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Toponymic Traces of Colonialism: Analyzing George Town and Binondo's Urban Naming

Patterns Abstract 1 2 Southeast Asia's Toponymy demonstrates profound socio-political changes driven by colonial and postcolonial histories and culture. 3 In this study, GeorgeTown in Penang Malaysia and Binondo in Manila, Philippines has been selected for the assessment of street4 naming patterns, to assess and compare the identity, power, and memory that are embedded in the urban landscape. Through historical 5 maps, archival sources, and on-site observation, this study will trace street names evolution from colonial to present day. A 6 comparative analysis highlighting different strategies in toponymic management for both George Town and Binondo will be discussed 7 in this paper. George Town exhibits an approach that is preservation-oriented that intertwines colonial with multicultural identity 8 while Binondo reflects more on politicized renaming that is tied to the nationalistic sentiment. Exploring the patterns underscore how 9 each places remembers and reframed the past. The study will emphasize street name roles as an instrument of political discourse and 10 cultural narration, and advocating street-naming that engages with layered historical narratives while promoting inclusive urban 11 identities. This will also discuss opinions of the locals in shaping urban identity on the naming and renaming patterns for both George 12 Town and Binondo. Lastly, this will advocate street –naming practices that will acknowledge the historical narrative layers and 13 support inclusive urban identities in postcolonial Southeast Asian cities. In conclusion, this highlights the political discourse, cultural 14 narration, and collective memory in postcolonial Street names in Southeast Asian Cities. This also argues the importance of adopting 15 street-naming practices that acknowledge layered historical narratives while fostering inclusive urban identities. With the 16 incorporation of official policies and community perceptions, this advocates not only for preservation of toponymic heritage but also 17 engages the diverse voices that is currently shaping the contemporary urban

experience. 18 19 Keywords: Toponyms, Binondo, George Town, Street Names
20 21 22 23 24 _____ 25 John Javier S. Danganan is a licensed Architect
and Master Plumber. Holding a BS Architecture degree from National University Manila 26
and a Graduate Diploma in Landscape Studies from UP Diliman, where he is also currently
pursuing a Master in Tropical Landscape 27 Architecture. 28 I. Introduction 29 Street
naming plays an important role in forming social and cultural identities and not only in
shaping physical spaces. 30 Naming and renaming streets serve as a powerful instrument
in national identity reinforcement, ideological politics, and 31 asserting collective memory.
This practice helps preserve its layered cultural identity while reflecting historical and 32
political shifts. They reveal how it contributes to understanding what Jackson (1980)
described as the —Invisible 33 Landscapesll, an intangible layer of history and identity
embedded in place. In Southeast Asia, postcolonial cities 34 toponymy serves as a
palimpsest where its imprints and contemporary period narratives intersect and often
conflict. 35 Regardless of the pattern in street naming, former colonial cities remain under
examined dimension of urban cultural 36 politics. 37 38 Some existing research on
postcolonial contexts about toponymy has primarily focused on national level renaming 39
projects and some have focused on symbolically erased colonial heritage (Azaryahu, 1996;
Yeoh, 1992). However, this 40 leaves a research gap at the district level or neighborhood
especially in Malaysia and the Philippines where multicultural 41 postcolonial societies are
evident. This study addresses the said gap by assessing the street naming patterns of
George 42 Town, Penang and Binondo, Manila – both urban centers shaped by British and
Spanish colonials. George Town’s 43 multilingual toponyms have a reflection of cultural
convergence legacy with visible influence from Chinese, Indian, 44 Malay, and British.
Compared with Binondo – the oldest Chinatown in the world, displays Spanish period to
Post 45

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independence evolution. Both George Town and Binondo illustrates toponyms function as inscribed power relations, 46 historical memory, and identity negotiations into the built environment. 47 48 With guidance of the central research question: How do colonial legacies persist in George Town and Binondo's street 49 naming patterns? Explored through sub-questions: 50 51 1. What are ideological frameworks informed the original naming systems in each city? 52 2. How have street names been preserved, altered or replaced since the end of colonial period? 53 3. What are the revaluation behind evolving toponymic landscape on contemporary national and cultural identity? 54 55 This research also aims to analyze the historical origins and linguistic meanings of George Town and Binondo's street 56 names; trace the retention patterns, alteration, and renaming from the colonial to post-colonial period; and compare 57 toponymic practices of George Town and Binondo to represent identity, heritage, and political history in urban realm. 58 59 II. Scope and Limitations 60 This research focuses on geographical and thematically aspect of two significant historical urban districts in Southeast 61 Asia: George Town and Binondo. These two sites have a fertile ground for toponymic change within colonial and post62 colonial layers in urban context. 63 64 This research will start the discussion from the beginnings of British colonization George Town during the late 18th 65 century and Spanish occupation of Binondo during the late 16th century up to the nationalist struggles and postcolonial 66 transformations on the present urban planning and administration. Such scope provides for a critical analysis of how 67 practice in street naming developed as a function of political, ideological, and cultural developments. The study focuses 68 on continuity and change of toponyms with focus on crucial historical discontinuities such as independence struggles, city 69 modernization schemes, and restoration campaigns (Yeoh, 1992). 70 71 Nonetheless, there are various limitations in the research. To begin with, the research is only interested in the official and 72 lawfully sanctioned toponyms in the administrative limits of George Town and Binondo. Informal or colloquial toponyms 73

like nicknames, local place names, or slang place names are not included because of their variability and the lack of official records. Second, temporal constraints come from the completeness and availability of archive materials. Specifically, for Manila, there are overall gaps in pre-war and war records because of the widespread destruction during World War II (Anderson, 2005) that limit analysis on some toponymic development. Third, this study does not cover other districts or cities with possibly similar or opposite naming patterns but is an intensive study of these two districts as representative model cases of Southeast Asian colonial urban toponymy. Even with these restrictions, the study presents a grounded and comparative analysis of adding substance to the argumentation regarding critical toponymy, urban memory, and postcolonial construction of identity in multicultural cities.

III. Colonial Periods of Georgetown and Binondo

A. George Town, Unesco World Heritage

George Town, the capital city of Penang in Malaysia, was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008 due to its outstanding architectural and cultural townscape, which illustrates the historical coexistence of diverse ethnic and cultural communities in a British colonial urban framework (UNESCO, 2008). Established in 1786 by Captain Francis Light of the British East India Company, George Town became a strategic trading post in the Straits Settlements. Its colonial urban fabric features grid-planned streets, administrative buildings, and a blend of European and Asian architectural styles (Gullick, 2007). Street names from the colonial era such as Light Street, Queen Street, and Farquhar Street highlight the imperial legacy, often commemorating British monarchs, colonial administrators, and imperial ideals. These toponyms serve not only as spatial markers but as enduring signifiers of colonial authority and urban planning ideology (Yeoh, 1992; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu, 2010).

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No. _ Post-independence, George Town's toponymic landscape has been shaped by heritage preservation efforts, including the 98 use of multilingual street signage in Malay, English, Tamil, and Chinese to reflect its pluralistic population (Ramasamy, 99 2017). This strategy reflects the balancing act between maintaining colonial-era names for heritage tourism and asserting a 100 multicultural national identity. 101 102 B. Binondo, World's Oldest Chinatown 103 Binondo, located in the heart of Manila across the Pasig River from Intramuros, is widely recognized as the world's oldest 104 Chinatown. It was founded in 1594 by Spanish Governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas as a settlement for Chinese immigrants 105 who had converted to Christianity, known locally as *sangleys* (Aluit, 1994). The district quickly grew into a vital economic 106 hub, where Chinese merchants became integral to colonial trade networks. As such, Binondo became layered with 107 Spanish, Chinese, and later American influences—both culturally and toponymically. 108 109 Colonial-era Street names in Binondo often carried religious and functional connotations. Streets like San Fernando, San 110 Nicolas, and Nueva reflect the Catholic religious order and Spanish urban taxonomy. Over time, some of these names 111 were replaced or hybridized to reflect nationalist and local identities. For example, Calle Anloague was renamed Juan 112 Luna Street in honor of the Filipino revolutionary painter, and Ongpin Street was renamed in 1915 to commemorate 113 Roman Ongpin, a Chinese-Filipino patriot who supported the Philippine revolution against Spain (Anderson, 2005). 114 115 While some Spanish-derived names persist—such as Escolta, a street synonymous with commerce and cultural prestige— 116 others have been deliberately renamed to assert a postcolonial Filipino identity (Azaryahu, 1996). These evolving 117 toponymic practices reveal how Binondo, like George Town, is a palimpsest of colonial imprints and post-independence 118 efforts to reclaim symbolic space. 119 120 III. Methodology 121 This research adopts a comparative qualitative approach grounded in the interdisciplinary fields of urban studies, 122 historical linguistics, and critical toponymy. The methodology is outlined to reveal the cultural and socio-political layers 123 embedded in George Town, Malaysia and Binondo,

Philippines street names. Integrating spatial analysis, archival research, and field documentation to investigate the historical, ideological, and linguistic dimensions of toponymic practices. A. Data Collection Primary sources in Data Collection were based from the field documentation which involved on-site observations. Secondary Resources were obtained from a range of archival documents, including colonial-era gazetteers, municipal council records, and naming ordinances, provided historical background and administrative rationale for original street naming patterns (Gullick, 2007). Additionally, historical, contemporary maps, and city plans were used to trace spatial and temporal shifts in toponymic designations enabling the identification of renamed streets and their alignment with specific political regimes or cultural policies. Third, field documentation involved the on-site recording of street name signage, commemorative plaques, and bilingual inscriptions. This approach helped verify current naming conventions, assess their physical presence in the urban fabric, and detect changes over time. Lastly, a review of secondary academic sources and linguistic databases enriched the analysis by providing insights into the etymological structure, linguistic hybridization, and cultural relevance of Southeast Asian urban toponyms (Ramasamy, 2017; Yeoh, 1996). As part of Data Collection, Photo documentation during the fieldwork served as a critical qualitative research tool to capture visual evidence of street naming practices in the historical layers on urban districts of George Town and Binondo. As toponyms are materially manifested through signage and spatial inscriptions, photography was used to trace how colonial legacies, nationalist narratives, and multicultural identities are inscribed and contested in the streetscape. The photographic records intent to record visually and interpret the presence, form, and language of street signage as expressions of historical memory and authority. This provides spatial context for how toponyms interact with built heritage, public symbols, and everyday urban life. Additionally, this examines how the visibility and aesthetics of signage contribute to postcolonial identity formation, erasure, or preservation. This approach aligns with critical toponymy's emphasis on

the materiality of naming practices (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, &Azaryahu, 2010) and supports a grounded 148 visual understanding of place-based memory. 149 150

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Selection Criteria 151 Toponyms selected for analysis were filtered using a set of criteria to ensure both historical significance and analytical 152 depth. These included Geographic presence within the historic cores of George Town and Binondo particularly along 153 major commercial corridors and residential blocks; Linguistic diversity with inclusion of names representing different 154 cultural and ethnic traditions (e.g., Malay, Chinese, Tamil, English, Spanish, and Tagalog), and Historical transformation 155 that focused on streets that were renamed after political transitions to investigate how identity and memory are reflected 156 in naming practices (Azaryahu& Golan, 2001). 157 158 C. Analysis Technique 159 There is different analytical methodology that are used for this research such as Etymological and Morphological Analysis 160 to trace the linguistic roots of each toponym including the derivation, structure, and language of origin. This helped 161 determine the extent of colonial retention, or hybridization in naming patterns.Semantic Categorization involved 162 classifying street names according to their meaning and function such as commemorative which are named after historical 163 figures, descriptive referring to topographic or occupational references, and symbolic such as ideological or religious 164 significance.Geospatial Mapping was also conducted to analyze the spatial distribution of toponyms which reveals 165 clusters of thematic zoning within the urban grid. Geographic Information System (GIS) tools were used to visualize how 166 cultural memory is inscribed across space (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, &Azaryahu, 2010).Historical Contextualization was 167 also applied to align toponymic shifts with significant political and cultural milestones such as colonial administration 168 periods,

independence movements, and contemporary heritage. This allows interpretation of names as temporal markers 169 of identity construction and power negotiation. Overall, these methods offer a multi-layered understanding of how street 170 names function as socio-cultural texts, encoding memory, ideology, and identity into the urban landscape.

171 172 173 174 175 IV. Results and Recommendations 176 177 A. Comparative Analysis 178 This comparative analysis underscores how George Town and Binondo while similarly shaped by colonial legacies, 179 manifest distinct strategies in the negotiation of identity, heritage, and memory through street names. George Town's 180 toponymy is largely heritage-accommodative balancing preservation with multicultural representation whereas 181 Binondo's street names are more nationalist approach reflecting a desire to reclaim colonial space in the service of Filipino 182 historical consciousness. 183 184 1. Colonial Origin 185 Street names in both George Town and Binondo were initially designed to serve administrative, symbolic, and ideological 186 functions under colonial regimes. In George Town, the British colonial government employed street names to mark 187 imperial presence and order, naming major arteries after monarchs (e.g., King Street, Queen Street) or colonial officials 188 (e.g., Light Street, named after Francis Light) (Yeoh, 1992; Gullick, 2007). These names often followed a rational grid and 189 were linked to functional zones such as ports, markets, and government buildings. 190 191 Table 1. Comparative Analysis based on determinants of street names example in George Town and Binondo 192 Determinant George Town, Penang Binondo, Manila Toponymic Function Colonial Authority Light Street Dasmaringas Street Asserts colonial power and control through naming. Embeds imperial

Toponymic Traces of Colonialism: Analyzing George Town and Binondo's Urban Naming Pattern MUHON Editorial Staff (Danganan) 5 MUHON: A Journal of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and the Designed Environment University of the Philippines College of Architecture Issue No. _ memory in urban fabric. Religious Influence Church Street San Fernando Street

Reflects missionary activity and religious symbolism in colonial administration.

Ethnic/Community Identity Lebu Armenian Ongpin Street Marks spatial and cultural identity of minority; contributes to ethnic zoning Occupational/ Economic Beach Street Escolta Street Indicates commercial activity or urban function of the area. National Heroes & Patriots Tun Syed Sheh Barakbah Road Juan Luna Street Reinforces national memory and postcolonial identity through symbolic meaning. Topographical Features Jalan Air Itam Estero de Binondo Connects place names to local geography. Colonial Legacy Retention Victoria Street Reina Regente Street Continued use of colonial names reflects either heritage preservation or inertia in renaming. 193 Table 1 outlines the comparison of Toponymic Function between George Town and Binondo. 194 Meanwhile, Spanish colonial administration named streets in Binondo in alignment with religious and cultural authority 195 resulting in names like San Fernando, Plaza Calderón, and Calle Rosario which reflected Catholic influence and honored 196 saints, colonial governors, and religious concepts (Aluit, 1994). Naming was also a method of asserting cultural hegemony 197 over the indigenous and Chinese merchant populations in the district. 198 199 2. Postcolonial Transformation 200 George Town has demonstrated a relatively conservative approach to street name transformation. While many colonial 201 names have been retained, recent policies have introduced multilingual signage in English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese to 202 reflect its multicultural demography and UNESCO heritage designation (UNESCO, 2008). Few names have been formally 203 changed, signaling a preference for heritage accommodation over nationalist revisionism (Ramasamy, 2017). 204 205 In contrast, Binondo underwent significant toponymic restructuring post-independence. Streets like Calle Rosario were 206 renamed to Quintin Paredes Street, honoring Filipino political figures, while others like Calle Jolo became Juan Luna 207

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celebrating revolutionary heroes. This reflects a nationalist redress strategy wherein street names were mobilized to 208 decolonize urban space and assert a Filipino identity

(Azaryahu & Golan, 2001; Anderson, 2005). 2 209 210 211 212 213 214 3. Linguistic

Diversity 215 George Town's street names exhibit high linguistic plurality, with names in

Malay, Tamil, Chinese, and English. This 216 reflects Penang's history as a multicultural

entrepôt and demonstrates a palimpsestic layering where multiple ethnic 217 histories

coexist (Yeoh, 1996). 218 219 Binondo's toponymic landscape, while once monolingually

Hispanic, has transitioned into bilingual and hybrid forms, 220 combining Spanish and

Tagalog orthographies (e.g., —La Ongpinll) with newer Filipino designations. While

linguistic 221 diversity is present, it is less institutionally supported than in George Town

and reflects a more linear shift from colonial 222 to nationalist language regimes. 223 224

4. Symbolic Function 225 Street names in both cities serve as symbolic narratives of power

and identity. In George Town, names such as China 226 Street, Market Street, or Lebu

Armenian act as markers of occupational and ethnic memory, offering a mosaic of plural

227 urban life (Ramasamy, 2017). Their symbolic function is largely descriptive and

commemorative. 228 Conversely, Binondo's street names are more explicitly

memorializing and ideological, used to inscribe heroic nationalist 229 narratives onto

space—e.g., Juan Luna, Padre Burgos, or Jose Abad Santos—reinforcing state-

sanctioned historical 230 memory and identity construction (Azaryahu, 1996; Rose-

Redwood et al., 2010). 231 232 5. Heritage Politics 233 George Town's street-naming

traditions are rooted deeply in heritage politics, especially since its inscription as a World

234 Heritage Site. Colonial-era name preservation is justified on the basis of their role in

cultural tourism, cosmopolitanism, 235 Figure 1. Street signage of Juan Luna Street and

M.D. Industria in Binondo, Manila

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No. _ and historic continuity (UNESCO, 2008). Such a conservationist approach aligns with Malaysia's wider multicultural branding strategy. Binondo's reduplication, however, is a postcolonial politics of disjuncture, intended to overwrite Spanish symbols with Filipino nationalist symbols. But there are some Spanish names that persisted either because of popular usage or embedded memory in history, substantiating state-initiated nationalist projects against vernacular memory (Anderson, 2005). Table 2. Comparative Analysis of Street Names in George Town and Binondo by Analytical Dimension

Analytical Dimension	George Town, Penang	Binondo, Manila
Influence	British derived names: monarchs, officials	Spanish derived names: saints, religious figures
Postcolonial Transformation	Retention of colonial names, Introduction of multilingual signboards	Systematic renaming with nationalist focus
Linguistic Composition	Multilingual: English, Malay, Tamil, Chinese	Bilingual: Spanish and Tagalog
Semantic Themes	Ethnic identity and occupational	Religious and National
Toponymic Function	Tun Syed Sheh Barakbah Road	Juan Luna Street
Heritage and Policy Context	Jalan Air Itam	Estero de Binondo
Spatial Character	Victoria Street	Reina Regente Street
Public Engagement	Community driven initiatives, Heritage Trails and QR code plaques	Dual usage: Official names co-exist with older
Temporal Continuity	Gradual integration of diverse toponyms	Marked by shifts after independence
Urban Identity Narrative	Cosmopolitan and cultural existence	Nationalism resistance and postcolonial assertion

This table outlines comparative framework for examining the dynamics of colonial and postcolonial street naming of George Town and Binondo. 6. Public Engagement and Memory Public interaction with street names is more visible in George Town as heritage trails, multilingual signages, and people-oriented placemaking. The street names are included within a negotiated memory where various ethnic groups impose their narratives without necessarily replacing others (Yeoh, 1996; Ramasamy, 2017). However, political participation in Binondo is implicit and

political. Implication of the new names among the public is also uneven with earlier generations 252 still using Spanish-era names in colloquial usage. There is a doubled system of memory with official renaming existing in 253 parallel with informal use, and historical memory still being contested (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). 2

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258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 27

5 276 277 278 The Figure 2 was a Street Marker taken in George Town explaining the background origins of each individual street 279 names. 280 281 B. Selected Case Studies for George Town and Binondo Colonial Street Names 282 The Selection of the following Colonial Street Names, Light Street in Penang and Dasmariñas Street in Binondo is 283 informed by their prominence as a colonial thoroughfare that embody the spatial imprint of imperial governance and 284 urban planning in Southeast Asia. Both streets are central nodes where colonial influence, trade, and cultural negotiation 285 converged. These case studies offer critical lens into how colonial street-naming functioned as a symbolic instrument of 286 authority while also shaping the socio-economic life and cultural identity of the communities they transversed. Their 287 comparative analysis enables an understanding of their distinct strategies in their prime colonial administration in 288 Southeast Asia, and how such practices continue to inform contemporary debates on heritage, identity, and urban 289 memory. 290 291 1. Light Street, George Town, Penang 292 Light Street, established shortly after the British East India Company claimed Penang in 1786, was named after Captain 293 Francis Light, the island's colonial founder. The street formed the administrative backbone of George Town, hosting 294 institutions such as Fort Cornwallis, the government offices, and legal courts (Gullick, 2007). 295 296 Post-

independence, Light Street retained its colonial name, consistent with George Town's broader strategy of heritage conservation following its inscription as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008. While the colonial legacy is preserved in the street name, local authorities have introduced multilingual signage in English, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil to reflect the city's ethnic diversity and postcolonial sensibilities (Yeoh, 1996; UNESCO, 2008). This naming continuity underscores the city's emphasis on historical pluralism and cultural tourism. Rather than renaming, George Town integrates colonial traces into a layered, multicultural narrative.

2. Dasmariñas Street, Binondo, Manila

Figure 2. Street Marker of Lebu Armenian in George Town, Penang with detailed description on street name history

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No. 1 Dasmariñas Street is named after Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, a Spanish governor-general of the Philippines from 1590 to 1593. The street runs through the heart of Binondo and was established during the Spanish colonial period to facilitate commerce between Chinese merchants and Spanish administrators. 4 As one of the oldest thoroughfares in Manila, it reflects the integration of political and commercial functions under Spanish colonial rule (Aluit, 1994). The name has remained unchanged since the colonial era, suggesting a complex relationship with historical memory. Unlike other streets in Binondo that underwent nationalist renaming (e.g., Juan Luna or Yuchengco), Dasmariñas Street retains its colonial name due to its entrenched commercial significance and administrative continuity. It continues to serve as a financial artery, with banks, trading houses, and corporate offices occupying much of its frontage. This persistence reflects a form of colonial legacy preservation driven by functionality rather than symbolic nationalism. The street's enduring name

illustrates how economic and historical pragmatism can outweigh political pressures for 318 renaming in postcolonial urban settings (Azaryahu, 1996). 319 320 C. Selected Case Studies for George Town and Binondo Street Names Changes in 20th 321 Century 322 Both street names exemplify the broader shift from colonial legacies to postcolonial and nationalist narratives. These are 323 selected street names that has changed in the 20th century which are renamed after prominent national figures. Their 324 location reinforces their underscore relevance which occupies historically layered districts where commerce and 325 community life intersect. Additionally, these renaming also signal a transition from colonial legacies toward post-colonial 326 or nationalist narratives 327 328 1. 3 Jalan Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, George Town, Penang 329 Former Name: Pitt Street 330 Current Name: Jalan Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi 331 Renaming Period: April 2025 332 333 Pitt Street, named after British Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger, was one of George Town's earliest colonial roads, 334 established shortly after the founding of the British settlement in 1786. The street was central to British administrative and 335 civic planning (Gullick, 2007). 336 337 In the post-independence period, the street was renamed 3 Jalan Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi in honor of Malaysia's fifth 338 Prime Minister. The renaming was part of a broader state effort to replace colonial references with nationally significant 339 Malay figures, in alignment with nation-building policies after 1957 (Ramasamy, 2017). 340 341 This renaming has sparked mixed responses. Some local heritage groups argue that the original name carried significant 342 historical value and represented George Town's colonial narrative, now recognized 1 as part of its UNESCO World 343 Heritage status. Others, especially within the Malay community, supported the change as an affirmation of postcolonial 344 identity and recognition of national leadership (Yeoh, 1996). 345 346 2. E.T. Yuchengco Street, Binondo, Manila 347 Former Name: Section of Calle Rosario 348 Current Name: E.T. Yuchengco Street 349 Renaming Period: July 2005 350 351 E.T. Yuchengco Street is named after Enrique T. Yuchengco, a key Chinese-Filipino industrialist and diplomat. The street 352 was formerly part of Calle Rosario, which held significance as a Spanish-era commercial artery in

Binondo. The renaming 353 recognizes Yuchengco's influence in finance, education, and Philippine-China diplomatic relations (Torres, 2017). 354 355

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renaming exemplifies a shift in Filipino toponymy from Spanish imperial references toward honoring influential 356 Filipino-Chinese citizens. The business community welcomed the name change, citing Yuchengco's legacy in shaping the 357 modern economic landscape. However, there is limited critique on how such naming displaces older, more locally 358 resonant Spanish-era toponyms that long defined the character of Binondo (Anderson, 2005). 359 360 D. Insight and Policy Implication 361 George Town displays a heritage conservation model, colonial names remain in place to contribute to its UNESCO World 362 Heritage designation, and multilingual signs establish inclusive cultural visibility (Yeoh, 1996; Ramasamy, 2017). Binondo, 363 4 on the other hand is a nationalist-reformist model and post-colonial Spanish names have been deleted and substituted 364 with Filipino nationalist and Chinese-Filipino leaders as negotiation of local identity and historical justice continues 365 (Anderson, 2005; Azaryahu, 1996). Both towns have palimpsestic toponymy where superimposed names cope with 366 colonial pasts, postcolonial modernity, and multicultural urban memory (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). 367 368 Table 3. Number of Renamed Streets for George Town and Binondo After Independence 369 Category Total Number of Street Names Renamed and New Street Names after Independence Percentage of Street Name Changes after Independence George Town, Penang 155 11 7.10% Binondo, Manila 66 34 51.52% 370 This table explains that there are 11 out of 155 or 7.10% street names in George Town has been changed and 34 out of 66 or 371 51.52% for Binondo. 372 373

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No. _ 374 375 376 Figure 3 shows existing Street Signage Post located in the corner of LebuH China Street in Penang. 377 378 ² 379 380 381 382 Figure 4 outlines the

dense urban planning of Old George Town during the British colonial period. This also shows the 383 grid-based planning and strategic arrangement of streets that reflect British colonial urban principles. 384 385 Figure 3. Street signage of LebuH China in George Town Figure 4. OldGeorge Town Street

Map Source:<https://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/georgetownpenangprintersltd-1> 933

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_ 386 387 388 389 Figure 5 shows the dense urban fabric of Old Binondo during the Spanish colonial period. This provides critical spatial 390 context for understanding how colonial street-naming practices intersected with urban development, cultural identity, 391 and economic activity in one of the most historic districts in Manila. 392 VI. Conclusion 393 George Town and Binondo both provide valuable insights into how urban toponyms reflect different colonial history 394 responses. Binondo showcases more on the nationalistic redress through renaming while Georgetown showcases heritage 395 accommodation. These 2 cities, however demonstrates street names encode identity, power, and memory into daily 396 spaces. Future research could expand to other hybrid urban city such Malacca, Malaysia and Cebu, Philippines, and 397 explore the role of digital mapping platforms and informal names in shaping modern toponymic landscapes. Some locals 398

of both George Town and Binondo agrees that colonial street names must be changed to reclaim the nation's integrity, 399 however, some will not agree as these street names are already entailed in the history of both districts. Toponyms are 400 powerful cultural texts rather than being geographical markers. They tell stories on how urban spaces are remembered, 401 interpreted, and inhabited. George Town and Binondo exhibits street names ongoing negotiations of heritage, identity, 402 and historical belonging in the postcolonial urban imagination. 403 404 References 405 Aluit, A. (1994). By sword and fire: The destruction of Manila 4 in World War II, 3 February–3 March 1945. National 406 Commission for Culture and the Arts. 407 Anderson, B. (2005). Under three flags: Anarchism and the anti-colonial imagination. Verso. 408 Azaryahu, M. (1996). The power of commemorative street names. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14(3), 409 311–330. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d140311> 410 Azaryahu, M., & Golan, A. (2001). (Re)naming the landscape: The formation of the Hebrew map of Israel 1949–1960. 411 *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27(2), 178–195. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jhge.2000.022> 412 Gullick, J. M. (2007). A history of Kuala Lumpur: 1856–1939. Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 413 Gullick, J. M. (2007). A short history of Kuala Lumpur. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. 414 Jackson, J. B. (1980). The necessity for ruins, and other topics. University of Massachusetts Press. 415 Kadmon, N. (2004). Toponymy and geopolitics: The political use—and misuse—of geographical names. *The Cartographic 416 Journal*, 41(2), 85–87. <https://doi.org/10.1179/000870404X1289> 417 Ramasamy, P. (2017). Postcolonial place-naming in Penang: Between state ideology and vernacular memory. *Southeast 418 Asian Studies*, 6(1), 115–132. 419 Figure 5. OldBinondo Street Map Source:<https://binondopilipinas.blogspot.com/2015/08/introduction.html>

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