

GEOGRAPHISCHE NAMEN

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

DISSEMINATION AND CORRECTNESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES. GEOGRAPHERS AND CARTOGRAPHERS AS TOPONYM USERS AND PROMOTERS

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Summary

Social and textual dissemination of geographical names as well as their regular use and their assessment (as correct or incorrect) are moulded by a complex constellation of toponym users and various texts. In this constellation geographers and cartographers constitute an important "collective player" who may influence the processes considerably.

In the present paper the hierarchy of communicative communities using toponyms (first proposed by L. ZABROCKI) is briefly discussed. An outline of general linguistic concepts used in the assessment of language elements (as introduced by the Prague Linguistic Circle) is provided. These concepts are modified and adapted here in order to fit the special characteristics of geographical names.

The newly developed and proposed toponomastic categories comprise the concepts of toponymic usus (with several subtypes: professional, official/public, private, cartographic), toponymic norm (natural or codified), and toponymic codification (official, linguistic, textual, cartographic). These concepts are then discussed as a network of factors influencing the use of geographical names.

Finally, the proposed toponomastic model of dissemination and assessment of geographical names and the newly introduced toponomastic concepts are used to outline the role geographers and cartographers play in fixing, propagating or creating geographical names.

Keywords: Geographical name, toponymy correctness, toponymy dissemination, geographers and cartographers, toponomastics

Zusammenfassung

VERBREITUNG UND RICHTIGKEIT GEOGRAPHISCHER NAMEN. GEOGRAPHEN UND KARTOGRAPHEN ALS AKTEURE BEI DER VERWENDUNG UND POPULARISIERUNG VON TOPONYMEN

Die gesellschaftliche und textuelle Verbreitung von Toponymen sowie deren regulärer Gebrauch und Bewertung (als korrekt oder unkorrekt) werden von einer komplexen Konstellation der Namensbenützer und verschiedener Texte gestaltet. In dieser Konstellation stellen Geographen und Kartographen einen wichtigen Kollektivakteur dar, der die erwähnten Prozesse beträchtlich zu beeinflussen vermag.

In diesem Beitrag wird die (erstmalig von L. ZABROCKI vorgeschlagene) Hierarchie der Toponyme verwendenden kommunikativen Gemeinschaften kurz besprochen. Es folgt ein Abriss der (von der Prager Linguistischen Schule eingeführten) allgemein sprachwissenschaftlichen Begriffe, die bei der Bewertung von Sprachelementen verwendet werden. Diese Begriffe werden nun adaptiert, damit sie die Spezifika von geographischen Namen berücksichtigen.

Die hier entworfenen toponomastischen Begriffe sind: toponymischer Usus (mit Unterbegriffen: professioneller, offizieller/öffentlicher, privater, kartographischer Usus), toponymische Norm (natürliche und kodifizierte) und toponymische Kodifizierung (offi-

zielle, sprachwissenschaftliche, textuelle, kartographische). Diese Begriffe werden dann als ein Netzwerk der Faktoren besprochen, die den Gebrauch von geographischen Namen beeinflussen.

Schließlich werden die vorgeschlagenen Modelle der Verbreitung und Bewertung geographischer Namen sowie die neu entworfenen toponomastischen Begriffe bei der Beschreibung verwendet, die die Rolle von Geographen und Kartographen bei der Fixierung, Popularisierung und Schaffung geographischer Namen erklärt.

Schlagwörter: Geographischer Name, Korrektheit der Toponyme, Verbreitung der Toponyme, Geographen und Kartographen, Toponomastik

1 Introduction

Geographers and cartographers constitute a privileged group of toponym users because their name choices and possible name creations have a great direct and indirect impact on the use of geographical names by the general public. Nonetheless, neither geographers nor cartographers are independent toponymic¹⁾ decision-makers, as they constitute only one of many collective players in a much broader and much more complex constellation of actors and factors such as local communicative communities (see Section 2.2), already existing texts and previous maps, norm of a given language, toponymic codification, and superior (mainly legal) guidelines of a state's toponymic policy.

The aim of this paper is to provide an outline of a general toponomastic model of dissemination and assessment of geographical names and to use this model to outline the role geographers and cartographers play in fixing, establishing, propagating, and creating geographical names.

2 Ludwik Zabrocki's spatial sociology of geographical names

ZABROCKI's (1968) theory of linguistic storage and communicative communities discussed below is essential for the model of dissemination of toponyms proposed hereinafter as well as for the proposed concept of correctness of geographical names. The theory by ZABROCKI does not need to be adapted in any way as it was originally designed to explain social and spatial properties of geographical names.

2.1 Internal and external linguistic storage

The theoretical framework proposed by ZABROCKI (1968) bears the name "Theory of ranges of singular name linguistic storage" [*teoria zasięgów językowego magazynowania nazw jednostkowych*]. A *singular name* is a name that refers to one object only. Thus, the

¹⁾ In the present paper the adjective *toponymic* refers to geographical names (toponyms) whereas the adjective *toponomastic* refers to toponomastics (as a branch of onomastics).

term may be interpreted as a synonym of *proper name*. All geographical names are singular names in this sense. The issue that there may be several geographical features that bear names which are formally identical is strictly connected with the theory of semantics of proper names and shall be put aside here.²⁾

The fundamental concept of the theory is *linguistic storage*. There are two types of linguistic storage: internal and external. The *internal linguistic storage* is about human brain/mind containing single linguistic elements (e.g. word stems, words, fixed expressions, and proper names) but no texts. On the other hand the *external linguistic storage* is a result of fixing texts produced by language users by writing them down or recording them (ZABROCKI 1968, p. 416).

In most cases geographical names exist in the internal linguistic storage (i.e. in human minds) first. Then, some geographical names move to the external linguistic storage (when they are written down).

2.2 Communicative communities and ranges of geographical name linguistic storage

The core concept of ZABROCKI's theoretical proposal is the *communicative community*. The hierarchy of communicative communities translates directly into the hierarchy of the *storage ranges* of proper names (and especially of toponyms).

The whole of mankind is divided into communicative communities of various size. Of course, almost all these communities intersect or overlap with other ones. While fixing language elements the communities use primarily internal linguistic storage, though the external linguistic storage may be used as well. If language elements (e.g. geographical names) of a given communicative community are stored only in the internal storage, they disappear at the very moment the communicative community ceases to exist. The end of a toponym's lifecycle is marked by the death of the last person who knew it. On the other hand, if names are written down (i.e. transferred to the external storage) they will remain after the extinction of the community which used them (cf. ZABROCKI 1968, p. 418).

The number, hierarchy, and socio-spatial construction of most storage ranges are subject to an arbitrary decision and could be designed in a different way (especially in the 21st century – see below). Nevertheless, the proposition by ZABROCKI provides a very valuable theoretical framework.

The hierarchy of storage ranges corresponds with the hierarchy of communities. This ladder has the following form:

²⁾ The form of a name (the letters we read or the pronunciation we hear) refers not to the object itself but to an individual concept in our mind, a piece of our knowledge or image of the object. There is absolutely no real link between the set of characters *Vienna* and the material geographical feature. The name is linked with the concept of the Austrian capital that we have in our minds. And it is only due to the presence of this concept and knowledge that we understand the name. For most readers the set of letters *Pcim* will have no meaning as they do not possess any concept in their minds that would be linked with this name form. Cf. the **definition of toponym** in WŁOSKOWICZ (2017, pp. 325–326).

- Storage range I** = *communicative community (CC) of a single (farmer) family*
*Storage range II** = *CC of a single village*
Storage range III = *CC with a “communicative centre” located at a local market, temple or a market town (i.e. a place where people from several or more villages come together)*
Storage range IV = *CC of a territorial administrative unit (e.g. a county)*
Storage range V = *CC of a province*
Storage range VI = *CC of a state (country)*
Storage range VII = *CC of a continent*
Storage range VIII = *CC of the whole world*

*) only range I and II are invariable, other ranges depend on cultural and geographical factors (ZABROCKI 1968, pp. 419–424)

The spatial arrangement of the hierarchy (village – group of villages with a shared marketplace – county – province ...) is an obvious reflection of the communicative realities of the Polish rural regions in the 1960s. Nowadays, the well developed telecommunication makes the human communication a rather non-spatial phenomenon, which means that the sociology of geographical names should be based on social groups and social networks rather than on spatial distribution of name users. Nevertheless, it seems that what ZABROCKI considers to be invariable ranges (CC of a single family and of a single locality) does still apply to the modern everyday experience of toponym users.

The invariability of these two smallest ranges results from the fact that in every culture and in every society people are organised in some type of the smallest social group of individuals standing in a special and close relation (it may be referred to as “a family” and vary in size and structure depending on culture, religion or tradition). And there is always the next closest community outside a family. Depending on a given culture and settlement type (or lacking permanent settlement) this second closest community (larger than a family) does not necessarily have to take a spatial form of a village in a modern European sense.

3 Main concepts of normative linguistics and their toponomastic adaptations³⁾

In the following I provide a brief discussion of several main theoretical categories developed by the “Prague Linguistic Circle”, which were later extended and elaborated by what may be called the “Polish School of Normative Linguistics”. However, these concepts have been designed rather to explain general linguistic phenomena and not toponymic issues, and hence need to be adapted here in order to fit the special characteristics of geographical names. Thus, a specific toponomastic development of some general linguistic categories is proposed by me hereinafter.

³⁾ A concise analysis of the conceptual system of the Polish normative linguistics has been proposed in a separate paper (WŁOSKOWICZ 2018b).

3.1 Text. A map as a polysemiotic text

Broadly speaking, a text is produced every time language elements are used and combined together to confer a complex meaning. Thus, texts may be spoken and written, which is at variance with a common intuition identifying text with a written form. Nevertheless, in the light of the aforementioned theory of linguistic storage written texts play a special role in fixing language elements (including geographical names) in the external linguistic storage.

What I would like to introduce here is a broader understanding of the concept of text in the sense that an encyclopaedia and a gazetteer may be considered texts as well (despite the fact that the words/toponyms are only “listed” there and not “used” as is the case e.g. with textbooks in geography).

Moreover, what has been discussed so far may be referred to as “language texts”, i.e. text produced only with language elements. There are, however, texts that combine two or more semiotic codes. The most obvious example is a *map*, which may be called a *polysemiotic text* in the sense that it is “articulated” not only and even not primarily with language elements but with signs that belong to different semiotic types: symbols and icons.⁴⁾

Several “layers” of a map are combined with each other to produce a rather complicated semiotics: an element of the “linguistic” layer (i.e. a toponym) placed next to an element of the “symbolic” layer (e.g. a star standing for a capital city) denotes that the city bears the given name. Even the placement of letters constituting a name together with the used font may convey meaning: the placement of the letters stands for the range of the geographical feature bearing the given name whereas the used font stands for the type of the named object (e.g. a name written in green denotes that it is a name of a forest).

3.2 Usus

In the works of Polish normative linguists (e.g. MARKOWSKI 2009, p. 21) the language *usus* is defined with the Polish word *zwyczaj*, which means both *custom* and *habit*. I will stick to the *habitual* understanding of language *usus*. However, the *usus* itself needs to be defined not as a *habit* but rather as a set of language elements (including geographical names) that are consistently and repeatedly used by language users in the texts they produce. This consistent and repeated use of a given word/name or its variants may be either deliberate and conscious or unintentional and unconscious.

The *toponymic usus* is a set of geographical names (or their variants) a single language user or a group of language users use consistently and repeatedly in texts they produce. For instance: a (native or non-native) user of the German language may intentionally (for various reasons) or unintentionally always speak of *Bozen* (instead of *Bolzano*). And this repeated and consistent usage may be done in a perfectly automatic manner, i.e. unconsciously and with absolutely no intention to manifest anything. This is simply the name

⁴⁾ In semiotics a **symbol** is defined as a sign bearing no similarity to the object it stands for whereas an **icon** is defined as a sign resembling the object it stands for.

(variant) they are used to and the only variant covered by the toponymic usus of the German language. It is the toponymic usus of various languages that makes exonyms and traditional names⁵⁾ so durable.

A regular and consistent use of a given language element may be determined by the fact that this element (e.g. a toponym) is considered (by an individual language user or by his/her milieu) to be correct. Nevertheless, this is not always the case. The issue of correctness may be completely irrelevant for the regular usage of a given language element.

3.3 Norm

At this point I proceed to the central concept of normative linguistics: the language norm.

It needs to be stated clearly that the modern linguistic concept of language norm does not have much in common with prescription. The language norm is not an arbitrarily predefined set of correct language elements, which one must use in order to speak and write correctly. Just the opposite: the language norm is (somewhat vaguely) defined as a set of language elements approved by language users and perceived by them as correct:

“Norm is a set of language elements approved by a given society. [...] This approval is expressed in the social custom to use specific language elements, i.e. in the language usus.” (KURKOWSKA 1986, p. 18; quotation translated by W.W.)

This definition was later elaborated by A. MARKOWSKI, who defines the language norm as:

“a set of these language elements (i.e. a set of words, their forms, and combinations together with the inventory of the ways they are created, combined, pronounced, and spelled) which in some period of time are perceived as exemplary, correct or at least acceptable by a specific community (most often by the whole society and primarily by its educated classes).” (MARKOWSKI 2009, p. 21; quotation translated by W.W.)

Thus, moulding the language norm is not about prescribing the only correct language elements that need to be used if one aims to speak and write correctly but about shaping the societal approval of language elements. From this point of view the influence geographers and cartographers have over the societal assessment of geographical names is quite extensive.

This understanding of language norm is, however, implicitly one-dimensional in the sense that it assumes that a whole society or all users of a given language constitute only one single communicative community within which language elements are to be assessed.

However, as it is clearly explained in the above discussed theory of linguistic storage, in the case of geographical names the hierarchy of communities within which language elements are assessed (as normative or non-normative) is much more complicated. Moreover, there may be differences in the use of geographical names between communicative

⁵⁾ As defined by the “United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names” (UNGEGN), a **traditional name** is “an exonym in relatively widespread use by a particular linguistic community and usually found in its tradition and literature” (Glossary of Terms ... 2002, p. 19).

communities corresponding with different storage ranges: a name of a village may be spelled or pronounced in a different way by the local community of a given locality (range II) and in the standard language of the whole nation/country (range VI), whereas the members of the former community are members of the latter.

Hence the general linguistic concept of language norm needs to be elaborated and transformed into what may be referred to as *toponymic norm*. The toponymic norm of a given language may be defined as a set of geographical names that are perceived as correct or at least acceptable by all communicative communities of that language. Of course, in most cases geographical names in a given language belong to the toponymic norm of that language (unless it is characterised by a great dialectal diversity and a limited use of standard language in everyday use).

3.4 Codification

If the language norm is a dynamic set of elements which is defined by (changeable) positive social assessment, the linguistic codification is often compared to a (static) photo of the norm. Thus, a dictionary, being a document of language codification, is expected not to prescribe what is correct and what is incorrect but to be merely a picture of the existent language norm.

The clear theoretical separation of language codification and language norm is one of the most important achievements of the Prague Linguistic Circle (KURKOWSKA 1986, pp. 67–68).

In the Polish School of Normative Linguistics the concept was popularised (see MARKOWSKI 2009, p. 60) mainly by D. BUTTLER, who defined codification as:

“a complex of actions aimed at sustaining the specific character and integrity of national language, at elimination of elements that disturb the language’s internal harmony and balance, as well as at promoting these elements which are especially effective from the communicative point of view and constitute a response to social needs.” (BUTTLER 1985b, p. 14; quoted in MARKOWSKI 2009, p. 60; quotation translated by W.W.)

Like in the case of a general linguistic concept of norm, the concept of codification needs to be modified before it may be applied to geographical names. The concept of toponymic codification needs to be much more internally diverse than the general concept of linguistic codification. This results mainly from the fact that geographical names (unlike most words and expressions in natural languages) are subject to legal/political decisions and changes.

3.5 Mutual relations of texts, usus, norm, and codification

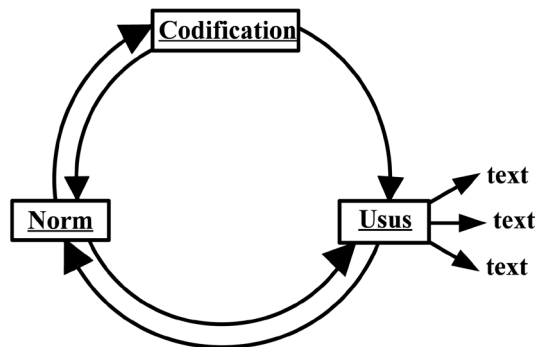
Summing up what has been already stated:

- A *text* is a product of using language elements which are combined together in order to constitute a meaningful entirety;

- the *language usus* is a set of language elements that are habitually, consistently, and repeatedly used by language users in various texts they produce;
- texts and usus are, therefore, not the same thing; one could say that the usual status (i.e. belonging to the usus) of a given language element (e.g. a geographical name) manifests itself in regular presence of this element in various texts;
- the *language norm* is a set of geographical names that are perceived as correct or at least acceptable by a society (or by all communicative communities within the whole communicative community of a given language);
- the *language codification* is a static picture of the norm; this picture may take the form of dictionaries, grammar books etc.

What is codified in dictionaries and grammar books may influence both what people consider correct and what they consistently use in the texts they produce. What people consider correct gets codified and is used in texts. And what is often and repeatedly used by (many) language users in many different texts is perceived as normal and normative. The mutual influences of usus, norm, and codification could be presented (in a slightly simplified manner) with the following graphic (see Fig. 1).

Of course, the language usus is an abstraction. What is observable is the repeated presence of a given element in various texts. So, the norm is *de facto* moulded by the texts which are a manifestation of the usus.



Source: Own design

Figure 1: Mutual influences of texts, norm, and codification

4 Peculiarities of toponymic usus, toponymic norm, and toponymic codification

In this section I take further steps: I proceed from the general linguistic concepts towards specific toponomastic concepts designed here in order to explain phenomena characteristic of geographical names.

4.1 Toponymic usus⁶⁾

As stated above, the *toponymic usus* is a set of geographical names (or their variants) a single language user or a group of language users use consistently and repeatedly in texts they produce. The mentioned “group of language users” may be defined in spatial terms, just like L. ZABROCKI does (cf. Section 2). Nevertheless, these “groups” may be defined by completely different sets of (e.g. sociological) criteria as well.

A complex of various criteria makes it possible to list at least several subtypes of toponymic usus: professional, official/public, private, and cartographic. The same person may consistently use more than one variant of a toponym – depending on the context in which the name is used: in his/her professional or public usus a toponym may be used in a state-standardised form, whereas in private conversations the person sticks to an unofficial variant of the name.

The *professional toponymic usus* is typical of people who professionally use language, i.e. editors, translators, (well trained) journalists. In a slightly different sense the geographical names used by geographers as scientific terms constitute another subtype of professional toponymic usus.

The *official/public toponymic usus* is to be found in texts produced by authorities and public persons in various types of official and legal documents or spoken texts. Of course, the group of language users who represent this type of usus is defined by the (professional) need to produce such texts.

The *private toponymic usus* may be found in texts produced by private citizens, especially within the local communicative community. It may be extremely diverse due to other factors but it is free from any legal/official constraints typical for official or public toponymic usus. The private toponymic usus is prone to the spatial distribution of language users (partially in the sense of L. ZABROCKI’s theory). Hence, the private usus may be local or supralocal. In the case of language communities with strong internal dialectal differences the private usus often comprises regular usage of toponym variants bearing typical dialectal properties.

Finally, the *cartographic toponymic usus* is a special mixture of the professional and official usus defined by the special type of texts in which it is manifested, namely maps.

4.2 Toponymic norm

The *toponymic norm* of a given language has been already defined as a set of geographical names that are perceived as correct or at least acceptable by all communicative communities of a given language.

⁶⁾ The *theory of toponymic usus* comprising the mechanisms and factors moulding the use of geographical names has been proposed in the author’s PhD dissertation *Uzus toponimiczny. Zarys problematyki teoretycznej (na podstawie polskiej toponimii Huculszczyzny [Toponymic usus. An outline of theory (on the basis of the Polish toponymy of the Hutsul region)]* and concisely discussed in a separate paper (WŁOSKOWICZ 2019).

However, names stored in lower ranges of linguistic storage, i.e. names used and known only among smaller local communicative communities, are not familiar to the members of greater supralocal communities who may have never heard of them. Hence the question: may a name of a field or a pasture belong to the toponymic norm, if it is familiar only to the local community and completely unfamiliar to greater communities, who cannot either accept it or disapprove of it?

The answer would be: yes – but the “active” category of approval needs to be replaced with the “passive” category of the lack of objections. As long as a toponym is used and known only in a small local community (which is the case with many toponyms that have never been written down, i.e. transferred from the internal to the external linguistic storage) and is accepted by this community in the sense that the community raises no objections to it – the toponym is perfectly normative. Problems may occur when a surveyor comes and the name is finally brought to a much greater communicative community e.g. by means of a map. For various reasons the supralocal community may prefer a different form of the toponym and so a discrepancy emerges between what is accepted and used locally and supralocally; this may have been sometimes caused by surveyors mis-recording names in local languages unfamiliar to them (cf. Section 8.3).

Another important theoretical issue is the internal diversification of the language norm defined by its relation to the codification. Generally speaking, in the Polish theory of normative linguistics the norm is sometimes divided into *codified language norm* and *natural language norm*.⁷⁾

As stated above, the norm is dynamic. What is normative (i.e. commonly accepted) depends on changeable societal approval. The codification is always, so to say, several steps behind the norm. There are language elements that have already gained full acceptance of language users (and hence belong to the natural language norm), but have not been fixed in dictionaries or grammar books yet (and hence do not belong to the codified language norm). And the other way round: there are some obsolete language elements present in dictionaries or grammar books (that belong to the codified language norm), but are getting more and more old-fashioned and strange for language users (i.e. are leaving the natural and codified language norm) and will probably be not present in newer editions of the mentioned linguistic works.

E.g. the Polish language used to have its exonyms *Solnogród* and *Celowiec* for the Austrian cities of Salzburg and Klagenfurt am Wörthersee but nowadays only the use of the German endonymic forms is common in Polish and the obsolete exonymic forms would be probably strange to most of native speakers of Polish. And the other way round: in the early 20th century the oikonym *New York* was common and seems to have been accepted in Polish but nowadays only the exonym *Nowy Jork* is commonly approved as correct.

The division into natural and codified norm does apply to the toponymic norm as well. The natural and codified norm do not constitute an opposition. Generally speaking, the codified toponymic norm is included within the natural toponymic norm.

⁷⁾ The distinction between the non-codified “real” or “natural” norm and the codified norm has been introduced by BUTTLER (1985a and 1986).

The *non-codified part of natural toponymic norm* covers mainly toponyms used in small local communities, i.e. mainly names stored in lower ranges and in internal linguistic storage.

The norm (including the codified norm) and the codification are two separate things. It may occur, and in case of geographical names it does occur relatively often, that the toponymic codification is at variance with the natural toponymic norm. Due to the fact that the codification itself moulds the norm a toponym codified in a different form than the form used locally may result in a discrepancy between what is generally accepted by the local and by the supralocal community.

4.3 Toponymic codification

As stated above, geographical names are subject to political, legal or administrative decisions. Even the concept of standardisation of geographical names comprises some elements of decision-making and power over toponyms and their forms. The toponymic codification is, therefore, internally diverse: some subtypes of toponymic codification are of a descriptive nature whereas other bear elements of prescription. The four main types of codification of geographical names that I propose here are:

- 1) official codification,
- 2) linguistic codification,
- 3) textual codification,
- 4) cartographic codification.

The *official codification* covers all aspects of official toponymic decision-making done by state or local authorities. Of course, the nature of this legal and administrative codification depends strictly on the law and on the rules concerning the way toponyms are collected, standardised, and established in a given country. Therefore, the very mechanisms of official codification may vary between states or even depend on the type of the named object. E.g. in Poland the names of localities and names of physiographic features are legally decided by acts issued by the Minister of the Interior whereas names of streets are established by acts passed by local authorities.

The official codification is the most important element and instrument of a country's toponymic policy and in some respect an important element of a state's language policy and minority policy. It reflects the administrative tradition and the administrative culture of a given country as well (cf. e.g. nowadays decentralised toponymic naming procedures in the German speaking countries). Thus, the official toponymic codification may be based mostly on the local toponymic *usus* and the natural toponymic norm (in democracies with a strong attachment to local self-governing or autonomy) or on the decisions made by a central political power irrespective of the local toponym use.

The *linguistic codification* of toponyms is done by onomasticians, dialectologists, lexicographers etc. It is the type of toponymic codification closest to the original general linguistic concept of codification of language elements (as discussed in Section 3.4). The linguistic codification has the form of toponomastic and etymological dictionaries, etymological or di-

alectological monographs etc. It is mostly of descriptive nature, though some exceptions constituted by partially prescriptive dictionaries of geographical names are to be found as well.

The *textual codification* may be defined as the presence of a given toponym in some kind of texts, e.g. in an encyclopaedia, a geography textbook or scientific publications by geographers. Generally speaking, the textual codification takes place in texts perceived by the general public as somehow prestigious, correct or even normative. Most language users would accept the toponym form present in an encyclopaedia, especially as a title of an entry, and consequently use it. The textual codification is the most important sphere in which geographers' influence on toponyms takes place.

Finally, the *cartographic codification* is done by means of placing specific toponymic forms on maps. Of course, the cartographic codification is nothing but a special subtype of the textual codification. Nevertheless, the polysemiotic (cf. Section 3.1) character of a map makes it an extremely powerful instrument of dissemination of both toponym forms and toponym "locations" which is why the cartographic codification shall be listed here as a separate type of codification.

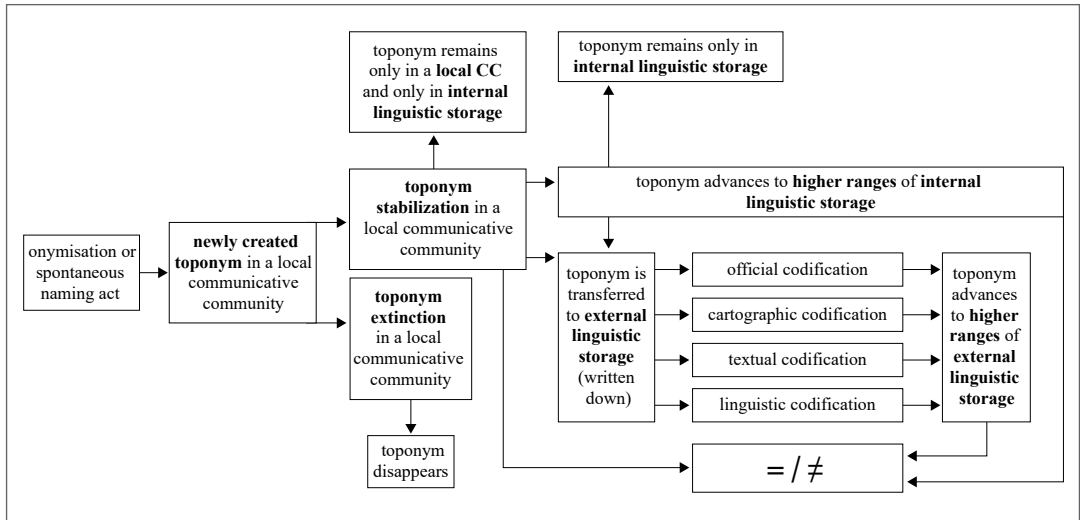
Just like in the case of dictionaries (where many words are simply rewritten from previous dictionaries) toponymy of many maps has been simply copied from already existing cartographic works. Moreover, in Europe in most cases the basic cartographic codification of geographical names was completed in the late 19th or in the early 20th century in the sense that most toponyms (which existed then) were collected by surveyors and placed on topographic maps. A good example is the Third Military Survey of Austria-Hungary which provided the core toponymic source for many cartographic enterprises of national states (re)established in 1918.

It may be assumed that until the beginning of the 20th century the state-organised collection and standardisation of geographical names (in a form of official name registers) had been limited only to names of localities. Names of other physiographic features were codified only or mainly on maps. This changed during the 20th century. E.g. the Polish National Register of Geographical Names (*Państwowy Rejestr Nazw Geograficznych*) comprises now more than 138,000 geographical names of features other than localities. The Register is now a very important source of toponymy used on maps. However, many entries in the Register are based on maps, which is why one could speak of a reciprocal relation between toponym registers and cartography. As the Register is partially based on legal acts establishing official names, the cartographic codification is to a certain extent combined with and determined by the official codification. The facts outlined in this paragraph draw our attention to another issue, namely to the question of the source of toponymy on maps (cf. Section 8.2).

5 Toponomastic model of dissemination of geographical names

In the following I outline a general model of dissemination of geographical names. The proposed model (see Fig. 2) does apply, so to say, to the "natural" or "spontaneous" crea-

tion of toponyms, i.e. to the naming process that had been typical before the administrative procedures of establishing geographical names were created.



Source: Own design

Figure 2: Model of dissemination of geographical names

Many geographical names came into being by means of the process of *onymisation*, which consists of a common noun becoming a proper name with no or with minor formal changes. If the general public is not able to recognise original common nouns in geographical names, it is mainly because these common nouns had left the language centuries ago. Many common nouns serving as the starting point for onymisation were (often dialectal) topographic expressions for various types of geographical features. E.g. all the Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian mountain name forms *Menczył*, *Munczel*, *Munczel*, *Minczol*, *Menczil*, *Menczol*, *Menčul*, *Менчул*, *Мунчел*, *Манчул* etc. come from the Vlach common noun meaning ‘hill’ or ‘hillock’. In order to provide an example coming entirely from one language one could state that hardly any native speaker of Polish would possibly associate the name *Stegny* (a neighbourhood in Warsaw) with the singular form of the old-Polish common noun *stegna* meaning ‘cattle path/way’.

Another way toponyms came and come into being is a *spontaneous naming act*, when the name is “given” by the sheer fact of using it for the first time and re-using it by members of a given (mainly local) communicative community. Again, elements already available in a given language are most often used in such situations. Some word or name formation patterns may be used as well, e.g. when a toponym is created by adding a suffix to a personal name.

Once a name is given to a geographical feature, the stage of *toponym stabilisation or extinction* follows. The name may turn out to be of a long-lasting or ephemeral nature.

Of course, this is influenced by many non-linguistic factors, such as the durability of the named feature and its importance for the communicative community.

Some *stabilised toponyms* are known and used only by local communicative communities and are never fixed in a written form. This applies especially to names of features strictly connected with farming and agricultural use of land: minor geographical features or parts of land useful from the point of view of farmers or shepherds are conceptualised and then these concepts are named. As many such toponyms are of no importance to supralocal communities, they are seldom written down (i.e. transferred to the external linguistic storage). It may happen, however, and in fact it did happen very often in the past, that such names of objects important for a local community were “shifted” onto other adjacent geographical features important from the point of view of representatives of supralocal communities (e.g. a name of an alpine pasture was moved by a military surveyor onto the peak of a mountain, on the slopes of which the pasture was located; see Section 6.3).

Nevertheless, many toponyms stabilised in local communities advance either to the higher ranges of internal storage or to the external linguistic storage. In other words, names of geographical features that turn out to be important to supralocal communities may become familiar to non-local people (but do not get written down) or may get written down directly “within” the local community or after they have advanced to the internal linguistic storage of supralocal communities.

A hypothetical example may be used here. The most convenient way to some vast alpine pastures leads through a village in the upper end of a valley. We shall call the village *Oberstdorf*. The village expands and a new hamlet gets located above it, just by the trail to the pastures. Let us call the hypothetical hamlet *Oberstweiler*. The oikonym *Oberstweiler* is created and stabilised in the local community of Oberstdorf first. It is used only in spoken communication. However, due to the fact that the trail to the pastures is used not only by shepherds from Oberstdorf but by shepherds from many other villages as well and Oberstweiler is a very convenient place to have a rest, the toponym *Oberstweiler* advances to higher ranges of internal linguistic storage. And then a surveyor comes who notes down the name of the hamlet and hence transfers it to the external linguistic storage which will finally take the form of a topographic map available to everybody.

The village of Oberstdorf, however, expands in other “directions” as well. Another hamlet is created in an out-of-the-way place somewhere in a precipitous ravine. Let us call it *Abseitsweiler*. The place is of absolutely no interest for inhabitants of other villages. Even the local people of Oberstdorf do not get there often. The name *Abseitsweiler* is familiar only to the local community of Oberstdorf and is used only in spoken communication. And then a surveyor comes and transfers the name only known to a local community onto a map.

A toponym may advance either from the internal to the external storage and/or from a smaller community (storage range) to a larger one. These “threshold moments” make a toponym vulnerable to various modifications. If the original toponym was created in a dialect and the larger community speaks standard language or a different dialect, then changes to the toponym pronunciation and form are possible. The same applies to the situation in which a surveyor notes down a locally used name which is meant to be placed on a map and intentionally or unintentionally modifies the name in any way.

It is the possibility of *toponym modifications* done during codification that is of the greatest importance from the perspective of the role which geographers and cartographers play in the dissemination of geographical names. Any changes (or mere mistakes) made at the moment of transferring a locally used toponym to the external linguistic storage (i.e. writing toponyms down) may result in a discrepancy between the form (and actual meaning) of toponyms used by the local community and by supralocal communicative communities. Such discrepancies put the original local toponymic usus under the pressure of the usus of supralocal communities (see Section 8.3).

As stated at the beginning of this Section, the discussed model applies to the natural or spontaneous creation of toponyms, i.e. to toponyms that have not been first created/established by means of an administrative decision or a legal act. Hence, I proceed now to the names introduced “from outside” and “from above”.

6 Toponyms established “from above” and “from outside”

In this section I draw attention to several types of “artificial” geographical names, i.e. toponyms which did not come into being as a result of natural/spontaneous naming processes and as a response to the real toponymic needs of local communicative communities. Such artificial names may have three major causes: scientific, political/administrative, and cognitive, which all – to a certain extent – correspond with various types of toponymic codification.

6.1 Scientific concepts of geographical features. Toponymy as geographical terminology

The scientific geographical conceptualisation of geographical features is of different nature from the common conceptualisation of most toponymy users. Geographers stick to scientific criteria in the way they conduct the conceptual segmentation of the Earth. Concepts of individual geographical features (e.g. continents or mesoregions) are constructed, delimited, and defined on the basis of already established geographical, geomorphological categories etc. This scientific rigour is often not known and not observed by the general public. Hence, the projection of the objective material reality onto the conceptual plane may be done in a different way by laypeople on the one hand and by geographers and cartographers on the other hand. In fact, it is a part of a more general discrepancy between the common “obvious” knowledge and the scientific “precise” knowledge.

Geographers need to delimit (and name) various geographical areal units, which have never been conceptualised by traditional communicative communities. For the shepherd communities using pastures of *Campo Imperatore* in Italy there was absolutely no need to create the individual geographical concept of the Central Apennines. Such a concept is useful in scientific description of land and its major geomorphological characteristics but is often based on criteria which are completely irrelevant for the local population.

The scientific geographical concepts of individual features (of various types and sizes) are constructed in a different (and often much more precise) way than the common sense non-scientific concepts of those features. Generally speaking, the geographical method of creating concepts of regions (based on a classification consisting of physiographic divisions, physiographic provinces, physiographic sections etc.) often leads to discrepancies in the meanings of choronyms in a geographical and common-language sense. It may be assumed that the (spatial and not merely cultural) concept of Europe is constructed by the general public in a different way than it is by geographers.⁸⁾ And in the case of the newest classification of physico-geographical mesoregions of Poland (SOLON et al. 2018) what is delimited, conceptualised and referred to as *522.12 Bieszczady Mts* does not match much with the common-language understanding of the name *Bieszczady* in the Polish language.

The precise nature and the criteria-based delimitation of geographical concepts of individual geographical features make it possible that some *geographical names* used by geographers may be classified as *scientific terms*. Hence, the “geographical” (as opposed to the “common-language”) toponymy may be perceived as terminology which applies mainly to the type of names and features discussed in the previous paragraph.

Finally, in order to combine the present statements with the linguistic concepts discussed and proposed above, it needs to be explained that the precise geographical concepts of individual geographical features are not named in a typical “naming act” (as discussed in Section 5) but rather by means of what has been discussed as the *textual codification* in Section 4.3.

To put it clearly: geographers create the “geographical” toponyms by using them in their scientific works or simply by listing them besides a map as SOLON et al. (2018) do in their paper. Generally speaking, some names given to scientific geographical concepts by means of textual codification may be classified as *names established from above* if such naming does not take into account the names used by local communities.

6.2 Name and naming policy

The toponymic naming policies designed and carried out by (state or local) authorities provide many examples of geographical *names established from outside* the local communicative communities. In this case the spontaneous naming act is replaced (mostly) by an act of *official codification*. It means that a toponym comes into being already within the external linguistic storage as it is used in a specific law or other act establishing it as a (new) official name.

Of course, the *toponymic name and naming policy* is a much more complex and extensive issue, which cannot be even outlined here in its totality. Nevertheless, what I would like to stress is the fact that many toponyms established from outside local communicative communities are *renominations* resulting from a state’s language, cultural or administrative policy. Examples may be numerous and diverse: colony names

⁸⁾ One may wonder, how many non-geographers think of the Ural Mountains while thinking about Europe.

established by colonial powers, locality name changes introduced by central authorities (especially common in authoritarian regimes) or even street names (if they are not chosen by the inhabitants of a given street but by a local authorities such as town council etc.).

The newly created or established names introduced by means of official codification may remain completely unfamiliar to the local population and therefore not used by it. In order to get disseminated the new toponyms need to be present in many texts and inscriptions that may influence the common toponymic usus (cf. Fig. 1). Among such texts maps play a very important role.

6.3 Name translocations

A special kind of *toponyms established from outside* is constituted by *translocated names*, i.e. names transferred from a geographical feature selected and conceptualised by a local communicative community onto a geographical feature selected and conceptualised by a representative of supralocal communities. In most cases this concerned surveyors who sometimes “shifted” locally established toponyms (mostly names of pastures, hamlets or forests) onto other adjacent geographical features (mainly on originally nameless summits/peaks).

The fact of “shifting” names of other types of features onto summits and peaks has a good linguistic and empirical evidence based on the comparison of summit names with names of other types of objects as well as with the etymology of these expressions. This mechanism seems to be universal and has been well documented and explained in S. HRABEC’S monograph on the geographical names of the Hutsul region (in the present-day Ukrainian Carpathians):

“[...] one should not suppose, though, that people gave names to summits while naming mountains. If a name is of a popular origin (i.e. it has been spontaneously given and not created by geographers or summer holidaymakers), then it refers either to a mountain ridge as a divide, land boundary against a neighbouring village or even neighbouring state or to a piece of land (farmland, hayfield, alpine meadow/pasture, forest) located on a mountain (or on its ridge or slope). Summits are of no economical value for the people [i.e. local inhabitants – W.W.], which is why there is no need to name them. It is only administrative officials, geographers, tourists, and summer holidaymakers that have moved names of ridges and names of land plots onto mountain summits.” (HRABEC 1950, p. 122; quotation translated from Polish by W.W.)

“[...] mountain names are not names of peaks but names of pieces of land located on a mountain’s ridge or slope; many mountain names are identical [or very similar – W.W.] to independent names of land plots (i.e. names of fields, forests, alpine meadows, hayfields etc.) which are present in the toponymic material I have collected.” (HRABEC 1950, p. 163; quotation translated from Polish by W.W.)

HRABEC, however, does not mention another important group of possible “name shifters”, namely military surveyors, who sometimes had to find names for – in fact – nameless features.⁹⁾

7 Mutual influences of various types of toponymic codification, usus, norm, and texts

The generalised model (see Fig. 1) may be now elaborated so that it takes into account the mutual influences of various types of toponymic codification, usus, norm, and texts. As it has been already mentioned, the toponymic usus is an abstraction based on the regular presence of specific toponyms in specific types of texts produced and disseminated in specific contexts and in a specific way. Moreover, what needs to be underlined here is the fact that Figure 1 shows the relations between *general linguistic* usus, norm, and codification. In the case of specific *toponomastic concepts* of usus, norm, and codification the influences between toponymic codification and toponymic usus are a bidirectional process (i.e. the toponymic usus may directly influence the toponymic codification or at least some subtypes of it).

In order to present the discussed relations in a clearer way, the triple model (Fig. 1) shall be divided here into smaller sections:

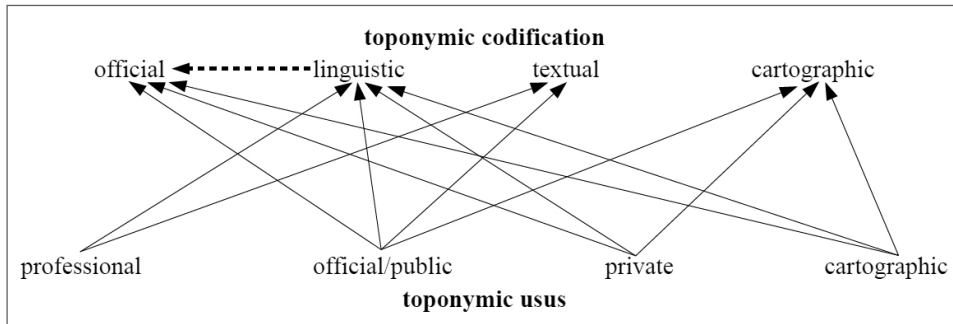
- 1) toponymic usus ↔ toponymic codification
- 2) toponymic usus ↔ toponymic norm
- 3) toponymic norm ↔ toponymic codification

I shall stress here one thing: Although some researchers from Humanities and Social Sciences are very keen on graphics and diagrams, these should not be meant to be as precise as they are in the Physical Sciences and Engineering. The figures included hereinafter are, therefore, only an *approximation* of the most common tendencies or influences and not algorithms.

7.1 Toponymic usus ↔ toponymic codification

Generally speaking, the mutual relations between the toponymic usus and the toponymic codification are about the bidirectional process of: 1) shaping the toponym use by what is established/listed/used as official or correct geographical names as well as 2) moulding the legally/textually/cartographically established toponymy by what is present in common use in specific types of texts. The most important and productive mutual influences between the toponymic usus and codification are shown in Figure 3 and 4.

⁹⁾ Name shifting is a universal phenomenon; e.g. Franz WALDMANN (1940, p. 157) gives several examples from a map of the surroundings of the Mount Hoher Sonnblick in Austria and points out that even the oronym *Rax* (a mountain in the Lower Austrian Alps) comes from the name ‘*die Raxen*’ referring to a part of land at the foot of the mountain. I owe this example and the piece of bibliographic advice to one of the Reviewers.



Source: Own design

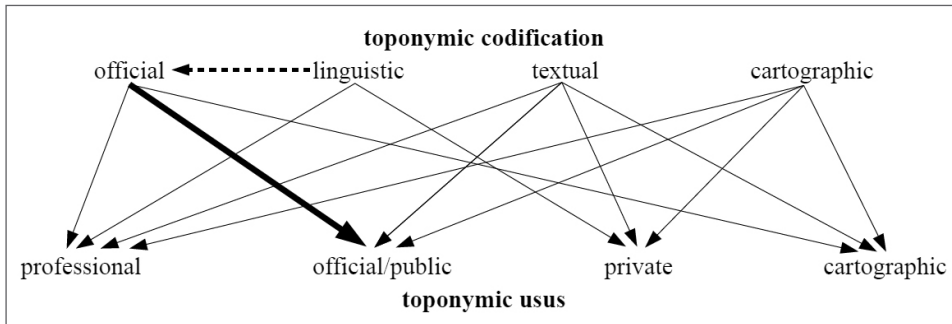
Figure 3: The influences of various subtypes of toponymic usus on various subtypes of toponymic codification

As explained in Section 5, in the case of natural (i.e. non-administrative) naming acts it is the private toponymic usus (of a local communicative community) that marks the beginning of a toponym's career. A geographical name stabilised in a local community may get codified e.g. by a surveyor (collecting materials for a prospective map) or by a linguist (mainly dialectologist). It may (in most cases in an indirect way) advance to the official codification (resulting mainly from the work done by a surveyor). The toponyms present on many maps (and hence constituting the cartographic usus) influence subsequent maps (generally, a great part of the history of cartography is about copying previous maps' toponymy) and name choices of authorities.

Of course, maps are often used as a source of material in linguistic toponomastic research as well. Although there is no arrow placed in Figure 3 for this kind of influence, the cartographic usus may in some cases influence the textual codification as well: a toponym present on many maps may get included e.g. in an encyclopedia or a geography textbook. What is often used in official or public texts may get codified in law (acts on official names), in dictionaries, in encyclopaedias and textbooks as well as on maps.

Finally, geographical names present in well written and well edited texts prepared by professionals (editors, translators, well trained journalists) often get fixed in dictionaries and in textbooks; there is no arrow to indicate this in Figure 3 but in some cases specific professional texts (especially the ones produced by geographers) may influence the cartographic codification. As stated above, the influences between toponymic codification and toponymic usus are a bidirectional process; the codification moulds the usus as well (see Fig. 4).

The official codification has a direct impact on the official usus: in public texts the officially established toponyms and exonyms have to be used – e.g. Polish state institutions are obliged to use Polish exonyms standardised by the “Commission on Standardisation of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland” (*Komisja Standaryzacji Nazw Geograficznych poza Granicami Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*). The laws concerning geographical names are not commonly familiar to the general public, which is why the official



Source: Own design

Figure 4: The influences of various subtypes of toponymic codification on various subtypes of toponymic usus

codification does not seem to have a great direct impact on private usus. Nevertheless, it does influence texts prepared by professionals (e.g. well edited books) and – which is of the greatest importance – it has often a considerable impact on the names used on maps.

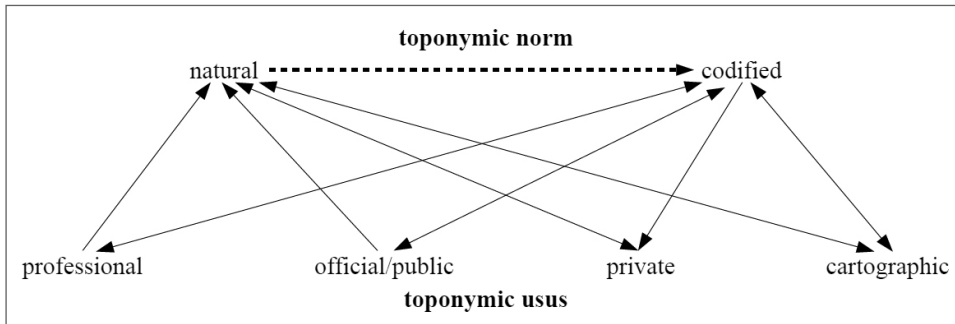
The official codification, however, is sometimes (depending on how the toponym management is organised in a given country) influenced by the linguistic codification (linguists are usually members of various toponymic boards). The linguistic codification (e.g. dictionaries) influences name choices of professional language users and – to a certain extent – of the general public (if it consults dictionaries and other linguistic publications). The sheer presence of a specific toponym in an encyclopaedia or a scientific publication in geography may influence all types of usus. The same applies to the presence of a geographical name on a map.

7.2 Toponymic usus ↔ toponymic norm

The mutual relations between the toponymic usus and the toponymic norm (see Section 3.3 and 4.2) are about: 1) the impact the actually used geographical names have on what is considered “correct” and 2) the influence of what is considered to be “correct toponymy” on the actual use of geographical names (see Fig. 5).

In the natural toponymic processes (i.e. in the case of toponym creation and dissemination free of any changes or influences “from outside” or “from above” the communicative community) the most important and, so to say, the core relation is the relation between the *private toponymic usus* (of a local communicative community or supralocal CCs in any way attached to the named object) and the *natural toponymic norm* (which is – or at least should be – the basis for the norm codified by means of specific subtypes of codification; this is indicated by the dotted arrow in Fig. 5).

The natural toponymic norm is prone to influences of all subtypes of toponymic usus. In other words: the geographical names that regularly appear in texts (in most cases) gain



Source: Own design

Figure 5: The mutual influences of toponymic norm and toponymic usus

acceptance and so they get normative (i.e. advance to the natural norm). It is a part of a much broader linguistic phenomenon: if a linguistic element (e.g. a new word) becomes frequent in many texts that language users are faced with, the element may gain acceptance (this would be probably a special linguistic instance of the general psychological phenomenon called *mere-exposure effect*). Of course, this mechanism shows a limited productivity in many cases of names imposed by invaders etc.

However, in most cases the impact of the natural norm on the toponymic usus seems to be limited to the private usus (mainly of the local community) and to the cartographic usus (toponyms fixed by surveyors). Nevertheless, local officials are members of local communities, which is why some (local) public texts may be prone to the influences of the local natural toponymic norm (which is not indicated by an arrow in Fig. 5).

As stated above, the toponymic codification is a complex category covering several subtypes of codification. This is why the general category of *codified norm* is not a monolith either: various subtypes of toponymic usus may have various impact on specific areas of codified toponymic norm (and these various areas of codified norm are to a certain extent determined by various subtypes of codification).

The mechanisms discussed above and shown in Figure 4 and 5 may be illustrated here with an example of official renaming of a locality, which finally led to the common use of the new oikonym by the general public.

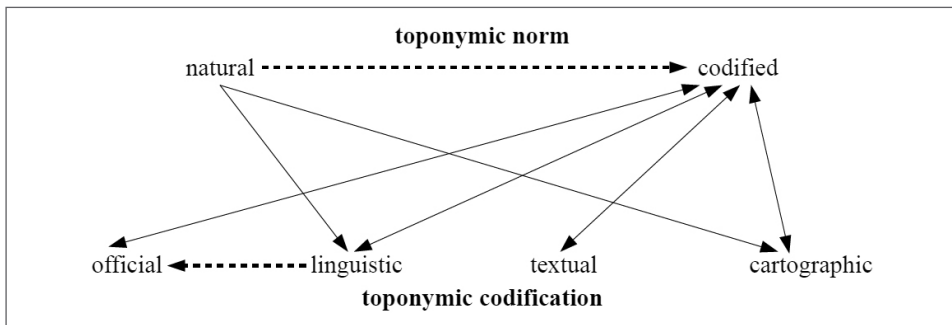
In 1962 a name of a large village (48° 9' 6" N, 24° 48' 49" E) in the Ukrainian Carpathians was changed by the Soviet authorities from *Жаб'є* (*Zhabye*) into *Верховина* (*Verkhovyna*). This official renomination was a legal act belonging to the *official codification*. Although the traditional (several centuries old) name *Жаб'є* was still present in the private toponymic usus (especially of the local community), the official codification influenced directly the *official usus* (as well as the *cartographic* one). It means that the new name *Верховина* gradually became ubiquitous in official documents and other public texts (including names of post office, bus stops, bus schedules, road signs) and on maps.

The importance of maps is limited in the case of a local community but the toponyms present in public texts may have a great impact on the *natural toponymic norm* (i.e. on

what is believed to be a “correct” toponym). Of course, there must have been a tension between the new official codification (*Верховина*) and the traditional toponymic norm (*Жаб’є*) but this tension was gradually reduced by the new (official) usus the local community was faced with. Eventually, the new name gained acceptance (i.e. advanced to the *natural toponymic norm*) and hence became more and more frequent in texts produced by members of the local communicative community, which means that it entered the (local) *private toponymic usus*.

7.3 Toponymic norm ↔ toponymic codification

Another set of relations exists between what is normative (natural/codified toponymic norm) and what is codified. Like in previous figures, only main tendencies are shown in Figure 6.



Source: Own design

Figure 6: The relations of toponymic norm and toponymic codification

The *toponymic codification* is something else than the *codified toponymic norm* (cf. Section 3.4). It could be stated that the codified norm is (or at least should be) the part of the natural norm which is covered by codification. Hence the four subtypes of toponymic codification only define the range of what is the codified norm but do not mould it (in Fig. 6 the arrows between codified norm and various subtypes of toponymic codification do not indicate mutual influences).

What the subtypes of toponymic codification may really influence is the *natural toponymic norm* (this influence is not indicated in Fig. 6 either). Of course, different subtypes of toponymic codification have various influence on what gains acceptance (i.e. enters the natural norm). In some cases the societal approval of specific toponyms may be moulded mostly by maps (i.e. by the cartographic codification), in other cases mostly by dictionaries (linguistic codification), by published texts, scientific geographical literature or gazetteers (textual codification) or legal acts (official codification). And the other way round: some subtypes of toponymic codification may be especially sensitive to the influ-

ence of the natural toponymic norm. What is accepted (mainly by local communicative communities) may strongly influence the linguistic and cartographic codification (see arrows in Fig. 6).

However, the toponymic codification may comprise toponyms which do not belong to the natural norm (which is the case with official name changes done “from outside” or “from above” the local communicative community). In the previous example (*Жаб’е / Верховина*) the newly codified toponym (*Верховина*) was present in the codification but did not belong to the natural or the codified norm (as it was new and not yet commonly accepted). It was only after some time that the newly codified (= codification) name gained acceptance (= natural norm) and so became a part of the codified norm.

8 Geographers and cartographers as toponym collectors, users, creators, and promoters

In the following I discuss the special and specific role of geographers and cartographers within the model of dissemination of geographical names (see Section 5) and within the model of normative assessment of toponym correctness (see Section 7). The description of the two groups of professionals needs to be done separately as their typical and most common “toponymic activities” are of partially different nature.

However, what needs to be underlined here is the fact that in the present paper I discuss the roles of geographer and cartographer in a very traditional sense typical of the era before the dawn of GIS and other digital approaches. And there is a good reason for that. Most toponyms all over the world seem to have been recorded (i.e. transferred to the external linguistic storage) before the middle of the 20th century when the duties of a surveyor, cartographer and geographer were separated more clearly. Nowadays many geographers are GIS users and mapmakers as well. However, when performing such tasks geographers (and cartographers) apparently often resort to already existing toponym data bases (the core content of which had been in fact collected by surveyors in the 19th century and then codified by cartographers or geographers).

8.1 Geographers

A general toponomastic characteristic of geographers as toponym users would comprise the following tendencies:

- 1) In most cases geographers acquire toponyms that have already advanced to higher ranges of internal linguistic storage and fix them in their writings (codify them textually) or use toponyms that have already been transferred to the external linguistic storage, e.g. by means of official or cartographic codification¹⁰⁾ (see Fig. 2);

¹⁰⁾ This does not mean that geographers do not undertake fieldwork and do not communicate directly with local communities.

- 2) it happens relatively often that only the form of a name is acquired by geographers but the very meaning (i.e. the concept of the named feature) is reshaped (cf. footnote 2). This is directly caused by specific naming needs of geographers (see Section 6.1);
- 3) some geographical names which are in fact scientific terms are completely new creations, which means that they are not a result of a natural/spontaneous naming act (by a local community). Thus, the career of a newly created toponym begins immediately at the stage of codification and in the external linguistic storage (see Fig. 2).

The role of geographers as name collectors, users, and creators has substantially changed over the centuries of the discipline's development.

A brilliant example of the situation 1) is to be found in "*The Geography*" by Claudius PTOLEMY.¹¹⁾ Being in fact mainly a kind of gazetteer, *The Geography* comprises several thousands of toponyms, which could not have been collected by Ptolemy himself. The geographical names he included in his *opus magnum* must have been already present in higher ranges of linguistic storage (i.e. known to supralocal communities). Most of them were surely codified textually as well (e.g. by MARINUS OF TYRE). As geographical expeditions are a (relatively) new type of empirical action and at least until the Renaissance most pieces of geographical information (not only toponyms) were surely collected by geographers indirectly (e.g. from travellers', sailors', and merchants' accounts) this position of geographers in the model of toponym dissemination was relatively constant.

As the Age of Exploration was over and the history of the scientific geography began, the need arose to create more and more precise geographical names. This applies especially to choronyms as names of territorial concepts such as physiographic divisions, provinces, and sections (see Section 6.1). This need has been sometimes satisfied by combining the existent toponym form with a new geographical (i.e. scientific) meaning.

A quite spectacular example of considerable meaning change done by geographers is constituted by the toponym *Beskid*¹²⁾ (plural form: *Beskidy*). The geographical distribution of the discussed expression and its meaning was described by the Polish linguist J. ROZWADOWSKI the following way:

"[Beskid – W.W.] is to be encountered almost along whole Carpathians as a name referring to lower peaks and mountain ridges as well as passes; moreover, in Silesia and among Ruthenians it is used as a common noun: in Silesia it means a pass, among Ruthenians (*beskedy, beskedyna*) it means mountains, rocks or mountain precipices." (ROZWADOWSKI 1914, p. 162; quotation translated by W.W.)¹³⁾

¹¹⁾ This work could be counted among cartographic works as well. Therefore, it is a geographical and cartographic borderline example. The work of PTOLEMY and the sources he used are well studied and described in the history of cartography and geography and thus I am not going to discuss it in detail as *The Geography* is mentioned here only as an example.

¹²⁾ The name is a typical carpathism, i.e. a toponym which has several variants in several languages of Carpathian nations, e.g. in Slovak *Beskyd* and in Ukrainian *Бескид*.

¹³⁾ According to ROZWADOWSKI (1914, p. 163) the name *Beskid* is of Germanic origin and corresponds with the Middle Low German expression *beschêt* and with the Scandinavian *besked*, both meaning 'division, separation'.

According to the linguist these were the natural (i.e. common language) meanings of *Beskid* and *Beskidy* in the lower ranges of linguistic storage in the early 20th century (cf. Section 2.2).

Nevertheless, the expression *Beskid* began its scientific career as a geographical term already in the beginning of the 19th century. It is used (in its plural form *Beskidy*) by Stanisław STASZIC (1815) in his work “*O ziemioródtwie Karpatów i innych gór i równin Polski*” [*On the Geology of the Carpathians and Other Mountains and Plains of Poland*].

In the book “*Rzut oka na północne stoki Karpat*” [*A Glance at the Northern Slopes of the Carpathians*] another famous Polish geographer Wincenty POL (1851, pp. 10–11) uses the name *Beskid* (still in the singular form) as a geographical term and a choronym for a physiographic entity. Interestingly enough, POL implies in his text a discrepancy between the natural and the scientific meaning of the name, when he states that:

“*Its [Beskid's – W.W.] highest peak in its western part is Babia Góra [...]. To the east of Babia Góra Beskid loses its name. In the area from [the town of] Sącz to [the town of] Wojnicz it is divided by the River Dunajec and from [the town of] Muszyna to the sources of the River Świca [a right tributary of the River Dniestr/Dniester] it is only the [Galician-Hungarian] border ridge that is referred to with the name Beskid.*” (POL 1851, p. 11; quotation translated by W.W., other toponyms have been rendered in their modern Polish forms)

The plural form (Polish *Beskidy*, German *Beskiten*) seems to have gained a strong position as a geographical term already in the third quarter of the 19th century. For instance, in the military academy (K.K. *Kriegsschule*) handbook “*Militär-Geographie. Galizien und das Westliche Russland*” by Ferdinand FIEDLER (1878, pp. 122–124) the description of the Carpathians (*Die Karpaten*) is divided into *die Beskiten*, *das karpatische Waldgebirge* and *Central-Karpaten*. *Die Beskiten* are then divided into *die westlichen Beskiten* (reaching from the pass above the village of Zwardoń to the sources of the River Raba) and *die östlichen Beskiten* (with the eastern end reaching the pass above the village of Tylicz). In the east the *Beskidy* bordered on *das karpatische Waldgebirge*.

It is typical of geographical territorial and physiographic concepts that their shape may differ depending on the used criteria. Therefore, the meaning of the geographical term *Beskidy* as well as the internal conceptual divisions of the concept of these mountains have varied over the 19–21th centuries. The general conclusion at this point would be, however, that the expressions *Beskid* and *Beskidy* used as geographical terms referred to a different or other concepts than the ones meant by the folk.

A considerable terminological disorder in the geographical names of Poland after the World War I forced Polish geographers gathered at the Geographical Convention (Kraków, 9–11 April 1922) to *standardise* main geographical names of Poland's physiographic objects and provinces that were meant to be used in the school education (SAWICKI 1922, p. 3).

The Convention collected names of regions and divisions found in various sources and ordered them into two main categories: 1) *folk names* referring either to great areas/territories or to very characteristic properties of a given landscape as well as names used

by local people,¹⁴⁾ and 2) *artificial bookish names* that perfectly corresponded with precise scientific divisions. What was underlined is the fact that “artificial names – though sometimes caused only by a temporary scientific need – tend to remain and last longer than it is really necessary from the point of view of scientific reasons” (SAWICKI 1922, p. 5; quotation translated by W.W.).

The three cases listed at the very beginning of this section may be reduced to two main scenarios: a) a naturally/spontaneously created toponym is codified by geographers in its original form and with its original reference or b) modifications are introduced or a toponym is a completely new creation.

In the case a) a toponym is codified textually by geographers, which leads to its increasing presence in texts (*professional usus*) (see Fig. 4). The textual codification by geographers may have impact on toponymy present on maps as well (*cartographic usus*). Generally, the transfer of a geographical name to the external linguistic storage (i.e. fixing it in a written form) together with its presence in an increasing number of texts brings it to higher supralocal communicative communities. In this scenario geographers act simply as disseminators and promoters of toponyms originating from local communicative communities. Normally no tensions or discrepancies arise in this scenario.

In the case b) some “artificial” toponymic elements (to stick to the expressions used in the work by SAWICKI) are introduced. The new toponym or its new meaning comes into being merely by means of codification. If a downwards dissemination is not provided in any way, the local communicative communities may be completely unaware of such “artificial” names of objects they are attached to in their everyday life and experience.

The general role of geographers as disseminators of (existing or newly created) toponyms may be described within the proposed models the following way. The textual codification made by geographers influences (to various extents) all subtypes of toponymic usus (see Fig. 4). The regular presence of a given toponym in (an increasing number of) texts influences the natural toponymic norm (i.e. a toponym gains acceptance, see Fig. 5). The presence of the toponym in the natural toponymic norm (together with its presence in the toponymic usus) may support its secondary transfer to the codified norm (by means of types of codification other than the geographical-textual codification). What is meant here is mainly the possible influence on the cartographic codification (see Section 8.2).

Textual codification is often coupled with the professional usus. As a result, the toponyms used and promoted by geographers appear in texts that are perceived as prestigious and somehow normative by the general public: if a toponym is used in a scientific geographic publication – then it must be correct, at least for some readers.¹⁵⁾

This mechanism produces interesting instances especially in the case of toponymic forms reused by geographers with reference to modified concepts (cf. Section 6.1). For

¹⁴⁾ It is highly questionable whether folk expressions or folk names have ever referred to larger “abstract” geographical concepts of provinces or divisions as the communicative communities had probably no need to introduce such conceptual classifications. Nevertheless the folk names may have comprised names of old political or ethnic regions or entities.

¹⁵⁾ The same applies e.g. to journalists using (and therefore textually codifying) toponyms in a recognised newspaper.

the general public the toponym *Bieszczady* conveys a much bigger area than the geographical term (a name of a physiographic unit). Almost every guidebook titled “*Bieszczady*” discusses the territory exceeding the borders set by the scientific concept of the *Bieszczady Zachodnie (Western Bieszczady) Mountains*; nevertheless, some guidebooks contain a chapter or at least a paragraph on the differences between the tourist and geographical understanding of the name.

8.2 Cartographers

It used to happen that cartographers created completely new toponyms, which were then (after being cartographically codified) popularised and became ubiquitous in texts. The path is much the same as in the case of new toponyms created by geographers. The most spectacular and obvious example would be probably the choronym *America* present on the 1507 “Waldseemüller map”.

Nevertheless, in cartography the romantic times of a *toponymic ‘hic sunt leones’* and free toponymic creations have been over now for at least one century. The sources of the toponymic layer of cartographic works may be now well defined and in many cases they are indeed even well prescribed.

The most important characteristics of a cartographer’s duties and competence as a toponym collector were moulded as early as in the great modern topo- and cartographic enterprises of European empires in the 19th century. As this model of topo- and cartographic cooperation was continued in the first half of the 20th century the remark on the toponymy of the pre-1939 Polish military maps shall be quoted here:

“[...] a cartographer’s responsibility for the form of a name is an indirect one. He receives names straight from a linguist, geographer or surveyor [W.W.: here in the quoted text a footnote is added: “Or, as it is the case with [the Polish] Military Geographical Institute – from a survey officer from the field”] and it is they that are in the first line responsible for the correctness of names. A cartographer’s duty is to choose the best source, the scope of his specialization does not allow him to inspect the essence of the problem.” (CZARNOTA 1930, pp. 104–105; English translation quoted after: WŁOSKOWICZ 2015, p. 31–32)

In the case of (detailed) topographic maps the direct cartographer’s dependence on the toponymic data collected and provided by a surveyor was of special importance. The topographic instructions for the Third Military Survey of Austria-Hungary (dating from the years 1875, 1887, 1894, and 1903) list the following sources of toponymy that a surveyor was expected to use in his work (of course, besides the names collected directly on the spot):

- already available maps (especially the ones prepared by tourist organisations),
- tourist guidebooks,
- postal inventories of names of localities,
- church lists of clergy (*Schematismen*), as well as
- gazetteers.

A surveyor was expected to conduct a selection of toponymy meant to be included on a map resulting from the survey. Nevertheless, the above mentioned sources form a nice list of typical documents of textual, cartographic, and official toponymic codification. The very rules of the way an Austro-Hungarian surveyor had to work with toponyms have been discussed in separate papers (WŁOSKOWICZ 2015; WŁOSKOWICZ 2018a, pp. 213–217).

Nowadays the management of a country's toponymy is in most cases legally defined and may vary among countries. Toponomastic bodies, councils, and working groups may have different ranges of competence and the toponym registers may be run on various organisational bases (cf. the remarks at the end of Section 4.3).

Generally, the modern sources of toponymy present on maps may be divided into categories constituted by the above proposed types of toponymic codification:

- 1) official/legal sources,
- 2) linguistic sources,
- 3) textual sources,
- 4) cartographic sources.

Cartography is a very broad notion. It is more than obvious that various branches of cartography may be more or less prone to the influences of various kinds of codification and hence of various sources of toponymy. In the case of administrative cartography and (especially state-made) topographic cartography the influence of legally established toponyms (= official codification) is usually direct and the use of official names is often mandatory.

Textual sources (geography books, guidebooks etc. = textual codification) seem to have considerable influence on tourist cartography (of many kinds). And the cartographic sources of toponymy are especially important in mapping foreign territories (e.g. the toponymy of some territories once belonging to Tsar Russia shown on the Austrian *Generalkarte* and on the Prussian *Karte des Westlichen Russlands* seems to have been based on the toponymy of tsarist Russian topographic maps).

However, the influences of existing maps are not limited to the foreign territories only. The Polish inter-war cartography used the toponymy of the Austrian *Spezialkarte* quite copiously and the toponymy-copying made some (in fact non-existent¹⁶⁾ toponyms last on topographic maps for more than one century. E.g. the name of the hamlet *Stepański* was falsely translocated onto the neighbouring peak and this cartographically created oronym has lasted on topographic maps at least since the *Kummersberg-Karte* (WŁOSKOWICZ 2018a, pp. 218–222).

In the 21st century (which is the era of digital map making and ubiquitous online screen maps) two divergent tendencies in cartographic toponymy processing are to be found. On the one hand, the digital GIS-based cartography facilitates the reproduction of already collected (and codified) toponymy: a data base comprising toponyms (originating e.g. from legal, linguistic, textual, and cartographic sources) and the coordinates of the named features make it possible to create a map's toponymic layer almost literally "with one click".

¹⁶⁾ I.e. not known to the local communicative communities.

On the other hand, with online screen maps some kind of (at least partially) community-made cartography has been introduced. Even if the community contribution is limited only to some aspects of an online map, the toponymic layer definitely belongs to what may be influenced by map users. This creates an important shortcut: members of local (or supralocal) communicative communities may introduce or propose changes to the toponymy of an online screen map. However, many toponymic contributions and changes made or reported by online map users seem to follow various instances of toponymic codification (with official codification to be mentioned in the first place).

8.3 Impact on local communities

As long as names used by a local communicative community, names present in higher ranges of linguistic storage, names transferred to the external linguistic storage, and (especially) codified names are convergent – no toponymic problems occur.

However, the original names used by a local communicative community may get changed or in some way deformed in the process of codification or while advancing to higher ranges of linguistic storage. This may happen by a surveyor's or cartographer's mistake or by means of adaptation of the original toponym to a standard language of a supralocal communicative community. Some procedures of a country's toponymic policy may play a role in this as well.

In Fig. 2 the signs [= / ≠] stand for the possible convergence or divergence of toponymy in different ranges of linguistic storage. A lasting divergence between toponyms stored in lower ranges of (mostly internal) storage and toponyms stored in higher ranges of (mostly external) storage usually causes various kinds of toponymic pressure on a local community.

This pressure may be of various kinds: it may come from within the local community (e.g. when sociolinguistic mechanisms of language prestige become active) or from outside (e.g. when power of official or textual codification enters into the equation).

I will illustrate the possible impact of toponymic codification and supralocal toponymic usus with an example of the oronym *Pop Iwan*.¹⁷⁾ Nowadays the name is still pronounced within the local Hutsul communicative community¹⁸⁾ as *popivan*. However, on modern Ukrainian maps and in tourist publications mostly the spelling *Пін Іван* or *Пін-Іван*¹⁹⁾ (Pip Ivan; Pip-Ivan) is to be found (the sound *o* in the local pronunciation versus *i* in the external storage).

¹⁷⁾ This is only one of several spellings (in the Latin script) of the name of the third highest mountain/peak (48° 02' 49" N, 24° 37' 38" E) of the Chornohora range in the Ukrainian Carpathians and hence the third highest summit of Ukraine.

¹⁸⁾ Pronunciation found during a toponomastic field research in the village of Bystrets in 2015. This way of pronouncing the name was registered by S. HRABEC (1950, p. 158) before World War II as well. The Hutsul pronunciation is written here down as *popivan* (English transcription). The name contains the sound [v] not [w] and the same applies to the standard Ukrainian form *Пін Іван*.

¹⁹⁾ Note that the Ukrainian variation of the Cyrillic script does have the letter *i*.

The historic records (written with the Latin alphabet) comprise versions with *o*: a sheet of the First Military Survey of Hungary (1782–1785) shows the spelling *Pop Iwan Ruskij B.[Berg]*, while sheets of the First Military Survey of Galicia (1779–1783) show the spellings *PopIwan* and *Pop Iwan* (depending on the copy). In the 19th century Austrian cartography the synonymous oronym *Czorna hora* (and its spelling variants) was dominating, though on the sheets of the *Generalkarte* the name *Pop Iwan* is to be found (as opposed to *Czorna hora* on the *Spezialkarte*, which is quite surprising as both maps were based on the Third Military Survey).

Then the name *Pop Iwan* was present on inter-war topographic maps published by the Polish Military Geographical Institute in Warsaw. At that time the spelling with *o* (*Pop Iwan*) gained high frequency in numerous published texts (newspaper articles, books, guidebooks etc.) as well. Summing up: the name variant with *o* was transferred to the external linguistic storage as soon as in the late 18th century and is still present in the toponymic usus of the local communicative community in the 21st century.

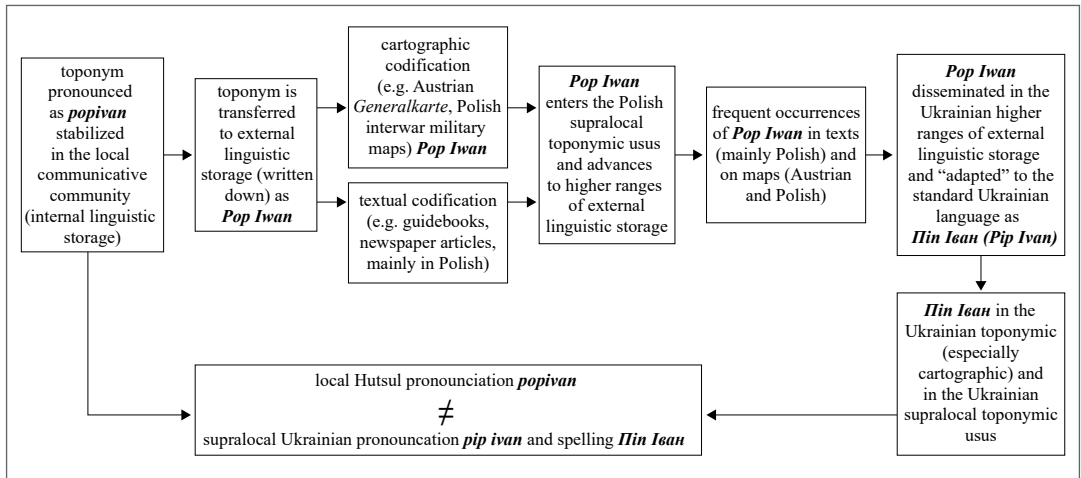
It happens quite often that the sound *o* in Polish corresponds with the sound *i* in Ukrainian. This correspondence is caused by the history of both languages. In addition, the common noun *pop* (Latin script) means in Polish ‘Orthodox priest’ and its Ukrainian form is *nin* (Latin script: *pip*). Although the oronym *Pop Iwan* has almost surely nothing in common with the mentioned common noun *pop/nin*, the formal similarity may influence the way it is perceived by name users.

Most probably due to this common *o* : *i* correspondence and the extensive presence of the name *Pop Iwan* in texts and on maps there arose a considerable tendency in the users of the Ukrainian language to readapt the “Polish” form (in fact it is not Polish but original Hutsul) *Pop Iwan* as standard Ukrainian *Пін Іван* or *Пін-Іван*. This happens, however, mostly – if not only – in supralocal communicative communities of the Ukrainian language. The mentioned readaptation is, however, massively transferred to the external linguistic storage (Ukrainian maps and tourist publications). As these sources constitute subtypes of toponymic codification, the Ukrainian supralocal toponymic usus is moulded by them.

As stated above, the local Hutsul communicative community still uses the pronunciation *popivan*. However, it is exposed to and perfectly aware of the presence of the form *Пін Іван* (*Pip Ivan*) in somewhat prestigious texts and documents of toponymic codification such as maps and guidebooks. Hence the pressure to use a more standard literary variant *Пін Іван* instead of *Поніван*.

During my toponymic surveys in the village of Bystrets (June and Dec. 2015) in several interviews I noticed in my informants a (peculiar kind of) sociolinguistic phenomenon of *upward convergence*, which is, generally speaking, about people striving to use a more prestigious language that their interlocutor is using. When I was asking for the name of the mountain (by describing it so that it was obvious which mountain/peak I meant) I usually received the local Hutsul pronunciation *popivan*. However, I used to ask my informants to repeat the name (and I was taking notes). Then my informants usually repeated the oronym in the standard Ukrainian form *Пін Іван*. Some of them even made comments that it is the “bookish” or “literary” version.

In this case the pressure caused by the Ukrainian maps may be considered in some way harmful, as the supralocal *Пін Іван* supplants the original Hutsul form *Поніван*.



Source: Own design

Figure 7: Dissemination and codification of *Pop Iwan* and *Pip Iwan*. The discrepancy between the local and supralocal usus

9 Conclusions

The toponomastic adaptation of general linguistic concepts resulting in the (further internally diversified) concepts of *toponymic usus*, *toponymic norm*, and *toponymic codification* together with the *model of dissemination of geographical names* within various *communicative communities* provide a theoretical framework for the description of the way societal acceptance of specific toponyms (or toponymic forms) comes into being or may be created and moulded intentionally.

The four proposed subtypes of toponymic codification (official, linguistic, textual, and cartographic codification) make it possible to identify some individual or collective players that have special responsibility for influencing the toponymic norm. Besides various types of toponymic boards and/or authorities (who act by means of official codification), linguists (who sometimes include toponyms in dictionaries), and the media (that produce texts reaching large numbers of people and hence perform some kind of textual codification) it is geographers and cartographers that may have a special effect on what toponyms, toponymic forms, and toponymic meanings (i.e. what is actually referred to with a specific name) reach greater communicative communities and are accepted by these communities.

The special responsibility of geographers and cartographers consists in the possible toponymic tensions between local and supralocal communicative communities. These tensions may be caused by changes and modifications done to locally accepted and used toponyms (i.e. to their form or reference/meaning) at the stage of cartographical or textual codification and by the toponym use by geographers and cartographers.

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