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NAMES FOR WEATHER DISASTERS IN AUSTRALIA

Abstract

Despite the importance of weather disasters, the names that people give them have been little treated in scholarship, both from an Australian perspective and from that of other parts of the world. This article explores patterns in the naming of bushfires (wildfires), cyclones and floods in Australian English, such as *Black Saturday bushfires*, *Cyclone Linda* and *2011 Brisbane floods*. Using semantically-enhanced discourse studies, the semantic elements of these such names are unpacked and contextualized. In the case of bushfires, three patterns of naming are deployed at different times during the events. These patterns rely on place names, both local and more widely known, and phrases conveying mourning, which mark the day or the season when the disaster occurred. Cyclones are given personal forenames, both those of men and women, and as such are subject to varieties of linguistic creativity used for people's names, often with a gendered aspect. Names for floods are less original than those used for other event types yet a year, e.g. 2011, can stand in for a particular event, which evokes the local knowledge of the inhabitants of the place where the flood occurred. It is found that some of those names for weather disasters are used for warning at the time of the event, for coping with trauma, and for collective memories in the aftermath. The study ends with some prospects for the future of names for weather disasters in Australia, and these concluding remarks touch on possibilities for naming heatwaves.

Keywords: weather disaster names; Australian English; Australian English onomastics; semantics; semantically-enhanced discourse studies; natural semantic metalanguage; bushfires; wildfires; floods; cyclones

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**НАИМЕНОВАНИЯ ПРИРОДНЫХ КАТАСТРОФ
В АВСТРАЛИИ****Аннотация**

Природные катастрофы — заметный элемент географического ландшафта и культурной жизни Австралии. Из-за климатических изменений они становятся все более частыми. Характерно, что названия, которые им дают люди, мало изучались лингвистами: это касается как Австралии, так и других регионов мира. В этой статье исследуются закономерности в наименовании лесных пожаров, циклонов и наводнений в австралийском английском (например, *Black Saturday bushfires*, *Cyclone Linda*, *Brisbane floods 2011*). С опорой на методологию семантико-ориентированных дискурсивных исследований и с учетом социокультурного контекста анализируется семантика таких названий. Для наименований лесных пожаров выделяются три номинативные модели, которые используются на разных этапах разворачивания катастрофы. Эти модели предполагают: 1) использование топонимов (как местных, так и широко известных), 2) использование лексем с семантикой скорби, 3) указание на день или сезон, когда произошла катастрофа. Циклонам даются личные имена (как мужские, так и женские), это обуславливает их участие в разных видах языковой игры. Названия наводнений менее оригинальны, их характерной особенностью является указание на год (например, *2011*), который в памяти местных жителей связан с сильным наводнением. Установлено, что одни модели наименования природных катастроф используются для обозначения события в момент, когда оно происходит, в информационных сообщениях, направленных на предупреждение населения; другие — для преодоления травмы и формирования коллективной памяти после завершения события. В конце статьи автор намечает возможные пути эволюции именовании природных катастроф в Австралии, в том числе таких катаклизмов, как периоды аномально жаркой погоды.

Ключевые слова: наименования природных катастроф; английский язык Австралии; англоязычная ономастика Австралии; семантика; семантико-ориентированные дискурсивные исследования; естественный семантический метаязык; лесные пожары; наводнения; циклоны

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1. Introduction

Weather disasters are frequent and severe in Australia. Besides the damage to people, places, vegetation, and creatures, they are important in the country for multiple interconnected reasons. For a start, Australia's climate and weather patterns are, like all countries, distinct. In addition, Australia is a settler colonial state where its British colonisers judged the landscape and weather using Britain as a yardstick [Arthur 2003]. Therefore, its landscape and weather seemed unusual to them. Australia appeared dry, brown, and prone to extremes such as flooding and fires, compared to the green, well-watered England, which lacks such serious disasters. Indigenous people who hold knowledge of the country's land, water and weather patterns were dispossessed, and their expertise, such as burning vegetation to prevent grave wildfires, was marginalized [Gammage 2011; Pascoe 2014]. Australia has also built up a shared ethos, or mythos, of mutual aid in times of natural disasters, strongly connected to the country's sociality concept of 'mateship' [Wierzbicka 1997; Flannery 2010; Fisher 2011]. In recent times, the climate crisis has exacerbated and increased disasters, which have proved catalysts for political agitation for climate action [Bromfield et al. 2021].

In Australian English, disasters can appear in the lexicon, such as in the word *bushfire* [Bromhead 2020], and the social category label, *mud army* [Bromhead 2021]; speech and writing practices, such as the country's emergency warnings system, as well as proper names for individual events, viz. *2009 Black Saturday bushfires*, *2020 K'gari bushfire*, *2021 New South Wales floods*, *Cyclone Larry*, and *Cyclone Ilsa*. This onomastic phenomenon is treated here through names for bushfires, floods, and cyclones.

The semantic elements displayed through these names include 'time,' 'year,' 'day,' 'place,' 'someone,' 'man,' and 'woman,' along with the concepts of the relevant disasters, 'bushfire,' 'flood,' and 'cyclone' (drawing on the manner of [Nash 2013], along with the semantic primes and molecules approach of natural semantic metalanguage, see [Wierzbicka 1996; Goddard 2010]). Moreover, the named places mentioned provide the resonances of the toponyms, which are, in the main, of British and Indigenous origin [Hercus et al. 2002; Tent & Blair 2011].

This article considers the following: Australian models of bushfire names (Section 3), the instantiation of naming cyclones with men's and women's names (Section 4), and the country's lack of imagination when it comes to naming floods (the shorter, Section 5). The article then ends with some discussion and concluding remarks, which touches on possibilities for future directions in names for weather disasters in Australia (Section 6).

2. Methodological frames

The methodological frame taken here is semantically-enhanced discourse studies [Bromhead 2021], a multi-material and multi-method approach, coming out of the natural semantic metalanguage tradition [Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014]. Semantically-enhanced discourse studies can be characterized as:

(i) Depending on naïve pictures of the world [Apresjan 1992]. The article takes weather disasters as the average Australian English speaker would rather than a specialist such as a meteorologist or emergency manager.

(ii) Utilizing human-centred or experiential semantics [Wierzbicka 1989; Rohrer 2010]. The perception of weather disasters through the senses, and with reference to persons, is emphasized.

(iii) Drawing on transtextual sources spanning multiple genres. The study makes use of attestations in news reports and dictionaries, as well as more ephemeral material such as blogs and internet forums, which may be reflective of informal English spoken in Australia.

(iv) Using the techniques of defamiliarization and familiarization [Shklovsky 1965/1917]. An analyst from the linguaculture of Australian English is unpacking phenomena that often go unremarked in Australia and, at the same time, drawing an international audience's attention to a world of disaster names with which they may be less familiar.

(v) Engaging with history and studies of culture. In addition to the sources of attestations, the study draws upon historical and media studies research on both topics related to weather disasters and those pertaining to Australian culture including regional cultures.

Further, the means employed vary based on what is appropriate to the three different types of disaster names covered. For bushfire names, secular memorialization is at play; whereas, cyclone names bring with them gender, personification, and personal names.

3. Bushfire names

To begin, *bushfire* is a word in Australian English used to denote a large wildfire burning in the Australian *bush*, a word for the native, dry vegetation of the country. Because of the term *bushfire*'s dependency on the cultural keyword *bush*, its semantics are not identical to the broader English, *wildfire* that is used in the United States and Canada (for more discussion see [Bromhead 2011; 2018; 2020; 2022]). Three significant naming patterns of bushfires in Australia can be found as set out in Table, which also gives their semantic elements and some illustrations.

Bushfire names

Pattern	Examples	Name structure
Local names	<i>Grose Vale Fire</i> <i>Nowa Nowa Fire</i> <i>Palerang Fire</i>	PLACE + fire
Place-based event names	(1997) <i>Lithgow bushfire</i> (2003) <i>Canberra bushfires</i> (2015) <i>Esperance bushfire</i>	(YEAR) PLACE + bushfire/s
Memorialized time-based event names	(1851) <i>Black Thursday</i> (bushfires) (2009) <i>Black Saturday</i> (bushfires) (2019–2020) <i>Black Summer</i> (bushfires)	(YEAR) black + TIME [DAY/SEASON] + (bushfires)

In Australia, at first, local names are given by fire brigades, taken from the particular locality from whence the fire started, for example, *Palerang Fire*. These names are used while the fire is burning, and Australians know the coloured triangular icons depicting them on emergency apps¹ [McGrane et al. 2022]. The second pattern is place-based event names, a place often including a larger area than the localities, such as *Esperance bushfire*, which occurred in the Western Australian town of Esperance in 2015. These names are given after an event. The third of the patterns is memorialized time-based event names, such as the recent and globally significant *Black Summer* bushfires of 2019–2020.² These names are also given in the aftermath. In the third pattern, the word *bushfires* is not necessary.

The ‘black’ + TIME model has been used at least seven times from the 19th to the 21st c.³ Also related are *Red Tuesday* of 1898 and *Ash Wednesday* of 1983. The latter occurred on the Christian holy day yet some Australians, unfamiliar with the Christian calendar, construe it as a unique name for a fire, drawing on *ash* [Arthur 2003].

Arising from an English language pattern of ‘black’ with the name of a day to mark a disaster, memorialized names for wild fires seem to be unique to Australia among English-speaking countries [cf. OED, s.v. *Black*, *Black Saturday*]. In Canada, names are often place-based, such as the 2013 *Quebec Fire*. In the United States,

¹ See: NSW Rural Fire Service. Retrieved from <https://www.rfs.nsw.gov.au/fire-information/fires-near-me>

² The then Australian Prime Minister, Scott Morrison played an important role in popularizing the name *Black Summer*. For more discussion, see [Bromhead 2022].

³ See: List of major bushfires in Australia // Wikipedia: free encyclopedia. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_major_bushfires_in_Australia

local fire names are kept as they move into other areas, such as the 2018 *Camp Fire*, which started on Camp Creek Road before ravaging parts of Northern California.⁴

Australian memorialized names for bushfires differ from other so-named black days in history, like military defeats and stock market crashes. A literal and material link can be found between the colour black and the results of fire. The pattern of ‘black’ + TIME was first used for *Black Thursday* bushfires of 1851, possibly coined by Scottish immigrants (see [Watson 1984] for Highlands Scottish immigrant history in the state of Victoria). The first English language use of ‘black’ + DAY for a disaster is *Black Saturday* of 1547 commemorating a loss by the Scottish army to the English. It is the first of a number of significant Scottish historical dates using this formula [OED, s.v. *Black, Black Saturday*]. ‘Black’ as in the aftermath of a fire can be taken as striking, indicating devastation, but also, a stark beauty. A survivor of the 2009 *Black Saturday* bushfires in the Australian state of Victoria describes how outsiders, disaster tourists, or, as she puts it, “invaders,” appraise burnt wood as beautiful:

...so many invaders (disaster tourists. — H. B.) they just think oh, oh my gosh it just looks so beautiful, look at these burnt timbers aren't they beautiful. And you think: I can say that, but you can't. Those burnt timbers <...> they're what Graham and I built our house from. There's a story behind every bit of timber <...> so I just didn't appreciate it.⁵

The particularity of the Australian informal system of naming bushfires remains taken for granted by most of the country's inhabitants. Some of the memorialized names appear as entries in both the synchronic *Macquarie Dictionary* and *The Australian National Dictionary*, which is compiled along historic principles, although they are not unpacked in detail [Macquarie Dictionary Online; Moore et al. 2016]. I have lived in Australia since birth and study the linguistics of weather disasters, yet it took a cultural outsider, my Danish colleague, Carsten Levisen, to draw my attention to the specificity of the memorialized names.

Australia lacks an established state church, a not insignificant proportion of citizens practise non-Christian religions, and an even larger proportion are secular.⁶ In place of an established faith, the country has been characterized as possessing a variety of a national, state ‘religion’ built around the hardship of the World

⁴See: How do Wildfires Get their Names? // KGW8 News. Retrieved from <https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/the-story/how-wildfires-get-their-nawmes/283-c1418bc7-8ae6-45b8-82b0-aef79b62286b>; List of wildfires — North America. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wildfires#North_America

⁵*Rising From the Ashes* [film] (2018). Produced by Orsino Images. Indimax Films. Uploaded 12 June 2018 // YouTube. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FOYR_SwZ3d4 (23:00–23:37).

⁶Religious Affiliation in Australia // Australian Bureau of Statistics. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/articles/religious-affiliation-australia>

War One defeat at Gallipoli and the mutual solidarity (or ‘mateship’) displayed by Australian soldiers [Bongiorno 2015]. This battle is still commemorated as ANZAC Day⁷, a solemn public holiday marked by secular ‘dawn services,’ parades, military band music, and speeches. The ANZAC tradition has overlaps with strains in Australian sporting culture and is most closely associated with white, Anglo-Celtic men [Parry 2024]. It is likely that weather disasters (floods and cyclones, included), too, represent occasions of significant trial and highly valorized mutual aid, albeit relating to a wider section of the community than military service and sports pursuits. Therefore, weather disaster commemoration such as ceremonies and sculptural memorials could also be counted as forming part of this secular ‘religion.’ The use of these memorialized names, such as *Black Saturday*, could be seen as ways of marking the loss and suffering as sacred.

4. Cyclone names

Cyclones were first attributed with English names in Australia in 1887 by the meteorologist, Clement Wragg, who used names from Greek and Roman mythology, along with those of disfavoured politicians. Wragg led the way in the modern era of this practice globally [Breen et al. 2018].⁸ Many years later, this earlier custom solidified into a system in which only women’s names were given to cyclones until 1975, the International Year of the Woman. Notably, the Australian science minister decreed that both men and women should share equally the notoriety of these destructive storms, which was also global step forward in gender equity. Masculine names, in addition to feminine names, were used from that point [Wardle 2019].⁹ Cyclones are named from their inception by meteorological authorities for ease of identification by the public, in the interests of safety.

The semantic elements that go into the names can be specified as: cyclone + SOMEONE (man, woman), viz. *Cyclone Vernon* and *Cyclone Tracy*. The personification of cyclones¹⁰ through these human proper names has implications in language. Firstly, the pronouns used for named cyclones can be affected. Although, for the most part, the inanimate pronoun *it* is used (see (1) below), English masculine and feminine pronouns are also possible, as in examples (2) and (3). Personal pronouns may be more likely to appear with reference to the bare human forename, e.g. *Linda*, rather than the inanimate antecedent ‘Tropical Cyclone.’

⁷ ANZAC stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Core.

⁸ The earlier and ancient history of storm naming in various languages beyond the scope of this article.

⁹ On the American history of women’s hurricane names see [Skilton 2018].

¹⁰ In Barker’s and Miller’s 1990 study of Hurricane Gilbert in Jamaica, they put it as the anthropomorphising of a natural disasters [Barker & Miller 1990].

(1) ...Ex Tropical Cyclone Ilsa left a trail of “total destruction and devastation” in *its* path.¹¹

(2) Linda’s a cyclone and *she’s* coming our way [Hoffman 2018].

(3) Hamish has continuously come south-east but *he’s* weakened and we expect *him* to go out to sea hopefully some time on Thursday.¹²

Secondly, the male and female names for cyclones can attract gendered descriptors, often negative because of the havoc storms wreak, as in (4) and (5).

(4) Together, we stared down a mean *bastard* called Larry.¹³

(5) “Debbie is one mean, big *bitch*,” she said, laughing. “It is what it is — we live in tropical Queensland and cyclones are a way of life. You’ve got to keep your sense of humour about it, because if you don’t laugh you will cry.”¹⁴

Thirdly, the personal names occasion linguistic creativity and humour. Famous *ad hoc* aftermath signs affixed to structures damaged by cyclones read “Kiss my Yasi,” “My Yasi got kicked” (of 2011’s *Cyclone Yasi*), and “Just Larried” (of 2006’s *Cyclone Larry*) [Holman 2021].¹⁵ The significance of the latter sign is expanded upon in a newspaper article quoted in example (6).

(6) To him, a hastily scrawled sign on the side of a collapsed house came to symbolise the humour and indomitable spirit of north Queenslanders. “Nothing was more indicative of this spirit than a sign I saw on the side of a collapsed house near Innisfail on the day I arrived — ‘*Just Larried*,’” he said. “There is no better example of strength and resilience than the people of far north Queensland” [Michael 2016].

Meteorological bureaus avoid giving cyclones names of currently newsworthy famous and infamous people to reduce distraction from important cyclone safety messages [Wardle 2019]. Such associations with name origin and fictional characters, however, are attested. To illustrate, a cyclone given the Spanish name *Carlos* generated the phrase “adiós señor Carlos”.¹⁶ A state emergency authority adeptly used a catchphrase from the well-known Australian sitcom, *Kath and Kim*,

¹¹ Western Australia Country Hour. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/listen/programs/wa-country-hour/wa-country-hour/102209968>

¹² Cyclone Hamish Downgraded to Category 3. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-03-10/cyclone-hamish-downgraded-to-category-3/1613894>

¹³ That Bastard Larry — 10 Years On. Retrieved from <https://rdontheroad.wordpress.com/2016/03/16/that-bastard-larry-10-years-on>

¹⁴ Bowen Braces for Brunt of Cyclone Debbie // Nine.com. Retrieved from <https://www.9news.com.au/national/bowen-braces-for-brunt-of-cyclone-debbie/258ae815-f108-40b4-9a47-b81d84ae73f1>

¹⁵ Also see: Cyclone Yasi Damage — Kick Yasi! (Photograph) // Flickr. Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mattymarshall/6561659181>; Cyclone Larry Mar 2006 — “Just Larried” (Photograph) // Flickr. Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/25747229@N00/1774848019>

¹⁶ Chao/ciao Cyclone Carlos // Discovering Darwin. Retrieved from <https://discoveringdarwin.wordpress.com/2011/02/17/hola-cyclone-carlos/>

“look at moi, Kimi” in the organization’s social media information about a cyclone named *Kimi*.

Fourthly, the names of cyclone can be subject to the expressive, derivational morphological processes by which Australian personal names are made hypocoristic forms. Distinct from the semantics of diminutives in English and many other languages, Australian hypocoristics of personal names, such as, *Davo* from *David* and *Vicks* from *Victoria*, convey informality, a rough, tough warmth, and a special relationship [Wierzbicka 1992; see also Simpson 2004]. With *Cyclone Gabrielle*, the name *Gabrielle* was subjected to the shortening to one syllable, with the addition of a *-s* ending. This resulted, in some attestations, in one possible hypocoristic for feminine names, *Gabs* (see 7). *Cyclone Damien* received shortening with the addition of the morpheme *-o*, as can be done with masculine names, to become, in some cases, *Damo*, as in (8). It is also worth noting, especially in the context of weather disasters, that such hypocoristic forms of personal names can be used with a distinct negative edge.

(7) Cyclone *Gabs*, sitting off our north coast is pushing down some meaty East swell.¹⁷

(8) Anyone else getting TC Clare flashbacks? *Damo* wants us bad.¹⁸

Senses of place and regionalism show up in the discourse of cyclone names. The majority of the examples taken in this article relate to the cyclones that regularly hit the Australian area of Far North Queensland (sometimes initialized as FNQ, or referred to as ‘the Deep North’), which is often taken as a distinct cultural region [Swee 2017]. In examples (5) and (6), speakers link the linguistic creativity to a regional humorous sensibility, and a local resilience. These aspects of the Far North Queensland community’s emotional investment in cyclones are reflected in the work of media scholar Deb Anderson [e.g. Anderson 2016; 2020]. ‘Playing’ with cyclone names provides linguistic resource for coping with these traumatic events (see also [Barker & Miller 1990] on *Hurricane Gilbert* in Jamaica).

5. Flood names

Names for floods in Australia are formed via a place name and the word *flood* or *floods*, with the option of a year, to wit: (YEAR) PLACE + flood/s.¹⁹ To illustrate, see (2011) *Brisbane floods*, (2011) *Toowoomba floods*, (2010–2011) *Queensland floods*,

¹⁷Grumpy Gabs (2023, February 14). Retrieved from <https://www.aquabumps.com/2023/02/14/grumpy-gabs/>

¹⁸19/20 Australian monsoon & TC season thread // Ski: online community. Retrieved from <https://www.ski.com.au/xf/threads/19-20-australian-monsoon-tc-season-thread.86070/page-8>

¹⁹Sometimes, at a more technical level, terms like *flooding event* and *rainfall event* are used, e.g. 2011 *Toowoomba rainfall event*. Given that this article treats the naïve view, they will not be discussed.

(2019) *Townsville floods*, (2021) *Eastern Australian floods*, (2022) *Lismore floods*, and (2022) *South East Queensland floods*. As with bushfire names where multiple smaller fires can be folded into an overarching name, the naming of floods is less discrete than with the single entity of a named cyclone. For example, one can talk of, in the Australian state of Queensland, the *2011 Brisbane floods* and the *2011 Toowoomba floods*, but both these floods also come under the banner of *2010–2011 Queensland floods*, as in a public inquiry into the events.²⁰

Given that cities and towns built on flood plains may experience multiple floods over a number of years, for example, the capital of Queensland, Brisbane, a year (e.g. 1974, 2011, 2022) may act as a stand in for the larger name. The memory of the 1974 Brisbane floods is explained by Brisbane writer, John Birmingham, as in (9):

(9) In Queensland, '74 is shorthand, especially in Brisbane. Knowing of '74, understanding it and what it might mean, separates the natives from the hundreds of thousands of blow-ins (recent arrivals. — H. B.) who've arrived in the past 10 or 15 years. It was the year of the last great flood. If cities have memories, '74 is a haunted memory for this city. It all but drowned [Birmingham 2011; cited in McKinnon 2019: 208].

Examples (10) and (11) show the years of significant Brisbane floods being used as names.

(10) To me, the biggest difference between *2011* and *2022* is that *2011* smelled way worse (online forum comment).²¹

(11) I am a bit young to have been in the 1893 floods (plural) but I was here for *1974*, *2011* and the current caper.²²

This use of the year as marking a specific event demonstrates the collective memory of these disasters, linking in with earlier discussion of fire and cyclone names.

6. Concluding remarks

This article has explored the names for bushfires, cyclones and floods in the Australian variety of English through semantically-enhanced discourse studies. Weather disaster names can be used at the time of the event for warning, after the event for

²⁰ See Queensland Floods Commission of Inquiry. Final Report (2012). Retrieved from http://www.floodcommission.qld.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/11698/QFCI-Final-Report-March-2012.pdf

²¹ 2022 vs 2011 // Reddit. Retrieved from https://www.reddit.com/r/brisbane/comments/t4qm36/2022_vs_2011/

²² Rainfall not Unprecedented, Skill at Forecasting Dismal. Retrieved from <https://jennifermarohasy.com/2022/03/rainfall-not-unprecedented-skill-at-forecasting-dismal/>

remembering, and at both times for coping with trauma. The names for bushfires are characterized through three patterns of naming, the most novel of which is the memorialized form, such as *Black Saturday*. Cyclones, like severe storms elsewhere, are given personal names. These personal names can be subject to linguistic creativity in which cyclones are taken as people. Floods, perhaps because of their less sudden onset and diffuse nature, do not attract as original and evocative naming practices as bushfires or cyclones. However, as discussed, a year can act as a stand-in for a name in a local context.

As to what will happen next with weather disaster names, I offer a few possibilities. Firstly, to bushfire names, *Black Summer* was the first memorialized name to mark an entire season because of the length of these megafires. As climate change heralds further megafires, perhaps the memorialized pattern will be dispensed with as *Black Summer* has already been used. The American fire historian, Stephen Pyne, suggested at the time that these fires be named *the Forever Fires* because of their unprecedented and trend-setting nature, and to link them with climate change [Marshall 2020]. Another scenario would be for *Black Summer* to act in the same way as *World War*, and we may, unfortunately, see a *Black Summer 2* and *3*.

Secondly, cyclone names could come to more reflect the cultural and gender diversity of Australia. Looking at the list of Australian tropical cyclone names for the 2022–2023 season, one notes that they are, in the main, of European origin; however, two are of Asian origin, *Mingzhu* and *Niran*. The greater prominence of non-binary gender identities could see cyclone receiving more gender-neutral names, and perhaps, even being referred to with *they/them* pronouns.

Thirdly, heatwaves in Australia could come to be named in the manner of severe storms. More people die during heatwaves than in fires, floods or severe storms, yet, until very recently, they have not been named. Meteorologists in Spain and Greece have led the way in proposing that heatwaves be named in order to help get important safety information across to people, followed by efforts in Israel and the United States [Smith 2021; Márquez 2022; Arguedas Ortiz 2023; Milman 2023]. In 2022, in Sevilla, a heatwave was named *Zoé*, which was the first time one had been dubbed with a personal name. The Southern Hemisphere Summer of 2023–2024 saw calls from academics and community organizations to adopt the naming of heatwaves in Australia, but no formal action has yet been taken.²³ Evidence from other countries may be drawn on in making an official decision

²³There's Concern We Aren't Taking Deadly Heatwaves Seriously. The solution? To Name them // SBSNews. Retrieved from <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/the-push-to-name-australian-heatwaves-and-how-it-could-save-lives/g0lhzhc4>

on the identification of heatwaves with names. Whether naming practices could be changed to promote safety and better call attention to climate change remains to be seen.

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