killing of mice after hunting them'. Without attachments to *Terateng* the problem of duplication would remain.

The place name *'Mapeng* like all names analysed in this study is distinguished by attaching *Lesobeng* ('where there is a hole') and *Malumeng* ('where there are subterraneous cavities'). *Lesobeng* is a place name created from the observation that at this place there is a mountain which has a hole, while *Malumeng* was created out of the observation that it is a place with a subterraneous cavity.

Much as this study concurs with the opinion that these attachments reflect how inhabitants and poets value their places, this study also sees these attachments as a solution to the duplication problem. For example, when one states *'Mapeng Lesobeng* in Lesotho, almost everyone knows the speaker is referring to the place in the southern part of the Thaba-Tseka district, while *'Mapeng Malumeng* is popularly known as a place in the Mafeteng district.

3. CONCLUSION

Names of places are duplicated in Lesotho. The list of Lesotho villages mentioned previously causes more complications and confusion, as names similar in both spelling and pronunciation are distinguished simply by different numbers. It is difficult to know the district where the place is found unless one associates the name of a place with the village names that it features close to. In addition, it is not clear how these numbers are allocated, therefore, leaving the problem of duplication without a solution.

When scrutinising the *lifela tsa litsamaea-naha* in Mokitimi's text, this study discovered strategies such as extending all names with descriptions of a chief and/or geographical features unique to the area. It was also found that the detailed description of the historical context makes each place name different from the other. These attachments have been done at the grassroots level. Unfortunately, on the Lesotho map in Social Studies texts prescribed for primary school learners, and in Geography and History texts prescribed for high school students, these attachments have been left out and the problem of duplication remains.

This research article should serve as a blueprint for the parliament of Lesotho to consider revisiting place names with descriptions to solve the duplication problem. Therefore, this study suggests that the government of Lesotho promote place-naming programmes such as Tumeliso ea libaka on Moafrika FM, as this programme is already promoting place names in Lesotho. The Ministry of Tourism should also facilitate place-naming campaigns to promote efforts in eradicating duplicated names.

The study further suggests that place names be recognised with their extensions created at the grassroots level. The list of villages of Lesotho available on the internet should indicate the meaning of the numbers given to village names and the Lesotho map should include descriptions of villages to avoid confusion and facilitate effective map reading and utilisation. Authors of Social Studies, Geography, and History texts prescribed for learners should include these descriptions of place names used at the grassroots level.

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THE USE OF MULTILINGUAL PLACE NAMES IN VOJVODINA, SERBIA

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ABSTRACT

The Vojvodina autonomous province of Serbia has six official languages, making it one of the most ethnically diverse regions in Europe. In some of its settlements four ethnic groups live together in large numbers. The official use of place names depends on which minorities live in a given settlement. Not only languages differ, but scripts too. Serbian and Ruthenian uses Cyrillic, while the other official languages use Latin script. As this territory was part of Hungary before 1920, all official place names were Hungarian, standardised by Act IV of 1898 (Magyar Képviselőház 1898). Today, in settlements with Hungarian minority, these names are still used as one of the official names of the given settlement. Settlements with Slovak, Croat, Ruthenian and Romanian minorities also have official names in their respective minority languages. This means that, on maps that show all the official place names, settlements are marked with up to four official names in different languages. The Province of Vojvodina is also unique in another sense: The multiple official place names indicate all the ethnic minorities that live in the particular settlement. The Serbian name of a settlement is always official, even if no Serbs live there. Thus, solely based on official names, we cannot determine whether a settlement is only inhabited by minority population or not. This paper discusses the relevance of minority place names in Vojvodina and analyses how the UNGEGN principles governing multilingual place names are implemented.

Keywords: minority names, multilingualism, Vojvodina

1. INTRODUCTION

Vojvodina Autonomous Province is situated in the northern part of Serbia. During the 20th century the territory (or parts of it) was transferred between countries several times, hence the province has a very heterogeneous ethnic structure. Legislation in Vojvodina protects minority languages, but it is always a question on how it is implemented in practice. One of the basic rights guaranteed by the autonomy of the province is the right to use one's mother tongue in all official settings. Having place names displayed in one's own language is part of this fundamental right and provides a strong identity to the locals, making multilingual place names an integral part of the autonomous powers of the province. The goal of this research was to investigate the use of minority place names in Vojvodina both on signs displayed in public and in everyday communication. This paper reports on an on-site investigation on how minority languages are represented in place names in Vojvodina. The investigation focused on whether this corresponds with the UNGEGN guidelines as presented in UN Resolution I/4d. (UNGEGN 1967–2012:32-33). These guidelines state that geographical names should be determined in each official language and other languages as appropriate. With this the resolution refers to the languages spoken in the given settlement or its surroundings.

2. HISTORY OF VOJVODINA

Vojvodina is a flat area with some small (5-10 m) hills occurring here and there. Most of the land is utilised for agriculture, as it is one of the most fertile land areas in Central Europe. It has a rich cultural heritage, often combining the heritage of western Christianity and eastern Orthodoxy. At the beginning of the century it was part of the Kingdom of Hungary. During the Hungarian rule, Act IV of 1898 (standardisation act) stipulated that all places are to have a Hungarian name that is unique to that settlement (Magyar Képviselőház 1898:333-334). The Hungarian names used up until today are the names defined in this act, some of which are minority names, while others have become exonyms over time.

Before the Treaty of Trianon, Hungarians made up 43% of the population in the Bácska (Bačka) and 20% in the Banat, while today they make up 14.2% of the whole of Vojvodina (Thomka, Kurcz & Tóth 2021:9, 13). After Hungary lost World War I, the territory was transferred to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was renamed Yugoslavia in 1929. During this time the Hungarian minority had difficulties being recognised as citizens, so the question of minority language use had not been raised (Jakabffy, Sulyok & Willer 1939:300-301). In 1941, when Yugoslavia was dissolved, the northeastern part of Vojvodina returned to Hungary, the western part became part of the Independent State of Croatia, and the rest of the area was part of Serbia. (The Banat, which is the eastern part of the territory, was a special authority district of Serbia.)

After 1945 Yugoslavia was reunited and the whole territory of Vojvodina became part of the Socialist Yugoslav Republic. The country adopted a new constitution in 1974 giving the member states larger autonomy, which also applied to autonomous provinces within the member states. This was when the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo were formed. Due to ethnic tensions, Yugoslavia was plunged into civil war after the *de facto* autonomy of the member states and autonomous provinces had ended in 1989 (Bottlik 1994:40-41). The Autonomous Province of Vojvodina was never formally dissolved, although most of its autonomous powers were transferred to Belgrade.

In 1992 the Socialist Yugoslav Republic was dissolved. In 1995 the war ended, shrinking Yugoslavia to Serbia and Montenegro, which included Vojvodina. The country changed its name to the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro in 2003. In 2006 Montenegro became an independent country, making Vojvodina part of the Republic of Serbia. In 2002 and 2009 its autonomy was increased, but never reached the level that had existed before 1989.

3. METHODOLOGY

The data was collected on three field trips, one in 2012 and two in May and July of 2017. Tours of Vojvodina were conducted and place-name signs, direction signs, signs on memorials and signs providing tourist information were photographed for later analysis. When possible, locals were interviewed to determine how they use place names in everyday communication. Their responses were recorded on paper immediately after the interviews and no audio was recorded. This method has the advantage that participants' rights are protected – people often do not want everything they say to be recorded. The disadvantage, however, is the fact that the information on dialects and accents gets lost. The conversations were conducted in Hungarian. The names collected were compared with the names in the multilingual gazetteer of the Carpathian Basin published in 2011 (Lelkes 2011).

4. OVERVIEW OF THE AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF VOJVODINA

The seat of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is *Novi Sad*, which in Hungarian is called *Újvidék*. The place name is signposted only in Serbian, in both Latin and Cyrillic script. The largest minority in the city are the Hungarians, with just under 7%. Despite the Hungarian name not being signposted, all official documents written in Hungarian use the name *Újvidék* since it is the seat of the province. This name, also despite not being signposted, is not an exonym, since there are some inhabitants who do use the name, which means it is an endonym. The Hungarian name has been made official in the laws governing language use in Vojvodina (Bozóki 2013).

Regarding language use in general, one can say that Vojvodina is one of the few places in the world where many minority languages are used in everyday life. Official place-name signs and signs of private entities are multilingual. Documents published by the government of the autonomous province are published in Serbian as well as in the minority languages spoken in Vojvodina, which are all official languages of the province. These documents contain place names in accordance with the language of the document. Place names in minority languages are used in all cases when a particular place name is available in that language, thus, not only if the place name itself is an official minority name, but also if it is an exonym.

Vojvodina has three radio stations run by the local government. The first station always broadcasts in Serbian, the second in Hungarian, and the third in the other minority languages. These radio stations always use all place names in the language of broadcast, regardless of the status of the place name. The name of the radio station is also announced in the languages of broadcast. All three radio stations broadcast from *Novi Sad* (Hungarian: *Újvidék*). While the station broadcasting as RNS 1 is announced *Radio Novi Sad,* the station broadcasting as RNS 2 is announced as *Újvidéki Rádió.* Both announcements bear the same meaning and the place name is the same, but in a different language. Many other local radio stations exist that use different languages. All of them use place names in the language of broadcast. The same is true for television station broadcasts in the province. Newspapers also use all place names in the language in which they are published.

5. THE MINORITIES IN VOJVODINA

Vojvodina was much less affected by the Yugoslav wars in the first half of the 1990s and experienced much less ethnic tension than the rest of the country, despite its being one of the most ethnically diverse areas in Europe. This diversity has existed throughout the entire 20th century (Figure 1). Although migration did and still does occur in the area, the population that has lived there for centuries still comprises many ethnic groups. All of these groups speak their own language; hence, they name the geographical elements in their respective languages.

The languages spoken in Vojvodina are Serbian, which is the official language of Serbia, and Hungarian, Croatian, Ruthenian, Slovak, German and Romanian, all of which are official in the autonomous province of Vojvodina. These linguistic groups all use their respective languages in the settlements where they live. They also use toponyms in their own languages for naming the geographical features, including settlements. Place names are made official when a certain group reaches a threshold in the total percentage of the population in a particular settlement.

While some of these place names are endonyms, since the local population uses them, others are exonyms because they are used by people who do not live in those settlements but in the surrounding settlements or in other parts of Vojvodina. Some exonyms have always been exonyms, since they have never been used by the locals. Others, however, have become exonyms over time, because the language spoken by the local population has changed in some settlements; thus, a name that was once a minority name, hence an endonym, has become an exonym.

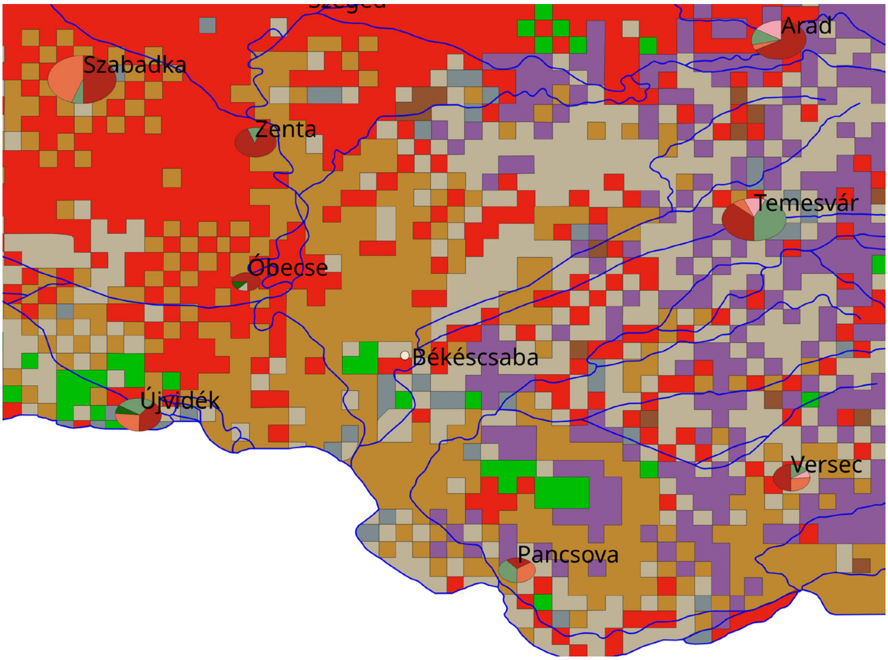

Figure 1: *The ethnic composition of Vojvodina according to the census of 1910 (Map compiled by the author, based on The Ethnographical Map of Hungary made by Jenő Cholnoky [1920]) (Key: red = Hungarian, light brown = Serbian, light grey = German, purple = Romanian, green = Slovak, dark brown = other ethnic groups)*

Although the ethnic ratio has shifted over the years in favour of the Serbs, the core areas of the different minorities can still be seen today. Most Hungarians live in the areas near the Hungarian border and along the *Tisza* (*Theiss*). The Croats live in the western areas along the Croatian border. The other minorities are generally scattered over Vojvodina. While Figure 1 shows the largest areas with an overwhelmingly Hungarian-speaking population, even today one can find many Hungarians outside these areas scattered all over Vojvodina, but they do not make up the local majority in those areas. Most people living in the settlements in the south are Serbian, although there are still a few small settlements which are overwhelmingly Hungarian.

6. PLACE-NAME USE IN VOJVODINA

When investigating the use of place names in Vojvodina, one often has to differentiate between use in everyday communication and official use. Maps, place-name signs (Figure 2), official documents, the press, and radio and television broadcasts use the official form of place names. In the past some names that had been made official were rejected by the local community. Today representatives of the local communities do bring this to the attention of the authorities and most of these names have been changed in line with the wishes of the local community.

Figure 2: *Official bilingual place-name sign (Source: Author)*

In Figure 2 above, the first name is the official Serbian name, the second is the Latin transcription of the Serbian name, and the third is Hungarian. All three names are official. In general, official place-name use in the province is an excellent example of the implementation of the UNGEGN guidelines. All minority names are official, and are used on signposts and in documents written in minority languages. No example was found where this was not the case. Below follows a detailed analyses of the use of minority place names in the different minority languages spoken in Vojvodina.

6.1 Place-name use by the Hungarian community in Vojvodina

In order to understand the use of place names in Vojvodina, one has to understand some of its history, as presented in section 2. Against this background, place-name use by the Hungarian minority, the largest minority group living in Vojvodina, is driven by an additional factor, in contrast to the other minorities. Hungarian place names are unique in the sense that Vojvodina was part of Hungary before 1920, and at that time Hungarian was the official state language. This means that the use of Hungarian place names was governed by law at the time and, in many cases, also altered by the regulations.

So, in contrast to other minority names, these place names have been standardised to a much larger extent. This is also the case with Hungarian exonyms, since in all former Hungarian counties that today make up the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, all places had a Hungarian name. Act IV of 1898 ruled that each place name had to be unique to that settlement in Hungary, which covered the whole Carpathian Basin at the time. Many place names had to be changed to be in accordance with the act. All settlements, regardless of the local language use, had to have a Hungarian place name, which was the official name used in state documents.

The official Hungarian minority names, as well as the most widely used Hungarian exonyms in Vojvodina today, are the names defined by Act IV of 1898. However, this act did not apply to any minority names used at the time. This means that, while many official, non-Hungarian minority names used today are names that evolved from the local community, the Hungarian names used in official documents and place-name signs are often names that were standardised by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and approved by the Hungarian government at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

It is interesting to note, however, that the locals often use the names that existed before the act in spoken language today, although it is important that they are used alongside the official Hungarian minority names. These non-standardised names have no official status and are hardly ever used in writing, whether in official government publication or writing made public by an individual, for example, a book or a newspaper article. A notable exception is when they are used in a historical context, for example, a place-name dictionary with historical names. While the locals do use such names among themselves, when an outsider approaches them, they would use the official name. Based on conversations with locals in 2017, no locals would want these names to become the official minority name of their home village or town, despite the widespread use of these names prior to their standardisation.

A compelling question is why these names are used and how they have survived 120 years after the place-name standardisation act. The answer is surprisingly simple. The names used before 1898 are much shorter than those that were standardised. These names were usually amended by a local landscape or region name or by a reference to the language spoken in that community at the time of standardisation. This made their survival over generations much easier since the original names can be found in the current name. At the same time the locals are proud of their community and surroundings. This means that they are proud of the full name of their village or town, and only use the short name among themselves.

Hungarian names can be rather long when amended, because they are always written as one word. This rule was introduced into the Hungarian language at the same time when the place-name standardisation act was passed. The rule states that place names are never split into multiple words, regardless of how many syllables or even full words they comprise.

The town of *Magyarkanizsa* is a good example of how the names were standardised. The Hungarian name is *Magyarkanizsa* and the Serbian name is *Kanjiža* (*Кањижа*) (Figure 3). Both of these names bare official status within the province. Among the local Hungarian-speaking community, as well as in all nearby villages, the name *Kanizsa* is often used in everyday informal communication. However, the name is not used in Hungary or in any other parts of Vojvodina. In fact, using it would lead to misunderstanding, since there are numerous settlements that were called *Kanizsa* before the passing of Act IV of 1898 and still have this ending. Thus, upon hearing this name somewhere else, a person would either associate the name with a place that is nearest to their place of residence or, if none such exists, with a place they happen to know, which is usually the largest settlement with such a name in their country of residence or country of origin.

At first sight it might seem that *Magyarkanizsa* is an exception to the above statement, since the Serbian name *Kanjiža* and the Hungarian *Kanizsa* are pronounced quite similarly. One might think that *Kanizsa* would be associated with this settlement throughout Vojvodina and even Hungary. This is in general the case in Vojvodina, but not in Hungary, where this name would be associated with *Nagykanizsa*, a place in southwestern Hungary, since this is the most well-known place in Hungary with the name *Kanizsa*. It is, however, important to note that *Magyarkanizsa* is one of the few places where the place name was not amended using a landscape or region name. Before standardisation, both the names *Kanizsa* and *Magyar Kanizsa* were used. The latter, in accordance with the grammar rules set after passing the standardisation act, was combined into one word.

Figure 3: *A bilingual direction sign showing the way to Magyarkanizsa with both official names (the Serbian name is written in both Cyrillic and Latin script) (Source: Author)*

While the locals often use *Kanizsa*, the name *Magyarkanizsa* was suggested by the Hungarian Council of Vojvodina and thus became its official Hungarian name to be used in the autonomous province. Since the locals use both, one only among themselves, and the other name outwards, an interesting situation has been created where both Hungarian names are endonyms.

The above example shows how a name dating back to the pre-standardisation era lives on. The reason for this is probably not a deliberate attempt to preserve the name, but rather a simple way of abbreviation. The fact that even the locals want to use the full name towards the outside endorses this theory.

Another noteworthy situation is the Hungarian name of *Oromhegyes* (Serbian: *Trešnjevac/Трешњевац*). This name dates back further than the act, and it was not necessary to change this name in order to make it compliant with the act. Yet, some locals just call the place *Hegyes* because it is shorter. Similar to the previous example, the name is not used in communication towards the outside, but among the locals. Also, this usage does not attempt to preserve any name dating to pre-standardisation, but was created by abbreviating the place name. Still similar to the example of *Magyarkanizsa*, both names are endonyms, since they are used by the locals, and their use depends on whom the locals communicate with. However, the name *Hegyes* is not known by outsiders, while the name *Oromhegyes* is used by all Hungarian-speaking individuals in Vojvodina and beyond. Since the locals use it, this name is an endonym, but since it is also used by individuals not living in that settlement, it is a name that potentially could become an exonym one day if the locals stop using it. The same cannot be said for the name *Hegyes*, or *Kanizsa* from the previous example, since these are not used by strangers, only by locals.

When comparing the Serbian and Hungarian names in many cases, like in the case of *Nagykanizsa/Kanjiža*, one can see that many Hungarian names have been amended, while the Serbian names have retained the shorter version. There are, however, many cases where this is the other way around, for example, the town named *Topolya* in Hungarian and *Bačka Topola* (*Бачка Топола*) in Serbian. Here the word *Bačka* was amended to the Serbian name, referring to the region in which the town is situated. Both names are official and have not changed in the last century. The name *Topolya* was not changed in accordance with Act IV of 1898 as it was the largest settlement with the name *Topolya* and the decision was made to keep its name. Interestingly, the Serbian name was amended with the name of the region. Both names are official today. Attempts have been made to call it *Bácstopolya* in Hungarian, but the use of this name has never become widespread.

6.2 Place-name use by the Croat community of Vojvodina

In general the other minority names were not standardised to such an extent, and they only started to be used at an official level when the law governing minority name use was passed in Yugoslavia in 1974. While most Croatian names are basically the same as the Serbian names written in Latin script, exceptions do exist. These exceptions occur only when a Croat minority is present in significant numbers. An excellent example is the village which in Hungarian is called *Béreg*, in Serbian *Bački Breg* and in Croatian *Bereg*. The village is near the Hungarian–Serbian–Croatian triple border. In this case the Serbian name contains the word *Bačka*, which is the name of the region the village is located in. Even when one omits this from the name, the Croatian and Serbian names differ. Both Croatian and Serbian names are official.

While such exceptions do exist, most places do not have this distinction. For instance, a city in the northern part of Vojvodina in Serbian is named *Subotica* (*Суботица*), while its Croatian name is exactly the same when written in Latin script, that is *Subotica*. The Hungarian name of the city is *Szabadka*, while in German the city is called *Maria-Theresianopel*. The city is regarded as a cultural centre for both the Hungarians and Croats of Vojvodina, so both the Hungarian and Croatian names are used by the wider Hungarian and Croat communities in the province and even beyond.

A similar situation can be observed in the village that in Hungarian is called *Csanatavér* and where over 90% of the population speaks Hungarian. The Serbian name is *Čantavir* (*Чантавир*), and the Croatian name is the same as the Serbian name written in Latin script. Many such names can be found, although the latter example does not pertain to such a significant Croat minority as the former.

6.3 Changes of place names during the 20th century

Some Serbian place names were changed in the years after 1920. These changes, unlike those of the Hungarian names before 1920, were not an attempt at standardisation, but due to ideological reasons. In general, one can say that the minority names and exonyms used by the minorities in Vojvodina did not follow these ideological changes. The notable exception is the Croatian names, which did follow the ideological changes, since they usually followed the changes that were made to Serbian names. It is important to know that many Serbian names had existed already during the Hungarian rule.

One good example of ideological name change is a town named *Nagybecskerek* in Hungarian. Before standardisation according to Act IV 1898, the name was often written *Nagy Becskerek* or, rarely, just *Becskerek*. In accordance with the act, all place names had to be written as one word, so after the act came into force the Hungarian name was written *Nagybecskerek*. *Nagy* in Hungarian means 'large or big'. This was translated into the different languages spoken in Vojvodina, while the rest of the name was transcribed. The Serbian name at that time was *Veliki Bečkerek*, in German *Großbetschkerek*. (*Veliki* in Serbian and *Groß* in German mean 'large'.) In 1935 the Serbian name was changed to *Petrovgrad* to commemorate Peter I, the first king of the Kingdom of the Serb, Croats and Slovenes (after 1929 Kingdom of Yugoslavia). In 1941, when Yugoslavia ceased to exist, the name was changed back to *Veliki Bečkerek*. The town was not returned to Hungary in 1941 but became part of the special administration area of the *Bačka*, which was officially administered by Serbia. After 1944 the town was named *Zernjanin* (*Зрењанин*) after the

Vojvodina Serb partisan *Žarko Zernjanin*. The Croatian name followed this change, but in Hungarian and German the original names were preserved.

Today the place is called *Zernjanin* in Serbian and *Nagybecsekrek* in Hungarian. While the Serbian name preserves an ideological name change that came about near the end of World War II, the Hungarian name preserves the original name that was given by the standardisation act. The name used between 1935 and 1944 has not been preserved by any language and can be looked upon as a historical name. It is neither an endonym nor an exonym, since neither people living there nor people living outside the town use it today.

An interesting feature of the town's name is that the first part was sometimes translated into languages that were never spoken in Vojvodina. For instance, in 1917 a map of the Southern Slav Territories was published in London by Sir Arthur Evans. On the map the town was named *Great Becskerek*. The naming was done on the same basis as all other names at the time, but is unique in the sense that, while all other names were given by people from language groups present in Vojvodina, *Great Becskerek* is an English name, and English has never been spoken in the province as a mother tongue.

While most artificial name changes were made to the Serbian names, some Hungarian names were also changed. One such example is the village called *Királyhalom*, which was the official name after 1898. After the Treaty of Trianon, the village was handed over to Yugoslavia. The Serbian name became *Bački Vinogradi*. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were, and still are, Hungarian. The locals have continued to call their village *Királyhalom*. During the Yugoslav rule, however, the name *Bácsszöllős* (Lelkes 2011:352) was given as the official Hungarian name, which was a direct translation of the Serbian name, although the locals continued to use *Királyhalom*. Because the official name had never actually become an endonym, the Hungarian Alliance of Vojvodina (a Hungarian Party in the parliament of Vojvodina) requested that the official Hungarian name be changed back to *Királyhalom* – which was granted by the authorities. This name change is a good example of an artificial, yet official, name that is never used by locals and eventually gets changed to what the locals use in their own language.

The use of the name *Bácsszöllős* as an exonym also remained limited. The Serbian name was translated into Hungarian by government officials. They might have used it to a limited extent, although no record of this exists. The Serbs used the Serbian form of the name, while the Hungarians living both in Vojvodina and Hungary used the original Hungarian name *Királyhalom*. The Serbian name *Bački Vinogradi* is widely used, since, despite its being a small village, it has a border crossing to Hungary that can be used by European Union and Serbian citizens. Also, it is often used by locals visiting the neighbouring village and other citizens who want to avoid queues at the nearby border crossings of *Röszke–Horgoš* (see section 6.7 of this paper). This made the Serbian name known throughout Vojvodina and the whole of Serbia; thus, it can safely be called an exonym, since it is widely used by people not living in the village. The locals call the place *Királyhalom*.

6.4 Names identical in different languages

We can see that, in most cases, the Serbian name differs from the Hungarian name, while in some rare cases they are the same. Such is the case with a place that in Hungarian is called *Bajmok*. The Serbian name is pronounced the same way as the Hungarian name, and when written in Latin script the spelling is also the same. The official Serbian name written in Cyrillic script is *Бајмок*.

In such cases the signposting is not consistent. Sometimes the names in Latin script are repeated to show that the same name is used in different languages. In other cases, only two names are signposted, one using the Cyrillic script, the other using the Latin script. The signposting of Serbian names in Latin script is also inconsistent. The places have more than one place-name sign, so the repeating of names on signs sometimes even varies within one settlement, and on some signs the same name will appear twice, while on others it only appears once.

The law governing language use in Vojvodina clearly mandates the signposting of official minority place names, hence many places have multiple names signposted. However, no rulings are given on what to do if the same name is used in multiple languages. The one interpretation of the law is that, when a particular name is written on the sign, all languages using the name are represented. The other interpretation is that it is just a coincidence that the names are the same, and that the names must be repeated for all languages that are made official in that particular settlement. The fact that there is no court ruling on the matter and that both interpretations co-exist causes some inconsistency in the format of the signs.

The use of multiple place names makes it easy to determine which ethnic groups live in significant numbers in a particular settlement by simple field observations. The ratio of the minority cannot be seen, but this is not necessary in order to determine whether a particular place name is an endonym or an exonym (Vajdaság Autonóm Tartomány Képviselőháza 2014).

6.5 Place names on direction signs

Multilingual place names are not only seen on the official place-name signs, but also on the direction signs. The signposting on direction signs does not depend on whether the signposted name is an exonym or an endonym, but on which languages are official in the settlement where the sign is situated. Thus, not only minority place names are signposted, but also exonyms in the official languages used in the settlement where the sign is situated (Figure 4).

Figure 4: *A multilingual direction sign in Vojvodina (Source: Author)*

Serbian names, regardless of whether they are used by the locals or not, are always signposted. The official Serbian names are written in Cyrillic script, but usually they are also written in Latin script under the Cyrillic, especially on direction signs. Since these are very similar, and in many cases the same as the Croat names, one must have a general idea of the language spoken by the inhabitants of a given settlement in order not to confuse the Serbian and Croat names. While Hungarian and Serbian names (although not always official) exist for all settlements in the province, other minority languages have names for places only where the minorities either live today or have lived in the past. This is due to the fact that these languages have never been official state language in the region, while Hungarian was a state language in the past and Serbian is the official state language today.

6.6 Knowledge of minority place names outside the local communities

Non-Serbian names of larger settlements are known throughout the province and beyond, but names of smaller places are generally known only by the locals. Signposted names are known to a much wider public than names that are not signposted. The Hungarian names of some smaller places are much more widely known in Vojvodina than in Hungary.

6.7 Naming of border posts

One could say that Vojvodina is probably one of the best examples of the widespread use of both minority names and minority language exonyms. This is in compliance with the UN resolution regarding the use of multilingual and minority place names. The only exception is the naming of border posts. These are named after the nearest settlement to the border post. Despite being in Vojvodina, the border posts are operated by the Serbian government and not the local government of the province, so their names are signposted in the official state language, even if the place name on the sign is multilingual. Despite not being signposted on the border posts or bearing official status, the names used by the locals depend on the language spoken. Similarly, the minority language media also use the minority names or exonyms of border towns and villages for naming the border posts. When waiting times are announced on the radio broadcast in Hungarian, the name of the border post is announced in Hungarian.

It is important to note that the Hungarian name used in Vojvodina on the Serbian–Hungarian border is not the name used in Hungary, as the border post in Hungary is named after the nearest settlement in Hungary, while in Serbia it is named after the nearest settlement in Serbia. The Hungarian language broadcast in Vojvodina always announces the Hungarian name of the settlement nearest to the border post in Serbia. For example, on the Serbian–Hungarian border there is a village named *Bački Vinogradi* in Serbian and *Királyhalom* in Hungarian. On the Hungarian side of the border there is a village named *Ásotthalom*. A road with a border post leads between the two villages. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of both villages speak Hungarian, so on the Serbian side, both the Hungarian and the Serbian name of the village is official, while on the Hungarian side the Hungarian name is official. In Hungary the border post is announced as *Ásotthalom*. In Vojvodina, the Serbian broadcast announces it as *Bački Vinogradi* while the Hungarian language broadcast announces it as *Királyhalom*. The signpost at the border post shows its name only as *Bački Vinogradi* on the Serbian side and *Ásotthalom* on the Hungarian side. Sometimes in written text the naming of the border posts is done using the place name from both sides. In this case the name used for the border post is *Ásotthalom–Bački Vinogradi* or *Ásotthalom–Királyhalom* in Hungary, and *Bački Vinogradi–Ásotthalom* or *Királyhalom–Ásotthalom* in Vojvodina. The order of the names depends on which side of the border they are used.

Most other signs on the border are bilingual or multilingual, which is not due to minority language use, but to help inform citizens of both neighbouring countries crossing the border about the rules and procedures and to welcome them in each other's countries. These signs are usually translated into German and English, as well as into any language spoken by citizens who often cross the border at that border post. Although the minority names are being used in local broadcasts or writing, the official name of the border posts themselves are Serbian in Serbia and Hungarian in Hungary.

The example of names of border posts shows a clear distinction in place-name use by a local government of an autonomous province and by the central government. The language of a minority living in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is official in that province, so the place names in that language are seen as official names. However, these languages are not official in the government in Belgrade and hence the minority place names are not used there. The border posts are the only establishment in Vojvodina that are not administered by the provincial government, a fact which is .evident in their official names. This clarifies the level of autonomy the province actually has, because if the naming of features were the responsibility of the central government in Belgrade, these features would not bear minority names.

7. CONCLUSION

A broad level of autonomy in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina can be seen, especially in the use of place names on place-name and direction signs. When it comes to border posts, which are administered by the central government, the distinction between naming that is administered by the central government and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina becomes clear. When looking at the situation in Vojvodina as a whole, one can safely conclude that it is one of the best examples of multilingual place-name use in accordance with the UNGEGN principles mentioned in the introduction. This makes way for simultaneous use of multilingual place names instead of prescribing one place name for a particular settlement.

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LINGUISTIC FOSSILS IN THE STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT

Colonisation of the State of Rio de Janeiro began in the 16th century with the presence mainly of French invaders, who was associated with the Tamoyos indigenous group. They were expelled in 1567, when the territorial occupation and colonisation by the Portuguese were initiated. At the beginning of the 16th century, the state territory was occupied by four large identified indigenous groups and an unidentified group, totalling more than 20 different languages. These are spread throughout the present territory, where indigenous toponymy is reflected in about 35% of toponyms in general. This work reports on research conducted on the indigenous toponyms in the State of Rio de Janeiro which sought to identify those from native languages, extinct or not, who are not part of the Tupi language branch.

To achieve this aim, toponymy on historical and current maps was extracted, identifying toponyms of indigenous origin which do not belong to the Tupi group, the majority group in Brazil. In this way, the presence of toponyms originating from other linguistic groups will be shown, compared with historical-indigenous dictionaries, from the collections of travellers from the 18th and 19th centuries, which highlighted the great indigenous and linguistic diversity existing in the interior of Brazil. Thus, the historical rescue of the indigenous toponymy of the state was investigated. The research was also carried out on part of the bordering states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo, due to the nomadic characteristics of the original peoples.

Keywords: Brazil, Indigenous languages, Linguistic fossils, Rio de Janeiro State

1. INTRODUCTION

The State of Rio de Janeiro is one of the 26 states of the Republic of Brazil, located in the southeast region of the country, as can be seen in Figure 1. The state has an area of 43 750 426 sq. km and shares borders with the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, and the Atlantic Ocean.

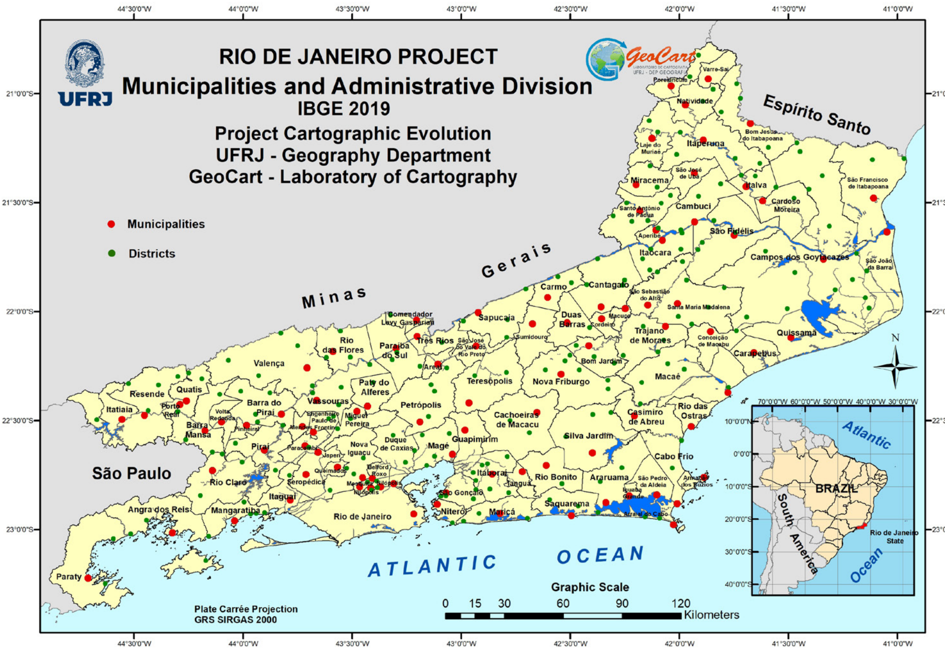

Figure 1: *Rio de Janeiro State, Municipalities and Administrative Division (Source: Authors)*

It is administratively divided into 92 municipalities and 194 districts, still having about 200 villages and more than 800 small population centres. Its hydrography includes circa 1 480 rivers, streams, ditches, and canals. Within their bays, about 480 islands can be counted, among the oceanic ones, and some river islands in their main rivers. Its orography encloses approximately 240 mountains, massifs, hills, peaks, and hills.

At the time of its colonisation the geography of the state was diverse, and the settlers were forced to explore rivers, ponds, mangroves, and swamps, situated in the plains and lowlands, called the *flumens*, as well as mountains and plateaus (Prado 2000). The physical map of the state can be seen in Figure 2.

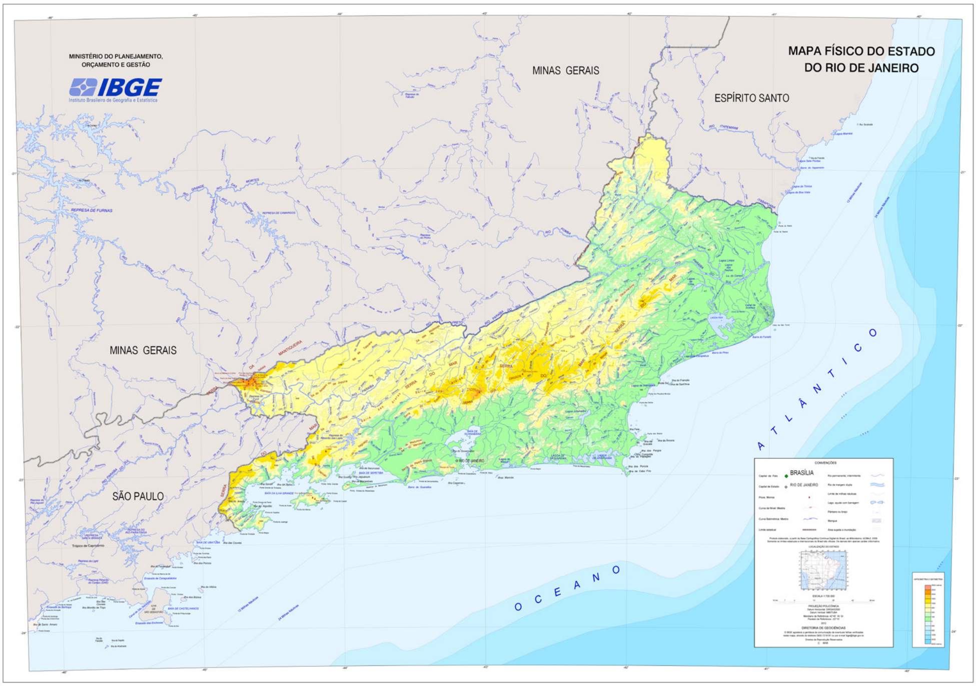

Figure 2: *Physical map of Rio de Janeiro State (IBGE [2012])*

The main penetration routes to the countryside were through four main axes: the City of Rio de Janeiro located in the current Guanabara Bay, the village of Cabo Frio, the bottom of Guanabara Bay, and the Paraíba do Sul River, its main watercourse. From the City of Rio de Janeiro, the road of Paraty and São Paulo was established, as well as the old road to Minas Gerais. The new road ran through the bottom of the Bay, linking it to Minas Gerais and allowing the flow of gold and precious stones from the mines to the coast. At Cabo Frio, the lowlands were occupied, and the Paraíba River was exploited in the northeast of the state and settlements along its valley (Santos 2008).

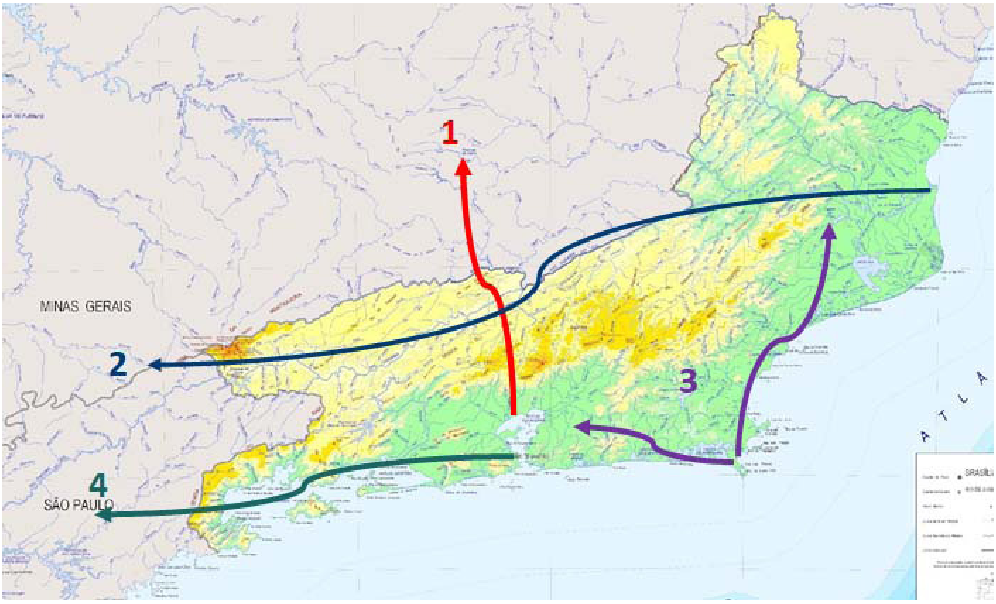

Figure 3: *Penetration axes for state exploration (Source: Authors)*

The nomination process in Rio de Janeiro began a few years after the new land had been discovered through the exploratory expeditions sent to the Brazilian coast from 1501 to 1560. The history of Rio de Janeiro's toponymy began in 1501, during the first exploratory expedition led by Gaspar de Lemos, with Américo Vespúcio's participation. The first nominations occurred on 1 January 1502, of the current Baía de Guanabara ('Guanabara Bay'), and of Cabo Frio ('Cold Cape') in 1503.

The name of Rio de Janeiro ('January River') was given wrongly, as it was mistaken for the mouth of a river, instead of a bay. Luiz de Teixeira developed a Codex called *Roteiro de todos os sinais, conhecimentos, fundos, baixos, alturas, e derrotas que há na costa do Brasil desde o cabo de Santo Agostinho até ao Estreito de Fernão de Magalhães*. The maps of the current Guanabara Bay (Rio de Janeiro) and Cabo Frio area can be seen in Figure 4 (Biblioteca da Ajuda 1992).

Figure 4: *Rio de Janeiro Bay and Cabo Frio maps in the Luiz de Teixeira Codex*

Of course, other names were given to the surroundings, in Portuguese, the discoverers' mother language, ignoring the existence of names given by indigenous locals. The colonisation and the first settlements were developed after the second quarter of the 16th century, but only consolidated during the third quarter, after the French invasions.

2. INDIGENOUS GROUPS IN THE RIO DE JANEIRO STATE

The Brazil of 1500 was an immense territory in which a framework of total multilingualism existed, consisting of approximately 1 175 languages without any associated writing. It was assumed that there were six million indigenous people from different linguistic groups living in the territory (Coutinho 1976). There was, however, a relatively unique linguistic unit along the coast, where indigenous people from the Tupi group, belonging to the Tupi-Guarani family, had been settled. Even those who were enemies historically, such as the Tupiniquins and the Tupinambás, spoke a very similar language (Freire 1996).

It is possible to verify the existence of groups in the countryside and in the Amazon whose linguistic group was quite adverse, mainly from the groups located on the coast, such as the Arawak, Karib, Je, Pano, Tukano, Bororo, Kariri and hundreds of other smaller groups, showing the linguistic diversity present in the colony. Figure 5 shows the distribution of the Tupi trunk along the coast and Figure 6 shows the distribution of the main ethnic groups in the Brazilian territory (Arruda 2001).

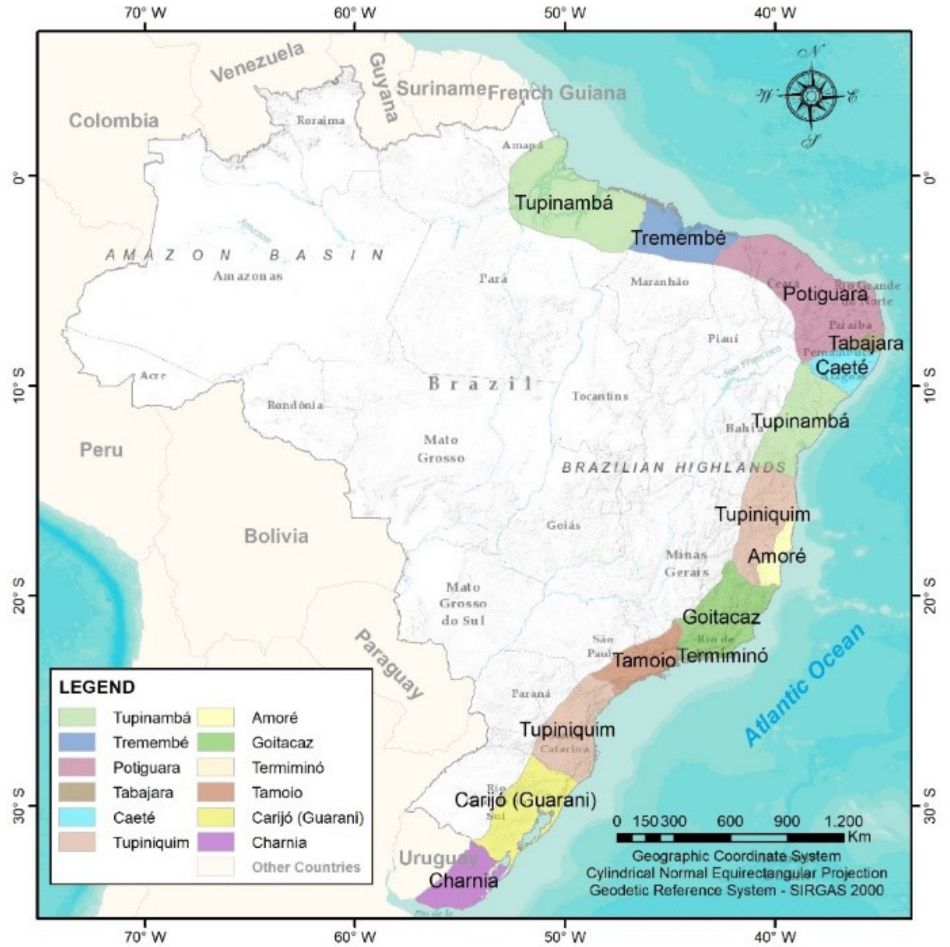

Figure 5: *Distribution of the Tupi trunk along the coast (Source: modified from Arruda [2001])*

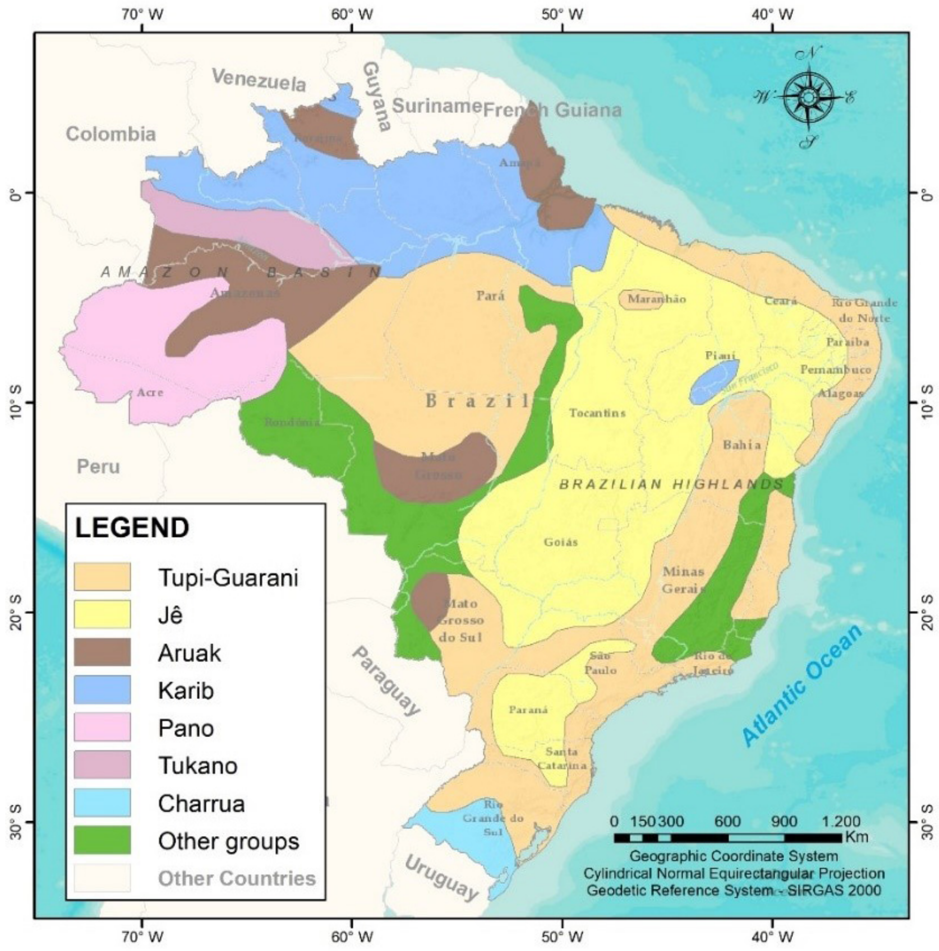

Figure 6: *Distribution of the main ethnic groups in the territory of the then colony (Source: modified from Arruda [2001])*

In the Rio de Janeiro State, the situation was similar, although it is not possible to fully identify all indigenous groups. Due to the nomadic characteristics of these groups, we need to consider the areas within the other three border states, Espírito Santo (NE), Minas Gerais (N) and São Paulo (SW), in an attempt to identify them all.

In the Rio de Janeiro State and surroundings two main linguistic branches were known, as well as four family groups, consisting of 20 different languages (Freire & Malheiros 1997). The first main linguistic branch is the Tupi grouping, including the Tupi-Guarani family of languages, and the second is the Macro-Jê branch comprising the three families of Pury, Botocudo and Maxakalí, each in turn comprising several different languages (Menezes *et al* 2015). The main branches and their respective families are discussed below.

2.1 Tupi branch

The Tupi or Tupi-Guarani family includes more than 100 languages spoken in the whole of Brazil and some South American countries. At least five of them were spoken in Rio de Janeiro by the following groups:

a) Tupinambás or Tamoyos, along the lagoons and coastal cove areas from Cabo Frio to Angra dos Reis,

b) Temiminó or Maracajá, located in the current Guanabara Bay,

c) Tupinikin or Margaya, on the north coast of Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo State,

d) Ararape or Arary, in Paraíba do Sul River Valley, and

e) Maromomi or Miramomim, in the old Mission of St Barnabas (São Barnabé), Municipality of Itaboraí.

Figure 7 shows the localisation of these groups inside Rio de Janeiro State.

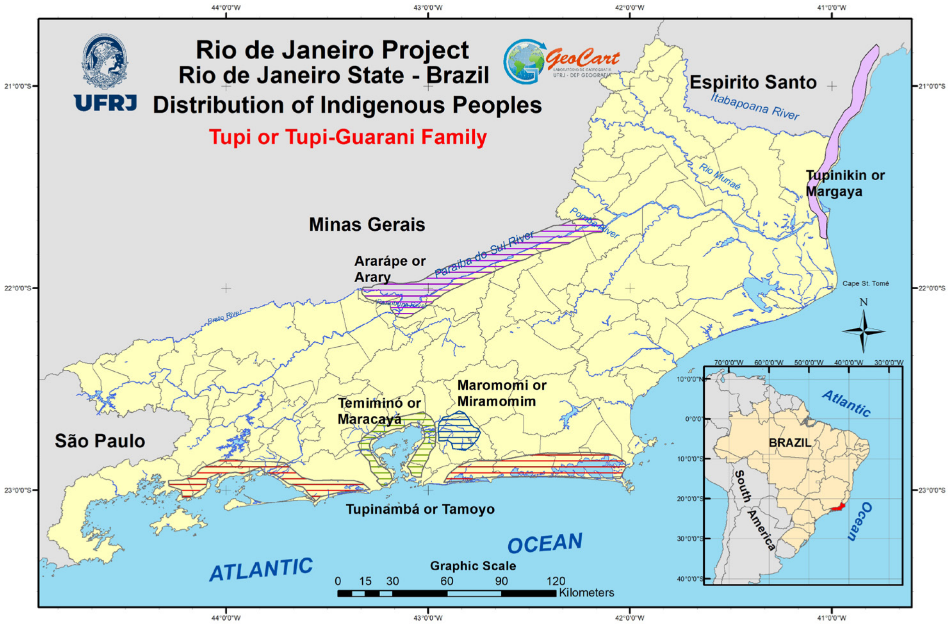

Figure 7: *Localisation of Tupi family in Rio de Janeiro (Source: Authors)*

2.2 Macro-Jê branch

The term 'macro-jê' designates the linguistic branch that, in addition to the Gê family, includes the Bororo, Botocudo, Camacã, Carajá, Cariri, Guató, Masacará, Maxakalí, Ofaié, Puri, Riquibatissa and Tarairiu families, among others. The Puri, Botocudo and Maxakalí families can be found in the Rio de Janeiro State and contribute to more than 50 different languages (Menezes *et al* 2015).

2.2.1 Puri family

Divided into 23 languages, this family was spread across regions of the current states of Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo and São Paulo. Twelve of them were spoken in Rio de Janeiro. The first six have disappeared, but left some records. The others are little known and extinct and may have belonged to this family.

a) Puri, Telikong or Paqui, spoken in the valleys of Itabapoana and Middle Paraíba River and in the Mantiqueira and Frecheiras mountains, between the Pomba and Muriaé Rivers,

b) Coroado, on the Serra do Mar and the valleys of the Paraíba, Pomba and Preto Rivers,

c) Coropó, on the Pomba River and on the south bank of high Paraíba River,

d) Goitacá, Guaitacá, Waitaka ou Aitacaz, in the plains and sandbanks in the north of the state, nearby Cape of São Tomé, between Lagoa Feia and the mouth of the Paraíba River,

e) Guaru ou Guarulho, spoken in the Serra dos Órgãos and on the banks of the rivers Piabanha, Paraíba and tributaries, including the Muriaé River, inside of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo,

f) Pitá, in Rio Bonito municipality area,

g) Xumeto, in Mantiqueira Massif,

h) Bacunin, in Preto River valley and surrounds of the current municipality of Valença,

i) Bocayú, Preto and Pomba Rivers,

j) Caxiné, between the Preto and Paraíba Rivers,

k) Sacaru, in the valley of the Middle Paraíba River, and

l) Paraíba, also in the valley of the Middle Paraíba River.

Figure 8 shows the distribution of these groups in Rio de Janeiro.

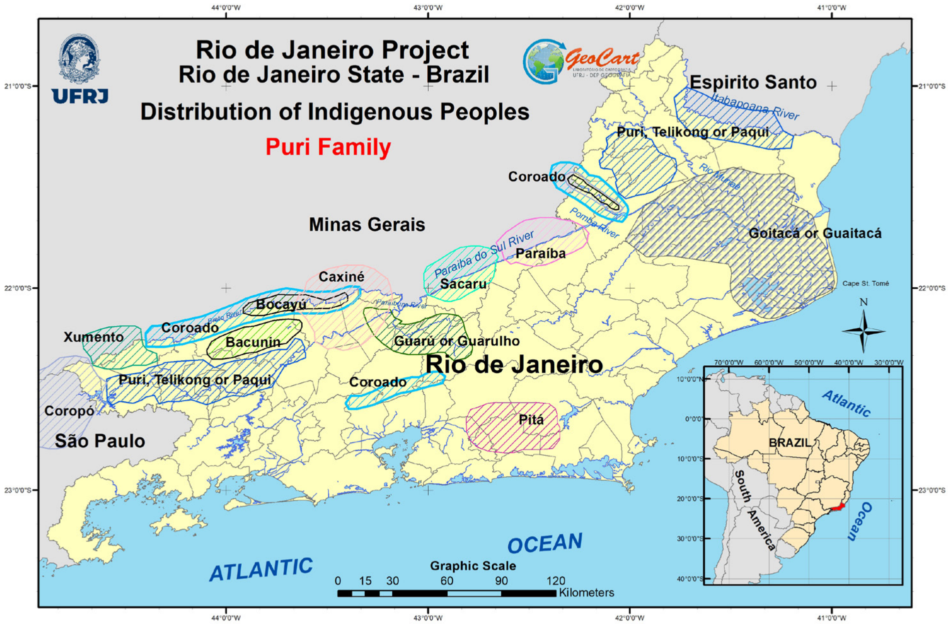

Figure 8: *Distribution of the Puri family (Source: Authors)*

2.2.2 Botocudo family

Consisting of 38 dialects, almost all of them were spoken in the areas of the current states of Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais, as Krenak on the Doce River and Naknanuk at Mucuri and São Mateus, and as Botocudo, Aimoré or Batachoa in Rio de Janeiro, in the valleys of Itapaboana River, and in the Macacu River area. Figure 9 shows its distribution in the state.

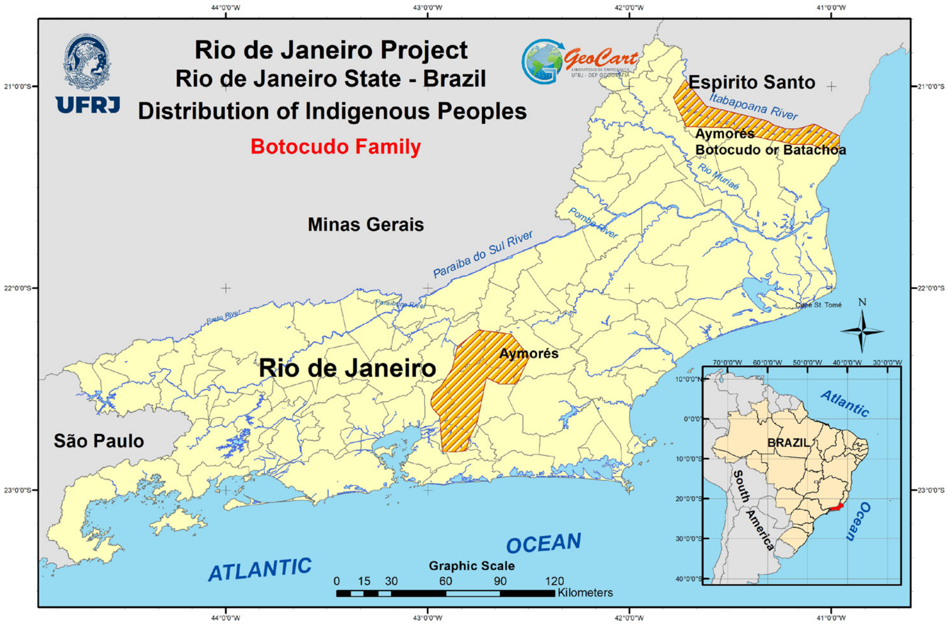

Figure 9: *Distribution of the Botocudo family (Source: Authors)*

2.2.3 Maxakalí or Mashakalí family

There were 27 spoken languages in the areas of the current states of Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo and Bahia. In Rio de Janeiro, there is reference to only one language: the Maxakalí or Mashakalí spoken for a while on the river Carangola area on the current borders of Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais. Figure 10 shows where this family was spoken in Rio de Janeiro.

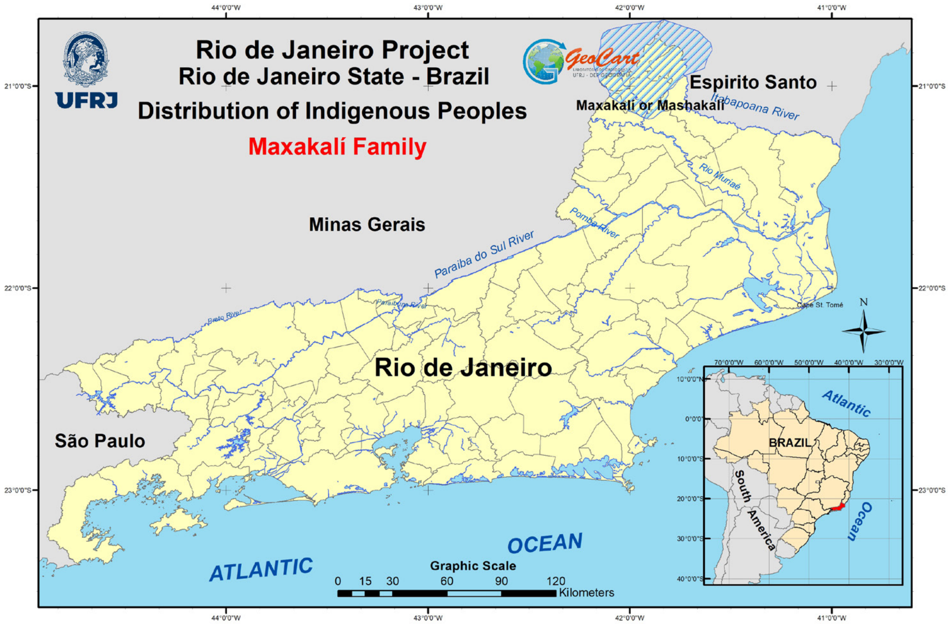

Figure 10: *Distribution of the Maxakalí family (Source: Authors)*

3. TOPONYMY OF THE RIO DE JANEIRO STATE

It is possible to analyse the toponymy of the State of Rio de Janeiro according to the availability of information that can be extracted from maps of various scales. Some of these maps can provide a list of toponyms, such as the sheets of the map at 1 : 1 000 000 scale of Brazil. There are maps available at larger scales, such as 1 : 400 000, organised by different institutions, both federal and state, as well as systematic maps on sheets at scales of 1 : 250 000 and 1 : 50 000 and the continuous state map at the scale of 1 : 25 000.

The state's historical cartography is quite rich, providing maps on scales ranging from 1 : 300 000 to 1 : 700 000. The statement that the larger the scale of the map, the greater the number of toponyms, is true in some cases, but not in all.

The study of toponymy was carried out on the sheets of the millionth Brazil map, due to the existence of the list of names and coordinates. The survey of toponymy in the sheets at 1 : 50 000 is still being conducted, by the Laboratory of Cartography of the

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, but it is an extensive work, with the extraction and cataloguing of about 88 000 names.

The linguistic analysis of the toponyms was carried out with regard to Portuguese, indigenous languages (without distinction of linguistic groups), languages of African origin, and other languages. Initially, for comparative purposes, the analysis was performed for the entire southeast region, comparing the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Espírito Santo. Table 1 shows the result of the analysis.

Table 1: *Toponymic linguistic analysis of the southeast region and its states*

Regions and states	Portuguese (%)	Indigenous (%)	African (%)	Other (%)
Southeast	68.638	29.860	0.958	0.545
Minas Gerais	75.340	23.460	0.950	0.250
Espírito Santo	67.680	30.800	1.220	0.300
Rio de Janeiro	65.820	32.340	0.840	1.000
São Paulo	65.710	32.840	0.820	0.630

The table shows that the distribution is almost similar among all states. But the crude classification of only one indigenous linguistic group gives an erroneous sense of the old linguistic diversity, which could easily lead to a deduction that all languages were Tupi (Menezes, Santos & Resende 2014).

From to the toponymy extraction from old maps since the 16th century, it is possible to verify the linguistic distribution. Among these old maps of Rio de Janeiro, whether as a captaincy, province or state, the territory represented is very similar to the current distribution. In this way, it is possible to identify, over time, how the occupation of the territory took place, along the main penetration trails. The following maps were chosen from all maps belonging to the 18th, 19th, and middle 20th centuries:

a) Mapa Chorographico da Capitania do Rio de Janeiro – Domingos Capassi – 1732 – 1 : 600 000,

b) Carta Chorographica da Capitania do Rio de Janeiro – Francisco José Roscio – 1777 – 1 : 350 000,

c) Carta Chorographica da Província do Rio de Janeiro – Pedro d'Alcantara Bellegarde – 1857 – 1 : 300 000,

d) Millionth Map of the World – 1922, and

e) Millionth Digital Map of the World – 2011.

Table 2 shows the extracted toponymy and linguistic distribution on the chosen maps.

Table 2: *Extracted toponymy and linguistic distribution on chosen maps*

Maps	Portuguese (%)	Indigenous (%)	Other (%)	Extracted toponymy
Capassi – 1732	62.340	34.460	3.20	157
Roscio – 1777	51.680	46.800	1.220	669
1858	65.820	32.340	0.840	2 787
1922 Millionth	65.710	32.840	0.820	1 787
1 : 1 000 000	61.750	31.090	7.160	3 786

Figures 11 and 12 show the 1732 and 1777 maps, with the marked toponymy.

Figure 11: *Domingos Capassi 1732 map (Source: National Library, Rio de Janeiro – BNRJ)*

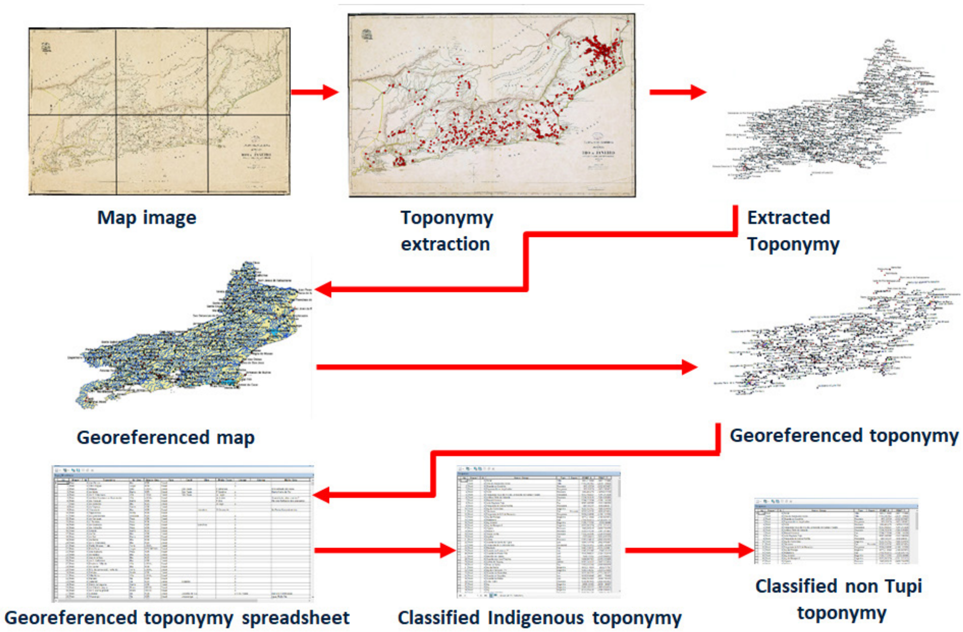

Figure 12: *Francisco Roscio 1777 map (Source: National Library, Rio de Janeiro)*

4. METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Methodology

The methodology was performed through the following procedures:

a) Toponymy extraction using ArcGis 10.3

Following the standards of Menezes (2020), each toponym was marked and edited in the toponym extraction script, in a layer defined by a point shapefile. The associated table was assembled to later receive all other information necessary for the various analyses that developed.

b) Georeferencing of the extracted toponymy

Georeferencing allows one to assign geographic coordinates to extracted toponyms. Some precautions should be taken, however, especially in relation to the continuity of the map, because, if there are spaces of folds, this will affect the accuracy of the obtained coordinates.

c) Linguistic classification of the extracted toponymy

The linguistic classification was developed for Portuguese, indigenous and other languages (French, English, Dutch, African, among others). Hybrid names were classified according to the indigenous component, for example, for the toponym *São José de Itabapoana,* the indigenous name *Itabapoana* was classified.

d) Linguistic classification of the indigenous languages

The aim was to show only whether the toponym has Tupi origin.

e) Analysis of non-Tupi toponymy

To check is whether the toponym belongs to Tupi or Gê language.

f) Identification of the linguistic group to which the analysed toponym belongs

To check the linguistic group the name belongs to.

g) Classification into a fossils or non-fossils toponymy

If the name doesn't belong to any linguistic group, it is classified as a linguistic fossil.

Figure 13 shows the flowchart of the methodology.

Figure 13: *Flowchart of the applied methodology*

4.2 Toponymy analysis

The methodology was applied on each map selected for the toponymy extraction. First, the extracted toponymy was georeferenced, adding coordinates (latitude and longitude) to them. Then, a linguistic classification was applied to the extracted toponymy. All the indigenous names, including the hybrid names, were separated, and again classified into Tupi and non-Tupi names. The non-Tupi names were compared to dictionaries and indigenous glossaries (thesaurus) of the possible indigenous languages in the Rio de Janeiro State, allowing further classification into one of the non-Tupi identified indigenous linguistic groups in the state (Sampaio 1914).

The georeferencing process is important because it allows the identification of similar toponymy and locating them geographically. Thus, the toponyms were compared by means of masks containing the geographical position of all indigenous linguistic groups.

Table 3 shows the 13 non-Tupi toponymy extracted, geographical features, geographical coordinates and identified indigenous linguistic group.

Table 3: *List of the non-Tupi toponymy extracted*

	Toponym	Feature	Latitude	Longitude	Language	Obs.
1	Caluge	?	-22° 46′ 19″	-42° 52′ 19″	NI	NI
2	Jandiú	River	-22° 43′ 09″	-42° 33′ 42″	NI	
3	Bicuíba	Field	-22° 58′ 06″	-42° 24′ 32″	NI	
4	Bracanã	?	-22° 42′ 52″	-42° 40′ 59″	NI	
6	Tapinhoan	Hill	-22° 39′ 43″	-22° 26′ 24″	NI	
7	Gargoá	River	-22° 36′ 12″	-42° 01′ 07″	Goytacá	
8	Cayanna	Hill	-20° 58′ 42″	-41° 47′ 05″	Maxakalí	
9	Pachú	Field	-22° 02′ 10″	-42° 52′ 22″	Goytacá	
10	Imburiry	River	-21° 28′ 04″	-41° 21′ 03″	NI	
11	Mandiquera	?	-22° 09′ 57″	-41° 35′ 13″	NI	
12	Caxaí	Marsh	-21° 36′ 33″	-41° 10′ 30″	Goytacá	
13	Tay	Lagoon	-21° 47′ 04″	-41° 08′ 36″	NI	

** NI – not identified*

4.3 Some comments on the results

There was no non-Tupi indigenous toponymy found related to any kind of cities and villages. On the other hand, the existent non-Tupi toponymy was found mainly in orographic and hydrographic features. This can be explained as a factor of non-empowerment, that is, non-Tupi speakers did not have sufficient power to nominate a settlement.

None of the toponyms could be matched with any Tupi word in current dictionaries. In this way, it was possible to say that these names do not belong to the Tupi, seeing that this branch is well known and researched. The language definition of each toponym is not trivial because there are little or no information about them.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The research was developed over six maps as a sample of a collection of 167 maps from Rio de Janeiro State. The most time-consuming step was the extraction of toponyms on the old maps and their classification.

Initially, the intention was to extract from all historical maps, because this would allow us to observe changes in the toponyms. Furthermore, in this way, it would be possible to compare them to the existing toponyms on current maps. However, the extraction was developed only from the most representative old maps.

The presence of a linguist, specialising in dead indigenous languages, proved to be essential. In this way we provided for the inclusion of a specialist in the research team.

Most of the surveyed maps ranged between the scales of 1 : 1 000 000 and 1 : 300 000. The intension is to extend the search to larger scales and even the search *in loco*. There seems to be a large possibility of recovering geographical names belonging to extinct indigenous languages.

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THE LEGAL RECOGNITION OF SIGNED LANGUAGES AND SIGNED PLACE NAMES AROUND THE WORLD: A NAME-PLANNING PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

From a place-name planning perspective one of the central questions about signed place names is whether they should be recognised as names used by a unique minority. This question relates to the legal recognition of both sign languages (SLs) and signed toponymy.

The legal recognition of SLs involves the granting of legal status to either the language or the language users in legislation, whereas the legal recognition of place names stems from the responsibility of geographical names authorities to standardise all geographical names within their polity, as recommended by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN). Scholars argue that signed place names exist within parallel toponymies, therefore the core question regarding their legal recognition is whether place-name authorities are recognising them within the system of 'multiple/dual names'.

In this paper the relationship between the legal recognition of signed languages and of signed place names are first investigated among selected international authorities and secondly reflected upon in the South African context. The aim of the paper is to determine whether the place-name authorities of countries that provide some form of recognition to the national sign language take signed names into consideration. From the results, principles regarding the recognition of signed place names are extracted for future place-name planning.

Keywords: legal recognition, place-name planning, sign languages, signed place names, standardisation

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2019 Du Plessis and Matabane presented a paper, *The implications for place name planning of the officialization of South African Sign Language* at the 5th International Symposium on Place Names (Du Plessis & Matabane 2019). Based on their research, they argued that place-name recognition does not depend on the officialisation of a language, referring to two cases: New Zealand (New Zealand Sign Language has been official since 2006) and Canada (Canadian Sign Language is not official). Yet, they noted the need to document and recognise signed toponymy as an alternative toponymy, parallel to the already standardised names of countries.

The call for recognition is based on the authentic nature of signed toponymy as a phenomenon specific to the Deaf (Paales 2010:33, 47), irrespective of the variety of myths and misconceptions about the languages and their speakers (Reagan 2020:74). For one, sign language (SL) is not a universal language. According to Woll, Sutton-Spence and Elton (2001:8), a different SL is used by different Deaf communities. *Ethnologue* (Eberhard, Simons & Fenning 2021) currently lists a total of 150 signed languages, each of which have their own structure and vocabulary.

Despite the differences in language, there are Deaf-specific patterns in the creation of name signs, even though geographical names also differ among different SLs (Matthews, McKee & McKee 2009:723). It is important to note that only a Deaf person can create and allocate an SL name. Matthews *et al* (2009:723) argue that places that do not commonly enter Deaf discourse are less likely to have an established sign. Thus, a sign is established only for places that the Deaf need to refer to, and the signers' familiarity with a place is an important factor in the name-giving process (Revilla 2009:9). In addition, place-name signs are not translated from spoken languages although they can be influenced by the official names in the community (Sutton-Spence & Woll 1998:248).

While the recognition of a language does not influence the recognition of place names, Du Plessis (2020) argues that it might help within the SL context. With this paper, we sought to further investigate the relationship between the legal recognition of SLs and their place names by focusing on the approach of international place-name authorities towards managing signed place names. As a response to the above-mentioned paper by Du Plessis and Matabane, this paper also reports on new developments in South Africa since 2019.

2. THE LEGAL RECOGNITION OF SIGN LANGUAGES

Considering the influence that the different approaches to deafness have on the legal protection of the Deaf community (see Reagan 2020), this paper relies on De Meulder's[4] (2015) typology on the legal recognition of SLs. According to De Meulder (2015:498), legal recognition refers to the according of legal status to SL in legislation, and not necessarily to the implementation thereof. This recognition can either be explicit or implicit.

Explicit recognition is classified in terms of five categories, namely constitutional recognition; recognition by means of general language legislation; recognition by means of an SL law or act; recognition by means of an SL law or act including other means of communication; and lastly recognition by means of legislation on the functioning of the national language council.

Constitutional recognition is regarded as the most prestigious form of recognition; however, with regard to SL, it does not automatically grant any rights to the Deaf and can be purely symbolic in nature (De Meulder 2015:501). An example of constitutional recognition can be found in The Constitution of Uganda which refers to SL in section XXIV pertaining to cultural objectives (Government of Uganda 1995:4). Currently, only New Zealand Sign Language has been officialised through constitutional recognition granted in 2006 (De Meulder 2015:500).

Recognition through *general language legislation* calls for a state to ensure and promote the development of SL, along with the national spoken languages, for example, Sweden's Language Act (2009:600) (Swedish Ministry of Culture 2009). However, this legislation also differs from one country to another (De Meulder 2015:501).

De Meulder (2015:503) explains that countries may recognise their SL through a specific SL law or act. This forms the third category, of *recognition by means of an SL law or act*, like the Macedonian Law on the Use of Sign Language (Act 105 of 2009) (as cited in De Meulder 2015:503). The fourth category, *recognition by means of an SL law or act, including other means of communication*, is similar to the previous category, but with the inclusion of other methods of communication different from SL, such as oralism or manual sign codes. Spain's Law 27/2007, for example, recognises Spanish Sign language,

4 The authors acknowledge that new developments have taken place since 2015 and that there are some discrepancies in the classification of SL recognition. This is addressed in De Lange's doctoral study in progress, "The standardization of geographical names and signed place name planning in South Africa".

however, the means of support for oral communication of the Deaf community are regulated (Gobierno de España 2007).

Lastly, recognition is given through the *functioning of national language council* as in the case of Norway who has recognised their national SL in 2009 as part of the language council's role and function (as cited in De Meulder 2015:504).

De Meulder distinguishes a second type of recognition, namely implicit recognition. This refers to the recognition of SL only for educational, disability or equality purposes. This can be achieved by means of legislation pertaining to these domains, for example, Germany's 2002 Equality for Persons (ILO n.d), or through *a declaration or government decision*, for example, Thailand's Government Resolution of 1992 (as cited in De Meulder 2015:504). The legal instrument provides implicit recognition through only referring to sign language in general ("a sign language") and not using the relevant language's name, for example Thai Sign Language.

A third category of implicit recognition is the visible recognition of the language in some countries although not explicitly mentioned in any legislation. For example, the USA is the only country with a Deaf university, Gallaudet University.

De Meulder (2015:499-500) explains that one type of recognition does not result into more, or less, benefits for the Deaf community. The below table summarises the current situation worldwide. The left column refers to countries which recognise SLs explicitly, and the right column to countries which provide implicit recognition.

Table 1: *The legal recognition of sign languages per country involved (De Meulder [2015], updated according to the WFD [2021])*

Explicit recognition of national SL	Implicit recognition of national SL
Constitutional recognition	**Through disability, equality and education legislation only**
Uganda, Finland, South Africa, Austria, New Zealand, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Hungary, Portugal, Venezuela and Ecuador	*Disability only:* Lithuania, Germany, Mexico, Chile, Japan
General language legislation	*Education only:* Greece, France
Latvia, Estonia, Sweden, Iceland and the Netherlands	**Through a declaration or government decision**
Sign language law/act	Australia, Thailand, UK, Wales, N. Ireland, Scotland
Slovakia, Uruguay, Brazil, Slovenia, Belgium, Cyprus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Catalonia and Serbia	**Not mentioned in legislation, but recognised**
Sign language law/act, including other means of communication	Canada and the USA
Spain, Italy, Colombia, the Czech Republic and Poland	
Functioning of national language council	
Norway and Denmark	

It is assumed that the recognition of signed languages in some legal manner confirms the existence of a parallel society, one being deaf and the other hearing. However, Matthews *et al* (2009) note that, with regard to geographical names, recognition "seems to be based solely on the official written forms of spoken languages". As a consequence, signed place names are overlooked by names authorities, a phenomenon on which we reflect further in this paper.

3. PLACE-NAME PLANNING

Internationally, place-name planning is facilitated by UNGEGN. Their role is to assist, consult and make recommendations regarding the collection and standardisation of geographical names at both national and international levels (UNGEGN 2006:1). They recommend, among other things, that countries establish a geographical names body to facilitate the standardisation process. The body does not have to be a government institution, but it should have legal or official authority since the recognition and validity of the standardisation process, within and outside of government, will be based on the place-name organisation's credentials. Therefore, it is best if authority is obtained directly from the law-making arm of the national government (Orth 2006:18).

This was the case with the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) in South Africa, the Commission Permanente Spécialisée de Toponymie in Algeria, and the New Zealand Geographic Board / Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa in New Zealand (UNGEGN 2018). The question, however, is how UNGEGN and place-name authorities approach the matter of alternative names, especially referring to minority languages. In addition, it should be determined whether the legal recognition of an SL is acknowledged by authorities and whether signed toponymy is included.

4. METHODOLOGY

This paper is presented in the form of a case study. Data was collected through document analysis and structured interviews. The document analysis included UNGEGN's Manual for the National Standardization of Geographical Names (Orth 2006), as well as the Toponymic Guidelines for Map and Other Editors for International Use of identified place-name authorities. UNGEGN's (2018) contact information for national names authorities was consulted to identify relevant authorities.

According to this document, 97 countries have an authority involved in place-name standardisation, of which 32 countries recognise SL in some manner according to De Meulder's typology. For purposes of this paper, the place-name authorities from New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa were excluded from this case study, since Du Plessis and Matabane (2019) reported on Canada and New Zealand, and South Africa will be discussed separately in this paper. From the rest, only twenty-three countries' toponymic guidelines were available on UNGEGN's (n.d.) website, 16 countries with explicit recognition (Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands) and seven with implicit recognition (Australia, Germany, Greece, Japan, Thailand, and the USA).

Interviews with place-name authorities were conducted after analysing the toponymic guidelines through personal correspondence. An email pertaining to signed place names in their country was sent to the 23 identified authorities to determine whether they are aware of the legal recognition afforded to their national sign language and whether signed toponymy is recognised at a national level in their country. This correspondence was sent between 28 May 2020 and 24 September 2021, and 14 authority representatives responded.

5. RESEARCH RESULTS

5.1 Results from document analysis

The first document considered for analysis was UNGEGN's Manual for the National Standardization of Geographical Names, which provides a variety of recommendations for the standardisation of geographical names, as well as the language used in collecting and standardising place names. It acknowledges that geographical names are found in every language and that their daily use provides a practical reference system and satisfies a need to classify and name landscape features (Orth 2006:13). A standardised name is defined as the preferred name sanctioned by a names authority among allonyms (name variations) for a given feature, yet a feature can have more than one standardised name (Orth 2006:8).

The provision for more than one name is a UNGEGN recommendation for multilingual countries, where the decision on administrating multilingual names rests with the applicable names authority (Orth 2006:36). Referring to minority languages, UNGEGN emphasises the protection of minority language names through, for example, the recognition of minority names and their inclusion on official maps (Matthews *et al* 2009:727).

The manual does not make any reference to SLs, yet it can be included under the auspices of minority languages. Even though it is difficult to provide clear statistical evidence of the size of the Deaf community (Turner 2009:246), Krausneker (2003) regards SLs as "minoritized minority languages" since they are minority languages in both numerical terms and due to unequal power relations as seen in the hearing community's approach to "fix" deafness and not acknowledging SLs for educational purposes. This group becomes minorised since institutions, policies and research ignore or even explicitly exclude them. Unfortunately, UNGEGN's concerns about minority languages are confined to spoken languages, as claimed by Matthews *et al* (2009:727) and confirmed in this paper.

Another barrier to the inclusion of SLs is found in the UNGEGN's recommendation that name standardisation should include a written form (Orth 2006:10). The manual notes that this recommendation does not specifically apply to names used in speech, but that spoken usage can influence the written form and *vice versa*. The standardisation process thus involves recording names and identifying a unified written form for a name concerning the script, spelling, word forms, writing marks and capitalisation, with the conversion of different writing systems into Roman script being endorsed (Orth 2006:13, 14-15). This, of course, limits the inclusion of SLs in the national standardisation process, but with the development of digital technology (video recorders, online dictionaries, and interactive maps), it should now become possible to include SLs in the geographical space.

The second focus of the document analysis was the toponymic guidelines of the 23 identified place-name authorities to determine whether they consider in their guidelines alternative/dual naming minority languages and whether they include signed toponymy. The analysis revealed that seven countries do not make any reference to either alternative/dual or minority language names. Three countries recognise SL explicitly, namely Czech Republic (UNGEGN 2007c), Iceland (UNGEGN 1982) and Slovakia (Kováčová, Miklušová, Majtán & Povaţaj 2010), where four recognise SL implicitly, namely Greece (UNGEGN 2000), Japan (UNGEGN 2007b), Thailand (UNGEGN 2002), and USA (UNGEGN 1989).

It was further found that 14 countries refer to both alternative/dual naming practices and minority languages. Eleven grant explicit SL recognition, namely Austria (Bergmann & Jordan 2012), Denmark (UNGEGN 2017b), Estonia (Päll 2012), Finland (Paikkala, Leskinen & Hakulinen 2021), Hungary (UNGEGN 2017c), Italy (UNGEGN 2004), Norway (NMA 2020), Poland (CSGN 2010), Spain (NGIC 2012), Sweden (UNGEGN 2007a), and the Netherlands (UNGEGN 2017a); and two implicit, namely Australia (PCPN 2016), and Germany (StAGN 2016). Belgium (UNGEGN 2009), which grants explicit recognition to SL, only refers to dual naming and not minority languages. No country refers to SL. The below table provides a summary of this analysis:

Table 2: *Place-name authorities' reference to alternative/dual naming or minority languages, and sign language*

	Explicit SL recognition	**Implicit SL recognition**
No reference to alternative/dual naming and minority languages	Czech Republic, Iceland and Slovakia	Greece, Japan, Thailand and USA
Reference to alternative/ dual naming and minority languages	Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands	Australia and Germany
Reference only to alternative/dual naming	Belgium	
Reference to sign language	None	None

In the document analysed, reference to alternative/dual naming or minority languages is approached differently for each country and discussed accordingly. In Austria, for example, the Ethnic Groups Act (Volksgruppengesetz), enacted in 1976, prescribes that dual naming shall appear on topographical signs in areas with a considerable portion (i.e., a quarter) of people belonging to a national minority" (Bergmann & Jordan 2012:8). Also, the size of the minority population as a determinant is found in Finland, where a 'municipality' is defined as bilingual when the minority language speakers represent at least 8% of its population, or if they amount to more than 3 000 people. In this case, parallel names are written on maps in both languages, with the majority name indicated first (Paikkala *et al* 2021:4).

In Italy, the application responsibility is bestowed to town councils. For example, Italian toponymic guidelines state that, where the delimitation of the areas had been approved:

> in addition to the official toponyms, the town Council can deliberate the adoption of toponyms conforming to the traditions and to the local users … to be intended in addition to the protection norms existing in the Regions with special Statute and in the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano (UNGEGN 2004:15-16).

Four countries, Australia, the Netherlands, Poland and Germany, apply the use of dual names according to regions. For example, Australian guidelines state that "dual or multiple naming of features is recognised in some States and Territories" (PCPN 2016: 9). The guidelines confirm that this is a means to record names from Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, European and other cultures. When an official name already exists and name changes are not acceptable, a dual naming system or alternative names can be used as management and educative tools for naming features which are significant to the local Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander community (PCPN 2016:9, 17).

Regarding the Netherlands, which see themselves as a unilingual country, Frisian minority language has an official status in the Fryslân province, which also has an official monolingual (Frisian) name (Fryslân). The villages and towns have official bilingual names, yet several municipalities have spelled the names unilingually in Frisian and this local usage is reflected on the signposts and road maps (UNGEGN 2017a:2, 7).

Polish authorities also apply the criteria according to specific locations and not the whole country. Their guidelines state that traditional names may be used as additional names for localities, after the approval of the Commission on Names of Localities and Physiographic Objects, similar to Italy. The guidelines stipulate that "names may not be used separately and have to be placed after the respective official Polish names" since "minority languages are not official names but are 'additional names' ('supporting names')" (CSGN 2010:35-36).

In Germany, Danish, North and Sater Frisian, Upper and Lower Sorbian, and Romany are officially recognised as minority languages, as well as the regional language Low German. The respective federal states are responsible for implementing the specific geographical provisions, which predominantly include both German and the minority language, except for Romany, since the use of Romany geographical names is not common in Germany (StAGN 2016:18).

In Hungary, the importance of minority language groups is emphasised, although these languages only have local importance. According to Hungarian guidelines, minority toponyms should be shown on some types of maps, and the minority name for features can be established parallel with the Hungarian name. Names used for relief, nature conservation, transport, and communication should be available in both languages, where a single minority language name can be used as an official name in all other types of geographical names other than those mentioned (UNGEGN 2017c:2, 5).

Sweden also acknowledges five minority languages: Saami, Finnish, Meankieli (Finnish of the Tome Valley), Romani Chib and Yiddish, where the first have a historically strong geographical affiliation and are subjects of special regional measures (Nilsson *et al* 2007:13). The Swedish toponymic guidelines prescribe specific treatments for each of these languages (Nilsson *et al* 2007:15, 17).

Other countries who stipulate the use of dual and minority languages on maps and signs are Denmark, Estonia, and Norway. Danish guidelines state that "German name-forms are to be found on some older maps, mainly those produced outside Denmark in the period before South Jutland became part of Denmark in 1920" (UNGEGN 2017b:3). However, this does not seem applicable to the whole country.

On the other hand, the Estonian Place Names Act indicates that the country's historical minority place names are entitled to official approval and usage on maps and road signs. In certain cases, parallel names are allowed, one in the language of the local majority, the other of the minority (Päll 2012:11-12). Similarly, the Norwegian Place Name Act decrees that:

> Saami place names (geographical names) should be used on maps, signs and other official documents according to traditional local use. When an entity has a name in Saami as well as in Norwegian and/or Kven, all the relevant names should be used on maps, road signs etc. (NMA 2020:9)

Belgium presents a special case. They do recognise the use of alternative/dual names, but not minority languages, and the application thereof is determined by the Federation States. According to the state division, Belgium's place names are visible in Dutch, French and German, and are represented in public in different language combinations, depending on the administrative area. Dual names are used only in the bilingual area of the Brussels-Capital Region; in the Flemish and French-speaking areas they are unilingual, albeit in the official language of the area (UNGEGN 2009:5) – a French place name represented in Dutch in the Flemish area and *vice versa*.

From analysing the toponymic guidelines, it is evident that most of the selected authorities do recognise minority languages and that the use of dual naming (or of alternative names) is approached in different ways. This confirms UNGEGN's recommendation that each country should decide how to manage multilingualism and the protection of minority groups. Notable, our document analysis regarding place-name planning in these countries revealed that none of the place-name authorities provide for the inclusion of signed place names, even though the country recognises SL either implicitly or explicitly. Based on this finding, the authorities were contacted directly. Only 14 representatives responded to the email. The next section discusses their responses.

5.2 Results from structured interviews

In addition to the document analysis, an email was sent to all 23 of the identified place-name authorities to enquire about their approach to signed toponymy. The 14 authorities who responded in this preliminary interview process were:

- The Institute for the Languages of Finland (Onkamo 2020)
- Statistics Austria (Saul 2020)
- Institute of the Estonian Language (Päll 2020)
- Lantmäteriet (Aselius 2020)
- Department of Lands and Surveys, Cyprus (Hadjiraftis 2020)
- Geoportal of Belgian federal institutions (Gael 2020)
- Anton Melik Geographical Institute (Zorn 2020)
- Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre (Dokoupilova 2020)
- Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Ribeiro di lulio 2020)
- Centre for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing (Þorvaldsdóttir 2020) (on behalf of Icelandic Roots)
- Spatial Mapping (Watt 2021)
- US Board on Geographic Names (Runyon 2021)
- Hellenic Navy Hydrographic Service (Litsas 2021)
- Federal Agency for Cartography and Geodesy (Fölsing 2021)

Notably, in the correspondence with representatives from these authorities, all confirmed that that they do not recognise signed toponymy for standardisation purposes. However, officials referred us to Deaf organisations, tertiary institutions or other statutory institutions who are (or might be) involved with signed toponymy and might be able to assist with our enquiry. The Deaf organisations include, for example, the Deutsche Gehörlosenbund e.V (Germany) (Fölsing 2021), Kuurojen liitto (Finland) (Onkamo 2020), and *Österreichischer Gehörlosenbund* (Austria) (Saul 2020). Tertiary institutions were Stockholm University (Department of Linguistics: Sign Language Section) (Aselius 2020), University of Cyprus (Language Centre) (Hadjiraftis 2020) and Gallaudet University in the USA (Runyon 2021). Referrals to other statutory institutions included the Language Council of Sweden (Aselius 2020), and the Greek Ministry of Education (Litsas 2021). These referrals indicate that the representatives have some acknowledgement of signed toponymy or sign language.

In addition, we were referred to online dictionaries which included limited signed place names, for example:

- Estonia (https://www.eki.ee/dict/knr/index.cgi) (Päll 2020)
- Sweden (https://teckensprakslexikon.su.se/) (Aselius 2020)
- Iceland (https://bit.ly/3Cggs8w) (Þorvaldsdóttir 2020)
- Czech Republic (https://www.spreadthesign.com/cs.cz/search/) (Dokoupilova 2020)
- Finland (https://suvi.viittomat.net/index.php and http://suvi.teckensprak.net) (Savolainen 2020)

The respondent from Australia referred the researchers to the work done by the University of Victoria, New Zealand, pertaining to their SL (Watt 2021). The work conducted by Deaf organisations and tertiary institutions were not investigated as our focus was on the official planning for SL place names. Yet, Finland's Deaf organisation Kuurojen liitto, was copied in the correspondence between the researcher and the authority and they also responded to the inquiry. Their response informed us of work done by the organisation focusing on signed place names. The Board of Sign Languages, a board of the Institute for the Languages in Finland, makes "general recommendation(s) on foreign and domestic place names of Finnish Sign Language" (Savolainen 2020). These recommendations are based on the dictionary work conducted by Kuurojen liitto which is funded by the Finnish ministry of education and culture. According to the respondent, the dictionary only contains signs they "know are in use in the language community, check[ed] carefully [for] the correct form of the signs, describ[ing] also the variation in their form etc." (Savolainen 2020).

This information raised a question on place-name conventionalisation as opposed to standardisation. The predominant difference between conventionalisation and standardisation is that the former is a process driven from below, that is, at community level, whereas the latter involves a statutory institution. Du Plessis (2020:70) explains that conventionalisation refers to internal place-name "standardisation" within a speech community. However, in Finland, a statutory institution, the Board of Sign Languages, makes recommendations on a preferred sign when more than one sign exists in Finnish Sign Language. With regard to international (foreign) names, the Board follows "recommendations made by the UN on place names" (Savolainen 2020):

> The UN recommends that the new place names be adopted according to the country of origin. However, names that are already … established in the language can be retained … the aim is for the new names to get as close as possible to the original form of the name … The Board therefore recommends to preserve those place names that have already become established in Finnish Sign Language, and if a foreign place name is missing in a FinSL name, it is recommended that the name is loaned from the SL of the country of origin. (Google translated from Finnish)

This excerpt indicates that a suitable statutory institution could facilitate a standardisation process for signed toponymy. Even though the work done by Deaf organisations was not a focus in this paper, the information provides for an alternative for the recognition of signed place names, which forms part of a PhD project. However, for the official recognition of signed toponymy as a system of alternative or dual names, the involvement of an appropriate names authority will facilitate this process on a national level.

6. DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to De Meulder (2015), South Africa provides explicit recognition to South African Sign Language (SASL) through the Constitution, but this refers to the obligation of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) to promote and create conditions for the development and use of SL (RSA 1996a). This stipulation neither explicitly refers to SASL nor to any legal protection for the Deaf. SASL does not have official status in terms of the Constitution, but it has official status through the South African Schools Act (No. 84 of 1996), which states that "a recognised Sign Language has the status of an official language for purposes of learning at a public school" (RSA 1996b:11). Even though the Constitutional Review Committee recommended that "the National Assembly and the National Council of Province should facilitate an amendment of the Constitution to include SASL as one of South Africa's official languages" (CRC 2017), the process is still underway.

In 2020, PanSALB launched the South African Sign Language Charter. It sets out key pledges, taking the interrelatedness of the challenges facing the Deaf community into consideration, as well as the need for cross-sectoral policies and programmes pertaining to the needs of the Deaf community in a holistic manner. These pledges create obligations that are intended to improve the Deaf community's access to quality information and to ensure the effective protection of the linguistic rights of the Deaf community in a manner that is equitable and courteous (PanSALB 2020:1, 3). Although no reference is made to SASL place names, the recognition of these names contributes to the first pledge, ensuring that SASL is protected and preserved as part of Deaf culture and heritage (PanSALB 2020:4).

The authority responsible for names standardisation is the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC). Since 2019, 100 place names have been submitted to the council, 56 for the registration of new names for new features, 29 for orthographical corrections, and 15 for name changes. All of these names serve as unilingual names, with no alternatives being considered. Senekal (2019:80) argues that the SAGNC does acknowledge the multilingual and indigenous nature of the country based on the language distribution within the toponymic landscape, including minority languages. However, De Lange (2020) and Du Plessis (2011, 2019) disagree and suggest that the tradition regarding the standardisation of South African place names is to recognise names of different languages unilingually and not as dual or alternative names. Furthermore, the SAGNC's Toponymic Guidelines for Map and Other Editors for International Use contradict this process as these guidelines do provide for alternative names (UNGEGN 2016:19). Similar to the guidelines of other authorities, signed place names are not mentioned in the SAGNC's guidelines. The council also confirmed that the SAGNC does not currently include SASL (Mthembu 2020).

7. CONCLUSION

As already mentioned, Du Plessis (2020:69) argued that the recognition of language is not a requirement for the place names to be considered in the standardisation process, although it might be useful for the recognition of signed place names. Yet, through this paper, it became evident that names authorities do not consider signed place names regardless of the legal recognition of the languages in question. Even though signed toponymy is not being standardised through place-name authorities, the majority of our respondents are aware of these names. In addition to the usefulness of SL recognition, Du Plessis (2020:70) noted that standardisation can take place only after signed place names have been systematically documented and conventionalised. This documentation is available, yet limited among SL dictionaries, as briefly referred to in this paper. The limitations on available data also make it difficult to determine whether signs have been conventionalised.

At this stage, it seems as if the responsibility for the documentation rests with Deaf organisations or tertiary institutions, as our preliminary interviews suggest. With regard to SASL place names, the Department of SASL and Deaf Studies at the University of the Free State (UFS), Bloemfontein, has initiated two projects to collect and visualise signed place names. The one project involves the development of a mobile application on place names, largely based on the Dictionary of Southern African Place Names (Raper, Möller & Du Plessis 2014), with the incorporation of SASL place names. A more detailed report on this project is included in this volume (see Loth, Kotzé & De Lange). The second project is a large-scale survey to collect and document signed place names and sociolinguistic details about the users, with the envisaged outcome technological development for SASL.

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FINDING PLACE NAMES: IMPROVING THE DIGITAL DOCUMENTATION AND ACCESSIBILITY OF SASL PLACE NAMES

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ABSTRACT

The importance of documenting place names has been well established. Conversely, place names in sign languages, or signed place names, have been largely ignored. Just as with written place names, signed place names constitute cultural heritage and function as socio-political markers. Signed place names are usually not standardised. Instead, they are assigned through a process of conventionalisation by the Deaf community. As such, they form a unique parallel toponymy that is unwritten as well as dynamic. For these conventionalised names to be recognised, whether officially or informally, they must first be documented. However, South African Sign Language (SASL) place names are not systematically recorded in any SASL dictionaries, word lists or other databases.

This paper reports on the development of a mobile application of South African place names that incorporates a selection of SASL place names. A mobile app is an accessible platform that can create awareness of the aforementioned parallel toponymy. Using languages on public platforms like these also legitimises them, a key factor considering the imminent officialisation of SASL. We describe the project and the features of the app in more detail and elaborate on the impact we anticipate *it could have on the promotion of SASL. Since the data selection is limited, the app and its supporting database will serve as an initiatory repository for SASL place names that will hopefully stimulate further research.*

Keywords: South African Sign Language, signed place names, alternative place names, place-name documentation, mobile application

1. INTRODUCTION

Place names in signed languages, or signed place names, carry the same practical, symbolic, and linguistic significance in Deaf communities as written place names do in hearing communities. However, they are under-researched. This knowledge gap results in both the loss of linguistic-cultural heritage and a lack of recognition, whether official or unofficial. One way in which to address this knowledge gap is to systematically document signed place names. There are some developments in this regard in the international arena (see Section 4); however, locally, South African Sign Language (SASL) place names are not systematically recorded in any SASL dictionaries, word lists or other databases.

The need to address the lack of data and understanding of such a significant component of the SASL corpus is even more pertinent in light of the imminent officialisation of the language. As Du Plessis (2020:67) points out, place-name planning is a component of language planning (officialisation is an aspect of the latter). He emphasises the importance of documenting SASL place names as a vital factor in this process:

> Unless the existing conventionalisation processes with regard to SASL place names is [sic] recognised and the SASL place names inventorised [sic], place-name planning for South Africa's signed place names will not gain momentum. (Du Plessis 2020:81)

While it is possible to standardise place names from languages that are not standardised, the enormous lack of data on SASL place names prohibits such an endeavour. The imperative to document SASL place names is therefore clear.

A further consideration is the distribution of such collected data. It should be made available in a way that serves the Deaf community and is readily accessible. Section 4 provides a brief overview of some international initiatives. While there are some local projects that make SASL accessible, there are none that explicitly focus on SASL place names, presumably an outcome of the lack of data.

This paper reports on a South African initiative to compile a (initial) SASL place name inventory, to digitalise this data and the accompanying technical designs, and to distribute the data.

The next section contextualises the process of documenting signed place names and why this is important. Section 3 describes the challenges that may be encountered in this process, while section 4 provides some background on the state of research on signed place names, also mentioning some relevant projects. Section 5 introduces a project that we are developing, which incorporates signed places names, and section 6 provides more details on the project. We conclude this text with a reflection on the potential contribution of the project.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF DOCUMENTING SIGNED PLACE NAMES

Place names are not mere referents to geographical locations, but also markers and artefacts of linguistic and cultural heritage (Möller 2019; Nyström 2015; Paales 2010:31). Undocumented place names disappear over time but documenting them can play a significant role in preserving them and their embedded history (Gersic & Kladnik 2016; Kerfoot 2015; Son 2015). Similarly, documenting signed place names protects the heritage of a minority group and thereby the diversity of society, which is beneficial in all sorts of ways.

From a socio-political perspective, place names are performative entities that relay identity and power relations (Jordan 2020; Loth 2017). They facilitate ownership – naming a space is a claiming of that space – and also serve to contextualise the space within the namer's frame of reference. This very phenomenon explains the interest in alternative names among critical toponymists, especially those assigned by minorities or otherwise marginalised groups.

Recognising place names acknowledges the rich history and identity as expressed by the relevant group, facilitate their socio-political participation, and honour their right to name their space. Even more broadly, recognising multiple place names is an acknowledgement that space is shared and contains multiple meanings, and that there should be fair access to expression and participation in the public space.

A further consideration is that the public use of languages, including their place names, increases their visibility in the public space. Increased visibility elevates the status of languages and legitimises them, an important consideration given the marginalised position of most sign language communities.

Official recognition usually entails standardisation, a crucial step for the use of place names in official language domains, such as public communication (an essential area in crises) and in legal spheres. Documentation is a prerequisite step for the codification and standardisation of signed place names (Smith 2005:206). SASL is not currently being standardised, resulting in an even wider range of variants. Documenting SASL place names is therefore important in order to i) track the development of the language on grassroots level; and ii) contribute to corpus development by relevant agencies.

There are some initiatives underway to develop the language corpus of SASL, notably by the Department of Basic Education in relation to the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement for SASL Home Language, as well as several SASL dictionaries developed by non-governmental institutions such as the National Institute for the Deaf (NID 2016). However, SASL place names are generally neglected in these efforts. As a result, SASL place names are not systematically recorded in any dictionaries, word lists or other databases. Such documentation is important for several reasons, namely language corpus development and the linguistic, cultural, and socio-political significance of place names. The next section discusses some of the challenges presented when documenting signed place names.

3. THE CHALLENGE OF DOCUMENTING SIGNED PLACE NAMES

The challenges encountered in signed place-name research are unique in the same way that all novel obstacles are considered unique. However, as is shown in section 4, researchers are finding ways to adapt to the strictures of a non-verbal language. The challenges include the uniqueness of signed place names, the different naming systems employed by the Deaf community, the process of conventionalisation and the resulting variation in data sets, and reliable methods of documenting.

A common misperception among the hearing is that sign languages are transliterations of written and spoken languages. In fact, sign languages are unique, fully developed, and functional communicative systems with their own syntax and cultural references. Correspondingly, signed place names are not simply translations of written names. Place-name creation is an authentic, Deaf-specific tradition, which is characteristic to Deaf communities of different nationalities (Paales 2010:47). This means that only a Deaf person can create and allocate a signed place name (Paales 2010:33).

In addition, place name signs develop independently of other languages in the shared space and is unrelated to, and exhibit very little, if any, influence from written or spoken languages (Nonaka 2015:75). (The impact of contact between sign and spoken languages can, however, be observed in the growing incorporation of fingerspelling and mouthing. Refer to, e.g., Matthews, McKee and McKee [2009], Revilla [2009] and Sutton-Spence and Woll [1998]).

The Deaf community have different ways of developing signs and, consequently, different naming traditions or ways of creating place name signs. In the South African case, two different techniques to allocate place names have been identified (Lombaard 2020). The one is a descriptive, pictorial depiction of a specific feature of the place and the other is a form of adaptation of the written name, whereby a handform is incorporated to abbreviate the place name, for example, the sign 'J' for Johannesburg.

Place names are allocated by specific subsets of Deaf communities, and these names may or may not spread to others via the process of conventionalisation. Matthews *et al* (2009:723) point out that places that do not commonly enter Deaf discourse in a given locale are less likely to have an established sign. Therefore, the familiarity of signers with a place is a key factor in the name-giving (Revilla 2009:9) and the creation and use of the name sign is dependent on the Deaf community's shared experience with a place (Nonaka 2015:77).

As with spoken languages, sign languages are subject to socio-linguistic variables, such as dialect variation, (intra)generational differences, language contact, and even language acquisition methods (i.e., 'schoolisation': Deaf schools have different language learning methods and philosophies, which have a strong influence on how learners end up using the language). In addition, SASL is not currently being standardised, as previously mentioned. The result is a parallel toponymy to the hearing world that is unique and dynamic, and requires expertise to research. As this is an emerging field of research, expertise in this area is still developing.

Although there are artificially created notation systems used for research purposes, sign languages are unwritten and do not have orthographies. The solution with other unwritten languages is to write down names phonologically. However, sign languages are visual languages that do not employ sound production. In sign languages, five parameters imbue signs with meaning, namely i) handshape (the form created by the hands); ii) palm orientation (where the palms are facing); iii) movement of hands (various directions); iv) hand location (position of the hands relative to the body); and v) non-manual signs, such as facial expressions. It is vital to capture all five accurately.

While various types of illustrations can be used to depict signs, it is difficult to capture the five parameters while in the field. The use of video cameras has largely solved this problem, but using such devices present another set of challenges. The first is the protection of the privacy of informants, especially relevant in the South African context following the passing of the Protection of Personal Information Act (RSA 2013). The second is that the Deaf informant might not be comfortable at all to be recorded in such a way.

An overall challenge, for hearing researchers especially, is that the Deaf is a closed community, like most marginalised minorities, and therefore resistant to outside interference. However, there are ways to document and distribute signed place names, as is discussed in the next section.

4. THE STATE OF RESEARCH ON SIGNED PLACE NAMES

Research conducted about sign languages and the Deaf community itself is dominated by the fields of linguistics, Deaf education, language acquisition, and sociolinguistics. However, the field of toponymy or even onomastics is an unexplored terrain within the discipline of sign language studies.

Most toponymic studies focus on written place names. It has been argued that the interdisciplinary nature of onomastics allows for comparative studies between signed languages (unwritten place names) and spoken languages (written place names) (Revilla 2009:5). Hough's (2016) discussion on the types of settlement names, an exploration of descriptive versus non-descriptive names, is one area for comparison since this distinction is also applicable to signed names (Paales 2010:33). However, research on place names in sign languages is new in signed onomastics (Nonaka 2015:67; Paales 2010:33), with the study of personal names being more prominent. See, for example, research done in French Sign Language (Delaporte 2002), Greek Sign Language (Kourbetis & Hoffmeister 2002), American Sign Language (Supalla 1992), as well as in South Africa (Akach & Lubbe 2003).

Nonaka (2015:67) argues that, due to the limited research on signed toponymy, "there is no working model or established typology or toponymic onomastics in manual-visual languages". However, based on the research available, there are many similarities between spoken and signed place names that allow for comparative studies. Paales (2010:47), for one, explains that toponymic signs form a separate lexical group in sign languages, which can be studied and analysed in the framework of toponymy. She further argues that the analysis of place-denoting signs reveals connections between Deaf history and heritage, the culture of the Deaf and hearing people, as well as the tradition and identity of the Deaf community. These are functions similar to those that written place names perform in hearing communities (as also discussed in section 2).

Another similarity between spoken language toponymy and sign toponymy is the phenomenon of name changes. Nonaka (2015:66) found that place names in Ban Khor Sign Language have begun to alter as an outcome of language contact. Lombaard (2021) discovered changes in SASL toponymy that indicate a generational shift, as well as changes that correlate with official name changes in South Africa. Unfortunately, not enough data about SASL toponymy is currently available to conduct in-depth research about these name changes.

Internationally, there are projects underway for the collection, documentation and visualisation of sign languages. The data is presented in the form of online digital dictionaries. However, these projects are focused on general sign language terminology instead of on toponymy specifically, although place names are included incidentally. Three online dictionaries, from Iceland, the Czech Republic and New Zealand, were identified that include visualisations of signed toponymy. These are discussed below (Figure 1, 2, 3).

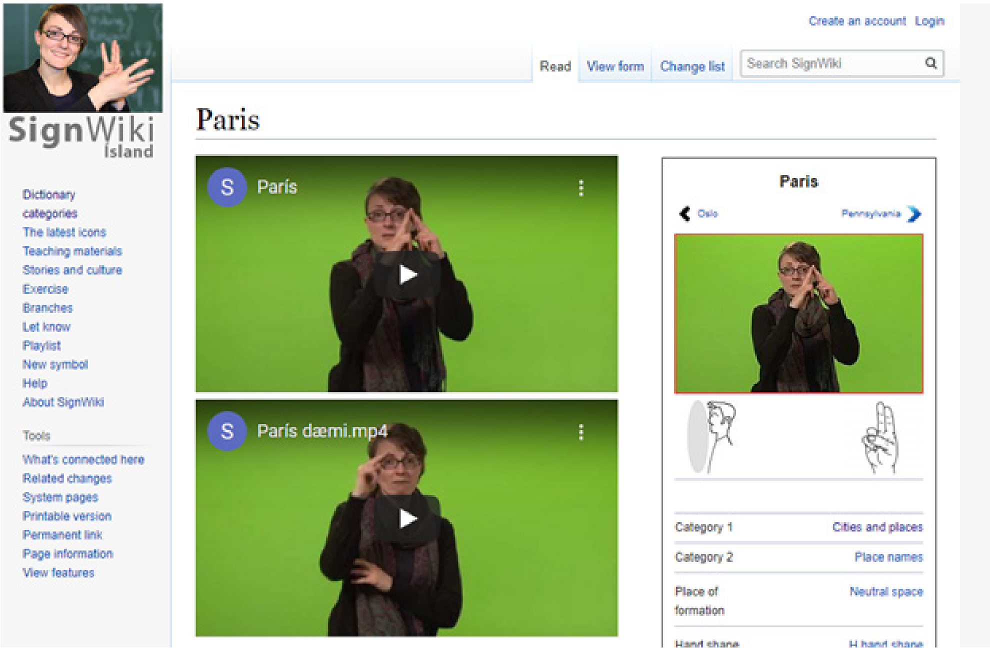

Figure 1: *'Paris' (París) in Icelandic Sign Language (Source: SignWiki Ísland [2021])*

Icelandic Sign Language is represented on a platform called *SignWiki*. This page contains general information about Icelandic Sign Language as well as terminology for specific contexts, such as ecclesiastical ceremonies. On the date that the site was visited, a total of 11 193 video entries were available on this platform. Of these, 367 entries referred to place names (126 Icelandic names and 241 international place names).

On the site, the user is guided to a sign language entry by selecting the written word, or a linguistic search in terms of the five sign language parameters. In some cases, more than one sign language entry is available for each written word due to the linguistic variations in the local sign language itself.

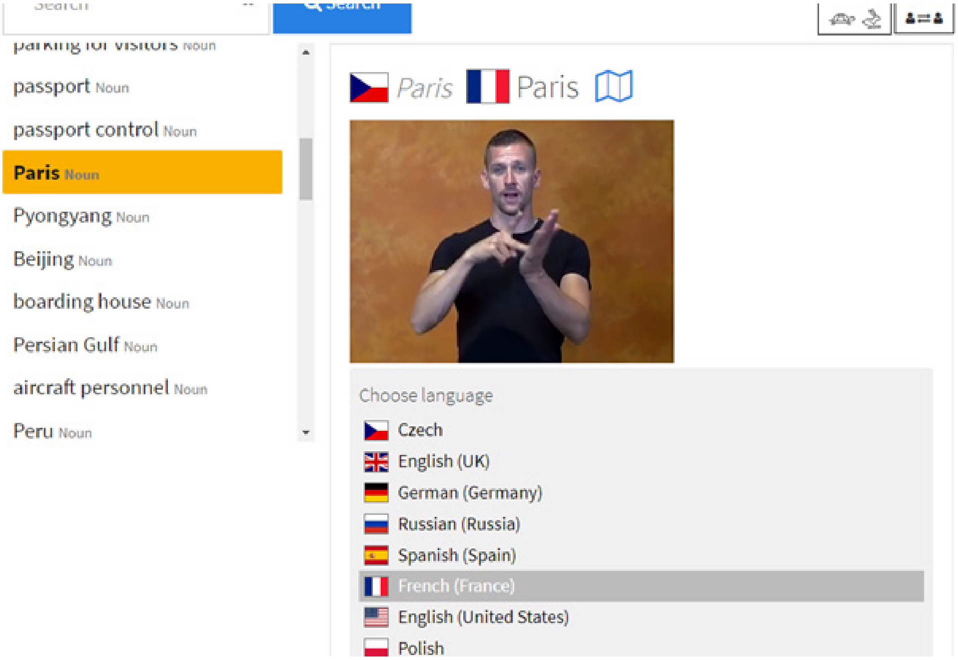

Figure 2: *'Paris' in Czech Sign Language (Source: Spread the Sign [2021])*

The dictionary available for Czech Sign Language, Spread the Sign, contains a total of 21 861 entries. Of these, 880 refer to geography and travel, and 456 refer to international toponymy, which includes country names and continents. As with the Icelandic dictionary, the user is guided to a sign language entry by selecting the written word. The dictionary also includes sign language variations if available. However, the focus is on international variation and not variations in Czech Sign Language.

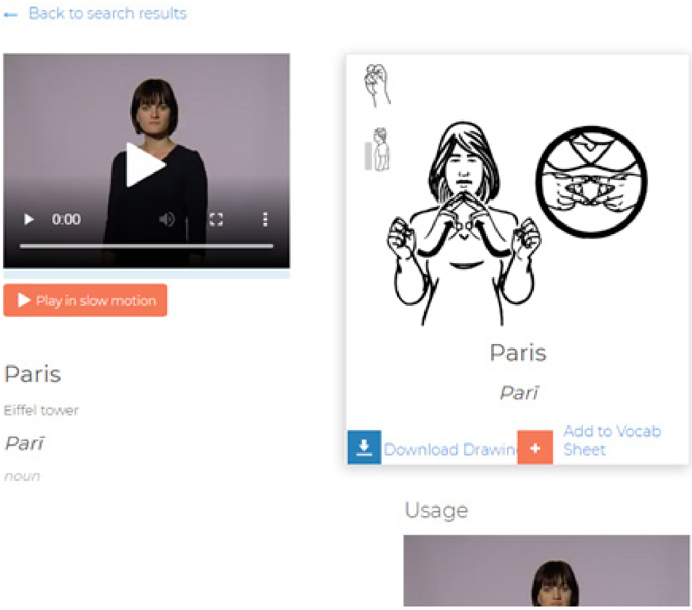

Figure 3: *'Paris' in New Zealand Sign Language (Source: New Zealand Sign Language Dictionary [2021])*

Lastly, the New Zealand Sign Language Dictionary comprises 6 902 entries. Ninety-two refer to the names of international countries and cities, and 430 to New Zealand place names. The user conducts a search according to categories or via a search panel, which is word based. Each entry provides the place name in English, Māori, and New Zealand Sign Language.

These three dictionaries are only a few examples of what is done internationally in terms of the collection, documentation, and visualisation of sign languages. However, it also provides an indication that place names are rarely included in these platforms.

5. AN INTERVENTION: OUR PROJECT

Our project addresses the lack of accessible and systematically recorded SASL place-name data. The intervention takes the form of a mobile application (app), a prototype on which we reported at ISPN 2017 (the 4th International Symposium on Place Names, hosted in Windhoek, Namibia). The app has two data sources, namely the text of English place names and videos of SASL place names.

The *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Raper, Möller & Du Plessis 2014) constitutes the primary database. It provides, in English, the etymologies of standardised, official place names. The app will display place names and their associated etymologies in text. Per our agreement with the publisher, our dataset will contain a selection of the place names (a smaller selection for the free version of the app, and a larger selection for the paid version).

The secondary database comprises the SASL equivalents of the selected place in video format. A translation of the written place-name etymologies will not be included, as signed place names have their own, unique etymologies (there is currently no research on this). Given the lack of data on signed place names, our department launched a sister project, the Survey of SASL Place Names. We envision that the dataset collected with this project will be applied and distributed in many other ways. However, the database that is being designed for the app will serve as a proof of concept for the Survey. It is also developed in such a way that it can accommodate future additions and variations of SASL place names. We as researchers cannot choose the most representative version of a signed place name, as it must be legitimised by the Deaf community. In order to ensure that the project remains sensitive to the Deaf community, and will ultimately serve their needs, the team includes a Deaf consultant that is well known and respected in the Deaf community.

6. DETAILS OF THE APP

The principles that guide the development of this app are that it should:

- be a useful reference for the Deaf community,
- be a useful reference for learning about South African places (SASL place names included),
- contribute to documenting SASL place names,
- contribute to greater awareness of both written and SASL place names, and
- contribute to research on SASL and toponymy.

Industry research supports the viability and far-reaching effect of a mobile application over other potential distribution platforms. The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa's (ICASA) State of the ICT Sector Report of March 2020 puts smartphone penetration in South Africa at 91.2% in 2019, while national population coverage for 4G/LTE has increased to 92.8% in 2019 (ICASA 2020:30, 33). The StatCounter tool

(StatCounter 1999–2022) is a web application that extracts and aggregates data from a large number of websites. Comparing the market shares of tablets, mobile phones, and desktop computers, it reported a relatively minimal market share of tablets (1.44%) as opposed to mobile phones (76.39%) in South Africa in November 2021. This appears to be an ongoing trend since at least 2016. Together with the fact that the app targets a wide audience (both English-speaking and SASL users) it would seem that there is an ample market for usage of such an app.

We opt for a simple product for browsing and searching, to be made available on the widely accessible Google Play platform. Our intent is for the software and database to be extendable to be able to accommodate more features in future renditions.

The app is developed using .NET technologies for proper integration into the back end hosted by the University of the Free State, as well as enabling a cross-platform product that should be easily portable to iOS as well.

Figure 4 presents a site map of the app. Note that we distinguish between a free version of the app, where access to place-name entries is restricted, and a commercial version where the user has access to all the entries in the database.

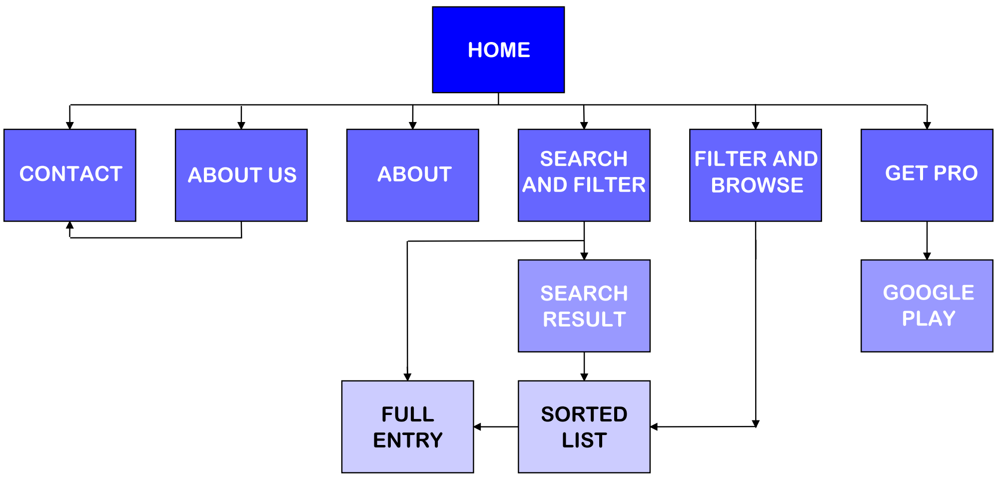

Figure 4: *Site map of the mobile app*

The app is presented as a mobile interface through which the user can request basic information from the database. Current place-name data for a place consists of a name, province, an etymological description in English, geographic coordinates, and, depending on data collection, SASL equivalents with one or more variants, presented as videos. The main functionality is divided into three parts:

- **Browse**: A list of place names is displayed. Tapping on a name redirects to the entry page of the place.
- **Search**: The user can search for a place name. In the event of a positive match, the user is directed to the corresponding entry page.
- **Entry page**: Associated with a single place, this is a page that follows a specific template on which the relevant place-name data is displayed.

Browsing and searching are improved through the implementation of:

- **Sorting**: The list of place names can in principle be sorted and grouped according to values occurring in any of a number of table columns, such as:
  - alphabetically: by province name, English place name,
  - numerically: by geographic coordinates, or
  - places with SASL names in the database, followed by those without (or in reverse): Not every entry in the database may have a SASL name associated with it.
- **Filtering**: Searches can in principle be filtered according to one or more parameters:
  - limit search to specific provinces,
  - only include those with associated SASL videos,
  - limit search to specific variants or languages,
  - limit search to specific ranges of coordinates,
  - limit search to length of descriptions,
  - limit search to only match with text in descriptions, and
  - search for place names starting or ending with specific letters or ranges in the alphabet.

Note that sorting is applied to both search results and browsing. In addition, browsing the database can be limited to paginated, smaller lists – such as places occurring only in specific provinces – in order to limit bandwidth use.

For the first public version, we implement only the following sorting and filtering options:

- **Sorting**: This is done alphabetically, by province or English name, and a list of places is provided that include SASL videos first or last. Combining the results through grouping will be possible.
- **Filtering**: A basic search is produced by default with the option to open an advanced search page with filtering options. The user will be able to filter by specific provinces and by the inclusion or exclusion of places that have videos of the SASL equivalents.

The place-name data is stored in a relational database, currently hosted as a Microsoft SQL Server instance on a server maintained by the University of the Free State. The database is designed with two main ideas:

- To allow a limited set of queries from the mobile app in order to display toponymic information in English and selected variants of SASL in the app.
- To allow the future addition of more languages, variants, and possibly other descriptive data for both scientific inquiry and future versions of the app. This makes it possible to i) add more rows in a language table without re-design, and ii) expand the existing set of relations.

A simplified entity relationship diagram (ERD) without data types is shown in Figure 5. It has been normalised (see, for example, Codd [1970] and Date [2007]) in order to avoid data redundancy. In essence, tables are conceptually separated while clearly indicating which columns are related and how (such as showing one-to-one or many-to-one relations).

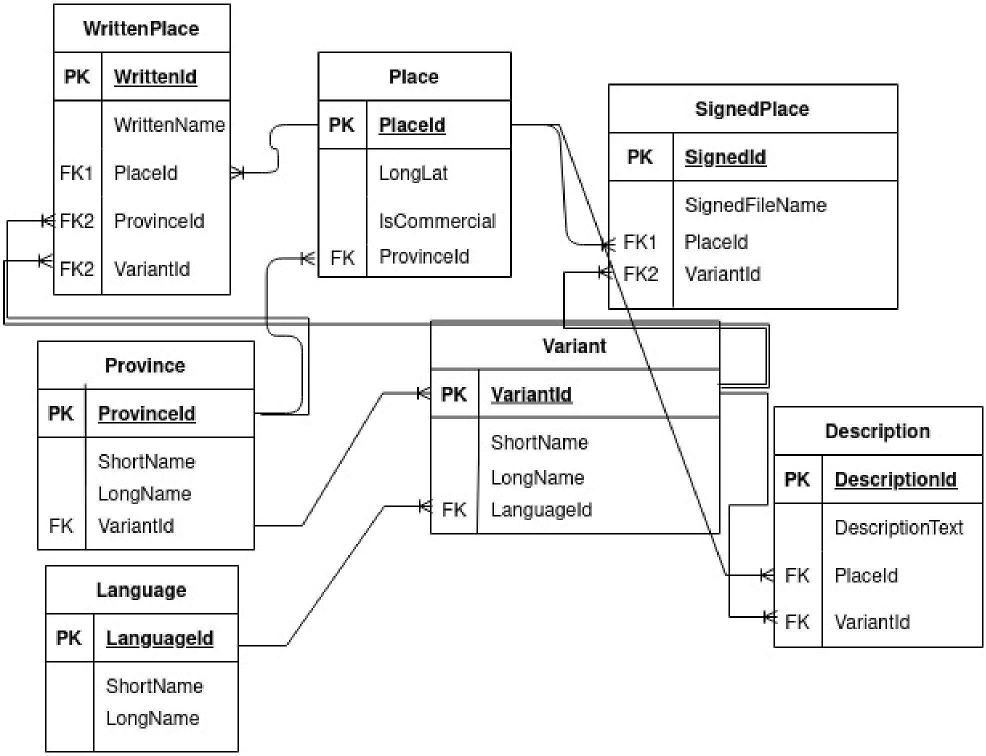

Figure 5: *Entity relationship diagram for the database (PK = primary key; FK: foreign key)*

Identification numbers are used to represent each row in a table uniquely. Each language can have one or more variants. A description is associated with a specific variant (currently standard South African English) and a specific place. A place is associated with a specific province. Written places and signed places are separated into two tables because of data type differences and are associated with specific places and variants. Finally, each place is classified according to whether it can be accessed and listed only by commercial users.

7. CONCLUSION

The research team hopes that this project will have an impact in several ways. Different avenues of distribution are possible, such as the databases discussed in section 4. However, a mobile application is an accessible platform that does not require specialised knowledge to use. This is also a primary consideration when doing research among marginalised communities – the outcomes should be returned to the community and benefit them. Developing this app is a first step towards creating awareness about the importance of SASL place names, as well as the associated processes regarding recognition and the standardisation of place names within the current national process. It is hoped that this endeavour will open the way for further critical engagement with the community.

The publicly available format of the app could lead to increased awareness of the cultural heritage contained in place names, both between hearing and Deaf communities, and within subsets of the respective communities. Optimistically, this could lead to greater sensitivity to the fact that public spaces have more nuanced and intricate histories and ownerships than are immediately obvious. As for the scientific community, a core motivation of this project (the mobile application and its supporting dataset) is to stimulate further research on SASL place names.

When place names are used on public platforms, the names and thereby their source languages are legitimised. This effect is valuable for both data sources used in the app. SASL is set to become the 12th official language in South Africa, and displaying SASL place names in this way, as performing a specialised linguistic function, could potentially alleviate some of the misconceptions about this language. As for written place names, their etymologies validate original names that are often in languages from communities now marginalised or otherwise suppressed.

Documentation itself can contribute to the recognition (whether official or on grassroots level) of cultural-linguistic heritage and facilitate participation in the public space. This project, however, is approached as an unofficial place-name planning intervention (viewed as a component of language planning). Collecting SASL place names, and information about these names and naming systems, constitutes a form of corpus planning; or rather, contributes to a process that will hopefully result in toponymic corpus planning. Creating awareness about SASL place names can also be viewed as a form of prestige and attitude planning for SASL.

The eventual contribution of the project is the promotion and appreciation of local place names, including and especially of SASL place names. This mobile application sets the stage for the productive use, documentation, and research of SASL and written place names.

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TOPONYMIC TWINS: POLYONYMY IN CROATIA

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ABSTRACT

Regardless of whether they are officially (re)named from above or whether they are a product of colourful local speech from below, multiple geographical names exist in all languages, including Croatian. Toponymic twins, and less frequently triplets, quadruplet or quintuplets, contribute to the richness of the Croatian toponymic family. In practice, however, this phenomenon can cause confusion in orientation, communication, cartography, encyclopaedistics, scientific and professional discourse, and administration. For practical purposes, it thus makes sense to standardise them and reduce their usage to one toponymic form, whereas for purposes of science, literature and speech it is necessary to record all toponymic forms for the same geographical feature and preserve them because they all represent invaluable elements of cultural heritage. The standardisation process in Croatia has only recently commenced at official level. Although some categories of toponyms have official status (e.g., country names), most multiple names fall into the category of unofficial names. Many factors have influenced the appearance and maintenance of polyonymy. For centuries the Croatian language has been developing in the Mediterranean-Dinaric-Pannonian contact area. Here, different states succeeded one another, and different interactions took place with neighbouring European nations, and so the vocabulary reflects this complex linguistic permeation. The transformation of toponyms and polyonymy was also influenced by politics and various approaches to the economic valorisation of *the area. The objective of this research was to indicate and exemplify the most important factors of polyonymy in Croatia by drawing on different historical and contemporary sources of Croatian toponyms.*

Key words: Croatia, multiple names, polyonymy, standardisation

1. INTRODUCTION

Polyonymy is the coexistence of several name forms for the same geographical feature simultaneously or in different periods. Multiple names can be completely different from one another and can also appear as forms of the same name that vary only with regard to dialectal or local characteristics of the idiom spoken by a certain group.

Polyonymy is a common occurrence in many geographical features. This is especially true of structures that were given their first names long ago and are located in an area of continuous population. In an already populated area, inhabitants have an established toponymic repertoire of geographical features that they consider important. When a new group of speakers arrive, they often change existing toponyms according to the rules of their language or add brand new names, resulting in multiple names for such geographical features.

In addition, polyonymy often occurs regarding large cross-border geographical features, in other words where the feature extends over several regions or states and where different languages are spoken, because each community names such a feature in its own language. It also appears in border regions where majority and minority language communities mix and coexist. Typical situations include when official renaming is prompted by socio-political changes and as a consequence of third-language mediation in the creation of adapted names. Sometimes dialectal peculiarities and linguistic ambiguities necessitate the use of polyonymy, also when there are no standardised name forms in a language.

Regardless of whether they appear simultaneously in only two or more forms, whether they have been coined in the course of official renaming from the top down, or as a result of the imagination of local speakers from the bottom up, multiple geographical names exist in all languages, including Croatian.

Similar to individual geographical names and toponyms in a certain area, the phenomenon of polyonymy can be studied both from the synchronic and diachronic point of view. The synchronic aspect implies a scientific approach to studying the geographical names of a geographical feature that coexist at the same time (e.g., English Danube, German Donau, Czech/Slovakian Dunaj, Hungarian Duna, Croatian/Serbian/Bulgarian Dunav, Romanian Dunărea; or German Klagenfurt, Slovenian Celovec; Serbian/Croatian Subotica, Hungarian Szabadka).

On the other hand, the diachronic aspect entails the study of the geographical names of a geographical feature in different periods (e.g., Liburnian Idassa - Latin Jader (Jadera) - Byzantine Diadora - Croatian Zadar - Venetian (Italian) Zara; pre-Roman - Curicum - Dalmatian Vikla - Italian Veglia - Croatian Krk).

Both of these approaches are taken into account in this paper. With the help of various historical and contemporary sources – topographic maps, city plans, atlases, spelling handbooks and official lists of geographical names – the paper aims to identify and exemplify the key factors of polyonymy in Croatia.

2. ORIGINS OF POLYONYMY

2.1 Linguistic and geographic fragmentation of the Croatian territory

Linguistically speaking, the Croatian space is not homogeneous, which is a consequence of various linguistic contacts and developments within larger geographical entities. The Croatian language has been developing for centuries in the Mediterranean-Dinaric-Pannonian contact area, where different nations and states had alternated and different interactions with neighbouring European nations have been taking place to this very day (Figure 1). Consequently, both its vocabulary and toponymy reflect complex linguistic sedimentation and permeation. Each nation, in its own language, influenced the creation of a particular linguistic layer of geographical names if the newly arrived speakers changed the existing layer and adapted it to their language. Sometimes they would just take over existing toponyms. And if different speakers used their own names to refer to the same geographical feature, polyonymy occurred.

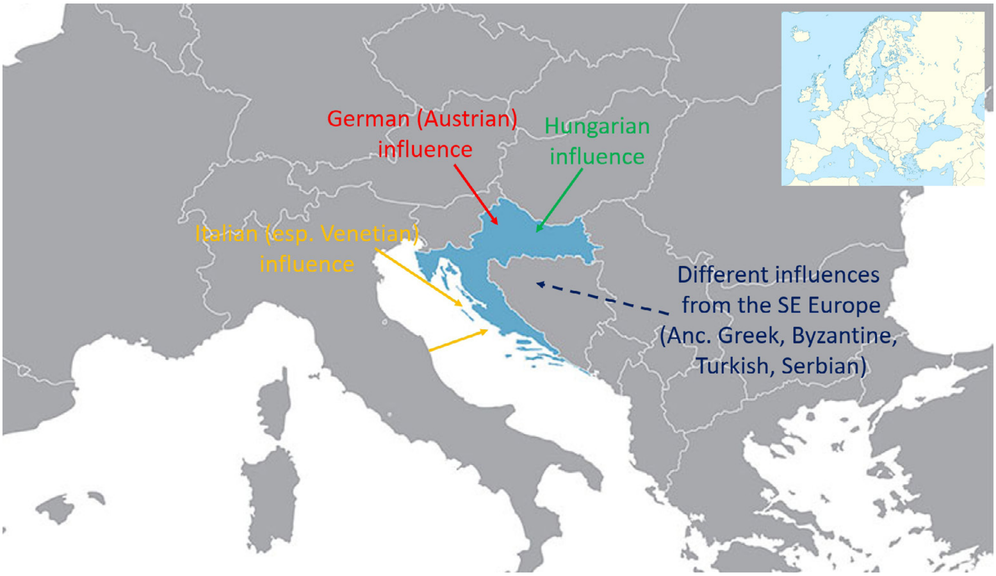

Figure 1: *Main historical-cultural (including linguistic) influences on the territory of contemporary Croatia (Source: Author Faričić)*

The oldest toponymic traces in the Croatian language date back to the period before the arrival of the Slavs, when various peoples and tribes inhabited the territory of today's Croatia. Depending on these first speakers, pre-Slavic geographical names can be attributed to several linguistic strata: pre-Indo-European (toponyms that cannot be associated with any known Indo-European root); 'Illyrian' (Indo-European idioms spoken before Greek and Latin in the area from Istria to southern Albania, between the Sava and the Adriatic [Ivšić 2013:1]); and Greek, Celtic, Romanic and Germanic. The names of larger rivers, islands and some settlements belong to the two oldest strata, pre-Indo-European and 'Illyrian' (Ivšić 2013:1, 40). The Celtic stratum was the least significant in Croatian toponymy. Romanic and Germanic linguistic influences persisted after the arrival of the Slavs, throughout the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, into the contemporary era, when significant influences of the Hungarian, Turkish and Serbian languages appeared alongside them.

The linguistic landscape changed significantly with the arrival of the Slavs, i.e., Croats in the 6th and 7th centuries, and the gradual slavisation of the heterogeneous linguistic toponymic corpus. Croats took over a large part of the existing toponyms and adapted them to their language, thus creating toponymic loanwords, i.e., croatised non-Slavic words of Illyrian, Greek, Romanic and Germanic origin. However, after arriving at today's territory, Croats also settled in the areas that had been previously uninhabited or in which the old population had declined due to plagues and wars, or, in most cases, displacement. Geographical features in such areas were therefore given new, Croatian names. According to Branimir Crljenko (1985:112; 1997:207), in Istria, the largest Croatian peninsula, these are mostly names of smaller settlements: Brest, Cerovlje, Draguć, Hrastovlje, Hrvatini, Hum, Lanišće, Livade, Modruš, Novaki, Rakalj, Vranje, Završje, Zrenj, etc. However, Croats founded and named new cities, such as Šibenik, Biograd, Požega and Gradiška (Šimunović 2009:116).

Vladimir Skračić (1989, 1997, 2009), in researching regularities in the toponymy of the Eastern Adriatic area, observed that the age of a geographical name depends not only on the size, i.e., the significance of the geographical feature in the socio-economic system, but also on the type of evaluation of spatial resources. For example, the ancient toponymic layer has been preserved to this day along those parts of the coast that were important in maritime and fisheries, and in and around the cities that have inherited ancient urbanism. In contrast, on Croatian islands and the neighbouring mainland, toponyms relating to rural areas and agriculture mostly belong to a younger layer, i.e., the Slavic linguistic stratum.

The names of some of the larger islands and settlements on the coast belong to the Greek stratum because the Greeks, who depended on the sea, shipping and trade, did not inhabit the interior. It was presumably through Latin, i.e., a Romanic language, that the Greek names were adapted to the Croatian language (Ivšić 2013:1, 40). Among the names of Greek or grecised origin in Croatia, Slobodan Čače (2002:62-70) lists those that have undergone a stronger linguistic transformation in the Croatian language, although their recognisable basis has been retained: Stari Grad on the island of Hvar (< Pharos), island Vis (< Issa), the island of Mljet (< Melite), the island of Korčula (< Corcyra Nigra), the Elafiti archipelago (< Elaphites), etc.

In addition to these examples, according to Petar Šimunović (2005:37-43; 2009:107-109), the Greek lexical basis has been preserved to this day in the names of the settlements Solin (< Salona), Trogir (< Tragurion) and Split (< Aspalathos), while many toponyms have remained rooted in classical Latin used in ancient Rome: Zadar (< Jader), Senj (< Senia), Skradin (< Scardona), etc.

Geographical names that originated under Roman rule, when most of the territory of today's Croatia was covered by the province of Illyricum, belong to the Roman layer (Ivšić 2013:1, 40). Traces of Romanic names in the form of croatised names of

Romanic origin are far more widespread than the Greek names because the Romans, as conquerors, penetrated deep into the interior where they built roads and set up settlements and camps.

This is especially true in the zone of long-term Romano-Croatian ethno-linguistic contacts in the coastal area, mostly in Istria and neighbouring Kvarner, which is the northernmost island region. The influence of church administration conducted in Latin, attested to by epigraphic monuments and archival documents from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages in the whole of present-day Croatia, should also be taken into account. Owing to the organisational structure of the church, its influence seeped through to all the settlements and the corresponding spatial resources, which is why many Latin names in parish and episcopal archives became 'fossilised'.

Branimir Crljenko (1985:102, 110-112) quotes many croatised names of settlements from Romanic languages in Istria (e.g., Adignano > Vodnjan, Altura > Valtura, Isola > Vižula, Arsia > Raša, Albona > Labin, Pisino > Pazin). Other Istrian toponyms of Romanic origin include Brijuni, Brtonigla, Buzet, Dvigrad, Labin, Motovun, Novigrad, Plomin, Poreč, Rabac, Rovinj, Tar, Vodnjan, Vrsar, etc.

Since a direct contact between Croats and the indigenous pre-Roman population has not been confirmed, Dunja Brozović Rončević (1998:3) points out that some of these geographical names are actually older, partly adapted names which Croats accepted as Romanisms and then adapted to their language. According to Crljenko (1985:100, 1997:206), in Istria these include Histrian names, e.g., Albona (> Labin), Breona (> Brijuni), Kastra (> Kastav), Mutila (> Medulin), Penquentum > Buzet), Peroa (> Peroj), Plomona (> Plomin), Pola (> Pula). Other names are originally Romanic (e.g., Vodnjan).

Although most of the Croatian toponyms of Romanic origin date from the pre-Venetian period, from the 13th century onwards, and especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, many names on the eastern Adriatic coast were subsequently venetianised. The Venetian influence significantly contributed to the extinction of the older Romanic layer (Brozović Rončević 1998:5). The Venetian administration, using the Venetian idiom in everyday communication, adapted the spelling and orthoepy of many older Romanic and Croatian toponyms to Venetian linguistic features. Thus, the older forms of the names for the islands of Krkar and Sulet were substituted by Korčula and Šolta, and Pulj became Pula/ Pola (Šimunović 1986:141). Šibenik took the form Sebenico, and Ilovik Ilovico (Crljenko 1997:35).

On Venetian maps from the late 16th century, mostly Romanic settlement names were recorded (e.g., Buie for Buje, Fiume for Rijeka, Pola for Pula, Valle for Bale), but Croatian names were also gradually introduced (e.g., Lupoglav, Novaki, Volosko) (Brozović Rončević 1998:14, according to Lago & Rossit 1981). The map by Stjepan Glavač from 1673 features Croatian or croatised toponyms written in Latin (e.g., Dravus fl., Varasdinum, Crisium, Capela Mons), but to a greater extent also in Croatian (e.g., Turopolje, Szamobor). However, Venetian cartographers of the 17th century (e.g., Vicenzo M. Coronelli) still recorded Croatian toponyms mainly in the form of their Venetian, i.e., Italian and italianised, names (Faričić 2007:169).

The oldest Germanic stratum was formed when numerous Germanic tribes moved through the Pannonian area in late antiquity. These tribes might have acted as mediators between the older strata and the more recent Slavic stratum (Ivšić 2013:1, 40). The strongest influence of the German language, characteristic of continental Croatia (Slavonia, Baranja, Zagreb), is associated with the period of Austrian rule from the 16th until the early 20th century.

Although many Germanisms entered the Croatian language at that time, in toponymy this influence is negligible. Only those names that are associated with prominent protagonists of the Austrian administration stand out. Thus, for example, the name of one of the larger Croatian cities of Karlovac originated from the German name Karlstadt, which was coined after the name of the Austrian Archduke Charles II (Karl + germ. *Stadt* = city). The name of the same archduke is also recorded in the name of Karlobag, a town located on the sea at the foot of the largest Croatian mountain, Velebit (Karl + Cro. older name of the town, *Bag*).

The northern and eastern parts of Croatia, i.e., the region between the Drava and Sava rivers, came under Hungarian rule in the 11th century. Since then, especially after political alliance with the Hungarians in the early 12th century, the Hungarian influence had become noticeable in local toponymy. For example, the Hungarian toponym Bestercze was croatised into Bistrica, Kemence into Kamenica. The names Vukovar, Nuštar, Ilok, Daruvar, Varaždin and others are also of Hungarian origin (Šimunović 2009:112, 115).

With the Ottoman conquests along the Croatian border areas, especially in Lika, Kordun and the Dalmatian hinterland, Ottoman-Turkish names started to filter through. Although the Ottoman influence did not leave much trace in modern toponymy, in Lika there are villages named Čanak, Čitluk, Kaldrma, Majdan Dvor, Mušaluk, Rizvanuša, Pazarište, Palanka; in Kordun there is the settlement of Tatar Varoš; in the Dalmatian hinterland we find Han, Islam Grčki, Islam Latinski. This influence is more pronounced in the adoption of new appellatives that still belong to the Croatian language corpus (e.g., *bajer* – pond, *bunar* – well, *kula* – tower, *sat* – clock, *kat* – floor).

Extended periods of contact with other peoples and languages have resulted (and are still resulting) in the following phenomena, which, with the simultaneous use of Croatian and other (foreign or incorrect) names, cause polyonymy.

2.1.1 Occurrence of exonyms for Croatian geographical features

Exonyms (foreign names) for Croatian geographical features hail from the early period of the Austrian and Hungarian administration in the continental region, and the Venetian and Italian rule in the coastal region, which coexisted with Croatian names. Examples include Italian Fiume and Croatian Rijeka; Italian Zara and Croatian Zadar; German Agram and Croatian Zagreb; German Karlstadt and Croatian Karlovac; Hungarian Eszék, German [from Hungarian] Essegg and Croatian Osijek; Hungarian Csákornya and Croatian Čakovec; Hungarian Varasd and Croatian Varaždin) (Figure 2).

Until World War II, settlements with a significant share of German population had a German variant of their name, which, in most cases, had been created by adapting the existing name (sometimes of Hungarian origin) to German, less often by translation (e.g., Osijek – Essegg/Essek, Vukovar – Wukowar, Sarvaš – Hirschfeld, Vučevci – Wolfstal). Today, in the absence of a significant minority that still uses them to assert their identity in Croatia, exonyms such as those listed above, are considered historical names. They are less and less used by foreigners as well, because international recommendations suggest that exonyms should be replaced with endonyms over time (United Nations 2012).

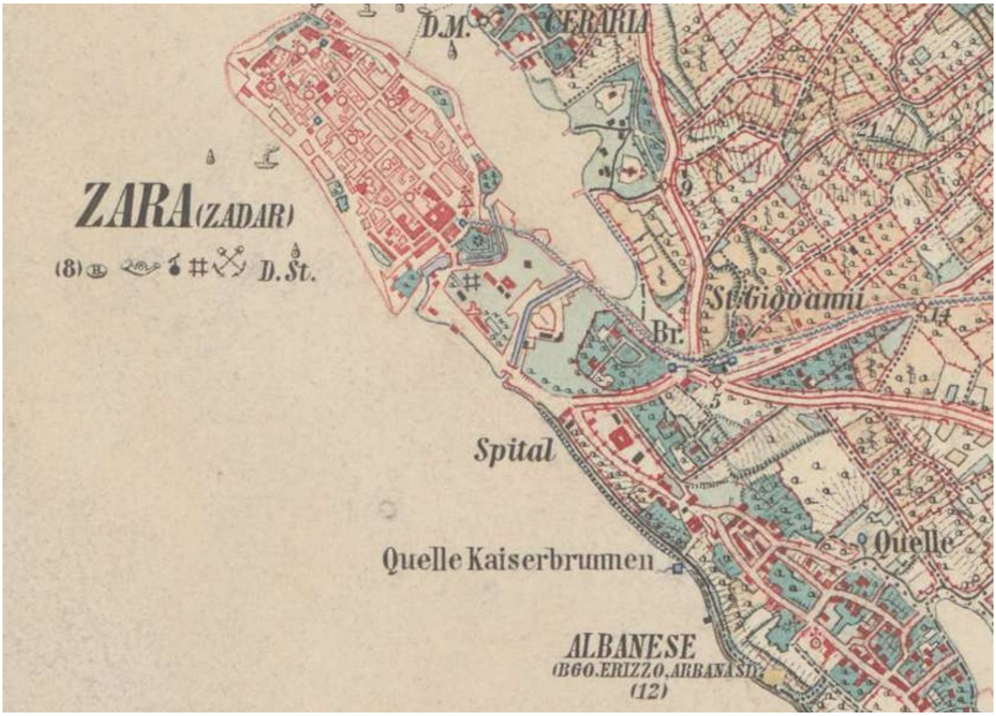

Figure 2: *Various names of Zadar and Arbanasi – Zara (Italian), Zadar (Croatian), Albanese (Italian), Borgo Erizzo (Old Venetian), Arbanasi (Croatian) (Source: Arcanum [2021])*

2.1.2 Occurrence of visible bilingual or multilingual toponyms in areas with a higher share of minority communities

Such toponyms, along with Croatian endonyms, are visible in the landscape, i.e., they appear on boards with the names of settlements, streets and squares, signposts and on public institutions. In this sense, the most represented toponyms belong to the Italian minority (with the most significant presence in western Croatia, i.e., in Istria and on the Kvarner islands), the Hungarian and Czech minorities (in eastern Croatia) and the Serbian minority (in Slavonia, Lika, Banovina and the Dalmatian hinterland). Since they have the status of official and/or recognised minority language, in the area of their occurrence they are also endonyms. Other minorities do not have spatially visible toponyms in their languages because they do not meet regulatory requirements.

According to the Law on Use of Languages and Scripts of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (Croatian Parliament 2000), minority languages in some units have an official status – depending on the share of a minority population in local self-government units. This means they can be used equally with Croatian. These legislative acts refer to bilingualism or multilingualism in writing the names of settlements, squares and streets, as well as inscriptions on public institutions, local centres, schools and other institutions.

This, however, does not mean that bilingualism is practised everywhere. Although the statute recognises the right to use the language and script of a national minority, in some administrative units it is not implemented (State Geodetic Administration 2011). Accordingly, the spatially visible use of minority languages varies depending on the minority community and the administrative unit.

Examples of good practice in preserving visible bilingualism can be found in Istria. Geographical names from the majority Croatian language and the minority Italian language are inscribed on boards and signposts in those Istrian administrative units that meet legal requirements (e.g., Pula and Pola, Bale and Valle, Novigrad and Cittanova; Figure 3). Also, in some Slavonian municipalities with a Czech or Hungarian minority, bilingual signposts have been set up (e.g., Daruvarski Brestovac in Croatian and Daruvarský Brestov in Czech; Karanac in Croatian and Karancs in Hungarian; Kneževi Vinogradi in Croatian and Hercegszöllös in Hungarian) (State Geodetic Administration 2011). Although this is not typical polyonymy because one and the same name form is written in two scripts, it should be noted that signposts with Latin and Cyrillic inscriptions in some settlements indicate the presence of the Serbian minority.

Figure 3: *Bilingual signposts in Istria (Source: La Voce del Popolo [2019], photo by Željko Jerneić)*

2.1.3 Occurrence of pleonasms in new toponyms

This category specifically includes pleonasms in new toponyms which occurred due to failure to recognise the meaning of older toponyms when translating them. Thus, for example, with the arrival of the younger Croatian population in Istria, Croats came across Roman names that were opaque to them, so they changed them, retaining the inherited, often synonymous name.

The same process, only in the opposite direction, took place later under Venetian rule. Placing Romanic appellatives in front of Croatian toponyms of the same meaning has led to the creation of such names as Valle Dražica and Valle della Draga (Croatian: *draga* = Venetian *valla*), Monte Brdo (Italian: *monte* = Croatian: *brdo*), Cave Pećine, Fiume Recca, etc. (Brozović Rončević 1998:12-13). However, there are also toponyms consisting of the Italian appellative and the Croatian toponym with a different meaning, for example, Monte Križnjak and Monte Gomila (Crljenko 1985:101).

2.1.4 Occurrence of incorrect toponyms

This category specifically refers to incorrect toponyms as a result of unsuccessful attempts to translate toponyms, which appeared due to ignorance of the meaning of certain words. During geodetic surveys in the 18th and 19th centuries, Croatian names for geographical features started to appear on record in the territory of today's Croatia, albeit between brackets behind Italian and German names (Figure 2). However, they were written down following the spelling rules of the Venetian and various idioms of the German language, and later standard Italian and German, which is why unusual and even bizarre toponyms were often recorded (Faričić 2011:60). Italian and Austrian cartographers translated the settlement of Luka on Korčula as Porto Luka and Porto-Luka-Hafen, with *porto, luka* and *Hafen* having the same meaning. Privlaka was phonetically translated as Brevi l'acqua, which means 'short water', instead of *privlaka*, a local form of the Croatian word *prevlaka* for isthmus (= Ital. *istmo*).

Another example is Trnovo, which does not mean 'new land' as its translation Terra nuova suggests. The word *trnovo* is actually derived from the Croatian word *trnje*, meaning 'thorny, spiny vegetation' (Ital. *spina*) (Šenoa 1931:227). And Novigrad was converted to Nove gradi, which means 'nine degrees' instead of 'new city'. The correct Italian translation would be Cittanova. These are meaningless translations without any etymological and semantic connection with original toponyms.

Forcible renaming during the Italian occupation of parts of the Croatian coast in the 20th century generated some unusual toponyms. For example (Brozović Rončević 1998:15; Crljenko 1997:33; Šimunović 1986:142):

- Veli žal > Val di sole (it was translated as 'sunny bay' instead of 'large quay')
- Rakitovac > Acquavite (since the origin *rakita* [purple osier or willow, Ital. *salice rosso*], was not transparent, it was named after the Croatian word *rakija,* Ital. *aquavite*, i.e., alcoholic drink aqavit, similar to *rakija*)
- Peć > Monte Forno (instead of referring to its Croatian origin *špilja, pećina* [cave, Ital. *grotto*], it was named after furnace, Ital. *forno*).

2.2 Political and ideological motivation for renaming

Renaming toponyms, most frequently the names of settlements, streets and squares, is a common phenomenon that accompanies major socio-political changes in an area, such as changes in political systems and ideologies or the occupation of foreign territory. In

Croatia, renamings were implemented on several occasions over the course of around hundred years: a) after the break-up of Austria-Hungary and the establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1918; b) after the Italian occupation of parts of the Croatian coast (1918–1920) and the subsequent international agreement regulating Italian administration (1920–1943/1947) in Istria, on the islands of the Cres-Lošinj group, the islands of Lastovo and Palagruža and in Zadar and Rijeka; c) the creation of the so-called Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in 1941; d) the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; SFRY), i.e., after World War II in 1945; and e) the creation of the Republic of Croatia in 1991.

To give an example, the settlement of Moravice was called Komorske Moravice until 1919. Until 1941 it was known as Srbske Moravice, by the end of 1945 as Hrvatske Moravice, and until 1996 Srpske Moravice (Croatian Encyclopaedia online 2022; Mataija 2011:128, 133; Samardžija 2003-04:426).

Since politically motivated renaming is carried out by current political stakeholders who grant the new names official status, the local population generally perceives them as an enforced imposition. In resistance to this, they continue to use their older, common or informal names unofficially. Therefore, polyonymy necessarily occurs, e.g., the main square in Zagreb, Ban Josip Jelačić Square. In the Yugoslav period it was called Republic Square and in 1990 it was renamed after Ban Josip Jelačić. Older inhabitants of Zagreb refer to it informally as Jelačić-plac, after its official name before 1947, Jelačić Square, whereas to the generations born in the SFRY it was and still is simply Trg (Cro. = square).

Renaming is most pronounced in the toponymy of streets and squares; there are many examples in every major settlement, so they will not be mentioned here. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that, in Croatia, as in other post-socialist societies, many studies have been conducted on the renaming of streets and squares (e.g., Begonja 2006; Crljenko 2008a; Grgin 2007; Jelaska Marijan 2014; Mirošević 2011; Rihtman-Auguštin 2000; Stanić *et al* 2009).

To illustrate the point about the extensiveness of the street renaming process, it is enough to say that certain important streets and squares have changed six or more names since their first official naming in the period from the second half of the 19th century until the early 21st century. For instance, in Zagreb, Sajmišni trg (Market Square) has been changed to the following: Sveučilišni trg (University Square), Wilsonov trg (Wilson Square), Trg kralja Aleksandra (King Alexander Square), Trg I. (Square I), Kazališni trg (Theatre Square), Trg maršala Tita (Marshal Tito Square), Trg Republike Hrvatske

(Square of the Republic of Croatia). In Zadar, Nova riva (New Waterfront) has been changed to the following: Riva Franza Josefa I. (Franz Joseph I Waterfront), Riva Nuova (New Waterfront), Riva Vittorio Emanuele III. (Victor Emmanuel III Waterfront), Obala maršala Tita (Marshal Tito Waterfront), Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. (Waterfront of King Petar Krešimir IV) (Begonja 2006; Rihtman-Auguštin 2000; Stanić *et al* 2009).

However, the names of settlements also changed, in several ways: by translating, adapting to the rules of a different language, adding or omitting attributes in multi-word toponyms, or by replacing the entire toponym.

During the Italian occupation, names of many Croatian settlements were forcibly changed into Italian. Thus, the Croatian Skitača became Santa Lucia d'Albona, Dubrava was named Annunziata, Kras near Hum was called San Clemente, and the island of Ilovik was once again referred to by its Romanic name San Pietro dei Nembi (Brozović Rončević 1998:15). The preferred method was to translate Croatian toponyms into Italian (e.g., Rovinjsko Selo > Villa di Rovigno), which sometimes took on caricatural proportions. However, some of the toponyms were difficult to translate, so the settlements were named after the patron saint of that settlement (e.g., Ubli on Lastovo became San Pietro, and Krmčina near Zadar was named after the same saint). As far as patronymic settlements are concerned, Italians simply renamed them by italianising the surname after which they were named (e.g., Šošići > Sossi, Božići > Bozi, Korenići > Coreni) (Crljenko 1997:34-35; Šimunović 1986:142).

At the same time, in the 1920s and 1930s, some settlements in Croatia were renamed by adding attributes to distinguish them from the same or similar toponyms in other parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Examples include Požega which became Slavonska Požega; Brod na Savi which is Slavonski Brod; and Kobaš which is now Slavonski Kobaš. Some toponyms have remained unchanged in order to avoid overlapping names. For example, Slavonski Brod was kept because of the neighbouring Bosanski Brod, and Slavonski Šamac because of the neighbouring Bosanski Šamac. In contrast, others were once again given their older names by deleting adjectives that differentiated them from other toponyms in Yugoslavia (e.g., Požega).

In the NDH, the biggest change involved replacing the adjective *srpski* (Serbian) in multi-word toponyms with those from the Croatian territory (e.g., Srbske Moravice > Hrvatske Moravice; Srpsko Selište > Moslavačko Selište; Srpsko Polje > Hrvatsko Polje). However, after 1945 the names were again replaced by their older forms (Mataija 2011:133, 135).

Although rare, a complete change in the names of settlements in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was carried out with the intention to commemorate King Alexander Karađorđević; so, for instance, Punat on the island of Krk became Aleksandrovo (Mataija 2011:128). The same happened in the SFRY, where prominent members of the communist government were commemorated by changing toponyms. For example, the name Korenica was changed to Titova Korenica (Tito's Korenica) in honour of President Josip Broz Tito, and Ploče was named Kardeljevo after politician Edvard Kardelj (Mataija 2011:136).

The same method was sometimes used to change the names that inhabitants perceived as scornful. For example, Kozlo (from: *koza* – goat) > Tomislavovac (after King Tomislav); Zlosela (from: *zlo* – evil) > Pirovac; Mrcine (from: *crkotina, strvina* – carrion) > Dubravka; Svinjar (from: *svinja* – pig) > Davor (Lončarić 1977:103; Šimunović 1986:180).

In keeping with the idea of atheisation of society in the SFRY, many settlements that had been named after saints were given new names from which the word *sveti (sv.)* (saint) was deleted (e.g., Sv. Andrija > Svetac; Sv. Grgur > Grgur; Sv. Rok > Rok; Sveti Ivan Zelina > Zelina; Sveti Filip i Jakov > Filipjakov; Faričić 2011:61). After Croatia's independence in 1991, most of them were reverted to the form they had before the renaming (e.g., Požega, Korenica, Ploče, Sveti Križ, Sveti Ivan Zelina) (Frančić 1998:455, 457), but some have taken root so that both forms are now used in everyday speech (e.g., Sveti Filip i Jakov > Filipjakov) (Šimunović 1986:181).

2.3 Local motivation in the naming process

Polyonymy has been observed in the names of small (in economic terms) geographical features, of current or previous local importance, and which are used or inhabited by members of different, very small linguistic (dialectal) communities who may not know that another name already exists. These are mostly uninhabited islets, small lakes and rivers, such as an islet of only 0.05 km^2 in the Kornati archipelago in Dalmatia with four local names: Sikica, Pinezelić, Tovar and Tovarnjak (Faričić 2011:61; Skračić 2009:148) (Figure 4).

Petar Šimunović (1986:180) places in the same category an islet near Dubrovnik, which is called Lakjan, Lakljan, Jakjan and Jakljan, or a lake on the island of Mljet with the names Velji Lago and Velje Jezero. According to him, multiple names are more common in small features than in larger ones and in a linguistically (dialectally) diverse area, which means that the problem of choosing one name and accepting a common name is more difficult when it comes to small features. Consequently, the names of larger and more significant features are spontaneously filtered over time, so that one name prevails, and the secondary names are phased out. In such cases, polyonymy is manifested only at the older toponymic level.

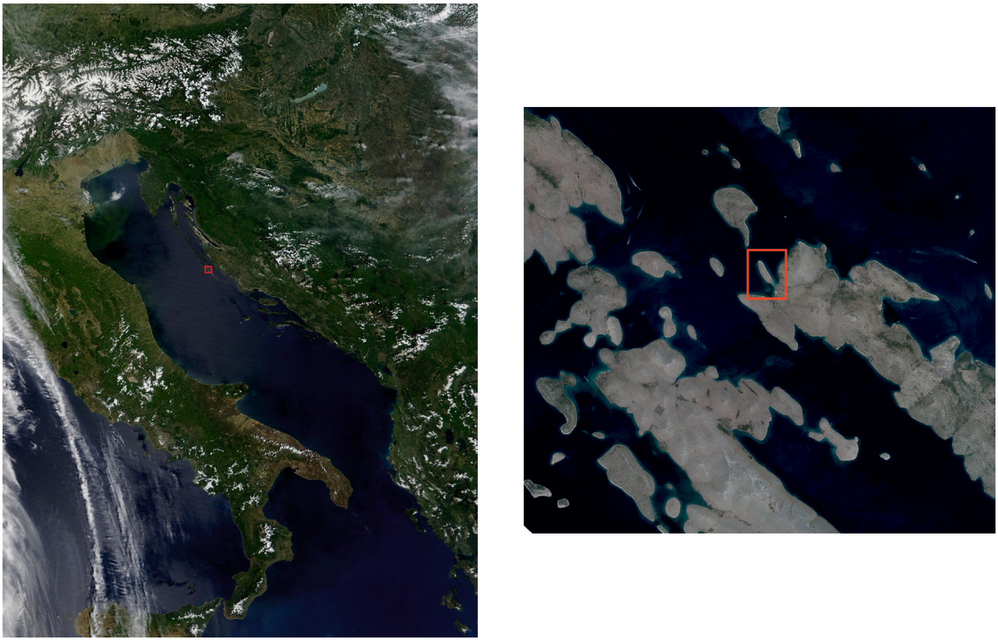

Figure 4: *Position and size of Sikica / Pinzelić / Tovar / Tovarnjak islet (Source: Left: NASA, Visible Earth [2002]; right: Ministry of Physical Planning, Construction and State Assets, DOF [2021])*

Šimunović further notes that, when the economic importance of a small geographical feature changes over time and it becomes a regionally or even nationally significant economic resource, its multiple names are used more frequently and widely, beyond the local level. Administrative intervention can then favour one form of the name, forcing out other forms. On the other hand, reducing the name to one form, which does not necessarily take into account all local toponyms, leads to polyonymy because the local population, despite favouring one or introducing a new name, still retains its established name. For example, the locals call the islands Drvenik mali and Drvenik veli Ploča or Drvenik (Faričić 2020:18).

For tourist purposes, the heart-shaped islet Galešnjak near Zadar is now branded under its informal name Otok ljubavi (Love Island; Faričić 2011:55) (Figure 5), and the islet Govanj near Ston under the name Otok života (Life Island). Another example is the islet of Obonjan near Šibenik. It used to be called Otok mladosti (Youth Island) because of a scout campsite with a holiday resort associated with once-popular summer group visits of children from all over the country. Tourist and commercial motivation can also be attributed to the names Zlatni rat (Golden Cape), Sunčana uvala (Sunny Bay), Plava laguna (Blue Lagoon).

Figure 5: *Heart-shaped Galešnjak islet branded under its informal name Love Island (Source: Google Earth [2021])*

Polyonymy also appears in the coexistence of official and informal names. Informal names belong to a diverse corpus of names used by the local community. They are often given to important and/or popular physical facilities in urban areas, and the naming is spontaneous, sometimes anecdotal, usually leaving the name giver and the exact time of the naming unknown.

Given their informal character, such names often reflect the imagination, openness and wit of the local population. Some informal names refer to popular culture, local linguistic features, and even jargon. For example, Babinjak (after *baba* – a pejorative for older women) for the Public Bathing Place on the Sava in Zagreb; Copacabana/Kopika for the Bathing Place on the Drava in Osijek (Copacabana is a reference to the world-famous beach of the same name in Rio de Janeiro, while Kopika is a sort of variation on that name). Another example is colloquially named Hendrix Bridge for a railway bridge in Zagreb (officially Željeznički most). It is named after guitarist James Marshall 'Jimi' Hendrix, whose surname was first written on the bridge in 1994 by an unknown author, with a broom in red paint in the form of a large graffiti. Although the graffiti was removed, the unknown author kept rewriting it.

Some informal names refer to a specific area that is considered the main determinant of the name (e.g., Dalmatina for the A1 motorway, Slavonika for the A5 motorway). Some are used to preserve the memory of past times, such as Džamija ('The Mosque', after a Muslim place of worship that used to be located on the site) for Trg žrtava fašizma – Square of the Victims of Fascism in Zagreb. By using informal names in everyday speech, users consciously or unconsciously profess their affiliation with the community that created those names and has maintained them to this day.

2.4 Linguistic factors

Polyonymy in Croatia is a reflection of complex historical and political circumstances that have determined the development of the Croatian standard language norm with its dialects and idioms. The most important linguistic factors determining polyonymy depending on the type of the name are:

- Regarding endonyms: the existence of three dialects (Shtokavian, Kajkavian, Chakavian) and many local idioms in the Croatian language, which create a natural and even desirable polyonymy that enhances the vocabulary. However, polyonymy also occurs when trying to impose standardised name forms according to the Shtokavian dialect and Ijekavian idiom. Examples include the imposed Markuševac instead of Markuševec, Miroševac < Miroševec, Tijesno < Tisno, Bobovište < Bobovišća, Vinišće < Vinišća, Pučišće < Pučišća, Sveta Nedjelja < Sveta Nedjelja (Faričić 2011:60; Lončarić 1977:107). Further examples are when the word order in multi-word toponyms is changed (e.g., Kraj Donji < Donji Kraj, Križ Gornji < Gornji Križ; Frančić 1998:453, 456) while the local population continues to use local forms in their dialects and idioms. Šimunović (1986:182) gives the following examples of polyonymy caused by the simultaneous official (in standard language) and unofficial (dialectal) use of a name: Rijeka – Reka, Vrbanj – Varbonj, Žedna Glava – Žena Glova.

- Regarding exonyms: the existence of an intermediary language in the creation of Croatian exonyms. The influences of Latin, Greek, French, Russian, German, English and other languages are reflected in the acceptance of toponyms derived or taken from the intermediary language. For instance, Kijev – Kyiv/Kiev, and Černobil – Chernobyl, were mediated through the Russian language, and in more recent times efforts have been made to correct this by encouraging the use of Ukrainian endonyms (Kyïv, Čornobyl'). Also, polyonymy occurs due to different ways of transmission from other languages and scripts (transliteration, transcription, translation), which is why, for example, Nanjing appears in older sources written as Nanking, Xinjiang as Sinkiang, and Enisej – Yenisey as Jenisej (Crljenko 2018).

3. POLYONYMY AND STANDARDISATION

Although a welcome phenomenon when it comes to the enrichment of languages, polyonymy has its negative side because it reduces onomastic information, i.e., creates difficulties in communication and orientation. Therefore, for practical purposes, efforts are made to reduce it by choosing one, standardised toponym form. The process of standardisation started in Croatian spelling handbooks in the late 19th century (Čilaš Šimpraga & Crljenko 2017). However, frequent changes in spelling rules and the simultaneous existence of several spelling handbooks make standardisation difficult. Moreover, attempts at excessive, unjustified standardisation of some toponyms have perpetuated unnatural and imposed polyonymy.

The rules for spelling toponyms differ from one handbook to another in a small number of cases, sometimes offering two options or double recommendations: Ganga and Ganges, Dili and Delhi, Sveti Toma i Princip and San Tome i Prinsipe for St Thomas and Principe, Hirošima and Hiroshima, Pjongjang and Pyongyang. However, these differences have been enough to give rise to inconsistent spelling of toponyms, and in the case of exonyms, their unsystematic use. Thus, for instance, the official sources of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (Official Short and Full Names of States on Croatian and English Language 2012) and the Croatian National Bank (Instructions for Use of Letter Abbreviations and Numerals 2007) list both Kabo Verde and the Republic of Cape Verde for Cabo Verde, El Salvador and Salvador.

In general publications, such as atlases, encyclopaedic dictionaries (lexicons) and encyclopaedias from the Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography and other major publishers, polyonymy is also evident in the abundance of toponyms, such as Solomunski Otoci – Salamunovi Otoci – Salomonski Otoci – Salamunski Otoci – Solomonovi Otoci – Salomonovi Otoci for the Solomon Islands; Beirut – Bairut – Bayrut – Beyrouth – Bejrut;

and Kaskadno gorje – Kaskadsko gorje – Kaskadne planine for the Cascade Range (Crljenko 2008b).

Although the names of countries have their official forms, the standardisation of all other types of toponyms has begun only recently, in 2019, when the Commission for the Standardisation of Geographical Names of the Republic of Croatia was established. In 2020, it adopted the Recommendations for naming settlements, streets and squares and the Recommendations for writing and using geographical names from foreign languages (State Geodetic Administration 2022). These documents emphasise that, in the case of polyonymy, preference is given to those forms of Croatian endonyms that are used by the local population in order to preserve local idioms and further popularise local toponyms.

On the other hand, for Croatian exonyms, preference is given to the forms that are common in the Croatian language and/or take into account their compliance with endonyms. As for their use, the conclusions of the UN Working Group on Exonyms (Working Group on Exonyms 2017:20) should be consulted.

4. CONCLUSION

Toponymic twins, and to a lesser extent linguistic triplets, quadruplets and quintuplets, contribute to the wealth of the Croatian toponymic family on the one hand. On the other hand, they cause many problems in everyday life, in the production of cartographic and encyclopaedic publications, in efficient administration, and in geocommunication, to which geographical names are key factors in identification and spatial orientation. Although it offers a wider choice, in practice polyonymy decreases onomastic information instead of increasing it. Thus, it is pragmatic to standardise geographical names, in other words, to reduce them to one usable toponymic form, especially for the purposes of cartographic representation.

However, from a scientific, literary and idiomatic point of view, it is necessary to record and thus preserve all toponymic forms referring to the same geographical feature since these are all precious elements of intangible cultural heritage and a true cultural treasure. Toponymic diversity should therefore remain a desirable feature of conversational, artistic literary and popular scientific style.

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THE HISTORY OF NAMING AND THE NAMING OF HISTORY: TOPONYMIC PLURALITY IN MESOAMERICAN HISTORICAL LANDSCAPES

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ABSTRACT

Locations with multiple or variable place names have always occurred in Mesoamerica, particularly in historically rooted discourses and other contexts that make reference to, or are situated within, historical or conceptual landscapes. In colonial contexts, the most obvious processes conditioning toponymic plurality are rooted in the Spanish invasion. In its contemporary aftermath, contrast between Spanish and surviving indigenous languages and communities is the most obvious motivator of alternative names. Precolumbian Mesoamerica contained considerably more languages and polities, and some of the latter were territorially rapacious. This produced a correspondingly more complex mosaic of toponyms that reflect interactions among distinct cultural, linguistic, and political groups with unique historical and ideological perspectives. In this paper we examine the development, transformation, and interconnectedness of these processes across both time and space by exploring pluralistic toponymic landscapes in Mesoamerica from precolumbian times to the present. Particular attention is given to (1) how the multiple naming of historically significant places relates – and has been related – to cultural identity and political legitimacy; (2) the roles of myth and history in these processes; and (3) how these factors may be used to interrogate the deceptively straightforward contrast between 'official' and 'alternative' in historical topography.

Keywords: Aztec, history, landscape, Maya, toponym

1. INTRODUCTION

Mesoamerica describes the territory stretching south and east from north-central Mexico to the Nicoya Peninsula in Costa Rica, encompassing Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador and much of Honduras and Nicaragua (Figure 1).

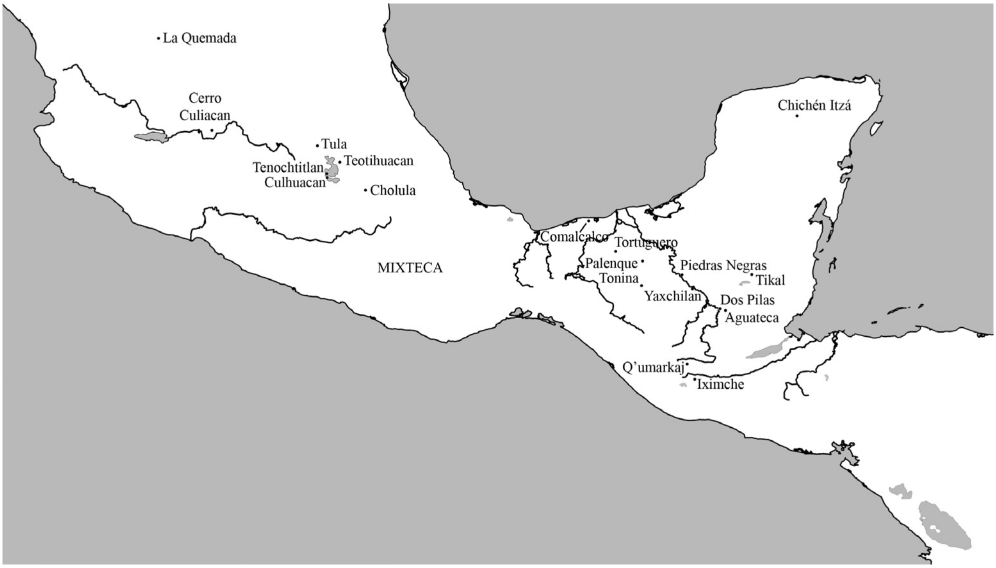

Figure 1: *A map of Mesoamerica (Source: Author Henderson)*

Despite considerable variability in linguistic and cultural features within this region, Mesoamerican societies shared a set of distinctive features that set them apart from their neighbours in the Southwestern United States and in lower Central America. These ranged from stylistic elements visible in craft, art, and architecture to features of social, political, economic organisation, especially belief and ritual practice.

Precolumbian Mesoamerica was strikingly diverse environmentally, culturally, and linguistically; its polities ranged in size from small city-states to the Aztec empire which controlled many tens of thousands of square kilometres. Mesoamerican peoples and polities continually made use of history and myth to forge cultural identities and to legitimise claims to political power and authority; naming places was a principal strategy for achieving these ends. Millennia of competing claims to connection with important places created complex historical and conceptual landscapes in which many places were connected with multiple toponyms, and many toponyms referred to multiple places.

This paper examines these processes using references to places in historical texts, imagery depicting them, and archaeological remains. Emphasis is on the places implicated in richly detailed accounts of the migrations of the ancestors of the Mexica, who came to dominate the Aztec world. Analysis draws on historical documents written in Spanish by colonial invaders; documents in Spanish and Mesoamerican languages written by indigenous people under colonial rule; graphic and glyphic representations of places in these sources and in indigenous books (both precolumbian and colonial); and archaeological remains of places occupied at the time of the invasion.

Ancient Maya hieroglyphic texts recording dynastic history include names for ancient Maya city-states making it possible to track these processes deeper into the precolumbian past. The application of names equivalent to Tollan and other central Mexican places to multiple cities elsewhere in Mesoamerica can be recognised in these texts, as well as in documents written after the Spanish invasion. Referential uncertainty, inevitable in these circumstances, created a landscape in which accounts of connection to the same places by multiple groups did not necessarily appear incompatible or invite insistence on a single legitimate claim. Emphasis in naming practice on specific features of places rather than on discrete bounded locations further reinforced the potential for competing claims to coexist.

Assignment of multiple names to places proliferated in colonial Mesoamerica with a new mechanism: Nahuatl-speaking mercenaries in the service of Spanish territorial administration provided new designations for places whose original names were in other indigenous languages, even less familiar to colonial overlords.

2. TOPONYMIC PLURALITY IN PRECOLUMBIAN MESOAMERICA

2.1 Aztlan and Mexica migration myths

In precolumbian Mesoamerica, prior to the Spanish invasion, it was not uncommon for places central to historical narratives, origin stories, and identities to have multiple simultaneously extant names. A clear illustration of this practice can be found in narratives involving Aztlan, the mythic homeland claimed by several contemporary ethnic groups in the central Mexican highlands. The use of the Aztlan name, its equivalents, and its partial equivalents reveals the way that multiple labels allow for the additive characterisation of places, building nuanced representations by means of progressive elaboration of their fundamental features. It also highlights the flexibility of this kind of characterisation especially in creating the possibility of emphasising different facets of the nature of a place in different contexts.

The most familiar narratives of Aztlan, and the most consequential politically, are those produced by the Mexica. The Mexica were the dominant ethnic group in the Triple Alliance, a label that captures the political structure of the Aztec empire. According to their origin myths, their ancestors set off from Aztlan under the guidance of Huitzilopochtli – the Mexica deity who embodied their identity and sovereignty – at about the same time as other ethnic groups. The centrality of this place within the Mexica worldview cannot be overstated. A historical rootedness in Aztlan was foundational to Mexica conceptualisations of identity and to their assertions of historical and political legitimacy. Even the modern term *Aztec* – which has its origins in colonial Spanish adoptions and adaptations of the Nahuatl *aztecatl*, meaning 'people from Aztlan' (Smith 1984) – reflects the significance of the place.

After departing from Aztlan, somewhere on the northwestern fringe of Mesoamerica, the Mexica migrants made their way southward. They were seeking the sign promised by Huitzilopochtli – an eagle perched in a cactus growing out of a rock – that would reveal the place where they should finally settle (Figure 2).

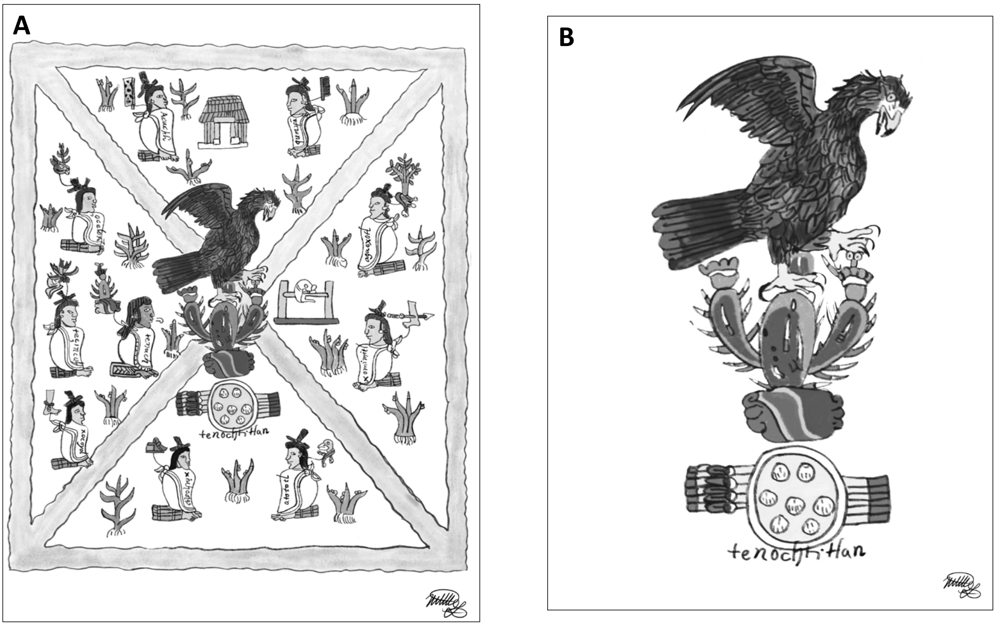

Figure 2: *(a) A page from the Codex Mendoza, folio 2r, showing the sign promised by Huitzilopochtli, and (b) a close up of the sign (drawings by Michelle Govatos after Berdan & Anawalt [1992:11])*

After a long journey that encompassed many regions and sojourns in several cities, the Mexica migrants reached the Basin of Mexico. Following a period of mercenary service to the lords of established cities in the Basin, Huitzilopochtli's sign was revealed and their capital city of Tenochtitlan was founded. The end point of the migration was distinctive to the Mexica, but the structure of the narrative – beginning in Aztlan and including brief stays in places where critical events took place – is widely shared among central Mexican peoples.

Though it is, in many ways, the most important place in Mexica migration narratives, Aztlan is not clearly differentiated from early stops on the Mexica migration (Figure 3).

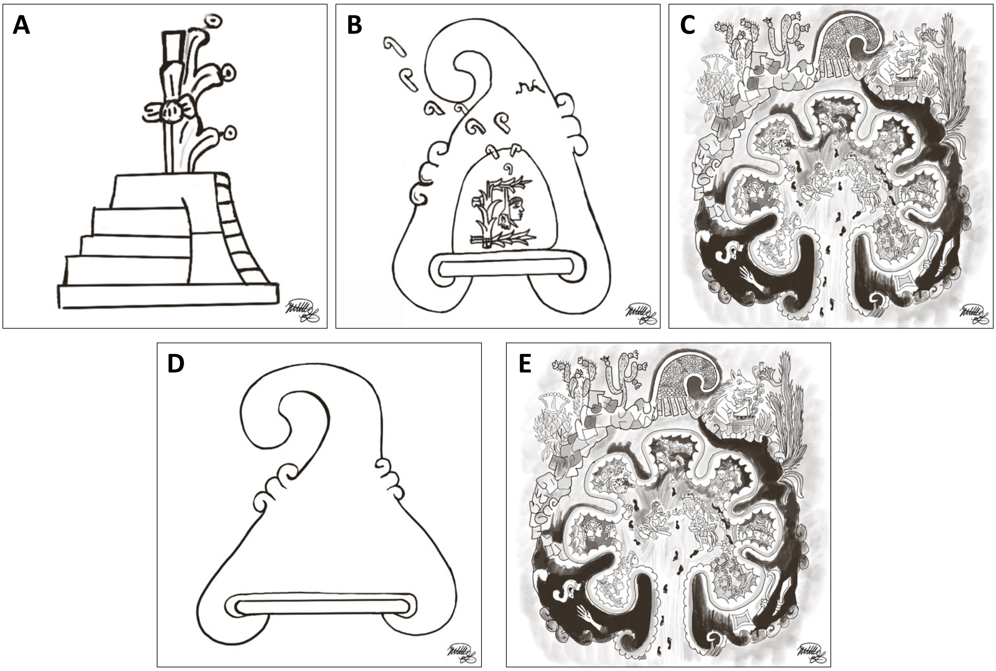

Figure 3: *Toponyms marking (a) Aztlan (Codex Boturini, page 1), (b) Teoculhuacan (Codex Boturini, page 1), (c) Chicomoztoc (Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, folio 16r), (d) Quinehuayan/Culhuacan (Codex Boturini, page 20), and (e) Colhuacatepec (Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, F. 16r) (drawings by Michelle Govatos after Rajagopalan [2019:Pl 2.1, 2.20]; Kirchhoff, Odena & Reyes [1976:F. 16r])*

Distinctions among Aztlan and Teoculhuacan – meaning 'divine place of ancestors' or 'original place of ancestors' – are not always clear. The differences between Aztlan and

Chicomoztoc – meaning 'seven caves' and conceptualised as the place where distinct peoples were born – Quinehuayan, and Colhuacatepec are similarly blurred. These toponyms, their referents, and associated concepts are often conflated with one another. Quinehuayan and Culhuacan are conflated in Codex Aubin (Rajagopalan 2019:24); Chimalpahin refers to Chicomoztoc as Quinehuayan (Aguilar-Moreno 2007:29). Teoculhuacan and Chicomoztoc are particularly difficult to distinguish from Culhuacan – the mythical 'place of ancestors' – in the Basin of Mexico, where the Mexica served as mercenaries near the end of their migration.

The wording of some documentary sources suggests that the overlap among Aztlan, Teoculhuacan, Chicomoztoc, and Quinehuayan may reflect the use of place names as designations for regions rather than individual locations, at least in some contexts. Durán (1964:14) refers to both Teoculhuacan – near Aztlan – and Culhuacan – in the Basin of Mexico – with the label 'Culhuacan' but uses the Teoculhuacan toponym to designate a region equivalent to Aztlan. He notes that "[t]he caves [Chicomoztoc] are in Teoculhuacan, which is also called Aztlan, 'Land of Herons'". In some sources, Quinehuayan appears to refer to the territory within which Teoculhuacan was located. Colhuacatepec, a toponym that describes a place in the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca,* is a conflation of Culhuacan and Chicomoztoc (Kirchhoff *et al* 1976:161, F. 16r; Leibsohn 2009:120).

Culhuacan is sometimes equated with Aztlan by its description as a hill in the middle of a great lake rather than by use of the same label. The structural position of Culhuacan as the last place the Mexica sojourned before the foundation of Tenochtitlan reinforces an equivalence to Teoculhuacan, which was the first place at which the Mexica arrived after leaving Aztlan. The same logic equates Aztlan and Tenochtitlan, both of which were cities located on islands in lakes.

These locations stand at the beginning and the end of the Mexica migration, respectively. Tenochtitlan – the settlement built by the Mexica at the place where they saw the eagle in a cactus growing from a rock – was originally named Cuauhnochtitlan, which means 'beside the cactus fruit of the eagle' in Nahuatl (Whittaker 2021:32). When the city's early leader Tenoch died, the community was renamed Tenochco in his honour; this, in turn, led to the use of Tenochca as a term describing residents of the city. The city was soon renamed again to become Tenochtitlan, a name that means 'by the rock cactus fruit' and alludes simultaneously to Huitzilopochtli's sign, the city's original name, and one of its important ancestors. It could also be referred to as Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tenochtitlan-Mexico, which highlighted all of the aforementioned features while also emphasising a socio-political identity.

Two more places with critical roles in Mexica history and in the Mexica migration narrative can be structurally equated with Aztlan (Figure 4). The first of these is Tollan, a name that means 'place of reeds' and implies a watery location. This was the capital of the Toltecs, who were widely believed to be the inventors of the arts of civilisation, and one of the places where the Mexica stayed for a while during their journey. Tollan could be considered an equivalent of Aztlan, whose name glyph depicts a reed emerging from a pyramid. The Mexica maintained successfully that their stay in Tula during the migration invested them with unchallengeable political legitimacy.

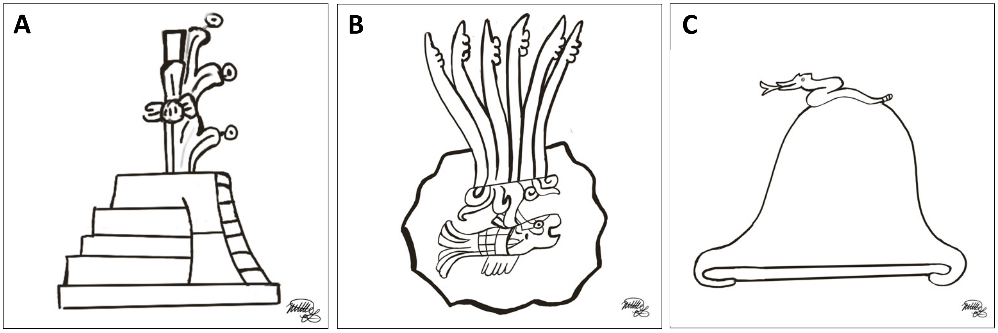

Figure 4: *Toponyms marking (a) Aztlan (Codex Boturini, page 1), (b) Tollan (Codex Boturini, page 7), and (c) Coatepec (Florentine Codex, Book 3, F. 3v) (drawings by Michelle Govatos after Rajagopalan [2019:Pl 2.1, 2.7]; Sahagún [1978:Ill 2])*

Coatepec – meaning 'serpent hill' – was the birthplace of Huitzilopochtli, the patron deity of the Mexica and embodiment of their identity and sovereignty. It was also one of the places they tarried on their migration from Aztlan. Here they created a lake environment that was both reminiscent of Aztlan and suggestive of the final destination intended by Huitzilopochtli. Huitzilopochtli, displeased with this premature settlement, forcibly reminded the Mexica of the destiny he had in mind for them by practising heart removal on the faction responsible for it. This novel form of sacrifice eventually became the focus of the most spectacular rituals at the main temple of Tenochtitlan – itself an effigy of Coatepec and the focus of the city's sacred precinct.

Regional differences in toponymic usage and confusion on the part of Spaniards about the places and regions that featured in precolumbian historical geography undoubtedly had parts to play in creating what seems to be a frustratingly hazy geographic framework. However, the fundamental factors were an intentional avoidance of toponymic precision and a corresponding inclination to refer to features of places rather than to discrete bounded locations *per se*. The actual geographic locations of all these places are unknown, with the exception of Culhuacan, Tenochtitlan, and – to some degree – Tollan. Durán (1964:134-138; Aguilar-Moreno 2007:29) reveals that the Aztec ruler, Moctezuma I, attempted to address this uncertainty by sending warriors and spiritual leaders on a quest to locate Aztlan. Although this mission was successful in locating a place with the defining characteristics of Aztlan, Durán does not provide any information concerning where that location might be.

The maintenance of this ambiguity – in colonial and precolonial times – allowed for a great deal of flexibility when referring to city-states and regions. This system of fuzzy geographic reference thus offered several advantages, the most obvious of which is its ability to facilitate claims of association with particular places by multiple distinct groups, each of which could make its association distinctive by invoking different aspects of the same ancestral locations. Thus, contemporaries of the Mexica made comparable claims to connections with the same historical places.

2.2 Maya city-states and dynastic history

The same kind of flexible toponymic imprecision can be found in references to city-states in precolumbian Maya inscriptions that deal with dynastic history. The best-known references to city-states in these texts are the so-called Emblem Glyphs (Montgomery 2002:231-234): royal titles having the form of 'sacred lord of [the named city-state]'. The precise nature of the referent of the elements that identify particular city-states continues to be a matter of debate among Maya epigraphers, but it is clear that they differ from ordinary toponyms and that they do somehow refer to important places within city-states.

A few Emblem Glyphs were shared by independent city-states. In the case of Tikal, Dos Pilas, and Aguateca this was the result of a royal faction at Tikal breaking away and founding a new polity in the Petexbatun region 100 kilometres to the southwest (Houston 1993:97-101; Martin & Grube 2008:54-67). The use of the same Emblem Glyph by multiple sites at different times – La Joyanca, Pajaral, and Zapote Bobal, for example – probably reflects sequential capitals of the same dynasty (Martin 2020:74). In other cases – perhaps including the contemporaneous use of the *baakal* ('bone [place]') Emblem Glyph by Palenque, Tortuguero, and Comalcalco (Martin 2020:95-97) – the sharing may reflect political takeovers. The historical details are rarely clear. Some cities, such as Yaxchilan, had two Emblem Glyphs; Piedras Negras and Tonina had three. This pattern may reflect individual lords or dynastic lines holding authority at multiple city states.

Texts at many city-states feature toponyms, clearly marked as such linguistically, which refer straightforwardly to specific places that were important to their identities and/or to the identities and political agendas of their rulers. Biró (2012) argues persuasively that many, perhaps most, of the distinctive elements of Emblem Glyphs began as toponyms and maintained their toponymic references alongside more indirect references to city-states in their royal titles. These toponyms likely often designated core territories of city-states and/or identified the origins of dynasties or individual rulers (Biró 2012:59-60; Martin 2020:72, 326-334).

In any event, it is clear that Maya lords commissioned inscriptions that feature reference to multiple particular geographic locations of importance to local history and multiple labels for the same important locations. Moreover, the referents of Emblem Glyphs and their geographic limits shifted with changing political landscapes. This geographic imprecision created ambiguity for both ancient and modern readers of texts recording dynastic history. This uncertainty allowed for considerable flexibility in the expression of claims to political power based on place of origin and descent.

2.3 Multiple Tollans, Chicomoztocs, and Coatepecs

The pattern of referring to key historical places with multiple labels that often designate their distinctive features rather than entire locations fosters application of the same name to multiple prominent places. This, too, facilitated legitimation and claims to the same heritage by multiple ethnic groups and political entities. Tollan, where the Toltecs were believed to have invented civilised life, provides the best example. The most obvious referent of this toponym is the archaeological site of Tula, located north of the Basin of Mexico, which served as the political capital of the Toltec state. The connection to Tollan is clear in this case, since the site was known to have been the political centre of the Toltec state. Colonial documents refer to Cholula, a much larger and older regional capital located east of the Basin, as Tollan-Chollolan. This designation is likely rooted in the architectural magnitude of the site and in corresponding perceptions of its socio-political significance. It is also probable that Teotihuacan, in the Basin, the largest and grandest city of precolumbian Mesoamerica, was an even older Tollan. Tenochtitlan, whose rulers represented the city-state as a neo-Tollan and a centre of civilised life, could also be called Toltzallan Acatzallan – a name that means the 'city between the rushes and the reeds'.

Historical narratives and traditions throughout Mesoamerica connected local places and dynasties to distant places that were labelled or otherwise identified as, or associated with, Tollan. For example, the Codex Bodley (also called Codex Ñuu Tnoo – Ndisi Nuu) refers to a place associated with people in Toltec dress whose toponym features reeds (Figure 5). The Codex is a genealogical history of rulers of culturally and linguistically Mixtec city-states, composed in the Mixteca region of western Oaxaca, well to the southeast of Nahua Central Mexico.

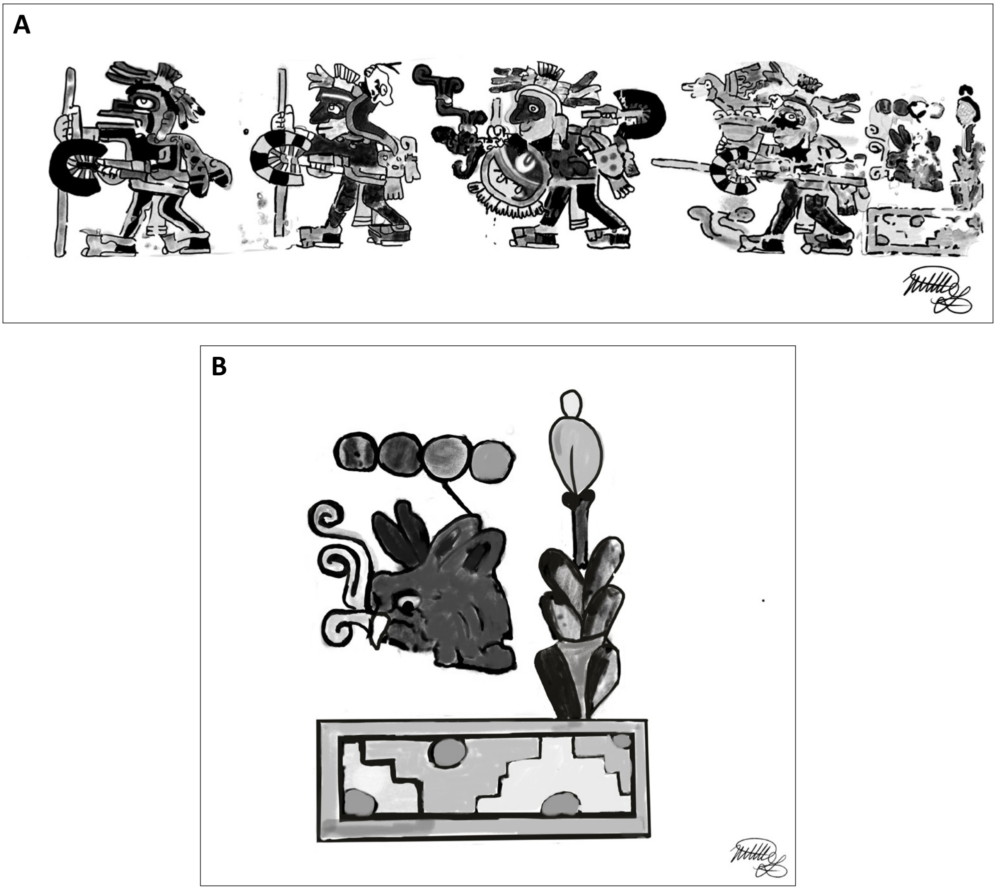

Figure 5: *Page 10 of the Codex Bodley (a) detail of figures in Toltec dress and toponym with reeds and (b) artist's restoration of toponym (drawings by Michelle Govatos after Jansen & Pérez Jiménez [2005:63])*

In the Maya world, texts such as the one on the right side of Tikal's Stela 31 use a hieroglyphic sign depicting reeds to refer to a place associated with Teotihuacan-style architecture and artefacts (Figure 6). On Stela 31 it occurs in a text referring to the genealogy of Yax Nuun Ahiin I, a foreigner with strong Teotihuacan associations who forcibly ascended the throne of Tikal in the late 4th century. The toponym with the reed follows the name of Yax Nuun Ahiin I's father. Some epigraphers view this association as evidence that Yax Nuun Ahiin I was the son of a lord of Teotihuacan.

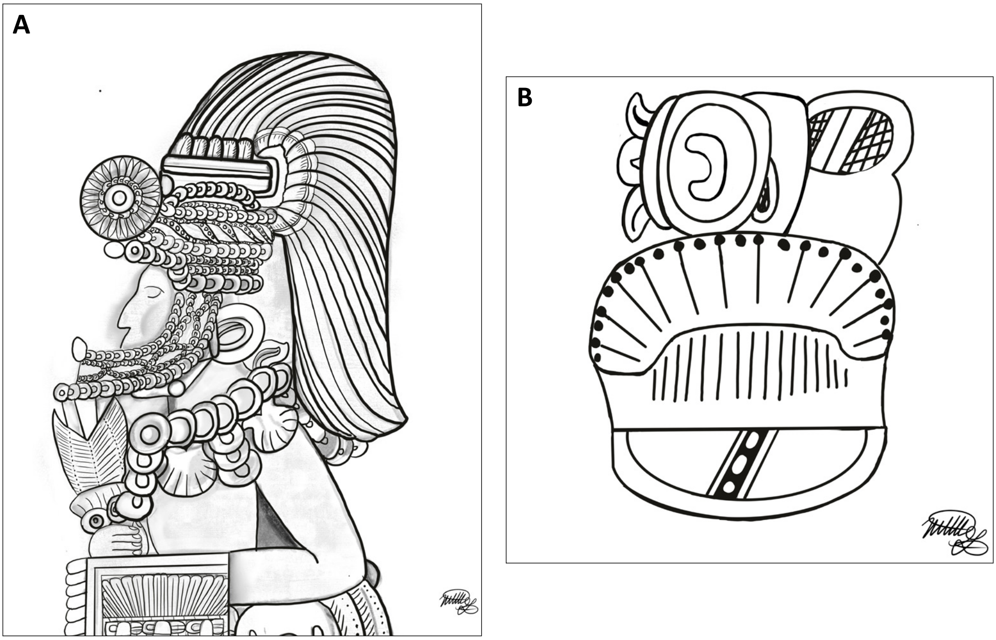

Figure 6: *Tikal Stela 31, right side (a) detail of the depiction of Yax Nuun Ahiin I in Toltec warrior's dress and (b) detail of the hieroglyphic toponym depicting reeds associated with the name of his father in the text just above (drawings by Michelle Govatos, photo provided by Author Henderson)*

Colonial historical narratives of the K'iche' and Kaqchikel people in highland Guatemala say that their ancestors received the symbols legitimising their authority at Tulán (Christenson 2007:29-30, 210-212), which is equated with places called Vucub Pec – meaning 'seven caves' – and Vucub Ziván – meaning 'seven ravines' (Edmonson 1971:161). One of the names for Chichén Itzá, the great 10th-century Maya capital in northern Yucatan, was Uucil Abnal, a name that means 'seven bushy places' or 'seven hollows' and suggests that it may be the referent of the K'iche' and Kaqchikel accounts (Roys 1962:42, 1967:133).

In a similar way, Chicomoztoc was – and still is – connected with several archaeological sites and physiographic features, most notably La Quemada in the Mexican state of

Zacatecas and Cerro Culiacan in the state of Guanajuato. These names reflect local toponymic tradition and may refer to the location of these sites to the west of the Basin of Mexico, in the purported location of Aztlan. The proliferation of Coatepec toponyms in central Mexico presumably reflects its importance in Mexica myth and historical narrative and a desire to affiliate with that. Toponyms with the meaning 'serpent hill' in other Mesoamerican languages are found at least as far east as the Ulúa region in Honduras; hieroglyphic toponyms with the same meaning appear in several precolumbian Maya texts.

3. TOPONYMIC PLURALITY IN COLONIAL MESOAMERICA

In colonial Mesoamerica, many new toponyms emerged. This was particularly true during the Spanish invasion and in the early years of colonisation, when existing places – particularly cities and other socio-political centres – were renamed. Many of these changes involved the assignment of new Nahuatl names to places that were previously identified with names in local (i.e., non-Nahuatl) languages. These new names typically originated in place names or descriptors used by the Nahuatl-speaking allies who accompanied Spanish invasion forces and served as their cultural and linguistic interpreters. In some cases, they were translations of a name from the local language into Nahuatl; in other instances, they represent conceptualisations of the place within the worldview of Nahuatl speakers.

Names used to identify the K'iche' capital city in Guatemala illustrate this process. The city's original name – *Q'umarkaj* – was a K'iche' word meaning 'place of old reeds' or 'rotted reed houses' (Christenson 2007:266-267). This name was used by both the city's inhabitants and other indigenous communities prior to the Spanish invasion. The Nahuatl-speaking allies of the Spanish translated the meaning of this name as *Utatlan* and prefaced it with *tecpan*, a Nahuatl word used to mark a royal place or seat of political power. This new toponym continued to be used even after Pedro de Alvarado burned the city and its rulers in March of 1524, at least in official contexts that required acknowledgement of Spanish dominance and a corresponding adherence to Spanish patterns of naming. However, the original K'iche' name also continued to be used among indigenous communities, perhaps as a form of resistance.

While the K'iche' capital was described by two linguistically and socio-politically distinct toponymic descriptors following the Spanish invasion, other toponyms that emerged in colonial Mesoamerica had – or came to have – geographic referents that differed from those of the names that inspired them. These new labels and their new referents sometimes created correspondingly new geographic entities that altered the socio-political landscape in ways reflective of the Spanish world view. An example of this process can be found in the etymological history of the Guatemala toponym. Prior to the Spanish invasion, the K'iche' referred to themselves, their core territory and its environment, and the wider territory under their political control as *k'iche'* (Christenson 2007:59). This term combines two K'iche' words – *k'i*, meaning 'many,' and *che'*, meaning 'trees' – and reflects the close intertwining of socio-cultural identity, polity, and place that existed in K'iche' society prior to colonisation. In this case, the polity in question – the K'iche' kingdom – was the largest political entity in what is now Guatemala at the time of the Spanish invasion.

Following the invasion, the K'iche' territory was renamed *Cuauhtemallan*. This toponym is a Nahuatl term meaning 'place of many trees,' 'forest,' or 'forested place' and comes from the rather literal translation of the original K'iche' name by the Spaniards' Nahuatl-speaking allies. This new term was also given an expanded referential scope that encompassed both the original K'iche' territories and adjacent highland areas, including the Kaqchikel state and the zone around Lake Atitilán that was occupied by Tzutujil speakers. This territory was never a unified precolumbian political entity, nor was it a geographic or sociocultural unit that was recognised by indigenous people. In the perceptions of the Spanish invaders, however, it was a region with distinct characteristics and patterns of resistance to the colonial enterprise and it is this view that determined the new toponym.

The new *Cuauhtemallan* toponym thus broke – intentionally or otherwise – the close association among socio-cultural identity, polity, and place embodied in the original K'iche' name. It simultaneously reified and validated the new socio-political landscape initiated by the Spanish invasion, at least in the view of colonial officials and mapmakers, in ways that permanently altered Mesoamerican topography. *Cuauhtemallan* was eventually hispanicised as Guatemala, and its referent was extended to include much of Central America and Chiapas through its use in the *Audiencia de Guatemala* toponym. Although this maximal scope did not continue beyond the transition to independence, Guatemala – as a toponym describing a territory inhabited by originally discrete populations – survived.

This shift in usage is analogous to more general processes of lexical expansion and modification that accompanied Spanish colonisation. For example, *caballo* – a Spanish loan word meaning 'horse' – initially had a distinctive referent that was specific to that particular animal. Horses did not exist in Mesoamerica prior to the Spanish invasion, and the Nahuatl term *mazatl* – meaning ‘deer’ – was initially used by indigenous populations synonymously with *caballo* to describe them. In a process of mutual influence and change, the referents of both words changed. *Caballo* took on an array of connotative meanings originally associated with *mazatl*, including reference to the qualities of wild beasts as contrasted with those of cultured people.

This newly expanded significance mirrors a common lexico-syntactic structure in Nahuatl – the couplet – and also reflects a process of calquing. In Nahuatl, *in tochtli, in mazatl* – ‘the rabbit, the deer’ – is a standardised couplet equated with wild and uncivilised behaviour. The term *mazatl* itself could also have the same referent due to its association with the couplet. When *mazatl* was equated with *caballo*, the Spanish word similarly took on some of the semantics of the original Nahuatl couplet. *Mazatl*, for its part, came to refer to any Spanish domesticated quadruped rather than specifically to deer. These words thus came to be treated as conceptual equivalents within a new and expanded semantic domain (Brylak 2019).

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Multiple labels for historically important places along with an inclination to refer to features of places, rather than to discrete bounded locations, allowed for the additive characterisation of those places, building nuanced representations by means of progressive elaboration of their fundamental features. This kind of characterisation created a pattern of multi-referential toponyms referring to multiple geographically and conceptually distinct places. It also created the possibility of using toponyms to emphasise different facets of the nature of a place in different contexts. The cases discussed above illustrate some of the dimensions in terms of which these factors may be used to interrogate the deceptively straightforward contrast between ‘official’ and ‘alternative’ in historical topography.

Imprecision in referring to mythical and legendary places, as well as to city-states, territories, and regions with known geographic locations, can be seen as useful ambiguity. The uncertainty it engendered offered advantages, most obviously in facilitating claims of association with particular places by multiple groups who could make their claims distinctive by invoking different aspects of the same ancestral locations and using different toponyms to refer to them. In a world of overlapping, conflicting, and ever-changing claims to power and legitimacy involving multiple ethnicities, polities, and dynasties, a plethora of toponyms with fuzzy and fungible referents expanded available paths to hegemony and power.

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EAST AFRICA IN CHINESE MEDIEVAL SOURCES

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ABSTRACT

My paper will bring a view on the earliest medieval contacts between East Africa and China, based on Chinese sources dating back from as early as the 8th century. It will bring early Chinese place names into comparison with modern names occurring in East Africa.

China and Africa have a history of trade relations, sometimes through third parties, as far back as the Han Dynasty (202 BC and 220 AD). Chinese seafaring merchants and diplomats of the medieval Tang Dynasty (618–907) and Song Dynasty (960–1279) often sailed into the Indian Ocean after visiting ports in Southeast Asia. Chinese sailors would travel to Malaya (currently Peninsular Malaysia), India, Sri Lanka, into the Persian Gulf and up the Euphrates River in modern-day Iraq, to the Arabian Peninsula and into the Red Sea, stopping to trade goods in Ethiopia and Egypt (as Chinese porcelain was highly valued in old Fustat, Cairo).

The paper will indicate that, from the 9th century onwards, Chinese writers accurately described the geography of Africa.

Keywords: China–Africa contacts, Chinese place names, East Africa, medieval contacts

1. CHINA–AFRICA RELATIONS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL TIME

The main goal of my paper is to prove early contacts between East Africa and China from the earliest times using place names in Chinese sources dating from those times. Some of these sources have been edited recently (2020) in Chinese–English versions.

China and Africa have a history of trade relations, sometimes through third parties, dating back as far as the Han Dynasty (202 BC and 220 AD) (Snow 1988:2). Chinese seafaring merchants and diplomats of the medieval Tang Dynasty (618–907) and Song Dynasty (960–1279) often sailed into the Indian Ocean after visiting ports in Southeast Asia. Chinese sailors would travel to Malaya (currently Peninsular Malaysia), India, Sri Lanka, into the Persian Gulf and up the Euphrates River in modern-day Iraq, to the Arabian Peninsula and into the Red Sea, stopping to trade goods in Ethiopia and Egypt (as Chinese porcelain was highly valued in *al-Fusṭāṭ* [modern Cairo]) (Bowman 2000:104-105).

1.1 First mentions in Chinese sources

In the late 8th century, Jia Dan (賈耽 *Jiǎ Dān*, 730–805), a Chinese scholar-official, general, geographer, and cartographer during the Tang Dynasty, wrote *Route Between Guangzhou and the Barbarian Sea*, documenting foreign communications. The book was lost, but the official history of the Tang Dynasty, *Xin Tangshu* (新唐書/卷166), retained some of his passages about the three sea routes linking China to East Africa (Sun 1989:310-314).

Beyond the initial work of Jia Dan, other Chinese writers accurately described the geography of Africa from the 9th century onwards. The first mention of Africa in Chinese sources was in the *Yǒuyáng Zázǔ* (《酉陽雜俎》*Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*), a book written in the 9th century by Duan Chengshi, a Chinese poet and writer of the Tang Dynasty who died in 863.

The book consists of two collections, the first (*Qianji* 前集) comprises 30 chapters in 20 juan ('scrolls'), while the supplement (*Xuji* 續集) comprises six chapters in 10 juan. The book contains fantastic stories of mortals and immortals, Buddhas and ghosts, as well as strange animals, plants, foodstuff, monasteries and temples, and so on. On the one hand the stories are characterised by strange personalities and phenomena (*zhiguai* 志怪, *chuanqi* 傳奇). On the other hand there are many tales of curious places and things, which are more characteristic of descriptive geography (ChinaKnowledge.de 2000ff).

Among other things, the author describes the slave trade, ivory trade, and ambergris trade of *Bobali* (撥拔立 *Bōbálì*; in modern Chinese: 柏培拉 *Bǎipéilā*), which is believed to be what is now Berbera (0°26′8″ N, 45°0′59″ E; Somali and Arabic: *Barbara*) in Somaliland, East Africa (Levathes 1996:38; Duan 2001), and also the name of Barbaria (撥拔力國 *Bōbálì Guó*) as a territory.

In antiquity Berbera was part of the classical Somali city-states that engaged in a lucrative trade network connecting Somali merchants with Phoenicia, Ptolemaic Egypt, Ancient Greece, Parthian Persia, Saba, Nabataea and the Roman Empire.

'Berbera' corresponds to the Arabic term bilād al-barābra ('land of the Barbars'), used in the Middle Ages. Barbaria (Βαρβαρία) was the name used by the ancient Greeks for the coastal region along Northeast Africa containing several city-states that would dominate trading in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (Peppard 2009). The name originates from that of the Berbers, the oldest known inhabitants of the region.

1.2 First contacts

The first official embassy from an East African kingdom to China (1071) is described in the official History of the Song Dynasty (《宋史》*Sòng Shǐ*, *juan* 490), which reigned in 960–1279. The name of the kingdom was *Cengtan* (層檀 *Céngtán*) and its representatives offered tribute at Song Court for the first time. The ruler of the country was called *yàměiluó yàméilán* (亞美羅亞眉蘭), which was probably derived from the Persian *ʾamīr-i amirân* ('emir of emirs') (Wheatley 1959:12-13).

At that time the Swahili coast was under powerful Kilwa Sultanate (957–1513), centred at Kilwa Kisiwani. This island off modern-day Tanzania was designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in 1981, along with the nearby ruins of Songo Mnara (UWHC 2022). The story of Kilwa begins around 960–1000 AD. In the latter part of the 10th century AD one 'Ali bin al-Hasan or 'Ali bin al-Husain of the ruling family of Shiraz established himself at Kilwa and founded a dynasty of rulers (Chittick 1965:276). The Kilwa Sultanate held overlordship from Cape Correntes, a cape or headland in the modern Inhambane Province in Mozambique, in the south to Malindi in the north (McCall Theal 1902).

Kilwa's emergence as a commercial centre challenged the dominance once held by Mogadishu over the East African coast. Suleiman Hassan (*Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dā'ūd*), the 9th successor of Ali (and 12th ruler of Kilwa, ca. 1178–1195), wrested control of the southerly city of Sofala (20°8′45″ S, 34°45′25″ E) in modern Mozambique. Wealthy

Sofala was the principal *entrepôt* for the gold and ivory trade with Great Zimbabwe and Monomatapa (or Mwenemutapa) in the interior.

The name *Céngtán* (層檀) is probably derived from the Persian *Zangistan* (*Zangestân*), which originated from the Arabic name *Zanj* (*Zanǧ*; Persian: *Zang*). This name was used by medieval Muslim geographers to refer to both a certain portion of Southeast Africa (primarily the Swahili Coast) and its Bantu inhabitants. It is also the origin of the place names Zanzibar (Arabic: *Zanǧibār* or *Zinǧibār*, 'coast of the Zanji') and the Sea of Zanj (Arabic: *Baḥr Zanǧ*), the former name for that portion of the western Indian Ocean adjacent to the region of the African Great Lakes (i.e., Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika, and Lake Malawi).

Although insufficiently defined geographically, the area of the Sea of Zanj included a vast maritime region roughly stretching as far as ancient navigators reached on their dhows. It stretched off the coast of Southeast Africa as far south as the Mozambique Channel, including the Comoros and the waters off the eastern coast of Madagascar.

1.3 Meaning of *Zanj*

Zanj in Arabic means 'country of the blacks'. But the word *zanj* or *zang* might not be Arabic in origin, as the Chinese form (僧祇 *sēngqí*) was recorded as early as 607 AD. The word seems to be of Southeast Asian origin (Dick-Read 2006:33) with a meaning of: "(literary, obsolete) dark-skinned aborigines in Southeast Asia, or black people from the east coast of Africa" (Wiktionary 2022).

Ancient Chinese texts mention ambassadors from Java presenting the Chinese emperor with two *sēngqí* (Zanji) slaves as gifts, and *sēngqí* slaves reaching China from the kingdom of Srivijaya (ca. 650–1377), a Buddhist thalassocratic empire based on the island of Sumatra, Indonesia (Oliver 1975:192). Moreover, the Javanese word *jenggi* means 'African people', precisely the 'people of Zanzibar' (Zoetmulder & Robson 1982).

Zanj was situated in the Southeast African vicinity and was inhabited by Bantu-speaking peoples. The core area of Zanj occupation stretched from the territory south of present-day Ras Kamboni (a town in the Badhaadhe district of the Lower Juba region, southern Somalia, which lies on a peninsula near the border with Kenya) to Pemba Island in Tanzania. Bantu Swahili peoples already had seafaring vessels with sailors and merchants trading with Arabia and Persia, and as far east as India and China.

In this regard, we find another term, the Swahili term *shenzi*, used on the East African coast, meaning 'barbarian' (variously used to refer to foreigners, Europeans, or pagans), which was perhaps derived from the same source as the Arabic *Zanǧ* (adj. *zanǧī*). Often it was used in a derogatory way to refer to anything associated with rural black people.

The seamanship of the early Southeast Asians was so remarkable that they were able to cross the 6 000-mile expanse of the Indian Ocean to settle in Madagascar off the East African coast. The vessels are believed to be identical to the sailing rafts still used today by fishermen off the coasts of Taiwan, Vietnam, and other countries of Southeast Asia. They are made of tightly bound balsa logs and employ a complicated steering system that allows them to be manoeuvred across the trade winds. Six leeboards or centreboards, three in the stem and three in the bow, can be adjusted to steer a course close to the wind, regardless of the direction or strength of the wind (Levathes 1996:25).

1.4 Chinese in Ajuran Empire and Kilwa

The Ajuran Empire (Somali: *Saldanaddii Ajuuraan*, Arabic: *Salṭana Aǧūrān*), was a Somali Muslim sultanate that ruled over large parts of the Horn of Africa in the 13th to late 17th century. Important cities in the empire were Mogadishu and Barawa. Archaeological excavations have recovered many coins from China, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam. The majority of the Chinese coins date to the Song Dynasty (Pankhurst 1961:268).

2. GAZETTEER OF FOREIGN LANDS

In 1226 Zhao Rukuo (趙汝适 *Zhào Rǔkuò*, 1170–1231), commissioner of foreign trade at Quanzhou (泉州 *Quánzhōu*) in the Fujian province of China, completed his *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志 *Zhūfān Zhì*, 'A Description of Barbarian Nations', 'Records of Foreign People', or 'Gazetteer of Foreign Lands') which discusses Zanzibar? (層拔 *Céngbá*), *Pipaluo* (弼琶囉 *Bìpáluō*, Somaliland and possibly Djibouti) and *Zhongli* (中理 *Zhōnglǐ*, Somalia or Shungwaya?) (Yang 2020; Wheatley 1964:150).

A new translation of Part 1 of the *Zhufan zhi* was published digitally by Shao-yun Yang (Yang 2020) in 2020. Here are some text samples:

Cengba (層拔國 *Céngbá Guó*, Zanzibar?)

> 層拔國在胡茶辣國南海島中。西接大山。其人民皆大食種落，遵大食教度…
> 產象牙、生金、龍涎、黃檀香。每歲胡茶辣國及大食邊海等處發船販易，以白布、甆器、赤銅、紅吉貝為貨。

> The country of *Cengba* (Zanzibar?) is on islands in the sea south of *Huchala* (胡荼辣國 *Húchálà Guó*, Gujarat). It adjoins a great mountain to the west. Its people are all clans of the *Dashi* (大食 *Dàshí*, Arab) people and follow the *Dashi* religion … The land produces ivory, gold ore, ambergris, and yellow sandalwood. Every year, the coastal regions of *Huchala* (Gujarat) and *Dashi* (the Arab world) send ships to trade with this country, using white cotton cloth, porcelain ware, red copper (gold-copper alloy), and red kapok.

Zhao Rukuo's claim that *Cengba* lies south of Gujarat is geographically incorrect but probably reflects his poor understanding of the position of East Africa in relation to Arabia and India. Bowen Yang (楊博文) in his annotated edition of 1996 (Yang 1996) suggests that *Cengba* was not Zanzibar *per se* but the wealthy and powerful Kilwa Sultanate, based on the island of Kilwa Kisiwani. Shao-yun Yang (2020) finds the identification of *Cengba* as Kilwa Kisiwani not very convincing.

The great mountain was proposed to be identified as Mount Kilimanjaro.

Bipaluo (弼琶囉國 *Bìpáluō Gúo*, Somaliland? and possibly Djibouti?)

> 弼琶囉國，有四州，餘皆村落。各以豪強相尚，事天不事佛。土多駱駞、綿羊。以駱駞肉并乳及燒餅為常饌。產龍涎、大象牙及大犀角。象牙有重百餘斤，犀角重十餘斤。

> The country of *Bipaluo* has four prefectures. The rest of the country is made up of villages ruled by local strongmen. They worship Heaven and do not worship the Buddha.[5] This land has many camels and sheep. One of their popular dishes is camel meat with camel milk and baked flatbread. They produce ambergris, the tusks of large elephants, and the horns of large rhinoceroses. Some of the elephant tusks weigh more than a hundred catties (about 140 lbs.) and the rhinoceros horns weigh more than ten catties (about 14 lbs.).

Bipaluo (Cantonese pronunciation: *Patpalo*) is probably a transliteration of the Arabic term 'Barbara', a name for the Somali region as a whole. However, both *Bipaluo* and *Zhongli* (which has a separate section in the *Zhufan zhi*) seem to have been in northern Somalia, with *Bipaluo* corresponding to modern Somaliland. In that case, the four prefectures of *Bipaluo* may have included Berbera, Zeila, and all or part of modern Djibouti.

5 This presumably means that the people are Muslim, but Zhao Rukuo regarded the Prophet Muhammad as a Buddha worshiped by the Arabs.

Zhongli (中理國 *Zhōnglǐ*, Puntland? and Socotra?)

> 中理國，人露頭跣足，纏布不敢著衫。惟宰相及王之左右，乃著衫、纏頭以別。王居用磚甓甃砌，民屋用葵茆苫蓋。日食燒面餅、羊乳、駱駞乳。牛、羊、駱駞甚多。大食惟此國出乳香。
>
> The people of the country of Zhongli go bare-headed and barefoot. They wrap their bodies with cotton cloth but dare not wear shirts. Only chief ministers and the king's attendants wear shirts and turbans to distinguish themselves from the common people.
>
> The king's palace is made of brick walls, while ordinary people's houses are thatched with palm leaves and grass. Their daily meals consist of baked flour flatbread, sheep milk, and camel milk. They have extremely many cattle, sheep, and camels.
>
> In *Dashi* (the Arab world), only this country produces frankincense.

The 'Zhongli' (中理) of Zhao Rukuo's *Zhufan zhi* might be a Chinese transcription of *Shungwaya*. From Zhao's description, the place seems to be in the south of modern Somalia (Wheatley 1964:150). Shao-yun Yang (2020) finds it more likely that *Zhongli* is a loose transliteration of 'Warsangali', a leading Somali clan that founded a sultanate in northeastern Somalia in the late 13th century. This sultanate still exists in northern Somalia (Somaliland, Puntland) (Warsangeli Sultanate 2022).

Kunlun Cengqi (崑崙層期國 *Kūnlún Céngqī Guó*, the Swahili Coast)

> 崑崙層期國，在西南海上，連接大海島，常有大鵬飛蔽日移晷。有野駱駝，大鵬遇則吞之。或拾鵬翅，截其管，可作水桶。土產大象牙、犀角。西有海島，多野人，身如黑漆，虯發，誘以食而擒之，轉賣與大食國為奴，獲價甚厚，託以管鑰，謂其無親屬之戀也。
>
> The country of Kunlun Cengqi is in the southwestern sea and adjacent to a large island.
>
> [On that island], one often sees a big *peng* bird so large that it blocks out the sun for a time when it flies. There are wild camels there and when the big peng bird sees them, it swallows them whole. Some people pick up the *peng* bird's feathers and cut off the hollow shafts to use as buckets for water.
>
> This land produces large elephant tusks and rhinoceroses' horns.

> To the west [of this country] there are islands (or 'an island') in the sea that have many wild people. Their bodies are as dark as black lacquer, and their hair is curly. [Slavers] lure them out with food and capture them to sell to the country of Dashi (the Arab world) as slaves; they fetch a very high price. These slaves are entrusted with the keys to doors, since it is believed that they have no kinship ties left [and therefore would not betray their masters].

Kunlun was a label applied to black-skinned people by the Chinese, so 'Kunlun Cengqi' literally means the 'black Zanj'. The large island mentioned here might be Madagascar, but it could also be another island like Pemba.

This passage describes the legendary bird *roc* (Arabic: *ar-ruḫḫ*) of Arabic mythology, which outwardly resembles the *peng* of Chinese lore.

Bosi (波斯國 *Bōsī Guó*, possibly Mombasa)

> 波斯国，在西南海上，其人肌理甚黑，鬓发皆虬，以青花布缠身，以两金串钤手。无城郭。其王早朝以虎皮蒙杌叠足坐，群下膜拜而退。出则乘软兜或骑象，从者百馀人，执剑呵护。食饼、肉、饭，盛以瓷器，掬而啖之。

> The country of Bosi is situated in the southwestern sea. Its people have very black skin and curly hair down to their temples. They wrap their bodies with flower-patterned blue cloth and wear a golden bangle on each arm. They do not have walled cities. Their king holds court in the morning sitting cross-legged on a stool covered with a tiger skin. His subjects prostrate themselves before leaving his presence. When he goes out of his palace, he is either carried on a hammock litter or rides an elephant. He has an entourage of more than a hundred men carrying swords to protect him. The people eat bread, meat, and rice from porcelain vessels, picking their food up with their hands.

There are many theories about the location of *Bosi*. In the latest translation of *Zhufan zhi*, *Bosi* should be interpreted as a transliteration of the name of a location in East Africa, perhaps Mombasa (Yang 2020).

3. CONCLUSION

The *Zhufan zhi* is important as an early 13th-century ethnographic and geographical description of nearly 60 foreign countries known to the Chinese through maritime trade relations, as well as a couple of imaginary countries that appear to be based on Arab myths. The countries recorded include places and kingdoms in Southeast Asia, Japan, Korea and Taiwan in East Asia, and countries on the Indian subcontinent. The

Zhufan zhi also gives more information than previously available in Chinese sources on the Islamic world and their products. The book further listed countries and places in Africa, including countries and places in East Africa. It is interesting not only to compare Chinese forms of transcription of local geographical names, but also the descriptions of countries.

This paper serves as a case study on how place names can be used to track historical developments.

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Standardisation and the Wealth of Place Names – Aspects of a Delicate Relationship is a selection of double-blind peer-reviewed papers from the 6th International Symposium on Place Names that took place virtually 29 September – 1 October 2021. The symposium explored the issues of multiple place names vis-à-vis processes of standardisation.

These studies collectively show that there is not a simplistic dichotomy between standardisation and the protection of cultural heritage. Some papers grapple with the implications and execution of standardisation processes, while others explore the emergence of alternative or unofficial names in response to top-down initiatives. The matter of signed place names also receives some attention. A number of papers excavate the layers of multiple place names, thereby contributing to our 'wealth' of toponymic knowledge.

These proceedings are the product of collaboration between Southern African and international researchers. As such, it is a valuable resource to local as well as international scholars who are interested in the interdisciplinary field of toponymy.

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