

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING ON TOPONYMY

MODULES

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United Nations
Group of Experts on
Geographical Names



BADAN INFORMASI
GEOSPASIAL



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MODULE 3

Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage

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3.1 Introduction

In this module, we will explore the relationship between geographical names and cultural heritage. It can be broken up in three parts.

We will start with some general considerations about the concept of cultural heritage and the contemporary attention it receives. The place that geographical names, as well as the language they belong to or spring from, occupy within the whole of intangible cultural heritage, will be examined from different angles. The aim of these shared contemplations is, to learn to value the cultural heritage aspects of geographical names worldwide.

In the second part, some examples will be given to identify different ways in which geographical names may be seen as carriers of cultural heritage. The examples are taken from the Netherlands and some other countries.

The last part of this module will have a more practical approach: we will discuss some consequences our ambition to respect the cultural heritage character of geographical names has for the processes of field collection of names, post-survey office treatment (including their storage in a database), and standardization. For this, we will return to Indonesia and dwell on experience gained during earlier UNGEGN workshops in different parts of Java, notably Cipanas (1989) and Malang (2005).

The next module will then focus our attention on the special toponymic landscape of Bali and its intimate connection with the living culture of this beautiful island, which will be the subject of the field exercise later on.

PART 1

3.2 Cultural Heritage

In our lifetime, the concept of cultural heritage enjoys growing attention worldwide. Both national governments and the UN – through its specialized educational, scientific and cultural sub-organization UNESCO, but also the organization as a whole, and its Peacekeeping branch – promote the conservation and protection of those assets passed on to us by earlier generations that are considered of cultural value. These assets include both material items like buildings, monuments and landscapes resulting from human activity, and intangible heritage like language, literature and oral poetry, rituals, music, dance and many other skills, arts and crafts, including also cuisine: in short, everything that can be described as *traditional* and valuable to any group of people. The value of cultural heritage as a spearhead of UN policy is derived from one of UN's most fundamental principles: mutual

respect among all its member nations, as well as the individual communities each nation consists of.

3.3 Intangible Cultural Heritage in a UNESCO Context

UNESCO maintains a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, published by the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the members of which are elected by State Parties meeting in a General Assembly. The aim of this list is to ensure better protection of important intangible cultural heritage worldwide, and promotion of awareness of their significance. A second list is titled List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding; it comprises those cultural elements that require special measures to preserve them for posterity. Languages, although explicitly included in the definition of intangible cultural heritage, are only incidentally registered; geographical names are not mentioned at all.

As the UN is an intergovernmental organization of states, it is on the level of states that the elements of cultural heritage to be placed under UN protection are defined. But culture and cultural heritage are obviously attributes to groups of people, not of states: groups that may identify themselves not exclusively by the states in which they reside, but also along ethnic lines, based on a common history or language or any other common cultural trait. Many of the intangible cultural heritage items on the Representative List of UNESCO are therefore listed by more than one member state. A few examples of this are shown in the maps below.



Figure 1. Some examples of intangible cultural heritage shared between countries.

Some UNESCO-listed intangible cultural heritage items are shared by countries who are not all adjacent, like falconry and date palm cultivation; this suggests these refer to traditions that used to be common over a much wider area. Why the members of the Intergovernmental Committee decide differently for a certain item for different countries, may have something to do with the ambitions or willingness of each country's government to take measures for their preservation.

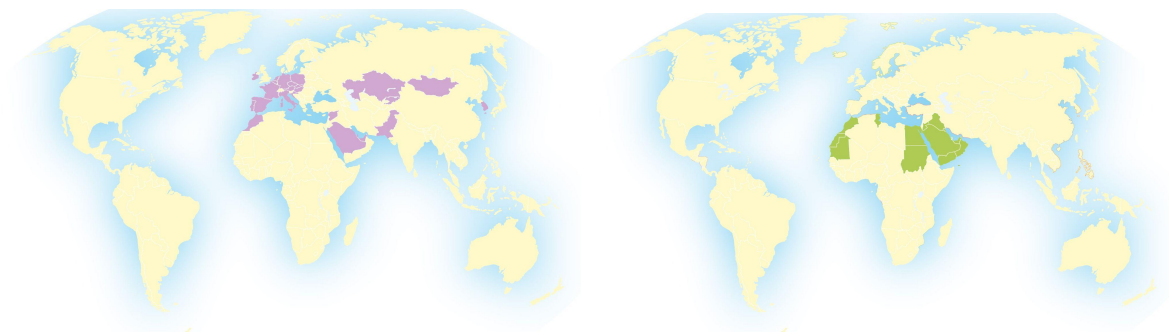


Figure 2. Countries submitting falconry (left) and date palm cultivation (right) as intangible cultural heritage elements to UNESCO.

In some cases, the shared cultural heritage is connected to one single ethnic group that happens to live in more than one country, like the *Gẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ̀* spectacle of the Yoruba people in Nigeria, Benin and Togo, the *Gule Wamkulu* dances of the Nyau society of the Chewa and Nyanja people in Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique, and the *Pantun*-tradition of the Malays in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Within countries, UNESCO-registered intangible cultural heritage elements usually originate in a geographically limited area, like the *Hudhud* chants of the Ifugao in Luzon, the *Buklog* rituals of the Subanen in Mindanao, both in the Philippines; the *Saman* dance in the Gayo regencies in Sumatra and the *Noken* bags and their usage in Papua, in Indonesia. The latter four are considered “in Need of Urgent Safeguarding”. Some elements have become icons for the whole nation, although they too may be native to specific parts of the country, like *batik*, *wayang* and *gamelan* in Indonesia, the *Pantuns* of both Malaysia and Indonesia, and *Nuad Thai*, the traditional massage of Thailand.

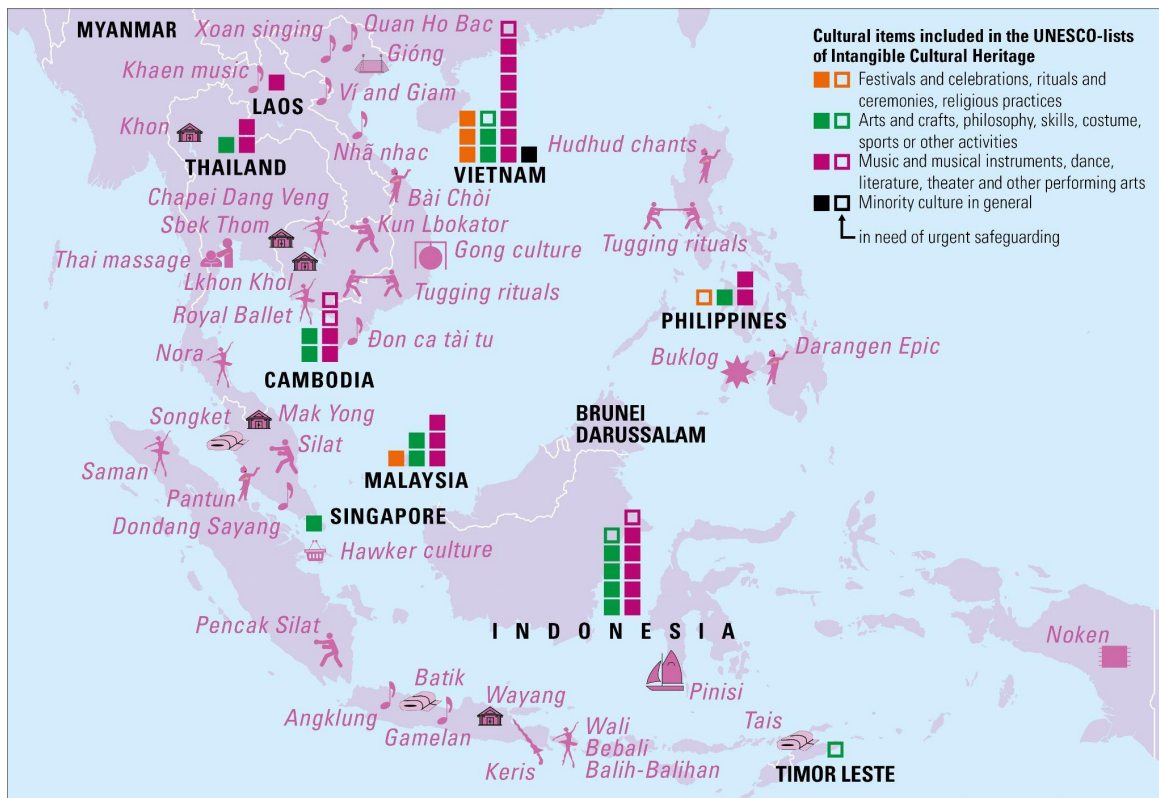


Figure 3. Categories of cultural items included in the UNESCO-lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage in South-East Asia.

Many well-known items of intangible cultural heritage have apparently not (yet?) been submitted to the UNESCO lists: in Indonesia, for instance, many of us would certainly expect the Ramayana Ballet in Yogyakarta, Kroncong music, Sundanese Jaipong, the Balinese Subak system, Asmat wood-carving skills, Batak Ulos fabrics, Minangkabau architecture, Toraja funeral traditions and lots of special dishes with a long tradition on the list. By offering numerous instruments on heritage conservation to the UN member states, also regarding intangible heritage – as of 2021, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has been ratified by 180 states – UNESCO serves as a major facilitator, but the preservation of cultural heritage itself, both material and intangible, is obviously a matter for specialized departments of the national governments.

3.4 Intangible Cultural Heritage and Geographical Names

In addition to UNESCO's achievements in the field of intangible cultural heritage conservation as a whole, UNGEGN in 2002 established a Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage specifically dedicated to activities relating to the promotion of indigenous and minority geographical names as means of cultural retention/revitalization. The meaning of “minority” in this context is “a community with a cultural identity different from the one dominating the state”, something which is obviously not so much a qualification of the community involved as of the boundaries of the state: a matter of perspective dependent on scale, as a cartographer would say. It is important work, because the position of subnational cultural communities, and with them the cultural heritage they embody, is under

pressure everywhere. However, geographical names are in all cases carriers of intangible cultural heritage, regardless of the position of the community that uses them.

How all kinds of intangible cultural heritage trickle down in geographical names, even those we may not immediately think of, I'd wish to show in the following example:

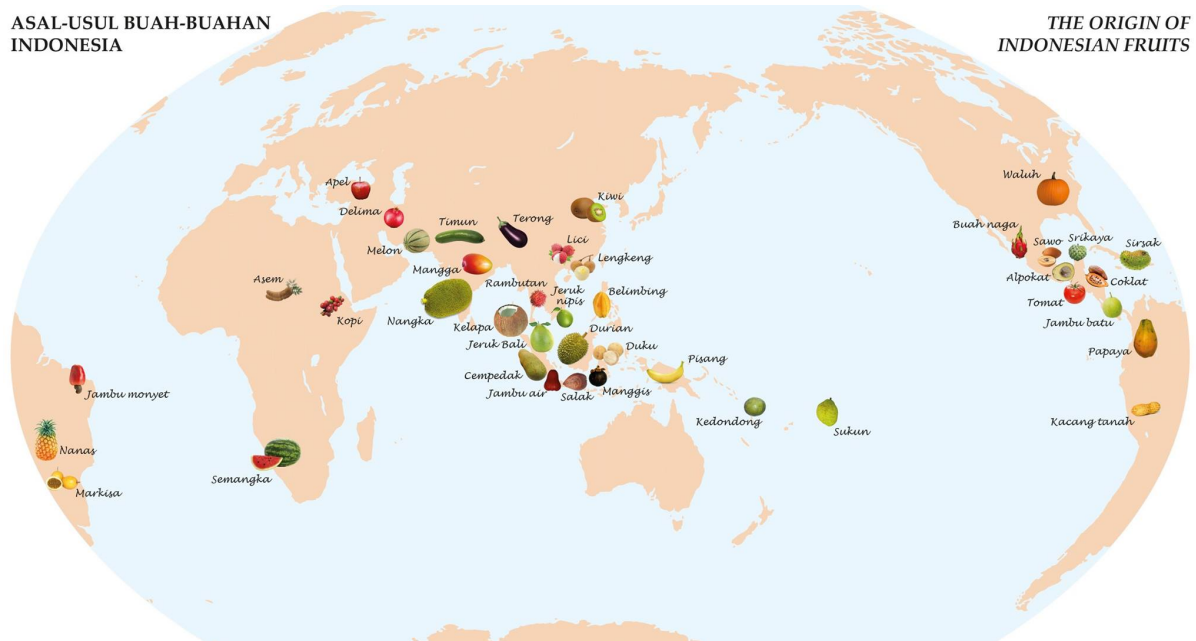


Figure 4. Areas of origin of some fruits common in Indonesia.

The tentative map above shows the geographical origin of fruits popular in the Indonesian cuisine. Some of them, like jackfruit (*nangka*), breadfruit (*sukun*) and mango, were at one point in history introduced from other parts of the world, but became so popular in Indonesia that few people now realize they are of foreign origin. Although the wild ancestors of our trees are a part of our natural environment that would be there even if no humans were around, their cultivation and their use, as food, medicine, or source of raw materials for whatever we produce, are clearly an element of human culture that is handed down from generation to generation. It is region- and community-specific, and so it clearly qualifies as cultural heritage. In the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists, food- and drink-related items as North African couscous, different kinds of Central Asian flatbread, the date palm, the Mediterranean diet, the French cuisine, and the baguette were already included as of 2023.

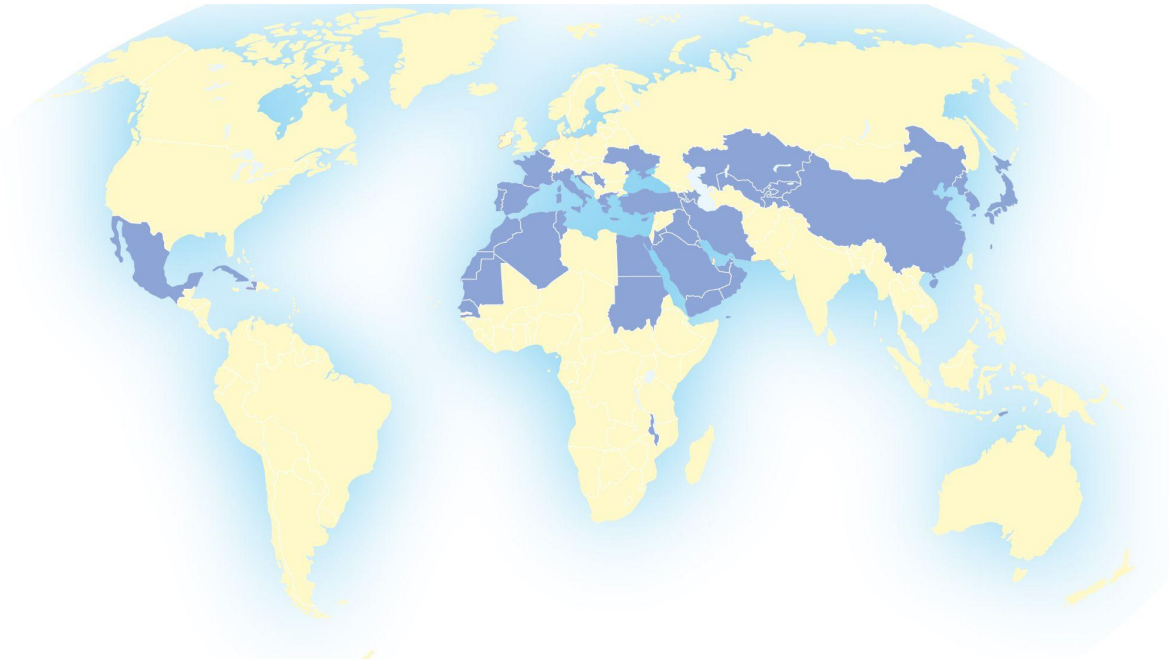


Figure 5. Countries submitting food- and drink-related elements as intangible cultural heritage element to UNESCO.

Customs and traditions around food, and more generally the utilization of plants and domesticated animals, are part of any community's culture. As such they are also omnipresent in the landscape of geographical names, which adds to the status of cultural heritage of the toponyms themselves. The map below shows just a few examples of Sundanese fruit names encountered in the toponyms of the Cianjur Regency in West Java. In most cases they are specific elements following a generic term like *ci-* (stream, river: a prefix form of *cai* = water), *pasir* (hill), *kebon* (plantation, orchard), *lebak* (valley), *babakan* (a newly established settlement), *ranca* (swamp), *bojong* (peninsula in a river curve) or *warung* (a little shop). The importance of plants and trees in traditional Sundanese society is demonstrated by the staggering amount of botanical names in Sundanese toponyms: in the Bandung and Cianjur regencies alone, I counted the names of more than 450 different plants and trees, many times more than any average contemporary Dutchmen – and I assume a modern Sundanese alike – will know by head. Talking about the heritage element of geographical names...



Fig. 6: Some fruit and vegetable names occurring in geographical names in Cianjur Regency.

Apart from these botanical name elements, many settlement names in the abovementioned regencies echo local agricultural and industrial activities and agrarian society at the time the localities were named, which was in this case mostly from the second half of the 18th to the first of the 20th century. As this is rather recent relative to the development of language, most of these names and name elements can still be readily understood by someone with a reasonable Sundanese vocabulary. To list just some examples relating to agricultural activities and the cultivation of wasteland:

- *Babut* = pulling out paddy seedlings from nursery bed
- *Baru-* = newly planted plantation
- *Bayubud* = a landless peasant
- *Bebecek* = a small *sawah* (wet rice field) compartment
- *Bedeng* = spacious shed or barracks, as a temporary shelter for plantation personnel
- *Beleker* = unirrigated rice field on forest soil planted for the third year in a row
- *Bunter* = lowest compartment in a *sawah* complex
- *Burujul* = plough with a wooden coulter, used to plough dry fields
- *Ceger* = a small rice field in young forest
- *Dramaga* = little dike or dam over which water for irrigation works can be lead

- *Durung* = rice barn
- *Gamblung* = unworked, not maintained (of a *sawah*)
- *Garungan* = uncultivated, unused land
- *Grogol* = wildlife trap, animal cage
- *Kebon* = plantation, garden, orchard
- *Pabuaran* = temporal residence (for work in forest e.g.)
- *Palalangan* = watchman's hut on posts
- *Pamecelan* = place to squeeze coffee berries etc.
- *Pamoyanan* = place to dry paddy etc.
- *Panagan* = bamboo construction to dry coffee etc.
- *Panggalangan* = complex of small *sawah* dikes
- *Panggulaan* = sugar cookery (at a sugar palm site in the forest)
- *Pangguyangan* = place where buffaloes wallow
- *Pangkalan* = cottage/temporal shelter at a working place
- *Pamucatan* = place where buffaloes are unyoked
- *Panyaweuyan* = place where nets are installed to catch birds
- *Parakan* = place to be dammed up for fishery
- *Paratag* = a sort of drying-frame (for coffee etc.)
- *Pasawahan* = complex of wet rice fields
- *Pataruman* = indigo plantation
- *Rarahan* = cleared plot of land to be cultivated/built-up
- *Saapan* = a sort of fish trap
- *Serang* = wet rice field, *sawah*
- *Sinapeul* = remains of bush on cleared land
- *Tajur* = something planted
- *Talun* = permanently cultivated, unirrigated field
- *Taras* = clearing in the jungle (for making a *sawah*)
- *Tegal* = field (uncultivated), wasteland
- *Tipar* = unirrigated rice field on flat terrain

Likewise, geographical names often refer to landscape elements that were there when the locations received their names, but may since have disappeared due to human activity or natural processes. In this case, the names also provide a glimpse into local conditions in the past.

3.5 Language and Geographical Names as Interrelated Intangible Cultural Heritage

As the cement of any human community in the present as well as in the past, language may be considered the most obvious example of intangible cultural heritage. Language develops along with the communication needs of the community making use of it. It reflects the community's social structure and the ways the community relates to its physical environment. The existence of so many different languages and dialects in our world is a consequence of mankind's huge cultural diversity, which again is a consequence of our – traditional, until the Internet became commonplace – physical limitations in connecting to fellow humans outside our own immediate environment. People lead, so to say, an innumerable amount of different lives in as many different environments, both socially and

physically. They have to handle widely different daily problems, do and talk about widely different things and share typically more with people close to them than with “others” faraway. Their ways and customs, their sensitivities, beliefs and even their feelings depend on whom they hang out with, and whom they hang out with has for long been a function of geographical proximity. This explains why, when we give a name to a community, a society, a culture, a language or a dialect, this name is often derived from the name of a geographical entity: we talk about Indonesian society, Balinese culture, Javanese language or Jakarta slang.

Language develops along with the community it serves, in terms of its vocabulary, the distinctions it allows to make (cf. kinship terms: brother-sister vs. *kakak-adik*, niece-nephew vs. cousin; registers in language use; etc. etc.). It takes time to develop and crystalize into a code however, and rarely keeps up with the ever accelerating dynamics of social and cultural change. The number of new words and expressions added on the front side typically exceeds the number of old ones that are discarded as obsolete on the back side, idiom being created in the process.

As all names, geographical names may not belong to the generic vocabulary of any language, but they do always spring from a specific language. This may or may not be the language of the people to whose territory the named object currently belongs: geographical objects together with their names may be inherited from either our own biological ancestors, or previous inhabitants of the territory we occupy. In both cases, if the names are old enough, their pronunciation and/or writing will most probably have been modified in the course of time. The Dutch city of Nijmegen, for instance, developed from a Roman fortress originally named *Noviomagus*, a Latinized Celtic name meaning “new market”. When Roman Latin ceased to be the dominant language in north-western Europe, the name was partly translated (*novio* = “new” = *nij*) and partly corrupted (*magus* > *megen*: the meaning “market” was obviously no longer understood locally), to become part of the new local language Dutch.

It is their resistance to change which, among other aspects, makes geographical names a unique category of cultural heritage. In the names, the geographical, socio-economic and political circumstances at the time of their coinage become fossilized. Similar to items stored and displayed in a local history museum, they shed light on the local community’s historical background, and are thus connected to its cultural identity.

PART 2

3.6 Geographical Names as an Archive of Human Settlement: a Dutch Example

By the 1st millennium BCE, the coastal area of the northern Netherlands, consisting mainly of salt marshes, became permanently settled by farmers who were attracted by the fertile sea clay deposited by the waves of the North Sea. Because the flat, low-lying area was at the mercy of the tides, the settlers built their farmsteads on top of natural levees, raised by the many tidal creeks that reached far inland. As the natural levees were vulnerable to flooding

during storm surges and spring tide, they were artificially heightened using whatever materials were available, including agricultural and personal waste, to provide refuge to inhabitants and livestock alike when required. In the course of their existence, these mounds (called *wierde* in Groningen and *terp* in Fryslân) gradually grew larger and higher, by repeated heightening and the joining together of separate farmsteads to villages, while their numbers increased as people moved out of the growing villages to establish new farms surrounded by empty grasslands. In some cases, several village terps ultimately clogged together to form cities, like the Frisian provincial capital Leeuwarden. The process is shown in the figure below.

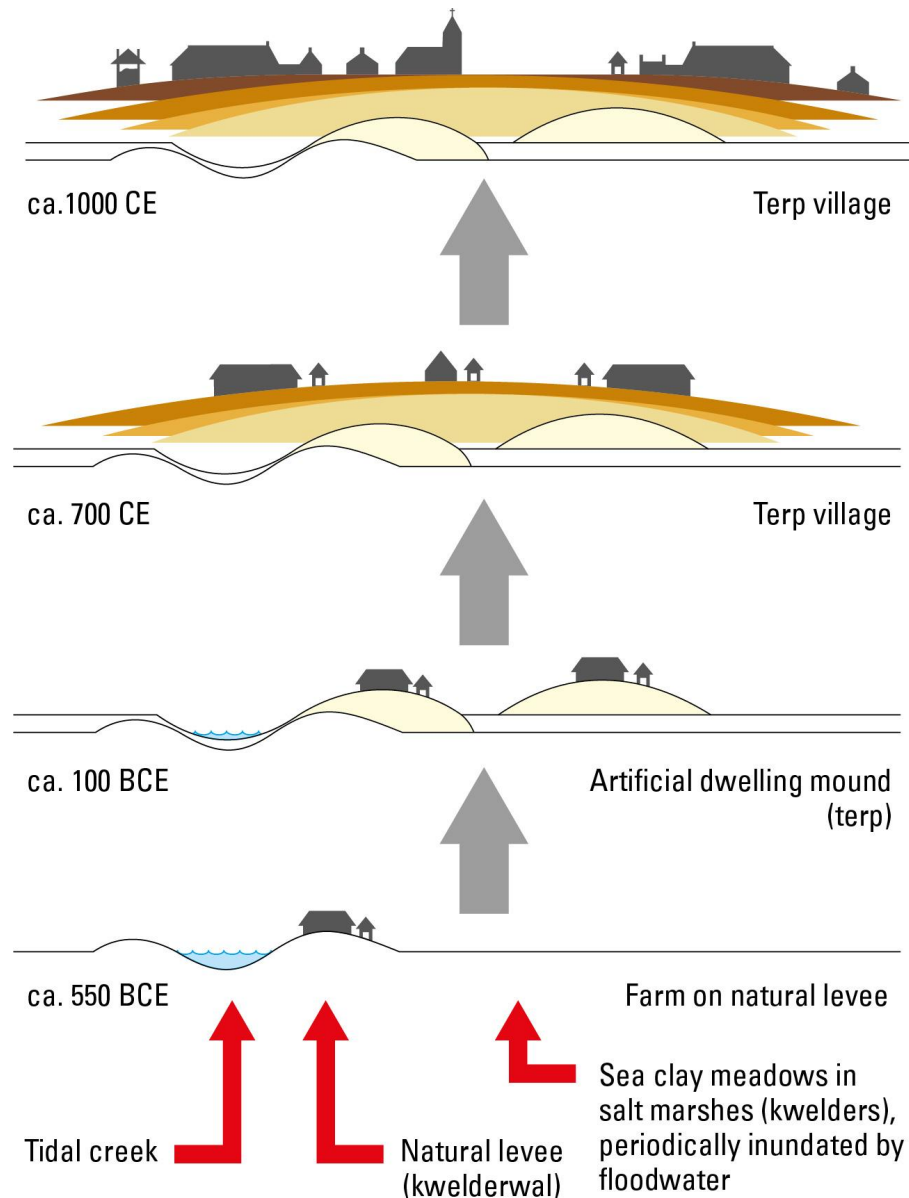


Figure 7. Stages of dwelling mound (terp, wierde) building in the northern Netherlands.

From the Iron Age up to the early Middle Ages, the *terp* areas in the northern salt marshes were the most densely populated part of the Netherlands, which was otherwise heavily forested, with poor sandy soils inland and inaccessible swamps in the river delta. Archaeologists found that towards the end of the Roman period the sea apparently

temporarily prevailed, leading to the abandonment of most of the mounds. After a few centuries, they were repopulated by migrants from the northeast, who brought with them the Old Frisian language; because of the close resemblance of this language to Old English, they are now thought to have been the same people as the so-called Angles, part of whom subsequently crossed over to Britain in the company of Saxons.

In the 8th century the area was incorporated in the Frankish empire, and the population became Christianised. Churches were built on the highest central parts of the mounds, or new mounds were erected especially for them. New mounds were also erected to accommodate numerous monasteries of various monastic orders, whose adherents became embroiled in long-standing conflicts that would contribute to the demise of the area. The era of mound construction ended when sea dikes were built in order to keep the agricultural lands of the monasteries permanently dry. By then, the landscape was speckled with dwelling mounds of all sizes; the map below shows them for the province of Groningen.

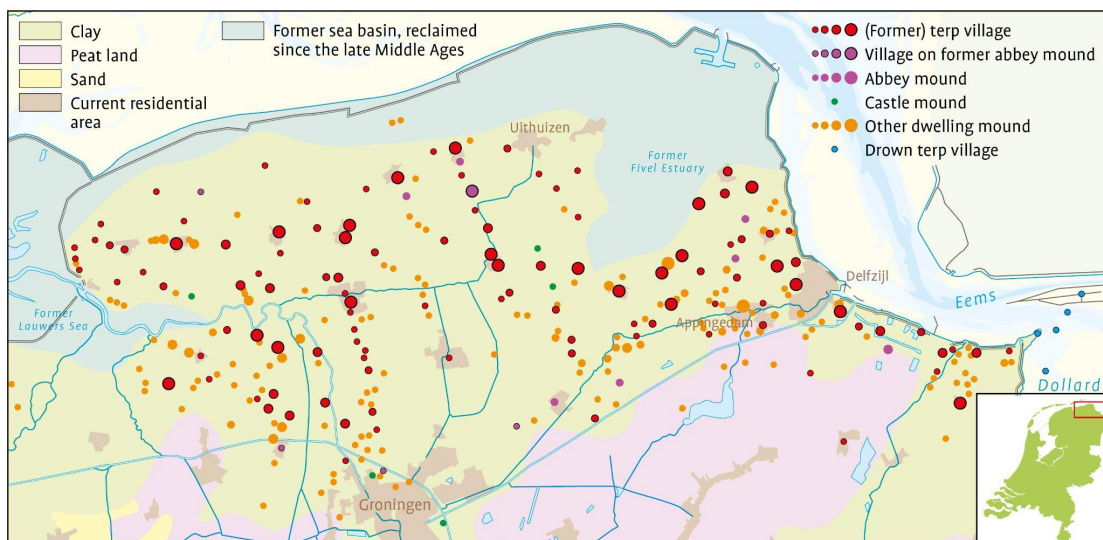


Figure 8. Artificial dwelling mounds (*terps*) in the province of Groningen.

By the 19th century, this once so prosperous area had become a rural backwater, overshadowed by the economically booming western part of the country. Since the late Middle Ages, the local Frisian language had gradually been supplanted by the Low Saxon of the Hanseatic League. What remains until this very day is a unique cultural landscape, sparsely populated but heavy with cultural heritage.

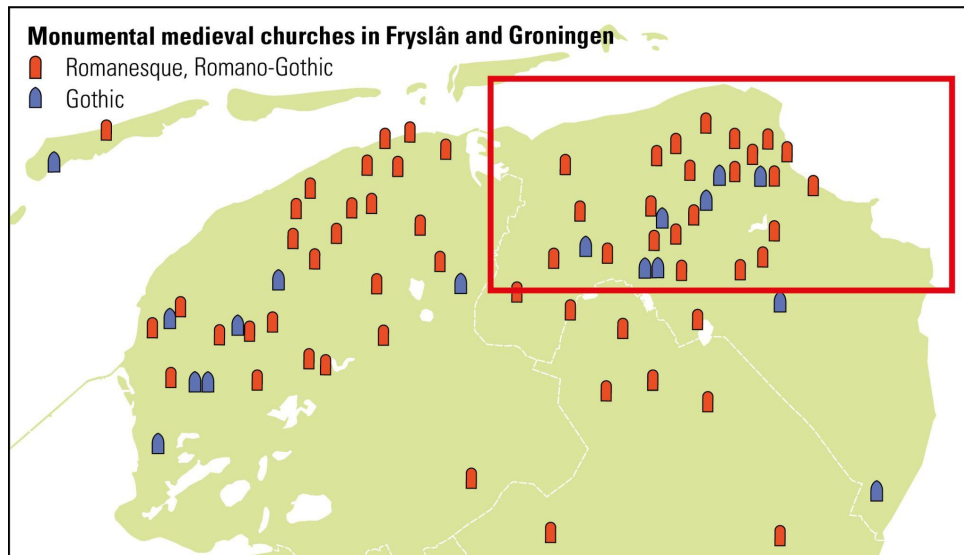


Figure 9. Recognized cultural heritage: medieval churches in Fryslân and Groningen.

The dwelling mounds themselves were, until their recent recognition as national archaeological monuments, treated with little respect. As it was realized that they were largely composed of organic materials that had been allowed to decay for many centuries, in the course of the 19th century most of them were largely (i.e. the parts not occupied by valuable buildings like monumental churches) excavated, to be put on transport and sold as fertilizer and garden soil. What was found inside, ranging from pottery shards to ancient weapons and Roman and medieval coins, ended up in museums.

Apart from the archaeological remains, the special man-made landscape, the medieval churches (around a 100 in an area of just or 1000 km²!) and the museum items, the echoes of the region's history resound in the many hundreds of geographical names attached to the dwelling mounds, the buildings they were erected for, and in many cases the builders.

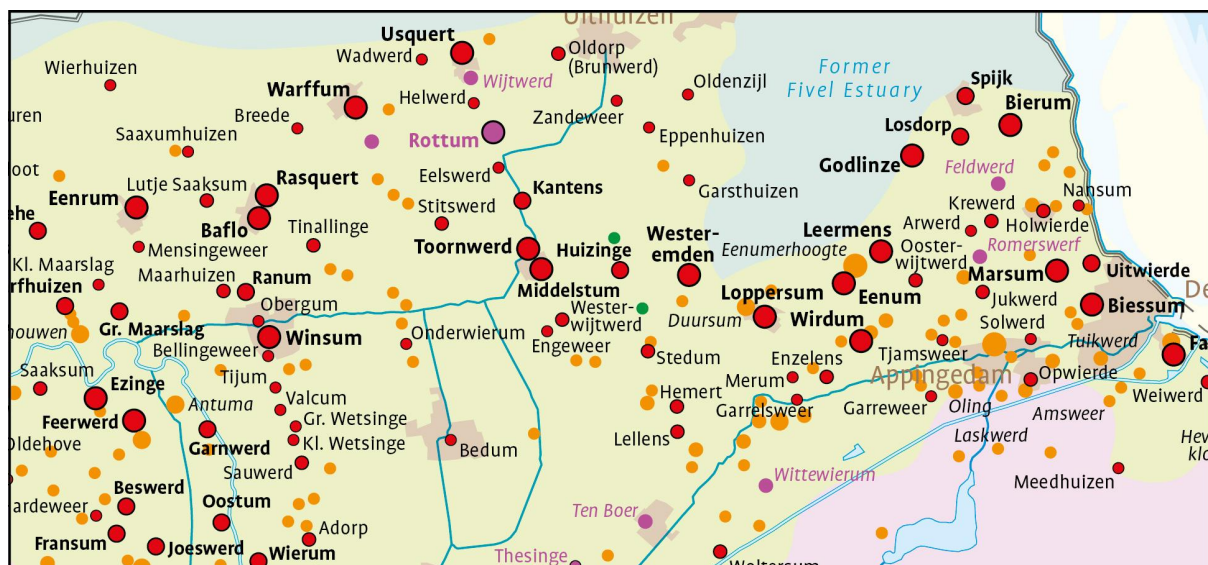


Figure 10. Geographical names referring to artificial dwelling mounds and the villages that formed around them in the central part of Groningen.

The picture above shows a little detail of the Groningen map, but we find the same toponymic wealth all along the southeast coast of the North Sea. Most of the settlement names consist of a generic element either denoting the dwelling mound itself (-*werd*, -*wierde*, -*weer*), or the main building it was erected for (-*um* < Old-Frisian *hēm* = “residence, birthplace”, cf. English *home*; -*huizen* or -*buren* = “houses, neighbourhood”; -*klooster* = “abbey”; etc.), and a specific element generally referring to the name of the person or family residing there, or the physical characteristics of the mound itself or its environment.

The generic term for a dwelling mound as occurring in placenames differs per region. The linguistic roots are always Old-Frisian, reflecting the ethnicity of the original mound-builders.



Figure 11. Generic terms for artificial dwelling mounds along the south-eastern shores of the North Sea (medieval Frisia).

3.7 Geographical Names as a Storybook of Human Migrations and History

In the example from the Dutch salt marshes, we have little knowledge of past migrations except for the archaeologists’ suggestion that the dwelling mounds of Frisia (the name the Romans gave to this coastal area in classical times) may have been largely evacuated by

the 4th century CE – the suggestion rests on a lack of archaeological finds from that period in time – to be repopulated some centuries later by migrants using a language and runic script resembling those of the Germanic migrants supplanting Romano-British culture beyond the North Sea. This coincides with a new historic episode of mound building, and also with the historically documented emergence of a Frisian thalassocracy offering serious resistance to the expansion of Frankish power to which the Frisians would ultimately succumb. Except for some presumably archaic hydronyms commonly attributed to a pre-Indo-European stage of European settlement history, this period is also the horizon of our knowledge of this area’s linguistic and toponymic heritage. In other parts of Europe, however, the boundary between prehistory and history lays much further back.

3.8 Ancient Toponyms: a Special Class of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Although geographical names are subject to deliberate, often politically motivated change and replacement, and are newly devised whenever a new geographical object needs to be named, many of them subsist for many centuries. They prove resistant to events like wars and natural disasters that all but obliterate the objects they originally described. Like ghosts of the deceased, they sometimes keep hanging around at the locations where they were once brought to life, and not uncommonly find a new body in which to dwell. Some toponyms constitute a category of cultural heritage of nearly unmatched ancientness.

Geographical names sometimes embody a population’s historical roots, or even a location’s history preceding the presence of the ancestors of those living there now. They are valued by historians, historical geographers and linguists for the light they may shed on a past otherwise dark, for the window they may provide to look back beyond the beginnings of history.

Apart from actual, verified historical details, legends and popular anecdotes often at some time in the past got attached to them. Even if proven untrue, these played or still play a role in the connection people perceive with locations in geographical space.

3.9 Time-resistant Ancient Names

Most commonly, ancient names over the centuries change in appearance following language change when control of the land and everything on it, including the named objects, passes from one ethnolinguistic group (“people”) to another. Names also tend to change beyond recognition as a consequence of the evolution of phonetic, grammatical and syntactic details of languages and their writing conventions. In some cases, however, names seem to have survived all what happened to their environment practically unchanged. The map below shows some of the many hundreds of place names in Italy dating back more than 2000 years: the coloured names printed in roman type are currently still (or again) written in exactly the same way as in ancient times.



Figure 12. Some place-names in Italy that survived the passing of 20 centuries and multiple substitutions of language largely unchanged.

What strikes us when looking at this map, is the impressive diversity of cultures that left their traces in names still in use today. Most of them are now forgotten and, to the eyes of the unknowing, for long disappeared. Also, the distribution of these hidden heirlooms still gives us a clue of the geographical range of the cultures leaving us their names: Etruscans in the central peninsula, Illyrians and Venetes in the east, Celts in the north, Greeks and Phoenicians in the south, Romans and other Italic peoples nationwide: they all contributed to what we call Italy and Italian today. What also may surprise us is that among the surviving ancient names in Italy, originally Latin names seem to be a minority.

Staying in Italy, the persistence of geographical names may be demonstrated by some examples of toponyms surviving the demise of the objects for which they were designed. The Etruscan city of Caisra, one of the biggest and most important places in Italy by the 6th century BCE, survived as a small provincial town into Roman times under the Latinised name Caere, but started to become abandoned as it fell victim to outbreaks of malaria and Saracen raids after the 6th century CE. By then, its name had been transferred to the local bishopric, for which a new see was built 9 kilometres to the east. The new settlement was named Caere Nova ('New Caere'), which now resounds in the name of the village of Ceri. By the 13th century the old city had become a ghost town known as Caere Vetus ('Old Caere'), a

name it retained when it became resettled in the 17th century: in modern Italian, this became Cerveteri.

Another notable example is the story of the city of Capua. This ancient place, its name also revealing an Etruscan past, was in the 3rd century BCE the second-largest population centre in Roman Italy. In 851 CE, the city was burned to the ground by Saracen mercenaries sent by the Lombard usurper of the principality of Benevento to which it then belonged, after which a new city was built at the remains of the old Roman town of Casilinum, five kilometres down the Via Appia. The name Capua was consequently transferred to the new site, the location's former name going into oblivion. After a couple of centuries, the ruins of the old town came back to life when some farmers settled around the old church of Santa Maria Maggiore, the only structure that had survived the Saracen attack. To honour the ancient site, in 1861 this town was renamed Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere ("Old Capua").

Some similarities between the ancient and modern names in Italy are the result of recent renaming as a purposeful policy to boost national pride by reminiscing the glorious Roman past. In Sicily, the Greek town of Akragas had received the Latinised name Agrigentum when it was seized by the Romans in 210 BCE. At the time Arabic was the dominant language in Sicily, roughly from the 9th to the 11th century CE, the place was referred to as Kerkent, a name that was Sicilianized to Girgenti after the Arabic dominance had passed. Girgenti was replaced with Agrigento, the modern Italian version of the Roman name, in 1927. Other examples of ancient Latin names that were recently revived are Tuscania (Toscanella until 1911), Tarquinia (Corneto until 1922) and Aprilia (a new town laid out in 1936: the location of the old one was unknown).

3.10 The Transfer of Names from Language to Language

At the moment a name is attached to an object, the language of the name-giver provides both the elements needed and the structure to join them together. The elements consist of semantic and morphologic units – units of meaning and form - called *words* and *morphemes*. The former are the smallest units that may occur independently, the latter even smaller particles, like suffixes and affixes forming part of or joined to them. The structure is provided in the form of a set of rules called *grammar*, that defines the way the language can be used to convey ("communicate") meaning. An important constituent of grammar is the *syntax*, determining the way words should be linked together into larger semantic conglomerates. Most names start their existence as such a semantic conglomerate.

This linguistic abracadabra may easily be clarified by picking the first name that comes to mind. For instance – to lovers of English literature – Stratford-upon-Avon. This English town that became world famous as the birthplace of William Shakespeare clearly consists of three elements, which are, obviously in accordance with some syntactic rule specifically applying to English names, separated by hyphens. Two of the elements start with a capital, the one in the middle does not: again a syntactic rule. As a capital initial letter is commonly used in (Roman) written language to denote that a word is either the beginning of a sentence or a name, we get the idea that both *Stratford* and *Avon* are names in themselves, and *upon* is not. We need to know that *upon* is a preposition, meant to establish a situational link between Stratford and Avon. Both of the remaining elements of this name also enclose a

meaning for themselves, which at the time of the name-giving must have been considered important. This meaning had to ensure that upon mentioning it, it would be clear which geographical object was meant, without anyone needing to point at it.

Stratford appears to be an Anglo-Saxon (Old English) name, consisting again of two semantic units, namely *strat* and *ford*. *Strat* is adopted from the Latin word *strata*, meaning “paved road”. It was a Latin (Roman) name for something the Romans made and left behind for the Anglo-Saxons, who did not know it themselves and, as they seem to have done with other Roman things, ignored it except when they could make use of it. The paved road referred to, was in this case the Roman road from Alcester (ancient Alauna) to Tiddington, both of them Celtic settlements fortified by the Romans. *Ford* is an Anglo-Saxon word that still exists in modern English, meaning “part of a river shallow enough for people to cross over”. So Stratford was obviously the place where one would cross the river when following the Roman road. If one would mention this, anyone would indeed know which site was meant without someone having to go there and point at it.

The addition “upon Avon” became necessary when the place became important enough to be mentioned to people who might also know other places where Roman roads crossed rivers, or other towns named Stratford. To these people, the mentioning of Stratford alone might not provide enough information. The name Avon itself is Celtic; it simply means “river”; it is still the name of a couple of English rivers, including the one flowing through Stratford-upon-Avon.

It is thus clear that the name of this town started as a semantic conglomerate combining historical knowledge – itself intangible cultural heritage – about its roots in three different cultures that no longer exist (Celtic, Roman and Anglo-Saxon), even though today its meaning to most people is simply “Shakespeare’s birthplace”. The Roman road became forgotten, its asphalt successor not special enough to be named, and the ford lost its importance once bridges were built. The addition “upon Avon” remained worth mentioning because of the existence of another Stratford, located in the Greater London conurbation.

3.11 The Relevance of Dead and Disappeared Languages

Because toponyms generally (although not always) outlive their creators, locally vanished and even “dead” languages are not per definition deprived of their importance from a toponymic point of view. Dead languages often leave their traces both in the vocabulary of their living successors and, much more so, in geographical names. This is a well-known fact to historical linguists, who make indeed grateful use of toponyms in their efforts to reconstruct so-called proto-languages (disappeared common ancestors of modern languages belonging to the same family), as well as trace *substrates*, residues of local predecessor languages in unrelated immigrant successor languages. Especially hydronyms (water names) have a reputation of being very ancient, often ancient enough even to antedate the presumed 4th and 3rd Millennium BCE Indo-European immigration into Europe. These substrates are held responsible for a major part of the diversification between the branches of the Indo-European language family. The vocabulary of the Germanic languages, for instance, is thought to contain a large number of pre-Indo-European words, maybe inherited from the thriving 4th Millennium BCE society that built the numerous tumuli and megalithic graves in north-western Europe. Also the Greek geographical generic term

meaning “sea”, *thalassos*, is supposedly of pre-Hellenic and pre-Indo-European (by the ancient Greeks themselves labelled “Pelagian”) descent – suggesting that this famous seafaring people was not yet so familiar with the sea at the time it reached its present homeland.

A quick survey of the geographical names in a well-known country like the United Kingdom will further illustrate the arguments expounded above. The nationwide official language of the United Kingdom is English. Besides English, the dwindling Celtic languages Welsh and (Scottish) Gaelic also have official status on a sub-national level.

English is a Germanic language, which developed from the closely related languages of Anglian and Saxon immigrants in the 5th century CE. In the part of the kingdom currently called England, Anglo-Saxon and neighbouring continental Germanic invaders, earlier than their Germanic language(s), presumably superseded a mixed Roman and Brythonic Celtic aristocracy ruling a partly Romanised, but largely still Celtic (Brythonic) speaking population. The part of the Brythonic population most strongly opposing assimilation with the Anglo-Saxon language and culture fled the Germanic invaders to take refuge in present-day Wales, the border area of England and Scotland (Cumbria and Strathclyde), the southwestern peninsula of England, and the peninsula of Armorica (thereupon renamed ‘Britannia minor’, Little Brittany) in continental Gaul (currently France). In Scotland, at the same time, a Pictish population speaking an as yet unknown language that had taken refuge there for the Roman invaders of the island, four centuries earlier, were gradually superseded by so-called Goidelic Celts (Gaels, *Scoti*) invading their homeland by sea from Northern Ireland. The Brythonic and Gaelic newcomers in Scotland were, although both Celtic, distinctive enough not to understand each other’s language.

Starting from the 8th century, new Germanic immigrants invaded the country: Norwegian and Danish Vikings took possession of and effectively colonized large parts of both Scotland and England, to be eventually (in the 11th century) expelled again by the Anglo-Saxons. Even before the last Norwegians were ousted, however, Anglo-Saxon dominance itself came to an end by an invasion of yet another Viking aristocracy: this time already Romanised as French-speaking Normans, people from what had recently come to be known as Normandy, who successfully claimed the English throne.

At present the English language is, apart from being the only nationwide official language, the mother tongue of more than 99% of the native inhabitants of the United Kingdom. But before Anglo-Saxon or English prevailed, Pictish, Brythonic Celtic, and Latin were for centuries the languages of both aristocracy and (part of) the common people, as were Gaelic Celtic, Norwegian, Danish and French (the latter mostly of aristocracy) after the introduction of Anglo-Saxon. The imprint of some of these languages on the geographical names of the British Isles is at least as large as Anglo-Saxon/English: the large majority of names in Scotland is of Gaelic origin, except in Strathclyde, where many names are either Brythonic or Anglo-Saxon, and in the Northern and Western isles (Shetland, Orkney and the Hebrides), where almost all names are of Norwegian descent. The islands were Norwegian from the 8th until the 15th century, which was long enough for a new variety of the Old Norse language to develop there (called Norn, and spoken in Orkney until the 18th century). The northern and eastern parts of England show a mixture of Danish - for instance names on *-by* (“farmstead, village”) - and Anglo-Saxon, while the southeast is predominantly Anglo-Saxon. In the southwest, the Brythonic element is dominant. All through England a Brythonic

substrate is eminent, although least so in settlement names, as are remains of Latin like the formerly generic elements *caster* or *chester* (Lancaster, Manchester - from *castra* = 'fortress') and -port (from *portus* = 'harbour' or *porta* = 'gate'). The names are practically all that remains of their Romano-British past, which makes them the more valuable as heritage. Wales, on the other hand, is almost completely Brythonic: the Anglicised forms of Brythonic (Welsh) names were with the recent emancipation of the Welsh language returned to their original state, and English names reverted to their Welsh counterparts. In Cornwall in Southwest-England, the Cornish (Brythonic) language had gone extinct by 1777, but is presently being revived and granted official status next to English on a local level; some long forgotten Cornish place-names are correspondingly being restored.

The English language itself lost much of its original Anglo-Saxon character because of all subsequent invasions, causing the grammatical structure to be simplified and the vocabulary augmented with a large amount of Scandinavian and French words. Pronunciation was heavily influenced as well.

Geographical names were in writing often adapted to the language passing by. An appealing example is York, going back on a Brythonic personal name Eburos (meaning 'yew man'), maybe the owner of an estate with yew trees where the Romans built a fortress that they consequently called Eburacum. The Anglo-Saxons, ignorant of this meaning, transformed the name through etymological misinterpretation (popular etymology) into Eoforwic, meaning 'wild boar settlement'. The Vikings taking over the place from the Anglo-Saxons contracted the first part of the name, without bothering for a possible meaning that they didn't understand anyway, into *Hjor*, while they thought to understand the second part as the similar sounding Norse generic *vík*, meaning "bay": not very appropriate for the inland town, but the combination *Hjor* and *vík* occurred in their Scandinavian homeland as well. They were the last to bother at all: the Anglo-Saxons ousting the Danes, just before they themselves had to accept francophone Norman rule, left the name as it was remodelled by the Vikings: Hjørvík. The notoriously erosive Anglo-Saxon tongue would ultimately chew this up into what it is now: York.

The process of subsequent transformations of names illustrated by the case of York shows the significance of "dead" as much as "living" languages to the development of geographical names, as well as the cultural heritage value of the names as echoes of their settlement history. The "erosion" ultimately yielding the present form of the name does not follow a random path, but is dependent on the phonological characteristics of the "new" language (the Anglo-Saxon dialect of Yorkshire), as compared to those of the "old" language (medieval Norse or Danish). The regional settlement history, as it also culminates in the local dialect, is decisive. Latin *castra* thus used to evolve into *caster* in the areas of Northern England staying for long out of the grip of the Anglo-Saxons, but tended to become *chester* or *cester* in the more thoroughly anglicised parts of the country. It is thus the phonology of the dialect, not the official language, which determines the ultimate form of the name.

3.12 Vanished Identities Preserved in Names

Geographical names more often than not antedate the national entities we discern today. In Europe, for instance, most of the state-based nations Europeans currently derive their national identity from (British, French, Germans, Italians, Poles, Dutch and so forth),

crystallized between the 17th and the early 20th centuries, with processes of nation-building peaking in the latter half of the 19th century. Dominant state languages became national, official and standardized, while regional languages, dialects and vernacular “between the lines” became suppressed. In the geographical names populating the redrawn map, the actual diversity as of old nevertheless persevered. The wealth of regional culture and history fossilized in the names, so to say: again ensuring their value as intangible cultural heritage. A nice example can be observed in France.

At the time of Caesar’s campaign in Gaul just over 2000 years ago, Gaulish society was divided over numerous Celtic, Celto-Ligurian and Aquitanian tribes and alliances. Some of these were more powerful than others but none had succeeded in lastingly unifying a significant part of Gaul. Under Roman rule too, their dividedness remained a characteristic feature of the Gauls. The tribes of old became *civitates*, more or less autonomous communities bound together by common laws and each living within their own territories delimited by the Roman provincial authorities and governed from their own capital. The names of the capitals became typically connected to the names of the *civitates*, which were the same as the names of the former tribes, especially when they were common Gaulish names of which many homonyms occurs, like Noviomagus (“new market”), Noviodunum (“new borough”) or Mediolanum (“centre of the plain/territory”). In this case, the tribal names functioned as epithets to discriminate between homonyms: for instance Mediolanum Ebuovicum (“Mediolanum of the Ebuovices”, now Évreux; Mediolanum Santonum (“Mediolanum of the Santones”, now Saintes). By the 4th century CE the tribal epithet (Ebuovicum, Santonum) had in many cases replaced the original name as the common appellative by which the place was known. The result of this was that both the name of the *civitas* – as the originally “ethnic” administrative unit typically became a diocese after Christianization, its name usually living on after the Franks finally brought unity to Gaul in early medieval times – and the name of its capital became derived from the name of the tribe. But three or four centuries intervened, so the derivations followed different roads. The name of the Atrebatas thus lived on in the regional name Artois and the city name Arras; the Baiocassi in Bessin and Bayeux; the Cadurci in Quercy and Cahors; and so forth. The map below shows the tribal names in their Roman Latinised form (red italic), the derived regional names (black italic) and the city names; note that the word *city* (French *ci  *) itself is derived from Latin *civitas*. Below the map, the derivations are listed in a table. In this table, the current French demonyms (mostly they are geographical adjectives as well) are included in the last column. In some cases these retain the original form of the Latin tribe names: inhabitants of Bayeux are still called Baiocasses, those of Corseul Curiosolites, those of Langres Lingones.



Figure 13. Names of French towns and regions derived from former Gaulish (Celtic, Celto-Ligurian and Aquitanian/Iberian) tribes.

Gaulish tribe	Derived regional name	Derived city name	Demonym of modern region/city name
Atrebates	Artois < Atrebatensis	Arras < Athrebate < (Nemetacum) Atrebatum	Artésiens (region); Arrageois (city)
Viromandui	Vermandois < (pagus) Viromandensis	Vermand	Vermandois
Ambiani		Amiens	Amiénois
Caleti	Caux		Cauchois
Bellovaci	Beauvaisis < Bellovaci	Beauvais < Bellovacis	Beauvaisien
Suessiones	Soissonnais	Soissons < (Augusta) Suessionum	Soissonnais
Remi		Reims < Remos < (Durocortorum) Rementium	Rémois
Mediomatrici		Metz < Divodurum Mediomatricorum	Messin
Catalauni		Châlons < (Duro) Catalaunum	Châlonnais
Meldi		Meaux < Meldis < Iantimum civitas Meldorum	Meldois
Silvanectes		Senlis < Silvanectis < Augustomagus Silvanectum	Senlisiens
Veliocassi	Vexin < (pagus) Veliocassinus		
Lexovii	Lieuvin	Lisieux < Noviomagus Lexoviorum	Lexoviens
Eburovici		Évreux < (Mediolanum) Eburovicorum	Ébroïciens
Durocassi	Drouais < Dorcassinus	Dreux < Drocac < Durocas < Durocassis	Drouais
Viducassi		Vieux < civitas Viducassensis	Viducasses
Baiocassi	Bessin < Pagus Baiocensis	Bayeux < civitas Baiocassium	Bessinois (region); Bajocasses (city)
Parisii	Parisis	Paris < Lutetia apud Parisios	Parisiens
Carnutes		Chartres	Chartrains
Tricassi		Troyes < civitas Tricassium	Troyens
Senones	Sénonais	Sens	Sénonais
Cenomani	Maine < (pagus) Cilimanicus	Le Mans < Ceromanos < civitas Cenomanorum	Manceaux
Diablinti		Jublains < civitas Diablintum	Diablintes
Abrincatui	Avranchin	Avranches < Abrincas	Avranchinais
Curiosolitae		Corseul	Curiosolites
Redones		Rennes < Redonas	Rennais
Veneti		Vannes < civitas Venetum	Vannetais
Andes/Andecavi	Anjou < Andecavum	Angers <	Angevins
Namnetes		Nantes < Portus Namnetum	Nantais
Turones	Touraine < civitas Turonensis	Tours	Tourangeaux
Pictavi	Poitou	Poitiers < Pictavis	Poitévins
Lingones		Langres	Lingons
Bituriges	Berry	Bourges	Berrichons (region); Berruyers (city)
Ambarri		Ambérieu < Ambariacus	Ambarrois
Arverni		Auvergne < Arvernia	Auvergnats
Santonnes	Saintonge	Saintes < (Mediolanum) Santonum	Saintongeais (region); Saintais (city)
Lemovices	Limousin	Limoges < Lemovicas < civitas Lemovicum	Limousins (region); Limougeauds(city)
Medulli	Médoc < Medulicus		Médoquins/Méduliens
Petrocorii	Périgord	Périgueux	Périgordins (region); Périgourdins (city)
Boii	Buch	Biganos < Boios	
Vasates	Bazadais < Vasadés < (pagus) Basatensis	Bazas < Vasats [Gascon] < civitas Basatica	Bazadais / Vasadés [Occitan]
Cadurci	Quercy < Carcin [Occitan] < Cadurcinum	Cahors < Cadurcum < Divona Cadurcorum	Cadurciens
Vellavi	Velay		Vellaves

Gaulish tribe	Derived regional name	Derived city name	Demonym of modern region/city name
Sotiates		Sos	Sotiates
Gabali	Gévaudan	Javols < ad Gabalum	Gévaudanais (region); Javolais (city)
Ruteni	Rouergue < (pagus) Rutenicus	Rodez < Ruteni < civitas Rutenorum	Rouergat (region); Ruthénois (city)
Elusates	Eauzan	Eauze < Elusa	Élusates
Tarusates/Aturenses	Tursan < pagus Aturensis	Aire-sur-l'Adour < Atura	Aturins
Auscii		Auch	Auscitains
Beneharni	Béarn		Béarnais
Suburates	Zuberoa [Basque, = Soule]		Zuberotar [Basque]
Bigerri	Bigorre		Bigourdans
Conсорanni	Couserans < Consoranni		Couserannais
Caturiges		Chorges < Cadorgas	Caturiges
Quariates	Queyras		
Brigiani		Briançon < Brigantio	Briançonnais
Vergunni		Vergons	Vergonais
Reii		Riez < Reii (Apollinares)	Réiens
Sentii		Senez < civitas	Seneziens
Vordenses		Gordes	Gordiens
Tricastini		St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux < St Pau de Tricastin [Occitan] < Noviomagus Tricastinorum	Tricastins

3.13 Of People, Activities and Circumstances Gone by

A nation's collection of geographical names is like a geographical information system storing all that passed by in the different parts of its national territory. A wealth of geo-referenced bits of heritage that collectively recollect how nation and land became what they are today.

The oldest geographical names currently still in use echo the sounds of languages sometimes long forgotten, thus proving that the people speaking these languages were actually present at the named locality at some point of time. The city of Aswan in Egypt was represented by hieroglyphs with the phonetic value swnt.t (Swenett), logographically thought to designate "trade" or "market" in the Early Egyptian of the Old Kingdom of the early 3rd millennium BCE, where it functioned as a border settlement trading with Nubia. The hieroglyphs representing the name of present-day Asyut read z3jw.tj, its meaning resting unveiled.

Many European river names, as well as names of mountain ranges and some settlements, are on the grounds of linguistic comparison (as explained before: they don't match Indo-European phonological schemes) assumed to be at least of similar age, although no written documentation was handed down. Vestiges of unknown ancestors are they, of cultures we have no memory of.

Cultures that did leave traces of textual evidence and material artefacts impressive enough for us to nickname them "cradle of civilization", also left us toponyms the sounds of which can still be heard today, even if the languages they belonged to went out of use thousands of years ago. Turkish Adana was Adaniyya, Tarsus Tarsa in the language of the Hittites; Iranian Shush was Šušan in Elamite, Ilam was the Elam of the Sumerians; Syrian Dimashq (Damascus) was Dimašqa in the Akkadian tongue, Turkish Nusaybin Naşibīna. Even when original meanings cannot be retrieved, identifying the language alone suffices to tell us something that stirs the imagination.

The information contained in names originating in better known languages presents us with a complete history of a region's settlement and cultivation, economic development and political fortunes, wars and migrations and natural environment.

PART 3

3.14 Cultural Heritage Aspects to be Incorporated in Names Collection and Processing

If we wish to take account of the cultural heritage aspects of names when recording them as part of a base mapping and names standardization process, we need to collect information on:

1. the relationship between official and regional language use in toponymy;
2. the language each name belongs to, or the language/languages of the local community employing the name;
3. certain phonological details needed to understand the relationship between pronunciation and writing;
4. the (perceived) meaning the name conveys/the meaning of the generic and specific elements it consists of, to the knowledge of the local population.

3.15 Official Language vs. Regional Language in the Toponymic Landscape

The role of official language vocabulary in toponymy differs per country, and may be considered a function of the country's settlement history and the origin of the official language. In most countries of the Americas as well as in Australia, immigrants from Europe became the dominant segment of the population; they founded the modern states, and the languages they brought with them became the languages of the state institutions and of the majority among the inhabitants. With only a few exceptions, the indigenous populations became reduced to a small and fragmented minority within the boundaries of the new states, their languages and toponyms all but disappeared. All but, because remnants of them remained, albeit in a corrupted form, as part of the specific elements of a multitude of geographical names. Apart from their partly indigenous etymology, geographical names nevertheless follow writing and pronunciation rules consistent with the official language.

Many countries of Africa were also carved out of European colonial empires, but European domination was relatively short-lived there and only rarely accompanied by significant European immigration. The short time the Europeans held the continent under their sway nevertheless saw a complete overhaul of the indigenous political landscape, with the result that the boundaries of most newly independent nations typically didn't fit around the territorial boundaries of a single ethno-cultural group. In these cases, the former colonial boundaries and the language of the former colonial overlords were a legacy that could often not easily be abandoned: the latter was the case when the different ethnic groups sharing the new state had no common indigenous language or lingua franca at their disposal. This led to a situation where the official language, of European origin, was only spoken as a second language by a minor part of the population, with a pidgin variety of this foreign language

sometimes developing into vernacular (cf. Nigerian Pidgin, Camfranglais, Ghanaian Pidgin, Krio). Geographical names in these countries are predominantly indigenous and belong to a multitude of regional languages, although their orthography is usually influenced by the official language.

In Europe and Asia, the official language is in most cases the mother tongue of the dominant ethno-cultural group in the country. In parts of the countries inhabited by other groups, the official language and regional languages typically coexist. Through nationwide imposition or promotion through national education, use of the official language then tends to displace regional language use, and ultimately jeopardize the survival of the regional languages.

Where the official language is an indigenous lingua franca without a regional base and not connected to one dominant ethnic group within the nation, the position of regional languages may be less vulnerable. Bilingualism is then an obvious condition, with both languages each having their own domain of use. In toponymy, names and vocabulary of regional languages and of the official language or lingua franca may then simultaneously occur, with the older traditional settlements bearing regional language names, and settlements or administrative units established by the national government at least containing vocabulary elements (like generic terms and adjectives) of the official language.

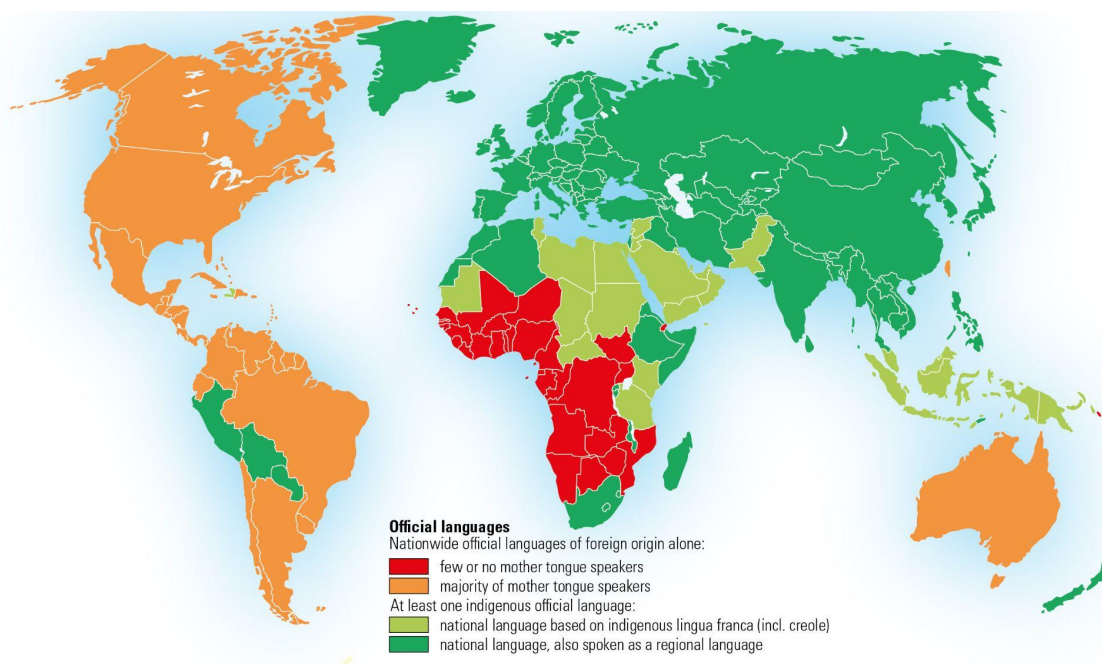


Figure 14. Official languages.

As for regional languages as elements of valuable cultural heritage deserving protection, UNESCO did accommodate the publication of a Red Book of Endangered Languages (1994), an initiative of the Endangered Languages Committee established by the International Congress of Linguists (CIPL) in 1992, which was compiled from data collected through an International Clearing House for Endangered Languages (ICHEL). In 1996 the Red Book was followed up by the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, the 3rd updated interactive edition of which was issued in 2010.

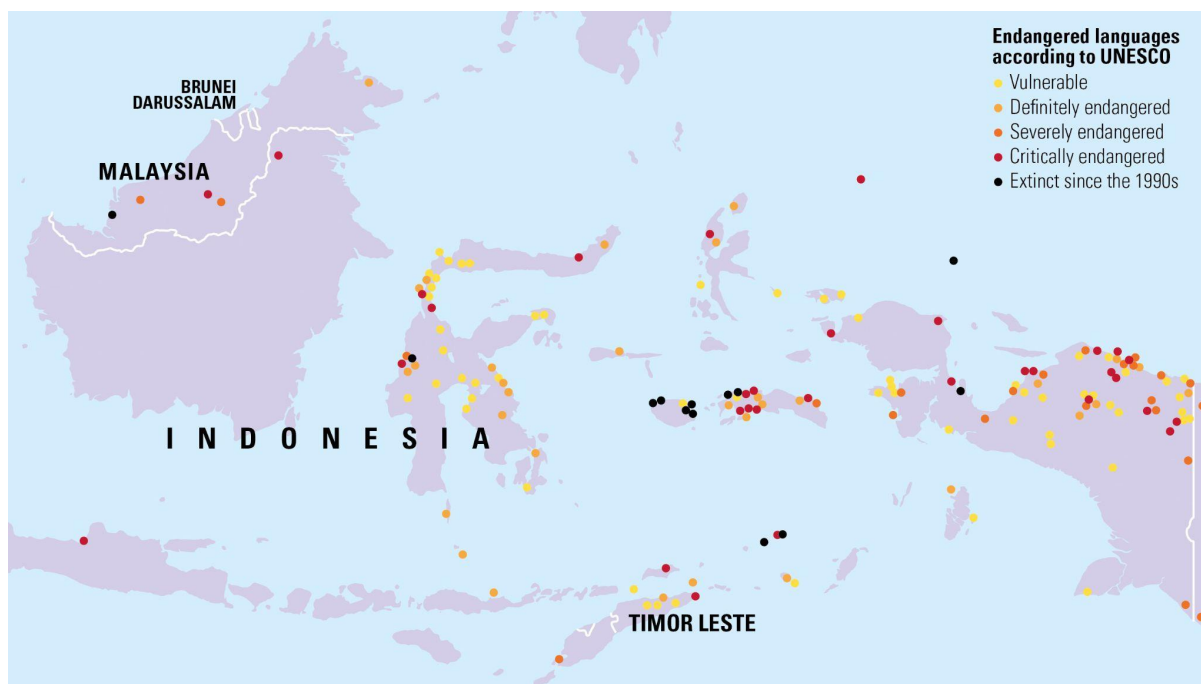


Figure 15. Endangered languages in the eastern part of Indonesia, included in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (2010).

This atlas distinguishes five categories of endangerment: vulnerable (most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains), definitely endangered (children no longer learn the language as a mother tongue at home), severely endangered (the language is spoken by grandparents and older generations, while parents no longer use it to communicate with their children or among themselves), critically endangered (the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently) and extinct (there are no active speakers left).

3.16 Official Language, Regional Languages, *Slang* and Names in Indonesia

In the West-Javanese example elaborated earlier, the meaning of geographical names can in most cases be easily traced, because we know which language they belong to. The languages encountered in this area are well-studied and their vocabularies are well-known. The language of the names in Bandung and Cianjur regencies is mostly recognizable as modern standard Sundanese, although some words are dialectal or no longer in common use. Some spring from Old Sundanese or Kawi, Javanese and Malay/Bahasa Indonesia.

Sundanese is one of the many hundreds of regional languages spoken in Indonesia next to the country's national language Bahasa Indonesia. As a standardized form of the Malay lingua franca of the archipelago, Bahasa Indonesia was officially adopted as the national language of the Republic of Indonesia upon its independence, a role for which it was prepared since the Second Youth Congress of 1928 (the Youth Pledge or *Sumpah Pemuda*). This was, and is, an important role: starting from the 19th century, the development of standardized national languages was a major element of all nation-building processes

required to carve viable national states out of Europe's multinational dynastic empires, as well as their colonial extensions worldwide.

With so many different cultures within its borders, Indonesia's new national identity was wisely built around the concept of Unity in Diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), where the national language *Bahasa Indonesia* was a major pillar of Unity and the regional languages embodied the country's unequalled Diversity.

Indonesia is one of those countries where a nationwide official language and regional languages are used simultaneously in all different regional subdivisions, often by the same people in different circumstances. Here we also find a strong third player that joins the competition. In Indonesian cities, it is common for people to use their native regional language among relatives and neighbours, and a shared vernacular or "slang" (*bahasa gaul*) among their friends; this vernacular is based on the Jakarta Malay dialect, with influences from several other regional languages, and very far removed from the standard Indonesian language. Standard Indonesian is the language of "neat" writing, of literature, song lyrics and official letters – but ever less of informal writing – and rarely spoken by anyone at all, except during lectures or official speeches.

Just like these different language forms are used simultaneously in speech and writing, geographical names tend to combine vocabulary elements from both official and regional languages, although thus far they escape the influence of the vernacular. Throughout the country, next to names springing from regional languages, numerous originally Indonesian/Malay names also widely occur. Some standard Indonesian vocabulary is also shared with Malay dialects spoken as regional language in parts of Sumatra and Kalimantan, as well as in and around many cities and coastal areas with a long-time mixed population like Jakarta, Manado and many Moluccan islands. In official maps and registrations, generic elements of regional language names may be translated into Bahasa Indonesia, while specific elements remain original, except that their writing may be adapted to the orthography of the official language (simplified).

Code switching (alternating between different languages) is in Indonesia common practice, within sentences in spoken or written language. It also occurs within geographical names, for instance in the following placenames found in West-Java:

- Cialangalang: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *alangalang* = cogongrass (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cieurih)
- Cibacang: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Jakarta Malay *bacang* = *Mangifera foetida*, a kind of mango tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cilimus)
- Cibembem: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Jakarta Malay *bembem* = *Mangifera odorata*, saipan mango (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cikaweni)
- Cibenda: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *benda* = wild breadfruit tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Citeureup)
- Pasir Benda: Sundanese *pasir* = hill, Javanese *benda* = wild breadfruit tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Pasir Teureup)
- Cibening: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *bening* = clear (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Ciharang)

- Cidingin: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *dingin* = cold (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Citiis)
- Cidurian: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *durian* = durian (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cikadu)
- Cijamur: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *jamur* = fungus (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cisupa)
- Cikancana: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Kawi *kancana* = gold (the modern-Sundanese equivalent also occurs)
- Cikaroya: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *karoya* = *Ficus virens*, mountain fig (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cibunut)
- Cikedawung: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *kedawung* = *Parkia timoriana*, a kind of tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cipeundeuy)
- Cikemlandingan: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *kemlandingan* = *Paraserianthes lophantha subsp. Montana*, a kind of tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Ciharuman)
- Cilengsar: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *lengsar* = *Pometia pinnata*, a kind of tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cileungsir)
- Cimacan: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *macan* = tiger (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cimeong)
- Cipinang: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *pinang*, areca palm (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cijambe)
- Cisagu: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay *sagu*, sago palm (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cikiray)
- Lemahabang: Sundanese *lemah* = land, Javanese *abang*, red (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Lemahbeureum)

3.17 Identifying the Language of the Name

When collecting geographical names in the field, especially when we explicitly aim to respect the cultural heritage they embody, it is important to know which regional language is used in what part of the area surveyed. When we are used to the language situation in Java and Bali alone, we may think this is not a big deal: next to Bahasa Indonesia, in Bali the language is Balinese, in Java there may be some issues around the boundaries between Sundanese, Javanese and Jakarta Malay (Betawi), some overlap between Javanese and Madurese in the east, and of course the boundaries between distinctive dialects of Javanese and Sundanese, but otherwise it is clear as well. But elsewhere in Indonesia and in many other parts of the world, things might be very different. When we travel east from Bali, for instance, the situation soon gets overwhelmingly complicated, even for the most seasoned language lover. Have a look at the language map below: it shows Bali and some islands of the Solor and Alor Archipelago's in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur on the same scale.

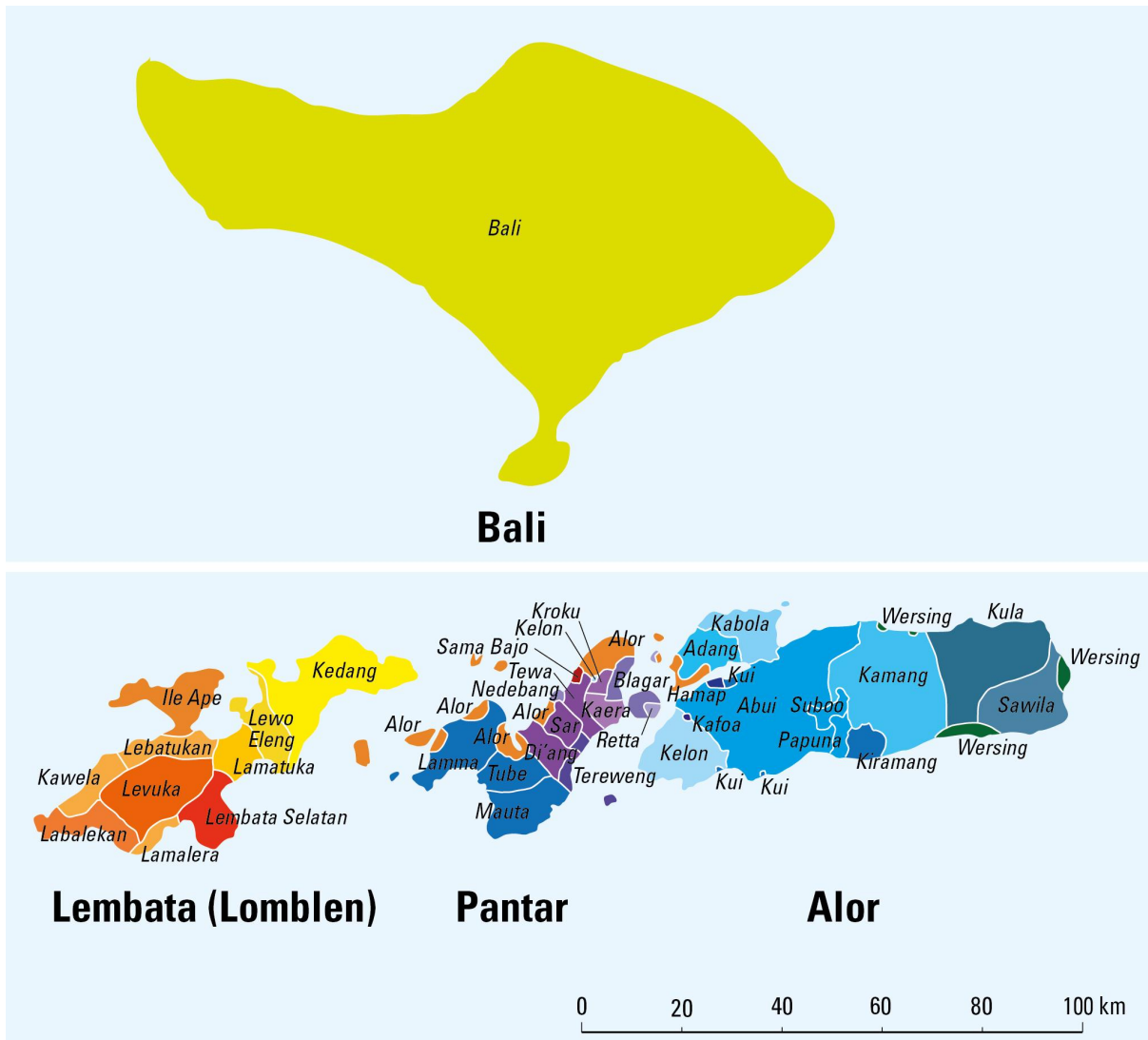


Figure 16. Languages of Lembata, Pantar and Alor (Nusa Tenggara Timur).

The yellow, red and light green languages are part of the big Austronesian language family to which Bahasa Indonesia also belongs. The blue and purple shades refer to languages of the so-called Trans-New Guinea language family, which bears no resemblance to the Austronesian languages at all but for some possible Trans-New Guinea substrate vocabulary in some of the latter.

When collecting names in these islands, we do need expert linguistic guidance on the spot. Take a good look at this map, and note how far the diversity goes: between Pantar and the northern peninsula of Alor, there is a tiny island bearing the name Ternate (not to be confused with the bigger and better-known Ternate in the Moluccan Islands), which although it measures a mere 1,5 square miles/3,8 km² is home to speakers of two totally unrelated languages, namely Alorrese (Austronesian) and Retta (Trans-New Guinea). The language boundaries and distinctions drawn in this map are just one interpretation of the islands' linguistic reality, as there obviously does not yet exist scientific consensus about both.

A further complication is that different people might call the same language or dialect by different names: Nedebang, spoken on Pantar, may also be called Balungada or Klamu,

Lamma also Lemma or Mauta. Kui on Alor is called Masin-Lak by the speakers of this language; sometimes it is also called Lerabain. So when walking through our survey area, before we ask anyone about his or her native language, or to what language a certain name belongs, we need to sort this out with expert help.

3.18 The Relationship between Writing and Pronunciation

Only when we know which language a name belongs to, we can decide what would be the most correct writing, or try to identify generic and specific elements and understand the meaning it may convey.

As for writing vs. pronunciation, our aim must be to avoid confusion. Each language employs a set of phonemes (meaningful sounds or units of pronunciation) to function as a means of communication. Between different languages, many phonemes may be shared, but some are language specific.

In an ideal world, there would be separate letters for all phonemes occurring in all languages, no two phonemes would ever be rendered with the same letter, and no letter would be used for more than one phoneme. But obviously, in this respect the world is far from ideal. The result is, that when different languages must be handled at the same time, or people have to deal with languages they are not completely familiar with, confusion will arise.

A nice way to illustrate this, is by looking at Indonesia's most widely spoken regional language: Javanese. This language is spoken by 80 to 100 million people, and thus ranks as one of the most spoken languages in the world. And still there are issues that lead to confusion, also in the writing of toponyms.

In standard Javanese, based on the dialect of historic Mataram (the area of Surakarta and Yogyakarta), the vowel phoneme /a/ is pronounced ("realized") as [ɔ] in word-final open syllables, and in any open penultimate syllable before such an [ɔ]. To non-Javanese ears familiar for instance with Bahasa Indonesia, Malay or Sundanese, this sounds like the phoneme /o/. Dutch East Indies cartographers of the early 20th century rendered the pronunciation [ɔ] as â, but as this was no standard letter of the Roman alphabet, this usage didn't last and the same phoneme ended up being variously written as a or o. This was and is the source of lots of confusion, because when nowadays we encounter the letter o in a Javanese name, we cannot tell which phoneme it represents: /a/ or /o/. It is important to differentiate between the writing of /a/ and /o/, as – being different phonemes – they can represent different meanings. The Javanese word *loro* with o pronounced [o] means "two", the word *loro* with o pronounced [ɔ] means "ill"; the latter should more accurately be written *lârà*, or just *lara*, although this writing would lead to a wrong pronunciation by non-Javanese.

To complicate things farther, in the western dialects of Javanese collectively called Banyumasan, the phoneme /a/ is always pronounced [a], like in Sundanese; this is no coincidence, as these dialects are spoken in an area previously belonging to the Sundanese language area.

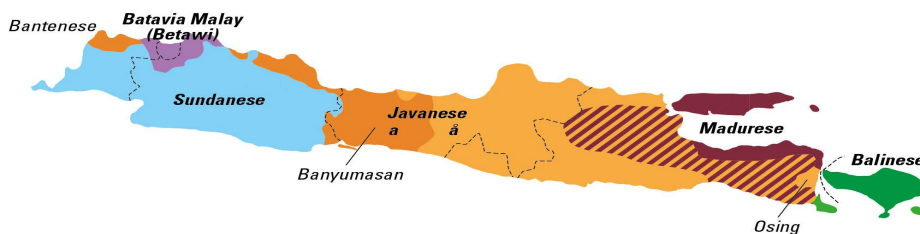


Figure 17. Languages of Java and Bali.

In the last stage of Dutch colonial rule, something obviously went wrong in the standardization of the writing of Javanese names leading to the situation that the same phoneme /a/ is written a in the name Surabaya, while it is written o in the name of nearby Mojokerto; in both names, the Javanese pronunciation is [ɔ]. The same phoneme occurs in the second vowel of the name we find written Singosari in OpenStreetMap, and Singasari (but next to “Singosari Temple”) in Google Maps. Similarly, /a/ is written a in Salatiga and Ambarawa, and both o (the second vowel) and a (the third vowel) in Boyolali. In the name of the biggest city of the Banyumasan language area, Purwokerto, the /a/ phoneme is nevertheless written o, although the same phoneme is written a in nearby Purbalingga.

As the Roman writing of such names is not reliable to differentiate between the phonemes and know their correct Javanese pronunciation, someone not familiar with these names in Javanese can only either revert to old Dutch maps, or check the writing in the Javanese script, in which /a/ is the standard vowel following a consonant (ꦧꦲ = ba), and /o/ is rendered by taling-tarung diacritics

around this consonant (ꦧꦺꦴ = bo); thus you can see that in ꦱꦸꦫꦧꦪꦶꦱꦶ (Surabaya) and ꦑꦸꦗꦺꦏꦺꦂꦠꦺꦴ (Mojokerto) there are only /a/-phonemes.

Other specific Javanese phonemes are the dental plosive /t̪/ and /d̪/ as opposed to the retroflex plosive /tʃ/ and /dʃ/, that do not occur in Bahasa Indonesia or any other Indonesian regional language except Madurese. In Javanese script they are rendered by different characters: ꦠꦺ and ꦢꦺ, resp.

ꦠꦺ and ꦢꦺ, in (modern) Indonesian Roman script both /t̪/ and /tʃ/ are written t, both /d̪/ and /dʃ/ are written d.

In Javanese, Bahasa Indonesia and Sundanese alike, as well as in many other languages using the Roman alphabet, it is a problem to keep the phonemes /e/ (Javanese diacritic as in ꦲꦺꦴ) and /ə/ (Javanese diacritic as in ꦲꦺꦴ) apart.

Apart from a lack of compatibility between the phonemes of a language and the script used to write it, phonemes may be realized (pronounced) differently depending on their position in a word or a name; different sounds representing the same phoneme are in phonological terms called distributional variants. This is another possible source of confusion.

To recap: the reason why it is useful to record the (correct) pronunciation of a geographical name next to its writing is, that in many languages there is no 1-to-1 correspondence between sounds and letters or combinations of letters (graphic codes). In these cases, one letter or text string may be pronounced in different ways, and one sound can be rendered in writing in more than one manner. And while writing details can typically be collected from multiple sources at a great distance from the named object, the correct pronunciation of an object's name can often only be reliably learned from members of the local community at the site.

Although there is no universal rule requiring a name's pronunciation and its writing to match – something which, for instance, notoriously rarely occurs in the case of English names in the UK – knowledge of the pronunciation might be indispensable when different written sources conflict, when there's uncertainty about the meaning of a name (provided this is considered important), and in some cases when a name needs to be transcribed.

As it would be unreasonable to demand extensive linguistic expertise from the surveyors collecting geographical names in the field, the tools and instructions they are given to cover this aspect of their work need to be well prepared.

3.19 Recording the Cultural Heritage Content of Geographical Names

When we collect geographical names in the field and subsequently standardize them, we must make sure that any cultural heritage they contain will not be lost. Names reflect the relationship between people and their geographical environment, and their attitude towards this environment: this is an inherited culture-specific thing. What kind of geographic objects or object classes are distinguished by the respective community? A list of generic terms in the specific language may shed light on this.

In the West-Javanese field work area of 1989, we found four different Sundanese generic terms for bridges: *cukang*, *jambatan*, *kereteg*, *sasak*. Are they different types of bridges, or are these different designations merely based on dialectal differences? Are *balong*, *dano* and *empang* designations for different kinds of ponds? What is the difference between *bantar*, *ereng*, *karees* and *parung*, all designations for shallows in rivers? Such distinctions alone may be specific for the traditional water-oriented culture of the Sundanese, and thus part of their cultural identity and heritage.

Any specific meaning attached to a certain geographical name may be considered cultural heritage as well: popular etymology, though historically dubious or incorrect, may be a real factor in the evolution of a name and its significance to the “owning” community.

3.20 Popular Etymology and Cultural Heritage

One more historical European example, to begin with. The Italian city presently called Benevento first entered into historiography as a stronghold of the Samnites, an Oscan-speaking people who between 343 and 290 BCE waged three wars against the Roman Republic that encroached on their territory. During the first two of these, the city, which probably went under an Oscan name Malies or Maliesia (in ancient Greek sources

Malieis, Maloeis or Maloenton), proved an untakable obstacle to the Roman advance. This may have contributed to a negative sound of the placename in the ears of the Latin-speaking Romans, who came to refer to it as Maleventum, meaning “bad luck” in Latin: an ancient example of name mutilation through popular etymology by foreigners not proficient in the local language.

By the end of the third Samnite War, Malies or Maleventum had, in spite of the Samnites’ fierce resistance come under Roman control, and the Latinized version of its name came to prevail. When 15 years later the Greek troops of Pyrrhus of Epirus came to the aid of the vanquished Samnites, a battle near Maleventum ended in a hard-fought Roman victory terminating Pyrrhus’ Italian campaign. Six years after Pyrrhus’ defeat, in 268 BCE, the Romans established a colony at Maleventum to secure it for once and for all and, believing the city’s name was a bad omen, renamed it to Beneventum (“success”). With the demise of the Oscan language in favour of Latin in the centuries to follow, its original name got lost in the mist of history.

This little piece of European ancient history may serve to make us aware of the following cultural heritage-aspects of toponymy:

1. When the language spoken by the people originally naming a geographical object was in the course of history substituted by another language, the original meaning of the name may no longer be understood by those who currently inhabit the area in which the object is located, and who consequently consider the object and its name their own (the earlier examples of York and Nijmegen demonstrated this too).
2. Language substitution in general encourages popular etymology: both the original form of a toponym and its original meaning may get blurred by popular reanalysis motivated by what philosophers following Nietzsche call our “Apollonian tendency”, our quest for order and rationality in everything we deal with.
3. To philologists, popular etymology is an erratic interpretation of the meaning of a name. In descriptive toponymy, it is a real-life (i.e. “neither good nor bad”) mechanism that may have influenced the actual writing and pronunciation of a geographical name, as well as the meaning currently attached to the name. In this example, we should keep in mind that Benevento is no longer a Samnite, nor a Roman city, but an Italian municipality bearing an Italian name.
4. If the renaming of 268 BCE was indeed meant to remove a bad omen – which sounds likely, but beautiful stories should never be too easily believed – it illustrates one aspect of historical geographical naming processes to keep in mind: they rarely involve in-depth scientific research by those coining the name, but are typically an outcome of the way people view the named object as part of their geographical environment. This in turn is rooted in their cultural attitudes and beliefs and the way their daily life relates to their environment both at present and in the past: in short, their cultural heritage.

Examples of renaming because a name is associated with adversity, or where a negative association supposedly underlies the decision to change a name, can be found worldwide. In Bali, the town of Karangasem (homonymous to the regency and traditional kingdom it served as capital) was renamed Amlapura in 1970, when the place was rebuilt after it had been largely destroyed by the eruption of Gunung Agung in 1963. Whether popular belief in a

connection between the place's name and its fate actually played a role in the name change – again, the story is appealing enough to cast reasonable doubt – can only be answered by those involved in this name change, and is indeed doubtful when we take into account that: (1) the city was not just renamed, but its administrative centre was also relocated because the governmental offices and the infrastructure had been covered by lava flows, and their former location was henceforth designated a volcanic hazard zone unfit for new construction; (2) the name of the new administrative centre was derived from the original name of a royal palace nearby, Puri Kelodan (the “southern palace”), namely Puri Amlaraja; (3) by the time the city was rebuilt under a new name, there was a general trend in Bali to end the confusing practice of referring to regencies and their capitals by the same name – in other words, to disentangle regency and city names – and it became practice to let the names of new regency capitals end in -pura: in 1992, the regency capital of Klungkung was renamed Semarapura so it was no longer homonymous with the name of the regency, and in 2009 new-built Mangupura replaced Denpasar as the capital of Badung Regency; (4) in the 4 centuries during which the capital city (Kuta Negara Karangasem) bore the same name as the kingdom/regency, Gunung Agung experienced more catastrophic eruptions without the name being changed, and neither did one ever feel the need to replace the name of the kingdom, later regency. But if the frequently-heard story of the renaming is believed by the local population itself and not considered stigmatizing in any way, it doesn't really matter what the real reason was: in that case, it adds value to the new name as being connected to the local culture, instead of just being the result of an administrative decision.

A Dutch example of popular etymology becoming cultural heritage: the name of the Dutch village of Ridderkerk (*ridder* = “knight”, *kerk* = “church” in contemporary Dutch) is rooted in popular reinterpretation of the original name Riederkerk = “the church of Riede”, Riede being a village drowned in a disastrous flood in 1421. Although it has etymologically no relationship at all to the word for “knight”, a knight proudly figures in the official (since 1816) coat of arms of the municipality:



The knight in the coat of arms is killing what looks like a crocodile, but is supposed to be a dragon. The patron saint of the church of Riede was Saint George, the famous dragon-slayer of Dutch folklore thought to symbolize the Christianization of our heathen ancestors. From an etymological or scientific point of view nonsense, but nevertheless local cultural heritage.

The current name of the West-Javanese city of Cirebon was the result of popular assimilation of the city's name in the colonial era (commonly written Cheribon) and the standard Sundanese toponymic format Ci- (= "water, stream") + a plant or animal name. The dominant theory about its etymology is based on its original 15th century name Caruban (according to Purwaka Caruban Nagari, the historiography of the Cheribon Sultanate), meaning "mixture" and referring to the mixed Javanese-Sundanese-Arabic population of the early port city. The more recently constructed Sundanese etymology, "Ci-" + *rebon* (a kind of shrimp traditionally abundant in the coastal mangroves, and still a popular local delicacy), is reflected in the city's coat of arms:



3.21 Conclusion

All this demonstrates that when collecting geographical names in the field, we must know on beforehand which details of the names and the named objects we should record in order to be able to standardize the names in a way that does justice to the cultural values and heritage of the local population "owning" the names/using them to relate to their environment. To gain this awareness, we must employ linguists familiar with the phonemic distinctions and the vocabulary of the languages to which the names currently belong, as well as experts on local culture, history and cultural heritage who are able to pinpoint the cultural peculiarities, sensitivities and attitudes towards the geographic environment that should be taken into account.