Recognition, Regulation, Revitalisation

Place Names and Indigenous Languages

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 5TH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PLACE NAMES 2019

Clarens, South Africa, 18-20 September 2019

EDITOR
Chrismi-Rinda Loth

Conference Proceedings

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Jointly organised by the Joint IGU/ICS Commission on Toponymy and the UFS

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PEER REVIEW

Abstracts submitted to the symposium was each judged independently by two members of the symposium's scientific committee (comprised of experts in the field) with regards to relevance to the symposium's theme, scientific rigor, originality and contribution to the subject field. Authors whose abstracts were accepted after the stage one review process were included in the conference presentation programme. Authors who wished to do so submitted their full papers for the conference proceedings.

The Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium on Place Names 2019 involved a rigorous double-blind peer review process of the full papers. The review panel comprised of seven national and international experts on the subject matter, namely place names. Based on the outcome of the peer review process, papers for the proceedings were selected based on the following criteria:

- Alignment between the abstract and the content of the paper
- Whether or not the paper disseminates original research
- Whether or not the paper presents a new development within the discipline.

The rigorous double-blind peer review process by the scientific review panel provided valuable comments and constructive criticism. Authors whose papers were accepted were provided with the anonymous reviewers' comments and requested to submit their revised papers. Provided that all comments were appropriately responded to, the final papers were included in the conference proceedings (ISBN: 978-1-928424-68-0).

The members of the peer review panel were not involved in the review of their own authored or co-authored papers.

The role of the Editor was to ensure that the final papers incorporated the reviewers' comments, that the papers fully comply to academic standards, and to arrange the papers into the final order as captured in the table of contents.

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FOREWORD

The 5th International Symposium on Place Names (ISPN) was held 18-20 September 2019 in Clarens, South Africa. It was jointly organised by the Joint IGU/ICA Commission on Toponymy and the Department of South African Sign Language and Deaf Studies (previously the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment) at the University of the Free State, South Africa. These Proceedings are a selection of double-blind peer-reviewed papers from the Symposium. The Editor wishes to thank the reviewers for their invaluable input.

The theme of the 2019 Symposium was 'Recognition, regulation, revitalisation: place names and indigenous languages'. It celebrated 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages, which the United Nations has declared in order to create awareness of the importance of preserving and promoting these languages. To extend the agenda, the UN further declared 2022-2032 as the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. It is evident that it is becoming ever more urgent to preserve the world's indigenous languages, thereby protecting its speakers and their dignity and rights.

Toponyms, as linguistic items, carry the symbolic load of languages. They reflect the natural and social experiences of their creators, as well as their understanding of the world. Unfortunately, toponyms in indigenous languages are often obscured by the processes of language contact or are simply replaced. While their disappearance constitutes an obvious linguistic loss, it is also a loss of cultural heritage that leaves the world a poorer place.

This selection of papers contextualises linguistic, historical and social analyses of place names within the parameters of critical toponymy. Several of the studies in these Proceedings showcase work to uncover and/or document toponyms in indigenous languages. They prove that recording indigenous toponyms is an essential step in their preservation. Other papers explore how the process of place naming functions as a mechanism to create social realities by generating mental maps, and to exert socio-political power.

RAPER contextualises the identification and reconstruction of South African indigenous toponyms within the policy framework stipulated by the United Nations as well as the South African Constitution. He and MÖLLER demonstrate how to conduct etymological-linguistic studies with great sensitivity and rigorous attention to detail. Möller's study of indigenous toponyms in Southern Africa presents the notion of toponymic clusters, where multiple names or versions of the same name exist in one place following language contact. She illustrates effectively that this contact was not just between European and indigenous languages, but also between different indigenous languages and dialects. Along this vein, NTULI provides a preliminary probe into South African toponyms that are mistakenly classified as being isiZulu, while they actually originate from other Nguni languages. He places the onus of proper classification on official naming agencies. DE LANGE also states that the restoration of place names is a top-down responsibility in South Africa. However, she urges a greater level of community involvement.

The power of official record-keeping is demonstrated by LIEBENBERG, who shows how archival documents from the 17th and 18th century in the Cape contribute to the preservation of indigenous place names. The continued existence of indigenous toponyms is especially dire in multilingual countries without official place-naming policies. For example, the study by KHOTSO AND CHELE, of the co-existence of dual place names in Lesotho proves that the visibility of indigenous place names on public signs is instrumental in their preservation, as the use of new or alternative names may in cases simply override the indigenous names. Approaching the concept of multiple toponyms from a different perspective, LOMBAARD creates awareness of a community that doesn't make use of official toponyms. Instead, the Deaf Community in South Africa adapt place names according to the conventions of South African Sign Language.

Toponyms contain narratives that not only reflect, but also shape our social realities. HIIEMÄE's timely contribution illustrates how place naming is deployed in order to cope with collective fear during pandemics in Estonia by creating mental maps of spaces. Similarly, REINSMA examines how mental maps are created based on subjective experience rather than facts in the Netherlands. This transformative power of toponyms is underwritten by the literary analysis by ZHOU, LANDA & TSHOTSHO of a Zimbabwean novel in which names are used as a tool of critical engagement.

Processes of place naming are intimately intertwined with ideological power struggles. LUBBE argues for a moderate approach to place re-naming in his case study on the replacement of toponyms during different political periods in South Africa. Offering

a gendered analysis of place naming in colonial Rhodesia, MAMVURA highlights the narrative quality of toponyms.

Finally, JORDAN underscores the interdisciplinary nature of place name research by exploring the role of geographers in toponymic studies. Importantly, he shows how the broader theoretical shift towards constructivism opened up new or deeper avenues of exploration within toponymy.

The Editor would like to express their gratitude to the authors who submitted their papers to the Proceedings. Their co-operation during a global pandemic is deeply appreciated, as is the support provided by the Publisher. A special note of thanks goes to the language editor, Jenny Lake, for dealing with challenging deadlines in order to ensure the quality of our publication.

Finally, the Editor as well as the Organising Committee would like to thank the colleagues who participated in the 2019 Symposium. It is our hope that the ISPN series will continue to flourish and contribute meaningfully to toponymic research.

The Editor

Otjiwarongo, Namibia
October 2020

BUSHMAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY CAPE PLACE NAMES

Peter E. Raper
Faculty of the Humanities,
University of the Free State, South Africa
raperpe2@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on place names recorded at the Cape from the beginning of the 17th century, and components of these names are compared phonologically and orthographically with Nama, Korana, Griqua and Bushman equivalents. Cognizance is taken of orthographic devices employed by early writers to represent clicks, click releases, vowel colourings and other phonological phenomena, and these are compared to standardised symbols. Dutch and Afrikaans names are identified that have proven to be translations of the indigenous names, or to have had the same onymic motive, or to be folk-etymological interpretations. An indication is provided of the individual Bushman languages with which place name components are compared, and traditional orthographic rules and symbols employed are compared to those of modern Bushman languages. It is pointed out that the identification and preservation of indigenous place names is in accordance with United Nations resolutions on geographical names as elements of intangible cultural heritage, and in accordance with stipulations of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The diversity of Bushman languages and the proliferation of orthographic rules applicable to languages preclude the recognition and identification of Bushman equivalents, unless the standardised traditional conventions applicable for centuries to the individual extinct languages are employed.

Keywords: Bushman, clicks, Khoikhoi, Khoisan, sound-shifts

1. INTRODUCTION

The earliest inhabitants of the sub-continent of Africa, the hunter-gathering Bushmen and their ancestors, inhabited the African sub-continent for at least 120 000 years (Mountain 2003:18). These people and the Khoikhoi were the only inhabitants of the region until about 2 000 years ago (Parkington 2007:77), when the Bantu peoples began to migrate southwards from the Great Lakes region of Central Africa (Krige 1975:595-6). From the end of the 15th century Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, German and other Europeans began to visit and later to inhabit the region, and later the Afrikaans language developed.

The indigenous peoples were preliterate and left no written records, and it was only from the end of the sixteenth century that indigenous language words and names were recorded in writing. In this process, each writer wrote the words according to the orthographic system of his own language. Thus, for example, the sound */kua/* was written in English as *qua*, in French as *quois*, and in Afrikaans as *kwa*, as reflected in the ethnic name rendered as *Grigriquas*, *Cherigiriquois* and *Grigrikwas* respectively (Nienaber 1989:443).

Most of the Bushman and Khoikhoi languages have become extinct, and place names bestowed by these people have been adapted beyond recognition as a result of language contact with people who arrived in the region subsequently. Many of these names can be retrieved by following the 'sound-meaning' method employed also by Heine and Honken (2010). By comparing early Cape dialectal equivalents, or 'cognates', understood to mean "related in a manner that involves borrowing rather than descent from or as well as descent from an ancestral language" (Gove 1961:440), and their translations into Dutch and Afrikaans, some original Bushman components of place names can be identified.

2. KHOISAN LANGUAGES

2.1 Languages and their classification

Khoisan is a term used to refer to the non-Bantu indigenous peoples of Southern Africa and the languages spoken by them. It is derived from the ethnonyms *Khoikhoi* ('Hottentot') and *San* ('Bushman'). The best-known Khoikhoi languages include Nama, Korana and Griqua. Nienaber (1963) collected indigenous words recorded by writers at the Cape between 1626 and about 1820. On the basis of the localities where the speakers of the respective languages or dialects were encountered, he categorised these words as *Kaaps*

(Cape dialectal), *Kaaps-Saldanha* (Cape-Saldanha dialectal), and *Oos* (Eastern dialectal). Each of the words in these languages he compared with the Khoikhoi languages Nama, Korana and Griqua.

Bleek (1956:iii-iv) identifies 29 different Bushman languages and dialects. On the basis of similarities and differences in the distribution of clicks and other grammatical aspects of these languages, such as changes of root, diminutives, gender, number, case, syntax, and so forth, she divided the Bushman languages into three groups, the Northern, Central and Southern groups. For the sake of convenience, she allocated symbols to them, N1, N1a, N2, N2a, N2b; C1, C2, C3; S1, S2, S2a, S2b; etc. These symbols are convenient for referring to the language concerned, as well as for cartographic and other purposes, and are therefore used in the present investigation. They will be added in parentheses to indicate the name of the specific language referred to in the text, e.g. /Xam (S1), Hie (C1), etc.

2.2 Characteristics of Khoisan languages

2.2.1 Clicks

The Khoikhoi and Bushman languages are characterised by so-called 'clicks', or 'suction consonants'. In the 19th century the click symbols were standardised as the dental click, represented by the symbol /; the cerebral click, written *!*; the palatal click, written ≠; the lateral click, written //, the lip or bilabial click, represented by the symbol ʘ, and the retroflex click, written *!!*.

Bleek (1956) describes the clicks and their articulation as follows:

> */ "This sign denotes the dental click; tongue-tip pressed against the upper front teeth ... The release of the tongue makes this click. For this click the release is gentle, making almost a sucking sound" (Bleek 1956:266).*
>
> *! "The cerebral or palato-alveolar click. ... Tongue-tip placed firmly on the point of division between palate and alveolus ... The tongue-tip is released sharply downwards, the resulting click resembling the sound of a cork being withdrawn from a bottle" (Bleek 1956:368).*
>
> *!! "The retroflex click, which is between the palato-alveolar and the lateral clicks. The tongue tip is released backwards, sliding along the palate, causing a harsh-sounding click which is not 'instantaneous'" (Bleek 1956:505).*

// "This sign denotes the lateral click. … The release of the tongue is not forward but lateral, the injection being caused by withdrawing one side of the tongue from the upper teeth" (Bleek 1956:512).

≠ "The alveolar click, formerly known as the palatal click, made as the retroflex plosive click only with the front of the tongue far forward, almost on the teeth" (Bleek 1956:640).

⊙ "The labial click (Bleek 1956:681) or lip click, made by pressing the lips together and releasing them as in a kiss" (Bleek 1929:13).

2.2.2 Click accompaniments

Each click is pronounced together with an accompaniment, also called a release or efflux. Thus are encountered the voiced efflux, indicated in writing by the letter *g*; the aspirated efflux, represented by the letter *h*; the nasal efflux, represented by the letter *n*; the fricative efflux, represented by the letter *x*; the ejective efflux, represented by the symbol *k"*; and the glottal efflux, represented by the glottal stop ʔ, sometimes by the apostrophe '. Although the click and accompaniment are pronounced together, the click was traditionally written first, but some modern writers write the nasal *n* and ŋ and the voiced *g* before the click.

The clicks and other aspects of the indigenous languages were unknown to Europeans, and to represent the sounds in writing was particularly challenging. Early writers used letters that were approximately homorganic to the place of click articulation, for example *t'*, *k'*, *qu'*, *d'*, *g*, and the like. A number of writers devised symbols to represent the specific clicks. Herbert (1634) wrote *ist-* for the dental click, *-t-* for the lateral click, and *w-* or *-w-* for the palatal click; Le Vaillant wrote the symbols ʌ for the dental click, *V* for the palatal click, and Δ for the cerebral click. Lichtenstein used the symbol t'^{1} for the dental click /, t'^{2} for either the lateral or alveolar click, and t'^{3} for the cerebral click, and so forth (Nienaber 1963:162-163).

3. EARLY WORDS AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS

The main objective of naming places is to facilitate identification of and reference to the features concerned. In the case of the Bushmen and Khoikhoi the environment in which they lived and their lifestyles were key factors in determining which names to give. Descriptions of the features in the landscape, reference to water features and water quality, the presence of animals or plants, and the like, were primary factors leading to the naming of places. Bushman place names generally take the sequence of specific

term followed by the generic term; the generic term being the feature type, the specific being the descriptive adjective, or other means of differentiating one feature type from another of the same class.

Place names are usually among the oldest words in a language, tending to remain after the original meaning of the name has been forgotten due to its irrelevance in identifying the feature and distinguishing it from others. In comparing words from languages that were spoken long ago, some now extinct, with words in other languages, logically words that were recorded contemporaneously, or as close to each other in time as possible, should be considered, since languages change over time, new orthographies are developed and implemented, that make comparisons with words from more modern languages less reliable.

For that reason, the works of Bleek that incorporate words recorded by her predecessors from early times, Kroenlein (1889), Rust (1960), and Nienaber (1963), also incorporating words from early and extinct languages, are employed. However, for the sake of validation, the works of Kilian-Hatz (2003), Weich (2004) and Shah and Brenzinger (2016) have also been consulted.

3.1 Naming factors

3.1.1 Names of animals

A Cape-Saldanha dialectal word for 'eland' is *cana* (De Flacourt 1658:55; Nienaber 1963:264). This word corresponds exactly with the component *Cana* of *Canaga*, an early name of *Elandsfontein*, a hamlet east of Joubertina (Nienaber & Raper 1980:215). The Afrikaans name, meaning 'eland fountain', is a translation of *Canaga*. The component *ga* is comparable to the Nama word *≠gã(b)*, *≠gãs*, '*Wasserloch*, *puts'*, 'waterhole, well' (Rust 1960:72); to the Auen (N1) word *≠ha*, 'spring, fountain' (Bleek 1956:650), the unvoiced velar fricative *g* of the component *ga* corresponding to the alveolar click with unvoiced velar efflux *≠h* in the word *≠ha*, and to the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *c ma*, '*fontaine*', 'spring, fountain' (De Flacourt 1658:55). In the word *c ma* the initial consonant *c* represents the click, and the nasal element of the vowel is written as *m* (Nienaber 1963:268). Also named after the eland is *Elandspad*, 'eland road or path', the Dutch name for a ravine recorded by Hartogh in 1707 (Molsbergen II 1916:8) as *Gantouw*: "*de Cloof van het Gebergte die door de Hottentots Gantouw werd gent. en door ons het Elandspat*" ("the ravine of the mountains which is called Gantouw by the Hottentots and the Elandspat by us". *Elandspad* has the same meaning as *Gantouw*. The component

Gan is comparable with the Eastern dialectal word *t'gann*, also given as *t'kan*, '*eland*, or *Kaapse eland*', ('eland, or Cape eland'), by Sparrman (II 1785:205, 250). The click denoted by the symbol *t'* carries the voiced velar release *g* in the word *t'gann* but the unvoiced velar release *k* in the word *t'kan*, with nasalisation expressed in both words by the consonant *n*. Bushman equivalents are the /Auni (S4) words *!kã*, in which the tilde is employed to denote nasalisation, and *!khan*, this function being served by the nasal consonant *n*. The click incorporated in these words is the cerebral *!*, which also features in the Korana word *!kans*, 'eland', with the ejective efflux (Nienaber 1963:265), and *!xana* (Maingard 1932:315), with the fricative efflux. Nama features words with the affricate *kx* and the ejective *k*, as in the words *kxans* (Schultze 1907:274) and *!kani*, '*Elan*', 'eland' (Rust 1960:17). A different click, the palatal click ≠, occurs in the /Xam (S1) word *≠kanthi*, 'eland bull' (Bleek 1956:656), while the lateral click occurs in the !Xuhn word *n//ang*, 'eland' (Weich 2004:156).

Both Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen II 1916:220) and Kolbe in 1708 (Kolbe I 1727:431) recorded the word *chöa* for 'elephant', and Valentyn (1726:107a) gives '*choa*'. This word is reflected in the first component of *Choantsas*, the name of a spring and farm in the Tsumeb district of Namibia, said to mean 'elephants bath' or 'elephant place' (Nienaber & Raper 1980:224). Eastern dialectal words for 'elephant' recorded in the 18th century are *coa* (Sparrman II 1785:350), ʌ*-goap*, transcribed as */goap* (Le Vaillant 1790:366); and *xkoa*, transcribed as */koa*, 'elephant' (Von Winkelmann 1788:45). The words under discussion consistently display the dental click, which also occurs in the //Ŋ !ke (S2) word */xwa:*, 'elephant' (Bleek 1956:367). Its synonym *≠xoa*, however, displays the palatal click and indicates the variability of *oa* and *wa*. The palatal click also occurs in the Nama word *≠khoab*, '*Elephant*' (Rust 1960:17), of which the plural is *≠khoan*. Other comparable Bushman words for 'elephant' are the Auen (N1) words *≠koa*, *≠khoa*, *≠goa* and *≠xoa*; the Kung (N2) word *≠koa* (Bleek 1956:663), the //Ŋ !ke (S2) words */xwa:* and *≠xoa* (Bleek 1956:367; Möller 2017:157), and the Khwe word *≠xóa*, 'elephant' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:268).

Gamkana was recorded by Schrijver in 1689 for a river identified by Mossop (1931:12) as the *Hartebeest River* south of Zuurbraak. The name *Gamkana* is also borne by the farm Hartebeeste Rivier Sw. Q. 3-1 in the Heidelberg district. Here again the Dutch or Afrikaans name is seen to be a translation of the indigenous name. The component *Ga(m)-* is cognate with the //Ŋ !ke (S2) word *!ga:*, 'hartebeest' (Bleek 1929:45), and the N/uu word *!aa*, 'red hartebeest' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140), which features the cerebral click and the vowel sequence *a – a*. The component *(m)kana* of the name *Gamkana* is

comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) word *//k"anna*, 'waterpits' (Bleek 1956:603), also *//gãna*, 'waterpit' (Bleek 1956:557), the nasalisation of *m* reflecting the nasalisation of the vowel ã following the retroflex fricative click with voiced efflux *//gã*.

Several places were named after the buffalo, such as *Buffelskop*, of which the indigenous name was recorded as *Kousas*, and *Buffelsdrif*, translated from the name *Xauga*, also recorded as *Pauga* (Nienaber & Raper 1977:778, 985). The components *Kou*, *Xau* and *Pau* are adaptations of a word for 'buffalo'. Comparable words are the Cape dialectal word *t'aouvv*, '*een buffel*; *bos syluestris*' ('a buffalo, ox of the forest') (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:221), transcribed as */taouw*; the Eastern dialectal word *KaW*, '*buffel*', ('buffalo') (Thunberg II 1795:86), *t'kau*, 'buffalo' (Sparrman II 1785:290), and Λ-ka-*oop*, 'buffalo' (Le Vaillant 1790:336), transcribed as */kaw* and */kaoop* respectively, both thus with the dental click (Nienaber 1963:235). By analogy with the occurrence of the dental click in these words, the word recorded by Witsen as *t'aouvv* may be transcribed as */aouw*, a develarised form as opposed to the Eastern dialectal words that display the velar ejective efflux *k*. The dental click also features in Korana words for 'buffalo', namely *t'*[1]*kaaub*, 'buffalo' (Lichtenstein II 1930:470), transcribed as */kaaub*; the word */gaob*, recorded by Wuras (1920:14), and in develarised form */aob* (Meinhof 1930:121). A Nama word featuring the dental click is */gaob*, '*Büffel*' ('buffalo') (Rust 1960:13), */gáob*, '*der Büffel*, *Wildebeest*' ('buffalo, wildebeest') (Kroenlein 1889:80b). The dental click is evident in Bushman equivalents such as the Kung (N2) words */kau* and */gau*, 'buffalo' (Bleek 1956:303), the Hie (C1) word */hao* (Bleek 1956:287), the Hukwe (C2b) word */gau*, the Hei//kum (N2a) word */gaub* (Bleek 1956:276), the Khwe word /áò (Kilian-Hatz 2003:245) and the !Xuhn word */ao*, 'buffalo' (Weich 2004:137). In these instances the variability of *au* and *ao*, and of *g* and *k,* are discernible, as well as glottalisation. The /Xam (S1) word *!kau* displays the cerebral click, while the Hukwe (C2b) word *gau*, 'buffalo', is clickless (Bleek 1956:412, 44). From numerous words that feature the dental click it may be inferred that the symbol *X* in the name *Xauga* is meant to represent the dental click; the consonant *P* in the name recorded as *Pauga* may well be meant as a bilabial click ʘ.

''*Kopumnaas or 'Bull's Mouth Pass*', a name given because the route was very dangerous, was recorded by Alexander (I 1838:297), who also provides the meaning of the word *'Kop* in the place name as *'kop*, 'bull' (II 1838:168). Sparrman (II 1785:350) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *ho* for 'bull', which has no overt click nor gender ending *-b* or *-p*, and which is compared by Nienaber (1963:236) with the Nama word *//gob*, 'bull'. Bushman equivalents or cognates include the Naron (C2) and Tsaukwe (C2a) word */ko*

and the /Xam (S1) word *!go-ai*, 'bull' (Bleek 1956:317, 384), the N/uu word *g//oo*, 'bull' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:121), the Khwe word *kx'áò,* 'bull' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:245), and the component *g//oq* of the !Xuhn word *gumi g//oq*, 'bull' (Weich 2004:137), in which the symbol *q* is used to represent pharyngalisation. The component *gumi* of the word *gumi g//oq* means 'ox' (Weich 2004:258).

The name *Nawaptana*, translated as *Renosterkop*, literally 'rhinoceros head', is a name recorded by Hendrik Wikar in 1779 for a hill on the southern bank of the Orange River, between Kakamas and the Augrabies Falls (Mossop 1935:120). The component *nawap*, 'rhinoceros', is comparable to the Nama word *!nawab*, '*Nashorn*' ('rhinoceros') (Rust 1960:19), the final endings *-p* and *-b* being interchangeable masculine singular markers. The Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *naua* recorded by De Flacourt (1658:55), in which the *u* is variable with *w*, does not display a gender ending, a feature shared with the Khwe word *ngyaává*, 'white rhinoceros' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:337). The dentilabial consonant *v* in this word is variable with the vowel written as *u* in the word *naua* and with the bilabial *w* in the Nama word *!nawab*, '*Nashorn*' ('rhinoceros') (Rust 1960:45). The intervocalic consonant *b(b)* that interchanges with *w* is encountered in the Hie (C1) word *gaba*, 'rhinoceros', the Kung (N2) word *naba*, 'white rhinoceros', the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *!nabba*, 'white rhinoceros', and the Naron (C2) word *≠nabba*, 'rhinoceros' (Bleek 1956:41, 142, 472, 669). The component *tana* of the name *Nawaptana* is comparable with the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *tanaba*, 'head' (Bleek 1956:192) and the Nama word *tanas*, '*Kopf*', 'head' (Rust 1960:36). The endings *-ba* in the word *tanaba* and *-s* in the word *tanas* are the masculine and feminine singular markers respectively. The Dutch and Afrikaans word *kop*, 'head', is frequently used for a hill or hillock.

3.1.2 Colour

Several words for 'black' feature in adapted form as place name components. Hartogh recorded the place name *Doggha kamma*, '*Swarte Rivier*' ('black river') in 1707 (Molsbergen II 1916:8). *Doggha kamma* means 'black river'. The component *doggha* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word */hoaka*, 'dark, black' (Bleek 1956:289); the dental consonant *d* in the word *doggha* approximates the dental click /, and the velar plosive consonants *g* and *k* interchange in the second syllable (Bleek 1956:40). The component *kamma* of the name *Doggha kamma* means 'river'; this Cape dialectal word was recorded as '*rivier of water*' ('river or water)' by Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen I 1916:217). Valentyn (1726:108a) recorded the Cape dialectal word for 'river' as '*kammo*, *een rivier*' ('a river'),

and Kolbe (I 1727:431) gives '*k˜ammo*, *fluvius; vlietend water*' ('river; flowing water'), cognate with the !O !kung (N3) word *//kam*, 'to flow' (Bleek 1929:39).

Gnutuais, an old name of *Swartmodder*, 'black mud', was recorded by Alexander (I 1838:257). The component *gnu* is comparable to the Nama word *≠nu*, '*schwarz*', 'black' (Rust 1960:55) and the Khwe word *n≠qú*, 'black' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:241), also with the palatal click ≠; the voiceless uvular stop is represented by the consonant *q* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8). Lichtenstein (I 1928:317) recorded *t'¹nu*, '*schwarz*', 'black', for Korana, transliterated as */nu* (Nienaber 1963:475). The word also occurs with the dental click / in the Naron (C2) word */nu*, 'night, dark, black' (Bleek 1956:351). Another Khwe word for 'black', namely *dùú* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:241) is comparable with the !Xuhn word *djoo*, 'black', which features the voiced consonant combination *dj* (Weich 2004:vii, 134). The component *tuais* of the name *Gnutuais* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *≠gwãi*, *≠gwei*, 'clay' (Bleek 1956:469), the alveolar plosive consonant *t* representing the alveolar click ≠, and *u* interchanging with *w.*

Barrow (I 1801:115) recorded the place name *Camdeboo*, explained by him as "*green elevations*, applying to the buttresses which support the Snowy mountains, and which are mostly covered with verdure". The component *cam* is comparable to the Korana word *!kam*, 'green' (Maingard 1964:61) and the develarised Nama word *!am*, '*grün*' ('green') (Rust 1960:28), and with the Naron (C2) word *!ʌm*, the Auen (N1) word */kãŋ* and the Kung (N2) word */kaŋ*, 'green' (Bleek 1929:44). The !Xuhn word */áhng*, 'green' (Weich 2004:169), is comparable with the Auen and Kung words in sharing the dental click /, the vowel *a*, and nasalisation indicated by *n* and ŋ, and by the digraph *ng.* Gordon's map 15 (in Forbes 1965) gives the name as *Camdabo*, thus with the vowel *a* in the second component, and not with an *e*. The word *dabo* corresponds to the /Xam (S1) word *dhabu*, 'to cover' (Bleek 1956:23), which reflects Barrow's description of "the buttresses … which are mostly *covered* with verdure" (author's emphasis).

Several place names incorporate words for 'red'. Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:76) recorded the Nama word *avanghais*, '*rood kooper*', 'red copper', in which the component *ava* is comparable to the Nama word */awá*, '*roth*', 'red' (Rust 1960:50), and the component *nghais* with the Nama word *≠eis*, 'erts', 'ore' (Nienaber 1963:433). The word *ava* or */awa* is similar to the Korana word *t'¹abaa*, 'red' (Lichtenstein II 1930:242), transcribed as */abaa* (Nienaber 1963:432), the consonants v, *w* and *b* being variable. This old Cape dialectal word is reflected in *Abachaus*, the name of a farm in the Otavi district, Namibia (Nienaber & Raper 1977:157). Hartmann (1904 Map in Nienaber & Raper 1977:157) records the name as */Abachaus*, thus also with the dental click. The component *Aba* is

the same word for 'red' discussed above; the second component, *chau(s)*, is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *//xau*, 'hill' (Bleek 1956:633), the final *-s* of the name */Abachaus* is the Khoikhoi feminine singular ending.

Gordon (1777 Ms. 2:15) wrote about '*rooije kopjes*, *'Aba 'ati klein*' ('red hillocks, *'Aba 'ati*, small'). The name *'Aba 'ati* means 'small red hillocks'. The component *'Aba* is comparable to the Nama word */aba* or */awa* (Nienaber 1963:432; Rust 1960:50), and to the //Kxau (S2b) word ŋ/*kxaba*, 'red' (Bleek 1956:150) and the N/uu word */x'aba*, 'red' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140), which reflect the ejective fricative release *x*. The component ´a of the component *'ati* is comparable with the Hadza (C3) word *!a*, 'hill' (Bleek 1956:369), and the component *ti* with the /Nu//en (S6) word */ki*, 'small' (Bleek 1929:76), the alveolar or dental plosive *t* corresponding to the dental or alveolar click with ejective release, */k*.

Schrijver (1689 in Mossop 1931:227) recorded the 'Hottentot' word *nau* as a component of the place name *Naudau*, 'Witte Kloof' ('white ravine'). Considering the interchangeability of the consonants *n*, *g* and *k* in the Bushman languages, a number of words may be considered comparable to the word *nau*. These are the Kung (N2) words *!gʔao*, ¯*!kau*, and *!k"ao*, 'to be white'; *!kao*, *!kʔao*, 'white, light-coloured' (Bleek 1956:337, 409); the Auen (N1) and !O !kung (N3) word ¯*!kau*, 'white, pale yellow', with its synonyms *!k"ao* and *!kʔao*, and the Kung (N2) *!k"au*, 'white' (Bleek 1956:413, 507). The !Xuh word *!aúh*, 'white' (Weich 2004:248), correlates with the comparable words in displaying the cerebral click *!* and the vowel sequence *a – u*, a variant of *a – o*.

The second component of the name *Naudau*, namely *dau*, corresponds precisely with the Old Cape Khoikhoi word *dau*, 'kloof' (Schrijver 1689 in Mossop 1931:227); the Eastern dialectal word *dau*, 'road' (Sparrman II 1785:350); the Nama words *daos*, '*die Pforte* (*Eingang in's Gebirge*)', 'the gateway (entrance in a mountain)'; *daob*, '*Weg*, *Spur*, *Pfad*', 'way, spoor, road' (Kroenlein 1889:57); *daos*, '*Pforte*, *Gebirgspforte*', 'pass, mountain pass', and *daob*, '*Weg*', 'road' (Rust 1960:47, 72); the Sesarwa (S5) word *dau*, *dauǂ* 'spoor, path, road', and the Khakhea (S5), Auen (N1), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b) word *dau*, 'spoor, road, path' (Bleek 1956:22).

An indirect reference to colour is to be seen in the name *Bikamma*, '*Melck Rivier*' ('milk river'), recorded by Ensign Isaac Schrijver in 1689 (Mossop 1931:244), the reference apparently being to the milky colour of the water. The word was recorded by Van Riebeeck in 1652 (Bosman & Thom I 1952:89) as *bie*, '*melck*', a word used by the indigenous people known as the 'Saldanhars'. Sparrman (II 1785:350) recorded the Eastern dialectal word

bi, 'milk'. Comparable Bushman words are the Hie (C1) word *bii* and the Naron (C2) word *bi:sa*, which correspond to the words above in not displaying a click, commencing with a bilabial plosive, and sharing the common sound *i* or *i:* (Bleek 1929:58).

3.1.3 Geomorphology

In his journal entry for 18 November 1707, Hartogh writes about "*aan het warm water daar wij ons wasten, 't geen door de Hottentots Disporecamma werd gent.*" ("at the hot water where we washed ourselves, which is called Disporecamma by the Hottentots") (Molsbergen II 1916:8). Mossop (1927:81 fn.) states that "the hot spring at Caledon is called Disporecamma", while Nienaber and Raper (1977:317) indicate that *Warmbad* was a former name for Caledon. The component *di* of the name *Disporecamma* is similar to the Sesarwa (S5) preposition *ti*, 'at', Dutch *aan*. The letter *s* in the component *spore* is unclear in the manuscript, and may be an attempt at rendering a click. The component *(s?)pore* is comparable with the /Nu //en (S6) word *⊙pwarre* 'fire' (Bleek 1956:717); 'fire, firewood' (Bleek 1956:685, 717). The component *camma* is comparable with the Cape dialectal word *kamma* recorded as '*rivier of water*' ('river or water)' by Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen I 1916:217).

In 1752 Beutler recorded the place name *Goadar*, '*Moerasrivier*' ('marsh river') (Molsbergen III 1922:303). The Eastern dialectal component *Goa* approximates the /Xam (S1) word *≠gwa*, 'clay' (Bleek 1956:469); the voiced velar consonant *g* appears in both words, and the semi-vowel *w* interchanges with the half close vowel *o*. The component *–dar* of the name *Goadar* is perhaps an adapted word for 'river', comparable with the Khatia (S4a) word */a:*, the /Xam (S1) word */ka*, 'river'; or the Auen (N1) word *≠ka:* 'riverbed' (Bleek 1956:268, 295, 653).

3.1.4 Meteorological factors

A word for 'dry' that has survived as a component of a place name is *ou*, recorded by Hartogh in 1707 in the names *Ouka* and *Oukamma*, '*drooge rivier*' ('dry river') (Molsbergen III 1922:143). Bushman equivalents of the word *ou* are the Kung (N2) adjective *!!ʔau*, 'dry, arid', and its synonyms *!!kao* and *//kao* (Bleek 1956:505), the !Xuhn word *//xao*, 'dry' (Weich 2004:154), and the N/uu word *//ooa*, '*om droog te wees*, to be dry' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123), comparable to the /Xam (S1) and //Ŋ !ke (S2) intransitive verb ¯*//ko:wa*, 'to dry' (Bleek 1929:35), but differing from them in the lack of the ejective release *k* and of the glide *w*. The //Ŋ !ke (S2) verb */o:*, 'to dry, rub, stamp, pound', also encountered in Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:355), is comparable in form to the

Nama word */ò*, '*auftrocknen*' ('to dry out') (Kroenlein 1889:273a), and to the Khwe word */'óò*, 'to dry out' in displaying the dental click /, whereas the Khwe word *//xó*, 'dry out, be dry' incorporates the lateral click with fricative release (Kilian-Hatz 2003:266).

The word *x-oro* was recorded by W. Van Reenen in 1791 (Nienaber 1963:253) in the place name '*x-oro-x-kap of drooge flackte*' ('*x-oro-x-kap* or dry flat'). Van Reenen added that the "*kruisjes beteekenen het klappen met de tonge*" ("the little crosses mean clicks with the tongue"). These clicks may have been either the cerebral click *!* or the dental click /, the word *x-oro* thus comparable either to the Nama word *!koró*, '*auftrocknen*', 'dry out' (Kroenlein 1889:217), or */kóro*, '*dürre werden*', 'become dry' (Kroenlein 1889:213), also */kuru*, '*dürr*', 'arid' (Rust 1960:15), a word that displays the interchangeability of *o* and *u*. A Bushman cognate that incorporates the dental click is the /Xam (S1) word */xoro*, 'to dry' (Bleek 1956:365), while the /Xam (S1) adjective *k"orokn*, 'dry' (Bleek 1929:33) and verb *k"orokɘn*, *k"oroka*, 'to dry, shrivel, burn up, wear out', display the ejective *k* or glottal croak. The cerebral click with ejective efflux *!k* and the variant *u* occur in the /Xam (S1) words *!kurrukɘn*, *!kurruka*, synonym *!kerrukɘn*, 'to dry, be dry, be hot, be in the sun' (Bleek 1956:454), and also in the /Xam (S1) words *!kauakɘn*, 'to put to dry' and *!kauwakɘn*, 'to dry' (Bleek 1956:413, 416). The vowel sequence displayed in the /Xam words *!kauakən* and *!kauwakən* accord with that in the !Xuhn words *//xao*, 'dry', *//xao xumxum-a*, 'dry as a bone', and *≠xu //xao-a*, 'to dry' (Weich 2004:154).

3.1.5 Names of plants

A number of Khoisan names refer to the presence of vegetation. Thus in 1689 the Ensign Isaq Schrijver recorded "*de Groote Palmit Revier*" ("the great *Palmit* River") for the watercourse still known as the *Palmietrivier* (Mossop 1931:208), for which Hartogh (1707:3) gave the indigenous name *Houtema*, and Mossop (1927:81 fn.; 1931:208 fn.) gives *Koutima* and *Koutema*. The Dutch allonym for a feature frequently proves to be synonymous with the indigenous name, and *Palmietrivier* is no exception. The component *Hou* or *Kou* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *//xa¯u*, 'rush', *//xa¯u-ka*, 'rushes' ('*palmiet*') (Bleek 1956:633), the component *tema*, *tima* perhaps cognate with the word *duma*, '*rivierloop*', as suggested by Krenz (in Nienaber & Raper 1977:575), and with the word *dumba* that occurs in Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a), Auen (N1) and /Nu //en (S6) for 'river, riverbed' (Bleek 1956:29). More probably (or also) *tema* or *tima* is cognate with the //ɲ !ke (S2) word */k'eĩ*, 'river' (Bleek 1929:70), the unvoiced alveolar or dental click with plosive efflux */k* represented by the dental or alveolar plosive consonant *t*, the *e* or *i* coalesced from the digraph *ei*, the nasalisation denoted by the nasal bilabial *m*.

3.1.6 Description

Koungama is given as '*Dwarsrivier*' ('cross river, athwart river') by Le Vaillant (I 1790:227). The component *koun*, 'to cross, to go across', is comparable with the Nama word *!gôu*, '*queren*, *kreuzen*' ('to traverse, to go over, to cross') (Rust 1960:48); the voiced and unvoiced velar consonants *k* and *g* are variable (Bleek 1956:73), and the nasal written as *n* in the word *koun* is represented by the circumflex in the word *!gôu*. Also comparable with the component *koun* are the /Xam (S1) words */kau*, */ka:o*, */kaǂo*, 'to cross, stroke' (Bleek 1956:301), and the Khwe word */gãã̃*, 'to cross' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:259); the variability of the consonants *g* and *k* is discernible in the relevant words, as also in the component *gama* of the name *Koungama*, similar to the Cape dialectal word *kamma*, '*rivier of water*' ('river or water') (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:217), and the Nama word *//gami*, *//gams*, '*Wasser*', 'water' (Rust 1960:72).

4. CONCLUSIONS

This study indicates that words from extinct Cape dialectal languages recorded in the 16th century have in many instances survived as adaptations similar in sound and meaning to place name elements in extinct and extant Khoikhoi and Bushman languages. Comparison of these words and their equivalents in some instances validates given explanations of the origins and meanings of place names, but in other cases indicates that the recorded meanings were folk-etymological, analogous or other misinterpretations. Sound-shifts, patterns of click replacements and other adaptations are indicated between the relevant words and their equivalent elements, as well as the results of acculturation and language contact that led to the translation of numerous place names into locally spoken European languages. A perusal of the linguistic structure of the words on which the said comparisons are based reveals the potential for a re-evaluation and reclassification of recorded Cape dialects. The identification, reconstruction and preservation of indigenous place names revealed by this study is in accordance with United Nations resolution V/22 recommending that minority indigenous geographical names should be collected and preserved, and that a written form of those names should be adopted for official use on maps and other publications, and with United Nations resolutions VIII/9 and X/3 that recommend the preservation of indigenous geographical names as cultural heritage, and in accordance with stipulations of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that the use of Khoikhoi and San (Bushman) languages should be promoted.

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TRANSLATED TOPONYMIC TEXTS

A KEY TO LANGUAGE ARTEFACTS

Lucie A. Möller
Faculty of the Humanities,
University of the Free State, South Africa
lamoller@absamail.co.za

ABSTRACT

One method to uncover the origins and meanings of ancient indigenous place names is to study translated toponymic texts, especially those from toponymic cluster formations in a region. Where a translated place name exists alongside names from different languages, the translation may enlighten the original intent of the naming action (context), as well as the linguistic aspects of the name (content). Components from extinct and extant indigenous languages may be analysed according to regained local knowledge. Linguistic aspects may have been translated, but often remain unsolved as opaque relics of phonetic, morphological and syntactical indicators of the original languages in which the names were allocated.

This method of analysing through translated toponyms, the etymologies of previously obscure or historically 'lost' names, contributes to a collection of 'regained' cultural language artefacts, thereby restoring and reasserting the toponymic and linguistic heritage of the speakers. Where indigenous language speakers have certain affinities associated with such places and their names, the preservation of these should be recognised as an essential part of the intangible cultural rights of the people.

The points argued in this paper are illustrated with examples selected from various archival sources and recent publications, discussed according to research findings concerning Bushman languages as toponymic origins; name changes relating to differing orthographies within standardisation efforts, and United Nations resolutions regarding geographical names and identity; indigenous languages and their toponyms.

Keywords: Bushman, cluster formations, Khoikhoi, language artefacts, language contact, translated toponyms

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The multilingual context

The place names of Southern Africa deriving from a variety of languages spoken in the region reflect its diverse multilingual context and demonstrate contact experiences and inter-linguistic processes taking place from early times. Many toponyms, especially those referring to natural features, are examples of naming actions of the earliest inhabitants. Over the millennia these names were adopted, adapted or translated into other languages of later incoming peoples, such as the isiNtu-speakers, and the seafaring newcomers who began to record the names.

The diversity of language speakers actively engaged in the translation of these toponymic texts, impacted on the appearance of such toponyms as cluster formations in specific topographic areas.

Embedded root words from ancient, now almost entirely extinct languages, may be retraced by studying the oldest layers of recorded place names, appearing as translations in toponymic cluster formations, or in explanations to the translated toponymic texts. Components of place names that refer to topographical features in regions where the name-givers lived, often refer to geographical peculiarities, to fauna and flora and other natural phenomena of the place. The namers' local knowledge about such aspects abounds in the toponymic landscape of Southern Africa. It is a source for studying naming motives and naming patterns of the oldest speakers as relating to a variety of onomastic and linguistic topics, and of the linguistic interaction between several indigenous languages.

1.2 Recognising the occurrence of translated toponymic clusters

The question of 'translated toponymic texts' in 'toponymic clusters' is addressed as the occurrence of translated place names in 'cluster formations', understood as a context where more than one name appears as translation, allocated in different languages, within close proximity in the same geographical area. One or more of the names may be adaptations, but still reflect the same meaning or reference, thereby forming a 'toponymic

cluster' in a topographical configuration. They may originally have been allocated to a river or a mountain, ultimately transferred to another entity such as a settlement.

When analysing these names, the context (including the motive for naming, history of the name-giving), and the content (linguistic aspects of the name and meaning), are retraceable to a source language through linguistic and onomastic verification methods. The intention is to find comparative words and name components as relevant etymology of the name, thus, whether it is linguistically and topographically verifiable, that is, refers to the same or nearby geographic feature.

Translations of place names in toponymic clusters become multilingual language artefacts, i.e. they are captured in more than one language system of the source and receiver languages, even if the originating languages are no longer used.

It is argued that names in translated toponymic cluster formations are verifiable evidence of socio-physical and language exchange over a long period of time. The translated names provide a key and enable a comparable working method in which the origins and meanings of the names are determined.

That the translated names provide the clues to deciphering the original name forms, the possible source language(s) from which they were translated and the linguistic components from which they emanated, is not only the theoretical departure point, but becomes an enabling tool to validate the arguments around the actual origins of place names in Southern Africa as deriving from several Bushman and Khoikhoi languages (Möller 2019:5-7).

Assimilation and acculturation of the Late Stone Age hunter-gatherers, the San or Bushmen[1] began millennia ago. More often though, the displacements and fragmentation of the original inhabitants resulted in many of their languages becoming extinct, or endangered to such an extent that only a few speakers remain who are able to converse in them (Bleek 1929:1-14, 1956:i-iv; Traill 1996:175-183).

Socio-physical, cultural and language contact between Bushmen and later incoming peoples, initially the Khoikhoi, Bantu and Europeans, led to several ancient names being allocated as translated texts during this interaction, often in adapted forms. Compare, for example, *Khoankub* from Bushman *koa*, *≠koa* (elephant) and *!kuu (*pass), with the *-b* a Khoikhoi gender ending, later translated into Afrikaans as Olifantkloof and German

1 Clarification of the terminology Bushman/San appears in Raper and Möller (2015:405), Van Vuuren (2016:155) and Möller (2017a:313).

Elephantenkluft. In other indigenous languages the elephant was coined *inter alia* as *tlou* in Sotho and Tswana as in the toponym *LeRatlou*; as *indlovu* in Nguni, providing *Endlovana* and *Gingindlovu*, all deriving from the Ur-Bantu -***γογû*** for 'elephant' (Möller 2017a:155-158).

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Recording of the names of the land

The seafaring peoples, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French and Germans began recording the indigenous languages and names from as early as 1488, 1595 and 1652, and onwards, also translating words, personal and place names in journals while exploring inland. In later years 'Free burghers' with their grazing herds entering the inner country, accounted for more translated names. The missionaries and philologists, having acquired a fair knowledge of the indigenous languages, began compiling word lists and dictionaries, containing explanations from personal interviews, retold myths, legends and folktales (Möller 2017a:20, 42; Van Vuuren 2016:1-86, 127; Von Wielligh 1919-1921).

While recording, a system of orthographic renderings, representing click sounds, with or without accompanying acoustic aspects of sounds, effluxes, etc. of the indigenous languages, was created. This enabled the analysis of words from many different languages and dialects as documented by these writers, and became a form of standardisation for words and names (Bleek 1929:1-14, 1956:i-vi; Bleek & Lloyd 1911; Nienaber 1963, 1989; Nienaber & Raper 1977, 1980). Ancient multilingual words and names became analysable in a comparative framework.

Toponyms emerged such as the recorded Portuguese names for the Cape and its translations as *Cabo de Esperanza*, translated in Dutch as Kaap de Goede Hoop, *Cabo Tormentoso* as Cape of Storms, Stormkaap; all referring to the Cape promontory which they rounded. For the mountain as prominent feature, *Taboa do Cabo*, translations such as Tafelberg and Table Mountain were coined (Raper, Möller & Du Plessis 2014:486-487).

The oldest recorded name for Table Mountain and the Cape was *Hoerikwaggo*, derived from *hoeri 'kwaggo*, translated as "de zeeberg" ('sea mountain') by Gordon in 1779 (as cited in Nienaber & Raper 1977:560). This name was explained as deriving from *hūri-* or *houri*, 'sea' and *kwaggo*, 'mountain' (Nienaber 1963:438, 218).

Its name in the Nguni languages is eKapa, explained as possibly deriving from Bushman words */kaba*, *ts'wa*, *kwa* for a 'flat place, plateau', referring to the mountain of that

shape (Bleek 1956:59). This name for the Cape opened a link to the interpretation of the ancient indigenous Bushman and Khoikhoi name *hoeri 'kwaggo*. Deriving from an old Cape dialectal word originating from /Xam */ka:ba /ka:bo* meaning 'flat place, flat mountain', it had been adapted to eKapa. Bleek (1929:39) quotes from Naron the word for 'flat' as */ka:ba*, and */k'ã*, and the nouns *tã:* from //Ŋ!ke, *ts'wa* from /Xam, for a 'flat, plateau'.

Another explanation for this concept of a 'high, flat mountain', lies in both designations *Hoeri 'kwaggo* and eKapa. This comes from the /Xam word !*xo:wa* 'high' (Bleek 1929:46), and *xhoago*, 'high mountain' Nienaber (1963:218). The last component *ggo* is comparable to *!kou* from /Xam, and *!goa* from Hie for 'mountain' (Bleek 1929:59).

Nienaber (1963:309) gives words for 'high' from Koranna as */kuri, !guri* and */huri*; and quotes Winkelmann (1788:45 in Nienaber 1963:218), explaining "… *xkoago* 'ein hoher Berg'." ('a high mountain'). The place name Hoerikwaggo, deriving from */kuri*, */huri*, 'high' + *xhoago*, !*xo:wa* > *kwa*, 'high' + *ggo*, is possibly a tautology, indeed meaning 'high', 'high plateau', 'mountain'.

The loss of languages and acquisition of second languages began as early as the first contact with incoming peoples, the isiNtu (Bantu)-speakers, and Europeans from 1652 onwards. Many Khoikhoi and Bushman-speakers were fairly fluent in Dutch and other indigenous languages by 1695 (Möller 2017a:21-30, 56-57; Nienaber 1963, 1989; Traill 1996:174-175; Van Vuuren 2016:2-3, 39, 66, 76-77). The language interactions led to numerous translations of toponymic texts, often provided by these bilingual speakers, and appearing as cluster formations. The Afrikaans place name *Windhoek*, in German *Windhuk*, retraced to its Bushman origins, derives from Sesarwa *ɷpwi* 'hot' and //Ku//ke *du* 'water', !O!kung ˉ//gu: (Bleek 1929:90; 1956:686, 28).

It is also known by its Nama name as */Ai-//gams* ('fire water'). In Sesarwa and /Nu//en words occur for 'fire' as /a:, /i:, and *tã*, !*kha* for 'hot'; and *//kha* in /Auni depicts a water feature (Bleek 1929:39, 48, 90).

The Herero name *Otjomuise* ('place of smoke, steam, vapour') equally refers to the hot water springs (Raper & Möller 2015:399). These names can be onomastically and topographically verified as deriving from original references in Bushman languages, since the context, naming motive and content (meaning), indicate they were allocated to the same place, or topographic area forming a close cluster. Compare names such as *Bivana/Phivane* in Nguni and *Tshipise* in Venda, all containing the same cognate

Bushman onymic component *ɷpwi*, *ʃiɷpwi* from Tshukwe in adapted forms (Raper *et al.* 2014:36, 505).

The original namers' historical presence in naming actions is recognised and acknowledged through this type of research into translated texts. Studies of this nature determine who originally allocated these names and also how the naming systems of their languages functioned.

3 RESEARCH METHOD

3.1 Studying translated toponymic texts in cluster formations

Comparing translated toponymic texts with previously recorded forms of the names (in various orthographic renderings of different language systems), is to engage these translations as tools in solving the toponymic etymologies.

Retracing these words and names involves studying the translated root words, where possible in the original languages and dialects as recorded since historical times, and from accompanying explanatory texts provided by the speakers and translators.

Selected examples may illustrate how the indigenous peoples of the region named the features of the land by description, sound imitations and imagery, and how the later translations of these names became pointers to understanding the historical context of the naming actions, the language contact situations, the etymologies indicating the content and linguistic substructures from which they derived.

3.2 The comparative approach using cluster formations

Since the recording of words, place names and ethnonyms from various indigenous languages began, a system of orthographic representations of clicks and other accompanying sounds of the indigenous languages was created. The explanations accompanying translations enabled the analyses of names from different languages as documented. These recordings became useful in a linguistic-onomastic framework between the different categories of naming actions and naming systems.

The difficulty of recognising phonemes in utterances as grammatical components, and putting them in writing, depended on understanding the role and function of click sounds in semantic differentiation, and, in representing the correct click sounds and their effluxes in a word or name. The writers developed a set of symbols for these

unusual sounds. The problems encountered obviously led to many different systems initially representing speech utterances in writing. Various attempts at precise orthographies were developed for indigenous languages as documented by Bleek for Bushman languages (1929, 1956), and by Nienaber for Khoikhoi (1963:76-191). The inter-linguistic contact with the isiNtu languages had already caused a loss of clicks, creating numerous adaptations and borrowings causing misinterpretations of original Bushman naming motives and etymologies.

The technique to discover authentic etymologies of translated place names is meant to restore and maintain the names as historical cultural artefacts. The key method therefore is to study translated place names in toponymic clusters and to reconsider obscure grammatical and semantic components of such toponyms, and the many discrepancies in explanations of the names.

The research challenge in studying the oldest recorded place names that refer to the features of the land is to assert which of the names contain components and words originating from the earliest languages spoken in the area, thereby establishing a diachronic time frame for such names.

The translated place names within toponymic clusters can reveal significant information about the speakers of these languages, and the context of the naming, that is, the contact between peoples of overlapping eras, possibly from the Late Stone Age into the Iron Age, indicating what led to the disappearance of speakers and their languages.

This comparative method reveals where speakers lived in specific geographical areas, speaking different languages and dialects leaving a richly diverse and complex set of references, called a toponymicon, shared as a cultural heritage. These names describe the nature of the world where they lived, their lifestyle and the occupations they practiced at the time (Möller 2016).

3.3 Retracing extinct, fossilized words in toponyms

Many Bushman and Khoikhoi words were borrowed, adapted and translated into other incoming languages, leaving unknown or fossilized components as retained relics in multilingual place names.

As place names were recorded from languages that had no writing systems at the time, many variations in spelling occurred. Through initial standardisation efforts names

changed orthographically to almost unrecognisable forms. These names required re-analysis and re-assessment as to their origins.

Retracing ancient name components within a multilingual setting allows the retrieval of extinct, fossilized words from these examples via the translated names. Palaeo-toponymic studies require retracing threads of such extinct words and name components from vanished and vanishing languages in similar or cognate forms in extant languages.

4. LANGUAGE CONTACT INFLUENCE

4.1 Evidence of language contact found in language artefacts

The influence of language contact on names is evident in translations, borrowings (loan words), adaptations, partial component replacements and so forth. To retrace origins, toponymists ascertain etymologies by determining meanings of translated name components appearing alongside texts of re-analysed language artefacts.

Etymological solutions of names are sometimes found only in relic components compared to cognate forms of words in other multilingual names and related languages. The original indigenous names may contain words from extinct and Ur-languages, such as most of the ancestral Bushman and some Khoikhoi languages, but also from Ur-Bantu and extant isiNtu or Bantu languages.

4.2 Place names providing evidence of language artefacts

The method of using translated toponymic texts as key route enables finding language artefacts no longer in use in the living, extant languages of a region. Compare examples such as *Blaukehl*, a German translation of Bloukeel (also Bloukuil) name of a farm near the Blouwesrivier in Namibia (Möller 1986:223; SWA Map 1:1 000 000, 1972). It was derived from the Khoikhoi name *ǂHoadommi*; with the 'contextual' interpretation of the names referring originally to a river (Nienaber & Raper 1977:557-558; 1980:414). The toponym *Hoadommi* was correctly translated as *Bloukeel* 'blue throat', where *ǂhoa*, is 'blue' and *dum/dommi* is 'throat'. It appears the name derived from older Bushman words such as */hoa:ka*, 'dark blue' with *dom* as 'throat', both from /Xam, and *_dom* directly compared to 'riverbed' in Auen, Kung and !O!kung (Bleek 1929:22, 85). This anthropomorphic view of the riverbed refers to a geo-morphological feature, the volcanic stone formations of the surrounding area giving a blue appearance to the riverbed. With folk-etymological adaptation, it became *Bloukuil* in Afrikaans.

4.3 Personal names and ethnonyms affected by language interactions

Another field of research into translated toponymic clusters where language contact becomes obvious lies in the domain of anthroponyms or personal names, including ethnonyms.

This influence becomes verifiable from the earliest recorded translations. Noted through the recording of names by historians since the sixteenth century, Nienaber's 1989 comprehensive study attests to the multitude of names in these categories.

A re-analysis of the influence of language contact on anthroponymic translations, hybridisations, adaptations, and later replacements, could be clarified through translations within toponymic cluster formations. This study of the oldest recordings of clans and their leaders' names (kapteins), and their retraceable ethnonyms, was approached from the perspective of Bushman languages. This led to ascertaining origins and meanings of several ancient anthroponyms found in toponymic cluster formations.

Place names with related ethnonyms often exist in both source and receiver languages, surviving as language artefacts in cluster configurations. The clan of Goliath Yzerbek from Yzerfontein, originally *Kurigams* (Nienaber 1989:120-126, 375-376; Raper *et al.* 2014:552) called themselves Yzerbekke. The Dutch translation is retained in both the ethnonym and the place name on the coastline of the Western Cape. The name *Kurigams*, derived originally from /Xam */kx'uri*, */k'uri*, refers to iron ore, translated in Dutch as '*yzer*'; and Hie *ǂkam*, */kham*, also Khoikhoi *_ams*, 'mouth', Nama */gams*, the 'fountain', seen anthropomorphically as a mouth, Dutch/Afrikaans 'bek'.

The Katrib clan was known as /Hoa-/Aran. Their name originated from their leader, Jager Afrikaner, known as 'Katrib the Great', translated from */Hôa-/arab kaib*, where */hôa* is 'cat', */arab*, 'rib', *kaib* 'great' (Nienaber 1989:490-491, 565-566). His father was named */Garuchamab* from */garu* 'leopard', hailing from the place called *Garuxamab*, the 'leopard's den'. These names, adopted and adapted as ethnonyms for the Katribs in Afrikaans, derived from the 'great cat's rib', evolving from the concept of Jager as the 'rib' or son of the 'great leopard', */garu* from */Garuchamab* (Möller 2016).

5. CATEGORIES OF TRANSLATED TOPONYMIC TEXTS

Different categories of multilingual translated place names may elucidate names or name components described as unknown or opaque. Some categories of such names derived from borrowings or loan words that led to hybridisations, tautology, partial translations;

phonological and orthographical adaptations complicating the analysis; onomatopoeia, imagery (metaphors); translations from oral sources and folk-etymology. Often an overlap of categories occurs in such name formations, e.g. adaptation with hybridisation.

5.1 Translations with adaptations

Bushman and Khoikhoi word components or words were often adapted during translations, consequently resulting in different orthographic renderings and interpretations. The later standardisation of the orthographies of languages (including spelling and writing of the place names), subsequently complicated the analyses and explanations, resulting in several origins being offered as etymologies. Various possible etymologies were, for instance, offered for the name Tshwane, *inter alia* that it referred to son of the chief of the area (Möller 2017a:143-144; Raper *et al.* 2014:506). The original meaning of the name Tshwane could, however, be retraced to the /Xam word *//k"warre*, 'vervet monkeys' (Bleek 1956:609, 736). The Apiesrivier, translated as 'monkeys' river', flows through the city of Tshwane (otherwise known as Pretoria), and provides both linguistic and topographic verification of its origin.

Retracing words from naming systems of vanishing languages in the translated names in toponymic clusters is possible by using this retrieval method. It provides a multi-faceted key and remains a requirement in solving orthographic problems in relic place names by deciphering equivalent name pairs, and comparing cognates in a diachronic and synchronic manner. Words or word components appearing in newly standardised place names are often unrecognisable in the current orthographic representations of such languages.

These place names therefore require re-analysis and re-evaluation to restore the original words and onymic triggers of the names. Finding the authentic origins and meanings of place names in a framework of translated texts, that is, the toponymic clusters in a topographic area having the same underlying meaning, but working as separate references, may assist in standardisation efforts and recognition of the first peoples' contribution to the toponymicon of Southern Africa.

5.2 Solving opaque name components

Translated place names sometimes present with fossilized components of common names, as partial or whole relic words, from naming systems of Bushman and Khoikhoi languages. They often remain opaque in such names. For example: Graatjiegat from

xara:gi, 'meerkat' (Möller 2017a:125-126); *Mozukudutzi* as Koedoespruit (*coedoe* in Brink 1761 as cited in Mossop 1947:28, 48), and *Modketzi* as Koedoes, both in Limpopo (translated but adapted in Afrikaans orthography as *koedoe*) derived from original Bushman words *t'coudou*, *cuhduh* (Nienaber 1963:344-345), and *!dke* and *xei*, *gheii* (Möller 2014:121-122, 2017a:191-192; Raper *et al.* 2014:242).

5.3 Solving cases of legendarisations

Toponymic texts were regularly translated by the indigenous Bushman and Khoikhoi speakers themselves. Different language groups, such as the Nama, Koranna or Griqua speakers, often used different names for the same place, or had given their own versions of interpretations and translations of much older, to them possibly still 'known', Bushman names. This left some unresolved cases of translated names in cluster formations.

The place name *Aos* was translated as Plattbeen/Plattklip and as Liefdood, a stopping place and store situated on the farm Plattklip. These translations of the name Aos are discussed by Nienaber and Raper (1977:203, 1980:177). First, //A-//os translated as 'Liefdood', meaning 'dying of love' was strongly disputed at the time. The older place name in the toponymic cluster, indicated as *ǂAos*, was translated as 'Plattbeen/-klip'. This ǂAos or Plattbeen, also recorded as farm name and explained as deriving from ǂâ, 'flat' and ǂ(*kh)*ōs, 'bone', referred to a rock ledge seen anthropomorphically as a 'shoulder blade'.

For the alternative explanation of Liefdood, later research (Nienaber & Raper 1980:177) accepted the alternative explanation given of //a- //ōs, that is, 'to love erotically, till death', as deriving from versions of words with these clicks indicated. Apparently, the name had been allocated twice by locals in the region and translated by one group as Liefdood.

The problem with the initial interpretation arose from confusion of click sounds being interpreted differently. The question remained: which click applied to *Aos*, giving it a different meaning and naming motive?

Since it is an old place name, the explanations of 'erotic love and death', perceived within the Wagnerian opera song "Liebestodt" ('love's death') of the *Tristan und Isolde* legend, were obviously discarded. Legendarisations often complicated interpretations of translated names. However, Liefdood was an accepted translated name construct by the speakers of the area. Was the explanation of the translation partially a legendarisation or based on the topographic reality?

The toponym Plattbeen, within the toponymic cluster, offered a more plausible interpretation of the oldest form of the name, namely, that it initially referred to a topographic feature, a flat rock ledge.

Linguistic aspects may have been resolved and translated via the Khoikhoi languages, but some remained as opaque relics of phonetic, morphological and syntactical indicators of the original languages in which the names were allocated.

Another example is *Goangoes* north of Steinkopf, translated as Kinderlê, from */gôan*, 'kinder(s)', *//goes*, 'lê, plek', "place where children lay dead' (Nienaber & Raper 1980:333-334). The component */gôan* is also a reference to lambs, small sheep or goats. According to local reports by the Khoikhoi, while they went to Bijzondermeid, the Bushmen raided their settlement and killed all their children. Was the name meant to infer the concept of 'a soft lamb', a symbolic name? Or was it initially only a reference to 'a place where small sheep and goats were kept'?

5.4 Translations and adaptations from sound associations, onomatopoeia

Other translated place names adapted from Bushman languages, necessitated the gleaning of additional information from onomatopoeia, imagery, oral sources and folk-etymological studies (Van Vuuren 2016:59, 72; Von Wielligh 1919-1921). The role of onomatopoeia and imagery used by the indigenous peoples in naming revealed many opaque components of names as being originally derived from such naming actions. Studying these aspects solved many problem cases, even if lost in translation of metaphoric names.

The oldest renderings of place names given, apart from ethnonyms, are those deriving from sound imitations (onomatopoeia) relating to animal names, descriptions and imagery. Compare Tswana, *Dimptšhe* 'place of many ostriches', Sotho, *Metsimptšhe* 'fountain of ostriches', both derived from Bushman *mpt∫u*, *tjwe*, *tue*, *twe*; a sound imitation of the call of an ostrich hen. This was adapted into Tswana and Sotho languages as *mp∫e* and *mptšhe*, and became immortalised in the place names. Subsequently the names were translated into Afrikaans as Volstruispan and Volstruisfontein (Möller 2017a:244-247).

More examples of onomatopoeia appearing in translated toponymic clusters retained such components in partial translations. For example, the lion has been called *xam*, kxam, *!gum*, *ho:um* in different Bushman languages, sometimes Khoikhoinised in toponyms such as: Chammago, Gamchab, Gamka, Gamob, Gamsrivier. These Bushman names *xam* or *gam*, as in the river name Gamka, 'lion river', were translated into Afrikaans as

Leeurivier, English 'Lion River'; Gam-domi, Xamgudomi, as 'Lion Fountain'. The name Houms River was also translated as Leeurivier, *Löwenfluss* in German, and derived from the onomatopoeic Bushman name *ho:m*, *ho:um*. This is the only river name that preserves this ancient onomatopoeic name for the lion (Möller 2017a:71-76).

Some of the earliest translated and adapted names into other indigenous languages derived from sound imitations created by Bushmen. Such names appear in the Xhosa place name *INqu* in the Eastern Cape that refers to the 'Wildebeest Plateau', derived from /Xam *!gnu*, *!nu* > *(in)qnu* for the black wildebeest, called white-tailed gnu (Möller 2017a:228-233). *Cocong* in the Free State derives from *inkhonkhoni*, a Nguni adaptation of the original /Xam name for the blue or brindled wildebeest !*au-/ko*, adapted into Southern Sotho as *Coco-ng.*

Many translations from sound imitations appeared as adaptations in several languages, e.g. *Nonikam* in Namibia, assumed as being a Nama designation. Later research indicated its origin from //N!ke *!nõna*, the name of a 'type of owl', named for its snoring sound. It was later translated into German as *Eulenruh*. This name translates exactly as 'owls' roosting place', and gave the key to the translated text in the toponymic cluster (Möller 2017a:249-253). A possible folk-etymological adaptation into Afrikaans from *!nõna* to *nonna-* or *nonnetjiesuil* (designating a 'barn owl'), could be postulated, indicating the close linguistic exchange between the bilingual speakers.

5.5 Full or partial toponymic translations, tautologies, hybridizations

Full translations occurred profusely throughout Southern Africa, e.g. *Chammadao*s as 'Lion Path', in Afrikaans Leeupoort, in German *Löwenpforte.*

Tautology or double names occurred just as frequently. Reference may be made to tautological translations as in the names 'Leeu-Gamka', 'lion lion river', and *Omaheke-Sandfeld* in Namibia. The name Theewaterskloof in the Western Cape is an adapted, translated tautology, from a Hadza word *≠e:* or */i* (both pronounced as *tee* or *thee*) and referring to 'flowing water' + 'water' + 'kloof', added later. The toponymic clusters of these names with the Afrikaans, English or German generics may also be described as hybridizations.

The Bushman designation *//goaan* for a 'hyena' (defined as 'scavenger', 'raw meat eater') appears in adapted Khoikhoi place names with hybrid Afrikaans/English generic forms for instance as in *Guaan Ridge*; *Guaap Flats*, translated as *Wolwekop, Wolwevlakte.*

The Baviaanskloofberge and Baviaanspoort, in the vicinity of the Komdodau Pass, derived from adapted Bushman or Khoikhoi words *gomdo*, *gomee*, *gornee* meaning 'baboon', Dutch *baviaan*, Afrikaans 'bobbejaan', plus Bushman/Khoikhoi words *dao*, *dau*, *daauw* for a 'poort', 'ravine', form an extended toponymic cluster formation in the Eastern Cape.

5.6 Imagery, metaphor in translated texts

Imagery is usually 'lost' in the translated toponymic text, but can be 'found back', or is retained in some form in the toponymic cluster formations of translations. For instance, the rhinoceros has poor eyesight, and this characteristic gave rise to its name in Bushman, Khoikhoi, Tswana and Sotho as *mogohu*, from *mû/mô =* 'eye, sight', *hu* from Bushman 'near, close by' as in *Mogokoep* (Möller 2017a:151-152); Renosterkop occurs as the Afrikaans name. The original naming motive and context of the 'near-sighted one' is not represented in the translated Afrikaans name for a rhinoceros in this toponym; the descriptive image is 'lost' in the toponymic translation, relating to a 'loss of content'.

Neranaisib appears translated as Baviaanskranz, Bobbejaanskrans, Pavianskrantz, in Dutch, Afrikaans and German. The original Bushman name derived from the verb */nera*, 'to measure' used to describe the baboons' gait (Kroenlein 1889:252). *Neranaisib* refers to a rock overhang in Namibia, meaning 'baboon rock'. The chacma baboon has been metaphorically described by the Bushmen and Khoikhoi as 'he who measures his strides', derived from the verb */nera* meaning 'to measure', with *nais*, in Nama 'rock shelter, overhang' ***+*** *ib* a locative (Möller 2017a:138).

The elephant was described metaphorically as the 'trumpeter' and 'trampler', in Bushman as *t∫owa*, *choa*, ǂxoab, *bek"aau* > *(be)chaauw*; from */xwa:*, and appears in adapted place names as *Kwacao*, *Tuhata* (Nienaber 1963:405-406). As place name LeRwatlou derives from *tlou* in Tswana, and toponyms in Nguni with *indlovu* as component, all refer to these characteristics of the 'elephant' (Möller 2017a:155-159).

5.7 Folk-etymological adaptations

Folk-etymological translations and adaptations were gleaned from recorded oral sources, from myths and folklore relating to socio-cultural activities such as dances, music, storytelling or folktales, traditional rites and rituals (Bleek 1956; Bleek & Lloyd 1911; Möller 2017a:1-3, 7, 10-13, 317-318; Van Vuuren 2016:32-33, 59, 72, 165-166; Von Wielligh 1919-1921).

One such example of folk-etymological interpretations from a translated toponym is the oronym Toorberg (variant spelling Toornberg), found in early documents and maps as Genadeberg. There are in fact, more than one Toorberg/Toorkop or Towerberg in the country, one in the Northern Cape at Colesberg, the other near Ceres in the Western Cape (Skead 1973:63). The variant Toornberg with *n*, was explained as 'mountain of wrath'.

In the case of Toorkop in the Swartberg Mountains, the explanation was given as 'bewitched mountain', deriving from the Afrikaans words *toor*, translated from Auen *tfo*, 'to bewitch', with the generic *berg*, 'mountain' (Raper *et al.* 2014:500).

Neither of the translations elucidate the true etymology, unless a measure of imagery is recalled. Closer investigation revealed that the first component of the name derived from the /Xam word *thoo*, meaning 'mercy', thus Toorberg means 'mountain of mercy'. The name, in this context, contains a reference to a medicine man or shaman who mediates between people to resolve conflict, or between a person and his totem animal, for his spiritual well-being. The peformance of this deed, experienced as an 'act of mercy', provides a link to understanding the naming 'context' of the mountain being named as such. The name was initially correctly interpreted and translated into Afrikaans as Genadeberg (Skead 1973:63). Toorberg was one of the mountains where these rituals were performed. In both of these toponymic translations the *thoo* was folk-etymologically adapted to Toor- or Toor(n)berg, meaning 'magic, bewitched mountain', but then, by spelling adaptation, mistranslated as 'mountain of wrath' (Möller 2017b).

Toverfontein ('magic fountain') is another complex translated name embedded in Bushman origins and based in imagery and accompanying orality (myths, folktales) of the San. Written on earlier maps (DGSM 1978; 1984) as *Tlhonasedimong* with the *Tl* indicative of the click precursing words from Bushman and Khoikhoi languages. The name, with multilingual components, derived from the word *tʃoʃa*, *tʃoma* for 'magic' in the Auen and Naron languages, referring also to a magician or sorcerer, he who is able to perform 'disappearing acts' (Bleek 1929:46, 56-57), related to the concept of 'hlona, hlonipa' in the Nguni languages, i.e. to make something 'disappear'. Underlying the imagery in the name, is the concept of 'disappearance' of the water in winter and the sudden reappearance after good rains, like magic. In this instance the translation retained a measure of the imagery.

6. CONCLUSION

Place names of the earliest namers are embedded in translated texts of the toponymic landscape of Southern Africa. In the widespread regions where these speakers of several ancient languages lived, such names abound in translations, especially in cluster formations, including place and personal names and also ethnonyms.

The examples of translated toponymic texts, deriving originally from these mainly extinct languages, illustrate that adaptations in the multilingual context often led to other interpretations and new contents being acquired from this contact situation. The method of detecting through these translations (by re-analysis and retracing opaque words and name components), some historically 'lost' names, has contributed to data on language artefacts being rediscovered and authenticated.

Research has shown that translated names are verifiable evidence of socio-physical, cultural and language exchange over a long period of time, and have contributed to the preservation of this cultural heritage. Once the names have been recognised through inter-linguistic studies, and been re-evaluated as exemplified, they may be re-instated as authentic onymic creations of the namers.

Difficult to analyse components of place names, found as fossilized remnants of names, were either archaic descriptions, sound imitations or imagery of naming actions. They are retrieved from obscurity to become understandable and meaningful again. In this way the translated place names are not only tools in finding onomastic verification and validation, but are evidence of the speakers' presence at, and affinity to, the places. They have become evidenced artefacts of historicity.

These translated toponymic texts, seen as a diverse but shared inheritance of language artefacts should be preserved and recognised as an essential part of the speakers' intangible cultural heritage. Future research may contribute to official recognition in accordance with the United Nations resolutions regarding promotion of indigenous minority languages, identity and place names, also, the language rights of minority groups referred to both in the South African Constitution and the SAGNC Act 118 of 1998.

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REFLECTIONS ON PLACE NAMES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

Sibusiso Ntuli
African Languages and Culture,
University of Zululand, South Africa
NtuliSL@unizulu.ac.za

ABSTRACT

The South African landscape is imbued with a number of places that are named in African indigenous languages. However, due to language hegemony some of the original place names have through the course of history, been subjugated by names from other languages, placing some of the original indigenous place names into disrepute and into oblivion. This paper reflects on the extent to which the meaning of selected languages' indigenous place names has been retained or may have gone into extinction due to the influence and hegemony by more influential languages. Data of indigenous place names were collected from the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Geographic Names Committee (KZN PGNC), the South African Geographical Names Council's (SAGNC) website, interviews, books on onomastics, history and from newspapers. The focus of the study is mainly on KwaZulu-Natal. The study uses the qualitative approach. It also uses language hegemony and semantic theories. The language hegemony theory is utilised to explore the subjugation of one language's place names by another language, while the semantic theory is used in order to investigate in the main, the meaning of place names and to a lesser degree their origin. The study argues that hegemony on place naming exists within South African or African Indigenous Languages, contrary to common belief that language hegemony is usually perpetuated by languages of European origin over African languages. The paper posits that the meaning and origin of place names are usually related. The study in meaning and origin of place names further reveals that indigenous languages were at some point in time closely intertwined and were not demarcated by current geographical and linguistic boundaries. The then contact amongst various languages can be clearly observed in the frequent juxtaposition of differing indigenous place names within geographical spaces, predominantly

set aside for particular indigenous languages. The paper utilises the interpretive paradigm in unpacking views on the meaning and origin of indigenous place names.

Keywords: indigenous languages, place names, semantics

1. INTRODUCTION

Place names are considered as lasting footprints of ancestry who at some point in time, lived in certain areas and in some rare cases, still live there. This paper argues that the place names are indicators of both the languages spoken in an area and of its speakers who named the places. Through place names we often can safely determine that isiZulu, siSwati, isiThonga, Sesotho and speakers of other languages once lived in a certain place. In essence, place names can be viewed as territorial markers for different language speakers and tribes. Wikipedia (2020b) ascertains territoriality as a term connected to nonverbal communication indicating how people use territory to indicate ownership. This study seeks to identify languages and dialects used in naming some selected place names in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), thereby marking the language and territory of the people who occupied the land. A closer look at some place names in KZN indicates that while most names may at first glance appear and sound to be in the isiZulu language, not all of them are necessarily in isiZulu. This then may indicate that some parts of KZN were not necessarily named by isiZulu speaking people. This in turn further suggests that some places were at some point in time, not occupied by isiZulu speaking people. The notion that most KZN place names are in isiZulu can be viewed as sheer isiZulu language speakers' hegemony over other languages' place names. Mumby (1997) conceives of hegemony as a non-coercive domination in which controlled groups consent and succumb to the control exerted upon them, even when the control works against them. Mumby's opinion will be explored in relation to isiZulu language speakers' non-coercive domination over place names in KZN. The paper studies the lexical composition of selected place names, focussing on the origin and meaning of the selected place names. Use will be made of isiZulu dictionaries and some information will be harvested from name lists of the KZN Provincial Geographic Names Committee (KZN PGNC), which facilitates research on the origin and meaning of place names submitted for standardisation. Narratives on origin and meaning provide interesting reading on possible language of origin, although most names at a glance are said to be in one major language, i.e. isiZulu. Most selected place names are in the KZN Northern coastal belt and a few are in the South as well as central parts of the province. Recent observation,

however, indicates that the territory primarily seen as belonging solely to Zulus was initially inhabited by tribes speaking various languages and dialects other than isiZulu. This is evident in different indigenous languages and Nguni dialects used for various place names in KZN.

The *Oxford South African Concise Dictionary* (Dictionary Unit for South African English 2010:324) defines a dialect as: 'a form of a language which is peculiar to a specific region or social group'. This entails predominantly one language but variations caused by a difference of areas and social groups. This paper argues that there was one main language, the Nguni language, which had various dialects. The main Nguni dialects, i.e. the *thefula* and *tekeza* Nguni, are said to have been divided into other dialects which were prominent in the present-day KwaZulu-Natal. Grout (1849:422) constantly refers to isiZulu/Zulu as a dialect throughout his study. In his research, Kubeka (1979:27) concurs with Grout and argues that IsiZulu in itself was a Nguni dialect, which grew in stature and prominence after the unification of several Nguni tribes in and around the present KwaZulu-Natal by Shaka, into a new and stronger Zulu tribe/nation. Bryant (1964) in Kubeka (1979:28) argues that the ancient Nguni speech died through the Shaka-inspired unification and thereafter, the youth of the unified land grew up speaking nothing but the language of their conquerors, in this instance, isiZulu. This paper, however, will argue that the Nguni dialects did not completely die as many are still in existence, albeit wrongfully tagged as isiZulu dialects. The author is aware of studies on the isiCele of (Southern KZN), isiChunu (Central KZN, in and around uMsinga District), isiDebe, aBambo, North and South isiLala (around Kranskop and Harding in the north and south respectively), and isiThongai/siTembe (Northern KZN). While mentioning the isiThonga, in an interview with Mr Tembe (2020) from the Tembe clan (of the Tembe/Thonga region of KZN), who also speaks both isiThonga and isiZulu fluently, it emerged that it is highly unlikely that isiThonga could be an isiZulu dialect, citing vast differences in terminology and orthography. This leads the author to conclude that place names in the isiThonga should be considered as separate names belonging to an autonomous language and are not dialectical in nature.

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study seeks to explore selected place names in KZN with an aim to investigate if the names originate from indigenous languages and dialects other than isiZulu. To achieve this, the study will decode selected place names and strive to identify their languages of origin and dialects by testing their lexical composition against dictionaries and other

sources. The researcher has always been fascinated by place names that seemingly originate from differing languages and dialects and yet have been identified as isiZulu. Like most major languages, isiZulu has had a hegemonic grip over smaller indigenous KZN languages and this is evident in place names. This seemingly uncanny dominance of isiZulu over other language varieties can be viewed in many ways. To a certain extent, this dominance can be viewed as sheer ignorance created by a general tendency by some people who regard isiZulu as representative of the whole Nguni group of languages. Or it can be viewed as a means by isiZulu speakers to wield territorial power and hegemony over land 'named' in isiZulu.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study explores the meaning of place names in a quest to identify the place names' language of origin. Place names can be studied using various theoretical frameworks, but the author advances two theories, namely the Theory of Language Hegemony and the Semantic Theory. When commenting about the Theory of Language Hegemony, Woolard (1985) says:

> *Hegemony here refers to the legitimation of the cultural authority of the dominant group, an authority that plays a significant role in social reproduction, according to a number of recent commentators. By hegemony I mean the "deep saturation of the consciousness of a society"... I take the problem of hegemony to be the problem of authority and collaboration or consent, in contrast to domination and coercion, in the maintenance of a particular social formation.*

The KZN place-naming landscape on indigenous languages seemingly has a resemblance of the dominant group, which is isiZulu speaking, and other indigenous language/ dialect speakers such as isiSwati, isiThonga, Sotho and isiXhosa to count but a few. The dominated language groups only seem to model and acquiesce their place-naming powers to the dominant group. Mustapha (2014) maintains that the consent by the dominated groups may lead to a situation of endangering and possible death of the dominated languages. Woolard (1985) maintains that it is interesting to note what role formal institutions play in establishing linguistic hegemony. For the purpose of this study, it will be interesting to note the role played by formal institutions (like the KZN PGNC) in fostering isiZulu hegemony in place naming in KZN. Commenting on the Semantic Theory, Lewis (1970:19) says:

> *I distinguish two topics: first, the description of possible languages of grammars as abstract semantic systems whereby symbols are associated with aspects of the*

> *world; and, second, the description of the psychological and sociological facts whereby a particular one of these abstract semantic systems is the one used by a person or population. Only confusion comes of mixing these two topics.*

Indeed, the study seeks to explore possible languages systems as used in place naming in KZN. There is going to be constant arguing over 'what is the meaning of this place name?' and 'from what language is the place name?' The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (Zalta 2015:325) defines a semantic theory as a specification of the meanings of words, sentences, symbols or expressions.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As the study explores non-numerical data, it therefore uses a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach explores meaning, definition, and all data that is neither counted nor measured (Wikipedia 2020a). Qualitative research is congruent with studying knowledge that is in a natural, non-numerical setting. This entails that participants are viewed where they live and are not relocated to laboratories or any other artificial setting. Mouton (2002:37) suggests that in everyday life we tend to prepare ourselves accordingly if we are aware of the task that lies ahead. Similarly, the author is herein convinced that since the task ahead is about the 'how to' and 'why', it requires a qualitative method. Creswell (2014:64) explains the use of qualitative research as follows:

> *Qualitative inquirers use theory in their studies in several ways. First, much like in quantitative research, it is used as a broad explanation for behaviour and attitudes, and it may be complete with variables, constructs, and hypotheses.*

The construct of this study is that place names reflect the languages and language variants of people who live in particular areas. As the study intends using documents attained in part from KZN PGNC, the use of qualitative research methodology is befitting. Wikipedia (2020a) states that qualitative research answers many of the why and how questions related to human life. This is quite relevant to the study as it intends to investigate why and how the selected place names were named. This will be done in order to determine the place names' languages of origin and to help in determining the indigenous people/tribes/clans who might have lived in those places. Collected data will be organised according to geographical location and its similarity or lack thereof to the standardised isiZulu language.

The study uses the interpretive paradigm. In line with the general prescripts of the interpretive paradigm, the study relies on the analysis of texts. The paradigm will create

a dialogue between the researcher and the text with which the author interacts, from which we eventually reveal some meaning from the whole process.

5. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Language use in our daily life symbolises power. Such use could be in place naming or in the language's status as an official language. Herriman and Burnaby (1996:15) say:

> *Language is a symbol for group solidarity. It is used, rightly or wrongly, as a measure of the success of one group in relation to that of another. It is manipulated by groups and individuals to gain advantage in power struggles.*

This paper argues that the deliberate definition of place names as being from isiZulu, when they are not necessarily so, could very well be a blatant attempt by isiZulu speakers to 'gain advantage in power struggles' as Herriman and Burnaby put it. The exercise of defining most non-isiZulu place names as in isiZulu could be a mischievous attempt at causing most of the places to sound Zulu in name and thus make them Zulu in possession and in power. Anyway, most of the land currently considered as belonging to the Zulu nation, historically belonged to various clans who were annexed into the Zulu kingdom mostly by king Shaka. One is reminded of clans like the Ndwandwe, Mthethwa, Mhlongo, Dlamini, Khumalo, Mchunu and many more who submitted to Shaka in fear of being attacked.

6. COLLECTION OF DATA

It is always necessary to collect relevant data to render a research paper successful. For the purposes of this study and in line with qualitative research, data will be harvested in the main from various texts; dictionaries, place name lists from the KZN PGNC, journals, field notes and from books on place names. A few semi-structured interviews will also be conducted with respondents mainly from selected places as indicated in the names list with a view that they may be well informed and knowledgeable. The researcher plays a key role in the collection of data in a qualitative inquiry. Creswell (2014:185) says:

> *Qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behaviour, or interviewing participants. They may use a protocol – but the researchers are the ones who actually gather information. They do not tend to rely on questionnaires or instruments developed by other researchers.*

The main focus in the collection of data will be on texts indicating the origin, meaning and language of origin of selected place names. Data collected will be analysed so as to

reveal the languages and language variants of particular place names in the selected parts of KZN. Data is collected in order to test the validity of the inherent hypothesis that places are named using the language of people who live or once lived in the area.

7. DISCUSSION OF SELECTED PLACE NAMES

Place naming has always been a fiercely contested terrain between speakers of different languages and dialects. Jordan (2016:27) says place names have been approached as 'windows into the past'. Below is a discussion of selected place names through which the author intends to 'peep into the past'.

INkiwane. This was a submission from uMhlabuyalingana District. It refers to a mountain found in uMhlabuyalingana, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. It is alleged that this mountain was named 'iNkiwane' because of the abundance of *imikhiwane* (fig trees) in the area, and that the name is from isiZulu. The paper argues that *inkiwane* as referring to *ikhiwane* or *amakhiwane* does not comply with the grammar of standardised isiZulu. According to Meinhof's isiZulu noun classes, i(li)*khiwane* falls under noun class 5, while *inkiwane is* under noun class 9. This study may want to conclude that *inkiwane* can only be a different variant of Nguni language and may not necessarily be standard isiZulu. What that means then, is that the area may be occupied or could have been occupied by people who do not necessarily speak a standard isiZulu variant and that, historically, the area may not belong to isiZulu speakers.

UKhwici. Another uMhlabuyalingana submission. According to records of the KZN PGNC, this is a natural water stream, whose name is said to originate from its meandering appearance. However, this sounds a feeble explanation when one compares it with other plausible records of the name. According to Mbhatha (2017:346), *(isi)khwici* (bz) constitutes the deed of tucking something underneath or inside of (*isenzo sokufaka noma sokushutheka ngamphansi noma phakathi*). This then would mean that the meaning given to the KZN PGNC researcher could have been misleading or the name itself is not necessarily in isiZulu. The author, however, could not identify a similar name in the Nguni language family. That as it may be, does not qualify the name (especially taking into regard the definition given) to be well accepted in its current definition in isiZulu.

UMdliwa. The name was a submission by uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. The meaning of this name as submitted to the KZN PGNC is that this is a natural stream which was named uMdliwa because whenever there were floods in the area, the flood water would spill over the surrounding fields and destroy the crops. In the local language

(which could well be an isiZulu dialect), people would say the floods had consumed/devoured their crops (*izikhukhula zidle amasimu*). Grammatically, however, the suffix -iw-, as in uMdl**iw**a, gives the name a totally different meaning. The -w- suggests that it is the stream that gets consumed/devoured and not necessarily the crops or the inhabitants of the area around the stream for that matter. A question naturally arises; consumed by what? Again, this gives a hint that the name could be in a non-isiZulu variant of the Nguni language and equally demonstrating that the area was originally inhabited, and subsequently named by non-isiZulu speaking people.

UKhwethe. This is yet another name of a stream in uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. The meaning submitted to KZN PGNC is that the name originates from the abundance of *ukhwethe* growth alongside the stream. Now, *ukhwethe* as it stands is not recognisable in standard isiZulu. The most similar name to *ukhwethe* in isiZulu is *u(lu)khethe*. According to Mbatha (2017:318) *u(lu)khethe uhlobo lwetshe elikhumuzelayo, noma isifulelo esisansimbi* (is a kind of an erodible stone or steely roofing material) This raises further suspicion that *ukhwethe* as it stands was never in isiZulu. Likewise, occupants who named the stream were not isiZulu speakers. To claim the submission in isiZulu is a bit far-fetched.

OTangweleni. Otangweleni is a name of a forest and is derived from a wild fruit tree which is abundant in the particular forest. Information derived from the KZN PGNC suggests that the trees are similar to *amabhonsi*. *Amabhonsi* is the name of a familiar wild fruit variety in isiZulu. To suggest that the *amatangwele* are similar to *amabhonsi*, in itself suggests that the name could be foreign from isiZulu. The name does not appear in any isiZulu dictionaries which could very well indicate that it is essentially not in isiZulu. In brief, the name does not sound isiZulu at all. There is unconvincing probability that the submission that the name is in isiZulu, is correct.

ESiphondweni. This is a name of a settlement in Mhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. In explaining the origin of this name, the informants said the settlement was named as such because it resembles a horn in shape. They added that it is located between two natural lakes. The name as it stands does not tally with standard isiZulu. In isiZulu the noun *u(lu)phondo* falls under noun class 11, while *isiphondo* is under noun class 7. This name as it stands, therefore, grammatically cannot be accepted as standard isiZulu. One can assume that it is some kind of a dialect and strengthens the argument that the people of the area do not speak standard isiZulu.

EMthikeni. EMthikeni is a name of a lake in uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. Information gathered suggests that the name is derived from the isiZulu word *thikaziseka* and literally means the 'state of being disturbed'. This line of argument does not hold water. When tracing the origin of modified words, grammarians rely on the construction of words like the stem and root. The root of *thikaziseka* could very well be *thikazis-*, and for e*/mthikeni*'s root could be *-thik-*, which leaves the two words with very little grammatical and semantic similarity. There is even a suggestion by those who submitted the name that it appears to be a modified version of *thikaziseka* in standard isiZulu. But that as it may be, suggests that the modification itself seems to suggest that the name is now in another language or dialect although definitely not standard isiZulu, and not inferring *ukuthikaziseka* ('to get disturbed').

UPhokolo. This is a name of a lake found in uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. The name is said to derive from large plantations of *u(lu)phoko*, a grain crop, similar to wheat that was planted alongside the lake. Standard isiZulu dictionaries consulted do not have a lexical entry for *uphokolo*. The most similar entry to *uphokolo* from one dictionary (Mbatha 2007) is *umphokolo*, although with a completely different definition, which is *izindebe ezinde eziphumile* ('that with protruding or long lips'). If ever the origin and meaning submitted to the KZN PGNC were to be considered, then this paper would argue that there could have been modification to the original isiZulu word *uphoko* to *uphokolo*, similarly suggesting that the modification was essentially done to make it tally with a different language's or dialect's conventions.

EMkhayane. This is a name of a village in uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. It is a name referring to a tree with hooked and sharp thorns. The name has resonance with *umkhaya* in isiZulu. According to Doke, Malcolm, Sikakane and Vilakazi (1996:385), *umkhaya* is a noun referring to a species of Acacia, A. senegal. Whereas this name seems to tally with isiZulu *umkhaya*, the suffix *-ne* undoes the close similarity to standard isiZulu. This again appears to be an adaptation of a Zulu name into a somewhat different language or dialect.

EMamunyeleni. EMamunyeleni is the name of an indigenous forest in uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. *Amamunyela* are said to be indigenous trees that have sweet roots and these trees are plenty in this forest. In analysing the fact that aMamunyela have sweet roots, we discover that in isiZulu *munyu* refers to something opposite, something bitter and acidy, but definitely never sweet.

ESigqulubeni. This is the name of a hill in uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality. The name is said to come from isiZulu word *igquma*. Save for some similarity of the syllable *-gqu-*, the grammatical make up of *esigqulubeni* is completely different from *igquma*. Note the different prefix isi- *in* ***isi****qgulubeni* as against ili- for ***i(li)****gquma* and note the insertion of -lu- in *isigqu****lu****ba*, which is not there in *i(li)gquma*. In short, there is no tangible evidence to suggest that *isigquluba* is morphologically and semantically the same as *igquma*. This then offers another classical example of unrelated words suggesting different languages/dialects of origin.

AMatikulu/aMatigulu. This is a river south-west of Eshowe. The contestation around this name may be a reason why it is yet to be submitted to the standardisation authority, the KZN PGNC. Raper, Möller and Du Plessis (2014:310) explain the name of the river as follows:

> *Derived from Lala or Zulu, the name has been variously explained, but probably means 'large water', i.e. 'large river'. Also encountered as Amatikulu, as name of the town 130 km north-east of Durban …*

The author concurs with Raper *et al.*'s statement that the river has been variously explained. Ntuli (2016) gives a different view of the name when he says:

> *This name seems to come from 'mata' which means to get wet and 'gulu', an ideophone which means to focus one's sight on one place (Mbatha 2006). This combination does not carry much meaning until the study uncovered that, part of the name had undergone some transformation, namely that the vowel -u- in the word gulu has been used as a replacement for the vowel -o- as a sign of hlonipha for 'igolo' (i.e. a vagina).*

Ntuli's view is brought into this discussion as a corroboration of Raper's *et al.*'s view that the name has been variously explained. The argument that aMatikulu/aMatigulu could be from the Lala language begins to hold more weight when we view that around the source of this river in Mpaphala there is another river bearing a similar Lala appearance. The name of the river is aMatimefu. The Lala or isiSwati usually replaces the consonant -z- in isiZulu with -t-. The study strongly affirms that the similarity in the two names (aMatikulu and aMatimefu) and their spatial proximity may not have been a coincidence, but a genuine reflection that the Lala or siSwati speakers once lived around the area South-West of Eshowe.

AMatimefu. The name aMatimefu itself is a Lala/isiSwati compound word derived from *amati* for water and an ideophone *mefu* (*memfu* in isiZulu), meaning a sudden gushing

out (of water amongst other things). *Mefu* suggests the sudden streaming of water in a place where there had been none before. The narrative around aMatimefu is that while the area around the source of the river does not have much water, travellers around the area were pleased to suddenly discover the river, consequently naming it aMatimefu.

EMandini/eMandeni. Mandeni is a town south-east of both aMatikulu and aMatimefu. The meaning of the name eMandeni has been highly contested. Raper *et al.* (2014:300) argue that it is:

> *Derived from Zulu, the name means 'place of the tirucalli trees (*Euphobia tirucalli*)' which grows there. Also explained as a Lala version of* eManzini*, 'at the water'.*

The re-emergence of the Lala version in Mandeni/Mandini serves to strengthen the argument, suggesting that there really must have been presence of the Lala people around the territory from aMatikulu/aMatigulu to eMandeni/eMandini. The Lala argument of *eManzini* is corroborated by the town's proximity to uThukela river. Now, when the river broke its banks when flooded, the whole area around where the current town stands, was also flooded. But the narrative captured by Ntuli (2016:100) differs from that of Raper. Participants in Ntuli's research indicated that *amande* is an archaic *hlonipha* term referring to human bones. The bones were those of warriors who perished during the battle of eNdonakusuka and were not buried.

EMatimatolo. EMatimatolo is a place north-east of Greytown. Again, the Lala/isiSwati argument persists in the name eMatimatolo. The author and his interviewees struggled to find information around the origin and meaning of eMatimatolo. However, similarly to aMatimefu and aMatikulu above, the name has qualities of the Lala and isiSwati. The author did establish, however, that *mati* similarly means water. There is the notion that there is a historical presence of a Tolo or Mtolo clan around the area and a possible explanation that the name is suggestive of 'at the water of Tolo/Mtolo clan'.

EMafakatini is a place south of Pietermaritzburg. This is another place bearing a presence of Lala people in KZN. EMafakatini is an equivalent of an isiZulu name for '*ofakazi*' or '*kofakazi*'. This name too, like many others, is commonly considered to be an isiZulu name, yet feedback from consultants indicates that during a dispute over land ownership between the Zulu and Afrikaners, the Lala speaking people, feeling they were safer under White rule than under the Zulu, decided to act as witnesses 'ofakazi' (*amafakati*). They assisted to win the case for the Afrikaners. At the same time, they won the tag 'eMafakatini' ('at the place of the witnesses') for their area.

EMatatiele is yet another name adapted into isiZulu through hegemony. People consulted (like Mohlala (2019), former chairperson of the South African Geographical Place Names Council) corroborate Raper *et al.*'s (2014:310) opinion that the name is derived from Sotho, *matata a ile*, meaning the ducks have flown or the ducks have flown away or the ducks have dispersed. A brief narrative attained from consultants is that the name was coined when the Sotho speaking locals were awed at the flight of the ducks who took fright and flew away as guns carried by wildlife hunters were fired at them. Locals started gossiping about the dangerous hunters who had caused even the docile ducks to flee (*matata a ile*). The ever-dominant Zulu speakers would convert the name and cause it to sound Zulu as eMatatiyele.

Mafitleng. Mafitleng is an area some 23 km south-west of eNquthu. The place is an indication of the presence of a Sotho speaking community right in the middle of the territory occupied by isiZulu speaking people. The Sotho name means; 'at the place of the settlers' and even more so since the Sotho speaking community settled in the area long after the Zulu people had occupied it. The neighbouring Zulu speaking community often makes the name to sound Zulu as 'Mafihlengi'. This is another case of isiZulu hegemony!

8. RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this paper I have indicated that not all indigenous place names in KZN are from isiZulu as most texts, especially those attained from the KZN PGNC, maintain they are. A general perception by respondents that indigenous place names in KZN are in isiZulu has also been found wanting. What has transpired is that some place names appearing to be from isiZulu in fact fall under the Nguni language family, e.g. isiSwati, isiLala. Therefore, if place names were used as a means of indicating indigenous land ownership, isiZulu speakers would not have any leg to stand on.

This paper has discovered that most place names in the far north of KZN are not in standard isiZulu, but are in isiThonga, Lala or isiSwati. The demographics of north KZN are remarkably diverse and this has been the case historically. The paper uncovered that Northern KZN consists of isiZulu, isiThonga, isiSwati and isiNdebele speakers. Areas around lower uThukela river have a sprinkling of what can be argued to be geographic features with Lala names and these include aMatikulu, Mandini and aMatimefu. There are pockets of Sotho place names around eNquthu. This is quite fascinating as eNquthu is firmly surrounded by territory occupied by isiZulu speakers; be it eMnambithi, eBaqulusini, eLuvisi, eMondlo etc. Brief research done on the inexplicable presence of the Basotho place names and Basotho speaking people themselves, revealed that the

Basotho first came to the place as labourers and foot-soldiers accompanying English soldiers who were invading the then western Zululand *en route* to the battles of iSandlwana and eNcome in January 1879. The Basotho are said to have been rewarded with tracts of land around eNquthu for their part in the battles.

The paper therefore argues that it may not be some sheer act of coincidence that place names that are not in standard isiZulu are found in certain areas of KZN. These place names were deliberately named and became indicators of occupants' language markers and their ownership claim over the places. The KZN PGNC may want to take a closer look at the list of names that were submitted under the guise of being in the isiZulu language, possibly correcting some of those.

9. CONCLUSION

As the author navigated through this paper, it became clear that isiZulu, as is a common phenomenon with most powerful languages, has a hegemonic grip over the less powerful languages in KZN. In this case, isiZulu is seen to be overbearing languages and dialects like the isiThonga, isiLala, isiSwati and even isiSotho in some instances. It is also clear that formal institutions such as the KZN PGNC do very little in discouraging isiZulu hegemony regarding place naming. Often, place names submitted to this formal structure with place names supposedly in isiZulu even when they are not, are simply accepted as isiZulu and the case is closed. The study concludes that there is a strong presence of isiThonga place names in and around uMhlabuyalingana District which are perceived to be in isiZulu. Areas around the South of Eshowe (aMatikulu/aMatigulu, eMandini/eMandeni) may be indicative of the areas having been occupied by the Lala or isiSwati speaking people. Dominated language and dialectal groups need to stand up and fight for what is theirs.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES COUNCIL AND THE RESTORATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NBICL

Jani de Lange
Department of South African Sign Language and Deaf Studies,
University of the Free State, South Africa
delangejc@ufs.ac.za

ABSTRACT

South Africa has a long history as regards the collection and standardisation of place names. The first advisory committee on Place Names (the National Place Names Committee – NPNC) was established in 1939 and focused on standardising place names by correcting some of the misspelled African names. This endeavour was a start in contributing to the acknowledgement and restoration of the Bantu languages, but they also brought focus to promoting English-Afrikaans bilingualism in toponymy. This role of standardising South African place names became the responsibility of the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC), established in 1998. Previous studies reveal that the SAGNC continued the work of the NPNC by re-standardising names through the adoption of an indigenised orthography, especially with regard to place names in the Sintu languages. This re-alignment resulted in the SAGNC inadvertently neglecting the other indigenous languages of South Africa, i.e. South African Sign Language and the Non-Bantu Indigenous Click Languages (NBICLs). The current study focuses on the need for a restoration process for places names in the other languages given special status in the South African constitution. The Dictionary of Southern African Place Names (Raper, Möller & Du Plessis 2014) identifies 735 names with an NBICL origin. These names can provide guidance in an inclusive restoration process through providing detailed information regarding the interpretation and heritage of the NBICL names. This study investigates the extent to which the standardisation of place names reflects an inclusive approach to the restoration of indigenous place names in South Africa, with a focus on the restoration of NBICL place names.

Keywords: Non-Bantu Indigenous Click Languages, place-naming process, South African geographical names

1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa offers a variety of research opportunities for critical toponymy due to the historical territorial issues, as well as the diversity in culture and language demographics. The first name regulatory committee, the National Place Names Council (NPNC), was established in 1939 and initiated a standardisation process by correcting indigenous place names in South Africa which had been misspelled through incorrect transcriptions of African names. Furthermore, the Council also played a role in promoting Eurolinguistic bilingualism in toponomy (Giraut, Guyot & Houssay-Holzschuch 2008:131, 134). A Working Forum on Geographical Names was established after 1994, to reform the NPNC. This reconstruction was part of the recommendations of the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage as part of the South African transformation process to uphold international standards and to address cultural concerns (Khubeka 2017).

The South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) replaced the NPNC in 1999 through the proclamation of Act 118 of 1998, to "advise the Minister responsible for arts and culture on the transformation and standardisation of geographical names in South Africa for official purposes; to determine its objects, functions and methods of work; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (RSA 1998:2). The mandate of the SAGNC is focused on the standardisation of place names and on the transformation and restoration of place names. Transformation and restoration are conducted through re-naming entities, especially those with discriminating meaning and connotations, and through correcting names based on indigenous orthographies.

Even though the SAGNC is continuing the work of the NPNC in terms of standardisation and correcting misspelled African toponyms, Du Plessis (2009; 2011; 2019) indicate that the current focus of the SAGNC falls on restoring place names rather than standardising them. One would hope that this restoration process is directed towards all South African indigenous languages and that this will contribute to the development of a diverse multilingual and multicultural country, but Du Plessis (2019:16) argues this is not the case. He argues that the current focus is on the transformation towards the Sintu languages, meaning that a monolingual language dispensation is perpetuated.

The aim of the study is to investigate the Non-Bantu Indigenous Click Languages (NBICL) of South Africa in terms of place naming and to examine the SAGNC's contribution in restoring these names. This study wishes to contribute to current research in critical toponomy regarding place-name processes, as well as the current revitalisation movement of the NBICL in South Africa. Lastly, this paper will try to make recommendations on what initiatives can be taken to contribute to this restoration of the NBICL and place names.

2. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES COUNCIL

As mentioned in the previous section, the mission of the SAGNC is to advise the Minister in the standardisation of the geographical names in South Africa. They wish to contribute in "redress(ing), correct(ing) and transform(ing) the geographical naming system in South Africa" (SAGNC 2002:ii). The Council is comprised of experts on place naming, language and cultural history, as well as provincial representatives. Other members include the Chief Directorate of Surveys and Mapping, the SA Post Office, and the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), while the secretariat is provided by the Department of Arts and Culture (SAGNC 2002:1).

The standardisation process allows applications from any entity or individual, for example a local authority, property developers, governmental departments or individuals. The SAGNC receives all applications to make sure that the necessary consultations were taken into consideration when applying to the Council. It is necessary that the suggested name meets the Council's requirements even if the applicant consulted numerous experts. The Council makes the final decision in terms of the form(s) of the name, where they will make a recommendation to the Minister. The new name is published in the Government Gazette after the Minister has approved (and standardised) the name (SAGNC 2002:8).

According to *The Handbook on Geographical Names* the standardisation of place names involves:

- The current orthographic (spelling) rules of the languages from which the names are derived;
- The wishes of the local population, provided they are not in conflict with the principles of the SAGNC;
- The historical use of the name;
- Redress, where a name is changed on the basis of historical considerations;
- United Nations resolutions on the standardisation of geographical names; and
- Any other relevant factors which the SAGNC may identify. (SAGNC 2002:6).

The SAGNC acknowledges that geographical names form part of the heritage of a country in term of its history, culture and linguistic diversity. They affirm that it is more desirable to preserve this heritage than to destroy it (SAGNC 2002:6). It is therefore important that this standardisation process is not taken lightly and that it should be undertaken for the purpose of affirming the "country's history and national identity, and for purposes such as trade and commerce, transportation, communications, regional and environmental planning, social services, science and technology, elections and censuses, tourism, disaster management and search and-rescue operations" (SAGNC 2002:3).

Considering this discussion on the SAGNC's role and viewpoint on the standardisation process and the importance of geographical names in the preservation of a country's cultural and linguistic heritage, the author hopes that this viewpoint will also contribute to the preservation of the NBICL and, in the long run, contribute to the revival of these languages.

3. NON-BANTU INDIGENOUS CLICK LANGUAGES

The South African Constitution acknowledges eleven official languages, i.e. Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu (RSA 1996:4). With the establishment of the Pan South African Language Board, the constitution provides special status to "the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and sign language". PanSALB is responsible for "promot(ing), and creat(ing) conditions for, the development and use of these languages" (RSA 1996:4).

Even though the establishment of PanSALB, and the reference to these languages in the Constitution promotes the status of these "special" languages much more than the previous regime, the reference to the "Khoi, Nama and San languages" is debatable. According to Jones (2019:56), the term Khoesan, or Khoisan is mostly used in linguistics to represent "a group of African languages that shares click consonants that are not shared with other African languages" (Greenburg 1955 as cited by Jones 2019:56). Jones (2019:57-58) explains that this term "is used today in linguistics purely out of convenience" and it is "accepted that there are three language families, namely Khoe, Ju and Tuu, whereas Nama features within the Khoe-family". Due to the prevailing uncertainty surrounding what term to use when, the author has decided to use the term Non-Bantu Ingenious Click languages (NBICL), as coined by Matthias Brenzinger (De Lange 2019:105), which supports Greenburg's notion.

According to Traill (2002, as cited by Jones 2019:58-59), 16[1] NBICL groups have been identified amongst historical documentation. These groups migrated as far north as Angola and some of these language groups can still be identified in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Jones 2019:59) (see Figure 4.1 below).

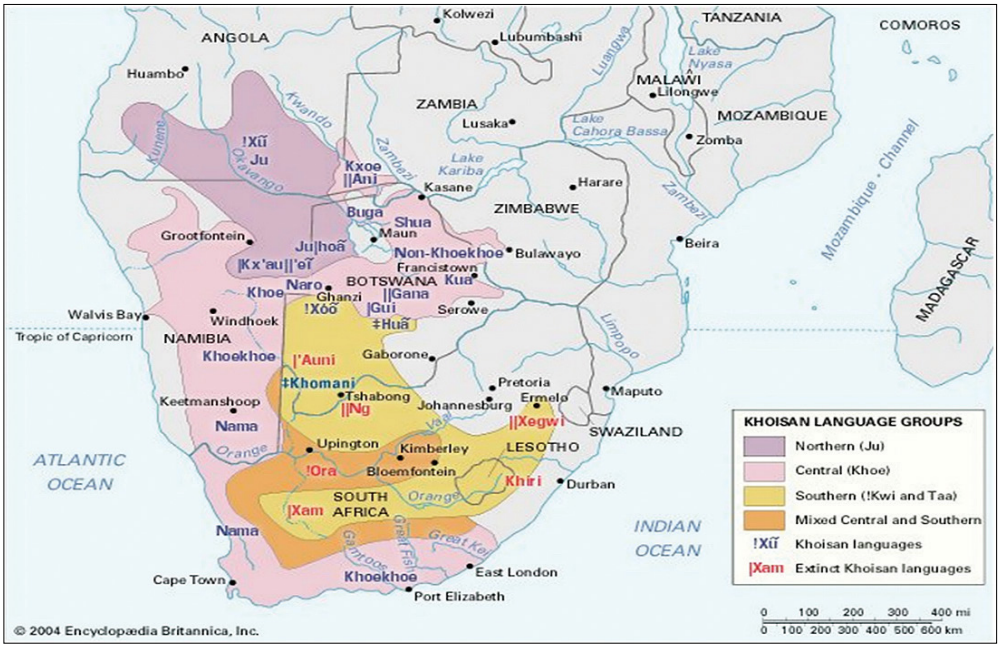

Figure 4.1 *The distribution of NBICL through Southern Africa*

Jones (2019:57-60) explains that a smallpox epidemic in 1713 wiped out a vast number of NBICL speakers in the area currently known as the Western Cape. The destruction amongst other NBICL groups was more ruthless. For example, the |Xam communities derived from societies that were used to war, starvation and disease. The women and children were enslaved and the men were exterminated. In other cases, the NBICL groups assimilated with Bantu language groups, for example, Setswana, isiXhosa, siSwati, isiZulu or Sesotho (Möller 2019:6). Currently only six of these NBICL groups are still alive and fluently spoken in South Africa:

- !Xun (>6000 speakers),
- Khwedam (>4000 speakers),

1 Khoe varieties: Hesse (Hai-se), Chainou, Cocho, Guri, Gorinhai (!Uri-||l'ae), Gorachou (Ora-||Xau), Kora (!Ora), Xri (Gri or Xiri) and Nama (Khoekhoegowab or Khoekhoe).
San varieties: |Xam, Seroa (Sarwa), ||Xegwi, Tuu (Tum?i), N|uu.
Ju (and Khoe) variety: !Xun and Khwedam (respectively found in Angola and Namibia).

- Khoekhoegowab (>2000 speakers),
- N|uu (four speakers),
- Xri (three speakers), and
- Tumʔi (three speakers) (Jones 2019:59).

Such statistics emphasise the need for the kinds of linguistically oriented NBICL research done by, amongst others, Shah and Brenzinger (2016), Haacke and Eiseb (2002) and Bleek and Lloyd (1911), but also for research from other domains such as toponymy, such as that by Nienaber and Raper (1977), Möller (2019) and Raper (2014). De Lange (2019) has also pointed towards the importance of toponymical research surrounding indigenous place naming and heritage. Place names, as in the case of personal names, contains information about ethnic and historical origins (Senekal 2019:73). Senekal (2019:73) explains that "the traces of the languages spoken by people in earlier settlement survive in place names". Even though the NBICL communities are either extinct, or close to extinction, their traces can still be found in the names of the area.

4. REVITALISATION OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AND THE ROLE OF THE SAGNC

The current South African government is continuously promoting the use of the country's marginalised languages, but it seems the NBICLs continue to be neglected in terms of language promotion and use. One may argue that this is due to the fact that the NBICL has not been declared an official language of the country. However, the South African state has a responsibility towards the NBICL in terms of Article 6(2):

> *6(2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages* (RSA 1996).

Du Plessis (2019) argues that there are two ways in which the State can "elevate the status of the indigenous languages", namely through promoting the use of the languages, as well as enhancing the visualisation of the language. This is an area for SAGNC involvement, reasons Du Plessis (2011:264), since the standardisation and transformation of place names enhances both these aspects due to the visibility of a language on road signs, maps and even through tourist attractions.

Senekal (2019:83) found in a recent study that, based on the *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Raper *et al*. 2014) data, almost half (49.85%) of South African place names are indigenous. He argues that these indigenous names are distributed regionally, e.g.

the dominant isiZulu place names are located in KwaZulu-Natal, which is the historical home of the isiZulu people. Afrikaans is found all over the country, but is concentrated in the Western, Northern and Eastern Cape (Senekal 2019:80). The majority of NBICL place names are found in the Northern Cape (41%) and the second largest grouping in the Eastern Cape, "where there was close contact with the Xhosa … the tribe integrated with a Xhosa tribe during the eighteenth century" (Senekal 2019:81).

Du Plessis' (2019:23-27) research on place names supports Senekal's findings and reports on a strong action from the SAGNC to standardise place names by correcting the orthographies of the indigenous languages. Du Plessis compares the name changes since 2000 with the census data during that time to investigate the language spread of the place names, based on the Department of Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation's (DSACR) approved list. He (2019:24) states: "the comparison … indicates that a focus in toponym treatment in the Sintu languages is indeed justifiable".

Considering the above, one can assume that the same procedures are followed with all the indigenous languages of the country, including the NBICL, which is currently in need of revitalisation by any means possible. Based on Senekal's findings these standardisation processes should firstly take place in the Northern Cape and, secondly, the Eastern Cape provinces.

5. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

The data for this paper was collected by referring to available material. The first source is the *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (the Dictionary). The Dictionary contains more than 9000 place names documented by Raper *et al*. (2014). Each entry refers to the historical origin and meaning of the names, which includes name changes and GPS co-ordinates. An electronic place name data set was developed by the now defunct University of the Free State's Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment during 2018. This includes 8301 entries and identifies the linguistic information of the entries, as well as the following information:

- The name of the entity
- GPS co-ordinates
- Province where the entity can be found
- Description and (or) meaning of the entity
- Language of origin
- Derived from which language

- Translated from which language
- Suggestions for an alternative name
- Date of establishment or standardisation and the SAGNC treatment (correction, change, etc.)
- Hybrid language 1 and Hybrid language 2 (in cases where the place name care formed from more than one language group)

This information was used as the starting point for the study. The data set was searched for NBICL in the following columns:

- Language of origin
- Language derived from
- Translated from
- Alternative name

These NBICL names were compared to the 2016 approved list of the DSACR, which formed the second data source for this paper (DSACR 2019). This is the same list Du Plessis used in 2019 since the DSACR has not yet updated the list even though 224 names have since been approved in the Green Gazette between June 2016 and March 2019. Since the fourth, updated edition of the Dictionary was published in 2014, the author decided that the 2016 updated list will be sufficient for this paper. The data set is reflected in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 *Results of data set source: South African place names and NBICL*

	Dictionary of Southern African place names	**SAGNC (2016) list**
Total South African place names	7571	1336
Total NBICL place names	735	1
Total names in document	8301	1336

The data set search showed that 7572 of the 8302 entries referred to South African place names, whereas the 2016 DSACR list contained 1336 names. A total of 735 of the Dictionary's entries refer to NBICL, either as a derivation of a NBICL, translated from or even as the original name of the place. In some cases, the Dictionary referred to an alternative name, as in the case of *Huigais*, for an alternative name for Cape Town (Raper *et al*. 2014:64).

The DSACR's list only referred to one name classified as a "San" name. The name *Kaffirspan* was re-named to *Piriguhgas* in 2015. Newer lists refer to the language as "unknown", but Raper *et al*. (2014:415) confirms that *Piriguhgas* is a Bushman name, where *Piri* means goat and guh, people. The DSACR's list also describes the name as, "*Goat* people's pan. People who lived in the area, farmed with goats". This name refers to an area in the Northern Cape province.

The initial search provided less than expected and consequently a second search of the data set was done. The author compared the 735 NBICL names, as indicated in the Dictionary, against the full DSACR list, which resulted in the identification of nine names, which includes *Piriguhgas*. Since this name is indicated as a "San"-language, the author decided to exclude this name from the results.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: RESTORING NBICL PLACE NAMES

Table 4.2 provides more information about the eight names identified during the comparison between the DSACR approved list and the *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names.* This table indicates the registered name, the action the SAGNC took during the standardisation process, the language classification of the SAGNC, as well as the Dictionary's description of the specific name. Four of these names' spelling was changed to the standardised orthography, three names were changed from either Afrikaans or English (the Dictionary argues that the meaning stayed the same), and one entity is indicated as a new name.

Table 4.2 *Results from the Dictionary compared against the 2016 DSACR approved names list*

	SAGNC action taken	SAGNC list	Dictionary description
Bhirha (Eastern Cape)	Correct spelling from Bira	isiXhosa	isiXhosa adaption of Khoisan *Bega*, *Begha*, *Becha* (p. 33)
Cacadu (Eastern Cape)	Changed from Wit Kei	isiXhosa	isiXhosa adaption of Khoisan *tkakadao*, *≠a!kadao* (p. 58)
Di(k)gwale (Mpumalanga)	Changed from Leeufontein	Sesotho	Derived from the Bushman word 'lion', *//kwamma* [correlate with *gwa* or *kgwa*] (p. 92)
Kwelerha (Eastern Cape)	Correction of spelling from Kwelera / Kwelega / Kwelegha	isiXhosa	isiXhosa adaption of Khoisan *Goerecha* and *Goerescha* (p. 264)
Manokwane (North West)	New name: A place of porcupines	Setswana	Setswana adaptation of Khoisan word for porcupine *!noa*, *!noe*, *gue*, *umkwe*, *!ko:a*, and *!kõ* (p. 301)
Mgwangqa (Eastern Cape)	Correction of spelling from Gwanga	isiXhosa	isiXhosa adaptation of Khoikhoi *Guengka* (p. 322)
Ngcwengxa (Eastern Cape)	Change of name from Kat River	isiXhosa	isiXhosa adaption of Khoisan *!O !kung*, *≠noe*, for 'wild cat, cheetah', and the |Xam *!nwerre*, for 'tiger cat', the component ngxa with *!!kaã*, *≠ka* for river (p. 367)
Ngqamakhwe (Eastern Cape)	Correction of spelling from Nqamakwe	isiXhosa	Correlates with the Nama and Hie word *//kama*, for 'hartebeest', the Sehura *≠kama*, and Naron *//xama*, 'hartebeest'; *kwe* correlates with the Kung *kwe*, for place' (p. 369)

According to Raper *et al*. (2014:33, 58, 92, 264, 301, 322, 367, 369) five isiXhosa names (*Bhirha, Cacadu, Kwelerha, Mgwangqa and Ngcwengxa*) are adaptations of NBICL names, whereas one Sesotho (*Di(k)gwale*) and one Setswana name (*Manokwane*) is derived from a NBICL. One isiXhosa name (*Ngqamakhwe*) correlates with the NBICL. The isiXhosa names are located in the Eastern Cape, the Sesotho name in Mpumalanga and the Setswana name is located in the North West province.

Considering Senekal's findings, as well as the historical research into the assimilation of NBICL groups into the isiXhosa tribes in the Eastern Cape, one starts to consider whether alternative names (or orthographies) could be considered, especially in a province like the Eastern Cape where NBICLs were historically present. Take the name *Mgwangqa*, for example. This name was corrected towards an isiXhosa orthography from the "original wrong spelling" of *Gwanga*. As shown in Table 4.2 above, this name is an adaption of the NBICL spelling of the name G*uengka*. In terms of location, this name refers to the same entity, and, in a way, has the same pronunciation. The only difference is that *Mgwangqa* follows the isiXhosa orthography, whereas *Guengka* has an NBICL orthography.

The SAGNC's *Handbook on Geographical Names* states that "archives, oral tradition and other resources should be consulted" when they receive an application for name changes (SAGNC 2002:7). Based on this consideration, one should think that all orthographic possibilities will be investigated and considered, but the above examples cast doubt on this handbook stipulation. They do, however, argue that "it may be impossible to ascertain the correct form of the original name, because its form in the language of origin (e.g. San and Khoi languages) is unknown" (SAGNC 2002:8).

Unfortunately, this is a strong argument, especially in the case of the extinct languages. Nevertheless, the continuous work of toponymists like Peter Raper and Lucie Möller (Raper *et al*. 2014) indicates the heritage of Southern African names. Linguists such as Kerry Jones (2019), and Matthias Brenzinger and Sheenah Shah (Shah & Brenzinger 2016) have contributed to this by providing an opportunity for orthographies to be researched, developed and established. Other institutions such as museums in the areas where the NBICL communities lived historically or are still living, have also offered valuable contributions to the historical research into the NBICL communities in Southern Africa.

A second aspect that should be considered is that the NBICL is not a dominant language group in South Africa, but isiXhosa is in the Eastern Cape. The SAGNC can still uphold its responsibility towards the NBICL by standardising multilingual or dual names, but, as Du Plessis (2019) found, the SAGNC strictly implements the "one-name-per-entity rule" and thus are moving away from multilingual names.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The SAGNC, as a South African state institution, has a responsibility toward the indigenous languages of the country, especially the NBICL. The Council can contribute to

the revitalisation process through the standardisation of place names. This will allow for the elevation of the language in terms of visibility on maps and signage. According to the approved list of 2016, only one place name, *Piriguhgas* (located in the Northern Cape), has been changed since 2000, and none have been corrected. However, a comparison with the *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* showed eight adapted names (to isiXhosa, Sesotho and Setswana) that have a correlation with an NBICL.

There is dire need for the restoration of NBICL place names to assist with the revival of these languages. The SAGNC depends on communities to make recommendations concerning the standardisation of place names, but according to the SAGNC there is a lack of orthographical evidence to support the correct spelling of these names. It is thus imperative that the communities start working with linguists and toponymists to identify place names and make recommendations to the SAGNC.

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INDIGENOUS PLACE NAMES IN VOC CAPE DOCUMENTS

Helena Liebenberg
Tracing History Trust, South Africa
helena@taaloord.co.za

ABSTRACT

The first objective of the study was to search for and extract indigenous names, toponyms in particular, from primary source VOC Cape archival documents vested in the Western Cape Archives and Records Service (WCARS), covering the governance of the Cape of Good Hope by the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – Dutch East India Company) from 1651 till 1795. The second objective was to explore the wealth of indigenous[1] place names thus brought to light, from a historical linguistic perspective with the aid of secondary sources.

Although the VOC documents written in 17th and 18th century Dutch contain invaluable information, the contents remain inaccessible and not available for public use and research if not transcribed. However, by digitising and transcribing important collections of the VOC material (Liebenberg 2017), scholars are now able to follow the tracks of thousands of names of indigenous places and people encapsulated in these documents.

The VOC chronicle of the 1689 expedition into the interior recorded a large number of place names along the route and serves as an excellent example of the value of a geographical description of the landscape and of noting indigenous place and clan names (with/without a Dutch translation).

A number of the chronicle's toponyms were complemented by the findings of a modern mapping aid, Garmin Mapsource, which has been applied in this comparative study as it revealed the existence of a large number of indigenous place names not

1 In the study the term *indigenous* refers to the Khoekhoen and other Cape indigenous peoples and their place name legacy.

mentioned in the documents. These remnants of the past are still used by local farming communities and descendants of the indigenous peoples alike.

The study confirms the tremendous contribution made by the VOC Cape records in the conservation of the indigenous place name legacy, with VOC scribes and officials meticulously noting the toponyms whenever encountered. The unrecorded place names traced by Garmin Mapsource prove that these toponyms were kept alive and complemented oral history for more than three centuries.

Keywords: chronicle, indigenous toponyms, modern technology, standardisation, VOC

1. INTRODUCTION

This study was initiated during transcription projects to disseminate archival VOC documents vested in the Cape Town-based Western Cape Archives and Records Service[2], acting as local custodian of these records dating from 1651 when the first colonial settlement by the Dutch was established. In time the study developed into a more formal exploration of historical linguistics and a method of presenting historical linguistic information within a diachronic framework, following an emic and etic approach to the data.

1.1 Conservation of primary source material

The primary source material regarding indigenous place names for this study was extracted from the VOC Cape documents vested in the WCARS, supplemented with a number of volumes vested in the Nationaal Archief Nederland[3] (NAN) in The Hague, and disseminated during three transcription projects mainly financed by NAN (Liebenberg 2017), namely:

- Towards A New Age in Partnership (TANAP) Transcription Project (2001-2003), executed in the Western Cape Archives during which the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of the Cape of Good Hope (C-series) were transcribed and afterwards made available by NAN in XML format (TANAP 2004).

2 It is a state service rendered by the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport of the Western Cape Provincial Government.

3 NAN is the major custodian of VOC documents and maps globally.

- Transcription of Estate Papers of the Cape of Good Hope (TEPC) Transcription Project (2004-2008), executed in the Western Cape Archives during which the Intestate Inventories (MOOC8-series) and Auction Rolls (MOOC10-series) were transcribed; the Inventories were made available by NAN in XML format (TANAP 2008).
- VOC Cape Daghregister Project (2015-2020) during which a few Cape Journals were photographed in the Nationaal Archief (NA-series) while the rest of the Journals (VC[4] series) were photographed in the Western Cape Archives, all of which have been transcribed online and are partially available in DVD format.

These primary sources, written mainly by VOC officials and scribes in 17th and 18th century Dutch, complement the rich oral history of the indigenous people of the Western and Northern Cape regions and also confirm the existence of indigenous place and group names identified by Dutch cartographers of the time (see Brink's map mentioning *Manaquas* and *Amaquas* in Figure 5.5). One can chronologically follow the tracks of regional names as they are recorded in the documents, such as *Karoo, Camdebo, Hantam* and *Tsitsikamma* (see 4.1), as well as the places named after clans[5], such as *Namaqua, Hessequa*, *Gamtoos* and *Outeniqua* (see 4.2), and captains and chieftains, such as *Ngonnemöa* and *Oedasöa* (VC 1, 2), *Dorha* and *Goukou* (VC 10).

This study proves without doubt that official records, in this particular case authentic archival material produced by the VOC at the Cape of Good Hope, contribute extensively to the conservation of the recorded history, including localised indigenous place names, which is an interesting sub-section in toponymic research to be exploited in future projects. The study also demonstrates potential for indigenous place names, known and unknown, and/or newly coined Dutch ones reported in 17th and 18th century Cape primary sources, to be used as toponymic resources for future investigation and research.

1.2 Methodology

A certain methodological pattern developed according to which research of the collected data was conducted in an investigative and comparative manner along a VOC timeline. Throughout the study primary sources, serving as the point of departure, were complemented by secondary written sources, such as authoritative publications

4 VC: Verbatim Copies. The Cape journals were copied in the Rijksarchief, the Hague (therefore called 'Haagse Copie') in the mid-1880's and brought back to the Western Cape Archives where they form part of the VC-series.

5 Author uses the same term preferred by archaeologists and anthropologist when referring to indigenous groups of the Western Cape, namely *clan* instead of *tribe* as the latter has connotations of formal social hierarchy which was absent in precolonial Khoekhoen society. However, the term *tribe* is appropriate for groups further to the east, for example the Bantu-speaking tribes.

and modern technological aids, such as Garmin Mapsource, to supplement and enrich the toponyms from a linguistic, etymological and historic perspective. In this sense the study makes a significant methodological contribution by analysing archival sources and comparing these with modern sources.

1.2.1 VOC Cape archival material

These documents are regarded as primary source material and served as the foundation or first layer of information in the study.

The applicable material extracted from the documents regarding indigenous names of places, clans and individuals was used in the study, in most cases accompanied by contextual detail and supplemented by the date of entry and archival reference.

As communication with the indigenous people was of pivotal importance for the Company and as it is highly unlikely that the Europeans could speak indigenous languages, local Khoekhoen interpreters were a much-valued asset in order to establish a successful trading environment at the Cape of Good Hope. The names of local interpreters, the clan they belonged to, their loyalty towards the Company and all other personal information were recorded in the primary sources (see 3.3.1). The interpreters also accompanied expeditions into the interior, such as the 1689 expedition under command of Ensign Schrijver.

The expedition's journal (often called Schrijver's Chronicle) contains a wealth of place names, whether indigenous, existing or newly coined Dutch ones, encountered along the route. Section 5 with all the data provided in the chronicle itself may be regarded as the highlight of the study. The place name entries in particular, most of them examples of already embedded indigenous toponymic markers along a route of unchartered territories at the time, are of special interest and make a valuable contribution as primary source in the study of indigenous place names *per se*. The chronicle serves as the basis for comparing forms used then and today, and those which are no longer used.

VOC Cape maps complementing documents of that period may also be categorised as primary source material, for example the Thirion map (c. 1740) (Figure 5.1). It is a good example of the type of data often presented in these archival maps: although in places conjectural, it marks numerous groups and, in this case, refers to *Vigitimagna* (see 5.1), one of the historic names of the Gariep/Orange River.

Vigitimagna encircled; included in Nieuwe en Beknopte Hand Atlas, 1769 (Thirion 1740)

Figure 5.1 *"Land der Hottentotten"*

1.2.2 Comparative research

Throughout the study primary source content was in some way or another explained, enriched or extended by secondary tools of research, such as applicable publications (linguistically and etymologically) and modern technological aids (confirming and extending primary source data).

A representative overview of these names was provided throughout the study, in particular according to toponymic characteristics distinguished in research done in secondary source publications. Publications regarded as authoritative secondary sources, in which the development of indigenous place names are explained etymologically, linguistically

and diachronically, include Nienaber (1989), Nienaber and Raper (1977a; 1980), as well as Raper (1987) and Raper, Möller and Du Plessis (2014).

Secondary source applications were used to identify and discuss the large number of indigenous place names noted in Schrijver's Chronicle by comparing these with presently known indigenous place names and with standardised toponyms. The expedition that was conducted in the distant past, offered such a wealth of place names that a comparative modern digital map (see section 6) was consulted to see how many, if any, indigenous place names can still be traced and which 'new' or unknown ones at the time, could now be recorded.

Garmin Mapsource was therefore used as toponymic aid in the study to trace place names that do not appear in said archival documents or on conventional maps. Place names mentioned in Schrijver's Journal and the Garmin map for the Bredasdorp area were selected for comparison. The reason for choosing Bredasdorp is because of its ideal location as it is situated in the region covered by the expedition, with the Klip and Caartse (Kars) rivers both mentioned in the chronicle and on the present Garmin map of the area.

1.2.3 Place name legacy

By using VOC Cape archival content as the first layer or foundation, and research publications and modern mapping technology as additional building material to provide and confirm historical, linguistic and etymological data, the present study aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the indigenous Khoekhoen place name legacy firmly embedded in the soil of the Cape of Good Hope.

2. THE VOC, THE KHOEKHOEN AND OTHER INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Indigenous place names were chronologically recorded by the VOC as these occur in contexts along a historic timeline and from the viewpoint of the Dutch who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in April 1652 under the leadership of Commander Jan van Riebeeck.

2.1 VOC settlement and expansion

The main objective for establishing a Company settlement at the Cape was to provide food for the VOC trading ships often sailing together as a fleet of up to twenty vessels to and from Europe and the East. Although the settlers could produce enough vegetables

and fruit, the Company was always in serious need of livestock to fulfil the demands of the ever-growing number of ships for meat and dairy products of which the indigenous people were their only suppliers.

In order to obtain livestock from these groups the Cape Council of Policy sent their first delegation into the interior soon after their arrival in April 1652, followed regularly over the years by more delegations to visit neighbouring pastoralist groups and to befriend new ones. They negotiated with the chieftains to trade cattle and sheep with the Company, inviting them to visit the Fort of Good Hope where they could meet the Commander and his people.

However, it soon became clear to the indigenous groups that the arrival of the VOC disrupted their seasonal migration pattern as nomadic pastoralists. The clans had authority over recognised territories but did not own land, and eventually lost most of their pastures and watering points to European free burghers who received land with title deeds from the Company. This caused serious conflicts from time to time.

The Company recorded every detail regarding the groups they met, noting the names of the representatives who visited the Fort of Good Hope (in 1679 the newly-built fortress was called the Castle of Good Hope), the people with whom they negotiated and traded livestock, and even those groups and places they had only heard about and intended visiting in future.

2.2 Khoekhoen as mode of address

The Khoekhoen (also called *Khoikhoi* at present, and generally referred to as *Hottentoo(s)/ Hottentot* in the VOC documents) are the traditionally nomadic pastoralist indigenous population of southwestern Africa.

In this study the term *Khoekhoen* is preferred as mode of address in accordance with the form used by two of the most prominent toponomists studying the indigenous people of the Cape and their place name legacy, namely Prof. Peter Raper and the late Prof. G. Nienaber, although *Khoikhoi* and *Khoisan* are officially recognised.

The term *Hottentot* is presently regarded as a derogatory mode of address and is only used in this study in quotes from the primary VOC sources where the words “Hottentoo” (singular, neutral) and “Hottentoos” (plural, neutral) and later “Hottentot” (singular, neutral) and “Hottentotten” (plural, neutral), were used along with “inwoonders” (Eng. inhabitants) to address the indigenous Khoekhoen people in general. The term

"Hottentottin" referred to a female indigene in general. Otherwise, these people were called by their personal or clan names recorded in the VOC documents.

Table 5.1 (a verbatim transcription of the original text in VC 2, followed by the English translation) indicates that the designation *Khoekhoen* was interpreted by the VOC as an address of high respect. The root *Khoe-* is present in all the words and signifies 'high mountain, rich, fortunate, king'; it also indicates royalty, implicating the highest of all the kings, emperor, successor of the king, and royal children, both sons and daughters.

Table 5.1 *Khoekhoen as mode of address by the VOC*

VC 2 21 September 1660 ... den opperheer van al het Hottentoos geslacht, ende met een cort woordt genoemt worden, den *Khoebaha*, dat is sooveel als den oppersten van alle de coningen ende lantsheeren, als sulcx dit woort ten vollen beduijdende want *Khoe* is te seggen ende beduijt dit alles, naementlijcq, een hoogen bergh, rijck, geluckige, coningh ende Baha wil seggen, die van alles moet onderdanigheijt bewesen worden, sulcx dat hij soude sijn eijgentlijck als Keijser van het Hottentoos geslaght ... *Khoequöa* ofte successeur des Conings ende daervoor oock erkent wort, anders worden koninckx kinderen noch niet in eenigh gesagh ofte regiment gevesticht sijnde, generaelijck genoempt *Khoequekone*, naementlijck soonen ende dochters door een, doch den soon ofte prins *Kheijsa*, de dochters *Khoeque Achebasis* ende d' Edelijcke *Khoequebj*, dat is generalijck te seggen, volck van coninckliJcq geslaght.
English translation: 21 September 1660 ... the sovereign of the entire Hottentoos race, who is called, in a word, the *Khoebaha*, that is to say the highest of all the kings and lords of the land, as this word *Khoe* completely signifies it all, namely a high mountain, rich, fortunate, king and who wishes to say 'Baha', to whom obedience must be demonstrated in everything, so that he is in fact the Emperor of the Hottentoos race ... *Khoequöa*, or successor of the King, who is also acknowledged as such, while the royal children who have not yet been endowed with any authority or power are in general called *Khoequekone*, both sons and daughters, the son or prince *Kheijsa*, the daughters *Khoeque Achebasis* and the Honourable *Khoequebj*, that is collectively, people of royal descent.

2.3 Names of indigenous clans recorded by the VOC

One after the other the names of the indigenous clans were noted in the VOC documents, of which the following list represents the first clan names known to the Cape governance in 1657. The list was extended and updated from time to time as new groups were met during excursions and expeditions to explore the interior, for purposes of trading, seeking minerals or the expansion of territory for farming.

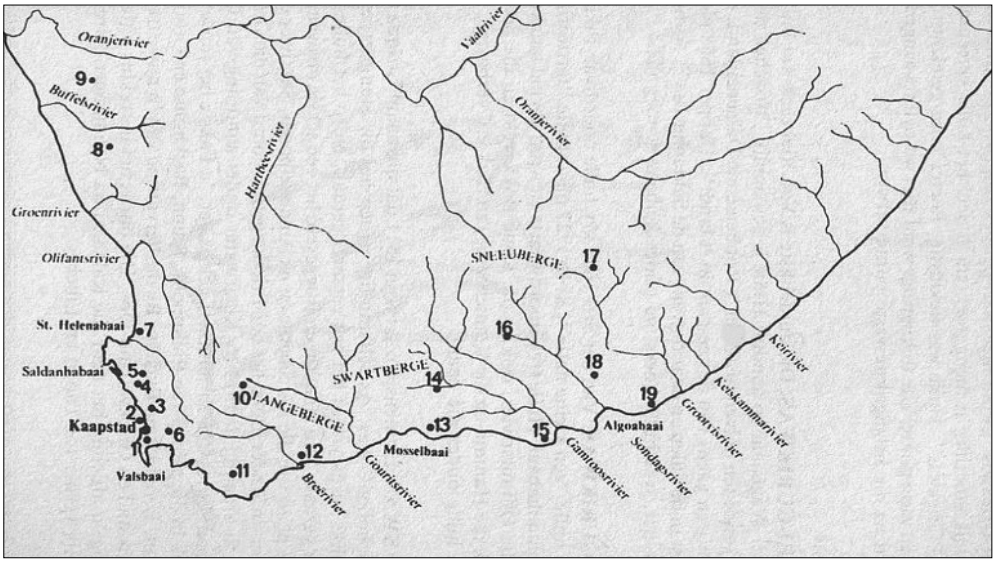
The locations of the indigenous groups were clearly described according to the geographic environment known by the Company or communicated by the interpreters, but usually without indigenous place names connected to the clans. The Caepmans and Watermans were the first indigenous groups to introduce themselves to the European newcomers in April 1652, while the following names were recorded in 1657:

> *Kochoqua; Gorona; Chobonars; Chainunqua also Chaijnouqua, Chaijnunquaâ and Chaijnouna; Chancumqua; Charigruqua; Chorachouqua; Goeringaijcoina; Goeringaina; Goeringaijqua; Gorachouqua also Gorachauna ("Tabacqdieven", Eng. Tobacco thieves); Charingurina; Namana also Namaqua; Oengaijqua; Kochoqua also Kochona; Gorona also Goroqua; Kaijnguqua also Kaijgunna; Hancumqua; and Söanqua ("Struijckrovers", Eng. highwaymen) (VC 2).*

All the names end in *-qua* which means 'men/people of', for instance *Hessequa* meaning 'men/people of Hesse'. The clan name is always followed by the masculine plural *-gu-* plus the objective *-a-*, in English written and pronounced as *-qua*, and in Afrikaans as *-kwa*.

3. THE PLACE NAME KALEIDOSCOPE OF THE EARLY CAPE

The map in Figure 5.2 indicates the approximate locations of Khoekhoen clans before contact with the early VOC settlers.



1. Goringhaiqua (Kaapmans); 2. Goringhaikonas (Strandlopers 'beachcombers');
3. Gorachouqua (Tabakdiewe 'tobacco thieves'); 4. Chari-Guriqua; 5. Cochoqua (Saldanhars);
6. Gonnemans, Goenemans, Goeiemans; 7. Grigriqua; 8. Amaqua; 9. Little Namakwas;
10. Cauas; 11. Chainoukwas, Soesekwas (Koopmans); 12. Hessequa; 13. Gouriqua; 14. Attaqua;
15. Gamtoes; 16. Inqua; 17. Chinese Hottentots; 18. Hoengeyqua; 19. Gonequa

Figure 5.2 *Distribution of the old Khoekhoen clans in the Cape (adapted from Nienaber 1989:xxx-xxxi)*

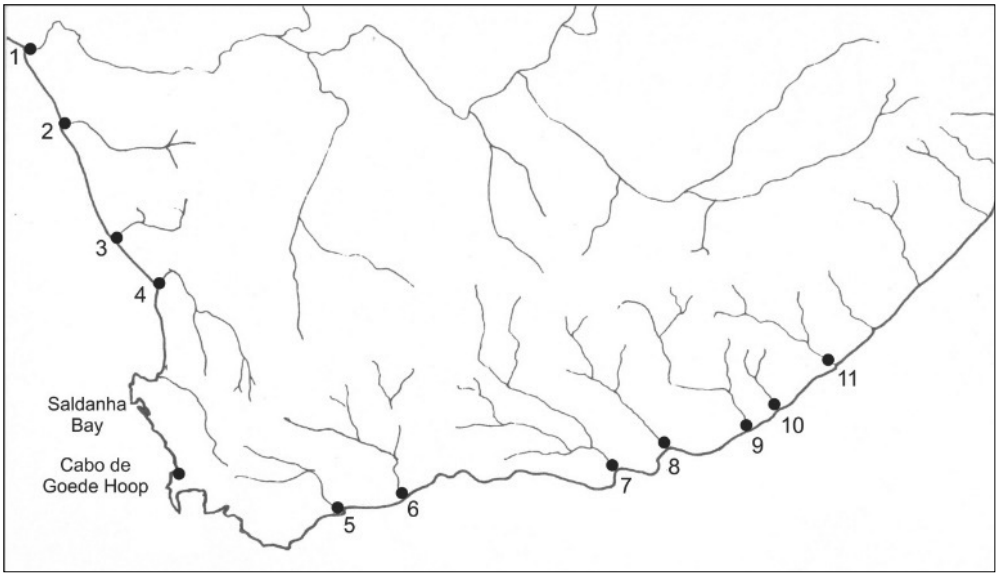
When comparing the indigenous clan names listed under 2.4 with the names indicated by Nienaber in Figure 5.2, it is obvious that it is based on the VOC Cape Journals as primary source, since the items correspond to a large extent with the entries in these documents.

The Dutch records give an indication of a group's traditional location during the first decade after the settlers arrived: the Caepmans lived in the area in and around the Cape settlement, the Strandlopers (also called Vismans, Eng. Fishmen) roamed the Cape beaches, while the Saldanhars lived in the area of Saldanha Bay on the Cape West Coast.

In time a number of tribal names obtained toponymic status, were standardised and are still used as South African place names, such as *Namakwa* and *Hessequa* (see 4.2), as well as *Gouriqua* (in Gourikwa Nature Reserve, Gouritsmond) and *Attaqua* (in Attakwas Kloof in the South Cape). For example, in a Cape auction roll dated 19 March 1822 the property name was recorded as "Goneymans Kraal", situated at the "Piqueniers Kloof" in the district of Tulbagh (MOOC10/35.49). It could be an indication of where the kraal of chief Gonnema (initially known as Ngonnomöa) was originally situated.

3.1 The Khoekhoen place names were first

From time immemorial oral history was one way of keeping alive the legacy of the indigenous African people in the minds of future generations. In the same way, Khoekhoen place names remained intact to tell their own colourful story, following a timeline along migration, trek routes and communities. The map in Figure 5.3 shows the names of clans and places as names of rivers ending their course in either (a) the Atlantic Ocean, such as the *Gariep* or (b) the Indian Ocean, such as the *Gouris, Gamtoos, Keiskamma* and the *Kei*.



Place names of indigenous origin underlined: 1 Gariep River; 2 Groene River; 3 Olifants River; 4 Great Berg River; 5 Breede River; 6 Gouritz River; 7 Sundays River; 8 Gamtoos River; 9 Great Fish River; 10 Keiskamma River; 11 Kei River

Figure 5.3: *Standardised names of rivers along the Cape coastline (adapted from Nienaber 1989)*

3.2 The Portuguese place names were next

The Portuguese explorers and navigators were the next to name places along the South African coastline. The first known European to reach the Cape was the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias on 12 March 1488, who named the place *Cabo das Tormentas*, 'Cape of Storms', because due to heavy storms he was forced to sail over 1 000 kilometres off-course. Somewhere between 1488 and 1495 King John II of Portugal re-named it *Cabo de Boa Esperanca*, 'Cape of Good Hope'. For a considerable time, the Portuguese

name was more often used in the VOC documents. The Portuguese name *Cabo* was then combined with Dutch *de Goede Hoop* as in *Cabo de Goede Hoop* and later *Caep de Goede Hoop* was used. In 1783 *Kaap* was noted for the first time (Liebenberg 2004:48).

Terro de Natal was the early Portuguese name for the Pondoland Coast in the Eastern Cape (Figure 5.4). When Vasco da Gama passed that coastal strip on Christmas Day of 1497, he called it *Terra do Natal*, translated as 'land of the birth', referring to the birth of Christ (Raper 1987:530). The first VOC entry was in the Resolution of 17 August, 1668 as *Terra de Natal* (C. 5:24-25).

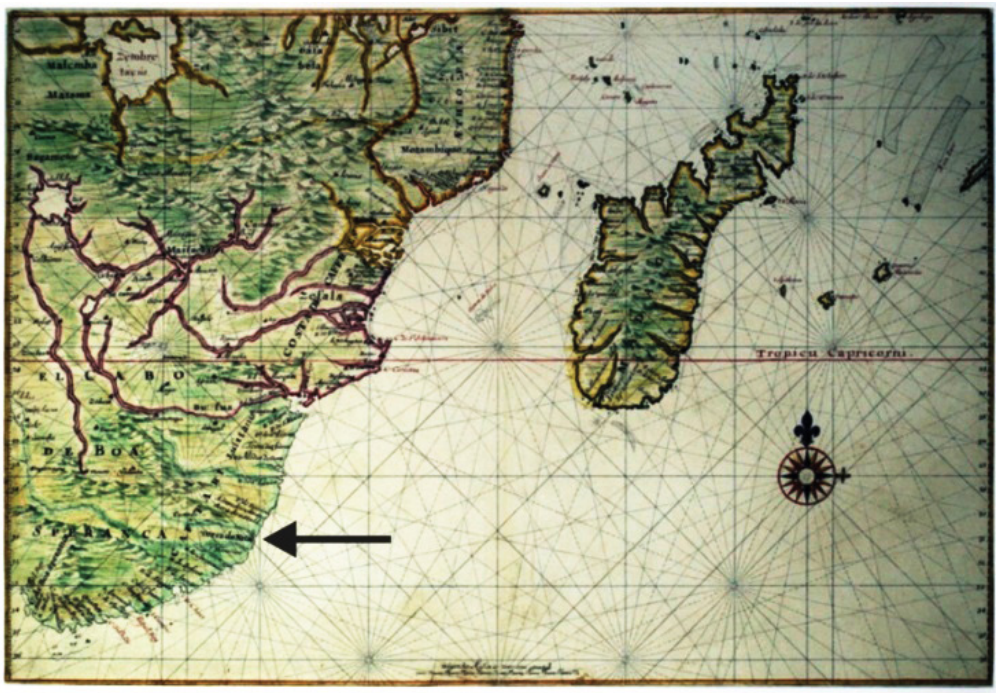


Figure 5.4 *Map of Southeast Africa by the Dutch cartographer Johannes Vingboons, c. 1665 (Source: Brommer 2009) See arrow pointing at his Terra de Natal, Pondoland, at present, Eastern Cape*

3.3 Overcoming the language barrier

When the VOC arrived, they settled in a colony already furnished with place names given mostly by the indigenous people with a few along the coastline added by the Portuguese.

3.3.1 The value of interpreters

The Dutch had to overcome the language barrier in order to communicate, thus establishing good relations with the locals to trade livestock, which was crucial for supplying meat to the growing population as well as ships passing to and from the East and Europe. Throughout the VOC governance indigenous people acted as interpreters between the Europeans and the captains/chieftains, who had the authority to allow, restrict or refuse trading.

A few days after their arrival Van Riebeeck and his company met the people of "Saldania" (from the Portuguese place name *Saldanha*), who communicated with the newcomers in broken Dutch and English words (apparently learnt from the crew of the stranded ship Haarlem) to trade copper and tobacco (10.4.1652, VC 1). (The crew and their captain of the Haarlem were left behind at the Cape in 1647 and had to wait till the next year for the homebound fleet from the East to take them to the Netherlands.)

Shortly afterwards the Dutch met Claes Das and Doman who acted as interpreters, as well as the little girl Krotoa, who was given the Western name of Eva and later called "tolkinne" (Eng. female interpreter). She was accompanied by her uncle Herrij the Beachcomber who spoke some broken English (C. 1:19-21). Before 1652 this captain of the Caepmans, one of the small clans, went with a British ship to the East and learnt some English during this adventure. The English nicknamed him "kingh Herrij" (10.7.1658, VC 2).

In September 1652 it was noted that a young Khoekhoen boy, with the consent of his parents, stayed with the Dutch in order to learn their language and eventually act as an interpreter (C. 1:19-21).

On 26 January 1686 it was recorded that while Commander Simon van der Stel and his men were on their return journey from Namaqualand, they visited the "Gregriquas" who gave them a captive of the "Cammesons" clan to take with them to the Castle. The captive was a member of the clan whose territory stretched from the Buffels River to the river known as the "Vegeti Magni" (see Figure 5.1 and section 5.1). He was described as a clever person with a good knowledge of the region. In order to learn more about his country, the officials had to be able to communicate with him. He was therefore taught to speak Dutch and had to wear European clothes (VC 10).

Without language facilitation the Company would not have been able to communicate with the Cape indigenous people. The interpreters were of immense value and

importance, not only at the Fort (later Castle) of Good Hope during trading sessions or discussions with visiting clans, but also through accompanying the VOC officials on every visit to chieftains and their representatives. They were part of all the expeditions as they were familiar with the interior: the clans, their leaders and the clans' grazing patterns and routes, as well as the indigenous place names in the various territories.

4. ORIGIN OF PLACE NAMES IN VOC DOCUMENTS

Along with the expansion of the Colony during the 18th century, the settlers came across place names of indigenous origin revealed to them by the interpreters. Over time many have been standardised and are still used as official South African place names.

The following sub-sections distinguish between different categories of place names according to their linguistic presentation as standardised toponyms. Each of the toponyms mentioned below has a date and reference as recorded in the VOC documents.

4.1 The original Khoekhoen place name is used

Hantam

The name of the region as in "hantams ... Districten" (17.5.1774, C. 152), is a derivation of the word *heyntama*, a plant that was painted by the German artist and apothecary/physician Hendrik (Heinrich) Claudius who arrived in the Cape Colony from Batavia in 1682 to paint plants of medicinal interest (Wikipedia 2020). The plant is described in Simon van der Stel's journal in 1685 as a type of geranium with a sweet and edible root, which was for this reason much liked by the inhabitants (VC 10). The first notes about the name show that the area where this plant species was found stretched from the high mountain where it was first discovered. Today the name Hantam denotes the whole region (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:520-521; Raper 1987:199).

Kamdebo

The name of the region as in "Camdebos ... Districten" (17.5.1774, C. 152) means 'green pool' or 'green hippo pool' and is a compound of Khoekhoen *Cam-/Kam-* 'green' and *-debo(o)* 'pool, hippo pool'. The Khoekhoen called the place this because of the half-circle green hippo pool situated in this region (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:622; Raper 1987:85).

Karoo

The name of the region as in "Caro" (4.2.1794, C. 221) means 'dry', 'hard soil', due to the nature of the region. The nomadic Khoekhoen trekked with their livestock in this vast area. At first the settlers called the region the "Droogeveld" (Eng. dry veld), a Dutch translation of the Khoekhoen place name (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:664; Raper 1987:252).

Tsitsikamma

The name of the region as in "Citzij kamma" (19.5.1789, C. 182) is probably derived from Khoekhoen *sitse-* 'begin' and *-kamma* 'water, river', so called due to the high rainfall and the many rivers and streams in the forest along the coastline between Plettenberg Bay and Humansdorp (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:1060; Raper 1987:545).

4.2 Hybrid place names: Khoekhoen name combined with a Dutch component

Namakwa + land

"Namaquas" (1.2.1659, C. 1) is derived from the Khoekhoen clan name *Namakwa* consisting of '*Nama'* + *kwa* 'men' + Dutch *-land*. Much later VOC land surveyor Carel Fredrik Brink accompanied the expedition under the command of Stellenbosch burgher captain Hendrik Hop and burgher Jacobus Coetzee to "Namaqua Land" in 1761 (VC 28). Brink was also responsible to draw a map of the region, keep a chronicle and collect samples of all unfamiliar plants and vegetation. He used the clan names "Amacquas" and "Manaquas" in his map (Figure 5.5) of the region situated in the north-western part of the former Cape Colony.

Figure 5.5 *Map of the Cape West Coast drawn after the 1761 expedition into the interior (Source: Brommer 2009)*

Hessequas + kloov

"Hessekwas" (26.10.1678, C. 13), also in *Essequas Kloof* and *Hijsiquas Cloof* is derived from the Khoekhoen clan name *Hessequas* 'Hesse-men', with *Hesse, Heuse, Hosa, Hiska* probably the name of a former captain (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:547).

Gamtoos + rivier

"Gamtouer" (11.3.1710, C. 27) is derived from the Khoekhoen clan name *Gamtouers* and Dutch *-rivier* (Eng. river). The clan used to live in the vicinity of this river. In the chronicle of Ensign August Beutler's expedition into the interior in 1752 the form *Gamtausch* was used (VC 27). In 1770 the Gamtoos River became the eastern border of the Cape Colony (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:366; Raper 1987:171).

Outeniquas + land

"Houteniquase" was first recorded on 31.3.1690 (C. 12). In 1668, Hieronymous Cruse was the first European explorer who penetrated Outeniqualand with its dense indigenous forest. The name is probably derived from the Khoekhoen words //*ho-di* + *teni/tani/dani* + *qua* meaning 'bags laden with honey carried by men/people' (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:983).

4.3 The place name is a compound consisting of a Khoekhoen and Dutch component

Leeu-Gamka

It is derived from Dutch/Afr. *leeu* 'lion' + Khoekhoen -*gam*- from the click sound -*ka*. The name is tautological, since both elements mean 'lion'. At present it is the name of a village at the confluence of the Leeu and Gamka rivers in the Western Cape (Raper 1987:293).

4.4 The Khoekhoen place name or phrase is translated into Dutch

Riviersonderend

The toponym is often written as "Rivier Sonder Eijnde" in the documents (11.3.1710, C. 27). According to Raper (1987:468-469) it is a translation of Khoekhoen *Kannakamkanna* with the same meaning, namely 'river without end', a name apparently given because it was difficult to locate its source among the many headwaters and tributaries. According to Raper, Möller and Du Plessis (2014:437) the name is of Bushman origin.

5. PLACE NAME TREASURES ALONG THE ROUTE

Whenever the Company decided to send an expedition into the interior to explore and map the region, a chronicle was kept during the journey to report every detail of interest along the route. One such occasion was the expedition of 1689.

5.1 Ensign Isak Schrijver leading the way

On Wednesday, 6 April 1689 Isak Schrijver and his men, consisting of one sergeant and 20 soldiers, returned to the Castle after their "landtocht" (Eng. expedition into the interior) of three months, bringing with them more than a thousand head of

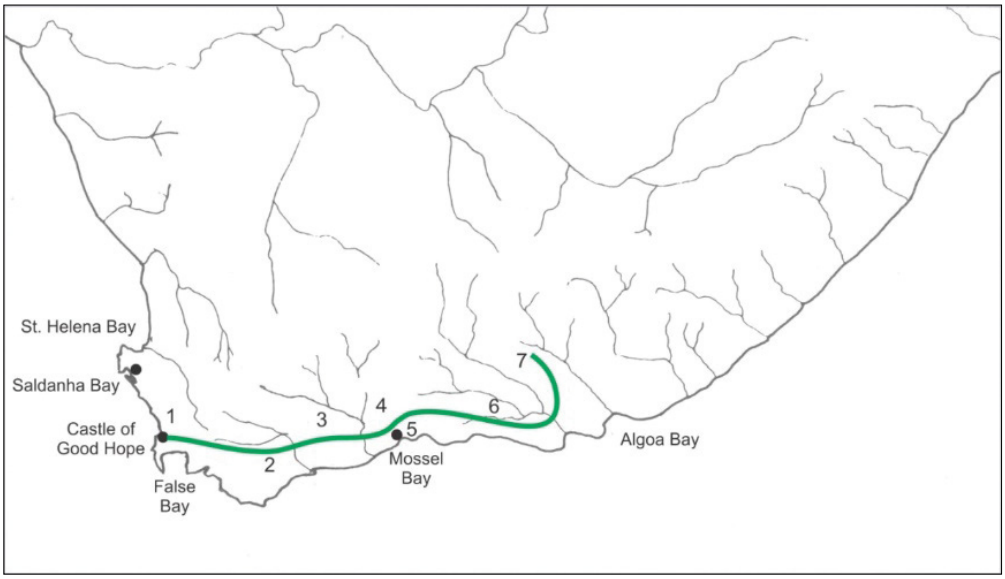
cattle traded with a number of Khoekhoen groups. Their main objective was to reach the kraal of the legendary chief Haikon (also "Haijkon" and other spelling variants) of the Inquaas where they obtained a large number of livestock. Although it was locally accepted that the legendary chieftain Inqua Komsakou was the King of Monomotapa at the time (4.2.1687, NA 10714), the suggestion by Nienaber (1980:562-563) that Inqua Komsakou had already died before Schrijver reached Inkwasland and was succeeded by Haikon is proven to be true, as the Dutch met with the latter in person.

On his return Schrijver submitted his journal (1689:155-217, VC 12) covering the period from January to April. When reading through this report, at least three main topics of interest can be distinguished, namely a wealth of place names all along the route, the names of the Khoekhoen captains visited, and eventually the arrival of the Dutch at the Inquas kraal where they met chieftain Haikon.

Schrijver and his men visited the following Khoekhoen captains during their expedition:

- The first was the Sousequas captain Dorha, also known by his Dutch name Claas, at "Knoflooks Caraal".
- At the Duijvenhok (presently known as Heidelberg, a town in the South Cape) the expedition met the Hessequas clan and acquainted themselves with the much respected chieftain Goukou, also called the "Oude Heer" and "Sire", both titles of honour.
- Near Mossel Bay they encountered members of the Attaquas clan who told them that they were four days' journey away from the kraal of the Inquaas chieftain, captain Haikon.

The map below (Figure 5.6) roughly indicates the route to the Inqua chief Haikon according to the description of the chronicle, confirmed by using present day place names along the way as points of reference, such as Riversonderend, the Hessekwa and Gourits rivers, Mossel Bay and Attakwas Kloov.



1 Castle of Good Hope; 2 Riviersonderend; 3 Hessequas; 4 Gouriquas; 5 Mossel Bay; 6 Attaquas; 7 Inquas

Figure 5.6 *Route of the expedition to the Inqua chief Haikon (adapted from Nienaber 1989)*

The list of place names contained in the chronicle gives an accurate description of the route and is an excellent example of the value of a geographical description of the landscape, the presence of indigenous clans, the influence of Westerners in the giving of place names, and the rich variety of Khoekhoen place names, of which some were translated into Dutch in the journal.

The toponyms are listed chronologically as they were diarised, but in this study categorised according to three main place-naming preferences, in a number of cases supplying the reason for giving a specific name to a certain location.

5.1.1 Chronological list of Dutch place names

The expedition members seemed to be familiar with the following 37 Dutch place names as these must have existed at the time and had been named previously, while six were coined en route.

> *En route to Haikon, departing from the Castle*: *January* 4: De Kuijl; 5: Hottentots Holland; 7: Palmitrivier; 8: Knoflooks Caraal; 9: Houdhok, Swarterivier; 11: Calabascoraal; 12: Teigerhoek; 13: Aloeberg, Gansecoral; 14: Breederivier, Kliprivier, Klipveld, Bakkelijrivier and Bakkeleijsplaats; 15: Qualbergscasteel;

16: Buffelsjagt; 17: Duijtsche (Duijven) Hok; 18: Dieperivier; 19: Groote Palmitrivier; 20: Armoedweijde (new name); 21: Mosselbaaij; 22: Brandveld (new name); 24: Krommerivier; 28: Langekloov, valleij de Goede Hoop; 29: Schraleweide (new name); 31: Captainsrivier. *February* 26: Vervallen Casteel (new name).

Return route to the Castle: *March* 2: Krommekloov; 8: Vijgen Coraal; 9: Dubbletjescoraal; 11: Noorwegen (new name); 22: Dieperivier; Regsplaats (new name); 23: Wolvsjagt. *April* 1: Hooggebergte.

For each 'new' place the reason for naming it as such was provided in the chronicle (see English translation in Table 5.2):

Table 5.2 *Chronological list of Dutch place names*

Newly coined name	Reason for naming
Armoedsweijde	[We] camped along a river with brackish water and little grazing, therefore we called the place *Armoedsweijde* (Eng. poor grazing).
Brandveld	[We] reached a large plain which we called *Brandveld* (Eng. burnt veld) because the Hessequas Hottentots who were forbidden to follow the expedition, set the veld on fire.
Schraleweide	[We] reached a river with little water and sparse grazing, we therefore called it *Schraleweide* (Eng. sparse grazing).
Noorwegen	Due to the strong south to east wind and heavy cold Schrijver called the place *Noorwegen* (Eng. Norway).
Regsplaats	At sunrise we left the Dieperivier and after we had marched half a mile the Hottentots sent out by Goukou brought one of the 4 thieves who had stolen our cattle and sheep, the others escaped. The prisoner was an old man who went with us and the Oude Heer till we reached the river called Anhau by the Hottentots, where we set up camp. Soon afterwards chieftain Goukou gave the order to punish the thief according to their custom by killing him with sticks. We then called this place *Regtplaats* (Eng. place of justice).

Bakkeleijrivier and *Bakkeleijsplaats*

The origin of these two place names in the chronicle is difficult to determine, in the sense that *bakkeleij* had actually been derived from Bahasa Indonesia, at the time called Malay, *bekkelahi* from *berkelahi* 'to fight' (Van Wyk 2003:34). The word must have been used by the VOC officials at the Cape in those early years already, although the following reference

implies that the Khoekhoen had used it before having made contact with the Dutch at the Cape settlement: On 27 February 1679 it was recorded in the Resolutions of the Cape Council of Policy that the Hessequa clan called a particular place "d' Backeleijplaats" (C. 14:17-18). It is not clear how this word became part of the indigenous vocabulary and was used by them.

5.1.2 Khoekhoen names translated into Dutch

The place names *Rivier Sonder Eijnde* (see 4.4) and *Botterivier* were Dutch translations of the original indigenous toponyms.

- *Botterivier* is today known as *Botrivier*, with *bot-* being derived from *botter* ('butter'); it is a translation of Khoekhoen *Gouga*. It is said to be so called because early in the 18th century people from the Cape settlement went there to obtain butter from the Khoekhoen, who had their kraals in that area because the grazing was good (Raper 1987:69).

5.1.3 Hybrid place names: Khoekhoen clan name + Dutch component

Hessequa (in *Hessequas + kloov/craal*) (see 4.2.2), *Gauris* (in *Gauris + rivier*) and *Gauka* (in *Gauka + rivier*).

- *Gauris*: According to Raper (1987:186) the name is Khoekhoen and the river is generally thought to be named after the indigenous clan who lived there. Alternatively, it could mean 'diarrhoea river', from the mud and debris deposited by floodwaters in the area.
- *Gauka*: It is the Khoekhoen name of the Vet River at Riversdale in the South Cape. It means 'fat river', which implies that the Afrikaans name Vetrivier is a translation thereof (Raper 1987:174).

5.2 Chronological list of Khoekhoen names with or without accompanying Dutch translations provided in the text

This sub-section (Table 5.3) lists the indigenous place names in the chronicle. The last column explains the toponym according to and enriched by secondary sources of research, such as linguistic interpretation with quotes from findings in primary sources and research publications, etymological outcomes, and relevant dictionaries.

The references quoted in the chronicle clearly indicate that secondary sources on Khoekhoen toponymy resulted in producing extremely important linguistic material

on indigenous place names and contributed largely to a better understanding of the meaning, origin and recording of these names. These sources not only confirm the meaning of the Dutch translations in the chronicle as being correct, but also provide a wealth of geographic information for each toponym explained.

Table 5.3 *Chronological list of Khoekhoen names*

Date of entry	Khoekhoen name in chronicle	Dutch translation in bold or none	Explanation in secondary sources of Khoekhoen
En route to Haikon, departing from the Castle			
January			
16	Exhaeringh	**Drooge Rivier**	
30	Koukou	**Steekdoorns-rivier**	Also Kaukou. Etym.: *kou* 'thorn tree', *kau* 'prick' (of a thorn). Small river flowing east of Oudtshoorn and a tributary of the Olifants River (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:673-674).
February			
1	Kamnasij	river, no meaning in chronicle	Also Kammanassie. Etym.: *kamma* 'river, water' + *nasi* 'washable'; in other words, water where one can wash/clean oneself (*ibid*:630-633).
1	Xauga	valley, no meaning in chronicle	Also Pauga. Xauga is the old name for Buffels Drift on the Kammanassie River. Etym.: *xau* 'buffalo' + Nama *-xa* 'abundant'; in other words, a drift/river with a large number of buffalo (*ibid*:985-986).
2	Humtata	place, no meaning in chronicle	No other information
3	Thuata	**Oliphantsrivier**	Also Tuhata, a tributary of the Gourits River, is the indigenous name translated into Dutch as Olifants River. Etym.: *thua-* 'elephant' + *-ta* 'river' (*ibid*:1026-1027).
3	Naukoti	**Roodzand**	Etym.: *nau* 'red' + *koti* 'sand' (*ibid*:877).
4	Quanti	**Dagkloov**	Old name of Suurbergkloof, poort between Uniondale and Willowmore. Etym.: probably derived from ǀǀ*Goa* = 'daybreak' (*ibid*:992).

Date of entry	Khoekhoen name in chronicle	Dutch translation in bold or none	Explanation in secondary sources of Khoekhoen
5	Naudau	cloof, no meaning in chronicle	Also Nadow. Etym.: *nau* 'white, shiny' + *dau / dow* 'kloof, poort, road' (*ibid*:875). (See place name Tsao (Nau?) *tsao-b* 'ash'; compare *Tsao-b* = Milky Way.) (*ibid*:1046).
5	Kxaki	**Soutwater / Souterivier**	Salt River
6	Kalij	river, no meaning in chronicle	Also Karee (River). The scribe of the chronicle used L instead of R, from *karee* trees *Rhus* spp. *R. Lancea* & *R. viminalis* derived from Khoenkhoen *!(k)are-b* (*ibid*:650, 653).
7	Udiganga	place, no meaning in chronicle	Also Udigauga. Name of the kraal of the Khoekhoen captain, situated at the Kariega River between Willowmore and Aberdeen. Meaning unknown, probably referring to salt as in Soutrivier (Salt River) (*ibid*:1076-1077)
7	Kalniga, also Kalinga	river, no meaning in chronicle	Also Kariega. Situated in the district of Willowmore. One explanation is given by Mossop (often quoted by Nienaber & Raper 1977a; 1977b): Probably derived from *!airib* (*qairib*) 'hartebeest' + *-xa* 'abundant'; in other words, a river with an large number of hartebeest. Nienaber and Raper (*ibid*:659) point out that 'hartebeest' is *//khama*, not *!a(i) ri*. Perhaps 'Steenbok river', *!arib* in Nama.
Return route to Castle with some new place names			
March			
6	Skumsaij (Ikunsaij)	**Steenrivier**	No other information.
7	Caarte	small river, no meaning in chronicle	Also Kartse/Kaertse from Nama *karatse* 'rocky', 'rocky, gravelly river'. Probably *Kartse*, see Swellengrebel (1776) reporting about the "Leeuwen Rivier ... Breede Rivier door de Kars Rivier" (*ibid*:665).

Date of entry	Khoekhoen name in chronicle	Dutch translation in bold or none	Explanation in secondary sources of Khoekhoen
11	Bikama	**Melkrivier**	Also Bikamma. Tributary of Gourits River south of Oudtshoorn. Now called Klip River. Etym.: *bi* 'milk' + Nama */gami* 'water, river'. Probably whitish colour of the water, reminiscent of milk (*ibid*:261-262).
12	Hore	**Tweelingsrivier**	Mossop (1931) refers to the place where the Saffraan and the Moeras Rivers merge (district Oudtshoorn). Survives in the place name Horre's Drift across the Breede near its union with the Sonder End River. Etym.: *hore-b* 'twin' (*ibid*:570).
17	Nungor	river, no meaning in chronicle	Mossop (1931) refers to the Nauga River, Heuningneskloof 'Honey Comb's Kloof', Mossel Bay. Etym.: *nungor* 'merry, cheerful' (Dutch 'lustig'), probably referring to the river where many honeycombs were to be found (*ibid*:939).
18	Arna	river, no meaning in chronicle	Now called Droërivier (Dry River), Riversdal, north of Albertinia. Probably derived from Nama */ari* 'dry out' (German 'austrocknen (Wasser)') + */nâ* = 'dry out', referring to a dessicated riverlet (Nienaber & Raper 1977a:215).
19, 20	Abna(s)	river, no meaning in chronicle	Now the Vals River, tributary of the Gourits River. Derived from *≠ab* 'false, deceptive', */ab* 'river' (Raper, Möller & Du Plessis 2014:4).
20	Gauka	river, no meaning in chronicle	Now called Grootvetrivier, near Riversdal. Etym.: *gauka* 'fat, butter' (Nienaber & Raper 1977a:395).
22	Anhau	river, no meaning in chronicle	No other information
23	Gamkana	river, no meaning in chronicle	Now called Hartebeesterivier, south of Zuurbraak, a farm name in the Heidelberg district. Etym.: Derived from Nama *//kham(a)* 'hartebeest' + *//gama-* 'river' (*ibid*:357).
31	Tirri / Tirrij	small river, no meaning in chronicle	No other information

5.3 Living history

A large number of the place names mentioned in the VOC Resolutions and Journals are still used in the Western and Northern Cape, while some may only exist in the memory maps captured and treasured by oral history. There are many publications on Karoo Khoekhoen landscapes by ethnologists and archaeologists.

According to Mr Poem Mooney (2019) of Oudtshoorn, who is an Attaqua captain/chief (Figure 5.7), all the indigenous toponyms mentioned in Schrijver's Chronicle still exist. He and his people of Khoekhoen descent are familiar with these place names and their meaning, even though many of the names do not appear in modern maps and are only part of their oral history.

Figure 5.7: *Attaqua captain, Mr Poem Mooney, with his latest book, "Stories uit Lap: Die ontstaan van Prins Albert". Photo: Marlene Malan*

6. GARMIN MAPSOURCE AS TOPONYMIC AID

Place names mentioned in Schrijver's Journal and the Garmin map for the Bredasdorp area were selected for comparison. The reason for choosing Bredasdorp is because of its ideal location as it is situated in the region covered by the expedition, with the Klip and Caartse (Kars) rivers both mentioned in the chronicle and the Garmin map of the area (Figure 5.8).

A search in Garmin Mapsource was most rewarding, with quite a number of indigenous place names other than the Kars (*Caartse* in the chronicle) mapped in an area west, east and north of the town. Many modern name signs along the northern tarred road from the N2 highway to Bredasdorp refer to place names of indigenous origin.

6.1 Tracing indigenous place names

6.1.1 Names of locations

Garmin Mapsource traced the following indigenous names in the area (Table 5.4):

Table 5.4 *Garmin Mapsource names of locations*

Legend	Name	Explanation in secondary sources
5a 5b	Kykoedie	Situated next to Hotnotskraal, also *Kykoede*, to the west and south west. The present farm Kykoedie is on the Soutrivier, adjacent to the farm Blaauw Klip. It is a compound meaning 'a place with large stones' consisting of *ky* 'large' and */kuidi* 'stones' (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:814). *Kykoedie* was reported by Duminy in 1797 as " ... de plaas genamt koieijkoude geleege aan de blouwe klip" (... the farm called Koeijkoude, adjacent to Blouwe Klip).
13	Koranna	It refers to a clan name, already reported in the Jan van Riebeeck period (1652-1662) as Gorachouqua (see 2.4). Etym.: Chieftain *!Kora* or *!Gora* + *-gu* 'men/people', in other words 'men/people of Kora' (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:764-765).
15	Komgha	Situated between Bredasdorp and Caledon. Although *Komgha* refers to a right tributary of the Kei River in the Eastern Cape, the name also appears in the Bredasdorp area. Etym: Nama *≠goma* 'clay, mud' + *-xa* 'abundance', in other words 'place rich in clay/ mud' (Nienaber & Raper 1977b:750-751).

Contrary to these indigenous names, the first part of *Goereesoe*, a wind farm near Swellendam, Western Cape Province (South African Heritage Resources Agency 2013) was named after Goeree in South Holland (Wikiwand 2020), while the place name Soe, in this instance *-soe* as second part of the toponymic compound and its meaning could not be traced in any consulted sources (see Tables 5.5: 9a, 9b and 9c).

6.1.2 Names of rivers

Garmin Mapsource traced the following indigenous names of rivers in the area of which only *Soe/Zoe* (see *-soe* in *Goereesoe*) could not be found in secondary sources (see Table 5.5):

Table 5.5: *Garmin Mapsource names of rivers*

Legend	Place name	Explanation in secondary sources
6, 7	Quassadie/ Kwassadie river	*Quassadie/Kwassadie* consists of Nama *quassa-* from *xoasao*, which refers to the cheetah, literally meaning 'the painted runner', 'the etched runner' and *-di/-ti* indicating either the feminine gender or genitive form, translated as 'Tigress River' or 'River of the Tigers' (Nienaber & Raper 1980:688-689; Raper 2018:107-110). The Quassadie River was known as *Tijgerrivier*, 'tiger river' (see *Tierkloof* (1) x *Luipaardkloof* (8) on screenshot). The Dutch word *tijger* was colloquially used in VOC times to refer to both leopards and cheetahs, which indicates that cheetahs formerly occurred in the Western Cape, in this case the Overberg. Nienaber (1963:480) refers to Beutler's 1752 journal, quoting the place name "*Gosacha* anders Tijgerrivier".
11	Hessekwas River	See Schrijver's Chronicle (4.2.2).
9a, 9b, 9c	Soe-/Zoe in Klein-Soe, Groot-Zoe and the Soerivier	Not found in secondary sources or on the Internet; it therefore remains uncertain whether or not it could be of indigenous origin.

The screenshot in Figure 5.8 indicates all the indigenous place names identified in the Bredasdorp area:

Numbered clockwise with indigenous names underlined: 1 Tierkloof; 2 Klipdale; 3 Blaauwklip; 4 Hotnotskraal; 5a and 5b Kykoedie; 6 Quassadie; 7 Kwassiedie; 8 Luipaardskloof; 9a Klein-Soe; 9b Soe; 9c Groot-Zoe; 10 Hartas; 11 Hessekwas River; 12 Goereesoe; 13 Koranna; 14 Kamanasiekraal; 15 Komgha

Figure 5.8 *Garmin Mapsource screenshot of the Bredasdorp area rich in indigenous place names*

6.2 The Kars River

The Kars River (Figure 5.9) refers to the Caartse/Caarse River recorded in the chronicle. According to Garmin Mapsource the river has its source in the Salmonsdam Nature Reserve near the Appelsdriftdam, Swellendam (blue dot on map). South east of Bredasdorp it is known as the Kars River marsh stretching down to the farm Zeekoeivlei ('Hippo marsh'), from where the water gathers again, then merges and forms a tributary

of the Heuningnes River. The latter eventually enters the sea at the De Mond Nature Reserve (red dot on map).

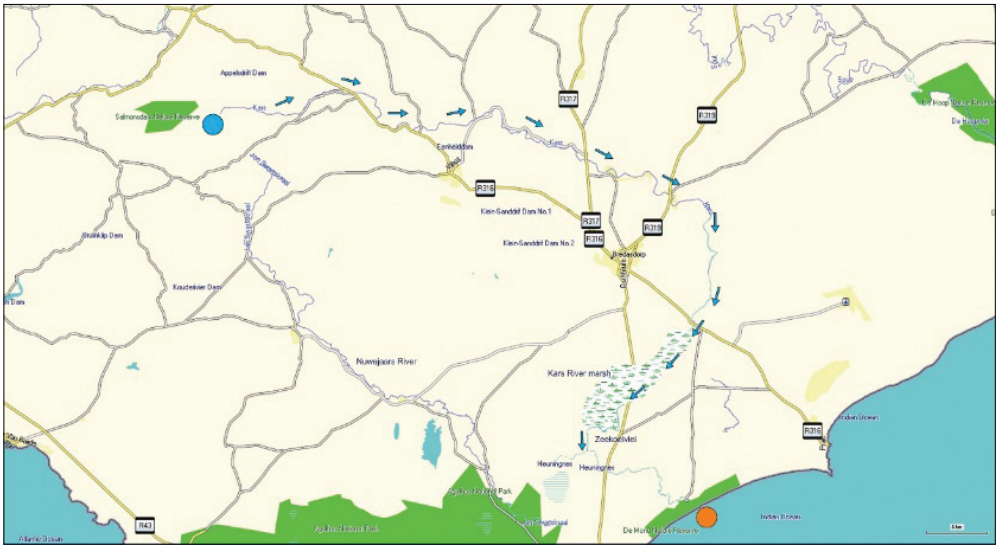


Figure 5.9 *Garmin Mapsource screenshot indicating the flow of the Kars River (see arrows)*

7. CONCLUSION

During the 144 years of VOC governance at the Cape the names of indigenous places, clans, captains and chieftains were recorded thousands of times in the Company documents. All information concerning the indigenous people was written down and regarded as being of value for the VOC and the Cape governance.

The VOC records contributed tremendously to the conservation of the indigenous place name legacy by establishing this information not only in writing but also imprinting it on the memory of the newcomers to the Colony. These names have been kept alive for hundreds of years even to this day and in this manner have been complementing oral history for more than three centuries.

Topocadastral base maps providing detailed information, such as used by Garmin Mapsource, reveal the existence of a large number of indigenous place names that are not mentioned in the VOC documents or mapped by past cartographers, but are still used by local farming communities and descendants of the indigenous groups alike, whether these names appear on sign-posts along the road or are only known as farm names.

When considering the large number of indigenous and other place names in the VOC documents, in particular chronicles recorded during expeditions, these documents as primary source material can in all instances serve as the foundation or first layer of information in follow-up studies and future research programmes. Modern mapping technology could play an important role in the dissemination and conservation process.

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ATTRITION OF INDIGENOUS PLACE NAMES AMONG THE BASOTHO

LOSS OF HISTORY AND CULTURE

Palesa Khotso
Department of African Languages and Literature,
National University of Lesotho, Lesotho
katjepe22@gmail.com

'Mampoi Chele
Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages,
University of South Africa, South Africa
poichele@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Though name scholars emphasise that place names are signs of identity and social cohesion and by implication stress the need for them to be preserved and conserved, there are still those societies where place names are not appraised in this manner. The Basotho are among these societies. There are no official place name signposts in Lesotho towns and villages. The lack of such signposts in villages and towns contributes to the convention of local citizens and non-local citizens in re-naming places. Consequently, replacing one name with another eradicates the original place name and subsequently the history and culture behind such toponym. Raper (2014:16) indicates that many place names survive only in an "altered and adapted form". In order to preserve and improve indigenous place names of the Basotho, it is essential to publicise such names on signposts. Lack of publicising indigenous place names on public signposts results in names that fall out of use. This study focuses on place names at Roma in Lesotho. At Roma, Khutlong sa Tloutle ('gorge of come and hear'), there are no signposts indicating place names, like in almost all towns and villages in Lesotho. As a result, indigenous place names have been eradicated together with the history and the culture they carried. Data for this study was collected through interviews with individuals and groups. This study proposes improvement strategies to be employed to rescue indigenous place names that are facing extinction with an adverse impact on the history and the culture of society at

large. Therefore, this study recommends that there should be place name signposts at Roma to promote preservation and retention of history and culture. The same could also be applicable in other towns and villages in Lesotho.

Keywords: attrition, Basotho, culture, place names, socio-onomastics

1. INTRODUCTION

Most places in Lesotho do not appear as place names on public signposts where they are made known to everyone: local community, non-local communities and tourists. It becomes very difficult to know the name of places unless the inquisitor finds out from the informant. Whether the informant provides the correct or even incorrect name for such place does not matter, the inquisitor will use whatever name he/she is given. This use concludes that if the inquisitor can be corrected by other informants who might indicate that the initial informant was wrong, the name initially provided by the first informant will disappear. Failure to have a platform where place names are publicly displayed has therefore resulted in a number of setbacks for the indigenous toponym of Lesotho. One prominent impediment is the replacement of original place names. Original names, due to their indigenous character, have proved to be capable of conserving aspects of the history and culture of communities. Neethling (2005) buttresses this view by stating that naming is linked to the culture of people. Hauser (2010) and Kerfoot (2009) concur with Neethling by indicating that geographical names have a role of intangible cultural heritage.

However, as they get replaced and eradicated, the history and culture associated with them is also exterminated. In the process, this obstruction degrades place naming in Lesotho. For Mamvura, Mutasa and Pfukwa (2017), place naming is one significant way in which people imbue the landscape with meaning. Roma town is therefore an interesting place in Lesotho with regard to the re-naming of places. According to the webpage Oz Outback (2020), Roma has seminaries, various novitiates, a hospital, nursing college, a number of primary and high schools and the National university of Lesotho. Roma has a broad valley surrounded by sandstone cliffs. This landscape makes Roma attractive to non-locals and tourists. The name Roma came as a mockery by other denominations referring to it as a Roman thing, as it was a place where Roman missionaries were staying. Roma has a rich history of the Catholic Church in Lesotho where, till today, pilgrims flock. Roma is also referred to as the Catholic Capital of Lesotho. Local and non-local people have developed this area. They have built guest houses, businesses and there are

motor-cyclists around the area. Therefore, this study surmises that Roma needs to be earmarked for the conservation of the Basotho's history and their culture.

The name *Roma* in itself constitutes a replacement of an earlier name, *Khutlong sa Tloutle* ('the gorge of *Tloutle*'). In turn, *Khutlong sa Tloutle* has supplanted the original name, *ha Maama*. /*Ha*/ denotes the place of chief Maama. According to Khotso (2014) the attachment of the place morpheme /*ha*/ indicates that the place belongs to the named chief. Khotso (*ibid*:92) further indicates that /*ha*/ is a reference to the Basotho custom, "… according to which geographical names are derived from Basotho chiefs." With the removal of /*ha*/ the custom is lost. According to Makoae (2019a), the name *Tloutle* emanates from the fact that Moshoeshoe I established and settled the first Catholic missionaries in 1862 at this place after establishing the Evangelical missionaries at Makhoarane (Morija) in 1833. For twenty-nine years, the Basotho made frequent visits to Morija to learn about Christianity. When the Roman Catholic missionaries arrived, the Basotho started to visit the Catholic missionaries at Maama place. Those who came earlier summoned others to come and hear the word of God as interpreted by the Catholic priests. This resulted in the name *Tloutle* ('come and hear'). The name *Tloutle* is constructed from the verb /*tloho*/ which is equivalent to the word /*come*/; /*utle*/ stems from the verb /*utloa*/ ('hear') in the present and /*utloe*/ in the past. This place name seems to have undergone elisions. The /*o*/, which is used to form /*tloe*/, has disappeared to accommodate the Sesotho phonological processes. Consequently, the resultant name is not /*Tloutloe*/ but /*Tloutle*/. Besides, the first people to write Sotho were the missionaries who first listened to the word and wrote it down according to what they heard. The name *Tloutle* and its history is at the verge of disappearing as this place is popularly known as Roma, associated with the Catholic mission, seminary and university which started as Pius XII College. *Tloutle* is currently popularly associated with the eastern part of *Roma* while *ha Maama* is known as the southern part of Roma. The central part of Roma bears the name Roma, which has superseded the two predecessor names, *Ha Maama* and *Tloutle*. The name *Roma* and the other names of the villages at this place are not displayed on the signposts and as a result they are replaced by other names that resulted from contemporary events, business people and popular figures that came up with thriving businesses and projects. Previous names still exist although they are no longer prominently associated with the people that first arrived. This is also emphasized by Mamvura *et al*. (2017:39), who suggest that place names reflect aspects of the wider experiences of a particular people who once lived in a place.

Place names are markers which identify one place from the other. They are very important as they have a referential function (Neethling 2005). In order for place names to survive

they need to be elevated into another level as already indicated earlier in this study. Such a level can involve placing them on signposts to make them accessible to users. The use of signposts can promote them as place names which supersede other names derived from billboards. For example, the names such as Cooler and Yeats, Baas Jane and Frazers were first written on billboards close to businesses they advertised. The Basotho adopted these billboard names and started referring to places where these billboards were placed by the names reflected on the billboards. This demonstrates the powerful role that publicising plays. Khotso (2012) indicates that at the place in the southern part of Thaba-Tseka where Cooler and Yeats brought about a general dealership and placed a billboard advertising their business, people used this name on the billboard as a referent name for the place – *ha Jeitse* (At Yeats' place). This kind of re-naming not only changed the name of this place but also changed the sense of ownership of the local people. For Jordan (2016), place names mark a community territory and also support the ties between local community and place. Therefore, this study urges that Roma place names be publicised in order to promote them. What is publicising? Generally, publicising refers to making something to be widely known. Signposts are materials that are used to place names where it is easy to access and gain the benefit of publicity. In this study publicising place names is essential as it will promote them and minimise chances of substituting one name by another.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical approach employed by this study is Socio-onomastics. Scholars such as Neethling (2005) and Khotso (2014) have used this approach in their studies of names. According to Neethling (*ibid*), onomastics is interdisciplinary in nature. Neethling continues that it is therefore rewarding to combine approaches when dealing with onomastics. Neethling utilises the socio-onomastics approach when describing and interpreting Xhosa names and names within the Xhosa socio-cultural context. Khotso (*ibid*), in a similar manner, uses the same approach to analyse place names among the Basotho nation. Khotso justifies her use of the socio-onomastic approach by referring to the works of Hough (2006) who indicates that names include a logical perspective in a social context. In the absence of a social context, such a study will reflect a significant misunderstanding. Khotso (2014) indicates that in Lesotho, place naming is effectively practiced by the whole community as naming is a social activity. The present study adopts a socio-onomastic theoretical approach because it is based on social concepts. In order to study a concept in a society, a social theoretical approach is required. This study is interested in the place names among the Basotho at Roma. In order to understand

place naming in this society, it had to employ a social theory. Through a social theory the researcher would be able to interact with the community and find out their indigenous place names; both indigenous and current place names. The researcher would also find out about the culture and history behind each name from the local people and the non-local ones. In addition, Sekhukhune (1998) suggests that in order to understand concepts in a particular community, one should first know its culture. Sekhukhune (*ibid*) argues that it is generally maintained by both sociologists and sociolinguists that the knowledge of such culture supplements the analysist's insight. So, the Basotho place names are embedded in Sesotho culture, and therefore the Sesotho culture is worth understanding in this paper. According to Kerfoot (2009), place names reflect distinctive historical and cultural authenticity. Therefore, the employment of a social theory was relevant for this study. The social theoretical approach in this study is merged with onomastics. The onomastics approach was deemed to be of importance to this study as the researcher intends to understand the semantics, history and culture behind original place names and the current place names at Roma, with the intention to propose their publicity on the signposts in order to curb the supplanting problem. This study finds onomastics theory relevant as it provides critics with aspects to employ in order to unravel the semantic, historical, and cultural connections of a place name. Therefore, the application of a mixed theory in this study is appropriate. The socio-onomastics in this study is thus employed to:

- find out indigenous and current names at Roma;
- explore the social constructions of place names;
- disentangle the history of the indigenous and current names;
- understand the culture behind both indigenous and current names; and
- understand the trend of toponym use among the Basotho.

3. METHODOLOGY

The present study employed a combined quantitative-qualitative approach. According to Myers and Avision (2009), qualitative research method is the best method for researching social and cultural phenomena, since it is concerned with understanding people and the social cultural contexts within which they live, their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs. Myers and Avision (*ibid*) indicate that qualitative approach is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. The present study is basically on place naming which is a socio-cultural phenomenon among the Basotho nation, therefore the

qualitative approach is relevant. This study also employed a quantitative approach which was used to work on a certain number of place names at Roma out of the many that are available. According to Punch (1998), one of the reasons for merging qualitative and quantitative approaches is that qualitative research complements the choice of subject for a qualitative investigation.

For data gathering, the researcher conducted an interview with older and younger local members, as well as non-local people between the ages of 18 to 70. The criterion used to select this sample was whether or not participants knew old and new place names at Roma. Data was collected at Roma. The approach involved collection of place names by means of unstructured interviews. The participants were selected on the basis of their knowledge on the notion of interest and their willingness and openness to participate. The researcher sought permission from respective participants and only visited those who were willing to participate in the interview. The researcher made appointments guided by the participant's convenient time. There was no danger anticipated in this research which could hinder the researcher from visiting the participants in their homes. The visits (which promoted cultural setting) were meant to increase the level of trust from the participants.

The researcher also organised interviews with Roma drivers and conductors who were willing to participate in the study where the researcher intended to collect the names by oral presentations. The researcher used unstructured informal interviews and open-ended questions as she wanted in-depth responses on the notion of interest, which includes only the old place names and the current place names at Roma. According to Rapeane-Mathonsi, Khotso, Mohlomi and Possa (2009), the advantage of using open-ended questions is that it gives the researcher an opportunity to allow respondents to express their view at length.

The researcher conducted the interviews in Sotho as participants were Basotho. In order to overcome any possible language barriers, she used the Sotho language. According to Feldman, Bell and Berger (2003:54), the use of a language understood by the participants increases their level of participation. Feldman *et al*. (*ibid*) indicate that participants feel comfortable and relaxed in an atmosphere where questions are asked in their language and participants are free to exercise their linguistic competence as they respond. The researcher was also aware that the culture and heritage of the people is maintained by their language. Through the use of native language, the interaction between the researcher and the participants was easy and friendly.

Telephone calls were also used to collect data where it was not easy to meet the participants due to time constraints. The calls were made at the participant's convenient time. The participants were guided by questions related to the notion of interest. The researcher was also careful not to allow irrelevant information. Furthermore, WhatsApp was also used to collect data and responses were transcribed later. Only responses which were related to the notion of interest were transcribed.

The analysis of data is based on the principles of the socio-onomastics approach. This base is used by name scholars to understand the semantics, history and culture of place names. Neethling (2005) states that a name is a linguistic sign and as such can be studied from a linguistic point of view just like any other linguistic sign. He continues that a name can be scrutinised phonologically, morphologically, semantically and syntactically. Apart from that, Neethling indicates that names can also be studied in the literary field, investigating the names of characters as well as places in fiction. He also shows that it is important to study names in other disciplines such as history. This study focuses on the place names given by a community at Roma and how they changed these names. Therefore, the socio-onomastics approach is employed in this study to understand the naming and re-naming processes at Roma with the intention of proposing the use of signposts to curb the superseding problem of place names at this place.

4. ANALYSIS

It is important to indicate that the toponymic naming pattern of the Basotho is generally based on their chiefs' names and their observations of the features of the landscape. As Raper (2014) has highlighted on the naming patterns of indigenous place names in a multilingual society in South Africa, that the successive wave of place names was similarly influenced, and that the same place-naming pattern is observable among the Basotho. Much as their place names continue to change, what influences such changes remains the same; they do not comply with the existing name. Instead they derive a name from their observations in that place. In line with this view, Jordan (2016:28) states "… place names [are] playing an important role in our perception and representation of the environment." For instance, among the Basotho, there is history behind each place name: both traditional and contemporary. The analysis of this study is presented in four categories which became evident in the analysis are:

1) Geographical features (Table 6.1)
2) Events (Table 6.2)

3) People's status (Table 6.3)

4) Miscellaneous (Table 6.4)

Therefore, this part of the study discusses the findings of the study as follows:

Table 6.1 *Current place names derived from geographical features*

Original name	Source	Current name	Source
1.Ha Ramonamatsa	Old citizens	Mafikeng/Mafikeng 1	Both old and new citizens
2. Ha Motoko	Old citizens	Mafikeng/ Mafikeng 2	Both old and new citizens
3. Ha Lehloba	Old citizens	Mafikeng 1	Both new and old citizens
4.Ha Bakha	Old citizens	Mafikeng	Both old and new citizens
5. Ha Makuta	Old citizens	Ha Ntja	Both old and new citizens
6.Ha 'Mamojela	Old citizens	Posong	Both old and new Citizens

The interpretation of the first four place names as shown in Table 6.1 is that there is an area in Roma which is constituted of small villages clustered close to one another. These villages were originally known as Ha Ramonamatsa, Ha Motoko, and Ha Lehloba. As the re-naming process took place, they adopted the new names Mafikeng 1, Mafikeng 2 and Mafikeng. Names 1 and 2 are place names in the *Roma* town which have been replaced by the current name – Mafikeng. Ha Ramonamatsa and Ha Motoko are places found at the South part of Roma beneath the sandstone cliffs. Ha Ramonamatsa and Ha Motoko, according to Thakaso (2019a) and Makoae (2019a), are places that were under the village herdsmen Ramonamatsa and Motoko who were answerable to Chief Mafefooane Maama. The places *Ha* Ramonamatsa and *Ha* Motoko were consequently named after these herdsmen. In Sotho culture herdsmen have responsibilities such as overseeing the social well-being of the inhabitants by keeping peace and order in the village as well as maintaining and controlling the use of natural resources by the communities. The new citizens re-named this place Mafikeng, which is a new place name derived from the rocks found at these places. Jordan (2016) points out that one of the main functions of place names is to reflect the characteristics of a space and thus the name Mafikeng at Roma justifies this fact (Mafikeng can be translated as 'rocks'; *Lefika* (rock) singular and *mafika* (rocks) plural). Older citizens know that these two villages were named after the indicated herdsmen. However, some new citizens differentiate between the two places by attaching the names of these two herdsmen, Motoko and Ramonamatsa, hence the names Mafikeng *ha* Motoko and Mafikeng *ha* Ramonamatsa. It should be noted that non-locals reside in these villages and they refer to both of these places as Mafikeng

without differentiating between them. They do not know anything about the names *Ramonamatsa* and *Mokoto*, even most taxi drivers and conductors who were asked about these names did not know that such names existed as referents to some parts of *Roma*. Therefore, both these names have become less popular and are being replaced by the geographical name *Mafikeng*. According to inhabitants, the name *Mafikeng,* as already indicated, was derived from rocks at this area. Instead of reviving *Ha* Ramonamatsa and *Ha* Motoko, Mafikeng has lately acquired the number that it is attached to, making it Mafikeng 1 and Mafikeng 2.

Furthermore, this place which is currently known as Mafikeng is originally known as *ha Motoko* and *Ha ramonamatsa*. According to older citizens, there are other people who refer to this place as *ha Bakha*. The component /*Bakha/* refers to an English man who had built an astrology project in the area (the date of his settlement is not recorded). As it has been indicated by Khotso (2012), there is no place-naming policy among the Basotho and local namers commemorate the project owner by bestowing his name onto this place. Although his project stopped some time back and the project buildings are dilapidated and have started to collapse, the name still exists as a reference to this place. Very close to it there is a new project of rental houses named Baffoe which targeted the accommodation-seeking students of the National University of Lesotho. It will not be surprising to hear the namers who use the name of this project re-name this place. The history that these places were under the rule of the two village herdsmen is being eroded. Thakaso (2019a), Makoae (2019a) and Chaolana (2019) agree that these place names are at the edge of disappearing as they were used by the old citizens, the majority of whom have passed on. They further assert that if there are no corrective measures taken, these names will eventually vanish. According to Raper (2012:1), the "United Nations resolutions discourage the changing of place names, since it results in a loss of culture and history ..." Therefore, Roma residents have to use signposts in order to comply with the international conventions.

Another complication came into the picture when the Roman Catholic Church sensitised people on the celebration of a hundred and fifty years since the catholic missionaries settled in the area. According to Ntja-Manka (2020), in 2012 the Roman Catholic Church wrote the number 150 in white and blue paint on the rock at this area now called Mafikeng. As stated earlier, this number marked the number of years since the Catholic church was established in Lesotho. New citizens and non-locals decided to name this area 150. It is evident that the popular use of 150 will phase out the use of Mafikeng if no strategies are put in place to control place naming in Roma.

Furthermore, the names Ha Makuta and 'Mamojela have been replaced by the names Ha Ntja and *Posong* (Post office). According to Chaolana (2019), Makuta was a general dealer who had a supermarket and a clothing shop. The place name *ha* Makuta was a consequence of his business. It should be borne in mind that businesses either have billboards which bear their names or the shop building itself bears the business name. This seems to make it possible for people to access the name and use it. The Makuta business has closed some time ago and opposite to it was a flourishing butchery owned by Mr. Ntja. As there is no signpost indicating the name of this place, namers have bestowed it the name *ha* Ntja. This study surmises that once Ntja loses popularity and someone else comes into the picture, there will be another name for this place. A similar case is observed with the name 'Mamojela. Chaolana (*ibid*) indicates that 'Mamojela was a business woman. However, when she died her beneficiaries were unable to sustain the business and the post office project then replaced the name 'Mamojela. The change of names in this area calls for onomastic theory to understand the history and culture of the Basotho in place naming. The culture of the Basotho in naming places after the chiefs or herdsmen has been eradicated. The discussion in this category has shown how place names are re-named to denote a geographical feature or a popular businessman/woman instead of maintaining the original place names coined after the chief of the area. When place names are derived from business names as shown above, the Basotho culture that maintains those places belonging to their chiefs or herdsmen is being eroded. Jordan (2016) is in agreement with this view by indicating that endonyms express territorial claims.

Table 6.2 *New place names resulting from events*

Original name	Source	Current name	Source
7.Ha Lerata	Old citizens	Mahlanyeng	Old and New citizens
8.Ha Lerata	Old citizens	Thotaneng	Old and new citizens
9.Ha Lerata	Old citizens	Sekoting	Old and new citizens
10.Hata-Butle	Old citizens	Ten house	Old and new citizens
11.Ha Mafefooane	Old citizens and Roma map on google	Thola-tu	Old and new citizens
12. Ha Mafefooane	Old citizens and Roma map on google	Mantša-tlala	Old and new citizens

As Table 6.2 shows, Mahlanyeng, Thotaneng and Sekoting have replaced the place name *Ha* Lerata. Lerata is a herdman of this place who is answerable to Chief Lehloba. According to the older citizens, this place was named after Lehloba. When Lehloba placed

Lerata as a herdman, people changed it to be *ha* Lerata. The name *ha* Lerata is replaced by bestowing names resulting from events and geographical features observable at this place. For example: Mahlanyeng is a name bestowed on this place as a result of the observation that most people residing here come from different parts of Lesotho. They had first come to further their education at the National University of Lesotho but during their four-year study period had decided to buy sites where they built their homes. The name Mahlanya calls for onomastic theory to unravel it culturally. For the Basotho, people who have left their original chiefs and have decided to build their homes in the other chiefs' places are referred to as Mahlanya. In this context *mahlanya* does not refer to a lunatic as per its literal meaning, but it has acquired another meaning. Change of traditional meaning in a place name is also noted by Raper (2014:17) who states that "They also translated some names fully or partially, and sometimes reinterpreted them, imbuing them with a meaning different from the original meaning …". Mahlanyeng is a good example among the Basotho. It has acquired a different meaning from the popular one in this society.

The name *Thotaneng* is another name that has replaced the indigenous name Ha Lerata. Translated, this name carries the meaning of a small plateau. It is derived from the suffixing of /*eng*/ to the noun /t*hota*/ (plateau) in Sotho. The name *Thotaneng* is a result of the landscape of this place. Like many other new place names, *Thotaneng* has erased the Basotho culture that each place belongs to a herdsman or a chief. *Sekoting* is also bestowed as a result of the geographical feature of the place. It means that the place is hollow. In a similar manner it leaves out the herdsman or the chief who owns it.

Ten house is another place name in the Roma town that was bestowed by the inhabitants of this place. It is based on the observation of the ten houses constructed by the first prime minister of Lesotho, Dr. Leabua Jonathan, for his ministers. Some of these were the former ministers: Mr. Makhele, Mr. Sixishe and Mr. Lelala. The name *Ten house* erased the original name Hata-Butle. It is derived from the English language. The use of foreign languages to name places brings foreign norms and customs and form a foreign constituency with a different culture, thus eradicating indigenous ones including the place names. Mamvura *et al*. (2017:39) assert that names are icons of identity, and symbolic representations of a people's memory and belonging. For Raper (2012:1) place name changes also violate language rights. However, the United Nations resolutions recommend that countries where people are multilingual may have more than one name but they must be given equality with officially acknowledged names. For example; Johannesburg is also known as Gauteng, *eJozi, eJwanisberghe*, *eGoli* and eRhawutini

(Raper 2012:3). Nonetheless, in the case of Basotho, much as English is another official language spoken by a sector of the Basotho, when the other name comes up the old one disappears. Lack of a naming policy greatly contributes to this problem. Much as toponymy in the English language represents that English is another language known by the Basotho and it is an official language in Lesotho, its use over the original names eradicates the Basotho sense of identity. Mamvura *et al*. (2017) state that the attachment of racial identities for places was part of the larger process of attaching meaning to places. For instance, the European urban areas built in Zimbabwe were given European names. When Roma residents bestowed the name *Ten house*, they were not aware that they were building the European identity and culture while at the same time erasing the Basotho culture.

The name *Ten house* has remained at this place since the 1980s although the place is now occupied by many Basotho houses. The indigenous people so enjoyed having the ministers' houses at their place that they bestowed it the name *Ten house*, as already stated, without realising that by so doing they are endangering their indigenous place name. This place is popularly known as *Ten house*, even today, regardless of the fact that there are now many houses built in the area. The name Hata-butle is no longer known at this place; *Ten house* has erased it. The original name Hata-Butle is still popular at Roma, but it is known to mark the place at the east part of the National University of Lesotho. Nonetheless, the indigenous people at Roma know this name to represent a bigger area, that is, the whole area below the main road to Semokong and Qacha's Nek.

Table 6.3 *Place names resulting from people's status*

Original name	Source	Current name	Source
13.Hata -Butle	Old citizens	Ha Sekautu	Old and new citizens
14.Hata-Butle	Old citizens	Ha Lepota	Old and new citizens
15.Khoshane	Old citizens	Ha Basiane (Bass Jane)	Old and new citizens
16. Khoshane	Old citizens	Holong ea Lipaki/ Kerekeng	Old and new citizens
17.Lekhaleng la Mokuoe	Old citizens	Ha Sekautu/ Mafikeng 2	Old and new citizens
18.Mantša-tlala	Old citizens	Ha Matebesi	Old and new citizens

Some place names in Roma are derived from names of high-status people. Geršič and Kladnik (2016) in their study of house names indicate that some house names were derived from the status that the farm enjoyed in the village. The same naming pattern as the one observed by Geršič and Kladnik (*ibid*) is traceable in Roma. It has already

been indicated that the place below the main road to Semonkong and Qacha's Nek was known as Hata-butle, according to the older inhabitants of this place. However, there are other parts of Hata-Butle which have been re-named as *Ha Sekautu* and *Ha Lepota*. According to Thakaso (2019a), Sekautu was a man of status: he was an Education officer in Maseru (the capital town of Lesotho) who came to construct his home at this place. Thakaso (2019b) surmises that Sekautu's status influenced inhabitants to re-name part of Hata-butle as *ha* Sekautu. In line with Thakaso (2019b), Jordan (2016) asserts that a geographical feature is a social reality. Jordan (*ibid*:30) postulates that "… geographical feature is … rooted in the consciousness of its inhabitants as well as of the outside world-merely by the [place] name." Therefore, the consciousness of the locals in Roma is displayed by naming and re-naming their space. Their consciousness seems to guide them as to whose status is demoted by events and whose status is promoted by events. This change is embedded in a new name given. Guided by the change of events as already indicated, Lepota (a wealthy business man) came to occupy the place with his prestigious rental houses and a bar. These rental rooms were predominantly occupied by the students of the National University of Lesotho. The inhabitants then re-named this place as *ha* Lepota. At present, these two names are used interchangeably as *ha* Sekauti and *ha* Lepota. Lepota and Sekauti's buildings are opposite each other. This study deduces that if names are not promoted in this area, it will not take long before it is known by the name Lesoleng, as there is a popular bar with the name Lesoleng renting at Sekautu's building.

The name Khoshane, according to Thakaso (2019b), Makoae (2019b) and Chaolana (2019) and a taxi conductor (who is an inhabitant of Roma) (2019), was a name of the place which is currently popularly known as Ha Basiane (At Baas Jane's place). Khoshane was the name of a spring which had smelly water. This spring is said to have had a lot of water during all seasons, including times of drought. This explicitly indicated that it had a strong source of water. The inhabitants then named the whole place by the name of that spring, Khoshane. This name reflected their experience of that time which forms part of their history stored in the name Khoshane. Besides Basiane (Baas Jane) business, general dealer and a guest house, there is a church hall belonging to the Jehovah's Witnesses (*Lipaki tsa Johofa*). The taxi conductor whose origin is *Roma* indicated that if any passenger would indicate his or her destination as Khoshane, he would stop the taxi at *holong ea Lipaki tsa Johofa* (at the hall of the Jehovah's Witnesses) as the spring was on the opposite side of that Church hall. Other taxi drivers and conductors (whose origin is not Roma and those whose origin is Roma) did not have any idea of these old place names and indicated that they would request the passenger to stop them when they

came to the area where the passenger intended to get off. Another interesting fact about Lesotho is that there are "taxi stops" everywhere. Much as this study is not interested in the issue of taxi stops, it is important to highlight it. A taxi or a bus stops wherever there is a passenger or where a passenger indicates that he/she intends to exit a taxi. So, the question is: what happens (in the absence of signboards) if the passenger also does not know the place itself, but merely knows the former name of the place?

Due to new developments such as the construction of the main road to Semonkong, *Khoshane* spring was affected and disappeared although the area continued to be known as *Khoshane*. However, with the arrival of the businessman Baas Jane (*Basiane* according to the Basotho), the name *Khoshane* disappeared and was replaced by the Baas Jane name as a business person and Jehovah's Witnesses Church hall as a mission. *Mantšatlala* suffered the same fate as Khoshane when the businessman Matebesi came into the picture with his esteemed rental houses. *Mantša-tlala* was a name derived from the observation that some of the Basotho men who lived at Roma used to "pick" extra-marital partners from a bar which was located at this place. *Mantša-tlala* is a noun loaded with meaning. This noun is formed from a verb /*ntša*/ equivalent to uproot, and a noun /*tlala*/ equivalent to hunger. Therefore, the noun *Mantša-tlala* means to uproot hunger in a literal sense. Metaphorically it refers to the satisfaction of sexual lust. When the name *Mantša-tlala* disappeared, its history disappeared as well. New citizens did not know about the history and culture behind the name *Mantša-tlala*. The place is now called *ha* Matebesi.

Table 6.4 *Miscellaneous place names*

Original name (selomo)	Source	Current names	source
20. Matlakeng	Old citizens	Lomo sa ha Ralejoe / Lomong sa 'Maseetsa/ Lomo sa Mautloela	Old and new citizens
21. Lomo sa Subilane	Old citizens	Good Fellow cliff	Old and new citizens

Place names in this category are the names of the two cliffs in the North-East part of Roma. The name Matlakeng has disappeared and has been replaced by two names which are used concurrently. According to Thakaso (2019b), the name Matlakeng was bestowed due to the fact that the place was a natural habitat for vultures. It should be noted that besides the culture of bestowing place names after the chiefs, the Basotho also preserved and promoted their fauna and flora in place naming. In line with the

observation that animals, birds and plants inhabited an area, such an area was named after the animals or birds occupying the place. When the animals, birds or plants face extinction from such a place, their name also disappears and there will be a new name replacing it and which emanates from new observations. At present, vultures are no longer at this place which was referred to as *Selomong sa Matlaka/Matlakeng*. The three current popular names for this place are: *(Se)Lomo sa ha Ralejoe as ha Ralejoe,* a nearby village to the North part of Roma, *(Se)Lomong sa 'Maseetsa* (the reason unknown), and *(Se)Lomong sa Mautloela* as a young man of about thirty-five years committed suicide at this place around 2013. The name 'Maseetsa is only known to the aged citizens. Similarly, the nearby cliff originally known as *(Se)Lomo sa* Subilane was replaced by the name Good Fellow cliff. The cliff was named after a lecturer from the National University of Lesotho who committed suicide at this cliff. /*Ha/* is a prefix denoting a place which belongs to someone as already indicated in this study. Subilane is a village chief. The place name *ha* Subilane means a place of Subilane. The history that this place belongs to Subilane is eradicated as it is now popularly known as the cliff of Good Fellow. The history of Good Fellow now supersedes that this place belongs to chief Subilane. The current name of this cliff not only implies that the cliff belongs to Good Fellow, but also promotes the culture of suicide which is a taboo to the Basotho.

5. CONCLUSION

The findings in this study are that the place-naming patterns among the Basotho are derived from their observation of their landscape, which is followed by a new name as there is no place-naming policy in place. The paper further determined that in general both traditional name and contemporary name exist and they both have a history behind them, i.e. they commemorate certain events. Because these place names are community property, some are concurrently in use while others have disappeared. The names which have disappeared have to be revived as the history and culture behind them are very important. This study concludes that place names are crucial among all societies, including the Basotho. Publishing and publicising the place names on signposts will curb the problem of re-naming as the study has shown that names derived from businesses are a result of billboards placed in the areas. This study concludes that in order to preserve place names at Roma, signposts should be placed there. In this way these names will be promoted and preserved and consequently also their history and the culture behind them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the results of the present study, a number of recommendations are given to improve the place naming in Lesotho at Roma town. It is recommended that:

- The signboards publicising place names must be put in place at Roma;
- All the names used to refer to one place should be indicated on one signpost;
- Place names that have been eradicated by the re-naming process have to be brought to life so that the culture and history behind them can also be revived;
- There must be campaigns to promote place names in Roma and Lesotho at large;
- There must be programmes on media mobilizing the importance of place names in Lesotho.

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Other interviewees: February, April and May 2019

Taxi conductors

Taxi drivers

PLACE NAMES IN SOUTH AFRICA
THE DEAF WAY

Susan Lombaard[1]
Department of South African Sign Language and Deaf Studies,
University of the Free State, South Africa
lombasc@ufs.ac.za

ABSTRACT

On a daily basis, members of the Deaf community use signed languages, i.e. visual languages without written components. They communicate with the hearing community via an interpreter. The South African Deaf community is dispersed throughout the country and is present in every hearing community (Akach & Lubbe 2003). Since the deaf cannot articulate place names, the name is replaced with a signed name which is of a visual nature referred to as place name signs.

Name signs are allocated using two classes of name signs (Mindess 1990; Supalla 1992). The first class is purely descriptive, e.g. through the sign name of Cape Town indicating Table Mountain and Kimberley indicating the big hole, while the second class includes names that incorporate handforms (shapes) from the manual alphabet, Port Elizabeth (e.g. signing the P and E handform in one swift movement). A study of the South African context reveals that, in the past, place names were allocated using the descriptive class, e.g. the signed name for Cape Town, Kimberley and Pretoria. However, during the past few years, some of these place name signs have changed to handform-incorporated signs, e.g. Kimberley now incorporating the K-handform, and Pretoria incorporating the P-handform.

This paper will compare different place name signs in South Africa, indicating which originated from the mentioned classes as discussed above, and highlighting the trend towards the use of the handform-incorporated class in allocating sign names.

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Keywords: Deaf community, Deaf culture, place name signs, toponyms, South African Sign Language

1. INTRODUCTION

Place names or toponyms, according to Paales (2010), refer to a natural or man-made geographical object or area. For purposes of this paper, place names or toponyms of four well-known cities in South Africa will be discussed. The focus will fall on the way place names are used by the Deaf community of South Africa. The term "place name signs" will be used to refer to specific cities since Deaf people do not use the written or official name but create a place name sign when referring to the city.

2. PLACE NAMES AND PLACE NAME SIGNS

According to Paales (2010:32, 33), place names can be classified according to the language system of the name, the structure of the name referring to simple and compound names, the attribution of the level of the name, whether it is a primary or secondary name, the origin of the name, the age of the name and the status of the name – if it is an official or unofficial name.

Raper, Möller and Du Plessis (2014) discuss that place names have fascinating and intriguing linguistic, cultural, sociological and psychological patterns. Place names also reflect cultural and language contact between people.

The members of the South African Deaf community are not located in the same geographical area but interspersed throughout the country's hearing communities (Akach & Lubbe 2003:107). They thus live in a specific geographical area with a given or official name. This name is used verbally or in written format. Due to the fact that the Deaf do not articulate place names, the name is replaced with a signed name which is of a visual nature. In Deaf culture, a sign name, also referred to as a name sign, is a special sign that is used to identify a person or geographical area. Until a place receives a name sign, the place name is fingerspelled (Akach & Lubbe 2003:114).

Akach and Lubbe (2003:105) explain that the way in which we name something is a reflection of the community we are born in and live in. This is reflected in Möller (2017:1), who indicates that the Bushmen used onomatopoeia (names of words created by sound imitation) as a basic naming device. Bushmen used imagery and description

which denote the physical characteristics or habits in the naming of animals. She further states that onomatopoeia, description and imagery have an impact on the act of naming. Möller (2017:3) further discusses how early Bushman and Khoikhoi names for animals demonstrate their powers of observation. Observation plays a crucial part in the communication of the Deaf as they use a language that is visual in nature. Paales (2010), in her article, *On the system of place names in Estonian Sign Language*, defines place name signs "as a linguistic-cultural marker that includes both memory and landscape". She further regards name signs or toponymic signs in Estonian Sign Language (ESL) "as representations of images held by the Deaf community".

In understanding naming practices and processes, it allows us to understand communities' cultural beliefs, linguistic practices and social structures. Because the Deaf community functions within the larger hearing community as well as outside the hearing community as a minority community, the naming process shows characteristics that blend elements from the two cultures and languages used in the communities (Day & Sutton-Spence 2010).

Raper *et al*. (2014) state that names are an integral part of language. The primary function of language is communication. They therefore confirm that most names have meaning and further distinguish between synchronic and diachronic meaning. Synchronic meaning is usually devoid of lexical or conceptual meaning, while diachronic meaning is when a name is derived from a descriptive noun or common noun, for example Bloemfontein's name sign as discussed later on. Depending on a person's background knowledge of a place, the name may have various associations that differ from speaker to speaker (Raper *et al*. 2014). In SASL, associations also differ from region to region, where different variations of SASL are used as the SASL name signs of Pretoria and Cape Town reflect.

To enable us to recognize name signs and the naming process in the Deaf community, it is important to understand the Deaf community as well as understand what sign language entails.

3. DEAF COMMUNITY

Being part of the Deaf community, four important aspects apply. These aspects refer to demographic, linguistic, political, and social implications. There is a national "community" of deaf people in South Africa; however, Deaf communities also exist in almost every city or town. A community may be composed of different cultural groups; and the same

applies to the Deaf community that not only has deaf people, but also hearing people who interact with deaf people on a daily basis (Padden & Humphries 1988). The Deaf community would therefore include parents of deaf children, interpreters, teachers, etc. Different Deaf communities develop their own variations of signs that are specifically used in that community. Due to the deaf interacting on national and provincial levels, interpreters on television programmes and modern technology (video calls), the deaf from various communities do not experience challenges related to regional variations.

The culture of deaf people, however, is more closed than the Deaf community, as you need to comply to specific criteria to gain entrance to Deaf culture. These criteria include the ability to speak the language, audiological aspects (being deaf), social interaction with members of the same culture and lobbying for the needs and rights of the cultural group. Members of the Deaf culture behave as deaf people do, use sign language and share the social beliefs of deaf people (Akach & Lubbe 2003:107; Padden & Humphries 1988).

4. SIGN LANGUAGE

For the purposes of this paper, the definition of language by Baker-Shenk and Cokely (1980:31) is applicable:

> *A language is a system of relatively arbitrary symbols and grammatical signals that change across time and that members of a community share and use for several purposes: to interact with each other, to communicate their ideas, emotions and intentions, and to transmit their culture from generation to generation.*

Fromkin and Rodman (1998:20) define sign language as a visual-gestural system with its own rules and regulations where hand and body movements form words (*ibid*). Sign language is independent from any spoken language and is a language with its own structure. Because sign language is a visual language, there is not a written equivalent; deaf people focus on the visual and not on the auditory component of communication. Therefore, the behaviour and thoughts of the Deaf are centred on vision (Holcomb 1994:57). Sign language not only consists of specific hand and arm movements. Facial expression and applicable use of the upper body are also significant in the production and grammar of sign language.

It is important to understand that sign language is not universal. Each country has its own signed language. For purposes of this paper, the focus will be on South African Sign Language (SASL).

4.1 Articulatory parameters in sign language

A single, complete sign is a representation of an object, concept or action. Each sign is produced by the use of five distinct elements or parameters, namely:

1) Handform or hand shape;
2) Orientation of the palm;
3) Location;
4) Movement; and
5) Facial expression.

4.1.1 Handform or handshape

Handforms refer to the form or shape of your hand when you produce a sign (see Figure 7.1). Most of the letters of the fingerspelled alphabet are used as handforms, although other handforms are used as well. However, the same handform is used to produce different signs; the difference in the other parameters will change the meaning of the sign (Prinsloo 2003). When reference is made to a sign, the handform will be indicated as a A-handform or H-handform, etc. In Figure 7.2, the K-handform is used for Kimberley.

4.1.2 Orientation of the palm

This parameter concerns whether the palm faces upward, downward, left or right (Prinsloo 2003). When you produce the name sign for Kimberley, a two-handed sign, the palms face each other (Figure 7.2).

4.1.3 Movement

Movement refers to the action of moving the hand to produce a sign (Prinsloo 2003). In producing the sign Kimberley, the handform with palm orientations facing left and right, are moving downward (Figure 7.2). Movement has a specific beginning and end. Some signs are stationary and no movement is involved (Prinsloo 2003).

4.1.4 Non-manual markers

Non-manual markers are rule-governed facial expressions that mark the grammar of sign language. Signers rely heavily on facial expression to communicate nuances and shades of meaning of a sign. In sign language, facial expression serves the same role that voice volume and tone serve in spoken language. The meaning of words can change by changing facial expression (Prinsloo 2003).

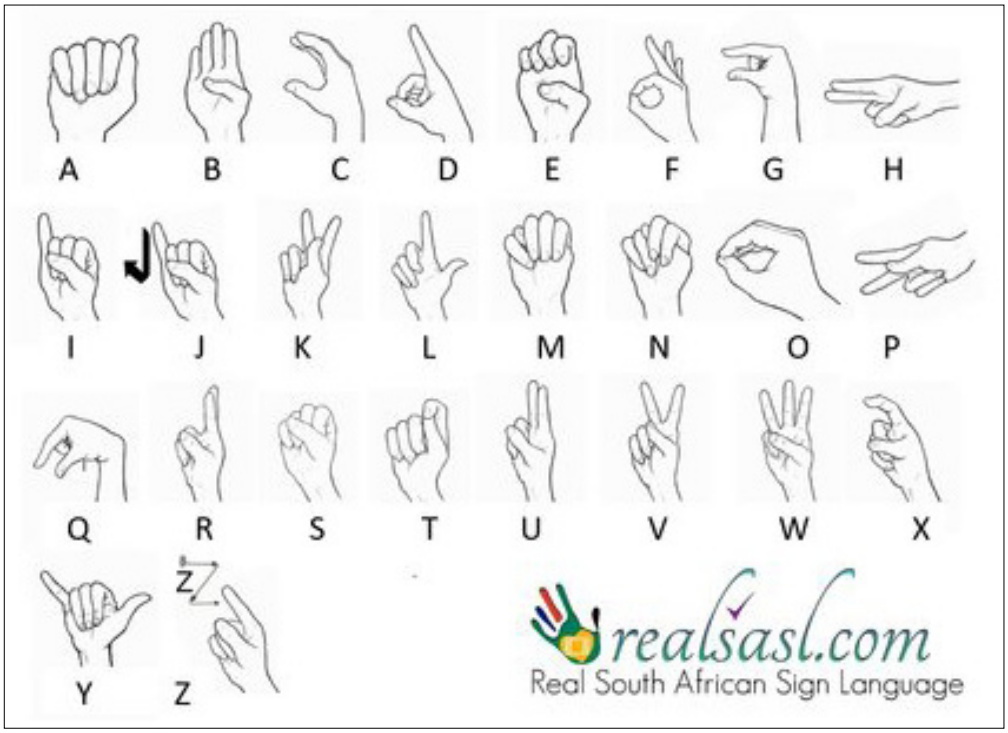

Figure 7.1 *SASL alphabet (Real SA Sign Language 2020)*

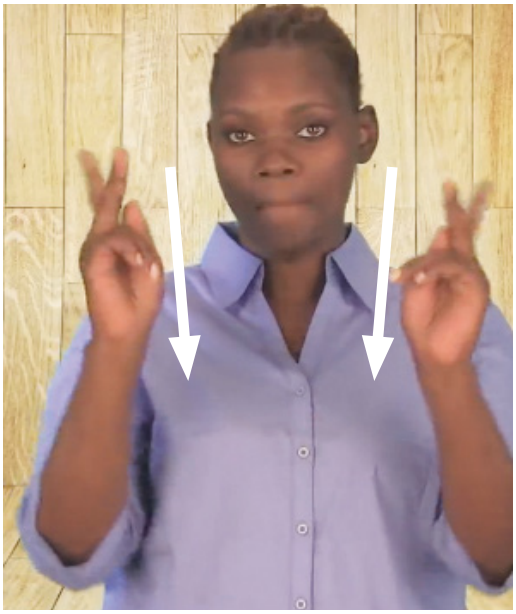

Figure 7.2 *Name sign for Kimberley (eDeaf 2020)*

4.1.5 Location

Location refers to the place on the body or in the signing space where the hand(s) is placed to produce the sign (Prinsloo 2003). For example, this can be on the forehead (Pretoria), or in the neutral space in front of your body (Kimberley, Cape Town, and Bloemfontein).

Figure 7.3 *Name sign for Bloemfontein – Variation 1 and Variation 2 (eDeaf 2020)*

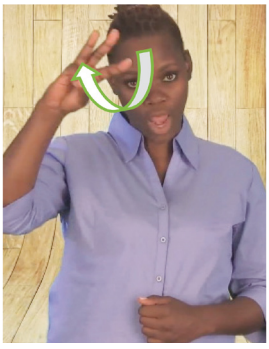

Figure 7.4 *Name sign for Pretoria – Variation 1 (eDeaf 2020)*

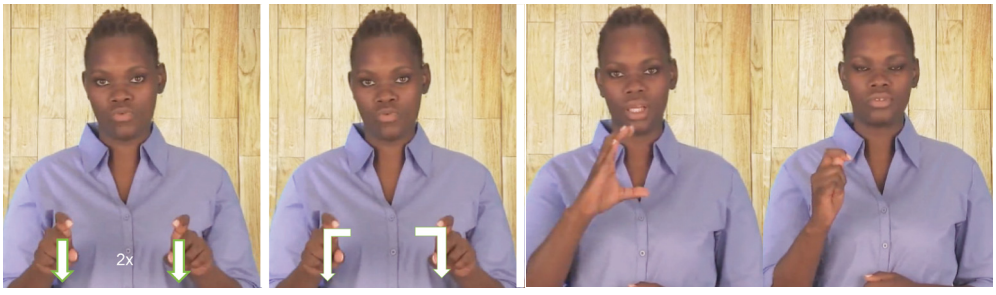

Figure 7.5 *Name sign for Cape Town – Variation 1, 2, 3 (eDeaf 2020)*

5. NAMING IN THE DEAF COMMUNITY

Möller (2019) describes different categories of multilingual onomastics in the naming processes of places, animals, etc. Some of the processes mentioned by Möller include imagery, metaphors and descriptive names. Descriptive names can link directly to one of the processes deaf people use when name signs are allocated. Name signs are part of deaf tradition worldwide and forms part of Deaf Signlore and also represent Deaf Folklore (Paales 2010).

Day and Sutton-Spence (2010), who conducted research into naming in the British deaf community, indicates that the use and origin of sign names in Britain is part of the folklore of the British Deaf community which is passed from generation to generation. The process of naming is part of the heritage and customs of the Deaf community.

Paales (2010) distinguishes between personal name signs, which are used for people, and place name signs which refer to names of cities and geographical areas, e.g. provinces and countries. Toponymic signs, according to Paales (*ibid*:319), form part of a separate lexical group in sign languages which can be analysed and studied. Paales (2010:33) indicates that more research has been done with regards to personal name signs than place name signs. This created the opportunity to study the place name signs of four major cities in South Africa.

As mentioned earlier, sign language is a visual language with no oral component. Deaf people are unable to perceive sound and only a few deaf people, who were exposed to oralism[2] in school, are able to produce words, including their name. Akach and Lubbe (2003:114) mentioned that since most deaf people cannot articulate place names, the name is replaced with a signed name that is of a visual nature. The name sign links directly to observation, description, and imagery as indicated by the research done by Möller (2017). Day and Sutton-Spence (2010) as well as Akach and Lubbe (2003:114) indicate that the naming process in the Deaf community originated in schools for the deaf as it is usually the first contact the deaf child has with other deaf people. Deaf children from deaf parents are given a sign name by their parents. The deaf person would have a legally recorded name, i.e. their hearing name, and a personal name sign, i.e. their deaf name. Place name signs also originate from the Deaf community during social interaction and can change over time. Places therefore also have a hearing name and a name sign which

2 A method of instructing the deaf by which they are taught to speak and to understand the speech of others by lip-reading (Merriam-Webster 2020).

might change over time. As seen in this research, variations of name signs exist and can be linked to older name signs and newer versions of name signs.

There are very limited records with regards to the process of toponymic name signs in the Deaf community in contrast with the documentation and records relating to the deaf person's written name. The researchers indicate that practical means for exploring sign name customs is to draw on cultural knowledge. Day and Sutton-Spence (2010) indicate in their research that due to folkloric customs varying over time, naming customs in British Sign Language have changed due to the influence of social and educational experiences. They further mention that research in a range of Deaf communities distinguishes between two main categories, namely descriptive and arbitrary name signs. Descriptive signs refer to signs inspired by a person's visual characteristics. Arbitrary name signs are signs based on word association through loan translation of their English name (Day & Sutton-Spence 2010).

Akach and Lubbe (2003:118) mentioned two classes of sign names as indicated by Supalla (1992) and Mindess (1990). These two classes of sign names are the descriptive class and handform-incorporated class. Name signs in this class focus on physical features, mannerisms, behaviour, dress code/style, association, etc. (Akach & Lubbe 2003:118-121). For place names signs, specific features and association of the specific place are common.

In contrast with Akach and Lubbe (2003), Paales (2010:321-325) distinguishes between five categories of name signs specifically linked to place name signs. These categories are similar to the categories mentioned by Supalla (1992), the pioneer in name sign studies in America. For this paper, Paales' (2010) five categories for the formation of place name signs will be used to discuss SASL place names in South Africa as the categories she identified, can be directly linked to the formation and use of place name signs discussed in this paper.

6. CATEGORIES OF PLACE NAME SIGNS

It is important to mention that not all places or cities in South Africa have a name sign, although deaf people stay in cities, towns and rural areas. Toponymic name signs have been created for major cities and areas although all provinces in South Africa have a name sign. For smaller cities or towns which do not have a name sign, the whole name would be fingerspelled using the SASL manual alphabet.

6.1 Arbitrary or initialised name signs

Paales (2010:321-322) describes this category of place name signs as signs with no association or meaningful relationship with the geographical location. These name signs have alphabetic handshapes that do not have any physical or historical relationship with the area or place. Initialised name signs are formed from the written name.

Day and Sutton-Spence (2010) mention that the manual alphabet can be used to create name signs, which is usually the first letter of the written name. This corresponds with the handform-incorporated class described by Akach and Lubbe (2003), whose research focused more on American Sign Language (ASL).

Initialised name signs are not name signs is not as common in British Sign Language (BSL) as it is in ASL because of the difference in the use of the manual alphabet. BSL uses the two-hand alphabet while ASL use the one-handed alphabet that is easier to incorporate in a sign name (Day & Sutton-Spence 2010). SASL also uses the one-handed alphabet as indicated in Figure 7.1. In observations and interviews with deaf people, the author of this paper noticed a trend in South Africa that name signs seem to follow a pattern similar to ASL, where an initialised name sign has become the more common type. Place name signs for Port Elizabeth, East London, and Johannesburg would fall in this category as all their name signs use the first letter(s) of the written name. The name sign for Port Elizabeth is the P-handform followed by the E-handform (P-E). Similarly, East London's name sign is the E-handform followed by the L-handform (E-L), whereas Johannesburg's name sign is the J-handform (J).

6.2 Phonetic place name signs

According to Paales (2010:322) this category of bestowing name signs to places is relatively rare due to the fact that it originates from Oralism which is not supported by the deaf community. This category is not common in awarding place name signs in South Africa.

6.3 Metonymic and Metaphoric or Descriptive place name signs

The formation of place name signs, according to Paales (2010:322-324), is based on a specific uniqueness, characteristic, or feature of the city. According to Akach and Lubbe (2003), the descriptive category is commonly used in South Africa in awarding personal name signs which focus on physical features, mannerisms, behaviour, dress code/style, association, etc., while Supalla (1992) indicated in his research that the descriptive class

in giving a sign name is less common in America. Various cities name signs in SASL fall within this category.

6.4 Initialised Metonymic and metaphoric place name signs

Paales (2010:324) describes this category of place name signs as a combination of initials and descriptiveness. Sign names changes over time as discussed in point 9 of the paper. A number of the cities in South Africa's name sign changed from the descriptive place name sign category to the initialised metonymic and metaphoric place name sign over time.

6.5 Loan or translated place name signs

This category is popular in awarding personal name signs and is an effective method of name creation in the Deaf community (Paales 2010:324-325). This category is derived from the meaning of a word similar to the written name. Interesting enough, Möller (2017:4) mentions a sub-theme that emerged in other languages with regards to place names and "loan words", which fall within the same category of allocating place name signs.

7. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This section focuses on the data collection and analysis of the data with regards to the four cities' name signs included in this study namely Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Kimberley and Pretoria.

7.1 Data collection

Information with regards to the origin and specific name signs used for the four South African cities was obtained by individual interviews with seven deaf people and four hearing people involved in the Deaf community (teachers and interpreters) representing the provinces of Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and the Free State. Interpreters on national TV news bulletins were observed over a period of one month.

7.2 Data analysis

7.2.1 Name sign for Bloemfontein

The name sign for Bloemfontein has changed over time. The current place name sign used for Bloemfontein is the O-handform followed by the B-handform in one swift movement (Figure 7.3, variation 2). Although it has initialised features, this falls within the descriptive category as it refers to the former vehicle number plates of Bloemfontein that included the letters OB.

The older, "Afrikaans" place name sign for Bloemfontein (Figure 7.3, variation 1) falls within the category of loan or translated place name signs. The first part of the written name 'Bloemfontein' refers to a flower (Bloem). The sign for flower is used as the place name sign. This sign is only used by older Afrikaans deaf people, not amongst the younger generation. Variation 2 of the name sign for Bloemfontein is used by all the participants in this study.

7.2.2 Name sign for Cape Town

Cape Town is well-known for Table Mountain and it is not a surprise that two variations of the name sign for this famous city falls within the category of Metonymic and Metaphoric or Descriptive place name signs. Version 1 and 2 (see Figure 7.5), both reflect Table Mountain while variation 3 falls within the category of arbitrary or initialised name signs. All three variations are known by all the participants. The use of a specific variation depends on the region the signer originates from. SASL interpreters on national TV tend to use the third variation.

7.2.3 Name sign for Kimberley

The older name sign for Kimberly reflects the well know tourist attraction, Big Hole, in the name sign and is descriptive in nature (i.e. both hands, U-handform moving down and inwards). The place name sign for Kimberly, however has changed through time to fit within the category of Initialised Metonymic and metaphoric place name signs as the first letter of the written name (K) is incorporated in the sign. It however maintained the downward movement, location and palm orientation of the sign as seen in Figure 7.2. This variation of the name sign is used by all of the participants in the study.

7.2.4 Name sign for Pretoria

The place name sign for Pretoria has three variations. Two of the three variations fall within the Metonymic and Metaphoric or Descriptive place name signs category, indicating government, as Pretoria is seen as the city in which government is situated (Union Buildings). The one variation of the place name sign is produced from the forehead with an F-handform moving to the front and slightly upwards. The sign for 'government' is produced from the temple using the same handform, movement, and palm orientation. The only difference is the location (temple vs middle of forehead). The second of the three variations is produced with a W-handform moving from the forehead to the front and slightly upwards (see Figure 7.4). The deaf from KwaZulu-Natal mainly use this place name sign. The place name sign implicates pensions that are bestowed by the government. The third variation of the place name sign for Pretoria falls within the Initialised Metonymic and metaphoric place name sign category: P-handform maintaining the movement, location and palm orientation of the descriptive sign(s) as described in 6.3. All three variations of the name sign are used depending on regional variations. It is noted that variation 3 is used on national TV.

8. PLACE NAMES FOR THIS STUDY: COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ORIGIN OF THE WRITTEN/SPOKEN NAME VS THE PLACE NAME SIGN

Table 7.1 indicates the origin of the place names, written/spoken and signed. In the first column of Table 7.1 the *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Raper *et al*. 2014) was used to indicate the origin of the official place names of the cities included in this study. The second column provides a description of the how the name sign of the city is produced. Column 3 offers the meaning of the name sign as gathered from the participants in the study. The last column, column 4 indicates which of the categories of name signs according to Paales (2010) are applicable on the variation of the name signs of the 4 cities included in the research.

Table 7.1 *Origin of place names used in the study*

Spoken/written place name	Production of the name sign	Meaning of name sign	Category of place name signs
Bloemfontein: The spoken/written name derived from flowers growing at the fountain, from Dutch, "bloem" (flower).	**Variation 1:** A claw-hand in front of the face in circular movement. Palm facing backwards. **Variation 2:** O-handform moving into a B-handform in the signing space. Palm facing to the front.	**Variation 1:** Referring to the Bloem (flower) which forms the first part of the written word. **Variation 2:** Referring to the old number plates used on vehicles that were registered in Bloemfontein (OB).	**Variation 1:** Loan or translated place name sign **Variation 2:** Metonymic and metaphoric or descriptive place name signs, but evolved into arbitrary or initialised name signs.
Cape Town: originated from "Cabo" or "De Caap". The name Cape Town and Kaapstad were applied in the middle of the 18th century.	**Variation 1:** T-handform (both hands) at the sides of the signing space moving downward twice. **Variation 2:** T-handform (both hands) in signing space move from the middle outwards and then downwards. **Variation 3:** Sign is produced with one/both hand(s). C-handform moving swiftly into a T-handform in the signing space.	**Variation 1:** Also mimics Table Mountain, although only the sides of the "mountain" are signed. **Variation 2:** Mimics Table Mountain, a big feature of Cape Town. **Variation 3:** This variation of the name sign refers to the first letters of the city, CT.	**Variation 1:** Metonymic and metaphoric or descriptive place name signs. **Variation 2:** Metonymic and metaphoric or descriptive place name signs. **Variation 3:** Arbitrary or initialised name signs.

Spoken/written place name	Production of the name sign	Meaning of name sign	Category of place name signs
Kimberley: The city was named after a British Colonial secretary, the Earl of Kimberley.	**Variation 1:** Sign is produced with both hands using the flat B-handform, palms facing each other moving downwards towards each other. **Variation 2:** Sign is produced with both hands using the K-handform, palms facing each other, moving downwards towards each other.	**Variation 1:** Mimics the Big Hole for which Kimberley is famous. **Variation 2:** Mimics the Big Hole for which Kimberley is famous using a different handform (K) than variation 1.	**Variation 1:** Metonymic and metaphoric or descriptive place name signs. **Variation 2:** Initialised metonymic and metaphoric place name signs.
Pretoria was named after the Voortrekker leader Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius.	**Variation 1:** This sign is produced with one hand using a W-handform on the centre of the forehead, moving to the front and up. **Variation 2:** This sign is produced with one hand using the spread O-handform moving swiftly into a P-handform from the centre of the forehead out and slightly upwards. Palm facing towards the left (right hand dominant). **Variation 3:** This sign is produced with one hand using the spread F-handform moving from the centre of the forehead out and slightly upwards. Palm facing towards the left (right hand dominant).	**Variation 1:** The sign originated from the sign used in a specific region for pension. The sign is derived from the idea "that pension (disability grant) is paid by the government situated in Pretoria. **Variation 2:** The meaning of this sign is the same as in variation 1. The only difference is the handform to indicate the initial letter of the city, namely P. **Variation 3:** The sign is produced similar to the sign for 'government', which is produced with the same handform, movement and palm orientation, with a slight change in location which is towards the side of the forehead. The sign reflects that the Government is situated in Pretoria.	**Variation 1:** Metonymic and metaphoric or descriptive place name signs. **Variation 2:** Initialised metonymic and metaphoric place name signs. **Variation 3:** Metonymic and metaphoric or descriptive place name signs.

9. CHANGE IN NAME SIGNS

Möller (2017) emphasis the necessity to consider different language groups' experiences and encounters with the same place in the naming process. Within the various Deaf communities in SA, there are variations in the signing of place names. Paales (2010) mentions that there might be differences in name signs used by older and younger signers although the same semantic connotation is preserved. In South Africa, regional variations of SASL contribute to the differences found in some place name signs. Mindess (1990) observed a tendency towards the use of a combination of an arbitrary and descriptive system since the last decades in the 20th century. The researcher has noticed the same tendency in South Africa over the last few years. Paales's (2010) interpretation of Delaporte (2002) indicates that due to increased cultural contact between hearing and deaf people, the mixed type or hybrid names signs are used more commonly. Möller (2017) mentions that the physical, biological, social and cultural contact between various language groups has led to an exchange in language expressions and naming. She further describes that dependence on the natural world plays an important role. Contact situations between different language groups and communities lead to altered social constructs and acculturations, all of which play a role in the alternative naming of a place.

This study reveals that in SASL, the use of initialised signs, shapes from the manual alphabet, seems to have influenced the way in which the signing of place names has changed. Examples include the name sign for Pretoria, Kimberley, and Cape Town, where the sign for these places include both classes, descriptive and initialised. For Pretoria, the P-handform is incorporated in the descriptive sign. For Kimberley, although it still indicates the Big Hole, it has been changed from using a B-handform to using a K-handform, and was therefore influenced by the written name.

10. CONCLUSION

According to Akach and Lubbe (2003:114) due to the fact that the majority of deaf children are born in hearing families and that the question can be asked if they even know they have names. Sign names are known and used widely within the Deaf community.

Formation methods, as seen and described in this paper, vary from sign language to sign language and from community to community. In South African, American, European and Estonian sign languages, the descriptive category seems dominant (Akach & Lubbe 2003; Supalla 1992).

It is evident that the tendency in the awarding and use of place name signs in South African Sign Language shifted from the descriptive category to the initialised name signs. This can be attributed to higher literacy levels of deaf people as well as more interaction between the Deaf and hearing communities. This, however, does not imply that the alternative variations of the name sign disappeared. Every Deaf community uses the name sign with which they feel comfortable. Overall, it seems as if the initialised name signs are more commonly used by interpreters in conferences, meetings and on national TV.

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PLACE NAMES AND EPIDEMICS

A CASE STUDY OF HANDLING COLLECTIVE FEAR

Reet Hiiemäe
Department of Folkloristics, Estonian Literary Museum, Estonia
reet@folklore.ee

ABSTRACT

Descriptions of historical epidemics and their consequences (e.g. outbursts or ceasing of plague, burial places) are often preserved in combination of oral tradition and associated landscape toponyms (actually 95 per cent of plague lore accounts contain toponyms). Mental danger maps, place names and etymologies as meaningful knots on these maps, and the illness spirit and human actors exemplifying certain behaviours on this mythologised landscape are mediated in respective narratives, pointing to order and logic in the irrational outbursts of the illness.

However, a linguistic analysis has shown that these vernacular etymologies are in most cases quite anachronistic (e.g. pre-13th century place names are related to the last plague outburst in Estonia in 1710, referring to their evolvement in connection with the events of this epidemic). The author explores the dynamics of these narrative depictions, analysing their multidimensionality as the given material strongly exemplifies how place name lore can, besides geographical or spatial realities, contain linguistic, historical, narrative, social and psychological layers. The author concludes that local narratives describing the emergence of plague toponyms should be used with reservations when dating these, although they offer valuable research material for exploring the toponyms as micro narratives of handling the fear of epidemics and delineating the landscape of danger and survival.

Comparatively, the author draws parallels with more recent cases of epidemics (e.g. AIDS, Ebola, Covid-19), showing that similar narrative mechanisms have a rather universal character that becomes visible also in less mythological contexts. The analysis is based on appr. 1500 plague legends and other accounts from the Estonian Folklore Archives, and contemporary field work material related to the perceptions of modern epidemics.

Keywords: epidemics, folklore, legends, place names

1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this paper is on the role of place names in folklore about epidemics, based on vernacular narratives about historical epidemics (e.g. plague but also cholera) as well as comparable textual expressions related to contemporary epidemics like AIDS, SARS, Ebola, Covid-19. The paper presents a longer case analysis of vernacular place name interpretations related to plague, pointing out that the process of outlining mental danger maps with the help of respective toponyms as an attempt to localise danger and to grant collective coping is in many ways similar in older legends and in modern media-influenced narratives (cf. Hiiemäe 2016).

Over time, folklore has operatively offered explanations and survival strategies in situations of serious illness and other crises. For example, in narratives about epidemics, depicting the illness in a personified and localised form in order to make the danger better detectable and traceable seems universal – in older plague lore in Estonia as well as other cultures, in most cases the plague (in the form of a plague spirit who is usually personified as a human or an animal) comes from a certain direction and passes only certain places. Thus, the legends alarm people to act properly in the dangerous places and encourage them to feel safe when outside of the trajectory of the illness. Additionally, the use of vernacular place names helps to demarcate the danger, being adaptable relative to the course of the epidemics, the societal understanding of the essence of the illness and whether a reliable cure exists or not. According to Yi-Fu Tuan, a place begins to exist when people give it a name and a meaning, thus differentiating it from the larger, undifferentiated space (Tuan 1977:12). However, places can additionally obtain several layers of temporary or more permanent parallel names or name interpretations as part of vernacular coping in times of crises. Thus, place names "exist in a dynamic relationship with physical space. They can be made, altered and rethought" (Gardiner 2012:27).

For instance, in 2014, when Ebola infections in Freetown – the capital of Sierra Leone that was one of the epicentres of the Ebola epidemic – started to abound explosively, the city became vernacularly known as Feartown. Thus, this name-giving created a contrastive mental map that alerted of danger in Freetown and promised safety in the areas outside of it, making the epidemic psychologically more tangible. Internet memes depicted global maps where whole states and state complexes were demarcated with new names, based on the types of danger that were associated with these areas. For example, on one of these maps, two vernacularly perceived new units were designated in red colour: Ebola state (including Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and bordering areas in

Western Africa) and Islamic state (largely covering Iraq and Syria) as two source points of acute danger that became publicly known in the same period.

In Estonian as well as international news media, the stereotypical manner to start every new media reflection of the 2020 corona crisis was to repeat once again that the epidemic started in Wuhan in China – such repetition continued even after the virus had long reached a global dimension. Narrative speculations related to the location and mode of derivation of a fatal illness have in all probability gone along with all major epidemics and caused stigmatisation of the given places and their inhabitants (cf. Lee 2014:58ff about vernacular etiologies of SARS and AIDS; about localisation of various modern epidemics and related stigmatisation, see Kitta 2019:27). Boundedness with certain place names has also become part of official disease names, with examples being that of the Spanish flu, the Ebola virus named after the Ebola river, the Zika virus named after the Zika forest where the infected Aedes mosquito allegedly first spread Zika to monkeys in Uganda. Thus, such names create a connection between the epidemics and a real location or place name although the disease spreads globally, repeating the folkloric logic according to which knowledge about the epidemic's initial place of outburst would help control the rather chaotic further spread of the epidemics. As such, place-boundedness has caused stigmatisation and the World Health Organisation has tried to regulate the use of place names and words hinting to certain locations in disease names with the aim to avoid negative connotations and consequent aggressive or paranoid behaviour related to certain locations or groups (cf. WHO 2015). In the case of official naming practices, the link between a disease name and a place name is rather permanent whereas vernacular toponyms related to epidemics can lose their relevance as micro narratives when the wave of epidemy passes but sometimes also become part of a long-lasting folk narrative tradition with a broader moral message.

During the corona crisis in 2020, in Estonia again a limited number of places was associated with the danger of infection, often marked with respective vernacular place names. For example, with an outburst of the infection on the Estonian island Saaremaa, the island got the vernacular nickname 'Koroonasaare' [Corona Island], Kuressaare – the biggest town on the island – was unofficially re-named as 'Koroonassaare' [Corona Island] and 'Koroonapealinn' [Capital of Corona], creating a polarised and simplified picture of the spread of the illness because in reality rapid increase in new infection cases was also reported elsewhere in Estonia. As a model for formulating the place name 'Koroonapealinn' served earlier Estonian semi-official place names that had been replicated by the media: beach town Pärnu that is a summer destination for many

holiday-makers has for decades been known as Suvepealinn [Capital of Summer] and the town Otepää that is appreciated for its good wintersport opportunities as Talvepealinn [Capital of Winter]. Administrative units officially or unofficially titled summer or winter capitals for their favourable climate of the season are also known in other countries. Associating such a place name template with epidemics is also not new in Estonia. In the 2000s, when the news media repeatedly published news about the rapid increase of HIV-positive persons in the Estonian town Narva, the place name 'Aidsipealinn' [Capital of AIDS] for Narva came into use. This name arose repeatedly also in the media, for example an article from 2005 in a well-known Estonian news portal that problematised the low levels of informedness about the mechanisms of AIDS among local youth was titled "Children in Capital of AIDS live in darkness" (Delfi.ee 2005). Thus, here it is possible to observe the interaction of intriguing journalistic titling and vernacular place perception that was, among other things, expressed in the online commentaries on the same article, where several commentators didn't agree with such name use in an official channel for its stigmatising qualities.

Psychologically, with the help of such place names, the initial cognitive mapping of landscape occurs, delineating "landscapes of fear" (O'Lynn 2018:56) often based on the dichotomous opposites of "dangerous – safe", and such mechanisms of localisation occur even in relation with phenomena that cannot be linked solely to a specific place. However, narratives related to such fixed places often describe modes of behaviour deemed appropriate for coping with the danger (Hiiemäe 2016:176). Thus, folklore and rumours that involve mental maps and place names indicate a real concern but find expressions that follow certain selective spatial, narrative and behavioural scripts to suit the social needs for clarity, safety and hope, and creating feelings of subjective vulnerability or protectedness. In Estonia, the vernacular othering of the island Saaremaa into Corona Island resulted in real behaviour: a number of people started avoiding inhabitants and visitors of Saaremaa and products that were produced on the island. To change this negative image, the authorities saw themselves forced to make promotional campaigns for the island's tourism and products.

When investigating urban legends related to AIDS (Hiiemäe 1999), I noticed that in addition to particular named places, certain types of places are depicted as dangerous (e.g. markets, restaurants) where the unwitting visitor can allegedly get the infection, and in vernacular information processing the danger is selectively connected with one particular representative of such a place type. For example, a reader's letter published in a popular weekly newspaper that asked if it was possible to get AIDS from lemons bought

in a shop (Eesti Ekspress 2011) was followed by a number of online user comments that contained partly serious, partly joking and exaggerated stories about particular places where drug-addicts allegedly clean their needles in lemons (for example, a narrator claimed having witnessed ten drug-addicts simultaneously cleaning their needles in the lemons that were on sale on the market of Balti railway station in Tallinn).

2. MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

This research is mainly based on my academic anthology of Estonian plague legends (Hiiemäe 1997). Conclusions about localisation phenomena in modern traditions are drawn on the basis of Estonian newspaper articles and several hundreds of related commentaries on the Internet, social media posts (Facebook), internet memes and interviews (collected 1997-2020). The main approach was qualitative content analysis that enabled extracting information on place perception, place name use and analysing repeated categories in texts in a systematic way. Additionally, folkloristic narrative analysis helped to observe repeated coping mechanisms that were delineated in folklore texts in relation to certain places and toponyms. Findings of Estonian linguists about the history of the meaning of the word 'katk' enabled socio-onomastic comparisons of scientific and vernacular place name interpretations.

3. CASE ANALYSIS: TOPONYMS AS PART OF THE TRAJECTORY OF PLAGUE

Plague was a major historical event with devastating impact (in several places 90 per cent of the population died) without a known cure. However, according to folk legends, there was always someone who was able to survive. Place name narratives related to the word 'katk' (plague) are narrated from the viewpoint of survivors who have been witnesses of the beginning as well as ceasing of the epidemics, thus creating an imagined map of life and death. The places exist empirically on the landscape but the associations are situation-bound and follow a certain story logic.

Before continuing with the analysis of the place name use, some semantic and chronological somersaults of the Estonian word 'katk' in place names and folk narratives need to be described. The word '*katk*' occurs in numerous Estonian toponyms. However, linguistically the word has two meanings:

1) **older**: a wet and swampy/muddy spot on landscape, also a muddy ditch. The usage of the word with this meaning is registered already in pre-13th century pre-

Christian times when plague epidemics had not yet reached Estonia (the first plague epidemics in Estonia were in 1211 and 1305).

Example: *Liber Census Daniae* (Danish book of land taxation; 13th century) lists **Katko** village ['katko' is a dialectal genitive form of 'katk']; later **Katkuküla** [Katku village]. First written account of Katkuküla dates back to 1241 (with the written form: Katcækylæ). According to the analysis of Estonian linguists, *katk (katku/ katko)* here means a swampy spot on the landscape (Eesti Keele Instituut 2017).

2) **newer**: plague as epidemic illness.

Most Estonian folklore texts use the latter meaning (katk=plague), offering etymologies mainly related to the last plague epidemics in Estonia in 1710, despite the fact that a number of place names containing the word 'katk' already existed hundreds of years before. Folk narratives related to these toponyms connect them with the trajectories of the mythological plague spirit. Thus, such legends are etiological legends that simultaneously have the function of warning and giving tips for surviving epidemics. Legend-type folk narratives almost never mention the interpretation of 'katk' as a wet, swampy place but deal with more existential topics. The interpretation of 'katk' as a swampy place still occurs in some interviews where the linguist or folklorist has asked someone about the meaning of the word but usually not in a coherent legend-type narrative.

Estonian plague legends were mainly collected in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. This means that the informants heard them at least two hundred years after the last plague epidemic had struck Estonia. Thus, it seems that even when the fear of plague had lost its relevance in the real world, respective folklore can be attributed a symbolic value that supported the preservation of corresponding narratives in later times. Hence, retelling the risk relating to a real disease and providing instructions for staying safe could not be the only function of plague legends; they must have had a broader function as transmitters of a certain survivor-mentality: the descriptions about surviving dangers in the past and the elaboration of methods for doing so pass on the message that coping will also be possible in the future. Thus, the coining and interpreting of place names varies through time and often uses special linguistic markers to highlight certain moral or imaginative content (Harte 2019:373).

In the following, linguistic and vernacular interpretations of some place names containing the word 'katk' are more closely analysed.

Katkuküla

The following sample text is about Katku [Plague] village that, according to the legend, was the last place where the illness killed people before the disease came to an end. The legend also mentions a commemoration pillar. However, historically and factually the pillar was erected as a geodetic marker in 1849 (for measuring the size and shape of the earth). Thus, the **pre-13th century toponym** and the **mid-19th century object** are nicely combined into a legend that interprets the course of the epidemic disease that took place in the **beginning of the 18th century**. The last sentence of the legend that describes the opinion of the younger generation shows that various explanation versions – mythological and rational-technological ones – can sometimes exist side-by-side:

> *Two kilometres south from Simuna there is the Katku [Plague] village. In this village the plague killed all people. The plague spirit walked around as a grey goat. The plague killed the last man in the village on the field. Later a big stone pillar was erected there to commemorate that this was the place where the plague stopped. There is also some written text on the pillar, but it is not understandable. Younger people think that it is a geodetic marker or something* (narrated in 1939, in Hiiemäe 1997:366).

According to other legends the plague spirit stops by the same village because the wheel of his carriage breaks on the plague pillar or because there is a fight of two plague spirits by the plague pillar that brings about the end of the epidemics:

> *In Avanduse there is Katku [Plague] village and the Katku [Plague] pillar. One plague spirit came from Hirla but by the pillar it met another plague spirit. They started fighting and the Hirla plague spirit killed the traveling plague spirit. This was how the plague stopped* (narrated in 1932, in Hiiemäe 1997:366).

Existing physical objects and visible signs on them can be interpreted as supporting traces of past mythological action, as in the following example:

> *By Avanduse village [not far from Katku village described above] there are the footprints of the plague spirit on a stone, they are round, in the size of shoe heels* (narrated in 1932, in Hiiemäe 1997:374).

Another legend version connects the same plot with God:

> *There was a big stone near the Avanduse village, there was a hole in it. It was God himself who stepped on this stone with his shoe heel in the time of the plague* (narrated in 1932, in Hiiemäe 1997:374).

Thus, the omnipotence and omnipresence of the plague is comparable with the one of God and both mythological characters can replace each other in interpretations. However, the legends minimise their omnipresence into certain places and depict the narrator who is knowledgeable of such dangerous and safe places and proper behaviour in these as being at the top of the power hierarchy.

Lullikatku, Ookatku, Liikatku

In the following legend that lists several place names, the route of the plague spirit is illustrated by various types of activities and a figurative description of its various intensity but the route still has a clear direction and trajectory. Although physically, plague can spread out in random directions, in narratives it always moves only in one direction and passes only certain places, thus it is easy to detect polarised safe and dangerous places.

> *According to the folk narrative the plague raved in Torma after the Great Northern War. The following village names are derived from this period of plague: Lullikatku [Plague having fun], where the plague still just had fun, Ookatku [Plague in full swing] – where it got already in full swing, and Liikatku [Too much plague] – where it already went overboard* (Hiiemäe 1997:132-133).

However, in the following the linguists' view of the evolution of these place names is given, being quite different from the explanations given in vernacular plague legends:

- **Lullikatku** – first mentioned as Katku (meaning a wet, swampy place) in 1493. However, there is also a connection with plague: 1624 a peasant named *Kattko Lulle* was the only one in the village to survive the plague. The linguists propose that Lullikatku was derived from this person's name Lulli + *katk(u)* 'wet, swampy place' (Palli 1964:560).
- **Ookatku** – first mentioned as Katku (meaning a wet, swampy place) in 1406. Later came the part "O(h)o" that can mean a bear or a horse (Eesti Keele Instituut 2017).
- **Liikatku** – first mentioned in 1497, "Lii-" meaning "liiv" (sand) and "-katku" meaning a wet, swampy place (Eesti Keele Instituut 2017).

Additionally, there are also some folkloric accounts that do not contain the mythological dimension of these place names, yet they still delineate the places where the epidemics ravaged and bring them into connection with the emergence of respective place names:

> *Katkukaev [Plague well] – there was talk about it, my grandfather told it that whole villages died of plague. Then these place names evolved, they say: the meadow of Katkukaev [Plague well], Katkukaev [Plague well], Ookatku village, Lullikatku*

village, Liikatku village. This meadow is on the heyland of the Sadala village. It was earlier common village heyland (narrated in 1940, in Hiiemäe 1997:133).

The toponymic meeting point of both meanings of 'katk'

Both meanings of 'katk' (i.e. 'plague' and 'a swampy place') are mentioned only in a couple of legends and even here the action of the plague spirit is in the foreground. Both sample texts speak about a ditch where the plague spirit accidentally breaks the wheel of his carriage. In the first text the physical hindrance – the ditch – is depicted as more effective in stopping the plague than the mythological one – the sacred grove.

Next to Lemmingimetsa forest there is a small ditch/creek that is called Katkusoon [Plague ditch]. People narrate about this ditch: In earlier times, when there were many wars, hunger periods and plagues, the people from Palmse fled to the sacred grove of Watku and Lemmingimetsa and found refuge there. But once there was such a strong plague that even in the sacred grove people died. However, the plague spirit couldn't get to Lemmingimetsa forest. The wheel of the carriage of the plague spirit broke in the Katkusoon [Plague ditch] and so the plague had to stop. This is why the stream was named Katkusoon (narrated in 1917, in Hiiemäe 1997:369).

The second sample text has a personal dimension – the narrator has herself seen and measured the footprint of the plague on a stone. Participation in measuring the plague's footprint mentioned by the narrator hints that in the time when the text was written down (1929) the legend was still in circulation and people related to it although the last plague epidemics had passed already more than 200 years. Also, in the sample text the narrator relates to the text, colliding story logic and real life when she comments on the promise of the plague spirit that the plague spirit had indeed kept his word:

In earlier times here was Katku [Plague] village. After the war the plague came and took everybody who was left from the war. The plague came with a carriage. Only one white horse was left alive here – the father of my husband always told this story – that the old plague didn't touch this horse. There was a swampy water ditch – there was almost no water but it was still very swampy. It was behind the fence of a family's home and was called Eerikjaani ditch. In this ditch the carriage of the plague broke and the plague promised that even his grandchildren should not come back here. There are already few hundred years from this time but the plague has not come any more – it promised so and it really kept its promise and didn't come although there have been more wars later. From the same place a little bit towards Simuna there is a quite big stone. There were footprints on the stone long time. Old people told that these are the footprints of the plague. It was a sign that meant that the plague had indeed been there. By now the stone has been destroyed, otherwise

> *it would have still existed and you would have been able to see and touch. There are no prints of the toes, the plague only stepped on heels. I had a great power over this stone as child – I only let these children on the stone whom I wanted – the stone was on the field of my father*. […] *When we, the children started moving towards this big stone with our carriages it was a loud rumble. Sometimes we even made fine carriages, then the smaller children sat as the landlords in these carriages and the older children towed them. When we got there, we climbed the stone and measured the footprint of the plague* (narrated in 1929, in Hiiemäe 1997:370).

Wide reinterpretations of 'katk' toponyms in mythological terms show that existential questions of survival, exemplified through these toponyms and trajectories, were perceived as more important and universally relevant than talking about just a swampy spot in the nature, and respective narratives remained in circulation even centuries after the actual danger of plague passed – probably as wisdom of survival of epidemics that can be reused in the case of a next similar danger.

4. CONCLUSIONS: UNIVERSAL FUNCTIONS AND OUTPUTS OF EPIDEMIC LORE RELATED TO PLACE NAMES

As became visible in this paper, there are several layers of meaning in place name narratives depicting various epidemics: in addition to geographic-spatial realities they contain linguistic, historical, narrative, social and psychological dimensions. Such narratives should be used with reservations when dating historical facts, but they are a valuable material for investigating the narrative models of fear of epidemics as well as mental maps of danger and coping. In the times of epidemics past as well as present – especially when the mortality is high and a cure unknown – it is mentally encouraging to narrate about safe places and measures for granting safety. Similar narrative mechanisms as in plague legends can be observed in less mythological contemporary contexts and despite existing scientific-medical explanations.

Motives recurring and favoured in contemporary culture are among others: beliefs related to intended spreading of evil in certain places, and attempts to detect human or supernatural evil-doers (e.g. in narratives about Ebola, AIDS, Covid-19), supernatural intervention and story moral (e.g. AIDS or Covid-19 as punishment by God or personified nature), dichotomy of right and wrong behaviour, polarised mental maps (e.g. in modern times often only places listed in the news and in media-related rumors are perceived dangerous).

In Estonian old plague legends, the plague spirit moves in a radius of ca 30 km (approximately the circle where a sedentary rural person moved before the middle of the 20th century) (cf. Hiiemäe 2016). In a more mobile society, several layers of perceived danger radius can be observed: immediate danger perception continuously repeats old narrative localisation models that often don't exceed the same radius. Other media-influenced layers are a country and its parts that are demarcated and polarised through vernacular toponyms (e.g. Saaremaa and the rest of Estonia), and relations of a country to other countries and their inhabitants (e.g. fears related to China after the media repeated often enough that this was the place of origin of SARS and Covid-19). Thus, place names as components of epidemic narratives become efficient tools for communicating aspects of cultural ideology (e.g. demonising and polarising beliefs, localisation of dangerous "others" – supernatural or human, directions of threat demarcated by vernacular toponyms), triggering selective information processing and re-narrating, negotiations, decision-making and action related to subjective coping. Some coping strategies can be socially supportive (e.g. avoidance of certain places and certain contact, general feelings of control), yet in a more extreme form these can become socially destructive when carrying elements of xenophobia, stigmatisation and violence. For example, in a case where local people in Guinea killed an Ebola health team (BBC News 2014), accusing them of intentionally spreading the disease, there was apparently a connection with certain place types that because of respective folklore were perceived as related to the illness. Awareness of such tendencies can to some extent predict the future crisis behaviour of people during the epidemics.

On the other hand, the "plague plot" remains popular in folklore and rumours, horror films and computer games with a virus or germ depicted as omnipotent and omnipresent, yet with the clever and informed humans still winning. Thus, epidemic folklore embedding certain places and place names is surely more than just panic- and aggression-creating rumours – it is an unwritten collective chronicle of encountering a serious danger and surviving.

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LOOKING FOR THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE

NICKNAMES DENOTING IMAGINARY REMOTE LOCATIONS AND ALLUDING TO REALLY EXISTING ONES

Riemer Reinsma
Independent researcher, The Netherlands
rr@riemerreinsma.nl

ABSTRACT

Nicknames for imaginary remote hamlets are widespread. One may think, for example, of Podunk Hollow (US). In the Netherlands, Boerenkoolstronkeradeel is best known (boerenkool = kale, stronk= stembase, deel = municipality). The leading Dutch dictionary defines Boerenkoolstronkeradeel as "a remote hamlet, allegedly unreachable for 'modern civilisation'", the reference – most probably – being the Randstad, the urban conglomeration in the western part of the country. At least two factors may be supposed to have played a part in making some really existing locations inspirational: 1) remoteness, 2) agrarian character. This paper identifies regional linguistic characteristics in these nicknames, and relates them to specific existing locations, leading to the paradox that an almost unknown and remote location becomes a known icon for 'the middle of nowhere'. It will analyse to what extent each of the two factors may have made such really existing names inspirational. One of the conclusions will be that a third factor, too, must be considered: the estimated (subjective) linguistic distance between regional languages concerned on the one hand, and the standard language on the other.

Keywords: Frisian, linguistic distance, periphery, Randstad, regional languages, remoteness, toponymic nicknames

1. INTRODUCTION

Nicknames for imaginary remote hamlets are widespread, at least in industrial societies. Examples are *Hintertupfing(en)* (German), *Podunk Hollow* (US English), *Trifouillis-les-Oies* (French), and *Anderkant Nêrens* (Afrikaans). In the Netherlands, *Boerenkoolstronkeradeel* is best known (*boerenkool* = kale, *stronk* = stembase, *deel* = municipality). The Van Dale

Dictionary (Den Boon & Hendrickx 2015:481) defines *Boerenkoolstronkeradeel* as 'a remote hamlet, allegedly unreachable for "modern civilisation"'. According to Sanders (2003a:54), the reference is the Randstad, the conglomeration in the western part of the country which is the national economic and cultural centre.

In Dutch, this type of nickname has been attested since relatively recent times.[1] This may partly be due to their mainly being used in oral language; in written texts, most of them appear as late as the last half of the 19th century.

In Germany, some attention has been paid to the (present) geographic distribution of some nicknames of this kind in the *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* (Elspass & Möller 2003ff (2015; Zweite Runde, Frage 26: abgelegenes Dorf)). The German data are, however, hardly compatible with data used in this paper: they offer detailed information about nickname users all over the German speaking territory, but lack chronological information. Contrarily, the Dutch data used in this paper furnish less detailed information on the locations of nickname users, but provide us with chronological information.[2]

Tuan (1974:27) has stated that the idea of 'periphery' and 'centre' in spatial organisation is perhaps universal; in the Middle Ages, for example, the Christian community placed Jerusalem in the centre of maps. Less attention has been paid to the periphery. Considering, however, that it seems reasonable to associate the concept 'peripheral' here with that of 'remote', Bocco's recent overview (2016:178-181) is highly relevant. And this is where the mental map comes into view: how do people process geographic information, how is it represented in their mind? This paper examines how the mental map may serve as a means to express the concept 'in the middle of nowhere', by using imaginary nicknames in the national periphery. The assumption is, that, at least, two factors play a part when real locations inspire such nicknames: 1) their remoteness, 2) their agrarian character. The paper analyses to what extent each of these factors is decisive when it comes to inspiring nicknames.[3]

1 Fictive nicknames in general have been attested much earlier, at least from the 17th century (Sanders 2001:123).

2 Generally speaking, German nicknames denoting the 'middle of nowhere' seem not to exceed the Dutch-German state border. For example, the nickname *Posemuckel* (inspired by a village in present Poland; see Elspass & Möller 2003) has not been attested in the Netherlands. In contrast, the German nickname *Höckebömmele* and variants, occurring in the Aachen dialect (Sanders 2003b:120; Landschaftsverband Rheinland (*Rheinisches Mitmachwörterbuch*) s.v. *Möckebömmele*) have also been attested in the adjoining part of the Netherlands (though in Dutch orthography: *Mukkebummele*, etc.).

3 Bocco (2016:179) states: "Remote regions share with peripheries several characteristics: sparsely populated, with a limited range of economic activity, providing goods to external markets, relying on capital, finance and labor to be granted by urban centers, and losing particular populations, young people, retired workers to those centers".

Cadwallader (1976) remarks, in the light of an experiment, that subjects who are requested to make intra-urban distance estimates, tend to mention walking distances, while interurban distance estimates are made with reference to a straight line. The latter is relevant for the present study. Canter and Tagg (1975) conclude that interurban distances tend to be overestimated, independently from the size of the city. In addition to this, Pocock and Hudson (1978) state that such estimates are independent from questioned vehicles, travel time or straight-line distance. MacEachren (1980:30) supports this conclusion, maintaining that travel time is better than objective distance as a predictor of subjective distance if it comes to judgments on intra-urban distances, and thus suggests that the mental map, when it comes to *interurban* judgments, is based on straight-line distances.

No attention has been paid to the mental map as an expression of the spatial concept 'in the middle of nowhere', voiced by fictitious nicknames. Furthermore, the mental map has mostly been examined as a means to navigate: in neighbourhoods, cities, etc. This study aims to add a new aspect to mental map distortions. According to studies in the past decades, most distortions were caused by physical phenomena, like barriers in the landscape. In addition to this, a new distorting cause will be suggested, namely subjective language distance – the distance lay people experience between the standard language and regional language variants; in this case, language distance within the territory of the Netherlands.

2. METHOD

From Sanders (2003a) and *Wikipedia* (Dutch version, s.v. *Fictieve plaats*), a list of nicknames has been selected that show a convincing resemblance – in sound form and/or orthography – to really existing names, as recorded in *Metatopos* (Klein 2020) and the *Grote Topografische Atlas van Nederland* (Netherlands Topografische Dienst 1987).

Such resemblances alone do not necessarily imply that the nicknames concerned denote the concept of 'the middle of nowhere': they may just be nicknames for the *real* location. How to determine whether a nickname indeed refers to an *imaginary* location, the 'middle of nowhere'? To do so, contexts were collected in which the name is used, most of all from *Delpher* (https://www.delpher.nl/) and *Nexis Uni* (https://www.lexisnexis.nl/), and to a lesser extent from *Google* (https://www.google.com/). An example may clarify this. When the Dutch ex-partner of Alain Delon, still living in France after her divorce,

told in an interview[4] that she was living in "Kutkachelveen" (an imaginary hamlet whose name derives from a real Dutch village, Aarlanderveen[5]), she obviously did not refer to Aarlanderveen itself, but to an imaginary hamlet.

In many other cases, however, identifications are doubtful, because both an imaginary and the really existing place may be intended. In this study, only names which evidently do *not* allude to a given real location have been included. This applies obviously if one or more elements in a nickname which in itself is not identical with a real name, occur in more than one existing toponym, like the above-mentioned final element *-deel* in *Boerenkoolstronkeradeel*. This element is typical for Friesland, occurring in no less than 17 existing names, like Dongeradeel, Menaldumadeel and Tietjerksteradeel[6] (see Table 9.1). The element *Boerenkoolstronk* itself does not allude to any existing name.

While comparing such name elements with real ones, the question arises concerning how 'tolerant' we should be in assuming allusions. For example, a problem arises if we would relate nicknames ending in *-broek* (= swamp) and not containing any other characteristic common elements, to áll real names ending in *-broek*: these can be found all over the country, including the Randstad area (for example, *Bennebroek*, *Lisserbroek*, *Velserbroek*). Such cases have been left aside. Identification with real names is also doubtful if 'candidates' are far away from each other. The nickname *Plumpumperaveen* (*plumpump-* probably derived from *plumpudding*), for example, might allude to *Helenaveen* (NBr) as well as *Klazienaveen* (Dr) in view of the shared ending *-aveen*. Such cases, too, have been left aside.

The common elements can be final ones, as in *Boerenkoolstronkeradeel*,[7] but also initial ones (for example, *Andijviegarijp*, alluding to *Hardegarijp* and two other toponyms with the ending *-garijp* (= village; *andijvie* = endive).[8]

If a nickname can be associated with a shorter as well as a longer real name (or name element), the longer one was chosen. For example, the nickname *Gaskachtelternijveen* (< *Gasselternijveen*; *Gasselte* is etymologically opaque; *nijveen* = new moor; the word

4 *De Tijd* 12-7-2002 (see Sanders 2003a:190).

5 Aarlanderveen is also nicknamed *Aarlanderkutkachelveen* (*Aar* = river name; *kut* = cunt, *kachel* = furnace, *veen* = moor). The nickname must have developed as follows: *Aarlanderveen > Aarlanderkutkachelveen > Kutkachelveen*.

6 *Tietjerksteradeel* (*Tie* derives from a personal name; *tjerke* = church) owes part of its inspirational value (8 imaginary nicknames, see Table 9.1) especially to its anlaut *tiet*, which is wrongly associated with Dutch *tiet* 'woman's breast' and may have raised other sexual associations in ***Tiet****kutteradeel* ***Tiet****jerkstrakutteveen* (*kut* = pussy).

7 German examples of nicknames whose final element derives from real names, are Hintertupf*ikon* (alluding to the numerous Swiss locations ending in *-ikon*) and Hinter*duggingen* (alluding to the Swiss village Duggingen.

8 The Frisian toponym *Garijp*, without preceding element, must be supposed not to have been inspirational.

element *Gasselte* evoked an association with *gaskachel* = gas heater) might theoretically be associated with just the shorter name *Gasselte*, but also – and preferably with the more elaborate forms *Gasselternijveen* and *Gasselternijveenschemond* (*mond* = mouth).

At present, most of the Frisian municipalities with names ending in *-deel* and giving rise to nicknames, no longer exist as a result of manifold municipality mergers that took place from 1984 on. This does not mean, of course, that the nicknames involved immediately disappeared into oblivion.

3. RESULTS

In total, 55 imaginary nicknames have been found (for an alphabetical overview see Table 9.1, third column). They can be related to – in total – 102 really existing names (some of which form clusters). Apart from one-to-one relationships, asymmetrical relationships occur: one nickname alluding to more than one real name (as in the case of *Andijviegarijp*; see Table 9.1, nr. 6), and more than one nickname alluding to just one real name (e.g. *Aarlanderveen*).

Table 9.1 *Toponyms or toponymic morphemes inspiring nicknames meaning 'hamlet in the middle of nowhere'*

Similarities are bold. Provinces have been indicated as follows: Dr = Drente, Fr = Friesland, Gld = Gelderland, Gr = Groningen, L = Limburg, NBr = North Brabant, NH = North Holland, U = Utrecht, Z = Zeeland, ZH = South Holland.

	Inspirational toponym or toponymic morpheme	Number of inspired nicknames	Nicknames
1	Aarlanderveen (ZH)	4	**Aarlander**kutkachel**veen** **Aarlander**kutkachel**veen** aan Zee H**arle**veen Kutkachel**veen**
2	Achterste X (Dr, Gld, NBr): Achterste Brug (NBr) Achterste Diesdonk (NBr) Achterste Erm (Dr) Achterste Hees (L) Achterste Heide (NBr) Achterste Heikant (NBr) Achterste Hermalen (NBr) Achterstehoek (Gld) Achterste Rith (NBr)	1	**Achterste** Wildernis
3	Biggekerke (Z); see also *–kerke*	2	Sint-**Bigge**nklooster

Inspirational toponym or toponymic morpheme		Number of inspired nicknames	Nicknames
4	-deel (Fr) Baarderadeel Barradeel Dantumadeel Dongeradeel Ferwerderadeel Franekeradeel Hennaarderadeel Idaarderadeel Leeuwarderadeel Littenseradeel Menaldumadeel Oostdongeradeel Tietjerksteradeel (for nicknames especially inspired by Tietjerksteradeel, see nr. 21 below in this table) Utingeradeel Westdongeradeel Wonseradeel Wymbritseradeel	15	Boerenkoolstronkera**deel** Boerenstronteradeel Bokkeneukeradeel Boomstronkeradeel Hondstronteradeel Hupfalderadeel Koepoeperadeel Kutkrabberadeel Nutskutteradeel Oelewapperadeel Ooststronkeradeel Rompslomperadeel Spinaziegardeel Strontkluiteradeel Zuurstokkeradeel
5	ga (Gr, Fr) Aekinga (Fr) Augustinusga (Fr) Bantega (Fr) Buttinga (Fr) Doniaga (Fr) Follega (Fr) Goënga (Fr) Idzega (Fr) Jardinga (Fr) Jubbega (Fr) Loënga (Fr) Makkinga (Fr) Minnertsga (Fr) Nijega (Fr) Oudega (Fr; mun. Smallingerland) Oudega (Fr; mun. Wymbritseradeel) Parrega (Fr) Peperga (Fr) Sint-Nicolaasga (Fr) Sintjohannesga (Fr) Sonnega (Fr) Spanga (Fr) Vinkega (Fr) Uitwellingerga (Fr) Wolvega (Fr) Ypecolsga (Fr) Noordhornerga Gr	3	Kloothommels**ga** Prentenpielemansga Sint-Suïcidega

Inspirational toponym or toponymic morpheme		Number of inspired nicknames	Nicknames
6	-garijp (Fr) Hardegarijp Goingarijp	1	Andijvie**garijp**
7	Geen- (NBr) Geenhoven Geeneind	1	**Geen**huizen
8	Gasselternijveen (Dr)	2	**Gas**kach**elternijveen** **Gasselternij**ehoenderdoos
9	*Heerenveen (Fr)	2	**Her**ejezus**veen** Sint-**Her**ejezus**veen**
10	Heerjansdam (ZH)	3	**HeerJan**JezusGodverdomme**dam** **Her**ejezus**dam** **Her**ejezus**jansdam**
11	-karspel (NH) Bovenkarspel Hoogkarspel Oudkarspel Sijbekarspel	1	Boerenkoolstronkeradeelster**karspel**
12	-kerke (Z) Aagtekerke Biggekerke Boudewijnskerke Grijpskerke ´s-Heer Abtskerke ’s-Heer Arendskerke Hoedekenskerke Klein Mariekerke Kleverskerke Koudekerke Meliskerke Nieuwerkerke Serooskerke Sinoutskerke Sint Janskerke Westkerke Wissekerke Wissenkerke	1	Plurken**kerke**
13	Lutjebroek (NH)	3	F**lutje**broek **Lutje**beren**broek** **Lutjebroek**-in-’t Veld
14	Moddergat (Fr)	1	**Modder**stad

* Heerenveen as the source of inspiration is somewhat doubtful because it is not a typically rural town (29,000 inhabitants).

Inspirational toponym or toponymic morpheme		Number of inspired nicknames	Nicknames
15	Numansdorp (ZH)	1	**N**ie**man**ds**dorp**
16	Roelofarendsveen	1	Kutje**arendsveen**
17	- scha (Fr) Appelscha (Fr) Terwisscha (Fr)	3	Kikkerbil**scha** Ukkerscha, Ukkelscha (Fr)
18	Stampersgat (NBr)	1	Rampe**stampersgat**
19	-terp (Fr) Bonjeterp Greonterp Jousterp Lekkerterp Olterterp Oude Terp Rijtseterp Slappeterp Ureterp	2	Dikkelul**terp** Scheurterp aan de IJssel
20	Tietjerksteradeel (Fr)	8	Likmehol**steradeel** Klondijk**steradeel** Poepgeil**stradeel** Rodekool**stradeel** Schaamlip**stradeel** **Tietjerkstra**kutteveen **Tiet**kut**teradeel** **T**jierkut**steradeel**
21	Wapserveen (Dr)	1	Oost**wap**perzand-Buiten

Figure 9.1 (based on Table 9.1) shows that the vast majority of these nicknames have been inspired from the northern part of the country (38 inspirational places in Friesland, Groningen, Drente), especially from the province of Friesland (34; see Figure 9.2). North of the Randstad (but close to it) is also the northern part of North Holland (4). The southern periphery has 7 nicknames.

The nickname *Achterste Wildernis* (= hindmost wilderness) is possibly related to 9 existing names (see Figure 9.3), stretching out along the border with Belgium and Germany. The vicinity of the border must be viewed as coincidental, considering that the adjective *Achterste* in all these cases has local hamlets or towns as a reference point, not the Randstad. Most of them are even located west of their reference points.[9] For example, Achterste Heikant is situated west of Voorste Heikant.

9 In the Western part of the country, *Achterste* as an initial element has been attested only once, as a street name in South Holland: *Achterste Kruisweg*, south of the Randstad.

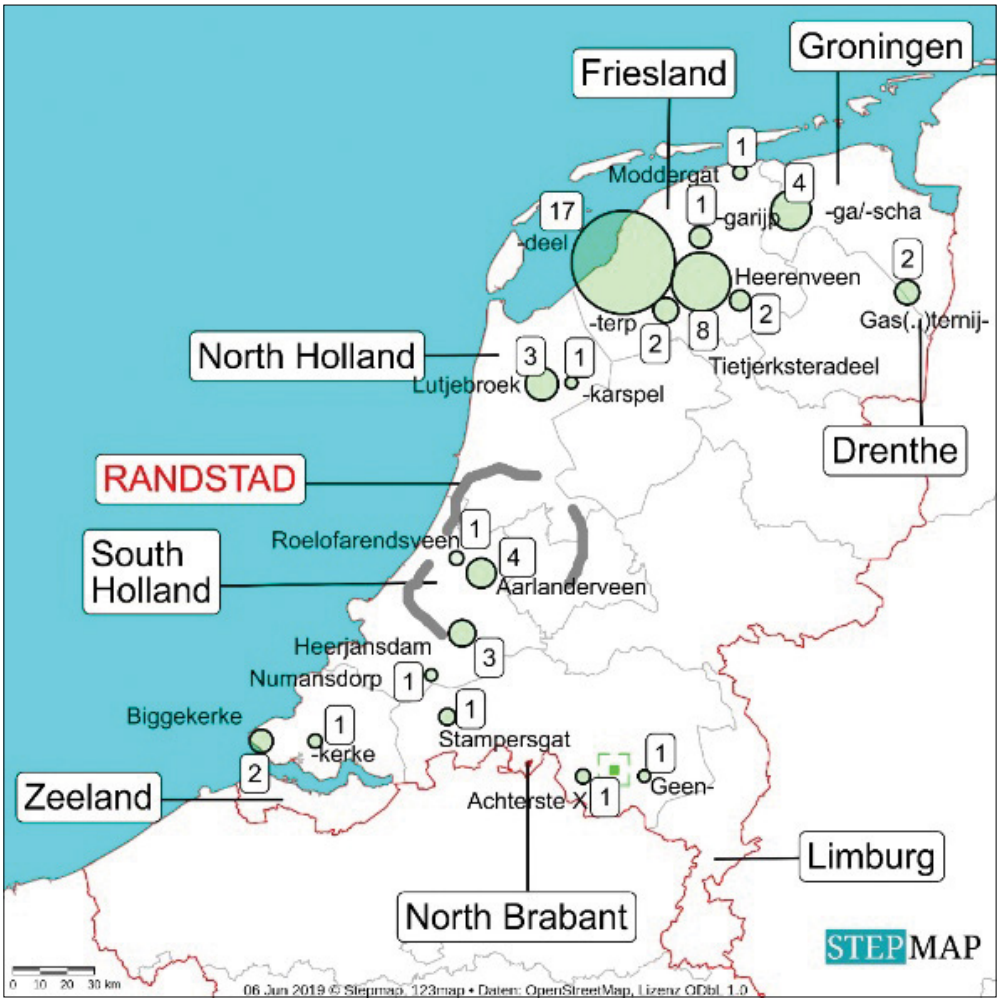

Figure 9.1 *Toponyms inspiring nicknames meaning 'hamlet in the middle of nowhere'*

The circles indicate the number of nicknames (numbers are mentioned in the squares) that allude to the real name or name element concerned. The dark grey line near the Western coast renders the horse shoe formed Randstad area.

Figure 9.2 *Nicknames in Friesland denoting the 'middle of nowhere'*

The shaded area refers to names of (mainly former) municipalities whose names end in *-deel*; these have not been marked individually.

Figure 9.3 *Achterste X*

In some cases, both an initial and a final element of the inspirational name are recognisable in the nickname. Example: *Gasselternijveen*, recognizable in *Gas**kachel**ternijveen*.

Derogatory names denoting the 'middle of nowhere' and containing the initial element *Oost* 'east' are more frequent (four occurrences in Sanders (2003b:71); for example, *Oostbegonië*) than those beginning with other compass directions. Names starting with *Noord* ''North' are even absent. On this basis one would expect that 'the middle of nowhere' should be in the eastern part of the Netherlands. A (very weak) preference for *Oost-* is in fact visible in the data, which restrict to nicknames inspired by recognizable toponyms (twice, namely *Oostwapperzand-Buiten* and *Ooststronkeradeel*; *Zuid-* and *West-* are absent). However, the absence of *West-* might, if one wishes, be put down to the fact that in the Netherlands 'the West' is deemed more or less identical with the

Randstad[10] and is therefore unsuitable for associations with 'the middle of nowhere'. The preference for *Oost-* loses even more weight if one realises that the North, especially Friesland, scores by far the most nicknames.

A remarkable case is the name pair *Niemandsdorp* – *Numans*dorp. Curiously, the nickname not only denotes an imaginary village in the middle of nowhere, but also serves as a frequently used variant – without any mocking purpose – for the official name *Numansdorp* (named after a 14th century person, craftsman Gerrit Numan). As early as 1797 the folk etymological variant *Niemandsdorp* showed up in an official publication.[11] The same applies to *Harleveen*, which showed up in 1976 as a nickname denoting the 'middle of nowhere', after having been used as an official name variant since 1754 (see also footnote 5)[12]. Another blurred border between imagination and reality occurred when the mayor of Tietjerksteradeel told that many outsiders think that *Tietjerksteradeel* is an imaginary nickname, 'a sort of Boerenkoolstronkeradeel'. 'I still hear it regularly […], Tietjerksteradeel, that does not really exist, does it?' (Bijlsma 1982, translated).

It seems surprising that two nicknames have been found in the Randstad area itself, but the explanation is evident: the Randstad is a megalopolis, with in the middle of it a large and sparsely populated central agrarian area, called the *Groene Hart*, 'Green Heart' (see Figure 9.1). Within the Green Heart are Aarlanderveen (alluded to by *Harleveen*[13] and other variants), and Roelofarendsveen (alluded to by *Kutjearendsveen*; *kutje* = pussy). Just outside the Randstad are the above-mentioned *Numansdorp*, *Heerjansdam* (inspiring to, among other things, *Herejezusdam*; *Herejezus* = Lord Jesus). And in Westfriesland, north of the Randstad, is Lutjebroek, alluded to a.o. by *Lutjebroek-in-'t Veld* (= 'Lutjebroek in the field').

As mentioned above, the Randstad is most probably the reference point of all these nicknames. In this respect it is significant that *Boerenkoolstronkeradeel*, despite its Frisian inspirational origin, has never been Frisified. If so, the name would be

10 The *Bosatlas van Nederland* (Wolters-Noordhoff Atlasproducties 2007:309), for example, counts the Randstad provinces North Holland, South Holland and Utrecht as 'the West'.

11 *Dagverhaal* 1797, vol.6:709.

12 *Mars-drager* 1754:76.

13 Long before Aarlanderveen inspired imaginary nicknames, the village was reputed for being agrarian and isolated from urban culture, and thereby ill-mannered, peculiar, old-fashioned (see Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal (*WNT*) s.v. *Aarlanderveen*). In a farce from 1709, a poet was said to sing "op zijn oud Harleveens" [in a Harleveen way; i.e. in a very singular way]. The name variant *Harleveen* is generally considered as a corruption (probably by the outside world) of *Aarlanderveen*, possibly by association with *harlekijn* 'harlequin'. There is no evidence that *Harleveen* is a dialectal variant (see Van Berkel and Samplonius 2018, s.v. *Aarlanderveen*).

something like *Boerekoalstobberadiel*. In a letter sent to a newspaper, Piersma (1985) said: "typysk fan dy 'Boerenkoolstronkeradeel'-réaksjes" [typically reactions from Boerenkoolstronkeradeel].

As far as Frisian inspired nicknames are involved, not every nickname creator is aware of its Frisian background. The imaginary hamlet Scheurterp aan de IJssel (*scheur* = crack, burst; *terp* = mound; the IJssel is a river) is inspired by eight Frisian villages whose names end in *terp*). The IJssel river, however, is outside Friesland. Another case of confusion (or perhaps negligence) is *Boerenkoolstronkeradeelsterkarspel*. *Karspel* is an obsolete word meaning 'ecclesiastical parish'. But whereas *Boerenkoolstronkeradeel* is Frisian inspired, *karspel* reminds of four villages in North Holland. It is true that Friesland has a municipality called *Achtkarspelen* ('eight parishes'), but this name contains a plural ending, and the location is far from the North Holland villages, so it seems improbable that it has been inspirational.

Why does Friesland, together with a small adjoining part of Groningen (where many toponyms have a Frisian origin, due to the fact that the province used to speak Frisian in the past), rank so high? Let us first take a look at the agrarian aspect. Friesland is, indeed, one of the most agrarian and least populated areas in the Netherlands (see Figure 9.4). But so are Zeeland and the adjoining part of South Holland, which attributes only three nicknames. The agrarian aspect seems therefore in itself not to be decisive. Nor is the aspect 'remoteness'. Friesland is about as remote with regard to the Randstad as Zeeland.[14] What *is* decisive, however, is probably the subjective language distance between Standard Dutch (as spoken in the Randstad, especially – according to a popular lay opinion – in the city of Haarlem) on the one hand and the regiolects spoken in Friesland on the other. Van Bezooijen and Heeringa (2006) explored laymens' intuitions on the linguistic distance between regional varieties and standard Dutch, and concluded that Frisian scores highest (72) on a 100-point scale (see Figure 9.5). This is in line with *objective* linguistic distances (Van Bezooijen & Heeringa 2006:83), which are measured by counting the number of steps (in terms of deletion, substitution, and insertion of phonemes) needed to eliminate the difference between words in related languages or language variants, for example, between the words *mother* and *Mutter*. The authors do not attribute, however, the correctness of the estimated linguistic distances to the subjects' being so well informed on this. In fact, their overestimates are based on Frisian being the only regional variant that has received official status and therefore being

14 Nonetheless, Van Roosmalen (2019:C2) remarks: "Van alle provincies voelt Zeeland het verste weg" [Out of all provinces, Zeeland feels the most remote].

experienced as linguistically distant (Van Bezooijen & Heeringa 2006:86). The Zeeland regiolect is experienced as considerably closer to the Randstad language (39). Figure 9.6 shows objective linguistic distances.

Figure 9.4 *Land use in the Netherlands and especially in Friesland*

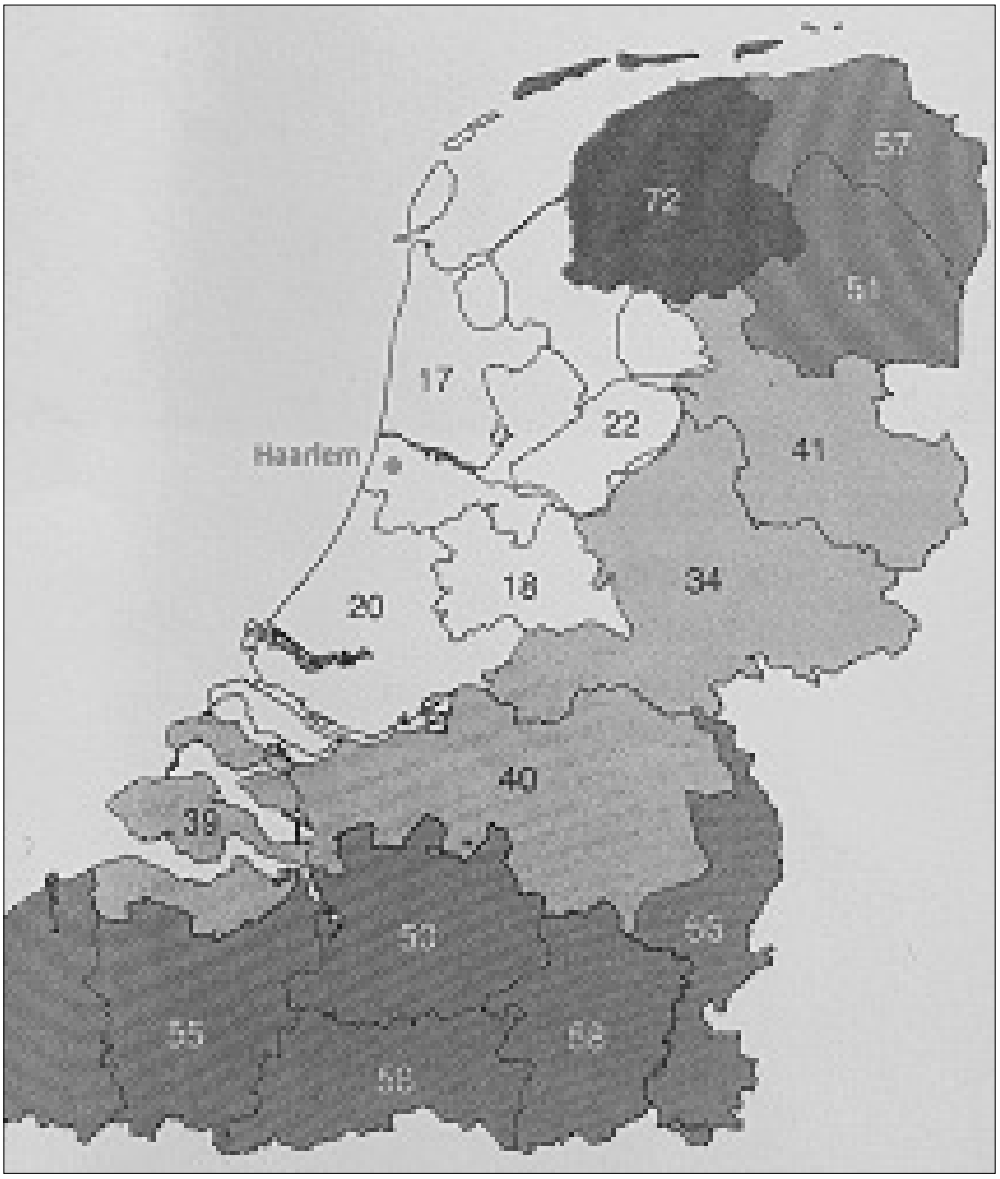

Figure 9.5 *Subjective linguistic distance between standard and regional varieties of Dutch*

Distances were measured from Haarlem (minimum 0, maximum 100). The four groups distinguished are indicated with different shadings of grey: the darker the grey, the greater the subjective linguistic distance. Below is the Belgian part of the language area. Source: Van Bezooijen and Heeringa (2006:79).

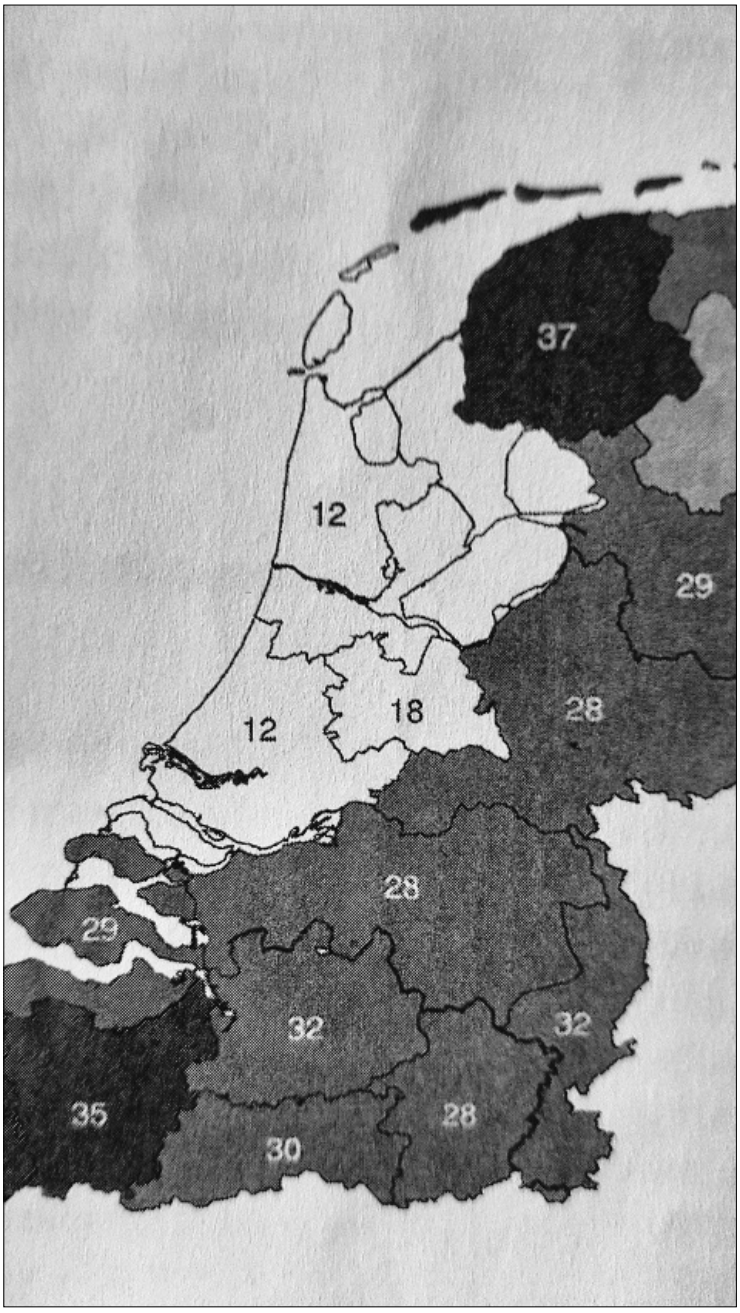

Figure 9.6 *Objective linguistic distances to Standard Dutch*

The darker the grey, the greater the distance. Source: Van Bezooijen and Heeringa (2006:83).

The presence of the above suggested factors that influence the creation of nicknames denoting the middle of nowhere is confirmed if one takes a look at the choice of words or word elements in nicknames. In the majority of nicknames, one or more of the three relevant motives can be discerned: geographic distance in straight line, estimated linguistic distance, and agricultural character (see Table 9.2; only nicknames with relevant linguistic elements have been included[15]).

- The ending *-veen* in nicknames may be supposed to allude to rurality. It occurs in the inspirational names *Aarlanderveen*, *Heerenveen*, *Gasselternijveen* and *Roelofarendsveen*. Association with agriculture might at first glance seem unjust: the relationship between veen, a type of soil, and agriculture is rather indirect. Moreover, a few middle-sized cities exist whose names end in *-veen*: Amstelveen (90.000 inhabitants, a suburb of Amsterdam); Hoogeveen (55,000). Considering, however, that of 86 existing locations whose names end in *-veen*, only four have more than 20,000 inhabitants, the ending *-veen* seems prototypical for rural character. This is confirmed by the circumstance that out of all really existing 86 *-veen* locations, 37 are in Drente (northeastern part of the Netherlands), 15 in Overijssel (east), the remaining provinces each counting less than 7 occurrences. Word elements denoting vegetables or cattle, too, allude to agrarian activity. Furthermore, the nicknames *Niemandsdorp* (folk etymologically interpreted as 'nobody's village), *Geenhuizen* (folk etymologically interpreted as 'no houses') and the word element *gat* ('hamlet') allude to a low population density and can thus be supposed to evoke rural associations.
- Nicknames ending in *-deel* and variants like *-eradeel* (inspired by names in Friesland) or ending in *-scha*/*-sga* (Friesland, Groningen) allude to large subjective linguistic distance.

15 For example, *Herejezusdam* has been left out. It is not clear why this nickname refers to the 'middle of nowhere'. Religion does not seem a relevant feature.

Table 9.2 *Motives for nicknames denoting the 'middle of nowhere' and inspired by existing toponyms*

Bold in left column: relevant name elements.

Nickname denoting 'middle of nowhere'	Comment	Alluding to large (straight line) geographic distance	Estimated linguistic distance	Alluding to agriculture
Aarlanderkutkachel**veen**	alluding to Aarlanderveen; *kut* = cunt, *kachel* = furnace, *veen* = moor			+
Aarlanderkutkachel**veen** aan Zee	*aan Zee* = on Sea			+
Achterste Wildernis	*achterste* = hindermost	+		
Andijviegarijp	*andijvie* = endive		+	+
Boerenkoolstronkera**deel**	*boerenkool* = kale; *stronk = stump; deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	+
Boerenkoolstronkera**deelsterkarspel**	*boerenkool* = kale; *stronk* = stump; *deel* = 'municipality'; *karspel* = parish		+	+
Boerenkoolstronk**steradeel**			+	+
Boerenkoolstront**steradeel**			+	+
Boerenkoolstront**eradeel**			+	+
Boerenstront**eradeel**			+	+
Boerenstront**steradeel**			+	+
Bokkeneuk**eradeel**	*bok* = goat; *neuken* = to fuck			
Boomstronk**eradeel**	*boomstronk* = tree stump		+	
Dikkelul**terp**	*dik* = thick; *lul* = prick; *terp* = mound, knoll			
Gaskachelternijveen	derived from *Gasselternijveen*			+
Gasselternijerhoenderdoos	derived from *Gasselternijveen*			+
Geenhuizen	folk etymologically interpretated as 'no houses'			+
Harle**veen**	folk etymologically modified variant of *Aarlanderveen*			+

Nickname denoting 'middle of nowhere'	Comment	Alluding to large (straight line) geographic distance	Estimated linguistic distance	Alluding to agriculture
Herejezus**veen**	'Lord Jesus' moor'; moor probably symbolizing remoteness			+
Hondstront**eradeel**	*hondstront* = dogshit		+	
Hupfald**eradeel**	*hup* expresses an incitement, *faldera* is a nonsense word in children's songs; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Kikkerbil**scha**	*kikkerbil* = frog's leg*; ga* or *cha* is Frisian for 'village'		+	
Klondijkstera**deel**	*deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Kloothommel**sga**	*kloothommel* = asshole; *-ga* is Frisian for 'village'		+	
Knoldijs**radeel**	Wordplay with *knolradijs* 'turnip radish' + Frisian *deel*		+	
Koepoep**eradeel**	*koe* = cow; *poep* = excrement			
Kutjearends**veen**	*Kutje* = small cunt; *-arendsveen* alludes to (real toponym) *Roelofarendsveen*			+
Kutkachel**veen**	*kut* = cunt, *kachel* = furnace, *veen* = moor			+
Kutkrabber**adeel**	*kut* = cunt, *krabber* = scratcher; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'			
Likmehol**steradeel**	*likmehol* = kiss my ass; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Niemandsdorp	'Nobody's village' (folk etymological distortion of *Numansdorp*)			+
Nutskut**eradeel**	*Nuts* = ?; *kut* = cunt; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Oelewapper**adeel**	*Oelewapper* = nincompoop		+	

Nickname denoting 'middle of nowhere'	Comment	Alluding to large (straight line) geographic distance	Estimated linguistic distance	Alluding to agriculture
Ooststronk**eradeel**	*Oost* = *east*; *stronk* = *stump*		+	
Poepgeil**stradeel**	*Poep* = excrement; *geil* = horny; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Prentenpielemans**ga**	*prentenpieleman* is in the Zwolle dialect a comedian (Sanders 2003b:204); *-ga* is Frisian for 'village'			
Rampestampers**gat**	Comical modification of the real toponym Stampersgat; *rampetampen* = to fuck; *gat* = hamlet			+
Rodekoolstradeel	*rodekool* = red cabbage; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	+
Rompslomp**eradeel**	*deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Schaamlip**stradeel**	*schaamlippen* = labia; *deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Scheur**terp** aan de IJssel	*scheuren* = to tear ?; *terp* -= mound		+	
Sint-**Biggen**klooster	*Sint* = saint; *Bigge* (personal name) folk etymologically interpreted as *big* 'pig'			+
Sint-Herejezus**veen**	'Saint Lord Jesus' moor'			+
Sint-Herejezus in 't **veen**	'Saint Lord Jesus in the moor			+
Sint-Suïcide**ga**	'Saint Suicide Village'			
Spinaziegar**deel**	*spinazie* = spinach		+	
Strontkluit**eradeel**	*deel* Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Tietjerkstrakutte**radeel**			+	
Tietjerkstrakutte**veen**	*Tietjerkstra* shortened from Tietjerksteradeel (Frisian municipality); *kut* = cunt; *veen* = moor*l*		+	+

Nickname denoting 'middle of nowhere'	Comment	Alluding to large (straight line) geographic distance	Estimated linguistic distance	Alluding to agriculture
Tietkuttera**deel**	*Tiet* shortened from Tietjerksteradeel; *kut* = cunt; *deel* Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Tjierkut**steradeel**	*Tjier* may be a distortion of *Tietjerk*			
Ukker**scha**/Ukkel**scha**			+	
West-Boomstronk**eradeel**	*deel* is Frisian for 'municipality'		+	
Zuurstokkera**deel**			+	

Table 9.2 demonstrates that linguistic distance ranks first (32 times), followed by agricultural character (23 times) and geographic distance (once). Language and agricultural character thus prevail exceedingly over geographic distance. The dominance of the language factor is supported by Sanders (2003a:54), who observes that the 'middle of nowhere' is not necessarily remote, and is sometimes experienced at a very short geographic distance from the reference point. For example, the name of the really existing village *Knollendam*, at the edge of the Randstad and administratively even part of it (it belongs to the Randstad municipality Zaanstad), can denote the 'middle of nowhere' because the name evokes rural associations (*knol* 'small hill' being folk etymologically interpreted as 'turnip').

4. CONCLUSION

The presumption that remoteness – physical distance – and agrarian character exercised influence in the creation of nicknames denoting the middle of nowhere, has proved to be right, but the degree to which they do so, differs. Agrarian character prevails over physical distance. Furthermore, a third factor has been identified: subjective linguistic distance. Surprisingly, the latter prevails over agrarian character and geographic distance. Subjective linguistic distance is by far the dominant factor. Objective linguistic distance is not relevant.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL DETERMINANTS OF NAMING THE PLACE IN BULAWAYO'S *WE NEED NEW NAMES*

Sindiso Zhou
szhou@ufh.ac.za

Nhlanhla Landa
nlanda@ufh.ac.za

Baba Tshotsho
btshotsho@ufh.ac.za

Department of English and Comparative Studies,
University of Fort Hare, South Africa

ABSTRACT

The paper traces the place-naming patterns in NoViolet Bulawayo's We Need New Names (Bulawayo 2013). Our reading of this text indicates that not only do people need new names in the post-colonial state dealt with in the text, but the spaces and places they inhabit do too. These places need to be named to reflect what has become of them following the political, cultural, social, and, especially, economic decay that has taken place in the country. Reference is made in the naming to the social, economic and political developments in the recent past of Zimbabwe. The author Bulawayo's naming of places reinforces the notion that social experiences influence naming. Thus, place names are artefacts of historical events. Bulawayo obviously names to reflect the socio-political and socio-economic state of the post-colonial state, drawing attention to, and engaging critically with the status quo. We submit that while the place names point to physical structures, they also excavate and expose what underlies the socio-political, the existential, and the philosophical. We advance that more than being special geographic references; these names frame something bigger than space, bigger than the physical. By juxtaposing Paradise, a "kaka" shanty town born out of the demolition of houses by the government, and Budapest, a symbol of affluence, Bulawayo exposes the rampant levels of inequality and rot in the post-colonial state.

Keywords: inequality, place names, post-colonial state, status quo

1. INTRODUCTION

The study focuses on place names as reflected in the novel *We Need New Names* by NoViolet Bulawayo (real name Elizabeth Zandile Tshele). Of major interest to us was her justification for the need for new names (for persons, but also, for this study, for places). For personal names, we have argued elsewhere, she leads by example through re-naming herself NoViolet Bulawayo – the etymology of which other researchers such as Obioha (2014) and Moji (2015) have dedicated time detailing. One of the major reasons *We Need New* (place) *Names* is so we can capture the contemporary reality in Zimbabwe. What reality is, is what our study set out to establish. Our focus, therefore, was on the socio-economic and socio-political determinants of naming the place as reflected in the novel. We did a close reading of the novel to arrive at the interpretations of the names we discuss in this paper. The study set out to investigate how naming (and re-naming) of place is deployed in *We Need New Names* to engage with complex issues relating to socio-economic and socio-political states of the nation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

We join a growing number of researchers who have reacted to Bulawayo's work. These include Otas (2013), Kohler (2014), Ndlovu (2016), Moji (2015), Naidoo (2017), Ngoshi (2016) and several others. Due to the broad approach that Bulawayo uses in the novel, which has seen her engage with diverse themes relating to post-colonial Zimbabwe, literature on *We Need New Names* is diverse. While a significant extent of literature has been on names and naming in the novel, some of it has covered other areas such as religion (Randall 2018), post-colonial protest (Ngoshi 2016), migration (Moji 2015) and national dysfunction (Mavengano & Hove 2019).

Nthini (2013) has described *We Need New Names* as 'a work of outstanding quality from an exceptional talent'. Other scholars do not agree. For example, Ndlovu (2016:133) has advanced one of the strongest criticisms yet when he submits that *We Need New Names* should be "understood in the context of the struggle for rare publication opportunities by the so-called new generation African fictional writers who have recently received great literary acclaim in Western Europe and in America". Ngoshi (2016) submits that *We Need New Names* fails to transcend protest. In light of the varied responses from scholars hailing from, and influenced by various disciplines, this paper delves beyond the morbid humour of the text to interrogate how naming of place is deployed in *We Need New Names.* The paper engages with the complex issues relating to socio-economic and socio-political states of the nation.

The significance of place names in Africa has been given attention and emphasised by many scholars in the past few decades. For example, place names distinguish one locality from the next (Ormeling 2007; Uluocha 2015) and they have significance in relation to culture and religion among other aspects of society (Snodia, Muguti & Mutami 2010). Attention has also been directed to how place names were altered by colonial history to reflect the aspirations of those in power (Batoma 2006; Raper 2004). Uluocha (2015) calls this colonial alteration of names unscrupulous toponymical deformation of indigenous place names.

Upon gaining independence, several African countries had to embark on re-naming or correcting the names of places (Adebanwi 2012; Koopman 2012; Mbenzi 2009; Snodia, Tasara & Nicholas 2014). This was an attempt to contextualise, decolonise and transform names from reflecting colonial hegemony to communicating an indigenous and independent sensibility. This was necessitated by the fact that "place names contribute to forge the identity of particular places" (Guyot & Seethal 2007:55). They add that in South Africa, the subject of place name changes is a very sensitive one because place names are "symbols of racial identity and are contested along race and identity".

Place names in literary texts hold immense symbolic power and significance (Butler 2013). Each place name in literary texts is crafted carefully and is a front for a deep tale behind it (Algeo 1985). Buttler further claims that every name in a literary text is placed there with semantic intent and specific effect. Naming in texts is seldom random. It is only limited by the author's ingenuity (Passage 1982). It is in this context that we interrogate Bulawayo's deployment of place names in *We Need New Names.*

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We used the theoretical concepts of carnival, following Bakhtin (1984a; 1984b). *Carnival* is an expression of a 'second life' of the people and it originates with the people – not given by the hegemonic state. It refers to 'the world turned upside down', which illustrates distortion and disorder. In carnival, social class and status are reversed e.g. the fool as a king for a day. It is mockery of those in positions of power (Bakhtin 1984a).

In carnival, gender boundaries and expectations are subverted, which involves dressing up and/or a loosening of identity. Revelry and humour are employed; 'the belly laugh' is launched as corporeal and communal. Carnival celebrates the grotesque, and propriety and order are rejected (Bakhtin 1984b). Several performances of carnival can be seen as resistance, as a collective response to the challenging of power (Farrar, Marshall &

Farrar 2018). As shall be shown in the section below, Bulawayo unleashes carnival to challenge the status quo and to expose the rot in the post-colonial state.

4. ANALYSIS

4.1 The Postcolonial Paradox in Zimbabwe dealt with in *We Need New Names*

Our analysis of Bulawayo's *We Need New Names* is hinged on the complex interplay between person, place and contextual circumstances such as socio-economic and socio-political aspects of the nation. Figure 10.1 below shows the Postcolonial Paradox in Zimbabwe dealt with in *We Need New Names.*

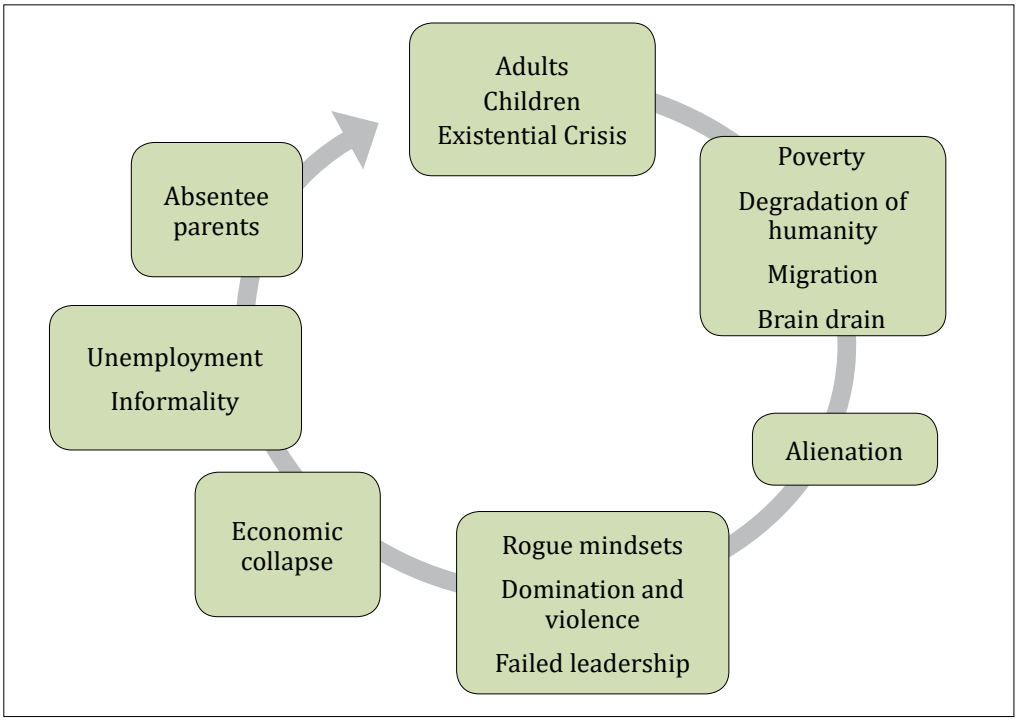

Figure 10.1 *Framing of the Postcolonial Concept in* We Need New Names

We Need New Names may easily be interpreted to mean people (We) need to be re-named or named following new patterns and circumstances. However, to understand the new names, it is important to take stock of the context, which we term the postcolonial paradox, in which individuals exist. Under the leadership of a corrupt and rogue regime, there is

domination, violence and economic collapse that leaves the population vulnerable, poor and in an existential crisis. Such complexly interrelated issues can necessitate re-naming or changing patterns of naming. Examples in the literature include the altering of the political power balance in society, eruption of new places like residential suburbs and new socio-economic situations among others. In literary texts, the naming of characters and places is often fictitious. We broaden the interpretation of We *Need New Names* to also mean that persons (We) need to update names to capture new realities – names of persons, and of places. This is not new; it resonates with the Catholic practice of giving new names to converts at baptism. As they entered the new path of walking with Christ Jesus, the newly baptised needed names that befit the journey.

While Bulawayo's place names in *We Need New Names* are obviously fictitious, we hold that these are carefully crafted to expose the living conditions of Zimbabweans of the specific time in which the text is located. Bulawayo takes advantage of the flexibility of her channel of communication to re-name as many times as befits conditions. Her argument is simple; the names as they stand do not even begin to reflect the situation, and especially the condition of the society. The places as they (the children) know them 'now' (in a conflict-ridden and economically unequal post-colonial state) are not reflected in the old names they bear, hence the new names, and the new ways of naming and re-naming.

We hold that place names are condensed narratives of collective reality and identity, naturally with some realities prioritised over others due to the politics of naming. Names in *We Need New Names*, including those based on irony, are directed at reflecting the lived experiences of especially the children represented in the novel. Bulawayo deals with multiple serious issues in postcolonial Zimbabwe, including the tabooed ones. These include broken families, immorality, HIV and AIDS, child abuse, forced migration, political and socio-economic decay, the church and gullibility, the diaspora, violence, displacements, choreographed humanitarian aid, realities of migration, abortion, life and death, etc. She deals with how power plays a hegemonic role in the post-colonial state; the tragic ironies of postcolonial society in Africa.

Five place names are discussed in the sections below. Some names are not discussed, but are mentioned in passing in relation to the ones discussed. A few personal names are also brought into the discussion where they closely relate to and illuminate the place names of interest. The selected names are marked distinctively in bold.

4.2 Paradise and Budapest

The first set of place names we were interested in are **Paradise** and **Budapest**. Bulawayo juxtaposes the two residential areas separated by two streets. On one hand, closer to **MzilikaziRoad**, is **Paradise**, a shanty residential area born out of the demolition of houses by the government. Naming the shanty town **Paradise** seems to ask the question: where is the paradise that independence brought the black people when affluence and riches are still associated with a few? We use Bulawayo's own phrase and call this a "*kaka*" town. *Kaka* is human excrement, and Bulawayo uses the term to describe or name anything the children in the novel do not like, do not approve of, or judge as detestable. As we read in Bulawayo (2013:62), **Paradise** is made up of tin houses. It represents lack of food, water, sanitation facilities and many other needs for normal human survival. It is deplorable and appalling.

On the other side, closer to **Hope Street**, is **Budapest,** an affluent suburb characterised by riches and excess. Thus, Bulawayo exposes the rampant levels of inequality and rot in the post-colonial state. The children spend their days stealing guavas. Based on the excerpt below, the stealing supplements family food. We read; "There are guavas to steal in **Budapest**, and right now, I would rather die for guavas. We didn't eat this morning and my stomach feels like somebody just took a shovel and dug everything out" (Bulawayo 2013:1). Without crossing the two streets, the children would go hungry.

4.3 Shanghai

Because the construction site nearby, on the other side of ***Masiyephambili*** (Let us move forward) **Road**, is dominated by Chinese nationals, Bulawayo calls it **Shanghai**. With it, she launches an attack on China and China-Africa economic relations. The child narrator and her friends who are the same age are used to confront this important subject. We read:

> *Yes, didn't I tell you last time that China is a big dog? Was I lying? Isn't this major, all this? ... the other Chinese workers here aren't even half his size, so what is wrong with this one? And then to add to our surprise even more, the fat man starts ching-chonging to us like he thinks he is in his grandmother's backyard. He ching-chongs ching-chongs and then stops, the kind of stop that tells you he is expecting an answer ... Yes, somebody told Fat Mangena here that Chinese is our national language"* (Bulawayo 2013:43).

As the narrator gets angrier at China and the Chinese, the mall construction site changes from **Shanghai** to *kaka* mall, and:

> *If it weren't for the noisy machines, the Chinese would hear us telling them to leave our country and go and build wherever they come from, that we don't need their kaka mall, that they are not even our friends* (Bulawayo 2013:47).

However, that the mall is *kaka* could be a reference to the lack of durability of Chinese constructed buildings and infrastructure in Zimbabwe. Moyo and Mdlongwa (2015) have listed several infrastructures in Zimbabwe constructed by Chinese contractors that have had serious faults. In this instance, we see reality and fiction at the interface.

Even the *kaka* mall construction site supervisor is re-named ***Mangena***. In isiNdebele, the language of the children in the novel, ***Mangena*** means the 'one who enters' or an 'invader'. It could be referring to the sexual activity that is going on in a tent at the site between the 'fat ***Mangena***' and thin black girls. Thus, Bulawayo exposes the sexual exploitation of the poor. This sexual behaviour of the Chinese has been given attention by Eppel (2007 cited in Moyo & Mdlongwa 2015). The exploitation goes beyond the sexual abuse of the young girls; the black men are made to work without safety clothing while the Chinese nationals doing the same job are in full gear of work suits and helmets. The government of Zimbabwe has not done anything about it. Once again, fiction dapples with real issues that the average Zimbabwean is grappling with.

However, we are also persuaded that *Mangena* is a reference to China's encroachment into Africa for economic gains, which, in Zimbabwe, is encouraged by the Look East Policy to economic growth. That is why the narrator says Mangena's stomach looks "like he has swallowed a country" (Bulawayo 2013:45). The relationship between China and Zimbabwe and how it is benefiting China more than it does Zimbabwe, has also been criticised by several scholars writing in the same period as Bulawayo (Kabemba 2012; Mapaure 2014; Marongwe 2004 cited in Moyo & Mdlongwa 2015; Ojakorotu & Kamidza 2018). However, as the children say in the novel, "China is a red devil looking for people to eat so it can grow fat and strong. Now we have to decide if it actually breaks into people's homes or just ambushes them in the forest" (Bulawayo 2013:47).

The fact that when the children get back to **Paradise** and start playing country-games, China, a superpower and economic giant, does not make it into the list of country-countries (real countries), is a reflection of the perception of the masses in Zimbabwe regarding China, China-Zimbabwe relations and Chinese products. Moyo and Mdlongwa (2015) have captured this attitude in their interviews with Zimbabwe Mining and

Smelting Company (ZIMASCO) workers in Kwekwe, Zimbabwe. Moroodza (2011) has also given attention to the exploitative relationship. The *all-weather friend* mantra is a facade.

Back to *We Need New Names*, China does not even make it into the list of countries that are not country-countries but in which life is better. None of the children wants to associate with China. They would rather settle for:

> *… rags of countries like Congo, like Somalia, like Iraqi, like Sudan, like Haiti, like Sri Lanka, and not even this one we live in – who wants to be in a terrible place of hunger and things falling apart?* (Bulawayo 2013:49).

While the narrator does not say anything about China in relation to this game, given the context of the novel and all else said about China, the reader can easily predict the class into which it falls: *kaka* countries. This is because the products from China "are cheap *kaka* and only lasted a few days" (Bulawayo 2013:46).

The 'country-countries' are not spared from the satire in the novel. For example, Darling is looking forward to go to Detroit, Michigan in America. This is re-named **Destroyedmichygen**. At the time *We Need New Names* was published in 2013, Detroit was filing for bankruptcy (*Bomey, Helms & Guillen 2014; Davey & Walsh 2013).* Therefore, it is no surprise that Bulawayo, in the guise of child narrator, changes Detroit to Destroyedmichygen**.** Thus, she exposes the situation Detroit is in at that moment.

4.4 Heavenway Cemetery

Like in most settlements in Zimbabwe, there is a cemetery across, just at the edge of Paradise. It is called **Heavenway**, most likely meaning the obvious route to the hereafter. However, according to the general Christian beliefs in Zimbabwe, it can be concluded from reading about Heavenway that there is no way to heaven for most. This is because two of the people we know to be buried there died in sin, one through suicide and the other turned into a ghost soon after. "As we speak, those who know about things say Moses's father, who died last month, can be seen roaming **Paradise** some nights, wearing his yellow Barcelona football jersey" (Bulawayo 2013:16).

However, our interest with **Heavenway** cemetery is that a woman commits suicide close to it and the children steal her shoes while she is still hanging from the tree. Because of hunger and lack, children have to survive on stealing. If they are not stealing guavas and shoes off dead women's feet, they are begging from Shanghai and other places or waiting

on NGOs to bring donations. They have memorised the schedules of NGOs that bring aid and donations to the community.

4.5 Emergency Room

The ease with which people and places change names in the text is surprising. In the chapter *We Need New Names*, the bush behind Heavenway cemetery where the children previously discovered a woman hanging from a tree, gets a new name. Because the children, this time the girls, only since the business of the day is "really a woman thing", want to abort Chipo's pregnancy, they call the bush Emergency Room. Bulawayo's argument seems to be that we can have as many names for the same place (or person) as there are many conditions of it at a given time. If a country stops being a 'country-country', you can call it something else, for example, kaka country.

Therefore, for this special occasion the bush cannot continue being called a bush; it is an emergency room because that is where proper abortions are done. In addition, because this process needs to be a medical one, even though it has characteristics of an outpatient procedure, the personnel doing it have to be doctors or, simply be re-named as doctors. Hence, after the place has been re-named there is need to re-name the 'staff', there is, among the four children, **the patient** (the eleven-year-old pregnant girl Chipo whose pregnancy they want to terminate using a wire clothes hanger), **Dr Bullet, Dr Roz** and **Dr Cutter.** They needed these special names even if all they were going to do was use 'a rusted clothes hanger' picked up from the Heavenway to do the procedure. Dr Cutter explains the procedure thus:

> *The clothes hanger goes through the thing. You push it in until all of it disappears inside; it reaches deep into the stomach, where the baby is, hooks it, and then you can pull it out* (Bulawayo 2013:85).

The grotesque and morbid descriptions paint a gloomy picture about the post-colonial state. The children have been robbed of their childhoods and the entire childhood innocence associated with that stage. They have seen too much to remain children; forget their ages. The children in the novel have had dark experiences, including witnessing political upheaval, political killings, and several faces of social unrest such as Operation ***Murambatsvina*** (restore order) that saw the narrator Darling's home being razed to the ground. Their living conditions are grim, as they live in an impoverished state.

The effect of Bulawayo's novel is that by re-naming the place and the person, we begin to acknowledge the situations in which we find ourselves. It is only then that something

can be done about it. It would seem meaningless for a place to continue carrying a name that has no resemblance to what it has become. Even **Ncuncu** (small) the dog that used to belong to Bornfree (who had just been killed for supporting the opposition political party), was re-named **bin Laden** after it went mad and just before it was crushed by the big Lobels lorry delivering bread.

Bulawayo's morbid humour deployed through a child's voice is a protest. A child's supposed innocence laughs at all things. This way, Bulawayo is able to launch 'carnival' to expose what is customarily ignored: the impact of adult actions on children, of governments on nations and of nations on other nations. Therefore, the rape of a nation is the rape of children. Morbid humour caricatures figures of authority who normally command respect in both the human and divine spheres. **Prophet Revelations Bitchington Mborro** and his church the **HOLY CHARIOT CHURCH OF CHRIST** are both presented as bogus; "… your church is just kaka, and that your Prophet Revelations Bitchington Mborro is an idiot" (Bulawayo 2013:21). The tabooed metaphor *kaka* (faecal matter) is a central image representing the postcolonial condition.

Bulawayo keeps the story of the dog re-named bin Laden until the end in order to link it to the killing of Osama bin Laden by America in 2011. The narrator describes the crushing of bin Laden thus:

> *Crushed meat. Long pink tongue licking the earth. A lone paw raised in a perfect high-five. Bones jutting from the side of the stomach. One eye popped out (I could not see the other). And the delicious, delicious smell of Lobels bread* (Bulawayo 2013:290).

We consider the last paragraph of the novel as the most important. Bread (and all the basics it represents) is the bottom line. Without bread, they survived on guavas stolen from affluent Budapest where white people (synonymous with rich in the novel) and rich black people lived (representing black power but without real power). The last sentence of the book tells the reader; 'life goes on", whether there is death or not; whether bin Laden has been killed or not. Survival was for those who knew how to quickly move on from depressing situations. It was also for those who just quit and went to 'country-countries'.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The novel shows that social experiences influence naming. Thus, place names are artefacts of historical events. The author Bulawayo obviously names to reflect the socio-

political and socio-economic state. Social structure, thus, is tapped from, to name and re-name. We advance that more than being special geographic references; these names frame something bigger than space, bigger than the physical. Naming is deployed to expose socio-economic inequality, exploitation and much more. '*Carnival*' is an agreeable category; it can be leveraged to deconstruct the privileging of "High" over "Low" culture. Morbid representations of the tabooed and the elite are an equaliser. Laughter and irony have become tools for the new generation of literary art-activists such as NoViolet Bulawayo. We laugh to challenge the status quo and protest our own annihilation. The power to re-name, in the novel (as it should in society), is infinite.

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THE ROLE OF POLITICS, CULTURE AND LINGUISTIC FACTORS IN THE NAMING AND RE-NAMING OF STREET AND SUBURB NAMES

A CASE STUDY

Johan Lubbe
Department of South African Sign Language and Deaf Studies,
University of the Free State, South Africa
jhdlubbe@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In multilingual and multi-ethnic countries in particular, a certain degree of tension exists between speakers of different languages and people from different ethnic groups. It is usually clearly manifested in, inter alia, the political and economic domains, formal education and the media, but also in the choice of place names. This paper presents a discussion of the competing roles of politics, culture and linguistic considerations in the naming and re-naming of streets and suburbs in one South African city, Bloemfontein, which is the capital of the Free State province and the judicial capital of South Africa.

Keywords: connotation, ideology, nation building, re-naming

1. INTRODUCTION

To introduce the topic of the competing roles of politics, culture and linguistic considerations in the naming and re-naming of streets and suburbs, the importance of the connotative aspect of meaning, in contrast to the denotative meaning, is highlighted and the way in which ideologies and power relations, specifically political power relations, are strengthened by language practices, is discussed. The naming or re-naming of a place explicitly demonstrates that the responsible authority has the (political) power to do so.

In 1916, the Swiss structural linguist De Saussure postulated the arbitrary connexion between a lexicon's (*signe*) sound (*signifiant*) and its meaning (*signifié*) (De Saussure

1916). An appellative's meaning specifically has both a denotative and a connotative meaning. Proper names in general, and place names in particular, are equal lexicon items (*signe*) consisting of a sound (*signifiant*) and a meaning (*signifié*), with the latter being both denotative and connotative.

This aspect figures in the determination of the roles played by political, cultural and linguistic considerations in the process of name giving and name changes. Especially since the 1970s, linguists increasingly paid attention to the relationship between language and its socio-political context (such as Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Fairclough 1989). Language is not solely a means of communication, but largely, through the connotative aspect of meaning, also communicates and strengthens ideologies and power relations, specifically political power relations. The giving of new names and changing of existing names explicitly demonstrates that the concerned establishment has the (political) power.

A brief historical background to the development of Bloemfontein illustrates the complex make-up of the population. The history of the naming and re-naming of streets and suburbs in the city of Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State province and judicial capital of South Africa, is investigated in order to determine the role of political, cultural and linguistic considerations in naming and re-naming. Three main periods, each characterised by a dominant ideology, are distinguished:

i) 1846-1945: A British imperialist English-oriented period

ii) 1945-1994: A white Afrikaner nationalist Afrikaans-oriented period

iii) Post-1994: A black African nationalist English-oriented period

Some conclusions based on the findings of the investigation are discussed.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The geographical territory known today as the Republic of South Africa has since time immemorial been inhabited by the Khoikhoi and San, and later on mainly in the northern and eastern parts by Negroid groups (cf. Du Plessis 2018a and 2018b for a genealogical classification of the Khoisan languages). From the 15th century onwards, Westerners explored the area. They were the first to record their experiences and thus laid the foundation for the documented history of the region. Although Portuguese navigators were the first Westerners to influence the South African onomastic landscape (Meiring 2005), the permanent settlement of Westerners began in April 1652 when

representatives of the Dutch East India Company arrived in Cape Town. The area would remain a Dutch colony until 1795, and was again under Dutch administration from 1803 until 1806.

In 1795 till 1803, and permanently from 1806 the Cape was under British control, an occupation that lasted up until 1910 when the Union of South Africa was declared. The new authority immediately began to leave his imprint as it found expression in the deliberate promotion of English, also of English fashion, architecture and social etiquette. In 1822 a British official, married to an Afrikaans-speaking woman, commented:

> *An Englishman, from the Orkneys to New South Wales, is the same unbending creature. He accommodates himself with difficulty to manners of other countries and nothing can be right or proper that is not English, and to which he is unaccustomed* (quoted by Giliomee 2004:154).

Already in the 17th century, before the British occupation, the new Dutch arrivals began to settle in the interior, and by around 1819 many trekkers had settled in areas as far as the Transgariep. The Transgariep is a territory north of the great river known as Gariep, the Khoikhoi name for the river, meaning "river" (cf. Raper *et al.* 2014). On their trek into the interior they gave Dutch names to the new towns they established. Since towns, as we know them, is a Western concept, and since there were thus no town names that could be changed, the new towns were given Dutch names. However, Khoisan names did in most cases exist for the flora and the fauna, and for geographical landmarks such as mountains and rivers. Westerners found Khoisan words with their four or more clicks and guttural sounds difficult to pronounce, but despite this many of the original names were retained, although in most cases in translated or phonemically adapted forms (e.g. Garies, Gonubie, Kakamas, Kareedouw, Keimoes, Knysna and Komgha; cf. Lubbe 2011:46-48; Raper *et al.* 2014).

Soon after the British arrival the new occupants also got involved in the political events in the Transgariep, and they appointed a Resident to represent British authority in the region. In 1846 the Resident, Major Warden, chose the already occupied Dutch/Afrikaner farm Bloemfontein[1] as a place 'suitable in every respect' (Schoeman 1980:3a) and settled there. The scene was set for a power struggle that would continue for the

1 Bloemfontein perhaps named after the flowers growing at the fountain, from Dutch *bloem*: flower and *fontein*: spring (Raper *et al.* 2014). In a later study Raper (2016:133-134) suggests influence from the Southern Sotho name for the city, Mangaung, on its turn influenced by Khoisan words meaning "flower" and "this, here", so that Mangaung means "flower fountain".

next 170 years and would be reflected in the naming and re-naming of the streets and suburbs of the new town, which eventually became a city.

2.1 1846-1945: The British imperialist English-oriented period

In the geographical area now known as the Free State Province, Afrikaans speakers were from the beginning of the settlement the majority of the white inhabitants. Despite this, in the initial phase, Bloemfontein was predominantly a British settlement. In 1851, Bloemfontein's oldest English-language newspaper, *The Friend of the Orange River Sovereignty and Bloem Fontein Gazette*, (since 10 June 1850) referred to "this rapidly increasing town" (Schoeman 1980:12b). Even at the beginning of the 20th century, and in spite of the fact that Bloemfontein had been the capital of the independent Republiek van de Oranje Vrijstaat [Republic of the Orange Free State] from 1854 until 1900, it was described as a "Britse enklave in die afgeleë en grotendeels vyandige land" [a British enclave in the remote and mainly hostile land] (Schoeman 1980:198a).

Following the arrival of Major Warden, the British Resident, in 1846, the new town developed rapidly. Stands were surveyed in a few long, straight streets, crossed by side streets. These, and also later streets, were named mainly after members of the Resident's family (Henry Street after the Resident himself, Henry Douglas Warden; Elizabeth Street after Mrs Warden; and Charles, George and Douglas Streets after the married couple's children. St. Andrew Street probably had a connection with Warden's Scottish ancestors). Streets were also named after the Cape governor (Maitland Street, later the main street of the city, after the Cape governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, only changed after 1994), a member of the British House of Commons (Adderley Street after the British member of the House of Commons, CB Adderley who helped to prevent the Cape from becoming a British penal colony), a lieutenant in the Royal Artillery (St. John Street after Lieutenant WJ St. John who died at an early age in Bloemfontein because of gastric fever), prominent officials (such as G. Collins Street after William Collins, originally from Yorkshire) and even the battlefield in India where an earlier famous British battle had been won (Aliwal Street after Aliwal in India where Sir Harry Smith in 1846 won a decisive victory over the Sikhs. Smith became Governor of the Cape in 1847).

The practice of naming streets and buildings in Bloemfontein after members of the British monarchy and other British dignitaries continued until the early decades of the 20th century. Examples include Victoria Road (Queen Victoria), King Edward Road (Prince of Wales who later became King Edward VII), York Road (Duke of York, later King George V), Milner Road (Sir Alfred Milner, governor of the Cape, 1897-1901, and High

Commissioner of the Transvaal and the Free State until 1905), Selborne Avenue (second Earl of Selborne who succeeded Lord Milner as governor of the Transvaal and the Free State in 1905), Rhodes Avenue (Cecil John Rhodes, Cape politician, mining magnate and outspoken imperialist), Pretyman Road (General-Major Pretyman, and military governor after the British occupation of Bloemfontein in 1900). New city extensions established in the early 20th century are likewise proof of the British hegemony: Waverley, Westdene and Willows, originally Northern Extension, Western Extension and South-Western Extension respectively. Even as late as in 1942 it was decided to name a proposed new suburb after the commanding officer of a division of the Allied Powers (Brigadier Dan Pienaar).

In this period all extensions and name-giving of streets were confined to areas occupied by white inhabitants, and the same intention to exhibit British power through naming was not observable in the areas mainly inhabited by non-Europeans. Following the arrival of the British troops, many black labourers had started flocking to the settlement without arousing much interest (Schoeman 1980:35a).

The oldest of these so-called *lokasies* (locations) was Waaihoek, an Afrikaans compound of the words *waai*, meaning blow (of wind) and *hoek*, meaning nook or corner. Later extensions of Waaihoek were named Bethanie (of Biblical origin; Hebrew for "house of misery"; cf. Schoeman 1980:219a) and Number 3 Location (Schoeman 1980:219a). In 1918 *The Friend* reported that "a new kaffir town is being laid out on modern planning lines" (*The Friend 1850-1946*, as quoted in Schoeman 1980:285a). During the following year this new town was named Batho, which is the South Sotho word for people.

During and immediately after the South African War (1899-1902) many brown people settled in Bloemfontein. The area allocated to them was called Cape Boys' Location or Cape Stands (Schoeman 1980:224b). When this area was incorporated into Batho in 1919, a separate township was developed for them and was named Heatherdale on account of the heather that grew on the terrain. This name was later translated into Afrikaans as Heidedal (Schoeman 1980:290a-291b).

In the 20th century, after the Anglo Boer War, ending in 1902, followed by a depression in 1929-1933 and a severe drought (1932-1933), the rural parts of the country became depopulated and the consequently poor farmers, mainly white Afrikaans speakers, increasingly urbanised. In the census of 1936 these new inhabitants in Bloemfontein were for the first time in the majority, but in spite of this the City was still under British control (Schoeman 1980:271a). However, it was only in 1944 that four white Afrikaans

speakers were elected to the City Council, followed by four more in the next year. After 99 years of British rule, white Afrikaans speakers were in charge of the city and an Afrikaans-speaking mayor was chosen. Just like political events and attitudes had influenced the naming of streets and suburbs during the previous century, political and language-related considerations would be evident in the naming process in the next half-century.

2.2 1945-1994: A white Afrikaner nationalist Afrikaans-oriented period

From the 1930s onward there was a countrywide awakening of Afrikaner nationalism. The sociolinguist Steyn emphasises the anti-Afrikaner sentiment of the government of the time with its British sympathies as the most significant reason for this development (Steyn 1980:218), while the historian Giliomee highlights the strong Jingoistic tone of many of the English newspapers as another important reason (Giliomee 2004:309). The wave of Afrikaner nationalism also manifested in Bloemfontein.

Already in 1938, the centenary year of the Great Trek, the epic migration of about 2540 families from the British controlled Cape Colony into the interior (Visagie 2011:14), (and one of the factors for the upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism) a request was put to the City Council for two streets to be re-named to commemorate this memorable event. The two streets concerned were Hospital Street to Andries Pretorius Street, after one of the trekker leaders and St John Street (after Lieutenant WJ St. John who died at an early age in Bloemfontein because of gastric fever) to Voortrekker Street (*Voortrekker* from Dutch *voor*: fore and *trekken*: to travel is borrowed in English, cf. Soanes and Stevenson 2006:1975). The request was turned down by the Council, which was at the time controlled by English speakers.

In March 1945 when the Afrikaner controlled City Council assumed the reins, they immediately began to implement the request they put forward seven years earlier, to the dismay of the white English inhabitants (Lubbe 1994:48a-b).

It must be added, however, that during the rest of this period no similar controversial re-naming was approved. Actually, further requests for re-naming were turned down, for example the request to change Collins Street (cf. Lubbe 1994:48b). The decision taken in 1942 to name a new suburb after a brigadier in the Allied Forces was upheld, in spite of the fact that the new rulers were ideologically against participation in World War II. However, through the naming of the streets in this new suburb it acquired a clearly Afrikaans-oriented imprint. As early as on 15 May 1946, two months after the

appointment of the Afrikaner-dominated City Council, the names of many Dutch cities and events of historical significance were proposed as names for streets in the new suburb. Examples include Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Den Haag; also, Gelderland and Batavier (respectively the names of the ships who took pres. Kruger to Europe and his mortal remains back), Clarens (Swiss town where pres. Kruger died), King William (William III who gave the Free State Republic their Republican flag) and Kuyper (Dutch Christian statesman) (cf. Lubbe 1994:49a). From now on new developments mainly received Afrikaans related names, such as Noordhoek (North hook), Wilgehof (Willow court), Uitsig (outlook, view), Heuwelsig (Hill View). Some kept the same English spelling, but not necessarily the same pronunciation (for example, Universitas, Fichardtpark).

In subsequent developments streets were named after French provinces and cities in honour of the French Huguenots who had arrived at the Cape in 1688 and were the ancestors of many Afrikaner families (examples include Normandie, Provence, La Rochelle, La Motte, Toulon, Mons and Nantes Street). Streets were also given names connected with the Anglo-Boer War (e.g. Manie Maritz, Jan Kemp, Gideon Scheepers, Chris van Niekerk, Majuba, Sannaspos, Verkenner, Penkop and Mauser Street), or with specific Afrikaner cultural heritage, for example "volkspele" (folk-dances) in the suburb Pellissier. *A Dictionary of South African English* defines *volkspele* as "Afrikaans folkdances usu[ally] performed in traditional Voortrekker dress" (Silva 1996:780).

The white English-speaking inhabitants of Bloemfontein, who had for nearly a century wielded power in city matters, were wretchedly unhappy with the new state of affairs. When a further housing development was planned, a resident wrote to the local English newspaper pleading for the streets to be named after British counties, seeing that the names of Dutch and French cities and provinces had already been used (*The Friend* 1958a). Another reader commented: "Why are there no English names included? … It would seem that, today, in this City which was established and nurtured by Englishmen, their names have been forgotten" (*The Friend* 1958b).

During this period two guidelines were gradually developed regarding the choice of street names, namely one of relatedness, which meant that street names had to suit the name of the suburb (Lubbe 1991), and the second that streets preferably be named after persons who delivered a service to the city, and not to politicians who delivered or were delivering a service in national interest. After his death there was a request to name a street after Dr HF Verwoerd, prime minister at the time, but the request was turned down. As a rule, the objective was not to offend English speakers and not to totally lose sight of their contributions and feelings. In the suburb General De Wet all

the names are connected to the South African War, and also English persons concerned were commemorated (e.g. Colonel Blake, Lloyd George and Campbell Bannerman, leader of the British Liberal Party). The language medium of meetings and the minutes were alternatively in Afrikaans and English. Up until 1947 all the minutes were only in English.

2.3 Post-1994: A black African nationalist English-oriented period

After the first inclusive democratic election held in South Africa on 27 April 1994 and the implementation of the first democratic constitution, and after 342 years of white rule, the African National Congress (ANC), elected by the mainly black majority of voters, was in control of the country's political power at the national, provincial and in most cases also at the local level. They immediately began to implement their ideological policies in all spheres of society, from education to the economy. Soon historical symbols like the national flag, statues and the national anthem were also targeted by the new rulers. It could be expected that many of the existing place names would likewise be viewed with disapproval.

Already on 5 May 1994, thus one week after the general election, the designated premier of the Orange Free State province announced that the *Orange* in the province's name would disappear because it is a reminder that the majority of whites are of Dutch origin (*Ons Stad* 1994:1). A few months later (in February 1995) the change was official (*Volksblad* 1995).

About five years later the City Council began with efforts to change the names of streets. To pay homage to President Mandela during his visit to Bloemfontein planned for November 2001, it was decided in February 2000 to re-name two main routes into Bloemfontein, namely Voortrekker Street and Zastron Street to Nelson Mandela Avenue East and Nelson Mandela Avenue West respectively (Botha 2000a:1, 2000b:1, 2000c:4, 2000d:9; Rautenbach 2000:14).

It was a controversial decision and many letters, both pro and contra, appeared in the press. Although the City Council called the proposal an act of reconciliation, opponents were of the opinion that it would have exactly the opposite effect. They maintained that the word Voortrekker in the one name, contrary to allegations by supporters of the name change, had no links with apartheid and had in fact been used since 1838. Ultimately, on 7 March 2001, it was decided that only Voortrekker Street would be re-named Nelson Mandela Avenue. Four months later, in July 2001, the new signboards were erected and during the President's visit in November the new street name was declared official (Lubbe 2003).

For the next decade no new appeals were heard to re-name streets, but in July 2011, with the inauguration of the new Winnie Mandela Museum in Brandfort, the Premier of the Free State, Ace Magashule, hinted that, considering the centenary celebrations of the ANC in January 2012 in Bloemfontein, many street names would be changed (Ebersohn 2011; Lubbe & Du Plessis 2015:60-62). On 24 November 2011, an official advertisement in *Volksblad*, the local Afrikaans newspaper, requested those interested to offer comments on the proposals. Besides important main routes (Andries Pretorius Street); the main street (Maitland Street), a central square (Hoffman Square), a municipal office (Chris de Wet Building) and the international airport (Bloemfontein International Airport) were also earmarked for name changes.

Proposed names included the names of important ANC cadres (for example, OR Tambo and Govan Mbeki), a senior advocate born and educated in Bloemfontein who had defended the ANC accused during the Rivonia trial in Johannesburg in 1964 (Bram Fischer), and even a Zambian president (Kenneth Kaunda).

A lead article in the *Volksblad* summarised the sentiments of the opponents of the re-naming process. Faithful taxpayers who helped to keep the wheels turning, felt like strangers in their city (*Volksblad* 2011:8).

3. DISCUSSION

In ideal circumstances the aim with the ongoing process of changes must be nation building, thus to establish an inclusive community. As there were no official place names with the permanent establishment of the Cape settlement by Westerners, many place names were of Dutch origin. Many Khoisan place names relating to geographical landmarks, however, were retained, mostly in translated or phonemically related form. When the British conquered the Cape in 1820, they named new established towns after influential British people, but generally retained the Dutch and Khoisan names of existing towns, and only changed names in a few sporadic cases.

British imperialism triumphed in South Africa for nearly two centuries, and after the white Afrikaner nationalists came to power in the 1940s and there was an upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism, historical monuments symbolising British power were respected and any decision to re-name a place was the exception rather than the rule. One of the most controversial changes was the name of the military centre near Pretoria, Roberts Height, which already in 1938 was changed to Voortrekkerhoogte (Voortrekker height). In 2002 it was re-named Thabe Tshwane "Mountain of Tshwane". The Cape Governor, Sir

Harry Smith, had a controversial past and had committed various atrocities against both the white and black populations. In spite of this, the street in Bloemfontein named after him was not re-named, nor were the towns countrywide that bear his name, namely Harrismith, Ladysmith, Ladismith, Fauresmith, Smithfield and Aliwal North.

All of this changed in 1994 with the transfer of power to the ANC, especially after 1999. Initially from 1994 to 1999 under President Mandela, reconciliation was the guiding principle and consequently relatively few cases of controversial re-naming took place. The respected political commentator Allister Sparks and one-time editor of the liberal *Rand Daily Mail* commented:

> *He [Mandela] was acutely sensitive not to trample on Afrikaner symbols. Statues and monuments remained untouched, street names commemorating events and heroes in the saga of Afrikaner history were not changed. He was even sensitive when it came to changing names that honoured some of the more egregious creators of apartheid (Sparks 2003:129).*

The transfer of power from President Mandela to President Mbeki in 1999, however, brought a shift in emphasis (Sparks 2003:263). Mbeki's initial inclusive view of the notion *African* was gradually attenuated to an exclusive interpretation in which *African* was no longer seen as an uncomplicated geographical reference, but obtained value-laden ideological content. For policy purposes *African* was seen as a specific group of black Africans (Slabbert 2006:8-12; Sparks 2003:12). White people, on the other hand, were seen as "wicked vampires of the West" (as quoted by Madolo 2002:4), in spite of the fact that most of them had also been in the country for up to ten or eleven generations.

In this exclusive view, the transformation of black Africans became increasingly important and found concrete configuration in, inter alia, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), representativeness in the public domain and land reform, calls for the expropriation of land without compensation in 2018, and demands to change official place names.

Already in its first Report, published in 2001, the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) stated the transformation of the process of re-naming as one of its objectives:

> *Liberation has been achieved, it is now time for the people of South Africa to play their role in changing our country to be what we fought for […]. We should soon change the face of our country and not to be seen as part of Europe in Africa […]. It is then incumbent upon all South Africans to see [to] it that this (the changing of*

> *names) is done and achieved, as this will be a major mark that will show change in our country* (SAGNC 2001).

A flood of re-naming and proposed re-naming after 1999 is testimony of this exclusive predisposition to Africanism by those in power. The changes or proposals included names of cities, towns, streets, airports (Kriel 2010a:15-17, 2010b:37; Lubbe & Du Plessis 2013:71, 2014:66, 2015:54), museums (Lubbe & Du Plessis 2014:72-73; 2015:63-64), official buildings (Kriel 2010a:22; Lubbe & Du Plessis 2013:69, 2014:71) and even prisons (Lubbe & Du Plessis 2015:65-66). One of the most controversial city name changes is the proposed re-naming of Pretoria, administrative capital of South Africa, to Tshwane, a process which is still not legally settled at the time of writing (Lubbe & Du Plessis 2012:25-27; 2013:59-62; 2014:53-59; 2015:47-48). Numerous changes of the names of towns were proposed, such as Louis Trichardt to Makhado (Kriel 2010b:77-78; Lubbe & Du Plessis 2015:48-49); Nelspruit to Mmombela (Lubbe & Du Plessis 2013:63-64; 2014:59; 2015:49-50); Potchefstroom to Tlokwe (Kriel 2010a:19-20); Lydenburg to Mashishing (Kriel 2010a:21) and Witbank to Emalahleni (Kriel 2010a:21). Except for Bloemfontein where relatively few street names were re-named, albeit all the important entry roads, there were a flood of changes especially in Durban (cf. Kriel 2010b:21-25; Lubbe & Du Plessis 2012:36-40, 2013:65-67, 2015:56-58, 118-119) and Pretoria (Kriel 2010b:33-34; Lubbe & Du Plessis 2012:40-43, 2015:58-59).

The re-naming of places in the wake of political transfers of power is not confined to South Africa, but is a worldwide phenomenon. In Russia, for instance, the name of the Tsar's city, St Petersburg, founded in 1703, was changed to Petrograd in 1914 after the Red Revolution, to Leningrad in 1924 after Lenin's death, and in 1991, after the collapse of Communism, back to the original St Petersburg. What applies to naming and re-naming also holds true for cultural symbols like national flags, national anthems, historical monuments and memorials.

Until 1994 the vast majority of place names in South Africa almost exclusively reflected the history, values and interests of the white community. It therefore could have been expected that the new rulers would re-name certain of the most offensive names. It was not the re-naming as such but the deluge of changes, accompanied by the insensitivity of the choices, that bears witness to this changed attitude on the part of the authorities and led to anger and protests in all walks of life. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the point, both by the proposal of the City Council of Durban to re-name about a hundred streets.

In the first example the street name Edwin Swales was to be replaced by Solomon Mahlangu. Swales was posthumously awarded one of only three Victoria Crosses awarded to South Africans in World War II. This is the highest British award for bravery. Swales was a 29-year-old pilot whose aircraft was hit by enemy fire, but who, through his brave actions, ensured that the seven men in his crew were all saved while he died. Mahlangu, an ANC member, had been involved in a shoot-out with police in Johannesburg in 1977, during which two civilians had died. In 1999 he was hanged at the age of 23. Regarding this proposal an editorial commented:

> *The erasure of his [Swales'] name was unthinking and crass. This was not a colonialist, a stranger, an oppressor who did nothing for the people of this country. It was unnecessary to replace his name, and almost spiteful to press on with it when the dismay started* (*Daily News* 2009:18).

In an equally provocative move, it was recommended that the Mangosuthu Highway, named after Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), be re-named in honour of slain human rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge. It provided the major catalyst for the largest mass protest march in 2007 that South Africa had seen since 1994 (Kirk 2007:1), a step that was repeated the next year when approximately 10,000 IFP supporters, armed with axes, pangas and clubs advanced to the Durban city hall, throwing stones and breaking shop windows along the way (Mbanjwa 2008:4; Naidoo 2008:1; Tribune reporter 2008:11). However, the ANC-led City Council remained determined that these actions would not change their way of thinking (De Boer & Mthembu 2008:3). Even a court application in the High Court brought by the IFP and the Democratic Alliance (DA) to set aside the re-naming process did not convince them to reconsider their proposals.

These two examples show that changing place names is an emotional matter that must be approached with sensitivity. As was stated at the onset of this section, in ideal situations the aim of the process of changes must be nation building, thus the establishment of an inclusive community. Because of the historical development of the country, most place names mirrored almost exclusively the history, norms and interests of the white community. In the creation of a new, inclusive society, redress and the achievement of a balance in the portrayal of the past are important. However, this cannot be achieved by simply changing place names and getting rid of statues commemorating historical figures. During the era of British imperialism, statues were erected for Queen Victoria and all new settlements were named after British imperialists, but most cities and towns with Dutch names stayed intact. Likewise, no statues were removed and only a few place

and street names were changed when the gulf of Afrikaner nationalism swept over the country in the 1940s and 1950s. It is logical that in the post-1994 era the achievements of Black nationalism would be displayed, however not by removing present names and statues but by addition so that a balance in the portrayal of the history is achieved (Labuschagne 2019:7). The aim must be to heal and to reconcile, not to take revenge and to divide.

A similar view was expressed in a radio interview with former Deputy President Mothlanthe who appealed for a careful approach to name changing with a view to achieving unity. The process should be inclusive, with proposals being put forward by everyone, and should not be driven by numbers. History should be considered in its entirety, including the parts not acceptable to certain groups. As Mothlanthe put it: "We will not be able to mould ourselves into one nation if we continue to view our history from the point of view of them and us." (Ross 2010:2).

To conclude I refer to Thamasanqwa Sesmani (2010:7) who expressed in a column the opinion that no attempt should be made to erase history by making name changes:

> *Colonialism and apartheid are part of our history and therefore part of our country. I would strongly suggest, for the sake of the generations to come, that we retain some of the names from our past so that they can remind us where we have come from. Both the new names and the old ones would work together to give an accurate picture of where the country has been and what has been achieved. This, in fact, would be a memorial telling us of our history and our heritage.*

The sentiment put across by Labuschagne, Mothlanthe and Sesmani give support to the view expressed that the aim of the process of re-naming must be nation building and the establishment of an inclusive community.

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A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN PLACE-NAMING SYSTEM IN SALISBURY, RHODESIA, C.1890-1980

Zvinashe Mamvura
Department of African Studies,
Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany
Department of African Languages,
University of South Africa, South Africa
zvinashe.mamvura@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper explores factors that gave rise to a masculinised street naming system in Salisbury Central Business District (CBD), Rhodesia. Naming is a socially regulated process, one that is influenced by realities in the society that gives rise to the names. The study hypothesises that the street-naming system in Salisbury CBD was conditioned by the cult of domesticity, colonial discourse of othering, imperial men's association with origin, and eroticisation of the landscape. This study focuses on street names because they introduce political ideologies into everyday contexts of human interaction. Street names in the Salisbury CBD had more political significance than those on the outskirts of the city. Gender, alongside race and class, can condition the way space is experienced and interpreted. This study established that the place-naming system in Salisbury CBD, the Capital of Rhodesia, largely honoured white men. Only female members of the British monarchy were visible in the cultural geography in Salisbury CBD. Using hegemonic masculinity as a conceptual framework, this paper examines factors that led to the conspicuous absence of white women from the streetscapes in Salisbury CBD.

Keywords: cultural geography, hegemonic masculinity, Rhodesia, Salisbury, street naming

1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores the street-naming system in Salisbury, the capital of Rhodesia, from a gendered perspective. We acknowledge that realities of the white settler community informed the place-naming system in Rhodesia. Vuolteenaho and Berg (2009:9) rightly note that [place] naming is, largely, a socially embedded act since place names are "social facts" embedded in intricate cultural interrelations and humans use them to attach meanings to places. In carrying out a gendered analysis of street names in Salisbury, this study takes cognisance of the fact that class and race were equally critical social variables that conditioned the politics of domination and subordination in Rhodesia (see, for example, McClintock 1995:5; Mills 2005:4). This study uses hegemonic masculinity as a conceptual framework in examining the gendered nature of the street-naming system in Salisbury. Hegemonic masculinity is a form of masculinity that is dominant in society (Morrell 1998:607). White men enjoyed hegemonic patriarchy not only over white women but also over black men and women.

This study examines the androcentric street naming system in Salisbury CBD. This naming system was part of the efforts aimed at producing gendered colonialism in Rhodesia. Gendered colonialism can be defined as, "the process through which white masculinity was constituted through the exclusion of white womanhood …" (Hunt, Liu & Quataert 1997:vii). It entrenched a gender-normative order that propagated white patriarchal hegemony through the creation of colonial subjects and objects. Imperial men assumed the agentive role while white women (together with black men and women) were condemned to the level of objects of the colonial mission.

The study deliberately chose Salisbury CBD as a research site because it was the capital city of Rhodesia. The understanding is that the official cultural landscape of a capital city is critical in the constitution of national identity. The cultural landscape in a capital city is more politically charged than that of any other urban area in the country because the capital city is the official seat of government. This paper responds to an observation by McClintock (1995:5-6) that, "despite the existence of concrete evidence, the relationship between gender and imperialism has, until recently, largely evaded scholarly scrutiny." No research, to the best knowledge of the present researcher, has explored the place naming system in colonial Zimbabwe from a gendered perspective. This study is also critical because it focuses on the gender politics of street naming, a theme which is still neglected in critical toponymic scholarship (Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu 2017:13). The discussion on place naming in Rhodesia brings the gender dynamics between white men and women in Rhodesia to the fore. Men dominated the class of

people who were candidates for immortalisation in the cultural landscape in Salisbury CBD. The Salisbury CBD discussed in this paper has the following four margins: North Avenue marked the northern boundary; Enterprise Road indicated the eastern boundary, Railway Avenue, Charter Road, and Coventry Road constituted the boundary on the southern side, while the western boundary was represented by Prince Edward Road and Rotten Row Street (see Figure 12.1).

Figure 12.1 *Street map of the Salisbury CBD, 1975 (Source: University of Cape Town 2019)*

This study is worth pursuing because it contributes to the body of literature on colonialism and gender in gendered colonial states such as Rhodesia. Existing literature on place naming in Rhodesia has looked at the role of place names in the social construction

of places (Mamvura 2014), the toponymic construction of imagined boundaries in the settler state (Mamvura, Mutasa & Pfukwa 2017), and the role of place names in facilitating dialogue between the Rhodesian settler community and Africans (Magudu, Muguti & Mutami 2010). The general trend in these studies is to view white women as part of the homogenous and hegemonic white community. Mills (2005:11) observes that polarisation, for example, between whites and Africans, makes the polarised cultures appear homogenous and this makes it difficult to appreciate their heterogeneous nature. Instead of the trend in previous works on place naming in Rhodesia which views white women as accomplices to white men in the colonial enterprise or direct beneficiaries of white hegemony, this paper demonstrates that white women joined the dominant racial group as "the inferior sex within the superior race" (Strobel 1991:xi). It brings to the fore the multi-layered nature of power relations in the Rhodesian settler community based on gender differences. Data for this study were obtained from the Names Alteration Act of 1983 (Government of Zimbabwe 1983).

2. HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

This paper uses the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a conceptual framework. The work of Connell (1987; 1995) and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) brought the concept of hegemonic masculinity to prominence. The roots of the concept of hegemonic masculinities can be traced to the Gramscian notion of hegemony, an ideological practice that legitimises the interests of the dominant sections of the society in different historical epochs. It entails a dominant position attained through culture, institutions, and persuasion (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:832). When applied to gender relations, hegemony entails agreed values and practices which ensure that hegemonic masculinity assumes the dominant position over other forms of masculinities and femininities in society. This demonstrates that hegemony thrives on complicity, stability, and some degree of consensus between parties in an asymmetrical power relation. Connell (1995:77) provides a succinct definition of hegemonic masculinity as:

> *[t]he configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.*

The concept of hegemonic masculinity, while primarily concerned with the institutionalisation of men's dominance over women, acknowledges the existence of plural masculinities. In the hierarchy of dominance of gender relations, hegemonic masculinity poses as a dominant form of masculinity where other forms of masculinities, homosexuality, and

colonised patriarchy exist as "marginalised" or "subordinated" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:832). For example, in a society that tolerates heterosexuality, homosexual men constitute a population of subordinated masculinity. Colonised men also exhibit marginalised masculinity in a colonial set-up.

In this paper, a place-naming system that is masculine in orientation constituted a set of ideas and normative practices that white men created and established to demonstrate their cultural and historically justified dominance over white women (and black men and women). This study focuses on the relations of domination and subordination between white men and women. This dimension of hegemonic masculinity is critical in the analysis of gender hierarchy in Rhodesia where white men were at the apex with white women occupying the second slot. In turn, they dominated black men and women. The concept of hegemonic masculinity has omnirelevance since many disciplines that focus closely or remotely on gender issues such as education, criminology, media, health, sport, art, law, and human geography have used it as an analytical framework (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:833). This flexibility of the concept of hegemonic masculinity makes it relevant as a conceptual framework in the current research.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CBD

This study pays attention to street names in Salisbury CBD. Research on public memory has established that monuments, statues or commemorative place names do not have the same ideological significance due to their location either in the centre or peripheral zones, physical dimensions (length and width) and the components of the built environment in the vicinity (Alderman 2000:672; Azaryahu 2009:53; Šakaja & Stanic´ 2011:504; Vuolteenaho & Puzey 2017:75; Yeoh 2017:45). The colonial place-naming system in Salisbury ensured that important personalities of the imperial project such as explorers, leaders of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), members of the Pioneer Column, and high-ranking military officials had their names given to the built environment in the CBD. In some cases, such names were also assigned to highly visible components of the built environment such as schools and residential areas. This was deliberately done to make the names visible to many people. This fits well into Alderman's (2003:165) argument that:

> *[t]he geographic scale at which memory is produced (or commemoration is carried out) determines, in large measure, the populations who will be touched by the memorial meanings being communicated. By expanding the scale of memory or increasing the geographic extent of commemoration, social actors and groups hope to make images of the past retrievable or available to a larger array of publics.*

The colonial naming system ensured that streets in residential areas and recreational parks were not given names of national figures. Distinguished members of the local communities that would have made significant contributions to the communities feature prominently in these spaces.

Commemorative street names in the Salisbury CBD existed in dialogue with other cultural symbols of the colonial society. Salisbury CBD was a high politically charged terrain because it had a high concentration of colonial symbols as compared to the margins of the city. The Union Jack was raised on the 13th of September 1890 in an area that was later developed into the Salisbury CBD (Hartnack 2016:40). The flagstaff was erected within a few metres of the original site where the Union Jack was first hoisted on a Msasa pole (Waters 2015:32). Subsequently, the anniversaries to commemorate the history of occupation by the conquest of Mashonaland were held in the Cecil Square, a rectangular six-acre part in the CBD named Cecil Square, before they were moved to Rhodes' statue in 1943 (Waters 2015:304).

Waters (2015:83) provides a detailed discussion of several other symbols of the colonial society that were littered in the Salisbury CBD. The Queen Victoria Memorial Library was built after the death of the Queen of England in 1903. It was situated at the place where Girls High School was built and was demolished in 1962. In 1922, a Cenotaph in the Salisbury Garden was erected in honour of all those who lost their lives in World War II. There were plaques that commemorated all soldiers who perished in the war. In 1953, the colonial administration developed a Toposcope to mark the centennial of the birth of Rhodes on the Kopje in Salisbury (Waters 2015:9, 304). Jackson (1986:17) avers that two of the stone-walled forts that the Pioneer Column constructed on the Salisbury Kopje as a reaction to the political instability of the period that marked the era of the occupation of Matabeleland were named Fort Forbes (after Major Forbes) and Fort Leander (after Dr. Leander Starr Jameson).

The statue of David Livingstone was in the Milton Building and the Alfred Beit statue was moved four times in the city centre before it ended up at the National Archives. Initially, it was situated between the public school and Queen Victoria Memorial Library, which had stood at the site of the Girls High School Hall. Beit's second home was in the centre of what was Cecil Square but ahead of putting him in the central fountain in 1950, he was moved to the middle of what was a roundabout at the junction of Jameson Avenue and Moffat Street. When the road was widened in 1959, Beit was then moved to the City Architect's Department while the authorities debated what to do with him. It was decided in 1967 to place him outside the administration block at the Polytechnic before

he was removed in the mid-1980s and taken to the National Archives (Waters 2015:441, 443). The Statue of Rhodes was along Jameson Avenue. It was unveiled on December 20, 1928, erected on a granite plinth at the intersection of Third Street and Jameson Avenue (Waters 2015:163, 170). An image of Rhodes' statue is provided below (Figure 12.2). Buildings named in honour of colonial figures were also found in the CBD, for example, Chaplin Building, Coghlan Building, Earl Grey i and ii, Milton Building, and Cecil House.

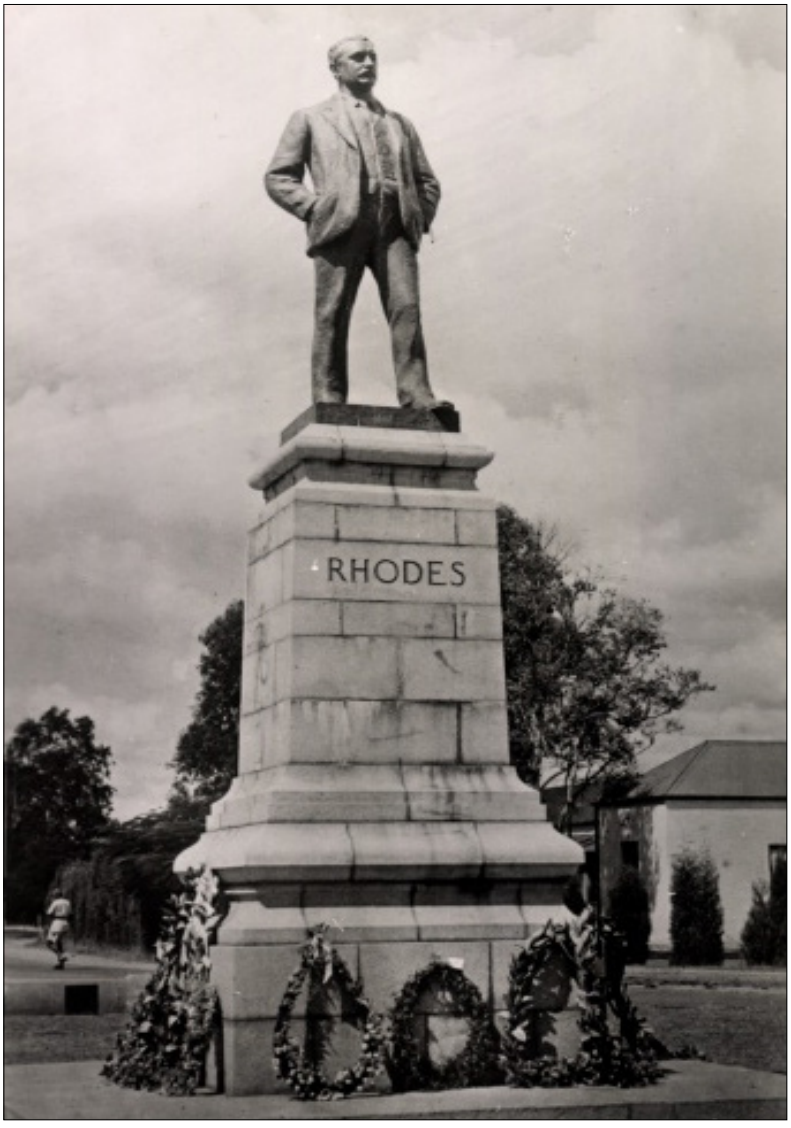

Figure 12.2 *Cecil John Rhodes' statue at the intersection of Third Street and Jameson Avenue in Rhodesia (Source: akpool.co.uk 2020)*

4. AN OVERVIEW OF THE STREET NAMING SYSTEM IN THE SALISBURY CBD

The process of assigning names to the built environment in Rhodesia largely used commemorative European names of heroic figures of the colonial enterprise. This special class of honoured figures included BSAC officials, leaders of the Pioneer Column, high-ranking military personnel, officials in the political administration of the colony, missionaries who sought concessions from Lobengula before 1890, British and American explorers, members of the British monarchy, and financial backers who contributed to the making of Rhodesia as a colonial state in cash or kind. Some streets were given names of places found in Europe as indicated in Table 12.1.

Table 12.1 *Street names in Salisbury CBD (Source: Government of Zimbabwe 1983; Waters 2015)*

Street name	Honoured personality	Description	Sex
Abercorn Street	Not applicable	It is a transferred place name of a place found in Scotland (United Kingdom).	N/A
Baker Street	Sir Herbert Baker	A leading architect in Rhodesia who also designed the Union Buildings in Pretoria and South Africa House (Waters 2015:17).	Male
Baines Avenue	John Thomas Baines	He was part of David Livingstone's team of explorers as an artist and storekeeper.	Male
Cameron Street	Verney Lovett Cameron	He was dispatched by the Royal Geographical Society in 1873 to assist David Livingstone. He came across the party already carrying the explorer's body to the coast. He then went to Ujiji in Tanzania to collect Livingstone's papers and had them sent back to England (Waters 2015:37).	Male
Colquhoun Street	Colquhoun, Archibald Ross	The first administrator of Mashonaland in Rhodesia from 1890 to 1910.	Male
Forbes Avenue	Major P. W.Forbes	The Commander of the Salisbury Volunteer Force against the Matabele.	Male
Fife Avenue	Not applicable	A name for a region in Scotland. It was a transferred place name.	N/A
Kings Crescent/ Kingsway	Duke of Connaught	Named in honour of the Duke of Connaught's tour in November 1910.	Male

Street name	Honoured personality	Description	Sex
Jameson Avenue	Dr. Leander Star Jameson	He was the second administrator of the colony and Rhodes' right-hand man and closest friend.	Male
Livingstone Avenue	David Livingstone	A Scottish Missionary-explorer.	Male
Manica Road/ Umtali	Not applicable	A road that leads to Manicaland Province.	N/A
Milton Avenue	Sir William Milton	The third administrator of BSAC affairs in Rhodesia. He later became the first President of a 'democratic government' on 15 May 1899. He guided the affairs until 1914.	Male
Moffat Street	John Smith Moffat, son of Robert Moffat	An official British agent in persuading Lobengula to sign the Moffat treaty, an agreement which paved the way to the Rudd Concession.	Male
Montagu Avenue	Sir Ernest William Sanders Montagu	One of the administrators of Southern Rhodesia.	Male
North Avenue	Not applicable	Descriptive name of the direction of the named street in relation to the city-centre.	N/A
Pioneer Street	The Pioneer Column	An invading force that marched into Mashonaland in 1890.	Male
Prince Edward Street	Prince Edward	A member of the British royal family.	Male
Rhodes Avenue	Cecil John Rhodes	He was Rhodesia's namesake and director of the BSAC. He was another key figure in the country's pioneer mythology and a fundamental part of the white Rhodesian identity (Bonello 2010:353).	Male
Salisbury Street	Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil	The Third Marquess of Salisbury, who was Prime Minister of Britain when the country was occupied by the British South Africa Company in 1890 (Waters 2015:33).	Male
Selous Avenue	Frederick Courteney Selous	A hunter and explorer who led the Pioneer Column to its intended destination, Salisbury.	Male

Street name	Honoured personality	Description	Sex
Sinoia Street	Anglicised version for Chinhoyi	N/A	N/A
Stanley Avenue	Herbert James Stanley	A British administrator for both Northern and Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.	Male
Speke Avenue	John Hanning Speke	An English explorer.	Male
Railway Avenue	Descriptive of the nearby railway station	N/A	N/A
Victoria Street	Queen Alexandrina Victoria	Reigning Queen of England – (1837-1901).	Female

5. FACTORS THAT ENGENDERED MASCULINISED STREETSCAPES IN THE SALISBURY CBD

The street naming system presented above is masculine. White women were conspicuously absent from the streetscapes. This paper views such a masculinised place-naming system as a deliberate attempt at subordinating white women. Landscapes communicate messages to the public because they are texts that can be read. Jaworski and Thurlow (2009:5), who hold that all landscapes are semiotic, characterise the landscape as a "symbolic system of signifiers with wide-ranging affordances activated by social actors to position themselves and others in that terrain." Thus, the landscape is a discursive platform where social actors negotiate meanings. Instead of using force, cultural landscapes in Salisbury communicated ideals of white hegemonic masculinity which were anchored on agreed values of gender relations in the white settler society.

There is a relationship between nationalism and gender. In McClintock's (1995:353) terms, all nationalisms are gendered because nationalism tends to institutionalise gender difference and it is constituted as a gendered discourse. Street-naming processes, the world over, have a masculine character because there are far fewer streets being named in honour of women than men in cities around the world (Duminy 2014; Palonen 2017; Rose-Redwood 2008; Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu 2017; Vuolteenaho & Puzey 2017). The gendered configuration of the cultural geography in Salisbury is also evident in contemporary British and Zimbabwean societies. Statuary, blue plaques, and

street names that commemorate men are more numerous and centrally located in many cities in Britain. In 2018, a group of women based in Bloomsbury, London, campaigned against the unequal representation of women in the cultural geography by launching a campaign called 'Where are all the women?' The campaign saw several thoroughfares in London being named after women (Gallagher 2018). The postcolonial cultural geography of Harare projects a masculinised version of the liberation war memory (see, for example, Mamvura, Muwati & Mutasa 2018). Even though history acknowledges that women actively participated in the liberation struggle alongside their male counterparts, there has not been any meaningful immortalisation of women in the cultural geography. There is only one woman, Mbuya Nehanda, who has been immortalised in the Harare streetscapes (Mamvura, Muwati & Mutasa 2018:434). This section discusses the following factors as responsible for the masculinised memory in the Salisbury CBD streetscapes: the cult of domesticity, imperial men's penchant for associating with origins, sexualisation of landscapes in the colony, and colonial discourse of othering.

5.1 The cult of domesticity

The masculine nature of streetscapes in Salisbury could be explained within the perspective of the British gendered legacy. This study acknowledges that the settler community was heterogenous, constituted by whites of diverse ethnic backgrounds. However, whites of British descent constituted most of the settler population making it possible to get immense influences from the British culture (Hartnack 2016:xiii; Kufakurinani 2015:9; Mlambo 2000:144). At the core of the gendered legacy of the Victorian age was the notion of domesticity. Spatial divisions that cast a distinction between masculinised public spaces and feminised private and domestic spheres occupied the core of the cult of domesticity. Thus, women were restricted from spaces that were deemed as public. In our case, streets were public spaces that should be exclusive domains of white men. Accordingly, white women could not be immortalised in such gender-marked spaces. In Britain, before the 19th century, the public/private distinction based on home/work differences was not pronounced because the home consisted of a cottage industry and residential accommodation (Heynen 2005:104). However, the industrial revolution removed the workplace from home bringing about visible distinctions between the home, which assumed the identity of private space and work, which became the public space. Consequently, women were confined to the domestic space while men went out to work in the industries (Kufakurinani 2015:35). Commenting on the domestic ideology which she calls the "cult of domesticity", McClintock (1995:36) writes:

> *The cult of domesticity … became central to imperial identity, contradictory and conflictual as that was, and an intricate dialectic emerged. Imperialism suffused the Victorian cult of domesticity and the historic separation of the private and the public, which took shape around colonialism and the idea of race. At the same time, colonialism took shape around the Victorian invention and the idea of home.*

Thus, gender relations in the metropole, largely, conditioned what obtained in the colonies since the latter were extensions of the former. Mills (2005:54), who analyses gendered colonialisms, is strongly convinced that this gendered legacy was reproduced in the colonies, "perhaps to a greater extent than in the home country." Rhodesia was not an exception to this Victorian dominant ideology on gender relations which regulated relations of domination and subordination between white men and women. In imperial men's terms, colonialism itself is more of a masculine activity than a 'staying at home' activity.

The public-private spatial divisions are not rigid. Instead, they are fluid and can be redefined and redrawn depending on circumstances. During the process of creating a colony, the metropole became the home domain while spaces in the colony assumed the identity of public spaces. As public spaces, they were dominated by men. The founding of Southern Rhodesia, as a colony, was done in the absence of white women. The Pioneer Column, a forerunner team mandated to clear the path for white settlers was an exclusive male outfit, comprising of a paramilitary Police Force of about 500 and the Pioneer Corps of about 200 civilians – who were given military ranks – selected from 2000 applicants in South Africa for their ability to ride and shoot as well as for their technical and professional skills (Martin & Johnson 1981:35). It was guided by Frederick Courtney Selous. Before 1890, concession-seekers to King Lobengula were only men. When the Pioneer Column marched into Mashonaland in 1890, white women were in the safe zones in the metropole or South Africa. Thus, Rhodesia was established as a frontier (Bonello 2010:346; Law 2016:25; Uusihakala 2008:30). In such a male-dominated society, imperial men were bound to claim sole proprietorship of the nation's past and present a masculinised memory in the streetscapes of Salisbury and general cultural landscapes in the newly established nation.

Street naming systems, mainly, commemorated the role of heroic figures in founding Rhodesia as a colonial settler state. Collective memory does not celebrate every part of the past. Society accords significance to a certain part of its past. For Mircea Eliade, the most significant (hottest) part of any society's past, is its beginning. The birth of a society "… is the first manifestation of a thing that is significant and valid" (Eliade 1963, cited in

Schwartz 1982:375). Thus, there were no women who played a significant political role during the formative stages of the nation to be justifiably included in Rhodesia's "register of sacred history" (Schwartz 1982:377) presented through streetscapes in Salisbury CBD. The situation was the same throughout the colonial period. No white women held critical political office in Rhodesia to warrant immortalisation in the cultural landscape.

During the early phases of colonialism, Rhodes made a decree that barred white women from entering Rhodesia. It was implemented to the letter because one white woman, Fanny Pearson, had to sneak into the country disguised as a boy called "Billy" during the time of the embargo. She was wife to the BSAC accountant, Count Edmond de la Panouse (Boggie 1938:42; Waters 2015:371). White women were only allowed into Rhodesia after 1891 when the embargo on women entering Mashonaland was lifted (Kirkwood 1984a:146). There were diseases in the colony such as malaria, no suitable amenities for children and women. Above all, the cost of living was exceedingly high (Kirkwood 1984a:147). This explained sexual imbalances between white women and men during the early phases of the colony. In line with the policy of "building a white man's country" (Mlambo 1998:123), the colonial administrators implemented efforts of increasing the number of women such as assisted passages. Single women and of marriageable age were mainly targeted with the principal aim that they would get married to men who were already in the colony (Mlambo 1998:130). The education system in Britain during the Victorian era "trained girls to become *suitable wives* for men aspiring to high positions in the world" (emphasis in original) (Kirkwood 1984b:108). Those were the crop of girls that were invited to Rhodesia. Accordingly, they were not invited to compete with men in the job market but to be domesticated through marriage. This shows that the colonial system was generally sexist. This was evident in almost all spheres of the white settler community, including the discursive construction of cultural geographies.

The public-private spatial division was reconfigured during the later phases of colonialism at different fronts. Kufakurinani's (2015:31) observation that domesticity is not necessarily about the private sphere, that is, home confinement, since it can be played out even in the so-called public sphere be it in the world of work or politics, is instructive here. The political domain is more relevant to this paper. White women rarely held influential positions in the political structure of the colonial system. The formal job market confined women to stereotypically feminine jobs such as clerical administrative work, teaching, and nursing (Kufakurinani 2015:7). Street naming honoured personalities who were part of the political elite, as demonstrated above. However, no woman managed to break the barriers of colonial masculinity to become a

colonial administrator, a high-ranking military leader, or any other position that could warrant their immortalisation in the cultural landscape in the Salisbury CBD. Kirkwood (1984a:161) shows that women were more directly active in local government than at the central government level. Salisbury had only two women mayors, Gladys Maasdorp (1942-1943) and Florence Chisholm (1968-1971). Maasdorp Avenue in Belgravia was named after the former, while Florence Chisholm Park in Avondale was named in honour of the latter. These two female mayors were also among the twenty-four mayors that had been immortalised in the cultural geography of Salisbury. Colonial mayors were not honoured in the CBD but on the outskirts or 'backstage' of the city, in Milton Park and Belgravia (Waters 2015:331). This was symbolic of their status in relation to national figures celebrated in the CBD. The 'frontstage' of the city has a national/international appeal, while a street or recreational park in a residential area has a local one since it is, largely, known by the immediate community. The relative significance of the CBD is shown when the post-independence government in Zimbabwe replaced colonial names in the CBD only while retaining colonial names in the backstage of Harare.

In terms of central government positions, Kirkwood (1984a:162) observes that only three women were elected to Parliament during the entire period of self-government from 1923-1979, while only three women were nominated to the newly constituted Senate during the latter days of republican government (1969-1979). Although street naming in Salisbury did not honour House of Assembly members and Senators, the above arguments seek to demonstrate how domesticity restricted women to some spaces that were deemed masculine. Street naming honoured personalities that occupied offices that were higher than occupants of House of Assembly seats in the political stratification system of the Rhodesian settler community. It has been demonstrated that no woman belonged to this class of the political elite.

5.2 Imperial men's association with origin

A masculinised street naming system in the Salisbury CBD could also be attributed to imperial men's insatiable appetite for claiming the role of sole originators of nations. Imperial men have an inherent desire to assign names to phenomena in the world as a way of demonstrating power and control. McClintock (1995) uses the example of reproduction to demonstrate that men name children to displace women from the origin of the reproductive process. Biologically, women have wombs making them primary actors during the gestation period with men assuming a secondary role. Gestation marks women as the natural candidates to the origin of the baby. However, men's desire

for a guaranteed relation to origin sees them giving a name to the child to eclipse the primary role of women in reproduction. McClintock observes that men's insistence on patrimony is a clear indication of denial that something different (a woman) is needed to guarantee the reproduction of the same, a child with the same name as the father. McClintock draws parallels between men's desire to have a guaranteed relation to origin in reproduction issues described above to the colonial act of discovery. She writes:

> *[T]he sexual scene of origin, I suggest, finds an analogy in the imperial scene of discovery. By flamboyantly naming "new" lands, male imperials mark them as their own, guaranteeing thereby, or so they believe, a priviledged relation to origins-in the embarrassing absence of other guarantees* (McClintock 1995:20).

Assuming the role of assigning names to new places, imperial men deny the agency of the white women and colonised groups by appropriating for themselves the sole power of origins of the named places. The myth of discovery which is at the centre of colonial discourse is critical for white men's claims of exercising political power over landscapes in the colony. It gave imperial men the right to name places in the colony as a direct exercise of authority over the colonised spaces. McClintock (1995:30) observes that:

> *During these extravagant acts of discovery, imperial men reinvent a moment of pure (male) origin and mark it visibly with one of Europe's fetishes: a flag, a name on a map, a stone, or later perhaps, a monument.*

Naming the country Rhodesia was a way of claiming the "privileged relation to origins" for the founder of the BSAC and his menfolk (Hartnack 2016:40). All white settlers eventually adopted the term Rhodesians to reinforce the senses of belonging to the territory. Bonello (2010:353) rightly notes that Cecil Rhodes was a key figure in the country's pioneer mythology and a fundamental part of the White Rhodesian identity. Rhodes was a man, just like most personalities honoured in the streetscapes of Salisbury CBD. This was a deliberate act of displacing white women from the origins of Rhodesia as a nation with white men claiming sole ownership of the origins of the Rhodesian nation. Public commemorations such as the Occupation Day on September 12, which commemorated the founding of the first colonial settlement at Salisbury in 1890, the symbols of Rhodesianness and the Rhodesian nation such as the pioneer memorial in Melsetter (Godwin 1996:57), together with place names that celebrate the exploits of imperial men, all narrated a masculinised memory that symbolically displaced white women from the origins of the Rhodesian nation. The Pioneer memorial commemorated the heroic exploits of men that constituted the Pioneer Column.

Imperial men also displaced colonised populations from the origins. Branding itself as the Pioneer Column, this colonial advance team assumed the identity of autochthons in Rhodesia. The term, Pioneer Column, was couched in the discourse of openness, emptiness, namelessness, and historylessness of the colonised spaces. It was a discursive attempt at clearing the colonised spaces of any contesting claims to ownership by any indigenous group. Ian Douglas Smith's auto/biographical narrative, *Bitter Harvest* (1997), discredits indigenous groups' claim to the territory because they were equally foreigners coming to a land originally inhabited by "wandering bushmen" (*ibid*:1). The pejorative description of the bushmen gives the territory an identity of a "no man's land" (*ibid*:1). In colonial terms, indigenous people are not supposed to be there, symbolically. McClintock (1995:30) argues that they were "symbolically displaced" onto a trope she refers to as "anachronistic space", where they "do not inhabit history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographical space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency – the living embodiment of the archaic primitive." In this sense, white Rhodesians were an equally indigenous group, a White African tribe as mentioned in the statement that "there is only one white tribe, the Rhodesians, who are indigenous to this country" (*ibid*:327), just like any other African tribe which had just arrived in the country. The pioneering accounts of experiencing the landscape in Southern Rhodesia also reports that the Pioneer Column marched into Mashonaland. The idea of marching also supports the idea of imagining colonised spaces as empty and devoid of history. All these issues point to the need for imperial men to be associated with the very beginning of the Rhodesian state. This disposition of imperial men explains how they ended up producing a place-naming system that did not acknowledge the prior existence of indigenous populations. At the same time, white women became invisible in the narration of the nation by this section of society that wanted to be exclusively associated with the origins of the nation at all costs.

5.3 Imagining the colonial space in feminine terms

The trend in colonial discourse of imagining colonial spaces in feminine terms also contributed to a masculine streetscape in the Salisbury CBD. Feminising and eroticisation of the landscape were deliberately done to entrench hegemonic masculinity and create passive femininity in Rhodesia. It is a conscious strategy that imperial men use to claim subject status and systematically diminish the agency of imperial women. Discussing the objectification of imperial women, McClintock (1995:31) asserts that "they are symbolically reduced, in imperial men's eyes, as the earth that is to be discovered, entered,

named, inseminated and, above all, owned." Rhodesian men imagined spaces in Rhodesia as 'virgin' lands. One version of this imagination was that the so-called 'virgin' land had never been subjected to European methods of agriculture using suitably modern tools that effect deeper penetration. In colonial discourses, indigenous groups were simply scratching the surface of the earth (Hartnack 2016:49; Kirkwood 1984a:150). Another version was to paint a picture of a landscape that was ready for European exploration. McClintock (1995:30) rightly notes that to be a virgin, in patriarchal narratives, is to be empty of desire and void of sexual agency, passively awaiting the thrusting, male insemination of history, language, and reason.

The above image made it possible for imperial men to describe colonialism as an act of penetration. The penetration of imagined virgin lands was a gender metaphor for colonial exploration and conquest in imperial discourse. Schmidt (1995:359) who examines the colonial conquest in Rhodesia, observes that pioneers and settlers imagined their colonising efforts as a form of sexual "penetration." In Schmidt's (1995:359) terms, the idea of "penetration" indexed total control over the land. It contrasted the manliness of colonial men and eroticised spaces in colonies. The term "penetration" expresses asymmetrical power relations between white men and women. In a heterosexual relationship, only men can penetrate a woman. Thus, the term 'penetrate' accords subject status to men while white women assume the object role in the act. This intense patriarchal system was exhibited in the system that guided the process of assigning names to the built environment in Rhodesia.

5.4 The colonial discourse of othering

The colonial discourse of othering women (and the colonised) can account for the invisibility of women in the streetscapes of Salisbury and the general cultural landscapes throughout Rhodesia. A nation is by far not a natural community but an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983:146). Thus, it is invented and socially constructed in so far as it is a geopolitical entity. The process of constructing a nation socially is done concurrently with the performance of racial, gender, and class differences. Mosse (1985), who notes that there is a convergence between nationalism and the sectional interests of men, observes that men monopolise the process of making a nation and manipulate it to express forms of masculinity and femininity that they deem appropriate for the nation. Thus, a nation is a hegemonic platform for the naturalisation of gender differences. It projects hegemonic masculinities and passive femininity. Arguing from the same angle, Bhabha (1983:19) prioritised the notion of "fixity" which is a critical

element in the ideological construction of otherness through naturalising racial and sexual differences. Gender differences between white men and women created a gender hierarchical structure in colonies. This relationship of domination and subordination impacted on the place-naming system in the Rhodesian settler community. It explains the invisibility of white women in the cultural geography of Rhodesia which naturalised the subordination of white women and solidified white hegemonic masculinity.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has explored the political and societal backgrounds of street naming in the capital of Rhodesia, Salisbury. It also treated street names as cultural icons that reflect political and societal structures and attitudes. Street names are good indicators for gender relations because they commemorate figures that a society holds in high esteem. The Victorian gendered legacy and asymmetrical gender relations in the settler community in Rhodesia played a critical role in the configuration of a masculinised streetscape in Salisbury CBD. The streetscapes in the Salisbury CBD were a spatially made record of heroic exploits of imperial men. In the process, white femininity was rendered passive. The Salisbury streetscapes had the highest symbolic value, and persons commemorated in the streetscapes were deemed important by the ruling regime. In this study, streetscapes in Salisbury CBD stood out as the microcosm of the macrocosm. They reflected the general hegemonic masculinised place-naming trends in the entire Rhodesian state and other colonies alike. Hegemonic masculinity as a conceptual framework was critical in this paper because it made it possible to analyse gender relations of domination and subordination between white men and women. Landscapes communicate ideological messages because they are inherently semiotic. This study appreciates that a nation is socially constructed. This discussion contributes to discussions on state-making, nationalism, and gender. The discussion on the factors that gave rise to a gendered memory presented in the streetscapes provides an appreciation of the intricate relationship between gender and the narration of nations.

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CURRENT GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH DIRECTIONS IN TOPONYMY

Peter Jordan
Institute for Urban and Regional Research,
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria
peter.jordan@oeaw.ac.at

ABSTRACT

While toponymic research in cartography has some tradition due to the obvious importance of place names for map reading and the various choices a map editor has when defining the place name system of a specific map, in geography toponymic research has to a significant extent only evolved in recent decades, although it has been a rapid evolution since then. This is certainly due to the fact that the constructivist approach, i.e. to conceive geographical space and geographical features as human constructs, has become the prevailing paradigm in this science. In the context of this approach place names can be regarded as indicators of how people perceive and construct their environment. The paper highlights some major research currents such as looking at place names as mediators between humans and space, place names as identity markers, place name changes, commercial naming, indigenous names, place names and migration or the meaning of having their names presented in public space for linguistic minorities.

Keywords: cartography, geography, place names, research directions

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper will focus on geographical toponymic research, but has to take a look also on toponymic research in cartography, since cartography was regarded as a branch of geography before it was conceived as a formal science based on semiotics and communication theory, and cartographers invested their interest in toponymy much earlier than geographers did. It is also a fact that most toponymic activities surpassing

scientific work in the narrower sense like maintaining toponymic data files, editing gazetteers, toponymic standardisation or place name boards, have up to the present day very often been institutionally associated and based with/in cartography and geodetics.

2. TOPONYMIC RESEARCH IN CARTOGRAPHY

Cartography is a communication science and deals with the contents represented on a map only insofar as it is necessary to characterise them adequately by cartography symbols. In this context place names are regarded as potential facilitators of communication. Cartography focuses therefore on the communicative role and function of place names on maps with research questions like:

- What are the functions of place names on maps? Place names are in principle alien elements on maps, not part of the cartographic symbol system or cartographic language. Do they identify a feature on the map? Opinions on this question vary, with some affirming this question (see, e.g. Kretschmer & Stani-Fertl 2008), and others holding the position that the feature is already identified by the cartographic symbol (see, e.g. Jordan 2006a). But it is sure that they facilitate map reading essentially and also present some additional information on the feature, e.g. its current or historical function (see, e.g. Jordan 2006a).
- What is the adequate density of place names on maps? Which features, marked by cartographic symbols, are to be explained by place names? If possible (if there is enough space), all, or only the most important, the largest, or also exceptional, striking features that attract the reader's attention and therefore need to be explained?
- Figure 13.1 shows population development in Poland between the censuses of 1980 and 1990 by communes (Kupiszewski 1992). Warm colours indicate population increase, cold colours decline. In the centre of Poland there is a spot in bright Red, indicating a significant relative increase. It is, however, not Warsaw [Warszawa], Poland's capital, as one could assume, but a rural commune west of it that received a major industrial investment in this period and thus attracted migration. If the usual practice of naming just cities and larger towns would have applied, it would not have been labelled and there would have been no discussion on which commune this may be. Anticipating this, the otherwise not so important commune has been named.
- Is the endonym in the sense of the place name used by the local community or the exonym in the sense of a name used by other communities for the same feature the better choice in a given communicative situation (see Breu 1959, 1960, 1981, 1992; Jordan 2000)?
- Is transliteration or phonetic transcription the preferable way of converting place names from other scripts (see Back 1997)?

Figure 13.1 *Population development in Poland 1980-1990 (Source: Kupiszewski 1992)*

Another field of cartographic research in toponymy concerns the contents of gazetteers and toponymic data files: Which are the aspects to be regarded? What is useful to be documented for the need of cartographers (see, e.g. Berman, Mostern & Southall 2016)? Here, geographical feature categorisation – in fact not a formal aspect, but an aspect of contents – plays a role: The basic question is: What are geographical features (and consequently geographical names)? Are they merely static or also dynamic features – but only those for which the relation to space is essential? This would mean that cars or ships are not geographical features, since their identity remains the same, wherever they cruise around, but that hurricanes (like hurricane "Catherina") or sea currents like the Gulf Stream or the Benguela Stream are geographical features, since for their identity

the relation to a certain section of space is essential. The next question then, is, how to categorise the variety of features.

Since applied cartography is today a fully digitised activity with many algorithms and computer programs, automated name placement on maps is also in the focus of cartographic research in toponymy (see, e.g. Chirié 2000; Wood 2000; Yoeli 1972). It is a branch still in its infancy as it can easily be derived from board screens of aircrafts, where very frequently – besides prominent features – also completely irrelevant features appear named, while prominent features that would be important for orientation appear unnamed.

3. TOPONYMIC RESEARCH IN GEOGRAPHY

Geography was rather late in discovering place names as a research topic, but geographical research in this field has seen a boom in recent years (see also Arroyo Ilera 2010; Dixon 2010). This is certainly due to the fact that the constructivist approach, i.e. to focus on human perception of geographical space and geographical features, to look at them as human constructs rather than as reality, has become an important, even the prevailing paradigm in this science (Weichhart 2008; Weichhart, Weiske & Werlen 2006). In the context of this approach, place names can be regarded as indicators of how people perceive and construct their spatial environment (Bily 1999; Jett 1997). Geographical approaches to toponymy are – this has to be admitted – not so different from a socio-linguistic approach. They just have a stronger emphasis on space.

It is the cultural-geographical direction of geography (see Mitchell 2000) that promotes and carries toponymic research, although toponyms can rather be regarded as points of convergence of all branches of geography, also of the physical-geographical direction, thus bearing the intrinsic potential of (re-)integrating this heterogenous although rather disintegrated field of studies.

Not only (cultural) geographers, but also linguists, cultural anthropologists, historians and political scientists are often very near to geographical, spatial perspectives on toponymy and their works are thus valuable sources for further geographical research. This means that in the following, also works of non-geographers will be highlighted, when they are of geographical relevance.

Major research approaches are looking at place names as mediators between humans and space, as indicators of human perception of and behaviour in space, as space-related identity markers (including indigenous and minority names, migrants), as reflecting the

structure and balance of power in society (including place name changes, commercial naming), and as keys to settlement and cultural history (including the aspect of place names as part of the cultural heritage). They will briefly be outlined in the following sections.

The author admits that this treatise may be characterised by a bias in favour of his own perspectives and fields of work, that it needs supplementation in order to be really comprehensive and balanced, and may thus be regarded as a preliminary approach.

3.1 Place names as mediators between humans and space

When geography refers to place names as mediators between humans and space it addresses the following four roles of place names:

- They often reflect aspects of space that were important to the people who named the place. When they are descriptive (not commemorative or neutral) they often describe a place's natural characteristics (location, morphology, waters, soils, vegetation, flora, fauna) or economic or administrative functions important in the time and for the community giving the name. They thus tell something about the feature, but also cast light on the name-giving community; tell a story about this community. Place names may thus be regarded as condensed narratives into two directions: about the feature as well as the name-givers.
- They mark the territory of a community. Place names are symbols of appropriation. Who owns a geographical feature or at least has responsibility for it, also has the right to name it. This role refers, however, only to place names in the status category of endonyms, i.e. names accepted and used by the local community, the in-group, while exonyms (in the sense of names used by external communities) are indeed sometimes used to express (territorial) claims, but this is a misuse and does not correspond to their original function.
- Place names support the structuring of geographical space mentally. They help us to subdivide complex spatial reality into features. Every geographical feature (in the sense of a subunit of geographical space) is regarded by most geographers as a mental construct. In many cases (e.g. cultural regions, historical-cultural landscapes) the place name is in fact the only identifier of a geographical feature. But the feature is nevertheless a social reality, it is in everybody's mind, it can also serve as a commercial brand, e.g. in tourism (Jordan 2005; 2017). A section of space without a name is obviously not regarded as an individual feature, but as part of another feature. A hill without a name is conceived as part of the larger elevation. A section of a sea without a name is conceived as part of the larger sea.

- Place names support emotional ties between humans and place, in this way promoting space-related identity building. If somebody acquainted to a place reads, mentions or memorises a place name, this recalls all the contents of a space-related concept with him/her, reminds her/him of sights, persons, events, smells and sounds associated with this place and lets "the feel of a place" arise as Yi-Fu Tuan calls it (Tuan 1974; 1977; 1991).

This is very much the author's research field (Jordan 2009b; 2012a; 2012b; 2019a), based, however, on the seminal works of Yi-Fu Tuan (1974; 1977; 1991), Botolv Helleland (2009), Kearns & Berg (2002), and Joan Tort i Donada (1999; 2011).

3.2 Place names as indicators of human perception of and behaviour in space

A research field closely related to the former is looking at place names as indicators of human perception of and behaviour in space. This idea was cultivated by Ayar Rodriguez de Castro and Antonio Vázquez Hoehne (2016), when they asked selected inhabitants of Toledo (Spain) to sketch the street network in their neighbourhood and to attribute street names that would spontaneously fall into their minds (Figure 13.2). Their study revealed that the spatial pattern of these names reflects the daily itinerary of a person and is thus rather individual, but that there are also commonalities by age group or educational strata. It also revealed that very often it is not the official or correct name of a street or square that is remembered, but an abbreviated or corrupt version, even an alternative name like a nickname or the older name, when a recent re-naming took place. Thus, this leads one to conclude that the matter concerns how people perceive the public space around them and how they make use of it.

Similar studies have been conducted by Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2010).

3.3 Naming motives

The above-mentioned is very near to the study of naming motives, their difference by name-giving communities according to their economic interests, cultural disposition and location in space. Walter Sperling (2008) has investigated the differences in this respect between Slavic and German settlers in Bohemia, in the 6-7th and 12-13th centuries, respectively. He found out that for the Slavic settlers, flora and other natural aspects were much more important, while Germans frequently used juridical terms.

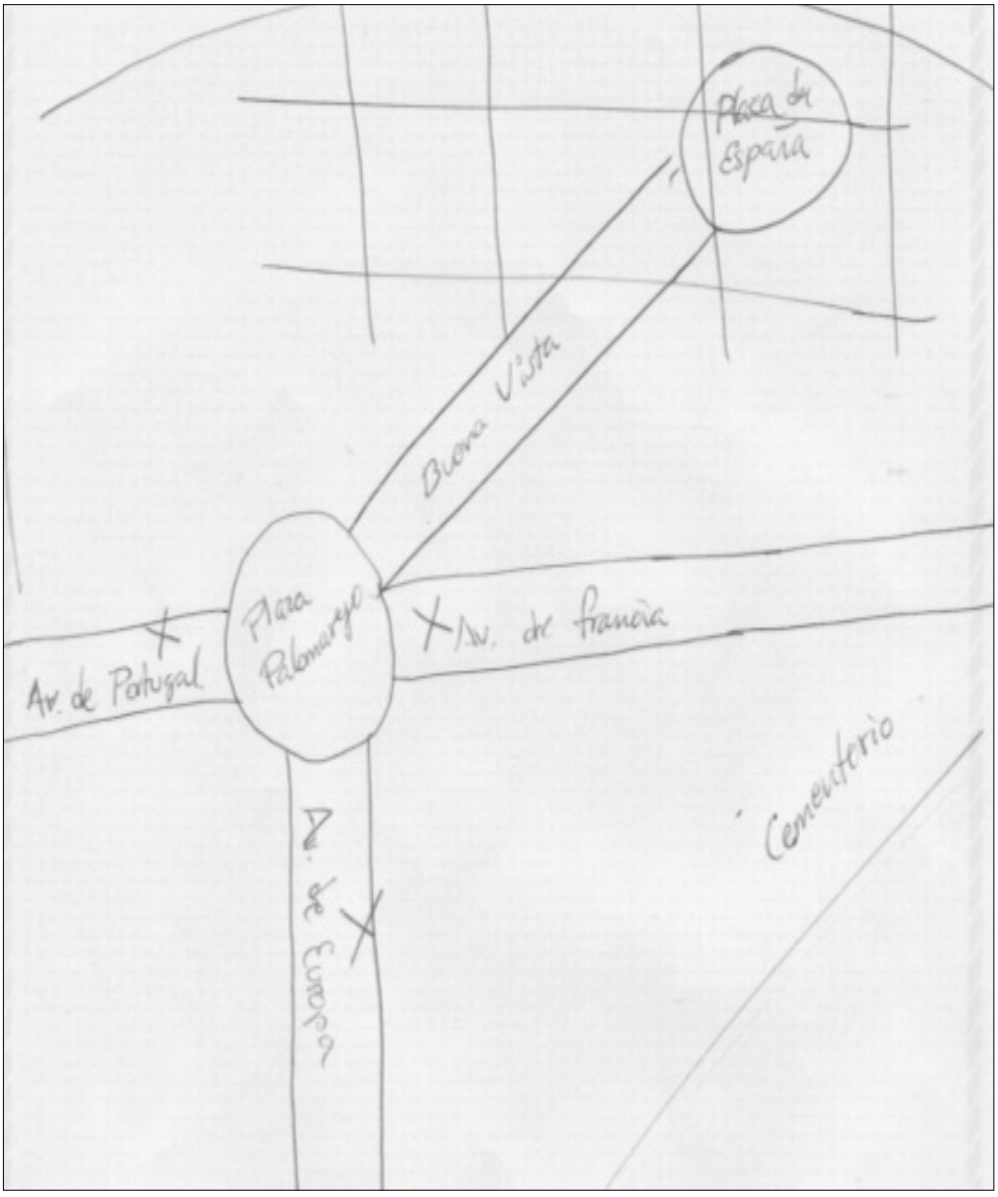

Figure 13.2 *A respondent's mental map of a quarter of Toledo (Source: Rodriguez de Castro & Vázquez Hoehne 2016:274)*

It is evident that farmers have other naming motives than herdsmen, and coastal dwellers different ones from people in the mountains. This reflects their diverging cultural dispositions and economic interests. But it is also interesting to see that children use to apply their own names to features in their playground in a wood or at an abandoned construction site, confirming the importance of naming and how spontaneous and almost "natural" it is.

3.4 Place names as identity markers

Place names are in the status of endonyms (of names from within a community) not only expressing appropriation or responsibility, but also markers of space-related identity: They indicate the relation of a person or a community to a section of space. When a room is marked by my personal name, the anthroponym acquires the additional quality of a place name – in the sense of transonymy – and indicates that this is "my office/room, to which I refer my identity" (Figure 13.3).

When a populated place (e.g. a town) has a bi- or multilingual signpost (Figure 13.4), this indicates that more than one community relates their identity to this place, that also minorities have a share in it. For indigenous and non-dominant groups this has the important meaning of having their share in the identity of the place officially documented, being recognised by the dominant part of the society. When the majority is not ready to share this identity, it happens that signposts are damaged – as in the Resia Valley [Valle di Resia], north-eastern Italy (Figure 13.5).

Many geographical studies on the meaning of place names for minorities have been conducted in the meantime, also due to the number of conflicts arising from bi- and multilingual naming (see, e.g., Eller, Hackl & Ľupták 2008; Horn 2004).

Figure 13.3 *The author's former office marked by his personal name, which in this function acquires the additional quality of a place name (author's own photo: Peter Jordan 2014)*

Figure 13.4 *An officially trilingual (Romanian, Hungarian, German) Romanian town at the Hungarian border (author's own photo: Peter Jordan 2006)*

Figure 13.5 *The signpost shows the Resian (above) and the Slovenian name (below) of a village – the latter smudged, since both the local Slavonic speakers and the Italian speakers don't accept standard Slovenian (and, consequently, Slovenian names) as their language (author's own photo: Peter Jordan 2008)*

3.5 Place names and migration

Migration is an enduring global phenomenon; it can occur individually or groupwise. Concerning place names, it is interesting from a geographical point of view to look at whether newcomers with a different linguistic and cultural background wish to express their share in the identity of the place and how they deal with the existing namescape. This results in the following major research questions and research fields that can be referred to historical as well as current situations.

3.5.1 How do migrants deal with existing names?

The answer depends on the political and social background of migrants. Name use by migrants with a dominant political power behind them accompanied by territorial expansion like in the cases of conquest (a new people invades another territory and dominates it politically) or colonisation may lead to an attitude of imposing new names on a traditional namescape. André Lapierre highlighted this topic in his plenary speech at the ICOS Congress in Toronto 2008 (Lapierre 2008), when he quantified colonial versus

indigenous place names in Canada by feature categories. But colonisers are sometimes sensitive opposite indigenous names as Helena Liebenberg has demonstrated that (Liebenberg 2019) by the example of the Eastern Cape (South Africa) in the course of Dutch colonisation in the 17th and 18th centuries. Dutch cartographers meticulously documented indigenous place names and in so doing supported the use of these names by the colonisers. We also find many remnants and traces of indigenous names in the Americas and other former colonial areas.

When the dominant political power behind migrants is not striving for territorial expansion, like in cases of traders and merely economic expansion, expansion of a prestigious culture or religious mission, the result may be different. For example, Jan Agertz (2009) describes the re-naming of farms, when in the mid-12th century Christianity spread over southern Sweden through monks and monasteries that bought many of these farms.

Name use by international migrants not associated with political power (migrating individually or in groups) may be socially overlaying the host society or socially underlaying it. While the first case is rather rare, the latter is the usual result of labour migration. Gabriel-Renato Gherghinescu (2014), for example, explored the use of urban names by the Romanian migrant community in Vienna [Wien] and found out that they almost always use the endonym – even if it is completely transparent and easily translateable as it is with *Westbahnhof* ('Western Railway Station'), *Ring* or *Gürtel* ('belt'), of course with some phonetic adaptation. This may be the practice also of other young migrant communities in Vienna and elsewhere, although there may be exceptions – especially in cases of migrant groups with a strong cultural identity. Socially joining the middle class of the host society is frequent with internal migration but rare in international migration. Noora Rinkinen (2010) found that Finnish native speakers from eastern Finland migrating to Helsinki are a very heterogenous group as regards the use of names. They form smaller identity groups with a specific use of names, frequently using dialect or parodistic versions.

There exists of course also the case that migrants open up new places and do not infiltrate a host society. Then they are usually free to name features like it was in more exposed parts of the Alps up to the High Middle Ages.

When migrants form mixed migrant societies (not to say 'migrant ghettos') within host societies, conditions for place name use are again different. Staffan Nyström (2016) has reported on the Stockholm suburbs Rinkeby and Tensta, with 88% migrants of

very different origin, who, when asked in a referendum whether they would prefer a multicultural naming (in different languages, commemorating their own heroes and celebrities) to the existing Swedish urban namescape, answered predominantly "no", anticipating the problems, conflicts and segregation that would result if such names were imposed rather than integration and equality (see also Nyström 2009).

3.5.2 Which is the choice of new names by migrants?

A frequent practice constitutes repeating the name of their place of origin, because one of the roles of place names in relating people and space is to underpin emotional ties. Thus, repetition of one's origin's name means preserving a (last) emotional tie to it or making the new place more familiar. It may also have been a commercial trick of migration agencies to promote emigration from a certain place of origin to a certain destination by conveying the impression that this is the place, where already many of former neighbours live and where the newcomer will feel at home. Western Ontario (Canada) has a lot of German examples of this kind (Figure 13.6). Very prominent are *Nieuw Amsterdam* and *New Orleans.*

Figure 13.6 *Signpost of a town in western Ontario, Canada, named after the former German, now Polish city Breslau [Wrocław] (author's own photo: Peter Jordan 2008)*

Another choice concerns biblical names like *Bethlehem* or *Jerusalem* "as a promise of a better life or as an expression of faith and religious commitment" or "seeking to change the place by ascribing it a new, religious meaning" (Mácha 2019).

3.5.3 How do host societies react to the naming behaviour of migrants?

A frequent practice is re-naming after decolonisation as many African cases show, a prominent example being South Africa documented by many studies, e.g. by Theodorus du Plessis (2009; 2011). In the case of individual or group migration not backed by political power, host societies usually don't standardise or elevate place names of migrants (if they apply their own names) to official status before at least the third generation.

3.5.4 How is migration reflected by place names in the source areas of migration?

Přemysl Mácha and Luděk Krtička (2016), for example, pointed at the many *Americas* in Czechia, imposing the image of America as a destination of migrants to a Czech place. Urszula Bijak (2017) has addressed this same topic related to Poland.

3.6 Place names as reflecting structure and balance of power in society

This toponymic research field is perhaps the most prominent among current geographers with Derek Alderman, Reuben Rose-Redwood, Maoz Azaryahu or Duncan Light as its outstanding representatives (see, e.g., Alderman 2000, 2002, 2003; Alderman & Inwood 2013, 2018; Azaryahu 1996, 1997, 2012; Azaryahu & Golan 2001; Light 2004; Light & Young 2014a, 2014b; Rose-Redwood 2008; Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu 2010). It departs from the assumption that the dominant direction in a society always tries to have its imprint on the namescape, while it is difficult for non-dominant directions to be recognised. 'Linguistic landscape' is a crucial term in this context (see, e.g., Cenoz & Gorter 2006; Marten, Van Mensel & Gorter 2012; Puzey 2009; Scollon & Won Scollon 2003; Shohamy & Gorter 2009; Szábo-Giliger 2012), but also 'critical toponomastics' in the sense of regarding place names on their political and societal background (see, e.g., Berg & Volteenaho 2009; Du Plessis 2011).

Studies here refer mostly to urban names, i.e. names of streets, squares etc., since many of them have a commemorative function and are thus closely related to certain historical periods and political powers (see, e.g., Autengruber 2013; Light 2004; Palonen 2008; Shoval 2013; Svensson-Jajko 2018; Yeoh 1996). They also focus on place name

changes after political upheavals (see, e.g. Gill 2005; González Faraco & Murphy 1997; Herman 1999; Jordan & Woodman 2016; Keith & Pile 1993; Lubbe 2010; Myers 1996; Nash 1999). A recent example is the rise and fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, an earlier colonisation and de-colonisation. But new currents within a given and otherwise stable society can also have their impact on the namescape. Cases in point are the commercialisation of our societies (see Jordan 2019c) or the wider recognition of minority, indigenous and non-dominant groups. More recent examples are the Inuit in Canada, the Aborigines in Australia (see, e.g., Watt 2009) and the Maori in New Zealand; earlier ones the Afro-Americans in the United States (Figure 13.7) or linguistic minorities in Western Europe (see, e.g., Gorter, Marten & Van Mensel 2012; Jordan 2004, 2006b; Ormeling 1983; Puzey 2009).

It is also interesting to see how place name changes are received and accepted by inhabitants. It frequently occurs that the old and the new name remain in use simultaneously for some time – the use differing by age groups, political directions, or between 'insiders' and people from the outside as Karol Janas (2014) has impressively demonstrated by the example of the "Socialist" town Nowa Huta near Cracow [Kraków] in Poland.

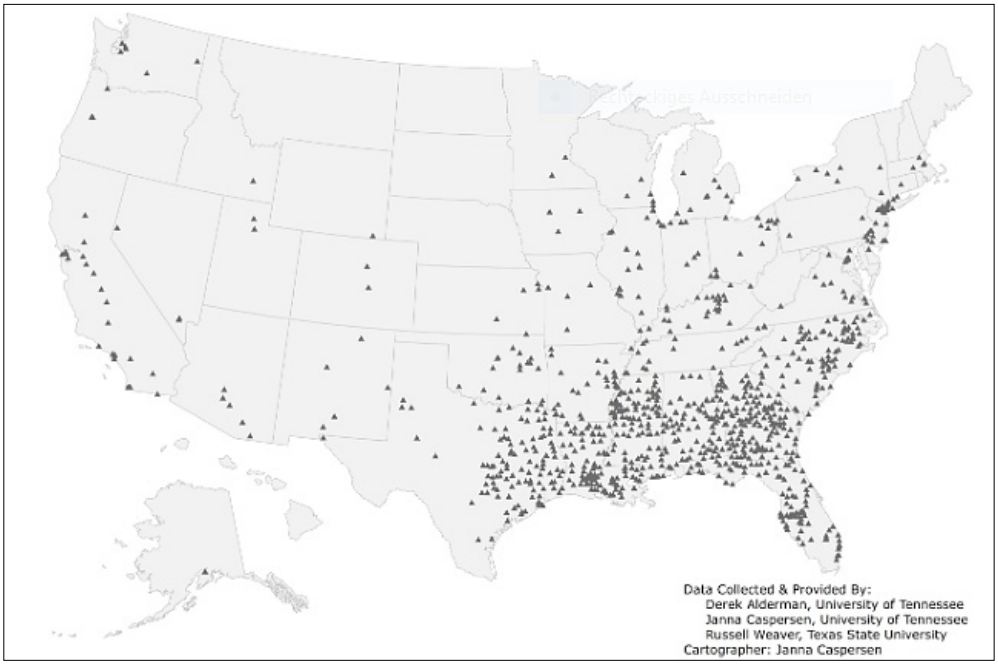

Figure 13.7 *Street names after Dr Martin Luther King Jr. in the USA 2017 (Source: Alderman & Inwood 2018)*

3.7 Place names as indicators of settlement and cultural history

This last major research field already has some tradition, but rather among linguists and historians and not so much among geographers (see Eichler 1968; Käubler 1965). It is, however, also of truly geographical interest and geographers should be encouraged to cultivate it. It makes use of the multiple toponymic layers that can be found almost everywhere to trace the development of settlement and culture in a certain region. Geographers need here – like in all other fields, but here even to a greater extent – the cooperation of linguists and historians. This may be the reason that so far historians and linguists have stood out with their works. Thus, the German historian and linguist Gottfried Schramm (1999) has proven that in the 6th and 7th centuries there was a layer of Slavonic population in what is present-day Albania before the Albanians arrived there in the 8th century – contradicting with these findings Albanian national historiography and arousing heavy dispute. The linguist Eberhard Kranzmayer (1956) drafted by his toponymic studies a meticulous picture of migration and settlement history in the Austrian province of Carinthia [Kärnten]. The geographers Conedera, Vassere, Neff, Meurer and Krebs (2007) used toponymy to reconstruct past land use in a region of Switzerland. Again a linguist, Yvonne Kathrein (2009), explored by place names the history of mining activities in the former silver mine of Schwaz in the Austrian province of Tyrol – to highlight just a few, but rather diverse examples.

Apart from these major fields of geographical research in toponomy exist of course several other, albeit more specific currents, like the discussion on a strictly space-related concept of the endonym/exonym divide as reflecting human territoriality and the dichotomy between “ours” and “theirs” (see, e.g., Jordan 2009a, 2011, 2015, 2019b; Woodman 2012).

4. CONCLUSION

Geographers are thus somewhat of a newcomer to the interdisciplinary research field of toponomastics, if cartography is not conceived as a branch of geography. In recent decades, not to say in recent years, geographical research in toponymy, however, has experienced remarkable development that can mainly be attributed to the paradigmatic change towards constructivism, i.e. looking at geographical space and geographical features not so much as physical reality, but as human constructs. In this context place names can play the role of indicators of human perception of and relations to space. Emanating from this, place names as mediators between humans and space, as indicators of human perception of and behaviour in space, naming motives, place names as identity

markers and in the context of migration, place names as reflecting structure and balance of power in society as well as indicators of settlement and cultural history can be addressed as major research directions. It remains, however, a fact that geographical research in toponomy can only be exerted in close cooperation with linguists or at least with intimate linguistic knowledge and forms part of an interdisciplinary research field cultivated besides linguists, geographers and cartographers, also by historians, cultural anthropologists as well as the juridical and political sciences.

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INDEX

Recognition, Regulation, Revitalisation: Place Names and Indigenous Languages is a selection of double-blind peer-reviewed papers from the 5th International Symposium on Place Names that took place 18-20 September 2019 in Clarens, South Africa. The symposium celebrated 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages as declared by the United Nations.

Some of the studies in this publication excavate lost or disappearing indigenous toponyms. Those researchers contribute in a very concrete way to the preservation of indigenous toponyms, and thereby also the associated cultural heritage. The other papers explore how place naming functions as a mechanism with which to create mental maps and exert socio-political power.

These proceedings are the outcome of international collaboration between Southern African and international scholars. As such, it is a valuable resource to local as well as international scholars who are interested in the interdisciplinary field of toponomy.

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