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Words in Space and Time

Tomasz Kamusella

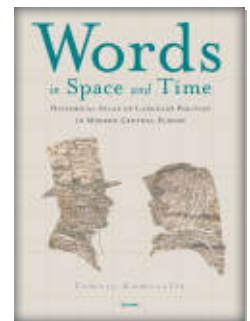
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Centra Eŭropo en 1910: Geographic and Place Names in Esperanto

Walter Żelazny

University of Białystok

L. L. (LUDWIK LEJZER) ZAMENHOF'S (1859–1917) AMBITION extended beyond the mere creation of an international language. He wanted to reform all socio-ethnic relations so that:

without uprooting a man from his homeland, from his language and from his confession, [Esperanto] would let him overcome all the contradictions of his national-religious background, thus allowing him to communicate with all people of all languages and religions on the neutral basis of common humanity, according to the principle of reciprocity (Zamenhof 2006: 139).

For this purpose, one of Zamenhof's far-reaching reforms was to refer to countries and states with the use of "neutral" names. Zamenhof pointed out that no state represents all languages, cultures, and religions of its citizens. Hence, the state should refrain from intervening in these spheres. Zamenhof wrote:

I believe that each state and all provinces should be known under neutral geographical names, and not under names derived from the names of their nations, languages or religions, because the names of many countries derived in this manner are the main reason why some of the inhabitants consider themselves to be better than the others. And the former believe that the latter, who are just like them native sons of the same land, are bound by the interests of another country, while the land [of their birth] is foreign to them (Zamenhof 2006:139).

In adopting such a principled stance, Zamenhof went against the grain of the then increasingly more popular ideology of ethnolinguistic nationalism. When more than a dozen European ethnolinguistically defined nations from Ireland to the Balkans and the Baltic were struggling for independence and their own nation-states, he proposed that the names of states should be derived, for example, from the names of their capital cities, thus yielding "Dublin Land" for Ireland, "Riga Land" for Latvia, or "Warsaw Land" for Poland. Zamenhof knew that such a change of their country's name would not arouse any enthusiasm among the Poles. In his letter to Émile Javal, on May 26, 1906, Zamenhof wrote:

The greatest enemies of my ideas are Warsaw Esperantists, because due to various historical developments, the Poles

got used to applying double standards while discussing the current political situation. They agree that Russia should be renamed with the use of a moniker that would not be national, but geographic in its character, that all the country's languages should enjoy the same legal status, and that Esperanto ought to be made into the sole medium of the Russian Duma. On the other hand, they would never accept that Poland could be renamed as "Warsaw Land," and that all the languages in Poland should enjoy the same status. They see such an idea as something mad and awful. Alas, I must listen to all that and keep quiet. For the sake of Esperanto I need to refrain from propagating my ideas in this regard (Zamenhof 2006: 21).

Perhaps, while creating Esperanto, Zamenhof did not fully think through the issue of toponyms, because he never dared to officially introduce such neutral names to Esperanto. However, he kept thinking about this problem until the year of his death.

The best solution to the dilemma of the current big and smaller European states would be a "United States of Europe" composed from proportional states of a similar geographical size. But nowadays, it seems, that is too early to talk about it, but at least by official and mutual consent it would be possible to remove this great evil, the source of endless conflicts, which is the identification of the country's name with an ethnic group (Zamenhof 2006: 230).

Immediately after Zamenhof proposed his constructed language of Esperanto, in Europe dozens of similar languages were created by people of a variety of professions and backgrounds, from proverbial "cooks" to renowned scholars, such as Harry Jespersen (1860–1943), Giuseppe Peano (1858–1932), or René de Saussure (1868–1943). Out of about one thousand planned, artificial, auxiliary, universal (all these adjectives are used here synonymously) languages with a sketch of grammar, only a dozen were further elaborated and supplied with a textbook, while only a few were employed for genuine communication in speech and writing, that is, Volapük, Esperanto, Ido, and Interlingua. Each of these four languages' creators had a slightly different motive for inventing his own universal language. The Bavarian prelate Johann Martin Schleyer (1831–1912) created Volapük, allegedly compelled by a divine command. Zamenhof created Esperanto for all people, although his original ambition was to devise a single language for the entire Jewish diaspora

Centra Eŭropo en 1910



Authors: W. Zelazny, T. Chmielik and T. Kamusella

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in which the communication was difficult between Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim and Spanyol-speaking Sephardim. Ido was invented by anonymous creators who thus aspired to “correct” and “refine” Esperanto. Interlingua was devised for the sake of being readily intelligible to most Europeans.

Of all the planned languages, only Esperanto achieved a genuine success. Esperanto is a “living language,” that is, it is employed in speech and writing by a considerable number of users and supported by many more. By using Esperanto for a variety of purposes all around the world, Esperantists keep constantly developing this language. Esperanto continues to change in line with their wishes and in reply to the changing socio-economic, cultural, and technological realities of the globe.

At the end of the nineteenth century when numerous artificial languages were created, novel communication technologies also appeared, such as the telegraph and telephone, allowing for near-instantaneous transmission of information across the world, that is, beyond the confines of a single state. At that time, mass tourism also took off in earnest across the West. What is more, numerous ethnolinguistic nations won their own nation-states in Europe, which entailed their governments’ intensive engagement in language politics. The goals of such a policy were typically twofold, first, the liquidation of the use of minority languages, and second, the liquidation of illiteracy by teaching the entire population how to read and write in the state’s sole national and official language.

The concept of artificial language and its actualizations are in a certain way an intellectual showcase of the nineteenth century. At that time, aristocracy had already descended from the stage of history, leaving Western Europe’s bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia of Central and Eastern Europe to deal with the growing urgent need for international contacts. Earlier, it had been aristocrats who had ensured such international communication was channeled through the pan-European media of Latin and French. But in the late nineteenth century of nationalisms and high imperialism, there was no agreement to adopt a single “living language” for this purpose. The philosophical ideal was a neutral language that could be built from scratch. The means of constructing an artificial language had already been known since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Out of thousands of projects of such languages, more than 80 percent were steeped in the principles developed by the most outstanding Danish linguist, Rasmus Rask (1787–1832). He discussed these principles widely and enumerated them in his 1823 manuscript that subsequently was not published and was presumed lost. This manuscript was found recently in an archive, allowing for the scrutiny of Rask’s general principles to be followed in the construction of an artificial language. According to him, any constructed language should be based on:

- Greek and Latin lexical elements of Greek and Latin,
- its vocabulary should be enriched with borrowings from other (European) languages,
- likewise, word-formation elements should be borrowed from other (European) languages (for instance, “-ismo” for creating names of ideologies, or “-land” for creating names of countries),

- inflection should be borrowed from Latin, but must be simplified and regularized,
- root words (roots, base words, morphemes) should have a stable form that would never change,
- accent should fall on the word’s penultimate syllable,
- the grammatical gender of nouns should reflect the actual biological gender of living creatures (thus, all inanimate objects should be referred to with the use of neuter grammatical gender),
- adjectives should be indeclinable,
- pronunciation should be beautiful,
- and spelling should be phonetic (phonemic) with no silent letters.

The principles show clearly that Rask had thought hard about creating an artificial language more than half a century before the “epidemic” of planned languages struck (Hjorth 2011).

To shed light on how Esperantists went about creating toponyms (place names, geographic names) in their language, we need to consult Zamenhof’s basic grammar of this language. It constitutes part of the *Fundamento de Esperanto* (Foundation of Esperanto), or the inviolable canon of the rules of Esperanto (Zamenhof 1963). Amazingly, a quick overview reveals that Rask’s principles of a constructed language are included almost in their entirety in Zamenhof’s grammar. There is no doubt that Zamenhof did not know Rask’s work, so both arrived independently at the same conclusions. Below, these fragments of the canonical grammar of Esperanto are cited, which touch upon the issue of creating toponyms.

B) Parts of Speech

2. Substantives are formed by adding [o] to the root. For the plural, the letter [j] must be added to the singular. There are two cases: the nominative and the objective (accusative). The root with the added [o] is the nominative, the objective adds an [n] after the [o]. Other cases are formed by prepositions; thus, the possessive (genitive) by [de], “of”; the dative by [al], “to,” the instrumental (ablative) by [kun], “with,” or other preposition as the sense demands. Eg. root [patr], “father”; la patr’o, “the father;” la patr’o’n, “the father” (objective), de la patr’o, “of the father;” al la patr’o, “to the father;” kun la patr’o, “with the father;” la patr’o’j, “the fathers;” la patr’o’j’n, “the fathers” (obj.), por la patr’o’j, “for the fathers.”
3. Adjectives are formed by adding “a” to the root . . .

C) General Rules

9. Every word is to be read exactly as written, there are no silent letters.
10. The accent falls on the last syllable but one (penultimate).
11. Compound words are formed by the simple junction of roots, (the principal word standing last), which are written as a single word, but, in elementary works, separated by a small line [‘]. Grammatical terminations are considered as independent words. Eg. vapor’ŝip’o, “steamboat” is com-

posed of the roots vapor, “steam,” and ŝip, “a boat,” with the substantival termination o.

12. If there be one negative in a clause, a second is not admissible.

15. In phrases answering the question “where?” (meaning direction), the words take the termination of the objective case; eg. kie’n vi ir’as? “where are you going?”; dom’o’n, “home”; London’o’n, “to London,” etc.

14. Every preposition in the international language has a definite fixed meaning . . .

15. The so-called “foreign” words, i.e., words which the greater number of languages have derived from the same source, undergo no change in the international language, beyond conforming to its system of orthography. Such is the rule with regard to primary words, derivatives are better formed (from the primary word) according to the rules of the international grammar . . .

Principle 15 of the *Fundamento de Esperanto* governs the forming of toponyms. In the first-ever textbook of Esperanto, Zamenhof wrote that he created this language “so that learning it would be a trifle” (Dr Esperanto 1887: 3). Students of linguistics (philology) and pedagogy did not research languages in terms of the ease of their acquisition until the mid-twentieth century, while the main goal for creating Esperanto (as well as dozens of other artificial languages) was the ease of learning such a language.

In less than thirty years since its inception, the use of Esperanto had spread sufficiently to make it possible to convene the first world Esperanto Congress in 1905 in Boulogne-sur-Mer, France. The approximately one thousand participants who attended this event freely communicated in Esperanto. Moreover, during these three decades intervening between the creation of Esperanto and this congress, quite a few “repairers” of this language appeared, thus threatening the cohesion of Esperanto. Therefore, during the first congress, Zamenhof proclaimed a *Deklaracio pri la esenco de la Esperantismo* (Declaration on the essence of Esperantism). Point 4 reads, as follows:

the *Fundamento de Esperanto* is the single, perpetual obligatory authority over Esperanto, and it cannot be modified. Otherwise, Esperanto depends on no legal authority, neither a governing body nor an individual, including Zamenhof himself. If a linguistic matter is not covered in the *Fundamento*, it is up to the individual on how to handle the matter (Zamenhof 1929: 277–278).

The success of Esperanto was not decided by its “simple” and regular linguistic structure alone, as many artificial language projects were equally sensible in this regard. The game-changer was the very personality of Ludwik Zamenhof. He was an excellent strategist, a man of compromises, and a consistent propagator of his ideas. Zamenhof began working on Esperanto at the age of 16, presented the finished language to the world when he was only 28, and devoted the rest of his life to propagating it. Creators of other international languages also devoted their lives to improving their projects, often presenting a dozen ver-

sions of them. Subsequently, they delved into endless linguistic details, often terrorizing their followers to adhere to this and no other version of a given planned language. On the contrary, Zamenhof subjected his language project to public scrutiny and criticism, and in the ensuing discussion he convinced the majority of Esperanto’s importance, utility, and validity. Zamenhof’s ingenuity stemmed from the fact that, unlike creators of other planned languages, in 1887 he presented a complete language, which neither the author himself nor anyone else would ever be allowed to further “improve.” What is more, Zamenhof neither copyrighted Esperanto nor claimed any intellectual ownership of his project. This approach ensured that Esperanto flourished, while other artificial languages faltered.

In the period of the greatest popularity of Esperanto, that is, in the interwar period, the number of Esperantists was estimated at two million. Over a hundred periodicals were published, tens of thousands of books were either written in or translated into Esperanto, and thanks to this language, hundreds of thousands of tourists traveled across the world. Esperanto had become a “living language” in the fullest sense of the expression.

Apart from Esperanto, creators and users of the other artificial languages have not developed principles of forming toponyms. But even in Esperanto, otherwise quite a developed language, there is still a slight confusion regarding this matter. The general rule governing the creation of geographical neologisms in Esperanto is that proper names in their original languages are “assimilated” into Esperanto (“Esperanto-ized”) in such a way as to allow for unambiguous identification of them with the original geographical name. Bearing this rule in mind, the neologism is endowed with pronunciation, spelling, and morphology that is typical for Esperanto.

Some “assimilated” geographical names has been around from the very beginning of Esperanto, for instance, Bamako, Berno (Bern), Brno, Idaho, Jamusukro (Yamoussoukro), Kolombo (Colombo), Kuopio, Kongo (Congo), Kolorado (Colorado), Orinoko (Orinoco), Oslo, Paramaribo, Porto, Porto-Novo, Milano, Montevideo, Monako (Monaco), Maroko (Morocco), Tobago, or Togo. Geographic names are made by assimilation in the following four most usual ways:

1. by adding the nominal suffix -o to the geographic name, for example, London assimilates to Londono, Москва *Moskva* (Moscow) to Moskvo;
2. by phonetic assimilation, the Swiss city of La Chaux-de-Fonds is transformed into La Ĉaŭdefono, or the Canadian city of Charlottetown into Ĉarlotaŭno;
3. in other situations, spelling assimilation is employed, hence, the name of Polish city of Łódź is shorn of its diacritics and supplied with the suffix -o, yielding Lodz’o. Similarly, the Hungarian town of Mezőkovácsháza is transformed into Mezokovaĉhazo.
4. At times a geographical name is assimilated into Esperanto from another than a given state’s official (na-

tional) language, for example, Magyarország (Hungary) by way of English becomes Hungario in Esperanto, Warszawa (Warsaw) filtered through French (Varsovie) becomes Varsovio, and Rzeszów on the basis of Latin (Resovia) becomes Resovio.

In some instances, it is hard to arrive at a consensual version of a geographical name due to linguistic and political difficulties, yielding two or more Esperanto versions. The aforementioned Polish city of Rzeszów may be rendered in Esperanto as Resovio, but it is equally possible to follow the Polish pronunciation of this city's name, yielding Ĵeŝuf. But Ĵeŝuf is completely unidentifiable with Rzeszów. On the other hand, though the Esperanto form Ĵeŝuf faithfully renders the Polish pronunciation of Rzeszów, nevertheless it is at odds with Esperanto orthography (spelling rules). The problem flared up after Zamenhof's death, when in the wake of the Great War, Esperantists were also torn asunder by a variety of political disputes generated by the founding of numerous ethnolinguistically defined nation-states in Central Europe. As a result, some Esperanto toponyms had two or even three versions, depending on the political situation in a given region. For instance, while German-speaking Esperantists sided with the form Dancigo (from Danzig), their Polish-speaking colleagues sided with the form Gdansko (from Gdańsk). Lithuanian-speaking Esperantists preferred Kaunaso (from Kaunas) to Kovno (from Kowno), championed by their Polish-speaking colleagues. In the case of today's Slovak capital of Bratislava, Hungarian-speaking Esperantists sided with the form Poĵono (from Pozsony), while their German-speaking counterparts with Presburgo (from Preßburg) and Slovak-speaking ones with Bratislavo (from Bratislava). The capital of Transylvania, which changed hands between Hungary and Romania after 1918, was known as Koloŝvaro (from Kolozsvár) by Hungarian Esperantists, and as Kluĵo (from Cluj) by their Romanian colleagues.

* * *

The forming of names of states and of their inhabitants (seen as nations) became an Achilles' heel of Esperanto. The authors of the *Plena Analiza Gramatiko de Esperanto* (A full presentation of the grammar of Esperanto), Kálmán Kalocsay (1891–1976) and Gaston Waringhein (1901–1991), rightly remark that names of states are a complex problem, as some states get their names from their inhabitants (nations), and vice versa, names of some states are used to derive names for their inhabitants (nations). Actually, the same messiness and ambiguity in this regard is observed across all European languages. For instance, in French the name of *Belgique* (Belgium) is derived from the inhabitant's name *Belge* (Belgian), while in turn it is the state's name, *France*, that yields the inhabitant's name *Français* (Frenchman). In German, the country's name *Deutschland* (Germany) stems from the inhabitant's name *Deutscher* (German), while the state's name *England* spawns the inhabitant's name *Engländer* (Englishman). In English, the inhabitant's name, German, delivers the state's name, Germany, but it

is the other way round in the case of Hungary and Hungarian. In Italian the inhabitant's name *Greca* (Greek) is the source of the country's name *Grecia* (Greece), whereas the state's name *Italia* yields the inhabitant's name *Italiano* (Italian) (Kalocsay and Waringhein 1985: 459).

For regularizing, or normativizing, this perceived lexical chaos, Zamenhof could arbitrarily propose to derive names of states from their main ethnic groups, and even neutrally rename these ethnic groups, or tolerate the extant discrepancies, as long as an Esperanto counterpart of a country's name retained its "international" character. He settled on the latter, quite pragmatic, solution. Subsequently, Zamenhof divided the names of the countries into three groups, namely:

1. he used the suffix *-uj-* for the "old civilizations" of Europa, Asia, and some parts of Africa (in accordance with the tradition attested in the majority of Europe's Indo-European languages) for forming names of countries from the names of their inhabitants (peoples, nations). For instance, *Holand'o* (Dutchman) → *Holand'uj'o* (Netherlands), *Kore'o* (Korean) → *Kore'uj'o* (Korea), *Egipt'o* (Egyptian) → *Egipt'uj'o* (Egypt). I selected these examples on purpose, because half a century later they almost caused a "linguistic war" among the Esperantists (see below).
2. for the "New World" continents of both Americas and Australia, alongside parts of Africa, Zamenhof decided to develop names of countries' inhabitants (peoples, nations) from the names of their countries with the use of the suffix *-an-*. For example, *Kanad'o* (Canada), → *Kanad'an'o* (Canadian), *Peru'o* (Peru) → *Peru'an'o* (Peruvian), *Gvine'o* (Guinea) → *Gvine'an'o* (Guinean).
3. Furthermore, for countries and lands known from Antiquity, Zamenhof employed the suffix *-i-*, for instance, *Asirio* (Assyria), *Fenicio* (Phoenicia), *Galio* (Gallia), *Medio* (Media), *Persio* (Persia), or *Romio* (Roman Empire).

Zamenhof was so scrupulous in his Esperanto language use that in his 1901 letter to Thorsteinsson he employed a complex multiple-suffix derivation to coin the term *Rus'uj'an'o* (Zamenhof 1929: 523) for saying that he was an inhabitant of Russia, but not an ethnic Russian (or *Rus'o* in Esperanto). In most European languages, including English, this distinction does not exist. However, in Russian itself this dichotomy is well known, namely, *Россиянин Rossiianin* (inhabitant or citizen of the Russian Federation) vs *Русский Russkii* (ethnic Russian).

With time it turned out that numerous Esperantists, especially poets, saw the suffix *-uj-* as insufficient and began using the suffix *-i-* outside the context of Antiquity to which Zamenhof had originally wanted to contain it. It appears that Esperantists wanted to have a stand-alone suffix for forming names of states and countries, because the suffix *-uj-* was burdened with other grammatical functions (for instance, *cin-dr'uj'o* for "ashtray" or *mon'uj'o* for "purse"). Furthermore, in contrast to *-i-* some saw the suffix *-uj-* as "primitive" and "ugly."

The spread and development of Esperanto took place during the period of rapid decolonization, entailing the establishment of numerous postcolonial states. As a result, the process of developing Esperanto names for states became even more complex. In addition, apart from Central Europe's unitary ethnolinguistic nation-states, multiethnic polities and federations proliferated. The subsequent ad hoc onomastic solutions developed on a case by case basis gave rise to names that are unintelligible to non-Esperantists, for example, *Usono* for the United States of America (*Unuiĝintaj Ŝtatoj de Ameriko*), or *Unaremo* for the United Arab Emirates. The latter form was not popularly accepted, and most Esperantists speak either of the *Unuiĝintaj Arabaj Emirlandoj* or *UAE*.

Creating names for countries became increasingly more complex because names for non-European and postcolonial states were formed in a variety of non-standard ways, for instance, Seychelles from the name of Louis XIV's minister de Sechelles, Mauritius from the name of Prince Maurice of Nassau, from indigenous ethnonyms (as in the case of Utah < Ute ethnic group), from tree names (Barbados < bearded fig-tree), from names of animals (Sierra Leone < Lion Mountains), from names of mountains (Montenegro, literally "Black Mountain"), from river names (Gabon, Senegal or Congo), or from names of minerals (Argentina > Latin *argentum* "silver"). Some countries' names were derived from names of cities (Algeria from Alger, or Mexico from Mexico). In other instances, names of colonies that gained independence were replaced with brand-new names, such as Burkina Faso for Upper Volta, or Benin for Dahomey. Yet, other states adopted names dictated by ideological considerations, as in the cases of Liberia ("liberty") or Yugoslavia ("land of *Yugo* ['South'] Slavs"). There are also portmanteau-style names, for instance, Tanzania (from the names of Tanganika and Zanzibar, which united into a single country), or acronym-style neologisms, as in the case of Pakistan (its name is composed from the names of the country's provinces, that is, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province = Afghanistan Province, Kashmir, Indus-Sindh, and Baluchistan). Furthermore, Esperantists took a good note of the fact that quite a few languages share some quite productive suffixes for creating names of countries, such as *-land* (in Netherlands, Iceland, or Greenland), or *-stan* (in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan or Kazakhstan) that are popular in international use.

It became obvious that the (Indo-)European system of creating names for countries, as adopted in Esperanto, does not really work outside Europe, where many case-specific ways of creating countries' names are employed. As a result, like in other languages, a degree of chaos has entered Esperanto in this respect, especially so because Esperantists, while creating names of countries, tend to fall back on their own individual ideological, esthetic, or linguistic preferences.

Disputes about the names of states in Esperanto are intertwined, not so much with politics, as with ideology and language esthet-

ics. There is a tendency to return to the sources: why *Albanio* and not *Ŝkiperia* (derived from the Albanian-language name for the country, *Shqipëria*), why *Nov-Zelando* and not *Aotearoa* (that is, the Maori-language name of this country)? The author of the first Esperanto dictionaries, Émil Grosjean-Maupin (1863–1933), declared that "race is a myth" (meaning, not only race understood as "skin color," but also "nations" and "ethnic groups"). Bearing this comment in mind, many years later, the then chairman of the Esperanto Academy (*Akademio de Esperanto*), Frenchman André Albault (1923–2017), remarked in 1974 that Esperanto should be based on linguistic facts (that is, on the international character of vocabulary), and not on rapidly evolving racial (ethnic, national) myths. He criticized the use in Esperanto of such national-specific toponyms as *Magyarország* (Hungary), *Suomi* (Finland), *Euskadi* (Basque Country), or *Karjala* (Karelia), instead of the internationally accepted forms of these names (Hungary, Finland, Basque Country, or Karelia) that are immediately recognizable to all across Europe. According to Albault, Esperanto, which Zamenhof called an "international language" only represents chaos in the case of state names created on the basis of their own national languages. Names of this type are typical for "old European civilizations or polities," for instance, *Holand'uj'o* (Netherlands) and *Island'uj'o* (Iceland). But they were not derived from any ethnic names, so in this they were not contrary to the spirit of Esperanto. Not that this fact lessens the resultant terminological chaos, given that in Icelandic, Iceland is known as *Lýðveldið Ísland*, while French-speakers (who are influential among Esperantists) refer to the Netherlands in French as the Pays-Bas.

Each Esperanto word has a root with the use of which other word forms are created through the system of affixes. The root denoting broadly understood Polishness is *pol'*. The simplest nominal derivation yields *Pol'o* (Pole) and *Pol'uj'o* (Poland). *Holand'o* means "Dutchman," so Zamenhof derived the name *Holand'uj'o* for the Netherlands. However, among Esperantists a spontaneous tendency appeared to form names for some countries with the use of the suffix *-land-*, for example, *Svis'land'o* (apart from standard *Svis'uj'o*) for Switzerland or *Skot'land'o* (besides standard *Skot'uj'o*) for Scotland, or even *Pol'ando* (apart from standard *Pol'uj'o*) for Poland. The question is whether this development might be in breach of Article 15 of the *Fundamento de Esperanto*. What is then the standard root, *hol'* or *holand'*? If the latter, then what is the correct Esperanto name for "Dutchman," *Holand'an'o* or *Hol'an'o*?

In an effort to tackle this discrepancy, the Esperanto Academy under the leadership of its chairman André Albout decided that the forms *Koreujo* and *Egiptujo* violate the *Fundamento de Esperanto*, and the only correct names for both countries are *Koreo* and *Egipto*, respectively, while for their inhabitants (nations), *Koreanoj* and *Egiptanoj*. Admittedly, he did not dare to "correct" Esperanto names of other countries in a similar manner, but the decision taken in the case of the Esperanto names for Korea and Egypt set out the general direction desired, as espoused by the academy for developing and standardizing toponyms (*Aktoj* 1975: 61–63).

André Albaut's critique of Esperanto word formation in the sphere of racial, ethnic, and state names upset many acad-

emy members. The ensuing dispute lasted for over a decade. Frankly speaking, André Albaut was guided by a certain concept of Esperanto's esthetics and a specific logic, like reformers of Esperanto who had then turned it into Ido. Finally, in March 2009, the Esperanto Academy under the leadership of the Brazilian Geraldo Mattos (1931–2014) annulled its previous decisions regarding names of states, concluding that none of the following forms *Koreo*, *Koreujo* or *Korea*, and *Egipto*, *Egiptujo* or *Egiptio* is in breach of the *Fundamento de Esperanto* (Oficialaj 2013). The academy decided to recommend all the forms of names of states attested in wide use among Esperantists. However, this recommendation came with a characteristic caveat:

In order to respect the tradition, and in the spirit of peace, we declare that the name of a country is correct, if the majority [of Esperantists] use such a form. In the event of an orthographic conflict between two or more forms for the name of same country resulting from derivation, the Academy recommends using the most international form, as postulated by Article 15 of the *Fundamento de Esperanto*. Regardless of the character of the country's name (be it ethnic or non-ethnic), the names of a country and its inhabitants (people, nation) must correspond to each other, for example, *Angl'ujo* (England) and *Angl'oj* (Englishman), or *Nederland'o* (Netherlands) to *Nederland'oj* (Dutchman). In particular, it is not advisable to form new names of states with the employment of international "words," not attested in Esperanto, especially with the suffix *-(i)stan-*, unless it is already in international use in the name of a given country (Listo 2009).

But the academy did not explain, just as nobody else has (including Zamenhof), since the very beginning of the creation of Esperanto, what the term "international" actually means. While during the Enlightenment, the matter was simple and international meant then the standard usages of the French language, nowadays in the era of globalization the concept of "international" begins to be equated with the American usages of the English language. The continuing emergence of new states, quasi-states, or autonomous regions keeps changing the rules of naming countries in Esperanto. What if in the future the name of Greenland is officially changed to in Kalaallit Nunaat, that of New Caledonia to Kanaky, or if Wales is re-named as Cymru?

In practice, these three or four suffixes employed in Esperanto for creating names of countries bring this language closer to how toponyms are dealt with in "natural languages." In no way does this tendency contradict the principles of Esperanto. Zamenhof himself repeatedly allowed for the introduction of parallel forms of a word or name, pragmatically letting Esperantists decide which form they may eventually adopt when writing and speaking in this language. Paradoxically, Esperanto toponyms and their derivations are the most irregular part of Esperanto grammar (while the rest of Esperanto remains grammatically "regular"). The forms of country names in Esperanto are determined by the actual use, tradition, and a degree of individual arbitrary choice, as exemplified by the Esperanto-language map *Centra Eŭropo en 1910* (Central Europe in 1910).

Translated from the Polish by Tomasz Kamusella