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GEOGRAPHY AND ONOMASTICS: GEOGRAPHICAL TERMINOLOGY IN THE ORONYMY OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS

Toponymy and, more specifically, toponymic generics constitute an important source of geographical terminology, which is a valuable object of study in both linguistics and cultural geography. Based on this, the authors compiled, analysed and classified the oronymic generics of the Balearic Islands (Spain) from the largest toponymic collection of the archipelago, made up of some 50,000 place names gathered for the Balearic Topographical Map at a scale of 1:5,000. A considerable part of toponyms was obtained from field work, which consisted of hundreds of interviews with informants previously selected for their special knowledge of the territory they live in. Field work allowed to obtain popular (“folk,” “unofficial”) toponyms that contain specific generics used in the function of geographical terms, often based on metaphor or another type of semantic shift. This work made it possible to bring together the terms that, in the Catalan language of the Balearic Islands, identify the diverse inland orographic morphologies of each of the islands that form the archipelago (Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, and Formentera). The corpus of terminology relating to the names of the relief of the Balearic Islands is formed by 120 oronymic generics. All the terms are classified into three groups distinguishing between terms related to positive relief features (macro, meso- and micro-relief), negative relief features (elongated, rounded, and elevated depressions), and neutral relief that brings together and differentiates forms of vertical, horizontal, inclined and stepped relief. Quantitative observations made by the author show the relatively wider diversity of terminology used in the names of positive relief features, in which macro-relief features are predominant. In the negative relief group, the most varied subgroup of term relates to longitudinal depressions, while in the neutral relief the biggest part of terms specifically designates sloped landforms.

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1. Toponymy and geographical terminology

The obvious interdisciplinary character of toponymy has long been perceived by some geographers, as well as representatives of various disciplines (philologists, cartographers, historians, writers, etc.) at the international level. Chesnokova [2011] refers to toponymy as ‘geographical onomastics’ to which she attributes the study of geographical names (toponyms) by combining the methodologies of linguistic, historical, and geographical analysis, which makes it a clear sample of synthetic science.

As a result of a vast task of toponymic compilation in the Balearic Islands, we have already had the opportunity to approach this field of study [Ordinas Garau, 2001] and to note some of its particularities, among them, the one referred to by the aforementioned authors regarding the important use of metaphors in toponymic nomenclature and, therefore, in geographical terminology. We have also researched and refined regional toponymy, obtaining particularly fruitful results in the study of regional geomorphological vocabulary [Ordinas Garau, 2004].

The geographical terminology present in place names can be detected, concretely, in the generic part of toponyms because, although the toponym is a lexical unit, it can assume several forms depending on the number of its elements. Salazar [1985] states that the most general form of the toponym is the one that has two constituents that he calls the *generic element* and the *specific element*, also referred to as the *appellative* and the *determiner*. Salazar [Ibid., 20] also calls the generic or appellative element a *geographical term*. This is the common name, which designates the type of geographical feature to which the toponym refers to: a mountain, a river, a road, a forest, etc. The specific or determinant name is the proper name or toponym *strictu sensu*, the identifying element, that is, the one that distinguishes one particular feature among others belonging to the same category: Mount *Everest*, *Nile River*, etc. While onomasticians mostly focus on the identifying element of the place name, the analysis of toponymic generics and their frequency is of particular interest for geographers. This allows us to establish correspondences between appellatives and specific landscape features as well as to describe systems of geographical terms specific to each territory [Ordinas Garau, 2001].

The cultural identity of each of the major islands of the Balearic archipelago (Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza (Eivissa), and Formentera) is evidenced through the toponymy and geographical terminology present in their generics, as a consequence of the successive superimpositions of languages and cultures of the various peoples that have passed through their territory in the course of the history. The classification and analysis of the toponymy of the Balearic Islands, as well as their geographical terminology showcases evident singularities in each of the islands (compared to non-island territories) as a result of a secular isolation that has led to the fossilised conservation of terms and other linguistic aspects, in the manner of cultural endemisms [Ordinas & Binimelis, 2017].

2. The scope of the study: the Balearic Islands

The Balearic Islands, located in the central-western part of the western sector of the Mediterranean Sea, constitute an archipelago made up of five major islands (Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, Formentera, and Cabrera¹) and more than 150 smaller islands and islets with a total area of 4,968.3 km² and a coastline of 1,428 km. The islands of Mallorca, Menorca, Cabrera and sa Dragonera together with their adjacent islets form a subset that, from a genuine historical point of view, were called the Balearic Islands (or Gimnesias), while Ibiza, Formentera and their islets constitute what is called the Pityusic islands.

The strategic situation of the Balearic Islands has given rise to a culture that is the result of the successive superimpositions of other cultures — Talayotic, Greek, Carthaginian, Roman, Muslim, Catalan, Spanish and, finally, Anglo-Saxon and Germanic — with their respective languages. Such cultural convergence is due to the phenomenon of globalisation brought about by tourism and immigration of various peoples who have passed through the archipelago throughout history, leaving multiple or singular traces in the toponymy of the islands. Since the Catalan conquest of Mallorca in 1229, Catalan has been the language of the archipelago. This is why the traditional toponymy is Catalan, although in recent decades, Spanish and English have appeared in some of the most recent neo-toponyms of tourist origin.

3. Sources and methodology

The most recent and exhaustive, the main source for obtaining the geographical terminology relating to the physical environment present in the toponymic generics of the Balearic Islands has been a database of some 50,000 toponyms resulting from the toponymic collection carried out for the Topographic Map of the Balearic Islands (scale 1:5,000). As a starting point, the main cartographic works were used including the National Topographic Map of Spain of the National Geographic Institute (IGN) at a scale of 1:25,000 — to locate the toponyms and increase their density by means of fieldwork consisting of hundreds of interviews in the field with hundreds of informants, previously selected for their special knowledge of the territory.

The toponymic generics offer abundant geographical information and, precisely for this reason, becomes a source of knowledge and transmission of geographical science, constituting an essential terminological vocabulary. Therefore, from the Balearic toponymy stored in this database, the generic terms relating to the morphology of the terrain have been extracted. They have been analysed and classified according to three large oronymic groups: positive relief, negative relief, and neutral relief. From the subsequent analysis of their meaning, each generic has been categorized with the aim of bringing

¹ Both Cabrera and sa Dragonera, due to their small size, have historically remained practically uninhabited. In the case of Cabrera, it is a sub-archipelago made up of 19 islands and islets of barely 13 km².

together the terrain terminology of the Balearic Islands into a complex taxonomic classification for the identification of the geoforms and their scientific systematisation.

4. Results: geographical terminology in Balearic oronyms

A detailed analysis of toponymy reveals a great diversity of information conveyed by place names. Our focus is on geomorphology that lies at the intersection of toponymy and geographical terminology referring to the multiple forms of relief. In relation to our subject, it incorporates a very important part of generic geographical names taken from the popular names of the forms of relief such as, for example, *poljé*, *dolina*, *kame*, etc., terms that come from the languages of different regions of the world and that belong to the nomenclature used internationally, contaminated by English. In the fieldwork, the names of landforms are provided by an informant. This use of toponymic information received from local inhabitants is reflected in topographic maps, if, of course, they are well prepared.

In the geographical terminology of the Balearic Islands, more than half of the terms are associated to oronyms, i.e. a group of place names relating to the morphology of the terrain. The terms attested as parts of toponyms are numerous, which allows any feature of the relief to be clearly identified by researching the original metaphor it is based on. Berdoulay [1982, 585] already addressed the value of metaphor as an expressive resource in geographical language, stating that since the geographical language is based, to a large extent, on everyday language, it “would be absurd to battle such an essential form of discourse as metaphor.”

Table shows the main terrain types — positive, negative, and neutral relief — which are identified by means of a rich terminology attested in toponymy, but also due to the information conveyed by the proprial elements of place names.

Classification of oronymic generics

Positive relief	Macrorelief
	Mesorelief
	Microrelief
Negative relief	High depressions
	Elongated depressions
	Rounded depressions
Neutral relief	Vertical relief
	Sloping relief
	Horizontal relief
	Stepped relief

With regard to the positive relief, a distinction can be made between macro-, meso- and micro-relief depending on the features' size, which is reflected in the nomenclature. In the large elements of relief, mainly thanks to their greater dimensions, the toponymy itself often highlights some of the feature's parts which are better distinguished, either by their position or their relevance, as is the case of summits and buttresses.

Place names are also used to identify negative relief, although in this case, the shape (elongated, rounded) and position (elevated) seem to be more significant than their size. On the other hand, in the category of neutral relief (neither positive nor negative) we include a series of features that are characterised by other properties (verticality, horizontality, inclination, and staggering), and thus are not consistent with the previous two categories.

4.1. Positive relief

The appellatives to identify the positive relief features refer almost exclusively to the shapes of prominences, shapes that often recall those of objects, animals or parts of their bodies, constituting the main source of metaphorical associations put into operation when it comes to designating such landforms. This fact seems to be universal, on account of being found in any territory and culture. Place names do not establish genetic distinctions in reliefs. They refer exclusively to topographical features, and more specifically to the profiles that these features present; hence they are polyvalent and refer to a very varied range of different shapes displaying, however, a certain morphological convergence, which is reflected in the appellative elements of the names.

In the case of the Balearic Islands, the oronymic terminology attested in the names of positive relief features is made up of 55 terms that we have classified into three subgroups depending on the size of the corresponding landforms. And although this may seem the easiest criterion to apply in order to obtain a certain hierarchy, it presents serious difficulties when trying to adapt it to the diversity that nature offers, and that people perceive. We therefore wish to record our reservations and doubts about this taxonomy, as we are fully aware of its limitations, as demonstrated by the many cases that are classified in duplicate.

Before listing the terms used in the names of large (macro) landforms of positive relief, it should be noted that, as we are aware of the dimensional and insular characteristics of the Balearic territory that directly affect the perception and gradation that its inhabitants have of this microcosm [Ordinas & Binimelis, 2017], we would need to include terms referring to morphologies and sizes that may not seem opportune in other territories. The maximum heights of the islands are *Puig Major* (1,443 m, Mallorca), *sa Talaiassa* (475 m, Ibiza), *El Toro* (350 m, Menorca) and *La Mola* (192 m, Formentera). The terms used in the names of the highest prominences of the islands are: *mola* 'flat topped hill, isolated mountain, massif-shaped, rounded and flat at the top' (e.g., *Mola de Fornells*), *puig* 'mountain, elevation of the terrain, forming a peak that stands out from the surrounding terrain' (e.g., *Puig Major*), *serra* 'mountain range,

chain of mountains' (e.g., *Serra de Tramuntana*), and *talaia* 'high place of observation, mountain' (used in Ibiza, e.g., *Talaia de Sant Josep*). These terms are widely present in toponymy, representing generic elements of 2,554 place names. Nevertheless, there are few toponyms with the generics *alt* 'height' (e.g., *Alt de Son Lliure*), *amunt* 'up' (e.g., *es Amunts*, where the plural form of *amunt* is used as the proprial element), *muntanya* 'mountain' (e.g., *Muntanya de Calicant*), and *tossal* 'elevation with a flat summit' (e.g., *Tossals Verds*).

As for the medium-sized prominences, it is difficult to precisely situate this "middle ground" of the landscape if not by the typical definition 'of that which is between the two extremes'. We will therefore have to exclude the large prominences already dealt with, and the small elevations which we will study later. That result obtained by such elimination include toponyms with the following terms: *castellot* 'big castle → orographic prominence resembling a castle' (e.g., *es Castellot*), *pujol* 'knoll, small mountain' (e.g., *es Pujol*), *serral* 'small mountain with an elongated summit' (e.g., *Serral de ses Monges*), and *turó* 'small mountain with a smooth surface profile' (e.g., *Turó de ses Abelles*). Among the less frequently occurring are *pujolar* 'a group of knolls' (e.g., *es Pujolar*), *serradell* and *serrat* 'small, elongated, low mountain' (e.g., *es Serradell*), *tossa* 'a wide and undulating elevation' (e.g., *Tossa Alta*), and *tussol* 'knoll, small elevation' (e.g., *es Tussol*).

Some terms refer to mountains as secondary branches of a mountain chain; such appellatives are all metaphorical: *bec* 'beak → peak, a crag that extends and rises higher horizontally than the surrounding terrain' (e.g., *Bec de Ferrutx*), *cap* 'head → cape, headland, high end of a prominence' (e.g., *Cap de Formentor*), *morro* 'bulging lip → bluff, advanced and abrupt buttress of a mountain' (e.g., *Morro de Cúber*).

Within the group of minor forms of the positive relief, special consideration should be given to those which, likewise, refer to the upper or elevated part of some macro-landforms which thus receive, at their culminating end, a special denomination. These are terms that have in common the meaning of positive and relatively high micro-oronyms. All these designations refer to the highest part of a mountain, almost always with the supplementary idea of a sharp peak, an airy rock ending, which is reflected in the metaphors used when defining such terms: *agulla* 'spire', *pic* 'peak', *punta* 'point', etc. These terms are *caire* 'ridge, orographic accident consisting of a ridge formed by a step or a flat area in a more or less precipitous incline' (e.g., *Caire del Cirerar*), *carena* 'crest between two slopes on a mountain or mountain range' (e.g., *Carena des Bosc*), *Corona* 'summit, the highest part of a mountain' (e.g., *sa Corona*), *cresta* 'crest, upper part of a mountain, forming the dividing line between two slopes' (e.g., *Sa Cresta*), *cuculla* 'summit, sharp peak of a mountain' (e.g., *Cuculla de Fartàritx*), *esquena* 'back, upper and convex part of a mountain' (e.g., *Esquena des Ases*), *Esquerda* 'sharp-shaped prominence' (e.g., *s'Esquerda*), *fort* 'fort → (in s'Albufera de Mallorca) high ground with a consistent texture, normally not flooded' (e.g., *Fort des Bres*), *picó/picot* 'sharp peak of a mountain' (e.g., *es Picó*, *es Picot*), *picatxo* 'very small elevation' (e.g., *es*

Picatxo), *punta* ‘point, the sharp upper part of a prominence’ (e.g., *Punta de s’Hostal*), and *puntal* ‘standalone peak’ (e.g., *Puntal de sa Marina*). All of them have a discreet representation in toponymy, despite being commonly used words.

The difficulties in understanding the morphological diversity of the positive relief forms together with the abundance of respective geographical terms — mostly metaphorical and often with a low toponymic representation that may raise doubts as to whether or not they are regular generics — makes it necessary to posit a new category for the most problematic denominations. This group includes: *bony* ‘lump → prominent landform feature of limited dimensions’ (e.g., *Bony d’en Xesc*), *castellet* ‘small castle → prominence of small extension on top of a rocky outcrop’ (originally, it could refer to prehistoric constructions or to small Muslim or Christian fortifications of which there are hardly any traces left, and it came to identify the rocky protuberance that formed the base of such constructions, the term is often used as an identifying denomination, i.e. as a place name, by itself, e.g., *es Castellet*), *mac* ‘pebble, stone’ (in Mallorca and Menorca, a *mac* is usually no bigger than a man’s fist, whereas in Ibiza, it refers to large rocks, especially coastal ones, and it has plentiful representation in local toponymy, e.g., *Mac de s’Eixugador*), *pedra* ‘stone → a fragment of rock that has toponymic repercussions either because of its considerable size or because it is linked to a story or anecdote’ (e.g., *Pedra de ses Perdius*), *roca* ‘rock, considerable mass of stony matter, especially the one that rises from the surface of the earth or the sea’ (e.g., *Roca Mala*), *rocar*, *roquissar* ‘rocky place, an area with an abundance of rocks’ (e.g., *Rocar de sa Bassa*, *es Roquissar*), *torm* ‘mound, crag or isolated elevation of the land’ (e.g., *Torm de la Seda*).

Some terms of this kind occupy a clearly intermediate position, as they are often used as place names by themselves. This range of vocables constitute a semantic spectrum that comes from words having terminological primary meaning but also attested as isolated place names to those based on a regularly used anthropomorphic metaphor attested in different names and places: *penyal* ‘crag, a large, high rock, generally isolated’² (e.g., *Penyal Alt*), *penyalar* ‘craggy outcrop, a group of crags’ (e.g., *Penyalar*), *quintalar* ‘rocky outcrop’ (in the Pityusic islands, this term often refers to a place where there is an abundance of *quintals* ‘large stones, rocks’, e.g., *es Quintalar*), *còdol* ‘pebble, piece of stone of variable dimensions, generally round in shape due to the action of water and rolling’ (toponymically, however, it usually refers in the singular to rocks or boulders of gigantic dimensions, e.g., *es Còdol*), *cornador* ‘litt. someone or something that gores → mountain or rock in the shape of a horn’ (e.g., *Cornador Gran*), *sella* ‘saddle → a pass between two hills’ (especially present in Menorcan toponymy, e.g., *sa Sella*), *enclusa* ‘anvil → an anvil-shaped mountain’ (e.g., *s’Enclusa*), *cagarro* ‘faeces → prominent landform feature of cylindrical shape’ (e.g., *es Cagarrot*), *pa de*

² In some areas, it refers to cliffs or rocky walls, so that the terms with primary meanings ‘rock’ and ‘crag’ are often used interchangeably to designate both a rocky eminence and its wall.

figa ‘fig bread → small or medium-sized orographic eminence in the shape of fig bread’ (e.g., *Pa de Figa*), *frare* ‘friar → rocks with a sharp or anthropomorphic shape’ (e.g., *es Frare*), *homo* ‘man → any anthropomorphic landform’ (e.g., *s’Homo*), *cavall Bernat* ‘litt. Horse Bernard’ (euphemistic deformation of the Spanish form *carajo armado* ‘armed penis’) → ‘vertical and phallic-shaped crag’ (e.g., *Cavall Bernat*).

The most frequently attested terms of this category are *penyal*, *roca*, *bony*, *castellet*, *frare*, *mac*, and *pedra*.

4.2. Negative relief

From the terms referring to negative relief, extracted from a total of 1,300 toponyms, we distinguish those that designate high depressions (represented by 308 toponyms) from those that identify elongated or rounded depressions (which appear in 992 toponyms). Although theoretically it seems easy to distinguish an elongated depression from a rounded one, in practice the nomenclature might lead to confusion. In any case, the names of the forms that clearly refer to an elongated form and have a greater toponymic representation are: *barranc* ‘gully, wide and deep depression produced by running water or rainwater in the soil (especially in materials that can be easily eroded)’ (e.g., *Barranc de Biniaraix*), *comellar* ‘trough → wide and flat area of land, with sloping ground due to the depression of the land, which is between higher lands’ (e.g., *Comellar Fondo*), *canal* ‘canal, long, narrow space of land between two elevations, which gives way to water for the evacuation’³ (e.g., *Canal Gran*), *coma* ‘flatland, a more or less flat depression in mountainous terrain’ (e.g., *Coma Fosca*; in Menorca it is no longer a living word, the diminutive variant *cometa* abounds), and *torrent* ‘torrent → long depression in the ground through which, during the rainy season, a temporary stream of water flows, with an irregular flowrate, characteristic of steep and mountain slopes, through which it descends depending on seasonal or occasional rainfall’ (e.g., *Torrent de Sant Miquel*; the diminutives *torrentó* and *torrentet* are also common).

The following generics have a lesser representation and toponymic frequency, they are often attested in proprial function: *arreplegada* ‘confluence → an area of very marked depression between mountains and with a significant gradient, which can also refer to the confluence of surface runoff waters’ (e.g., *s’Arreplegada*), *canada* ‘narrow pass, space of lowland located between two close elevations’ (e.g., *Canada de ses Onze*), *conca* ‘bowl → basin of a river usually surrounded by mountains’ (e.g., *la Conca*), *estret* ‘strait, narrow and deep path between mountains’ (e.g., *Estret de s’Hort*), *freu* ‘defile, strait between two mountains or crags’ (e.g., *es Freu*), *regana* ‘a kind of depression’ (this word that does not appear in normative dictionaries, despite a significant number of toponymic examples, e.g., *sa Regana*), *regueró* ‘trough, gully, deep land’ (e.g.,

³ It is the form mostly used in Menorca and the Pityusic islands, where it is equivalent in meaning and frequency to the Mallorcan *comellar*. It is, however, rare in Mallorca where the diminutive forms *canalet*, *canaleta*, *canaló* are used.

Regueró de sa Moleta), *torrentera* ‘watercourse → the bed of a stream, depression of the land through which the torrent runs when it rains a lot’ (e.g., *Torrentera de Son Blai*), *vall* ‘valley, relatively flat expanse of land between mountains’ (e.g., *Vall d’en Marc*).

The terms used to designate rounded depressions are: *clot* ‘pit, low area surrounded by elevations’ (e.g., *Clot des Pinar*, there are also the derivatives: *clota*, e.g., *sa Clota*, and, in Formentera, *clotada* ‘small hollow’, e.g., *Clotada d’en Jover*), and *fondal* ‘hollow, deep land; the lowest part of an area that has gradient’ (e.g., *Fondal de ses Basses*). However, it should be noted that in the absence of pure forms in nature it is sometimes difficult to establish with precision the shape of a specific feature. It is not surprising, therefore, that we may come across more than one case where the morphological characteristics of the feature do not fully correspond to the category of landforms reflected in the respective geographical term used as part of the feature’s name, which means that these terms have widely variable meanings. It should also be noted that *clot* is the most frequent toponymic generic term in the Balearic Islands, leaving far behind the other terms of the same group, which, comparatively speaking, are limited to a token presence.

As for the high depressions designated by the term *coll* ‘col, pass between mountains, depression at the crest of a mountain range, of a buttress, often used to cross from one slope to the other’ (e.g., *Coll de Sóller*) or by its derivative *escollat* ‘narrow pass between mountains’ (e.g., *s’Escollat*), it is worth pointing out the apparently contradictory definition of this subgroup. The respective features often coincide with (or are related to) communication routes and are thus often referred to by the names of those routes. The term *coll* has numerous attestations in toponymy (294 cases) and is frequently used in speech.

4.3. Neutral relief

This category embraces the terms referring to landforms which, although being applied to a very diverse morphology, do not belong to either of the previous categories. We subclassify them into four groups depending on the morphological characteristic of the feature they highlight. We thus distinguish between the terms intended to point out the verticality of the feature (97 toponyms), those that emphasise inclination (472 toponyms), those that express horizontality (535 toponyms) and, finally, those that designate stepped terrain (97 toponyms), as the main forms of orographic articulation.

In toponymy, the natural vertical walls of cliffs and mountains are often referred to by basic words of the language, generally with a broad meaning, applied metaphorically. Morphologically speaking, this subgroup is represented by both nouns, e.g., *paret* ‘wall’, *salt* ‘fall’, or *tall* ‘cut, edge’, and substantivized participles, such as *tallat*, *tallada* ‘cut’, *segat* ‘reaped’, etc. Other terms that convey the idea of verticality in the toponymy of the Balearic Islands are: *badaluc* ‘viewpoint, fissure, vertical opening in the earth’ (ancient name indicating an elevated place to look out from and enjoy the scenery, e.g., *Badaluc de Dalt*), *bot* ‘slope, steep cliff, precipice’ (e.g., *Bot*

des Gegant), *enfront* ‘facade, vertical front of a massif, cliff’ (e.g., *Enfront Roig*), *espenyadero* ‘cliff, precipice’ (e.g., *Espenyadero de s’Illa Plana*), *frontó* ‘front, cliff; an insurmountable vertical wall that rises up, in a line, facing the same place’ (e.g., *es Frontó*), *morral* ‘bluff, vertically sculpted mass of rock’ (e.g., *Morral Vermell*), *penjall* ‘something that is hanging → cliff’ (e.g., *Penjall d’Aubarca*), *penya* ‘crag, vertical wall where a large surface of stone is exposed in its natural state’ (e.g., *Penya d’en Pelluc*), *salt* ‘fall, high and abrupt place, from which no one can descend without jumping’ (e.g., *Salt de sa Valenta Dona*), *serrat* ‘serrated wall, cut with a saw, crag with a vertical drop’ (e.g., *Serrat Gris*), *tallat* ‘sheer wall, precipice, canyon wall, cliff’ (usually with reference to a portion of land that is steep, abrupt, abruptly interrupted or separated from another, e.g., *Tallat des Guixar*), *timba* ‘chasm, precipice or rock forming part of the top of a precipice’ (e.g., *Timbes des Puig*). With the exception of *penya*, the rest have a discreet representation in toponymy.

A deviation by horizontal axe, which is the incline or declivity, is generally understood as an inclination downwards. Incline and declivity are erudite words that are applied to slopes. The terms with which we usually refer to the clinometric features are not very precise, in the sense that either they refer in a general way to any sloping surface or, on the contrary, their scope is restricted and, in this case, only a part of the slope is specifically designated. The highest and, above all, the lowest parts of a slope are occasionally given specific names as well. As the lowest parts of slopes often constitute drainage basins, they are closely related to the hydrological morphology of the territory.

A distinct group of such terms is constituted by the derivatives of the verbs like *pujar* ‘to ascend, to climb’ or *baixar* ‘to descend’, that are used to designate places where one can pass, going up or down, to another place: *pujada*, *pujador*, *pujant* ‘ascent’, *baixada* and *davallada* ‘descent’. It should be clarified that, generally, the words in this group are applied to different ways of walking along a path.

Almost all of the terms referring to sloping surfaces can be found in both urban and rural toponymy: *abaixador* ‘descent, path or sloping downhill spot’ (e.g., *Abaixador des Jai*), *barda* ‘hill → (in Ibiza and Formentera) steep piece of land, slope’ (e.g., *Barda des Pou*), *capavallada* ‘descent, slope of the terrain going downhill’ (e.g., *Capavallada d’en Barres*), *costa* and its derivatives *coster*, *costera* ‘slope, hillside, incline of a terrain, inclined plain’ (e.g., *Costa des Bous*, *Coster de ses Alzines*, *sa Costera*), *davallador* ‘way down’ (this is often the name given to accesses to the sea from an elevated coastline (e.g., *Davallador des Carros*), *falda* ‘skirt, the lower part of a mountain or other elevation of land, where the ascent begins’ (e.g., *Falda des Ullastres*), *galta* ‘cheek → incline of a trough or other sloping terrain’ (e.g., *Galta des Puig*), *mirant* ‘vantage point → gradient, incline of an elevation’ (e.g., *Mirant de Mar*), *pujada*, *pujant*, *pujador* ‘ascent, sloping place, place used to climb’ (e.g., *Pujada de Son Fred*, *es Pujant*, *Pujador des Frares*), *rosseguera*, *xaragall* ‘rocky ground, sloping place full of shifting stones’ (e.g., *sa Rosseguera*, *Xaragall de sa Cova de s’Aigua*), *rost*, *rosta* ‘gradient, escarpment, declivity, land that has a considerable slope, which makes

it difficult to climb' (e.g., *Rost de sa Mula, na Rosta*), *solana* 'sunny spot, sloping land facing noon, where the sun shines a lot' (in Ibiza, slope where there are *marges*, walls, across to stop the land from sliding' (e.g., *Solana d'en Rafal, Solanes de Castevi*), *tallant* 'slope, gradient' (e.g., *es Tallant*). *Barda* and *costa* are the most widely used generics of this type, but they are also commonly used in speech.

The terminology used to designate stepped terrain — independently of the dimensions that the steps may have — includes: *bancal* 'ledge, step in a vertical crag' (e.g., *es Bancals*), *caire* 'ridge, orographic unevenness consisting of the edge formed by a step or ledge on a more or less steep slope' (e.g., *Caire del Cirerar*), *cingle* 'rough path, leveled area or belt of horizontal or gently sloping land, situated between two superimposed chasms'⁴ (e.g., *Cingle des Pi*) and its derivative *recingle* 'step on a mountain, bordering an abyss (e.g., *Recingle d'en Cega*), *enrocador* 'precipice, rough path, rocky place, difficult and dangerous to fall down from' (e.g., *Enrocador des Bocs*), *grau* 'rung, step, relatively flat path, like a step or ledge that crosses a steep slope' (e.g., *es Grau*), *replà* 'ledge, flat and horizontal area in a sloping terrain' (e.g., *Replà de sa Bassa*). The most abundant in toponymy is *cingle*, while *caire* and *replà* are commonly used with other meanings.

Finally, the most commonly used terms that, applied to the territory, give an approximate idea of horizontality are *camp* 'field, flat area of land used for growing crops or fruit trees' (e.g., *Camp Roig*),⁵ *horta* 'vegetable patch, low, flat and fertile extension of land' (e.g., *Horta de Biniaraix*), *pla* 'plain, portion of land that does not present elevations or considerable depressions and, generally, of smaller dimensions than a prairie' (e.g., *Pla de sa Mata*), and *plana* 'prairie, elevated land between mountains, more or less flat; high plateau' (e.g., *Plana de Son Sastre*).⁶

Rarer, however, are *esplanada* 'esplanade, flattened area' (e.g., *s'Esplanada*), *planera*, *planer* 'plain, flat place' (e.g., *ses Planeres, Planer de Can Joan*), and *ras* 'level → flat and treeless area, plateau' (e.g., *Ras des Domingos*).

5. Conclusions

As a result of the analysis of the toponyms relating to the inland relief of the Balearic Islands, 120 oronymic generics have been extracted. Based on their meaning, they have been classified into three large groups of unequal quantitative distribution (Fig. 1). In general terms, there is a greater presence of terms relating to positive relief

⁴ This meaning is quite different from the one it has in Catalonia where the same term refers to a rocky spur that forms a chasm, at the top or on the slope of a mountain.

⁵ A relatively flat, uncovered space located outside a town or village. The term is mainly used in opposition to *ciutat* 'city, populated settlement' and *muntanya* 'mountain, a place that is not flat'.

⁶ In this case, the definition does not fit in with those offered by dictionaries, which use this term to refer primarily to large, flat and not very elevated areas. However, the meaning cited above is testified to in place names attested in the Mallorcan Serra de Tramuntana.

(46% appearing in 50.5% of the toponyms related to terrain features). At the other end of the scale, negative relief is the least represented, with only 17% of terms being part of 25.7% of the toponyms related to terrain. The terms that designate neutral relief features occupy an intermediate position (37%), representing 23.7% of the oronymic toponyms. As a result of the combination of the percentages of generics and toponyms, it can be observed the lowest proportion of generics for the negative relief and the highest for the neutral relief, while the positive relief obtains a balanced proportion. Therefore, the geographical terminology which appears in the Balearic toponymy is less diverse in the negative relief and more varied in the names of the neutral relief features, due in part to its morphological diversity.

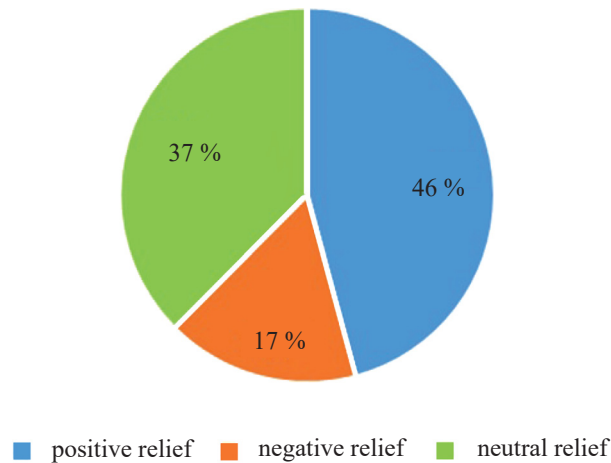


Fig. 1. Distribution (%) of geographical terms in the oronymic generics of the Balearic Islands

Overall, the corpus we have worked with contains 5,055 Balearic toponyms explicitly related to terrain units, of which 2,554 correspond to positive relief, which occupies a significant part of the territory of the islands. In this respect, the Serra de Tramuntana, a mountain range in Mallorca, is of particular significance as it concentrates all the major positive relief features of the archipelago. It should be considered that the most prominent features are usually perceived with a greater impact, which explains the abundance of place names that identify the mountainous landscape not only in Mallorca but on each of the islands. On the other hand, the typological variety of the neutral relief (vertical, inclined, stepped and flat) makes corresponding terms the second most numerous groups as for its representation in toponymy, with 1,201 place names. Although being present in all the islands of the archipelago, flat areas are particularly numerous in Mallorca, where they occupy a large part of the island and are identified with the toponyms containing the term *pla* 'plain'. Mallorca is known for

dryland farming forming another characteristic feature of the landscapes of the island that has traditionally been the breadbasket of the cereal production.

If we look at the terms that designate the positive relief features (Fig. 2), we can observe a greater variety of terms used in the names of the micro-relief landforms (64%), which contrasts with the scarcity of oronymic generics that identify macro-relief features (14%).

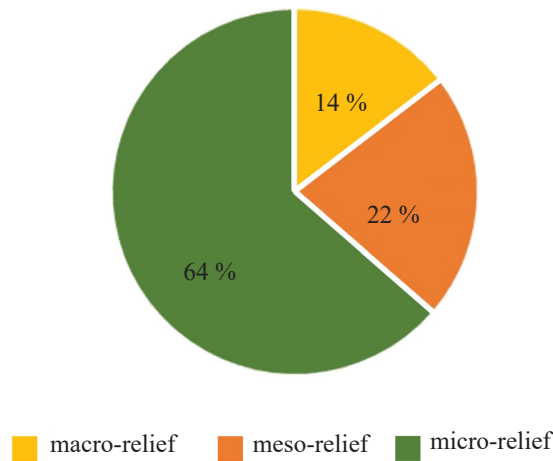


Fig. 2. Distribution (%) of geographical terms designating positive relief features in the Balearic Islands

In the terminology referring to negative relief (Fig. 3), there is a predominance of terms identifying elongated or longitudinal depressions (70%) as opposed to rounded or circular (20%) and elevated (10%).

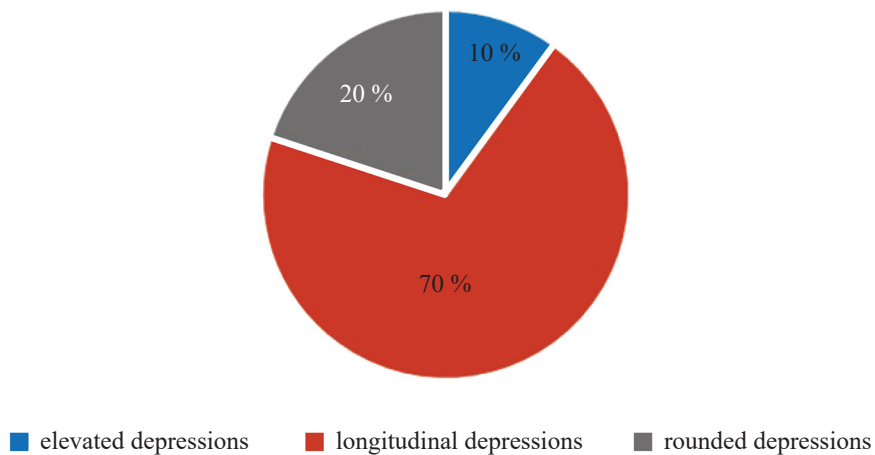


Fig. 3. Distribution (%) of geographical terms designating negative relief features in the Balearic Islands

As already indicated, the neutral relief includes four very diverse sub-categories, that do not fit into either of the two previous categories. Their terminological representation (Fig. 4) is quite homogeneous in quantitative terms, with the greatest richness of that which designates sloping terrain (42%) and the least terminological diversity of stepped terrain (13%).

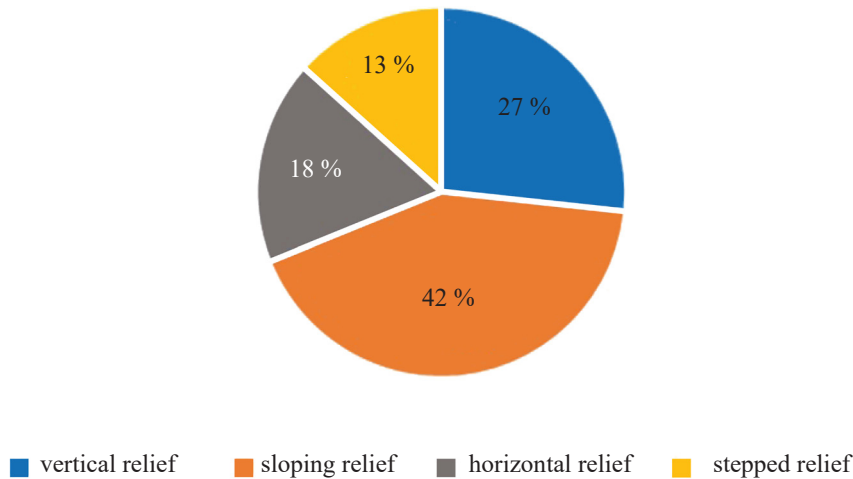


Fig. 4. Distribution (%) of geographical terms that designate the neutral relief features in the Balearic Islands

The diversity of the terrain is reflected in diverse terminology, the fruit of a millenary culture in which man and environment merge into an exhaustive knowledge of the island space. The analysis of Balearic toponymy allows us to conclude that toponymy and, more specifically, toponymic generics are the main source of geographical terminology, as Carl Sauer [1956] had already announced. In the generics of traditional toponymy, we find a great diversity of geographical terms which, in the case of oronyms, identify with precision and excellent adaptation to the territory the multiple and complex orographic features, making important use of metaphor, a resource which highlights the role of perception, individual or collective, in the creation of both toponymy and geographical terminology. By means of metaphors, the generics provide information on the variety of forms of relief, together with information on their size and position relationship. Size and shape constitute the main variables used to define and distinguish the diversity of terrain units. The metaphorical origin of some denominations makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish between geographical terms and names *strictu sensu*, as many of the terms may be used as both generics, i.e., appellative parts of complex toponyms, and standalone place names (e.g., *s'Escollat*, *sa Corona*, *es Castellot*, etc.). In some cases, we found only occurrences of the second type, which raises questions as to the appellative/proprial status of respective vocables, an issue that requires special

attention and analysis. However, the use of an article in all such instances rather points to their appellative origin and suggests that the term used as a name in such toponyms had at least a limited circulation as an appellative metaphorical word.

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**ГЕОГРАФИЯ И ОНОМАСТИКА.
ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ ТЕРМИНОЛОГИЯ
В ОРОНИМИИ БАЛЕАРСКИХ ОСТРОВОВ**

Топонимия — важный источник географической терминологии, являющейся объектом изучения как лингвистики, так и культурной географии. Авторы статьи собрали, проанализировали и классифицировали оронимическую терминологию Балеарских островов (Испания), извлеченную из наиболее полной топонимической картотеки, содержащей около 50 000 географических названий. Картотека отражает все топонимы, отмеченные на топографической карте Балеарских островов масштаба 1 : 5000. Значительная часть топонимов была собрана в ходе полевой работы — методом интервьюирования информантов, хорошо знающих местность, в которой они живут. Полевая работа позволила дополнить картотеку неофициальной («народной») топонимией, которая также содержит апеллятивные элементы в функции географических терминов, частично основанных на метафоре или ином типе семантического переноса. Эта работа дала возможность собрать воедино термины, которые в каталанском языке Балеарских островов служат для именования различных форм рельефа каждого из крупнейших островов архипелага (Майорка, Менорка, Ибица и Форментера). Терминологический корпус состоит из 120 единиц. Авторы подразделяют термины на группы в зависимости от обозначаемого типа рельефа: термины, называющие элементы положительного рельефа (т. е. возвышенности, среди которых выделяются макро-, мезо- и микроэлементы), отрицательного рельефа (т. е. низменности; также выделяются термины, именующие округлые и вытянутые котловины) и нейтрального рельефа (данная группа объединяет термины, называющие объекты с преимущественно вертикальными, горизонтальными, наклонными или ступенчатыми формами). Наблюдения показывают большее разнообразие терминов, относящихся к положительному рельефу, среди них явно выделяются термины, обозначающие элементы макрорельефа. В группе терминов, называющих объекты отрицательного рельефа, выделяются термины, относящиеся к вытянутым формам рельефа, в то время как в группе терминов нейтрального рельефа наибольшее количество единиц относится к наименованиям наклонных форм.

К л ю ч е в ы е с л о в а: топонимия; оронимия; топонимический детерминант; терминология; география; рельеф; Балеарские острова

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