Geographical names as cultural heritage

Module 3
International Training on Toponymy
Bali - Indonesia

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Module 3 - Introduction

Geographical names and cultural heritage

1. The concept of intangible cultural heritage: general considerations - learning to value the cultural heritage aspects of geographical names worldwide

2. Different ways in which geographical names may be seen as carriers of cultural heritage: examples

3. Consequences for the processes of field collection of names, post-survey office treatment and standardization

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Growing attention for cultural heritage

Both national governments and the UN increasingly promote the conservation and protection of cultural heritage: those assets passed on to us by earlier generations that are considered of cultural value.

➤ Starting from the 1960s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (**UNESCO**) championed worldwide culture conservation.

➤ In 1998, the **Rome Statute** establishing the International Criminal Court included wartime attacks on historic monuments without military objectives in its definitions of war crimes (Article 8, Paragraph 2 (b) (ix).

➤ 2003: Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage in a UNESCO context

➢ The Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage published a **Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity**.

➢ Aim: to ensure better protection of important intangible cultural heritage worldwide, and promotion of awareness of its significance.

➢ Additional **List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding**, comprising those cultural elements that require special measures to preserve them for posterity.

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage:

➢ Language, writing systems, literature

➢ Folklore, customs and rituals, festivals and ceremonies

➢ Beliefs and religious practices (pilgrimages)

➢ Arts and crafts, traditional skills, sports, philosophy, cuisine

➢ Dressing culture/costume

➢ Music, dance, theater and other performing arts

➢ … **Geographical names!**

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

➢ 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.

➢ Culture and cultural heritage are **attributes to groups of people**, not of states: groups that may also identify themselves along ethnic lines, or based on a common history, 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.
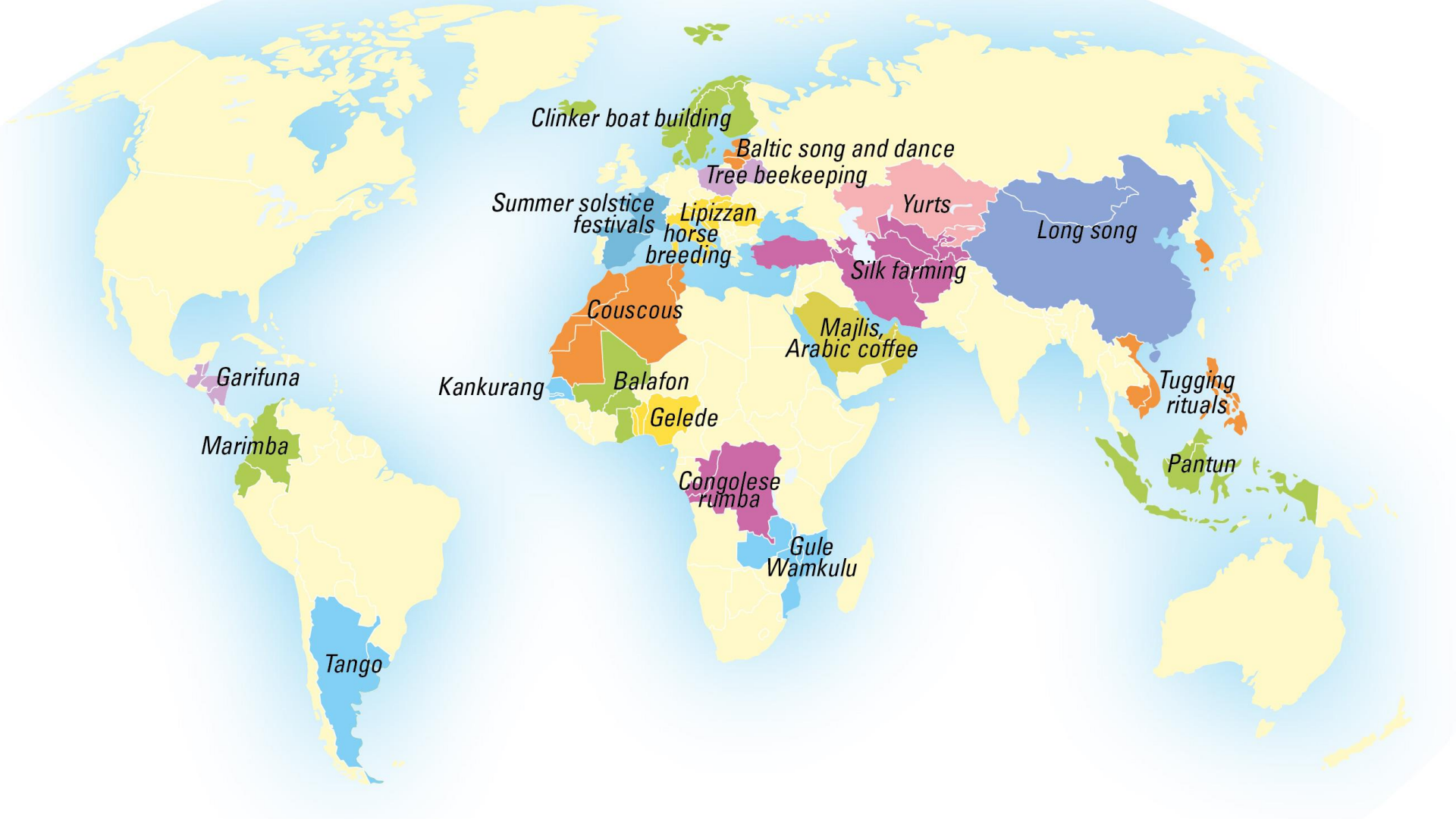
Clinker boat building

Baltic song and dance

Tree beekeeping

Summer solstice festivals

Lipizzan horse breeding

Yurts

Long song

Silk farming

Couscous

Majlis, Arabic coffee

Kankurang

Balafon

Gelede

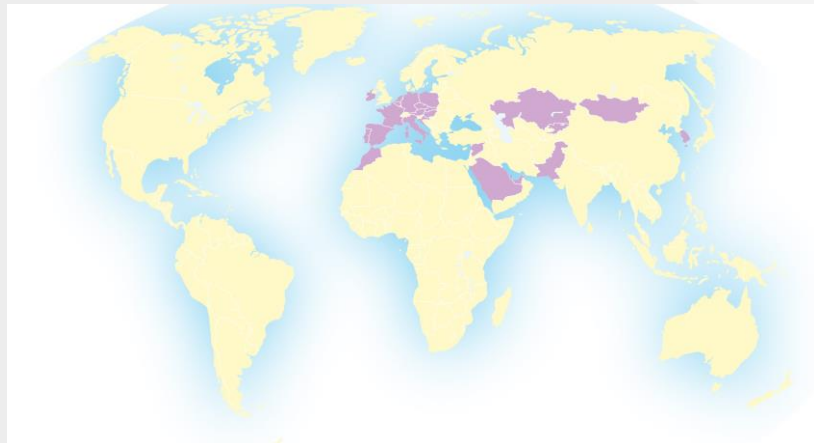Tugging rituals

Garifuna

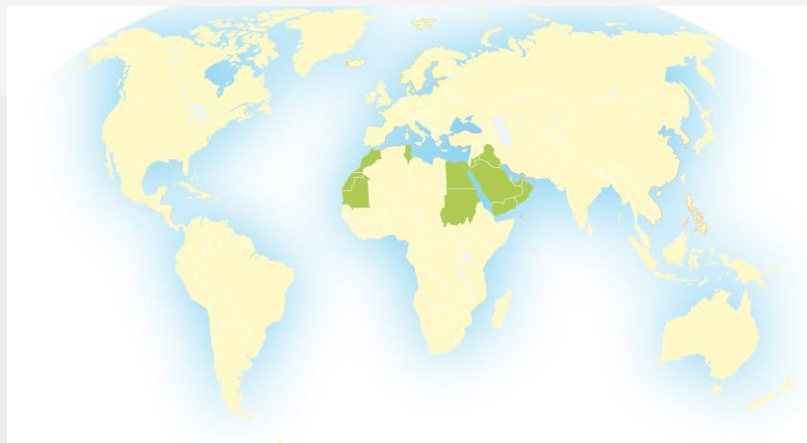Pantun

Marimba

Congolese rumba

Gule Wamkulu

Tango

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Some UNESCO-listed intangible cultural heritage items are shared by countries who are not all adjacent, like **falconry** and **date palm cultivation**:

Falconry

Date palm culture

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

In some cases, the shared cultural heritage is connected to one single **ethnic group** that happens to live in more than one country:
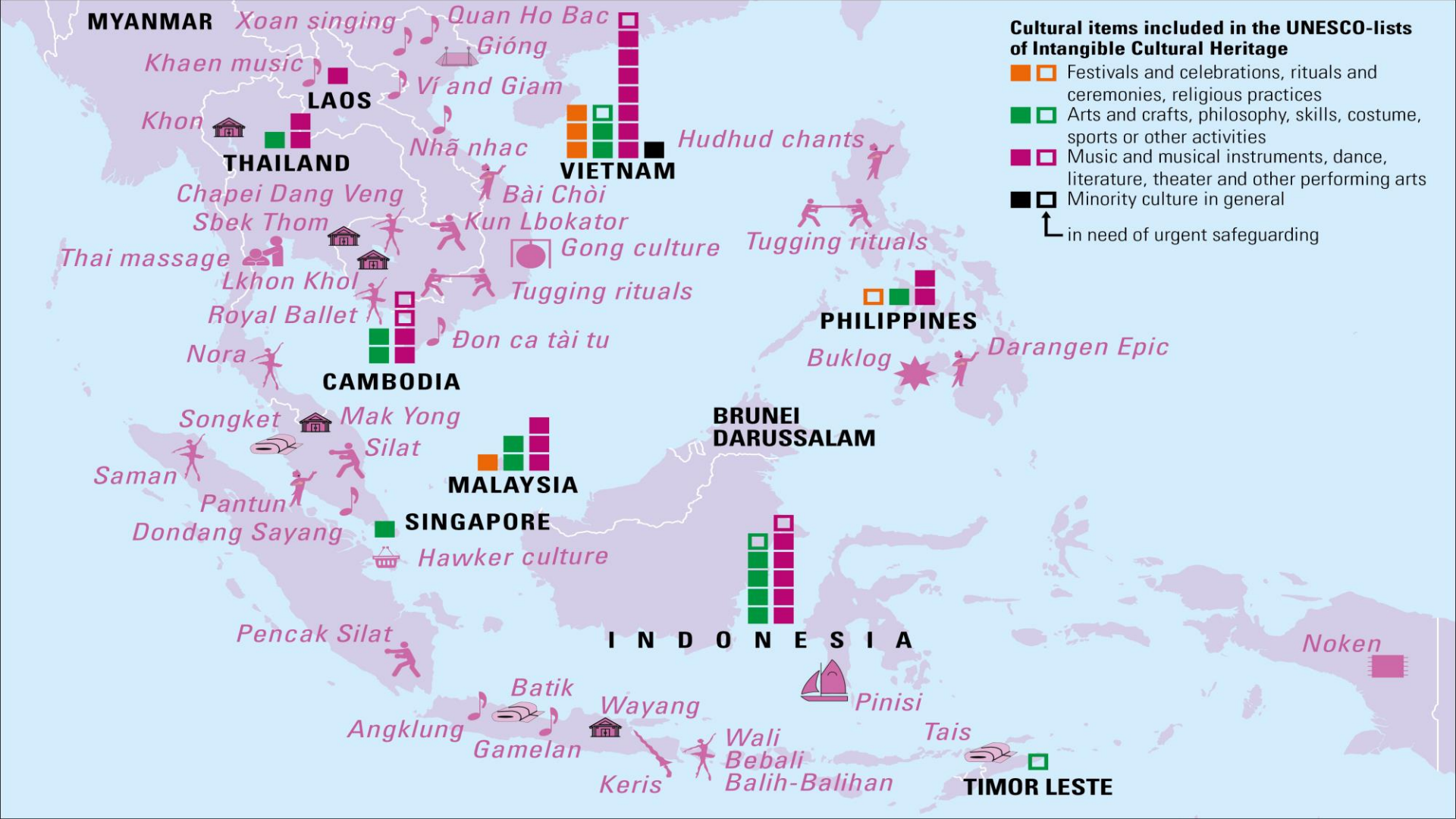
➤ Gule Wamkulu dances (Nyau society of the Chewa and Nyanja)

➤ Pantuns (Malay)

Sometimes, shared cultural heritage may be rooted in **shared history**:

➤ Lipizzan horse breeding (Habsburg?)

➤ Mediterranean cuisine (Roman?)

Often cultural heritage elements originate in a geographically limited area, although they may have become icons for the whole nation

MYANMAR

Xoan singing

Khaen music

Quan Ho Bac
Gióng

LAOS

Khon

Ví and Giam

THAILAND

Nhã nhac

VIETNAM

Hudhud chants

Chapei Dang Veng

Bài Chòi

Sbek Thom

Kun Lbokator

Thai massage

Gong culture

Tugging rituals

Lkhon Khol

Tugging rituals

Royal Ballet

Đon ca tài tu

PHILIPPINES

Nora

Darangen Epic

CAMBODIA

Buklog

Songket

Mak Yong

BRUNEI
DARUSSALAM

Silat

Saman

MALAYSIA

Pantun

SINGAPORE

Dondang Sayang

Hawker culture

Pencak Silat

INDONESIA

Noken

Batik

Wayang

Angklung

Wali
Bebali
Balih-Balihan

Tais

Gamelan

Pinisi

Keris

TIMOR LESTE

**Cultural items included in the UNESCO-lists
of Intangible Cultural Heritage**

Festivals and celebrations, rituals and
ceremonies, religious practices

Arts and crafts, philosophy, skills, costume,
sports or other activities

Music and musical instruments, dance,
literature, theater and other performing arts

Minority culture in general

in need of urgent safeguarding

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage and geographical names

UNGEGN Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage (2002): dedicated to activities relating to the promotion of indigenous and minority geographical names as means of cultural retention/revitalization.
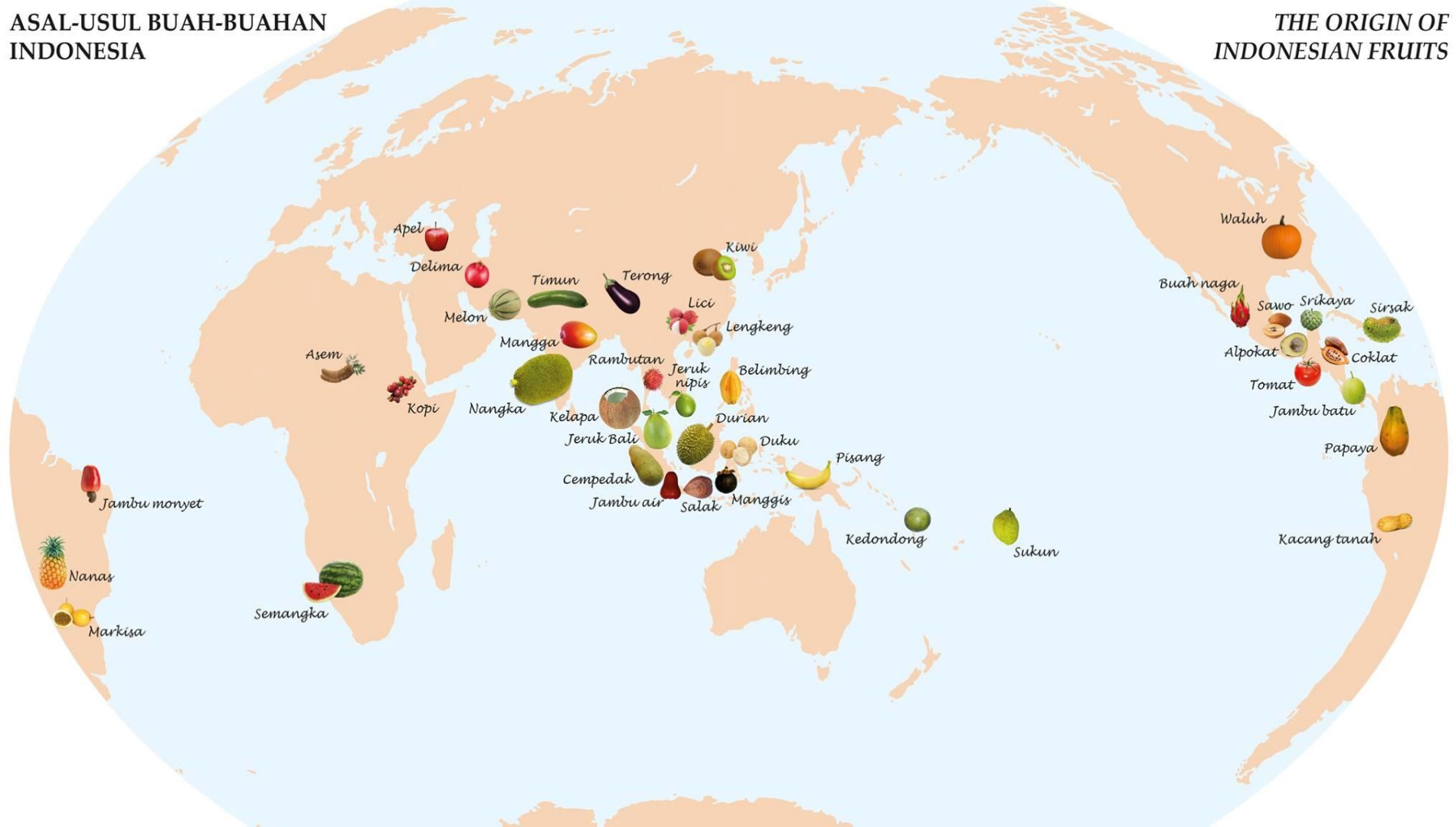
➢ Meaning of **minority** in this context: a community with a cultural identity different from the one dominating the state.

➢ The position of subnational cultural communities, and with them the cultural heritage they embody, is under pressure everywhere.

Note: Geographical names are in all cases carriers of intangible cultural heritage, regardless of the position of the community that uses them.

ASAL-USUL BUAH-BUAHAN INDONESIA

THE ORIGIN OF INDONESIAN FRUITS

Apel
Delima
Timun
Terong
Kiwi
Melon
Lici
Mangga
Lengkeng
Rambutan
Belimbing
Asem
Jeruk nipis
Kopi
Nangka
Kelapa
Durian
Jeruk Bali
Duku
Cempedak
Pisang
Jambu monyet
Jambu air
Salak
Manggis
Nanas
Kedondong
Sukun
Semangka
Markisa

Waluh
Buah naga
Sawo
Srikaya
Sirsak
Alpokat
Coklat
Tomat
Jambu batu
Papaya
Kacang tanah

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

What transforms something into cultural heritage?

➢ Some of the fruits popular in the Indonesian cuisine were at one point in history introduced from other parts of the world, **but...** they became Indonesian when they received Indonesian names.

➢ The wild ancestors of our trees are a part of our natural environment that would be there even if no humans were around, **but...** their cultivation and their use are clearly an element of human culture handed down from generation to generation.

➢ Region- and community-specific, it qualifies as cultural heritage.

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Food- and drink-related items in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists
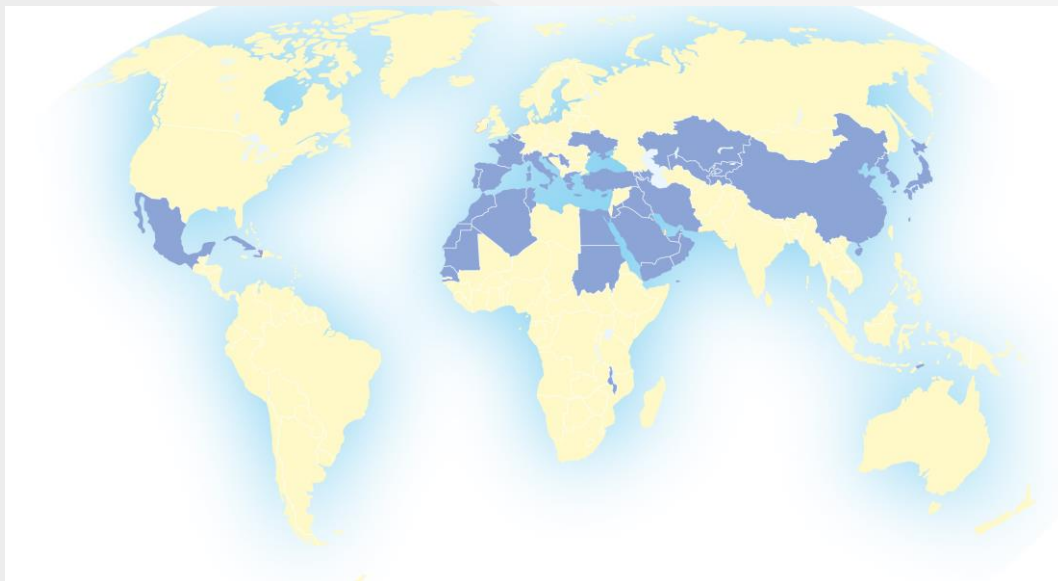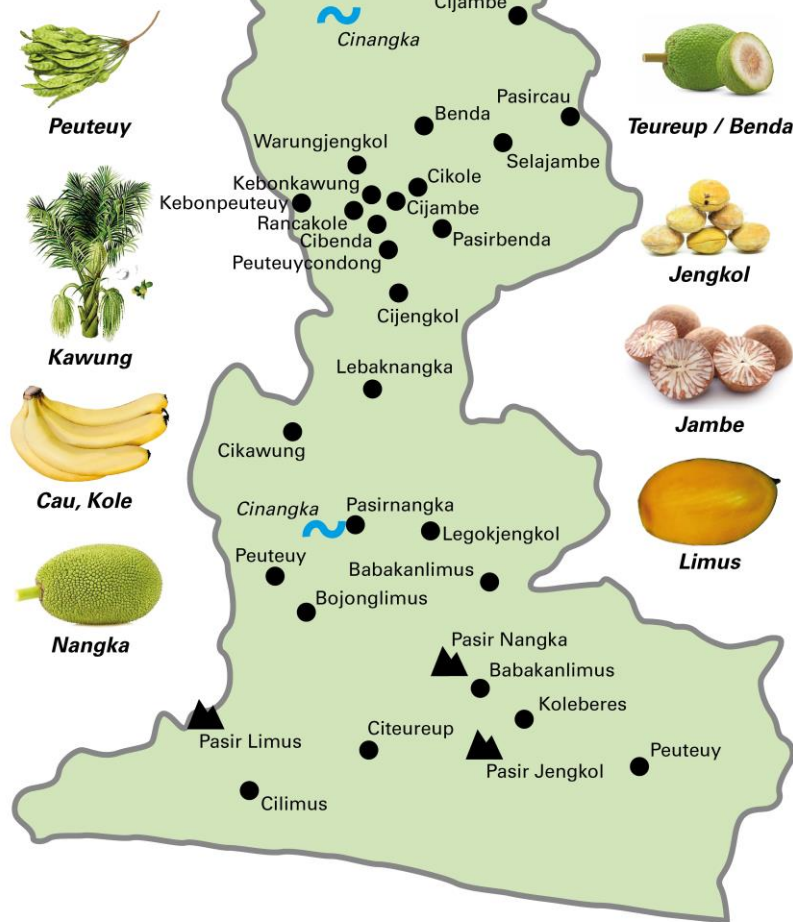
Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Example: Some Sundanese fruit and vegetable names occurring in geographical names in Cianjur Regency.

Mostly specific elements following a generic term like ci- (stream, river), pasir (hill), kebon (orchard), lebak (valley), babakan (newly established settlement), ranca (swamp) or bojong (peninsula in a river curve).

Over 450 plant- and tree names in toponyms of Bandung and Cianjur regencies alone!

CIANJUR REGENCY
KABUPATEN CIANJUR

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Many settlement names in West Java echo local agricultural and industrial activities and agrarian society at the time the localities were named, like:

➢ Bebecek = a small *sawah* (wet rice field) compartment

➢ Bedeng = spacious temporary shelter for plantation personnel

➢ Beleker = unirrigated rice field on forest soil planted for 3rd 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

and so on (see lecturer's notes)

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Language and geographical names: interrelated intangible cultural heritage

Language develops along with the communication needs of the community it serves, in terms of its vocabulary, the distinctions it allows to make (cf. kinship terms: brother-sister vs. *kakak-adik*), the occurrence of registers, etc.

As it takes time to develop and crystalize into a **code**, language rarely keeps up with the ever accelerating dynamics of social and cultural change: more new words and expressions are added on the front side than old ones 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.

Part 1: Intangible cultural heritage

Language and geographical names: interrelated intangible cultural heritage

The language a name originated in may or may not be the language of the people to whose territory the named object currently belongs. Geographical objects together with their names are **inherited** from either our own biological ancestors, or previous inhabitants of the territory we occupy.

In both cases, their pronunciation and/or writing tend to be modified in the course of time : cf. Latinized Celtic Noviomagus > Dutch Nijmegen (partly translated, partly corrupted.

Shedding light on the community's historical background, its geographical names are connected to its **cultural identity**.
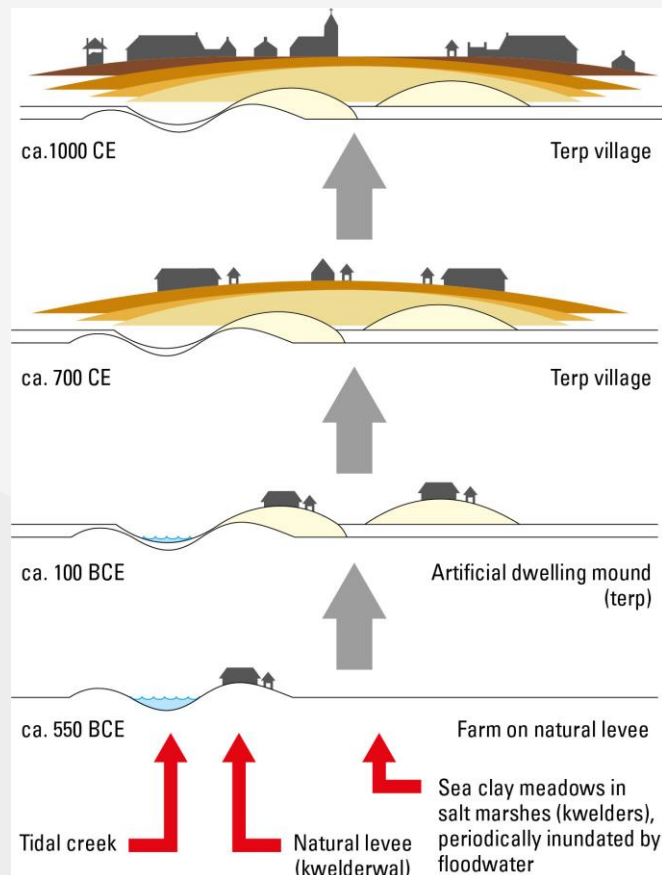
Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Geographical names as an archive of human settlement: a Dutch example

Starting from the 1st millennium BCE, the coastal salt marshes of the northern Netherlands became settled by farmers.

The settlers built their farmsteads on top of natural levees, raised by tidal creeks that reached far inland.

To prevent them from flooding during high tides, dwelling mounds were built and gradually enlarged: they are called *terp* or *wierde*.

ca.1000 CE — Terp village

ca. 700 CE — Terp village

ca. 100 BCE — Artificial dwelling mound (terp)

ca. 550 BCE — Farm on natural levee

Tidal creek

Natural levee (kwelderwal)

Sea clay meadows in salt marshes (kwelders), periodically inundated by floodwater

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

**Geographical names as an archive of human settlement: a Dutch example**
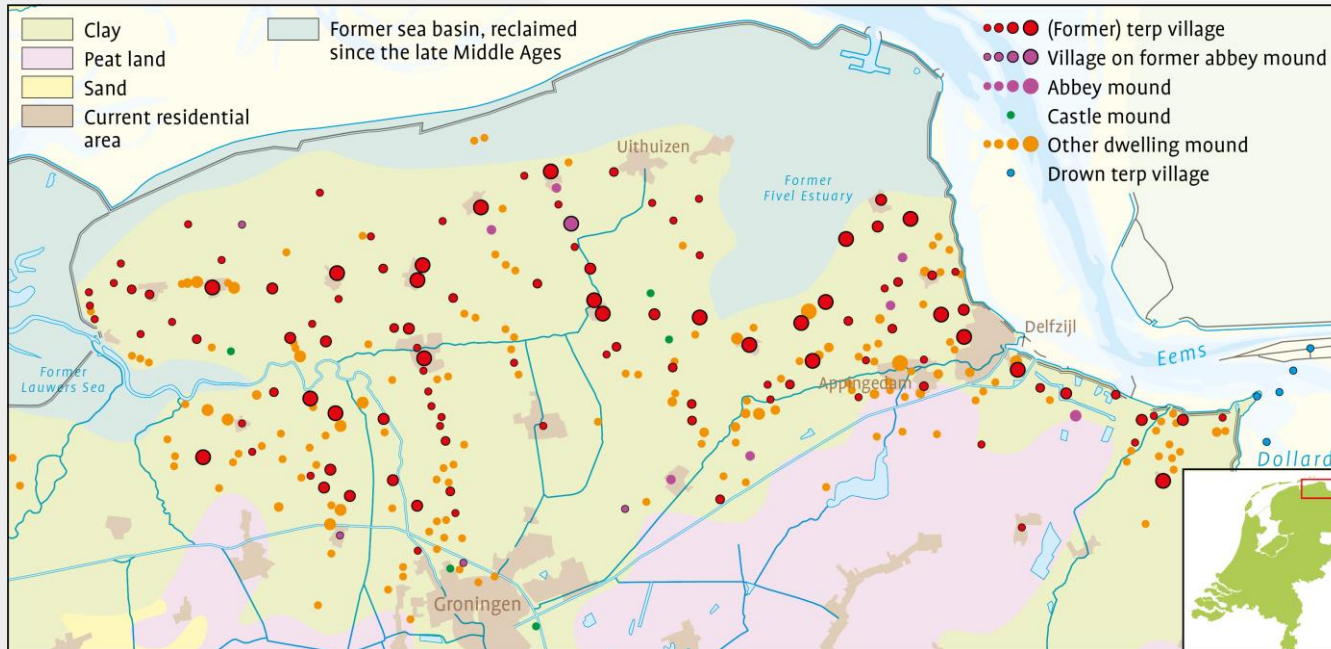
Mound building stopped after sea dikes had been built. By then, the landscape was speckled with dwelling mounds of all sizes (map: province of Groningen)

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Geographical names as an archive of human settlement: a Dutch example

Monumental medieval churches in Fryslân and Groningen
- Romanesque, Romano-Gothic
- Gothic
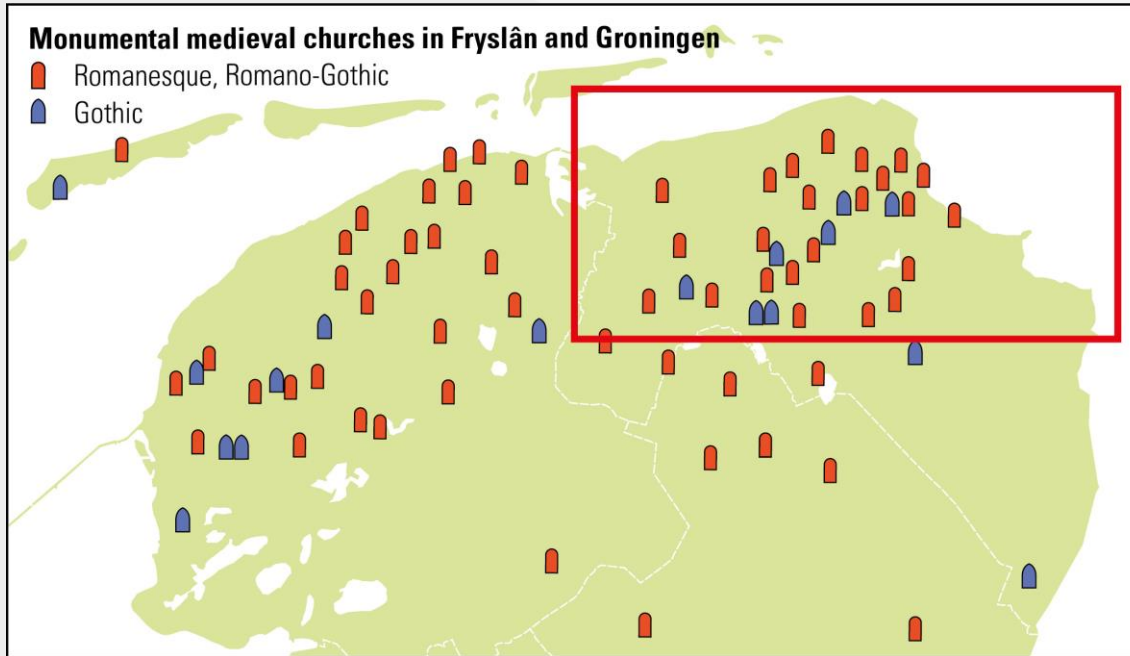
Once the most densely populated area of the yet agricultural Netherlands, it became a rural backwater when the west of the country industrialized and urbanized. The many medieval churches that had arisen on the mounds were thus largely preserved.
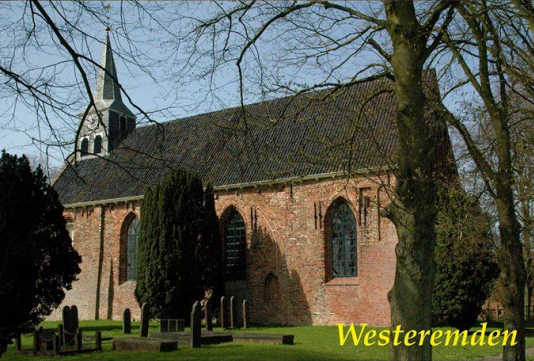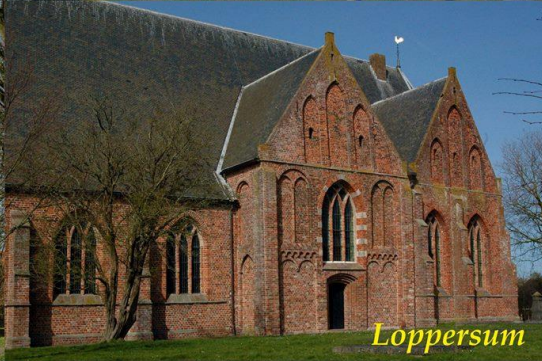
Middelstum

Huizinge

Stedum

Westeremden

Loppersum

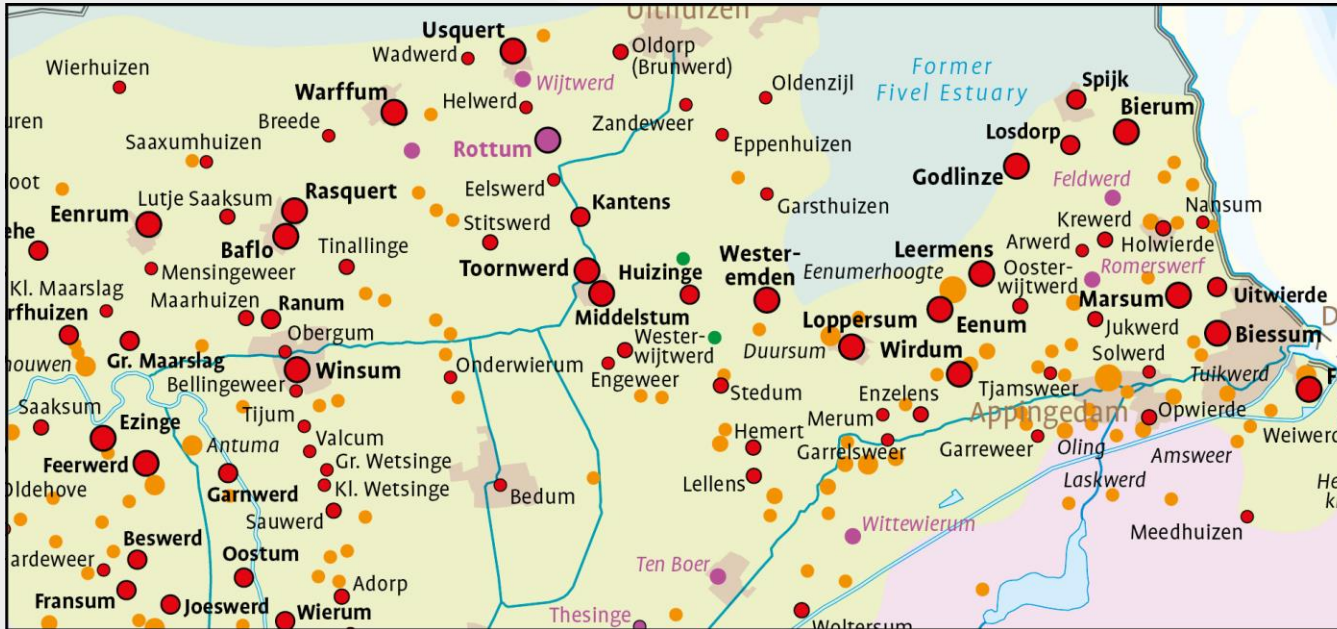Oosterwijtwerd

Eenum

Zeerijp

Leermens

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Geographical names as an archive of human settlement: a Dutch example

Next to the physical monuments, the names attached to the mounds and the villages growing out of them equally reflect the area's rich history and cultural heritage.

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Geographical names as an archive of human settlement: a Dutch example

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

Most of the settlement names consist of a **generic element** denoting the mound (-*werd* etc.), or the building it was erected for (-*um etc.*), and a **specific element** generally referring to the name of the one(s) residing there, or to the physical characteristics of the mound or its environment.

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Geographical names as a storybook of human migrations and history

Geographical names may bear evidence of past **migrations**.

Although they 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.

Resistant to events like wars and natural disasters that all but obliterate the objects they originally described, some toponyms constitute a category of cultural heritage of nearly unmatched ancientness.

They may embody a population's **historical roots**, or even a location's history preceding the presence of the ancestors of those living there now.

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

**Time-resistant ancient names:
an Italian example**

A great diversity of cultures left their traces in names still in use today.

The history of the names reflects the succession of cultures shaping the Italian nation as we know it today.

Their distribution still gives us a clue of the geographical range of the different cultures leaving us their names.

PROVINCIA DI VARESE

Name origin (tentative):

Varese	Pre-Celtic / Ligurian
Duno	Celtic / Gallic
Ferno	Etruscan (suspected)
Cuvio	Roman
Lozza	Medieval Latin (local)
Uboldo	Langobard and other Germanic

PROVINCIA DI VARESE

Regional language placenames

Olgiaa	Western Lombard (Classical Milanese, grafia classega)
Ulgià	Western Lombard (Varesot/Bosin dialect)
Ulgiaa	Western Lombard (Brianzolo dialect, urtugrafía ünificada)
Ùböld	Western Lombard (Bustocco dialect)
Lüin	Western Lombard (Ticinese, Lessico dialettale della Svizzera italian)
Varèis	Piemontese

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Time-resistant ancient names: an Italian example

Each name tells a unique story:

➢ Cerveteri (deserted and removed, resettled)

➢ Capua (name moved along with the city)

➢ Napoli (ancient city named "New City")

Some ancient names were restored as a purposeful policy to boost national pride by reminiscing the glorious Roman past.

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

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.

➢ Example: Stratford-upon-Avon

"Dead" or locally disappeared languages often leave their traces as well, both in the vocabulary of their living successors and, much more so, in geographical names.

➢ Examples: Celtic, Latin (-caster, -chester), Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and Norman French elements surviving in British geographical names.

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Transfer of names from language to language: the story of York

The evolution of the placename York demonstrates the effect of the transfer of names from language to language.

➢ Brythonic Celtic: Eburos (personal name "yew man")

➢ Roman Latin: Eburacum (fortress/settlement name)

➢ Anglo-Saxon: Eoforwic ("wild boar settlement")

➢ Old Norse: Hjorvík (~ settlement names in Scandinavia)

➢ English ("normanized" Anglo-Saxon): York

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Vanished identities preserved in names: a French example

➢ Gaulish tribal names

➢ Roman *civitas* names

➢ Bishopric names

➢ French city names vs. names of historical regions

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

Vanished identities preserved in names: a French example

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

Part 2: Geographical names as cultural heritage

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 there at some point of time.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Including cultural heritage aspects in the names collection process

To take account of the cultural heritage aspects of names during field collection for base mapping and standardization purposes, we need to collect information on:

➢ The relationship between official and regional language use in toponymy

➢ The language of the names and the local community employing them

➢ Phonological details required to understand the relationship between pronunciation and writing of the names
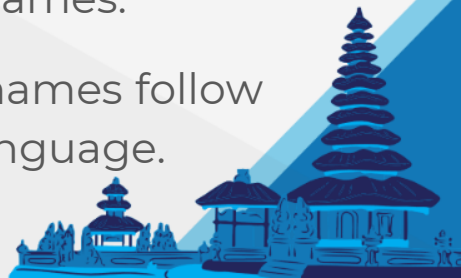
➢ The (perceived) meaning of the names

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

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 the countries of the **Americas** as well as in **Australia**, the languages of immigrants from Europe became the major official language.

➢ Remnants of indigenous names 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 follow writing and pronunciation rules consistent with the official language.
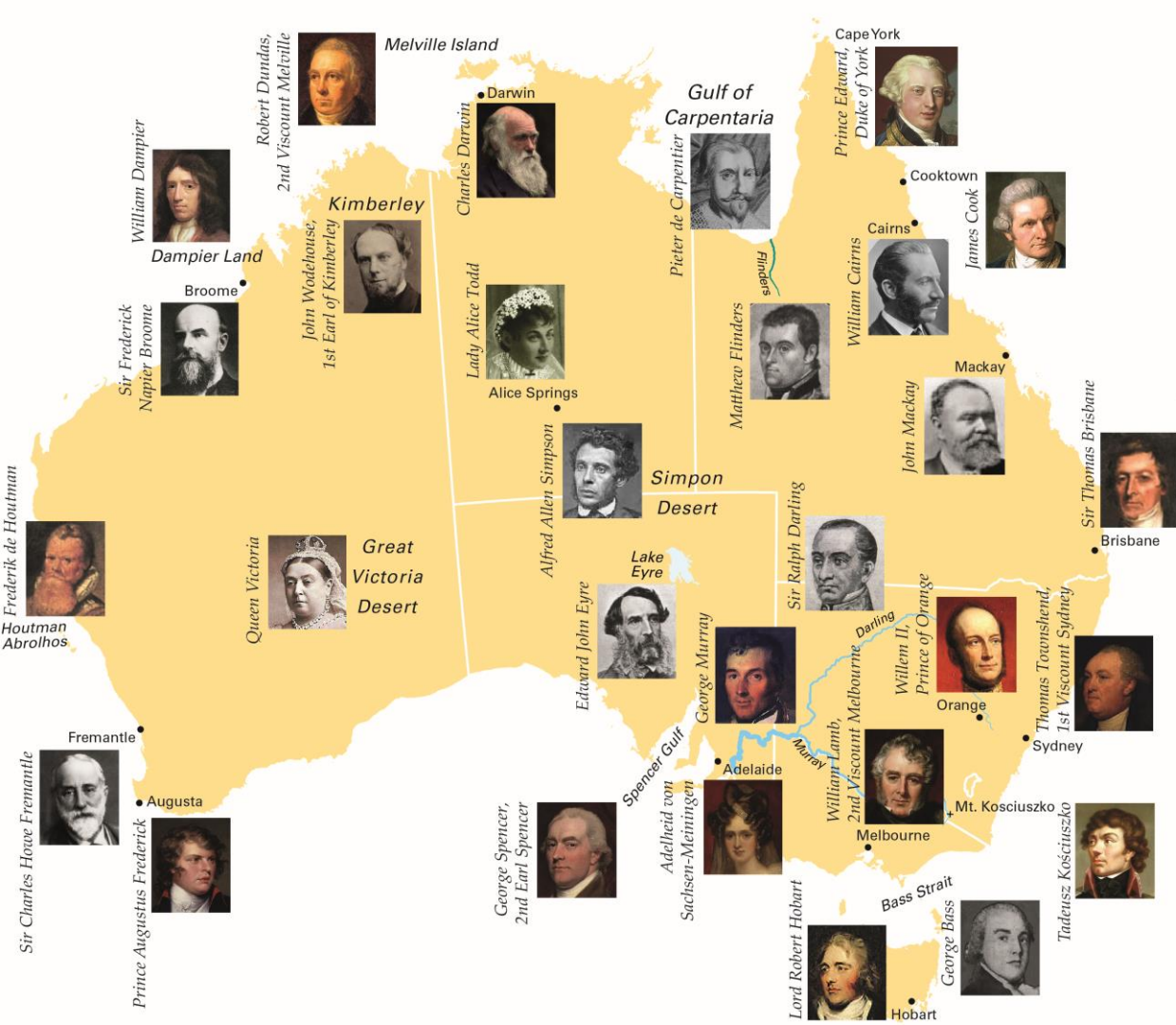
Ałniiskwaciwâskahikan
Âdapask...
Missinipi
Nunats...
Powini...
Wîni-pekw
Uashat
Natigôsteg
Taqamkuk

K'emk'emelay/
Mituulii
ʔElhdaqox
Sâskwatôn
Kîsiskâciwani-sipiy
Wînipêk
Chichewan
Whulge
Aknuqtapƛik
Huhúžubina
Manitou-bah
Kepek
Kahnawá·kye
Epekwitk
Unama'ki

Dzidzalal'ich
Ti'Swaq +4392
Swah hetk'qhu
Miníša/Wînipêk
Miníša
Animbiigoo-zaaga'igan
Ktotonok +1605
Menahqesk
Mi'kma'ki
K'jiputuk

Chemeketa
Wy'east +3427
Wimahl
Stłxetw
Mnišoše
Babiikwaawangaa-zaaga'igan
Onigamiinsing
Gichigami
Baawiting
Kiohkià:ke
Bitawbagok +1918
Agioco...
Kespoogwitk

Daluwagh
Úytaahkoo +4317
Ka‡i‡qan‡umae
Kwi‡qa·xapq‡i·'e
Mo'éheo'hé'e
Ituhtaáwe
Łichíínlį
Gakaabikaang
Gichi-ziibi
Tešišik
Mishigami
Karegnondi
Tgáo'do:
Skanadario
Gyodró:we:
Noepe
Natocke

Jaroujiji/Uuth
Kimooeniin
É'êxováhtóva
Čhúŋkaške
Yondotin
Teiocharontiong
Deyohatéhsǫ'
Paumanok
Kanon:no

Natakkoa
Niicóo'ówu'
Íŋyaŋ Okábleča
Othúŋwahe
ŠaaN TtaNwaNgdhaN
Uwaaháwiru
Gaa-zhigaagwanzhikaag
Tganadaę'gó:wah
Poutaxat

Na'ní'á Hóneezi
Dáʔaw
Hítesííno'óowú'
Haltsotah
Ałhidiilíinii
Séíłgaiinílį
Anatakaryásne

Aacistak
Tumanguya 4418 + Tümpisa
Tsełchíítsij
+4401
Niinéniiniicíihéhe'
Kicpaáruksti
Pekonoki
Chisupioc

Syuxtun
Na'azhǫǫsh Hátsoh
Ongtupqa
Há Tay G am
Tó Pee Kuh
Mótsésóoneo'hé'e
Mosopeleacipi
+2038
Hocomawanach
Chéch'il Nt'i'í

Yaa
Hayikwiir Mat'aar
Oghá P'o'oge
Ma'xepóno'e/
Uukuhuuwasiri
Tallasi
+823
Mą'iitsoh Bitooh Yílį
Acanseapi
Ani Swanu'gi
At'a'Yilt'ąą'í Nt'i'í

Tóbiníhiíyíní
Pimu
Aha Kwahwa
Wakatehe
Ghąą' Hałtsooí
Gúívàu/Kicpahat
Dził Deeshchii'í
Ossachite

Yuum
Cuk Șon
Paslápaane
Kótsoi
Uhkto'wusi'yohe
Káyántinu
Halchíídęę' Nílíní
Kíckaáłit

Soj Iyat
Hiʼak Vatwe
Tanuge'impo
Paqa
Łíchíí' Sitáni
Tónteel Biihílį Hatsoh
Mayaimi

Chiwaw
A y o l l o h c o   M e x i h c o
Pahokee

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Official language vs. regional language in the toponymic landscape

➤ In countries of **Africa** that gained their independence from colonial powers in the 20th century, European domination had been relatively short-lived and only rarely accompanied by significant European immigration.

➤ Where different ethnic groups came to share the new state without having a shared indigenous language or lingua franca, the language of the former colonial government, spoken as a second language by a minor part of the population, often necessarily remained in official use. Pidgin varieties of these languages sometimes developed into vernacular.

➤ Here, geographical names typically spring from a multitude of regional languages, their orthography usually adapted to the official language.
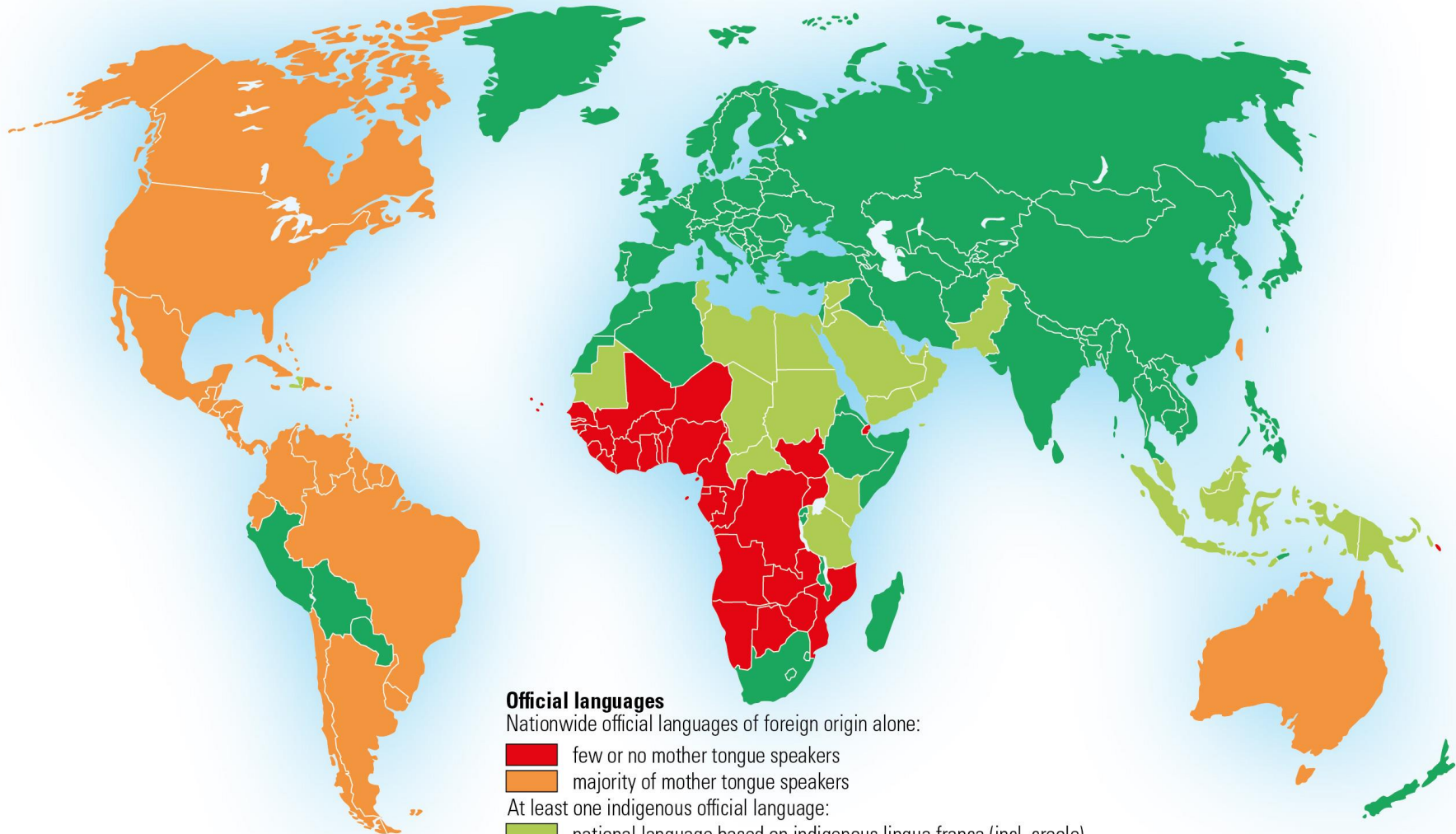
Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Official language vs. regional language in the toponymic landscape

➤ 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.

➤ In many European countries, government policies exclusively promoting the official language gave way to more positive attitudes over the past decades, regional diversity being redefined as valuable cultural heritage.

Official languages

Nationwide official languages of foreign origin alone:

- 🟥 few or no mother tongue speakers
- 🟧 majority of mother tongue speakers

At least one indigenous official language:

- 🟩 national language based on indigenous lingua franca (incl. creole)
- 🟩 national language, also spoken as a regional language

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Official language vs. regional language in the toponymic landscape

➢ Where the official language is an indigenous **lingua franca** without a single 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 the toponymic landscape, names and vocabulary of regional languages and of the official language or lingua franca may then simultaneously occur.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Endangered languages

UNESCO accommodated 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.

In 1996 the Red Book, compiled from data collected through an International Clearing House for Endangered Languages (ICHEL). 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.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

**UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger**

The atlas distinguishes five categories of endangerment of a language:

1. **Vulnerable**: most children speak it, but it may be restricted to certain domains

2. **Definitely endangered**: children no longer learn it as a mother tongue at home

3. **Severely endangered**: spoken by grandparents and older generations, while parents no longer use it to communicate

4. **Critically endangered**: only spoken by grandparents and older, and even by them partially and infrequently

5. **Extinct**: there are no active speakers left

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Endangered languages in Eastern Indonesia
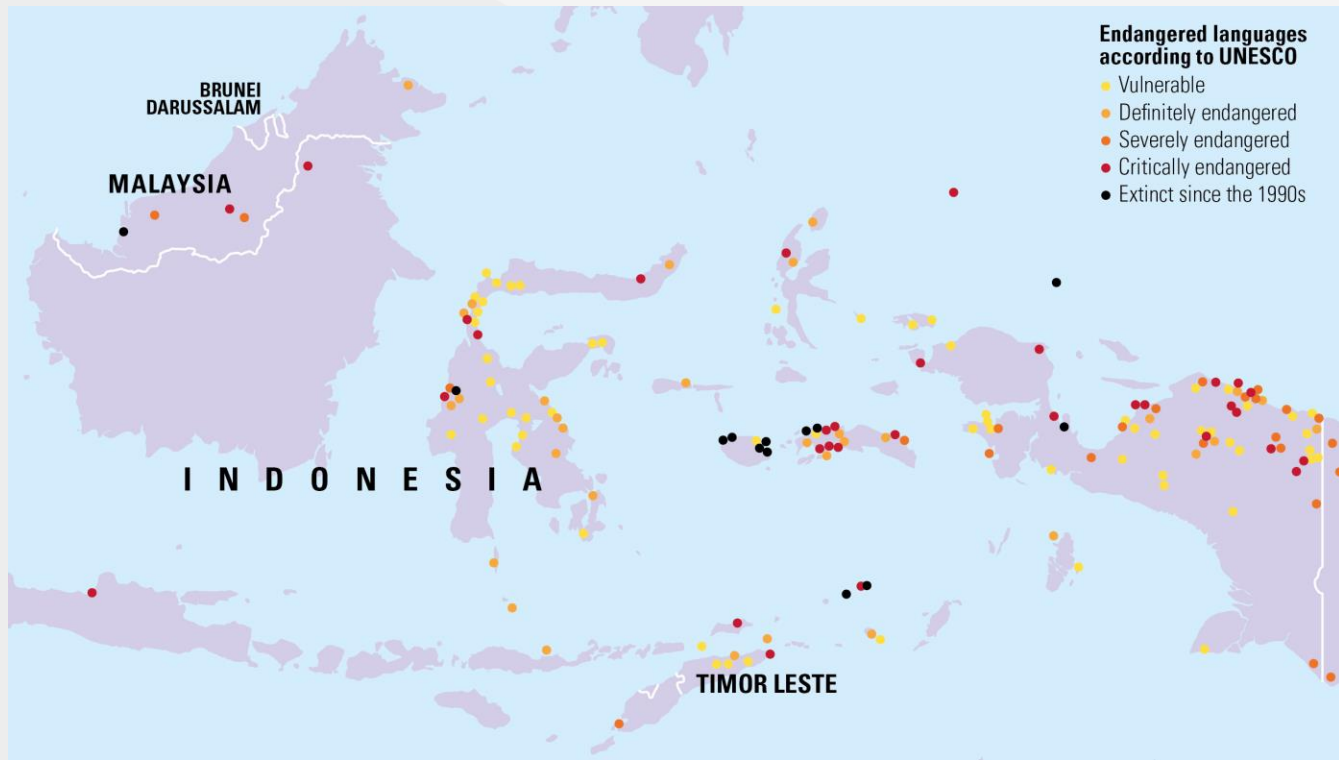
Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

The language situation in Indonesia

➢ Official language: **Bahasa Indonesia**, a standardized version of the former lingua franca Malay

➢ Thousands of regional languages and dialects

➢ Upon independence, Indonesia adopted the motto **Bhinneka Tunggal Ika**, meaning "Unity in Diversity"

➢ Bahasa Indonesia envisaged as a major pillar of Unity

➢ The multitude of regional languages embody the country's unequalled Diversity

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

The language situation in Indonesia

➤ Nationwide **official language** and **regional languages** used simultaneously in all different regional subdivisions, often by the same people in different circumstances

➤ A shared vernacular – "slang" or **colloquial language** (*bahasa gaul*) – is widely used in informal situations.

➤ Standard Bahasa Indonesia 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.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Code switching in Indonesia

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; some examples in West Java:

➤ Cialangalang: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay/Bahasa Indonesia *alang-alang* = cogongrass (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cieurih)

➤ Cibenda: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Javanese *benda* = wild breadfruit tree (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Citeureup)

➤ Lemahabang: Sundanese *lemah* = land, Javanese *abang*, red (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Lemahbeureum)

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

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.

In Bali this happens to be not too complicated, but elsewhere in Indonesia – as in many parts of Southeast Asia, and doubtlessly in many African countries as well the situation is quite different.

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.

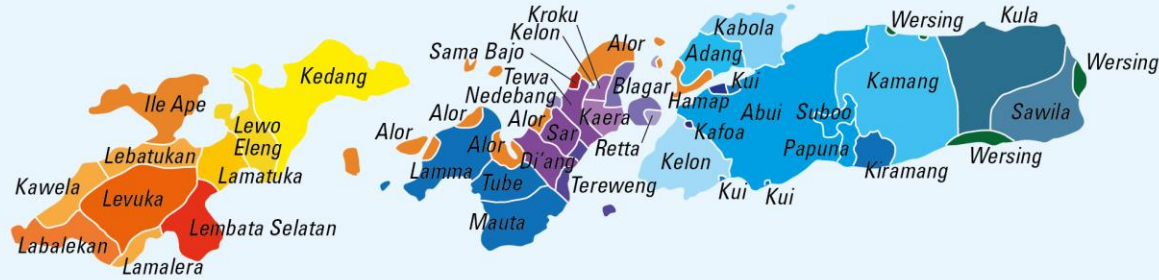# Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Identifying the language of the name

In these islands of the Solor and Alor archipelagos, many different languages are spoken, belonging to two widely different language families

Bali is here depicted at the same scale, to get an idea of the complexity

Bali

Lembata (Lomblen)   Pantar   Alor

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

The relationship between writing and pronunciation

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.

As between languages there is nothing like a consistent **correspondence between letters (or combinations of letters) and phonemes**, confusion is imminent.

When different languages must be handled at the same time, or people have to deal with languages they are not completely familiar with, confusion is unavoidable.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Phonemes vs. writing: the example of Javanese geographical names

In standard Javanese, based on the dialect of historic Mataram (the area around 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, [ɔ] sounds like their phoneme /o/.

Dutch East Indies cartographers of the early 20th century rendered the pronunciation [ɔ] as **å**, 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**.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Phonemes vs. writing: the example of Javanese geographical names

When nowadays we encounter the letter **o** in a Javanese name, we cannot tell which phoneme it represents: /a/ or /o/. Confusion!

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 *lårå*, or just *lara*, although this writing would lead to a wrong pronunciation by non-Javanese.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Phonemes vs. writing: the example of Javanese geographical names

To complicate things farther, in the western dialects of Javanese collectively called *Banyumasan*, spoken in an area previously belonging to the Sundanese language area, the phoneme /a/ is always pronounced [a], like in Sundanese.
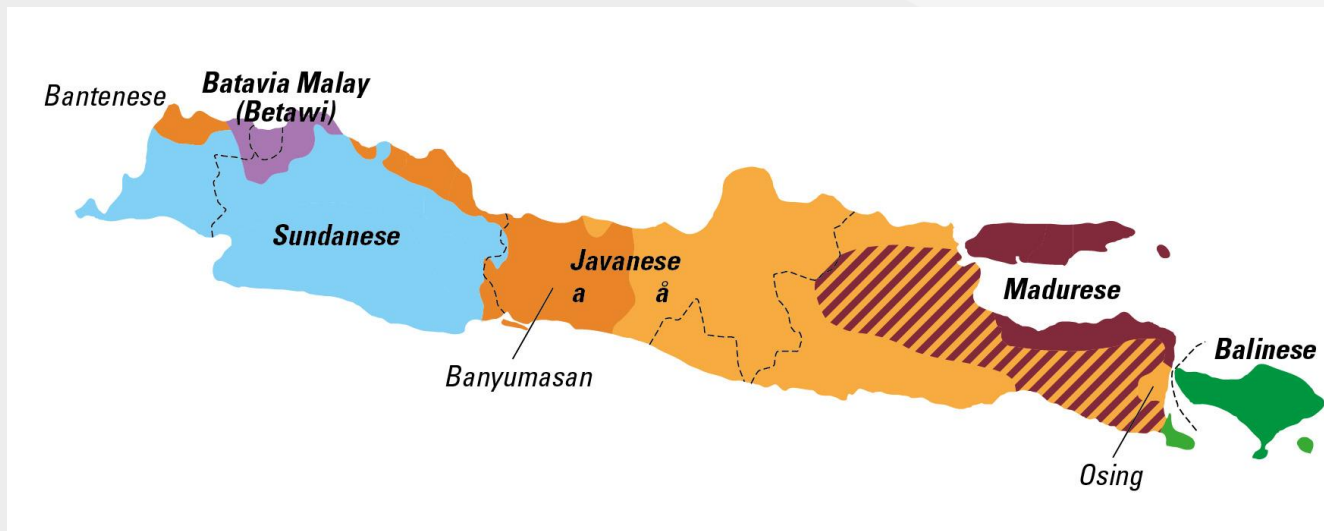
Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Phonemes vs. writing: confusing standardization of Javanese toponyms

➢ In the way Javanese toponyms have been standardized at this moment, 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 2nd vowel of the name written Sing**o**sari in OpenStreetMap, and Sing**a**sari (next to "Sing**o**sari Temple") in Google Maps.

➢ Similarly, /a/ is written **a** in Salatiga and Ambarawa, and both **o** (the 2nd vowel: the 1st is a genuine /o/) and **a** (the 3rd 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.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

To end confusion, Javanese script comes to the avail

➢ Javanese script differentiates between /a/ (the standard vowel following a consonant: ꦧ= *ba*), and /o/ (rendered by taling-tarung diacritics around this consonant: ꦧ = *bo*)

➢ Thus, in its Javanese orthography we can see that the a- and o-vowels in the names of Surabaya and Mojokerto all represent the /a/-phoneme:

Surabaya

Mojokerto

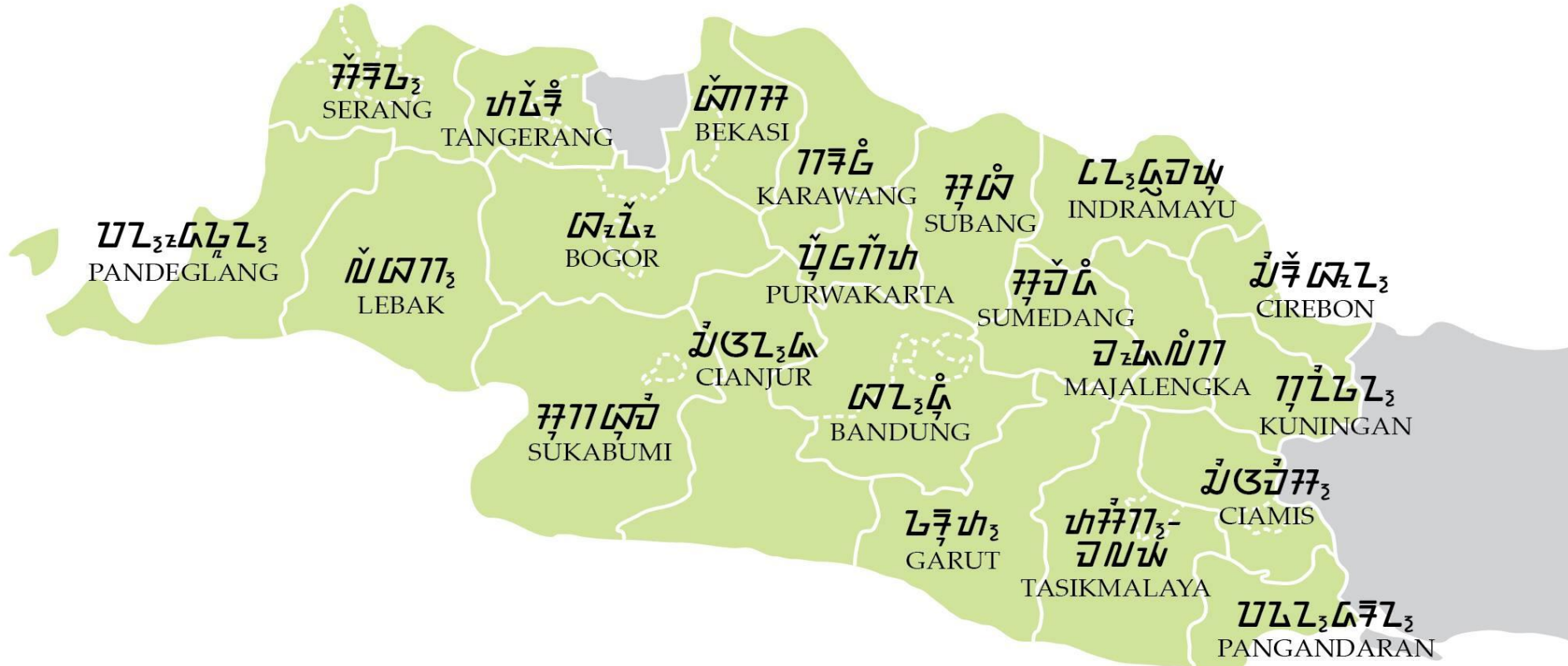# Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

To end confusion, Javanese script comes to the avail

➢ Other specific Javanese phonemes are the dental plosive /t̪/ and /d̪/ as opposed to the retroflex plosive /ʈ/ and /ɖ/, which do not occur in Bahasa Indonesia or any other Indonesian regional language except Madurese. In Javanese script these are rendered by different characters: ꦠ and ꦛ, resp. ꦢ and ꦝ, in Indonesian Roman script both /t̪/ and /ʈ/ are written t, both /d̪/ and /ɖ/ are written d.

➢ In Javanese in Roman script, 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 ꦲꦺꦲ) and /ə/ (Javanese diacritic as in ꦲꦼ) apart.

The revival of Sundanese script (Aksara Sunda Baku)

Regency names in West Java and Banten

SERANG

TANGERANG

BEKASI

KARAWANG

SUBANG

INDRAMAYU

PANDEGLANG

LEBAK

BOGOR

PURWAKARTA

SUMEDANG

CIREBON

CIANJUR

MAJALENGKA

KUNINGAN

BANDUNG

SUKABUMI

CIAMIS

GARUT

TASIKMALAYA

PANGANDARAN

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Phonemes vs. writing

Another possible source of confusion is, that the same phonemes may be realized differently depending on their position in a word or a name: so-called **distributional variants**.

Knowledge of the pronunciation might be indispensable when:

➤ different written sources conflict,

➤ there's uncertainty about the meaning of a name, or

➤ a name needs to be transcribed.

Thus, the tools and instructions given to surveyors to cover this aspect of the names collection work need to be well prepared.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Phonemes vs. writing: 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.

➢ 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 on the spot.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

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.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Generic terms

Just as an example of questions that may come up during field work, based on real experience during the 1989 UNGEGN workshop in West Java:

➤ Are **cukang**, **jambatan**, **kereteg** and **sasak** different types of bridges, or are they 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, thus part of their cultural identity and heritage.

# Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Perception of – and ways of dealing with – the environment

Different societies recognize different **geographical categories** – making it hazardous to touch (omit, translate) indigenous generic elements. Some examples:

➢ In Finnish, a distinction is made between forest-covered mountains (*vaara*) and bald mountains (*tunturi*)

➢ In the Netherlands, distinguishing between natural and a man-made waterways (river vs. canal) is hardly relevant, but other aspects like the use or purpose, the size and the origin of the waterway gave rise to a great number of generics (e.g. *beek*, *diep*, *gracht*, *kanaal*, *maar*, *sloot*, *tocht*, *vaart*, *vliet*, *wetering*, *wijk*)

➢ In French, a distinction is made between streams feeding another stream (*rivière*) and streams discharging directly in sea (*fleuve*)

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage
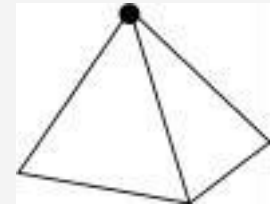
Perception of – and ways of dealing with – the environment

➢ Some mountaineer societies use many different generics for different kinds (shapes, sizes) of mountain features (cf. Italian: *catena*, *cima*, *colle*, *collina*, *corno*, *cozzo*, *cresta*, *gruppo*, *massa*, *massiccio*, *montagna*, *monte*); maritime societies tend to differentiate between all kinds of gulfs, bays, creeks, inlets, sounds, etc.)

➢ Differences of size (like hill vs. mountain) are differently interpreted in different societies

➢ In many societies, settlements are classified both according to size and status (e.g. English: hamlet - village - town - city; Indonesian: dusun - kampung - desa - kota)

➢ Some indigenous Australian communities do not recognize mountain tops as objects, but consider each slope a separate entity.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Definition of geographical objects

For instance, **river systems**: exactly what is seen as the entity – which segments are combined to form a river – depends on the observer (cf. Mississippi-Missouri, Rhine, Brahmaputra)

Different observers may distinguish different objects.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Definition of geographical objects

A small-scale hydronymic example in my backyard: Drentse Aa in the Netherlands.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Definition of geographical objects: the scale of observation

Entities may exceed the territory / scope / perception of regional society: **names are given to perceived objects**. Examples:

➢ People living in the Netherlands don't consider the lowland where they live an object. It is named only for scholarly/educational purposes: the North German Plain.

➢ By the mid-20th century, some tribes living in isolation in secluded valleys of New Guinea's central highlands, are said to have been unaware that they were living on an island.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location)

➢ In different societies, different situational aspects are deemed relevant, c.q. used for homonym distinction:

- ✓ Downstream/upstream c.q. upper / lower

- ✓ Relative position / proximity to other objects, e.g.:

    - • Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Newcastle-under-Lyme (English)

    - • Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Frankfurt am Main (German)

    - • -vodsk, -morsk, -ozёrsk, -retsk, -gorsk, -dolsk (Russian)

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage
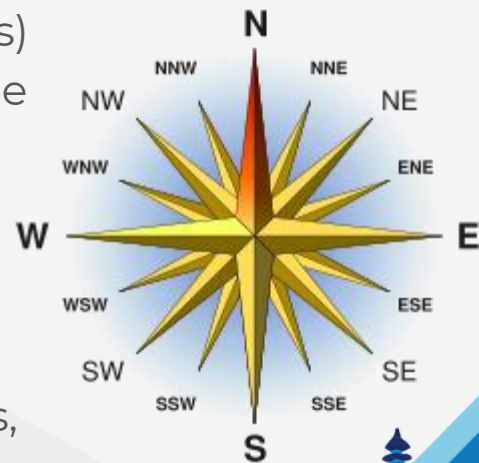
Topological terms (relative location)

- ✓ Territorial specification, e.g.

    - in Poland (… Lubelskie, … Wielkopolskie)

    - France (… -en-Provence)

    - Germany (… in der Oberpfalz)

- ✓ Cardinal directions

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

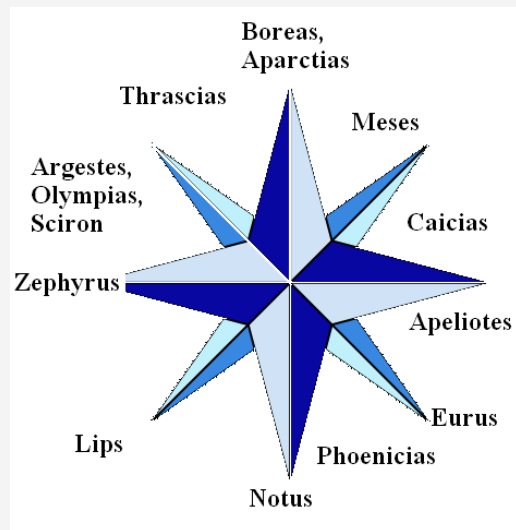**Topological terms (relative location): Cardinal directions**

➤ Before geomagnetic measurements (the compass) were applied for this purpose, astronomical (the sun and the stars) and meteorological (winds) observations were used to divide the space surrounding the observer in radial segments.

➤ The subdivision of the 360° circumference in four main directions, applied by most current societies, dates at least from the 1st millennium BCE Homer distinguished the opposing and perpendicular directions of four deified winds, the Latinized names of which were Boreas (North) opposing Notus (South) and Eurus (East) opposing Zephyrus (West).

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location): **Cardinal directions**

➤ In general, cardinal directions ('cardinal' derives from 'cardo', the religion-prescribed North-South axis of ancient Roman cities) are or have been embedded in a society's religious beliefs.

➤ The **Homeric wind-rose** was never universal, and even in Ancient Greece other views were developed. In the 4th century BCE, **Aristotle** distinguished as many as 11 winds dividing the circle of his horizontal observation.

➤ The Romans left us a more symmetrical subdivision in 12 winds.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location): Cardinal directions

➤ Under the influence of the needs of **navigation**, most European societies ultimately returned to four cardinal directions that could be easily distinguished by **astronomical observation**.

➤ What was observed was the rotation of the earth, for long perceived as the movement of the stars: the Pole Star, with its 'unmoving' position in the extension of the earth's axis, served as the centre of observation.

➤ In **cartography**, it became the base of a **system of double coordinates**: latitude (east-west parallels) and longitude (north-south meridians).

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

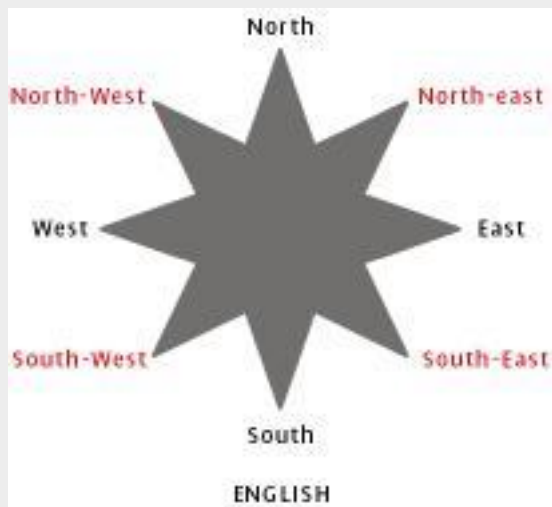**Topological terms (relative location): Cardinal directions**

➤ Terms for the cardinal directions entered all (European) languages. In toponyms, they were frequently used:

- To **subdivide areal geographical objects** – e.g. South Dakota vs. North Dakota; Southern Carpathians, Eastern Carpathians

- To **distinguish between homonyms** – e.g. Western Dvina, Northern Dvina

- To **label branches of rivers** – e.g. Western Euphrates, Eastern Euphrates

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location): **Cardinal directions**

➢ The geographical reference system of 4 cardinal directions is not universal, although in cartography it is universally applied: Some languages (societies) distinguish more than 4 **basic directions** (= directions for which a separate word exists), e.g. Finnish, Estonian and Breton (8), Bahasa Indonesia (4 + 1: Tenggara).

ENGLISH

North
North-West — North-east
West — East
South-West — South-East
South

INDONESIAN

Utara
Barat-Laut — Timur-Laut
Barat — Timur
Barat-Daya — Tenggara
Selatan

FINNISH

Pohjoinen
Luode — Koillinen
Länsi — Itä
Lounas — Kaakko
Etelä

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location): Cardinal directions

➤ Some native American languages (societies) use a **3D system of cardinal points**, including both the centre, the zenith (sky), the nadir (earth) and the environment (French: milieu)

➤ In some societies of the Far East, Central Asia and China, the centre is also considered a 5th cardinal point

➤ Some Eurasian shamanist societies recognize the earth's axis as the 5th cardinal point

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location): Cardinal directions

➢ In some societies, fixed associations of the cardinal directions find their way into toponymy:

  ✓ In Chinese, each cardinal direction is connected to a colour; a similar practice is suggested as one of the explanations for the name of Belarus/"White Russia" (white = west, blue = east, black = north, red = south), and for the names Black Sea, "White Sea" the name of the Mediterranean Sea in Persian, Turkish and Arabic) and Red Sea.

  ✓ Elsewhere, there may be an association with 'up' and 'down', 'left' and 'right', 'good' and 'bad', 'Earth' and 'Heaven', etc.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Topological terms (relative location): Cardinal directions

➢ Some societies use geographical instead of astronomical points of reference:

- ✓ Balinese *Kaja* en *Kelod* are equivalents of resp. North and South in Southern Bali, and South and North in Northern Bali: the original meaning of the terms is resp. "mountainward" and "seaward".

- ✓ In Hawaiian, a language spoken in a number of similar Austronesian-settled islands built around dominant central volcanoes, a similar practice occurs.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

What's in a name: popular etymology and cultural heritage

One more example from European Antiquity: the naming of Benevento (Italy).

➢ Originally a stronghold of a people called the Samnites, as they defended their territory against the Romans in the 4th century BCE. In their language, Oscan, they called it something like Maloeis (as recorded in Greek sources).

➢ Oscan was remotely related to the Latin of the Romans, but the Romans didn't understand a word of it. They corrupted the name to Maleventum, meaning "bad luck" in their Latin: appropriate, as it took them 60 years to conquer it.

➢ When it was became a Roman colony, the Romans decided to remove the bad omen by renaming it: Maleventum became Beneventum, meaning "good wind" or "success".
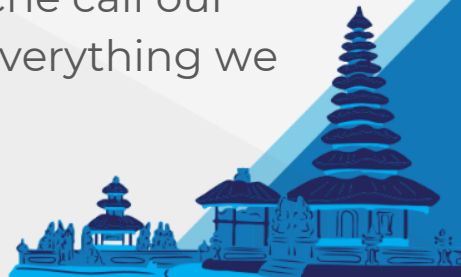
Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

What's in a name: popular etymology and cultural heritage

This nice little story may make us aware of the following cultural heritage aspects of toponymy:

➢ As one language is substituted by another, the original meaning of the name may no longer be understood by the local population.

➢ Language substitution 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.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

What's in a name: popular etymology and cultural heritage

➢ To philologers, popular etymology is an erratic re-interpretation of the meaning of a name.

➢ In descriptive toponymy, it is a real-life ("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 it.

➢ The story reminds us, that geographical naming processes rarely involve in-depth scientific research, but are more likely an outcome of the way people view the named object as part of their geographical environment...

➢ ... which is part of their cultural heritage.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

To draw this to a funny end… An example of Dutch popular etymology

➢ 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.

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

… and to return to Indonesia: the coat of arms of Cirebon

➢ The name of the ancient sultanate city on the north coast of Java currently called Cirebon, was in the 15th century recorded as Caruban, as in Purwaka Caruban Nagari, the historiography of the sultanate.

➢ The meaning of Caruban in Kawi (Old Javanese) was "mixture" supposedly referring to its mixed Javanese-Sundanese-Arabic population. In colonial times, the name was written Cheribon.

➢ A more recently constructed Sundanese etymology is *Ci-* (water) + *rebon* (a kind of shrimp abundant in the local mangroves, and still a popular local delicacy).

GEMAH RIPAH LOH JINAWI

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Conclusion

➤ When collecting geographical names in the field, we must know on beforehand which details of the names and the named objects we should record.

➤ This is indispensable if we wish to standardize the names in a way, that does justice to the cultural values and heritage of the local population "owning" the names, or better: 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 able to pinpoint the cultural peculiarities, sensitivities and attitudes towards the geographic environment that should be taken into account.
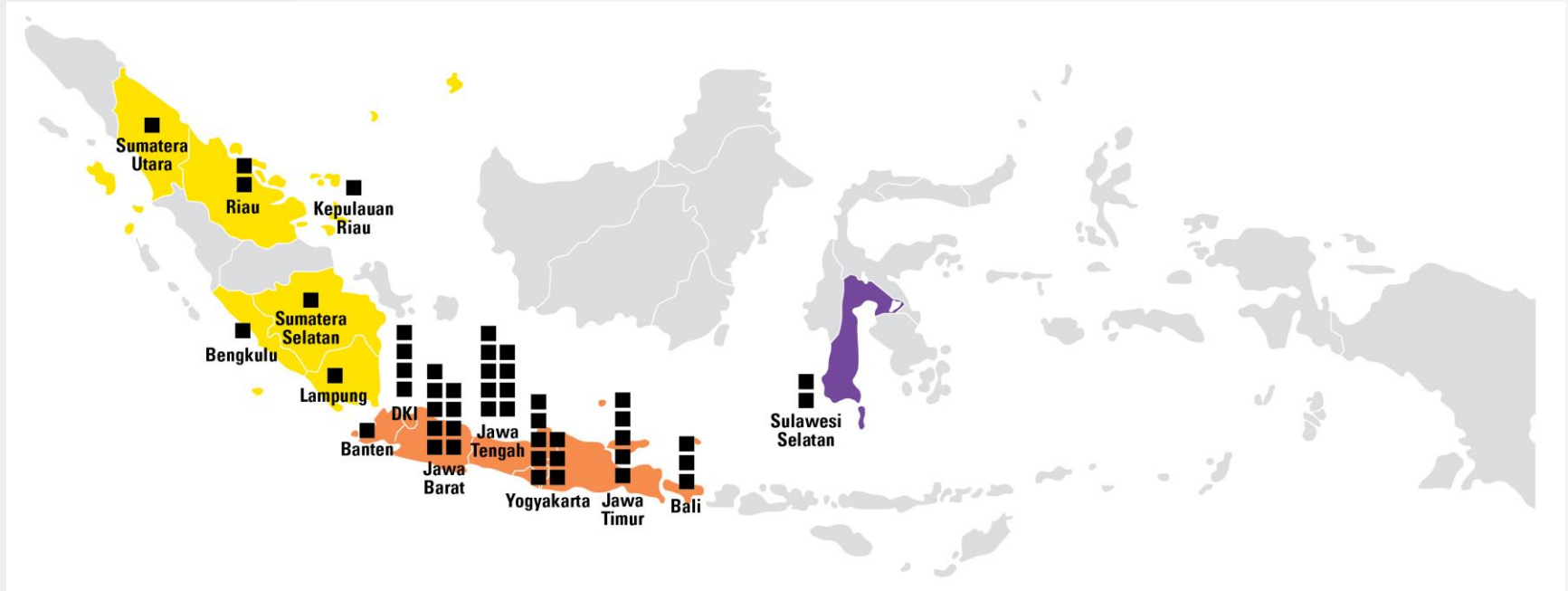
Module 3: Regional division for group work

Module 3: Participants from Indonesia

Module 3: Group questions

Each of the 6 regional groups of participants, we ask to answer the following questions about the toponymic situation within their respective countries/provinces:

1. Can you list **code switching** examples occurring in your toponyms?

2. Are there languages (regional or official) where confusion about pronunciation and meaning may arise because of **misfits between phonemes and letters**? Please list the cases.

3. Can you mention geographical object classes (**generic terms**) that cannot be 1-to-1 translated into English or the official language?

4. Can you list the **topological terms** (including cardinal directions) occurring in geographical names of the different languages of the area that you are familiar with, and provide an English translation?

Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

Code switching in Indonesia

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; some examples in West Java:

➢ Cialangalang: Sundanese *ci-* = water, Malay/Bahasa Indonesia *alang-alang* = cogongrass (the purely Sundanese equivalent also occurs: Cieurih)

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Part 3: Collecting names as cultural heritage

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