

This is the version of record of:

Rieger, Maria Antoinette (2020) "Vorland-Nyika and Kumbamulde. The handling of indigenous place names in Oskar Baumann's Usambara writings" in N. Levkovich Advances in Comparative Colonial Toponomastics, pp. 51-77.

The final publication is available at <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110712452-004>

Terms of use: All rights reserved.

This item was downloaded from IRIS Università di Bologna (<https://cris.unibo.it/>)

When citing, please refer to the published version.

Advances in Comparative Colonial Toponomastics

Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik

Colonial and Postcolonial Linguistics

Edited by Stefan Engelberg, Peter Mühlhäusler,
Doris Stolberg, Thomas Stolz, and Ingo H. Warnke

Volume 14

Advances in Comparative Colonial Toponomastics

Edited by
Nataliya Levkovich

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-071237-7
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-071245-2
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-071247-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020941151

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Nataliya Levkovich

Preface — V

Part I: General Toponomastics

Valéria Tóth

Theoretical considerations in the linguistic analysis of toponyms — 3

Part II: CoCoTop Studies

Sandra Herling

Spanish and French colonial toponyms in the territory of present-day USA (16th to 18th century) — 25

Marie A. Rieger

***Vorland-Nyika* and *Kumbamulde*. The handling of indigenous place names in Oskar Baumann's Usambara writings — 51**

Ingo H. Warnke, Thomas Stolz, Jascha de Bloom and Nataliya Levkovich

Martin Luther at a Pacific harbor. Toponymic classifiers and their role in German colonial place-making — 79

Thomas Stolz and Nataliya Levkovich

Places without names and names without places? On the blank maps of the Gani-Islands — 117

Riccardo Contini and Luca D'Anna

Between Arabic philology and colonial enterprise. Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938), Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925) and Libyan toponymy — 155

Part III: Reports

Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen and Ivalu Kristine Lidsmoes

Danish colonial toponomastics — 187

Karoline Kühl and Iben Holmegaard Aastrup

How Danish were the Danish West Indies? Language use in written sources in a multilingual colonial society — 219

Part IV: Fresh Data

Anna Wolter

***Stadt der Kolonien* – Street names in colonial contexts with particular consideration of the Hanseatic City of Bremen — 245**

Index of Authors — 299

Index of Languages — 303

Index of Subjects and Toponyms — 305

Marie A. Rieger

Vorland-Nyika and Kumbamulde

The handling of indigenous place names in Oskar Baumann's Usambara writings

Abstract: This paper analyses two volumes in which the Austrian geographer Oskar Baumann (1864–1899) describes his expeditions to Usambara. Baumann's recordings are particularly interesting because he reached the area before the colonization of this north-eastern part of *Deutsch-Ostafrika* began. The paper explores how indigenous place names are integrated into colonial discourse with a special focus on classifiers. It will be shown that the data gathered is in line with German colonial toponymy since most place names preserve their indigenous form whereas the smaller group of place names comprising indigenous and German elements are generally coined according to prototypical patterns.

Keywords: indigenous toponyms, geo-classifiers, German colonialism, Deutsch-Ostafrika, Usambara Mountains

1 Introduction

Spatial information is vital for humans but it is no easy task to communicate it in structured ways. Therefore, the invention of mapmaking which “began to emerge as a distinctive practical art some three thousand or more years ago” (Lewis 1987: 50) can be considered a milestone in human evolution. As far as the mapping of Africa by Europeans is concerned, the continent's coastline had been mapped – at least in broad outlines – by the end of the fifteenth century (Demhardt 2000: 7), but a complete cartographic *unveiling* (in *Die Entschleierung Afrikas*, i.e. ‘The Unveiling of Africa’, Demhardt traces the continent's cartographic exploitation, in particular by German geographers) had to wait until the twentieth century (Demhardt 2000: 100–107). A special interest in East-Africa arose in the middle of the nineteenth century as a result of enticing narratives about snow-covered

Marie A. Rieger, University of Bologna, Department of Modern Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, Via Cartoleria 5, 40124 Bologna, Italy. E-mail: marie.rieger@unibo.it

mountains at the equator, the still-unsolved conundrum of the Nile, and David Livingstone's travels (Demhardt 2000: 137). While explorers may have used existing maps and produced new ones mainly in order to increase knowledge about the world, for the ends of European colonialism maps were an indispensable means for claiming rights over the occupied land.¹

The Austrian geographer and cartographer Oskar Baumann (1864–1899) embodied both roles in two consecutive travels in the German colony of *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (DOA). In 1888 he participated in an expedition to Mount Kilimanjaro which was led by the German explorer and publisher Hans Meyer (1858–1929). During this expedition, Baumann was specifically in charge of producing a map of the Usambara Mountains, which, at the time, were still unexplored by Europeans (Baumann 1890: V). While in West-Usambara, the expedition came to an abrupt end because of the outbreak of an uprising against the German occupation in September 1888, eventually forcing Meyer and Baumann to return to the coast.² In 1890 Baumann returned to the Usambara Mountains, this time on official missions on behalf of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG), i.e. the chartered German East-African Company. The outcomes were published in 1891 in a volume entitled *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete* [Usambara and its neighboring areas], where Baumann describes his second journey in detail.³

The interesting thing about Baumann's Usambara writings is the fact that he explored the area before the German settlers arrived and the administrative machinery was implemented. Indeed, the actual occupation by the Germans gained momentum only in the second half of the 1890s (Feierman 1972: 1). In other words, the place names he encountered during both of his Usambara expeditions were, in fact, pre-colonial place names. Since a good number of these place names is still in use today, we may assume that Baumann left us a reasonably adequate graphemic representation of the, in all probability, orally reported names.⁴ Hence the Baumann names corpus gives us a glimpse into pre-

1 For the close bond between cartography and colonialism see Jureit (2012: chapter 3).

2 In fact, the title of the first volume about Usambara (Baumann 1890), *In Deutsch-Ostafrika während des Aufstands*, [In German East-Africa during the rebellion], refers to the uprising.

3 Due to the limitations of space, in this paper it is not possible to go into the (pre-colonial and colonial) history of the Usambaras. On this point see Conte (2004), Feierman (1972) and (1974), Winans (1962).

4 In May–June 2019, I carried out a field study on that matter, the findings of which were presented at the *5th International Symposium on Place Names 2019: Recognition, Regulation, Revitalisation: Place Names and Indigenous Languages* (ISPN, September 2019) in Clarens, South Africa. With regard to spelling, Baumann himself (1891: 355) emphasises the adequacy of

colonial naming practices in the Usambara region and, what is in focus here, into the ways indigenous place names were incorporated into German colonial texts. Besides finding the appropriate phoneme-grapheme correspondence, this also required dealing with another linguistic problem: together with the name, an indication or explanation of the geo-object it referred to had to be incorporated into the text.

These preliminary considerations give rise to a twofold objective pursued by this paper: By sampling and analyzing the place names recorded by Baumann the present study is intended as a case-study contribution to German colonial toponymy.⁵ In particular, it will show some of the linguistic strategies used to integrate indigenous place names and their references into the German text with special attention to the use of classifier elements. In order to meet these goals, the paper is structured as follows: Section 2 will discuss some basic terms and concepts. The central Sections 3 and 4 will present the corpus, taking into account various toponymical and linguistic aspects. Section 3.1 will focus on the geo-objects the place names refer to, whereas Section 3.2 groups the corpus with regard to toponymical classes. Section 4 analyses the construction patterns, first concerning the presence of endonymic and exonymic elements (Section 4.1). Section 4.2 focuses instead on classifier elements. The paper closes with some concluding remarks in Section 5.

2 Basic concepts

From an onomastic point of view, an indigenous place name is classified as *endonym*, i.e. a “[n]ame of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area where the feature is situated” (UNGEGN 2002: 10), in opposition to a non-indigenous name or *exonym*, i.e. a “name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken”.⁶ As already mentioned in the introductory section, it can rea-

the orthography proposed by Steere (1890: 8–12), but eventually decided to use the German way of spelling because it was more suited for a German-speaking readership, giving the examples of *Chawa* (Steere) which becomes *Tschaua*, and *Zigi* (Steere) spelled *Sigi*.

⁵ The term *toponymy* is understood as “the set of toponyms within a specific territory/region, language, period of time etc.” (ICOS: 5).

⁶ The definition is taken from the list of key terms in onomastics proposed by the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences* (ICOS) available in English, French and German at: <https://icos-web.net/publications/onomastic-terminology/> (accessed 13th July 2019). The wording of the

sonably be assumed that, given the historical circumstances, the place names gathered by Baumann are *genuine endonyms* resulting “from genuinely local traditions of place naming” (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 53).

Irrespective of whether they are endonyms or exonyms, place names may be compounds built up of two types of elements, one of which is a *generic term*, i.e. a “common noun that describes a **topographic feature** in terms of its characteristics and not by its proper name. *Examples*: mountain, sierra, san, shan, dagh, jabal, har, river, wadi, gang” (UNGEKN 2002: 17; emphasis in original). However, it must be borne in mind that the “generic element does not necessarily indicate the type or class of feature of the item named” (UNGEKN 2002: 12). In such cases we can speak of “false generic elements” (UNGEKN 2002: 12). *Specifics*, on the other hand, are that “part of a **toponym** [...] that distinguishes it from others of the same **feature class**. It may include an **article** and/or other linguistic elements. *Examples*: Port Elizabeth; Rio Negro; Cape of Good Hope (UNGEKN 2002: 24; emphasis in original). In accordance with Stolz and Warnke (2018b: 22), the term *classifier* will be used from here on to denote the generic element, and *modifier* for the specific element.⁷

A crucial point in this study is the fact that the geo-object a given toponym refers to, cannot be inferred from the name itself.⁸ This implies that, together with the name, the type of geographical feature – or *geo-object* – it refers to, has to be given in some other way. In colonial contexts, one linguistic strategy aimed at imparting this kind of *weltwissen* is the use of classifiers taken from the colonizer’s language which are attached to the indigenous place-names: “If the European component combines with a constituent from an autochthonous language of the colony, we employ the term mixed exonym” (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 53). Instead of *mixed exonym* the term *hybrid*, as used by Stolz and Warnke (2018b: 16), is preferred since it considers the endonymic and the exonymic element on the same level.

UNGEKN definition is very similar but contains the more specific “[language with] official status” (2002: 10), instead of the more general, and in the present context more appropriate, “widely spoken [language]”. Apart from that, ICOS refers explicitly to the UNGEKN-list.

⁷ For a thorough discussion of the term *classifier*, see Döschner (2018).

⁸ On this point, see for example Nyström (2016: 39–40).

3 Geographic and toponymic classification of the database

In accordance with his mission, Baumann strived to give a description of the investigated area that was as accurate as possible.⁹ In some cases, however, a number of different terms are applied to the same (type of) geo-object, seemingly for stylistic reasons only. The lowland area traversed by the *Lwengera River*, for example, is variously termed *Luengerathal* ‘-valley’¹⁰ (Baumann 1891: 5), *Luengerabecken* ‘-basin’ (Baumann 1890: 151), or *Luengerasenkung* ‘-depression’ (Baumann 1891: 163). In such cases, the relative geo-object was considered identical. With regard to the investigated area, it is also not easy to determine the exact boundaries of “Usambara”. For geographical and historical reasons, the study considers, however, not only the Usambara Mountains in the strict sense of the term but also the immediate eastern foreland, and, occasionally, the bordering areas at the foot of the southern and northern precipices. In the following subsections, the toponyms extracted on this basis from Baumann’s two Usambara works will be presented first with regard to the geo-objects they refer to (3.1), and subsequently in terms of their toponymic classification (3.2).

3.1 Named geo-objects

As can be seen from the list in the appendix, the corpus comprises 238 names referring to 233 geo-objects. Four geo-objects are mentioned with different names: A plantation on the very south-eastern fringes of East-Usambara is called *Deutschenhof*¹¹ (*Lewa*) in Baumann (1890: 42) whereas, in Baumann (1891: 154), the very same geo-object is consistently called *Lewa*, the indigenous name of the area where the German-owned plantation had been established, without any reference to the former German name. In two of the remaining three cases there are variants of the same name: *Nkosoi* (Baumann 1890: 100) and *Kosoi* (Baumann 1891: 175) both referring to the same river in the south-eastern part of West-Usambara, whereas *Msosue* (Baumann 1890: 54) and *Misosue* (Baumann

⁹ Of course, this does not necessarily mean that his claims reflect the realities as seen by the local people with regard to topography and toponymy, let alone to the people and their culture.

¹⁰ In order to make the construction patterns transparent, place names are glossed following the German internal structure, the underlining serving to distinguish the different building blocks.

¹¹ The name is made up of the elements ‘Germans’ + ‘farm’.

1891: 156) both name the same indigenous settlement where a station had been established by the *Universities Mission of Central-Africa* (Baumann 1891: 155–156). Finally, there is an area in north-eastern West-Usambara indicated with three slightly differing names: *Jaschatu* (Baumann 1890: 153), *Haschatu* (Baumann 1891: 170), and *District Schatu* (Baumann 1891: 6). The common element *schatu* refers to the personal name *Schatu* who was the area's chief at the time of Baumann's travels (Baumann 1890: 70 and 1891: 172). That the three names refer to the same geo-object is confirmed not only by the geographic indications given by Baumann in each case and the common references to chief *Schatu*, but also linguistically. During my personal visit in Usambara in May–June 2019, I was informed by several people that the noun *shatu*, in Smbaa¹², means 'python'. One of these informants, the elder *Mzee Shaban Mkwawu* preserved a memory of the settlement *Hashatu* and indicated the place where it was once located in accordance with Baumann's location of the place. He also recorded that *Shatu* was known as a healer and stated that the name bears the meaning of 'where Shatu lives'. In fact, in the Smbaa language, the prefix *ha-/he-* expresses 'belonging to'. The same meaning is also expressed by the preposition *-a* which can often be translated as 'of'. When this preposition is linked to the concept of *shi* 'area, country, kingdom' it takes the form *(shi) ya* '(land) of' (see Seidel 1895: 7–8 and 54; Steere 1867: 79–80).¹³ Therefore, the names *Haschatu* and *Jaschatu* recorded by Baumann bear both the meaning of *Schatus Land* ('land of Schatu') which is equivalent to *District Schatu*.¹⁴

The 233 identified geo-objects comprise 104 man-made and 129 natural features. The former group is made up of 97 indigenous villages and so-called *Dorfkomplexe*, i.e. areas with a central village (*Dorf*) and a series of related smaller villages and hamlets, as well as three missionary stations, two European plantations, one factory and one abandoned DOAG station. In confirmation of what has been said about the state of German colonization, the European sites were all situated at the southern and south-eastern outskirts of Usambara. The second largest group with 43 items contains, not surprisingly, names for "high ground" (Drummond 2016: 115). In addition there are 34 rivers and tor-

¹² *Smbaa* is a Bantu-language spoken by the Shmbaa people who have lived a long time in the area, calling their land *Shmbaai*. This also means that, from the point of view of Usambara's dominant ethnic group, the toponym *Usambara* is an exonym.

¹³ This was confirmed by my main – linguistic, geographic, and socio-cultural – informants, the Smbaa native speakers Dickson Shekivuli, anthropologist and director of *Kitala – Eco-Cultural Tourism Enterprise* (www.kitalaecte.co.tz), and the Rosminian Father Jerome Mkwama.

¹⁴ In the *Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas* (GDKA), the area is indicated as *Schatus-Land* (map n° 21, *Deutsch-Ostafrika Blatt 6*, and relative index).

rents as well as one lake which, in the dry seasons, becomes a swamp, and one river mouth. 32 geo-objects are larger geographical units of land whereas 16 are valleys. Finally, there are two areas labeled as river banks.

At this point, however, it is important to draw attention to a basic problem, i.e., to the mental concepts of space and place. It is more than likely that Baumann's ideas about space and place may have differed to a greater or lesser extent with regard to the ones his interlocutors had in mind. Furthermore, even though Baumann had knowledge of Kiswahili (Baumann 1891: 340), the most widely spoken language in Usambara was Smbaa. The mediation of space and place concepts between German and Smbaa through Kiswahili may have altered the outcomes even more. Different spatial notions may also affect the ideas about which spaces and places are worthy of being named. Therefore, it has to be borne in mind that what is outlined here are Baumann's ideas about what he saw and heard.

3.2 Toponymic classes

For the purpose of toponymic classification only, geo-objects identified by semantically similar classifiers are grouped under the following umbrella terms: geo-objects such as *Land* 'land', *Landschaft* 'region', *Gebiet* 'area', *District* 'district', *Ebene* 'plain' are tagged with the general term *territory*; geo-objects such as *Gebirge* 'mountain range', *Berg* 'mountain', *Felsberg*¹⁵, *Kamm* 'ridge', *Kuppe* 'hilltop', and so on are tagged as *mountain*; geo-objects such as *Thal* 'valley', *Becken* 'large valley', *Senkung* and *Mulde*, both meaning 'hollow', are tagged as *valley*; the geo-objects *Fluss* 'river', *Bach* 'torrent', *Giessbach* 'stream', as well as *See* 'lake', *Sumpf* 'swamp' and *Mündung* 'mouth (of a river)' are grouped under the general term of *water*. The two occurrences of the land-water transition zone *bank* are also included in this latter group. Finally, all kinds of populated areas are subsumed under the term *settlement*. On that basis, the database of 238 toponyms consists of 106 settlement names or *oikonyms*, 43 names of mountains or *oronyms*, 39 names of water or *hydronyms*, 34 names of territories or *choronyms*, and 16 names of valleys.

Including the variants mentioned in Section 3.1, there are 164 different names or *types* since 45 names refer to more than one kind of geo-object. Of these 45

¹⁵ The unusual term *Felsberg(e)*, i.e. 'rocky mountain(s)', has 8 occurrences in Baumann (1890) and 4 in Baumann (1891). It is possible that Baumann wanted to emphasise peaks showing bare rock in a generally forested mountain scenery.

names 32 have a double reference, 11 names refer to three, one to 4, and one other to 5 different geo-objects. 13 of the multiple references extend the hydronym to the valley created by the river, and 16 names refer both to mountains and settlements. To this last point, I will come back in the final part of this paper.

The present geographic and toponymic classifications reflect two things about the Usambara area at the time of Baumann's visit: On the one hand, the territory is characterized by a succession of high grounds and valleys replete with water resources. At the same time, it is a relatively densely populated area, given that nearly 45% of the recorded names refer to settlements. Baumann himself claims to have visited almost 200 villages (Baumann 1891: 12), and we can presume that there were many more, since

during the time of Baumann's visit the Shambaa built their villages in inaccessible areas which could not be seen from the main footpaths, so that invading warriors and slave raiders would not find them. The villages were hidden, surrounded by thickets or banana groves. A number of Europeans who settled in Shambaai at the time, and got to know it well, reported their surprise at finding that areas which they had assumed to be completely unpopulated were found, after long acquaintance, to be richly settled [...]. (Feierman 1972: 29)

4 Construction patterns and classifiers

In this section, the place names are analyzed with respect to two linguistic aspects. To begin with, the focus will be on the construction patterns as regards the use of endonymic and exonymic elements (Section 4.1). Subsequently, the category of classifiers is subjected to detailed scrutiny (Section 4.2).

4.1 Construction patterns

Except for the one exonym, *Deutschenhof*, all other 237 names contain an endonymic element, 197 of which are used at least once without an exonymic classifier. To take but two examples: The river *Pangani* is occasionally called *Panganifluss* 'Panganiriver' (Baumann 1891: 2), but most of the time just *Pangani*¹⁶ whereas *Schegescherai**berg* 'Schegescheraimountain' (Baumann 1890: 107) appears also as *Schegescherai* (Baumann 1890: 154). All endonymic toponyms which are used at least once without an attached classifier element were

¹⁶ About 120 occurrences in Baumann (1891).

entered into the database as pure endonyms. From a structural point of view, these endonyms appear mostly as one-word names. Without profound linguistic knowledge of the source languages, in particular Sambia and Kiswahili, they have no recognizable internal structure. The sole exceptions in this respect are endonyms containing the preposition *kwa* such as *Kwa Shihui*: “[A]reas which are named after the name of a chief or prominent person or amenity like a river or forest normally are preceded by Kwe- or Kwa-, that means ‘a land of’.”¹⁷ This modern interpretation is indirectly confirmed by Baumann who reported that the name of the chief of the village *Kwa Schihui* is *Schihui* (Baumann 1891: 173). However, where the preposition *kwa* is concerned, there is no consistency in spelling. In Baumann (1890: 100) we find for example *Kwamongoberg* and in Baumann (1891: 175) *Kwa-Mongoberg*.¹⁸

The only apparently endonymic two-word compound is *Umba-Nyika* consisting of the river name *Umba* and the Kiswahili classifier *nyika* ‘(dry) steppe’:

Das zweite geschlossene Steppengebiet des nordöstlichen Deutsch-Ostafrika möchte ich als Umba-Nyika bezeichnen. (Baumann 1891: 257)

[The second closed steppe territory in the north-eastern part of German East-Africa, I want to call Umba-Nyika.]¹⁹ (my translation)

In German colonial toponymy it is rather unusual that the geo-classifier is taken from an indigenous language (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 55). However, the element *nyika* has more than 30 occurrences in Baumann (1890), and nearly 60 occurrences in Baumann (1891). Although they are not part of the corpus analyzed here, it should be mentioned that there are also the toponyms *Mkomasi-Nyika* (Baumann 1891: 178), *Pangani-Nyika* (Baumann 1891: 200), and *Semtula-Nyika* (Baumann 1890: VII).²⁰ Among the above-mentioned occurrences of *nyika*,

17 E-mail from Dickson Shekivuli, July 2019.

18 For more examples, see the relevant part of the GDKA index (page 3 of the *Namen-Verzeichnis für die Karte von Deutsch-Ostafrika*).

19 The first steppe area mentioned is the *Massaisteppe* ‘Maasai Steppe’ (Baumann 1891: 257), south of the Pagani River and therefore not relevant for the present study. Right at the beginning of the 1891 volume, Baumann explains the meaning of *nyika*: “Ein grosser Theil des Landes ist Steppengebiet, Nyika, das eine ganz eigenartige Flora besitzt” [A large part of the country consists of steppe, nyika, which has a very particular flora] (Baumann 1891: 7) (my translation).

20 The toponym *Umba-Nyika* was included in the corpus because the Umba River has its source in the Usambara Mountains and because of the frequency of the name. The other steppe areas appear only occasionally and, although they border on West- and South-Usambara, there is less connection to the mountain area.

there is the even more interesting name *Vorlandsnyika* (Baumann 1891: 299 and 306) which is a kind of reverse pattern of the prototypical German colonial toponym, i.e., a hybrid made up of an indigenous modifier and a German classifier (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 55), e.g., *Usambaraberge* ‘Usambaramountains’. The toponym *Vorlandsnyika*, instead, consists of the German modifier *Vorland(s)* ‘foreland’ and the Kiswahili classifier *nyika*. This kind of hybrid is also rather rare in German colonial toponymy.

The remaining 39 toponyms are also hybrids, 36 of which reflect the prototypical pattern of German colonial toponyms mentioned above, i.e. $\{\{\text{modifier}\}_{\text{endonym}}\}\{\text{classifier}\}_{\text{exonym}}\}_{\text{toponym}}$. Examples are *Fingaberg* ‘Fingamountain’, *Dalunithal* ‘Dalunivalley’, *Hokoibach* ‘Hokoitorrent’. This group of 36 names is different from the pure endonyms mentioned above insofar as the endonymic element appears exclusively in combination with the exonymic classifier. Thirteen of these 36 compounds contain a classifier referring to the geo-object class *mountain*, such as *-berg* ‘mountain’, *-kamm* ‘ridge’, and/or *-kuppe*, nine to *-thal* ‘valley’, twelve to *water*, such as *-fluss* ‘river’ and/or *-bach* ‘torrent’. Two compounds comprise the classifiers *-gegend* and *-gebiet*, both meaning ‘area’. A closer analysis reveals that, in all of these cases, the classifier element is necessary in order to indicate the type of geo-object that is named. However, two – sometimes overlapping – case groups can be distinguished. The first case group is formed by toponyms which appear only once in the text, e.g. *Kwasindothal* ‘Kwasindovalley’ (Baumann 1890: 103), *Mbesabach* ‘Mbesatorrent’ (Baumann 1891: 197). A curious example here is the “higher ground” *Komascharu*. As he was climbing the mountain Baumann named it *Komascharuberg* ‘Komascharumountain’ (Baumann 1890: 77). Some sentences later, however, as he was looking down from the peak, it becomes the much less impressive *Komascharuhöhe* ‘Komascharuheight’ (Baumann 1890: 78). The second case group contains place names whose endonymic element refers to different geo-objects. An example here is *Mbaramu* which can refer to a village, a mountain or a river. As in other similar cases, the pure endonym generally denotes the village in contrast to *Mbaramubach* ‘Mbaramutorrent’ (Baumann 1890: 86), and *Mbaramuberg* ‘Mbaramumountain’ (Baumann 1890: 152).

The remaining three hybrid toponyms follow the construction pattern of *Neu-Bethel* ‘*Neu-Bethel*’²¹ where an adjective is attached to an already existing toponym. This pattern accounts for almost 10% of the German colonial toponymy (Stolz and Warnke 2015: 141), and, as in the example given, the most widely used adjectives are *neu* ‘new’, *alt* ‘old’, *groß* ‘large’, and *klein* ‘small’ (Stolz and

²¹ Neu-Bethel was a missionary station in the north-western part of the Usambara Mountains, founded in 1893 by missionaries from the German Bethel Mission and named after the place where the Mission’s headquarters was (and still is) located in Germany (Wohlrab 1915: 43–46).

Warnke 2018c: 85). However, the three corresponding toponyms found in Baumann use the adjective *unter-* ‘under/inferior’: *Unter-Hundu*, *Unter-Mbaramu*, *Unter-Mkalamu*.

Although, a prose text is not directly comparable with statistics compiled from indexes, the Baumann Usambara texts confirm the general tendency of a clear predominance of endonymic place names. 83% is, however, visibly lower than the nearly 93% of endonyms present in German colonial toponymy (Stolz und Warnke 2018b: 19).

4.2 Classifiers

Apart from the element *nyika* that has already been discussed in Section 4.1, all other classifiers are taken from German. As mentioned above, prototypical colonial toponyms “are prone to coming in the shape of right-headed binary determinative compounds [and] they usually contain a classifier [...] as head that is always taken from German (even if the first constituent is indigenous)” (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 55). This formation pattern is frequently used by Baumann, too. The one exonym found in Baumann follows that pattern, i.e. *Deutschenhof* ‘Germans + farm’²² as does the full endonym *Umba-Nyika*. All other such right-headed compounds are hybrids, examples being *Bagaibach* ‘Bagaitorrent’ (Baumann 1890: 84), *Lukindoberg* ‘Lukindomountain’ (Baumann 1891: 118), and *Hunduthal* ‘Hunduvalley’ (Baumann 1890: 63). In Baumann (1890) and (1891), I could find all in all 35 (German) generic geographical terms used as classifiers in names embodying the construction type $\{[\text{modifier}]_{\text{endonym}}\}\{[\text{classifier}]_{\text{exonym}}\}_{\text{toponym}}$:

Mountainous landscape	- <i>Abfall</i> ‘precipice’, - <i>berg/e</i> ‘mountain/s’, - <i>bucht</i> ‘bay’ ²³ , <i>Felsberg</i> ‘rocky mountain’, - <i>felsen</i> ‘rock’, - <i>gebirge</i> ‘mountain range’, - <i>grat</i> ‘ridge’, - <i>höhe</i> ‘height’, - <i>hügel</i> ‘hill’, - <i>kamm</i> ‘ridge’, - <i>kuppe</i> ‘hilltop’, - <i>mulde</i> ‘hollow’, - <i>senkung</i> ‘hollow’, - <i>thal</i> ‘valley’
Water	- <i>bach</i> ‘torrent’, - <i>Becken</i> ‘large valley’, - <i>fluss</i> ‘river’, - <i>flüsschen</i> ‘small river’, - <i>mündung</i> ‘river mouth’, - <i>ufer</i> ‘bank’, - <i>see</i> ‘lake’, - <i>sumpf</i> ‘swamp’

²² In the following, *Deutschenhof* is not considered. I will come back to it in the concluding Section 5.

²³ The meaning here is that the plain penetrates ‘bay-like’ into the mountain range just like the ocean does into the land.

Specific landscape	- <i>ebene</i> ‘plain’, - <i>steppe</i> ‘steppe’, - <i>wildnis</i> ‘wilderness’
Territory	- <i>bezirk</i> ‘district’, - <i>district</i> / <i>District</i> ‘district’, <i>Gebiet</i> ‘area’, - <i>egend</i> ‘area’, - <i>land</i> ‘land’, - <i>ländchen</i> ‘small land’
Settlement	- <i>complex</i> ‘complex’, - <i>Dorfkomplex</i> ‘village complex’, - <i>mission</i> ‘mission’, - <i>plantage</i> ‘plantation’

What may be striking at first glance is the preponderance of classifiers relating to natural features, despite the fact that oikonyms constitute nearly 45% of the corpus analyzed here. This impression reverses, however, when a second formation pattern is considered, i.e. left-headed two-word constructions where classifier and modifier are juxtaposed, e.g., *der Complex Msasa* ‘the complex (of) Msasa’ (Baumann 1891: 167), *das Dorf Nkisara* ‘the village (of) Nkisara’ (Baumann 1890: 63). For this construction type, I found the following 43 classifiers, 35 of which are not used in right-headed compounds. The eight classifiers found in both patterns are marked by an asterisk:

Territory	<i>Alpendistrict</i> ‘alpine district’, * <i>Bezirk</i> ‘district’, * <i>District</i> ‘district’, * <i>Gebiet</i> ‘area’, <i>Landschaft</i> ‘region’
Mountainous landscape	* <i>Berg</i> ‘mountain’, <i>Berglandschaft</i> ‘mountainous landscape’, <i>Bergmassen</i> ‘mountain massifs’, <i>Centralketten</i> ‘central mountain chains’, <i>Doppelgipfel</i> ‘double peak’, * <i>Felsberge</i> , <i>Felskopf</i> ‘rocky cliff’, <i>Hügelkette</i> ‘chain of hills’
Water	<i>Giessbach</i> ‘torrent’, <i>Wasserarm</i> ‘water arm’
Indigenous settlement	<i>Bergdorf</i> ‘mountain village’, * <i>Complex</i> ‘complex’, <i>Dorf</i> ‘village’, <i>Dörfchen</i> ‘small village’, <i>Dörferkomplex</i> ‘complex of villages’, <i>Felsdorf</i> ‘village situated on a rock’, <i>Felsenfeste</i> ‘castle-like village on a rock’, <i>Hauptdorf</i> ‘main village’, <i>Hauptort</i> ‘main settlement’, <i>Königsdorf</i> ‘royal village’, <i>Königsstadt</i> ‘royal town’, <i>Niederlassung</i> ‘settlement’, <i>Wakambacolonie</i> ‘colony of Wakamba (people)’, <i>Wakambadorf</i> ‘village of Wakamba’, <i>Wakambaniederlassung</i> ‘settlement of Wakamba’, <i>Waschambaadorf</i> ‘village of Shambaa’, <i>Waseguacolonie</i> ‘colony of Wasegua (people)’, <i>Waseguedorf</i> ‘village of Wasegua’, <i>Wataitacolonie</i> ‘colony of Wataita (people)’, <i>Weiler</i> ‘hamlet’
European settlement	<i>Factorei</i> ‘factory’, <i>Hauptstation</i> ‘main station’, * <i>Mission</i> ‘mission’, * <i>Plantage</i> ‘plantation’, <i>Station</i> ‘station’, <i>Tabaksfarm</i> ‘tobacco farm’, <i>Tabakplantage</i> ‘tobacco plantation’, <i>Zweigstation</i> ‘secondary station’

The frequency of settlement-classifiers in this second group – and its scarcity in the first one – is mainly due to intralinguistic preferences. The noun *Dorf* ‘village’ was a quite popular classifier through to modern times (Debus 2012: 184), often combined with a personal name as modifier element (Debus 2012: 167–168), e.g. *Petersdorf*, literally ‘Peter’s village’. This preference is reflected in the corpus where right-headed determinative compounds with *-dorf* are reserved for ethnonymic, i.e. person-related modifiers, e.g., *Waschambaadorf* (Baumann 1891: 178) whereas endonymic settlement names combine with *Dorf* only in left-headed two-word constructions such as *Dorf Mkalamu* (Baumann 1890: 55). A combination of both patterns is constituted by *Waschambaadorf Heniangu* (Baumann 1890: 111). It can be assumed that nouns with a similar meaning, such as *Colonie* ‘colony’ or *Weiler* ‘hamlet’, follow the same construction preferences.

Stolz and Warnke (2015) analyzed the index of the GDKA in order to identify prototypical features of German colonial toponymy. This index includes the former German colonies of *Kamerun*, *Togo*, *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, and the widely scattered possessions in the Pacific, whereas it does not include the charted toponyms of *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (DSW).²⁴ This was remedied, however, in a subsequent study where Stolz and Warnke (2018c) analyzed a sizable annotated list of colonial place names from DSW. Besides the identification of the various, more or less typical, formation patterns (Stolz and Warnke 2015: chapter 6.3.1, and 2018c: chapter 2.3), they also determined the occurrence and frequency of classifier elements. In fact, they were able to show that there is a wide range of different classifiers among which we find, however, eight nouns used as classifiers in all the German colonial toponymies, i.e. *Berg* ‘mountain’, *Fels* ‘rock’, *Gebirge* ‘mountain range’, *Fall* ‘waterfall’, *Höhe* ‘high’, *Hügel* ‘hill’, *Insel* ‘island’, and *Spitze* ‘peak’ (Stolz and Warnke 2015: 136, and 2018c: 84). They all refer to natural geo-objects.

Apart from the classifier element *Insel* ‘island’, irrelevant for an inland area,²⁵ five of the remaining seven are also used by Baumann whereas – surprisingly perhaps – *Spitze* ‘peak’ and *Fall* ‘waterfall’ are not. The absence of the former may be explained by the fact that the Usambara Mountains are more a succession of forested ridges and hilltops than of single prominent peaks. In

²⁴ On the reasons for the missing index, see Stolz and Warnke (2015: 131).

²⁵ However, together with the already mentioned classifier *-bucht* ‘bay’, Baumann (1891: 163) uses *Insel* ‘island’ in a figurative way, too: “Die drei Berginseln, welche Usambara östlich vorgelagert, sind der Tonguë, Mlinga und Lukindo” [The three mountain-islands which are situated immediately east of Usambara are the Tonguë, Mlinga and Lukindo] (my translation).

fact, the term *Spitze*, meaning ‘mountain peak’, occurs only once; the relative geo-objects remain, however, nameless:

Nördlich vom Mlinga [...] liegt das ansehnlichere Lukindogebirge. Dasselbe hat steile Hänge, besitzt mehrere *felsige Spitzen* und ist fast ganz mit Wald bedeckt. (Baumann 1891: 163)

[The Lukindo Range is located north of the Mlinga [mountain]. It has steep slopes, a number of *rocky peaks* and is covered nearly entirely by forest.] (my translation and my emphasis)

The noun *Fall* also occurs only occasionally though there are, indeed, many falls in the water-rich and steep Usambaras. But, just as in the case of *Spitze*, Baumann reports the name of the whole geo-object rather than that of specific parts:

Nur an den Bächen, unter welchen der Wuruni selbst einen hübschen Wasserfall bildet, gedeihen kleine Wäldchen. (Baumann 1891: 174)

[Only alongside the torrents, among which the Wuruni forms a nice waterfall, do small forests thrive.] (my translation)²⁶

Stolz and Warnke also identified classifiers that were used in only some of the colonies as well as classifiers found exclusively in one colonial toponymy system (Stolz and Warnke 2015: 137–138 and 2018c: 84). Selecting from these findings only those classifier elements that occur in the toponymy of DOA and that relate to geo-objects pertaining to a mountainous and water-rich landscape we find the following 24 items:

Dorf ‘village’, *Ebene* ‘plain’, **Feld* ‘field’, *Fluss* ‘river’, *Gebiet* ‘area’, **Gipfel* ‘peak’, **Hochland* ‘highland’, *Hof* ‘farm’, **Höhle* ‘cave’, **Kette* ‘chain’, **Kopf* ‘top’, *Land* ‘land’, *Mündung* ‘(river) mouth’, **Pass* ‘pass’, **Plateau* ‘plateau’, **Posten* ‘station’, **Quelle* ‘source/spring’, **Rücken* ‘ridge’, *See* ‘lake’, *Station* ‘station’, *Sumpf* ‘swamp’, *Tal* ‘valley’, **Teich* ‘pond’, **Wald* ‘forest’

Despite the wide range of 78 different classifiers found in Baumann, there are, besides the already mentioned *Spitze* ‘peak’ and *Fall* ‘waterfall’, 13 further GDKA classifiers (marked with asterisk) which are not used in right-headed

²⁶ For similar occurrences of unnamed waterfalls in Usambara, see Baumann 1890 (67, 115, and 154). The two named waterfalls, i.e. the *Thornton-Fall* in the neighboring Pare Mountains, named after the British geologist Richard Thornton (Baumann 1890: 89 and 1891: 205), and the *Panganifall* (Baumann 1891: 266) are located outside the studied area.

compounds such as *Tongueberg* ‘Tonguemountain’ (Baumann 1890: 53) nor in left-headed two-word toponyms such as *Berg Tongue* ‘mountain (of) Tongue’ (Baumann 1890: 42). The seven items marked only with an asterisk in the above list are found, however, as compound nouns and/or in occasional constructions, most of which are single occurrences. Examples are: *Gipfel des Lukindo* ‘peak of the Lukindo’ (Baumann 1890: 58),²⁷ *Doppelgipfel Kimbo* ‘double peak Kimbo’ (Baumann 1891: 180), *Hügelkette Makokani* ‘chain of hills (of) Makokani’ (Baumann 1890: 92), *Quellen des Muine* ‘sources of the Muine’ (Baumann 1891: 173), *Rücken des Tongueberges* ‘ridge of the Tonguemountain’ (Baumann 1890: 41) and *Urwald des Niëlo* ‘primeval forest of the Niëlo’ (Baumann 1890: 36).

The six underlined items may appear as nouns but are never used in relation to a place name: “[Wir] stiegen dann steil zu einem *Passe* an, der zwischen felsigen Gipfeln hindurchführt” [(We) then climbed a steep *pass* which passes between rocky peaks (my translation and my emphasis)] (Baumann 1890: 104). The following citation may explain why the term *Plateau* ‘plateau’ is not used as classifier: “Usambara kann nicht geradezu als Plateauland bezeichnet werden, obwohl es vielfach den Charakter eines solchen besitzt” [Usambara cannot really be called a plateau-land although, in many parts, it seems to be one (my translation)] (Baumann 1891: 2).

To end this section, it should be noted that Baumann used two classifiers which, in the data analyzed in Stolz and Warnke (2015) and (2018c), are idiosyncratic for colonies other than DOA. In Baumann, we find the classifier *Kuppe* ‘hilltop’ in *Kwambakuppe* (Baumann 1890: 112), which otherwise is found only in *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Stolz and Warnke 2018c: 84). We also find *Factorei* ‘factory’ (Baumann 1891: 308) which, in the GDKA index, can be found exclusively in *Kamerun*.

5 Concluding remarks

In this paper, Oskar Baumann’s Usambara writings have been analyzed with regard to recorded place names. The paper aims, primarily, to contribute to the project of *Comparative Colonial Toponomastics* as outlined by Stolz and Warnke (2018a). A comprehensive data-base is needed in order to “create a firm basis for a

²⁷ The only peak that was deemed worthy of being named is the *Kibogipfel* (Baumann 1891: 356). This may explain the absence of peak names since the Usambaras totally lack such imposing rock formations.

comparative typology of colonial place-names which, in turn, will allow us to put forward generalizations as to the overall characteristics of colonial place-names and the patterns which are typical” (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 46). In fact, Baumann recorded approximately 140 place names that are not contained in the GDKA index (see Appendix). The corpus is also important insofar as he recorded these names before the effective colonization of the area. Therefore, the endonymic names and elements can be considered as genuinely pre-colonial.²⁸

With regard to structural characteristics, the names as recorded by Baumann are, however, in accordance with Hypothesis 1 proposed by Stolz and Warnke on the phenomenology of colonial toponymies (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 46); the corpus shows typical features of the German colonial toponymy of later times, when colonialism was in full swing. Indeed, the vast majority of the place names are endonyms, whereas the hybrids have a preference for the construction pattern which would later become prototypical. In accordance with Hypothesis 2 (Stolz and Warnke 2018a: 46), i.e. variations due to specific time and/or space features, there are a couple of names, i.e. *Umba-Nyika*, *Vorlands-Nyika*, *Factorei Korogwe*, which seem to be specific to the Baumann corpus, and there is a slightly higher percentage of hybrid names. These particularities may be due to prominent environmental features – seen from above, the Usambara Mountains seem to swim in an endless sea of surrounding *nyika* – and to personal experiences in West-Africa²⁹, as well as to the requirements of prose text.

There is, however, an important difference between (colonial) place names purposely chosen and the names analyzed here. In chosen names it is not clear if the classifier element is indicative of the geo-object the name refers to. In the case of *Deutschenhof* ‘German farm’, the geo-object is, in fact, a (large) farm whereas *Wilhelmstal*, literally ‘valley of William’, is not the name of a valley but of the only town founded by Germans in the Usambara Mountains. In the case of the names analyzed here, the classifiers are not chosen for naming, but in order to indicate the geo-object that is referred to by the indigenous place name.³⁰

To conclude, I would like to highlight two points. As will be remembered, Baumann recorded 43 oronyms which formed, after settlements, the second

²⁸ On this point, see Stolz und Warnke (2018b: 15).

²⁹ The occurrence of the classifier element *Factorei* (Baumann 1891: 308) may be explained by Baumann’s journey in West-Africa to which he hints in the preface of his first Usambara book (Baumann 1890: V). In fact, the book’s final chapter VI is dedicated to that experience.

³⁰ In a less stringent manner, this is also true for the two classifier elements *Bucht* ‘bay’, and *Insel* ‘island’. Although they do not indicate the respective geo-objects, they were chosen to metaphorically illustrate how the places appeared to the human eye.

largest group. During my recent fieldwork I noticed, however, that my informants named only very few names referring to mountains whereas a good number of Baumann's oronyms, today, are settlement names. This may be due to the fact that

[h]istorically, high ground was economically marginal, although it may be [sic] have been used for pasture (especially of a transhumant nature), hunting, or mining. However, over the last century and a half, the human activity of climbing mountains simply for pleasure has led to a greater focus on their names, with in some cases new names being coined, either to replace an older extant name, or to fill a gap where no name existed. (Drummond 2016: 115)

Regarding the Usambara Mountains, high ground is still economically marginal since agriculture is confined to valleys. But, as mentioned before, villages were built preferably on high ground; therefore it is apparently the name of the village which names the area. My very last point concerns *Deutschenhof*. Amid the 237 indigenous place names, this one German name can be likened to a drum beat announcing an impending new era by linguistically claiming the invaders' putative ownership.

References

- Baumann, Oskar. 1890. *In Deutsch-Ostafrika während des Aufstandes. Reise der Dr. Hans Meyer'schen Expedition in Usambara*. Wien & Olmütz: Eduard Hölzel.
- Baumann, Oskar. 1891. *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete. Allgemeine Darstellung des nordöstlichen Deutsch-Ostafrika und seiner Bewohner auf Grund einer im Auftrage der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft im Jahre 1890 ausgeführten Reise*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Conte, Christopher A. 2004. *Highland sanctuary. Environmental history in Tanzania's Usambara Mountains*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Debus, Friedhelm. 2012. *Namenkunde und Namengeschichte. Eine Einführung*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.
- Demhardt, Josef Imre. 2000. *Die Entschleierung Afrikas*. Gotha: Justus Perthes Verlag.
- Döschner, Jascha. 2018. Wie viel ‚Gattung‘ haben Geo-Objekte? Gattungseigenenamen aus kolonialtoponomastischer Perspektive. In Thomas Stolz & Ingo H. Warnke (eds.), *Vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Strukturen und Funktionen kolonialer Ortsbenennung*, 77–94. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Drummond, Peter. 2016. Hill and mountain names. In Carole Hough & Daria Izdebska (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of names and naming*, 115–124. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Feierman, Steven. 1972. *Concepts of sovereignty among the Shambaa and their relation to political action*. Oxford: Wadham College D. Phil. thesis.

- Feierman, Steven. 1974. *The Shambaa Kingdom. A history*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- GDKA = Paul Sprigade & Max Moisel. 1901–1915. *Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) [Neuausgabe mit ergänzendem Kartenmaterial zu Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Köln: Komet-Verlag, 2002.]
- ICOS = Terminology Group of the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences* (ICOS): List of Key Onomastic Terms (Pdf-file downloaded from: <https://icosweb.net/publications/onomastic-terminology/> [accessed: 13 July 2019]).
- Jureit, Ulrike. 2012. *Das Ordnen von Räumen. Territorium und Lebensraum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition.
- Lewis, Malcolm G. 1987. The origins of cartography. In J. B. Harley & David Woodward (eds.), *Cartography in prehistoric, ancient, and medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (The History of Cartography 1), 50–53. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nyström, Staffan. 2016. Names and meaning. In Carole Hough & Daria Izdebska (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of names and naming*, 39–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seidel, A. 1895. *Handbuch der Shambala-Sprache in Usambara, Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Dresden & Leipzig: Alexander Köhler.
- Steere, Edward. 1867. *Collections for a handbook of the Shambala language*. Zanzibar: Central African Mission Press.
- Steere, Edward. 1890. *Handbook of the Swahili language, as spoken at Zanzibar*. Third edition revised and enlarged by A. C. Madan. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Stolz, Thomas & Ingo H. Warnke. 2015. Aspekte der kolonialen und postkolonialen Toponymie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Kolonialismus. In Daniel Schmidt-Brücken, Susanne Schuster, Thomas Stolz, Ingo H. Warnke & Marina Wienberg (eds.), *Koloniallinguistik. Sprache in kolonialen Kontexten*, 107–175. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Stolz, Thomas & Ingo H. Warnke. 2018a. Comparative colonial toponomastics: Evidence from German and Dutch colonial place-names. In Rita Heuser & Mirjam Schmuck (eds.), *Sonstige Namenarten. Stiefkinder der Onomastik*, 45–68. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Stolz, Thomas & Ingo H. Warnke. 2018b. System- und diskurslinguistische Einblicke in die vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Eine gemeinsame Einführung. In Thomas Stolz & Ingo H. Warnke (eds.), *Vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Strukturen und Funktionen kolonialer Ortsbenennung*, 1–75. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Stolz, Thomas & Ingo H. Warnke. 2018c. Auf dem Weg zu einer vergleichenden Kolonialtoponomastik. Der Fall Deutsch-Südwestafrika. In Birte Kellermeier-Rehbein, Doris Stolberg & Matthias Schulz (eds.), *Sprachgebrauch, Sprachkonzepte und Sprachenpolitik in kolonialen und postkolonialen Kontexten*, 71–104. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- UNGEGN = United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names. 2002. *Glossary of terms for the standardization of geographical names*. New York: United Nations. [Download at: <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/glossary.pdf>; accessed: 13 July 2019].
- Winans, Edgar V. 1962. *Shambala. The constitution of a traditional state*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Wohlrab, Paul. 1915. *Usambara. Werden und Wachsen einer heidenchristlichen Gemeinde in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Bethel: Verlagsbuchhandlung der Anstalt Bethel.

Appendix

Besides the analyzed place names and geo-objects they refer to, the list contains the toponyms' first citation in Baumann 1890 and 1891 as well as indications regarding the GDKA index relative to *Deutsch-Ostafrika*:³¹

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Baga</i>	mountain	75	173	u
<i>Baga</i>	territory	–	208	–
<i>Bagai</i>	river	154	–	–
<i>Bandi</i>	mountain	–	171	x
<i>Bombo</i>	settlement	–	168	x ³²
<i>Bombo</i>	river	–	168	x
<i>Bondei</i>	territory	98	7	x ³³
<i>Buiko</i>	settlement	–	3	x
<i>Buiti (East-Usambara)</i>	territory	–	10	–
<i>Buiti (West-Usambara)</i>	territory	–	319	x
<i>Buma</i>	settlement	106	–	–
<i>Bumbuli</i>	settlement	70	3	u
<i>Bumbuli</i>	territory	174	172	–
<i>Bungu</i>	settlement	–	174	x
<i>Daluni</i>	settlement	–	10	x
<i>Daluni</i>	river	–	165	x
<i>Dalunithal</i>	valley	–	165	–
<i>Dara</i>	settlement	–	10	–
<i>Dassei</i> berg	mountain	VII	–	–
<i>Deutschenhof</i>	plantation	42	–	–

³¹ In cases of multiple references, the marker *u* (for “undetermined”) indicates that the GDKA index contains the name but does not specify the type of geo-object it refers to. In such cases, the marker is placed on the same line as the first relative geo-object in Baumann without intending any specific reference. When a one-reference name is present in Baumann and the GDKA, the marker *x* is used, even in lack of specification. The arrow (→) indicates that the name is present in the index but refers to different geo-objects.

³² In the GDKA the name also refers to the geo-objects region (*Landschaft*), and mountain.

³³ In the index we find *Bonde*, which may be a typo since, on the relevant map n° 21, i.e. *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, Blatt 6, the region is correctly labelled as *Bondëi*.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Fingaberg</i>	mountain	56	–	–
<i>Fuschi</i>	mountain	69	–	–
<i>Gale</i>	settlement	VII	175	x ³⁴
<i>Galeberg</i>	mountain	103	–	–
<i>Gombelo</i>	mountain	69	118	x
<i>Gombelo</i>	settlement	--	151	x
<i>Gomeni</i>	mountain	69	–	–
<i>Hafeha</i>	settlement	–	168	–
<i>Hamadika</i>	settlement	–	168	–
<i>Handëi</i>	settlement	–	172	x
<i>Handëi</i>	territory	54	7	x
<i>Hankuni</i>	settlement	69	–	x
<i>Haschatu</i>	settlement	VII	–	u
<i>Haschatu</i>	territory	–	170	–
<i>Heniangu</i>	settlement	111	–	–
<i>Hewumu</i>	settlement	56	–	–
<i>Hokoibach</i>	river	112	–	–
<i>Hundu</i>	mountain	63	167	–
<i>Hundu</i>	settlement	VII	168	–
<i>Hundu</i>	territory	–	7	–
<i>Hundu</i>	valley	63	–	–
<i>Hundu</i>	river	63	–	–
<i>Ibumba</i>	mountain	67	–	–
<i>Jamba</i>	mountain	69	–	x
<i>Jamba</i>	settlement	104	–	–
<i>Jaschatu</i>	territory	153	–	–
<i>Jaschatuberge</i>	mountain	65	–	–
<i>Kangangoroka</i>	mountain	62	–	–

³⁴ In the GDKA the name is spelled *Gare*, the Swahili version of the Sambia *Gale*, and also the current standard form of the name. Since Sambia has no sound represented by the grapheme *r*, it can be assumed that names comprising the grapheme *r* are not of Sambia origin (Dickson Sheki-vuli, p.c.). See also Steere (1867: 2) whereas Seidel (1895: 1), seemingly erroneously, identifies *r*, alongside with *l*, as coronal sound. My personal experience resembles Steere's affirmation: "L is formed at the back of the mouth, and often resembles an English r" (Steere 1867: 2), whereas Sambia speakers, when asked, would strictly deny having pronounced an r-sound.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Kasita</i>	settlement	151	–	x
<i>Kigongoi</i>	mountain	64	–	–
<i>Kigongoi</i>	settlement	–	165	–
<i>Kihitu</i>	settlement	76	–	x
<i>Kihuhui</i>	river	–	120	x ³⁵
<i>Kihuiro</i>	settlement	VII	3	x
<i>Kilangue</i>	settlement	165	–	–
<i>Kimbo</i>	mountain	75	180	→ ³⁶
<i>Kinko</i>	settlement	109	–	–
<i>Kiranga</i>	settlement	165	–	–
<i>Kisara</i>	settlement	–	168	x
<i>Kiserui</i>	settlement	62	166	–
<i>Kitivo</i>	settlement	69	10	x
<i>Kitivo</i>	territory	–	180	–
<i>Kitivo</i>	river	75	168	x
<i>Komascharu-berg</i>	mountain	77	–	–
<i>Kombola</i>	mountain	VII	166	u
<i>Kombola</i>	settlement	–	166	–
<i>Kombola</i>	territory	–	7	–
<i>Kongoi</i>	mountain	67	–	u
<i>Kongoi</i>	settlement	–	172	–
<i>Kongoi</i>	territory	–	195	–
<i>Korogwe</i>	factory	–	308	–
<i>Korogwe</i>	settlement	VII	3	x
<i>Korogwe</i>	station	119	–	–
<i>Kosoi</i>	river	–	175	x
<i>Kugulunde</i>	settlement	103	175	x
<i>Kumba</i>	river	68	3	→ ³⁷
<i>Kumbathal</i>	valley	VII	169	–
<i>Kumbauffer</i>	river bank	–	172	–
<i>Kwa Kihungui</i>	settlement	–	177	–

³⁵ GDKA: also settlement.

³⁶ GDKA: region (*Landschaft*) and settlement.

³⁷ GDKA: mountain and settlement.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Kwa Mhania</i>	settlement	–	120	–
<i>Kwa Schihui</i>	settlement	–	173	–
<i>Kwa Tschaua</i>	settlement	–	163	–
<i>Kwakohafluss</i>	river	53	–	x ³⁸
<i>Kwamba</i>	settlement	112	176	–
<i>Kwambakuppe</i>	mountain	112	–	–
<i>Kwambugu</i>	territory	VII	17	–
<i>Kwamongoberg</i>	mountain	100	175	–
<i>Kwasindothal</i>	valley	103	–	x ³⁹
<i>Lewa</i>	plantation	42	115	u
<i>Lewa</i>	settlement	–	120	–
<i>Luengera</i>	territory	–	170	–
<i>Luengera</i>	valley	63	5	–
<i>Luengera</i>	river	62	3	x ⁴⁰
<i>Lugulua</i>	settlement	–	177	–
<i>Lukindo</i>	mountain	58	118	–
<i>Lungusa</i>	settlement	–	162	x
<i>Lutindi</i>	mountain	62	168	u
<i>Lutindi</i>	settlement	–	168	–
<i>Magamba</i>	mountain	75	175	x
<i>Magila</i>	mission	54	156	u
<i>Magila</i>	plantation	–	154	–
<i>Magila</i>	settlement	VII	128	–
<i>Magila</i>	territory	–	120	–
<i>Magoda</i>	settlement	69	–	–
<i>Makueli</i>	settlement	–	167	–
<i>Makuelikamm</i>	mountain	75	–	–
<i>Malela</i>	settlement	–	172	–
<i>Maluati</i>	settlement	–	174	–
<i>Mangapuani</i>	settlement	–	167	x ⁴¹
<i>Maniombe</i>	settlement	–	67	–

38 GDKA: without classifier.

39 Idem.

40 Even if not specified in the index, the name clearly refers to the river (see map n° 21).

41 GDKA: *Mangapwani* (spelling according to Steere).

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Manka</i>	settlement	–	174	x
<i>Maramba</i>	settlement	–	137	x
<i>Maringo</i>	settlement	–	177	x
<i>Maschëua</i>	settlement	67	10	→ ⁴²
<i>Masëua</i>	lake	67	169	–
<i>Masinde</i>	settlement	VII	11	x
<i>Masindeberge</i>	mountain	96	–	–
<i>Mavru</i>	territory	–	173	–
<i>Mavumbi</i>	mountain	67	171	x ⁴³
<i>Mayo</i>	settlement	–	172	–
<i>Mbalu</i>	territory	88	177	–
<i>Mbaramu</i>	settlement	VII	10	x
<i>Mbaramu</i>	territory	–	177	–
<i>Mbaramubach</i>	river	86	178	x ⁴⁴
<i>Mbaramuberg</i>	mountain	75	178	–
<i>Mbusi</i>	settlement	–	175	x
<i>Mgalo</i>	settlement	–	180	–
<i>Mgambo</i>	settlement	–	167	x ⁴⁵
<i>Mgambo</i>	river	69	–	–
<i>Misosuë</i>	mission	–	156	–
<i>Misosuë</i>	territory	–	120	–
<i>Mkalamu</i>	mountain	58	–	–
<i>Mkalamu</i>	settlement	VIII	167	x ⁴⁶
<i>Mkokola</i>	settlement	61	–	–
<i>Mkolo</i>	river	–	172	x
<i>Mkulumusi</i>	valley	–	302	u
<i>Mkulumusi</i>	river	54	3	–
<i>Mkumbara</i>	settlement	VII	10	x
<i>Mkundi</i>	settlement	–	178	x
<i>Mkusu</i>	river	104	175	x

⁴² GDKA: region (*Landschaft*).

⁴³ GDKA: also settlement.

⁴⁴ GDKA: without classifier.

⁴⁵ GDKA: also region (*Landschaft*).

⁴⁶ GDKA: also river.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Mlago</i>	settlement	111	176	–
<i>Mlalo</i>	mountain	78	162	u
<i>Mlalo</i>	settlement	VII	4	–
<i>Mlalo</i>	valley	107	179	–
<i>Mlangoi</i>	settlement	–	176	x
<i>Mlinga</i>	mountain	54	2	x
<i>Mlulu</i>	river	–	169	–
<i>Mnasi</i>	settlement	–	178	x
<i>Mnola</i>	settlement	75	–	–
<i>Mombo</i>	river	100	3	x
<i>Mombo-mündung</i>	river mouth	–	176	–
<i>Mpai</i>	mountain	–	171	–
<i>Mruasi</i>	settlement	VII	120	x
<i>Msagassa</i>	settlement	–	171	x
<i>Msasa</i>	territory	–	167	x ⁴⁷
<i>Msasaberg</i>	mountain	56	–	–
<i>Mschihui</i>	settlement	154	170	–
<i>Mschihui</i>	territory	67	168	–
<i>Mschihuiberge</i>	mountain	65	10	–
<i>Mschindi</i>	settlement	66	169	x
<i>Msembasi</i>	river	–	19	x
<i>Msembasigebiet</i>	territory	–	165	–
<i>Msosuë</i>	mission	222	–	–
<i>Msosuë</i>	settlement	54	–	–
<i>Mtai</i>	settlement	–	171	x ⁴⁸
<i>Mtai</i>	territory	–	165	–
<i>Mti</i>	settlement	162	162	x ⁴⁹
<i>Muëmtindi</i>	settlement	57	357	x
<i>Mueremwa</i>	river	–	3	x
<i>Mueremwathal</i>	valley	–	169	–
<i>Muhania</i>	settlement	53	–	x

47 GDKA: *Msassa*.

48 GDKA: also mountain.

49 Idem.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Muine</i>	river	172	–	x
<i>Muinethal</i>	valley	–	173	–
<i>Musi</i>	river	–	164	x
<i>Musigegend</i>	territory	–	164	x ⁵⁰
<i>Musithal</i>	valley	–	164	–
<i>Nguiro</i>	settlement	–	175	x
<i>Ngului</i>	settlement	–	172	→ ⁵¹
<i>Niëlo</i>	mountain	VII	–	x
<i>Nigale</i>	mountain	67	–	–
<i>Nkisara</i>	settlement	63	–	–
<i>Nkosoi</i>	river	100	–	–
<i>Pangani</i>	valley	62	6	–
<i>Pangani</i>	river	36	2	x ⁵²
<i>Panganuifer</i>	river bank	–	9	–
<i>Pondebach</i>	river	88	178	–
<i>Pondethal</i>	valley	88	–	–
<i>Pungule</i>	settlement	86	179	–
<i>Rusotto</i>	settlement	223	–	u ⁵³
<i>Rusotto</i>	valley	109	–	–
<i>Schagaiu</i>	mountain	85	179	x ⁵⁴
<i>Schatu</i>	territory	–	6	x ⁵⁵
<i>Schegescherai</i>	mountain	107	–	–
<i>Schele</i>	territory	78	177	–
<i>Schembekesa</i>	mountain	153	–	u
<i>Schembekesa</i>	settlement	–	167	–
<i>Schumme</i>	territory	–	176	x ⁵⁶
<i>Semauscha</i>	mountain	84	–	–
<i>Semdoëbach</i>	river	61	–	x

⁵⁰ GDKA: without classifier.

⁵¹ GDKA: region (*Landschaft*).

⁵² GDKA: also region (*Landschaft*).

⁵³ GDKA: *Rusoto*.

⁵⁴ GDKA: *Schageiu*.

⁵⁵ GDKA: *Schatus-Land*.

⁵⁶ GDKA: *Schume*.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Seruka</i>	settlement	–	164	–
<i>Sigi</i>	territory	61	–	–
<i>Sigi</i>	valley	58	166	–
<i>Sigi</i>	river	56	4	–
<i>Simbili</i>	settlement	–	165	x ⁵⁷
<i>Simuiubach</i>	river	103	–	–
<i>Tanda</i>	settlement	–	172	–
<i>Tarawanda</i>	settlement	VII	11	x ⁵⁸
<i>Tengue</i>	settlement	54	–	x ⁵⁹
<i>Tëue</i>	settlement	85	–	x ⁶⁰
<i>Tschuruihügel</i>	mountain	–	169	x ⁶¹
<i>Tulii</i>	settlement	–	176	–
<i>Uandani</i>	settlement	75	–	x
<i>Uatëuebach</i>	river	84	–	–
<i>Ubir</i>	settlement	–	167	x
<i>Ukumbine</i>	river	53	18	–
<i>Ula</i>	mountain	66	–	–
<i>Umba</i>	mission	–	156	–
<i>Umba</i>	settlement	–	117	x
<i>Umba</i>	territory	154	176	–
<i>Umba</i>	river	63	4	x
<i>Umba-Nyika</i>	territory	108	X	x ⁶²
<i>Unter-Hundu</i>	settlement	64	–	–
<i>Unter-Mbaramu</i>	settlement	161	–	–
<i>Unter-Mkalamu</i>	settlement	58	–	–
<i>Usambara</i>	mountain	43	VII	u
<i>Usambara</i>	territory	174	–	–
<i>Vorlands-Nyika</i>	territory	–	120	–
<i>Wadiri</i>	river	63	–	–

⁵⁷ GDKA: also region (*Landschaft*).

⁵⁸ GDKA: Tarawande.

⁵⁹ GDKA: *Tengwe* (Steere spelling).

⁶⁰ GDKA: *Tewe* (Steere spelling).

⁶¹ GDKA: without classifier.

⁶² GDKA: Umba-Njika.

Place name	Geo-object	1890	1891	GDKA
<i>Wadirithal</i>	valley	63	–	–
<i>Wagamobach</i>	river	102-3	–	–
<i>Wuga</i>	mountain	100	–	x
<i>Wuga</i>	settlement	VII	175	x
<i>Wuga 2</i>	settlement	70	–	–
<i>Wugire</i>	territory	151	173	x
<i>Wuruni</i>	territory	–	175	–
<i>Wuruni</i>	river	–	174	u ⁶³
<i>Wuruni-mündung</i>	river mouth	–	175	–
<i>Wurunithal</i>	valley	–	174	–

⁶³ GDKA: also *Wuruni-Fälle* ‘Wuruni falls’.

