Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences

ONOMASTICS

in Interaction With Other Branches of Science

Volume 1

KEYNOTE LECTURES
TOPONOMASTICS

Edited by
URSZULA BIJAK
PAWEŁ SWOBODA
JUSTYNA B. WALKOWIAK

Jagiellonian University Press

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Preface

We present the reader with the proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. The congress took place in Kraków on August 22–27, 2021. Its main initiator was the late Professor Barbara Czopek-Kopciuch, who had passed away in 2020. It was an undertaking of scientific institutions from three Slavic countries: the main organiser in Poland was the Institute of Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences, especially the Department of Onomastics, and the Faculty of Polish Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, the Committee of Linguistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences; in Slovakia – Ľudovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, the Faculty of Arts of the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, and Faculty of Education of the University of St. Cyril and St. Methodius in Trnava; in Czechia – the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

One-day outings and longer trips have always been an inseparable element of onomastic congresses. The scholarly programme of the meeting of onomasticians in Kraków was to be complemented by a tour of Lesser Poland, Czechia and Slovakia. Unfortunately, all the plans were thwarted by the COVID-19 pandemic, which began in 2020, took over the world and became the unwelcome backdrop to the preparations for the event. For that reason, the Kraków congress was organized with a one-year delay, and due to prolonged pandemic restrictions and travelling difficulties, it was held online.

The congress was attended by 250 people from 44 countries of the world, from all continents except Australia, and the participants were affiliated with over 140 research centres. The most strongly represented countries were the United Kingdom (20 people), Poland (19), Czechia (17), Hungary (17), Sweden (16), and Slovakia (15).

The programme included 206 presentations on the congress theme of *Onomastics in Interaction With Other Branches of Science* comprising 2 keynote lectures and 10 papers presenting the achievements of Polish, Czech and Slovak onomastics as part of the Slavic symposia. The remaining presentations were grouped into five thematic sections: theoretical issues – 15 papers, toponymy – 85, anthroponymy – 58, chrematonymy – 10, and literary onomastics – 26. Papers were delivered mostly in English, although the congress languages were also German, French, and Russian.

Each day, six parallel thematic sections were held. The largest number of papers concerned various problems of historical and synchronic toponomastics, using both the traditional and the interdisciplinary approach. The sessions became an opportunity to present dictionaries and toponymic databases, as well as the results of research on place names, field names, hydronyms, names of regions in particular countries of Europe and beyond, on language contacts in the light of toponymy, on trends in contemporary urbanonymy, on cultural heritage, the conceptualisation of space, the gender perspective, as well as on the use of metonymy and metaphor in the creation of toponyms.

Slightly fewer presentations concerned anthroponymy. In their presentations, researchers of personal names focused, among other topics, on the trends in name-giving in the 20th and 21st centuries (in China, Japan, Sweden, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, Cameroon, Botswana), on dictionaries of given names and surnames from various historical periods, on surname typology, and on the analysis of surnames of foreign origin in the anthroponomasticons of various countries. As in the case

of toponymy, various methodologies were employed, ranging from traditional philological and historical, through pragmalinguistic, sociolinguistic and cultural studies approaches, to quantitative ones.

A small number of papers were purely theoretical; among these, the definition of a proper name and the problems of onomastic terminology proved to be the main areas of interest. In the field of chrematonomastics, studies devoted to the motivation of various sets of commercial names were presented, with a particular focus on the interplay between the local and the global.

The representation of literary onomastics as measured by the number of papers was modest too. Here, the topics included the functions of proper names in fiction in general, or in the works of various writers. Several researchers also studied the functions of onyms in other cultural texts (e.g., in folklore, religion, epistolography, the press, advertising, or video games).

One day of the congress was devoted to organisational matters, with the meetings of the ICOS Terminology Group, the ICOS Bibliography Group, the ICOS PR Group, the ICOS Young Scholar Network, and of the editors of onomastic journals. At the ICOS General Assembly, members of the new ICOS Board were elected.

At the end of the congress there was a panel discussion, *Place Names as Open Data*, prepared and moderated by Peder Gammeltoft, with the participation of 6 researchers: Emily Lethbridge, Peder Dam, Alexandra Petrulevich, Elin Pihl, Kristina Neumüller, and Daniel Nyangweso. The panel discussion concerned the creation and harmonisation of place name resources based on the Linked Open Data concept.

The congress was accompanied by a virtual exhibition of onomastic books and journals published in the years 2018–2021. They are still available on the congress website (https://icos2020.ijp.pan.pl/book-exhibition), similarly to the presentations of the most important digital projects implemented by the Institute of Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences (https://icos2020.ijp.pan.pl/digital-projects-of-the-institute-of-polish-language-ijp-pan). The abstracts of all the speeches, the recordings of the opening and closing ceremonies of the congress, and the recordings of two plenary papers can also be found there.

The 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences will go down in history as the first fully virtual meeting of onomasticians from all over the world. And although the online conference went smoothly, without technical problems, it is really a pity that we could not meet in person in Kraków.

Shortly after the end of the congress, we started work on the preparation of the post-congress publication. We received 104 submissions for publication in the congress proceedings, and after positive reviews, 93 of them were eventually published: 77 in English, 5 in French, 6 in German, and 5 in Russian.

Meanwhile, the papers presented at the Slavic symposia were published as the thematic issue *West Slavic Onomastics* in Volume 57/2022 of the journal *Onoma* (https://onomajournal.org/vol-57/).

The proceedings comprise three volumes, organized according to the themed sections of the congress itself. Papers by keynote speakers may be found at the beginning of Volume 1, which covers toponomastics; Volume 2 is devoted to anthroponomastics; Volume 3 deals with general and applied onomastics, chrematonomastics, and literary onomastics. The complete volumes, as well as individual articles, are available online.*

The organisation of any major event is a team effort, and this congress could not have taken place without the help and involvement of many people.

We therefore wish to express our heartfelt gratitude for support and assistance to the following:

- the ICOS President Paula Sjöblom and all the ICOS Board members, who advised and supervised the process throughout;
- the members of the Scientific Committee, including Maciej Eder (president), Milan Harvalík (vice-president), Terhi Ainiala, Maria Giovanna Arcamone, Elena Berezovich, Pierre-Henri Billy, Richard Coates, Sheila Embleton, Halszka Górny, Juraj Hladký, Adrian Koopman, Staffan Nyström, Mariusz Rutkowski, Joan Tort Donada, Valéria Tóth, Jana Marie Tušková, Jürgen Udolph;
- the reviewers of the abstracts of submissions, who helped to ensure the high academic standard of the congress;
- the keynote speakers Sheila Embleton and Peter Jordan, as well as the panellists, the chairpersons and all the paper presenters;
- Mayor Jacek Majchrowski and the city of Kraków;
- Rector of the Jagiellonian University Jacek Popiel and the staff of the Jagiellonian University Conference Office, who handled the online registration and all the matters arising in the process.

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Our special thanks go to all the reviewers for their invaluable contribution in reviewing the manuscripts submitted for publication in our three-volume proceedings.

Full lists of reviewers can be found at the beginning of each volume.

We wish every success to the organisers of the 28th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences in Helsinki on 19–23 August 2024, and we hope that it will take place in calmer times, not marked by a pandemic or war.

Urszula Bijak, Paweł Swoboda, Justyna B. Walkowiak

Introduction

The first volume of the *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences* centres around toponomastics. The volume begins with two keynote lectures. In the first one, **Sheila Embleton** describes names in India – toponyms and anthroponyms – from a historical point of view, which has a bearing on the subcontinent's present onomastic situation. She pays particular attention to post-colonial changes of the names of cities, states and streets. She also outlines the principles of personal naming in India: while given names are often indicative of their bearers' religion or ethnicity, many surnames are linked to caste or occupation, though some may mark the town or region of origin; there are also instances of mononyms or vestiges of the patronymic system.

The second keynote lecture, by **Peter Jordan**, analyses in depth the much-debated concept of the exonym/endonym divide as relevant for the study

of toponymy in a supranational perspective. Either shunned as nationalist, or admitted as cultural heritage, exonyms are politically entangled. A more nuanced analysis reveals the possible perception of the exonym/endonym relation as a dichotomy or as a continuum that spans intermediate stages. The intricate interplay of spelling and pronunciation is also discussed, including the idea of transformations that are linguistically unavoidable. Finally, definitions of exonyms and endonyms are invoked.

The main body of the volume following the keynote talks features 31 contributions by 42 scholars. The language of most of the texts is English, though there are also two papers in German, and another two in Russian. The topics covered are multifarious and range from purely theoretical issues to narrowly focused case studies. The place names studied represent a vast variety of types, including countries, districts, counties or municipalities, cities, towns, villages and other settlements, as well as urbanonyms, but also hydronyms, nesonyms, farm and plantation names, or diverse anoikonyms. Some toponyms are examined synchronically, whereas others are viewed in a diachronic perspective; the status of particular place names varies too: from those that have existed since time immemorial, such as river names, to those established relatively recently in human history, as exemplified by the names of bus stops. Many contributions have been prepared using time-honoured methods of data collection, such as fieldwork, but digital onomastics has clearly gained a permanent foothold as well, as evidenced by a substantial body of research in this area.

True to the inherently interdisciplinary character of onomastics, and in line with the underlying motif of the congress, which underscores the interaction of the study of proper names with other branches of science, researchers explore the interface of onomastics and an extensive array of disciplines, including though not limited to: cognitive studies, dialectology, phonetics and phonology, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, anthropology, history, geography, postcolonial studies, administration and policy studies, and even geology.

The articles are arranged alphabetically by the authors' last names. In the first one, **Wolfgang Ahrens** and **Sheila Embleton** discuss the broadly understood onymic heritage related to Baltic German navigators and explorers in the service of the Russian Empire in the 19th century. Their personal names, mostly surnames, gave rise to many names of islands and of other geographic features along the Alaskan and Siberian coast, as well as in the Pacific, including even South America's Pacific Rim. The authors also mention

names of ships, plants, and animal species that to this day commemorate German Baltic explorers, as well as the features named by them.

Barbara Bába shows in her paper how the toponymic data included in the charters from the early Old Hungarian Era (895–1350) may be useful in establishing the relative chronology of sound changes operative at the time, which may thus aid research in Hungarian historical dialectology. At the same time, she warns against uncritical trust in onomastic material, especially in the case of non-attested, inferred etymons.

The contribution by **Harald Bichlmeier** is polemical in character. Taking as his point of departure the 2016 work by J. Andraschke, who considers over 40 toponyms from the area in the west of Upper Frankonia and the east of Lower Frankonia to be of Germanic rather than (as has so far been generally believed) Slavic origin, he compellingly argues for the actual Slavicity of Andraschke's corpus. To support his thesis, he invokes the phonological and phonetic phenomena well attested in the history of Slavic languages.

The focus of **Žaneta Dvořáková**'s paper is anoikonyms (names of fields, meadows, forests, waters, roads, etc.) with the element *Žid* 'Jew' in Bohemia. They might be reminiscent of the places where Jews once lived, attest to Jewish land ownership, or document tragic events; metaphors or even nicknames might also lie at the root of some onyms. Through this etymon they preserve in the Czech toponymy the traces of the presence of Jews in the area. The author bases her analysis on the data collected in the years 1963–1980.

Åke Engsheden in his contribution considers toponyms of Coptic origin found in papyrological sources, referring to places located mainly in Egypt. Collected in a database, the names are classified in the form of a list, which may later be developed into a dictionary. Contrary to the traditional dictionary practice that sorts entries by consonants only, the author proposes alphabetical ordering. To avoid inaccuracies, he also advocates consulting the edited texts alongside the indices.

The two case studies presented by **Sofia Evemalm-Graham** are concerned with the place names in the Outer Hebrides (Tobha Mòr/Howmore in South Uist and Uineabhal in North Uist) that reference Norse women. As shown in her research, the analysed toponyms may show how Gaelic-speakers understood the Norse past, and generally provide an insight into the mentality of the community that created them.

Onomastics as a discipline can benefit considerably from the use of new technologies. A case in point is geolocation-oriented digital onomastics, the

topic explored by **Peder Gammeltoft**, who is trying to reconcile the multi-referentiality typical of toponyms with the inherent feature-orientedness of geolocation. In their contribution, **Daniel Orongo Nyangweso** and **Mátyás Gede** evaluate the experience of web gazetteer users, discussing the application of geographical ontology in a study of toponyms.

Botolv Helleland outlines the twists and turns of the 2017 and 2022 municipal reforms in Norway. They resulted in the creation of new, often contested names of counties and municipalities, to the detriment of some traditional ones considered part of the national cultural heritage, and possibly in violating the Norwegian Act on placenames of 1990. The actors of the dispute were, among others, the Norwegian Language Council, local politicians, and the tourism business.

Carole Hough makes a case for a reappraisal of the role of metonymy in place names. Starting with the traditional division of English toponyms into habitative, topographical, and folk-names, she proposes to treat the first of the three categories as an example of PART FOR WHOLE, the pattern that she finds to underlie more toponymic phenomena than earlier assumed, and the second as PART FOR PART metonymy. Such an approach considerably broadens the scope of place naming attributable to metonymy, traditionally linked only to the category of folk-names (i.e. referring to the inhabitants of a settlement), and characterised by metonymic transfer.

Historical and political changes in the linguistic landscape of Banská Bystrica, Slovakia, are the topic of the contribution by **Petra Jesenská** and **Jaromír Krško**, who explore the city's urbanonymy against the backdrop of the changing language situation: from the dominance of German and Hungarian in the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, via the inter-war period with Slovakian and Czech, to the constantly rising role of Slovakian since World War II.

The paper by **Frances Kane**, **Justin Ó Gliasáin**, and **Úna Bhreathnach** takes stock of the history and present state of Ireland's place-name research, which since 1921 has been developing in parallel in the north and south of the island. Though the methodology appears similar, and collaboration proves fruitful, both the legal position of Irish and the recent history of Irish-language place names differ on both sides of the border; this in turn has consequences for the respective research aims, funding and outcomes.

Róbert Kenyhercz introduces the reader to the county of Spiš at the northernmost edge of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. His purpose is

an overview of its place-name system on the basis of a large dataset of settlement names, collected using both original documents and transcripted or copied charters. Spiš was a multicultural and multilingual area, with its toponyms influenced by Hungarian, Slovak, German, and Polish; all these languages contributed to particular place-name types, though in different proportions.

Based on self-collected field-research data, **Katarzyna Konczewska**'s Russian-language paper is concerned with the toponyms of the Grodno region in contemporary Belarus, which is a typical border area, characterised by a complex sociolinguistic situation. The author employs an interdisciplinary approach, using dialectological material and attempting a classification of the collected names according to their motivation.

Brittnee Leysen, referring to the place names of Aotearoa New Zealand's Otago region, looks to classics of anthropological literature for a fresh postcolonial perspective that might help shed a new light on the study of toponyms.

Junkai Li and **Yiying Ouyang** investigate the various ways in which the name of the Chinese city of Guangzhou, known in many European languages as Canton, has been romanized in the course of history, and identify the complex language ideologies underpinning the choices made in the transliteration of this toponym. They compellingly demonstrate how the decision to base the romanization on Mandarin rather than Cantonese reflects the nation-bulding narrative and power struggles.

Working at the interface of onomastics and dialectology, **Alasli Malak** analyses the role of official Moroccan toponyms vis-à-vis their dialectal variants – including both the written and spoken forms. She collects her dialectal data on the basis of sixty interviews, with the objective of comparing the toponymy as depicted on maps with the actual vernacular usage in Darija (Moroccan Arabic).

Michal Místecký and **Kristýna Kovářová** reflect on the euphony of nearly a thousand hydronyms – including the names of rivers, ponds, and springs – from the basins of two Czech rivers: Ostravice and Morava. Their methodology involves, on the one hand, a quantitative component using a formula typically used in analysing poetry, and on the other qualitative research based on a survey of secondary-school pupils and university students.

Utilising data from an 11th-century Latin-language census of the Benedictine monastery in Bakonybél (a village in the west of Hungary), which contains over a hundred place names, **Katalin Pelczéder**'s text in Russian deals

with Hungarian-Slavic language contact in the Carpathian Basin. To this end she employs the method of historical place name reconstruction, verifying her results against several other contemporaneously created documents.

Francesco Perono Cacciafoco and **Niki Cassandra Eu Min** operate within the framework of experimental historical-phonetic toponomastics, using the comparative method. They assume as their working hypothesis the Indo-European origin of Minoan Cretean toponyms written in the hitherto undeciphered Linear A script. The basis for their etymologies are the phonetic values of Linear B, which is known to have been the script used for Mycenaean Greek.

Xavier Planas-Batlle, **Joan Tort-Donada** and **Jordi Corominas** highlight the give-and-take between geology and toponymy, proposing ways in which each domain can inform the other. In contrast with the toponymy motivated by the elusive elements of the plant and animal world, place names related to geological features are more stable. The researchers illustrate their theses with examples from Andorra and Catalonia.

In her German-language paper, **Rita Póczos** revisits early toponyms from the Carpathian Basin, found in 11th-century charters. Her conclusions regarding their etymology in most cases point to possible multiple etymons from multiple languages; this is contrary to previous findings, in which the decision to select a particular etymology over others was rather arbitrary.

Basing on the features of the web mapping service Google Maps, and also factoring in the constraints on in-person fieldwork imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, **Sara Racca** suggests a novel online way of toponymic data collection. She takes as her case study the microtoponymy of the Italian town of Savigliano in Piedmont, where the Google My Maps application allowed her informants to self-complete a map by adding place names before sharing it with the researcher.

Yaroslav Redkva and **Michael Lukashchuk** deal, both diachronically and synchronically, with the phonetic, lexical, semantic, derivational and functional peculiarities of oikonyms of the border area of western Ukraine and eastern Poland. Their paper defines the framework and directions for future research.

The topic of a joint project by **Katalin Reszegi** and **Marie A. Rieger** is the conceptualisation of place and space as expressed in language, of which toponymy is part. They base their work on the model developed by the former researcher, while the latter contributes two Tanzanian case studies – from

Dar es Salaam and from the Usambara Mountains – to which this model is applied. Special attention is paid to culturally determined differences in the cognitive maps involved.

In her individual, German-language contribution, **Marie A. Rieger** examines the colonial names of 41 German company-owned plantations and 61 privately-owned farms in the Usambara Mountains (Tanzania) from the 1898–1913 period. About one fifth of the total carried German names, a tendency more marked for private than institutional ownership. This partly corroborates earlier studies, which highlighted the predominance of local names (though the ratio of German toponyms is found to be markedly higher than earlier reported), with the surmise that orientation was more important for settlers – especially in the early phase of settlement – than identification.

Agostinho Miguel Magalhães Salgueiro discusses gender articles that (obligatorily, optionally or never) precede toponyms in Portuguese, drawing for data on the official reference for toponymy in Portuguese-speaking countries, the pluricentric-based resource *Vocabulário Toponímico*, aiming to identify the general rules governing gender article usage. His focus is on the names of Portugal's districts, islands and municipalities, on toponyms with the generic *Rio* 'river' or *Ribeira* 'brook', and on the names of foreign countries and their capitals.

Pavel Štěpán concentrates on the multiple standardisation of names of Czech towns or villages that results from the existence of diverse bodies responsible for naming: railway, post office or cadastral authorities, alongside the Ministry of the Interior, which approves the municipality level decisions. He emphasises the resulting uncertainty about the "proper" names among strangers and locals alike, offering a quantitative analysis of the scale of the problem, but also invoking individual cases as illustration.

The object of **Väinö Syrjälä**'s article is the names of bus stops in Helsinki and Stockholm. The topic is novel, hence their onomastic status must first be defined. In most cases bus stops may be perceived as secondary referents of names that primarily denote districts and other areas, streets, squares, parks, train and metro stations, or other city landmarks, such as buildings. Considering the large number of bus stops in the two cities, the analysis is performed using sampling.

The paper by **Paul Tempan** is concerned with the etymology of the element *sceilg* 'steep rock, crag', anglicised as *skellig* and present in some Irish toponyms. Analysing the place names containing this element, as well as

the topography of their referents, the author concludes that it is a borrowing of the Vulgar Latin *spelu*(*n*)*ca*, which originally meant ‘cave (especially an inhabited one), den’.

The written records of the early Old Hungarian Era – several hundred thousand Hungarian place and personal names preserved in Latin charters – are a major source for Hungarian historical linguistics. Of the two categories, the former (mostly names of settlements) appear to be the more reliable one, and they also became the object of study by **Valéria Tóth**, who considers their usefulness as indirect sources for ethnic history.

Justyna B. Walkowiak, Urszula Bijak, Paweł Swoboda

Keynote Lectures

Sheila Embleton

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Names in India: History, Colonialism, Renaming, Contemporary Issues

Abstract

With a population of just over 1.4 billion, India has just become the most populous country in the world, and the seventh largest by land area (3,287,263 sq. km). India has enjoyed a rapid recent rise to prominence on the world stage, both politically and economically. Yet very little is known by "Western" scholars about naming in India, whether naming of people or of places. India is a very diverse land, with many cultures, religions, languages, climates, and geographies. Added to this are India's colonial past (British, French, Portuguese), various other rulers and influencers over the years (e.g., Mughals), social factors such as the caste system, all leading to very complicated systems of naming, with much regional and ethnic variation. This paper will give an overview of relevant history and colonial influences, before moving on to several phases of post-colonial renaming/respelling of toponyms (e.g., Bombay/Mumbai, Madras/Chennai). I will then turn to personal naming systems, looking at different systems as determined by social class and caste, religion, gender discrimination, and other features such as northern (Indo-European) vs. southern (Dravidian). Throughout, there will be attention to the sociological and sociopolitical contexts of contemporary India, as well as the influence of English and "Western" culture.

Keywords

India, renaming, decolonization, personal naming systems

1. Introduction

ICOS is the largest gathering in the world for onomastics scholars, which is why this is the best possible venue for what I hope to accomplish in this paper.[1] In brief, most research and publication in onomastics today relates to Europe or to North America. There are of course good historical and cultural reasons for this, but it does lead to many other areas of the world being comparatively neglected, even invisible, in onomastic research. I am referring to Latin America, Africa, Asia, and to a large extent Australasia. My goal is to give you an overview of names in one of these neglected areas, India, which recently surpassed China as the most populous country in the world, home to 1.4 billion people (1,428,627,663 as of July 16, 2023, according to Worldometer), just over one sixth of humanity, both with some history as well as contemporary trends, which include decolonization and other cultural trends, covering both place names and personal names, in this extremely diverse country. This is overly ambitious of course for the time allotted to one plenary conference presentation, so the following merely scratches the surface, and attempts to interest others in the names of India. There are of course many other areas I simply cannot cover, including more theoretical work on decolonization and on renaming, on renaming due to regime change or Indigenization, some mention of every Indian state (28 states plus 8 "union territories") or major language group, nor the significant Indian diaspora abroad and the considerable cultural interactions that inevitably brings. For excellent studies of Indian personal naming patterns and their evolution in the diaspora, see Rajend Mesthrie's research in South Africa (Mesthrie, 2017; Devan, 2018; Joseph, 2022, pp. 25–27) and Thilagavathi Shanmuganathan et al.'s (2021) article on the Telugu in Malaysia.

As a brief roadmap for this paper, my order of topics is: history, the colonial era, decolonization (as seen through the renaming of cities and streets),

[1] I warmly thank the conference organizers, particularly the late Barbara Czopek-Kopciuch, for inviting me to deliver one of the plenary lectures. It was truly unfortunate that we could not all be together in person, especially as Krakow is such a wonderful city, and I was looking forward to being there again, along with my onomastic friends and colleagues, spending a wonderful week together.

the interaction of religion and caste in personal naming, a few examples of personal naming patterns, concluding with some recent name-relevant items from the Indian media.

In order to understand some of the complexity and diversity of India, I will need to begin with a brief overview of some history, north vs. south and other regional differences, ethnic/linguistic groups (Indo-European vs. Dravidian, which correlates highly with north vs. south, but also other smaller linguistic groups), religions, caste, and so on. There is huge diversity in climate and in topography (high mountains [the Himalayas in the north], glaciers, low hills, flat plains, deserts, jungles, mangrove swamps, lakes, wide rivers, rushing mountain streams, etc.). There is huge cultural variety in many respects: in dress (even in styles of wearing/draping a sari), of foods and cooking-style, of house-style, and so on. Of great importance for names, naming patterns, and name changes are religions and languages. There are six major religions in contemporary India, four of which originated on the Indian subcontinent. In decreasing order of size, these six are Hinduism, Islam, Christianity (various sects), Sikhism, Buddhism, and Jainism. In addition, there is the world's largest number of Parsis/Zoroastrians, together with a dwindling Jewish community, Bahais, and various native animistic religions. The official language situation is more complicated. In British India, prior to Independence in 1947, English was the administrative language, and the only language used in higher education. Upon Independence in 1947, despite bitter contestation, English was retained as a national language, initially only until 1965, and later extended for practical purposes indefinitely. The attitude towards English has varied tremendously over the years, and for those who wish to know more, I recommend Mukherjee (2009). Hindi (in the Devanagari script) is the official language of the Union or national government. Hindi is widely spoken across northern India, acts as a lingua franca across much of India, and is widely taught in schools throughout India. There are 22 official languages,[2] of differing regional status, but all of which may be used in the 245-seat Upper House of Parliament, the Rajya Sabha ('Council of States'). English is called an additional official language and is used nation-wide. The 543-seat

[2] Indo-European (Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, Odia, Punjabi, Assamese, Maithili, Kashmiri, Nepali, Sindhi, Dogri, Konkani, classical Sanskrit), Dravidian (Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam), Tibeto-Burman (Manipuri, Bodo), Austroasiatic (Sandali).

Lok Sabha, Lower House ('House of the People'), has a "notwithstanding clause" that allows official languages beyond English and Hindi. The official languages split into two main language groups: Indo-European in the north and Dravidian in the south. There are other languages from the Sino-Tibetan (especially its Tibeto-Burman branch) and Austroasiatic families (including as official languages), and many non-official languages and dialects. The state boundaries largely coincide with linguistic boundaries. The 2011 census has 31 languages with over a million native speakers, and if some dialects considered separate languages by many are separated out, there are approximately 60 languages with over a million native speakers.

2. History

The history of India is obviously a vast topic, so I will only give a brief summary, including points that are relevant for naming.

I will begin with the Indus Valley civilization, with the cities of Harappa and Moenjodaro, now both in Pakistan, and also Lothal (near Ahmedabad in modern Gujarat). There were nomadic tribes who cultivated crops and domesticated animals. An urban culture emerged around 3500 BCE, peaking around 2600–1700 BCE. This was roughly in the area of modern Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Sindh (the latter now in Pakistan). There was trade with Mesopotamia. The decline of this Indus Valley civilization began from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE, with various theories of either floods or decreased rainfall (interfering with agriculture) or Aryan[3] invasions. Our word *India* itself is derived from Indus, which is derived from Old Persian *Hindu*, from Sanskrit *Sindhu*, the historic local name for the Indus River. The Greeks referred to the Indians as *Indoi* (*Ινδοί*), the people of the Indus. The modern Indian constitution and usage in many of the current languages of India also recognizes *Bharat* ([ˈbʱaːrət̪]) as an official name of equal status to *India*. The name *Bharat* is derived from the name of the legendary king *Bharata* in Hindu scriptures.

[3] *Aryan* is from a Sanskrit word for 'noble'.

Hindustan ([ɦɪnd̪ ʊˈst̪ aːn]), originally a Persian word for 'Land of the Hindus', generally referring to North India and Pakistan before Independence in 1947, is also occasionally but increasingly rarely used as a synonym for all of India. From around 1500 BCE, there were Aryan/Indo-European arrivals into north India, into the fertile basin of the Indus and Ganges rivers. With respect to language, this was the era of Sanskrit, the Prakrits and the various vernaculars, that is, the parent languages of Hindi and other languages of north India. These population movements caused the Dravidian speakers to move further south. It was during the time of the Vedas, the Hindu sacred scriptures, 1500–1200 BCE, that the caste system became formalized – and the caste system is very important for naming, as we will see below.

There were also a number of invasions that tried to conquer India but failed. I mention these only to show that knowledge of India was more widespread in the ancient world than those of us who learned our history in North America or Europe generally realize. Darius the Great, King of Persia (521–486 BCE) annexed Punjab and Sindh, but got no further. Alexander the Great invaded in 326 BCE, but did not go beyond the Beas River (in Greek, the Hyphasis River) when his armies in effect mutinied, refusing to march further east and take on the Nanda Empire in the Magadha region (north India). A series of dynasties and kings followed. I will simply list some names and details, to give an idea of the complexity: Nanda in 364 BCE, Maurya (founded by Chandragupta Maurya, 321 BCE, Emperor Ashoka who ruled from Pataliputra/present-day Patna and who was Buddhist), Sunga, Kanva, Shaka, Kushana, Gupta (319–500 CE), Rajput in Rajasthan (emerged 500–600 CE). Huns (under Toramana, ruled 493–515 CE) invaded northwestern India at the beginning of the 6th century CE ending the Gupta reign, followed by many kingdoms, Cholas in southern India in 850, etc.

Meanwhile, in religion, there was the rise of Buddhism (in Bodhgaya in the state of Bihar, and nearby Sarnath, very close to Varanasi, in the state of Uttar Pradesh) and of Jainism, both around 500 BCE, both questioning the Vedas and critical of the caste system. These religions never spread widely in India and especially not in southern India, although Emperor Ashoka took Buddhism to Sri Lanka.

Throughout all this period, there was trade with the Egyptians, overland with China, with southeast Asia, and with the Roman Empire both overland and through southern ports (spices, pearls, ivory, silk, in return for Roman gold). Much of this trade with the Roman Empire was in Kerala, but some was also

on the east coast; for example, Arikamedu, a few kilometers south of Pondicherry, traded with the Romans in the 1st century BCE. Two thousand years ago, Jews from the Holy Land came to Kochi in Kerala, and in 800–1200 CE there were Arab/Swahili traders from East Africa coming to Kerala. Discounting theories that Jesus spent his "lost years" (between his youth and the start of his ministry, at approximately age 30) in India, in Kashmir but maybe elsewhere and somewhat inspired by Buddhism, Christianity maybe arrived with St. Thomas the Apostle in 52 CE, but certainly Christianity arrived at least no later than with Thomas Cana, a Syrian Christian merchant who came in the 4th century CE with 400 families to Kerala. And they remained. Over a millennium later, St. Francis Xavier also came for three years (1542–1545) and is buried in Goa (even though he died in China in 1552).

The beginnings of the more modern period coincide with the era of European exploration and colonialism. Just before that, there were Muslim invasions into north India from the northwest, Chauhan lost Delhi to Muslim invaders in 1192, and by 1200 almost the whole of north India was under Muslim control. They defended their empire from Mongol invasion in the 1200s. Delhi was conquered by Tamerlane (also known as Timur or Taimur) in 1398. Babur became the first Mughal[4] emperor after conquering Delhi in 1526. There were a few brief recaptures of Delhi in 1540 and 1556, but basically it remained Mughal until falling to the British in 1857 (the last Mughal Emperor was Bahadur Shah II, also known as Zafar). The alliance of Hindu kingdoms against the Muslim threat to south India led to the Vijayanagar empire, centred on Hampi (in Karnataka). Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese explorer who discovered the sea route from Europe to India (where Columbus failed, by going in the wrong direction), arrived in Calicut (now Kozhikode, Kerala) in 1498 and began trading. He died in Cochin (now Kochi, Kerala) in 1524, where he was initially buried before being returned to Portugal. In 1510, Portuguese forces under Afonso de Albuquerque captured Goa. On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth I of Britain granted the first trading charter to the East India Company. The year 1631 saw the beginning of the construction of the Taj Mahal in Agra by Shah Jahan (reigned 1627–1658), in memory of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. He also constructed Lal Qila (the Red Fort), a famous landmark in Delhi, and

[4] Mughal, Mogul, and Moghul are alternate spellings. This is a Muslim dynasty of Turkic-Mongol origin.

converted the Agra Fort into a palace (that later was his own prison under his son Aurangzeb). In 1674 Shivaji established the Maratha kingdom, in western India and parts of the Deccan and North India. He gave himself the title Chhatrapati ('Lord of the Universe'), which we will see later in renamings, and was a particular hero as a lower-caste Shudra (more on caste later). The French had a more minor presence. The French East India Company (*La Compagnie française des Indes orientales*)[5] began in 1642, the first French factory was established at Surat (south Gujarat) in 1668, and Pondicherry was established in 1673. After various battles and transfers between France and Britain (sometimes affected by the outcomes of wars in Europe), the five remaining small French territories in India became fully part of India in 1954 (ratified by the French Parliament only in 1962).

Then the British in Bengal became a player. The Rajputs struggled amongst each other and were in any case essentially vassal states to the Mughals. The Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Durrani captured Lahore and Kashmir and sacked Delhi in 1747. The first military victory of the East India Company was in 1757 under Robert Clive. In 1801 the Sikhs united in a kingdom in Lahore (now Pakistan). The Mughals continued to rule weakly until 1857, when the First War of Independence (meaning independence from Britain), also known as the Indian Uprising or the Indian Mutiny, led to a transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown, with respect to iron, coal, tea, coffee, cotton, and mills. The period following is known as the British Raj (1858–1947), with Independence on August 15, 1947, and partition (India/Pakistan) one day earlier, August 14, 1947. Then in 1971 East Pakistan became Bangladesh, thus further fracturing the subcontinent. There were still various boundary issues, including to this day with China, with Kashmir/Pakistan, with the Rann of Kutch (Gujarat/Pakistan), and in the northeast (with Bangladesh).

[5] I will leave aside the question of the (current) singular vs. (former) plural versions of India, as seen in English *India* vs. *The Indies*, and in French *Inde* vs. *les Indes*. Deroy and Mulon (1992), in their well-known dictionary, suggest as a reason for the shift from plural to singular that in the French world India has been only recently associated with the idea of a unified state and the old custom of designating the country as multiple regions gave birth to the plural form. I thank André Lapierre for this observation.

3. Renaming and respelling of cities

Now I will turn to the renaming and respelling of cities, and streets within cities, in the post-colonial era, which begin in 1947, as probably the first known and first visible onomastic acts of decolonization in India to be noticed outside India, signalling this new post-colonial era. For a quick overview of the Indian situation, see Tharoor (2013); for broader discussion of decolonization and changing power relationships via renaming beyond the Indian context please see Caiazzo and Nick (2020), Kostanski (2011), Puzey and Kostanski (2016), and Zuvalinyenga (2021).

There were actually very few changes in the first years after the end of the British Raj. Mostly these were street name changes, likely as those are less complicated to enact legally. I will come to that later. There were very few city/town name changes; the first, in 1948, was *Cawnpore* to *Kanpur* (in Uttar Pradesh, founded in 1803, an important military station in British India), which wasn't so much a change as a respelling to more accurately reflect actual Indian pronunciation, rather than the British rendition of it. The first more widely known change was in November 1995, when *Bombay*, the capital of Maharashtra, became *Mumbai*. A pro-Maratha regionalist movement, Shiv Sena, came to power in municipal elections in 1985, and undertook this symbolic change. Although actual origins and etymologies are obscured, and there are many slightly different variants, it is usually said that the Portuguese named the settlement *Bom Bahia* 'good bay', hence Bombay, and since the name was given by the Portuguese and taken over by the British, that made it a colonial name to be targeted for change.[6] It is also said that the Koli fisherfolk, who were settled there, named their settlement in Marathi after the Hindu goddess Mumba. One cannot help but notice the phonetic similarity of *Bom Bahia* and *Mumba*, and wonder about double or convergent etymology, or possibly folk etymology. Note that many uses of *Bombay* persist, over 25 years later, with the airport still having the letters *BOM*, the prestigious engineering university

[6] Modern Portuguese would be *Boa Baía*. *Bom Bahia* as an old form from Portuguese has been assumed by Portuguese authors to be a corruption made by non-Portuguese speakers. I owe this observation to Agostinho Salgueiro.

still being *IIT-B*, *IIT-Bombay*, etc. The demonyms in current use, *Mumbaikar*, *Bombayite*, and *Mumbaiite*, show that same variation. In 1996, *Madras*, the capital of Tamil Nadu, became *Chennai*. The British (specifically the East India Company) had founded a settlement at a fishing village called *Madraspatnam* in 1639. Even though the etymology is obscure, it is a Tamil name, whether from a fisherman *Madarasan*, or from the local Muslim religious schools (*madarasas*), or from the name *Mudirasa* which is one of the several names of the person who granted the city to the British in 1639, or from *madhu-ras* from the Sanskrit and Tamil words for honey. There is even another suggestion, not Tamil, likely a folk etymology, that *Madras* comes from Portuguese, *Madre de Dios*, 'mother of God', referring specifically to the Church of St. Mary. The origin of the new name, *Chennai*, ironically is not Tamil but rather Telugu, a related but definitely different Dravidian language. It comes from Damarla Mudirasa *Chennappa* Nayakudi, the Raja of Chandragiri, a Telugu speaker from what is today the state of Andhra Pradesh, who granted the British the right to trade on the Coromandel Coast. As with *Bombay/Mumbai*, many uses of *Madras* persist (e.g., *MAA* for the airport designation, *University of Madras*, *IIT-Madras*, etc.).[7] Later, in 2001, we have *Calcutta* becoming *Kolkata*, which is simply a more phonetically accurate rendition of the Bengali, yet still is symbolic decolonization. Again, *Calcutta* persists in the *University of Calcutta*, the airport designator *CCU*, etc. Similarly, *Bangalore* changed back to Kannada *Bengaluru* ('town of boiled beans', *Benda-Kaal-uru*) in November 2006, supposedly after an incident when an old village woman served cooked pulses/beans to a lost and hungry Hoysala king; the story may well be apocryphal. The British arrived in 1809, made it an administrative base in 1931, and renamed it *Bangalore* in an inaccurate rendition of the native Kannada pronunciation. According to 2021 population figures, these four cities, Mumbai, Bengaluru, Kolkata and Chennai are four of the five largest in India; I will come to the other one of the five, Delhi, later.

Many cities of smaller size also changed their names. One of the better known, and very significant for its religious and cultural importance to Hindus, is *Varanasi*, in Uttar Pradesh, on the banks of the River Ganges (*Ganga* in Hindi).

[7] Both *Bombay/Mumbai* and *Madras/Chennai* are well-known for their cuisine, including some particular specialties and cooking styles. Mostly these specialties and styles, as well as restaurant names, have kept the old name, although one can occasionally find the new name. I speculate that the old name sounds more genuine and authentic in this particular context.

Benares (also Romanized as *Banares* and *Banaras*) became *Varanasi* in 1956, but Manduadih railway station has recently been given the name *Banaras* (2019). *Banaras Hindu University* retained *Banaras* and did not change to *Varanasi*. Its engineering college became a prestigious IIT in 2012 and is known officially as Indian Institute of Technology (BHU) Varanasi, trying to keep the best of all three of its brands. Here is a list of some other city renamings: *Baroda* to *Vadodara* in 1974; *Poona* to *Pune* in 1978; *Trivandrum* to *Thiruvananthapuram* in 1991; *Cochin* to *Kochi* in 1996; *Pondicherry* to *Puducheri* in 2006; *Mangalore* to *Mangaluru* in 2014; *Mysore* to *Mysuru* in 2014; *Gurgaon* to *Gurugram* in 2016; *Alleppey* to *Alappuzha*; *Quilon* to *Kollam*; *Tanjore* to *Thanjavur*; *Cocanada* to *Kakinada*; *Ellore* to *Eluru*; *Trichur* to *Thrissur*; and *Calicut* to *Kozhikode*.

Some of those are quite recent and clearly this is still very much ongoing. Under the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, from the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party, 'Indian People's Party'), there are now many more proposed changes, in line with the government's policy of promoting Hinduism, generally to the detriment of Muslims and India's Mughal heritage. One change of this most recent wave of changing Mughal names to Hindu names is *Allahabad*, a major city of over 1.5 million in Uttar Pradesh, to *Prayagraj*, which took place in 2018. There is talk of changing *Pune* (previously *Poona*, see above) to *Jijapur*, *Osmanabad* to *Dharashiv*, *Ahmednagar* to *Ambikanagar*, *Aurangabad* to *Sambhaji Nagar*, *Hyderabad* to *Bhagyanagar*, *Lucknow* to *Lakhanpur*, *Nizamabad* to *Indur*, *Islampur* to *Ishwarpur*, *Ahmedabad* (pronounced as if Amdabad/Avdabad, so not as obviously Mughal) to *Karnavati*, and *Thiruvananthapuram* (formerly Trivandrum) to *Ananthapuri* (which is for different reasons, said to be easier to pronounce for North Indians by dropping the first two syllables). Most stunning of all, some have proposed that *Delhi* (India's second largest city by population and the national capital) be changed to *Indraprastha* ('City of the god Indra'), a name found in the ancient Sanskrit epic, Mahabharata.

To conclude this section, it should be noted that there was massive renaming of states in 1947, right after Independence, away from the various historical (often princely) states and alliances, into states that tended to be linguistically based. For example, *Travancore-Cochin* became *Kerala*, where the majority language is Malayalam, and *Mysore State* was enlarged and became *Karnataka*, where the majority language is Kannada. Often this of course involved renaming, but I have not included those here, even though that took place in the immediate aftermath of decolonization. It was much more a function of the reorganization than any renaming of existing entities. Subsequently,

there have been some name changes of states, for example in 2011, *Orissa* became *Odisha*, to accord more closely with local pronunciation.

4. Street names

These were among the first renamings after Independence, as the regulations and processes are far less complex. For the cities named earlier, in some cases these changes required Union (i.e. federal level) legislative approval, in some cases state approval, and in other cases, more local approval. For street names, only municipal approval is required. For streets, there are colonial names that remain, some that have changed, and then also some cases where the name has changed, but the old name is still used, so maps (whether official or unofficial) may be discrepant from local usage (and importantly, taxi driver usage).

Here are some examples: In Delhi, *Connaught Place* is now *Rajiv Chowk*, but the old name is far more common, *Ring Road* is *MG Road* (*Mahatma Gandhi Road*), etc. In Madras/Chennai, *Mount Road* became *Anna Salai Road*, but the old name is still used, *Triplicane High Road* became *Quaid-Milleth High Road*, *North Beach Road* became *Rajaji Salai Road*, *Adam's Road* became *Swami Sivananda Salai*, *C-in-C Road* [Commander-in-Chief] became *Ethiraj Road*, *Lloyd's Road* became *Avvai Shanmughan Salai Road*, *Spur Tank Road* became *Major Ramanathan Salai*. *Salai* is Tamil for "road", thus some of these street names duplicate the "road" generic, in an example of pleonastic naming. In Bombay/Mumbai, *Nepean Sea Road* became *L. D. Ruparel Marg*, *Mount Pleasant Road* became *Bhau Sahab Hire Marg*, but the old names are still used. In Bangalore/Bengaluru, *Fort Road* became *Rajaram Mohanroy Road*, *Lang Ford Road* became *Kadilal Manjappa Road*, *Grant Road* became *Vittal Mallya Road*, *Richmond Road* became *General Thimmaiah Road*, *Broadway Road* became *Hajrath Kambal Posh Road*. In Calcutta/Kolkata, *VIP Road* became *Nazrul Islam*[8] *Avenue*, *Lansdowne Road* became *Sarat Bose Road*, *Southern Avenue* became *Dr M Saha Road*.

[8] This one is interesting because Nazrul Islam is a Bengali poet, a Muslim, and the national poet of Bangladesh. One wonders if this will become a target for a name change.

Britain was not the only colonial master. *Pondicherry*,[9] a former colony of France, has also had street name changes, after it officially became part of India in 1962. It is now officially known as *Puducherry*, but as we have seen before with other cities, the old name remains in many venues (e.g., *Pondicherry University*). *Rue Bussy* became *Lal Bahadur Sastri Street*,[10] but it is still on many maps including Google as *Bussy Street*. If you input *Lal Bahadur Sastri Street*, Google automatically takes you to *Bussy Street*, with no mention whatsoever of *Sastri*. However, on the OpenStreetMap site, it appears as both as *Bussy Street*/*Lal Bahadur Shastri Street* and further east on the map as *Lal Bahadur Shastri* alone (with the more common romanization of Sastri). *Goubert Avenue* (along the beach) is now renamed *Beach Road*, which is in actual active use. This latter is interesting, because it is decolonizing away from the language of the colonial master, namely French, but ironically to English, which is not seen as colonial in this Pondicherry context. It also has the advantage of being descriptive, because it literally runs parallel to the beach.

Some of the colonial era names were names of people directly associated with colonialism, particularly of governors, governors-general, and viceroys (e.g., *Connaught*, *Cornwallis*, *Dalhousie*, *Dufferin*, *Elgin*, *Hastings*, *Lansdowne*, *Minto*). Many of these names will be familiar to those from other former British colonies, like Canada, as governors often served successively in more than one location. In many cases the colonial era names were more generic (e.g., *Fort*, *Broadway*, *Southern*), or of towns or counties in Britain (e.g., *Surrey*, *Sussex*, *Brighton*, *Southampton*, *Kingston*, *Richmond*, etc.). All these types changed into names of local meaning or significance, most often personal names. Under the fervour of nationalism but also the impetus to decolonize, many roads, especially major roads, had their names changed, but the old names die out of use very slowly; even many decades later the change has not happened in many cases. There can be multiple reasons for this: lack of literacy in the population (historically and still now; remember this extends to being literate but not in the local script), habit, and some of the new names are longer and more cumbersome.

[9] French *Pondichéri*. The name is from Tamil *pudu* ('new') and *ceri* ('village').

[10] *Sastri*/*Shastri*/*Shastry* are alternate English spellings for the surname of the second prime minister of India, Lal Bahadur *Shastri*. Shastri's surname at birth was Srivastava, but as a young man, he changed it to avoid the caste-based upper-class surname Srivastava.

I do not have space to write about other types of renaming, for example of buildings, institutions, etc. I will give just two well-known examples from Mumbai. The *Victoria Terminus* railway station, popularly known as *VT*, has for some time been officially renamed *Chhatrapati Shivaji* (the great Maratha leader in the late 1600s referred to earlier, who also has the Mumbai airport named after him). *The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India* has also been named after him. I refer you to Luisa Caiazzo's 2017 American Name Society Annual Meeting presentation on Indian university names and their colonial legacy. Although her paper concentrates on different patterns of naming of universities before 1947 compared to after 1947, of relevance for my topic here are some examples of universities founded before 1947 that were renamed, such as *Agra University*, founded in 1927, and renamed in 1996 to *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University*, and *Sagar University*, founded in 1946 (just one year before Independence), and renamed in 1983 to *Dr. Hari Singh Gour University*. Even so, the former name, *Sagar University*, is still most commonly used.

5. Personal names

I will turn now to personal names.[11] Crucial to the description of the personal naming system in India is a basic understanding of the role of religion and of caste.

One's name often immediately reveals the religion of the name-bearer. For example, some male given names are always Muslim, in many cases popular in the Muslim world outside India as well: *Ahmad*, *Akbar*, *Ali*, *Amir*, *Areeb*, *Faisal*, *Feroz*, *Husain*, *Javed*, *Moham(m)ed*, *Mohsin*, *Najeeb*, *Rabiz*, *Rahim*, *Rayan*, *Tahir*, *Zain*, etc. Some male given names are always Hindu: *Abhishek*, *Arjun*, *Arvind*, *Ashok*, *Ashwin*, *Chandan*, *Chetan*, *Deepak*, *Dilip*, *Hari*, *Kapil*, *Karthik*, *Krishna*, *Mohan*, *Om*, *Pankash*, *Parag*, *Parth*, *Prem*, *Rahul*, *Rajesh*, *Rajiv*, *Rakesh*, *Ranvir*, *Ravi*, *Sanjay*, *Sunil*, *Vijay*, *Vinay*, *Vinod*, *Viraj*, *Vivek*, etc. Also Hindu are

[11] I personally know someone with every single one of the names in this section, or else they are a well-known public personality.

all those male names ending in *-esh* (*Dinesh*, *Mukesh*, *Naresh*, *Nilesh*, *Rajesh*, *Ramesh*, *Shailesh*, *Suresh*), beginning with *Sri-* (*Srikant*, *Srinath*), and most beginning with *Raj-* (*Raj*, *Rajendra*, *Rajesh*). Some female given names are always Hindu: *Amaya*, *Amrita*, *Anjali*, *Anju*, *Archana*, *Arti*, *Ashmita*, *Bhakti*, *Chandra*, *Deepali*, *Dipti/Deepti*, *Gayatri*, *Geetika*, *Gitanjali*, *Himani*, *Indira*, *Indu*, *Kalyani*, *Kamala/Kamla*, *Lata*, *Meenakshi*, *Mitali/Mithali*, *Neeta*, *Nirupama/Rupa/Roopa*, *Pari*, *Parvati*, *Pooja*, *Prachi*, *Preeti*, *Priyanka*, *Rani*, *Ritika*, *Rohini*, *Savitri*, *Surya*, *Vaishali*, *Vineeta*, etc. Some female given names are always Muslim: *Areeba*, *Fahida*, *Farida*, *Fatima*, *Munira*, *Nasreen*, *Shamira*, *Taran(n)um*, *Uzma*, etc.

In Kerala, traditionally the first son inherits the name of the paternal grandfather, the second son inherits the name of the maternal grandfather, and the third son inherits the name of the father. The first daughter inherits the name of the paternal grandmother, the second daughter inherits the name of the maternal grandmother, and the third daughter inherits the name of the mother. If there are more children than that, names come from uncles and aunts. Joseph (2022) is an in-depth diachronic study of naming patterns and trends in two Christian communities in Kerala, the Telugu Christians and the Syrian Christians, as they interact with different language and cultural groups over many decades.

Increasingly many Indians (and I am not referring to the diaspora, where obviously it will be common) have Western first names like *Michelle* or *Natasha* that also fit the sound system of their mother tongue well, or Western names like *Ina*, *Sheila*, *Sonia*, *Tara*, *Dennis* or *Neil* which are very similar to native names. Other popular trends are to bestow personal names of popular film actors (and remember how huge the film industry is in India, including regionally, well beyond Bollywood); to invent first names by combining syllables from the parents' names; or to have some form of rhyming for siblings (e.g., *Binu*, *Tinu*, *Jinu*, cited in Joseph, 2022).

Some surnames are always Muslim: *Abdulla*, *Kazimi*, *Khan*, *Mullick*/*Malik*, *Qadri*, *Rizvi*, *Siddiqui*, etc. Some surnames are always Hindu: *Acharya* ('priest'), *Bhardwaj*, *Chandra*, *Gupta*, *Joshi*, *Malhotra*/*Mehrotra* (Kshatriya caste from North India), and all those beginning with *Rama-* (*Ramasami*, *Ramakrishnan*), etc.

Typical of the intersecting factors at work in Indian names, some names are either Hindu or Muslim but always northern. An example is *Tyagi* (<Sanskrit, 'the renouncer'), found in western Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Haryana, Rajasthan, and Delhi, but some have migrated to Sindh and Punjab provinces in Pakistan. Another better-known example is *Chowdhury*, with many variant

spellings (*Chaudri*, *Choudhury*, *Chaudhari*, *Chaudhary*, *Chaudhury*, *Chaudhry*, *Chowdhery*, *Chowdhury*, or *Choudhry*), which is a hereditary title of honour, awarded by Mughals to eminent persons, typically landowners.

In the Sikh religion, all females bear the surname *Kaur* ('princess'), and all males bear the surname *Singh* ('lion'), as an attempt to do away with caste. All (male) Sikhs are Singh, but not all Singhs are Sikhs; there are many non-Sikh Singhs, for example, in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar (where they are usually from a land-owning caste), Rajasthan (where they are high caste ruling families, e.g., royalty in Udaipur and Jaipur). Many Sikhs bear a second surname, so that *Kaur*/*Singh* appears to Western eyes as a middle name. Common Sikh surnames are *Dhaliwal*, *Grewal*, *Gil(l)*, and *Virk*.

There are many other examples where the family name is an ethnic/religious identifier, for example the Syrian Christians in Kerala frequently have surnames ending in *-ian*, such as *Cherian*, *Kurian*, or biblical names such as *Jacob*. Some surnames are always Christian (*Abraham*, *Alexander*, *Anthony*, *George*, *Jacob*, *Johnson*, *Joseph*, *Nazareth*, *Peter(s)*, *Philip*). The names of Portuguese origin (e.g., *Fernandes*, *Ferreira*, *Gomes*, *Lopes*, *Monteiro*, *Noronha*, *Pereira*, *Pinto*, *Ramos*), reflecting the colonial legacy, are all Christian and typically from the Goa area or further south into Kerala. Note that these have the Portuguese spelling ending in *-s*, not the Spanish (i.e. *-s*, not *-z*, e.g., Spanish *López*, *Gómez*, *Fernández*, etc.).

The other important factor in personal naming is caste. This is an exceedingly complicated area; a succinct and readable introduction can be found on the BBC website ("What is India's caste system?", 2019), and astute commentary on some contemporary issues with respect to affirmative action for lower castes in the Banyan column in the *Economist* ("India's caste system", 2021). The Indian Constitution prohibits discrimination based on caste. There are various affirmative action policies, such as "reserved" seats in government jobs and in universities for some of the lower castes. The Sanskrit word for caste is *varna*, which means colour. In Hindu society, there is a 4-caste hierarchy, generally accepted to be more than 3,000 years old: Brahmins (priests, teachers) at the top, Kshatriya (landholder, warrior, ruler), Vaishya or Bania (businessmen, traders, farmers, merchants), and Shudra (labourer, artisan), and then outside the caste system (*avarna*), at the bottom, Dalits (formerly untouchables or Harijans, terms now considered pejorative) (e.g., street sweepers, latrine cleaners) off the scale at the bottom. The upper 3 castes constitute about 15% of the population and have ruled India for about 3,000 years. About 50% of the Indian population is the Shudra caste (divided into hundreds of subcastes or

jati, some by occupation, e.g., cobblers, carpenters, and some geographical). Dalits and "tribals" are more than 20%. The remaining 15% or so are from other religions, about 11% Muslim, the rest Sikh, Christian, Parsee, Jain, Buddhist, etc. For a contemporary data-informed perspective, see Starr and Sahgal (2021). As does Joseph (2022), Starr and Sahgal note the fact that even though caste does not pertain to some other religions (e.g., Christians), Christians may nevertheless claim a caste, perhaps based on ancestral (pre-conversion to Christianity) relationships, in order to take advantage of some of the incentives (e.g., reservations/preference in government jobs/university admission) offered to lower castes.[12] "An estimated 65% of India's 20 [million] Catholics are former Dalits whose forebears converted in part to escape caste oppression" ("Even as India urbanises", 2020), and it is suggested that amongst India's Muslim population, while some may descend from (formerly) ruling Mughals, many may have converted from Hinduism to escape their low-caste status.

There are strong associations of some surnames with some castes or occupations (and remember that caste and occupation can be strongly correlated). For example, Agarwal (variant spellings exist, such as Aggarwal, Agrawal, etc.) made sweets. (This lends itself to remarks, e.g., in literature but also daily life, such as "he's not nearly as sweet as you might think from his surname", unfathomable without this piece of social knowledge.) Marwaris are businessmen, etc. The caste system was outlawed in the Indian Constitution of 1950, but it is still very much a factor in Indian society. People still know their caste, it shows up in "matrimonials" (i.e. ads seeking marriage partners) in the newspaper, it is still clearly known who is Dalit, and a recent survey found that a large majority of Indians have most of their friendships within their caste (70%) and think marriage should not cross caste boundaries (63%) (Evans & Sahgal, 2021). The caste system is still very much alive in many rural areas, where castes cannot sit together to eat or at weddings or other social functions, lower castes cannot go into a temple controlled by upper castes, and often must draw water from different wells.

There are other surnames which come from professions but the profession is given in English: *Banker*, *Merchant*, *Engineer*, *Judge*, *Pilot*, *Doctor*, *Reporter*, *Photographer*, *Tailor*, *Infantry*, *Contractor*,[13] etc. Hindi *-wala* is a frequent suf-

[12] Joseph (2022) refers to this, and it is also common knowledge.

[13] *Warrior* is not an example; it is a respelling of a Kerala name *Warrier*.

fixed morpheme for 'person employed in that particular industry' or 'person from X region'. In names that gives us some interesting English-Hindi compound names, such as *Stationwala*, *Electricwala*, *Treasurywala*, *Tobaccowala*, *Boatwala*, etc. Clearly these names originated during the British Raj. An example involving a place name is *Mumbaiwala*, which is interesting as it uses Mumbai, not Bombay. One unusual example is *Neemuchwala*,[14] from *NIMACH* (North India Mounted Artillery and Cavalry Headquarters), a town in the state of Madhya Pradesh right on the Rajasthan border. Some of these odd English-Hindi combinations exist in place names too, especially in northernmost India, for example, *McLeodganj* (location of the Tibetan government-in-exile near Dharamsala), *Robertsganj*, *Forbesganj* (*ganj* 'neighbourhood'), and *Double Chowki* (also *Doblechoki*, 'two crossroads', a town in the state of Madhya Pradesh, for whose name I have no definitive answer,[15] other than it does appear to consist of two crossroads on the map).

There are also names that are language/region specific. *Patel*, *Shah*, *Dave*, *Mehta*, *Modi*, *Desai*, *Gandhi*, *Soni* are all from Gujarat. *Nehru* and *Gilani* are from Kashmir. *Sen*, *Das*, *Ray/Roy*, *Ganguly*, *Dattagupta/Duttagupta*, *Dasgupta*, *Chatterji/Chatterjee*, *Bannerji/Bannerjee/Banerji*, *Mukherjee/Mukherji*, *Chattopadhyay*, *Bhattacharya*, *Bose*, *Ghose*, etc. are all Bengali; of these, *Chatterji*, *Bannerji*, *Mukherji*, *Ganguly* (and their spelling variants) are all high-caste. *Trivedi* and *Tripathi* are from Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. *Mazumdar* is either Gujarati or Bengali. Names ending in *-kar* ('from') are high-caste names from the state of Maharashtra (also found in the Konkani language immediately to the south), for example *Chandrasekar*, *Dhanokar*, *Sarkar*, *Tendulkar*, *Trilokekar*, *Gavaskar*, whereas names ending in *de*/*-dey* are typically low-caste names from Maharashtra (*Badode*, *Jabade*, *Malwade*, *Ranadey*, *Shinde*). There are also such names in *-re* (*Sonare*, *Hazare*) or *-le* (*Bhonsle*). One notable exception is *Pande*(*y*)/*Panday*, which is a Brahmin (high caste) name from North India. Srivastava is upper-caste from north India. *Menon* and *Nair* are Kerala Hindu names. Christians commonly have a baptismal name as a middle name, which follows the familiar Western/Christian format. *Reddy* and *Rao* (caste names) are Telugu and most common in the state of Telangana. *Naidoo/Naidu* is an upper caste

[14] Husain Neemuchwala is one of my co-authors of a decade or so ago.

[15] *Dabalchooki* is a smaller town, 2 km east of *Double Chowki*, which is a phonetically similar name; maybe there is another explanation for both of these names. Or perhaps *Double Chowki* is a folk etymology of something else.

Telugu name.[16] *Srinivasan*, *Padmanabhan*, *Chidambaram*, *Krishnamachari*, *Pillai* (and names ending in *-pillai*; meaning 'child' or 'prince'), *Iyer*, and *Iyengar*, are all Tamil (or occasionally Malayalam). *Subramanian* and *Balasubramanian* are Tamil or Telugu. There are also other naming elements, repeated in many different surnames, for example, *lal* is 'red', *singh* is 'lion', *krishna* is a major deity in Hinduism, *acharya* is 'priest', *maha* is 'big', etc. In Dravidian languages (south India), *-lingam* is 'phallus' (a manifestation of Lord Shiva), for example *Jothilingam*, *Shanmugalingam*, *Sivalingam*, *Mahalingam*, etc. Indian surnames, especially Dravidian names, can seem very long to non-Indians and even north Indians. Sometimes the given names are also long, and it is common in India for initials to be used for the entire name or just the first name, or some other form of shortening. For example, my York University colleague *Anantharaman Kumarakrishnan* is just *Kumar*, and my late University of Ottawa colleague *Purushottam G. Patel* was always just *PG*.[17] This penchant for abbreviations is found with roads too, so for example almost every city has an *MG Road* (Mahatma Gandhi), but there are also many other examples, for example, *BT Road* in Kolkata is short for *Barrackpore Trunk Road*, and *GT Road* is short for *Grand Trunk Road* (throughout northern India, as well as Bangladesh to the east and Pakistan to the west).

There are also surnames which refer directly to a town or region of origin. Examples are *Puri* (city), *Bhutani* (country), *Mewari* (region), etc.

There is great regional variation, but a contemporary trend is homogenization to both north Indian norms and international norms, so for example to the pattern individual name, possibly another name, then family name/surname. Also, there are some areas in India where people still tend to have only a single personal given name. For example, there is a female freestyle wrestler from India, currently competing internationally, whose name is only **Jyoti**. When pressed, she has said her name is "Jyoti of India" or "Jyoti Pahlwan", where *pahlwan* is a style of wrestling in the Indian subcontinent. In order to transform this to prevailing norms, typically a place/village name or the father's personal name is added as a surname.

[16] For discussion of Telugu names in the diaspora in Malaysia, see Shanmuganathan et al., 2021.

[17] He told me that his middle name was so long he never used it, even in India, let alone Canada.

In Tamil, family names are not common, and people often have just their own personal name. Take for example the prominent politician *Chidambaram* (former Minister of Finance and Minister of Home Affairs). That is his entire name, but he is often referred to as *P. Chidambaram*, and people wonder what the *P* stands for. It stands for *Palaniyappan*, which is his father's sole name. It functions as a type of differentiator, based on the father's name. Interestingly, his wife, son, and granddaughter use *Chidambaram* now as a family name, so this is an example of change to the Western/north Indian pattern within a generation. So, for example, in Telugu (but also much of south India), Raman, son of Gopal, will be *G. Raman*, whereas Raman, son of Dinesh, will be *D. Raman*. But (either of those) Raman's son, Vijay, will be *R. Vijay*. To Westerners, it looks as though the family name is changing in each generation, but in fact it is a patronymic system, reminiscent of Iceland. For women, it is different again. Before marriage, a female will use her father's initial, so Ananya, daughter of Gopal, will be *G. Ananya*, but when she marries, for example, Vikram, she will be *V. Ananya*. To Westerners, it looks as though she changed her first initial on marriage, not her family name. Contemporary social norms are changing this, at least in some segments of society. If a woman works, she will tend to have her school diplomas, documents, etc., in her pre-marriage name. Changing a name is an immensely cumbersome and bureaucratic process in India, so the modern trend is simply to add the husband's name at the end. So Ananya may now be known as *G. Ananya Vikram*. A Westerner or someone from north India might think her surname is Vikram, but it is her husband's given name. An even more modern trend of simply retaining the birthname is occasionally seen but not common in India.

As an example of a more complicated situation because it also involves a caste name, take a male Telugu name, *Kandi Vijay Reddy*, which is family name, personal name, caste name. (In Western or north Indian format, this would be *Vijay Reddy Kandi*.) This would then often be *K. Vijay Reddy* in everyday use in India. In Western use, this would then most likely become *Vijay Reddy*, with Reddy re-interpreted as a surname.

The problems associated with incompatibility with Western naming systems affect such issues as issuance of visas and other bureaucratic activities, but also tracking publications in academia. See a very interesting article in *Nature* by three female south Indian post-doctoral fellows, who do not traditionally have surnames, which forces them into, in their words, publishing under their father's given names, but other publications being missed due to

inconsistent practices (Puniamoorthy et al., 2008). Another example comes from news stories surrounding the 2014 disappearance of Malaysian Airlines flight MH 370: "… Subaramaniam Gurusamy, 60, said in an interview from his home on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. His 34-year-old son, Pushpanathan Subramaniam, was on the flight…".[18]

To conclude, I will give three reasonably current stories from the Indian press, showing some current trends.

I mentioned earlier the social separation by caste, and often the absence of interactions between castes. I have seen this in action in how middle-class academic parents talk about and to servants, waiters, staff, etc., and also about their children's spouses or prospective spouses. I have also seen this in rural northern India, where for example those of lower caste do not sit with upper caste (or Western guests) at meals. Recall that caste is often conveyed by the surname. There are some interesting modern attempts to eradicate the immediate conveyance of social hierarchy in what should be neutral transactional situations. For example, in June 2011 in Himachal Pradesh, the police stopped using surnames (name plates, name tags, how they address each other) within the force of 15,000 personnel, to try to bring greater cohesiveness and sense of equity. Senior officers in Tamil Nadu and Kerala have shown interest in doing the same. In these areas of the south, the caste system is less strong, and the use of only the given name is also more common, so this would be less of a radical change.

My second example is of Gananan Wamanacharya, a retired scientist from the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, who has compiled a list of 60,000 unusual surnames in the state of Maharashtra (Kumar, 2012). He started to take an interest in unusual surnames because of his own unusual surname,[19] but also unusual surnames borne by a few of his colleagues. Many, but not all, of the names are unpleasant or derogatory in some way. He founded an organization, Adnav Sudhar Samiti (meaning Odd Name Reform/Correction

[18] *Subramaniam* is the personal name of the father, but becomes the patronymic for the son, appearing as if a family name to Westerners. Slight spelling variations in romanization (*Sub*(*a*)*ramaniam*) are common even within families.

[19] *Waman* was the personal name of a priest of a temple in Bijapur in Karnataka and *acharya* means 'priest'.

Committee),[20] which then helps people change these surnames (remember that changing a surname is both difficult and costly in India). Examples of such names are *Gadhve* ('donkey'), *Zurle* ('cockroach'), *Bhoote* ('ghosts'), *Makde* ('monkey'), *Kutte* ('dog'), *Landge* ('wolf'), *Undhir* ('rat'), and *Parkar-varkar* ('lift your petticoat'). His research indicates that these names were given 200–300 years ago, before surnames were regularly established, to these lower caste people by their masters/overseers. Other similar names that are "awkward" in modern times are names of base metals (*Tambe* 'copper', *Pitale* 'brass'), from the caste-based metalworking professions, or based on "defective" personal characteristics (*Bobde* 'stammerer', *Bahire* 'deaf', *Andhale* 'blind') or other unusual features (*Ashtaputre*, from *ashta* '8', *putre* 'children'). Wamanacharya's organization reports cases of women refusing to marry men with such names.

Finally, here is an example of an attempt to address gender discrimination through renaming. On Saturday, October 22, 2011, 285 girls in a central/inland district of Maharashtra, 250 km from Mumbai, received certificates with their new names (along with flower bouquets) from Satara district officials. The hope was to give these girls new dignity and help fight the widespread gender discrimination, evidenced in so many ways but also by the very skewed gender ratios[21] (due to abortion, infanticide, and neglect) in many parts of India and worse health outcomes for women. The names that they replaced included names such as *Nakusa* or *Nakushi*, both meaning 'unwanted' in Hindi. The names they chose included names of Bollywood stars (such as *Aishwarya*, as in Aishwarya Roy Bachchan) or Hindu goddesses (such as *Savitri*) or simply traditional names with happier meanings (such as *Vaishali*, 'prosperous, beautiful, good'), or characteristics they emulated (such as *Ashmita*, 'very tough' or 'rock hard'). These girls would probably all have been named at birth by their grandfathers, disappointed in the birth of a granddaughter rather than a grandson. This renaming ceremony was the idea of Dr. Bhagwan Pawar, district health officer in Satara, with a clear goal of improving health outcomes, both mental and physical,

[20] *Adnav* is unclear, but I believe *Ad-* is a rendition of English 'odd', and *-nav* is a rendition of Marathi *nave*, 'names'. I thank Faisal Beg for this suggestion.

[21] Over the past decade, the number of girls at age 6 for every 1,000 boys at age 6 has dropped from 927 to 914. In some states it is even lower (e.g., in Maharashtra, it has dropped from 913 20 years ago to 883 a decade ago). In Satara, it is even lower at 881.

for these girls. Names do matter – names can be one of the social determinants of health.

I hope this brief tour of names and naming patterns in India, with excursions into the rich history, the many facets of diversity, the decolonization, and contemporary trends, has helped raise your awareness of the rich possibilities for onomastic research in India.

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The Crucial and Contested Concept of the Endonym/Exonym Divide

Abstract

Paul Woodman has called it the “great toponymic divide”, but the endonym/exonym distinction is not a concept confined solely to toponymy; it can be transferred to all name categories where the name used by insiders may differ from the name used by outsiders, for example, to ethnonyms, anthroponyms, names of institutions, where we frequently meet for instance nicknames and derogative designations used by outsiders. But there is no doubt that this divide has its focus on toponymy, since it corresponds there to two basic human attitudes: (1) to the distinction between ‘mine’ and ‘yours’, ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’, and (2) to territoriality, the desire to own a place, which appears at all levels of the construction of human community – from the level of the family up to that of nations. Thus, it has always a political, social, and juridical meaning and is frequently a reason for dispute and conflict.

However, even after long and intensive discussions, for example, in the UNGEGN Working Group of Exonyms, to date we can still see rather divergent approaches to this divide. There is the linguistic approach regarding the endonym and the exonym rather as poles of a continuum, with various intermediate stages. Alternatively, there is the cultural-geographical approach that accepts no other criteria than the spatial relation between the name-using community and the geographical feature denoted by the name.

The article elaborates on these points, mainly on the basis of the discussions and publications of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms since 2002.

Keywords

exonym, toponymy, terminology, UNGEGN, cultural geography

1. Introduction

The recent session of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN), held in a virtual format due to the COVID-19 pandemic between 3–7 May 2021,[1] revealed once again and perhaps even more drastically than ever how contested the concept of the endonym/exonym divide is and how emphatically pros and cons related to exonyms are formulated. No other theme of the session prompted such a vivid discussion.

It also revealed, however, that at least official, 'politically correct' attitudes towards exonyms conforming to state policies as they are usually expressed in these sessions have shifted from the attempts to reduce exonyms to a visible parity between exonym sceptics and exonym defenders. While the United Nations passed several resolutions in the 1970s and 1980s recommending the reduction and cautious use of exonyms,[2] no such resolutions appeared later. On the contrary: the resolutions of the 2000s, appreciating traditional, inherited place names as parts of the cultural heritage, did not explicitly exclude exonyms, thus implicitly including them.[3]

The explanation for this remarkable shift can be found in a fundamental change of the political environment. Until the late 1980s, the global political situation was marked by the Communist bloc with an internationalist ideology, demonizing exonyms as expressions of nationalism. Communist countries cooperated at that time within the framework of UNGEGN – remarkably enough – with Anglophone countries, which regarded English exonyms not as exonyms in the narrower sense but as international names that were anyway unavoidable and not in danger of being reduced. The third pillar of exonym sceptics comprised German-speaking countries with their language (including exonyms) stigmatized by the events of World War II and the atrocities of the Nazi regime.[4]

[1] The complete documentation of the meeting is available on the UNGEGN website (https://unstats.un.org/unsd/ungegn/sessions/2nd_session_2021/).

[2] See especially Res. II/29-1972, Res. II/35-1972, Res. III/18-1977, Res. IV/20-1982, Res. V/13-1987 (all of the resolutions cited in the paper can be found at https://unstats.un.org/unsd/ungegn/resolutions/).

[3] See Res. VIII/9-2002, IX/4-2007 and X/3-2012.

[4] The author of this paper did not participate in UNGEGN sessions before 1986, but was informed about earlier sessions and UN conferences on the standardization of geographical

In the meantime, however, the Communist bloc disappeared. The hesitation of German-speakers to use their own exonyms is not as strong as before, due to the time which has elapsed since the end of World War II and with the new standing enjoyed by Germany and the German language in Europe (see Jordan, 2013). It is also a fact that the use of exonyms – despite UN resolutions demanding their reduction – underwent a strong revival after the fall of Communism in former Communist countries and has not at all been reduced elsewhere, probably because exonyms are simply needed and functional.

The remaining exonym sceptics in the ranks of UNGEGN experts, who are mainly recruited from Western Europe and North America, argue that modifying earlier UN resolutions or even declaring them obsolete would mean questioning the authority of UN resolutions and the UN in general.

This shows that the endonym/exonym divide has a remarkably political dimension and is obviously a crucial concept. Paul Woodman, a long-term British delegate to UNGEGN sessions and United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names (UNCSGN) as well as founding and senior member of the UNGEGN Working on Exonyms, has called it "the great toponymic divide" (Woodman, 2012). This article will try to substantiate this statement with arguments and provide an overview of different approaches to this divide.

2. The endonym/exonym divide as a crucial concept

Place names can be regarded from various perspectives: what language they belong to, what etymology they have, what they mean, whether they are official or not, whether they are standardized or not, whether they have a commemorative function or are descriptive, what they mean for the space-related

names (UNCSGN) in detail by his teacher in toponomastics and head of his department, Josef Breu (1914–1998), Austrian delegate to UNGEGN sessions and UNCSGN from the very beginning, and from 1977 to 1981 also UNGEGN chair. Breu was a defender of the use of exonyms and reported the enormous pressure exerted by Communist as well as Anglophone countries in favor of exonym reduction in this period to the extent that all he could do was to defuse the wording of resolutions to some extent.

identity of people, etc. The aspect that leads to the distinction between endonym and exonym is the spatial relationship between the human community using the name and the geographical feature designated by that name.

2.1. Endonyms mark a community's territory

The aspect of the spatial relationship between the human community using the name and the geographical feature designated by that name is a sociological and geographical (spatial) one. It is but one of the many aspects of geographical names, yet a crucial one because it corresponds to two basic human attitudes, namely (1) distinguishing between 'mine' and 'yours', 'ours' and 'theirs'; (2) territoriality, the desire to own a place expressed at all levels of human activity and community-building: the wish to own a flat or a house; even within a family apartment to have one's own room or at least one's own desk, where one can store one's personal belongings; at work, where we like to have our own office or at least our own desk; up to the level of countries that want to enforce their law and exercise their power in a well-defined territory.

It is the local community, the human group inhabiting a place or residing nearest to an uninhabited feature, that has an endonym. Marking a feature by an endonym means claiming possession of it or at least responsibility for it, indicating that others do not have the same right on this feature or not the same responsibility for it. This corresponds to the general meaning of naming as an expression of appropriation or assuming responsibility that is expressed in Genesis, which says: "So Adam gave names to all cattle, to the birds of the air, and to every beast of the field." (Genesis 2:20).

If it does not use the endonyms of the other community, the above-mentioned community has exonyms for places and features in the area outside its own territory, to which it entertains frequent and close relations. Compared to the innumerable number of endonyms attributed to every geographical feature recognized as individual, exonyms are an exception and are used only for features of special importance for a receiver community. They are usually created by adapting the endonym to the receiver language orthographically or morphologically or by translating it partly, that is, only the generic component, or completely to facilitate pronunciation, spelling and memorizing. In many cases exonyms are former endonyms of the receiver language that shifted from endonym to exonym status due to population exchange, or

older endonyms of the donor language, like the English exonym *Prague* and the German exonym *Prag* for the Czech endonym *Praha*, derived from the earlier Czech endonym *Praga*. It also sometimes transpires that exonyms are transferred by a mediator language – for example, many exonyms of Scandinavian languages for Italian cities have been mediated by German as the language of traders. It happens rather seldom that an exonym has no linguistic relation with the endonym; some examples include Hungarian *Bécs* and Serbian and Croatian *Beč* for Vienna [Wien], and Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian *Carigrad*, together with outdated variants of this name in other Slavic languages, for Istanbul [İstanbul].

In contrast with endonyms, exonyms do not mark a community's territory, features in its possession or at least responsibility, but indicate (with some distortions caused by the acquaintance of receiver-language speakers with prestigious trade languages and linguistic relations between donor and receiver language) a community's pattern of historical and current cultural, economic, and political external relations (see Jordan, 2009, 2020). It can, however, not be denied that sometimes the use of exonyms is understood as a territorial claim or at least political nostalgia by receiver- as well as donor-language speakers. This makes them politically sensitive and is certainly a still valid reason for UNGEGN's exonym skepticism addressed in the introduction. The danger of understanding them in this way is highest with exonyms that had earlier been endonyms and lost this status due to population exchange. It is thus true that exonym use requires cultural and political sensitivity (see Jordan, 2000a, 2000b; AKO, 2012).

2.2. Endonyms support emotional relations to a place

Besides marking one's own place and one's own territory, endonyms also have the important function of supporting emotional ties between humans and a place, although this is not their exclusive role. Naming confirms the relationship a human being or a human community has entered with a section of geographical space, which for this very reason turns from space to place, as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974, 1977, 1991) puts it or Bill Watt (2009) summed up in a short sentence: "Naming turns space into place" (p. 21).

Once the name, the endonym, has been established, it supports emotional ties between humans and their place. Reading, hearing or memorizing

the name lets a plethora of associations arise – not only of the place's visual appearance, but also memories of sounds and smells, of people and events. This emotional relationship supported by endonyms comprises not only the inhabited place, one's home in the narrower sense, but also one's daily perception of space, i.e., the landscape surrounding it, the mountains, lake, or sea forming its horizon. Everybody knows a set of place names that immediately evokes feelings of home.

Feelings of a close human-spatial relationship in the sense of place can also extend to the coastal waters of a sea, which for outsiders seem to be something closer to a wasteland, but to which coastal dwellers tend to be closely and emotionally related, because it is not only what they see day by day, but also an economic resource, a transportation and recreational area for them (see Jordan, 2019a, 2019b).

It is, however, also true that exonyms can assume this function. Many of us have not only one place that evokes the feeling of coming home when we return there, but a second, a third and perhaps even more. This can lead us to emotionally relate to places far from our own community, supported by their exonyms. This emotional link may also relate us to names of places in which we have never been, but of which we are dreaming, and of which we have emotional images created by the media, the arts or tourism branding.

2.3. Shared places and multiple identities

Of course, a place can also be shared by communities – by a local majority and a local minority or several minorities. In this case, every local community may have its own endonym for this place and a place may have a couple of endonyms.

When human communities are understood not as coherence groups, but as identity groups in the sociological sense (see Weichhart et al., 2006) – in the sense of groups of people sharing a common identity – a multilayered hierarchy of communities arises, and one and the same person may very well identify themself as belonging to several of these layers, having multiple space-related identities: member of a family, of a village community, a municipality, a regional administrative unit, a historical-cultural landscape, a nation, a language community or even the community of global citizens. Most of these levels are well-organized, active in naming and place-name standardization,

and apply their endonyms to geographical features within their area and range of responsibility. As with language in general, endonym and exonym use binds a community together and supports its identity.

2.4. A divide escaping the criteria of language and officiality

Different local communities can speak the same language but nevertheless apply different names to the same geographical feature. Thus, a lake can be named differently from opposite banks, as is the case with *Wolfgangsee* or *Abersee* in Austria, although the same language (German) and even the same language variety is spoken around it. The Romanian river Mureş is called *Mieresch* by the German-speaking Saxons in Transylvania [Ardeal], but *Marosch* by the Danubian Swabians, who also speak German. Thus the endonym/exonym divide does not coincide with language boundaries.

This is also true with regard to the naming of places in non-local languages by a local community: take the case of an Italian restaurant named by its owners *Mari e monti* and known by this name in the local non-Italian speaking community. In this instance, the restaurant's name functions as an endonym, although the language of this name is otherwise not locally used. If the language of the name counted, the numerous English names for businesses, tourism and catering facilities as well as for shopping centers and airports in many non-English speaking countries would be exonyms, although they have been chosen and are used and accepted by the local community.

2.5. A divide covering all place names and transferable to other name categories

In a certain place, a name can only belong to one of the two categories: either endonym or exonym. If it is used for a feature by the local community, the community inhabiting this place or nearest to it, it is an endonym (= a name from within the local community). If it is a name used by this same community for a feature outside their area or by another community for a feature in the area of the former community, differing from the endonym, it is an exonym. Thus, the Polish name *Kraków* is an endonym because the city is so called by the local community. If the same name is also used by outsiders, then they use the

endonym. The English name *Cracow* or the German name *Krakau*, on the other hand, are exonyms, because no autochthonous local community uses them.

While for geographical features that are located exclusively in the area of a community and not surpassing its boundaries, endonym and exonym status of a name are mutually exclusive, in the case of geographical features that cross community boundaries or that are shared by several local communities – such as longer rivers or mountain ranges – the situation is different. Then, the same name can be an endonym in one section/part of the feature and assume exonym status in another section/part of it, while it always designates the whole feature. The name *Donau* for the river, for example, is an endonym in its German and Austrian sections, while it assumes the status of an exonym east of Austria, where the name used by the local community, the endonym, is *Dunaj* in Slovakia, *Duna* in Hungary and the Vojvodina [Vojvodina, Vajdaság, Voivodina], *Dunav* in Croatia, Serbia and Bulgaria, *Dunărea* in Romania as well as Moldova and *Dunaj* again in Ukraine. All names, however, refer to the entire river. The English name *Danube* is an exonym everywhere, because no autochthonous English-speaking community resides along the river.

The status categories endonym and exonym comprise all place names. Each name can be attributed to one of these categories or corresponds to both (in the case of transboundary features differing by sections or parts of a feature). Endonym and exonym are therefore all-inclusive categories including all possible cases. They can even be applied to names of large, compact and completely uninhabited geographical features like oceans or Antarctica, for which all names would be exonyms, that is, names from the outside and not used by an autochthonous local community.[5]

Endonym and exonym are in that respect also a basic onomastic pair of terms that is not only applicable to place names. It can in principle be transferred to names of all types of features to which an inside and an outside view applies, such as the names of:

- persons: the self-designation (the name from within) would be the endonym, the (not always flattering) nickname (the name used by others) – the exonym;

[5] However, as already mentioned, the coastal waters of a sea, in visible distance from the coast, may rather be regarded as parts of the coastal dwellers' 'territory', to which these dwellers are related in many ways, also emotionally, and their name has therefore endonym status.

- ethnic groups, nations: dignified self-descriptions (endonyms), which often mean simply ‘people’ or ‘humans’, are often contrasted with ironic or pejorative external names (exonyms) (see e.g., Manu, 2021);
- institutions, organizations: the endonym *police* is frequently contrasted with various ironic and derogatory exonyms.

3. Divergent approaches and concepts

The distinction between endonyms and exonyms is, however, not as clear-cut as these explanations may suggest, and views on this pair of terms vary significantly. Apart from the exceptional view represented by Philip Matthews (2014) that endonyms were names conforming to the rules of a certain language and exonyms were names not conforming to them (which would mean that *Cracow* and *Krakau* were English and German endonyms, respectively, and *Kraków* was an exonym in these languages), the main difference is that some scholars regard endonyms and exonyms as two extreme ends of a continuum with a gradual transition between them, whereas others understand the relation between endonyms and exonyms as a dichotomy with no intermediate stages.

3.1. The continuum view

The continuum view acknowledges all efforts of a receiver language to remain as close to the endonym and the endophone (in the sense of the word in its local pronunciation) as possible and would not classify orthographic deviations from the endonym by diacritics, exchange of individual letters or even the translation of the generic as full-fledged exonyms.

Indeed, in many cases, where there is a small difference between the spelling of an endonym and an exonym (consisting, e.g., in the omission or the addition of diacritics, the exchange of a letter or the addition of a vowel or a grammatical ending), this is done with the intention to reflect the original pronunciation, the endophone, as well as possible. It was not intended to

create an exonym. On the contrary: if the endonym had not been adapted to the orthography of the receiver language, this would have resulted in a pronunciation much more different from the endophone with the receiver community. A case in point is the Croatian spelling of the Romanian endonym *Câmpolung* as *Kimpolung*. Had the letter *C* not been replaced by *K* and *â* by *i*, Croatian speakers would pronounce the name differently from the endophone. Thus, deviating from the endonym in writing can result in achieving an endophone in pronunciation and vice versa.

A next step in deviation from the endonym in writing is the addition of a vowel or a grammatical ending typical of Italian, in which language *a* is added to the German endonym *Bern* (resulting in *Berna*) to conform to Italian phonotactics, or by Latvian, in which *Ģente* is an equivalent of the Dutch *Gent*. Another step further is script conversion, when the endonym is written in a different script, either by phonetic transcription or transliteration. A next step already transcending a deviation in writing is the translation of a generic.

Linguists like Peeter Päll (2000, 2011, 2014, 2015; Päll & Matthews, 2007), Jarno Raukko (2007), Ojārs Bušs (2012, 2014, 2015, 2016) and Philip Matthews (2014) postulate that it is necessary to distinguish between linguistically avoidable and unavoidable transformations of the endonym, when it is used by speakers of another language. Accordingly, they propose to regard names resulting from linguistically unavoidable transformations not as exonyms, at least not in the full sense. For instance, Peeter Päll proposed a new terminology, discerning between endonyms (e.g., *Москва*), endonymoids obtained by a conversion of scripts (e.g., *Moskva*) or adapting name endings (e.g., *Stokholma* or *Stockholma*), exonyms (e.g., *Moscow*), and exonymoids obtained by a translation of generic terms, omission or alteration of diacritical marks, declension or derivation (Päll, 2011, pp. 92–93).

Päll and other linguists would thus regard endonyms and exonyms not as strictly opposed, but as the two ends of a gradual transition, in which 'exonymity' gains at the expense of 'endonymity'.

3.2. The dichotomy view

The dichotomy view corresponding to a cultural-geographical perspective, however, only regards names completely conforming to local use and accepted by locals as endonyms. It departs from the assumption that the local community

will perceive even the slightest deviation from their name in spelling as alienating it, as creating a name version used by others, not by themselves, thus as an exonym. Regarding it from the receiver language perspective, the slightest adaptation of a name to the receiver language would already show the attempt of a receiver community to integrate the foreign feature designed by this name into their cultural sphere and to avoid its exclusion and alienation – which, according to Otto Back (2002), is the most important function of exonyms. Already the use of *Riga* for *Rīga* or *Istanbul* for *İstanbul* would be regarded by the local community as alienated, not to speak of finding *Варшава* instead of *Warszawa* or *Краκув* instead of *Kraków* on the town signs of these cities.

It would also be difficult to argue why a minority name deviating from the name in the majority language only by a diacritic has to appear additionally on a town sign for identity reasons, when a name alienated by diacritics or even transcribed counts as an endonym.

It must also be emphasized in this context that an endonym does not only have to be used by the local community, but to be accepted by it as well. An official name is not *eo ipso* an endonym. It may happen that an occupation power or another dominant political force makes place names official that are not or hardly ever used by the local population. A case in point is the Nazi occupation of Poland in World War II, when, for example, the city of Łódź received the official name *Litzmannstadt*, although even the local German minority still existing at the time used *Lodsch*, that is, the Polish name in German orthography. Another example is the Italian fascist naming policy in South Tyrol [Alto Adige/Südtirol] after World War I, when Italian names were imposed as official ones on places without any Italian-speakers. A third case is the situation in Sudan, where the Nubian minority has their own local names, but Arab names are the only official ones (Bell & Sabbār, 2011; Sabbār, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2015; Bell, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2018, 2019).

3.3. Definitions

The following definitions of endonym and exonym conform more or less to both approaches to the endonym/exonym divide, but mainly due to their rather general wording.

The first are the definitions developed by the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms in intensive discussions between 2007 and 2014 (see Jordan et al.,

2011; Jordan & Woodman, 2014, 2015), but never elevated to the status of official UNGEGN Glossary definitions due to a politically motivated veto.

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

Thus, the UNGEGN Glossary definitions of 2007 were not modified or replaced and they are written as follows (Kadmon, 2007, p. 2):

- 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-Uqşur* (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 romanized endonym *Moskva* for *Москва* is not an exonym, nor is the Pinyin form *Beijing*, while *Peking* is an exonym. The United Nations recommends minimizing the use of exonyms in international usage. See also name, traditional.

In contrast with the definitions mentioned above, the UN glossary definitions regard names in offical languages *eo ipso* as endonyms. They also do not refer the endonym/exonym divide to communities, but to languages excluding an intra-language divide. They also accept transliterated names as endonyms, which would be excluded by the definitions mentioned above. Not explicitly mentioned in these definitions but defined by UN Resolution III/19-1977, names differing from the official name only by the omission, addition or alteration of diacritics or the article, by declension or derivation or created by the translation of a generic term are regarded as exonyms, which brings these definitions closer to the dichotomy than to the continuum approach.

The International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS) in its List of Key Onomastic Terms presents the following definitions (ICOS, n.d., p. 2):

- Endonym: proper name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in the area where the feature is situated – e.g., *Venezia* in Italian (not *Venice*), *Praha* in Czech (not *Prague*).

- 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 name used in the area where the geographical feature is situated – e.g. French *Londres* for *London*, German *Warschau* for *Warszawa*, *Bangkok* for *Krung Thep*, Spanish *Ginebra* for *Genève.*

These definitions repeat the definitions of the UNGEGN Glossary 2007 with slight variations and thus refer, like the UNGEGN ones, to language as the criterion constitutive for the endonym/exonym divide. An intra-language divide is not envisaged, and official names are *eo ipso* endonyms. In contrast with the UNGEGN definitions, they do not explicitly classify transliterated names as endonyms.

Characteristically enough, none of the definitions makes it clear whether the divide is based on the written or the spoken name. Confining the divide to the written form would mean the exclusion of the spoken divide arising in East Asian writing systems like *kanji*, where the written form is the same (Choo, 2015; Tanabe, 2015). Explicitly including the spoken name, when in practice the endonym/exonym divide refers to the written form (apart from the Sinosphere), would on the other hand mean a huge increase in the number of exonyms, since hardly any endonym is pronounced correctly outside the endonym community. The task of combining the two practices in the same definitions remains to be resolved.

4. Conclusions

Coinciding with basic human attitudes, such as distinguishing between 'mine' and 'yours', 'ours' and 'theirs', as well as human territoriality, the endonym/exonym divide is certainly a crucial scientific concept. Its importance is emphasized by the fact that it is mainly endonyms that support emotional relations to place, although in the case of exonyms this cannot be excluded either. Its role as a crucial concept is further underlined by its transferability from place names to other name categories.

Two divergent approaches, however, make it difficult to arrive at definitions of endonym and exonym that are all-inclusive and precise at the same

time. While the linguistic approach regards the divide rather as a continuum with several transitional stages closer to the endonym or the exonym, the cultural-geographical approach accepts the spatial relation between name user and the feature designated by the name as the exclusive criterion.

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Toponomastics

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Baltic Germans in the Russian Imperial Navy: Navigators, Explorers, and Contributors to Place Naming

Abstract

From the 13th century onwards, Germans spread northeastwards along the Baltic coast, the area now occupied by Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the St. Petersburg region of Russia, and Finland. Most of these Germans were active as merchants. While for most of this period Lithuania had Poland as an overlord and Finland had Sweden, in Estonia, Livonia, and Courland (now Estonia and Latvia) the Germans soon formed the ruling class. Not only were they merchants, landowners and military leaders, but they also basically formed the government of these regions. In 1710, Russia became the new overlord of these regions. As a result, the Germans in this area were obliged to serve in the Russian Imperial forces. The Germans rapidly gained leading positions in these forces. In the Russian Imperial Navy, Baltic German captains sailed in the North Pacific area, particularly along the coasts of Siberia and Alaska. We will look at some of these captains and their role in naming places they visited and having places named after them. Among the most prominent are Adam Johann von Krusenstern, Ferdinand von Wrangel, Fabian von Bellingshausen and Otto von Kotzebue.

Keywords

Baltic Germans, Russian Imperial Navy, Alaska, Northern Pacific, toponymy

1. Brief historical overview of the Baltic Germans

From the thirteenth century onwards, Germans spread along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. While they were never more than 10% of the population in any of the regions, they were very prominent as merchants, teachers, doctors, architects, clergymen and administrators. In addition, in many areas they owned large estates together with their main manors. Most of these Germans were of an educated class and many of them belonged to the lower nobility (indicated by a *von* in their names). German became the language of many official documents in these areas. These areas comprised Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Courland and Livonia (the latter two for the most part form today's Latvia). Over the centuries, these countries had one of Poland, Sweden or Russia as an overlord country. Courland for a while during the 17th and 18th centuries enjoyed a form of independence. The country's rulers were German, for instance the Kettler and Biron families who supplied respectively seven and three of the Courland dukes.

What happened to this German-speaking population, known as the Baltic Germans? After the First World War, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became independent. A wave of nationalism swept the new states and the large estates of the Germans were expropriated. As a consequence a large number of the Germans left for Germany. In 1939, Germany signed a non-aggression treaty with Russia, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. This resulted in fear that Russia would invade Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Germany created a policy of "Heim ins Reich" (loosely translatable as "Return to the Homeland, the German Reich") and in December 1939 and early 1940 large numbers of Baltic Germans left for Germany; there were large transports of Baltic Germans by ship. After the Second World War, the Russians expelled most of the Germans that were still left in the Baltic countries. If we take Estonia as an example, we can follow the effects of these historical events in the number of ethnic Germans according to the Estonian census (Statistics Estonia, n.d.; "Demographics of Estonia", 2021); especially in later years, 'ethnic Germans' as a census category will contain many who are not historically or culturally 'Baltic Germans'. In 1897, there were 33,362 ethnic Germans (3.5% of the population); in 1922, 18,319 (1.7%); in 1934, 16,346 (1.5%); in 1959, only 670 (0.1%); in 1970, 7,850 (0.6%); in 1989, 3,466 (0.2%); in 2000, 1,870 (0.1%); in 2011, 1,544 (0.1%); and in 2021, 2,570 (0.2%).

There has been a slight increase in the number of ethnic Germans in recent years, but their number is a tiny fraction of the total population.

We will now return to the historical period relevant to our topic.

2. Baltic Germans in the Russian Imperial Navy

In the early 18th century, Russia became overlord of Estonia, Courland and Livonia. Many German-speaking families sent their sons to Russian military academies, with the result that these German speakers rose to senior positions in the various Russian forces. In the army, we have such generals as Alexander Wilhelm Andreas Freiherr [Baron] von Kaulbars (1844–1925) who was a general of the Russian Cavalry, but who also was one of the originators of the Russian air force during the First World War; and Paul von Rennenkampf (1854–1918), a general in the Russian Army during the First World War, commanded the Russian First Army during the battle at Tannenberg in East Prussia (Rennenkampf was executed by the Bolsheviks in 1918). The Russians lost this battle; the German army was commanded by Paul von Hindenburg (not a Baltic German), who later became president of Germany. In the Russian Imperial Navy in the nineteenth century, there were Baltic German captains who, as explorers and sailors across all of the world oceans, acted as representatives of Russia. They were particularly important in maintaining the Russian presence in eastern Siberia and Alaska.

2.1. Von Krusenstern

One of the most prominent Baltic German captains was Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846; Ivan Fyodorovich Kruzenshtern in Russian). He is known for being the first to captain a Russian ship in a circumnavigation of the globe (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911b). He set out in 1803 and returned to St. Petersburg in 1806. He had sailed around Cape Horn to the northern Pacific, Japan and Eastern Siberia. After this, he returned via the Cape of Good Hope. He wrote a book reporting on his trip: “Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803,

1804, 1805 und 1806 auf Befehl seiner Kaiserlichen Majestaet Alexander des Ersten auf den Schiffen Nadeshda und Newa unter dem Kommando des Capitaens von der Kaiserl. Marine A. J. von Krusenstern". It was published in 1811 and soon translations appeared in English, French, Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Italian (but not in Russian).

Several locations were named in his honour. There is a *Cape Krusenstern* in Northwest Alaska and a group of small uninhabited islands (*Krusenstern Islands*) in the Kara Sea, north of Siberia, south of Novaya Zemlya. For a time also Little Diomede Island in the Bering Sea and the Ailuk Atoll in the Marshall Islands carried the name of *Krusenstern Island*. There is even a crater on the Moon bearing the *Krusenstern* name.

There are also two ships named in his honour: the Russian ice-breaker *Ivan Kruzenshtern* and the Russian training tall ship *Kruzenshtern*. For the 200th anniversary of Krusenstern's circumnavigation, the tall ship retraced his route in 2005–2006.

Von Krusenstern published an atlas, "Atlas de L'Océan Pacifique", in 1824 and a second edition later in 1835. In it, he decided to change the name of the Hervey Islands (named by Captain James Cook in honour of Augustus John Hervey, 3rd Earl Bristol, who was Lord of the Admiralty in 1775; actually Cook named only one uninhabited island, Manuae, but the name was given later to all 15 islands in the group). Von Krusenstern gave the southern Hervey islands the name Cook Islands, in honour of Captain Cook. The whole of the island group was given the name of Cook Islands in 1901 by New Zealand. Now there is a discussion in the islands as to whether to rename them in order to remove a vestige of the colonization by Great Britain.

Another Baltic German, Otto von Kotzebue (more on him below), later discovered the Tikehau atoll, in the Tuamoto Archipelago, 12 kilometres west of Rangiroa, 340 kilometres northeast of Tahiti, and named the atoll after *von Krusenstern*. It lost this name when the French took over these islands and gave it its new native name, Tikehau.

On the von Krusenstern voyage, there were other Baltic Germans. Noteworthy were a young officer Fabian Gottlieb Thaddeus von Bellingshausen (1778–1852; Faddej Faddeevich Bellinsgauzen in Russian), and a sixteen-year-old Otto von Kotzebue (1787–1846). Both von Bellingshausen and von Kotzebue would later make a name for themselves with their own voyages of exploration and world circumnavigation. All of them also made significant contributions to naming.

2.2. Von Bellingshausen

Von Bellingshausen was appointed to command a Russian circumnavigation of the globe in 1819–1821 (Armstrong, 1971; Tammiksaar, 2016). Rather than heading for Alaska and the Northern Pacific, he headed for the Southern Pacific and the Antarctic area. He was the first explorer to see land in the Antarctic on January 27, 1820 and he was the first explorer to discover the continent itself and sail completely around it, circumnavigating it twice. Several locations have been named in his honour: *Bellingshausen Island*, part of the South Sandwich Islands, *Bellingshausen Sea* in the Southern Ocean and *Bellingshausen Station*, the Russian Base in the Antarctic. The airstrip on this Russian base also serves other nearby bases, including an American base. Touristic tours by air from Punta Arenas in Chile and Ushuaia in Argentina to the Antarctic land on the *Bellingshausen airstrip*. Unusually, his first name was given to the uninhabited *Faddey islands*[1] in the Laptev Sea north of Siberia. Other than with saints and royalty it is extremely unusual to use a man's first name for a place name; sometimes the full name occurs, but just a first name is unusual (Embleton, 1983).

Not only do we see his name in the Antarctic. In the Pacific, the Motu One atoll (Motu One = Sandy Land) in the Society Islands (14 islands, including Tahiti, Bora Bora and Moorea) was earlier also known as *Bellingshausen atoll*. His name even appears beyond Earth. *Bellinsauzen*[2] is a crater on the far side of the moon and *3659 Bellingshausen* is a minor planet outside our solar system, discovered by a Russian astronomer in 1969.

[1] *Faddey* is the Russian version of Thaddeus, von Bellingshausen's first name. There may be another possible explanation. One of the anonymous reviewers of this paper remarks that Russian Wikipedia says that these islands were named after saint Faddey in 1739, not after Bellingshausen's first name, and ascribes the naming to Khariton Laptev ("Ostrova Faddeya", 2023). Detailed archival research, impossible for us to carry out, might resolve the difference. Toponymy in North America and the Caribbean has many examples where a place is named after a saint, but that is also the first name of the founder/discoverer.

[2] *Bellinsauzen* is the Russian version of *Bellingshausen*, once the Cyrillic script has been transliterated into Roman letters.

2.3. Von Kotzebue

The second young Baltic German sailor who accompanied von Krusenstern on his voyage was Otto von Kotzebue[3] (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911a; "Otto von Kotzebue", 2018; Kau Manor, n.d.). Otto von Kotzebue later commanded his own two voyages into the Pacific, his first in 1815–1818 and his second in 1823–1826. Von Kotzebue discovered and named the Romanzov Islands.[4] As well, he named the Rurik Islands, after his ship, the brig *Rurik*. Von Kotzebue continued his travels along the Alaskan coast and discovered and named *Kotzebue Sound*. Now there is a town located on this sound which was named *Kotzebue* in his honour in 1861. Kotzebue has about 3,200 inhabitants and is a major centre in Alaska, located about 33 miles north of the Arctic Circle.

The purpose of von Kotzebue's second voyage (1823–1826) was to bring military reinforcements to Kamchatka on the Eastern Russian Asian Coast. However, the voyage also contributed to correcting existing charts and collecting new botanical and zoological specimens. A species of butterfly in the Philippines (*Pachliopta kotzebuea*) and the North American flower, *Kotzebue's grass of Parnassus* (*Parnassia kotzebuei*), were named after him (Kau Manor, n.d.). His family's coat of arms features the California poppy (*Eschscholzia californica*, see below).

2.4. Von Eschscholtz

Another Baltic German, Johann Friedrich Gustav von Eschscholtz (1793–1830), signed on for both of Kotzebue's voyages. He acted as the medical officer, having obtained his medical degree from the University at Dorpat just before the first voyage.[5] He also was very interested in flora, insects and butterflies in destinations such as California and Hawaii (McKelvey, 1998), and his botanical and insect collections were deposited at the natural museums of the universities in Dorpat (Tartu) and Moscow.

[3] Otto von Kotzebue's father, August von Kotzebue, was a prominent German playwright of conservative leanings, assassinated in 1819 by a militant member of the Burschenschaften (student associations with liberal ideas, founded in the 19th century in Germany).

[4] Romanzov is derived from Nikolay Rumyantsev, the Chancellor of the Russian Empire, who financed the Kotzbue expedition.

[5] Dorpat, in Estonia, is now Tartu.

Von Kotzebue named an atoll in the Marshall Islands in Eschscholtz's honour, as well as a small bay east of Kotzebue Sound in Alaska. Adalbert von Chamisso (not a Baltic German), the botanist on the first von Kotzebue voyage named the California poppy in von Eschscholtz's honour, *Eschscholzia californica*. Von Chamisso, born in France, is better known as a poet and short story writer of the German Romantic period; he was also the director of the Berlin Botanical Gardens.

The *Eschscholtz Atoll* was also named the Bikini Atoll during the German colonial period of the Marshall Islands (1899–1914). When it became a Japanese territory during and after the First World War both names seem to have been used. After the Second World War, the Marshall Islands became a territory of the US and the atoll from 1946 onwards was exclusively named Bikini Atoll. Bikini is derived from the Marshallese word *Pikinni* (*pik* means 'place or land' and *ni* is 'coconut'). Shortly after the US exploded their first two atomic bombs on the island, a French fashion designer, Louis Réand, introduced a two-piece bathing suit he considered like an atomic explosion in the fashion world. Perhaps also there was a faulty assumption that *bi* meant 'two' and *ini* made it sound little. Later, this faulty assumption led to an actual reanalysis of the word with *bi* meaning "two", leading to the creation of *monokini* (bottom half of a bikini only) and in 2020 *trikini* (a bikini with matching face mask).

2.5. Von Wrangel

Of the Baltic German sailors and explorers not associated with the von Krusenstern expeditions, perhaps Ferdinand Friedrich Georg Ludwig Freiherr [Baron] von Wrangel (1797–1870) is the most noteworthy. He rose to the rank of Admiral and was Minister of the Navy. He also was founder of the Russian Geographic Society. He made several journeys to Alaska and the Russian settlements in California. He made a journey there overland through Siberia (O'Grady, 2001) and two journeys by sea (1817–1819 and 1825–1827), which ended up as circumnavigations of the earth. He acted as resident Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company in Novo-Arkhangelsk/New Archangel, the capital of Russian America from 1808 to 1867, when Russia sold Alaska to the US (Pierce, 1990, p. 547). Novo-Arkhangelsk/New Archangel is now Sitka, population about 8,900. Von Wrangel was honoured by various place names in Alaska: *Wrangell Island*, *Cape Wrangell*, *Wrangell-Saint Elias National Park*,

Wrangell Mountains, and a large volcano, *Mount Wrangell*. There is also a small town named *Wrangell* with a population of about 2,300. A Russian island in the Chukchi Sea, part of the Arctic Ocean, is named *Wrangel Island* (north of the most eastern part of Siberia). Also, a deeper part of the Arctic Ocean north of Siberia is called the *Wrangel Plain*. It should be noted that in Alaska, *Wrangel* is spelled with two *L*'s and in Russia with one. However, it is the same person honoured in both locations with place and sea names.

There are three other Baltic German individuals who can be especially mentioned as leaving an imprint on place names: von Hagemeister, von Lütke and von Middendorff.

2.6. Von Hagemeister

Ludwig Karl August von Hagemeister (1780–1833; also known in Russian as Leonty Andrianovich Gagemeyster), after serving as a volunteer midshipman in the Russian Imperial Navy from 1795, joined the British Royal Navy in 1802. In 1806, he left the British Navy when he was appointed captain of the Russian ship *Newa* (one of Krusenstern's ships – see the title of Krusenstern's publication above). He travelled to Eastern Siberia and Alaska (Pierce, 1990, pp. 185–187). On his voyage to New Archangel (now Sitka) he stopped in Australia – the first Russian ship to do so. He also stopped in Hawaii to pick up a load of salt, a necessary preservative in those days. In 1810, he departed for his journey back to St. Petersburg. He did this by travelling overland through Siberia. Von Hagemeister started his second trip to New Archangel in 1816. The purpose of this trip was to investigate the Russian administration in Alaska, as some problems with the administration's finances had been reported. While in New Archangel, von Hagemeister dismissed the manager of the Russian-American Company and assumed the post for part of the year 1818. He returned to Russia in October 1818. In 1828–1829, von Hagemeister made his third circumnavigation of the world. On his way back to New Archangel, von Hagemeister spent some time in the area of the Marshall Islands, plotting their exact location and, in particular, he surveyed the Menshikov Atoll (now Kwajalein, one of the world's largest coral atolls). In Alaska, *Hagemeister Island* and next to it, the *Hagemeister Strait*, were named after him.

2.7. Von Lütke

Friedrich Benjamin Graf [Count/Earl] von Lütke (1797–1882) was an Arctic explorer, geographer and mariner, rising to the rank of Admiral in 1855 (Alekseev, 1996). From 1817 to 1819, he was on a world voyage on the ship *Kamchatka*, captained by Vasily Golovin. One of his crewmates was Ferdinand von Wrangel. A group of islands in Franz Josef Land, and another in the Nordenskiöld Archipelago, as well as a strait between Kamchatka and Karaginsky Island were named after von Lütke. His main contribution was in 1827, with his surveys of the Pribilof and Commander Islands and the Siberian coast. He also named some geographic features of the Alaska coast, such as the Walrus, Kritskoi and Kudobin islands. Named after him in Alaska was *Cape Lütke* and in the Arctic Ocean 350 kilometres north of Svalbard/Spitsbergen, we have the *Lütke/Litke Deep*,[6] 5,400 meters/17,881 feet below sea level.

2.8. Von Middendorff

Alexander Theodor von Middendorff (1815–1894) was not connected to the navy. He was a scientist with multiple interests (Tammiksaar & Stone, 2007). He studied medicine at Dorpat (Tartu) University and graduated in 1837 with a thesis written in Latin. Then he studied for two years at four different German universities. In 1839, he became an Assistant Professor of Zoology at Kiev University. In 1840, he travelled through Russian and Norwegian Lapland and crossed the Kola Peninsula on foot. While there, he collected zoological and botanical specimens. Later, in 1843–1845, he travelled to the Taymyr Peninsula and the Northern and Eastern regions of Siberia. He charted this entire area and again collected zoological and botanical specimens. He published a description of this trip in German (“Reise in den äußersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens”). The Latin name for the Kodiak bear recalls Middendorff: *Ursus arctos middendorffi*. There are place names in northern Siberia with his name: *Middendorff Bay* on the Taymyr Peninsula and *Cape Middendorff* on Novaya Zemlya.

[6] Lütke is Litke in Russian.

3. Conclusions

The Baltic German navigators and explorers we have mentioned all made their journeys in the first half of the nineteenth century, a time when there were still areas of the world not known to Europeans. In particular, there were still islands in the Pacific Ocean, uncharted parts of the north-west coast of North America, the north coast of Siberia and the islands lying off its coast, as well as all of the Antarctic, whose interior of course also had yet to be charted.

It was common not only to have sailors on board, but also zoologists, botanists, and ornithologists, as well as painters and sketch artists to capture new geographical features and also inhabitants that looked very different from Europeans. This was common on the ships from all nations, not only the German-Russian ones. Another feature was that captains, as well as some other members of the crew, kept careful notes of their voyage. These notes were often published and reports of this kind often ran to three or four volumes. While the officers on ships captained by Baltic Germans were German-speaking, for the most part, the ordinary sailors were Russian-speaking. So the officers were usually bilingual (German and Russian). Ships arriving back in Europe often carried extensive collections of mounted beetles, butterflies and insects, and many examples of different plants and fruits. Of course, these newly discovered plants and insects were mostly given new names, often referring to sponsors of expeditions or to senior members of the crew. That topic will have to wait for future onomastic research.

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Interconnections Between Toponym Etymology and Historical Dialectology

Abstract

Certain dialectal phonological oppositions can be especially complex in terms of their genesis. The phonological binaries developing as a result of various changes may also reflect different attributes in terms of both chronology and regional variation. Thus, when conducting studies in historical dialectology, the investigation of sound changes behind dialectal phonological oppositions is a priority. This necessitates the etymological analysis of toponyms or their appellative components serving as records of such phonological oppositions. I discuss how toponym etymology may prove useful for historical dialectology. The awareness of the etymology of certain toponyms may indicate early phonological changes that could not otherwise be detected due to lack of data. In other cases, it is exactly toponym etymology that may help us argue that variability between data is not the result of sound changes but only of orthographic inconsistency. I also wish to highlight that toponym etymology does not always provide strong guidance for historical dialectology. The weakness of such studies is often represented by uncertain etymologies that only refer to deduced personal names or toponymic etymons.

Keywords

toponym etymology, phonology, historical dialectology

1.

In this paper, I discuss a narrower aspect of the interconnections between toponym etymology and historical dialectology, namely, the etymological background of phonological oppositions in Old Hungarian. Dialectal phonological oppositions can be rather complex in terms of their genesis, with different underlying processes of change being discernible in the background. The phonological binaries, variations developing as a result of this, may reflect different attributes in terms of both chronology and regional variation. Therefore, when conducting studies in historical dialectology, the investigation of sound changes behind phonological oppositions presents itself as a key task. At the same time, the exploration of sound changes cannot take place successfully without the etymological analysis of those specific linguistic data in which the phonological oppositions can be documented in Old Hungarian. This primarily means the etymological study of the toponymic data of charters and the proper name and their appellative components (in relation to the source characteristics of the age referred to as the early Old Hungarian Era, 895–1350). In this paper, therefore, I discuss how toponym etymology may prove useful in studies of historical dialectology, while I also wish to highlight those cases in which studies in historical dialectology cannot rely on toponym etymology (or can do so only to a limited extent). I illustrate the above with examples of oppositions of various forms from Old Hungarian, including the presence or absence of the *l* sound, as well as *i* ~ *ü*, *ë* ~ *ö*, *i* ~ *ë*, *é* ~ *í*.

2.

Toponyms in Hungarian could be formed from anthroponyms, common noun antecedents, and we may also talk about loans coming from other languages. When presenting various phenomena, I will discuss these etymological layers separately.

2.1.

One of the types of dialectal variants showing phonological opposition is represented by those examples in which, besides the chronology of the data, we may also draw conclusions about the direction of phonological changes based on the **anthroponym etymons** and their antecedents.

For example, the settlement name *Beken(y)* has both labial [bekön(y) ~ bekün(y)] and illabial data [bekën(y) ~ bekin(y)] in sources ([1193–6]/1216: Sulga*bekin* ~ 1318/1325: *Bekun*, Bács County, Gy. 1, p. 214). Of these, the original status of the illabial form seems to be more plausible due to the also illabial *Beken(y)* form of the anthroponym base word (cf. 1138/1329: *Beken*, personal name, FNESz.). The chronological relationship between the labial [kerecsöny ~ kerecsüny] and illabial forms [kerecsëny] in the settlement name *Kerecsen(y)* (1327: *Kerechen* ~ 1324: *Kerechun*, Gy. 1, p. 542) can be established in a similar way. It was the anthroponym *Kerecsen(y)* (cf. 1274 k.: *Kerechen*, personal name, FNESz.), that served as the basis of this name, which can be derived from the old Hungarian *kerecsen* 'a type of falcon' noun (FNESz.).

Personal name etymons may prove to be useful for us in many other cases as well when trying to decide which form was primary in Old Hungarian: the one containing the *l* sound, or the one without it. We may include the toponyms whose personal name antecedents also include the *l* sound among those that originally used the *l* sound as well. Thus, for example, the toponym *Rátót*, supported by data showing both the [rátolt] and [rátót] forms (1283: *Ratold*, Pest County, Gy. 4, p. 554, 1460: *Ratholth*falwa, Vas County, Cs. 2, p. 788 ~ 1428: *Rathod*folua, Vas County, Cs. 2, p. 788), was created metonymically from an anthroponym, and it is not only the personal name base word in Hungarian sources that contains the *l* sound but also its German anthroponym antecedent (cf. 1203: *Ratolt*, personal name, cf. Old German personal name *Ratold*, *Ratolt*, FNESz.; Bahlow, 1980, p. 402). The dropping of the *l* sound and the concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel (*ol* > *ó*) is thus the result of a secondary sound change in this name.

In other cases, the foreign language antecedent of the personal name confirms just the opposite, that is, that the *l* was added to the toponym in a secondary manner. Data of the settlement name *Gyirmót* appear in both [gyirmót] and [gyërmolt] sound forms (1267: *Giurmoth*, Cs. 3, p. 549 ~ 1338: *Germolth*, Győr County, Gy. 2, p. 589). As etymologically the settlement name may be associated with the Old German personal name *Germoud* ~ *Germout* and the

German family name *Germut* (FNESz.; Bényei & Pethő, 1998, pp. 15–16), we may reconstruct the changes of the two forms: *gyirmót* > *gyërmolt*. We can also witness the insertion of the *l* in the case of the settlement name of *Bogád*, data of which appear in [bogád] and [bogáld] forms (1276: *Bugad* ~ 1332–5/PR.: *Bogald*, Baranya County, Gy. 1, p. 287), and which derives from the anthroponym *Bogát* (cf. 1211: *Bogat*, anthroponym, FNESz.) and the Slavic linguistic antecedent (cf. Serbo-Croatian *Bogat*, personal name, FNESz.) of this personal name also appears without *l*.

2.2.

The foreign language **equivalents** of **loan names** may also serve as guidelines when defining the chronological relations of variants. Today's settlement name *Csetnek* can be found in medieval records both with a labial and illabial vowel (in the second syllable): showing [csitnik] and [csitnük] forms (1258/1334: *Chythnik* ~ 1258/1336>1430: *Chytnuk*, Gömör County, Gy. 2, p. 490). The name is of Slavic origin and the Slavic linguistic form has an illabial second syllable vowel (cf. Slovak *Štítnik*, FNESz.), and based on this we may suppose the primacy of the illabial form among these variants.

In connection with another type of variant, the names featuring the *é* ~ *í* opposition, we may use the example of the settlement name of *Eszék*. The settlement name shows an *é* ~ *í* opposition, [eszék] ~ [eszík] variants in its second syllable in old Hungarian (1196>454, 1330, 1332–5/PR.: *Ezeek*, *Essek* ~ 1339: *Ezyk*, KMHsz. 1, p. 93), and of these it is also the Slavic linguistic antecedent that makes the primacy of the *é* form plausible. The toponym *Eszék* is of Southern Slavic origin and the Slavic language connection confirms the primacy of the *é* form (cf. Serbo-Croatian *Òsek* ~ *Òsijek*, FNESz.).

2.3.

Among toponyms based on appellatives we may also find examples in which the etymology of the base word may help us decide the relationship between the variants. Some Hungarian appellatives with an *i* ~ *ü* opposition have roots in ancient times and the corresponding words in related languages may help us establish the relationship between the labial and illabial forms. For

example, parallels from related languages may help us in connection with the toponyms including the appellative *fil* ~ *fül* 'ear' (1323: *File*, Gy. 2, p. 386 ~ 1268/347: *Fyul*, HA. 3, p. 61). It confirms the primacy of the illabial form that in languages related to Hungarian, for example in Vogul, the lexeme also has an illabial form in records (vog. *pil'* 'ear', Benkő, 1957, p. 17; TESz.). We need to add, however, that a connection with the anthroponym *Fülöp* ~ *Filep* is also an option in the etymology of these names.

3.

At the same time, toponym etymology does not always provide reliable guidance for studies in historical dialectology. We need to be careful especially with those etymologies which rely on inferred etymons. We can find such examples in all three toponym categories.

3.1.

The abundant records of the settlement name *Köröskény* include a great variety of phonological forms: [keriskíny] ~ [kereskény] ~ [kerüskény] ~ [kürüskény] ~ [köröskény] (1240: *Keryskyn*, Gy. 4, p. 414 ~ 1290 k.: *Keresken*, Gy. 3, p. 206 ~ 1292 [ɔ: 1296]: *Kerusken* ~ 1301: *Kurusken*, Gy. 4, p. 414). According to publications in toponym etymology, the settlement name was formed from an anthroponym, and the personal name used as its basis is probably of Old Turkic origin (cf. Old Turkic **keriškän* 'litigant', FNESz.). The problem is caused partly by the fact that the personal name has no records in Hungarian and partly because the antecedent Old Turkic form is also only an inferred one, and thus we cannot establish with certainty the relationship between the name variants.

Data of names including **common nouns** or having a common noun antecedent also illustrate well the uncertain situation caused by the inferred forms in the etymology of these names. In the case of many Hungarian words with an Old Turkic origin, for example, the inferred etymon causes uncertainty. Thus, for example, the word *iker* 'twin' can be found in sources both in the

labial [ikür ~ ikör] and the illabial [ikir ~ ikër] form (in its second syllable) (1095: *ikir*bucur, OklSz., p. 80 ~ +1214: *Ykvr*tou, Nyitra County, HA. 4, p. 59), and based on the Old Turkic component (cf. **ikir*, WOT.): so we may consider the illabial form to be primary only with uncertainty. What is more, this uncertainty is made even more complicated by the fact that the Old Turkic forms were usually reconstructed while relying on the old form of Hungarian words with a Turkic origin.

The situation is similar in the case of the word *berkenye* 'sorbus', which also appears in early sources both in a labial [berekünye ~ berekönye] and illabial [berkinye ~ brekinye] form (1274: *Brekyne*, *Berkyne*, TESz. ~ 1278: *berecune*, Gy. 4, p. 265). Of these, based on the inferred Slavic **brěkynja* we suspect that the illabial form was primary, but again, this cannot be stated with certainty (TESz.; Kiss, 1995, p. 16).

The settlement name of *Kartolc* is a **loan toponym**, data of which include the [kartóc] and [kartolc] variants (1156: *Kortouc* ~ 1349: *Kartholc*, Nyitra County, Gy. 4, p. 404). The perception of the relationship between the variants is made uncertain, however, by the fact that the original Slavic form is only the inferred Slovak **Krtovci* toponym (FNESz.; Tóth, 2004, p. 455).

3.2.

In other cases, the establishment of the direction of changes between phonological variants is difficult because the etymology of the given linguistic element (appellative or toponym) is either uncertain or unknown.

In the case of **common nouns** of an unknown origin (also occurring as parts of toponyms) and showing a labial ~ illabial opposition as, for example, *bükk* 'beech' [bik] ~ [bük] (1259/1390/1454: *byk*few, Kraszna County, HA. 3, p. 73 ~ 1228/1305/1361: *Buk*, Komárom County, HA. 3, p. 60) and *üreg* 'hole, cavern' [ireg] ~ [irüg] (1113: *Erig*, Nyitra County, Gy. 4, p. 482 ~ 1229: *Irug*, Bihar County, HA. 1, p. 80; cf. TESz.; EWUng.; Zaicz, 2006), at most it is the frequency of labial and illabial forms and the first occurrence of data that may serve as points of reference when determining the primary form (TESz.; FNESz.; Póczos, 2001, p. 49; Rácz, 2007, p. 298).

The establishment of the chronological relationship is difficult also if there are several possibilities that may be considered in connection with the etymology of a given **toponym.** For example, the names *Köre* (1332–7/PR.: *Kerey*

~ 1323: *Kure*, Gy. 3, p. 110) and *Körű* (1326: *Kereu* ~ 1245: *Curu*, Gy. 3, p. 110) (cf. 1459: *Kwre*, family name, FNESz.) can be listed among those which originally included a labial vowel if the personal name serving as its basis is really connected to the Old Turkic personal name *Kürü* and the Old Turkic common noun *kür* 'brave, bold' (FNESz.). It is more likely, however, that these names derive from a Hungarian participle meaning 'turning' (derived from the verb **ker-* ~ **kör-*), thus the labial primary phonological form is less justified (FNESz., Juhász, 1979, pp. 445–455).

4.

In certain cases, the etymology of the toponyms may make us think of such earlier sound changes which we would not necessarily consider based purely on toponymic data. Although these names do not show phonological oppositions, they may have a role in defining the regional basis of a particular phonological change.

4.1.

This is the case, for example, with the insertion of *l* if we cannot find a form without *l* among the records of the toponym and it is only the relevant **personal name etymon** that indicates the secondary addition of *l* to it. The settlement name of *Cselcsény*, for example, has records only with *l* in medieval sources (1328: *Chelchen*, Hont County, Gy. 3, p. 251), however, as *Csécsény* was formed from an anthroponym (cf. 1164–5: *Chechen*, personal name, FNESz. *Csécsény*), we may suspect the secondary presence of *l* in it.

4.2.

The insertion of *l* does not cause a phonological opposition in certain data of a **common noun** origin either, thus we may find records of this element containing *l* only during the Old Hungarian Era (895–1350) in the entire language area. Based on the etymology of the common noun, however, we may still suspect the *l* insertion, for example, in the case of the settlement name of *Bocsárd* (1327: *Bolchard*, Abaúj County, Gy. 1, p. 69), which was created from the old Hungarian occupational name *bocsár* 'cooper, cup bearer' (cf. 1211: *Bocar*, EWUng., 1237–40: *buchardionis*, FNESz.). The *l* of the derivative word *hold* 'moon' may also be the result of subsequent insertion based on the etymology of the common noun as it was created from the noun *hó* 'moon, month' with the *-d* diminutive (1309/Cod.: *Huld*uualach, Alsó-Fehér County, Gy. 2, p. 165) (TESz.; EWUng.; Nyirkos, 1987, p. 128).

5.

In other cases, it is exactly based on toponym etymology that we may argue that variability in data is not a result of sound changes but only of orthographic inconsistency at the time.

During the early Old Hungarian Era (895–1350), for example, the sound value of the *i* and *y* letters could be both *i* and *ë*, thus without adequate etymological information we cannot decide conclusively if the data reflect the same phonological form, while the marking of the *ë* sound with the *i*, *y* and *e* letters or an actual underlying *i* ~ *ë* entail a phonological and possibly even dialectal difference. The plant name *körtvély* 'pear', for example, often appears in sources as a common noun or a toponym component in rather diverse forms (+1275[XIV.]: *Kirtuiles*, *Kyrtuiles*, [kirtvílyes ~ kërtvílyes], Gy. 3, p. 110, 1295/423: *Kerthwel*er, [kërtvély-], Gy. 1, p. 510 ~ 1256: kehtheus *kurtuwel*fa, [kürtüvély- ~ körtövély-], Gy. 3, p. 108). The forms written with *i* ~ *y* among the records, however, tend to reflect an orthographic feature based on the etymology of the word and not an *i* ~ *ë* dialectal duality. The supposed Hungarian base form of *körtvély* was **kertβeli*, which may derive from the Old Turkic **kertweliγ* or

**kertmeliy* antecedent (WOT.). Also based on the etymological background, we may suppose that in the case of *szeg* 'corner, protrusion, peak, part of a village, area' (1270: Ilsua*zyg*, Gy. 4, p. 523 ~ 1293: Luka*zeg*, Gy. 1, p. 488 ~ +1256: Molun*zug*, Gy. 1, p. 864) the form written with *y* is pronounced with *ë*. The *szeg* found in records in toponyms is probably the same as the appellative *szeg* 'pointed iron tool', representing a version separated from it semantically. The latter is an ancient remnant from the Ugor era and the Ugor base form could be **śeŋkɜ* (TESz.; UEW.).

6.

The knowledge of the etymology of toponyms featuring a phonological opposition is also essential in historical dialectology because it may happen that the frequency of a certain phonological opposition is influenced by the etymological attributes of the toponyms.

6.1.

In many cases we may suppose, for example, the creation of forms with the subsequent insertion of *l* in the case of toponyms deriving from Slavic languages. Among the forms inserting the *l* sound, those Slavic toponyms are represented in a high number in the case of which the Slavic topoformants –(*ov*)*ica*, -**ovьcь*/**-evьcь* are replaced in Hungarian by the -*óc* and -*olc* forms (Tóth, 2004, p. 454; Kenyhercz, 2014, p. 206), for example *Babócsa* (1289: *Bobocha*, [bobócsa ~ babócsa] ~ 1313: *Bobolcha*, [bobolcsa ~ babolcsa], Gy. 1, p. 275, cf. Bulgarian *Бобовица* placename, Serbo-Croatian *Bòbovica* placename, Slovak *Bobovica* placename, FNESz.), *Daróca* (1281: *Darucha*, [daróca ~ darúca], Gy. 1, p. 249 ~ 1349: *Darolcha*, [darolca], Baranya County, Gy. 1, p. 278, loaning of the South Slavic *Dravica*, FNESz. *Darócaköz*), *Garbolc* (1229/1550: *Gurbuc* [gorbóc] ~ 1339>348: *Gorbolc*, [gorbolc], Németh, 2008, p. 91; cf. Serbo-Croatian *Grabovac*, Slovak *Hrabovec*, FNESz.; Mező & Németh, 1972, p. 46; Kiss, 1995, p. 19).

It is also frequent, however, that the Slavic formant *-*ovьcь*/*-*evьcь* appears in Hungarian with the *olc* ending and the form without *l* has no records at all during the era, for example *Tiszolc* (1334: *Tyzolch*, [tiszolc], Hont County, Gy. 3, p. 273, cf. Serbo-Croatian *Tisovac* placename, Slovenian *Tisovec* placename, Slovak *Tisovec*, FNESz.), *Varsolc* (13[41]: *Worsolch*, [vorsolc] ~ [varsolc], Kraszna County, Gy. 3, p. 522, cf. Serbo-Croatian *Vrševac*, placename, *Vrševce*, placename, FNESz.; Tóth, 2004, p. 455).

The fact that the frequency of the *ó* > *ol* change is influenced by the above-detailed etymological attributes of toponyms is made even clearer by the findings of Valéria Tóth. She argues that this change is especially rare among common nouns and the name ending *-olc(s)* is typically a toponymic phonological type (Tóth, 2004, pp. 456–457).

6.2.

Among the names with the opposition *é* ~ *í*, it may also be the attributes related to their origin that influence the presence of certain phonological forms. If, for example, data of the antecedents of a toponym containing *é* are written mostly with *i* or *y*, we may suspect an *í* > *é* direction of change in the name. The features of the names belonging here, however, indicate that in their case we may witness not only phonological changes. The early status of certain data with *í* may also be related to the fact that the *-in* affix that is frequent in Slavic could become an ending *-ény* due to the influence of the other settlement names with an ending *ány/-ény*, for example Sl. *Sajtin* > Hungarian *Sajtény* (cf. Bényei, 2012, pp. 106–107). This may be considered in the case of *Lébény* and *Trencsén* as well, as revealed by data (1208: *Libin*, *Libyn* ~ 1267: *Liben*, Cs. 3, p. 683, cf. Czech *Libín*, placename, Polish *Lubin*, placename, FNESz., 1208: *Trincin* ~ 1243: *Trenchen*, Trencsén County, FN., p. 79, cf. Old Slovak **Trnčin* > * *Trnčín*, FNESz.). This process of change in the case of names discussed here practically indicates the adaptation of Slavic linguistic forms to the Hungarian language. All this makes the belonging of data both with *i* and *y* to the Hungarian name system (or the sound value of the recorded *i*, *y*, *í* letters) dubious, simultaneously with the existence of the *é* ~ *í* opposition within the same group of language users.

7.

In this paper I wished to introduce the extent to which the results of studies in historical dialectology depend on the exploration of etymological features. Although the awareness of the etymology of a given toponym or common noun may provide a reference point when assessing phonological oppositions, it is still important to emphasize that based on the etymology of names and their early historical data, the likelihood of establishing primary forms varies. It is also obvious, however, that such types of studies are inseparable from the most recent results of etymological descriptions. In this regard, although Hungarian research on historical dialectology may rely on the most recent etymological findings of Turkology (see WOT.; Honti, 2017), the etymological studies regarding Slavic loan words have changed little in the past 65–70 years. Therefore, such a renewal in the field of Slavic studies would certainly provide a huge impetus also for research in historical dialectology and phonology.

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On the Slavicity of Several Place Names in North-Eastern Bavaria

Abstract

In his 2015 PhD thesis (published 2016) J. Andraschke investigated the oldest Germanic layers of names in North-Eastern Bavaria. In the course of the book the author deprived more than three dozen toponyms of their (traditional) Slavic etymologies and claimed them to be of West Germanic origin. This was mostly done without really discussing the Slavic etymologies. This author's research done into the etymologies of those names, however, betrays a certain lack of knowledge of historical phonology. A re-evaluation of the data showed that hardly any of those West-Germanic etymologies are better than any of the 'traditional' Slavic ones. As examples will serve *Feustritz*/*Pewstritz*/*Beußdrytz* < Comm. Slav. **bystrica* 'quickly flowing river' (not < WGerm. **fû-str-itja-* 'foul ground'?), *Gleußen* < Comm. Slav. **glušina* 'thicket, bushes' (not < WGerm. **glūsina* 'glow'), *Feuln* < Comm. Slav. **bylina* 'kind of plant' (not < WGerm. **fūlina* 'foul ground, swamp'?). Finally, a new etymology can be proposed for the microtoponym *Keltz* (which the above-mentioned author in his PhD thesis unconvincingly connected with some other toponyms in North-Western Germany). It seems much easier to derive it from Comm. Slav. **kalьcь*, the diminutive to **kalъ* 'swamp, mud', a word which elsewhere in Slavic speaking communities also serves as (micro-)toponym.

Moreover, more precise criteria for giving the exact dates of when Slavic names were taken over into Old/Middle High German in North-Eastern Bavaria shall be given, where possible.

Keywords

Bavaria Slavica, Slavic toponyms, Slavic microtoponyms, Slavic phonology, German phonology

1. Preliminaries

The names to be dealt with in this paper stem from North-Eastern Bavaria. Under this name we mainly understand the Bavarian Regierungsbezirk Oberfranken/Upper Franconia but also the areas bordering on it in Unterfranken/Lower Franconia, Mittelfranken/Central Franconia and the Oberpfalz/the Upper Palatinate. This area shows a special and unique feature in its toponymic landscape in the context of Bavaria: a reasonable number of toponyms, microtoponyms and hydronyms of Slavic origin can be found here. These names were coined by Slavic settlers who had been arriving there most probably since the middle of the 8th century. Formerly the Slavs were thought to have arrived already a century earlier, but neither archaeological nor linguistic arguments support such an opinion any longer.[1]

Linguistic features, namely the results of the Common Slavic restructuring of syllables of the Proto-Slavic sequence *CVRC*, commonly known as the 'metathesis of liquids', show clearly that most of the area was settled by speakers of Sorbian dialects, coming from the North-East, from what is today Thuringia and Saxonia, while only a minor part in the South-East of North-Eastern Bavaria, that is, minor parts of Upper Franconia and parts of the Upper Palatinate, were settled by speakers of what we might call Proto-Czech. The best examples for this feature are names showing reflexes of PSlav. **TerT*, giving **TreT* in Proto-Sorbian, but **TrěT* in Proto-Czech or of PSlav. **TarT*, giving **TroT* in Proto-Sorbian, but **TraT* in Proto-Czech.[2]

[1] Cf. Hans Walther in Herrmann, 1985, pp. 25f. (= Walther, 1993, pp. 293f.); Fastnacht, 2000, pp. 34*f., 2007, pp. 77*–81*; Häusler, 2004, p. 38; Janka, 2007, p. 127; George, 2008, pp. 33*f.; Klír, 2016, pp. 328, 330, 2017, pp. 366, 394, 399, 2020, pp. 200, 229f., 252, 256, 258. In this context it is interesting that according to Klír (2020, pp. 243–245, 257f.) the early datings of the arrival of the Slavs are based either on merely speculative suppositions (immigration into a vacuum after the deletion of the realm of the Thuringians in 531 or after the defeat of the Frankish army near Wogastisburg in 631 respectively) or on (as is known now) wrong datings or ascriptions of the so called 'Slavic pottery of the Prague type': it comes to its end in the 8th century and can be found mainly in areas of North-Eastern Bavaria, where structurally old Slavic hydronyms and toponyms can*not* be found.

[2] Moreover, the results depend partially on the Proto-Slavic intonation: old acute syllables give long **ě̄* > OCz. *ie* > NCz. *í* while short/circumflexed **ě* gives OCz., NCz. *ě* (PSlav. **berˈzāˈ* > **bě́rza* > **brě̄za* > OCz. *břieza* > NCz. *bříza* 'birch-tree' vs. PSlav. **bergu* > **bêrgъ* > PCz. **brěgъ* > OCz.

Consequently, Bavarian Slavic was probably never a Slavic language of its own, separated from other Slavic languages by isoglosses, but it was rather (in most of the area) the south-westernmost extension of Proto-Sorbian and (on a much smaller area) the westernmost extension of Proto-Czech.

Early absorptions of Slavic names before the metathesis of liquids, that is before ca. 800[3] are rare, but they do exist (cf., e.g., *Perschen* formerly Landkreis/county Nabburg, now Landkreis/county Schwandorf: 798 *Bersana* [forgery ca. 1055, cop. second half of the 11th cent.], 1122 *Perssin*, before 1176 *Persin*). According to Schwarz (1960), this name is traditionally said to go back to Comm. Slav. **Beržane* 'people living at the riverside', a derivative of Comm. Slav. **bergъ* 'riverside';[4] alternatively we might ponder an etymology, explaining the name as Comm. Slav. **Berzina* (or **Beržane*) or rather (the less probable, according to Janka, 2011, p. 340) **Berzьn-* formed on the basis of a derivative of PSlav.[5] **berˈzāˈ* > **brěza* 'birch tree', or (which is less probable) Comm. Slav. **Beržьn-* from **bergъ* 'riverside'.

The toponyms of Slavic origin were given starting from the arrival of the Slavs in (the middle of) the 8th century. Soon after that the process of the absorption of these toponyms into Old High German, the language of the population already present in large parts of the area, started. The time of the absorption of Slavic names into Old High German cannot always be determined precisely, but with very few exceptions, such as the above mentioned *Perschen*, absorption started around 800 and continued until the 11th century. Hard facts are not available, but it is generally assumed that the Slavic language in North-Eastern Bavaria ceased to exist in the course of the 12th

břeh > NCz. *břeh* 'river-side'); on the other hand, in Proto-Sorbian we find (independently from Proto-Slavic intonations) **TreT* (but then further developments of the vowel take place, depending on its surroundings, cf. PSlav. **berˈzāˈ* f. > **bérza* f. > PSorb. **breza* f. > USorb. *brěza* f., LSorb. *brjaza* f. 'birch-tree' vs. PSlav. **bergu* m. > **bêrgъ* m. > PSorb. **bregъ* m. > USorb. *brjóh* m., LSorb. *brjog* m. 'river-side'). For PSlav. **TarT* cp. PSlav. **gardu* > PCz. **gradъ* > OCz. *hrad* > NCz. *hrad* 'castle' vs. PSlav. **gardu* > PSorb. **grodъ* > OSorb. **grod* > USorb. *hród*, LSorb. *grod* (cf. Bräuer, 1961, pp. 80f.; Eichler, 1965, pp. 130–139, 140–142; Lamprecht et al., 1986, p. 38; Lamprecht, 1987, pp. 59, 61; Schaarschmidt, 1997, pp. 45f.; Šekli, 2018, pp. 87f., 177f., 225f.).

[3] On the dating of the metathesis of liquids cf. Schwarz, 1960, pp. 183f.; Lamprecht, 1987, pp. 65f., 192: 750/775–825/850 CE. – On the development in all Slavic languages cf. Shevelov, 1964, pp. 391–421.

[4] Cf. Schwarz, 1960, p. 185, 1961, p. 362.

[5] For the notation of Proto-Slavic forms I by and large follow the conventions used to note it as used by Holzer, 2007, 2011, 2014, 2020; Klotz, 2017.

century. There are only very few names whose attested form might point to an absorption into late Old High German around or after 1100.

The Slavicity of a great part of the toponyms and hydronyms in that region has been generally supported by a number of researchers for the last 110 years. Although of course not everything written a century or more ago has withstood closer inspection, and although there are also several publications widely overestimating the number of Slavic names in the region, there is a core of Slavic names which now may be regarded as firmly established.

2. Revisionist views

This notwithstanding, in a 2015 PhD thesis (University of Bamberg; published in 2016),[6] its author investigates the oldest Germanic layers of names in the Western parts of North-Eastern Bavaria, or, more exactly, the western parts of Upper Franconia and neighbouring parts of Lower Franconia. In the course of the book the author strips more than three dozen toponyms of their (traditional) Slavic etymologies and claims the names to be of West-Germanic origin. This is mostly done without really discussing these Slavic etymologies. Research done into the etymologies of those 40-plus names, however, shows that hardly any of the West-Germanic etymologies is better than any of the 'traditional' Slavic ones. Some of them seem to be hardly more than rather frustrated attempts at showing the Germanic descent of certain names. In some cases, even generally accepted rules of German or Germanic historical phonology are neglected or seem to be unknown to the author. But for the general aim of getting rid of names of Slavic origin for whatever reason, every means available seems appropriate.

Nevertheless, the results of Bichlmeier (2021, pp. 261–276) concerning the Slavicity of place names in the Western parts of North-Eastern Bavaria of a certain morphophonological type, namely those ending in *-itz*, *-nitz*, *-atz*, show clearly that Andraschke's ideas and 'results' are quite far off reality. When looking at these results, two things must be kept in mind: first, the corpora

[6] Andraschke, 2016; for reviews see Bichlmeier, 2018, 2019a, 2019b.

of Andraschke and Bichlmeier are not completely identical, but widely overlapping: Andraschke's corpus contains some 40 names, Bichlmeier's about 50. Second, in Andraschke's opinion actually all these names are of Germanic origin. This analysis is certainly wrong. Even when we take the lowest numbers in the tables of Bichlmeier's (2021) conclusions, a total of at least 62% of the names and at least 67% of the etyma in his corpus are uncontradictibly of Slavic origin. Splitting up the corpus of names according to name types we find that over 60% of the microtoponyms and about 80% of oikonyms and lost oikonyms are definitely of Slavic origin. Some of these names with their etymologies will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

3. Examples

3.1. *Fewstritz*/*Peustritz*/*Beußdrytz*[7]

The first such example is the microtoponym *Fewstritz*/*Peustritz*/*Beußdrytz*, attested four times in three variants for three places (Landkreis/counties Lichtenfels and Bamberg respectively: 1410 *in der Fewstritz* [near Kleukheim], 1586 *in der Peustritz* [near Ehrl], 1524 *in der Beußdrytz*, 1556 *uf die Peustritz* [near Stübig]).

Here the Germanic etymology is based on an adjective PGerm. **fû-stra-* 'foul' from a root PGerm. **fū-* 'to rot, to foul' + suffix PGerm. **-iti̯a-* giving in the end **fû-str-iti̯a-* which would mean 'place, where there is foulness' or 'foul ground'. Here several points are problematic: the suffix **-stra-* usually forms nouns only, with the exception of maybe one or two rather late and rarely attested cases. The adjective **fûstra-* thus is not attested in the appellative lexicon, neither as such nor as the basis of derivatives. The PGerm. suffix **-iti̯a-* (> OHG *-izzi*), moreover, forms neuter abstract nouns and action nouns. But among the dozen or so Old High German formations with that suffix not a single one can be actually called a place name or the like. (cf. Bichlmeier, 2021, p. 32). And as mentioned, these are neuter nouns: all attestations of our place name(s), however, are feminine in gender. Even more importantly, of course *Fewstritz* might theoretically go

[7] Cf. on that name more explicitly Bichlmeier, 2020a, 2021, pp. 47–55.

back to that invented form **fû-str-itị̄a-*, but it cannot be imagined how an initial Germanic **f-* might become initial *B-* or *P-* as in *Beußdrytz*, *Peustritz* in the Eastern Franconian Dialect of Old High German. Such transitions do not happen. To put it simply: once initial PGerm. **f-* – always initial *f-*.

To sum up: The proposed phonology does not work, the proposed morphology does not work and the gender is wrong. Even if an alternative option were not available, such an etymology would be utterly worthless.

But there is an alternative at hand which seems obvious for anybody who already knows some Slavic. In dozens of hydronyms all over the Slavic speaking areas, as well as in regions formerly inhabited by Slavs in Germany and Austria, we find descendants of the lexeme Comm. Slav. **bystrica* 'quickly flowing river' from an older Proto-Slavic **bū̯strī̯kā̯*;[8] cp., e.g., Cz. *Bystřice*, Croat. *Bistrica*, Pol. *Bystrzyca*, in Austria *Feistritz*, etc.[9]

Starting from Comm. Slav. **bystrica*, it is easy to arrive at the attested forms: it is known that from the end of the 8th till the end of the 11th century, that is, roughly from ca. 770/80 CE till ca. 1080 CE, Slavic **b* was taken over into Old High German as **v-* which then quickly developed into **f-*. This happened because at the end of the 8th century OHG **b-* turned from a voiced plosive into an unvoiced lenis plosive. Thus for Slavic **b*, which remained a voiced plosive, the closest substitute in Old High German was not any longer OHG **b*, but the only voiced labi(o-dent)al remaining, which was **v-*. So we can quite confidently say that our attested toponyms with initial *F-* were taken over between ca. 780 and ca. 1080 CE.[10] The normal thing now would be to say that the form with *B-* was taken over after that, but that is not so easy: especially in the Eastern Franconian dialect, on the fringes of Old High German, this substitutional process seems never to have worked as thoroughly

[8] Cf. Berneker, 1924, p. 113 (s. v. *bystrъ*); Brückner, 1927/1993, p. 54 (s. v. *bystrzy*); Skok, 1971–1974, 1, pp. 157f. (s. v. *bȉstar*); ĖSSJa 3, p. 151; Machek, 1968/1997, p. 78 (s. v. *bystrý*); ESSJ 1, p. 22; Bańkowski, 2000, 1, p. 104 (s. v. *bystrzy*); SES 73; Matasović, 2016, p. 59 (s. v. *bȉstar*); Klotz, 2017, p. 78.

[9] Cf. Schwarz, 1931, pp. 74, 197, 318, 319, 1961, pp. 96, 211, 229, 308; Profous, 1947–1960, 1, pp. 231–233; Šmilauer, 1960/2015, pp. 375, 396; Bezlaj, 1956–1961, 1, pp. 62ff.; WRG 1, pp. 245f.; RGN 1, p 618; Hosák & Šrámek, 1970–1980, 1, pp. 138–140; SHU 50; SENGŚ 1, pp. 133f.; Rymut, 1987, p. 45; Schuster, 1989–1994, 2, p. 12; ANB, pp. 345–347; Fischer, 1996, p. 33; NMP 1, pp. 477f.; Lutterer & Šrámek, 1997/2004, p. 60; Hohensinner & Wiesinger, 2003, p. 170; Bergermayer, 2005, pp. 49f.; Holzer, 2008, pp. 91f., 203; Lochner von Hüttenbach, 2008a, p. 52, 2008b, pp. 73–76, 2015, pp. 139–141; ESSZI 61, pp. 168f.; DGNB 62, p. 143; Anreiter, 2015, pp. 49–55.

[10] Cf. Schwarz, 1960, pp. 185, 232; Eichler et al., 2001, p. 242, 2006, p. 261.

as, for example, in Austria. Thus, for *Beußdrytz* nothing can be said about that. The vocalism also is of little help here: if the name had been taken over into Old High German still with PSlav. long **ū*, it would later have undergone *i*-umlaut by the *i* following in the suffix. Around 800 CE or at the beginning of the 9th century CE PSlav. **ū* was fronted to Comm. Slav. **y*.[11] As the Common Slavic collapse of quantities in the vowel system occurred in the 10th century, we may suppose that until then Comm. Slav. **y* was a long vowel. And non-Slavs might have perceived it as a long vowel under the accent maybe well into the 11th century and would have absorbed it into Old High German as a long /ǖ/, which would later on diphthongize into the attested forms with *-eu-*. So, to remain on the safe side, we can say that *Fewstritz* etc. were taken over into Old High German between the late 8th and mid-10th century, or possibly even somewhat later.

So, the result is clear: starting from Comm. Slav. **bystrica* we can satisfactorily explain the phonology and morphology of the attested forms, since the word is attested both appellatively and in dozens of onyms all over the Slavic world and it gives us even the right gender. The West-Germanic explanation does not even offer half of that and may thus be discarded.

The above point is illustrated by Table 1:

Table 1. Results

	West Germanic explanation	Slavic explanation
F-	+	+
B-/P-	–	+
-eu-	+	+
morphology	–	+
derivational basis	–	+
gender	–	+
parallel names	–	+

Source: own work.

[11] According to Holzer (2007, p. 58, similarly, 2011, pp. 52f.) at the beginning of the 9th c. at the latest.

3.2. *Gleußen*[12]

The case of the place name *Gleußen* (Coburg) is similar, though also shows some new aspects.

Table 2. Attestations of the place-name *Gleußen*

Ziegelhöfer & Hey, 1911, p. 191	Schwarz, 1960, p. 275; Eichler, 1985, p. 272	Fastnacht, 2007, pp. 129–132 (without most of the attestations in copies)	Andraschke, 2016, p. 76
	[9th cent.] copy 12th cent. *Glusne*	[9th cent.] copy ca. 1160 *in Glûsne*	[9th cent.] copy ca. 1160 *Glûsne*
	12th cent., 1st half *Glusin*	1st half 12th cent. *apud Glusin*	
		ca. 1270 *Gluessene … in Clussene*	
1299 *Gloussen*		1299 *in villa dicta Gloussen … in villa Gloussen*	1299 *villa Gloussen*
1303 *Glussen*		[1303] *Lehenbuch* 1303–1313, copy 1358 *in Glussen*	
		[ca. 1322] *Lehenbuch* 1322–1233, copy 1358 *in Glusem … Glusen*	
	1331 *Glevsen*	1331 *in villa Glevsen*, DV 15th cent. *zu Glewsen*	1331 *villa Glevsen*
			1332 *in Gluschen*; DV 15th cent. *Glevsen*
		[1333] *Lehenbuch* 1333–1335, *in Glusen*	
1334 *Gluzen*		1334 *in Gluzen*	
		1334 *in Gluzen*; DV 15th cent. *Gleuschen*	1334 *in Gluzen*; DV 15th cent. *Glewschen*
		1337 *in Gluschen*	
		[ca. 1335] *Lehenbuch* 1335–45, copy 1358 *in Glusen*	
		[ca. 1346] *Lehenbuch* 1345–72, *in Gluzzen*; copy 1595 in *Glüzzen*	

[12] More details concerning that name can be found in Bichlmeier, 2020c.

Ziegelhöfer & Hey, 1911, p. 191	**Schwarz, 1960, p. 275; Eichler, 1985, p. 272**	**Fastnacht, 2007, pp. 129–132 (without most of the attestations in copies)**	**Andraschke, 2016, p. 76**
		1356 *zu Glewssen*	1356 *Glewssen*
	1386 *Gleuhsen*	1386 *zu Gleuhsen*	1386 *zu Gleuhsen*
		1390 (*Lehenbuch* 1372–1400) *zu Gluchsen*	
		1394 (*Lehenbuch* 1372–1400) *zu Glüssen*	
			1401 *Gluchsen*
		1420 *zu Gleüsen*	1420 *Gleusen*; RV *Gleuchsen*
		1435 *zu Gleẅhszen … zẅ Gleuhszen*	1435 *Glewhßen*; RV *Gleuchsen*
			1442 *Glewchssen*
		1446 (*Lehenbuch* 15th cent.) *zu Glewchßen*	
		[ca. 1448] *Lehenbuch* 1448–1471, *Gleuchsen … Gleuchßen*	
		1470 *Gleushen*	
		1470 *Gleußhenn*	
		1497 *Gleuchsen*	
		1500 *zu Gleuschen*	1500 *Gleuschen*; RV *zu Gleuchsen*
		1500 *zu Glewchsen*	
		1500 *umb Gleuchssen*, *zu Gleuchssen*, *zu und um Gleüssen*, *zu Gleüchsen*	
		+ ca. a dozen more attestations until ca. 1800	

Source: own work.

Already 110 years ago the name was etymologized correctly by Ziegelhöfer and Hey (1911), who connected it with Comm. Slav. **glušina*, Cz. *hlušina* f. 'thicket, dense forest', LSorb. *glusyna* f. 'dark forest, thicket', etc. Although neither they nor Schwarz (1960) offered an explicit description of the absorption process, they were sure this was the solution – and they were right:

We have to start from PSlav. **glawšī̯nāˀ* > Comm. Slav. **glušina*.[13] The root vowel PSlav. (7th cent.) **aw* develops via (8th cent.) **ō* > **ǭ* > **ū* > Comm. Slav. (9th cent.) **u*.[14] This vowel was phonemically and phonetically long at least until the 9th, probably into the 10th century.

So, we have a development PSlav. (7th cent.) **Glawšī̯nā* > Late PSlav. (8th cent.) **Glō/ǭ̄šīnā* > **Glūšīnā* > Comm. Slav. (9th cent.) **Glušina*. When taken over into Old High German in the 9th century, probably still in the 10th century the result will have been OHG **Glūsĭna*. All further developments are regular: OHG **Glūsĭna* > Late OHG **Glūsinə* > MHG **Glūsən* > *Gleußen*. Also, the substitution of Comm. Slav. **š* by OHG *s* is regular, as OHG *s* (< PGerm. **s*) was phonetically a prepalatal sound. As can be seen, the derivation is impeccable. Here the time span for taking over the name into Old High German is thus slightly narrower than in the case of *Fewstritz*: it took place between the early 9th and the mid-10th century.

The Germanic explanation (Andraschke, 2016, p. 76) of the place name *Gleußen* refers to a "germanischen Wortstamm" [Germanic stem] **glû(h)s-* seen in Low German *glüse* 'lightfire, lighthouse' and *glusen* 'to glow'. A meaning for PGerm. **glŭs-ina-* is not given, but it probably would have meant 'glow, shining' or something similar. For a toponym this seems rather unusual – it is more appropriate for a hydronym.

Andraschke offers some more wrong or irrelevant etymological solutions – among them also his own folk-etymological proposals, demonstrating a certain unacquaintedness with historical linguistics, which can be neglected here.

Moreover, further place names in other West-Slavic areas can be adduced, which go back to the same etymon, such as two instances of *Glossen* in Saxonia: *Glossen* near Löbau (USorb. *Hłušina*) 1228 (or possibly 1241) *Glussina* and *Glossen* near Mügeln 1013 *Glussi(n)*,[15] as well as 1523 *Glussen*, later *Gluschen* (near Stolp in Mecklenburg).[16]

[13] Cf. ĖSSJa 6, pp. 153f.; Muka, 1911–1928/2008, 1, p. 266; Šmilauer, 1963–1964, 1, p. 115, 1970, p. 66; Schuster-Šewc, 1979–1996, pp. 233f. (giving a probably incorrect etymology); Mühlner, 2008, p. 183.

[14] Cf. Holzer, 2007, pp. 59f., 2011, p. 54.

[15] Cf. Eichler & Walther, 1975–1978, 1, p. 82; Eichler, 1985, p. 337; SOSN 1, p. 143; HONBS 1, p. 317; HOS 1, p. 246f.; Wenzel, 2008, p. 67.

[16] Cf. Mühlner, 2008, p. 183.

Furthermore, a derivative Comm. Slav. **Glušnica* is the etymological basis for *Glauschnitz*, today part of Laußnitz, near Bautzen.

So, in the end it is definitely clear that *Gleußen* comes from Comm. Slav. **glušina* 'thicket, bushes', and not from WGerm. **glūsina* 'glow, shining'.

Putting the above in Table 3, we obtain the following:

Table 3. Results

	Germanic explanation	Slavic explanation
phonology	?	+
morphology	?	+
etymology	–	+
parallel names	–	+

Source: own work.

3.3. *Feuln*[17]

The next name combines aspects already discussed with regard to the first two names analysed in the article.

Table 4. Attestations of the place-name *Feuln*

Guttenberg, 1952, pp. 36f.	Andraschke, 2016, pp. 72f., fn. 341
1310 *Fewln*	1310 *Fewln*
1398 *Fewlen*	1398 *Fewlen*
1398 *Fewln*	
another ca. 20 attestations till ca. 1800	

Source: own work.

Feuln (Kulmbach) can be derived quite cogently from Comm. Slav. **bylina* 'a kind of plant', which goes back to an older **bū̆lī̆nā̆*. The word is

[17] Cf. on this name more explicitly Bichlmeier, 2020c.

well attested in the appellative lexicon of Slavic languages. The form itself, however, seems unattested as a name anywhere, though derivatives of the root of the word, that is **byl-*, are; cf., e.g., Cz. *Bylnice*, *Bylochov*.[18] Rather close seems to be also Cz. *Bylany*, which is most probably a plural inhabitant name Comm. Slav. **Byl'ane*/**Byl̓ne* based on a Comm. Slav. personal name **Bylanъ*.

Anlauting Slavic **b-* was taken over into Old High German between the late 8th and the late 11th century as **v-* and later became **f-* (see 3.1 above), while older Slavic long **ū* or younger Slavic **y* come out in the end as Late Old High German long /ü:/ – the first by *i*-umlaut in Old High German, the last automatically in the course of a later absorption process. As we need the long vowel in German (else we do not arrive at the attested diphthong of the name), and such long vowels were certainly perceived as long in the 9th and probably well into the 10th century, it is safer to locate the absorption of the name into Old High German no later than the middle of the 10th century. So, any point in time between 780 and the middle of the 10th century is possible.

Coming back to the above-mentioned Czech place name *Bylany*, we could also regard this as a parallel name of the preform of *Feuln*, if the absorption of the Slavic name into Old High German took place after the fronting of long PSlav. **ū* to Comm. Slav. **y*, that is after the beginning of the 9th century: so, supposing an absorption of the name into Old High German roughly between 820 and 950, also the Comm. Slav. name **Bylani* 'settlement of the Bylan-folks' or Comm. Slav. **Byl̓ne* 'folks living where plants are' would end up as *Feuln*.

In comparison to that possibility, it seems rather forced to presuppose a WGerm. form **fūlina* 'foul ground, swamp' for the name. WGerm. **fūlina* might theoretically exist as a derivative of PGerm. **fūla-* 'foul, rotten', but it is not attested in the appellative lexicon and there seems to be at most one attestation as toponym elsewhere (in Luxembourg), so the productivity of formations claimed by Andraschke for this name certainly does not exist.

So here the result is also quite clear in the end, I think: the Slavic explanation works, the Germanic much less so.

Putting the above in Table 5, we obtain the following:

[18] Cf. Profous, 1947–1957, 1, pp. 227f.; Hosák & Šrámek, 1970–1980, 1, pp. 136f.

Table 5. Results

	West-Germanic	Slavic
phonology	+	+
morphology	+	+
parallel names	+ = 1	+ = 1 (and several close formations)
identical appellative	–	+

Source: own work.

3.4 *Keltz*[19]

Finally, there is the microtoponym *Keltz*, which Andraschke connects with some other toponyms, mainly in Germany.

There is the name of a farmstead (part of Gifting [Landkreis/county Kronach]) *Keltz* (1326/28 *Kelcz*, 1348 *Keltz*, 1400 *Keltz*, 1422 *Keltz*, 1453 *Keltz*, 1507 *Keltz*) and a microtoponym near Horsdorf (Landkreis/county Lichtenfels; 1503 *ecker im Keltz*).[20]

As can be seen below, only one of these names has probably the same etymology as the North-East Bavarian name.

The Germanic etymologies are:

- WGerm. **Kal-isa/ō-* > 931 (cop. 17th cent.) *Kelse*, 11th cent. *Kelese* > *Kelz* (Düren);
- EGerm. **Kal-isia-* > Ptol. (2nd cent.) Καλισία → Pol. *Kalisz* (G. *Kalisch*; Wielkopolska);
- WGerm. **Kal-it(t)ja-* > Early OHG **Kalize* > Late OHG **Kelize* > 1326/28 *Kelcz*, 1400 *Keltz*;
- WGerm. **Kal-it(t)ja-* > Early OHG **Kalize* > 1146 *superiori Calice* > *Kelze* (Landkreis/county Kassel).

Possibly they all are based on the same root, but even in that case the meaning of the root is not clear: it is either a verbal root PGerm. **kal-* 'to be cold',

[19] Cf. on that name more explicitly Bichlmeier, 2020b, 2021, pp. 95–106.
[20] Cf. Andraschke, 2016, p. 68, Anm. 312, 2020, p. 114.

then the formation **kal-itja-* is problematic, as it is hardly possible to derive a collective from a verbal root; or they pertain to PGerm. **kal-u̯a-* 'bald, free of vegetation', but then the question arises, why there is no trace of the bilabial glide anywhere. So, in the end, although phonology and morphology are fine and there is at least one completely parallel name, we cannot with confidence etymologize the name. And, moreover, the other names at least partially are in areas where names might be of Celtic origin, as in the case of *Kalisz* (for further discussion of these problems cf. Bichlmeier, 2020b, 2021, pp. 95–106).

As we see clearly that the Germanic etymology does not work well, we may propose a new (Slavic) etymology: It is possible to derive the name from Comm. Slav. **kalьcь*, the diminutive form derived from Comm. Slav. **kalъ* 'swamp, mud',[21] a word which elsewhere in Slavic speaking communities serves as a (micro-)toponym as well. Furthermore, there are dozens of other place names containing the root Comm. Slav **kal-* 'mud'.[22]

If the form Comm. Slav. **kalьcь* had been loaned into Old High German at the right time, we get the 'right' results:

- Early Comm. Slav. (9th cent.) **Kālica-*
  → OHG **Kāliz* > Late OHG **Kēlez* > MHG **Kēl(ə)z* > Early NHG **Kelz* <Kelcz> (?);
- Comm. Slav. ([early/mid] 10th cent.) **kalьcь*
  → OHG **Kaliz* > Late OHG **Kelez* > MHG **Keləz* > Early NHG **Kelz* <Kelcz>.

We see: if this form **kalьcь* was taken over into Old High German when Comm. Slav. **a* was no longer felt as an obvious long vowel (or was shortened immediately after the name had been taken over), but when middle yers were still perceived as *i*-like sounds (which might have been the case around the middle of the 10th century), then an outcome *Keltz* would be quite natural. If Comm. Slav. **a* was shortened in the course of absorption or if the vowel was shortened later on in Old High German, also an earlier takeover might be regarded as possible.

[21] Cf. Berneker, 1924, pp. 475f.; Brückner, 1927/1993, p. 214; REW 1, p. 506; Šmilauer, 1963–1964, 1, p. 171; 1970, p. 87; Machek, 1968/1997, pp. 235f.; Skok, 1971–1974, 2, pp. 37f.; ĖSSJa 9, pp. 127–129; Schuster-Šewc, 1978–1996, pp. 483f.; ESSJ 2, p. 10; ESJS, p. 300; Bańkowski, 2000, 1, p. 613; Mühlner, 2008, pp. 197f.; SES, 277 (*kâl*[1]); ČES, pp. 284f.; Klotz, 2017, p. 130; Králik, 2019, p. 251.

[22] Cf. WRG 2, pp. 192ff. passim; RGN 3, pp. 706–720; RGN 4, pp. 1–8 passim; Profous, 1947–1957, 2, pp. 182ff.; Hosák & Šrámek, 1970–1980, 1, pp. 376f. [= 2020, 1, pp. 367f.]; Eichler & Walther, 1975–1978, 1, p. 117; SOSN 1, p. 467; SOSN 2, pp. 12–13; HONBS 1, p. 467; Pohl, 2004, 2009, p. 110; HOS 1, p. 355; Wenzel, 2008, p. 86; Anreiter, 2015, pp. 24f.; Žigo, 2017, etc.

So, in the end also here we might tend towards the Slavic solution, as on the Slavic side everything is clear, the derivational basis is well defined, and the formation is represented also by parallel forms from the appellative as well as the onymic lexicon of the Slavic languages. On the other hand, for the Germanic solution exactly this clarity concerning the derivational basis is lacking.

The results of the analysis above are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Results

	West-Germ. ****Kal-it(t)i̯a-***	**West-Germ.** ****Kal-isa/ō-***	**West-Germ.** ****Kal-isi̯ō-***	**Late PSlav. (ca. 700)** ****kā̆l-it'a-***	**Early Comm. Slav. (ca. 800)** ****kālic-***	**Bavaria-Slav. (after ca. 950)** ****kalьcь***
morphology	+	+	+	+	+	+
phonology	+	?	?	?	?	+
semantics	+	+	+	+	+	+
parallel names	1 in Hessia (Celt.?)	1 in NRW (Celt.?)	1 in Poland (Celt.?)	1 in Bohemia, 1 in East Tirol, others in the rest of the Slavia		

Source: own work.

4. Conclusions

I have hopefully been able to show that progress in the research of Slavic names in North-Eastern Bavaria is still possible. Especially the time of absorption of these Slavic names into Old High German can often still be established more precisely. For the moment these names do not give us more knowledge on the history of settlement of the region than we already have, but with new and more results this might change.

A lot of work is still to be done: more precise dates can be achieved.

The main result, however, is: Slavic names do play a relevant role in North-Eastern Bavaria, certainly a more prominent one than some might like to have it.

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Abbreviations

Comm. Slav. – Common Slavic
Croat. – Croatian
Cz. – Czech
EGerm. – East Germanic
G. – German
LSorb. – Lower Sorbian
NCz. – New Czech
NHG – New High German
OCz. – Old Czech
OHG – Old High German
OSorb. – Old Sorbian
PCz. – Proto-Czech
PGerm. – Proto-Germanic
Pol. – Polish
PSlav. – Proto-Slavic
PSorb. – Proto-Sorbian
USorb. – Upper Sorbian
WGerm. – West Germanic

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Neighbours Who Disappeared: Non-Settlement Names With the Element *Žid* ('Jew') in Bohemia

Abstract

In this paper, I focus on non-settlement geographical names (anoikonyms, microtoponyms or minor place names, i.e. names of fields, meadows, forests, waters, roads, etc.) which preserve traces of the Jewish population in Bohemia, i.e. a part of present-day Czech Republic. The research is based on the Collections of anoikonyms gathered between 1963 and 1980. Names containing the element *Žid* ('Jew') are quite common here, e.g., *Židák* (56), *Židovka* (93), *Židovna* (157), etc. They differ in terms of age and are located throughout Bohemia. These names are motivated by: (1) places where Jews lived and where they were buried (e.g., Jewish cemeteries were often called *Židák*); (2) the ethnicity or religion of land owners; (3) tragic events (e.g., the field in Lžín *U mrtvého žida* 'at the dead Jew's'); (4) metaphors (names using the adjective *židovský* 'Jewish' as a synonym of a separated place or land of bad quality). Some minor place names arose from the personal name (surname or nickname) *Žid* and it cannot be ruled out that some anoikonyms, which are assumed to originate from a common noun or ethnonym, also come from a personal name. In many cases, these names are the last memories of Jewish neighbours who disappeared.

Keywords

anoikonym, minor place name, Bohemia, Jew

1. Introduction

The earliest mentions of Jews in Bohemia come from the 10th century. The first Jews were merchants who only passed through our territory; later they began to settle here (Pěkný, 2001, pp. 11–14). We can find streets leading to the original Jewish ghettos in most large medieval Bohemian and Moravian towns, they were called *via Judaeorum* in Latin sources, *Judengasse* in German or *Židovská* ('Jewish') in Czech (Vilímek, 1998, pp. 141–142).[1]

However, in this paper I will focus not on urbanonyms, but on the area of anoikonyms (minor place names, microtoponyms) in Bohemia (i.e. a part of present-day Czech Republic) because even these non-settlement names preserve traces of Jewish inhabitants. My study is based on the "Collections of Minor Place Names in Bohemia" (hereinafter referred to as Collections), which were gathered between the years 1963–1980. They are stored in the Department of Onomastics of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Thanks to local informants we managed to obtain about half a million names consisting of 45,000 lexical units (see Olivová-Nebezdová, 1995a, pp. 35–51), which are gradually being processed in the "Slovník pomístních jmen v Čechách" [Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia] (https://spjc.ujc.cas.cz).[2]

In the beginning, I should also say that the analysed anoikonyms relating to Jews come from the majority Czech society. We do not have any information in our sources about how these places or objects were named by the local Jews, whether they adopted minor place names used by their neighbours, or whether they created different ones.[3]

[1] Jewish settlement is also evidenced by names of streets and town quarters such as *U synagogy* ('by the synagogue') (ČBr/Úvaly) or unofficial urbanonyms such as *Rabínský plácek* ('rabbinical square') (JI/Polná), etc. In the Collections we have several documents of names referring to the synagogue as well, e.g. houses *U synagogy* (ČBr/Přistoupim). The synagogue is sometimes also called *templ* in Czech, i.e., the 'Jewish or ancient temple' (PSJČ 6, 1951–1953, p. 76). However, none of the anoikonyms *Templ* and *U Templu*, which we have documented in the Collections, relate to the synagogue. They are mostly names of places where there is a chapel, columns, etc., which are more reminiscent of an ancient temple.

[2] The anoikonyms *Žid*, *Židovec*, *Židovina*, *Židovka* and *Židovský* can also be found in Moravia and Silesia, i.e. other parts of today's Czech Republic, but this material is not available. It is stored in the Department of Dialectology of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences and will be processed in the "Slovník pomístních jmen na Moravě a ve Slezsku" [Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Moravia and Silesia] (https://spjms.ujc.cas.cz).

[3] Cf. anoikonyms with the element *Cikán* ('Gypsy / Roma'), see Dvořáková (2022).

Interestingly, there are only two anoikonyms of German origin related to Jews in the Collections, namely the meadow at the site of the former pond *Judnteichl* ('Jewish pond') (HBr/Mírovka) and the 'Jewish road' *Judenweg* (Bíl/Hnojnice), about which it is said that "Jews went there to Třebivlice with funerals" (Collections).[4] Other documented minor place names are Czech.

2. *Žid* ('Jew') in Czech language

2.1. *Žid* as a common noun and ethnonym

The contemporary Czech language distinguishes between the common noun *žid* ('Jew'), meaning 'a believer of the Mosaic religion, Israelite' (PSJČ 8, 1955–1957, p. 1040) – cf. Czech common nouns *křesťan* ('Christian'), *muslim* ('Muslim'), *buddhista* ('Buddhist'), etc.[5] – and the ethnonym *Žid* ('Jew') denoting 'a member of the Semitic nation of Israel' (PSJČ 8, 1955–1957, p. 1040) – cf. ethnonyms *Čech* ('Czech'), *Němec* ('German'), *Polák* ('Pole'), etc. Previously, these two meanings merged into one, for example, in Jungmann's (1839, p. 845) dictionary we can find the definition of Jew as a man from the tribe of Judah and also generally a man of the Israeli family and faith.

We usually cannot distinguish whether an anoikonym was derived from the common noun *žid* or from the ethnonym *Žid*. It is not possible to determine it from the mere form of the name (e.g., *Židova louka* 'Jew's meadow', Par/Opatovice nad Labem), and uppercase or lowercase letters are not helpful either, because respondents probably did not always know the difference – cf. the forest *U Žida* (Hři/Holovousy) and the forest *U žida* (JH/Jemčina).[6]

[4] German origin anoikonyms *Judengrunty* ('Jewish homesteads') and *Judenvég* ('Jewish road') are listed in the database for "Slovník pomístních jmen na Moravě a ve Slezsku" [Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Moravia and Silesia] (https://spjms.ujc.cas.cz).

[5] Other folk and dialectal meanings of the common noun *žid* as 'kind of card game', 'inedible mushroom', 'stain, smudge' or 'kind of dance' (PSJČ 8, 1955–1957, p. 1040) are not considered here, these meanings were not applied in minor place names.

[6] Minor place names are given in the form in which they were documented by informants in the Collections. The location into a specific municipality, including the court district, is

2.2. *Žid* as a surname and nickname

As of 2016, there were 232 inhabitants of the Czech Republic with the surname *Žid*. The female form *Židová* was used by 275 women (Malačka, n.d.). In addition, there are other surnames in Czechia, such as *Židů* (indicating family affiliation) and derived ones like *Židek*, *Žídek*, *Židák*, *Židoň*, etc. The personal name *Žid* is documented as early as 1387 (Petri Zyd) (Moldanová, 2019, p. 226). Beneš (1962, p. 247) included the surname *Žid* in the category of names "from words denoting affiliation to churches", in addition to such surnames as *Křesťan* ('Christian'), *Katolický* ('Catholic'), *Pohan* ('Pagan'), etc. On the other hand, Kotík (1897, p. 133), Svoboda (1964, p. 195) and Knappová (2002, p. 25) described *Žid* as a surname "from the names of nations", alongside surnames like *Uher* ('Hungarian'), *Slovák* ('Slovak'), *Rakušan* ('Austrian'), etc. Moldanová (2019, p. 226) does not rule out the possibility that someone who "resembled a Jew in some way" was named that way.[7]

As indicated in the Collections, the surname *Žid* motivated, for example, the road and the town quarter *Židova dolce* (Úpi/Velké Svatoňovice), whose "owner was a farmer named Žid" (Collections), or that the name of creek *Židovka* (PM/Nízká Srbská) "originated from the owner of the first mill on the creek, his name was Žid" (Collections). I can also mention anoikonyms based on other surnames from the same semantic base, for example the forests *Žídků lesík u ohrad* and *Žídků lesík na bratruželi* (Str/Kuřimany) are named "after the former owner" (Collections) called Žídek, or the abandoned pond *Židoňův rybník* (Táb/Planá nad Lužnicí) "belonged to house No. 17" (Collections) of the owner with the surname Židoň.

The house name *U židů* (ČD/Hlavice) was probably motivated by the nickname of the owners, as noted in the Collections: "Tvrzník family used to have

then given in brackets. The list of abbreviations of the names of districts can be found in the end of this study.

[7] In addition, Moldánová (2019, p. 226) mentions the Moravian dialect common noun *žid* (i.e. 'mushroom Neoboletus luridiformis'), or the adjective *židký* (i.e. 'sparse, liquid') as possible starting points for the surname. However, this seems less likely to me. Profous and Svoboda (1957, pp. 838–839) interpreted toponyms *Židlov*, *Židněves* (in German *Judendorf*) and *Židovice* from the personal name *Žid*. However, according to them, this personal name *Žid* was based on verb *žьd-* ('ždáti'). The Old Czech verb *ždáti* meant 'to wait, to expect' (Bělič et al., 1979, p. 685). So according to Profous and Svoboda, these toponyms were not related to the common noun *žid* or the ethnonym *Žid* ('Jew').

a shop and bakery. Probably a metaphorical name, the former owners did not have a documented Jewish nationality". According to Beneš (1962, p. 180), a person was given the name of a nation as a nickname because he had characteristics typical for the nation in question. In this case, stereotypical anti-Semitic ideas about traders and their character probably played a role.

It cannot be ruled out that some minor place names, which are supposed to originate from a common noun or ethnonym, also come from a personal name.

3. Minor place names

3.1. Morphology

From the formal point of view, it is possible to distinguish one-word minor place names (e.g., the hill *Židák*, Hři/Hořice) and multiword names (e.g., the hunting ground *Na židových hrobech* 'On Jewish Graves', UJ/Soběšín), names without a preposition (e.g., the forest *Židovka*, RK/Lipovka) and prepositional names (e.g., the meadows *U žida*, Lbá/Hřmenín). By morphology, among the minor place names we can distinguish non-derived (e.g., the pond *Žid*, MB/Nová Telib) and derived (e.g., the pond *Židovák*, Klt/Obytce) ones. A wide range of suffixes was used to create these anoikonyms (for details, see Štěpán, 2016). Minor place names derived from the ethnonym, common noun or personal name (surname or nickname) *žid*/*Žid* have the form of:

(a) Nouns:
no suffix: the forest *U žida* (JH/Jemčina);
suffix *-ák*: the hill *Židák* (Hři/Hořice);
suffix *-árna*: the hunt *Židárna* (Pel/Sázava);
suffix *-ov*: the location *Židov* (Par/Pardubice);
suffix *-ovák*: the pond *Židovák* (Pac/Vodice);
suffix *-ovec*: the hunt *Židovec* (MK/Městec Králové);
suffix *-ovina*: the field *V Židovině* (VM/Nasavrky);
suffix *-ovině*: the field *Židovině* (Kou/Bohouňovice);
suffix *-ovka*: the meadow *Židovka* (Sdc/Kvašťov);
suffix *-ovna*: the field *Židovna* (Blo/Záluží);
suffix *-ovsko*: the field *Židovsko* (Nym/Nový Dvůr).

(b) Adjectives:
suffix *-ácký*: the location *Za židáckou cestou* (RL/Židovice);
suffix *-ovský*: the grassland *U židovského hřbitova* (Vly/Hoštice);
suffix *-ový*: the field *U židový záblati* (BL/Všetaty);
suffix *-ův*: the field *Židův kopec* (Žam/Mistrovice).
(c) Substantivized adjectives:
suffix *-ovský*: the location *Na židovské* (Přš/Borovy);
suffix *-ový*: the hunt *Na židovým* (BL/Martinov).

Some minor place names were also created by the process of univerbation. This is the case of the very common anoikonym *Židák*, which was formed using the suffix *-ák* most often from the phrase "Jewish cemetery", signifying location,[8] or from another originally two-word name, for example, the name of the hunting ground *Na židáku* (Chru/Chrast u Chrudimě) was "derived from the original name Židův kopec", according to the informant (Collections). Although in Czech there is a pejorative common noun for a Jew, *židák* (PSJČ 8, 1955–1957, pp. 1040–1041), it seems that it motivated anoikonyms rather exceptionally, and it is possible that such interpretations are only later invented by the informant. From the extended base (*žid-* + *-ov* (*ský*) + *-ák*) there is, for example, the name of the field *U Židováku* (Přš/Přeštice), for which the parallel names *U židovského hřbitova* ('by the Jewish cemetery') and *U žiďáku* are also used. This example illustrates possible ways of creating different names relating to the same object.

Likewise, the minor place names *Židovka* probably also arose by univerbation, with the suffix *-ka,* created from phrases such as "Jewish meadow/road/ditch", etc., rather than from the common noun or ethnonym *židovka*/*Židovka* ('Jewish woman'), although even the latter interpretation is possible for some anoikonyms – for example, about the forest *U Židovky* (Nep/Kramolín) our informant wrote that: "A woman of Jewish origin once committed suicide here" (Collections).

Dialectal elements are also reflected in minor place names, both at the phonetic level (e.g. dialectal bilabial *-v-* in the names *Židovna – Židouna*, *Židovský – Židouský*, see Olivová-Nezbedová, 1995b, p. 80) and at the morphological

[8] See, for example, parallel names for the field and the hunting ground *Na židáku* and *U židovského krchova* ('by the Jewish cemetery') (Ben/Poříčí nad Sázavou).

level; seen, for example, in possessive adjectives such as *Židovo skála* (rock, Plz/Nadryby), *Na židovom* (field, Pac/Velká Chyška), or in appropriation to the family by a fixed genitive of the plural such as *Židovic lesík* (forest, Dbš/Malá Hraštice), *V Židojc cihelně* (former brickyard, Man/Kaznějov) (see Olivová-Nezbedová, 1995b, p. 70).

3.2. Motivation

The data collected by voluntary local informants are crucial for our interpretation of anoikonyms. The informants wrote down not only the names, but also information about the object, its location, quality, etc., and they often provided folk interpretations or other helpful information.

3.2.1. Jewish cemetery or ghetto

Minor place names used to be motivated by their location near the part of town formerly inhabited by Jews (e.g., the hill *Židák*, Hři/Hořice, is "where the Jewish ghetto began", Collections), or also near to Jewish buildings, such as a synagogue (e.g., the pond *Židák*, HV/Hluboká nad Vltavou, lies "near the abolished synagogue", Collections). However, most often they relate to a Jewish cemetery (e.g., *Židovák* or *Židovský hřbitov* ('Jewish cemetery') Táb/Nemyšl, Prudice).[9] There are currently almost four hundred Jewish cemeteries in the Czech Republic (Haidler, 2019, p. 190). They often lie further from municipalities, in less accessible places, on plots of poorer quality. Haidler (2019, p. 143) believes that the requirement to acquire sacred ground at the outset of a standard Jewish community is one of the reasons why many Jewish cemeteries are located in various gorges, ravines, wetlands, between forests and fields, often at a great distance from the housing estate itself. Sometimes we tend to think that even this speaks to a certain discrimination of Jews by the majority society. He adds that in addition to the reluctance to sell "good" land to the Jews, the lack of buyer's finances often played a significant role.

[9] On the current map, this locality is called *Na Židovně* (mapy.cz).

Figure 1. The locality *Židovec* (JH/Velký Pěčín) next to the Jewish cemetery

Source: mapy.cz (2021).

The Jewish cemetery was sometimes called 'Jewish garden' and 'Jewish hill' by non-Jews (Steinová, 2011, p. 15), but we have no document of such a minor place name in the Collections.

3.2.2. Jewish owner

After the reforms of Emperor Joseph II of 1781, the Jews were allowed to practice all trades and rent manorial lands. For the first time in centuries, they were allowed to cultivate land. The ban on land ownership still persisted (Javůrková, 2009, p. 54). This did not change until the constitution of 1867, which allowed Jews to move freely, acquire real estate and engage in any trade (Pěkný, 2001, p. 125). Thus, minor place names relating to Jewish owners can be dated to the 19th century. For some places, we also learn from informants about the circumstances under which the Jewish owner acquired them (e.g., the field and meadow *U židovky* (Bře/Buková) "fell to a Jew because of the owner's debts", Collections).

It seems that the expression of ethnicity or religion of the owners was more important for the locals than their name, which does not appear in the place name, e.g., the field *Židovy doličky* (Čás/Žáky) was "owned by the Jewish

family Hochman from Horní Štrampouch" (Collections), the field *Na Židovým* (Nym/Kostomlaty nad Labem) was owned by "Leopold Pick, a Jew, innkeeper in Kostomlaty No. 19" (Collections), etc. Similarly we have the field *Židovo (Steinerovo) pole* (Táb/Malšice), which "used to be the owned by Filip Steiner, a Jew from Malšice, and his son Moric" (Collections). Parallel anoikonyms exist only very rarely (e.g., the forest *U Židovýho lesa* was also called *U Margoliusovýho lesa* (Chot/Uhelná Příbram), its "owner was Margolius, a Jew", Collections).

3.2.3. Event

Many anoikonyms are motivated by various (often tragic) events, for example, according to the information in the Collections about the rock *Židovo skála* ('Jew's rock') (Plz/Nadryby), "a Jewish boy from nearby Darová was allegedly thrown from the rock by a furious goat which he grazed" (cf. Kronika obce Nadryby, p. 6), about the forest *U žida* (Bře/Buková) it is said that "a Jew – a furrier once got lost and was found frozen" (Collections), etc. Watercourses are especially frequently associated with someone having drowned in them (e.g., in the pond *Židovák*, Klt/Obytce, the pond *Žid*, MB/Žerčice, or in the creek *Židovka*, PM/Žabokrky).

Sometimes it was a violent death, a murder (e.g., the field and hunting ground *U zabitého žida* 'at the killed Jew', LS/Pavlov), or perhaps a suicide (e.g., in the gorge *Židovská jáma* 'Jewish pit', Man/Brdo, "a Jew once hanged himself", Collections). However, it is always the death of individuals, there are no local legends about pogroms in the Collections.[10]

Minor place names also bring us valuable evidence of the events of World War II. Among these, there is the name *Židovka*, borne by two roads built – according to local informants – by Jewish prisoners during the war. A local witness wrote me about the road in Hol/Vysoké Chvojno:

> Unfortunately, I cannot say much about the road Židovka. The path still exists and it is actually a shortcut from Chvojno to Podlesí, today part of the town Holice. There are no entries in the chronicle, entries from this period are

[10] Cf., for example, the anoikonym *Judenpfad* near Würzburg, Germany, which is associated with the massacre of Jews in 1298 (Kapfhammer, 1990, pp. 9–10).

> somehow missing completely. I only know that the Jews were guarded by German soldiers and the locals were not allowed to approach. (e-mail from October 30, 2019, Bedřich Centner).

A chronicler of the village wrote me about the road in JH/Mosty (today part of the village Kunžak):

> I only know where it leads and that it was said that it was built by Jews during the war. Unfortunately, there is no other information, nor is there any in the materials of the so-called Kunžak archive, which I own. The road was during the war in the German Reich, so the locals could not go there. We do not know where the Jews were staying, from where they were taken to work or other details. (e-mail from October 25, 2019, Eva Krafková; cf. Vorma, 2011, p. 19)

In the Collections, they were explicitly referred to as "Jews from Hungary".[11] In the neighbouring village of JH/Střížovice, ponds called *Židova studánka* ('Jew´s spring') are documented, and we learnt from the informants that "Jews had to build them on the orders of Germans". We do not know the further fate of these prisoners, only these places remain in the memory of the landscape.

3.2.4. Metaphorical naming

I have already mentioned the house name *U Židů* (ČD/Hlavice) after the nickname with negative connotations of its non-Jewish owners. I also encounter stereotypical ideas in other anoikonyms, for example, the town quarter *Židovna* (Kar/Čakovice, Miškovice) is said to have been named "after the noisy

[11] Padevět's (2018, pp. 231–232) publication *Za dráty* [Behind the Wires] about concentration camps in the territory of present-day Czech Republic mentions Dolní Bolíkov, located 23 km from Kunžak, where an internment camp for Jews from Hungary was established in 1944. It probably operated until the spring of 1945, and the Kačlehy camp 12 km from Kunžak, which was established in the summer of 1944 for Hungarian Jews. Padevět wrote me: "The camps for Hungarian Jews that I mention mostly existed from 1944, and there are no traces of them in the Czech archives, except perhaps for individuals in Znojmo. The Jews from these camps were undoubtedly deployed for construction work in the wide vicinity of the camps, so their deployment in the places you mentioned is very likely. The establishment of small work teams, mostly accommodated in local inns, cannot be ruled out either" (e-mail from December 11, 2020, Jiří Padevět).

behaviour of the inhabitants and owners" (Collections) – compare the Czech simile "Je to jako v židovně" ('It is as in a Jewish house'), meaning 'it is noisy (in here)' (Kott 7, 1893, p. 1173).

The name of the fields *Na židovkách* (Kar/Dolní Počernice), which are "separated into other cadastres" (Collections), can also be metaphorical. Many places were of poor quality – cf. common noun *žid* with meaning 'inferior, poor quality' (PSJČ 8, 1955–1957, p. 1040) – for example, the pond *Žid* (Nech/Kunčice) is "poor in fish, acid muddy water" (Collections), the meadows *Židoviny* (VL/Mažice) give "low yields, hence the name" (Collections), etc.

Other metaphorical names refer to plants. In the vernacular, we find a number of plant names with the adjective *židovský* ('Jewish') such as *židova* or *židovská brada* ('Jew's or Jewish beard') for *Arum maculatum*, *židovský vous* ('Jewish beard') for *Saxifraga stolonifera*, *židovy gatě* ('Jew's trousers') for *Consolida regalis*, *židovo ucho* ('Jew's ear') for *Auricularia auricula-judae*, etc. (see Rystonová, 2007, p. 636). Hence the alleged anoikonyms for fields and pastures *V židech* (Lan/Dolní Heřmanice) – "Fine grass grows here, which is generally called židovské vousy ('Jewish beard'), because this grass is very difficult to mow" (Collections). Also, the pasture *Na Židovce* (Tře/Branná) and the meadow *Na Židovce* (Sbt/Zámostí – Blata) were named "after the grass called židovka ('Jewish woman')" (Collections).

3.3. Geographical location

In the Collections we can find 157 minor place names *Židovna* (and 3 in dialect form *Židouna*), 155 anoikonyms *Žid* including possessive form *Židův*, 93 anoikonyms *Židovka* (and 1 dialect form *Židouka*), 56 *Židák* (and 16 in variant *Žiďák* and 3 *Žíďák*), and 49 minor place names *Židovský* (and 2 in dialect form *Židouský*), 26 anoikonyms *Židovák*, 19 *Židovina*, 5 *Židoviště*, 3 *Židov*, 3 *Židovec*, 2 *Židárna*, 1 *Židovsko* and 1 parallel name *Židácký* / *Žiďácký*.

If we look at the maps (Figure 2 and Figure 3)[12] with the location of the most frequent ones, we can see that they are situated throughout the analysed area.[13]

[12] Green dots represent districts, black dots are location of minor place names.

[13] Kieval (2011, pp. 23–25) states that according to the 1724 census, Jews lived in Bohemia in 800 localities; in 1849 the Jewish population was already spread over 1,921 localities, though only 207 of them were real municipalities with more than ten families and a synagogue. After

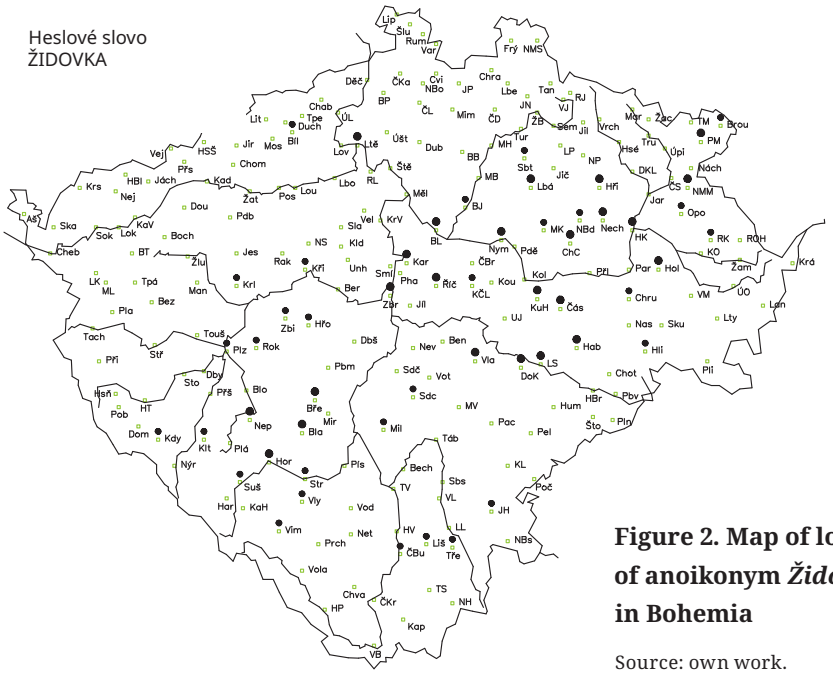

Figure 2. Map of location of anoikonym *Židovka* in Bohemia

Source: own work.

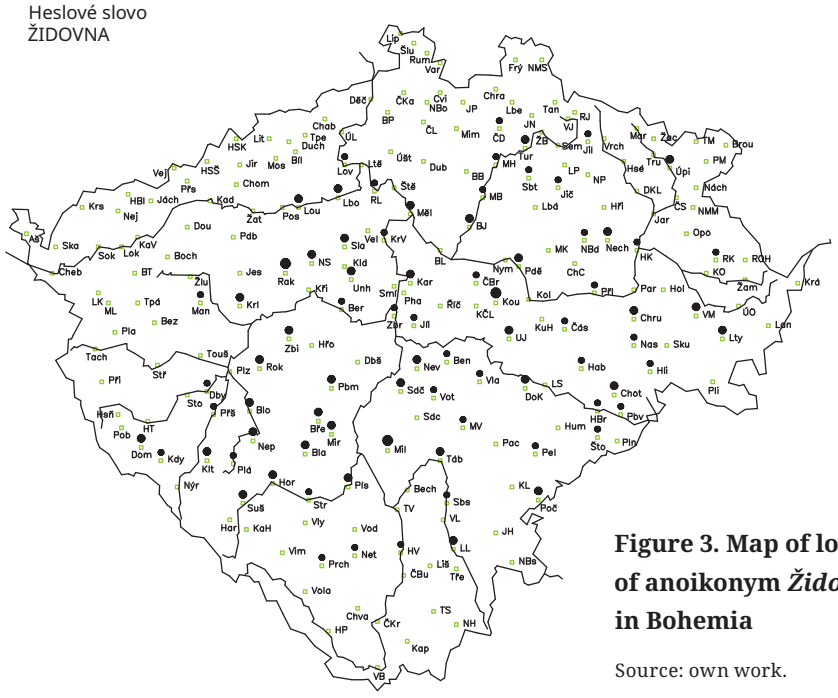

Figure 3. Map of location of anoikonym *Židovna* in Bohemia

Source: own work.

3.4. Types of places

Various kinds of places are called by the minor place names relating to Jews. Jewish cemeteries, ponds and hills were most often referred to as *Židák* (e.g., *Židák*, Hři/Hořice, was "the hill where the Jewish ghetto began", Collections), the prepositional names were related to land (fields, meadows, plots) in their neighbourhood (e.g., the fields and meadows *U židáku*, KL/Černovice, "near the Jewish cemetery", Collections). Similarly, *Židovák* and the adjective *Židovský* are most often associated with Jewish cemeteries (e.g., *Židovský hřbitov* 'Jewish cemetery' or *Židovák*, Táb/Nemyšl, Prudice, was a "semi-demolished Jewish cemetery on a high hill of the same name", Collections).

The recorded roads or paths (cf. the monograph by Rösch, 2009) lead to former Jewish quarters (e.g., the former road *Za židáckou cestou* or *Za žiďáckou cestou*, RL/Židovice, was "once a field path, a shortcut from the Roudnice district V židech. Today it is mostly plowed", Collections) or cemeteries (e.g., *Židova cesta*, Sbs/Košice "leads from the pub to the former Jewish cemetery", Collections), or they were used by local Jews (e.g., *Židovská cesta*, RL/Horní Beřkovice – "Jews from Cítov used to go that way to school and synagogue in Horní Beřkovice", Collections).

Minor place names *Židovna* usually referred to buildings and were motivated by the ethnicity/religion of their inhabitants or owners (e.g., in Chot/Vilémov).[14] The prepositional names were motivated by the location relative to the building named *Židovna*, e.g., the garden *Pod Židovnou* (Ber/Málkov), the field *Za Židovnou* (DoK/Habrovčice), the hunting ground *U Židovny* (Mil/Milevsko), etc.

Židovka was a name mainly for meadows, pieces of land and fields (e.g., the meadow *Židovka* DoK/Střítež after the "former owner, Jew Müller", Collections), most often associated with the preposition *na* (e.g., meadows *Na Židovce*, NBd/Zadražany).

Židy, the unofficial name of the Jewish Quarter in Prague, was probably transferred to the name for any Jewish quarter, street or ghetto (cf. PSJČ 8,

the approval of the Free Movement Act (Freizügigkeit) in 1849, there was a great migration from the countryside to larger towns, especially to Prague, and a number of small rural Jewish communities disappeared.

[14] Kott's dictionary mentions common noun *židovna* meaning 'Jewish house, church, school, das Judenhaus' (Kott 5, 1887, p. 828), the suffix *-ovna* is typical for buildings due to the owner – cf. hajný ('gamekeeper') > hájovna, kat ('executioner') > katovna, etc. (R.P ., 1923, p. 255).

1955–1957, p. 1040). Town quarters named in this way can also be found in the Collections – *Židy* (RL/Roudnice nad Labem; Bře/Březnice), *V Židech* (Lbo/Budyně nad Ohří).

3.5. The age of minor place names

Instability and variability are typical for anoikonyms: some disappear over time,[15] others are newly created, and sometimes old and new minor place names are used side by side for some time. As we could see, while some anoikonyms refer to centuries-old Jewish cemeteries, others originated relatively recently and are reminiscent of war events.

Historical evidence is important for determining the age of anoikonyms. The first systematic list of minor place names for Bohemia is the documentation for the so-called Theresian cadastre (i.e. an inventory of land held by subjects in hereditary lease) from 1713–1715. The original documentation is stored in the National Archives in Prague. In the Department of Onomastics of the Czech Academy of Sciences, we have as internal material documents of 277,000 minor place names excerpted from these sources. Thanks to them, I can say, for example, that the town quarter *U židovského hřbitova* ('by the Jewish cemetery') (Ber/Liteň) in the Collection from 1965, which lies, according to the local informant, "near the Jewish cemetery, which was established in 1680", can be also identified in the documentation for the Theresian cadastre of 1713 under the German name *Bey d. Juden Kirchhoff*, so it is an anoikonym which had been at least 250 years old at the time when this Collection of the minor place names was made.

Another very valuable historical source for identifying the age of minor place names are maps of the stable cadastre from the first half of the 19th century, stored in the National Archives and available online (https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/),[16] which we can also confront with current maps. For example,

[15] For some anoikonyms, we are even able to determine this period thanks to local informants; for example, about the field *Na židovně* (Krl/Kralovice) we learn that "it was bought from the Jew Raich, in 1910 a water reservoir was built here, since then it has been called *U vodojemu* ('by the water tank')" (Collections).

[16] The stable cadastre (in German Franziszeischer Kataster) was a set of data on all the land fund in the pre-Lithuanian part of the Austrian Empire, which was created by order of the

Figure 4. Anoikonym *Židovna* (Mil/Milevsko)

Source: mapy.cz (2021), detail of map.

Figure 5. Anoikonym *U Židovny* (Mil/Milevsko)

Source: imperial obligatory prints of the stable cadastre 1:2880 – Bohemia (1830), detail of map No. 6852-1 Sepekov (https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv).

in the Collection from 1974, the field and meadow *U Židovny* (Mil/Milevsko) "near the Jewish cemetery" was documented. We can also see this locality on the current map (mapy.cz) and find it on the imperial obligatory prints of the stable cadastre from 1830 as well.[17]

The data from local informants are very valuable, since they help determine the time of origin/use of some anoikonyms. Thanks to them, we learn, for example, that *V židovně* (NBe/Košátky) was "a building by the road where Jewish refugees from Poland lived in the years 1914–1918" (Collections).

Regional and historical literature also provides information about the age of localities. From the Collections one learns, for example, the following about the forest site *Židův důl* (KO/Doudleby nad Orlicí): "It is said that a Jew was buried here. He was robbed and killed in the last century by robbers (legend)". Černý (1937, p. 46) not only placed this event between the years 1850 and 1867, but also gave more details of this tragic event:

> it is said that when the Petrovský gang once marched through the forests of Chlen, they met a foreign Jew who got lost here. He therefore asked Petrovský to show him the right way. "We'll show you", said one of the villains, "if you have money". The Jew promised to pay well. And the Jew disappeared without a trace. After a while and only by chance, a place was found between the municipal forest and Novák's, where it is now called *Židův důl* ('Jew's mine'), where water washed ashore bones, the bones of a killed Jew.

However, it must be said that I do not find a record of such a death in the Jewish registers.[18]

Some other illustrative examples – showing, among other things, the incompleteness of the available sources – are given in Table 1.

Austrian Emperor Francis II. In Bohemia, the measurement took place in the years 1826–1830 and then 1837–1843. Cadastral maps on a scale of 1:2880 were created separately for each cadastral municipality. Then the so-called imperial (compulsory) imprint of each map was archived in the Central Land Cadastre Archive in Vienna.

[17] The locality is not listed in the documentation for Theresian cadastre from 1713, because the Jewish cemetery was founded in Milevsko only a year later (see "Židovský hřbitov v Milevsku", 2021).

[18] National Archives, Jewish registry, Doudleby nad Orlicí, BMD 1863–1874, No. 342; National Archives, Jewish controll registry, parish office Doudleby nad Orlicí, D 1801–852, No. 152.

Table 1. The age of some anoikonyms

Municipality	Documentation for Theresian cadastre (1713–1715)	Indication sketches – Bohemia (1826–1830, 1837–1843)	Regional literature	Collections of minor place names in Bohemia (1963–1980)	Mapy.cz (2021)
HK/Rusek	1713 *na židowcze, na židowkach*	1840 *W Židowkach*[19]		1965 *Židovka*, *Zadní Židovka*	0
Kol/Veltruby	1713 *Za Židownau*	1842 *Židovka* (?)[20]	1915 *Za Židovnou*[21]	0	0
LS/Bohdaneč	1713 *U Zydoweho pole* (?)	1838 *K Zidowýmu Dolu*[22]		1975 *Židův důl*	2021 *Židův důl*
PM/Nízká Srbská	0	1840 *Židovka Bach*[23]	1857 *Židovka*[24]	1975 *Židovka*	2021 *Židovka*
Ben/Třebešice	0	1841 *Židák*		0	2021 *Židák*
Kou/Dolní Kruty, Přestavlky	0	0	1918 *Na židovišti*[25]	1971 *Židoviště*, *Na Židovišti*, *Na Židovišťatech*	0
Sla/Drchkov	0	0	1912 *Na židovém*[26]	1969 *Na Židovým*	0

Source: own work.

[19] National Archives, Indication sketches – Bohemia, 1840, No. 6630-1 Rusek – formerly Rusek, https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/openmap.html?typ=skicic&idrastru=HRA412018400

[20] This anoikonym is not recorded in the cadastre of the village Veltruby, but I find a locality called *Židovka* in the neighbouring village Pňov (National Archives, Indication sketches – Bohemia, 1842, No. 5852-1 Pňov – formerly Pňow, https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/openmap.html?typ=skicic&idrastru=BYD304018420). The question is whether it is the same object/locality.

[21] Tůma, 1915, p. 86.

[22] National Archives, Indication sketches – Bohemia, 1838, No. 0304-1 Bohdaneč – formerly Bohdanetsch (Bohdanec), https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/openmap.html?typ=skicic&idrastru=CAS042018380

[23] National Archives, Indication sketches – Bohemia, 1840, No. 5176-1 Nízká Srbská – formerly Niedersichel (Nisko-Srpsky), https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/openmap.html?typ=skicic&idrastru=HRA320018400

[24] Tomek, 1857, p. 202.

[25] Tůma, 1918, p. 286.

[26] Venc, 1912, p. 21.

4. Conclusions

Minor place names relating to Jews or to a person named *Žid* are of various ages and are located throughout Bohemia. Most often they named places where a Jewish cemetery or Jewish settlement was located, or these names were commemorating an event, often tragic, associated with Jews. The minor place names related to the personal name *Žid* were mostly motivated by ownership. It turns out that the expression of ethnicity/religion was more important for the locals than the name of the Jewish owner.

These anoikonyms are an integral part of the landscape and memory and preserve testimony about the life of Jews in Bohemia and the relationship of the majority to them, which is reflected, for example, in metaphorical names for land of poor quality or separated from the rest.

Abbreviations of the names of districts

Ben – Benešov
Ber – Beroun
Bíl – Bílina
BL – Brandýs nad Labem
Bla – Blatná
Blo – Blovice
BM – Brno-město
Bře – Březnice
Čás – Čáslav
ČBr – Český Brod
ČD – Český Dub
Chot – Chotěboř
Chru – Chrudim
ČL – Česká Lípa
Dbš – Dobříš
DoK – Dolní Kralovice
HBr – Havlíčkův Brod
HK – Hradec Králové
Hol – Holice
Hři – Hořice
HV – Hluboká nad Vltavou
JH – Jindřichův Hradec
JI – Jihlava
Kar – Karlín
KL – Kamenice nad Lipou
Klt – Klatovy
KO – Kostelec nad Orlicí
Kol – Kolín
Kou – Kouřim
Krl – Kralovice

KuH – Kutná Hora
Lan – Lanškroun
Lbá – Libáň
Liš – Lišov
LS – Ledeč nad Sázavou
Man – Manětín
MB – Mladá Boleslav
Mil – Milevsko
MK – Městec Králové
NBe – Nové Benátky nad Jizerou
NBd – Nový Bydžov
Nech – Nechanice
Nep – Nepomuk
Nym – Nymburk
Pac – Pacov
Par – Pardubice
Pel – Pelhřimov
Pln – Plzeň
PM – Police nad Metují
Přš – Přeštice
RK – Rychnov nad Kněžnou
RL – Roudnice nad Labem
Sbs – Soběslav
Sbt – Sobotka
Sdc – Sedlec
Sla – Slaný
Što – Štoky
Str – Strakonice
Táb – Tábor
Tře – Třeboň
TS – Trhové Sviny
UJ – Uhlířské Janovice
Úpi – Úpice
VL – Veselí nad Lužnicí
Vly – Volyně
VM – Vysoké Mýto
Žam – Žamberk

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Towards a List of Place Names in Coptic

Abstract

This is a report on a project aiming to create a list of place names from Coptic textual sources. After an overview of the history of research concerning Coptic place names, I describe my method and the material on which the list is based. So far it consists mainly of attestations that have been extracted from the indexes of text editions of documentary texts. The relevant bibliography has been compiled by consulting the "Checklist of Editions" used in papyrological studies. Attestations from literary texts will hopefully be added later. I discuss also how best to alphabetize Coptic place names and argue for the use of an alphabetical order instead of the consonantal sorting order which is normally used in modern Coptic dictionaries. A sample page from the name list is provided. Finally, I suggest that a synchronic point of view should be taken in the subsequent onomastic analysis which is based on the list resulting from this project.

Keywords

toponyms, Coptic, Egypt, alphabetization

1. Introduction

In contrast to the analysis of the onyms in modern living languages, work on the toponymy of ancient languages presents its own difficulties. In view of the lack of a speech community, the researcher must rely on the written record, notwithstanding the dangers of corrupted manuscript transmission. The sources are mostly less informative than might be wished, and they can be distributed unevenly, both geographically and chronologically. Furthermore, names extracted from ancient texts are often impossible to locate with precision on the ground (and on the map), and in many cases we know nothing more about a site than its name. Another major difference between working with data from an ancient language and those from a modern living language resides in the absence of a national regulatory body with responsibility for the collection of names and provision of guidance on proper usage. Therefore, researching names in ancient languages often encounters various obstacles and progress is slow.

The above problems are clearly present when one analyses Coptic which represents the last stage of the ancient Egyptian language, in use roughly between 200 and 1200 AD. Coptic was written using the Greek alphabet (with some additions).[1] The bulk of Coptic literary texts, to begin with the Bible, are translations from Greek, but there is also an original indigenous literature, religious in character. Throughout its history, the language has been strongly associated with Orthodox Christianity and is still used in the modern Coptic church service. There are also documentary texts on papyri and ostraca, chiefly correspondence between monks and clerics, in particular from the Theban region in Upper Egypt. Coptic is known in at least six major literary variants (traditionally called "dialects"). The dominant dialect in the older stages was Sahidic, which had its epicentre in the South, but it was later superseded by Bohairic, the dialect of the North.

[1] For easier reading I use throughout this paper a transliteration with morpheme divisions following the standard presented in Grossman and Haspelmath (2015). It should be noted that proper names are written in all lower-case letters. I use hyphens to indicate morpheme boundaries.

Although Coptic ceased to be spoken in the Middle Ages, its presence remains strong in modern Egyptian toponymy; out of the twenty-five largest cities in Egypt twelve have a name which is derived from ancient Egyptian/Coptic. The specificities of Coptic toponymy are, however, only rudimentarily understood due to a lack of research.

This article is the report on a short-term project (one year) aiming to produce a list of place names mentioned in Coptic papyrological sources (Engsheden, 2023). The list is not a goal in itself but is conceived as serving as a basis for an analysis of Coptic toponymy. The data which are gathered from various publications are stored for the present in a simple Microsoft Access database. Manual intervention has been necessary to produce the list, largely in order to arrange the subheadings with variant spellings, among other reasons. The list is not restricted geographically to Egypt. It also contains names pertaining to other geographical areas as well as a handful of mythological names mentioned in Coptic texts, although for natural reasons a majority of place names are located in Egypt. The inclusion of names referring to places outside Egypt is noteworthy, since they seem never to have been listed.[2] The short duration of the project explains its limited objectives and has been decisive for the design chosen. It is a list, not a dictionary, that is being developed.

In this article, after an overview of existing toponomastic tools for Coptic, I describe some problems encountered in alphabetizing geographical names in Coptic by giving examples from existing text editions. This provides the opportunity to explain why I have ordered the entries in a particular way.

2. A brief history of research

An interest in geographical names is observed in the late flourishing of Coptic scientific writing as can be seen from the inclusion of a section listing major towns in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean in the medieval bilingual

[2] The title of Munier (1943) sounds promising, but the article is in fact only an edition of a few pages from different *scalae*.

Copto-Arabic vocabulary lists, the so-called *scalae* (Sidarus, 1978; Bosson, 1999). In the oldest of these texts, authored by Bishop John of Samannud (d. 1257), the entries are ordered with those within Egypt at the beginning, comprising a few towns listed from south to north, and those outside Egypt at the end (Munier, 1930). By contrast, another list of slightly later date (its author died in 1324) begins with the Delta where more than two-thirds of the names included in the list are located (Macomber, 2020). Only major sites of administrative and ecclesiastical importance are mentioned. Further research on this text category is needed. For example, it is not known which sources have been used to compile the geographical lists.

Coptic has been studied continuously in Europe since the 16th century (Hamilton, 2006). It is noteworthy that Athanasius Kircher added a special chapter "De Urbibus Aegyptiis, cæterorumque vicinorum locorum appellationibus" to his edition of the medieval grammar books in which he tried to locate place names he had gathered from Coptic and Arabic sources (Kircher, 1643, pp. 604–615). Questions pertaining to geography continued to play a prominent part in early Coptic studies. On the eve of the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, two competing works were published within a few years summarizing the geographical knowledge on Egypt at the time (Quatremère, 1811; Champollion, 1814). This stage of research was crowned by the publication of the geographical dictionary by Émile Amélineau (1893, reprint 1973). One should note that the use of "Coptic" in its title, "La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte", corresponds to a cultural definition which is now obsolete. The term "Coptic" is best reserved for reference to a linguistic community and the use of expressions such as "Coptic period" or "Coptic Egypt" to refer to Late Antique Egypt is inappropriate, as they downplay the persistence of Coptic culture to the present day. Indeed, Amélineau draws to a large extent on medieval Arabic sources and many of the headings in his work reflect Arabic names even when a particular name is attested in Coptic or Greek. Another indispensable tool, similar to Amélineau's dictionary in its general outline and arrangement of entries, is Stefan Timm's (1984–1992) impressive multi-volume work on places mentioned in texts from the Islamic Middle Ages. Its usefulness has been enhanced through the later addition of an index (Brune, 2007). Various writings in the different languages are listed in the respective script, but, inconveniently for the onomastician, one has to browse the article itself and the endnotes in order to identify the sources for the spellings. One must bear in mind that Timm – to put it in a frequent

metonymical shorthand – is not a place name dictionary, but a dictionary of places which deals with neither phonological and lexical issues nor with etymologies. For etymological issues, one is fortunate to have a useful booklet by Peust (2010) with short entries for places in modern Egypt which have an origin in Ancient Egyptian/Coptic.

Among important research tools one should not fail to mention the database Trismegistos, administered from the Catholic University at Leuven, which started in 2005 as a papyrological endeavour, but gradually developed to cover an increasing number of sources pertaining to the ancient world (Depauw & Gheldof, 2014). Of particular interest for toponomastics is the search tab "places". One finds there a wealth of information, for each record includes the attestation in context, the source document and its current location, as well as date, material, provenance and bibliography. Whenever possible, the toponym's location is indicated on an interactive map. The records are tied to stable identifiers that assign a number to each place. Whereas Trismegistos claims near full coverage for ancient Greek documentation, Coptic toponyms are included to date only to a small extent. The name list I present does not allow complex searches in a way reminiscent of Trismegistos. The main aim of the list is to create a reliable basis for a grammatical and semantical analysis of place names as well as to evaluate the place names for their historical information. In addition to this, the list will be of benefit to scholars working in Coptic papyrology, and it might even be expected that papyrologists will be the principal users, but this will be more of a side effect than a deliberate aim.

Despite the inclusion of geography in the early days of Coptic studies, the study of place names today is limited to seldom more than isolated commentaries in text editions, above all for the sake of their historical or geographical value. The onomastic aspect passes largely unnoticed. To be fair, one must mention that the grammar of names has been treated in a thorough and inspiring study, indebted to structural grammar, but it is not comprehensive with respect to place names (Shisha-Halevy, 1989). As its author states:

> [u]rgent *desiderata* (…) are studies of the internal structure of P[roper] N[ames], their chronological and geographic-dialectal distribution, their various sources, the manner of their incorporation in and significance for the web of Coptic *culture* – all following upon an accurate reasoned listing of P[roper] N[ames]. (Shisha-Halevy, 1989, p. 2)

The statement still holds true after thirty years. The lack of fundamental preparatory work is probably also behind the fact that there is only a single overview on Coptic toponymy, published as an encyclopedia article (Megally, 1991).

3. Material and method

Direct inspiration for the project has been drawn from Monika Hasitzka's list of anthroponyms which are mentioned in Coptic documentary texts (Hasitzka, 2007). I have adapted her way of referring, whenever suitable, to the index page in the relevant text edition instead of referring directly to the edited document. This methodology saves the time devoted to proofreading. Nonetheless, despite this seemingly expedient solution, for reasons that I detail below in the following section, one cannot simply import the headings from the indexes. All attestations must be checked against the edited text.

As a first step, which is completed, names have been gathered from editions of documentary texts. I have used the "Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets" as the bibliographical basis for this work, which is freely consultable online at https://papyri.info/docs/checklist. In its latest version, it lists one hundred monographs and text collections, published between the years 1876 and 2022, which are mainly devoted to Coptic text editions. Many texts first published in journals have been reprinted with corrections in an authoritative collection (Hasitzka, 1993–2020). The texts in the "Checklist" represent primarily documentary texts, but some publications, mostly catalogues from different manuscript collections, also contain some literary texts. This gives a total of 1,585 lemmas in the database, including 1,432 for places in Egypt and 154 for places outside Egypt. As much as three quarters of the total are "hapaxes".[3] The total represents obviously only a small number of the named places in Late Antique Egypt. The find spots of documentary texts are geographically very

[3] Not always hapaxes in the strict meaning of the word. Even if a name occurs twice within the same text edition, it will be entered only once in my database.

unevenly distributed across the country, so that some areas barely show up in the onomastic record.

4. Perspective on alphabetizing Coptic

Although I have adapted the practice of citing the index page number, it is not as simple a process as just copying the names from the existing indexes, since these have been elaborated following divergent principles. To my knowledge, there is no uniform standard for constructing an index for Coptic. In fact, even the entries are sorted differently, according to whether one adheres to a strict alphabetical order or one uses the peculiar consonantal sort order which is commonly used for Coptic.[4] Thus, in the latter order, words are sorted first according to the consonants (although an initial vowel always counts), and then according to the vowels.[5] This explains how it comes about that in a modern Coptic dictionary the words *matoi* 'soldier', *mereh* 'spear' and *mnout* 'doorkeeper' are arranged in the opposite order: *mnout*, *mereh*, *matoi*. It makes sense to use the consonantal order for alphabetization in Coptic as it brings together words from different literary varieties ("dialects") under one entry, and these often differ only with respect to the vowels (e.g., *taho*, *teho* and *taha* 'set up', all of which are found under *t - h*). Furthermore, another peculiarity of Coptic dictionaries is that they list in principle only words of native origin or fully integrated loanwords, whereas the numerous Greek loanwords that season more or less any Coptic text are omitted. This means that one still needs to resort to a specialized or even Greek dictionary when reading Coptic.

Whereas older editions of Coptic texts sometimes lump toponyms and appellatives together in a single index (e.g., Hall, 1905), nowadays it is common

[4] On principles of alphabetization, see Korwin & Lund, 2019.

[5] This practice was introduced in the seminal Coptic-Latin dictionary by Amedeo Peyron (1835, p. xvi), as he admits, on the suggestion of Jean-François Champollion himself, the decipherer of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. It is interesting to note that Champollion already as early as 1809 grouped Coptic words according to roots (Champollion & Champollion, 2021, p. 67), inspired no doubt by the standard for several Semitic languages.

practice to have a separate index devoted to geographical names, sometimes refined into separate sections for field names, hagiotoponyms and hodonyms (e.g., Hasitzka, 1993–2020). The separation between toponyms and appellatives is in accordance with normal lexicographic practice (Marconi, 1990). Some authors index a standard form, others the form as actually attested in the published text. Regarding the sorting of toponyms in indexes, the consonantal sort order is sometimes used (e.g., Westendorf, 1965–1977, pp. 476–482; Boud'hors & Heurtel, 2010). More frequently, though, toponyms are listed according to a strict alphabetical order, whereby they differ from the arrangement of appellatives. An example is the Coptic index in Amélineau's (1893) geographical dictionary. More recently an alphabetical order has been used, for instance, in Hasitzka's reference work (1993–2020). It should be noted that, in contrast to ordinary dictionaries of appellatives, there is no separation between toponyms of native stock and those of foreign-language origin in toponymical dictionaries or lists.

For multiple reasons, the alphabetical order is to be recommended when indexing place names. Indeed, the absolute majority of native toponyms are not formed from recognizable consonantal roots, but, in so far as their etymology is transparent, they consist mostly of more or less identifiable compound elements. Adapting the consonantal order for foreign toponyms makes a particularly awkward impression (e.g., *korint^{h}os* 'Corinth' sorted as if it derived from a root *k* - *r* - *n* - *t^{h}* - *s*). If native Coptic and foreign toponyms are to be kept together, the only rational solution is to use alphabetical order. The adoption of the alphabetical order is practical as it also makes automatic sorting possible.

In the following I explain, using selected examples, why names in the indexes need to be checked against the edited text.

The easiest to spot are plain errors. Thus, in one place name index (Figure 1) two ordinary common nouns have been included: *šine* and *hmhal* (Melaerts, 2000, p. 664). It is easy for anyone who knows Coptic to see that these mean 'to greet' and 'servant'. In addition, a few entries have been listed without any alphabetical or any other order.

One should also beware of names in *Greek passages* from Copto-Greek documents that have been reproduced in a Coptic font in the index. Greek phrases also appear readily for summaries, salutations and endorsements in Coptic documents (e.g., Fournet, 2011). To mention just one example of many, as seen in Figure 2, the name *ermoupoleôs* is mentioned in Coptic letters in the index (Gardner et al., 1999, p. 322). A check in the edited text reveals that it

Noms de lieux

ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲙⲓⲥ 150 4
ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲃ 150 2
ⲧⲥⲓⲛⲃⲱⲣⲃ̄ 150 3
ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲗⲁ 150 6
ⲡⲱⲣⲁ 149 5
ϣⲓⲛⲉ 149 1, 3
ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ 149 3

Figure 1.

Source: Melaerts, 2000, p. 664.

Geographical and Ethnic Names

ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ **19.**44; **21.**9; **25.**42,48
ⲁⲣⲁⲃⲓⲁ **35.**11
ⲃⲁⲓⲧ **46.**1 (cf. ? ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ)
Ἑρμοῦ πόλις ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲱⲥ **26.**address
Κέλλις **26.**address
ⲃⲗⲗⲉ **40.**15
ⲃⲏⲗⲁ **50.**40
ⲕⲏⲙⲉ *Egypt* **22.**38,69; **35.**6; **42.**38; **47.**22
ⲕⲏⲙⲁ **31.**8
ⲣⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ *Egyptian* 19.14
(λιβύς / λιβυστικός) ⲗⲩⲃⲓⲕⲟⲥ **50.**27
(Μῶθις) ⲙⲟⲟⲧ **50.**18

Figure 2.

Source: Gardner et al., 1999, p. 322.

is found in a Greek phrase ἀπ Ἡρμοῦ πόλεως 'from Hermopolis', correctly reproducing the genitive following the preposition *apo* 'from'. In my opinion, the name does not reflect Coptic naming practice. In fact, Hermopolis is well attested under its Coptic name *šmoun*, which is unrelated to its name in Greek. The index creates the impression that *ermoupoleôs* was used as an alternative form in Coptic.

One should note that sometimes indexes contain a standardized name form. For instance, Krueger (2020) notes only the standard writing *jême*, which is the name of an important Late Antique settlement near Thebes (p. 471). A check reveals that the place name is written in the actual documents *jema* or *jeme*.

I have also chosen to omit ethnics and derived forms, such as *hromaikos* 'Roman', *persos* 'Persian', etc. from the list. This omission relates mainly to borrowed adjectives, such as those quoted, since native Coptic equivalents are formed through compounds (e.g., *p-rm-antinoou* 'the man from Antinoou', lit. 'the-man-Antinoou') or the possessive prefix *pa-migdôl* 'the one from Migdol'.

6. Where does a proper name begin?

I have given reasons above as to why the alphabetical sorting order is to be preferred to the consonantal sorting order for placenames. It is not altogether easy, however, to determine which is the initial consonant under which some names should be alphabetized. This is the case when the name includes the definite article. The question also arises with regard to names preceded by a descriptive term.

Coptic has a preposed definite article, which as an unstressed element becomes a prefix merged with the noun (e.g., the masculine *p* in *p-rôme* 'the man' or feminine *t* in *t-polis* 'the town'). When it comes to alphabetizing, it is tempting to apply the rule found in modern European languages to disregard the definite article (*The Bronx* and *Le Havre* are entered under B and H in English and French respectively), all the more so as it may appear logical to place the word under the same letter irrespective of whether it is an appellative or a proper name. Nevertheless, there are divergent views among professional indexers regarding the best way in English to treat the definite article *the*,

some advocating its inclusion when alphabetizing place names (Wellisch, 1999, pp. 237–244; Browne, 2001). It might be asked, however, whether it is appropriate to use one single model for all languages and it seems better to determine what the most suitable alphabetization rules for each individual language are.

In fact, there seem to be various cases in which Coptic place names appear together with the definite article and different solutions are called for in each of them:

(a) The definite article of any gender or number (gender distinction only in the singular) can be used with toponyms. The element following the article is often identifiable as an appellative. In accordance with well established English practice (Wellisch, 1999, p. 238), the article was previously often transposed in indexes to the end of the heading, preceded by a comma. Thus, a place name *tnouhe*, 'the sycamore', would be found under *nouhe, t-* (Crum, 1909). This could happen also where in synchrony no appellative can be identified (e.g., *pkront* which was rendered in the index as *kront, p-*, Bell & Crum, 1910). No word *kront* is found in the dictionaries. It would seem that the article in place names belonging to this category, typically pertaining to Egypt, cannot be dispensed with and should be regarded as an integral part of the place name. Therefore, it seems better to alphabetize this category of names under the article as is done in most indexes in modern Coptic text editions.

(b) The feminine definite article is also used regularly together with the names of a number of foreign cities and significant towns as well as with the names of regions: *t-antiok^{h}ia* 'Antioch' (Antakya), *t-kappadokia* 'Cappadocia'. River names are masculine (e.g., *p-iordanês* 'The Jordan River'). To what extent the presence of the definite article is required seems to differ from name to name, but it would seem that the article can be dispensed with at times (e.g., *pi-ark^{h}iêpiskopos n-antiok^{h}ia* 'the archbishop of Antioch'). It is at present unclear to what extent the examples here noted as case (b) represent a single category, and Shisha-Halevy's (1989) remark that place names may call for further subcategorization is still valid (p. 15). In this context, it is worth observing that the medieval Coptic *scalae* often list regions while including the definite article, but names of towns only occasionally (thus *t^{h}-italia* 'Italy', but *antiok^{h}ia* 'Antioch' in Munier, 1930). As far as I have been able to see, such items are never entered in the index under the article. An article is sometimes added, however, after the heading in the manner just described, but mostly that piece of information is

left out completely. One reason to disregard the article in alphabetization is the fact that the lemma constitutes by itself a proper name.

There is also some hesitation as to the exact delimitation of the proper name when preceded by a descriptive term with a classificatory function (e.g., Van Langendonck, 2007, pp. 75–76, 138–140). In Coptic, this problem arises mainly in relation to monasteries and churches. The understanding differs from language to language. A traditional analysis of English and French would consider the initial noun in 'monastery of Saint Apollo' or 'monastère de Saint Apollon' as a noun in close apposition, whereas in German 'Apollokloster' the noun 'monastery' is contained in the name itself and the whole is considered as making up the proper name.[6] Despite the outward similarity between English and Coptic (N1 particle N2), this pattern is not recognized as appositive in Coptic grammar (cf. Shisha-Halevy, 1989, pp. 67, 77).

The following list contains synonymous expressions for the monastery of Apa Apollo near Balaizah in Middle Egypt. Note that the words translated as 'monastery' (*monastêrion*), 'rock' (*petra*) or 'place' (*topos*) are different ways of referring, with slight semantic differences, to the same entity (Wipszycka, 2009, pp. 281–291).

(a)	*p-topos n-apa apollô*	'the monastery of Apa Apollo'
(b)	*t-pet(ra) apa apollô*	'the rock Apa Apollo'
(c)	*p-monastêrion n-p-ʰagios apa apollô*	'the monastery of Saint Apa Apollo'
(d)	*p-monastêrion et-ouaab n-apa apollô*	'the holy monastery of Apa Apollo'

In example (a) the descriptive element is used with the name of the titular saint in a possessive construction marked as such by *n*, whereas in (b) two elements are juxtaposed. The personal name is preceded in (c) by the adjective *hagios* 'saint'; in (d) it is the descriptive element that is expanded through a qualifying expression.

It would seem that the distinction between proper noun and proper name, which has become established in English, comes in handy at this point. 'The monastery of Apa Apollo' can be regarded as a proper name, but only Apollo is a proper noun (cf. Schlücker & Ackermann, 2017, pp. 311–313). Indeed, the very

[6] Let it be said in passing that this analysis is nowadays rejected for French (Riegel et al., 2018, p. 348).

variation affecting the descriptive terms proves that they are not part of the name proper. The personal name is in fact the only indispensable element. The proper noun can act singly with reference to the place. This is shown by an example of *p-monok^{h}os n-apa apoulô* 'the monk of Apa Apollo' where the latter certainly refers to the place and not the saint.

Some use the descriptive term as a lead term in alphabetization (e.g., Biedenkopf-Ziehner, 2000, p. 275). In a few publications, both the name itself and the descriptive term are found in the index for geographical names. Thus, *p-tošn-ermont* 'the Hermonthite nome' is divided between *ermont* (followed by the descripive term) and *tošš* (Crum & Steindorff, 1971, pp. 466–467). It seems best to me to alphabetize only the personal name, which serves as a heading, while the descriptive term and any eventual accompanying words are mentioned in the attestations found in the subheadings.

Figure 3 shows how issues discussed in the preceding sections will be presented in the published name list. Each entry contains a heading which is given in a standardized form. The headings are alphabetized according to the Coptic alphabetical order using letter-by-letter arrangement (Wellisch, 1995, pp. 13–19).[7] If other spellings are attested, they follow in indented subheadings in inverted order. Information regarding identification with modern sites or approximate geographical location according to the administrative subdivisions (pagarchies) of early Byzantine Egypt follows in brackets after the heading. If any stable identifier number has been attributed to the place in the Trismegistos database, this one is mentioned on the same line as the heading. Foreign places are marked as such by a square preceding the entry. Headings where the identity as a place name is not certain are preceded by an asterisk. As already said, in general the page number of the index serves as a locator, not the actual page where the attestation is to be found. If, however, the text edition does not have an index or if there is the need to distinguish between the attestations, the page of the edition is cited in parentheses. Any locator preceded by 'no.' (number) refers to the text edition number, which can be used if there is a need to differentiate between the attestations.

[7] This system which disregards spaces seems preferable to a word-by-word arrangement given that spaces are interpretations made by the editor and not original, since Coptic was written in *scriptio continua*.

ⲁⲃⲁⲱ (near Alexandria?) **SB Kopt. III**, p. 241
ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ (monastery, probably in Coptites)
ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ, ⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄- **P.Mon.Epiph.**, p. 355
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ, ⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲓ/ **SB Kopt. III**, p. 242
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣ[ⲁϩⲁⲙ], ⲡⲙ[ⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ]ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄- **BKU II**, p. (219)
*ⲁⲃⲣϩⲁⲙ **O.BawitFribourg**, p. 82
ⲁⲃⲱⲧ (Abydos TM Geo 34)
ⲁⲃⲱⲧ **O.Bawit**, pp. (6), 417
ⲉⲃⲱⲧ **O.Bawit**, pp. (63), 417; **SB Kopt. IV**, p. 244
ⲁⲉⲣⲙⲱⲛ, *see under* ϩⲉⲣⲙⲱⲛ
*ⲁⲑⲁⲙ (monastery?)
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲑⲁⲙ, ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ- **P.Bal.**, p. 827
ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲉ (monastery in Hermopolites TM Geo 12956)
ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲉ **P.Bal.**, p. 827
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲉ, ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ- **P.Sorb.**Copt., p. 277
□ ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲁⲓⲥ (Athens, Greece TM Geo 364)
[ⲁⲑⲏ]ⲛⲁⲓⲥ **P.Ryl.Copt.**, p. 251
ⲁⲑⲣⲓⲃⲉ, *see under* ⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡⲉ
ⲁⲏⲇⲉⲥⲥⲁ, *see under* ⲉⲇⲉⲥⲥⲁ
ⲁⲓⲗⲁⲙ, *see under* ⲉⲗⲁⲙ
□ ⲁⲓⲗⲱⲛ (Elath, Jordan TM Geo 8852) **P.Bodm. XVIII**, p. 221
*ⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲙⲟⲩ **CPR IV**, p. 212 (perhaps for ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ)
ⲁⲕⲉ, *see under* ϩⲁⳟⲉ
*ⲁⲕⲉⲃⲉⲕ **O.Deir el-Bahari**, p. (141)
ⲁⲗⲁⲃⲱⲃ̣ⲁⲧ **SB Kopt. III**, p. 241
ⲁⲗⲉ̈ϫⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁ (Alexandria TM Geo 100)
ⲁⲗⲉⲕⲥⲁⲛ[ⲇⲣ]ⲓⲁ **SB Kopt. I**, p. 324
ⲁⲗⲉ̈ϫⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁ **SB Kopt. II**, p. 280
[ⲁⲗⲉ̈ϫⲁⲛⲇ]ⲣⲓⲁ **SB Kopt. I**, p. 324
ⲁⲗⲏⲕⲥⲁⲙⲑⲣⲓⲁ **SB Kopt. I**, p. 324
ⲁⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥⲉ̣̈ⲧⲉⲗⲓ (in Herakleopolites) **P.Stras.Copt.**, p. 470
□ ⲁⲗⲕⲁⲧⲣⲁⲡⲟⲩⲗⲗⲓ (quarter in Baghdad, Iraq) **P.Ryl.Copt.**, p. 252
ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲣⲟⲩ **O.Bawit**, p. 417
ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩ (in Hermopolites TM Geo 4386) **CPR XII**, p. 99
ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲟ[ⲫⲓⲁ] **P.Bal.**, p. 827
□ ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ (Hell)
ⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧ **P.Ryl.Copt.**, pp. (223), 251
ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ **P.Ryl.Copt.**, pp. (31), 251
ⲁⲛ[ ] **O.Crum**, p. 108
ⲁⲛ[ ] **P.Bal.**, p. 827
ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ (monastery near Thebes?)
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ **O.Crum**, p. 108

Figure 3.

Source: Engsheden, 2023, p. 7.

7. Final words

Once the list based on papyrological studies has been published, the next logical step would be to enlarge the database by adding information from literary texts, such as martyr legends and homilies as well as the Bible and the Apocrypha. This part of the work can profit from the "Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari" (CMCL) which was conceived by Tito Orlandi, Professor for Coptic Studies in Rome. This database, which is available on subscription, helps to keep track of the many text editions of literary texts and their manuscripts. After the incorporation of literary texts, it is hoped that it will be possible to complement Shisha-Halevy's (1989) important study on the syntax of names in Coptic and thereby also to contribute to the booming research field of name grammar (e.g., Schlücker & Ackermann, 2017; Stolz et al., 2017). It is important to distinguish the different levels of analysis and not to mix synchrony and diachrony. As recently stated, "[o]ften, interesting insights and generalizations can be gained through recognizing the validity of a synchronic view" (Van Langendonck & Van de Velde, 2016, p. 33). Diachronic considerations may sometimes indeed obscure the facts such as when it is claimed in an overview of Coptic toponymy that *ermont* 'Hermonthis', modern Armant near Luxor, is "named after a divinity" (Megally, 1991, p. 2272). This is true, from a diachronic perspective (referring to the ancient god Montu), but the name origin was hardly evident in a monoreligious society keen on obliterating its pagan past. In synchrony *ermont* must be regarded as monomorphemic. A synchronic view may explain how it was possible that such theophoric names were preserved in a Christian environment (and later borrowed in Arabic) unlike the Greek names for Egyptian cities (*Herakleopolis*, *Hermopolis*, *Krokodilonpolis* which were possible to segmentalize).

Furthermore, the analysis of the names as shaped in relation to their physical and human environment has a potential to contribute to a better understanding of some aspects of settlement history. The floruit of Coptic written sources does not coincide, it would seem, with a growth of urban life or increase in the number of settlements. The major settlements trace their origins back to the pharaonic period. Basically, one expects names in a country settled long since – such as Egypt – also to have been in continuous use. In a preliminary fashion then, it seems as if one should count on the continuous

presence of age-old settlements with firmly established, inherited names, next to smaller units, hamlets or farmsteads often carrying the name of the owner, which could switch together with ownership. Churches and monasteries represent a new type of inhabited space and their names constitute presumably the really original and lasting contribution to Egyptian toponymy. To what extent this can be confirmed remains to be seen, but at any rate a well-structured name list is a necessary prerequisite for the further study of Coptic place names.

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Norse Women in Uist Place Names: An Onomastic Perspective

Abstract

There is a large body of research which deals with the place names coined by the Norse in Scotland during the Scandinavian period of settlement. But how were the Norse, especially Norse women, remembered and imagined by subsequent users of these names? This paper presents a selection of place names that reflect associations with Norse women after the period of Scandinavian settlement in the Hebrides of Scotland and explores how these names were understood by later Gaelic-speakers. The paper presents case studies of two place names: Tobha Mòr/Howmore in South Uist and Uineabhal in North Uist. These place names, and the narratives associated with them, are examined in their onomastic and cultural context.

Keywords

Scotland, Scandinavia, folklore, socio-onomastics, folk-etymology

1. Introduction

There are numerous references to Norse women[1] in Scottish place names, many of which were *not* coined by speakers of a Norse language.[2] Crucially, we have a large body of place names and related place lore coined by later speakers of Gaelic which contain both implicit and explicit references to Norse women. This material is found in various areas of Scotland, especially the Hebrides, but it has not yet been comprehensively studied within its proper onomastic context. This paper will examine some aspects of how the women commemorated in these place names have been imagined and reimagined by different name users. It presents case studies focusing on two place names which have been associated with Norse women in local place lore: Tobha Mòr/Howmore[3] in South Uist (Grid Reference NF766362) and Uineabhal in North Uist (Grid Reference NF802672).

The principal area of investigation, the Uists in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland, are a series of connected islands consisting of North Uist, Benbecula and South Uist. As is the case for much of the Hebrides, the present namescape here is characterised by two main linguistic layers, Old Norse and Gaelic. Generally, the earliest layer still clearly visible in surviving place names was coined in Old Norse during the Viking Age (roughly the 9th to 13th centuries in this area). There is subsequently a layer of Gaelic place names, after it took over from Norse as the main spoken language in the area. We should note that all the material examined here has been transmitted through a lens of Gaelic, having been used in a Gaelic-speaking context from roughly the 13th century

[1] In this paper the term 'Norse woman' is primarily used to denote descriptions of women with explicit or implicit Scandinavian characteristics (e.g., speakers of a Scandinavian language, women who are commemorated in place names coined in Old Norse, or who are described as daughters of Norse rulers) who appear in Gaelic narratives which take place in the Scandinavian diaspora.

[2] It is worth noting that it is generally difficult to firmly associate place names coined in a Norse language with women. Although commemorations of women in Norse place names containing a feminine personal name as an element do exist, they are scarce and often difficult to identify with any certainty. For further discussion of Norse place names containing a feminine personal name in a Hebridean context, see Evemalm, 2018.

[3] Where dual spellings are given, they are based on Gaelic/Anglicised forms provided by modern Ordnance Survey maps: https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/

onwards. In addition to providing information about the historical realities of Norse settlement in western Scotland, the place names can therefore provide clues about how Gaelic speakers understood the Norse past in these areas. Notably, several of the place names discussed here do not appear on published maps, but rather are recorded in 19th- and 20th-century written and oral sources, some in Gaelic and some in English and Scots. There is typically a significant temporal gap between the recording of relevant lore and the purported time period in which the events described therein took place. This paper does not offer a tidy solution to this problem, but it does highlight the need for further detailed case studies which consider the full onomastic, historical and archaeological context. The present discussion therefore offers a springboard for future place-name surveys in these areas.

A diachronic approach is used to examine how portrayals and perceptions of the Norse (especially women) in Uist have developed geographically and temporally and how that is expressed in the onomastic material. In most of the examples discussed – as far as can be ascertained from the surviving source material – we are not dealing with historical women, but rather depictions of women found in local traditions and folklore. Thus, I will especially explore how motifs which occur in local place lore have become embedded in the physical and symbolic landscape through place names. In doing so, I will consider how we can use this material to investigate how the Norse past in Uist has been understood by speakers of Gaelic. This study also seeks to contribute to current discourse on the dynamic nature of place names, stressing the need to approach them as cultural artefacts which are constantly changing and developing.[4]

Various terms are used to describe the Norse, or Vikings, in Hebridean place names and narratives, but one frequently occurring character, or set of characters, is given the Gaelic epithet *Nighean Rìgh Lochlainn*, which can be loosely translated as 'The daughter of the King of the Norsemen'. It is found as an element in several Uist place names including Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn in North Uist (Grid Reference NF953723, recorded by Beveridge, 1911/2018, pp. 146–147) and Dun Seibhe Nighean Righ Lochlann in Benbecula (Grid Reference NF863497, see Raven, 2005, p. 200). As we shall see, this epithet also appears in relation to other place names through associated place lore. The

[4] For a recent discussion covering similar issues in a Scottish context see Künzler, 2020.

term *Rìgh Lochlainn* is well attested in medieval and later sources in Ireland and Scotland. It can be used to denote a fictional king of Norway (or 'of Norsemen'), but the term *Lochlann* is also used in Gaelic to describe Scandinavia as a real geographical entity (Dwelly, 1901–1911/2011, s.v. *Lochlann*). It should be stressed that this paper does not attempt to trace the origins and spread of the *Rìgh Lochlainn* motif, or to explore the etymology of terms like *Lochlann* and *Laithlind*. Both terms have a long and complex history, which has been extensively discussed in their appropriate historical context.[5] For the purpose of this discussion, it is sufficient to define *Rìgh Lochlainn* as a motif looking back to a Norse (sometimes imagined) past. It is often found in the context other folkloric and mythical motifs in Gaelic tradition (e.g., see *Lochlann* in Black, 2003/2019).

2. Case study: Tobha Mòr/Howmore

Tobha Mòr/Howmore in South Uist now refers to a settlement and church-complex which emerged as a prominent ecclesiastical site in the medieval period (Stell, 2014, p. 294). Another lesser-known aspect of the site is its Norse dimension and the process by which the name Tobha Mòr/Howmore has been connected to a Norse past in local tradition. The name appears in stories in a range of 19th- and 20th-century sources, including the collections of folklorist Alexander Carmichael. One account collected from Duncan MacLellan (Càrnan, South Uist) reads as follows:

> Righ Lochlans two child [children] were out playing one day – Mor agus Aula Dearg – They went down to a stream below their fath [father's] house and seeg [seeing] a small coit – "coit an da raimh" [small boat] & the day being fine they went into it and went paddling about. The wind drove them abou [about] out and a drift till they land [landed] at Amhunn Hough They grew up Mor died & was buri [buried] at Hough. Her bro. [brother] died & was bur [buried] at Cill

[5] For example, see Kruse (2017, pp. 198–231) for discussion of the origins of *Laithlind* and its historical and geographic context.

> Aulai. [Amhlaidh] (…) The Pope sent Naomh-Blianan [to bless their graves]. He took with him as usual a sackful of uir na Roimh [soil from Rome]. He first came to Hough & put a spadeful there & conse [consecrated] it. The mean [meaning] of the name is Tunga Moire. Tow mor. (Carmichael, 1869, Coll-97/CW150/60)[6]

A similar story is told, but with some notable differences, by South Uist storyteller Angus MacLellan (1961/2015): Mór, daughter of the King of Norway, was drowned and found on the shore; she was the first woman buried at Togh-Mór (Howmore); this is why it was called Tó-Mór; i.e. Taigh Móire, "Mór's House", is its right name. The daughter of the King of Norway was the first woman buried there. The interpretations in both stories undoubtedly reflect folk-etymology; the original meaning of the name has been reinterpreted, in this context to explain the narratives presented. Our earliest attestation of the name appears in 1495 when it is recorded as *Skerehowg* (RMS II, p. 484) 'parish of **Hogh*'. This existing name was incorporated into several Gaelic place names with the added elements *mòr* 'big' (the same word as the feminine name *Mòr* which appears in the stories above) and *beag* 'small'.[7] These place names (Tobha Mòr/Howmore and Tobha Beag/Howbeg) now refer to two settlements found near the chapel-complex. Analysis of the earlier formation **Hogh* is more problematic. It almost certainly refers to an original Norse place name, possibly a simplex-name with Old Norse *haugr* 'cairn, mound'. The cairn in question may refer to the Neolithic chambered cairn located roughly one kilometre to the east at Glac Hukarvat (Grid Reference NF778362, Canmore ID 9878), but further analysis of the cairn and its historical Norse context is beyond the scope of this study.[8] It is sufficient to note here that the place name ultimately reflects an Old Norse coining, adding yet another layer of 'Norseness' to the site. We should nevertheless note that the coining of the original Norse name was possibly prompted by an existing prehistoric monument, perhaps telling

[6] This story is recorded in a field notebook belonging to Alexander Carmichael. Transcriptions of material from the Carmichael Watson collection (Coll-97) are based on those provided by the Carmichael Watson project, retrieved December 5, 2021, from https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/library-museum-gallery/crc/research-resources/gaelic/carmichael-watson

[7] The original name with Old Norse *haugr* developed into **Hogh* in a Gaelic-speaking context, subsequently resulting in the Gaelic place names Tobha Mòr and Tobha Beag by a process of back-formation (see Cox, 1992, p. 140 for discussion of back-formation in Norse-Gaelic context).

[8] For further analysis of the landscape context of the cairn see Cummings et al., 2005, pp. 37–54.

us something about how Norse settlers interacted with the existing physical landscape in this part of the world.

In order to fully explore the context of the place lore presented here, we should briefly consider the other child of *Rìgh Lochlainn* mentioned in the story recorded by Carmichael above. Initially referred to as Aula Dearg ('Red/ruddy Aula'), he is associated with another South Uist church site in the story: Cill Amhlaidh/Kilaulay (Grid Reference NF755461). This is a Gaelic place name which contains *cill* 'church, chapel' and the personal name *Olaf*, almost certainly referring to St Olaf of Norway (Clancy & Evemalm, 2018a). It is interesting to note that we are once again seeing the reanalysis of a Gaelic place name with a Norse dimension. Additionally, a rather different version of the story of *Rìgh Lochlainn*'s children is presented in *the "Ordnance Survey Name Books"* (OS1/18/10/84) under the entry for Cill Amhlaidh. Here the site is "supposed to be the burying place of a Danish Princess of the name of Alua or Oloff which [*sic*] was caught in a storm and blown to Uist". In this account, *Aula* has been transformed into a "Danish princess". Referring to speakers of a Norse language as 'Danes' was a frequent feature of 18th- and 19th-century antiquarian writings. Turning to *The Old Statistical Account* for South Uist we are told that:

> The only thing remarkable in this way to be observed in the parish, are the remains of the Danish forts, which are built in a circular form (…) In the island of Benbecula (…) the remains of one of these towers, of a very large size, are to be seen; the name is Dun Elvine nean Ruarie, or the tower of Elvina, the daughter of Rory; this Elvina being the daughter of some Danish chieftain, as traditionary account tells. (OSA, p. 299)

As suggested by John Raven (2005, p. 221), this probably refers to Caisteal Bhuirgh/Borve Castle in Benbecula (Grid Reference NF773505), the remains of a 14th-century tower house (Canmore ID 9962). The daughter in question seems to ultimately refer to a real woman, Amie NicRuairidh, who lived in the 14th century. According to various accounts such as the 17th-century "History of the MacDonalds" (Gregory & Skene, 1847) she was responsible for building and providing patronage to several churches in the Uists, including St. Michael's Chapel (North Uist), Teampull na Trionaid (North Uist) and Teampull Chaluim Chille (Benbecula) (Clancy & Evemalm, 2018b). The same source states that she "likewise built the castle of Borve in Benbicula", referring to

Caisteal Bhuirgh (Gregory & Skene, 1847, p. 298). This is yet another name with Norse roots, its specific having been transferred from nearby Borgh denoting Old Norse *borg* 'fortification', perhaps partially explaining the assumption that the Norse were responsible for, or at least associated with, any physical remains here.

References to the Norse as 'Danes' have been discussed by Clare Downham (2011) in Lowland Scotland using "The Old Statistical Accounts" as a point of reference. She concludes that: "Across large areas of Scotland in the 18th century 'Danes' or Vikings were cast in a negative light, although in the Northern Isles and Caithness the 'Norse' were regarded as praiseworthy ancestors" (Downham, 2011, p. 62). The label 'Danish' is thus arguably best understood in the context of antiquarian, Lowland, often (but not always) non-Gaelic, perceptions of the Vikings in Scotland. Such accounts present a sometimes stark contrast with the narratives discussed in a Hebridean context above. It serves as a reminder that we always need to carefully consider the context of transmission when attempting to gauge how Scotland's Viking past has been, and still is, understood by different actors.

3. Case study: Uineabhal

For the second case study we move northwards to a hill in North Uist known as Uineabhal. This is another place name found in one of Carmichael's field notebooks where he records the following account:

> Una Nin [Nighean] Ri [Righ] Lochlan [Lochlainn]. Clacha corrach on Unival were worship [worshipped] by Una[']s] army Any of Una's men who are guilty of crime were made to col [collect] the stones of the pharps [*barps* ('cairns')] as pun [punishment] & of & if they didn't worship her images. (Carmichael, c. 1872, Coll-97/CW90/74)

The nearby dun in Loch Huna (Grid Reference NF812667) was also the residence of Una according to another account recorded by Carmichael (Raven, 2005, p. 200). The implication in these stories is that both the hill and the

loch were named after Una, the daughter of *Rìgh Lochlainn*. One interesting aspect of this account is that the stones of **Clacha Corrach* (probably 'steep' or 'unstable stones') mentioned therein appear to have some basis in the physical landscape. On the south-western side of the hill is a Neolithic chambered cairn with at least one standing stone (Canmore ID 10234). It seems highly likely that the cairn and standing stone at least partially prompted the creation of this story. It serves as an excellent example of how existing monuments in the landscape can be used as visual anchors in the creation of narratives associated with place names.

Turning to the etymology of Uineabhal, the name is a Norse coining, with the generic element *fjall* 'hill, mountain'. The specific element is more difficult. It may reflect a masculine personal name, *Uni*, with *Una* as the genitive form (Lind, 1905–1915, s.v. *Uni*). On the other hand, an interpretation with an initial *h* is also conceivable; the loss of initial *h* is attested in other Hebridean Norse place names, as noted by Cox (1987, p. 159). If we interpret the specific element in the nearby lake of Loch Huna (Grid Reference NF811667) as representing an original Old Norse formation this seems even more likely. Thus, we need to consider multiple additional elements. One possibility would be *húnn* 'young bear' (Cl.-Vig., s.v. *húnn*) or the masculine personal name *Húni* with genitive *Húna* (Lind, 1905–1915, s.v. *Húni*). There are potential parallels with other place names such as Huna in Caithness (Grid Reference ND369732) to be considered, but ultimately the lack of early forms in our area makes it difficult to analyse the name with any certainty. The crux of the matter is that an original Norse place name is unlikely to have contained a feminine Norse personal name and once again we appear to be dealing with a reinterpretation (folk-etymology).[9] To fully understand the process by which place name elements have been reinterpreted to represent Norse women we need to consider multiple factors, some of which are outlined in the following analysis.

[9] Although masculine *Uni* would be more consistent with the current spellings, *Unna* is an attested Norse feminine personal name, and we should perhaps not entirely dismiss the possibility of a feminine personal name (Lind, s.v. *Unna*).

4. Analysis

As demonstrated in these case studies, there are different ways in which place names can evoke images of Norse women in Uist. Most obviously, the place name itself contains references to a person who was viewed as having Norse characteristics, as is the case in examples like Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn. More frequently, the Norse connection is established through place lore, as in Tobha Mòr/Howmore and Uineabhal where the etymology of both names has been reinterpreted to connect them to their respective narratives. It is perhaps surprising that the majority of these place names are coined in Gaelic rather than Old Norse – only Uineabhal can be firmly placed in the category of place names coined by speakers of Norse – but as highlighted above, names like Cill Amhlaidh/Kilaulay have a strong Norse dimension, and Tobha Mòr/Howmore ultimately reflects an underlying Old Norse place name.

For the final part of this paper I shall address two key questions which arise in relation to these place names: why and how were these narratives created? Can we explain why women feature so prominently in them? One interpretation is that they are an expression of Gaelic speakers imagining, or perhaps more appropriately reimagining, a Viking past by adding a distinctly fantastical, mythological element. Viewed in this light these stories become representations of barbarous Viking women; an expression of 'the Other'. This has previously been suggested in a Uist context by Raven (2005) who argues that: "Strong and barbarous Lochlannich women are a common feature in the oral history of North Uist perhaps emanating from a need to show the otherness of the earlier Norse overlords" (p. 201). This may not be entirely erroneous; in some of these stories there is likely an element of othering, especially when emphasising the barbarous nature of these women, best seen in the stories of Una. For comparison, we may also consider traditions recorded elsewhere in Scotland, including the account of how "An Dubh Ghiubhsach, Nighean Righ Lochlainn" 'The Dark, or Pitch-pine, Daughter of the Norse King' burned the woods of Lochaber. Therein the Norsemen are described as follows:

> the fame they gathered for themselves through their indulgence in every manner of cruel spoliation, and slaughter of the people wherever they landed, was

> that they were a bold, courageous, hardy, rough ('The Norsemen a rough band'), peremptory and unscrupulous race, and more than that, it was attributed to them that they practised witchcraft, charms, and had much of other unhallowed learning among them. The Norse King's eldest daughter was particularly noted for the knowledge of the 'Black Art'. (Campbell, 1895, pp. 101–107)

This description undeniably brings to mind familiar depictions of plundering savage Vikings often found in popular culture. However, I propose that there is another dimension to be considered in the context of the narratives discussed above which is quite different from the casting of the Vikings as 'the Other'.

Firstly, several of these narratives have a strikingly Christian dimension. They are not stories of savage pagan Viking raiders plundering churches; rather the opposite often seems to be the case. The churches at two of the sites discussed here, Tobha Mòr/Howmore and Cill Amhlaidh/Kilaulay, emerge as important ecclesiastical sites during the medieval period, with Cill Amhlaidh/Kilaulay having a distinctly Norse association due to its commemoration of a Scandinavian saint. The narratives associated with these sites are used to explain their origins, not in the context of being plundered by Vikings, as we might expect if Raven's interpretation were correct. Similarly, we find a Christian dimension in the place lore. In the story of Tobha Mòr/Howmore recorded by Carmichael, the point is to explain how the soil from Rome ended up at various church sites in the Hebrides. Carmichael also records yet another story associated with Una, in which she was responsible for building Kilmuir at Hogha Ghearraidh/Hougharry: "Una built an Kille moire Howgeary" (Carmichael, c. 1872, Coll-97/CW90/76). Kilmuir is another medieval church site in North Uist dedicated to St Mary (Grid Reference NF708705). The site still hosts a selection of medieval carved stones (Canmore ID 10103). Considering these combined pieces of evidence, might the stories ultimately tell us something about the historical realities of the Viking Age in the Hebrides? We know that the Hebridean Norse eventually converted to Christianity, but this is a process which remains relatively obscure in the historic, onomastic and archaeological record. Nevertheless, it would likely partially have been a process of both integration and continuity (see, e.g., Abrams, 2007; Clancy, 2021). These narratives, with their Norse-Christian characteristics, may partially reflect such continuities and provide evidence for Norse-speaking communities adapting to and working within existing Christian networks. We should also explore another point further: at least one of the examples examined

here has ties to a historical person, Amie NicRuairidh who, as stated above, is credited with the building of several churches in the Hebrides. It is worth considering the possibility that this longstanding association with a prominent historical woman has influenced the emergence of other narratives associated with women and the building of churches. It is perhaps partially in this light that stories like the one of Una building the church at Hogha Gheararaidh/Hougharry should ultimately be viewed.

Secondly, it is interesting to note that in several of the examples discussed here, although an element in the place name in question has been reinterpreted as the personal name of a woman with Norse characteristics, some of the personal names are not obviously Norse. To an extent, this may reflect the fact that as place name elements, they are reinterpretations of Gaelic coinings, but there is another dimension to consider. *Mòr*, as discussed above, is a reinterpretation of the Gaelic common noun *mòr* 'big', but it is also a feminine Gaelic personal name and an attested character in medieval Irish literature.[10] The scope of this examination does not allow for a full analysis of parallels with real or literary figures found in Irish sources, but such comparisons may prove fruitful in future studies. Of course, personal names cannot be taken as indicators of language or ethnicity and there is still much work to be done to fully unpack the wider literary context of this material. Nevertheless, the strong Gaelic dimension present in these stories is worth keeping in mind, and perhaps tells us something about the role of women and the social and political context in which the Hebrides moved from a Norse to Gaelic context.

Finally, where physical monuments are used as anchors for narratives – see for example Uineabhal – they do not obviously belong to the Norse period of settlement. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that such monuments were reused by the Norse, but they are generally prehistoric monuments such as Neolithic cairns. Yet again, the place lore seems to reflect an amalgamation of numerous different influences spanning many centuries, and sometimes even millennia, coalescing to form the narratives and place names discussed here.

[10] Mór Mumhan, a goddess figure in early Irish tales who represents "the symbolic female personification of the territory and the divine sovereignty of the land of Ireland" (Ó Crualaoich, 2003, p. 55). Also see MacCana (1955, pp. 76–114).

5. Conclusions

This brief examination has demonstrated that the commemoration of Norse women in Uist place names is far from one dimensional. Perhaps surprisingly, they are often found in post-Norse Gaelic place names. The epithet *Nighean Rìgh Lochlainn* is especially prevalent in – and in association with – Uist place names. The place names and narratives examined here can tell us about Gaelic perceptions of a Norse past, ultimately rooted in historic reality. Crucially, in these narratives, the Norse are not necessarily presented as 'the Other' or as savage 'Norse overlords' in the way we might expect. Rather, they appear to represent a sometimes intriguingly complex intermingling of different narratives and influences which merge to create a dynamic collective cultural memory incorporating elements of both Norse and Gaelic history, at times reflecting remarkable continuity. In many respects this is different from the view of the Vikings found in parts of Scotland where the Norse presence was historically not as strong. Finally, as noted in this paper, the majority of place names discussed have resulted in the creation of folk-etymologies. Clearly, we would do well not to dismiss these too lightly since, as demonstrated here, they can tell us much about how local perceptions of place and identity have developed over time. It is a reminder of the value in considering the full cultural and historical context of any given place name.

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Spatial Focus or Onomastic Focus? An Unsolved Problem in Digital Onomastics

Abstract

As with other research, an important part of place-name research is how to localize one's object of study. Traditionally, place-name localization has been indirect, stated in relation to in which administrative unit the place name was situated. With the so-called spatial turn, geolocation and place-name geodata have started to play an even more significant role in digital onomastics.

A tacit premise of geolocation is that it is feature oriented, regardless of whether it is point, multi-point, line or polygon oriented. This is principally at odds with the nature of place names, which have an in-built multi-referentiality. No one has focused on this theoretical problem so far, although, to the advanced user of geolocation-oriented digital onomastics, this is a constantly recurring problem.

The present paper explores this problem and proposes a solution to it by introducing the notion of the *Unique Place-Name Concept* to geolocated place-name databases. This addition will have the added bonus of enabling quick comparisons among multiple features with the same name origin and thus strengthening place-name standardization, making it easier to utilize geodata onomastically, and preventing the doubling of data, among other benefits.

Keywords

digital onomastics, place-name databases, conceptual modelling, name-centric model

1. Introduction

One of the most important aspects of place-name research is localizing our object of study. Traditionally, place-name localization has been indirect (Kemp, 2010, p. 44), mainly by association to a certain administrative unit, or to a country. Sometimes localization is also given as a Grid Reference (e.g., in the United Kingdom). However, with the growing availability over the last decades of coordinate based geodata, direct localization, in the form of spatial coordinates, is now in common use everywhere. In digital humanities, however, geolocated place-name data are only just now beginning to gain popularity in toponymic, cultural, and historical research. Linguistic and locational complexity – which is often referred to as the "essence" of place names – does not, unfortunately, combine well with existing place-name geodata models, the expression-type-location, or "gazetteer model" that most standard geodata adhere to.

This article aims to delve into this problem and show that place names may have multi-reference for both the concept of **place** and that of **name**. Although multi-reference is well-known in geolocation-oriented digital onomastics, seemingly no one has focused on it. A solution will be presented here, which is to introduce the notion of a *unique place-name concept identifier* to geographical datasets to enable linking of the same-origin place-name form across feature locations, thus enabling coordination between multiple features. Implementation of this feature will allow for a better and more exact representation of place-name data across time, space, and domains of usage.

2. How are place names represented geographically?

Let us first look at how place-name data is represented in place-name research, as opposed to their representation as geodata. A classical representation from onomastics can be seen in the national Swedish place-name lexicon, "Svenskt ortnamnslexikon" (SOL). Here the place name *Motala* is given as "**Motala** kn, stad,

Östergötland" (SOL, p. 214), where *Motala* is described as the name of a municipality (Swedish: kn = kommun) and at the same time as that of a city (Swedish: stad), within a given administrative division of Sweden (Östergötland). The entry *Motala* refers to two distinct feature types – a settlement as well as an administrative unit. However, this does not make localization ambiguous, as the settlements are nested within the same administrative unit. The function of indirect location is to refer to the area where the place name is found (Ell, 2010, pp. 148–149; Bucher et al., 2019, p. 12), despite creating a certain amount of fuzziness about the concept (cf. Jones & Purves, 2008, pp. 216, 221).

This function goes directly against the finiteness of geodata, which must have a specific geographical location and a specific feature type. Thus, the name of *Motala* in a geodata-dataset like that of "GeoNames.org" would be represented in Table 1.

Table 1. Example of traditional geolocation model

Name	X	Y	Feat.Class	Feat.Code	Country
Motala	58.65131	15.19105	A	ADM2	SE
Motala	58.53706	15.03649	P	PPLA2	SE

Source: GeoNames.org

Here, each geographical location is explicated by means of an individual set of coordinates and IDs for feature class and feature code: *Motala*[1] designates the administrative unit expressed by "kn." in the SOL article, whereas *Motala*[2] designates the term "stad" of the article.

In cases where a place-name expression only refers to one geographical location, there is no problem with this model. The problem arises when, for example, an administrative unit assumes the name of an existing local place-name expression. And it is exactly the case of *Motala*: one place-name reference with two direct locations: a municipality and a city. Each direct location has its own distinct spatial extent, its own distinct feature type – and both have their own temporality. Unfortunately, traditional geolocation cannot handle this ambiguity of expression versus localization in its data model, as localization must be definite. Thus, in order to represent reality, a traditional geolocation model must focus solely on direct location and establish a distinct entry for each locality. Then everything else, including the name of the place,

is considered to be nothing but attribute data. The combination of coordinates and feature types defines the object and supplies it with uniqueness – the place-name expression is an attribute of no significant relevance to the direct location. In this model, occurrences of *Motala* are individual entities, and the fact that they share the same place-name attribute form is purely coincidental. No effort is made to indicate a relationship of origin between the individual *Motala*-localities, as this is not relevant to the model of representation.

3. The true *essence* of place names?

Let us leave the issue of one place-name expression being able to refer to multiple locations for a moment and focus a little on the notion of direct location. In its purest form, direct location is a set of coordinates and a set of attributes that provide sufficient and essential information about the represented object or feature. Since place names are often mono-referential, that is, a place name refers to one feature only, this model is in principle on par with the nature of place names. However, with language and geography, things are not as simple. For instance, it is not uncommon for a feature to have several names, or for the same place-name expression to be used of several geographical features. Depending on the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic makeup of the surrounding user groups, any feature may have several names. For instance, a mountain in the northern Norwegian municipality Nordreisa (North Sami: Ráisa, Kven: Raisi) bears the North Sami name *Gáhkkoroaivi*, as well as the Kven name, *Kaakkurivaara*. In toponymic research, it is well known that one and the same feature may have several names, either as the result of several languages being spoken in the same region at the same time, or as the result of naming of the same feature from different positions, differences in user-group focus, or differences in resource usage. Naming from different positions can be exemplified by the Norwegian mountain, *Kråkvasstinden*, in Oppdal, Trøndelag, which is also authorized as *Sandåhøa*. This mountain has a very steep face with a pronounced peak when observed from the north-east, but from the west and south-west it looks merely like a sloping hill. This fact has given rise to a set of parallel names: *Kråkvasstinden* (*-tinden* 'the peak') and

Sandåhøa (*-høa* 'the hill, elevation').[1] Differences in naming focus as a result of different user groups or differences in usage can be found in multicultural environments where different cultural or ethnic groups live by separate means of existence, such as mainly by farming, by fishing, or by transhumance. Differences in usage will also be reflected in what each user group sees as important about a locality. An example of this is the three names *Mikkeli*, *Kersantti* and *Andsjøen* for the same North-Norwegian settlement of in Nordreisa in Troms and Finnmark. The settlement's Kven names reflect ownership of the settlement (once owned by Kersantin Mikkeli).[2] The Norwegian language name of the locality, however, *Andsjøen*,[3] appears to be a name-transfer from Trøndelag (Rygh, 1911, p. 186), presumably commemorating the place of origin of an earlier inhabitant/owner.

Traditional geolocation can only handle a situation with two or more names for one and the same feature by either adding a new locality to the feature for each place name, or more often, by enlarging the data table with additional attribute fields that contain variant names. With either solution, there are problems. With the first solution, the one location per place name creates a lot of feature-doubling. The result is a geolocation system that is complicated and difficult to manage. It is impossible to ascertain if the place names belong to one and the same feature, or if we are in fact dealing with different features with different place names. For the second solution, where all variation is handled in the attribute fields, the problem is how to retrieve the alternative forms and grade their individual standardization status – for example, which are official, and which are not? Another question is how several alternative name forms are handled – are all place-name forms placed in one additional attribute field, or do we have an attribute field for each possible alternative form?

From these examples, it is clear that place names can have multi-reference for both *location* and *reference*. To the user of geolocation-oriented digital onomastics, this is a constantly recurring challenge – and one making spatial onomastic infrastructures difficult to handle. In database terms we are dealing with a many-to-many relationship between location and reference – or, in plain words, between place and name.

[1] Retrieved November 5, 2021, from https://stadnamn.kartverket.no/fakta/861998
[2] Retrieved November 5, 2021, from http://www.kvenskestedsnavn.no/stedsnavn/view/8156
[3] Retrieved November 5, 2021, from https://stadnamn.kartverket.no/fakta/929739

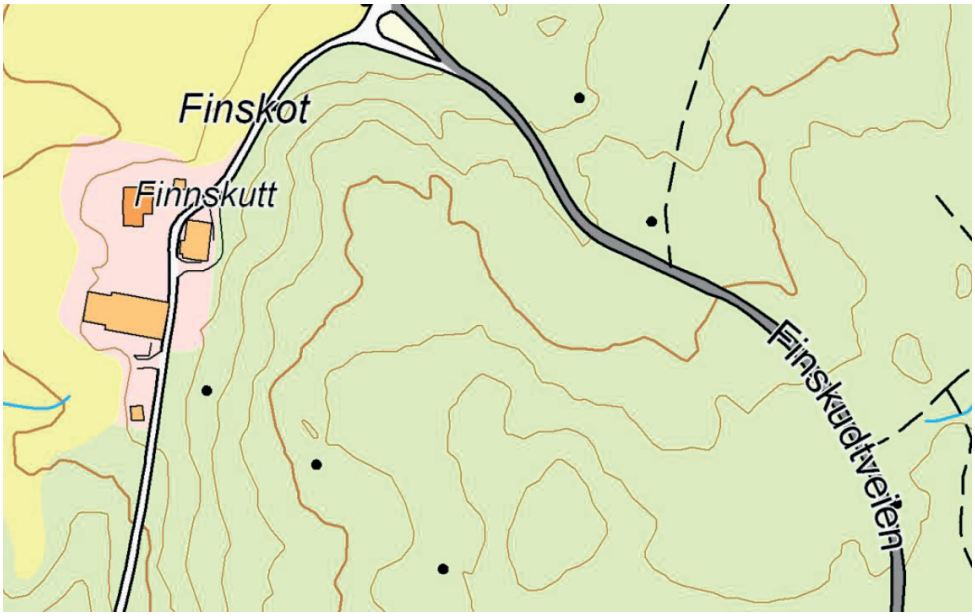

Figure 1. Map showing the result of not stating the same-origin place-name relationship between localities/feature types. The same place name is spelled variously as *Finskot*, *Finnskutt* and *Finskudt-*

Source: Statens kartverk. License: CC-BY.

The consequence of using a traditional geodata model on onomastic data is data discrepancy, at least in the long run, because it is difficult to maintain attribute data if the same data occurs in different data entries, such as in the Norwegian case of *Finskot* in Rakkestad, Viken (see Figure 1). Here the farm name (ID 976174) is authorized as *Finskot*,[4] whereas the main cadastral unit is authorized as *Finnskutt* (ID 669118).[5] In addition, the derived road name is spelled *Finskudtveien* (ID 1062371).[6] Since the underlying place-name database does not have the possibility of linking the individual place-name expressions to each other, the consequence is blatantly visible data discrepancies on the *Norgeskart* (https://www.norgeskart.no) web map of the national mapping

[4] Retrieved November 5, 2021, from https://stadnamn.kartverket.no/fakta/976174
[5] Retrieved November 5, 2021, from https://stadnamn.kartverket.no/fakta/669118
[6] Retrieved November 5, 2021, from https://stadnamn.kartverket.no/fakta/1062371

agency, Statens kartverk. More importantly, it is difficult to connect and link research data to geodata, since it is not clear which research data matches which geodata entry. This ultimately leads to a lack of cooperation between the academia and spatial data providers, because spatial data is seen by researchers as inconsistent and fragmented. Research data, on the other hand, is generally viewed by geodata providers to be ambiguous and too simplistic in representing the world. Fortunately, it is possible to overcome this and to combine the name-centric view with the location-centric one.

4. Place names and spatial data

Solving the problem of matching name-centric data with location-centric data is in principle simple. All that is needed is to adapt the traditional geodata model to be able to handle both name and locality conceptually. To be able to treat anything conceptually, it must be described. There are generally two ways of doing this: either by typologizing or by codifying attribute data, that is, assigning attribute IDs. When working with attribute IDs, it is necessary to know how they function. There are, generally speaking, two kinds of IDs: 1) IDs that represent, or signify, a constant value, and 2) IDs that signify a concept, whose appearance, size or name may vary over time or from dataset to dataset. The first type of ID is called *a constant*, whereas the second ID type is the so-called *variable*, which merely acts as a placeholder. Both ID types are unique values, but their application varies. Coordinates are usually considered to be constants – should a set of coordinates be changed by moving a location, the coordinates automatically gain a new value. Whatever the coordinates represent is constant for as long as the values are unmodified. Often, however, a set of coordinates is also given its own attribute ID, to keep control of which feature the coordinates represent. The ID for an administrative unit is also a constant. However, the object – or concept – it signifies is not. There will be constant revisions to its extent and possibly also to its name label(s). But any changes to the signified will not have any effect on the ID, as it functions as a placeholder. Even though we think of IDs as signifying constants, most IDs act as placeholders for concepts capable of variation.

In the field of spatial data, localities are already treated conceptually, as they contain typological attribute information, such as the feature type, and a codification in terms of a unique locality-ID. Place names, as discussed above, vary over time, necessitating any functional place-name expression ID to be a *variable* – and a placeholder. Hitherto, the place-name expression itself has only been treated as simple attribute data in geodata. By doing the same for the place name – adding an additional codification attribute(s) to the spatial dataset, specifically designed to handle the linguistic side of geodata object – we are able to treat the place-name expression as a concept. All it needs is its own code or ID added to the dataset. To do this correctly, it is necessary to view the place-name expression as **an independently interpretable unit** not restricted by spelling, pronunciation, or time.

In its base form, a place name is only meant to create a cognitive connection in the mental map of the name users. Place names do not indicate exactly where the locality is or what it is, but rather act to establish a spatial framework within which to conceptualize what is being conveyed during a communicative setting. The fact that one place-name expression may refer to several different kinds of localities, or features, is irrelevant for communication, and if specification is needed, then additional markers may be supplied, such as 'farm', 'village' or 'parish', to point out a specific locality. The mechanisms behind this are related to the notion of *metonymy* (association by proximity), and, more specifically, *polyonymy* (association to multiple distinct, but related referents).

5. The current situation, an example

To illustrate this problem, let us travel to the Norwegian small island of *Frøya* just off the coast in Bremanger, western Norway. On this tiny island we find several examples of the same name for different localities and feature types (see Table 2).

Figure 2. Map of Frøya, Bremanger, Norway. Place-name expressions used to explain the conceptual model are underlined

Source: Statens kartverk. License: CC-BY.

Three of the examples are names of settlements. These have all gained their name from a nearby natural feature by means of metonymy, either the island itself (*Frøya*), a beach (*Stranda*, literally: 'the Beach') or a bay (*Ånnevika*). All six examples are distinct localities with different feature types. However, there are only three distinct place-name expressions. Given the small size of the island, merely 5.5 km × 7 km, it should be relatively simple to retain similar spellings for different features. However, when operating datasets in the region of 1 million named localities and feature types from different data sources are created, maintained and used by different state and local government agencies, it quickly becomes evident that it is very difficult to keep control of spellings. The above example of *Finskot*/*Finnskutt* shows how the management of place names can twist itself out of control if the entire place-name material of a given area is not seen as a whole.

Table 2. Examples of place names from Frøya with similar place-name expressions across different feature types. Distinction between the different localities is made by means of the LocalityID column

LocalityID	Expression	Feature_type
10001	Frøya	island
10002	Frøya	settlement
10003	Stranda	small-holding
10004	Stranda	beach
10005	Ånnevika	farm
10006	Ånnevika	bay

Source: own work.

The outlined problem is not just a trivial onomastic conundrum dreamt up in an academic setting. This issue relates to how we manage place-name datasets and how we secure and implement a uniform means of place-names management – and ultimately gain a uniform means of standardization. If we do not have an overview of when a place-name expression becomes the name of different feature types – or possibly even in another dataset – how can we be certain that we are dealing with the right place name and the right feature? The answer is that we cannot, unless we start looking at place-name

expressions as attribute data on par with other attribute variables, such as administrative units and statistics. The solution to this is, in principle, simple.

6. Implementing the *conceptual place-name expression*

The answer is to add a unique identifier (UID) to the data entry for the locality represented in the geodata (here: LocalityID) as well as a UID for the place-name concept variable (here: NameID). By doing this, it becomes possible to control and monitor the place-name inventory inside any geodata-dataset – and across datasets. The NameID functions across time, space, and expression and only acts as a placeholder. It is important to be aware that the NameID acts as a UID of a place name as **a conceptual unit**, not as an ID for the named expression of the actual geographical locality. If there is a need to distinguish the written expression of one feature type from another feature type with the same NameID, this is simply done by combining the UID's LocalityID with NameID. In this way 10005_CCC is distinct from 10006_CCC (see Table 3). Similarly, should the need arise to distinguish across time or datasets, this can be accomplished by adding the combination of source and year (of the source expression), to the ID string (cf., Table 5). Also, if certain feature types are investigated, then data is sorted simply by including attribute data on feature type in the query.

Table 3. Concept table featuring localityID and NameID. The column NameID represents the conceptual place-name expression

LocalityID	NameID	Expression	Feature_type
10001	AAA	Frøya	island
10002	AAA	Frøya	settlement
10003	BBB	Stranda	small-holding
10004	BBB	Stranda	beach
10005	CCC	Ånnevika	farm
10006	CCC	Ånnevika	bay

Source: own work.

The advantage of having individual ID values for different variables in geodata datasets lies in the transformability and scalability of data. Each dataset and individual data entry can stand alone, as well as be a subset of other datasets. The level of detail and the focus of information – location, reference, time, and source, or a combination of these – is determined by which IDs are central and how they are combined to make up the subset. If a focus on location is needed, then LocalityID must be the central one. If, on the other hand, the place name is in focus, then the NameID is the guiding ID. In this way, the same data can be used for displaying place-name geodata, either as used by national mapping agencies where the focus is on displaying correct location, or for place-name specific data, as used in applications and database systems aimed at traditional onomastic research into the origin of place names.

One note of caution, however. The model cannot be used without having insight into onomastics as a discipline or understanding the **nature** of toponyms. The consequence of this is that onomastics finally comes to the realm of geodata management. In terms of geodata management, *name* has finally found its *place*, so to speak. The inclusion of a place-name concept ID (NameID) makes data management more stable, but it does add the complexity of determining which NameIDs belong together internally and across datasets.

However, the benefits of adding an ID to the place-name concept outweighs the increased complexity. They are not limited to the ability to control the spelling of the same name concept across localities or feature types. The main advantage, as seen from an onomastic point of view, is that the addition of a NameID enables interpretation of a place name without having to manage which locality the name denotes in a geodataset. To onomasticians, the most important advantage is that the place-name expression is treated as a linguistic phenomenon and thus lifted to its proper place in geodata management. Not only does this help avoid the traditional issue of doubling of interpretation of the same name for more localities, but it also completely alleviates the risk of interpretation mismatching in place-name databases. By combining NameID with other IDs, it is possible to easily scale and visualize place names across name, locality, type, and time.

7. Extending the *conceptual place-name expression*

The NameID attribute can also be extended to form part of other toponyms whose names derive, fully or in part, from other place-name concepts. In *Frøya*, our island from the above example, there are many situations where place-name concepts form part of other name concepts. For instance, *Frøya* functions as the specific of *Frøya kyrkje*, *Frøyadalen*, *Frøynes*, *Frøyaskjera*, *Frøya-grunnene*, *Frøya-Skorpeflua* and *Frøysjøen*. Similarly, *Ånnevika* also forms part of *Ånnevikholmen*. By adding information on how a toponym is composed, it is possible to manage the relationship between primary and secondary (derived compounded) place-name expressions. This relationship is here conceptually shown in the column NameID_Composition (see Table 4). When an element in a compound place name is derived from another place name, this relationship is expressed by the addition of the NameID of the original place-name expression to the NameID_Composition.

The function of the NameID_Composition data field is to make explicit the linguistic relationship between different name concepts, especially to clarify what role one place-name concept has as part of another compound place-name concept. In Table 4, the compound divide is marked by a vertical line, or pipe. When a place-name concept occurs as the specific, it is to signal a proximity of the compounded place name to the primary place name constituting the specific element. The other part of a place-name concept, called the generic, is usually a word referring to the original type of locality bearing the name. It will often also be necessary to state **how** a place-name concept is compounded, for example, how it is declined, whether it is finite, etc. Depending on the type of language, the internal relationship between compound elements can be expressed in various ways, one of which is presented in Table 4. Place-name compounds such as *Frøynes* and *Ånnevikholmen* only contain the root form of the specific element. This is marked with a suffixed */root* in the figure. Likewise, the definite article is expressed as part of the generic element in *Ånnevikholmen* by the expression + def.art.sg.

Since this model does not have a specific focus, it allows for several name forms for the same feature and makes it possible to describe their internal relationship. In Table 4, LocalityID 10007 has two NameIDs and thus

Table 4. Concept table showing how NameID_Composition can manage formally secondary place names and their relationship to place-name concepts of other toponyms. The column NameID_Composition explains how the place name is compounded

LocalityID	NameID	Expression	Feature_type	NameID_Composition
10001	AAA	Frøya	island	
10002	AAA	Frøya	settlement	
10007	DDD	Frøya kyrkje	church	AAA | kyrkje
10007	AAA	Frøya	church	
10008	EEE	Frøyadalen	valley	AAA | dal + def.art. sg.
10009	FFF	Frøynes	promontory	AAA/root | nes
10010	GGG	Frøyaskjera	sea-rock	AAA | skjer + def.art. pl.
10011	HHH	Frøyagrunnene	shallows	AAA | grunn + def.art. pl.
10012	III	Frøya-Skorpeflua	shallows	AAA | ØØØ
10013	JJJ	Frøysjøen	fjord	AAA/root | sjø + def.art. sg.
10005	CCC	Ånnevika	farm	
10006	CCC	Ånnevika	bay	
10014	LLL	Ånnevikholmen	islet	CCC/root | holm + def.art.sg

Source: own work.

occurs twice. The primary place-name concept of LocalityID 10007 is *Frøya kyrkje* (NameID: DDD) and is the so-called institutional name. As an institution, the church on this island is known both under its shorthand form, *Frøya* (NameID AAA), and under its full name *Frøya kyrkje* (NameID DDD). The full name is in itself a compound of NameID AAA and of the Norwegian term for a church, 'kyrkje'. The compound relationship is described in its NameID_Composition field and readily allows for a greater understanding of the occurrence of two similarly competing place-name concepts for the same place-name locality.

Table 5. Concept table showing how current and historical place-name expressions can be managed within the same model. The column Status explains the type of data entry (current, historical or pronunciation). The columns Date and Source are added to manage the temporal aspect of historical place-name expressions

LocalityID	NameID	Expression	Feature_type	Status	Date	Source	NameID_ Composition
10001	AAA	Frøya	island	current			
10002	AAA	Frøya	settlement	current			
10007	DDD	Frøya kyrkje	church	current			AAA | kyrkje
10007	AAA	Frøya	church	current			
	AAA	Frøien		historical	1919	Rygh NG	
	AAA	*frøi'na*		pronunciation	1919	Rygh NG	
	AAA	Frøen		historical	1723	Mat.	
	AAA	Frøenn		historical	1603	Jb.	
	AAA	Frøø		historical	1516–1521	NRJ. II 134.	
10005	CCC	Ånnevika	farm	current			
10006	CCC	Ånnevika	bay	current			
	CCC	Aannevik		historical	1919	Rygh NG	
	CCC	*å'ŋŋevíka*		pronunciation	1919	Rygh NG	
	CCC	Annevig		historical	1723	Mat.	
	CCC	Onneuigen		historical	1667	Mat.	
	CCC	Arreuigen		historical	1608	Jb.	
	CCC	Arnneuigh		historical	1563	Jb.	

Source: own work.

So far, the temporal aspect has not been mentioned. In what follows, it will be outlined how this can be implemented. Although temporal manifestations often relate to both a name and an object, it is important to be aware that the nature of historical sources does not always make it possible to establish exactly what object or feature the historical form describes. Thus, it is important, as in traditional historical onomastics, to align a temporal manifestation

(usually called the source form or historical form) to the place-name expression, rather than any current location. Thus, it is best only to add a NameID to temporal manifestations, be they written or phonetic renderings (see Table 5). This allows temporal manifestations to be analyzed under one place-name expression, as well as to be related to one or more direct locations. This is possible through the association of a LocalityID to a NameID.

All place-name expressions are indirect locations capable of referring to more than one direct location. This means that the model needs to be scaled to accommodate this. Aligning a temporal manifestation to the NameID most closely represents reality. Therefore, all place-name expressions, be they current, historical, sound recordings or phonetic renderings, should only be related to a direct location (LocalityID) by means of association to an indirect location (NameID). Nonetheless, should a historical form be able to be associated to a direct location, it is always possible to assign to it the LocalityID of the direct location in question, in order, so to speak, to hard-code it to its direct location.

If the temporal aspect is to be implemented correctly, however, it is necessary to add columns for the dataset source (here: Source) as well as a date column (here: Date). Depending on the type of source, the date should represent either that of the source or that of the individual entry. More importantly, however, it is also necessary to add a control column, stating the temporal status of the entry (here: Status), that is whether the entry is current or historical. This should help avoid any mixing-up of historical and existing place-name expressions. As an additional control, note that Table 5 does not give a date if place-name expression has the status “current”.

8. Conclusions

There are obvious benefits of implementing place-name concept variables in geodata. The NameID offers unprecedented control, transformability, and scalability of geodata-datasets, at the same time liberating place-name data from the straight-jacket of geolocation. Admittedly, such an implementation presupposes knowledge of the *essence* of place names, but the extra effort

in the acquisition of onomastic knowledge is easily offset by the increased usability of datasets across domains, time, and foci.

Some research fields and governmental agencies will be able to reap considerable benefits, such as onomastics, place-name management, place-name standardization, corpus research, etc. By introducing onomastic principles to a geodata model, we can move away from a strictly geo-oriented view of toponymic geodata. By combining the traditional locality-centric geodata perspective with a name-centric one, it is possible to see what place names really are – multi-faceted representations of location and communicative information.

One thing not touched upon, and which is outside of the scope of this paper, is its applicability across database systems. The data model concept here is inspired by web-semantic data modelling, but it can equally well be used with either a traditional relational database system or in a hierarchical database environment. In either model, the addition of ID variables is a simple process and introducing a unique cross-feature place-name concept variable is an effective way to link across features and between datasets. This is a component much needed in digital and computational humanities, as it will enable the coordination between multiple features with same name-origin and more exactly represent place-name data across time, space, and usage. Most importantly, however, it will enable a more flexible integration of place-name data into other data infrastructures – spatial as well as non-spatial.

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The Regional and Municipal Reform in Norway: The Naming Processes

Abstract

The paper discusses the choice and treatment of names in connection with the regional reform in Norway. The first stage of the reform was adapted in 2017, implying that the number of counties were to be reduced from 19 to 11, and the number of municipalities from 426 to 358. Following the change of government, a second reform was adapted in 2022 entailing a partial return to the former county structure with 15 counties. The choice of names of the new regions has been central to the political process and created a lot of debate. In the discussion about naming, reference was made to the Act on place names, which has rules about the spelling. Several new names have replaced traditional names such as *Innlandet* 'the inner part of the country' for the two former counties of *Hedmark* and *Oppland*. The consideration of inherited names has been set aside several times because local politicians have favored "advertising" names, such as the new county name *Vestland* and the municipal names *Fjord* and *Færder*. It is though likely that most of the new names will be accepted given time. But also, in the event of future changes in the county and municipal structure, there will be room for disagreement when it comes to the naming process.

Keywords

place names, names of regional divisions, name giving, historical place names, place name changes, place name standardisation

1. Introduction

On 8 June 2017, the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget) decided by a very scarce majority of 85 to 84 votes that the number of counties (Norw. *fylke*) in Norway should be reduced from 19 to 11. The new county division came into force on 1 January 2020. However, after the general election in 2021 with a subsequent change of government, it was decided that three of the merged counties should be dissolved and returned to their original status as seven separate counties.

The regional reform of 2017 also implied a reduction of the number of municipalities (Norw. *kommune*) through mergers from 428 to 356. Of these, less than the half were merged on a voluntary basis, while the rest were forcibly merged into nine larger units. Among the people affected by the changes, strong feelings related to identity and democracy arose, and led to emotionally charged statements such as "forced to the knee", "forced marriage" and "overthrow of local democracy". The same kind of strife had taken place at the comprehensive municipal reform of 1964 when the number of municipalities had been almost halved. In the following decades, a few more municipalities merged, but only in 2015 did the process begin that would lead to the municipal reform of 2020.

Choosing and determining the names of the merged counties and municipalities also became a major issue. Many compromises were made, but several of the names adapted still caused dissatisfaction and discord.

Nine of the eleven counties were given new or partly new names. As to the municipalities, most of the restructured ones kept one of the existing (former) names. A handful of the 72 merged municipalities were given new names.

2. Divisional and district names in a historical context

The secular administrative division of Norway consists of three main secular levels: state, county, and municipality. The judicial division consists likewise of three levels: Supreme court, court of appeal, and district court. The

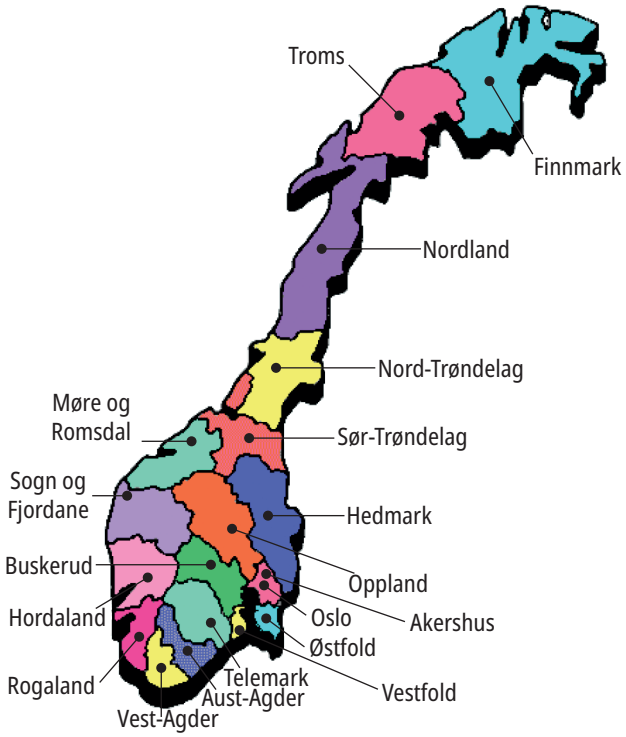
three clerical divisions consist of diocese, rural deanery, and parish. These different administrative levels are partly based on counties and municipalities, but mostly have their own boundaries. In addition, there are quite a few regional divisions with varying extent and function, such as health districts and various inter-municipal areas in public administration. A typical feature of the names of newer administrative and economical divisions are direction designations, e.g., *Helse Sør-Øst* 'Health southeast'.

Most administrative and clerical units have continued old, inherited district or settlement names, which constitute a valuable cultural and linguistic heritage (cf. Falk & Hægstad, 1915, 1916; Indrebø, 1927; Helleland, 2005). However, this aspect was not given priority at the regional reform. For instance, when the two counties of *Hedmark* and *Oppland* merged, the new unit was given the name *Innlandet* 'the inner part of the country', even though it quite well corresponded to the medieval area named *Upplǫnd* (pl. of *land* n., here meaning 'the upper districts').

The term *fylke*, Old Norse *fylki* n. (derived from *folk* 'people', cf. Indrebø, 1931) had already been in use in Norse times, referring to districts of various size but was replaced during the Danish period by *len* and thereafter by *amt* (1671).[1] Then in 1918, as part of the restoration, *amt* was replaced by *fylke* (see Helleland, 2005). From this year until the regional reform of 2020, the country consisted of 19 counties, including the city county of Oslo (Map 1). The town of Bergen had also county status from 1919 until 1972.

The newer term *region* has been widely used for the new divisions in the planning phase. However, the inherited term *fylke* (sometimes *storfylke* 'large county') is likely to be kept. In the Middle Ages the term *skipreide* (Old Norse *skipreiði*) was used for an area that could provide a ship crew in case of war (Hovda, 1978). Some of the names of the medieval *skipreide* were later continued as names of district courts.

[1] After the introduction of the «absolute» monarchy in Denmark-Norway (1660) the previous division into *len* and *syssel* was replaced by 12 *amt* (counties) in 1671. Later, the number of counties increased through a reorganization of the various parts of the country, and the term *fylke* was introduced (see survey of the naming chronology in Helleland, 2005). In 1919 Norway consisted of 18 «rural» counties, and two «city» counties: Christiania (Kristiania 1877–1924), in 1924 replaced by the historical name *Oslo*, and Bergen (until 1972 when it was integrated in the county of Hordaland).



Map 1. Boundaries and names of the 19 counties before the regional reform of 2020

Source: Eri: https://eri.no/kart/

Throughout history, many changes have taken place in the county and municipal structure in Norway in terms of numbers, extent, and names. Typical of the change in 1918 was the fact that all the 19 counties regained their historical names (Falk & Hægstad, 1915, 1916). The diocese structure is partly built on the historical county (*len*) division, partly given "modernized" Old Norse names like *Bjørgvin*, cf. Old Norse *Bjǫrgvin* and *Nidaros*, Old Norse *Niðaróss* (see also below).

The number of municipalities (formerly *herad* 'rural district' and *by* 'town, urban district') has also varied greatly over the years. In 1957, the country was divided into 744 municipalities, which in 1964 was reduced to 454. In the following years, the number of municipalities was further reduced to 428. Where a former rural municipality merged with an urban

one, the name of the last one usually became the name of the new municipality. In a couple of cases, both old names were used after the merger, such as *Nore og Uvdal* (Nore and Uvdal) in the county of Buskerud. Only in one case was a new name constructed, based on two former municipal names; thus, *Holtålen* became the new name of the merged municipalities of *Haltdalen* and *Ålen* in Sør-Trøndelag.

After several years of political discussions, a narrow majority of the Parliament voted in 2018 in favour of the regional reform, which meant that the number of regions (counties) from 1 January 2020 was to be reduced from 19 to 11. In parallel with the regional reform, the government – also based on a relatively narrow majority vote in the Parliament – aimed to reduce the number of municipalities from 428 to 356.

3. Historical vs. modern names

Most traditional divisional names, both regional and local ones, are based on inherited place names rooted in the Middle Ages or in the pre-Christian period. County names such as *Hordaland* and *Ryfylke* and district names such as *Ringerike* and *Romerike* reflect different ethnic groups who settled in those areas in ancient times. The names of the 11 dioceses have maintained the old names in modernized forms, such as *Hålogaland* (Old Norse *Hálogaland*), *Nidaros* (Old Norse *Niðaróss*), *Bjørgvin* (Old Norse *Bjǫrgvin*), *Tunsberg* (Old Norse *Túnsberg*).

Most municipal names are old parish names and farm names with roots in the Middle Ages or pre-Christian times and belong to the most valuable linguistic and cultural heritage of the nation, a point that is often emphasized in public debate. These values are also laid down in the Norwegian Place name Act of 1990. Implicitly it means that inherited names should as far as possible be continued, even if the new entity is extended or diminished. However, this view was not always considered. New names like the county name *Vestland* and the municipality names *Fjord* and *Færder* (the last one with primary reference to a small group of islands at the mouth of Oslofjorden) were no doubt chosen due to their expected branding effect.

Map 2. Boundaries and names of the 11 dioceses in Norway

Source: The Norwegian Church, https://www.kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/bispedommerad/bispedommene/

When the two municipalities *Norddal* and *Stordal* in Western Norway merged they agreed on *Fjord* as the name of the new entity (and not *Dal* which would be linguistically more logical). There is reason to believe that "fjord" was preferred because of its seaside associations and thus perhaps sounding more attractive than *Dal* "valley". In a historical perspective, the choice should be either *Norddal* or *Stordal* (or both, like the double name *Nore og Uvdal* above).

At the 2020 reform, three of the original 18 counties continued without any change as to their extent and have retained their former names: *Rogaland*, *Møre og Romsdal* and *Nordland*. For two of the newly merged counties, the choice of name was obvious: *Agder* was taken as the name of the former *Aust-Agder* and *Vest-Agder*. For the southern part of Agder, *Sørlandet* has since approximately 1900 functioned as an administratively informal region, but that name could not cope with the inherited name *Agder*. The former counties of *Nord-Trøndelag* and *Sør-Trøndelag* also merged seamlessly into *Trøndelag*. Two of the new regions were also given double names: Since there is no old area or district name that fits, *Finnmark og Troms* and *Vestfold og Telemark*

were chosen for the respective new extended regions. By using double names, several of the old names could be passed on, although it might seem a bit impractical using such long name phrases.

4. Act on place names

Norway has had, since 1990, a detailed law on place names, which, among other things, rules that the spelling of place names must be in accordance with the spelling rules of Norwegian, and further that place names must be handled as part of the country's cultural heritage. The law also implies that state, county-based and municipal agencies are required to consult the Language Council before deciding upon a place name. It would then be reasonable that the Language Council gets involved in the naming process at the same time as the planning of the new geographical units starts. However, this was not done in connection with the regional reform. Only when the names had gained ground with local politicians and support in the media the Language Council was consulted. At this stage of the process, it was too late to introduce alternatives. Consequently, very few of the Language Council's comments and suggestions of alternative names or name forms were followed up.

5. New regions with new names: *Vestland*, *Viken*, *Innlandet*

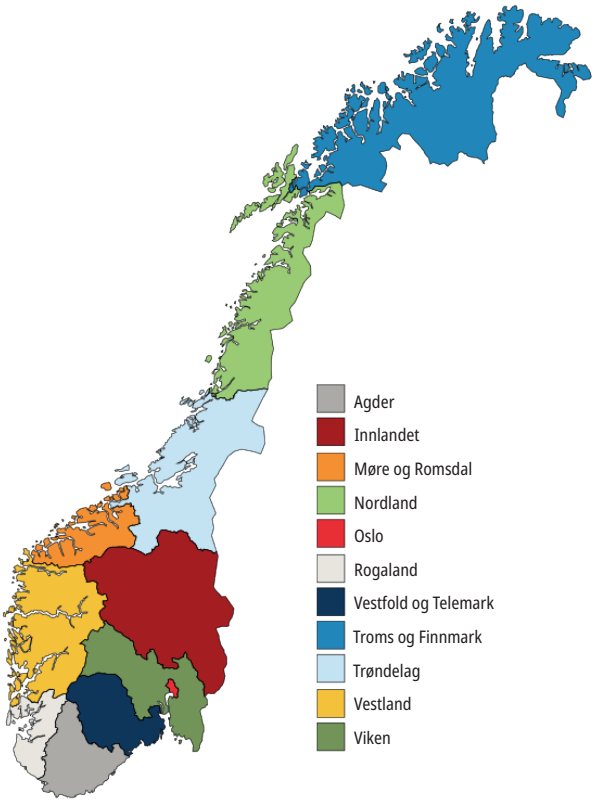
5.1. Vestland

In those cases where the existing county names came in as part of the name of the new region, the discussion quickly subsided. On the other hand, both before as well as after the name decisions, there was a lot of controversy about the names *Vestland*, *Viken* and *Innlandet*. *Vestland* includes the two former counties of *Hordaland* and *Sogn og Fjordane*. These two names cover less than half

of the area historically referred to as *Vestlandet*. The two counties Rogaland and Møre og Romsdal traditionally belong to Vestlandet as well. In the Middle Ages, Vestlandet also included Agder. So, taking out the central part of the former region of Vestlandet and giving it the name *Vestland* (leaving out the definite article *-et*) obviously constitutes a practical and historical disadvantage. Among those who objected to the name *Vestland* were the people from the tourism business. Commercial and cultural organisations also supported the protests. It was claimed that the name *Vestlandet* has a long tradition for the area comprising all four former counties, and that it would be a theft to take *Vestland* only for two of them, even in its indefinite form. A literary reference to the name form *Vestland* could be found by locals in the popular poem and song "Å Vestland, Vestland" by Tore Ørjasæter, published in 1910 (translated into English by the author of this article):

> O Vestland, Vestland! When I see your mightiness,
> with rising mountains, fjords, and narrow bays,
> it friendly meets me large and wild,
> and welcomes me at home again.

In its consultation statement, the Language Council (Språkrådet) pointed out that there were good alternatives to *Vestland*. One alternative was the historical name *Bjørgvin*, derived from the Old Norse *Bjǫrgvin* (now Bergen), which was already used as a name of a diocese. The name *Bergenhus*, referring to an ancient fortress in Bergen, was also mentioned as an alternative, as this name was previously used in *Nordre Bergenhus amt* and *Søndre Bergenhus amt*. The Language Council's preferred name, however, was *Gula* (*fylke*), which is a historically based name for the region in question, used both in the old court system *Gulating*, and as the name of the Court of Appeal in the two earlier counties. The first element reflects an old fjord name, perhaps meaning 'the windy (fjord)'. Alternatively, *Gul-* may be related to a root meaning 'cleft' (NSL, pp. 186f.). The Gula fjord is reshaped fairly in the middle of the new region. The two merged counties of Vestfold og Telemark ad Troms and Finnmark kept both their old names as double names.



Map 3. Boundaries and names of the 11 counties according to the regional reform of 2020

Source: Furfur, public domain, via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nye_fylker_-_regjeringen.no.svg

5.2. Viken

Viken 'the bay' is the name of the earlier proposed new region with the former counties of Østfold, Akershus and Buskerud. *Viken* is a literary form of the Old Norse *Víkin* which is the definite form of *vík* f. In earlier times the name was used for Oslofjorden and the land area on both sides of the fjord and southeastwards as far as Göta älv close to Gothenburg in present Sweden. The inherited dialect pronunciation of the name is *Vika* [vi:ka] but due to Danish-language influence, the form *Viken* gained ground in written as well as in colloquial language and is today continued in several administrative and institutional

contexts. The new large county of *Viken* extends from the Swedish border to the border with Western Norway, i.e., far beyond the natural phenomenon that has motivated the name. Otherwise, the name *Vika* is common in many places around the coast, including a seaside district of Oslo.

One problem with finding a historical name for this region is that it extends over an elongated area with several different district names. The Language Council stated that if one were to take the old name for the Oslofjorden area and northwestwards, it should be used in the modern form *Vika*. There is, however, a general opinion that *Viken* (and even *Vika* with its alternative definite article *a*) is an unfortunate name for the area in question.

5.3. Innlandet

The new county of *Innlandet* 'the inner part of the country' comprises the two old inland counties *Oppland* and *Hedmark*. *Innland* has in recent decades been used as a part of the name of various institutions, such as *Innlandet Hospital*, *Innlandet Police District*, *Innlandet University College*. This name is based on the perception that the name immediately provides information about where in the country the region is situated and serves as a contrast to the other county names *Nordland* and *Vestland*(*et*), and to the more unofficial name *Sørlandet* (comprising the southern part of Agder). In Norse times, *Upplǫnd* (*lǫnd* is the Old Norse plural form of *land* n.) was used for the larger part of the new county of *Innlandet*. Thus, it would historically be a good idea to introduce the name *Opplanda* for this region (*-landa* is the inherited definite plural form of *land*). But as *Innlandet* had already been used for decades in various contexts, the name *Opplanda* gained little support.

5.4. Agder, Trøndelag, Vestfold og Telemark, Troms og Finnmark

The amalgamated region *Agder* for the previous *Aust-Agder* and *Vest-Agder* counties was adapted without any protest. The same applied to *Trøndelag* for the previous *Sør-Trøndelag* and *Nord-Trøndelag*. Double names such as *Troms og Finnmark* and *Vestfold og Telemark* were kept because no adequate alternatives were at hand. Nonetheless they have their parallel in the existing county name of *Møre og Romsdal* which was given as early as in 1935.

The Saami name for Trøndeleg is *Tröödelage* wheras *Romsa* and *Finnmárku* are Saami names for Troms and Finnmark. The Kven names of the two last counties are *Tromssa* and *Finmarkku*.

6. The modified county reform of 14 June 2022[2]

Viken was still seen by many as an unsatisfactory unit with an unfortunate name, and after the change of government in 2022 it was decided that this large county should be dissolved, and that the former three counties *Østfold*, *Akershus*, and *Buskerud* should be restored with their respective names from 1 January 2024. The same applies to the amalgamated counties of *Telemark og Vestfold*, and *Troms og Finnmark* which now would get back their previous status as separate counties. This means that the number of counties will increase from 11 to 15. The county status of *Oslo* was never disputed during the reform process.

7. Names of merged municipalities

The municipality reform led to 68 new (merged) municipalities having their names changed. The choice of names was made in the following ways:

(1) Using the name of the largest urban area within the merged area, most often a town name, such as *Larvik* for the previous *Larvik* and *Lardal*.
(2) Using an older district name with or without a modifying term, e.g., *Indre Østfold* 'the inner [part of] Østfold' (*Østfold* is the name of the restored county in which Indre Østfold is situated); *Sunnfjord*, covering a part of the larger district Sunnfjord (cf. the adjoining district of Nordfjord).

[2] https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/kommunestruktur/fylkesinndelingen-fra-2024/id2922222/

Map 4. Boundaries and names of the 15 counties that will apply from 1 January 2024

Source: KDD/PLAN, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/kommunestruktur/fylkesinndelingen-fra-2024/id2922222/

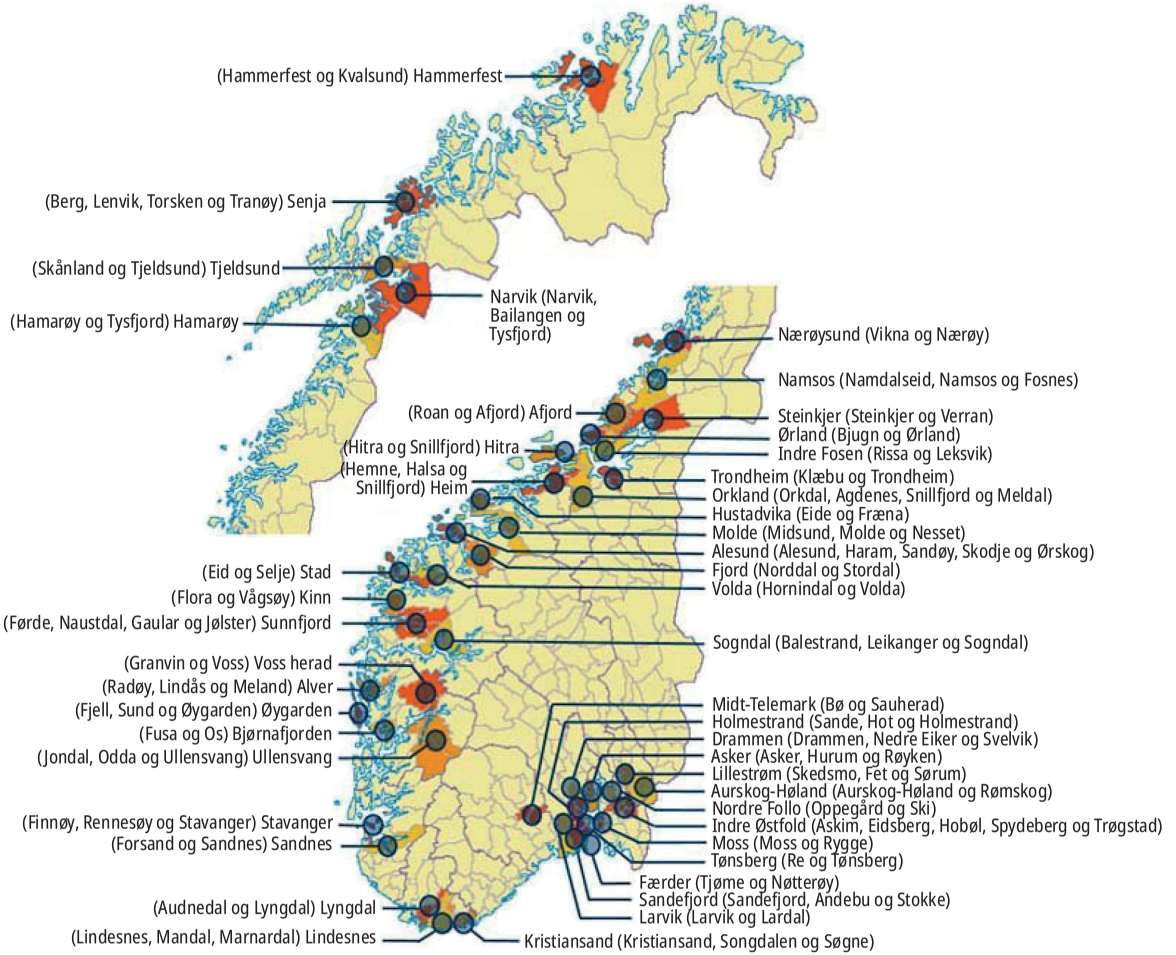
(3) Using the name of a well-known natural feature within the new municipality: *Færder* (name of a small group of islets), comprising the former *Nøtterøy* and *Tjøme*; *Bjørnafjorden* (the name of a fjord), comprising the former *Fusa* and *Os* municipalities; *Stad* (the name of a promontory into the Norwegian Sea), comprising the former *Eid* and *Selje* municipalities.
(4) If the same municipality name was used in two different counties before the merger, one of them had to be changed if the counties in question merged: Thus, *Nes* in the former county of Buskerud agreed to adapt *Nesbyen* as its new name whereas *Nes* in the former county of Akershus kept its old name *Nes*. However, since Akershus and Buskerud will be reestablished as separate counties in 2024, this is no longer a problem. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that Nesbyen will not go back to its old name.

8. Ongoing disputes and conclusions

During the introduction of the regional reform, many people in several of the formerly independent municipalities protested the amalgamation into larger municipalities, and actions were taken to dissolve the new units. In some cases, the Government opened a new vote. One example is the merged large municipality and town of Kristiansand, where the much smaller former municipality Søgne did not want to be ruled by the new "big brother". The outcome of this dispute has not yet (September 2023) been set. Similar protest initiatives are found in other merged municipalities.

The program for regional reform points to a new orientation both in terms of terminology and function of names. However, new structures and new functions can lead to traditional names coming under pressure and falling out of use. Hopefully most of the inherited names in question will survive in new functions. According to the regulations of the Act on place names, the Language Council should be consulted before the relevant authorities officially approve the names.

The choice of names, however, is left to local people and municipal authorities. This is a weak point of the law, as people in general evaluate the names based on their modern usage, promoted by social media, and not so much on



Map 5. Names of merged municipalities after the reform. (Previous municipality names in brackets)

Source: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/kommunestruktur/nye-kommuner/id2470015/

their linguistic and cultural value. From a linguistic and cultural point of view, there would be much to gain if the Language Council were not only consulted but also listened to before the names of the new units were determined.

As mentioned, the regional reform was adapted by a very narrow majority. The general election in 2021 led to a change of government, and the programme of the new government includes commitment to reconsider some aspects of the regional reform, including the dissolution of *Troms and Finnmark*, *Vestfold og Telemark*, and *Viken* in line with the wishes of the locals. The present government has set 1 January 2024 as date for the restoration of these three merged counties.

The government's attitude to the choice of names is that the names should be functional and have local support. Several of the names had already been in use before the regional reform was adapted. However, there were many reactions against some of them, both from the public and cultural authorities.

As to *Viken*, the protests were directed against the delimitation of the new region as well as against the name itself. As mentioned above, the new non-traditional *Vestland* collides with the long established *Vestlandet*. And *Innlandet* – which could just as soon have got the name *Østlandet* or *Nord-Østlandet* – also sounds both ahistorical and diffuse.

There is little reason to believe that the changes in Norway's regional system, which were adapted in 2017 with a narrow majority and implemented in 2020, and further modified in 2022, will be permanent. Structural changes are constantly taking place in society and new names are gaining ground. Hopefully, most of the old division and municipality names will live on, even if the divisions they are used for may change over time.

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Metonymy in Settlement Names

Abstract

Settlement names in Britain are traditionally categorised as habitative names, topographical names, or folk names, depending on whether their generic elements denote buildings, landscape features, or groups of people. As has long been recognised, the third type represents metonymic transfer, with the name of a group of people being transferred to the name of their settlement. This paper argues that a majority of habitative names represent a different type of metonymy, variously designated 'domain expansion', 'source-in-target' or **part for whole** metonymy in linguistic scholarship. By this process, a term for a single building or other aspect of the settlement is applied to the whole settlement. The paper goes on to argue that a further type of metonymy, often designated **part for part** metonymy, is represented in topographical names, where a term for a landscape feature is applied to an adjacent settlement which forms part of the same conceptual domain. The argument is contextualised through a brief overview of metonymy in other areas of the onomasticon, and the paper concludes by proposing a new typology of settlement names. According to this model, the only literal (non-metonymic) settlement names are those whose generic element is a term denoting the entire settlement.

Keywords

folk names, habitative names, metonymy, settlement names, topographical names

1. Introduction

> All English place-names, whether of Celtic, Old English, or Scandinavian origin, can be divided into three main groups: folk-names, habitative names, and topographical names. (Mills, 2011, p. xvii)

The majority of settlement names in the Western world are descriptive, characteristically referring to the settlement itself, its surroundings, or the people who lived there. In English name scholarship, they are traditionally categorised as habitative names, topographical names, or folk names, depending on whether the description relates to the built environment, the natural environment, or the lived environment: in other words, whether the generic or defining elements of the names denote buildings, landscape features or groups of people. This tidy classification is already problematised by place names describing man-made features in the landscape, such as fords and bridges, which are usually grouped with topographical rather than habitative names. Conversely, a "quasi-habitative" function has been suggested for topographical terms such as Old English *lēah*, characteristically used "for naming settlements which flourished in a woodland environment" according to Gelling and Cole (2000, p. 220).[1] Rumble (2011) too finds "a binary habitative or topographical division of the material" unsatisfactory, but his proposed system of "more subtle" categories including *Defence*, *Religion*, *Resource management*, *Structures related to manufacturing or processing*, and *Transport and communications* (pp. 40–47) is complex and has not received widespread support.[2]

The aim of this paper is to outline some further issues with the traditional approach, and to suggest an alternative categorisation depending on whether

[1] The meaning of Old English *lēah* is generally taken to have developed from 'forest, wood' through 'glade, clearing', to 'pasture, meadow' (Gelling & Cole, 2000, p. 237). According to a recent study by Wagner (2018), however, "the evidence suggests that the original meaning of *lēah* was not 'wood', and that its original meaning was a light, open space within darker woodland" (p. 119).

[2] While agreeing that "the topographical/habitative dichotomy is perhaps too simplistic", Jones and Semple (2012, p. 6) are less than fulsome in their response to Rumble's proposals, commenting: "Irrespective of whether one thinks that this new division of the place-name corpus aids or hinders proper analysis (…)".

the description is literal or metonymic. A proposed new taxonomy for descriptive settlement names will be set out at the end.

2. Metaphor and metonymy

Metonymy is traditionally regarded as a relationship of contiguity, defined by Geeraerts (2010) as "a semantic link between two readings of a lexical item that is based on a relationship of contiguity between the referents of the expression in each of those readings" (p. 27). Another way of putting it is that whereas metaphor involves mapping a concept from one domain to another, in metonymy the mapping takes place within a single domain:

> The standard view of metonymy in cognitive semantics (…) is to define metonymy in contrast to metaphor by invoking the number of conceptual domains involved in the conceptualization process: metaphors involve two conceptual domains, metonymies only one. (Geeraerts, 2010, p. 215)

The notion of a conceptual domain is flexible, but may be thought of as an area of experience. For instance, body parts and landscape features belong to separate domains, so that where a body part is mapped onto a landscape feature in expressions like *mouth* of a river or *shoulder* of a hill, we are dealing with metaphor. By contrast, a settlement belongs to the same domain as the landscape surrounding it, so where one is mapped onto the other in settlement names such as Weymouth 'mouth of the [River] Wey' and Godshill 'God's hill', we are dealing with metonymy.

Recent work in linguistics has highlighted the key role of metonymy in language, so that it is now regarded as even more fundamental than metaphor.[3] Indeed, some metonymies are conventionalised, and thus productive. Variations on the following examples can be found in many linguistics textbooks:

[3] See, e.g., Barcelona, 2003; Dirven & Pörings, 2003; Panther & Thornburg, 2007.

> CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS: I'm going to buy a whole new summer *wardrobe*. He drank the whole *bottle*.
> PART FOR WHOLE: He has a new *set of wheels*. We need some new *faces*.
> OBJECT USED FOR USER: The *trains* are on strike. The *violin* has the flu.
> INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE: The *university* has issued new regulations. The *government* made some difficult decisions.

Conventionally, a container such as a wardrobe or a bottle can stand for the clothes or wine inside it, part of an entity such as a car or person can stand for the whole entity, an object such as a vehicle or a musical instrument can stand for the person operating or playing it, and an institution can stand for the people who work in it. These metonymies are productive, so that any of the italicised words could be substituted by others, with the same metonymic extension. For instance, *trains* could be substituted by *buses*, *taxis* or *trams*, with the same implication that the reference is to the people operating them.

The concept denoted is known as the 'target', represented in the above examples by the clothes, wine, car, people, train-drivers, violinist, university staff and members of the government. The concept on which the expression draws is known as the 'source', respectively the wardrobe, bottle, wheels, faces, trains, violin, university institution and government institution. In metonymy, therefore, the source stands for the target.

3. Metonymy in names of people and other living creatures

Metonymy has long been recognised in different types of names. Among them are surnames and bynames where a product forms the name of a person associated with the product. As Hanks and Parkin (2016) explain:

> Some occupational names originated as metonymic nicknames, for example the surname *Cheese* denoted a maker or seller of cheese. The surname *Wastell*, denoting someone who made or sold fine cakes, is a metonymic nickname from a Norman French word that is the equivalent of modern French *gâteau*. (p. 216)

Other such metonymic nicknames are based on physical features, as with *Lightfoot*, "used of one with a light, springy step, a speedy runner, a messenger", or *Smallbone*, "probably for someone with short or skinny legs" (Hanks et al., 2016, s.nn.). Similarly, Brylla (2016) observes that "In names like Old Swedish *Spiut* 'spear', *Alboghi* 'elbow' the words are used metonymically: 'the one having a spear', 'the one with a peculiar elbow'" (p. 246). Both types of formations are ubiquitous in Western surnames.

References to physical features are not restricted to names of people. They also appear, for instance, in the names of horses like German Stutzohr 'short ear' and English Long Legs (Leibring, 2016, p. 618). Other animal names are metonymic from positive or negative behavioral qualities, as with Scandinavian cattle names from adjectives with meanings such as 'gentle', and Bulgarian goat names like *G'ávol* 'devil' (Leibring, 2016, pp. 620, 622). These find their human counterparts in surnames such as *Curtis* from Middle English *courteis* 'courtly, refined, urbane', and *Deeble* from Anglo-Norman French *deable* 'devil' (Hanks et al., 2016, s.nn.).

Aside from those metonymic names relating to physical features, the nature of the association may not always be transparent, and indeed may sometimes be impossible to reconstruct. As Hanks et al. (2016) observe:

> Metonymic names are the most enigmatic. The relationship they bear to their eponymous bearers is not through a perceived resemblance (as with metaphoric names) but by a contextual connection – an idea, object, or event with which the person was associated, whether habitually or on a single occasion. (I, p. xxiv)

The difficulty is illustrated in Bramwell's (2007) study of present-day bynaming in the Western Isles of Scotland, where examples include "a man named 'Snooker' since birth because of a remark made by the midwife, a man known as 'Seal' because of an asthma attack at primary school, and a man named 'Fire and Theft' because of an alleged incident" (p. 53). In a historical context, evidence would rarely be available to elucidate such names.

Metonymy extends beyond the names of individuals to the names of groups of people, as reflected in a number of the football club nicknames studied by Tyas (2013). Particularly common are metonymies based on the playing strip, including its colour, as with *The Reds*, *The Blues*, and *The Gold and Blacks*, and shape, as with *The Diamonds*, *The Spots*, and *The Stripes* (Tyas, 2013, p. 14). Although Tyas describes these as metaphors, they are in fact metonyms, using

one aspect of the club – its strip – to stand for the club itself. Indeed, some of the more complex examples appear to combine both metaphor and metonymy to give nicknames such as The Bar-Codes, The Y-Fronts, Humbugs, Tigers, and Wasps (Tyas, 2013, p. 14).[4] A pioneering study by Sutton-Spence and Coates (2011) shows that the practice holds in British Sign Language, where the names of football clubs utilise metonymy in a range of interesting and creative ways.

4. Metonymy in commercial names and names of vehicles

Commercial names too make extensive use of metonymy. Sjöblom's (2008) discussion of multimodality in the company names of Turku in south-western Finland identifies a metonymic basis for a variety of names including those of a hairdresser called *Tukka Hyvin* 'hair well/nicely', a debt collection company called *Eräpäivä* 'due date', a café-bar called *Cup & Pint*, and a company selling clothes for large men called *Mr. Big* (pp. 358–359).

A particularly fine-grained analysis is provided by Pérez Hernández (2011), who identifies two main types of metonymies in the creation of brand names. One is 'domain expansion', where a product is named from a single element associated with it. Examples include *Bitter*, named from the taste of the beverage, *Coca-cola*, named from a compound of its two main ingredients, and *Gaudium*, named from a Latin word meaning 'joy, delight, happiness' in allusion to the positive side effects of the wine (p. 378). As illustrated by these three examples, this naming stratagem is very flexible, as "Virtually any element of the conceptual fabric that makes up the target product can be metonymically used to name it" (p. 378). The other type identified by Pérez Hernández is 'domain reduction', where a product is named from the wider framework associated with it: "*Prada handbags*, for example, will inherit notions characterizing their company such as those of *luxury* and *selectiveness*, as well as a sense of *heritage* and *family tradition* from the matrix domain of the founder" (p. 380).

[4] Similarly, place names described as metaphorical by Tyas (2013, p. 18) should rather be regarded as metonymic.

As with many areas of linguistics, there is no single system of terminology, and what Pérez Hernández describes as 'domain expansion' or 'source-in-target' is often referred to as **part for whole** metonymy, whereas her 'domain reduction' or 'target-in-source' is alternatively known as **whole for part**.

Domain expansion or **part for whole** metonymy also underlies the locomotive names discussed by Coates (2016), who explains examples such as *Perseverance* (1829) and *Industry* (1832) as "metonymic allusion to industry in the widest sense" (p. 647). As he goes on to explain, using the example of *Vulcan* (1832) named from the element of fire, this can then lead to sets of names based on a different attribute of the smith-god Vulcan:

> FIRE is essential for every steam locomotive. This may give rise to a metonymic fire-related name, such as *Vulcan* (1832), from the Roman smith-god. However *Vulcan* is also representative of another class, namely SUPERNATURAL POWER, and refocusing or switching attention from an attribute of Vulcan to his person permits the exploitation of the names of other (demi-)gods not primarily associated with fire, such as *Hecate* and *Fury*. (Coates, 2016, p. 650)

Metonymy is thus a highly productive naming stratagem.

The name Lightfoot mentioned above recurs as the name of a ship, described as "charmingly incongruous" by Jones (2000, p. 30). Like other ship names in the same article, it was clearly named metonymically in relation to speed. Faucoun, Milan and Swalewe draw on words for birds and again combine metaphor with metonymy (p. 29), as do the aircraft nicknames Blackbird and Falcon discussed by Puzey (2016, p. 608). Similarly, Fraser's (2012) article on the names of warships identifies some "named for swift or powerful animals", such as Gazelle or She-Wolf, and others "named for desirable qualities", such as Courage or Victory (p. 131). All three studies also include a large number of transferred names, a type of metonymy that will be returned to below. A few examples among many are ships called the *Thomas Fyncham*, the *Thomas Basset* and the *Martyn Baldry* after their owners (Jones, 2000, p. 35), warships called the *Philip and Mary*, the *Jeanne d'Arc* and the *Sir John Moore* after reigning monarchs, historical figures and generals respectively (Fraser, 2012, pp. 131, 134, 135), and aircraft called *River Glass*, *Glamis Castle* and *Sir Frank Whittle* in systematic patterns of naming after rivers, castles and aviation pioneers (Puzey, 2016, p. 614).

5. Metonymy in names of places and natural features

Summing up the above (necessarily brief and selective) discussion, current scholarship recognises that metonymy plays a major role in name formation across a broad spectrum of the onomasticon, with the apparent exception of toponyms. With regard to place-naming, metonymy is generally taken to occupy a fairly niche position. Ainiala et al.'s (2012) discussion of naming strategies in Finland identifies two groups of metonymic place names. One, exemplified below by 'one rowan' or 'duckboards', corresponds to the domain expansion or **part for whole** metonymy already discussed, where a single element associated with the place is used to name it. The other represents the transfer of an existing name to a different but contiguous referent – here a house given the name of a lake:

> Metonymic names can be split up into two different groups. The first group includes names which are founded on an appellatival expression. These are, for example *Yksipihlaja* ('one|rowan') 'an island where a rowan can be seen' and *Kapulasilta* ('duckboards') 'a bog that has duckboards.' The second group of metonymic names are formed by names which are founded on a name of an adjacent place. In this case, it is a question of the fact that the name of an adjacent place begins to be used for the place. When, for example, a house located on the shore of the lake Valkeajärvi, has begun to be called *Valkeajärvi*, this house name is a metonymic name. This phenomenon has also been deemed a *metonymic transference*. (Ainiala et al., 2012, p. 78)

In the first group, there is no generic element. In the second, the generic element does not denote the referent of the name.

Similarly, Nyström's (2013) study of metaphor and metonymy in the names of islands and natural features in three areas of Sweden identifies a wide range of metaphorical names, whereas metonymical formations represent a small minority of what he calls "special cases":

> In some special cases natural features have been named by means of metonymy, for instance when only a small part of the object, some conspicuous detail, has caught the full attention of the name giver and therefore has been used to name more than just itself. (Nyström, 2013, p. 356)

In the following example from Stockholm, the "conspicuous detail" is a signal:

> *Signalen* meaning 'the signal' is the name of a promontory in the Stockholm archipelago. There used to be a navigation mark there, normally causing names as *Signaludden*, *Signalviken* or the like (with a generic *-udden* 'the promontory' or *viken* 'the bay' in the end), but in this case the navigation mark itself is enough to name the whole area. (Nyström, 2013, p. 358)

Like the 'one rowan' and 'duckboards' examples from Finland, this is again **part for whole** metonymy.

The same type of metonymy has been suggested by Coates (2019) to explain the problematic name of the island of *Fetlar* in Shetland, Scotland. Among a range of tentative etymologies, he proposes a Scandinavian compound *fetil-ár* 'strap rivers', "a description of watercourses being applied as the name of the island which contains them" or a combination of *fetill* + *örr* 'scar', which "would suggest that the island is named by metonymy from (presumably) the Funzie Girt, itself understood metaphorically as the scar in the landscape in the form of a strap" (p. 46). A third metonymic solution takes the second element to be *ögr* 'inlet, small bay or creek' (p. 47). There can be no certainty, as Coates readily acknowledges, but any of these three interpretations would again represent **part for whole** metonymy, with a single feature being used to name the whole island.

The other type of metonymy identified by Ainiala et al. (2012) appears in the taxonomy of transferred names set out by Brink (2016), alongside analogical transfers, metaphorical transfers, psychological transfers and socially conditioned transfers:

> A *metonymical* transfer of a name, due to association by connection, which is a frequent and very normal case. For example by giving a railway station the name *Big Hill*, when it is located nearby a hill called *Big Hill*, or by using the name *Bear Lake* for a settlement by the lake *Bear Lake*. (Brink, 2016, p. 164)

In such instances, again the generic element does not denote the referent of the name.

My argument in the rest of this paper will be two-fold. First, that **part for whole** metonymy underlies a much wider range of toponyms than has previously been recognised. Of these, the 'duckboards' and 'signal' examples above are simply among the more extreme and therefore most easily identified

instances. Second, that many names previously taken to be metonymic transfers are in fact primary metonymic names. My focus is on settlement names, but a similar line of reasoning could be applied to other types of toponym.

6. Metonymy in folk names

The least controversial in this context of the three categories of settlement names mentioned at the beginning of this paper are folk names. These undoubtedly represent metonymic transfers, where the name of a group of people is used for the place they inhabited. Many metonymies are based on names, and these include the most conventionalised and therefore productive types of metonymy. As with the examples in the second section above, variations on the following examples can be found in most linguistics textbooks:

> PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT: I'm reading an *Agatha Christie*. He owns a *Picasso*.
> BUILDING FOR INHABITANTS: *The White House* has issued a statement.
> CAPITAL CITY FOR GOVERNMENT: *London* is negotiating with *Washington*.
> COUNTRY FOR SPORTS TEAM: *England* is playing *Germany*.
> PLACE FOR EVENT: *Pearl Harbour* must never happen again.
> PLACE FOR INSTITUTION: *Fleet Street* is very influential.

Conventionally, the name of any author or painter can stand for a book or painting produced by them. Similarly, the name of a building can stand for the inhabitants of the building; the name of any capital city can stand for the government of the country; the name of any country can stand for a national sports team; and the name of a place can stand for an event that happened there or an institution based there.

In many early languages, the name of a group of people could stand for the place they inhabited. This point was made nearly a century ago by the Celticist William J. Watson (1926):

> In very early times the name of the tribe or population-group served as the name of the territory which they occupied. In Gaul, when Caesar wishes to

> mention the country of the Sequani, he says 'in Sequanis,' 'among the Sequani,' 'in Sequanos,' 'into the land of the Sequani,' and so forth. Similarly when Ptolemy deals with the British Isles he gives no territorial names but only names of tribes, or population-groups. (p. 100)

Nevertheless, it has not always been understood. Rivet and Smith (1979) refer repeatedly to the "misreading of ethnic names as place names" in the section of the Ravenna Cosmography on northern Britain (p. 193), evidently without realising that the names of tribes were used metonymically as place names.

This system continued until at least the early Middle Ages, with names such as *Barling*, *Hastings* and *Reading* in England referring to the followers of men called *Bǣrla*, *Hæst(a)* and *Read(a)*, with the Old English tribal suffix *-ingas* (Cameron, 1996, pp. 66–68). The naming of a place from its inhabitants was thus a conventionalised form of metonymy.

7. Metonymy in habitative settlement names

Turning to habitative names – those describing a building or group of buildings – these are more varied. A standard definition is provided by Mills (2011), and encompasses names referring to homesteads, farms, enclosures, dwellings, cottages and strongholds:

> Habitative names (…) denoted inhabited places from the start, whether homesteads, farms or enclosures, villages or hamlets, strongholds, cottages, or other kinds of building or settlement. In names of this type the second element describes the kind of habitation, and among others the Old English elements *hām* 'homestead', *tūn* 'farm', *worth* 'enclosure', *wīc* 'dwelling', *cot* 'cottage', *burh* 'stronghold', and the Old Scandinavian elements *bý* 'farmstead' and *thorp* 'outlying farmstead' are particularly common, as in names like Streatham, Middleton, Lulworth, Ipswich, Didcot, Aylesbury, Grimsby, and Woodthorpe. (Mills, 2011, p. xvii)

However, this is less straightforward than it seems. A homestead or farm, perhaps even an enclosure, may originally have comprised an entire settlement.

But what about an individual dwelling or cottage? Surely these are only part of a settlement. This is implicit in the definition provided by Jones and Semple (2012):

> Habitative place-names are those which either refer rather generally to a 'settlement' (e.g. *þorp*, *stōw*, *stoc* etc.) or those which refer to particular physical structures that might be found there (individual buildings, enclosures etc.) or to the specific activities that may have taken place within them. (pp. 4–5)

The point at issue is not whether the settlement expanded over time, as almost invariably happens, but whether it comprised a single building at the point of naming. I suggest that it did not, but that the name referred to a single distinctive building, used metonymically to designate the settlement to which it belonged. In other words, I suggest that this is domain expansion or **part for whole** metonymy, which we have already seen to be ubiquitous in other types of names.

The case may be strengthened if we look more closely at place names from some of these apparently habitative elements. Old English *cot* has a range of meanings in place names, set out as follows by Smith (1956, 1, pp. 108–110):

(i) 'a cottage, a humble dwelling'
(ii) 'a shelter for travellers'
(iii) 'shed for certain crafts or the manufacture or storage of materials'
(iv) 'a lair, a den'.

These definitions clearly establish that the term did not refer to a high-status building. Indeed, only the first and second can be regarded as human habitations at all. Even if Old English *cot* in the senses 'cottage' and 'shelter for travellers' is to be accepted as a habitative generic, the other polysemous uses of the same element for a workshed or an animal's lair would have to be categorised in some other way.

Old English *burh* 'stronghold' is equally problematic. As the editors of *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names* point out, the term was "applied to a range of defended sites, including Iron-Age hill-forts, Roman stations, and Anglo-Saxon and medieval fortifications, towns and manor-houses" (Parsons & Styles, 2000, s.v. *burh*). A hill-fort or Roman station may have provided security for a large number of people and therefore count as a habitation, and the later developments of meaning to 'town' and 'manor-house' certainly did. However, many *burh*-names refer to prehistoric sites that had long been abandoned

and were no longer used for habitation at the time of naming, as evidenced "by combination with words for animals and birds, trees and plants, and goblins and sprites" (Parsons & Styles, 2000, s.v. *burh*). As with worksheds and animals' lairs, then, the name did not denote a settlement.

What of the "other kinds of building" encompassed within the traditional definition of habitative names quoted above from Mills? Outstandingly common are words for 'church' in place names from many different languages. In Scotland alone, these include Brittonic **eglēs* in *Eccles* (Borders), Gaelic *cill* in *Kilmarnock* (East Ayrshire), Old English *ærn* in *Whithorn* (Dumfries & Galloway), ON *kirkja* in *Kirkcudbright* (Dumfries & Galloway) and Scots *kirk* in *Falkirk* (Falkirk). Churches themselves often have names, with a specific typically identifying a founder or saint, so *Kilmarnock* (St Marnock), *Kirkcudbright* (St Cuthbert) and many others might fall within the category of metonymic transfer. As with *Eccles*, however, some settlement names from these generics are simplex, while others such as *Falkirk* (Scots *faw* 'speckled') and *Whithorn* (Old English *hwīt* 'white') have descriptive terms as specifics. I therefore suggest that again they can only represent domain expansion or **part for whole** metonymy, where a description of a salient building is used to name the settlement in which it lies.

This may also help to explain the occurrence of alternative generics in historical forms of individual place names, an issue discussed by a number of scholars including Ekwall (1962, 1964), Taylor (1997) and Carroll (2012). Ekwall's view that the terms were synonyms no longer holds, and Taylor (1997) is no doubt closer to the mark in suggesting that "Names such as **Balcouty*, **Moncouty* and **Pitcouty* referred to different places, or at least to different parts or aspects of the same place" (p. 9). As Carroll (2012) points out, however, these are "potentially two different propositions" (p. 109). I would support the second, and I suggest that in such instances, a different single element has been chosen for alternative **part for whole** metonymies.

8. Metonymy in topographical settlement names

Moving on to the third group of names – those describing a settlement in terms of the surrounding landscape – topographical settlement names have become controversial in recent years. The established view in late twentieth-century scholarship was that they were transferred from the names of the topographical features in question. Thus the standard textbook on English place names explained: "When people made their homes near some distinctive feature of the landscape, they often adopted the existing name for the new settlement" (Cameron, 1996, p. 25). Similarly, the leading dictionary in the field stated:

> Topographical names also form a very large and diverse group. They consisted originally of a description of some topographical or physical feature, either natural or man-made, which was then transferred to the settlement near the feature named, probably at a very early date. Thus names for rivers and streams, springs and lakes, fords and roads, marshes and moors, hills and valleys, woods and clearings, and various other landscape features became the names of inhabited places. (Mills, 1998, p. xx)

According to this model, the names would represent metonymic transfers parallel to the example of the house name *Valkeajärvi* cited above from Ainiala et al. (2012), and the examples of the station name *Big Hill* and settlement name *Bear Lake* cited above from Brink (2016).

This view was challenged in 2000 by Gelling and Cole. Pointing out that "This implies that the Anglo-Saxons gave names like Faringdon and Stottesdon to hills, those like Pusey and Charney to dry patches in marshland, or those like Harpenden and Gaddesden to valleys, and later transferred these names to settlements" (p. xvii), they argued that many of the settlements described by Old English topographical names would already have been in existence when the Anglo-Saxons arrived, and that the name was given simultaneously both to the site and to the settlement.

Both possibilities are now considered viable, potentially accounting for different subsets of topographical settlement names. Hence the passage quoted above has been revised in the latest edition of the dictionary to read as follows (changes are indicated here in bold typeface):

> Topographical names also form a very large and diverse group. **Some may have** consisted originally of a description of some topographical or physical feature, either natural or man-made, which was then transferred to the settlement near the feature named, probably at a very early date. **Others may have been applied as settlement-names to already established (pre-English) settlement sites characterized by the topographical feature.** Thus names for rivers and streams, springs and lakes, fords and roads, marshes and moors, hills and valleys, woods and clearings, and various other landscape features **are also** the names of inhabited places. (Mills, 2011, pp. xvii–xviii)

However, there may be a third alternative. It seems to me just as unlikely that names were given to dry patches in marshland or to individual clearings as that they were given to sheds or to animals' lairs. Just as settlements could be named metonymically from an individual building, so too they may have been named metonymically from a landscape feature, without presupposing that the feature itself had a name either then or at any other time. This also avoids the assumption that all Old English topographical names represent settlements that were already in existence when the Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain, which does not fit with the fact that some are datable to the later Anglo-Saxon period.[5]

This step-change in scholarly thinking has already taken place with regard to Celtic names in Britain. In England, surviving Brittonic settlement names are mostly topographical, and as Cameron (1996) explains, this used to be taken to mean that no habitation names had survived:

> It was, therefore, thought that place-names did not provide us with a single example of a British habitation name. It was assumed that Celtic names were simply those of rivers and natural features some of which were transferred to later settlements nearby. Only comparatively recently has it been realised that this misinterpreted the evidence. It seems clear now that the Britons defined their settlements in terms of adjacent topographical features without using a term denoting a settlement in contrast to later Anglo-Saxon usage, when a word like *tūn* 'farm, village', 'estate', was in vogue. (Cameron, 1996, pp. 35–36)

[5] One example among many is *Edale* in Derbyshire. Here the generic element is Old English *dæl* 'main valley', itself a loan word from Old Norse *dalr*.

Here he rejects the theory that existing names of natural features were transferred to become names of settlements – in other words, as metonymic transfers – in favour of a model whereby settlements were defined "in terms of adjacent topographical features": in other words, as primary metonymic names. In view of this, it seems odd that he supports the theory of name transfers for corresponding formations from the Germanic languages. It seems to me that a single solution may reasonably be applied to all such topographical settlement names. This is a type of metonymy often described as **part for part**, where one element of a domain is used to name another element. Here the domain is the area comprising both the landscape feature and the settlement. One element is the landscape feature; another element is the settlement.

9. Conclusion

Summing up, I propose the following taxonomy for descriptive settlement names. A small proportion are literal. These are names whose generic designates a type of settlement. All others are metonymic. Those deriving from folk names represent metonymic transfer, as do those from other types of names. The majority of settlement names traditionally regarded as habitative represent domain expansion or **part for whole** metonymy, identifying a single element within the settlement. Those traditionally regarded as topographical represent **part for part** metonymy, identifying a single element outside the settlement. For completion, I have included domain reduction or **whole for part** metonymy, which may appear in a small number of settlement names. One possibility is *Rothesay* on the Isle of Bute, where a reference to the island ('*Ruðri*'s island', from Old Norse *ey* 'island') may designate the principal settlement.[6] Similar

[6] According to the Survey of Scottish Place-Names, "It may be that Rothesay was originally the name for the whole island of Bute, and was only later applied to the castle and its surrounding settlement which now bear that name (…). An alternative explanation is that the original fortress of Rothesay – perhaps a wooden structure now underlying the thirteenth-century stone castle on the site – might have been built on ground rising out of sea or sea-marsh round about, thus qualifying as an *ey* 'island'" (Márkus, 2012, p. 508).

though not identical models might be developed for other types of toponym such as field names and street names, most of which again do not contain a generic designating a field or street.

A Proposed Taxonymy for Descriptive Settlement Names

1. Literal

Generic = word for settlement

2. Metonymic

(i) Metonymic transfer
Generic = folk name or other type of name

(ii) PART FOR WHOLE
Generic = word for building or other feature within settlement

(iii) PART FOR PART
Generic = word for landscape or other feature outside settlement

(iv) WHOLE FOR PART
Generic = word for area containing settlement

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Reflection of Social and Political Changes in the Linguistic Landscape: Demonstrated by Examples From Banská Bystrica

Abstract

The paper analyses historical and political changes in the linguistic landscape (hereafter LL) using as exemplification the names of streets in Banská Bystrica (hereafter BB) which reflected significant social and political changes that took place in the course of the 20th century. This viewpoint covers a synchronous approach; however, diachrony will be examined too. The LL is documented by means of changes in BB urbanonyms and by means of analysis of historical photographs depicting particular historical periods. Urbanonyms represent a significant part of LL, and compared to other elements, react the most significantly to examined historical and political changes. The dominant political establishment ideologically influences inhabitants, and this is also done by means of official urbanonyms known in LL as top-down signs. Diachronic urbanonymy of BB centre covers naming changes of several streets in the years 1525–2019.

Keywords
linguistic landscape, urbanonym, social and political changes

1. Introduction

In this paper we pay attention to social and political changes and their reflection in the linguistic landscape (hereafter the LL) of the city centre of Banská Bystrica (hereafter BB). In addition to the viewpoint of proper nouns, we must also notice common nouns that make the semantic context of the LL complete. The time span of the period under study is the beginning of the 20th century – a period in which Slovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the end of World War I and the emergence of independent Czechoslovakia, the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising in August 1944 – an important stage of liberation of Czechoslovakia, and 1989 – the onset of democratic change associated with private enterprise and the opening up of Slovakia to the West. At the same time, we contextualize the language situation against the background of contemporary language policy in a given territory at a given time. The decisive moments on the timeline were the periods of change in the political order in the language area.

2. Definition of the linguistic landscape

In defining the notion LL and the content characteristics of this term, we proceed primarily from the definition of a pair of authors – Rodrigue Landry and Richard Z. Bourhis (1997), who characterize the LL as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" (p. 25). In the Slovak linguistic space, we can mention the definition of the LL by Satinská (2014), who understands the language landscape as a visual representation of language in public space (p. 158). According to her, all inscriptions belong here, regardless of their origin. She understands the LL as a dynamic entity created by institutions or individuals, but, on the other hand, the LL influences people who pass through this space and perceive it. Therefore, she not only analyzes the names of companies, shops, inscriptions on the walls, but also considers who this information is intended for and how people can perceive it.

Bauko (2019) also dealt with the issue in a linguistically mixed area, examining the LL in the bilingual Slovak-Hungarian environment of Komárno. However, Bauko understands the LL more broadly, because in addition to verbal (written) text, according to him, the LL also includes extralinguistic elements. Therefore, he does not use the term LL, but works with the term 'onomastic-semiotic image of the landscape', which according to his definition consists of onyms (especially anthroponyms, toponyms and chrematonyms) found on nameplates, signs in public spaces, various areas (e.g., posters, buildings, tombstones, plaques) and extralinguistic signs (e.g., photos, statues, emblems, drawings) that point to their own names (Bauko, 2019, p. 138). Therefore, taking into account not only the onomastic side of the language system, but also its appellative part, we should rather consider the lexical-semiotic image of the landscape. This example also shows the multidimensionality of the LL issues and its different perceptions in onomastics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, sociology, etc.

3. Urbanonymy and ideology

In the European area, language is considered to be the main characteristic feature of nationality and a tool of power. The state, personified by political elites, is well aware of this fact and promotes ideological values also through language policy, which acts as a powerful tool for influencing the thinking and subsequent action of the inhabitants of the language area at a specific time (see Table 1 below). In this respect, the following periods on the timeline are decisive for the region of Slovakia (see Figure 1 below):

Figure 1. Timeline of political changes influencing the language situation in the Slovak area

Source: own work.

- The period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, when German and Hungarian were considered prestigious languages. In the examined part of Banská Bystrica LL this fact was reflected in urbanonyms personified in top-down inscriptions respecting the orthographic rules of the given languages and historical figures from the monarchist context (see *Béla Király tér*, *Deák Ferenc utca* or *Kossuth Lajos utca*). During the Empire, Hungarian clearly dominated over other languages. The only nation-building element was considered to be one Hungarian political nation, where minorities could be educated and communicate in their mother tongue only to a limited extent. Article XLIV of the National Law from 1868 promoted Hungarian as the official state language in all areas of official communication. Hungarian pressure was confirmed by several subsequent laws introducing compulsory teaching of Hungarian to schools at the expense of other subjects. For example, the Act of 1896 on the Hungarianization of all geographical names in the state, as well as the Hungarianization of personal names and surnames of every inhabitant of Hungary (Mosný & Laclavíková, 2020, p. 33). These laws were amplified in 1907 with the so-called Apponyi's laws applicable to both state and church schools. According to them, everyone, regardless of their mother tongue, had to learn Hungarian in speech and in writing by the end of the 4th grade of primary school. The mother tongue (other than Hungarian) was allowed to be used in the first stage of primary school only, for a maximum of one hour per week (Mosný & Laclavíková, 2020).
- The inter-war period just after the break-up of the monarchy after the World War I in the years 1918–1938 meant a qualitative change in the field of language, but not linguistic autonomy. The first Czechoslovakia represented a "small monarchy" in the context of the language situation. Users of Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, German, Ruthenian, etc. lived in the given area. However, only the "Czechoslovak nation" (as claimed by the constitution adopted in 1920 and on which the contemporary language law was based) was considered a state-forming nation, even though it never really existed. Thus, there was no "Czechoslovak language" (cf. e.g., Bartoš, 2011), to which the law referred. In practice, this meant the ability to communicate in either Slovak or Czech. The term official or state language was not legally defined in interwar Czechoslovakia. The legislation was based on the so-called language law, that is, the right to communicate with the authorities in the respective mother tongue. In the LL of BB, this was

reflected in the change of names to Czechoslovak ones, for example, *Béla Király tér* was transformed into *Masaryk Square*, which bore the name of the first president of the inter-war period.

- The period of World War II in the years 1939–1945 represents a high degree of Slovakization (i.e. purism) at the expense of other language groups (including the Czech-speaking inhabitants) with the exception of German speakers. At the same time, the Slovak language demonstrates state power and the promotion of then predominantly clerical fascist ideals. This situation was also reflected in the LL (see Table 1 – column 1939–1945).
- The post-war period from 1945 to 1989 was characterized by the promotion and cultivation of the standard form of the Slovak language in state institutions (especially in the media and at all levels of schools). An idealized narrative of anti-fascist resistance and communist ideals persisted in the LL (see Table 1 – columns 1945–1953, 1953–1961 and 1961–1989). The paradox of the time was the fact that top state officials were known to violate the norm of standard language in public speeches.
- The period after the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federal State and the creation of an independent Slovak Republic in 1993 and after the adoption of the Act on the Protection of the State Language in 1995 and its later amendments. The Language Act stipulates the use of Slovak as the state language in the territory of the Slovak Republic (Zákon č. 270/1995). For violations, it even imposes fines in the range of 50 to 2,500 euros through the Ministry of Culture (the act passed in 1995 when fines were paid in Slovak crowns, however, fines can be charged today in Euros). In 2001, the Concept of Care for the State Language of the Slovak Republic was approved in Slovakia. Its aim is to eliminate shortcomings in the use of the Slovak standard language and to supervise compliance with its standards in the public communications sphere, which are contained in codification manuals (Franková, 2009, p. 134). There is no consensus among the experts themselves, some of whom strongly insist on compliance with the written language and sanctions in the event of a breach, while their opponents argue that respect for the written standard cannot be enforced by users of the language through sanctions. This turn in terms of politics and ideological values is also reflected in the LL (see Table 1 – column 1990–2019).

Urbanonyms and wall signs with the names of streets and squares, which belong to the group of top-down signs within the LL, have long been a means

of ideological pressure of the ruling authorities (as explained above) on people moving in the social space. David and Mácha (2012) define it as domination of the territory and the formation of a centralized state administration (p. 30). Urbanonyms (especially commemorative urbanonyms) are among the toponyms that change most dynamically with the change of political regimes (e.g., Odaloš, 1994, 1996; David & Mácha, 2012; Křížová & Martínek, 2017; Ptáčníková, 2019, 2021). Rapid changes in this part of the LL can be demonstrated on the example of changes in the names of streets and squares of the historic centre of BB in the observed period of the 20th century – five streets and or two squares – see Figures 1 and 2.

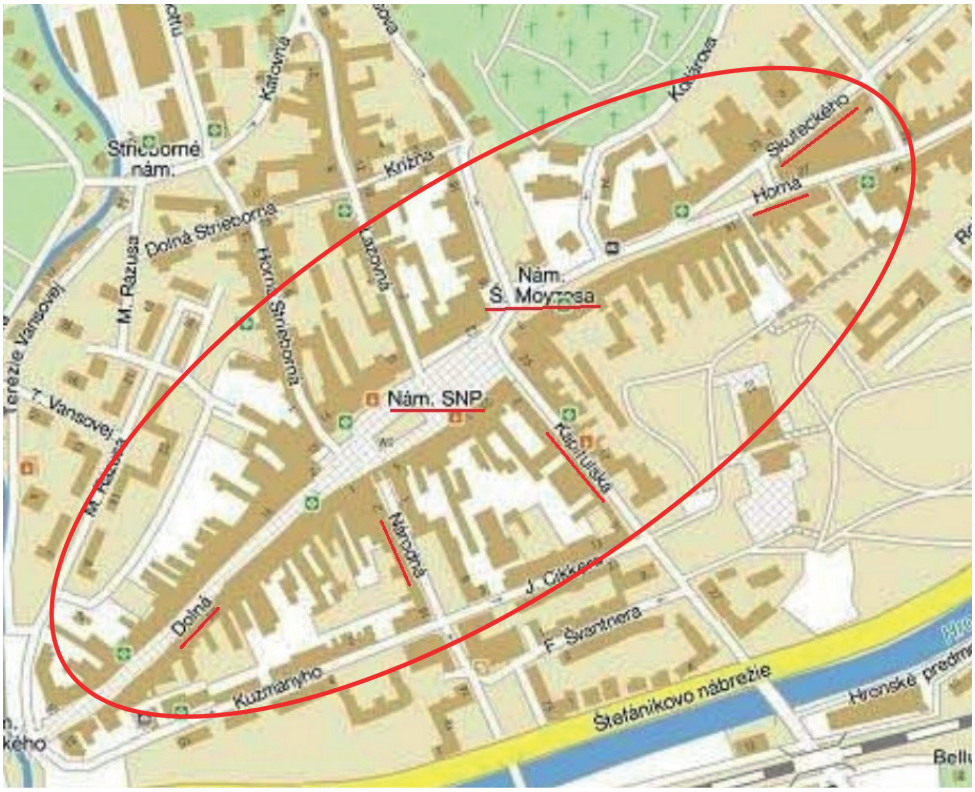

Figure 2. The map of the examined area

Source: Google Maps.

The beginnings of BB are connected with German colonists, who increased the prestige of the original settlement by developing the mining of precious metals. King Béla IV of Hungary granted BB the status of a town in 1255. The forming town centre bore German names: today's SNP Square is mentioned as the *Ring* in 1589, the lower street leading to the central square was named *Untere Gasse* in the same year, the opposite Upper Street (*Horná ulica*) bore the name *Obere Gasse*. Furthermore, today's 'Kapitulská Street' was called *Graner Gasse* in German; the motivation was its location, as it leads from the square to the river Hron (Gran in German). Other streets examined in this study are not mentioned in 1589, because they did not exist at that time.

The renaming took place in the period of Austria-Hungary in the second half of the 19th century – after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Kurhajcová (2012) states that the trend of renaming streets in Budapest later spread to other parts of Hungary due to the new hierarchy of political power in the country after 1867, three types of these urban places were divided in the Budapest area: 1) names according to figures referring to the pagan and Christian tradition; 2) names according to the members of the Habsburg dynasty and 3) names according to the names of important Hungarian figures (e.g. national heroes from the uprisings and the revolutionary struggles of 1848/49, regional personalities) (Kurhajcová, 2012, p. 114).

In the years 1896–1918, the Central Banská Bystrica Square (*Námestie SNP*) was named *Béla Király tér* after the Hungarian King Béla IV, who granted Banská Bystrica town status. The official names at that time were Hungarian, so the urban names also had a Hungarian form – *Dolná ulica* was called *Kossuth Lajos utca* – named after a Hungarian politician, a fighter for the ethnic purity of Hungary and Hungary's independence from Austria and the leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1848–1849; today's 'Kapitulská Street' in this period bore the name *Wesselényi Ferencz utca* – in honor of František Vešeléni (Wesselényi Ferencz in Hungarian), who also fought in the anti-Habsburg uprisings; its parallel street (today's 'Národná Street') leading from the square to the Hron was originally named after Count Serényi (*Gr. Serényi utca*), who was the Minister of Agriculture in the Hungarian government. However, no earlier than in 1913 the street was renamed 'Sokolská Street' (referring to the popular Slavic Sokol sports movement). Today's 'Horná Street' was named *Bethlen Gábor utca* – after the leader of the anti-Habsburg uprising. Also, today's 'Skuteckého Street' can be mentioned, then called *Deák Ferenc utca* – after a Hungarian politician who contributed to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise

of 1867. Naming these central streets and squares, the Hungarian government declared its political power, with streets dedicated to important personalities of Hungarian history who greatly contributed to the strong position of Hungarians in the monarchy. The paradox was that some of these personalities fought against the Habsburg dynasty, who also ruled in Hungary.

An important social and political phase was the year 1918, which marked not only the end of World War I, but also the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic led by President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. The square in BB was renamed 'Masaryk Square' in his honor; its upper part was set aside as a separate square and was given the name *Horné námestie* ('Upper Square'). Today's streets – *Dolná ulica* ('Lower Street') and *Horná ulica* ('Upper Street') – were given Slovak names according to the direction to the square; *Skuteckého ulica* ('Skutecky´s Street') was called *Súdobná ulica* ('Courts' Street') – because of the courts that are still there today; the original *Serényi utca*[1] ('Serényi's Street', later Sokolská Street derived from the Sokol Movement) after 1918 was called *Národná ulica* ('National Street'), and with that name was dedicated to the Czech-Slovak nation which was forming as the basis of the new state unit; finally, *Kapitulská ulica* ('Kapitula Street', derived from the seat of the bishops) was named after the bishop's church at its end into the square.

Another important stage, which ideologically influenced the urbanonyms of BB, were the years 1939–1945, the period of the establishment of the fascist Slovak state, arising from the will of Adolf Hitler. The Slovak state, despite the declaration of independence, was under the control of Germany. The ideological pressure of the clergy fascists was also reflected in the renaming of urban places. The first Czech-Slovak president was a persona non grata and the square was renamed after the (then deceased) leader of the strongest political party, Andrej Hlinka, whose name is associated with the cult of personality, which was declared the state ideology of the then Slovak state. The second significant change was the renaming of *Súdobná ulica* ('Courts' Street' – today's 'Skutecky's Street') to 'Adolf Hitler Street' (*Ulica Adolfa Hitlera* in Slovak). The other streets around the square were not renamed, which means that the ideological pressure of the state manifested itself only in renaming the central square and "out of gratitude" to Nazi

[1] Till 1918, the streets bore Hungarian names, e.g. *utca* for 'street'.

Germany one street was renamed in honor of Adolf Hitler. The renaming of this street as a dedication to the German Führer is also related to the fact that on this street were situated courts and a city prison, prominent institutions of suppressive power.

The next important phase was the end of World War II and the re-establishing of the pre-war Czechoslovak Republic, also manifested by the urbanonyms returning to their pre-war form. The resonance of democratic principles manifested itself in urbanonymy. For instance, despite the communist coup in 1948 and the establishment of a totalitarian regime, the name of the central square, 'Masaryk Square', remained. This situation may also be related to the fact that the son of T. G. Masaryk – Jan Masaryk – served in the postwar government until his assassination as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Totalitarian communist power and the vassal relationship with the Soviet Union were manifested in the renaming of the streets only in 1953. In this year, the main square was renamed *Námestie Národného povstania* ('the National Uprising Square') – after the Slovak National Uprising in 1944. The original 'Upper Square' (*Horné námestie*) was renamed 'Red Army Square' (*Námestie Červenej armády*), whereas 'Dolná Street' became 'Malinovského Street' (*Malinovského ulica*), after the Marshal of the Soviet Union R. J. Malinovsky, who commanded the 2nd Ukrainian Front and liberated much of Czechoslovakia. The defeat of Hitler was symbolically completed in BB by renaming former 'Adolf Hitler Street' (now Skuteckého Street) to 'J. V. Stalin Street'. Ideologically, the name of today's 'Horná Street' was also changed to 'Širokého[2] Street' – the then Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia (1953–1963) and representative of the centralist and dogmatic wing of Slovak politics in the 1950s. Communist ideological pressure, the irreconcilability of communist ideology with the church and the presentation of symbols of communist power were also reflected in the renaming of today's 'Kapitulská Street' to 'Polevého Street' – after the Soviet journalist and writer. Furthermore, 'Národná' Street was renamed 'February Victory Street', which was related to the establishment of communist totalitarianism in February 1947. The ending of the cult of personality in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death, as well as in Czechoslovakia

[2] Viliam Široký was a significant personality in the Czechoslovak communist regime holding various high positions during his life (Prime minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, MP, etc.). The examined street was renamed after the then living personality, one of the main developers of the cult of personality, K. Gottwald.

after the death of Gottwald, did not yet lead to the mitigation of the harshest totalitarianism accompanied by contrived political processes. The mitigation only started to occur in the early 1960s, which was reflected in the change of street names. 'Stalinova Street' was renamed 'Obrancov mieru Street', 'Širokého Street' returned to its original name 'Horná Street' and 'B. Polevého Street' was named 'Moyzesova Street', after Catholic Bishop[3] and First Chairman of the Slovak Matica, Štefan Moyzes. The central square was renamed *Námestie SNP* in 1961. These changes in urban planning are also a reference to the retreat of the Bolshevism of the Communist Party from the 1950s and the release of the hard pressure of the totalitarian regime. Nevertheless, the LL emphasized the main role of the Communist Party in society, the celebration of and loyalty to the USSR.

Political and social changes in the countries of Central Europe, which until then were political satellites of the USSR, also led to the fall of communist totalitarianism and democratization of life in Czechoslovakia. These changes were also reflected in the renaming of streets and squares throughout the country (see e.g., Odaloš, 1994, 1996). The ideologically significant street dedicated to Hitler or later to Stalin was named after the important painter Dominik Skutecký, who lived and worked in BB from 1889. The name of the street leading from the square near the Chapter Church returned to the original name 'Kapitulská Street' and the personality of Štefan Moyzes was honoured by naming the upper square to *Námestie Š. Moyzesa*, *Horná* and *Dolná ulica* remained named after their location, thus fulfilling one of the postulates of the urban planners of the time – the de-ideologisation of names. The older name from the communist period – 'February Victory Street' – changed to 'Národná Street', and thus the requirement of remembrance of urbanonyms was met (Odaloš, 1996, p. 83).

The changes of the monitored urbanonyms in the BB centre from a diachronic point of view are documented in Table 1:

[3] The Catholic bishop was important for the communist regime as a crucial figure from the past fighting for national emancipation of Slovaks in the second half of the 19th century. He became the first chairman of Matica slovenská, the important Slovak institution established to help Slovakians emancipate themselves in the 19th century in the Austro-Hunagarian Empire.

Table 1. Diachrony of street names in the centre of BB

1525–1526	1589	1896–1918	1918–1939	1939–1945	1945–1953	1953–1961	1961–1989	1990–August 1990	1990–2019
	Ring	Béla Király tér	Masarykovo námestie	Hlinkovo námestie	Masarykovo námestie	nám. Národného povstania	nám. SNP	Námestie SNP	Námestie SNP
			Horné námestie	Horné námestie	Horné námestie	námestie Červenej armády	námestie Červenej armády	Nám. baníckeho povstania	Moyzesovo námestie
Špitálska	Untere Gasse	Kossuth Lajos utca	Dolná ulica	Dolná ulica	Dolná ulica	Malinovského ulica	Malinovského ulica	Dolná ulica	Dolná ulica
		Deák Ferenz utca	Súdobná ulica	ulica Adolfa Hitlera	Súdobná ulica	ulica J. V. Stalina	ulica Obrancov mieru	Skuteckého ulica	Skuteckého ulica
Horná	Obere Gasse	Bethlen Gábor utca	Horná ulica	Horná ulica	Horná ulica	ulica V. Širokého	Horná ulica	Horná ulica	Horná ulica
Hron-ská	Graner Gasse	Wesselényi Ferencz utca	Kapitulská ulica	Kapitulská ulica	Kapitulská ulica	ul. B. Polevého	Moyzesova ulica	Kapitulská ulica	Kapitulská ulica
		Gr. Serényi utca, od 1913 Sokolská ulica	Národná ulica	Národná ulica	Národná ulica	ul. Februárového víťazstva	ul. Februárového víťazstva	Národná ulica	Národná ulica

Source: own work.

Until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (1918), the situation of Slovaks in Hungary was very difficult. Hungarian laws suppressed Slovaks' rights to national identity, Slovakian was banned as a language of instruction in schools, and Magyarization of Slovaks gained momentum, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These pressures also manifested themselves in the LL. Originally Slovak proper names as parts of company names, some urbanonyms, and loyalty to state institutions were reflected in the inscriptions on the buildings – for example, the name of the roller mill, which was situated at the beginning of 'Dolná Street' at the entrance to the town, was in Hungarian (Figure 3). The Hungarian name *Első Beszterczebányai henger malom* can be translated as the 'First Banská Bystrica Roller Mill'.

Figure 3. First Banská Bystrica Roller Mill

Source: Archive of the Central Slovak Museum in Banská Bystrica.

Names of owners of shops and companies were in this period written in the Hungarian order with the surname first, followed by the given name (unlike the Slovak order – with the given name followed by the surname). Thus in Figures 4 and 5, first the surname of the owner (*Stollmann*) is given, then the abbreviation of the given name (*A.*). The full name is written in Hungarian spelling, because the Slovak form of the name is *Alexander Štollmann*. Hungarian writes the sound š in the s form. The name of the female shop owner (Figure 6) is also written in Hungarian form and in Hungarian spelling – the Slovak name *Žofia Juráková* is in the typical Hungarian order – the surname followed by her given name. Her surname has the masculine form (without the Slovak feminine surname suffix -ová), and the first name Žofia is written in the Hungarian form *Zsófia*.

Figure 4. Private signs

Figure 5. Detail of the sign

Figure 6. Female name

Source: Archive of the Central Slovak Museum in Banská Bystrica.

Several historical photographs from the end of the 19th century show two triumphal arches or gates in the area of the beginning of 'Dolná Street', by which the ruling officials of the time manifested their political preference regarding the Hungarianization of Slovakia – the official inscriptions on the gates are in Hungarian. Both gates were erected on occasions of welcoming certain dignitaries and dismantled shortly afterward. On the first gate (Figure 7, detail in Figure 9) there was the inscription *Isten Hozott!*, which can be translated literally as 'Greetings to the Lord God!', or in a free translation as 'Welcome!'. Some historians believe that it was to welcome Štefan Tisza – Prime Minister of Hungary in 1903–1905 and 1913–1917. According to researcher historian at

Matej Bel University, A. Kurhajcová,[4] (e-mail correspondence of June 13, 2021), it was a solemn welcome of the newly appointed bishop of the BB diocese, Karol Rimely on September 13, 1893. In her opinion, this is also evidenced by his personal coat of arms placed in the middle of the gate (Figure 8).

Figure 7. Gate

Figure 8. Detail of the gate

Figure 9. 'Welcome'

Figure 10.
Triumphal Arch

Figure 11. Detail of the sign on the Triumphal Arch

Source: Archive of the Central Slovak Museum in Banská Bystrica

[4] Whom we would like to thank for her co-operation.

The second triumphal arch (Figure 10, detail in Figure 11) was built exactly at the same site in 1897 on the occasion of the appointment of Baron Radvanský to the office of mayor of Zvolen County. On the gate was the inscription *Éljen báró Radvánszky János!*, translated as 'Long live Baron Ján Radvanský!' In addition to the Hungarian language, the Hungarian order of names and the Hungarianized form of both his surname (Radvánszky) and given name (János) were used in this inscription.

An important milestone, which significantly affected the LL (especially top-down inscriptions), was the year 1918. In that year, World War I ended, but the most important fact was that the First Czechoslovak Republic was established on the ruins of the disintegrated Austro-Hungarian Empire. The very establishment of Czechoslovakia was preceded by several important agreements, which also influenced the form of the LL. The union of two independent nations – Czechs and Slovaks – into one state unit was guaranteed by the Cleveland Agreement of 22 October 1915, and also guaranteed the use of the Slovak language as a state language. The later Pittsburgh Agreement, signed on 30 May 1918, guaranteed the use of Slovak in offices, schools and public life. Legislatively, the issue of street renaming also began to be addressed. A bill passed 24 July 1919 regulated the naming of streets, squares and businesses (see Odaloš, 2000, pp. 281–282). The legislation had two parts: instructional and prohibitive, in which restrictive measures were defined. For example, streets, squares, parks could not be named after the names of members of the Habsburg family, after the names of the ruling families of enemy states, after the names of persons who had been hostile to the Czechoslovak nation and after the events that humiliated the Czechoslovak nation. The naming of streets in the new state was defined by Act no. 266 of 14 April 1920 on the names of towns, villages and streets, as well as the designation of municipalities by local tables and the numbering of houses (Odaloš, 2000, p. 282).

The first important historical turning point in the 20th century was the establishment of Czechoslovakia (1918), which meant the disintegration of monarchy and the end of Hungarianization in Slovakia. Figures 12 and 13 (see below) depict the expressions of loyalty to the new Republic: until 1918 *Holesch Arpád*, after 1918 *Arpád Holesch*. Hungarian naming order is overturned in favor of Slovakian naming order.

Figure 12. Sign before 1918: Holesch Arpád

Figure 13. Sign after 1918: Arpád Holesch

Source: Archive of the Central Slovak Museum in Banská Bystrica.

During the spring of 1945 ideologization in the LL was obviously demonstrated by the following inscriptions neglecting the fact that other nationalities participated in the liberation of the area as well (Figure 14): *„проверено, мин нет („provereno, min net"), СИВ*[5] *Стл-т*[6] *Диков"* means 'Verified, no mines, Engineer Troops, Senior Lieutenant Dikov'.

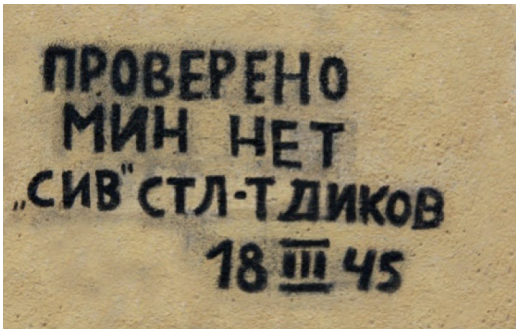

Figure 14. Russian sign

Source: https://www.pamatihodnosti.sk/pamatihodnost/?itemId=26

The city of Banská Bystrica was liberated by units of the 40th Red Army of General F. F. Žmačenko and the 4th Romanian Army of General N. Dăscălescu, which penetrated the city from three sides. On March 25, 1945, by two o'clock in the afternoon, the city was liberated. Subsequently, Red Army soldiers

[5] Саперно-инженерное войско 'Engineer Troops'.
[6] Стл-т – старший лейтенант 'senior lieutenant'.

identified the mined objects and ensured their demining. They marked the objects with the words “verified, without mines”. The inscription included the date and names of the soldiers who carried out the inspection. This laconic announcement was a guarantee of safe use of the objects. To this day, four such inscriptions have been preserved in the town: in Národná and Robotnícká Streets, in the Hronské suburb, in Štefan Moyses Square. They are a reminder of the day when freedom came to our city and they remind us of the price we had to pay for it.

All four inscriptions are entered in the Register of Monuments of the City of Banská Bystrica. Since 2010, the Banská Bystrica self-government has adopted a generally binding regulation, the aim of which is to preserve and improve the state of the city’s sights for future generations (Pastuchová, 2012), and thus also the inscriptions in Russian.

The third milestone was the political coup in 1948 – the establishment of the communist dictatorship which meant censorship, a ban on private farming, ideological inscriptions, slogans and banners (see Figure 15 and 16):

Figure 15. Signs after 1945

Source: Archive of the Museum of the Slovak National Uprising in Banská Bystrica.

Figure 16. SNP Square of the 1950s: *The Soviet Bookstore*

Source: Archive of the Central Slovak Museum in Banská Bystrica.

Another historic milestone in 1989 marked revolutionary changes: the return of the private economy, the opening to the West, and (among other things) the influence of the English language.

4. Conclusion

The article analysed the LL of selected streets of the BB city centre where significant social and political changes were reflected in the course of 20th century. The naming changes of several BB city streets covered the period from 1525 to 2019. The LL has been documented by means of changes in BB urbanonyms and by means of analysis of historical photographs depicting crucial historical periods. Urbanonyms, as a significant part of LL, react most quickly to political and social changes which has been proven by our research. The dominant political establishment ideologically influences inhabitants and this is done by means of top-down signs in the LL, among other methods. This paper proved that the dominant force in a given territory displays its control through a prestigious variety of language presented in the LL. Simultaneously, the acquired store of urbanonyms reflects historical and political landmarks that influenced the change of names, that is, the arrival of German colonists and the foundation of German municipal patriciate, the Hungarianization of urbanonyms after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, de-Hungarianization after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic (1918), its breakup and the creation of the fascist wartime Slovak State (1939–1945), post-war democratic development (1945–1947), communist coup d'état in 1948, the strengthening of the communist regime in the 1950s, the process of political reform movement in 1960s and revolutionary changes in the year 1989. The aforementioned pivotal points

in history can be matched with the changes of street and main square names: for example, *Ring* (1589) > *Béla Király* (1896–1918) > *Masarykovo námestie* (1918–1939) > *Hlinkovo námestie* (1939–1945) > *Masarykovo námestie* (1945–1953) > *nám. Národného povstania* (1953–1961) > *nám. SNP* (1961–1989) > *Námestie SNP* (1990–2020). The evolution of today's *Skuteckého ulica* ('street') was as follows: *Deák Ferenz utca* (1896–1918) > *Súdobná ulica* (1918–1939) > *ulica Adolfa Hitlera* (1939–1945) > *Súdobná ulica* (1945–1953) > *ulica J. V. Stalina* (1953–1961) > *ulica Obrancov mieru* (1961–1989) > *Skuteckého ulica* (1990–2020).

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North and South of the Border: Parallel Place Name Research in Ireland

Abstract

Irish language place-names were largely recorded in non-standardized anglicized spelling, which is variously subject to influences like diverging dialects, and socio-historical change. Following the partition of Ireland in 1921, place name research and authority is disconnected. In the Republic of Ireland, Irish is the first official language, reflected in support via a number of statutory bodies. The Placenames Committee within the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (Government of Ireland) is the main authority on place names, and advises government on official place names as defined in legislation (Official Languages Act, 2003). The Logainm.ie place names database and Meitheal Logainm.ie community place name collection project, developed by Dublin City University, reflect further Government support for place-name scholarship and usage.

Irish has (currently) no similar legal protection in Northern Ireland, and therefore no official requirement for Irish versions of names for administrative or other purposes. Despite this, the Northern Ireland Place-Name Project (NIPNP), based in Queen's University, Belfast (currently funded by the Northern Ireland Executive, conducts research on the origins of place names. This paper outlines the background and current state of place name research in Ireland in both jurisdictions, and highlights areas of overlap and future all-Ireland collaboration.

Keywords

Irish place-names, Irish language, anglicisation, community place-name collection, bilingual place-names

1. Introduction

The overwhelming majority of Irish place names in use in Ireland today have their origins in the Irish language. There is, of course, evidence in some names of other languages, such as Old Norse, left by the Vikings in coastal regions in names such as *Carlingford* (*Kerlingfjörðr* 'narrow sea-inlet of the hag')[1] and *Strangford* (*Strangr Fjörðr* 'strong sea-inlet'). The period following the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century left us names of English origin like *Kirkistown* and *Palmerston*, and some that were subsequently Gaelicised, like *Ballywalter.* The Anglo-Normans also introduced elements of French origin to the Irish namescape, such as *graunge* 'grain-producing land' and *bretasche* 'palisade', which then entered the Irish language as *gráinseach* and *briotás* respectively.

Despite this sporadic interference from other language families, most Irish place names, particularly those that feature in the historical administrative system of land division of Ireland, and those of natural physical features, are of Irish language origin. These names often retain some resemblance to their original Irish language form, having undergone a process of transmission or 'transliteration' from Irish into English,[2] and often emerge similarly in English across the island of Ireland. Of course, there are complexities associated with this process: the contrasting morpho-phonologies of Celtic and Germanic languages; errors of transcription and interpretation; a tendency for analogy with English, and the development of anglicised forms to recognisable English words (*díseart* 'hermitage' as *-desert*, *droim* 'ridge' as *-drum*, and both *cill* 'church' and *coill* 'wood' as *kill-*). While the anglicisation process is largely viewed as a negative one, with connotations of cultural destruction and emerging forms seen as meaningless, chaotic or even 'gibberish', the process

[1] Names coined by the Vikings often have Celtic predecessors. For example, Carlingford Lough is first mentioned in the Annals of Ulster in 852 AD by its ancient Gaelic name *Cuan Snamh Aigneach* 'swift sea-channel/swimming-place'.

[2] A process aided strongly by the introduction of a sophisticated administrative system in the 12th century which led to the first documentation of a great number of historic names, albeit in English sources and recorded in accordance with the spelling conventions of contemporary English at that time.

of language transmission here is not entirely devoid of regularity (Ó Mainnín, 2017, p. 2), and it is often the case that trends can be identified in common place names across the country. Take, for example, the Irish place name *Ráth Cúil* 'fort of the nook'. This same form appears anglicized as *Rathcoole* in County Antrim in Northern Ireland, and again almost identically, as *Rathcool*, in County Cork, some 350 km south. A significant proportion of commonly observed elements in Irish place names derive from noteworthy features of the natural landscape as well as from man-made features, and both of these appear alongside qualifying components, such as names (family names, personal names, names of saints or mythological characters), and descriptive adjectives, which means we can follow general anglicisation patterns and recognise many names with the same origin at polar ends of the island. This is despite various external influences on the names and on place-name research in Ireland such as linguistic developments across diverging dialects, historical events and societal changes. In some cases, however, both linguistic and extralinguistic factors can cause individual names to diverge to a point where they are today unrecognisable as originating from the one same form. One example is the common place-name element *cnoc* 'hill', which is realised variously as *knock*, *crock* and *cronk*, which are all attested in County Down alone (Tracey, 2021). It is at this point that consideration of both historical evidence and general trends is invaluable to researchers, north and south, whose work endeavours to discover the origins of contemporary place names.

2. A common linguistic and cultural background

The place names of Ireland developed along a common path until the Partition of the island in 1921. Up until this point administrative place names were structured in a hierarchy of land units from counties, baronies, civil parishes and townlands (small local areas, of which there are over 60,000 on the whole island). These land units, though a function of British administration in Ireland, were often based on units that formed part of older Gaelic systems of landholding. The names of most of these units, along with those of major topographical features, have their origin in the Irish language. The majority

of such names date to before the 17th century and many are much older (Mac Giolla Easpaig, 2008, p. 165), and thus originate from a time when Irish was the vernacular on the entire island. Given that language shift gradually began to take hold from the 17th century onwards, many later minor names are, by contrast, of English origin, particularly in the longer-anglicized areas in Leinster. A field name survey carried out in County Meath, for instance, found that only 10–11% of field names collected in that county were of Irish-language origin (Meath Field Names Project, 2019), whereas minor names collected on Achill Island off the west coast of County Mayo, are overwhelmingly of Irish origin (Mac Gabhann, 2014).

Only a small number of places, generally those of greater significance such as towns and major topographical features are mentioned in Irish-language literary tradition, which flourished up until the 17th century. This means that many names have been documented only in their anglicized form. The adoption of English forms of Irish place names, initiated with the large-scale documentation of lands by the Anglo-Normans in the 12th century, continued in subsequent centuries with anglicized forms being adopted by all arms of the administrative system, by the church and by newly settled English speaking landowners. However up until the early 19th century, only the names of the principal towns of the country had converged to a standard form, and townland and other minor names appeared in various guises throughout the country, and even in the same localities by different bodies (Mac Giolla Easpaig, 2008, p. 164). This situation led to the Ordnance Survey's employment of Celtic scholar John O'Donovan to collect evidence on place names in the field and provide standardised English language place names for inclusion on the Ordnance Survey's series of maps at the scale of six inches to the mile, developed from the first large-scale survey of Ireland in 1824, and these spellings remain the official standard spelling to today.

Though place names were sometimes translated (often inaccurately) into English[3] and sometimes even replaced with new coinages,[4] by far the most

[3] An example of a reasonably accurate translation being *Swinford* in County Mayo, translated from the original Irish name *Béal Átha na Muic*e 'the ford mouth of the pig (*swine*)'.

[4] Such an example being *Port Laoise* in County Laois, which was officially named *Maryborough* until 1929. The Irish name *Port Laoise*, was recorded by John O'Donovan of the Ordnance Survey as being in use among the last Irish speakers in the vicinity of the town in 1838. See https://www.logainm.ie/ga/28626

common method of anglicisation was the phonetic rendering of Irish names using English orthography (De hÓir, 1972–1973, p. 195). This process was *ad hoc* and often produced different anglicized versions of the same original Irish word. For example, the common place-name element *doire* 'oak wood', of which the most well-known iteration is the city and county of Doire/Derry,[5] can be anglicized variously as *derry, derra, derri* and *dirri* amongst other possibilities. The predominance of common elements and the often-predictable anglicisation of these elements means we can elucidate the original meaning of these names with the help of historical, geographical and archaeological evidence. That being said, anglicisation does present difficulties in ascertaining the origin of names. A common problem encountered in Irish place-name research is that *cill* ('church') and *coill* have generally both been anglicized as *kil(l)*, for example *Kilmore* in Armagh derives from *An Chill Mhór* 'the big church' whereas the identical *Kilmore* in Dublin derives from *An Choill Mhór* 'the big wood'. Another issue often encountered by researchers relates to *bally*, generally used as an anglicized form of *baile* 'town', the most common element in Irish place names. *Bally*, however, is also sometimes used in anglicized forms of other elements such as *buaile* ('cattle fold'), *béal átha* ('ford mouth') and *bealach* ('way, pass'), which can create difficulty in distinguishing these elements from one another based solely on individual anglicized forms. For example, *Ballyedmond* in County Laois derives from *Buaile Éamainn* 'Éamann's cattle fold' whereas its namesake *Ballyedmond* in County Down derives from *Baile Éamainn* 'Éamann's town'.

The Irish language declined rapidly through the 18th and 19th centuries. By the mid-19th century, language shift was more or less complete in most of Leinster outside of some pockets in Louth, Meath and Kilkenny, where some native speakers survived into the 20th century (Ní Mhunghaile, 2015, p. 553). Native Irish speakers lingered much longer in areas of Connacht, Munster and Ulster, where recordings[6] were made of the last speakers in many of the counties of those provinces in the first half of the 20th century. Currently,

[5] In 1613 Derry was renamed *Londonderry* by the planter London companies on account of their association with the city of London. In official governmental documents in Northern Ireland and the UK, the city and townland is generally referred to as Londonderry; in the Republic of Ireland, it is referred to as Derry.

[6] Examples of such recordings can be found at The Doegen Records Web Project (https://doegen.ie/).

three main surviving dialects of Irish are recognised: Ulster Irish, now represented by the dialect spoken in Donegal, but originally spoken throughout the province of Ulster; Connacht Irish, now associated with Galway and Mayo, but originally spoken throughout the province of Connacht, and Munster Irish, referring to the dialects spoken in Cork, Kerry and Waterford, but originally spoken throughout that province. Many subdialects which are now extinct are well-attested, such as the dialect spoken in South-East Ulster.[7] Other dialects have been completely lost however, and very little is known about the dialect spoken in Leinster. Anglicized forms of place names can however provide a clue to certain pronunciations in extinct dialects. The sound change *cn* > *cr*, *gn* > *gr*, *mn* > *mr*, a feature common in the surviving dialects of Ulster and Connacht Irish, is often attested in anglicized forms of place names containing the element *cnoc* 'hill', even in long-anglicized parts of the country. Following *cnoc* 'hill', mentioned above, a diminutive form *An Cnocán* 'the hillock' in Kildare has been anglicized as *Crockaun*, and *Cnoc Sheáin* 'Seán's hill' in Dublin as *Crockshane*, indicating the pronunciation of *cnoc* as *croc* was present in the dialects spoken in both areas.

3. Diverging ideologies north-south about Irish in the public space

With the Gaelic revival in the late 19th century, there emerged a new interest in Irish language and culture. In 1905 and 1911, the Gaelic League published lists of the Gaelic versions of anglicized names (Laoide, 1905, 1911). The founder of the Gaelic League (who was to become the first President of Ireland in 1938), Douglas Hyde, directly addressed the place-names issue in 1892:

> On the whole, our place names have been treated with about the same respect as if they were the names of a savage tribe which had never before been reduced to writing, and with about the same intelligence and contempt as vulgar English squatters treat the topo-graphical nomenclature of the Red Indians (…) I hope

[7] See McGahan, 2009.

> and trust that where it may be done without any great inconvenience a native Irish Government will be induced to provide for the restoration of our place names on something like a rational basis. (Ó Conaire, 1986, p. 166)

Even before independence and partition, the introduction of local government to Ireland in 1898 facilitated the introduction of place-name policies in sympathy with Irish cultural nationalism of the time. Names such as *Offaly* (formerly *King's County*), *Laois* (formerly *Queen's County*) and *Dún Laoghaire* (formerly *Kingstown*) were in use before they were officially sanctioned by the Free State (Ó Maolfabhail, 1992, p. 18).

The Government of Ireland act of 1920 facilitated the establishment of parliaments in Belfast and Dublin. The subsequent partition of Ireland in 1921 and the establishment of the Irish Free state the following year set the scene for divergence on place naming in the north-south jurisdictions. In the Irish republic, partition provided an Irish government sympathetic to the promotion of the Irish language in various areas of public life, including a demand for authoritative commentary on Irish forms of place names for use in official documentation. The Irish Constitution made Irish the official language of the country.

Partition and the formation of Northern Ireland led to a starkly different situation for Irish place names in the counties that remained part of the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland was created from the six north-eastern Ulster counties of (London)Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Antrim, Down and Armagh. The Northern Ireland Government's resistance to the Irish language in any official capacity followed from longer-standing Unionist suspicion of and hostility towards the language, at the time of the emergence of the Gaelic League in Ulster. From the 1930s onwards "Irish was grudgingly tolerated as a foreign language within the education system but, unlike other languages, was subject to periodic abuse from Unionist politicians" (Andrews, 1997, p. 38).

The use of Irish language place names in the public space was also banned, with a 1949 Public Health and Local Government Act which prohibited Northern Irish local authorities from erecting signs in Irish (or more precisely requiring that 'they shall not cause such name [by which a street is known] to be put up or painted otherwise than in English'). This provision was repealed in 1995, making bilingual street signs lawful (but not mandatory);

and authority on erection of bilingual signage is now with Northern Ireland's eleven local councils.

The Irish language has no legal protection in Northern Ireland. Unlike the cases of Welsh in Wales (Welsh Language Act, 1993) and Scottish Gaelic in Scotland (Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act, 2005), the Irish Language has no official status in Northern Ireland and therefore there is no official requirement for Irish versions of place names for administrative or other purposes. In recent years (since 2017), disagreements over proposed legislative protection for the Irish language has been the cause of political stalemate in Northern Ireland, with the two largest political parties, the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Féin, unable to agree on the potential status of the Irish language. The parties re-entered government in January 2020 with the publication of the 'New Decade New Approach' agreement, which promises an Office of Identity and Cultural Expression and commissioners for both the Irish language and Ulster Scots, although bilingual signage provision remains the responsibility of councils. Despite changes in the direction of language legislation in Northern Ireland, there remains a great deal of resistance to the inclusion of Irish in the linguistic landscape (Dunlevy, 2021).

4. Standard methods for researching Irish place names

There is agreement among place-name scholars north and south on the methods for researching place names. The method of research employed by the Placenames Branch involves the collection of historical written forms of place names as well as modern local pronunciation for linguistic analysis (Mac Giolla Easpaig, 2008, p. 170). Written forms are collected from a wide range of sources, such as legal documents like Fiants (16th and 17th century), and land deeds (mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries), surveys and maps, such as the Down Survey and the accompanying Books of Survey and Distribution (17th century) as well as maps and surveys taken on a local level to varying degrees such as estate maps. The work of the original Ordnance Survey carried out in the 1830s and 40s, particularly the Parish Namebooks, are essential to such research. A similar method of research is carried out by

the Northern Ireland Place-name Project, and the fruits of such work can be found in "The Place-names of Northern Ireland" series and the "Logainmneacha na hÉireann" series as well as on the PlacenamesNI.org and Logainm.ie websites.

5. Place-names research in the Republic of Ireland

A number of statutory bodies have had responsibility for place-name provision in the Republic of Ireland, starting with The Placenames Commission (now the Placenames Committee), established by the Irish Government in 1946 and tasked with "investigation of the place-names of Ireland in order to determine the correct original Irish forms of those names in so far as they can be established", and "the preparation of lists of those names, in their Irish forms, for publication and for official use" (Ó Maolfabhail, 1992, p. 138). The Placenames Branch was established to support the Commission by the Ordnance Survey of Ireland in 1955, and it now sits within the Government department responsible for the Irish language, where it continues to undertake research into the place names of Ireland to provide authoritative Irish language versions of those place names for official and public use. Government support for place-name scholarship is reflected in legislation such as The Placenames (Irish Forms) Act 1973 and The Official Languages Act of 2003.

Logainm.ie, the Placenames Database of Ireland, was created by Gaois, Dublin City University, in collaboration with The Placenames Branch (Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media) and was launched in 2008. The site provides a comprehensive management system for data, archival records and place-names research conducted by the State. It is also a public resource. Logainm.ie's sister website Meitheal Logainm.ie, a website which provides a crowdsourcing tool for pooling, storing and sharing data about minor place names, was launched in 2016.

A major difference between the research aims of the Placenames Branch and the Northern Ireland Place-name Project is that, due to the official status enjoyed by the Irish Language in the Republic of Ireland, the main aim of the Placename Branch's research is to provide authoritative Irish-language

versions of all administrative place names in that jurisdiction, whereas the Northern Ireland Place-name Project has no such obligation, although they do provide Irish language forms of place names on request from local councils. This means that names of English origin in the Republic of Ireland sometimes need to be translated into Irish. An example of such is the late English coinage *Deerpark*, an extremely common townland name associated with landed estates, generally translated to *Páirc na bhFianna* in official Irish versions. In regard to names of Irish origin which are only known anglicized form, difficulty can arise where the origin of a name cannot be ascertained to any degree of certainty as Irish versions of such names still must be provided. In such cases, an official Irish form is given with a phonetic approximation in Irish orthography based on historical anglicized forms and local pronunciation. An example of such a case is *Ballyhire* in County Wexford for which *Baile Shaighir* 'the town(land) of –?' is given as the official Irish version of the name:

> However as the etymology of the place-name is unclear, the precursor is best represented by the phonetic approximation *Baile Shaighir*. This spelling is close to the present-day spoken form and also contains s- as reflected in some of the earlier examples of the name. (Ó Crualaoich & Mac Giolla Chomhghaill, 2016, p. 338)

6. Place-names research in Northern Ireland

Despite the once palpable resistance to the Irish language, and invisibility of Irish language place names in Northern Ireland discussed above, place names have been identified as being a potential component within new inclusive senses of location rather than the deconstruction of belonging, and the acceptance of 'varieties of Irishness' (Nash, 1999, p. 471). Indeed, various bodies have contributed to research on and promotion of historical names including the Ulster Place-Name Society (1952) and the Ulster Federation for Local Studies (1974). The Northern Ireland Place-Name Project at Queen's University Belfast has its origins in a commission for the Department of Celtic by the Department of Environment in Northern Ireland in 1987. The main aim of the

project is to research the origins and meanings of local place names, based on a corpus of over 30,000 names of settlements and physical features. Unlike Logainm.ie in the south, the project does not enjoy long-term funding and it suffered a seven-year long hiatus when the then Minister of Culture, Arts and Leisure withdrew funding from the project in 2010. In recent years (2017–2021), the project has been funded by the Department of Finance within the Northern Ireland Executive, through their project partners in Land and Property Services who provide mapping and other technical support.

The project is currently undertaking migration to a new database and website, incorporating provision in the software so that place names can be analysed on an all-island basis, in collaboration with the outputs of Logainm.ie. Further details on plans for collaboration are discussed below.

7. All-island collaboration

Despite the differences outlined above, there is great potential for collaboration between the two projects, not least in the potential of an all-island perspective on place names.

In 2016, 11,066 cross-references were created between the two databases. The benefits include the ability to access names in Northern Ireland via Logainm.ie as well as through PlacenamesNI.org and the sharing of archive material to the benefit of both databases. Since 2008, the Logainm project has been providing audio recordings of place names. In 2019, The Northern Ireland Place-Name Project began collaborating on this project, with sound files now available for Counties Down and Antrim, and there are plans to create provision for the other counties in due course.

Beginning in August 2021, the projects north and south will again collaborate in a project entitled "OS200: Digitally Re-Mapping Ireland's Ordnance Survey Heritage", funded by a UK-Ireland 'Collaboration in the Digital Humanities' Research Grant (AHRC-IRC). The project will collate historic Ordnance Survey maps and other materials (Memoirs, Letters and Name Books) and provide access to these materials online for academic and public use with a view

of exploring hidden and forgotten aspects of the work of the Ordnance Survey as they mapped and recorded names, landscapes and localities.

8. Conclusion

Place names on the island of Ireland share a common linguistic and cultural background, with the vast majority of administrative names and names of topographical features being of Irish-language origin. The partition of the island into two distinct jurisdictions in 1921 led to a divergence in the status of the Irish language on the island. Although comprehensive toponymic study has been carried out on both sides of the border, there are some distinct differences in terms of the end goals of the research. That being said, cooperation between place-name scholars from both jurisdictions has been fruitful and will continue to be an essential element of toponymic research in Ireland into the future.

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On the Place Names of the Old Spiš County

Abstract

The old Spiš county was one of the northernmost counties of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, located right on the border of the Polish kingdom. In this paper, I give an overview of the place name system of this area. The organization of the county dates back to the beginning of the 13th century, and although archaeological findings indicate that some parts of the area had been inhabited earlier, our place-name data have only survived from that period. Between the 13th century and the end of the Middle Ages, Spiš was a multilingual area where Slavs, Hungarians and Germans lived side by side and together. Because of this linguistic diversity, place names were created in different languages, and some names have been loaned to other languages. The purpose of this paper is to briefly summarize the linguistic processes that have affected the formation and evolution of place names in the county. For this, I use the methods of etymology, toponym reconstruction and the analysis of toponym system. At the same time, I also pay attention to the characteristics of the sources that preserve the place-name data and try to consider the possibilities and limitations of linguistic-ethnic reconstruction.

Keywords

Spiš county, toponyms, linguistic-ethnic reconstruction, settlement names, medieval charters

1.

The old Spiš county – also known as Szepes or Zips county – was one of the northernmost counties of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, bordering the Polish kingdom.[1] The formation of the county dates back to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century. However, based on archeological findings, it can be said that certain parts of the area – mainly the valleys of the larger rivers – were inhabited even earlier (see, e.g., KMTL, pp. 636–637; Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 9–51; Lux, 1938; Kósa & Filep, 1978, p. 177; Kristó, 1988, pp. 393–395; Zsoldos, 2003; Homza, 2009; Soják, 2009). In some cases, the origin of place names can also be traced back to the period before the organization of the county. Nevertheless, the earliest available written place-name data are from the first decades of the 13th century. It was then that the first charters were written about this area (cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 53–55; Kenyhercz, 2020, p. 84). These texts were related to land donations and legal issues concerning the region, and in these documents, vernacular place names and personal names were also included in the official Latin text (cf. Hoffmann et. al., 2017, p. 71). These onomastic data show that the medieval Spiš county had been a multilingual area since the 13th century, where mainly Slavic (mostly Slovak, but also Polish),[2] Hungarian, and German-speaking peoples lived side by side and together (cf. Kenyhercz, 2020, p. 92).[3] Due to

[1] The territory of the former county today lies in northeastern Slovakia, with a very small area in southeastern Poland.

[2] By the 13th century, of course, we can no longer speak of Slavic in general, since the Proto-Slavic language had already disintegrated (cf. Kniezsa, 1942, p. 178; Poljakov, 2018, pp. 1588–1589). At that time, the territory of the county was inhabited mainly by Slovaks, but there was also a Polish-speaking population in the northern parts (cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 244–252; Krajčovič, 1975, pp. 22–24). In this study, however, I mostly treat these two Slavic languages together, in contrast to the Hungarian and German languages. The main reason for this is that the morphological and naming features of these two Slavic languages were quite similar and are mostly well distinguished from Hungarian and German names. Furthermore, in some cases, it can be determined whether the given toponym is of Slovak or Polish origin, yet, in other cases, it is not possible, at least not possible based on linguistic criteria. For the sake of accuracy, in the footnotes, I will try to resolve these questions.

[3] The exact ethnic proportions of the county's population cannot be determined from the available historical sources. Hungarian and Slavic historical and linguistic literature sometimes reflect quite different views on this. It must also be taken into account that in a multilingual environment, the weight of each language was also different (i.e. the communicative and

this linguistic diversity, place names were also created in different languages, and some of them were transferred to other languages. This paper gives an overview of a certain part of the toponymic system of this multilingual area.

The current research is based on a database that includes all the place names from the earliest period of the county, until the end of the so-called Anjou era, March 30, 1387. This period of time provides enough data for the research, that is, the number of charters is sufficient for linguistic investigation. Besides, the system of estates and settlements in the medieval Spiš county had been practically established by the end of that era. Today the dataset consists of the place names from 2,665 charters written before 1387.[4] So I have 13,609 place name or place designation records from the original documents, as well as transcripted or copied charters. I plan to publish this dataset in the form of a historical etymological dictionary and an open-access database. Besides, relying on this dataset, I also intend to reconstruct the medieval linguistic-ethnic relations of Spiš county, for which purpose – in my opinion – place names serve as an excellent source if the appropriate methodology is applied. In this paper, I will also refer to these aspects of the name corpus.

2.

Place names typically reflect the features of the natural environment of the area, its history, and social circumstances. This is also true for the place names of Spiš. For linguistic-ethnic reconstruction, natural names[5] and settlement

social function of these languages was certainly different). In fact, this is a problem I am trying to address in this paper as well. The historical etymological dictionary of the place-name material of the old Spiš county, which I am compiling, and which will hopefully be completed soon, will try to give further information on this issue to provide a clearer picture.

[4] For the data collection I mainly used high-resolution photocopies of the charters that are available online on the site of the Hungarian National Archives, see https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters

[5] By the term “natural name”, I mean all the geographical names that refer to the natural environment (topographic names, hydronyms), as opposed to the names of artificial places, such as settlements and estates.

names serve as equally good sources. However, due to their diverse socio-cultural backgrounds, and consequently, to the difference in their linguistic features, their value as a source also differs in that respect (cf. Hoffmann et al., 2017, pp. 20–21, 126). This article focuses only on settlement names.

2.1.

The dataset for this paper contains a total of 299 names and name variants of 260 settlements or estates. The linguistic analysis of these settlement names shows that a large number of them are derived from personal names in the county. Among them, we find both one- and two-constituent names. We can distinguish three main name structures: 1) in some cases, the personal name became a settlement name without any formal changes (e.g., *Edelény*, *Páris*, *Szalók*, cf. FNESz. 1, p. 406; 2, pp. 320, 517); 2) in other cases, settlement names were created with a name formant, such as the Hungarian *Ivánosi* (personal name *Iványos ~ János* + *-I*, cf. FNESz. 2, p. 83) and *Tamási* (personal name *Tamás* + *-i*, cf. FNESz. 2, p. 612), or Slavic *Hotkóc* (< place name *Hotkovce ~ Hotkovec* < personal name *Hotk* + *-ovec*, cf. FNESz. 1, p. 612) and *Odorin* (personal name *Odor* + *-in*, cf. FNESz. 2, p. 567);[6] 3) among the two-constituent names, there are names created with Hungarian and German geographical common nouns, e.g., Hungarian *Farkasfalva* (personal name *Farkas* 'wolf' + *-falva* 'village', FNESz. 1, p. 442), *Brumfölde* (personal name *Brum* + *-földe* 'land', cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 111–112) and *Mátyásvágása* (personal name *Mátyás* + *-vágása* 'settlement on a deforested area', cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, p. 240; FNESz. 2, p. 568), or German *Kabusdorf* (personal name *Kabus ~ Kappus* + *-dorf* 'village', cf. FNESz. 1, p. 684) and *Stephanishau* (personal name *Stephan* + *-hau* 'settlement on a deforested area', cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 250–251). The problems of this category will be further specified.

[6] These two names are assumed to have originated in the old Slovak language, cf. the quoted parts of the FNESz. and Kniezsa, 1960, pp. 22–23.

2.2.

Another large group of old settlement names in Spiš comprises those that are either formed from natural names or lexemes referring to the natural environment. Since the separation of these two sub-categories is quite problematic, I consider them as part of a bigger category.

Due to its geographical features, smaller and larger rivers flow across the area of the old Spiš county, so the proportion of settlement names that can be traced back to river names is significant. Most of them became settlement names without formal changes from a one- or two-constituent hydronym metonymically, for example, *Bela*, *Poprad*, *Vidernik* were formed from a Slavic hydronym (cf. FNESz. 1, p. 186; 2, pp. 363, 746),[7] while *Mühlenbach* ('mill stream', cf. Melich, 1904, p. 17), *Rauschenbach* ('roaring stream', cf. FNESz. 1, pp. 95–96) and *Bierbrunn* (< German *Birn* 'pear' + *Brunn* 'spring', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 494) were derived from German hydronyms. There is a special sub-category among these names, including *Kasztrosinfő*, *Csevnikfő*, *Tarcafő* (cf. Šmilauer, 1932, pp. 396, 492; FNESz. 2, pp. 459, 618) that were created from a Slavic – in these cases, presumably Slovak – hydronym combined with the Hungarian *fő* 'spring' lexical topoformant. And we may also mention here the name *Borkút* as well where the *kút* lexeme means 'spring' in the Hungarian language (cf. EWUng., p. 854). The problem with this category is that in a lot of cases, either the first attestation of the hydronym is much younger than that of the settlement name, or there is no written attestation at all. What is more, in the cases of identical settlement names and hydronyms, settlement names do not need to be considered as secondary in metonymical name giving, the hydronym can be secondary as well. Finally, if we would like to use these names for a linguistic-ethnic reconstruction, it is also worth bearing in mind that it is not necessarily the same community that gives the name to the watercourse and the settlement (Hoffmann et al., 2017, pp. 234–236).

Besides referring to watercourses, a remarkable proportion of settlement names refer to other natural places. Among them, are names of German origin (e.g., *Wagendrüssel* 'wet canyon', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 123; *Schönau* 'beautiful meadow, grove', cf. FNESz. 1, p. 91; *Richwald* 'rich forest', cf. Melich, 1904, p. 5),

[7] From a linguistic point of view, all three names might be of both Slovak and Polish origin, cf. the quoted parts of the FNESz.

Slavic names (e.g., *Lucska* 'small meadow', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 53; *Dolina* 'valley, hole', FNESz. 1, p. 381),[8] and we also find Hungarian names that can be categorized in this group (e.g., *Vereshegy* 'red mountain', cf. EWUng., pp. 542–543, 1654; *Hegy* 'mountain', EWUng., pp. 542–543; and probably *Erdőfalva* 'forest + village', FNESz. 1, p. 423). These names almost exclusively appear in charters as settlement names, and we have no written data of the primary natural name. I believe that in the great majority of cases we do not even need to assume a proper name origin in this sub-category of settlement names.

The settlement names referring to vegetation cannot be separated from the previous two sub-categories. A case in point may be Slavic *Leszkovány* ('grown with filbert', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 30), *Podprócs* ('fern', cf. FNESz. 1, p. 654), *Olsavica* ('place covered with alder wood', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 203),[9] or Hungarian *Körtvélyes* (< *körtvély* 'pear, pear tree', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 568), *Somogy* (< *som* 'dogberry, dogwood', cf. FNESz. 2, p. 569), *Nádasd* (< *nád* 'reed', cf. FNESz. 2, pp. 568–569). Some of these are often not distinguishable from hydronyms and other natural names as the surrounding vegetation is also a typical motivation for such name types. In this case, the data offers no guidance to help determine the direction and the chronology of name giving.

2.3.

Besides the two major categories, the settlement names of personal name and natural names origin, other types of settlement names can be found in Spiš. Although the patrociny-based names have a different motivation, these names can still be connected to the group of settlement names of personal name origin. Within this category, the name of a saint used as a church title (patrociny) was utilized directly, without formal changes to denote an estate or settlement (e.g., *Szentlőrinc*, *Szentmargita*, *Szentpál*), but *Szentpéterfalva* ('the village of St. Peter'), *Keresztúr ~ Sancte Crucis* (cf. FNESz. 1, p. 720), or *Mindszent ~ Omnium Sanctorum* (cf. FNESz. 2, p. 568) also belong to this group. As for

[8] The name *Lucska* reflects the Slovak appellative *lúčka* (cf. Goótšová et al., 2014, p. 256), which in the Spiš dialect was *lučka*, with the shortening of long vowels (I owe this hint to my reviewer). The appelative background of the name *Dolina* might be both Slovak and Polish as well (cf. Šmilauer, 1970, p. 56).

[9] All three names might be of Slovak origin, cf. the quoted parts of the FNESz.

settlement names deriving from the name of the patron saint of its church, it can be said that their linguistic assessment is especially difficult because they occurred almost exclusively in Latin or Hungarian in the charters. We do not have any data for German and Slavic patrociny-based names in Spiš from the early decades. The only exception is the variant of the name of the settlement of *Keresztúr*, which can be found in the form *Kreuzerdorf* as well (cf., e.g., Df. 264140), reflecting its German linguistic background. It is obvious that the dominance of Latin and Hungarian forms can be explained by the church and its name usage (cf. Hoffmann et al., 2017, pp. 197–198). At the same time, in the case of *Szentpéterfalva*, the name was given by the family that ordered the establishment of the settlement (cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 107–108).

2.4.

Finally, some names cannot be included in the above-mentioned categories. Some of them can be traced back to an occupational name (e.g., *Daróc* 'hunter', cf. FNESz. 1, p. 356); the marketplace character of a place is also manifested in settlement names (e.g., *Késmárk ~ Forum Caseorum* 'cheese fair', cf. FNESz. 1, p. 723) or the names show a relation to other settlement names (e.g., *Kisrépács – kis* 'small', *Újszalók – új* 'new'). We can also refer to the name *Aranyas* that includes the lexeme *arany* meaning 'gold' (cf. Fekete Nagy, 1934, p. 167). Since this name was never mentioned in connection with gold mining, it should be interpreted as a reference to a form of taxation. And here we can note the names with uncertain or debatable origin too (e.g., *Relyó*).

3.

Considering the proportions of the different name categories, 50% of the names belong to the first category, that is the settlement names formed from personal names. Settlement names deriving from natural names make up 31% of all settlement names, while patrociny-based names represent 7%; the remaining 12% are classed as 'other'.

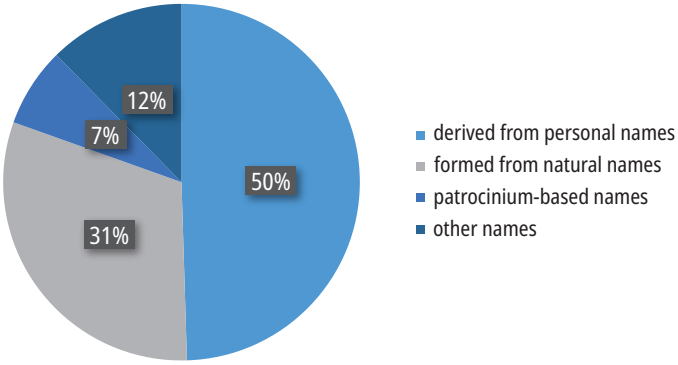

Figure 1. The main categories of settlement names in Spiš county (13th–14th century)

Source: own work.

The high proportion of settlement names derived from personal names is striking, but this phenomenon is not entirely unexpected. In the Carpathian Basin, this was a common settlement name type (cf. Hoffmann et al., 2017, pp. 26, 132–162). The remarkably high proportion of this name type is related to how the old Spiš county was established and how the estate system and the settlement network developed. This kind of name giving was dominant in the case of certain types of settlements, such as the villages of the so-called tenlanced nobles or Spiš lancers (established by a specific group of nobles, see Fekete Nagy, 1934, pp. 253–301), and also in the case of the settlements formed by deforestation, although in lesser numbers (cf. Körmendy, 1974). And the model of these names presumably affected further name giving and the name model in general.

Another fact that is worth emphasizing is that among the settlement names formed from a personal name we rarely find any with a German or Slavic origin (only 10% of the names found in the charters). This ratio is nearly reversed in the case of names related to the natural environment; in this group the number of settlement names of Hungarian origin is much lower (only 17% of the names listed here). This can be traced back to differences in the toponymic systems of the different languages. But the difference in the proportions still seems large enough to suggest other underlying reasons. In what follows, I will try to explain only the remarkably high ratio of the Hungarian names in the category of settlement names derived from personal names and how this name category can be used in the linguistic-ethnic reconstruction.

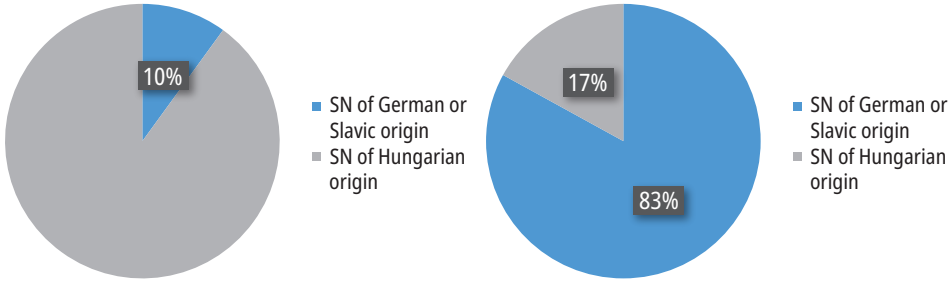

Figure 2. Left: Settlement names derived from personal names. Right: Settlement names formed from natural names

Source: own work.

4.

As part of the linguistic-ethnic reconstruction, we need to explore the circumstances of name giving. First and foremost, we have to reconstruct the original form of the name and determine the language of the name givers.

In my opinion one of the biggest problems concerning the settlement names of personal name origin is the interpretation of the written data. In the early charters, it was typical that these kinds of names were translated into Latin as a whole or in part (cf. Hoffmann, 2004, pp. 31–37, 2007, pp. 43–52). The Latin *villa* + personal name structures are especially problematic in this respect. See, for example, the early data of *Ábrahámfalva*, today Abrahámovce, Kežmarok District, Slovakia:

> 1286/1299: *villa Abraha(m)* (Dl. 38876); 1318: *villa Abraham* (Dl. 39643); 1321: *de villa Abram* (Df. 263048); 1323: *de villa Abrahe* (Dl. 13472); 1326: *villa Habrahe* (Dl. 26739); 1327: *villa Abraham* (Dl. 40497); 1336>1336: *de villa Habraee* (Dl. 68828); 1337: *de villa Abraam* (Dl. 40751); 1341: *villa Abram* (Df. 243747).

Until the second part of the 14th century, this name always appeared as *villa Abraham* or similar in the Latin texts of the charters. It was typical in the case of settlement names with personal name origin. So how can we interpret this

kind of data? In certain cases – especially during the lifetime of the owner of the settlement and in the following decades – we might assume that behind these *villa* + personal name structures we cannot find real settlement names but only descriptive genitive constructions. This means that the *villa Abraham* structure could be interpreted as 'a village owned by Abraham'. However, examining these data, we can also suppose a settlement name, but it is unclear what vernacular form could be reconstructed in a multilingual area like Spiš in the Middle Ages. In theory, the interpretation of the Hungarian *Ábrahám* or *Ábrahámfalva*, the German *Abrahamsdorf*, and even the Slavic *Abrahamovce* is reasonable. In some cases, other linguistic or extralinguistic information helps us to decide, but generally, we do not have any clues.

What makes this even more complicated is that in the later part of the 14th century and even in the 15th century, when this *villa* + personal name structure was gradually replaced by vernacular name forms in the charters, there is still no data on the German or Slavic versions of such names (settlement names formed from personal names) to be found, except for the Hungarian variant with the ending *-falva.* Let us look at the later data of *Ábrahámfalva*:

> 1339: *de Abraamfolua* (Dl. 40815); 1367: *de Abraamfalua* (Dl. 60314); 1383/1383: *de Abramfalua* (Dl. 13487); 1384: *Abraamfalua* (Dl. 60414); 1385: *de Abranfalua* (Df. 272318); 1385: *de Abrachamfalwa* (Dl. 60422); 1385/1386: *de Abranfalua* (Dl. 83412); 1385/1385: *de Abramfalua* (Df. 243848).

The lack of German and Slavic versions of settlement names derived from personal names seems strange considering the high proportion of settlement names derived from natural names of Slavic and German origin (cf. Figure 2). So, we can assume that the Slavic and German community was a significant name-giving and name-using community in Spiš in the 14th century as well. What can we say, then, about this issue?

In theory, the personal name + *-falva* structure also has multiple interpretations, as has the structure *villa* + personal name. Naturally they can reflect the only real vernacular place name usage, but they might as well be assessed as official Hungarian written name forms without any wider local name usage that replaced the former official Latinized forms. The uncertainty is linked to the fact that in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom the Hungarian language had the highest prestige, much higher than Slavic languages or German. And it was common – maybe typical as well – that in a multilingual area,

the charters contained only or mainly the Hungarian name variant, even if in the local usage the other versions might be more well known. At the current stage of my research, I do not want to and cannot take a stand on this question. It is obvious that the linguistic reality was more complex at that time. We cannot exclude the possibility that these personal name + *-falva* structures were mostly in use. But we cannot reconstruct the circumstances of the name usage: who the name users were, when they used this form – whether only in formal situations or in informal ones as well, whether these forms were only written or also spoken, and so on. Besides, contrary to the lack of data, we cannot neglect the possibility that the name variants of other languages with lower prestige were also in use. But since we do not have written data, we know nothing certain about the existence, usage or form of the German and Slavic name variants (cf. Hoffmann, 2004, 2007, p. 91; Marek, 2015).

5.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to discuss the issue more thoroughly in this paper, but I would like to emphasize that the role of the charter writing norm simply cannot be ignored in linguistic-ethnic reconstruction. Its possible distorting effect should be neither underestimated nor overestimated. We have to find the balance between the two extremes. To move forward on these issues, it is first necessary to identify the practice of charter writing connected to linguistic prestige as deeply as possible, both for the different time periods and for the different centers where the charters were written. This kind of research, of course, is not simple from the aspect of methodology due to many uncertainties and the threat of circular reasoning. But I think and I hope that a very detailed philological exploration together with the application of the right methodology will take us closer to the solution of these problems.

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Топонимы Гродненщины в лингвокультурологическом аспекте

Аннотация

В статье предложен несколько отличный от традиционного взгляд на анализ географических названий пограничья, с учетом экстралингвистических факторов и диалектологических наработок. Обращено внимание на топонимический ландшафт как свидетельство сложных процессов формирования полиэтнического, поликультурного, полилингвального субрегиона. Выделены мотивационные группы топонимов: топонимы, обусловленные природно-географическими факторами; топонимы с этнонимной основой; топонимы, образованные от названий сословной принадлежности и видов занятости; топонимы, образованные от названий типов поселений. Выявлены этимологические пласты: древнейший индоевропейско-финно-угорский; балтийский (ятвяжский, литовский); славянский (русинский, польский). Представлены наиболее продуктивные словообразовательные типы. Отмечены топонимы, этимология которых остается спорной. Подчеркнута роль диалектологических наработок в ономастических исследованиях. Автор обращает внимание на то, что лингвокультурологический анализ топонимов пограничных территорий со сложной социолингвистической ситуацией является продуктивным методом ее реконструкции и дает основание для определенных выводов о характере и этапах заселения ареала, а также об историческом многоязычии. Материалом для статьи послужили данные, собранные автором во время полевых экспедиций на белорусско-польском пограничьи. Предложенный многоаспектный интердисциплинарный подход к анализу топонимов пограничья может не только обогатить исследования Гродненщины, но и внести вклад в изучение балто-славянских языковых контактов в латеральных переходных зонах.

Ключевые слова

ономастика, диалектология, польско-белорусское пограничье, Гродненский регион

Abstract

Toponyms of the Grodno region in the linguoculturological aspect

The paper offers a slightly different view from the traditional one on the analysis of the geographical names of the the Poland-Belarus borderland, taking into account extralinguistic factors and dialectological developments. Attention is drawn to the toponymic landscape as evidence of the complex processes of the formation of a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual subregion. Semantic groups of toponyms are distinguished: toponyms motivated by natural and geographical factors; toponyms with an ethnonymic basis; toponyms formed from the names of class affiliation and types of employment; toponyms motivated by appellatives denoting the type of settlements. Etymological strata are revealed, the oldest being the Indo-European-Finno-Ugric one, followed by the Baltic (Yotvingian, Lithuanian) and Slavic (Rusyn, Polish) ones. The most productive word-formation types are presented. Toponyms of unclear etymology are also indicated. The author draws attention to the fact that the linguistic and cultural analysis of toponyms in border territories with a complex sociolinguistic situation is a productive method of its reconstruction and provides the basis for certain conclusions about the nature and stages of settlement of the area, as well as about historical multilingualism. The role of dialectological developments in onomastic research is emphasized. The material for the article was the data collected by the author during field expeditions on the Belarusian-Polish border. The proposed interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of toponyms of the borderland can not only enrich the research of the Grodno region but also contribute to the study of Balto-Slavic language contacts in the peripheral contact zones.

Keywords

onomastics, dialectology, the Polish-Belarusian borderland, the Grodno region

1. Введение

В статье мы обратим внимание на топонимический ландшафт пограничья как свидетельство сложных процессов формирования полиэтнического, поликультурного, полилингвального субрегиона. Попытка анализа географических названий подобных ареалов сродни детективному расследованию: необходимо не только учитывать языковую интерференцию и степень инфильтрации говоров, попытавшись определить субстратный пласт, но и обязательно принимать во внимание этапы процесса заселения региона, его этнокультурную составляющую, исторические события, а также политический фактор[1].

Целью нашего исследования является предложение несколько отличного от традиционного взгляда на анализ географических названий, с учетом экстралингвистических факторов и диалектологических наработок. По нашему мнению, классификация и интерпретация топонимических единиц, зафиксированных в пограничных ареалах, будут более продуктивны с применением такого подхода. Свои рассуждения мы представим на материалах полевых диалектологических экспедиций, проводимых в 2010–2019 гг[2].

Диалектология и ономастика, с одной стороны, имеют несколько разные обьекты исследования и подход к ним (nomen appellativum : nomen proprium; название и десигнат : называние и категоризация; синонимическое и семантическое разнообразие : процесс и классификация), но в то же время используют подобную методологию, обращаясь, например, к ономасиологии, народной этимологии, диахроническому подходу и картографии.

[1] Новейшие работы по методологии ономастических исследований акцентируют, наконец, внимание на необходимости анализа также идеологической составляющей географических названий (Rutkowski, 2021, с. 237–254).

[2] Наши систематические полевые экспедиции, проводимые по обеим сторонам польско-белорусской границы, были прерваны в 2020 г. в связи с пандемией COVID-19, осложнением политической ситуации в Беларуси с 9 августа 2021 г. и введением 2 сентября 2021 г. в Республике Польша чрезвычайного положения в приграничной зоне ввиду миграционного кризиса на границе с Беларусью.

Несмотря на разнообразие публикаций по топонимике Беларуси, пограничный гродненский ареал изучен все еще недостаточно. Белорусские исследователи в последнее время начинают обращаться к лингвокультурологической проблематике в ономастике (Алiферчык, 2013; Васильева, 2014; Шклярык, 2019), однако топонимы гродненского участка белорусско-польского пограничья до сих пор не были предметом систематического изучения. В серии «Филологическое краеведение Гродненщины» («Філалагічнае краязнаўства Гродзеншчыны»), издаваемой Гродненским государственным университетом им. Янки Купалы, спорадически появляются только небольшие словарики региональных микротопонимов[3], а немногочисленные ономастические статьи (Дорофеенко, 2018, сс. 85–98; Бубнович, 2020, сс. 29–40) содержат преимущественно тематическую систематизацию и реестр топонимов без их анализа. Более изученной белорусскими ономастами является Брестчина (Леванцэвіч & Якубук, 2018, сс. 129–136). Работы польских исследователей (Kondratiuk, 2011; Tratsiak, 2017) касаются преимущественно широко понятого польско-белорусского пограничья, в то время как различные его участки имеют индивидуальные социолингвистические характеристики. Можно утверждать, что наиболее изученным субрегионом пограничья как сложного поликультурного и полиязыкового ландшафта являются окрестности Пелесы (современная Гродненская область Беларуси, при границе с Литвой), где в 80-х гг. XX в. работала интердисциплинарная экспедиция под руководством Владимира Николаевича Топорова[4].

[3] Наиболее полный словарик региональных топонимов и микротопонимов представлен в работе Апанаса Цыхуна (Цыхун, 1993).

[4] Результаты ее работы периодически публиковались в серии «Балто-славянские исследования», издаваемой Институтом славяноведения Российской академии наук .

2. Характеристика субрегиона

Гродненщина является уникальным пограничным субрегионом. Кшиштоф Заяс называл пограничье специфическим центральноевропейским изобретением, которое «получило свою популярность благодаря многозначности самого термина “пограничье”, несущего коннотации не только пространственные, но и культурные, общественно-политические, языковые, а даже экзистенциальные» (Zajas, 2012, сс. 7–8). Можно утверждать, что разноаспектное интердисциплинарное изучение Гродненщины позволит сделать выводы, которые найдут применение в изучении также иных пограничных ареалов со сложной социолингвистической ситуацией.

Следует обратить внимание, что, говоря о Гродненщине, мы имеем в виду белорусскую часть территории бывшего Гродненского уезда[5], существовавшего в 1413–1939 гг. в составе различных государственных образований: Великого княжества Литовского, I и II Речи Посполитой, Российской Империи, Прусской Империи, Советского Союза. На наш взгляд, это более целесообразно, чем оперирование понятием современной Гродненской области, которая была окончательно образована лишь в 1954 г. из субрегионов, сформировавшихся в различных культурных, конфессиональных и языковых традициях.

Уникальность Гродненщины состоит в том, что здесь до наших дней сохранилось языковое и культурное разнообразие, обусловленное сложными историческими и политическими процессами. Ее культурная самоидентичность сформировалась под влиянием трех монотеистических религий: христианства, ашкеназийского иудаизма, ислама. Добавим, что разделение на христианство восточное (православие) и западное (католицизм) проходило вдоль всего региона, а момент столкновения здесь двух христианских вероисповеданий – римско-католического мазовшан и ортодоксического русинов – соответствует схизме

[5] В наши дни территория бывшего Гродненского уезда входит в состав Беларуси, Литвы и Польши. На территории Беларуси это Берестовицкий, Волковысский, Гродненский и Мостовский районы. Государственная граница была установлена окончательно в 1948 г.

1054 г. Бывшие ятвяжские территории неравномерно, ввиду сложного природного ландшафта (пуща и болота), заселялись с востока православными русинами, а с запада – католическими мазовшанами[6]. Осаднических волн было несколько, после каждой опустошающей войны. Заметим, что в данном ареале с XIV в. компактно проживали также татары[7]. Евреи, о которых первые упоминания появились также в XIV в., после введения в 1791 г. черты оседлости составляли преобладающее количество жителей местечек вплоть до Второй мировой войны. Этапам расселения сопутствовали процессы инфильтрации и ассимиляции. Таким образом, уже к XVII в. данный субрегион сформировался как многонациональный (литвины, русины, поляки, евреи, татары), многоконфессиональный (православие, католицизм, ислам, иудаизм) и многосословный (бояре, крестьяне, шляхта). Позднейшие исторические катаклизмы в значительной степени нарушили это разнообразие, а десятилетия политики тотальной русификации и советской идеологизации[8] были направлены на его нивелирование. Лингвокультурологический анализ географических наименований может позволить восстановить первоначальную картину языкового и культурного взаимодействия в пограничном ареале, а также проследить влияние исторических и политических факторов.

Поскольку объём статьи не позволяет представить развернутого исследования, сосредоточим внимание только на ключевых моментах заглавной тематики, выделив мотивационные группы и этимологические пласты топонимической лексики.

[6] Процессы освоения пограничного ареала бывшего Гродненского уезда представлены в работах: Jakubowski, 1935, сс. 99–114; Wiśniewski, 1964, сс. 115–135, 1977, сс. 7–80. Моисей Яковлевич Гринблат территории к северу от Гродно отнес к области «ославяненных литовцев» (Гринблат, 1959, с. 525). О литовской этнической границе на востоке: Ochmański, 1981.

[7] Татарские колонии, поселенные князем Витольдом, размещались над Лососянкой около Гродно и в Скиделе, а вторая волна татарского осадничества датируется XVII в.: Ян III Собеский в качестве платы за военную службу даровал татарским сотникам земли между Гродно и Сокулкой (Богоники, Липки, Крушиняны).

[8] Процесс начальных этапов советизации западной части Беларуси наиболее полно, на базе архивных источников, представлен в монографии: Szumski, 2010.

3. Мотивационные группы[9]

3.1. Топонимы, обусловленные природно-географическими факторами

Данная группа составляет наиболее древний топонимический пласт. Преобладающее количество топонимов и микротопонимов образовано от литовских апеллятивов[10], при помощи литовских и восточнославянских словообразовательных средств:

Балинента, *Баличи*, *Баля*, *Баля Костельная*, *Баля Сольная* < *balà* 1) ‘болото’, 2) ‘низкое мокрое место’, 3) ‘мокрый топкий луг’, 4) ‘топкий луг около леса’; *balýnas* ‘болотистая местность, большое болото’

Бросты < *brastà* 1) ‘неглубокое место в реке, где можно перейти вброд’, 2) ‘топкий болотистый луг’

Брузги < *brūzgýnas* ‘место, поросшее низким и густым кустарником, мелким лесом’

Ванги < *vangà* ‘низколежащий влажный луг с высокой травой’

Кудричи < *kūdra* 1) ‘мокрое, влажное место, поросшее кустарником’, 2) ‘болото’

Лабно < *lóbas* ‘низина, низменный луг’

Лаша < *lãšas* ‘незамерзающее быстрое течение реки с родниковым дном’

Лунна < *liūnijà* ‘трясина, тонь’

Мишкеники < *mìškas* ‘лес, бор’, *miškýnas* ‘лесистая местность, сплошной лес’

Плянты < *plañkumas* ‘поляна в лесу, просека’

Рапа Жилищкая, *Рапа Кошевницкая* < *ropà*, диал.: *rapa*, *rafa* ‘порог реки, каменистые отмели’

[9] Приводятся только примеры топонимов, а не полный топонимический инвентарь. В связи с поставленной целью исследования мы не учитываем обширную группу деантропонимных топонимов, которые анализировала Юлия Гурская (Гурская, 2014, с. 182–206). Отметим, что в исследуемом ареале нами выявлено три группы родовых гнезд (деантропонимные топонимы) польской мелкопоместной шляхты, сохранившихся до наших дней. Литовская и русинская в протопласте, с XVI в. она выбрала польскую самоидентификацию и сохранила ее до настоящего времени (Konczewska, 2019, с. 183–199).

[10] Лексемы и семантическое значение приводятся за LKŽ.

Рум < *rumbà* ‘скалистая каменистая отмель’

Солы < *salà* 1) ‘участок земли, окруженный водой со всех сторон’, 2) ‘приподнятый, сухой участок земли на болоте’[11]

Сонтаки < *sántaka* ‘место слияния рек’

Черлена < *čiurlỹs* ‘поток, струя’

Топонимы, образованные от восточнославянских апеллятивов, составляют меньшую группу: *Белые Болота*, *Борки*, *Городище*, *Дубница*, *Дубово*, *Дуброва*, *Дубровка*, *Лужки*, *Поречье*, *Ставы*, *Стародубовая*, *Сухая Долина*.

3.2. Топонимы с этнонимной основой[12]

Гуды (наименование белорусов литовцами), *Дайнова* (*дайнава* – одно из названий ятвягов, балтской племенной группы), *Латыши*, *Липки* (так называли литовских татар), *Литвины*, *Мазуры*, *Москали*, *Русаки*, *Татарье*, *Ятвезь* / *Ятвези* (*ятвезь* – древнерусское название ятвягов, балтской племенной группы[13]). Значительная группа этнонимных топонимов образована путем суффиксальной деривации: *Гудевичи*, *Гудишки*, *Жидомля*, *Литвинки*, *Мазурки*, *Русачки*, *Русиново*, *Русиновцы*, *Русота*, *Татарка*, *Татаровщина*, *Цыгановка*. Отметим, что, на наш взгляд, широко распространенное мнение о том, что топоним *Кашубинцы* (усадьба недалеко от Гродна) является этнонимом (*кашубы* – этническая группа, населяющая современное польское Поморье), ошибочно. По нашему мнению, данный топоним образован от названия растения *Ranunculus cassubicus*, лит. *kašubinis* (LBŽ).

[11] Лексемы *рапа*, *рум*, *солы* ср.: Bednarczuk, 1984, с. 24–34.

[12] О проблематике формирования балтийских и славянских этнонимов: Каралюнас, 1998, с. 7–28.

[13] Исследователи считают, что с XIII в. в балтском и славянском языках термины *Дайнава* (*Dainava*, балтский) и *Ятвезь* (славянский) имели общее этнонимическое значение (Вольтер, 1911, с. 159). В настоящее время они являются своеобразным маркером: к северу от Немана преобладают названия типа *Дайнава*, к югу – *Ятвезь*.

3.3. Топонимы, образованные от названий сословной принадлежности и видов занятости

Осады (осадники – крестьяне, платившие за пользование землей чинш), *Батратчина*, *Батрацкие могилки*, *Батрацкое* (батраки – безземельные наемные крестьяне), *Бобровники* (промысловые крестьяне, во время ловли бобров освобождались от налогов), *Бондари* (ремесленные, выделывали бочки), *Бояры*[14] (*Большие Бояры*, *Малые Бояры*), *Дойлиды* (ремесленные, плотницкое дело), *Калеты* (ремесленные, *калетник* – ремесленник, производящий кожанные изделия), *Коваличи* (ремесленные, *коваль* – кузнец), *Конюхи* (служебные), *Кошевники* (ремесленные, выплетали корзины), *Крулевска кухня* (служебные), *Машталеры* (служебные, польское *masztalerz*, чешское *ma(r)štal*, обслуживали конюшни), *Огородники* (крестьяне, наделенные небольшими участками земли), *Осочники* (служебные, выслеживали зверя во время княжеской охоты), *Панский огород* (служебные), *Скребляки* (служебные, ухаживали за лошадьми в конюшнях), *Служки* (группа военных крестьян), *Стрельцы* (служебные), *Шляхецкая гора*.

Значительное количество данных топонимов обусловлено размещением обслуживающих («служилых») деревень вблизи магнатских усадеб, наиболее массово происходившее, начиная с XVI в.

3.4. Топонимы, мотивированные названиями типов поселений

Буда / *Буды* (будный промысел – выварка поташа, смолы), *Табольская Будка* (место будного промысла на реке Табола), *Вуля* / *Вулька* / *Вульковцы* (*воля*, диал. *вуля*, *вулька*, ‘вольный, свободный’ – поселение, жители которого были освобождены от повинностей), *Выселка* (поселение, возникшее в результате Столыпинской реформы 1906 г.), *Колония* (название поселений, возникших в результате Столыпинской реформы 1906 г., а также поселений польских осадников, получивших земельные

[14] «Устава на волоки» (1557 г.) закрепила в исследуемом субрегионе поселения так называемых путных и панцирных бояр, память о которых сохранилась в многочисленных топонимах и антропонимах субрегиона.

наделы после польско-большевистской войны 1920 г.), *Кордон Подлипье* (*кордон* – ‘лесная охрана’), *Крулевщизна* (королевская экономия), *Новый Двор* (новое поселение), *Поповщина* (поселение, принадлежащее попу, церкви), *Слободка* (*свобода*, диал. *слобода* – поселение, жители которого были освобождены от повинностей), *Занеманский форштат* (предместье в занеманской части Гродно, с нем. Vorstadt), *Фолюш* (поселение, в котором располагалась суконная мануфактура, основанная в XVIII в. Антонием Тизенгаузом, в настоящее время – название микрорайона Гродно), *Форты* (оборонные сооружения Гродненской крепости, построенной перед Первой мировой войной, в настоящее время – название микрорайона Гродно), *Юриздика* / *Юрздыка* (земельный надел, принадлежащий дворянам либо духовным лицам, отданный в бессрочную аренду).

4. Этимологические группы

Этимологический анализ позволяет выделить в топонимах субрегиона несколько пластов:

4.1. Древнейший (предполагаемый) индоевропейско-финно-угорский, гибридный

Волпа на реке Волпянка – балтийская трансформированная основа *an, ane* ‘река, вода’[15]; *Вопь* < **Опь*: др.-прусск. *ape* ‘река’ или >'< **(В)ъпь*: лит. *upė* ‘река’, ср.: *Вопь* (река на Смоленщине); *олпа* (‘стрелолист, Sagittaria’, водная растительность).

[15] Обратим внимание, что при попытке восстановления этимологии балтийских гидронимов необходимо учитывать, что они могут быть, по словам Владимира Николаевича Топорова, «до неузнаваемости переряжены в славянскую форму», и что иногда «трудно бывает сказать, где кончается балтийская форма и начинается славянская» (Топоров & Трубачев, 1962, с. 159). О древних балтийских гидронимах: Топоров, 1982, с. 3–61.

Индура на реке Индурка < **indr* ‘тростник’, ср.: *Индрица* (название реки и посёлка в Латвии), *Индра* (название деревни в Эстонии и болота в Свердловской области), *Сухой Индол*, *Мокрый Индол* (название рек в восточном Крыму), *Индола* (название реки в Бурятии).

Одельск на реке Одла < **Ol* ‘мокрое, заторфованное место’, < **Al-*; в финно-угорских языках: коми *уль* ‘влажный, мокрый, сырой’; *ёль* ‘лесной ручей, речка’; мордовский *ёв* ‘река’, ‘вода’; хантыйский *ел* ‘родник’; лит. *ãliai* ‘болото’; ср.: *Ола* (приток Березины, река в Магаданском крае и на Колыме), *Ала* (река в Латвии).

4.2. Балтийский (ятвяжский, литовский)

В дополнение к представленным в п. 3.1. можно привести следующие топонимы: *Дайнова* < *Dainavà*, *Гибуличи* < *giba* ‘мера полотна от одного угла стены до другого, около 4–6 м’, < *gìbras* ‘нечистая сила’, *Гожа* < *ožỹs* ‘козел’, *Дайлидки* < *dailidė* ‘строитель’, *Крушники* < *krū́snis* ‘труда камней’, *Подлабенье* < *lóbas* ‘низина, низменный луг’, *Пышки* < *pušìs* ‘сосна’, *Ройсты* < *raĩstas* ‘болотистые заросли’.

4.3. Славянский

Рутенизмы: *Волочевцы*, *Декаловичи*, *Дубовка*, *Житородь*, *Карозичи*, *Квасовка*, *Круглики*, *Лихосельцы*, *Лужки*, *Ольшанка*, *Соломенка*, *Стародубовая*.

Полонизмы: прямая транслитерация: *Вулька* (*wólka*), *Гурка* (*górka*), фонетическая и словообразовательная адаптация: *Белы Дворак* (*Biały Dworek*), *Дамброва* (*Dąbrowa*), *Длугапаль* (*Długopol*), *Свентаянск* (*Świętojańsk*), *Сикорица* (*Sikoryca*), *Софиёво* (*Sofijewo*), *Стрыевка* (*Stryjówka*).

В топонимической системе субрегиона наиболее продуктивны словообразовательные типы с аффиксами литовского происхождения[16]: 1) *-аны* (*-яны*), *-уны* (*-юны*), лит. *-ėnai*, *-onys*, *-ūnai*, пол. *-any*, *-uny*: *Верховляны*, *Дубовляны*, *Заречаны*, *Ковняны*, *Луцковляны*, *Могиляны*, *Погораны*, *Понижаны*, *Рудовляны*, *Тужевляны*, *Чащевляны*; *Бакуны*, *Мештуны*;

[16] Подробно рассмотрел их Пятрас Гаучас (1988, с. 195–213).

2) *-ишки*, лит. *-iškė*, *-iškės*, *-iškis*, пол. *-iszki*, *-yszki*[17]: *Вертелишки*, *Пундишки*, *Путришки*; 3) *по-*, лит. *põ* ‘за’: *Погораны*, *Подитва*, *Понемунь*, *Понижаны*, *Поречье*.

Необходимо отметить значительное количество топонимов чисто литовского происхождения: *Баля*, *Бросты*, *Брузги*, *Ванги*, *Дайнова*, *Лабно*, *Лаша*, *Лунна*, *Плянты*, *Рапа*, *Рум*, *Солы*, *Черлена* и топонимов, образованных от литовских апеллятивов путем аффиксации посредством славянских словообразовательных средств: *Гиб-ул-ичи*, *Гуд-ев-ичи*, *Дайлид-ки*, *Крушн-ики*, *Кудр-ичи*, *Мишк-ен-ики*, *Под-лаб-енье*, *Пыш-ки*.

5. Топонимические трансформации и загадки

Ассимиляционные процессы и историческо-политические факторы оказали влияние на затирание первичной семантики топонимов и появление вторичной мотивировки и этимологии, в том числе народной. Например, древний топоним *Волпа* объясняется как «Вол пьет». О названии широко известного перед Второй мировой войной местечка *Индура* (в идиш *Амдур*) создана и до сих пор функционирует легенда о помещике, имеющим дочку, которую звали „Инка-дура”. *Гожа* объясняется как белорусское *гожы*, *прыгожы* ‘красивый’, поскольку первичная этимология, лит. *ožỹs* ‘козел’ с белорусским протетическим *г-*, утрачена. И, к сожалению, нередки некорректные высказывания в гродненской прессе местных университетских филологов, утверждающих, например, что название *Пышки* «сохранило память о пышке (булке)» или же было образовано «от прозвища людей тучного телосложения», а *Кудричи* названы так потому, что «там жили кудрявые люди».

Этимология ряда топонимов остается спорной и порождает вопросы. Например, топоним *Аульс* может быть образован от апеллятива *алёс*, *альса* (рутенизм), *ãliai* (балтизм) ‘топкое место’ или же быть исторического

[17] Одним из первых обратил на них внимание в своих исследованиях Ян Сафаревич (Safarewicz, 1947, c. 45–46).

происхождения, ‘спорная территория между феодалами’. *Волпа* – < **Опь* или < *олпа*? *Индура* – балтизм или санскрит? *Кадыш* – с татарского, идиш, прусского или литовского? *Лабно* – кельтское или литовское? Или, например, можно ли этимологию топонима *Лейгаболи* (диал. *Лэйгабалі*) определить как < **leikų̂* (опорожнять) + *balà* (болото) + славянская адаптация (‘осушенное болото’)?

Топонимическая мозаика усугубляется переименованиями советского периода и адаптациями. Например, неблагозвучная для советской власти *Гнойница* (наследство Элизы Ожешко) была переименована в *Вишневец* (в настоящее время – часть Гродно); *Лядовичи* < *lyda* ‘обрабатываемое поле на месте вырубленного леса’ трансформировались в *Глядовичи* с народной этимологией ‘глядеть’; *Гродичи* трансформировались в *Грандичи*, *Жидомля* ввиду политической некорректности стала *Житомлей*; *Баля Костельна*[18] в 1964 г. была переименована в *Заречанку*; *Келбасин* < лит. *kélbas*, пол. *kiełb*, **kъlbъ* ‘пескарь’ переименован в *Колбасино* (в настоящее время окраина Гродно) и ассоциируется у жителей исключительно с колбасой; деревня *Пузовичи* переименована в *Партизантскую*; *Вулька Даргунская* перестала существовать в 1964 г., став *Усово* (в честь командира советских пограничников, оборонявших заставу в 1941), а неблагозвучные *Жоповичи*, на карте Якубовского отмеченные как *Zappowicze*, что позволяет предполагать балтский апеллятив этого деантропонимного топонима (< *zopõstas*, *zõpso* ‘запасы’, возможно, служебные крестьяне?) переименованы в *Реповичи*[19] с легендой о генерале-хозяине имения Репове, хотя автохтоны до сих пор называют жителей этой местности «жоповцами».

[18] Одна из местностей с названием Бали расположена на трассе Минск – Гродно – граница с Евросоюзом, и часто можно наблюдать, как пассажиры высаживаются из машин, чтобы сделать фотографию у таблички «Бали». Очень много таких фотографий размещается позже в интернете с шуточными комментариями о том, что можно побывать на Бали (имеется в виду популярный курорт), не выезжая из Беларуси. Цитата одного из авторов подобных фотографий: «Бали, деревенька в Гродненской области, хороша только для селфи на фоне таблички при въезде».

[19] *Zappowicze* > *Zapowicze* > *Żopowicze* > *Rzepowicze* > *Реповичи*.

6. Заключение

В настоящее время рассмотренный нами субрегион в языковом и этническом отношении является преимущественно славянским, причем значительная часть населения самоидентифицируется как поляки[20]. Балтский топонимический протопласт в определенной степени вытеснен в результате ассимиляционных процессов и топонимической политики. Лингвокультурологический анализ топонимов в этих обстоятельствах весьма важен и актуален, так как помогает восстановить историческую социолингвистическую ситуацию.

Представленный анализ позволяет определить в исследуемом субареале несколько топонимических пластов, от древнейшего индоевропейско-финно-угорского до балтийского (ятвяжского, литовского) и славянского (белорусского, польского, русского). Выделенные лексико-семантические группы мотивирующих основ свидетельствуют о древности процессов заселения и помогают установить этапы участия в этом процессе отдельных этносов.

Мы считаем, что лингвокультурологический анализ топонимов пограничных территорий со сложной социолингвистической ситуацией является продуктивным методом ее реконструкции и дает основание для определенных выводов о характере и этапах заселения ареала, а также об историческом многоязычии. Культурологический подход позволяет избежать этимологических ошибок, поскольку, зная направление и приблизительное время заселения субареала той или иной этнической группой, мы можем принять верное решение о ходе этимологических рассуждений. Отметим, что лингвистический анализ топонимических единиц в пограничном ареале сопряжен с трудностями в различении субстратного воздействия и результата маргинальных языковых контактов. Не всегда удается обнаружить в современных

[20] Более 20% населения имеет польскую самоидентификацию. Отметим, что в Гродно зарегистрировано наибольшее в Беларуси количество литовцев-городских жителей, 331 человек, однако большинство литовского населения проживает в Островецком и Вороновском районах. О актуальной социолингвистической ситуации на Гродненщине: Konczewska, 2021, с. 49–67.

балтийских говорах непосредственный источник некоторых балтизмов, хотя они зафиксированы на территории действия балтийского субстрата. Несомненно, о субстрате можно говорить лишь условно, о чем свидетельствует лингвистический анализ, подтверждающий, что процесс субстратного заимствования нередко проходил в условиях дву-, а иногда и трехязычия. Пограничье является зоной активных языковых инфильтрационных процессов не только балто-славянских, но и внутри различных славянских языковых подгрупп (польский, белорусский, русский), поэтому субстратно-адстратные отношения требуют чрезвычайно осторожного подхода. В подтверждение приведем высказывание Владимира Николаевича Топорова:

> Важно еще раз напомнить о наиболее целесообразном понимании термина «балтийский» применительно к анализируемым названиям. Без такого напоминания возможны недоразумения разного рода. При предлагаемом понимании «балтийский» не противопоставляется «славянскому» этнически и даже лингвистически, а скорее – исторически и типологически. (…) Различия связаны с анализом наслоений различного характера. (Топоров, 1972, с. 263).

Отметим, что реализация предложенного интердисциплинарного подхода к анализу топонимов пограничья может не только обогатить исследования Гродненщины, но и внести свой вклад в изучение языковых контактов, поскольку балто-славянские латеральные переходные зоны являются предметом активного научного дискурса (Wiemer, Seržant, Erker, 2014, сс. 15–42; Bednarczuk, 2021, сс. 137–144).

В заключение обратим внимание на влияние диалектологии на результативность ономастических исследований, ключевые моменты которого мы представили в данной статье: диалектология позволяет определить субстрат, адстрат и суперстрат изучаемого ареала, помогая выделить пласт субстратной топонимии; полевые диалектные экспедиции приносят уникальные материалы по микротопонимии, народной терминологии и этимологии; диалектные словообразовательные структуры и их акцентологические варианты могут помочь в определении этимологии и поиске наиболее близкой субстратной формы; диалектологические материалы помогают восстановить культурный контекст изучаемого ареала. Сотрудничество диалектологов и ономастов

позволяет проследить процессы инфильтрации и адекватно интерпретировать функционирование языковых явлений локального историческо-политическо-географического пограничья, обусловленных определенными колонизационными, миграционными и историческими процессами в данном ареале.

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Cultural Contact: An Anthropological Perspective on Toponyms in Aotearoa New Zealand's Otago Region

Abstract

Socio-onomastics is a growing field of research which began as a sub-discipline in onomastics, where we consider the social, cultural, and situational field in which names are used (Ainiala, 2016). Although the methodology of socio-onomastics often overlaps with well-known methods in anthropology, such as the use of ethnography for qualitative data, it is important to recognise other methods and theories that anthropology can offer onomastic studies. A discussion of the use of trans-cultural diffusion versus anthropo-geographic points of view from the anthropological perspective can provide deeper insight into the cultural impact of toponyms, for example. In this paper, I will seek to engage with the work of founding anthropology scholars, such as Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Claude Levi-Strauss, whose methodology and theories will be evaluated for their value in toponymic study. Specifically, this paper will focus on the Otago region of New Zealand's South Island to demonstrate anthropological perspective in the study of toponyms. Using anthropological methodology, including anthropo-geographic methods, this paper is concerned with what new information we can glean from the Otago namescape about toponym formation. On a larger scale, what can a combined approach of anthropology and onomastics offer us in the way of new theories to evaluate, classify, and interpret toponyms, particularly in a multicultural setting? By engaging with these concerns, we aim to better understand how the anthropological perspective can enhance our understanding of toponyms, and of Pākehā-Māori cultural contact, in colonial New Zealand.

Keywords
anthropology, Aotearoa New Zealand, toponyms, methodologies

1. Introduction and positionality

Place-name research often transcends the boundaries of onomastics studies, often intersecting with disciplines such as geography, sociology, and linguistics, of course. However, I believe there is an untapped need for more place-name research within anthropological studies, as it seems there is a natural linkage which I shall explore further throughout this paper. I will highlight place-name research in Aotearoa New Zealand I have undertaken which focused on Pākehā, or European origin, place names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, with a view of highlighting the anthropological-onomastic methodology I used throughout my PhD thesis (Leysen, 2023).

It is essential to note in any research study the ethical considerations that have gone into it, my positionality, as well as to acknowledge the attempts made towards cultural relativism by the researcher. Cultural relativism of course being the theory that, "beliefs, customs, and morality exist in relation to the particular culture from which they originate and are not absolute" (Oxford University Press, n.d.). Attempts at the highest level of objectivity have been maintained throughout my research; however, it is of course prudent to be conscious of my own background and positionality as coming from Western non-Indigenous society. Although comparative examples are utilised throughout this paper between Aotearoa New Zealand and other parts of the world, I have strived for cultural relativism through analysing the namescape of the Otago region within its own cultural context.

When analysing a period of colonisation in a colonised country, context is crucial. This research has been undertaken with a view of looking through the lens of the name-giving period, rather than from the present. This can be a challenge in a colonial context where there are interactions between cultural systems that have, as anthropologist Michael Brown (2008) would say, "complex, far-reaching effects, especially when relations are characterized by significant inequalities of power" (p. 372). Therefore, it is essential to be sensitive to the ways intercultural interaction took place during the colonial era in the Otago region. Documentary evidence has been the clearest way to ensure that the cultural systems during the time of name-giving have been considered, but even within that we must acknowledge most of these documentary sources come from a colonial viewpoint. Language is embedded

in our cultural experiences, and therefore names provide context for understanding culture. With this view, place names are snapshots of cultural context at the time of their formation.

2. Anthropology and place: Geographical determinism

Anthropologists have long been preoccupied with the sense of place when undertaking their research. No ethnographic study would be complete without identifying the location of the study. Regardless if an anthropological study is primarily reliant on individual narratives, demographic data, or archival resources, it must still engage with the concept of place even if in very loose terms. Influences, such as the work of the father of American anthropology himself, Franz Boas (1858–1942), have inspired my application of anthropological theories and methods to place-naming. Anthropologists are particularly interested in the connections between the social construct of property and natural resources. As Boas writes in 1928, "except in the rare cases of truly nomadic peoples, the tribe is attached to a definite geographical area which is its property in so far as foreigners who would try to use it are considered as intruders" (Boas, 1928/1986, p. 237). When looking at the concept of property and belonging in relation to the natural environment, we have to look to place names and ask some key questions of the name informants. What do the informants think of the location? Are there any deeper meanings associated?

This leads us to look at possible instances of geographical determinism, which, according to Boas, means that the "geographical environment controls the development of culture" which is indeed evident in the Otago region (Boas, 1928/1986, pp. 239–240). In the Central Otago district, for example, geographical determinism is particularly evident, as the settlement of the region was motivated by the gold rush of the 1860s. The physical environment here, and elsewhere in Otago, attracted human settlement, and therefore inspired the creation of names reflecting the motivation for utilising those spaces: Coal Creek (45.215S 169.011E), Fruitlands (45.343S 169.301E), and Gold Burn (44.862S 168.802E) being good examples of this. Central Otago was not a convenient landscape to settle in; with rough winters and the driest region in Aotearoa

New Zealand, it was not particularly appealing for new settlers. The attraction of settlement came from the mineral bounty that could be mined in the landscape, also evident in the namescape, which naturally inspired a generation of mining communities and a mining culture to settle in the region.

Although the environment and people's attachment to it have been on the minds of anthropologists since the field's conception, deeper consideration of the naming of the environment has not always been questioned. Indeed, Keith Basso (1996) would argue "anthropologists have paid scant attention to one of the most basic dimensions of human experience, (…) *sense of place*" (p. 54). Perhaps this is why to date it has been relatively difficult to find anthropologists concerned with anything deeper than a base acknowledgement of 'place', or setting, in their research. However, as we know, anthropology is not the only field in which place and naming are concerns. Onomastics is rife with theories around toponymic naming, branching out into socio-onomastics in which elements commonly associated with social anthropology, such as ethnographic studies, are utilised.

There is great value in all studies utilising interdisciplinary methods to approach research from a new point of view, so utilising concepts traditionally seen in anthropology is perhaps unusual, but it yields a different set of results than typically seen in an onomastic survey.

3. Place names as a lens for anthropological analysis

One of the ways my research could be characterised is as a postcolonial anthropological study of European settlement in the Otago region of Aotearoa New Zealand through the lens of place names. Place names can give insight or hints of human connections, and as a field of research focused on humans, anthropology has a lot to offer in the way of theories and methods to engage with toponyms. Franz Boas (1934) believed toponyms benefitted the study of culture, commenting on how "geographical names, being an expression of the mental character of each people and each period, reflect their cultural life and the line of development belonging to each cultural area" (p. 9). Social Anthropology pioneer, Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) coined the term

anthropo-geographic, meaning a study on the consideration of culture within its natural surroundings (Malinowski, 1944, p. 17) in which place-name evaluation would undoubtedly be a useful tool. Beyond this, according to Helleland (2012), anthropologists have used place names to understand "references to and symbols of acts and experiences" within societies (p. 96). This can be seen in examples such as how the representation of ideological values throughout Israel, and the communities that support those ideologies, are different in geographical areas depending on whether Hebrew or Arab place names are utilised (Cohen & Kliot, 1992, p. 655).

Although there is some recognition for the value of "place" to the study of anthropology, it is often in a descriptive context, particularly within ethnographic studies, without much depth or problematisation (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003, p. 16). There have been a few instances of anthropologists calling out for more attention to the meaning and impact of place, for instance, in 1992 Margaret C. Rodman published an article acknowledging the work being done by anthropologists on the concept of "voice", but very little consideration of "place", entitled "Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality". In the article, Rodman advocates a change to the traditional anthropological approach to place as setting, arguing instead for a "more critical usage of place than is common in contemporary anthropology and takes seriously the attendant dimensions of power" while also raising questions "about how the anthropological study of place relates to experiences of living in places" (Rodman, 1992, p. 641). However, over a decade later Rodman is still beseeching anthropologists to consider "place" in their studies, this time correlating the approach anthropologists should take to the example set by geographers, yet again stating how "insufficient attention has been paid to conceptualising place in anthropology as something other than a physical setting or a passive target for primordial sentiments of attachment that flow from life's 'assumed givens'" (Rodman, 2003, p. 204). The sense of frustration Rodman has with the discipline's lack of growth in dealing with place names is palpable, with key concepts regularly understood in onomastics such as "places produce meaning and that meaning can be grounded in place" (Rodman, 2003, p. 207) being repeated and reinforced over the course of a decade. When analysing the value of an anthropological perspective on other aspects of the human experience, it is clear that anthropologists have much to offer to expand the study of toponyms, particularly when considering methods common in social anthropology.

4. Place names as symbols or vehicles of ancestral authority

Social anthropology as a discipline dates to the 1930's, when the term was first introduced by French sociologist Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) (Levi-Strauss, 1967, p. 10). Social anthropology can be defined as "an inductive science which, like other sciences of this type, observes facts, formulates hypotheses, and submits these to experimental control, in order to discover general laws of nature and society" (Levi-Strauss, 1967, p. 20). In short, social anthropology is concerned with how humans interact with the world, often through methods of participant observation, to answer questions on how to improve or alter the human experience. The study and criticism of symbolism, not just physical symbols, within societies fall under the discipline of social anthropology, and with it concerns of symbolic representation, meaning, and intention or lack thereof.

For example, an anthropologist surveying human connection to art might find "if a lake in a painting evokes stillness, it is not because it symbolises stillness or even 'represents' it: stillness is *there*, immanent in the image of the lake" (Wiseman & Groves, 2014, p. 71). Likewise, place names do not necessarily need to symbolise nor represent anything; their very existence evokes a sense of emotion or connectivity between humans and the land. Through looking at what Levi-Strauss considered "objectively very remote and subjectively very concrete" explanations for the natural world (Levi-Strauss, 1967, p. 17) we can question themes such as the symbolic nature of place names.

Some anthropologists, such as Keith Basso (1940–2013), quoted by Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003), prefer to focus on place names as "the vehicles of ancestral authority" (p. 17). In Aotearoa New Zealand, anthropologist Michele Dominy (1995) describes the debate on Pākehā claims to Crown pastoral lease properties as coming from a place of struggling for "authenticity and legitimacy in a 'dynamic discursive field of contested meanings'" versus the Maori spiritual attachment "through intimate knowledge of stewardship of the landscape" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003, p. 24). Whilst place names can indeed be regarded as a source of ancestral understanding, we must be wary of the danger of assuming this as fact, as this can lead to an admittedly tried and tested process of evaluating place names with the prioritisation being on "original" names. Quoted by Jandt (2004), Levi-Strauss wrote, "we list features, we sift questions of origin, we allot first places" (p. 43). Although

in some settings, like Aotearoa New Zealand where an Indigenous people and oral tradition existed prior to the introduction of a written language, it is nearly impossible to claim a name as "original". As the old adage goes, history is told by the victors, which in this case means place names were recorded by the literate settlers. Writing is a tool that can, and has, been used to exert control over others (Wiseman & Groves, 2014, p. 89) as well as a means of erasure of native histories, especially in a colonial context. Even though uncovering the "original" names of the Otago region is an unrealistic task, we can however attempt to find the "oldest recorded" names, with the caveat that with further research and resources that could change.

5. Place names as tools in conservation and "dysplacement" studies

Anthropological research has recently been focusing quite heavily on environmental impacts and conservation. However, we must also note that Indigenous populations are disproportionately impacted by environmental pollution, and that many Indigenous populations have lifestyles dependent on the immediate environment, be it land or sea, for subsistence as well as spiritual practices (Gross, 2021, p. 19). In the August 2021 edition of "Anthropology Today", an article by postdoctoral fellow Lena Gross (2021) looking at oil sands and settler colonialism in Canada, questions: "What happens when lakes are no longer lakes but toxic ponds containing mining waste and Indigenous knowledge and cosmologies of water as life-bringer are threatened because consuming water suddenly is connected to cancer?" (p. 19). This is why sites of toxic waste dumping, oil sand extraction, and mining sites require place-name scholars to look at more than just the colonial name and use of a space, but the Indigenous knowledge that is at risk of erasure. Additionally, place names can help in the preservation of sacred and significant spaces as they clearly communicate the meaning and importance of that space to outside communities. Gross continues,

> The land was like an archive, holding the past in its landscapes. Coming to certain places triggered the telling of specific stories linked to the land, and through

> telling these stories, knowledge about the land and its history was passed on. Once the landscape became unrecognizably changed, the 'archive' it was holding was also in danger of getting lost. Without physical access to specific places, their stories would be forgotten. (Gross, 2021, p. 20)

One further point by Gross that is important to consider in terms of place-name study is the concept of *dysplacement*, as coined by anthropologist Deborah Davis Jackson. Dysplacement is meant "to describe a type of displacement that is invisible and psychological rather than physical, and therefore is often overlooked" (Gross, 2021, p. 20). Could this not be a useful concept to apply to the study of toponyms? After all, place names are a cerebral concept; while they can be in the physical landscape in terms of signage, they often seep more deeply into the human subconscious than any sign could.

6. Conclusion

The basis of an anthropological-onomastic approach to place names is a focus on movement and society. Mauss believed, as quoted by Levi-Strauss (1967), that when attempting to understand the thoughts and life of an Indigenous people, that movement above all was the "fleeting instant in which society becomes or in which men become, sentimentally conscious of themselves and their situation vis-à-vis others" (p. 14).

Human movement and migration can be evidenced in the human psyche as well as physically evidenced in the landscape. Looking at the text "Senses of Place" by Basso and Feld (1996), Edward Casey scrutinises existing anthropological suggestions "that the people we study transform a pre-existing, empty, and absolute space into meaningful place" and suggests the contrary, "that place is general, and includes space, and that space is particular and derived from it" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003, p. 17). I interpret this to mean that space is not a void to which we as humans give life by christening it with a name and purpose, but that the spaces we as humans occupy, morph, and name to suit our needs and desires are merely reactions to a physical place. As previously mentioned, Rodman (2003) very much supports deeper engagement

with toponyms through an anthropological lens, emphasising the idea that "places are not inert containers. They are politicised, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (p. 205). When it comes to the specifics of this research in consulting Pākehā names in the Aotearoa New Zealand namescape, there are more issues to consider than purely matters of the formation of the name itself. For instance, the socio-political impact of these non-native place names is, I would argue, an issue of paramount concern when surveying the region of Otago. The commentary available through the analysis of place names on the movement, development, and settlement of a foreign community in Aotearoa New Zealand and the impacts that had on the existing native society are concerns that not only intrigue anthropologists, but geographers, politicians, sociologists, and onomasticians as well.

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Between Localism and Nationalism: The Romanization of *Canton* (Guangzhou, China)

Abstract

This paper presents the different ways of romanization and divergent ideologies in the toponymy of the city of *Canton* (Guangzhou, China). The Portuguese named the city *Cantão*, which was transliterated as *Canton* in French and English and then into other European languages in an identical way. Later, attempts to standardise romanization emerged in China. With the rise of nationalism and the diffusion of Mandarin, romanizations based on the pronunciation of the national language were later developed. Since the introduction of the pinyin system by the government, the name *Guangzhou* was legitimized as the only official transcription. However, there is complexity underpinning the linguistic practices and ideologies of the different romanizations of this city. From local identity to national authority, *Canton* or *Guangzhou* serve as a representation of a trial of strength in terms of divergent cultural and socio-political values.

Keywords

romanization, *Canton*, *Guangzhou*, localism, nationalism

1. Introduction

Toponyms usually reflect the historical and cultural origins of the place as it is named. However, the usage or the choice of different names for a place sometimes stem from divergent ideologies. As the usage of *America* instead of the *United States* remains disputed (Immerwahr, 2019), the choice of the shortened form of the United States of America is determined by the geopolitical identity recognition of the user.

In this paper, we will first present the etymology of the toponym of *Canton*, a Chinese city officially known as *Guangzhou* today. As the Chinese languages are not alphabetic, romanization is needed to transliterate Chinese toponyms into English, French, German, Russian or any other alphabetic language. Thus, the different ways of romanizing the name of this city will be discussed with a focus on the ideologies that underpin Cantonese and Mandarin as two major sources of transliteration. By approaching the specific status of the Cantonese language, we will also compare the usage of *Canton* or *Guangzhou* within China and internationally.

2. *Canton* the city and Chinese toponyms

Before we look into the subject, we briefly introduce *Canton*, the city, the origins of Chinese toponyms and the writing system of the Chinese languages, which will bring about a better understanding of the romanization of this toponym.

2.1. A brief introduction to *Canton*

Located in southern China, *Canton* is at the upper centre of the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong Province. It is less than one hour's train ride to Hong Kong and Macau. Perhaps less famous than Beijing (also *Peking*) and Shanghai, *Canton* started trading with Europe much earlier than those two megacities.

Moreover, one of the official languages in Hong Kong and Macau, Cantonese, is named after *Canton*, the city in which this language originated.

Figure 1. Location of *Canton* (Guangzhou)

Source: https://geology.com/world/china-satellite-image.shtml

As the capital city of Guangdong Province, *Canton* is ranked the fourth largest city in mainland China in terms of GDP and population after Shanghai, Beijing and Shenzhen as of (Xu, 2021). With a history of over 2,200 years and as a major terminus of the maritime "Silk Road",[1] *Canton* continues to serve as a major port and transportation hub, as well as one of China's top megacities. This city gained its reputation by trading with European countries very early during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and it was the only international port of China that the emperor had permitted for nearly a hundred years under the "Canton System" during 1523–1566 and 1757–1842 (Van Dyke, 2005), which made Canton the only Chinese port accessible to foreign traders for a long time. Later, Canton was captured by the British during the "First Opiumar" (1839–1842). No longer enjoying the monopoly after this war, Canton

[1] A network of Eurasian trade routes that connected China, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, the Arabian Peninsula, Somalia, Egypt and Europe.

lost trade to other ports, such as Hong Kong and Shanghai, but continued to serve as a major transhipment hub. Today, this city holds the largest import and export fair in China, that is, the "Canton Fair", and has been doing so since 1957. Possessing a large urban population and great volumes of port traffic, Canton is classified as a large-port megacity, the largest type of port city in the world (Roberts et al., 2020), comparable to Rotterdam or Hamburg.

2.2. Chinese toponyms: Writing system and its romanization

Generally, Chinese cities are named according to two principles. The first is socio-geographic, which indicates the location and the status of the city. The most salient example is the capital *Beijing*, also known as *Peking*, the postal romanization of early Mandarin pronunciation used from the late 19th to early 20th centuries.[2] The first syllable *bei* refers to 'north', and the second *jing* means 'capital', so *Beijing* literally denotes the capital in the north. Another way of naming a city in China is on a cultural basis, usually by means of a wish or words with positive meanings. Taking the city of *Ningbo* as an example, *Ningbo* had also been an important trading port long before the rise of its neighbour Shanghai. The first syllable *ning* means 'peaceful', and the second *bo* refers to 'waves'. The emperor of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang, named this city *Ningbo* in the hope that the peaceful waves of the ocean would foster prosperity through trading by sea (Fan, 2018).

However, the writing system of Chinese languages is logographic according to Morpho-syllable Typology (Xu, 2001), meaning that each Chinese character bears one single syllable and one morpheme correspondingly. Traditional Chinese lexicography divided characters into six categories: pictograms, ideograms, compound ideograms, phono-semantic characters, phonetic loan characters and derivative cognates (see Table 1). We are not going into the detail of this classification, but we conclude that pictograms, ideograms and phono-semantic characters occupy the majority of the formation of Chinese characters.

[2] In English, this form is no longer found in any official translation except in the name of *Peking University*. However, its equivalent form in some other languages remains in current usage, e.g., *Pékin* in French.

Table 1. Six categories of Chinese logograms

Category	Pictogram	Ideogram	Compound ideogram	Phono-semantic	Phonetic loan	Derivative cognate
Explanation	stylized drawings of the objects they represent	express an abstract idea through an iconic form	compounds of two or more pictographic or ideographic characters to suggest the meaning of the word	Phonetic part + semantic part	characters that are "borrowed" to write another homophonous or near-homophonous morpheme	Cognates from the same etymology, which mean or sound the same
Example	木 mù	本 běn	森 sēn	沐 mù	本 běn	考/老 kǎo/lǎo
Meaning	'tree'	木 + 一 tree + bar 'root (of a tree)'	木 × 3 3 trees 'forest'	氵+ 木 water (semantic) + tree (phonetic) 'to water something'	'root' borrowed to mean 'book'	both characters mean 'elder person'

Source: summarized by author.

When it comes to romanization, each character is transliterated by one syllable according to its pronunciation. That is to say, *Guangzhou* (廣州) is composed of *guang* (廣), a phono-semantic character that means 'vast' or 'extensive'; and *zhou* (州), a pictogram that describes the shape of a 'land in the water'. Comparable to *-burg* in Germanic toponyms, *-zhou* forms many place names in China, such as *Hangzhou* and *Suzhou*, two famous water-surrounded cities regarded as the most pleasant places to live in the country. Thus, *Guangzhou* (*Canton*) literally means a vast land surrounded by water.

3. *Canton*, from a misunderstanding to a well-known place name

3.1. Early romanization of Chinese cities

The first documented romanization of Chinese place names dates from the Ming dynasty during the late 13th century. The most known ones were introduced by the Italian missionary and sinologist Matteo Ricci, who landed China in Macau and reached as far as the capital. The major way of romanizing

Chinese place names at that time was imitating the local pronunciation at first contact. In regard to *Canton*, the most recognized name by most European countries was given by Portuguese missionaries in the early 15th century and was later adopted by French, English and other European languages. *Canton* remains the most common appellation of *Guangzhou* to Westerners. It serves as the phonologic-morphological root of the local language of this region: Cantonese.

Figure 2. Early record of *Cantão* on the "Padrão dos Descobrimentos" monument in Lisbon

Source: photograph by author.

3.2. Capital city of *Guangdong* Province

In fact, the name *Canton* was a misunderstanding of *Guangdong* (廣東), the province's name (Han & Wu, 2020), pronounced in Cantonese as [kwɔŋ.toŋ]. Although no direct proof of such an origin was found in the literature, there is no denying that the letter *t* in *Canton* transliterates the sound [t] in *dong* [toŋ] and that the letter *n* indicates the nasal coda of this syllable, which is never found in *zhou* of *Guangzhou* either in Mandarin or in Cantonese. Table 2 shows the linguistic mutation from *Guangdong* to *Canton* in Cantonese. The pronunciation has experienced a series of sound changes, such as delabialization and

nasal fronting (assimilated to the dental-alveolar onset of the succeeding syllable), the two being the featured characteristics of modern Cantonese phonology (Bauer & Benedict, 2011).

Table 2. Sound changes in modern Cantonese phonology

Phonological process	After	Before
delabialization	[kɔŋ. toŋ]	[kwɔŋ.toŋ]
nasal fronting	[kɔn. toŋ]	[kɔŋ. toŋ]

Source: summarized by author.

Based on this linguistic cue, we conclude that *Canton* finds its origin in the Cantonese pronunciation of the province's name *Guangdong*, [kɔn. toŋ]. This inference is reasonable because, at the time when the Portuguese came to Macau, people did not distinguish clearly the city and the province. Thus, although *Canton* sounds more like the province, it indeed refers to its capital city. This name was circulated to Western countries afterwards with the prosperous trading activities between China and the world (as mentioned in **2.1.**), and has become lexicalized in European languages.

4. Romanization of *Canton* throughout history

Like many other countries, such as France, since the establishment of the Republic of China and the current People's Republic government, the authorities have made every effort to standardise the romanization of the place names of the country. First, some romanization systems based on the local Cantonese pronunciation emerged. Then, several romanization systems based on Mandarin pronunciation were put forwards, and the pinyin system was finally officialised as the only legitimate translation/transliteration of this city.

4.1. Cantonese romanizations

The beginning proposals were based on the Cantonese language. The major characteristics of its pronunciation include the principal vowel [ɔ] of the first character [kwɔːŋ] and the absence of retroflex in the second character [tsɐu].

Table 3. Systems based on Cantonese pronunciation [kwɔːŋ.tsɐu]

Romanization form	Linguistic reference	Emerging date
Gwong-jau	Yale's system	1958
Gwong-zau	Guangdong Provincial Education Department	1960
Gwong-zau	Linguistic Society of Hong Kong	1993

Source: summarized by author.

These romanizations based on Cantonese pronunciation were rarely seen, except in the names of some private companies. These names remain relatively far less used than *Canton*, because it had become familiar to foreigners long before the establishment of the linguistic references.

4.2. Mandarin romanizations

With the spread of Mandarin, the national language, the central government tended to promote romanization based on Mandarin, whose phonological characteristics include the principal vowel [a] in the first character [kʷaŋ] and the retroflex consonant [ʈʂ] in the second character [ʈʂou]. The last romanization by pinyin became the only officialised orthography for transliterating Chinese toponyms (ISO 7098: 1982, superseded by ISO 7098: 2015).

Table 4. Systems based on Mandarin pronunciation [kʷaŋ.ʈʂou]

Romanization form	Linguistic reference	Emerging date
Kuang-chou	Wade-Giles system	1892
Kwangchow	Imperial Postal Joint-Session Conference in Shanghai	1906
Guangzhou	Chinese ***Pinyin*** system	1982

Source: summarized by author.

The two bases of romanization represent, in fact, different ideologies between localism and nationalism. Cantonese romanization and non-pinyin Mandarin romanization are regarded as a sign of liberalism, which is against the unification of the country. Mandarin pinyin romanization strongly endorses nationalism, which is critical to the current government.

5. Particularities of the Cantonese language

Compared to other local languages or dialects of China, Cantonese enjoys a specific status under the spread of Mandarin. This is why arguments still exist between *Canton* and *Guangzhou*, unlike other cities in China.

5.1. Linguistic unification in China

In China, there are many local languages or dialects that are not mutually understood by their speakers. However, the written language in China, which is independent of pronunciation, has been highly unified thanks to the stable Chinese characters. Speakers of different dialects could communicate without difficulty by writing. However, oral communication became increasingly important as society developed. Thus, the spoken language of the capital area was set as the *lingua franca* to identify the country as a unified nation. Based on the dialect of northern China, Mandarin is a result of such political movements and is used as a tool for imposing the ideologies of nationalism.

Under such circumstances, the use of local languages or dialects soon diminished. With the economic reform, large numbers of rural and inland people flocked to the richer south-eastern areas and cities. This kind of great convergence of languages/dialects left Mandarin an important role to play, allowing people speaking different dialects to understand each other. Therefore, standard Mandarin has gradually become the language considered a symbol of civilisation, especially in public institutions, enterprises and schools (Dong, 2010).

Therefore, Mandarin-based pinyin romanization has almost thoroughly replaced any dialect-based romanization of toponyms. Nearly all the Chinese

names of cities initially romanized according to dialect pronunciation have been changed into pinyin romanization. Those names that were once well known to Westerners exist only in brands or university emblems nowadays for the sake of showing their long history, as the examples show in Table 5.

Table 5. Disappearance of the non-pinyin romanization of Chinese cities

Mandarin pinyin romanization	Local language romanization	Toponyms in emblem or brand
Beijing	*Peking*	Peking University
Xiamen	*Amoy*	Universitas Amoiensis
Qingdao	*Tsingtao*	Tsingtao Beer

Source: summarized by author.

5.2. Cantonese language

Despite the quick spread of Mandarin, Cantonese survived more than other local languages or dialects. To ensure the harmonious reunification of the British and Portuguese colonies Hong Kong and Macau, the central government of China specifically allowed the existence of Cantonese in Guangdong Province. The Pearl River Delta area around Canton is the only region in the country where it is allowed to broadcast in dialects, and it is also the only region in the country where Hong Kong television can be received legally (Guo, 2017). Thus, Cantonese is regarded as a tool of ideological propaganda helping the integration of Hong Kong and Macau and is still tolerated in Guangdong's public domain.

However, the government has not stopped its efforts to restrict local expression by trying to cancel Cantonese announcements on public transportation and Cantonese broadcasting in local media. Both the law and language policies have positioned Mandarin in the public spheres of education, media, government affairs, and public communication. Cantonese has become increasingly limited to private contexts, such as folk entertainment, neighbourhoods, and family life. Such policies have led to an influential social movement in Canton, appealing to the preservation and legitimacy of the Cantonese language within Guangdong Province (Guo, 2017).

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of revitalising Cantonese by non-governmental groups and individuals, the use of the name *Canton* remains very limited nowadays, as it is only found in the "China Export and Import Fair", as known as the "Canton Fair", or a few tourist sites within the whole territory.

6. *Canton* or *Guangzhou*? A subtle choice

The choice of one of these two toponyms reflects, as a result, the ideologies of localism and nationalism. We observe an extremely limited utilisation of *Canton* in China but a variety of usage of the two by foreign countries, depending on different traditions.

6.1. Inside China: Standardisation and officialization of pinyin

First, the usage of *Canton* inside China is extremely limited. The majority of governmental institutions or nongovernmental organisations have adopted the pinyin romanization *Guangzhou* in their official names and forced organizations to change non-pinyin romanizations into pinyin transliteration. At present, *Canton* is only used to name the *Cantonese* language and very few institutions, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Limited usage of *Canton* in China

Name	Reference
The Canton Tower (and metro station name)	
The Canton Fair	
IATA airport code of Guangzhou Baiyun International Airport CAN	

Source: summarized and photographed by author.

6.2. Different usage by foreign countries

Second and interestingly, a particular phenomenon of choice can be observed on the websites of the consulates general of different countries in *Canton* or *Guangzhou*. In 2022, there were 64 countries which have established consulates-general in this city.[3] A consulate is a national representative office dispatched by the government of one country to a certain city of the other country and where consular duties are performed. Therefore, the official appellation of a consulate represents the tradition and ideology of the country.

Among the consulates of the major powers of the world, we can separate them into two categories: one naming their consulate by *Guangzhou*, the

[3] Source: Guangzhou Foreign Affairs Office, retrieved December 5, 2022, from http://www.eguangzhou.gov.cn/2022-08/01/c_413267.htm

official romanization of pinyin, and one naming their consulate by *Canton* or its equivalent form in their language. English-speaking countries tend to adopt the Mandarin pinyin romanization in their consulate appellation, including the most influential countries (see Table 7).

Table 7. Consulates named after *Guangzhou* by English-speaking countries

Country	Consulate name
UK	British Consulate-General Guangzhou[4]
USA	U.S. Consulate General Guangzhou[5]
Canada	Consulate General of Canada to China, in Guangzhou[6]

Source: summarized by author.

However, non-English-speaking countries, such as France, Portugal, Germany and Poland, seem more attached to historical Cantonese romanization, that is, *Canton* or equivalent forms (see Table 8).

Table 8. Consulates named after *Canton* by non-English-speaking countries

Country	Consulate name
France	Consulat Général de France à Canton[7]
Portugal	Consulado Geral de Portugal em Cantão[8]
Germany	Deutsches Generalkonsulat Kanton[9]
Poland	Konsulat Generalny RP w Kantonie[10]

Source: summarized by the author.

[4] Retrieved January 25, 2020, from https://www.gov.uk/world/organisations/british-consulate-general-guangzhou

[5] Retrieved January 25, 2020, from https://china.usembassy-china.org.cn/embassy-consulates/guangzhou

[6] Retrieved December 5, 2020, from https://www.international.gc.ca/country-pays/china-chine/guangzhou.aspx?lang=eng

[7] Retrieved February 15, 2021, from https://cn.ambafrance.org/-Consulat-Canton-

[8] Retrieved February 15, 2021, from https://cantao.consuladoportugal.mne.gov.pt/pt

[9] Retrieved February 15, 2021, from https://china.diplo.de/cn-de/vertretungen/gk-kanton

[10] Retrieved February 15, 2021, from https://www.gov.pl/web/chiny/konsulat-generalny-w-kantonie

The two different choices of *Guangzhou* or *Canton* might be explained by the following reasons. First, as some countries or cities have done, the Chinese government prescribes the official translation of place names by political order. Usually, such an order only applies to English because English is the only *de facto* international language in the world. One of the similar examples is the dispute between *Myanmar* and *Burma* in English (Dittmer, 2010), which is not necessarily the case in other languages. On the one hand, English-speaking countries are more likely to choose *Guangzhou,* as it is the official name legitimized by the Chinese government. On the other hand, this choice does indicate that English is more inclined to foreignization in regard to transliterating foreign toponyms.

Second, different countries have different conventions of adopting toponyms in their own language. In languages of the European continent, lexicalization plays an important role in the adoption of foreign toponyms, which impels more local-like spellings. For example, *Kraków* in Polish is transcribed as *Krakow* in English, which perfectly respects the orthography of the source language. However, we find *Cracovia* for *Kraków* in Spanish and, regarding another city, *Aachen* in German but *Aix-la-Chapelle* in French without disagreement. These languages appear more attached to historical and lexicalized forms of foreign toponyms in their own languages. Thus, we could consider these preferences of domesticating foreign place names as a matter of linguistic convention for the countries that name their consulates after *Canton*.

7. Conclusion

As a result, different names and toponymic variants are used in different situations and contexts. The users are often conscious of the implications and ideologies associated with different variants. As Ainiala (2009) states:

> Social identity and place identity are often linked with each other: identifying yourself with a place also often means identifying yourself as a member of a social group. By using a given name variant you can show you are part of a social group with a special link to a place (hometown) and to how you

> experience and perceive the place. The speakers of a language may use or at least report that they are using a name preferred by the community with which they want to identify themselves, or they may avoid using names associated with user groups they want to differentiate themselves from. (p. 74)

We can conclude that the usage of *Canton* is strongly associated with localism, archaism, or even exoticism in reverse. It is not only the earliest romanization of the city, but it also recalls the "good old days" when the city was the only commercial centre connecting China and the world. Furthermore, *Canton* remains a symbol of the recognition of the indigenous identity of the Cantonese-speaking community. In contrast, the official preference of *Guangzhou* is undoubtedly marked by nationalism and the authority of the nation-state.

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Official Toponyms and Their Dialectal Variants: The Influence of the Dialectal Forms of Moroccan Place Names

Abstract

Morocco displays strong multilingualism where several languages coexist: Standard Arabic, Berber (Amazigh), French, Spanish, and Moroccan Arabic (Darija) – the vernacular language. Nonetheless, following independence, the country's ideological choices in terms of cultural policy pushed for the Arabization of toponyms. To provide high-quality geographic information, place names should be accurate and identifiable in the field not only by the inhabitants themselves but also by the visitors. Place names are rather close to everyday life and thus used mostly in their vernacular form, denoting phonetic or semantic alterations. Various research has shown the interrelation between dialectology and onomastics, hence the importance of considering dialects in the study of place names. This study aims to investigate whether examining and considering the dialectal variants is essential. It seeks to provide a comprehensive toponymic data set of Morocco, where the motivation is better identification of the place in question by adhering to the correct usage in both written and spoken practice. The onymic items were collected from native speakers of the geographical varieties and oral tradition. The differences in the linguistic features are analyzed, and follow-up investigations will seek to examine whether any discrepancy between the official and the vernacular form of toponym will be observed.

Keywords
dialect, multilingualism, toponymy, variations

1. Introduction

Oral dialectal forms and their documentary significance have received little focus worldwide, although "these sources could allow more detailed anthropogeographic and territorial mapping" (Assenza, 2014, p. 972). However, in German and Central European onomastic research, they have been considered as a source for etymology and further analysis, in addition to methodologically, by taking into account their value and the necessity to collect them systematically. A study was thus devised to gather the dialectal names of local toponyms as systematically and thoroughly as possible in order to compare toponymy in cartography and in spoken language.

In today's society, names are an inextricable aspect of language and our ability to communicate and interact with others. "Names live on across generations" (Lauder & Lauder, 2015, p. 383). "A space becomes place, and a territory becomes landscape through the process of naming". According to Seidl (2008), toponyms record "human attitudes to space". They typically mirror the "physical environment, and as such represent a kind of a unifying link between the material, tangible world and our understanding of this space". Thus, landscape encompasses physical space and how humans discern, interpret, and shape their surroundings. "It is the relationship between people and space in a certain period of time" (Seidl, 2008, p. 35).

Toponyms are linguistic terms that are employed as "single element messages (e.g., on maps and signposts) or – more commonly – as elements of natural language texts (including spoken ones)". Moreover, they are entangled in the language's "internal and abstract structure" and its usage, which is then influenced by numerous "extralinguistic influences, such as politics, social phenomena, and culture" (Włoskowicz, 2017, p. 325).

Toponyms are linguistic units that we acquire and remember without going through a rigorous analytical process or paying close attention to their individual components or arrangement. As a result, most individuals are unfamiliar with the whole toponymic corpus. Various elements may explain the naming of spaces or places in their recognizable form since it is a living representation of a geographical, historical, linguistic, or ethnographic structure unique to its location. Moroccan toponymy is being used as a tool for collective memory and identity, for reference and direction, as a symbol, and

for actual or imagined significance. In Morocco and elsewhere, the name can assume various and different forms, which are characterized by a complex nomenclature. Toponyms reveal a lot about a community's language, values, beliefs, environment, economy, and history since these linguistic features express people's fundamental relationship with their home and extensive knowledge of the area. This can be seen especially in the dialectal variants.

2. Toponyms and language

Toponyms are, "by their very description, names for places" (Kostanski, 2004, p. 276). They are the linguistic features that refer to a place, be it a city, street, country or other geographical and spatial locations . In other words, they are "the linguistic signs of a natural language denoting certain fragments of topographic space" (Urazmetova & Shamsutdinova, 2017, p. 26).

Toponyms are a representation of the landscape layer that depicts the relationship between "the human perception, understanding and interpretation of the surrounding physical space" (Calvo-Iglesias et al., 2012, p. 502). They contain "traces of the memory of the relationship between Man and Earth" (Cantile, 2016, p. 11), and frequently endure changes in the local area, generating "historical documents of landscape dynamics or changes in land use" (Conedera et al., 2007, p. 729), thus serving as "symbols of regional culture" (Qian et al., 2016, p. 546). Hence, they are a "true reflection of the linguistic history of a particular geographical location" (Ballester et al., 2013, p. 125). Therefore, a toponym is a valuable instrument to characterize variation and trends in cultural and natural landscape features over time.

Language is "paradoxically, among the most unrecognizable factors that contribute to place-making" (Lin & Chen, 2010, p. 68). Place names are "part of the oral literature of the local people". Linguistically, they assist pronunciation and "serve as important links to some other documents and information" (Nna, 2015, p. 181).

"Language (dialect) and culture (cultural space) are dialectically interlocked with each other" (Koyama, 2001, p. 1578). Toponyms reflect the language structure where the "inherited local place-names have been passed

on in a local dialect and have followed the development of that dialect". Various toponyms "contain frozen grammatical forms representing earlier stages of a dialect" (Særheim, 2014, p. 1403). Place names, particularly topographical appellatives, may reveal a lot about a word's geographic distribution as well as its semantic value. The phonological and morphological evolution of a dialect and language and an area and nation's historical and cultural history may all be learned from ancient place names and personal names.

The main languages spoken in Morocco are Arabic, French, and Berber (Amazigh) in all of its varieties. The Moroccan people's mother tongue is Darija (Moroccan Arabic). It is "spoken by approximately 20 million people and is used in the home and in informal conversation"). In Morrocco, classical Arabic is not spoken natively – it is only taught in schools; nonetheless, Arabic dialects are passed down orally through families and social groups. Moroccan Arabic also has regional differences. "These differences may relate to both the pronunciation and the lexicon" Code-switching is a common occurrence in such multilingual societies.

3. Methodology

Linguistic-geographic and toponymic studies are inextricably linked; however, relevant knowledge sources may differ significantly. The lexical items to be investigated will be sourced from selected native speakers of the geographical variants of Moroccan Arabic, where the onomastic items will be primarily gathered from oral tradition. In these circumstances, having a bilingual presentation of toponyms offers a unique research case.

This paper aims to construct a geo-linguistic perspective by asking interviewees to specify place names in their native language in order to examine the variety that exists in such a setting. Hence, a corpus of toponyms coined from oral sources in Morocco was analyzed. This study adopted a three-part interview methodology, including a sociolinguistic background, a map task, and a word list (see Appendix). The goal is to generate Moroccan place-name data from Moroccan residents in Morocco who spoke Darija (Moroccan Arabic). The interviewees were informed prior to the start of the recording that

it would be used for research purposes. The sociolinguistic part determines each speaker's language and dialect profile. It was delivered in the speaker's native tongue. It reveals the areas where they lived, the accent spoken with family and friends, and all of the languages and dialects they spoke and understood. In addition, the usage of the map aims to gather subjects' colloquial and casual pronunciations of Moroccan place names. A colored map of Morocco, using both official Arabic and French toponym variants, was placed before the subjects where they were asked to describe in dialect how to get to and from various points. The final phase of the interview entailed reading a word list in dialect containing toponyms such as provinces, cities, towns, administrative divisions, regions, and mountain ranges. The extracts utilized in this study are drawn from various regions to generate reliable generalizations, indicating the possible variations. They depict male, female, young, elderly, literate, uneducated, Moroccan speaking groups conversing at a slow and fast pace. Sixty interviews were conducted.

In order for bias not to affect the phonetic transcription of the recorded variants, it was first made manually by me and was later double-checked by two other linguists. Moreover, Square brackets (…) are used for allophones or sequences when no particular phonemic claims are being made; slashes (…) are used for phonemes. Furthermore, 'spoken toponymy' and 'dialectal or vernacular toponymy' are used interchangeably in this study.

4. Results and Discussion

In Morocco, we find place names in a bilingual context (Arabic and French representation), hence dialectal toponyms frequently have numerous variants. One of the fundamental reasons for this divergence is the impact of either French or Arabic. The phenomenon known as local pronunciation is an example of how place names are pronounced differently. In a multilingual society, the concept of local pronunciation is even more prominent; for example, French-influenced speakers of Rabat call it [ʁaba], whereas Arabic-influenced locals say [rəbat]. The dialectal differences regard mainly the use of either /ʁ/ (the uvular fricative/approximant) or /r/ for the R. The /ʁ/ or the "uvular R"

was mainly prominent in the individuals influenced by French. It is important to note that they used a /ʁ/ sound rather than a /ɣ/ sound. /ʁ/ is further back in the throat than /ɣ/ (the velar fricative, or the "gh" sound).

The spoken toponymy recorded variation phonetic variations. The plosive uvular /q/ is often palatalized to /g/ (allophones). /ǧ/ is realized predominantly as [ž]. The existence of labialization is more common in certain regions like in Marrakech: ṃṃwarakech. Pronunciation of L depends on the phonological context where alveolar lateral approximate /l/ for front vowels /ɬ/ for back vowels. Note that "l with tilde" [ɬ] is different from the "belted l" [ɬ], which is a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative.

Changes in tongue body position characterize emphatic allophones of vowels, which can be roughly described as [ɑ] for /a/, [ɨ] for /i/, and [o] for /u/. It is generally assumed that MA contains three phonemic vowels {i, a, u}. Long vowels have been shortened, and short vowels have been lost, resulting in consonant clusters that are eventually split by a short central vowel generated by the language. The vowel variation of northern and southern dialects differ somewhat, where the north generally employs a more rounded long 'a' compared to the south. Some regions in the southern part of Morocco tend to reduce the vowels into a mid-central vowel sound schwa /ə/.

In Morocco, a shift toward the lexical distribution of rhotic emphasis has occurred from reducing the vowel system and a trend toward paradigm regularization. In addition, the rhotic pharyngealization among some Moroccan speakers in the city of Fès has also influenced the dialectal variants they use, especially the usage of the voiced retroflex approximant /ɻ̩/ instead of the voiced alveolar trill /r/.

In Moroccan Arabic, it is well known that standard stress is placed on the last syllable, provided that syllable is a 'heavy' word syllable (CVC). However, the penultimate syllable is stressed if a word does not end in a CVC syllable. From the data, an interesting variation was noticed within the stress placement. For instance, residents of Tetouan tended to stress the first syllable more than residents of Rabat and Kenitra.

Tables 1 and 2 show an extract of the data collected.

Table 1. Vernacular variants of city names

Official French toponym	Official Arabic toponym	Spoken toponym	Phenomena
Casablanca	Ad-dār al-Bayḍā (الدارالبيضاء)	/dɑrbidˁɑ/ /kɑzɑ/	• ḍ → d • Dropping of the definite article Ad, and al • The diphthongs */aw/ and */ay/ are mostly reduced to /ū/ and /ī/ (Bayḍā → Bi:da)
Marrakech	Murrākuš (مُرَاكُش)	/mrɑkəʃ/ /kɛʃ/	• Vowel shortening in the first CVC • Clipping word
Ras El Ma	Ra's Al Ma' (رأس الماء)	/rɑs_lmɑ/ /rɑs_kəbdɑnɑ/	• Compensatory lenghtening: /raʔs/ – /ra:s/. • Dropping of the definite article al • Old naming
Asilah	Asilah (أصيلة)	/zɑjlɑ/	• Regional variation
Tetouan	Tiṭwān (تطوان)	/titˁɑwən/	• Regional variation • Addition of secondary stress
Chefchaouen	Shafshaūn (شفشاون)	/ʃɑwən/	• Clipping word
M'diq	Al Maḍyaq (المضيق)	/ˋrinkon/	• Colonial toponym
Fnideq	Al fnidaq (الفنيدق)	/kɑstiju:/	• Colonial toponym (Castillejos)
Rissani	ʻAriṣani (الريصاني)	/sidʒilmɑˌsɑ/	• A medieval Moroccan city near Rissani
Guelmim	Gualmim (كَلميم)	/bɑbˋsəħrɑ/	• Regional surname
Larache	Al 'ara'ish (العرائش)	/liksəs/	• Old naming (lixus)
Zagora	Zagoura (زاكورة)	/tɑzɑgurt/	• Berber influenced
Essaouira	Aṣ-Ṣawīra (الصويرة)	/ˋswirɑ/ /mogɑdor/	• Blend word • Portuguese name
El Jadida	Al-Jadīda, (الجديدة)	/lbrejʒɑ/ /mɑzɑgɑn/	• Diminutive form of the word "Borg" • French version of the Portuguese Mazagão
Mohammedia	Al-Muḥammadiyya (المحمدية)	/fḍɑlɑ/	• Old naming
Mehdia	Al-Mahdiyā (المهدية)	/məʕmurɑ/	• Accustomed previous name

Source: own work.

Some dialect names of places differ significantly from their official equivalents and thus become critical in rendering a more comprehensive understanding of a toponym. They not only allow us to associate names with the physical places, facts, and events to which they are linked but also justify the toponyms in local people's minds. Language has the ability to attach new labels to places while conceivably erasing the accumulated historical layers of meaning from memory and identity. It is an indication of a linguistic frontier and a means of locating certain older uses.

The chosen toponyms often adhere to territorial realities and are thus acceptable and commonly used, whereas other times they do not conform to perceived or observed realities and often end up being purely made up and ignored by most inhabitants. According to Boujrouf and Hassani, it is not uncommon for responsible authorities to choose toponyms while communities choose others (Boujrouf & Hassani, 2008); for example, the municipality of Marrakech has named a district in the city's northwestern *Hay Hassani* ('Hassani district'), while the population prefers to call it *Diour Massakine* ('Houses of the miserable'). The municipality of Sidi Bennour has named a district *Derb Mekka* ('District of Mecca'), while the local population refers to it as *Deb Jrane* ('District of the Frogs') a toponym that represents its current state. Hence, the toponym represents the perceived state of the land, and its misuse or misinterpretation can provoke cultural misunderstandings.

The names chosen often correspond to socio-spatial realities and sometimes do not; the high-standing spaces bear names of greenery and gardening such as *Quartier l'Oasis*, *Quartier Agdal*, and *Quartier des Orangers*. Others have flashy foreign names like *Californie* or *Bourgogne*, while others are poorly equipped and underprivileged, with names like *Quartier du Progrès* ('District of Progress') or *Quartier du Bonheur* ('District of Happiness'). The territorial toponym, thus, acts as a window to the existing or contradicting realities and can help shape the land representation.

Toponyms disclose the content of the denomination's circumstances by displaying the connotations that name users may associate with the names. The names reveal details about the relationship between the name giver and the named entity. "A place name not only points out a place, but it also mediates a cluster of qualities and meanings attached to that place, partly valid for a single individual, partly shared by a given social group" (Helleland, 2012, p. 100).

Table 2. Semantic vernacular variants of place names

Official toponym	Spoken toponym
Oulad Mtaa	/məʃruːʕ/ (‘project’)
Souk Lkalb (‘Dog market’)	Souk El Salheen
Dr Bennaceur sud Dr Bennaceur nord	Jamaica
Oued Eddahab (‘Oued of gold’)	Oued El Khanze (‘Oued of bad smell’)
Sidi Allal El Bahraoui	Lkamouni
Yacoub El Mansour	Douar Debagh (‘Tanning (leather)’)
Hay Hassani (‘District of Hassani’)	Diour Massakine (‘Houses of the miserable’)
Derb Mekka (‘District of Mecca’)	Derb Jrane (‘District of the frogs’)
Kasbahs, Ouarzazate	/iɣeṛman/

Source: own work.

5. Conclusion

Place names are the names given to specific geographical locations that indicate a subjective perception of the living environment by the local residents at the time of naming. Given that a place name is a linguistic sign with the ability to denote a designation, the significance of this type of sign is frequently found in its dialect form, which expresses a distinct world of reference within a given cultural system. This paper aimed to show the impact of ‘spoken’ toponymy. The findings reveal an onomastic variation influenced by dialectal variances in the lexicon.

By exhibiting the implications that name users may attach with the names, toponyms reveal the substance of the denomination’s circumstances. The spoken toponym often mirrors the perceived state of the land. Dialectal names can be used to identify linguistic boundaries as well as to locate specific ancient applications. Moreover, the spoken toponymy may not only reveal additional toponymic divisions in space, but it may also allow the toponyms to speak, indicating its use in etymological and motivational reconstruction processes.

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Appendix

This interview was delivered in the speaker's native tongue – all translations by the author unless otherwise specified.

Consent:

- Do you consent to be audiotaped during this study?
- Do you consent for your recording to be used for research purposes?

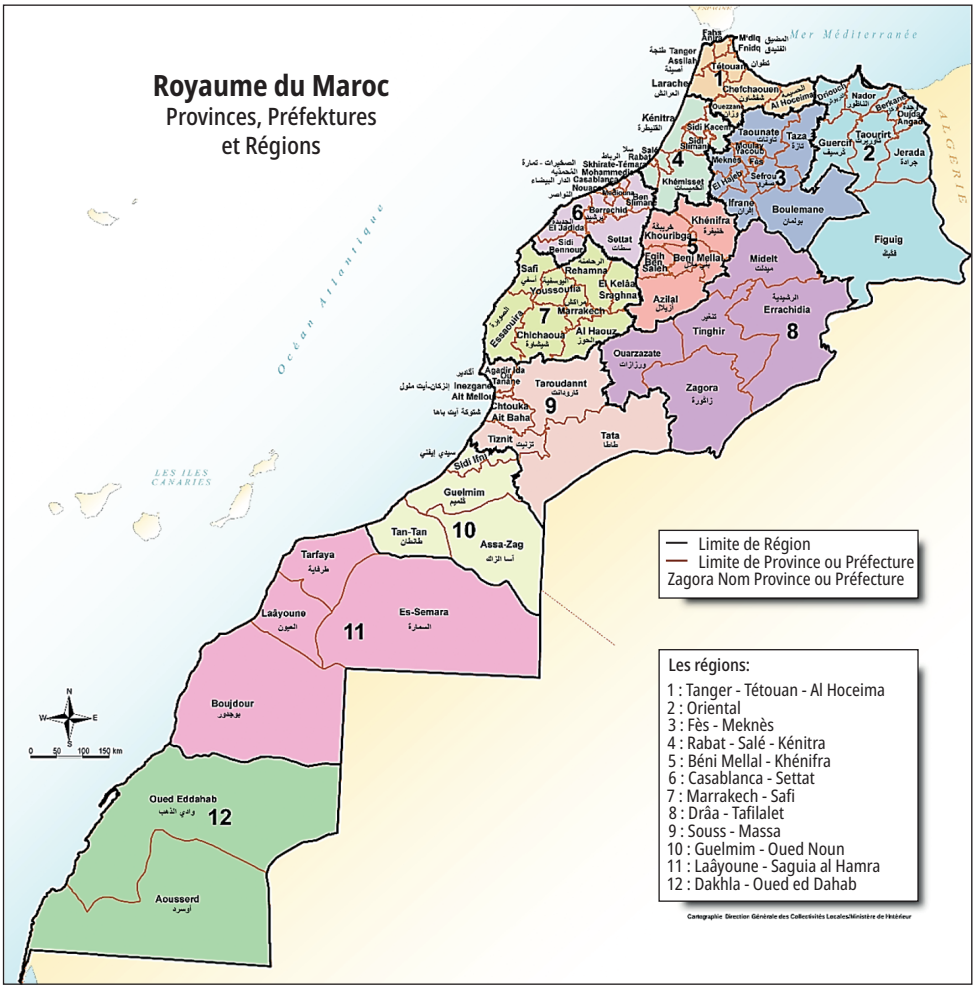
Sociolinguistic background:

- What is your age?
- What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?
- What is your current employment status?
- Where were you born?
- Where are your parents from?
- Where are you located now?
- Where have you lived before?
- What is your primary language?
- What language do you consider to be your mother tongue? Why?
- Did you grow up speaking a language other than Darija in your home? _____ If so, what language?
- How many languages do you know?
- Which languages are you capable of speaking fluently?
- In what languages or dialects do you feel comfortable discussing routine information and expressing your opinions?
- How do you feel when you change between Arabic and French?
- What do you notice when you change between languages in terms of cultural expectations?
- Do you think that there are situations where a specific language should be used?
- Are there any areas or neighborhoods in your hometown you would not want to visit?

These questions enabled a more conversational interview, which aided in identifying the speaker's accent and dialect.

Map task:

- How to get from [location A] to [location B]?



Source: https://www.collectivites-territoriales.gov.ma/fr/la-region

Word list:

"For the last part of our interview, I have a list of place names for you to read out loud. There is no right or wrong way to say any of the words; just read each place name however you would usually call it. You can begin whenever you are ready."

Rabat	Salé	Témara	Kénitra
Khémisset	Casablanca	Mohammedia	El Jadida
Berrechid	Meknès	Séfrou	Marrakech
Essaouira	Safi	Tanger	Asilah
M'diq	Fnideq	Larache	Al Hoceïma
Chefchaouen	Ouezzane	Oujda	Béni Mellal
Khénifra	Khouribga	Errachidia	Ouarzazate
Ras El Ma	Tetouan	Rissani	Zagora
Essaouira	Mehdia	Taounate	El Hajeb
Guelmim	Sifi Ifni	Laâyoune	Erfoud
Taourirt	Saïdia	El Jebha	Dakhla
Rissani	Errachidia	Merzouga	Midelt
Azrou	Boujdour	Aousserd	Youssoufia
Oued Ed Dahab	Guercif	Fés	Berkane
l'Oriental	Drâa-Tafilalet	Souss Massa	Sakia El Hamra
Haut-Atlas	Toubkal	M'Goun	Ourika
Aït Oucheg	Oukaïmeden	Draa	Dadès
Moyen-Atlas	Bin El Ouidane	Rif	Akchour
Anti-Atlas	Taroudant	Taliouine	Tafraoute
Sebou	Moulouya	Seguia el-Hamra	Bouregreg

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Flowing With the Flow: Euphony of Hydronyms From Quantitative and Sociological Perspectives

Abstract

The paper focuses on the euphonic character of hydronyms, which is researched from two perspectives. The corpus comprises two sets of Czech river, pond, and spring names taken from the Ostravice river basin (the Moravian-Silesian Region), and the Morava river basin (the Zlín Region, the Olomouc Region, the South-Moravian Region), respectively. As to the methods, first, euphony values of the water names are computed on the grounds of a formula which is used in analysing poetry. Second, a questionnaire survey was carried out, in which secondary-school and university students were asked to order selected hydronyms according to their own perceptions of euphoniousness. The results of both investigations are compared, and several conclusions are drawn from their interplay.

Keywords

hydronyms, euphony, onomastics, quantitative linguistics, sociolinguistics

1. Introduction

This text focuses on the occurrences of euphony in Czech proper names, especially in hydronyms. The research goal was to compare two approaches to euphony provided in different manners – a formula-based quantification and a questionnaire survey. This way, we also test to what extent the viewpoints of the respondents match with the outcome of the computation. Besides the onomastic contribution, the paper therefore provides material to be studied by methodology of quantitative linguistics.

Traditionally, *euphony* is defined as a sound composition of a word (or a bigger unit) which is somewhat specific to listeners/readers (mostly in the positive sense). It is based on an accumulation of sounds or syllables, or on their repetitions (Carper, 2012; Krčmová, 2017). In our approach, we investigate euphony of all consonants with no distinctions; our concept of euphony is thus very close to simple sound prominence.

In the conventional approach, euphony focused on poetic lines; in the present paper, it covers lists of proper names (see the "Material" section). Proper names could be represented by various groups of named objects – we could classify them into anthroponyms,[1] geographical names (toponyms, hodonyms, hydronyms, etc.[2]), ergonyms/chrematonyms,[3] zoonyms,[4] etc. For our research, we opted for studying hydronyms, as there is little chance people have personal relationships to them; an overview of – for instance – anthroponyms may be, on the other hand, influenced by the personal stances of the respondents (popularity, trendiness, etc.). In the case of hydronyms, it is probable that they will take into account the sound structure of the word only.

Moreover, in the case of hydronyms, onomatopoeia can be a factor of euphoniousness, too. The term *onomatopoeia* refers to the situation when the form of the word is connected to its contents, that is, onomatopoeia relates to the

[1] Names for people or for groups of people (ICOS).

[2] *Toponyms* are names for inhabited and uninhabited places; *hodonyms* are names of routes, *hydronyms* are names of bodies of water (ICOS).

[3] *Ergonyms/chrematonyms* are names for brands or products (ICOS).

[4] Names for animals (ICOS).

meaning of the word, and to an extent, onomatopoeic words imitate real sounds (Novotná & Karlíková, 2017).

2. Material

The water objects have always been very important landmarks, and therefore hydronyms (water names) represent the oldest layer of onymy. This is the reason why in their forms, we can find the roots which refer to the Indo-European, Baltic, and old Slavic origins of water names – in the Czech context, the Pre-Slavic names are represented by, for instance, the rivers *Dyje*, *Jihlava*, *Jizera*, *Labe* (see Blažek, 2003, 2006). Contemporary Czech hydronymy[5] is characterized by a tendency to designate water objects with the names of the neighbouring places (settlement names/oikonyms or microtoponyms/anoikonyms);[6] for example, the river name *Bruzovka* comes from the oikonym *Bruzovice*, etc. After the Second World War, this tendency was proposed as a way to localize water objects easily (Šmilauer, 1957). However, a lot of hydronyms still exist which were motivated by the characteristic nature of the designation objects, including colour (e.g., *Bílý potok* 'white stream'; cf. Štěpán, 2004), the nature of the subsoil (e.g., *Kamenitý potok* 'rocky stream'), the quality of the water (e.g., *Slaná* 'salty water'), and the sound, too (e.g., *Bublava* 'bubbling stream').

The resources for the analysis are two lists of hydronyms. The first one contains 735 hydronyms of the Ostravice river basin (Kovářová, 2021), including both flowing-water names and standing-water names. The research area, the Ostravice river basin, is located in the Moravian-Silesian Region of the Czech Republic. It is near the Polish and Slovak borders. The second one comprises 234 hydronyms of the Morava river basin (Michalová, 2012), and it includes flowing-water names only. The Morava flows into the Danube in Slovakia, and

[5] For the purposes of this study, the term "Czech hydronym" will be used to mean every water name which names a water object in the area of the Czech Republic, regardless of its origin.

[6] *Settlement names/oikonyms* are the names for objects where people live; *microtoponyms/anoikonyms*, on the other hand, denote objects that are uninhabited (e.g., fields or meadows).

part of its riverbed forms the Austrian-Slovak borderline. It is to be noted that in the research, all names are included, regardless of their etymological origin.

3. Methods of the quantitative analysis

The quantitative approach to euphony is based on the probability counts and the effect of the unattended upon the reader (cf. Shklovsky, 1991). In poetry, it is calculated as the sum of the probabilities of the co-occurrence of two or more sounds[7] in a line (cf. Altmann, 1966; Čech et al., 2011); however, as our paper concerns hydronyms, the principle needs to be adjusted to the research conditions. We have therefore decided to consider each hydronym a line of its own, the list of the names thus forming a "free-verse poem" *sui generis*. This way, which we consider to be experimental, we will be able to use the calculation of euphony without limiting it to the sphere of verse.

The aforementioned ideas can be expressed via the formula:

$$E = 0.05 - \sum_{x=x_1}^{n} \binom{n}{x} p^x q^{n-x}$$

where *x* stands for the frequency of a sound in a name and *n* for the number of positions that it is theoretically possible to place the sound in (it thus equals the number of consonants which occur in a hydronym); $\binom{n}{x}$, a so-called binomial coefficient, then takes into consideration all placements of the particular *x*-member group in *n* number of positions, equalling thus the total of existing combinations; *p* is the probability of the occurrence of the sound in a reference corpus, or, which is the same, its relative frequency (the ratio of the frequency of the sound in the given corpus and the total of all consonants – $p = \frac{f(x)}{\sum f}$), and *q* the probability of other cases, that is, $q = 1 - p$. This procedure accounts

[7] There are two notes to be made concerning the definition of euphony. First, in most research, only consonants are taken into account, as vowels occur so frequently that their appearance is not supposed to produce the needed effect upon the reader. Second, two co-occurrences only are the minimal number needed for the count; a euphony investigation may take more sound appearances as its basis.

for all imaginable situations of the co-occurrences of a sound in a hydronym. If the probability of such cases is lower than the widely employed statistical level of significance (5%, or 0.05), such a name is considered euphonic; if not, it is treated as non-euphonic (cf. Místecký et al., 2019).

Given the workings of the formula, it is essential to pay attention to the choice of reference corpus from which the frequencies of the sounds will be taken. Taking into account the fiction-like character of the phenomenon under study, we have opted for SYN-BEL, a subcorpus of Czech literature texts, which was elaborated by the Czech National Corpus institution. In order to process the results in a quick way, we have used the Euphonometer tool, which was devised by the Czech Academy of Sciences' Versification Research Group and is publicly accessible at the corresponding website.[8]

The procedure of counting is shown here, taking the brook name *Ščučí* [ʃt͡ʃutʃ͡i:], which contains two occurrences of the sound [t͡ʃ], as an example. The relative frequency of the sound in the SYN-BEL corpus is, approximately, 0.00876. As in the hydronym, there are, in total, three consonantal positions in which [t͡ʃ] may appear, calculating its euphony value proceeds as follows:

$$E = 0.05 - \left[\binom{3}{2} \times 0.00876^2 \times (1 - 0.00876) + \binom{3}{3} \times 0.00876^3 \right] = 0.05 - 0.00022887 = 0.049771$$

It is visible that the probability of the co-occurrences of two or three [t͡ʃ]'s in the total of three sound positions is 0.0229% (0.000229); this is far below the accepted level of significance (5%), which declares the name to be highly euphonic.

To conclude this section, two points should be emphasised. First, if there are more consonants that occur more than once in a hydronym, and their co-occurrences are found euphonic, the two euphonic values are summed up. Second, for the sake of better visualisation, the counted euphony values will be multiplied by 100; the figure of the *Ščučí* name is thus 4.97.[9]

[8] For more information, see Plecháč, 2017.

[9] In reality, the euphony scores in the research are slightly different, as in the example, the relative frequency of [t͡ʃ] was counted on the grounds of all the sounds in the SYN-BEL corpus, whereas in the Euphonometer calculations, it is the relative frequency of the consonant counted on the grounds of the SYN-BEL consonants only that is taken into account.

4. The results of the quantitative analysis

The quantitative method presented above has been applied to all names – separately to those of the Ostravice river basin and the Morava river basin. The results (the names that were identified as euphonic) are listed in Tables 1 and 2, together with the phonetic transcriptions of the names and the euphonic consonant(s). If there were two names with an exactly identical phonetic structure, they were listed as one only. The names in bold were used in the questionnaire survey (see the following part of the study).

Table 1. Hydronyms of the Ostravice river basin (2 co-occurrences of the sounds per line at least)

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Kněhyňka	**[kɲɛɦɪɲka]**	**k (1.7562); ɲ (3.9744)**	**5.73**
Gigulská	**[gɪgulska:]**	**g**	**4.94**
Ščučí	**[ʃt͡ʃut͡ʃi:]**	**t͡ʃ**	**4.93**
Babí	**[babi:]**	**b**	**4.91**
Červíček	**[t͡ʃɛrvi:t͡ʃɛk]**	**t͡ʃ**	**4.78**
U Česnečky	**[u t͡ʃɛsnɛt͡ʃkɪ]**	**t͡ʃ**	**4.78**
Čítalnička	**[t͡ʃi:talɲɪt͡ʃka]**	**t͡ʃ**	**4.68**
Pod Kykulkou	**[pot kɪkulkou̯]**	**k**	**4.61**
U Čechovských	**[u t͡ʃɛxofski:x]**	**x**	**4.55**
Foldynův potok	[foldɪnu:f potok]	f	4.47
Frankův potok	[franɟku:f potok]	f	4.47
Kněhyně	[kɲɛɦɪɲɛ]	ɲ	4.37
Dudov	[dudof]	d	4.37
Velký Kobylík	[vɛlki: kobɪli:k]	k	4.35
Pramen štěstí	[pramɛn ʃcɛsci:]	c	4.30
Porubský potok	[porupski: potok]	p	4.27
Za Kozlenou	[za kozlɛnou̯]	z	4.27

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Bumbalka	[bumbalka]	b	4.19
Dolní Datyňka	[dolɲi: datɪɲka]	d (1.0845); ɲ (2.9393)	4.02
Klučkový potok	[kluʧkovi: potok]	k	4.01
Korabský potok	[korapski: potok]	k	4.01
Kořenský potok	[koɾɛnski: potok]	k	4.01
Kotelský potok	[kotɛlski: potok]	k	4.01
Papežovský potok	[papɛʒofski: potok]	p	3.96
Papežov	[papɛʒof]	p	3.96
Bumbalovice	[bumbalovɪʦɛ]	b	3.80
Nad Blablou	[nad blablóʊ̯]	b	3.80
U Drozdů	[u drozdu:]	d	3.77
Odlehčovací rameno Vlčoku	[odlɛɦʧovaʦi: ramɛno vl̩ʧoku]	ʧ ʃ	3.66
Frejírský rybník	[frɛji:rski: rɪbɲi:k]	r	3.60
Bukovinský potok	[bukovɪnski: potok]	k	3.59
Kotlanský potok	[kotlanski: potok]	k	3.59
Velkovský potok	[vɛlkofski: potok]	k	3.59
Palkovský potok	[palkofski: potok]	k	3.59
Vítkovský potok	[vi:tkofski: potok]	k	3.59
Hraničník	[ɦraɲɪʧɲi:k]	ɲ	3.50
U Huťského potoka	[u ɦucskɛ:ɦo potoka]	h	3.47
Náhon	[na:ɦon]	n	3.45
Gorbovická cesta	[gorbovɪʦka: ʦɛsta]	ʦ s	3.42
U Richterů	[u rɪxtɛru:]	r	3.39
U Rosnerů	[u rosnɛru:]	r	3.39
Papíkova	[papi:kova]	p	3.36
Mlýnský náhon	[mli:nski: na:ɦon]	n	3.31
Kavalčanský potok	[kavalʧanski: potok]	k	3.07
Podolkovický potok	[podolkovɪʦki: potok]	k	3.07
Škorňanský potok	[ʃkorɲanski: potok]	k	3.07
Vítková	[vi:tkova:]	v	3.07

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Hodoňovický náhon	[ɦodoɲovɪt͡ski: na:ɦon]	ɦ	3.06
Venclovický potok	[vɛnt͡slovɪt͡ski: potok]	t͡s	3.05
Koutňák	[kó͡ùtɲa:k]	k	2.97
Kolanka	[kolaŋka]	k	2.97
Kobylík	[kobɪli:k]	k	2.97
Kyčerky	[kɪt͡ʃɛrkɪ]	k	2.97
Skalka	[skalka]	k	2.97
Kobzok	[kobzok]	k	2.97
U korýtka	[u kori:tka]	k	2.97
Horní Datyňka	[ɦorɲi: datɪŋka]	ɲ	2.94
Kaňův rybník	[kaɲu:f rɪbɲi:k]	ɲ	2.94
První rybník	[pr̝vɲi: rɪbɲi:k]	ɲ	2.94
Pod Malým Polčaným	[pod mali:m polt͡ʃani:m]	m	2.82
Pramen Černé Ostravice	[pramɛn t͡ʃɛrnɛ: ostravɪt͡ʃɛ]	r	2.63
Statkový potok	[statkovi: potok]	t	2.54
Košťálovický rybník	[koʃca:lovɪt͡ski: rɪbɲi:k]	k	2.47
Košťálovský rybník	[koʃca:lofski: rɪbɲi:k]	k	2.47
Pod Opálenou	[pot opa:lɛnó͡ù]	p	2.37
Hraniční potok	[ɦraɲɪt͡ʃɲi: potok]	ɲ	2.31
Bumbalský potok	[bumbalski: potok]	b	2.29
Chladná voda	[xladna: voda]	d	2.11
Vodní nádrž	[vodɲi: na:dr̝ʒ]	d	2.11
Suché vodopády	[suxɛ: vodopa:dɪ]	d	2.11
Nové Dvory	[novɛ: dvorɪ]	v	1.91
Ve výkapě	[vɛ vi:kapjɛ]	v	1.91
Klučkový	[klut͡ʃkovi:]	k	1.76
Kobylník	[kobɪlɲi:k]	k	1.76
Kozlanka	[kozlaŋka]	k	1.76
Křižůvka	[kr̝ɪʒu:fka]	k	1.76
Okrouhlík	[okró͡ùɦli:k]	k	1.76
Kožušanka	[koʒuʃaŋka]	k	1.76

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Krašický	[kraʃɪt͡ski:]	k	1.76
Kratošek	[kratoʃɛk]	k	1.76
Mořské oko	[moɾ̩skɛ: oko]	k	1.76
U kapličky	[u kaplɪt͡ʃkɪ]	k	1.76
Biologický rybník	[bɪjologɪt͡ski: rɪbɲi:k]	b	1.67
U Bumbalského potoka	[u bumbalskɛ:ɦo potoka]	b	1.67
Hraniční pramen	[ɦrajɪt͡ʃɲi: pramɛn]	ɲ	1.62
Malý Polom	[mali: polom]	m	1.47
Kocuří potok	[kot͡suɾ̩i: potok]	k	1.30
Starý Hurt	[stari: ɦurt]	r	1.25
Pod Čuplem	[pot t͡ʃuplɛm]	p	1.19
Pod Přelačí	[pot pɾ̩ɛlat͡ʃi:]	p	1.19
Pod Řepovým	[pot ɾ̩ɛpovi:m]	p	1.19
Podlipňok	[podlɪpɲok]	p	1.19
Nad Doroťankou	[nad dorocaŋko͡u]	d	1.08
Nad jízdárnou	[nad ji:zda:rno͡u]	d	1.08
Vodopády Satiny	[vodopa:dɪ sacɪnɪ]	d	1.08
Vodopády Mazáku	[vodopa:dɪ maza:ku]	d	1.08
Velký Lipový	[vɛlki: lɪpovi:]	v	0.54
Křivý potok	[kɾ̩ɪvi: potok]	k	0.33
Loucký potok	[lo͡ut͡ski: potok]	k	0.33
Malý Kobylík	[mali: kobɪli:k]	k	0.33
Velký potok	[vɛlki: potok]	k	0.33
Peklovisko	[pɛklovɪsko]	k	0.33
Rykalí potok	[rɪkali: potok]	k	0.33
Skaličník	[skalɪt͡ʃɲi:k]	k	0.33
Doktorská	[doktorska:]	k	0.33
U krále smrků	[u kra:lɛ smɾ̩ku:]	k	0.33
Velký Klauz	**[vɛlki: kla͡us]**	**k**	**0.33**
Josenčany	**[jozɛnt͡ʃanɪ]**	**n**	**0.33**
Nová Olešná	**[nova: olɛʃna:]**	**n**	**0.33**

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Na Kamenci	**[na kamɛnt͡sɪ]**	**n**	**0.33**
Na Husinci	**[na ɦusɪnt͡sɪ]**	**n**	**0.33**
Na košarkách	**[na koʃarkaːx]**	**k**	**0.33**
Na kozinách	**[na kozɪnaːx]**	**n**	**0.33**
Nudlárna	**[nudlaːrna]**	**n**	**0.33**
Zanedbaná	**[zanɛdbanaː]**	**n**	**0.33**

Source: the authors' own work based on Michalová, 2012 and Kovářová, 2021.

Table 2. Hydronyms of the Morava river basin (2 co-occurrences of the sounds per line at least)

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Fryšávka	**[frɪʃaːfka]**	**f**	**4.80**
Tištínka	**[cɪʃciːŋka]**	**c**	**4.74**
Šišemka	**[ʃɪʃɛmka]**	**k**	**4.70**
Popický potok	**[popɪt͡skiː potok]**	**p**	**4.53**
Bobrava	**[bobrava]**	**b**	**4.50**
Babačka	**[babat͡ʃka]**	**b**	**4.50**
Rozhozná	**[rozɦoznaː]**	**z**	**4.27**
Bobrůvka	**[bobruːfka]**	**b**	**4.19**
Bobrovec	**[bobrovɛt͡s]**	**b**	**4.19**
Křenický potok	[kr̝ɛŋɪt͡skiː potok]	k	4.01
Puklický potok	[puklɪt͡skiː potok]	k	4.01
Kroužský potok	[kro͡uʃskiː potok]	k	4.01
Lukovský potok	[lukofskiː potok]	k	4.01
Kunčický potok	[kunt͡ʃɪt͡skiː potok]	k	4.01
Valová	[valovaː]	v	3.99
Nivnička	[ɲɪvɲɪt͡ʃka]	ɲ	3.97
Okluky	[oklukɪ]	k	3.94
Křeslický potok	[kr̝ɛslɪt͡skiː potok]	k	3.59
Ludkovický potok	[lutkovɪt͡skiː potok]	k	3.59

Hydronym	Phonetic transcription	Euphonic sound	Euphonic value
Držkovský potok	[dr̩ʃkofski: potok]	k	3.59
Býškovský potok	[bi:ʃkofski: potok]	k	3.59
Svitava	[svɪtava]	v	3.07
Pejškovský potok	[pɛjʃkofski: potok]	k	3.07
Klepáčovský potok	[klɛpa:t͡ʃofski: potok]	k	3.07
Ctidružický potok	[t͡sɔcɪdruʒɪt͡skiː potok]	t͡s	3.05
Trkmanka	[tr̩kmaŋka]	k	2.97
Býkovka	[bi:kofka]	k	2.97
Rokytka	[rokɪtka]	k	2.97
Koménka	[komɛ:ŋka]	k	2.97
Kolekač	[kolɛkat͡ʃ]	k	2.97
Hraniční potok	[ɦraɲɪt͡ʃɲi: potok]	ɲ	2.31
Podhrádek	[podɦra:dɛk]	d	2.11
Křetínka	[kr̩ɛci:ŋka]	k	1.76
Markovka	[markofka]	k	1.76
Skalička	[skalɪt͡ʃka]	k	1.76
Křepička	[kr̩ɛpɪt͡ʃka]	k	1.76
Kladenka	[kladɛŋka]	k	1.76
Kotojedka	[kotojɛtka]	k	1.76
Kozrálka	[kozra:lka]	k	1.76
Vyklička	[vɪklɪt͡ʃka]	k	1.76
Kaní potok	**[kaɲi: potok]**	**k**	**1.76**
Mikulůvka	**[mɪkulu:fka]**	**k**	**1.76**
Rokytenka	**[rokɪtɛŋka]**	**k**	**1.76**
Hloučela	**[ɦlo͡ut͡ʃɛla]**	**l**	**0.54**
Fryštátský potok	**[frɪʃta:tski: potok]**	**t**	**0.37**
Štinkovka	**[ʃcɪnkofka]**	**k**	**0.33**
Únanovka	**[u:nanofka]**	**n**	**0.33**
Český potok	**[t͡ʃɛski: potok]**	**k**	**0.33**
Divoký potok	**[ɟɪvoki: potok]**	**k**	**0.33**

Source: own work based on Michalová, 2012 and Kovářová, 2021.

Most euphonic hydronyms contain both consonants with high frequencies in the Czech language ([b], [ɲ], [k], [t͡ʃ], [p], [c], [z], see Bartoň et al., 2009, pp. 30–31), and consonants that are not very frequent in Czech, such as [x], [f], or mostly dialectical [g] (cf. Bartoň et al., 2009, pp. 30–31). Proper names, especially toponyms, tend to keep the older forms of language and various dialectical idiosyncrasies (David & Mácha, 2014, p. 163), both at the lexical and morphological levels (gender, number), and at the phonetic one (these being, for instance, unusual, euphony-provoking sounds in hydronyms).

5. The questionnaire survey

The alternative approach to euphony is based on a questionnaire survey (see the Euphony research section at the end of the paper). We use the selected data of the previous quantitative analysis (see above, in bold) to ask respondents about their opinions on euphony of hydronyms. The questionnaire consists of six tables, the structure of which is given in Table 3. The task for the respondents, who were provided with a short definition of how we understand euphony, was to put the hydronyms in order of descending euphoniousness, with each rank (1–6) being used once only. For details, see the appendix to the study.

Table 3. Structure of the tables in the questionnaire

Table	Content
1	Ostravice, 4th–6th top-scoring hydronyms and 4th–6th lowest-scoring hydronyms
2	Morava, 4th–6th top-scoring hydronyms and 4th–6th lowest-scoring hydronyms
3	Ostravice, 1st–3rd top-scoring hydronyms and 1st–3rd lowest-scoring hydronyms
4	Morava, 7th–9th top-scoring hydronyms and 7th–9th lowest-scoring hydronyms
5	Ostravice, 7th–9th top-scoring hydronyms and 7th–9th lowest-scoring hydronyms
6	Morava, 1st–3rd top-scoring hydronyms and 1st–3rd lowest-scoring hydronyms

The data were collected in May 2020. The target groups were mostly secondary-school pupils (attending Pavel Tigrid Language Grammar School) and

students of Czech Language and Literature at the University of Ostrava. In total, 83 people participated in the survey; these were mostly women, as they form the majority in the selected fields of education. The details on age and sex of the respondents are given in Figure 1.

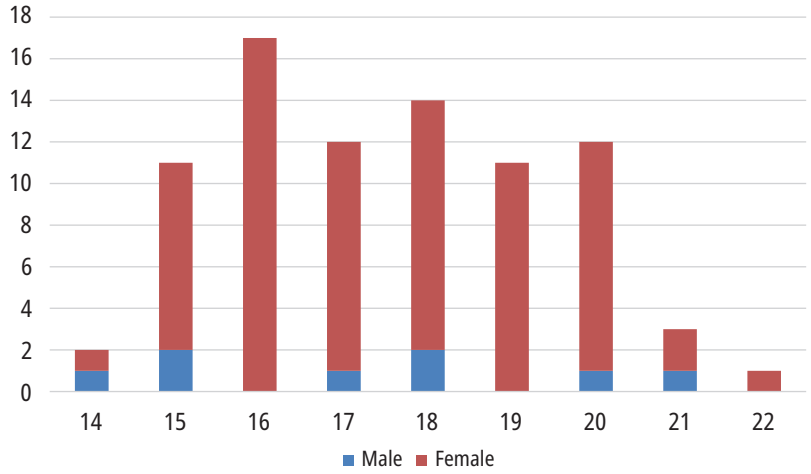

Figure 1. Age and sex of the participants

Source: own work.

As mentioned in Introduction, we expect to see correlations between the results of the quantitative analysis of euphony and t he perceptions of this phenomenon provided by the respondents.

6. The results of the survey

We process the outcomes regarding the top-scoring hydronyms and the lowest-scoring ones as two categories. This way, we calculate the number of respondents who ranked the given hydronym as first, second, or third, and the portion of those who ranked it as fourth, fifth, and sixth. The results are presented in Tables 4a–f, with the mismatches marked in grey.

Table 4a. Ostravice, 4th–6th top-scoring hydronyms and 4th–6th lowest-scoring hydronyms (two categories)

	1–3	4–6	1–3 [%]	4–6 [%]
Červíček	64	19	77	23
U Česnečky	47	36	57	43
Babí	51	32	61	39
Na Kamenci	34	49	41	59
Na Husinci	30	53	36	64
Na Košárkách	46	37	55	45

Source: own work.

Table 4b. Morava, 4th–6th top-scoring hydronyms and 4th–6th lowest-scoring hydronyms (two categories)

	1–3	4–6	1–3 [%]	4–6 [%]
Popický potok	44	39	53	47
Bobrava	39	44	47	53
Babačka	51	32	61	39
Hloučela	60	23	72	28
Fryštátský potok	27	56	33	67
Štinkovka	36	47	43	57

Source: own work.

Table 4c. Ostravice, 1st–3rd top-scoring hydronyms and 1st–3rd lowest-scoring hydronyms (two categories)

	1–3	4–6	1–3 [%]	4–6 [%]
Kněhyňka	52	31	63	37
Gigulská	36	47	43	57
Ščučí	43	40	52	48
Na kozinách	45	38	54	46
Nudlárna	46	37	55	45
Zanedbaná	38	45	46	54

Source: own work.

Table 4d. Morava, 7th–9th top-scoring hydronyms and 7th–9th lowest-scoring hydronyms (two categories)

	1–3	4–6	1–3 [%]	4–6 [%]
Rozhozná	33	50	40	60
Bobrůvka	58	25	70	30
Bobrovec	35	48	42	58
Kaní potok	45	38	54	46
Mikulůvka	58	25	70	30
Rokytenka	49	34	59	41

Source: own work.

Table 4e. Ostravice, 7th–9th top-scoring hydronyms and 7th–9th lowest-scoring hydronyms (two categories)

	1–3	4–6	1–3 [%]	4–6 [%]
Čítalnička	52	31	63	37
Pod Kykulkou	50	33	60	40
U Čechovských	43	40	52	48
Velký Klauz	33	50	40	60
Josenčany	36	47	43	57
Nová Olešná	43	40	52	48

Source: own work.

Table 4f. Morava, 1st–3rd top-scoring hydronyms and 1st–3rd lowest-scoring hydronyms (two categories)

	1–3	4–6	1–3 [%]	4–6 [%]
Fryšávka	51	32	61	39
Tištínka	55	28	66	34
Šišemka	50	33	60	40
Únanovka	45	38	54	46
Český potok	46	37	55	45
Divoký potok	43	40	52	48

Source: own work.

In these categories, the respondents have chosen the computed group of ranks in 61% of the cases (22 out of 36 matches). It thus seems that the calculated values do reflect, at least to a certain extent, the feeling of euphony as it is perceived by the studied portion of population.

The matches can be interpreted as being indicative of which sounds the respondents consider euphonic. In this perspective, [t͡ʃ], [ɲ], and [c] appear to be very salient, as is testified by the results of hydronyms *Kněhyňka* (Table 4c), *Čítalnička* (Table 4e), and *Tištínka* (Table 4f). However, it seems that the respondents consider a broader phonetic context, as the euphonic rank of *Ščučí* (Table 4c) is a matter of dispute, which may have been influenced by the cacophonously-sounding cluster [t͡ʃu]. The same reasoning, together with morphology, may have played a role in the different treatments of hydronyms *Bobrůvka* and *Bobrovec* (Table 4d): whereas *Bobrůvka*, which may be taken as a diminutive and which contains the sound [u:], was considered very euphonic, the *Bobrovec* results go in the opposite direction.

The mismatches concern a mixture of cases behind which there may be various motivations; despite the fact that the conception of the notion was explained at the beginning of the questionnaire, it is probable that some respondents limited euphony to sweet-sounding names only, this being responsible for declaring such hydronyms as *Gigulská* or *Rozhozná* not euphonic enough. The same deliberation may have boosted the feeling of euphoniousness in the names *Únanovka*, *Nudlárna*, or *Mikulůvka*; in the last case, the euphonic potential has increased due to the repetition of the vowel [u/u:], too. Morphological structure, reminiscent of a diminutive, appears to have led to the high rank of *Rokytenka*, and could have played a part in the treatment of the previous names, too.

It also needs to be noted that the mismatches are more frequent in the lower part of the scale; in the first three ranks, 77% of the cases are in harmony with the computed results, whilst it is only 44% in the last three ones. This shows a lot of hesitation in determining the order of the names (especially in Table 4d); in some cases (Table 4f), there is even a tendency to revert the order completely.

7. Conclusions

The goal of our analysis was to research euphony in the proper-names sphere of language, in particular, hydronyms. This class of proper names was chosen in connection to qualitative research, which focused on comparing the counted values of euphony and the respondents' answers. We assumed that when assessing the hydronyms, users of the Czech language would evaluate their sound structures, without being influenced by extralinguistic factors.

The quantitative analysis was carried out with the help of the Euphonometer software, which generated a list of euphonic hydronyms. The top-scoring hydronyms contained two types of repeating consonants – ones which are very frequent in Czech ([b], [ɲ], [k], [t͡ʃ], [p], [c], [z]), and ones which are, in comparison to the preceding groups of sounds, rather rare in standard Czech ([g], [x] or [f]).

In the qualitative part of the research, we employed a questionnaire survey; the questions were formulated on the grounds of the outcome of the quantitative analysis. We used selected top-scoring and lowest-scoring hydronyms, and found that the counts harmonized with the respondents' answers in more than half the cases (61%, 22 out of 36 cases). The difference in euphony perception may have been brought about by dissimilar approaches – Euphonometer worked with consonants only, but the respondents may have taken into account vowels, too, as they reportedly contribute, altogether with sonorants, to the feeling of euphony (Krčmová, 2017). This – together with the diminutive-sounding suffixes – may also explain why the respondents treat the names with the same euphony values differently (e.g., *Bobrovec* and *Bobrůvka*). Another reason behind the differing choices of the respondents may be connected to viewing some names as cacophonic (e.g., *Ščučí*), despite the fact that our neutral conception of euphony is exemplified in the introduction to the questionnaire.

The fact that the relation between the quantitative analysis and the respondents' answers is a complicated one may stimulate a wider discussion about the workings of quantitative measurements. Generally, it has been proved that it is possible to use the euphony count for the proper-names sphere of language, which points to the potential of the studied index in onomastics.

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Appendix

Euphony Research

Dear Sir or Madam,
we would like to ask you to fill in a short questionnaire which seeks to find out which of the following geographical names are considered euphonic (mellifluous) by users of the Czech national language. Euphony is seen as a phenomenon typical of words the sound structure of which is specific one way or another (e.g., chrchlat, ťuňťa, levandule).

The questionnaire will take you 15–20 minutes approximately.

In the introductory part, please, state your age, sex, the school that you attend, and the current year of your studies. These data will help us to compare how perceptions of the names differ from each other.

Thank you for your time, your participation in the questionnaire survey is of high importance for us.

1. Age .....

2. Sex
Help: Choose one option only.

☐	male
☐	female

3. School and the year of study .....
.....

4. Today's date .....

5. Put numbers 1–6 to each name according to its level of euphoniousness. The name with the highest level of euphoniousness – 1, the least euphonious name – 6.
Help: Choose one answer in one line. Within one question, each number can be used only once – it means that each name in the column must have one specific value, which is its own only.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Na Kamenci						
Červíček						
U Česnečky						
Na Husinci						
Babí						
Na Košárkách						

6. Put numbers 1–6 to each name according to its level of euphoniousness. The name with the highest level of euphoniousness – 1, the least euphonious name – 6.
Help: Choose one answer in one line. Within one question, each number can be used only once – it means that each name in the column must have one specific value, which is its own only.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Babačka						
Popický potok						
Štinkovka						
Bobrava						
Fryštátský potok						
Hloučela						

7. Put numbers 1–6 to each name according to its level of euphoniousness. The name with the highest level of euphoniousness – 1, the least euphonious name – 6.
Help: Choose one answer in one line. Within one question, each number can be used only once – it means that each name in the column must have one specific value, which is its own only.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Na kozinách						
Nudlárna						
Ščučí						
Gigulská						
Zanedbaná						
Kněhyňka						

8. Put numbers 1–6 to each name according to its level of euphoniousness. The name with the highest level of euphoniousness – 1, the least euphonious name – 6.
Help: Choose one answer in one line. Within one question, each number can be used only once – it means that each name in the column must have one specific value, which is its own only.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rokytenka						
Bobrůvka						
Mikulůvka						
Kaní potok						
Rozhozná						
Bobrovec						

9. Put numbers 1–6 to each name according to its level of euphoniousness. The name with the highest level of euphoniousness – 1, the least euphonious name – 6.
Help: Choose one answer in one line. Within one question, each number can be used only once – it means that each name in the column must have one specific value, which is its own only.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pod Kykulkou						
Nová Olešná						
Čítalnička						
Josenčany						
Velký Klauz						
U Čechovských						

10. Put numbers 1–6 to each name according to its level of euphoniousness. The name with the highest level of euphoniousness – 1, the least euphonious name – 6.
Help: Choose one answer in one line. Within one question, each number can be used only once – it means that each name in the column must have one specific value, which is its own only.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fryšávka						
Český potok						
Únanovka						
Tištínka						
Divoký potok						
Šišemka						

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Use of Toponym Ontologies in Web Gazetteer Entities

Abstract

Toponyms presented in web gazetteers have various applications such as land registration, defense mapping, cultural heritage, memory inscription and topographic representation. This study aims to demonstrate the application of geographical ontology in the study of toponyms in a multilingual space of individual entities or classes in gazetteers and user interactions. The display of toponyms on the web platforms must be appealing and easy to read for ease of comparison of entities. To capture user attention, processes that users are familiar with and knowledge systems for geographic information retrieval must be used to efficiently present toponym information. In reviewing the user experience, the gazetteer service was evaluated based on the language, the country, acquisition, platform, browser, and operating system. Content, type, location, regularity, extinction, and ethnographic associations in Kenya were integrated as part of mappings to form an integrative approach in dealing with open data. The study's findings show that users' perceptions of toponym gazetteer services are influenced by the visual features and information given. The results of this study may help in the future design of gazetteer entities that incorporate toponymy aspects in dealing with the increasing complexity of searching for entities and retrieval geographic information gazetteer.

Keywords
gazetteer, geographic ontology, toponyms

1. Introduction

Gazetteers are defined as an index of geographical directory usually used together with an atlas or maps with descriptions of features in terms of location and associated descriptive geographic information (Goodchild & Hill, 2008; Hill, 2009). Web gazetteers are those gazetteers showing the features described in indexed geographic databases and made available online as web maps such as on the Geonames and OpenStreetMap platforms. This article aims to demonstrate the application of geographical ontology in studying toponyms interactively in a multilingual space of individual entities or classes in gazetteers. The article presumably fills the gap in understanding the usage of information access and retrieval by users. To capture user attention, processes that users are familiar with and knowledge systems for geographic information retrieval ontologies must be used to efficiently present toponym information. Ontologies generally define terms and rules used and shared by related users within a domain, and their relationships in gazetteers. In knowledge sharing, an ontology is said to be "an explicit specification of a conceptualization" (Guarino, 1997, p. 295). An ontology can be deployed as a basic ontology with concepts, a gazetteer, or a semantic network. A semantic network (a term from psychology) is a graph with vertices representing concepts and edges indicating semantic connections between concepts (Rada et al., 1989). Unlike ontologies, semantic networks show semantic relationships between concepts that have linguistic characteristics or terms. Gazetteer entities are objects in ontologies for linked gazetteers in which entities describe toponyms. An entity is an object that occupies a space in the real world, occurs independently or as part of another object, and is described by a set of attributes (Watt & Eng, 2014). The entity object may be physical or conceptual. Entity classes are selected based on the strength of relationships among them to derive relationships to another entity by assigning primary and foreign keys. There are two types of entities, independent and dependent. Independent entities are kernels, building blocks of a database with a primary key that can be simple or composite and does not depend on another entity. Dependent or derived entities connect to kernels and exist by depending on two or more tables with many-to-many relationships and are connected to at least two foreign keys.

Applications of gazetteers include land registration, defence mapping, cultural heritage, memorial inscriptions and topographic display (Acheson et al., 2017). Accessing web gazetteer entities requires computer interaction by accessing entity descriptions in a visualized map interface. Measuring usage statistics of a web gazetteer can be done using the Google Analytics tool or a web crawler (Hu et al, 2014).

The complexity of web-based ontologies depends on the spatial knowledge of the users interacting with the interactive media to influence the choice of service offered by the web gazetteer, which ranges from quality of design, to ease of use, to simplicity to improve usability. However, most ontologies offer the discovery of geographic information, where the design of ontologies is based on the knowledge of users in the discovery of entities (Mechouche et al., 2013) on a need basis, after an interaction by artificial intelligence or computer system. The discovery of these entities from gazetteer on the web depends on a star scheme ranking (Berners-Lee, 2010).

This paper aims to answer the question of what usage experiences have been made concerning interest in gazetteers in terms of web pages visited, dwell time and range of access over time.

The process of selecting the tool for evaluation considered the query support of semantic tools, query of entity classes, schema and file export, visualization of external data as links, editing of class, external data sources' storage retrieval through Application Programming interface (API) and feature class visualizations. The parameters served as minimum requirements for ontologies that played a role in the study of user experiences on gazetteer websites and the selection process.

However, during the review, it was found that some ontology editing software does not support saving changes to files but creates new ontology files when editing is done over the web, such as the web WebVowl software and the Fluent Ontorion Editor 2015, which require saving a new file. In a study of problems and approaches to ontology development (Abdelmoty et al., 2007), OWL's XML (Extensible Markup Language) was found to be inefficient in dealing with large geographic datasets because Ontology Web Language (OWL) and Resource Description Frameworks (RDF) do not support geospatial data processing (due to the assumption of non-unique names) and therefore are not suitable for checking constraints on spatial data.

The rest of the article is structured as follows. **Section 2** presents a global review on the use of existing geographic ontologies for gazetteer ontology

services and entities, as well as for some selected countries. **Section 3** on materials and techniques explores the integration of toponym gazetteers using mobile and online apps. The user–gazetteer interaction metrics discussed in **Section 4** were examined using analysis of user interaction when accessing the "Toponyms Gazetteer" website (https://mapearth.co.ke). **Section 5** discusses the advantages and limitations of using toponym ontologies in building ontologies for Gazetteers and related domains.

2. Gazetteer ontologies and entities overview

The use of ontologies in gazetteers has been a research topic in recent years. A review of the Alexandria Digital Library, GeoNames, and Getty Thesaurus databases revealed difficulties in mapping feature-type thesauri to ontologies or gazetteers (Janowicz & Keßler, 2008). Therefore, existing web gazetteers do not provide optimal support for the use of standards to regulate open standards (Frederico T. et al., 2002) for querying and proposed the use of distributed feature type schema to leverage the full functionality of gazetteers. A typical example of a linkable ontology gazetteer is the Portuguese Geo-Net PT 02 ontology (Lopez-Pellicer et al., 2010). The Geo-Net PT O2 ontology has names, types, relations, and footprints as entities. The recently updated Yet Another Great Ontology (YAGO) (Suchanek et al., 2007; Pellissier Tanon et al., 2020), draws its data from Wikipedia and WordNet in addition to GeoNames. In the linked open data cloud, YAGO is connected to DBpedia and Freebase, although Freebase has ceased its operations and was acquired by Google in 2016 (Chah, 2018). WordNet is a lexical database that uses computational linguistics and natural language processing to express conceptual relationships (Miller, 1995) such as synonymy, hyperonymy, hyponymy, antonymy, meronymy and other relationships for related place names.

Probing the ontology characteristics provides information about the usage, the category of users, the type of services offered, and the entities that are accessible in a particular gazetteer. An overview of ontology gazetteer characteristics fully reveals the usage, category of users, type of service and entities accessed for free (as shown in Table 1) using reasoners such as 'HermiT'

in Protégé or Fluent Editor's 'Who-Or-What' to describe the logics in ontologies. An overview of selected gazetteer and ontology projects that were started as open-source projects (Ballatore et al., 2013).

A review of some open-source ontology studies revealed that the ontologies had potential, but dwindling returns, outside support to ensure sustainability, and shrinking funding making some projects cease operations or be taken over by others, such as Freebase (Chah, 2018) acquired by Google in 2016 (which offers full-text search). Others, such as the OpenCyc project, which began in 2002 (Matuszek et al., 2006), ceased operations in 2017 and shifted their basic license distribution model to commercial Cyc in 2017. Some of the knowledge bases contain the basics of ontology while others are semantic networks. OpenCyc was previously offered as an API, and a data dump under the Apache and Creative Commons open-source licenses. The API helps two applications to connect. Currently, available distribution for most APIs is a research license or a commercial license which gives access to Cyc's latest technology.

The representations of feature types in most gazetteers differ owing to differing subjects in the feature type ontology mappings, coverage, and fundamental characteristics of the gazetteers utilized in each domain area. To solve this difficulty, geographical signatures are proposed (Qian et al., 2016; Zhu et al., 2016) using top-down ontology analysis and bottom-up data-driven approaches.

Table 1 displays common ontologies from a global perspective, whereas Table 2 is for states or nations, with the themes or attributes covered in online resources in both tables. The feature types mapped on web platforms may vary depending on the type of feature object being mapped and the distribution licenses. WordNet, which started in 1985, is incomplete for some spoken languages or countries and has some access restrictions. It is a semantic network dictionary thesaurus.

Table 1. Gazetteer ontologies services and entities

Ontology type	Year	(active/ inactive)	Category of users	Data format	authors	Content	General entities
GeoNames	1994	Active	World	OWL/ RDF	GeoNames	6,774 axioms, 663 feature codes; in 9 properties, 19 classes, 702 class assertions	Place name attributes classes for whole world
Geographic Ontology	2012	Active	World	OWL/ RDF	BCN geographies	6,914 axioms, 32 classes, 21 objects, 19 data.702 assertions	Electoral entities, place, region, division, municipality, commune, country
Thesaurus Geographical names	2014	Active	World	meta/OWL	Getty Institute	4,579 axioms, 33 classes, 348 objects, 10 data and 82 class assertions	Name, place type, nation
DBpedia	2008	Active	World	OWL/ RDF	DBpedia	1 billion datasets, 62 million links, 50,818 axioms, 1,617 classes, 1,251 object property and 1,957 data properties, 1 class assertion	Persons, places, works, organizations, species, plants and diseases
ConceptNet	1999	Active	World	JSON-LD API, semantic network	MIT media lab	1.6M+ assertions, 700k natural language sentences	Words and phrases and the common-sense relationships as used
OpenCyc	1984	Active/ Cyc	World	RDF/ OWL	(Matuszek et al., 2006)	1.5 million terms, 416k collections, 42.5 predicates, 1M+ entities, 239k concepts, 60k classes, 2.1 million facts	Database, an inference engine for data analysis and modification, relations, attributes, fields, properties, functions
YAGO	2006	Active	World	RDF	(Pellissier Tanon et al., 2020)	2B type-consistent triples/facts, 64M+ entities	People, cities, countries, movies, and organizations

Ontology type	Year	(active/ inactive)	Category of users	Data format	authors	Content	General entities
GEONet/ GeoNet Names Server(GNS)	2006	Active	World (except US)	OWL/XML	(Salayandia et al., 2006)	Gravity, aeromagnetic, electromagnetic, seismic reflection, broadband seismic, seismicity/earthquake, heat flow, remote sensing (multispectral), drill hole data, geologic maps, faults, geochemistry/petrology, crustal stress and strain, digital elevation models, and remote sensing	Primary administrative division codes and names, geopolitical entity codes and names, feature designation (feature type) codes and names, etc
OpenStreetMap (OSMonto[1]) tags	2004	Active	World	XML/ OWL	Mihai Codescu, Gregor Horsinka, Oliver Kutz, Till Mossakowski and Rafaela Rau	Uses wordNet vocabulary	Address, a location or a route composed of an origin, a destination and possibly intermediary activities
OSM semantic network	2013	Active	World	XML	OSM	1,217 axioms, 466 classes, 29 Objects and 27 data with no class assertions.	LOD, WordNet, LinkedGeoData, TagInfo, OSM vector data
DataTypes[2]	2014	Active	World	JSON/RDF	*QUDT.org	11,188 axioms, 661 classes and 1,189 class assertions	Standards to quantify data expressed in RDF and JSON

*Quantities, Units, Dimensions and Types (QUDT) schema data type ontology deals with scalar types such as numbers, characters and Boolean and structured data types of arrays, lists, trees, and others including coordinate systems.

[1] https://wiki.openstreetmap.org/wiki/OSMonto
[2] http://qudt.org/

Table 2. Gazetteer ontologies services and entities

Ontology	Usage interface functionalities	Coverage	File Type, Nature of service	Authors	Content	General entities
GeoFabrik[3]	Drainage features	Australia	RDF/ turtle	Nicholas Car CSIRO	1,098 axioms, 86 classes, 43 object and 10 data property; no class assertions	Catchment, river drainage, division, and region
**Ordnance 50k	Topographic mapping	UK	OWL,	British Ordnance survey	Gazetteer/ontology 13 classes, 2 properties, 6 data objects	Roads, footpaths, woods, buildings, rivers, and streams
GeoNet PT02	Administrative features and place names	Portugal	URIs, RDF and OWL	University of Lisbon, (Lopez-Pellicer et al., 2010)	Uses GeoNet vocabulary, 701k concepts defined using 81 feature types	Name, type, relationships and footprint
OS Open names[4]	Roads, settlements, postcode's locations	Great Britain	CSV, GeoPackage, GML and API	Ordinance Survey	2.5 million locations	Place names, postcodes, road names and road numbers
SwissNames 3D[5&6]	2010	Switzerland and Principality of Liechtenstein	OWL	ESRI GD, Shapefile and CSV	400k geographical names mapped in 61 classes and 70 million 3D objects	Transport infrastructure, sports facilities, field and local names for buildings, houses, lakes, sites, terrain features of landscape and regions
Geographic Names Information System[7](GNIS)	1994	US	Database	USGS (United States Geological Survey)	2 million geographic names	Populated places, schools, lakes, streams, valleys, and ridges.

[3] https://github.com/CSIRO-enviro-informatics/geofabric-ont/
[4] https://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/business-government/products/open-map-names
[5] http://www.swisstopo.ch/
[6] https://www.swisstopo.admin.ch/en/maps-data-online/maps-geodata-online/3d-viewer.html
[7] https://geonames.nga.mil/gns/html/

Ontology	Usage interface functionalities	Coverage	File Type, Nature of service	Authors	Content	General entities
***GNIS-LD	2018	US	Turtle	(Regalia et al., 2018)	37 million, triples, 6.7 million named subject nodes of GNIS-id, 2.27 GNIS features, 2 million same as relations to GeoNames, 503k same as relations to DBpedia, 494.7 alternate names, 66 feature types	Church, stream, school, populated places, locale, building, cemetery, reservoir and summit etc.
Surface water[8]	Surface water	US	OWL	USGS	1,228 axioms, 93 lasses, 27 object and 14 data counts	Boundary, landform, named point, structure, surface water and transportation
An ontology of German place names[9]	2005	Germany	OWL	(Nagel, 2005)	17k entries, 21k lemmata, 18k toponyms, 1k adjectives, 1kn male and female and 1.2k classifiers)	Linguistic features of place names, associates place names to geographic entities and relationships of entities
Clinga[10] (Chinese linked geographical dataset)	2002/Active	China	OWL	Nanjing University	137 classes, 1,578 axioms, 54 objects	Geographical entities in China (e.g., cities, mountains) and their relations (e.g., capital-of)

** In addition to the 50k Gazetteer of the United Kingdom ontology, there are subsets of ontologies such as Postal Code, Administrative Geography and Civil Voting area, Geometric and Spatial Linkages, all of which function in tandem as similar outputs of the Ordinance Survey ontologies.

*** GNIS feature classes for domestic names are no longer available online but they are archived. The feature types affected are Airport, Bridge, Building, Cemetery, Church, Dam, Forest, Harbor, Hospital, Mine, Oilfield, Park, Post Office, Reserve, School, Tower, Trail, Tunnel, and Well.

[8] https://www.usgs.gov/media/files/surface-water-ontology

[9] https://journals.openedition.org/corela/1178?lang=en#tocto1n3, https://doi.org/10.4000/corela.1178

[10] http://openkg.cn/dataset/clinga

3. Materials and methods

The data collection and pre-processing were presented using pre-developed tools of a mobile application and a web application to demonstrate access and usage of the toponym gazetteer. The GeoNames, DIVA-GIS, and OpenStreetMap (OSM) data dumps available for download were initially obtained from the hosting website before being hosted on a pre-developed website as an open-source platform for publishing geographical names (Nyangweso & Gede, 2021). Shell scripts and command-line tools running on an internet Linode server were used to parse the data dumps. The server specs included 1 CPU core, 25 GB storage, Secure Shell (SSH) protocol access, and 1GB RAM. The data collection and data operation rules were packaged using the Django framework, which is based on Python, as a publicly accessible gazetteer at https://mapearth.co.ke and use analytics tool. The goal of employing a Google analytics tool was to evaluate the ontology's usage experiences based on the use of the gazetteer service and user category, in terms of resources utilized to access, nature, and users' ease of comprehension of the information given or extracted from gazetteers. Other open-source technologies were utilized to combine data collection, storage, and visualization, as well as to enable continuous integration and development of its services.

To assess the usage experiences, we first adopted an ontology from GeoNames, and then we selected the important entities to accommodate essential attribute fields for characterizing the gazetteer. Protégé, WebVowl and Ontorion Fluent Editor were the three ontology editors used to edit and update the toponym ontology after export to include links and information associated with the toponym gazetteer using a pre-developed web-map and mobile apps that were used to build two sets of data tables.

The data tables for the web and a mobile application were incorporated into the PostgreSQL database as affiliation tables, which users may query, search, or utilize for place name relation mapping.

The evaluation criteria for user interactions with toponym gazetteer entities included the use of elements such as the country it was accessed from, the language of engagement, the user acquisition, the platform of acquisition or engagement, and the browser used in conjunction with the operating system. Due to the limited scope of the geo-parsed place-names investigation,

other user preferences such as time and pages viewed were not included in the evaluation.

3.1. Methodology flow diagram

The methodology shown in Figure 1 incorporates volunteered geographic information (VGI) data assembly, ontology linking and relation modeling to enable geo-parsing of the data dumps to enable visualizing the place names on a map, export data into XLS, CSV, ODS, JSON and GeoJSON data formats for expression toponym footprints. The user interaction of the gazetteer was assessed using Google Analytics tool. Tools incorporated in the web application include the addition of new place names to the gazetteer and visualizing of the added place names for approval through the administration site of the website.

In this context, data dump geo-parsing entails computer-aided geographical grounding of the place-name language and automatically correlating place-name texts with coordinate location tags.

3.2. Toponyms ontology evaluation and testing

Our article also assesses the performance of a gazetteer among users by tying it to the Google Analytics tool via the website https://mapearth.co.ke, as well as providing insight into the present state of the ontology discussion on a global and country-by-country basis. The data was tested on performance in previewing the contents in the toponym gazetteer, export, query and search data on a database. A mobile and online map application may also be used to acquire fresh data while stationed away from the feature itself.

Each data point in the database has a Uniform Resource Locator (URL) link to open its geospatial location though it is not connected to the linked open data (LOD) cloud due to limited security resources on our test website server. However, the integrated PostgreSQL VGI data dumps and new data generated from toponym mobile app and web application platforms are accessed through SSH scripts.

The used toponyms in a gazetteer can be categorized based on one-to-one, one-to-many and many-to-many (for related places) to perform relation mappings (Chen et al., 2017).

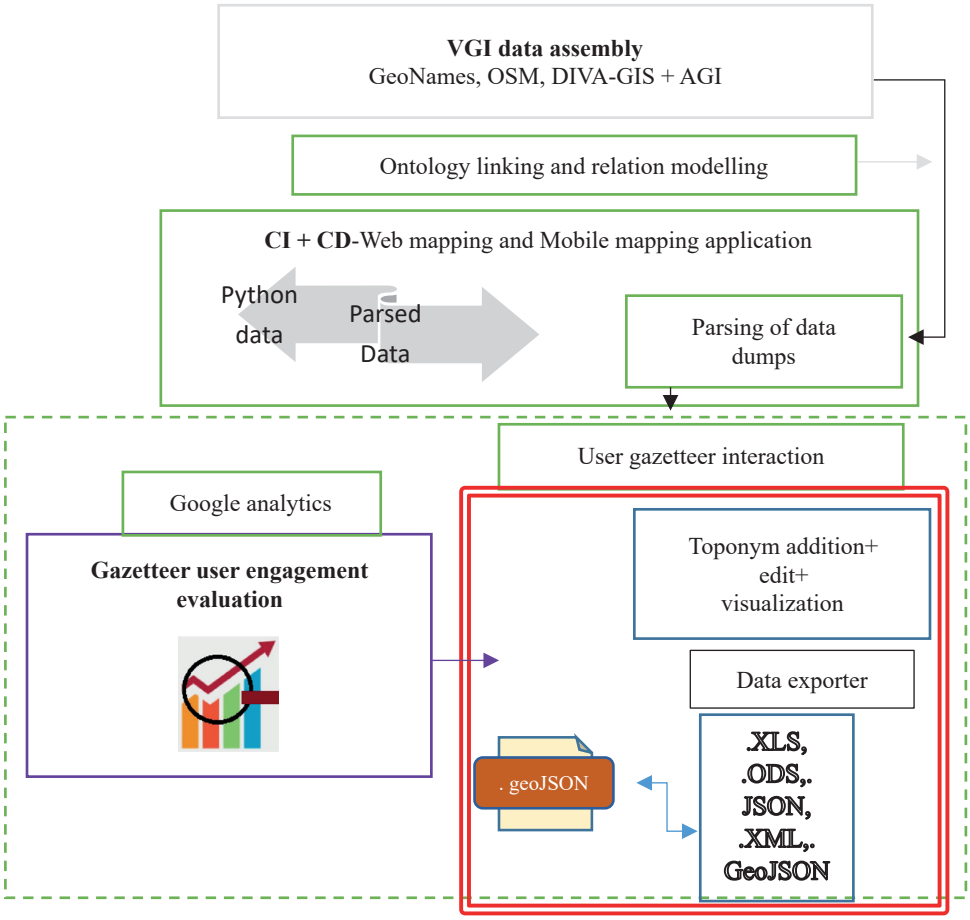

Figure 1. Methodology flow diagram

Source: Nyangweso & Gede, 2021, p. 26.

Table 3. The affiliations for relations in ontology structures and elements, as well as the required contents of the toponym gazetteer affiliation table, as used in characterizing types of the entities relations for Ontogazetteer (Machado et al. 2011)

Ontology component	Definition	Equivalent in Gazetteer	Example
Concept	The meaning of a term	Place	Tana (a term that is related to another place in the world)
Synonymy relationship	The meanings of the two terms A and B are nearly identical	Abbreviations historical name, alternative names and nicknames, acronyms, language differences, spelling differences	Nyansiongo-Kijauri, Kisii-Bosongo (Local names) North Horr (NH), Chepilat/ Chebilate – language variation
Homonymy relationship	Term A is written precisely the same as term B, yet their meanings are different	Places (of the same or distinct categories) with coinciding names, places whose names coincide with other things are referred to as ambiguous names	Kisii town and tribe (names of more than one thing), Makongeni and Maji Mazuri, Thika road and Thika Town Mwembe (ambiguous names), Siriba personal name and town
Hypernymy relationship	A has a broader definition than term B	A location at a higher tier of a territorial hierarchy	Kenya and its 47 counties
Hyponymy relationship	Term A has a more limited definition than term B	A location at a higher tier of a territorial hierarchy	Kasarani estate neighborhoods and Nairobi city
Association relationship	Term A is linked to term B, implying that they have a semantic relationship	Semantically related places	Cities along a route; maize-producing counties; historical places; Magadi and Tabaka soapstone regions

Relations for the different elements of the gazetteer were represented using arrow charts connecting the domain and range elements. A mathematical function is a set of ordered pairs such as {(0, 1), (10, 24), (11, 16)} where coordinates for locations can be a function for longitude and latitude. In mathematics, the difference between a function and a relation is that a function has just one y-value for each x value unlike the ontology components (Table 3), where there is supertype and subtype such as for the case of hypernym is higher than hyponym in the category rank of semantic relations.

Machine learning and modeling are used in hypothetical quasi-natural-language queries about spatial relations between line features and areal features to define strengths of possible spatial relations, including testing and ranking in the strength of agreement of relations in the ranges of levels 1 to

5 or percentages of 1 to 100 (Mark & Egenhofer, 1994). The study levels of one to five were selected for toponyms exhibiting the relations for illustration from the compiled database.

3.3. Toponym gazetteer entities, attributes, and relations

The database of the data captured was used to generate an affiliation table for each entity, either as new data or from volunteer sources with each having its own Uniform Resource Identifier (URI) link and a unique ID.

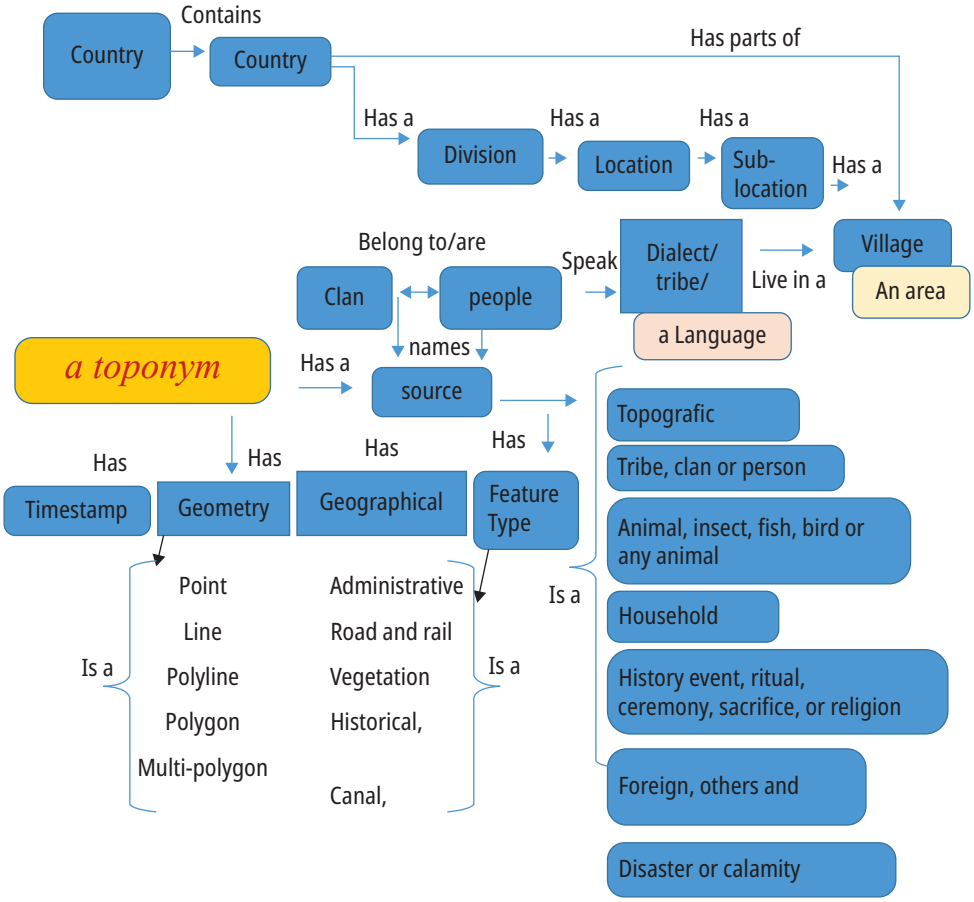

Figure 2. Gazetteer entity relationships

Source: own work.

Shapes defined by a point, line, polygon and mult-polygon indicate features in gazetteers which are classified into administrative, road and rail, vegetation, historical tourist and sport, and canal or water feature types. The said feature types are identified or described by toponyms given using tribe, clan or personal classification identities. These descriptions form classes bearing topographic, tribe, clan, person, animal, insect, fish, household, historical events or foreign identities (Figure 2). All these entities are contained in a country (within a specific hierarchy of administration classes) to express relatedness and disjointedness in web gazetteer ontologies in the features (identified by given names) in a particular gazetteer entity relations service, using ontologies. The entity class of tribes and clans were modelled to be attributed to classify the toponyms' origin and assign the source entities of the already named spaces as per the geographical location shown by the open-source gazetteer data using the bounded relations contained in the country attributes and the toponym mapped features (Figure 2), using specifically identified languages.

3.4. The schema Relationships of toponym ontology

Spatial schema = (R, A, D, T, attr, pkey, fkey, type)

Where, *R* = relationships, *A* = attributes, *D* = dependency of inclusion, *T* = data types, *attr* = property category or class, *pkey* = primary key, *fkey* = foreignkey, *type* = all dataset functions and attributes.

The schema relation aids in the explanation of database contents, allowing ontology reasoners to interpret the structure of the attributes described uniquely, eliminating logical contradictions.

3.5. Relationships: Toponym gazetteer

Figure 2 shows the relations used in the context of the paper where an ethnic group is composed of a tribe or dialect. The tribe has clans. The clans are composed of people who have names. The clan has a name and gives or provides toponyms of places. The clan has relations to others. The toponyms are entities of geometric objects having a geographical location, historical

association or derivation, time when it came up and there are reasons for its continued use or change as attributes. An entity has an assertion or proof of its use or existence uniquely, by a known group within a region or area. There can be differences by which different languages express spatial concepts of space using language boundaries and relations (Talmy, 1983), hence the need to include representative typical examples of affected toponyms for illustration of the relations.

4. User engagement assessment on the toponym gazetteer and discussion

Acquisition is the means through which visitors access websites or how viewers are acquired or referred to download an app as shown in Figure 5. Put simply, it is the process of how people visit the website or download mobile apps. Figures 3–8 depict user engagement perspectives on usability aspects on the toponym gazetteer courtesy of the Google Analytics tool from January 1, 2020, to September 26, 2021. Figure 3 shows the frequency of gazetteer engagement per country.

Many people accessed the gazetteer from Kenya, as seen in Figure 3 due to simulations done. Different users from other nations may have been drawn to the gazetteer through organic acquisition. Apart from website and search engine personalization, many users were drawn from Kenya due to its data being relevant to them. Also, this may be attributed to the users being Kenyans abroad or tourists searching for the data from outside the country; the open, nonlocalized state of the website allows open free usage.

Figure 4 shows that English is the most preferred language in accessing the gazetteer. The highest uptake of English is attributed to English being the original language of the computer and the internet. Most devices come with English as the default language before being translated to other languages. In this case, most users access the geographic data using the English language by default.

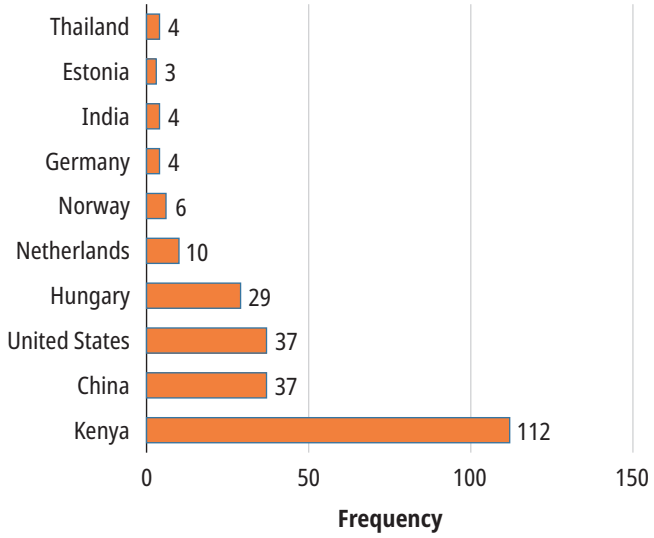

Figure 3. Frequency of access by country

Source: Google Analytics of Toponyms Gazetteer (https://mapearth.co.ke/).

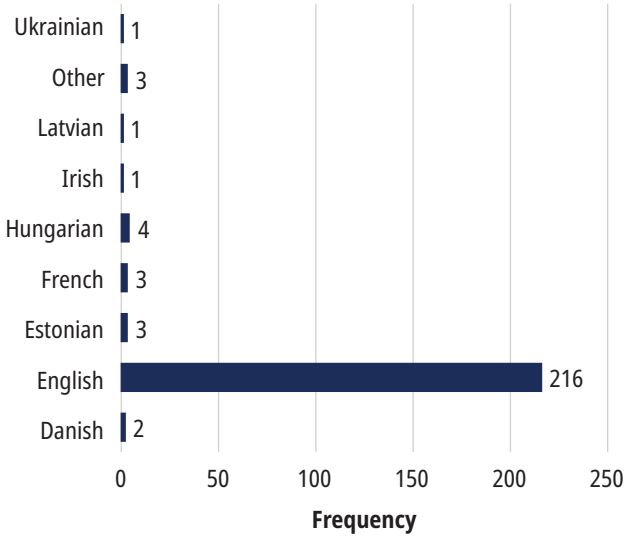

Figure 4. Language of engagement frequencies of a gazetteer

Source: Google Analytics of Toponyms Gazetteer (https://mapearth.co.ke/).

The highest acquisition was from new users followed by organic and referrals as indicated in Figure 5. Since most people search for new data, new users were attracted to use the web gazetteer service to access its open-source services.

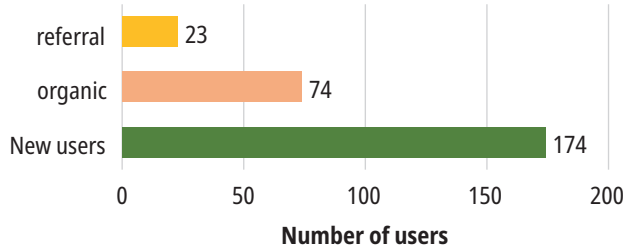

Figure 5. User acquisition for gazetteer

Source: Google Analytics of Toponyms Gazetteer (https://mapearth.co.ke/).

Users were able to access the gazetteer through tablets, mobile phone and desktop as indicated in Figure 6. Most users preferred to use PCs which have large screens and thus the capability to view the web gazetteers with clear zooms; this was followed closely by mobile phones whose advantage is portability. In this case, there was a trade-off between large area visualization and portability – large screens allow for the access of more details.

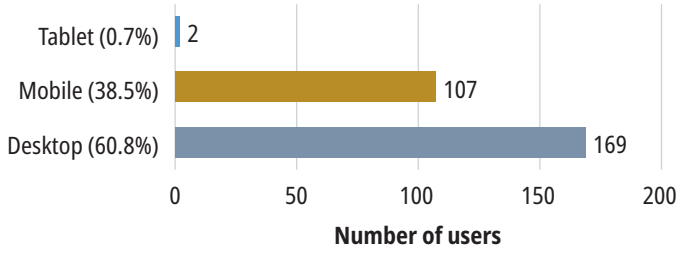

Figure 6. Platform of engagement

Source: Google Analytics of Toponyms Gazetteer (https://mapearth.co.ke/).

Figure 7 shows that Google Chrome browser is the most used browser followed by UI browser, Firefox, Safari, Edge, and Samsung in that order. The

high usage of Chrome is attributed to the fact that in most devices Chrome comes preinstalled in Android OS, it is widely used in the viewing and access of Google products (such as Google Play) and the overall trust the general public have in it.

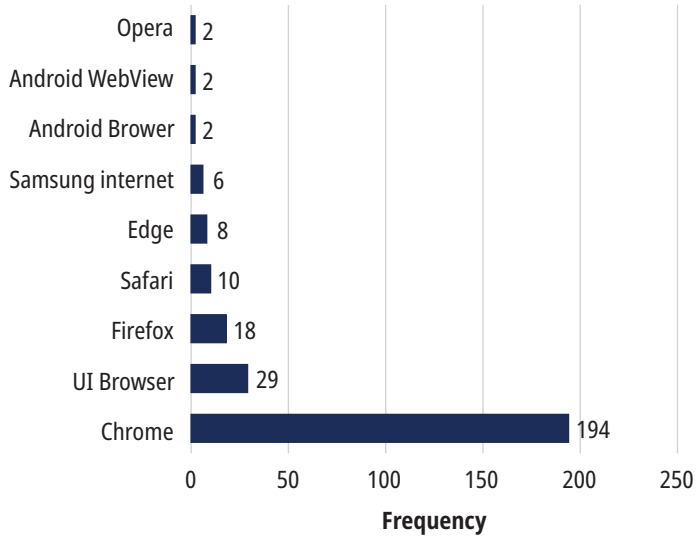

Figure 7. Type of browser used in accessing gazetteer

Source: Google Analytics of Toponyms Gazetteer (https://mapearth.co.ke/).

Figure 8 demonstrates that Google's Android OS is the most popularly used OS in mobile apps, followed by Windows and Linux. The high usage is attributed to devices with Android OS being mostly accessible to a wider audience due to their ease of usage, cheap acquisition and maintenance, and also wide access to free and open-source apps, unlike the other OS's.

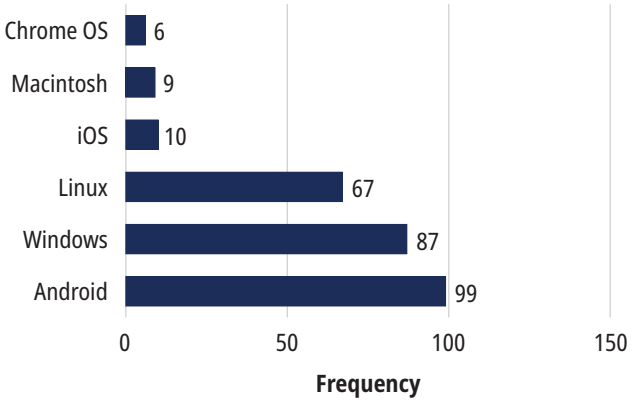

Figure 8. Operating system

Source: Google Analytics of Toponyms Gazetteer (https://mapearth.co.ke/).

5. Discussion

The best practices of a gazetteer service may be achieved by implementing open systems, which do not require much effort, skill, economic cost, and limitation on the access of resources. This is indicated by Google's free products built on Free and Open-Source Software (FOSS) distributions. Top of the list of best practices is the use of open standards such as those from Open Geospatial Consortium (OGC) which include the use of Web Feature Service (WFS) standards on gazetteers. Also, Geospatial Fusion Service (WFS-G) specifically implemented for GeoNames before making it an OGC best practices document (05-035R2) makes the service accessible to many. The WFS-G standard allows a client to search and retrieve georeferenced entities.

The use of toponymical ontologies helps to connect to ubiquitous data frameworks, update gazetteers on heritage and governance, and integrate open data via LOD, DBpedia, QUDT and Wiki sites. However, there are shortcomings of using ontologies such as linking several knowledge graphs, complexity in making comparisons of metadata (especially in the inclusion of graphic entities) and managing updates. Despite the availability of Geospatial Data

Abstraction Library (GDAL) standards for raster and vector data formats, there is no compliance enforced; this is because of the use of geographically connected fields but open and fragmented standards. GeoNames, for example, includes 663 characteristics in 9 classes (Maltese & Farazi, 2013) while OSM data has its geographic information for features packaged individually as tags, ordered as a list of ways defining lines, points and relations for all entity elements (Patriarca et al., 2019). It also includes land use and land cover data.

The development of a smarter, spatially linked ontology faces challenges, possibly due to the unbounded requirements and attributes of different databases from different sources. The ontologies are heterogeneous in terms of feature types and schemas, due to advanced technology deployment for ontology usage in open web gazetteers as shown by Tables 1 and 2. The advanced gazetteers have integrated interactive features such as Stonly.[11] In some cases, some have lean, simple and clean taxonomy of schema (Guha et al., 2016) and others have matured into sustainable projects. Sadly, others have disbanded, such as OpenCyc, which was active from 1984 until the end of 2017 (Chah, 2018).

6. Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to assess toponym gazetteer entities' usages worldwide and toponym gazetteer ontology performance. It was found out that there are 1,433 ontologies as of 7th November 2021 as per the DBpedia archive[12] compilation, where some are not updated. As a result, coordination between DBpedia and the ontology generators is essential. It is vital to opt for an all-inclusive ontology that is interconnected with diverse attribute entities after attribute analysis for selection and application (Mukhtar et al., 2013; Sikelis et al., 2021). However, most evaluation tools lack long-term support, which is a key issue for their sustainability. The difficulty is exacerbated by the deployment and use of the connected open big data cloud, a new concept with multiple

[11] https://stonly.com
[12] https://archivo.dbpedia.org/list

variations in incorporating different knowledge bases with one another. Mostly these knowledge bases utilize open compliant standards other than those sanctioned by OGC and International Organization for Standardization (ISO) Systems (Sikelis et al., 2021).

Expert knowledge on accessing the toponymic gazetteer does not differ semantically on shared products so long as the data is distributed in an open standard where anybody can access the resource. The user engagements study indicated the existing potential of ontologies usage in ubiquitous linking of toponymic data, drawing relations on toponyms using existing open API frameworks and possibilities for updating gazetteers seamlessly. The results are twofold since data gathered from usages can be used in propping governance of heritage and development through incorporation and integration of open data standards through LOD cloud, DBpedia and Wiki sites, which have been open knowledge bases since their commencement in the 1980s as corroborative projects. Furthermore, based on the language of access, some inequities exist on language which varies among countries with different backgrounds of languages and knowledge. The results of our study can be used to probe why users in different parts of the world access the web gazetteer through its interface.

The review limitation is that only a few global or regional gazetteers were evaluated while there are so many ontologies that can be evaluated for one to make an informed decision on the best approaches to take. Future analysis should include other reasoners to test their efficiency.

Abbreviations

AGI – Authoritative Geographic Information
API – Application Programming Interface
CD – Continuous Development
CI – Continuous Integration
CPU – Central Processing Unit
FOSS – Free and Open-Source Software
GDAL – Geospatial Data Abstraction Library
GNIS – Geographical Names Information System

JSON – Java Script Object Notation
LOD – Linked Open Data
ODS – Open Data Spreadsheet
OGC – Open Geospatial Consortium
OS – Operating System
OSM – OpenStreetMap
OWL – Ontology Web Language
QUDT – Quantities, Units, Dimensions and Types
RDF – Resource Description Frameworks
SSH – Secure Shell
URI – Uniform Resource Identifier
URL – Uniform Resource Locator
VGI – Volunteered Geographic Information
WFS – Web Feature Service
WFS-G – Geospatial Fusion Service
XML – Extensible Mark-up Language
YAGO – Yet Another Great Ontology

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Венгерско-славянские языковые контакты в Карпатском бассейне (на основе топонимов одной ранней грамоты)

Аннотация

Периодом самых интенсивных венгерско-славянских контактов считаются X–XI века, на что указывают многочисленные заимствования из славянских языков. Большинство слов, носивших субстратный характер, пришло в венгерский язык из языков славян, заселявших некоторые ареалы Карпатского бассейна и впоследствии ассимилированных. Однако в XI веке процесс ассимиляции еще не закончился, и заселение новых славянских групп тоже продолжалось. Такая языковая ситуация, характерная для XI века, естественно отражается и в ранних географических названиях, и способствует ее более полному описанию.

Главным источником моего исследования является ранний памятник венгерской письменности, а именно перепись, написанная по-латински и составленная в бенедиктинском монастыре местности Баконьбель. Грамота, содержащая 112 топонимов, большинство которых находилось в Задунавье, где славяне уже жили и до завоевания родины венграми, возникла в 1086-м году.

В своем исследовании я придерживалась принципов исторической реконструкции топонимов. Такое многогранное исследование имеет несколько преимуществ перед методикой традиционной этимологии, которые особенно важны для языковой и этнической реконструкции. Я также сравниваю мой результат с топонимическим материалом семи других недавно проанализированных дипломов XI века. На основе изучения географических названий нельзя ожидать точного ответа на вопрос, какой этнос заселял данную территорию и какова была его численность, однако можно сделать выводы о том, кем были даны названия и кем они могли быть использованы во время написания грамоты. Это значит, что топонимы этой грамоты XI века могут служить важным источником масштаба славянского языкового влияния того времени.

Ключевые слова

венгерско-славянские языковые контакты, XI век, грамота, историческая реконструкция топонимов, реконструкция этнических и языковых отношений

Abstract

Hungarian-Slavic language contacts in the Carpathian Basin (based on toponyms of one early charter)

The most intensive period of Hungarian-Slavic contact was the 10th–11th century, which is confirmed by the considerable number of Slavic loanwords from this period. Most of the words were found in some areas of the Carpathian Basin and later assimilated into Hungarian as substrates. The linguistic assimilation of the Slavs was probably not complete in the 11th century and more Slavic migrants settled later in the area. This linguistic situation is reflected in the toponymy; consequently, early place names can help us to map the language picture of this period.

The main source of the study is an early document of importance for the history of Hungarian, the census of the Benedictine monastery in Bakonybél in Latin. The document was written in 1086 and includes 112 place names. Most of the places mentioned in the document can be found in the Transdanubian region where Slav people lived already before the Hungarian conquest.

In the article I use the principles of historical place name reconstruction. There are many advantages of this multidimensional analysis, as opposed to the traditional etymological method, and it is particularly important in linguistic and ethnic reconstruction. The results are compared to the place name material of seven other documents from the 11th century. The analysis of these place names does not reveal the timing and the ratio of ethnic groups living in the area; however, we can find out who could have given these names and who was using them at the time of the writing of the document.

Keywords

Hungarian-Slavic language contact, 11th century, document resources, historical place name reconstruction, linguistic and ethnic reconstruction

1. Введение

С XI века, первого века венгерской письменности, сохранилось несколько (меньше десяти) подлинных дипломов, подходящих для лингвистических и ономастических исследований. В своей статье занимаюсь топонимами и языковыми слоями ранее не исследованной переписи Баконьбельсого бенедиктинского монастыря, 1086 года. В ходе анализа уделяю внимание линии исследований, которая вот уже в течение полутора десятилетий занимается источниками XI века. С другой стороны, используя принципы реконструкции исторических топонимов, пытаюсь оттенить результаты традиционного этимологического анализа, включая возможность использования аналогичных исследований для получения выводов о языковых условиях данной области.

2. Роль географических названий в исследовании языковых условий – в особенности дипломов XI века

В изучении этнических отношений Венгрии XI века исторические и лингвистические исследования могут быть хорошо скоординированы. Этническая принадлежность определяется с учетом нескольких факторов – лингвистических, культурных, антропологических, сознательных – вместе, поэтому язык является лишь одним из ее компонентов. Историческая наука часто полагается на лингвистические методы для изучения этнического состава Венгрии XI века, оправдывая это тем фактом, что об этом единственном компоненте этнической принадлежности имеются материалы данного периода (см. Kristó, 2000, сс. 11, 41). Однако если с помощью лингвистического анализа источников мы можем узнать о языковых отношениях исследуемого периода, выводы об этнических отношениях нужно делать с осторожностью.

С точки зрения лингвистики, имена нарицательные, антропонимы и топонимы также имеют исходное значение, но роль географических

названий особенна, поскольку они могут быть локализованы и указывать на место контакта. В литературе по истории венгерского языка за последние сто лет несколько исследователей сформировали мнение о языковых условиях периода, опираясь на топонимы, среди которых особое внимание уделялось слою славянских топонимов. Среди ранних обзорных работ можно выделить работы Й. Мелиха „Венгрия во время завоевания" (Melich, 1925–1929) и И. Книежи „Народ Венгрии в XI веке" (Kniezsa, 1938). Книежа (Kniezsa, 1938, с. 370) для того, чтобы доказать, какие этнические группы проживали в Карпатском бассейне в XI веке, использовал исторические и археологические свидетельства, а также лингвистические данные и аргументы, особенно географические и личные имена, найденные в дипломах XI и XII веков. Основной результат его исследования можно резюмировать тем фактом, что в XI веке на территории Венгерского Королевства жили два народа, которые были сосредоточены замкнутыми массами на больших территориях, а именно венгерский и славянский (Kniezsa, 1938, сс. 452–456). Однако данные, на которых основано исследование, методы анализа и соответствующие выводы также могут подвергаться критике на основе современных научных знаний.

В своем исследовании под названием „Народы Венгрии в эпоху Святого Стефана" Кришто (Kristó, 2000), ссылаясь на более раннюю работу Книежи, критически проанализировал исторические, археологические и лингвистические свидетельства своего предшественника. В целом он считал, что, поскольку исследование Книежи на самом деле не ограничивалось XI веком (оно также охватывало X и XIII века), также содержало методологические проблемы, поэтому было менее подходящим для получения достоверной и надежной картины этнической принадлежности XI века (Kristó, 2000, сс. 10). Кришто использовал четыре диплома эпохи Иштвана I (997–1038) и четыре диплома второй половины XI века (1055, 1061, 1067, 1075). По своему языковому происхождению почти полсотни географических названий четырех дипломов со времен Иштвана I были классифицированы следующим образом: 36% венгерские, 45% славянские, 15% тюркские, 4% немецкие (Kristó, 2000, с. 19). На основании этого и топонимов второй половины XI века был сделан вывод, что в начале XI века самой многочисленной группой в Карпатском бассейне были славяно-говорящие, за которыми следовали венгры, гораздо меньше тюркских и немецких народностей (Kristó, 2000, сс. 27, 41–42).

Аналитические процедуры Кришта также спорные по нескольким пунктам, в связи с чем Гоффманн и Тот опубликовали всеобъемлющую критику в 2016 году. Они возражали против принципа, согласно которому этимологические пропорции топонимов прямо соответствовали этническим пропорциям. Повторяющаяся проблема в исследованиях, изучающих взаимосвязь между географическими названиями и историей населения, что они не делают различий между дающими имена местам и пользователями этих имен. Тем не менее, наименование могло произойти на столетия раньше, чем возникновение диплома. Поэтому мы можем делать выводы о языке именователей, основываясь на этимологии имени, но не на времени акта наименования или лингвистических условиях того периода, когда диплом был выдан. С другой стороны, звуковая форма данных имен, записанных в дипломе, может дать возможность определить пользователей имен на момент создания диплома (Hoffmann & Tóth, 2016, с. 269).

Поэтому Гоффманн и Тот предложили переосмыслить принципы исследования: разделить именователей и пользователей имен; абсолютную хронологию (желающую определить точное время образования), заменить методом относительной хронологии; а также учесть социолингвистические факторы. Также следует иметь в виду, что интерпретация названий не имеет одинаковой доказательной ценности (Hoffmann et al., 2018, сс. 464–465). Следует проявлять осторожность с данными, которые встречаются только один раз (с. 465). Классификация топонимов, образованных на основе личных имен, также может привести к неверным этимологическим выводам. Происхождение личного имени не может быть связано механически и напрямую с языком человека или с языком населения поселения, носящего его имя (Hoffmann, Tóth, 2016, сс. 299–303).

3. Изучение географических названий переписи Баконьбельсого монастыря

3.1. Метод реконструкции топонимов

Прежде чем перейти к представлению диплома и анализу номенклатуры, необходимо кратко описать принципы реконструкции топонима вместе с ограничениями его применимости. В отличие от методологии традиционной этимологии, это многомерное исследование, в котором определение этимона является лишь одним из элементов, имеет несколько преимуществ, которые особенно важны для лингвистической и этнической реконструкции (подробное описание процедуры см. Hoffmann et al., 2018, cc. 135–148; Tóth, 2019).

(1) Имя должно оцениваться в среде его источника (в дипломе). Это включает проверку самого диплома, особенностей написания диплома, латинского контекста географического имени, так как все это может повлиять на интерпретацию имени.
(2) Все данные также должны быть изучены как часть серии данных для этого места. Полный набор данных может быть составлен, если местоположение может быть точно идентифицировано, поэтому локализация также является важной частью анализа. В этом процессе данные живого языка также могут преподнести урок. Знание и хронология вариантов имени могут быть полезны, потому что мы можем вывести из них пользователей имени, и возможную языковую адаптацию.
(3) Стоит собрать все упоминания имени в Карпатском бассейне. Пространственные и хронологические характеристики имени также могут предоставить информацию относительно наименования и использования имени.
(4) Имя должно рассматриваться не только среди этимологически связанных с ним имен, но также как элемент его семантической категории, его типа.
(5) Наконец, следует изучить реалии обозначения (т.е. природно-географический и социальный фон места) и среду топонима (т. е. другие топонимы около данной территории).

3.2. Ознакомление с дипломом

Кришто (2000) не использовал топонимию переписи Баконьбельского монастыря 1086 года во время обзора второй половины XI века, несмотря на возможность получить достоверные данные.

Перепись бенедиктинского монастыря состоит из 4 частей (1086/около XI в./XII–XIII в./XIII в.), из которых часть 1086 года является подлинной, позже она была дополнена еще тремя дополнениями (DHA., сс. 247–260). Мой анализ охватывает только первую часть, поскольку она, помимо содержания достоверных данных, может быть сопоставима с выводами относительно географических названий других дипломов XI века. Баконьбельское аббатство расположено в Центральной Задунайской области, к северу от озера Балатон, в горах Баконь, в округе Веспрем. Значительная часть упомянутых в хартии поместий окружает аббатство в радиусе примерно 30–35 км. Немного более отдаленные поместья расположены в прилегающих частях соседних уездов. Таким образом, топонимы диплома предоставляют материал по территории Задунайского региона.

Первая часть латинского диплома содержит 68 упоминаний географических названий на венгерском языке, что указывает на 56 объектов. В переписи существует довольно много имен собственных и имен нарицательных, восходящих к славянскому этимону, но после тщательного рассмотрения можем сказать, что в 5 из 56 имен более или менее вероятна возможность славянского именования или посредничества: 2 гидронима (*Gerence*, *Marcal*), 3 названия населенных пунктов (*Paloznak*, *Pereszteg*, *Vindornya*). Используя метод реконструкции географических названий, я рассматриваю эти названия с точки зрения их доказательной ценности при установлении языковых условий.

3.3. Анализ географических названий диплома

3.3.1. Топонимы образованные по венгерскому грамматическому методу

Славянское имя нарицательное или имя собственное служит основой топонима, на базе которого с помощью какого-либо венгерского грамматического инструмента было создано географическое название: эти имена, несомненно, могут считаться результатом венгерского

именования (ср. Hoffmann, Tóth, 2016, сс. 268, 272). В первой части переписи здесь могут быть перечислены следующие имена: *Huzeu brazda* (ср. со словацким, словенским словом *brázda* ‘бороздка’), *Seę sec fehę* (ср. со сербохорватскими топонимами *Sísek*, *Sísak*; FNESz. *Sziszek*), *Qupis uta* (ср. с личными именами: старопольский *Cupysz*, *Kupysch*; Taszycki, 1971, с. 203). Все они представляют собой синтагмы, состоящие из двух лексем, один из членов которых является славянским заимствованным словом, но происхождение этого слова является обстоятельством, не зависящим от акта именования, дающие имена использовали его как элемент венгерского языка при наименовании.

3.3.2. Имя нарицательное славянского происхождения в функции топонима

Заимствованные слова из славянских языков XI века явно указывают на факт общения славяно-венгерского населения. Заимствованные слова также стали подходящими для создания географических названий. Такие топонимы, которые идентичны имени нарицательному, теоретически могут быть созданы на основе славянского заимствованного слова, установленного в венгерском языке, или путем принятия славянского топонима. В этих случаях нам нужно будет решить, на каком языке произошло становление географического названия: на венгерском или славянском? Это решение важно, потому что только в последнем случае, в случае заимствованных топонимов, можем рассчитывать на славяно-язычное население в данном районе во время называния. А в то время венгерское наименование не предполагает славянское население (ср. Hoffmann, Tóth, 2016, с. 268).

Из топонимических материалов переписи название поселения *Dinnye* (1086: *Dinna*, DHA., с. 252), вероятно, соответствует славянскому слову *дыня*. В венгерском языке это слово имеет разговорный оттенок, его первая зарегистрированная общая форма возникла около 1395 года: *dÿne* (EWUng.). Позднее появление общего слова в источниках в конце XIV века не исключает возможности венгерского наименования, так как наиболее распространенные имена нарицательные обычно давались как имена собственные на несколько веков раньше. Согласно FNESz. название поселения *Dinnye* в уезде Комаром образовалось от названия

растения. Предположительно, это могло служить названием земли, используемой для выращивания растения (ср. EWUng. объясняет данные 1086 года как ‘Melonenfeld’, то есть ‘поле дыни’). Среди односоставных бесформантных названий поселений вторая наименьшая группа (с соотношением 16%) состоит из тех же названий на венгерском языке, что и лексема, относящаяся к окружающей среде (в основном названия растений и животных): например, *Jegenye*, *Nyír*, *Gyümölcsény*, *Körtvély*, *Berkenye*, *Szőlő* (Hoffmann et al., 2018, cc. 334–335), название поместья *Dinnye* также может вписаться в их ряд. В венгерском языке географические названия от слова *dinnye* прямо или косвенно образовались и в других местах: *Dinnyeberki* (1305/1320/1372: *Dinneberki*, 1328: *Dennaberke*, Gy. 1., с. 297), *Dinnyésmed* (1426: *Dynesmed*, FNESz.). Про возможность передачи личного имени также может идти речь, однако личные имена времен Арпада (ÁSz.) не содержали такого имени, поэтому шансы на это невелики (возможно, см. 1449: Johannes *Dina*, N. Fodor, 2010, с. 83). В дополнение к венгерским народным данным и аналогиям с венгерскими топонимами вероятность прямого заимствования славянской топонимии также мала, потому что это слово не было обнаружено как топоним в рассмотренных славянских источниках.

3.3.3. Топоним, образованный от славянского личного имени без форманта

Топонимы, созданные без форманта от личного имени, в ономастической литературе долгое время считались происходящими от венгерского наименования – даже если основное слово оказывалось иностранного происхождения – тем не менее, использовались для лингвистической и этнической реконструкции (см. Kristó, 2000). Таким образом, топонимы, созданные без форманта от личного имени славянского (или другого) происхождения свидетельствуют о венгерских наименователях. Следует сделать дополнения, касающиеся использования личных имен (и топонимов, образованных от славянского личного имени без форманта) в этнических выводах. Одно дополнение связано с социологическим фоном именования. В создании ранних древневенгерских ойконимов индивидуальный и сознательный компонент в акте наименования мог сыграть значительную роль (см. Hoffmann, Tóth, 2016, cc. 265–268). Это

означает, что не всегда возможно вывести язык жителей данного района по происхождению названия поселения, поскольку название раскрывает в первую очередь языковую ситуацию человека (владельца). С другой стороны, личное именование и употребление носят культурный характер и находятся под влиянием моды эпохи, поэтому языковое происхождение имени не может быть механически связано с языком носителя имени. Таким образом, этимология личных имен, на которых основаны географические названия, не может быть использована при лингвистической реконструкции данной территории.

Общепринятая идея о том, что в Карпатском бассейне и регионе топонимы, созданные от антропонима без форманта, типичны только в венгерской системе названий, недавно была рассмотрена Тот (Tóth, 2017, сс. 77–82). Согласно ее данным, славянский суффикс *-*j*ь мог также создавать топонимы, звуковая форма которых (с потерей суффикса, и из-за звуковых изменений) совпадала с исходным личным именем, поэтому в некоторых славянских языках также можно найти тип топонима, совпадающего с основным антропонимом. Отсюда следует, что нельзя однозначно утверждать, что все топонимы в той же форме, что и славянские личные имена, произошли от венгерского наименования, хотя в большинстве случаев это действительно так. В этом вопросе необходимо учитывать, что наиболее распространенным типом венгерского ойконима в ранний древневенгерский период является группа, образованная отантропонимных образований без формантов, напротив, в славянских языках топонимы, образованные от личного имени с суффиксом *-*j*ь, вовсе не имеют решающего значения (ср. Rospond, 1983).

Среди топонимов переписи можно проследить происхождение от славянского личного имени: *Veszprém* (1086: *Brezprem*, DHA., с. 252; ср. с личными именами: чешский *Bezpřěm*, FNESz.; польский *Bezprzem*, *Bezprzym*, Taszycki, 1965, с. 129) и, возможно, *Porva* (1086: *Purua*, DHA., с. 251; ср. с личными именами: сербско-хорватский *Prva*, FNESz.; польский *Porawa*, Taszycki, 1974–1976, с. 188). (В случае *Purua* также возникла возможность заимствования славянского топонима.) *Veszprém* служил основой при облазовании отантропонимных топонимов того периода (1237/1320: *Bezberen*, ÁSz., с. 122), в то время как *Porva* – нет.

3.3.4. Славянские топонимы

Среди славянских топонимов переписи есть имена, связанные со славянским наименованием (*Gerence*, *Paloznak*, *Pereszteg*, *Vindornya?*), также есть одно имя индоевропейского происхождения, опосредованное славянами (*Marcal*).

Marcal – это название реки из древности, его этимоном может быть иллирийское **murs-* ’болото’, употребленное в уменьшительной форме (Kiss, 1999, с. 143; Bilchmeier, 2017). Название *Marcal* было передано венграм через славянским населением, проживавшим здесь во время завоевания, вместе с несколькими другими названиями рек Паннонии (Kiss, 1997, с. 190). Кишш принял славянские формы **Mъrselъ* ~ **Murselъ* в качестве прямых предшественников венгерского гидронима (Kiss, 1999, сс. 142–143; см. еще Melich, 1925–1929, с. 413). Дату заимствования имени определить невозможно, оно могло быть перенесено намного раньше, чем фигурировало в дипломах не на латыни. Самые ранние данные о *Marcal* можно прочитать в переписи Баконьбельсого монастыря как *Murzol*. В заимствованных славянских местоимениях финаль слова ъ, возможно, не произносилась венгерскими славянами в конце XI века, но если это так, то на венгерском языке исчезновение конечных гласных также свидетельствует о продвинутом состоянии. Предполагаемый славянский ъ обычно заменялся на *u* в венгерском языке (Décsy, 1958, с. 384), как и здесь. Кроме того, фонетическое выравнивание может также свидетельствовать о венгерских пользователях имен.

Gerence (1086: ad torrentem *Grenicę*, DHA., с. 251) – это название ручья в горах Баконь, который также протекает через центр монастыря. Название также можно встретить в поздних источниках: 1086/1456: *Gremce* (DHA., с. 259), 1249: *Grenche* (PRT. 8., с. 291), 1782–1785: *Gerentsche* (EKF.), 1857: *Gerencze* (MKFT.), 1869–1887: *Gerence*, *Gerencze* (HKF.), 1941: *Gerence*, *Gerence-p.* (MKF.), 2000: *Gërince*, *Gërence* (VeMFN. 4: с. 103). Венгерская *Grenice* является заимствованием славянского топонима **Granica*, который произошел от славянского имени нарицательного *granica* ‘граница’ (Melich, 1925–1929, с. 381; FNESz.; ср. ESSJ. 7, сс. 106–107). В большинстве славянских языков – южных, западных и восточных славян – также можно найти это название в качестве топонима: болгарская *Граница*, сербо-хорватская *Granica*, словенская *Granica*, словацкое *Hranične*, чешская *Hraničká*, сербская *Hranca*, польский *Granicznik*, русская *Граничная* (Šmilauer, 1970,

сс. 71–72). В графстве Пожега находится еще одно такое название реки (1272: fluvius *Granicha*, Melich, 1925–1929, с. 381). Слово в славянских языках означает ‘граница’, но также может быть пограничным деревом, например, дубом (ESSJ. 7, сс. 106–107). По сравнению с первичной славянской формой *Granica*, первые данные ручья в горах Баконь (*Grenice*, *Grence*) отражают венгерское использование имен в XI веке: звуки переднего ряда и выпадение гласных в середине слова также указывают на это (см. *Granica* > *Grenice* > *Grence* ~ *Gremce* > *Gerence*). Название графства Пожега претерпело такое же фонетическое изменение (1314: *Graynche*, 1424: *Gerenche*, 1471: *Grencze*; Cs. 2., с. 410). Несколько гидронимов в этом районе, в частности притоки реки Marcal, имеют славянское происхождение: *Torna*, *Tapolca* и, вероятно, также *Bitva* (FNESz.; Hoffmann, 2017, с. 138). Согласно Мелиху (Melich, 1925–1929, с. 379) и Книеже (Kniezsa, 1938, с. 401), это название могло существовать уже в IX веке, и Кишш (Kiss, 1999, с. 98) перечислил его среди субстратных названий в слое славянских гидронимов, появившихся до завоевание. Согласно Гоффманну (Hoffmann, 2017, сс. 140, 147), несмотря на то, что хронология Мелиха не может считаться обоснованной с точки зрения лингвистической истории, нельзя исключать, что венгры взяли название водного объекта от славянских народов, найденных здесь во время их поселения. Ни время возникновения этого названия, ни время, когда оно вошло в венгерский язык, не могут быть точно определены. Основываясь на звуковой структуре названия, можно утверждать, что в XI веке здесь могло проживать венгероязычное население, что также подтверждается тем фактом, что все остальные микротопонимы, упомянутые в хартии вокруг ручья Gerence и монастыря, являются результатом венгерского наименования.

Paloznak (1086: *Ploznic*, DHA., с. 253) является собственностью аббатства Баконьбель в современном регионе Веспрем. В этимологической литературе было предпринято несколько попыток расшифровать имя: от славянского личного имени путем венгерского наименования или непосредственно из славянской топонимии. Согласно Мелиху (Melich, 1931, сс. 151–152), славянское личное имя, **Polazьnikъ* происходит от славянского глагола **polaziti* ‘ползать, ходить’ > ‘посещать, приветствовать, спрашивать’ > ‘встречать на Рождество’, которое перешло в венгерский язык, и от него произошел венгерский топоним *Paloznak*. Это происхождение было признано также Паишом (Pais, 1939, с. 15). Для усиления объяснения топонима было бы важно указать такое личное

имя как на славянском, так и на венгерском языках: в Средневековье на венгерском языке такого личного имени не существовало (ÁSz.), о славянских личных именах см. сербохорватский *Plaznik* (FNESz.). Книежа (Kniezsa, 1947, с. 141), хотя и не исключал объяснения Мелиха, предложил другое. Согласно Мелиху, его этимология имеет две слабые стороны: во-первых, это слово не может быть определено как личное имя; во вторых – гласный второго слога самых ранних венгерских данных (1002 е./1109: *πωλοσνίκου*, ÓMOlv., с. 15), который, по его мнению, трудно объяснить на основе формы **polazьnikъ*. Книежа (Kniezsa, 1947, с. 141) считает, что географическое название происходит от славянского слова **po-loz-ьnikъ*, получившегое начало от славянского топонима *Poloznik: лоза* 'виноградник; ива' + суффикс *-ьникъ* > *лоз* + *-ьникъ* 'место, где росли виноградные лозы или ивы' > *ро-* + *лозьникъ* 'рядом с виноградниками'. От слова *loza* образовались топонимы в большинстве славянских языков: *Лозен* на болгарском, *Lozine* на сербо-хорватском, *Loza* на чешском, *Лозовка* на русском (Šmilauer, 1970, с. 114). А сербский топоним (*Poloznik*), который точно соответствует венгерскому названию, также можно обнаружить у реки Дрина (Kniezsa, 1947, с. 141). Предлог *ро-* 'около, вдоль' – распространенный топоформант в славянской топонимии (Šmilauer, 1970, с. 144). На мой взгляд, к этим славянским топонимам может быть отнесен и венгерский *Paloznak*.

Первое упоминание топонима происходит в ранней грамоте на греческом языке (1002 е./1109: *πωλοσνίκου*, ÓMOlv., с. 15), предположительно *[polozniku]*, в котором ъ в конце слова, возможно, соответствует венгерское *u* (Pais, 1939, с. 15). Более поздние упоминания, относящиеся к последней четверти XI века, больше не обозначают этот гласный (1079: *poloznic*, DHA., с. 225; 1082/1327: *Paloznok*, *Poloznok*, Melich, 1931, с. 151; 1086: *Ploznic*, DHA., с. 253; 1109: in villa *polofinic*, ÓMOlv., с. 17). Исходя из приведенных выше объяснений имен, первоначальное славянское имя могло быть **polazьnikъ* или **polozьnikъ*. Основываясь на этих этимологических исследованиях, форма *Ploznic*, которая начинается с сочетания согласных *pl-*, вряд ли может быть объяснена, поскольку потеря гласного в первом слоге в венгерском языке не очень вероятна. Похожий феномен – этимологически неоправданное стечение – можно увидеть в некоторых других географических названиях хартии: *Brezprem*, *Clun* (DHA., с. 253). Это явление может быть вызвано несколькими причинами: 1. опечатки (но этому, кажется, противоречат другие имена в дипломе,

которые показывают стечение согласных в начале слова), 2. аналогичный эффект других имен собственных. Что касается порядка звучания названия, мы видим следующее. В ранних данных, до XII века, преобладали смешанные формы (1002 e./1109: *πωλοσνίκου*, ÓMOlv., c. 15; 1079: *poloznic*, 1086: *Ploznic*, DHA., cc. 225, 253; 1109: in villa *polosinic*, ÓMOlv., c. 17). Первая форма с использованием гласных заднего ряда появилась в грамоте 1082/1327: *Paloznok*, *Poloznok* (Melich, 1931, c. 151). Начиная с XIII века, имена, содержащие только гласные заднего ряда, стали доминировать (+1037 [1240 e.]/1330: *Poloznuk*, DHA., c. 118; 1217: *Polosnuc*, VO., c. 35; 1086/1368: *Palaznuk*, 1229: *Polusnak*, DHA., cc. 260, 152; 1304: *Palaznuk*, *Poloznuk*, Cs. 3, c. 92), но есть и редкие примеры форм, содержащие звук *i* (1240: *Poloznik*, 1296: *Poluznik*, Melich, 1931, c. 151; 1383: *Poloznyk*, DHA., c. 375). В источниках XIV века мы находим формы с гласными заднего ряда: 1305: *Poluznuk* (Мелих, 1931, c. 151); 1312: *Poloznuk*, 1323: *Poloznok*, 1330: *Palaznuk* (Cs. 3, c. 92); 1387: *Palaznok* (Cs. 3, c. 44); 1422: *Palaznak* (DHA., c. 377); 1550: *Paloznak* (PRT. 8, c. 588). Фонетически сбалансированные формы имен определенно указывают на использование венгерских имен, в то время как окончание *-nik* является славянским, но эти формы также не исключают использование венгерских имен.

К сожалению, мы не смогли подтвердить происхождение названия, но, исходя из приведенных аргументов, более вероятным кажется славянское заимствование. В некоторых данных об именах мы можем видеть признаки использования славянских имен, например смешанная по звучанию и содержащая стечение согласных форма *Ploznic*, в то время как в других есть признаки использования венгерского имени: в виде форм, отражающих выравнивание фонетического порядка и содержащих гласные разных рядов (*Poloznuk ~ Poloznok ~ Paloznak*).

Pereszteg (1086: In *Prez(t)eg*, DHA., c. 252), название поселения, вероятно, имеет славянское происхождение. Согласно Мелиху (Melich, 1903–1905, c. 124) или составу **prě-* ‘через’ + **stьg ~ *steg* ‘путь’; или восходит к глаголу **pristegnuti* ‘прикреплять’. К первой интерпретации Мелиха, Надь (Nagy, 1971, c. 203) добавляет, что через деревню раньше проходили важные торговые пути. Книежа (Kniezsa, 1938, c. 468) и Кишш (FNESz.) также считали, что название поселения имеет славянское происхождение, но его точный источник не был установлен. Похожий топоним встречается в сербско-хорватском языке *Pristeg* (FNESz.). Славянское происхождение также возможно из-за его фонетической формы и славянской топонимической

аналогии. Топоним встречается в источниках в различных формах. Начиная с XIII века, данные свидетельствуют о разрешении стечения согласных в начале слова: 1268, 1275, 1292, 1314: *Perezteg* (Cs. 2., c. 784) и т. д. В дополнение к хартии 1086 года имя появляется в расшифровке 1368 года со стечением согласных: 1086/1368: *Prezteg* (DHA., c. 260). Звонкий *-g* в произношении мог стать глухим: 1314: *Pereztek*, 1455: Wamos*perezlek* (Cs. 2, c. 784), *-szt-* в середине слова с начала XV века также встречается в форме *-szl-*: 1408: Zenthvlreh*perezlege* et *Peresleg*few, 1464: *Perezleg* (Cs. 2, c. 784). Есть также примеры имен нарицательных (*porosztó* > *poroszló*, *zásztó* > *zászló*; TESz.) и топонимов (*Nosztop* > *Noszlop*, FNESz.) для изменения и чередования *-szt-* > *-szl-*. В случае исследуемого имени форма, содержащая *-szt-* окончательно стабилизировалась. Основываясь на форме *Prezteg* XI века, невозможно определить пользователей топонима, ими могли быть как славяне, так и венгры.

Vindornya (1086: in *Uuindirn(a)*, DHA., c. 253), название поселения, согласно Кишшу (FNESz.), произошло от латинского *vinitor* ~ *vinidor* ‘виноградарь’, со славянским суффиксом *-nja*. В дополнении XIII века к хартии также говорится, что в указанном имении было четыре виноградника и виноградаря (DHA., c. 255). Кишш (FNESz.) считает, что более поздний вариант названия поселения *Vindornyaszőlős* ~ *Szőlősvindornya* (1274: *Vyndurna Sceuleus*, 1501: *Wyndornazelews*, Cs. 3, c. 113; 1550: *Scewlewsvyndorna*, PRT. 8, c. 589) также подтверждается семантическим содержанием этой формы, см. венгерское слово *szőlő* ‘виноград’. В согласовании также нет значительных фонологических трудностей: мы можем ожидать формы *Vindurnya* ~ *Vindornya* от предполагаемой формы **Vinidornya* в венгерском языке, из-за тенденции к открытым двуслогам (1086/+13. sz.: *Uindurna*, DHA., c. 255; +1135 [1249]: *Vindurna*, PRT. 8, c. 273 и т. д.). Однако в некоторых данных ранних названий мы встречаем форму с иллабиальными гласными (1086: *Uuindirn(a)*, 1086/1368: *Wintyrna*, DHA., cc. 253, 260; 1382: *Vinderna*, Cs. 3., c. 77), но чередование буквенных обозначений *i* ~ *u* (возможно, слуховых) довольно часто встречается в источниках. Кстати, суффикс *-nya*, *-nye* не редкость в конце общеупотребительных слов, заимствованных от славян (*cseresznye*, *tanya* и т. д., EWUng.). Исходя из всего этого, есть серьезные аргументы в пользу возможности славянского этимона. Однако у теории есть и слабость, а именно – аналогии со славянскими географическими названиями не могут подтвердить интерпретацию названия. Хотя многие топонимы образовались от

общего названия *vino* ’вино’ на славянском языке, а *-ьna*, *-ьńa* также используется в качестве топоформанта на славянском языке, основное слово, предположенное Кишш, и названия, производные от него, не могут быть обнаружены (Šmilauer, 1970, cc. 28, 190).

Данные подтверждают, что название места произошло от гидронима посредством метонимии. Самая многочисленная группа названий поселений образована от гидронимов, содержащих название ручья без форманта (Hoffmann et al., 2018, c. 342), *Vindornya* также может быть зачислено к ним, что в данном случае выражает локальные отношения с семантической точки зрения. Водоток, текущий к северу от поселения и впадающий около Виндорняфок в ручей Дьёндьёш, также называется *Vindornya*: 1227: *Vundurna* (FNESz.), 1227: iuxta *Windurnam* (VOS., c. 78), 1382: iuxta *Vinderna* (Cs. 3., c. 77), 1858: *Vindornia patak* (Kat.). Ручей также протекает около двух соседних поселений, Виндорняфок и Виндорнялак (Kat., HKF.). Название водного объекта также упоминается в их названиях, но согласно хронологии данных, *Fok* и *Lak* были основными названиями поселений, которые только в XVI веке были дополнены компонентом *Vindornya-* (1408: *Fok* > 1548: *Vindornaffok*; 1358: *Lak* > 1558: *Wyndorna Lak*, FNESz.). Напротив, первоначальное название исследованного поселения – *Vindornya*. Мы не можем четко заявить о направлении метонимии, но некоторые факторы могут служить руководством при решении вопроса. Согласно литературным данным, аргументом за направление: название водного объекта → название поселения может служить факт, что несколько поселений рядом с водным объектом носят гидроним (Hoffmann et al., 2018, cc. 342–343), что можно наблюдать и в этом случае.

3.4. Выводы по результатам топонимического материала переписи

Таким образом, анализ названий может помочь определить наименователей, но, поскольку время самого наименования нельзя определить на основании диплома, можем сделать вывод разве что об актуальных условиях использования имени.

Анализируя слои топонимов переписи 1086 года по их происхождению, мы видим, что в 5 из 56 названий серьезно возникает возможность заимствования из иностранного языка. *Marcal* попал в венгерский через славян, *Gerence* может быть связан со славянскими наименователями,

анализ имен также показал, что использование венгерских имен в XI веке может быть установлено для обоих. Из трех названий поселений славянское происхождение топонима кажется очень вероятным в случае *Paloznak*, а в случае данных названий 1086 г. (и некоторых более ранних) мы также можем увидеть признаки использования славянских названий. *Pereszteg* также является подтвержденным славянским топонимом, но, основываясь на форме *Pereszteg* XI века, диапазон имен пользователей не может быть определен. В случае *Vindornya* заимствование вероятно, но отсутствие аналогий со славянскими топонимами ослабляет интерпретацию названия, а в случае названия поселения возможность образования от гидронима с помощью метонимии также вероятна.

Корпус диплома 1086 года содержит 56 географических названий, из которых только 35 (62,5%) имеют определенное венгерское и 4 (7%) определенное славянское объяснение. С венгерскими наименователями связаны следующие: ойконимы – *Cupan*, *Quiar*, *Panauuadi*, *Ketel loca*, *Forkosig*, *Nemti*, *Brezprem*, *Dinna*, *Zalamadi*, *Ocol*, *Felduuar*, *Tuel*, *Mogos*, *Bulda*, *Nulu*, *Tarian*, *Nandurdi*, *Arpas*; гидронимы – *Tuhut sedu*, *Fizeg*, *Arpas*, *Veieztue*, *Scequ*; микротопонимы – *Qumlouozou*, *Chigisti*, *theluch*, *Churchufeu*, *Hassag*, *huzeu brazda*, *humuch aruk*, *Seę sec fehę*, *Lessu*, *Qupis uta*, *(Q)uoasseg*, *Bik zadu*. Гидронимы *Grenicę* и *Murzol*, а также ойконимы *Ploznic* и *Prezteg* имеют иностранное (славянское) происхождение. 21,5% топонимов (12 названий) можно объяснить несколькими способами: названия населенных пунктов *Bel(iensis)*, *Purua*, *Keseih*, *Clun*, *Uuertis*, *Zaczardi*, *Hongin*, *Brihin*, *Sumig*, *Uuindurn(a)*, название горы *Bokon*, гидроним *Kỳris*. Большая часть группы топонимов неопределенного происхождения может также принадлежать к названиям венгерского происхождения, поскольку неопределенность касается только способа наименования в венгерском языке (например, название поселения *Hongin* могло быть образовано от личного имени или гидронима), и только в случае 4 имен может рассматриваться заимствование (с большей вероятностью для *Uuindurn(a)*, *Purua*; с гораздо меньшей для *Bel(iensis)*, *Kỳris*). 9% названий (5 названий) имеют неизвестное происхождение, большинство из них единичные, их более поздние данные не известны, иногда их локализация вызывает сомнения: ойконимы *Soriul*, *Kigouis*; микротопонимы *Tugut*, *Kiguoida*, *Vrtem*.

3.5. Сравнение с номенклатурой других дипломов XI века

Анализ топонимического материала переписи Баконьбельсого монастыря, который, таким образом, дает выводы для Центрального Задунайского региона, показывает те же результаты для иностранных имен, что и другие, недавно проанализированне и пересмотренные дипломы XI века. Основываясь на корпусе четырех дипломов со времен Стефана I (1001–1038), Поцош (Póczos, 2019, с. 9) получила следующие результаты: 34% венгерских, 8% славянских, 4% латинских, 54% имен неопределенного происхождения. Названия иностранного происхождения присутствуют в меньшей пропорции в хартии Тиханьского аббатства 1055 года и в хартии Саздского аббатства 1067 года: 2 из 82 географических названий (2,5%) (Hoffmann, 2010, с. 23), и 1 из 33 (3%) (Kovács, 2018, сс. 106–107, 110) соответственно имеют славянское происхождение. 16% топонимического материала грамоты аббатства в Гронски-Бенядике 1075 года имеет славянское происхождение (Szőke, 2015; Kovács, 2018, с. 110). Это может быть связано с расположением района – славянские названия засвидетельствованы в уездах Барш, Нитра, Эстергом, Комаром, Ноград, Чонград, то есть на окраинах венгероязычной территории, где численность славянского населения могла быть высшей (Szőke, 2015; Kovács, 2018, с. 110).

4. Резюме

Из имен нарицательных, личных имен и географических названий последние являются наиболее подходящими для получения выводов о языковых условиях того или иного времени, однако есть несколько ограничений для использования данного метода (более подробную информацию см. Póczos, 2019).

С одной стороны, известна лишь небольшая часть топонимического материала XI века, корпус, который можно исследовать, не отражает адекватно весь состав. С другой стороны, невозможно вывести лингвистические отношения непосредственно из одной этимологии, и частые

этимологические неопределенности также затрудняют исследование (см. высокую долю имен неопределенного и неизвестного происхождения). К заключениям, основанным на фонетическом статусе, будь то касательно времени заимствования или касательно пользователей имен, по ряду причин (фонетическая неопределенность и длительные фонологические изменения и пространственные вариации), следует относиться с осторожностью. В дополнение к этому, языковое влияние автора, коммуникативные и социолингвистические аспекты (например, лингвистический престиж) также могут вносить нюансы в картину, о которой у нас очень мало информации о времени.

Тем не менее, важно рассмотреть самые ранние памятники, потому что, как показало сравнение с результатами и выводами Книежи или Кришта, это может помочь прояснить предыдущие заблуждения, выявить методологические ошибки и увеличить число достоверных данных и этимологий о географических названиях XI века, в случае данного диплома – для Центрального Задунайского региона.

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Indo-European Toponymy in Minoan Crete: An Etymological Approach

Abstract

Linear A is the yet undeciphered Aegean writing system of the ancient Minoan civilization which flourished in Crete. Many attempts have been made to decipher Linear A, or connect it to a plausible language family, with limited success. The Indo-European connection to Linear A has been rigorously explored over time because of the Mycenean Greek encoded by its descendant writing system, Linear B. This paper proposes possible etymologies of place names in the Linear A script, following a hypothetical relationship to the Indo-European family of languages. We apply historical-phonetic methodologies and the comparative method in order to analyze these plausible toponyms. Potential place names were determined using Linear B phonetic values to determine the phonetic equivalents of Linear A signs, and by examining the position of these sign clusters on various articles. This paper does not attempt to connect Linear A to a language family – rather, it explores the hypothetical connections that could be drawn, the reconstructions we could make, and aims to contribute to the current debate and discussion around Minoan toponymy.

Keywords

Linear A, minoan, toponymy, Indo-European, etymology

1. Introduction

This short linguistic note proposes a new interpretation of the etymologies of possible place names in the Linear A script. Linear A is an undeciphered Aegean writing system used in the Bronze Age in Crete by the Minoan civilization and 'conceals' the so-called (unknown) 'Minoan language'. Linear A has been found on a variety of artifacts, including tablets, bars, labels, roundels, vases, architectural features, and libation tables. A great deal of the articles containing Linear A served an economic purpose. The number of articles containing the Linear A script is limited: there are 1,427 artifacts, with signs appearing approximately 7,400 times (Schoep, 2002).

The present article reconstructs the etymologies of some possible Minoan place names according to an Indo-European key of interpretation, by applying historical-phonetic methodologies and the comparative method to the analysis of those toponyms.

Given that Linear A is an undeciphered writing system, it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish whether the phonetic clusters identified as place names in the Linear A documents (mainly clay tablets) are real toponyms. Their transcription is achieved by applying the phonetic values of Linear B (Linear A's 'daughter' writing system, which was deciphered by Michael Ventris in 1952 and was found to transcribe Mycenaean Greek, an Indo-European language) to Linear A, on the basis of the many syllabograms shared by Linear A and Linear B and postulating that the 'common' syllabograms have the same (or, at least, similar) phonetic values. The idea that specific clusters of symbols in Linear A could represent place names is not only connected with this syllabic/phonetic comparison, but also with the specific position of these clusters of symbols in the Linear A documents.

All attempts to decipher Linear A as if one were transcribing an Indo-European language (for example, to Greek, *in primis*, based on Linear B, but also Luwian, Hittite, and so on) have failed so far, and so did the attempts to reconstruct the language 'hidden' behind Linear A as a Semitic or Afro-Asiatic language.

The present reconstruction of Indo-European etymologies for possible Linear A place names is highly experimental and works at a theoretical level. It provides, nonetheless, a new perspective for interpreting Linear A and,

possibly, adds a relatively new approach to the body of scientific literature on the undeciphered Aegean writing system.

2. Deciphering attempts

Many scholars have tried, over time, to decipher Linear A, unfortunately without any success.

Vladimir Ivanov Georgiev considered Linear A as an Ancient Greek variant (Georgiev, 1957; Nagy, 1963, p. 210). In his interpretation, the Hagia Triada tablets were written in Ancient Greek, and all other Linear A documents transcribed Hittite-Luwian (Georgiev, 1963).

Leonard Robert Palmer (1958, 1965) considered Minoan to be an Indo-European Anatolian language, linked to Luwian. This was based on the belief that Greece and Crete were twice invaded by Indo-European people during the second millennium BC (Palmer, 1961). This, according to Palmer, resulted in a migration of Indo-European people to Crete. Palmer based this belief on two elements: the presence of "Minyan" ware in Beycesultan (Western Anatolia), and a Linear A inscription which he interpreted as "Mount Parnassos" and which, according to him, was based on Luwian. In Luwian, 'Parnassos' means '(place) of the temple'.

Gregory Nagy (1963) worked on an Indo-European (i.e., Ancient Greek) hypothesis of Linear A. Although there are a number of examples introduced in this paper which demonstrate the connection between Linear A and Indo-European elements, these findings have been replicated in a variety of other language families. A key weakness of this approach to decipherment is that these lexical elements are prone to being borrowed from other neighboring languages. This is a common difficulty shared by many decipherment attempts.

Gareth Alun Owens (1997) highlighted possible similarities between Luwian and the language 'hidden' behind Linear A. Later he thought that Minoan could have been an Indo-European language linked to Sanskrit, Ancient Greek, and Latin (Owens, 1999, 2007). Owens was able to 'translate' fifty words of the language transcribed using Linear A using Linear B phonetic values. Owens postulated that Linear A represents a language from the Satem branch

of the Indo-European family, with lexicographical characteristics that were closer to Greek and Sanskrit, rather than being closer to Hittite (Owens, 1999).

Theories of the Indo-European, or more specifically, Luwian connection to the language encoded by Linear A have not become unanimously accepted by researchers for a wide variety of reasons. Criticism of Palmer's approach stems from a lack of archaeological evidence to support the migration hypothesis (Immerwahr, 1963). George E. Mylonas (1962) also challenges the Luwian theory on various grounds, echoing Immerwahr's view that there are numerous doubts about whether the Beycesultan people were Luwians, claiming that Palmer's evidence of the Minyan Ware was not sufficiently qualified. Decipherment attempts which use a 'Greek-like' lexicon have also been criticized for "retrospectively extrapolating Greek words from later Homeric, and, worse yet, much later classical Greek", without taking into consideration that "any superstate word introduced into a substrate language must conform to the standard orthographic and syntactical conventions of the substrate language" (Janke & Solcà, 2018. p. 3).

Jan Best (2001), following Cyrus Gordon (1982), tried to interpret Linear A as an ancestor of Phoenician. Gordon identified words in Linear A that could be connected to various Semitic Languages, including Akkadian and Hebrew. This hypothesis was also supported by Maurice Pope (1958), who pointed out Semitic grammatical features (such as the apparent use of copulas on tablets) and grammatical inflections. The word *kuro*, which has been found repeatedly at the end of economic tablets, is also commonly raised as an indicator, at a basic level, of some Semitic influence – it is the only word in Linear A whose meaning, 'total', is the most probable under the Semitic theory.

The language families which have been proposed only continue to grow, with scholars employing a variety of methods: Kjell Aartun (1997) theorized Semitic origins for Minoan and the Minoan Civilization, while Margalit Finkelberg (2001) connected Linear A with Lycian. Hubert La Marle (1997, 2002a, 2002b, 2007) tried to decipher Linear A by analyzing the frequency of its syllabograms and by developing statistical comparisons, proposing an Indo-Iranian origin for the writing system. Giulio Mauro Facchetti hypothesized a possible link of Linear A to the so-called Tyrsenian languages, that is, Etruscan, Lemnian, and Rhaetic/Rhaetian (Facchetti & Negri, 2003), postulated by Helmut Rix (1998). A similar theory has been developed by Sergey Aleksandrovich Yatsemirskiy (2011).

John Grimes Younger (2000) has provided a phonetic/phonological transcription of Linear A on the basis of the application of phonetic values of Linear

B syllabograms plausibly shared by Linear B and Linear A. Such an approach, despite being based on the assumption that Linear A and Linear B were 'read' the same way, has allowed to hypothetically reconstruct the general vocabulary of Linear A and some specialized lexicons (e.g., Minoan toponymy).

Richard Vallance Janke and Alexandre Solcà (2018) explores the idea of a new diachronic interpretation of the Linear A corpus and postulates a possible moment of transition between Linear A and Linear B, in which Linear A was the writing system the Mycenaeans were using to transcribe their language, Mycenaean Greek.

Peter Revesz (2017) considered the language of Linear A to be related to the Uralic language family. Rather than approaching Linear A using Linear B phonetic values, Revesz instead uses an algorithm to determine the syllabic values. This method uses a feature-based similarity measure to visually compare script symbols and to produce a proposed Linear A phonetic grid. Using these values, Revesz was able to create a 'Linear A Dictionary' (a proposed lexicon of words that had been transcribed in Linear A). These words were then compared to dictionaries for Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric to establish potential word meanings. It is worth noting that, in this work, Revesz uses clusters that are found on libation tables and objects as opposed to economic tablets with a known, and agreed upon, context.

Another approach is that of the Cretan Protolinear Theory, which suggests that all the Aegean syllabaries (including Linear A, Linear B and Cretan Hieroglyphics) have evolved from a common ancestor script, the Cretan Protolinear Syllabary. This was initially proposed by Willetts (1977), and has since been furthered by Tsikritsis (2006). A recent work by Papakitsos (2021) has used the Cretan Protolinear Syllabary in order to assign phonetic values to Linear A signs, and has found (using this assumption) that 44 signs of Linear A convey the same phonetic values as their Linear B counterparts, with fifteen syllables found to be different from those derived using the typical syllable-equivalence method. While this is not a decipherment attempt, the Papakitsos paper hopes to facilitate decipherment by proposing new syllabic values that may be used for analysis.

3. Indo-European Minoan place names?

The following possible Minoan toponyms are reconstructed according to an Indo-European key of interpretation, that is, as if they were Indo-European in their origin and as if they had, therefore, an Indo-European etymology.

The list of possible Minoan place names comes from Younger (2000) (in the section "Place Names"). The place names identified in this list also feature correspondences with place names in Linear B (Steele & Meißner, 2017).

The following etymological reconstructions are theoretical in their nature, and they are based on postulates which are not proven (otherwise Linear A would be a deciphered writing system) but provide a proposal for discussion and debate and show how Minoan could have had Indo-European origins.

The main problems we have to take into account are:

- It is not granted that the phonetic clusters listed below are place names. Linear A documents are undeciphered and, therefore, all kinds of readings of the writing system they witness are highly hypothetical and not confirmed – these clusters are thought to be place names because of their phonetic transcription (see the following point) and because of their position in the Linear A documents where they appear.
- It is not granted that the phonetic clusters listed below can be read correctly according to the given transcriptions, because the transcriptions themselves are based on the idea of a phonetic and phonological equivalence between Linear A and Linear B, and therefore Minoan and Mycenaean (Linear A signs are – arbitrarily – given the phonetic values of the equivalent Linear B signs). If Linear A transcribes a language incompatible with Linear B (i.e., a Semitic language, or an Afro-Asiatic language, for example, while Linear B transcribes Indo-European Mycenaean Greek), the reconstruction of these phonetic clusters is simply wrong. An improved understanding of the relationship between Minoan and Mycenean societies and the ways these are reflected in the script supports the use of Linear B phonology when reading Linear A. A recent study by Steele and Meißner (2017) has found a significant correspondence between Linear A and B, with new finds and improved epigraphic study contributing to an increased number of sign correspondences (72% of Linear A and B symbols have been found to be shared).

If we assume that the analyzed clusters are (or could be) place names, and accept their (potential) Indo-European origin, we can try to reconstruct, through a historical and comparative approach, their etymologies. These are listed below and constitute the essence of this short article. Purely hypothetical parallels have been included wherever relevant on the basis of semantics or etymology. Some analysis has also been included for certain proposed reconstructions, wherever applicable. It must be stressed, ultimately, that any proposed parallels or correspondences for place names have been made merely as an experiment with the concept of Linear A's language having an Indo-European origin, as unlikely as this may be.

Figure 1. PK Za 8

DI-KI-TE = Δίκτη < **Dǐ k̂ -tēs*- 'border of the sky' (Pape & Benseler, 1911, p. 300).

Proposed etymology: Ancient Indian *dīktắs* 'from sky's regions'- ŚBr. (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa) *dīkpắtʰā*- 'path of the horizon' (Monier-Williams, 1899, p. 479). Assuming the reconstruction, this could be referring to the highest place in Crete, which is now the peak Timios Stavros on Mount Ida, or Psiloritis.

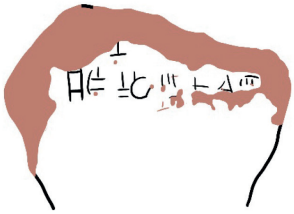

Figure 2. PK Za 9

I-DA = ῞Ιδη, Doric ῞Ιδᾶ < **H*$_a$*ǐ-h*$_a$*id-ă·h*$_a$ 'strong mountain, strong high ground' (Pape & Benseler, 1911, p. 534).

Proposed etymology: The first element is the Indo-European **H*$_a$*ǐ-h*$_a$*id-ă*, meaning 'strong'.

The second element, **h*$_a$, means 'mountain', or 'something that comes up from the soil'.

A possible semantic parallel for this string is that of a mountain: in Asia Minor, near ancient Troy (Kaz Dağı, in Turkish), the mount ῾Ιδη (Idē/Ida), in Ancient Greek, and *Īda/Īdē*, in Latin. This is a particularly interesting parallel, where the proposed meaning of the signs and semantic parallels have the same meaning and, possibly, the same Indo-European etymology.

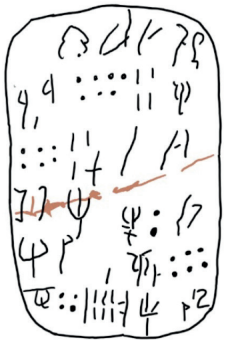

Figure 3. HT 120

PA-I-TO = Φαιστός < **B*^{ɦ}*ắh*$_a$*-ǐ-sth*$_2$*-ṓ-s* (**B*^{ɦ}*ắh*$_{2/4}$*-ǐ-sth*$_2$*-ṓ-s*) 'place in the sun'

Proposed etymology: The second element, *ǐ-sth*$_2$*-ṓ-s*, matches the *-stum* and *-stom* elements in the Hispano-Celtic Bergistum and Celtiberian Boustom.

Ancient Indian ^{2}*bʰa* 'light, clarity, splendor; Sun' (Monier-Williams 1899, p. 750).

A hypothetical etymological parallel is Hispano-Celtic Bergistum and Celtiberian Boustom. If a hypothesized parallel is to be made from a historical-semantic angle, another possibility would be Italian Solaro.

Phaistos is one of the most important centres of the Minoan civilization, often said to be the wealthiest and most powerful city in southern Crete. The name Phaistos means 'place in the sun' and is speculated to have come from ancient Indian *B*^{ɦ}*ắh*$_a$*-ǐ-sth*$_2$*-ṓ-s*, meaning 'light, clarity, splendor; Sun' (Monier-Williams, 1899, p. 750). Further search also indicated that the Minoan palace was found in Phaistos. This is probable if one looks at it from the viewpoint that the king is like the sun, providing light to his subjects; leading and guiding his kingdom along the correct path.

Figure 4. PH Wa 32

SU-KI-RI-TA = Σύβριτα? = Σύγριτα < **[H₁]sŭ̆-ĝ rĭtă·hₐ* (**[H₁]sŭ̆-ĝrĭtă·h₂/₄*) 'well stretched out'

Proposed etymology: The first element is the Indo-European **h₁sŭ̆-*, the second element, *-ĝ rĭtă·hₐ*, relates to the description of an action and with the meaning of 'stretched out' ' < √**ĝrēi̯* 'to stretch' (Pokorny, 1959, p. 401; Rix & Kümmel 2001, p. 170).

A hypothetical correspondence for this place name is *Sybrita/Sygrita*, a town in ancient Crete located in the Amari valley, located near modern Thronos. This town was first settled before the end of the Minoan period and was found to be one of the early Cretan cities to strike coins. It was, and continues to be, a wine-producing area (Stillwell et al., 1976).

Figure 5. KO Za 1b

TU-RI-SA = Τύλισος f. < **Tŭ́(hₐ)-lĭ-hₐsŏ-s, *Tŭ(hₐ)-lĭ-hₐsă·hₐ* 'provided with height'

Proposed etymology: The first element is paralleled to prehistoric Indo-European appellative **tūlŏ-*, **tūlō-*, 'height' (Pokorny, 1959, pp. 1080–1085; Mallory & Adams, 1997, pp. 560–561, 382–383, 417; Rix & Kümmel, 2001, pp. 639–640). The second element is paralleled to Anatolian suffix **-ĭ-hₐsŏ-*, and is compatible with an Anatolian descriptive suffix meaning 'characterized by' or 'provided with'.

A hypothetical semantic parallel comes from the the Polcevera Table (or Sententia Minuciorum). This is an ancient bronze inscription dating back to the year 117 BC and contains a decree of the Roman Senate with several place names listed on it. Among them, is Tuledonem. Tuledonem (accusative masculine singular), is a mountain in Liguria, Italy, and is a plausible parallel for TU-RI-SA.

Figure 6. ZA 15a

I-TI-NI-SA < **H₁ĭ-tĭ-nĭ-nm-s-ă·hₐ* (**H₁ĭ-tĭ-nĭ-nm-s-ă·h₂/₄*) 'intensive pastures along the way'

Proposed etymology: The first element is compatible with Ancient Indian ítĭ- 'to go', and the second element with Ancient Greek Νῖσα/Νίσα 'wandering life' (Pape & Benseler, 1911, p. 1011) ~ νίσσομαι, 'to go, to go to' (Beekes & van Beek, 2010, p. 1008)

A hypothetical semantic parallel is *Wandersleben*, in Thuringia. This village and former municipality in Germany was previously attested as *Wantesleben* and *Wantesleibo*. Νῖσα/Νίσα can equally represent a form from √**nĕm-*, in the institutional meaning of 'dividing up the territory', and, therefore, **Nĭ-nm-s-ă·h₂/₄* could instead be interpreted as a 'set of repeated subdivisions'.

A hypothetical correspondence for this place name is *Itanos*, a former municipality in eastern Crete. In ancient Crete it was an important city and port, but a great amount of information on its Minoan history has been lost due to erosion and the passage of time (Vafidis et al., 2005).

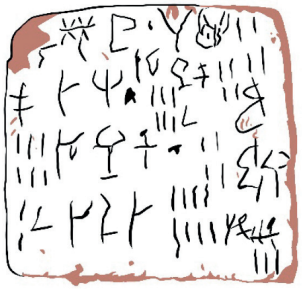

Figure 7. HT 10a

KU-NI-SU < **K̂ŭn-h₁/₄ĭsh$_a$-ŭ-s* (**K̂ŭn-h₁/₄ĭsh$_{2(/4)}$-ŭ-s*) 'Dogs' Shrine'

Proposed etymology: The first element is compatible with Indo-European **k̂ŭn-* 'dog'.

The second element is compatible with the Britannic hydronym *Isu*[*rium*], √**h₁/₄ēi̯s(h$_{2(/4)}$)-* 'impetuously moving, to entrench' = 'where the dogs were buried'.

A hypothetical historical-semantic parallel comes from the Britannic hydronym *Isu(rium)*. If hypotheses are carried out for possible parallels while keeping in mind the context of the naming process, an alternative parallel is the Italian place name *El Paradis di can* (*Il Paradiso dei cani*), 'Dogs' Heaven', in Valtellina (Lombardy).

Although it would be tempting to connect this string with *Knossos*, there is little evidence to support this correspondence. Its recurrence as a heading on commodity lists (Hooker, 1975), however, makes it a likely place name. Articles containing this string have been found in Hagia Triada, making it possible that this place could be found within Southern Crete.

SE-TO-I-JA < **Sĕnt-ŏ-h₁ĭ-i̯ă·h$_a$* (**Sĕnt-ŏ-h₁ĭ-i̯ă·h$_{2/4}$*) 'passage with path'

Proposed etymology: The first element is compatible with Celtic **sĕntŭ-* 'path' (Falileyev, 2007, p. 28)

The second element is compatible with Lithuanian *pérėja* 'passage, mountain pass' < **pĕr-h₁ēi̯-ă·h$_{2/4}$* (Wodtko et al., 2009, p. 221, as cited in Blažek, 2009).

The hypothetical correspondences for this place name are *Archanes* or *Ioukhtas*. The possible correspondence with *Archanes* was initially proposed by Owens (1994), who found that the high recurrence of the string was accompanied by a high amount of trade activity. *Archanes* has ancient roads which lead to *Ioukhtas* (now more commonly known as Mount Juktas) a mountain in north-central Crete, one of the most important peak sanctuaries in the Minoan world. The proposed etymological reconstruction would align well what we know about these locations topographically, along with their economic and religious significance.

Figure 8. HT114a

SA-RA$_2$ < **S̥rh₃-ă·h$_a$* (**S̥rh₃-ă·h$_{2/4}$*) 'flowing'

Proposed etymology: **s̥rh₃-* < √**sĕrh₃-* 'to move with a hostile attitude' → 'to flow' (Mallory & Adams, 1997, p. 207; Pokorny, 1959, pp. 909–10; Rix & Kümmel, 2001, p. 535), as well as **war-* / **uar-* / **var-*, 'to flow', is linked to the 'description' of watercourses.

A hypothetical semantic parallel is the French hydronym *Saire*.

At the etymological level, these nine possibly Minoan place names have all relatively solid (Indo-European) etymological reconstructions, which are consistent not only linguistically, but also by testing their semantics with the hydro-geo-morphology and the landscape features of the possible actual places (when existing) that they could indicate. That said, this once again relies on an Indo-European reading of Linear A, and on the assumption that the language underlying the script shares a relationship with this language family. As mentioned in the brief literature review presented above, there are a multitude of reasons why an Indo-European reading cannot be fully supported.

However, the Indo-European Toponymy of Minoan Crete is and remains just a fascinating hypothesis, with Linear A still being an undeciphered writing system.

4. Final words

This short note applies a strongly experimental approach to what can be called 'Minoan Toponymy'. The attempt to reconstruct etymologies for possible lexical items (in the case of this research, toponymic lexical items) from an undeciphered script is necessarily theoretical and limited. Nothing can be confirmed or disproved, in a context like this, until the undeciphered writing system is deciphered. This short article, nonetheless, might be a modest contribution to the current debate and an interpretation of (possible) Minoan toponymy using an original approach.

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Toponymy and Geology in the Landscape

Abstract

The elements of the physical environment have long been the object of naming. Indeed, an area's first inhabitants would have given names to places to satisfy their social need to locate themselves spatially and many of these names have been preserved until the present day. As such, place names reveal aspects of the landscape observed in the distant past by our ancestors. One such element of the physical environment is its geological features.

Toponymy, in the case of the study of transparent place names in relation to aspects of the immediate terrain, is a useful tool in geology both for producing thematic maps and for locating and studying such features as caves, landslides and metal ores.

At the same time, geology can help understand and clarify less transparent toponymic meanings and shed light on etymological hypotheses based on linguistic interpretations. This approach, supported by the compilation of background and comparative physiographic analyses of the geological characteristics of locations with similar place names, has considerable potential for identifying, recognizing and unravelling the origins of the names of many places.

This paper presents a number of reciprocities identified between place names and their geology and assesses them as a tool for the recognition of physical features of the landscape.

Keywords

toponymy, geology, physiography, landscape

1. Introduction

The study of place names not only provides information of interest to linguists, but it is also one of the sub-disciplines that contributes most data to other fields of knowledge (Molina 2008). Indeed, the interdisciplinary nature of toponymy has often been highlighted (Darby, 1957; Poirier, 1965; Dauzat, 1971; Querol, 1995; Tort, 2001) and in fulfilling this role, it acts as a "bridge" between the different disciplines (Tort, 2003a, p. 2); that is, "it uses, complements, and is interdependent with the services afforded by other sciences" (Moreu-Rey, 1999, p. 11).

In general, when we speak of the interdisciplinary nature of toponymy, we should not forget that more than one author has already identified the three major auxiliary sciences of toponymy as being history, linguistics, and geography (Poirier, 1965; Moreu-Rey, 1999). Yet, it should also be noted that other researchers have tended to stress the more psychological and social aspects of toponymic studies (Dauzat, 1971). Likewise, the intrinsic knowledge contained within place names, in addition to the very wide-ranging nature of their insights, can be highly transparent and of great use in very specific areas of knowledge (Querol, 1995).

Although in its origin onomastics concerned itself primarily with the publication of exhaustive, yet general, lexicographic-toponymic studies and collections, in more recent times more specific studies have emerged that seek to use toponymy as a working tool to characterize the physical environment. Examples include studies of the evolution of the landscape (Sousa & García-Murillo, 2001; Spens, 2007; Sousa et al., 2010, etc.), of the use of flora (Carracedo et al., 2006; Navaza, 2006; Sanz & Allende, 2006; Benítez et al., 2009, Carrillo et al., 2010; García-Villaraco et al., 2011; Gómez et al., 2012; Molina, 2012, etc.), and of the characterization of relief features, geomorphology and geology (Mensua & Ibáñez, 1979; Garcés, 1987; Domingo, 1997; Tort, 1999; Beltrán, 2001; García Aguilar & Salcedo de Lara, 2008; Planas et al., 2008, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018; Planas & Gascón, 2012; Ordinas & Binimelis, 2013; Planas, 2013; Tort & Sancho, 2014; Fidalgo & González, 2015, among others).

The elements of the physical environment have long been the object of naming. In prehistory, significant natural places were usually the first to be given a name (Ainiala et al., 2012), however, in the course of history, landscapes

have been subject to constant change: forests – or a given tree or plant species – might disappear; a species of animal might become extinct in a given territory – naturally or by human hand – and trails, villages, even cities, might be abandoned, razed or forgotten. Yet, there are certain elements of the landscape that, while also subject to change, evolve on a much larger time scale – at least compared to human life – and which means they can be considered virtually the same today as 5,000 years ago or more. The elements to which we refer are the geological features of the landscape.

2. The toponymy-geology binomial

2.1. Linguistically transparent geological place names

The names of the physical environment, apart from being ancient, respond to the need of our ancestors to locate themselves spatially in their territory. As such, these names – at least in their origin – served to describe the landscape and, consequently, they have semantic content (Ainiala et al., 2012), a content that might vary in terms of its transparency in relation to our current understanding and/or linguistic interpretations.

Thus, if these names do indeed describe the landscape, linguistically transparent geological place names should be a highly useful tool in the undertaking of geological studies. Moreover, such names are verifiable when preparing thematic maps (lithological, geomorphological, hydrogeological, etc.) and can provide obvious clues to the location of metal ores, caves, geological hazards, etc.

2.1.1. Some examples from Andorra and Catalonia

Montaup, for example, is a linguistically transparent geological place name (a dialectal evolution of the Catalan *mont* + *alb*, meaning ‘white mountain’). This toponym originated in the Casamanya massif, but it is preserved today only as the name of one of its local valleys, that is, the *Vall de Montaup* (in the parish of Canillo, Principality of Andorra) (see Figure 1). The name *Montaup*

describes a distinct geological feature of the Casamanya peak: the 'white (whitish)' chromatic hue of its lithology (Devonian limestone and calc-schist). This physical characteristic of the environment (lithology) is the same today as when the name *Montaup* was first coined.

Figure 1. General view of *Vall de Montaup* with the Casamanya peak in the background, seen from Canillo (Principality of Andorra). Notice the white (whitish) chromatic hue of its lithology (Devonian limestones and calc-schist)

Source: photograph by the authors.

The place name *Vallferrera* (Pallars Sobirà, Catalonia) provides a second highly illustrative example of the toponymy-geology binomial (formed by the Catalan words *vall* + *ferrera*, meaning 'iron valley'), reflecting the presence of this mineral (iron) in the Paleozoic rocks that outcrop in the valley (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Vallferrera* as seen from the Sotllo peak (Catalonia). Note, in the rock debris in the foreground, the red (rusty) colour attributable to the presence of oxidized iron ore in the bedrock

Source: photograph by the authors.

An interesting hydrogeological feature is reflected in the place name of *Aiguatèbia* (Conflent, North Catalonia), formed by the Catalan words *aigua* + *tèbia*, meaning 'warm water', and which is attributable to the presence in this location of a hot spring (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. *Aiguatèbia* (North Catalonia). Note the French spelling used on the road sign. Small village with a thermal spring (sodium sulphurous water) located on the eastern border of the Montlluís granitic batholith

Source: photograph by the authors.

Campcardós (Cerdanya, Catalonia) is an example of a compound geologic-morphological term, made up of the ancient Catalan words *calm* + *querdós*, meaning 'stony plateau' (Figuera, 2005), used in naming a high-altitude stony plateau (see Figure 4). Interestingly, the toponym illustrates the evolution of the term *calm* 'plateau' to *camp* 'field', possibly attributable to a false etymological attribution resulting from the loss of the original meaning of the word among the population. The place name also illustrates a more normal evolution of the old Catalan adjective *quer* (variant *car*) to *cardós* 'abundant in stones'. In this massif, the presence of numerous stony blocks also gave rise to such place names as *Puigpedrós* (the summit of Campcardós) formed by the Catalan words *puig* + *pedrós*, meaning 'stony hill', and *Malniu* and *Mal* (both lakes) where *mal* can be interpreted as being synonymous with 'rock, stone, stony terrain and, therefore, arid, rough' (Badia, 1949).

Figure 4. *Campcardós* and the summit of Puigpedrós (Catalonia). Observe the presence of numerous stone blocks across the high plateau of the massif

Source: photograph by the authors.

One branch of geology is concerned with the study of hazardous phenomena (that is, avalanches, landslides, rockfalls, floods, debris flows, etc.) and although the footprint of these natural processes changes over time, their occurrence results in specific morphologies that stand out clearly in the landscape. Such morphologies attract the attention of the human eye and, in line with the toponymic principle of exceptionality (Tort, 2003b), they have often been the object of naming. Some of these processes can be associated with place names that are both geologically and linguistically transparent, such as *bosc de les Llaus* (in the parish of Encamp, Principality of Andorra) a Catalan toponym that means 'avalanche forest', in this case, earth or rock avalanches (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. *Bosc de les Llaus* (Principality of Andorra). Note the rupture scar in the glacial deposits, the result of a debris flow

Source: photograph by the authors.

A second example, in this case associated with erosive processes, is provided by *els Esterregalls* (All-Isòvol, Catalonia) a dialectal Catalan noun meaning 'badlands' (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. *Els Esterregalls* (Catalonia). Soft sedimentary rocks that have been extensively eroded and which present a dense drainage network

Source: photograph by the authors.

Finally, *font dels Llacs* (in the parish of la Massana, Principality of Andorra), which is a dialectal Catalan name meaning 'landslide', describes the presence of lobular-slope instability (see Figure 7). Interestingly, the term *llac*, in modern Catalan describes an isolated body of water or "lake", yet Figure 7 does not show any body of water. Rather, the place name refers to a mass that has been transported.

Figure 7. *Font dels Llacs* (Principality of Andorra). Note the lobular and fluidized shape of the ground – displacing some trees with curved trunks and boulder-shaped masses of grass – sliding downhill (to the left)

Source: photograph by the authors.

2.2. Linguistically opaque geological place names

In the cases described above, a direct (visual) relationship can be established between the geology and its corresponding place name. The question arises though as to whether it is sufficient to examine these relationships solely from the perspective afforded by philology. To date, most landscape studies have been approached directly from the linguistic information inherent in place names. In the specific case of geological place names, such an approach might be valid for transparent place names (direct names); however, given that these toponyms of the physical environment are very old, they are often linguistically opaque and even for lay citizen unrecognizable as being descriptive of some element or physical process in the terrain (Planas et al., 2018).

It should be stressed that the detection and recognition of opaque physical place names is a complex process as, *a priori*, their etymology is far from obvious or direct and is likely to give rise to ambivalences. In such instances, an approach based solely on linguistics can result in contradictory – even illogical – etymological propositions when faced with evidence and well-documented arguments from other fields of knowledge (Moreu-Rey, 1999), such as geography, but also geology.

It is our contention that if we wish to advance in our knowledge and characterization of the relationships between toponymy and the physical environment, the classical linguistic approach is insufficient. In this sense, in recent years, a number of studies have been published that use place names to visualize and recreate the evolution of the landscape, but they use place names as a point of support and as a means to test physical and historical verifications that are observable using scientific methodology (Sousa & García-Murillo, 2001; Spens, 2007; Sousa et al., 2010, etc.). This procedure can also be applied in studying and identifying place names that are indicative of the geological characteristics of the landscape.

An alternative approach to the study of opaque geological place names can be conducted, at least initially, from a perspective that is well removed from that afforded by linguistics – thus seeking to avoid any preconceived concepts or ideas – and which is centered on what can be learned from the observation of the landscape, that is, from the physiography of the place designated by each place name. Here, a good working tool is that of **comparative physiographic-toponymic analysis** (Planas et al., 2018), a technique that, in turn, is based on the toponymic **principle of territorial significance** (Tort, 2003b), according to which place names frequently make specific reference to actual features of the landscape they designate (relief morphology, processes, chromatism, etc.).

Comparative physiographic-toponymic analysis involves the undertaking of systematic landscape examinations and comparisons of multiple places presenting toponymic coincidences or similarities, with the aim of detecting the existence of coincident common landscape features and/or processes in places with the same, or practically the same, names. In this way, hypotheses can be made regarding the possible values of significance of their place names. This methodology, which requires sufficiently representative series – four or more place names per group – requires expert field surveys, comparisons with other places of similar morphology, and testing on data from other areas. The relationship between the place name and the landscape feature or process must be verified without the detection of cases that contradict the proposition. Ultimately, the greater the number of place names in a given series with a common correspondence to a given geological feature, the stronger the relationship obtained and, hence, the greater the weight that can be attached to its significance.

2.2.1. Some examples from Andorra and Catalonia

At the geological level, for example, **comparative physiographic-toponymic analysis** has been used to develop the series *Andorra*, *Dorres*, *Dòrria*, *Font de Dorra*, *Cal Norra*, *Anorra*, *Lladorre-Lladrós*, *Durro*, *Lladurs* (Planas et al. 2017, 2018, 2019) (see Table 1). None of these place names can be interpreted semantically in modern Catalan and, as such, they denote no more than a specific geographical place. However, using the technique outlined above, these toponyms are found to have in common the coincident presence of a significant spring of water – be it thermal/medicinal, abundant in flow, or of marked quality (taste) – revealing an hydronymic meaning associated with the pre-Latin root *dorr-*/*durr-*.

Table 1. Example of comparative physiographic-toponymic analysis for the series *Dorr-/Durr-*

Toponymic series: "Dorr- / Durr-"	**Technical recognition of coincident landscape features across a series of place names**	**Interpretation of the toponymic series**
1- Andorra la Vella (Principality of Andorra) -Presence of a thermal anomaly along the whole shaded area of Andorra la Vella. The hot springs of Escaldes constituting the best example-		"Dorr- / Durr-": Water spring (hydronym)
2- Dorres (Alta Cerdanya, North Catalonia) -Presence of thermal baths. The village is located near les Escaldes and Vilanova de les Escaldes-		
3- Dòrria (Ripollès, Catalonia) -Presence of the 'Font Calenta', Catalan for 'hot water spring'-		

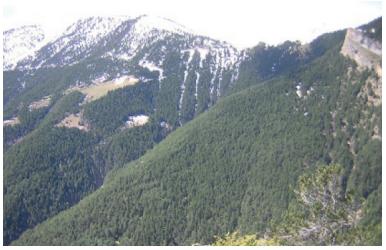
Toponymic series: "Dorr- / Durr-"	**Technical recognition of coincident landscape features across a series of place names**	**Interpretation of the toponymic series**
4- Durro (Vall de Boí, Catalonia -In the past, the village had laundries with 'hot water', according that is to the testimony of the oldest villagers-		"Dorr- / Durr-": Water spring (hydronym)
5- Lladorre - Lladrós (Vall de Cardós, Catalonia) -Presence of the 'Font del Sofre', Catalan for 'sulfur water spring' (near 'les Escaules'). Presence of an old thermal spring in the lower part of Lladorre-		
6- Font de Dorra (Taüll, Catalonia) -Presence of an old thermal spring near the church of Saint Climent's-		
7- Anorra (Gresolet, Catalonia) -Presence of a water spring highly appreciated for its taste-		
8- Cal Norra (Saldes, Catalonia) -Presence of a karstic spring-		
9- Fonts de Lladurs (Solsonès, Catalonia -Currently the Font de Lladurs is one of the main water supplies in the town of Solsona-		

Source: photographs by authors.

Similarly, the series *Boavi*, *Boet*, *Boès*, *Boí*, *Boatella*, *Botella* (see Table 2) also emerges from a **comparative physiographic-toponymic analysis**. For these place names, the technique detects a coincidence in terms of the presence of slope instabilities – sometimes referring to instabilities of snow cover – with the marked presence of mud (mire, silt; in short: dirt), which provides a *geokindynonymic* meaning (from the Greek *geo* 'earth' + *kindyn* 'risk, hazard' + *onoma* 'name'; Planas, 2017) associated with a possible pre-Latin root *boa-/boe-* with such variants as /*bouí*/, /*boue*/: *Bo(u)í*, *Bo(u)er*. Frequently, some of these place names have been interpreted as having a connection with the presence of herds of cows or oxen (from the Catalan *bou*), while some have been given other interpretations for example *Boavi* 'under the border', *Botella* or *Gotella* 'drop of water', *Boet* 'place with the presence of reeds'. However, this meaning can be disregarded because, in the Pyrenees, historical analyses show that the abundance of bovine herds is a relatively recent phenomena which makes any zoological filiation unconvincing (Planas et al. 2016). Moreover, the existence of terms with a Celtic root – *bawa* – (Larousse 1989, p. 147), such as the French *boue* 'earth or dust soaked in water, fine tank impregnated with water, silt', or the northern Italian *boa* 'slippery, muddy, especially clayey soils', also seems to confirm – at least for the Pyrenees – an alternative *geokindynonymic* value for this series.

Table 2. Example of comparative physiographic-toponymic analysis for the series *Boa-/Boe-*

Toponymic series: "Boa- / Boe-"	**Technical recognition of coincident landscape features across place names**	**Interpretation of the toponymic series**
1- Pla de Boavi (Pallars Sobirà, Catalonia) -The plateau is an area of large avalanches, floods and debris flows-		"Boa- / Boe-": Landslide, mud wash, especially in clay soils (geokindynonym)
2- Boí (Alta Ribagorça, Catalonia) -Both the village of Boí and the whole valley of the same name are characterized by a large concentration of landslides, such as Basco-Erill la Vall-		

Toponymic series: "Boa- / Boe-"	Technical recognition of coincident landscape features across place names	Interpretation of the toponymic series
3- Coll de la Botella (Principality of Andorra) -Coinciding with the presence of avalanche channels and debris flows-		"Boa- / Boe-": Landslide, mud wash, especially in clay soils (geokindynonym)
4- Boa Cinque Torri (Near Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy). -Large landslide, triggered by heavy rains on 16th September 1976-		

Source: photograph 1: David Soler; photographs 2, 3 and 4: Xavier Planas.

Thus, it is evident that for these two series of linguistically opaque place names – or, at least which present ambivalent meanings – the geological study of the landscape can help shed light on the possible value of their meaning.

3. Conclusions

The fact that the place names of the physical environment, including those that refer to geological features, describe the landscape at the time of its formation – undoubtedly, as a consequence of the need our ancestors felt to describe the territory – endows them with considerable interest. As such, they form an extensive historical (even prehistoric) record of the observations made by our ancestors since time immemorial and, moreover, they constitute a reflection of the language used at the time they were conceived and became established.

This formative feature, made tangible in the semantic description of the landscape, is precisely what allows **geological place names** to be recognized, studied and understood from two perspectives: that of linguistics and that

of geology. This peculiarity also ensures that the sciences that study these fields (i.e. toponymy and geology) are able to propose a series of insightful "information connections". In this sense, these two areas of knowledge are clearly complementary: that is, they are interdependent. And it should be emphasized that without this quality of "reciprocity", the analysis of the question in hand would be far from complete.

Thus, as we have shown, it is essential that geologists learn to use the information connections provided by toponymy, both for producing maps, and for locating mineralizations, water springs, landslides, etc. Likewise, it is equally critical that linguists consider the theories that geology makes based on the verification of physical facts, especially those that at the outset present a more ambivalent appearance from a linguistic perspective. Because, as Moreu-Rey (1999) notes, if one of the famous 'laws' (which are not in fact laws) of phonetic evolution leads to a conclusion that can be rejected on the basis of sound historical and geographical arguments, the latter will have the last word on the hypothesis –however logical it may be – of an etymologist whose reasoning is based merely on general trends (pp. 11–12).

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Neubewertung von Ortsnamen des Karpatenbeckens im 11. Jahrhundert

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag dient dem Überblick ungarischer frühzeitiger Ortsnamenangaben, die möglicherweise auf einen slawischen Ursprung zurückgeführt werden können. Der Korpus der Untersuchung besteht aus Urkunden aus der Zeit Stephans des Heiligen, des ersten ungarischen Königs (d. h. den frühesten Quellen aus dem ersten Jahrzehnt des 11. Jahrhunderts), und anderen Sprachdenkmälern aus dem 11. Jahrhundert, die unlängst monografisch aufgearbeitet wurden, und deren Ortsnamenschatz etymologisch neubewertet wurde. Die Analyse dieser Toponyme zeigt, dass die Mehrheit von ihnen auf mehrere Etyma aus mehreren Sprachen zurückgeführt werden können. Zu einer ethnischen Rekonstruktion können deshalb diese Ortsnamen nur begrenzt verwendet werden: Dass eine bestimmte Ursprungstheorie wahrscheinlicher sei als eine andere, kann nur in Ausnahmsfällen und auf Grund von sehr gründlichen mikrophilologischen Untersuchungen ausgesagt werden, und in solchem Fall wären weitere Möglichkeiten immer noch nicht auszuschließen. Eine solche Neubewertung älterer Namensangaben zeigt jedenfalls eindeutig, dass die frühere Praxis, eine Ursprungserklärungen von anderen willkürlich auszuwählen und darauf basierend bevölkerungsgeschichtliche Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen, kaum mehr ausgeübt werden sollte.

Schlüsselwörter

Ortsnamen, Etymologie, slavisch-ungarische Kontakte, ethnische Rekonstruktion

Abstract

Reinterpretation of place names of the Carpathian Basin in the 11th century

The article provides an overview of early Hungarian place names, which can possibly be explained from Slavic languages. The corpus of the research consists of charters from the era of St. Stephen, the first Hungarian king (these are the earliest sources from the first decade of the 11th century), and other documents from the 11th century, which have recently been analysed in new monographs, and their place name data was etymologically re-evaluated. The interpretation of these toponyms shows that the majority of them can be traced back to multiple etymons from multiple languages. These place names can therefore be used only in a limited way, and carefully, for an ethnic reconstruction: one etymology can be explained more acceptably than another only in exceptional cases and only on the basis of very thorough microphilological analysis, but in neither case could further possibilities be ruled out. The reinterpretation of older names clearly shows that the previous practice of arbitrarily selecting one etymological explanation from others and drawing conclusions about the history of the population based on this should not be exercised.

Keywords

place names, etymology, Slavic-Hungarian contacts, ethnic reconstruction

1.

Als die wichtigsten Zielsetzungen der Forschungsgruppe für Ungarische Sprach- und Namengeschichte (Magyar Nyelv- és Névtörténeti Kutatócsoport) gelten die Untersuchung sowie Neubewertung der ältesten Sprachdenkmäler der ungarischen Schriftlichkeit, d. h. Urkunden aus dem 11. Jahrhundert und ihr sprachliches Quellenmaterial. Von Interpretationen mit unterschiedlichen Schwerpunkten sieht die Forschungsgruppe die etymologische Untersuchung von Ortsnamenstreudenkmälern als ihre hervorgehobene Aufgabe an: Seit Anfang wissenschaftlicher Forschungen bemühen sich Linguisten und Geschichtswissenschaftler den Ursprung dieser Namen zu finden. Wegen ihres frühen Vorkommens können diese Toponyme als wichtige, wertvolle Beweise für frühere Konzepte über die Bevölkerungsgeschichte des Karpatenbeckens angesehen werden. Durch die Erweiterung zur Verfügung stehender Quellen und Forschungsmittel sowie die Entwicklung wissenschaftlicher Methodik in der Namenforschung sind Revision und Korrektion früher festgestellter etymologischer Erklärungen immer wieder notwendig, welche durch elektronische Datenbanken, bzw. eine neu erfundene Vorgehensweise für Rekonstruktion von Ortsnamen in den letzten Jahrzehnten ermöglicht werden konnten.

2.

Dieser Vortrag dient dem Überblick solcher frühzeitigen Ortsnamenstreudenkmäler, die möglicherweise auf einen slawischen Ursprung zurückgeführt werden können. Der Korpus der Untersuchung besteht aus Urkunden aus der Zeit Stephans des Heiligen, des ersten ungarischen Königs (d. h. den frühesten Quellen aus dem ersten Jahrzehnt des 11. Jahrhunderts), und anderen Sprachdenkmälern aus dem 11. Jahrhundert, die unlängst monografisch aufgearbeitet wurden, und deren Toponymen-Datenbasis etymologisch neubewertet wurde.

2.1. Quellen aus der Zeit von Stephan dem Heiligen

Es gibt nicht mehr als zehn Urkunden, die in die drei Jahrzehnte lange Herrschaft des ersten Königs von Ungarn Stephan des Heiligen datiert sind. Davon konnten Diplomatiker vier Urkunden als echt und authentisch nachweisen, jedoch sind sie auch nur in Abschriften erhalten geblieben.

Die folgenden, als echte Abschriften bewerteten Urkunden stammen aus den 1000er Jahren: der Privilegbrief für das Kloster Pannonhalma (1002/1213), der Schenkungsbrief an das Bistum Veszprém (1009/+1257), die Gründungsurkunde des Bistums Pécs (1009/+1205–1235/vor 1343/1350/1404) und die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Veszprémvölgy (vor 1001/1109).

Der Privilegbrief für das Kloster Pannonhalma enthält 14 Ortsnamen-Streudenkmäler, von denen zwei slawischer Herkunft sein können. Die Ortsnamen *Murin* und *Wisetcha* sind als Hapaxlegomena zu bewerten. Da sie später in keiner anderen Quelle vorkommen, sind sowohl ihre Lautformen als auch ihre Identifikation zweifelhaft, wodurch auch jede Erklärung für ihre Herkunft ziemlich unsicher ist. *Murin* wurde aufgrund der Wortendung als slawisch interpretiert[1], *Wisetcha* kann möglicherweise aus dem Adjektiv *vysokъ* (ung. ‘magas’, dt. ‘hoch’) hergeleitet werden, falls es sich mit dem später vorkommenden Ortsnamen *Hegymagas* identifizieren lässt (Kristó, 2000, S. 14, 19).

Im Schenkungsbrief an das Bistum Veszprém sind 20 Ortsnamendaten erhalten geblieben, von denen nur zwei, *Visegrád (Výssegrad)* und *Veszprém* (*Wesperen*), auf slawische Sprachen zurückzuführen sind. Der erste Ortsname wurde mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit aus einem slawischen Gattungsnamen (vgl. russ.-kirchsl. App. *вышеградъ* ‘Burg auf einer Höhe’, russ. App. *вышегородъ* ‘Burg auf einer Höhe’, srbkr. ON *Vìšegrād*, tschech. ON *Vyšehrad*, poln. ON *Wyszogród*; FNESz.), der zweite aus einem slawischen Personennamen abgeleitet (vgl. tschech. PN *Bezpřěm*, poln. PN *Bezprzem*, *Bezprzym*; FNESz.). *Während* das Wort *Visegrád* als Ergebnis slawischer Namensgebung zu bewerten ist, ist *Veszprém* durch ein typisch ungarisches Verfahren, durch Ableitung aus einem Personennamen ohne Formans entstanden, so scheint die ungarische Herkunft dieses Ortsnamens wahrscheinlicher zu sein.

[1] Diese Angabe ist – zwar weitgehend unsicher – mit dem im Komitat Somogy liegenden Ortsnamen *Mernye* identifizierbar (PRT. 1, S. 318), welcher im FNESz. (Földrajzi Nevek Etimológiai Szótára, dt. Etymologisches Wörterbuch geografischer Namen) aus einem slawischen Personennamen ohne Formans abgeleitet wird (vgl. srbkr. PN *Mrnja,* FNESz.: *Merenye, Mernye*).

Was die Ursprungserklärungen der insgesamt 12 Streudenkmäler in der Gründungsurkunde des Bistums Pécs betrifft, werden drei – der Gewässername *Lupa*, der Siedlungsname *Zemogny*, bzw. der in der Quelle sowohl als Hydro- als auch als Toponym interpretierbare *Ozora* – aus dem Slawischen hergeleitet. Die Lesart von *Zemogny* ist zwar unsicher, aber der slawische Ursprung dieses Toponyms ist bisher die einzige Erklärung (vgl. *Землен* < **Zemľьnъ (gradъ)* 'Erd(burg)', FNESz.; Hoffmann, 2011; alttschech. *zeměnín* 'Edelmann, Bewohner des Landes, Landsmann, Einheimischer', Šimek, 1947). In Bezug auf *Lupa*, welcher Gewässername später nicht datierbar ist, kamen mehrere Erklärungen vor, aber kein Argument ist überzeugend genug: das Hydronym konnte ungarischen, slawischen oder alteuropäischen Ursprungs sein (Szentgyörgyi, 2012; Póczos 2015). Für den Siedlungsnamen *Ozora* findet man in der Fachliteratur die traditionelle Ursprungserklärung, nämlich die Ableitung aus einem ungarischen Personennamen (vgl. ung. PN *Ozor*; FNESz.; 1174: *Azarias*, 1294/1393: *Ozorias*; ÁSz.). Das Toponym konnte aber – jedoch vielleicht mit geringerer Wahrscheinlichkeit – auch aus einem slawischen Gattungsnamen hergeleitet werden (vgl. **ezer-*, **ezor-* 'Sumpf, Teich'; Póczos, 2017, S. 122–123).

In der griechischsprachigen Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Veszprémvölgy sind 18 Ortsnamenangaben zu finden, bei acht kann ein slawischer Ursprung angenommen werden: *Gerencsér (Γριντζάρι)*, *Paloznak (Πωλοσνίκου)*, *Kenese (Κνήσα)*, *Veszprém*, *Szombat (Σομβώτου)*, *Padrag (Παδρούγου)*, *Csitény (Τζίτουμ)*, *Zalesi (Ζαλέση)*. Für den Siedlungsnamen *Paloznak* gibt es in den Forschungen keine andere Erklärung (vgl. srbkr. *Poloznik*; FNESz.), wobei die anderen Ortsnamen sich auch auf das Ungarische zurückführen lassen. In Bezug auf den oben erörterten Ortsnamen *Veszprém* wurde schon klar, dass er aus einem Personennamen als Grundwort durch ein typisch ungarisches Namensgebungsmuster abgeleitet wurde. Genau so kann die Ursprungserklärung für die in der Urkunde von Veszprémvölgy vorkommenden Streudenkmäler *Padrag* bzw. *Csitény* lauten (vgl. 1109: *Podruc* PN, ÁSz., < altkirchsl. *podrugъ*; FNESz.; bzw. 1138/1329: *Cetin* PN, 1288: *Cheten* PN; ÁSz.). *Gerencsér*, *Kenese* und *Szombat* können einerseits mit slawischen Gattungswörtern in Verbindung gebracht werden (sl. ON **Gъrnьčare* 'Töpfer', FNESz.: *Nyitragerencsér*; ursl. App. **kъnęzь* 'Fürst', FNESz.: *Balatonkenese*; Hoffmann, 2010, S. 91–93; altkirchsl. App. *sǫbota* ~ *sǫbotъ*; TESz.), andererseits gerieten sie als Lehnwörter in das Ungarische, so können die erwähnten drei Ortsnamen auch aus bereits ungarischen Gattungswörtern als Grundwörter durch ein

ungarisches Namensgebungsverfahren entstanden sein. Eine weitere, mögliche Erklärung wäre, dass auch die seit dem 11.–12. Jahrhundert datierbaren Personennamen *Szombat* und *Kenese* als Grundwörter der Namensgebung dienten (+1082/[XIII]: *Zumbot* PN, +1135/+1262/1566: *Zombot* PN, ÁSz.; [1174–1178]/1418: *Kenesa* PN, 1138/1329: *Kenesu* PN, 1213: *Knesius* PN, ÁSz.).

Sowohl die Lesart als auch die Lokalisation der Angabe *Zalesi* werfen sämtlich Fragen auf, und bieten sogar mehrere Erklärungen, welche zuletzt von Melinda Szőke zusammengefasst wurden (2019, S. 95–100). Unter den zahlreichen Ursprungserklärungen gibt es eine – von vielen akzeptierte – Lösung, u. z. die Ableitung aus der slawischen Struktur *za* 'hinter' + *lěsъ* 'Wald'. Aber je nach Lesart und Identifikation kann das Toponym auch als Ableitung, als eine suffigierte Form des ungarischen Wortes *sarló* 'Sichel' + *-s* verstanden werden.

2.2. Die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Tihany (1055)

Die erste, in Originalform erhalten gebliebene Urkunde in Ungarn ist die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Tihany, welche Quelle als eins der wichtigsten Dokumente der ungarischen Sprachgeschichte gilt. Deswegen wird dieses Sprachdenkmal von den in der vorliegenden Arbeit untersuchten Urkunden am gründlichsten unter die Lupe genommen. Sämtliche Studien und Monografien erläutern die möglichen Ursprungserklärungen dieser Streudenkmäler, der namens- und sprachgeschichtlichen Analyse der Gründungsurkunde widmeten István Hoffmann (2010) und Rudolf Szentgyörgyi (2014) selbstständige Werke.

Die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Tihany enthält rund 80 Toponyme, wobei bei 10 Ortsnamen die Möglichkeit für einen slawischen Ursprung besteht: *Tihany* (*tichon*), *Balaton* (*balatin ~ bolatin*), *Kenéz* (*knez*), *Lupa* (*lupa*), *Gamás* (*gamas*), *Ölyves megyéje* (*uluues megaia*), *berkenye* (*brokina rea*), *Martos* (*mortis*), *Kesztölc* (*ca*(*s*)*telic ~ kaztelic*), *Szernye halma* (*serne holma*) (Hoffmann, 2010, S. 23–32). Eindeutig ist die slawische Namensgebung bei den Ortsnamen *Balaton* und *Kesztölc*, die weder mit dem Ungarischen noch mit anderen Sprachen in Verbindung gebracht werden können (vgl. sl. *blato* 'Sumpf', Hoffmann, 2010, S. 46–50; FNESz.; **kostelъ* 'Burg, Festung', Hoffmann, 2010, S. 130–132; FNESz.). Typisch ungarische Genitivstrukturen weisen aber *Ölyves megyéje* und *Szernye halma* auf. Diese enthalten auch Possessivsuffixe (*-je*, *-a*) als Strukturmerkmale, was die ungarische Namensgebung zweifelhaft begründet,

auch wenn bestimmte Wortelemente aus slawischen Lehnwörtern stammen (*megye*, vgl. altkirchsl. *mežda* ‘Weg’, slk. *medza* ‘Grenze’, TESz.; bzw. *Szernye:* vgl. sl. *sьrna* ‘Reh’, Hoffmann, 2010, S. 187–188; FNESz.: *Szernye-mocsár*; dieser ON kann aber auch mit PN in Verbindung bringen, vgl. Hoffmann, 2010, S. 188–189; Fehértói, 2006, S. 166).

Die Namen *Gamás* und *Martos* entwickelten sich höchstwahrscheinlich metonymisch aus Personennamen ohne Formans, d. h. durch ungarische Namensgebung (vgl. FNESz.: *Gamás*, *Martos*; Fehértói, 2006, S. 163–164; Hoffmann, 2010, S. 95–96, 111–117). Der slawische Ursprung kann bei den als Grundwörter fungierenden Personennamen in Frage kommen. Beide Namen versuchte man auch als Toponyme aus einem ungarischen Gattungswort zu deuten (vgl. ung. App. *gamó*, bzw. *mart*, Hoffmann a. a. O., FNESz.: *Martos*; TESz.: *gamó*).

Fragt man nach der Herkunft der Ortsnamen *Tihany* und *Knez*, gibt es wiederum mehrere Antworten: Beide können aus einem slawischen Gattungswort hergeleitet werden (vgl. sl. **tichъ* ‘still’, Kristó, 2000, S. 23; sl. **knez* ‘Fürst’, TESz.; Kristó, 2000, S. 23; Fehértói, 2006, S. 165), aber die meisten – und auch die aktuellsten – Untersuchungen halten es für wahrscheinlicher, dass diese Toponyme aus Personennamen slawischen Ursprungs durch ungarische Namensgebung entstanden (Hoffmann, 2010, S. 43–46, 91–93).

Das Streudenkmal *berkenye* (dt. ‘Speierling’ oder ‘Vogelbeere’) wurde in der Urkunde vermutlich nicht als Ortsname, sondern als Gattungsname, also zur Bezeichnung einer solchen Pflanze erwähnt, die die Funktion erfüllte, Grenzen zu markieren. Obwohl es um ein Lehnwort slawischen Ursprungs geht, kann die Übernahme keinem konkreten Ort zugeordnet werden, deswegen kann man diesem Streudenkmal auch keinen den Ortsnamen ähnlichen, bevölkerungsgeschichtlichen Quellenwert unterlegen. Die etymologische Unsicherheit des Toponyms *Lupa* wurde oben, in Bezug auf die Gründungsurkunde des Bistums Pécs, beschrieben.

2.3. Die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Százd ([1067]/1267)

Die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Százd ist gegen 1067 zu datieren, und enthält Streudenkmäler, die neulich von Éva Kovács unter die Lupe genommen wurden (2018). Es kommen 61 Ortsnamen aus Ost-Ungarn vor, jedoch eine vermutlich slawische Herkunft festzustellen, ist nur in vier Fällen möglich: es

sind die ON *Szalacs* (*Zoloch*), *Bodrog* (*Budrug*), *Makra* (*Macra*), *Dusnoki* (*Dusnuky*) (Kovács, 2018, S. 21–23).

In der Fachliteratur wird der Ortsname *Szalacs* einerseits aus dem attribuierten Substantiv *solь* 'Salz' + *-ačь* hergeleitet, d. h. als Ergebnis slawischer Namensgebung identifiziert (vgl. poln. ON *Sołacz*, FNESz. *Szalacs*; Kovács, 2018, S. 75). Andererseits besteht genauso hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass das Wort aus einem Personennamen ohne Formans, also durch ungarische Namensgebung entstand ist (vgl. 1213/1550: *Zoloch* PN, ÁSz. S. 838; vgl. FNESz. *Szalacs*; Rácz, 2007, S. 250; Kovács, 2018, S. 75).

Im Allgemeinen verbinden die Forscher den Gewässernamen *Bodrog* mit dem ungarischen Lexem *bodor* (FNESz. *Bodrog*; TESz. *bodor*; Kovács, 2018, S. 77), aber es tauchten auch andere Erklärungen auf: Das urslawische Gattungswort **bъdno* (ung. 'gödör', dt. 'Grube') kann auch eine namensbildende Rolle haben. Einigen weiteren Meinungen nach geht es um ein uraltes Hydronym präslawischen Ursprungs (FNESz.; Kovács, 2018, S. 78).

Was die Angabe *Macra* betrifft, ist nicht nur ihre etymologische Erklärung, sondern auch ihr Denotat unsicher: Sie kann sowohl auf einen Gebirgszug im Komitat Arad, als auch auf eine Siedlung im Komitat Szatmár Bezug nehmen, wobei die zweite Erklärung wahrscheinlicher ist (vgl. Kovács, 2018, S. 79–80). Auf ungarischem Sprachgebiet sind mehrere Ortsnamen mit ähnlicher Lautform zu finden, welche üblicherweise mit dem urslawischen Lexem **mokrъ* (dt. 'nass, feucht') in Verbindung gebracht werden (FNESz. *Makra*; Reszegi, 2011, S. 169–170), obwohl sie auch als ein abgekürzter Personenname lateinischer Herkunft aufgefasst werden können (+1275/1275>1412: *Macrabus*, 1283: *Macrabeus* PN, ÁSz. S. 506; Kovács, 2018, S. 80). Die letztere Erklärung ist in dem Sinne schwächer, dass keine Belege auf solch ähnliche Personennamen in der Arpadenzeit vorhanden sind.

Die Fachliteratur beschreibt das Toponym *Dusnok(i)* als Ergebnis ungarischer Namensgebung (TESz.; FNESz.; Kovács, 2018, S. 94), das Grundwort sei das aus dem Slawischen stammende, ungarische Gattungswort *dusnok*, aber aufgrund der damals üblichen Wortform *(Dusnuky)*, bzw. entsprechender Parallelwörter im Slawischen (tschech. ON *Dušníky*, poln. ON *Duszniki-Zdrój*, FNESz.) kann die direkt slawische Namensgebung auch nicht ausgeschlossen werden (Solymosi, 1997; Kovács, 2018, S. 96).

2.4. Die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Sankt Benedikt (Hronský Beňadik, Garamszentbenedek) (1075/+1124/+1217)

Die Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Sankt Benedikt ist eine interpolierte Urkunde: Die Schrift entstand Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts und wurde im 13. Jahrhundert mit neuen Textstellen ergänzt. Laut neuesten Forschungen enthält dieses Dokument 98 solche Ortsnamen, die schon im Originaltext aus dem 11. Jahrhundert vorkommen konnten (vgl. Szőke, 2015; DHA. 1, S. 204–218). In Zusammenhang mit 17 Streudenkmälern kann eine slawische Namensgebung angenommen werden: *Csongrád* (*Cernigradenses ~ Cernigradensium*), *Esztergom* (*Strigoniensi*), *Kalocsa* (*Colocensi*), *Kesztölc* (*Kestelci*), *Komárom* (*Camarun*), *Kompa* (*Compa*), *Kurca* (*Curice ~ Curicea*), *Ladomér* (*Radmera*), *Naszály* (*Nazal*), *Pográny* (*Pagran*), *Rikácsi*(*ártánd*) (*Rikachi Artand*), *Taszár* (*Tazzar*), *Tepla* (*Tapla*), *Torna* (*Tornowa*), *Zsemlér* (*Semlar*), *Zsikva* (*Sikua*), *Zsitva* (*Sitoua*) (Szőke, 2015, S. 43–49).

Unter den aufgezählten Ortsnamen erklärt man die folgenden ausschließlich durch die Ableitung aus dem Slawischen: ON *Csongrád* (**Čьrnъgradъ* ‘schwarze Burg’, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 162–163), ON *Kesztölc* (siehe oben), GewN *Kompa* (ursl. **kǫpa*, vgl. poln. *kąpa ~ kępa* ‘Insel’, srbkr. ON *Kupa*, maz. ON *Kapanica*, Šmilauer, 1970, S. 99; FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 179), GewN *Kurca* (vgl. srbkr. *kùrica*, sln. *kúrica* ‘Huhn’, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 181), der Bergname *Naszály* (vgl. poln. App. *nosal* ‘Mensch mit großer Nase’, poln. ON *Nosal*, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 186), ON *Pográny* (vgl. sl. **Pogor’ane* ‘Bergleute’, vgl. tschech. ON *Pohořany*, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 190), GewN *Tepla* (ursl. **teplъ* ‘warm’; vgl. slowak. ON *Teplá*, tschech. ON *Teplá*, srbkr. ON *Topla*, slowen. ON *Topla*; Šmilauer, 1970, S. 180; FNESz. *Liptótepla*, *Topla*; Szőke, 2015, S. 200–201), GewN *Torna* (ursl. **tьrnъ* ‘Dorn’, slowen., slowak. ON *Trnava*, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 203), GewN *Zsitva* (ursl. **žito* ‘Getreide, Korn’; vgl. oso. ON *Žitava*, slowak. ON *Žitava*, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 208).

Die Siedlungsnamen *Kalocsa (Colocensi)* und *Komárom (Camarun)* konnten sowohl aus einem slawischen Grundwort durch slawische Namensgebung als auch aus einem Personennamen slawischer Herkunft ohne Formans durch ungarische Namensgebung entstehen (vgl. ursl. App. **kališče* ‘Pfütze’, maz. ON *Kališta*, srbkr. ON *Kališće*, tschech. ON *Kaliště*, Šmilauer, 1970, S. 87; Szőke, 2015, S. 175; bzw. 1273: *Kolocha* PN, ÁSz. S. 467; FNESz.; ursl. App. **komarъ* ‘Mücke’, tsch. ON *Komárov*, slowak. ON *Komárno*, oso. ON *Komorow*, FNESz.; Šmilauer, 1970, S. 92; Szőke, 2015, S. 179; bzw. 1275>1375: *Kamar* PN, ÁSz. S. 444).

In Zusammenhang mit dem Siedlungsnamen *Zsemlér*, der früher ausschließlich auf ein slawisches Grundwort zurückgeführt wurde (vgl. slowak. App. *žemliar* ‘Bäcker’, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 207), wirft István Hoffmann die Möglichkeit eines übertragenen Personennamens, d. h. die einer ungarischen Namensgebung auf (2017, S. 143).

Der Siedlungsname *Esztergom (Strigoniensi)* kann mithilfe von slawischen Parallelwörtern als slawisches Lehnwort verstanden werden (vgl. tschech. ON *Střehom*, poln. ON *Strzegom*, FNESz.; Szőke, 2015, S. 166), aber früher brachte man es mit dem bulgarisch-türkischen Gattungswort *estrogin küpe* (ung. ‘bőrpáncél’, dt. ‘Lederschild’, FNESz.) in Verbindung. Forschungen führten den Siedlungsnamen *Rikács*[2] einerseits auf das urslawische Substantiv **rěka* (ung. ‘folyó’, dt. ‘Fluss’) zurück (Kniezsa, 1974, S. 460), andererseits verbanden sie ihn mit dem ungarischen Verb *rikácsol* (dt. ‘kreischen’) (TESz.), aber weder die erste noch die zweite Erklärung scheint überzeugend genug zu sein (vgl. Rácz, 2007, S. 234; Szőke, 2015, S. 191).

Der Ortsname *Taszár (Tazzar)* wird in der Fachliteratur traditionell ebenfalls als slawisches Lehnwort erörtert (< **Tesari* ‘Zimmerleute’, FNESz.: *Teszér*; Szőke, 2015, S. 200), aber da er auch als Berufsbezeichnung in das Ungarische entlehnt werden konnte, besteht die Möglichkeit für eine Diskussion über eine ungarische, metonymische Namensgebung (evtl. durch Entlehnung eines Personennamens). Um das Toponym *Taszár* zu untersuchen, griff Valéria Tóth nach einem onomastischen Rekonstruktionsverfahren. Das Ergebnis zeigte, dass die slawische Namensgebung wahrscheinlicher sei, jedoch andere Ursprungserklärungen auch nicht eindeutig ausgeschlossen werden könnten (Tóth, 2019).

Der Fluss *Zsitva (Sikua)* trägt einen Namen slawischen Ursprungs (Hoffmann, 2019, S. 69). Dieser entwickelte sich vermutlich durch ungarische lautgeschichtliche Veränderungen zu einem anderen Gewässernamen, *Zsikva*, der auf einen Quellenzweig des Flusses Bezug nimmt. Dieses Hydronym ist das Grundwort, aus dem dann weiter metonymisch, nun sicherlich durch ungarische Namensgeber der Siedlungsname *Zsikva (Sikua)* entstand (FNESz.; Hoffmann, 2019, S. 62). Zwischen dem Gewässernamen, *Ladoméra (Radmera)* und dem ON *Ladomér*, obwohl der Letztere in der Gründungsurkunde nicht

[2] Das Wort *Ártánd* kann ein später, im 13. Jahrhundert hinzugefügter Teil des Ortsnamens sein (DHA. 1, S. 215; Szőke, 2015, S. 190).

vorkommt, aber in die Arpadenzeit datierbar ist, konnte ein umgekehrtes Verhältnis bestehen, d. h. eine Entwicklungslinie Personenname > Siedlungsname > Gewässername kann mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit angenommen werden. Das Etymon, in diesem Fall der Personenname, kommt ohne Zweifel aus dem Slawischen, der Siedlungsname sowie der Gewässername konnten auch schon innensprachlich metonymisch, ohne Formans entstehen (Póczos, 2004, S. 118; Szőke, 2015, S. 181–182).

3. Fazit

Tabelle 1. Quantifizierten Ergebnisse zur Neubewertung der untersuchten Streudenkmäler

	Zahl der ON	Eindeutige slawische Etymologie	Mehrere Erklärungen
vor 1001/1109	18	1	4
1002/1213	14		3
1009/+1257	20	1	
1009/+1205–1235//1404	12	1	2
1055	77	2	1
[1067]/267	61		4
1075/+1124/+1217	98	9	6

Quelle: eigene Arbeit.

Tabelle 1. fasst die quantifizierten Ergebnisse zur Neubewertung der untersuchten Streudenkmäler zusammen. Natürlich fällt am meisten ins Auge, dass diese Werte zu niedrig sind, und uns zu wenige Angaben zur Verfügung stehen, um ausschließlich auf diesen Daten basierend plausible bevölkerungsgeschichtliche Forschungen führen zu können. Aber man kann aus diesen Zahlen die Lehre ziehen, dass überhaupt keine solchen Tendenzen zur Änderung sich abzeichnen, die z. B. Gyula Kristó aufgrund der vier Urkunden aus der Zeit von Stephan dem Heiligen bzw. der Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Tihany formulierte (1993), nämlich dass in älteren Urkunden wesentlich

mehr aus Fremdsprachen (dem Slawischen und dem Türkischen) entlehnte Ortsnamen vorkommen, und dass diese mit der Zeit durch Namen ungarischen Ursprungs verdrängt wurden[3]. Den verhältnismäßig höchsten Anteil von Ortsnamen sicherlich slawischer Etymologie kann man eben in der Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Sankt Benedikt von Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts feststellen, was höchstwahrscheinlich keinen chronologischen, sondern einen geographischen Grund hat: die entscheidende Mehrheit der in der Gründungsurkunde des Klosters Sankt Benedikt vorkommenden Ortsnamenangaben ist örtlich einem gut begrenzbaren Gebiet nördlich von der Donau zuzuordnen.

Auch von den Ergebnissen einer fortlaufenden Forschung ist zu erwarten, die Ergebnisse einigermaßen zu verfeinern: untersucht und neubewertet werden Ortsnamenangaben in Urkunden aus dem 11. Jahrhundert. Zum Untersuchungsmaterial gehören die teilweise verfälschte Konskription von Bakonybél (1086/1100), die mehrere chronologische Schichten enthält bzw. die Konskription von Pannonhalma (1093), die Überlappungen mit den Ortsnamenangaben vom Privilegbrief für das Kloster von Pannonhalma aufzeigt, sowie die Urkundenfälschungen aus der Zeit von Stephan dem Heiligen.

Zu einer ethnischen Rekonstruktion können solche Toponyme, zu denen es mehrere Ursprungserklärungen gibt, nur ziemlich begrenzt verwendet werden: Dass eine bestimmte Ursprungstheorie wahrscheinlicher sei als eine andere, kann nur in Ausnahmefällen und auf Grund von sehr gründlichen mikrophilologischen Untersuchungen ausgesagt werden, und in einem solchen Fall wären weitere Möglichkeiten immer noch nicht auszuschließen (wie das z. B. die Studie von Valéria Tóth zu Toponymen wie *Taszár* (2019) oder die Forschungen von István Hoffmann (2017, 2019) zu den Namenangaben in der Gegend von Bakonyalja und Zsikva beweisen. Eine solche Neubewertung älterer Namensangaben zeigt jedenfalls eindeutig, dass die frühere Praxis, Ursprungserklärungen von anderen willkürlich auszuwählen und darauf basierend bevölkerungsgeschichtliche Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen, kaum mehr ausgeübt werden sollte.

[3] Kristó beging bei den Namenerklärungen zahlreiche methodische Fehler. Der bedeutendste ist vielleicht die Annahme, bei Ortsnamen gäbe es eine namenbildende Gruppe, aus deren Sprache das Grundwort des bestimmten Toponyms letzten Endes definiert werden kann (z. B. er fasste einen Namen, der aus einer türkischen Entlehnung entstehen konnte, als Ergebnis türkischer Namengebung auf). S. dazu die Kritiken von Hoffmann und Tóth (2016).

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Using Google My Maps to Collect Vernacular Toponyms

Abstract

The collection of vernacular toponyms often requires gathering data directly from the voice of speakers who live in the territory being investigated. The COVID-19 pandemic, however, reminds us that fieldwork can become unfeasible under certain circumstances. The pandemic provided an opportunity to reflect on remote collection possibilities: this is how a project regarding the vernacular urban toponymy of an Italian town (Savigliano, Piedmont) became a case study in experimenting with new methods to gather toponymic data. Some features of the well-known web mapping service Google Maps provide an ideal set of useful tools for this purpose, and many are already employed in various scholarly works regarding different branches of knowledge. The specific feature explored in our case study is Google My Maps, an application that allows people to complete a map themselves by drawing areas and naming them with their corresponding place names. Each person that creates a map and shares it with the researcher (without meeting in person) becomes an informant. The experiment highlights some of the method's strengths (no interpersonal contact; time and cost savings; no collector's influence; easiness to export, store and analyse toponyms with IT tools). There are of course some weaknesses too (unbalanced sample, lack of oral communication, criticality when writing dialect forms, no contact between the researcher and the landscape). However, Google My Maps proves to be an excellent resource in supporting remote collection of toponyms, and it deserves to be considered not only during the pandemic emergency.

Keywords

vernacular toponymy, Google My Maps, Google Maps, collection methodology, remote collection

1. Introduction

Collecting vernacular toponyms often involves fieldwork. Nevertheless, it can become unfeasible under some circumstances – such as the recent government safety restrictions introduced as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. This paper explores the use of web applications as possible alternatives to fieldwork and presents an attempt to do so carried out within a PhD project. The project focuses on the vernacular urban toponymy of an Italian town, Savigliano (Piedmont), and aims to study solutions adopted to name sections of the territory (such as suburbs, neighbourhoods, blocks…) that have neither official toponyms nor official limits. Due to the pandemic, in spring 2020 planned fieldwork and face-to-face interviews were replaced by experimental remote data collection through Google My Maps – a feature of Google Maps.

Firstly, the paper presents an overview of some Google mapping services (Google Maps, Google Earth, Google Street View, Google My Maps) and their feasibility in academic research. Secondly, the traditional methods of collecting oral and/or vernacular toponyms and their supplementation with Google mapping services within the experimental collection are illustrated. Then, positive and negative aspects of this method are discussed and, finally, some considerations and possible usability of the tool are drawn.

2. Google mapping services and their usage in scholarly research

The technology company Google offers many online services including Google Maps, a web mapping platform that can be accessed from its website[1] as well as through an application for Android and iOS mobile devices. Google Maps allows users to search, display and navigate maps – one can virtually search and "explore" a place by entering its geographical coordinates or an address,

[1] Direct link to Google Maps web page: https://www.google.com/maps

or even by moving the cursor on the map. The Internet contains a large amount of information about Google Maps and its features, but I will briefly focus here on three services that may be of particular interest for research in academic studies in general, and toponymy specifically: Google Earth, Google Street View and Google My Maps.

2.1. Google Earth[2]

"The world's most detailed globe" – this information is seen by everyone after entering the website, and probably there is no better way to describe Google Earth. It is a GUI (graphical user interface) application that shows a virtual representation of the Earth, produced by processing topographic data, and aerial and satellite images. Resolution is very high, especially in big cities. One can set the 3D mode and virtually fly over a three-dimensional model of the planet Earth's surface. The 3D mode allows us to see the difference in altitude of the ground and in many cases – usually, in the cities – even to have a three-dimensional view of buildings, trees and so on.

Google Earth also enables the creation of a custom project: a user can create point, line and polygon layers and assign a name to them. Images, texts, videos, and spreadsheets can be attached to drawing features. A Google account is required to create and share a project, as it is automatically saved in the corresponding Google Drive.

Technically, Google Earth differs from Google Maps. Despite that, Google Maps has integrated some of Google Earth's functions over time: the satellite background and the 3D mode. So nowadays one can use some Google Earth features directly from Google Maps.

2.2. Google Street View

This service allows users to walk down the streets virtually thanks to an augmented-reality effect created by assembling "spherical photographs". These are 360-degree images on the horizontal plane and 160-degree images on the

[2] Direct link to Google Earth web page: https://www.google.com/intl/en_uk/earth/

vertical one. Imagery is created using cameras mounted on special vehicles that travel and photograph the routes shown on Google Street View. The photographs are taken at eye level, giving the impression of walking down the street shown on the screen. The users move between buildings and they can choose which way to go from the alternatives offered by the service – in many parts of the world it means almost all the public streets and roads and sometimes even interiors of some buildings have been photographed.

Google Street View was created as a stand-alone service, but it was assimilated by Google Maps and Google Earth over time. The interface element that connects Google Maps and Google Earth to Google Street View is a drag-and-drop icon shaped like a little orange man called Pegman. When Pegman is dropped in a certain point of the map, Google Street View opens if data is available for that place.

2.3. Google My Maps[3]

Google My Maps is a service of Google Maps specifically designed to create and share custom maps. One can access its website directly or through Google Maps, as they are integrated. Some of its features are the same as those of Google Earth: the user can superimpose different layers on the background map, draw points, lines or polygons and name them; spreadsheets, images, texts, videos can be imported and linked to each geometric shape. Finally, the user can save the project and send it to other people (a Google account is required to do this). However, there are also differences between Google My Maps and Google Earth: Google My Maps does not include a 3D mode, but the user has the option of choosing from nine possible base maps, whereas Google Earth just offers the satellite base map.

[3] Direct link to Google My Maps web page: https://www.google.com/intl/en-GB/maps/about/mymaps/

2.4. Google Street View, Google Maps and Google Earth in scholarly research

The use of mapping tools provided by Google is widespread. As they are powerful and easy to use, it will come as no surprise to learn that they are frequently used in academic research. If scientific work involves geography, then – regardless of its topic – it may employ these tools for data collection and/or dissemination. However, specific literature on the subject is hard to find. Even though many researchers do take advantage of Google Maps features, the matter is not considered relevant enough to be discussed in publications. After performing an online search for open access papers, however, I managed to collect some examples of Google mapping tools applied to various types of research work. Google Street View is used to study neighbourhood conditions and to map people in social and criminological studies (Vandeviver, 2014; Campanella, 2017; Vercruyssen & Loosveldt, 2017); and it even appears in research that combines sociology and medicine, whose focus is the healthiness and liveability of cities (Rundle et al., 2011; Goel et al., 2018; Steinmetz-Wood et al., 2019). Other uses of Google Street View as a motivational pedagogical tool (Carbonell-Carrera & Saorín, 2017) or as a basis for a new social media (Du & Varshney, 2016)[4] are discussed too at an academic level. Google Maps and Google Earth, instead, are used to organise and geo-reference data in two very different research areas: library science (Dodsworth & Nicholson, 2012) and architecture (Garagnani et al., 2008).

Direct experience has taught me that Google Maps and Google Earth are often chosen when mapping and presenting data in the field of linguistics and onomastics. Although literature on their use in data collection is scarce, some considerations about their application (Google Street View at first) can be found in Linguistic Landscape research works (see Gorter, 2018, and "References" of his paper). But I was unable to find similar contributions in toponymic research. As I consider them useful resources in this field, in the next section I would like to propose some applications for collecting toponyms.

[4] See also the website https://socialstreetview.com/

3. Traditional methods and Google mapping services to collect vernacular toponyms

The case study in this paper relates to my PhD project, a study of the vernacular urban toponymy of Savigliano, an Italian town located in the Piedmont Region. The project initially involved collecting unofficial toponyms as part of traditional face-to-face field work, but this was later necessarily changed into remote data collection through Google My Maps, a feature of Google Maps.

3.1. The project in Savigliano (Piedmont, Italy) and the planned collection

The PhD work aims to investigate the vernacular urban toponymy of Savigliano. That means the unofficial names of small urban objects[5] – such as suburbs, neighbourhoods, blocks, squares, etc. – used locally. They are comparable to what the ICOS Terminology Group calls "microtoponym", with the difference that the examples given in its definition refer to geographical objects belonging to the rural or natural landscape: a "microtoponym" is a "name referring to smaller objects like fields, pastures, fences, stones, marshes, bogs, ditches etc., and in general used locally by only a limited group of people".[6]

Vernacular toponyms are often unofficial and transmitted through oral communication (Taylor, 2016, p. 74). In the Italian context, they are usually etymologically related to local dialects (Marcato, 2009, p. 114), except the ones that have been created recently, from the 20th century.[7]

While searching for early forms in written documents is important in order to reconstruct the etymological meaning and development of vernacular

[5] The urban area of Savigliano measures about 4 km^2 in total.

[6] "ICOS Lists of Key Onomastic Terms", https://icosweb.net/publications/onomastic-terminology/

[7] In 1861, the year of the unification of Italy, just 2.5% of the inhabitants were able to speak Italian, as most of the population had a local dialect as their native language. During the 20th century, Italian gradually became the most common first language among Italians (Grassi et al., 2010, pp. 26–33).

toponyms (Taylor, 2016, p. 71), due to their oral transmission a field stage during data collection is recommended. The original Savigliano project comprised a field investigation, including two-tier interviews with local informants. The first interview should have consisted in a semi-structured conversation – an established scholarly practice (Matranga, 2002) – conducted with the ATPM[8] methodology as a model, where informants are asked to cross the municipality mentally, with the help of a map, and to name all the places as they would in everyday life. The supportive map does not include name labels, so that the influence of official toponyms is avoided. The collector writes down the toponyms by hand as the informant provides them. The second phase should have been a control phase: the collector submits a list of the various toponyms collected during the first step to the informants. For each new toponym, the informant has to say if they know it and just forgot it, if they know it but do not know its location, or if they do not know it at all.

Since the project has a socio-onomastic purpose, the sample of informants was supposed to include about 50 people with different sociodemographic features: gender, age and "sense of community". The last of these features is an index formed by the intersection of the four variables relating to the informant's relationship with Savigliano: place of birth; place of residence; place of work or other activity; relatives (parents, grandparents) from Savigliano.

The original data collection plan already considered experimenting with Google mapping services, replacing the blank map with images from Google Street View and Google Earth in some pilot interviews and comparing outcomes. In the end, the pandemic necessitated a change of strategy and this experimentation was implemented with just a few interviews. To discuss its results, it would be necessary to compare more outcomes.

[8] ATPM (Atlante Toponomastico del Piemonte Montano) is a linguistic atlas that aims to collect all the microtoponyms to the Piedmontese side of the Alpine region (see Genre & Jalla, 1993, or the website https://www.atpmtoponimi.it/).

3.2. Rescheduling and designing the collection with Google My Maps

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, field research and face-to-face interviews, originally planned for spring 2020, had to be replaced by some new methods. In order not to interrupt the collecting of toponyms, the work had to be carried out remotely. Since people were confined to their homes, with more free time on their hands, I decided to ask them to fill in a blank map with toponyms by themselves.

To avoid any physical contact and obtain maps, the new method had to be remote and easy to use. Since I did not find any suggestions in literature, I searched the Internet for web applications that allow users to create maps – draw and name shapes – and share them easily. I found a few dozen suitable apps, including Google My Maps, the feature of Google Maps previously described, which turned out to be the best for my purposes. In fact, it has advantages that are partly lacking in other software: the main screen is the one of Google Maps, which is quite well-known; it is free; the user logs in with a Google account, no further registration is needed; sharing the map does not entail making it public. Another advantage of Google My Maps is that it provides a space in which the researcher/collector can better adjust the maps they are gathering according to their specific needs. Also, it gives users the possibility to change the base map. Furthermore, the 3D view that Google Earth includes – Google My Maps does not – is not relevant in this context, as Savigliano is not one of those cities with a detailed three-dimensional digital model of itself.

Data collection through Google My Maps followed these steps:

(i) The creation of a video that introduces the project and defines the target population and key informants the researcher is looking for. Most of the video is a tutorial explaining how to make a map and to send it to the researcher.

(ii) Posting and sharing of the video on informal networks, such as social media channels (specifically, Facebook and its "groups") and instant messaging services (WhatsApp).

(iii) The creation of a "self-selected" sample of informants and collection of toponymic maps created by them. Informants choose to participate of their own free will, by simply following the video tutorial that teaches them how to create and send their maps through Google My Maps. Namely, they draw points, lines, or polygons on the base map, adjust their visual style

and name them with a label (the toponym) which is displayed in a list created gradually alongside the map. Following instructions in the video tutorial, informants then send their map to the researcher.

(iv) The researcher receives maps on their email address. As Google My Maps uses the Google account e-mail of the informant to send the map automatically, the researcher can answer to this email address to thank the informant and to ask for further information, such as socio-demographic data of the informant.

Response to the experiment was positive: after the video had reached the target, I received forty-four maps in a few days. Figure 1 shows an example of a set of named objects collected by one of the informants.

Figure 1. Example of a set of named objects drawn by one of the informants

Source: Google My Maps (Map data @2021).

3.3. Experimental data collection through Google My Maps: positive aspects

Compared with the traditional methodology, this experiment in data collection revealed both positive and negative issues. On a positive note, the main objective (related to epidemiological restrictions) was achieved: face to face meetings were avoided.

Collecting data in this way also enables the researcher to reach people and places far away, and many informants can complete their maps at the same time. Both these factors result in cost and time savings.

Another positive aspect is the complete minimisation of the researcher's influence on the informant. Therefore, what the person considers a toponym and not a descriptive common noun – i.e. in cases such as "the square" or "the wood" – becomes clear. The informant also must draw the limits of each area related to a toponym by themself,[9] so they need to consider them carefully. Furthermore, the list of toponyms that the informant creates shows what is a priority in the way they organise a mental landscape, because its items are listed in the same order in which the person draws and labels them.

Self-selecting informants produce some positive effects, as the researcher can reach people from outside the word-of-mouth dynamics – one of the most common ways to find them – thus people other than stereotyped "local experts" become more easily involved.

Lastly, this method impacts on the storage and the analysis of toponymic data. In fact, data collected through Google My Maps can be exported in the KML/KMZ format, a file format used to express geo-referenced data and to display a two- or three-dimensional visualisation of them. These files work with Geographic Information System (GIS) software – such as the open source QGIS.[10] With this software, KML/KMZ data can also be extracted as Excel spreadsheets. Therefore, maps created with Google My Maps can be organised in a storage system containing large amounts of data, and the features within

[9] In face-to-face interviews the collector usually writes toponyms on the map. This means the informant is less careful with regard to borders.

[10] QGIS is a free and open-source desktop Geographic Information System application that supports viewing, editing, and analysis of geospatial data. It is one of the most widespread GIS software and it is suitable to start working with geospatial data (website: https://www.qgis.org/en/site/).

each map (polygons, lines, points, toponyms, descriptions, positions etc.) can be processed together: the researcher can overlap parts of them, choose what to display, extract specific information, etc.

3.4. Experimental collection through Google My Maps: critical issues

There are, however, some critical issues with remote data collection. First of all, given the socio-onomastic objective of my research, the biggest problem is the unbalanced sample obtained by self-selection. While it is true that Google My Maps makes it possible to reach a wider audience than one created using word-of-mouth dynamics, on the other hand the collection excludes people who do not use the Internet and do not have a Google account. As a result, it is especially difficult to involve older people in the study. Out of the forty-four people from whom I received maps, very few of them were over 60: six people aged 60 to 69 and only two elderly informants (78 and 81) – both were helped by younger family members. The self-selected sample may be unbalanced with respect to other socio-demographic features too; in this case, the researcher can send a video request to a specific target and fill possible gaps. Instead, this solution cannot be used with older people, as they are not usually computer literate.

Another problem when collecting through Google My Maps is that vernacular toponyms are registered in a non-oral way, as the software requires them to be written – attaching an audio recording is not possible. Consequently, informants must transpose place names that they use especially in oral communication into written forms by themselves. In some cases this is a smooth process, but sometimes it is not, as in the case of dialectal toponyms. In Savigliano, many of the inhabitants speak Piedmontese – the local Romance dialect – in addition to Italian. Because of the toponymy conservative tendency, many place names are provided in Piedmontese. The Piedmontese has written traditions and standard writing systems, but most speakers are unfamiliar with them, because the daily use of Piedmontese has historically been purely oral. This means that informants using Piedmontese toponyms resort to an Italianised spelling, characterised by personal choices. Furthermore, gathering vernacular toponyms without a flow of verbal communication can lead to a poorer collection: variants, the presence or lack of articles and prepositions, etc. are harder to capture.

Another critical issue of remote collection, on a more general level, is that the researcher/collector loses the opportunity to explore the territory under study in more detail. As Taylor (2016) says, field research in toponomastics makes sense:

> for the purposes not just of interrogating those who live in a landscape, as in the collection of oral material, but of interrogating the landscape itself. There are many cases in which the landscape offers the key to the interpretation of a name. (p. 75)

Therefore, it would be not only appropriate but also necessary if the researcher carrying out a remote collection possessed previous knowledge of the landscape being investigated.

The data gathering part of the research in Savigliano was designed to be carried out on site, so the aforementioned problematic aspects affected the results. Therefore, at a later time – when safety measures put into place during the pandemic were eased – I decided to integrate the remote collection with a face-to-face phase so as to check the maps I received through Google My Maps, and to gather new data from informants that I was unable to connect with via the Internet (especially older people). Furthermore, I conducted the second phase of the originally planned collection in person, submitting the list of toponyms to all the informants. With new informants, I conducted the first part of the interviews in as neutral a way as possible, so that the data was comparable with the data collected through virtual maps.

4. Conclusions

The case of Savigliano (Piedmont, Italy) shows how Google mapping services – specifically, Google My Maps – can add to traditional methods of collecting toponyms. Even if the specific case study required a face-to-face integration, it clearly displays the strengths of remote tools in research.

The researcher can use Google My Maps as an instrument to perform a preliminary exploration and to create a network on field. This can be followed

up by a more in-depth investigation using traditional tools. Otherwise, if the aims of the research are consistent (i.e. the target of informants can respond and use the application), one can design all the collection phases based on this web mapping service. The fact that a very large amount of toponymic and spatial data can be gathered and stored in a short time, furthermore, enables the researcher to operate on much wider territories. Finally, the method has been presented for the collection of vernacular toponyms belonging to small objects here, but it can be used to gather names that belong to bigger portions of a specific territory, or that are not necessarily unofficial. For instance, informants living in a city might be asked to provide all the official hodonyms that they know, or a sample of people living in Piedmont could be asked to write the oikonyms of that Italian region in their unofficial Piedmontese form, if they are aware of it. These are just two examples of how Google My Maps could possibly be used to collect place names, even in a normal, non-pandemic situation.

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Cross-Border Onomastic Systems of Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland: Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects

Abstract

The paper presents a comparative synchronic and diachronic study of two cross-border oikonymic systems of western Ukraine and eastern Poland. We analyse the structure and semantics of Ukrainian and Polish oikonyms.

The paper traces the evolution between two cross-border oikonymic systems on the structural and derivational levels. As a basis for structural and derivational comparison we put forward the idea of *invariantness*. A number of structural models are used for derivational level. We conduct an analysis of the semantics of words comprising the basis for place names that enables us to trace the development of semantic structures.

The paper focuses on structural and lexical-semantic aspects that are of intralingual character; social, functional, psychological, and cognitive aspects aim at creating an ontological picture of analysed oikonymy as a social phenomenon. We study the problem of oikonym motivation in Polish and Ukrainian linguistic environments.

The onomastic parallelism of Slavic cross-border oikonymic systems is a crucial new aspect of studies and plays an important role for theoretical onomastics. It also is a new approach for historical theoretical onomastics; principles of nomination production are a keystone for applied onomastics.

Keywords

place names, cross-border oikonymic systems, Ukrainian and Polish oikonyms, comparative studies, motivation of oikonyms

1. Introduction

Issues relating to principles and motives of nomination and mechanisms of coining onyms continue to be debated in Ukrainian, Polish and as a whole in Slavic onomastics at the present time. We believe that it most affects establishing etymologies of place names (historical oikonyms) on ancient borderland territories with populations speaking different languages, and that it also affects the analysis of the correlation between a language sign expressed by a place name and its etymology concealed in internal form for an oikonym. As one of the motives of place name coinage is the fulfilment of pragmatic functions (i.e., specifying the terrain and people that populate it), geographical, spatial and topographic factors are important here. The mechanism of nomination of settlements is to ensure their precise differentiation from other adjacent oikonyms, and also from other groups of toponyms (microtoponyms, oronyms, hydronyms).

Monographic comparative studies of cognate toponymic systems are absent in Slavic onomastics, just as descriptions of oikonymic systems of the Ukrainian and Polish borderlands are. It is extremely important to bridge this gap as the analysis of similar typological, universal and different features in phonetics, structure, semantics, and etymology of Ukrainian and Polish oikonyms allows us to arrive at important conclusions about cultural, historical, ethnolinguistic, geographic and physical features that objectively formed potential motivational stems for coining place names. The logic of the development of modern onomastics (especially its multidisciplinary character), and accumulated material, theoretical, lexicographical works in Slavic oikonymy encourage us to proceed from a descriptive and comparative-historical study of separate oikonymic systems to establishing onomastic typology and parallels and universals in cross-border Ukrainian and Polish oikonymic systems. We have to understand the regularities of genesis and formation of place names in the onymic space of Ukrainian and Polish languages, and gain comprehensive knowledge of onomastic methods and their adequate application in comparative-historical, etymological and typological studies.

The reconstruction of the settlement processes in these areas and formation of the system of place names is based on available (both previous and contemporary) Ukrainian and Polish regional historical and onomastic studies

over a long period of time. The following scholars made their contribution to the study of this area: Kuropatnicki (1858), Sulimierski et al. (1880–1902), Baliński and Lipiński (1885), Dąbkowski (1939), Persowski (1962), Łesiów (1972), Warchoł (1986), Makarski (1986, 1996, 1999), Czopek-Kopciuch (1988), Janeczek (1991, 1996), Rymut et al., (1996–2018), Pluskota (1998, 2020), Redkva (2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2019), Czapla (2011, 2018), Kupchynska (2016) and Koper (2021a). This state of research allows us to arrive, in our view, at final conclusions about the origins of place names. In establishing the borders of these terrains and formation of the system of place names the following factors were influential: geographical conditions (river watersheds, clearing of forests), private ownership relations between colonists (Poles and Germans) and the local (Ukrainian) population, and the absence of a defined Ukrainian and Polish border.

The latest onomastic conferences highlight that studies of Ukrainian and Polish cross-border names are topical.[1] The historical oikonymy of western Ukraine (WU) and eastern Poland (EP) in its genesis illustrates how this territory was settled not only by the local Ukrainian population but also reflects migration processes and settlement history and establishes various ethnic relationships. As a rule, the clue to the character of a name of a locality is the semantics of the basis of the oikonym, its derivational formants and the formation of the onymic type. If the name is of a spontaneous, anonymous character, and topographic or possessive motivation embedded in a proper name by means of phonetic, semantic, or grammatical means of the language of the autochthonous population, it should be analysed within the onymic system of the language. Polish and Ukrainian regional onomastic studies deal with this quite effectively.

A researcher of such a group of proprial vocabulary cannot ignore phenomena of its systemic character in viewing it from the point of an interdisciplinary understanding of onomastics as a science. This statement is important

[1] "Spotkania onomastyczne. Badania onomastyki pogranicza polsko-wschodniosłowiańskiego" [Onomastic meetings. Onomastic studies of Polish-East Slavic borderland], a conference organized on 15 March, 2021, by Warsaw University, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, and John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. The papers presented there demonstrate the necessity of such type of studies, e.g. "Ukrainian anthroponymical system of Ukrainian and Polish borderland as identifier of national identity" (Mytnik, 2021), "Typology of oikonymic systems of western Ukraine and eastern Poland (diachronic aspect)" (Redkva, 2021), and "Several toponymic mysteries from Polish and Ukrainian borderland" (Koper, 2021b).

when analysing regional Ukrainian and Polish oikonymy that demonstrates its systemic character most fully as a category of proper names located in time and space: it turns out quite suitable to describe chronological and geographical processes, directions of changes and suitable to the study of properties that even having polar tendencies make out the exclusive character of onomastics (Cyniak & Gała, 1988, p. 23).

Proceeding to carry out direct linguistic tasks, the most important of which is the etymologization of all historical oikonyms of Ukraine and Poland, linguists tackle the complex problem of identification of Ukrainian and Polish ethnoses establishing their common and simultaneous origin on adjacent terrains of their residence. From the point of view of onomastics, western Ukrainian and eastern Polish place names are analysed as inherent components, being as linguistic onomastic material an integral component of real world (cf. Handke, 1997, p. 42). We believe that the reconstruction of the etymology of place names, establishing their primary historical localization, the understanding of ethnic processes of settlement of Ukrainian and Polish borderland, or the linguistic analysis of place names should also take into account extralinguistic factors of naming. Here we include the application of different sociolinguistic, geographical, statistical, and analytical methodologies that Robert Mrózek (1988), a Polish onomastician, believes in the end contributes to the application of the results of these studies for reconstruction of old physical, geographical, settlement, and cultural relations. But Mrózek notes that primarily, onomastic knowledge lies in the possibility of using onymic material for the analysis and comprehension of partly complicated intersystemic relations in common language and dialectal sense in relation to specific ethnic territories (including border zones), and also to periods of historical development (p. 130).

2. The objective of the study

The objective of the paper is a synchronic and diachronic study of phonetic, lexical, semantic, derivational and functional peculiarities of Ukrainian and Polish oikonymic systems of WU and EP, and further establishing the character of their genetic, typological relations and oikonymic parallels.

3. Methods of the study

In the present study we use three main onomastic methods: comparative-typological; comparative-historical; and descriptive – which are required to carry out the following tasks:

(1) Classification of oikonyms of WU and EP. We aim to use the authoritative classification by W. Taszycki and S. Rospond, and take the following steps: study the typological, chronological and genetical common character of oikonyms; establish the character of lexical stems of oikonyms; and single out formal indicators.

(2) Stratigraphic analysis. The study of the development of the oikonymic systems from the 12th up to the 21st centuries by comparing separate stages of their development, and comparison of oikonymic states in different periods, as well as the verification of primary records of the oikonym.

(3) Differential analysis. Combining cognate Ukrainian and Polish oikonymic material and delimitation of heterogeneous source material (especially when working with archives).

(4) Derivational and structural analyses. We establish oikonymic models (stems and affixes they consist of), and take into account reshaping the stems at toponymization of appellatives (loss of connection of oikonym with original appellative).

(5) Reconstruction of the original form of oikonyms, specifically morphologic reconstruction of the basic form of oikonym considering extra linguistic information (for anthroponym-stem oikonyms).

(6) Etymological analysis. Establishment of the etymology of a founding appellative that is the basis for the oikonym and giving consideration to the logic of oikonymic motivation while naming the settlement (we take into account not separate oikonyms, but parallel sets of affixes, establishing derivational and paradigmatic ties).

(7) Statistical analysis. The statistical calculation of the composition and types of oikonyms, and also certain named, or onym, components within separate (modern or historical) western Ukrainian and eastern Polish oikonymic systems. Calculating the percentage of separate types of oikonyms in different periods (the 12th to the 21st centuries) to trace tendencies of evolution of the systems. Statistical analysis conduces to collecting

an inventory of oikonymic material, thus we can make sure that it is sufficiently filled in and shows the population of Ukrainian and Polish ethnoses in a certain period and in a specific territory.

(8) Recognition of onomastic universals. Comparing the state of Ukrainian and Polish oikonymy in different historical periods in the territory of WU and EP indicates that along with other specific features, we may single out a number of characteristics that are inherent to both of them. All of this is a manifestation of common human thinking and common principles of nomination, and evidence of common ways of evolution of the studied oikonymic systems.

(9) Probabilistic approach. Taking into account different etymologies of analysed oikonyms that were formed on the basis of Ukrainian or Polish languages and different models in the same language. Also establishing which language should be used to compare the components of the oikonym; and the degree of accuracy of oikonym analysis based on the languages of the area (Ukrainain, Polish, other languages).

Thus, the methods and tasks for establishing a typology of cross-border oikonymic systems of WU and EP in synchronic and diachronic aspects can be summarized as follows: (1) to define a type of connection between the names of localities and the objects they name; (2) to find motives for nomination; (3) to reveal typological similarity and onomastic parallels in cross-border oikonymy of certain types and models on their phonetic, semantic, structural, and etymological peculiarities (for detailed treatment see Redkva, 2016).

4. Hypotheses of the study

Taking into account the experience and the latest developments in the studies of Ukrainian and Polish oikonymy, we would like to propose a number of hypotheses upon which our analyses rest:

(1) The possibility to establish a typology of oikonymic layers based on the repetition or parallel use of the same structural types and oikonymic models in the names of western Ukrainian and eastern Polish localities in different historical periods (12th to 21st centuries);

(2) The possibility to establish internal regularities of the western Ukrainian oikonymic system and demonstration of its specific features with the eastern Polish system and vice versa on synchronic and diachronic levels;
(3) The possibility to establish "language universals" as proof of common psychological mechanisms of thinking and mental peculiarities of Ukrainian and Polish ethnoses in the sphere of nomination of cross-border place names.

5. Subject and object of study

Our study deals with the new approach to the treatment of oikonyms in the Ukrainian and Polish borderland, and which we can call "transborder onomastics" as it has a synthesising character. It is based both on the achievements of world theoretical onomastics and on the historical and modern achievements of Ukrainian and Polish regional oikonymy. Transborder onomastics is at the stage of a genesis and (in our opinion, based on the complete complex analysis of the onomastic systems of western Ukraine and eastern Poland) can develop into a separate onomastic field with its methodology of analysis of adjacent cross-border onym systems on ethnically mixed territories, for example, Slovak and Polish, Polish and German, Czech and German, Ukrainian and Slovak, Ukrainian and Belarusian, etc. Summing up the results of our study helps to better and more deeply understand historical language processes in eastern and western Slavic languages, beginning with the Proto Slavic period on the level of reconstruction of oikonymic lexis.

Oikonyms from these territories enable us to elucidate linguistic aspects (e.g., etymological aspects of appearance, origin, genesis, and functioning of *nomina propria*), and also to see a certain system of formation of the integral toponymic landscape of the area in regional spatial dimension. A separate regional oikonymic system (Polish or Ukrainian) as a fundamental and integral part of the whole toponymic system also enables us to combine the onymical lexis based on a mental component, as ontologic being of a toponymic system inevitably united with its mental existence (Dmitrieva, 2001, p. 15). When finding oikonymic universals in historical names of localities in WU

and EP, and analysing and comparing them typologically, a special place should be held by onymic motivation, as that is one of the important characteristics of mentality. The mental component has an imprint in oikonymy, as it is a product of popular consciousness, that is, material and spiritual relicts of Ukrainian and Polish peoples are reflected in it – they have lived on the same common ethnic border for centuries.

The objectivity of linguistic analysis of regional western Ukrainian and eastern Polish oikonymic systems must be also systemic (not only in the sense of chronologization and localization). The notion of *systematicity* introduced by us is of great significance for an onomastician to be used in linguistic analysis of archival sources (it seems doubtful to analyze without them the etymology of place names, their primary historical localization, full scale ethnic processes of settlement in certain regions, Redkva, 2005, p. 153), and close cooperation with historians as researchers of settlement processes in separate regions.

We offer a complex study of place names of WU (in particular, the historic Halych Land and Lviv Land of Ruskie and Belz voivodeships within the territory of present day Lviv, and the Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk oblasts of Ukraine), and EP (the historical Sanok, Przemyśl, Holm Lands of Ruskie voivodeship and Belz Land of Belz voivodeship within present day Lublin, and the Podkarpackie voivodeships of eastern Poland) (see Figure 1).

Oprysk (1996) described this region as a part of the territory of eastern Carpathian region that is situated in the central part of the Slavic world at the junction of three large Slavic areas: eastern, western, and southern Slavs (p. 97). To provide objective complex linguistic (etymological, lexical-semantic, structural and derivational, and typological analysis of a place name as linguistic signs with characteristic functions of meaning, our objective is to study the geographical, historical, and social character of the territory. We would like to emphasise the threefold character of oikonyms as onomastic units: a) linguistic (understanding place names as linguistic signs); b) geographical (oikonyms are objects located in space); and c) historical (place names are closely connected to historical events,they are coined in different periods and are characterised with lasting development).

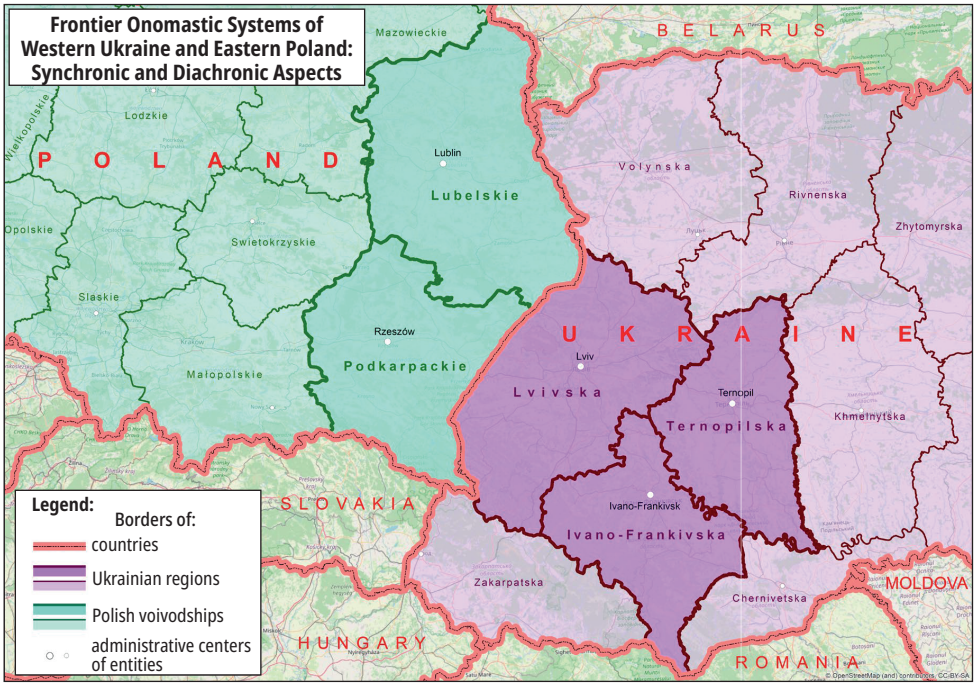

Figure 1. Frontier onomastic systems of Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland

Source: Kostiantyn Darchuk.

6. Historical and settlement approach

Historical and settlement aspects go back to the fourteenth century, the period of highest intensity in the settling of the Ukrainian and Polish borderlands, and the appearance of new settlements that is testified by the sources from these territories. Political conflicts among Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary to possess the territories ceased in the end of the fourteenth century, and this meant that after the downfall of the Kingdom of Galicia–Volhynia the Polish-Rus border disappeared. These events had significant influence on the system of place name formation in the territory. On the one hand, princely territorial division was replaced by a new Polish administrative division, which at times lost connection with the landscape, and in many cases did not take into account changes of geographical features under the influence of human

activity during the development of the territory. On the other hand, it was influenced by contemporary political measures by new authorities and their administrative activities. The oikonymy of WU and EP was formed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, a process that took on the lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and was closely connected with the established administrative division.

We can state that the Halych and Lviv Lands of Ruskie voivodeship in area took up 28,171 km^2 (51.72%), while the Sanok, Przemysl and Belz Lands took up 26,291 km^2 (48.27%). At that time (immediately after the formation of new settlements), Galicia, having a larger area, was less densely settled compared with the other three lands of the Ruskie voivodeship. The reason for this may be the frequent plunders of the land by Tartar hordes in the late period (the first half of the seventeenth century) along with the relatively late settlement of the Halych Land with the density of villages at 1:3.5 compared to Sanok, and 0.57% higher than average in the Ruskie and Belz voivodeships. It led to the formation of fortified towns (with a predominant village population) but did not result in the formation of villages. A positive condition for the formation of villages was the creation of *folwark* relations (for detailed treatment, see Redkva, 2008). From this point of view, western Ukrainian and eastern Polish localities and the system of their names should be treated as structures of constant character, adapted only to the needs of Polish administration and well-adjusted to geographical conditions and conditions of settlement (Janeczek, 1996, p. 293). However, it also carried with it negative effects: colonization of the Halych Rus lands were limiting the liberties of the autochthonous Ukrainian population, (e.g., imposing plough and land taxes on peasants to the benefit of town dwellers, mostly Poles), creating such administrative units as the Ruskie voivodeship (with the lands belonging to it) and introducing the Magdeburg Law, which enabled old towns and villages to grow and to found new ones (often by means of newcomers who were mostly Poles, also in some rare cases Germans and Jews). The period is characterized by quite intensive settlement of the "Red Rus" from Poland and the appearance of new settlements on the Ukrainian–Polish borderland that are described in the sources.

7. Onomastic (linguistic) approach

In the works of Ukrainian scholars of oikonymy there is almost no investigation of the interference of foreign, primarily Polish, elements (phonetic, lexical, morphological, morphonological) in the names of Ukrainian settlements of the Ukrainian and Polish borderland. Thus, it is of profound significance to better understand Ukrainian and Polish contacts and ethnic settlement of these areas for many centuries.

Polish scholars have contributed to this field of research. Rieger (1993) studied Ukrainian elements in Polish toponymy and the toponymy of Poland, paying attention to the genesis of Ukrainian toponymic elements based on Ukrainian and Polish settlements, the functioning of Ukrainian and Polish variants of names, the adaptation of Ukrainian place names to the Polish language system. He singled out phonetic, morphological, and lexical elements (Rieger provides literature on Ukrainian elements in the system of names in Poland, specifying works of Z. Stieber, E. Pawłowski, W. Makarski, B. Czopek-Kopciuch, K. Rymut, M. Kondratiuk, M. Łesiów, P. Smoczyński).

We need to point out that studies in the field applying comparative methods have great significance in the reconstruction of the intensive and long-term Ukrainian and Polish language contacts and the settlement in the Ukrainian and Polish borderland for a lengthy period of time.

The analysis of the interaction of Ukrainian and Polish phonetical systems is important in the context of our study. They preserve and further demonstrate in both oikonymic systems the gradual development and new quality in the consonants and their spelling by means of the graphic system of Polish. Treatment of phonetic processes in Ukrainian and Polish oikonymic systems is possible when we understand their interpenetration. The first one, Ukrainian, as stated by Polish onomastician Rieger (1994), functioned in a popular (patois) variety, and in church, and partially in administrative varieties; the second one, Polish in the administrative, official language, and also in the spoken Polish of colonists living in western Ukrainian lands (p. 117). We can trace many phenomena connected with grammatical (structural and derivational) structure of the onyms while studying phonetic changes in oikonymic systems of the area, and we believe that the etymological analysis of the oikonyms should start from tracing sound changes in specific historical times. Sources

of the study are the official and legal documents of the Polish administrative apparatus: atlases, tax notes, land cadastres, geographic and statistical reference books and dictionaries, court notes, codices, and birth certificates. Different variants of place names' spelling testified by written records reflect the history of language, in particular such important phonetic processes in Slavic languages as palatal changes of consonants inherited by Ukrainian and Polish from Proto-Slavic times and preserved in different variants of oikonyms.

We will present the richness, diversity, and phonetic and orthographic variability of historical oikonymic material in written records in different languages from different time periods, and also reveal common and different tendencies based on oikonyms in written sources from the Ukrainian and Polish borderlands that are connected with the developmental processes in the system of Ukrainian and Polish consonants after the disintegration of the Proto-Slavic language community. The main attention should be paid to sibilants connected with three shifts of softening of sounds: *g*, *k*, *ch* // *dž* (*ž*), *č*, *š* // *dź* (*ź*), (*c*) *ć*, (*s*) *ś* (*š*). We can also see phonetic and graphic interchanges of consonants that sometimes illustrate the results of the first (*g*, *k*, *ch* + ь, *ę*, *e*, *i* (< *ī*, *e*}), *ě* (< *ē*) > *č*, *dž* (*ž*), *š*); second (*g*, *k*, *ch* + *ě* (< *o*}, *a*}), *i* (< *o*}) > *ć*, *dź* (*ź*), *ś*), and third (*g*, *k*, *ch* after *i*, ь, *ę* > *ć*, *dź* (*ź*), *ś*) palatalizations. In Ukrainian place names the change of **ch* > *s* (Ukr. *c*) as a result of the second and third palatalization is outlined, and also **dj* > *ž*, *dž* (Ukr. *ж*, *дж*), **tj*, **kt'* > *č* (Ukr. *ч*). In Polish records of place names there are the following phenomena and shifts as **gv'* > *gv* (Pol. *gw*), **ch* > *š* (Pol. *sz*) as a result of first and second palatalization is traced, and also **tj*, **kt'* > *c*, *dz* (*z*); **t'* > ***ć*** (Pol. *c*, *ć*, *ci*); **d'* > *dź* (Pol. *dz*, *dź*, *dzi*); **k* > *k*, *k'*; **g* > *g*, *g'*, *k*; **ch* > *ch* (*h*), *ch'* (*h'*); **z* > *ź*; **ź* > *ś*; **ś* > *ś*. We can also observe gradual hardening of old soft consonants (*d*)*ž'*, *š'*, *č'* in Ukrainian and Polish, hardening of *c'* in Polish, unlike softness of *c'* (*ц'*) in Ukrainian. Ukrainian *x* corresponds to Old Polish and patois *k*, seen in place name *Бабухів* / *Babuchów* // *Babu*(*a*)*ch*(*k*)*ó*(*o*)*w*; **z* ≥ *dz* in oikonyms of the type: *Зушиці*(*я*) / *Zuszyce* // *Z*(*Dz*)(*zd*)*u*(*a*)*szyce*(*a*) (cf.: Pol. *dzwon*, Church Slav. *звонъ* < **zvonъ*); *z* is sometimes softened before soft consonants as we can see it in the variants of the settlement *Гвіздець* / *Gwoździec* // *Ch*(*Gw*)*osz*(*z'*)*dz*(*dz'*)(*i*)*e*(*c*)*cz* – *Gwoszdecz* (cf.: *gwóźdź* < **gvozdьjь*).

A characteristic feature of Polish records is the presence of names borrowed from Latin sources. Such are Latin letters *c* (*к*) that correspond to Polish *k* (*к*) (in oikonyms *Корнич* / ***K****ornicz* – ***C***(*K*)*orni*(*y*)(*l*)*cz*(*e*)(*a*), *Кореличі* / ***K****orleżyce* – ***C****orlyeschycze*); *th* (*m*) instead of *t* (in place name *Тужанівці* / ***T****użanowce* – *T*(***Th***)

(*Ch*)*uż*(*rz*)(*rż*)(*z*)(*s*)(*ss*)*anow*(*y*)*c*(*cz*)*e*); *g* (*ґ*) instead of *sz* (*ш*) (for place name *Шешори* / ***Sz****eszory* – ***G****esz*(*ss*)*oró*(*y*)(*o*)*w*) (for detailed treatment see Redkva, 2008).

Such an adaptation mechanism of graphic and reconstructed phonetic variants of place names enables us to avoid making mistakes in the etymologization of all historical oikonymy of WU and EP, and also reveals some regularities, certain proportionality, and interdependence between types of names from the point of view of Ukrainian and Polish relations in oikonymic systems of both languages and their (native) speakers.

Apart from phonetic and graphic peculiarities in the oikonyms of Ukrainian and Polish borderlands, we may observe the beginning of the formation of such derivational and semantic types of models of oikonyms, as **-ани* / *-any* (*Добряни* / *Dobrzany*), **-онъ* / *-ів* (*Красів* / *Krasów*; *Кагуїв* / *Kahujów*; *Татаринів* / *Tatarynów*), plural (patronymic, generic, ethnic) names (*Горбачі* / *Horbacze*, *Гонятичі* / *Honiatycze*, *Конюшки* / *Koniuszki*, *Сороки* / *Sroki*, *Черкаси* / *Czerkasy*, *Новосілки* / *Nowosiółki*), physiographic names (*Піски* / *Piaski*, *Острів* / *Ostrów*).

We define the criteria to differentiate deanthroponymic and deappellative place names. According to the derivational structure and semantics of the basic appellatives, western Ukrainian and eastern Polish oikonymy of the region is to be divided into place names of oikonymic and pre-oikonymic levels of derivation. Among oikonymic place names, we can single out, firstly, anthroponymic oikonyms ending in Ukr. *-ичі* / Pol. *-ice*, Ukr. *-івці* / Pol. *-owce*, Ukr. *-инці* / Pol. *-yńce*, Ukr. *-ани* (*-яни*) / Pol. *-any*, ending in *-и* / *-i*, formed from ethnic, generic and official names. Secondarily, there are deappellativic oikonyms with the suffixes **-jь*, **-je*, **-ja*; oikonyms derived from hydronyms ending in *-ets*, possessives ending in Ukr. *-ів* (*-ова*, *-ово*, *-ове*) / Pol. *ów* (*-owa*, *--owo*, *-owe*), oikonyms with suffix Ukr. *-івка* / Pol. *-ówka*; composite oikonyms and oikonyms-phrases. From a comparative analysis of the Old Ukrainian and Old Polish periods we can differentiate between the following oikonyms: oikonyms mentioned in written records in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries and ones mentioned after the fourteenth century (the latter belong to Ukrainian and Polish or ancient Ukrainian according to their suffixes and stems). Names ending in **-jь*, **-ychi* / *-ice*, **-ivtsi* / *-owce* , **-yntsi* / *-yńce*, **-any* / *-any*, **-iv* / *-ów*, **-yn* / *-yn* demonstrate that the western Ukrainian and eastern Polish oikonymic systems were formed. The productivity of different toponymic models is visible from the twelfth to the fourteenth and on to the twenty-first centuries (from **-jь* to **-ivka* / *-ówka* model) (Redkva, 2016, p. 74).

Polish official forms of autochthonous Ukrainian place names partially complicate their natural Old Ukrainian form, but we can easily trace common Ukrainian and Polish structural features. The mixed (in terms of settling) character of the territories lead to a situation that when pronounced, the forms were of Ukrainian character, but in written office forms were Polish by means of the Latin script. As a result, there were considerable misspellings and numerous distortions in the written forms of oikonyms. But place names as elements of two interrelated language systems – Ukrainian and Polish – were coined and adapted by its speakers according to the laws of the systems. Such names, as leading Polish onomastician Rymut (1986) noted, are genetically connected with the speech community that inhabited the area (p. 222). The coinage of oikonyms in these areas evolved under conditions of Ukrainian and Polish bilingualism and mostly in Polish written records. Bilingualism did not influence the place names of the area much: Polish written records mostly transliterate Ukrainian names manifesting approximate sound forms of cognate languages and indicate some specific features in phonetics, vocabulary, and derivation of the names. During the process, an interlanguage variability of forms of one and the same oikonym was created that preserved the information about the origin and interference of the name that reflected the physical geographical nature of the area, and displayed ethnic Ukrainian and Polish contacts between speakers of both languages.

Thus, it seems possible to present the structural use of oikonyms in specific time frames, and also to show that their structural variability is a result of interlanguage and interdialect interference (Franko, 1984, p. 44).

Studies of Ukrainian and Polish onomasticians facilitated carrying out a complex comparative analyses of the two oikonymic systems that can be an answer to questions specified in the objective of the study: (1) to establish the essence of onyms and appellatives and their differentiation vis-a-vis the background of the wide cross-border onomastic space the oikonymic systems which form the basis for western Ukrainian and eastern Polish; (2) to establish semantic structure and lexical-semantic background in toponyms of both oikonymic systems; (3) to establish functional peculiarities of phonetic, structural, and derivational levels, to develop classification of the oikonyms and define their typology; and, (4) to provide motivations of oikonyms and determine the cognitive reaction of the community about mechanisms of coinage of place names in Ukrainian and Polish environments.

8. Conclusions

Taking into account the methods, experience and studies of both historians and onomasticians, setting tasks necessary to establish onymic parallelism, language universals and the typology of Slavic cross-border oikonymic systems in WU and EP in synchronic and diachronic aspects, the study enables: (1) the tracing of the evolution in oikonymic parallelism and defining of the typology of transborder oikonymic systems of WU and EP on phonetic and lexical-semantic levels, specifically to reveal the adaptation mechanism of graphic and phonetic variability in the spelling of place names, and to carry out analysis of semantics of onymic lexemes underlying oikonyms that enables the tracing of the development of semantic structures and establishes the lexical-semantic background of Ukrainian and Polish oikonyms; (2) tracing the evolution of oikonymic parallelism and defining the typology in transborder oikonymic systems of WU and EP on structural and derivational levels taking into account Polish as a western Slavic language, and Ukrainian as an eastern Slavic one. The basis of the typological derivational comparison is *invariantness*, in which the invariant is a language-etalon (for derivational level it is a number of structural models common for oikonymy); (3) tracing the evolution of oikonymic parallelism and defining the typology in transborder oikonymic systems of western Ukraine and eastern Poland in functional, psychological, and cognitive aspects.

If the first (phonetic and lexical-semantic) and the second (derivational) aspects have intralinguistic character, the third (social, functional, psychological, and cognitive) is directed at creating an ontological picture of the oikonymy as a social phenomenon. We plan to study the problem of motivation of oikonyms in Polish and Ukrainian and to analyse cognitive reactions. Aspects one and two envisage the analysis of general toponymic inventory, while the third takes into account an understanding of the mechanisms of onomastic thinking, and the onomastic traditions and propensity of the local population.

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Places in Mind: Investigating the Link Between Language and Spatial Concepts

Abstract

The paper raises the question of culturally determined differences in the conceptualization of place and space. Several models have already been developed that can be used to study cognitive maps. However, they either targeted a specific type of environment or were not specific enough in terms of the type of places studied. The model developed by Katalin Reszegi, on the other hand, makes it possible to study all kinds of spatial concepts and their corresponding linguistic expressions, paying special attention to the role of toponyms. In the first part of the article, she presents her model and points out the elements and aspects that are particularly important for the cognitive map. In the second part, co-author Marie Rieger discusses two specific examples (from Tanzania) of differences in the conceptualization of space. In the first case, the example of Dar es Salaam shows that the concept of street names, introduced in colonial times, still plays a minor role in orientation in urban space. In the second case, the example of the Usambara Mountains is used to hypothesize that the utilitarian aspect can lead to different naming practices in terms of which types of places are given a name and which are not.

Keywords

cognitive map, spatial concepts and toponyms, Tanzania

1. Introduction

The human mind creates representations of the spatial environment. The dynamic and subjective cognitive map[1] that facilitates orientation is built by means of the organization of these representations. The mental model of space, however, does not only include and operate the knowledge acquired by means of direct experience but also embraces knowledge from secondary sources about far-away regions. Thus, the cognitive map helps us orientate in completely different spatial dimensions, spatial sizes, as well as spatial levels and scales.

Toponyms also have a key role in spatial cognition as they greatly facilitate the recall of places and communication about them. We need to also consider the role of toponyms in organizing knowledge, since these name forms are suitable for associating knowledge deriving from different sources with the representation of particular elements of space. Some of the knowledge related to a place also appears in the name. Thus, by examining toponyms one can infer the spatial conceptualization of name givers. However, language is not a pure objective reflection of such concepts; due to linguistic categories (words i.e. what kind of geographical nouns there are in the given language, morphemes, etc.) language use is always a conceptualization – so the words of a language inherently convey a particular perspective and maybe also have an effect on spatial concepts, that is, the toponyms themselves may shape the processing of the space that might cause cultural differences in the conceptualization of the spatial environment. This was the common basic assumption when three years ago the authors of this paper started to plan a common research project. To do so, they first needed a descriptive framework that could be used universally to describe spatial concepts and spatial language, and the relationship between them. To find out more about cultural differences in the relationship between cognitive maps and toponyms, besides knowledge and

[1] In this paper, following the practice of cognitive psychology *cognitive map* and *mental map* are used as synonyms to refer to the spatial representations of the outside world that is kept within the mind. In geography, however, *mental map* is often determined as an actual manifestation (usually a drawing) of this perceived knowledge (for the terminological issues see Kitchin, 1994, pp. 1–5).

research data about Western societies, they knew they should also consider investigations into non-Western societies regarding spatial conceptualization.

This paper gives an overview about the current results. The first section provides a brief overview about the descriptive model of the cognitive map and name giving that was worked out basically by Katalin Reszegi. In the second part, Marie Rieger will illustrate some aspects of the model with examples from Tanzania.

2. The model of the cognitive map and toponyms

To describe the cognitive map and related onomastic corpus and name awareness, onomasticians mostly use the model of urban planner Kevin Lynch (1960). According to this model, the elements of the cognitive map include paths, nodes, landmarks, districts, and edges.[2] Although Lynch's model was created in order to characterize the urban environment, according to recent studies in onomastics, it can also be used for smaller settlements and serves as a solid foundation also in studies of the onomastic corpus and name awareness (cf. Győrffy, 2018; Varga, 2020). It is, however, less useful in the case of studies concerning more extensive geographical space and natural geographical objects as well. The psychological model of Siegel and White (1975) might be more suitable in this case, which considers three components, three levels of the cognitive map: the most basic landmarks, the roads built along them, and larger scale surveys (for other models, see Down & Stea, 2011). But because it works only with three types of place categories, it is not specific enough for our purposes. Therefore, based on former models, a descriptive framework has been developed that may be used universally and that can describe the bidirectional relationship between spatial concepts and spatial language (Reszegi, 2019). The model pays special attention to toponyms in this process.

[2] In the city people move along paths, these organize urban mobility. Edges separate different areas, districts. Districts are character areas perceived as thematic units. According to Lynch (1960), the nodes are the strategic foci of the city which can be entered, while landmarks are external features that act as reference points in wayfinding.

This paper cannot provide a detailed introduction to this model, but only give a very brief overview of the framework referring to the most important aspects that need to be examined.

2.1. Elements of the Cognitive Map

Space is made up of different **places** and their relationship. And these become represented on the cognitive map. Based on their **size** and **spatial extension**, we can distinguish between point-like or larger two- or three-dimensional places (settlements, districts, hills, hilltops, plow-lands, forests, lakes, etc.). Moreover, we can also talk about line-like places, such as roads, borders, or rivers. The **function** of places is also important in their representation and in discussion about them. From this perspective, landmarks as points of orientation may be distinguished from other elements in the spatial environment. We can also distinguish between artificial and natural places, while we may also introduce additional subcategories within these groups. These are obviously not exclusive categories, in fact, their distinction is not easy, as in many cases it depends on the scale how the given place is perceived. In the cognitive map these aspects are represented simultaneously as different knowledge elements of the same network. To get closer to the organization of the cognitive map we focus primarily on the function of places, acknowledging that this is not independent of the place's type.

Basically, the following elements and their linguistic expressions need to be examined:

(a) **Landmarks (orientation points).** Landmarks play a special role in the organization of the cognitive map; the complexity of spatial representations is built around them. A landmark is a unique arrangement of patterns of perception that identifies a geographical location. Such strategic focus points are used as references when interpreting our movement in space (Siegel & White, 1975, p. 23). Landmarks direct orientation mostly due to their nature that differs, stands out from the environment, and they may be completely different and may be both artificial and natural places and objects alike. Moreover, landmarks may be interpreted on different levels and in different contexts: a landmark may be a sign, a house, a tree or on a higher level, a settlement or country.

From the perspective of human communities, landmarks divide into two major groups. Some of them are known by the majority of those living there, these are venues of shared use of space, thus they are high in the hierarchy of places for such residents. At the same time, there are also individual landmarks on the mental map of individuals, such as their own residence, the residence of relatives, etc. All may serve as points of reference in the process of acquiring spatial knowledge. The cognitive map of children begins to be constructed exactly around these and they have a similar role later on as well (cf. Reszegi, 2016; Varga, 2020).

References to landmarks is of central importance also in discussions about space. Comparisons to these points are frequent also in speech about the surrounding area. Moreover, it is typical that people refer to nearby landmarks when describing pathways even in the case of places designated by their own name. Due to their prominent position, landmarks may be preserved on the cognitive map and featured in route descriptions in cases when in reality the place has already disappeared. At the same time, landmarks are not necessarily designated with a proper name (cf. e.g. Heinrich, 2000, pp. 19–21). In many cases, in connection with the narrower spatial environment speakers refer to them only with a common noun. This is partly because these are objects that do not necessarily have to be named based on the name model of speakers. The denomination and name-giving practice of landmarks, however, requires further studies in onomastics. It would also be worth examining when a point of reference has a name, how often it serves as the basis of names of nearby places, that is, how often it appears in other names and if there are cultural differences in this respect.

(b) **Mental spaces.** The perceptually processed other elements of the geographical environment are also represented on the cognitive map, practically, the points of reference may be interpreted in relation to these places as background. Another important feature of mental spaces is that they are places perceived as a unit, for example, settlements, districts; and a large number of natural objects, hills, plow-lands, forests, lakes, etc. Depending on how well we know the given environment the details of the mental representation of these places may vary greatly.

To describe the relationship between a cognitive map and toponyms, the categorization of places perceived as units also becomes important. The conceptual categories of place types gradually become more nuanced

in the process of getting to know the world and acquiring the first language. The perception of the categories of places and which geographical common noun is used to talk about them may be different in different cultures, which is influenced by numerous factors, for example, the geographical environment itself, the categories of the given language and so forth. Which types of places receive a name also varies from culture to culture. The categorization and conceptualization of space appears in name giving as well. In the case of toponyms, it becomes important to reveal how changes in the denoted place bring about changes in the relationship of the name and the denoted object.

Researchers have to bear in mind that the representations of places are associated with values, and therefore places considered important are typically perceived to be larger, while the less important areas are blurred. But the question again arises: how does place influence name giving and name usage?

(c) **Paths**. The main function of the cognitive map is to allow us to move around in our environment. The representation of paths and pathways is essential to this. Paths are quasi-one-dimensional places. At the same time, they may also be interpreted as spatial representations that include more complex information on the order of landmarks as well as metric data along the landmarks, while they can also be seen as the operation of this information, as a form of procedural knowledge (Buchner & Jansen, 2008).

Paths, streets, roads are especially important in the organization of the cognitive map of the urban areas in modern societies. On most residents' mental maps these are the most dominant elements. Movement, transportation take place along the paths, these are the framework elements of the urban image. Being socialized in an urban lifestyle as well as based on the names of roads found in the medieval onomastic corpus (cf. Hoffmann et al., 2018, pp. 455–457), we might suppose that the organization of settlements according to streets and roads and their naming represent general practice elsewhere as well. However, as the example of Tanzanian practice shows – detailed in Section 3.1 – it is not necessary at all.

Rivers can be described as places on the border of the categories of mental spaces and paths since they can be conceptualized as spatial units as well as places of movement and transportation.

(d) **Boundaries.** Boundaries can be interpreted in relation to two or more places, embody the end and the beginning at the same time; they can be

physical or immaterial borders. Natural objects, however, typically have no exact boundary. The places (even areas designated by toponyms) follow each other in patches on the mental map of the speakers (Heinrich, 2000, pp. 28–29), thus we can consider mostly blurred, uncertain boundaries and sometimes overlapping place representations. At the same time, boundaries are present on the mental map on a larger scale as well.

The boundaries mostly have no names. At the same time, despite their uncertain nature they might play an important role in the organization of discussion about space, directing the operation of the INSIDE-OUTSIDE dimension.

When a boundary is made up of an artificial or natural object, it is present on the cognitive map of people in a much more definite way, and they are typically also named, thus when talking about the boundary, this is how they also refer to the boundary itself. This may also be seen in the case of rivers functioning as boundaries.

2.2. Linguistic designations of places

Several issues come up in connection with the linguistic **designations** of places:

(a) Which places, which types of places typically receive names? (To be discussed in more detail regarding Usambara toponyms in Section 3.2)
(b) Which names are known more widely?
(c) What kind of name-giving traditions are connected to various places?
(d) Under what circumstances do speakers use names and when do they refer to the place with appellatives instead?

2.3. Relations Between Places

The cognitive map includes information not only on the different types of places but also **their relation** to one another and to the people moving in space.

(a) **Center–periphery organization.** One of the fundamental features of human cognition is that conceptual categories are built based on the prototype principle, some examples may be considered typical elements of the category, while others are less so or are only barely recognized. The center–periphery organization typical of conceptual categories may

also be identified in the representation of space. This approach influences the perception of the size of places: central places are bigger on cognitive maps as they are in real life, while the peripheral places are represented by smaller, blurred images or they do not even appear on mental maps (cf. Letenyei, 1993). The center–periphery approach is an important component also in the relations of name-giving and name usage as well as name awareness.

(b) **Directions.** Places are located at certain directions from each other, which is also represented on cognitive maps and references to direction also often appear in communication. The representation of directions is affected by the frame of reference (ego-centric, intrinsic or absolute, cf. Levinson, 2003) preferred in a given community.

The linguistic elements indicating directions may also appear in toponyms. When analyzing them, however, we may notice that the spatial dimensions of the experienced world might be represented somewhat differently in the linguistic world. According to cognitive linguistic studies, the UP–DOWN, INSIDE–OUTSIDE, and NEAR–FAR relations are not necessarily organized according to verticality or horizontality but might reflect the center–periphery approach (the center is ours, the familiar, the one closest to us).

(c) **Distances of places.** Individuals also represent the distance of places relative to each other in their mental system at different scales. Distances may be interpreted on multiple levels. Beyond the environment known from people's own experience, information from other sources is also integrated into the cognitive map. The sense of distance, however, is influenced by several factors, such as, for example, the number of bends, the values associated with the place, the stereotypes of those living there (cf. McCormack et al., 2007), and as a result, distances are often represented on the cognitive map with distortions compared to objective measures (subjective distance or cognitive distance).[3] The subjective nature of the perception of distance relations is present also in communication and the interpretation of the CLOSE–FAR AWAY relations is also determined by associated values based on which they often become interwoven with the words indicating direction.

[3] The perception of distances, the estimation of distance may take place not only based on the metric system, but might also be based on traveling time or converted into costs.

(d) **Part–whole, part–part, and spatial contact relations.** The cognitive map includes some additional relations of places since people structure local relations in a very rich way as the larger areas may be subdivided into smaller parts, and this will also appear on the cognitive map. Thus, the representations of places have special subordinate or juxtaposed relationships. At the same time, the recognized local relations are also represented, that is, spatial objects located next to each other are represented close to each other in conceptual space. In the background of the realization and operation of these relations there is a general cognitive ability called *metonymy*. As a result, we are capable of establishing associations between things, concepts that are in some way contiguous to each other and we may make deductions from one to the other (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 37).

2.4. Linguistic designations of relations of places

From the perspective of language, it has to be investigated:
(a) how these relationships appear in the discussion about space and in toponyms,
(b) to what extent the name-giving and name-usage traditions seen in some areas may be considered as universal or typical only of the given community.

3. Data from Tanzania

The idea of a joint paper arose when we discussed some peculiarities that had come up during toponymic research in Tanzania in 2019. Originally, we had planned to use Katalin Reszegi's model to investigate the relationship between the cognitive map and the related onomastic corpus and name awareness using the example of Tanzania. In doing so, the questions listed in Section 2.2 should have structured the field study to be conducted in June 2020. In this way, we wanted to contribute to answering the question raised in Section 2.4: to what

extent may the name-giving and name-usage traditions seen in some areas be considered either as universal or typical only of the given community?

As one might imagine, the study could not be conducted due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, in the following part, we will only take up some of the points explained in the first part, namely the different weighting that can be attributed to the elements that make up our cognitive map of urban spaces, as already mentioned in Section 2.1. Thus, using Dar es Salaam as an example, we will show that the pathways (streets, roads) – so important in the cognitive maps of Western societies – are not dominant everywhere. On the other hand, we will use the example of the Usambara Mountains to show that the question "Which places, which types of places do typically receive names?" (see Section 2.2) can be answered quite differently depending on one's cultural background.

3.1. Urban space

The beginnings of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's longtime political and still economic and cultural center, date back to the 1860s, when Sayyid Majid, the then Sultan of Zanzibar, decided to build a city on the mainland.[4] An early sketch map of Dar dates back to 1867 and shows the Sultan's palace, the barracks, the Sultan's coconut plantations, and a number of wells (DARCH, 2017, p. 20). Because of Majid's unexpected death in 1870, the plan of building an "artificial boom-town" (Sutton, 1970, p. 7) around the natural deep-water port was abandoned. Instead, "a more natural and viable economic system developed" (Sutton, 1970, p. 7) until the second half of the 1880s when German colonizers occupied the site and, in 1891, made it the capital of German East Africa. The colonizers' ideas of urban planning were codified in the building regulations for Dar es Salaam in the form of uniform street frontages along predetermined street lines (DKB, 1891, pp. 336–338). Examining streets and street names on a map dated 1891 (DARCH, 2017, p. 32) suggests that at least the main street of the city center dates back to the Zanzibari period, for the map indicates two names, the German name *Hauptstraße* ('Main Street'), which is prefixed

[4] On the city's history see Sutton, 1970; Becher, 1997; Kohlert, 2005, pp. 45–115; Brennan & Burton, 2007; DARCH, 2017.

in brackets to the original name *Barra-rasta* [sic].[5] Finally, a city map from the late German period (DARCH, 2017, p. 43) shows a well-developed city center where nearly all streets are named.[6] After World War I, when German East Africa became a British protectorate, and after Independence in 1961, the existing street names were retained, some simply in translated form, while others were adapted to the new political situation.

But although street names had existed since the city's founding and Dar es Salaam could have set an example as the country's longtime capital and cultural center, the idea of organizing settlements based on street names and house numbers remained foreign to Tanzanian culture:

> FINDING YOUR WAY AROUND TANZANIA's capital city of Dar es Salaam can be a nightmare. Most of the suburbs, planned or otherwise developed in the late 1960s, may have streets but these are not named and the houses are not numbered. Traditionally, in this city of three million people spread over 1,300 km square, you are given directions using landmarks such as mosques, trees, schools, bars, hotels and churches.[7]

As already addressed in the first part, according to Kevin Lynch (1960) there

> seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images. (…) Such group images are necessary if an individual is to operate successfully within his environment and to cooperate with his fellows. (p. 46)

Based on texts such as Kironde's[8] and on personal experience, it seems that the public image of Tanzanian cities is dominated by two of the five elements that Lynch argues are characteristic of mental cityscapes, namely "districts" and "landmarks" (Lynch, 1960, 46 et seq.), or according to our model landmarks

[5] According to Burton, *Barra Rasta* was a Hindi name meaning 'big road' (2005, p. 45).

[6] On multicultural aspects of street naming in Dar see Rieger, 2021.

[7] The article "Dar's lightless, nameless maze" by Lusugga Kironde was published by the Kenyan weekly newspaper "The EastAfrican" on Monday August 1, 2005. The author can provide a copy upon request.

[8] A similar text, entitled "Postcode System to Ease Communication", was published by the Tanzanian newspaper "Daily News" on September 11, 2012. The author can provide a copy upon request.

and mental spaces.[9] Urban space is perceived as consisting of neighbourhoods, orientation is based on landmarks including houses of known people, while PO boxes are used for postal services.

The technological needs of globalization, such as delivery services and GPS-based systems, prompted the Tanzanian government to begin implementing a nationwide postal address system about 10 years ago, which in turn requires street names throughout the country. In Dar es Salaam, progress in project implementation can be seen in the systematic installation of street signs. These bright yellow signs with black writing not only facilitate orientation – at least for Westerners – but also give a linguistic indication both of the colonial origin of the concept and of the traditional district-oriented organization of urban space, for on one side of the sign the generic element is written in English, on the other side in Kiswahili, for example, *India St.* and *Mt. India* where *Mt.* stands for *mtaa*. Looking up the Swahili noun *mtaa* in colonial dictionaries, it is uniformly translated by the concept of 'town quarter',[10] while the corresponding entry in the contemporary dictionary edited by the "Institute of Kiswahili Research at the University of Dar es Salaam (TUKI)" reads: *mtaa* 'town quarter; street/avenue' (TUKI, 2001, p. 224). Thus, the meaning of *mtaa* now includes two types of places, that is, "district" and "path".

3.2. Landscape

As in the case of urban space, it was the comparison between colonial and contemporary data that suggested possible differences in the perception of landscape, specifically in the perception of the Usambara Mountains, a mountain range in north-eastern Tanzania. Due to their inaccessibility and exceptionally stable climate that reliably provides sufficient rainfall, the Usambaras have been a safe haven for people in search of better living conditions for thousands of years.[11] Thus, there were a considerable number of settlements when the Austrian cartographer Oskar Baumann explored the area in 1888

[9] On Lynch's elements see Section 2.

[10] See Seidel, 1902, p. 113; Velten, 1910, p. 283; Steere, 1919, p. 346; Cavicchioni, 1923, p. 165.

[11] On the environmental and human history of the Usambara Mountains see Conte, 2004.

and a second time in 1890. His two travelogues, published in 1890 and 1891, contain countless details about people and nature as well as more than 140 toponyms referring to some 240 geo-objects in the Usambaras and their immediate surroundings.[12]

In 2019, a field study was conducted to determine if the place names recorded by Baumann are still in use, or at least still remembered. In this way, the reliability of the toponymic information contained in the two travelogues should be evaluated.[13] Baumann himself was well aware of some of the problems involved in asking for toponyms. A first difficulty arose from the fact that the people living in the Usambaras, the Shambaa, spoke their language, Sambaa, while Baumann and his native companions communicated in Kiswahili (Baumann, 1890, p. 71). Baumann was also convinced that place names were considered a kind of secret knowledge among many peoples and were therefore not revealed to strangers. He tried to circumvent this obstacle by always having his servants – who, as mentioned, did not speak Sambaa – ask for place names (Baumann, 1890, p. 71). It may be that some people were reluctant to share toponymic information, but in other cases the difficulty may have arisen simply because there were different ways of perceiving and mentally organizing the environment. According to Gräbel (2015), for example, when the German geographer Jäger asked his guide for the name of an inconspicuous stream, he received no answer because the question simply seemed absurd to his guide (p. 206).

Through on-site interviews and by consulting modern maps and texts, it was possible to determine that a good 100 of the approximately 140 toponyms recorded by Baumann are still existing place names in Shambaai, 'the land where the Shambaa live', as the Usambaras are called in Sambaa. This rather unusual stability of the toponymy is quite plausible, because the

> borders of the chiefdoms at the edges of Shambaai were stable over long periods of time. Each chiefdom had a permanent town as its capital, as well as a number of permanent villages. A great many Shambaa villages have existed in their present locations for the past hundred to two hundred years, perhaps

[12] On the Usambara toponymy recorded by Baumann see Rieger, 2020.

[13] The findings of that study were presented at the "Fifth International Symposium on Place Names (ISPN)", 18–20 September 2019 in Clarens, South Africa.

> longer. (…) In many African societies, a village moves each time the soil near it is exhausted. The Shambaa villages were permanent because they were residences, and not the actual locations of most economic activities. (Feierman, 1974, p. 29)

However, a closer look reveals that there are significant differences in terms of the geo-objects to which the names refer, two of which are particularly striking.[14] First, as can already be guessed from this quotation, today a much larger number of the still existing names refer to settlements. Related to this is the fact that only three of the 25 names Baumann considered oronyms denote high ground, while the rest are settlement names. But that is not all: although the Usambaras consist of a succession of hilltops and ridges, my informants generally knew very few oronyms.

In our opinion, these differences are too striking to be purely coincidental. Rather, they seem to point to fundamental differences in the conceptualization of mountain landscapes. In her study of the conceptualization of landscape in Mbukushu, a language spoken in the border region of Namibia, Botswana, and Angola, Birte Kathage (2004) points out that cognitive maps are created from the point of view of the usability of the natural environment and that primarily those units are mapped that serve livelihoods (p. 51). This confirms the assumption made in Section 2.1 that the function of places is also important in their representation and in the discussion about them. With regard to mountain landscapes in Europe, Drummond states:

> Historically, high ground was economically marginal, although it may have been used for pasture (especially of a transhumant nature), hunting, or mining. However, over the last century and a half, the human activity of climbing mountains simply for pleasure has led to a greater focus on their names, with in some cases new names being coined, either to replace an older extant name, or to fill a gap where no name existed. (Drummond, 2016, p. 115)

In fact, Baumann – like other European travellers – was quite impressed by the mountainous environment which reminded him of the European Alps

[14] It is important to note that these names refer to geo-objects located in the same micro-areas.

(1890, p. 84; 1891, p. 102).[15] At the same time, as a cartographer, it was, of course, essential for him to know the names of elevations.[16] For the Shambaa, on the other hand, the ridges and hilltops have always been primarily places to build sheltered villages: "Among the older Shambaa population the basic political unit was the single village, built on a hilltop or along the crest of a ridge" (Feierman, 1974, p. 78). It is therefore quite conceivable that Baumann – not only because of the considerable language problems, but also because of different conceptual worlds – received settlement names instead of the expected oronyms in a number of instances. The case of the sacred mountain *Kwa Mongo* '(the place) belonging to God', supports this thesis, for the mountain is still used for life-sustaining rainmaking rituals.[17] It is therefore, in Kathage's sense, a "useful place" and all my informants were familiar with the oronym.[18]

In other contexts, too, a certain difficulty in assigning toponym and referent is revealed by the fact that Baumann refers the same name to different geo-objects, which in turn explains the large numerical difference between toponymic tokens and types. A good example is the toponym *Hundu*, which according to Baumann refers to both a village (1890, pp. 61, 64; 1891, p. 191) and a district (1891, pp. 189, 190, 191). Furthermore, there are *Hunduberg* 'Mount Hundu' (1890, p. 63), *Hunduthal* 'Hundu valley' (1890, p. 63), *Hunduflüsschen* 'Hundu rivulet' (1890, p. 63), and *Dörfchen Unter-Hundu* 'hamlet of Under-Hundu' (1890, p. 64).

Some uncertainty regarding the referent of a toponym may also have arisen in connection with the Sambaa noun *shi*. In early dictionaries, it was translated simply as 'country'.[19] However, it referred to and still refers to not only the concept of 'country', but also to territorial units such as 'part of a country', 'kingdom', 'subkingdom', 'district'. Thus, the land where the Shambaa live, is of course *shi ya Shambaai*. However, certain districts within Shambaai are also referred to as *shi*, for example *shi ya Vuga* and *shi ya Mlalo*. Here, the designation *shi* underscores the importance of the two towns, for Vuga was the capital of the Shambaa kingdom, of which Mlalo, in turn, was a prominent sub-kingdom and village.[20]

[15] On this point see also Conte, 2004, p. 11.
[16] We owe this important hint to Wojciech Włoskowicz.
[17] Personal information by anthropologist and Sambaa native speaker Dickson Shekivuli.
[18] Baumann also mentions the mountain in both travelogues (1890, p. 100; 1891, p. 175).
[19] See Steere, 1867, p. 16; Seidel, 1895, p. 98; Sachau, 1912, p. 92.
[20] Personal communication by Dickson Shekivuli.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, Katalin Reszegi first presented her model of the cognitive map and toponyms (Section 2). In contrast to earlier models, this model is not limited to specific environments, but represents a universal descriptive framework that can be used to capture the bidirectional relationship that exists between spatial concepts and language. In the present context, it is particularly interesting that this framework can be used to identify differences that exist between different cultural groups with respect to the conceptualization of space and the linguistic processing of these concepts. In the second part, Marie Rieger (Section 3) used two examples from Tanzania to show which differences the practical application of the model could bring to light.

We would like to conduct the originally planned field study as soon as it becomes possible again. From the data available to us so far, extremely interesting fields of investigation are emerging: given the transitional situation in Dar es Salaam, a future field study would allow us to assess if/to what extent the recent systematic introduction of street names and addresses is affecting the way residents see their city and orient themselves in it. Residents were also asked to choose a name for streets that are still unnamed.[21] An on-site survey could not only collect these names, but also investigate the process of naming and the respective naming motives. With regard to Usambara, the focus is also on the question of how people orient themselves in space. The focus here, however, would be on the spatial language in Sambaa as well as on the linguistic structure of toponyms.

[21] Personal communication by Benjamin Kinyamasongo, my Kiswahili teacher in Dar.

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Farm- und Plantagennamen im kolonialen Usambara

Zusammenfassung

Das Usambaragebirge im Nordosten des heutigen Tansania wurde während der deutschen Kolonialzeit zu einem der bevorzugten Ziele für die Gründung von landwirtschaftlichen Betrieben. Im Fall von kolonialer Besiedlung können die veränderten Besitzverhältnisse durch die Inanspruchnahme des droit de nommer sprachlich markiert werden. In diesem Beitrag wird ein Inventar von 102 landwirtschaftlichen Betrieben in deutschem Besitz im Hinblick auf die Namengebungspraxis untersucht. Dabei kann gezeigt werden, dass auf etwas mehr als ein Fünftel der Betriebe mit deutschen Namen referiert wird. Die meisten dieser Namen markieren die veränderten Eigentumsverhältnisse nicht nur durch die exonyme Form, sondern auch durch die Wahl des Modifikators. Bei den etwas weniger als achtzig Prozent der Farmen und Plantagen ohne exonymen Namen können zwei Fälle unterschieden werden: Werden diese Betriebe unter dem exonymen Namen eines größeren Ortes gelistet, so haben sie keinen eigenen Namen, sondern man muss ggf. mit Wendungen wie „die Pflanzung von Herrn X in (der Nähe von) Y“ Bezug nehmen. Bei Farmen und Plantagen, die die einzige Aktivität an einem Ort darstellen, zeigt sich dagegen die Tendenz, dass sie zunehmend mit dem endonymen Namen des Ortes identifiziert werden.

Schlagwörter
Toponym, koloniale Namengebung, Farmnamen, Deutsch-Ostafrika

Abstract
The names of farms and plantations in colonial Usambara

The Usambara Mountains in the north-east of present-day Tanzania became one of the preferred destinations for the establishment of farms during the German colonial period. In the case of colonial settlement, the change in ownership can be linguistically marked by the claiming of the *droit de nommer*. This paper examines an inventory of 102 German-owned farms with regard to naming practices. It can be shown that slightly more than one-fifth of the farms are referred to with German names. Most of these names mark the changed ownership not only by the exonymous form but also by the choice of modifier. For the slightly less than eighty percent of farms and plantations without exonymous names, two cases can be distinguished: if these farms are listed under the exonymous name of a larger place, they have no name of their own, but one may have to refer to them with phrases such as “the plantation of Mr. X in (the vicinity of) Y”. In contrast, farms and plantations that are the only activity in a place tend to be increasingly identified with the endonymous name of the place.

Keywords
toponym, colonial naming, farm names, German East Africa

1. Einleitung

In ihrem 2015 erschienenen Aufsatz „Aspekte der kolonialen und postkolonialen Toponymie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Kolonialismus“ schreiben Thomas Stolz und Ingo H. Warnke:

> Von wenigen weiter unten noch zu würdigenden Beiträgen abgesehen gibt es bis heute keine nach linguistischen Kriterien fundierte Erhebung und Auswertung der deutschen Kolonialtoponyme. Eine Gesamtdarstellung zu diesem Thema fehlt noch zur Gänze. Auf einzelne ehemalige deutsche Schutz- und Pachtgebiete in Übersee bezogene Studien sind nur in kleiner Zahl vorhanden. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellen wir uns die Aufgabe, die bestehenden Wissenslücken sowohl auf empirischem als auch auf theoretischem Gebiet zu schließen. (Stolz & Warnke, 2015, S. 108)

Seitdem ist eine Reihe von Veröffentlichungen zur (deutschen) Kolonialtoponymie erschienen,[22] so dass diese jetzt vielleicht nicht mehr zu den „Stiefkindern der Onomastik“[23] gehört. Trotzdem sind wir nicht nur von einer abschließenden Gesamtdarstellung noch weit entfernt, sondern es gibt auch immer noch Wissenslücken im Hinblick auf bestimmte deutsche Schutz- und Pachtgebiete. Eines dieser Gebiete, dessen Kolonialtoponymie noch Fragen aufwirft, ist das im Nordosten des ehemaligen Deutsch-Ostafrika (DOA) und heutigen Tansania gelegene Usambara.

Die besondere „Bedeutung von Toponymen für die Erforschung des vielschichtigen Zusammenspiels von Sprache und Kolonialismus ergibt sich aus der Zentralität von Raumkonzepten im kolonialen Projekt. Neuzeitlicher Kolonialismus ist eine globale raumgreifende Praxis der vor allem europäischen

[22] Genannt seien an dieser Stelle nur die in der von De Gruyter herausgegebenen Reihe „Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik“ erschienenen Bände: Dunker et al., 2017; Ebert, 2021; Ebert et al., 2022; Levkovych, 2020; Stolz & Warnke, 2018a.

[23] “Stiefkinder der Onomastik” lautet der Untertitel eines von Rita Heuser und Mirjam Schmuck 2018 herausgegebenen Sammelbands, der auch den Aufsatz „Comparative Colonial Toponomastics: Evidence from German and Dutch Colonial Place-Names“ (Stolz & Warnke, 2018b) enthält.

Expansion“ (Stolz & Warnke, 2018c, S. 4) und im Akt der Namengebung wird der Besitzanspruch der fremden Macht sprachlich fixiert. Dass die deutschen Kolonialisten in den afrikanischen Kolonien nur selten vom „*droit de nommer*, also der Benennungshoheit, die der Kolonisierende für sich gegenüber dem Kolonisierten reklamiert“ (Stolz & Warnke, 2015, S. 114; Hervorhebung im Original), Gebrauch machten,[24] liegt wohl nicht zuletzt an der in diesem Punkt eindeutigen Kolonialgesetzgebung: „Die einheimischen Namen sind mit der größten Sorgfalt festzustellen und beizubehalten.“[25] Dieser Anordnung wurde weitgehend Folge geleistet, wie eine Auszählung der im „Großen Deutschen Kolonialatlas“ (GDKA) verzeichneten Namen zeigt. Dort werden – grob geschätzt – etwa 20.000 Toponyme für DOA gelistet.[26] Nach Stolz und Warnke (2015, S. 132) enthält das DOA-Register des GDKA 688 hybride Ortsnamen vom Typ Gomani-Halbinsel und Uluguru-Berge, und sogar nur 86 rein deutsche Toponyme. Ein konkretes Beispiel aus DOA bestätigt diesen Befund: Von den für die militärische und administrative Kontrolle so wichtigen 47 Bezirken bzw. deren Hauptorte haben nur vier deutsche Namen, nämlich *Bismarckburg*, *Langenburg*, *Wiedhafen* und *Wilhelmstal*.

Die Usambaraberge sind in mehrfacher Hinsicht ein interessantes toponymisches Untersuchungsgebiet. Zum einen sind durch die Arbeiten des österreichischen Geographen und Kartographen Oskar Baumann zusammen mit dessen Reisebeschreibungen und einigen Karten eine große Zahl an endonymen Ortsnamen, die zur Zeit der Inbesitznahme des Gebiets durch die deutschen Kolonialisten in Gebrauch waren, überliefert.[27] Zum anderen war das relativ dicht besiedelte Usambara Anziehungspunkt für eine Reihe von

[24] Anders war die Lage im Bismarck-Archipel, wo der eigenmächtig handelnde Otto Finsch systematisch deutschsprachige Toponyme einführte. Siehe dazu Stolz & Warnke, 2015 (insbesondere den Abschnitt 6.3.3).

[25] In: Deutsches Kolonialblatt (Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs) vom 1. September 1903 (S. 453): Grundsätze für die Namengebung, Namenübersetzung, Schreib- und Sprechweise der geographischen Namen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten.

[26] Für die Schätzung wurde eine Spalte im DOA-Register des GDKA ausgezählt, mit der Anzahl der Spalten multipliziert und schließlich gerundet. Dieses ungenaue Vorgehen rechtfertigt sich dadurch, dass es um Größenverhältnisse und nicht um exakte Werte geht.

[27] Siehe dazu: Baumann, 1890 und 1891, sowie Rieger, 2020. Dadurch gibt es für dieses Gebiet zum einen ein Inventar an vorkolonialen Ortsnamen. Zum anderen ermöglicht deren Vergleich mit den vielen noch heute existierenden Toponymen und den jeweiligen außersprachlichen Referenten Rückschlüsse auf unterschiedliche Konzeptualisierungen von Landschaft. Siehe dazu Reszegi und Rieger in diesem Band.

Missionsgesellschaften[28] und wurde im Laufe der deutschen Kolonialzeit zu einem der bevorzugten Siedlungsgebiete für deutsche Landwirte und Plantagenbesitzer. Ein Teil der Missionsstationen und landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe wie auch eine Reihe von natürlichen Geo-Objekten erhielt deutsche Namen, so dass ich für eine kürzlich durchgeführte Studie (Rieger, 2022) für das Usambaragebiet ein Inventar von 51 deutschen Kolonialtoponymen zusammenstellen konnte.[29] Von diesen 51 Namen bezog sich mehr als die Hälfte, nämlich 27, auf Farmen und Plantagen. Obwohl es sich dabei um eine vergleichsweise beträchtliche Anzahl handelt, wurde während der Auswertung der Quellentexte doch offensichtlich, dass es eine viel größere Zahl an Farmen und Plantagen in deutschem Besitz gab, bei denen – anders als im Fall von deutschen Namen – nicht eindeutig zu erkennen war, wie auf sie referiert wurde. Die hier vorgelegte Folgestudie untersucht deshalb, wie auf landwirtschaftliche Betriebe in deutschem Besitz referiert wird.

Der Beitrag ist wie folgt strukturiert: Im Anschluss an diese Einleitung gibt Abschnitt 2 einen Überblick über die vorkoloniale und koloniale Geschichte von Usambara. Im darauffolgenden und zentralen Abschnitt 3 werden die Untersuchungsmethode, die Quellentexte und die Zusammensetzung des Datenkorpus erläutert sowie die Analyseergebnisse präsentiert. Der Beitrag schließt mit einem kurzen Fazit (Abschnitt 4).

[28] Bereits 1848 war der Missionar J. L. Krapf als vermutlich erster Europäer in das in Usambara gelegene Vuga, die Hauptstadt des Shambaa Königreichs gereist, um die Möglichkeiten für die Errichtung von Missionsstationen auszuloten. Die vermutlich ersten Europäer, die sich in West-Usambara niederließen, waren die Missionare der Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika, die 1891 die Missionsstation Hohenfriedeberg nahe Mlalo im abgelegenen Nordwesten von West-Usambara gründeten. Zu Hohenfriedeberg siehe Döring, 1901 (S. 93–142) und Wohlrab, 1915.

[29] Im Fall von neu entstandenen Geo-Objekten wie den hier genannten Missionsstationen und landwirtschaftlichen Betrieben konnten auch dem Gesetz nach deutsche Namen vergeben werden. Bei natürlichen Geo-Objekten lässt sich nicht immer entscheiden, ob der deutsche Name einen einheimischen ersetzt oder ob es keinen einheimischen gab. So schreibt Karstedt z. B.: Man sieht „den 1480 m hohen Maschindeikegel, den Ambangulurücken und den Kaschiui oder Ganßerberg“ (1914, S. 183). Das „Taschenbuch für Deutsch-Ostafrika“ nennt für mehrere Erhebungen nur einen deutschen Namen, wie im Fall von Drachenberg und Kirchturmfels (TB DOA, 1911, S. 337 und S. 327). Zu den deutschen Namen siehe Rieger, 2022; zur Frage, welche Geo-Objekte einheimische Namen hatten und welche nicht, siehe Reszegi und Rieger (2023).

2. Geschichtlicher Hintergrund

Ziel dieses Abschnitts ist zum einen, die ökologische, sozio-politische und ökonomische Situation darzulegen, die die deutschen Kolonialisten in den 1890er Jahren vorfanden, als sie begannen, die zunächst auf die Küstenregion beschränkte Kontrolle und Inbesitznahme von Deutsch-Ostafrika (DOA) auf das Gebiet zwischen Tanga und der Kilimanjaro-Region auszuweiten. Zum anderen wird aufgezeigt, welche Rolle dem Usambaragebirge bei der Kolonialisierung der flächenmäßig größten deutschen Kolonie zugedacht war.

Das Usambaragebirge liegt im nordöstlichen Teil Tansanias und ist Teil der sogenannten Eastern Arc Mountains, die sich halbmondförmig vom Südosten bis in den Nordosten des Landes erstrecken, und zu denen auch die im südlichen Kenia gelegenen Taita Hills gezählt werden. Das im Vergleich zum nahegelegenen Kilimanjaro sehr viel weniger bekannte, aber um ein Vielfaches ältere Gebirge[30] wird durch das tiefe Tal des Lwengera in zwei Teile geteilt, nämlich in West-Usambara und in das viel kleinere Ost-Usambara. Der bereits erwähnte österreichische Geograph Oskar Baumann meinte, Usambara sei „eines der wenigen Länder Inner-Afrikas, welches eine G e s c h i c h t e besitzt, die sich mit einiger Sicherheit bis auf das Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts zurückführen lässt“ (1891, S. 186; Hervorhebung im Original). Wie jüngere Untersuchungen jedoch zeigen, ist das Usambaragebirge seit Tausenden von Jahren besiedelt, denn seine relative Unzugänglichkeit bot Schutz vor Überfällen und das ungewöhnlich stabile Klima mit verlässlichen Regenfällen garantierte die kontinuierliche Verfügbarkeit von Nahrung. Ein weiterer wichtiger Faktor, der auch bei der Kolonialisierung eine entscheidende Rolle spielte, war, dass das Gebiet wegen seiner Höhenlage so gut wie malariafrei ist. Im Laufe der letzten 3000 Jahre wurde die Landwirtschaft zum wichtigsten Wirtschaftszweig, wobei die Anbaumethoden einschließlich eines ausgeklügelten Bewässerungssystems und der Kulturbrache so perfektioniert wurden, dass es bis ins 19. Jahrhundert so gut wie nie zu lebensbedrohenden Hungersnöten kam. Vervollständigt wurden die

[30] Dazu schreibt Conte: “Geologically speaking, at two hundred million years of age, they are ancestors to Kilimanjaro, formed only a million years ago” (2004, S. 1).

Überlebensstrategien durch ein enges und gut funktionierendes regionales Handelsnetz.[31]

Im Lauf des zweiten Jahrtausends unserer Zeitrechnung wurde eine Reihe von Nutzpflanzen eingeführt, allen voran die aus Südostasien stammende Bananenpflanze.[32] Sehr viel später kamen die Süßkartoffel, Tabak, Maniok und vor allem Mais hinzu. Diese aus anderen Erdteilen importierten Bereicherungen des Speisezettels zeigen auch, dass neben dem regionalen Handelsnetz auch Verbindungen zur ostafrikanischen Küste bestanden, die wiederum seit langer Zeit in die Welt des Indischen Ozeans eingebunden war. Im Laufe der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends unserer Zeitrechnung brachte die Immigration von kuschitisch sprechenden Viehzüchtern weitere weitreichende Veränderungen.[33] Wie andere vor ihnen waren die Wambugu genannten Einwanderer auf der Suche nach einem vor Überfällen sicheren Siedlungsgebiet. Usambara bot nicht nur diesen Schutz, sondern auch freie Flächen in Usambaras zentraler Hochebene, die für die Agrikultur der Shambaa[34] ungeeignet war.[35] Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts entstand schließlich das von der Dynastie der Kilindi regierte Königreich der Shambaa, dessen Einflussgebiet bis an die Küste reichte und dessen Macht erst in den 1890er Jahren von den deutschen Kolonialisten gebrochen wurde.[36]

Während die bisher genannten Transformationen über einen langen Zeitraum erfolgten, kam es im 19. Jahrhundert zu einer schnellen Abfolge von weitreichenden sozio-kulturellen, politischen und ökonomischen Veränderungen. Insbesondere ab der Mitte des Jahrhunderts wurde das Leben in Usambara

[31] Zu den Überlebensstrategien siehe insbesondere Kimambo, 1996.

[32] Für die Bananenpflanze erwies sich Klima und Boden als so ideal, dass sie für lange Zeit zum Hauptnahrungsmittel wurde und es heute etwa 60 endemische Arten geben soll (Conte, 2004, S. 24).

[33] Zum Zeitraum der Einwanderung gibt es unterschiedliche Angaben. So schreibt Feierman, es war "probably in the early eighteenth century [when] the semi-pastoral Mbugu people moved into the high central area of the mountains" (1972, S. 30). Conte, 1996 (S. 119) nennt sich auf Feierman beziehend denselben Zeitraum, schreibt aber in einer späteren Veröffentlichung: „Oral traditions in the West Usambaras maintain that sometime during the middle of the second millennium A.D., lineages of a pastoralist society entered the mountains" (2004, S. 27).

[34] Die größte in Usambara lebende Volksgruppe bezeichnet sich selbst als Shambaa. Ihre mit dem Kiswahili verwandte Sprache ist das Sambaa, während sie das von ihnen bewohnte Land Shambaai – ‚das Land in dem die Shambaa leben' – nennen.

[35] Zur Einwanderungsgeschichte der Wambugu und den damit einhergehenden sozio-kulturellen Veränderungen in Usambara siehe Conte, 1996.

[36] Zur Geschichte des Königreichs siehe Winans, 1962 und insbesondere Feierman, 1974.

zunehmend vom interregionalen Sklavenhandel beeinträchtigt. Auf Sansibar und Pemba wurden zu dieser Zeit immer mehr Nelkenplantagen eingerichtet, für deren Bewirtschaftung eine große Zahl an Sklaven benötigt wurde.[37] Dies hatte zur Folge, dass zunächst eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Menschen auf der Suche nach Schutz vor den Sklavenjägern in das Usambaragebiet einwanderte, was wiederum zu einer schweren Nahrungsmittelknappheit führte. Mit der steigenden Nachfrage wurde das Gebiet aber auch mehr und mehr zum direkten Ziel von Sklavenjägern und -händlern. Darüber hinaus wurde die Ernährungskrise durch die Anfang der 1890er Jahre in ganz Ostafrika wütende Rinderpest-Epidemie verschärft, die die Lebensgrundlage der Wambugu zerstörte. Die mit der Sklavenjagd einhergehende Gewalt und die immer schwieriger werdenden Lebensbedingungen zerstörten schließlich auch die relative politische Stabilität der Kilindi-Herrschaft. Conte beschreibt die Situation kurz vor der Ankunft der deutschen Kolonialisten, also um die Zeit, als Baumann das Gebiet besuchte, wie folgt:

> The shift in regional political economy transformed the Usambaras into a repository of plunder for slaves, foodstuffs, and livestock. Hill settlements like Mlalo became fortresses surrounded by heavily guarded thorn-hedge walls. Where they could, people moved to the relative safety of the heavily fortified towns, abandoning the agricultural sites that left them exposed. (…) The warfare and hunger continued for a generation and led to pronounced depopulation in several mountain regions, where abandoned homes and fields covered the landscape. (Conte, 2004, S. 34)

Die Kolonialisierung des Gebiets, das später Deutsch-Ostafrika werden sollte, begann Ende 1884. Bis 1890 konzentrierten die deutschen Kolonialisten ihre Eroberungsversuche jedoch auf den nördlichen Küstenstreifen zwischen Dar es Salaam und Tanga. Noch 1890 befand sich ihre einzige (militärische) Station abseits dieses Küstenabschnitts in Mazinde am Fuß von West-Usambara. Erst der 1893 begonnene Bau der Usambara-Eisenbahn machte das Gebiet für Kleinbauern und Plantagenbesitzer wirklich interessant.[38] Als um 1895 die

[37] Nach wie vor einschlägig ist dazu die 1987 erschienene Arbeit von Abdul Sheriff: „Slaves, Spices & Ivory in Zanzibar".

[38] Zum Zusammenhang zwischen dem Bau der Eisenbahn und der land- und forstwirtschaftlichen Ausbeutung von Usambara siehe den Überblickartikel von Wettich, 1911.

ersten deutschen Siedler nach Usambara kamen, fanden sie ein vergleichsweise dicht besiedeltes Land vor, in dem intensiv Ackerbau- und Viehzucht betrieben wurde. Deshalb schien ihnen das Gebiet ein geradezu idealer Ort für europäische Plantagen und Farmen zu sein. Bereits 1899 konnte Hassert vermelden: „Das in Deutsch-Ostafrika untergebrachte Kapital ist hauptsächlich im Usambaragebirge angelegt“ (1899, S. 258) und um 1910 verzeichneten die Usambara-Berge nach der Kilimanjaro-Region die zweithöchste Zahl deutscher Siedler in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Allerdings sollte sich im Nachhinein herausstellen, dass die deutschen – und später auch die britischen Kolonialisten – völlig falsche Annahmen im Hinblick auf das landwirtschaftliche Potenzial von Usambara gemacht hatten.[39]

3. Die Untersuchung

Um möglichst viele im Usambaragebiet[40] gelegene landwirtschaftliche Betriebe in deutschem Besitz zu erfassen, habe ich folgende Quellen ausgewertet: a. *Deutsches Kolonialhandbuch* in den mir vorliegenden Ausgaben von 1898, 1901–1904, 1906–1913 (im Folgenden: DKH); b. *Kolonial-Handels-Adressbuch* in den mir vorliegenden Ausgaben von 1901, 1907–1913; c. *Adressbuch Deutsch-Ostafrika* in der mir vorliegenden Ausgabe von 1913. Der untersuchte Zeitraum umfasst also die Jahre 1898 bis 1913. Die Hauptquelle stellte dabei das DKH dar, da es neben listenförmigen Aufzählungen auch beschreibende Teile enthält, die sich als wichtige zusätzliche Informationsquelle herausgestellt haben. Die Basis des Inventars war das sogenannte Personalverzeichnis

[39] Zu den eklatanten ökologischen und wirtschaftspolitischen Fehleinschätzungen, die nicht nur dazu führten, dass die Gewinnerwartungen der privaten und staatlichen kolonialen Akteure nie erfüllt wurden, sondern die auch die Lebensgrundlage der einheimischen Bevölkerung massiv beeinträchtigten und zum Teil ganz zerstörten, siehe Conte, 2004.

[40] Usambara hatte keine festen Grenzen. Bei meinen Untersuchungen berücksichtige ich neben dem Kerngebiet, also dem Usambaragebirge mit den Teilen West- und Ostusambara, auch die südliche Ebene bis etwa zur Usambarabahn sowie die östlichen Ausläufer bis zu etwa dem Punkt, an dem diese in flaches Küstenland übergehen. Denn auch diese peripheren Gebiete waren bevorzugtes Plantagengebiet.

des DKH. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Liste von Ortsnamen, wobei Dar es Salaam[41] immer an erster Stelle und anschließend alle weiteren Ortsnamen in alphabetischer Reihenfolge genannt werden. Gelistet sind die Orte, an denen militärische, administrative und religiöse Einrichtungen, aber auch private Unternehmen zu verzeichnen sind. Den Einrichtungen und Unternehmen sind dann die dort tätigen Personen zugeordnet. Wie sich im Folgenden zeigen wird, ist diese Liste allerdings nicht unproblematisch. Denn es wird typographisch kein Unterschied gemacht zwischen den Namen, die auf Siedlungen referieren, und Namen, die auf landwirtschaftliche Betriebe oder Missionsstationen verweisen.

3.1. Inventar

Über den angegebenen Zeitraum konnten in den genannten Quellen 102 landwirtschaftliche Betriebe identifiziert werden, die Deutschen und in einigen Fällen Personen anderer westlicher Nationalität gehörten.[42] Wie untenstehende Tabelle zeigt, waren davon 41 im Besitz von kolonialen Gesellschaften (im Folgenden: Plantagen) und 61 in Privatbesitz (im Folgenden: Farmen).

Tabelle 1. Anzahl der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe in ausgewählten Jahren

	Plantagen	Farmen	Plantagen	Farmen
	Anzahl	Anzahl	Deutsche Namen	Deutsche Namen
1896	11	1	1	0
1901	20	5	2	0
1902	20	8	2	0
1903	19	9	2	0

[41] In deutschen kolonialen Texten wird der Name der Stadt unterschiedlich geschrieben. So findet sich im DKH zunächst die Schreibweise Dar-es-Salàm (1901) und ab 1904 Daressalam. Ich benutze die endonyme Schreibweise Dar es Salaam.

[42] Die Zahl 102 muss als Annäherung betrachtet werden. Da alle Quellen manuell ausgewertet wurden, kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass Einträge übersehen wurden.

	Plantagen	Farmen	Plantagen	Farmen
	Anzahl	**Anzahl**	**Deutsche Namen**	**Deutsche Namen**
1906	20	11	2 (10%)	1 (9,1%)
1909	29	40	5 (17,2%)	7 (17,5%)
1911	31	46	5 (16,1%)	7 (15,2%)
1913	35	55	6 (17,1%)	15 (27,3%)
Tot.	**41**	**61**	**7/41 (17,1%)**	**16/61 (26,2%)**
Tot.	**102**		**23/102 (22,6%)**	

Quelle: eigene Arbeit.

Die Tabelle zeigt auch, wie die Zahl der Betriebe laufend zunahm und im letzten hier erfassten Jahr ihren Höhepunkt erreichte. Hinsichtlich der Zunahme ist besonders der Sprung von 11 Farmen im Jahr 1906 auf 40 im Jahr 1909 auffällig. Dieser sprunghafte Anstieg, der in geringerem Maße auch bei den Plantagen zu verzeichnen ist, steht in Zusammenhang mit der Eröffnung der Usambarabahn im Jahr 1905, die die damals wichtige Hafenstadt Tanga mit dem 130 km entfernt liegenden Ort Mombo verband, wo die Straße in die in West-Usambara gelegene Bezirkshauptstadt Wilhelmstal begann. Dadurch verringerten sich nicht nur die Transportkosten erheblich, sondern der Verkauf von bestimmten landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnissen wie frischem Gemüse an die Küste wurde überhaupt erst möglich. Aus einem Vergleich des Höchststandes im Jahr 1913 mit der Gesamtzahl wird aber auch ersichtlich, dass sowohl Farmen von Privatleuten als auch Plantagen in Unternehmensbesitz wieder aufgegeben wurden.

3.2. Deutsche Plantagen und Farmnamen

Dreiundzwanzig der in diesem Beitrag erfassten 102 landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe haben deutsche Namen, das sind etwas mehr als 22%.[43] Stolz und Warnke schreiben dazu, „dass die große Masse aller für die deutschen

[43] Der Einfachheit halber wird auf alle exonyme Namen des Inventars mit dem Adjektiv ‚deutsch' Bezug genommen. Das schließt somit die Namen *Zanettiberg, Kihuhui-Land* sowie *Sakalla-Pflanzung* trotz des nicht-deutschen Modifikators ein.

Schutzgebiete im GDKA [Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas] verbuchten Ortsnamen zur Klasse der Endonyme gehört. Als vorläufigen Schätzwert nehmen wir an, dass das Verhältnis von Endonymen zu Exonymen 20 zu 1 ist“ (2018d, S. 76, Fußnote 6). Damit bestätigt auch die vorliegende Studie zum einen, dass die große Mehrheit der Kolonialtoponyme, also der „Ortsnamen, deren Gebrauch im Rahmen kolonialer Machtausübung üblich war“ (Stolz & Warnke, 2018c, S. 1), einheimische Ortsnamen waren. Zum anderen ist das Größenverhältnis von Endonymen zu Exonymen des hier untersuchten Inventars aber weit niedriger, was wiederum die toponymische Sonderstellung von Gebieten bestätigt, die deutsches Siedlungsgebiet waren, allen voran die einzige deutsche Siedlungskolonie Deutsch-Südwestafrika.[44]

Neben dem relativ höheren Anteil an Exonymen gibt es im Hinblick auf die deutschen Namen zwei weitere Auffälligkeiten. Erstens haben – auch prozentual gesehen – mehr Betriebe in Privatbesitz einen deutschen Namen. Zweitens ist zwischen 1911 und 1913 eine Verdoppelung der deutschen Namen zu verzeichnen. Zwar gab es bereits zwischen den Jahren 1906 und 1909 einen deutlichen Anstieg, doch vergrößerte sich hier die Zahl der deutschen Namen parallel zu der der Betriebe. Im Zeitraum 1911 bis 1913 erhöhte sich die Zahl der Betriebe aber nur noch geringfügig. Gemeinsam habe die 23 Namen, dass sie durch den deutschen (Anteil im) Namen unterstreichen, dass sich der Betrieb im Besitz der Kolonialisten befindet:

[44] Siedlungskolonien zeichnen sich u. a. dadurch aus, dass sich „koloniale Präsenz primär in Gestalt permanent ansässiger Farmer und Pflanzer“ (Osterhammel & Jansen, 2009, S. 17) zeigt. DOA im Ganzen gehört dagegen zum Typus der Beherrschungskolonie, welche gekennzeichnet ist durch eine „zahlenmäßig relativ geringfügige koloniale Präsenz primär in Gestalt von entsandten, nach dem Ende ihrer Tätigkeit ins Mutterland zurückkehrenden Zivilbürokraten, Soldaten sowie von Geschäftsleuten, nicht: von Siedlern“ (Osterhammel & Jansen, 2009, S. 17). Usambara sowie die Region am und um den Kilimanjaro verzeichneten dagegen einen relativ hohen Anteil an deutschen Siedlern. Zur Toponymie von Deutsch-Südwestafrika siehe Stolz & Warnke, 2018d; zu Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Deutsch-Südwestafrika und Usambara im Hinblick auf die Bildungsmuster von exonymen Toponymen siehe Rieger, 2022.

Tabelle 2. Deutsche Farm- und Plantagennamen[45]

1.	Edishof	13.	*Grunewald*
2.	Friedrich Hoffmann-Plantage	14.	*Neu-Danzig*
3.	Hedderode	15.	Neu-Sagan
4.	*Massowia*	16.	Neu-Thüringen
5.	Massowtal	17.	*Reichenau*
6.	*Philippshof*	18.	Jägertal
7.	Princenau	19.	St. Peter Tulii
8.	*Schoeller*	20.	*Union*
9.	Zanettiberg	21.	Kap Holm
10.	Wilhelmshöhe	22.	Kihuhui-Land
11.	Joachim-Albrechtstal	23.	Sakalla-Pflanzung
12.	Frankenwald		

Quelle: eigene Arbeit.

Die ersten neun Namen markieren den Besitz darüber hinaus durch den Modifikator, der aus dem Namen des jeweiligen Besitzers gebildet wurde. Dies könnte man als doppelte Besetzung interpretieren, nämlich einerseits als kollektive koloniale Landnahme, die durch die Sprache der Kolonialisten angezeigt wird, und gleichzeitig als individuelle Besitzergreifung in Form des Personennamens. Die Namen *Wilhelmshöhe* und *Joachim-Albrechtstal* sowie die sechs Namen, die mithilfe von reichsdeutschen Ortsnamen gebildet wurden, unterstreichen dagegen die Verbindung zur Metropole. Die letzte Gruppe unterscheidet sich von den ersten 17 Namen dadurch, dass sie den Besitz nur durch die exonyme Form markiert.[46] Alle Namen geben somit einen deutlichen Hinweis auf die veränderten Besitzverhältnisse. Die Konsequenz davon ist allerdings, dass sie bis auf die letzten zwei – zumindest zunächst – keine Orientierungsfunktion innehaben.

[45] Die Namen von Betrieben im Besitz kolonialer Gesellschaften (= Plantagen) sind kursiv gesetzt. Eine Liste aller Ortsnamen mit Quellenangabe findet sich im Anhang.

[46] St. Peter Tulii war ursprünglich der Name einer Missionsstation, auf den ich weiter unten noch eingehen werde. Für eine ausführliche Analyse der (deutschen) Namen siehe Rieger, 2022.

3.3. Namenwechsel

Anders als ursprünglich angenommen, konnte ich nur zwei Fälle finden, in denen ein landwirtschaftlicher Betrieb zunächst unter dem endonymen Ortsnamen verzeichnet wurde und später einen deutschen Namen erhielt. Der erste Fall ist die Farm von Christian Hedde, die im Personalverzeichnis des DKH von 1902 bis 1909 unter dem Ortsnamen *Kwa Mkusu* gelistet wird. In den Ausgaben von 1910 bis 1913 kommt das Endonym nicht mehr vor, stattdessen findet sich die Farm unter dem Eintrag *Hedderode*. Der zweite Fall betrifft eine Plantage, die ebenfalls im DKH von 1909 bis 1911 unter dem Endonym *Mnyssi* zu finden ist, während sie ab 1912 unter dem Eintrag *Grunewald bei Njussi* gelistet wird.[47] Es gibt auch einen umgekehrten Fall. 1901 bis 1907 wird im DKH auf eine Missionsstation mit dem Namen *St. Peter (Tulii)* Bezug genommen. 1908 und 1909 findet sich der Eintrag *Irente s. St. Peter Tulii* und unter dem Eintrag *St. Peter Tulii (Irente)* sind sowohl die Mission als auch eine Pflanzung verzeichnet. 1911 gibt es zwei getrennte Einträge und 1913 wird, nach der Aufgabe der Mission, nur noch *Irente* mit der Pflanzung gelistet.

3.4. Farmen und Plantagen ohne exonymen Namen

Mit Ausnahme dieses letzten Falls können die bisher diskutierten (deutschen) Namen als Farm- bzw. Plantagennamen klassifiziert werden. Bei den restlichen 79 Betrieben erweist sich die Frage, ob sie einen Namen haben und ggf. welchen, als etwas komplizierter. Gelistet werden alle diese Betriebe unter dem (endonymen) Namen des Ortes, an dem sie sich befinden. Handelt es sich dabei um einen Ort, an dem mehrere Unternehmen zu verzeichnen sind, ist das Toponym eine Ortsangabe. So werden z. B. im DKH von 1913 unter dem Eintrag *Kiuhuhwi* „Postagentur. Station der Usambara-Eisenbahn. Pflanzung: (…)“ (S. 52) aufgeführt, also die Einrichtungen, die sich am Ort *Kiuhuhwi* befinden. Dieser eindeutigen Lesart folgend könnte man Einträge vom Typ

[47] Das Endonym erscheint in deutschen kolonialen Quellen bis zuletzt in schwankender Schreibung als Njussi, Nyussi oder Mnyussi. Der Ort *Mnyusi* ist noch heute Haltepunkt der Usambarabahn.

„**Bangalla** in Westusambara [Bez. Wilhelmstal]. *Pflanzung*: F. Kersten“ (DKH, 1909, S. 267; Hervorhebungen im Original) und „**Kalanga** (Bez. Wilhelmstal), **Pflanzung**: Pastor G. L. Cleve“ (DKH, 1913, S. 267; Hervorhebungen im Original) ebenfalls dahingehend interpretieren, dass sich die Pflanzung von F. Kersten in Bangalla und die von Pastor Cleve in Kalanga befindet.

Eine genauere Analyse zeigt allerdings, dass zumindest in einigen Fällen, der endonyme Ortsname vom dort ansässigen Betrieb usurpiert wird. So besaß die Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft eine Reihe von Plantagen. Im DKH von 1901 findet sich: „Plantage Union. Pflanzungen der ‚*Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft*‘ in Derema, Heruë, Lungusa (…)“ (S. 284; Hervorhebungen im Original) neben „**Derema** [s. Union] (S. 285). *Pflanzung:* Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft.“ (S. 386; Hervorhebungen im Original). Ab 1907 dagegen: „**Derema**, Post Amani, siehe **Union** in Handei.“ (DKH, 1913, S. 44; Hervorhebungen im Original) sowie „**Union (Derema)** in Ostusambara (…). **Pflanzung**: Deutsch-Ostafrik. Ges.“ (DKH, 1913, S. 73; Hervorhebungen im Original). Noch deutlicher wird diese schleichende Besetzung, wie ich sie nennen möchte, in kolonialen beschreibenden Texten. So schreibt F. O. Karstedt in seinem 1914 erschienenen Reiseführer z. B.: „In der Nähe von Kwamkoro, einer der bedeutendesten ostafrikanischen Kaffeepflanzungen, die den Erben des Prinzen Albrecht (…), gehört“ (S. 178) und „1. Nach der Kaffeepflanzung Ambangulu“ (S. 185). In diesen und allen anderen vergleichbaren Fällen wurde von den Kolonialisten nicht nur ein Name usurpiert, sondern es änderte sich damit auch der Bedeutungsgehalt des Namens, der nicht mehr auf einen einheimischen Ort verweist, sondern auf einen kolonialen Besitz.

4. Fazit und Ausblick

Die hier vorgestellte Studie konnte zum einen die Ergebnisse von früheren Untersuchungen zur deutschen Kolonialtoponymie bestätigen, nämlich dass im Einklang mit den offiziellen Richtlinien in den deutschen Kolonien in Afrika nur wenige deutsche Toponyme in Gebrauch waren. Dies gilt selbst für Familienbetriebe, wo man erwarten könnte, dass die emotionale

Bindung an den Landbesitz durch einen selbstgewählten Namen zum Ausdruck kommt.[48]

Allerdings konnte die Auswertung von zeitgenössischen Hand- und Adressbüchern die anfangs gestellte Frage nicht beantworten, nämlich ob es nachvollziehbare Gründe dafür gab, warum ein Teil des deutschen Landbesitzes einen deutschen Namen erhielt, der weitaus größere Teil aber nicht. Im Hinblick auf die deutschsprachigen Namen vom Typ *Edishof* und *Neu-Sagan* kann aber festgestellt werden, dass damit der koloniale Besitz auch sprachlich deutlich markiert wird. Dabei scheint es sowohl den Fall einer bewussten Benennung gegeben zu haben, z. B. *Joachim-Albrechtstal*, als auch den Fall, dass der deutsche Name mit der Zeit die endonyme Ortsbezeichnung verdrängt hat, wie dies für *Hedderode* gezeigt wurde. In den bisher ausgewerteten Quellen werden die Farmen und Plantagen, die keinen deutschen Namen erhalten haben, mithilfe des endonymen Ortsnamens identifiziert. Im Fall von Namen, die auf größere Orte referieren, dient das Endonym der (ungefähren) Lokalisierung des deutschen Besitzes. Wenn aber die deutsche Farm oder Plantage das einzige – im Sinne eines kolonialen Adressbuches an dem betreffenden Ort erwähnenswerte – Geo-Objekt darstellt, kann in der Regel nicht entschieden werden, ob der Name der Lokalisierung dient oder aber den deutschen Besitz bezeichnet. Die von mir so bezeichnete „schleichende Besetzung", also die allmähliche Übertragung des endonymen Ortsnamens auf den kolonialen Besitz muss anhand von beschreibenden Texten, z. B. von zeitgenössischen Reiseberichten und Zeitungstexten wie der von 1901 bis 1916 erschienenen „Usambara-Post" weiter untersucht werden. Zu der Frage, warum einige Betriebe einen deutschen Namen erhielten, viele andere aber nicht, kann im Moment nur die Hypothese aufgestellt werden, dass zumindest in manchen Fällen die Orientierungsfunktion, die der endonyme Ortsname innehatte, wichtiger war als die Markierung des Besitzes. Dafür könnte auch sprechen, dass nach etwa 10 Jahren kolonialer Besiedlung die Zahl der deutschen Namen sprunghaft zunahm, als die Siedler zunehmend mit der Geographie des Gebiets vertraut waren. Auch in diesem Punkt mag eine Analyse beschreibender Texte Aufschluss geben.

[48] Wie dies an der deutschen Kolonialtoponymie in der Siedlungskolonie Deutsch-Südwestafrika gezeigt werden kann. Siehe dazu Stolz & Warnke, 2018c.

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Anhang

Inventar

Die folgende Liste enthält die analysierten Namen und gibt an, in welcher Ausgabe des DKH der Name zum ersten Mal in Zusammenhang mit einem landwirtschaftlichen Betrieb genannt wird.[49]

Nr.	Name	DKH
1.	Ambangulu	1901
2.	Balangai	1901
3.	Bangalla	1909
4.	Bombwera → Schoeller	1896
5.	Bulwa	1896
6.	Derema	1896
7.	Edishof	1909
8.	Frankenwald	1913
9.	Friedrich Hoffmann-Pflanzung	1906
10.	Gomba	1908
11.	Guilo	1909
12.	Hekulu / Herkulu / Herkule / Herkulo	1902
13.	Heruë	1896
14.	Hor Mali	1901
15.	Irente	1909
16.	Jägertal	1909
17.	Jaira	1909
18.	Joachim-Albrechtstal	1913
19.	Kalange	1911

[49] Mehrfach aufgelistete Ortsnamen zeigen an, wie viele Betriebe an dem jeweiligen Ort für die Analyse berücksichtigt wurden.

Nr.	Name	DKH
20.	Kap Holm	1913
21.	Kassiga	1909
22.	Kihuhui-Land	1913
23.	Kihuhwi (Kiuhuhwi / Kihuhui / Kiuhui)	1906
24.	Kitivo	1909
25.	Kivungilo	1909
26.	Kongei	1909
27.	Kongei	1909
28.	Kongoni	1909
29.	Korogwe	1909
30.	Korogwe	1909
31.	Korogwe	1909
32.	Kulassi	1911
33.	Kunga	1913
34.	Kwa Gorotto	1901
35.	Kwa Madulago	1911
36.	Kwa Mkoro	1901
37.	Kwa Mkusu	1902
38.	Kwa Mkuya	1901
39.	Kwai	1901
40.	Kwamdoë	1911
41.	Kwamdoro / Kwamdorro	1909
42.	Kwamhanja	1909
43.	Kwamiremba	1913
44.	Kwaschemschi	1909
45.	Kwasigi	1909
46.	Kwasigi	1909
47.	Kwehangalla	1913
48.	Lewa	1896
49.	Lungusa	1896
50.	Mabungu	1909

Nr.	Name	DKH
51.	Magamba	1901
52.	Magila	1896
53.	Magoma	1909
54.	Magrotto	1901
55.	Makinjumbi	1901
56.	Makujuni	1909
57.	Masinde	1909
58.	Massowia	1907
59.	Massowtal	1909
60.	Masumbai / Massumbey	1902
61.	Maurui	1907
62.	Mgambago	1912
63.	Migombani	1911
64.	Mikanjuni	1911
65.	Mkumbara	1909
66.	Mkumbara	1909
67.	Mkumbara	1909
68.	Mkwajuni	1909
69.	Mnyussi / Njussi / Nyussi → Grunewald	1909
70.	Mnyussi / Njussi / Nyussi	1909
71.	Mombo	1909
72.	Monga	1901
73.	Mschihui	1909
74.	Msituni	1901
75.	Msuaha	1909
76.	Muhesa	1906
77.	Neu-Danzig	1912
78.	Neu-Sagan	1913
79.	Neu-Thüringen	1913
80.	Ngambo	1901
81.	Ngombezi	1909

Nr.	Name	DKH
82.	Ngombezi	1909
83.	Ngua	1896
84.	Nguelo	1896
85.	Nguilu	1909
86.	Philippshof	1909
87.	Princenau	1909
88.	Reichenau	1909
89.	Sakalla	1913
90.	Sakarre	1901
91.	Sakkarani	1902
92.	Sangarawe / Sankarawe	1901
93.	Segoma	1901
94.	Sigi	1913
95.	Ssindeni	1909
96.	Swaha	1909
97.	Ukonge	1902
98.	Union	1901
99.	Useguha	1911
100.	Wilhelmshöhe	1909
101.	Wuruni	1909
102.	Zanettiberg	1913

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Toponymy and Grammatical Gender: A Description From Portuguese

Abstract

One of the most common questions regarding the proper use of a toponym in Portuguese is related with the (i) obligation, (ii) possibility or (iii) interdiction to employ an article as a toponymic gender marker. Every Portuguese speaker acknowledges that the only possible position for an article attributing gender to a place name is to its left; also, it is well known that a mandatory or possible *gender article* in Portuguese is never a constituent of the place name it precedes. Nevertheless, language users still struggle to draw general rules that allow them to better understand the grammaticality of gender articles preceding toponyms. As one would expect, the less familiar a toponym is to a speaker, the harder it becomes for them to predict its gender value.

In Portuguese, toponyms derived from nouns (synchronically transparent place names, mainly) are the ones commonly labeled as more prone to be preceded by an article, but no extensive research has ever been done to evaluate if this assumption is, in any way, corroborated by user-based data or by data extracted from official toponymic resources. In this paper, considering data from the official resource for Portuguese toponymy, the *Vocabulário Toponímico*, a set of rules is drawn describing some mandatory, possible or unauthorized interactions between gender articles and toponyms.

Keywords

Portuguese toponymy, grammatical gender, toponymic gender-labeling, *Vocabulário Toponímico*

1. Introduction

Grammatical gender is a formal property of toponyms, and different linguistic systems can allow the association of either one or more values to it. Contrary to what can be observed in languages that only accept gender-neutral toponyms, like English, Portuguese has two possible gender values:

(1) **Gender value 1**: 'if a toponym is masculine or feminine'.
E.g.: *O Porto*[1] *é uma cidade linda. / *[ø] Porto é uma cidade linda.*
'Porto is a beautiful city.'

(2) **Gender value 0**: 'if a toponym is gender-neutral' (neither masculine nor feminine).
E.g.: *[ø] Brasília*[2] *é a capital do Brasil. / *A Brasília é a capital do Brasil.*
'Brasilia is Brazil's capital.'

In both oral and written utterances, the gender value of a Portuguese toponym can always be inferred. However, if a toponym is pronounced/written with no context, this property does not come to the surface, that is, without grammatical context, even native speakers can struggle to identify the gender of an endonym they are not familiar with. Thus, a **familiarity** trace is

[1] Portuguese city names are mainly gender-neutral. *Porto* is one of the few exceptions, being a homonym of the masculine noun *porto* 'harbor'. Interestingly, exonyms like the English *Oporto* disclose how a language that only has gender-neutral toponyms can process a definite article that marks gender in the departure language but is not part of the endonym, *per se*: in this case, English neglects the article's masculine trace by simply amalgamating the vowel *o-* in the beginning of the place name *Porto* and capitalizing it.

[2] *Brasília* derives from the country's name, *Brasil*, but both toponyms have different gender values: *Brasil* (masculine) is also the name of a type of wood; *Brasília* (gender-neutral) shares the morphological radical with *Brasil* but incorporates the suffix *-ia* (which is a productive one in the formation of Portuguese toponyms). The fact that *Brasília* derives from an endonym (and one with such importance – at country level) may trigger a gender-neutral value whose core function is to internally underline that the named geographic referent is not at the same hierarchical level as the country, avoiding possible ambiguity derived from a transparent morphological proximity. Furthermore, contrary to what the literature describes, the final *-a* has no prominent role in gender attribution – in this example, its addition does not trigger a (feminine) gender value 1.

key for the homogeneous use of unique gender values associated to each Portuguese toponym.

Simplex place names ending in *-a*(*s*) are usually assumed as being feminine. When they end in *-o*(*s*), they are generally interpreted as masculine. As for complex place names, the same rule tends to be applied, but with a regular focus on the place name's core unit, usually a proper noun, because the gender value of a toponymic constituent that is homonymous to a noun is always transparent. Even so, this inference cannot be taken as a flawless criterium for the proposal of a general rule that accounts for an accurate gender value associated to each Portuguese toponym. If it could, we would not find statements in Portuguese reference grammars like the one in Raposo et al. (2013) that it is a frequent reason for conversation which names of countries allow, require or do not admit the definite article, as well as whether or not there is any generalization that regulates this use (and if it exists, it has not yet been discovered) (p. 1018).

I propose that the only accurate way to access gender information associated to a toponym in Portuguese – to all toponyms, not only to country names – is by verifying if the name can be combined with a preceding article and, if it can, by clearly identifying if the article is masculine or feminine, sidelining the thematic index when one is available (often as a homograph form of the article that can precede it). By doing so, the grammatical **gender value 1** of Portuguese toponyms will follow from a gender feature located in a nonconventional nuclear unit: an article. For this reason, within the scope of this paper the term 'gender article' is adopted, underlining that, when it is acceptable, a gender article always **precedes** a place name – it is never a constituent of the simplex/complex name. When it cannot precede a place name, the name has **gender value 0**. In this regard, it is important to note that three country names, *Espanha* 'Spain', *França* 'France' and *Itália* 'Italy', now accept the previously interdicted feminine gender article (at least in the standard norm of European Portuguese). As so, each of these countries presently can have two homonymous endonyms, one that is feminine (**gender value 1**) and another one that is gender-neutral (**gender value 0**).[3] This duality can result

[3] The distinction and validation of two homonymous toponyms, based on different gender values, acquiesces with Villalva (2000), who wrote that the so-called uniform nouns, such as *artista* 'artist', are responsible for the occurrence of different agreement marks in syntactic constituents that specify, modify or predicate them, and thus proposed that they have two gender specifications, that is, that the gender contrast involves two lexical units (p. 227).

from a regularization through a process of synchronic analogy. That is, the ending *-a* in these frequently used country names (the same is true with the toponym *Inglaterra* 'England') influences the acceptability – and the resulting grammaticality – of a gender article (Salgueiro, 2016, p. 26), but this recent acceptability still does not outpace the gender-neutral homonym. These examples are also important to bear in mind, even in this theoretic frame, where they are understood as secondary, because they do show that toponyms' thematic indexes have some of the same gender-defining features as Portuguese nouns' thematic indexes.

Furthermore, this **gender article** assessment can be validated in all the language's national varieties, even if there can be some punctual output variation, namely between the Brazilian norm, on one hand, and the national norm of each other country that integrates the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) (e.g.: [*o*] *Timor-Leste* / [*Ø*] *Timor-Leste*).

2. Types of constraints governing toponymic gender values

I propose that a gender article in Portuguese is always governed by one of three types of constraints. Hence, when a toponym is used in a given utterance, a (1) **mandatory**, (2) **possible** or (3) **interdicted** constraint is activated, verifying the grammaticality of a gender article.

(1) **Mandatory**: 'a gender article must be used in an utterance'.
E.g.: *Cheguei a**o** Porto / *Cheguei a[ø] Porto.*
'I have arrived at Porto'

(2) **Possible**: 'a gender article can be used in an utterance'[4].
E.g.: *Sou de/d**o** Pombal*; *Sou de/d**a**s Lajes das Flores.*
'I'm from Pombal'; 'I'm from Lajes das Flores'

[4] When the pair of place names with two possible values is illustrated, the most frequent gender value is presented first.

(3) **Interdicted**: 'a gender article cannot be used in an utterance'.
E.g.: *Nasci em* [ø] *Lisboa.* / **Nasci na Lisboa.*
'I was born in Lisbon'

This **type system** is useful not only to establish a clear distinction between existing types, but also to underline that each toponym is covered by only one of the existing types. It should be noted that if a geographical referent's name can have two different gender values, there are, in fact, two homonymous place names – in this case, two endonyms – to be considered (see (2), immediately above), under the premise that grammatical gender is a formal property of toponyms. Of course, if the article would be a *de facto* constituent of one of the two toponyms, this assumption would be much more intuitive, namely to non-native Portuguese speakers/learners.

Looking at the place name given above as an example, *Porto*, it is common to have English native speakers with Portuguese as an L2 produce ungrammatical utterances like (i) **Visitei Porto*; (ii) **Vim de Porto* or (iii) **Cheguei em Porto*, instead of (i') *Visitei o Porto* 'I visited Porto'; (ii') *Vim do Porto* 'I came from Porto' or (iii') *Cheguei ao Porto* 'I arrived at Porto'. This deviation happens because the only possible gender value in English, the neutral, is inadvertently assumed as also exclusive in Portuguese, and the speaker fails to verify the article constraint **mandatory** in the endonym *Porto* (in this case, [+masculine]).

Even to native speakers, the main difficulty that arises when dealing with types of constraints that govern the grammaticality of gender articles in Portuguese has to do with the linguistic output's frequent opacity. Cartography is one of the most common tools vehiculating the use of place names, and maps or georeferenced tools, such as Google Maps, don't provide the necessary linguistic context to language users, they just show the toponym by itself, stamping it on the correspondent geographic referent. Thus, some of the most vastly used tools that include toponyms do not convey any type of linguistic information that could cement a general rule for the understanding of gender values and types of constraints in Portuguese (other than the insufficient, already referred, thematic indexes of each toponym's lexical units).

3. Compositionally opaque names vs synchronically transparent names

In Portuguese, toponyms that derive from nouns (synchronically transparent place names, mainly) are ones commonly accepted as more prone to have a mandatory gender article, because their semantic motivation is easily accessible (or so it seems to a speaker that sees them as having a descriptive base). On the other hand, toponyms that are compositionally opaque to a contemporary language user – usually names described in Raposo et al. (2013) as having no descriptive meaning or being semantically arbitrary (the author's **canonical names**) – are expected to activate the **interdiction type** to gender articles.

In short, place names in whose lexical constituents it is (still) possible to identify a homonymous form of a noun, it being the nucleus of the NP, will, according to the literature, predictably accept the employment of a definite article (as expected, the masculine or feminine gender will accrue from the gender of the noun that originated it). Raposo et al. (2013) uses *Reino Unido* 'United Kingdom', as an example to illustrate that the employment of a definite article can be expected when toponyms are formed on the basis of a defined description whose core is a noun with which the article agrees in gender and number (p. 1019). But if it were this simple to acknowledge the acceptable type of gender article constraint, the mapping of the biunivocal relations between each compositionally transparent toponym and its gender value would not pose any difficulties to the implementation of automatic labeling processes focused on this formal property. Unfortunately, this is not the case for Portuguese. Raposo et al. (2013) even states that it is not clear if these toponyms [like *Reino Unido*] should be considered canonical or having a descriptive base, that is, if the semantic motivation behind them is already lost, or not, to the speakers[5] (p. 1019).

[5] The place names given in Raposo et al. (2013) as examples to account for this type of occurrence are always complex, but I will assume that what the authors call "other similar cases" also include simplex place names, i.e., toponyms with only one morphological radical.

4. The *Vocabulário Toponímico*

In the last decade, Portuguese, as a pluricentric language, has become a particularly interesting object within toponymic research. The commitment by the CPLP member-states to develop cooperation efforts for an adequate orthographic standardization of the language followed from the formal integration, in 2014, of the Common Orthographic Vocabulary of the Portuguese Language (VOC) in the CPLP heritage. Since then, VOC has been the official resource for Portuguese orthography. Not only is it official, but VOC also "represents a paradigm change, switching from idiosyncratic, closed source, paper-format official resources to standardized, open, free, web-accessible and reusable ones". It is also the first "free-access pluricentric lexical information database representing the contemporary lexicon of Portuguese as a whole, in a framework and set-up that is common to every CPLP country" (Ferreira et al., 2012, p. 2), currently with more than 300,000 entries, from several national language varieties (see Ferreira et al., 2017).

With such a large scope, early in its development it became clear that VOC needed to include the language's toponymy. From 2013 forward, a dedicated toponymic database within VOC started to be developed: "Vocabulário Toponímico" (VT) was the first toponymic database ever developed for Portuguese with a pluricentric approach and common transnational standardization criteria,[6] and it still is the only one with such characteristics. As a hierarchical system of toponymic synchronic data (including relational subsets), VT presently accommodates more than 72,000 standardized toponyms, and maintains a structure that allows further sets of toponyms to be incorporated.

The formal properties of a toponym considered in VT are (i) word class; (ii) syllabification; (iii) word stress; and (iv) gender. Properties (i) to (iii) are already labelled in every entry; labeling of (iv) is currently on hold, but it has already been done for higher levels (for the names of geographic referents with higher national administrative relevance, as well as for all country names and country capitals' names). The understanding is that the microstructure of a system like VT, for languages with more than one gender value, must include explicit

[6] Free access at https://voc.cplp.org/index.php?action=toponyms

information regarding mandatory, possible or interdicted usage of an article with a toponym, facilitating gender value readings to all users.

5. Gender-labeled data from VT

In this paper, I share some gender-related regularities using toponymic data from Portugal and, based on them, propose a set of principles for the attribution of gender values to Portuguese (1) Districts/Islands and municipalities' names; (2) Toponyms with the generic *Rio* 'river' or *Ribeira* 'brook'; and (3) Names of countries and national capitals.

5.1. Districts/Islands and municipalities from Portugal

In its second highest hierarchical level – *distrito/ilha* 'district/island' – Portugal has 29 official geographical names, and they are mainly gender-neutral. The only exceptions are (i) [*o*] *Porto* (masculine) and [*a*] *Guarda* (feminine), both in continental Portugal; and (ii) names of all eleven islands from the two Portuguese archipelagos (nine in Azores and two in Madeira), all necessarily feminine, when they include the initial generic *Ilha* 'Island'.[7] Even so, four of these complex toponyms can still include a gender-neutral preposition: (1) *Ilha de São Jorge*, (2) *Ilha de São Miguel*, (3) *Ilha de Santa Maria* and (4) *Ilha de Porto Santo*.[8]

[7] The fact that these geographic referents' names can vary based on the inclusion/omission of the generic *Ilha* is probably justified by "the locality type of islands – being isolated in water" (Gammeltoft, 2018, p. 133). If that is the case, the explicit reference "to the island itself" will not only describe a physical property of the referent but may implicitly underline the political status of the two archipelagos as autonomous regions, with an analogy between water as a physical barrier and political autonomy.

[8] Focusing on the example (*Ilha de*) *Porto Santo*, it is interesting to notice that the feminine complex name accepts the gender-neutral preposition *de* immediately before the generic *Porto*, but the truncated toponym *Porto Santo* (still complex, but without the generic *Ilha*) is always masculine (mandatory type).

In the first three cases, below the generic *Ilha* we find regular hagiotoponymic elements (by rule, gender-neutral in Portuguese, according to VT), so the truncated toponyms that derive from those three examples will be gender-neutral. This is true even with the finding that anthroponymic elements or sacred designations, such as *Miguel* or *Santa*, respectively, do accept a **gender value 1** on their own (e.g., *São* (masculine) / *Santa* (feminine) 'saint'; Miguel (masculine) / Maria (feminine)).[9] In the fourth case, *Ilha de Porto Santo*, the specific element *Santo* 'sacred' is likely to also have some hagiotoponymic interpretation, reflected on a gender-neutral preposition, but must be read as a pseudo-hagionymic adjective, because contrary to what happens in toponyms like *Santa Maria*, it is not the head of a two element NP – also, it can never exist as a simplex toponym.

Portuguese districts' names are **gender value 0**, except for *Porto* and *Guarda*. Fundamentally, the Portuguese islands' names are **gender value 1**, but should be labeled as:

(i) **feminine** when they are complex and headed by *Ilha* 'island' (e.g.: *[a] Ilha do Corvo*).

(ii) **masculine** or **feminine** when they are simplex (with the exception of *Porto Santo*), depending on the gender of a homonymous noun, synchronically available in the general lexicon (e.g., *[as] Flores*).

(iii) exceptionally **gender value 0** when they are complex and headed by a hagionymic designation (instead of *Ilha*) – even if the designation itself is masculine (like *São*/*Santo*) or feminine (like *Santa*) (e.g., *[ø] Santa Maria*).

Even small variance like the one here presented already shows that different levels of analysis for the admeasurement of toponymic gender in Portuguese must be equated, depending on the complexity of each place name (taxonomy related properties, or number and weight of constituents, for instance, can trigger different gender values).

As for the names of Portuguese municipalities (*municípios*),[10] from 308 geographic referents, 252 have a **gender value 0** name (with an **interdicted** type of constraint), including several place names that are homonymous with

[9] These are the prototypical gender values of anthroponyms such as *Miguel* or *Maria*. Even so, it is possible to have a feminine *Miguel* (e.g., *Dulce Miguel*) or a masculine *Maria* (e.g., *Gonçalo Maria*) if a complex name includes them but is not headed by them.

[10] In Portugal, *município* 'municipality' is the administrative division immediately under *distrito* 'district' and above *freguesia* 'parish'.

nouns prototypically associated to hydronyms, such as *Lagoa* 'lagoon' or *Lagos* 'lake(s)'; 45 have an exclusive **gender value 1** name (with a **mandatory** type of constraint); and 7 can either have a **gender value 1** name or a **gender value 0** name (they have a **possible** type of constraint).[11] As an initial proposal, it is only acceptable to claim that Portuguese municipalities' names tend to be **gender value 0**.

5.2. Toponyms with the generic 'river' or 'brook' from Portugal

From the gender-related data available in VT, namely the one associated to toponyms with the generic element *Rio* 'river' (masculine) or *Ribeira* 'brook' (feminine), it is possible to draft solid general rules, based on the recurrent assignment of the same gender values (at least in European Portuguese).

Portuguese place names with the generic element *Rio* 'river' (deriving from a river name) are gender-neutral, and should be labeled as:

(i) **gender value 0** (with the constraint type **interdicted**) (e.g.: *Sou de Rio Torto* / **Sou do Rio Torto* 'I'm from Rio Torto').

Nonetheless, if a complex string like '*River x*' has this generic element omitted, the truncated place name tends[12] to be **gender value 1**, namely when it is synchronically transparent. As an example, the truncated toponym [*o*] *Pinhão* (synchronically homonym to 'pine nut'), a parish whose name derives from [*o*] *Rio Pinhão* (a river), allows a clear distinction between the referent with administrative relevance and the hydronym – two different entities with the same (masculine) specific element. Hypothetically, if the parish's name maintained the generic element *Rio* 'river' (*Rio Pinhão*), it would most certainly be gender-neutral, following the rule presented above. Thus, hydrotoponyms (here I present evidence coming from the ones with the generic element *Rio*) also show that gender types can have an important role when a clear distinction

[11] Interestingly, except for [*ø/o*] *Crato* and [*o/ø*] *Baião*, these are synchronically transparent names: [*as/ø*] *Lajes das Flores* 'flower slabs', [*ø/o*] *Pombal* 'pigeonry', [*Ø/o*] *Gavião* 'hawk', [*a/ø*] *Chamusca* (assuming a derivation from *chamuscar* 'to singe') and [*o/ø*] *Peso da Régua* (even if *peso* derives from the archaic form *penso* 'meal or the place where transportation animals would eat').

[12] See rule above for complex toponyms that are headed by a hagionymic designation (**gender value 0**).

is needed between related geographic referents with homonym names: in this case, between the river's name *Rio Pinhão* (**gender value 1**: masculine) and the hypothetical parish's name *Rio Pinhão* (**gender value 0**).

As for brooks, the Madeira and Azores islands are the only two regions where complex toponyms with the generic *Ribeira* 'brook' (feminine) always have **gender value 1** (e.g., the municipality [*a*] *Ribeira Grande*). Being relatively small, Portuguese islands have no rivers, only brooks. And unlike larger geographic referents, like the aforementioned rivers, brooks are most likely assumed by local community members as proprietary natural features, so each community will refer to the administrative referent using the more familiar/transparent toponym, the one that is homonym to the hydronym (the brook itself): a feminine name.

Fundamentally, Portuguese place names with the generic element *Ribeira* 'brook' (deriving from a brook name) are gender-neutral, and should be labeled as:

(i) **gender value 0** if their geographic referent is in continental Portugal (e.g., [*ø*] *Ribeira Branca* / [*ø*] *Ribeira de Pena*).

(ii) exceptionally **gender value 1** if their geographic referent is in the Madeira or Azores islands (e.g., [*a*] *Ribeira Quente* / [*a*] *Ribeira Grande*).

5.3. Names of countries and national capitals

Country names – and national capitals' names, almost to the same extent – are among the best-known toponyms in any given language. Hence, their increased visibility, placing them in a top position on a familiarity scale, mostly associated to geographic, historical or cultural proximity, is sufficient to avoid major doubts when it comes to a choice between two (or more) gender values. A high degree of familiarity helps to consolidate unique associations between each place name and its gender value (arising from clear constraint specificities), but sometimes makes it harder to decode the specific linguistic feature that triggers them.

Looking at the names of all the countries recognized by the United Nations, in the European Portuguese variety all but 33 of them are preceded by an article.[13] Thus, the **gender value 1** is prevalent in Portuguese country names.

[13] The 33 **gender value 0** country names in European Portuguese are: *Andorra*, *Angola*, *Antígua e Barbuda*, *Barbados*, *Cabo Verde*, *Cuba*, *Granada*, *Israel*, *Madagáscar*, *Malta*, *Marrocos*,

Curiously, from the nine CPLP countries, only three have a mandatory article, [*o*] *Brasil* 'Brazil', [*a*] *Guiné-Bissau* 'Guinea-Bissau' and [*a*] *Guiné Equatorial* 'Equatorial Guinea', and two of them used to have an **interdicted constraint** until recently (*Guiné* as a toponymic element, only started to require a mandatory article in the 20th century (see www.corpusdoportugues.org). Also, among country names there are only eight cases of variation between **gender value 0** and **gender value 1** relating to the same geographic referent. Three of those have already be explained above ([*ø*] *Espanha* / [*a*] *Espanha* 'Spain'; [*ø*] *França* / [*a*] *França* 'France' and [*ø*] *Itália* [*a*] *Itália* 'Italy'), another one is *Chipre* 'Cyprus', that can be named using the most frequent toponym [*o*] *Chipre* or the traditional form [*ø*] *Chipre*; and the last four cases ([*o*] *Belize* / [*ø*] *Belize*; [*o*] *Maláui* / [*ø*] *Maláui* 'Malawi'; [*o*] *Omã* / [*ø*] *Omã* 'Oman' and [*ø*] *Jibuti* / [o] *Jibuti* 'Djibouti') refer to countries that are geo-culturally distant to the majority of present-time Portuguese people, while having synchronically opaque Portuguese exonyms (furthermore, only *Omã*, ending in *-a* (even if it is nasal), could eventually induce a feminine gender reading, but the existing variants are [*ø*] *Omã* (gender-neutral) and [*o*] *Omã* (masculine)).

It is then possible to say that tendentially, Portuguese country names have **gender value 1**. For now, my proposal is to label them as:

(i) **gender value 1** (e.g.: [*o*] *Uruguai*).
(ii) exceptionally **gender value 0** if they are one of the 33 names presented in this paper's footnote 13 (e.g.: [*ø*] *Angola*).
(iii) exceptionally with a **possible constraint** if they are *Spain, Italy* or *France* (e.g.: [*ø*] França / [*a*] França 'France'); or also *Belize*, *Chipre*, *Jibuti*, *Maláui* and *Omã* (*e.g.*: [*o*] *Belize* / [*ø*] *Belize*).

It is also important to note that, in speech, toponyms are not infrequently replaced by designations like *cidade* 'city', *país* 'country' or *vila* 'village', just to name a few possibilities, or associated with them in some way. When this occurs, the gender of the noun that replaces the toponym is naturally present in what appears to be a gender article, and subsequent inflections will grammatically agree with the noun, even if it is omitted. Thus, in these cases, masculine or feminine inflection in an article or in an adjective is not

Mianmar, *Moçambique*, *Montenegro*, *Nauru*, *Nicarágua*, *Níger*, *Palau*, *Porto Rico*, *Portugal*, *Quiribáti*, *Salvador*, *Santa Lúcia*, *São Cristóvão e Neves*, *São Martinho*, *São Tomé e Príncipe*, *São Vicente e Granadinas*, *Singapura*, *Timor-Leste*, *Tonga*, *Trindade e Tobago*, *Tuvalu* and *Vanuatu*.

to be associated with the toponym, even if contiguity exists, but with the noun – as stated in Salgueiro (2016). As so, the example given above referring to one of the few countries that accept two exonyms in European Portuguese, *Omã*, may deserve further discussion, as the masculine variant labeled in VT is most likely accepting an article that actually agrees with the omitted noun *país* 'country' (masculine). Of course, if this is the case, it should not be understood as a rule applied to country names that are masculine, nor to city names that are feminine, but as an exception to be considered when analyzing toponyms that are unfamiliar to a linguistic community. In any case, this proposal calls our attention to an additional layer of complexity in utterance processing, because in Portuguese it is possible to find utterances with, for instance:

(i) a gender-neutral toponym and a feminine (or masculine) adjective that agrees with the omitted noun:
E.g.: *Maputo é linda*.
'Maputo is beautiful.'
*[**A cidade** [-MASC] de]* [*ø*] *Maputo é linda* [-MASC].
'[The city of] Maputo is beautiful.'

(ii) a feminine (or masculine) article that agrees with the omitted noun and a gender-neutral toponym:
E.g.: *A Díli dos anos 90 era bem diferente*.
'Dili from the 90s was so different.'
*A [**cidade** [-MASC] de]* [*ø*] *Díli dos anos 90 era bem diferente.*
'The [city of] Dili from the 90s was so different.'

As for the names of national capitals (all of which are cities, like the ones given above as examples), the **gender value 0** is almost transversal. Most of these names are synchronically opaque, *Brasília* being one of the exceptions, eventually because a **national capital** status can have higher weight in the attribution of a gender value than a **synchronic transparency** feature. Even if that is the case, [*a*] *Praia* (Cabo Verde's capital city), being homonymous to a very high frequency noun in Portuguese ('beach'), is still one of the eight national capitals that have a **gender value 1**. The remaining ones are four complex toponyms headed by the feminine generic *Cidade* 'City' and specified by the (**gender value 1**) country name: [*a*] *Cidade do Cuaite* 'Kuwait (City)', [*a*] *Cidade do México* 'Mexico City', [*a*] *Cidade do Mónaco* 'Monaco (City)' and [*a*] *Cidade do Panamá* 'Panama City'; and three simplex toponyms that are synchronically opaque: [*o*] *Cairo*, [*o*] *Luxemburgo* 'Luxembourg' and [*o*] *Vaticano*

'Vatican City' – *Luxemburgo* and *Vaticano* being homonyms of the (also **gender value 1**) country name.

From the data on VT, one can conclude that in European Portuguese there is no variation regarding the usage of gender articles with national capitals' names. Even at a CPLP scale, *Luxemburgo* may be the single example with two national variants – the gender-neutral one occurring only in Brazilian Portuguese.

Portuguese names of national capitals are almost always gender-neutral and they are to be labeled as:

(i) **gender value 0** (e.g.: [*Ø*] *Varsóvia* 'Warsaw').
(ii) exceptionally **gender value 1** if they are headed by the generic *Cidade* 'City' (e.g.: [*a*] *Cidade do México* 'Mexico City').
(iii) exceptionally **gender value 1** if they are *Praia*, *Cairo*, *Luxemburgo* or *Vaticano*.

6. Final remarks

Admittedly, the labeling of a toponymic formal property such as grammatical gender is a complex task when dealing with languages that accept more than one gender value. More so when one aims to extend the application of such a linguistic feature to the entire toponymy of a pluricentric language. This complexity partially justifies the fact that such work has never been done for Portuguese in a comprehensive way; another justification comes from the realization that until recently, simply put, no standardized toponymic (digital) tool existed for Portuguese, even less one with a pluricentric approach, and an official status, as recommended in UNGEGN (2006, p. 73). As such, it is assumed that an official pluricentric-based resource, like VT, plays a key role in the admeasurement and shared systematization of toponymic gender in languages with more than one possible gender value. That type of comprehensive development needs, however, to be supported by national authorities as a long-term project.

Some of the observable recurrences that can already be measured were shared in this text, following the initial work that we carried out in VT to account for gender values based on constraint types – presently, only

higher-level toponyms have this feature labeled, that is, the ones with administrative relevance, such as those naming countries and country capitals, or Portuguese municipalities and districts.

This paper aims to unravel standard rules for semiautomatic toponymic gender-labeling in Portuguese, by (i) clarifying the language's possible gender values, (ii) establishing a classification system by types of constraints governing toponymic gender values, (iii) describing a small sample of **gender triggers**, such as *Ilha* 'island', *Rio* 'river' or *Ribeira* 'brook', and (iv) identifying regularities in country names and country capitals' names. It focuses on the European Portuguese variant, as a starting point for multi-varietal exhaustive grammatical gender-labeling. Moreover, the grammatical gender-related information provided in this work can potentially be analogous in other languages.

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Multiple Standardization of Czech Toponyms

Abstract

Although every town or village in Czechia has its single official standardized name, some other name forms may be used for the given locality, if the official name is not sufficiently clear and unambiguous. These extended forms have been influenced usually by train station or post office names, which are also official toponyms, though they have been standardized by a different authority. The paper provides a thorough analysis of train station, post office and cadastral area names differing from the name of the given municipality. The individual types of extended municipality names and their existing combinations are investigated. Also, the use of the extended municipality names is analysed, as well as their reflection in media discourse. The conducted analysis has shown that multiple standardization may cause confusion in communication. Not only strangers, but sometimes even local inhabitants are not sure about the exact official form of the name of their town. However, it is not easy to eliminate this multiple standardization due to the fragmented powers and insufficient coordination in the standardization process of Czech toponyms, resulting in the fact that one locality has two or even three diverse names, standardised by different authorities.

Keywords

oikonyms, standardization of toponyms, multiple standardization of toponyms, toponymic variants, train station names

1. Introduction

The present paper deals with some issues of standardization of toponyms in Czechia, especially with the problems caused by fragmentation and insufficient coordination of the standardization process. The focus is on the standardization of oikonyms (settlement names), that is, names of towns and villages or their officially distinguished parts.

As defined by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (2002), the standardization of toponyms is "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" (p. 23).

In Czechia, oikonyms are officially standardized by the Ministry of the Interior, though, in fact, control belongs to the municipalities themselves; the ministry only approves and registers the changes proposed by the municipalities (Boháč, 2009, pp. 180–181). The approval is usually only a formality.

Although the title of the present paper is "Multiple standardization", it must be stressed that every municipality (town, village) or its officially distinguished part has **one** standardized name (disregarding special cases of bilingual areas on the Czech-Polish border, where toponyms have both Czech and Polish official standardized forms). A high number of towns and villages have duplicate names, repeating two or more times in the territory of Czech Republic. Some of them have been officially extended by distinctive attributes, but still many names repeat several times in different localities. In Czechia there is no regulation that would require unambiguous and unique names for every municipality. For this reason, extended forms of oikonyms differing from the standardised municipality names are often used in the names of train stations, post offices and cadastral areas.[1] This has been caused by the urgent need for unambiguous names in railway transportation, post relations and land surveying. Whereas the rules for unambiguity of municipality names

[1] In Czechia, cadastral areas are administrative unites used for registration of land, estates, plots etc.; they cover the whole territory of the Czech Republic and they are usually identical with the territory of a municipality or its part (Český statistický úřad, n.d.).

are not so strict, as has been already hinted, the authorities responsible for names of train stations, post offices and cadastral territories[2] are stricter and require complete unambiguity and uniqueness of every name.

The term "multiple standardization of toponyms" is used in this paper despite the fact that an official name of a train station, post office or a cadastral territory is something different than an oikonym referring to a town or a village itself. It is important to notice that the names of all of these objects often interfere. For example, a post office name should be used in postal address instead of the (shorter) municipality name; for this reason, this extended name is often supposed to be the official name of the town. The same holds for train station names. Many people, often including even the inhabitants of the given municipality, are therefore uncertain as to what the official and "proper" name of the town or village is. All of these names are "standardized" in a way, that is, they are officially determined and used by an authority responsible for the standardization of a certain group of proper names. From this perspective, the given phenomenon is regarded as "multiple standardization".

The mentioned uncertainty is exacerbated by the fact that the same types of extended names used in train station, post office or cadastral territory names may occur also in many official municipality names. Therefore, without particular knowledge, it is difficult to distinguish whether a distinctive attribute found, for example, in a train station name, is a regular part of the oikonym, or not. For example, the train station name *Stráž nad Ohří*

[2] At present, train station names are regulated by the Railway Infrastructure Management (in Czech, Správa železnic) and the Rail Authority (Drážní úřad), in terms of the document "Číselník železničních stanic a dopravně významných míst" [List of train stations and important transport localities] (Správa železnic, 2021). According to this document, names of train stations should be proposed by the municipality. These proposals should be addressed to the Railway Infrastructure Management and finally the request is passed to the Rail Authority. A complete list of train stations in Czechia is available at http://portal.idos.cz/Train/Search.aspx?type=s (retrieved June 11, 2021).

Designation of post offices is under control of the state enterprise Česká pošta [Czech Post]. A complete list of post offices in Czechia is available at https://www.smerovak.cz (retrieved June 11, 2021).

Names of cadastral areas are determined by Český úřad zeměměřický a katastrální [Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre]. A complete list of cadastral areas is available at https://cuzk.cz/Katastr-nemovitosti/Informace-o-katastralnich-uzemich.aspx (retrieved June 11, 2021).

(*Stráž* upon the river Ohře) is identical with the name of the municipality, which is distinguished from other localities called *Stráž* 'guard' by the localizing attribute (compare the towns called *Stráž nad Nežárkou* 'upon the river Nežárka' or *Stráž pod Ralskem* 'beneath the hill Ralsko'). On the other hand, the nearby train station is called *Ostrov nad Ohří*, although the official name of the town is only *Ostrov*.

This uncertainty causes instability in the use of municipality names. Moreover, it may sometimes provoke a change of municipality names under the influence of a train station or post office names; for example, in 1996, the village of *Martinice* was renamed to *Martinice v Krkonoších* 'in Krkonoše Mountains' – according to both train station and post office names (Štěpán, 2018, p. 219).

Pavel Boháč (2009, pp. 180–181) discusses the strong disunity and insufficient coordination in the standardization of Czech toponyms, considering the names of cadastral territories and train stations. He points out that due to this disunity, two or even more different names are sometimes used for the same inhabited place.

Such extreme cases of three different names used for one locality can be illustrated by the example of the town of *Hranice* in the West Bohemia (which is, by the way, the westernmost town in Czechia, cf. *hranice* 'border'). The local train station is called *Hranice v Čechách* ('Hranice in Bohemia'), whereas the post office, as well as the cadastral territory has a different name *Hranice u Aše* ('Hranice near Aš').

2. Share of the extended names in the individual name groups

It is interesting to compare the share of extended forms differing from the officially standardized municipality names in train station names,[3] post office names and cadastral area names:

[3] It must be noted that more than one train station or more than one post office are often found in one municipality; then post offices are distinguished by numbers and train stations by distinctive designations of various types. Such cases are disregarded, for the names of the individual train stations or post offices are not the object of the study, but exclusively the forms

- train station names: 10.5% (235 cases out of the total 2237)
- post office names: 18% (429 cases out of the total 2418)
- cadastral territory names: 28% (582 cases out of 2075 cadastral area names in the Central Bohemia Region)[4]

How to interpret this data? The high share of extended names in cadastral territory names is due to the high number of the cadastral territories in the whole Czech Republic (more than 13,000); the probability of the occurrence of duplicate names that must be distinguished is much higher. The higher share of extended names in post office names (compared to train stations) is due to the fact that in post office names, the name is often extended only to distinguish the post office from a locality of the same name **without** a post office; on the other hand, such cases are less frequent in train station names.

3. Types of extended names occurring in train station, post office and cadastral area names

The most frequent type expresses localization near a certain town or village; for example, *Roztoky u Prahy* is a train station name in the town of *Roztoky*, found in the very neighbourhood of the capital of Prague. We can find also some extreme cases here. The district town of *Benešov* in Central Bohemia is the largest and most important city in the given district. However, the name *Benešov* belongs to several other towns and villages, therefore it has to be distinguished. The name *Benešov u Prahy* 'near Prague' is traditionally used for its train station, post office and cadastral territory, though the town is located more than 40 kilometres from Prague.

of oikonyms occurring in them. Therefore, the number of train stations or post offices in the given municipality is not reflected in the statistics (train stations and post offices in one municipality are always counted only as one instance), as it would deform the data.

[4] There are more than 13,000 cadastral area names in Czech Republic. Overall analysis of such extensive data would exceed the possibilities of this short paper. For this reason, total analysis has been substituted by a sufficiently representative probe dealing with cadastral territory names in the Central Bohemia Region.

Another common motive is distinguishing according to the location in one of the historical Czech lands, namely Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (e.g. *Teplice v Čechách* 'in Bohemia', *Zábřeh na Moravě* 'in Moravia', *Javorník ve Slezsku* 'in Silesia').

In other cases, the municipality name has been complemented by an attribute referring to the location on a river, for example, *Slapy nad Vltavou* 'upon the river Vltava' or *Černožice nad Labem* 'upon the river Elbe'. Again, one extreme case can be mentioned, namely *Ostrov nad Ohří*. In fact, the town is located not on the Ohře, but on a different smaller and less important river called Bystřice (a tributary of the Ohře). The river Ohře is several kilometres away from the town (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The town of Ostrov

Source: www.mapy.cz

Some municipality names have been extended by an attribute referring to the position in or beneath a mountain chain (*Harrachov v Krkonoších* 'in the Krkonoše mountains', *Hostomice pod Brdy* 'beneath the Brdy highland', *Hořice v Podkrkonoší* 'in the region beneath the Krkonoše mountains') or beneath a hill or a castle (*Dubnice pod Ralskem* 'beneath the hill and the castle

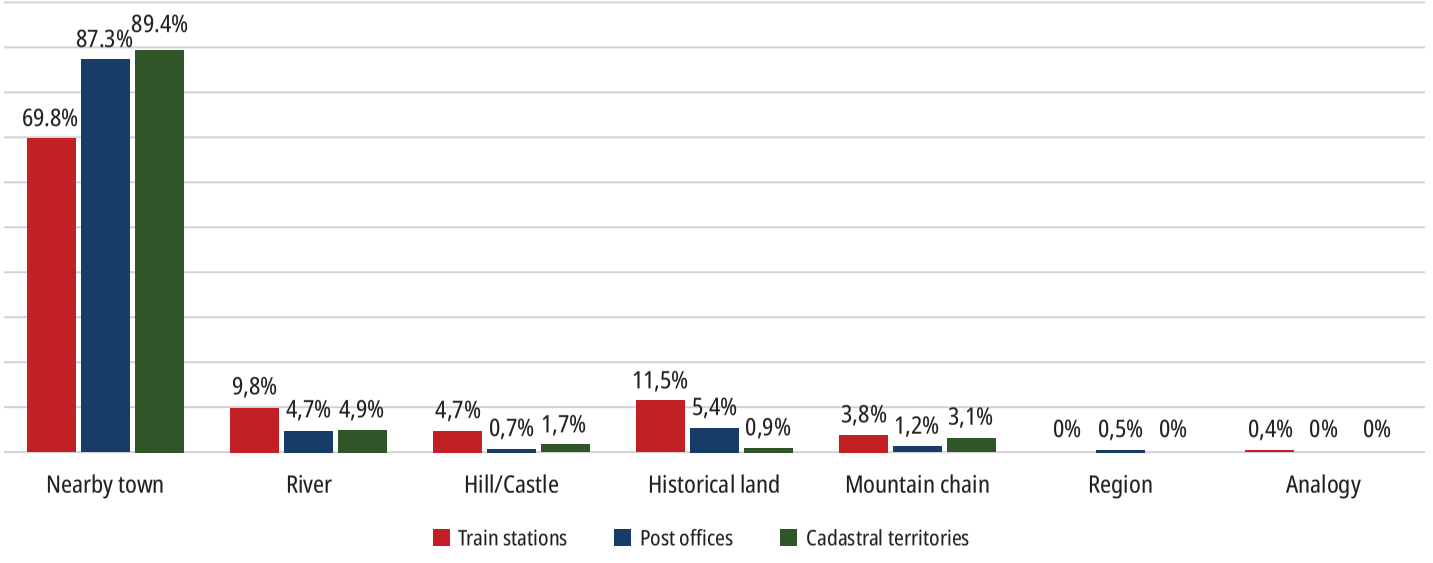

Figure 2. Share of the types of extended names in train station, post office and cadastral area names

Source: own work.

of Ralsko', *Staré Město pod Sněžníkem* 'beneath the Kralický Sněžník mountain', *Dobratice pod Prašivou* 'beneath the Prašivá mountain').

The share of the individual types of extended names in train station, post office and cadastral territory names is represented on the chart (Figure 2). The main tendency that can be detected in this comparison lies in the fact that the most productive type expressing localization near a certain town which is dominant in all the categories of extended names displays a significant prevalence in post office and cadastral territory names, whereas its share in train station names is somewhat lower. On the other hand, the other types are more frequent in train stations (in comparison to the remaining two categories).

4. Mutual comparison of train station, post office and cadastral territory names

The sample used for the mutual comparison of train station, post office and cadastral territory names (while at least one of them differs from the official name of the municipality, using certain type of its extension) is formed by a set of 102 localities, for only in these instances both train station and post office can be found. This comparison has shown that in only half of these cases are the names of the train station, post office and cadastral area identical. The other half of the analysed cases displays significant variability, as it can be seen from in Table 1. Table 2 provides particular examples of the combination types represented by Table 1. Almost all theoretically possible combinations are found in the data. It must be mentioned that the type MUN – MUN – EXT (in which both the train station and post office names are equal to the non-extended municipality name, while the cadastral area name is extended) has not been included in the analysed data, for not all cadastral area names (there are more than 13,000 cadastral areas in Czech Republic) could be investigated in this paper (see also footnote 4). However, a probe has shown that this type occurs as well (for example, train station and post office name: *Zliv* (equal to the municipality name), cadastral area name: *Zliv u Českých Budějovic*), although it is not included in Tables 1 and 2 and it is not quantified in percentage.

Table 1. Individual types of combinations of train station, post office and cadastral area names with percentage

	Train station	Post office	Cadastral area	Percentage
1	EXT	EXT	EXT	50 %
2	EXT	EXT	MUN	11 %
3	MUN	EXT	EXT	7 %
4	EXT 1	EXT 2	EXT 1	7 %
5	EXT	MUN	MUN	6 %
6	MUN	EXT	MUN	4 %
7	EXT	MUN	EXT	4 %
8	EXT 1	EXT 2	EXT 2	3 %
9	MUN	EXT 1	EXT 2	2 %
10	EXT 1	EXT 2	MUN	2 %
11	EXT 1	EXT 1	EXT 2	2 %
12	EXT	EXT	DIVIDED[5]	1 %
13	EXT	EXT	0[6]	1 %
14	EXT 1	EXT 2	DIVIDED[7]	1 %
15	EXT 1	EXT 2	0[8]	1 %

Legend: MUN = the given name is identical with the municipality name; EXT = the given name is an extended municipality name; EXT 1, EXT 2 = different forms of extended names.

Source: own work.

[5] In two cases, the area of the given municipality has been divided into two cadastral areas. In the town of *Luby*, the two cadastral areas have been distinguished by numbers added to the municipality name: *Luby I* and *Luby II*. In the town of *Javorník* two cadastral areas can be found: *Javorník-město* 'town' and *Javorník-ves* 'village'.

[6] No cadastral area whose name would correspond to the municipality name is found in the locality. The town of *Rudná* came into existence as late as in 1950 (Růžková & Škrabal, 2006, p. 455) by merging the villages of *Dušníky* and *Hořelice*. The cadastral areas in the given locality still keep the names of these original villages.

[7] See footnote 6.

[8] *Jindřichov* belongs to two cadastral territories: *Pleče* and *Pusté Žibřidovice*. The absence of the cadastral area named after *Jindřichov* is due to the fact that historically *Jindřichov* (*Heinrichsthal* in German) came into existence as late as in the 1860's as a colony found in the cadastral area of *Pusté Žibřidovice*. The arrangement of the cadastral areas was not changed after the constitution of the new municipality of *Jindřichov* in 1950 (Růžková & Škrabal, 2006, p. 211). Cf. also the case of *Rudná* (footnote 6).

Table 2. Particular examples of the types of combinations represented in Table 1

Type number	Municipality	Train station	Post office	Cadastral area
1	***Benešov***	*Benešov u Prahy*	*Benešov u Prahy*	*Benešov u Prahy*
	Hlinsko	*Hlinsko v Čechách*	*Hlinsko v Čechách*	*Hlinsko v Čechách*
	Slavětín	*Slavětín nad Ohří*	*Slavětín nad Ohří*	*Slavětín nad Ohří*
2	***Bernartice***	*Bernartice u Trutnova*	*Bernartice u Trutnova*	*Bernartice*
	Frýdlant	*Frýdlant v Čechách*	*Frýdlant v Čechách*	*Frýdlant*
	Moldava	*Moldava v Krušných horách*	*Moldava v Krušných horách*	*Moldava*
3	***Bor***	*Bor*	*Bor u Tachova*	*Bor u Tachova*
	Jesenice	*Jesenice*	*Jesenice u Rakovníka*	*Jesenice u Rakovníka*
	Šenov	*Šenov*	*Šenov u Ostravy*	*Šenov u Ostravy*
4	***Blatnice***	*Blatnice u Nýřan*	*Blatnice u Plzně*	*Blatnice u Nýřan*
	Březno	*Březno u Mladé Boleslavi*	*Březno u Mladé Boleslavě*[9]	*Březno u Mladé Boleslavi*
	Lužná	*Lužná u Rakovníka*	*Lužná v Čechách*	*Lužná u Rakovníka*
5	***Hranice***	*Hranice na Moravě*	*Hranice*	*Hranice*
	Teplice	*Teplice v Čechách*	*Teplice*	*Teplice*
	Třemošná	*Třemošná u Plzně*	*Třemošná*	*Třemošná*
6	***Harrachov***	*Harrachov*	*Harrachov v Krkonoších*	*Harrachov*
	Nové Hrady	*Nové Hrady*	*Nové Hrady v jižních Čechách*	*Nové Hrady*
	Zeleneč	*Zeleneč*	*Zeleneč v Čechách*	*Zeleneč*
7	***Kralovice***	*Kralovice u Rakovníka*	*Kralovice*	*Kralovice u Rakovníka*
	Opočno	*Opočno pod Orlickými horami*	*Opočno*	*Opočno pod Orlickými horami*
	Zábřeh	*Zábřeh na Moravě*	*Zábřeh*	*Zábřeh na Moravě*

[9] The post office name differs from the train station and cadastral area names only in the use of the grammatical ending indicating the genitive case. The genitive of Czech place names of the type *Boleslav*, *Chrudim*, *Příbram* display certain fluctuation; in the present-day Czech, the ending *-i* dominates, while the older ending *-ě* is regarded as rather obsolete (Polívková, 2007, p. 22). The genitive ending *-ě* is typical mostly of post office names, cf. post offices such as *Březovice u Mladé Boleslavě*, *Čachovice u Mladé Boleslavě*, *Chrast u Chrudimě*, *Morašice u Chrudimě*.

Type number	Municipality	Train station	Post office	Cadastral area
8	***Hranice***	*Hranice v Čechách*	*Hranice u Aše*	*Hranice u Aše*
	Chlumčany	*Chlumčany u Dobřan*	*Chlumčany u Přeštic*	*Chlumčany u Přeštic*
	Petrov	*Petrov u Strážnice*	*Petrov u Hodonína*	*Petrov u Hodonína*
9	***Loukov***	*Loukov*	*Loukov u Kroměříže*	*Loukov u Bystřice pod Hostýnem*
	Mikulovice	*Mikulovice*	*Mikulovice u Jeseníku*	*Mikulovice u Jeseníka*[10]
10	***Třebovice***	*Třebovice v Čechách*	*Třebovice u Lanškrouna*	*Třebovice*
	Třemešná	*Třemešná ve Slezsku*	*Třemešná u Krnova*	*Třemešná*
11	***Červený Újezd***	*Červený Újezd u Votic*	*Červený Újezd u Votic*	*Červený Újezd u Miličína*
	Staré Město	*Staré Město pod Sněžníkem*	*Staré Město pod Sněžníkem*	*Staré Město pod Králický Sněžníkem*[11]
12	***Luby***	*Luby u Chebu*	*Luby u Chebu*	*Luby I; Luby II*
13	***Rudná***	*Rudná u Prahy*	*Rudná u Prahy*	none[12]
14	***Javorník***	*Javorník ve Slezsku*	*Javorník u Jeseníku*	*Javorník-město; Javorník-ves*[13]
15	***Jindřichov***	*Jindřichov na Moravě*	*Jindřichov u Šumperka*	none[14]

Source: own work.

[10] The post office name differs from the cadastral area name only in the use of the grammatical ending indicating the genitive case. The ending *-a* represents the variant preferred by the local inhabitants, though both variants are linguistically codified (Polívková, 2007, p. 19).

[11] The municipality name *Staré Město* has been extended by an attribute expressing the location of the town beneath the mountain called *Králický Sněžník*. While the cadastral area name uses the whole official oronym, the train station and post office names depart from a shorter, unofficial name *Sněžník*.

[12] See footnote 7.

[13] See footnote 6.

[14] See footnote 9.

5. Extended names in use

Extended names, especially those officially referring to train stations, are frequently used for the whole municipality (town/village) instead of the official (shorter) place name. This fact can be illustrated by a sample based on quantitative data of the Czech National Corpus SYN (Křen et al., 2019).

As an illustration, the use of a chosen extended toponym in regular sentences has been investigated. The aim of the corpus query was to find out whether the extended train station name *Hranice na Moravě* 'Hranice in Moravia' is regularly used for the whole city officially called only *Hranice* (though *Hranice na Moravě* is only its train station name). Intentionally, one of the largest and most important localities occurring in the analysed data has been chosen; in the case of some smaller towns or villages the corpus data would probably be less representative.

The query has been formulated "*v Hranicích na Moravě*", meaning 'in Hranice na Moravě', for its aim has been to discover the use of the extended name in regular sentences (the locative use is much more suitable for this purpose than the nominative use). The query has displayed 2,042 records which can be illustrated by the following examples (translated by the author):

- David Jařab se narodil v Hranicích na Moravě. [David Jařab was born in Hranice na Moravě.]
- Robert Musil prožil v Brně a hlavně v Hranicích na Moravě dobu od svých deseti do osmnácti let. [Robert Musil spent the period from his 10 to 18 years in Brno and particularly in Hranice na Moravě.]
- Výrobu CRT televizorů v Hranicích na Moravě ukončil LG Philips Displays v roce 2006. [LG Phillips Displays stopped the production of CRT televisions in Hranice na Moravě in 2006.]
- Ve třicátých letech vyučoval taktiku na vojenské akademii v Hranicích na Moravě. [In the 1930's he was teaching tactics at the military academy in Hranice na Moravě.]
- Žila v Hranicích na Moravě, v rodišti mého tatínka. [She lived in Hranice na Moravě, the birthplace of my father.]
- Radní v Hranicích na Moravě zastavili z finanční důvodů provoz městské knihovny. [The city council in Hranice na Moravě have closed the municipal library for financial reasons.]

All the items found in the obtained corpus refer to the whole town and none of them are connected with the train station, though officially the name *Hranice na Moravě* belongs exclusively to this station.

6. Media and public discourse on multiple standardization

In the last part of the paper, the media and public discourse on multiple standardization will be illustrated by a significant example. Figure 3 presents the beginning of the online version of a newspaper article published in 2016, "Ostrov, nebo Ostrov nad Ohří? Přibývá lidí, kteří chtějí změnu názvu" ['Ostrov, or Ostrov upon the river Ohře? Still more and more people wish the change of the town name'] (Kozohorský, 2016).

The following is a summary of the article (translated by the author):

> The town of Ostrov is found in a schizophrenic situation. At the train station people read they are arriving at Ostrov nad Ohří, but this is not the official name of the town. There are growing calls for this former attribute to be returned to the name of the town.
> (…)
> Ostrov lost the exact localizing specification in 1990's. At present, many people would like to return to it. "Nobody would confuse Ostrov nad Ohří with other places called Ostrov", says Ostrov resident, Jan Šeda.
> (…)
> However, the name Ostrov nad Ohří never completely disappeared from maps. It is used not only for the train station, but also the very cadastral territory of the town is registered as Ostrov nad Ohří. Pavel Čekan, the town mayor, considers this a failure of the state.

Figure 3. Beginning of an online newspaper article from 25 April 2016

Source: Kozohorský, 2016.

This article illustrates the chaos that can often be connected with the multiple standardization of toponyms. The claim that the town of *Ostrov* was officially called *Ostrov nad Ohří* by the 1990's is not true. Though even the town mayor believes this, *Ostrov* has always been officially called only *Ostrov*; the extended name *Ostrov nad Ohří* has never been official for the town itself (cf. Růžková & Škrabal, 2006, p. 380).

The situation in Ostrov proves the immense influence of the train station name, which used to be so important in the past that even the locals started to suppose that its extended name belonged to the whole town. In fact, seven years before the publication of this article, the town of Ostrov had officially asked the Railway Infrastructure Management to change the name of the train station from *Ostrov nad Ohří* to *Ostrov.* This change was not approved.

7. Conclusion

Although every town and village in Czechia has its single official standardized name, some other name forms may be used for the given locality, if the official name is not sufficiently clear and unambiguous. These extended forms have been influenced usually by the train station or post office names, which are also official toponyms, though they have been standardized by a different authority.

As we have seen from the cases of *Ostrov* and *Hranice*, often referred to as *Ostrov nad Ohří* and *Hranice na Moravě*, this multiple standardization causes confusion. Not only strangers, but sometimes even local people are not sure what the official name of the town is, in fact. However, it is not easy to eliminate this multiple standardization because of the fragmented powers. For example, train station names are not under control of the given local authority, but of the Railway Infrastructure Management and the Rail Authority. These authorities, by the way, refuse to change the name of the station *Ostrov nad Ohří* to *Ostrov*, and local authorities are usually against the change of the oikonym, due to its immense administrative and financial demands.

The situation thus seems to be unsolvable. On the other hand, it provides onomasticians an interesting area of research in a very specific case of polyonymy.

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The Next Stop Is… – Naming of Bus Stops in Two Nordic Capital Regions

Abstract

This paper discusses the names of bus stops in two Nordic capital regions: Helsinki, Finland and Stockholm, Sweden. These names can be defined as official, urban toponyms, and the naming is also characterised by the reuse of existing nomenclature whereby the names gain a secondary referent as a label for a bus stop. The choice of names is analysed from a sample of bus stops from the two regions. Street names are the most used source for names of bus stops. Other sources include names of train and metro stations, names of areas, other official urban nomenclature (e.g., names of squares, parks), and names of various potential destinations and urban landmarks. As the names themselves cannot reveal information about the actual use and perception of the names, the paper also outlines potential research questions for further socio-onomastic approaches.

Keywords

urban names, bus stops, naming, official names, relocation of names

1. Introduction

In the cityscape one can find several different types of proper names that have been less discussed within onomastics but are widely used in different contexts of everyday city life. One such category are names used within public transportation networks, more specifically the names of bus stops. These names are the focus of this paper. The names of bus stops are used by both the transport authorities themselves and by passengers navigating the city and have become increasingly important with digital journey planners and other such services. The names of bus stops are also intertwined with other urban nomenclature. Thus, the naming of bus stops can tell us something about how the city is perceived.

The aim of this paper is to reflect on the names of bus stops as a specific type of urban naming. The discussion will be based on examples from two Nordic capital regions, Helsinki, Finland and Stockholm, Sweden. A simple analysis of the names is used to answer the research question: how are bus stops named in an urban environment? Furthermore, the present case study can be seen as groundwork for further, more socio-onomastic studies on these names. As the names themselves cannot give insight into, among other, how the names are actually used or what effect they have on perceptions of the urban landscapes, the closing sections of the paper will outline possible inquiries on such perspectives.

In the following section, general characteristics of the names of bus stops will be discussed to define their place within the urban nomenclature. Some connections to previous onomastic studies are also highlighted. Then I follow up with a short presentation of the setting of and materials for the present case study, before discussing the results of the analysis and raising questions for further socio-onomastic research to the names of bus stops, and other less discussed urban naming.

2. Background: Names of bus stops

Trying to define the category of "names of bus stops" is in itself an interesting topic for onomastic discussion. A simple answer might be that these names are official urban toponyms. There is no doubt that they are toponyms, as they denote specific places (i.e. the locations of the bus stops). But unlike other "less discussed" urban toponyms, such as names of footpaths or parks (cf. Nyström, 2016) that complete the official system of street names, the names of bus stops form another layer of urban nomenclature. The other two words from the simple definition, official and urban, still need to be looked at more closely.

The names in focus for this paper are the official names for bus stops, managed by the local transport authorities. Thus, they represent a form of official, planned names (Ainiala et al., 2012, p. 99). There exist of course other ways of referring to bus stops. One possibility is to use names of other known landmarks to indicate the location of the stop, another to use unofficial names, such as slang variants of the official names or completely separate, privately created nicknames (cf. Ainiala et al., 2012, pp. 105–109). Such alternative names can be more widespread or only used by a small group of people – or used ad hoc in a specific communicative situation. To consider the use of unofficial names a more socio-onomastic perspective would be needed. Therefore, they are left outside of the analysis presented here.

Whether or not the names of bus stops should be considered urban names depends on the very definition of an "urban name" that is used, that is, whether we consider mainly the location (urban or rural) or other characteristics of the names (cf. Akselberg, 2013, pp. 65–66). More of these names can be found in urban environments, as there are more bus lines and thus bus stops in need of names there, but there are of course bus stops with names even in more rural areas. However, the naming process that is in focus for this paper is more complex in urban areas with multiple names (most of them to be considered urban names, e.g. street names and names of buildings) to draw from when describing a specific location. I will highlight some differences between names of bus stops in urban and more rural areas in connection to the results below. At least (the majority of) the names of bus stops discussed in this paper should thus be considered urban names. It is also important to note, that the

more societal questions related to these names are more prevalent in urban environments, as will be discussed in the closing section of the paper.

The names of bus stops are a large group of names, as there are a lot of bus stops in a larger urban area, such as those exemplified here. However, these names are not as visible nor as widely known as other names of the public transport network, like names of metro and train stations. As described by Lehtonen et al. (2016), the names of metro stations are a result of a more complex planning process. The stations are also more of places with their own identities, compared to bus stops that might only consist of an inconspicuous sign somewhere along a street. Therefore, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that there is hardly any previous research into the names of bus stops.

In a short article, Suviranta (2015) has commented on the naming of bus stops from the perspective of name planning. There is also a student paper (Koistinen, 2005) discussing names of bus stops in a part of Espoo, Finland. Koistinen (2005) also includes unofficial names and further socio-onomastic perspectives (are the names known and used) in her case study. What both of these descriptions highlight is the fact that bus stops are named in a context where other (urban) names already exist that can be used to identify different locations (cf. Suviranta, 2015). The names of bus stops are therefore hardly ever unique or "new". Instead, existing names for the (nearby) locations are given an additional function as the name of a bus stop. Thus, bus stops can be named after streets, districts, buildings, etc. – based on location or potential destinations of travellers.

Akselberg (2017) describes how old toponyms are given new functions as names for railway stations on the Bergen line in Norway (p. 9). Through referential and geographic relocation of the names (Akselberg, 2017, pp. 16–17) we get a double or parallel name use, where the names have two different referents. These primary and secondary referents can be almost, but not quite topographically identical (Akselberg, 2017, p. 9), as is the case with the names of bus stops. What Akselberg (2017) describes as revitalization of toponyms, might in the case of bus stops better be described as "re-use" of names. As most of the names used as names of bus stops in this manner are well documented (e.g., street names, cf. Helsingin kaupungin nimistötoimikunta, 1999; Stahre, 2005; Ainiala et al., 2012, pp. 100–105), the process of naming and resulting name use are often more interesting than a description of the names themselves.

Another aspect of the names of bus stops already alluded to is their highly functional and informational nature. As Suviranta (2015) points out: the names

of bus stops (and stations) create together with other place names a larger namescape, where the different parts support each other allowing us to navigate in the city. The names are thus first and foremost meant to describe the location of the bus stop – and to help tell them apart. As such, they are useful for both travellers and the public transport authorities themselves. They also demonstrate the power of proper names for effective communication, compared to numerical codes, for example (something the bus stops studied here have also been assigned). The informational value has gained even more relevance in the digitalised era (cf. Koistinen, 2005).

Where can the names of bus stops be seen then? The names can be found in different parts of the linguistic landscapes (cf. Puzey, 2016) of the public transport network: on the stop sign and on bus shelters, on displays (and in recorded announcements) on board buses, as well as in different kinds of informational materials, such as timetables. The names have a prominent role in the virtual linguistic landscapes, for example in the travel information given by digital route planners. Names of bus stops are also used in notices on service disruptions available online, in mobile apps, etc. In such notices the names are almost always preceded by a specifying label ("stop X") – thus highlighting the fact that the reference to the bus stop is only secondary for these names, as noted above.

Lastly, the names of bus stops can also carry additional symbolic value. For example, the use of bilingual names for bus stops in the Helsinki region contributes to the visible bilingualism (i.e. visibility of the second official language, Swedish), as discussed more in-depth in Syrjälä (2021). The choice of specific existing names as names for bus stops can in itself say something about how different names and places in the city are viewed, in turn potentially influencing our knowledge of the namescape. As the names and naming of bus stops can have both informative and symbolic functions, in the local and regional context, this would make them an interesting starting point for further socio-onomastic studies.

To summarise, several aspects must be considered when describing the names of the bus stops that are in focus for this paper. These official names are functional, urban toponyms, repurposing existing nomenclature as described above. I will now turn to the specific case study to exemplify how the choice of names for bus stops can look.

3. Material and method

To get an up-to-date understanding of what kinds of names are used for bus stops, and thus a potential basis for further socio-onomastic studies, I have analysed the choices of names of bus stops in the public transportation systems of two Nordic capital regions: Helsinki, Finland and Stockholm, Sweden. In both regions the naming of bus stops is under the responsibility of the local transport authority, that is, Helsinki Regional Transport (HSL) and Stockholm Public Transport (SL) respectively. These authorities also cooperate with the local municipalities that handle other official urban nomenclature, such as street names.

As there are several thousand bus stops – and thus names – in both regions, a sample of names was chosen to facilitate a more detailed analytic discussion on the names in this paper. Thus, the qualitative analysis presented shortly is based on the names of stops on some of the most important bus lines in each city, the so-called trunk lines. The material from Helsinki includes a sample of 233 names of bus stops along the 9 trunk lines in the region.[15] Almost all of these stops have both a Finnish and a Swedish version, as is the case with other official nomenclature in the bilingual municipalities of the Helsinki Region. Similarly, the material from Stockholm includes a sample of 226 names of bus stops along 12 of the region's trunk lines.[16] The names were collected in late August 2021 from timetables and maps available on the transport authorities' websites for the autumn timetable period.

To answer the research question on how the bus stops are named, this corpus of 459 names will first be categorised according to the source of the names, as discussed in more detail in the following section. As such, the approach resembles the study of Akselberg (2017, pp. 14–16) on names of train stations, as the focus is not on a description of the names but on the choice of names. Examples of names from different categories, as well as some challenges of such categorisation, will then be commented on in a further qualitative discussion before drawing some general conclusions on the naming of bus stops in the two regions.

[15] HSL bus lines 20, 30, 40, 200, 500, 510, 550, 560, and 570.
[16] SL bus lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, and 179.

4. Results

In this section, I will discuss the results of my analysis of the aforementioned sample of names of bus stops from Helsinki and Stockholm. The focus will be on the naming motifs, that is, the source of the names used for bus stops. As mentioned, existing names of different types from the urban environment are reused as names for bus stops to indicate their location in the city. Broadly speaking, four different types of names are used, namely other names of the public transport network (i.e. names of metro and train stations), names of districts and other areas, official urban nomenclature such as street names or names of squares and parks, as well as names of buildings and institutions. A small number of other names can be found as well, for example, historical names and nature names, as will be discussed shortly.

It is to be noted, however, that some names are open to different interpretations regarding this categorisation. For example, bus stops by metro stations might share their name not only with the station, but also with, for example, the district the station was named after. Thus, a sort of a chain of referential transfer of certain names is taking place – even when not considering the original etymology of the name, as a district might have been named using a historical settlement name etc. Therefore, a single name of a bus stop might have several other referents at once, making the categorisation of such names inherently subjective. How these names are interpreted by travellers (i.e. which referent they are most closely associated with) cannot be answered only by looking at the names themselves, something I will return to in the final section of this paper. My own analytic solution is also discussed below.

A rough categorisation of the 459 names of bus stops from the two regions is first presented in Table 1. I will then discuss the characteristics of the names in different categories more in detail through some qualitative examples.

Table 1. The names of bus stops categorised by their source

	Helsinki	Stockholm	Notes
Station names	21	34	
Area names	24	24	
Street names	129	84	
Other official urban names	28	29	Incl. names of squares, parks, bridges etc.
Destinations/landmarks	23	32	Incl. names of buildings and official institutions; commercial names
Other	8	23	Incl. nature names, historical names, various rural toponyms
Total	**233**	**226**	

Source: own work.

Station names are a natural source for names of bus stops, considering their role as part of the integrated transport network. This category includes names of both metro stations and train stations, as well as that of a bus terminal in both regions. With approximately half of these names the reference to a station is unambiguous, as the name includes the word "station": for example, *Pitäjänmäen asema – Sockenbacka station* (Helsinki), or *Huddinge station* (Stockholm). With a couple of names another such specifying word is used: *Tikkurilan matkakeskus – Dickursby resecentrum* ('travel centre', Helsinki) and *Cityterminalen* ('terminal', Stockholm).

As already touched upon, the other half of bus stops named after stations is more complicated to categorise, as they are identical not only with the name of a station, but with another name as well. Such station names can be derived from the name of a district (*Aviapolis, Kontula (M) – Gårdsbacka (M)*, Helsinki; *Högdalen*, Stockholm), but also from names of other localities and landmarks, such as squares (in Stockholm: *Brommaplan, Fridhemsplan*) and a university (in Helsinki: *Aalto-yliopisto (M) – Aalto-universitetet (M)*). As seen in the examples, a suffix ("(M)") is in some contexts added to the names of metro stations in Helsinki to signal the metro connection – but that is not always present with the names (and no such marking is used in Stockholm). I have still decided to place all these names in the category of station names, as the connection with a station is a natural motive behind the naming: in most cases another name might be more suitable if there was no station with this name (as there might be several stops within the same district, for example).

Whether or not all the names are interpreted the same way by travellers is of course something I cannot say.

A number of bus stops in both regions are named after the area they serve. This category includes both official names of districts (*Maunula – Månsas, Ruskeauo – Brunakärr*, Helsinki; *Lilla Essingen, Nockeby*, Stockholm), and names of smaller, not always officially defined, areas (*Fallpakka – Fallbacka*, Helsinki; *Eriksdal*, Stockholm). Sometimes the stop is the only one located in the specific areas, in other cases the most central. This is also the explanation as to why more stops are not named after areas, as most districts of the cities are served by several bus stops. A special subcategory are names that are supplemented with the word "centre" to denote a more specific location within the area (*Karakallion keskus – Karabacka centrum*, Helsinki; *Rinkeby centrum*, *Segeltorps centrum*, Stockholm) – regardless of there actually existing, for example, a mall with such designation (in which case the name could also be placed in the category of destinations and landmarks).

The most numerous sources for names of bus stops are street names of different kinds. There are, on the one hand, stops that get their name from a crossing street, and on the other hand stops named after the street they are located on. Although these are evidently functioning (neutral and more or less precise) strategies for naming bus stops, some interesting points on both these subcategories can be discussed.

By far the most common way of naming bus stops in both regions is after nearby crossing streets: with 109 such names in the sample from Helsinki and 74 from Stockholm. Exactly which street names are chosen as names for bus stops is an interesting question. However, to objectively determine how significant, well-known, etc., specific streets are is difficult and would at least require further socio-onomastic and ethnographic work. Thus, suffice to say that various kinds of street names can be found among the names of bus stops. In my material examples from (well known) main streets (*Bulevardi – Bulevarden*, *Sturenkatu – Sturegatan*, Helsinki; *Fleminggatan*, *Roslagsgatan*, Stockholm) to small alleys and quiet, suburban sideroads (*Kaarenmäenkuja – Kårbackagränden*, *Seivästie – Hoppstavsvägen*, *Talontie – Hemmansvägen*, Helsinki; *Drevergatan*, *Flottbrovägen*, *Kästadalsvägen* Stockholm) can be found. In some cases, stops are even named after crossing footpaths (*Poutahaukanpolku – Stenfalksstigen*, Helsinki; *Grönlandsgången*, Stockholm). An interesting question for further research would be if some of these names are more well known as names of the bus stops and to what degree they are actually

associated with the streets or footpaths. A couple of stops are even named after crossing motorways (where interchange to other bus lines is possible), such as *Tuusulanväylä – Tusbyleden* (Helsinki).

A further 14 stops in Helsinki and 10 stops in Stockholm are named after the street where the stop itself is located (at least in one direction). These names can be somewhat curious cases: there might be further stops along the same street, and even though many of these streets might be well known, they are also often quite long streets. Therefore, the name does not give that precise information about where the stop is actually situated. This is not only limited to the stops named after the street they are located, as there is also an example in the material from Stockholm, where two different stops towards each end of a long crossing street on different bus lines are both named *S:t Eriksgatan*.

Furthermore, there are among the names from Helsinki six examples of bus stops named after the exact street address. In these cases, there are no other viable alternatives such as crossing streets or landmarks (as they are located in residential areas) that could describe their location, and there might be several stops on the same street. In fact, four of these names of bus stops can be found along the same street: *Ulvilantie 11 – Ulfsbyvägen 11*, *Ulvilantie 17 – Ulfsbyvägen 17* etc.

Besides street names, other official urban nomenclature also functions as a source for names of several bus stops. These names denote a more specific, in many cases well known, location within the city. Names of squares are used for 13 stops in Helsinki (*Kuninkaantammenaukio – Kungseksplatsen*, *Haagan tori – Haga torg*) and 20 stops in Stockholm (*Karl XII:s torg*, *Stureplan*). Parks and other green areas give names to 13 stops in Helsinki (*Asentajanpuisto – Montörsparken*, *Sysiniitty – Träkolsängen*) and seven stops in Stockholm (*Humlegården*, *Mandelparken*). Further individual sources for names of bus stops include bridges: *Otaniemensilta – Otnäsbron*, Helsinki; *Bergshamra bro*, Stockholm.

Another major source for names of bus stops are different potential destinations for travellers or otherwise known landmarks. Names of both buildings and official institutions of different kinds are used in this way. Common examples include hospitals (*Meilahden sairaala – Mejlans sjukhus*, *Naistenklinikka – Kvinnokliniken* in Helsinki; *Danderyds sjukhus*, *Södersjukhuset* in Stockholm), schools (*Haagan ammattikoulu – Haga yrkesskola*, *Hanken*, Helsinki; *Kämpetorpsskolan*, *Musikhögskolan*, Stockholm) and sporting venues (*Töölön kisahalli – Tölö sporthall*, Helsinki; *Spånga idrottsplats*, *Stadion*, Stockholm).

Individual stops are also named after churches (*Kungsholms kyrka*, Stockholm), libraries (*Töölön kirjasto – Tölö bibliotek*, Helsinki), the airport (*Lentoasema – Flygplatsen*, Helsinki) or other landmark buildings (*Radiohuset*, *Stadshuset*, Stockholm).

Commercial names appear only rarely as sources for the names of bus stops – this is as one might expect since they are not recommended to be used in official nomenclature (in Finland or Sweden). The only 3 purely commercial examples in my material are *Ikea Espoo – Ikea Esbo* (Helsinki), *IKEA* (Stockholm), and *Jumbo* (a shopping centre in Helsinki). However, the line between commercial names and urban landmarks is not clear-cut. *Munkkivuoren ostoskeskus – Munkshöjdens köpcentrum* ('Munkkivuori shopping centre') and *Eiran sairaala – Eira sjukhus* ('Eira hospital') in Helsinki are both examples that are both neutral, established descriptions of these buildings while at the same time private businesses. In any case, from the perspective of a traveller on public transport these names still just identify the location of the bus stop in question (and not, for example, a company).

As noted, a small number of names of bus stops do not fit into the categories presented above. These are therefore included in Table 1 under the label "other". Like the names already discussed, however, these names are also repurposed from existing nomenclature. Some such additional sources for the names of bus stops include nature names (e.g., a bay: *Kipparlahti – Skepparviken*, Helsinki) and other (historical) place names (*Köyhämäki – Fattigbacka*, *Rajamänty – Råtallen*, Helsinki; *Järva krog*, Stockholm). Even if the source of some names is not transparent for the urban dwellers today, these names can preserve historical nomenclature, thus in a way resembling the revitalised, transferred names discussed by Akselberg (2017). Furthermore, there are several various rural toponyms included among the names from Stockholm (stops on lines running into the municipality of Ekerö) – both traditional settlement names and names of natural features (e.g., *Fårhagen*, *Malmviken*, *Tillflykten*, *Västeräng*). This is also an example of how the names of bus stops in urban and rural areas differ from one another, while still reflecting the surrounding name landscape.

To conclude, this simple analysis of the names of bus stops has shown some interesting similarities between the two regions. The most common source when naming bus stops in both regions is street names, and even other types of names – those of stations, areas or various urban landmarks – are used in similar fashion. The subtle differences can be largely explained by

the differences on areas that the bus lines in the present samples happen to serve (e.g., a higher number of stops in the city centre and in a rural municipality yield more stops named after squares and using various rural toponyms in the material from Stockholm). As such, although the results presented here should not be generalised, I would still argue that they are quite indicative of the naming practices for bus stops in these two regions at large.

5. Closing remarks and proposals for further research

While giving insight into practices surrounding a less discussed part of urban nomenclature, an analysis of the sources of names of bus stops like the one presented above can only tell us so much about how such names are used and perceived. Thus, understanding these names would warrant a more socio-onomastic approach to include the perspectives of actual name users (cf. Ainiala & Östman, 2017), that is, the travellers encountering the names of bus stops while utilising public transport. As already demonstrated by Koistinen (2005), such methodology can offer insights into both unofficial names and the public's use and knowledge of the official names. Therefore, I will use this closing section of the paper to outline some questions and possible approaches to further research into the names of bus stops – and other such urban names.

Interesting questions can be raised from two perspectives. Firstly, about the use of names: if, and if so how, are the official names of bus stops used? How well are they known by the general public? Do people have unofficial names for bus stops, or do they use other alternative descriptions when discussing the locations of stops and travelling through the city? Secondly, about the effect these names have on the knowledge of the namescape, and by extension on the views on the city itself. Are the names used for bus stops better known than other surrounding names of the same type? How are the names and locations perceived? What kind of names are deemed functional, and what locations deemed important to be included in the nomenclature? As names of bus stops are a part of the larger context of urban naming, these perspectives on names and naming can be used to discuss how urban places are used and perceived. Thus, this type of further research would not only

be of interest to onomasticians, but to other urban scholars, and those planning the names, as well.

To approach these perspectives in a socio-onomastic study several methods should be included. It is possible to inquire directly about informants' use of (official and unofficial) names of bus stops, or test their knowledge of specific names, by way of interviews or questionnaires. Still, more revealing could be to observe if and how the names are used when informants are tasked to discuss their everyday journeys through the city. Such approaches could furthermore be complemented by more detailed analysis of (the names in) the linguistic landscapes, virtual and physical, or further ethnographic observations. Overall, even the most everyday, functional names should not be overlooked when aiming to discuss urban landscapes.

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The Element *sceilg* in Irish Place-names – A Borrowing of Latin *spelu*(*n*)*ca*?

Abstract

Modern Irish *sceilg* is defined as a 'steep rock' or 'crag' (Ó Dónaill, 1977). The Old Irish form is *sceillec* (Dictionary of the Irish Language, 1913–1976). It is rare and now chiefly known through a handful of toponyms but is of considerable importance due to its occurrence in names at two notable early Christian monastic sites, namely *Sceilg Mhíchíl* (Eng. 'Skellig Michael'), a rocky island located off the coast of Co. Kerry, and *Teampall na Sceilge* (Eng. 'Templenaskellig') at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow. Both Skellig Michael and Glendalough are believed to have been founded by hermit saints in the 6th century AD.

There is no consensus regarding the etymology of *sceilg* (Vendryes, 1974). In this paper it will be argued that *sceilg* is a variant of *speilg*, another rare element in Irish place names with a complimentary, more northerly distribution, also denoting a rock feature, and that both are loans of Vulgar Latin *spelu*(*n*)*ca*, meaning 'cave' (sometimes a hermit's dwelling) or 'den'. Irish *sceilg*, as well as *speilg*, seems to have undergone a semantic shift, acquiring a more general sense of 'rock, crag'. An earlier meaning 'cave, hermitage', closer to that of Latin *spelunca*, is only evident at the hermitage sites of *Sceilg Mhíchíl* and *Teampall na Sceilge*. In the latter case, the presence of a hermit's cave, *Leaba Chaoimhín* (Eng. 'Saint Kevin's Bed'), in the immediate vicinity is particularly relevant.

Keywords

Irish place-names, Latin loan-words in Irish

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the element *sceilg* in Irish place names, in particular its etymology, and explores possible relationships with two other elements, *speilg* and *béillic*, which also occur in topographical place names. My objectives are: 1) to highlight the fact that *sceilg* is known primarily through place names and is no longer used in Modern Irish as a common noun; 2) to show that most instances of the element are secondary and derive from one of two primary occurrences at early Christian monastic settlements: *Sceilg Mhichíl*/ Skellig Michael, an island off the coast of Co. Kerry, and *Teampall na Sceilge*/ Templenaskellig in Glendalough, Co. Wicklow; 3) to propose an origin for *sceilg* as a borrowing of Latin *spelu*(*n*)*ca*, meaning 'cave', with subsequent semantic shift, and to argue that a loan from Latin as part of an ecclesiastical vocabulary into a very early stage of the Irish language is explicable in terms of regular sound changes and is likely, given the rarity of the element and its strong association with two of the most important early medieval monastic complexes in Ireland. The standard form in Classical Latin is *spelunca* but the reason for writing *spelu*(*n*)*ca* will become apparent.

The present investigation of *sceilg* builds on work begun in my doctoral thesis, "A study of selection of topographical elements in Irish place-names" (Tempan, 2011). This involved a detailed examination of eight rare and/ or problematic elements referring to land-forms or rock features, namely *trosc*, *collann/callann*, *mala/malaidh*, *málainn*, *carbad*, *fothair/fothar/foithir*, *mionnán/mionán/meannán*, *glinsce*. I also investigated possible pre-Celtic elements (e.g., *ára/árainn*, *ros*, *tul*, *tor*). The aim was to develop a methodology for establishing origin and meaning of rare and/or problematic elements. A three-pronged method was developed, involving: 1) observation in the field and graphic presentation of findings, modelled on the approach of Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole in "The Landscape of Place-Names" (Gelling & Cole, 2000); 2) etymological research; 3) "comparative toponymy" drawing on works on place-names outside Ireland (e.g. "Les noms de lieux celtiques", Falc'hun & Tanguy, 1966–1979). An all-Ireland approach was adopted as the evidence is often sparse and widely scattered. Such an approach is essential to examine *sceilg* and its potential variants for the same reasons.

2. Dictionary definitions of *sceilg*

The relevant headword in the "Dictionary of the Irish Language" (DIL) is *sceillec*. Note that the spelling at this stage of the language can be deceptive, since a written final *-c* is pronounced as a voiced /g/ in Old Irish. Furthermore, the modern pronunciation of *sceilg* is /ʃkʹelʹɪg/ with two syllables, despite the absence of a written vowel in the second syllable. Thus, the word was already pronounced in Old Irish in much the same way as in Modern Irish. It is given as a masculine o-stem noun and also as a feminine ā-stem noun. It is defined as a) 'a rock, a stone'; b) 'steep rock, crag'; c) 'precious stone'. The last of these is seems to be based on a single attestation.

The modern form of the word is usually *sceilg*, defined by Ó Dónaill (1977) as a 'steep rock' or 'crag'. Dinneen (1927) gives a variant spelling *sceillig* and defines it as 'a splinter, a reef, rocky islet or pinnacle of rock, a crag'. Both these dictionaries of Modern Irish give the word as feminine. We may note that the second half of Dinneen's definition is almost a landscape description of the Skelligs in Kerry, and the form of these islands clearly shaped his definition.

As the word is rare and known principally from place names, it has slipped below the radar of most etymological inquiries. Pokorny (1959) mentions Middle Irish *sceillec*, defining it as 'Fels' (i.e. 'cliff, crag'), and linking it to an Indo-European root *kel-* or *skel-* meaning 'to cut', with the addition of a similar ending to that found in Old Irish *carraic*, 'rock' (Modern Irish *carraig*). He suggests a possible link with Middle Irish *scell*, *scellán*, 'seed, pip, stone of a fruit', although it is hard to see how the latter belongs here semantically. He also attributes Latin *silex*, 'hard stone, flint, granite' to the same root but this would depend on it being the result of dissimilation from an unattested form **scilec-*, earlier **scelec-* (Pokorny, 1959, p. 924).

Vendryes gives a good summary of the evidence in "Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien" (LEIA) and, like Dinneen, cites the name *Sceilg Mhichíl* as the most notable occurrence of the word. He reviews Pokorny's proposal, including the linkage with *scell*, *scellán* and Latin *silex*. However, he dismisses all of these as unconvincing and concludes that no satisfactory explanation has yet been offered (LEIA, Vol. 3, s.v.). Magne Oftedal (1976) proposed an Old Norse origin from *skellingar*, 'resounding ones' (pp. 128–129) but this was roundly rejected by Donnchadh Ó Corráin (1999) on the basis that references

to *Sceilg Mhichíl* occur too early for the name to be Norse and because the element occurs elsewhere in Ireland, including inland locations (pp. 310–311).[17] We will see later that the only significant inland example is at Glendalough in Co. Wicklow, but I find Ó Corráin's reasoning convincing regarding the dating. Furthermore, the form is unsuitable as there are no attestations ending with *-ng*.

Sceilg is not treated by MacBain (1911) as it is not present in Scottish Gaelic. Nor is it dealt with by Matasović (2009) in his "Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic", probably because it is poorly attested as a common noun and is mainly known from a handful of Irish place names. There is no cognate found in Scottish Gaelic[18] or in the Brittonic languages. I will argue that a loan into Irish of the Latin word *spelu*(*n*)*ca* provides a more plausible origin than Pokorny's (1959) treatment of *sceilg* as a native Irish word derived from Proto-Celtic and, further back, from Indo-European.

3. The evidence of place names

Having reviewed lexicographical treatments of *sceilg*, let us now consider the evidence of place names. The element is treated by P. W. Joyce (1875), who spells it *sceilig*. Joyce refers to O'Donovan's definition as 'sea rock', but points to its occurrence in some inland names. The examples which he discusses are the Skellig Rocks of the coast of Kerry, particularly *Sceilig Mhichil* (*sic*); the Bay of Ballinskelligs, Co. Kerry; Templenaskellig at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow; Bunskellig, a townland on the Beara Peninsula, Co. Cork; and two townlands

[17] The Norsemen do indeed feature in the early history of *Sceilg Mhichíl*. In AD 824 Vikings carried away the abbot, who subsequently starved to death. However, he was named in "The Annals of Ulster" as *Eitgal Sceiligg* (AU, Vol. 1), i.e. Eitgal of Skellig, implying that the island monastery already bore this name before the attack. The phonology also seems suspect, since a borrowing of *skellingar* in the Viking era ought to yield **sceilling*- or the like, rather than the actually attested *sceillec*. Furthermore, the application of a Norse term to a rock feature far inland at Glendalough seems unlikely in the case of *Teampall na Sceilge*/Templenaskellig, since Norse names in Ireland are coastal, almost without exception (Mac Giolla Easpaig, 2002).

[18] *Skelly* is treated by Taylor not as a Gaelic word, but as a variant of Scots *skerry*, though possibly influenced in form by Old Irish *sceillec* (Taylor, 2012, Vol. 5, p. 500).

called Skelgagh in Co. Tyrone. Joyce then discusses *speilic* as a dialect word used in Louth meaning 'a splintery rock'. He suggests that it is a 'very probably a corruption of *sceilig*' (Joyce, 1875, pp. 420–421). I will return later to this topic of a potential relationship between *sceilg* and *speilg*.

The element *sceilg* occurs as a simplex or generic element in just six names in Ireland listed in the online database "Logainm: Bunachar Logainmneacha na hÉireann" (https://logainm.ie):

(1) *Sceilg Mhichíl*/Skellig Michael or Great Skellig, Co. Kerry (Figure 1)
(2) *An Sceilg Bheag*/Small Skellig or Little Skellig, Co. Kerry
(3) *Scelec*, in Glendalough, Co. Wicklow (Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, AD 1198, subsequently occurring only as specific in *Teampall na Sceilge*/Templenaskellig)
(4) *Sceilig*/Skellig, hill (214 m) near Ardgroom, Co. Cork
(5) *Sceilg*/Sceilig, street in Sunday's Well, Cork City
(6) *Sceilg Ard*/Sceilig Ard, street in Ballinfoyle, Galway City

(6) is a new street in a modern housing estate. **(5)** may be a little older by a century or two, but is of no great antiquity. Both names are probably instances of name transfer from **(1)**. **(4)** may be a discrete occurrence of the element but could well be named from a physical resemblance to **(1)**. It is steep, pointed and, at 214 m, very close in height to *Sceilg Mhichíl* (217 m), which would have been known to many inhabitants of the Ardgroom area due to the tradition of pilgrimage and the 'Skellig Lists' which mocked the unmarried. **(2)**, *An Sceilg Bheag*, is named in reference to **(1)** as its smaller neighbour and is not mentioned in the early historical record. It has never been settled by humans but is the site of one of the world's largest gannet colonies. In light of the above, only **(1)** and **(3)** can be securely regarded as primary names, the others probably being instances of name transfer from **(1)**.

There are four place names listed at logainm.ie in which *sceilg* occurs as a specific element:

(a) *Teampall na Sceilge*/Templenaskellig, in Glendalough, Co. Wicklow (referring to **(3)**). This is the most remote of the Glendalough churches (Figure 2). "Excavations in the 1950s by Françoise Henry found settlement evidence from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and possibly also from the ninth, on platforms immediately to the west" (McDermott et al., 2021).[19]

[19] I wish to thank George McClafferty of the Office of Public Works and the members of the Glendalough Heritage Forum, particularly Graeme Warren, for providing information on the

(b) *Baile an Sceilg*/Ballinskelligs, village and townland in parish of Prior, Co. Kerry (referring to **(1)**). This was the lay community which supported the monks of *Sceilg Mhichíl* until they abandoned the island and settled on the mainland at Ballinskelligs Priory in the twelfth century. This is the only clear instance of a place name in which *sceilg* is treated as a masculine noun. If it were feminine, as in all other instance, one would expect **Baile na Sceilge.*

(c) *Bun Sceilige*/Bunskellig, a townland near Ardgroom in the parish of Kilcatherine, Co. Cork (referring to **(4)**). This name is explained as "the base of Sceilgín [presumably an alternative form of **(4)**], a conical rock rising some hundreds of feet above its base" (Mac Cárthaigh, 1972–1973, p. 12).

(d) *Bior na Sceilge*/The Spit, a fragment of rock, part of the pilgrimage route at **(1)**.

Once again, this group confirms the primacy of the monastic settlements, three out of the four clearly being ex-nomine names referring to either **(1)** or **(3)**.

The derivative element *sceilgeach*, apparently meaning 'rocky', probably accounts for two townlands named Skelgagh in Co. Tyrone, listed at PlacenamesNI.org, the online database of the Northern Ireland Place-Name Project:

(a) *Skelgagh*, townland in parish of Clogher, Co. Tyrone. A cluster of boulders in the townland is marked *Rock* on the Ordnance Survey 6 inch to the mile map.

(b) *Skelgagh*, townland in parish of Donacavey, Co. Tyrone

Given that names **(1)** and **(3)** stand apart from the others both in terms of their great antiquity (both associated with early Christian monasteries founded in the sixth/seventh century) and as primary names which account for the other names as ex-nomine or transferred names, we should note the importance of these two sites:

> Sceilg Mhichíl (Skellig Michael), Co. Kerry, an ascetic monastic settlement on the Great Skellig island dedicated to St Michael. The foundation date of the monastery is unknown, but records mention a Viking attack in 823 and the deaths of monks there in 950 and 1044. The settlement is perched roughly 550 feet above sea level (…) On the hazardous southern peak of the island there are traces of a hermitage and the foundations of a small oratory. (Moss, 2002a, p. 232)

sites at the Upper Lake. I am also indebted to Conor McDermott for kindly providing photographs of St. Kevin's Bed and Temple-na-Skellig.

Local tradition names the founder as Fíonán Cam of Kinnitty, who is said to have lived in the sixth century (Ó Riain, 2011, pp. 327–330; Tempan, 2007). This is not confirmed by medieval records, but archaeological evidence supports a foundation no later than the seventh century (Bourke et al., 2011, p. 19). The island lies 11.6 km from the mainland. The ninth century hermitage and oratory were re-discovered in 1986 (Horn et al., 1990, p. 71). After the monks abandoned the island, it remained important as a pilgrimage site.

Regarding *Teampall na Sceilge*/Templenaskellig, Moss (2002b) writes:

> Glendalough, an important early Irish monastery in Co. Wicklow famed for its setting in the 'valley of the two lakes'. The settlement was originally eremitical, founded by St Kevin in the sixth century. A large monastery grew up around the cult of the saint, and in 1111 Glendalough was made the seat of a bishopric. (…) The original hermitage was probably sited on the hillside above the upper lake where a small oratory, Tempall-na-Skellig, now stands. (Moss, 2002b, p. 525)

Figure 1. The south peak of Sceilg Mhichíl/Skellig Michael, Co. Kerry. 9th century hermitage/oratory on ledge near summit

Source: photo by Paul Tempan.

Figure 2. Teampall na Sceilge/Templenaskellig (12th c.), Glendalough, Co. Wicklow

Source: photo by © Conor McDermott, UCD School of Archaeology.

4. Historical forms

The following is a small selection of some of the most important early references to *Sceilg Mhichíl*/Skellig Michael (Co. Kerry), all of which are cited at logainm.ie:

- 800c. – *in Scelic* (genitive) (“Martyrology of Tallaght”)
- 824 – *Eitgal Sceiligg* (“Annals of Ulster I”)
- 824 – *Scelec* (“Annals of Inisfallen”)
- 882 – *abb Scelic* (“Annals of Inisfallen”)

- 1044 – *Aed Scelic* (“Annals of Inisfallen”)
- 1100c. – *Scellig Míchil…Etgal in Scelig* (“Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh”)
- 1100c. – *Scelleg Michil* (“Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh”)
- 1100c. – *i Sceliuc* (“Book of Leinster (Lebor Gabála Érenn)”)

Attestations for *Scelec* and *Teampall na Sceilge*/Templenaskellig (Co. Wicklow) commence considerably later:

- 1198 – *Scelec* (“Calendar of Archbishop Alen’s Register”)
- 1655 – *Skillig chappel on ye Pilgrim’s Rock* (“Down Survey”)
- 1786 – *Teampull na Skellig* (“Archdall, Mon. Hib.”)
- 1838 – “Disert was the ancient name of the place on which Templenaskellig (*Templum de Rupe*) stands. The church is called in old records *Priory de Rupe* and the *Convent de Deserto.*” (Ledwich, “Antiquities of Ireland,” p. 178)
- 1840 – “The name of this church is in Irish *Teampull na Sceilge*, which signifies the Church of the Rock. It is called in Latin *Prioratus de Rupe* and also *Conventus de Deserto.*” (OSL Wicklow, p. 444)
- 1840 – “In the cliff, over this [Teampull na Sceilge] is St. Kevin’s Bed which is said to have been made in the rock by St. Kevin’s own hand. This is the cave called *Spelunca de Deserto* in Kevin’s life.” (OSL Wicklow, p. 512)

5. *Sceilg* and *speilg*

As mentioned earlier, P. W. Joyce (1875) suggested an etymological connection between *sceilg* and *speilg*, a dialect word from Co. Louth meaning ‘splintery rock’ (p. 421). It is defined as ‘pointed rock’ by Dinneen (1927, s.v.). However, rather than following Joyce in regarding *speilg* as a corruption, I would prefer to see it as the regular outcome of *spelu*(*n*)*ca* being loaned into early Irish, whilst treating *sceilg* as a variant form explained by the tendency to avoid /p/ as an alien sound in early Irish. The loss of initial Indo-European /p/ is a defining feature of the Celtic languages and Old Irish still lacked this sound, unlike Brittonic, which had reacquired it as a development of Indo-European /k^{w}/. Nor had initial /sp/ been retained in Old Irish as it had been reduced to /s/ (Thurneysen 1909/1946, § 226, pp. 138–139). As Irish speakers were aware of the equivalence between Irish /k/ (written *c*) and Brittonic /p/, the absence

of a native /p/ had the effect that /p/ in early loan-words into Old Irish was replaced with /k/, whether these loans were of Brittonic origin or not, for example, *casc* < Latin *Pascha*, 'Easter', *corcur* < Latin *purpura*, 'purple' (Thurneysen, 1909/1946, § 920, pp. 570–571). There are few examples of loan words with initial /sp/, making it difficult to generalise about their treatment. This cluster is retained in Old Irish *spirut* (Modern Irish *spiorad* < Latin *spiritus*). However, the substitution of /sk/ for /sp/ is illustrated by another Latin loan into Old Irish, namely *fescor* 'evening, vespers' < Lat. *vesper*, albeit in medial position. Probably also relevant is *scibar*, variant form of *pipar*, 'pepper' < Lat. *piper*, which presupposes an intermediate form **spipar* or **spibar* (DIL, s.v. *scibar*; Mc Manus 1983, p. 41, n. 47). The cluster /sk/ was familiar in Irish, which had retained it in native words (e.g. Old Irish *scál*, *scaraid*). It is, therefore, thoroughly credible that an early borrowing of Latin *spelun(c)a* could yield the form *sceillec* in Old Irish, alongside a more regular form with initial /sp/, which developed to Modern Irish *speilg*.

Speilg too is feminine, like *sceilg* and Latin *spelunca*. It appears in one place name in the Cooley Mountains, possibly in two names in the Mourne Mountains of Co. Down and in one outlier in Co. Mayo (for the geographical distribution of *sceilg* and *speilg* in toponymy see Figure 3). Treating *speilg* and *sceilg* as variants, both derived from Latin *spelunca*, seems to offer a neat, economical solution. *Spellickanee* (Irish *Speilg an Fhiaigh*) is the name of a townland in the parish of Ballymascanlan, Co. Louth, apparently derived from a rocky hill nearby which is called Raven's Rock (see Figure 4) in English (logainm.ie). *Spelga* (Irish *Speilgeach*, a derivative with adjectival or collective function), Co. Down, is well-known on account of Spelga Dam, but is also the name of a hill. Similarly, Spellack is a crag on Slieve Meelmore overlooking the Trassey Track (Placenamesni.org, 2021).[20] Spillaggadaun (197 m high) is

[20] I am grateful to Prof. Thomas Owen Clancy, who chaired this paper at ICOS XXVII, for alerting me to the existence of the Scots word *spelk*, meaning a) 'a rod or bar used in a building'; b) 'a splinter' (DSL). If an extension of the meaning to cover 'splintery rock' were allowed, this could be considered relevant to the origin of the three place names mentioned above from Cos Louth and Down, particularly Spellack, which appears to be a simplex and ends in an unvoiced consonant. However, a number of points speak against this possibility: I have found little evidence for this word in Ulster-Scots or in Hiberno-English. It is not listed in the Concise Ulster Dictionary (Macafee, 1996). My thanks to Liz McCord, my colleague at Libraries NI, for pointing out that the word *skelf* is more common in Ulster-Scots for 'splinter' (Macafee, 1996, p. 306). Furthermore, an Irish origin seems certain for Spelga, in view of the Irish suffix

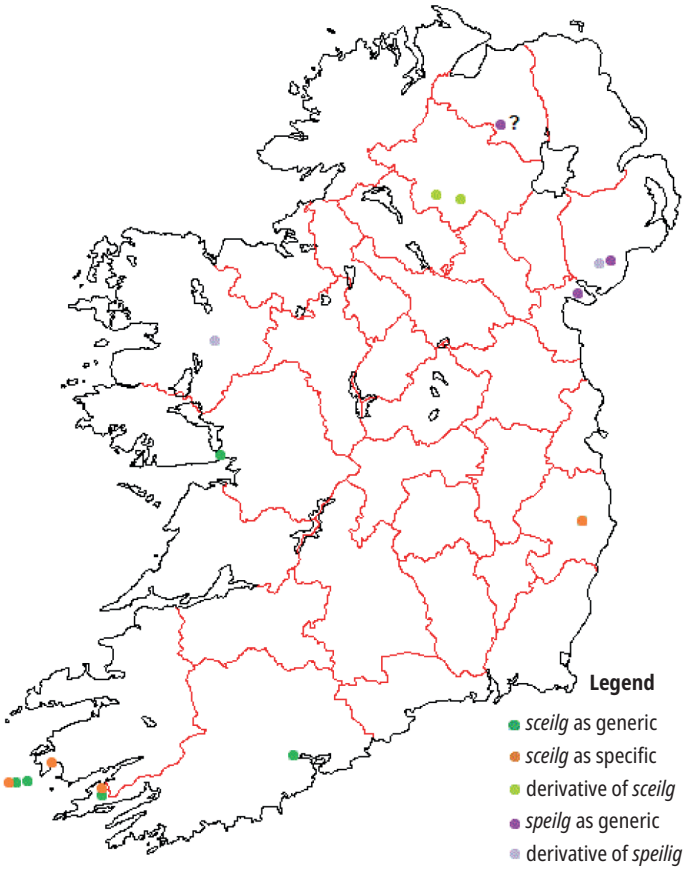

Figure 3. Geographical distribution of *sceilg* and *speilg* in Irish toponymy

Source: own work.

a hill in the parish of Manulla, Co. Mayo. The Irish form of this name, *Cnoc an Speilgeadáin*, is interpreted as "hill of the pointed rock" (Mac Gabhann, 2014, p. 609). I conducted a field visit in May 2022 but this did not reveal any notable pointed rock-form, nor did an inspection of the site with maps and Google Earth. The hill does rise quite abruptly from the plains of Mayo but is rather

added to form *Speilg-each*, and also for Spellickanee, in view of the Irish specific *an Fhiaigh* added to make *Speilg an Fhiaigh*.

rounded. Indeed, this highlights a general problem with the interpretation of *speilg* as 'pointed rock'. The three hills in Cos Louth and Down could all be described as somewhat 'craggy', but hardly as 'pointed'. An intriguing alternative interpretation for the Co. Mayo hill is suggested by the presence of cave underneath a ring-fort on the lower SE slopes in the townland of Rathredmond. However, this possibility must be treated with some caution. As far as I am aware, no connection is made between this cave and the name of the hill by any local informants.

6. Latin *spelunca*

Why, then, should we consider Latin *spelunca* as a donor word for Irish *sceilg* and *speilg*? *Spelunca* means 'cave, cavern, den'. It is ultimately of Greek origin, from σπήλυγξ (*spelynx*), also meaning 'cave'. *Spelunca* is one of several words used in Latin for 'cave' including *caverna* and *antrum*. It is often used of an inhabited cave. The term was applied to a sea-cave used and furnished by the Roman emperor Tiberius on his estate between Rome and Naples at a place now known as *Sperlonga* (Lewis & Short, s.v.; Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 2006, p. 638). The word *spelunca* was also used in medieval Latin texts to denote a hermit's cave, for example, the cave dwelling of Paul of Thebes in the thirteenth century *Legenda Aurea* (de Voragine, 1470/1900, Vol. 2, p. 91).[21] Paul, regarded as the first Christian hermit saint, lived in the third and fourth centuries AD, a forerunner to the 'Desert Fathers'. He retreated into the Egyptian desert to escape persecution and is said to have dwelt for sixty years in a cave. The standard Italian form of the word is *spelonca*, which occurs in the name of a twelfth century church near Lucca called *San Giorgio della Spelonca*. The church site includes a natural cave used as a hermitage (Augnet, n.d.).

[21] "Paulus primus eremita, ut testatur Hieronymus, qui eius vitam conscripsit, fervente Decii persecutione, eremum vastissimum adiit ibique in quadam spelunca LX annis hominibus incognitus permansit."

Latin *spelunca* could also have decidedly negative connotations. *Spelunca latronum* is used in Latin translations of the Bible to denote "a den of thieves" (e.g., in Jeremiah 7:11), where the prophet rebukes those responsible for what he sees as the corruption of the temple of the Lord. The Polish language, for example, is one of several Slavonic languages which have adopted this word. *Spelunka* is used in a similar sense to denote a house or tavern of ill repute (WSJP).[22] Similarly, in German *Spelunke* is a derogatory word denoting 1) 'bar'; 2) 'dirty accommodation' (DWDS). These examples show us that the term could refer literally to a cave or figuratively to some kind of rudimentary habitation and that the potential occupants could cover a wide spectrum of humanity from hermit saints to sinners. It could also denote a wild animal's lair.

Spelunca is feminine, like *speilg/sceilg*. The sense 'lair' seems relevant to *Speilg an Fhiaigh*, so perhaps we should think of it as 'the raven's lair or nest' rather than simply 'the raven's rock'. The sense of a hermit's dwelling fits perfectly with the monastic settlement of *Sceilg Mhíchíl*, where the whole island complex can be regarded as a hermitage on account of its remoteness from the mainland and the ruggedness of the landscape. It also suits *Teampall na Sceilge* at Glendalough, where the hermit's hideaway is *Leaba Chaoimhín*/St. Kevin's Bed, a small man-made recess in a cliff above the Upper Lake (see Figure 5), located about 200 m to the east.[23] This is confirmed by a passage from The Lives of the Irish Saints: "dotheigheadh go minic don sgeilg ┐ don uaimh dá ngoirther leaba Caoimhghin. He would often go to the crag and to the cave which is called Coemgen's Bed" (Plummer, 1922, Vol. 1, § 5, p. 156). Since there are also Latin sources for the life of St. Kevin, it is natural to ask whether the word *spelunca* was used in any text referring to *Leaba Chaoimhín*. However, "Vita Sancti Coemgeni" reflects a different tradition regarding the saint's place of retreat as a hermit, according to which he dwelt not in this cave but in a hollow tree: "in quadam arbore cauata" (Plummer, 1910, Vol. 1, p. 237). There is a reference in the Ordnance Survey Letters to *Spelunca de Deserto* as the Latin designation for *Leaba Chaoimhín* in Kevin's Life (OSL Wicklow, p. 512). I regret that I have not been able to trace this reference so far.

[22] Retrieved December 3, 2021, from https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/87218/spelunka

[23] "St. Kevin's Bed is an artificial cave in a cliff-face above the lake (SMR No. W1023-021), reputedly a place of retreat and prayer for Kevin. The 'cave' is too small to stand up or lie down in and is best suited to meditation. The Bed was a retreat for famous figures, such as St. Laurence O'Toole whilst he was archbishop of Dublin in the twelfth century. In the nineteenth century it became part of the tourist circuit" (McDermott et al., 2021).

Figure 4. Leaba Chaoimhín/St. Kevin's Bed (cave), Glendalough, Co. Wicklow

Source: photo by © Conor McDermott, UCD School of Archaeology.

7. Discussion

Speilg, which is the form typically found in northern place names, can be regarded as the regular development of the Lat. *spelu*(*n*)*ca*. *Sceilg* can then be seen as an earlier and/or southern form, in which *sp-* was altered to *sc-* after borrowing, probably for the same reason that initial *p* was modified to *c* in words such as *Cáisc* < *Pascha*. It may be significant of a dialectal boundary that, in the case of *sceilg*, the cluster /sp/ was alien enough to prompt this change in the south, whereas the northern dialect, which had less difficulty with /p/ in common with Brittonic, tended to leave the cluster unchanged in *speilg*. It also should be noted that a derivation from *spelu*(*n*)*ca* fully accounts for the

entirety of the word as one piece (i.e. both syllables, not just the root), as with Pokorny's (1959) derivation from Indo-European *kel-* or *skel-*, which required the second syllable to be a suffix comparable with *carraig*, 'rock'.

In Irish the words *speilg* and *sceilg* seem to have acquired a more general sense of 'rock, crag' and a vestige of the Latin meaning 'hermit's dwelling' is only retained at the monastic sites of *Sceilg Mhíchíl* and *Teampall na Sceilge*. Perhaps this widening of meaning is explained by the fact that, throughout the Middle Ages, the rocky Skellig Islands were the most familiar instance of the word, and thus came to embody the meaning in popular thought. Such a semantic shift is not exceptional. Parallels include Ir. *ros*, which has developed from 'head' to 'hill, headland' and further to 'wood' (Tempan, 2009, pp. 946–949; Tempan, 2011, pp. 253–258); and *cathair*, originally meaning 'stone-fort', developing to 'citadel' and 'city'. We may also note that the aforementioned Polish word *spelunka* meaning 'premises of ill repute' also represents a considerable semantic shift from the Latin original.

If the meaning of *speilg* and *sceilg* was originally much more specific than 'rock, crag' and they were not simply synonyms of *carraig* or *faill*, for example, this would account for the rarity of these words as common nouns and place-name elements. The basic Latin sense of 'cave, cavern' is not found with these two elements in Irish place names, as far as I am aware, with the possible exception of *Cnoc an Speilgeadáin*/Spillaggadaun, Co. Mayo. However, this sense is retained in the word *béillic*, found in the dialects of Cork and Kerry. It is applied particularly to natural rock-shelters used by shepherds. The hill Bealick, located on the north-west side of Gougane Barra, is named from such a rock-shelter nearby (MountainViews, n.d.). The change /sp/ > /b/ appears to be a different reaction to the alien consonant cluster, for which it is hard to find exact parallels, but it can perhaps be explained as follows by a two-step process: Latin *s* is sometimes lost in consonant clusters, for example, OIr. *cruimther*, 'priest', a borrowing of Lat. *presbyter* via Brittonic (Thurneysen, 1909/1946, p. 137). An example of the loss of initial s- is Modern Irish *pósadh*, 'to marry', borrowed from Lat. *sponsare*, 'to betrothe' (DIL s.v. *pósaid*). The resulting *p-* may then have been pronounced as /b/ as frequently occurred in initial position, cf. spellings of *bóc* for *póc*, 'kiss', *bellec* for *pellec*, 'small bag' (Thurneysen, 1909/1946, p. 571). The interpretation of *béillic* as *béal lice* 'mouth of flagstone' proposed in some sources is clearly a folk etymology and is not supported by Dinneen.

If *sceilg* is to be derived from Classical Latin *spēlŭnca*, along with *speilg*, then the loss of /n/ requires explanation. Words inherited from Celtic containing

the cluster /nk/ underwent the sound change /nk/ > /gg/, which had already occurred by the Old Irish period. Damian Mc Manus (1983), following Kenneth Jackson (1994), regards the sound changes /nk/ > /gg/ and /nt/ > /dd/ as complete before AD 400, and before the borrowing of any of the numerous Latin loanwords which he cites (Mc Manus, 1983, p. 30; Jackson, 1994).[24] However, the current proposal is precisely to treat *sceilg/speilg* as a loan from Latin and not as a native Celtic word. Furthermore, a borrowing before AD 400 would not only be exceptionally early but would also be at odds with the arrival of the word in Ireland as part of the early Christian cultural package. One of the earliest Christian missionaries in Ireland was St. Declan of Ardmore, who, according to some traditions, was active a decade or two before St. Patrick in the early fifth century, perhaps in the decade beginning AD 420 (Ó Riain-Raedel, 1998, pp. 17–22). However, even if the borrowing of this word were associated with the earliest of such early Christian missionaries, this would still leave us a few decades short of the timeframe required by Jackson and Mc Manus. Therefore, the sound change /nk/ > /gg/ cannot provide a solution.

A more satisfactory explanation involves the loss of /n/ already in Latin. It is clear that s*pēlŭnca* had a by-form **spĕlūca* in Vulgar Latin in view of dialect words in the Romance languages and place names found in parts of Spain, France, Switzerland and Italy (FEW, Vol. 12, pp. 163–164).[25] For example, in the Italian province of Como is a village called *Montespluga*, situated below a pass, *Passo dello Spluga*, which crosses the Alps into Switzerland (Pellegrini, 2008, p. 202). In some areas the meaning has shifted away from 'cave'. In Cilento (part of Campania), *spelonga* is recorded in the sense 'sterile ground'. In the dialect of Verona the word *spiuga* signifies 'abyss' (FEW, Vol. 12, p. 163). This latter meaning is particularly pertinent to the instances of *sceilg* at *Sceilg Mhichíl* in Co. Kerry and *Teampall na Sceilge* in Co. Wicklow, where cliffs feature prominently in the landscape.[26]

[24] The loans from Latin containing *-nc-* are assigned to two groups, the earlier group showing -ng-, e.g. Old Irish *ungae* < Latin *uncia*, the later group leaving *-nc-* unchanged, e.g. Old Irish *ponc* < Latin *punctum* (Mc Manus, 1983, p. 22). The key point here is that both groups of loans retain -n- in these clusters. Clearly, *sceilg* and its Old Irish form *sceillec*, do not fit into either of these groups.

[25] I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to the Vulgar Latin by-form **spĕlūca,* its reflexes in the Romance languages and the place names including these elements.

[26] Another noteworthy reflex is *belugue* in the dialect of Armagnac (FEW, Vol. 12, p. 163). This form implies a sound change /sp/ > /b/, which could also account for Ir. *béillic*.

The Old Irish form *sceillec* can be seen as evidence of an early date for the loan, since both /p/ and /sp/ had become acceptable in all dialects by the Middle Irish period. The form *sceillec* must have been adopted while /sp/ was still an alien combination of sounds, prompting its substitution with /sk/. It is noteworthy that there is no fluctuation between spellings in *sc-* and *sp-* found in the historical forms for *Sceilg Mhíchíl* or *Teampall na Sceilge*. The voicing of the final consonant of Old Irish *sceillec*, Modern Irish *sceilg* (and *speilg*) is explained by Brittonic influence, a feature typical of borrowings from Latin in the Old Irish period. Thurneysen (1909/1946) highlights the two-fold treatment of single postvocalic tenues in Latin loan-words, either becoming spirants following Irish sound laws or becoming voiced stops following Brittonic pronunciation. It is clear that *sceillec* falls into the second group, influenced by Brittonic, like *oific* < Latin *officium*, 'office', and *relic* < Latin *reliquiae*, 'graveyard' (Thurneysen, 1909/1946, § 915, pp. 566–568). The voicing is present already in Old Irish but is more evident in the Modern Irish orthography: *sceilg*, *oifig*, *reilig*. Cultural factors also point to a borrowing in the Old Irish period. Hermitage sites were characteristic of the ascetic ethos of the early church, both in Ireland and elsewhere. An ecclesiastical context seems most likely for the transmission of such a word from Latin to Irish. A loan of the Vulgar Latin by-form **spĕlūca* between the 5th and 7th centuries is probable. The borrowing can, therefore, probably be associated with the very beginnings of Christianity in Ireland, between 1,300 and 1,500 years ago.

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The Source Value of Toponyms in History

Abstract

When investigating the historical context (settlement and ethnic conditions) in the medieval Carpathian Basin (Kingdom of Hungary), the academic field of history also relies on information provided by proper names. This is due to the fact that in the first few centuries of Hungarian written culture, written documents are made up almost entirely of Latin charters; besides these, only four Hungarian texts have survived. Thus, during the early Old Hungarian Era, the tens of thousands of Latin charters provide the key sources for research in historical linguistics, and these are the sources that other fields in history may also rely on when trying to answer various scholarly questions.

The Hungarian corpus of Latin charters is mostly made up of proper names as there was vested legal interest in recording these in the vernacular language (to ensure their role as identifiers); European charter writing in general also followed this approach and it obviously served as a model for Hungarian practice as well.

The historical source value of the two proper name categories is not identical: there are major differences between toponyms and personal names in terms of the extent to which their use and systems are determined by linguistic factors and the degree to which name giving and name usage are influenced by extra-linguistic forces. For these circumstances, we may consider toponyms to be the more reliable of the two proper name categories when discussing questions related to history.

In this paper I outline those scholarly problems in which we can rely on historical toponyms and those in which we cannot expect to move forward with the help of this group of sources.

Keywords

history, toponyms, Carpathian Basin, ethnic reconstruction

1. The historical source value of toponymic data

Historical studies rely on findings of historical linguistics and historical onomastics in several issues. This also applies to the exploration of the medieval history of the Carpathian Basin (the Kingdom of Hungary). Such a relationship is clearly justified as for various ages data in written sources (especially proper names) represent almost the only source material for addressing both linguistic and historical questions. In the first few centuries of Hungarian literacy, written documents are made up almost entirely of Latin charters; besides these, only four Hungarian texts have survived (containing a few hundred words altogether). Thus, during the early Old Hungarian Era (895–1350), the tens of thousands of Latin charters provide the key sources for research in historical linguistics, and these are the sources that other fields in history may also rely on when trying to answer various scholarly questions.

Before moving on with this train of thought, we should also briefly discuss 1) what the reason for this is (that is, we need to interpret the phenomena presented here within their sociocultural context) and 2) how and based on which factors did Hungarian literacy emerge and what its special features are with regard to the early centuries.

The evolution of Hungarian written culture, of course, is important not only from the perspective of research on Hungarian language but also because it entailed a transformation of the culture and lifestyle of Hungarians, while it also had a significant impact on the development of the Hungarian language. The emergence of written culture in Hungary was a necessary result of the dual process in which Hungarians settled down in the Carpathian Basin as part of the Conquest (895–900) and joined the European Christian-feudal culture. In most parts of contemporary Europe, literacy had traditionally been present in various aspects of life and thus had a rather solid existence. It exerted its influence on the internal affairs of the Church, science and education were unimaginable without it, and it also had a key role in state administration. In South-Eastern Europe Greek language and literacy were widespread, while to the west and northwest of this area the use of Latin was typical. The newly conquered country of the Hungarians and their state acquired by (Saint) Stephen I (1000) was located exactly at the meeting point of these two cultures and thus at the beginning both exerted their effects on the region. Hungarian

literacy, however, emerged as a Latin-language written culture practically in the same form as it had already existed in the greater part of Europe, to the west of the country (which was in line with the expanding and strengthening system of relations of Hungarians and especially that of the Hungarian state).

Such a Latin-based literacy, however, from the very beginning also required the recording of some of the elements of Hungarian with the same tools and set of letters also used in the Latin texts. This is because some contemporary written genres made the inclusion of Hungarian language elements necessary in the texts. Such a genre included official documents, charters, as well as works published later discussing the historical past of Hungarians, called *gestas* and chronicles, as in these the names of Hungarian places and people also had to be recorded.

Therefore, the Hungarian corpus of Latin charters as well as *gestas* and chronicles is mostly made up of proper names as there was vested legal interest in recording these in the vernacular language (to ensure their role as identifiers); European charter writing and chronicle literature in general also followed this approach and it obviously served as a model for Hungarian practice as well. As a result, several hundred thousand Hungarian toponyms and anthroponyms survived in charters from this era, while we may only sporadically find coherent Hungarian texts from this age.

The historical source value of the two proper name categories is not identical: there are major differences between toponyms and anthroponyms in terms of the extent to which their use and systems are determined by linguistic (intra-lingual) factors and the degree name giving and name usage are influenced by extra-linguistic (primarily social and cultural) forces. Due to these circumstances, we may consider toponyms to be the more reliable of the two proper name categories when discussing questions related to history (Hoffmann et al., 2018, pp. 41–42).

In this paper I outline those scholarly problems of history in which we can rely on historical toponyms and those in which we cannot expect to move forward with the help of this group of sources.

2. The ethnic source value of toponyms

As a result of those already mentioned, history has relied on Hungarian-language proper names that have survived in Latin charters, among them especially toponyms (and mostly settlement names), primarily in studies of ethnic and settlement history, as well as history of ownership; but this group of linguistic elements was also frequently used to explore the occupational structure of medieval society. Of these areas, I focus on only one in this paper: the use of toponyms in ethnic history. It is in this area that contradictions present themselves most vividly and, what is more, I believe the wrong methodological foundations and the faulty conclusions based on these present the most dangers in this respect. (On the historical source value of toponyms in general see chapters of Hoffmann et al., 2017; and on the historical source value of anthroponyms see Tóth, 2016, pp. 11–31.)

2.1. Relations between language and ethnicity in the Carpathian Basin during the Middle Ages

The history of the Carpathian Basin after the Conquest was characterized by diversity in all eras both in terms of the ethnicity of people living there and the languages spoken by them. As this circumstance significantly influenced (and influences to this day) both the fate of individuals and the history of groups of people of various sizes, it is understandable that historical studies have long shown interest in this issue. Direct sources on the ethnic composition of the peoples in the Carpathian Basin provide insights only into the past few centuries, while the interpretation, use of the available data and information carries in itself numerous problems even for more recent times. This is even more so the case with regard to earlier ages. The biggest obstacle to the study of the age of the Conquest and the subsequent centuries is represented by the lack of sources and as a result, the methodological questions of scientific research using indirect sources are more in the limelight.

As a start, it is not even easy to decide which disciplines shall be considered competent in issues related to ethnicity. This dilemma is not only a question of research methodology but more like a problem resulting from the

interpretation and definition of the concept of ethnicity, ethnos (for a recent summary of this issue that may be used well for our purposes, see Rácz, 2016, pp. 15–24, and earlier Róna-Tas, 1997, pp. 18–26; see also Koopman, 2016 for studying this issue from another aspect, using a broader horizon and primarily focusing on the status and function of ethnonyms). We usually mention linguistic, cultural, anthropological features as well as mental factors (a shared sense of origin and belonging, the presence of self-naming, etc.) when defining ethnicity, along with additional attributes. If we pick and examine single components from this complex system, we can do so only if we are aware that in this way we provide a description of the ethnic group not in its own complexity but we can learn more only about one of its attributes considered to be typical. For example, there is no direct correspondence between language and ethnic group either, as there are different people speaking the same language, while people who claim to belong to the same ethnic group may use different languages. This was no different in earlier times either.

In the scholarly study of issues in which several disciplines are involved (and the topic discussed here is certainly such an example) inherently carries research methodology pitfalls. Often the representatives of different disciplines rely on the results of one another in a way that results in a certain *circulus vitiosus*, although they have the impression (with often those involved wishing to create such an effect) that the process is moving ahead in a spiral. For example, a historian using results of linguistic research may claim that due to the fact that in an area there were a strikingly large number of Slavic names, a large population of Slavs must have lived there once. Relying on the Slavic dominance established by the historian, the linguist relies on Slavic foundations more and more in new name etymologies, using this method prominently even in cases when other opportunities of interpretation would also be available. In turn, the historian feels that their findings have been confirmed yet again and so on; this, of course, may also apply to Turkic, Hungarian or any other language (Hoffmann, 2007, p. 12).

This flawed methodological procedure is visible in numerous details of research in ethnic history and questions the reliability of some of the results as well. This danger, however, comes hand in hand with the need for complexity, which at the same time also characterizes the study of eras characterized by a lack of sources. If, for example, we wish to draw the linguistic map of an earlier era from a regional perspective, we obviously cannot disregard the information provided by historical geography about the natural

features of the era, among others, as we cannot suppose the presence of a population of a significant size in an extensive marshland or forest area. As we cannot disregard the confrontation and linking of results from several disciplines in ethnic reconstruction either, as a result it is encouraged even more than before. We may protect ourselves from the mentioned methodological pitfalls mostly by continuously reviewing the research principles and methodology used by the disciplines involved and make the adjustments necessary in response to the emergence of new knowledge.

In the following, I provide a brief overview of linguistic research methods and opportunities aimed at ethnic identification, primarily by relying on such a critical approach in which we focus not only on specific details related to given eras but also on the general problematics of theoretical and methodological principles. The approach of linguistics in this respect may also provide important information for scholars in other fields relying on this discipline.

2.2. Methods and liimitations in ethnic history research

Traditionally, the name origin identified by etymology has great significance in Hungarian research in historical linguistics and historical onomastics as, due to the lack of other sources, historians (and often linguists as well) attempted to specify the ethnic composition of the Carpathian Basin based on this, with special regard to the appearance of Hungarians in the region. This process is based on the following simplified train of thought: 1) the etymological explanation of a toponym reveals the language in which the name was created, 2) the name may be linked to the people speaking the given language and 3) the conclusion is made that this group of people must have lived in the area designated by the name at the time of name giving. The biggest difficulty involved in this process is that the first recording of the name in charters is independent of the age of name giving, which means that there may be a long time between the creation and recording of a name. It was in this context that the worth of toponyms was valued highly in defining an era, presenting a set of knowledge based on linguistic typological analysis according to which the genesis of certain types of toponyms can be associated with a specific era. This procedure was used by István Kniezsa (1938) as well, when he drew the ethnic map of 11th-century Hungary based on historical, archeological, and linguistic data. He mostly relied on toponyms created from tribes' names as

linguistic evidence (approximately 250 toponyms).[1] Although only 6 of these could be dated from the 11th century, he also used those found in later sources in his studies as he believed that the chronological relations of toponyms belonging to this type could be limited to the interval between the end of the 10th and the middle of the 11th century as the tribes were forgotten after this. This, based on the theory of toponyms with an era-defining value means that whenever a toponym created from a tribe's name appears in sources, it could not be created later than the middle of the 11th century and thus could be used without problems in studying the 11th century.

Based on the current interpretation and arguments in historical linguistics, this theory is not deemed acceptable (for a detailed discussion of this issue see Hoffmann & Tóth, 2016, pp. 273–286). Gyula Kristó (1976 and 2000) criticized the ideas of Kniezsa at several points, modifying Kniezsa's theory especially in terms of chronology. (For the arguments formulated against the idea see Hoffmann & Tóth, 2016, pp. 295–315). Kristó's method was that he examined a toponymic corpus created along strict criteria from the perspective of etymological origin and he associated ethnic proportions with the linguistic origin present in different source groups. The main problem with his approach was not that he drew conclusions from a small amount of data and not even that etymologies were often established without enough circumspection but mostly that he disregarded important chronological circumstances. That is, for example, that the much earlier status of name giving and its linguistic features do not by any means provide information on the age of the documents (in this case the age of St. Stephen, the first third of the 11th century).

We need to explore more complicated connections if we wish to clarify the strata of names and their chronological relations, that is, if we wish to determine when the elements of the different etymological layers related to different languages were created; when the languages in question were in contact with one another; and when and in what direction the borrowing of names took place. If we can determine at least the relative chronology of the strata

[1] This group represents the larger part of toponymic data verifying the presence of Hungarians for Kniezsa: besides 242 tribes' names, he lists 198 other toponyms and added another 202 toponyms not referring to Hungarians (of these 184 are names of Slavic, 7 Turkic, and 11 German origin). Therefore, toponyms created from tribes' names represent close to 40% of the data used by Kniezsa as linguistic evidence.

of names belonging to particular languages, then we can gain insights at least into the chronology of the settlement of peoples in the given region.

In order to show how etymological mistakes deriving from a faulty theoretical starting point could distort our perceptions of the 11th-century toponymic corpus in terms of its etymological layers, let me outline the analysis of the toponymic data of the Founding Charter of Tihany from 1055 (which is the first authentic charter in Hungarian language history that has survived in the original) as presented by Gyula Kristó (2000), and then contrast it with result of recent research. Based on various etymological considerations, Kristó lists eleven toponyms that refer to a Slavic population, but he also presents four toponyms he considers to be of Turkic and German origin. Based on this, he concludes that the

> larger places, landmarks were names of Slavic (to a certain extent Turkic) origin, while names of a microtoponym function were mostly Hungarian. This in itself indicated that the names of more important objects (settlements, lakes) were borrowed by Hungarians from the Slavs, while they themselves named the places within the settlements. (Kristó, 2000, p. 23)

The recently completed study of the Founding Charter of Tihany Abbey from the perspective of historical toponomastics and using the method of toponym reconstruction, however, concluded that of the close to one hundred toponyms and common name expressions indicating a place that can be reconstructed based on the Hungarian language elements of the charter, there are only two such names that did not emerge from the Hungarian language. However, even the names of the lake *Balaton* and *Kesztölc* settlement appear in such a form in the charter that certainly indicated Hungarian name users in the middle of the 11th century and not Slavic ones. This therefore means that we cannot find any linguistic elements in the Founding Charter of Tihany Abbey that would indicate the presence of a Slavic, Turkic or German population in the middle of the 11th century (Hoffmann, 2010, pp. 226–232).

2.3. Opportunities and perspectives in ethnic reconstruction

We may summarize the conclusions drawn from those mentioned so far as follows. In 1938 István Kniezsa drew the 11th-century linguistic-ethnic map of the Carpathian Basin in his extensive study titled “Magyarország népei a XI.

században" [Peoples of Hungary in the 11th century]. However, as his methods and the conclusions based on these are not fully in line with our current knowledge, we cannot regard the linguistic-ethnic map drawn by him to be accurate either. A large part of toponyms used as sources are already interpreted differently today both in terms of their chronology and etymology; and historical and archeological studies have also moved beyond those conclusions that he used as the basis of his findings.

In view of all these, the question rightfully emerges if we have the chance at all to draw the 11th-century linguistic-ethnic map of the Carpathian Basin in such detail based on our currently available scientific knowledge as István Kniezsa did in 1938. I believe that for the time being this cannot be done, and moreover, that research in historical linguistics and toponomastics will not be able to do it with such precision later on either.

Yet, we have the tools at our disposal that enable us to formulate a more precise opinion on the issue at hand. For this, we first of all need a meticulous processing of the linguistic sources that have survived from the 11th century as our former knowledge might change significantly as a result of reconsideration (as already shown in connection with the Founding Charter of Tihany Abbey). At the same time, we cannot disregard the sources of uncertain chronological status (copies, forged and interpolated charters) considering the fact that the 11th century was poor in sources, even if these were practically ignored by former research. The utilization of these sources and their inclusion in research, at the same time, requires a unique methodology: Melinda Szőke (2015) provided an excellent example for this with her analysis of the interpolated Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek (1075), and the same method was used also by Éva Kovács (2018), in the case of the Founding Charter of Százd ([around 1067]/1267) that survived in the form of a copy.

In our analyses, it is not enough to complete only etymological studies focusing on the origin of names, but we also need to use a more complex method of toponym reconstruction, which also takes into consideration the history of names. (On the methodology of historical toponym reconstruction, see Hoffmann et al., 2018, pp. 135–147). We can build numerous conclusions and studies on the results of this (including, with some limitations, also linguistic and ethnic reconstruction). At the same time, we also need to consider the results of historical name sociology, as well as the broadly accepted tenets of name theory.

There is no question that when we study the 11th century ethnic composition of the Carpathian Basin, of course, other disciplines besides linguistics

need to have their say: the findings of history and archeology were already used by István Kniezsa (1938). I believe, however, that we can reach more reliable results if researchers of the different areas assess the relevant data within their own field and without looking for arguments from other disciplines that support their own results. In the second phase of the study, therefore, research results that are independent from one another may become comparable, which can then either reinforce or refute each other.

We can get closer to achieving reliable results after several stages. First, it seems expedient to complete the studies in a carefully selected smaller region, for example, in an area that has extensive data from the perspective of linguistics, historical and archeological studies and which has been explored adequately. However, even such a research process demands an identical conceptual approach used by scholars and the coordination of their work from the very beginning. In such a complex question as the one presented here, we can reach new results only with a research program implementing this method.

How, based on these principles, historical linguistic analysis may contribute to ethnic reconstruction in practice is illustrated based on the research findings of István Hoffmann (2017a, 2017b) providing an overview of the history of the hydronyms and settlement names of a smaller region, the river valley of four rivers in Bakonyalja. The names of larger watercourses in the region, the *Tapolca*, *Gerence*, *Bittva* and the *Torna*, are of Slavic origin without a doubt based on modern etymological studies (for a summary, see Hoffmann, 2017a, pp. 50–51, Hoffmann, 2017b, pp. 138–140). All of the four settlement names dated from the 11th century (*Pápa*, *Tevel*, *Bél*, *Koppány*) come from Hungarian language name givers and name users without question. Of course, besides these there could be other settlements in the examined area also; however, we are not aware of any methods in historical linguistics or toponomastics with the help of which any of the other later settlement names could be connected to the 11th century. Not only in this century are we unable to say that there are a majority of Slavic settlement names in the valley of the four rivers – as opposed to what Kniezsa (1938) claimed (p. 424) – but of the 79 names of the 71 settlements appearing here throughout the entire Old Hungarian Era (until 1526) only two might be suspected to have a Slavic origin (*Zsemlér*, *Ganna*). However, even in their case we may consider the option of them being derived from Hungarian. Therefore, no settlement names in the region of the Bakonyalja examined here indicate 11th-century Slavic traces at all.

How can we explain then, under such circumstances that the main rivers of the area have names of Slavic origin? These were certainly borrowed by Hungarians from the Slavic people living here and naming these watercourses. The main question in this regard concerns the chronological relations in the settlement history of the two peoples living here. The option that these hydronyms would come from Slavic people who settled down among Hungarians living in the area is practically out of the question as in this case the names of later Slavic settlements would definitely appear in sources as well. As another option, we may suppose that at the time of their settlement Hungarians encountered Slavic people in the area and they borrowed these hydronyms from them. Of these names of rivers, we can find that of *Gerence* already in 11th-century sources: 1086: ad torrentem *Grenicę* (DHA 1, p. 250), similarly to that of *Torna*: 1075/+1124/+1217: *Tornowa* (DHA 1, p. 215). Due to these systematical relations, the names of *Tapolca* and *Bittva* could also be created prior to the appearance of Hungarians, even though we can find such records only from the middle of the 13th century: 1245: *Toplicha ~ Toplycha* (ÁÚO 2, p. 186), 1240: *Bitua* (ÁÚO 2, p. 112).

The Hungarians who settled down, however, probably did not take over the settlement names of the Slavic people living here, which means that the idea of Gyula Kristó discussed before (and which he presented as a generally applicable one) cannot be confirmed. The reason for this could be identified easily by the differing features of the name-giving process of settlement names and hydronyms. Natural names (also including hydronyms) and civilizational names (among them settlement names) differ from each other not only in terms of their linguistic features but also with regard to their genesis. Consciousness and individual intentions played a much bigger role in the creation of settlement names than in the case of other name types. This is also connected to the fact that settlement names may also be perceived as the linguistic signs of taking ownership of an area, especially at the time when written documents played only a negligible role as legal insurance as opposed to orality. Therefore, the settlement name could also express the right to an area at the same time. It also indicates the significance of this name type that in this part of the Bakonyalja region two-thirds of the settlement names feature a personal name or a word indicating a person: e.g., *Pápa:* 1061/1257: *Papa* (DHA 1, p. 173; cf. *Papa*), *Izsa:* 1269: possessio *Isay* (ÁÚO 8, p. 247; cf. *Ysa*), *Atya:* 1319: *Athya* (Cs. 3, p. 21; cf. *Athya*, *Sávoly:* 1330: *Saul* (PRT 8, p. 307; cf. *Saul*), etc.

Therefore, based on linguistic studies we can overall only establish about the population features of the Bakonyalja region that the presence of Hungarians in the area can be established with certainty in the second half of the 11th century and (mostly based on systematical arguments) we can also state with high probability that at the time of their settlement in the area the Hungarians encountered a Slavic population. The presence of this population, however, cannot be confirmed with tools of linguistics in the 9th century (as presented in some publications, e.g., Melich, 1925–1929, p. 379).

Of course, the results have been presented here only broadly and can be refined further partly by including microtoponyms in the analysis, and partly through comparative, complex studies involving findings in historical and archeological research. It is a key task of research in historical linguistics and toponomastics to assess the historical linguistic source materials of smaller regions carefully also from the perspective of ethnic reconstruction and in consideration of the principles presented here. By fitting the mosaic pieces of studies conducted this way, we may create a more complete and comprehensive image of the historical linguistic and toponymic situation of the entire Carpathian Basin. This, in turn, may provide a sound basis also for drawing the early ethnic map of the region from the perspective of linguistics.

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Onomastics is an area of scholarly interest that has grown considerably in importance in recent years. Consequently, the 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, held in 2021 in Kraków, Poland, gathered scholars from all over the world, active in all subfields of onomastic enquiry, as well as those exploring the areas bordering on other disciplines of the humanities. It thus became a venue for presenting state-of-the-art research in the study of proper names, proposing novel approaches and opening new vistas for future research.

The present work is the first of the three volumes of conference proceedings that were the fruit of the congress. Devoted to place naming, it contains 33 contributions by 43 scholars. The language of most of the texts is English, though there are also two papers in German, and another two in Russian. The topics range from purely theoretical issues to narrowly focused case studies. The toponyms studied represent a vast variety of types, including the names of countries, districts, counties or municipalities, villages and other settlements, as well as urbanonyms, but also hydronyms, nesonyms, or diverse anoikonyms. Some toponyms are examined synchronically, whereas others are viewed in a diachronic perspective. The status of particular place names varies too: from those that have existed since time immemorial, such as river names, to those established relatively recently in human history, as exemplified by the names of bus stops. Many contributions have been prepared using time-honoured methods of data collection, such as fieldwork, but digital onomastics has clearly gained a permanent foothold as well, as evidenced by a substantial body of research in this area.

True to the inherently interdisciplinary character of onomastics, and in line with the underlying motif of the congress, which underscores the interaction of the study of proper names with other branches of science, researchers explore the interface of onomastics and an extensive array of disciplines, including though not limited to: *cognitive studies,* dialectology, phonetics and phonology, sociolinguistics, anthropology, history, historical linguistics, postcolonial studies, administration and policy studies, and even geology. The toponyms studied are gathered from all over Europe – including Belarus, the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, the United Kingdom – but also from countries on other continents, such as China, Egypt, India, Morocco, New Zealand, Russia, or Tanzania.

The book is a must not only for onomasticians, but also for researchers in related disciplines, ranging from history, via human geography or philosophy of language, to social studies. However, professionals active in naming will find it useful as well, since it provides a much-needed supranational perspective and enables cross-cultural comparisons.

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