

Street Naming and Odonymy in Quezon City

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Abstract

This paper describes the odonymy in Quezon City (QC), Philippines. A list of 3,957 unique street names in QC is generated from the database of OpenStreetMap (OSM) and arranged into an index. From this list, the odonyms are categorized into four emerging main categories of street names: (a) Themed or Associative, (b) Eponymic or Commemorative, (c) Cultural, and (d) Descriptive. It is found that street names that were themed or had semantic associations with nearby streets were most in number at 1,691. Nearly a third (1,292) of streets in QC were eponymic or commemorated a significant person or event in the country's history. Six hundred and twenty-nine (629) streets were related to some aspect of Philippine culture, heritage, religion, and values system. Finally, there were 345 street names that described its location or a nearby landmark. These four, along with their respective

subcategories, also serve as a typology of odonyms, and thus reflect a tradition of street naming practice in QC. The overlaps in the typology and categories of odonyms are due to the polysemy of some street names and reflect the simultaneous deployment of various naming motivations and strategies by the state and private stakeholders, including political, historical, cultural, religious, ecological, and ideological considerations.

Keywords: Toponymy, odonymy, street names, Quezon City, OpenStreetMap, urban studies

1 Designated Paths, Roads not Taken, and Corners Turned

To the inhabitants of an area, its frequent visitors, passengers, plyers, and all other wayward wayfarers, street signs and street names are simultaneously ubiquitous and crucial. In the most practical sense, street names allow for efficient and successful landmarking and navigation. But behind each and every official name for a highway, street, avenue, road, drive, lane, bridge, alley, exit, boulevard, rotunda, and any other path is a deliberate choice and an enacted policy, reflecting perhaps the various cultural-ecological values and beliefs of its area and era, or maybe an appreciable historical figure or event, and even latent political agenda and ideology. The study of such geographical names and naming practices is called *toponymy* or *toponomastics*, and this paper is an exercise at *odonymy*, the sub-branch dealing with the names given to streets and street-like paths.

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In particular, this paper aims to describe and discuss the odonymy in Quezon City (QC), the largest city in terms of land area and population size in the Philippines' National Capital Region (NCR). A list of all official street names ("street" is henceforth meant to be inclusive of residential and suburban area streets, as well as major and minor national and public roads and highways) in and through QC is generated from the database of the open-source website OpenStreetMap (OSM). The gathered list, which is essentially an index of streets in QC, is then categorized into any emergent themes or categories, creating a typology for street naming. I also aim to provide some insights into how this typology and convention for street naming in QC may reflect the cultural and political ethos of both its policy-makers and citizens.

As such, the following questions serve as a guide throughout the research:

- (1) What languages are used for the official street names in QC? Do the street names have or undergo any sort of orthographic variations? If so, what are these variations?
- (2) What are the emerging practices, themes, and conventions for street naming in QC? How can these inform the identification of a typology of street names in QC?
- (3) Are there any naming motivations (e.g. political, historical, religious, cultural, ecological, ideological) behind the street naming practices that can be derived from the typology and data?

Only unique streets in OSM's data of QC as of March 30, 2023¹ are treated. So unofficial, informal, or other popular culture names for streets and areas are excluded. The list of street names will also be viewed from a synchronic perspective, so the etymologies, mythologies, historical developments, and name changes of particular streets are not discussed; newly added streets after the said extraction date are also not taken into account. Still, an exploration into the more widely used terms, names, and “shortcuts” that people use to refer to popular places and streets, as well as their developments over time, remains interesting and worthwhile for a separate study.

QC was chosen as the focus of this paper due to the following reasons: (a) having the largest land area in NCR also meant that it has the most number of streets in the metro, ensuring more than enough data; (b) for logistical convenience, feasibility, and familiarity with some of its areas; (c) it is a planned city, and with a long history of undergoing various geopolitical changes, from serving as the nation's capital from 1948-1976, to undergoing numerous social and private housing projects involving districts and gated subdivisions, slums and condominiums, to being one of the country's economic hubs now, its simultaneous urban and suburban characteristics hinted at a diverse odonymy (see Pante, 2019).

Because the area covered by the paper is the entirety of QC, it deals with a large amount of data and thousands of individual street name entries. Thus, the paper is more quantitative in nature, and the attempted odonymy here is more of a bird's eye, large-scale view, rather than a particularized and heavily localized approach. As the street name is

¹This is the date I extracted my initial list. Since then, the linked Agham and BIR roads have been renamed to Senator Miriam-Defensor Avenue. This change is not reflected in the data.

extracted from a database, it is also removed from the physical space it labels, from the environmental context it belongs to, and from the linguistic landscape it is a sign of. The street name is taken as unrelated from the physical characteristics of the street it names, as well as its location amidst the other streets. Overall, the paper treats street names as indexed on a list, not as distributed across space nor time, nor as part of the city-scape of texts.

The field of toponomastics and odonymy is vast, and I constrained myself to these limitations in the interest of feasibility. Regardless, an odonymic study of this sort is useful at the very least because it provides a workable list and index of street names in QC as of March 2023. Furthermore, the study can serve as a baseline for more focused, localized, and in-depth toponymic studies in the Philippines in the future. It can serve as a point of reference, or a standard for comparison, and in this regard, it fills a gap in the literature.

I now move to a short review of extant literature on odonymy, and then to an explanation of my method and data gathering procedures. Then, I provide an overview of the odonymy of QC and an analysis of my data and typology with some insights and conclusions. Finally, a link to the list of streets arranged by category is appended to the end of the paper.

2 Mapping the Literature on Odonymy

In this section, I give an overview of existing literature on odonymy; from its place within toponymy to the methodological bases within the field.

2.1 Odonymy as an Urban Subfield of Toponomastics

In any toponomastic undertaking, the space to be dealt with must first be defined and bound. In the most basic sense today, a street is a public thoroughfare where people and vehicles can pass to get to places. Streets are usually flanked by houses and infrastructure, and commonly lead to other streets. A couple of these streets form a block, and a collection of blocks creates a city. Hence, streets are commonly associated with urban sprawl, although any recognized and traversable thoroughfare anywhere already counts as a street. In fact, streets themselves are subjects in the field of urban studies and anthropology. Lynch (1960, pp. 50–53), for example, classifies a street as a *path*, one of five elements of the “city image” along with edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. To Lynch, paths are channels along which individuals can move and observe the city and other items in the environment. One of these items are street signs, the physical name and label of the street.

These urban thoroughfares, as well as uncemented and undeveloped paths in rural places, all qualify as streets, as well as places and spaces in their very essence, and are likewise given official names by their respective local government units, or ‘unofficial’ and ‘informal’ names by locals, visitors, and migrants. The names people use for streets and paths also expectedly change over time, as do names for other places, things, and even peoples, because those very people change as well. The names and the places that are named run parallel to each other as they undergo changes over time: as the physical characteristics and inhabitants of a place change, so do its names. All this is to say that we can situate odonymy within toponomastics as one of the latter’s more urban and

modern reimaginings and reinterpretations of place and space naming. Hence, streets as we understand them today can be treated as place and space touched by modernity's urbanizing and bureaucratic forces (Cumbe, 2016; de Certeau, 1980/1984; Low, 1996).

Neethling's (2016, pp. 144–145) concise summary of Toussaint's (2007) definition captures the scope of odonymy efficiently: “[odonymy] concerns itself with the names and naming of public streets, roads, and highways; how and why such names are selected; the approval, cataloguing, and standardizing of these names; and making information about these names available.” We can also read street names, or *odonyms*, from the physical street signs on which they are inscribed. Neethling (2016, p. 144) provides a standard structure for street names everywhere, consisting of two main parts:

[SPECIFIC NAME] + [GENERIC TYPE]

The specific name is the actual official name of the street that differentiates it from all others, like “Katipunan” or “E. Jacinto.” The generic type, meanwhile, is the type of path the street is, like “Avenue” or “Boulevard.” Differentiating among the various generic types will prove to be essential to this paper later on, as these are key to furnishing a unique list of street names in any area. However, the various physical and definitive differences among these generic types will not be discussed here any further.

The naming of streets and the placement of physical signposts serve various functions. Most apparent of these is that they organize place and space, and by extension they are crucial in the (re)organization of daily life and its activities and events. These are also referential, as street names are also used as points of reference in communication and

spatial organization, and navigational, as they allow movers to traverse the city to get to their destinations. In this way, street names and their signs are markers of locations of activities, transactions, and movements. Street names also have an administrative function as they divide and bound the city to distinct areas or districts governed by concerned local government units. And finally, street names have latent functions that go beyond the practical. Street names and signs are also treated as having semiotic functions due to being part of the linguistic landscape.

2.2 Odonyms as Signs in Place, Space, and Time

My review of extant literature reveals that toponymic papers can be situated across a sort of methodological and theoretical spectrum. On one end are papers that treat street names as part and parcel of the physical street sign, as componential to the linguistic landscape of which it is part, and as inseparable from the rural or urban environment within which it exists (see Amos, 2015 and Banda & Jimaima, 2015). These studies view the street name and *sign* as a sign, and treat it from a structural, semiotic perspective. Street names are treated as part of discourse, as discursive units themselves, and as such carry within its name politics and ideology, almost akin to Barthes' mythological signification. Studies like Ferguson (1988) and Moll (2011) treat them as part of the 'symbolic infrastructure' of an area, for example, and thus as symbolically and politically-charged. Studies like these also constitute the subfield of critical toponymics, which approach the place and the place name as sites of discourse, laying out the colonial history and aspirational futures of said place across space.

Apart from the physical structure of the street sign, the odonym itself is also essential to its characteristic as a political sign. Naming and labeling, after all, can be seen as an exercise of power done by the namer on what it is naming. While in its most basic and practical sense, naming can be a mere cognitive discrimination among concepts and meanings, an imprint and trace of the name-giver and their motivations are nevertheless left on the identity of the named entity (Brink, 2016; Mabanglo, 2009). Casagrande (2013, p. 292) even goes on to call it a 'form of norming,' priming one's expectations and ideations; as such, naming is a way of re/defining. And in the case of place naming, the concept applies to acts of boundary-setting, territory-marking, identity-forming, and nation-building. Of course, these also apply to intentionally named streets, either by public policy or by the private choices of the street's stakeholders. Motivations like commemoration and marketing thus become part of the decision-making process of naming streets (Azaryahu, 1996, pp. 319–321). Furthermore, Augustins (2004, p. 289) describes the act of street naming as a political act of 'dedication' in accordance with an intellectual or moral tradition as a means to stratify and differentiate social and spatial reality.

On top of that, street names can also be renamed; it can even be argued that any act of naming in toponymy is always an act of renaming. As the odonym is considered to be relatively more pliable and subject to changes, should logistical and financial considerations allow, street names are a relatively more routinely changed element of the city's linguistic landscape. Azaryahu (1996, p. 317) calls street renaming a simultaneous commemoration and de-commemoration, a 'ritual of revolution.' Accordingly, street renaming is often a signal of shifts in

power, particularly among those with authority over urban planning decisions, may it be: political upheaval, a change in bureaucratic regime, the establishment of a new political order, the promotion of the values and ethos of new era, among others (Azaryahu, 1996; Casagrande, 2013; Light et al., 2002). As the new name receives elevated recognition and begins to enter public usage and memory, the replaced name meanwhile is lowered down into the history of the mundane, the realm of the forgotten. This exchange is why the subfield of historical toponomastics exists: political motivations and influences in place naming can be easily left behind by the name, especially ones with colonial origins (see Yeoh, 1992).

The frequent targeting of the toponym at times of political change only points to its ideological latency as an urban feature. Azaryahu (1996) tells us that however ubiquitous street names may be, they nonetheless end up serving as representations of legitimate history, one created by policy-makers and urban planners who “introduce an authorized version of history into ordinary settings of everyday life” (p. 312). To illustrate, as we walk through the city and navigate its streets, we can ‘read through its history’ as laid out in a flattened grid of streets, with the past and even deeper past intertwined with one another into a single present time, and all their complexities and contradictions settled in a sort of anachronistic narrative; think of “Katipunan Avenue” intersecting with “[Ferdinand] Marcos Highway.” In this vein, the ubiquity and mundanity of street names make them powerful urban propaganda markers, and iconographic symbols that silently and ubiquitously re/configure cultural space, public consciousness, and memory.

2.3 Odonyms as an Index of City-texts

On the other end of the spectrum are onomastic studies that remove the street name from its physical environment and instead read it from a purposefully arranged list or index. By doing so, these studies can treat each individual odonym as a quantifiable and scalable data point. These studies do not reject the significant nature of the street name (i.e. as an ideological sign), and in fact these can be seen as the next progression to such semantic-semiotic treatment of street names. And because these studies methodologically deal with larger numbers of street names, their treatment of odonyms as quantified geographic data can be used correlatively and comparatively. This allows for observations on street name types to lead to wider conjectures about the motivations behind their naming and their possible consequences.

For example, Oto-Peralías (2017, p. 1), following Azaryahu (1996), categorizes street names as part of a wider collection of “city-texts” along with the other linguistic signs that make up an urban area’s linguistic landscape. However, their treatment of such city-text is that it can be quantified, and in the social sciences, they argue that it can be a useful metric that can indicate religio-cultural values, historical appreciations, and infer economic status. For example, they were able to connect the predominance of commemorative male street names over female names with persisting gender inequality and male dominance in Spanish society. They were also able to point the presence and prevalence of “nationalist” street names to certain implications related to Spanish national identity-formation and nationalism. Most interestingly perhaps, they were able to correlate street names to matters of memory, historical distortion, and electoral politics. In particular, they found a significant

correlation between the presence in some areas of what they described as ‘Francoist streets’ (i.e. streets named after or commemorating former Spain dictator Franco-related things) and the vote share of right-wing parties in those areas at elections. Oto-Peralías’ heavily quantitative study reveals that street names are not-so-ubiquitous after all and can be used as sociocultural indicators.

In the making of this study, I also made use of what I consider to be ‘model papers’ in onomastics as inspiration and methodological basis. Azaryahu (1996) provides the theoretical foundation of street names and their semiotic and political operation. Casagrande (2013) then offers a useful theoretical layer that integrates perspectives from critical toponomastics, linguistic landscape approaches, and postcolonial studies as applied to ononyms. Next, Oto-Peralías (2017) exemplifies how street name data can be treated statistically to become useful socio-cultural indicators. And lastly, Oto-Peralías (2017), Perono Cacciafoco and Tuang (2018), and Hsiyan (2020) all provide examples of onymies that classify the street names of selected places into a sort of typology according to their semantic content. In particular, this paper takes much inspiration from the typology and categories of Perono Cacciafoco and Tuang (2018, pp. 14–18), as they identified four (4) main categories of street names: (a) Commemorative (b) Borrowed (c) Thematic and (d) Descriptive. The main categories I ultimately found for QC are discussed in the later sections.

The extant literature I reviewed here all draw on mixed methods approaches that make use of qualitative judgments and quantitative assessments. We see here that research on onymy typically gravitates towards the realms of onomastics, critical toponomastics, social geogra-

phy, and urban studies. Overall, onomastics finds salience in the study of “social changes in commemoration politics as reflected in the city as text” (Fabiszak et al., 2021, p. 420), some taking on a more localized semiotic approach, while others a more wide-scale quantitative one. The application of such onomastics on QC, as a city with a colonial history and religio-economic character tempered by administrative policies, is all the more worthwhile. In the next section, I discuss the data gathering software, method, and procedures I utilized to arrive at and explore the odonymy of QC.

3 Methods

In this section, I give a brief background on OSM as a geographic information system (GIS) and explain the method and procedures I followed in order to: (1) generate an initial list of street names in QC; (2) to trim the list to only contain unique street names; and (3) to categorize each unique entry of a street name to its respective category.

3.1 OpenStreetMap as a Collaborative Geographic Information System

OSM is an open-source collaborative geographic database emphasizing local knowledge. This means that anyone with internet access can add their own data into OSM, and similarly take whatever data they need from OSM’s database. This data includes maps, shape files (the actual 2D mapping of city elements, including paths, buildings, open spaces), lists and locations of utilities and certain establishments (like bus stops, railways and bike lanes, public washrooms), text files that label these

shapes and locations, among many others. This opens up the site and its data to the same benefits and pitfalls that other open-source collaborative sites have. One of them is simply human error, in the form of typographical errors and irregularity with orthographic choices. The possibility of errors like this makes a couple things a bit more difficult: it may make some search queries inaccurate and data sets incomplete. Regardless, OSM contains a lot of useful data, which can be extracted by researchers in various ways. Gammeltoft (2016, pp. 508–51) even discusses the exciting potential uses of GIS and geospatial databases in onomastic and geographic research. However, I am yet to encounter similar onomastic studies that make use of OSM as the primary resource and source of text data. In this regard, my undertaking may be considered unorthodox in its methods, or at least experimental in its approach.

3.2 Routes and Procedures

Text data like street names can be extracted from OSM's database with the use of *overpass turbo*, a third-party software that data mines OSM's interface using codes. The code needed to extract street names was already available in *Overpass API's* search query guide (see Section 7.1). This code extracts an alphabetical list of all text data used as labels for pathways in a geographic area a user specifies through a text prompt.

Using this code, I had managed to tabulate the data from NCR's 16 cities-municipalities as well as Cainta (the municipality in Rizal where I live) in a Google Sheets (see Section 7.2). The median number of streets for each city in NCR hovers around the 1,500 range, with QC being

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the highest with 5,136 and Navotas being the lowest with only around 200 streets.

The extracted data sets seemed to be plausible and accurate, with the exception of Manila and San Juan which faced the problem of sharing their names with other places around the globe and making it hard for the code to concentrate on streets from therein alone (i.e. it extracted streets from other places in the world called Manila); the text prompt could not account for this. At this point, there were a few more issues with the data sets due to how the code is designed that still need to be cleaned up, which I have listed here:

- (1) Paths (streets, sidewalks, trails, and other channels in which people travel) are all tagged as “highway” in OSM; these include major and minor roads, slip roads, and non-car roads like named footpaths and staircases, so these are also included in the data set
- (2) Foreign streets - some streets from abroad might still make its way to the data set because of the same area name existing in some other country
- (3) Duplicate streets - the code already removes exact string duplicates, which is useful because OSM sometimes has two labels for long major streets or streets intersected and cut by another wide street. What does not get filtered out are other types of streets with the same name (e.g. Katipunan and Katipunan extension), and “synonyms” that actually refer to the same thoroughfare (e.g. Anonas avenue and Anonas road)
- (4) There are also instances of streets (usually major ones) crossing or going across boundaries of two or more cities in NCR (e.g. EDSA).

These streets are included in the data set of each city they pass through (e.g. some streets of Cavite are included in Muntinlupa's data set simply because they also pass through Muntinlupa).

I then singled out the list of QC streets on a separate Sheet in its own column, henceforth called "unique list" (Section 7.2). Next, I had to deal with the issues I listed above for the list of QC streets. First, I had to separate duplicate (i.e. same name, different type) streets from the unique list into separate columns based on their type (e.g. "Katipunan" remained in the unique list, yet "Katipunan Avenue," "Katipunan Extension," etc. were separated into their respective columns of "Avenue," "Extension," etc.). I decided to keep the street name without a type, if ever it had duplicates, in the unique list because I deemed that the specific street name was what is important for the analysis and typology, rather than its generic type. The following types were separated from the unique list into their own respective columns if they had a type-less duplicate in the unique list: (a) street, (b) avenue, (c) road, (d) extension, (e) lane, (f) interior, (g) bridge, (h) alley/aisle, (i) exit/gate, (j) tunnel/underpass, (k) loop/circle/rotunda/bend, (l) service/access/bypass road, and (m) boulevard.

Second, by giving each street name a quick background check (Google search and OSM search) to confirm that they were indeed a street in QC and not some other place, I manually removed foreign streets from the unique list.

Third, since non-street places were also included in the list, I had to separate these from the unique list into their respective columns as well. These included: (a) footbridges/footpaths/bike lanes, (b) compounds, and (c) actual places. Actual places included subdivisions, gated villages,

areas, courts, colleges, malls, offices, business establishments, plazas, parks, and other public places. Curiously, these places were extracted by the code from OSM, and I surmise that this is because they are tagged as “paths” in the database simply because they did qualify as paths (channels of movement), just not as the streets I am looking for.

After cleaning up the unique list, it ended up having 3,957 unique entries of street names. It must be noted here that in no way is this a complete list of unique street names in QC, as the code may still have missed some streets or OSM itself could have had missing streets. The next step was to then categorize these remaining entries in the unique list into their respective category in the typology. I owe Perono Cacciafoco and Tuang (2018) for the four (4) main categories of odonyms they identified in my own identification of four emerging main categories, which are: (a) Thematic/Associative, (b) Eponymic/Commemorative, (c) Cultural, and (d) Descriptive. I then made a separate Sheet for each of the four major categories (each will be discussed further in Section 4), and within each Sheet were columns for each subcategory also differentiated by the language of the street name (see Section 7.2). Sorting each individual entry of the 3,957 one-by-one was made tedious by the fact that a brief background check was also done for each odonym before they were categorized. This was to know and ensure the meaning and category of each street name. To illustrate, some names were not apparently obvious that they were names of local mountains, or of adjacent once-standing buildings now-gone, or that some were actually English names for flowers, etc. Ensuring the meaning of each was crucial for a reliable tally and typology.

I tried to ‘specialize’ and narrow down my categorization and typology of the toponyms as much as possible and as long as it remained practical and purposeful. After each entry was categorized into their respective sub/categories, quantity and quality checks were done to ensure accuracy before the ensuing analysis.

4 Quezon City Odonymy and Data Analysis

In this section, I discuss the total tallies of streets, the languages used for toponyms as well as some orthographic observations, and the typology of street names in QC after following the procedures discussed in the previous section.

4.1 Tally of Total Streets, Duplicate Streets, Non-streets, Removed Entries, and Unique streets

According to the particular configuration of code I entered on Overpass Turbo, there are 5,136 total named streets in OSM’s QC. However, this number was whittled down to 3,957 uniquely named streets after the separation of duplicates and ‘non-streets’ and the removal of some entries. The breakdown of the total generated list is as follows:

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Table 1. Tally of Total Streets, Duplicate Streets and Non-streets, Removed Entries, and Unique Streets

Total number of 'streets' in QC generated by Overpass code		5,136
Total number of 'streets' in QC generated by Overpass code		1,179
Duplicate by generic type	Street	470
	Extension	155
	Drive	80
	Avenue	63
	Road	54
	Lane	35
	Loop / Circle / Rotunda / Bend	24
	Alley / Aisle	23
	Service / Access / Bypass / Slip	20
	Road / Aisle	
	Interior	19
	Exit / Gate	6
	Tunnel / Underpass	5
	Bridge	4
	Boulevard	2
Non-streets	Actual Place / Mall	66
	Compound	48
	Footbridge / Footpath / Bike Lane	39
Removed	Removed typos, non-streets, and non-places	66
	Total number of uniquely named streets in QC after cleaning and filtering	

“Duplicates” include streets with the same SPECIFIC NAME but different GENERIC TYPE; only one entry was retained in the unique list for each set of duplicates. These were excluded in the categorizing and analysis because the focus here was uniqueness and representation; this is also to

avoid the issue with overpass turbo extracting multiple entries for the same street in real life, which would have affected the data. Still, the question of which street names are the most common or most unique can be taken up in a separate inquiry. Meanwhile, “non-streets” like footbridges, compounds, actual places, and mall driveways were also separated from the main list.

4.2 Orthographic Variations and Language of Odonyms

The following orthographic variations were causes for entries to be “removed,” as long as they are proven to be incorrectly spelled by cross-checking in GoogleMaps and that their correctly spelled form was also in the list (extra, missing, or incorrect characters are enclosed in brackets []):

(a) Typographical errors and spelling mistakes:

- Alma[g]i[c]a, Cathe[i]rine, Don Vi[n]cente, Dunh[u]ill, E[x]ekiel, Grec[]io, [L]guerra Drive, Luis[]to, Mel[e]guas, Polar[]s, Sagit[]arius, Saint Philip[p], Sap[]hire, Stan[d]ford, Sul[a]tan Kudarat, Tangui[t]e, Soccor[]o, Wal[l]nut, Zuzuar[]egui;

(b) The use of “n” over the letter “ñ:” Osme[n]a, Do[n]a Juliana, Santo Ni[n]o

(c) Missing period (.) and spacing: A[] Bonifacio, E.[]G. Fernandez Street, J.[]P. Rizal

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- (d) Unnecessary use of dash (-): Biak[-]na[-]Bato, Mapagkawang[-]gawa
- (e) Incorrect capitalization: Gumamela [s]treet; Ilang-[i]lang; Ipil-[i]pil
- (f) Unnecessary spacing: Dap[]dap (no space in between); Waling[]Waling (dash in between)

Also removed were places, segments, and junctures that are not specific or relevant enough:

- (a) Brand chain stores: chery, dkny, Nobilitys
- (b) Other non-streets: basement parking, basement parking exit, Pay Parking, Pedestrian Crossing, Pedestrian Overpass
- (c) Street segments: EDSA-Quezon Avenue, NLEX Segment 8.2, Skyway Ramp

There were also some streets that had variations in spelling, but were kept in the unique list because it is the name of the actual street:

- (a) “Bougainvilla Street,” “Bougainvillea Street,” and “Bouganvilla” are all distinct streets in different areas,
- (b) So are “Poinsetia” and “Poinsettia,”
- (c) And “Blue Bird” and “Love Bird” along with “Bluebird” and “Lovebird”

There were also some entries that were entirely capitalized and kept in the list (e.g. GURAMI DRIVE, TILAPIA DRIVE). These belong to the same area and were probably contributed by the same user. Aside from

these, the standard orthography and structure of the odonyms follow the two-part structure, with only the first letters of each word capitalized. However, the orthographic form of the odonym in the generated list may not be the form in the actual street sign, which typically uses a typeface that capitalizes every letter for visibility and clarity.

Other notable spelling choices involved the alternation between some letters in the Filipino alphabet. For example, between “s” and “z” (i.e. Lansones Street and Lanzones). There is also one between “c” and “k,” with Calachuchi, Campupot, and Culasisi streets, which are expected to be spelled with a “K” in standard orthography; furthermore there are Caimito and Kaimito streets, whose vowel diphthongs are expected to be spelled with “ay” (i.e. Kaymito). Notably, Macban Street, which is named after MAKBAN Geothermal Powerplant in Laguna and Batangas, which is itself named after Makiling–Banahaw, has had its “K” changed to a “C” in its spelling as an odonym.

Odonyms were also classified by language whenever possible, yet not all names were classifiable as some were eponyms, vague, or possibly coined. Researching the etymologies of each name was simply infeasible for this paper. Nevertheless, below is a tally of the street names according to language.

Table 2. Tally of Street Names according to Language

Language	Number
Nominal or Eponymic	1,572
English and Other Foreign	1,493
Filipino and Other Philippine	458
Spanish	119
Arabic	2
Malay	1
Uncategorized	312
Total	3,957

Since it would be difficult to trace the etymologies of names, the tally for Nominal and Eponymic includes odonyms from local persons and local places. Uncategorized includes mostly alphanumeric streets (which are almost wholly in English) and streets with obscure etymologies that do not fall under nominal and eponymic. In any case, it is apparent that English, which is taken here to include other non-native languages, dominates the language of odonyms by a wide margin. This includes the names of foreign persons and places, brands, phrases, words related to the fields of STEM and bureaucracy, and other foreign imports. Streets in Filipino and other native languages represent roughly only an eighth of the data, but this number would be higher if one were to count local nominal streets in this category. Spanish, Arabic, and Malay are tallied due to some street names that are related to culture and religion.

4.3 Emerging Typology and Categorization

In what can be considered a typology, four main categories emerge from the unique list of 3,957 entries. Ultimately, street names in QC can be said to belong to four (4) main categories: (a) Themed or Associative, (b) Eponymic or Commemorative, (c) Cultural, and (d) Descriptive. Each of these categories have their own subcategories. These categories can also be seen as ‘naming practices’ used by those with authority over the urban spaces of streets, be it by the local government units or private stakeholders (Perono Cacciafoco & Tuang, 2018). In the end, however, the typology and categorization are not so clean and clear-cut, as the categories often overlap and thus can be homogeneous; this is a reflection of how various naming practices are often simultaneously employed in naming streets. The tally and breakdown is as follows:

Table 3. Typology of Street Names and Tally of Each Category and Subcategory

Total uniquely named streets in QC	3,957
Themed / Associative	1,691
Borrowed	832
Local Places	261
Other Specific Themes	247
STEM (Astronomy, Chemistry, Geology, Greek Letters)	100
Occupational / Governance-Bureaucracy	93
Foreign Mythology	24
Temporal (Months, Seasons)	16
Colors	14
Flora	244
Fauna	107

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Eponymic / Commemorative	1,292
Singular Name	733
Particular Person / Specific Name	525
Group	27
Events	4
Dates	3
<hr/>	
Cultural	629
Dates	265
Values	180
Culture	158
Possibly Autochthonous	26
<hr/>	
Descriptive	345
Alphanumeric	241
Referential	57
Nearby Place or Infrastructure	44
Geographical	3
<hr/>	

The next portion of the paper goes through each category and subcategory, arranged by decreasing number of streets, and explains the reasoning and justifications behind each. I explain what kinds of odonyms are subsumed under each (sub)category. The tally is enclosed in brackets [] beside the subheadings.

4.3.1 Themed / Associative [1,691]

These are street names named in accordance with a particular chosen theme, which are also neither commemorative or culturally salient enough. This category contains the most subcategories.

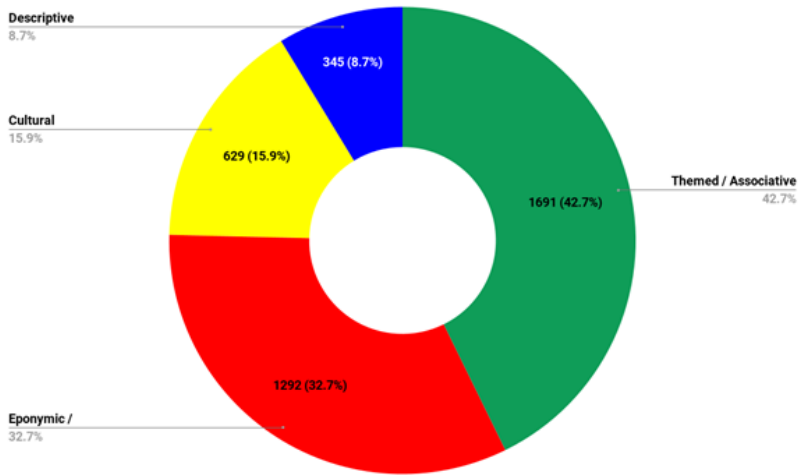


Figure 1. Donut chart of the Percentages and Proportions of Each of the 4 Main Categories

Table 4. Tally of Each Subcategory Under Themed/Associative

Themed / Associative	Number
Borrowed	832
Local Place	261
Specific Theme	247
Flora	244
Fauna	107
Total	1,691

(a) **Borrowed [832]**. A large chunk of thematic and associative odonyms are loan words (usually from English) and foreign names transported to typically residential villages or gated subdivisions with themed street names. One can observe that many streets placed in this category can be

subcategorized further into many groups, which in all likelihood would end up grouping the respective streets of various villages and subdivisions together. The fact that all of these streets are grouped into this one large category is simply due to the fact that whatever subcategory may be formed within, it would consist completely of English words and loan words; this is unlike all other sub/categories in the typology, which have some examples of Filipino or Philippine words (even if they are originally from Spanish). In other words, unlike the other sub/categories, the defining feature of these streets is that they are borrowed, and through this fact their primary purpose is to also borrow prestige from the places they take the names of and utilize this to attract homeowners.

To illustrate, many entries here are compound words formed by a color or adjective (e.g. Green, Bright), followed by a word for landforms or waterforms (despite having none in the proximate area; e.g. hill, river), then closed with an optional GENERIC TYPE (e.g. drive, lane). These streets with seemingly vague or coined origins occur in residential areas, and reflect what Brink (2016, p. 3) calls geographically transferred “vogue names.” These typically spread as a sort of fashion and are meant to convey the named areas’ prestige rather than any truthful semantic message or actual geographic characteristic. Similarly, plenty of the streets in this category are named after foreign brands, like cigarettes and automobiles, and foreign cities, states, and provinces (e.g. Brooklyn Street, L. Vuitton, Marlboro).

Perhaps it is unsurprising that themed odonyms populate private, middle class, residential streets. If the goal of private stakeholders and homeowners was to exhibit prestige and maintain a sense of unity or community among solitary gated housing, themed and associative toponyms

certainly help in projecting an idea of “one-ness” and interrelationship among its unrelated residents.

(b) Local Place [261]. This subcategory includes streets named after contemporary local places. Language was not an important distinction here, as these are eponyms and name transfer is common (Brink, 2016). Many entries are named after provinces, dams, bodies of water, mountains and volcanoes, islands, and popular tourist spots in the Philippines (e.g. Batanes Street, La Mesa Drive, Makiling). This category is separated from Possibly Autochthonous because not all contemporary local place names are indigenous, some bear obvious colonial influence. The biggest ambiguity encountered here was that many contemporary local places are also eponymic to begin with (typically originating from Spanish occupation), some even named after saints or historical personalities, so a bit of overlap was unavoidable.

The fact that this many streets in QC are named after faraway local places lend it a sort of microcosmic personality, yet this number is still matched, if not dwarfed, by foreign places in the previous category. So aside from the indiscriminate mixing of history by commemorative toponyms discussed by Azaryahu (1996), the fact that many streets are named after other places, both local and foreign, QC’s toponymy also flattens and randomizes geography.

(c) Specific Themes [247]. Finally, subsumed under this category are other themed streets whose quantities are non-negligible and warrant a separate subcategory. These are:

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- Names related to the STEM field, in particular, astronomy (celestial bodies), chemistry (elements and matter), geology (rocks and gemstones), and greek letters [100] (e.g. Planeta, Omega Street)
- Occupational names related to jobs, work, government office, and bureaucratic processes [93] (e.g. Kagawad Road, Congressional Avenue)
- Foreign, though mostly Greek, mythology [24] (e.g. Olympus Drive)
- Temporal names having to do with months and seasons [16] (e.g. Autumn Drive)
- Colors [14] (e.g. Pink Street, Rojo)

(d) Flora [244]. The subcategory of streets named after plants and vegetation consists of names for trees and wood (e.g. Kamuning, Elm), flowers (e.g. Gumamela, Lotus), fruits (e.g. Anonas, Mulberry), vegetables and plants (e.g. Anahaw, Cactus), and other harvests from plants (e.g. Dinorado). Filipino plants [133] outnumber those in English [111]. There are some popular folk etymologies where some streets and areas are said to have been named after signature vegetation in its vicinity. This is certainly possible, and some odonyms here would then be autochthonous, but confirming these etymologies is unfortunately outside the scope of the paper.

(e) Fauna [107]. Plenty of streets in QC are named after animals. There are [41] in Filipino and [66] in English. Fishes and birds seem to be the most represented animals in both languages (e.g. Aguila, Owl Street). Again, the etymology argument for salience from the *flora* subcategory applies here too, but it may be harder to confirm for migrating fauna.

Another challenge is due to the fact that green spaces are now sparse as areas in QC continue to be paved and urbanized; the trees and birds that were once there, may no longer be.

4.3.2 Eponymic / Commemorative [1,292]

The second main category is composed of Eponymic (named after a person) and/or Commemorative names. Making up nearly a third (1,292) of QC's street names, included here are toponyms after personalities, famous forenames and surnames, groups, and historical events, both local and foreign.

Table 5. Tally of Each Subcategory under Eponymic/Commemorative

Eponymic / Commemorative	Number
Singular Name	733
Particular Person / Specific Name	525
Group	27
Events	4
Dates	3
Total	1,292

(a) **Singular Forename or Surname [733]**. Street names are placed in this category if they contain only one name, either a forename or a surname, even if the referent person is usually known by a singular name (like a mononym); we cannot be certain from the list alone. Included here then are surnames of notably famous persons, locally and abroad. Also here are singular names preceded by the title “Don” and “Doña,” as these titles are not enough to identify the particular person being

referred to, unlike the other titles in the next subcategory. For example: Miguel, Navarro.

(b) Particular Titled Person / Specific Full Name [525]. The street name is considered a full name if it takes one of these three forms:

1. [FORENAME] + [SURNAME]
 - e.g. Betty Go-Belmonte Street
2. [INITIAL/S] + [SURNAME]
 - e.g. C. P. Garcia Avenue
3. [POSITION/TITLE] + [FORENAME OR SURNAME]
 - Some examples of common titles in eponymic street names are: General, King, Queen, Scout, etc.
 - e.g. Speaker Perez Street

Streets named after personalities like the individual priests of GomBurZa are included in this category because although they may be considered under the “Religious” subcategory, they are commemorated more due to their historical significance. Another exemption included here are pen names, i.e. Plaridel and Dimasalang, as while these are single names, they clearly refer to specific persons in the country’s history. Meanwhile, names of foreign saints are not included here as their commemoration is not because of national historical significance.

(c) Groups [27]. Included here are popular nicknames for three or more people (i.e. Gomburza), names for indigenous peoples (e.g. Bagobo), and war factions and squads (e.g. Magdalo).

(d) Events [4]. Three of the four commemorated have to do with the 1898 Philippine Revolution (e.g. Pugad Lawin), and one is a battle that happened during World War 2 (Bessang Pass).

(e) Dates [3]. There are only four streets in QC named after dates, and they are all in Spanish. 19 de Agosto is the birthday of QC's namesake, Cuatro de Julio is celebrated as Republic Day, or Philippine-American Friendship Day, and Primero de Mayo is Labor Day.

A source of ambiguity in categorizing names is due to some also belonging to the Thematic/Associative category, that is, some areas in QC have streets named after themes like 'popular foreign artists' or 'popular scientists.' Ultimately, I considered the commemorative factor of eponymic streets over their being part of an overall theme. Eponymic streets normalize the popularity and historical significance of their namesake, and they celebrate the contributions and relevance of persons without elucidating on such (Azaryahu, 1996). Moreover, the inclusion of a title in the street name highlights that particular role of the person in life and history, perhaps even invisibilizing their other roles and characteristics; the absence of titles for some names makes their significance even easier to forget. Similarly, initializing some parts of a figure's name emphasizes the name which is spelled-out, and helps how that person is remembered in public consciousness. Whether or not these commemorative intentions and effects actually impact or last in the psyche of inhabitants and road users can be the subject of another study. Finally, this paper also misses out on the opportunity to distinguish each name or personality by gender due to feasibility constraints. Doing so may reveal whether or not one gender dominates the cityscape text

over the others, or the presence of gender inequality in commemorative practices, as in Oto-Peralías (2017).

4.3.3 Cultural [629]

The third category is composed of what I deemed as street names that are “cultural” in nature. These include values-based or -laden names, religious allusions and figures, heritage and language-related names or those associated with the country’s literary tradition, and possibly autochthonous names (i.e. indigenous names for the area).

Table 6. Tally of Each Subcategory under Cultural

Cultural	Number
Religious	265
Values	180
Culture (Language and Heritage)	158
Possibly Autochthonous	26
Total	629

(a) Religious [265]. Expectedly, streets named after religious items, allusions, and hagionyms (names of saints) favor the city’s (and country’s) majority Christian population. Included here are names of people, places, and events in the Bible, names of contemporary Filipino religious practices and fiestas, hagionyms and names of disciples, and names and titles of God and Jesus Christ (e.g. Simbang Gabi, Eden, Sacred Heart). There are religious street names in Filipino [17], English [146], Spanish [100], and only two [2] are Islamic. An ambiguity encountered in cat-

egorizing is when an hagionym is now also an eponymic place name elsewhere in the country (e.g. San Fernando).

(b) Values [180]. Included here are abstract ideas, ideal traits, or perhaps underlying aspirations of the street-namers for its inhabitants. This subcategory is differentiated into three languages: Filipino, English, and Spanish. There are only five [5] Spanish entries (all belonging to one subdivision), while the English count [58] is doubled by Filipino names [117], which mostly take the wordform affixed by *ma-* and *ka- -an*. These entries range from personal characteristics (e.g. Kagandahan, Friendly) to community-based values (e.g. Mapagkawanggawa, Goodwill Street) to ethos of the national scale (e.g. Kaunlaran, Freedom). Although unfortunately outside the scope of this paper, it is also important to ask whose values these exactly belong to, and how they may be arranged ranging from conservative values to more progressive ones in line with contemporary value systems (to illustrate, streets in Barangay Teachers' Village are said to be ideal traits a good teacher must possess). Religious values are placed in this subcategory as well.

(c) Culture [158]. This is a broad subcategory encompassing language-related, literature-based, and Philippine heritage-associated street names. Allusions to popular Philippine literature and art genres are here as well, including characters from folk epics and tales (e.g. Adarna, Salawikain). Some streets are named after Filipino parlor games, folk songs and dances, and festivals (e.g. Pahiyas, Patintero). Yet a big chunk [122] of this subcategory are Filipino words which do not seem to be thematically related or patterned, but are nevertheless aspects of Filipino culture (e.g. Liwayway Street, Noche Buena). There are seven [7] names that are in

Spanish which fit here better than in any other category, as they are also Spanish phrases and remnants of Spanish occupation (e.g. Cabezas and Union Civica Streets). One [1] street is named after the Arabic writing script, Diwani. The overlap of categories is also apparent, as some street names categorized here are also closely related to values and religious concepts.

(d) Possibly Autochthonous [26]. Included here are possible autochthonous toponyms reused as odonyms of the same area. I placed here street names whose meanings and etymologies are not so obvious and cannot be ascertained through only brief preliminary research. These names are under the Cultural category because, if ever they are indeed indigenous toponyms and terms, they would have enough historical rootedness to also be culturally salient; indigenous place naming is part of cultural heritage after all. For example: Balingasa Road, Payatas Road.

However, I must maintain that the reading of these street names is remote from the actual streets, so all evidence used to ascertain that odonyms belong in this category are culled from its name alone; there may be inaccuracies, but these are not due to the evidence. Mostly, this is the presence of the suffix *-an* for Filipino names, that signify a place where the suffixed stem occurs or is plenty (e.g. Manggahan ‘place of mangoes,’ Santolan ‘place of santol [fruit]’). A few entries may be odonyms named after nearby waterforms (e.g. Pansol Avenue, Tabing Ilog Street). And some appear to be describing the land of the area (e.g. Damong Maliit ‘small grass’)

4.3.4 Descriptive [345]

The last main category comprises odonyms that describe or are described by something in their immediate surroundings, be it a geographic landmark, a nearby place or infrastructure, or other streets. These are also the least in number.

Table 7. Tally of Each Subcategory under Descriptive

Descriptive	Number
Alphanumeric	241
Referential	57
Nearby Place or Infrastructure (Language and Heritage)	44
Geographical	3
Total	345

(a) Alphanumeric [241]. Similar to the previous subcategory, alphanumeric streets are identified in space relative to the other streets in their vicinity. These are typically ordered in a predictable sequence or series. Every numbered and/or lettered street was placed here (e.g. K-1, Alley 1, ...Alley 30).

(b) Referential [57]. These streets are referential because they are ‘defined’ or identified in space with relation to other streets in the area. These are directional streets with reference to others of the same name and type. Street names containing any of the words “north,” “south,” “east,” “west,” “lower,” “upper,” “central” or their Filipino equivalents are placed here. For example: Timog Avenue, Lower Bernardo.

(c) **Nearby Place or Infrastructure [44]**. These are streets named after a proximate prominent government office, private institution, building complex, barangay, district, village, or national highway. They typically take the form of: [ACRONYM OF INSTITUTION] + [GENERIC TYPE], e.g. GMA Network Drive, PUD Site (Planned Unit of Development).

(d) **Geographical [3]**. Perhaps the most ‘descriptive,’ these odonyms are named after the notable geographic characteristic of their area, or simply the shape of the road (e.g. Big/Small Horseshoe Drive, Elliptical Road). Perhaps the main reason why streets of this type are so few is that in a highly urban setting, naming streets after their shapes or physical characteristics would not be so practical. Urban development normalizes and standardizes streets and their looks, and only one-of-a-kind streets retain this type of odonym.

On the other hand, we can say that the first three subcategories here are more urban features, wherein the need to arrange and organize streets for administrative and navigational purposes becomes part and parcel of the city’s existence.

Overall, there were various sources of ambiguity that were encountered in the process of categorizing. Most of these can be debased to the polysemous character of some names and odonyms. When it comes to eponymic odonyms, wherein street names are named after places that are also named after some other thing or person, it essentially becomes a chicken-or-the-egg problem: which name came first? The issue is then reverted back to a historical one. Furthermore, commemorative eponymic street names can also be ‘cultural,’ or they can belong to a ‘theme’ and be associated with other names, or they can ‘describe’ or pertain to something within the vicinity (like a statue or monument), and vice

versa. There arises a possibility that one single street name can be argued to belong to all of the four main categories of my typology; or even none of them. These ambiguities and challenges only emphasize the fact that the typology and categories can be homogeneous, semi-permeable, and overlapping just like the motivations behind naming practices. It must also be pointed out that the typology outlined here is the result of much mental strain inevitably infused with my own subjective value judgments.

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper described and discussed the odonymy in the Philippines' Quezon City (QC). A list of 5,136 street names in and through QC was generated from the database of OpenStreetMap (OSM) and arranged into a list or index. From this number, duplicate entries, non-streets, and other erratic entries were first separated from the list to produce a list of 3,957 unique odonyms. Then from this unique list, remaining entries were categorized into four main categories of street names that emerged: (a) Themed or Associative, (b) Eponymic or Commemorative, (c) Cultural, and (d) Descriptive. It was found that street names that were themed or had semantic associations with one another were most in number at 1,691. Nearly a third (1,292) of streets in QC were eponymic or commemorated a significant person or event in the country's history. Six hundred twenty-nine (629) streets were related to some aspect of Philippine culture, heritage, religion and value system; and, street names that described its location or a nearby landmark were 345. These four, with their respective subcategories, also serve as a typology of odonyms,

and represent a tradition of street naming practice in QC. However, it must be noted that these types and categories have overlaps due to the interplay of polysemy with their usage as eponyms throughout history, reflecting as well the simultaneous deployment of various naming motivations and strategies.

Moreover, these odonyms were also classified according to their language. It was found that among the classifiable odonyms, English and borrowed words were most represented in the city-text at 1,492 unique streets. There were only 458 street names in Filipino, while a decent number were in Spanish at 119, and both Arabic (2) and Malay (1) were represented. Eponymic street names dominate the proportion of odonyms at 1,572. Furthermore, the odonyms generated from OSM had their fair share of orthographic variations in spelling, capitalization, spacing, punctuations, and initialisms.

From the typology and quantities of each category alone, we can say that odonyms may indeed evince some of the naming motivations behind them. The prevalence of eponymic odonyms reflects the politics of commemorative naming practices and conveys the state's official narrative and agents of history (Azaryahu, 1996, p. 324). The presence and widespread use of local toponyms and culturally related names at the very least show an appreciation for the country's culture and heritage, and may even be educational. The use of certain values and traits as odonyms appear to certify which ones are ideal for and expected from the model citizen and Filipino. And the dominance of Christian (in particular, Roman Catholic) odonyms matches the city's predominantly Christian population, perhaps even to the marginalization of other religions and denominations. The usage of animals and plants as odonyms

also indicate an ecological and environmental consideration in the naming practice, as some streets may be named after species that existed in the region at least at some point in time. The preponderance of what Brink (2016, p. 3) classifies as transferred vogue names, i.e. those that are foreign, coined, and typically borrowed from English, are meant to display prestige and associate a positive image to the area. Lastly, alphanumeric and referential toponyms are the most practical, only functioning to organize the city's space; I hypothesize, however, that these streets are prime candidates for potential renamings in the future, like they have been in the past.

Furthermore, the preponderance of toponyms and borrowed vogue names in English may reflect several emerging characteristics of QC as an urban city (Pante, 2019). First, the appearance of toponyms named after nearby media and government institutions, malls, and other consumerist hubs signifies the expansive commodification of its spaces that is taking place and the expanding role of the city as a center of socio-political activity in the National Capital Region (NCR). Second, the rise in number of the city's English-educated middle class coincided with, or indirectly caused, the outgrowth of suburban residential enclaves within the city. These zones project themselves as exclusive and prestigious spaces which utilize the upward social associations of English (through its toponyms and toponyms) in order to attract more potential homeowners and stakeholders. Lastly, Pante also notes QC's recent goal and strategy of developing and branding itself as a 'global city,' which entails marketing itself as a metropolis capable of competing in the 'neoliberal urbanism' happening in other 'global cities.' The wide usage of the global lingua franca of English in its street names, despite a predominantly Filipino-

speaking population (and contrary to QC City Council's own street and public infrastructure naming guidelines in Ordinance SP-2462, S-2015), reflects this attempt towards a more globalist orientation.

Overall, it is unsurprising that public roads and national highways are named after those which the state deems significant and relevant to the country's history and project of nation-building (National Historical Commission of the Philippines [NHCP], 2011), while private and residential street names reflect prestige and project a sense of unity, community, and organization to attract potential residents and capital. From the mere presence of odonyms and the semantic and semiotic content they carry, we can thus read a semblance of the cultural and political ethos of policy-makers, urban planners, and citizens.

5.1 New Directions

The paper and its findings on QC's odonymy serve to support existing literature on toponomastics and odonymy elsewhere. It can be situated in between odonomastic studies that deal with the semiotic significance of street names and those that treat the odonym as a useful statistical indicator of other sociocultural factors. Still, there is much to be explored and cultivated in this field. At the very least, this study can serve as a springboard for future work on toponomastics and odonymy in the Philippine setting. Future work can develop the literature in two directions. The first is widening the scope of such odonymy and typology-making to include other cities within and outside NCR. Other urban centers in the country and smaller still-urbanizing cities in provinces are both interesting fields. A larger mass of quantifiable data can also be more reliable and useful as statistical correlates or indicators, like

in Oto-Peralías (2017). However, there is always a need to account for sample size and the particularities of a chosen geographic area. This paper only takes frequency, for example, and there is still potential in treating QC's nearly 4,000 unique odonyms in a more statistically useful manner. Furthermore, a comparison of the typology and its quantities with those of other cities is also intriguing; due to time and space constraints however, this study unfortunately misses on the opportunity to compare its odonymy with those of Oto-Peralías (2017) for Spain, Hsiyan (2020) for Amman, Jordan, and Perono Cacciafoco and Tuang (2018) for Singapore.

The second direction is a localization and closer look at odonyms and other toponyms of districts or barangays. A smaller scope allows for greater focus and precision with the data and information that can be gathered. There are plenty of ways this can be approached: perceptions and perspectives of inhabitants on their odonyms and street naming practices can be gathered, like in Hsiyan (2020); the historical development and stories of individual or clusters of odonyms can be uncovered from interviews or local knowledge; the effect of an area's geography and resident demographics on its preference in street names or categories, and vice versa, can be looked at; the changes and sedimentation of names for streets and its segments, whether formal or informal, can be studied; the street sign itself and its presence and interaction with the rest of the linguistic landscape can also be explored.

Lastly, OSM's human element and limitations in its code ended up being factors. While OSM easily generated a list of odonyms, it did so indiscriminately, and cleaning up the data it yielded amounted to considerable menial work. The use of official government data and lists

as resources remains most preferable if at all they are available. But if not, this paper may have just paved the way towards an administratively useful odonymy and index of odonyms. Regardless, cities and their streets and spaces are still socio-historical constructs that are always “under construction” (Massey, 2005, p. 9). Streets will always be grazed and rebuilt, destroyed and recreated, and endlessly renamed. The shifting subject of odonymy makes it so that the project itself must also be continuously constructed.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Appendix 1

Base Code Used in Overpass Turbo to Produce a List of Streets in an Area.

```
[ out : csv ( " name " ; false ) ] ;  
area [ name = " AREA " ] ;  
way ( area ) [ highway ] [ name ] ;  
for ( t [ " name " ] )  
(  
    make x name = _ . val ;  
    out ;  
);
```

Steps in using the code:

1. One narrows down the area/scope for extraction of street names by typing the place name in place of AREA in this line: `area[name="AREA"]`.
2. The code relies on how places and areas are labeled in OSM. Unfortunately, if one or more geographically distinct places are named/labeled with the same name, the code will cover and extract from all places in the world with that name. For example, replacing AREA in the search query code with "Manila" will extract street names from all places named "Manila" all over the world (i.e. in NCR, in Spain, etc.). This limitation makes it particularly difficult to extract accurate data from individual places with foreign and common names (e.g. Manila, Poblacion).

3. Once an area is chosen and typed into the code, one only needs to click “Run” on the top-left portion of the site. Overpass will then load the extracted data on the right side of the screen, arranged in alphabetical order and with duplicates (exactly same strings) removed.

7.2 Appendix 2

The data used in this paper, including (a) a list of all streets generated by Overpass Turbo, (b) a list of all duplicates, non-streets, and removed entries separated from the unique list, (c) a list of all unique street names in Quezon City, and (d) lists of street names in each category, can be found in the public Google Sheets link:

<https://tinyurl.com/L199QCStreets> / [PUBLIC]_List and Typology of Streets in Quezon City.