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MOTIVATIONS FOR NAMING

a toponymic typology

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AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL PLACENAMES SURVEY

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Toponymic Form

A toponym can be seen as a noun phrase which most commonly manifests as the basic formal structure of

<+Specific ±Generic>

to give such forms as *Cook Strait, Norfolk Island, Iron Knob, Jenolan Caves, Breakfast Creek*. Toponyms without the optional generic element are predominantly those for non-natural features, such as places of settlement *Brisbane, Kalgoorlie, Bendigo*. Less common variants include the reversal of the basic pattern, to give

<+Generic +Specific>

in such toponyms as *River Murray, Mount Kosciuszko*; or the substitution of the specific element by a determiner and/or a qualifier, to give such items as *The Gap, The Pinnacle, Old Bar, The Blue Range*. Particularly in informal reference, the generic element is often omitted (*the Murray*, *Kosciuszko*).

1.2 The Naming Process

Toponymic studies have classically attempted to answer the WH- questions for each placename: what is it? where is it? who named it? when was it named? and why was it given that name?

The first of the questions relates primarily to the form of the generic element, which is influenced (but not necessarily determined) by the geographic feature term that applies. A previous report has outlined the approach of the Australian National Placenames Survey to the classification of these generic elements.[1] That approach entailed three distinct subsidiary requirements: to identify a set of intuitive *semantic components* relevant to topographic features; to produce each of the *feature sets* within the catalogue by a logical sequence of those components; and to establish which *feature terms* are included within each feature set.

The *where/who/when* questions relate to the toponymic form as a whole, and respond to historical and linguistic research methods.

The final question—the *why* question—focuses on the specific element of the toponym, and can be the most difficult to answer, since the motivation for the naming process is not often documented and the namer's mind on the matter is a matter for speculation. The classification of this specific element and its relationship to the namer's intention is the subject of this technical paper.

[1] Blair, David (2008). *A standard geographic feature catalogue for toponymic research,* ANPS Technical Paper No. 1, 2008 (revised 2014)

2 TOPONYM SPECIFICS—EXTANT TYPOLOGIES

The lack of a standardised and practical typology for toponym specifics is a significant obstacle to any effective analysis of placenames. Zelinsky (2002: 248) likens the situation to 'a definitional morass that seems interminable,' and makes an appeal for the systematic 'cataloguing and arranging [of] all the objects under investigation into some logical, coherent classificatory scheme'.
Various typologies to classify motivation have been used, ranging from the simple to the quite complex, but none has been found to be compelling in its functionality. We review here 15 typologies dating from 1919 to 2013.

2.1 Mencken

H.L. Mencken (1967 [1919]: 643), for example, sees toponyms as falling into eight classes:

- From personal names
- Transferred from other and older places
- Native American names
- Foreign language names (e.g. Dutch, Spanish, French, German, Scandinavian)
- Biblical and mythological names
- Descriptive of localities
- Suggested by local flora, fauna, or geology
- Purely fanciful names

However, there are areas where there is considerable overlap between categories, as well as a lack of consistency across categories. In the first instance, placenames derived from 'other and older places', 'foreign language names', and 'biblical/mythological names' would regularly be examples of 'personal names'; and it is difficult to clearly distinguish between 'descriptive of localities' and 'suggested by local flora, fauna, or geology'. Secondly, some classes identified are too broad (or inclusive) on the one hand (e.g. 'descriptive of localities') and too narrow (or exclusive) on the other (e.g. 'biblical/mythological').

2.2 McArthur

In the first edition of his *Oregon Geographic Names*, Lewis A. McArthur (1928) classifies toponyms as belonging to one of five categories:

- Descriptive
- Honorary
- Arbitrary
- Complementary
- Unknown

There are two deficiencies commonly found in published placename typologies. One common failing is to include too few categories: gaps are left in the structure where significant toponym types should fall. The second problem is the construction of a structurally uneven taxonomy: some categories are extremely broad and encompassing, while others on the same taxonomic level are finely differentiated with apparently insignificant inclusions. McArthur's typology exemplifies the latter problem. For example, 'Honorary' is a very broad category which clearly is

intended to include toponyms honouring people, places, ships, events, dates, occasions, occupations/activities, as well as incorporating transferred placenames. On the other hand, 'Complementary' appears to be a small and finely differentiated category with low significance (and like 'Arbitrary', is ambiguous in its application).

2.3 Stewart

One of the first researchers to classify placenames in any systematic manner was George R. Stewart. In 1954, he published an article in *Names* entitled 'A classification of place names'. This first typology comprised nine categories, which can be summarised as showing toponyms that:

- describe the qualities of a place
- identify a place with possession of a person or group
- associate a place with an incident at a particular time
- commemorate a place, person, or event
- idealise a locality in terms of symbol or sentiment
- have been manufactured or coined from sounds, letters, or fragments of other words
- have been shifted or transferred from one landscape type to another
- confuse the form and meaning of one name in the form and meaning of a second
- have changed the name

This ur-typology formed the basis of perhaps the most well-known and comprehensive reference on the classification of toponym specifics, his *Names on the Globe* (1975). It contains eleven short chapters devoted to placename classification. His system rests 'upon the proposition that all place-names arise from a single motivation, that is, the desire to distinguish and to separate a particular place from places in general.' (p. 86). In other words, his typology is based on placename *giving* (the 'naming-process') and recognises ten main toponym types (see Table 1).

Table 1
Stewart's (1975) toponym typology

Main category	Sub-category
1. Descriptive names	Sensory descriptives Relative descriptives Intellectual descriptives Metaphorical descriptives Subjective descriptives Negative & Ironic descriptives Hortatory descriptives Repetitive descriptives
2. Associative names	
3. Incident-names	Acts of God Calendar names Animal names Names of human actions Names from an event associated with a person Names from feelings Names from sayings
4. Possessive names	
5. Commemorative names	Persons Other places Abstractions Miscellaneous
6. Condemnatory names	
7. Folk-etymologies	
8. Manufactured names	
9. Mistake-names	
10. Shift-names	

Although one can hardly dispute Stewart's dictum that the 'single motivation' of distinguishing a particular place from other places lies behind the naming process, this hardly supplies the basis for a naming typology. It is necessary to do what Stewart, in fact, goes on to do: to look beyond that intent and see how various source-types provide the means of satisfying the requirement. Unfortunately, as with Mencken's system, Stewart's resultant typology has several areas of overlap (e.g. 'condemnatory names' and 'names from feelings'), and has classes that are too narrow (e.g. 'repetitive descriptives') and ones that are too broad (e.g. 'associative names'). Stewart's system is also inconsistent in that some main categories have unnecessarily detailed subcategories (e.g. 1 and 3), whilst others (e.g. 2, 8, 9, 10) require further partitioning.

2.4 Pearce

Using Stewart's typology of 1954, Pearce investigated the patterns of Spanish toponyms in the southwest of the United States. His view was that Stewart's typology served him well, but required minor modification and the nine categories needed augmenting by a further category: 'names which transfer terms of folk imagination, affection, and humor to localities and landmarks' (Pearce, 1955: 201). This category appears much too fine-grained and was added only to accommodate a specific and exclusive small set of toponyms.

Stewart (1956:120-121) expressed minor reservations about Pearce's allocation of certain toponyms into particular categories, but was intensely critical of the new category. He argued that his own classification was 'with respect to the means or mechanisms by which places are named' (p. 120), and that by the addition of this particular category Pearce was 'bringing in what may be called primarily a question of motive' whilst completely neglecting the mechanism of the naming.

The objections raised by Stewart to Pearce's use, interpretation and modification of the typology, and the ease with which a toponym may be classified under more than one category, highlight the overall inadequacy of this typology.

2.5 Baker and Carmony

In their toponymic dictionary, *Indiana Place Names* (1975), Ronald Baker and Marvin Carmony classify toponyms into thirteen main categories (see Table 2).

Table 2
Baker and Carmony's (1975) toponym typology

Type	Comment
1. Names for a person	Places named after a person
2. Names for other places	Transferred placenames
3. Locational names	Names indicating a direction or position[2]
4. Descriptive names	*Objective*: noting a characteristic of the feature or surrounding area *Subjective*: personal judgement or taste playing a part
5. Inspirational names	Subjective, commendatory
6. Humorous names	
7. Indian and pseudo-Indian names	Authentic and calqued indigenous names, personal indigenous names, or corrupted/changed indigenous names; includes descriptive names
8. Names from languages other than English	Transferred names, descriptive and commendatory names in foreign languages
9. Incident names	Names arising from particular occurrences at a locale
10. Folk etymology	Reshaping of an unfamiliar name to familiar one; includes corrupted foreign names
11. Coined names	Manufactured from other names, coined by reversing letters, or initialisms
12. Mistake names	Names formed through orthographic errors
13. Legends and anecdotes	Names from indigenous folk legends

[2] Included in this category are local transfer names 'with directional adjectives if they are truly descriptive of location relative to the borrowed name, as well as other names descriptive of location.' (p. xiii)

Whilst Baker and Carmony's scheme is an improvement on Stewart's system through extension and modification, it nevertheless has several flaws. Most seriously (and in common with most other proposed typologies), its categories are not unambiguously distinct from each other. Type 4 (Descriptive) and Type 5 (Inspirational) overlap in a particularly confusing way. Both include a 'subjective' subgroup; the Descriptive category allows names based on personal judgement or taste, while the Inspirational category includes commendatory names. Indeed, Type 8 also includes commendatory names. Descriptive names can be found under three separate categories, Types 4, 7 and 8. Personal names are included in two separate categories, Types 1 and 7. The existence of both Type 6 (Humorous) and Type 11 (Coined) seems to imply the doubtful proposition that coined names are never humorous in intent.

A particular problem arises with the allocation of 'corrupted foreign names' to a category: Baker and Carmony include them in Type 10 (Folk Etymology), but this seems to a quite arbitrary determination, and it is not clear why Types 1, 2, 8 or even 12 would not be equally as appropriate. The creation of Type 13 to include names from indigenous folk legends seems to be rather capricious; if the judgement is made that no toponyms are derived from non-indigenous stories, then Type 7 (Indian and pseudo-Indian names) would appear to be an entirely adequate category for the purpose.

A large part of the problem with this scheme is simple category confusion. Baker and Carmony, in building on Stewart's typology, introduce three new categories which are properly part of a language-origin classification scheme rather than a naming motivation of mechanism typology. It is possible to include language origin in a Stewart-type scheme, but only if the 'foreign' origin of the toponym is seen as the simple motivation for the transfer. The difficulty arises when, as with Baker and Carmony, the nature of the imported word in its original language ('descriptive', 'commendatory', etc.) is brought into the system.

2.6 McArthur

The son of Lewis A. McArthur (*2.2* above), Lewis L. McArthur took over his father's work and proposed (1986) a new approach 'based upon large divisions that may subsequently be divided into smaller groups similar to the method of classifying flora and fauna.' He reasoned that toponyms fall into four main classes:

- Descriptive
- Commemorative
- Miscellaneous
- Unknown

The first three categories are further subdivided into: *Biographical*, *Geographical*, *Incidental* and *Topical*. *Biographical* is further subdivided into *Biographical-honorary* and *Biographical-associative*. *Miscellaneous* is also subdivided into: *Manufactured*, *Mistakes*, *Shifts*, *Folk-etymologies*, and *Arbitrary*. The first four of these derive from Stewart, and one (*Arbitrary*) from Lewis A. McArthur's system. This then gives us the following schema:

1. Descriptive
    1.1. Biographical
        1.1.1. Biographical-honorary
        1.1.2. Biographical-associative

1.2. Geographical
1.3. Incidental
1.4. Topical
2. Commemorative
2.1. Biographical
2.1.1. Biographical-honorary
2.1.2. Biographical-associative
2.2. Geographical
2.3. Incidental
2.4. Topical
3. Miscellaneous
3.1. Biographical
3.1.1. Biographical-honorary
3.1.2. Biographical-associative
3.2. Geographical
3.3. Incidental
3.4. Topical
3.5. Manufactured
3.6. Mistakes
3.7. Shifts
3.8. Folk-etymologies
3.9. Arbitrary
4. Unknown

Realising his typology was not without flaws and holes, McArthur proposed his typology to be a point of departure for discussion. He candidly admitted that almost as good a case can be argued for a different set of four basic classifications: *Biographical*, *Physiographical*, *Etymological* and *Unknown*. These could then be sub-divided into: *Descriptive*, *Honorary*, *Incidental*, etc.

McArthur ended his article with the sincere hope that further input would enable the American Name Society and the Place Name Survey to establish an acceptable classification system. He seems to be the only toponymist to acknowledge the difficulty in formulating a robust, sound and reliable typology. He clearly understood that typologies need to be dynamic.

2.7 Algeo

John Algeo (1988) took 1000 Australian placenames from A.W. Reed's *Place Names of Australia* (approximately one third of Reed's catalogue) and allocated them to one of the following 'etymological classes' [sic]:

- Aboriginal 29%
- Australian persons 28%
- British persons 8%
- Other persons 3%
- Descriptive 13%
- British places 9%
- Other places 3%
- Events 4%

- Ships 2%
- Miscellaneous 1%

Firstly, his notion of 'etymological classes' is rather odd. From a purely linguistic perspective, a word's etymology refers to the facts relating to its formation or derivation or to the description of its elements with their modifications of form and sense. This is not what Algeo's classes represent. Further, Algeo's reliance on Reed's purported origins (and meanings) of Australian toponyms to develop his own typology is perilous, because one cannot rely on a popularist publication such as Reed's to have accurate and verified origins and meanings. Reed admitted that he was not always able to check his claimed origins and meanings, and often relied on numerous sources such as 'books of local and wider interest, periodicals, and from communications from private individuals' (Reed 1973: 7-8). It is generally accepted that these were not the most reliable or authoritative of sources.

Although not directly germane to the topic at hand, the inclusion of percentages of different types of toponyms should be regarded with caution. These category percentages cannot be taken as indicative of all Australia's toponyms. A sample of 1000 from Reed's already carefully chosen sample can hardly be a valid or representative sample of Australia's placenames. Reed declares his catalogue of toponyms is a selection 'of places that appear in *The Readers Digest Atlas of Australia* and the *Australian Encyclopaedia* […] together with other lesser known places where the name was of historic or other interest.' Reed's catalogue is an *ad hoc* one based on various sources with diverse motivations. Algeo's dependence on an unrepresentative sample of toponyms for the creation of a typology was certainly unwise. Having said this, however, Algeo's percentage for Indigenous toponyms is remarkably accurate. In a gazetteer-based study on Indigenous and introduced toponyms in Australia, Tent (forthcoming) found that of the 320,000 toponyms analysed, 28.2% had an Indigenous element (either the generic, the specific or both).

As with most of typologies discussed here, Algeo's is not only based on arbitrary categories, it also displays conspicuous gaps, overlaps, and inaccuracies. His distinction between *Australian persons* and *British persons* is contentious—it unhelpfully evades the issue of *birthplace v residence* and fails to reveal that many in the *Australian person* category were recent colonists from Britain. The incorporation of three classes of toponyms derived from personal names is excessive when they are placed at the primary level of categorisation alongside other major classes such as *Descriptive*. If necessary, distinctions of nationality or birthplace can be marked as sub-classes of a major category such as *Eponymous*—which would also avoid the incongruity of listing *Ships* as a primary category. Similarly, such a major category as *Descriptive* would benefit from the use of sub-classes.

2.8 Gläser

In a paper presented at the 19th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences held in Aberdeen in 1996, Rosemarie Gläser reported an analysis of the placename types in A.W. Reed's *Aboriginal Place Names and their Meanings* (1994) and, as Algeo did, *Place Names of Australia* (1992). She divided Australia's toponyms into *Aboriginal placenames* and *Anglo-Australian placenames*, and claimed the former are generally common nouns with a transparent meaning since they are 'descriptive names'. The Anglo-Australian names were divided thus:

1. Expressing loyalty to the British Empire
   - 1.1 in honour of royalty
   - 1.2 in honour of statesmen
   - 1.3 in honour of Australian Governors and Secretaries of State

2. Commemorating explorers
    2.1 commemorating captains and ships surgeons
    2.2 commemorating ships' names
    2.3 in honour of surveyors
3. Commemorating persons who contributed to the economic development of Australia
4. Commemorating women
5. Transferred placenames
6. Common nouns (i.e. descriptive, associative, incident)

Firstly, Gläser's schema is remarkably anglocentric–it ignores the fact that many of the placenames in Reed (1992) were bestowed by non-English explorers and settlers (by those who were Dutch, French or German, for instance). This system then makes needless distinctions: items in categories 1, 2, 3 and 4 could all be subsumed under a single category 'eponymous' or 'after personal names'. Moreover, why a separate category is needed for women is puzzling. Are women therefore excluded from category 3? The final category is also too broad and inclusive to be of any use. Any typology based on the motivation for naming must include distinct categories for descriptive, associative and incident names.

2.9 Smith

Grant Smith (1993, 1996) has developed both an extensive numbering system for toponym data collecting as well as a typology for Amerindian toponyms. The former records details on the toponym's official Geographic Names Information System code, its linguistic features (i.e. spelling, morphology, pronunciation etc.), its feature class and details of its coordinates, details of its namer, and details about its meaning. Details of the mechanism and motivation of the naming play an extremely minor and imprecise role in this system. Smith's Amerindian toponym typology suffers similar shortcomings to the systems mentioned above; in addition, it cannot be applied to introduced toponyms.

2.10 Marchant

In his detailed analysis of the French exploration of Southland's coasts and place-naming, L.R. Marchant (1998: 316), included a simple typology of the French toponyms conferred on the Australian coastline. He identified eight different types of toponym:

- after expedition members
- after expedition ships
- after earlier French navigators in the region
- after notable historical figures in French science, literature and war
- after then contemporary notable figures in French politics, science, and war
- after French revolutionary and Napoleonic military victories
- after physical appearance of the feature
- after an incident at the place
- after flora or fauna noted at the place

This is quite an effective typology for the names identified by Marchant, and clearly reflects French culture, politics and values of the time. However, this typology, like those of Smith and Gasque, is specifically designed to deal with a very restricted category of toponym, and is therefore unsuited for analysis of toponyms in general.

2.11 Zelinsky

Zelinsky (2002) proposed a preliminary typology of names in general under eight 'grand divisions':

I. Deities
II. Biodata (names for human beings, flora and fauna)
III. Places
IV. Events
V. Social Entities
VI. Enterprises
VII. Artifacts
VIII. Unclassifiable

… each of which is further subdivided into numerous subcategories.

Under grand division III *Places* the following subdivisions are found:

A. Celestial objects
    1. Satellites
    2. Asteroids
    3. Comets
    4. Stars
    5. Constellations
    6. Galaxies
B. Extraterrestrial place names on
    1. The moon
    2. Mars
    3. Other planets and/or their satellites
C. Terrestrial features
    1. Natural or artificial physical features including mountains and peaks; hills; valleys; passes; glaciers; deserts; streams; lakes and ponds; swamps and marshes; caves; faults; beaches, bays, coves, capes, and other shoreline features; reefs and other marine features; winds; etc.
        a. Historic rocks
    2. Political and administrative jurisdictions
    3. Settlements
        a. Cities, suburbs, towns, villages, hamlets
        b. Neighborhoods
        c. Residential subdivisions
    4. Shopping centers
    5. Streets, alleys, highways, lanes, trails
    6. Plazas, squares, dedicated corners
    7. Railways
        a. Railway and subway stations and stops

8. Canals
9. Pipelines
10. Churches, convents, monasteries
11. Cemeteries
    a. Sections and lanes thereof
12. Playgrounds
13. Gardens, arboreta
14. Parks, forests
15. Mines, quarries
16. Resorts, country clubs, ski facilities
    a. Ski trails
17. Farms, ranches
    a. Wineries
    b. Fields
18. Military facilities
19. Survey points
20. Imaginary places

This schema is not a typology of toponyms but an *ad hoc* catalogue of geographic features and a seemingly unrelated conglomeration of natural and cultural themes[3]. This is further exemplified by the subdivisions under grand division VII *Artifacts*:

A. Structures
1. Government and other public buildings
2. Office buildings
3. Commercial buildings
4. Convention centers
5. Residences
    a. Single-family homes
    b. Second homes, vacation cottages, trailers
    c. Apartment houses; hotels, motels
6. Named rooms and suites within hotels and convention centers
    a. Retirement/nursing facilities
7. Primary and secondary schools; daycare facilities
8. Colleges
    a. Buildings within college campuses
9. Churches, convents, monasteries, retreats
10. Castles, forts
12. Shrines
13. Factories, warehouses
14. Stadia, racetracks, amusement parks
    a. Rides within amusement parks
15. Libraries
16. Hospitals
    a. Dedicated rooms or wings
17. Prisons
18. Fire stations
19. Airports

[3] See, for example, the taxonomic representation of such feature and themes in Blair 2014 [2008].

20. Bridges and tunnels
21. Dams
22. Asylums
23. Fountains

It is difficult to see the difference between this set of features and the constructed features listed under 'Terrestrial features' in division III *Places*. Indeed, there are some obvious duplications: the entry 'churches, convents, monasteries' appears twice, for example—at both III C 10 and VII A 9.

A more serious objection is the one raised above: a typology of *toponyms* is distinct from a list of *geographic features or structures*. Those features and structures may or may not bear names. A typology of toponyms classifies the actual names bestowed on natural and cultural features, and the classification is determined by such elements as what the names do, where they come from, what they mean, why a particular name was bestowed.

2.12 Gasque

In designing a method for sorting and counting his South Dakota toponyms, Thomas Gasque (2005) employs four levels of classification, where each toponym is assigned an alpha or numeric code at each level:

Table 3
Gasque's (2005) toponym typology

Level	Description
Level 1	Level of knowledge about the origin of the toponym. There are six levels of documentation from full to none.
Level II	Motivation in the choice of toponym.
Level III	Source of the toponym (biographical, geographical, fauna, flora, geological, metaphorical, judgemental, miscellaneous, unknown).
Level IV	Language of the toponym.

The system is helpful if one wants to calculate the number of placenames at each level. However, the wholesale adoption of Stewart's typology for Level II is imprudent because it causes serious areas of overlap between various categories between levels (e.g. Level I, category D 'Folk Legend, Guesswork etc.' overlaps with Stewart's 'Folk Etymology' and perhaps with 'Mistake-names' in Level II). This situation is further compounded by overlapping between a number of Level III and Level II categories (e.g. Level III's 'Fauna', 'Flora', 'Judgemental' and Level II's 'Associative Names', 'Commendatory Names'). Gasque's Level III category 'Miscellaneous or Combination' is also unsatisfactory, because an effective typology should not contain categories that allow placenames to be classified under two or more categories. It is also difficult to see a clear distinction between Levels II and III.

2.13 Rennick

Robert Rennick (2005) presents a set of instructions on what should be considered and included in the study of placenames.

Rennick first makes two distinctions necessary for the effective study of placenames: that between 'place' and 'feature' and that between 'the kind of name (the name itself)' and its 'application to a particular place or feature' (i.e. denotation vs. connotation). He defines a 'place' as a 'human settlement of some kind' (e.g. city, town, village). It must also have definite geographic limits and concentrated populations. However, he also includes unfocussed neighbourhoods in this category. A 'feature' on the other hand is defined as a 'natural element' (e.g. stream, lake, mountain etc.) or a number of 'man-made' elements (e.g. mine, school church, cemetery, building complex, railway station etc.) (Rennick 2005: 291). Secondly, according to Rennick, a denotative name simply refers to its referent; 'it's obvious; it's descriptive of the place or feature.' On the other hand, a connotative name is 'associated with the place or feature solely by its application' and reveals nothing about the place or feature. (Rennick 2005:292). This distinction seems to be both unhelpful and unnecessary. It is not required in order to make a successful classification of toponyms, and its foray into semantics is linguistically naïve.

Rennick then goes on to propose a placename classification system based on 'the names themselves rather than the purposes for the naming.' (Rennick 2005:291). He warns that the reasons for naming are often not known, because no record is left of the namer's motivation. There is good reason for this caution; however, the same applies to attempting a definitive categorisation 'based on the names themselves'. One cannot classify, for instance, a toponym as a name of Approbation or Disapprobation purely on its linguistic form; the application of such a category entails a judgement about the namer's intent. (A toponym such as *Pleasantville*, to take just one example, may well be ironic.) Rennick's inclusion of his Humorous category is a further indication that his classification system does not, and probably cannot, adhere to this prescription.

There is one further reservation that might be expressed about Rennick's proposal: as he points out (301), his categories are not mutually exclusive. That this is the case becomes clear with Category 7 'Names derived from several possible sources'. Rennick's example (that of a toponym where the name of a national hero may have been borrowed from its use as a placename elsewhere) shows clearly that the overlapping of categories is a result of his prescription that the classes must be based on inherent characteristics of the placenames, not on the namer's intent. A placename may indeed have multiple connections and connotations; but the namer's motivation (*commemorative*, for example) will be unitary.

Table 4
Rennick's (2005) toponym typology

Main category	Sub-category
1. Personal Names	a. Full names (family, given, nicknames, discoverers, first settlers etc.) b. Names of local people c. Friends, relatives of early settlers d. On-local persons associated with the place e. Prominent non-local persons (national leaders, historic figures etc.) not having an association with the place
2. Names Taken from Other Places or Features	a. Names imported from earlier residences of first settlers b. Names transferred from nearby features c. Names taken from other places with no association with place or residents
3. Local or Descriptive Names	a. Location, direction, position or distance in relation to other places or features b. Shape, size, odour, colour c. Names derived from some other feature or characteristic of the natural environment (landscape, terrain, topography; soil, minerals; water bodies; animals; plant life) d. Names of Approbation and Disapprobation or otherwise suggestively descriptive or metaphoric
4. Historic Events	a. Non-local (commemorative) b. Local (nearby, at a single point of time) c. Local (nearby, recurring behaviour) d. Exclamations (first words uttered at time of naming)
5. Subjective Names	a. Inspirational and symbolic names (e.g. reflecting aspirations and ideals of early settlers) b. Nicknames of the kinds of settlers (referring to their character or behaviour) c. Literary, Scriptural and names reflecting high culture, tastes, interests or aspirations d. Humorous names and miscellaneous oddities reminiscent of events/conditions at time of settlement/naming
6. Mistake Names	
7. Names from more than one source	
8. Underived Names	Including those of unknown etymology

2.14 Gammeltoft

Peder Gammeltoft (2005) provides a useful system of classification which, like Stewart's, is centred upon the motivation for naming. However, the system is much more sophisticated, is consistent and has no overlapping between categories.

Gammeltoft sees three basic motivations for naming: relationship of the locality-type to something external; an inherent quality of the locality (i.e. characteristic of the named locality); the use of the locality. In the table below, it will be seen that the first two are divided into further subcategories:

Table 5
Gammeltoft's (2005) toponym typology

Primary level	Secondary level	Tertiary level
1. Relationship	a. Topographical relationship	i. Characterisation of the location in relation to a name-bearing location
		ii. Characterisation of the location in relation to a non-name-bearing location
		iii. Characterisation of the location by means of its relative position
	b. Institutional & administrative relationship	
	c. Association to a person/persons	
	d. An external event to which naming is related	
2. Quality	a. Size	
	b. Shape	
	c. Colour	
	d. Age	
	e. Material or texture	
	f. That which exists at or near	i. Creatures
		ii. Plant-growth
		iii. Inanimate objects
	g. Perceived qualities	
3. Usage		

Gammeltoft's system is significantly better than those previously advanced. It permits an insight into the namer's 'frame of mind' or motivation for the naming; it incorporates hierarchical categorisation and structuring of placenames at various levels of detail; and it permits detection of small differences in naming practices.

Category 3, however, is an oddity. It is not clear that a type based on how the locality is 'used' is anything other than a Relationship sub-category. The raising of this type to full category status is particularly puzzling in the absence of other categories that might have recognised eponyms (surely not adequately covered by Gammeltoft's 1c sub-type), linguistic innovations and 'mistaken' or 'erroneous' names.

2.15 Bréelle

Like most of the typologies in this compendium, Bréelle's classification (2013) was developed for the analysis of a specific set of toponyms: in this case, the 347 toponyms bestowed along the

Australian coastline by Matthew Flinders during his circumnavigation of the continent aboard *HMS Investigator* in 1801-1802 and 1802-1803.

Bréelle categorised Flinders' toponyms into eight toponym classes:

- High officers / personalities
- Ship's company
- Family / friends / acquaintances
- British places
- Plants / animals
- Geographical / geological features
- Surveying work / nautical work / hazards
- Ethnography / human geography

When classifying a specific set of toponyms bestowed by an individual, or those of a defined region, one can make very fine distinctions, such as shown by Bréelle's first three categories. Normally, such a delicate distinction between eponymous placenames is not needed, unless one is inclined, as Bréelle is, to obtain an insight into the namer's character, discover where his loyalties lie, or whom he favours. In this case the partitioning of eponymous toponyms into three classes may be justified. However, placing these three classes at the same level as the other five (which can be seen as superordinate groups, or hypernyms), poorly reflects the reality of the structural relations because the three eponymous classes are clearly subordinate categories (or hyponyms). A more transparent typology would include a prime category *Eponymous* with the three classes 'High officers / personalities', 'Ship's company', and 'Family / friends / acquaintances', placed at lower subordinate levels. Without that modification, Bréelle's typology is structurally uneven and the classification of toponyms under her scheme not as effective as it might have been.

3 COMMENTARY

Most of the typologies sketched above were developed to classify and analyse the toponyms of a specific region, or those bestowed by specific individuals or cultures. Although such typologies may perform these tasks adequately, they have the inherent weakness of being too confined or too broad to be applied to the toponyms of other regions, individuals or eras—they can only be used for the specific task for which they were designed. Another weakness is that various typologies are unevenly weighted (or 'lop-sided'), in that superordinate categories are placed at the same level as ones which are more logically considered subordinate.

These limitations have the added effect of not allowing comparisons to be made between sets of toponyms or place-naming practices of different regions. We believe that contrasting different sets of toponyms should be seen as a valuable and necessary pursuit in the study of placenames.

We concede that a typology for the toponyms of all the world's regions, eras and name bestowers is an ideal which, in all probability, is unachievable because every region is unique in when, how, and under what circumstances its placenames were conferred. Nevertheless, an attempt to approach such a typology is a worthy endeavour. Any such typology will inevitably have its weakness and flaws; but if it allows us to do even limited or imperfect comparative studies it will be performing a valuable task.

The key is to define a robust and limited set of core terms that can function as superordinate terms which in turn can effectively be applied to a comprehensive collection of toponyms from as wide a set of regions as possible. Naturally, not all the core terms may be relevant at any one time, but this should not detract from its effectiveness. To a set of superordinate core terms (hypernyms) any number of sets of subordinate terms (hyponyms) can be added or deleted to suit the placenames and history of any region.

In the following section, we take up this challenge by proposing a new typology, which we hope moves a step further in this direction.

4 A PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION

The most successful attempts so far to construct an effective typology have been those that use the namer's motivation as the starting point. Two further requirements, however, must be met: the typology needs to have enough specific categories to cover all types of toponym, and to reveal the distinctions in their naming motivation; and the categories must be mutually exclusive.

A practical typology must also be flexible enough to allow for additions of categories without causing fundamental structural changes, as well as permit toponyms bestowed in different regions (international and national) and eras.

Two further aspects should be noted. Firstly, the term 'motivation' is perhaps simplistic in this context. The intent behind the typology is to indicate the mechanism or *modus operandi* of the naming process in each case. Where a toponym has been given on the basis of a misunderstanding or error on the namer's part, a term such as 'motivation' is not entirely appropriate; in fact, it is difficult to find a term that will suit equally well all the possibilities in such a typology as this. For that reason, we have resorted to using 'motivation' as our keyword, in want of a more suitable equivalent or superordinate.

Secondly, toponym interpretations in the ANPS Database follow the principle that only the immediately-preceding etymology is recorded for each toponym. In the Australian context, for example, the Sydney suburb of Camperdown is sited on part of Governor Bligh's 240-acre estate, from the early years of the 19th Century; and it bears the name of that estate. The fact that Bligh's estate commemorated the Battle of Camperdown (October 11, 1797), which in turn took its title from the Dutch village of Camperduin, does not affect the typology tag for the suburb's entry in the Database. In other words, within the current ANPS typology (below), the suburb's name is an example of *feature shift*; unlike the name of Bligh's original estate, it is neither *eponymous* or a *transfer*.

4.1 Outline of Development–Early Drafts

The ANPS Database requires provision within its structure for typology values to be entered. In early versions of the Database, we used modified forms of Stewart's typology. Table 6 (below) shows the initial draft, with some brief explanations and Australian examples.

Table 6
ANPS Database: original typology

Typology Values [Draft 1] + Description
[Commendatory] e.g. Fairview, Rosewater -- deliberately chosen for pleasant associations
[Descriptive] e.g. Bare Island, Mount Abrupt, Mount Lofty; includes flora/fauna, e.g. Acacia Creek, Alligator River; also affective impressions, e.g. Dismal Swamp
[Narrative] e.g. Lightning Ridge (where a flock of sheep is said to have been struck by lightning); Ophthalmia Range (named by Ernest Giles while suffering from the complaint)
[Transfer Indigenous: placename or other word] e.g. Wagga Wagga, Parramatta, Toowoomba, Maroochydore
[Coined] Combinations of (parts of) words/names, reversals, anagrams, e.g. Australind < Australia + India; Ashbury < Ashfield + Canterbury; Lidcombe < Lidbury + Larcombe; Nangiloc < Colignan
[Mistake: garbled] e.g. Dee Why (recorded in journal of surveyor James Meehan as Dy Beach)
[Mistake: folk etymology] e.g. Coal and Candle Creek < Kolaan Kandahl; Collector; Delegate; Tin Can Bay
[Proper Name: other] e.g. Norseman (horse), Banana (bullock), Coolangatta Qld (ship), Yarrana Heights (helicopter)
[Proper Name: personal - commemorative] e.g. Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane; Frew River named by Sturt after member of his party
[Proper Name: personal - possessive] e.g. Archdale (on a run taken up by Mervyn Archdale), Brodies Plains (on land taken up by Peter Brodie)
[Proper Name: placename - relational] e.g. East Sydney, West Wyalong, Central Mangrove, Middle Cove
[Proper Name: placename - nearby] From nearby place, e.g. Buffalo River and Lake Buffalo near Mount Buffalo (named from its resemblance in shape to a buffalo's head); Double Bay (suburb) from Double Bay (bay)
[Proper Name: placename - distant] From place in Europe or elsewhere in Aus, e.g. Newcastle, Perth, Ballina, Mt Arapiles

A second draft revised some to the labels and made minor changes to the organisational structure. Table 7 shows the relationship between the two versions.

Table 7
ANPS Database: early typologies

Version 1		Version 2	
Commendatory		Description	Commendatory
Descriptive			Impression
Narrative			Incident
Indigenous transfer		Indigenous	
Coined		Linguistic	Coined
Mistake	Garbled		Mistake
	Folk etymology		Popular Etymology
Proper name	Other	Non-Personal Name	
	Personal commemorative	Personal Name	Commemorative
	Personal possessive		Possessive
	Placename - relational	Placename	Relational
	Placename - nearby		Shift
	Placename - distant		Transfer

Both of these early versions were a partial rationalisation of Stewart's scheme. Neither, unfortunately, solved the problems of overlap that we had experienced, or overcame the many uncertainties of categorisation that our researchers continually experienced.

Version 2, in fact, even reverted to Stewart's difficult distinction between 'shift' and 'transfer'. So the typology in these early implementations of the Database, of course, displayed exactly the sorts of problems that we had earlier anticipated, and so we had a strong stimulus to develop a new categorisation.

4.2 Taxonomy Based on Semantic Features

As we have seen, imprecision and ambiguity are difficult to avoid when toponym typologies are being constructed. However, a highly explicit taxonomy and catalogue of terms can reduce or eliminate ambiguity within the toponymic system. As with the generic feature catalogue reported earlier, the construction of such a taxonomy must begin with a specification of the intuitive semantic components that form its foundation. And, as before, these semantic elements have not been chosen from an *a priori* list. They are intuitively produced as part of the step-by-step process of distinguishing the 'motivation' labels from each other. They are therefore arbitrary and subjective, to some degree. They are also heuristic, in that the application of these components is directed towards a particular output: a set of labels which will usefully tag a namer's motivation in the toponymic event. If the output is found to be useful, then the structure of the semantic analysis which led to it may be subsequently disregarded. On the other hand, a catalogue which groups labels non-intuitively or which omits significant motivational options would indicate a necessary revision of the semantic components or of the taxonomic structure.

The current task, then, has entailed two distinct subsidiary processes: identifying a set of intuitive *semantic components* relevant to toponymic motivation; and producing a set of *motivation labels* by a logical sequence of those components. The labels thus produced represent nine major classes; these have been subdivided further into 29 optional sub-classes (without the intervention of further semantic components).[4]

The taxonomy is represented by a tree structure (Figure 1) in which the semantic components are progressively applied, to proceed from an initial level of abstraction (or generality) to a more highly-specified level of toponymic motivation.

The nodes (that is, the points of distinguishment) in the taxonomic tree are binary in nature, although in theory a taxonomy tree which contains nodes with three or more splits is not prohibited. One advantage of the binary splitting process lies in its intuitive force, since the ability to contrast sets of terms by the presence or absence of some feature is part of our linguistic competence. Another advantage is more pragmatic (although we have not taken advantage of it here): binary features provide potential labels for each node or point of distinguishment, and facilitate discussion of the various levels of generalisation/specialisation.

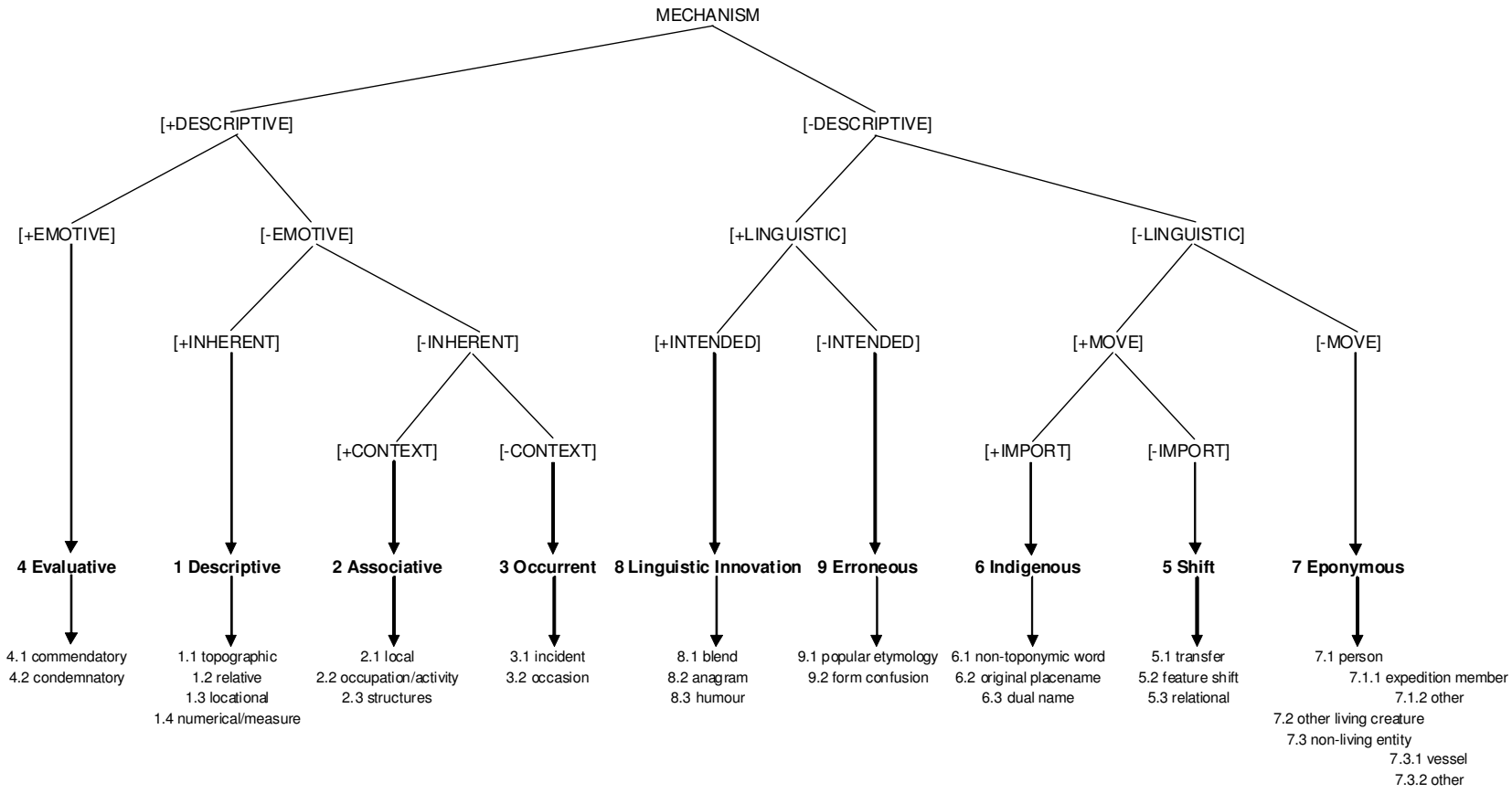
The eight semantic components used within the structure are defined in Table 8.

Table 8
Semantic component definitions

Semantic Component	Definition
[+DESCRIPTIVE]	Reflects a characteristic of the feature or its environment.
[+EMOTIVE]	Reflects a subjective response by the namer to the feature.
[+INHERENT]	Characteristic of the feature itself, rather than of its surrounds or context.
[+CONTEXT]	Characteristic of the physical surrounds of the feature, rather than of any event associated with the naming.
[+LINGUISTIC]	Relates to the linguistic form of the name.
[+INTENDED]	Deliberately constructed as an innovative linguistic form.
[+MOVE]	Indicates the toponym has been reapplied from another location, another feature-type, or another language system.
[+IMPORT]	Indicates the toponym has been reapplied from an Australian Indigenous language.

[4] An implementation of this classification is reported in: Tent, Jan and Slatyer, Helen (2009). 'Naming Places on the 'Southland': European Place-Naming Practices from 1606 to 1803', *Australian Historical Studies*, 40:1, 5-31

Figure 1.
Taxonomy of Australian toponym specifics



4.3 The Current Model

The typology which the model produces (Table 9) is centred on the 'mechanism' of the naming process. In other words, it is based on the *modus operandi* of the naming. Where available and relevant, it takes into account the procedures, methods, strategies, motivation, original reference and/or referents of names. Through the typology's recognition of nine major categories for toponym specifics, all based on explicitly defined and intuitive semantic components, the previously-experienced problems of overlap and uncertainty of classification have been avoided.

Table 9

Toponym Typology

0	**Unknown** – where the meaning, reference, referent, or origin of the toponym is unknown.
1	**Descriptive** – indicating an inherent characteristic of the feature. **1.1** **Topographic –** describing the physical appearance of a feature either qualitatively or metaphorically (e.g. *Cape Manifold*, *Steep Point, Point Perpendicular*, *Broken Bay, Mount Dromedary*, *Pigeon House Mountain*, *Cape Bowling Green*, *Pudding-pan Hill*). **1.2** **Relative** – indicating position of a feature relative to another, either chronologically or spatially (e.g. *South Island* vs *North Island*, *North Head* vs *South Head*, *Groupe de l'Est* vs *Groupe de l'Ouest, Old Adaminaby*).* **1.3** **Locational** – indicating the location or orientation of a feature (e.g. *Suyt Caap*, *Cape Capricorn*, *South West Cape*).* **1.4** **Numerical/Measurement** – measuring or counting elements of a named feature (e.g. *Three Isles, Three Mile Creek*, *The 2 Brothers*, *Cape Three Points*).
2	**Associative –** indicating something which is always or often associated with the feature or its physical context. **2.1** **Local** – indicating something of a topographical, environmental or biological nature seen with or associated with the feature (e.g. *Lizard Island*, *Shark Bay*, *Palm Island*, *Green Island*, *Botany Bay, Magnetic Island, Cornelian Basin*, *Oyster Bay*, *Bay of Isles*, *Ocean Beach*). **2.2** **Occupation/Activity –** indicating an occupation or habitual activity associated with the feature (e.g. *Fishermans Bend*). **2.3** **Structures** – indicating a manufactured structure associated with the feature (e.g. *Seven Huijsien* 'Seven Houses', *Telegraph Point*).
3	**Occurrent** – recording an event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature. **3.1** **Incident** – recording an event, incident or action associated with the feature (e.g. *Cape Keerweer*, *Magnetic Island, Indian Head*, *Cape Tribulation*, *Smokey Cape*). **3.2** **Occasion** – recognising a time or date associated with the feature (e.g. *Whitsunday Islands*, *Pentecost Island*, *Trinity Bay*, *Paasavonds land* 'Easter Eve's land', *Restoration Island*, *Wednesday Island*, *St Patrick's Head*, *Ile du Nouvel-An* 'New Years Island').
4	**Evaluative** – reflecting the emotional reaction of the namer, or a strong connotation associated with the feature. **4.1** **Commendatory** – reflecting/propounding a positive response to the feature (e.g. *Hoek van Goede* Hoop 'Good Hope Point', *Fair Cape*, *Hope Islands*, *Ile de Remarque* 'Remarkable Island'). **4.2** **Condemnatory –** reflecting/propounding a negative response to the feature (e.g. *Mount Disappointment*, *Passage Epineux* 'Tortuous Passage', *Baie Mauvaise* 'Bad Bay').
5	**Shift –** use of a toponym, in whole or part, from another location or feature. **5.1** **Transfer –** transferred from an other place (e.g. *Pedra Brancka*, *Rivier Batavia*, *'t Eijlandt Goeree*, *Orfordness*, *River Derwent*, *Lion Couchant*, *Cap du Mont-Tabor*). **5.2** **Feature Shift –** copied from an adjacent feature of a different type (e.g. *Cape Dromedary* from nearby *Mount Dromedary*, *Pointe de Leeuwin* from adjacent *'t Land van Leeuwin, Cap Frederick Hendrick* from surrounding *Frederick Hendrix Baaij*). **5.3** **Relational –** using a qualifier within the toponym to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type (e.g. *East Sydney* < *Sydney*, *North Brisbane* < *Brisbane*).*

6 **Indigenous –** importing an Indigenous toponym or word into the Introduced system.

- **6.1** **Non-toponymic word** – importing an Indigenous word, not being a toponym (e.g. *Charco Harbour* from the 'charco' or *yir-ké* 'an exclamation of surprise').
- **6.2** **Original placename** – importing the Indigenous toponym already used for that location or feature (e.g. *Ku-ring-gai*, *Parramatta*, *Turramurra*).
- **6.3** **Dual name** – restoring an original Indigenous toponym as part of a dual-naming process (e.g. *Uluru* / Ayers Rock, Darling Harbour / *Tumbalong*).

7 **Eponymous –** commemorating or honouring a person or other named entity by using a proper name, title, or eponym substitute as a toponym.

- **7.1** **Person(s) –** using the proper name of a person or group to name a feature.
  - **7.1.1** **Expedition member –** where the named person is a member of the expedition (e.g. *Tasman Island*, *Point Hicks*, *Crooms River, Labillardiere Peninsula*, *Huon River*).
  - **7.1.2** **Other –** where feature is named after an eminent person, patron, official, noble, politician, family member or friend etc. (e.g. *Maria Island*, *Anthonio van Diemensland*, *Cape Byron*, *Terre Napoleon*, *Cap Molière*, *Prince of Wales Island*, *Princess Royal's Harbour*, *Cap Dauphin*, *Ile de la Favourite*).
- **7.2** **Other Living Entity** – using the proper name of a non-human living entity to name a feature (e.g. *Norseman* after a horse, *Banana* after a bullock).
- **7.3** **Non-Living Entity** – using the proper name of a non-living entity to name a feature.
  - **7.3.1** **Vessel –** named after a vessel, usually one associated with the 'discovery' (e.g. *Endeavour River, Arnhem Land, Tryall Rocks*, *Cap du Naturaliste*, *Pointe Casuarina*, *Pantjallinngs hoek* after the *Nova Hollandia*).
  - **7.3.2** **Other –** named after a named non-living entity (e.g. *Agincourt Reefs* after the battle, *Vereenichde Rivier* after the Dutch United Provinces).

8 **Linguistic Innovation** – introducing a new linguistic form, by manipulation of language.

- **8.1** **Blend –** blending of two toponyms, words or morphemes (e.g. *Australind* from 'Australia' + 'India'; *Lidcombe* from 'Lidbury' + 'Larcombe').
- **8.2** **Anagram –** using the letters of another toponym to create a new anagrammatic form (e.g. *Nangiloc* reverse of 'Colignan').
- **8.3** **Humour** – using language play with humorous intent to create a new toponym (e.g. *Bustmegall Hill, Howlong, Doo Town*).

9 **Erroneous** – introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling, mistaken meaning etc.

- **9.1** **Popular etymology** – mistaken interpretation of the origin of a toponym, leading to a corruption of the linguistic form (e.g. *Coal and Candle Creek* from 'Kolaan Kandhal', *Collector, Delegate, Tin Can Bay*).
- **9.2** **Form confusion** – alteration of the linguistic form, from a misunderstanding or bad transmission of the original (e.g. *Bendigo, Dee Why* from *Dy Beach*).

* Note that categories 1.2 and 1.3 refer to *features*, while category 5.3 refers to *toponyms*

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