Warthog Camp Two Brothers and Mashariki Palace Hotel: Hotel names in Tanzania

Marie Antoinette Rieger

University of Bologna, Italy

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Abstract: The East African country of Tanzania is a prime holiday destination, offering tourists a very high degree of topographic, ethnic, linguistic and socio-cultural variation. This prompted the working hypothesis that hotel names may also reflect this variety. On the basis of this hypothesis, the paper examines 442 hotel names from six different Tanzanian holiday destinations to determine whether naming preferences are attributable to the hotels' differing locations. The data analysis will show that there is, in fact, a strong relationship between destination and a number of characteristics in hotel naming, the most striking being those contrasting Zanzibar with Mainland Tanzania.

Keywords: onomastics, toponyms, chrematonyms, hotel names, hotel naming in Tanzania.

Within onomastics, hotel names (HNs)[1] still seem to arouse little interest. The scant, or lack of, attention devoted to HNs in recent introductions to onomastics is highly indicative (Debus 2012, Marcato 2009, Nübling et al. 2012)[2]. Moreover, the *International Handbook of Onomastics*, in the article *Names of Inns*, does not distinguish between lodging and catering-only establishments (Jehle 1996), thus failing to provide information about the specificity of HNs as opposed to catering-only establishments. The situation is no better with regard to their place within the general classification of name types. The already mentioned article *Names of Inns* (Jehle 1996) is part of the main chapter *Names of Things, Animals, and Institutions*, which classifies HNs as chrematonyms, whereas other authors (e.g., Nübling et al.) consider them to be (micro-)toponyms because of their undeniable orientation function (2012: 250). The author of this paper agrees with Koß (2002: 148–149) and Wochele (2007: 318), who confirm the importance of general orientation in HNs, but also emphasise their important advertising function[3].

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[1]   For the sake of simplicity, the term *hotel* will be used as hyperonym for all types of transient lodging establishments dealt with in this article. The use of *hotel* for a specific type of lodging will be marked.

[2]   This is not meant as criticism of these otherwise thorough and very helpful volumes. They just reflect the situation as far as HNs are concerned.

[3]   For a general discussion of the differing classification proposals see Wochele (2007: 317–318, and 2009: 309), as well as Herling (2012: 203).

Given this rather unsatisfactory general situation, it may be surprising that this article chooses to concentrate on *Tanzanian* HNs. In fact, this choice derives from the author's background of studies in colonial linguistics, with special regard to German East Africa, present-day Tanzania. This research interest gave rise to several journeys, during which the author observed that Tanzania is a country with a very high degree of topographical, ethnic, linguistic, and socio-cultural variation. As far as HNs are concerned, the author's – purely subjective – impression was that the country's variety could be reflected in varying naming patterns. Hence, the main objective of this paper is to determine, on more scientific grounds, whether there are naming preferences which could be attributed to the hotels' locations.

Since it was not possible to include HNs from all over the country[4], a selection was made, which would reflect Tanzania's topographical, and cultural diversity, as well as different forms of tourism. To this end the following tourist destinations were chosen: Arusha, Bagamoyo, Tanga, the coastal strip between Bagamoyo and Tanga, the Usambara Mountains, and Zanzibar[5].

The first of these destinations, Arusha, is located in northern Tanzania, halfway between the coast and Lake Victoria, and is one of the country's largest cities. Its main characteristic, with regard to tourism, is its strategic location as a gateway to the northern safari circuit, Mt Kilimanjaro, and the Great Rift Valley with Mt Meru. These landscapes are often depicted as being "entirely wild and natural, without history or social context" (Shetler 2007: 2).

Zanzibar, the country's second tourist hotspot, could not be more different as regards culture and as a holiday destination. *Unguja*, as it is called by the natives[6], is the heartland of Swahili culture, and is therefore – unlike mainland Tanzania – intrinsically characterised by Islam. It is this mixed heritage, consisting of African and Arabic elements, which makes the island a unique tourist destination:

> For its size, Zanzibar occupies a very large romantic space in world imagination. Zinjibar or Zanguebar, the land of the blacks, was used to refer to the whole East African coast during the middle ages, and it became a repository of fabulous stories, like those of Sindbad. Not only the name but also the associated marvels of the East were inherited by the small island which now bears the name. Fantasies about a far-off island paradise where aromatic spices and ivory, princes and slaves were strangely intertwined, were fantasies partly based on historical reality. (Sheriff 1995: 1)

The island of Zanzibar (ZNZ) contains three rather different destinations: a) historic Stone Town; b) the northern tip and the north-east side of the island, dotted with large hotels, catering to a mainly European packaged holiday market (ZNZ North); c) the south-eastern area, characterised by a more individual – and therefore more sustainable – kind of tourism (ZNZ South).

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4   The difficulties encountered in collecting the data are discussed below.
5   Except for Arusha, all destinations are personally known to the author.
6   Locally, the name *Zanzibar* refers, on the one hand, to the whole archipelago comprising Unguja, Pemba and a number of smaller islets, and, on the other hand, to the main town on Unguja, i.e. Zanzibar City, of which *Stone Town* is the historic part.

From both the cultural and touristic points of view, the remaining destinations examined come between these two "poles". The coastal strip between Tanga and Bagamoyo (herein referred to as *Coast*) offer attractions that are very similar to ZNZ, i.e., beautiful beaches, and the historic town centres of Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Tanga. In addition, in this area is located *Saadani National Park*, "the only wildlife sanctuary in Tanzania bordering the sea"[7]. But since this area lacks the fame and magic of ZNZ, tourist development is relatively new and low-key. From a cultural-linguistic point of view, the area still belongs to the sphere of strong Swahili influence, blended with Tanzania's manifold mainland cultures. The least touristic destination is the city of Tanga, another of the country's larger cities, used by Western tourists mostly as a stopover when going to the Usambara Mountains. The latter are one of the world's biodiversity hotspots, with an exceptionally large assortment of plants and animals. So far this area remains relatively undeveloped, appealing mostly to backpackers, hikers, and nature-lovers.

The corpus examined

Since it was not possible to retrieve an official list of hotels operating in Tanzania, the data was collected by combing through guidebooks, travel portals, and individual hotel websites. In this way, it was possible to compile a corpus containing 442 HNs, distributed as follows: Arusha (with surrounding area) 72, Bagamoyo 24, Tanga 18, Coast 32, Usambara 47, Stone Town 56, ZNZ North 99, and ZNZ South 94. Even though the corpus is the result of a somewhat random sampling, the numbers faithfully reflect the relative importance of each destination within Tanzanian international tourism. In fact, the two hotspots – Arusha and ZNZ – represent nearly 73% of the total, whereas only 4% of the hotels are located in Tanga, which is comparable in population to Zanzibar City (of which Stone Town is only a very small part), and the 11% share of the newcomer – Usambara Mountains – is distributed over an area of ca. 4,000 square kilometres[8].

The corpus was then analysed according to the following main categories: a) *structure*, b) *meaning*, c) *language*. The first of these categories examines the HN *structure* with regard to the use of elements referring to particular types of lodging establishment, e.g., *hotel, guesthouse, resort*. The linguistic status of these elements is ambiguous. On the one hand, they are integral parts of the HN. This becomes particularly obvious with HNs like *Matemwe Bandas, Matemwe Beach House,* and *Matemwe Beach Village*, where the lodging type is their only distinctive feature. On the other hand, they are common nouns, retaining their common-noun function, i.e., to indicate lodging types. In German, these elements are known as *Gattungseigennamen* (Nübling et al. 2012: 44–45), i.e., "generic proper names" (GPNs).

As in similar works about HNs (cf. Serianni 1978, Wochele 2007 and 2009, Herling 2012), the article's central analysing category is *meaning* and deals with the derivation of their *non* generic elements. Initially, the author intended to use Serianni's classification, as proposed by Wochele (2007: 320–322), in order to enhance the study's comparability, but many of their categories turned out to be unproductive for this corpus. Eventually, the following system, with 5 main categories, and a total of 11 subsections, emerged from the data.

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[7]   http://www.saadanipark.org/aboutsaadani.html (accessed June 10, 2013).

[8]   Tanga Guide, p. 34; in comparison, ZNZ has an area of 1.666 km² (National Report 2007: 1).

A. Hotel

The HN relates to the hotel itself, comprising elements which

1. have a predominant orientation function, referring to the hotel's *location*, mainly by topo-nyms. In this subsection we find town and village names like *Arusha,* and *Lushoto* (the main urban centre in the Usambaras)[9], as well as a range of other place names, e.g., *Arumeru* (a combination of *Arusha* and *Meru*, the former name of the present Meru district)[10], *Emau Hill* (an area in the Eastern Usambaras)[11], *Sima* (a seasonal river, Saadani National Park)[12], *Domokuchu* (the traditional name of the area where the hotel is built)[13], *Kimte* (a locally used abbreviation of *Kiungamtende*, a ward in the village of Jambiani, ZNZ South)[14], *Sazani* (the name of the area the hotel is situated in)[15].

This section includes 3 HNs deriving from appellative place names: the *Old Post Office* in Bagamoyo (referring to the restored hotel building, once the first post office opened in Tanganyika), the *Seaside Community Centre*, a popular meeting place in Pangani, and *Mnarani* 'at the lighthouse'[16] (referring to the nearby Nungwi lighthouse, ZNZ North).

2. refer to former, or current, *owners* by their family names, such as *Chavda*[17], *Kitete*[18], *Ndame*[19], and *Mazsons*[20], as well as by some first names, e.g., *Teddy's Place*. This subsection also includes

[9]   Regarding information about a number of Usambara HNs, my friend Goodluck Yose has been very helpful (as he has always been, ever since our first – slightly stormy – encounter). He works for the *Community Care and Friendship Association* (CoCaFa), a non-profit organisation with a range of provisions for both tourists and the local community (http://cocafa-lushoto.blogspot.it/ [accessed June 10, 2012]).

[10]   E-mail communication by Maren and Torsten Dönhoff, owners of *Arumeru River Lodge* (http://www.arumerulodge.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[11]   E-mail communication by Pia from *Emau Hill Forest Camp* (http://www.emauhill.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[12]   E-mail communication by Robert Barbour from *AfrikaAfrika* (www.afrikaafrikasafaris.com [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[13]   E-mail communication by Zoe and her Zanzibari husband, owners of *Domokuchu Beach Bungalows*, located in the village of Paje, ZNZ South (http://www.domokuchu-beach-bungalows.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]). The case of this HN is particularly interesting because it shows the force of traditional toponyms: "When my husband bought the plot he registered a different company name but as all local people continued to refer to it as Domokuchu (for example local dala dala ['public minibus'; M.R.] drivers or fundis ['artisans'; M.R.]) he decided to keep it as a business name."

[14]   E-mail communication by Cristina, manager of *Kimte Guesthouse Bar & Restaurant* (http://www.kimtebeachinn.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[15]   E-mail communication by Cathryn from *Sazani Beach Hotel*, located in the village of Nungwi, ZNZ North (http://sazanibeach.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[16]   Translation from Kiswahili; the term *Kiswahili* 'Swahili language' is used to distinguish Swahili culture from Swahili language. In the following, translations from other languages than Kiswahili are marked.

[17]   E-mail communication by Ulrica from *Chavda Hotel*, Stone Town (http://www.chavdahotel.co.tz/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[18]   E-mail communication from Hamid and his family, owners of *Kitete Beach Bungalows*, situated in Paje, ZNZ South (http://www.kitetebeach.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[19]   E-mail communication by Sine from *Ndame Beach Lodge*, located in Paje, ZNZ South (http://ndamezanzibar.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[20]   The use of abbreviation strategies is extremely rare in the corpus. An example is the name *Mazsons*, a hotel located in Stone Town, which is made up of 'Mazrui' and 'sons', *Mazrui* being the name of an old-established family of Arab ancestry (cf. Meffert 2007: 49).

the rare use of saints' names, such as *St Eugene's* (Usambara Mountains) or *St Monica's* (Stone Town), because hagionyms refer directly to church-owned and managed establishments[21].

3. have an important advertising function, referring to the hotels' (supposed) *distinguishing features* with respect to

a) externals and services, such as:

– the building and premises, e.g., the HN *Maru Maru* derives from the Kiswahili noun *marumaru* 'tile; marble' – building materials widely used in historic Stone Town Houses – indicating an architectural feature retained from a former town house[22], and *The Lawns*, a hotel in Lushoto, surrounded by neatly tended lawns. HNs referring to *view* – as a characteristic of the premises – are included here, e.g., *Bellevue*;

– general setting, e.g., *Bandari* 'port', a hotel located near the Zanzibar City seaport, *Kigongoni* 'on the hump' ("Because the lodge is situated on a small hill this name is chosen.")[23], *Oceanic Bay*;

– suitability for particular targets, needs or activities, e.g., *Travellers, Stop Over, Safari*;

b) lifestyle, including promises of welcome, e.g., *Karibu Zanzibar* 'welcome to Zanzibar'[24], *Emayani* 'blessed' (Maasai)[25]; relaxation and peace, e.g., *Amaan* 'peace' (Arabic), *Haven, Pumzika* 'relax!'; luxury, e.g., *Sultan Sands, The Dream of Zanzibar*; outstanding experiences, mostly promising *Paradise* and *Paradise Holiday*.

4. are a combination of *location* and *features*, e.g., *Bagamoyo View, Arusha Royal Court*, or of *location* and *nature* (see B.), e.g., *Kilindi* 'deep waters' *Zanzibar*. This name of a hotel located in the village of Kendwa (ZNZ North) refers to the fact that the area has the only beach where swimming is possible 24 hours a day, whereas all other island – and mainland – beaches have very low tides, when the sea retreats for hundreds of meters.

B. Nature

5. The HN includes elements referring to *nature*, deriving from nouns/noun phrases indicating animals, e.g., *Giraffe, Kakakuona* 'pangolin', *Tembo* 'elephant'; plants, e.g., *Golden Rose, Le Jacaranda, Mbuyuni* 'at the baobab tree'; natural phenomena, e.g., *Sea Breeze, Snow Crest, Upepo* 'wind'.

C. Country

6. The HN contains elements referring to the country's *culture and history*, deriving from onymic and generic names indicating people, e.g., *Livingstone, Mvuvi* 'fisherman', *Masai,* and objects (in the wider sense), e.g., *Baraza*, a stone bench flanking traditional Swahili houses, and generally used to refer to gatherings (cf. Sheriff 1995: 13–14), *Demani* and *Kaskazi*, the south-east and north-east monsoon, referring to "the paramount climatological factor in the Indian Ocean, the seasonal reversal of the monsoons" (Sheriff 2010: 2) and which are the foundations of the development of the Swahili culture.

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[21] The only exception being *Santa Maria Coral Park*, located in the village of Pongwe (ZNZ North), recognizable as a privately-owned hotel by the non Anglicised form of the hagionym.

[22] Personal communication, June 2012.

[23] E-mail communication by Claudia, manager of *Kigongoni Lodge*, near Arusha (http://www.kigongoni.net/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[24] In Swahili culture greetings are very important, and the elaborate exchange of set phrases at the beginning of meetings should never be skipped. In the case of guests, greeting rituals, inevitably, finish with a welcome, i.e. *karibu* (to one person), and *karibuni* (to more than one).

[25] E-mail communication by Johan Knols, manager of *Emayani Beach Lodge*, located south of Tanga (http://www.emayanilodge.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

D. House names

7. A small group of HNs contain the generic elements *Beyt/Beit* 'house' (Arabic), *House, Palace* or *Villa*, which cannot be considered GPNs, since they do not refer to a specific lodging type, and some HNs which do contain GPNs, mostly *Hotel*. Examples include *Beyt al Chai* 'tea house' (Arabic), the name of a Stone Town hotel situated in a restored Arab tea house; *Onsea House*[26], *Zanzibar Palace*.

E. Miscellaneous

The non-generic parts of the HN comprise elements which

8. derive from toponyms that do not – or only vaguely – refer to the hotel's location, e.g., *Everest, Kanaani* (deriving from the biblical land of Canaan)[27], *Africa House.*

9. are *created by commercial naming strategies*, e.g., *MamboViewPoint*, one word with 3 capitals as a kind of brand, with *Mambo* referring to the nearby village, and *ViewPoint* to the stunning view, but also "because of our viewpoint for a different way of development"[28]; *Zanzest,* a combination of *Zanzibar* and the English word *zest*[29].

10. indicate *isolated referents* (less than 5 hits), e.g., *Alpha, Tumaini* 'hope', or have *more than one referent*, e.g., *Kizota*, the name of a small guesthouse in Bagamoyo, which may be a family name or a Dodoma ward.

11. are as yet unintelligible, e.g., *Gilead, Seles.*

Finally, the aim of the category *language* is to examine to what extent the HNs use English, the Tanzanian tourism industry's *lingua franca*, and/or Kiswahili, Tanzania's national language. Since Kiswahili is spoken natively only by a minority of the population, residing mainly in the Zanzibar Archipelago and the coastal areas of Mainland Tanzania[30], it is assumed that its use could vary according to hotel location.

Results

In the following some of the data obtained is presented. Due to limited space, the focus will be on the results which proved to be most relevant to the subject of this paper, i.e., whether naming preferences can be attributed to hotel locations.

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[26] "*Onsea* is the family name of my wife." E-mail communication by Dirk Janssens, owner of *Onsea House*, near Arusha (http://www.onseahouse.com/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[27] E-mail communication by Sabine Mmole, owner of *Kanaani Resthouse* in Lushoto (http://www.eastafrica-accommodation.com/printable.php?cat=&id=128 [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[28] E-mail communication by Herman and Marion, owners of *MamboViewPoint Ecolodge,* located at the very northern edge of the Usambara Mountains (http://www.mamboviewpoint.org/index.html [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[29] E-mail communication by Zaleh from *Zanzest Beach Bungalows*, located in the village of Jambiani, ZNZ South (http://www.zanzest.co.tz/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

[30] There is little agreement about the numbers of Kiswahili speakers and about Kiswahili *native* speakers. But there is agreement among all experts, "that a vast majority of the 100 million plus speakers of Swahili speak other first languages. The number of its native speakers has been conservatively placed at just under 2 million. It is, therefore, largely a second or third language to many of its speakers", even in Tanzania (http://swahililanguage.stanford.edu/ [accessed June 10, 2013]).

Structure

The chart below shows the percentages obtained for different GPN elements. The first five columns consider the most common GPNs, with *hostel, guesthouse, inn,* and *camp* grouped together as the first category, labelled GH. This is followed by the separate categories of *hotel, lodge,* and *resort,* and the collective category containing *bungalow, cottage* and their Kiswahili equivalent *banda* (grouped together as B/C/B). The category *Other* comprises more isolated GPNs, such as *bivouac, club, village, rest house* and *homestay,* whereas *multi* refers to GPNs using more than one generic element, e.g., *restaurant, bar & campsite.* The category *none* refers to HNs with no GPN, and the last two columns consider the use of specifiers, such as *mountain village* or *river lodge,* of which *beach* is by far the most common (and is therefore listed separately in the last column).

Table 1: The use of generic proper name elements

	GH[1]	Hotel	Lodge	Resort	B/C/B	Other	Multi	None	Spec[2]	*Beach*[3]
Corpus	**14,03**	**24,89**	**16,74**	**9,5**	**7,01**	**7,92**	**7,47**	**12,44**	**28,94**	**64,29**
Arusha	19,44	40,28	22,22	1,39	2,78	2,78	5,56	5,56	20,59	0
Bagamoyo	12,5	16,67	25,00	12,5	4,17	12,5	12,5	4,17	13,04	66,67
Coast	18,75	3,13	37,5	15,63	6,25	9,38	0	9,38	55,17	56,25
Tanga	27,78	50,00	5,56	5,56	0	5,56	5,56	0	11,11	50
Usambara	29,79	10,64	23,4	4,26	2,13	19,15	6,38	4,26	11,11	0
Stone Town	17,86	46,43	8,93	0	0	1,79	5,36	19,64	4,44	0
ZNZ N	1,01	21,21	12,12	19,19	10,1	12,12	10,01	14,14	50,59	81,4
ZNZ S	9,57	15,96	11,7	11,7	15,96	4,26	9,57	21,28	36,49	92,59

[1] Unless otherwise stated, n = 442 for all percentages given.

[2] N= the number of HNs with GPNs.

[3] N= the number of HNs with specifiers.

As can be seen from the chart, nearly 88%[31] of the HNs include a GPN. The distribution of the HNs without GPNs is noticeable. With an overall average of 12%, and only 5% in Mainland Tanzania, this figure actually reaches 18% in ZNZ, and 21% in ZNZ South.

The most frequent GPN is *hotel* (25%), followed by *lodge* (17%), *resort* (10%), and *bungalow/cottage* (7%). The lodging type elements – *guesthouse, inn, camp(site),* and *hostel* – together add up to 14%. The latter group is a category of budget-priced establishments, whereas the GPNs in the first group are used by low, middle, and highly priced establishments[32]. Even so, GPNs are good indicators, as far as the type of holiday and the state of tourist development are concerned. This is best shown by the corpus' two most highly

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[31] Given the limited statistical validity of the data, percentages can only show trends, and are therefore given outside the charts without decimal places after being rounded up or down.

[32] The hotels have also been classified according to the average rate per room per night into low (under 30 $), middle (up to 300 $), and highly priced establishments. Accordingly, 34% are low, 59% are middle, and 7% are highly priced.

contrasting destinations, the Usambaras and ZNZ North. The low-key Usambaras show the highest percentage of HNs containing the GH-group GPNs (30% compared to a 14% average) and one of the lowest percentages of the GPN *resort* (4% versus a 10% average), of which the highest percentage can be found in ZNZ North (19% versus a 9% average). However, this area, with its high density of large European-owned hotel complexes, contains the lowest percentage of GH-group GPNs (1% versus a 14% average). ZNZ South, which aims to provide a more individual form of tourism, retains the highest percentage of *bungalow*, *cottage* and *banda* (16% versus a 7% average). The highest percentage of HNs including the word *hotel* can be found in Tanga (50% versus a 25% average), closely followed by Stone Town (46%). In the latter case, the high percentage is due to its status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, thus preventing the construction of high-rise or extensive hotel complexes.

Another good indicator is the presence of specifiers. Since *beach* is the most common specifier, the highest percentages in this category can actually be found in the three beach-destinations, Coast, ZNZ North and ZNZ South.

Meaning

The chart below shows the percentages obtained for the 5 main *meaning* categories, as well as the subcategory *Location*. All destinations have in common that most HNs contain elements referring to the hotels themselves. This is partly due to the importance of the subcategory *location*, which obtains the second highest percentage for nearly every destination (for the exception of Stone Town please see below)[33].

Table 2: Percentages obtained for the main meaning categories

	Hotel	*Location*	Nature	Country	H/P/V[1]	Miscellaneous
Corpus	**60,63**	**26,02**	**12,00**	**4,53**	**7,74**	**15,29**
Arusha	54,17	27,78	15,28	2,78	9,72	18,06
Bagamoyo	62,50	20,83	4,17	8,34	0	25,00
Coast	65,64	40,63	12,50	6,25	0	15,63
Tanga	44,45	22,22	22,22	0	0	33,33
Usambara	72,35	40,43	8,51	0	2,13	17,02
Stone Town	49,99	19,64	5,36	3,57	33,93	7,14
ZNZ N	63,63	28,28	14,14	6,06	2,02	14,14
ZNZ S	63,83	15,96	12,77	6,38	4,26	12,77

[1] HNs containing the words Beit/*Beyt, House, Palace,* and *Villa*.

Within the category location, the name of the town or village is by far the most frequent element, reaching nearly 48% of the total of 115 *location*-items. Counting all HNs containing toponyms, i.e., the subcategories *location* and *location plus other element*, *Zanzibar* is the most frequent item (18 hits out of 146), followed by *Arusha* (9), and

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[33] It should be remembered that the category *Miscellaneous* comprises 4 different subcategories.

Matemwe (6). Among the towns, *Tanga* is, with only 2 hits, the least frequent, confirming its limited attraction as an international holiday destination.

The categories *nature* and *H/P/V*[34] are particularly interesting. At first glance it may be surprising that the highest percentage of HNs in the *nature* category is in Tanga, the most unlikely destination for "nature tourism", and there is a rather low percentage in the Usambaras, the dream destination for nature freaks. In the case of Tanga, 2 of the 4 elements (out of a total of 18 HNs) referring to nature are *kiboko* 'hippopotamus', once very common animals in that part of Tanzania[35], and *mkonge* 'sisal plant', which is the region's most important income generator. In the Usambaras, on the other hand, hotels are scattered around a vast area, making the hotels' *location* the most important reference point. In line with expectations, the historic towns of Bagamoyo and Stone Town have very few HNs referring to nature, whereas the beach and safari destinations have percentages slightly above average.

The most peculiar distribution pattern concerns 33 HNs containing the elements *beit/beyt*, *house, palace,* and *villa*. This naming category is completely unknown in Bagamoyo, Tanga and Coast, which are, actually, very close to each other from a geographical and cultural point of view. In ZNZ North and South, 4 of the 6 HNs belonging to this group include the element *villa*, as in *Villa Dida*, emulating an Italian naming pattern. This is not surprising, as considerable Italian-owned tourist development has taken place in Zanzibar's coastal regions.

10 HNs include the word *palace*, most probably suggesting – as in other parts of the world – a luxury ambience. This is particularly true for *Kibo Palace* and *Premier Palace* (both in Arusha), as well as for *Sultan Palace* (ZNZ South). But it is no coincidence that 7 of the "Palace-Hotels" are located in Stone Town, the perfect setting for (holiday) dreams of "A thousand and one nights". It is also no surprise that 19 of these 33 HNs, nearly 58%, can be found in Stone Town, where there are still palaces named simply *beit/beyt* 'house', thus showing the Arab origin of their former owners. This house-naming pattern is also adopted by HNs, with two of them actually comprising the Arabic element *beit/beyt* (*Beyt al Chai*, a former tea house, and *Beit al Amaan* 'house of peace'), and others using the English equivalent, *house*, e.g., *Jafferji House* and *Warere Town House*[36], the first elements being surnames.

Language

The observations above are closely connected with the use of different languages. The chart below shows the percentages[37] obtained with regard to the language used for appellative elements of the HN proper, i.e., excluding onyms and GPNs.

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[34] The category *Miscellaneous*, with its 4 subsections, would deserve a thorough analysis, but because of limited space, this paper cannot deal with it.

[35] A good number of them are still living south of Tanga in the Wami River, which is on the southern border of Saadani National Park. (Personal observation by the author.)

[36] E-mail communication from Shauna, the manager of *Warere Town House* (http://www.warere.com).

[37] N = 442, that is, including onymic elements.

Table 3: Language use

	English	**Kiswahili**	**Mixed[1]**	**Arabic**	**Other**
Corpus	**35,02**	**16,96**	**1,13**	**2,03**	**3,62**
Arusha	33,33	13,89	0	0	2,78
Bagamoyo	54,17	12,50	0	0	4,17
Coast	28,13	28,13	0	0	0
Tanga	33,33	16,67	0	0	0
Usambara	27,66	8,51	0	0	0
Stone Town	19,64	19,64	0	10,71	1,79
ZNZ N	41,41	17,17	2,02	1,01	5,05
ZNZ S	39,36	19,15	3,19	2,13	7,45

[1] English and Kiswahili elements in the same name, e. g. *Simba* 'lion' *Beach* or *Bahari* 'ocean' *View*.

The most distinctive pattern is the use of Arabic which, for historical reasons, is confined to Zanzibar, being most common in Stone Town. The rather scarce use of Kiswahili in the Usambaras, traditional homeland of a number of non-Swahili peoples, is in line with expectations. The relatively high percentages of other languages in ZNZ North and ZNZ South may be due to the presence of a number of non-native Anglophone hoteliers.

Conclusions

In this paper, 442 Tanzanian HNs have been analysed. The respective hotels are located in eight[38] Tanzanian holiday destinations, characterised by different native cultures and languages, as well as different types of tourism and stages of tourist development. The data analysis confirms the initial working hypothesis, i.e., that there is a strong relationship between destination and a number of characteristics in hotel naming. Perhaps the most striking differences are those contrasting Zanzibar with Mainland Tanzania. Zanzibar is set apart from Mainland Tanzania, not only geographically, but, above all, from a cultural point of view. The Arab part of its cultural heritage is reflected in HNs containing elements in Arabic and, in what seems to be an Arab tradition, the use of house names. At the same time, GPN elements can help to distinguish between different types of tourism and tourist activities (*Beach Resort* versus *Mountain Village*), as well as indicating the type of building (*Cottage* versus *Beach Resort & Spa*). On the other hand, the frequency of elements deriving from nature is significantly low in Bagamoyo and Stone Town HNs, two destinations which aim to attract tourists interested in history. The most frequent element, in absolute terms, is *Zanzibar*, confirming the island's outstanding position as a holiday destination.

Probably the most peculiar HN is *Warthog Camp Two Brothers*. What could seem a completely illogical name for a small guesthouse in the tiny village of Saadani (located inside Saadani National Park), simply refers to everyday life, since a good number of warthogs can be seen peacefully walking around the village[39].

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[38] Counting the different Zanzibar destinations separately.
[39] Personal observation by the author.

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