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Motivations for Naming: The Development of a Toponymic Typology for Australian Placenames

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One of the main obstacles to having a meaningful discussion on, or analysis of, placenaming practices of a region or an era is the absence of an effective, consistent and standardized typology for toponym specifics. Surprisingly few attempts have been made to construct such a typology. Of those which have been developed, almost all show inconsistencies in their structure and include categories which are too wide or too narrow, which overlap with each other, or deal only with indigenous placenames. In this paper, we review existing typologies and then propose a classification scheme for the Australian context based on the motivation for the naming of the feature in question.

KEYWORDS Australian placenames, placename typology, motivation, introduced toponyms, toponym specifics, taxonomy, Australian National Placenames

Introduction

Australia has experienced at least fifty thousand years of immigration and settlement by an Indigenous population which diversified into more than two hundred language groups. However, historical records of the continent, and of its European discovery and exploration, are substantial only from the early years of the seventeenth century, as a result of Dutch trading to the East Indies. More than half of Australia's coastline had been charted by the Dutch before James Cook filled in much of the missing east coastline with his exploratory voyage of 1768–1771. Approximately 150 Dutch placenames were bestowed between 1606 and 1756. Cook began the English-based naming of Australia during his first voyage, supplemented by the toponymic efforts of French explorers (chiefly on the southern coastline) until the British colonial process was firmly established in the early years of the nineteenth century (following the establishment of a penal colony at the site of present-day Sydney in 1788).

From that point on, two sources generated Australia's new toponymy. On the one hand, new immigrant settlers were responsible for a widespread and spontaneous

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process of name bestowal on the local landscape. On the other hand, a colonial bureaucratic process either formalized those settler names or imposed new names on the map from afar. Both of these processes were displacing toponyms from the two hundred existing Indigenous languages, even though in many instances Indigenous names were freely adopted and adapted as part of the new system.[1]

Australia's toponyms are thus best classified under two broad systems — the Indigenous and the introduced — each of which may be further divided into appellations bestowed before and after European settlement in 1788 (see Figure 1). The vast majority of Australia's introduced toponyms, and many of its recorded Indigenous placenames, are naturally post-1788.

Within a hundred years of European settlement, a new toponymy was imposed on almost the entire continent. The lengthy historical processes that are reflected in the current forms of Old World placenames are not, therefore, generally found in Australian toponyms. The colonial context was one which required ready-made answers to the perennial question, "What shall we name this place?"

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

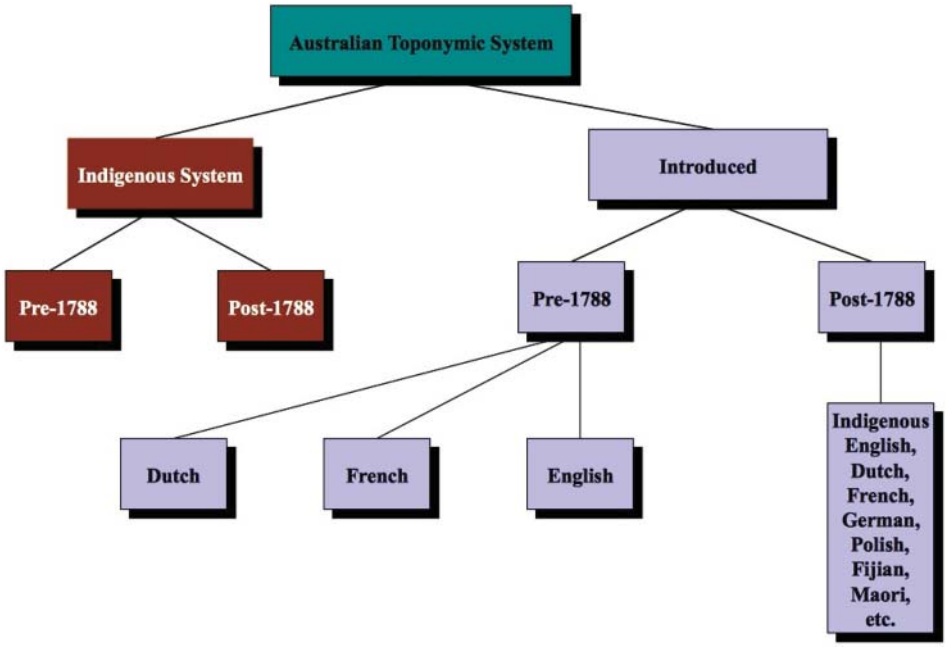

FIGURE 1 Australia's toponymic system.

Placenames Survey (ANPS) to the classification of these generic elements.[2] 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 reasoning for the naming is a matter for speculation. The classification of this specific element and its relationship to the namer's intention is the subject of this paper.

Toponym specifics — extant typologies

Very little literature is devoted to the classification of toponyms, especially that of toponym specifics. It is somewhat surprising that Kadmon (2000) eschews any attempt at developing or discussing an effective toponym typology in his *Toponymy: The Lore, Laws and Language of Geographical Names*. It is perhaps even more remarkable that the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) has not ventured into this domain.[3]

For the design of any effective typology, the first essential step is that it distinguish between:

- classification by specific and generic elements, and
- the linguistic substance (i.e. morphology, syntax, and semantics) of a toponym and the mechanisms that underlie the bestowal of the name.

It is quite remarkable that such fundamental distinctions have not been made.

Under its first objective, "to make available common standards for form and accuracy in the recording of placename information," the Toponymy Interest Group of The American Name Society recommends that a clear distinction be made between *required* types of information and *desired* types.[4] It identifies four types of information as *required* for placename studies:

- the name
- the type of feature (i.e. toponym generic)
- its location, and
- the source of information

To our mind, the addition of "type of specific element" would be an essential addition to the *required* information. It is not even included in the list of *desired* types of information.

A small number of typologies to classify toponym specifics have been developed, ranging from the simple to the quite complex; none, however, has been found to be

compelling in its functionality. The lack of a standardized and practical typology 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."

In this paper, we review a number of toponym classification schemes before offering our own typology.

Mencken

Henry L. Mencken (1967 [1921]: 643), 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 showing a 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 extremely broad (or inclusive) on the one hand (e.g. "descriptive of localities") and unnecessarily narrow (or exclusive) on the other (e.g. "biblical/mythological").

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 formed the basis for the introductory material in his *American Place-names* (1970) and ultimately for the most well-known and comprehensive reference on the classification of toponym specifics, his *Names on the Globe* (1975). Stewart's early inclination was to distinguish between *motivation* and *mechanism*. He saw such motivations as "Linguistic play-humor" and "Religious and mythological names" as being implemented by the mechanisms of coinage and commemoration respectively (1970: xxix). In time, however, he appears to have abandoned the difficult task of maintaining this distinction. By 1975, his claim was that the 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" (86). In other words, his typology is based on placename *giving* (the "naming-process") and recognizes ten main toponym types (see Table 1).

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

TABLE 1

STEWART (1975) TOPONYM TYPOLOGY

Main category	Sub-category
1. Descriptive names	Sensory descriptives Relative descriptives Intellectual descriptives Metaphorical descriptives Subjective descriptives Negative and 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. Commendatory names	
7. Folk-etymologies	
8. Manufactured names	
9. Mistake-names	
10. Shift-names	

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. "commendatory 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.

Rudnyćkyj

In the 1958 issue of *Onomastica*, J.B. Rudnyćkyj presents three principles of toponym classification (historical, linguistic, and onomastic) to categorize Canadian and North American placenames. He acknowledges the historical classification was developed by Armstrong (1930) and Kirkconnell (1951). Rudnyćkyj developed the linguistic and onomastic principles of classification himself in a 1949 Ukrainian paper (later published in English as Rudnyćkyj 1957). All three are outlined in Table 2.

TABLE 2

RUDNYĆKYJ (1958) TOPONYM TYPOLOGY

Classification	Sub-category
Historical	Indian names ("Indian period") Descriptive names from Portuguese, Spanish, and French period of exploration Names with religious character from French period of exploration Names from British Loyalist period Names from the modern or national period
Linguistic	Aboriginal Amerindian placenames Placenames of Romance providence (a. Portuguese, b. Spanish, c. French) Placenames of Germanic origin (a. Anglo-Saxon, b. German, c. Icelandic, d. Scandinavian, e. other) Placenames of Celtic origin (a. Scotch [*sic*], b. Irish) Placenames of Slavic origin (a. Ukrainian, b. Russian, c. Polish, d. other) Other placenames (a. Hebrew, b. Grecized [*sic*], c. Latinized, d. other, e. artificial neologisms)
Onomastic	Autochthon (aboriginal) Amerindian names Imported (European) placenames (a. transplaced, b. transferred) Canadian toponymic neologisms

Rudnyćkyj claims that all three classifications together "help us to solve the Canadian placenames, i.e. to give the proper explanation to each one" (1958a: 10). He proposes this can be achieved by using the following formula:[5]

$$PN = \frac{O}{H,L}$$

Using the formula, one can derive the following classification for *Victoria*:

$$PN = Victoria \frac{O2b}{H5, L6c}$$

meaning: it is a transferred name (O 2 b), it was bestowed in the "national period of Canadian history (H 5), and belongs to the Latinized type of names (L 6 c)" (1958a: 10–11). Rudnyćkyj does not explain why *O* should be the numerator whilst *H* and *L* the denominators. Indeed, it is difficult to see why a formula is required, since there is no mathematical process involved. The use of a pseudo-formula which includes opaque and apparently mathematical codes seems merely to be an attempt to make his method appear scientific.

Furthermore, there are demonstrable difficulties within each of the three classification systems which Rudnyćkyj presents. Armstrong's historical classification unnecessarily introduced non-historical elements by including qualifiers such as "descriptive" and "religious." Rudnyćkyj's own classifications, the linguistic and onomastic, while terminologically distinct, nevertheless produce redundancies when combined. In fact, "Linguistic" classification 1 (Aboriginal Amerindian placenames) is identical to "Onomastic" classification 1 (autochthon Amerindian names); so it is no surprise that *Winnipeg* appears as an example in both. "Onomastic" classification 3 (Canadian toponymic neologisms) matches "Linguistic" classification 6e (artificial onomastic neologisms), with *Transcona* as a duplicated example. And his "Onomastic" classification 2 (imported placenames) covers the remainder of his "Linguistic" classification.

In effect, these two classifications do not merely contain redundancies: they are actually the same classification scheme with different labels and varying degrees of sub-categorization. Thus the representation of these separate classification systems as a single "formula" is even more odd than it first appears, because the *O* and *L* values are not independent.

It should be noted that Rudnyćkyj makes no claims to be accounting for either motivation or mechanism in placenaming. His intent is simply to provide an etymological and historical explanation.

Baker and Carmony

In their toponymic dictionary, *Indiana Place Names* (1975), Ronald Baker and Marvin Carmony classify toponyms into thirteen main categories (see Table 3).

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 judgment 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,

TABLE 3

BAKER AND CARMONY (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[7]
4. Descriptive names	*Objective*: noting a characteristic of the feature or surrounding area *Subjective*: personal judgment 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

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 be 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 authors have made a judgment 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 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.

Gläser

In a paper presented at the 19th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences held in Aberdeen in 1996, Rosemarie Gläser presents an analysis of the placename types in A.W. Reed's *Aboriginal Place Names and their Meanings* (1967) and *Place Names of Australia* (1973). She divides Australia's toponyms into Aboriginal placenames and Anglo-Australian placenames, and claims the former are generally common nouns with a transparent meaning since they are "descriptive names." The Anglo-Australian names are divided into six classes, as shown in Table 4.

Firstly, Gläser's schema is remarkably anglocentric — it ignores the fact that many of the placenames in Reed (1973) were bestowed by non-English explorers and settlers (by those who were Dutch, French, or German, for instance). This system then makes

TABLE 4

GLÄSER (1996) TOPONYM TYPOLOGY

Main category	**Sub-category**
Expressing loyalty to the British Empire	in honor of royalty in honor of statesmen in honor of Australian Governors and Secretaries of State
Commemorating explorers	commemorating captains and ships' surgeons commemorating ships' names in honor of surveyors
Commemorating persons who contributed to the economic development of Australia	
Commemorating women	
Transferred placenames	
Common nouns (i.e. descriptive, associative, incident)	

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.

Smith and Bright

Grant Smith (1996) developed a typology for Amerindian toponyms which was adopted by William Bright (2002) for his NAPUS Project (Native American Placenames of the United States)[6]. Bright augmented Smith's system with sub-categories and two extra main categories ("English < Spanish/French < Amerindian" and "Hybrid Amerindian names") (see Table 5). The resulting typology is detailed, comprehensive, and seems to be a highly effective classification scheme for Amerindian toponyms. Its specific efficacy confines its use, however, to the classification of North American Indigenous toponyms.

Gasque

In designing a method for sorting and counting his South Dakota toponyms, Thomas Gasque (2005) employs four levels of classification (see Table 6), where each toponym is assigned an alpha or numeric code at each level:

Gasque's Level I is used to indicate the level of documentation available to confirm the validity of the toponym's origin. The five categories range from A: Fully Documented to F: Totally Unknown. Level II (entitled "Motivation in the Choice of Placenames") is based entirely on Stewart's 1975 categories, numbered 1 to 9, with the tenth category labeled zero rather than 10 (for purely technical reasons).

Gasque's Level III is entitled "Source," with categories such as "Biographical," "Geographical," "Fauna," and "Flora" again numbered 0 to 9; most have further subcategories. Thus 2: "Geographical" is subdivided into 1: US, 2: Canada, 3: Mexico, 4: Britain, 5: Other European, 6: World. Similarly, Category 4: "Flora" has subcategories 1: tree, 2: flower, 3: grass, and 4: other plant.

Level IV records the language of the placename in categories 0 to 9, with subdivisions. (Category 1, "Native American," has subdivisions 1: Siouan, 2: Algonquian, 3: other language groups).

The system provides a useful framework for classifying toponym data for systematic analysis. Each placename can be tagged according to the four determined categories, using an alphabetic code for the first category and double-digit numerical codes for the remaining three categories. For example, Gasque classifies the South Dakota town of *Aberdeen* thus:

Level of Knowledge:	Fully Documented — A
Motivation:	Commemorative, other places — 52
Source:	Geographical, Britain — 24
Language:	Other European, Celtic — 65

This produces a sort number of A 52 24 65.

Such a coding system enables placenames to be entered, with their relevant tags, into a spreadsheet or word processor table and for various sorting routines to be run.

TABLE 5

SMITH (1996) / BRIGHT (2002) AMERINDIAN TOPONYM TYPOLOGY

Main category	Sub-category	General description
Amerindian oral names (Traditional Indigenous toponyms)		Terms used in Amerindian languages to designate places
Indigenous derivations	Toponyms borrowed into English Eponymous Derived from other words from local Amerindian languages Amerindian generic terms interpreted as specific	Derived from languages indigenous to the geographic areas in which they are used by English speakers
Pidgin derivations	Pidgin < Amerindian language Pidgin < European language	Derived from pidgin languages
Transferred derivations	Amerindian common nouns Amerindian toponyms European toponyms	Borrowed from an Amerindian language, into a European language, and then applied as toponym outside the original geographic area
Pseudo-Amerindian terms (Dubious Indigenous terms)	Complete inventions Supposedly Amerindian names which were given currency by literary works	Imitations of presumed Amerindian terms
Translations	Toponyms based on English words calqued from Amerindian terms Assumed to be derive from an Amerindian language	English terms that are presumed to be literal translations of Amerindian placenames, descriptions, or associations, or of symbolic features in Amerindian legends
Adopted European names	English borrowings from Amerindian personal names, which were borrowed in turn from a European language Calques Placenames of ambiguous Amerindian origin	Toponyms referring to Amerindian people who adopted European names
English < Spanish/French < Amerindian	Borrowings from Spanish or French, but ultimately from Amerindian of the same area Transfers through Spanish or French from some other colonized area Transformations via folk-etymology in Spanish or French, based on an earlier Amerindian name Borrowings from Spanish or French derived from Amerindian placenames outside the USA	Borrowings from Spanish or French common nouns which are in turn borrowed from Amerindian
Hybrid Amerindian names		Placenames coined from parts of other Amerindian words. The motive for such coinages is usually that the place is located in or near the places whose names are represented in the hybrid

The system, therefore, 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 across levels (e.g. Level I, category D "Folk Legend, Guesswork etc."

TABLE 6

GASQUE (2005) TOPONYM TYPOLOGY

Level	Title and Description
Level I	*Level of Knowledge about the Origin of Placenames* Six levels of documentation: A: Full, B: Partial, C: Not Documented but Reasonably Certain. D: Uncertain (Folk Legend, Guesswork, etc.), F: Totally Unknown
Level II	*Motivation in the Choice of Placenames* Stewart's classification
Level III	*Source of Name* Numbered categories include biographical, geographical, fauna, flora, geological, metaphorical, judgmental, miscellaneous/combination, unknown
Level IV	*Language of the Placename* Six numbered language groups, with subdivisions, plus a Translation category

TABLE 7

RENNICK (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. Non-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, odor, color 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 behavior) 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 behavior) 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

overlaps with Stewart's "Folk Etymology" and perhaps "Mistake-names" in Level II). This situation is further compounded by apparent overlapping between a number of Level II and Level III categories. It seems superfluous, for example to code a placename both at Level III as forty-one ("Flora, tree") and at Level II as twenty-one ("Associative names, trees, etc."), or at both Level III as seventy-one ("Judgmental, negative") and Level II as sixty-two ("Commendatory, counter-commendatory"). This lack of a clear distinction between Stewart's "Motivation" category and Gasque's "Source" indicates the need for a recasting of the divisions. Gasque also includes a Level III category 8, "Miscellaneous or Combination," which is less than satisfactory: if a combination of Sources is thought possible for a toponym, it would be better to use a separate subdivision (such as the unused category 9) than to mix categories.

Marchant

In his detailed analysis of the French exploration of Australia's coasts and placenaming, L.R. Marchant (1998: 316) includes a simple typology of the French toponyms conferred on the Australian coastline. He identifies 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.

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 unfocused neighborhoods 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.) (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

(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 naive.

Rennick then goes on to propose a placename classification system (see Table 7) based on "the names themselves rather than the purposes for the naming" (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 categorization "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 judgment 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 from more than one source." 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.

Gammeltoft

Peder Gammeltoft (2005) provides a useful system of classification which, like Stewart's, is centered upon the motivation for naming. However, Gammeltoft's system is much more sophisticated, is internally consistent and has no overlapping categories. It is based on a model originally proposed by Kurt Zilliacus (1966).

Gammeltoft sees three basic motivations for naming:

I the relationship of the locality-type to something external (be it to another locality, an institution/administrative body, a person or persons, or an external and precursory event)
II an inherent quality of the locality, i.e. characteristic of the named locality (be it its size, shape, color, age, material or texture, something which exists at or near it, or a perceived quality)
III the use of the locality.

Two of the sub-categories of I and II have further sub-divisions. Table 8 details Gammeltoft's system. Examples of Australian placenames for each category are provided in italics for illustration.

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 categorization and structuring of placenames at various levels of detail; and it permits detection of small differences in naming practices.

Category III, 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

TABLE 8

GAMMELTOFT (2005) TOPONYM TYPOLOGY

Primary level	Secondary level	Tertiary level
I. Relationship	a. Topographical relationship	i. Characterization of the location in relation to **name-bearing** location (*Darling Downs*) ii. Characterization of the location in relation to a **non-name-bearing** location (*Ocean Beach*) iii. Characterization of the location by means of its **relative position** (*South West Cape*)
	b. Institutional and administrative relationship (*Church Point*)	
	c. Association to a person/persons (*Point Hicks*)	
	d. An external event to which naming is related (*Smoky Cape*)	
II. Quality	a. Size (*Three Mile Creek*)	
	b. Shape (*Point Perpendicular*)	
	c. Color (*Blackheath*)	
	d. Age (*Old Adaminaby*)	
	e. Material or texture (*Cornelian Bay, Stony Desert*)	
	f. That which exists at or near	i. Creatures (*Lizard Island*) ii. Plant-growth (*Black Wattle Bay*) iii. Inanimate objects (*Telegraph Point*)
	g. Perceived qualities (*Windy Ridge*)	
III. Usage	(*Whalers Bay*)	

this type to full category status is somewhat puzzling in the absence of other categories that might, for example have recognized eponyms (not adequately covered by the sub-type Ic). Moreover, linguistic innovations as well as "mistaken" or "erroneous" names may also not fit into this system.

Although Gammeltoft has found that his typology works well for European toponymy (Gammeltoft, 2005, and pers. comm.), it is not entirely suited to deal with the naming practices employed in the regions colonized by European powers from the fifteenth century onwards. Their naming motivations and practices varied and were often quite distinct from that of old Europe. We found it necessary to develop a new typology that could manage the placenaming practices applied to the Australian continent. The remainder of this paper deals with the development of an effective toponym typology for Australia.

ANPS 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 to 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 William Bligh's 240-acre estate, from the early years of the nineteenth 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 *Kamperduin*, 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* nor a *transfer*.

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 9 shows the initial draft, with some brief explanations and Australian examples.

A second draft revised some of the labels and made minor changes to the organizational structure. Table 10 shows the relationship between the two versions.

Both of these early versions were a partial rationalization of Stewart's scheme. Neither, unfortunately, solved the problems of overlap that we had experienced, or overcame the many uncertainties of categorization 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 we had a strong stimulus to develop a new categorization.

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

TABLE 9

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 Australia, e.g. *Newcastle, Perth, Ballina, Mt Arapiles*

TABLE 10

ANPS DATABASE: EARLY TYPOLOGIES

Version 1		**Version 2**	
Main category	**Sub-category**	**Main category**	**Sub-category**
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

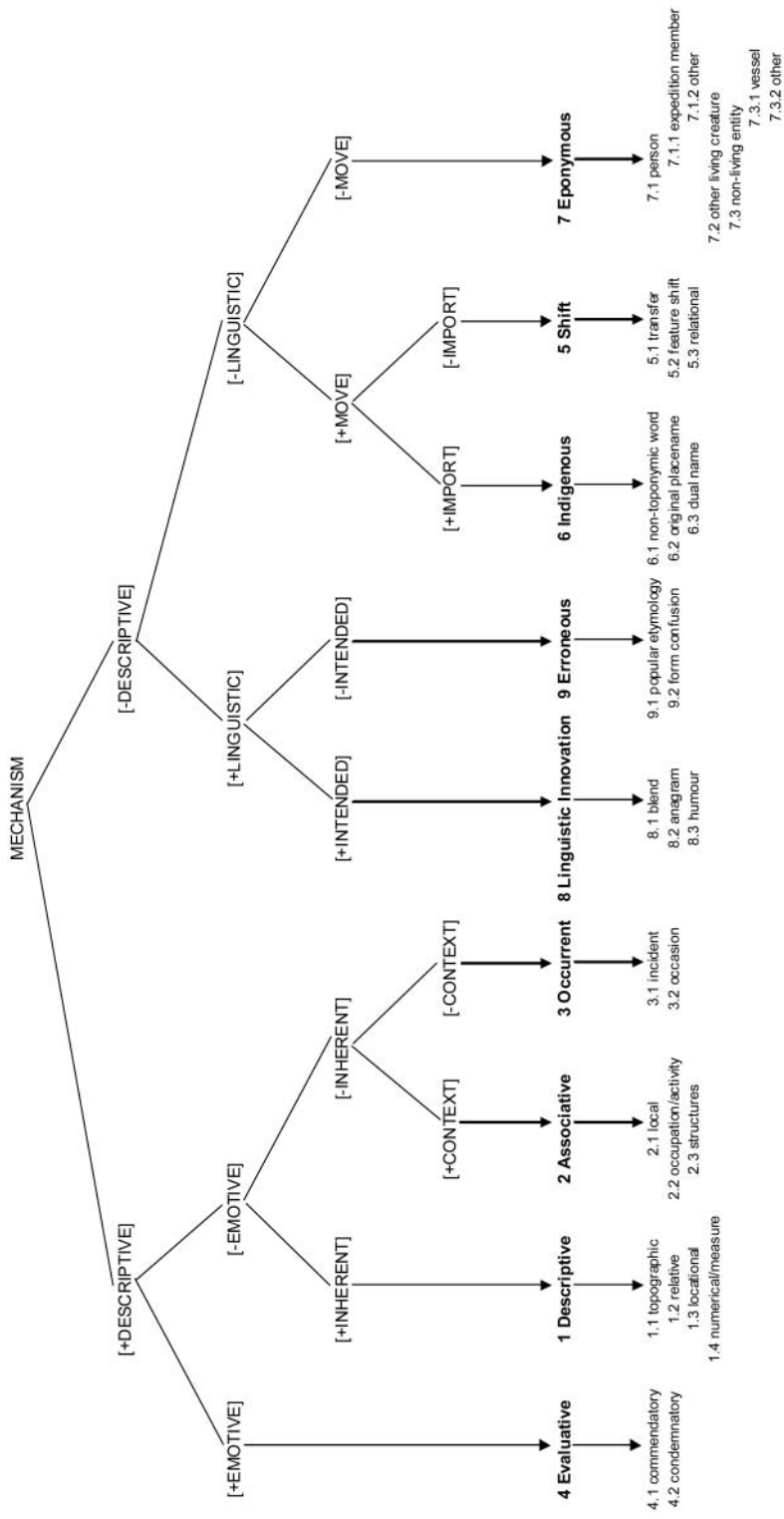

FIGURE 2 Taxonomy of Australian toponym specifics.

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 twenty-nine optional sub-classes (without the intervention of further semantic components).

The taxonomy is represented by a tree structure (Figure 2) 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 (i.e. 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 generalization/specialization.

The eight semantic components used within the structure are defined in Table 11.

TABLE 11

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

The current ANPS model

The typology which the model produces (Table 12) is centered 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.[8]

An implementation of this typology is reported in Tent and Slatyer (2009). Some nine hundred European placenames were bestowed along the Australian coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Dutch, French, and English explorers and mariners. The analysis shows how these toponyms reflect the contemporary social and political attitudes and motivations of those name-givers. Table 13 reveals how the different nationalities vary in their choices for each toponymic category. For example, although the "Eponymous" category was the most frequently used by all three groups of explorers, the French were much more inclined to use eponyms than were the Dutch or the English. The English were the least likely to do so, and were particularly reluctant to honor their fellow expedition members in this way. English explorers, on the other hand, favored topographical descriptives and names that

TABLE 12

ANPS 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 "Cape Turnaround," Indian Head* – where Cook sighted Aboriginal people on the shore, *Cape Tribulation* – where Cook's vessel hit a reef, *Smokey Cape* – where Cook reported seeing native campfires)
3.2	**Occasion** – recognizing 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")

TABLE 12

CONTINUED

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 another 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 Baai*)
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. *Parramatta*, *Turramurra*)
6.3	**Dual name** – restoring an original Indigenous toponym as part of a dual-naming process (e.g. *Uluru* / *Ayers Rock*, *Kata Tjuta* / *Mount Olga*)
7	**Eponymous** – commemorating or honoring 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	**Humor** – using language play with humorous intent to create a new toponym (e.g. *Bustmegall Hill*, *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 Indigenous "Kolaan Kandhal")
9.2	**Form confusion** – alteration of the linguistic form, from a misunderstanding or bad transmission of the original (e.g. *Bendigo* from prize-fighter Abednego Thompson; *Dee Why* from surveyor's note "Dy Beach")

TABLE 13

EUROPEAN PLACENAMING PRACTICES 1606–1803 (TENT AND SLATYER 2009)

Toponym category		Percent of toponyms		
		Dutch	English	French
1 Descriptive		**14.4**	**20.2**	**9.2**
	1.1 Topographic	12.2	16.1	4.6
	1.2 Relative	0.7	2.0	2.5
	1.3 Numerical/Measurement	1.4	1.6	1.9
	1.4 Locational	0	0.4	0
2 Associative		**12.2**	**14.9**	**6.5**
	2.1 Environmental	11.5	14.9	6.5
	2.3 Structures	0.7	0	0
3 Occurrent		**3.6**	**11.3**	**1.9**
	3.1 Incident	2.3	6.9	1.9
	3.2 Occasion	1.4	4.4	0
4 Evaluative		5.0	3.6	1.2
	4.1 Commendatory	1.4	1.6	0.6
	4.2 Condemnatory	3.6	2.0	0.6
5 Shift		**4.3**	**6.0**	**0.6**
	5.1 Transfer	4.3	4.8	0.2
	5.2 Feature Shift	0	1.2	0.4
6 Indigenous		**0.7**	**0.4**	**0**
	6.1 Non-toponymic word	0.7	0.4	0
7 Eponymous		**59.7**	**43.5**	**80.6**
	7.1 Person(s)	[47.4]	[39.7]	[73.6]
	7.1.1 Expedition member	14.5	5.3	28.3
	7.1.2 Other	32.9	34.4	45.3
	7.3 Non-Living Entity	[12.3]	[3.8]	[7.0]
	7.3.1 Vessel	10.8	3.4	5.6
	7.3.2 Other	1.5	0.4	1.4

recalled incidents or occasions associated with the naming. The Dutch, by a small margin, favored evaluative toponyms, especially those which expressed a negative attitude towards the place in question.

Conclusion

The lack of a standardized and practical typology for toponym specifics has proved to be a significant obstacle to any effective analysis of placenames. We have found that a typology based on the mechanism of the namer's motivation is particularly effective in the Australian post-colonial context. The prolific naming of the landscape,

which kept pace with exploration and the rapid expansion of settlement, generated toponyms which were predominantly descriptive, associative, evaluative, or which recognized events and people, or had an Indigenous heritage. The typology outlined here has proven to be an effective module within the ANPS database and in other recent studies of placenaming practice. Nonetheless, we also readily acknowledge Bright's caveat that "typologies should never be carved in stone; they have value only to the extent that they are helpful in research, and any proposed typology needs to be tested in terms of its continuing usefulness" (2002: 330).

Notes

[1] Today, Indigenous toponyms comprise just over 28 per cent of Australia's placenames.

[2] Blair, 2009.

[3] See *United Nations Statistics Division*. UNGEGN — Documents and Publications <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/documents.htm>

[4] See *Toponymy Interest Group of the American Name Society*. "Mission Statement, Goal, Objectives, and Organization." Objective 1. <http://www.wtsn.binghamton.edu/plansus/OBJECTIVE%201.html>

[5] Where *PN* denotes "Place Name," *O* "Onomastic classification," *H* "Historical classification," and *L* "Linguistic classification."

[6] The NAPUS project comprises a comprehensive dictionary of the origins of US placenames, used in English, which derive from Native American languages.

[7] 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" (Baker and Carmony, 1975: xiii).

[8] The apparent overlap between "Relative" and "Occasional" on the one hand and "Relational" on the other is in fact not an overlap at all: categories 1.2 and 1.3 refer to *features*, while category 5.3 refers to *toponyms*.

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