

LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VII. No 2 2022 Special issue

TOWARDS A PRACTICAL CLASSIFICATION OF EXONYMS

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Bibliographic description: Kudła, M. (2022). Towards a practical classification of exonyms. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2022, VII (2), Special issue, p. 127-144. ISSN 2453-8035

Abstract: The present study examines the phenomenon of exonymy in names of countries. Eleven major types of exonyms have been identified, ranging from near-endonyms to unrelated exonyms. The classification has been tested on names of twenty countries in five languages, which have been subject to contrastive analysis. Minor phonological adaptation has been the most common onomastic mechanism among the studied terms. The research has also shown that exonymy is a natural linguistic phenomenon and with time an exonym may become an endonym and vice versa.

Key words: endonym, exonym, toponym, contrastive analysis, etymology.

1. Introduction

In the late 1940s, the UN initiated a discussion on the standardization of geographical names, which led to the establishment of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) in 1972 (Kadmon 2007a: 62-63). Two key terms in the above debate are **endonym** and **exonym**. The former is defined as a "name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area where the feature is situated," while the latter is a "name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated" (*Glossary*: 10). For instance, German *Deutschland* is an endonym, while its English counterpart, *Germany*, is an exonym. The above definitions are a result of an uneasy compromise, because while at first glance the notions in question appear to be reducible to "a name from within" and "a name from without," respectively (cf. Jordan 2016: 6), the matter is by no means simple.

To start with, the very line dividing an exonym from an endonym may not be easy to establish, as the phrase "differing in its form" (*Glossary*: 10) used in the official definition of exonym is not precise. Thus, some onomasticians maximize the concept of *exonym* at the expense of *endonym* (Harvalík 2004), while others go in the opposite direction, counting as endonyms names that share the written form with the in-group name (Bušs 2012). The former approach may be defended on formal linguistic

grounds, as for instance the English pronunciation of the word *France* differs significantly from its French counterpart. The latter approach, in turn, may appear more plausible from a functional point of view, since the above difference becomes insignificant when one looks at a map.

Another problem is that a two-fold distinction juxtaposes, for example, Italian *Italia* with Turkish *İtalya*, English *Italy* and Polish *Włochy*, disregarding the obvious connection between the endonym in question and the first two exonyms. Thus, a number of authors have proposed more nuanced classifications. For instance, Svensson (1977: 7) regards the phenomenon as a scale and distinguishes five degrees, restricting the term *exonym* to "synchronically unrelated" forms, e.g., Polish *Niemcy* as opposed to the German endonym *Deutschland*. In turn, Nicolaisen (1996: 55-553) discusses eight different types of exonyms occurring in bilingual Gaelic-English communities in Scotland. Finally, Raukko (2007: 23, 46-47) introduces a four-way distinction into endonym, exophone, exograph and exonym, which, following a discussion of several variants, leads him to the creation of an eleven-point scale, ranging from the "free exonym" to the endonym itself. The classification presented here may be seen as an elaboration of the above concepts. At the same time, it has been designed with a view to extend the discussion of exonymy to other categories (for example, as postulated by Koopman 2016: 258-259 and Raukko 2017: 97), in particular to ethnonyms, both standard and non-standard.

However, before we turn to the discussion of the solution proposed here, a comment concerning the perception of the endonym/exonym divide has to be made. Namely, in the 1970s and 1980s exonyms were seen in a bad light by the UNGEGN, which viewed them as revisionist or colonialist and followed a policy of discouraging their use (Woodman 2007: 7-8). Those concerns were not unfounded: it is a fact that in the past the European powers divided various territories in Africa, Asia, the Americas and Polynesia at will and imposed names on them as they saw fit, often ignoring local identities. It is also a fact that, contrary to Jordan's (2012: 21) assertion that "exonyms are *not* symbols of appropriation and do *not* express claims,"¹ such terms can be used instrumentally. Their misuse and abuse, however, should not be treated as an argument against them. Exonyms are a natural linguistic phenomenon and elsewhere Jordan (2016: 5) is justified in his attempts to "de-demonise" the term in question and to "take from it the odium of expressing political claims," without at the same time denying the endonym its privileged status. I hope to contribute to this endeavour by proposing a classification that can satisfy the needs of a non-specialist and at the same time be scientifically acceptable.

2. Material and methods

It appears that the best way to destigmatize the notion of exonym is to show where each comes from. Therefore, any viable classification of exonyms should be able to account for their occurrence, or, to put it differently, explain their origin. With that in mind, the arrangement proposed here is focused on etymology. However, the analysis has not been reduced to identifying the etymon of a particular exonym. Formal aspects, such as phonological, grammatical and lexical adaptations, have also been considered. The resulting classification proposes a twelve-point scale, where terms are arranged depending on the relative contribution of the source culture to the creation of a particular exonym and its similarity to the endonym. The classification partly overlaps with those presented by Svensson (1977), Nicolaisen (1996), and Raukko (2007), yet there are also considerable differences. One of them is that it takes the endonym, rather than the "full" exonym (cf. Raukko 2007) as its starting point. This may appear to be a minor technical issue, yet such an arrangement is more natural if we accept that the most significant question that is to be answered is: "Why does the name for country A in language B differ from the name in language A?"

The classification, described in detail in the following section, has been tested on 100 lexical items. Specifically, they included names of twenty countries from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas (five countries for each part of the world), which were subject to contrastive analysis in five languages spoken in Europe: English, Spanish, Polish, Hungarian and Turkish. Admittedly, the target countries and languages do not represent the whole geographical and linguistic spectrum, yet the focus on those that use the Latin Alphabet is justifiable given the fact that Romanization is one of the main goals of UNGEGN (*Goals, s.a.*). Still, the rationale behind the choice was to provide a wide range of historical and geographical backgrounds within the languages spoken in Europe. It is worth stating at this point that the main focus of the present study is a qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. To put it differently, the examples serve to illustrate different types of exonyms and while some tentative conclusions of a statistical nature can be drawn, they have to be verified on a much larger sample.

3. Results and discussion

The classification can be viewed from two different angles. Specifically, if we emphasize the criterion of similarity, we end up with a linear progression from level 0 to level 11, as illustrated in Fig. 1. However, it needs to be stressed that the consecutive levels should not be interpreted as stages in the development of a single item. Rather, they reflect the relative similarity (or lack of it) between particular toponyms.

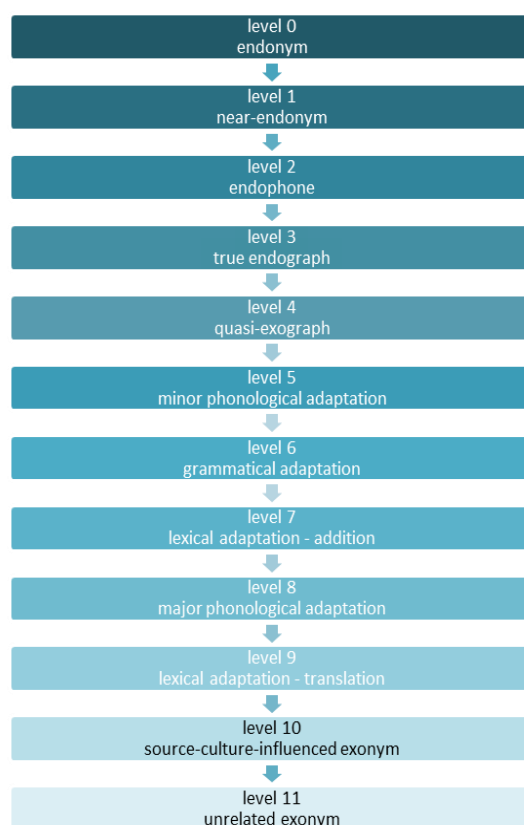


Figure 1. The proposed classification of exonyms viewed as a scale (Source: Own procession)

The other perspective concerns the mechanisms that influenced particular terms, which yields the structure shown in Fig. 2. The basic distinction is etymological; exonyms have been divided into those, which are based on a particular endonym and *true exonyms* (see Raukko 2017: 121 for a different use of this term). The former category includes two subcategories: *endo-forms*, or terms, which share their spelling and/or pronunciation with an endonym, and *exo-forms*, or terms, which have undergone phonological, grammatical or lexical adaptation noticeable both in spelling and pronunciation. Among true exonyms a distinction has been made between the terms influenced by the source culture (though not by the current endonym) and *unrelated exonyms* (cf. Nicolaisen 1996: 550), or terms which have originated outside the source culture.

Importantly, we do not claim that a single term can be subject only to one of the processes included in the classification. The arrangement of the types of exonyms on a scale does not preclude the existence of mixed cases. Still, the classificatory dilemma can be solved, if we accept a similarity-based perspective meaning that a term that displays properties characteristic of more than one level should be treated as belonging to the farthest one. To give an example, Polish *Walia* [Wales] has undergone phonological adaptation manifest in changing the initial bilabial semivowel /w/ to the voiced velar plosive /v/ (see, e.g., Rychło 2021: 213-215 for other examples), but also morphological

adaptation visible in the suffix *-ia*. The former modification suggests level 5, but the latter pushes the item in question into level 6. Such an interpretation enables an unambiguous treatment of problematic cases for classificatory purposes, at the same time allowing for a detailed analysis.

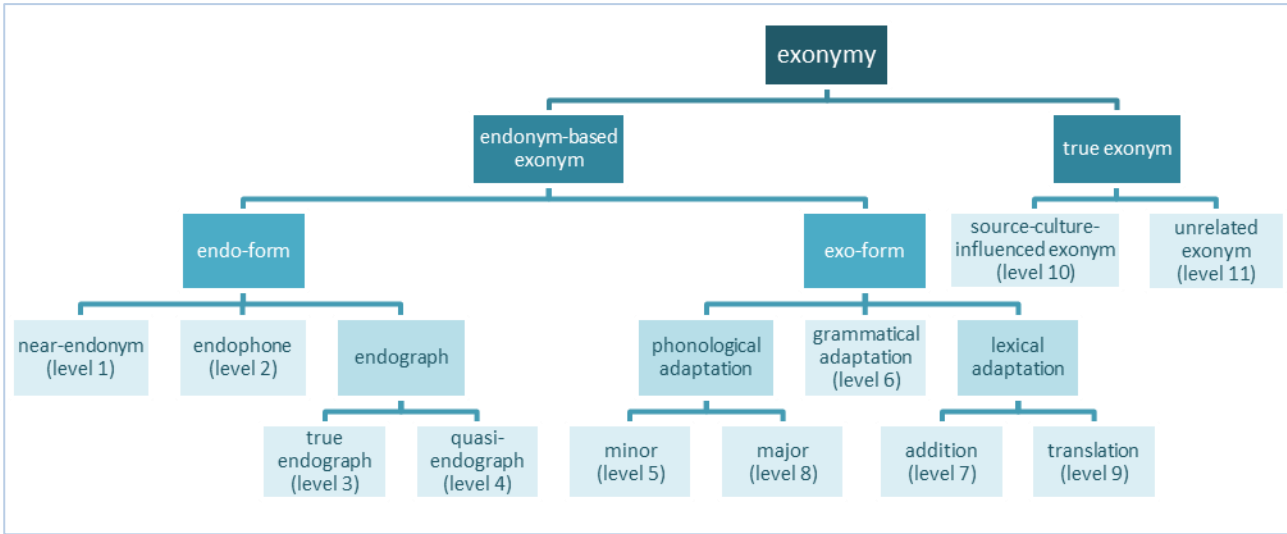


Figure 2. The proposed classification of exonyms viewed as a hierarchy (Source: Own procession)

The results of the analysis are presented in Fig. 3. As can be seen, there were far more endonym-based exonyms (76%) than true exonyms (14%), the remaining 10% being endonyms. Within the former group, 59 items were exo-forms, minor phonological adaptation being the most common level (28 items). The following sections contain a detailed analysis of each type.

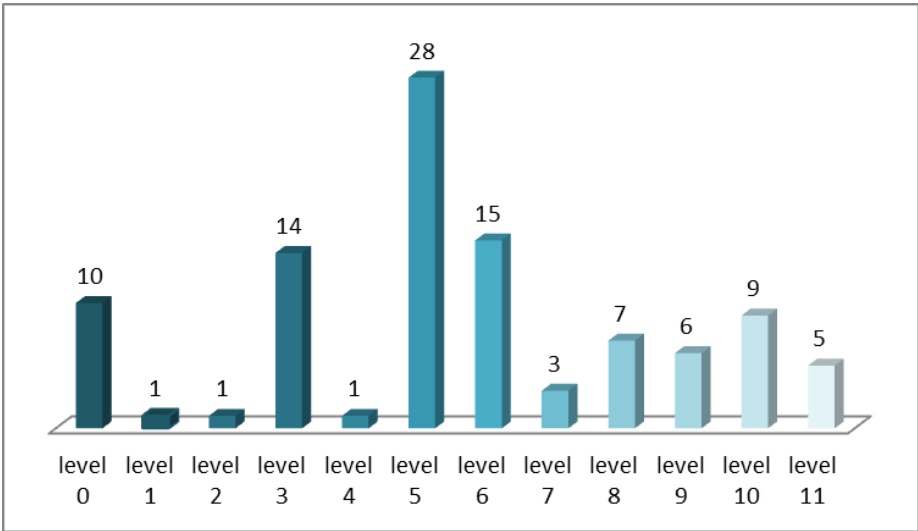


Figure 3. The numbers of occurrence of endonyms and each type of exonyms in the sample (Source: Own procession)

3.1 Level 0

Ten items out of the one hundred chosen for analysis were endonyms, that is, terms used by people living in the countries that those terms denote. Those were English *Wales*, *India*, *Pakistan*, *the Philippines*, *Nigeria* and *South Africa*, as well as Spanish *México*, *Argentina*, *Colombia* and *Cuba*. Most of them are names of countries with a colonial past in which English or Spanish have official status. This, in turn, automatically renders terms used in any of those languages endonyms and thus into potential reference points for other languages. This concerns countries in which one of the two languages in question is the only (de jure or de facto) official language, such as Nigeria, Cuba, Argentina and Mexico, or – as in the case of South Africa, the Philippines, Pakistan and India – one of the official languages. The case of Nigeria is probably the most striking example: while there are well over 500 native languages spoken in that country, English – while itself a minority language – is the only language recognised by the majority of the population, which explains its privileged status (Adegbija 2004: 54).

The case of *Wales* deserves closer inspection. Clearly distinct in form and origin from its Welsh co-endonym *Cymru*, the term comes from OE *Wēalas* (the plural form of the ethnonym *Wealh*) that in turn comes from PG **Walhaz* (the *OED*). Its origins lie in the name of a Celtic tribe reconstructed as PC **Wolko-*, which appears in Greek and Latin sources as *Οὐόλκαι* and *Volcae*, respectively (*DLG*, *DGRG*). Between the 5th and 3rd century BC, the Celtic endonym was borrowed by Germanic tribes, who extended it to cover all Celtic tribes and with time to other subjects of the Roman Empire, including the Romans themselves (Green 2000: 160). Following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, different variants of the term came to be used by various Germanic tribes to describe local Romano-Celtic communities. It became the source of modern endonyms *Wales* and *Wallonie*, the latter referring to the French-speaking region of Belgium, as well as *Wahle* (and its various related forms), a non-standard German term denoting the French, Walloons, Italians or the French-speaking Swiss, depending on the dialect (see Kudła 2011 for details).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the above example. Firstly, there are no inherently endonymic or exonymic terms; their status depends on past and present geopolitical circumstances. The passage of time can turn an exonym into an endonym and vice versa. Secondly, the inclusion of the temporal dimension reveals that one and the same term may develop into an official name of a country, region, or into an unofficial name of an ethnic group or nationality. Finally, there is often a strong correlation between toponyms and anthroponyms; the OE ancestor of ModE *Wales* was originally the plural form of the ethnonym and, as we shall see below, this is not the only example of the interaction between the place-names and names of human communities.

3.2 Level 1

Out of the 90 remaining non-endonyms only one item could be classified as a *near-endonym*, that is, a term nearly identical in form to an endonym. The term in question is Spanish *Italia*, which is spelled and pronounced like the Italian prototype. The decision to separate it from its Italian counterpart stems from the definition of *endonym* accepted by the UNGEGN (see above). Still, the notion of a near-endonym suggests close similarity of form. In practice, it may mean that the corresponding sounds may differ slightly in their place of articulation due to differences in the phonemic inventories.

3.3 Level 2

Similarly to the previous level, only one instance of an *endophone*² was found in the sample, namely Turkish *İtalya*. This is only logical, given the fact that as a rule languages differ in their phonemic inventories and most attempts at modifying the spelling in order to retain the original pronunciation are bound to be partially successful at best.

3.4 Level 3

In contrast to the previous category, as many as fourteen items were *true endographs*³, or terms that have the same spelling as the endonym yet differ in pronunciation (see Table 1). The latter may involve differences in individual phonemes, as is the case in the Spanish and Polish terms for Nigeria, or a different stress pattern, as for instance in Polish and Turkish *Pakistan* and Spanish *Indonesia*. From a cartographer's perspective, such terms would be indistinguishable from the endonyms, yet from a linguistic point of view, the differences in pronunciation cannot be neglected.

Table 1. Endographs (level 2) in the sample

Spanish	English	Polish	Hungarian	Turkish
<i>Indonesia</i>	<i>Indonesia</i>			
<i>Nigeria</i>		<i>Nigeria</i>		
<i>India</i>			<i>India</i>	
		<i>Pakistan</i>		<i>Pakistan</i>
<i>Brasil</i>				
	<i>Argentina</i>			
	<i>Cuba</i>			
	<i>Colombia</i>			
	<i>France</i>			
			<i>Wales</i>	

3.5 Level 4

The category of quasi-endographs has been introduced into the classification to account for transliterated terms as well as for items, whose written form lacks diacritical marks present in the endonym. Some authors treat the former as equal to endonyms arguing that in such cases the process of rendering their written form in the target writing system is a necessity rather than a whim (Woodman 2007: 16). In fact the same could be said for the latter if the orthographic conventions of the target language do not include the diacritics in question. However, the fact remains that, strictly speaking, the written form of those terms differs from the original. The fact that only one such term was found in the sample, namely English *Mexico*, shows that the differences in script often coincide with phonological adaptation, as is the case with names for Ethiopia, or – more radically – with a neglect of the endonym, which can be seen in names for Egypt (see below).

3.6 Level 5

The results for level 5, which includes terms that have undergone minor phonological changes, stand in sharp contrast to the previous level. In particular, as many as 28 items could be ascribed to this category, and that was the highest score in the sample (see Table 2). It may be claimed that this is a typical (or prototypical) case from the point of view of language contact; the pronunciation of a particular foreign term is modified to fit the phonology of the target language and its spelling follows suit. The latter may involve adding diacritics, as can be seen in several examples in Hungarian, Spanish and Turkish.

The case of *Ethiopia* is particularly interesting, since not only all of the analysed exonyms, but also all of the endonyms coming from the country's five official languages are in fact loanwords from Greek *Αἰθιοπία*, which was derived from *Αἰθίοψ*, literally "burnt-face" (the *OED*). In fact, the Greek exonym was used as an endonym by local communities already in the 13th century (Zewde 2002: xxi). Until recently, the only official endonym was Amharic ኢትዮጵያ, Romanized as *Ityop'iya* (*WGN*), yet in 2020 Afan Oromo, Afar, Somali and Tigrigna joined Amharic as official languages of the country (see Emi 2020).

The reverse, that is, a case when an endonym becomes an exonym, can be observed in Spanish *Filipinas*. The Philippines were once a Spanish colony and the term was used by the settlers. Yet nowadays it is Filipino and English that enjoy the status of official languages meaning that the English term, once an exonym, has become an endonym.

Among exonyms belonging to level 5 there are also two Turkish terms, namely *Misir* [Egypt] and *Cezayir* [Algeria].⁴ Both are based on the Arabic endonyms مصر, and الجزائر, transliterated into the Latin alphabet as *Miṣr* and *Al Jazā'ir*, respectively (WGN). The latter endonym contains the Arabic definite article which has been dropped in its Turkish counterpart. However, as we shall see in the following section, it has become part of the lexical item in the remaining languages analysed by us.

Table 2. Minor phonological adaptations (level 5) in the sample

Turkish	Hungarian	Polish	Spanish	English
<i>Etiyopya</i>	<i>Etiópia</i>	<i>Etiopia</i>	<i>Etiopía</i>	<i>Ethiopia</i>
<i>Meksika</i>	<i>Mexikó</i>	<i>Meksyk</i>		
<i>Küba</i>	<i>Kuba</i>	<i>Kuba</i>		
<i>Kolombiya</i>	<i>Kolumbia</i>	<i>Kolumbia</i>		
<i>Endonezya</i>	<i>Indonézia</i>	<i>Indonezja</i>		
<i>Arjantin</i>	<i>Argentína</i>	<i>Argentyna</i>		
<i>Nijerya</i>	<i>Nigéria</i>			
	<i>Pakisztán</i>		<i>Pakistán</i>	
<i>Cezayir</i>				
<i>Misir</i>				
				<i>Brazil</i>
			<i>Filipinas</i>	

3.7 Level 6

The second largest group in the sample (15 items, only slightly more than on level 2) comprises terms that have been subject to grammatical adaptation (see Table 3). This process may take the form of adding an affix or interpreting an article as an integral part of a toponym. In fact, both can be seen in the Polish, English, Spanish and Hungarian versions of the above-mentioned *Al Jazā'ir* [Algeria]. Incidentally, the suffix they contain, *-ia*, comes from Latin, which is the source of most exonyms in the sample belonging to this level.

A special case of grammatical adaptation occurs when an endonym is (or used to be) in the plural form and the grammatical number is rendered in the target language. Such is the case of Polish *Filipiny* and Turkish *Filipinler* [the Philippines], as well as Polish *Indie* [India], the latter reflecting the once common form *Indies* (the *OED*).

Table 3. Morphological adaptations (level 6) occurring in the sample

Polish	Spanish	English	Turkish	Hungarian
<i>Algieria</i>	<i>Argelia</i>	<i>Algeria</i>		<i>Algéria</i>
<i>Francja</i>	<i>Francia</i>		<i>Fransa</i>	
<i>Brazylia</i>			<i>Brezilya</i>	<i>Brazília</i>
<i>Filipiny</i>			<i>Filipinler</i>	
<i>Indie</i>				
<i>Walia</i>				
		<i>Italy</i>		

3.8 Level 7

This category (3 items in the sample) comprises terms that have undergone a form of lexical adaptation which involves adding an element that can be identified as a lexical item in the target language. Typically, the added element is roughly equivalent to "country" or "land." This onomastic strategy was found for instance in Hungarian *Franciaország* [France] and in Turkish *Hindistan* [India]. We may note in passing that the names for Pakistan in the sample were classified as belonging to level 2 or 5, rather than level 7, because they imitate the element *-stan* present in the endonym. On the other hand, Hungarian *Fülöp-szigetek*, literally "Philip's islands" (that is, the Philippines), is a clear example of level 7.

3.9 Level 8

Represented by seven examples in the sample, Level 8 covers terms which have undergone major phonological adaptations. It has been isolated as a separate category to account for cases in which the form of an exonym is markedly distinct from that of the endonym despite their etymological closeness. This may happen when a term is borrowed at an earlier stage of development of a particular language and adapted to its phonology. This often coincides with the process of a lexical transfer to other languages. Thus, the passage of time (possibly combined with the mediation of other languages) obscures the etymology of the exonym in question, which is the reason why on the scale this level is placed after grammatical adaptation and lexical addition.

There were seven of such exonyms within the sample, two names of Wales and all five names of Japan. The former, Spanish *Gales* and Turkish *Galler* are derived from French *Galles*. While its etymology is not certain, a plausible explanation holds that the term came into Old French from OE *Wēalas*, turning the initial labiovelar semivowel /w/ into the voiced velar plosive /g/ on the way (Sjörge 1938), as in French *guerre* "war," derived from Proto-Germanic **werz-a-* (ED).⁵

As for English *Japan*, Spanish *Japón*, Polish *Japonia*, Hungarian *Japán* and Turkish *Japonya*, they are all clearly distinct in pronunciation and spelling from the endonym, 日本, Romanized as *Nippon* or *Nihon* (WGN). It is written using kanji, a script which originated in China and which is read differently in Chinese. Thus, the Chinese pronunciation of the term in question (though not the script) was borrowed by Malay in the form that could be transliterated as *Japang* or *Japun*, from whence it came in the 16th century to Portuguese and – via this language – spread to other European languages (Lach 1994: 652).

3.10 Level 9

Level 9, the final category comprising endonym-based exonyms, is a type of lexical adaptation which involves loan translation (cf. Nicolaisen 1996: 550), also labelled *semantic translation* (Raukko 2007: 41-42, 2017: 107-108). There were six such items in the sample and – while one should be careful when drawing general conclusions on the basis of a sample composed of 100 items – the fact that all of them concern two countries suggests that this onomastic strategy is correlated with particular toponyms rather than particular languages. The countries in question are South Africa and the Netherlands, whose endonyms (English *South Africa*, Afrikaans *Suid-Afrika* and the names of this country in nine more official languages, as well as Dutch *Nederland*) describe geographical features, in this case latitude and elevation, respectively. Examples of names for the former country include Spanish *Sudáfrica*, Turkish *Güney Afrika*, Hungarian *Dél-afrikai Köztársaság* and Polish *RPA*. The latter two examples only seemingly depart from the mechanism of loan-translation. The Hungarian name includes the term meaning "republic," reflecting the full name of the country, that is, *Republic of South Africa*, to cite just one of the endonyms. The usual Polish term differs only in being an acronym of the translation of the full name, namely *Republika Południowej Afryki*.

Translated exonyms denoting the latter country include Spanish *Países Bajos* and English *Netherlands*, the latter sharing a Germanic heritage with the endonym. As a matter of fact, the English lexicon includes two more toponyms related to the country in question. One of them is a more recent loan-translation, namely *Low Countries*, but the term is usually extended to cover the whole Benelux Union (LX). The other one is *Holland*, the name of one of the country's provinces that is often used as an equivalent of the official *the Netherlands*. Until recently, the former term was occasionally used by the Dutch authorities in some official settings, but in 2019 they decided to promote the use of the official name and discourage the use of *Holland* (Boffey 2019).

3.11 Level 10

The example described in the previous paragraph leads us to one of the categories of true exonyms, subsumed under level 10 (nine items). This group consists of terms whose formation has been influenced by the source culture, though the terms in question are not related to the endonym currently in use. The case of *Holland* is a good example; the term is based on one of the provinces of the source country, the most prominent at that, yet it does not reflect the endonym. However, while the English term does not have official status and hence has not been treated as part of the sample, there are official terms that follow this pattern, namely Polish *Holandia*, Hungarian *Hollandia* and Turkish *Hollanda*. Clearly, the exonyms in question are not arbitrary; rather, they reflect the political, cultural and economic importance of Holland in the country's history.

The latter term may be also seen as an example of a case in which a particular culture extends the name of a local group with which it has come into contact to all groups perceived as belonging to the same culture. The scenario can be illustrated with Spanish *Alemania* and Turkish *Almanya*, both of which can be traced to Alemanni, a confederation of Germanic tribes along the Upper Rhine between the 3rd and 5th centuries (*CODA*).

Finally, a particular exonym may be based on an endonym used by an extinct culture. This can be seen in four out of five terms denoting Egypt in the sample. While Turkish *Misir* bears a clear resemblance to the present endonym (see above), English *Egypt*, Spanish *Egipto*, Polish *Egipt* and Hungarian *Egyiptom* are all derived from the ancient Greek name of the country, namely *Αἴγυπτος* (*Aigyp̄tos*). The Greek term, in turn, comes from Amarna (or Late Egyptian) *Hikuptah*, one of the names of the ancient Egyptian goddess Memphis (*ED*). The latter, more commonly known name of the goddess, was also the name of the capital, which—when compared with toponyms such as *Athens* and *Thebes*—may explain the transfer of the name of a deity to that of a settlement and then to that of a state.

3.12 Level 11

The final level includes unrelated exonyms, or terms that bear no relation to the source culture and have either originated within the target culture or been borrowed from yet another culture. There were five items from that category in the sample, three for Italy and two for Germany. Specifically, English *Germany* comes from Latin *Germania*, a term which was used by ancient Romans, but which most probably did not serve as an endonym and instead had come from Gaulish (*ED*). It is worth adding at this point that the case of English names for Germany is particularly intricate. Before the current name became popular during the 16th century, the commonly used ME terms were *Almain* and *duche*

(with various spelling variants), the latter later narrowed down (as *Dutch*) to the inhabitants of the Netherlands (the *OED*).

A similar scenario can be observed in the two items referring to Italy, namely Polish *Włochy* and Hungarian *Olaszország*. Curiously enough, both have the same origin as the above-mentioned *Wales*, that is, Proto-Celtic **Wolko-* (*SEJP*). However, the term was not borrowed directly from the Celts. Instead, it came into Proto-Slavic **volxъ* from Proto-Germanic **Walhaz* during the 2nd century AD, at a time when it was barely possible for a stranger to distinguish between the Romans and the Celts, the latter having largely been Romanized by that time (Gołąb 1992: 369). Consequently, the term evolved in its various forms into names for the representatives of the Roman culture that later narrowed their scope. Polish *Włochy* (originally the plural form of an ethnonym) is not an isolated example, though in most other Slavic languages (e.g. Ukrainian, Slovak and Croatian), the terms in question denote Romanians, that is, the nearest Romanized group rather than the most prominent (or the original) one. Still, the Polish interpretation of the name has been adopted by Hungarians, as *Olaszország* "Italy" is of Slavic origin.

The remaining two examples referring to Germany, Polish *Niemcy*, which may also be used as the plural form of an ethnonym, and Hungarian *Németország* are derived ultimately from Proto-Slavic **němъ*, literally "a speech impaired person" (*SEJP*). What makes those examples distinct is that—at least from the Slavic perspective—those terms are cognates with meaningful native words. To put it differently, they were coined by the ancestors of the target language users with the use of their own lexical inventory with no regard to the source culture whatsoever. And yet, they are used nowadays as official names and as such are neutral.

4. Conclusions

The above analysis, though far from being complete, allows for the formulation of a number of conclusions, some of which have already been signalled above. Firstly, and most importantly, the notion of exonymy should be treated as a natural linguistic phenomenon that is distinct from – though not mutually exclusive with – the use of toponyms as instruments of oppression. Yet, as the examples of Wales, Nigeria and Ethiopia show, exonyms imposed by foreigners may with time turn into endonyms. Moreover, examples from level 10 and 11 demonstrate that exonymy is often a sign of ignorance rather than aggression. And, as in the previous case, the passage of time legitimizes the use of exonyms so that they continue to be employed even when a given culture has become more familiar with the culture it refers to. Needless to say, this does not preclude conscious onomastic policy, as shown in the case of *the Netherlands* vs. *Holland*.

The second conclusion, strongly related to the first one, is that the inclusion of the historical perspective (both linguistic and extra-linguistic) is indispensable for the understanding of the notion of exonymy. This concerns not only the changes in status of particular terms or their replacements, but also the interplay between various kinds of toponyms, such as names of countries, regions, cities, rivers, etc.

A different, though no less important, type of interaction is visible between toponymy and anthroponymy. As could be seen in a number of examples, the name of a country can be derived from – and sometimes is equivalent to – the name of a nation or ethnic group, and in fact a reverse transfer is also possible, as can be seen in the case of the origin of *Gipsy* (see, e.g., Kiełtyka 2020: 85-86).

As for conclusions of a quantitative nature, while definite statements should be avoided given the size of the sample, it can be clearly seen that one category, namely minor phonological adaptation (level 5) stands out. This level can possibly be seen as prototypical, followed by true endographs (level 3) and grammatical adaptation (level 6). On the other hand, near-endonyms (level 1), endophones (level 2) and quasi-endographs (level 4) appear to play a marginal role in country names, though their existence is a logical necessity.

To sum up, the above discussion will hopefully contribute to a more objective concept of exonymy. Still, a number of issues could not be addressed in detail here due to space limitations. However, they set directions for my future research. In particular, a quantitative analysis covering a wider range of target languages and items should be conducted in search of onomastic patterns. Secondly, in order to verify its validity the proposed classification should be tested on other types of toponyms, such as for instance names of regions and settlements. Last but not least, while a close interrelationship and interaction between toponyms and ethnonyms (or demonyms) has been signalled several times in the present paper, a study devoted specifically to this issue would bring a better understanding of the notion of exonymy in its various forms.

Notes

1. Emphasis original.
2. The term *endophone* is equivalent to Raukko's (2007) *exograph*. In fact, the author mentions both of them but favours the latter. I prefer the former because it is more consistent with the category of endo-forms and with the underlying principle of the present classification, namely, the degree of similarity to an endonym (rather than differences among them).

3. Similarly to the previous category, *endograph* is equivalent to *endophone* (cf. Raukko 2007). I prefer the former for the same reasons stated in the previous footnote.
4. In Turkish <c> stands for the voiced postalveolar fricative affricate /dʒ/ (Zimmer & Orgun 1999).
5. Another example of an exonym belonging to level 8 would be Swedish *Tyskland* "Germany," whose first element – similarly its counterpart in the endonym *Deutschland* – can be traced to PG **theudō* "popular, national" (SAOB, ED).

List of abbreviations

CODA – Concise Oxford Dictionary of archaeology

DGRG – Dictionary of Greek and Roman geography

DLG – Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental

ED – Online Etymology Dictionary

LX – Lexico

OE – Old English

PC – Proto-Celtic

PG – Proto-Germanic

SAOB – Svenska Akademiens ordbok

SEJP – Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego

the OED – Oxford English Dictionary

WGN – UNGEGN world geographical names


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Résumé

The present study focuses on the phenomenon of exonymy in names of countries. The paper begins with an overview of the endonym/exonym divide, arguing for a scalar view of the phenomenon. Drawing partly on existing taxonomies, a new classification of exonyms is proposed with the aim of providing a more accurate and unbiased description of exonymy. The resulting structure yields a twelve-point scale (with eleven types of exonyms) on which terms are arranged depending on the relative contribution of the source culture to the creation of a particular term and its formal similarity to the endonym. The basic distinction within the classification is into endonym-based exonyms and true exonyms. The former can be further divided into endo-forms, which have the same spelling and/or pronunciation as the endonym; and exo-forms, which have been subject to phonological, morphological and/or lexical adaptations. True exonyms, in turn, can be divided into source-culture-influenced exonyms and unrelated exonyms, the latter comprising terms that either have originated within the target culture or have been borrowed from yet another culture. The classification has been tested on names of twenty countries in five languages. While the focus of the analysis has been qualitative rather than quantitative, some tentative conclusions of the latter type can be drawn. In particular, minor phonological adaptation has been the most common onomastic mechanism among the analysed terms. The analysis has also demonstrated that with time an exonym may become an endonym and vice versa, which proves that, on the one hand, exonymy is a natural linguistic phenomenon and, on the other, that a historical perspective is crucial for its understanding. Still, further research is needed, focusing in particular on the inclusion of a wider range of target languages and lexical items; on other types of toponyms; and on the interrelationship between toponyms and ethnonyms.

Key words: endonym, exonym, toponym, contrastive analysis, etymology.

Article was received by the editorial board 15.11.2021;

Reviewed 06.01.2022 and 21.01.2022.

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