Functions of Geographical Names
and the Use of Endo- and Exonyms

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Erste Einreichung / initial submission: 05/2017; revidierte Fassung / revised submission: 08/2017; endgültige Annahme / final acceptance: 08/2017

with 7 figures in the text

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Zusammenfassung

Funktionen geographischer Namen und die Verwendung von Endo- und Exonymen

In den meisten Fällen werden Endo- und Exonyme in einem in einer natürlichen Sprache produzierten Text verwendet. Geographische Namen sind Sprachzeichen und

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erfüllen allgemeine Sprachfunktionen sowie einige weitere, die ausschließlich für Eigennamen typisch sind. Deswegen sollen auch die Beschreibung und die Bewertung des Gebrauchs von Endo- und (vor allem) von Exonymen diese Funktionen berücksichtigen.


Schlagwörter: Toponomastik, Eigennamenfunktion, Endonym, Exonym, Sprachfunktionen

Summary

In most cases the use of endo- and exonyms takes place within a text produced in a natural language. Geographical names are linguistic signs and fulfil in communication general functions of language as well as some additional specific functions that are typical of proper names only. Therefore, the description and assessment of endo- and (particularly) exonym use should take these functions into account.

The aim of this paper is to propose a set of functions of geographical names, which, however, does apply to proper names in general as well. The set shall be useful in the evaluation of the use of exonyms.

Some basic assumptions of the semiotic theory of proper name semantics are discussed in the paper. A concise presentation of Jakobson’s (general) functions of language is made and the two possible perspectives in the description of toponym functions are discussed: the naming act and the subsequent use of a name. The paper provides a brief survey of selected theoretical stands on the functions of proper names taken by (Slavic) onomastics. These theoretical proposals are then compared with the functions listed by Jakobson. Finally, an extended set of communicative functions of toponyms is proposed and then applied to the description of endo- and exonym use.

Keywords: Toponomastics, proper name function, endonym, exonym, functions of language
1 Introduction

Toponyms are units of a given language and are tangled up in its internal and abstract structure (referred to by Ferdinand de Saussure as the langue) as well as in its use (the parole), which is in turn subject to various extralinguistic influences, such as politics, social phenomena and culture. Geographical names are words of a language and are used as single element messages (e.g., on maps and signposts) or – more commonly – as elements of natural language texts (including spoken ones). Therefore, the question of exonym and endonym use is in fact an issue of using linguistic signs, which fulfil general functions of language. However, the set of functions, which proper names fulfil is to a certain extent different from the set of functions of language as a whole, which results from the different type of naming processes and from different word formation properties of geographical names in most languages.

All deliberations on the rules and recommendations concerning the use of endo- and exonyms shall take into consideration the inventory of the functions of language, which may (but not necessarily have to) be fulfilled by geographical names. The aim of this paper is to propose a set of communicative functions of toponyms and to use it in a description of typical uses of endo- and exonyms.

The main theoretical linguistic inventory of the general functions of language has been proposed by Jakobson (1960). It shall be used here together with Jakobson’s set of the constitutive factors of a speech event as the main frame of reference in designing the set of the functions of geographical names. The theoretical proposals presented hereinafter are, though, in no way limited only to this Jakobsonian framework.

2 Main terms: toponym, endonym, and exonym

A toponym (= geographical name) is a proper name denoting (1) an individual concept that mentally (i.e. in brains/minds of language users) organises and delimits a place (i.e. a part of space adjacent to the Earth) or (2) an individual concept that mentally organises and delimits (a) a natural geographical feature constituting a part of the lithosphere, hydrosphere or the cryosphere or (b) an anthropogenic feature permanently connected to them or constituting a part thereof.

An individual concept is a mental unit organising knowledge of an individual (single) object. A proper name is a word denoting an individual concept. There is no direct link between a proper name and an individual object. Their relation exists only through an individual concept located in minds of language users. This semiotic model of onymic semantics reflects obviously the structure of the semiotic triangle (see Fig. 1) proposed by

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1) The author has received funding from the Polish National Science Centre [Narodowe Centrum Nauki] in the Etiuda 4 doctoral scholarship funding scheme, application no. 2016/20/T/HS2/00024. This paper discusses some selected findings present in the PhD. dissertation “Toponymic usus. An outline of theory (on the basis of the Polish toponymy of the Hutsul region)” that is currently being prepared by the author at the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.
OGDEN & RICHARDS (1923). The fundamental difference, however, lies in the very status of an individual concept linking a name to an object (WŁOSKOWICZ 2015).

As the functions of geographical names proposed hereunder do apply to all toponyms, and every endo- and exonym is defined as a toponym, the very definition of endo- and exonym does not influence the definition of their functions in any way.

Nevertheless, a definition of endo- and exonym needs to be chosen for the purpose of this paper. Although the community-based (and not language-based) definitions proposed by JORDAN (2012) open a new, humanist rather than administrative perspective on the issue of “the great toponymic divide”, in this very article it seems to be advisable to stick to the current definitions proposed by the UNGEGN Working Group on Toponymic Terminology:

“076 endonym: Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated”. (KADMON 2007, p. 2)

“081 exonym: Name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken, and differing in its form from the respective endonym(s) in the area where the geographical feature is situated”. (KADMON 2007, p. 2)

as these are still the basis for any recommendations concerning endo- and exonym use.

3 JAKOBSON’S functions of language

JAKOBSON (1960) proposed his inventory of functions of language, so to speak, as a marginal or auxiliary theoretical finding in his paper on poetics. RUTkowski (2001, p. 9) points out that JAKOBSON’s proposition has been repeatedly discussed and criticised by linguists, but never replaced with a newer and a more comprehensive one that would eliminate all its purported weaknesses and inaccuracies.
Before an outline of functions of language is made, Jakobson (1960, p. 353) designs a model of any speech event, which comprises the following constitutive factors (see Fig. 2):

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MESSAGE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADDRESSER: ------------------------------ ADDRESSEE

CONTACT

CODE
```

Source: Jakobson 1960, p. 353

Fig. 2: Constitutive factors of a speech event

and comments on it the following way:

“The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to (referent in another, somewhat ambiguous, nomenclature), seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalised; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and decoder of the message); and, finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication.” (Jakobson 1960, p. 353)

Some additional remarks seem to be necessary at this point. First of all, the Jakobson’s set of constitutive factors may be perfectly applied not only to the spoken *hic et nunc* communication, but to the written communication as well. As mentioned above, geographical names may be used as elements of longer spoken or written texts or may be used as single element texts. Therefore, a geographical name may be a part of a message or be a message (i.e. a text) itself.

The arrangement of the constitutive factors of speech event is then perfectly reflected in Jakobson’s (1960, p. 357) scheme of functions of language (see Fig. 3):

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REFERENTIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POETIC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EMOTIVE: -------------------------------- CONATIVE

PHATIC

METALINGUAL
```

Source: Jakobson 1960, p. 357

Fig. 3: Functions of a language
In other words, every element (or constitutive factor) of any speech event determines a single function of language. A function is merely an orientation of the message toward a given constitutive factor of speech event (Jakobson 1960, p. 353).
However, functions generally do not occur in a given message solely. There are usually several functions of language that are fulfilled in a single message, whereas it is their hierarchy that is of vital importance. In most cases the referential function is the main one (Jakobson 1960, p. 353). Jakobson expresses it as follows:

“But even though a set (Einstellung) toward the referent, an orientation toward the CONTEXT – briefly the so-called REFERENTIAL, ‘denotative’ ‘cognitive’ function – is the leading task of numerous messages, the accessory participation of the other functions in such messages must be taken into account by the observant linguist.” (Jakobson 1960, p. 353)

In the case of endonym and exonym use and the assessment of appropriate choice between them it is precisely this not always perfectly clear hierarchy of functions present in a given use of a given endo- or exonym that seems to be the most problematic issue.
Other functions are defined as follows: “The so-called EMOTIVE or ‘expressive’ function, focused on the ADDRESSER, aims a direct expression of the speaker’s attitude toward what he is speaking about.” (Jakobson 1960, p. 354)

The CONATIVE function is typical for messages oriented toward the ADDRESSEE. Jakobson (1960, p. 355) equates it mainly with the vocative and imperative form of a message. In regard to geographical names it would be probably more accurate to speak of an impressive function of different subtypes that generally consists in moulding the ADDRESSEE’s convictions or attitude towards the named feature. This issue shall be discussed in subsequent sections of this paper.

The set (Einstellung) for CONTACT is typical for the PHATIC function of language (Jakobson 1960, p. 355). Again, in the case of toponyms this function has different properties. The same applies to the METALINGUAL function. Jakobson (1960, p. 356) defines it as the orientation toward the CODE.

The last function is in turn defined the following way: “The set (Einstellung) toward the MESSAGE as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the POETIC function of language.” (Jakobson 1960, p. 356)

4 The two perspectives in defining functions of geographical names

The functions of geographical names may be analysed and described from two (partially overlapping) main perspectives: (1) from the perspective of (a) an onymisation process or (b) a one-time naming act or (2) from the perspective of the later use of a given name.

Geographical names may come into being by means of onymisation, which is a process of a common noun becoming a proper name. The form of the expression may remain...
the same; however, the very status of the concept standing behind the name changes. A general concept gets individualised by adding to its content some extra time-and-spatial-components.

Onymisation is a gradual, non-official and non-standardised process. If a group of people settle down and find in their area a geographical feature, for which they have a general expression (a common noun), they start to refer to the feature with this expression. After some time, the use of this expression as denoting the single feature becomes very regular and common within a given community and so the word becomes a toponym. This is in fact a process that takes place on the level of the individualisation of a general concept, which then becomes an individual one (cf. Section 2).

Besides, this is generally why many toponyms are semantically not transparent: In the course of language history the topographic expressions (common nouns) fixed in toponyms disappear from a language. Their previous general meaning is not legible for most language users any more. And their forms remain only in geographical names as language fossils.

A good example of an onymisation and of a later semantic illegibility is a great number of typical Carpathian toponyms. It may be assumed that till the 13th century there were no settlements in the interior parts of the present-day Polish and Ukrainian Carpathians. The areas could be effectively used and hence colonised only by the migrating Vlach shepherds. Therefore, Vlachs, who spoke Eastern Romance languages, entered a great Carpathian ‘toponymic emptiness’. First, they were forced to name the major landmarks, then some smaller features. They named them with common nouns for these types of features (mainly various types of mountains). In the Western Carpathians [Karpate Zachodnie, Západné Karpate, Západní Karpaty] the process of the Vlach migration and colonisation was completed in the 16th century. However, already during their migration Vlachs encountered eastern Slavs and started to acquire Ruthenian linguistic properties. In the course of centuries, the descendants of the Vlach Romance-speaking migrants switched completely to the Ruthenian language and the semantic transparency of the old Romance names completely vanished. Such ‘Polish’ toponyms as Zwór, Gruń, Menczył, are nowadays only to be explained in comparison with the vocabulary of the Romanian language.

Onymisation is a somewhat natural process of ‘giving’ geographical names. It had dominated the nomination processes for centuries. Of course, apart from that some examples of one-time naming acts are to be found already in antiquity (e.g., Alexandria) and in the Middle Ages (Constantinople); the latter, however, being rather an example of renaming.

The great range of one-time naming acts is directly connected with the development of the modern administration and subsequently with the standardisation of geographical names. The very nature of a one-time naming act lies in a single decision of a single person, a group of people or an entitled authority. According to such decision a specific feature will from now on bear a specific name.

The situation of a one-time naming act is, however, in some respects different from the situation of the later name use, which, as mentioned above, constitutes the third possible perspective in describing functions of geographical names.
5 Functions of proper names in the theory of onomastics

The concept of proper name function is present in the theory of onomastics, though as a rather fuzzy one. There is no common agreement on its definition and the term is used for various different notions. This conceptual and terminological problem was once pointed out by Rudolf Šrámek the following way:


These terminological problems of onomastics are not eased by the use of the term function of place names by representatives of other sciences. For instance, in the recent paper Rodríguez de Castro & Vázquez Hoehne (2016, p. 265) define the metalinguistic function of place names as a “more traditional approach, [in which – W.W.] geography has focused on examining what the place name describes in order to obtain information about the place.” However, from the purely linguistic (cf. Jakobson 1960) and onomastic point of view that would be perfectly what could be referred to as the referential function of place names, the metalinguistic (or metalingual) one being something completely different (see below).

Rutkowski (2001, p. 7) points out that onomasticians generally agree that the main (primary) function of proper names is the identifying function, identifying-differentiating function or deictic function. This corresponds with the above-quoted statement of Jakobson (1960, p. 353) about the leading position of the referential function in most messages. In other words, denoting a geographical feature (in fact denoting an individual concept of it, cf. Section 2) is the main function of geographical names.

The concept of primary function implies the existence of secondary functions (Rutkowski 2011, p. 2). Less unanimity is, though, to be found among onomasticians when the set of these secondary functions is to be outlined.

Karpenko (1980 in Rutkowski 2011, pp. 2–4) considers the nominating-identifying-differentiating function to be the primary one: not only does a proper name identify an object, but it also differentiates it from other individual objects belonging to the same class of objects. This primary function is present in all proper names occurring in texts. On
the other hand, the set of secondary functions fulfilled by a given proper name in a given text is variable.

The full list of functions mentioned by Karpenko (1980 in Rutkowski 2011, pp. 2–4) consists of (1) active functions: (a) main function (i.e. the primary one, see above), (b) information function, and (c) emotional function, as well as of (2) passive functions: (a) cognitive function and (b) accumulative function.

When fulfilling the information function, a proper name conveys a piece or pieces of information on an object that is/are legible for all users of a given language and not only for linguists and other specialists. These are, e.g., the general type or specific properties of the object/feature (Karpenko 1980 in Rutkowski 2011).

This information function is particularly visible in toponyms in the German language due to its very productive word formation procedure of compounding (which makes it possible to build grammatically perfectly correct words such as Donaudampfschiffahrts-gesellschaft), which often uses a common noun as the main (final) part of a composed proper name: Schneeberg, Schneebergdörfl, Krummbachsattel, Kaiserstein.

The emotional function consists either in expressing the speaker’s attitude towards the object or in evoking in the addressee specific feelings about it (e.g., Schönbrunn). The cognitive function is a general signal that a named object is in some respect important (Karpenko 1980 in Rutkowski 2011).

A name makes a geographical feature somewhat more noticeable: Had the peak of Waxriegel no name, it would be probably less perceptible both in terrain and on a map.

The accumulative function of a proper name (which is particularly easy to be found in many toponyms) consists in turn in conveying specific information on the culture, language, and the history of people who had given this name to the feature. However, these pieces of information conveyed within the accumulative function of proper names are visible only to specialists (Karpenko 1980 in Rutkowski 2011).

It results from the fact that some highly obsolete or even foreign language elements may be present in proper names; cf. the examples of Vlach toponyms given above. It is also highly plausible that the vast majority of native speakers of German is not able to make out the original – in fact Slavic – meanings of toponyms such as Mödling or Döbling.

Many theoretical findings, important from the point of view of an author aiming at describing geographical name functions, are to be found in the book by Kosyl (1983, pp. 12–21), who introduces a general concept of basic indicators in proper name description. These indicators are (among others): denotative value (indicating the class of objects a given object belongs to), connotative value (indicating a set of socially fixed judgements and notions about a given object), and expressive value, which covers three varieties: emotional, stylistic, and aesthetic value. The expressive value is defined by Kosyl as follows:

“By expressive value I mean the capability of a name to express an addressee’s attitude towards the referent of the name [i.e. towards the object referred to – W.W.], the capability of a name to evoke in an addressee specific emotions (apart from emotions that result from the object itself, and not directly from the name) as well as the capability of a name to evoke associations with definite stylistic register of
a language or with a specific milieu. It is difficult to draw a clear division between individual varieties of expressive value." (KOSYL 1983, p. 17; translated by W.W.)

The emotional variety of expressive value is the “speaker’s attitude towards the referent of the name that is expressed in that name” (KOSYL 1983, p. 17; translated by W.W.). The stylistic value of a proper name covers its chronological properties (within the history of a language), territorial properties (e.g., Ben being a typical English toponym for peaks in Scotland, whereas Lgota/Lhota is typical for Silesia [Śląsk, Slezsko], Bohemia [Čechy] and Moravia [Morava] when compared with the Lesser-Polish Wola and Ruthenian Swoboda29), social properties (e.g., a name form used only by a specific community; for instance the community of the Hungarian city of Székesfehérvár uses in its ‘internal’ communication an abbreviated form Fehérvár30), and stylistic properties (to be found, e.g., in referring to Britain as Albion) (KOSYL 1983, pp. 17–18).

The aesthetic value of a name is in turn defined as a social conscious judgement of phonic properties of a name (KOSYL 1983, pp. 18–19).

This, however, makes the category of the aesthetic value somewhat fuzzy. It would be probably much more reasonable to define an ‘ugly’ name as one that is not adapted to the phonological or morphological system of a language it is used in (and hence hard to pronounce or memorise; the name of the volcano Eyjafjallajökull seems here to be a good example in most European languages) or as one that evokes negative or in any way pejorative associations with other words of a given language or even of another, though widely spoken, foreign language (cf. the German name of the Austrian village of Fucking).

6 Proper name functions in the perspective of a one-time naming act

RUTKOWSKI (2001, p. 11), building on theoretical proposals made by LUTTERER (1982), lists three main factors of a standard naming act: creator of a name, named object, and name. Then he (RUTKOWSKI 2001, p. 12) supplements the list with two further factors: situation (context) of a naming act and name user.

The central part of this set is the creator (individual or collective), who satisfies a “social need for distinguishing a certain individual object”. The social acceptance of the created name results from the authority the name creator has in a given community (RUTKOWSKI 2001, p. 11).

The situation is both a material and a societal context of a naming act and covers various factors. The user is “a social group that uses the newly created name according to the will of its creator”. In a model of naming act, the user takes the place of the addressee in Jakobson’s model of speech event, though – as RUTKOWSKI stresses it – the user is excluded from the very naming act. Therefore, the act of giving a name does not take place according to the scheme ‘addresser → addressee’ (RUTKOWSKI 2001, p. 12).

29 Lgota, Wola, Wólka, Swoboda all reflect the fact that the settlers of the newly created villages were exempted from obligations towards their feudal lord for several (or more) years after the settlement had been founded.
30 I owe this example to Prof. Peter JORDAN.
For Rutkowski (2001, p. 12) a function of a proper name is always a relation of a created name to one of the factors of the naming act:

1. relation of the NAME to the OBJECT → descriptive function;
2. relation of the NAME to the CREATOR → expressive function;
3. relation of the NAME to the SITUATION → commemorative (or allusive) function;
4. relation of the NAME to the USER → impressive function;
5. relation of the NAME to the NAME itself → poetic function.

In the descriptive function, a name provides an abbreviated description of the object, usually by emphasising one of its properties. This description may be direct (when the created name uses a common noun, an adjective or a derivative thereof that expresses the emphasised property of the named object) or metaphorical (e.g., the nickname Bear emphasises these properties of its bearer that the bearer shares with a bear, which would be probably an imposing physique) (Rutkowski 2001, pp. 13–16).

The expressive function consists in expressing properties of the name creator, and namely a particular one: his attitude towards the named object (Rutkowski 2001, p. 17).

The commemorative and allusive functions link the name creation with the situation (context) of the naming act.

In the case of the commemorative function the name creator intentionally commemorates some aspects of the situation, e.g., giving a street a name of a person of merit commemorates this very aspect of the situation that at the time the name was given the person was in some respect important to the community.

In the allusive function, this intention to commemorate an aspect of the naming act situation is not so visible. The link between the context of the name creation and the name is based rather on various, even individual and subjective associations: e.g., a woman may be nicknamed Sissi only due to the fact that the given names of her husband are Franz Joseph (Rutkowski 2001, pp. 18–22).

The ‘role’ of the impressive function is to evoke in later name users some positive emotions towards the named object. This function is to be found, e.g., in names of office buildings, which should persuade potential tenants to rent an office there (Rutkowski 2001, pp. 22–23).

In the case of the poetic function the name is, so to say, self-oriented. It is noticeable and attracts attention (Rutkowski 2001, pp. 25–26).

Just the same as Jakobson (1960, p. 353) states it, Rutkowski (2001, p. 13) stresses the fact that in a name there is usually a hierarchy of more than one function to be found.

7 Proper name functions in the use of toponyms

In the present paper functions of proper names were discussed mainly in general so far. From now on more attention shall be paid solely to the category of toponyms.
Designing a set of proper names functions (as seen not from the perspective of a naming act but from the perspective of toponym use) makes it necessary to choose a frame of reference for such a model. It seems to be most reasonable to choose the model structure proposed by Jakobson (cf. Section 3). The usefulness of his set of functions of language in describing functions of geographical names was stressed, e.g., by Knappová (1992). The theoretical stand she takes is summarised by Rutkowski as follows:

"Building on the achievements of the Prague linguistic circle and particularly on the theses of Jakobson, Knappová states, there is no reason for not adapting – depending on the circumstances – the six functions of language listed by him (referential, metalingual, conative, phatic, emotive, and poetic) to the description of functions of proper names. However, in addition to the mentioned functions proper names do fulfil some special functions resulting from the very specificity of the onymic system." (Rutkowski 2011, p. 5; translated by W.W.)

And this is exactly what shall be undertaken hereinafter. Before proceeding to that it seems, however, necessary to make a comparison of the set of proper name functions designed by Rutkowski from the perspective of a one-time naming act with the scheme of the functions of language proposed by Jakobson.

Such a direct comparison has not been made by Rutkowski, but seems to be valuable as it shows some possible ‘empty slots’ left by Rutkowski in a broader framework designed by Jakobson. On the other hand, it shows that the relation between a name and the context is more complicated in the case of proper names.

A comparative analysis of the set of the constitutive factors of speech event (Jakobson 1960, p. 353) and of the list of naming act factors proposed by Rutkowski (2001, p. 12) (ordered here in the structure reflecting Jakobson’s model for the sake of comparison) would demonstrate the following differences (see Fig. 4):

In turn, the comparison of respective functions looks as follows (see Fig. 5):
It is clearly visible that in Rutkowski’s set of factors the context (as described by Jakobson) is divided into two factors. It perfectly emphasises the fact that abstracting individual features (objects) from the general continuum of extralinguistic reality is indeed one of the main characteristics of proper names. Of course, such statement is a certain simplification; the abstraction takes place on the level of concepts, as explained herein in Section 2 (individual concepts) and in Section 4 (onymisation).

On the other hand, the list by Rutkowski lacks any functions linking the created name with the code and with any kind of a relation between the creator and the user of a name.

The set of factors and functions proposed by Rutkowski (from the perspective of a naming act) may be nevertheless a very convenient starting point for designing a set of geographical name functions (as seen from the perspective of toponym use), for the reason that some factors of the name creation act are usually somehow inherited by the later structure of factors of the name use, which in turn is quite more similar to the original scheme by Jakobson (due to its communicative nature).

It seems to me that the following scheme may be an adequate description of the constitutive factors of the use of geographical names (see Fig. 6):

![Diagram of constitutive factors of the use of geographical names]

Source: Own work

Fig. 6: Constitutive factors of the use of geographical names

The corresponding set of toponym functions would have then the following form (see Fig. 7):

![Diagram of toponym functions]

Source: Own work

Fig. 5: Comparison of name functions as proposed by Jakobson (1960, p. 353) (on the left) and Rutkowski (2001, p. 12)
Jakobson does not take the semiotic approach in his understanding of the message-context relation, i.e. does not take the semiotic triangle (cf. Section 2) into account. As stated above, the actual meaning of a proper name is an individual concept that mentally covers the knowledge of an individual object. As there is no real link between a name and an object, and the only real relation exists between the name and the concept, in the scheme of constitutive factors the object needs to be replaced by the individual concept of an individual object.

The relation of a toponym to an individual concept is actually the relation of denomination and meaning, as a proper name is a name of a concept and the concept is the meaning of the name. From the perspective of the proper name use one can, though, speak of the denominative-descriptive function: The name refers to the concept and may (but does not necessarily have to) describe its content (which covers the properties of the object) – depending on the still present or already lost semantic transparency of the name form. Of course, this transparency shall be assessed from the perspective of a standard language user and not from the perspective of an onomastician. Thus, the names Menczył, Döbling, and Lgota generally do not fulfil the descriptive function any more, but only the denominative one.

The naming situation is an example of a factor ‘inherited’ from the naming act. In the accumulative or commemorative function a name (in use) is still to a certain extent linked to the situation or the process of its creation (onymisation). A brilliant example of a commemorative name that conveys ‘information’ on the very naming act as well is the toponym Franz Joseph Land.

The toponym as a linguistic form of the name is a counterpart of the bottom left corner of the semiotic triangle. A toponym entering a relation with itself starts to fulfil the poetic function, which means that it becomes somehow noticeable. In the German sentence Wien ist eine internationale Weltstadt the toponym Wien is perfectly transparent in the sense that it is not noticeable in any special way. However, in the sentence Vienna ist eine internationale Weltstadt the name (an exonym in fact) is much more perceptible and fulfils the poetic function within the message.

A used form of a toponym may express the speaker’s attitude towards a geographical feature. Of course, the range of possible attitudes is extremely wide and comprises various types of claims as well. It seems that in most cases the claim use of a given name results
from the claim present in its expressive function at the moment of its creation. A relatively new example would be the Russian choronym Донецкая Народная Республика (Donetsk People’s Republic).

A toponym in use may enter a relation with an addressee of a message. In most cases the impressive function of toponyms is meant to create in the recipient group an attitude towards the feature that is expected by the name user (and creator).

It is quite self-evident that the two functions expressive and impressive are combined. Probably one of the best examples of a toponym created and successfully used in the impressive function is the name Galizien created by the Habsburg diplomacy in order to justify the 1772 annexation of (main parts of) Lesser Poland [Małopolska] and Red Ruthenia.

Jakobson (1960, p. 355) defines the phatic function as the one consisting in maintaining a contact between an addresser and addressee. In the case of geographical names this ‘contact function’ is of a different nature. Using specific forms of toponyms may be an important element of creating and maintaining a community, especially in the case of minorities. Therefore, the function of creating a common identity in the community using the specific name seems to be the most important in the ‘field of contact’.

The systemic function of a toponym is its relation to the system of a language (in the classic Saussurean sense). The form of a toponym may be built according or against the phonological and morphological rules of a language it is used in. In this respect, the French language ‘provides’ many good examples of French endonyms used in other languages. These toponyms – when used, e.g., in Polish – do often retain systemic properties that are alien to the ‘target language’, such as a stress falling on the last syllable or the sound [ã] (nasal vowel [a]). As the category of language is often strongly connected to the category of ethnicity and this is in turn generally not politically neutral, the connection between the systemic and the expressive (as well as impressive) function of toponyms seems to be quite obvious. However, a systemic adaptation does not necessarily have to be an expression of claims. Sometimes an endonym may be so difficult to pronounce that it has to be adapted (which is generally a long process supported by long-lasting relations between language communities) or simply omitted, as it was the case with the already mentioned name of the Icelandic volcano Eyjafjallajökull. As the volcano erupted in 2010, forcing almost all European states to close their airspace, it made headlines, though, in a rather anonymous way, as the toponym was often omitted on the news. The potential systemic function of the toponym, i.e. its potential relation to most European languages, had such a negative impact on the use of the name, which was often simply avoided by news presenters.

The metaonymic function of toponyms is to be found in texts fulfilling metalingual function of language. Every grammar book of a given language may be written in this language. A text produced in a given language may be commented on, linguistically analysed and described in this very language as well. When toponyms are analysed and discussed in onomastic or geographical works they, so to say, stand for their own forms. In the sentence Vindobona is the Latin name for the capital of Austria the name Vindobona does not refer to the individual concept of the city but to the concept of the name itself (to its mental pattern).

4) The proposed expression metaonymic shall not be confused with another adjective, namely metonymic, which is a derivative of the rhetoric term metonymy.
As mentioned above, the functions of toponyms in use are always in complex mutual relations, which is a fact that often results in problems with unambiguous assessment of exonym use.

8 Toponym functions and the use of endo- and exonyms

Exonym use is a politically, historically, and culturally sensitive issue. A use of a given exonym by one community may be assessed completely differently by another community, which may believe the real intention of using a non-endonym is, e.g., of political or claim nature. Even one and the same exonym may be used in one and the same community by different users with different intentions, which are hard to measure objectively, as intentions are always internal attitudes of acting people.

In the following the possible use of endo- and exonyms shall be analysed within the toponym functions proposed in Section 7.

8.1 Denominative & descriptive function

A linguistic sign is of an arbitrary nature, i.e. its form does not resemble the properties of the object in any way. There are, of course, some exceptions, such as onomatopoeias, which are, however, generally of no importance for toponomastics. This arbitrary nature of linguistic signs results in the fact that both an endo- and the corresponding exonym may fulfil the denominative function, irrespective of their form. However, toponyms are probably easier to memorise when they are semantically transparent. And this is in many cases why exonyms are simply ‘translations’ of the respective endonyms. For instance, the commonly used English exonym for the lake on Mount Durmitor in Montenegro is Black Lake, whereas the Montenegrin endonym is Crno jezero. For most speakers of the Slavic languages the hydronym remains more or less semantically transparent, so the need for translation is relatively smaller. In Polish, there is for instance no standardised exonym for the endonym Crno jezero, whereas the ‘translation’ would be Czarne Jezioro or Jezioro Czarne. (This is the more natural word order in Polish.) It is indeed the descriptive function of toponyms that is the reason for creation of many exonyms.

8.2 Accumulative/commemorative function

The legibility of information conveyed by a toponym in the accumulative function often requires specialist linguistic, geographical or historical knowledge. As the result, the

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5) Cf. Section 8.8 Metaonymic function as well
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Accumulative function seems to have no serious impact on the endo-exonym divide. In the case of the commemorative function, the situation is completely different, as a commemoration done in toponyms may be often a highly political and sensitive issue (cf. the name Kaliningrad introduced by the Soviet authorities in honour of the Bolshevik revolutionary Mikhail Kalinin, who is jointly responsible for the Katyn massacre; this was why one of the former Polish ministers of foreign affairs intended to stop using the name Kaliningrad in Polish).

On the other hand, commemorative endonyms created in one language, which then became exonyms, may acquire the acceptance in another (the new ‘endonymic’) language and hence become (in an adapted form; cf. Section 8.7 Systemic function) endonyms again. A brilliant example is to be found in the Ukrainian Carpathians on the former Cis- and Transleithanian border. The pass used in October 1914 by the troops of the Polish Legions (created within the Austro-Hungarian Army) to proceed from the Máramaros County to Galizien was named Przełęcz Legionów (‘Pass of the Legions’) by the Polish authorities after World War I. After World War II the eastern part of interwar Poland was taken over by the Soviet Union, but on the Soviet military maps dating from the 1970s or 1980s the name nep. Легионов (‘Pass of the Legions’) is still to be found. After Ukraine achieved independence in 1991 the Ukrainian variant of the toponym Перевал Легіонів gained considerable popularity and is quite commonly used by the Ukrainians, thus being a Ukrainian endonym.6) It is to be found on present-day Ukrainian maps and web sites as well. Of course, it does not make the Polish form Przełęcz Legionów an endonym as it differs from the Ukrainian one, but it surely makes the Polish exonym acceptable for the users of the Ukrainian language, i.e. the Polish exonym is not ‘suspected’ of fulfilling a ‘claim function’ (cf. Section 8.4 Expressive function).

8.3 Poetic function

As stated above, the poetic function of proper names consists in drawing attention to the name itself. Of course, this function may be often combined with other functions, such as expressive and impressive. For instance, London (in Polish: Londyn) is occasionally called in Polish Lądek, which is a name of several localities in Poland that bears a certain articulatory resemblance to the Polish exonym Londyn (in both the first syllable is pronounced as /lɔn/). In other words, the exonym Londyn happens to be occasionally replaced with a Polish geographical name Lądek7), which normally does not refer to the individual concept of the English capital. Of course, the form Lądek in Polish is not popular enough to be classified as an exonym (not to mention any standardisation of it), but the example shows, how the poetic function may influence the creation of somewhat ‘exonymic’ toponyms.

6) Nevertheless, local inhabitants of the village of Бистрица (Bystrycia), the closest one to the pass, when asked the name of the feature, told me that it was called Рогодзи. It shows that (at least the inquired) members of the local community still use the old name, which had been used before the name Przełęcz Legionów (‘Pass of the Legions’) was introduced.

7) -ek is a Polish suffix used to create diminutives, but it is present in many toponyms as well.
8.4 Expressive function

The Polish ‘proto-exonym’ Łądek discussed above may fulfil the expressive function as well. Members of the numerous Polish minority in the United Kingdom may use this form to show that the British capital is not strange to them and do that by toponymic ‘adaptation’ of the name.

All traditional names that used to be endonyms but now are exonyms (and there are relatively many of them in Central Europe due to the great shift of state borders after World War II) are somewhat ‘suspected’ of fulfilling the expressive (i.e. the claim) function. However, these exonyms, used in the languages they belong to, may merely fulfil the denominative function, as there is no strong tradition of using a foreign endonym in the language a given text is produced in. For instance, the German toponyms Breslau (for Wrocław) and Danzig (for Gdańsk) used in German texts may, but definitely do not have to be any kind of manifestation of the past German power over these territories. They may simply fulfil the denominative function, just as it is the case with the Polish used-to-be-endonyms Lwów and Stanisławów for the nowadays Ukrainian cities of Львів (Lviv) and Івано-Франківськ (Ivano-Frankivs’k).

On the other hand, the choice between Gdańsk and Danzig happened to be one of the greatest struggles in the history of the English version of Wikipedia. The casus belli was a revision of the entry on the city of Gdańsk in which occurrences of the Polish present endonym Gdańsk were replaced with the German exonym Danzig. This lead to the controversy over what the name of the whole entry in the English Wikipedia should be (JEMIELNIAK 2014). It is quite plausible that the belligerents in this toponymic war were mainly German and Polish users of the English version of Wikipedia.

8.5 Impressive function

The impressive function is to a certain extent a mirror image of the expressive function. Toponyms used ‘impressively’ are in most cases intended to change or create in the addressee a certain attitude towards the named object. The use of an endonym (instead of an exonym existing in a given language in which a given text is produced) may be aimed at persuading the addressee to accept the fact that a given geographical feature belongs to another state now. That would be the case with the consistent use of the Italian name Bolzano in German and the Ukrainian name Iwano-Frankiwsk⁸ in Polish. And the other way round, a consistent use of exonyms, may be aimed at persuading an addressee that the new state borders are not to be accepted.

As stated above, the real intention, i.e. the denominative or expressive/impressive function fulfilled by an exonym, is not always clear.

⁸ The form Iwano-Frankiwsk used in Polish, however, is not a ‘perfect’ Ukrainian endonym, as the transliteration of the Ukrainian name Івано-Франківськ would be Ivano-Frankivs’k and the Polish transcription would be Iwano-Frankiws. Nevertheless, when compared with the traditional Polish name Stanisławów, the name Iwano-Frankiwsk shows a speaker’s will to stick to the Ukrainian endonym.
8.6 Identity function

A toponym may enter a relation to the ‘contact’ existing between a name user and an addressee. However, this contact is of different nature than the contact proposed by Jakobson. It is rather a common feeling of a name user and an addressee that they belong to the same community or share the same group identity. In such a situation, a toponym may be to a certain extent a cornerstone of an identity. If a toponym fulfils the identity function, the denominative function, though still present, is in some respect weaker. It seems that the identity function of toponyms is particularly strong with minorities. The identity function may be present both in the use of endo- and exonyms and is often clearly combined with the expressive function: The contact between a name user and an addressee is created by the fact that they share the same attitude towards a given geographical feature or a feature-based idea of community (as it is often the case with nations and states, cf. the perfectly correct English sentence Scotland is a great nation).

8.7 Systemic function

A (form of) toponym remains always in a relation to the system of a given language. First of all, a toponym must be pronounced and spelled. It may show conformity with the phonology of a language it is used in or it may not. Further, the relation of its pronunciation and its orthography may be in accordance with general rules of a language or not. Some endonyms may contain sounds that are simply impossible to pronounce by speakers of another language. Finally, every language has its own word-building rules in the area of toponymy. Some languages that are closely related happen to have whole sets of analogous toponymic suffixes. A substitution of a suffix of a language A with a suffix of a language B may be done by users of the language B completely unconsciously. On the other hand, the systemic function of toponyms does often serve as the basis for the expressive and the poetic function.

It shall be stressed that it is the systemic function of toponyms that causes theoretical problems with defining the way a toponym must differ from an endonym in order to be classified as an exonym, which is an issue discussed by many authors, e.g. by Back (1983), Buß (2012), Harvalík (2004), Jordan (2012), and Woodman (2012).

8.8 Metaonymic function

As Grzegorczykowa (1991, p. 13) aptly points out, the Jakobsonian metalingual function is nothing more than a special instance of the referential (i.e. denotative or cognitive) function.

In the sentence “Brünn is a former German endonym and a present exonym corresponding with the endonymic Czech Brno” both toponyms (in such use traditionally writ-
ten in italics) do not stand for the individual concept of the town, but for the mental 'specimen' of their linguistic form (which is in turn a concept that corresponds with the bottom left corner of the onymic triangle). One could even argue that a toponym used not as a name of an individual concept of a geographical feature, but as a name of the mental 'specimen' of its own linguistic form is not a toponym any more, but rather an onomatomy, i.e., so to say, a name of a name.

This theoretical issue notwithstanding, it is to assume that a mental specimen of a linguistic form of a toponym fully determines the way it is referred to. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss the German name form Bozen in other way than referring to it as Bozen, no matter if the form is discussed in German, Italian, English or in any other language.

As a toponym used in the metaonymic function does not refer to an individual concept of a geographical feature anymore, the endo-/exonymic divide simply does not apply to it.

9 Conclusions

The use of endo- and exonyms is determined by and may be described in terms of the functions of toponyms. The functions are, however, not fulfilled by toponyms solely and there is almost always a hierarchy of functions present in a given use of a geographical name, whereas in most cases the denominative function is the dominating one. It is not only the hierarchy of functions that complicates the assessment of the use of exonyms. It is not eased by the fact that functions remain in a constant interplay as well, e.g., the systemic function may be the basis for the poetic function, which in turn may be used by a name user to express his/her attitude towards and object (expressive function) and to manifest his/her membership in a given community that shares a common attitude to this geographical feature (identity function).

10 References


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KOSYLO Cz. (1983), Forma i funkcja nazw własnych [Form and function of proper names]. Lublin, UMCS.


