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editor

The Great Toponymic Divide

Reflections on the definition and usage of endonyms and exonyms

Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography
Główny Urząd Geodezji i Kartografii
Warszawa 2012

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Preface by the Editor

Toponymy is a science encompassing the study of geographical names. When focused on the contemporary use and application of geographical names, toponymy involves a fascinating and unique mix of issues – language, geography and identity – all set within the historical, cultural and political context of the modern world. Its importance is evident in many vital services, *e.g.* cartography, planning and census work, trade and commerce, search and rescue operations, emergency aid and disaster relief, and all manner of communications. When wishing to specify a particular feature, however, we may find that there are several names available for it, and it is all too easy not to take sufficient care over which of those names to select. Yet due care is vital. If we make the appropriate choice, then provision of the services listed above will be facilitated, whereas if we make an erroneous choice – perhaps by using a name that one section of the target community deems objectionable – then provision of those same services may be hindered.

Thus there are many cultural and political issues to consider in determining the 'appropriate' geographical name for a particular feature. Apart from acknowledging local sensitivities, we may also need to establish a balance between the name we ourselves recognise and the name as recognised in the locality itself, on the ground. Hence, if we are located in Country A and wish to send emergency aid to Country B, and if those two countries are not within the same linguistic environment, then a proportion of the features named within Country B may be known by a different name in Country A. Put simply, the 'München' of Country B may customarily be known as 'Munich' in the language of Country A.

The distinction between München and Munich is the distinction between an endonym (München) and an exonym (Munich). It is the most vital distinction in toponymy; the great toponymic divide. It is frequently contentious, for the question of whether a given toponym is an endonym or an exonym may have awkward political or cultural connotations, and is frequently by no means as clear-cut as in the example of München and Munich. The United Nations recognised the significance of the issue by establishing in 2002 a Working Group on Exonyms, designed to look at the endonym/exonym question within the orbit of the UN Group of Experts on Geographical Names. This Working Group has now met on twelve occasions, its most recent session having been held in May 2012 in the Polish city of Gdańsk. Assembled in this present volume are papers relating to that session, plus one hitherto unpublished paper from the Working Group's eleventh session, held in Vienna in May 2011.

The papers deal with the endonym/exonym divide, exonym analysis and usage, endonyms and exonyms in minority language environments, and an endonym/exonym illustration from history. Running as a thread through many of the papers is the suggestion that, even after ten years and twelve sessions, the Working Group remains not entirely certain as to the optimum definitions of the terms 'endonym' and 'exonym'. This admission may come as a surprise, but it is an apt reflection of the relative novelty and sheer complexity of this most challenging of subjects. Having considered the contributions in this volume, the reader may well form the opinion that fine-tuning the present UN definitions into a durable form ought to constitute the main focus of activity for the Working Group in the near future.

I would like to thank most sincerely all those authors who have contributed to this volume. Special thanks are due to the Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography (*Główny Urząd Geodezji i Kartografii*) in Poland, who not only generously hosted the twelfth session of the Working Group in Gdańsk but have also kindly agreed to publish this subsequent volume of papers. The Working Group is very grateful indeed for their support.

Paul Woodman
December 2012

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The endonym/exonym divide

Paul Woodman[1]

The naming process: Societal acceptance and the endonym definition

It has become a custom of the British royal family to officiate at the launch of new Cunard cruise liners, which are traditionally named after members of that family. Thus on October 11th 2010 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II travelled from London to send the latest such vessel on its way at a launching ceremony in the English south coast port of Southampton. In time-honoured tradition, Her Majesty broke a jeroboam (though unusually one of fine white Graves rather than champagne) over the ship's bows and uttered the words: 'I name this ship QUEEN ELIZABETH. May God bless her and all who sail in her'.

Prior to that moment, the ship had not been accorded its name, even though that name was in fact already written on the vessel's bows. But in the course of a few seconds the name was properly conferred. Her Majesty's first sentence – 'I name this ship QUEEN ELIZABETH' – created in the minds of all participants and observers the perception that this new vessel was now endowed with this particular name. Yet why was this so? The mere words themselves, taken in isolation, cannot have been sufficient to create the reality of the naming, for had Her Majesty uttered those same words elsewhere, or had some other plausible participant at the launch instead voiced either the same or a competing proposition (*e.g.* 'I name this ship HOCUS-POCUS'), such words would not have carried any conviction whatsoever.

So what made the words, as Her Majesty delivered them at the launch, convincing and effective? The answer, of course, is to be found in the ensemble of circumstances provided by the context of the occasion and the nature of the speaker. The occasion bestowed an added value to the rather mundane words themselves – in the same way that the context of a marriage ceremony transforms the simple words 'I do' from quotidian banality into a statement of intended lifelong commitment. The added value evident in the words actually spoken at the launch brought to life the words already written on

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the vessel. This added value would not have been present had Her Majesty spoken those words elsewhere, or had a person other than Her Majesty suggested any name at all.

Thus we can see that the naming process for the vessel depended not merely on words. Language itself was insufficient to create the reality asserted by the words. The circumstances in which the language was used were vital too. For the naming to be valid, a proper context for the words was required, this giving the requisite value-added factor to the statement. And – crucially – even this was insufficient. It was not merely the context itself that mattered, but the context as understood, received and accepted by the social grouping bearing witness to the ceremony. Ultimately, the sentence spoken by Her Majesty only made convincing sense because it was delivered within a context which the witnesses and those further afield – collectively we might call this grouping 'society' – acknowledged would create the reality of the words; that the vessel was indeed now properly named QUEEN ELIZABETH.

What lesson does this illustration have for toponymy? It is that the naming process depends upon more than words, be they spoken or written. If we look for example at the September 1991 city name change from *Leningrad* to *Sankt-Peterburg*, we can see that here too the spoken words of a proclamation or the printed words of a gazette would by themselves have been insufficient for the reality of the 'new' name to be created. The proposition that the city should henceforth be called (once again) Sankt-Peterburg crucially required the acceptance and approval of the locally relevant society (or at least a large part of that society) to make it real and meaningful.

The name Sankt-Peterburg is of course an endonym, and so we can see from the preceding remarks that the establishment of an endonym is not merely a function of the naming authorities; it requires society's approval too. Local society needs to clasp the name to its bosom, and unless and until it does so, the name in question cannot be properly an endonym. Indeed one might say that there is a proprietary right within society that needs to be satisfied before a toponym can be classed as a true endonym[2].

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[2] The current UNGEGN definitions of the terms *endonym* and *exonym* are provided online at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/pubs/glossary_add_e.pdf and are as follows:

Endonym: Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated.

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.

Looking at toponymy from this aspect of societal acceptance is an interesting exercise. In the spring of 1962, when I was eleven years old, the Woodman family moved house. Now my father's birthday happened to be October 15th, a date which in the Christian calendar marks the day devoted to the Spanish saint known as Teresa of Ávila, and over the years my father had become fascinated by her life story. So when we moved in 1962 my father decided to christen our new home in Saint Teresa's honour, and he had a new wooden sign, with the name AVILA written on it, attached to the front gate. This is an example of the naming process at its most basic, and on analysing it we can see that the process involved two distinct aspects. My father took a Spanish-language name and transported it into an English-language environment, and at the same time took the name of a city and turned it into the name of a house. Thus he took the original name out of both its language context and its scale context. Yet it goes without saying that society acknowledged my father's proprietary right to make this decision, and as a consequence I would contend that the house name AVILA did not constitute an exonym, despite its Spanish-language origins. Rather, as a new label attached by an appropriate person to a feature in a new location, a label accepted by local society, this name constituted a new endonym. Similarly, when a homeowner in the United Kingdom decides to name his house MON REPOS[3], this label cannot possibly be an exonym, even though that name is French and French is not a well-established language in that country. Both AVILA and MON REPOS have become accepted in these instances as *de facto* components of the English-language toponymy of the United Kingdom. No proclamations or gazettes were required to make this so; society's acceptance of the owner's naming rights was the crucial factor.

So the inclusion of the expression 'well-established language' in the UNGEGN definition of *endonym*, though accurate, needs to be understood in broad terms. It should be interpreted as including toponyms that have become honorary *de facto* members of a language when, as labels for particular geographical features, they have been accepted by local society into that language's recognised corpus of toponyms.

My own story of AVILA is a real one, and there are plenty of real MON REPOS examples too. But let us also examine a hypothetical case involving societal acceptance and proprietary rights, by imagining that we are in the year 1984, at the height of the Cold War, and at the location of an imaginary

[3] *Mon Repos* is French for "My Rest" and is a fairly frequently occurring house name in the United Kingdom.

property named OAK TREE FARM, somewhere in England. This farm is run by the Smiths, an English family who have lived there through many generations. The name of the farm has been the same for centuries and unquestionably satisfies all the criteria for being an endonym in accordance with the UNGEGN definition of that term. Looking at Oak Tree Farm as of 1984, we might imagine the following possible scenarios:

Scenario A:

The Smiths decide to rename the property BLACKBROOK FARM, after the stream named *Black Brook* that runs through it.

Scenario B:

The Smiths, a family politically sympathetic to the doctrine of communism, decide to rename the property FREEDOM FARM.

Scenario C:

For the same reason as in Scenario B, and because the family is also particularly fond of the Russian language, the Smiths decide to rename the property SVOBODA FARM[4].

Scenario D:

As noted, the year 1984 is at the height of the Cold War. The Soviet Union invades the United Kingdom, expropriates all private property, and renames this homestead SVOBODA FARM.

These four scenarios present us with three potential new toponyms: BLACKBROOK FARM; FREEDOM FARM; SVOBODA FARM. Which of these are endonyms and which are exonyms? Normally we might think of endonyms as being well-established names, but of course each individual endonym has to begin its life at some specific point in time, and that includes the year 1984. Thus the straightforward name change in Scenario A simply creates a new endonym – BLACKBROOK FARM – in the well-established language of the area, and relegates the name OAK TREE FARM to the category of former or historical endonym[5]. Scenario B is in practice no different, except that this particular new endonym – FREEDOM FARM – would probably prove less durable since it is based on a personal political preference that would be unlikely to survive any future change of farm ownership. Note that, in both scenarios, society would unquestioningly accept the homeowner's right to make these name changes.

[4] *Svoboda* [Свобода] is the Russian language word for *Freedom* and was a frequently invoked name in the toponymy of the Soviet Union.

[5] Note, incidentally, that the name OAK TREE FARM does ***not*** become an exonym.

But while Scenarios A and B are uncomplicated, the changes in Scenarios C and D on the other hand – both involving the new name SVOBODA FARM – create a host of interesting conundrums, not least because this one name has been derived by different processes as between the two scenarios. In reality, Scenario C is actually no different from Scenarios A and B. It is true that the language of the new name is Russian, and it is self-evident that Russian is not a well-established language in the United Kingdom. But this does not make SVOBODA FARM an exonym, any more than my father's house name AVILA was an exonym, because (as with Scenarios A and B) society acknowledges the homeowner's proprietary right to make this change. The nature and process by which the name is bestowed make it an endonym.

These notions of process and bestowal make Scenario D particularly interesting. The resulting name – SVOBODA FARM – is identical to the resulting name in Scenario C. However, the circumstances of the bestowal of the name are very different. The person bestowing the name in Scenario C possesses a direct and legitimate relationship to the feature for which the toponym is a label. In Scenario D, the same label for the same feature has been applied by persons who have no legitimate right to make that decision, being executors of an illegal invasion of a foreign sovereign state. The name SVOBODA FARM in this scenario has been imposed from the outside, against the wishes of those whose relationship to that feature is well established. The societal acceptance that we saw in the naming of the cruise ship, or the city of Sankt-Peterburg, or my father's house, is absent from Scenario D. In the circumstances of this scenario, therefore, it seems perfectly reasonable to judge the toponym SVOBODA FARM to be an exonym.

We already know that a given toponym can be both an exonym and an endonym where multiple features are concerned. For example, the name *Moscow* functions as an exonym with reference to the capital city of the Russian Federation[6], but as an endonym with reference to the city of that name in the state of Idaho in the United States. There is no great surprise in this. But from Scenarios C and D we discover that a given toponym can be either an endonym or an exonym for one particular single feature, depending on the process by which the name was bestowed – whether societal acceptance was present or not. The name SVOBODA FARM is an endonym through

[6] The endonym for this capital city is of course *Moskva*, or Москва in its original Russian Cyrillic form.

the process outlined in Scenario C, but that same name for the same feature resulting from Scenario D is an exonym.

We should also note here the important fact that, because legitimacy requires the consent of the governed, it is not necessarily conferred by official status. A name that results from aggression, invasion and occupation may be the only official name out of all the possible toponyms available for a feature – yet it may also be the only name that is not an endonym. In my paper *The Nature of the Endonym*[7] I note how, in Second World War Poland, the German name *Litzmannstadt* (for Łódź) was for several years during the early 1940s the only official name for that particular city, yet in no sense could it be considered an endonym because (as in Scenario D) the circumstances in which the name had been given lacked the approval or acceptance of local society.

Thus the consent of the population is ultimately the most significant factor of all in the determination of an endonym. Claire Eliane Engel, a noted writer on alpine history, remarks that in the Swiss canton of Valais during the golden age of nineteenth century mountaineering, visiting foreign alpinists would on occasion suggest names for hitherto unnamed peaks, and sometimes found that the names they suggested were immediately accepted locally. In this manner the British mountaineer Lord Conway suggested the mountain names Wellenkuppe, Lenzspitze, Nadelhorn and Stecknadelhorn for a series of peaks in the region of Zermatt. These names were not ridiculed by valley-dwellers below for having come from an alien source. On the contrary, all of them met with local acceptance and duly found their way on to Swiss survey maps, where they remain unaltered to this day. One might not expect a transient British visitor such as Conway to be the giver of endonyms in the cantons of Switzerland, but in fact – because of local consent for the appropriateness of the names he chose – that is exactly what he turned out to be[8].

The naming process may involve words that are spoken, as would have occurred in the days preceding the birth of writing systems. It may involve words that are written, as in the gazetted change from Leningrad to Sankt-Peterburg or in the simple application of a wooden house sign reading AVILA.

[7] See WP1 of the 25th Session of UNGEGN: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/25th-GEGN-Docs/WP%20papers/WP1-NatureOfEndonyms-WG.pdf

[8] Engel, Claire Eliane: ***Mountaineering in the Alps: An Historical Survey***; George Allen & Unwin, new edition 1971; ISBN 004796037X: pp 166-67. Conway's own writings reveal him as a modest and empathetic figure; note that he chose names that were not commemorative of himself and his companions, but instead were descriptive of the features themselves: respectively Wave Crest, Spring Peak, Needle Peak, Pin Peak.

It may involve words that are both spoken and written, as in the launch of the vessel QUEEN ELIZABETH. The process will usually be originated by local inhabitants, but occasionally will stem from an outsider, as with the names proposed by Lord Conway in Switzerland. But without the acceptance of these names by local society, neither the spoken nor the written word is itself sufficient to make the name a genuine endonym.

In summary, **a toponym can only truly be an endonym if it is endorsed by popular consent and fits comfortably into the voluntary everyday spoken and written vocabulary of at least one significant section of the locally settled social community**. The approach of some contributors to the definition of *endonym* places so much emphasis on the name being official that there seems scarcely any need for the term *endonym* at all; the term *official name* would almost suffice. Yet, as this paper seeks to demonstrate, the word 'official' should have no place at all as a *sine qua non* requirement of an endonym. It may therefore be opportune to consider a minor amendment in the current UNGEGN definition of endonym, for it is truly terrifying to realise that, under the present definition, the name *Litzmannstadt* – being 'official' – would qualify as a legitimate endonym for the early 1940s period.

To cater for the observations in this paper, we would need the UNGEGN definition of 'endonym' to encompass the requirement for societal acceptance, though this is a rather subjective criterion and would remain tacit rather than spelt out. We also need to understand the definition as covering a more comprehensive application of the term 'well-established language' than has been recognised. Even more significantly, the definition needs to express more overtly and definitively the separation between:

- the nature of a toponym (*endonym* or *exonym*), an element that is largely constant[9], and
- the status of that toponym (*official* or *unofficial*), an element that is changeable at a stroke by human action.

This separation can be achieved in one of two ways. One method would be to furnish the definition with two distinct sentences, as follows:

[9] The nature of a toponym will usually only change if either:

- (a) the population of a location is removed elsewhere, in which case its endonym for that location will become an exonym (this happened for example to the name Königsberg after the Second World War); or
- (b) an arriving population settles in a location for a passage of time – perhaps at least several generations – sufficient to allow its exonym for that location to become an endonym.

- **Endonym**: Name of a geographical feature used locally and voluntarily in a language that is well-established in the area where the feature is situated. The language may or may not be official.

Alternatively, we might accept that the status of an endonym is so irrelevant to the nature of that endonym that the question of status need not be addressed at all, in which case the following straightforward definition would be perfectly adequate:

- **Endonym**: Name of a geographical feature used locally and voluntarily in a language that is well-established in the area where the feature is situated.

Readers will also note the words 'used locally and voluntarily'. The insertion of 'locally' into the endonym definition is designed to cater for the scenario whereby one particular language contains both an endonym and an exonym for a single specific feature. This is a fairly common phenomenon in (for instance) countries of the former Soviet Union which border Russia and retain significant residual Russian populations. As an example, the city in Kazakhstan known as Aqtöbe (Ақтөбе) in the Kazakh language has two Russian forms: a post-independence name Aktobe (Актобе: accepted by the resident Russian population in the city) and a Soviet Russian name Aktyubinsk (Актюбинск: still used by Russians living in Russia). The locally used Russian name Aktobe is an endonym, whereas the Russian name used abroad, Aktyubinsk, is now an exonym. The other insertion into the definition, of the word 'voluntarily', is designed to cater for the *Litzmannstadt* scenario; *i.e.* to remove any danger of names forced on to a coerced population being considered as endonyms. The present UNGEGN definition of endonym does not cater for either of these scenarios.

Peter Jordan[1]

Towards a comprehensive view at the endonym/exonym divide

Introduction

It is my impression that we usually focus too much on language as the criterion for the endonym/exonym divide and that it would be necessary to have a more comprehensive view on this issue. We should look at it not only from the linguistic point of view, but also from the sociological, (cultural-) geographical, juridical and political angle.

This paper is based on similar papers presented already earlier, *e.g.* in Tainach (Jordan 2011a, Jordan 2011b), Barcelona (2011, not yet published) and most recently in Rennes and Tübingen (both 2012, not yet published). Those of you who know those papers will see that the concept presented in this current paper has been further elaborated, not the least due to many fruitful discussions following my earlier presentations.

I will at first demonstrate the central role of the (local) community in the naming process, continue by stating that the endonym is the name from within this (local) community, the name attributed by it; while the exonym is a name adopted from other communities in various ways. I shall then stress the fact that all of us belong to several communities, have multiple identities, and also multiple space-related identities, which have an additional effect on the endonym/exonym divide. I will conclude with examples demonstrating what this theoretical concept means in practice, with a focus on place names for transboundary features, the most critical case in this context.

The naming process and the central role of the (local) community in it

Three factors are involved in the naming process (see Figure 1). The first is the human community in the sense of a group of people who feel they possess a common identity. It can vary in size between family/partnership, nation, group of citizens, language community, up to the global community ('global citizens'). I do not use the term 'social group' any more (as in earlier

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papers, *e.g.* Jordan 2011a, b), since that defines in the narrower sociological sense a cohesion group, *i.e.* a group of people tied by personal relations and almost permanent interaction. The term *community*, in contrast, is used for identity groups, *i.e.* for people feeling a common identity. They need not have personal relations. They need not even know each other or know of each other's existence. So, while a nation certainly forms a community, it is not a social group in the narrower sense[2].

The second factor is the community's culture, including language. Culture is understood here in the most comprehensive sense as the totality of all human expressions[3].

The third factor is geographical space subdivided into geographical features – geographical space understood according to Wilhelm Leibniz as the totality of all relations between physical-material features (quoted according to Weichhart 2008, p. 79).

The only actor in this process is the (human) community. It inhabits a certain section of geographical space, has developed a certain culture and language, and mentally structures complex geographical space into features – on the basis of its culture and led by its specific (*e.g.* economic) interests – marking these features by place names.

Names for geographical features in the community's own territory are endonyms (names from within). Endonyms in this social sense are symbols for appropriation. Whoever owns a feature usually has the right to name it. Whoever has the power to attribute the names usually also has the power over this feature or at least responsibility for it. This function of proper names in general, and of place names in particular, is also expressed by Genesis 2:20, when it says:

> '*The man gave names to all the cattle, and to the birds of the sky, and to every beast of the field.*'

So names in general, but place names in particular, always and inevitably have a political dimension. Under normal circumstances a community would never claim the right to attribute the primary name to features offside its own territory. It does so only when it is aggressive and expansive, as was the

[2] It has also to be remarked here that the concept of the civic nation (widespread in the francophone and anglophone world) does not differentiate between citizens and members of a nation, while the concept of the cultural nation (widespread in Central and Eastern Europe) does.

[3] For concepts of culture see a.o. Lévi-Strauss (1949), Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1963), Lévi-Strauss (1966), Mitchell (2000).

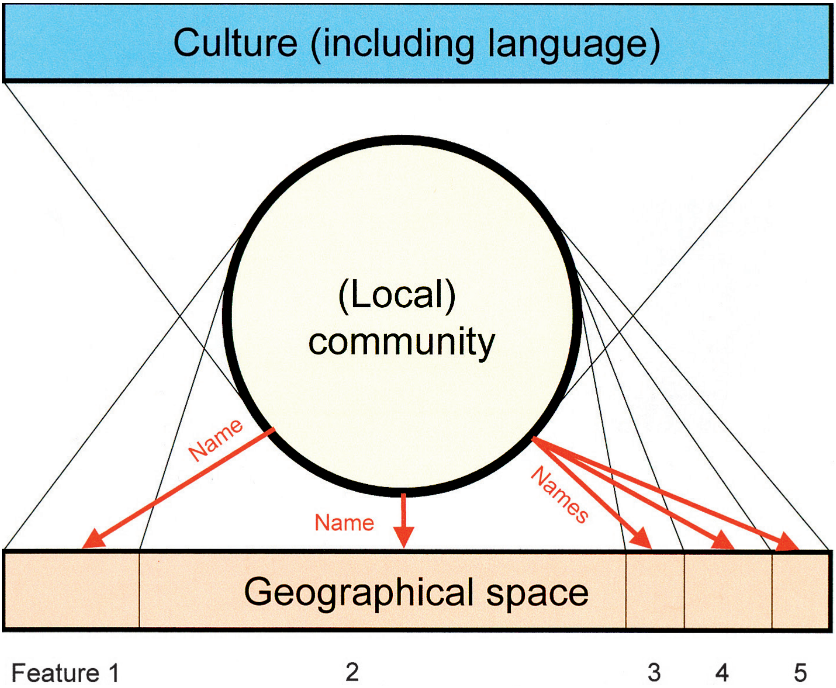

Figure 1: Factors in the naming process

case with National-Socialist Germany, when *e.g.* the Polish city of Łódź was named Litzmannstadt.

For geographical features outside its territory a community usually just adopts already existing names, translates them into its own language or adapts them morphologically or phonetically. In contrast to names for features on its own territory (endonyms), these are exonyms, needed by a community to mark features outside its own territory sufficiently important to it, in a way that is comfortable for that community (easily pronounced and communicated).

In contrast to endonyms, exonyms are <u>not</u> symbols of appropriation and do <u>not</u> express claims, but indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it. Exonyms just help to integrate a foreign feature into the cultural sphere of a community and help to avoid exclusion and alienation. It is also true that the use of exonyms is sometimes conceived as expressing claims, especially when exonyms correspond to historical endonyms. But this is a misunderstanding, which should be erased by a politically sensitive use of exonyms.

Naming is done either by convention between the members of the community or by an institution charged and legitimized by the community for this purpose. Of course, an individual can also attribute a name to a feature, but such a name will not get into use, assume communicative value and endure if it is not accepted by the community. So it is at the end always the community that acts in this process.

No community, however, is completely homogenous. It is always composed of a dominant portion and non-dominant subgroups. This is even true for the smallest human community, the personal partnership. Also here we usually find a dominant and a non-dominant part. The dominant portion of a community is of course in a position to decree the use of a name and oblige other community members to use a name, whether they agree or not. This certainly applies to many renamings in the Communist era and perhaps also in the years after the fall of Communism.

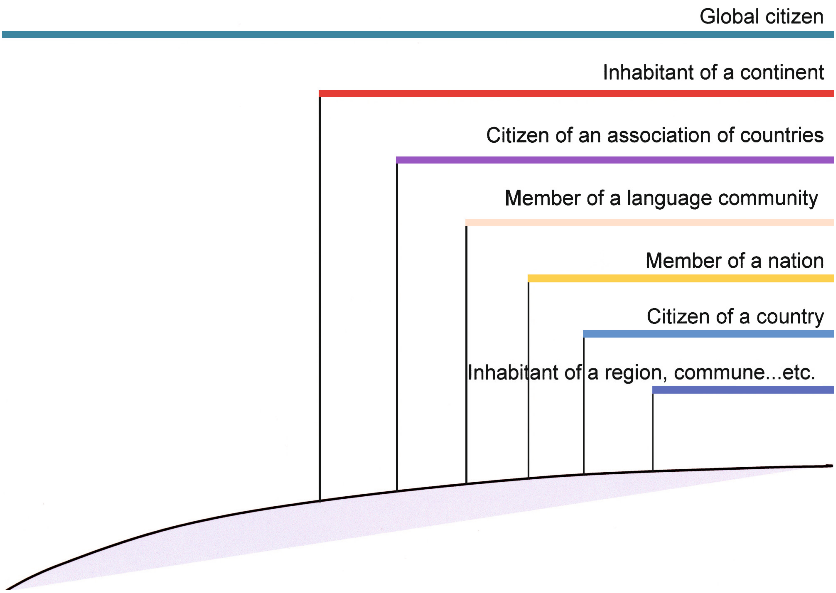

Figure 2: Our multiple space-related identities

It is also a fact that we usually do not belong only to one community, but rather to a multitude of them – we have in fact multiple group identities (see Figure 2). These various communities have usually also different relations to space, and feel responsible for different sections of spatial reality.

We are global citizens, when we engage ourselves in questions like climate change, global disparities in development, *etc*. Global institutions and organisations (e.g. the United Nations) support this community. We are inhabitants of our continent insofar as we feel responsible and engage ourselves for this continent. We are citizens of an association of countries like the European Union, members of a language community (*e.g.* French), members of a nation, citizens of a country. We can feel a very strong emotional attachment to our country as such (when we hear the national anthemn or watch a game played by our national team), while we may never have been in some parts of our country and may not appreciate the attitudes of all of our fellow citizens. We are further on also inhabitants of a region, a city, a commune or a village.

Almost all these communities are in a way organised and feel a responsibility for a section of space. All of these mentioned have certainly a specific relation to space. But there may also be communities with the same relation to space and differing just by cultural characteristics (ethnicity, language, religion, *etc.*) as occurs in minority situations, when a given territory is settled not only by one, but by several communities.

All these communities are also active in naming. But they can attribute endonyms (names from within) only to geographical features at their very own level (scale), since the competence for attributing a name (for applying the endonym) is regulated by the principle of subsidiarity. It is always the smaller community, the community closer to the feature and actually responsible for it, who has the primary right to attribute a name.

Thus the name for the Earth is certainly an endonym in all languages spoken on Earth. Names for individual features on Earth are, however, not any more endonyms in all languages – even if we all feel to be global citizens – since there is always a smaller community in place, nearer to the feature and with a stronger emotional attachment to it and responsibility for it than we have. We, as the outsiders, must not deprive this community of its primary right to name the feature.

Thus the name for a certain country is certainly an endonym in the language of all communities forming the permanent population of that country, while not all the names in the language of non-dominant communities for the capital of this country will be endonyms, because not all of them will be well-established in this capital.

This principle of subsidiarity is also valid within a certain language, hence not only when communities with different languages are involved. At least from my Austrian experience I know that a local population calls a village sometimes differently from outsiders –even those speaking the same language. And in Romanian Transylvania also, the local Germans (Saxons) call the river Mureş *Mieresch*, while the German exonym is *Marosch*, derived from the Hungarian name *Maros*.

It is the name of the local population then, which is the endonym – while a name (also in the same language) from outside is an exonym[4].

It is without any doubt (and in many countries explicitely supported by law) that we can name our house as we wish (in practice relevant, e.g., with isolated farmsteads in dispersed settlement), that we have the right to attribute the endonym. If our neighbour calls our house differently, his name is an exonym.

Based on this concept I would define the endonym as the name applied by the local community for a geographical feature conceived to be part of the area where this community lives, if there is not a smaller community in place that uses a different name.

The exonym is then the name applied by a community for a geographical feature outside the area where this community lives, and differing in its written form from the respective endonym.

Endonyms are (in the word's proper meaning) names from within, *i.e.* names attributed by a community on features on its own territory. Exonyms are names <u>used</u> by a community, but <u>received</u> from other communities for features on <u>their</u> territory.

Still in other words: For the endonym/exonym divide it is essential, whether or inhowfar a community refers to a feature as part of its 'place' in the meaning of Yi-Fu Tuan (Tuan 1977) and not, whether names are different by language or official status.

This divide is particularly delicate with transboundary features, in the sense of geographical features extending across community boundaries or to areas beyond any sovereignty. Transboundary features are therefore a good test for the validity of this concept and it is perhaps useful to clarify it.

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[4] It is true, however, that such a divergence occurs much more frequently with pronunciation. So it results rather in an endophone/exophone divide than in an endonym/exonym divide.

The endonym/exonym divide with transboundary features: some case studies

The question with transboundary features is, in our context, this: how far has a place name the status of an endonym? From where does that same name switch to exonym status?

If transboundary features on land are concerned, a name is (of course) valid for the whole feature, but has endonym status only up to the boundary and assumes exonym status on the other side (see Figure 3).

The problem is more complex with seas. It is rather difficult to say where exactly a community's attitude of feeling responsible and emotionally attached ends. From my long-lasting experience with the Adriatic Sea I know that coastal dwellers have a profound emotional relationship to their coastal waters, not in the juridical sense, but in the sense of waters between the islands and in the visible distance from the coast, where fisherboats and tourist vessels are cruising. These coastal waters are as much part of their living space as land is. They are resources of food, and areas for transportation and tourism.

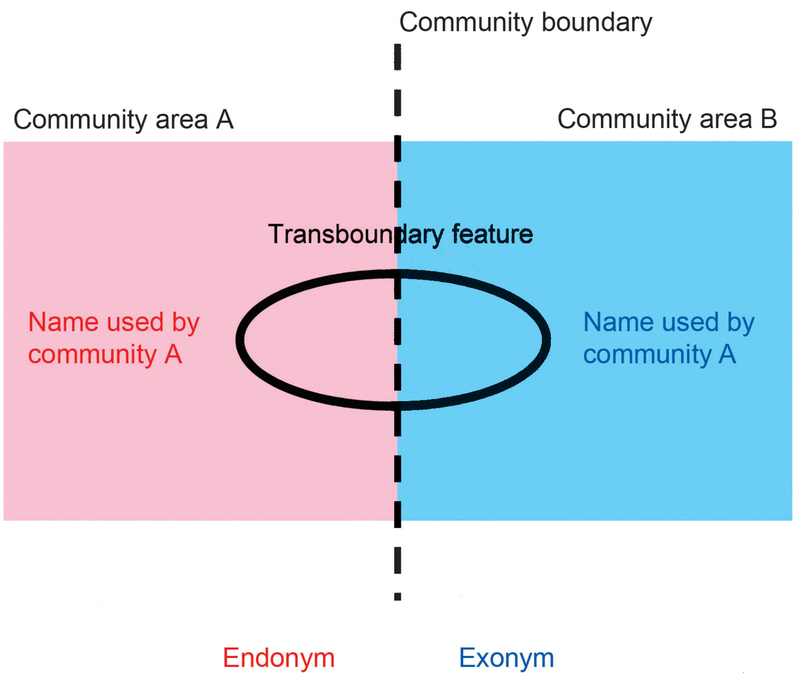

Figure 3: Transboundary feature on land

For example in Opatija, on the Croatian coast, they have a tradition that at the Corpus Christi holiday the priest blesses from a fishing boat, surrounded by a whole procession of vessels, the sea 'and all that lives in it.' It is certainly justified to say that the coastal dwelling community regards its coastal waters as its own.

But it is certainly different with the high sea – the sea beyond the horizon from the coast. Here, I would say, it is necessary to differentiate between the cognitive and the emotional level. Emotionally the high sea is conceived as endless, even for a narrow sea like the Adriatic where you can look from coast to coast from a mountain top when skies are clear. This is for instance expressed by folk and pop songs, which frequently use *sea* as a metaphor for the unlimited, the indefinite, the inconceivable. Endlessness is also expressed, for example by special words for the high sea: *e.g.* in Croatian *pučina* (instead of *more*), which means something like *wilderness where the winds blows*.

I conclude from this attitude that, emotionally, coastal dwellers recognize no opposite coast, no counterpart beyond the horizon; that they would consequently also not draw a strict line between 'one's own' and 'the other's' somewhere out in the sea; they would also not feel the necessity to confine the endonym status of their own name to some part of the sea; and they would possibly extend it to the sea in its entirety (because they feel that this status is not contested by anybody else).

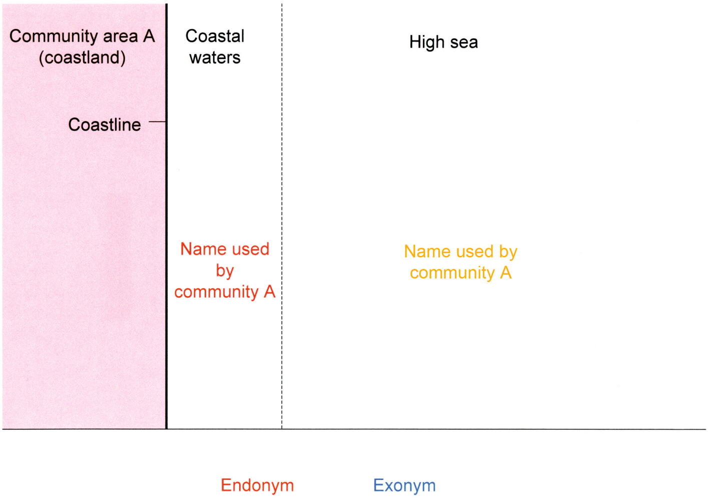

Figure 4: A coastal dweller's relation to the sea – emotional level

But I would also guess that the intensity of this feeling fades away more or less as a function of distance (see Figure. 4). The feeling of being the owner of the sea is relative insofar as it is combined with the other feeling that the sea is endless and inconceivable. (It is in the nature of the endless and the inconceivable that it can never be completely owned; that full command of it is impossible to achieve).

At the cognitive level they are anyway aware of the fact that the sea ends somewhere, that there is an opposite coast, inhabited by other people, who speak a different language and have another name for the same feature. They have learned this in schools, from maps and charts, and from the media.

Based on this knowledge, and unless they had a politically aggressive and expansive attitude, they would however usually be ready to acknowledge and accept that their own name loses its endonym status somewhere in between this opposite coast and their own coast, would have no problem with accepting regulations ruling that there is some 'artificial' line between where their name has endonym status and where the name of the others is valid as endonym (Figure 5). They will usually – as in many other fields of social interaction – accept that their right ends where the right of others begins, if this avoids dispute and conflict.

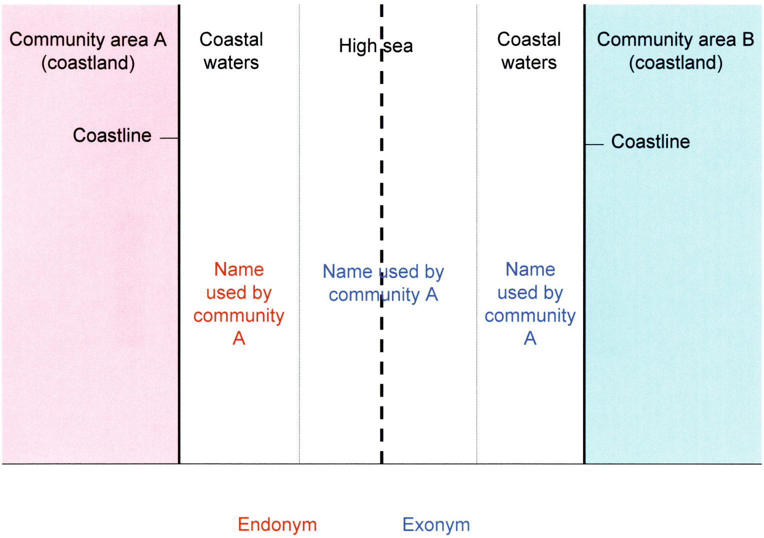

Figure 5: A coastal dweller's relation to the sea – cognitive level

But there are also difficult cases on land, *e.g.* within a country with a dominant community and inhabited by a spatially concentrated non-dominant community. There may for example be an unpopulated mountain (range) located adjacent to the area where the non-dominant community lives (see Figure 6). This mountain range is not inhabited by the minority. It is also not administratively incorporated into their territory, *i.e.* not officially attributed to them. But they see it day by day; it is perhaps an area of recreation for them; it is perhaps also an economic resource for them; and they have developed emotional ties to it, *i.e.* it is part of their place (in the sense of TUAN).

All the same is true for the majority community at the other side of the mountain. It should be added that a mountain and mountain range mostly look different from both sides; dwellers on one side would sometimes not even recognize it from the other side.

This all makes it reasonable to say that the mountain is a divided property between the two communities. The minority can regard it as a part of its own territory only on their own side. The minority's name for it enjoys endonym status only on their own side (but is valid for the whole feature, of course) and becomes an exonym on the other.

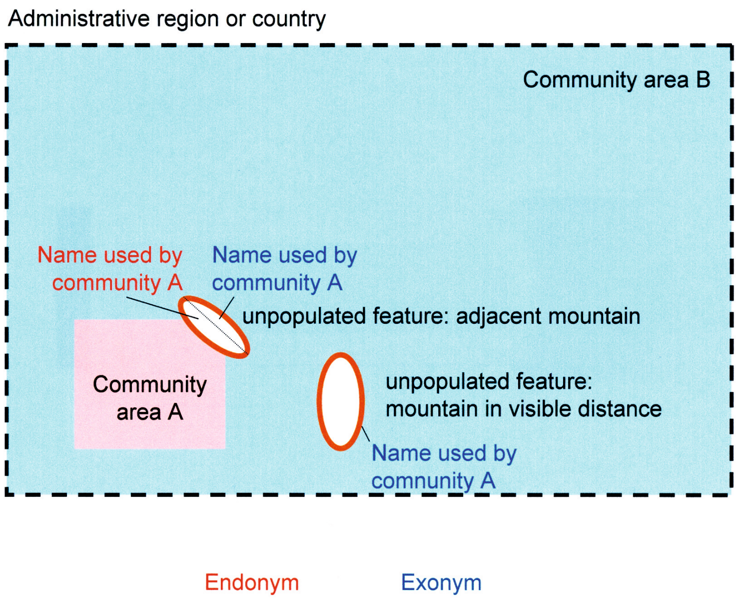

Figure 6: Unpopulated mountain range near to but outside a minority region

An unpopulated mountain (range) outside the minority region, but still in visible distance, is a different case (see Figure 6). The minority community can perhaps see it day by day and has also emotional ties to it, but it does not exploit it economically and – this being the salient point – however strong the relations of the minority community to this feature may be, the other community is closer to the feature and has (very likely) also the stronger relations to it. This makes it reasonable to say that the name of the minority community for this feature is only the exonym there.

But what is the situation if the feature on the boundary between the two communities is a lake (see Figure 7)? A lake has all the characteristics relevant for the local community as mentioned earlier with the mountain, except that its surface is flat and that it is mostly possible to see the opposite shore.

So the lake is much less divisible in ownership and emotional terms than a mountain. Would it not be appropriate to say that it is owned by both groups likewise and the names of both groups for the lake have endonym status at every spot of the lake – even at the opposite bank?

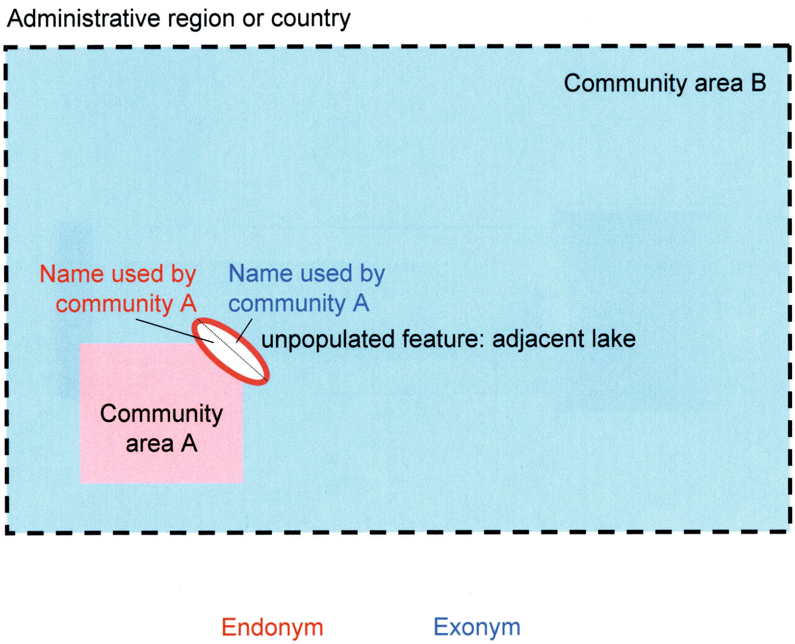

Figure 7: Lake located near to a minority region

I would rather say 'no', since at the opposite shore the other group is nearer to the spot in question. In a competitive situation between two claims, it has the stronger title on attributing the endonym, the primary name. This is just in accordance with many other juridical issues. So an imaginary line has to be drawn on the lake dividing it into the endonym areas of the two groups.

The last (of many other cases) I would like to mention is a capital city located far from a minority region, but administratively responsible for it (see Figure 8). This establishes a functional relation between the minority and this city, perhaps also an emotional tie: 'This is our capital; the events there affect us too; the landmarks of this city have a symbolic meaning for us too', the minority group might say. Nevertheless, if the minority is not part of the autochthonous population there, the same argument as before applies also in this case. There is another community in place (or closer to this place) and only the name applied by this other community has endonym status.

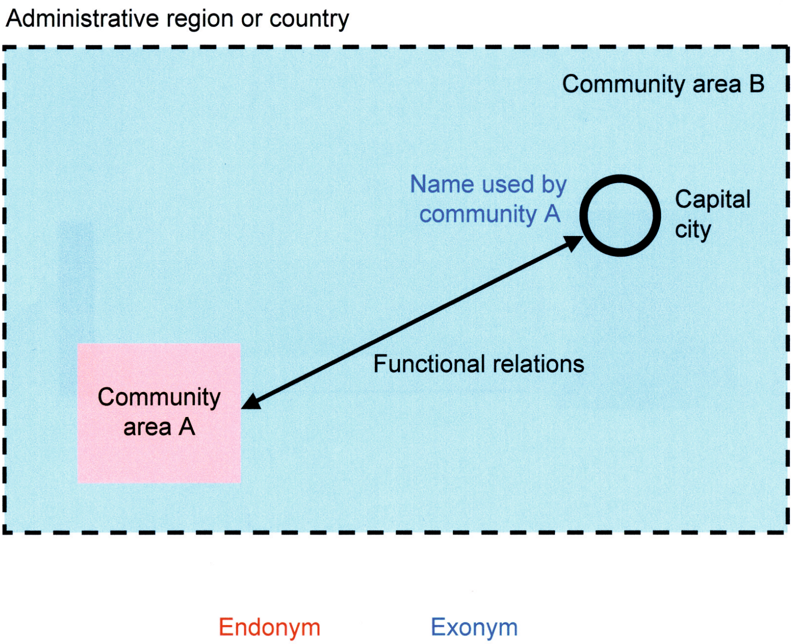

Figure 8: Capital city located far away from a minority region

Conclusions

If one looks at the naming process and the endonym/exonym divide in a comprehensive way, *i.e.* from the perspectives of various sciences, the (local) community is the essential player (and the only actor) in the naming process, using place names as mediators between man and territory to highlight characteristics of a place, to mark its territory and distinguish between 'our own' and 'theirs', to structure space mentally, to support emotional ties between human beings and space (*i.e.* to turn 'space' into 'place'); in other words, to exert territoriality – an essential aspect of human life.

Place names for this reason always and inevitably possess sociological, political and juridical implications. The community closer to the feature, owning it or feeling responsible for it, has the right on the primary name, the endonym.

The endonym/exonym divide reflects the difference between 'our own' and 'theirs'. Endonyms in the sense of names given by the community in place mark features which are owned by the community or for which this group feels responsible. Exonyms in the sense of names adopted from other communities reflect the network of a community's external relations.

Difference in language is in most cases an important aspect of the endonym/exonym divide, but not an essential criterion. The endonym/exonym divide exists also within a given language. In consequence, *community* has to replace *language* as a definition criterion for the endonym and the exonym.

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Philip W. Matthews[1]

Endonyms, exonyms and seas

Section 1: Introduction

'The discussion about the term exonym has lasted for decades' (Stani-Fertl 2007). However, the discussions have became more intense over the last few years and there have been wide-ranging discussions in the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms about both the definitions of the terms endonyms and exonyms and about the limits or inappropriateness of the application of these terms to some features. For example, Choo refers to 'the intense e-mail discussion, in the autumn of 2008' (2011:50) and Woodman states 'since the autumn of 2008 there has been a vigorous debate… over the question of endonyms, exonyms and language boundaries' (2011a:1).

In part, this debate has arisen from the question raised by Kadmon: 'Can different parts of a single maritime feature carry names of different terminological status?' (2007a:1). He argues that the term endonym is appropriate for a country's territorial waters but that the terms endonym and exonym are inappropriate for the high seas as 'no language can be said to ‚occur" there and that therefore there is a 'missing term' (2007a:2). Thus a new term is needed to refer to a feature that is neither an endonym nor an exonym. In addition, and mixed in with the discussions about the missing term, are those about whether additional components, *i.e.* a social group, a community, emotions and perceptions, should be included in the two definitions or, should a new term be needed, in the three definitions.

This paper addresses both the issues concerned with the definitions and those about the adequacy of the terms when applied to a specific type of maritime feature, a sea. The paper is divided into the following sections:

1. Introduction
2. Endonyms and exonyms
3. The seas
4. A 'missing term'
5. A social group
6. A community

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7. Perceptions and emotions
8. Boundaries
9. The parsimony principle
10. Conclusion.

The discussion is limited to a specific type of sea as it seems that the solutions for the names of (a) linear features that cross linguistic boundaries (such as mountain ranges and rivers); (b) features under the surface of the sea (see Zych 2011) and (c) large deserts may be different.

Section 2: Endonyms and exonyms

'Endonym' and 'exonym' are two technical terms that are applied in particular ways in toponymy. Their definitions have varied over time. For example, earlier UNGEGN definitions were:

1. an endonym is the 'name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area where the feature is situated' (Kadmon 2000:305); and
2. an exonym is a 'name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the feature is situated' (Kadmon 2000:305).

The current definitions decided at the Ninth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (Kadmon 2007a) are:

1. an endonym: 'the name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated' (Kadmon 2007a); and
2. an exonym is a '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'.

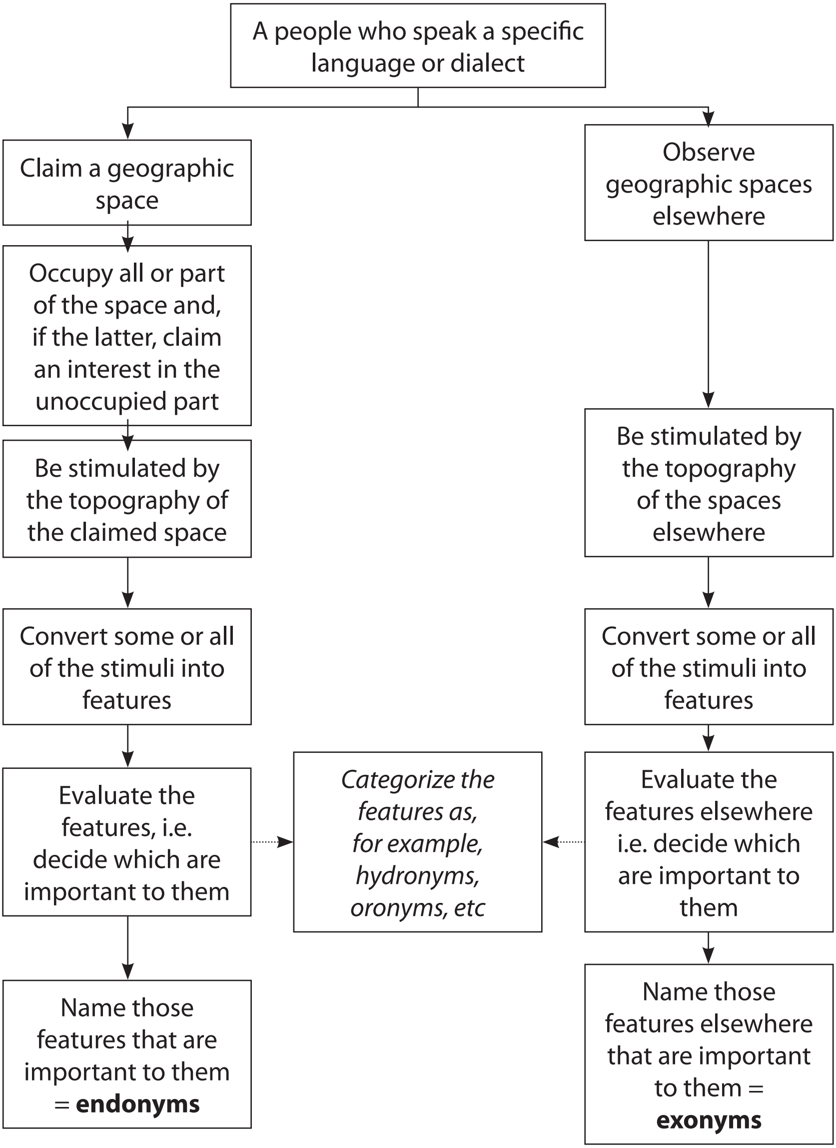
In the current language-focused definitions six components can be identified, five of which are found in both endonyms and exonyms, while the sixth relates only to exonyms (see Table 1). It should be noted that there is an implicit seventh component, that of time (Stani-Fertl 2007:109), thus distinguishing between contemporary and historical endonyms and exonyms.

	COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITIONS	ENDONYM	EXONYM
1.	a language	Yes	Yes
2.	the status of the language	An official or well-established language	A specific language
3.	a geographical feature	Yes	Yes
4.	the name that is given to the geographical feature	Yes	Yes
5.	the feature is inside or outside the area in which the language is spoken	Inside	Outside
6.	the name differs in form from the respective endonym in the 'external' area where the feature is situated	n/a	YES

Table 1: Endonym and exonym components (current UNGEGN definition)

What are the processes whereby a name becomes an endonym or an exonym? There does not seem to be much written as to how it actually happened, though the process does not seem to be complicated but rather straightforward (see Diagram 1).

The starting point is a people who speak a language, *e.g.* Turkish, Māori and Xhosa, or a dialect of such a language, *e.g.* the Denizli dialect of Turkish, the Ngāi Tahu dialect of Māori, or the Thembu dialect of Xhosa. At some point in time the people claim a geographic space and, as at the least a language group, they occupy that space. They may occupy all of it or they may occupy only part of what they claim. They are mentally stimulated by the topography of the claimed space, *i.e.* the topography sets in train the whole psychological process whereby all or some of the stimuli from the topography become neural signals that are mentally converted into features with their concomitant concepts. What happens next is of critical importance; these features are evaluated. Those that are in some way seen as important to the occupying linguistic entity are named, *e.g.* they name the plain that they occupy, the mountains that they claim as theirs but do not actually occupy, the plots they farm, the settlements they build and the water body of which they occupy only a small part, *e.g.* through fishing. Those that are seen as of no or little importance, *e.g.* a slope on a hill or a minute tributary to a stream, are left unnamed. The features in the space that they occupy and that are named in their language or dialect are endonyms.



Key:
regular = endonym-exonym processes
italic = categorization process

Diagram 1: Endonym-exonym and categorization process model

The process for exonyms is essentially similar to that for endonyms. The language group observes that there are geographic spaces elsewhere than those they have claimed and/or occupied, spaces occupied by peoples who speak languages or dialects different to their own. They are mentally stimulated by the topography within the others' spaces and, as with endonyms, convert some or all of the stimuli into features. These features, too, are evaluated. Those that are in some way seen as important to the endonymic people are named in their own language, while those that are seen as of no or little importance are usually left unnamed. These named features in the other language group's geographic spaces are exonyms.

The 'great advantage of the… revised definitions of endonym and exonym [is b]ecause we [the Exonym Working Group] have removed any absolute dependence on sovereignty and official status from our definitions, we are able to consider the question of the oceans and seas from an apolitical and purely scientific viewpoint' (Woodman 2008a).

A separate process is that of categorizing the features. Woodman identified this process as being quite independent of the processes in the formation and determination of endonyms and exonyms (Woodman 2008b:1). Categorization occurs during or after the process of naming, *i.e.* the name is being or has been given and the feature is then categorized, *e.g.* as a hydronym (or indeed as a micro-, meso- or macro-hydronym) (see Diagram 1).

In many cases there are competing contemporary or historical claims to the features in the spaces, for example as a consequence of the migration of an entire people or a war. That is, the same feature may have more than one endonym but in different languages or dialects, and the names of the features in the different languages usually differ.

The definitions of endonym and exonym have changed and could change again. As Jordan opines: 'the exonym question could not be resolved by insisting or relying on former resolutions and that exonyms are a phenomenon that has to be tackled in greater detail and with greater subtlety' (2011:3). The matter of whether there is a 'missing term' is taken up in Section 3, while four further criteria that have been suggested to date for inclusion in their definitions, namely (a) a social group, (b) a community, (c) people's emotions and perceptions, and (d) boundaries are discussed in Sections 4, 5 and 6 below.

Section 3: The seas

The English word 'sea' is given to several types of features. For example the Dead Sea is surrounded by land and has tributaries but no surface outlet; the

Black Sea is surrounded by land but has an outlet through the Bosphorus, Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles to the Aegean Sea; and the Aegean Sea itself has land on several sides while in the south it abuts the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

Seas have a variety of features, *e.g.* open water, the high seas, coastal waters, bights, bays, basins, coves, harbours, estuaries, and so on. One characteristic of seas is that they have land on one or more of their sides and that the people on the land edging them speak one or more languages. So the situation for a sea that abuts another sea can be diagrammed (see Diagram 2).

An important attribute of a sea is that it has a shore. Of specific concern is the shoreline, *i.e.* notwithstanding the fact that 'the terminology of coasts and shores is rather confused, shoreline and coastline are generally used as synonymous', it is the line where shore and water meet (International Hydrographic Organization, 1994). A simplified diagram of the shore is shown in Diagram 3.

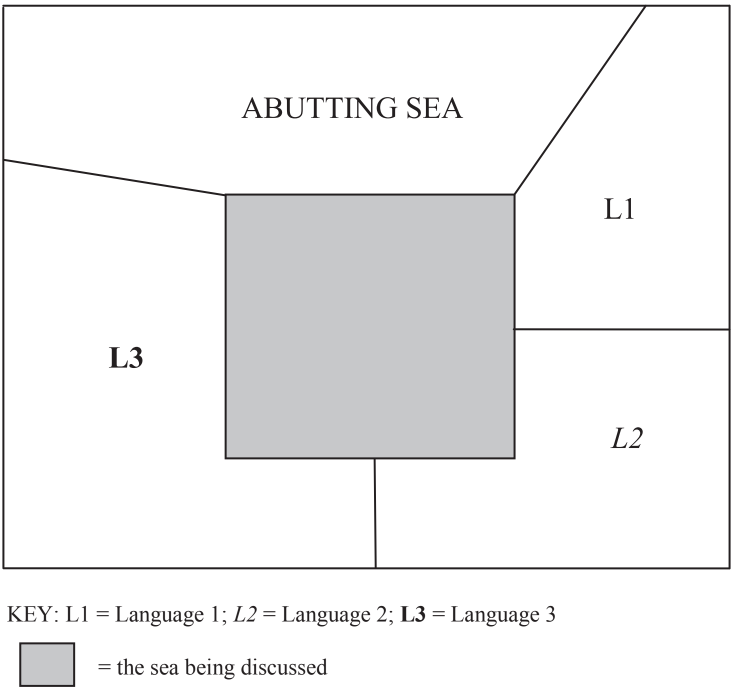


Diagram 2: A sea, abutting a second sea, with three peripheral languages: L1, L2 and L3.

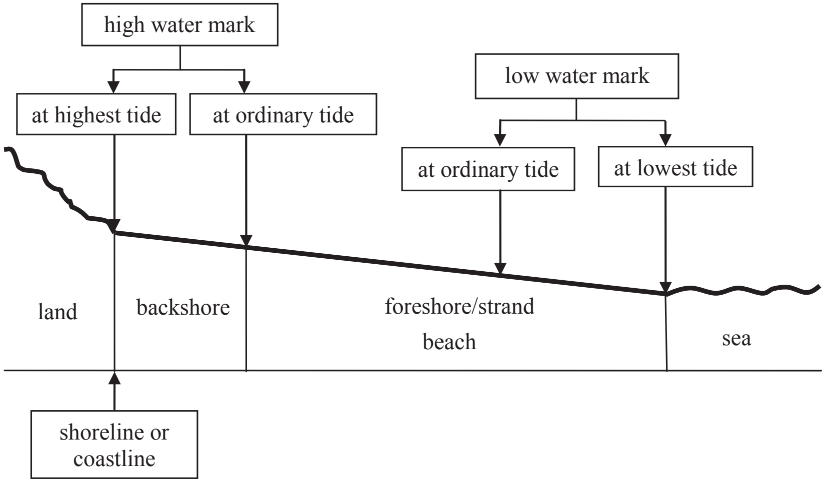


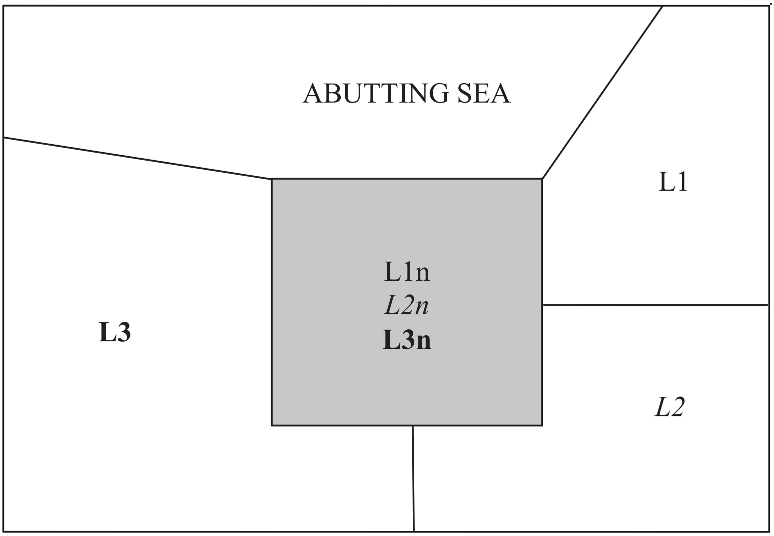
Diagram 3: Simplified structure of the shore

Each coastline varies. Thus, for example, in those cases where the sea water is always breaking on cliffs, there is neither a backshore nor a foreshore to the coastline and it is only the changing levels of the water against the cliffs that can be noticed. But in others instances there are several kilometres between higher water mark at the highest tide and the low water mark at the lowest tide.

The notion of a coastline is important in the discussions about a 'missing term' (see Section 4) and boundaries (see Section 8).

Section 4: A 'missing term'

With the current definitions the name of the sea feature in its entirety has the terminological status of an endonym in each of the languages spoken around the periphery. This is the approach favoured by Woodman and is termed Position B by Jordan (2009b) and the 'holistic view' (Choo 2011a:passim). Thus North Sea (English), German Sea (English but historic), Mer du Nord (French), Noordzee (Dutch), Vesterhavet and Nordsøen (Danish) and Nordsjøen (Norwegian) are all endonyms for the one feature. For a sea with three languages on its periphery this situation is shown in Diagram 4.



KEY: L1 = Language 1; *L2* = Language 2; **L3** = Language 3
n = endonym
= (a) language boundaries on land and (b) the shorelines
= the sea being discussed

Diagram 4: Endonyms in each of L1, L2 and L3 for the sea on their peripheries.

This schema has been questioned by Kadmon in his paper 'Endonym or exonym – is there a missing term in maritime names?' (2007), where he asks 'can different parts of a single maritime feature carry names of different terminological status?' He suggests that 'in maritime regions which are not covered by any national jurisdiction such as international waters, open seas or extended economic zones' a new term is needed to cover the sea areas outside the sea boundaries of states. He uses the sea area between Korea and Japan and that between Iran and the various states on its western shore and argues that according to the Law of the Sea (1982, 1994):

1. a country/state can give names to its territorial waters – these are endonyms; and
2. a country/state can give its names to sea areas that are under the jurisdiction of other states - these are exonyms (*i.e.* it can give its own name to the territorial waters of another state).

He then states that as no language is spoken in the high seas between Korea and Japan (or in other high seas), the high seas feature can be neither an endonym nor an exonym. Consequently a new terminological status '-nym' is needed to cover the sea features that lie between endonyms and exonyms and that this term would be added to the 'Glossary for the standardization of geographical names' (Kadmon 2007:4).

Kadmon's argument is that for the sea between Japan and Korea both the Korean and Japanese languages will have an endonym for their own territorial waters and both the languages will have an exonym for the others' territorial waters. This is shown in Choo's diagram (2011a:54) (corrected in Choo 2011b) and in Diagram 5. Kadmon is seeking a new term for the 'undefined' central area in this diagram.

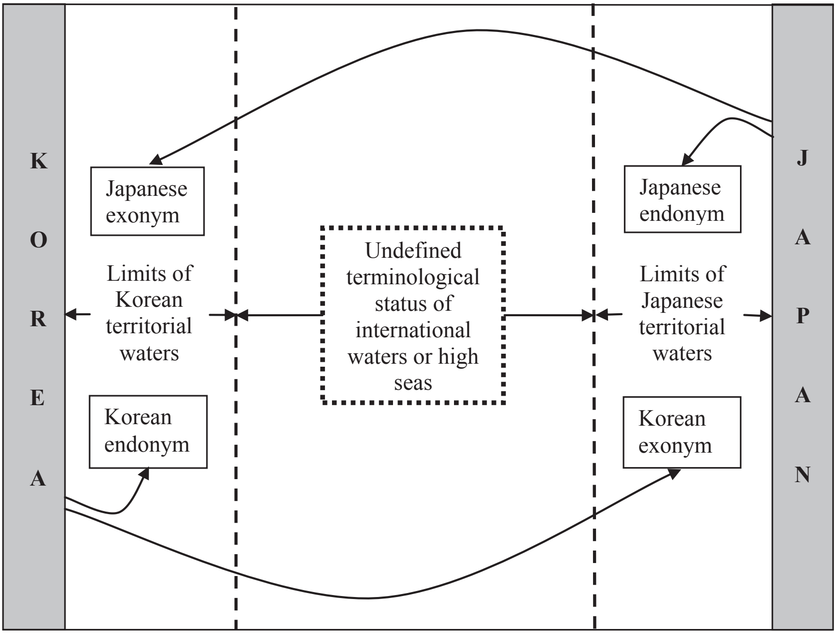
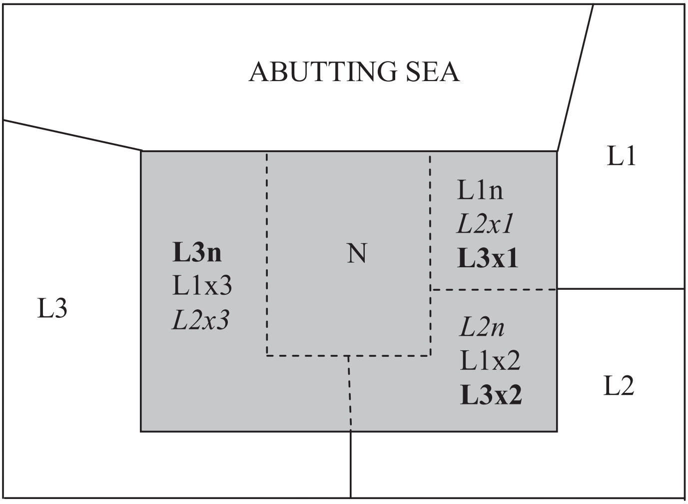


Diagram 5: Endonyms and exonyms for the sea between Korea and Japan with a central 'nymless' area (as interpreted from Kadmon 2007:passim)

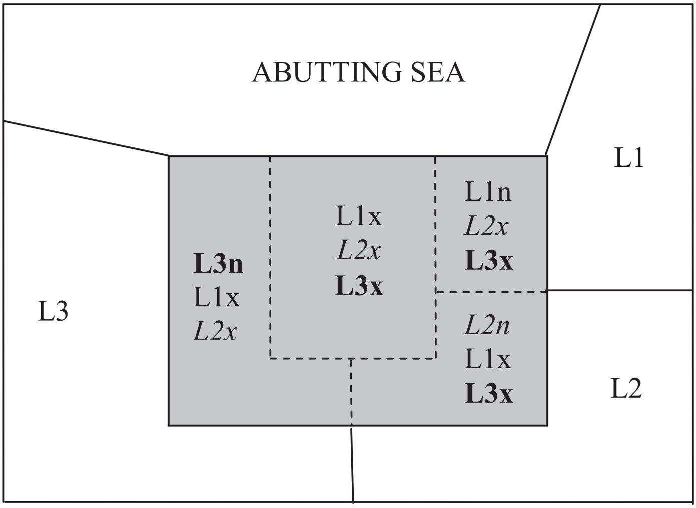
However, the sea area between Korea and Japan has three peripheral languages, Korean, Japanese and Russian; such a situation is shown in Diagram 6.



KEY: L1 = Language 1; *L2* = Language 2; **L3** Language 3.
n = endonyms (for each of L1's, L2's and L3's territorial waters).
x1, x2 and x3 = exonyms (for each of the other linguistic groups' territorial waters).
N = a possible new term for the centre of the sea.
——— = (a) language boundaries on land and (b) the shorelines.
- - - - = suggested endonym/exonym boundary at sea
▭ = the sea being discussed

Diagram 6: Endonym and exonyms for a sea with three peripheral languages and a possible new term for the centre

Diagram 6 shows that L1 has an endonym for its own territorial waters (L1n) and exonyms L1x2 and L1x3 for L2's and L3's territorial waters respectively, L2 has an endonym for its own territorial waters (L2n) and exonyms L2x1 for L2x3 for L1's and L3's territorial waters respectively, while L3 has an endonym for its own territorial waters (L3n) and exonyms L3x1 and L3x2 for L1's and L2's territorial waters respectively. When the sea between England and Scotland, Denmark and other countries is considered the situation would be as follows: the English language has an endonym, North Sea, for its territorial waters and has North Sea as an exonym for the endonymic territorial waters of France (French), Belgium (French and Flemish), the Netherlands (Dutch and Friesian), Germany, Denmark and Norway. Similarly the French language would have an endonym, Mer du Nord, for its territorial waters and Mer du Nord as an exonym for the relevant endonymic territorial waters of



KEY: n = endonym for each of L1, L2 and L3.
x = exonyms for each of L1, L2 and L3.
L1 terminology is in plain script, L2 in italic script and L3 in bold script
—— = (a) language boundaries on land and (b) the shorelines.
- - - - - = suggested endonym/exonym boundary at sea
= the sea being discussed

Diagram 7: Jordan's Position A for three peripheral languages L1, L2 and L3

England and Scotland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and Norway; and so on for each of the languages. In all cases the central part of the sea would be neither an endonym nor and exonym.

A different approach has been taken by Jordan (2009a and 2009b). He argues that, while the name covers the entire feature, to regard the whole of a feature as an endonym is inappropriate as 'if we accept that a place name can be called an endonym also outside the area where its language is spoken, where this language is official or well-established, where the social group to whose language it corresponds permanently resides, then we soften the divide between endonym and exonym and make this divide ultimately meaningless' (2011c:10). 'A name is an endonym only in those portions of a transboundary feature, where the name corresponds to the local language. Outside these portions the name assumes the status of an exonym' (Jordan

2009b). Concerning seas, he argues that it is only with the coastal waters that the members of a linguistic group are concerned (Jordan 2008a). So, on the near shore of a sea it is the social group that lives there 'which has the first right on the name, whose name is the primary name, the endonym' (Jordan 2009b). He concludes: 'In my interpretation it confirms the validity of the term „endonym" in fact only for coastal waters and leaves the question open, how we call names for international waters' of a specific social group (Jordan 2008a, Jordan 2009b). In this approach, labelled by Jordan as Position A (2009b), and by Choo 'the partial view' (2011a:passim), both the coastal waters of other linguistic groups and the 'high seas' are exonyms for any one language group. The situation is shown in Diagram 7.

Note that Jordan uses the 'social group' as the one conferring the names. This is taken up in Section 5.

Choo, too, takes a partial view (2011a:49-60) and seems to be supporting the approach advocated by Jordan. He argues 'that a geographical feature could be separated [into different parts] and each separated portion could have different name forms and status', *i.e.* one part of the feature can be an endonym and another part, that next to the coastline of another language group, could be an exonym. Choo states, in relation to the Korea-Japan situation, that 'the language boundaries are the same as the territorial boundaries and these two types of boundaries are not separable' (Choo 2011a:58). He suggests that the separation into endonym and exonym should take into account 'the limits to which the local people perceive ‚their' sea, together with those under the conventions of international maritime law. These limits could be farther than those of territorial waters' (Choo 2011a:59). As Choo does not support the notion of a 'missing third term' his views can be diagrammed in the same way as Jordan's (see Diagram 7), with the proviso that Choo's boundaries might be further out to sea than Jordan's.

Kadmon, Jordan and Choo need 'boundaries' to indicate the change from endonym to exonym in a sea feature. The question of what could serve as the boundaries is taken up in Section 8.

Section 5: A social group

At issue has been what is the group from which the endonyms emerge. To date this has been a language group, with for its endonyms 'an official or well-established language' and the same 'specific language' for the exonym. Woodman introduced the notion of the propinquity of a feature to a people. He wrote that 'if a feature is close enough to you to influence your life in a meaningful and daily manner, then the chances are that the toponymic label your language has chosen for that feature is an endonym' (Woodman 2008a). He elaborates by stating that the perception of all societies is that the North Sea is identified and justified as a discrete, unique feature in its own right, that is deemed worthy of a geographical name, that has a name that covers the entire feature, and that propinquity will indicate whether it is an endonym or not (Woodman 2008c).

Jordan takes up Woodman's notion of propinquity and develops the notion of a social group, which has propinquity to a feature, when he writes that 'social groups classify geographical space into geographical features…[and] classification by different social groups may result in different classifications of the same space due to divergent cultural backgrounds and divergent views on reality of the social groups involves' (Jordan 2009b). Each social group:

- 'elaborates a certain culture including language and place names;
- classifies and subdivides geographical space, *i.e.* complex spatial reality, into geographical features; [and]
- attributes place names to them' (2011c and 2011g:12).

Jordan states that social groups are 'fundamental factors and even the exclusive agents in the naming process' (Jordan 2011c). 'Without social groups place names simply would not exist. This is an apparently trivial finding' which to date has not been discussed (Jordan 2011b:12). He supports his belief that this is an important point by stating that each social group develops two types of place names. An 'endonym is... a name applied by a social group permanently residing in a certain section of the geographical space for geographical features within this section as opposed to an exonym, which is a name used by another social group not residing in this section of the geographical space and not corresponding to the endonym' (Jordan 2012g:9). The endonyms are about the 'self' (2012g:13), and are 'primary' names as they indicate those features that the social group has appropriated (2012g:14) or owns (2012g:16). They mark the social group's territory and indicate what is 'ours'. The second type of place name is the exonym. When used by the social group that has its own endonyms, exonyms indicate the 'other' (2011g:14), are 'secondary' names (2012g:15), do not suggest claims for possession or ownership (2012g:15), and are appropriated names that recognize 'theirs' (2012g:16). He concludes his argument by stating that endonym/exonym 'divide has to take into account also sociological, political and juridical aspects that can be problematic' (2012g:19), and looks forward to a time when there is a globally homogenous society and a well-developed feeling we are all global citizens (and nothing else)' (2011g:19). When this happens, the endonym/exonym categorization will no longer exist (2011g:19).

While he raises some interesting points, for the most part Jordan overstates his case. The notion of 'social group' has underpinned the extensive discussions by the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms on the various issues, the difference between endonyms and exonyms is widely acknowledged by them, and the 'social' (with the cultural trait, 'language', as a proxy for the 'social group'), political (contemporary versus historical claims, together with issues of sovereignty) and juridical (official or well-established) aspects of the use of both names and the two terms have never been far from discussions of the issues. Consequently, everyone working with place names recognizes that 'without social groups place names simply would not exist' and most, perhaps all, would disagree with his 'apparently trivial finding' that the social group has been overlooked by writers. Further, he frequently refers to the 'self' and the 'other' *i.e.* terms about an individual, where it be more accurate to refer to 'ours' and 'theirs' and 'others' *i.e.* terms about groups. And it is problematic how to move from individual viewpoints to collective viewpoints.

As has been shown, Jordan suggests a change in the definitions of endonym an exonym (2011g:9). The components of his proposal are shown in Table 2.

Jordan's components		Endonym	Exonym
1.	A social group	A first group	a second group
2.	A geospace	Occupy a specific space	Occupy a different space
3.	Length of residence in the space	Permanent	Not stated
4.	Features in the geospace	Yes	Yes
5.	Name the feature	Yes	Yes
6.	Form of the name	Own form	A different form

Table 2: Endonym and exonym in Jordan's new definition

However, while focusing on a social group, he in fact seems to deny the primacy of a 'social group' in his Figure 1 (2011g:11). Here Culture and Language are at a higher level than Social Group. The obvious conclusion is that 'Culture' as a criterion would obviate the need for both 'Language' and

'Social Group', while 'Language' as a criterion would obviate the need for 'Social Group'. So, given that any one language could be spoken by members of more than one social group, it seems illogical to prefer 'social group' over 'language' as the central criterion.

Jordan states that many think that the discussion on endonyms and exonyms is 'over-sophisticated and has no practical meaning. But to the contrary: It affects the basics of the naming process and we will not arrive at a proper understanding of the meaning of place names in the social context, if we do not carry this discussion to a final clarification' (Jordan 2011c and 2011f:10). However, he doesn't explain how removing 'language' from the definitions and replacing it with 'social group' as the central point is an improvement on the present language based definition.

Section 6: A community

In a more recent paper Jordan writes that 'we usually focus too much on language as the criterion for the endonym/exonym divide, and that it would be necessary to have a more comprehensive view on this issue, not only from the linguistic point of view, but also from the sociological, (cultural-) geographical, juridical and political angle' (2012:1). He now eschews the term 'social group' and uses the term 'community'.

For Jordan there are now three factors involved in the naming process: (1) the human community, (2) its culture, including language, and (3) geographical space subdivided into geographical features (Jordan 2012:1 and 2). Concerning the human community:

- 'It inhabits a certain section of geographical space,
- has developed a certain culture and language
- and structures complex geographical space mentally into features
- on the background of its culture and led by its specific (*e.g.* economic) interests
- marking these features by place names' (Jordan 2012:2).

The human community is 'a group of people, who feel to [*sic*] have a common identity [and] it can vary in size between family/partnership [and] nation, group of citizens, language community up to the global community (global citizens)' (Jordan 2012:1). The term community is used by Jordan for identity groups, *i.e.* for people feeling to have a common identity. However, these people 'must not have personal relations, they must not even know each other or know of each other's existence [and] … a nation forms very well a community' (Jordan 2012:1 and 2). Jordan then develops his ideas about endonyms and exonyms.

Names for geographical features in the community's own territory are endonyms. Jordan states that endonyms 'are symbols for appropriation' and that 'Who owns a feature, has usually the right to name it [and] Who has the power to attribute the name, has usually also the power over this feature or at least responsibility for it' (Jordan 2012:2). Endonyms are names 'which it feels to be emotionally attached' and are 'from within, *i.e.* names imposed by a community on features on its own territory' (Jordan 2012:5).

In contrast exonyms are 'geographical features offside [*sic*] its territory [for which] a community usually just adopts already existing names… [and] translates them into its own language or adapts them morphologically or phonetically' and exonyms 'are not symbols for appropriation and do not express claims, but indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it' (Jordan 2012:2 and 3).

In summary, the components of Jordan's new view of exonyms and endonyms in which the community is the actor are shown in Table 3.

COMPONENTS	ENDONYM	EXONYM
a community can be of any size	yes	n/a
a community has a language and culture	yes	n/a
a community notes geographical features that are important to it	in own territory	in another's territory
a community gives a name • to own features • to another's features	in own language n/a n/a	n/a translates to own language adapts to own language
within the community naming is done mainly by • convention • an authorized institution	yes yes	yes yes
the name is a symbol that indicates the community has appropriated the feature	yes	no

name is a claim by the community to (and power over) the feature	yes	no (though there may be historical issues)
the dominant part of a community „decrees the use of a name" over the wishes of a subordinate part	yes	yes?
the subordinate part of a community may be able to use its own preferred names	yes	yes?

no = the component is not actioned
yes? = Jordan's position is not clear or is ambiguous

Table 3: The main components of Jordan's 2012 view of endonyms and exonyms

Jordan's new approach is unsatisfactory for many reasons, not the least of which is his use of vague statements to introduce key points in his paper: 'it is my impression', 'there may also be', 'based on this concept' [the actual concept is not given, or if it is it is not clear what it is], 'it is rather difficult to say' and 'but I would guess'. Some other problem areas are as follows.

1. His key concept is 'community'. Yet, as with 'social group', nowhere is it clearly defined. Both terms have many meanings, depending on whether the user is, for example, a sociologist, an economist, a politician, an anthropologist, a cultural geographer or a psychologist. It is a very vague concept and clarity is needed.
2. The paper is very Eurocentric and many cultures do not have the same conception of 'Earth' that Jordan claims many Europeans do.
3. Jordan contradicts himself. A community is 'a group of people, who feel they have a common identity. [The community] can vary in size between [a] family/partnership' and larger groupings. However, the members of a community 'must not have personal relations. They must not even know each other or know of each other's existence' (Jordan 2012:1 and 2). So a husband and a wife do not belong to the same community because they know each other! A similar situation exists, for example, for (a) parents and their children, (b) members of a sports club (who could come from disparate areas), (c) members of a national business organization, (d) national politicians and (e) countless others with common interests. They do not belong to the same communities because they know each other!

4. Jordan states that 'the use of exonyms is sometimes conceived as expressing claims, especially when exonyms correspond to historical endonyms' (Jordan 2012:3), but does not tell us the nature of these claims – 'historical' claims differ considerably from claim to claim – and hence does not allow the reader to judge the validity of his concern.
5. He correctly states that everyone belongs to or affiliates with several communities each of which has a different relation to space and feels responsible for different sections of spatial reality (2012:3). He states that 'it is always the smaller community, the community close to the feature and actually responsible for it, who has the primary right to impose a name' (Jordan 2012:4). However, he fails to distinguish between dominant/subordinate and majority/minority and, other conditions being equal, it has been and still is usually the case that the dominant 'community', which may be a minority, determines the name of a feature.
6. Much is made of the situation of the coastal dwellers in Opatija in Croatia. He asserts that the people here use 'sea as a metaphor for the unlimited, the indefinite, the unconceivable' and that 'endlessness is also expressed, *e.g.* by special words for the high seas' (Jordan 2012:7). He gives as an example *pućina*[2] (rather than *more*), 'which means something like wilderness, where the winds blow etc' (Jordan 2012:7). However, he is incorrect. The literal meaning of this ordinary one-word Croatian noun phrase is the same as the English noun phrases 'sea' (also Croatian *more*), 'open sea', 'high sea' and 'offing' (the sea out to the horizon that can be seen from a person's position). To some individuals the metaphorical meaning may be as Jordan states, but it is possible that others in the community use the *pučina* noun phrase with different metaphorical meanings.
7. His concern is with the endonym/exonym boundary. However, his view of this boundary is simply 'an artificial line' backed by regulations (2012:8), or 'an imaginary line' (Jordan 2012:10).

Section 7: Perceptions and emotions

People's perceptions of and emotions about features, and specifically seas, have been raised as components that could be considered in the definitions of endonyms and exonyms.

[2] [*sic*: correctly *pučina*, as revised by Jordan on p26 of this present book].

This debate was perhaps started by Woodman when he introduced the concept 'propinquity' (see Section 5). Jordan states this 'coincides with my own personal experience' and writes of 'emotional propinquity' (Jordan 2008a). Woodman is clear that, for a sea, this propinquity applies not just to the coastal waters but extends to the whole of the named feature.

Jordan states that a social group has 'emotional ties' to parts of 'the cultural landscape' (Jordan 2011b:12) and a name is 'applied by a community for a geographical feature… to which it feels emotionally attached' (Jordan 2012:5). He writes 'such emotional ties are composed of various ingredients, among which certainly memories of places, persons and events play a prominent role… Memorizing, mentioning or reading the place name may stimulate a whole set of feelings within a person who has emotional ties to that place' (Jordan 2011b:12). He asks 'up to where [does] a social group's attitude of feeling responsible and emotionally attached [to a named feature] extend'? (Jordan 2011b:17). He states that 'no definite answer can be given as regard seas' but asks 'is the high sea – far beyond the horizon from the coast – still conceived of as ‚ours' by a coastal dweller community? Does this feeling even include the coastal waters at the opposite coast?' (Jordan 2011b:18). He argues that Croatians residing on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea have 'strong emotional ties to their coastal waters… [and he concludes that] names for coastal waters can assume the status of endonyms' (2009b), but that this toponymic status ends when it meets the coastal waters of another social group, *i.e.* those of the opposite shore (see Diagram 7). However, in his most recent paper he seems to have changed his mind for he states that 'emotionally, coastal dwellers [in Croatia] would consequently also not draw a strict line between ‚one's own' and the ‚other's' somewhere out at sea; would also not feel the necessity to confine the endonym status of their own name to some part of the sea; [and] would possibly extend it to the sea in its entirety (because they feel that this status is not contested by anybody else)' (Jordan 2012:7).

Choo asks 'if it could, what role would peoples' perception play in delimiting the boundary of a geographical feature belonging to their territory' (2011:50). He adds 'what should be noted in the geographic sense is peoples' perceptions of sea limits. For example, to what limit of the sea to the east of them would Korean people perceive as ‚their' sea, *Donghae*? To what limit of the sea to the west of the would Japanese people perceive as ‚their' sea, *Nihonkai*?'. But he admits that 'it would not be easy, without a precise survey, to delimit the boundaries of Donghae and Nihonkai based on peoples' perceptions' (Choo 2011:56).

There are three major problems with this 'emotional/perception' approach. The first is how to decide, in normal times, which part of Jordan's and Choo's people will be consulted to decide upon the extent of their endonym. The older or the younger part? The employed or the unemployed part? The female or the male part? The religious or nonreligious part? The manual worker or the professional worker part? The political or the nonpolitical part? The monolingual or the bilingual/multilingual part? And so on. Neither Jordan nor Choo gives any indication as to how to determine the emotions and the perceptions, or how to move from individual emotions/perceptions to collective emotions/perceptions.

The second problem is that of the propinquity of the people to the feature. Would English-speaking individuals who live in Blackpool, which is on the coast of the Irish Sea, and those who live in Hull, which is on the coast of the North Sea, have the same perception of and emotion for the North Sea? Would Italian-speaking individuals who live in Napoli, which is on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and those who live in Bari, which is on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, have the same emotion for and perception of the Adriatic Sea? Would Korean-speaking individuals who live in Incheon, which is on the coast of the Yellow Sea, and those who live in Samcheok, which is on the coast of the sea between Korea and Japan, have the same emotion for and perception of that sea? According to the 'emotional attachment' argument it would seem co-linguals who lived a long way from the sea under discussion, *i.e.* those on the other side of a peninsula-like country (such as Korea or Italy), on the other side of an island country (such as Japan and England) or far inland in a country with only one part of it being coastal (such as Croatia), would have no attachment to the specific sea. Therefore, the one sea feature – the specific coastal waters – would be an endonym for those members of the one language group who were emotionally attached to those coastal waters, but the same name would be an exonym for the members of the same language group who were living far from the coastal waters and not having that emotional attachment.

Third, and more explicitly, Jordan bases his arguments on the emotional ties of coastal fishermen, and hence seeks to establish where the emotional ties cease and hence where the transition from endonym to exonym occurs. But he ignores two other types of fishing communities: those whose members are only deep-sea fishermen, and those whose members are both coastal and deep-sea fishermen. And he ignores that in one season the fishermen may be coastal fishermen but in the next season the same fishermen may be deep-sea fishermen. The logic of his position is that some fishing communities would then have some members using an endonym for the coastal waters and an exonym for the waters further out while at the same time some members of the same community would use an endonym for the both the coastal waters and for the waters further out (see Diagram 8).

The underlying issue here in both cases is that the difference between the denotatum, *i.e.* the named feature, and the connotatum, *i.e.* the emotion/perception. Thus, for Jordan and Choo, while every member of 'the people'

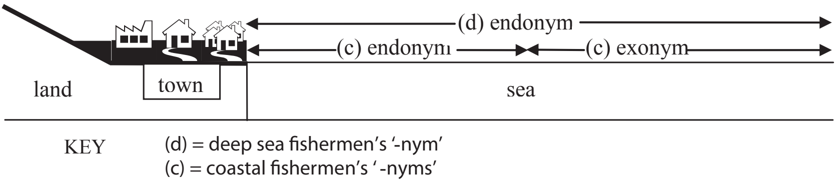


Diagram 8: Simplified structure for endonyms and exonyms in a town with both coastal and deep sea fishermen

is clear about the features they are denoting, *e.g.* for English speakers the North and Irish Seas, for Italian speakers the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, for Korean speakers the Yellow and Donghae Seas, and for Croatian speakers the Adriatic Sea, every individual will have connotations about the named features that differ from those of every other individual. This issue is unresolved in the emotional/perception proposals of Jordan and Choo.

It should be clear, too, that each of Jordan's and Choo's peoples do not constitute unified entities. Hence, given the above points it would seem impossible to reach satisfactory conclusions through the 'emotional/perception' approach.

Section 8: Boundaries

Running through the discussions has been the notion that there is a need for a boundary within the one feature between on the one hand the endonym and exonym parts or, on the other, the endonym, exonym and 'missing term' parts.

Kadmon has stated 'there is a need for a new term… namely the status for a maritime feature in international waters' (Kadmon 2007a:4), 'outside the territorial waters – however defined – of any one country' (2007a:2). As shown in Diagrams 5 and 6 above, he seeks a new term for the area between one's own territorial waters and the territorial waters of someone else.

There seems to be general agreement that the name covers the entire feature, but to split the one feature into three parts – Kadmon's approach – has been rejected by some. Thus Stani-Fertl writes that a feature is 'either an endonym or an exonym… There is no geonym outside this pair of terms' (2008a), while Champoux writes that 'no new term is necessary' (2008b).

However, while Kadmon's 'missing term' finds little support, the question has been raised of whether the name which covers the entire feature is an endonym over the entire feature or is an endonym over part and an exonym over the remaining part or parts that a differences of opinion emerge. And if the one feature can be in part and endonym and in part an exonym, where should the boundary be?

Woodman opposes the split, arguing that 'It is <u>the feature</u> itself – not a portion or section of that feature – that is the object named by the endonym' (Woodman 2011a:2). So in this 'holistic' view there is no need for a bifurcating boundary as the feature is whole (though obviously there are boundaries on the edges of the entire feature).

In contrast, both Jordan and Choo argue that that, for the one language, the one feature can be split into an endonym and exonym (see Section 7 and Diagram 5 and 6). So the question is what should form the boundary in the one feature for the split between endonym and exonym. Kadmon spoke of undefined 'territorial waters' as the boundary. In contrast, Jordan writes that the endonym/exonym divide on land 'is quite easy and clear-cut, when administrative and linguistic boundaries in a continuously settled area coincide: the administrative boundary on land (*e.g.* a country border) draws the line between one's own and the other's clear[ly] enough' (Jordan 2011h). But for the sea he favours the perception /emotion approach in which 'the social group [or the community] closer to the feature has always the right on the endonym.' However, he does not provide any guidance as to how this boundary could be determined except by stating that it could be 'an artificial line' backed by regulations (2012:8), or 'an imaginary line' (Jordan 2012:10). In contrast, Choo is of the view that 'the limits to which the local people perceive as ‚their' sea, together with those under the conventions of international maritime law, would be used. These limits could be further than those of territorial waters' (2011a:59). A people's endonym would be on the landward side of this boundary, while a people's exonym would be on the seaward side of the boundary. It is clear that for seas it is envisaged by Kadmon, Jordan and

Choo that some boundary out to sea is possible (and even desirable). If such a boundary could be established, where would it be located?

The obvious place from which to start to measure how far out to sea this boundary would be is the 'shore'. However, as shown above (in Diagram 3) the shore is not a simple entity. Both Kadmon and Choo have suggested the outer limit of 'territorial waters' as the boundary, though neither make it absolutely clear as to what they mean by this term, while Jordan has only focused on the extent of people's perceptions and emotions.

Several points need to be noted about territorial waters and other boundaries at sea. Determination of such entities as territorial waters usually starts from a base line (or baseline) (see Diagram 9). The base line is, more often than not, not the coastline but an agreed upon and charted line that sometimes touches the coast, *e.g.* at headlands, and runs across the mouths of bays, *etc*, leaves islands in internal waters, and separates internal waters from the various seas on the seaward side of the base line. It is called 'base line' because it serves as the reference point for the three lines of delimitation. These are:

- the territorial water or sea: this is no more than 12 nautical miles (22 kilometres) to the seaward side of the base line;
- the contiguous zone: this is no more than 24 nautical miles (44 kilometres) to the seaward side of the base line;
- the exclusive (formerly extended) economic zone: this is no more than 200 nautical miles (370.4 kilometres) to the seaward side of the base line.

The width of the zones will vary according to the relevant international, multinational and bilateral agreements between states. And should the zones be adjusted according to subsequent changes in the agreements, then the areas covered by the endonyms and exonyms will also change. A state with a territorial sea has certain rights about what happens in this part of the sea and will have other rights in both the contiguous zone and the exclusive economic zone. But these rights are not known, except perhaps in a vague way, by most speakers of a language. The high seas are the area beyond the exclusive economic zone. Finally, 'international waters' is a non-legal term that includes the contiguous zone, the exclusive economic zone and the high seas, and in which there is freedom of navigation and overflight.

However, the question to be asked is how the use of one of the lines of delimitation (or some other variable) could be exercised in practice.

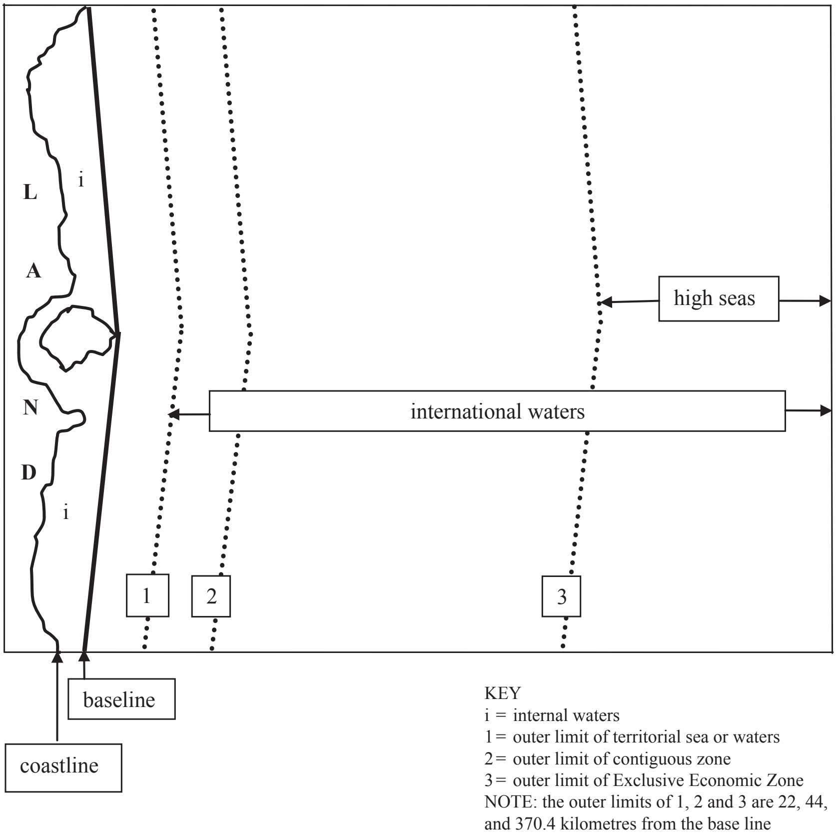


Diagram 9: Lines of delimitation

1. The use of one of the lines of delimitation (or even some other line) would become very complicated, and perhaps unworkable, with more than two peripheral languages and should adjustments be made to any of the delimitation zones.
2. It cannot be said that 'no language can be said to ‚occur" (Kadmon 2007a:2) in seas and in particular the high seas. Seas 'form an integral part of people's daily lives; they sail on these waters; they fish in them; their very livelihoods can depend on them and they may spend just as much time on these waters as they do on dry land. The oceans may even cause death and destruction' (Woodman 2008a:1).

A similar position is taken by Jordan and Choo. Further, many commercial activities are carried out over all surfaces of the seas, *e.g.* by those on: ferries; fishing; passenger liners; and oil rigs. In fact seas are multilingual features.

3. Moreover, English is the language officially adopted by the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) in 1995 as the language of the sea. It covers all aspects of above and below deck communication (*e.g.* cargo operations and ship electrics) and onshore activities such as legal and commercial aspects. At the same time the IMO also introduced the International Safety Management Code to reduce communication failures, and developed the Standard Marine Communication Phrases (SMCP) as a comprehensive safety language. The IMO established the World Maritime University in Malmö, Sweden in 1983, and Maritime English appears as a course module in institutions such as the Maritime Academy in Kiev, Ukraine, the Department of Maritime Transport in Istanbul and the Maritime University at Dalian, China. So, in a significant sense, it can be said that the seas have a language: English.
4. The proposal to use 'territorial waters' as a boundary introduces a state's or country's territory, *i.e.* part of its sovereignty, as an additional criterion for determining toponymic status.
5. It would be possible to use one of the lines of delimitation as a boundary, but who would be aware of it when at sea? Those who would be aware of it would be naval, coastguard and customs vessels, carrying out activities on behalf of their countries, and commercial fishermen and freighters. Most others would not be aware that there was a boundary or that they had crossed it.
6. As a practical point, many language groups will not have all of territorial waters, contiguous waters and exclusive economic zone because the 'seas' between their states are too narrow to allow for all three. For example the Adriatic Sea is barely 180 kilometres wide, the sea between the southern part of South Korea and the Japanese coast of Kyushu is only about 150 kilometres wide (but only about 80 kilometres if the islands are taken into account), while in the case of the Caspian Sea between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, the Red Sea, and the sea between Iran and the Gulf states the seas are in each case only about 300 kilometres at their widest.

Section 9: The parsimony principle

Before concluding this paper a further matter needs to be considered regarding the constructions of typologies, for that is what the endonym/exonym schema is. Thus, when developing such a schema, at least two points need to be observed. First is that of the purpose of the schema and second is that of the robustness of the schema.

Assuming that the purpose of the endonym/exonym schema has been clearly and unambiguously stated, the second point needs to be considered. The schema contains two concepts, endonym and exonym, and, as shown above, several variables are involved in the differentiation of the two in the current UNGEGN definitions. The question that needs to be asked is whether other variables need to be introduced to better answer the purpose for which the two concepts have been developed. In developing an answer to this question about the robustness of the schema the parsimony principle should be adhered to.

This principle generally recommends that, when faced with competing suggestions which are equal in other respects, the one that makes the fewest assumptions should be the one selected. A colloquial form of this principle is the KISS principal, an acronym for 'keep it simple, stupid!', 'keep it short and simple' or 'keep it simple and straightforward'. The principle states that most schema work best if they are kept simple rather than made complex, and that therefore simplicity in design should be sought and unnecessary complexity should be avoided. Thus fuzziness and ambiguity should be avoided. Put in the simplest terms the simpler schema should be used rather than a more complex one if the explanatory power is similar.

So the question here is whether any new variables, such as social group, community, people's emotions and perceptions or territory would make it more likely or less likely to help decide whether a name is an exonym or an endonym, or indeed a new term, *e.g.* Kadmon's missing term. Alternatively, if the introduction of one or more new variables does not change the predictive power of the current definitions, then the new variable or variables are unnecessary. They are simply superfluous.

Section 10: Conclusion

There has been over the last few years considerable debate about the definitions of endonym and exonym and several suggestions have been made about how to improve them. The appropriateness or inappropriateness of five have been commented on in some detail.

1. It was claimed that as the seas beyond territorial waters were 'language-free' there should be a new term for the 'language-free' seas. However, language is used a great deal in such sea areas, and the seas could be deemed 'multilingual' with English and SMCP being recognized and accepted *lingua francas*. Given the problem of deciding where the boundaries in seas should be located, there seems to be no clear way of developing a practical definition of such a new term and hence of applying it.
2. The discussion of 'territorial waters' introduces sovereignty into the debate and perhaps then into the definitions. To date sovereignty has been excluded from the definitions and there seems to be little desire or need to include it.
3. The notion of including the terms social group and community in the definition of endonym and exonym fails on several accounts:
   - the arguments for social group and community are presented in individual psychological terms – 'self' – and then transferred in some unspecified way to a group's mentality;
   - language was placed higher in the social group scheme than social group, and in fact seems to have been excluded from the proposed social group definition;
   - it is unclear as to which of the many social groups or communities would have the privilege of determining which names were endonyms and exonyms (though it seems the dominant part of a community would be the arbitrator);
   - in the present definitions language stands as a widely accepted proxy for a social group and a community and consequently neither social group nor community are needed;
   - the meanings of 'primary' and 'secondary' are not clear; and
   - no solid rationale is advanced to support the removal of language from the definitions and replace it with either social group or community.
4. Perceptions and emotions are advanced as being necessary for the consideration of endonyms and exonyms. However, apart from the considerable difficulty in trying to ascertain which perceptions and emotions are the relevant ones, there are other problems. The most significant one is that people speaking the same language will have different perceptions of and emotions towards a feature.

5. The notion that the one feature, with a name covering it in its entirety, should be split into an endonym and an exonym has been vigorously pursued on emotional/perception grounds. Both the extent of people's perceptions and emotions have been proffered as boundaries in the seas, but apart from the suggestion that the outer limit of loosely defined 'territorial waters' being the boundary between an endonym and an exonym, no guidance as to how such boundaries could be accurately determined and therefore how people would know when on the sea that there has been a change in toponymic status. Further, the joining of perceptions, emotions and boundaries could lead to a situation where some of those speaking the same language and from the same town would regard the entire feature as a endonym while others, speaking the same language, would regard part of that feature as both an endonym (the part that is close to them) and an exonym (the part that is not close to them) or even that a specific sea is an exonym simply because it is geographically far away.

The proposed new components of the definitions, while interesting in themselves, do not help to better define or locate endonyms and exonyms. So, following the parsimony or KISS principle, there is no need to add them to the definitions; they are superfluous to requirements.

As a final comment, the term 'allonym' should perhaps be considered more than it has been to date. Thus, for seas and other similarly shaped features, one of the words 'superimposed' or 'overlapping' could be introduced, with a preference for 'overlapping' as it allows for some fuzziness at the edges of the actual endonymic and exonymic features. Thus one could refer to a 'set of overlapping endonymic allonyms' such as North Sea, Mer du Nord, Noordzee, Vesterhavet, Nordsøen and Nordsjøen.

APPENDIX: Extracts from the Hydrographic dictionary, 1994.

Source: INTERNATIONAL HYDROGRAPHIC ORGANIZATION, 1994, Hydrographic dictionary, Part 1, Volume 1, English, Special Publication No 32, Fifth edition, Monaco.

backshore. That part of a beach which is usually dry, being reached only by the highest tides

base line (also **baseline**). The line from which the outer limits of the territorial sea and certain other limits are measured

beach. On a shore the area on which the waves break and over which shore debris, e.g. sand and shingle, is deposited. Includes backshore and foreshore.

coast. The edge or margin of the land next to the sea; the seashore; the meeting of the land and the sea considered as the boundary of the land

contiguous zone. A zone contiguous to a coastal state's territorial sea, which may not extend beyond 24 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured. The coastal state may exercise certain control in this zone subject to the provisions of International Law.

exclusive economic zone. The exclusive economic zone is an area, not exceeding 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured, subject to a specific legal regime established in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea under which the coastal state has certain rights and jurisdiction.

foreshore. That part of shore which lies between high and low water mark at ordinary tide.

high seas. The open sea beyond the exclusive economic zone, the territorial sea or the archipelagic waters of an archipelagic state.

high water mark. The mark left by the tide at high water. the line or level reached, especially the highest line ever reached. also called high water line.

internal waters. Waters on the landward side of the baseline of the territorial sea

international waters. A nonlegal term that refers to those waters subject to the high seas freedom of navigation and overflight, i.e., contiguous zone, EEZ, and high seas.

line of delimitation. A line drawn on a map or chart depicting the separation of any type of maritime jurisdiction.

low water (L.W.). The lowest level reached at a place by the water surface in one oscillation. also called low tide.

low water mark (also **low water line**). The intersection of the plane of low water with the shore. the line along a coast, or beach, to which the sea recedes at low water.

sea. The great body of salt water in general, as opposed to land; ocean; one of the smaller divisions of the oceans.

shore. The narrow strip of land in immediate contact with any body of water including the area between high and low water lines.

shoreline. The line where shore and water meet. Although the terminology of coasts and shores is rather confused, shoreline and coastline are generally used as synonymous.

strand. The portion of the seashore between high and low water line.

territorial sea (also **territorial waters**). A belt of water of a defined breadth but not exceeding 12 nautical miles measured seaward from the territorial sea baseline.

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On some possibilities for a more exact definition of exonyms

The discussion about the most appropriate definition for exonyms and endonyms in recent years has had many new impulses, because we now have two different interpretations of the main content of the notions *exonym* and *endonym*: the 'old' one, connected with the standardization of (foreign) place names and reflected in *Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names* (Kadmon 2002) and some other terminological dictionaries (*e.g.,* Podol'skaya 1978, VPSV 2007, Wikipedia); and the 'new' one, connected with the attitude of the local community to the local place names and developed by Peter Jordan as well as Paul Woodman, Herman Bell and some other members of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms. Both notions called exonyms are now reality, so probably the best way to keep the terms useful would be by differentiating them through appropriate attributes, *e.g., standardization exonyms* and *community-based exonyms* (of course there are many possibilities for other terminological proposals, too).

As to the standardization exonyms (and endonyms) possibly the first question should be: has the use of the term *exonym* a sense; is it meaningful and purposeful? Really, if **all** foreign place names (foreign from the point of view of some specific language) should be called *exonyms,* the use of that term loses its sense. The argument for calling all foreign place names exonyms can be found for instance in the monograph of Milan Harvalík (Harvalík 2004). Harvalík very convincingly shows that the notion of exonyms can be interpreted quite widely, and even articulation-exonyms can be considered as a 'legitimate' part of exonyms (Harvalík 2004, 109). The 'legal' base for the acknowledgement of articulation-exonyms is built by the definition of exonyms. Possibly the most respectable source of the definitions in our case – speaking about standardization exonyms – is the well-known glossary (Kadmon 2002). As we know, according to this glossary an exonym is a *name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in its form from the name*

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used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated (Kadmon 2002, 10). The most important segment of this definition, the essence of the definition is: *differing in its form*. And there we have the biggest problem, the biggest difficulty. Can we always understand quite well and in an agreed way, what *differing in its form* means? If a foreign place name in some specific language is written in Gothic letters, although in the area where the corresponding geographical feature is situated the people use only Roman characters, have we here a difference in form even if the spelling is the same? One would say we have; according to the quoted definition, the form is really different. An even bigger difference would occur by the romanization of a place name written originally in Cyrillic or, *e. g.,* Arabic letters. Does it mean the place name *Gdańsk* written in Gothic letters or *Tula* written in Roman letters is an exonym? It would be quite hard to agree with such a conclusion, at least when speaking about standardization exonyms, and as for transliterated names there is a specification even in the text of the above definition: *the officially romanized .. Moskva for Москва [in Cyrillic] is not an exonym* (Kadmon 2002, 10), That means there must be something wrong or at least insufficient in the definition we have tried to use; it seems *a difference in its form* is too vague a formulation, too vague a wording for a definition needed for everyday practical use.

We have in onomastic literature more exact definitions too. In the *Dictionary of Russian Onomastic Terminology* of Natalya Podol'skaya the mentioned *difference in its form* – in the definition of exonym – has been specified as a difference in the phonemic composition, pronunciation and spelling (Podol'skaya 1978, 164). This is already a more definite formulation, nevertheless we have some problems with that definition too. The first question to answer is: must a rendering of a foreign place name differ from the corresponding name in the source language in all three ways to be recognized as an exonym – or is one kind of the above differences enough for such recognition? The real opinion of the late author of that dictionary is not known, still some other onomasticians – in full accordance with the last-mentioned definition – interpret exonyms very widely and attach great importance just to pronunciation; as mentioned, even the articulation-exonyms have been – *e.g.,* from the Austrian onomastician Otto Back already in 1983 – interpreted as a subcategory of exonyms (Back 1983, 45-48; Harvalík 2004, 109). The articulation-exonyms according to Back are the names of foreign geographical features having the same phonemic structure as the endonyms and differing from the endonyms only through a kind of articulation of some phonemes; for example, English articulation of the phoneme *-r-* differs from the articulation of the identical phoneme in Finnish, thus the English rendering of Finnish place-name *Varkaus* is an articulation-exonym although the spelling of both Finnish and English corresponding names is just the same. In truth, Back himself at the same time agrees that articulation-exonyms are not proper exonyms, they create something like transitional zone ("außerhalb un nur in Vorfeld des Bereiches der Exonymie"; quoted from Harvalík 2004, 109).

The Czech onomastician Milan Harvalík takes this a step further. He judges – probably quite well-founded, although an experimental phonetic research would be needed to verify finally the correctness of the following thesis – that there are always some articulation differences between identical sounds, respectively identical phonemes of different languages. And that means that any name – in some specific language – of a foreign geographical feature, even if its phonemic composition and spelling is identical to the name of that feature *in one of the languages occurring in that area, where the feature is situated*, is an exonym, at least an articulation-exonym (*cf.* Harvalík 2004, 109-110).

This conclusion of Harvalík is completely logical if we agree that *exonyms are all the place names which are not endonyms* ('there is no toponym beyond these two definitions [of exonyms and endonyms]: Back; quoted in Stani-Fertl 2007, 111) and if we use the definition of endonyms accepted by UNGEGN, namely: an endonym is a *name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area, where the feature is situated* (Kadmon 2002, 10). A place name *London* pronounced in a typical German pronunciation can probably not be seen as a word of English, thus not as name in the language occurring in that area, where the feature is situated, thus not as endonym. And, if a German *London* is not an endonym, it is an exonym.

We could still agree of course, that articulation-exonyms, as written by Back, are not proper exonyms. However we will still have a lot of problems with phonemic pronunciation, too. For example the name of the capital of Norway is spelled Oslo and pronounced [ušlu] in Norwegian. In many other languages – Polish and Latvian, Estonian and Croatian, and so on – this place name is spelled Oslo and pronounced [oslo]. Without a doubt the Polish, Latvian, Estonian and Croatian name of the capital of Norway differs in its **form** from the name used in the official language of Norway. Is the pronunciation [oslo] a sufficient reason to make this name in Polish and the other mentioned languages an exonym? Another example is the abbreviation USA as a country name. Many languages have their own abbreviations, *e.g.*, ASV (Amerikas Savienotās Valstis) in Latvian, and such abbreviations are of course exonyms. In Finnish we have the abbreviation identical to the one used in the area, where the feature is situated, thus the abbreviation USA. However the Finns (at least the speakers of standard Finnish) do not pronounce it [juesei], they pronounce it according to rules of Finnish alphabet [usa]. Is this [usa] an exonym? And all the hundreds and thousands of place names from the English speaking countries? The real pronunciation of them is often hard to guess from the spelling, and, if the English spelling is used in some other language as an endonym, the pronunciation will rarely be similar to the English pronunciation. From the other side, if we will write in English texts endonyms from languages having more or less phonemic system of spelling, *e.g.,* from Maori, the pronunciation used by English-speaking people will be wrong (for some problems of the use of Maori place names, see Matthews 2012, 35). Should this mean most place-names of Maori origin in English are exonyms, although their spelling is identical with the Maori spelling of the same names?

The meaning of the terms is a result of agreement; we could agree that the meaning of the term *exonym* is that defined by Podol'skaya and to some extent by Kadmon and others. However, would it be a meaningful decision and agreement? The terms *exonyms* and *endonyms* have been created not so long ago to analyze more exactly the theoretical and practical needs of the standardization of foreign place names; one can say the needs of translation or rendering of foreign place names. The mentioned terms have been created to describe, very simply, the good and bad equivalents of foreign place names in a certain language. If all foreign place names in some specific language are exonyms, the use of the terms *exonym* and *endonym* seems not to make much sense.

So we have very many problems with the pronunciation of foreign place names. Are the pronunciation problems in this case quite significant? In cartography, on maps, we have only written place names. In texts – but published as created in the internet – we have to deal with the written forms of the place names. Of course, for radio and TV we need a standardized pronunciation, however the main problems connected with the use of exonyms or endonyms are problems of spelling. If we would reduce *the difference in form* to the difference in **spelling – and only in spelling**, the border-line between exonyms and endonyms would be made a bit clearer.

We have another question too – probably less important than the question about pronunciation or spelling, yet still a question to be solved in order to make the definition of exonyms more exact. It is a question about grammatical cases and their relationship to the differentiation of exonyms from endonyms. In many languages (Baltic, Slavonic, Finno-Ugric) names can be used in many different cases, with different endings, *e.g.,* Finnish *Perussa* 'in Peru', Latvian *Tulai* 'for the city of Tula', Lithuanian *Latvijoje* 'in Latvia'. It seems to be obvious that in classifying place names as exonyms and endonyms, only the name in the nominative case or the basic grammatical case should be taken into account. Thus we need to make a relatively small and unproblematic addition to the definition; however it is not utterly unproblematic, because some of languages (*e.g.,* ergative languages) do not have nominative as their basic grammatical case, and that means we cannot mention nominative in the definition. If we use the designation *basic grammatical case,* this designation is not always absolutely clear (*e.g.,* in Estonian the basic case from the point of view of declension is genitive). However I would use the mentioned designation –*basic grammatical case* – as relatively the best option.

And so a rather more exact definition of exonym would be: *Exonym is a name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in* ***its spelling in the basic grammatical case*** *from the* ***spelling of the basic grammatical case*** *of the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated*.

If we make such a strong emphasis on the spelling, it means simultaneously that even the smallest differences in the spelling are significant. There have been suggestions to ignore diacritical marks in the classification of exonyms and endonyms, or to exclude from the category of exonyms those names rendered by observing all the instructions for rendering. As to the ignoring of diacritics, we know very well that in many languages diacritics can differentiate the meaning of a word; *e.g.,* we have in Latvian *kāzas* 'the wedding` and *kazas* 'the goats', and, if a Latvian place name by rendering should have lost its diacritics, the name cannot be considered to be an endonym. Names rendered observing instructions often are exonyms, however they are not the 'bad' (or at least not the 'worst') exonyms; as we know, some part of the exonyms are now 'rehabilitated', *e.g.,* Jordan 2011.

Some words should be said on the definition of endonyms, too. The 'classical' definition, as already mentioned, is: an endonym is a *name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area, where the feature is situated*. One of the basic ideas for that definition had been probably the idea that proper names mostly are not translated. Nevertheless the rendering can be interpreted as a kind of the translation, too (*cf.* Bušs 2003; however in order to avoid the most debatable part of this conception let us use further the term *rendering* instead of *translation*).

It is true that in cartography, on maps, foreign place names mostly are not translated or rendered, they really are given *in one of the languages occurring in that area, where the feature is situated.* However, the situation is different in written texts intended not for maps. The rendered form of a foreign place name in such a text – even in cases when the spelling of this form is fully identical with the spelling of the place name in its source language – can be interpreted as a word (proper name) of the specific language of this text. And so, for example, the words (place names) *Braga*, *Oslo*, *Tula*, *Sofija* in a Latvian text are without any doubt words of the Latvian language, although they are designations of foreign geographical features. I am not quite sure whether for example in English the word *Ventspils* would be regarded as a word of English or as a Latvian implant; some psycholinguistic research is needed. However there is no doubt about the mentioned Latvian examples or, for example, instances of the same kind in Finnish. Both in Latvian and in Finnish we have a formal proof of the assimilation of names for foreign geographical features, too. The possibility and the necessity of the grammatical declension of names for foreign geographical features (*cf*. Latv. dative *Bragai*, Finn. inessive *Bragassa*) show that the respective names at least to some extent have been adapted into Latvian and Finnish, as they will also be into other language with a developed system of declension, too.

And so, if the Latvian words *Braga*, *Oslo* and so on are nevertheless endonyms, we should expand the definition to include such cases, and the problems of the spelling and of the basic grammatical case should be borne in mind, too. Possibly the exact definition of endonyms would be: *endonym is a name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area, where the feature is situated,* ***or a rendered name in some specific language for a foreign geographical feature, if the spelling of this rendered name in basic grammatical case is identical to the spelling of the name of this geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area, where the feature is situate.***

It is true this definition is probably too long and too complicated syntactically for everyday use. So there is still a need and a possibility for further improving the definitions of endonyms and exonyms.

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Paul Woodman[1]

Endonyms, exonyms and language boundaries: A clarification[2]

Since the autumn of 2008 there has been a vigorous debate within the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms over the question of endonyms, exonyms and language boundaries. At the heart of this debate is the following question:

- What is the nature of a name such as *Donau* or *North Sea* – a name which applies to a feature that either crosses language boundaries (*Donau*) or to a feature that is partly beyond language boundaries (*North Sea*)? Are such names endonyms, exonyms, or something else as yet unidentified? They are certainly endonyms within their own language areas, but do they remain endonyms for those parts of the feature that occur beyond their language areas?

Our response to this question depends upon our interpretation of the relationship between a name and a feature, and our interpretation of the current UNGEGN definition of the word *endonym*, which is as follows: **Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated**.

In most of the world's societies, it is recognised that some particular entities, be they natural or man-made, can be constructed within our minds as 'features', and that each such 'feature' needs specific identification – *i.e.* it needs a name – so that society can easily function and communicate. By endowing a feature with a name, society recognises that the feature has its own discrete unity of function. To be sure, it can very possibly be sub-divided into smaller elements, and equally it may form only part of a larger structure, but nevertheless there is sufficient about the feature in its own right to constitute a stand-alone entity worthy of a label.

When we apply that label to a feature which exists locally in our own language community, the name that we are applying is an endonym. I believe

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[2] This hitherto unpublished paper formed part of the 11th Meeting of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms, Vienna, May 2011.

that whether a name is an endonym or an exonym is not a matter of status, but rather it reflects a quality that is deep within the essence and character of that name. The essence of a name is such an intrinsic characteristic of that name that I am reluctant to accept that it can alter spatially from one location to another. So I would argue that if the English language has given the name *North Sea* to the large body of water that laps against the eastern shores of Britain, then – given that English is a well-established language there – not only does that name apply to the whole feature as a simple toponym, but also that name must be an endonym for the entire feature. Exactly the same argument applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the German-language name *Donau* applied to the lengthy river that passes through several European countries, not all of them German-speaking. For, as noted above, I believe it is not possible for a single-language name such as *Donau* to vacillate between endonym and exonym; the fact of being an endonym or an exonym is a matter of toponymic nature and not of toponymic status, and the nature of a toponym is for the most part not subject to change[3].

In our UNGEGN definition of *endonym* (see above), the term is defined as the name of the feature in a relevant language, and my interpretation of this is that we mean the feature in its entirety, not the name of just a component portion of the feature. The relevant language has to occur where the feature is situated; again, not just where a component portion of the feature is situated. It is the feature itself – not a portion or section of that feature – that is the object named by the endonym. I believe that names such as *Donau* and *North Sea* are endonyms for an entire feature because they are endonymic labels attached to that entire feature. For me, the fact that the feature may cross or go beyond language boundaries is (in this regard) incidental.

There is, however, a different approach that can be taken to this question. We can take as our starting point the fact that the North Sea and the Danube each comprise a well-nigh infinite number of individual geographical locations. We can then imagine standing at each and every one of these locations and asking ourselves the question: 'Is *North Sea* an endonym here, where I'm standing right now?' And 'Is *Donau* an endonym here, where I'm standing

[3] The nature of a toponym will usually only change if either:

- (a) the population of a location is removed elsewhere, in which case its endonym for that location will become an exonym (this happened for example to Königsberg after the Second World War); or
- (b) an arriving population settles in a location for a passage of time (perhaps at least several generations) that is sufficient to allow its exonym for that location to become an endonym.

right now?' If, in the first instance, we are standing in Esbjerg harbour, then the answer is: 'No; *North Sea* would be an exonym here', because clearly the English language is not endonymic in Denmark. And if we are standing on Chain Bridge in Budapest, then the answer is: 'No; *Donau* would be an exonym here', because clearly the German language is not endonymic in Hungary.

It is this alternative approach, I believe, which leads some commentators to argue that we must therefore segment features such as the North Sea and the Danube[4]. These commentators contend that, for example, *Donau* is an endonym for the German and Austrian sections of the river but is conversely an exonym for the Slovak, Hungarian and other sections. I think this approach, though tempting, is not correct; again, because I believe that the nature of a toponym cannot change spatially in this fashion. It is true that *Donau* is not an endonym in Slovakia or Hungary, but nevertheless I believe that *Donau* is an endonym for the Danube in its entirety. Crucially, and in my view correctly, our definition of *endonym* asks us to establish that the name is in an appropriate language wherever <u>the feature</u> is situated, not wherever <u>the language</u> is situated. And the Danube, even if only a section of it, is unquestionably situated in Slovakia and Hungary.

An important point of clarification is required here. My contention is that names such as *North Sea* and *Donau* are endonyms for those features in their entirety. This absolutely does not mean that I believe such names to be endonyms at all locations within those features. The label *North Sea* is quite clearly not an endonym on the Norwegian coast. Nor would *Mare Adriatico* be an endonym on the Croatian shore of the Adriatic Sea, where in reality *Jadransko more* is the endonym. The names *Mare Adriatico* and *Jadransko more* are endonyms in the Italian and Croatian languages for the entire feature as a whole, but they are quite obviously not endonyms at each and every location within it.

This is no mere semantic nuance. Clarifying the distinction between '<u>for the entire feature</u>' and '<u>everywhere within the feature</u>' is vital because the belief that an endonym has relevance 'everywhere within' a feature is potentially inflammatory and liable to cause political tension – even hostilities – since it could be tantamount to an inappropriate claim of sovereignty. As it happens, I would argue that my understanding of the names *North Sea* and *Adriatic Sea* is not only scientifically justified, but also usefully apolitical. It allows

[4] Jordan, Peter (2011): ***The endonym – name from within a social group***, published in 'Trends in Exonym Use, Proceedings of the 10th UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Tainach, 28-30 April 2010', Verlag Dr Kovač, 2011.

these feature names to be respectively entirely an endonym (*North Sea*, where English is a littoral language) and entirely an exonym (*Adriatic Sea*, where English is not a littoral language) for the whole feature. No boundaries are required, and hence no political dimension is introduced. It is instead the contrary viewpoint, whereby the name *North Sea* somehow loses its endonymic nature (how?) at some indeterminate point (where?) within that maritime feature, and beyond that point (wherever it is) becomes an exonym, that requires the drawing of what in my view are arbitrary and superfluous boundaries, and thereby introduces an unwanted and spurious political dimension into the subject.

Maciej Zych[1]

Definition of 'exonym' in the context of the new list of Polish exonyms

Part I: The new list of Polish geographical names of the world

At the beginning of 2010 the Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland commenced work on the official list of Polish geographical names of the world. The list should be completed by the second half of 2012 and will be published in late 2012 or early 2013. Preparation of the list is a direct result of the regulation of the Minister of the Interior and Administration on the manner and scope of activity of the Commission[2]. It can also be considered an indirect result of Resolution No. 28, adopted by the Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in 1972, which recommended that such lists be prepared[3].

The newly developed list of Polish geographical names of the world is based on the Commission's previous publication, printed in twelve volumes as 'Geographical Names of the World'. This publication was developed by a large group of specialists: geographers, historians, linguists and cartographers. The

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[2] Regulation of the Minister of the Interior and Administration of 24 March 2000 on the manner and scope of activity of the National Council of Geodesy and Cartography and Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland and principles governing payment of their members (Journal of Laws of 2000, No. 26, item 316 and of 2009 No. 107, item 897): § 3. 1. The scope of activity of the Commission of Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland, hereinafter referred to as 'the Commission', shall involve: 2) compiling official lists of Polish names of states, non-self-governing territories, administrative units, localities, physiographical objects, and other geographical objects located outside the Republic of Poland with geographic coordinates thereof.

[3] Resolution II/28 'Lists of exonyms (conventional names, traditional names)':

The Conference,

Desiring to facilitate the international standardization of geographical names,

Recognizing that certain exonyms (conventional names, traditional names) form living and vital parts of languages,

Recognizing further that certain exonyms (conventional names, traditional names) remain in the language after the need for them has diminished,

Recommends that national geographical names authorities prepare lists of exonyms currently employed, review them for possible deletions, and publish the results.

primary group of authors consisted of 28 people; moreover lists were verified by reviewers and were discussed during the meetings of the Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names). As work has progressed, from the year 2001, volumes with the names of separate regions of the world were published, and this collection consists of twelve volumes: 1. The Americas, Australia and Oceania (published in 2004); 2. Middle East (2004); 3. Africa (2004); 4. South Asia (2005); 5. Central Asia and Transcaucasia (2005); 6. Belarus, Russia, Ukraine (2005); 7. Southeast Asia (2006); 8. The Antarctic (2006); 9. East Asia (2006); 10. Seas and oceans (2008); 11. Europe – part 1 (2009); 12. Europe – part 2 (2010). The volumes include about 53,000 names of geographical features, *i.e.* features with Polish exonyms (about 10,000) and those that do not have Polish exonyms.

The Polish names contained in the twelve volumes of 'Geographical Names of the World' were adopted with the necessary additions and changes that took place during completion of the new list of Polish geographical names of the world. The new list is arranged similarly to the volumes of 'Geographical Names of the World' and is divided into units corresponding to parts of the world (Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, South America, Australia and Oceania, the Antarctic, undersea features). Each part opens with a list of recommended names of oceans and large regional units, the size of which are bigger than the area of several countries. Following those are the names according to countries and territories, then the names of individual geographical features have been listed, with a division into categories of objects. Within each category, the names have been listed alphabetically (see Figure 1).

Entries relating to individual geographical features contain a name in the Polish language and next to it the original name in the official language (endonym) – or original names if there are more than one official languages or a feature has official names in several languages. For each object geographic coordinates are also given (see Figure 2).

If two or more Polish names are given for one object (*e.g. Mała Syrta*; *Zatoka Kabiska*), the first name is the one which the Commission considers preferable, while the second name is considered as acceptable (the only exception applies to the formal (long) names of administrative units). Sometimes only an exonym is provided; this means that a given geographical feature is not named in the country where it is situated or no correct local name of any such feature was found. For some features an important historical Polish name has also been included in brackets at the end of the entry (see Figure 2).

Nowa Kaledonia
(Francja)

Nowa Kaledonia; Nouvelle-Calédonie
stolica: **Numea**; Nouméa
język urzędowy: francuski

Jednostki administracyjne

Prowincja Południowa; Province Sud; *21°50´S, 166°10´E*
Prowincja Północna; Province Nord; *21°00´S, 165°00´E*
Wyspy Lojalności; Province des îles Loyauté; *21°00´S, 167°15´E*

Miejscowości

Numea; Nouméa; *22°16´20˝S, 166°26´30˝E*

Morza

Morze Fidżi; Mer de Fidji; *23°S, 169°E* (*27°S, 175°E*)
[*również Fidżi, Norfolk, Nowa Zelandia, Tonga, Vanuatu*]
Morze Koralowe; Mer de Corail; *19°S, 164°E* (*18°S, 157°E*)
[*również Australia, Papua-Nowa Gwinea, Vanuatu, Wyspy Morza Koralowego, Wyspy Salomona*]

Figure 1: Example of names arrangement

Efforts were made to include in the list the official forms of endonyms originating from national names lists, topographical maps and other official sources. When that proved impossible, the most reliable international publications were used. Therefore sometimes the official name forms may be debatable because, in spite of the fact that they were established with great care, there were sometimes obstacles which were difficult to overcome. They may have resulted from inaccurate source materials or even from differing and contradictory versions of names provided in official publications of governmental institutions or legislative authorities.

Wielka Zatoka Australijska; Great Australian Bight; *35°S, 131°E*
Kotlina Konga; Bassin du Congo; *2°00´S, 22°00´E*
Seszele; *ang.* Seychelles Islands; *fr.* îles Seychelles; *kreol.* Sesel; *5°00´S, 55°00´E*
Prowincja Przylądkowa Wschodnia; *afr.* Oos-Kaap; Provinsie Oos--Kaap; *ang.* Eastern Cape; Eastern Cape Province; *kosa* Mpuma-Koloni; iPhondo yaMpuma-Koloni; *32°00´S, 27°00´E*
Pustynia Arabska; **Pustynia Wschodnia**; Aş-Şaḩrā´ ash-Sharqiyyah (*trl.*), As-Sahra asz-Szarkijja (*trb.*); *26°00´N, 33°30´E*
Aleuty; **Wyspy Aleuckie**; Aleutian Islands; *52°10´N, 174°20´W*
Stambuł; İstanbul; *41°00´30˝N, 28°58´00˝E* [hist.: *Konstantynopol*]
Ho Chi Minh; Hồ Chí Minh; thành phố Hồ Chí Minh; *10°46´30˝N, 106°42´00˝E* [hist.: *Sajgon*]

Figure 2: Examples of entry arrangement

Wyżyna Abisyńska; Ye Ītyop'ya Terarama Botawoch (*trl.*), Je-Itjopia Terarama Botauocz (*trb.*); *10°30´N, 38°00´E* [*również Erytrea*]
Wyżyna Kokczetawska; kaz. Kôkšetau ķyraty (*trl.*), Kökszetau kyraty (*trb.*); *ros.* Kokšetauskaja vozvyšennost' (*trl.*), Kokszetauskaja wozwyszennost' (*trb.*); *52°30´N, 69°00´E*
Półwysep Indysjki; *ang.* Indian Peninsula; *hindi* Bhāratīy Prayadvīp (*trl.*), Bharatij Prajadwip (*trb.*); *gudźarati* Bhāratīy Dvīpakalp (*trl.*), Bharatij Dwipakalp (*trb.*); *kannada* Bhāratīya Dvīpakalpa (*trl.*), Bharatija Dwipakalpa (*trb.*); Bhāratīya Paryāya Dvīpa (*trl.*), Bharatija Parjaja Dwipa (*trb.*); *marathi* Bhāratīy Upamahādvīp (*trl.*), Bharatij Upamahadwip (*trb.*); *malajalam* Upadvīpīya Intya (*trl.*), Upadwipija Intja (*trb.*); *tamil.* Intiya Muvalantīvu (*trl.*), Indija Muwalantiwu (*trb.*); Intiya Tīpakaṟpam (*trl.*), Indija Tipakarpam (*trb.*); *telugu* Bhārat Dvīpakalpaṁ (*trl.*), Bharat Dwipakalpan (*trb.*); *18°00´N, 78°00´E*
Elbrus; Reshteh-ye Kūhhā-ye Alborz (*trl.*), Reszte-je Kuhha-je Alborz (*trb.*); *35°50´N, 52°20´E*
Szanghaj; Shanghai; *31°13´00˝N, 121°28´00˝E*
Pjongjang; P'yŏngyang (*M.-R.*), Pyeongyang (*MOE*); *39°01´30˝N, 125°45´00˝E*
Delta Irawadi; Eyawadi Myitwanya; *16°30´N, 95°10´E*

Figure 3: Examples of entries with romanized form of names

For names in the languages using a non-Roman script, the romanized form has been provided in accordance with the rules recommended by the Commission, to be applied in Poland for geographical names from a specific language. In the case of the majority of such languages, both the Polish transcription form and transliteration form have been provided (with the exception of some Asian languages; for Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, Lao, Burmese and Khmer only transliteration is recommended) – see Figure 3.

The list includes the names of geographical features which, solely from the linguistic point of view, were considered by the Commission to be correct and in line with the knowledge gathered so far. In no case do these recommendations amount to the Commission taking any stand on political matters or matters relating to administrative status of each territory. Any stands on political issues, if they have to be taken, are always in consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as for example was the case with recognizing Kosovo as a separate country or using the name *Macedonia*.

Preparation of the names for the official list of Polish geographical names of the world is approaching completion. The Commission has already adopted the Polish names of geographical features situated in Asia (excluding Russia), Africa, North America, South America, Australia and Oceania. A large number of names from Europe and Antarctica have also been accepted. For areas of Asia, Africa, North America, South America, as well as Australia and Oceania, Polish names were accepted for 3162 geographical features. Additionally, 66 variant Polish names were approved, as well as 166 formal (long) names for countries, territories and administrative units (see table below).

Region	Total number of names	Number of main names (geographic features)	Number of variant names	Number of formal names
Asia	1673	1569	42	62
Africa	779	720	9	50
North America	487	460	7	20
South America	189	170	5	14
Australia and Oceania	266	243	3	20
Total	**3394**	**3162**	**66**	**166**

Among the number of geographical objects for which a Polish name was adopted, 207 are the names of countries and territories, 605 are administrative units, 431 are localities and their parts, 251 are marine waters, 256 are inland waters, 523 are features of topographic elevation, 350 are islands, peninsulas, capes and coasts, and 539 are other objects (*e.g.* regions, deserts, areas of environment protection, and ruins).

The list currently being prepared is the second such Polish publication. The previous list, entitled 'Polish Geographical Names of the World', was published in four volumes in the years 1994–1996[4]. A comparison of the numbers of Polish names for geographical objects used in the five regions in both publications (the present and previous one) clearly shows that many more Polish names have now been included. The first list of Polish names included 724 objects from Asia (excluding Russia), 434 from Africa, 398 from North America, 97 from South America and 180 from Australia and Oceania (Polish names for 1833 objects in all). The new list contains Polish names for 3162 objects from the same regions – which means an increase of 72%.

This vast number of Polish names is theoretically not in line with the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names resolutions, as both Resolution No. 29 of the Second Conference (1972)[5] and Resolution No. 20 of the Fourth Conference (1982)[6] specifically call for a reduction in the number of exonyms.

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[4] Polish geographical names of the world: Part I. Europe (without Eastern Europe), published in 1994; Part II. Eastern Europe and Asia, in 1996; Part III. Africa, North America, South America, Australia and Oceania, the Antarctic, in 1994; Part IV. Oceans and seas, in 1994.

[5] Resolution II/29 'Exonyms':

I The Conference,

Recognizing the desirability of limiting the use of exonyms,

Recommends that, within the international standardization of geographical names, the use of those exonyms designating geographical entities falling wholly within one State should be reduced as far and as quickly as possible.

II The Conference,

Recognizing that exonyms are losing ground, even in national use,

1. Recommends that in publications intended only for national use the reduction of exonyms should be considered;
2. Further recommends that in those cases where exonyms are retained, the local official forms should be shown in addition as far as possible.

[6] Resolution IV/20 'Reduction of exonyms':

The Conference,

Noting that, in accordance with resolutions 18 and 19 of the Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, further progress has been made in the reduction of the number of exonyms used and a number of States have prepared lists of their own exonyms, This increase in number is due to several reasons. Firstly, the Commission's view is that names should not be removed if they are well-established in Polish, proving that relations between Poland and sometimes very distant countries are part of the Polish cultural heritage and therefore should not be impoverished. It also refers to the territories historically associated with Poland and inhabited by a large Polish minority; for these areas it is particularly important correctly to establish names recommended for use in Poland.

Secondly, the list includes a vast number of names of administrative units which, in Polish as well as in other languages, have mainly been translated (*e.g. Uturu Prowins* in the Maldives as *Prowincja Północna*, called *North Province* in English), as well as names of protected areas, especially national parks and biosphere reserves, named after the geographical features for which exonyms have already been established (*e.g.* the exonym *Park Narodowy Jeziora Chubsuguł* was established for the Mongolian *Khövsgöl nuuryn baigaliin tsogtsolbort gazar* because its name comes from the lake's name, *Khövsgöl*, for which the exonym *Chubsuguł* is fixed; the exonym *Lake Hovsgol National Park* exists for this park in English).

Thirdly, the so-called 'quasi-exonyms' were also included as Polish geographical names of the world. These quasi-exonyms constitute a group of names established by the Commission as recommended for use in the Polish language, which are, however, endonyms if treated formally. They include four types of names:

– geographical names for transboundary features coinciding with at least one standardized endonym used in one of the countries through which the given feature runs, but simultaneously differing from at least one of these endonyms – for instance, the name *Dunaj* being the Slovak endonym and the Polish transcription of the Ukrainian name *Дунай – Dunaj*, is treated as a Polish name and used for the river along its entire length, *i.e.* apart from Slovakia and Ukraine, also in Germany and Austria (German endonym: *Dunau*), Hungary (Hungarian endonym: *Duna*), Croatia and Serbia (Croatian and

Realizing that the reduction of exonyms used has not been carried out with the same intensity by all States,

Realizing further that the methods and principles aimed at a reduction of the number of exonyms used should constantly be reviewed for expeditious implementation of the resolution and understanding that not all countries can govern the content of maps and atlases published within their territories,

Recommends that exonyms giving rise to international problems should be used very sparingly and published in parenthesis with the nationally accepted standard name.

Serbian endonym: *Dunav*), Bulgaria (Bulgarian endonym: *Дунав – Dunav*) and Rumania (Romanian endonym: *Dunărea*)

– geographical names for features possessing several endonyms in the official language or languages in a given country and identical to one of the names of the feature – for instance, the capital of Ireland is exclusively called *Dublin* in Polish, which means the English endonym is recommended, while the Irish endonym *Baile Átha Cliath* is not recommended for use in Polish; similarly, for the capital of Finland only Finnish endonym *Helsinki* is recommended, not the Swedish endonym *Helsingfors*

– geographical names whose formal endonyms are written in non-Roman script, identical to the name of the given feature written *via* one of the romanization methods recommended by the Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland – for instance, for mountains in Russia the Commission set a name *Ural*, i.e. Russian endonym *Урал* written in transliteration (in Polish transcription this Russian name has form *Urał*), and for republic name *Ałtaj*, i.e. Russian endonym *Алтай* in transcription (in transliteration it has form *Altaj*)

– geographical names applied in Poland which differ from the official endonym only *via* translation or omission of the generic form – for instance, *Zatoka Alaska* for gulf officially called *Gulf of Alaska*[7].

In the newly elaborated list of Polish geographical names of the world, quasi-exonyms are included only for the most important features. A total of 500 such names can be found in the lists of already adopted names of objects from the areas of Asia (excluding Russia), Africa, North America, South America, Australia and Oceania.

Part II: Problems with the definition of an exonym

While the official list of Polish geographical names of the world was being completed, it turned out that there was no coherent and logical definition of the term 'exonym' that could be widely applied to the lists of exonyms. The definitions of 'exonym' and 'endonym', as adopted by the UNGEGN, are not constant, and their amendments are making it increasingly difficult to determine which name is an exonym and which is an endonym. In addition, numerous groups of names are not covered by these definitions[8].

[7] Names of this type are exonyms according to Resolution No. 19 of the Third Conference of 1977.

[8] See also a paper entitled '*The names which "escape" the definition of exonym and endonym*', delivered by the author during a session of the Working Group on Exonyms in Tainach in

The definition of 'exonym' was first proposed at a forum of the UNGEGN in 1972[9]. According to this definition an exonym is 'a geographical name used in a certain language for a geographical entity situated outside the area where that language has official status and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical entity is situated'. In 1977 the same definition was presented in the glossary of terminology[10,11]. In 1984 the UN Secretariat published a document entitled 'Technical Terminology employed in the Standardization of Geographical Names' (Glossary No. 330), in which the definition of 'exonym' from 1972 was repeated[12]. Both Resolution No. 29 of the Second Conference and No. 20 of the Fourth Conference were adopted under the first definition of 'exonym'.

The 'Glossary of toponymic terminology'[13] of 1992 contained the following definition of an 'exonym' as a 'name used in a specific language for a topographic feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing from the endonym not only by diacritic marks or through conversion'. It also contained the definition of an 'endonym' as a 'name used

2010, and subsequently published in the volume '*Trends in Exonym Use*' (Verlag Dr. Josef Kovac, Hamburg 2011).

[9] A glossary of technical terminology for employment in the standardization of geographical names, prepared by the Working Group on Definitions of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Geographical Names, 2nd United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, London, 10-31 May 1972, E/CONF.61/L.1/ Rev.1

[10] A glossary of technical terminology employed in the standardization of geographical names, prepared by the Working Group on Definitions of UNGEGN, 3rd United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Athens, 17 August – 7 September, 1977, E/CONF.69/L.1 http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/3rd-uncsgn-docs/3uncgsn_econf69_L1.pdf

[11] Another document entitled 'A glossary of technical terminology for employment in the standardization of geographical names - proposed list of standardized terms as prepared by the Terminology Service of the Translation Division, Department of Conference Services of the United National Office at Geneva' (http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/7th-gegn-docs/7th_gegn_WP3.pdf) was presented during the Seventh Session of the UNGEGN which accompanied the Third Conference. This document, however, did not contain the definition of an exonym.

[12] Technical Terminology employed in the Standardization of Geographical Names, Glossary No. 330, United Nations, Department of Conference Services, Translation Division, Documentation, Reference and Terminology Section, New York, 24 September 1984, ST/CS/SER.F/330

[13] Glossary of toponymic terminology. Version 1.2, 6th United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, New York, 25 August – 3 September, 1992, E/CONF.85/CRP.1 http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/6th-uncsgn-docs/6thUNCSGN_econf_85_crp1.pdf

in the principal language spoken in region in which the feature is located, regardless of the script in which it is expressed in writing'.

In 1997 the next, *i.e.* fourth, version of the 'Glossary of toponymic terminology' was published[14], in which an exonym was defined as a name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated. It also defined an endonym as the name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area where the feature is situated. This definition was subsequently repeated in the 'Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names' of 2002[15].

Both definitions were changed again in 2007. According to the definition, as adopted by the UNGEGN during the Ninth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names[16], 'exonym' is a 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. At the same time a definition of 'endonym' was adopted according to which it is the name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated.

As a result of these changes, according to the definition of 'exonym' the same name was once considered an exonym and another time it was not (*e.g.* the French names in Morocco should be treated as exonyms according to the earlier definitions, but according to the current definition they are instead endonyms). The last definition also means that in many cases it is difficult to determine which name is an exonym and which is not.

During preparation of the new list of Polish geographical names of the world there were numerous situations when the current definition of exonym

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[14] Glossary of toponymic terminology, version 4, Submitted by UNGEGN, 7th United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, New York, 13-22 January 1998, E/CONF.91/L.13 http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/7th-uncsgn-docs/econf/7th_UNCSGN_econf.91_l13.pdf

[15] Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division, United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names United Nations Publication, New York, 2002. ST/ESA/STAT/SER.M/85 (http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/glossary.pdf)

[16] Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names. Addendum, United Nations Secretariat, 2007. ST/ESA/STAT/SER.M/85/Add.1 (http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/glossary_add/glossary_add_e.pdf)

and endonym, as recommended by the UNGEGN, led to controversial conclusions or gave no answer as to how to determine a given name. Examples of such cases, *i.e.* for which the current definition does not provide a clear decision, are presented and discussed below:

1. Polish is the official language only in Poland. Geographical names in Polish outside the country have been accepted as additional names in only two countries where Polish minorities live – in the Czech Republic (the areas of Cieszyn Silesia adjacent to Poland, where Polish names were introduced for a number of localities) and Romania (in Bukovina, Polish names were introduced for eight localities[17]). However, a native Polish population also resides in other countries, *e.g.* it is especially large in Belarus and Lithuania. Under the current definitions, as adopted by the UNGEGN, the Polish names in Lithuania are not exonyms, but endonyms – Poles constitute the majority of the population in the vicinity of Vilnius, *i.e.* 61.3% of residents in the Vilnius district municipality and 79.5% of residents in the Šalčininkai district municipality[18], and Polish is definitely a well-established language of that area. It is forbidden, however, to use Polish names in public places in Lithuania, *e.g.* they cannot be placed on road signs and on private homes where they are visible from the street[19]. These names, in reality, cannot function as endonyms[20], even though they fulfill the current definition of 'endonym'. Under these circumstances the Commission has classified these names as exonyms.

2. In some cases the Poles who constitute the ethnic minority in a given country use different Polish names from those which are being used in Poland, *e.g.* the Poles in Latvia used names such as *Daugawpiłs* (Latvian

[17] Hotărâre pentru aprobarea Normelor de aplicare a dispozițiilor privitoare la dreptul cetățenilor aparținând unei minorități naționale de a folosi limba maternă în administrația publică locală, cuprinse în Legea administrației publice locale nr. 215/2001. Monitorul Oficial al Românei, Anul XIII, Nr. 781, 7 decembrie 2001

[18] Lietuvos Statistikos Departamentos. Duomenų bazė: Gyventojų ir būstų 2001 m. visuotinis surašymas, Socialinės demografinės charakteristikos, Gyventojai pagal tautybę. http://db.stat.gov.lt/sips/Dialog/varval.asp?ma=gs_dem10lt&ti=Gyventojai+pagal+tautyb%E6+&path=../Database/cen_lt/s71lt/1.%20demografija/&lang=1

[19] For many years the Polish press and the organizations of Lithuanian Poles have regularly informed about the restrictions imposed on the use of Polish names in Lithuania in areas inhabited by a majority of Poles, as well as about the sanctions and harassment of using such names in public.

[20] P. Jordan, in his paper entitled 'Considerations on the definitions of 'endonym' and 'exonym'' (in: Exonyms and the International Standardisation of Geographical Names. Approaches towards the Resolution of an Apparent Contradiction, Lit Verlag, Wien 2007), includes as exonyms names in minority languages which do not have the status of official languages in the given area.

Daugavpils), *Wentspiłs* (Latvian *Ventspils*) and *Łudza* (Latvian *Ludza*) in local Polish-language publications instead of the names used in Poland (which are recommended by the Commission), respectively *Dyneburg, Windawa, Lucyn*. These names belong to a group defined by B. Zagórski as 'internal exonyms'[21]. Current definitions describe names such as *Dyneburg* as endonyms just because they are in the language being used in a given area and ignoring the fact that they are not being used in this language by the people living in this area.

3. According to the current definitions the names in a well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated are endonyms. However, there is no clear definition of what a well-established language is. Is it just the language of the traditional minority groups who have been living in a given area for centuries? Or is it also the language of immigrants? The language of immigrants may, of course, be well-established (*e.g.* Spanish in South America), but not all languages of immigrants are well-established. So, when can the language of immigrants be considered as well-established? Is the Polish language well-established in France – if in the early nineteenth century France was one of the destinations of the so-called *Great Emigration*[22], and the representatives of Polish aristocracy, culture and science had settled in Paris? The descendants of these immigrants live in France and have been cultivating the Polish language and Polish culture until today. Another example could be the position of the Polish language in the United States. Polish immigration has already encompassed a time span of over 200 years, and currently Poles constitute 3.1% of the country's population[23]. Therefore, are Polish names such as *Paryż* (*Paris*) or *Nowy Jork* (*New York*) exonyms or endonyms? Moreover, data from the last census in Ireland shows that Polish is that country's second language – more people speak it daily outside the education system than the Irish language[24]. So, is it a well-established language of that country and are Polish names such as *Irlandia* (*Ireland*) endonyms?

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[21] B. Zagórski (2011), Endonyms versus Exonyms: A Case Study in Standardization. With a List of Names of Arab Countries and Their Major Cities. In: Trends in Exonym Use. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Josef Kovač.

[22] Emigration from a partitioned Poland, which was the direct cause of the collapse of the November Uprising of 1830-31. The country's political and intellectual elites mainly emigrated during that time.

[23] Data of 2010 Census according to U.S. Census Bureau.

[24] This is Ireland – Highlights from Census 2011 Part 1, Central Statistics Office, Dublin 2012, http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/census/documents/census2011pdr/Census%20 2011%20Highlights%20Part%201%20web%2072dpi.pdf According to the census 119,526 people were using the Polish language on a daily basis outside the education system, while

4. During the elaboration process of the list of exonyms it is necessary to check whether a given name is actually an exonym and not an endonym. The current definitions of exonym and endonym make that choice quite complicated. It is often difficult to verify from the available materials whether a given name (which is different from the established name in the official language) does or does not coincide with the geographical name used in a local language. This is a major problem in countries where there are many nations, such as in India, China, Ethiopia, South Africa or Russia. There are often significant difficulties in gaining access to the names in these languages. It may also occur that the traditional Polish name for a geographical object is identical to the name in the local language, *e.g.* the traditional Polish name of *Narbona* for the city in France (French *Narbonne*) is identical to the name in the Occitan language (the local language of that area), or the Polish name of the Serbian province of *Wojwodina* (Serbian *Vojvodina*) is the same as the Polish transcription of the Rusyn name for this province (*Войводина*)[25].

5. This problem is not only characteristic of the minority languages. In some countries local languages have been introduced as the official languages of the whole country, such as Sango in the Central African Republic, Comorian in the Comoros, or Guarani in Paraguay. It is often difficult to find the names in these languages. Moreover, it usually turns out that these names are not standardized and are found in different variant forms (*e.g. Ziwa la Kyoga* or *Ziwa la Kioga* in Swahili for *Lake Kyoga*). It may turn out that this variant form is identical to the name considered to be an exonym (*e.g.* the Polish

77,185 people were using Irish in such situations. However, the total number of inhabitants of Ireland indicating they could speak Irish was 1,774,437.

[25] Other examples: Polish name of *Rodan* for the river in Switzerland and France (French *Rhône*, German *Rhone*, *Rottern*) is identical to the name in the Romansh language;

Polish name of *Mantua* for the city in Italy (Italian *Mantova*) is identical to the name in the Emiliano-Romagnolo language (the local language of that area);

Polish name of *Triest* for the city in Italy (Italian *Trieste*) is identical to the name in the German language (small group of autochthonous Germans live in this city);

Polish name of *Apulia* for the region in Italy (Italian *Puglia*) is identical to the name in the Greek language in Polish transcription – *Απουλία* (in southern part of this region, a dialect of modern Greek called Griko, is spoken; Greek is officialy recognized as a minority language in Italy);

Polish name of *Kongo* for the river in the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola (French *Congo*, Portuguese *Congo*) is identical to the name in the Kikongo language and Kituba language

Polish name of *Agadir* for the city in Morocco (Arab *Akādīr* in transliteraion, *Akadir* in Polish transripton) is identical to the name in the Berber language in transliteration.

name of *Kioga* for *Lake Kyoga*, considered an exonym, is identical to one of the names used in Swahili). Sometimes the official language's shift can also bring about changes in whether names are treated as exonyms or endonyms, *e.g.* in Sudan, after the introduction of English as the state's second official language (in addition to Arabic), some Polish exonyms which were borrowed from English became endonyms (*e.g. Omdurman, Port Sudan, Nubia, Kordofan*). Madagascar is another interesting case; in 2007 English had been adopted in the constitution as the state's third official language[26], but it was removed as an official language from the new constitution that was approved in 2010[27]. So, the English name of *Central Highlands* for the region was an exonym before 2007, an endonym in the years 2007–2010, and currently, *i.e.* after 2010, it should again be treated as an exonym. There is also a widespread lack of standardized names, *i.e.* the official forms of endonyms, as listed in national gazetteers, topographic maps or other official sources, are available only for a few countries. Even in these cases there are sometimes differing and contradictory versions of names provided in the official publications of governmental institutions or legislative authorities.

6. In the present definition of 'endonym' it is important that the definition refers to the language (official, well-established) and not to the name. Therefore, can we say that the language is well-established if hardly anyone speaks it in the area where the feature is situated? For example, additional names have been established in Poland in the Kashubian language, among others in the Bytów Commune (19 names). However, according to census data the Kashubian language is spoken by 0.3% of the commune's residents (71 people out of the commune's 23,500 inhabitants[28]). Would we say that the Kashubian language is well-established in this commune and that, consequently, Kashubian names are endonyms? A similar situation exists in Hungary, where additional German names were also introduced for localities in which Germans constitute only about 1% of the population (*e.g.* the German name of *Orasch* was introduced for *Diósd*, where Germans constitute

[26] Loi constitutionnelle n° 2007 - 001 du 27 avril 2007 portant révision de la Constitution (http://democratie.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/Constitution_Madagascar.pdf) – Article 4: „...Le malagasy, le français et l'anglais sont les langues officielles".

[27] Constitution de la IVe République (11 décembre 2010) (http://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg2010.htm) – Article 4: „...Les langues officielles sont le malagasy et le français".

[28] Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne oraz społeczność posługująca się językiem regionalnym w świetle danych Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego Ludności i Mieszkań 2002: 3. Mniejszości według województw, powiatów i gmin w 2002 r. Central Statistical Office http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_nsp2002_tabl3_mn.xls

1.0% of the inhabitants, and in *Mosonszolnok*, where Germans constitute 1.1% of the population, the German name of *Zanegg* was adopted[29]). One can imagine a situation in which a name is introduced in the language that is not being used in the area where the feature is situated, *e.g.* such a name could be introduced to commemorate the language that had been used in the area in the past (such as Livonian names in Latvia[30]). Are the names that are officially introduced in such a language, which is not official and not well-established, then endonyms?

7. It is generally accepted that a name which is a result of romanization of a given name (according to the accepted rules of romanization) is *not* an exonym. But what does this mean exactly? What are the accepted rules of romanization? As for many languages different rules of romanization exist parallel to one another. The rules recommended by individual countries are not always accepted in other countries, and parallel rules are also required in different situations (*e.g.* the UNGEGN recommends adopting rules of romanization for geographical names, and the ISO has its own rules utilized for example in librarianship – in such cases a geographical name which is in the title of a book should be recorded according to the ISO romanization standard, not the UNGEGN one, in a library catalogue). Having this example in mind, should we take into account all the existing rules of romanization when considering whether a name is an exonym[31]? Moreover, in recent years the same official romanization rules have been changed, which refers to, among others, Bulgarian, Hebrew, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Georgian. Therefore, a given name which was an exonym (*i.e.* different in its form from notation in the accepted transcription or transliteration), will cease being an endonym after such a change. On the other hand, a name that was not an exonym will, after such a change of romanization system, become an exonym. For example, the Russian river Хета possesses the Polish traditional name of *Cheta*; it is now an exonym because the Russian endonym *Хета* has been transliterated, according to the official GOST 1983 System, as *Heta*, while in the Polish phonetic transcription this name should be noted down as *Chieta*.

[29] Detailed gazetteer of the Republic of Hungary 2011. List of settlement names in the relevant minority language as written on the locality nameplate. Hungarian Central Statistical Office http://www.ksh.hu/apps/cp.hnt2.ethnic_name

[30] Report of the Baltic Division. 18th Session of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, Geneva, 12 - 23 August 1996, http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/18th-gegn-docs/18th_gegn_WP50.pdf

[31] See also: P. Päll (2011), Conversion of scripts, and exonyms. In: Trends in Exonym Use. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Josef Kovač.

However, in the former romanization system[32] the Russian endonym of *Хета* had been noted down as *Cheta*; a form identical to the Polish name.

8. Also, the names of geographical features with no attribution, *i.e.* those outside the sovereignty of any country, escape the current definitions of exonym and endonym. These include sea features (in particular undersea features lying outside the territorial waters of some countries) and features situated in Antarctica and the adjacent areas which lie south of 60°S latitude (according to international treaties the area of Antarctica does not belong to any of the countries and any territorial claims remain 'frozen'). These features occur in areas where there is no official or well-established language. The names of features from these areas, which are standardized in the GEBCO gazetteer (for undersea features) and in the SCAR gazetteer (for Antarctic features), do not meet the current definition of endonym. And if there are no endonyms for these features then could we say that the Polish names for these objects are exonyms?

9. A similar situation appears when a given object is not specified or not named in the country in which it is located. If such a feature has a name in another language, and is used in another country, is this name an exonym or not? Does the lack of an endonym mean that there is also a lack of an exonym? For example, in Polish geography the name *Cieśniny Duńskie* (named the *Danish Straits* in English publications), is known as the name for all of the straits between the Jutland Peninsula and the Scandinavian Peninsula connecting the Baltic Sea with the North Sea. These straits have not been singled out as an object under one common name in either Germany, Denmark or Sweden. There are other similar cases where a given feature does not have an endonym, or when we do not know if it has an endonym, but a Polish name for the object does, in fact, exist[33]. Can we speak about exonyms in such cases?

10. Are names differing from the official name only by omission, addition or alteration of diacritics or the article exonyms[34]? According to some they are

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[32] ISO/R 9:1968 System and, based on it, Polish System PN-70/N-01201 of 1971.

[33] For example: *Góry Kurdystańskie* ('Kurdistan Mountains') in Turkey, Iraq and Iran, *Góry Jemeńskie* ('Yemen Mountains'), *Nizina Południowokaspijska* ('South Caspian Lowland') in Iran, *Kotlina Libijska* ('Libyan Depression') in Libya and Egypt, *Półwysep Somalijski* ('Somalian Peninsula') in Somalia and Ethiopia, *Wyżyna Dolnogwinejska* ('Lower Guinea Lowland'), *Pojezierze Wileńskie* ('Vilnius Lakeland') in Lithuania, *Półwysep Walijski* ('Welsh Peninsula') in the United Kingdom.

[34] Incorrect spelling of geographical names, as different issue, is not considered here.

not[35]. From the perspective of the Polish language, in which diacritical marks are applied and where the semantic differences between such words as *sad* (*orchard*) and *sąd* (*court*), *kąt* (*corner, angle*) and *kat* (*executioner*), or *płać* (*pay*) and *plac* (*square*) are significant, it seems that the name with changed diacritics is an exonym[36]. It should also be noted that Resolution No. 10 of the First Conference clearly indicated accents and diacritical signs which accompany the Roman alphabet letters of many languages are an integral part of the spelling of these languages[37]. Therefore, according to the Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland, such names as *Łomna* (Slovak *Lomná*), *Reunion* (French *La Réunion*), or *Ho Chi Minh* (Vietnamese *Hồ Chí Minh*) are exonyms.

The current definition of exonym and endonym, adopted as a result of discussions in the Working Group on Exonyms, is developed from a scientific point of view. However, should the UNGEGN take into account a scientific approach, or should it be based on an approach that would allow the UNGEGN to carry out its tasks? In other fields scientific criteria are not always accepted by the UNGEGN (*e.g.* some romanization rules adopted by the UNGEGN do not permit re-romanization, which is the basis of correct principles of romanization). Adoption of a scientific definition which cannot be unambiguously applied in practice means that the resolutions on exonyms and endonyms, as adopted at the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names, have become unworkable. How should lists of exonyms (Resolution II/28) be prepared if we do not exactly know what an exonym is? How should reductions of exonyms (Resolution II/29) be carried out? And from the perspective of standardization it is important

[35] P. Woodman (2007), Exonyms: A structural classification and a fresh approach. In: Exonyms and the International Standardisation of Geographical Names. Approaches towards the Resolution of an Apparent Contradiction, Wien: Lit Verlag.

[36] Resolution No. 19 of the Third Conference also confirms this view. This resolution lists as exonyms the following categories of names: 'those differing from the official name only by the omission, addition or alteration of diacritics or the article; those differing from the official name by declension or derivation; those created by the translation of a generic term'.

[37] Resolution I/10 'Diacritical signs which accompany letters of the Roman alphabet':

The Conference,

Recognizing that the accents and diacritical signs which accompany the Roman alphabet letters of many languages are an integral part of the spelling of these languages, in which they express such essential features as the tonic accent, the length and degree of openness of vowels, and other significant aspects of pronunciation and meaning,

Recommends that in international use all geographical names officially written in these alphabets by the countries concerned should remain unmodified and keep their distinguishing marks, even, and indeed particularly, when they are written in capital letters.

to define precisely what an exonym is and is not, and what is or is not the recommended name.

Therefore, the definition of an 'exonym', as recommended by the UNGEGN, should be a practical definition that will allow the codification of geographical names and will make it possible to clearly specify which name is an exonym and which is an endonym, *i.e.* from the standpoint of the standardization of geographical names.

Herman Bell[1]

Nubian perceptions of exonyms and endonyms

The UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms has recently been trying to revise its definitions of exonyms and endonyms. More explicit attention is being given to various attitudes of people towards their own geographical names. This development could be of particular interest to speakers of endangered languages such as Nubian. The toponymic experience of a Nubian from northern Sudan will be examined here. It will be argued that lessons based on his experience could be of relevance worldwide.

A recent definition of the distinction between exonyms and endonyms was provided by Peter Jordan[2]. At the 2012 Working Group he preferred the term 'community' to 'social group', which had appeared in the 2011 publication. However, even the term 'community' was challenged, *e.g.* for lacking precision. To deal with some of the criticisms, I have introduced the term '*toponymic community*' into his definitions below. This term may retain some of the disadvantages of 'community', but it has the virtue of referring to people who are linked by a common interest in their own toponymy. The definitions published in 2011 can therefore be rephrased as follows:

> **Endonym:** 'a name applied by a *toponymic community* permanently residing in a certain section of the geographical space for a geographical feature within this section'...
> **Exonym:** 'a name used by another *toponymic community* not residing in this section of the geographical space and not corresponding to the endonym.'

These definitions were developed further with attention to *toponymic communities* in terms of their perception of **self** and their perception of **the other**. 'The difference between "self" and "the other" is also the very reason that we feel the need to discern the difference between endonyms and exonyms'[3].

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http://huss.exeter.ac.uk/iais/staff/bell/index.php

[2] Jordan (2011), p 9.

[3] Jordan (2011), p 16.

Nubian *toponymic communities* in northern Sudan have a strong sense of '**self**' which is strengthened by an awareness of their own history. In the mediaeval period Nubian kingdoms flourished with their own written language.

Encouraged by UNESCO from 1960, a large number of teams from different nations came to work on history and archaeology in Nubia. Polish expeditions not only made a major contribution, but arguably even took the lead. Over the 50-year period since 1960 Nubians have become increasingly aware of the importance of their own contribution to world civilisation.

Nubians offered successful resistance to the Arab invasions of the seventh century A.D. and during several later centuries as well. There have been more than 1300 years of contact between the Nubian and Arabic languages. Increasingly the Arabic language and script have come to be used for written communication. The Nubian script was abandoned by 1500 A.D., although there have recently been limited attempts to revive it[4].

Bilingualism in Nubian and Arabic has become widespread. It has been an indicator of increasing social complexity. Almost all speakers of Nile Nubian in Sudan today are also speakers of Arabic. On the other hand, many of the younger people have recently been losing their ability to speak Nubian languages, especially in urban environments where the *lingua franca* is colloquial Arabic. Urban Nubians constantly speak with monolingual speakers of Sudanese Arabic. However, even though Arabic may be accepted by Nubians as vital for communication, from the point of view of Nubian activists Arabic may still be perceived as a rival ('**the other**').

Many Nubians were forcibly transported from their original homes in 1964 to avoid the flooding which resulted from construction of the High Dam near Aswan. Sudanese Nubians were taken far away from the Nile to new homes near Khashm al-Qirba[5]. Forced resettlement accelerated the decline of the Nubian language.

A lop-sided rivalry has existed between Arabic and numerous indigenous first languages in Sudan. Prior to 2005 Arabic had been the only official language and, as such, enjoyed government support, particularly from the Ministry of Education, although English had a residual, but declining role in higher education. English was also still widely used in the southern part of the country. National resources for teaching Sudanese languages were almost exclusively devoted to Arabic. The position of the government was that

[4] *E.g.* Hāshim & Kabbāra (2008).

[5] From old Wādī Ḥalfā' (21°54′N, 31°17′E), with a two-day train journey to new homes centred on New Ḥalfā' (15°20′N, 35°35′E).

scarce resources had to be concentrated on Arabic as the principal language of communication in Sudan. Apart from several limited academic initiatives, no government resources were available for Nubian.

In 2005 both Arabic and English were adopted as official languages. The Naivasha Peace Agreement in 2005 recognised indigenous Sudanese languages as national languages to be respected, developed and promoted[6]. With independence in 2011, South Sudan opted for English with indigenous languages as national languages. A lack of respect and recognition for languages and ethnic groups had been a serious factor in the lengthy conflict in many parts of Sudan.

The first question in the Nubian investigation dealt with language rivalry. What contrasts were there between attitudes toward geographical names in Nubian (reflecting the concept of '**self**') and attitudes toward geographical names in Arabic (often reflecting the concept of '**the other**')?

The method adopted for the present investigation was to examine how an educated Nubian of northern Sudan perceived certain geographical names with attention to the distinction between exonyms and endonyms. The subtleties of this situation were examined with a Nubian language activist who had long been outspoken on rivalry between Arabic and Nubian. Halīm Sabbār is a qualified medical doctor with years of experience studying and teaching the Nobíin Nubian language. He and his family experienced the 1964 forced resettlement of Nubians away from their original homes near the Nile. His perceptions were presumably influenced by his loyalty to the Nobíin Nubian language which he acknowledged to be endangered. He was aware of differences between the normal official roles of geographical names on the one hand and their possible social roles on the other. Potentially they could serve to revive the memory of the Nubian heritage, to bind the people emotionally to their traditional environment and consequently to serve a project for revitalizing the Nubian language and culture.

The first geographical name he considered was *Wādī Ḥalfā'*[7]. This was an Arabic name that had long existed in a Nubian context. *Wādī Ḥalfā'* signified 'valley of esparto grass'. It consisted of two elements *Wādī* 'seasonal water

[6] The Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between The Government of The People of The Sudan and The Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Sudan People's Liberation Army. 2004-2005. page 26, chapter II, Power Sharing, 2.8.1. www.aec-sudan.org/docs/cpa/cpa-en.pdf [accessed 3 May 2012].

[7] The original town of Wādī Ḥalfā' was submerged beneath the river (21°54′N, 31°17′E). A town now known as Wādī Ḥalfā' was constructed in a new location nearby (21°47′N, 31°22′E).

course' and *Ḥalfā'* 'esparto grass'. Both the grammatical construction and the elements of the name were Arabic.

Contrary to expectations, he classified *Wādī Ḥalfā'* as a non-alien ('**self**') name, an 'endonym'. He reached this conclusion on the basis of its familiarity and long-established usage in the region. The name could easily have been rendered with the equivalent Nubian elements: *Ambárteen Farki* 'valley of esparto grass' with *Ambártee* or *Hambártee* 'esparto grass' plus *-n* [genitive suffix] plus *Farki* 'seasonal water course'. However, not even a Nubian activist felt the need to purify this major geographical name of its Arabic elements.

His late mother Nesla Hujla never used the name *Wādī Ḥalfā'*. She always referred to the town as *Dabróosee*, which was the Nubian name for a village within whose southern confines the later town of *Wādī Ḥalfā'* developed. *Wādī Ḥalfā'* had no mayor (*'umda*) of its own, but was under the authority of the mayor of *Dabróosee*. So, the mayor (*'umda*) of *Dabróosee* was therefore responsible for the administrative centre *Wādī Ḥalfā'*. To the Nubians the town was just an urban feature within the village *Dabróosee*[8]. According to Sabbār, his mother was not trying to avoid an Arabic name. The old dwellings of *Dabróosee* were the first buildings that she would encounter when approaching the urban area from her home village of *Ishkéed* in the north. She and other people of her generation had grown accustomed to using *Dabróosee* with no need for specifying a distinct name for the urban area.

Ḥalfāwī or Halfókki

There is an interesting corollary to the benign attitude of the Nubian activist towards the Arabic name *Wādī Ḥalfā'*. This town was once the administrative centre of an extensive District which in the days of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan extended as far north as Aswan in Egypt. A Nubian inhabitant of this District eventually began to be called a *Ḥalfāwī* in Arabic and correspondingly a *Halfókki* in Nubian. Still today these are normal expressions used to identify a person from this area. Both expressions contain the Arabic word *Ḥalfā'* 'esparto grass'. Sabbār recognised the expressions *Ḥalfāwī* and *Halfókki* to be acceptable designations of place of origin[9]. At the same time, he considered the use of *Ḥalfāwī* and *Halfókki* referring to inhabitants of the

[8] 21°55′N, 31°18′E, now submerged.

[9] Sabbār (2011), p 313 referred to the 'Ḥ*alfaawiyyiin*' Nubians (an Arabic word with the Arabic plural construction).

whole District to have been a secondary development. Amongst themselves, Nubians normally used personal endings such as *-wī* and *-ókki* with more local geographical names. Thus *Ḥalfāwī* and *Halfókki* usually referred to the town rather than an extensive District. Sabbār would refer to himself as an *Ishkeedókki*, since he was from the village (Nubian: '*maar*') of *Ishkéed*[10]. He also cited the word *Nób* 'Nubian'[11] as having had a long history of indicating a more widespread ethnic identity.

One of the obvious differences between *Ḥalfāwī* and *Halfókki* is that the pharyngeal *Ḥ* of Arabic has been replaced by the glottal *H* in the Nubian counterpart. There are two distinct phonemes (*Ḥ* and *H*) in Arabic and arguably only an *H* in the basic phonology of Nubian. This is arguable because most speakers of Nubian are also speakers of Arabic and can usually pronounce Arabic loanwords in the Arabic way.

Sabbār made the following argument: The original phonology of Nubian did not possess a number of phonemes typical of Arabic. Many Nubian speakers today shift from these Arabic phonemes to their closest Nubian equivalents when they speak Nubian. In his view there is a basic phonology of Nubian. It is a distortion of Nubian phonology to import distinctive sounds typical of Arabic. Sabbār's commitment to this point of view was demonstrated in the way he spelled his own name. In a careful transliteration of Arabic writing, his name would be written **Ṣabbār** with a subscript dot under the **Ṣ**. This would indicate that the written form of his name would begin with the emphatic phoneme **Ṣ** (ص – named **Ṣād**). However, since it was normally pronounced with the non-emphatic phoneme **S** (س – named **Sīn**) by Nubians, he preferred to spell it **Sabbār** rather than **Ṣabbār** when it is written in English letters.

Similarly, he would avoid a spelling like *Wādī Ḥalfā'* with the subscript dot of *Ḥ* indicating an Arabic pronunciation. Instead, he would opt to write it *Wadi Halfa* as the Nubians pronounced it. It was considered appropriate for Arabic words (reflecting '**the other**') to be pronounced like Nubian words (reflecting '**self**') in the context of Nubian speech.

Certain Nubian geographical names seem to be subject to hypercorrection. Arabic sounds are produced without an Arabic etymological source. The village of **Ṣaraṣ**[12] and the island of **Ṣai**[13] both show the emphatic **Ṣ** as though they were of Arabic origin, but there is no evidence that either of them is of

[10] Sabbār (2011), p 316.
[11] Bell (2009), p 18.
[12] 21°34′N, 31°06′E.
[13] 20°42′N, 30°20′E.

Arabic origin. **Ṣai** appears in Egyptian hieroglyphs earlier than any known contact with Arabic and at that time it began with a hushing sibilant [š][14].

There was a widespread association of Arabic with the idea of prestige. Ancient Arabic is intentionally reflected in the Standard Arabic of the present day. Embodying this proud heritage, Standard Arabic communicates the idea of prestige to others. The Arabic phoneme *'ain* (ع) does not belong to the basic phonology of Nubian, but it does show up in the Nubian geographical name *'Amka*[15], which has no obvious Arabic antecedents. The fact that there are locally known alternatives *Abke* and *Amke* makes it probable that *'Amka* is a prestige form inspired by Arabic. The Nubian activist opted for the alternatives: *Abke* and *Amke*.

A major criticism can be raised against much of the fieldwork that was done to collect geographical names in the past. The medium of the fieldwork was usually Arabic. This tended to produce a distorted version of geographical names that had originated in other languages.

When Nubian is the medium, the names often sound different. There is an important historical site written as *Nauri*[16] in publications. However, in the context of Nubian speech the pronunciation was noted to be *Nawír*. This pronunciation, which was previously not recorded, suggested a link with an Old Nubian word 'shrine', a point of historical significance.

Even though Arabic is an official language of Sudan, there are occasional circumstances when Arabic geographical names may be perceived as '**the other**'. One such situation was experienced by Sabbār. In 1964 he and the members of his family were taken away forever from their native *maar* (Nubian: 'village') of *Ishkéed*. After a train journey of two days they were delivered to *Qarya* ١٣. *Qarya* is the Arabic word for 'village' and ١٣ the Arabic number 13, generally pronounced *talāṭāshar*[17] in colloquial Sudanese Arabic. At that time there was no name such as 'New Ishkéed'. The Nubian village name had been replaced by a number, and a number in Arabic at that.

The Nubians have historically shown a certain openness to '**the other**'. They have been well disposed towards the ancient name of 'Cush' or 'Kush' whether or not it originated in their Nubian language. More than 4000 years ago 'Kush', or perhaps originally 'Karsh'[18], arose as a national name in the

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[14] Caminos (1998), p 3, n 3.

[15] 21°48′N, 31°14′E.

[16] 19°56′N, 30°26′E: in Osman & Edwards (2012), p 350.

[17] The ṭ with a subscript dot is emphatic.

[18] Erman & Grapow (1926-63), vol 5, p 109.

vicinity of the modern Nubian town of Kerma[19], which is now the site of an important ancient monument and a major Nubian Cultural Centre[20]. There has also been considerable interest in the possible ancient Egyptian origin of the modern name Kówwa[21], since it may be linked to the earliest attested monotheism.

In 1977 Adams entitled his major historical work 'Nubia: Corridor to Africa'[22]. The concept of a corridor may help to explain the openness of Nubians to other peoples and cultures. Their narrow country along the Nile has made them familiar with the travellers who have passed that way for thousands of years. Nubian men have for centuries worked in Cairo and more recently also in Khartoum. Large Nubian communities now live in the Middle East, Europe and America. They welcome '**the other**' so long as it does not undermine the important perception of '**self**'. Their great concern now is with the decline of their language which is a rich repository of their ancient culture.

The Nubian situation has lessons that may be applicable across the world. A dominant official language, such as Arabic, may be understood by almost everyone, but it may still be regarded as intrusive and alien if its geographical names are imposed in situations where geographical names in a local language, such as Nubian, are strongly felt to be more appropriate. In circumstances such as these, a toponym in the official language may be considered alien. On the other hand, even when there is active rivalry between two languages, certain names in the dominant language may have become familiar and acceptable, such as *Wādī Ḥalfā'*. Familiarity, rather than consideration of the source language, has led to the acceptance of this geographical name as an endonym. A *toponymic community* will frequently include people of different ethnicities and with different attitudes. What is alien for some will not be for others. The complexity of such a community will be reflected in a range of viewpoints with certain toponyms being considered alien and others indigenous. A *toponymic community* has the option of hosting dialogue to address the concerns of speakers of endangered languages.

[19] 19°38′N, 30°25′E.

[20] Designed and constructed by the architect Dr. Abdalla Sabbār, brother of Halīm Sabbār.

[21] 19°09′N, 30°32′E. Bell & Hashim (2002), ***Does Aten Live On in Kawa (Kówwa)?*** Sudan and Nubia, Bulletin No. 6, pp. 42-46.

[22] Adams (1977), ***Nubia: Corridor to Africa***.

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Halīm SABBĀR[1]

Numbers as geographical names in Nubia: Endonyms or exonyms?

For more than a century the construction of dams has had a catastrophic effect upon the historic lands of the Nubian people who lived on the banks of the River Nile, upstream from Aswan.

In 1902, the Egyptian government erected the Aswan Dam. The artificial lake resulting from it engulfed parts of the Nubian land, then under the colonial Anglo-Egyptian rule (the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium). Whole villages, hamlets-within-villages, and waterwheels (meaning both the irrigation machines and the farmland irrigated by each waterwheel) were lost once and forever to the rising waters.

This was followed by two consecutive elevations of the Aswan dam in 1912 and 1934, which also meant the permanent loss of more Nubian land.

However, from the Nubian perspective, the worst catastrophe was the erection of the colossal High Dam by the military regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt, with the collaboration of the military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud in Sudan. The rising waters of a dam built in one country (Egypt) extensively inundated lands in a neighbouring sovereign country (Sudan). The dimensions of the damage resulting from this dam were unprecedented. In brief, as a result of the Egyptian dams and their elevations, the Nubians and the whole world lost invaluable Nubian assets: world heritage sites; archaeological monuments; ancient, medieval and modern cities and villages; rare architectural styles and house decoration; the shrines of saints and the graves of ancestors; the historic environment of Nubian life; places and place names. To this we must add the loss of much of the Nubian intangible heritage.

The Nubians were transferred to New Halfa in eastern Sudan. They were resettled in new villages built according to what they perceived to have been an 'engineering solution'. This simply means that the villages in the new Nubian resettlement were planned and built to satisfy the labour needs of

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the farms, not the human needs of the of the resettled Nubians. The people were distributed to the farms, not farms to the people. It was the agricultural scheme they had in mind, not the dislocated Nubians, whom the UN described as '*mankuubiin*', *i.e.,* people in distress or affliction.

In the original homeland of the Nubians in Wadi Halfa in northern Sudan, villages (Nubian: *maar*) and their subdivisions, *i.e.* the hamlets-within-villages (Nubian: *irki*), had all extended juxtaposed in a south-north line along the River Nile, which flows from the south northwards. Virtually every village was in an uninterrupted continuum with the next village (*maar*), and so was every hamlet-within-village (*irki*), and likewise, the farmland divided into 'waterwheels'[2] (Nubian: *eskalee*), *i.e.,* pieces of farmland owned by related families living in the hamlets (*irki*).

Each farmland division (*eskalee*) irrigated by one waterwheel (also *eskalee*), or more, carried the same place name as the hamlet (*irki*), in which lived the owners (farmers), who were generally blood-related, *i.e.,* a family, an extended family or even a whole clan. Sometimes an *eskalee* was shared by unrelated families. Ideally, a family gave their name to the *irki* in which they lived, to their agricultural land, and to their waterwheel. Furthermore, each *irki* (hamlet) had an access to the Nile. This access was called an *utti*, which served as a harbour for boats, for drawing water, swimming, and many other functions. The access to the Nile also had the same name as the *irki*. In short, the farmer's family gave their name to their hamlet-within-village, their farmland, their waterwheel which irrigated it, and their access to the river (*utti*)[3].

We can easily see how the toponomastics of historical Nubia are firmly bound to the socio-economic structure of Nubia: the intangible culture of place names emanates from the tangible processes of agriculture and society. Place names as pertaining to natural features (*e.g.,* mountains, wadis and riverbanks), as well as some man-made features (*e.g.,* ancient temples, modern schools and markets) have also helped to define their relationship with the environment and contributed to their traditional world view.

The way of life of Nubians was for millennia a Nile riparian agricultural one[4]. With their transfer to New Halfa, their culture was violently disrupted. It is true that Nubians still practise agriculture to earn their bread; however, their age-old agricultural system has disappeared. In New Halfa there is no Nile, and the nearest river, the river Atbara, is some sixty kilo-

[2] Abū Salīm (1980).
[3] Sabbār (2011), 316.
[4] Adams (1977).

metres away from my village. Water for irrigation and household usage is delivered via a huge canal, 'the Major' as it is called in English, from the water reservoir, or artificial lake which resulted from building another dam on the Atbara River.

In Wadi Halfa, the old Nubian homeland, all settlements were arranged in a continuum as determined by the Nile. Now, in New Halfa, as a result of the 'engineering solution', villages were planned and built to suit a predesigned agricultural scheme. This labour-oriented solution did not have in mind the Nubian culture and traditions, nor their human needs. It was regarded as infamous.

The new villages were built five kilometres apart from each other, in contradiction to the traditional, uninterrupted pattern. This, of course, had disastrous implications for social relations. The houses were distributed in a 'fill-in' way; *i.e.,* if a village was full, the rest of the people would be put in a village at least five kilometres away. So, my mother's village, Ishkeed, became divided into three new villages: 12, 13 and 14. My father's village, Dibeeree, was split into five new villages: 14, 9, 7, 6 and 3. Note that Village 14 is repeated for both Ishkeed and Dibeeree. This is because village 14 is a 'fill-in' village, where 'remaining' individuals, who were in excess of spaces in existing houses, were resettled. As a result, village 14 is a mixed Ishkeed-Dibeeree village. To make things worse, some people from a very distant village, Kokki Islands, were resettled in village 14 to fill up the remaining empty houses! Since each village was five kilometres away from the next, two Dibeeree families may now be 25-30 kilometres apart. These are the bitter fruits of the 'engineering solution'.

The villages were given numbers as designations, *i.e.* to be their place names. The total number of the new villages was twenty six. Therefore, the new numerical toponyms were 1-26.

Numbers were said to be universally used as place names. Did not New York use numbers for its avenues? Were not numbers used to designate the stars?

It was argued that numbers were neutral as toponyms, because their written characters were becoming more widely used in all scripts. However, this was a false argument. For, once we utter the number, this must be in a specific language. Thus, my village is Qaryah Talattaashir in Arabic, and not Maar Dimetusko in Nobiin Nubian. Since Arabic was the threatening language, and Nubian the endangered language, and since the Arab government and the official bodies and institutions insisted on the Arabic version, numbers could not be even neutral, let alone Nubian.

This persistently negative policy towards national identities was very old. Ancient Egyptians were aware of what they were doing by giving Egyptian personal names to Nubian slaves, and by giving Egyptian place names to occupied land in Nubia. The Spanish and Portuguese colonialists meticulously followed the same policies in the Americas as early as the sixteenth century. Wiping out the identity of both human names and place names is nothing new. This is both Arabization (of the people) and Arabicization (of the language). The negative language planning and language policy toward place names and personal names only confirm their importance for language maintenance and revitalisation, as well as for the revival of culture and identity.

In the 1980s, during the democratic rule, the Nubians tried to revitalise their old place names and bring them back into use. Thus, for instance, my village (No 13) became Ishkeed Januub (januub is 'south' in Arabic), and village 12 became Ishkeed Shamaal (shamaal is 'north' in Arabic). The designation of 'south' and 'north' was not geographically appropriate in New Halfa, for the two villages lay in an east-west orientation. The choice of south-north was the result of nostalgia for the old homeland in Nubia, where most of the people of Ishkeed 'South' used to live in southern lost Ishkeed, and most the people of Ishkeed 'North' used to live in northern lost Ishkeed. However, this was abolished, in deference to the official persistence of using the numerical system for place names.

'Mixed' villages like 14 did not even try. The population came from three different villages: Ishkeed, Dibeeree and Kokki Islands.

Strangely enough, the government seemed not to mind English place names. Examples of these were: (a) 'Major', pronounced as in English, for the major canal; (b) Shaksanee (a corruption of Section-A) for village 3; and (c) the term *bulukk*, a corruption of the English 'block' (for houses and some place names), *e.g.,* Block 8, pronounced Bulukk Tamanya. This may make it obvious how negative language policies and planning primarily targeted the indigenous African languages of Sudan.

As a result of the dislocation of the Nubians and their transfer to New Halfa in eastern Sudan, the Nubians came to face a new reality; a desert-like land, with new flora and fauna, an absence of birds, and different geological and landscape features. The old features were lost forever; no River Nile, no trees; nothing related to what they used to know.

The houses were different, just like the villages, which were given numbers for place names. The names of *irkis*, *i.e.,* the hamlets-within-village, were abolished *per se*, let alone changing their names to numbers. In other words, all the toponyms have vanished into thin air. Nubians had to build their own schools with their own hands. They gave these schools practical Arabic names, *e.g.,* Madrasat al-Qarya Talattaashir (School of Village Thirteen).

They also built a secondary school to commemorate a famous and beloved Nubian teacher, Dahab Abdel Jaabir. However, the Islamic military regime was not content with that. All the schools built by Nubians were given new Islamic names of the sahaaba (disciples) of Muhammed. Thus, boys' schools were given masculine sahaaba names, and girls' schools were given feminine sahaaba names. The government committee became stuck in Village 12, for it was a mixed (boys' and girls') school. A Nubian wit suggested: 'Call it Madrasat Iisee ibn Meryem', *i.e.,* the School of Jesus, son of Maryam!

Erasing Nubian place names and the names of Nubians which have become place names is the official policy for place names in Sudan. Thus the name of a Nubian patriot, Ibrahim Ahmed, which was a street name, has been erased. Likewise the name of King Taharqa (biblical Tirhaqah) was removed from a student dormitory in the University of Khartoum. The name of Wadi Halfa was not given even to the poorest of lanes in Khartoum, although it had been the administrative centre of the 'lost Paradise' referred to by Herman Bell[5].

The sad dislocation and resettlement of Nubians has shown us many things:

1. That numbers as place names could also be exonyms. These numbers, pronounced in Arabic, are in fact Arabic exonyms. The 'neutral', universal appearance of numbers does not mean they are endonyms. The toponymic community did not participate in coining these numerical place names. Nor did they approve them. These names were already in place when the Nubians arrived.
2. The negative language policies against endonyms have no limit. Arabic toponyms are not enough; they must also be Islamic. Place names commemorating Nubian people, even if these names are of Arabic etymology, are taboo.
3. A point often missed in the discussions about the importance of place names in language revitalisation is the problem of new place names. It is not a matter of reviving old toponyms alone; it is also a matter of coining new toponyms. It is a serious limitation to revive old place names and personal names, and to be content with that. The right to coin new endonyms is essential to the process of language revitalisation.

[5] Bell H. (2009).

4. The negative language policy can be tolerant of exonyms, even if these were English, but never of Nubian endonyms.
5. The projects of building more dams on the Nile River will bring an end to Nubian place names.

It is true that toponyms have long been a feature of projects for language maintenance and revival[6]. Bilingual road signs in Welsh and English are a constant reminder of this in Wales. However, the role of toponymy needs to be given a new emphasis reflecting the close relationship between toponyms and the traditional environment which provided the context in which particular languages developed and flourished. In the spirit of 'New Roles for Endangered Languages' by M. Moriarty[7] we would welcome an assessment of toponymic activities and their potential contribution to the support of Nubian and other endangered languages.

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[6] Bell and Sabbār (2011), p 300-02.

[7] Moriarty (2012), pp. 457-58.

Paul Woodman[1]

Toponymic expression: Endonyms and exonyms in speech, writing and reading

I

A geographical name is a label applied to each geographical feature that we discern as being worthy of specific recognition. The process of applying such labels to features was begun by our distant ancestors, who created geographical names in order to identify the features close to home. Initially their requirements would not have extended much further than speaking of 'the river' or 'the hill', but as local knowledge spread, and they discovered other rivers and hills in the neighbourhood, some specificity would have been required for an adequate identification of each feature and in this manner the first rather crude proto-endonyms would have been born.

Each label – each geographical name – originates as a thought conceived in a specific language. But since thought cannot be directly communicated, we need to use the spoken and written forms of that language to express and convey the name unambiguously to others. At the time of the early proto-endonyms, our ancestors could only have expressed and conveyed these endonyms in a spoken form of their language, since they did not have the benefit of writing systems. Today, of course, we are able equally well to use writing systems as well as speech to express and communicate our geographical names[2].

Thus the fundamental repository for an endonym is within a language, not a script. It is within a language that an endonym is conceived. We are accustomed to encountering an endonym in its written or spoken form, but in fact the existence of an endonym lies more deeply, within the language itself. Its spoken and written forms are simply its manifestations, the representative

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[2] There are other methods of toponymic (and general) communication too. These include sign language, Morse code, the Silbo whistling language of La Gomera, and the drumbeat language traditionally used by the Kele people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

mediums necessary for its expression, because clearly without some form of expression it is impossible to convey the endonym at all.

Given that an endonym has its own inherent existence based on language, it follows that the script in which that endonym is written is to some extent immaterial. It is the language that matters. Therefore if a country decides to change the script used for its language (as happened for example in Moldova when it became an independent country following the demise of the Soviet Union), the nature of the endonym behind the written forms across those scripts is not affected. Only its spelling is altered. Nor is the intrinsic endonym affected by orthographic reform; orthographic revision in Indonesia in the early 1970s altered the spelling Jogjakarta to Yogyakarta, but the intrinsic endonym for the city – the thought or concept behind the spelling – remained unchanged.

The independence of an endonym from its script form is also demonstrated on those occasions when a hitherto unwritten language takes on a written form. Somalia provides an example of this scenario. Prior to the 1972 creation of a writing system for the Somali language, toponyms of that language were written in accordance with English-language orthographic conventions within the former British Somaliland, and in accordance with Italian-language orthographic conventions within the former Italian Somaliland. Thus a village name spelt as *El Hawarishey* in British Somaliland would have its counterpart in Italian Somaliland spelt as *El Auariscei*. Following the creation of written Somali, however, both villages would now be spelt as *Ceel Xawaarishey*; three different spellings and two separate villages, but both villages with the same single endonymic concept, unaltered by orthographic change[3].

In Moldova, Indonesia and Somalia the written manifestations of endonyms have changed, but the endonyms themselves (and their spoken forms) have remained the same throughout these changes. To be sure, the written form of an endonym is of course usually required in order fully to be able to convey the endonym (and indeed all toponyms) and, very importantly, it is also a necessary mechanism for standardizing the form of the endonym. But the examples given above show that a change of written form does not necessarily change the intrinsic endonym, for the essence of an endonym is deeper than can be reflected by its written form alone.

We might add here the related point that, for the same reasons, the transfer of the written form of an endonym from one script to another by properly

[3] I have invented this (hopefully plausible) Somali village name for illustrative purposes.

scientific methods does not normally create an exonym out of the original endonym[4]. Such a procedure (of which romanization is the obvious example) normally retains the endonym, albeit in a different written form, and indeed by increasing the global accessibility of the endonym it arguably enhances the status and prestige of that endonym.

II

I have written above that since an endonym has its own inherent existence, the script in which it is written is to some extent immaterial. But it is by no means wholly immaterial; the qualifier 'to some extent' is crucial. The script form must represent the endonym in a manner acceptable within the country where the endonym is located. This is a straightforward matter within a single country; Iceland, for example, decides the proper spelling of endonyms within its own territory. But, in order to maintain the integrity of the endonym, outside countries must try to do likewise. A small deviation to accommodate the toponym within the conventions of the receiver language may be tolerable; hence it is acceptable to write the Icelandic endonym Suðurland as Sudhurland if the receiver language does not have the special <ð> letter available to it within its orthographic inventory. But if the spelling of the endonym is deliberately manipulated to fit the structure of a receiver language, without any regard at all to the orthographic conventions demanded by that endonym's own donor language, then the resultant form is an exonym[5]. As it happens, there are two Roman-alphabet languages in Europe – Latvian and Lithuanian – that habitually take foreign Roman-alphabet endonyms and rewrite these in accordance with receiver (*i.e.* Latvian and Lithuanian) language structure and orthographic conventions, sometimes even indulging in a little translation as well. Here is just one example from each of those languages:

Latvian:	***Hārtlpūla***	used for the English endonym **Hartlepool**
Lithuanian:	***Pajūrio Bulonė***	used for the French endonym **Boulogne-sur-Mer**

[4] See PÄLL (2000).

[5] For example, writing the capital city of Paraguay as *Asuncion* rather than *Asunción* marks a simple error rather than the creation of an exonym, whereas writing it in French as *Assomption* does indeed create an exonym. This distinction is crucial to an understanding of the endonym/exonym divide. See also Section IV of this paper.

Hārtlpūla is intended to reflect the pronunciation of the endonym, and – as one can see – pays scant heed to its official written form. Unfortunately, though, this example demonstrates the dangers of relying on knowledge of pronunciation; in Latvian terms the spelling should in fact be *Hārtlepūla* with a medial letter 'e', since in English the medial letter 'e' is in fact pronounced. The final 'a' in this Latvian example marks a nominative feminine noun ending, added as if this were a Latvian language toponym where Latvian declension would be obligatory. If anything, Lithuanian practice is even more extreme. As with Latvian, the Lithuanian example *Pajūrio Bulonė* similarly adds a nominative feminine noun ending (in this instance 'ė'), as if the town were in Lithuania and therefore in need of Lithuanian declension but, unlike Latvian, Lithuanian also indulges in partial translation, the French element 'sur Mer' being translated as *Pajūrio*, meaning '*Seaside*'[6].

In such instances as these, the spellings clearly cannot be construed as legitimately representing the endonyms. The original toponyms have been intentionally manipulated to fit the structure of the receiver language to such an extent that the resulting names are in fact exonyms. To be sure, all languages have genuine exonyms for a small selection of places outside their own orbit, but the difference here is that the Latvian and Lithuanian languages routinely employ these practices wholesale to all toponyms outside their own respective countries. The result is that (to take Latvia as an example) the only foreign endonyms present on a Latvian map of Europe are those that are there by accident, in instances where the national official spelling of a name happens to correspond to the spelling according to Latvian orthographic conventions.

These practices are insular and highly introverted. They fail to respect the integrity of the original endonym, they require an impossibly comprehensive knowledge of foreign pronunciations, and they completely divorce the resultant spellings from their proper originals, thereby greatly handicapping user attempts to make any reference connections[7]. Such practices also used to be followed to some extent by Albanian (which would write *Kru* for Crewe in England), though fortunately not by other languages; we do not for instance see *Cerso* (for Thurso in Scotland) in Spanish publications, nor thankfully

[6] The Latvian example is taken from AĪALV (2006), a publication that contains 60 pages of rules informing Latvian readers how to re-spell English-language personal and place names in accordance with Latvian orthography, followed by about 120 pages of examples, including *Hārtlpūla*. The Lithuanian example is taken from the website http://lt.wikipedia.org

[7] According to the Latvian newspaper *Diena*, recent US and UK politicians include persons named **Džordžs V. Bušs**, **Tonijs Blērs**, **Gordons Brauns**, **Deivids Kamerons** and **Niks Klegs**. By the same process, my own name metamorphoses into **Pols Vudmens**.

do we see *Ocsfordo* (for Oxford in England) in Italian maps – even though it is customarily deemed obligatory for Italian nouns to end in a vowel. The Italian language, unlike its Latvian and Lithuanian counterparts, correctly acknowledges and respects the fact that Oxford is an English-language, not an Italian-language, noun.

Occasionally we can perceive a similar practice in Cyrillic script too; some Russian-language products can be seen to have re-written the name of the Bulgarian town Свищов as *Свиштов* in order to satisfy a consistency of pronunciation (/sviʃtɔf/) at the expense of orthography. Here again, as with Hartlepool and Boulogne-sur-Mer, the spelling of the toponym Свищов is wilfully manipulated with the result that its integrity is compromised.

III

Having identified language as the basic method by which a geographical name is expressed and conveyed, we have so far looked at endonyms in their spoken-language and written-language forms. But there is a third element to consider, too; their reading-language forms.

During the FIFA World Cup tournament held in England in 1966, the Uruguayan national football team manager Ondino Viera is reported to have said: 'Other countries have their history; Uruguay has its football.' This bold assertion, which has entered the lexicon of celebrated football folklore, neatly indicates the great importance of Uruguay's national game to the country's psyche, but it perhaps does less than justice to Uruguay's interesting and colourful history, in particular the nineteenth century independence struggle and ensuing civil war. Prominent among Uruguay's celebrated historic figures from that crucial period was a group of thirty-three individuals who in 1825 initiated the revolt that would some years later lead to their country's independence. And today, if we drive north-east from Uruguay's capital city Montevideo, along *Ruta Ocho* (Route 8) through the gently undulating hills towards the Brazilian border, we arrive after some three hours at the small town of Treinta y Tres, a settlement named in honour of those same thirty-three national heroes – Treinta y Tres being the Spanish language form of 'Thirty-Three'.

We can realistically envisage a scenario in which a farmer living in the nearby countryside and unexpectedly needing to visit this town one afternoon might leave a note for his family saying '*He ido a Treinta y Tres; regreso pronto*'[8]. It is equally plausible that, being in a particular hurry, he might shorten this to '*He ido a T y Tres; regreso pronto*', or possibly '*He ido a TT; regreso pronto*', or even '*He ido a 33; regreso pronto*'. This poses interesting toponymic questions because, as soon as the endonym has been written in an alternative format as (for example) '33', it is immediately capable of being read in a multitude of languages; not just as the Spanish 'Treinta y Tres' but also as English 'Thirty-Three', German 'Drei und Dreizig', French 'Trente-Trois', and so on. Yet only one of these possible readings, the Spanish-language 'Treinta y Tres', provides us with the endonym; all other readings instead produce exonyms. Of course, from the context of the farmer's note, it is fairly evident that in this instance '33' is intended to be read in the Spanish language, but when a toponym with an element such as '33' is written in isolation on a map or atlas plate then the correct language reading may well be unclear.

In distinguishing endonyms from exonyms, therefore, this small example from Uruguay illustrates that the way in which a toponym is read can be as significant as the way in which it is written or spoken. One particular reading of the single toponym '33' (as Treinta y Tres) will produce an endonym; other readings of that same toponym will produce exonyms. And nowhere is this phenomenon as widespread and relevant as in logographic writing systems, such as those to be found in East Asia.

IV

In the logographic writing systems of East Asia, writing systems that involve the use of Sino-Japanese characters, each individual character represents a whole word or a component portion of a word[9]. In that sense, these characters closely resemble the characters the Western world uses for its cardinal numerals, where for example the set of characters forming '33' represents a particular word or idea – in this case the concept of 'thirty-three-ness'. Let us consider the East Asian geographical name that is written with the two Sino-Japanese characters 九 + 州, forming the toponym 九州[10]. This toponym is the written form of the name of one of the major islands of the

[8] 'Gone to Treinta y Tres; back soon'.

[9] Sino-Japanese characters are often referred to as 'Chinese characters', for the sake of simplicity.

[10] This toponym is also used as an example in PÄLL, P. & MATTHEWS, P.W. (2007), p 72.

Japanese archipelago, and in the Japanese language these characters are read kyū + shū, thereby forming the romanized toponym Kyūshū. But because the characters belong to the Sino-Japanese family, they are also found in the Chinese language, in which they are read as jiu + zhou, forming the romanized toponym Jiuzhou. The meaning in both languages is identical – 'Nine Lands' or 'Nine Provinces' – just as the meaning of the symbol '33' remains the same across different languages even though it is read and enunciated differently in each of those languages. But in our example here this particular geographical name relates to an island of Japan; this island was endowed with its endonym long ago by local Japanese settlers, and it would have been they who authoritatively decided that 'Nine Lands' was an appropriate name. For them, 'Nine Lands' was and is read as Kyūshū, and so that is the endonymic expression. To write the romanized name instead in the Chinese manner as Jiuzhou, or to read the characters 九州 in the Chinese manner as Jiuzhou, is alien; it would be the mark of an outsider, of one who has not settled there, and would accordingly be the expression of an exonym. However, as with '33', we must note again here the general point that, simply from the written toponym 九州 alone, and in the absence of contextual assistance helping us to place that toponym in a particular language, we cannot know for sure what the endonymic reading ought to be, for there may well be a feature in China with this same character pairing, and for which Jiuzhou rather than Kyūshū would therefore be the endonym.

I am of course dealing with the *reading* rather than the *pronunciation* of toponyms, and it might be useful to elaborate here upon the distinction between reading and pronunciation. A toponym such as Newcastle can only be *read* legitimately in one particular way. It is clearly not possible to read Newcastle as Neufchâteau, even though the intrinsic meaning of both names is identical. It is however possible to *pronounce* Newcastle in several different ways, these being dependent upon spoken variations in people's speech patterns. A toponym such as 九州, on the other hand, can not only be *pronounced* in several different ways, just like Newcastle and for the same reasons, it can also in fact be *read* in more than one legitimately different way, as we have seen in the previous paragraph.

The distinction between Newcastle and Neufchâteau, and the distinction between Kyūshū and Jiuzhou, are distinctions of translation since, as we have noted, the intrinsic meaning in each toponym pairing is identical. It seems safe to assert that the translation of an endonym always creates an exonym, unless by chance both languages are genuinely endonymic for the name of the feature in question. The mediums in which translation is apparent differ depending upon the nature of the scripts involved. In languages utilising alphabetic scripts, translation usually involves a change in the written form and the spoken form, hence for example:

- Asunción (the Spanish-language endonym) becomes Assomption in the French language.

In languages utilising logographic scripts, on the other hand, translation involves a change of the reading form and the spoken form – the written form does not change[11]. Hence, for example:

- 大邱 (in the Republic of Korea) is read endonymically as Daegu in Korean (and is written 대구 in the alphabetic *hangeul* script normally used for that language) but is read exonymically as Daqiu in Chinese
- 釜山 (in the Republic of Korea) is read endonymically as Busan in Korean (and is written 부산 in the alphabetic *hangeul* script normally used for that language) but is read exonymically as Fusan in Japanese
- 九州 (in Japan) is read endonymically as Kyūshū in Japanese but exonymically as Jiuzhou in Chinese
- 東京 (in Japan) is read endonymically as Tōkyō in Japanese but exonymically as Dongjing in Chinese[12].

As with the Newcastle / Neufchâteau example, in all these later instances the meaning of the toponym remains unchanged across the translation, thus:

- Asunción and Assomption both mean 'Assumption'
- Daegu and Daqiu both mean 'Big Mound'
- Busan and Fusan both mean 'Cauldron Mountain'
- Kyūshū and Jiuzhou both mean 'Nine Lands' or 'Nine Provinces'
- Tōkyō and Dongjing both mean 'East Capital'.

Note that simple variant pronunciations of any of these endonyms – Newcastle, Asunción, Daegu, Busan, Kyūshū, Tōkyō – would not create an exonym.

[11] The written form of Sino-Japanese characters is known as *Hanzi* in Chinese, *Kanji* in Japanese, and *Hanja* in Korean.

[12] Though in the Chinese of the People's Republic of China this would now be written in simplified form as 东京 (which is also read as Dongjing).

V

Logographic script language publications are of course obliged to use Sino-Japanese characters to represent the geographical names not just of their own territories but also those found elsewhere in the world[13]. For instance, Sino-Japanese characters must represent the geographical names of Europe, and so whatever the original donor European language might have been, the resultant written form will in every instance differ totally from the original European written endonym. And, as we have seen, the reading of that Sino-Japanese character form will further differ as between the Chinese and the Japanese languages. Are these Sino-Japanese character renderings and Japanese *kana* renderings to be classed as endonyms or as exonyms? The visual difference from the original is such that the initial temptation may be to brand all logographic attempts to write European names as exonyms, but I believe this to be a simplistic and indeed an unfair judgement. As long as a logographic-script language scientifically endeavours within the parameters of its own orthography to represent the European original as best it can, then that receiver language is undertaking a procedure not so very different from romanization – it is transferring an endonym from one script to another while attempting to maintain that endonym's integrity. The result, as with romanization, is therefore not so much an exonym but rather what might be termed a 'reflection of the endonym'. And if we ask why this procedure largely maintains the endonym, whereas the Latvian and Lithuanian approaches noted earlier in this paper do not, it is because the rendering of European languages into Sino-Japanese characters must involve a transfer across scripts, whereas their rendering into Latvian or Lithuanian usually does not. Languages in logographic scripts do not have a choice; they must alter European names. The Latvian and Lithuanian languages, on the other hand, do have the choice to retain European endonyms as found; they simply choose not to do so.

The 'reflection of the endonym' is however only achieved if a genuine attempt is made to maintain the original toponym as scientifically as possible. And in fact most logographic script publications, be they Chinese or Japanese, do indeed try to preserve the endonym as best they can, by using

[13] Though Japanese language publications will frequently utilise the syllabic *kana* form of the Japanese language, rather than Sino-Japanese characters, for such purposes; see Section VI.

Sino-Japanese characters that correspond as closely as possible to the sound of the original toponym. If we take Newcastle as an endonym and Chinese as the receiver language, we will usually find this name rendered along the following lines:

> 纽 = niu + 卡 = ka + 斯 = si + 尔 = er : producing 纽卡斯尔
> and read as Niukasi'er

Moreover, the characters chosen for the rendering of such toponyms are deliberately designed to produce a meaningless combination, so that the 'word' that results is evidently foreign and unusual. In the case of the characters chosen here for Newcastle, the actual meaning would be akin to 'a button to block this in such a way' – which is clearly and intentionally nonsense.

However, if a logographic script language decides to represent European toponyms via the medium of translation, then that approach certainly does produce exonyms, for translation always produces an exonym[14]. So if a Chinese publication opts for translation and writes:

> 新 = xin (= 'new') + 城 = cheng (= 'castle'): producing 新城 =
> Xincheng (*i.e.* 'New Castle')

then an exonym every bit as genuine as Assomption for Asunción is created.

My contention, therefore, is that 纽卡斯尔 is an endonym – or, more precisely, a reflection of the endonym – whereas 新城 is an exonym. To call both names 'exonyms' is unfair, since one demonstrates a genuine attempt to execute a scientific transfer of an endonym across scripts, while the other does not. If we doubt this contention, then let us consider the situation in reverse. It would be nonsense to claim that 'Kyūshū', simply because it is visually so different from the original written endonym 九州, is an exonym in the same mould as is a translation of 九州 into 'Nine Lands'. Rather, it is clear that Kyūshū is a reflection of the endonym, whereas Nine Lands would be a genuine exonym. And we might note here that this dichotomy of approach is in fact present in any transfer between scripts. Thus the Cyrillic script as used in the Russian language has exactly the same options available for rendering Newcastle as does Sino-Japanese logography. It can either render the endonym as closely as possible to its original form, producing a recognisable

[14] As noted in Section IV, translation always produces an exonym unless both languages are genuinely endonymic for the name of the feature in question.

reflection of the endonym (Ньюкасл: = N'jukasl); or it can instead translate the endonym into an exonym (Новый Замок: = New Castle).

VI

The Japanese language presents additional issues that require our attention in the consideration of endonyms and exonyms. As briefly mentioned in Section V, toponyms written in Japanese can be presented either in logographic script (which is customary for the toponyms of Japan itself, and for familiar foreign toponyms in nearby East Asia) or in syllabic *kana* script (which is the customary Japanese written medium for many of the other toponyms of the world). But there is a complication. In Chinese, each Sino-Japanese character almost always has only one single reading, comprising one single syllable, whereas those same Sino-Japanese characters when deployed in the Japanese language may have two separate readings. Usually, one of these readings (known as the *on* reading) is rather similar to the reading found in Chinese, and the other reading (known as the *kun* reading) is quite different and possibly comprises two syllables. To take one example, the character 山 (meaning mountain) has in Chinese the single one-syllable reading *shan*. When encountered in Japanese, however, the same character may be read either as *san* (similar to the Chinese reading) or as *yama* (an exclusively Japanese reading).

It may not be possible, particularly for an outsider, to know which of these readings ought to be applied within any one given toponym, which is how the great Japanese mountain written as 富士山 and properly read as Fuji-san came to be known internationally but erroneously as Fuji-yama (more usually spelt solid as Fujiyama). Indeed, even those for whom Japanese is a native language may encounter difficulties as regards this phenomenon. The remote southern Japanese island written as 硫黄島 and known to the world conventionally as Iwo Jima has an interesting history in this respect. The traditional reading of these characters is Iō-tō, with *tō* being the *on* reading of the final character, which is a generic term meaning *island*. But in the early twentieth century the Japanese navy, in charting the feature, advised use of the *kun* reading for that generic term in this particular instance, producing the form Iō-jima, and this form subsequently found its way both into official Japanese usage and then (spelt conventionally as Iwo Jima) into the international toponymic lexicon. Application of the *kun* reading form lasted until 2007, when Japan officially announced that the reading of the generic term for this feature should revert to its *on* form, making the feature once again Iō-tō.

At first sight, it may seem that these two Japanese names mirror the situation we encountered over the Japanese island toponym 九州 in Section IV. In that instance we considered a name whose written form was constant but whose reading could vary between Kyūshū (Japanese) and Jiuzhou (Chinese). Here, similarly, we have toponyms which have one single written form (富士山 and 硫黄島 respectively) but with each of those written forms having two different readings. In our consideration of 九州 we determined that one reading form – Kyūshū – was an endonym, and the other reading form – Jiuzhou – was an endonym. We made this decision on the grounds that the reading Kyūshū was the Japanese reading of a toponym for a feature which was within Japan, whereas the reading Jiuzhou was the Chinese (and therefore an exonymic) reading of that feature name. But the circumstances regarding this latest pair of toponyms are quite different, because although the features are also both within Japan, and the written form for each feature also has two readings, those readings are simply *on* and *kun* variations within the same single language, Japanese. That language is the endonymic language for both these feature names, and so in fact what we have here in each case is a pair of variant endonyms. Thus the single Japanese toponym 富士山 has a pair of variant endonymic readings – Fuji-san and Fuji-yama – and the single Japanese toponym 硫黄島 also has a pair of variant endonymic readings – Iō-tō and Iō-jima. In both instances, one particular endonymic reading is favoured over the other in the Japanese language, the favoured readings being Fuji-san and Iō-tō respectively, but that does not make the disfavoured reading in each case an exonym.

VII

The main purpose of this paper has been to show that, in order to understand toponymic expression, we need to see through the disguising veneer that scripts impose on toponyms, and look instead at the language behind the script, for it is within the language rather than the script that an endonym is housed. At the same time, however, the written form of a toponym is vital for its standardization, and so it is necessary that the written form should be treated respectfully. As long as we try to preserve an endonym as it is in its original donor language, in the most scientific manner that our own receiver language can manage, then we can be confident that we are maintaining that endonym, or at the very least producing a genuine reflection of it. If on the other hand we choose to translate the original endonym, or engage in a wholesale and calculated re-writing of endonyms, then we are engaging in the production of an exonym. I believe it to be scientifically wrong to claim that all script-transfer products, simply because they are visually so very different from the original, should be classed as exonyms. And as regards logographic scripts, I believe such a claim would also be wrong in a moral sense, for if as a general principle we are keen to discourage the use of exonyms, then we would be sending a message to China and Japan that their writing system is intrinsically incapable of producing acceptable endonymic renderings of Europe's toponyms – and that cannot be a proper or fair-minded attitude to take.

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Section II
Exonym analysis and usage

Małgorzata Mandola[1]

French exonyms for Polish toponyms

In the era of globalization, foreign names are multiplying everywhere in the media, in all kinds of texts, in political speeches, *etc*. This multiplication has led to great heterogeneity in the nomenclature of geographical names. During and after each political, historical or social event wherever in the world, there is a significant increase in the number of foreign elements: names of famous people (in politics or in art), geographical names, *etc*. In French and in other languages, of course, these names often appear in several versions in writing and in speech. Thus, research into the regulations of the integration of foreign names in a language seems very important. Foreign names are commonly used: in trade and tourism, in the administration in the media, at school, on maps, in scientific and popular literature, and in all international contacts. A uniform nomenclature is essential not only for the needs of a country but also at the international level. A significant example is the city of Wrocław. Regarding foreign policy and diplomacy, the names Breslau – which comes from the German – and Wrocław from Polish, which are the two names for the same town in Poland, have different connotations and implications in different contexts. For this reason, among others, standardization and homogenization of Polish names in foreign languages is necessary.

1. Standardization of toponyms

It is a fact that studies on regulations for the use of foreign names are conducted all over the world. Since the twentieth century linguists have been working on the unification of the vocabulary of foreign proper names, but their research has never been more important than today, and that is because of globalization. Thus, the unification of geographical names has become an omnipresent administrative practice in the world. France is a country that has a long tradition of *francisation* of foreign names, where those names appear in large numbers in the domain of politics and education. Aside from the first attempts of *francisation* of these names, dating from the seventeenth century (the establishment of the French Academy), the present research

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deals with the contemporary period. We know that there are many institutions, beginning with the French Academy, that have tried to formulate the norms of correct adaptation of foreign names in the French language. This trend is even stronger today and its purpose is no longer to '*franciser*' foreign names but quite the opposite; to preserve their original forms as much as possible. The break with the traditional tendency of etymological research in toponymy, that in France was elaborated by many great toponymists like Albert Dauzat, is influenced or even imposed by the UN international project on the standardization of proper names in the world.

With the intensive work to elaborate a common geographical nomenclature, initiated by the United Nations Group of Experts in Geographic Names (UNGEGN), we observe a change of points of interest of the etymology to a contrastive perspective that gives rise to a synchronic toponymy and even a synchronic-contrastive toponymy. UNGEGN issued normative acts to implement the project on the international standardization of Geographical Names, this project being defined as an 'activity to unify as much as possible spoken and written forms of all names referring to geographical features of our planet (and also extraterrestrial toponyms) with:

1. National standardization and / or
2. International Convention concerning the translation of languages and transliteration of the systems of writing'[2].

Thus, we are witnesses to the birth of the second branch of onomastics; toponymy conceived in a synchronic perspective (*i.e.* no longer diachronic, which was heavily concerned with etymology). This means that we are presently increasingly interested in the current form of a name, without regard to etymology, and in its passage from one language to another. Therefore, we have become aware of the existence of sometimes several forms or versions of a single toponym.

The difficulty that appears now is to choose one of these forms or to propose one coined according to the recommendations of specialist bodies on surveillance of national and foreign toponyms. In France, these organizations are the National Commission of Toponymy (CNT), established under the National Council for Geographic Information, and the Commission of Toponymy, placed in the National Geographic Institute. Both committees have developed many regulations concerning toponyms and names and their

[2] According to Ewa Wolnicz-Pawlowska in an online article: http://human.uwm.edu.pl/polonistyka/P_J_2006/Wolnicz-Pawlowska.doc (author's translation).

contemporary foreign forms. In Poland, there are also two commissions: first, the Commission for Establishing Names of Localities and Physiographic Objects (*Komisja Nazw Miejscowości Obiektów Fizjograficznych*) which works on the standardization of geographical names in Poland, and which is attached to the Ministry of Interior and Administration; and second the Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland (*Komisja Standaryzacji Nazw Geograficznych poza Granicami Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*), part of the Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography of the country. The international organization caring for agreement on the issue of integration of foreign names leading to an international policy of standardization is obviously UNGEGN.

Toponymic research, although it remains synchronic, expands to other areas such as microtoponymy, macrotoponymy, sociotoponymy, mapping, lexicography, lexicology, translation, philosophy of language (the logic), onomastics in general, *etc*; from which the first three are recent disciplines that were born with synchronic toponymy. In this paper, pragmatics will be the crucial area of toponym usage, as the use of foreign toponyms is equally, or even primarily, a strictly linguistic matter. Our purpose will be to answer the question: how does the French language assimilate all the incoming foreign names? According to which devices are Polish toponyms integrated into the French language?

The different forms of exonym creation were presented many years ago by France at the Third UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names.

1. Exonyms composed of one or more common names and determiners, excluding any proper name:
   - 1.1. Translation of the local name: ***La Forêt Noire* › *der Schwarzwald***
   - 1.2. Elliptic translation of the local name:
     Le Cap* › *Cape Town ou Kaapstadt

2. Exonyms composed of at least one proper name and one or more common names and its determiners
   - 2.1. Exonyms translated after of the local name:
     Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique › The United States of America
   - 2.2. Exonyms that appear as a translation of the local name:
     La Nouvelle Zélande (from Dutch ***Nieuw Zeeland***) › ***New Zealand***
   - 2.3. Exonyms coming from a partial translation of the local name:
     Iles Marshall (United States of America) › Marshall Islands

3. Exonyms composed of proper names only
   3.1. Exonyms coming from the same original denomination as the local name
      3.1.1. Exonyms as a result of graphic modification by phonetic adaptation of the local name: ***L'Islande* › *Island***
      3.1.2. Exonyms as a result of graphic modification by semantic adaptation of the local name: ***L'Argentine* › *la Argentina***
      3.1.3. Exonyms as a result of a deformation or corruption of the local name
         3.1.3.1. Local names written with the Latin alphabet: ***Hanovre*** (German) › ***Hannover, Varsovie*** (Polish) › ***Warszawa, Cracovie*** (Polish) › ***Kraków, Prague*** (Czech) › ***Praha***
         3.1.3.2. Local names written with other alphabets – exonyms are results of phonetic transcription or transliteration: ***Moscou* › *Москва***
      3.1.4. Exonyms as a result of an evolution different then the local name: ***Florence* › *Florentia*** (Latin) › ***Firenze*** (Italian)
      3.1.5. Exonyms as a result of a graphic modification by adaptation of the local name to the rules of the phonetic evolution of French language from the common mother language: ***Barcelone* › *Barcelona***
   3.2. Exonyms coming from another denomination than the local name: ***Allemagne* › *Alamanniae*** (Latin) for ***Deutschland.*** This includes exonyms coming from a borrowing from a third language: ***Austerlitz* › *Slavkov*** (Czech)
   3.3. False exonyms: ***La Nouvelle-Orléans* › *New Orleans***.

These categories were presented by the French Commission many years ago. Maybe that is why they do not seem to be always clear and the presented examples do not always match the category where they are classified. However, we can see there are three major groups of exonyms and their subgroups:

- Exonyms composed only of common names (which are translated)
- Exonyms composed of at least one proper name (the common name is translated)
- Exonyms composed exclusively of proper names.

In the first two categories the toponyms are composed of different lexical categories: two nouns or noun and adjective. In the third category, there are several variations in the creation of French exonyms (the local name is modified in writing, phonetic adaptation, transliteration, *etc.*). I would like to focus on this point.

The operations of exonymisation, especially when it comes to transliteration or transcription, are very complex. For example, what is classified as the transliteration of the name of the Russian capital *Moscou* for *Москва* (which is in fact not only a transliteration but a modification as well) does not take into account the fact that the letter 'o' – because it is in an unstressed syllable – is pronounced 'a'. We should then read and even write /maskva/ Maskva. French and other Romance languages do not take this characteristic into account, nor even does the contemporary official transliteration accepted by UNGEGN: Moskva /moskva/. As a matter of fact, those transliterations are certainly not completely satisfactory, but since they have already crystallized for a long time, it would not be reasonable to try to change it.

Let us now examine the examples of *Varsovie, Cracovie* and *Prague*. What is curious is that these French exonyms are classified as deformations of the original names, while a few lines below this category in Item 3.2 there is a category of exonyms coming from third languages. Taking a closer look:

Endonyms	›	(Polish) **Warszawa, Kraków**, (Czech) **Praha** [**x**]
Exonyms	›	(French) Varsovie, Cracovie, Prague
		(Spanish) Varsovia, Cracovia, Praga
		(Italian) Varsavia, Cracovia, Praga
		(Finnish) Varsova, Krakova, Praha [x]
		(Norwegian) Warszawa, Kraków, Praha [x]
		(Latvian) Varšava, Krakova, Prāga
		(Russian) Варшава, Краков, Прага
		(Slovenian) Varšava, Krakov, Praga
		(Lithuanian) Varšuva, Krokuva, Praha
		(Czech) Varšava, Krakov
		(Portuguese) Varsóvia, Cracóvia, Praga
		(Swedish) Warszawa, Kraków, Prag.

The fact that these cities have almost similar forms in other Romance languages proves that the French exonyms are derived from Latin: **Varsovia, Cracovia, Praga** [g]. This seems logical, because since the Middle Ages, and especially since the sixteenth century, when Latin was the international European language, these cities were centres of commerce, culture, *etc.* These examples show that the French exonyms *Varsovie, Cracovie, Prague* are not a simple change or 'deformation' of the local name as put forward by the French commission at UNGEGN, because even if it was indeed a deformation, it is still possible to try and explain its source. Other European languages (other than Romance languages) such as Germanic and Baltic languages have kept versions that are rather close to the Polish and Czech endonyms.

Concerning more precisely the French exonym *Prague* and the Czech endonym *Praha*, I can suggest two hypotheses:

- Either the name also comes from Latin because in Latin, Italian and Spanish the exonym is *Praga*
- Or it comes from another Slavic language.

In all other Slavic languages, except Slovak (obviously, because a few years ago, Slovakia formed one country with the Czech Republic – *Czechoslovakia* – with the capital Praha), *Prague* was written with the letter 'g': Polish, Slovenian: *Praga*. In the Czech language, as opposed to other Slavic languages and West Slavic languages, it is an observed fact that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (or as some would say the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) the Czech phoneme /g/ became /x/. It is a phonetic phenomenon of sound shift of the voiced velar plosive /g/ to a voiceless velar fricative consonant /x/ which we find in the endonym Praha.

So there could be another hypothesis: saying that the proper name was incorporated into the French language before the thirteenth century, that is before the phenomenon of sound shift. Thus the most probable hypothesis is that the name comes from the old Slavic root : **Prag** [g] which means 'ford' and which can still be found in some other Slavic place names (like the name of the neighbourhood in Warsaw *Praga* that is by coincidence the same as the exonym for the Czech capital). Thus, the old Slavic name *Prag* was probably crystallized in that form in Latin and other European languages.

The point that is being made here is that, in synchronic toponymy, the interest is the current form of toponyms, and that is the approach of the present studies, but on the other hand, etymology cannot be entirely left aside. It is not possible to break away from the traditional toponymy or diachronic studies, because to explain the processes of exonymisation, it is not enough to say that such a letter and such a suffix was simply replaced by another or just to say that the name was modified, because very often there is a logic behind it.

The best example to confirm that etymology must be taken into account in the description of exonymisation processes is the French transparent exonym *Monts des Géants* for the Polish opaque endonym *Karkonosze*:

Polish endonym		**French exonym**
Karkonosze	➞	Monts de Géants/les Karkonosze
Opaque		*Transparent*

The etymological explanation of the French form is that it comes from the German name **Riesengebirge**, that gave as exonyms English **Giant Mountains**, and French **Monts des Géants.**

Trying to ascertain if there are any tendencies or any trends in the creation of exonyms, I have made an analysis of my own examples of French exonyms for Polish toponyms. As I wanted to obtain the most valuable results, I have looked for examples in the most official sources. One of them is the Polish Tourist Organisation (*Polska Organizacja Turystyczna*). At the same time, I wanted to see how native French language users introduce Polish toponyms to their language. For that, I have looked for examples in French tourist brochures and travel agencies.

2. Functional analysis

To understand how toponyms are modified from one language to another, they must be analysed in a contrastive perspective. To describe the process of exonymisation (creation of exonyms), the endonyms and their exonyms must be observed and analysed.

endonym › exonym = ***exonymisation***

The method of analysis that will show the modification level of the Polish endonym is an analysis that will contrast the structure of the endonym and exonym. This method is called '*analyse fonctionnelle*' – functional analysis. It is based on the analysis of the appellative and proprial elements of toponyms, which can be generic or specific. This description of the toponym was proposed by UNGEGN, and was applied by the French Institut Géographique National (see *Charte de toponymie*). The analytical method used in this research is the version that was updated by the research group DiNoPro from the LIDILE laboratory of the University Rennes 2. The group works on a project creating an online multilingual dictionary of toponyms, and this method of analysis is called by this research group '*analyse fonctionnelle*'.

Before presenting the results, I would like to introduce this approach. Functional analysis also specifies the inner structure of toponyms, by distinguishing determining and determined elements to see the modification level of endonyms, and hence to consider the creation of exonyms, *i.e.* exonymisation. It is based on several dichotomies observed in the nature of the toponyms.

Morphological criterion

Simple	Composed: juxtaposed or welded
Vistule = Wisła	*Petite Pologne = Małopolska*

Semantic criterion

Transparent	Opaque
Mont Blanc	*Ostrów Tumski*

By those dichotomies, we can distinguish several elements in a toponym ex:

Grande Pologne
As+Pg
Appellative **A** + Proprial **P**

– that correspond to the semantic criterion of transparency and opacity, noted with symbols ***A*** and ***P***.

Specific ***s*** + *Generic* ***g***

– two elements, of which one is the determining element and the other is the determined element. This dichotomy corresponds to morphosyntactic criterion. These elements are noted with the symbols **s** and **g**. Thus, the Polish composed welded endonym and its French equivalent receive symbols:

Wielko|polska	Grande Pologne
As+Pg	**As+Pg**

We see that both examples have the same structure according to the functional analysis, even if the endonym is welded and the exonym is juxtaposed. This difference is not considered relevant in the analysis. The preposition that often appears in French complex exonyms, corresponding to Polish endonyms, receives the symbol '%':

Województwo Opolskie	Voïvodie d'Opole
Ag+Ps	**Ag%Ps**

All the simple toponyms receive the symbol **Ps** : *Vistule, Pologne, Poznań*.

3. Analysis of French exonyms for Polish place names

A corpus containing about 300 examples taken from tourist guides, websites, maps, and brochures from the Polish Tourist Organisation, which are translations from Polish into French, and brochures written in French originally, have been subjected to functional analysis. All examples were collected in the contrastive analysis tables that contain basic information about Polish endonyms and their French equivalents. Further, I have contrasted and analyzed them.

In this paper I will present one complete table. Further, each category table will only present examples. The tables will contain only the most important information about the toponyms. So as not to occupy the major part of the volume, I will limit my analysis to the presentation of examples, without commenting on each of them.

Observations from the table:

We can observe a particularity in the structure of endonym 5, where both elements are specific; one is determining the other, which is noted with the symbol Ps + Ps. The French equivalent, where both elements are generic, is a pure composition, so is noted with the symbol Pg + Pg, according to the convention of functional analysis. Also, the analysis has revealed two French exonyms corresponding to endonym 5.

3.1. Description of the table

The table presented above contains two main elements:

- **Polish endonym**
- **French exonym**

Next to these two elements we can find some supplementary information that serves to contrast the endonyms and exonyms in a syntactical and morphological perspective:

- **gender and number** of endonym and exonym
- **functional analysis** of endonym and exonym

I do not provide any information about cases of the declension of endonyms (Polish is an inflected language), because all these names are in their basic form, *i.e.* the nominative, and they vary only in discourse. Only some of the determining elements in endonyms are declined. That makes a particular table category of French exonyms where the declension case is replaced by a preposition.

Example of table of the category ***Morphological and syntax assimilation***

	Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of toponym	Topographic feature	Geographical location	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Source
1	**Beskid Śląski**	ms	Pg+Ps	Choronym	Geographical region	Carpathian Mountains	**Beskide Silésien**	ms	Pg+Ps	A
2	**Beskid Żywiecki**	ms	Pg+Ps	Choronym	Mountain region	Carpathian Mountains	**Beskide de Zywiec**	ms	Pg%Ps	A
3	**Beskidy**	fpl	Ps	Oronym	Mountains	South of Poland	**Beskides**	fpl	Ps	B
4*	**Kaszuby**	fpl	Ps	Choronym	Geographical region	North of Poland	**Cachoubie**	fs	Ps	B
5a	**Kujawsko-Pomorskie**	ns	**Ps+Ps**	Choronym	Administrative region	North of Poland	**Couiavie-Poméranie**	fs	**Pg+Pg**	C
5b				Choronym			**Cujavie-Poméranie**	fs	**Pg+Pg**	D

* = Kaszuby is also classified in the transcription category: see Table III of Section 3.2

Sources for the table:

A = Giełżyński, W; Kostrowicki, I & J (1999): ***Pologne, album photographique***; Arkady, Warsaw

B = Dwiernicki, Ch (2000): ***Géopolitique de la Pologne***; Editions Complexes, Brussels

C = Website www.fr.polandforall.com

D = Website www.pologne.travel/fr

Then, next to the Polish endonym, we find the following additional information:

- **subcategory of toponym**[3] to which I have attributed the Polish endonym
- **topographic object** that represents the Polish endonym
- **geographical location** of that object in the territory of Poland
- bibliographical **source** for the exonym

In the complete version of analysis above each table we can find a description of the criteria and characteristics of each table, which are used to divide the corpus into categories. Still in the purpose to limit the volume of this paper, this description is missing. I hope that the names of categories are clear enough to understand the criteria of each table. As well, below the tables, there is no observation or comment on the specifics of each example nor comments on each exonym. A detailed analysis of each example is not the purpose of this paper.

Thus, based on a corpus of about 300 samples analyzed using the analysis method of the LIDILE research group, the corpus was divided into seven tables according to the strategies of exonymisation of Polish toponyms in the French language. These strategies are presented in increasing order of modification of endonyms, that is to say, starting with the toponyms in their original written form, and ending with the translation.

3.2 Categories of exonymisation

In this abbreviated presentation of each category of exonymisation, the main element is the table containing the most significant examples without category definition, selection criteria or observations. We can find here only excerpts from each of seven category tables with the most representative examples:

I: Toponyms in original written form – exophones

I want to underline the difference between written and spoken forms of these names. The oral form of the French equivalents makes them exophones. As Wolnicz-Pawlowska says[4], every modification of the endonym immediately creates an exonym.

[3] Subcategories are defined in the glossary at the end of paper.

[4] http://human.uwm.edu.pl/polonistyka/P_J_2006/Wolnicz-Pawlowska.doc

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Biskupin	ms	Ps	Oikonym	**Biskupin**	?	Ps
Bydgoszcz	fs	Ps	Oikonym	**Bydgoszcz**	?	Ps
Katowice	f pl	Ps	Oikonym	**Katowice**	?	Ps

According to the survey carried out among native speakers of French on the pronunciation of French equivalents, we can see that their pronunciation is very different from the original pronunciation. Examples:

Bytom Polish /bɨtɔm/ ➞ *Bytom* French /bitɔm/ or /bitõ/

It was impossible for the surveyed people to indicate the grammatical gender of some exonyms.

II: Absence of diacritical signs

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Kąty	m pl	Ps	Oikonym	**Katy**	?	Ps
Królewiec	ms	Ps	Oikonym	**Krolewiec**	?	Ps
Lubiąż	ms	Ps	Oikonym	**Lubiaz**	?	Ps
Łódź	f s	Ps	Oikonym	**Lodz**	?	Ps

Following the examples of this category, we can observe that the Polish letters *ą, ę, ó, ń, ś, ź, ż, ł, ć* are replaced by Latin letters : *o, n, s, z, z, l, c*. Probably this writing comes from the simplification of typing on a Latin keyboard, but obviously it changes definitely the pronunciation of the toponyms:

Kąty /kɔ̃tɨ/ ➞ Katy /kati/

What is inadmissible is to replace three different letters *ź, z, ż,* that represents three different phonemes /ʑ, z, ʒ/ by one single letter *z*.

III: Transcription – exographs

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Bug	ms	Ps	Hydronym	**Boug**	?	Ps
Kaszuby	fpl	Ps	Choronym	**Cachoubie**	fs	Ps
Kujawy	f pl	Ps	Choronym	**Couïavie**	fs	Ps
			Choronym	**Cujavie**	f s	Ps

There are some French equivalents that imitate Polish pronunciation almost perfectly. *Bug* (3), pronounced in current Polish: /buk/ but in neat hypercorrect Polish /bug/, and written *Boug* in French is pronounced almost in the same way: /bug/.

IV: Borrowing or returned borrowing

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Belweder	ms	Ps	Urbonym	**Belvédère**	ms	As
Barbakan	m s	Ps	Urbonym	**Barbacane**	fs	As
Stara Kordegarda	Fs	As+Pg	Urbonym	**Corps de Garde**	Ms	Ag%As

Some Polish toponyms are French borrowings written in Polish orthography and considered as proper names, while originally they are French common names written with lower case. They are pronounced in almost the same way; it is the orthography that differs:

French *belvédère*: /bɛlvedɛːʀ/ Polish *Belweder*: /bɛlvɛdɛr/
French *barbacane*: /baʀbakan/ Polish *Barbakan*: /barbakan/

V: Transfer of exonyms through a third language to French

V.I: Exonymisation through German

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Brzezinka	f s	Ps	Oikonym	**Birkenau**	fs	Ps
Cieszyn	ms	Ps	Oikonym	**Teschen**	?	Ps
Gdańsk	m s	Ps	Okonym	**Dantzig**	m s	Ps
Gdańsk			Oikonym	**Gdansk**	ms	Ps

Some French names are bizarrely similar to German names, which makes us think that they are borrowed from this language. Actually, they are names coming from regions that in the past belonged to Germany. An example is the city name *Dantzig* which has an ancient orthography; nowadays the German orthography is *Danzig*. In this category the German name *Riesengebirge* that gave *Monts des Géants* in French is of course also included, but we have here only the excerpts of each table.

V.II: Exonymisation through Latin

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Karpaty	f pl	Ps	Oronym	**Carpates**	f pl	Ps
Kraków	m s	Ps	Oikonym	**Cracovie**	f s	Ps
Warszawa	f s	Ps	Oikonym	**Varsovie**	f s	Ps
Wisła	f s	Ps	Hydronym	**Vistule**	f s	Ps

The Latin forms *Varsovia, Cracovia, Vistula, Carpatia* provide the origins of the exonyms for Polish toponyms in every Roman language. Obviously, they have as a consequence been assimilated by those languages during the language evolutions.

VI: Morphological and syntactic assimilation

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Beskid Śląski	ms	Pg+Ps	Choronym	**Beskide Silésien**	ms	Pg+Ps
Beskid Żywiecki	ms	Pg+Ps	Choronym	**Beskide de Zywiec**	ms	Pg%Ps
Beskidy	fpl	Ps	Oronym	**Beskides**	fpl	Ps
Kaszuby	fpl	Ps	Choronym	**Cachoubie**	fs	Ps

Polish toponyms are assimilated in their morphology and inner syntax. We can observe a substitution of the endings '*-e*' for mountains and '*-ie*' for regions, and the introduction of the preposition '*de*' between two elements of a complex toponym as a substitution of the dative case of the second element or substitution of an adjective.

VII: Translation

This is the last category of exonymisation which operates with the form and not with the original, literal meaning of the toponym.

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Długi Targ	Ms	As+Ag	Plateonym	**Long Marché**	Ms	As+Ag
Trakt Królewski	Ms	Ag+As	Hodonym	**Voie Royale**	Fs	Ag+As
Wielka Oficyna	Fs	As+Ag	Chrematonym	**Grande Officine**	Fs	As+Ag

This is the largest and most varied category of all. Some endonyms are even entirely translated and this is an argument to deny the theories that proper names are not translatable because they do not have any sense. The matter of sense and meaning of proper names is very complex and lies beyond the framework of this paper. We will be satisfied to use the fact of translation of toponyms as an argument to consider the toponym as a purely linguistic feature, which is a part of the lexicon.

Translation is the only exonymisation strategy that operates on the original initial meaning of the toponym, called *signifié* by Ferdinand de Saussure, the founder of the modern linguistic and the theory of linguistic sign, and not on the form; de Saussurian *signifiant*. Evidently, the toponyms that constitute this category are fully transparent, but not all of them are composed only of appellative elements. What is curious is that some of them contain proprial elements which are translated. This category is divided into three more sub-categories.

VII.I: Translation with transposition

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Góra Zamkowa	fsf s	Ag+As	Oronym	Mont du Château	ms	Ag%As
Góry Sowie	f f pl	Ag+As	Oronym	Monts des Hiboux	mpl	Ag%As
Góry Swiętokrzyskie	fpl	Ag+As (As+Ag)	Oronym	Monts de la Sainte Croix	mpl	Ag%As (As+Ag)

In this table we can find examples of transposition, in the meaning of the notion proposed by Tesnière (1988), which concerns the transformation of one category of lexical item to another. Between the examples of Polish endonyms, we will distinguish a transposition of adjective to noun in French endonyms, and a transposition of a noun declined in the dative case in a Polish endonym to a noun in the nominative case with the preposition '*de*' that replaces the declension in the French exonym.

VII.II: Translation with additional information

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Łazienki Królewskie	f pl	Ag+As	Urbonym	**Bains-Royaux Lazienki**	mpl	Ag+As+ Ps
Kazimierz	m s	Ps	Okonym	**quartier Kazimierz**	ms	Ag+Ps

Starówka	f s	Ps	Oïkonym	**Vieille Ville**	fs	As+Ag
Ostrów Tumski	ms	Pg+Ps	Oïkonym	**Ile de la Cathédrale**	fs	Ag%As

We can observe that in the case of these French exonyms, there is some additional information about the toponym that has a purely informative and descriptive function: *e.g.* the neighbourhood known to Polish speakers as *Kazimierz* is called *quartier Kazimierz*, which means 'Kazimierz neighbourhood'.

VII.III: 'False translation'

Endonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis	Subcategory of the toponym	Exonym	Gender and number	Functional analysis
Rondo de Gaulle'a	Ns	Ag+Ps	Urbonym	**Place Charles-de-Gaulle**	Fs	Ag+Ps
Stadion Dziesieciolecia	Ms	Ag+As	Urbonym	**Marché Russe**	Ms	Ag+As
Sanktuarium Maryjno-Pasyjne Kalwaria Zebrzydowska	n s	Ag[Ag+(Ps+As)]+Ps(Pg+Ps)	Hagiotoponym	**Ensemble conventuel de l'ordre des BBernardins**	ms	g(Ag+As)%s(Ag%Ps)
	ns			**Parc religieux et paysager du Calvaire**	ms	

The 'false translation' is a conscious operation to not translate literally but to give descriptive information about the place that will help to identify the feature for a foreigner.

To avoid any misunderstanding regarding the incompleteness of the tables, we must remember that these are only excerpts of tables containing only a few representative examples of categories without any detailed description.

General observations

After analyzing all these examples, we can observe that the structure of the exonyms is in general quite different from that of the endonyms. The specific element of the toponym is more often in first place in the endonyms and in second place in the exonyms. This is related to the syntax of each language. Then we can note that all the strategies of exonymisation are mixed among themselves. An endonym is not modified to an exonym just by only one strategy. It undergoes several of them at the same time. For example the endonym *Beskid Śląski* is morphologically assimilated and subjected to a transposition to become *Beskide de Silésie* in French. That is why it is impossible to find one coherent system for exonymisation.

3.3 General tendencies in exonymisation

The objective of UNGEGN is to reduce the number of exonyms, and to preserve the original form of the endonym. This seems to be the opposite process of the 'naturalization' or 'assimilation' of endonyms in a foreign language. That is why it seems so difficult to achieve. Toponyms pass from one language to another most of the time in a spontaneous way, their integration in a foreign language (and their exonymisation) is not made by any translator. It is a result of cultural and economic exchanges as well as any contact between the linguistic communities. We cannot even find one particular way of exonymisation for the same class of toponyms. We can only try to find some general tendencies:

Oikonyms: Almost all the names of cities keep the original written version of the endonym. But the diacritical signs are not always respected: **Poznań/Poznan, Zakopane, Toruń, Łódź/Lodz, Sopot, Katowice, Gdynia**, *etc.* Those oikonyms which are the names of famous city neighbourhoods are 'exonymised' in a different way – the appellative generic element is translated and the proprial element is assimilated: **Starówka › la Vieille Ville, Kazimierz › le quartier Kazimierz, Nowe Miasto ›la Nouvelle Ville**. There are a few oikonyms which are exonymised at the morphological level by passing through another language, especially the names of famous historic cities: **Warszawa › Varsovie, Kraków › Cracovie, Gdańsk › Gdańsk/Dantzig, Wrocław › Wrocław/Breslau**.

Choronyms: As names of the administrative and geographical regions, these are all translated completely or partially and at the same time assimilated: **Małopolskie/Małopolska › la Petite-Pologne/la Petite Pologne, Śląskie/Śląsk › Silésie, Mazury › la Mazurie, Podhale › le Podhale.**

Oronyms: As Gary-Prieur (2001) says, plural individuals follow the same methods of exonymisation – assimilation on several levels: **Wawel** (ms Ps) › **Le Wawel** (ms Ps). Even the proprial element receives an article, and this seems to be the best way to incorporate the place name in the language and in the discourse without unnecessarily changing the form itself. The grammatical number, plural or singular, is kept and the French exonyms receive the article (which means the grammatical gender) by their ending: **(Wzgórze) Wawel › la colline Wawel/ le Wawel, Tatry › les Tatras, Karpaty › les Carpates, Beskid Śląski › les Beskides Silésiennes**.

Hydronyms: We can observe the same exonymisation processes as the choronyms – partial translation of the appellative element, and morphological and syntactic assimilation. **Delta Wisły › l'embouchure de la Vistule, Wisła › la Vistule, Odra › l'Oder, Warta › la Warta, Jezioro Śniardwy › le lac Śniardwy**.

Odonyms: Regarding the odonyms as street names, it is only the generic appellative element that is translated, while the proprial element remains in its original written version: **ulica Długa › la rue Długa, Długie Pobrzeże › Le quai Długie Pobrzeże,** except: **Krakowskie Przedmieście › Faubourg de Cracovie.** The French exonym *le quai Dlugie Pobrzeże* (*the dock Długie Pobrzeże*) for the Polish endonym *Długie Pobrzeże* (in Gdańsk) is an example of an addition of information and creation of a pleonasm, because *Pobrzeże* already means 'the dock'. But it seems the best way to do it because it is necessary to leave the original form of the odonym. A practical function regarding street names is for example looking for an address. I suggest that we should definitely keep the original form of the odonym in total, without assimilation of the ending, and without translation even of the appellative generic term. And almost all odonyms do indeed pass into the French language in their original form. There is one exception; the translation *Krakowskie Przedmiescie – Faubourg de Cracovie* ('suburb of Kraków'), which is the most popular historic street in the Old Town in Warsaw.

Urbonyms: The transparent urbonyms are all translated. Even the proprial elements of the most popular opaque urbonyms receive a translation with additional information that describes the nature of the object. **Rynek › la place du Marché, Sukiennice › la halle aux Draps, Ostrów Tumski › Ostrów Tumski/ l'Ïle de la Cathédrale, Barbakan › la Barbacane.**

Ergonyms: In ergonyms the appellative generic element (which actually categorises the toponym) is translated and the proprial element is assimilated. **Uniwersytet Jagielloński › l'Université Jagiellone, Collegium Maius › le Collegium Maïus**.

Hagiotoponyms: Hagiotoponyms are exonymised in different ways. The example of Sanktuarium Pasyjno-Maryjne is classified as such by UNESCO in a French form that is a false translation with additional information that has an explanatory function. **Kościół Mariacki › l'église Notre-Dame, Sanktuarium Pasyjno-Maryjne › Ensemble conventuel unique Kalwaria Zebrzydowska**.

Speleonyms and Drimonyms: These are usually fully translated. **Niedźwiedźia Grota › la grotte aux Ours, Kopalnia Soli Wieliczka › la Mine de sel de Wieliczka. Puszcza Biała › Forêt Blanche, Puszcza Białowieska › Forêt vierge de Białowieża.**

3.4 Problems and difficulties observed in exonymisation

In the corpus there were many variants in the orthography of the toponyms and especially as regards writing with upper and lower case, and the hyphen:

Zamek Królewski › Château Royal/royal
Uniwersytet Jagielloński › l'Université Jagiellone/jagiellone
Długie Pobrzeże › Le Quai/quai Długie Pobrzeże
Ratusz › Hôtel de ville/Ville
Stare miasto › Vieille-Ville/Vieille Ville
etc.

4. Challenges in synchronic contrastive toponymy

Exonymisation is a very complicated process that requires constant revisions of national commissions working on exonyms in national languages; not only on exonyms for toponyms abroad, but also on their own endonyms that are exonymised abroad. As we can see in the official corpus of the Polish Tourism Organisation, exonymisation exceeds the work of translator, redactor or writer, because toponyms obey different rules from those of a simple translation. This seems to be the basic purpose of synchronic contrastive toponymy, to create a data base of references for the institutions and individuals (such as translators, tourist offices, media) who use geographical names of foreign places. They should promote correct forms in their work and publications and not perpetuate incorrect forms.

The major challenge of synchronic contrastive toponymy is the allonym, for allonyms are often the subject of discussion and discord between countries. And this is not only because some allonyms contain a name of one country, which makes one think the whole trans-boundary feature belongs to it, but because sometimes that endonym serves to create an exonym in foreign languages, which means in the international arena.

4.1 French exonyms for allonyms of trans-boundary features located in Poland:

- **les Tatras** for Polish and Slovak **Tatry**
- **les Carpates** for **Munții Carpați** (Romanian); **Karpaty** (Czech, Slovak, Polish); **Karpaten**; German; **Kárpátok** (Hungarian); **Карпати** (Serbian, Ukrainian).

Parc Paysager polono-allemand de Bad-Muskau for **Park Mużakowski** (Polish); **Park von Muskau / Muskauer Park / Fürst-Pückler-Park** (German).

Mer Baltique for **Morze Baltyckie** (Polish); **Läänemeri** (Estonian); **Ostsee** (German); **Østersøen** (Danish); **Östersjön** (Swedish); **Baltijos jūra** (Lithuanian); **Baltijas jūra** (Latvian); **Bôłt** (Kashubian); **Балтийское море** (Russian); **Vālda mer** (Livonian, NW Latvia); **Nuortamearra** (Sámi languages); **Itämeri** (Finnish).

Fortunately all the allonyms of trans-boundary entities located in Poland are quite similar, and there is no allonym containing a country name. So there is no international conflict about them – not even in the case of the Baltic Sea, because from all the allonyms, even if they are quite different among themselves, it is the ‘neutral’ Latin *Mare Balticum* ‘Sea of the Balts’ (an ancient tribe that lived near to the sea) that is the source of the French exonym and of many others.

4.2 Historical endonyms

The last issue to resolve would be the historical endonyms. I would like to specify that historical endonyms indicate that there was a change of the political situation, and of the political system. This can be caused by exterior factors, when the borders of one country change because of a territorial conflict, and some other language becomes official in the territories that are left behind the new borders. This was the case of all the western territories of Poland that were German before the end of the Second World War. But it can be caused as well by inner factors of the country itself, when the political system changes. We can observe it nowadays in the Arab countries that passed through the Arab Spring revolutions. We could also observe this phenomenon in Poland after 1989, when the political system changed from communism to democracy. All the urbonyms and odonyms that were related to the symbols of communism changed. Among many examples, *Plac Czerwonej Armii* (Red Army Square) in Opole city changed in 1991 to *Plac Mikolaja Kopernika* (Nicholas Copernicus Square), and of course this happened to many other urbonyms like plateonyms and odonyms. All these changes are and have to be constantly updated by the toponymic commissions around the world.

I prefer to use the notion of *historical endonym* and not *exonym* because those names were in the past endonyms and not exonyms, which logically makes them historical endonyms. Of course the notion of *historical exonyms* exists as well. It can be applied to the exonyms applied in the past. This is the case of Polish *Bizancjum* and *Konstantynopol* that have never been endonyms for the Turkish capital *Istanbul*.

Getting back to the German names of Polish occupied territories in the past, we can still observe that there are many German names for Polish cities that are still in use:

Wrocław, Szczecin (Polish) – **Breslau, Stettin** (German), *etc.*

It is possible to accept that German speakers would use the German names for some of those cities, like **Opole – Oppeln**, which is the capital of the Opole region in Silesia, where the biggest German minority lives; and where even the local administration has recently introduced double Polish-German city names in a few communities like **Strzeleczki – Klein Strehlitz**. But it is difficult to accept that the German names should be used as exonyms in other than the German language. Yet this is unfortunately the case. In the French-language versions of social networks like Facebook or Google Maps, we will find *Breslau* for *Wrocław*, *Oppeln* for *Opole, Kleine Strehlitz* for *Strzeleczki*, *etc.*

Moreover, for the Polish city Oświęcim, where the extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau lies, it seems inacceptable to use the German name except for the museum of extermination itself:

(Polish) **Oświęcim** › (German) **Auschwitz/Auschwitz-Birkenau,**

(Polish) **Brzezinka** › (German) **Birkenau**.

The German name for the extermination camp is even recommended for use in all foreign languages as an historical name. Thus, even if the Polish names are hard to pronounce, German exonyms are legitimate only in the context referring to the museum of extermination or to the past period as historical endonyms.

5. Conclusion

A next step in the work on the standardization of French exonyms for toponyms of Poland will be the implementation of laws of integration of foreign names in the French language. Precise observation of the examples reveals the diversity and richness of toponyms. Thus, the recommendations of UNGEGN on choosing a single name for a place is constantly modified and reviewed.

Today in the era of globalization, *francisation* is a process too slow to encompass all foreign place names, and this actually facilitates the application of several methods of standardization of foreign place names, which is one of the purposes of work in synchronic toponymy.

Nevertheless, toponyms, like all proper names, are products of civilizations which often existed before countries were formed. If we just look at all the exonyms for the endonym *Deutschland*: the English exonym is *Germany,* because of the association with the Germanic tribes, the French is *Allemagne* because of the association with one of the Germanic tribes, the Slavic is *Niemcy*, because of proximity – etymologically it means 'those who do not speak [our language]'. The exonymisation therefore is not a spontaneous phenomenon made in a coherent way at one particular period. It is therefore impossible to find a single strategy of exonymisation and impose one rule for creating exonyms equivalent to endonyms in foreign languages.

Afterwards, it is natural that endonyms pass from one language to another becoming exonyms. I could even say that they migrate the most from all lexical units, and even sometimes their migration is 'passive' because it is the border between the countries that moves. Then, once they pass to another language and become exonyms (exophones or exographs) they pass through linguistic evolution in the same way as endonyms, in a different way from the rest of the lexicon, but they do evolve. Once they are integrated into the language, by translation or assimilation, they become an integral part of the language. This is a natural process, just as language is a natural phenomenon.

Undoubtedly, it is impossible to homogenize everything. There are systems of toponymy that are chosen for literature and there are other systems that are selected for scientific information, for the media, schools, *etc*. Besides the problems of analysis of the corpus, there are issues beyond the simple classification of examples of exonyms: are there any 'intralingual' factors by which we classify foreign names in this or another group? What factors determine how to introduce a foreign name not only in French but in any other language? What are the adaptation strategies for these names applied by each language?

Thus, another question arises: is it possible to save all the richness and diversity of foreign names and simultaneously create a uniform nomenclature of toponyms – and, if so, how? What are the decisions that have to be taken by the institutions working on the integration of foreign names in the languages *etc.*?

We know that toponymy is not only a linguistic feature but also a geographical, touristic and therefore economic issue par excellence, as well as a political issue. It is no coincidence that Poland is officially called 'République de Pologne' and not 'République polonaise' like it should be in accordance with the conventions of the French language.

Glossary

Allonyms – Two or more endonyms in different languages for the same trans-boundary feature: *Morze Baltyckie* and *Ostsee*.

Choronym – (Greek *choros* – country) Proper name of lands, countries, states, *etc.*

Chrematonym – (Greek *chrema* – thing, article, event) Proper name that is associated with the products or effects of human work. Chrematonymy could be considered, with toponymy and anthroponomy, as the biggest branch of onomastics, which is the main category of proper names and includes other subcategories. Chrematonymy develops constantly because of the appearance of new products of human work, which might be a name of a marque of cars, an object of art, an enterprise, an architectural object, an institution, *etc.*

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).

Ergonym – Proper name of an institution: The *University of Oxford, Champs Libres, etc.* It is a subcategory of chrematonymy, which combines the institution as an abstract feature with the toponym, which is the building where the institution is located.

Exograph – Name that appears as an endonym in its oral form (with insignificant difference of accentuation) but as an exonym in its written form: Czech name *Varšava* /vaʀʃava/ for Polish *Warszawa* /vaʀʃava/.

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.

Exonymisation – Creation of exonyms.

Exophone – Name that appears as an endonym in its written form but as an exonym in its oral form: English Paris /ˋpæris/ for French Paris /paʁi/.

Hagiotoponym – Place name derived from the name of a saint.

Historical endonym – Proper place name that was the official endonym in the past: *Leningrad for Saint Petersburg*.

Hydronym – Proper name of all water geographical objects like watercourses or seas, lakes and oceans: *Thames, Mer Méditerranéenne, etc*.

Odonym – Proper name of a street, road, or railway: *Les Champs-Elysées*.

Oikonym – Proper name of a populated places, administratively independent or not: town, city, village, colony, *etc*: Brooklyn, Abidjan, *etc*. (opposite of anoikonym – place that is not populated).

Oronym – Proper name of territorial forms, relief features, mountains, depressions, features above or below mean sea level: *Mariana Trench, Karpaty, East European Plain*.

Plateonym – Proper name of squares: *Times Square*.

Urbonym – Proper name of urban objects, like monuments, churches, train stations, *etc*: *Notre Dame, Metropolitan Opera, Colosseo*.

* The definition of exonym and endonym are the definitions proposed in *UNGEGN Glossary* (*KADMON 2007).* Those definitions are not clear and can be disputed in many points because there are no defined frameworks and approaches.

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http://www.ign.fr/adminV3/display/000/526/725/5267258.pdf (Charte de Toponymie), where one can find the following publications of the Commission de toponymie:

- Glossaire de la terminologie toponymique -Commission de toponymie: Groupe d'experts des Nations Unies pour les noms géographiques – Paris et Québec – décembre 1997
- Guide de toponymie cartographique – Commission de toponymie – 1989
- Instructions toponymie – version 3.1 (décembre 1996) et sa mise à jour d'avril 1999
- Notes CT du 9/10/1995 et IGN/CT n° 51 du 07/06/1993 sur les abréviations
- Note technique CT n°6 du 07/05/1992 sur le traitement des noms de communes
- Note IGN/CT n° 33 du 21/04/1997 sur l'hydronymie et la toponymie des zones Etrangères

http://education.ign.fr/45/dossiers/comprendre-la-toponymie.htm (Institut Géographique National: publications de la Commission de toponymie)

http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/default.html (UNGEGN)

http://archives-fig-st-die.cndp.fr/actes/actes_2008/jaillard/article.html (Pierre Jaillard, *Les Toponymes: Une source des conflits?,* Commission Nationale de la Toponymie).

http://edel.univ-poitiers.fr/corela/document.php?id=366 (Lofstrom, Jonas; Schnabel-Le Corre, Bettina; *Description linguistique en toponymie contrastive dans une base de données multilingue*).

http://human.uwm.edu.pl/polonistyka/P_J_2006/Wolnicz-Pawlowska.doc (Wolnicz-Pawłowska, Ewa: *Standaryzacja nazw geograficznych poza granicami Polski. Problematyka językowa*).

Béla Pokoly[1]

Trends in exonym use: Selected exonyms of the Hungarian language

1. The entry of the term exonym into the United Nations

1.1. Ever since standardization of geographical names began under the auspices of the United Nations, usage of distant and foreign features posed a problem for international standardization. However, the 1st Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (Geneva 1967) did not specifically mention the term 'exonym', but recalled that the first meeting of the International Geographical Union (in 1873) had '...passed a resolution that international usage (of geographical names) should be based on national standardization' (*Background paper in support of the resolution on the establishment of a United Nations Permanent. Committee of Experts on Geographical Names*, paragraph 3)[2].

It was at the 2nd Conference that the term was firmly established. That definition lasted until the 9th Conference (New York 2007), and was recorded in the *Glossary of Terms in the Standardization of Geographical Names* (see 2.2.).

1.2. It was argued by H.A.G. Lewis in 1987 (E/CONF.79/INF/14) that the first use of the term 'exonym' in toponymy may have been by the English toponymist and former Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use *Marcel Aurousseau*. In his book *The Rendering of Geographical Names* (1957) Aurousseau classed English geographical names as:

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[2] United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (1967), Vol. I Report of the Conference (United Nations Publication E.68.I.9,1968), p 7: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/1st-uncsgn-docs/e_conf_53_3_en.pdf

a) place-names of England on the one hand, and

b) English exonyms on the other. By this second term he referred to English-language names outside England[3].

2. Early guidance for the use of exonyms

2.1. The Report (Vol. I) of the 2nd Conference drew attention in point 48 to a basic paper presented by the Governments of Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland (E/CONF.61/L.24.), titled '*Conventional Names – Definitions – Usage*'. The Conference 'agreed that paragraphs 5-10 of [this] document … provided a useful guide to the use of exonyms and traditional names'[4].

2.2. Glossary definitions 1972 and 2007

The definition outlined in the paper referred to above was considered as having been agreed since the 1972 Conference, and hence had been an item in the draft Glossary.

1972: (*An exonym is a*) *geographical* name used in a *certain* (2002: specific) language for a geographical *entity* (2002: feature) situated outside the area where that language has official status and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical *entity* (2002: feature) is situated[5].

The Working Group on Exonyms in 2007 proposed a new definition – mostly on the ground of eliminating the overlap of the terms endonym and exonym (many names in multilingual areas could both be labelled as endonyms and exonyms.) The new definition was accepted at the 9th Conference and replaced the earlier definition.

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[3] Exonyms and endonyms, 5th UNCSGN, 1987, E/CONF.79/INF/14, Submitted by UK, pp 1-2:
http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/5th-uncsgn-doc/e_conf_79_inf14.pdf

[4] Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (1972), Vol. I Report of the Conference (United Nations Publication E.74.I.2, 1974) E/CONF.61/4, p 7:
http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/2nd-uncsgn-docs/e_conf_61_4_en.pdf

[5] Definition dating from the 2nd Conference had been valid through 2007. Words in italics were those of the original text in: ***Conventional names, definitions, usage***. Paper submitted by Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, 2nd UNCSGN, 1972, E/CONF.61/L.24 and Corr.1, p.1:
http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/2nd-uncsgn-docs/2uncsgn_econf61_L24%20and%20Corr1.pdf

2007: 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.

Warsaw is the English exonym for Warszawa (Polish); Mailand is German for Milano; Londres is French for London; Quluniyā is Arabic for Köln. The officially romanized form Moskva for the endonym 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**[6].

As a remark, the list of examples might be expanded to include some features other than cities: *e.g.* El Cuerno de Oro (Spanish) or Golden Horn (English) for (Turkish endonym) Haliç; Þýskaland (Icelandic) for Deutschland; and other languages: *e.g.* Jiùjīnshān (Chinese Pinyin) for San Francisco.

3. Use of exonyms

3.1. As already mentioned, an early paper from 1972 (E/CONF.61/L.24.) provided some basic advice on the balanced use of exonyms. It warned to avoid two 'extremes'; the 'romantic' attitude, that wished to retain all exonyms of the present and past vocabulary of a language, as well as the 'internationalist' attitude that would replace all familiar exonyms with endonyms little-known to users of foreign languages. It also raised attention to the advantage of putting in brackets or after a slanting bar the local official name (*e.g.* Gênes/Genova in a French-language bilateral official document between France and Italy). Advice to refrain from using exonyms in cases where they would 'arouse unfriendly feelings' was also stressed, but well-known exonyms (not obsolete ones) were encouraged for use in educational purposes or for use by the general public[7].

3.2. In recent developments the activities of the Working Group on Exonyms focused on a refined and controlled use of exonyms. A careful presenta-

[6] ***Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names, Addendum***, 2007, ST/ESA/STAT/SER.M/85/Add.1, p 2: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/pubs/glossary_add_e.pdf

[7] ***Conventional names, definitions, usage***. Paper submitted by Austria, etc: E/CONF.61/L.24 and Corr.1, p 3-4.

tion of the situations where the use of exonyms is possible together with cases of encouraging endonym use were put forward in more than one attempt by the co-convenor of the WG (*Criteria for the use of exonyms – a next approach*, by Peter Jordan; 26th Session of UNGEGN, Vienna 2011, WP 64.). Criteria were classified into audience-related, medium-related, feature-related as well as language-related criteria with arguments and examples presented for each class. They reflect both the early guidance presented 40 years ago and experience of UNGEGN accumulated during the past decades[8].

3.3. There seems to be strong support for the original UN recommendation of limiting and carefully decreasing the use of exonyms by the emergence of internet-based maps. Map systems displaying endonym geographical names like <maps.google> and <openstreetmap>, *etc.*, have a fast-expanding user audience. Their 'educational' influence cannot be overestimated.

4. Selected exonyms of the Hungarian language (European features)

The first version of this list was presented to the 20th session of UNGEGN in 2000 in New York, as "Selected Exonyms Used in Hungary" (WP 65.)[9]. At the time the former definition of the exonym classified all Hungarian names outside Hungary as exonyms, as Hungarian language had no official status outside Hungary. Since that time Hungarian language has been granted local official status of different legal degree to areas where a certain percentage of the local population is ethnic Hungarian. On the other hand the definition of exonym was changed, and locally used Hungarian names can no longer be regarded as exonyms.

The names contained in the original list prepared in 2000 were all retained, however, with those used by local ethnic Hungarians shown in italics. These names are so-called foreign names as viewed from Hungary, but may be deleted in a future list that would strictly include exonyms.

[8] *Criteria for the use of exonyms – a next approach*, 26th Session of UNGEGN, 2011, W.P. 64: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/26th-gegn-docs/WP/WP64_Criteria.pdf

[9] *Exonyms – selected exonyms used in Hungary*, 20th Session of UNGEGN, 2000, W.P. 65: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/20th-gegn-docs/20th_gegn_WP65.pdf

Exonym; name used by local ethnic Hungarians shown in *italics*	**Endonym (standardized)**	**Object**
Albania (Eng.)		
Albánia	**Shqipëria**	country
Albán-Alpok	Bjeshkët e Namena	mountains
Tirana	Tiranë	city
Fehér-Drin	Drini i Bardhë	river
Fekete-Drin	Drini i Zi	river
Austria (Eng.)		
Ausztria	**Österreich**	country
Alacsony-Tauern	Niedere Tauern	mountains
Bécs	Wien	city
Bécsi-erdő	Wienerwald	hills
Bécsújhely	Wiener Neustadt	town
Kismarton	Eisenstadt	town
Lajta-hegység	Leithagebirge	mountains
Magas-Tauern	Hohe Tauern	mountains
Morvamező[H]	Marchfeld	region
Nagymarton	Mattersburg	town
Nezsider	Neusiedl am See	town
Belgium (Eng.)		
Belgium	**(la) Belgique/België**	country
Ardennek	(les) Ardennes	mountains
Brüsszel	Bruxelles/Brussel	city
Flandria	Vlaanderen	region
Croatia (Eng.)		
Horvátország	**Hrvatska**	country
Csáktornya	Čakovec	town
Dinári-hegység	Dinara	mountains
Drávaköz	Baranja	region
Eszék	Osijek	town
Fiume[H]	Rijeka	town

Isztria	Istra	region
Kapronca	Koprivnica	town
Károlyváros	Karlovac	town
Kőrös	Križevci	town
Szlavónia	Slavonija	region
Verőce	Virovitica	town
Zágráb	Zagreb	city
Zára[H]	Zadar	town

Czech Republic (Eng.)

Csehország	**Česko**	country
Cseh-erdő	Český les	mountains
Cseh-Morva-dombság	Českomoravská vrchovina	region
Elba	Labe	river
Érchegység	Krušné hory	mountains
Moldva	Vltava	river
Morva	Morava	river
Óriás-hegység	Krkonošé	mountains
Prága	Praha	city
Szudéták	Krkonošsko-jesenická subprovincie	mountains

Finland (Eng.)

Finnország	**Suomi**	country
Botteni-öböl	Pohjanlahti	sea
Finn-öböl	Suomenlahti	sea
Finn-tóvidék	Järvi-Suomen	region
Lappföld	Lappi	region

France (Eng.)

Franciaország	**(la) France**	country
Alpok	(les) Alpes	mountains
Burgundia	(la) Bourgogne	region
Elzász	(l')Alsace	region
Francia-középhegység	(le) Massif Central	mountains
Korzika	(la) Corse	island
Lotaringia	(la) Lorraine	region
Oroszlán-öböl	(le) Golfe du Lion	bay

Párizs	Paris	city
Pireneusok	(les) Pyrénées	mountains
Szajna	(la) Seine	river
Szavoja[H]	(la) Savoie	region
Vizcayai-öböl	(le) Golfe de Gascogne	bay
Vogézek	(les) Vosges	mountains
Germany (Eng.)		
Németország	**Deutschland**	country
Bajorország	Bayern	state
Bajor-erdő	Bayerischer Wald	mountains
Bréma	Bremen	city
Drezda	Dresden	city
Északi-Fríz-szigetek	Nordfriesische Inseln	islands
Észak-Rajna-Vesztfália	Nordrhein-Westfalen	state
Fekete-erdő	Schwarzwald	mountains
Germán-alföld	Norddeutsches Tiefland	region
Göttinga[H]	Göttingen	town
Keleti-Fríz-szigetek	Ostfriesische Inseln	islands
Lipcse	Leipzig	city
Majna	Main	river
Odera	Oder	river
Rajna	Rhein	river
Szászország	Sachsen	state
Türingia	Thüringen	state
Türingiai-erdő	Thüringer Wald	mountains
Wittenberga[H]	Wittenberge	town
Greece (Eng.)	**Ellás**	country
Görögország		
Athén	Athína	city
Égei-tenger	Aiyaíon Pélagos	sea
Epírosz	Ípiros	region
Korfu	Kérkira	island
Kréta	Kriti	island
Pireusz	Pireas	town
Szaloniki	Thessaloniki	city

Ireland		
Írország	**Éire**	country
Ír-alföld	Central Plain or Lowlands	region
Ír-tenger	Irish Sea/ Muir Éireann	sea
Szent György-csatorna	St. George's Channel /Muir Bhreatan	sea channel
Italy (Eng.)		
Olaszország	**Italia**	country
Meran[H]	Merano	town
Nagy-Szent Bernát-hágó	Colle di Gran San Bernardo	pass
Nápoly	Napoli	city
Pó-síkság	Pianura Padana	region
Szardínia	Sardegna	island
Tengeri-Alpok	Alpi Marítime	mountains
Tiberis	Tevere	river
Trieszt	Trieste	town
Velence	Venezia	town
Vezúv	Vesuvio	mountain
Montenegro (Eng.)		
Montenegró	**Crna Gora**	country
Netherlands (Eng.)		
Hollandia	**Nederland**	country
Észak-Brabant	Noord-Brabant	region
Hága	Den Haag	city
Keleti-Schelde	Oosterschelde	river
Nyugati-Fríz-szigetek	Waddeneilanden	islands
Nyugati-Schelde	Westerschelde	river
Norway (Eng.)		
Norvégia	**Norge**	country
Skandináv-hegység	Kjølen	mountains
Skandináv-félsziget	Skandinaviske halvøy	peninsula

Poland (Eng.)

Lengyelország	**Polska**	country
Boroszló[H]	Wrocław	town
Krakkó	Kraków	town
Lengyel-alföld	Nizina Wielkopolska	region
Lengyel-középhegység	Góry Świętokrzyskie	mountains
Magas-Tátra	Tatry	mountains
Odera	Odra	river
Óriás-hegység	Karkonosze	mountains
Ószandec[H]	Stary Sącz	town
Szilézia	Śląsk	historical region
Szudéták	Sudety	mountains
Újszandec[H]	Nowy Sącz	town
Varsó	Warszawa	city
Visztula	Wisła	river
Visztula-öböl	Zalew Wiślany	bay

Portugal (Eng.)

Portugália	**Portugal**	country
Lisszabon	Lisboa	city
Szent Vince-fok	Cabo de São Vicente	cape

Romania (Eng.)

Románia	**România**	country
Avas	Munții Oașului	mountains
Bákó	Bacău	town
Baróti-hegység	Munții Baraolt	mountains
Békás-szoros	Cheile Bicazului	gorge
Beszterce	Bistrița	town
Beszterce	Bistrița	river
Bihar-hegység	Munții Bihorului	mountains
Bukarest	București	city
Brassó	Brașov	town
Csíkszereda	Miercurea Ciuc	town
Dobrudzsa	Dobrogea	region
Duna-delta	Delta Dunării	region
Erdély	Transilvania/Ardeal	region
Fehér-Körös	Crișul Alb	river

Fekete-Körös	Crişul Negru	river
Fogarasi-havasok	Munții Făgăraşului	mountains
Görgényi-havasok	Munții Gurghiului	mountains
Gyergyószentmiklós	Gheorgheni	town
Gyilkos-tó	Lacul Roşu	lake
Gyulafehérvár	Alba Iulia	town
Hargita	Munții Harghita	mountains
Háromszék	Trei-Scaune	region
Háromszéki-havasok	Munții Vrancei	mountains
Hortobágy	Hârtibaciu	river
Jászvásár[H]	Iaşi	town
Kárpátok	Carpații	mountains
Kazán-szoros	Cazanele Dunării	gorge
Kelemen-havasok	Munții Călimani	mountains
Kézdivásárhely	Târgu Secuiesc	town
Kis-Küküllő	Târnava Mica	river
Kolozsvár	Cluj-Napoca	town
Kudzsiri-havasok	Munții Şureanu	mountains
Máramarossziget	Sighetu Marmației	town
Maros	Mureş	river
Marosvásárhely	Târgu Mureş	town
Medgyes	Mediaş	town
Mezőség	Câmpia Transilvaniei	region
Moldva	Podişul Moldovei	region
Nagybánya	Baia Mare	town
Nagyenyed	Aiud	town
Nagykároly	Carei	town
Nagy-Küküllő	Târnava Mare	river
Nagy-Pietrosz	Pietrosul	peak
Nagyszalonta	Salonta	town
Nagyszeben	Sibiu	town
Nagyszentmiklós	Sânnicolau Mare	town
Nagyvárad	Oradea	town
Radnai-havasok	Munții Rodnei	mountains
Resicabánya	Reşița	town
Román-alföld	Câmpia Română	region
Segesvár	Sighişoara	town
Sepsiszentgyörgy	Sfântu Gheorghe	town

Szamos	Someş	river
Szászrégen	Reghin	town
Szászsebes	Sebeş	town
Szászváros	Orăştie	town
Szatmárnémeti	Satu Mare	town
Székelyudvarhely	Odorheiu Secuiesc	town
Szeret	Siret	river
Szörényvár[H]	Drobeta Turnu Severin	town
Tatros	Trotuş	river
Temes	Timiş	river
Temesvár	Timişoara	town
Torda	Turda	town
Ünőkő	Ineu	peak
Vajdahunyad	Hunedoara	town
Vaskapu	Porţile de Fier	gorge
Visó	Vişeu	river
Zsil	Jiu	river

Russia (Eng.)

Oroszország	**Rossija**	country
Dnyeper	Dnepr	river
Észak-orosz-hátság	Severnye Uvaly	hills
Fehér-tenger	Beloje more	sea
Kaukázus	Bol'šoj Kavkaz	mountain range
Kelet-európai-síkság	Vostočno-Evropejskaja ravnina	region
Közép-orosz-hátság	Srednerusskaja vozvyšennost'	plateau
Kubán-alföld	Prikubanskaja nizmennost'	region
Szentpétervár	Sankt-Peterburg	city
Volgamenti-hátság	Privolžskaja vozvyšennost'	hills

Serbia (Eng.)

Szerbia	**Srbija**	country
Bácska	Bačka	region
Belgrád	Beograd	city

Déli-Morava	Južna Morava	river
Fehértemplom	Bela Crkva	town
Magyarkanizsa	Kanjiža	town
Nagybecskerek	Zrenjanin	town
Nagykikinda	Kikinda	town
Nyugati-Morava	Zapadna Morava	river
Óbecse	Bečej	town
Pancsova	Pančevo	town
Pétervárad	Petrovaradin	town
Szabadka	Subotica	town
Szendrő	Smederevo	town
Topolya	Bačka Topola	town
Törökbecse	Novi Bečej	town
Törökkanizsa	Novi Kneževac	town
Újvidék	Novi Sad	town
Vajdaság	Vojvodina	region
Versec	Vršac	town
Zenta	Senta	town
Zombor	Sombor	town

Slovakia (Eng.)		
Szlovákia	**Slovensko**	country
Alacsony-Tátra	Nízke Tatry	mountains
Árva	Orava	river
Bártfa	Bardejov	town
Besztercebánya	Banská Bystrica	town
Bős	Gabčíkovo	town
Csallóköz	Žitný ostrov	region
Csorbató	Štrbské Pleso	town
Csorba-tó	Štrbské pleso	lake
Dunaszerdahely	Dunajská Streda	town
Érsekújvár	Nové Zámky	town
Eperjes	Prešov	town
Fehér-Kárpátok	Biele Karpaty	mountains
Fülek	Fiľakovo	town
Garam	Hron	river
Gerlahfalvi-csúcs	Gerlachovský štít	peak
Gúta	Kolárovo	town

Gyömbér	Dumbier	peak
Hernád	Hornád	river
Homonna	Humenné	town
Igló	Spišská Nová Ves	town
Ipoly	Ipeľ	river
Kassa	Košice	town
Késmárk	Kežmarok	town
Kis-Kárpátok	Malé Karpaty	mountains
Körmöcbánya	Kremnica	town
Léva	Levice	town
Losonc	Lučenec	town
Lőcse	Levoča	town
Madaras	Vtáčnik	mountains
Magas-Tátra	Vysoké Tatry	mountains
Nagy-Fátra	Veľká Fatra	mountains
Nagymihály	Michalovce	town
Nagyszombat	Trnava	town
Ólubló	Stará Ľubovňa	town
Ótátrafüred	Starý Smokovec	town
Párkány	Štúrovo	town
Pöstyén	Piešťany	town
Pozsony	Bratislava	city
Révkomárom	Komárno	town
Rimaszombat	Rimavská Sobota	town
Rozsnyó	Rožnava	town
Rózsahegy	Ružomberok	town
Somorja	Šamorín	town
Selmecbánya	Banská Štiavnica	town
Szlovák-érchegység	Slovenské rudohorie	mountains
Tőketerebes	Trebišov	town
Trencsén	Trenčín	town
Vág	Váh	river
Zólyom	Zvolen	town
Zsolna	Žilina	town

Slovenia (Eng.)

Szlovénia	**Slovenija**	country
Alsólendva or *Lendva*	Lendava	town

Isonzo[H]	Soča	river
Júliai-Alpok	Julijske Alpe	mountains
Muraköz	Prekmurje	region
Muraszombat	Murska Sobota	town
Spain (Eng.)		
Spanyolország	**España**	country
Baleár-szigetek	Illes Balears/Islas Baleares	islands
Betikai-hegység	Cordillera Bética	mountains
Kasztíliai- -választóhegység	Sistema Central	mountains
Pireneusi (Ibériai)-félsziget	Península Ibérica	peninsula
Pireneusok	Pirineos/Pirineus	mountains
Sweden (Eng.)		
Svédország	**Sverige**	country
Botteni-öböl	Bottniska viken	sea
Lappföld	Lappland	region
Skandináv-hegység	Skanderna	mountains
Skandináv-félsziget	Skandinaviska halvön	peninsula
Switzerland (Eng.)		
Svájc	**Schweiz/ (la) Suisse /Svizzera**	country
Alpok	Alpen/les Alpes	mountains
Elő-Rajna	Vorderrhein	river
Genf	Genève	town
Genfi-tó	Le Léman/Lac Léman	lake
United Kingdom		
Egyesült Királyság (Nagy-Britannia)	**United Kingdom**	country
Anglia	England	state
Csatorna-szigetek	Channel Islands	islands
Észak-Írország	Northern Ireland	state
Hebridák	Hebrides	islands
La Manche	English Channel	sea

Skócia	Scotland	state
Temze	Thames	river

Ukraine (Eng.)

Ukrajna	**Ukraina**	country
Beregszász	Berehove	town
Csernobil	Chornobyľ	town
Kárpátalja	Zakarpatska oblast	region
Kijev	Kyiv (Kiev)	city
Krivoj Rog	Kryvyi Rih	town
Latorca	Latorytsa	river
Lemberg[H]	Ľviv	town
Máramarosi-havasok	Skhydnyi Karpaty	mountains
Munkács	Mukacheve	town
Nagyszőlős	Vynohradiv	town
Técső	Tiachiv	town
Ungvár	Uzhhorod	town

Exonyms marked by [H] are mostly used in historical contexts.

Maria Del Mar Batlle[1]

What is an endonym in Spain?[2]

Introduction: Spain is a multilingual country

Spain is a nation with considerable linguistic diversity, in which we can find different situations and levels of bilingualism. Spanish is the official language of the entire country. In some regions the local language is also regarded as official. As is already well known, Galician is official in Galicia; Catalan is official in Catalonia (Catalunya), the Balearic Islands (les Illes Balears) and Valencia; and the Basque language is official in the Basque Country (Euskal Herria, also called Euskadi) and Navarre (Navarra). Additionally, there are some minor languages, like Aranese, which is a variety of Gascon spoken in Val d'Aran and which is official in Catalonia. Other minor languages like Asturian, Aragonese and Leonese are not official in their regions.

Since the management of geographical names belongs to the local governments, every region sets its toponymy in accordance with its own criteria, which vary from region to region. Therefore, there are regions like Madrid and Andalusia (Andalucía), which have their toponyms set only in Spanish. There are regions like Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Galicia which have their toponyms set only in the local language. And there are also regions like Valencia, the Basque Country and Navarre, which have some toponyms set in Spanish, others set in the local language, and some set in both languages.

In this scenario, involving several languages with different statuses and levels of bilingualism, with all the movement back and forth that they have had over the centuries, and with the subsequent diversity of cultural identities that form Spain, the concept of endonym and exonym is not easily defined in Spain. We will see how, in general, social background can affect the concept of both terms when they are applied to the toponymy of Spain.

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[2] The text is based on the information provided by Mr. Mikel Gorrotxategi (Euskaltzaindia) regarding Heuskal Herria; Mr. Joan Carles Membrado (Universitat de València) regarding Valencia; Mr. Xerman García Cancela regarding Galicia; and Ms. Francisca Latorre (Gabinet d'Onomàstica, Universitat de les Illes Balears) regarding the Balearic Islands.

Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Galicia

In the regions of Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Galicia, toponyms are only set in the local language, which is Catalan, Aranese[3] or Galician. In these regions, only names originating from the people who lived there, and therefore generated in the local language, are considered endonyms.

There are Spanish adaptations of the most significant toponyms, but they are considered exonyms from a regional perspective because they are names generated outside the given regions to refer to something that already has a name in its own zone. In any case, there are Spanish adaptations only of major toponyms, since micro-toponyms are in the local language.

The usage of these Spanish adaptations by Spanish speakers from these three regions varies geographically. In Galicia, there are well established Spanish adaptations which are widely used among Spanish speakers, like *La Coruña*, *Orense*, *Finisterre*, *Órdenes* o *Mellid*. Some others are not so well-established and the usage of the Galician name coexists with the castilianized name, like *Viveiro* (Gal.) and *Vivero* (Cast.), *Sanxenxo* (Gal.) and *Sanjenjo* (Cast.), *Laxe* (Gal.) and *Lage* (Cast.), *Muxía* (Gal.) and *Mugía* (Cast.), *A Bola* (Gal.) and *La Bolla* (Cast.), *Arteixo* (Gal.) and *Arteijo* (Cast.), *Rianxo* (Gal.) and *Rianjo* (Cast.) or *Lourenzá* (Gal.) and *Lorenzana* (Cast.).

In contrast to Galicia, the usage of Spanish adaptions in Catalonia is much less extensive, in terms of both quantity and frequency. During the Franco dictatorship many Spanish adaptations of Catalan names were created which are no longer used because of their political connotation. In fact, there are only two traditional Spanish adaptations of a Catalan city name, *Gerona* (Cat. *Girona*) and *Lérida* (Cat. *Lleida*). These names are the only ones that are still sometimes used by Spanish speakers who live there. The usage of these two names has decreased significantly, in part as a consequence of the policy of Catalan language normalization promoted by the Catalan government, and in part as a way to show integration into the Catalan culture.

Valencia, the Basque Country and Navarre

Unlike the above-mentioned regions, Valencia, the Basque Country and Navarre have toponyms set in Spanish, toponyms set in the local language (Catalan or Basque), and toponyms set in both languages. In these regions, the presence of the Spanish language has traditionally been very strong.

[3] In Catalonia there is a small area named Val d'Aran where Aranese is also an official language. In this area, toponymys are set in Aranese and these names are considered endonyms, although Aranese speakers are not the most significant group in the area.

Regarding bilingual names, people will use one name or another depending on the language that they speak. Official bilingual names are set with the forward slash bar (/) between the names. Occasionally, some bilingual names from the Basque Country are officially set with a hyphen (-) between the names to force the usage of the Basque name in formal scenarios, regardless of the given language. The order of the elements in bilingual names is not fixed, which means that the Spanish form can be the first or the second element[4].

In Valencia, due to the original repopulation by Spanish and Catalan speakers, there exist two linguistically separate zones. Therefore, in the Spanish speaking area, toponyms like *Segorbe*, *Chelva* o *Requena* are only set in Spanish, and these names are endonyms.

In the Catalan-speaking area, toponyms are mainly set in Catalan, like *Xàtiva* or *Ontinyent*, and these names are considered endonyms. The Catalan-speaking area is, in fact, bilingual and because the presence of Spanish has increased there over the centuries, some Spanish adaptations of Catalan names of major cities have become part of the official bilingual names, like *Elche / Elx* or *Sagunto / Sagunt*. There are also Spanish adaptations that are not official, like *Játiva* (*Xàtiva*), *Torrente* (*Torrent*) or *Carcagente* (*Carcaixent*), although they are no longer used among younger generations and, in general, their usage has decreased slightly among the older generations.

Usually, bilingual names are used to avoid issues that have political implications. For instance, the most extreme case that I know of is the name of the municipality of *Castelló de la Ribera*, which is changed to Catalan (*Castelló de la Ribera*) or Spanish (*Villanueva de Castellón*) every time the city experiences a change in the leading political party of its City Council.

Regarding the Basque Country and Navarre, the Basque language has declined over the centuries and its area of usage can be divided into three zones according to this regression:

a) The current Basque-speaking area. This area naturally has plenty of Basque toponyms. However, there are also Spanish toponyms, some of which are anciently documented.
b) The area recently castilianized but still possessing many Basque toponyms in good shape, although Basque speakers are not very common there.
c) The zone castilianized in ancient times such that the people living there usually do not speak Basque. In this area there are some Basque topo-

[4] Official names of municipalities can be found in the *Registro de Entidades Locales* (http://ssweb.mpt.es/REL/)

nyms that have been greatly transformed and there are a lot of toponyms set in Spanish.

It is interesting to note that in zones b) and c) there is a tendency to recover Basque names that have long disappeared.

In big cities there sometimes exists a preferred name. For instance, in the city named *Donostia* in Basque and *San Sebastián* in Spanish, it is quite frequent for Spanish speaking people to use the Basque name *Donostia* instead of the Spanish name *San Sebastián*. Therefore, although the name of the municipality is officially bilingual, the local name *Donostia* is widely used, like in the name of the major hospital of the city *Hospital Universitario Donostia*. In official scenarios, the Basque name *Donostia* can be used alone, but the Spanish name *San Sebastián* should be used in the form *Donostia-San Sebastián*. Another example is found in the name *Vitoria-Gasteiz*, which is officially bilingual but the Spanish name *Vitoria* is used more than the Basque name *Gasteiz*. It is interesting to note that the official name is set as a compound name. Therefore, there is a clear intention to preserve the Basque name in formal scenarios regardless of the language used.

Nature of endonyms: the Catalan perspective *versus* the Spanish perspective

In Spain there has not been an open discussion about the concepts of endonym and exonym. In general, these terms are not used to refer to the toponymy of Spain because they have a different application depending on the area where they are used. Usually, the word exonym is only applied to adaptations of toponyms outside of Spain. When referring to Spanish toponymy, we are talking about official names (either bilingual or monolingual) and adapted names. In certain scenarios, the important point is to respect official names whatever they are, because these names are the ones used by the people living there.

Generally, the concepts of endonym and exonym are associated with the social concepts of 'the self' and 'the other' mentioned by Peter Jordan[5]. And these concepts have a different meaning depending on the region in which they are used. From the Catalan perspective, in which the local language is an essential part of the Catalan identity, 'the self' is Catalonia and 'the others'

[5] Jordan, Peter (2011), "The endonym – name from within a social group", WP 69, 26th UNGEGN Session, Vienna.

are the rest of Spain and the world. Therefore, only local names in the local language can be considered endonyms.

However, the central perspective is quite different. From the Madrid point of view, the entire country is 'the self' and 'the others' are the rest of the world. Therefore, all toponyms in Spain are endonyms, including adaptations to Spanish of names in local languages, which should also be official since Spanish is an official language in these regions. They refer to these names as unofficial endonyms[6].

In regions like Valencia, the Basque Country and Navarre, some people will agree with the regional point of view, and some people will side more with the central point of view.

Toponymy of Spain: criteria for using official names and adapted names

With such a difference of perception and such a variety of names, the only way to manage them has been through legislation established by the Spanish Government. The current legislation requests the use of official names in any formal and public scenario, such as documents by the Administration, official gazetteers and cartography, national press, postal service, train stations and airport signage, *etc*. Regarding road signage, official names are respected when the roads belong to the Spanish state. However, roads belonging to autonomous regions often tend to use the locally adapted name instead of the official name.

For any other usage, there is a more flexible choice; official names or adapted names are both suitable options. For example, in Catalonia (and the Balearic Islands and Galicia) the names in the local language are always used in the local press, regardless of the language of the text. Also any other toponym from outside Catalonia is used in its adapted form if available. Similarly, in Madrid, names adapted to Spanish from other languages are currently used in unofficial scenarios and also in the local press.

Currently, there is a fairly harmonious usage of both types of names, thanks both to the experience of several decades of coexistence and to respect for the current legislation. Of course, it is sometimes difficult to decide if the

[6] Azcárate, Margarita & Albert, Teresa, 'Practice and trends of unofficial Spanish endonyms in bilingual areas', in Peter Jordan et al. (ed.). *Trends in Exonym Use. Proceedings of the 10th UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Tainach, 28-30 April, 2010*. Hamburg, 2011, pp 195-199.

scenario requires the exclusive use of the official name or if it would be possible to use the adapted name (if one exists).

Toponymy of Spain in digital cartography made by foreign companies

Generally, in digital cartography made by foreign companies, monolingual names (either in Spanish, Catalan or another local language) are respected in their official form. However, sometimes a company can attempt new choices, like when Google Maps temporarily showed the toponymy of Catalonia translated to Spanish, without taking into consideration the current legislation, the social impact of this choice, and the real benefit of it.

In December 2011, Catalan geographical names, including street names, were translated to Spanish in Google Maps and this caused social anger and indignation. There was tremendous pressure for Google to change this. Such translation of the names was considered to show a lack of respect for the Catalan culture and for the current legislation. It brought back memories of the attitude of Franco's dictatorship toward Catalan toponyms, when they were prohibited and translated or adapted to Spanish. Of course, this incident had an impact on the Catalan media and a lot of users showed their indignation to Google. A couple of weeks later, Google Maps reversed these changes and once again uses mostly Catalan names, although there are still some minor names in Spanish.

The case of TomTom car navigation tools was even worse, since these tools are supposed to be used *in situ*. For a few months, this product showed the Catalan cartography with street names translated to Spanish, which was useless since in Catalonia there is not a single street sign with such names. After five months TomTom changed all the names back to their Catalan forms.

It is appropriate to mention here that small-scale maps of Spain by Via Michelin do not show strictly official names. In the case of the Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Galicia, they show the official (Catalan or Galician) name along with the Spanish exonym without any indication of the different category of both names (for instance *Platja d'Aro / Playa de Aro*). These bilingual names have the same format as official bilingual names of the Basque Country or Valencia. Maps made at a larger scale use only the official names.

Regarding bilingual names from the Basque Country, Navarre and Valencia, forms in the local language (Basque or Catalan) are not well represented in the digital cartography of foreign companies. Some products only show the

Spanish form of the bilingual official name. By doing this, they do not take into consideration that the Catalan or Basque names are the primary local names and that they are widely used in the given region. For this reason, road signage very often shows only the local name. Bilingual names of at least the major cities should be used in this kind of cartography. It is not always possible to rely on the similarity of Catalan and Spanish, and certainly there is no such similarity between Basque and Spanish; Basque names are impossible to recognize via the corresponding Spanish names.

Digital cartography is intended for a wide audience and should use the official names, bilingual or monolingual, especially for navigation tools (GPS), since these products will be used *in situ*. In other cases, maps produced for Catalonia will only show Catalan names, while maps produced for Madrid or Andalusia will only show Spanish names. These choices are made to adapt the map for local usage, but are not suitable for a wider usage like that intended by Google Maps or Navteq.

Another interesting aspect that I would like to mention is the type of name that can be used to perform searches. All the products that I have checked allow searches of Catalan or Galician names by use of Spanish exonyms. However, the corpus of these Spanish exonyms varies from product to product. The best tools, like Navteq, only accept real exonyms, like *Lérida* or *Orense*. Other tools, like Google Maps or Bing Maps, accept Spanish adaptations of Catalan names that in general are not used in Spain. They are inappropriate because they were created during the Franco dictatorship. In addition to this, some products allow searches by typing the translation of the generic part of the street name, or even typing the translation of the complete street name, which I think is questionable.

Conclusions

Because of the different sociolinguistic backgrounds that currently exist in Spain, there is no common application of the terms endonym and exonym in the toponymy of Spain. In general, Spanish-speaking people from monolingual regions like Madrid consider that all toponyms in Spain are endonyms and that they should be official. However, the point of view of some bilingual autonomous regions may be quite different, since regions like Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Galicia refuse to consider Spanish adaptations of names in the local language as endonyms. In other regions like Valencia, the Basque Country and Navarre, where the presence of Spanish is stronger for various reasons, some of these names have become official.

Despite these differences, official names have a well-established and well-respected context of usage in Spain. The only important requirement is to respect them in the scenario in which they are associated. However, some foreign companies of digital cartography and car navigation tools occasionally ignore official names and set their own criteria for the selection of the names to be displayed. An example of this is when they translate Catalan toponymy to Spanish or when they consistently choose the Spanish form of bilingual names, without taking into consideration the current legislation, the social impact of their choices, or the real benefits that they provide. In addition, many of these companies do not have a good source of Spanish exonyms, since they use inappropriate adaptations of Catalan names which are generally not used in Spain because of their political implication.

Bogusław R. Zagórski[1]

Polish exonyms for the Arab world: How they come and go; what appears to stay[2]

1. Endonym/Exonym Divide in the Arab Toponymy

When speaking of *exonyms* (as opposed to *endonyms*) for the Arab World, and especially from the Polish perspective and from the very practical point of view of standardization, it is necessary to reformulate the idea of an *endonym* and to give it much stricter limits than those fixed by the UNGEGN definitions.

First of all, as the source names – *endonyms* – will only be understood as those established in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the only form of Arabic with an official status in all Arabic countries[3]. This form of the Arabic language, with all its lexicographic richness, including proper names, is deeply immersed in the age-old tradition of Arabic writings of all kinds. The written form of an endonym is vital for its standardization, so the original written form from a donor country should be preserved as far as possible by receiver countries. Arabic writing does matter, and reading also matters only when it is written in Arabic again. Additional script transfer may mean either transliteration or transcription (from Arabic into Latin alphabet in this case). We shall avoid dealing with names in Arabic spoken dialects (despite their obvious affinity with MSA) and other languages, official or non-official,

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[2] I extend warm thanks to Dr Philip W Matthews for his kind assistance with the final edition of this article.

[3] MSA is a contemporary conventional literary language based on mediaeval Classical Arabic, and not a mother tongue of any group within the Arabic speaking community. Arabic local dialects that are exclusively used in daily informal life vary from one another, reaching in cases a degree of mutual non-comprehensibility. They also offer a wide variety of sociolects, understood by respective groups only. The common means of communication between representatives of various inter-Arab linguistic groups is Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA). Usual frequent code switching between dialects, FSA and MSA is a matter of spontaneity which does not allow for the proper reshaping of place names in current speech. Hence there is a certain uneasiness for Arab speakers to hear (or to read) the commonly known (in dialectal forms) names remodelled after the strict grammatical patterns of MSA, that is in fact translated into MSA.

that are in use in those countries, rather imprecisely (without fixed criteria) labelled as *well-established languages*.

Why should we set such narrow horizons as regards the idea of an *endonym*? If we plan to discuss *exonyms*, there should be made a very clear distinction (divide) between *endonyms* and *exonyms*, which are defined by the inherent opposition between the two. Without this, we may create trouble for ourselves. Let us take the following example of a transmission chain, inclusive of various renderings of a randomly selected Maghrebian geographical name, and reflecting a complex linguistic situation in that part of the Arab World.

There is a town in the South of Tunisia named القَصْرَيْن *Al-Qaşrayn* in MSA, which is both an official and a well established language in Tunisia. A dialectal form of *Al-Qaşrayn* is locally pronounced as (approximately) *lgaşrīn*. The local Arabic dialect (one of several Tunisian dialects) is also a well-established language but without official status. The French traditional rendering of the name is *Kasserine* (widely used in Tunisia even today). French is also a well-established language in Tunisia but without official status.

A Polish simplified phonetic transcription of the name, executed on the basis of its French form, as used until 1970s, was *Kasrin*. Polish is obviously neither a well-established language in Tunisia nor enjoys official status there, but the transcription (provided it is carried out on the basis of scientific principles) from an official or a well-established language, as we remember, does not create an exonym. The newly obtained version is an *exograph*, or the same name in another script, but it is not an exonym.

القَصْرَيْن → *Al-Qaşrayn* → *lgaşrīn* → *Kasserine* → *Kasrin*

With that logic in mind we obtain three (or four) pronunciation variants of one geographical name in Tunisia, in four different languages and in two different writing systems (originating either from Arabic or from Latin), and none of them appears to be an exonym. All of them may be called endonyms.

Differing from the above paradoxical situation, another short and clear transmission line was proposed, in which the Arabic endonym was directly transcribed into Polish, still without losing its endonymic character:

القَصْرَيْن → *Al-Qaşrayn* (MSA original plus transliteration) → *Al-Kasrajn* (Polish systematic simplified phonetic transcription)

It means we omit the interference of either Arabic local dialects or traditional French renderings, and avoid the appearance of a plethora of variant names, each of which could possibly claim the endonym status.

Al-Kasrajn in this situation is a *transcribed endonym* (secondary to the original MSA form). A completely separate and independent question will arise if we really need and wish to establish a Polish *formally approved exonym* for this particular town. Whatever our decision will be in the future, the distinction is already clear; a name transcribed from MSA will be still an endonym, while other forms of names will be categorized as either exonyms (French in this case) or numerous unspecified variants (which may however retain a certain practical value when we need comparative material for the standardization of a defective basic form or for the identification of a feature after non-standardized variant names found in various publications).

2. Languages parallel to Arabic

Toponyms of non-Arabic origin, in Arabicized forms, can in fact be found in all Arab countries. Many of them are reminders of old substrata which were incorporated by the local Arabic naming tradition over the centuries (Ancient Arabia, Mesopotamia, Greater Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Maghreb). In some countries the Arabic toponymy, officially admitted, can be described as entirely secondary to the original toponymic layers in other local living languages, as occurs in such countries as Chad, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia and the Comoros, where only very small parts of the population speak Arabic as a mother tongue. In some other countries, Arabic coexists with another formally recognized language, as in Iraq or Israel[4].

Introduction of a second national language, namely Berber, in three Maghrebian countries (Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria, but not Tunisia and Libya) complicates the linguistic and formal situation even more. There is no clear indication as to which of the numerous Berber dialects in those countries official status was ascribed, and the uniform version of the Berber language, or even three Berber languages for the three mentioned countries, is a matter of postulative ideology and is not a living reality. New official Berber toponomastic documentation is not available. The mutual interference and mixing between the two overlapping toponymic layers, Berber and Arabic, have always been locally intensive and deserve further academic study.

[4] Since the political dismemberment of Sudan a large, southern part of that country separated and received a new name of South Sudan. As a consequence of this political-territorial change the Arabic language is no longer in official use there.

All in all, from the practical point of view, the linguistic bouquet of Arabic names, either of Arabic origin or derived from non-Arabic languages, should be treated together, jointly, as one homogeneous structure, just like French toponymy which includes Basque, Norman or Germanic elements, German toponymy inclusive of all its Celtic and Slavonic intrusions, or Polish toponymy enriched with words of German, Lithuanian, Belarussian, Kashubian, Silesian, Ukrainian and even Oriental origin. Whatever is the societal acceptance of such heterogeneous Arabic names locally, it is the official status category which decides.

To conclude, Polish exonyms for the Arab World would refer to the entire Arabic toponymy, irrespective of its original derivation. Nor was a distinction of origin ever perceived by earlier Polish users.

Officially standardized toponymy in MSA (with the necessary vowel signs) is almost totally non-existent on an international scale. That characteristic of the donor Arab countries requires the application of painful standardization procedures by the receivers themselves, based on the available sources of whatever origin. This obviously creates the possibility of errors of judgement that cannot be entirely excluded at present[5].

That difficulty also applies to the situation in the Polish endonym/exonym complex as regards the Arab World, even though every precaution is taken so as to assure the authenticity and correctness of Arabic endonyms, standardized and formally accepted for general use in Poland. However, this procedure allows us to make a clear distinction between endonyms and exonyms, the latter being carefully observed and accepted only when there are valid reasons found for it (see further below).

In summary, my views to this point may be presented as follows:

a) MSA endonym → transcription → transcribed endonym
b) local name (written or oral) → intermediary source → exonym

[5] The famous opulent gazetteers of Arabic geographical names elaborated by the US Board on Geographic Names likewise based their final approved toponymic forms on various available sources, from topographic maps in Arabic (naturally without vowel signs) to certain second- and third-hand materials; all of them required a receiver's own lexical and grammatical analysis. However, even this well-equipped and materially supported team did not extend the standardization procedures over the Central and West Maghrebian countries (Algeria, Morocco, Western Sahara, Mauritania), leaving all local toponyms in colonial French and Spanish forms. If the shortcomings of the US gazetteers can be easily detected, still their practical value and usefulness as an additional and comparative source of information cannot be overestimated. Algerian, Moroccan, Saharan and Mauritanian toponyms were, however, systematically re-Arabicized and transcribed into German by the Ständiger Ausschuss für geographische Namen in Frankfurt am Main, on a much smaller scale.

3. Ways of introducing Arabic toponyms into Polish

Historically speaking, the Polish exonymic corpus for the Arab World had been created generally without direct contact with the Arab lands and language. Poland maintained a lively political and economic relationship with the Islamic World, due to the centuries-old common borders with the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire, but Arabic linguistic influences in Polish seldom came directly from Arabic. On one hand they found a way into Polish through the intermediary of the Turkic (Tatar and Ottoman Turkish) languages which, themselves, were imbibed with terminology of all kinds borrowed from Arabic. On the other hand, Arab terminology arrived into Polish through those other European languages that had come into contact with Arabic directly and much earlier (Italian, Spanish, French; occasionally German and English). Though the general dictionary of Arabic words in Polish has been studied quite extensively[6], geographical names have been deliberately left out of the researchers' horizons, or, being a problem, have escaped their attention.

A first project aimed at improving that situation has been started by this author. It consists in gathering Arabic place names as used in Polish books and atlases in the period 1945-2000. The records gathered up to now contain around 2500 place names collected from books on geography, travel, history, archaeology, political science, as well as pocket atlases.

The file reveals an extraordinarily rich variety of alternative forms for one and the same name, and also some names that are surprisingly difficult to explain – like the country name Karak (after Al-Karak, the famous crusader castle) for Jordan. Some names, earlier appearing in print, have regrettably gone into disuse – like the very appropriate name Saudia for Saudi Arabia, close to the original Arabic short name of the country: As-Su^{c}ūdiyyah (in Arabic, this name applies both to the country and its official airlines; in international usage Saudia now only refers to airlines).

The ever growing dictionary of Arabic names in Poland reflects a process of change in name usage, newly introduced endonyms (according to the above-mentioned criteria) slowly replacing the older exonyms (in the same understanding).

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[6] See bibliography: Muchliński, Lokotsch, Zajączkowski, Turek.

4. How the change came about

The process of change commenced on the 2nd of January 1970, which coincides with this author's first day of professional work at the Cartographic Documentation Department of the State Cartographical Publishing House (Państwowe Przedsiębiorstwo Wydawnictw Kartograficznych – PPWK) in Warsaw. The then chief of the department, Mr. Wiesław Królikowski, was on vacation and new colleagues, wishing to give me some employment in the meantime, asked me to get acquainted with the card file of standardized geographical names of the Arab countries that was kept and regularly updated for the use of map editors. The system of treating the names – superficial orthographical Polonization of names found in English and French atlases – seemed to me, a newly graduate Arabist, to be monstrous. With a young man's openness I communicated my severe opinion about it to the others, to their natural amusement. However, they decided to give me some literature on the subject available in the department and I discovered there the materials of the First United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (Geneva 1967). I studied them carefully and found them of great interest and, at the same time, totally opposed to the system practised in PPWK. The latter was based on the French and British colonial naming tradition and in the Polish situation could be categorized as a systematic mass production of new exonyms. It should be added that the system was not originally invented by PPWK; it was just a follow-up of rules established by an earlier commission on geographical names that had been formed in 1951. The toponymic decisions of that earlier commission were published in a thick volume of nearly 900 pages in 1959, edited by Professor Lech Ratajski, a geographer from Warsaw. However, since the number of named features was inadequate for current cartographic works, the file at PPWK was under permanent elaboration and extension.

When Mr. Królikowski returned from his vacation, we had several long and heated discussions on the subject, also with the participation of external experts like Professor Tadeusz Lewicki, a renowned Arabist from Kraków and a specialist in Maghrebian historical geography, who worked closely in that period with PPWK. Finally, the decision was taken by the chief director of PPWK, Mr. Jan Rzędowski, to change the system according to the new trends and requirements formulated in the international literature, and to remake the whole existing card file of Arabic geographical names.

The author of this small revolution was invited to prepare an article for the Polish Cartographical Review, which resulted in the publication in 1972 of a first systematic analysis of Arabic geographical names in Polish, as well as new rules of procedure with transliteration and transcription tables of those toponyms for general use in the Polish publications. The same rules were subsequently adopted by the PWN – State Scientific Publishers – in their encyclopaedias and other publications.

It was also about that time when I first got in touch, though indirectly through correspondence, with Professor Josef Breu from Vienna, an international authority on the standardization of geographical names. We started a regular cooperation, exchanging information, publications and ideas. These and our personal encounters helped me to benefit enormously in acquiring knowledge of toponymic subject matters from a first-hand source[7].

The Polish toponymic standardization commission has continued its activities under various names and chairmanships, and with different affiliations. After some hesitation it also adopted the same rules concerning the treatment of Arabic names in Polish. With just a few minor amendments (some of them reversed afterwards) the same transcription system has been maintained until today. It also meant that the overhelming majority of those enthusiastically produced Polish exonyms for the Arab World lost their formerly officially approved status, went into disuse and were relegated to historical archives[8].

5. Trends in Exonym Use

It was agreed that Arabic geographical names in Polish would all be based only on the written forms in MSA and systematically transcribed according to a unique transcription system[9]. This is about *endonyms* or *exographs*.

[7] This allowed me to enter another toponymic area, while supervising the procedures of field collection of geographical names, their standardization, transliteration, authentication and application on topographic maps for the Master Plan of Tripolitania (Western Libya). That experience (and a year of intensive studies of Berber dialects at EPHE and INALCO in Paris) persuaded me finally that the local names, in either an Arabic or a Berber dialect, can always be effectively adjusted to the grammatical rules of MSA – once there is a will to do it.

[8] There followed several years during which I conducted special courses of transliteration and transcription for the students of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Warsaw University, who later on had many opportunities to join cartographic undertakings in various countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

[9] For documentation files, all Arabic toponyms in our commission's archives and publications are noted down in Latin letters, but with strict application of scientific, reversible transliteration rules. There is no agreement among the Arab countries as to the unique transliteration system into the Latin alphabet. The original BGN/PCGN 1956 system, that was renamed by Arab representatives as the 'Beirut system', has since several ADEGN meetings undergone some changes that are nowhere applied in practice, and there are no indications that such a unique system could be implemented in near future. In this situation the Polish

As far as *exonyms* are concerned, the only exonyms that can be approved officially for further use are those which have for a long time been well-established in the Polish language, whose orthography is not in disagreement with the general rules of Polish orthography, which refer to very well-known features and especially when those features have a particular connection with Polish history and culture or present Polish-Arab relations. These rules of selection cannot be given more precisely because every single name, falling within the above-mentioned categories, is a separate case. Practically, every 'new exonym', proposed for official approval by the present commission, is supplied with extensive historical, geographical and linguistic evidence and argumentation, and is subject to (sometimes very lengthy) discussions as regards its necessity at all and the final shape in which it is to be approved.

A transcribed Arabic endonym is not, as a rule, subjected to such in-depth ongoing discussions, as most of the procedures are semi-automatic. But sometimes there appears a need to clarify how important a specific toponym is, and whether it deserves incorporation into the general corpus of standardized names, or maybe to explain the validity and correctness of its transcription, if there are any doubts.

A language is an element of community building, and toponymy is one of the most important elements of human life, involving perception of space and the creation of common societal geographical horizons. Exonyms, which constitute a part of the Polish historical linguistic heritage, may sometimes create politically delicate situations, particularly when they refer to features in vulnerable areas of past Polish sovereignty and/or to territories with a substantial living Polish minority. They could be perceived sometimes, by adversely biased observers, as displaying an aggressive attitude. However, as regards the Arab World, those concerns are meaningless and fortunately have no importance whatsoever.

And this is what we may call the Polish experience in the standardization and exonymization of geographical names of the Arab Countries.

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Ivana Crljenko[1]

Geographical feature importance as a criterion for exonym selection: Croatian examples

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the discussion about one of the proposed criteria for exonym use (Jordan 2011: No. 2.3.1.), concerning the 'importance' of geographical features that are considered significant enough to be used in their exonymic, domesticated form. Specifically, it is sometimes very difficult to define the intensity and strength of the political, historical, social or cultural relations between an exonym language community and the geographical features that should be treated (named) in exonymic form. This paper offers some examples, mostly the names of regions (many of which are actually translated versions of endonyms), that refer to this issue, and it raises a few questions, hoping that the answers to those questions will clarify the principles of the decision-making process and possibly solve the problem of whether we should use the endonymic or exonymic form of certain geographical names.

The Croatian case

In Croatia there is no official *Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names* yet established, which means that experts on geographical names are not grouped into one advisory body that would be responsible for making decisions concerning geographical names. The result of this situation is a vast variety of different forms of geographical names used in geographical handbooks, atlases, visual media, newspapers, and even national lexicons and encyclopaedias. There is no official list of exonyms that should be consulted when writing or editing books, articles, maps and other forms of published materials. The only advisory reference books are those regarding Croatian orthography that deal with a very few examples of exonyms, certainly not enough for atlas or handbook producers. In those reference books we cannot therefore find a sufficient number of exonyms (and their usage) related to the 'importance' of a geographical feature. It is also not obvious in what way

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some examples that should support the idea of the importance of a geographical object, especially those that are allegedly important because the objects maintain a long-lasting economic, cultural or political relationship to the exonymic language community, actually do have that type of relationship. Of course, we have to be aware of the fact that there are many exonyms which have not been coined and used because of the 'importance' criteria, and are instead related to some other criteria, although they seem to reflect some historical, cultural, political or/and economic relationships.

Feature-related criteria

The current feature-related criteria for the use of exonyms, proposed by Peter Jordan (2011: 2.3.1), state: 'Exonym use is rather acceptable, if the geographical feature to be marked is important for the community of the exonym language. The argument: "Importance" is here defined in the most comprehensive sense and always in relation to the community of the exonym language. Important features in this sense will certainly comprise all the most important features also in an objective sense (like continents, oceans, countries, metropolises) but also features which are less important or even unimportant from an objective point of view. Features in the latter sense may, *e.g.,* be features in close vicinity of the exonym language community or features to which the exonym language community undertains[2] long-lasting economic, cultural and/or political relations. The group of features addressed here comprises in essence the network of intensive and continuous spatial relations an exonym language community has. It is vital for the exonym language community to develop and preserve topographic knowledge on this network. This is facilitated by place names that are easy to be spelled and pronounced and consequently be kept in mind, *i.e.* exonyms.'

Some other explanations

There are numerous explanations of exonyms and their usage on the internet. The website 'Absolute Astronomy' explains that 'exonyms develop for places of special significance for speakers of the language of the exonym. Consequently, most European capitals have English exonyms, *e.g.* Athens (Αθήνα /Athína), Belgrade (Београд/Beograd), Bucharest (București), Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel), Copenhagen (København), Lisbon (Lisboa), Moscow (Москва/Moskva), Nicosia (Λευκωσία /Lefkosía), Prague (Praha),

[2] [*sic*]: presumably should read 'maintains' [Ed].

Rome (Roma), Vienna (Wien) or Warsaw (Warszawa), while for instance historically less prominent capitals Ljubljana and Zagreb do not. … Madrid, Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam, with identical names in most major European languages, are exceptions'[3].

Explanations from four Croatian prominent books: examples of Croatian subnational territorial units

There are few orthography and reference books on how to write, pronounce and use Croatian and foreign words (including geographical names) in Croatia. That causes confusion for users. Although some books offer the same principles and more or less the same examples for the correct writing of Croatian exonyms, there are some examples in other books that are not obvious enough. Also it is rarely understandable why some given examples are used in their exonymic forms (for instance, is it because of the 'importance' of the geographical feature and the historical relationship with it, or just because of newly-dated translation or adaptation so that it can fit into the Croatian vocabulary more easily without anything to do with the long-lasting connections with the specific geographical feature). To make it clearer, here are some explanations and examples of geographical names for the sub-national territorial units cited from four books:

a) According to 'The Handbook of Current Croatian Usage' (*Hrvatski jezični savjetnik;* Barić et al, 1999), the names of sub-national territorial units (states, provinces, counties, regions) are mostly written in their original form, such as Utah, Minnesota, Idaho or New York. The exception to this rule are the names of those territorial units which have the phoneticized or rendered Croatian form due to their specific historical identity, like *Havaji, Aljaska, Šleska, Lorena….*

b) One 'Croatian Orthography' (*Hrvatski pravopis;* Badurina et al, 2007) only states that we should write: *Bavarska, Britanska Kolumbija, Kalifornija, Kastilja, Katalonija, Normandija, Novi Meksiko, Sjeverna Karolina, Šampanja*. There are no explanations why should we use exonyms instead of endonyms in these particular cases, nor what to do with other similar cases.

c) According to another 'Croatian Orthography' (*Hrvatski pravopis;* Babić et al, 2004), the proper way of writing the names of regions, provinces and settlements is that: 'Subunits of countries as well as place names have to be written in the original form, unless they have obtained Croatian forms due to

[3] http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Exonym_and_endonym
This text is also seen on Wikipedia.

historic links: Ardennes (French department), Hessen (German federal *Land*), Minnesota (US state) … In that way, we can distinguish *Alžir* (country) from Alger (department and city), or *Meksiko* (country) from Ciudad de México (city), or *Gvatemala* (country) from Guatemala (city). This 'explanation' leaves us with a great dilemma, because there are no examples of exonym usage at all (besides the obvious one for the names of countries).

d) According to the 'The Orthography of Croatian Language' (*Pravopis hrvatskoga jezika;* Anić, Silić, 2001): '…sometimes we use Croatian version of name for a foreign territorial unit, such as: *Bavarska, Donja Saska, Sjeverna Rajna-Vestfalija, Tiringija* in Germany; *Sjeverna Karolina, Južna Karolina, Sjeverna Dakota, Južna Dakota, Kolorado, Novi Meksiko, Kalifornija, Aljaska* in USA…" It also proposes: 'Other proper nouns we write in their original form: Manchester, Nottingham, Le Havre, Rhode Island…". We have no idea what is meant by the 'sometimes' at the beginning of the citation.

More examples

Here are more examples that are confusing and make us ask ourselves: should we use a Croatian form of certain regions (for instance, *Zapadna Australija, Aljaska, Južna Dakota, Kalifornija, Britanska Kolumbija*), or should we write their endonymic forms only (like New South Wales, Western Australia, Alaska, South Dakota, California, British Columbia), or should we make a compromise and use both forms, for example: New South Wales (*Novi Južni Wales*), Alaska (*Aljaska*), South Dakota (*Južna Dakota*), California (*Kalifornija*), British Columbia (*Britanska Kolumbija*)? Should we translate as much as we can into the Croatian language, or should we leave the endonymic form as often as possible (of course, UNGEGN recommendations are quite clear about making new exonyms and should be consulted)?

Examples of such names are abundant worldwide, but it appears that this problem is especially pronounced in the cases of some US and Australian federal states as well as Canadian provinces, which have (or have not?) been domesticated under the influence of the generally increased level of knowledge of the English language in comparison to other languages (for example, *Havaji, Sjeverna Karolina, Sjeverni Teritorij, Južna Australija, Tasmanija, Teksas, Viktorija, Zapadna Virdžinija, etc*). Geographical names of regions from other languages are a special type of issue because we have more difficulty in detecting whether, for example, the two-word endonym is in its infinitive or adjectival form or what is the etymology of the specific name or even which is the generic part of the name.

Exonyms regarding criteria of 'importance'

According to the criteria of 'importance' of a geographical object, we can abstract two main groups of exonyms in Croatian language: the undoubted ones and the questionable ones.

- The undoubted exonyms (usually oikonyms) – for instance, *Atena, Beč, Budimpešta, Pečuh, Prag, Venecija, Firenca, Trst, Istanbul, Pariz, Rim, Rešice, Temišvar* – because of the intense historical relationships between geographical feature and the exonym language community
- The questionable exonyms (usually for territorial units) – for example, *Aljaska, Zapadna Virdžinija, Sjeverna Dakota, Novi Južni Wales, Novi Meksiko* – because there are no intense relationships but they occur in both versions, as endonyms and exonyms. A new question arises: Should we use both versions, or just one? If just one, which should it be, given that Croatian orthographies recommend the usage of endonyms, but with some exceptions!

Although there have been numerous exonyms used in everyday life for a long time (some of which are now considered to be anachronistic, old and historical), a slightly increasing trend of making new exonyms in Croatian language can be noticed, despite the recommendations of UNGEGN. This trend should be observed in the broader context of 'strengthening' the Croatian language and 'building' national identity by entering some old Croatian words on the one hand, and on the other hand domesticating foreign words (including geographical names) and replacing them with new ones. So more often than before we notice situations where endonyms are being transferred to exonyms by translation. Thankfully, some of these forced and rigid translations have never become rooted in the spoken language (*e.g.* Golfe du Lion or Gulf of Lion did not become *Lavlji zaljev*, but retained its older name *Lionski zaljev*).

An even greater problem concerning this matter is not so much whether we should translate the obvious geographical names and domesticate them, but the fact that there is no rule for doing so. Hence the inconsistencies in the process of geographical naming still remain the greatest problem (Crljenko 2008).

Conclusion: the main issues

With no official list of exonyms available, and having consulted the few Croatian orthographies and similar advisory books, we can conclude that there are three main issues that address the 'importance' criteria for endonym use in Croatian language:

a) It is not only the problem that the small number of the examples in these books do not offer suitable answers (so we cannot be sure if the domesticated version should be applied, or whether the foreign, usually Anglicized, form is a better solution), so these books usually seem to be useless for cartographers, authors and editors of geographical texts. We cannot detect from them whether to write Ohio or Ohajo, Rhode Island or Roud Ajland, Nova Scotia or *Nova Škotska*, Texas or *Teksas*, New Mexico or *Novi Meksiko* and so on. The first two above-mentioned examples will hopefully never be adopted because it would mean that we could phoneticize all foreign geographical names and make them look strange in the Croatian language, but as the last three examples are concerned, there are some atlases and texts where the translation and/or adaptation of the whole name or just one part of the name has already been used.

b) Another problem is that despite these prescribed rules, the questions still remain: which toponyms have acquired domesticated exonymic form and exist as Croatian exonyms due to long-established relationships, and which do not? How do we define the 'importance' of a geographical feature so that we use the exonymic form of its name? These questions come up because we can notice that there have never been intense political, historical, social or cultural relations between the Croatian language community and geographical features such as *Havaji, Sjeverozapadni Teritoriji, Tasmanija* or *Aljaska*, in contrast to *Kalifornija, Bavarska, Istočni Tirol* or *Toskana*. On the other hand, many of the Croatian diaspora lives in Cleveland (Ohio), Pittsburh (Pennsylvania), München (Germany), Stuttgart (Germany) but Ohio has not become Ohajo, neither has Pennsylvania become Pensilvenija. The same applies for cities Klivlend, Picburg, Minhen or Štutgart (and Dizeldorf, Keln and other German towns with a significant Croatian diaspora).

Of course, the reasons for that may relate to the time of emigration and the circumstances under which the new geographical name was received and adopted in the Croatian language (was it during the first migration wave in the nineteenth century, or during the letter ones in the twentieth century, or was it adopted in a spoken or written way), or it may relate to the fact that the 'importance' criteria (or any other criteria for exonym use) was not strong enough to convert the original geographical name into the Croatian exonymic form despite all the connections between the Croatian language community and the foreign geographical feature. But it seems that there are too many exceptions to the rule. Of course, making a new, forced, awkward and clumsy exonymic form out of the well-established and accepted endonyms nowadays would be a great mistake, so in the official and prominent books it has not been considered as an option.

c) We can also ask ourselves: when does an endonym become an exonym; why have some geographical objects been named by using their exonymic form although we have not had intense relationships with them in history, and, of course, who decides when an endonym in such cases becomes an exonym?

Considering all this, it is evident that there is some disorder in Croatian language rules concerning exonyms, and therefore for those related to the 'importance' criteria as well, which is the result of the absence of an official list of Croatian exonyms. The next logical step would be to make such a list.

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Pavel Boháč[1]

Names of European spatial features within the *List of Czech Exonyms*

Exonyms as the domestic forms of foreign geographical names have been a part of the vocabulary of each language for a long time. According to the definition adopted by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, an exonym is a proper name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated. A counterpart to an exonym is an endonym – a proper name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in the area where the feature is situated. Thus, Czech exonyms are the Czech forms of geographical names of any geographical feature situated outside the borders of the Czech Republic, *i.e.* outside the area where the Czech language has official status.

In the previous paragraph I have cited entry sentences from the preface to the *List of Czech Exonyms* that has already been published in a second edition by the Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre at the end of 2011[2].

Although the majority of Czech exonyms have a constant form, there are certain variations in the public usage of some of them, and therefore one of the aims of the list is to codify the Czech forms of foreign geographical names.

This present paper deals with approximately 200 Czech exonyms that were collected in the List and – at the same time – represents oronyms and choronyms within the territory of Europe. I have left out the names of islands and hydronyms from my considerations.

I have tried to classify the names in question in harmony with the structure of the *List of Czech Exonyms* and have created feature-oriented groups of exonyms as follows:

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[2] ***Index českých exonym (List of Czech exonyms),*** Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre, Prague, Czech Republic; 2nd edition, 2011.

1. Names of mountains ranges and highlands;
2. Names of lowlands and plateaux;
3. Administrative choronyms (including names of historical administrative entities);
4. Natural choronyms (excluding names of islands).

I did not include in those four groups some names that could not be arranged easily; these include the names of coastal areas (seaside), large forests, karst regions, *etc.*

I present the division of exonyms in tabular form below. It is perhaps no surprise that most of the selected names are sorted into the first and third group of names.

MOUNTAIN RANGES, HIGHLANDS		ADMINISTRATIVE TERRITORIES (historical included)	
STANDARDIZED NAMES	NON-STANDARDIZED VARIANTS (obsolete names are given in Italics)	**STANDARDIZED NAMES**	NON-STANDARDIZED VARIANTS (obsolete names are given in Italics)
103 names in total	11 names in total (approx. 10,5 % of standardized names)	**120 names in total**	23 names in total (approx. 19,5 % of standardized names)
Abruzy	0	Achája	0
Albánské Alpy	0	Akvitánie	0
Algavské Alpy	0	Alsasko	0
Alpy	0	Andalusie	0
Andaluské pohoří	Bétické pohoří	Anglie	0
Apeniny	0	Apulie	0
Apuánské Alpy	0	Aragonie	0
Ardeny	Ardenny	Ardensko	Ardeny, Ardenny
Argony	0	Asturie	0
Bakoňský les	0	Bádensko-Württembersko	0
Banátské hory	0	Baskicko	0
Bavorské Alpy	0	Bavorsko	*Bavory*
Bavorský les	0	Benátsko	0
Bergamské Alpy	0	Besarábie	0
Bernské Alpy	0	Bourbonsko	0

Budínské vrchy	0	Braniborsko	0
Bukové hory	0	Bretaň	*Bretaňsko, Bretoňsko*
Bystřické hory	0	Burgenlandsko	0
Cairnhormské pohoří	0	Burgundsko	0
Cevenny	0	Čuvašsko	0
Cornwallská hornatina	0	Dalmácie	0
Černý les	0	Dobrudža	0
Dauphinéské Alpy	0	Dolní Lužice	0
Dinárská planina	Dinárské Alpy	Dolní Rakousko	*Dolní Rakousy*
	Dinárské hory	Dolní Sasko	0
Dolomity	0	Dolní Slezsko	0
Durynský les	0	Durynsko	0
Fagarašské hory	0	Epirus	0
Falcký les	0	Falc	Falcko
Francouzské středohoří	0	Flandry	0
Franský Jura	Francký Jura	Franky	Francko, Fransko
Franský les	Francký les	Frísko	0
Glarnské Alpy	0	Furlánsko	Furlandsko
Grajské Alpy	0	Galicie	0
Grampiany	0	Gaskoňsko	0
Harc	0	Halič	0
Cheviotské pohoří	0	Henegavsko	0
Iberské pohoří	0	Hesensko	0
Jižní Karpaty	0	Horní Falc	Horní Falcko
Julské Alpy	0	Horní Lužice	0
Kalábrijský Apenin	0	Horní Rakousko	*Horní Rakousy*
Kaledonské hory	0	Horní Slezsko	0
Kambrické pohoří	0	Jižní Tyrolsko	0
Kantaberské pohoří	0	Kalábrie	0
Karavanky	0	Kalmycko	0
Karnské Alpy	0	Kampánie	0
Kastilské pohoří	0	Kantábrie	0
Kitzbühelské Alpy	0	Karélie	0
Kotické Alpy	0	Kastilie	0
Kumbrické hory	0	Kašubsko	0
Lechtalské Alpy	0	Katalánsko	0
Lepontské Alpy	0	Korutansko	Korutany
Ligurské Alpy	0	Kraňsko	0
Ligurský Apenin	0	Kujavsko	0
Litavské vrchy	0	Kuronsko	0

Lublinská vrchovina	0	Lakónie	0
Malopolská vrchovina	0	Laponsko	0
Nízké Taury	0	Ligurie	0
Ötztalské Alpy	0	Limbursko	0
Parnas	0	Livonsko	0
Penninské Alpy	Walliské Alpy	Lombardie	0
Penniny	Penninské pohoří	Lotrinsko	0
Pilišské vrchy	0	Lucembursko	0
Pobaltská pahorkatina	0	Lutyšsko	0
Porýnská břidličná vrchovina	0	Lužice	0
Povolžská vrchovina	0	Makedonie	0
Provensálské Alpy	0	Malopolsko	0
Přímořské Alpy	0	Marijsko	0
Pyreneje	0	Marka	0
Rétské Alpy	0	Mazovsko	0
Rodopy	0	Mazursko	0
Savojské Alpy	0	Meklenbursko-Přední Pomořansko	0
Skandinávské pohoří	0	Mordvinsko	0
Skotská vysočina	0	Nasavsko	0
Slezská vrchovina	0	Něnecko	0
Slovenské rudohoří	0	Piemont	0
Smrčiny	0	Pikardie	0
Soví hory	0	Podhalí	0
Stará planina	Balkán	Podlesí	0
Středoněmecká vysočina	0	Podněstersko	0
Středoruská vrchovina	0	Podolí	0
Stubaiské Alpy	0	Polesí	0
Svatokřížské hory	0	Pomořansko	*Pomořany*
Štýrská pahorkatina	0	Porúří	0
Švábský Jura	0	Porýní-Falc	Porýní-Falcko
Švýcarský Jura	0	Provensálsko	0
Taury	0	Salcbursko	*Solnohradsko*
Teutonský les	0	Sársko	0
Timanské vrchy	0	Saské Švýcarsko	0
Toskánský Apenin	Etruský Apenin	Sasko	0
Transylvánská vysočina	0	Sasko-Anhaltsko	0
Umbrijský Apenin	0	Savojsko	0
Valdajská vrchovina	0	Sedmihradsko	Transylvánie
Vertéšské vrchy	0	Severní Irsko	0

Vezerská vrchovina	0	Severní Porýní-Vestfálsko	0
Vídeňský les	0	Skotsko	0
Vogézy	0	Slavonie	0
Východní Alpy	0	Šlesvicko-Holštýnsko	0
Východní Karpaty	0	Štýrsko	0
Vysoké Taury	0	Švábsko	0
Západní Alpy	0	Tatarstán	0
Zemplínské vrchy	Tokajské vrchy	Thesálie	0
Zillertalské Alpy	0	Thrákie	0
Západní hory	0	Toskánsko	0
		Tridentsko-Horní Adiže	Tridentsko-Jižní Tyrolsko
		Tyrolsko	*Tyroly*
		Umbrie	0
		Valonské Brabantsko	0
		Valonsko	0
		Velkopolsko	0
		Vlámské Brabantsko	0
		Vlámsko	0
		Volyň	0
		Voralrlbersko	0
		Východní Flandry	0
		Východní Tyrolsko	0
		Záhoří	0
		Zamaguří	0
		Západní Flandry	0
		Zulavsko	0
		0	*Fojtland*
		0	*Nová Kastilie*
		0	*Valašsko*
		0	*Žmuď*

LOWLANDS, PLATEAUX		PENINSULAS, SPITS	
STANDARDIZED NAMES	NON-STANDARDIZED VARIANTS (obsolete names are given in Italics)	**STANDARDIZED NAMES**	NON-STANDARDIZED VARIANTS (obsolete names are given in Italics)
24 names in total	3 names in total (approx. 12,5 % of standardized names)	**17 names in total**	8 names in total (approx. 47 % of standardized names)

Akvitánská pánev	0	Apeninský poloostrov	0
Andaluská nížina	0	Arabatská kosa	0
Černomořská nížina	0	Atika	Attika
Dněperská nížina	0	Balkánský poloostrov	Balkán
Dolnorýnská nížina	0	Bretaňský poloostrov	0
Finská jezerní plošina	0	Cornwallský poloostrov	0
Hornorýnská nížina	0	Helská kosa	0
Hornotrácká nížina	0	Istrie	Istrijský poloostrov
Malá dunajská nížina	*Malá uherská nížina*	Jutský poloostrov	0
Mazovská nížina	0	Kola	Kolský poloostrov
Mazurská jezerní plošina	0	Kurská kosa	Kuršská kosa, *Kuronská kosa*
Meklenburská jezerní plošina	0	Peloponés	0
Moravské pole	0	Pyrenejský poloostrov	Iberský poloostrov
Pádská nížina	0	Rybářský poloostrov	0
Panonská nížina	0	Salentský poloostrov	Salentinský poloostrov
Pařížská pánev	0	Skandinávský poloostrov	0
Pomořanská jezerní plošina	0	Viselská kosa	0
Severoněmecká nížina	0		
Valašská nížina	Rumunská nížina		
Velká dunajská nížina	Velká uherská nížina		
Velkopolská jezerní plošina	0		
Velkopolská nížina	0		
Vídeňská pánev	0		
Východoevropská nížina	0		

OTHERS	
STANDARDIZED NAMES	NON-STANDARDIZED VARIANTS
6 names in total	1 name (approx. 16,5 % of standardized names)
Azurové pobřeží	Francouzská riviéra
Baraganská step	0
Bělověžský prales	0
Dinárský kras	0
Lüneburské vřesoviště	0
Solná komora	0

The division of names into groups is more interesting when made according to the naming schemes. The sub-groups of names differ in my table according to colours and there are between two and six of them within each of the four main groups. The naming scheme groups are presented as follows:

MOUNTAIN RANGES, HIGHLANDS	ADMINISTRATIVE TERRITORIES (historical included)
one-word name with the most frequent ending "**-y**"	name with the most frequent endings "**-sko**" or "**-cko**"
multi-word name, the generic part with the most frequent ending "**-y**"[see **Note***]	name with the less frequent ending "**-ie**"
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "mountains"	name with the infrequent ending "**-í**"
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "forest"	name with the (archaic) ending "-y"
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "tableland"	multi-word name; composite generics with different endings
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "highlands"	other name
other name	[**Note*** *Apeniny* is the plural form, *Apenin* is the singular form]

LOWLANDS, PLATEAUX	PENINSULAS, SPITS
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "lake plateau"	multi-word name; the generic part stands for "peninsula"
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "lowlands"	multi-word name; the generic part stands for "spit"
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "basin"	other name
multi-word name; the generic part stands for "field"	

For a better understanding, the Czech exonyms are equated to the relevant endonyms in the attached register:

Register of standardized names	
Exonym	**Endonym**
Abruzy	Abruzzi
Achája	Achaïa
Akvitánie	Aquitaine [fra]; Aquitània [oci]

Akvitánská pánev	Bassin d'Aquitaine
Albánské Alpy	Alpet e Shqipërisë *or* Bjeshkët e Nemuna [sqi]; Prokletije [srp]
Algavské Alpy	Allgäuer Alpen
Alpy	Alpen [deu]; Alpes [fra]; Alpi [ita]; Aups *or* Alps [oci]; Alps [roh]; Alpe [slv]
Alsasko	Alsace
Andalusie	Andalucía
Andaluská nížina	Depresión Bética
Andaluské pohoří	Cordillera Bética
Anglie	England
Apeninský poloostrov	Penisola italiana *or* Penisola appenninica
Apeniny	Appennini
Apuánské Alpy	Alpi Apuane
Apulie	Puglia
Arabatská kosa	Arabat beli [crh]; Arabatskaja Strelka [rus]; Arabats'ka strilka [ukr]
Aragonie	Aragó [cat]; Aragón [spa]
Ardensko	Ardennes
Ardeny	Ardennen [deu, nld]; Ardennes *or* Plateau de l'Ardenne [fra]
Argony	Argonne
Asturie	Asturies [ast]; Asturias [spa]
Atika	Attikí
Azurové pobřeží	Côte d'Azur [fra]; Costièra d'Azur [oci]
Bádensko-Württembersko	Baden-Württemberg
Bakoňský les	Bakony *or* Bakony hegység
Balkánský poloostrov	Balkansko poluostrvo [bos, srp]; Balkanski poluostrov [bul, mkd]; Valkanikí Chersónisos [ell]; Balkanski poluotok [hrv]; Peninsula Balcanică [ron]; gadishulli Ballkanik [sqi]; Balkan yarımadası [tur]
Banátské hory	Munții Banatului
Baraganská step	Câmpia Bărăganului
Baskicko	Euskadi [eus]; Pays Basques [fra]; País Vasco [spa]
Bavorské Alpy	Bayerische Alpen
Bavorsko	Bayern
Bavorský les	Bayerischer Wald
Bělověžský prales	Bielaviežskaja pušča [bel]; Puszcza Białowieska [pol]; Belovežskaja pušča [rus]

Benátsko	Veneto
Bergamské Alpy	Prealpi Orobiche *or* Alpi Bergamasche
Bernské Alpy	Berner Alpen *or* Berner Oberland [deu]; Alpes Bernoises [fra]; Alpi Bernesi [ita]
Besarábie	Basarabia [mol]; Bessarabija [ukr]
Bourbonsko	Bourbonnais
Braniborsko	Brandenburg
Bretaň	Bretagne
Bretaňský poloostrov	Presqu'île de Bretagne
Budínské vrchy	Budai hegység
Bukové hory	Bükk *or* Bükk hegység
Burgenlandsko	Burgenland
Burgundsko	Bourgogne
Bystřické hory	Góry Bystrzyckie
Cairnhormské pohoří	The Cairngorms *or* Cairngorm Mountains
Cevenny	Cévennes
Cornwallská hornatina	Cornish Heights
Cornwallský poloostrov	Cornwall Peninsula
Černomořská nížina	Câmpia Mării Negre [ron]; Pryčornomors'ka nyzovyna [ukr]
Černý les	Schwarzwald
Čuvašsko	Čăvaš śĕršyvĕ [chv]; Čuvašija [rus]
Dalmácie	Dalmacija [bos, hrv, srp-ME]
Dauphinéské Alpy	Alpes du Dauphiné
Dinárská planina	Dinara [hrv, srp] *also* Dinara Planina [hrv]; Dinarsko gorje [srp-ME]
Dinárský kras	Dinarski Kras [hrv, slv]
Dněperská nížina	Prydniprovs'ka nyzovyna
Dobrudža	Dobrudža [bul]; Dobrogea [ron]
Dolní Lužice	Niederlausitz [deu]; Dolna Łužyca [dsb]
Dolní Rakousko	Niederösterreich
Dolní Sasko	Niedersachsen
Dolní Slezsko	Dolny Śląsk
Dolnorýnská nížina	Niederrheinische Tiefebene [deu]; Rijnland [nld]
Dolomity	Dolomiti [ita]; Dolomiten [deu]; Dolomitis [fur]; Dolomites [lld]
Durynsko	Thüringen

Durynský les	Thüringer Wald
Epirus	Ípeiros
Fagarašské hory	Munţii Făgăraşului
Falc	Pfalz
Falcký les	Pfälzer Wald
Finská jezerní plošina	Järvi-Suomi
Flandry	Flandre [fra]; Vlaanderen [nld]
Francouzské středohoří	Massif Central
Franky	Franken
Franský Jura	Fränkische Alb
Franský les	Frankenwald
Frísko	Friesland [deu]; Fryslân [fry]; Friesland [nld]
Furlánsko	Friaul [deu]; Friûl [fur]; Friuli [ita]; Furlanija [slv]
Galicie	Galicia [glg, spa]
Gaskoňsko	Gascogne
Glarnské Alpy	Glarner Alpen [deu]; Alpes glaronaises [fra]; Alpi Glaronesi [ita]
Grajské Alpy	Alpes grées *or* Alpes graies [fra]; Alpi Graie [ita]
Grampiany	Grampian Mountains *or* Grampians [eng]; Am Monadh [gla]
Halič	Galicja [pol]; Halyčyna [ukr]
Harc	Harz
Helská kosa	Hélskô Sztremlëzna [csb]; Mierzeja Helska [pol]
Henegavsko	Hainaut [fra]; Henegouwen [nld]
Hesensko	Hessen
Horní Falc	Oberpfalz
Horní Lužice	Oberlausitz [deu]; Hornja Łužica [hsb]
Horní Rakousko	Oberösterreich
Horní Slezsko	Śląsk Górny
Hornorýnská nížina	Oberrheinische Tiefebene [deu]; Plaine d'Alsace [fra]
Hornotrácká nížina	Gornotrakijska nizina
Cheviotské pohoří	Cheviot Hills
Iberské pohoří	Cordillera Ibérica *or* Sistema Ibérico
Istrie	Istra [hrv, slv]; Istria [ita]
Jižní Karpaty	Carpaţii Meridionali
Jižní Tyrolsko	Südtirol [deu, lld]; Alto Adige [ita]

Julské Alpy	Alpi Giulie [ita]; Julijske Alpe [slv]
Jutský poloostrov	Jylland [dan]; Jütland [deu]
Kalábrie	Calabria
Kalábrijský Apenin	Appennino Calabrese *or* Appennini Calabresi
Kaledonské hory	Northwest Highlands
Kalmycko	Kalmykija – Hal'mg Tangč [rus]; Haljmg Taŋğč [xal]
Kambrické pohoří	Elenydd [cym]; Cambrian Mountains [eng]
Kampánie	Campania
Kantaberské pohoří	Cordillera Cantábrica
Kantábrie	Cantabria
Karavanky	Karawanken [deu]; Caravanche [ita]; Karavanke [slv]
Karélie	Karjala [fin]; Karjal *or* Karjala [krl]; Karelija [rus]
Karnské Alpy	Karnische Alpen [deu]; Alpi Carniche [ita]
Kastilie	Castilla
Kastilské pohoří	Sistema Central
Kašubsko	Kaszëbë *or* Kaszëbskô [csb]; Kaszuby [pol]
Katalánsko	Catalunya [cat]; Cataluña [spa]
Kitzbühelské Alpy	Kitzbüheler Alpen
Kola	Kol'skij poluostrov
Korutansko	Kärnten
Kotické Alpy	Alpes cottiennes [fra]; Alpi Cozie [ita]
Kraňsko	Kranjska
Kujavsko	Kujawy
Kumbrické hory	Cumbrian Mountains
Kuronsko	Kurzeme
Kurská kosa	Kuršių nerija [lit]; Kuršskaja kosa [rus]
Lakónie	Lakonía
Laponsko	Lappi [fin]; Sameland [nor, swe]; Laplandija [rus]; Sápmi [sme]
Lechtalské Alpy	Lechtaler Alpen
Lepontské Alpy	Lepontische Alpen [deu]; Alpes lépontines [fra]; Alpi Lepontine [ita]
Ligurie	Liguria
Ligurské Alpy	Alpes ligures [fra]; Alpi Liguri [ita]
Ligurský Apenin	Appennino Ligure
Limbursko	Limbourg [fra]; Limburg [nld]

Litavské vrchy	Leithagebirge
Livonsko	Liivimaa [est]; Vidzeme [lit]; Līvõmō [liv]
Lombardie	Lombardia
Lotrinsko	Lorraine
Lublinská vrchovina	Wyżyna Lubelska
Lucembursko	Luxemburg [deu]; Luxembourg [fra]; Lëtzebuerg [ltz]
Lüneburské vřesoviště	Lüneburger Heide
Lutyšsko	Liège [fra]; Luik [nld]
Lužice	Lausitz [deu], Łużyca [dsb], Łužica [hsb]
Makedonie	Makedonía [ell]; Makedonija [mkd]
Malá dunajská nížina	Kleine Ungarische Tiefebene [deu]; Kisalföld [hun]; Podunajská nížina [slk]
Malopolská vrchovina	Wyżyna Małopolska
Malopolsko	Małopolska
Marijsko	Marij Èl [mhr, rus]; Mary Èl [mrj]
Marka	Marche
Mazovská nížina	Nizina Mazowiecka
Mazovsko	Mazowsze
Mazurská jezerní plošina	Pojezierze Mazurskie
Mazursko	Mazury
Meklenburská jezerní plošina	Mecklenburgische Seenplatte
Meklenbursko-Přední Pomořansko	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
Moravské pole	Marchfeld
Mordvinsko	Mordovija [mdf, myv, rus]
Nasavsko	Nassau
Něnecko	Nenecija [rus]; Njenecjax ja [yrk]
Nízké Taury	Niedere Tauern [deu]; Nizke Ture [slv]
Ötztalské Alpy	Ötztaler Alpen [deu]; Alpi di Oetz [ita]
Pádská nížina	Pianura Padana *or* Val Padana
Panonská nížina	Pannonische Tiefebene *or* Pannonisches Becken [deu]; Panonska nizina [hrv]; Belső Kárpát-medence [hun]; Câmpia Panonică *or* Câmpia de Vest [ron]; Panónska panva [slk]; Panonska nižina [slv]; Panonska nizija [srp]; Tyso-Dunajs'ka nyzovyna *or* Sredniodunajs'ka nyzovyna/rivnina *or* Panons'ka rivnina [ukr]
Parnas	Parnassós

Pařížská pánev	Bassin parisien
Peloponés	Pelopónnisos
Penninské Alpy	Walliser Alpen [deu]; Alpes valaisannes [fra]; Alpi Pennine [ita]
Penniny	Pennine Chain *or* Pennines *or* Pennine Hills
Piemont	Piemonte
Pikardie	Picardie
Pilišské vrchy	Pilis *or* Pilis hegység
Pobaltská pahorkatina	Baltijas augstiene [lav]; Baltijos aukštumos [lit]; Pojezierze Litewskie [pol]; Baltijskaja grjada [rus]
Podhalí	Podhale
Podlesí	Podlasie
Podněstersko	Stînga Nistrului *also* Transnistria [mol]; Pridnestrov'je [rus]; Prydnistrov'ja [ukr]
Podolí	Podillja
Polesí	Paliessie [bel]; Polissja [ukr]
Pomořanská jezerní plošina	Pojezierze Pomorskie
Pomořansko	Pòmòrskô [csb]; Pommern [deu]; Pomorze [pol]
Porúří	Ruhrgebiet
Porýní-Falc	Rheinland-Pfalz
Porýnská břidličná vrchovina	Rheinisches Schiefergebirge
Povolžská vrchovina	Privolžskaja vozvyšennost'
Provensálské Alpy	Massif des Trois-Évêchés [fra]; Massís dei Tres Eveschats [oci]
Provensálsko	Provence
Přímořské Alpy	Alpes Maritimes [fra]; Alpi Marittime [ita]
Pyreneje	Perinés [arg]; Pirineus [cat]; Pirinioak [eus]; Pyrénées [fra]; Pirenèus [oci]; Pirineos [spa]
Pyrenejský poloostrov	Península Iberica [arg]; Península Ibérica [ast, glg]; Península Ibèrica [cat]; Iberian Peninsula [eng]; Iberiar penintsula [eus]; Península Ibérica [por, spa]
Rétské Alpy	Rätische Alpen *or* Rhätische Alpen [deu]; Alpi Retiche [ita]
Rodopy	Rodopi [bul]; Rodópi [ell]
Rybářský poloostrov	poluostrov Rybačij [rus]; Giehkirnjárga [sme]
Salcbursko	Salzburg
Salentský poloostrov	Penisola salentina *or* Salento
Sársko	Saarland
Saské Švýcarsko	Sächsische Schweiz
Sasko	Sachsen

Sasko-Anhaltsko	Sachsen-Anhalt
Savojské Alpy	Alpes de Savoie
Savojsko	Savoie *or* Pays de Savoie
Sedmihradsko	Siebenbürgen [deu]; Erdély [hun]; Transilvania *or* Ardeal [ron]
Severní Irsko	Northern Ireland [eng]; Tuaisceart Éireann [gle]; Norlin Airlann [sco]
Severní Porýní-Vestfálsko	Nordrhein-Westfalen
Severoněmecká nížina	Norddeutsches Tiefland *or* Norddeutsche Tiefebene [deu], Noord-Duitse Laagvlakte [nld]
Skandinávské pohoří	Skandit *or* Kölivuoristo [fin]; De skandinaviske fjellene *or* Kjølen [nor]; Skanderna *or* Skandinaviska fjällkedjan [swe]
Skandinávský poloostrov	Den Skandinaviske halvøya [nno]; Den Skandinaviske halvøy [nob]; Skandinaviska halvön [swe]
Skotská vysočina	A' Ghàidhealtachd [gla]; The Highlands *or* Scottish Highlands [eng]; Hielans [sco]
Skotsko	Alba [gla]; Scotland [eng, sco]
Slavonie	Slavonija
Slezská vrchovina	Wyżyna Śląska
Slovenské rudohoří	Slovenské rudohorie
Smrčiny	Fichtelgebirge
Solná komora	Salzkammergut
Soví hory	Góry Sówie
Stará planina	Stara planina
Středoněmecká vysočina	Mitteldeutsches Hochland
Středoruská vrchovina	Sredne-Russkaja vozvyšennost' [rus]; Serednjorus'ka vysočyna [ukr]
Stubaiské Alpy	Stubaier Alpen [deu]; Alpi dello Stubai *or* Alpi Breonie di Ponente [ita]
Svatokřížské hory	Góry Świętokrzyskie
Šlesvicko-Holštýnsko	Schleswig-Holstein
Šrýrská pahorkatina	Oststeierisches Hügelland
Štýrsko	Steiermark
Švábsko	Schwaben
Švábský Jura	Schwäbische Alb
Švýcarský Jura	Schweizer Jura [deu]; Jura suisse [fra]
Tatarstán	Tatarstan [rus, tat]
Taury	Tauern
Teutonský les	Teutoburger Wald

Thesálie	Thessalía
Thrákie	Trakija [bul], Thráki [ell], Trakya [tur]
Timanské vrchy	Timanskij krjaž
Toskánsko	Toscana
Toskánský Apenin	Appennino Toscano *or* Appennino Tosco-Emiliano
Transylvánská vysočina	Podişul Transilvaniei
Tridentsko-Horní Adiže	Trentino-Südtirol [deu]; Trentino-Alto Adige [ita]; Trentin-Adesc Aut *or* Trentin-Südtirol [lld]
Tyrolsko	Tirol
Umbrie	Umbria
Umbrijský Apenin	Appennino Umbro-Marchigiano
Valašská nížina	Dunavska ravnina [bul]; Câmpia Română [ron]
Valdajská vrchovina	Valdajskaja vozvyšennost’
Valonské Brabantsko	Brabant Wallon [fra]; Waals-Brabant [nld]
Valonsko	Wallonien [deu]; Wallonie [fra]; Wallonië [nld]
Velká dunajská nížina	Panonska nizina [hrv]; Alföld *or* Nagy-Magyar-Alföld [hun]; Câmpia Tisei *or* Câmpia Dunării Mijloc [ron]; Veľká dunajská kotlina [slk]; Panonska nizija [srp]; Zakarpats’ka nyzovyna [ukr]
Velkopolská jezerní plošina	Pojezierze Wielkopolskie
Velkopolská nížina	Nizina Wielkopolska
Velkopolsko	Wielkopolska
Vertéšské vrchy	Vértes
Vezerská vrchovina	Weserbergland
Vídeňská pánev	Wiener Becken [deu]; Viedenská kotlina [slk]
Vídeňský les	Wienerwald
Viselská kosa	Mierzeja Wiślana [pol]; Baltijskaja kosa [rus]
Vlámské Brabantsko	Brabant Flamand [fra]; Vlaams-Brabant [nld]
Vlámsko	Flandre [fra]; Vlaanderen [nld]
Vogézy	Vosges *or* Massif des Vosges
Volyň	Wołyń [pol]; Volyn’ [ukr]
Voralrlbersko	Vorarlberg
Východní Alpy	Ostalpen [deu]; Alpi Orientali [ita]; Alps da l’ost [roh]; Vzhodne Alpe [slv]
Východní Flandry	Flandre-Orientale [fra]; Oost-Vlaanderen [nld]
Východní Karpaty	Karpaty Wschodnie [pol]; Carpații Orientali [ron]; Východné Karpaty [slk]; Schidni Karpaty [ukr]

Východní Tyrolsko	Osttirol
Východoevropská nížina	Uschodnie-Eŭrapiejskaja raŭnina *or* Ruskaja raŭnina [bel]; Tavralăhĕ [chv]; Ida-Euroopa lauskmaa *or* Vene tasandik [est]; Šyğys Europa žazyğy [kaz]; Austrumeiropas līdzenums [lav]; Rytų Europos lyguma [lit]; Cîmpia Europei de Est [mol]; Platforma Wschodnioeuropejska *or* Nizina Wschodnioeuropejska [pol]; Vostočno-Evropejskaja ravnina *or* Russkaja ravnina [rus]; Schidnojevropejs'ka rivnyna [ukr]
Vysoké Taury	Hohe Tauern
Záhoří	Záhorie
Zamaguří	Zamagurie
Západní Alpy	Westalpen [deu]; Alpes Occidentales [fra]; Alps occidentals [roh]; Alpi Occidentali [ita]
Západní Flandry	Flandre-Occidentale [fra]; West-Vlaanderen [nld]
Západní hory	Munții Apuseni
Zemplínské vrchy	Zempléni hegysék [hun]; Zemplínske vrchy [slk]
Zillertalské Alpy	Zillertaler Alpen [deu]; Alpi dello Zillertal *also* Alpi della Zillertal [ita]
Zulavsko	Żuławy

The division of names should help foreigners to a better knowledge of Czech exonymy. They can compare different naming processes in the presented samples, and differentiate both the more and less frequent ways by which toponyms and their types are formed in the Czech language.

Section III
Minority toponyms

Zsombor Bartos-Elekes[1]

Minority toponyms in Romania

Historical background

The two countries speaking the Romanian language (*Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, the latter including Oltenia) were founded in the fourteenth century, after which they were vassal states of the Ottoman Empire until their unification in 1859. The country was shortly afterwards named *Romania*. The territory of Romania increased twice, as multilingual areas were added.

The territory first increased with the addition of *Dobruja* in 1878, obtained from the Ottoman Empire of which it had been part for most of its history. According to the Romanian census of 1900, in this region 46% of the population was Romanian, 15% Bulgarian, 11% Tatar, 5% Turk, 5% Russian, 5% Lipovan, and 13% other. The territory of Romania then increased for a second time in 1918, with the addition of territories from Austria-Hungary. Transylvania (in a broad sense, including Banat, Crişana and Maramureş too) was obtained from the Hungarian part of the dual monarchy, while Bucovina was obtained from the Austrian part.

Transylvania was the eastern part of Hungary from the eleventh century, then a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire in the form of a principality, after which it became part of the Habsburg Empire, later Austria-Hungary. According to the Hungarian census of 1910, the population of this region was 54% Romanian, 32% Hungarian, 11% German, and 3% other. *Bucovina* was part of Moldavia, then from the eighteenth century part of Austria. In the southern part of Bucovina (which is now part of Romania) the majority were Romanians in 1930, and the minorities were Ukrainians and Germans. At that period (between the two world wars) Romania possessed other territories such as Bessarabia, Northern Bucovina and Southern Dobruja, but these regions are no longer part of Romania.

Minorities in Romania

Romania became more homogeneous in the last century due to emigration and assimilation. The German population from Transylvania has emigrated

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almost completely, the proportion of Hungarian population has decreased, and the Bulgarian population from Dobruja has disappeared too. Only the Roma population is increasing. The last census in Romania was in 2011, and as yet there are only preliminary results. The country's population is 19 million, of whom 89% are Romanian. Hungarians form 7%, Roma/Gypsy 3%, and other minorities 1% of the total population.

The *Hungarians* have lived in Transylvania since the tenth century, and they number 1,240,000. In two counties in eastern Transylvania, in the middle of Romania (Harghita/Hargita and Covasna/Kovászna) the Hungarian minority is in the majority with 85% and 74% of the population respectively. This is the region of the Szeklerland (Székelyföld in Hungarian), where one-third of the Hungarian minority lives. In the central and north-western part of Transylvania there are another four counties where the Hungarian population exceeds 20% (rising up to 38%), and where another one-third of this minority lives. The final third of this minority lives in other Transylvanian counties, where their proportion is under 20%.

The number of *Roma* population has increased only recently; they now number 620,000. They have a relatively uniform distribution in Romania, forming under 9% of the population in every county. The 52,000 Ukrainians live close to the northern frontiers (in Maramureş and Bucovina). The first Germans arrived in Transylvania in the thirteenth century. Their proportion was 10% in Transylvania, but their number has diminished to 0.5% (37,000 inhabitants). The Turks, Tatars and Russian-Lipovans live mostly in Dobruja.

According to the constitution, the official language is Romanian. The other twenty languages are minority languages. We should mention that the minorities are indigenous, according to Woodman's criteria (Woodman 2007).

Minority toponyms

The quantity of minority toponyms is not always proportional to the number of minority inhabitants. There are many *Hungarian and German toponyms* in Transylvania due to their approximately one thousand year past and the fact that their languages were the language of the administration there. There are only a few *Roma toponyms* due to the fact that their number has increased only in recent centuries and because of that the number of their written documents is fewer.

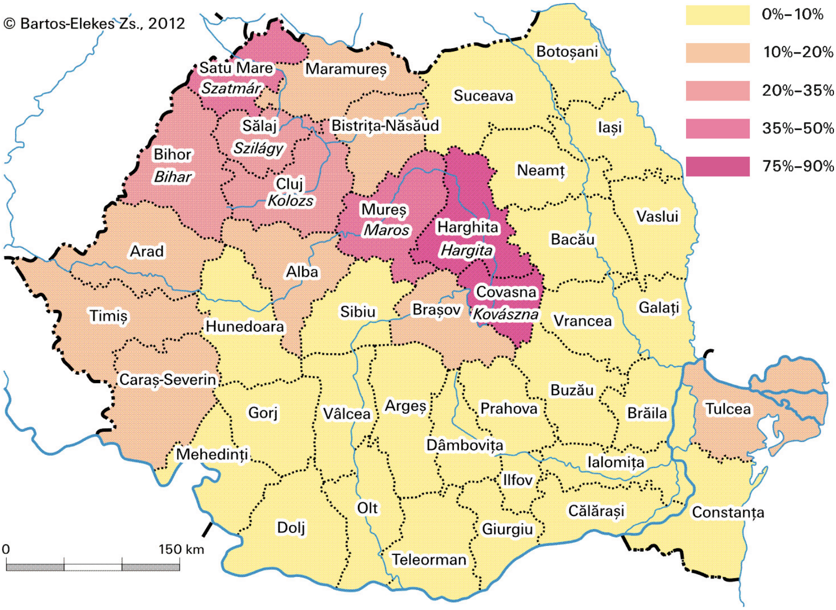

Figure 1: Minorities of Romania (Map by Zs. Bartos-Elekes)

Place names

All of the 5,000-6,000 settlements in Transylvania have a *Hungarian name* (sometimes more than one version). Most of the settlements were named by the local Hungarian inhabitants several centuries ago and some of them (where there was no Hungarian population) were named by the Hungarian authorities. Beyond the Transylvanian toponyms there are some Hungarian place names east of the Carpathians in a county of Moldavia. A Hungarian ethnic group, the Csángos, lives here. Their identity is based on the Roman Catholic religion and the Hungarian language spoken in the family, but in censuses they declare themselves as Romanians. And finally some larger cities in Wallachia and Moldavia also have Hungarian toponyms.

Half the settlements of Transylvania also have a *German name*. Most of these names were given by the local inhabitants centuries ago, with a few of the names given by the Austrian authorities.

Because a Transylvanian settlement might have a number of allonyms, several *multilingual gazetteers* have been published. The most detailed is the gazetteer of Attila Szabó-M. (2003), of which an abridged version is published on the internet[2]. Other authors of gazetteers are Suciu (1967), Wagner (1977), Hajdú-Moharos (2000) and Lelkes (2012).

Place names law

The *Law no. 215 in 2001 on local public administration* regulated the usage of minority place names. According to paragraph 4 of clause 90, the local public administration authorities shall ensure the inscribing of the name of localities also in the mother tongue of the minority in the territorial-administrative units in which the citizens belonging to a national minority hold a share of over 20% of the total number of the inhabitants.

The list of the standardized place names was compiled by the *Board on Geographic Names* at the Romanian Academy[3]. Romania reported this fact to the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in Berlin in 2002[4]. The list contains 1250 place names, of which 1050 are Hungarian place names. We should mention the lack of Roma toponyms; the Board declared that Roma names are not traditional names and could not be found in written documents. The toponyms of the languages with Cyrillic script were written in their original script, not in romanized form.

Signposts of settlements

The inscription of a minority's standardized allonyms beside the official Romanian place names on *signposts of settlements* having more than 20% minority inhabitants is decreed by law, so these multilingual signposts are officially approved.

We have to mention that in only a few cases where the minority population is below 20% have the local authorities added other minority names. For example in the former Saxon town Sighişoara, where the proportion of Germans is only 0.8%, the German name is in the second row (Schässburg); the proportion of Hungarians is very close to 20% (it is 19%), yet their name is in the third row (Segesvár), and the final letter 'r' is missing.

Signposts showing directions

It would be logical that the standardized allonyms should appear bilingually on directional signposts everywhere. But generally we meet with bilingual signposts only in the two counties where the Hungarians are in the majority. In

[2] http://szabo.adatbank.transindex.ro

[3] As far as I know, the board has no minority members.

[4] Rapport de la Roumanie: E/CONF.94/INF.57.

those counties we meet more minority names than are contained in the official list. The signposts in other counties are already monolingual, so there we meet fewer minority names than are contained in the official list.

Figure 2:
Bilingual signpost of Ocna de Jos / Alsósófalva
(Photo by Zs. Bartos-Elekes)

Street names

In previous centuries, in the cities of Transylvania, the proportion of Hungarians and Germans was much greater than now. Streets have had functional names in the historical downtowns since the Middle Ages, in the Hungarian, German and Romanian languages. At the end of the nineteenth century the Hungarian authorities changed many existing names to Hungarian symbolic names. After the First World War the Romanian authorities changed these and other names to Romanian symbolic names. As a consequence of the changes of power and of regimes there have been multiple street renamings in the last century, with a street having as many as seven or eight official names. Moreover, if these names can be translated, then they have other name-pairs in the minority language(s). Some of the historical names are used by different age groups and language communities.

Street signposts

Street signposts are only completely bilingual in towns with a Hungarian majority. In these towns, Hungarians use street names translated from the present-day Romanian name. In Târgu Mureș / Marosvásárhely, where the proportion of Hungarians is about 48%, the street signposts are only partly bilingual. Here just the word ‘street’ or ‘square’ is translated, with the street name itself being monolingual in Romanian. Generally in other towns with fewer than 40% Hungarians the signposts are monolingual. In these towns where only the Romanian name is known, the Hungarian community sometimes uses the historical names known from older age groups.

Figure 3: On the left a signpost in Mureş county, a county where more than 20% (in fact 38%) of inhabitants are Hungarian. Even this signpost is monolingual, despite almost all the settlements listed being about 90% Hungarian; the Hungarian standardized allonyms are missing, and only the Romanian names are given. On the right is a signpost in Harghita county; all the toponyms are bilingual, and some of them are not standardized name; the Hungarian population of some of these settlements is below 20%. (Photo by Zs. Bartos-Elekes)

In a few towns, historical street names are given beside the actual names. For example in Turda, where the proportion of Hungarians is 9%, close to the official name written in bold, the old functional Romanian name is written, its Hungarian version, and its English translation. In Bistrița, where the proportion of Germans is 0.3%, close to the official name, the old functional German name is written, and below this all the names appear in chronological order.

County names

Only the two counties with a Hungarian majority have bilingual county signposts (Harghita / Hargita and Covasna / Kovászna). There are another four counties where the Hungarian population is over 20% (up to 38%), but in those counties the signposts are monolingual.

Names of railway stations

On railway stations of settlements with over 20% minority inhabitants, there are bilingual signposts with minority toponyms. But the railway timetable shows only Romanian toponyms.

Figure 4: Pictures taken in Bistrița, where in the historical downtown all the historical names are listed in chronological order. (Photo by Zs. Bartos-Elekes)

Oronyms

The Romanian and Hungarian oronyms developed within Romanian and Hungarian geography, which have sometimes had a different approach to naming, so on occasion it is hard to find a correspondence. Hungarian physical geographers leave out of consideration the frontiers when delimiting a mountain range or a plain (so they use the equivalents of Eastern and Western Alps and not Italian Alps or Slovenian Alps, *etc*). Romanian physical geographers sometimes emphasize the frontiers, so for the mountain range in the western part of the country they use the name Western Carpathians (Carpații Occidentali). This name is strange for Hungarian geographers, for whom the North-Western Carpathians are not east of Hungary, but are in the western part of Slovakia (Északnyugati-Kárpátok in Hungarian). In Hungarian scientific literature the Romanian 'Western Carpathians' is divided in two units: for structural reasons the southern part is part of the Southern Carpathians, while the northern part is a different unit. Their names are Bánsági-hegyvidék and Erdélyi-középhegység, meaning 'mountains of Banat' and 'Transylvanian mountains of medium height'.

The same difference can be observed with the Great Hungarian Plain (simply Alföld, meaning 'plain' in Hungarian) which extends over Hungary, Serbia, Romania, Ukraine and Slovakia. Romanian geographers consider the eastern, Romanian, part of this to be a different unit, which has its western border at the frontier and is named 'western plain', Câmpia de Vest. But Hungarian geographical literature considers it as the eastern part of the Alföld, of the 'plain'. It is quite clear that the easternmost part of the plain continues into Romania at the same elevation without any change of surface character. The problem is the same as that identified by Boháč (2011) concerning transboundary features. The name Alföld in Hungary is a standardized endonym, but Alföld in Romania is only an endonym which is not standardized.

Usage in textbooks

In the past, the geography of Romania had to be taught in schools in the Romanian language only. In 2011 the Law on education allowed it to be taught in minority languages. The new textbook on the geography of Romania (in Hungarian) could not be an independent work; it was translated into Hungarian from Romanian. The toponyms in the text are bilingual. The maps were not translated; they are the original maps showing Romanian toponyms only. So what should be used in texts translated from Romanian: 'western plain' translated to Hungarian, or the Hungarian traditional name, 'plain', Alföld? Should the names correspond to the original Romanian text, or should they follow Hungarian geographical traditions?

Usage on maps: topographic maps

Ormeling (1983) in his book titled 'Minority Toponyms on Maps', emphasized that minorities have the same right to their toponyms as do the majority. That study was summarized and completed by Jordan (2004), who concentrated his attention on the symbolic power of toponyms. The United Nations in its recommendations on the collection of geographical names has recommended the local names policy[5]. Romanian topographic maps are monolingual with only Romanian toponyms, even in the areas with more than a 90% Hungarian majority.

Usage on maps: other maps

There are generally no minority names on maps published in *Romania*, where they are considered to be only exonyms. On maps published in *Hungary* showing Transylvania there is a parallel usage; toponyms are written in Romanian, Hungarian and sometimes in German too, all of them considered to be endonyms of a multilingual area. On *German* maps the German names

[5] See Resolution 4 (in particular sections 4B & 4C) of the First UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Geneva, 1967 ; http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/1st-uncsgn-docs/e_conf_53_3_en.pdf; see also Kadmon 2000.

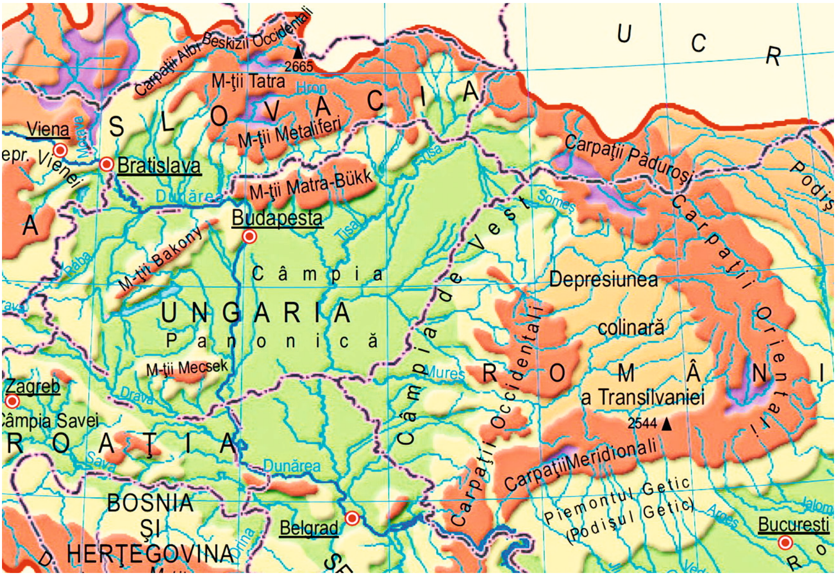

Figure 5. Detail from a map with Romanian toponyms from the geography textbook for Hungarian children. Câmpia de Vest = 'western plain', Carpații Occidentali = 'western Carpathians'. In: Mândruț O. (2011): Földrajz. Tankönyv a XII. osztály számára. Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică, Bucharest. p.27.

are shown as exonyms, parallel to the Romanian names. Hence it is hard to find maps on which the minority toponyms are used as minority names. Hungarian maps show more names as standardized, using a full local names policy. Romanian maps show fewer names, and the standardized minority names are missing. German maps supplement the Romanian names with the German names, but the standardized names are missing too. So are these names endonyms or exonyms?

Summary: endonym / exonym

How can we divide the minority toponyms into endonyms and exonyms? Some of them are standardized endonyms, but on the other extreme there are genuine exonyms. The present United Nations definitions (UN2007) are as follows:

Endonym: Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is located.

Exonym: Name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is spoken, and differing in its form

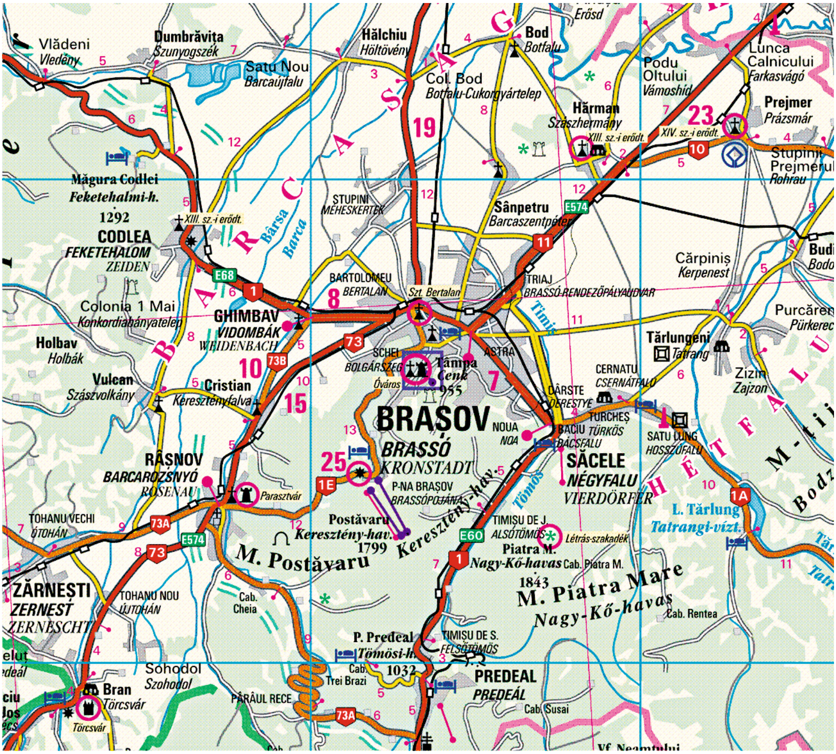

Figure 6. Detail from the map of Transylvania (Dimap, Budapest, 2008)

from the name used in an official or well-established language of that area where the geographical feature is located.

In my opinion the minority toponyms in Romania can be divided into four different sets.

- First set: Minority place names over 20% and street names over 50%.

These are standardized allonyms of the official endonyms, so they are endonyms; moreover they are *standardized endonyms* (Kadmon 2000). An example is Marosvásárhely for Târgu Mureş. These toponyms are written according the law on signposts of settlements (and on railway stations and streets). Furthermore they are written in Szeklerland on directional signposts, but they are missing from these in all other parts of the country. They are also missing from domestic maps. So a traveller from abroad meets the standardized minority name only when actually passing through the settlement, or travelling in its neighbourhoods, not before. That is why their international standardization in these circumstances is incomplete.

- Second set: Well-established names with a significant local minority population, but without the rights enjoyed by the first set.

This set contains the place-names of settlements with a minority population below 20%, but nevertheless with a significant absolute number. For example, one of the greatest Hungarian communities lives in Cluj-Napoca / Kolozsvár, and this city is the most important Hungarian cultural centre (university, opera, theatre). But the proportion of Hungarians decreased to just below 20% (it is in fact 19%). The place name is not standardized by law, so is not written on signposts of the settlement. So we have to mention that it is important to consider the absolute numbers too, not only the relative proportions.

This set contains other types of toponyms which are not settlement names, and are in the area with a significant local minority population; *e.g.* the hydronyms and oronyms of Szeklerland, or even the toponym 'Székelyföld' for Szeklerland. No doubt this set contains endonyms, but *not standardized endonyms*.

- Third set: Toponyms for a feature where the minority population is minimal, but for cultural or historical reasons the minority name is well known in the minority language generally throughout Romania and is applied to the feature by the minority community of Romania.

The Hungarian name of the little village where the famous castle of Bran is located is Törcsvár (like the German name Törzburg; 'burg' and 'vár' mean 'castle' in German and Hungarian respectively). There is no Hungarian population in the settlement or in the neighbouring villages, but Törcsvár is a toponym well-known to Hungarians in Romania. The Hungarian name of Danube is another example; on the riverbank there are no Hungarians, but naturally this is still a well-known toponym in all Hungarian-speaking communities all over the world, including in Romania.

This set could contain endonyms, if we use the present definition, but we have to be more precise about the word 'area'. This term could mean a country or any administrative unit established within a country for linguistic management purposes, as was proposed by Sievers and Jordan (2002). Sibiu was European Capital of Culture in 2007, and its German name Hermannstadt was present on almost all texts of the programme, in spite of the fact that the German community in the city is below 2%. Even in Târgu Mureş, where there has never been a significant German population, the German name is written on signposts, and the beer of the city bears the German name of the city, Neumarkt. Are these German names exonyms? The German language is not 'well-established' in Sibiu with the 2% proportion, but – and I think this is important – the German toponym Hermannstadt is well-established!

So I think that Jordan's new proposal (2011) is more adequate: 'an endonym is a name applied by a social group (community) permanently residing in a certain section of the geographical space for geographical features within this section; exonym is used by another social group not residing in this section of the geographical space and not corresponding to the endonym'. Based on this, I think that all the names applied by Hungarians in Transylvania (and in the Moldavian county where the unrecognized minority the Csángós lives), applied by Germans in the counties where they formerly lived in large numbers (Southern Transylvania, Banat and the Carei area), or applied by Ukrainians in Maramureș and Bucovinia, and applied by Turks, Tatars and Russian-Lipovans in Dobruja – are all *endonyms.*

Due to the decreasing proportion of minorities these names will become *historical endonyms*, another notion used by Jordan (2011), and maybe most of the German ones are historical toponyms already, as are Budweis in Bohemia or Danzig in Poland. And later they could become *traditional names*, by which I mean exonyms in relatively widespread use by a particular linguistic community and usually found in its tradition and literature (Kadmon 2000).

- Fourth set: The genuine *exonyms*, for example the Hungarian and German names of the former Moldavian capital (Iași) or of the Black Sea.

Summary: usage

Jordan (2004) called attention to the importance of the minority names in different contexts. If their importance is growing (from normal texts – through textbooks and signposts – to maps), the rights are decreasing.

In normal texts (newspapers, travel books) minority toponyms could be used, there is no longer any language rule in force as there had been until the revolution of 1989.

In geography textbooks since 2011 the minority toponyms can be used, but only together with the official allonym, and not in isolation.

On settlement signposts the minority toponym – according the law – should be used whenever the minority exceeds 20%.

On street and directional signposts the minority toponym is used only if the local responsible authority decides this, which is generally only if the minorities form a majority there.

On the topographic maps there are no minority toponyms; they are seen only on maps made by members of a minority or in the mother-countries of that minority.

In the last decades there has been an improvement in the usage of minority names as compared to the former situation, but there are still problems to solve before an ideal name policy is applied.

Acknowledgement

I thank Ervin Földi, the supervisor of this paper, who was also the tutor of my PhD thesis on the history of usage of Transylvanian toponyms on maps (Bartos-Elekes 2005).

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Slovak names of settlements in Hungary

Abstract

The immigration of Slovak people into the present-day area of Hungary began around 1690. During the eighteenth century, many landowners repopulated their estates on the Great Plain with Slovaks. In 19th and 20th centuries, secondary Slovak settlements have been founded. After World War II, Slovaks in Hungary were encouraged to move to Czechoslovakia. At the census of 2001, 17693 Hungarian citizens declared themselves as ethnic Slovaks. Most of them live in Békés, Pest, Komárom-Esztergom and Nógrád counties. There are 24 municipalities where at lest 10% of the inhabitants are ethnic Slovaks. 105 municipalities have Slovak names. Most of these names are phonological Slovakizations of official Hungarian names. Several names include the word *huta*, referring to traditional glass industry. The paper provides a full list of Hungarian municipalities with a Slovak name, and the origin of their Hungarian and Slovak names.

History of Slovaks in Hungary

The ancestors of Slovaks living in present-day Hungary migrated there after the end of the 150 years of Ottoman occupation. From the overpopulated northern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, they migrated to the southern depopulated area of the Great Hungarian Plain that offered them more arable land and better life. Having migrated there, Slovak serfs got rid of restrictions and could freely practise their religion [*OSzÖ*].

Main periods of the migration

1. The period from 1670 to 1711

In this period, most Slovak immigrants were serfs who left their former homes illegally. Most of them came from territories close to areas recently liberated from Ottoman rule (counties *Bars, Nyitra, Nógrád, Hont* and *Abaúj*). The first Slovak settlements in present-day Hungary were Piliscsév,

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Kesztölc and Pilisszántó. Inhabitants of the northernmost counties (*Trencsén, Árva, Liptó and Szepes*) migrated further, settling in depopulated villages of the Northern Hungarian Mountains; their main settlements were *Sárisáp (Šárišáp), Kesztölc (Kestúc), Piliscsév (Čív), Pilisszántó (Santov), Vanyarc (Veňarec), Acsa (Jača), Csővár (Čuvár)* and *Bükkszentlászló (Stará Huta)* (see Annex 1).

2. The period from 1711 to 1740

This was the main period of organized resettlement. Landowners who owned estates in both the northern and southern parts of Hungary deliberately relocated their serfs from north to south. Sometimes the relocation was organized by licensed government agents. In this period Slovaks founded several new settlements; Slovak-speaking enclaves surrounded by Hungarian-speaking territories came to existence. Inhabitants of the territory west of river Garam (Hron) migrated to Transdanubia, their main settlements being *Pilisszentlászló (Svätý Václav/Senváclav), Öskü (Eška), Bánhida (Bánhida), Vértesszőlős (Síleš), Bakonycsernye (Čerňa)* and *Tardosbánya (Tardoš)* [OSzÖ]. The migration route to the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld) led through Nógrád county. Slovak settlements in the western part of the Great Hungarian Plain included *Ecser (Ečer), Maglód (Maglód), Bénye (Bíň), Irsa (Irša), Csömör (Čemer), Kiskőrös (Malý Kereš)*; in the southeast: *Békéscsaba (Békešská Čaba), Szarvas (Sarvaš), Mezőberény (Poľný Berinčok). Bükkszentlászló (Stará Huta)*, the first village based on glass industry, was founded in this period (*huta* meaning *furnace*) [*OSzÖ*].

3. The second half of the eighteenth century

In this period, Slovaks repopulated some parts of Bačka and Banat, in present-day Serbia. In the Great Hungarian Plain, mainly secondary settling took place; earlier Slovak settlers of Békéscsaba founded *Tótkomlós (Slovenský Komlóš)* in 1746 and *Apatelek (Mokrá,* today *Mocrea)* in 1747. Slovaks (*tirpák*) of Békéscsaba, Szarvas, Tótkomlós and new settlers from present-day Slovakia repopulated *Nyíregyháza (Níreďháza)* in 1754. New *huta* settlements were founded in the Bükk Mountains: *Répáshuta (Répášska Huta)* and *Bükkszentkereszt (Nová Huta).*

4. The nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century secondary settling was dominant. As a typical chain of migration and settlement, people from Tótkomlós founded *Nagylak* in 1802, and the people from Nagylak founded *Pitvaros* in 1815. The people from Pitvaros, Tótkomlós and Nagylak founded *Új-Pitvaros* (today *Csanádalberti*) in [*OSzÖ*]. Some 80% of the population of that village was displaced to Slovakia during the exchange of population after World War II.

5. The twentieth century

Kétsoprony (Kétšoproň) and *Telekgerendás (Telekgerendáš)* are the youngest settlements of people of Slovak ethnicity (Wikipedia). They are examples of former farming centres reorganized as villages in the 1950s, when cooperatives and state farms were founded [*OSzÖ*]. Slovak settlers in present-day Hungary, having left their traditional homeland, became isolated from their native culture and cultural centres. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Slovak language and culture in most enclaves of present-day Hungary only survived in folk culture, and within families and church communities. Education in the Slovak language existed only in few places. In Békés county the situation was better: Slovaks managed to retain their language and culture; in Békéscsaba, there was a Slovak-language theatre, and books were published in Slovak. The 40.000-strong Slovak Lutheran community of Békéscsaba was the most populous of its type in the world [*OszÖ*].

6. Population exchange

After World War II, the government of Czechoslovakia initiated a population exchange. According to the original plans, all ethnic Magyar inhabitants of Czechoslovakia would have been forced to leave their homes and move to Hungary, while Slovak inhabitants of Hungary would have moved to Slovakia. In this period, over one million ethnic Magyars lived in Czechoslovakia, while the number of Slovaks in Hungary was much less. These plans were realized only partially; over 100,000 Magyars were forcibly deported to Hungary, while 73.000 Slovaks moved to Czechoslovakia. This was a tragic event for both minorities. Traditional Slovak communities have disintegrated.

7. Recent developments

In recent years, as both Slovakia and Hungary have joined the Schengen agreement, crossing the border and settling in the other country has become easy. Bratislava, situated close to the border junction of Austria, Slovakia and Hungary, began to grow dynamically, and many Bratislavans have bought homes in Hungary, mainly in Rajka and Mosonmagyaróvár. Being Slovak citizens, these people are not counted among the ethnic Slovak community of Hungary [*Wikipedia*].

The Slovak minority in Hungary today

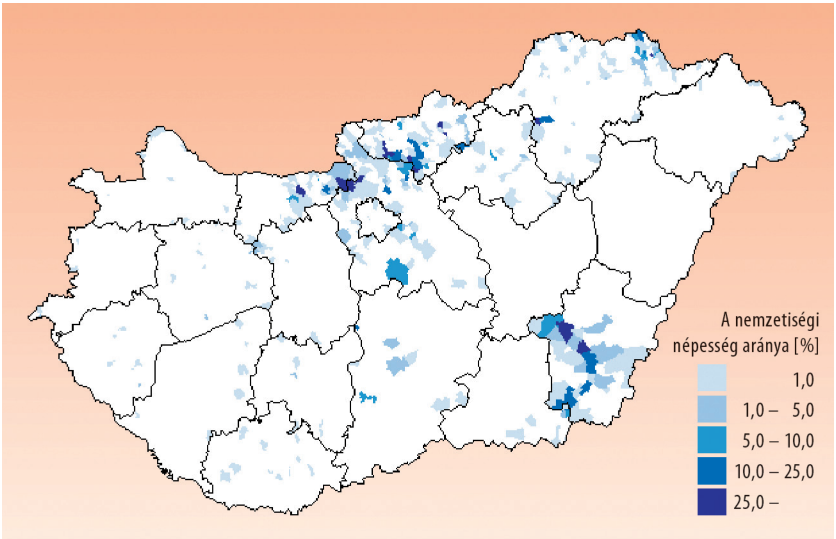

Figure 1: Geographical distribution of ethnic Slovaks in Hungary according to the 2001 census [KSH]

According to the population census in 2001, 17,693 persons declared themselves to be of Slovak ethnicity. This is the third most populous ethnic minority in Hungary, following Roma and Germans. There are 8311 ethnic Slovaks living in cities and towns; with 9382 living in villages. Only 11,816 persons use Slovak as their first language, though 18,056 persons use the Slovak language in their families and among friends and 26,631 persons declare their affiliation to Slovak culture [KSH, 2011]. Slovak cultural organisations assume the population to be 100-110,000. [*Mayer, 2005*]. At present most of the ethnic Slovaks live in Békés county and in the Pilis Hills of Pest county. Their main cultural center is Békéscsaba.

According to data from the population census in 2001, the religious distribution of Slovaks living in Hungary is: 46,6% Roman Catholic, 29,9% Lutheran and 4,8% Calvinist, with 2,5% belonging to other Christian denominations, 10,7% not belonging to any church or religious community, and 4,6% not responding. [*KSH, 2001*].

The three main dialects of the Slovak language (Western; Central; Eastern) are all present in Hungary. The Slovak minority is present in over 100 municipalities, in 11 of the 19 counties of Hungary.

Changing of Slovak ethnics in Hungary					
1949	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2001**
25,988	30,690	21,176	16,054	10,459	17,693
Population change of the Slovak minority 1949 — 2011 (according to the population censuses) *[Wikipedia]*					

Population of ethnic Slovaks and those who use Slovak as first language *[Szabó Orsolya,]*)			
Year	**1980**	**1990**	**2001**
Ethnic	9,101	10,459	17,693
Mother tongue	16,054	12,745	11,817

This table contains census data from 1980, 1990 and 2001. After the democratic transition, the number of people confessing their Slovak ethnicity has grown significantly. However, the number of those who use Slovak as first language has decreased. In 2001, citizens were asked about the language used in the family and among friends; 18,056 people stated that they used the Slovak language actively.

Geographical distribution

The following diagrams represent the geographical distribution of people of Slovak ethnicity and of those who use Slovak as their first language.

Except in Central Hungary, the number of people declaring themselves with Slovak as their mother tongue has decreased everywhere.

In eleven counties (Fejér, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Baranya, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Veszprém, Tolna, Hajdú-Bihar, Somogy, Vas, Zala,) the number of persons using Slovak as their first language is less than 100, the total in these counties being 492 persons.

The largest Slovak community (1687 persons) lives in Békéscsaba. This town used to be the largest Slovak settlement in the world; however, now only 5.9 % of the inhabitants declare themselves as Slovaks. The second largest community is that of Budapest (1528 persons); the third is Pilisszentkereszt (Mlynky), where 42% of the inhabitants (1185 persons) declare themselves to be of Slovak ethnicity, and 54.6% can speak Slovak.

There are twenty-four municipalities where the proportion of ethnic Slovaks exceeds 10%: Pilisszentkereszt 54.6%, Répáshuta 48.6%, Piliscsév

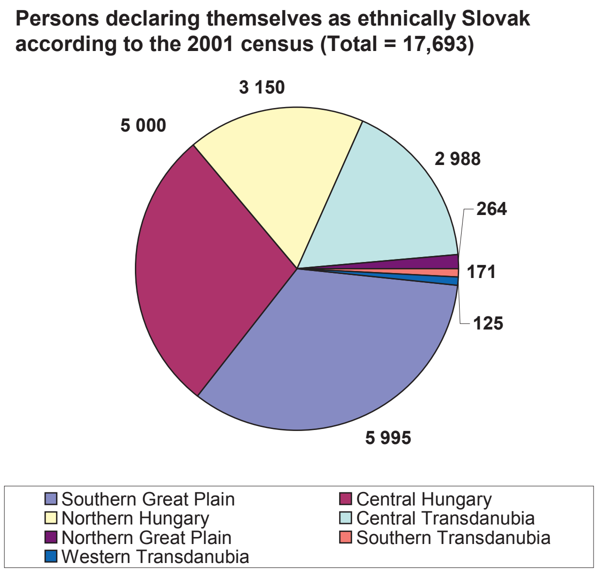

Figure 2: Persons declaring themselves as ethnically Slovak [KSH]

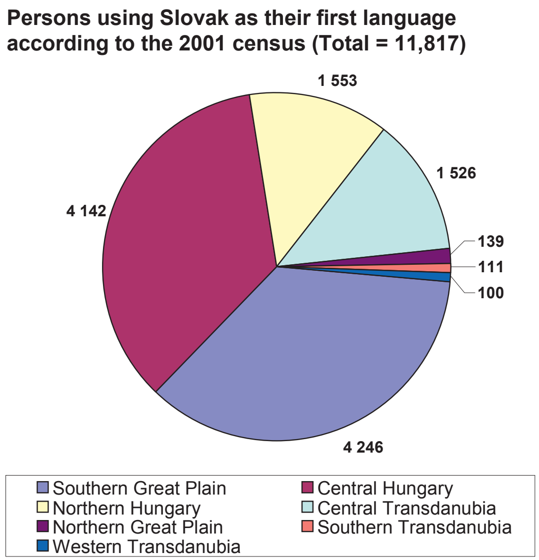

Figure 3: Persons using Slovak as their first language [KSH]

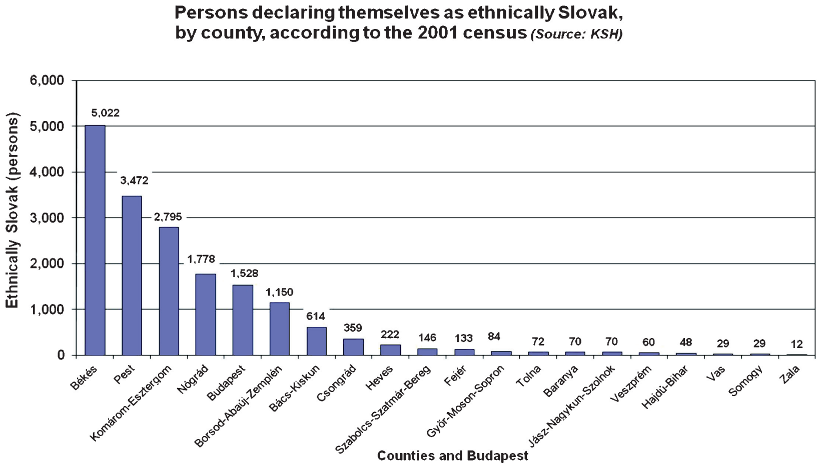

Figure 4: Persons declaring themselves as ethnically Slovak, by county, according to the 2001 census [KSH]

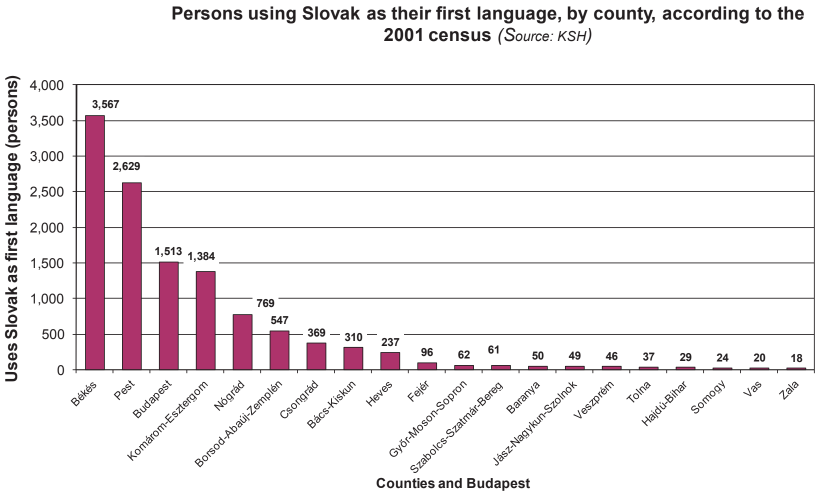

Figure 5: Persons using Slovak as their first language, by county, according to the 2001 census [KSH]

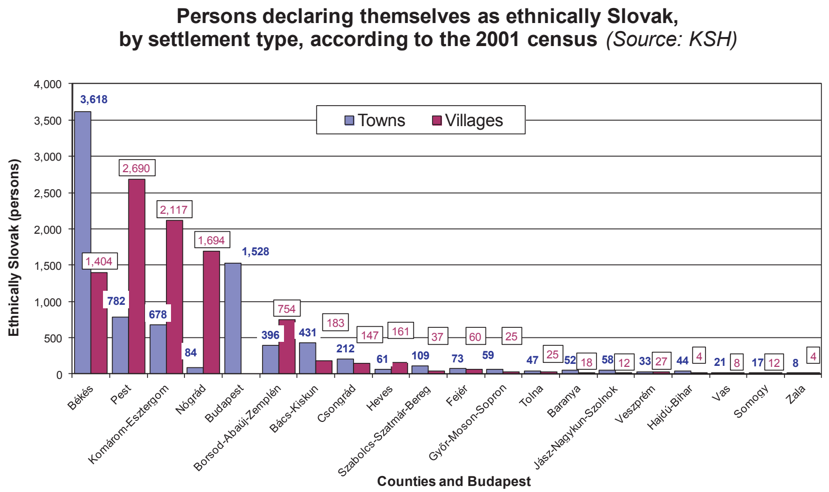

Figure 6: Persons declaring themselves as ethnically Slovak, by settlement type, according to the 2001 census [KSH]

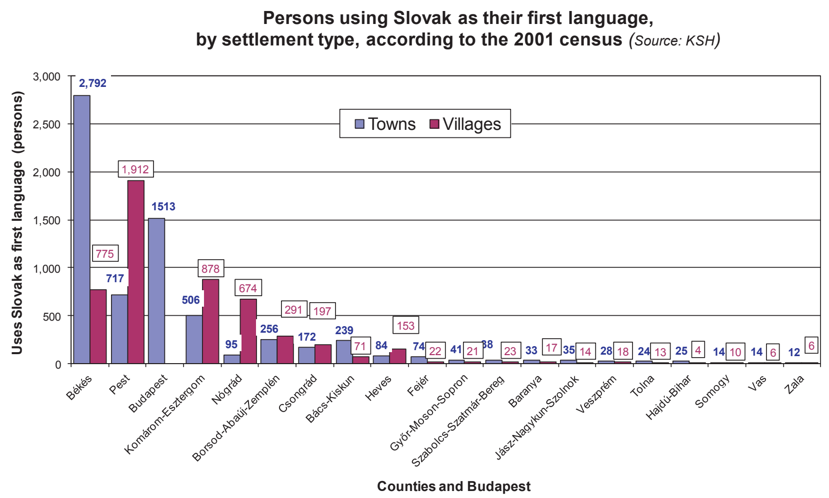

Figure 7: Persons using Slovak as their first language, by settlement type, according to the 2001 census [KSH]

45.8%, Kardos 43.5%, Sámsonháza 39.6%, Örménykút 36.3%, Felsőpetény 35.8%, Erdőkürt 30.3%, Lucfalva 26.5%, Kétsoprony 26.5%, Ősagárd 23.8%, Bükkszentkereszt 20.3%, Bánk 19.8%, Galgaguta 19.6%, Pilisszántó 19.6%, Vágáshuta 19.0%, Tótkomlós 17.7%, Tardos 15.7%, Bér 15.6%, Galgagyörk 14.9%, Csabaszabadi 14.8%, Sárisáp 13.9, Terény 12.4%, Vanyarc 10.6%.

In fifteen municipalities, at least 10% of the inhabitants use Slovak as their first language: Pilisszentkereszt 42.5%, Répáshuta 25.8%, Vágáshuta 22.6%, Ősagárd 22.4%, Sámsonháza 22.1%, Tótkomlós 17.9%, Kardos 15.6%, Mátraszentimre 15.1%, Erdőkürt 14.4%, Pilisszántó 13.5%, Piliscsév 13.4%, Galgaguta 12.9%, Csabaszabadi 11.8%, Ambrózfalva 10.9%, Nagybánhegyes 10.5%. In Csomád, over 10% of the population use Slovak language in their families and among friends.

There are thirty-four municipalities where at least 10% of the population affiliate themselves to Slovak culture and traditions: Pilisszentkereszt 68.8%, Piliscsév 54.0 %, Répáshuta 51.9%, Sámsonháza 47.1%, Kardos 45.6%, Alsópetény 44.2%, Erdőkürt 40.4%, Galgaguta 40.0%, Felsőpetény 37.1%, Örménykút 36.3%, Vágáshuta 35.7%, Ősagárd 34.3%, Bánk 29.4%, Tardos 27.5%, Pilisszántó 27.4%, Lucfalva 27.2%, Kesztölc 27.2%, Bükkszentkereszt 24.0%, Kétsoprony 23.9%, Sárisáp 23.3%, Vanyarc 22.5%, Galgagyörk 22.2%, Tótkomlós 20.9%, Csabaszabadi 19.2%, Dunaegyháza 19.0%, Terény 18.9%, Mátraszentimre 18.0%, Nézsa 16.5%, Pilisszentlászló 15.2%, Bér 14.0%, Füzér 14.0%, Legénd 11.6%, Kishuta 10.5%, Telekgerendás 10.1%. (see Annex 2).

Names of settlements: Slovak place names

During the study of Slovak names of settlements, we used the data of the population census in 2001, the ***Gazetteer of the Republic of Hungary*** (2009, 2010) [KSH], the results of the election of the municipal self-governments of ethnic minorities published on the website of the National Election Office of Local Elections in 2006 and in 2010, and several sources of minor importance. We have identified 105 settlements that have a Slovak name (see Annex 3).

Slovak names of settlements in Hungary can be categorized in the following way:

1. <u>Names that are identical with the official Hungarian name</u>:
   Bánhida, Bokor, Dág, Dorog, Elek, Maglód, Mikóháza, Pálháza, Pomáz, Tárnok.
2. <u>Names that are an orthographical or phonological Slovakization of the corresponding Hungarian names</u>.

Hungarian letters may be substituted with a Slovak letter marking the same consonant: cs › č, gy › ď, ny › ň, s › š, sz › s, ty › ť, zs › ž.

End consonants may change: t › ť (*Erdőkürt* › *Kirť*), d › ď (*Sződ* › *Seď).*

Hungarian vowels not present in the Slovak language (ö, ő, ü, ű) may be substituted by similarly sounding vowels. The use of substitute vowels is somewhat ambiguous.

- **ö** › e (*Öskü* › *Eška*), u (*Galgagyörk* › *Ďurka*), ú (*Kesztölc* › *Kestúc*)
- **ő** › e (*Kiskőrös* › *Malý Kereš*), í (*Vértesszőlős* › *Síleš*), ú (*Csővár* › *Čúvár*)
- **ü** › i (*Erdőkürt* › *Kirť*)
- **ű** › u (*Csabacsűd* › *Čabačud*)
- **é** is also present in Slovak language, but it is sometimes substituted with í (*Nézsa* › *Níža*).

Vowels at the end of words are sometimes omitted (*Bénye* › *Bíň, Hollóháza* › *Hollóház*). The suffix –ov may be added (*Nógrádsáp* › *Šápov, Pilisszántó* › *Santov*).

Most settlement names fall in this category:

Bánk › *Banka, Békés* › *Békéš, Bénye* › *Bíň, Bér* › *Bír, Budapest* › *Budapešť, Csabacsűd* › *Čabačud, Csobánka* › *Čobánka, Csomád* › *Čomád, Csömör* › *Čemer, Csővár* › *Čuvár, Dabas-Sári* › *Dabaš-Šára, Domoszló* › *Domoslo, Dunaegyháza* › *Dunaeďház, Ecser* › *Ečer, Füzér* › *Fizér, Gerendás* › *Gerendáš, Hollóháza* › *Hollóház, Kardos* › *Kardoš, Keszeg* › *Keseg, Kesztölc* › *Kestúc, Kétsoprony* › *Kétšoproň, Kondoros* › *Kondoroš, Kóspallag* › *Kóšpallag, Legénd* › *Legínd, Medgyesegyháza* › *Medešeďháza, Miske* › *Miška, Nézsa* › *Níža, Nyíregyháza* › *Níreďháza, Oroszlány* › *Orosláň, Öskü* › *Eška, Perbál* › *Perbal, Pilis* › *Pilíš, Pitvaros* › *Pitvaroš, Rétság* › *Rétšag, Sárisáp* › *Šárišáp, Sóskút* › *Šóškút, Szarvas* › *Sarvaš, Szeged* › *Segedín, Sződ* › *Seď, Tardos* › *Tardoš, Terény* › *Terany*

In the first years of the twentieth century, names of settlements in Hungary were standardized. One of the goals of this procedure was to obtain a different name for each municipality of the country. This usually meant that a new element was added to the name, relating to geographical location, size, or the presence of ethnic communities. For example, prior to standardization there were four municipalities with the name *Bábony*; three of these were renamed to *Kisbábony, Nagybábony* and *Sajóbábony*. In many cases, earlier non-standardized names had been 'Slovakized', and standardization did not affect Slovak names.

Official Hungarian name	**Former Hungarian name**	**Slovak name**
Erdőkürt	Kürt	Kirť
Galgaguta	Guta	Guta
Galgagyörk	Györk, Tót-Györk	Ďurka
Mogyorósbánya	Mogyorós	Moďoróš
Pilisszántó	Szántó	Santov
Pilisszentlászló	Szentlászló	Senváclav, Svätý Václav
Vértesszőlős	Szőlős, Szőllős	Síleš

3. <u>Names in which some elements, usually geographical attributive elements, have been translated from Hungarian to Slovak</u>. Elements to be translated include *alsó* (’lower’), *felső* (’upper’), *kis* (’small’), *nagy* (’large’), *mező* (’field’) and *tót* (’Slovak”, an old Hungarian word that now may be considered offensive):
   Alsóregmec › Dolný Regmec, Alsópetény › Dolné Peťany, Felsőpetény › Horné Peťany, Kishuta › Malá Huta, Kiskőrös › Malý Kereš, Kisnána › Malá Nána, Nagybánhegyes › Veľký Bánhedeš, Nagycserkesz › Veľký Čerkes, Nagytarcsa › Veľká Tarča, Nagyhuta › Veľká Huta, Mezőberény › Poľný Berinčok, Tótkomlós › Slovenský Komlóš.

In the case of adjectival elements, a suffix –ska or –ská may be added: *Békéscsaba › Békéšska Čaba, Piliscsaba › Pilišska Čaba, Répáshuta › Répášska Huta, Vágáshuta › Vágašská Huta.*

4. <u>Names indicative of the glass industry</u>, a traditional occupation of Slovak settlers. As this industry demanded a large amount of firewood, their settlements evolved in heavily forested mountain areas. The names of these settlements often include the word *huta*, meaning ’(glass) furnace’ both in Hungarian and Slovak:
   Kishuta › Malá Huta, Nagyhuta › Veľká Huta, Répáshuta › Répášska Huta, Vágáshuta › Vágašská Huta

In some cases, the Slovak name of the village includes the word *huta*, but the Hungarian name does not. This is due to changes in the official Hungarian name:

Official Hungarian name	**Former Hungarian name**	**Slovak name**
Bükkszentkereszt	Újhuta	Nová Huta
Bükkszentlászló	Óhuta	Stará Huta
Mátraalmás	Szuhahuta	Suhahuta
Mátraszentistván	Felsőhuta or Almássyhuta	Horná Huta
Mátraszentlászló	Fiskalitáshuta	Fiškalitáš Huta

5. Names where <u>one of the elements of the Hungarian name has been omitted</u>:
   Ambrózfalva › Ambróz, Sámsonháza › Šamšon, Püspökhatvan › Pišpek.

6. A few cases where <u>the Slovak name is not related to the Hungarian name</u>:
   Pilisszentkereszt (Mlynky). Szent Kereszt means the Holy Cross, referring to a medieval chapel that existed here. The Slovak name is based on the world *mlyn* ('mill').
   Pilisszentlélek (Huť). Szentlélek ('Holy Spirit') refers to a monastery, now in ruins. Slovaks named the village after another glass furnace. Both villages are situated in the Pilis Mountains.
   Mátraszentimre (Alkár). The former name of the village was *Öthházhuta*, 'furnace of five houses'. We could not identify the origin of the Slovak name.

Names of settlements: Hungarian place names

Hungarian names of the Slovak settlements may be grouped in the following categories:

1. Names of <u>plants</u>, vegetables, trees, woods, forests, or a part of a plant:

Füzér	Fizér	fűz (willow tree, *Salix sp.)*
Maglód	Maglód	mag (seed, core, sperm)
Répáshuta	Répášska Huta	répa (beet or carrot)
Medgyesegyháza	Medešeďháza	meggy (sour cherry)
Mogyorósbánya	Moďoróš	mogyoró (hazelnut, *Corylus avelana*)
Vértesszőlős	Síleš	szőlő (grape, *Vitis vinifera*)

Tótkomlós	Slovenský Komlóš	komló (hop, *Humulus lupulus*)
Vácegres	Egreš	éger, égeres, egres (alder, *Alnus sp.*)
Nyíregyháza	Níreďháza	nyír (birch, *Betula pendula*)
Kiskőrös	Malý Kereš	kőris (ash tree, *Fraxinus sp.*)
Bokor	Bokor	bokor (bush, shrub, scrog)
Erdőkürt	Kirť	erdő (forest, woods)
Erdőtarcsa	n.a.	erdő (forest, woods)
Pusztaberki	n.a	berek (meadow, marshland, grove)

2. Names of animals:

Szarvas	Sarvaš	szarvas (deer)
Oroszlány	Orosláň	oroszlán (lion)
Keszeg	Keseg	keszeg (*e.g.* bream, *Abramis brama*)
Szabadkígyós	n.a.	kígyó (snake)
Ősagárd	Agárd	agár (greyhound)
Hollóháza	Hollóház	holló (raven)
Kondoros	Kondoroš	hód (beaver); old Turkish origin
Kóspallag	Kóšpallag	kos (ram)

Referring to a building or a former church:

Pitvaros	Pitvaroš	pitvar (atrium)
Telekgerendás	Telekgerendáš	telek (building plot, parcel, site)
Gerendás	*Gerendáš.*	gerenda (joist, beam)

3. Colours:

Bakonycsernye	Čerňa	fekete (black); Slavic word
Sződ	Seď	fehéres (whitish), szőke (blond, fair, light)

4. Features or characteristic description of the countryside. These names often include obsolete Hungarian words.

Pilis	Pilíš	(unvegetated, treeless, bare, fell)
Bokor	Bokor	bokros (bushy, scrogs)
Csorvás	n.a.	(sand)
Dabas	Dabaš	domb (hill, rise)
Egyházasdengeleg	Eďháza	(small round shape rise)
Füzér	Fizér	(creak with willow trees edge)
Galgaguta	Guta	(mud, marshland)
Isaszeg	n.a.	(wetland with alder trees)
Kiskőrös	Malý Kereš	kőrös, kőris (former ash tree woods)
Kóspallag	Kóšpallag	parlag (uncultivated/fallow arable land)
Maglód	Maglód	(fertile)
Mogyorósbánya	Moďoróš	mogyorós (land with hazelnut bushes)
Rétság	Rétšag	rét (meadow, wetland) + ság (+ rise, hill with woods, forest)
Sárisáp	Šárišáp	sár (mud)
Szeged	Segedín	szög (corner, meander)

5. The ending of the name is *háza* ('house of ...'):

Hollóháza	Hollóhá
Mikóháza	Mikóház
Pálháza	Pálháza
Sámsonháza	Šamšon, Šamšonhaz

6. Following names include the word *vár* (castle, fort, fortress) or related words:

Csővár	Čuvár	vár (castle)
Nógrád	Novohrad	(new castle); Slavic origin

Öskü	Eška	Ős (personal name) + kő (rock)
Keszeg	Keseg	kő (rock) + szeg (corner)
Kesztölc	*Kestúc*	(small castle, fort); Slavic origin

7. Names of trades, crafts or professions:

Kardos	Kardoš	kard (sword),
Vértesszőlős	Síleš	vért (armour), szőlős (viniculture)
Rudabányácska	Baňačka	bánya (mine); diminutive suffix, ruda (ore); Slavic origin
Mogyorósbánya	Moďoró	bánya (mine)
Vanyarc	Veňare	vinarec (wine-dresser); Slavic origin
Csobánka	Čobánk	csobán (herdsmen, shepherd) obsolete

8. Personal names (eponyms):

***Albert**irsa*	Irša
*Alsó**petény***	Dolné Peťany (Péter)
***Ambróz**falva*	Ambróz
Budaörs	n.a.
*Békés**csaba***	*Békéšska* ***Čaba***
***Csaba**csüd*	***Čaba**čud*
***Csaba**szabadi*	***Čaba**sabadi*
*Felső**petény***	Horné Peťany
*Galga**györk***	Ďurka
***Mária**nosztra*	Nostra
*Mátraszent**imre***	Alkár
***Mikó**háza*	***Mikó**háza*
*Bükkszent**lászló***	Stará Huta
***Pál**háza*	***Pál**háza*
Péteri	Peterka

*Pilis*_**csaba**_	*Pilíšska* _**Čaba**_
*Pilisszent*_**lászló**_	*Sen*_**václav,**_ *Svätý* _**Václav**_
_**Sámson**_*háza*	Šamšon

Rather opaque eponyms:

Bénye	*Bíň*	Benjamin?
Békés	Békéš	
Miske	*Miška*	Mihály?
Nézsa	Níža	

9. Ancient Hungarian tribal names:

Erdőkürt	Kirť	Kürt
Terény	Terany	Tarján

10. Name of an ethnic group:

Örménykút	Irminčok.	örmény (Armenian)

11. Names of rivers, water features or mountains:

Dunaegyháza	Dunaeďház	Duna (Danube)
Sóskút	Šóskút	kút (well, fountain)
Örménykút	Irminčok	kút (well, fountain)
Füzér	Fizér	ér (small brook)
Piliscsaba	PilíšskaČaba	Pilis Mountains

Hungarian names often include elements referring to mountains and rivers close to the settlements; these are usually missing from Slovak names:

_**Bakony**_*csernye*	Čerňa
_**Pilis**_*csév*	Čív
_**Pilis**_*szántó*	Santov
_**Pilis**_*szentkereszt*	Mlynky

Pilis_szentlászló_	Senváclav, Svätý Václav
Pilis_szentlélek_	Huť
Mátra_szentimre_	Alkár
Mátra_almás_	Suha
Vértes_szőlős_	Síleš
Bükk_szentlászló_	Stará Huta
Bükk_szentkereszt_	Nová Huta
Galga_györk_	Ďurka

12. Names related to the Christian religion may refer to the patron saint of the village, the name of a local church, (*szentkereszt* 'holy cross', *szentlélek* 'holy spirit', *keresztúr* 'cross'). The word 'egyház' (meaning 'church') in a name means that the village had a church in its early history, or that after the destruction of a village only the church remained.

*Duna**egyháza***	*Duna**eďház***
*Nyír**egyháza***	*Níre**ďháza***
Egyházas_dengeleg_	Eďháza
*Medgyes**egyháza***	*Medeš**eďháza***

The name *Püspökhatvan (Pišpek)* means that the village landlord was the *püspök* (bishop) of Vác.

Slovak place names rarely feature the names of saints. An exception is *Pilisszentlászló – Senváclav, Svätý Václav*.

*Bükk**szentlászló***	Stará Huta,
*Mátra**szentimre***	Alkár,
*Bükk**szentkereszt***	Nová Huta,
*Pilis**szentkereszt***	Mlynky, (mill)
*Pilis**szentlélek***	Huť,
*Sarkad**keresztúr***	n.a.

13. The following names are certainly of Slavic origin.

Rudabányácska	Baňačka	small ore mine
Albertirsa	Irša	alder, *Alnus sp.*

Alsóregmec	Dolný Regmec	Slavic personal name
Bakonycsernye	Čerňa	black
Csobánka	Čobánka	shepherd
Domoszló	Domoslo	Slavic personal name
Dorog	Dorog	friend, mate
Kesztölc	Kestúc	small fort, fortress,
Kishuta	Malá Huta	glassworks
Kisnána	Malá Nána	Slavic personal name
Lucfalva	Lucina	?
Márianosztra	Nostra	Slavic personal name
Miske	Miška	Slavic personal name
Nagyhuta	Veľká Huta	glassworks
Nézsa	Níža	Slavic personal name
Nógrád	Novohrad	new castle
Nőtincs	Netejč	Slavic personal name
Perbál	Perbal	Slavic personal name
Pilis	Pilíš	treeless area
Piliscsév	Čív	?
Répáshuta	Répášska Huta	glassworks
Sajóbábony	n.a.	?
Szápár	Capár	Slavic personal name (?)
Szuha	Suha, Suhahuta	temporary watercourse+glassworks
Szügy	Suďice	?
Vác	Vacov	Slavic personal name
Vágáshuta	Vágašská Huta	glassworks
Vanyarc	Veňarec	wine-dresser

Detailed etymological descriptions of these names can be found in **Annex 4.**

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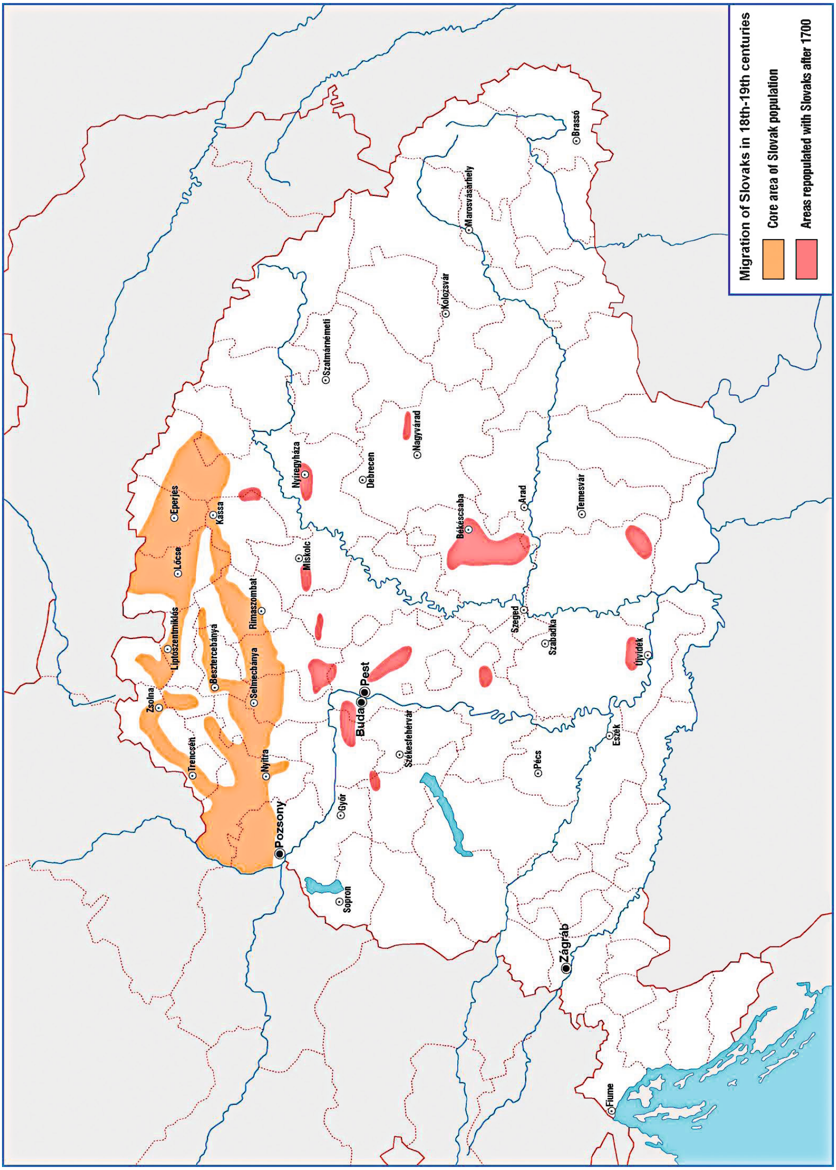
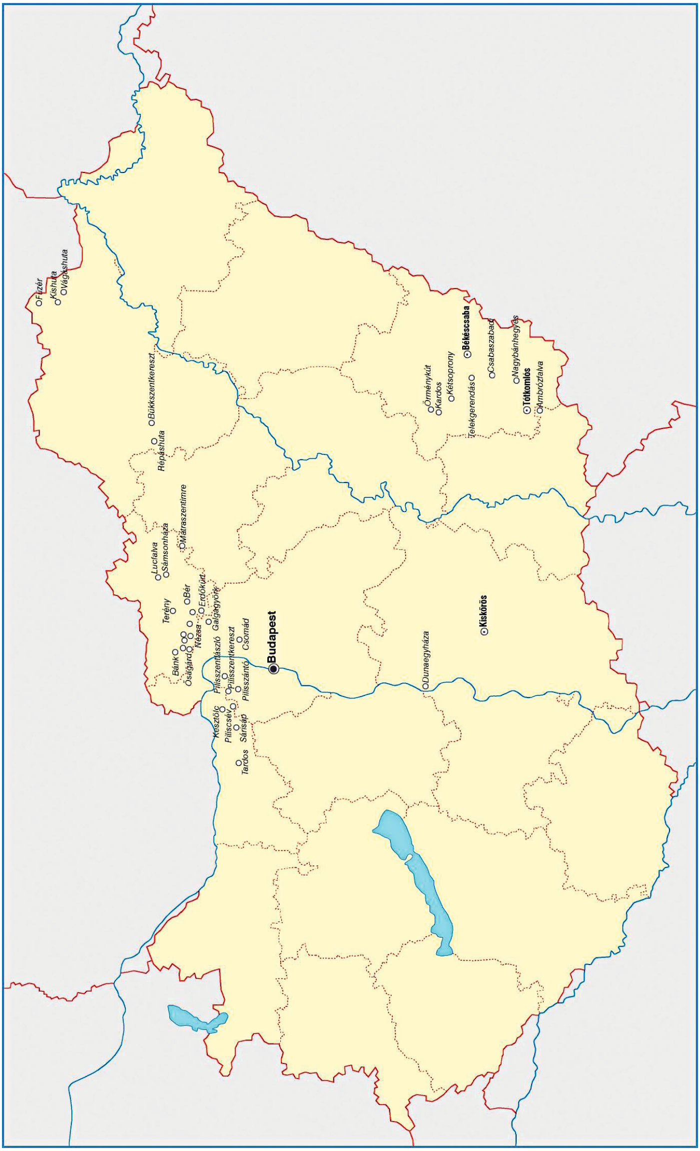
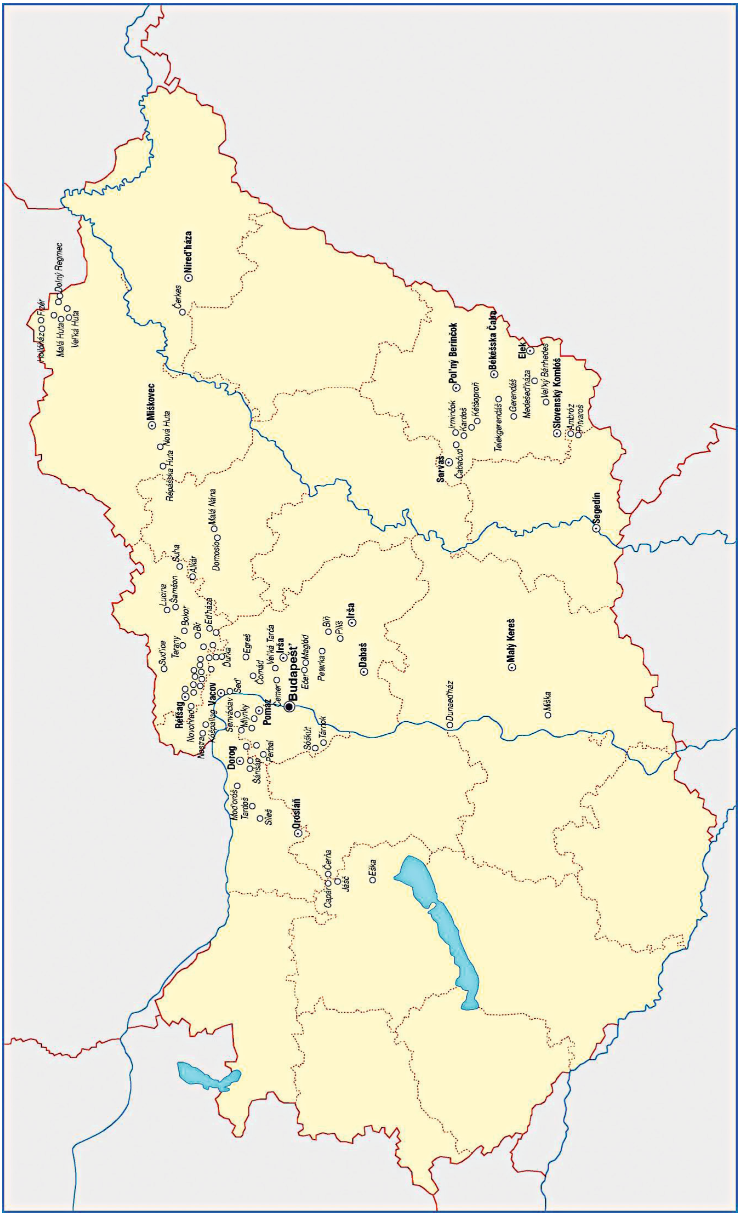
Annex 1. Migration of Slovaks in the 18th & 19th centuries.



Annex 2. Settlements in Hungary that have significant Slovak population: either the number of those declaring themselves as ethnic Slovaks, or using Slovak as first language, or affiliating themselves to Slovak culture and traditions, exceeds 10% of the population or 1000 persons.



Annex 3. Municipalities in Hungary that have Slovak names (map shows Slovak names only).



Annex 4. The origin and meaning of the names of settlements can be found in the following tables based on the *Etymological dictionary of geographical names* [*FNESz]* and other sources.

Acsa	Jača	1341 *Acha,* Anjou személynév, ótörök *ača* ‚rokon'
Albert**irsa**	Irša	*Irsa* 1368, 1950 egyesítés Alberti (jel. Alberté, Albert tulajdona) és Irsa összetétele. *irsa* szláv er. jel. ‚égerfa'
Alsópetény	Dolné Pet'any	Pete Péter szn. becéző alakjából Pethen 1274, 1440
Alsó**regmec**	Dolný Regmec	1386 *Alsowredmech, regmec redmec* szláv er. *Radim* szn.ből
Ambrózfalva	Ambróz	1849-ben említik először, 1844-ben a kincstár kertészettel foglalkozó telepes községet létesített Pitvaros határában. Az új települést eleinte Újpitvarosnak, majd – minthogy a lakosai túlnyomó részt Békéscsabáról való szlovákok voltak – *Kiscsabának* nevezték. A később adott *Ambrózyfalva – Ambrozfalva* név báró Ambrózy Lajosra emlékeztet, aki abban az időben a temesi kincstári igazgatóság elnöke volt.
Bakony**csernye**	Čerňa	*Cherne* 1341, szláv er. jel. ‚fekete' 284 m magas hegy D-i tövében eredete Fekete-hegy. (*Crna Gora, Csorna*)
Bánk	Banka	1405 *Bank,* . szn. a bán méltóságnév származéka
Békés	n.a.	1203/1342/1356/1477 szn.-ből magyar béke szó származéka A lázadó *Vata-Csolt* nemzetség megtörése után az uralkodó – Géza fejedelem vagy I. István király a saját ispánját *Békést* ültette a nemzetségfő várába. a békési vár körül alakult ki Békés vármegye.
Békéscsaba	Békéšska Čaba	*Csaba* szn. 1138/1329 *Saba* zsn. török er. ‚ajándék'
Bénye	Bíň	1368, Benjamin szn.-nek lehet a kicsinyítő-becéző alakja
Bér	Bír	1428 *Beyr*, 1214/1550 szn., bér fn.ből.
Bokor	Bokor	1265/1270 *‚Bukut'*, *‚Bukur'*, AUÓ, ‚cserje' fn. Bokrokkal benőtt helyre utal
Budaörs	n.a.	1236/1286/1300/1503 *Ewrs*, örs törzsnévből tövében föllelhető az ótörök ‚er' ‚férfi', ‚férj'

Budapest	Budapešť	
Bükkszentkereszt	Nová Huta	1939-ig Újhutának hívták
Csabacsűd	Čabačud	1456, *Chabachyde*, csüd fn.ből
Csobánka	Čobánka	1715 *Czobánka* alias *'Borony'* török er. *Csaban, Čoban* =pásztor *'Csabán'* szn.,..*'csobán'* 'juhász' köznév téves a szb.-hv. *'csobanka* pásztorlányka eredeztetés, a középkorban *Boron(y)* nak nevezték. szláv eredetű 'Borun' szn.
Csomád	Čomád	1219/1550 Csanád szn. ből
Csorvás		1458, régi magyar *csorva* 'homok' s képzős származéka
Csömör	Čemer	1335, *Chemer* er. csömör, gyomorrontás fn.-ből
Csővár	Čuvár	1460 *Fortalicium Chew*,
Dabas	Dabaš-Šára	1264, 'dobos', talán a királyi dobosok egykori településére utal, eseteleg 'dob','domb' származéka, valamint a Daba szn. is szóba jöhet.
Dág	Dág	*Ágfalva Agendorf*, *Dág* 1194 Dag =Dég németből fordítva, Magyar eredetű nevek visszamagyarosítása: Dág-Dagendorf-Agendorf-Ágfalva
Domoszló	Domoslo	1263 *Dumuzlo*, *Domozlo* herceg udvarhelye a szn. szláv redetű *Domaslav*, *Domoslav*, *Domieslaw*
Dorog	Dorog	1249, *durug,* régi magyar szn-ből ami szláv eredetű *Drug* szb.hv 'társ, barát' vagy orosz *„Другов'* 'a társ, barát fia' vagy 'másodszülött fia'
Dunaegyháza	Dunaeďház	1702-ben szlovák telepesekkel benépesített és hamarosan templommal rendelkező falut *Egyházának* (1773), *Tótegyházának* (1786) a Duna mellékére utalva *Dunaegyházára* (1851) nevezték el.
Ecser	Ečer	1344 *Echer*, szn.-ből. Talán német eredetű *Ascher*. Más feltevés szerint az ecs öcs 'fiatalabb testvér' fn. származéka
Egyházasdengeleg	Eďháza	1907, *Dengelech*, 1221/1550 *Dingonogu*, döngöleg dengeleg, 'kis kerek halom'
Elek	Elek	1495, *Elec* szn-ből

Erdőkürt	Kirt'	1863 *Kywrth*, a Kürt törzsbeliek települése, török eredetű, kazak ‚magasan feltornyosult hó', sor kürt ‚lavina'
Erdőtarcsa	n.a.	1799, 1404/1406 *Tarcha*, Zsigm, Tarcsa *Tarsa, Tarcha* szn.ből, tar ‚tarka' mn.-ből -sa -csa kicsinyítő képzővel
(Esztergom-) Pilisszentlélek	Huť, Hut(a)	1907, de 1773 *Sz. Lélek*, 1287 *Castrum S. Spiritus de Pilisio* (=a pilisi Szentlélek kolostor)
Felsőpetény	Horné Pet'any	Pete Péter szn. becéző alakjából Pethen 1274, 1440
Füzér	Fizér	1246/1274 *Fyuzer* , ‚fűzfákkal szegélyezett vízfolyás' ‚Fűz-ér' volt az előzménye
Galgaguta	Guta	1907, 1387 *Gutha* régi német szn.ből keletk. Galga szláv ‚sár mocsár' fn származéka,
Galgagyörk	Ďurka	1900, 1773 *Toth Győrk*, 1481 *Gyerk*, *Györ*, György, származéka, 1180 *Gurcu*,
Galgamácsa	n.a.	1907, 1389 *Mácsa*, átírt alak, 1399 *Macha*, 1219/1550 *machya*, alapjául szolgáló szn szláv er. blg. *Мачо, Матеӣ* ‚Máté' cseh Mače'
Gerendás	Gerendáš	1458, de, 1418 *Gerendaseghaz,* Arra utal, hogy a község egykori temploma gerendákból épült.
Hollóháza	Hollóház	1341, szn.-ként akalmazott holló fn. és a ház birtokos személyragos összetétele
Isaszeg	Irša	1266, *Irsazegh*, ‚irsa' szláv er. jel. ‚égerfa', utótgaja a szeg ‚szöglet, zug', égerfával benőtt szögletre utal
Jásd	Jášč	1341, *Jasth,* AnjouOkm, bizonytalan eredetű, talán a ‚gyógyító erejű (növény)' értelmű ‚javas'ból keletkezett.
Kardos	Kardoš	1864, Egy Kardos nevű gazda gulyájának kútjával kapcsolatos
Kerepes	n.a.	1253, szláv *Krěpišъ,* szn.ből, más felfogás szerint a ‚kerep' ‚hajó' származéka, s egykori hajókészítők települését jelenti.
Keszeg	Keseg	1294, *Keysyg,* elsődleges névalak Kőszeg lehetett. kő+szeg ‚kőből való, köves szöglet, sarok'
Kesztölc	Kestúc	1075/+1124/+1217, *kestelci,* szláv eredetű, szbhv. *Kostólac,* ‚kis vár, erősség', cseh *Kostelec* ‚kis erődtemplom'

Kétsoprony	Kétšoproň	1458, *Keth-Sopron*, az 1952-ben községgé alakított békéscsabai, kamuti, és kondorosi határrészek jelölésére felújították a középkori összetett nevet. *Sopron* Cyperon, *Suprun*, latin *Sophronius* szn. amely szláv közvetítéssel került hozzánk.
Kis**huta**	Malá Huta	1907, de 1863 *Sompatak-Kishutta*, 1792 *Nova Huta*,
Kiskőrös	Malý Kereš	1773, *Keurus,* 1396 *Kurus,* a vidék egykori kőris erdeire utal
Kis**nána**	Malá Nána	1415, *Nana,* német vagy szláv eredetű szn. *Nan(n) a* ,női név', *Nanno* ,férfinév' vagy blg. *Нана* ,Найден vagy ,Атанас' becéző alakja' cseh *Nana*
Kistarcsa	n.a.	1773, de 1447, *Tarcha*, Zsigm, Tarcsa *Tarsa, Tarcha* szn.ből, tar ,tarka' mn.-ből -sa -csa kicsinyítő képzővel
Kondoros	Kondoroš	1229/1550 *Cundurus,* csuvasos jellegű ótörök jövevény ,hód'. Olyan víz, hely, ahol sok a hód.
Kóspallag	Kóšpallag	1773, *Kos* ,a juh hímje', és a *parlag pallag,* ,több éven keresztül műveletlenül hagyott föld' összetétele
Legénd	Legínd	1389 a szn-ként alkalmazott legény szóból
Lucfalva	Lucina	1907, tudatos magyarítással keletkezett a korábbi *Lucin*-ból. 1382-1405 *Kysluchin*, ez szláv eredetű, szlovák *Luciny,* le. Lucynowo
Maglód	Maglód	1380 szn.-ből.1150 *Moglout*, mag ,sperma' fn. származéka, jelentése ,termékeny'
Mária**nosztra**	Nostra	1799 *Mária Nosztre* de 1262 *Nostre, Nosztre,* 1382 *Nazdra* szn. Alapjául szolgáló szn. szláv eredetű lehet ném. *Nestroy* a cseh *Nestroj* csn. cseh *Nestrojil,* Azért egészítették ki a *Mária* előtaggal, mert 1759-ben az itteni pálos kolostor templomában elhelyezték a czestochowai Fekete Mária kegykép olajmásolatát, ez hamarosan búcsújáró kultuszt vonzott maga köré. A régi Márianosztre utótagját a lat. *noster nostra nostrum* ,a mi, mienk ,nőnemű alakjával azonosították, és a ,Mi Máriánk' jelentést tulajdonították.

Mátraszentimre	Alkár	1938, A korábban használt *Ötházhuta* (1907) de *Ötház* (1895), a szlovák *Pet'idomki* ,Öt házikó' tükörfordítása és az üveghuta összetétele A Mátraszentimréhez tartozó Mátraszentistvánt egykor *Almássyhutának,* és Mátraszentlászlót pedig *Fiskálishutának* hívták.
Medgyesegyháza	Medešeďháza	1418, *Meggyesegyház,* 1488 *Meggyes,,* s ehhez akor járulhtott hozzá az egyháza előtag, amikor a falu elpusztult és csak s csak templomának romja maradt meg.
Mezőberény	Poľný Berinčok	1703, de 1347 *Beren,* törzsnévszerű elszórtságban másfelés is előforduló *Berény* török eredetű lehet ótörök *berendi* ,megadta magát',
Mikóháza	Mikóháza	1427, Mikó szn. + ház ,lakás, otthon'
Miske	Miška	1346, *Myske* szn.-ből alakult. 1214 *Misca,* a Mihály szn. becéző alakja. (blg. *Мишко* a szlovák *Miško).*
Miskolc-Bükkszentlászló	Miškovec – Stará Huta	1939-ig *Óhutának* hívták, Huta ,kisebb üveggyár'
Mogyorósbánya	Moďoróš	1907, de 1270 *Monyaros, 1193 „ad uiam auellanosam" (*=a mogyorós úthoz*)* ,mogyoróbokrokkal benőtt terület' a -bánya utótag a szénbányásztra utal.
Nagybánhegyes	Veľký Bánhedeš	1913, de 1863 T*ót-Bánhegyes*, 1796 *Bánhegyes,* 1418 *Kethegyes*, bán méltóságnév,
Nagycserkesz	Čerkes	1952, de 1823 *Cserkész,* 1811 *Cserkésen.* A község 1952 ben alakult 18 nyíregyházi bokortanyából. *cserkesz, cserkész,* ,erdőőr, kutató, fürkésző személy' fn.-ből
Nagyhuta	Vel'ká Huta	1907, de 1863 *Sompatak-Nagyhuta*, 1763 *Huta Radvaniensis*, Nova Huta
Nagytarcsa	Veľká Tarča	1808, de 1447, *Tarcha,* Zsigm, *Tarcsa Tarsa, Tarcha* szn.ből, tar ,tarka' mn.-ből -sa -csa kicsinyítő képzővel
Nézsa	Níža	1389, *Nysa,* szláv szn.-ből szbhv. *Niša, Neža, Nježa,* blg. *Нежа* női név
Nógrád	Novohrad	1138/1329 *Naugrad,* szláv eredetű. szbhv. *Novi Grad*, *Novograd,* cseh *Nové Hrady*, blg. *Новград,* szl. *Novy Hrad*, ,új vár'.

Nógrádsáp	Šápov	1928, de 1318 *Saap, Alsó Sápp* és *Felső Sapp* egyesítésével (1928), *Saap* szn. alapja talán a ném. *sáf* ,dézsa, sajtár'
Nőtincs	Netejč	1317, bizonytalan er. *Nietyksza* szn. szláv *Netykъ* személynév, vagy a *netečъ, neteča*, nem folyó víz'
Nyíregyháza	Níreďháza	1326, *Nyir-egyhaz*, (modernozált helyesírás, *nyír* ,nyíres, nyírfaerdő', + *-egyház(a)* a tatárjárás után járult a helységnévhez, azzal kapcsolatosan hogy a tatárjáráskor elpusztult településből csak egy romos templom maradt fenn.
Oroszlány	Orosláň	1773, *Oroszleány*, de 1326/1327/1383 *Orozlanku*, elsődleges Oroszlánkő névváltozat előtagja az *oroszlán* (az erő és bátorság jelképe) utótagja a hegyi vár értelemben használt *kő*.
Örménykút	Irminčok	1870, előtagja az *örmény* népnévvel azonos, és arra utal hogy a puszta egykori haszonbérlői örmény marhakereskedők voltak. Eredeti névalak Ö*rmény barma* (=gulyája) *kútja* lehetett
Ősagárd	Agárd	1405/1477 Zsigm okl.
Öskü	Eška	1461, *Ewskew*, de 1327 *Es, Ös* szn.ből. ős ,előd' fn. a szomszédos vár *Öskü* neve került át a településre (kő ,hegyi vár') hogy a közeli *Ősi*-től megkülönböztessék
Pálháza	Pálháza	1389, Palhaza, és Pál nevű személy lakóhelye
Perbál	Perbal	1332, Prebor, Probor, szn.-ből. szláv erdetű vseh Přebor, le. Przebor.
Péteri	Peterka	1421 *Péte Peter* szn i képzős változata ,Pétere'
Pilis	Pilíš	szláv er. szb.hv *Ples* ,több hegynek és hegyi falunak a neve' jel.' kopasz hegytető; növényzet nélküli kopár hely', ,tonzura' Pilis hegy- Pilis-hegység, vármegye,
Piliscsaba	Pilíšska Čaba	*Csaba* szn. 1138/1329 *Saba* zsn. török er. ,ajándék'
Piliscsév	Čív	1954, 1274 *Chew* nem tisztázott az eredete, szláv *Cevo*, ,helység Crna Gorában elfogadhatatlan, nem kapcsolható össze magyar *,cső'*-vel és *,cseh'*-vel sem.

Pilisszántó	Santov,	1863, 1299 *Zantho, Zampto*, a szántó hn. a földművelésre kötelezett szolgálónépekre utal, akik az uradalom ekéjével és igájával szántottak.
Pilisszentkereszt	Mlynky	Szent Kereszt tiszteletére szentelt temploma, a pálosok adták a *Santa Crux* nevet 1767(?)-ben. Az önellátó, gazdálkodással foglalkozó pálos szerzetesek által létesített malmok adták a későbbiekben a település szlovák nevét (Mlynky) mlyn=malom. (*Forrás: Internet*)
Pilisszentlászló	Senváclav, Svätý Václav	1799, de 1737 Sz. László, 1294 *monasterium S. Ladislai Kekes* (=a kékesi Szent László monostor. A község a pálosokmak a Kékes hegyén épült Szent Lászlóról elnevezett kolostora közelében alakult ki.
Pitvaros	Pitvaroš	1799, de 1403 *Pitvarosegyház* a települést pitvarral ellátott templomáról nevezték el.
Pomáz	Pomáz	1138/1329 *Pomaz*, szláv eredetű szn. le. *Pomazek*, or. Помазов,
Pusztaberki	n.a.	1895, de 1405/1477 *Berk*, 1438 *Berki, berek* ‚liget' és a *puszta* elpusztásodásra, elnéptelenedésre utal
Püspökhatvan	Pišpek	1462, *Pspekhatwana,* de 1280 *Hotvon,* a püspök előtag a váci püspökre, mint egykori földesúrra utal. a *hatvan* a számnévből ered, de nem tisztázott hogy mi volt hatvan
Répáshuta	Répášska Huta	1790, de 1766 *Répás,* A *Répás* hn. az erdőirtással nyert olyan helyre, irtványra szokott utalni, amelybe eleinte jó ideig répát vetettek, hogy a répa többszöri kapálásával a felburjánzó gaz és cserje teljesen kipusztuljon. *huta* ‚üveghuta'
Rétság	Rétšag	1393, *Rethysagh, Rétiság,* ‚kaszáló, mocsaras, vizes terület', + *ság* talán kabar törzsnév, mások ‚domb, erdős magaslat, erdő' köznevet keresenk benne

Sajó**bábony**	n.a.	1907, de 1325/1347 *Babun, Bábony* szn.-ből, a magyar *bába* vagy annak szláv eredetijével tartozhat össze. mások a *Bábony* szlávhn. átvételének tartják. szbhv. *Babin Do* ‚vénasszony völgye', *Babin Most* ‚vénasszony hídja', cseh *Babín* egy Bába nevű férfi udvarháza', *Sajó* a só és *jo* összetétele ‚sós folyó, szlovákul *Slana* sósat jelent, a *jo* ‚folyó' (finnugor)
Salgótarján	n.a.	
Sámsonháza	Šamšon, Šámšonház	1401, egy Sámson nevű személy lakóhelye
Sárisáp	Šárišáp	1773, de 1275 *Sap*, a *Sári* előtag a régi magyar *Sar* (1193) víznév származéka, egykor így hívták a falu mellett elfolyó Öreg-árok patakot. asár ‚nedves, agyagos föld' fn.-ből alakult víznevet utólag összekapcsolhatták a sár(i) sárga színű mn.-vel. A községnek ugyanis a dombokon sárga agyagtalaja a tokodi határszélen pedig „timsó ízű és erejű kútfője" van, „melynek vize sárgálló". *Saap* szn. alapja talán a ném. sáf ‚dézsa, sajtár'
Sarkadkeresztúr	n.a.	1808, de 1403 *Keresztur*, *Sarcudi* sarok kiszögellés (vízfolyásé), keresztúr a falu tamplomát a szent kereszt tiszteletére szentelték fel. az Árpád kor szokása szerint nem csak a szenteket, hanem a megfeszített Jézus kerezstfáját is urazták (FNESz) vagy magára a megfeszítettre (Jézusra) vonatkozik az Úr megnevezés (MM.)
(Sátoraljaújhely-) **Ruda**bányácska	Baňačka	1780, de 1450 *Banyaczka al.nom Zepbanya* a középkori arany és ezüstbányászatra utal, a magyar név előtagja a *ruda* a szlovák ‚érc' szóból
Sóskút	Šóskút	1239 *Sovskuth* de 1150 *iuxta campum Putei Salsi* (=Sóskút mezeje mellett) ‚sós vizű kút'
Szabadkígyós	n.a.	1950, de 1396 *Kígyós,* Az addig *Újkígyóshoz* tartozó *Ókígyóst* 1950-ben Szabadkígyós néven községgé szervezték. *Szabad* a földesúri rendszer felszámolására utal, *kígyós* egykor azon a vidéken sok volt a kígyó.
Szápár	Capár	1341, bizonytalan esetleg szláv eredetű név.

Szarvas	Sarvaš	1461, de 1284 *Zorwossholm,* korábbi *Szarvashalom,* előtagjából önállósult. *szarvas* fn.-ből
Szeged	Segedín	1183/1226/1270 *Cigeddin* (latinosított alak) 1193 *Scequed, Cegedí, Seged Zeged,* szn.-ből. az alapjául szolgáló *szög szeg* ‚feketés gesztenyebarna' mn. nek a -d képzős változata. Más vélemény szerint a *szög* ‚ék, sarok, kiszögellés' az a anagy derékszögű kanyar lehetett, amelyet a Tisza alkot a város közepénél, a régi települési mag tájékán. Nem a Tisza-Maros szöge, mert attól 3-4 km-rel lejjebb van.
Sződ	Seď	1317/1329 *Zeud*, szn.ből. *Seudi* (1180)1219/15550 *Seud* ‚alapja a *sző* ‚fehéres, szőke' mn.ből képződött
Szuha-Mátraalmás	Suha, Suhahuta	1441, *Zoha,* szláv eredetű *suchá* ‚száraz, nyaranta kiszáradó (folyó, vízfolyás) *Szuhahuta* (1863) nevét a kellemesebb hangzású Mátraalmásra változtatták (1962)
Szügy	Suďice	1274 *Scyud*, szn.-ből, szügy ‚állat mellrésze, mellkas' a szlovák *Sudice* (tsz.) ‚szügy' a magyarral párhuzamos névadás eredménye. ‚Szügy emberei, Szügyék'
Tardos	Tardoš	1954, de 1217, *turdos*, szn.-ből talán török er. *Turdi* ‚megállt, megmaradt' később a magyar tar ‚kopasz' név vonzásába került,
Tárnok	Tárnok	1259, *Tavarnuc* , *tárnok, tavarnik* köznévből, A királyi Uradalmaknak és várispánságoknak beszolgáltatott és ott raktározott termékek kezelőinek lakhelye.
(Tatabánya-) Bánhida	Bánhida	1947-ben Tatbányához csatolt település, 1288, bán méltóságnév szn-ként használt + híd
Telekgerendás	Telekgerendáš	1907, előtagja a magyar *telek* ‚trágyázott föld, puszta' vagy a *Telek* szn. *Telug* (1211), utótagja: ld. Gerendásnál,
Terény	Terany	1441, *Theryen,* a *Tarján* törzsnévnek hangrendi átcsapással keletkezett magas hangrendű változatából származik.

Tótkomlós	Slovenský Komlóš	1746, de 1415 *Komlós,* a *tót* előtag azzal kapcsolatos, hogy a török hódoltság idején elnéptelenedett birtokot 1746-ban békésszentandrási szlovákokkal telepítették újra. *komlós* utótag a növénynévből származik
Vác	Vacov	1075/1124/1217 *waciensis,* (lat.) alapja szláv személynév. vö. cseh *Vác, Václáv,* szlovák *Vacov,* a magyarral párhzamos szlovák névadás eredménye.
Vácegres	Egreš	1943, de 1907 *Egrestanya*, 1170 *Zsidó*, 1341 *Sydoeghaz*. 1943-ban az addig Zsidónak hívott község nevét a határában levő Egrestanya és a közeli Vác alapján Vácegresre változtatták.
Vágás**huta**	Vágašská Huta	1905, de 1863 *Kovács-Vágáshutta*, 1833 *Vágási Huta*, 1794 *Huta Vagasiensis* Prédahegy, *Kovácsvágáshuta*
Vanyarc	Veňarec	1286, *Wonorch,* szláv er. vincellérek településére utal. szbhv. *Vinarec,* cseh *Vinařice*
Vértesszőlős	Síleš	1913, de 1244 *Sceleus*, szőlős szőlőművelés, vértes pedig pajzshordó, vértműves’

Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska[1], Maciej Zych[2]

Place names in minority languages in Poland

In the middle of 2012 the new *List of official names of localities in Poland* will be published, containing around 104,000 official names of cities, villages and their parts. An entry is composed of: the name in nominative form, the type of locality, the administrative region, the GUS (Central Statistical Office) code, and the name's suffix in genitive form. For cities and villages the entry also gives the derivative adjective.

Here is an example of an entry:

Bruk [name], wieś [type of locality], gm. Dzierzgoń [commune], pow. sztumski [county], woj. pomorskie [voivodship], 0148955 [GUS code], *-ka* [genitive ending], *brucki* [adjective]

In the new *List of official names of localities in Poland* there will be no information as to whether the locality has an additional name in a minority language.

Also in 2012, the Ministry of Administration and Digitalization has issued a regulation, dated 14 February 2012, regarding the state register of geographical names[3]. The register will contain geographical names within the borders of the Republic of Poland, as well as Polish geographical names for places abroad. The register will list official names and also alternative names in Polish and additional names in minority languages. The additional names are given in the original script (*e.g.* Belarusian name in the Belarusian alphabet) and in the romanized form.

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[3] Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, z dn. 20 marca 2012 r., poz. 309, rozporządzenie Ministra Administracji i Cyfryzacji z dnia 14 lutego 2012 r. w sprawie państwowego rejestru nazw geograficznych.

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The use of geographical names in minority languages in public communication is seen as an element of human rights. The idea appears in UN and EU documents. In Poland, the tradition of noting geographical names in minority languages goes back at least to the end of the nineteenth century ('Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich'[4] – *Geographical dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic countries*). From 2005, their use has been regulated in Polish law by the *Act on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional language*[5]. The Act defines the following minorities: national (9), ethnic (4) and also regional language (1).

'A national minority refers to a group of Polish citizens, who jointly fulfill all of the following conditions:

- is numerically smaller than the rest of the population of Poland,
- significantly differs from the remaining citizens in its language, culture or tradition,
- strives to preserve its language, culture or tradition,
- is aware of its own historical, national community, and is oriented towards its expression and protection,
- its ancestors have been living on the present territory of Poland for at least 100 years,
- identifies itself with a nation organized in its own state.

The difference between a national and an ethnic minority is that a national minority may identify itself with a nation with its own independent state whereas an ethnic minority may not'[6].

The national and ethnic minorities constitute no more than 4% of the Polish population.

'The Act lists national and ethnic minorities which live at present in Poland and fulfill the above conditions. There are 9 national minorities: Belarusians, Czechs, Lithuanians, Germans, Armenians, Russians, Slovaks, Ukrainians,

[4] Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich, t. I-XV, Warszawa 1880-1902. An example: Koszyki, niem. Koszycken, wieś pow. łecki, st. poczt. Ełk (t. IV, 1883, s. 490).

[5] Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym (Dz.U.05.17.141).

[6] Toponymic Guidelines of Poland for Map Editors and Other Users, fourth revised edition, elaborated by Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska, Maciej Zych; Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, Warszawa, 2010, p 32.

and Jews; and 4 ethnic minorities: Karaims, Lemkos (Ruthenes), Roma, and Tatars.

A regional language is a language which is traditionally used within the territory of Poland by its citizens, who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population, and is different from the official language of that state; it does not include either dialects of the official language or the languages of migrants. The Act defines one regional language – the Kashubian language'[7].

'As far as geographical naming is concerned, two regulations of the Act are significant. The first one concerns the use of languages of minorities, the second – the use of geographical names in these languages. (...) A minority language, as a supporting language, might be used only in these communes where the number of minority residents, whose language is going to be used as a supporting language, is no less than 20 per cent of the commune residents and who have been entered into the "Official Register of Communes, where a supporting language is used". Entry in the "Official Register" is made only upon a motion of the commune council where a minority language is going to be binding. (...) names in minority languages may not refer to the names used in the years between 1933-1945 given by the authorities of the German Third Reich or the Soviet Union'[8]. A supporting language has been introduced in 30 communes (as of 17 April 2012; see Figure 1 and Table 2).

'Apart from geographical names established in Polish, the Act also specifies that traditional names may also be used as additional names for localities, physiographical objects and streets. Names of localities and physiographical objects in Polish are official names; they are established at a central level by the Minister of the Administration and Digitalization. Polish names of streets, parks, *etc.* fall within the competence of commune councils. Names of localities and physiographical objects are established upon a motion of the commune council and have to be approved by the Commission on Names of Localities and Physiographical Objects'[9]. This Commission is a consultative body as far as the names of the Polish territory are concerned. Since 2005 the Commission has also established additional names of localities.

These names are published in the *Official Register of Communes, where a supporting language is used*. This 'Register' is being updated and expanded,

[7] Ibidem, p 33.
[8] Ibidem, pp 33-36.
[9] Ibidem, p 35.

and is published in the Public Information Bulletin of the Minister of the Administration and Digitalization.

Currently the same Commission, the same people, have prepared the *List of official names of localities in Poland* and have offered a positive opinion about the list of names in minority languages in the *Official Register of Communes, where a supporting language is used*. In consequence the Commission uses the same criteria for both types of names. Two main criteria are applied: historical (a tradition reaching back at least 100 years) and grammatical (linguistic correctness both in Polish and in the minority languages).

Table 1

According to the national census from 2011, there are several traditional national and ethnic minorities registering more than 10,000 persons in Poland:

Kashubian	228,000	(16,000 declaring as their sole nationality)
German	109,000	(26,000)
Ukrainian	48,000	(26,000)
Belarusian	47,000	(31,000)
Roma	16,000	(9,000)
Russian	13,000	(5,000)
Lemko (Ruthene)	10,000	(5,000)

The Lithuanian minority has fewer than 10,000 people (5,846 in 2002). The exact data from the whole census will be available at the end of June 2012.

Table 2

The number of communes in which a supporting language has been introduced:

German:	22
Belarusian:	5
Kashubian:	2
Lithuanian:	1

Total: 30 communes.

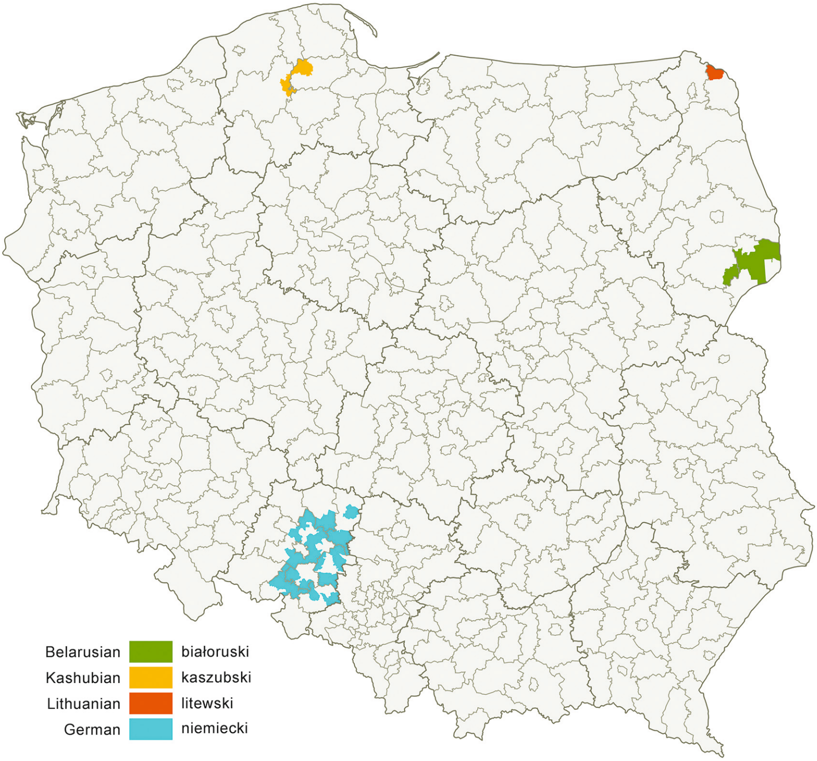


Figure 1: Communes in which a supporting language has been introduced.

Table 3

The number of communes where additional names in minority languages were established (as of 17 April 2012):

German	28	(335 names)
Kashubian	11	(397 names)
Lemko (Ruthene)	2	(9 names)
Belarusian	1	(27 names)
Lithuanian	1	(30 names)

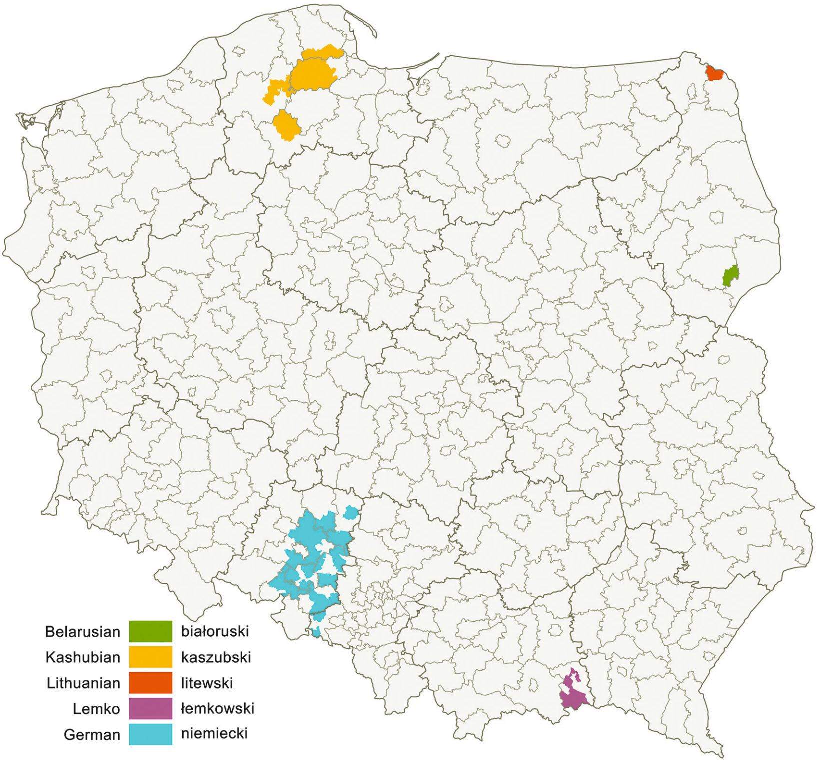


Figure 2: Communes in which additional names have been introduced.

Table 4

The list of voivodships in which communes with additional minority names are located:

Opolskie	26
Pomorskie	11
Małopolskie	2
Podlaskie	2
Śląskie	2

Recently, additional names from 43 communes have received a positive opinion and were added to the *Official Register.* In total, there are 798 such names (see Figure 2 and Tables 3-6).

Table 5

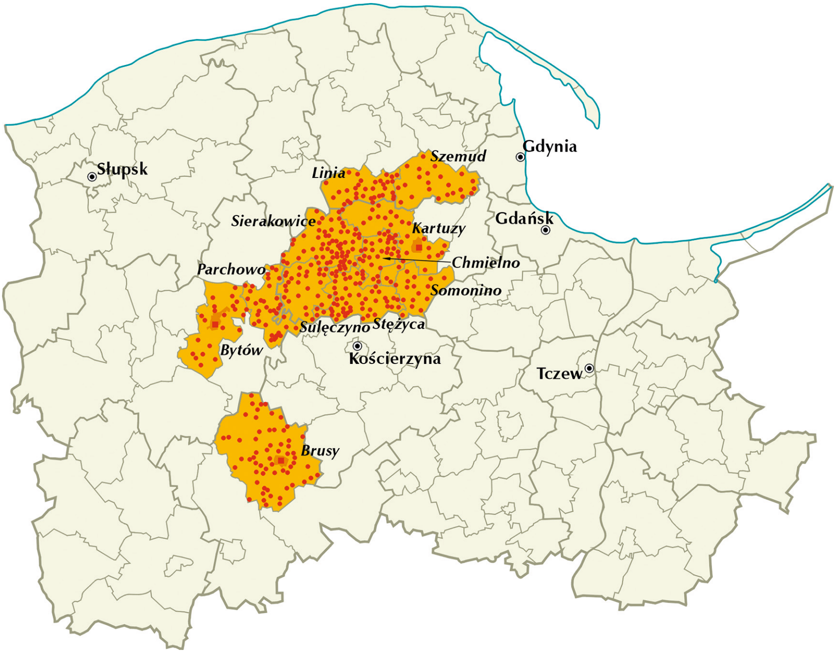
Since 2006, the Commission has reviewed the following number of applications:

2006	1	(German)
2007	3	(1 German, 2 Kashubian)
2008	15	(13 German, 1 Lithuanian, 1 Lemko)
2009	7	(5 German, 2 Kashubian)
2010	7	(4 German, 3 Kashubian)
2011	9	(3 German, 4 Kashubian, 1 Lemko, 1 Belarusian)
2012	1	(German: + 1 in April, not yet added to the *Official Register*)

Table 6

Additional minority names:

Language	Towns	Villages	Parts of villages	Total
Kashubian	3	205	189	397
German	8	300	27	335
Lithuanian	-	29	1	30
Belarusian	-	22	5	27
Lemko (Ruthene)	-	9	-	9



Additional Kashubian names for towns:
Pol. *Brusy* – Kash. *Brusë*
Pol. *Bytów* – Kash. *Bëtowò*
Pol. *Kartuzy* – Kash. *Kartuzë*

Figure 3: Localities for which additional names in the Kashubian language have been introduced.

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The additional names in minority languages are located in Poland along the current or historical state borders. Typologically, the minority languages in Poland belong to the following groups:

Table 7

Slavic (Eastern Slavic) languages: Belarusian, Lemko (Ruthene)
Baltic languages: Lithuanian
German languages: German

Additional German names for towns:
Pol. *Biała* – Germ. *Zülz* (probably form Pol. **Solec*)
Pol. *Dobrodzień* – Germ. *Guttentag*
Pol. *Głogówek* – Germ. *Oberglogau*
Pol. *Kolonowskie* – Germ. *Colonnowska*
Pol. *Krzanowice* – Germ. *Kranowitz*
Pol. *Leśnica* – Germ. *Leschnitz*
Pol. *Prószków* – Germ. *Proskau*
Pol. *Ujazd* – Germ. *Ujest*.

Figure 4: Localities for which additional names in the German language have been introduced.

These are all Indo-European languages. Belarusian and Lemko (Ruthene) use the Cyrillic alphabet; hence the *State Register of Geographical Names* will contain also the romanized form.

From the linguistic point of view, the communes with minority languages are traditional bilingual or even polylingual regions. This situation has lasted many centuries. For such regions, alternative names (allonyms) are typical and they are used in various languages depending on the communicative situation.

The additional Slavic and Lithuanian names are usually historically older. They originate from the Belarusian or Lithuanian language, *e.g.* the older Belarusian *Kruhłe* (Круглэ) and the Polish official name *Kruhłe* (the proper Polish phonetic form would sound **Krągłe*), or Lithuanian *Seivai* or *Trakiškės* and Polish official *Sejwy, Trakiszki* (inflective adaptation). Sometimes, however, the additional minority name is an adaptation of the older Polish name, *e.g.* Belarusian *Дзенцёлово* from Polish *Dzięciołowo* (in Belarusian transcription, the nasal *ę* is presented as *-en-*) or Lemko *Ґладышів* with *G-* from Polish *Gładyszów*.

The German names are in 70% of cases adaptations of older Polish names (*e.g. Dambine* from Polish *Dębina, Zembowitz* from *Zębowice, Grabine* from *Grabina, Turawa* same as Polish *Turawa*). In 30% of cases the roots are different, *e.g.* Polish *Oś* – German *Marienfeld*.

Geographical names in minority languages are well documented in Polish toponomastics monographs, *e.g.* in the series of Kashubian monographs, and in the toponymic dictionaries of Silesia, Łemkowszczyzna or Białostocczyzna[10].

The additional names in minority languages have a cultural value. They are testimonies of the centuries-old relationship between Poland and its neighbours and evidence of settlement processes. They offer interesting evidence of polylingualism. Lists of such names may provide a ground for preparing lists of contemporary exonyms in Lithuania, Belarus or Germany.

[10] Ex.: S. Rospond, 1951, Słownik nazw geograficznych Polski zachodniej i północnej, cz. I Polsko-niemiecka, cz. II Niemiecko-polska, Wrocław; „Pomorskie Monografie Toponomastyczne", 1974-2000, t. 1-4 and 10-15 Gdańsk, t. 5-9 Wrocław; Słownik etymologiczny nazw geograficznych Śląska, 1970-1994, t. I-VIII, (t. I red. S. Rospond, Warszawa-Wrocław, t. II-IV, red. H. Borek, Warszawa-Wrocław, t. V-VIII, red. S. Sochacka, Opole); Z. Stieber, 1948-1949, Toponomastyka Łemkowszczyzny, t. I-II, Łódź; J. Rieger, 1995, Słownictwo i nazewnictwo łemkowskie, Warszawa; M. Kondratiuk, 1985, Elementy bałtyckie w toponimii i mikrotoponimii regionu białostockiego, Wrocław; M. Kondratiuk, 2011, Urzędowe i gwarowe nazwy miejscowości Białostocczyzny, Białystok.

Section IV
Endonyms, Exonyms and an illustration from history

Paul Woodman[1]

Toponymy in a landscape of aggression: Geographical names in National Socialist Germany

Geopolitics and toponymy before the Second World War

Scholarly specialisation in the subject of geography did not become the norm until the mid-nineteenth century. Up to that point the principal post-Classical proponents of geographical thought had been polymaths, scholars who sought knowledge in many subjects, all with a view to demonstrating man's relationship with and subservience to the Almighty, and the immanent presence of the Almighty in the world as they saw it. Within geography this polymath mould was perhaps broken first by Oskar Peschel (1826-75), a German scholar who specialised in physical geography, which he believed to be an exact science that was subject to fixed and definitive natural laws. His approach introduced a determinist characteristic into physical geography, and this characteristic was subsequently adapted for human geography by the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). Ratzel eschewed notions of immanence and instead believed the human being to be a product of his environment, the end product of evolution, and that human beings had organised themselves into political nation states for their optimal accommodation. Ratzel, originally a biologist before turning to geography, viewed such states in biological terms, as organisms, and – this point being crucial to his theories – he believed that since they were organisms they needed to grow to survive.

Significantly, Ratzel was writing at a time that has been termed the Age of Nationalism, the decades following the 1815 Congress of Vienna which began the process of creating nation states in post-Napoleonic Europe. The rising nationalisms that this engendered produced new identities which were from the outset fiercely held and contested. People began to see themselves as citizens of new and powerful nation states which needed to be safeguarded from their neighbours, yet simultaneously also needed to be promoted at the expense of those same neighbours. And along with each new nation

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state came a flagship language which was identified with that nation, and which indeed had been instrumental in the creation of that state. Whereas the attitude towards language had once been relaxed, it now began to matter what language one used for a place name, particularly the name of a feature situated inside or just outside one's own nation state.

This newly acquired sensitivity towards geographical nomenclature was accompanied by the new and widespread appearance of mass-produced maps and atlases. For the first time in history, significant numbers of the educated classes of Europe were able to sit in their drawing rooms or libraries and study at leisure the geographical names chosen by the great map and atlas publishers of the day. This was an unprecedented opportunity to examine toponymy closely and in the round. Of course, then as now, publishers had to make choices as to which toponym to portray among the several language options that might be available to them for each feature, and it is perhaps inevitable that readers generally hoped to see toponyms written in their own language. Given that most of the great European map and atlas publishing houses of the nineteenth century were German, many toponyms – even outside Germany – were written in those publications in their German language form. This policy largely pleased the German readership of the day, especially following the unification of Germany into a single proud nation state in 1871, but it was very likely to upset readers elsewhere, particularly in countries that bordered this new Germany.

It was against this European – and more specifically this German – background that Friedrich Ratzel sowed the first seeds of political geography. As professor of geography at the University of Leipzig from 1886, he gave regular lectures on 'The Extra European Countries in their relationship to Germany' and on 'Germany and German Central Europe'. The perspective was, naturally, centred on the newly unified Germany, but underlying the lectures was Ratzel's quasi-biological approach to geography. In his writings and lectures, Ratzel expounded his theory that states inherently possessed a fluctuating frontier, rather than a fixed boundary, and would grow or contract according to the level of their culture and strength. States, like biological creations, could not tolerate stasis. It followed self-evidently that, since a state needed to grow to survive, its survival would depend upon expansion; an expansion which could only be achieved at the expense of its neighbours. Following Ratzel's death, others began to build on his beliefs. The Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922) argued for the inevitability – and even the desirability – of the super-state, a structure which he considered to be the territorial manifestation of a superior people alongside whom weak neighbouring states had no legitimate right to exist. Kjellén, who incidentally was responsible for coining the term *Geopolitik*, believed Germany to be the obvious candidate for the role of super-state and world leader[2]. Offered during the course of the First World War, Kjellén's ideas seemed well suited to the German *Zeitgeist*. In particular, his theories suggested a rationale for solving the problem that was perceived then and after that War to be Germany's greatest; namely, that the German national state was spatially smaller than the German cultural nation.

Among the students of Friedrich Ratzel had been one Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), who later became an officer in the German army, rising to the rank of general. Haushofer was posted to Japan between 1908 and 1910, the latter date coinciding with that country's annexation of the Korean peninsula. From his close vantage point in Tokyo, Haushofer greatly admired Japan's actions *vis-à-vis* Korea, perceiving them to be a fine example of forceful national power and resolve. Later, as professor of geography at the University of Munich, he launched in 1924 the journal *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*. The theme of this journal was to fuse the work of Kjellén, calling for a German super-state, with that of the British geographer and politician Halford Mackinder, who as part of his famous Heartland concept had noted the global significance of the area between Germany and Russia[3]. To Haushofer and his colleagues it had become self-evident that control of this 'in-between' area by Germany itself was essential for German national success, a success that could only be achieved by expanding the national state to match the size of the cultural nation. In support of this contention many strategic and ethnic propaganda maps of the lands to the east of Germany were published. In endeavouring to capture the essence of what was meant by *Geopolitik*, Haushofer and like-minded geographers settled on the 'study of the geographical foundation of political events', a relatively apolitical definition which in normal circumstances might have been deemed sufficiently anodyne as to enjoy general support within the German geographical community.

The decade of the 1920s, however, did not constitute normal circumstances. It quickly proved difficult within Germany to remain apolitical in the field of

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[2] The word *Geopolitik* was first used in Kjellén's publication *Staten som Lifsform* ('The State as a Living Form'), written in Swedish in 1916 and translated into German in 1917 as *Der Staat als Lebensform*.

[3] Mackinder, H.J.; *passim*. In short, Mackinder's view was that global peace would be best assured if the area between Germany and Russia consisted of small states enjoying an internationally guaranteed independence.

Geopolitik, for there was growing resentment at the perceived humiliation that the First World War and the resultant 1919 Treaty of Versailles had inflicted upon the country. We have noted how German readers before the War had in general been pleased to see that many cartographic publications, being themselves German, reflected a German-language toponymy in Europe. But the outcome of the War had altered the European geopolitical scene dramatically, and from 1919 publishers were obliged to give more prominence to those toponyms officially determined within each nation state itself. This change of course carried the potential to provoke a serious backlash from the German-speaking readership. Thus when in 1923 the first major German atlas of the post-Versailles era – the *Ullstein Weltatlas* – was published, its portrayal of the new European reality (for example its display of Czech names in primary position in the new Czechoslovakia) attracted considerable opprobrium from those in Germany who claimed that this represented an abandonment of proper German commitment to ethnic kinfolk living outside the present state borders. Finding himself under severe pressure, the atlas publisher Franz Ullstein felt obliged subsequently to produce a separate small-scale map of Czechoslovakia which showed only German names on the map face, with their Czech equivalents relegated to a removable transparent overlay[4].

The whole vexed question of the priority of geographical naming according to language was addressed at the annual Convention for German Geographers in 1925. The participants 'declared it a national duty that German place names abroad be preserved and demanded that on all maps German place names be given preference and named first'[5]. Even today such a policy would run a serious risk of controversy, but in the febrile post-Versailles atmosphere it was seen outside the country as tantamount to a claim of German sovereignty over lands that were beyond the current political boundaries of the German state. Unsurprisingly, these claims of 'sovereignty *via* toponymy' became clearer and louder following the 1933 election to power in Germany of the National Socialist Party – the Nazi party[6].

It might be expected that this election would have signalled Haushofer's arrival as geopolitical *éminence grise* to the authorities, since he and his *Zeitschrift* had been widely credited with influence over the thinking of the National Socialist party. Certainly, after 1933 it did become prudent for German geographers to flow with the Nazi tide and support the current

[4] Herb, G.H.; p 104.
[5] Herb, G.H.; p 101.
[6] In full this is the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP).

geopolitical thinking, by working actively for the National Socialist cause, or at least passively accepting it. Those few respected geographers who had shunned the idea of promoting *Geopolitik* justifications during the First World War, and who remained unafraid to express their dismay at seeing an overtly political character subsume their straightforwardly geographical concepts, found themselves ostracised and marginalised. Yet while Haushofer undoubtedly felt honoured that his views now enjoyed official support, on the other hand Nazi party support for him personally was to prove at best ambivalent[7].

As the National Socialist period progressed through the 1930s, and the new geopolitics took hold, so the fields of geographical study in Germany altered markedly. The well-established German tradition of *Osteuropaforschung* (*East Europe research*), involving study of the countries further east as objects of research in their own discrete right, was now considered questionable, even treasonable, and funds for projects in this field were no longer granted. Conversely, the field of *Ostforschung* (*East research*), which involved study of the lands to the east as a means of promoting *Deutschtum* (*Germanness*)[8] within them, expanded rapidly, and the *Ostforscher* (the proponents of *Ostforschung*) developed ever closer links with the ruling National Socialist party. Among these proponents was one Emil Meynen, who in later life would become one of the Federal Republic of Germany's toponymic experts within the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN)[9]. Meynen and his colleagues of the day found that *Ostforschung* gradually became less of an academic pursuit and more an instrument for the exercise of Nazi control, with the political direction and objectives of their work increasingly set by the *Schutzstaffel* (the 'SS')[10].

One small word began to assume enormous significance. This word was *Raum* (space), which when used in relation to the areal extent of a given ethnic group had already begun to appear during the period of the Weimar Republic in the 1920s. An example of this is afforded by the popular 1926 novel *Volk ohne Raum* (People without Space), written by Hans Grimm, a work which

[7] On the influence of Haushofer and his associates over National Socialist thinking, see for example Blouet, B. W.; pp 60-61 and also Dallin, A.; p 11.

[8] It is a nuanced distinction between this rather abstract notion of *Deutschtum* ('Germanness'; the qualitative essence of being German) and the more concrete *deutsche Volkstum* ('Germandom'; the body of German people), a notion also encountered in this paper.

[9] Emil Meynen was elected First Vice-President of the Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, held in London in 1972. See the report of that conference at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNCSGN-Reports/2-UNCSGN-Rpt-en.pdf p 1.

[10] Burleigh, M.; pp 261-62. *Schutzstaffel* translates as 'Protection Squad'.

propagandised the eastward expansion of Germany. Gradually, the word came to possess the connotation of 'space for ourselves as Germans', and the lexicon was subsequently expanded to include the associated words *Lebensraum* (living space) and *Lebensraumideologie* (living space ideology). Based as it was upon Ratzel's biological analogies, the concept of *Lebensraum* inevitably implied a struggle for growth and expansion, a struggle which could only be won at the expense of Germany's neighbours. The *Raum* vision incorporated the entire extent of the German *Volksboden*, this being the area populated by *Volksdeutsche*, Germans who had settled and contributed to the local economy, and introduced the German language. It also included the wider German *Kulturboden*, areas beyond the periphery of the *Volksboden* which had at some time in the past benefited from German culture and agricultural cultivation. One-third of this combined *Volks- und Kulturboden* was to be found outside the existing political borders of the German Reich, principally in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic, but also in parts of the Balkans and the Soviet Union[11].

The following extract from the document *Leitsätze zur bevölkerungspolitischen Sicherung des deutschen Ostens* (Basic Principles on the Demographic-Political Securing of the German East) of September 1939 vividly portrays the official attitude to the notion of *Raum*[12]:

1) Acquisition of Raum

- *Only land won through settlement remains secure in possession of a people for a millennium.*
- *The German people must secure in Europe ... a large, contained, settlement area adequate for a greater German nation (150 million) in the future. The German Volk will have to become so large since only really large peoples in a secure, state Raum will survive the struggles of the future.*
- *The German people needs a new settlement area bordering its existing frontiers of at least 200,000 square kilometres.*
- *The entire German Raum must have strategically useful frontiers; this point is to be taken into account in the detailed redrawing of frontiers.*

[11] The *Reich* (*Empire*) of the National Socialists was labelled *Das dritte Reich*, or 'the Third Reich'. The first *Reich* had been the Holy Roman Empire; the second had been the Hohenzollern Empire which existed from the unification of Germany in 1871 until the end of the First World War in 1918.

[12] Burleigh, M.; pp 149-50.

2) Ethnic Settlement

- *The Raum to be won shall exclusively serve German people and the German future; German blood has been spilt for this goal only. The newly acquired lands must be made empty of all foreign ethnic elements; all foreign races, foreign peoples are to be resettled.*
- *… The German people in the East should not be merely a linguistically 'germanised' hybrid population, but true and pure German people. …*
- *In order to settle the newly won and vacant areas not only interested persons, but as many peasants, craftsmen, skilled workers, businessmen from the Germans abroad are to be recruited. Every capable foreign German won for the homeland is a gain for the strength of the German Volk.*

These ideas would pose significant practical difficulties for those tasked with their implementation once the war had begun, for they all implied compulsion and coercion. Indeed, the final point implied coercion even of Germans themselves, their forced resettlement westward from the Baltic States and eastern Poland being a necessary consequence of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of the previous month (August 1939). Plans for this coercion demanded the utmost secrecy, and the October 1939 law requiring the repatriation of Germans eligible for a permanent return to the Reich remained unpublished[13]. The numbers involved were huge; by mid-1941 some 475,000 *Volksdeutsche* had been resettled or were awaiting resettlement[14].

Ostforschung came to demand that annexed territories, in order to resemble the heart of the Reich itself, were to be cleansed of non-German elements. Such elements who lived well away from the heartland of the Reich could indeed be identified and when the time came could be forcibly expelled for resettlement; thus the non-German inhabitants of the cities of Danzig (present-day Gdańsk) and Posen (present-day Poznań) would be evicted eastwards in October 1939 to make way for ethnically German arrivals. But there was one clear awkwardness in this: what should be done with any Slavic groupings living within the heartland itself? There was for example one manifestly Slavic group – the Sorbs – living relatively close to Berlin; how should they be classified? The bizarre answer was that they were to be considered as Germans who through some unfortunate happenchance of history had become culturally Slavic, dressing and speaking differently from

[13] The decree, dated October 7, 1939, is cited in full in Koehl, R L; pp 247-49.

[14] Mazower, M; p 165.

the German mainstream but none the less remaining ethnically German at root. A special conference on this subject, entitled *Thesen zur Wendenfrage* (Theses on the Sorbian Question), was convened at the Ministry of the Interior in April 1937, and afterwards a declaration was issued which included the following points[15]:

- *There are no 'Sorbs' and no 'Lusatians' in the German Reich, but merely Wends or Wendish-speaking Germans.*
- *The Wends do not constitute a separate nationality but are a people who, in part, speak a Slavonic language within the context of the German people and state.*
- *... The expression 'Wendish linguistic region' is to be avoided. In case of need one should employ regional terms like Upper or Lower Lusatia, or Spreewald.*
- *The incidence of Wendish speaking, Wendish costume or other manifestations of Wendish custom is no indication of a non-German nationality.*

It is no surprise to discover that the term 'Wendish', utilised in such a dismissive manner in the Nazi era, is considered pejorative today, the term 'Sorbian' being applied in its stead. And as with the 'Wends', so also the Kashubians were likewise to be rescued from their temporary and inappropriate Slavic trappings and welcomed instead into the salvation of true Germandom. Masurians were placed in a different category, considered never to have been Slavic at all, while Upper Silesians thoroughly confounded Nazi ethnic theories and were 'not in general to be described as anything in particular'[16]. Identifying Sorbs, Kashubians and Masurians as German in this manner facilitated the intellectual justification for the incorporation of their territories into a Reich which was intended to be wholly German. The Frisian population had already been mentally incorporated in this way because, as early as 1927 in the days of the Weimar Republic, it had been decided that Frisian was no longer to be considered a separate language but would henceforth be defined as a dialect of German, thereby strengthening German claims to ownership of this particular linguistic area[17]. Investigations into the precise ethnic status of other groups, such as the Góral of the Podhale region in southern Poland – who were eventually deemed to be distinct from

[15] Burleigh, M.; pp 107-08.

[16] 'Richtlinien zur Behandlung der Masuren, Schlonsaken, Oberschlesier und Kaschuben'; cited in Burleigh, M.; pp 185-86.

[17] Herb, G. H.; p 70.

Poles and deserving of acknowledgement in their own right – dragged on through the 1920s and 1930s.

There was even considerable discussion over the seemingly uncontroversial word *Deutschland* – precisely to what area should this label apply? As attitudes hardened during the 1930s, it became politically dangerous to use the word as a label for Germany within its boundaries of the day, since the Nazi view had evolved into a belief that the label *Deutschland* should only be applied to the planned enlarged Germany of the future. Meynen, the *Ostforscher* we have already encountered, managed to write an entire book devoted to this single topic[18]. And within Germany, specific toponymic alterations were taking place. The 1205-metre high Heigelkopf mountain in Bavaria was renamed the Adolf-Hitler-Berg, and Munich – the capital of Bavaria and the city where the Nazi movement had been founded – was lauded with the epithet *Haupstadt der Bewegung* (Capital of the Movement). Also noteworthy, given the ambivalent and sometimes fractious relationship between the Nazi party and the Christian churches, was the formal acknowledgement of the Protestant reformer Martin Luther's association with the Saxon town of Wittenberg. A proposal that had first been mooted in 1922, during the Weimar period, to make Lutherstadt-Wittenberg (rather than Wittenberg *tout court*) the official name of the town, was finally ratified by the Nazi regime in 1938[19].

The grand infrastructure project designed to endow Germany with a network of *Autobahnen* ran hand-in-hand with the development of the automobile which came to be known as the People's Car, or more accurately the *Kraft durch Freude Wagen* (*KdF-Wagen*; Strength through Joy Car)[20]. In order to manufacture this automobile at the Volkswagen factories in Lower Saxony, a complete new town was constructed in 1938 to house the necessary workers, a town which was given the ungainly name of Stadt des KdF-Wagens. Immediately after the war ended, in 1945, the settlement acquired the replacement name Wolfsburg, which it has retained to the present day. Also in Lower Saxony, the settlement of Watenstedt, within the Salzgitter complex, was in April 1942 renamed as Stadt der Hermann-Göring-Werke in honour of Hitler's designated deputy at the time, Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. The settlement reverted to its previous name after the War[21].

[18] Meynen, E., 1935. See also p 277.

[19] See http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lutherstadt_Wittenberg.

[20] This automobile would later gain worldwide familiarity as the Volkswagen 'Beetle'.

[21] See Castillon, M.; p 1; partially available online at http://www.grin.com/e-book/115148/die-stadtneugruendungen-salzgitter-und-wolfsburg-im-dritten-reich-im-spiegel.

Toponymy in the Reich during the Second World War

Once the Second World War had begun, the question of toponymy became all the more important, and it also became more vexing. As part of the drive to remove all traces of Slavic settlement from the expanding Reich, the names of many towns and villages in conquered territories had to be altered – this in order to expunge or 'Germanicize' existing toponyms. In some instances this procedure was relatively straightforward. Thus for the Sudetenland, where toponyms for the most part had dual Czech and German versions, it was possible simply to expunge the Czech-language options and imply that only the German-language forms existed. In this manner a gazetteer of 8,000 names in the Sudetenland was published in 1943, every single one of these names being in the German language only, without any indication at all that there might be another language option for most of them[22]. In similar fashion, steps could be taken to ensure that only German names, rather than those in the Polish or Czech languages, would be used in Silesia.

But elsewhere, beyond the Germany of 1937 and outside the areas of traditional German settlement, the whole process was fraught with difficulties and required complex directives for a proper application. One area where this process was deemed vital was the *Generalgouvernement*, an area to which some one million additional non-German inhabitants of the Reich had been expelled by mid-1941, adding to the crowded population density already present. The *Generalgouvernement* was a Nazi-created administrative region established in October 1939 in the area of Poland encompassing Warsaw, Kraków & Lwów, stretching from the edge of the Reich to the Nazi-Soviet demarcation line. It was intended to function as a zone of labour (*Arbeitsbereich*) for the Reich. In essence it formed the rump of the Polish state, but it was given this peculiarly anodyne name because, as we shall see later, no reference to 'Poland' was to be permitted[23]. In August 1940, publication took place of the *Richtlinien für die Umbenennung von Strassennamen in den Städten des Generalgouvernements* (Guidelines on the renaming of streets in the towns of the *Generalgouvernement*), a vitally important toponymic document which contained statements such as the following[24]:

- With the renaming of main squares in the towns of the Generalgouvernement as 'Adolf Hitler Square' it will be necessary:

[22] Förster, W, 1943.
[23] See p 290.
[24] Burleigh, M; p 174.

- To check the names of existing streets and public squares for the presence of places named after anti-German personalities, events, Jews, and how these are to be obliterated and replaced by other names.
- In renaming, one should try to choose names which are closely bound up with the history of Germandom or German cultural achievements.
- If one opts for translations, it is to be borne in mind that these translations should be as complete and grammatically accurate as possible.

These *Guidelines* continued with some helpful suggestions for the toponymic fabricator. In Poland, for instance, all features bearing the names of Poles considered to be anti-German would naturally have to be altered, as would all features named after Jews. In their stead, the newly chosen toponyms must recall the names of worthy Germans who had been the bearers of German civilisation and could perhaps provide proof of a German presence in the vicinity's past. In commenting on the methods to be utilised for translation, the *Guidelines* became quite prescriptive: 'In literal translations one should take care that the grammar has been grasped correctly .. [*e.g.* the] translation of the term *Rynek Kleparski* must not be *Ring Kleparski* but *Klöpperer Ring*'[25]. All in all, the *Guidelines* read today as some grotesque parody *avant l'heure* of the valuable series of *Toponymic Guidelines for Map and Other Editors*, which would be initiated by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names several decades later.

To effect such changes, a commission was set up in each area of administration, consisting of *Ostforscher*, local government officials, and local German burghers. In *Oberschlesien* (Upper Silesia), for example, the commission had 16 members, and was considered sufficiently important to be chaired by the regional Nazi party *Oberpräsident* Josef Wagner. In the area known as the *Wartheland* approximately 5,000 names had to be invented, a feat which seriously taxed the imagination of the commission for that area. Among the most significant of the invented city names can be counted Leslau for Włocławek, Schröttersburg for Płock, and Litzmannstadt for the great city of Łódź. Karl Litzmann had been a general in the German army during the First World War and his military efforts in the Łódź region at that time were now rewarded by the bestowal of his name on the city. Nor was his legacy limited to that single recognition; the small town of Brzeziny a little to the east of Łódź was

[25] Burleigh, M; p 176.

renamed Löwenstadt in his honour too[26]. The chilling reality of these imposed names can be seen in the mapping published by the German military at the time. On the 1944 edition of the *Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1:100,000* one finds only the city name Litzmannstadt and nearby town name Löwenstadt, with no mention at all of the Polish alternatives to these two toponyms[27].

There were significant changes elsewhere too, like Gotenhafen for the hitherto entirely Polish port of Gdynia, and Himmlerstadt for Zamość in the *Generalgouvernement* – the latter in honour of *Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS. Village names were changed also; thus Skierbieszów, near Lublin in the *Generalgouvernment*, became Heidenstein, and Piątek in the *Wartheland* became Quadenstadt. By the end of 1941 some 7,500 names from West Prussia and the *Wartheland* had been 'processed' (*i.e.* changed), but a further 10,000 politically unacceptable names still required examination. The colossal amount of work involved in all this; the research into and determination of the names, the card-indexing and cross-referencing, the portrayal of new names in maps and documents – and all during a time of war – go together to provide the strongest possible indicator of the political importance attached to this toponymic effort.

The name *Wartheland* itself, derived from the river name Warthe (Polish *Warta*), was an example of an administrative toponym created under National Socialism. In its full official form it was the *Reichsgau Wartheland* and was often colloquially abbreviated to *Warthegau*. This was a Nazi-created administrative region of Poland established in January 1940, centred on Poznań and Łódź and approximating to the Polish region of Wielkopolska. The word-final element *-gau*, which had traditionally properly been used to denote small regions of Germany (such as Breisgau), had already been appropriated before the War by the Nazis as a generic term for the territorial-administrative regions of the Nazi party organisation within the Reich. Just over forty of these *Gaue* were created, each such unit being overseen by a *Gauleiter*. The closely related term *Reichsgau* was applied to political-administrative units of the Reich outside the borders of 1937 Germany; that is to say, outside what

[26] Löwenstadt means 'Lion's Town'; Litzmann had been known as the 'Lion of Brzeziny' (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brzeziny).

[27] Many of the sheets of this and other related map series can be viewed online at the website of the ***Archiwum Map Wojskowego Instytutu Geograficznego 1919-1939*** http://www.mapywig.org. Viewing these sheets is an informative exercise in vicariously reliving the toponymic reality of Nazi occupation. This particular sheet (Sheet 356) can be seen at: http://www.mapywig.org/m/German_maps/German_WIG/Grossblatt_356_Kutno-Lowicz-Litzmannstadt-Skierniewice_1944.jpg

had become known as the *Altreich*. Certain other administrative-territorial titles also became inextricably linked with National Socialism. Apart from the *Generalgouvernement*, perhaps the best known is that for the Czech lands: *Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren* (Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia).

The administrative-territorial units as constituted in the year 1943 can be seen in the following list, and of particular interest are perhaps those units lying wholly or principally outside the 1937 *Altreich* borders. The list of such units, with their administrative centres, is:

Wien (*Reichsgau*)	Wien
Niederdonau (*Reichsgau*)	Krems
Oberdonau (*Reichsgau*)	Linz
Steiermark (*Reichsgau*)	Graz
Kärnten (*Reichsgau*)	Klagenfurt
Salzburg (*Reichsgau*)	Salzburg
Tirol und Vorarlberg (*Reichsgau*)	Innsbruck
Sudetenland (*Reichsgau*)	Reichenberg [now Liberec, Czech Republic]
Danzig-Westpreussen (*Reichsgau*)	Danzig [now Gdańsk, Poland]
Wartheland (*Reichsgau*)	Posen [now Poznań, Poland]
Böhmen und Mähren (*Protektorat*)	Prag [now Praha (Prague), Czech Republic]
Generalgouvernement	Krakau [now Kraków, Poland]

This list unequivocally reflects the total assimilation of Austria, Poland, and the Czech portion of Czechoslovakia into the *Grossdeutsches Reich* and, as the inevitable corollary of this, those countries were conspicuously absent from the list of independent countries in German publications of the period. For example in the index of some 2000 toponyms from around the world listed in the 1944 edition of the celebrated *Gothäisches Jahrbuch*[28], these three countries do not feature at all.

This toponymic effort was by no means a simple clerical affair limited to the office and the cartographic establishment. It very much took place on the ground too. In occupied Czechoslovakia, for instance, Czech road signs were removed so that bilingual German/Czech versions could replace them. Directional indicators now pointed to *Königgrätz / Hradec Králové*, to *Brünn*

[28] ***Gothäisches Jahrbuch für Diplomatie, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft 1944***; Justus Perthes, 1944.

/ Brno, to *Budweis / České Budějovice* and to *Kuttenberg / Kutná Hora*, with the German language names placed above those in Czech. As with the directional signs, street names were also obliged to show the German language form first (for example *Moldaulände / Vltavské Nábřeží*)[29]. These changes were coupled with an edict that traffic in Czechoslovakia would henceforth drive on the right rather than the left, so that traffic regulations would be in harmony with elsewhere in the Reich[30]. On at least one occasion a toponym was invented to denote a fictitious location. In October 1940 some 300 inmates of an old people's home in the *Wartheland* town of Kalisch (Polish *Kalisz*) were prised from their place of residence by the promise of a bright future in an attractive settlement named Padernice. In reality no such place existed, and once removed from their home these elderly unfortunates were simply taken to the woods in the nearby hamlet of Winiary and murdered[31].

Toponyms of this period include the names of towns associated with the manufacture of weaponry, such as Peenemünde on the north German coast, site of an important guided missile construction plant where many forced labourers worked. And grimly, some of the most familiar toponyms of all are those related to the prison camp system; the concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager*) and the extermination camps (*Vernichtungslager*) of the Reich. Examples of these and other significant locations of forced labour and death are listed here, with the dates they came into operation:

Konzentrationslager	Vernichtungslager
Auschwitz 1940	Auschwitz-Birkenau (=Auschwitz II) 1941
Auschwitz-Monowitz 1941	Belzec 1942
Bergen-Belsen 1943	Jungfernhof 1941
Buchenwald 1937	Kulmhof 1941
Dachau 1933	Majdanek 1942
Flossenbürg 1938	Maly Trostinets 1942
Gross-Rosen 1940	Sobibor 1942
Mauthausen 1938	Treblinka 1942
Natzweiler-Struthof 1940	
Neuengamme 1940	

[29] Official decrees, documents, etc, were also to be bilingual in German and Czech, with the German form first, but certain key words such as *Führer* were deemed too grand to translate and were to appear in German form only, whatever the language.

[30] Decree of 26 March 1939.

[31] Gilbert, M; p 51.

Theresienstadt 1941
Ravensbrück 1939
Sachsenhausen 1936
Stutthof 1940

There were other *Konzentrationslager* of smaller size and lesser significance, some existing for only a short period particularly during the early years of the Nazi regime. There was in a manner of speaking a geographical distinction between the two types of camp. The *Vernichtungslager* (extermination camps) were exclusively sited in territory beyond the *Altreich*, whereas many of the *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camps) were located within Germany's pre-War boundaries[32]. But, wherever their location, there is a terrible association attached to these toponyms, which had it not been for the Third Reich would for the most part have remained obscure. Only Dachau, site of the first *Konzentrationslager* in 1933 and located not far to the north of Munich, was a reasonably well-known small town in its own right, though Sachsenhausen was close to a major settlement, Oranienburg, and was indeed scarcely more than twenty miles from Berlin. Bergen and Belsen were inconspicuous small villages; Buchenwald simply a wooded hill; Neuengamme little more than a suburb of Hamburg. Bełżec, Majdanek, Sobibór and Treblinka were minor settlements in Poland[33]. Birkenau, Gross-Rosen and Kulmhof were the German names for the Polish settlements of Brzezinka, Rogoźnica and Chełmno respectively. Auschwitz was the German name for Oświęcim in Poland; Jungfernhof the German name for Jumpravmuiža near Rīga in Latvia. Natzweiler-Struthof, located at present-day Natzwiller in France, was a quarry from which a rare form of red granite was extracted for the grandiose building programmes of the Reich[34].

Occasionally, a camp complex served both functions simultaneously, operating as both *Konzentrationslager* and *Vernichtungslager*. This was true of the Auschwitz complex and also of Belzec, Majdanek and Treblinka. Several camps spawned offshoots; Mauthausen in Austria possessed as many as 45 satellite camps. These too developed their own nomenclature; for instance a satellite camp of Neuengamme was known as *Konzentrationslager*

[32] Mauthausen in Austria and Theresienstadt in Bohemia (Czech *Terezín*) were among the exceptions.

[33] Bełżec and Sobibór are here given their Polish spelling in their capacity as settlements in Poland; as extermination camps they would be spelt in the German fashion as Belzec and Sobibor.

[34] Overy, R; p 605.

Fuhlsbüttel and came to acquire the colloquial abbreviation *Kola-Fu*. The original Treblinka camp was followed alongside by the extermination camp *Treblinka II*, known colloquially as *T-II*. In 1944 the Buchenwald camp opened a nearby *Dora-Mittelbau* camp. The camp authorities actually perceived some considerable prestige in the award of the title of *Konzentrationslager*, and at one point the number of camps which could legitimately use this appellation was strictly limited to six, these being Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen.

Even for those camps which today are located in countries other than Germany (*e.g.* Auschwitz, located at present-day Oświęcim in Poland), it seems inappropriate to consider any name other than that relevant to the German language[35]. Their names are so inextricably associated with the Nazi regime[36]. Indeed, Poles are most irritated at any slipshod wording which suggests that because these camps are in the Poland of today they might somehow have been under Polish jurisdiction during the War. In just one single month – July 2004 – both the Canadian ambassador to Poland and the leader of the British Conservative Party at the time were separately taken to task by the Polish authorities, each for having loosely spoken of a 'Polish concentration camp' rather than more accurately as a 'Nazi concentration camp located within the territory of present-day Poland'[37]. Visitors to Auschwitz can see very clearly that local signage makes no correspondence at all between the name of the *Konzentrationslager* – Auschwitz – and the corresponding Polish-language name for the nearby town, Oświęcim[38]. In similar vein, France today prefers to call the Natzweiler camp in Alsace 'Le Struthof', the German name being too akin to the present French village name of Natzwiller. The toponymy of association can be too painful a cross to bear.

As the military might of the Reich spread eastwards from 1941, concerned to occupy as much Soviet territory as possible and engaged in what Hitler regarded as a battle to the death with Bolshevism, so the rationale for using traditional *Volksboden* and *Kulturboden* arguments for expansion waned.

[35] See Jordan, P.; pp 87-92.

[36] Though note that use of two of the camps, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, was continued by the Soviet authorities after the end of the Second World War, until about 1950.

[37] Source = Polish News Agency PAP, Warsaw; in English on 20 July 2004 (Canadian ambassador) and in Polish on 23 July 2004 (British Conservative Party leader); both reports courtesy of BBC Monitoring.

[38] For more on this subject, see Charlesworth A., Stenning A., Guzik R. & Paszkowski M.; pp 149-72; available online at http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/zaklady/zrr/publikacje/pdf/guzik%20place%20and%20ethics%20article.pdf

Almost any territory was now considered fair game, and from about 1942 the philosophies of *Volksboden* and *Kulturboden* were considered redundant, with the production of traditional maps designed along these themes being discouraged[39].

The toponymic manifestations of National Socialism were of course only one part of a wider phenomenon, to do with culture, language and identity. It was imperative to the Nazis that alien cultures should not survive the onslaught which was to be unleashed upon them. National memorials were to be destroyed and national artefacts looted. Performances of the Czech composer Bedřich Smetana's opera *Libuše* were banned because the work 'includes a prophecy that the Czech nation will never perish'[40]. As early as November 1939, all Polish-language schools in western Poland were closed, and those in the *Generalgouvernement* remained open only on condition that potentially subversive subjects such as history and geography, which might arouse an interest in national self-consciousness, would not be taught[41]. Indeed, the architects of this cultural annihilation thought it best that those who would be subservient to the Reich should not have access to much formal education at all. Himmler summarised the Nazi attitude to the education of non-Germans in his following list of objectives: '…simple arithmetic up to 500 at the most; writing of one's name; a doctrine that it is a divine law to obey the Germans and to be honest, industrious and good. I don't think that reading should be required'; to which Hitler added helpfully that an ability to recognise traffic signs and understand German-language orders issued over a loudspeaker might prove useful additional skills[42].

The intended toponymy of the Reich

Less familiar than the toponymy which did appear under National Socialist rule is the toponymy that was planned but which, because of the direction taken by the course of the war, did not materialise. On the very broadest scale, and therefore sometimes overlooked, the Reich intended the permanent abolition of entire countries, with the resulting loss of country names such as Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Austria, of course, had already disappeared as an independent country in 1938. Mazower notes that these 'very names were to be erased from the map' and cites Nazi propaganda minister

[39] Herb, G. H.; p 180.
[40] Kamenetsky, I.; p 114.
[41] Kamenetsky, I.; p 105.
[42] Kamenetsky, I.; pp 106-07.

Josef Goebbels as encouraging use of the labels 'Government-General' and 'Protectorate' *tout court* for the occupied territories of Poland and Bohemia-Moravia respectively, without any application of the accompanying country names[43]. Even by 1938, the name Czechoslovakia had found itself threatened, undermined by its having been hyphenated to Czecho-Slovakia following the substantial measure of autonomy given to Slovakia that year by the Prague government, under Nazi duress.

Poland was an exceptional case. It was to disappear absolutely; not just in the future or the present, but even retrospectively. Nazi material giving reference to Poland in the past took to avoiding use of the country name at all, instead labelling the territory as *ehemals polnischer Raum* (former Polish space). Thus the 1944 German general staff map catalogue comprising Poland and its surroundings was titled *Planheft Osteuropa ehemals Polnischer Raum*[44]. On military map sheets which had not yet incorporated the full gamut of intended toponymic changes, a warning note was added that the sheet was *mit vorläufigen Ortsnamenänderungen* (with provisional place name modifications), the implication being that further toponymic negation of Polish roots could be expected[45]. Nazi racial adviser Otto Reche asserted that there must not on any account be 'a Polish state, even as a protectorate, or any kind of self-contained Polish settlement area … all traces of *Polentum* must disappear from the area of German settlement'[46].

Nor was Reche content to stop at Poland. In 1942 he noted with satisfaction that the terms *Russland* (Russia) and *Russisch* (Russian) were now rarely used in contemporary German media, and he looked forward to their complete eradication so that the territory could be split into myriad small administrative-territorial components which resurrected mediaeval regional labels such as 'Vyatka'[47]. Nor were these plans designed exclusively for the east; it is quite possible that parts of France might also eventually have been dissected into various *Reichsländer*. There is for example a suggestion that Himmler wished ultimately to re-create Burgundy as *Reichsland Burgund*[48].

[43] Mazower, M.; p 149. The 'Government-General' is the *Generalgouvernement*.

[44] This catalogue can be viewed online at http://www.mapywig.org/m_documents/DE/Planheft_OSTEUROPA_ehemals_Polnischer_Raum_1944_(small).pdf

[45] See for example sheet 411 of the *Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1:100,000* map series, viewable online at http://www.mapywig.org/m/German_maps/German_WIG/Grossblatt_411_Babia_Gora-Rabka-Chyzne-Zakopane.jpg

[46] 'Leitsätze zur bevölkerungspolitischen Sicherung des deutschen Ostens'; cited in Burleigh, M; p 153.

[47] Burleigh, M; pp 202-04.

[48] Koehl, R L; p 128.

Perhaps the most striking example of the intended Nazi changes at a more local level was the planned alteration to the name of Germany's capital city. Had Nazi plans finally come to fruition, with Berlin the focus of the thousand-year Reich, it was envisaged that the name of that city itself would be ceremonially altered. The name chosen for this planned new Berlin – the *Welthaupstadt* (World Capital) and 'World City of the Future' as Hitler and his principal architect Albert Speer saw it – was *Germania*, taken from the title of the first century AD work by the Roman chronicler Tacitus, a work which was complimentary towards the fighting qualities of the proto-German barbarians in their efforts at combating Roman troops – though any direct connection between the proto-Germans of the Tacitus era and the German people of the mid-twentieth century was of course tenuous in the extreme[49].

Further changes, outside Germany as it was presently constituted, were also in the pipeline. During the epic nine-hundred-day siege of Leningrad in the Soviet Union, plans to erase that city were made by the Nazi besiegers, as indicated by Secret Directive No 1a 1601/41 of 1941: 'The Führer has decided to raze the city of Petersburg from the face of the earth. After the defeat of Soviet Russia there will be not the slightest reason for the future existence of this large city'[50]. The German navy had hoped that a harbour facility might be allowed to remain after the destruction of Leningrad, to utilise the outlook on to the Gulf of Finland. But Hitler forbade even this. Thus, had the Nazi siege succeeded, the city of Leningrad – the city of Peter the Great – would have disappeared from the map, never to have the opportunity, half a century later, of marking the end of its own Soviet days by reverting to its former name *Sankt-Peterburg*. Moscow was similarly destined under Nazi plans to be razed to the ground, the Russian name Moskva thus disappearing as a toponym, though in this particular instance the city was to have been replaced by a large artificial lake. Hitler was adamant that both Leningrad and Moscow should be utterly destroyed because "the annihilation of these cities would be tantamount to a national catastrophe which [would] deprive not only Bolshevism but also Muscovite nationalism of their centres"[51].

Of course, Nazi plans stretched far beyond determining the individual fates of great Slavic cities. From 1941 onwards there was in existence an immense

[49] This is a classic example of a book construed – perhaps wantonly – by a particular readership in a manner contrary to that intended by its author. See Krebs, C. B.; chapter 8, especially p 219.

[50] Salisbury, H. E.; pp 415-16.

[51] Dallin, A; p 76.

Generalplan-Ost, a plan for the eastern territories that was vast in scope and designed for that future time when there would be permanent German rule over all lands west of the Urals. This plan involved, *inter alia*, reconstituting the entire ethnic map between Germany and the Urals, by means of projects and directives for a massive resettlement of ethnic groups. Each *Gau* which was to form part of the expanded German *Lebensraum*, west of the Urals, had to become completely German, with no settlement whatsoever by any of the other ethnic groups, such as Poles and Ukrainians, who were currently present there. Any non-Germans present in those areas who were not destined for extermination would be despatched beyond the *Lebensraum* and therefore east of the Urals, where they would effectively be removed from concern. In essence, therefore, "a clear line of demarcation was to be created between Germans and Slavs"[52].

Once the German invasion of the Soviet space from the summer of 1941 had reached its anticipated conclusion, it was planned that the conquered region would be divided into four main administrative areas: *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (RKO: the area northwards from Minsk and Vilnius to the Gulf of Finland); *Reichskommissariat Ukraina* (RKU: the area south-east of Brest towards the Black Sea and the river Don); *Reichskommissariat Moskau* (RKM: the area from Moscow eastwards to the Urals and northwards to the White Sea); and *Reichskommissariat Kaukasie* (RKK: the area of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia)[53]. These administrative areas were placed under the charge of the *Ostministerium*[54], headed by *Reichsminister* Alfred Rosenberg, chief Nazi theoretician of the *Generalplan-Ost*. In fact, though, because of the unsuccessful manner in which the invasion unfolded, only the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* and the *Reichskommissariat Ukraina* ever functioned at all as anticipated.

Within the overall objective of a clear demarcation between Germans and Slavs, there were groups whose position in the re-settlement plans required particularly careful consideration. We have already seen for example that the Sorbs were, irrationally but quite straightforwardly, to be categorised as ethnic Germans and left undisturbed. And Nazi Germany also experienced a difficulty, unusually one of a diplomatic nature, concerning the Südtirol, populated mainly by ethnic Germans but politically incorporated since 1918 into Italy, the Axis

[52] Koehl, R. L.; p 53.

[53] See for example Dallin, A; pp 53-6.

[54] *Ostministerium* was the everyday contraction of the Ministry's full title: *Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete* (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories).

partner of the German Reich, under the Italian name Alto Adige. As we have seen, a principal German aim was to incorporate all ethnic Germans into the expanded Reich, but Berlin could not afford to offend Italy by suggesting that the Reich should incorporate the territory of the Südtirol/Alto Adige. On the other hand, however, the Italian *Duce* Benito Mussolini was most reluctant to allow this sizeable group of ethnic Germans to remain within Italy.

Accordingly, it was agreed that this mountainous territory should remain part of Italy, but also that its entire group of ethnic Germans should be relocated to Crimea – scheduled for incorporation within the expanded Reich – where it was bizarrely considered that they would not feel homesick[55]. To help justify this proposal, German scholars attempted to ascribe a Germanic ethnicity to the Goths who had once lived in Crimea, and strove to uncover evidence of former Teutonic settlement there. The results of this *Ostforschung* would, in their eyes, prove satisfactorily that Crimea belonged to the *Kulturboden*, thus legitimising not only the planned German settlement of Crimea but also the planned expulsion of the present unwanted inhabitants of the peninsula: Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians and Jews. As a tribute to this supposed historical background, which as Neal Ascherson has noted was in reality a 'version of pseudo-history and political legitimation'[56], the Crimean peninsula would be renamed *Gotengau*, and the two cities of Simferopol' and Sevastopol' would take the names *Gotenburg* and *Theodorichshafen* respectively. The retrieved Gothic and Germanic background would also provide justification for this fertile peninsula to be brought under the direct jurisdiction of the Reich, with fast new *Autobahn* connections to and from the *Generalgouvernement*, rather than administered as part of neighbouring occupied Ukraine.

Hitler took the relinquishment of the Südtirol sufficiently seriously to order, in the spring of 1941, the destruction of all copies of a Nazi-produced map which had shown the region as for the most part ethnically German. Moreover, he threw into jail those responsible for this essentially truthful map[57]. However, although the German army entered Crimea in the autumn of 1941, and was not expelled until the spring of 1944, the grandiose resettlement plans did not effectively materialise in any meaningful fashion. It quickly became apparent that a precipitate expulsion of the existing population would cause an economic collapse in Crimea, and hence thought was instead given to the

[55] Apart from this belief being in itself bizarre, note also that in any case only about one-third of Crimea is in fact hilly, the remainder being flat and largely featureless.

[56] Ascherson, N; p 27.

[57] Herb, G H; p 168.

possible usefulness of leaving at least the Tatars in place. Further, the question of precisely which categories of deserving German (in addition to those from the Südtirol) should settle there was never resolved. As a result, despite more than two years of Nazi occupation in Crimea between late 1941 and early 1944, the intended toponymic renamings were never properly put into place.

In 1933, the same year that saw the National Socialist party achieve power, a 40-year-old German geographer named Walter Christaller published an academic paper showing how the apparently randomly arranged urban and rural settlement patterns of Bavaria could in reality be interpreted as a structured hierarchical arrangement[58]. Christaller's work, coupled with work of a similar nature undertaken by his compatriot August Lösch, has since become very well known to geographers globally under the name of central place theory. It has been taught in the post-war period as part of geography undergraduate courses at universities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, including within my own undergraduate course at the University of Manchester in the period 1968-1971. What has not customarily been mentioned as part of those courses is the fact that from 1940 Christaller was employed by the Nazi *Reichskommission für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums* (RKFDV: *Reich Commission for the Strengthening of Germandom*), which was a *Schutzstaffel* [SS] organisation under the direction of *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler. This Commission saw in Christaller's work a model that could aptly be fitted into the *Generalplan-Ost*, the ambitious plan already mentioned in this paper, which would not only redraw the Slav lands administratively but would also construct an advantageous arrangement of future settlement patterns in an eastern Europe ravaged and devastated by the planned German conquest[59]. On the regularly flat terrain provided by much of the expanded Reich, in Poland, White Russia and Ukraine, and with existing towns and villages razed to the ground by the depredations of military action, future settlement patterns could be arranged as if on a *tabula rasa*, to maximise the economic and social advantage of the conquering power, with the rural areas working for the benefit of the hierarchy of towns. On to this devastated landscape, across the extent of the new thousand-year Reich, outside the 1937 boundaries of Germany, repeated hierarchical patterns of new and regularly spaced settle-

[58] Christaller, W., 1933. For further details see *e.g.* Haggett, P., 1965; Chorley, R. J. & Haggett, P. (eds), 1967.

[59] See http://www.geog.ubc.ca/~tbarnes/pdf/CHAPTER_Central_Place_Theory.pdf The author of this webpage, Professor T. J. Barnes of the University of British Columbia, also suggests that, unlike Christaller, Lösch had no time for any political appropriations of his theories.

ments would be created, all to be endowed with suitably appropriate German language toponyms[60]. In the event, of course, this scheme came to nought.

None of the above is intended to suggest that the policies of Hitler and the National Socialist party were a logical extension of geographical determinist thought. To be sure, the determinist school of thought was indeed very largely German[61], but the policies of the Nazi Reich from 1933 to 1945 were, it goes without saying, qualitatively quite different. They were the product of a group of men determined to effect the domination of their race over the European political and cultural order. It was no more than convenient that there were acolytes to hand who were willing to appropriate geographical determinism into a crude and ugly support of Nazi racial theories.

A landscape of aggression

One evening in the late summer of 2002, while staying in the German capital of Berlin to participate in a United Nations conference being held in that city, I found myself attending a reception in the Reichstag, the parliament building famously re-designed by Norman Foster following the reunification of Germany just over a decade previously. I saw at first hand how from the vantage point of the cupola of the building one can look both upwards through the transparent dome to the sky above, and downwards to the floor of the parliament itself, at ground level far below. The whole vista takes on an impressive aspect of space and openness, and on this particular evening the effect was magnified thanks to the accompaniment of a dramatic electrical storm which happened to be raging over the city at the time. 'You see', said a companion, an official in the German government who had spotted me observing this scene, 'everything in this building is open and transparent – so that such things cannot happen again.'

My companion did not say more; nor did he need to. His statement, his reference to 'such things', required neither elaboration nor decoding. The symbolism of the building's openness and transparency lay in demonstrating the determination of today's Germany to prevent any repeat of its disastrous period of National Socialism. That summer night's storm at the Reichstag was not to be the harbinger of any new *Götterdämmerung*. But the scene

[60] Bialucha, S.: *Kutno / Raumordnungsskizze* ('Kutno / Sketch of Spatial Arrangement'), from *Nationalsozialistische Raumplanung im Generalplan Ost*, 1998, http://www-users.rwth-aachen.de/stefan.bialucha/GeneralplanOst.htm [apparently no longer available].

[61] Though by no means exclusively so; there were notable schools of determinism in other countries too, such as the United States.

set me thinking about the toponymic reality of the landscape of aggression that, as we have seen, German National Socialism had inflicted upon Europe in the mid-twentieth century, and how this might fit into a consideration of the toponymic philosophy underpinning geographical names in general. By 'toponymic philosophy' I mean the essentially basic and yet at the same time frustratingly difficult issues which have been confronting the members of the Working Group on Exonyms of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) since the inception of that Working Group by means of a United Nations resolution adopted at that same Berlin conference in 2002[62]. Some of these issues are very basic indeed to toponymy, perhaps none more so than the fundamental question of the 'endonym' and the 'exonym'. I have already endeavoured elsewhere to consider the nature of and relationship between these two types of toponym[63], and at this juncture it might be useful to remind ourselves of the current UNGEGN working definitions of the two terms:

> **Endonym**: Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated.
>
> **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[64].

We can observe a thread running throughout Nazi history that identifies the significance of language as a vital mechanism of support for authority. As just one example, we can note that, within the Reich, German-language labels became the only permitted forms of toponyms in non-German pub-

[62] See the document ***Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Berlin, 27 August – 5 September 2002***, available as Document E/CONF.94/3 of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs and published by the United Nations, New York, 2003. The relevant resolution is numbered VIII/4 and entitled *Working Group on Exonyms of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names*. The document is also available online at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/eighthUNCSGN.htm

[63] See the present author's paper ***The Nature of the Endonym***; presented as Working Paper № 1 to the Twenty-Fifth Session of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, Nairobi, 5–12 May 2009. This paper is available online at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/25th-GEGN-Docs/WP%20papers/WP1-NatureOfEndonyms-WG.pdf

[64] ***Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names: Addendum***, United Nations, 16 November 2007, Document ST/ESA/STAT/SER.M/85/Add.1, 07-60262, available online in all six working languages of the UNGEGN – for the English language version see http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/glossary_add/glossary_add_e.pdf

lications. Hence exonyms such as the Czech name Videň (for Vienna) were banned, and the German endonym Wien became the only permitted label for that city[65]. To be sure, it is only to be expected that German was intended as the language of the Reich, no matter how far that territorial creation might ultimately expand into Slavic and other linguistically non-German lands. Indeed, some terms inherent to German National Socialism were designated simply too sacrosanct to be tolerated in translation; Hitler's own designation as *Führer* being the prime example of this, as we have seen[66]. But the example of Videň shows that this promotion of the German language was not merely designed to allow German to run in parallel with existing languages; instead the promotion went hand in hand with the attempted obliteration of other languages that were rivals for the same linguistic space. The use of Polish, for example, was in many areas banned altogether, even notionally in private[67].

At best, certain languages might be tolerated to a degree as long as they were in every respect subservient to German – and provided that no exonyms such as Videň were employed. This limited tolerance applied to Czech, which was still permitted (though only at the most local level of administration) within the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. It also applied to Ukrainian in Ukraine, where Nazi policy deemed it politically expedient to allow a partly anti-Soviet and hence potentially non-hostile population some access to their own language. The puppet regimes established by the Nazis in Slovakia and Croatia were allowed some licence for their own languages too. Slovakia had under Nazi tutelage become a newly pseudo-independent state, with Slovak the sole official language for the first time in that land. In Croatia, the authorities were swift in taking advantage of this newly available linguistic opportunity to promote their own local agendas. Only two months after the April 1941 establishment of the Nazi-sponsored *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* (NDH: Independent State of Croatia), which was centred in the Croatian capital Zagreb but which encompassed not only Croatia but Bosnia and Herzegovina too, the Zagreb authorities imparted an insult on Bosnia by pronouncing that the spelling of the Bosnian capital – Sarajevo – was in fact a foreign corruption which should henceforth be re-spelt in what was dubiously claimed to be the Croatian form Sarajvo [*sic*]. This spelling alteration was decreed in June 1941, but although agencies and organs in Zagreb did at first make the change, and in some instances had even done so in advance of

[65] Kamusella, T.: p 770.
[66] See footnote 29 on p 286.
[67] Kamusella, T.: p 611.

the decree, attempts at enforcing the altered spelling locally in Sarajevo were so ineffectual that the decree was in fact subsequently reversed[68].

But the events described in this paper are indicative of the intrinsic power not just of language as a whole, but also more specifically of toponymy. The period of the Third Reich demonstrated that place names can possess huge intrinsic psychological power. In the passage concerning the nine-hundred-day siege of Leningrad, we noted that the Nazi regime used a Germanic toponymic form – Petersburg – to refer to the Baltic city which since 1924 had officially been named Leningrad[69]. This did not reflect the straightforward usage of a conventional name, for in fact there was no particular German conventional name for Leningrad. Instead it reflected vividly the utter distaste that using a toponym of Bolshevik creation within the context of German National Socialist speech would involve, a distaste felt particularly of course in a toponym which contained the name of no less a figure than the architect of the Soviet Union himself. For analogous reasons, the city of Stalingrad became imbued in the early 1940s with a symbolic meaningfulness for the Nazi regime that was arguably well beyond its significance in any political or military sense – simply because it bore the name of the then General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As with Leningrad, a city flaunting such a politically brazen name as Stalingrad acted as a red rag to the Nazi bull; it quite simply had to be attacked and destroyed, as a matter of priority and irrespective of the consequences.

In earlier pages we have noted that, as Germany expanded its scope and influence at the expense of its European neighbours, she endeavoured to establish her own identity on the territories which she annexed and occupied. Expanding on just one toponymic example, on April 11th 1940 Nazi *Gauleiter* Arthur Greiser decreed that the Polish city of Łódź, now located within the *Reichsgau Wartheland* of which he was controller, would henceforth be named Litzmannstadt[70]. The Polish-language name Łódź had been adopted as the endonym for this settlement over many centuries, having first appeared in the form *Łodzia* in the fourteenth century[71]. Although the word Łódź actually means ‘boat’ in Polish, the origin of this particular toponym is more likely to have been the little river Łódka which runs adjacent to the settlement. Łódź

[68] Greble, E.: p 74.

[69] See p 291.

[70] Mosel, W.: ***Hamburg Deportation Transport to Litzmannstadt (Lodz)***; [chapter 7, final sentence]: published online at http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a035//Litzmannstadt.html See also pp 283-84.

[71] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%81%C3%B3d%C5%BA

is a classic endonym; a stable name in the language of the settled population and with its roots in the local topography. Yet one day in the spring of 1940 an outside regime – one that had imposed itself on this part of Poland and overthrown the established social order – suddenly claimed that the name Łódź was now dead, and was to be replaced by a name of that outside regime's own choosing. It was the brutal and precipitate suddenness of this German action, taken against the volition of the settled Polish population and in an area containing no German population of significance, which differentiated this name from other German names (*e.g.* Breslau) in other parts of Poland where Poles and Germans had been lawfully settled side-by-side for generations. As Mazower puts it[72]:

> *Nineteenth-century Germanization in Poland had been a gradual process, with culture and language providing for a gradual transmission of German values to the population at large.… In sharp contrast, exclusion, separation and extermination were the guiding principles of Nazi policy. The occupied territories were to be Germanized by force and as quickly as possible…Germanization involved a fully-fledged policy of cultural denial.*

It is easy to see that the imposition of the name Litzmannstadt was part of an assault on the liberty of the settled Polish population, but it was more than that; it was an assault on that population's identity. In every conceivable sense, the German name Litzmannstadt was as far removed from the concept of an endonym as it is possible to be – and this is despite the fact that at this particular juncture of history it was, because of wartime conquest, German rather than Polish which was classed as the official language of the area. Despite German claims that Litzmannstadt was the official name, Łódź remained the endonym, the label of the well-established Polish language, even though that language had lost official status. The name Litzmannstadt is unquestionably an exonym and it is graphic and tragic proof of the fact that the nature of a toponym (*i.e.* whether it is an endonym or an exonym) is a wholly separate issue from the status of that toponym (*i.e.* whether it is official or unofficial at any given juncture in time)[73].

A toponymic assault such as that inflicted on the endonym Łódź was very much a feature of the Reich's expansion in Europe. It was just one, albeit hugely significant, manifestation of the blanket ban imposed on the use of

[72] Mazower, M.; p 168.
[73] See also Woodman, P.; *passim*.

languages other than German in official and public situations. Although Germany might have claimed that its people had settled in Łódź and its environs, the fact is that the German population there was not integrated into the social landscape of what they termed the Warthegau. The occupying population remained separate and superficial; the Nazis were outsiders who imposed their own separate cultural geography on the landscape, practising 'exclusion, separation and extermination … a fully-fledged policy of cultural denial', as Mazower puts it[74]. Names imposed under such circumstances of duress cannot be considered as the product of due endonymic processes, and the consequence is that such names – Litzmannstadt, Gotenhafen, Schröttersburg, Leslau, Himmlerstadt, and their like – are all exonyms[75].

Again we see the role of language as an indicator of power. Whilst it is certainly the case that language in general has throughout history possessed a deep political dynamic, nonetheless this particular aspect of language – toponymy – had until the nineteenth century remained largely free from political association. Until that juncture, as a general rule, the language in which a geographical name was conveyed did not overly matter. The conveyor of a name would be expected to use his mother tongue and the reader or listener would usually have a relatively relaxed attitude towards the chosen name form. But, as we have seen, the Age of Nationalism changed all that. The new nationalisms and identities created in the nineteenth century were each underpinned by a flagship language that was essential for the identity of the individual state to be protected and promoted. What the Reich then demonstrated was that if the territorial state were to be expanded in the pursuit of *Lebensraum*, then the flagship language of that state had to be expanded concomitantly if the territorial expansion were to be successful. Without the all-encompassing presence of German, in a self-designated official capacity and largely to the exclusion of rival languages, National Socialist control over the expanded Reich could not properly be achieved. German National Socialism provides us with an extreme example of how language had become a crucial factor in cementing the binary 'self *versus* other' mentality that the creation of nation states had spawned, and it is arguable that the origins of the similarly binary and highly sensitive 'endonyms *versus* exonyms' issue, which so exercises the toponymists of today, can be traced back to the consequences of the Age of Nationalism.

[74] See p 299.
[75] See also pp 283-84.

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Interest in toponymy – the science of geographical names – has since the turn of the twenty-first century become much more widely based, as general awareness of its significance in today's inter-connected world has increased. A geographical name is a label, a symbol of linguistic expression. Where a place has more than one available name, we need to be aware that the name we choose to use may – whether we intend it or not – transmit certain historical, cultural and political signals. In toponymy, we need to deploy experience and diplomacy to ensure that when we use a particular geographical name we are conveying an appropriately sensitive message.

Often, the most significant toponymic choice we need to make in order to identify a place involves the decision whether to use an endonym or an exonym. The distinction between these two fundamental categories of toponym constitutes the basic division in the science of toponymy – it is ***The Great Toponymic Divide*** – and it forms the focus for much of the material presented within these covers.

This publication brings together the recent thoughts of some of the most notable specialists in toponymy, principally as expressed at a meeting of the Working Group on Exonyms of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, held in Gdańsk, Poland, in May 2012. The nineteen articles are edited by Paul Woodman, who for more than thirty years was Secretary of the United Kingdom Permanent Committee on Geographical Names. He has written many papers on toponymy, co-edited the 2007 publication ***Exonyms and the International Standardization of Geographical Names***, and is also co-editor of the ground-breaking toponymic journal ***Name & Place***.

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