

Section 9 Cultural aspects

Chapter 22 Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage

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22.1 Introduction

What is meant by “cultural heritage”, and what makes a geographical name an object of cultural heritage? According to Wikipedia “cultural heritage” is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations. Cultural heritage includes tangible culture (such as buildings, monuments, landscapes, books, works of art, and artifacts), intangible culture (such as folklore, traditions, language, and knowledge), and natural heritage (including culturally significant landscapes, and biodiversity).¹⁾

The subgroup “intangible culture” also includes geographical names, as names are part of a nation’s language(s). However, the intangible aspects of the cultural heritage have attained much less attention than the tangible objects. Although oral traditions, local languages, and names have been looked upon as worthy of protection and preservation, they have not had the same legal status as for example buildings and monuments.

Geographical names (place names) are in fact an important part of the intangible cultural heritage. First of

all, it should be underlined that most geographical names were coined at the very spot where they are used – or were used, if they have gone into oblivion. Thus, they are memories of the place as well of the people who gave the names.

Secondly, geographical names normally contain linguistic elements which are semantically related to the scene of naming. That means that they tell something about the place and the circumstances at the time of the coining of the name.

Thirdly, the linguistic material contained in the geographical names is a valuable source for the study of language history.

Every name may be considered as a window to the past; that is to the period of time when the name came into being. Many geographical names have been borrowed and reused in other places where they did not belong originally. Such names are, however, also historical documents as they convey information on the background of the name givers, for instance their original homeland and the emotional ties to where they came from.

Every area, every greater or smaller part of the Earth’s surface, has a number of geographical names that together make up an important part of the area’s history. It is a matter that touches upon almost every kind of human activity as well as natural circumstances.

22.2 United Nations and geographical names as cultural heritage

Geographical names as cultural heritage have for many years been on the agenda of UNGEGN sessions, and the United Nations Conferences on Geographical Names have adopted several resolutions relating mainly or partly to this topic. The resolutions can be accessed at the following website: https://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNEGN/docs/RES_UN_E%20updated_1-10%20CONF.pdf . At this point we give the title of the resolutions in question and number of conference as well as the number of resolution in sequence:

V/6 Promotion of national and international geographical names standardization programmes

VIII/9 Geographical names as cultural heritage

IX/4 Geographical names as intangible cultural heritage

IX/10 Support for training and publications

X/3 Criteria for establishing and evaluating the nature of geographical names as cultural heritage

X/4 Discouraging the commercialization of geographical names

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

Geographical names as a part of the world’s cultural heritage became more of a focus when UNESCO initiated the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible*

Cultural Heritage. The convention was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 17 October 2003²⁾ and entered into force 20 April 2006 for the thirty States that had ratified it on or before 20 January 2006³⁾. As at 14 April 2015 the Convention had been ratified by 163 states.

Unlike other UNESCO conventions, this convention begins with stating its purposes which are:

- (a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned;
- (c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
- (d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance.

Intangible cultural heritage refers to "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts" ⁴⁾

Although geographical names are not mentioned explicitly in the Convention they are included in items related to oral traditions. UNGEGN has referred to the Convention in various contexts and also passed a particular resolution (IX/4) addressing the importance of

preserving geographical names as a part of the intangible cultural heritage of a nation. Not the less, this was also UNGEGN's view even before the Convention was signed.

Proceedings of the International Symposium on Toponymy 2014

On 7–9 November 2014 an international symposium entitled *Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage* was held in Seoul, South Korea. Eleven Papers were presented by experts from nine countries. The proceedings were published in 2015⁵⁾ On the back cover of the volume the following introduction to the topic is given:

“Discussing elements of cultural heritage in toponymic research may not be a new trend. Each place name has its own *raison d'être* in that it was created by name giver's perception of identity of the place. All these identities have been formulated on the basis of cultures of each society; thus we would say every place name has elements of cultural heritage, in whatever form or context.

What brought the cultural heritage issue to the fore was the realization of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) that geographical names with cultural heritage values should be protected from disappearing. Initiated by the focus on respecting diverse identities contained in geographical names, especially of indigenous, minority and regional language groups, interests have been extended to finding

aspects of cultural heritage in every group of geographical names and dealing systematically with them in toponymic research and standardization. “

The former UNGEGN Chair Helen Kerfoot traces the Group of Experts' commitment and activity on geographical names as cultural heritage from the First Conference in 1967 up to the Tenth Conference in 2012, and in the work of UNGEGN, whereas her successor Bill Watt examines some Australian examples of cultural aspects of naming practices in the context of the UNGEGN Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage. These two articles together with the other contributions in the volume throw light on a variety of aspects related to geographical names as cultural heritage. Furthermore, the topic is treated in a number of other works, journals, and articles worldwide, for instance, the collection *Geographical Names as Part of the Cultural Heritage* (2009)⁶⁾ and *ONOMA* (the journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences), if not specifically, then indirectly. In fact, most publications on geographical names touch upon aspects relating to cultural heritage. Internet searches through national and international library bases would give access to an amount of relevant literature.

22.3 Geographical names: the memory of places

Geographical names, or place names, may be said to represent the oldest living part of human cultural heritage, in the sense that they have been handed down orally from generation to generation for hundreds and even thousands of years. In the continents overseas, where Europeans introduced their languages and their

names, many aboriginal names disappeared because they were discarded by the new settlers. Luckily many such names have survived as a testimony of earlier civilizations. In many instances, geographical names are the only surviving elements of extinct languages.⁷⁾ When one takes into account that many geographical names have been coined as descriptions of the area or place where they belong, it becomes evident that we are dealing with material of immense historic value. But also more recent names of dwelling places, streets and fields, as well as micro toponyms, form a part of the collective memory and heritage expressed in geographical names. All the geographical names of the Earth put together represent an immeasurable body of human experience and description of natural circumstances.

Although many people do not seem to be particularly aware of the historical richness of the place names in their surroundings they may still feel that the name stock contributes to their link to the land. People who have become acquainted with the etymological contents of names will of course appreciate their historical value to a greater degree. Through the place names of a district small or large, in particular its settlement names, it is possible to read many details of the area's history.

Many place names are also identified with past events and are pegs upon which stories both written and oral can be hung. One can also see geographical names as a reflection of the interplay between humans and nature through different periods of time. Besides, if a person has some meta-linguistic and historic awareness, he may listen to place names as voices of the past, which in its turn may strengthen his feeling of home. Thus, place

names can function as a textual representation, in some cases in obsolete words, of the historic landscape.

A place name not only points out a place, it also mediates a cluster of qualities and meanings attached to that place, partly valid for a single individual, partly

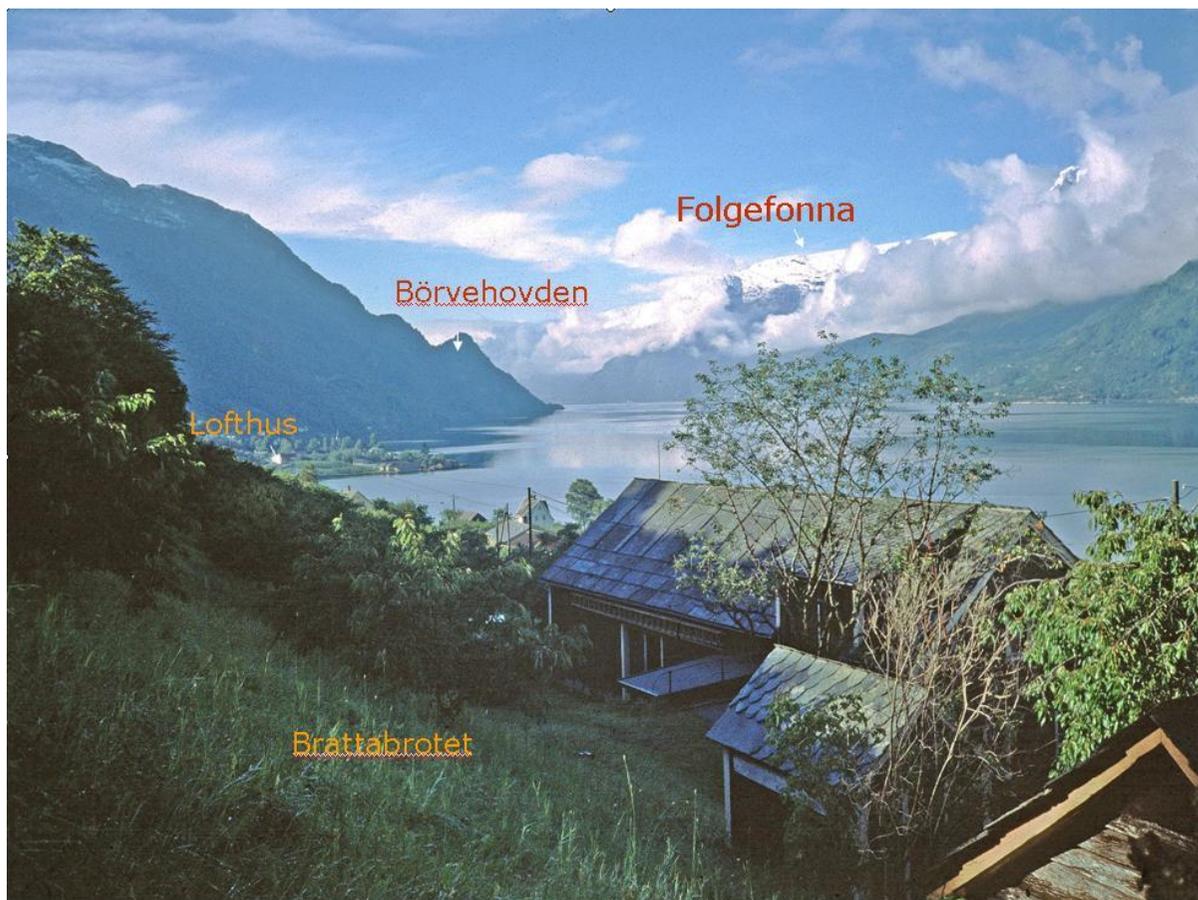


Figure 22-1. The farm Helland in Lofthus. In the background, the hill of Børvehovden and the Folgefonna glacier. In the foreground, the field of Brattabrotet. Photo: B. Helleland

shared by a given social group. Everybody over a certain age who has spent sufficient time in the village of Lofthus in western Norway will identify the hill of Børvehovden (see picture) when the name is mentioned. Another example from this setting is the field name Brattabrotet "the steep slope" on the small farm of

Helland. This name is known only by the family living on the farm and is associated with the difficulty of mowing and harvesting this field due to its steepness.

A way of elucidating the historical contents of place names is shown in figure 22-2.

typological characteristics of the names and of the named places. The vertical lines, moving upwards, follow the passage of time. New names may be coined at any time, as old names sometimes fall out of use and become obsolete. The places to which the names refer are also constantly changing, sometimes unnoticeably, sometimes noticeably, but they may still be considered to be the same place.

If we look at the names mentioned in figure 22-2, it is clear that their referents are something else today than they were in the past. *Legene* on the left is, for instance, used for a settlement which is only a couple of decades old. The etymological meaning of this name is “the place where the cattle rest”, and that is what the name most probably referred to when it was coined. The name is not testified in writing before the 19th century, but it is no doubt much older. *Brekke*, reflecting Old Norse *brekka* f. “slope, steep road” is now used in reference to a farm. It is recorded in the 14th century, but the importance of the name and its onomastic typology indicate that it could be several hundred years older. The last example I will mention is *Ullensvang* on the far right of the drawing, the name of a parish and the farm on which the parish church was built (see also the picture and map above). It is recorded many times in the 13th and 14th centuries. As the name is apparently composed of the pagan god’s name *Ullin* and *vang* “meadow where people assemble”, there is reason to believe that it was coined in the centuries before the introduction of Christianity in Norway around the year 1000. Today – as probably a millennium ago – people use the name without thinking of its heathen background.

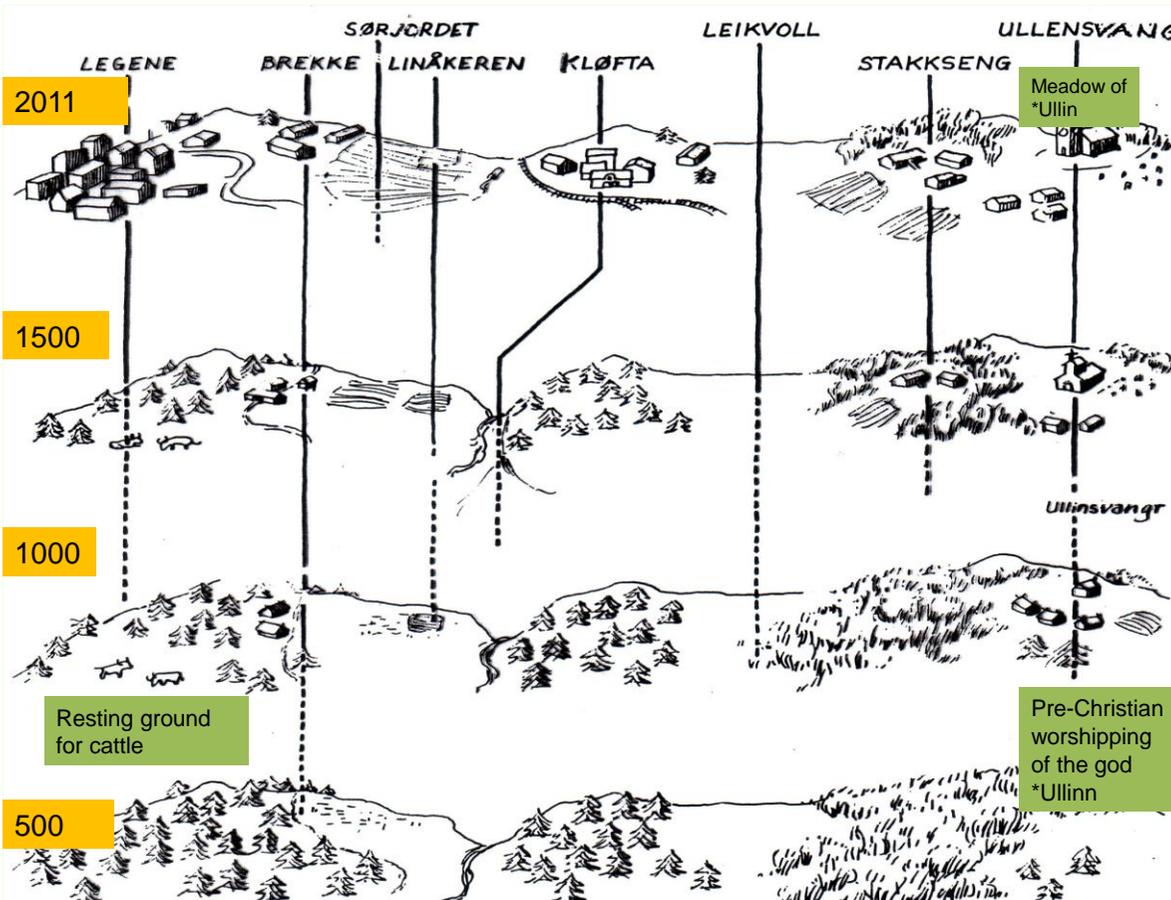


Figure 22-2. A named historical landscape as imagined at various periods of time.

At the top of the drawing in figure 22-2 samples of existing place names are shown, each dating back a certain distance into the past. The suggested period of name coinage is based on written sources and

A representative expression of the viewpoints of communities of name scholars in this field is to be found in a report that came out of a symposium on place name care and planning held in Finland in 1977:

Place names are an important part of our geographical and cultural environment. They identify localities of different kinds and represent irreplaceable cultural values of vital significance to people's sense of belonging and well-being.⁸⁾

Place names function as a social consensus or a sort of an agreement reached over many generations. This quality, I feel, is another contribution to the well-being and ease of people who are familiar with the area and its names, although the name users may not be very conscious of it. Orally the place names of a local area are mostly used in a dialectal form, at least in Norway, which also reflects a social consensus. When local people see place names written on road signs and on maps they often react negatively because they feel that the standardized written forms of the names break with their idea of the correct name. This conflict, which sometimes makes the standardization of place names problematic, is an issue which needs to be discussed in relation to the preservation of place names as an intangible part of cultural heritage. This lies, however, outside the scope of this paper.

In 1999, Finland chose "Place Names – The Memory of Places" as theme for its European Heritage Days. The aim of Heritage Days is to awaken people to see and evaluate the environment built around them, and to help them appreciate its beauty and variety. Place names constitute an indispensable part of the environment, and the aim of Finland's 1999 Heritage

Days was to make people aware of the use of such names in the planning process. The Heritage Days activity was used as a means of educating the public about the importance of standardizing geographical names without losing their historical value. During that year a number of events took place, with many people involved, and the organizers had good reason to call the arrangements a success. As part of these activities, a video was prepared by the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland, which was shown on Finnish television.⁹⁾

22.4 The function of geographical names

A geographical name normally exists in relation to a geographical entity, real or imagined, and if this entity changes character, the reference of the name may also change. This reference address function of geographical names means that they constitute an essential linguistic tool that is used by most people many times a day; and for this tool to function as well as possible in an increasingly complicated society, it is incumbent upon the authorities to regulate naming in certain ways and in certain contexts. For example, it must be determined what name is to be chosen, in which standardized form, and to what entity it applies. This reference address function of geographical names is primary, but like other parts of language geographical names function on several levels, including:

- The cognitive level (identification of an entity), for instance, the North Sea, referring to a sea in Europe.

- The emotive level, for instance, names relating to places that evoke good or bad feelings (example: Paradise and Hell).

- The ideological level, for instance, Bethel as the name of a religious assembly house and Karl-Marx-Stadt for the former (and present-day) Chemnitz.

- The community-constituting level, for example, Saami-speaking people identifying with Deatnu and Norwegian speakers with Tana, both names referring to the same river in northern Norway.

- All persons are surrounded by named features with which they are familiar, and which they know as their own. This also applies to the names of the features. At the same time, there are other names that they share in common with larger groups in what one may call a structural hierarchy.

This can be demonstrated by a simple three-level hierarchy comprising:

- The geographical names that are common to the people in a micro community (family, farm, village).

- The geographical names that are common to two or more micro communities (rural district or town).

- The geographical names that are common to many or most of the communities of a society.

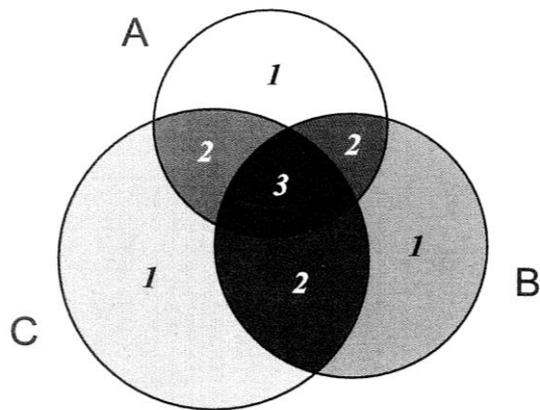


Figure 22-3 Conceptual representation of geographical names knowledge. Note: A, B, C refer to collective geographical names knowledge of individuals in a micro community.

Figure 22-3 illustrates various levels of names knowledge shared by different communities in this particular model. Each circle (A, B, C) represents the collective geographical names knowledge of individuals in a particular micro-community. People who belong to the same language community will on the whole be familiar with the same names and feel attached to them—even more so if they belong to the same local community. In multilingual societies, people speaking different languages will apply different names. These names not only form a body of reference addresses, but constitute a part of linguistic and local identity. Also, through their close connection with the dialect, geographical names represent an inherent human value; and for the individual, certain geographical names may be connected with life experiences.

Examples of geographical names used in various groups of name users:

- 1** Names that are common only to the people of a particular micro-community, for example, *Hesthaug* ‘horse hill’ referring to a small hill; ‘Leikvoll’ ‘playing ground’ referring to a meadow where locals use(d) to gather.
- 2** Names that that are known and used by the people of more than one micro-community, but that are not widely known in the area, for example, *Opedal*, for a group of farms; *Eidffjord*, for a local municipality.
- 3** Names that that are known and used by many or most people of a society or nation, for example *Lofoten*, a well-known group of islands; *Oslo*, a big city and capital.

22.5 Giving geographical names

The preservation of geographical names encompasses first and foremost the inherited and spontaneously given body of names, but also names having resulted from planned naming and become an integrated part of the society’s cultural heritage. As geographical names coined in the past represent a part of a society’s cultural heritage, the act of giving new geographical names adds to the future cultural heritage. This perspective should be considered by the authorities as well as by private bodies that play a part in name giving processes.¹⁰⁾

The naming of streets, roads, squares, buildings, etc. is an important administrative activity for local authorities all over the world. The giving of names takes place either through the acceptance of existing names in the area or through the creation of new names. In recent times, the

use of various categories of names has been a common occurrence in street naming, for example, names of birds in one area, names of animals in a second, and names of artists in a third.

Traditionally the naming of geographical entities has mainly followed one of two paths: “spontaneous or popular naming” and “baptism”. The majority of geographical names that are used today (in Europe at least) are the product of spontaneous naming, the result of a process of lexicalization [the process of making a word to express a concept] with its starting point in a description of the object being named. Normally, a geographical name evolves from a descriptive expression (for example, the hill or the green hill) into a proper name (for example, *The Hill* or *Green Hill*). In many cases, the naming will be governed by analogy, that is to say, new names will be produced on the pattern of other names in the area or of other names with which the name-givers are familiar. This is one of the reasons why certain types of names have a tendency to occur with greater frequency than others in particular areas¹¹⁾ or in particular periods.

Another way of giving geographical names is to transfer existing names to new entities in order to compare them with or to commemorate the original place, through the process known as baptism. This has in particular been the case in earlier European colonies. For instance, Harlem in New York is named after the Dutch town of Haarlem. Also, people are commemorated in many geographical names, for instance, George Washington in Washington.

Place names such as *Washington* could be considered to be among those that have resulted from a more

intentional baptism through which towns, streets, roads, squares and other entities are given prescribed names through special resolutions. It is true that some of the names that are given formalized status in this way have earlier been used informally for all or part of the same named entity. Already in late medieval times, fortresses and towns, like the Scandinavian *Akershus* and *Landskrona*, were named in accordance with already existing naming patterns.

22.6 Geographical Names Studies and Cultural Values

A detailed picture

One can also regard geographical names as a reflection of the interplay between humans and nature through different periods of time. The many regional names studies that have been carried out in the world show that geographical names provide a multifaceted and detailed picture of human existence in relation to our surroundings. In some cases, the written geographical names may tell us in a general way about the time spans of settlement. For instance, Dirk Blok, in referring to Dutch-speaking parts of Europe, has indicated that: names ending in *-burg* or *-ingen* were recorded in the period from the seventh to the ninth century; names ending in *-donk* were recorded after the tenth century; names ending in *-kerke* were recorded in the period from the twelfth to the thirteenth century; and names ending in *-dam* were recorded after the thirteenth century.¹²⁾

Linguistic heritage

In addition to being repositories of natural and cultural history, names represent an important part of our linguistic heritage. This understanding of geographical names as a historical and linguistic source has long been focused on within the community of names scholars and has in the course of time opened up the way for a broader commitment to the protection and preservation of names, as attested in the legislation of several countries. In this perspective, we also note the increasing concern with geographical names in multilingual areas,¹³⁾ and recall several resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names that have supported the collection and use of minority group and indigenous geographical names, for example, Conference resolutions V/22 (1987) and VIII/1 (2002).

Legislation

When place-names are used in a private context they are often used with varying spellings, and this is by no means forbidden. However, place-names belong to the whole society and that entails that they should be standardized in accordance with officially adopted regulations. These names are linguistic terms handed down from generation to generation mostly without identified name givers. Consequently, they should be regarded as common cultural property. This is also in line with United Nations resolutions.¹⁴⁾ In many cases, however, individuals like to see their own private spellings of place-names on maps and road signs instead of the official spellings, and bitter conflicts sometimes emerge from such disagreements. This applies, not least, to Norway.

A number of countries have passed legislation applying to the protection of geographical names. In 1990 the Norwegian parliament passed an act on the spelling of place-names to safeguard the place-names as a part of the cultural heritage. The main regulation of the act implies that the geographical names should be standardized on the basis of the inherited pronunciation at the same time being in compliance with the spelling principles of Norwegian. However, numerous farm owners protested against the spelling regulations and in 2009 a small group of MPs forwarded a proposal to give the owners of smallholdings the right to decide on the spelling of the name of their smallholdings (which most often are identical with the names of the main farms), whereas the name of the main farm should be kept in its standardized spelling. In 2015 an amendment to the place-name law was adopted by the Parliament, thus legally permitting a divide in the spelling of place name heritage. For example, a family with the surname *Krogvold*, a Danish-inspired distorted form of the standardized spelling *Kråkvål*. *Krogvold* looks like a compound of Danish *krog* 'hook' and *vold* 'meadow', whereas the original compound *Kråkvål* consists of *kråke* 'crow' and *vål* 'burnt clearing'. By using *Krogvold* instead of *Kråkvål* the message of the name gets lost.

A new Law (N.71(I)/2013), was recently voted on by the Parliament of the Republic of Cyprus, and an amendment was added to the basic law, by creating a new article, which criminalizes the alteration of geographical names and toponyms and the illegal issue, import, circulation, supply, distribution and trade of maps, books or other documents, in conventional or digital form, which contain geographical names and toponyms of the Republic, spelled differently from those

specified in accordance with the procedures laid down in the Law, or those contained in the official Toponymic Gazetteer. This was an additional measure taken by the Republic of Cyprus for safeguarding its invaluable cultural heritage.

In Sweden, a new paragraph on good place-names practice was added to the Historic Environment Act in 2000. In the Act, the emphasis is placed on linguistic correctness, but even stronger on the importance of preserving geographical names as a part of the nation's cultural heritage. The paragraph also recommends the use of minority names on maps and signs along with the Swedish names.¹⁵⁾

22.7 Collection of geographical names

Collecting geographical names is discussed in a separate chapter of the handbook, but it should be mentioned in this chapter in relation to the topic 'cultural heritage'.

It is self-evident that all countries and regions should record and preserve their geographical names, both for their practical use and for the preservation of names as cultural and linguistic heritage. Since around 1900, and even more in the second half of the 20th century an important aim has been to collect and research geographical names for mapping purposes, and also in general either by categories for reference purposes or by in-depth studies in selected areas. In this work, emphasis has been placed on registering the pronunciation that has been handed down by oral tradition, since it best reflects the linguistic basis of names.

At the same time, although the scientific archives have built up systematic collections of older written forms, it is the collection in the field of oral material that has been, and still is, the most important means of preserving, as far as possible, the wealth of names still existing in older tradition. In recent times, the preservation of geographical names from both oral and written sources has been acknowledged politically in many countries. For the general public, it is usually not the historical value of names that is of most concern but rather the unilateral changes made by administrators, without adequate local consultation to names currently in use. Many people feel this to be a form of encroachment on their well-being. That names uphold the social and cultural values of the individual is an important argument for promoting the systematic collection of names.

22.8 Exonyms

One special type of geographical names seen as part of the cultural heritage is that referred to as exonyms. The United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names *Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names* defines an exonym as 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 name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated (*Glossary*, 081). Better-known examples include: *Vienne* (French) and *Vienna* (English) for *Wien* in Austria; *Ginebra* (Spanish) for *Genève* in Switzerland; and *Vilna* (Finnish) for *Vilnius* in Lithuania. Less generally known examples may form part of the vocabulary of smaller language groups (for

instance, in Faroese: *Høvdastaður* for *Cape Town*; *Skiloy* for *Sicilia*; *Kili* for *Chile*; and *Simbabvi* for *Zimbabwe*).

All language communities have such names, and in the individual language they are part of the linguistic heritage of those communities. This has been recognized by the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names (for example, in Conference resolution II/28, 1972). At the same time, however, several United Nations Conference resolutions have recommended that the use of exonyms be reduced (for example, II/29 and IV/20), particularly in cartography, in order to facilitate international communication through the use of nationally standardized geographical names.

In a United Nations context, the question of exonyms is ambiguous. On the one hand, the United Nations Conference on Geographical Names has passed several resolutions pertaining to the use of endonyms; on the other hand, the experts have maintained the value of exonyms as part of a nation's cultural heritage. Even if UN recommends the use of endonyms, it is no contradiction to consider exonyms as part of the cultural heritage. So, one is supposed to collect them, but not use them in maps for general reference (?).

22.9 Concluding remarks

In discussing geographical names as part of the cultural heritage, one must take into account the fact that geographical names in a society are part of the language. Geographical names are functional to the extent that they have a place in a society's communication system as reference tools; when they no longer fulfill a need,

they fall out of use. As is apparent from this presentation, geographical names preservation is an important issue of concern to both laymen and experts.

Traditionally, problems in connection with the spelling and writing of geographical names have been the central focus, and indeed they still are; but in recent decades,

the issue of protecting geographical names as part of the linguistic cultural heritage has come more to the forefront. Increasing globalization offers the advantage of allowing a wider understanding of local names and heritage. However, in some cases today, local place names appear at risk from the imposition, through both

local and global commercialization, of names introduced from outside cultures.

22.10 References

¹⁾ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_heritage (5. January 2016)

²⁾ http://www.wipo.int/edocs/mdocs/tk/en/wipo_ipkt_ge_2_15/wipo_ipkt_ge_2_15_presentation_mounir_bouchenaki.pdf

³⁾ <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/states-parties-00024>

⁴⁾ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Convention_for_the_Safeguarding_of_the_Intangible_Cultural_Heritage

⁵⁾ Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Toponymy, Seoul, 7–9 November 2014. Ed. by Sungjae Choo. Kyung Hee University Press. Seoul 2015.

⁶⁾ *Geographical Names as Part of the Cultural Heritage* (2009) ed. by P. Jordan, H. Bergmann, C. Cheetham, & I. Hausner. Vienna: Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien).

⁷⁾ Naftali Kadmon, *Toponymy. The Lore, Laws and Language of Geographical Names* (New York, Vantage Press, 2001), p. 47

⁸⁾ "Ortnamn är en viktig del av vår geografiska och kulturella miljö. De identifierar lokaliteter av olika slag och representerar oersättliga kulturella värden med avgörande betydelse för människors hemkänsla och trivsel." (Zilliacus 1978, 211)

⁹⁾ "Place Names – The Memory of Places. The theme of the European Heritage Days in Finland 1999". UNGEGN, 20th Session, New York, 17 – 28 January 2000, Working Paper No. 22, submitted by Sirkka Paikkala, Finland. See also Sirkka Paikkala: "Place names in Finland as cultural heritage" in *Onoma* 35, 2000, pp. 145-164.

¹⁰⁾ For examples of this type in a South African city, see Colin Clive Smith, "Naming a city: the street and place names of the Roodepoort area 1854-1999", *Nomina Africana*, vol. 16 (2002), pp. 56-64.

¹¹⁾ See, for instance Wilhelm F.H. Nicolaisen, "Lexical and onomastic fields", in *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Cracow,*

August 21-25, 1978, by Kazimierz Rymut, ed. (Wrocław, Poland, 1982) vol. II, pp. 209-216.

¹²⁾ For an English-language reference, see Dirk P. Blok, "Names in -iacum", in *Topothesia: A Collection of Essays in Honour of T.S. Ó Máille*, Breandán S. Mac Aodha, ed. (Galway, Ireland, 1982), pp.111-114.

¹³⁾ See F.J. Ormeling, *Minority Toponyms on Maps. The Rendering of Linguistic Minority Toponyms on Topographic Maps of Western Europe* (Utrecht, Netherlands, Department of Geography, University of Utrecht, 1983).

¹⁴⁾ http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/RES_UN_E%20updated_1-10%20CONF.pdf, Chapter 3. [15 August 2014.]

¹⁵⁾ See Annette C. Torensjö in *Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Toponymy, Seoul, 7–9 November 2014*. Ed. by Sungjae Choo. Kyung Hee University Press. Seoul 2015, p. 70 ff.