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CHANGE AND CONTINUITY: COLONIAL AND CONTEMPORARY TOPONYMS OF SINGAPORE'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

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Abstract: *This study expands the existing research on toponymy in Singapore by focusing on the many offshore islands that form an inalienable component of the landscape of the Lion City. Diverging from more micro-reconstruction-based toponymic approaches, the analysis adopts a critical toponomastics framework, placing emphasis on the interaction between the use and maintenance of toponyms and the wider socio-political context. Acknowledging the complex past of Singapore's becoming, the period of British colonial rule forms the basis in which contemporary toponyms are treated in the study. Both old and newly reclaimed offshore islands are considered, and this article ultimately finds Singapore's toponymic landscape to have remained relatively stable. The stasis does not represent a lack of development, for it instead reveals that the unchanging naming practices are in fact responses to socio-political contexts diachronically unveiled between colonial and contemporary Singapore. Situating toponomastics within the wider development of Singapore as the post-colonial nation it is today, this paper reveals how the landscape has sought to cement social, economic, and political goals.*

Key words: *Historical Toponomastics, Island Toponymy, Toponymic Landscapes, Singapore, Colonial Place Names*

1. INTRODUCTION

The discussion on toponymic landscapes cannot be divorced from the wider socio-political forces that surround the creation and maintenance of the related place names. Place names themselves are significant bearers of cultural meaning and symbolism¹, and some forms of national ideology usually underlie their creation and maintenance². Traditional toponomastics studies often seek to uncover and reconstruct the etymology and history of a place name, but this endeavour can be made even more productive by situating the analysis within a network of elements beyond the toponym itself³. Instead of analysing and studying place names in silos, the convergence of socio-political forces with the making and maintenance of toponyms builds a more critical and holistic understanding. Attempting to uncover the practices, patterns, and motivations behind the toponyms in addition to a traditionally more popular approach of toponymic analysis proves to be the most productive endeavour.

In Singapore's case, the analysis of toponyms must be made with reference to the complex historical development of the now nation-state. From 1819 to 1965, Singapore went through significant changes, falling first to the British Colonial government (more properly, the East India Company before the British metropole took over the imperial conquest), then, later, to the Japanese occupation and, afterwards, as part of the Federation of Malaya for two years. It was only in 1965 that Singapore gained independence as a sovereign nation-state. The historical backdrop of Singapore's becoming is a crucial factor in constructing the framework to understanding the making and maintenance of the toponyms of the nation. It is important to note that these historical developments cannot be seen as a homogenous period, since they entail vastly different experiences. For the purposes of this research, the focus will be on the landscape during the British colonial period in comparison to the contemporary one, given that the British colonial subjugation was the most longstanding and significant.

The toponyms of the nation here refer not just to the place name of *Singapore*, but also to the place names of the 50 offshore islands⁴ and islets⁵ under the nation's jurisdiction. The state itself is made up of more than mainland Singapore, and the discussion of toponyms cannot neglect the presence of these numerous smaller offshore islands that are both naturally occurring and artificially man-made. Thus far, toponymic research has mostly focused on the mainland (both micro-toponyms on the mainland, such as street names⁶ and MRT station names⁷, and the toponym of the mainland island

¹ Cf. Azaryahu, M., (1996), pp. 311-330; Yeoh, B.S.A., (1996), *passim*; Yeh, Y.T., (2013), pp. 119-155.

² Cf. Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), pp. 1-18, 219-232; Kong, L. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2003), *passim*; Yeh, Y.T., (2013), *passim*.

³ Cf. Vuolteenaho, J. and Berg, L.D., (2009), pp. 1-11; Wanjiru, M.W., and Matsubara, K., (2016), pp. 1-23. The latter presents a discussion of post-colonial toponyms in Nairobi.

⁴ Various platforms state different numbers of offshore islands in Singapore, ranging from 40 to 63 islands. There is no unified official count, hence the number of offshore islands listed in the paper is based on a manual count of the authorised national maps (*OneMap*). Refer to our section 3. *Methodology* for a more detailed breakdown.

⁵ Islets are, generally, smaller islands and are, sometimes, described as areas that are unsuitable for human habitation. For the purposes of this paper, this distinction is not crucial and, hence, not made explicit. Both islands and islets will be referred to under the hyponym "island".

⁶ Cf. Ng, Y.P., (2018), *passim*; Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), *cit.*, *passim*; Perono Cacciafoco, F., and Tuang, S.Q., (2018), pp. 9-30.

⁷ Cf. Lim, S.T.G., Perono Cacciafoco, F., (2020), *passim*.

itself⁸), and have not yet fully accounted for these offshore islands. While these subsidiary islands may appear as minor points of discussion to the present political scene or landscape in general, their substantial number warrants a deeper investigation. These offshore islands make up a significant and inalienable portion of the geographic landscape today, and there is a great need to contextualise the naming process of these areas as well, through the investigation of toponymic practices and motivations, which define relevant elements of local culture and intangible heritage, becoming part of people's social background and historical narrative⁹.

As such, this paper hopes to encroach the discussion on the toponyms of Singapore's offshore islands within a critical toponomastics framework. Instead of merely questioning *how* a toponym came to be through an etymological reconstruction, this article seeks to answer the *why*: why are the toponyms that are recognised and used the way they are? What are the forces behind the making and maintenance of these toponyms? The research aim is, thus, to investigate the trends and patterns of toponyms recognised under British rule and modern-day Singapore and to draw comparisons between these two sets of toponyms. Through the comparison, the analysis aims to identify changes and continuities in the toponyms of the offshore islands and, thus, to recognise the possible underlying motivations and agendas behind them.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF SINGAPORE

The history of Singapore is complex, and the territory itself has changed hands multiple times. The earliest historical record of Singapore dates back to the 14th Century, and several scholars have extensively studied the area from this period of time, in both geographical and linguistic terms¹⁰. Beginning in the 14th Century till the late 18th Century, these works on pre-colonial Singapore shed light on how Singapore was 'constructed' by early cartographers and travelers.

The founding of Singapore in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles, then Lieutenant Governor of the British colony, marks the beginnings of our understanding of modern-day Singapore. The Lion City often existed as an "entrepôt embedded in a bigger structure"¹¹. The 'embeddings' here refer to Singapore as an entity under the rule and political control of the British East India Company, the British Empire, the Japanese during the Japanese occupation, and, finally, under the Malayan Federation. In 1965, Singapore left these forms of external control behind, and declared independence as an "autonomous polity"¹².

Turnbull's works on the history of Singapore¹³ is generally the point of reference in the discussion on Singapore's contemporary history. The first edition of *A History of Singapore, 1819-1975*, published in 1977, served as a novel framework in chronicling Singapore's history as an independent state, and not simply as a 'conversation' connected

⁸ Cf. Cavallaro, F., Perono Cacciafoco, F., and Tan, Z.X., (2019), pp 1-18; Perono Cacciafoco, F., and Gan, J.Y.C., (2020), pp. 125-139.

⁹ Cf. Crețan, R., (2000), *passim*.

¹⁰ Cf. Miksic, J., (2013), *passim*; Borschberg, P., (2010; 2017), *passim*; Heng, D. (2002), pp. 69-90; Perono Cacciafoco, F., Shia, Z.Z.D., (2020), pp. 79-120.

¹¹ Cf. Hack, K., (2012), p. 21.

¹² Cf. Hack, K., (2012), *cit.*, p. 21.

¹³ Cf. Turnbull, C.M., (1977; 2009), *passim*.

with other political conceptions like the Straits Settlement, or as a British colony under British rule. Her approach grounds the discourse of Singapore in the Lion City itself, making the history of the island one that was “truly Singaporean”¹⁴. Her work, which served as a general history guide to Singapore and a testament to its strengths, was later adapted by the Ministry of Education, in 1984, in their two-volume work titled *Social and Economic History of Modern Singapore*. The attention the Historian paid to the emergence of the ideology of Singapore as a nation, independent and removed from other entities, aided in the development of a continuous national history¹⁵.

Understanding the history of Singapore provides scholars and readers with the necessary background to discuss toponyms in Singapore. For the purposes of this research, the period between British colonial rule and modern-day Singapore is the most important. This period is defined by Raffles’ foundation in 1819, which was formalised in 1924 under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, demarcating Singapore and Malaysia as part of the British sphere. Singapore was governed under the East India Company as part of the Straits Settlement, before the British metropole formally undertook the territories as a colony. Even though Singapore was officially only undertaken as a British crown colony in 1867, the colonial subjugation began once Raffles took charge of the island. World War II and the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) were a brief (and tragic) intermission in the British colonial rule and, after the Japanese surrendered, Singapore returned to the British. The process of decolonisation only began taking place in the 1950s.

British colonisation has evidently been a significant and undeniable force in the history of modern-day Singapore, both in terms of impact and duration. Much of what Singapore is today is shaped by the colonial past, which underscores the need to investigate how Singapore’s colonial history has impacted the representation of the geographical landscape – specifically that of the offshore islands in Singapore.

2.2 TOPONYMS IN THE POST-COLONIAL CONTEXT

The study of the British colonial regime in the Lion City is, indeed, a meaningful way of constructing out a deeper understanding of the names of the Singapore archipelago’s islands. In many post-colonial contexts, toponyms and the representation of geographical landscapes are highly contested avenues. In every nation that was once colonised there is often a desire to remove elements of the colonial legacy, and this inclination is also prevalent in the use and maintenance of toponyms. Place names are, generally, a top-down effort where a form of authority such as a nation’s government or a colonial power creates and officialises toponyms for public use. Therefore, toponyms themselves are inherently political. They give “identity and historical resonance”¹⁶, which makes toponyms important and central to the discussion of nationalism in post-colonial contexts.

Among others, Vuolteenaho (2017) analyses the tension of colonial toponyms as a way of silencing indigenous people and their culture, drawing transnational parallels across many different contexts such as Africa, Asia, and North America. He highlights toponyms as a platform in which nationalist ideologies and agenda are injected into the landscape as a rejection of colonial inheritance. Wanjiru & Matsubara’s work on Nairobi (2016) presents a specific case-study of the colonial impact on the toponymic landscape, and the

¹⁴ Cf. Tarling, N., (2012), p. 11.

¹⁵ Cf. Blackburn, K., (2012), pp. 65-86.

¹⁶ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 10.

subsequent renunciation of these tendencies by the Kenyans. In their work, they highlight toponyms as a “an exercise of power and ideological dominance over space”¹⁷, which Kenya reclaims from the British colonialists upon independence. The removal of colonial symbols, particularly those visible in the landscape, is a crucial element of the decolonisation process. Most importantly, the replacement of these colonial toponyms with localised ones signals an ideological change, honouring the native inhabitants instead of the European colonisers. Other significant works on the rejection of colonial inherited toponyms include Njoh’s study on Dakar, Senegal, and Nairobi, Kenya which were under French and British colonial rule (2017), as well as Clark’s work on 19th Century Victoria, Australia, where toponyms were highly contested between the aboriginal Australians and the colonial administration (2017). Singapore shares, evidently, the same post-colonial context(s) as the above mentioned examples. The question of whether similar anti-colonial inheritance has driven the landscape of Singapore thus arises.

2.3 COLONIAL TOPONYMIC RESEARCH IN SINGAPORE

Studies on the effect of colonisation on toponyms in Singapore have had a steady increase in recent years. These studies often target Singapore’s urban landscapes through the analysis of street names, with Savage and Yeo’s *Singapore Street Names: A Study of Toponymics* (2013) providing the most extensive repository on the historical reconstruction of toponyms in Singapore. While the colonial element is mentioned as a factor in the etymological reconstruction of place names in Singapore, the impact of colonial rule as a force is not properly targeted. Furthermore, Savage and Yeo’s work serves more as a repertoire or dictionary of place names and does not bring the ideologies behind naming and the practice of naming to the forefront.

This gap is supplemented by Kong & Yeoh’s *The Politics of Landscapes in Singapore: Constructions of “Nation”*, which conceptualises the imagining of the nation by attending to the British colonial past and Singapore’s merger with Malaysia. They discuss how toponymic inscriptions inherited from the colonial past are actively changed and modified in the context of post-independence Singapore. Yeo’s work in *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and The Urban Built Environment* (2003) also recognises the influence of colonialism in Singapore’s landscape. While this research adopts a more geographical approach, she attends to the element of toponyms quite succinctly. The literature on colonialism and toponyms in Singapore is further built upon by Yeh (2013), who discusses “erased place names” in Singapore, which refers to toponyms that have been made obsolete or modified over the course of time.

Together, the existing works establish a robust research backdrop for the discussion of toponyms in Singapore. However, these studies often only cover micro-toponyms such as street names and neglect to extend the analysis to other toponyms like those of the offshore islands in Singapore. Therefore, as mentioned, this paper aims to fulfil this research gap by expanding the existing research on colonialism and toponyms in Singapore through the careful analysis of the toponyms of Singapore’s offshore islands.

¹⁷ Cf. Wanjiru, M.W., and Matsubara, K., (2016), p. 1.

2.4 APPROACHES TO TOPONOMASTICS

Critical to any discussion on toponomastics is a solid and well-founded understanding of the field itself. In general, studies in toponomastics, or toponymics, typically take two approaches: qualitative, or intensive, and quantitative, or extensive¹⁸. It is noted that toponymic research usually makes no distinction between the two approaches, but Tent makes a case for making this difference explicit in order to better understand the functions of the two approaches.

Intensive toponymy is described more as a ‘micro-approach’, where the reconstruction of a toponym (in terms of etymology, meaning, origin) is highlighted. Toponyms, according to this approach, are typically analysed in discrete terms. Tent characterises the intensive toponymy approach as an investigation into a place name’s “biography” and constructs this analysis in term of the *wh*- questions¹⁹. This is often the form that traditional toponymic studies adopt, which Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu (2010) describe as a collection of place names in an “encyclopaedic nature” that can fail to account for the practice of place naming itself²⁰.

In contrast, extensive toponymy adopts more of a ‘macro-approach’, where toponyms are generally viewed as a collective group, lending itself to broader and wider analyses. Extensive toponymy, therefore, analyses toponyms in datasets collected from various sources, including maps, government gazettes, and other written forms of data²¹.

In view of these analyses, this paper adopts the extensive approach in the discussion of toponyms of Singapore’s offshore islands. It is not to say that the intensive approach is not useful – the reconstruction of the etymologies of toponyms undeniably builds up the collective linguistic understanding. However, the extensive approach serves the objectives of inquiry for this study better. The research here aims to situate the toponyms of Singapore’s offshore islands within a socio-political context, and looking at the place names as a ‘collective unit’ can help elucidate trends and motivations behind the use and maintenance of place names.

In such an endeavour, a critical approach into toponomastics is necessary. Vuolteenaho & Berg’s *Towards Critical Toponymies* (2009) illustrates this framework by drawing on social and cultural theories to further build upon the approaches in toponomy. They highlight the intersection of power and toponyms, the “power relations inherent in geographical naming”²², and push for the recognition of toponyms as a result of power contestations. Their position on establishing the field of toponomastics as an interdisciplinary approach develops the traditional practice of analysing toponyms individually, pushing analyses to attend to wider social, economic, and political contexts.

2.5 TOPONYMS: A MATERIALISATION OF IDEOLOGIES

In the study of toponomastics, the fundamental question of *why* arises. Why is the study of toponomastics important? Why is analysing toponyms a productive and

¹⁸ Cf. Tent, J., (2015), pp. 65-73.

¹⁹ Cf. Tent, J., (2015), cit., p. 68.

²⁰ Cf. Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D., and Azaryahu, M., (2010), p. 455.

²¹ Cf. Tent, J., (2015), cit., pp. 71-72.

²² Cf. Vuolteenaho, J. and Berg, L.D., (2009), cit., p. 1.

significant venture? The reason appears to be clear – toponyms are a physical manifestation of ideologies that underlie the making of a society²³.

Toponyms are referents to physical spaces, but, beyond this functional use, less immediate to the everyday purpose, is the deep symbolism that toponyms hold. Following Anderson's theory of *Imagined Communities* (1983, 2006), place names and their tangible reproductions in maps serve to build up a shared identity and a collective memory, connecting individuals together under an intangible notion of a nation. Toponyms are often representation of identities constructed on the past, which Harvey's *Monument and Myth* (1979) and Lowenthal's *Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory* (1975) reassert as the construction of 'a landscape of memory'. Azaryahu (1996) builds upon this with his emphasis on toponyms as cultural productions of both a shared past, and a continued "social reality"²⁴. Toponyms are also a negotiation of powers encroached within wider social and political agendas²⁵. Situated within the post-colonial context, toponyms become a crucial platform to reassert ownership over a territory that was once under external rule.

It is clear that toponyms and the toponymic landscape at large function both as simple referents and as bearers of symbolism and ideologies²⁶. In the interaction of geography, history, linguistics, sociology, and political-science, toponyms illustrate the ideologies and agendas that underlie a society. This process is almost cyclical, in that the motivations behind naming practices and patterns are wider socio-political concerns, which the toponyms represented on maps and used by the masses then reinforces.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

Maps were the primary source in which toponyms used during the colonial period and in contemporary times were elicited. As discussed in the previous section, the rationale of using maps as the primary source of data is simply the inherent connection between cartographic representations and symbolism: maps are social constructions that concretise the symbolic toponymic landscape.

The diachronic approach of analysis for this study necessitates toponyms from both historical colonial maps and contemporary maps of Singapore to be collected. Their different natures require the collection process to be discussed separately.

3.1.1 COLONIAL MAPS OF SINGAPORE

The National Archives of Singapore (NAS) provides an immensely rich collection of historical sources, ranging from government records to oral history interviews, and, most importantly, historical maps. There is an extensive collection of maps of Singapore under colonial rule and, for the purpose of this paper, maps were selected based on the following criteria:

²³ Cf. Crețan, R., (2000), cit., *passim*.

²⁴ Cf. Azaryahu, M., (1996), cit., p. 328.

²⁵ Cf. Azaryahu, M., (1996), cit., pp. 311- 330; Kong, L. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2003), cit., *passim*; Vuolteenaho, J., (2017), *passim*.

²⁶ Cf. Crețan, R., (2000), cit., *passim*.

1. the map was produced during the British colonial period, from 1819 to the 1950s;
2. the map was developed under the British colonial powers;
3. the map includes islands beyond mainland Singapore²⁷.

Crucial to the collection process was ensuring that all the criteria were met. The first criterion attends to the timeline inherent to the discussion of this research. The second criterion ensures that the maps analysed are the result of British colonial production, which indicates that toponyms labelled on the map were the place names that were recognized by the British. This is an important requirement, as the comparison between colonial toponyms and contemporary toponyms is founded upon the assumption that the toponyms were the place names that were formally recognized and used at a specific time. The three criteria are straightforward – only maps that labelled toponyms of offshore islands beyond mainland Singapore are useful for the purpose of this discussion.

Amongst the vast collection, 33 maps that fit the criteria were selected. Although a larger number of maps would establish more toponymic datapoints and ideally lead to more accurate analyses, colonial maps that fit the specific purpose of this research are naturally limited. This is common with all forms of historical data, as the archive is entirely dependent on what has been curated and maintained throughout the years. Furthermore, given the fragile ‘papery’ material of maps, many that have been archived are also damaged in some manner, as illustrated by Map 1, where a large part of the Eastern region has been damaged. Based on the other details on this map, offshore islands around the mainland were recognised and labelled, but, unfortunately, not all of toponyms could be retrieved, due to the damage.

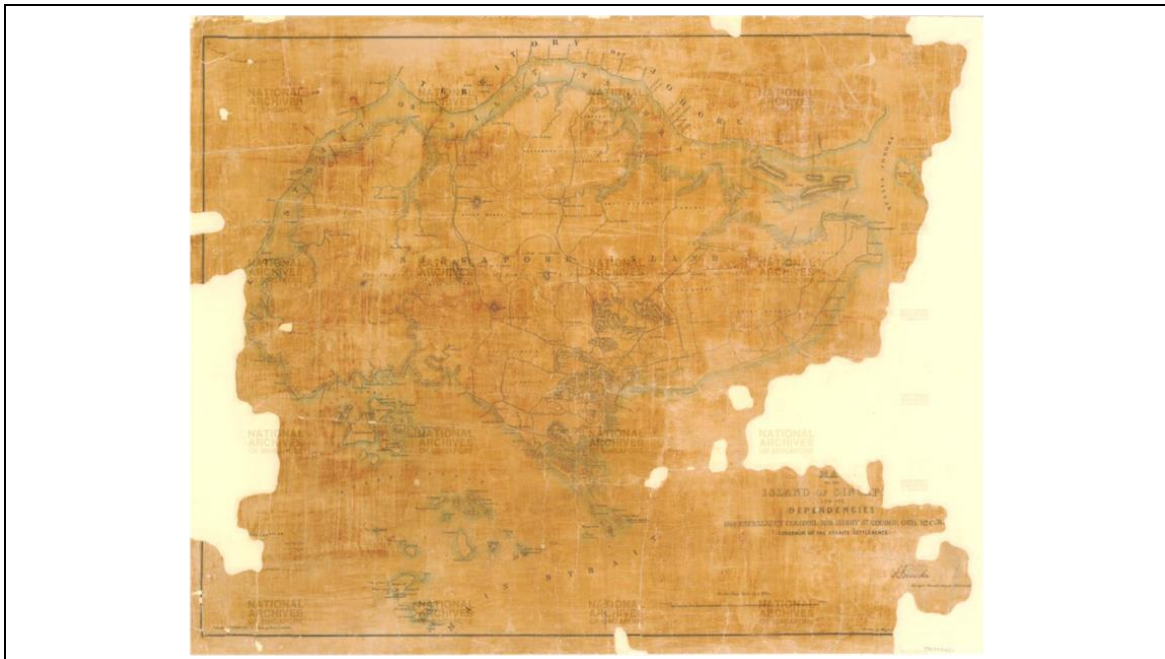


FIGURE 1. Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies (1905),
(Source: Survey Department, Singapore (Retrieved from NAS))

²⁷ The term “offshore islands” is intentionally avoided, here. Noting that what constitutes an offshore island in Singapore today is likely not the same that was during the British colonial period, the islands around mainland Singapore are, thus, generally referred to, and not specifically named. The avoidance here is to ensure that history is not read backwards by anachronistically applying contemporary notions to the past.

Maps that fit the criteria were further categorized according to chronology. Comparisons were first drawn among maps belonging to the same decade to elicit general naming patterns. A list of toponyms from the maps collected can be found below in the *Appendix*.

3.1.2 CONTEMPORARY MAPS OF SINGAPORE

There are multiple sources to access contemporary maps of Singapore, including *OpenStreetMap*, *Google Maps*, *streetdirectory.com*, and *OneMap*. Comparisons between these different sources indicate that geographical representations and toponyms are generally the same, since most information on places are now considered factual.

Amongst the multiple options, *OneMap* proved to be the most reliable source that is officially recognized as the “authoritative national map of Singapore with the most detailed and timely information”²⁸. Developed and kept up to date by the Singapore Land Authority, its status as a government-endorsed map is potentially a direct attestation to socio-political agendas and motivations of the Singapore government in managing the toponymic landscape of Singapore.

3.1.3 DIGITISED AND CONSOLIDATED DATABASES

In addition to the NAS and *OneMap*, the analysis of toponyms of the offshore islands was also supplemented with *The Historical Maps of Singapore* (www.libmaps.nus.edu.sg), a collection of historical maps digitised by the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore (NUS). *Visualising Space: Maps of Singapore and the Region (2015)*, a collection of maps from the National Archives and the National Library Board, also supported the data collection process.

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

3.2.1 COLONIAL MAPS OF SINGAPORE’S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

3.2.1.1 COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE MAKING OF MAPS

When the maps are arranged chronologically, trends in toponymic patterns become clear. Before delving into the analysis of toponyms labelled in these historical maps, it should be noted that these maps were not always produced by the same cartographer and surveyor. For example, in the publication notes of *Plan Of The Island Of Singapore Including The New British Settlement And Adjacent Islands (1800s)*²⁹, the map is stated to be completed with survey information from Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar. In later renditions in producing a geographical representation of Singapore and the surrounding areas, the map-making process becomes more collaborative – details from other sources are included to create a more accurate representation of the space. This is evident in the later *Plan of the Island of Singapore including the new British Settlements*

²⁸ *OneMap*, <https://www.onemap.gov.sg/home/>.

²⁹ This map was included in the analysis even though it seemingly does not fall within the timeframe of British colonial rule in Singapore, which only occurred in 1819. However, the covering date given is a span of time over the 1800s and, by coupling this with the reference of Singapore as “the new British Settlement”, it is quite clear that the map refers to a point in time where Singapore was already under the British rule.

and adjacent islands (1820s), which is a production based on additional information of the old straits and islands from Captain Franklin, as well as nautical data from Captain Ross and Mr Horsburgh.

The practice of continually adding more information to the maps aligns with a general trend of how colonial knowledge developed in the colonies. In the early beginnings, little was known about the colonies themselves and, thus, colonial knowledge was often vague and under-developed. Through the maps drawn for Singapore in the early 1800s, it is evident that British colonial knowledge of the territory was gradually building up, and the map-making process was continuous and contingent on its previous rendition.

While the exact cartographer or surveyor may have changed over time, the maps were consistently produced by the British (as the East India Company, then, later, as the British metropole), which indicates that the top-down authority remained consistent through time. This is crucial, because it implies that the maps produced were an official source on the toponymic landscape – one that was crafted with the agenda of the colonial powers.

3.2.1.2 COLLECTIVE SPELLING CORRUPTIONS

Briefly, the most salient trend across the historical maps of Singapore and the offshore islands analysed is the consistent spelling corruptions as the colonialists sought to represent the native Malay names through their own phonetic and orthographic system.

For example, the generic element of “*pulau*”, meaning “island”, was consistently represented orthographically as “*pulo*” up to the 1880s. Further, the /u/ phoneme was often represented as *oo*, possibly to account for the longer vowel sound orthographically. The consistency in the use of “*pulo*” is likely a result of newer maps building on the information of older maps (as mentioned in the earlier segment), resulting in the continued adoption of a certain spelling variant.

3.2.1.3 INDIVIDUAL SPELLING VARIATIONS

Some orthographic variants were found in the analysis of the colonial maps, particularly in the specific element of the place names (the “names” of the islands), but these only occurred once or twice. Although the maps analysed were all made under the British authority, there were still different individuals who were the cartographers or surveyors who physically drew, charted, and labelled the maps. The variance in how the specific elements of the maps were represented are likely a result of these individuals practicing some levels of autonomy in representing the toponyms in a form that they deemed more accurate. For example, *Pulau Tekong* is spelled as “*tikong*” and “*tookong*”, before “*tekong*” became the most accepted orthographic representation.

More surely can be analysed in the compilation of toponyms of the offshore islands represented and labelled in historical maps, but the discussion is deliberately kept brief, here. The analyses of the toponyms of these historical maps are indeed important, but they are not central to the research question that this paper seeks to answer to. As the focus of the study is to look at the diachronic comparisons in toponyms represented in these historical maps and contemporary maps, the function of this compilation is mainly to serve as data points for comparison, rather than a proper analysis of the data itself.

3.2.2 CONTEMPORARY MAPS OF SINGAPORE'S OFFSHORE ISLANDS

3.2.2.1 ABSENCE OF A TOPONYMIC REPERTOIRE

There is no single official source with a list of the offshore islands in Singapore. For example, while the Singapore Land Authority (SLA) provides the total land area of Singapore, including offshore islands, there is no official list of offshore islands included. The nearest approximation is merely a postulated total number of such islands, which different sources provided different numbers for – various authorities and organisations either do not state the number explicitly, or have different counts. Other governmental organisations, like the National Library Board (NLB)³⁰ and the Singapore Tourism Board (STB)³¹, provide an apparently exact figure, but their figures do not coincide³².

These informal sources do not lend themselves to an attested and factual count of Singapore's offshore islands, but it was out of necessity that the sources themselves were consulted, as no alternatives were available. There are virtually no academic references on the number of offshore islands in Singapore, and there is also no authorised and official information on this subject matter from the Singapore government. This is perhaps testament to how the offshore islands of Singapore have generally been side-lined in both public and academic discourses.

As such, it is important to derive an independent count of the offshore islands to build up an 'encyclopaedic' repertoire for the purpose of discussion. Adopting the approach of manually counting units by looking at maps of Singapore, this study concluded there to be a total of 50 offshore islands in Singapore, and the list of all offshore islands is as given in Table 1 *List of Offshore Islands in Present-day Singapore*. This count separated every offshore island indicated and recognised on *OneMap* and counted each as a discrete unit. Each offshore island labelled on the map was counted as one (1) individual toponym in every instance, with the exception of *Sister's Island*³³.

3.2.2.2 CONTEMPORARY TOPONYMS OF OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Based on the manual count of offshore islands represented on *OneMap*, the 50 offshore islands of Singapore are listed in Table 1. This list of islands form the basis of which toponymic patterns and practices of Singapore's offshore islands can be discussed.

³⁰ National Library Board, SURE Campaign, "Islands of Singapore", July 2019, from https://sure.nlb.gov.sg/cheatsheet/NLB_Cheatsheet_IslandsofSingapore_Jul2019.pdf.

³¹ Singapore Tourism Board, *Visit Singapore*, "10 amazing things you never knew about Singapore", 28 January 2020, from <https://www.visitsingapore.com/editorials/amazing-things-you-never-knew-about-singapore/>.

³² NLB's SURE campaign states the number of offshore islands in Singapore is 44, while STB's *Visit Singapore* campaign states that to be 64.

³³ Strictly speaking, *Sister's Island* is made up of two adjacent islands, *Pulau Subar Darat* (*Little Sister's Island*) and *Pulau Subar Laut* (*Big Sister's Island*). However, the two smaller islands are connected geographically, and *Sister's Island*, the English toponym, has become the hyponym (attached to *Pulau Subar Darat*) that refers to both the islands. As such, *Sister's Island* was only counted once.

Table 1 List of Offshore Islands in Present-day Singapore

Planning Region	Planning Area	Toponym	
West Region	Western Water Catchment	<i>Pulau Pergam</i>	
West Region	Western Water Catchment	<i>Pulau Sarimbun</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Jurong Island</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Bukom</i>	<i>Pulau Bukom Cluster</i>
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Bukom Kecil</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Anak Bukom</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Ular</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Busing</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Hantu</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Jong</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Sebarok</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Salu</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Sudong</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Pawai</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Berkas</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Senang</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Biola</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Satumu</i>	
West Region	Western Islands	<i>Pulau Semakau</i>	
West Region	Jurong East	<i>Pulau Samulun</i>	
West Region	Jurong East	<i>Pulau Damar Laut</i>	
Central Region	Bukit Merah	<i>Pulau Brani</i>	
Central Region	Bukit Merah	<i>Pulau Keppel</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Renggis</i>	

Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Sentosa</i>	Sentosa Cluster
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pearl Island</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Treasure Island</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Paradise Island</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Sandy Island</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Coral Island</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Palawan</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Subar Darat & Pulau Subar Laut (Sisters' Islands)</i>	Tekong Cluster
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Tekukor</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Seringat (Pulau Renget)</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Seringat Kechil</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Sakijang Bendera (Saint John's Island)</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Pulau Sakijang Pelepah (Lazarus Island)</i>	
Central Region	Southern Islands	<i>Kusu Island (Pulau Tembakul)</i>	
North Region	Simpang	<i>Pulau Seletar</i>	
North Region	Lim Chu Kang	<i>Pulau Buloh</i>	
North-East Region	North-Eastern Islands	<i>Pulau Tekong</i>	
North-East Region	North-Eastern Islands	<i>Pulau Tekong Kechil</i>	
North-East Region	North-Eastern Islands	<i>Pulau Unum</i>	
North-East Region	North-Eastern Islands	<i>Pulau Ubin</i>	
North-East Region	North-Eastern Islands	<i>Pulau Ketam</i>	
North-East Region	North-Eastern Islands	<i>Pulau Sekudu</i>	
North-East Region	Punggol	<i>Pulau Serangoon (Coney Island)</i>	

North-East Region	Seletar	<i>Pulau Punggol Barat</i>
North-East Region	Seletar	<i>Pulau Punggol Timor</i>
East Region	Changi Bay	<i>Pedra Branca</i>

4. DISCUSSION

To reiterate, the purpose of this study is to situate the understanding of toponyms within a wider socio-political context. In this case, the toponyms of offshore islands in Singapore are the target, and the wider socio-political context is given by the history of British colonial rule in Singapore. The toponyms collected from the two different periods have been concretised on maps, indicating the use and formal recognition for them.

By contrasting and comparing these toponyms from colonial and present-day Singapore through maps of those time periods, it is possible to highlight many interesting takeaways, with a mixture of both continuities and changes in toponyms. Most have remained relatively stable and unchanged, over time, others have been ‘erased’ or become obsolete and, in some cases, new toponyms have been created by the Singapore government after independence.

4.1 INHERITANCE AND RETENTION OF COLONIAL TOPONYMS

It might be expected for Singapore as a former colony to manage the post-colonial toponymic landscape by rejecting inherited colonial place names, akin to many other nations or states that were once colonised³⁴, desiring to reassert their nationalistic ideologies on the landscape. However, the toponyms of offshore islands in Singapore have remained almost identical to place names used and recognised during the colonial period. Nonetheless, this stasis does not necessarily indicate that the reverse is true, that not changing the toponyms indicates that Singapore does not desire to eradicate the landscape of colonial influences.

4.1.1 POSSIBLE PRE-COLONIAL ORIGINS OF TOPONYMS

First, it is perhaps important to note that the toponyms of offshore islands during the colonial period are possibly not colonial productions to begin with. Looking at the data, most of the toponyms used in reference to an offshore island during the colonial period are in the Malay language – the language variety of the native population in Singapore. Most of the toponyms adopted the duplex structure of the generic element of “island” preceding a specific naming element³⁵:

[generic] *Pulau* + [specific] *Ubin/ Ular/ Hantu/ Sarimbun/ Pelepah/ Tekong*

It is very apparent that the Malay language (even with spelling and orthographic corruptions) is the language variety that underlies these toponyms. The semantic elements

³⁴ Cf. Clark, I.D., (2017), pp. 215-222; Njoh, A.J., (2017), pp. 1174-1192; Wanjiru, M.W., and Matsubara, K., (2016), cit., pp. 1-23.

³⁵ Cf. Burrill, M.F., (1956), pp. 129-137; Ng, Y.P., (2018), cit., pp. 18-19.

are lexical items from the Malay language – for example, “*pulo/pulau*” means “island”, “*pelepah*” refers to the fronds of a palm in the Malay language³⁶ and “*tekong*” means “an obstacle”, to represent the island blocking the mouth of the Johor River³⁷.

Furthermore, the grammatical structure of the toponyms is that of the Malay language. The toponyms here are proper nouns, and the duplex structure forms a noun phrase, where the attributive adjective follows behind the head noun itself:

Noun Phrase

Head Noun	Adjective
<i>Pulo/ Pulau</i>	<i>Serangoon/Jong/Unum/Blakang Mati</i>

In comparison, a toponym in the English language would have the opposite structure for a noun phrase, with the adjectival element preceding the head noun (*Lazarus Island*, for example,).

While not every map during the colonial period adopted the toponyms that appear to be of Malay origins entirely, 32 out of the 33 maps developed during the colonial times analysed chartered and labelled maps as such. The two exceptions are *Straits of Singapore, Durian and Rhio (1840)* and *Straits Of Singapore, Durian And Rhio (1860)*.

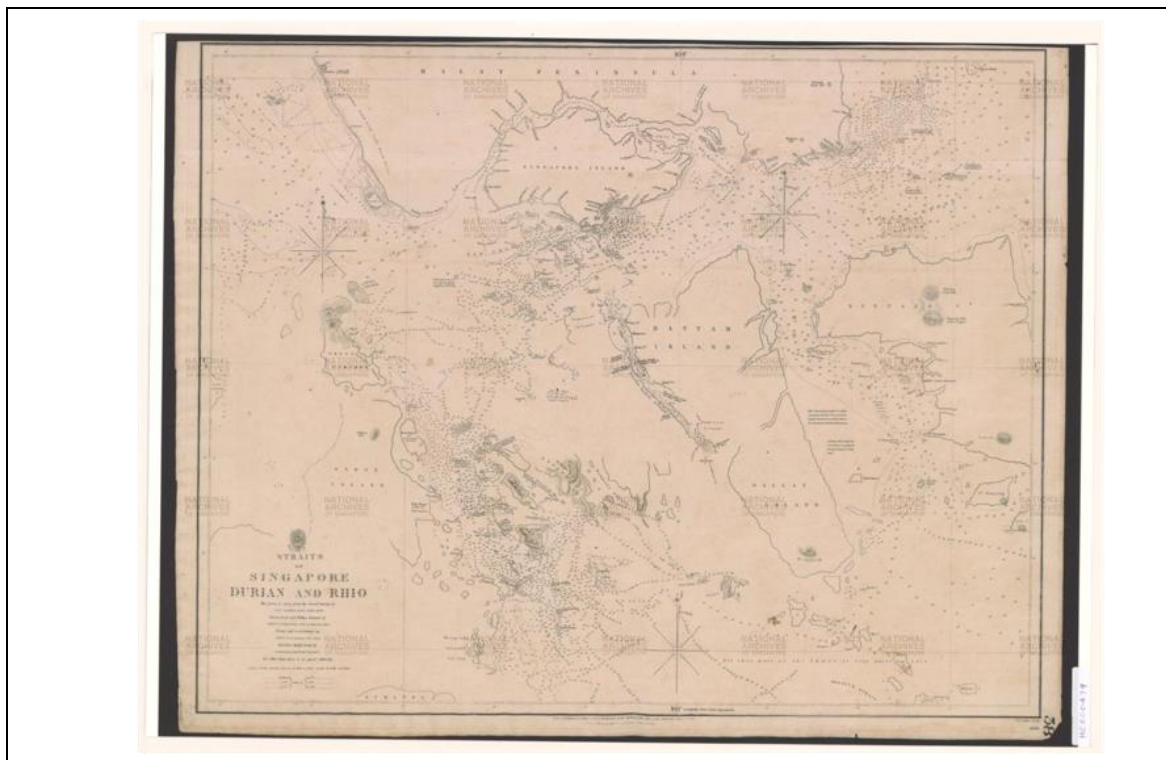


Figure 2. Straits of Singapore, Durian and Rhio (1840),
Source: Singapore Maritime Museum (Retrieved from NAS)

³⁶ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 680.

³⁷ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 686.

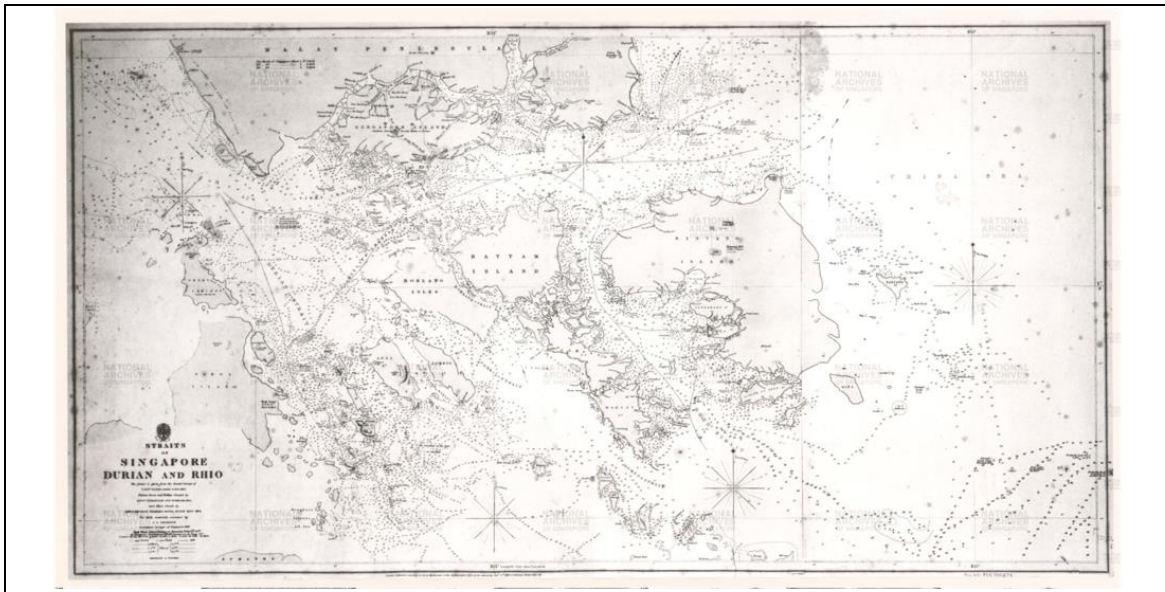


Figure 3. Straits Of Singapore, Durian And Rhio (1860),
Source: Alexander Turnbull Library (Retrieved from NAS)

The toponyms used to label the different islands in these two maps follow the grammatical structure of the English language, but still retain the Malay language place name for the specific element. Some toponyms that are illustrated include *Tookong Island*, *Sikra Island*, and *Oobin Island*.

The undeniable “Malayness” of the toponyms, even in instances where an English language structure was adopted, is likely to be an indication that the toponyms used and recognised during the British colonial rule were in fact adoptions of toponyms that preceded the arrival of the British. While many other areas that have gone through similar political changes often see “toponymic legacy” from colonialism or other forms of imperial domination³⁸, place names that are explicitly linked to the colonial powers appear absent in this study of the toponyms of the islands of Singapore. This directly contrasts with colonial street-names in Singapore, which are abundant and impossible to miss³⁹. Yet, the absence of toponyms that directly correlate to the British colonial period in Singapore does not necessarily equate a lack of significance of such a politically charged period. Rather, the lack of change perhaps elucidates the British perspective regarding the island names. However, since pre-colonial data is scarce, it is difficult to ascertain the reasons behind the retention of these place names.

4.1.2 CONSISTENT GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES ON TOPONYMS

The comparison between toponymic trends and practices of place names in mainland Singapore and place names of the offshore islands drew quite consistent results. The toponyms of the mainland, as extensively studied by several scholars⁴⁰, have

³⁸ Cf. Rose-Redwood et al., (2017), cit., p.10.

³⁹ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., *passim*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., *passim*; Ng, Y.P., (2018), cit., *passim*.

generally been inherited since the colonial period. For example, toponyms like *Raffles Place*, named after Sir Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor and ‘discoverer’ of modern Singapore, as well as *Bartley Road*, named after William Bartley, the Commissioner of Lands and the first appointed President of the Municipal Commission, have remained unchanged in post-independence times, despite the extremely evident colonial ties inherent in the toponyms. Savage and Yeoh⁴¹ talk about this, describing the toponymic situation in Singapore as resistant against the post-World War nationalistic movements that took place around the world. The government has adopted a toponymic policy to retain both toponyms that reflect the multi-ethnic situation and the colonial heritage of Singapore, which Savage and Yeoh describe as an “‘open’ policy to cultural diversity”⁴².

It can be reasonably assumed that the same kind of policy would apply to the offshore islands as well. Amongst the collection of toponyms, *Saint John’s Island* is a salient example of how toponyms with colonial associations are recognised and continue to be used in modern-day Singapore. Although *OneMap* also labels the island with the Malay language equivalent toponym (*Pulau Sakijang Bendera*), the presence of the colonial toponym is testament to the government’s acceptance of colonial place names as part of the material landscape.

4.2 THE SYMBOLISM OF THE MALAY TOPONYMS

4.2.1 NEUTRALITY OF MALAY TOPONYMS

It has been established that the toponyms used and recognised during the colonial period were mostly based on the Malay language, which indicates that these colonial place names are in fact not accurately ‘colonial’ in nature. In other post-colonial contexts, toponyms from the colonial period that are rejected and replaced have very obvious and blatant colonial elements, e.g., a place name that commemorates a colonialist⁴³. In the discussion on post-colonial toponyms in Australia and Africa⁴⁴, the colonial elements of replaced toponyms were immediately obvious. However, in the case of the names of offshore islands in Singapore, these colonial ties are not as evident, or evident at all.

A distinction between toponyms that are *inherently colonial* and toponyms *from a colonial period* can be made here. Although all toponyms in post-colonial nations that trickle down into the contemporary period can be considered place names from the colonial period, they may not necessarily have colonial elements ingrained in the names that are then inherited in the modern-day. Such is the case of the toponyms of most of Singapore’s offshore islands.

4.2.2 GOVERNMENTAL PREFERENCE FOR MALAY TOPONYMS

Linking this discussion to the language planning and policies of the Singapore government, the retention of toponyms from the colonial period is likely also due to the parallel between the existing toponyms with the official and national languages

⁴¹ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., pp. 13-15.

⁴² Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 14.

⁴³ Cf. Azaryahu, M., (1996), cit., *passim*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Clark, I.D., (2017), cit., pp. 215-222; Njoh, A.J., (2017), cit., pp. 1174-1192; Wanjiru, M.W., and Matsubara, K., (2016), cit., pp. 1-23, respectively.

recognised in the Lion City. Again, toponyms and the representation of the landscape are deeply intertwined with external and wider socio-political factors and, in this case, the Singapore government's multilingual agenda is quite evident in the deliberate retention of toponyms of Malay origins.

The Constitution of the Republic of Singapore, article 153A, states the following:

Official languages and national language

153A.— (1) Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English shall be the 4 official languages in Singapore.

(2) The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in the Roman script.

The four official languages recognised attends to the multi-ethnic and multilingual population of Singapore, while the status of being a national language is specially accorded to the Malay language, to officially and symbolically recognise Malays as the indigenous inhabitants of the land.

Drawing the discussion back to the toponyms of the offshore islands, to retain the place names that are of Malay origin helps to materialise the landscape according to the governmental ideological goal to constitutionally and officially acknowledge Singapore as a place that originally belonged to ethnic Malays. The linguistic and geographical landscape helps to make such symbolic representations tangible.

4.2.3 HIERARCHISED TOPONYMS

Several of the offshore islands have two equivalent toponyms in different language varieties. More accurately, the toponyms are homonyms that refer to the same location.

Table 2. List of Offshore Islands with Homonyms

<i>Pulau Serangoon (Coney Island)</i>
<i>Pulau Sakijang Bendera (Saint John's Island)</i>
<i>Pulau Sakijang Pelepah (Lazarus Island)</i>
<i>Pulau Subar Darat & Pulau Subar Laut (Sisters' Islands)</i>
<i>Kusu Island (Pulau Tembakul)</i>

Table 2 illustrates a few examples of Singapore's offshore islands that have two names – one in the English language and another in the Malay language. As evidenced by the first four examples, the Malay names are represented as the primary toponyms, with the English names in parentheses, indicating that the English names are supplementary and secondary. It is interesting here to notice how *OneMap*, the official map of Singapore, privileges Malay toponyms, even though the islands are more

commonly referred to by the English toponyms⁴⁵ even on governmental websites like the Singapore Tourism Board's *Visit Singapore* site. Again, this is likely the government's language policy coming into play.

Kusu Island is an exception, where the Malay variant is given the subsidiary position. To be clear, the toponym is technically an English and Hokkien hybrid-duplex name, where “*kusu*” means “tortoise” in Hokkien, a reference to the shape of the island. It is perhaps possible that the Hokkien element introduces a sense of nativity to the toponym, much like what a Malay language toponym would. *Kusu Island* can hence be accorded the status of a primary toponym, since the ideology of a local landscape with local place names is not disrupted.

The discussion in this section may seem slightly contradictory to 4.1.2: *CONSISTENT GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES ON TOPONYMS*, which discusses the Singapore government's “open policy” with regard to toponyms from the colonial period. There may be some confusions on why the Malay language toponyms of offshore islands are continually privileged, when the general practice of the Singapore government has been to keep the toponymic landscape open to all forms of toponyms. However, to view the government's acceptance of colonial place names as a conflict to their policy to reassert the place of ethnic (Malay) toponyms is too binary. First and foremost, the two toponymic practices appear in different contexts and, thus, cannot be compared fairly. A better way to understand the various naming practices of the government would be to see these policies not in exclusion to one another, but in addition to each other, complementarily. In different circumstances, the government may adopt a different approach to attain a toponymic result.

4.3 TOPONYMIC CHANGE: THE CASE OF *SENTOSA*

While most of the toponyms of Singapore's offshore islands have remained relatively stable through the colonial period to the present-day, *Sentosa* represents a direct and very apparent upheaval and change in name.

In the colonial maps collected from 1819 to the late 1940s with the place whose name is *Sentosa* today, the largest Southern island (*Sentosa*) went through several toponymic changes.

Table 3. Diachronic Comparative Table for *Sentosa*

1800s - 1837	1852 - 1882	1855 - 1945	1972
<i>Pulo Panjan(g)</i> or <i>Long Island</i>	<i>Blakan Mati</i>	<i>Blakang Mati</i> / <i>Blakangmati</i>	<i>Sentosa</i>

⁴⁵ A quick way to contextualise the overwhelming use of the English toponyms instead of their Malay counterparts is to look at *Google Search* results. For example, searching “*Lazarus Island*” generates over 5 million results, but “*Pulau Sakijang Pelapah*” only returns about 5,000 results. The other two islands have similar results (*Coney Island*: 28 million, *Pulau Serangoon*: 560 thousand; *Saint John's Island*: 54 million, *Pulau Sakijang Bendera*: 70 thousand; *Sister's Island*: 126 million, *Pulau Subar Darat/Pulau Subar Laut*: 7 thousand each).

There have been many scholarly reconstructions (some of the mentioned above) to trace the etymological change of *Pulau Pangjang*, meaning “long island”, to *Blakan Mati*, but, for the purpose of this discussion, the focus will be on the colonial to contemporary toponymic change, from *Blakang Mati* (and its orthographic variants) to *Sentosa*.

On 25th November 1969, about two decades after Singapore gained independence, the Singapore Tourism Board (STB) launched a campaign to the public to rename *Pulau Blakang Mati*⁴⁶. *Blakang Mati* literally translates to “behind death” in the Malay language, which was incongruent with the idea of an area that was slated for development into a tourist resort. It was important to change the place name to something less inauspicious. Eventually, the name *Sentosa*, meaning “peace”, “tranquillity” (in Malay, but derived from the Sanskrit word *santosa*, “contentment”, “satisfaction”) was chosen to evoke elements of calmness on the beach-resort development⁴⁷.

In the case of *Sentosa*, the toponym was artificially and deliberately changed and, interestingly, the process can be considered to be driven by bottom-up forces. While the campaign was organised by the STB, the toponym choice was a collective effort from the public. This is in contrast to most cases where toponyms that are used and recognised in a community are the creations of authoritative entities.

Sentosa presents a unique case in the sea of toponyms of offshore islands in Singapore, because it shows such a deliberate attempt to change the place name. The most salient reason behind this toponymic change is the underlying commercial motive, a sort of phenomenon of commodification of a place name⁴⁸. The discussion of toponyms in this paper has been anchored in analysing how wider socio-political contexts affect the making and maintenance of place names⁴⁹ and, in this case, economic motivations are the key force driving the change in toponym. During the colonial period, *Sentosa* (or, more accurately, *Pulau Blakang Mati*) was used as a military base⁵⁰, but, as the purpose of the area was changed, external factors began coming into play.

The case of *Sentosa* illuminates how the wider socio-economical context can be a great force in the rejection of older toponyms in favour of creating new ones. While toponyms are considered bearers of symbolic meaning, there is a sense of artificiality in *Sentosa*, in that the symbolism of “tranquillity” was manufactured for the purposes of attaining economic agendas. Retaining the colonial toponym of *Blakang Mati* would have been detrimental to an area that was projected for tourism.

4.4 CREATION OF NEW TOPONYMS

The toponymic landscape of Singapore for offshore islands has generally remained the same that had already existed during the colonial period. However, with land reclamation works in Singapore, many new areas, including offshore islands, have been developed in the last five decades. As these areas are new developments, the toponyms associated with them are novel creations. Analysing these toponyms can shed light on the processes and motivations driving the making of place names.

⁴⁶ Cf. *The Straits Times*, “A contest to re-name Pulau Blakang Mati”, 25 November 1969, from <https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers/Digitised/Article/straitstimes19691125.2.97>.

⁴⁷ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 697.

⁴⁸ Cf., among others, Medway, D., and Warnaby, G., (2014), pp. 153-167.

⁴⁹ Cf. Light, D., (2014), pp. 141-156.

⁵⁰ Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 697.

For this particular point of discussion, the focus will be on the five smaller islands that have been implemented within *Sentosa*. These are *Pearl Island*, *Treasure Island*, *Paradise Island*, *Sandy Island*, and *Coral Island*. Map 4 shows their location in relation to the main island of *Sentosa*.

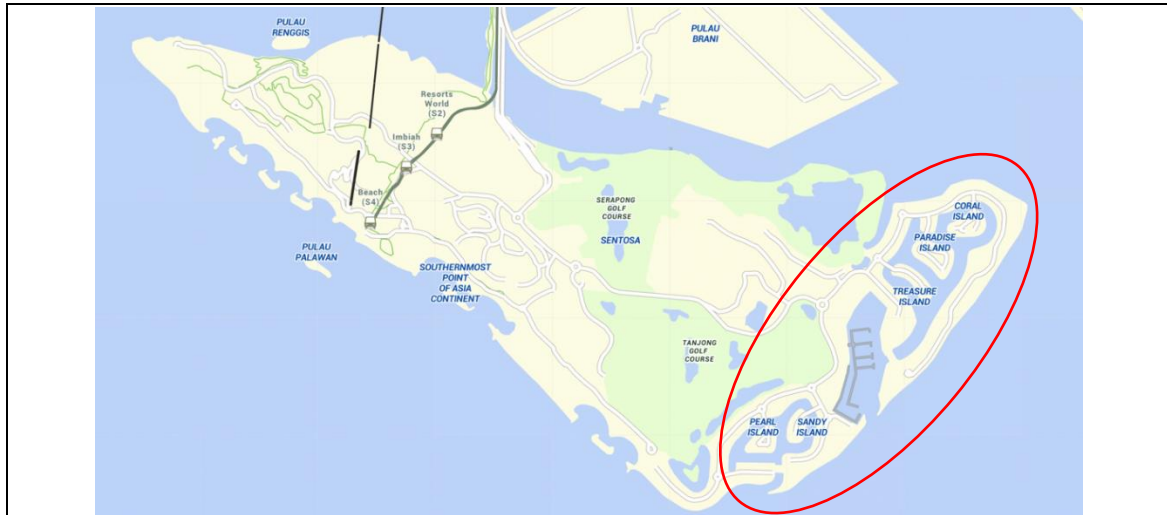


Figure 4. Sentosa's Subsidiary Islands (2021),
Source: OneMap

The connection between the five toponyms is very clear – the toponyms are named thematically, referencing images of a beach and evoking feelings of peace and leisure⁵¹. The thematic naming of these subsidiary man-made islands is definitely not incidental, and the presence of these toponyms further supports the idea that the making and maintenance of place names usually relate to wider extra-linguistic functions – in this case, the novel toponyms build upon the connotations that the term *Sentosa* carries. The processes and motivations behind the making of these new toponyms is similar to the creation of the place name of *Sentosa* itself – as subsidiary islands belonging to the greater *Sentosa* island, the names of these islands directly relate back to ‘mainland *Sentosa*’.

This example, hence, provide an opportunity to analyse the way of building up the symbolic meaning of an area further through a careful name-making process. The toponymic changes here may not immediately connect with colonial placenames, as extensions of the making of the name *Sentosa* (both as an offshore island and as a toponym), and all the related place names show a stark contrast to how colonial place names came to be.

4.5 ERASED PLACE NAMES

Going against the grain of a relatively stable toponymic landscape since British colonial rule is the mass erasure of toponyms of an area along the colonial *Selat Sembilan*, or the *Sembilan Straits*. Beginning in 1999, 10 islands were amalgamated to form the

⁵¹ Corals, pearls, and sand are what one would imagine a beach to have, and “treasure” and “paradise” promote the notion of *Sentosa* as a place of relaxation.

larger *Jurong Island* through land reclamation works⁵². In the process of amalgamation, the toponyms of these 10 islands became obsolete. In one of the last maps produced by the British before the decolonisation of Singapore, *Malaya – Singapore and Johore Bahru (1945)*, the toponyms of these multiple islands can be seen. For ease of visualization, the area has been marked out with a red circle.

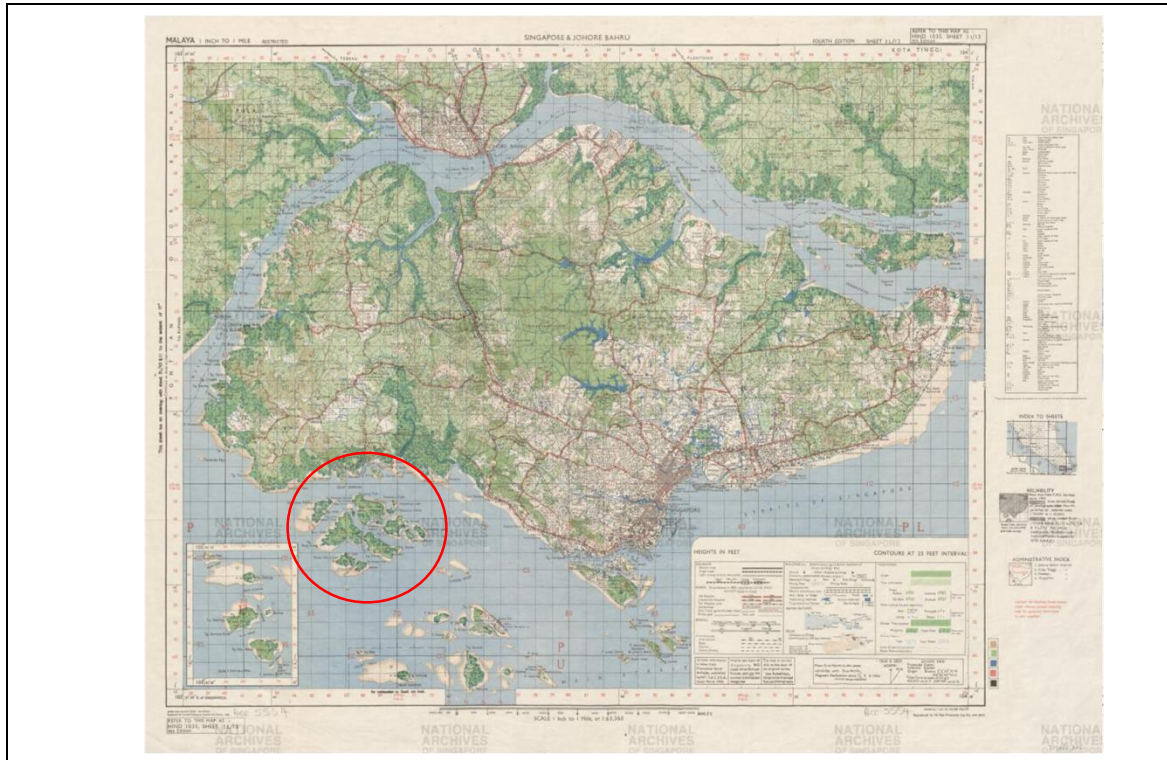


Figure 5. Malaya – Singapore and Johore Bahru (1945),
Source: Survey Department, Singapore (Retrieved from NAS)

⁵² Cf. Savage, V.R. and Yeoh, B.S.A., (2013), cit., p. 398.

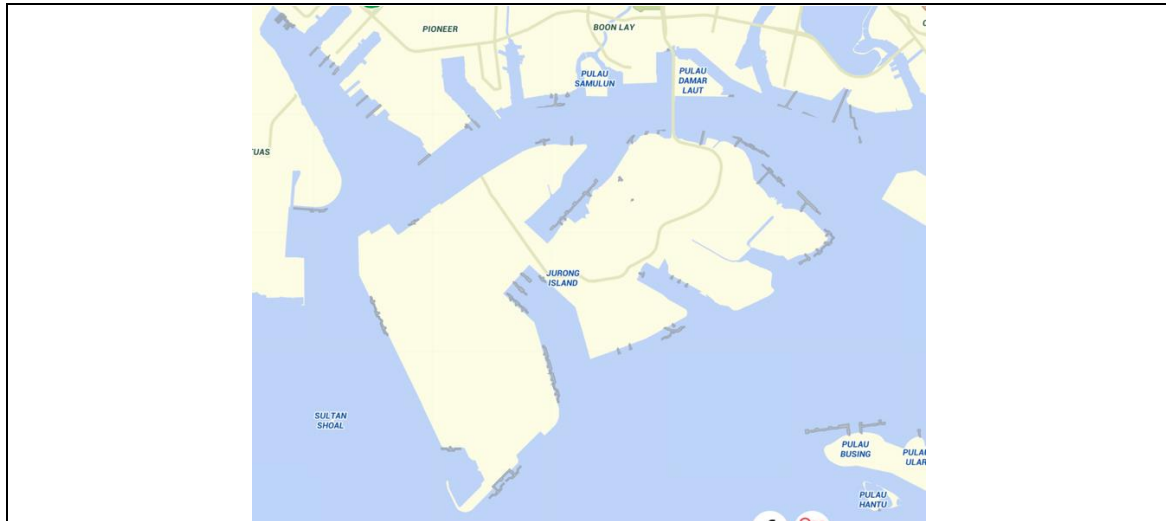


Figure 6. Jurong Island (2021),
Source: OneMap

Through land reclamation works, the same area is now one large offshore island (*Jurong Island*), as depicted in Map 5. In contrast to the case of *Sentosa*, where land reclamation works led to the creation of multiple subsidiary islands, the land reclamation process here combined the various small islands into one entity. While the physical land area in *Jurong Island* increased, the toponymic landscape went through an opposite reductive process, in that the names of all the smaller islands, as given in Table 4, have ceased to be recognised as official toponyms.

Table 4 Diachronic Development of Jurong Island’s Toponyms

1819 - 1999	1999 - present
<i>Pulau Pesek</i>	<i>Jurong Island</i>
<i>Pulau Pesek Kechil</i>	
<i>Pulau Ayer Chawan</i>	
<i>Pulau Sakra</i>	
<i>Pulau Ayer Merbau</i>	
<i>Pulau Meskol</i>	
<i>Pulau Merliman</i>	
<i>Pulau Seraya</i>	
<i>Pulau Mesemut Laut</i>	
<i>Pulau Mesemut Darat</i>	

Notably, the toponyms of Malay origin, which have been discussed as a symbolic representation of the ethnic Malays being the original inhabitants of Singapore, have been replaced by an English-style place name (*Jurong* is a Malay-sounding denomination, possibly deriving from the name of the river *Sungei Jurong*), particularly one that is devoid of any form of deeper meaning. The new toponym *Jurong Island* is relatively sterile and plain, and the naming process itself is also straightforward and free of imbuing any deeper meaning and symbolism - *Jurong Island* is a derivational place name, coming from the neighbouring area called *Jurong* on the mainland (the South-westernmost point of the West Region of Singapore).

Contrasting with the creation of this toponym and the creation of the subsidiary islands of *Sentosa*, it becomes apparent that the function of an area is intricately tied to the attention paid to the related naming process. In the *Urban Redevelopment Authority's Master Plan*, a statutory land-use plan that marks future development in Singapore, *Jurong Island* is labelled as an area for business, while most of *Sentosa* is marked as a location for sports and recreation. The difference in the intended functions of both areas is very clear. Based on the intended purpose of the offshore island, it appeared unnecessary to 'invent' a place name that evokes any meaning or positive connotation.

Given the nature of *Jurong Island*, it was perhaps also not necessary to associate the area back with the ideology of presenting "Malayness" on the geographical landscape, since the island is merely used for industrial purposes that are peripheral to most nation-making plans. The neutrality of the name given to *Jurong Island* expresses the minute significance of the geographical space in relation to the making of political and cultural space in the eyes of the Singapore government.

4.7 POTENTIAL TOPONYMIC DEVELOPMENT

Having contended with the historical development of the toponyms of islands of Singapore, the trajectory of how these toponyms may continue to develop could be explored. Findings from this study has thus far shown that the islands of Singapore have relatively stable toponyms, despite the major changes in the political context. Against the backdrop of colourful micro-toponymic changes in the streetscape of Singapore, toponyms of these islands have generally retained their indigenous Malay language names throughout the course of time.

Exception to the stable toponymic landscape are the place names of new territorial developments as result of land reclamation projects. As evidenced by the case of *Sentosa* and *Jurong Island*, land changes in contemporary times often evoke a change in place names. In this case, place-making directly affects name-making. When the intended purpose of a space and place changes, name changes may occur to introduce the change in intended function. As such, land reclamation works thus become more than an architectural endeavour, but one that connects political meaning making with the purpose of the space.

The two contrasting examples discussed earlier in the paper highlight the differences in the making of place-names as a result of the intended purpose of an area – with *Sentosa*, an area marked for tourism and leisure, toponyms generally encode more symbolic meanings that reinforce the constructed meaning of the space.

Projecting further into this line of thought, there is reason to consider the potential commodification of these toponyms, particularly if the area is to be developed for tourism and leisure, like *Sentosa*. Recent scholarly studies have indicated a rise in the

commodification of place names as a “form of economic capital”⁵³, wherein place names are commodities that can be bought. In view of the inherently economical nature of a endeavours like the development of an island for leisure and recreation, a case can be made for the possible commodification of toponyms for areas demarcated for such purposes⁵⁴. Such has been the case for many toponyms of various public spaces, from street names to names of metro stations⁵⁵ and even for names of football clubs⁵⁶, and this phenomenon could potentially be extended to overt commercial (and thus economically incentivised) uses of the toponyms of the islands of Singapore.

Presently, the authority and power of creating and maintaining place names in Singapore still lie in the hands of the State, and the islands identified in this paper, as mentioned, are generally unused land. However, future developments could very well lead to toponyms becoming commodities that can be bought, which has been argued to be one of the most significant changes to the contemporary toponymic landscape⁵⁷.

Given the past trends on the overtly top-down approach of naming and maintaining the toponymic landscape in Singapore, both of street names and larger toponyms like that of islands, the commodification process of toponyms, if any were to occur, would likely be led by the State itself as well.

5. FUTURE RESEARCH

A fundamental assumption of this study has been that the making and maintenance of toponyms and the collective toponymic landscape are the creation of figures of authority, or generally other top-down forces. Although *Sentosa* was mentioned as a case where bottom-up forces were the primary creators of the place name, it is but one instance. Another assumption of this study is that the toponyms ‘re-invented’ by local authorities are what is regularly recognised and used by the masses. In the case of Singapore’s offshore islands, this statement appears to be mostly true. However, it would be a good addition to consider areas that have conflicting toponyms – one from the masses that is used popularly, and another from the authorities that is formally recognized, but not used⁵⁸. By looking into this possible area of contestation, differing motivations and forces behind how individuals seek to use toponyms could be elicited, and a comparison can be drawn across the different agendas that underlie the making of the different toponyms.

Another possible area to develop beyond this study could involve the combination of both intensive and extensive toponymic approaches in the research. Currently, this paper adopts a more extensive approach in looking at the toponymic changes of offshore islands across time, contrasting the colonial period to the contemporary. The addition of an intensive approach, which includes looking into the etymological origins and reconstructions of toponyms, will no doubt expand the breadth of this area of study.

⁵³ Cf. Rose-Redwood et al., (2019), cit., p. 847

⁵⁴ Cf. Light, D., (2014), cit., *passim*.

⁵⁵ Cf. Rose-Redwood et al., (2019), cit., *passim*.

⁵⁶ Cf. Crețan, R., (2019), cit., *passim*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Rose-Redwood, R. and Alderman, D., (2011), cit. p. 3

⁵⁸ Cf. Rose-Redwood et al., (2017), cit., p. 16.

6. CONCLUSION

The present article attempted to provide the readers with a more holistic understanding of the toponyms of Singapore's offshore islands through a critical toponomastics framework, which considers toponyms as dependent variables that are subject to wider social, political, and economic forces. Considering the complexities in the making of Singapore as it is known today, the colonial period was chosen to represent a substantial point where political ideologies greatly differed from modern-day Singapore.

Justifying cartographic documents as a material and tangible representation of what is recognised in the landscape, maps from the colonial period between 1819 and the 1950s and a copy of the contemporary general map of the Lion City were collected. With regard to the colonial maps, attention was paid to elicit the naming patterns that were present across the entire time period. This internal categorisation of colonial toponyms allowed for a better comparison with contemporary place names.

Through the diachronic analysis of the naming processes and related changes of the offshore islands in Singapore, the toponymic landscape appears to have remained relatively stable across the two distinct time periods. Unlike many other post-colonial nations, the toponyms of Singapore's landscape, including those of the offshore islands, have remained in use and are still recognised, despite some salient colonial ties.

The study posits several reasons of why the nature of the toponymic landscape in the Lion City is as such. Although the two time periods chosen as the *foci* of this discussion are extremely distinct, it appears that the fundamental motivations behind the making and maintenance of place names are universal – the toponymic landscape is more often than not shaped and constructed to represent the intended preferences of the local authorities.

Encroaching the discussion of the toponyms of Singapore's offshore islands with the wider socio-political context appears to have illuminated how the toponyms themselves are inherently already a product of these external forces. Clearly, it is hard to draw a divide between the toponymic landscape and the socio-political forces of a society. Toponymic landscapes are fluid and ever-changing with the myriad of external forces, and it is perhaps not important to see these two entities as discrete units, questioning what comes before what. Rather, putting the two together in one discussion is what makes the research endeavour the most productive.

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APPENDIX

The following table compiles all historical maps retrieved from the National Archives of Singapore (NAS) that have been analysed for the purposes of the study. Maps are listed in chronological order, and each map is labelled by its name and accession number (for further access through NAS). Toponyms identified from each map are arranged alphabetically, transcribed in the exact orthographic form as represented on the maps. All information supplied in this table is courtesy of the National Archives of Singapore.

	Title	Covering Date	Accession number
1.	<i>Plan Of The Island Of Singapore Including The New British Settlement And Adjacent Islands [1/4]</i>	c. 1800	SP006445
	<i>Po. Ayer Branni; Po. Bookum; Po. Boosing; Po. Joong; Po. Katam; Po. Oolor; Po. Panjang; Po. Sabaro or Middle Island; Po. Sijonkan; Po. Suba Po. Tambakool or Goa Island; Po. Uknow; St John Island or Po. Sijong</i>		
2.	<i>Plan Of The Island Of Singapore Including The New British Settlement And Adjacent Islands [2/4]</i>	c. 1800	SP006446
	<i>Mackenzie Island; Marambon Island; Po. Anoo; Po. Bernardoo; Po. Bootun; Po. Damar; Po. Jurong; Po. Masamat; Po. Pasee; Po. Seeborus; Po. Sikrar; Po. Sinbolun</i>		
3.	<i>Plan Of The Island Of Singapore Including The New British Settlement And Adjacent Islands [3/4]</i>	c. 1800	SP006447
	<i>Great Po. Tookong; Little Po. Tookong; Po. Katam; Po. Obin; Po. Poongul; Po. Rangone; Po. Sijonkan</i>		
4.	<i>Plan Of The Island Of Singapore Including The New British Settlement And Adjacent Islands [4/4]</i>	c. 1800	SP006448
	<i>Po. Anoo; Po. Serimbon</i>		

5.	<i>Plan of the Island of Singapore including the new British Settlements and adjacent islands</i>	c. 1820	D2019_000020_TNA
	<i>Alligator Island; Barn Island; Great Pulau Tookoong; Rabbit Cooney; Mackenzie Island; Marambon Island; Pulau Bernardoo; Pulau Bookum; Pulau Boosing; Pulau Bootun; Pulau Darmar; Pulau Joong; Pulau Jurong; Pulau Katam; Pulau Macalister; Pulau Masamat; Pulau Obin; Pulau Oolor; Pulau Paniabon; Pulau Panjang; Pulau Pasee; Pulau Poongul; Pulau Rangone; Pulau Sabaro/Middle Island; Pulau Saboe; Pulau Seeborus; Pulau Sijonkan; Pulau Sikrar; Pulau Sinbolun; Pulau Suba; Pulau Tambalook (Goa Island); Pulau Uknow; St. John's Island/Pulau Sijong</i>		
6.	<i>Plan Of Singapore Harbour By Captain D. Ross (Rofs)</i>	01/01/1820	HC000306
	<i>St John's Island</i>		
7.	<i>Part of Singapore Island [1/2]</i>	18/06/1825	SP006449
	<i>Pooloo Ayer Branni or Deep Water Island; Long Island</i>		
8.	<i>Part of Singapore Island [2/2]</i>	18/06/1825	SP006449
	<i>Pooloo Hantoo</i>		
9.	<i>Chart of Singapore Strait the neighbouring Islands and Part of Malay Peninsula</i>	1837	HC000682
	<i>Barn Island; Rabbit Coney; Mackenzie Island; Middle Island; Po. Bakum; Po. Butun; Po. Dammon; Po. Kalam; Po. Kangone; Pulo Obin; Po. Pangal; Po. Panjan; Po Renkam; Po. Sambulun; Po. Sijonkan; Po. Sikra; Po. Tukang</i>		
10.	<i>Straits of Singapore, Durian and Rhio</i>	15/09/1840	HC000479
	<i>Alligator Island; Blakan Mati Island; Great Tookong; Little Tookong; Mangrove Island; Middle Island; Pasee Island; Rabbit Coney; Sijonhat; Sikra Island; Sisters; Ubin Island</i>		
11.	<i>Map Of Singapore Island And Its Dependencies</i>	04/01/1849	SP007229

	<i>Bukum Kichi; Fresh Water Island or P Bukum; Mangrove Island; Middle Island; Peak Island or P Tunbakul; P Chombun; P Hantu; P Jong; P Kitam; P Marumbong; P Siking; P Sikukur; P Sudong; P Sulu; P Ular; P Unum; Pulo Ubin; Sisters or P Subar; St John's Island; Tikong Besar; Tikong Kichi</i>		
12.	<i>Map Of Singapore Island, And Its Dependencies</i>	1852	SP006879
	<i>Ayer Murbaw; Blakan Mati; Bukum Kichi; Fresh Water Island or P Bukum; Mangrove Island or P Simakan; Middle Island or P Sabur; Peak Island or P Timbakul; P Bosing; P Boyali; P Brani; P Hantu; P Hitam; P Jong; P Marunbeng; P Pargam; P Sambulan; P Saryah; P Satu; P Siking; P Sikra; P Sudong; P Surangun; P Syarat; Pulo Ubin; P Ular; Ringat Besar; Ringat Kichi; Siburus Dalam; Siburus Luar; Sisters Or P Subar; St Johns Island; Tikong Besar; Tikong Kichi</i>		
13.	<i>Straits Of Singapore, Durian And Rhio</i>	1860	HC000556
	<i>Blakan Mati; Mangrove Island; Maranbong Island; Middle Island; Oobin Island; Pongol Island; Signal Island; Sikra Island; Sister Island; Soodong; St John; Tookong Island</i>		
14.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies</i>	1868	SP001514
	<i>Blakan Mati; Bukam Kitchil; Middle Island or Pulo Sabaroot; Peak Island or Pulo Tumbakol; P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Limau; Pulo Ayer Mirbow; Pulo Brani; P Biscul; P Bismut; P Bosing; P Boyaj; P Bukum; P Damar; P Hantu; P Jong; Pulo Kittum; P Oolar; P Pece; P Salook; P Sarayah; P Siburus Dalam; P Siburus Luar; P Siking; P Sikra; P Sikukur; P Simakow; Pulo Sirangoon; P Sudong; Pulo Tikong; Pulo Tikong Kitchil; Pulo Ubin; Ringit Besar; Ringit Kitchil; Skijang Bera; Sisters or Soobur; St John Island</i>		
15.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies</i>	1873	SP006819

	<p><i>Alligator Island; Barn Island; Blakan Mati; Bukam Kitchil; Coney; Middle Island or Pulo Sabaroot; Peak Island or Pulo Tumbakol; P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Limau; Pulo Ayer Mirbow; P Bergas; P Biscul; P Bismut; P Bosing; P Boyah; Pulo Brani; P Bukum; P Damar; P Hantu; P Jong; Pulo Kitam; P Marumbong; Pulo Oolar; P Pece; P Salook; P Sambulan; P Sarayah; P Siburus Dalam; P Siburus Luar; P Sijahat; P Siking; P Sikra; P Sikukor; P Simakow; Pulo Sirangoon; P Sudong; Pulo Tikong; Pulo Ubin; Rabbit Island; Ringit Besar; Ringit Kitchil; Sisters or Soobur; St John Island</i></p>		
16.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies</i>	1873	SP006452
	<p><i>Alligator Island; Barn Island; Blakan Mati; Bukam Kitchil; Coney; Middle Island or Pulo Sabaroot; Peak Island or Pulo Tumbakol; P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Limau; Pulo Ayer Mirbow; P Bergas; P Biscul; P Bismut; P Bosing; P Boyah; Pulo Brani; P Bukum; Pulo Chamboon; P Damar; P Hantu; P Jong; P Karang Campong; Pulo Kitam; P Marumbong; Pulo Oolar; Pulo Ooram; P Pece; P Salook; P Sambulan; P Sarayah; P Siburus Dalam; P Siburus Luar; P Sijahat; Pulo Sijonkan; P Siking; P Sikra; P Sikukor; P Simakow; Pulo Sirangoon; P Sudong; Pulo Tikong; P Tikong Kitchil; Pulo Ubin; Rabbit Island; Ringit Besar; Ringit Kitchil; Sisters or Soobur; St John Island</i></p>		
17.	<i>Map Of The Island Of Singapore. Annexure To Report On The Forests Of The Straits Settlements</i>	10/11/1882	TM000020
	<p><i>Alligator Island; Barn Island; Blakan Mati; Bukam Kitchil; Coney; Peak Island or Pulo Tumbakol; Middle Island or Pulo Sabaroot; P Ayer Limau; Pulo Ayer Mirbow; P Bergas; P Biscul; P Bismut; P Bosing; P Boyah; Pulo Brani; P Bukum; P Damar; P Hantu; P Jong; Pulo Kitam; Pulo Oolar; P Pece; P Salook; P Sambulan; P Sarayah; P Siburus Dalam; P Siburus Luar; P Siking; P Sikra; P Sikukor; P Simakow; Pulo Sirangoon; P Sudong; Pulo Tikong; Pulo Tikong Kitchil; Pulo Ubin; Rabbit Island; Ringit Besar; Sisters or Soobur; St John Island</i></p>		
18.	<i>Map Of The Island Of Singapore And Its Dependencies</i>	1885	TM000003

	<p><i>Blakang Mati; Middle Island or Pulau Sebarok; Peak Island or Pulau Tembokol; P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Limau; P Ayer Merbau; P Biskol; P Bismut; P Boaia; P Brani; P Bukum; P Bukum Kitchil; P Busing; P Damar; P Hantu; Pulau Jong; Pulau Ketam; P Pisi; P Propoh; P Samakau; P Seburus Dalam; P Seburus Lua; P Sekra; P Sekukor; P Sembilan; P Seranggong; P Serayah; P Siking; Pulau Tekong; P Tekong Kechil; Pulau Ubin; P Ular; Renget Besar; Renget Kechil; Sisters or Subur; St Johns Island</i></p>		
19.	<i>Territory of Johore</i>	1887	SP006828
	<i>P Murambong; Tekong Busar; P Tekong Kichik; Pulau Ubin</i>		
20.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies</i>	1898	GM000440
	<p><i>Alligator Island; Lazarus or Convalescent Island; P Ayer Limau; P Ayer Merbau; P Bergas; Pulau Blakang Mati; P Brani; P Bukum; P Bukum Kechil; P Busing; Pulau Chombun; P Damar; P Hantu; Pulau Jong; Pulau Ketam; Pulau Laut Sakra or Bakau; Pulau Misermut Darat; Pulau Misemut Laut; Pulau Sabarok or Middle Island; Pulau Sajahat; P Sakijang Bandera; Pulau Sakulang Pelepah or Tembukul or Peak Island; Pulau Sakukong; Pulau Saluk; P Seburus Dalam; P Seburus Luar; P Seking; P Sekra; P Semakau; P Sembilan; P Seranggong; P Seraya; P Sudong; Pulau Suber or The Sisters; Pulau Tekong; P Tekong Kechil; P Tukang; Pulau Ubin; P Ular; Renget Besar/Kechil; St John's or Quarantine Island</i></p>		
21.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies</i>	1898	GM000445
	<p><i>Blakang Mati; Lazarus or Convalescent Island; P Ayer Limau; P Ayer Merbau; Pulau Bergas; P Brani; P Bukum; P Bukum Kechil; P Busing; P Chombun; P Hantu; Pulau Jong; Pulau Ketam; S Khatib Bongsu; Pulau Laut Sakra or Bakau; Pulau Misemut Darat; Pulau Misemut Laut; Pulau Pawai or Alligator Island; Pulau Sabarok or Middle Island; Pulau Sajahat; P Sakijang Bandera; P Sakulang Pelepah or Pulau Tembukul or Peak Island; P Sarimbun; P Seberus Dalam; P Seberus Luar; P Seking; P Semakau; P Senang; P Seranggong; P Suber or the Sisters; Pulau Sudong; P Sunjungkong; Pulau Tekong; P Tekong Kechil; P Tukong; Pulau Ubin; Renget Besar; Renget Kechil; St John's Island or Quarantine Island</i></p>		
22.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies</i>	1905	TM000011

	<p><i>Alligator Island; Barn Island; Blakan Mati; Bukam Kitchil; Coney; Middle Island or Pulo Sabaroot; Peak Island or Pulo Tumbakol; P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Limau; Pulo Ayer Mirbow; P Bergas; P Biscul; P Bisumut; P Bosing; P Boyah; Pulo Brani; P Bukum (*2 islands sharing the same toponym); P Damar; P Hantu; P Jong; Pulo Kittan; Pulo Oolar; P Pece; P Salook; P Sambulan; P Sarayah; P Siborus Dalam; P Siborus Luar; P Sikra; P Sikukor; P Sikung; P Simakow; Pulo Sirangoon; P Sudong; Pulo Tikong Kitchil; Pulo Ubin; Ringit Besar; Rabbit Island; Sisters or Soobur; Skijang Bera; St John Island</i></p>		
23.	<i>Map of the Malay Peninsula</i>	1911	SP001512
	<p><i>Alligator Island; Blakang Mati Island; Coney Island; P Ayer Chawan; P Brani; P Bukum; P Busing; P Chombun; P Damar; P Pisi; P Sekang; P Seking; Pulau Tekong; P Ular; Pulau Ubin; St John Island</i></p>		
24.	<i>Map of the Island of Singapore and its Dependencies 1911</i>	1916	D2016_000121
	<p><i>Coney Island; Lazarus or Convalescent I; Pulau Ayer Limau; Pulau Ayer Merbau; Pulau Bergas; Pulau Blakangmati; Pulau Brani; Pulau Buaya; P Buluh; Pulau Bukum; P Bukum Kechil; Pulau Busing; Pulau Chombun; Pulau Damar; P Hantu; P Jong; Pulau Kitam; Pulau Laut Sakra or Bakau; P Merambong; Pulau Misemut Darat; P Misemut Laut; P Miskol; Pulau Pawai or Alligator I; P Peropok; Pulau Pesek; Pulau Renget Besar; Pulau Renget Kechil; Pulau Sabarok or Middle I; P Sajahat; Pulau Sakijang Bendara or St John's or Quarantine Island; P Sakijang Pelepeh; Pulau Sakra Laut; Pulau Sakuko; Pulau Saluk; Pulau Saranggong; P Sarimbun; P Seburus Dalam; Pulau Seburus Luar; Pulau Seking; Pulau Semakau; Pulau Sembilan; Pulau Senang or Barn I; Pulau Seraya; Pulau Suber or The Sisters; Pulau Sudong; Pulau Sunjungkong; Pulau Tekong; Pulau Tekong Kechil; P Tembaku or Peak I; P Tukung; Pulau Ubin; Pulau Ular; P Unum; Rabbit Island</i></p>		
25.	<i>Singapore: proposed light armaments</i>	1921	D2016_000328
	<p><i>P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Limar; P Ayer Merbau; P Bukum; P Blakangmati; P Ketam; P Merambong; P Pawai or Alligator Island; P Pusek; P Sabarok; P Sakra Laut; P Semakau; P Senang or Barn Island; P Seraya; P Sudong; P Tekong Besar; P Tekong Kechil; P Ubin; St Johns Island</i></p>		
26.	<i>Map Of Singapore Island</i>	1923	SP006353

	<i>P Blakang Mati; P Brani; Pulau Ubin; St John's Island</i>		
27.	<i>Municipal Area, Singapore, 1924 [1/4]</i>	1925	TM000745
	-		
28.	<i>Municipal Area, Singapore, 1924 [2/4]</i>	1925	TM000746
	<i>P Hantu</i>		
29.	<i>Municipal Area, Singapore, 1924 [3/4]</i>	1925	TM000747
	-		
30.	<i>Municipal Area, Singapore, 1924 [4/4]</i>	1925	TM000748
	<i>P Brani; P Senoyong</i>		
31.	<i>Singapore and Johore - Singapore Island and Parts of Johore Bahru, Kota Tinggi and Kukup Districts (Johore)</i>	1932	TM000244
	<i>Pulau Ayer Chawan; Pulau Ayer Merbau; Pulau Bakan; P Blakang Mati; P Brani; P Hantu; P Ketam; Pulau Merlimau; Pulau Pesek; Pulau Sakra; Pulau Seletar; P Serangoon; Pulau Seraya; P Tekong Besar; P Tekong Kechil; Pulau Ubin</i>		
32.	<i>Singapore Police Map, 1938</i>	1938	SP002500
	<i>P Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Merbau; P Blakang Mati; P Brani; P Buloh; P Hantu; P Ketam; P Melimau; P Mesemut Darat; P Mesemut Laut; P Pergam; P Sajahat; P Sajahat Kechil; P Sakijang Bendera; P Sakijang Pelipah; P Sakra; P Sanyongkong; P Sarimbun; P Seletar; P Serangoon; P Seraya; P Seringat or P Renget; P Subar Darat; P Subar Laut; Pulau Tekong; Pulau Tekong Kechil; P Tembakul; P. Tekukor or P Penyabong; Pulau Ubin; St John's</i>		
33.	<i>Malaya - Singapore and Johore Bahru</i>	1945	TM000340

<p><i>Pulau Ayer Chawan; P Ayer Merbau; P Bakau; Pulau Blakang Mati; Pulau Brani; Pulau Bukom; P Bukum Kechil; P Buloh; P Busing; P Damar Laut; P Hantu; P Jong; Pulau Ketam; P Merawang; Pulau Merimau; P Mesemut Darat; P Mesemut Laut; P Meskol; P Pergam; Pulau Pesek; P Sakeng; P Sakijang Bendera (St. John's Island); P Sakijang Pelepah; P Sakra; P Salu; P Samulun; Pulau Saraya; P Sarimbun; P Sebarok; P Seberus Dalam; P Seberus Luar; P Sekudu; P Seletar; P Semakau; P Serangoon; P Seringat or Renget; ; P Subar Darat; P Subar Laut; P Sudong; P Tekukor or Penyabong; P Tembaku; Pulau Ubin; P Ular</i></p>
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