

Indigenous Common Names and Toponyms in Southern Africa

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The primary process of toponymic formation by the earliest indigenous inhabitants of the African sub-continent, the Bushmen and Khoikhoi, was evolutionary. Due to their primary onomastic function, descriptions or common names that identified and referred to geographical features gradually lost their descriptive or lexical semantic relevance and assumed the status of proper names. Physical and cultural contact, including language contact, took place between these indigenous groups and incoming Bantu and European peoples over the past 2000 years. Some indigenous toponyms were adopted by the incoming peoples, but adapted to the phonological and later orthographic systems of the receiver languages; some names were translated, while some were replaced by other names. The present article investigates the phonological and semantic processes of the adaptation of Bushman toponyms by Bantu and European peoples, including folk etymological and associative reinterpretation, and identifies fossilized and disguised Bushman common names embedded in the toponyms.

KEYWORDS Bushman, place names, language contact, toponyms, indigenous

Introduction

The earliest inhabitants of the African sub-continent were the hunter-gatherer Bushmen and their ancestors, who have inhabited the region for at least 120,000 years (Mountain 2003). The Bushmen and Khoikhoi were the only inhabitants of the region until about 2000 years ago (Parkington 2007), when the Bantu peoples began to enter the region from the Great Lakes of Central Africa (Krieger 1975). The past 400 years saw the arrival of Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, German, and other peoples from Europe, and the emergence of the Afrikaans language (Raper 2004). Physical, biological, and cultural interaction between these various peoples, including language contact and language shift, had an influence on the toponymy of the region. Some existing Bushman place names

were adopted by the incoming peoples, but adapted to their phonological and later orthographic systems; some were replaced by names from other languages. Some names were translated by later comers, but many were translated by Khoikhoi and Bushmen people themselves, who not only learnt the languages of the incoming people, but in some instances adopted these as their languages of preference. The Khoikhoi peoples tended to favor Dutch, and later Afrikaans, as the preferred language over their mother tongues (Nienaber and Raper 1977). It was the abandonment of their own languages in favor of other languages that led to the death of /Xam and other Bushman languages (Traill 2007). A shift took place from Bushman languages to Dutch in the Cape, the Free State, and Western Transvaal (now North-West Province). Traill (2007, 132) states that “By the turn of the twentieth century [...] the shift to Afrikaans was almost complete.” As a result of this process, many Khoisan place names were translated into Dutch and later Afrikaans, while others were adapted into these languages. In the regions where Bantu peoples predominated, Bushman and Khoikhoi place names were adapted and translated into the Bantu languages.

The place names that the Bushmen gave to the features in their environment were primarily of a descriptive nature, referring to the geomorphology, hydrographic features, and the vegetation and animals of the vicinity, for example /*hoakakamua*, “black river,” /*xoro≠ka:*, “dry flat,” ≠*xoa!kuu* “elephant pass.” Since names of natural features are among the first names to be bestowed (Nicolaisen 1976), it may be assumed that the place names of the Bushmen were primarily related to their surroundings. As Kadmon (2000, 4–5) states, place naming began with geographical objects in the near vicinity of the living or hunting grounds of the people, which were of importance to their daily life, and that “[i]n general, early names were *primary* descriptive ones expressed in local terms and language.” These names were of an evolutionary nature, evolving from common names and adjectives that qualified them (Van Langendonck 2010), and were from the Bushman languages used locally. When a name assumes this “onomastic” function, it becomes a label used to refer to the feature, and its content meaning becomes irrelevant. It thus loses this descriptive meaning and acquires a “new, more abstract, grammatical meaning that replaces the content meaning” (Van Langendonck 2010, 2). The evolution of names out of appellatives by the loss of content meaning, termed “semantic bleaching,” or *desemanticization*, “[a]pparently [...] constitutes the original process of name-giving in all cultures and languages” (Van Langendonck 2010, 2).

The Bushmen and the languages they spoke have all but become extinct in southern Africa, but the place names they bestowed have in many instances survived as adaptations and translations in Bantu and European languages. By studying these adaptations and translated names, and applying the comparative “sound-meaning” method (Heine and Honken 2010), it is often possible to identify and reconstruct Bushman cognates of the components of these names. Since European, Bantu, and Bushman languages are unrelated, and not descended from a common ancestor, the term “cognate,” when referring to a word, should be understood, according to Webster’s definition, as “related in a manner that involves borrowing rather than descent from, or as well as descent from, an ancestral language – often used with *with*, sometimes with *to*” (Gove 1961, 440).

Bushman languages

In tracing Bushman cognates of place-name components in other languages, these components are compared to recorded Bushman words with the same or similar sound and

meaning. The most comprehensive collection of Bushman words is Dorothea F. Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929) and *A Bushman Dictionary* (1956). The latter includes words from 29 Bushman languages and dialects, together with sentences in which the words are used, and with an indication of the language from which the words come.

There are similarities in the roots of recorded words from different Bushman languages (Traill 1978). On the basis of these similarities, the Bushman tribes have been classified or categorized into three groups (Northern, Central, and Southern) and are referred to by the symbols N₁, N_{1a}, N₂, N_{2a}, N_{2b}, N₃; C₁, C_{1a}, C₂, C₃; S₁, S_{1a}, S₂, S_{2a}, and so forth (Bleek 1929, 1956). For the sake of clarity and convenience, these symbols are included in the discussions below. In order to appreciate the processes of adaptation, some aspects of the Bushman languages should be noted.

The Bushman languages are characterized by ingressive (suction) consonants or "clicks." These are written as: / for the dental click; ≠ for the alveolar click; // for the lateral click; ! for the cerebral or palato-alveolar click; Ø for the bilabial click; and !! for the retroflex click. These clicks are pronounced together with accompaniments, also called releases or effluxes. The voiced efflux is indicated in writing with the letter *g*, as in the word /*gã*; the nasal efflux with the letter *n*, as in the word /*na*; the fricative efflux with an *x*, as in the word /*xã*; the aspirated efflux with an *h*, as in the word /*ha*; the ejective as in the word /*ka*, and so forth (Traill 1978). The colon : after a vowel indicates that the vowel is a long one, and the symbol ˘ is used to indicate a pressed vowel, that is, a vowel pronounced with pharyngeal "roughening."

Prior to their standardization, these clicks were represented by various writers in different ways, with letters of the alphabet, numerals, diacritics, and other symbols being used. Lichtenstein ([1828] 1830), for example, used the symbol *t*¹ for the dental click /, *t*² for either the lateral // or alveolar click ≠, and *t*³ for the cerebral click !. Le Vaillant (1790) uses the symbols *V* for the alveolar click ≠, *λ* for the dental click /, and *Δ* for the cerebral click !. These writers also wrote the words according to the orthographic systems of their own language, as in the English *qua*, Afrikaans *kwa*, and French *quois* for the ending of the ethnonym *Griqua*, *Griekwa*, *Griquois*. Since the Bushman were pre-literate and left no written records, it is unknown which languages they spoke, how many languages there were, and whether these languages were related. From the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch, English, French, German, and other writers recorded words from the indigenous languages at the Cape. Once the symbols /, !, //, ≠, and Ø had been standardized for the respective clicks, they were used by writers such as Kroenlein (1889), Rust (1960), Maingard (1932, 1964), Nienaber (1963), and Traill (1978, 2007) not only for the Khoikhoi languages, but also for the Bushman languages.

Many of the old Bushman languages have become extinct. The names of some of these languages have been changed, for example *Batwa* to //Xegwi and *Sesarwa* to Tshukwe. Some Bushman languages have been influenced by contact with other languages, and modern orthographic conventions have been developed. Cognizance has been taken of modern Khoikhoi and Bushman orthographic conventions, but the traditional orthography employed by (Bleek 1929, 1926) has been adhered to in order to facilitate identification of ancient Bushman cognates.

Bushman cognates of place-name elements

A number of indigenous words recorded at the Cape in the early years of European influx, from 1595 when the word *cori* was recorded for “iron,” until about 1820 (Nienaber 1963), can be shown to compare with Bushman cognates. The evolutionary nature of the onymic formatives can be seen in words for the features in question (rivers, mountains, springs, plains) and the adjectives that describe them; their size, shape or color; the presence of animals, and so forth.

Descriptive place-names

Bikamma and its Dutch name *Melk Rivier*, “milk river,” were recorded by Ensign Isaac Schrijver in 1689 (Mossop 1931, 244), the reference apparently being to the milky color of the water. The word *bi*, “milk” was one of the earliest indigenous words recorded that has remained fairly constant. It was given by Van Riebeeck in 1652 (Bosman and Thom 1952, 89) as *bie*, “*melck*,” a word used by the indigenous people known as the “Saldanhars.” Sparrman (1785, 2, 350) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *bi*, “milk.” Cognate Bushman words are the Hietjware (C1) word *bii* and the Naron (C2) word *bi:sa*, which correspond to the words above in not displaying a click, commencing with a bilabial plosive, and sharing the common sound *i* or *i:* (Bleek 1929, 58).

Babanango is the name of a town some 28 km north-west of Melmoth. It takes its name from a ravine with the Afrikaans name of *Rooipoort*, “red pass” (Raper, Möller, and Theodorus du Plessis 2014, 23). *Babanango* is a Zulu adaptation of a Bushman name that means “red ravine or pass.” The component *baba* is comparable to *kaba*, a word for “red” recorded in 1660, also to the Koranna word *!aba* (Nienaber 1963, 432), the Nama word */awa*, (Kroenlein 1889, 19), and the //Kxau (S2b) word *η/kxaba*, “red” (Bleek 1956, 150, 748). The component *nango* corresponds to the /Xam (S1) word *!noaη*, “spoor, path” (Bleek 1956, 487), words equated by Nienaber (1963, 241) with *poort*, “pass.” The word *!noaη* was adapted to *nang* by the elision of the letter *o* because two vowels are impermissible in Zulu; and the final *o* of *Babanango* was added because Zulu words must end in a vowel, and the word *nango* has meaning in Zulu, namely “there.”

Gnutuais or “black mud” was recorded as a place-name by Alexander (1838, 1, 257). The component *gnu* means “black,” a word comparable to the Nama word *≠nu* (Rust 1960). The word occurs with the dental click / in the Naron (C2) word */nu*, “night, dark, black” (Bleek 1956, 351), and in the same language with the cerebral click ! and the palatal or alveolar click ≠, namely as *!nu:* and *≠nu*, “black, dark” (Bleek 1956, 483). The component *tuais* of the name *Gnutuais* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *≠gwäi*, *≠gwei*, “clay” (Bleek 1956, 469), the alveolar plosive consonant *t* representing the alveolar click ≠, and *u* interchanging with *w*.

Doggha kamma was recorded by Hartog (1707, 4) as the indigenous name of the “*Swarte Rivier*” or “black river.” The word *doggha* is comparable to, or an attempt at writing, the /Xam (S1) word */hoaka*, “dark, black” (Bleek 1956, 289), the dental consonant *d* approximating the dental click /, the diphthong *oa* coalesced to *o*, and the velar plosive consonants *g* and *k* being interchangeable in second syllables (Bleek 1956).

Bela-Bela is the Northern Sotho name that replaced the town name *Warmbaths* and its Afrikaans equivalent *Warmbad* in February 2002 (Raper 2004). Said to mean “boiling

water,” referring to the hot springs there, the name is a reduplication of the verb stem *bela*, “to boil” (Nezar 1994, 45), cognate with the Hie (C1) verb *bela*, “to boil” (Bleek 1956, 15).

Inchanga, the name of a railway station between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, taken from a sharp ridge nearby, has been “corrected” to *eNtshangwe*. It is said to be derived from the Zulu word *intshangwe*, “cane-knife” (Doke and Vilakazi 2005, 606), which the ridge is thought to resemble. However, as Nicolaisen (1976) has pointed out, names of natural features, such as hills and ridges, are among the first names to be bestowed, and thus the name of the ridge is presumed to pre-date the use of cane-knives in the region. The “correcting” of *Inchanga* to *eNtshangwe* is based on the English pronunciation of the name. The initial vowel *I* of the name *Inchanga* is the Zulu class prefix. The component *ncha-* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word /ã, “sharp” (Bleek 1956, 271, 753), the dental click /, with nasal efflux indicated by the tilde on the vowel ã, corresponding to the Zulu nasalized form of the dental click, *nc*, “often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *ch*” (Doke and Vilakazi 2005, 527). The component *-nga* of the name *Inchanga* is comparable with the //N̩ !ke (S2) word ≠kã:, “ridge of rocks” (Bleek 1956, 653), the Zulu voiced velar nasal compound *ng* corresponding to the Bushman velar glottal with nasal efflux, ≠k̃. (*Inchanga* is thus an adaptation of a Bushman name similar to /ã≠ka, “sharp ridge.” folk etymologically reinterpreted as *eNtshangwe*, “cane-knife.”

Quanti was recorded by Schrijver in 1689 (Molsbergen 1922, vol. 3) as an indigenous name for the present *Suurbergpoort*, a ravine 10 km south-west of Willowmore. Schrijver gives the Dutch name as “a shallow ravine [...] named Quanti, that is, *Daghkloov*, by the Hottentots.” On the assumption that *Daghkloov* is a translation of *Quanti*, the indigenous name has been interpreted as “day ravine,” in which case the component *Qua* should mean “day.” Witsen in 1697 (Molsbergen 1916, 2, 118) recorded the Cape dialectal word *quaqua*, translated by Nienaber (1963, 240) as “*ses dae*,” “six days.” The first component, *qua*, is comparable to the Griqua word *quane*, “six” (Smith 1835, 284); and the second component *-qua* is similar to the /Xam (S1) word !khwa: “to dawn, break (day)” (Bleek 1956, 90). A phrase in which the word for “day” features as the second component is the Eastern dialectal *xn’un’ xk’oa*, “day is dawning” (Von Winkelmann 1788, 46), where the component *xk’oa* is comparable to the word *qua*. The question arises, however, of what is meant by “day ravine,” which does not seem to be a uniquely identifying name. A more satisfactory explanation is that the modern name *Suurbergpoort* is a (partial) translation of the name *Quanti*. The Afrikaans name *Suurbergpoort* means “sour mountain pass.” The component *Qua* similar in sound and meaning to the /Nusan (S6a), Nogau (N1a), and Hie (C1) word *khauwe*, “sour” (Bleek 1956, 89), the /Xam (S1) word //k’*aowa*, “bitter” (Bleek 1929, 22), and the /Nusan (S6a) and Nogau (N1a) word //ga, “bitter, sour” (Bleek 1956, 522). The possibility of misunderstanding and misinterpretation becomes clear when the /Nusan (S6a) and Nogau (N1a) word //ga, “bitter, sour” is compared with the /Xam (S1) and Ki/hazi (S4b) word //ga:, “day”; and the /Xam (S1) words //k’*aowa*, “sour, bitter”, and !gauë, “day” (Bleek 1929, 22, 32).

A similar misinterpretation occurred with the name *Cango*, in Afrikaans *Kango*, famous for the Cango Caves discovered in 1780. Cloppenburg (1768, 39) gives the meaning of the name as “water ridges,” or “wet mountain.” This explanation is feasible, since the component *Ka* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) words /ka:, //ka:, “to be wet,” and the component *go* with the Auni (S4) word !gou, “mountain.” However, the Cango (or Kango)

Caves are in the Swartberg range, the name of which is Afrikaans for “black mountain.” The caves are likely to take their name from the mountains in which they are situated, and *Kango* to mean “black mountain.” The component *Kan* is comparable to the //Xegwi (S5) word /k’a, “black”; the component *go* means “mountain,” as in the word *xkoago*, “high mountain,” recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788, 45).

Camdeboo is explained by Barrow (1801, 1, 115) as “green elevations, applying to the buttresses which support the Snowy mountains, and which are mostly covered with verdure.” The word *cam*, “green,” is comparable to the Korana word /kam, “green” (Maingard 1964, 61), and the de-velarized Nama word /am, (Rust 1960, 28), the Auen (N1) word /kãη, and the Kung (N2) word /kaη, “green” (Bleek 1929, 44). The component *deboo* is similar to the /Xam (S1) word /dhabu, “to cover” (Bleek 1956, 23), reflecting the description given by Barrow as “the buttresses [...] which are mostly covered by verdure.”

Koungama is given as “*Dwarsrivier*,” “cross river, athwart river” by Le Vaillant (1790, 1, 227). The component *koun*, “to cross, to go across,” is comparable with the Nama word /kãu, “cross over” (Tindall 1857), and with the /Xam (S1) words /kau, /ka:o, /ka°o, “to cross, stroke” (Bleek 1956, 301). Nasalization is indicated in the place name *Koungama* by the letter *n* and in the Nama word /kãu by the tildẽ, but nasalization does not occur in the Bushman cognates.

X-oro-x-kap was analyzed and translated by W. Van Reenen in 1791 (Molsbergen 1916, 2, 143) as “dry flat” in the place name “*x-oro-x-kap of drooge flackte*,” “x-oro-x-kap or dry flat.” The click represented by *x* is either the cerebral click / or the dental click / . The word *x-oro* is thus comparable either to the Nama word /koró, “to dry out,” or /kóro, “to become dry” (Kroenlein 1889, 213, 217). It is also encountered as /kuru, “dry” (Rust 1960, 15), a word that displays the interchangeability of *o* and *u*. A Bushman cognate that incorporates the dental click is the /Xam (S1) word /xoro, “to dry” (Bleek 1956, 365), while the /Xam (S1) adjective *k’orokn*, “dry” and verb *k’orokən*, *k’oroka*, “to dry, shrivel, burn up, wear out” (Bleek 1929, 33) display the ejective *k’* or glottal croak. The cerebral click with ejective efflux /k and the variant *u* occur in the /Xam (S1) words /kurrukən, /kurruka, and /kerrukən, “to dry, be dry, be hot, be in the sun” (Bleek 1956, 454).

Another word for “dry” that has survived as a component of a place-name is *ou*, recorded by Hartog in 1707 (Molsbergen 1922, 3, 143) in the names *Ouka* and *Oukamma*, “dry river.” Bushman cognates of the word *ou* are the Kung (N2) adjectives /!kao and /!kao, “dry, arid” (Bleek 1956, 505), and the //Nj /!ke (S2) and Naron (C2) verb /o:, “to dry” (Bleek 1956, 355), comparable with the Nama word /ò, “to dry out” (Kroenlein 1889, 273).

Hoerikwaggo is the name given for *Table Mountain* by Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon in 1799 (Nienaber and Raper 1977). According to Colonel Gordon, this name meant “*zee berg*,” “sea mountain.” The component *Hoeri* is phonologically comparable to the Cape words *houry* and *houri*, “*de see*,” “the sea” that were recorded by Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen 1916, 2, 220). These words are comparable to the Eastern dialectal word *hourip*, “sea; zée” (Le Vaillant 1790, 367), and to the component *hūri* in the Korana word *hūri’kamma*, “sea-water, or sea” (Burchell 1812, 2, 181). The component *kwaggo* of the name *Hoerikwaggo* means “high mountain”; it was recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788, 45) as the eastern dialectal word *xkoago*, “*ein hoher Berg*,” “a high mountain.” The element *kwa* or *xkoa* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /xo:wa, “high” (Bleek 1929,

460). The component *go* means “mountain.” It is also encountered in other names for this feature type, as in *Kango* for the *Swartberg*, meaning “black mountain.”

Hlokoma is the Zulu name of the town of *Underberg*, so called from its situation at the western foot of the mountain, *berg* being the Afrikaans word for “mountain.” It appears that *Underberg* is the translation of a Bushman name of which *Hlokoma* is an adaptation. The component *Hlo* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word /*ko*: “under” (Bleek 1956, 316), the Bushman unvoiced alveolar fricative click / shifting to the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative *hl*; the component *koma* is cognate with the Kung (N2) word *!koma*, “mountain” (Bleek 1956, 441).

Places named for animals

Elandspad, meaning “eland road or path,” is the Dutch name recorded by Hartog (1707, 2) for a mountain pass with the indigenous name *Gantouw*, which has the same meaning. The component *gan* is comparable to the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *cana*, recorded for *eland* by De Flacourt (1655). In words for “eland,” nasalization is expressed either by the nasal consonant *n* or the tilde. Sparrman (1785, 2, 205, 250) gives the eastern dialectal word *t'gann*, “eland,” or “*Kaapse eland*,” also as *t'kan*, with nasalization expressed by the consonant *n*. Bushman equivalents are the /Auni (S4) words *!kã*, in which the tilde is employed to denote nasalization, and *!khan*, this function being served by the nasal consonant *n*. The click incorporated in these words is the cerebral or palato-alveolar *!*, which also features in the Korana word *!kans*, with the ejective efflux, and *!xana*, with the fricative efflux (Maingard 1932, 315). In Nama words, the affricate *kx* and the ejective *k* are encountered, as in *kxans* (Schultze 1907, 274) and *!kani*, “eland” (Rust 1960, 17). A different click, the alveolar click *≠*, occurs in the /Xam (S1) word *≠kanthi*, “eland bull” (Bleek 1956, 656).

Kopumnaas or “*Bull’s Mouth Pass*,” a name given because the route was very dangerous, was recorded by Alexander (1838, 1, 297), who also provides the meaning of the word “*Kop*” in the place name as *kop*, “bull” (1838, 2, 168). Sparrman (1785, 2, 350) recorded the eastern dialectal word *ho* for “bull,” which, although it has no overt click, is compared by Nienaber (1963, 236) with the Nama word //gob, “bull.” Bushman equivalents or cognates include the Naron (C2) and Tsaukwe (C2a) word /*ko* and the /Xam (S1) word *!go-ai*, “bull” (Bleek 1956, 317, 384).

Nawaptana, translated as *Renosterkop*, literally means “rhinoceros head.” This name was recorded for a hill on the southern bank of the Orange River, between Kakamas and Augrabies Falls, by Hendrik Wikar in 1779 (Mossop 1935). The component *nauwa*, “rhinoceros,” is cognate with the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *naua* recorded by De Flacourt (1658). The component *tana* is cognate with the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *tanaba* and the Nama word *tanas*, “head” (Bleek 1956, 192).

Nqamakwe is the name of a hamlet some 24 km west-north-west of Butterworth. It is also the Xhosa name for *Hartebeestkop*, a hillock to the north of this hamlet. The component *nqama-* is derived from the Sehura (C1a) word *≠kama*, “hartebeest” (Bleek 1956, 656); the component *-kwe* is the Kung (N2) word for “place” (Bleek 1956, 112). The name *Hartebeestkop* is a Dutch translation of a Bushman name of which *Nqamakwe* is an adaptation (Raper, Möller, and Theodorus du Plessis 2014). In the interests of correcting the Xhosa spelling, the name *Nqamakwe* has been changed to *Ngqamakhwe*.

Thuata was recorded by Schrijver in 1689 (Mossop 1931) as the indigenous name for the *Oliphants Rivier*, “elephants river.” The component *thua* is comparable to the Cape dialectal word *twoba* and its synonym *choä*, “elephant,” recorded by Kolbe (1727, 1, 431). The diæresis on the final vowel *ä* of the word *choä* indicates a separate sound. Bushman words for “elephant” that correspond phonologically to *thua* and *twoba* are the Auen (N1) words *≠koa*, *≠khoa*, *≠goa*, and *≠xoa*; the Kung (N2) word *≠koa* (Bleek 1956, 663); and the //Nǃ !ke (S2) words */xwa:* and *≠xoa* (Bleek 1956, 367) that are cognate with the Khoikhoi word *≠khoa* (Rust 1960, 17). The component *ta* of the name *Thuata* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word */ka* and the /Nusan (S6a) word */a:*, “river” (Bleek 1956, 295, 268).

Conclusions

The identification, reconstruction, and preservation of Bushman and other indigenous place names, as indicated in this article, are in accordance with United Nations Resolution V/22 recommending that “minority and indigenous geographical names should be collected and preserved, and that a written form of those names should be adopted for official use on maps and other publications,” and United Nations Resolutions V/22, VIII/9, and X/3 that recommend the preservation of Bushman toponyms as endangered and minority names, and as cultural heritage. This research is also in accordance with stipulations of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that the use of Khoikhoi and San (Bushman) languages should be promoted. The wealth of fossilized words embedded as place-name components, albeit in adapted and disguised form, which are now being detected and restored, provide the necessary lexical corpus to facilitate reliable linguistic conclusions. The “method of analyzing related surviving languages through place-names” is suitable for studies in other countries, for example the extinct Native American languages of North America (Gasque 2016, 58).

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