A Revised Typology of Place-Naming

David Blair
Australian National Placenames Survey, AUSTRALIA

Jan Tent
Australian National University, AUSTRALIA
Abstract

A functional and systematic typology of toponyms is an essential instrument for the toponymist wishing to investigate the naming practices and patterns of a region or era. To this end, the Australian National Placenames Survey developed a toponym typology for Australia (Tent & Blair 2011). This was characterized as a “typology of motivations for naming”. Although various researchers have used this typology with seeming success, further application of the typology to the survey’s database of toponyms has revealed the need for a re-evaluation of the naming process. This has occasioned a modification of some toponym categories, generating a revised typology which can be considered a “typology of expressions of the naming intention.”

**Keywords:** toponym, typology, motivation, intention, expression, placename, classification.

As with many fields of research, the study of placenames may be conducted through either an examination of a case or a cluster analysis of cases. This contrast in research paradigms is most commonly expressed in the generic terms “qualitative” vs. “quantitative” research. These terms, however, focus on the type of data gathered and analyzed, not on the actual process and practice of the kind of research conducted. The Australian National Placenames Survey (ANPS) has, therefore, adopted the terms “intensive” and “extensive” toponomy respectively to reflect more precisely the two research approaches (Tent 2015). The term “intensive” is used in the sense of “relating, or pertaining to intensity, or degree of intrinsic strength, depth, or fullness, as distinguished from external spatial extent or amount” (*OED* Online 2020). “Extensive,” on the other hand, is used in the sense of “pertaining to extension; denoting a large number of objects [...] [which] has the effect of extending or enlarging in scope,” or of “extending over or occupying a large surface or space; having a wide extent, widely extended; [...] far-reaching, large in comprehension or scope; wide in application or operation; comprehensive; [...] denoting a large number of objects” (*OED* Online 2020).

Thus, intensive toponomy aims to gather an in-depth understanding of a particular toponym by closely investigating the history and nature of a single toponym or of a small focused sample of toponyms. The conclusions drawn from such a study cannot be easily generalized, and only propositions of the nature of informed assertions or hypotheses may be made. In contrast, an extensive study empirically investigates toponymic data through cluster analysis, and asks specific questions to discover underlying patterns of relationships, such as

- Temporal, spatial or ethnic place-naming practices and patterns (e.g., Cavallaro, Perono Cacciafoco & Tan 2019; Cooper 2020; Jenjekwa 2018; Perono Cacciafoco & Shia 2020; Steenkamp 2015; Tent & Slatyer 2009; Zhenhua et al. 2018)
- Regional distributions of certain types of toponyms, or geographic features (e.g., Cooper 2020; Tent 2017, 2020)
- The geomorphology or topography of a region (by concentrating on feature terms/sets) (e.g., Hughes 2018)

For an extensive study of name types to have any practical value, it must be based on a comprehensive and effective typology. This was the underlying principle for the development of the ANPS toponym typology, a system for Australian toponymists to use when classifying placenames according to the way in which the toponym expresses the naming intention. In 2011, Tent and Blair outlined a toponym typology developed to classify the specific elements of Australia’s toponyms as well as to categorize its toponymic patterns in general (see Table 1, which presents this original typology developed in 2009) (see also Tent & Blair 2009, 2014). Since then, the system has been employed by ANPS as well as by a number of other researchers and authors around the world (Amenyedzi 2015; Awukuvi 2019; Barteaux 2016; Beconytė et al. 2019; Bölling 2013; Cooper 2020; Jenjekwa 2018; Ji et al. 2019; Klugah 2013; Laaboudi & Marouane 2018; Lând 2016; Nash & Chuk 2012; Newton 2016; Steenkamp 2015, inter alia).
Table 1 presents the original ANPS typology, showing the toponym categories which were developed under the principle of the motivation for the bestowal of toponyms. As we shall show, this principle was somewhat misguided. The nine superordinate toponym categories and their subordinate categories were designed to: ensure the typology had enough specific categories to cover all types of toponyms; to reveal the distinctions in their naming intention and expressions; ensure the categories were mutually exclusive, and that the typology was flexible enough to allow for additions of categories without causing fundamental structural changes.

Table 1: The 2009/2014 Typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 Unknown</th>
<th>Where the meaning, reference, referent, or origin of the toponym is unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Descriptive</td>
<td>Indicating an inherent characteristic of the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Topographic</td>
<td>Describing the physical appearance of a feature either qualitatively or metaphorically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Relative</td>
<td>Indicating position of a feature relative to another, either chronologically or spatially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Locational</td>
<td>Indicating the location or orientation of a feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Numerical/Measurement</td>
<td>Measuring or counting elements of a named feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Associative</td>
<td>Indicating something which is always or often associated with the feature or its physical context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Local</td>
<td>Indicating something of a topographical, environmental, or biological nature seen with or associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Occupation/Activity</td>
<td>Indicating an occupation or habitual activity associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Structures</td>
<td>Indicating a manufactured structure associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Occurrent</td>
<td>Recording an event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Incident</td>
<td>Recording an event, incident, or action associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Occasion</td>
<td>Recognizing a time or date associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Evaluative</td>
<td>Reflecting the emotional reaction of the namer, or a strong connotation associated with the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Commendatory</td>
<td>Reflecting/propping a positive response to the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Condemnatory</td>
<td>Reflecting/propping a negative response to the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Shift</td>
<td>Use of a toponym, in whole or part, from another location or feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Transfer</td>
<td>Transferred from another place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Feature Shift</td>
<td>Copied from an adjacent feature of a different type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Relational</td>
<td>Using a qualifier within the toponym to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Indigenous</td>
<td>Importing an Indigenous toponym or word into the Introduced system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Word, not being a toponym</td>
<td>Non-toponymic word—importing an Indigenous word, not being a toponym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Original placename</td>
<td>Importing an Indigenous toponym already used for that location or feature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3 Dual name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Dual name</td>
<td>Restoring an original Indigenous toponym as part of a dual-naming process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Eponymous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 Eponymous</td>
<td>Commemorating or honoring a person or other named entity by using a proper name, title or eponym substitute as a toponym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Person(s)</td>
<td>Using the proper name of a person or group to name a feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1 Expedition member</td>
<td>Where the named person is a member of the expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.2 Other</td>
<td>Where feature is named after an eminent person, patron, official, noble, politician, family member or friend, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Other Living Entity</td>
<td>Using the proper name of a non-human living entity to name a feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Non-Living Entity</td>
<td>Using the proper name of a non-living entity to name a feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1 Vessel</td>
<td>Named after a vessel, usually one associated with the “discovery”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2 Other</td>
<td>Named after a named non-living entity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Linguistic Innovation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 Linguistic Innovation</td>
<td>Introducing a new linguistic form, by manipulation of language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Blend</td>
<td>Blending of two toponyms, words or morphemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Anagram</td>
<td>Using the letters of another toponym to create a new anagrammatic form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 Humor</td>
<td>Using language play with humorous intent to create a new toponym</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Erroneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Erroneous</td>
<td>Introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling, mistaken meaning, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1 Popular etymology</td>
<td>Mistaken interpretation of the origin of a toponym, leading to a corruption of the linguistic form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2 Form confusion</td>
<td>Alteration of the linguistic form, from a misunderstanding or bad transmission of the original</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This typology is founded upon two distinct 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. These labels produced nine major classes of toponym specifics, which were further subdivided into 29 optional sub-classes (without the intervention of further semantic components). The typology 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. Via these processes it was possible to define toponym categories which largely avoided the previously-experienced problems of overlap and inconsistencies of classification seen in previous typologies. In the survey’s deployment of the typology, it became clear that certain refinements to the system were necessary if it were to deal more effectively with the data. The schema has also benefited from the work of toponymists in other regions (notably, Jenkins 2018) who have applied the typology and noted possible improvements.

The initial typology was founded upon identifying “motivations” for naming a geographic feature or place. Over time, it became clear that this focus appeared to concentrate on the namer and the concomitant psychology underlying the naming of a feature, rather than the feature itself and its context. Such a view made the process of naming seem to be more deliberative than is often the case. Alternative terms such as “mechanisms” or “methods” were initially considered, but these too seemed to make the process of naming to be more calculated. This characterization of the naming process has, therefore, been discarded; instead, a more intuitive conceptual framework—one that required a more extensive basis than that simple contrastive relationship—has been developed. Nevertheless, the notion of “motivation for naming” is by no means irrelevant. Indeed, that is where the development of this revised toponym typology begins.¹
The Whys and Wherefores of Place-Naming

The aim of the ANPS is to document, from both written and oral sources, the history of the nation’s English-based toponymic system. The focus is on natural feature and habitation names, recording their history from the point at which they entered the Australian English context. The survey attempts to answer five WH- questions for each placename:

- **What** (kind of feature) is it?
- **Where** is it?
- **Who** named it?
- **When** was it named?
- **Why** was it given that name?

The what/where/who/when questions relate to the toponymic form as a whole; that is, to both the specific and the generic elements of the placename.\(^2\) Answers to these questions respond to historical and linguistic research methods. The final question—the **why** question—focuses on the specific element of the toponym, and is often the most difficult to answer, because the reason for the choice of the particular specific element is not often documented and the namer’s intention at the point of naming is a matter for speculation (see Tent 2015).

The classification of the specific element and its relationship to the namer’s intention has long been the subject of consideration by toponymists and other linguists (see Algeo 1988; Baker & Carmony 1975; Bréelle 2013; Gasque 2005; Gläser 1996; McArthur 1928; McArthur 1986; Pearce 1955; Rennick 2005; Smith 1993, 1996; Stewart 1954, 1970; Zelinsky 2002, inter alia). Those previous attempts had suffered from an apparently ad hoc approach which produced gaps in classifications, ambiguous definitions, and overlapping categories. That literature was surveyed in some detail by Tent and Blair (2009, 2014) and an alternative approach was outlined. This model did not claim to provide a universal typology for international use; rather, the aim was to enable the ANPS to categorize Australia’s toponyms, recognizing that the survey’s scope extended only to the continent’s geographic features and inhabited localities. In order to produce a systematic record of the answers to the *why* question in particular, a taxonomic approach was developed which generated labels that were intended to be clear, unambiguous, distinct and intuitive.

Motivation, Mechanism, or Method?

One key aspect of the attempt to categorize possible answers to the *why* question relates to the focus of that interrogation. Is the question “Why did the namer do that?” Or is it really “Why did the feature get that name?” It has become clear that the latter is the intent behind the *why* question. The analysis of a given interpretation (that is, a purported explanation for the origin of a toponym’s specific element) is an attempt to identify what it was in the nature of the feature or in the occasion of its naming that might have generated its toponymic form. That is, the focus is on the **feature** and its **setting**, rather than on any suggested interior monologue of the person responsible for the act of naming. It is, after all, impossible to enter into the namer’s mind after the event with any degree of certainty. Characterizing the task as identifying “motivations” for naming (as the earlier version of this typology did) seems to focus on the **namer** rather than on the **feature** and its **context**.

Deconstructing the “Why”

The 2020 revised ANPS toponym typology (Blair & Tent 2020) implemented certain refinements to the original typology. Some categories were deleted, whilst others were modified. Underlying these changes was a re-examination of the naming process itself, which led to the identification of three stages in that process: the primary **motivation**, the **intention** of the naming, and its linguistic **expression**.
The primary motivation for naming a place is “to distinguish” it from other places. In other words, the naming process is a contrastive one. This principle was expressed by Locke (1690: Book III, ch. 3, §§5) when he argued humans have “an occasion to mark particularity” in communication, in other words, to differentiate:

[…] what things have proper names, and why. Besides persons, countries also, cities, rivers, mountains, and other the like distinctions of place have usually found peculiar names, and that for the same reason; they being such as men have often an occasion to mark particularly, and, as it were, set before others in their discourses with them. And I doubt not but, if we had reason to mention particular horses as often as we have to mention particular men, we should have proper names for the one, as familiar as for the other, and Bucephalus would be a word as much in use as Alexander. And therefore we see that, amongst jockeys, horses have their proper names to be known and distinguished by, as commonly as their servants: because, amongst them, there is often occasion to mention this or that particular horse when he is out of sight.

Stewart (1954) echoed this in the seminal article “A classification of placenames” where his classificatory system was based “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). Indeed, the ANPS definition of a “toponym” encapsulates this principle: a toponym is “a name for a place”, or “a place and its name”, not “a name for places”. Of course, a certain linguistic form will generate more than one toponym if, for instance, the location differs (e.g., Perth, Scotland and Perth, Western Australia) or if the feature type is different (e.g., Rose Bay the suburb on Sydney Harbour, and Rose Bay the bay in Sydney Harbour) (Blair 2017).

The second stage in the naming process, the intention of the naming, asks the questions:

- Is it to foreground a physical characteristic of the feature?
- Is it to commemorate something or someone?
- Is it to create a new linguistic form?
- Or is it, indeed, a combination of more than one intention?

The third stage, the expression (or linguistic form) of the intention, asks:

- What kind of name should be used?
  - a descriptive word or phrase?
  - an eponym?
  - or an invented, new name that seems pleasingly appropriate to the place, etc.?

The theoretical choices are more clearly displayed in Figure 1.
Figure 1: The Relationship Between “Motivation”, “Intention”, and “Expression”

Figure 1 illustrates the dynamics of how the three stages of the naming process interconnect to produce the various toponymic linguistic expressions. The analysis of toponym types that this schema enables, then, is based on the possible answers to the question “Why did the feature get that name?” which in turn lead to the various expressions of the naming intentions in Figure 1 (and which are defined and illustrated in Table 2 below). The previous characterization of the analysis as a “typology of motivations for naming” can now be more clearly seen to be a “typology of expressions of the naming intention”—that is, a categorization of the kinds of names that can be generated to distinguish one place feature from another. The remainder of this paper provides an explanation of the developments in the typology since the earlier version was released and explains the reasons for the changes that have been made.

The ANPS Approach to Toponymy

The methodology of ANPS is based on a progression through the three key elements of each placename: identification, documentation, and interpretation. The identification of a toponym is obtained by establishing its linguistic form, its feature type and its location. Once that is done, the major research effort of the ANPS is directed at finding the historical and cultural information which will establish the “story” of the placename. This information forms the documentation module of the
ANPS database. From the recorded documentation for each toponym, ANPS attempts to write a “biography” of that toponym, answering the WH- questions associated with its origin.

**Interpretations**

In some cases, the available documentation for a toponym may not tell us anything about the why; the information may pertain only to the other WH- questions. More usually, however, the background story as revealed in the documents allows us to include within an interpretation an assessment of the why; the typology is then applied to such interpretations (or “stories of origin”).

The application of a typology tag to these interpretations enables interrogation of the ANPS database for such questions as “How many toponyms are said to be attributed to members of exploration parties or their patrons?” or “What proportion of placenames is based on the topography of the feature?” or “What were the naming practices of X as revealed by the types of toponyms bestowed?”

**Revisions to Toponym Categories**

**Deleted Categories**

Three categories have been removed from the original schema because further work on classifying interpretations made it clear that their original inclusion was misconceived.

- **0 “Unknown”**
  This code was included in previous versions of the typology table, though not in the taxonomic display. Although such a code is useful in certain statistical procedures to indicate a NULL result, it is now seen as unnecessary within the typology. When the available documentation for a placename reveals no information about the why aspect of its origin (as opposed to the other WH- questions), then categorization of the way the naming intent is expressed is neither necessary nor possible.

- **6 “Indigenous”**
  It has become clear that marking a placename as having its origin in an Australian Indigenous language is a matter of etymology, and is in itself irrelevant to this typology. Indicating the language of origin for a placename is a valid part of a toponymic database (although the label might more properly have been “Indigenous-derived”); but any system designed to record it must be distinct from this typology. This is not to say, of course, that placenames which have a non-English etymology have no interpretation recorded and no typology category tagged: if the “why” question is addressed in the supporting documents, they may be listed against such categories as “Copied” or “Innovative”. Both of those categories, in fact, have been useful in the treatment of toponyms from Indigenous languages: in many instances, a new placename has been introduced (or “copied”) into the Australian English toponymy because it was the pre-existing Indigenous name for that place; and, even more frequently, new linguistic forms have been introduced as placenames, based on Indigenous words which were thought to be euphonious or semantically appropriate.

- **9 “Erroneous”**
  The category is now recognized as being an invalid tag, because the model does not include a judgment on the validity of interpretations—that is a separate issue. “Popular etymology”, one of the original subcategories, entails a judgment of a naïve and false belief about a toponym’s origin and would produce a low probability rating within the appropriate typology set. The second original subcategory, “Form confusion,” has undergone more than one stage of reassessment during the revision process. A first response was to move it to “Innovative”, on the grounds that the misunderstanding of the linguistic form resulted in the creation of a new toponymic element. Further consideration made it clear that this move was misconceived; in terms of the choices that lead to an “Innovative” expression (Table 2), there is no “motivation to name” or “intention to create” involved when form confusion
produces a new toponym. This second subcategory, therefore, has also been deleted from the schema without any requirement to find it a new home.

**Other Revisions**

Continued application of the classification to toponymic data has indicated that four of the original categories required revision.

- **1 “Descriptive”**
  - The former subcategory “Numerical/Measurement” has been deleted, since all relevant examples can be covered by 1.1 “Topographic” (e.g., Cape Three Points, where the shape of the feature is the key aspect), or by 1.3 “Locational” (e.g., Three Mile Creek, where distance from an identified location is the defining characteristic). The simple occurrence of a number or numeral within the toponymic form does not define the nature of the expression.
  - The subcategory “Relative” has been renamed and redefined. In earlier versions of the classification, it stood in opposition to category 5.3 “Relational,” and a footnote offered the explanation that 1.2 “Relative” referred to features while 5.3 “Relational” referred to toponyms. The former had the definition “indicating position of a feature relative to another, either chronologically or spatially;” the latter was defined as “using a qualifier within the toponym to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type.” It is now clear that the distinction was misconceived, as Jenkins (2018) pointed out. Both have been replaced by 1.2 “Relational”, “denoting a relationship between a feature and another feature nearby, either in time, space or dimensions”.
  - A new subcategory 1.4 “Functional” has been introduced, to allow for features such as Australian Capital Territory and Landmark Point where the specific element has, for example, an administrative or instrumental aspect.

- **5 “Shift”**
  - The category has been renamed as “Copied”, because “Shift” was seen to imply replacement or removal of a toponym rather than the re-use of its toponymic form.
  - As noted above, 5.3 “Relational” could not be sustained as a subclass in opposition to 1.2 “Relative”. A feature such as East Sydney was no more “relational” and no less “locational” than North Head or South West Cape. The subclass was therefore deleted.
  - The subcategory 5.1 “Transfer” has now been expanded to distinguish between locational and linguistic duplication, to allow for the distinction between copying the name form from another place or from another language. It has been replaced by the two subcategories 5.1 “Locational” and 5.2 “Linguistic”.
  - The formerly separate subcategory 5.2 “Feature shift”, meaning “copied from an adjacent feature of a different type”, has been subsumed within the new 5.1 “Locational”, meaning “using the name of a feature from another place”.
• 7 “Eponymous”
  o The category has been renumbered as 6, as a result of the deletion of the “Indigenous” class.
  o A number of other minor additions and re-namings have been implemented.
  o Within the subcategory 6.1 “Human” (formerly 7.1 “Persons”), the two original divisions of “Expedition member” and “Other” have been replaced by:
    6.1.1 “Namer”
    6.1.2 “Notable person”
    6.1.3 “Colleague”
    6.1.4 “Family member or friend”
    6.1.5 “Associated person”
  o Within the subcategory 6.3 “Non-animate entity” (formerly 7.3 “Non-living entity”), the two original divisions of “Vessel” and “Other” have been replaced by:
    6.3.1 “Notable abstract entity”
    6.3.2 “Named concrete entity”
    6.3.3 “Expedition vessel”
  o A new subcategory 6.4 “Literary and mythical entities” has been added.

• 8 “Linguistic Innovation”
  o The category has been renumbered as 7 “Innovative”, as a result of the deletion of an earlier class in the schema.
  o The subcategory 8.1 “Blend” has been deleted. Its presence in the classification created an overlap of categories, since all available examples are blends of eponyms or existing toponyms; they are best treated as 6 “Eponymous” or as 5 “Copied”.
  o The subcategory 8.2 “Anagram” has been deleted and is now treated as merely an expression of the subcategory 8.3 “Humor” (now numbered 7.1).
  o The subcategory 7.2 “Aptness” has been added to the classification to cover euphonious or ameliorative creativity.
  o The category now consists of the following two subclasses: “Humor” and “Aptness”.
The Revised Typology

The modifications outlined above have resulted in a typology which is somewhat simpler, with the number of main categories reduced from nine to seven. The category “Eponymous” is still the most complex in its substructure, with the greatest number of subclasses. The reduced typology is reflected in a new taxonomic representation (Figure 2) which lies behind it. The intention of such a highly explicit taxonomy, with its catalogue of terms, is to reduce or eliminate ambiguity within the toponymic system.

Figure 2: Taxonomy of Australian Toonym Specifics

The construction of such a taxonomy must begin with a specification of the intuitive semantic components that form its foundation (Table 2). These semantic elements have not been chosen from an a priori list, but are intuitively produced as part of the step-by-step process of distinguishing the category 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 the expression of a namer's intent 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 regarded as having been validated. On the other hand, a catalogue which groups labels non-intuitively or which omits significant intentional options would indicate a necessary revision of the semantic components or of the taxonomic structure.
Table 2: Semantic Components and their Definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Component</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+DESCRIPTIVE]</td>
<td>Reflects a characteristic of the feature or its environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+EMOTIVE]</td>
<td>Reflects a subjective response by the namer to the feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+INHERENT]</td>
<td>Characteristic of the feature itself, rather than of its surroundings or context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+COMMEMORATIVE]</td>
<td>Honours a person or a significant event or occasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ONOMASTIC]</td>
<td>Re-applies an existing name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+TOPONYMIC]</td>
<td>Re-applies an existing placename</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The taxonomy is represented by the tree structure of 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 expression. It is, of course, possible to further subdivide the categories by applying other semantic components. Although we have not proceeded to further specification for the Australian English context in which the survey operates, in other contexts it may be desirable or even necessary to do so. The categories of the current typology are enumerated in Table 3, together with their definitions and examples. Those categories mirror the items displayed in the Expression column of Figure 1 above, which can now be seen to be merely the taxonomic tree in a different form.

Table 3 shows a reduced typology in terms of categories and some minor changes to existing categories as explained above.6

Table 3: The 2020 Revised Toponym Typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toponym type</th>
<th>Explication</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 DESCRIPTIVE</td>
<td>Using a name denoting an inherent characteristic of the feature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Topographic</td>
<td>Denoting the physical appearance of a feature either literally or metaphorically</td>
<td>Cape Manifold named due to the number of high Hills over it; Broken Bay named due to some broken land that appeared to form a bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Relational</td>
<td>Denoting a relationship between a feature and another feature nearby, either in time, space or dimensions</td>
<td>Old Adaminaby current name for the original town of Adaminaby; East Peak the easternmost of the two peaks of Mt Cougal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Locational</td>
<td>Denoting the location or orientation of a feature</td>
<td>Cape Capricorn lying directly on the Tropic of Capricorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Functional</td>
<td>Denoting the function of a feature</td>
<td>Australian Capital Territory designated to provide the site for Australia’s capital city, Canberra. The name is descriptive of the function; Memorial Park a memorial to the servicemen who fought in WWI the name is descriptive of its function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ASSOCIATIVE</td>
<td>Using a name denoting something associated with the feature or its context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Environment</td>
<td>Denoting something in the local natural environment which is seen with or associated with the feature</td>
<td>Lizard Island because the only land animals seen were lizards; Belrose which reflects the flora endemic to the area, the Christmas bell, and the bush rose (see also 7.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Occupation/activity</td>
<td>Denoting an occupation, habitual activity, or related artefact associated with the feature</td>
<td>Observatory Hill site of Sydney’s original observatory; Try Pot Beach try pots found there from former sealing station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Structure</td>
<td>Denoting a manufactured structure associated with the feature</td>
<td>Telephone Gap a saddle over which a telephone line used to pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 EVALUATIVE</td>
<td>Using a name reflecting the emotive reaction of the namer, or a strong connotation associated with the feature</td>
<td>Australia Felix a region named to distinguish it from the parched deserts of the interior country; Hope Islands so named because of the high hopes of being able to reach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Commentatory</td>
<td>Reflecting/propounding a positive response to the feature</td>
<td>World's End because of the lonely and desolate nature of the area; Mount Hopeless because a new and still more disheartening feature was seen from its summit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Condemnatory</td>
<td>Reflecting/propounding a negative response to the feature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 OCCURRANT</td>
<td>Using a name recording an event, incident, occasion or date when the feature was named</td>
<td>Indian Head a headland where a group of Australian Indigenous people were seen to be assembled; Mount Disappointment named due to the inability of being able to ascend it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Incident</td>
<td>Recording an event or incident which led to the naming of the feature</td>
<td>Whitsunday Passage after the day on which it was discovered; Trinity Bay after the day on which it was discovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Occasion</td>
<td>Recognizing a time or date when the feature was named</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 COPIED</td>
<td>Copying the name-form from another place or from another language</td>
<td>River Derwent after the River Derwent in Cumberland, England; Cape Dromedary from the nearby Mount Dromedary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Locational</td>
<td>Using the name of a feature from another place</td>
<td>Groote Eylandt identified by that name on 17th century Dutch charts; Steep Point a calque of the original ‘Steyle Houck’ named by the 17th century Dutch explorer Willem de Vlamingh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Linguistic</td>
<td>Using the name-form (or its calque) which the feature has in another language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 EPONYMOUS</td>
<td>Using the name of a person or other named entity by using a proper name, title, or eponym substitute as a toponym</td>
<td>Forster named by William Forster, Premier of NSW (1859–1860); Tasman Island named by Abel Tasman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Human</td>
<td>Using the name of a person or of a group of people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1 Namer</td>
<td>Using the namer’s own name as the toponym</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 6.1.2 Notable person
Using the name of an eminent person, patron, official, noble, politician etc., or the name of a group of such people
- Cape Byron after Captain John Byron of the HMS Dolphin (1764-1766);
- Gosford after the Earl of Gosford

### 6.1.3 Colleague
Using the name of a member of an expedition or survey involved in the discovery or naming of the feature, or the name of the group so involved
- Point Hicks after crew member Lieutenant Hicks on Cook’s HMS Endeavour; Cape Banks after Joseph Banks on Cook’s HMS Endeavour

### 6.1.4 Family member or friend
Using the name of a family member or friend of the namers
- Mount Eliza named by Captain Middleton after his wife Eliza;
- Denmark River after naval surgeon Alexander Denmark

### 6.1.5 Associated person
Using the name of a person or a group connected to the feature as, for example, a founder, builder, owner or local inhabitant
- Bennelong Point after an Indigenous man who lived on the point; Frenchs Forest after James French who set up sawmills in the area

### 6.2 Other animate entity
Using the proper name of a non-human animate entity
- Norseman after the horse, Hardy Norseman; Banana after a bullock, Banana

### 6.3 Non-animate entity
Using the proper name of a non-animate entity

#### 6.3.1 Notable abstract entity
Using the name of a notable occasion, entity or concept, such as a battle, a political association or other abstract category
- Admiralty Islands after the British Admiralty;
- Staaten River after States General, the parliament of the Dutch United Provinces (1623)

#### 6.3.2 Named concrete entity
Using the name of an entity such as (a class of) a ship, train or aircraft
- Catalina Bay former base for Catalina Flying Boats during WWII;
- Coolangatta Creek after the schooner Coolangatta wrecked there in 1846

#### 6.3.3 Expedition vessel
Using the name of a vessel involved in the ‘discovery’ or naming of the feature
- Endeavour River after Cook’s HMS Endeavour; Mt Zeehan after Tasman’s ship Zeehaen

#### 6.3.4 Literary, biblical, or mythical entities
Using the name of a figure or place from literature, the Bible, or mythology
- Ivanhoe after Sir Walter Scott’s novel Ivanhoe; Oberon after King of the Fairies, in Shakespeare’s “Midsummer Night’s Dream”

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### 7 INNOVATIVE
Introducing a new linguistic form as a toponym

#### 7.1 Humor
Using language play with humorous intent to create a new toponym
- Nangiloc after the neighboring town, Colignan, spelt backwards; Doo Town because houses in this town have house-names containing “Doo”, e.g., “Doo-little”

#### 7.2 Aptness
Creating a new linguistic form or importing a word from another language to produce a toponym of pleasing sound, positive connotation or appropriate meaning
- Orana from a Polynesian word, because of its euphonious sound and positive connotation; Belrose, a Sydney suburb named after flora endemic to the area, the Christmas bell and the bush rose (see also 2.1)
It should be noted that toponyms generally receive a single typology tag. However, there can be some exceptions to this, such as toponyms which have a complex interpretation that seems to require more than one tag. The name of the Sydney suburb Belrose, for example, can be interpreted both as associative and as an innovation—it is a placename freshly constructed because of the flora (Christmas bell) and (bush rose) endemic to the area.

Occasionally there is an apparent exception which on closer inspection turns out to be not so: Mount Hopeless is a name form that occurs twice in Australia, one applied to a feature in New South Wales, the other in South Australia. Both name forms were bestowed by explorers on first sighting the mountain. Based on the explorers’ journal entries made at the occasion of the naming, the latter is classified as a condemnatory name reflecting the explorer’s attitude at his first sighting of the mountain; the former is classed as the result of a particular occasion or incident when the explorer realized that the mountain itself was not the feature he had believed it to be. The take-home message from these two examples is that the allocation of a toponym tag should not be based upon a semantic interpretation of the toponym’s name form itself; rather it should be based upon authoritative and reliable documentary evidence of the circumstances of the name’s bestowal. If none exists to verify who bestowed the toponym and why, then it is better to refrain from allocating a tag.

**Conclusion**

Continued application of the typology to toponyms in the Australian context since its original formulation in 2009 has resulted in the perceived need to revise two aspects of the schema: the understanding of its basis in the naming process, and the set of categories which characterize that process. Uncertainty about whether the typology was about motivations in name bestowal, or whether the taxonomic display showed methods or mechanisms for naming, has been resolved by the understanding that the motivation (the “why”) leads to a particular intention (the “how”) being realized by a particular expression (the “what kind”). In other words, as noted above, the typology is one of “expressions of the naming intention.” Secondly, the continued application of the categories to placenames within the Australian context has required refinement of those categories as new expressions of the naming intent have become apparent. It is not suggested that the current schema is the last word on what may be required for a comprehensive analysis of place-naming within Australia. Nor is it claimed the typology can be applied in this form without modification to other toponymies—the survey of the Antarctic territories, currently underway, has already revealed some naming expressions which lie outside this typology. We do, however, believe that the schema provides a useful model which can be used to develop other context-dependent typologies which would characterize the way in which their placenames have been bestowed.

**Notes**

1 For a detailed account of the revision of the 2009/2014 typology, see Blair & Tent (2020).
2 A placename “generic” is akin to a family name (e.g., Bay, Cape, River, Mount, Lake, Valley, etc.). A placename “specific” is analogous to a given name (e.g., Boat Harbor, where “Boat”—the specific—identifies “Harbor”—the generic—which in turn identifies the type of geographic feature named). Sometimes a generic can become a specific, as in The Basin, or Harbor Beach. Placenames for non-natural features (especially those for settlements) commonly consist of a single element acting as the specific: Cairns and Broome. Some placenames of this type have a “built-in” generic element (e.g., Newtown, Marrickville, Ashbourne, etc.).
3 There is no claim to be representing any psychological or linguistic processes of the namer when a feature is being named. The task is to present a system for toponymists to use when classifying placenames according to their type (that is, according to the way in which they express the naming intention).
4 A full statement of the ANPS research method may be found in Blair (2017).
5 A minor change, to reflect the order of “Expressions” in Table 2 above, is the renumbering of the “Evaluative” and “Occurrent” categories.

6 The etymologies of the example toponyms are all recorded in the ANPS database and originate from primary sources. Unfortunately, due to on-going additions to the database, it is not yet available for public access.

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Notes on Contributors

David Blair is a retired academic who currently serves as research toponymist with the Australian National Placenames Survey. He is also an Honorary Associate at Macquarie University, Sydney. His recent research has focused on theoretical aspects of toponymy, and on the names of Australia’s coastal beaches.

Jan Tent is a retired academic and current Director of the Australian National Placenames Survey. He is also an Honorary Senior Lecturer at the Australian National University, Canberra, and an Honorary Research Fellow at Macquarie University, Sydney. Jan’s onomastic research has mainly concentrated on early European place-naming practices in Australasia, as well as the toponymy of Australia in general.

Correspondence to: Dr Jan Tent, School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics, College of Arts and Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra 0200, Australia. Email: jan.tent@anu.edu.au or director@anps.org.au