

'Names and Their Environment' Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences Glasgow, 25-29 <u>August 2014</u>

VOLUME 4: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY. SOCIO-ONOMASTICS.

Edited by Carole Hough Daria Izdebska



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> Volume 4 Theory and Methodology Socio-onomastics

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Table of Contents (Volume 4)

Theory and Methodology1
Bloothooft, Gerrit <i>et al.</i> (The Netherlands and other countries) European Surname Typology Project (abstract)
Brendler, Silvio (Germany) Names in the Eye of the Beholder, or Advanced Metalanguage for Discussing Names (abstract)
Bušs, Ojārs (Latvia) Some Theoretical Aspects of the Translation of Proper Names
Edwards, Tara (United States of America) Planning a Reverse Thematic Dictionary11
Felecan, Daiana and Alina Bugheșiu (Romania) Anthroponyms in Taboo Discourse: The Case of Romanian Swear Phrases
Hamilton, Rachael, Ellen Bramwell and Carole Hough (United Kingdom) Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus: A New Resource for Investigating Metaphor in Names
Havlík, Martin (The Czech Republic) Can Czechs Read Polish Names? Problems with the Adaptation of Foreign Anthroponyms and Toponyms
Helleland, Botolv (Norway) The Great Onomastic Divide in Norway: The Standardizing Problem of Settlement (Farm) Names after 400 Years of Danish Influence
Jílková, Lucie (The Czech Republic) Pronunciation of Hungarian Proper Names in Czech
Karpenko, Olena (Ukraine) Cognitive Onomastics
Leino, Antti (Finland) Heraldry as a Name System
Luneschi, Francescu Maria (France) La dénomination des chèvres en corse : du nom commun au nom propre
Majewska, Ewa (Polen) Eponyme in der deutschsprachigen medizinischen Fachpresse

Nanetti, Andrea, Francesco Perono Cacciafoco and Mario Giberti (Singapore / Italy) Mapping and Visualizing Linguistic and Territorial Convergent Data: Imola and Its Environment as a Case Study
Nilsson, Leif (Sweden) Place Names, Addresses and Standardization. A Summing-up of a Swedish Project (abstract)
Rangel Vicente, Montserrat (Espagne / France) Pour une structuration prototypique de la catégorie nom propre en français 119
Rapa, Sanda (Latvia) Some Semantic Universals in Latvian Toponymy
Robinson, David (United Kingdom) Onomastics vs Etymology (abstract)
Rodríguez, Gabriele and Aliye Mehrebani-Yasyba (Germany) A Dictionary of Turkic Names in Germany and Austria: A Book Project
Rsaliyeva, Nursaule and Kyzdarkhan Rysbergen (Kazakhstan) Onomastic Space of Kazakhstan: Current Condition and Problems
Rus, Georgeta (Roumanie) Perspective Traductive et Statistique de la Traduction du Nom Propre. Le Cas de l'Anthroponyme (abstract)
Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska, Małgorzata (Poland) Semantics of Proper Names. The Structure of the Mental Lexicon of Proper Names . 167
Štěpánová, Veronika (The Czech Republic) How Should These Names Be Pronounced? Specific Phonetic Features of Proper Names in Czech
Todman, Amy and Leonie M. Dunlop (United Kingdom) Contemporary and Antiquarian Views as Evidence for Toponymic Research: A Comparative Study of the Bass Rock and Greendykes Bing
Torensjö, Annette (Sweden) Geographical Names Network in Sweden Has an Eye on Names! (abstract) 194
Socio-onomastics
Aleksiejuk, Katarzyna (United Kingdom) Usernames and Identity Construction on RuNet as Seen in the Example of the Posidelki ('Gatherings') Forum

Bramwell, Ellen (United Kingdom) Personal Naming in Scottish Communities (abstract)
Carsenat, Elian and Evgeny Shokhenmayer (France / Germany) Onomastics to Measure Cultural Bias in Medical Research
Crook, Alice (United Kingdom) An Overview of Personal Naming Practices in Scotland, 1680-1840 221
Embleton, Sheila (Canada) The Diverse Naming Patterns of Contemporary India (abstract)
Frändén, Märit (Sweden) Surnames in the Melting Pot: Presentation of a Project on Surnames and Immigration
Hämäläinen, Lasse (Finland) User Names in Finnish Online Communities (abstract)
Koopman, Adrian (South Africa) Naming 'the Other': Derogatory Ethnonyms in the Nguni Kingdom in the Early 1800s (abstract)
Léonard, Carol (Canada) Toponymy and Vivification of Identity Among School-Age Children (abstract) 240
Mori, Olga (Germany) For or Against Renaming <i>Hindenburgplatz</i> in Münster, Germany
Nair, Gwyneth and Jennifer Scherr (United Kingdom) What Were Women Really Called? Pet Forms of Female Names in English Parish Registers, 1540-1800
Nakari, Minna (Finland) Variation in Women's Name Phrases in Official Documents in Helsinki 1780-1930
Radding, Lisa (United States of America) Marketing Software: Environmental Complications to Predicting Ethnicity with Onomastics (abstract)
Rajasuu, Riitta (Finnland) Die Verbreitung der Mehrnamigkeit in Finnland in den Jahren 1725-1744 und 1825-1844
Særheim, Inge (Norway) Place Names in Oral Tradition: Sources of Local Language and Cultural History 285

Schraagen, Marijn and Gerrit Bloothooft (The Netherlands)	
Large Scale Harvesting of Variants of Proper Names (abstract)	293
Sjöblom, Paula, Ulla Hakala and Satu-Päivi Kantola (Finland)	
Municipality Names in Consolidations: What Happens to Place Branding?	294
Sofinska, Iryna (Ukraine)	
Application of Names in Ukraine: A Modern Discourse Towards European	
Integration	302
Tort-Donada, Joan (Spain)	
Toponyms as Memory Marks (abstract)	312
Walkowiak, Justyna B. (Poland)	
Lithuanisation of Personal Names of the Polish Minority in Lithuania	313

Theory and Methodology

European Surname Typology Project

Gerrit Bloothooft, Leendert Brower, Enzo Caffarelli, Pascal Chareille, Pierre Darlu, Kathrin Draeger, Jean Germain, Antonella Lisa, Claire Muller and Roberto Rodriguez *The Netherlands and other countries*

Abstract

A European project on the typology of surnames has been launched recently with the aim to describe the geographical distribution of surnames in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg. This distribution has typical patterns both within and between countries. It is assumed that these patterns can be explained by factors acting on the naming system established around the 13th century, among them linguistic diversity, political and religious influences, and social structure. Studying the current geographical distribution of the various categories of surnames at an European scale may help to clarify how surnames and their categories have been introduced in Europe and how they dispersed over time. The 100 most frequent surnames were collected in each administrative area (NUTS3 of the European nomenclature of territorial units for statistics) of the participating countries. Each name was classified into one or more of the following elementary categories: (1) Patronymical, (2) Occupational, Title or Dignity, (3) Nickname or personal quality, (4) Geographical (address) Topological or Ethnic names (origin). Geographical maps of category percentages will be presented and discussed.

Names in the Eye of the Beholder, or Advanced Metalanguage for Discussing Names

Silvio Brendler Germany

Abstract

Onomastics, like most sciences or pursuits of knowledge, has a tendency towards reducing the number of views and opinions about a subject. There is a competition for the most convincing view. The view that gains the widest acceptance is usually taken as the truth. In consequence, variety is (over-)simplified and complexity is out of sight. Out of sight, out of mind... To do justice to the complexity and variety of naming, I suggest to apply multiperspectivising. In this approach names are classified successively according to different criteria. It is a method that simplifies complexity and amplifies variety. Not only does multiperspectivising raise awareness of the richness and diversity of how people see names in various contexts, but it also serves as a tool for onomasticians to explore the immediate environment of names systematically.

Some Theoretical Aspects of the Translation of Proper Names

Ojārs Bušs

Latvia

Abstract

The common view seems to be that proper names do not need to be translated – with the exception when the etymological (motivational) meaning is translated (*Crna Gora* > *Montenegro*, *Wa-Sha-Quon-Asin* > *Grey Owl*). Although it is common to transfer proper names of some specific language to some other language, this transference is mostly called rendering (*New York* > Latv. *Nujorka*) or probably considered to be a linguistic incrustation (Germ. *Einstein* > Engl. *Einstein*). However, it seems appropriate to consider the rendering as a kind of translation.

Translation is the communication of the meaning of a source-language text by means of a target-language text. Thus, the name must have a meaning to be translated. There has been a very long and passionate discussion about the existence of the conceptual meaning of proper names, and we can probably agree names used in a text have a meaning (proper lemmas do not) (a meaning is not identical with the explanation of a meaning!). If some name is included in a text to be translated, this name must be translated, too, and one of the possibilities for the translation is the rendering (and the rendering is sometimes seemingly identical with incrustation).

* * *

The common view seems to be that proper names do not need to be translated – with the exception of relatively few cases when the etymological (motivational) meaning is transferred to some other language as by translating of the country name Montenegrin *Crna Gora* to the Italian *Montenegro*, Lithuanian *Juodkalnija*, Latvian *Melnkalne*, Russian *Vephozopus*, Albanian *Mali i Zi*, Greek *Mavpoβovvio*(*v*), or by translating the lake name *Great Salt Lake* to the German *Großer Salzsee*, Latvian *Lielais Sālsezers*, Catalan *Gran Llac Salat*, Azerbaijani *Böyük Duzlu Göl*, Finnish *Iso Suolajärvi*. As an example for a translation of personal name the cryptonym and pen name of the Canadian writer *Grey Owl* can be mentioned, based on the Ojibwa Indian (simplified) *Wa-Sha-Quon-Asin > wenjiganooshiinh*, meaning 'great horned owl' or 'great grey owl'. Although the First Nation identity of the writer, born as Archibald Belaney in England, was fictitious, however, this circumstance should not form an obstacle for the using of his pen name as an example, and this pen name, which is a translation itself, has been translated, e.g. to Russian as *Cepan Coea*, to Polish as *Szara Sowa*, to Latvian as *Pelēkā Pūce*, to Lithuanian – *Pilkoji Pelėda*, etc. These cases are called *translation of proper names* probably by all onomasticians and non-onomasticians.

Although thousands and thousands of other proper names are transferred from one specific language to some other language, this transference, on the whole, is not usually called *translation*. Sometimes it is still closer to translation in the traditional sense of this term, when the name in the target language has nothing in common in its form with the respective name in the source language, e.g. English *Germany* as the translation of German

Deutschland, or Swedish *Finland* as the translation of Finnish *Suomi*, or Latvian *Igaunija* as the translation of Estonian *Eesti*. Among the examples of this kind of translation of proper names, we have mostly country names.

In the cases when a foreign proper name is transliterated or transcribed to be used as a word in some specific target language (e.g. *New York* to Latvian *Nujorka*, Lithuanian *Niujorkas*, Azerbaijani *Nyu York*, or German *Zwickau* to Latvian *Cvikava*, Lithuanian *Cvikau*, Czech *Cvikov*), the corresponding process is usually called *rendering*.

Sometimes – especially when transferring a proper name from one language using Roman script to another language using Roman script without any changes of the spelling of the transferred proper name (e.g. German personal name *Einstein* > English *Einstein* or the already mentioned German place name *Zwickau* without any changes in French, Spanish, Finnish, Estonian, Polish, etc.) – this transferred name could be probably considered a linguistic incrustation of a word (proper name) of some specific (foreign) language in some other language. However, regarding all other kinds of transfer of proper names from one language to another mentioned previously, we should probably consider the possibility of treating all kinds of this transfer as a translation – just like the transfer of meaning of a common noun from one language to some other language is called translation. Only the linguistic incrustation both of proper names and common nouns and other words does not belong to the category of translated items. That means even the **rendering** of proper names should be, most probably, treated as a process of translation.

Translation – according to the definition – is the communication of the meaning of a source language text by means of a target language text. Thus, to be translated the name should have a **meaning**, and the target language should have its **own means** to express the meaning of the proper name used in the source language. If we have these two preconditions – the **meaning** of a proper name and the **means of the target language** expressing this meaning – we have a **translation**.

As we know, there has been a very long and passionate discussion about the existence of the conceptual meaning of proper names, and the end of this discussion is still far away. Although many onomasticians would probably agree that names used in a text have a meaning (proper lemmas probably do not), as clearly shown, e.g. by Willy van Langendonck (2005), however, regarding the existence of the **conceptual meaning** of proper names a lot of skepticism still prevails among the researchers of this part of lexicon. In the last decades of the last century, only few German onomasticians (such as Gerhard Wotjak (1974), Ernst Michael Christoph (1991)) as well as some other researchers (e.g. Bengt Pamp (1994), Ojārs Bušs (1985)) fully accepted the conceptual meaning of proper names as a reality. Probably the development of cognitive linguistics has been one of the factors stimulating a more positive attitude to recognizing the conceptual meaning of proper names as a reality in the last decade; e.g. Ernst Hansack in his studies of cognitive onomastics argues that there is not a fundamental difference between the meaning of a proper name and the meaning of a common noun; the single difference between proper names and common nouns is the following - proper names are naming objects from classes consisting of only one item, while common nouns are naming objects from open classes (Hansack 2004: 56), and that means from the point of view of semantics - that common nouns have one denotatum and many referents, while the denotatum of the proper name is **identical** to the referent of this name.

Thus, each proper name has only one referent, each proper name names only one item, and that is why the meanings of most proper names, especially the meanings of the majority of personal names, are not widely known. Apart from the question about very popular people and the names of these people, the meaning of a personal name in use is known mostly only by some dozens of people (here, it should be mentioned that identical names of different persons can be treated as homonyms; this idea was already proposed by Alan Gardiner (1954: 16) and supported by, among others, Charles Hocket (1958: 312), Willy Van Langendonck (1974), Klaas Willems (1996: 244, 249, 252), Silvio Brendler (2005)).

What are the main peculiarities of the conceptual meaning of proper names? There have been attempts to describe this meaning by decomposing them and describing separate semes or semantic elements, e.g. Gerhard Wotjak, forty years ago, explained the meaning of the German place name *Berlin* as consisting of semes 'a capital; the biggest city in Eastern Germany; more than one million inhabitants; metro; by the river Spree' (Wotjak 1974: 34), concluding this enumeration by *etc*. The author of this paper made an attempt to formulate explanations of quite great length describing some most fundamental marks of the denotatum of a proper name, thus, explanations describing the marks forming the notion about the content of the respective proper name, e.g. (Latvian) Amerika 'a continent localized on the opposite (for Latvia) side of the globe and consisting of three relatively independent parts (North America, Central America, South America), inhabited by successors of immigrants speaking mostly English or Spanish, while the native inhabitants are almost exterminated' (Bušs 2002: 120) (it must be underlined that this explanation tends to reflect the meaning of the word Amerika in the Latvian language, it does not pretend to describe the exact scientific knowledge about the denotatum of this word). Such an explanation consisting of 42 words (or 33 in Latvian) is, of course, not easy to grasp and to use. Later a second attempt was made to give a more plain structure to the explanation, dividing it into the explanation of the basic meaning ('a continent situated on Earth opposite of Europe') and three secondary meanings (1. 'a continent, consisting of three subcontinents: North America, Central America, South America'; 2. 'a continent, inhabited by people, speaking mostly English or Spanish'; 3. 'a continent, where most of the aboriginal people have been exterminated') (Bušs 2008: 479-480). Especially the second, as well as the third, secondary meaning shows clearly the difference between encyclopaedic and linguistic meaning of a proper name: the encyclopaedic meaning of the notion America would include at least the information about speakers of French, Portuguese, and native aboriginal languages, as well as the knowledge about the existence of many millions of aboriginal people in Latin America, while the linguistic meaning reflects a mental picture, which is not always fully and exactly harmonized with the objective reality. Of course, the above mentioned proposal for the explanation of the conceptual linguistic meaning of the name/word (Latvian) Amerika, is not ideal, too, and an ideal explanation of the meaning of proper name seems not to be possible at all. There are two main reasons why such an ideal explanation seems to be utopian: firstly, in the consciousness of each speaker, the meaning of each proper name tends to have far more individual peculiarities, as it is in the case with the meanings of common nouns, and, secondly, the meanings of proper names usually consist of many semes.

As the second step to the more exact notion of the nature of the meaning of proper names, there should probably be a clear understanding that the **meaning** of any word – should it be a proper name or a common noun – is almost never identical to the **explanation** of the meaning of this word. The meaning of the word, thus, the cognitive notion about the content of the word does not consists of the verbal definition alone, it consists of different images, especially of visual images (visual images as even the main component of the meaning of the word were already analyzed, however, probably with some exaggerations, e.g. by American psychologist Edward Bredford Tichenor more than a hundred years ago (Tichenor 1909, see Aitchison 1990: 43)). Let us look more closely at the Latvian word *Latvija* as an example: the meaning of this word in Latvian consists both of the wording 'a state, the native country of (ethnic) Latvians, localized between Baltic See, Estonia, Russia and Lithuania [a short stretch of the border with Belarus probably does not have an influence on the basic linguistic meaning of the word *Latvija*],' as well as of the visual image of the outline of Latvia on the geographical map and of some typical Latvian landscapes.

The meaning of different proper names in the consciousness of different speakers would be very interesting to analyze more thoroughly, however, from the point of view of the translation of proper names, the most important conclusion is that the meaning of proper names seems to be an absolutely real phenomenon.

Further – about the second precondition for the translation, namely, about the existence of **elements of the target language** we can use to express the meaning of the source language's proper name. It is obvious from the translation of *Crna Gora* to Latvian *Melnkalne* or Italian *Montenegro* that we have used elements of Latvian or Italian (however, English *Montenegro* is a word in English, as we will see next). It is probably not less obvious that the translation of Russian *Poccus* to Latvian *Krievija* or Finnish *Venäjä* has been made using a Latvian or a Finnish word respectively, and just in the same way German *Deutschland* can be translated using the Latvian word $V\bar{a}cija$ or the English word *Germany*, or the Finnish word *Saksa* and so on. However, this kind of translation differs already fundamentally from the previous one, because in order to translate the word we do not use here the onymization of common noun or nouns semantically related to the common noun, or nouns used to create proper name in the source language. Now – by translation of *Poccus* and *Deutchland* – we translate the proper name of the source language immediately to the proper name of the target language – without any associations with some common noun.

The next step to the more peculiar or more onomastic kinds of translation of proper names leads to the cases when the translated name in the target language differs only slightly from the name in the source language, e.g. Latvian *Somija* as translation of Finnish *Suomi*, English *Russia* as translation of Russian *Poccua*, or English *Poland* as translation of Polish *Polska*. Do we still have a translation here? Yes, because the word *Russia* is a word in English, the word *Somija* is a word in Latvian. From the point of view of native English speakers, there should not be **linguistic** differences between the names, namely, elements of the toponymic subsystem of foreign country names in English. This subsystem – subsystem of foreign country names in English. This subsystem – subsystem of foreign country names in English. Such as in Latvian and in many other languages. We are probably sure that such elements of this English subsystem as *Germany*, *Russia*, *Sweden*, *Spain*, *China*, etc. are words in

English (each name is a word, and each word is a word of some specific language, thus, if the above mentioned are not words in English, the question would be: words of which language are they?). Some country names are written in many languages identically to the spelling in the source language, e.g. (English, Latvian, German, etc.) *Moldova, Nauru, Tuvalu*. However, even these names are elements of the subsystem of foreign country names of each respective language, and thus, translations into these language are nothing special, e.g. English *radio* is translated to Latvian as *radio*, many similar examples can be find by translating common nouns from one closely related language to the other, e.g. Latvian *diena* 'day' would be translated to Lithuanian as *diena*, Finnish *kala* 'fish' would be translated to Estonian as *kala*, etc.).

Translation of country names is probably the most obvious example for the translation of proper names. Quite similar to this kind of translation is the translation of the names of capitals (e.g. German [from the point of view of the language] Wien to English Vienna, Azerbaijani Vyana, Croatian Beč) and the translation of the names of other big cities (e.g. France Marseille to Italian Marsiglia, Spanish Marsella, Azerbaijani Marsel or Lithuanian Marselis). It is really true that in many of the Roman script languages only some names of foreign cities are usually translated, as most of the names of foreign cities are used as linguistic incrustations, thus, they are taken from some foreign language just in the form existing in the source language, and treated as words/names of the source language (see e.g. Paikkala 2013: 4). However, linguistic incrustations of foreign proper names (with exception of some ergonyms) are not common at all for at least some of the languages using Roman script, first of all for Latvian (as well as for the Azerbaijani using relatively newly Romanized script), and incrustations of foreign place names are not commonly used in the Lithuanian, too. Thus, in Latvian, Lithuanian and Azerbaijani most foreign place names are rendered according to the pronunciation in source language, the results of the rendering are Latvian, Lithuanian, or Azerbaijani names of foreign geographical objects, these names are elements of Latvian, Lithuanian, or Azerbaijani; the meaning of rendered names reflects, at least to some extent, the meaning of respective names in the source language, and thus, they are translations of foreign place names to Latvian, Lithuanian, or Azerbaijani. We have the same kind of translation of proper names in languages using other (non-Roman) scripts, e.g. the Cyrillic script - Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, etc. For instance, only one example: Italian Napoli is translated to Russian and Ukrainian as Heanonb, to Bulgarian as Heanon, to Serbian as Hanynb, and these translated names are Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian words.

One small specification of the process of the translation of proper names is probably needed. One does not always have existing words in the target language for the translation of some foreign name one has probably never seen before. However, this is not a reason to abandon translating this name, everyone creates a **new** word and name in target language for their needs, just as everyone would create a new common noun to translate some newly created term or designation of some exotic animal that has not been heard or seen before. As an example we can mention the name of our colleague, German onomastician *Christian Zschieschang*; in order to translate, some years ago, this name from German to Latvian we

have used the word/name, which already existed in Latvian, *Kristians*, while the surname $\check{C}\bar{i}\check{s}angs$ as a Latvian word has been created *ad hoc*.

Why is it **important** to treat the rendering of foreign proper names as a kind of translation? First of all, the use of **appropriate** terms helps to understand better the reality, the nature of the onomastic processes connected with the transferring of proper names from one language to the other. The popular and wrong conviction that proper names (especially personal names) are not at all translated should be disproved to prevent quite a lot of conflicts and even legal proceedings; it is true that many proper names are transferred as such, as linguistic incrustations from one language using Roman script to **most** other languages using Roman script, and there we really do not have a translation, however, this kind of transfer of proper names is not universal, e.g. it is used only partly in Lithuanian and **is not used at all** in Latvian and probably in Azerbaijani, as well as in many (probably most) of the languages using non-Roman scripts.

And last, but not least, in connection with standardizing of names of foreign geographical objects the interpretation and definitions of exonyms and endonyms should be harmonized with the existence of languages in which **all** foreign place names tend to be translated.

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Planning a Reverse Thematic Dictionary

Tara Edwards United States of America

Abstract

In this paper I propose a plan on how to write an application that generates proper names from digital corpora. The application uses constructed rules and keywords lists describing Julian months. The corpus is stored on the web and in electronic text, with physical books used as proofreading references. The constructed naming convention keeps name themes by these rules: to have as many names I output as possible, to be drawn from specific languages, and to rank output to display. The application is an electronic dictionary with a relational database acting as a map. The database would map one keyword to a set of co-occurring terms. Terms used would be words classified by WordNet as physical or abstract entities. Each of the terms would map to a list of names, filtered by gender. Output would be ranked by collocation distance from keyword appearing in shared text spaces. The first method is searching for a set of keywords in documents. Searching the corpora for entries, the reader would expect collocations with the chosen keyword with additional sets of keywords. To test this idea, I filtered common English words and sets of keywords from corpora containing keywords. The output generated new possible terms to be mapped to names.

* * *

Inspiration

The application is conceived as part of the planning for a franchise that includes a serial fiction story, a roleplaying game, and an audio drama. I am planning the application and the franchise. I knew before starting that I ran the risk of not finishing both projects. Either project would require time, funding, and other people. At least, I can document planning the application.

I am grateful to ICOS and editor Ruth Feiertag for encouraging me to document the project. I hope this report interests other writers, parents, onomasticians, and computational linguists. I hope they put it to good use. Maybe someone will finish what I have started.

The serial would range from the 16th century to 21st century, and would take place in many countries and use a variety of languages. The family at the center of the stories runs an inner cult influenced by cross-cultural beliefs about the supernatural. During this time spread, the story's family develop a complex family naming convention. Unknown to outsiders, these names describe rank and duties in their family cult. In the story, the main characters give offspring names related to calendar months. The meanings of the names are not just months. The meanings are also related to birthstones, holidays and other monthly events, the origin of month names, and translations in other languages. Thus, the abstract entity of time is connected to physical entities, to put it in WordNet categories. These names will be used in the stories, and stored in the application database to be chosen by their meanings.

Our program will give me and other people interested in these stories the resources to locate or create names that conform to their characters' complex naming rituals. Also, the names can be expanded by searching for names with those meanings.

The origins of the names can be from any language. The application, however, places bounds on selecting names. One constraint the application imposes is that certain language origins are given priority over all other languages. These languages are: Arabic, Aramaic, Cornish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Irish, Hindi, Italian, Latin, Manx, Portuguese, Sanskrit, Scottish, Spanish, and Welsh. If needed, the application can expand to Danish, Russian, Turkish, Chinese, Japanese, Armenian, Dutch, and Maori. Definitions of names are in English.

At least one list of month names can be found on the web, from 20000-names.com. Each month has at least one name. However, the list of 12 to 24 names is not enough for an old family.

Writers give names based on a theme. They do it to create a sense of unity and cohesion within their work ('Theme Naming', TV Tropes). The writer determines how many and how varied the character names will be.

A writer has many books and websites to help with naming characters. A writer can choose from forward and reverse dictionaries of first names. The writer can generate random names or search for names by keyword. However, no tool maintains consistency in character name themes. No tool has the cohesion of a name list and depth of a first name reverse dictionary. Also, no tool stores multiple results in one database, and analyzes them for consistency with the time and place of setting. Not every writer is concerned with that. Writers who are concerned wish to spend more time writing than worrying.

A computer application seems to be an affordable way to find and use names for this fictional family. An application would store names collected by multiple sources. The effective application will not be a list of names, but a dictionary through which one would be able to find and display names based on user input. Since no writer sticks to one theme, the application will eventually rely on user input. Since themes are more than one keyword, the search function needs to use more than keyword search.

To build this application, anyone interested can use a reverse name dictionary, a program for a reverse dictionary, and an open source programming tool kit with support for corpora and natural language processing algorithms. Since a reverse dictionary requires a forward dictionary, my research includes instructions for dictionary planning.

Shaw Approach

Ryan Shaw and other researchers at Google designed a reverse dictionary as a relational database acting as a map. The database would map one keyword to a set of co-occurring terms. If results were below the threshold, the application would expand the user inquiry based on semantic similarity of the search terms. The application would search through a complex network of lexical relations. It would find other synonym sets linked to the keyword (Bird and Klein 2009: 71).

Shaw et al. (2013) worked on a project to solve what is called the concept similarity problem. If words were put in a hierarchy, the words on the top would describe the most

abstract concepts. From there, words are connected downward to the most specific terms. The best known example of such a hierarchy is WordNet. The challenge would be to find the shortest path between words. Shaw used WordNet, and so will I. Designers often model these concepts as single words. However, concept phrases can have similar paths, but have no exact matching words.

The next obstacle is that building a vector space, with its collection of elements and calculations, requires large storage space, and a lot of processing time. However, the application needs to calculate the combined probability of individual words in user input while the application runs. The application then needs to compare that output to stored probabilities of words found in dictionary definitions.

One concern not shared with Shaw is the size of text collection, or corpora. The ability to identify meanings of words in context in a computational manner (Yarowsky), or word sense disambiguation, depends on corpora. Shaw *et al.* (2013) limit corpora to dictionary definitions of 50-100 words. I have collected information from Wikipedia and other websites, and stored them in spreadsheets and text documents. Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) has plain text corpora and access to WordNet. I will use these available resources.

Book Approach

Two reverse dictionaries are in print. *First Name Reverse Dictionary* by Yvonne Navarro (2007) is organized first by gender, then by headword in alphabetical order, then by phrases related to headword, then by names and their variations. In the index of names, a name can match with more than one headword. *Baby Names Made Easy* by Amanda Barden (2009) is organized by theme, then gender, then names in alphabetical order.

I chose another book, a reverse dictionary of symbols listed by subject. Daniel Olderr (1992) ordered subjects alphabetically, then by method (like heraldry), then by symbol in alphabetical order. Appendix 1 contains the entries for English language months. Entries from Olderr (2009) match 20,000 names: months can be related to gemstones, animals, plants, activities, seasons, and monthly events.

Dictionary Planning Steps

Before I will write the application that generates proper names from digital corpora, I will plan how to write that application. The process would begin with the collection of material, then move to filling up the entries. Next would come the compilation of a word list, and finally deciding on the structure of the dictionary entries. The entry will consist of description and definition of meaning, script, and pronunciations. Since I had gathered material beforehand, planning felt like going backwards. I had to think of how potential users would ask for names, as well as how to organize the names.

The project's scope size is unknown. If potential users or sponsors are more interested in the application than in the stories, the scope may be limited to how it works rather than what material to use. Its purpose is to get most likely names for the exact phrase or words associated with it. We expect its primary users to consist of parents and fiction writers looking for appellations to bestow – or inflict – upon their progeny and creations. The range of coverage will be determined by name origins, information the users are seeking, and how much computer space I have. Since NLTK makes source code freely available and allows modifications and redistribution, I would share rights to the code with other users.

The method of collection is a two-step process. I will code text extraction programs with NLTK in Python. Once the programs gathered enough data, I will verify the data with print dictionaries on my bookshelves. This is to compensate for possible inaccuracies in web sources.

The type of dictionary is an electronic application with a database. I will use NLTK to create the word list, by sorting and filtering for names and unusual words.

Website Approach

I found two examples of baby-name site maps. They will be compared to other baby name websites. 20000-names.com has lists by origin and lists by theme. The *Behind the Name* website, like most sites of this kind, has lists arranged by themes, lists organized by origin, and lists determined by alphabetical order. Many other baby websites have search engines and filters. However, no website has searching abilities beyond keyword searches in meanings, or beyond specifying gender, origin, or alphabetical letter. No website has the format of theme represented by a headword, phrases with the headword, and then names.

Other websites provide potential names and associations. The *Gazetteer of Planetary Nomenclature* has names of the moons and geological features of the planets. Since months can be associated with planets, this is a rich source of specific information.

Another online resource is the HTML version of *Star Names and Their Lore*. This includes corrections to Allen and Allen (1963) as needed. In the original and HTML version, bolded or colored words are proper names, including translations of constellation names, stars within the constellation, and asterisms. The text has months when constellations can be seen, which matters when generating more names for months.

If needed, other websites have exact seasonal and holiday associations of the months. This information would expand on how family members are ranked, and roles they play.

NLTK Approach

The first function I created searches for a set of keywords in documents. Searching the corpora for entries, I expected the chosen keyword would be found with additional sets of keywords. For the results to be useful, there had to be more than one instance of a non-common English word.

I included these considerations to keep the function on track. Words and punctuation are separated and tokenized by an NLTK function. The function filters by converting results to lower case alphabetical characters. It then divides names corpora available from NLTK into male and female names. The function then finds differences between the corpora and a list of English words. Words found in the former, but not the latter make up unusual words list. After that, the function calculates frequency distribution of the set of words. Appendix 2 has the results sorted alphabetically.

Results of the Program

To test this idea, I filtered common English words and limited sets of keywords from corpora containing those sets. Along with the English words list, I added an English language stopwords list from NLTK. One test was on the text documents. The other test was on text and comma separated values (CSV) documents. Probability from only text and from text and CSV were added together. The results produced words with small probabilities, as I intended. As the project progresses, the output generated may be used to introduce new possible terms. The found terms may function as an temporary index to mapped names.

In writing the complete application, I (or another researcher) would keep in mind what the output should look like. First, the month would be printed, then a list of names. These names would be based on non-stop-words in meaning found close by the chosen keyword (month or otherwise). The names are then listed by origin, gender, and definition. These conditions would prevent empty lists. If the potential list is too small, the application would find names with words collocated with the keyword. The application would continue until the list has at least five names. Name variations may be listed separately or in a field connected to the name.

If need be, the application will use data already in documents as training data. Training data can also come from entries from Olderr, Barden, and Navarro. The application will then use data extracted from websites as testing data. Testing data might also come from Wikipedia data dumps, other corpora, search results, and full websites. I or some other researcher may use one of the listed methods or a combination of them.

While anyone adding to the database can use contemporary text, they may also use older texts to find other keywords and verify definitions. The application will use most common spellings of a name, its variations, and diminutives.

Further Work

Next steps are: reconciling different ideas on algorithms; deciding on relaxing word association restrictions; deciding on sorting functions, be it by name, by keyword, by gender, or by association.

The electronic dictionary was to use constructed rules and keywords lists describing Julian months. I had several spreadsheets detailing objects and concepts associated with the months. However, given available corpora, it may be possible to fill keywords without a separate database. I would need other mechanisms to ensure precision after I took care of recall. Anyone developing the application will use this presentation as a resource for decisions he or she will make. If others are interested, I can share earlier documents on Google Drive.

I hope if the application is finished, anyone will understand the motivations and actions of the characters, whether they are reading, listening to, or playing out the stories.

I also hope the application will help other writers by making the character naming process seamless enough so the reader can enjoy their characters' stories.

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Appendix 1

Olderr (1992) has entries for the months.

April	cherry blossom	June	alexandrite
April	cuckoo	June	chalcedony
April	hyacinth	June	Juno
April	rook	June	crab
April	diamond	June	harvest
August	harvest	June	harvesting
August	harvesting	June	agate
August	august, majestic	June	alexandrite
August	Augustus	June	pearl
August	peridot	June	pomegranate
August	sardonyx		blossom
August	pear blossom	June	white flower
December	ten	March	Mars
December	goat with spiral tail	March	heliotrope
December	turquoise	March	ram
December	zircon	March	sheep
December	рорру	March	aquamarine
February	Februus	March	bloodstone
February	amethyst	March	tree peony
February	peach blossom	May	robin
February	heron	May	Maia
January	Janus	May	emerald
January	garnet	May	magnolia blossom
January	plum tree	May	hawthorn
July	harvest	November	nine
July	harvesting	November	topaz
July	lion	November	gardenia
July	ruby	November	sower
July	star ruby	October	eight
July	lotus	October	aquamarine
July	Julius	October	opal
July	young, downy	October	tourmaline

October	scorpion
October	chrysanthemum
September	balances
September	sapphire
September	turquoise
September	chrysanthemum
September	mallow blossom
March	Pisces
March	Aries
April	Aries
April	Taurus
May	Taurus
May	Gemini
June	Gemini
June	Cancer
July	Cancer
July	Leo
August	Leo
August	Virgo
September	Virgo
September	Libra
October	Libra
October	Scorpio
November	Scorpio
November	Sagittarius
December	Sagittarius
December	Capricorn
January	Capricorn
January	Aquarius
February	Aquarius
February	Pisces

Appendix 2

Results of NLTK experiment

agata	0.000701754385965
agate air	0.00210526315789
alexandrite	0.000701754385965
amethyst	0.00140350877193
aquamarine	0.00140350877193
archer	0.000701754385965
army	0.000701754385965
aster	0.00140350877193
autumn	0.00210526315789
balance	0.000701754385965
bearer	0.000701754385965
best	0.000701754385965
black	0.00140350877193
blaze	0.000701754385965
bloodstone	0.00140350877193
body	0.000701754385965
born	0.000701754385965
breeze	0.000701754385965
brook	0.000701754385965
bull	0.000701754385965
burn	0.000701754385965
calendula	0.000701754385965
calf	0.000701754385965
carnation	0.00140350877193
carnelian	0.000701754385965
carrier	0.00140350877193
cat	0.000701754385965
cattle	0.00140350877193
centaur	0.000701754385965
center	0.000701754385965
chariot	0.000701754385965
chrysanthemu	m 0.000701754385965
chrysolite	0.000701754385965
cliff	0.000701754385965
constellation	0.000701754385965
cosmos	0.00140350877193
cow	0.00140350877193
crab	0.000701754385965

1-66-1:1	0 000701754295065
daffodil	0.000701754385965
daisy	0.00140350877193
delta	0.000701754385965
diamond	0.00140350877193
eagle	0.000701754385965
earth	0.00280701754386
emerald	0.00280701754386
ewe	0.000701754385965
fire	0.00210526315789
fish	0.000701754385965
flame	0.000701754385965
form	0.000701754385965
fowl	0.000701754385965
garnet	0.00140350877193
girl	0.000701754385965
gladiolus	0.00140350877193
glory	0.000701754385965
goat	0.00140350877193
gracious	0.00701754385965
green	0.000701754385965
guessing	0.000701754385965
guru	0.000701754385965
hawthorn	0.000701754385965
hill	0.000701754385965
holly	0.000701754385965
honeysuckle	0.000701754385965
horse	0.00140350877193
hunter	0.00140350877193
ice	0.000701754385965
jasper	0.000701754385965
jonquil	0.000701754385965
killer	0.000701754385965
kin	0.00280701754386
known	0.00210526315789
1	0.00140350877193
lake	0.000701754385965
lamb	0.00140350877193
larkspur	0.000701754385965
life	0.00210526315789
lily	0.00280701754386
-5	

lineage	0.000701754385965	seller	0.000701754385965
lion	0.000701754385965	sheep	0.00140350877193
lotus	0.00140350877193	snake	0.000701754385965
maiden	0.00210526315789	snow	0.00210526315789
mare	0.000701754385965	snowdrop	0.000701754385965
marsh	0.000701754385965	soil	0.000701754385965
moonstone	0.000701754385965	son	0.000701754385965
morning	0.000701754385965	spouse	0.000701754385965
mother	0.000701754385965	spring	0.00210526315789
mou	0.00631578947368	stallion	0.000701754385965
mountain	0.000701754385965	star	0.000701754385965
mum	0.000701754385965	steppe	0.000701754385965
narcissus	0.00140350877193	storm	0.000701754385965
night	0.000701754385965	stream	0.000701754385965
notorious	0.000701754385965	summer	0.00280701754386
ocean	0.00210526315789	summit	0.000701754385965
onyx	0.000701754385965	sunshine	0.000701754385965
opal	0.00140350877193	supine	0.000701754385965
oread	0.000701754385965	sweet	0.000701754385965
patron	0.000701754385965	tempest	0.000701754385965
pea	0.000701754385965	topaz	0.00140350877193
pearl	0.00140350877193	torch	0.000701754385965
peridot	0.000701754385965	tourmaline	0.000701754385965
phoenix	0.000701754385965	turquoise	0.00140350877193
pony	0.000701754385965	twin	0.000701754385965
poppy	0.000701754385965	universe	0.000701754385965
preceptor	0.000701754385965	upon	0.000701754385965
primrose	0.00140350877193	valley	0.00210526315789
rainbow	0.00140350877193	violet	0.00210526315789
ram	0.000701754385965	virgin	0.000701754385965
redeemer	0.000701754385965	water	0.00631578947368
river	0.000701754385965	waterer	0.000701754385965
rock	0.000701754385965	well	0.000701754385965
rose	0.00140350877193	white	0.000701754385965
ruby	0.00210526315789	wind	0.000701754385965
sapphire	0.00210526315789	wine	0.00631578947368
sardonyx	0.00140350877193	winter	0.00210526315789
savannah	0.000701754385965	zeus	0.00210526315789
scales	0.000701754385965	zircon	0.000701754385965
scorpion	0.000701754385965		
sea	0.00350877192982		

Anthroponyms in Taboo Discourse: The Case of Romanian Swear Phrases¹

Daiana Felecan Alina Bugheşiu *Romania*

But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil. (Matthew 5:34-37)

Abstract

Swearing is a special kind of speech act, whose use is restricted by certain pragmatic parameters that are determined by a given situation of communication. Structurally, curses display a standard pattern of construction. The initial position in the utterance is often occupied by a curse verb (e.g. *a* (*se*) fute 'to fuck'), followed by the unstressed form of the second person (singular/plural) pronoun (*-te/-vă*), whose role is to identify the receiver of the act of swearing. The final position is usually filled by the anthroponym of a real or fictional individual, who is 'invited', *in absentia*, to perform the activity designated by the swear verb.

This paper proposes a semantic classification and pragmalinguistic analysis of anthroponyms in Romanian curses, according to several criteria regarding the referents of the anthroponyms, such as: (a) ethnic belonging (curses with anthroponyms that are specific to certain ethnic groups); (b) sociocultural impact (curses with names of famous individuals); (c) belonging to a transcendental reality (curses that contain hagionyms). Swear phrases in this last group are used only in extreme circumstances: morally and emotionally, their effect is similar to the one of imprecations that refer to the mother of the cursed person.

* * *

Preliminaries

The temptation to settle accounts with someone or something exists in every one of us, in a latent or manifest state. The smothering or expression of one's hubris is determined, on the one hand, by a person's cultural genetic predisposition and, on the other, by his / her individual planning ability. In other words, the way in which we choose to repress our dissatisfaction (should we choose to do so at all), depends both on the psychological and physiological behaviour of the civilisation to which we belong and whose values we praise whenever we get the chance, and on individuals' temperamental structure, provided by the configuration of their DNA.

¹ This study is part of *Unconventional Romanian Anthroponyms in European Context: Formation Patterns and Discursive Function*, a research project funded by CNCS (code PN-II-RU-TE-2011-3-0007, contract number 103/2011), won in a competition in 2011; project manager: Associate Professor Daiana Felecan.

Situated by history and, implicitly, by mentality at the intersection of opposite civilisations, the Romanian people have always struggled, almost in vain, to cure, by means of recurrent sessions of Western therapy, the temperamental excesses of the Levant, which stretches even beyond the Danube River, up to the lower boundary of the Carpathians. The Romanians' natural drive to engage in polemics, triggered by the innate reflex to put things into the order of one's choice and by the scrupulousness to clear any moral debts at once (including those of a vindictive type), determined them to arm themselves with an artillery of words that come in useful when cooling one's quick temper. A well-delineated category of verbal ammunition that is always at hand consists of expletives and, within this class, swear phrases that contain anthroponyms, in particular. Of the abundant and ever-rejuvenating lexical material provided by swearing, we have decided to pay considerable attention in the present study to the above-mentioned type of curse phrases. However, it should be noted that the inventory of Romanian swear words does not only comprise constructions with anthroponyms; on the contrary, the structures that are outside the scope of our research are numerically and stylistically overwhelming. The limitations of this study are accounted for by the fact that it is part of a more extensive project that deals with different contexts in which anthroponyms occur in standard and non-standard contemporary Romanian.

Aims, Corpus and Methodology

Our objectives are to record the main Romanian swear phrases that contain anthroponyms and to explain the syntactic means of their formation and the discursive implications that these structures have in communication. This study does not aim at achieving an exhaustive presentation of the category of Romanian curse words. We will only discuss the subtypes that are considered characteristic frequency-wise and germane to the typological profile of the Romanian language with respect to the parameter investigated.

The corpus exploited was compiled by the authors. It includes authentic expressive speech acts (i.e. swear words), taken from $spoken^2$ or written (Internet) spontaneous interactions.

As support for our arguments, we will turn to precepts that are specific to the following linguistic fields: functional grammar, pragmastylistics, speech act theory, and sociolinguistics.

Swearing: A Culture-Bound Speech Act

In every language, one can find words and phrases that are specifically used on the occasion of certain personal and social events (greetings said at birthdays, baptisms, weddings; condolences expressed at the loss of someone dear; congratulations for professional achievements; commonplaces uttered when meeting someone, bidding farewell to someone, or seeing someone again, and so on). To the same extent, one can notice a series of verbal

² The examples were gathered from the speech of urban communities (Baia Mare) and rural ones (neighbouring villages) in Maramureş county.

means of expressing failure, lack of accomplishment, frustration, hate, envy, anger, discontent in general – swear phrases.

The lexical fields preferred for the selection of the referent-terms mentioned in Romanian expletives are:

(a) Kinship (mother, father, siblings, ancestors, and so on); to curse about one's mother, in particular, and about other relatives, in general, means to disconnect one from his / her guardians (to whom a son / daughter is initially tied biologically and, subsequently, by divine covenant). At the same time, taking physical possession of one's mother is perceived as humiliating the descendants (see also Majuru 2011): 'an expletive phallically attacks an opponent's maternal religion; it annuls the one who is cursed, wishing him / her to return to the mother's womb and never come back' (Anghelescu 2014).

(b) Sacredness (God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, angels, saints, the cross, the Host, candles, and so on); curse phrases that contain such words are derived from individuals' wish to violate the biblical prohibition on saying God's name.³

As regards the number and fancifulness of swear phrases, the Romanian language is resourcefully fit to compete on an international level and claim the first position (alongside Hungarian, as far as we know, and also other languages).⁴ However, with respect to the

³ Considering swearing as resulting from the conjunction of two opposite forces, blasphemy and euphemism, Benveniste (2000) states that the prohibition to use the name of God (and of other saints – authors' note) bridles individuals' inclination to profane what is sacred: 'In itself, the sacred prompts an ambivalent kind of behaviour, we are well aware of this. Religious tradition wanted to preserve only the divine type of sacredness, by excluding the damned one. In its particular way, blasphemy aims at re-establishing this balance, by profaning God's very name. We blaspheme the *name* of God, because all we know about God is His *name*. It is the only way to reach Him, move Him, or hurt Him: by saying His name' (Benveniste 2000: 220).

⁴ In an article that is aimed at highlighting the national specificity of Romanian swearing, Creţu outlines the idea of a comparative study of swearing in relation to various peoples: 'French swear words are gentle, graceful, revealing one's indignation, not one's grudge, and keeping within a certain limit of common sense. Italians (hot-blooded Latin spirits) are more foul-mouthed, but their swearing only amounts to a lot of noise, without it entering a taboo area. Germans curse tersely and acrimoniously, without embroidering pointlessly. The English, who are perfect gentlemen, perform a manly, well-targeted attack: they hold something only against their rivals, whom they rebuke sharply and coolly by means of an almost semantically bleached "Fuck you!" Swear words act as a slap or a glove thrown in an enemy's face. This is because they rely on hurting one's sense of honour, which is essential in this cultural code of ethics, and on the logical reaction of the person who does not want to leave his / her honour tarnished. Swearing is nothing more than a challenge to a virile settling of accounts.

How does swearing work with us, Romanians? There are usually two fields that are the most referred to in the imaginary of autochthonous swear phrases (and there actually exists such an imaginary, albeit rudimentary and employed in order to obtain revenge): sexuality and sacredness. As history taught us to make due, to get along by using all sorts of schemes, we do not swear plainly, but obliquely; it all looks like the tactic of harassing one's attackers and avoiding direct, decisive confrontation. Romanians do not abuse their hostile interlocutors openly, but aim at what they believe hurts the interlocutors the most. They have got something against an enemy's mother, whom they joyfully and proudly subject to all sorts of verbal debaucheries, against the deceased in the enemy's family, and in extreme situations even against his / her sister. Or, if need be, they may even pick on the opponent's God and, thereupon, on everything falling under the scope of sacredness. [...] Thus, Romanians try to strike the heaviest blow where they think it will hurt the most, to desecrate what they believe is the most precious to the adversary whom they wish to spite. Can you imagine an English person attempting on the moral integrity of a deceased individual? It is a bit difficult to picture... With the Romanians, this is not a problem! We attack with the same self-satisfaction all of the most treasured values that a person can hold, those

moments when expletives are uttered, Romanian is well individualised. We are a people that turned cursing into culture – and even cult –, since we use it not only in circumstances that (utterly) require its actualisation (see above), but also in times of peace and utmost joy. Swearing has become a verbal expression that complements any psychological behaviour, a verbal 'protocol'. It is an automatic reaction that reveals a kind of national 'weakness' manifested in the inability to abstain from using swear words and the innate ability to attach – at times wittily and facetiously, at times fiercely and cuttingly – what seems to be the most appropriate verbal tag in a given situation.

After being under the relative control of censorship before 1989, taboo expressions proliferated in all language registers and social strata after the fall of the communist regime. The restriction on one's freedom of expression, which only smouldered in the pre-revolution period or was manifested with great hesitation, is mirrored by the present-day complete freedom of speech, in which, as one might have expected, less canonical language items were introduced. Thus, the various means of expressing imprecations migrated from the periphery of language and entered the basic vocabulary of many speakers, who use them in numerous combinations and almost abusively, concentrating some of the most varied states and experiences.

Swearing as Expressive Speech Act

Defining Aspects

Starting from a theoretical framework that consists of the classifications of speech acts coined by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1993), we will analyse swearing as an expressive type of speech act, by means of which a locutor manifests a certain mental state (which is usually – but not exclusively – discontent) in relation to the interlocutor, the rest of the discourse, and the context of communication (see Searle 1993: 6). As a result of the utterance of specific performative expressions (swear phrases), the allocutor's reality is altered in the sense suggested by the meaning of that articulation: 'It is believed that this category of speech acts contributes significantly to the dynamic of interpersonal relationships and reflects the existence of an emotional and attitudinal side of communication, which is at least as important as the strictly informative component' (Necula 2010: 185).

As a subtype of insulting,⁵ swearing is a speech act with deprecating connotations, whose illocutionary aim is to express the verbal materialisation of a markedly subjective psychological state. This act is realised directly or indirectly, depending on certain sociolinguistic rules: the permission / appropriateness vs the interdiction / inappropriateness to perform it, with respect to the parameters of the situation of communication (the interlocutors' status, the nature of the speakers' relationship, and so on. According to Apte:

that define him / her. Every curse that is not related to this field is a gentle caress, a sign of affinity, or an innocent glance' (2001).

⁵ Insulting is an expressive speech act that bears negative connotations; by performing it, 'the speaker achieves a kind of symbolical aggression of the interlocutor, whose self-image is thereby harmed' (Necula 2010: 187, orig. Romanian).

To a large extent the sociocultural context of speech and the backgrounds of the participants in social interaction determine the use of taboo words. Such factors as enculturation and socialization, age, gender, social status, degree of religiosity, and educational level influence the level of taboo words in speech (2001: 285).

There exist several degrees of intensity in swearing and they can be set, on the one hand, depending on the speakers' status and, on the other, on the illocutionary resources that a community possesses for the performance of that specific act.

The addresser's subjective attitude is intentional and focused (or not) on the addressee. According to the conditions and 'canonical' circumstances that would lead to the verbalisation of expletives and the perspective of analysis that Benveniste (2000) adopts in the discussion of swearing, one could define imprecation as the word

that we 'let slip' under the pressure of a sudden and violent feeling, of impatience, anger, or failure. Nevertheless, this word, albeit laden with meaning, is merely expressive, not communicative. [...] The same expletive can be said in completely different situations. It simply conveys the intensity of a reaction to these situations. [...] It does not convey any message, open any dialogue [it may, perhaps, actualise the complement of the adjacency pair: another expletive, authors' note]; it does not demand a reply, nor even the presence of an interlocutor. Nor does it describe the utterer. He / she betrays his / her presence, but does not reveal himself / herself. He / she lets the expletive slip, give vent to an emotion. (Benveniste 2000: 221)

As this analysis will show, to approach swearing as an expressive speech act facilitates the delineation of the role that this class of speech acts plays in relation to other types of speech acts and in the dynamic of interpersonal relationships.

The Pragmatic Algorithm of Anthroponymic Expletive Speech Acts

In Romanian, there is a great diversity of syntactic patterns (some fixed, others flexible) based on which expletives are built. On this level, one can notice the preference to develop the formation patterns of expletives with anthroponyms around a verbal head; nevertheless, it should be stated that there are situations in which the verb is omitted or when the phrase has a noun head.⁶

The verbs that convey the meanings of the main Romanian expletives are used especially in the subjunctive, conditional, and imperative mood.

The subjunctive is the mood of *actions / states presented as possibilities (as potentiality)* (see GBLR 2010: 235; GR 2013: 45). It is used in imprecations to enhance the illocutionary force (it expresses intense feelings, 'verbal explosions', see Ghiorghiaş 2004). In the contexts of occurrence illustrated, the subjunctive is not marked by a morpheme: *Futu*-

⁶ Prototypically, Romanian expletives contain the following elements:

a) verb + pronominal clitic + noun (+ possessive): *fută-te mă-ta* ('your mother fuck you'), *futu-ți morții mă-tii* ('fuck your mother's dead (relatives)');

b) pronominal clitic + verb + locative: te bag în pizda mă-tii ('(I) shove you in your mother's cunt').

ti **Cristoşii** / **Dumnezeii** m*ă*-*tii!* ('Fuck your mother's Gods and Christs'); *Fută*-*te* X ('X fuck you': *Fută*-*te* **Alain Delon**!, *Fută*-*te* **Hector**!, *Fută*-*te* **Hitler**!, *Fută*-*te* **Stalin**!, and others). We also consider the verb in the constructions <u>Fut</u> pe **Ilonka**! and <u>Fut</u> pe **Izaura**! in the subjunctive mood (without the morpheme *să*), despite its formal resemblance to the indicative, as the desiderative meaning of the verb is salient.

The conditional mood (also called conditional-optative) expresses volitional modalisation (desire) (see GBLR 2010: 238; GR 2013: 51). The most productive structures are those in which a pronominal clitic is inserted between the auxiliary and the main verb (cf. also Ghiorghiaş 2004). Worth noting is the recent entry of certain verbs (e.g. *a bea* 'to drink') in the stock of verbs that are specifically used in expletives, followed by various syntactic positions: subject (*Be-te-ar Zoli*! 'May Zoli drink you!'; *Crăpa-te-ar Zoli*! 'May Zoli whack you!'); locative (*Duce-te-ar Iani la cimitir / la Zoli*! 'May Iani take you to the cemetery / to Zoli!'); direct object (*Fute-l-ai pe <u>Ceausescu</u>*! 'May you fuck Ceauşescu!'); sociative (*Fute-m-aş cu <u>Petre Roman</u>*! 'May I / I'd fuck Petre Roman!'); instrument (*Da-o-ar Zoli <u>cu</u> bomba-n tine!* 'May Zoli hit you with a bomb!').

As the mode of compelling, the imperative contributes to securing the precise, ultimatum value of utterances. As regards expletives, the dynamic insulting meaning of imperative expressions is turned into an exclamative, desiderative one. This is why the illocutionary force of some expletives – which is constitutively 'cutting' and harsh – is toned down by virtue of the associations of these imprecations with exclamation: *Du-te-n pula lui* **Zebedeu** / **Zevedeu**! ('Go in Zebedee's dick').

Two basic types of pragmatic algorithms can be delineated in Romanian, from a semantic and morphosyntactic perspective:

A. The *explicit / analytic* type, consisting of two or several components that are necessarily expressed:

a1)

I. The swearing marker, actualised in the (performative) verb *a fute* ('to fuck, to screw'), in particular, and also in other 'strong' verbs that pertain to the semantic field of sexuality (*a băga* 'to shove, stick in', *a cupla* 'to copulate'), aggression (*a crăpa* 'to whack, to kill', *a tăia* 'to cut, to slit', *a trăzni* 'to smite'), or drinking (but with sexual connotations: *a bea* 'to drink'), in the subjunctive / conditional / imperative mood, 1st / 2nd / 3rd person singular +

II. A form that designates the allocutor (dative pronominal clitic, -ti, 2nd person singular) +

III. A form that designates the subject that is affected by the action expressed by the verb, actualised in a compound nominal direct object (*Dumnezeii / Cristoşii mă-tii* 'your mother's Gods / Christs'), within which a possessive link⁷ is established between the possessed object (the anthroponym) and the possessor (the short form $m\ddot{a}$ -, from

⁷ A distinction can be made between *alienable possession* and *inalienable possession* (for a definition of these concepts, see Munteanu Siserman (2008: 67-69)).

mamă 'mother'), reinforced by a second possessor (the allocutor), morphologically indicated by means of the genitive determiner *-tii*. The postverbal pronominal clitic, *-ti*, and the genitive determiner, *-tii*, are co-referential; however, this does not imply the existence, on the textual-discursive level, of an anaphoric connection. Both pronominal forms designate the unique referent (the expletive target):

E.g. futu-ți Dumnezeii / Cristoșii mă-tii ('Fuck your mother's Gods and Christs')

In many instances, expletives are constructed in partial agreement with the aforementioned pattern. Two differences may occur: the possessed object (the anthroponym) becomes, in the new swearing context, the agent of the performative act, whereas the direct object (the patient) is expressed by a pronominal clitic in the accusative (*-te*):

E.g. *fută-te* **Dumnezeu** (or **Dumnezo**, a regional vocative form) / *fută-te* **Cristos** ('God / Christ fuck you')

a₂)

I. See a_1) I.: *fut* +

II. A form that designates the patient that suffers the action (anthroponym in the accusative): *pe Ilonka*

E.g. fut pe Ilonka! ('Fuck Ilonka!')

B. The *implicit* type (characterised by verb ellipsis: the complete form of the expletive is obtained by means of inference); three subtypes occur:

b₁) (verb) + a form designating the direct object (the patient) (*Cristoşii / Dumnezeii*) + \pm (*mă-tii*) ('(By) your mother's Gods / Christs') (see above)

b₂) (verb indicating direction) + a form designating the destination (an accusative that shows direction) ($\hat{i}n \ pizda / pula$) + possessor (*lui Mărie / lui Stalin*) ('In the cunt / dick of Mărie / Stalin')

b₃) (verb) + a form designating the agent of the action (*Iştenu*' < Hungarian *Isten* 'God') + relative (explanatory) construction (*care te-o făcut*): (*fută-te*) *Iştenu*' *care te-o făcut*! '(May you be fucked) by the God that made you!'

Semantic-Stylistic Analysis

Certain expressions develop an offensive function (therefore, they act as expletives) due to the way they refer to the semantic fields to which they belong and which, in emotionally unmarked contexts, are approached with great common sense: religion, family, ethnicity, sexuality, aspects regarding the functioning of the human body, and others. Nevertheless, the insulting nature of these structures is not provided by the words that they comprise, but by the meanings to which they give way and which are attached, within a specific community, to negative sociocultural values and attitudes. Put differently, '[w]ords referring to offensive concepts become offensive words' (Jay 2000: 153). In the case of expletives, as in other situations, anthroponyms whose 'initial referents' (see Gary-Prieur 2009) are seen in a disagreeable light by the community or are involved in negative activities borrow the pejorative values of their bearers.

Based on the anthroponyms they contain, the expletives discussed in this paper may be grouped according to several criteria:

(a) Ethnic belonging: expletives that comprise names specific to certain ethnic groups, especially minorities: Fut pe Ilonka ('Fuck Ilonka'), Fută-te Pişta ('Fuck Pişta') (for the Hungarian minority), Fută-te Ițic ('Fuck Ițic', for the Jewish minority). In the former case, both first names (the female one, Ilonka, and the male one, Pista, adapted to Romanian spelling – *Pista* –, a hypocoristic of the first name *Istvan*) are transparent with regard to the ethnicity they suggest, and they are probably related to the tense sociohistorical relationships between the coexisting Romanian majority and the Hungarian minority. In the latter example, the forename refers equally to the image of the Jewish people in Romanian space, which is also illustrated in a number of jokes with / about representatives of this ethnic group. This seems to be the motivation for the use of the anthroponym in the aforementioned expletive, as the jokes in question foreground the stereotypical negative image of the extremely clever Jewish individual, but who employs this skill in view of obtaining an advantage and deceiving the person with whom he / she wishes to engage in commercial exchanges. Therefore, one can easily notice that in these examples, as well as in others analysed below, the verb a fute ('to fuck, to screw') is not used denotatively but figuratively (with the meaning 'to hurt, to harm').

(b) The possibility of identifying the referent in real life: expletives that contain names of real individuals: *Be-te-ar / Crăpa-te-ar / Tăia-te-ar Zoli* ('May Zoli drink / whack / cut you'; Zoli is a former nurse at the morgue of the county hospital in Baia Mare. According to 'urban folklore', he had sexual intercourse with a young woman who had been clinically dead and, during the intercourse, she recovered her vital signs. Thus, on the one hand, Zoli is considered a rapist of dead bodies and, on the other, for the girl's family he is a saviour); *Duce-te-ar Iani la cimitir / la Zoli* ('May Iani take you to the cemetery / to Zoli'; Iani is said to be the name of a driver who takes the dead to the mortuary and from there to the cemetery).

Thus, it is clear that, for the identification of the referent (the doer of the action indicated by the verb) and, implicitly, for the proper decoding of the message conveyed by an expletive, there must exist a 'conversational history' shared by addresser and addressee. In other words, they must be able to access the same baggage of 'encyclopaedic knowledge'. In the absence of this property, the intended effect of the utterance remains unresolved.

(c) The impossibility of identifying the referent in real life: expletives that contain names of fictional characters, especially from literature, films, and mythology: *Cupla-te-ai cu Muma Pădurii în dosul şurii* ('May you copulate with Muma Pădurii [lit. 'mother of the forest'] behind the barn'; Muma Pădurii is a female character in Romanian mythology, a spirit of the forest that is usually depicted as an old and ugly woman and is claimed to be able to perform shapeshifting); *Fut pe Isaura* ('Fuck Isaura', based on the first name of the heroine in the

Brazilian soap opera *Escrava Isaura* 'Slave Isaura', which aired in Romania in the early 90s); *Fută-te Aladin (cu lampa lui fermecată)* ('Aladdin fuck you (with his magic lamp)', probably because of the character's dishonest occupation); *Fută-te / Du-te-n pula lui Hector* ('Hector fuck you' / 'Go in Hector's dick'; with respect to the hero's physical strength).

(d) The sociocultural impact of the original bearer of a certain anthroponym: imprecations that include the names of famous individuals from various fields:

- politics: *Fută-te Ana Pauker* ('Ana Pauker fuck you'; Ana Pauker was one of the promoters of the establishment of the communist regime in Romania); *Fută-te Hitler* ('Hitler fuck you'); *Fută-te Iliescu* ('Iliescu fuck you'; Ion Iliescu is a Romanian politician, the first president after the fall of communism, but a former member of the party that governed the country during the totalitarian regime); *Fută-te Iorga* ('Iorga fuck you'; Nicolae Iorga was a key figure in interwar Romanian culture and politics, whose views in this context were centre-right and anti-Semitic); *Fută-te Lenin* ('Lenin fuck you'); *Fută-te Stalin* ('Stalin fuck you'); *Fute-l-ai pe Ceauşescu* ('May you fuck Ceauşescu'; Nicolae Ceauşescu was president of the Socialist Republic of Romania from 1967 until the demise of communism); *Fute-m-aş cu Petre Roman* ('May I fuck Petre Roman'; Petre Roman is a Romanian politician, former prime minister in the period succeeding the Revolution of December 1989);

- film and television: *Fută-te Alain Delon* ('Alain Delon fuck you'; apart from the reference to the famous French actor – but based on it –, the name *Alain Delon* can also be interpreted in a more restricted context: it is antiphrastically used as the nickname of a disagreeable man who is known in the community of residence by a jacket he wears, which is reminiscent of the French actor's fashion style);

- music: *Trăzni-v-aş mămicile cu fulgeru' de la Metallica* ('May I smite your mommies with Metallica's lightning') (*aforisme.ro* 2007, a post by JohnCena);

- sport: *Să moară mă-ta călcată cu tractoru' de Michael Schumacher* ('May your mother die run over by a tractor driven by Michael Schumacher') (*aforisme.ro* 2007, a post by futuva-n gura).

As the examples listed above show, the sociocultural impact is only rarely related to persons whose fame was established in the immediate present (for instance, we have yet to come across any expletives with the names of the current president of Romania or with the prime minister, although both are relatively controversial figures). On the contrary, the anthroponyms mentioned in the imprecations discussed pertain to people who gained fame in time.

(e) Belonging to transcendental reality (metareality): expletives that comprise names from the field of sacredness and religion: (*Futu-ți*) Cristoșii (și biserica) mă-tii ('Fuck your mother's Christs (and church)'), *Fută-te Cristos* ('Christ fuck you'); (*Futu-ți*) Dumnezeii mă-tii ('(Fuck) your mother's Gods'), *Fută-te Dumnezeu* ('God fuck you'); *Fută-te Dracu* ('The Devil fuck you'); *Fută-te Noe* ('Noah fuck you'); *Fută-te pula lui Adam* ('Adam's dick fuck you'); *Fută-te Sfântu Petru / Sâmpetru* ('Saint Peter fuck you'); *Fută-te / În pula lui Zebedeu / Zevedeu* ('Zebedee fuck you' / 'By Zebedee's dick'; a biblical figure, Zebedee is the father of the apostles James and John); *Iştenu' care te-o făcut* ('By the God that created you'; from Hungarian *Isten* 'God'). These expletives are only used in extreme circumstances, as locutors
believe them to be the most serious ones – alongside those whose referent is the mother / children of the expletive recipient – on the scale of moral and emotional values. However, imprecations containing the names of Noah, Adam, or Zebedee display a lower affective-ethical impact than those with the names of God and Christ.

Jay (2000: 197) highlights the old age of curse words that refer to sacredness, pointing out that their offensive nature endured throughout time. Moreover, at least as regards blasphemies that do not include religious names, Jay considers that the emotional impact of these curses has significantly diminished over the past decades: 'Speakers are highly likely (+) to use profanities because profanity (e.g. *damn*) is less offensive than sexually explicit language (e.g. *cunt*) or aggressive speech (e.g. *fuck you*)' (2000: 197). Likewise, it should be noted that, in the aforementioned examples, the verb *a fute* ('to fuck') is used figuratively (with the meaning 'to destroy, to hurt, to inflict pain').⁸

Conclusion

Used to verbalise certain feelings and attitudes, which are usually – but not exclusively – negative, expletives are, on the one hand, 'normal because they obey semantic and syntactic rules' (Jay 2000: 11) and, on the other, 'unique because they provide an emotional intensity to speech that non-curse words cannot achieve. Curse words have so much power that they become words that, once learned, must be suppressed in formal contexts' (Jay 2000: 11). Therefore, expletives pertain to the informal, colloquial register and, when they convey positive emotional values, they are markers of speakers' belonging to a community (see also Wray 2002: 297).

Of all the types of expletives that exist in Romanian public space, the present paper only discussed those that contain anthroponyms, in view of explaining the peculiarities of the formation pattern of these expressive speech acts and the functions that the said anthroponyms fulfil on the discourse level. As it was highlighted, the contexts from which the expletives analysed were selected are affective-exclamative, which is why the semantic and morphosyntactic structure of the imprecations was explicit (characterised by the presence of a performative verb) or implicit (defined by the ellipsis of the verb). On the semantic-stylistic level, the anthroponyms found in expletives are related to referents that are famous within a micro- or macro-society. In the community in which the swear phrases are used, the names of the original referents are associated with certain well-established sociocultural values, borrowed from the name bearers. The connection between the entrenched features of these individual 'models' (see the explanation for *paragons* in Bergien 2013a: 21 and 2013b: 334) and the target allocutors of the expletives is ensured by the anthroponyms in question and

⁸ One can notice that even expletives that contain explicit sexual language are subjected to semantic bleaching. On the one hand, the offensive effect of expletives with sexual references is reduced as a result of their abusive employment, regardless of context (in this respect, see in Romanian $\hat{n} / ce pula mea$ 'in / by my dick', in English *my ass*, or in French *con*, *cu* – the semantic bleaching in more advanced in the case of the French examples). On the other hand, this led to their being used by men and women alike, determining an asexual genital destination (for instance, the Romanian phrase *ce* / \hat{n} *pula mea* 'what / by my dick' focuses an interlocutor's attention towards what is at times a utopian direction, as proven by the occurrences of this phrase with female speakers; see also Felecan 2012: 69).

indicated by means of an explicit process (the presence of a verb) or an inferential one (the co-text that includes the verb is recovered through the activation of certain cognitive processes). These cues steer the interpretation towards the semantic direction that corresponds to the context from which the expletive was selected (for instance, the swear phrase *Fută-te Iorga!* 'Iorga fuck you!' will not be related to Iorga's quality as important cultural figure, but to his anti-Semitic attitude and, perhaps, his involvement in the demise of the Iron Guard). Thus, the allocutor is characterised from the locutor's strictly subjective perspective: the former is considered to deserve the sanction from the party invoked, whereas the latter believes it is his / her duty to apply this sanction.

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Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus: A New Resource for Investigating Metaphor in Names

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Abstract

The AHRC-funded 'Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus' project has traced the development of metaphor in English from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day using the unique evidence base of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. The Historical Thesaurus organises the contents of the OED semantically, making it possible to see how vocabulary for any given concept has developed over time. One of the major outputs of the Mapping Metaphor project is the online Metaphor Map, which can be used to investigate metaphor in names and is freely available at: http://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk/.

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Introduction

Linguistic interest in metaphor, following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), has focused on metaphor in everyday language, such as the systematic connection between heat in the material world and abstract concepts of anger or emotion (cf. *fuming, inflamed*). Until now, however, the lack of a comprehensive data source has made it difficult to obtain an overview of this phenomenon for the history of English. Such a data source is now available, following the completion of the University of Glasgow's Historical Thesaurus (HT) database (published as the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, Kay *et al.* 2009). The present paper describes a project which has used this unique evidence base to create an online Metaphor Map of English, and discusses some of the ways in which it can be used to investigate metaphor in names.

The Mapping Metaphor Project

As the world's first historical thesaurus for any language, HT contains the full recorded vocabulary of the English language, from Old English to the present day. It is based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edn.) and *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts and Kay 2000), and comprises:

- 793,742 word forms
- 225,131 semantic categories
- Attestation dates/spans for all word senses

A unique feature of the HT is that rather than ordering words alphabetically as in a dictionary, the HT presents words ordered by meaning, in a complex hierarchical system of semantic categories. Categories are organised hierarchically, with:

- 3 Level 1 categories (The External World, The Mental World, The Social World)
- 37 Level 2 categories (e.g. Physical Sensibility, Emotion, Society/the Community)
- 377 Level 3 categories (e.g. Colour, Beauty, Punishment)

The 'Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus' project was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council between 2012 and 2015 (reference AH/I02266X/1). The Principal Investigator was Wendy Anderson, with Marc Alexander, Carole Hough and Christian Kay as Co-Investigators, Ellen Bramwell as Research Associate, Flora Edmonds as Project Technician, Brian Aitken as Website and Visualization Developer, and Rachael Hamilton as PhD student and Project Assistant. The project used HT to metaphorically 'map' areas of connected meaning to find where metaphorical transfer may have occurred. First, automated routines identified 'overlapping' words, i.e. words represented in more than one semantic category. Then, manual analysis was used to isolate instances of overlap due to metaphorical transfer from those due to homonymy or non-metaphorical polysemy. For more detail on the project's methodology, see Alexander and Bramwell (2014) and Anderson and Bramwell (2014).

The Metaphor Map of English

One of the main outputs of the 'Mapping Metaphor' project is an online Metaphor Map of English, freely available at: http://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk/.

The screenshots below in Figures 1, 2 and 3 show a progression through the online Metaphor Map of English, from the initial page through the data visualization, to the 'Metaphor card' showing information on the metaphorical link between the categories of 1A05 'Landscape, high and low land' and 1B11 'Body parts'. Each stage of the data visualization allows the user to delve further into the data and explore other, related connections. In addition to this diagrammatic view of the data, every category and its links can also be viewed in table form, as a series of detailed 'Metaphor cards', and as a timeline which shows the period in which we find the first evidence of each link in the data. For more information on how to use the different views of the data, there are instructions for users on the website at: http://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk/how-to-use/



Fig. 1. This shows the front page of the Metaphor Map of English website, with the full visualization of all the data in the HT



Fig. 2. This shows all metaphorical links which the Mapping Metaphor team has identified between category 1A05 'Landscape, high and low land' and all other areas of the HT



Fig. 3. This shows the 'Metaphor card' with information on the metaphorical link from 1B11 'Body parts' to 1A05 'Landscape, high and low land'

Figure 3 shows the full information which has been established for the metaphor link. This includes the first dates in which we find evidence for this link in the data, examples of words which instantiate the link (which can be clicked on to take the user directly to that sense in the HT), an indication of whether the link is systematic (strong) or weak, and an arrow showing the direction of the metaphor link between categories. In this case the arrow indicates that body parts are being used to describe words in the landscape.

Metaphor and Semantic Change

Metaphor is one of the main agents in the development of polysemy and semantic change. Semantic change driven by metaphor is traditionally assumed to proceed from concrete to abstract domains (cf. SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS, in which the source domain 'plants' is more concrete than the target 'social organisations' – hence the abstract sense

'branch' (of a bank) developed from the concrete sense 'branch' (of a tree)). The 'Mapping Metaphor' project has allowed us to identify large-scale patterning, and gives us a context within which to explore possible counter-examples (cf. also Allan 2008).

Metaphor and Place Names

The 'Mapping Metaphor' resource facilitates a comparison between uses of metaphor in ordinary language and in place names, as a first step towards the systematic comparison of lexical and onomastic fields proposed by Nicolaisen at the 1978 ICOS in Cracow. In contrast to comparative analyses of grammatical structures (e.g. Koopman 1979), little work has been done in this area. Preliminary research suggests that there are broad similarities, in that like other areas of language, place names also show landscape features conceptualised in terms of body parts, containers and so on. Examples include Shank Burn, Tongue Burn and Cauldron Linn, all in Kinross-shire in east central Scotland. At the same time, however, there are differences in how the metaphors are manifested. For instance, body terms in place names often represent metaphorical senses also found in the lexicon, but sometimes reflect developments apparently restricted to the toponymicon:

OE mup(a) 'mouth' can refer to the mouth of a living creature or to the mouth of a river both in place-names and in lexis, but the most common use of OE *fot* 'foot' in place-names is an otherwise unattested sense in relation to land at the mouth of a stream ..., and only in toponyms is OE *cneow* 'knee' used for the bend in a river or road, OE *heafod* 'head' of a projecting piece of ground, or OE *tunge* 'tongue' for a strip of land. (Hough 2010: 12)

It is less usual for a topographical meaning to be attested in the lexicon but not the onomasticon, as with the use of OE hrycg 'back' to refer to the crest of a wave.

Metaphorical Connections with Landscape

The Metaphor Map provides lexicographical evidence for the ways we conceptualise landscape features through metaphor. Landscape features can be found in The External World, the first primary division of the HT, which is divided into sub-categories: 1A01 'The world and the earth', 1A02 Region of the earth', 1A03 'Cardinal points', 1A04 'Land and islands', 1A05 Landscape, high and low land', and so on. Some examples of categories that hold strong metaphorical connections with the 1A05 'Landscape, high and low land' category are shown in Table 1.

MM Category	Examples
1B11 Body parts	arm, back, bosom, knee, neck, side, shoulder
1E04 Animal body	horn, hump, snout
1H01 Textiles	carpet, patch, patchwork, ribbon
1H02 Clothing	apron, belt, gusset, gore
3B02 Inhabited place	cabin, chimney, floor, roof, stairway
3K05 Containers	basin, bowl, cauldron, funnel, kettle, pan

Table 1. Metaphorical connections held with the landscape

One of the most common motivations for metaphors of the landscape is shape. Body parts are regularly used to describe the distinctive shape of a landscape feature, as discussed above, and examples from the Metaphor Map include those from humans: *arm, back, bosom, knee, neck, side* and *shoulder*; and animals: *horn, hump* and *snout*. In addition to the well-known LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor, the Metaphor Map provides evidence of links with several other areas of meaning.

While shape is again a common feature, many metaphors draw on more than one aspect of the source term. The transferred sense of *patchwork*, for example, draws on elements of both shape and colour. *Cauldron* can describe either shape or agitation of a body of water. Links with inhabited spaces include *chimney*, describing the cleft of a hill or venting of heat, and *roof*, describing aspects of height and shelter. A more detailed analysis of the full set of metaphorical connections with 1A05 'Landscape, high and low land' is presented in Hough (2016), and includes a number of links for which this is the source rather than the target category.

Conclusion

The Mapping Metaphor project has used the *Historical Thesaurus* database to investigate the development of metaphor in English, by identifying lexical overlap between different semantic categories. While the project covers all areas of semantic meaning, connections contained within the first primary division of the HT, The World, will be of particular interest to place name scholars. It is hoped that the data contained within the Metaphor Map will be used alongside place name evidence, with a view to enhancing understanding of the relationship between names and lexis.

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Can Czechs Read Polish Names? Problems with the Adaptation of Foreign Anthroponyms and Toponyms¹

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Abstract

According to orthoepic manuals of Czech, the pronunciation of foreign proper names should typically reflect their pronunciation in the original language. As Czech and Polish are both West Slavonic languages and are to some degree mutually intelligible, I assumed that Czech speakers would have little trouble in pronouncing Polish names. To test this assumption, I created sentences containing well-known Polish anthroponyms and toponyms, which were read by 65 respondents. I also monitored how the same names are pronounced in the Czech media. Surprisingly, the results showed that the respondents read the Polish names mainly as they were spelled, while in the Czech media they were pronounced according to the original Polish pronunciation. These conflicting results beg the question whether the spelling of Polish anthroponyms and toponyms should be adjusted according to Czech orthography. The possibility of adjusting pronunciation according to the original spelling is blocked, however, by differences in orthography between the two languages. In cases when the spelling of a Polish name differed considerably from Czech orthography respondents had no idea how to read the name.

* * *

Introduction

This paper presents the results of our research that focuses on how Czechs pronounce Polish and Hungarian proper names. Here the results for the Polish names are presented (see Jílková 2016, this volume) for the results concerning the Hungarian names). Our study aimed to identify if and how well Czechs can read names from languages spoken in countries situated close to the Czech Republic, more specifically Czechs' ability to pronounce Polish and Hungarian proper names. Although Polish and Hungarian are languages that are spoken in countries geographically very close to the Czech Republic, there is a big difference in the typological and genealogical relationship between these languages. Polish and Czech are both West Slavic languages, which are to some degree mutually intelligible. But the relationship between Czech and Polish orthography and phonology is far from straightforward. Let us start by considering how Czechs 'should' pronounce Polish names.

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Principles of Adaptation of Polish Names into Czech

The pronunciation of foreign names is in accordance with rules of the Czech phonological system; therefore, Czechs do not usually pronounce foreign names in their original form (i.e. the pronunciation differs from that of the source language). The recommended way of pronouncing foreign names is to pronounce them according to the phonological approximation principle. This means that foreign sounds are replaced with their nearest counterparts in the Czech phonological system, stress falls on the first syllable of a word, according to the rules of Czech, and prosodic, phonotactic and morphological rules of Czech are applied (Palková 1994, Hůrková 1995, Výslovnost spisovné češtiny 1978).

However, when speakers are not familiar with a particular foreign name or they do not know how the name is pronounced in the donor language, they would most likely pronounce the name according to the spelling pronunciation principle (see the eight principles of pronunciation adaptation listed in Duběda *et al.* 2014). According to the spelling pronunciation principle, speakers base their pronunciation on the graphic form of a name and apply pronunciation rules of Czech accordingly.

Although, after Slovak, Polish is the closest language to Czech, the relationship between Polish and Czech orthography and pronunciation is complicated. That said, there are only a couple of regular rules which Czech speakers should follow in order to be able pronounce Polish names correctly (i.e. according to the phonological approximation principle). Therefore, it is theoretically very easy for Czechs to learn how to pronounce Polish names. The mutual contact and socio-cultural relationship is an important part of learning the pronunciation rules, of course.

I state hereafter the main differences between Czech and Polish spelling and pronunciation and I list the basic rules of how Czechs should pronounce Polish names. Firstly, both the Polish retroflex fricative [\S], spelled as the diagraph *sz*, and the alveo-palatal fricative [ς], spelled as *ś*, *si*, should be pronounced by Czechs as a postalveoral fricative [f], which in Czech is spelled *š*. (The combination *si* should be pronounced as [ς I] when it is followed by a consonant and as [ς] only when it is followed by a vowel.) Here we see that only one Czech grapheme and one phoneme correspond to three different Polish spellings and to two different phonemes. For example, the name of famous writer Sienkiewicz should be pronounced by Czechs as [$\int \varepsilon nkj\varepsilon vt(f)$], not as [$\int \varepsilon nkj\varepsilon vt(f)$].

Similarly, Czechs should pronounce the Polish retroflex affricate [ts], spelled as the diagraph *cz*, and the alveolo-palatal affricate [ts], spelled as *ć*, *ci*, as a postalveoral affricate $[t\hat{f}]$, spelled *č* in Czech. The retroflex fricative [z] (*ż*) and the alveolo-palatal fricative [z] (*ź*, *zi*) should be pronounced as a postalveoral fricative [3] (*ž*). And, finally, the retroflex affricate [dz] (*dż*) and the alveolo-palatal affricate [dz] (*dź*, *dzi*) should be pronounced by Czechs as a postalveoral affricate [dʒ] (*dž*).

Polish phonemes	Czech phonemes
$[\mathfrak{g},\mathfrak{c}]$ sz, ś, si \rightarrow	$\left[\int \right] \left(\left[\int \right] \right)$
[tş, tɕ] cz, ć, ci→	$[\hat{t}]$ $([\hat{t}]\hat{i}]$
$ \begin{bmatrix} z, z \end{bmatrix} \dot{z}, \dot{z}, zi \rightarrow \\ \begin{bmatrix} dz_{c} & dz \end{bmatrix} & d\dot{z}, d\dot{z}, \\ dzi \rightarrow \end{bmatrix} $	[<u>3]</u> ([<u>31]</u>)
$[dz, dz] d\dot{z}, d\dot{z},$	[dʒ] ([dʒɪ])
dzi→	

Tabl	le 1.	

Another rule, which is even simpler than the one listed above, concerns the pronunciation of the palatal nasal. As both languages have the same palatal nasals, there should not be a problem. However, there is a difference in spelling: while in Czech the palatal nasal [n] is spelled \check{n} , it is spelled \check{n} in Polish. In both languages [n] is spelled also as ni, the only difference is again when a vowel follows the combination of graphemes ni in Polish, only [n] should be pronounced.

With regard to vowels, the main difference between the two languages is that Polish has two nasal vowels: [5] spelled as q and [$\tilde{\epsilon}$] spelled as q. Czechs should read these graphemes as [on] and [ϵ n]. Particularly problematic for Czechs is the grapheme q ([5]) which many speakers read as [a] or [an] rather than [on]. Another difference between Czech and Polish is that while there are two vowels ([i] i and [i] y) in Polish, there is only one short vowel [I] in Czech for the graphemes i and y. This distinction in Polish, however, does not cause any problems for Czechs because they read both the graphemes i and y as [I].Finally, the Polish grapheme δ is pronounced as [u] and this is somewhat confusing for many Czechs, given that the same grapheme is pronounced [o:] in Czech.

There are two exceptions to the phonological approximation principle in the recommended pronunciation of Polish names, which should be mentioned. Firstly, retroflex fricative [z] spelled as rz should be pronounced as a raised alveolar non-sonorant trill [r] (\check{r}) because the graphic and etymological correspondence between Polish and Czech words is more important than phonology.

Secondly, for the same reason, the labio-velar approximant [w] spelled as *l* should be pronounced as alveolar lateral approximant [l]. Therefore, in these two cases the recommended pronunciation differs from phonological approximation principle, and the spelling pronunciation principle is recommended instead.

Methods

The above rules are sufficient for any Czech speaker to be able to pronounce Polish names properly. It is clear that these rules are simple, especially if we compare difficulties in pronunciation that Czechs face when reading, for example, English, French or German names, let alone languages like Vietnamese and Chinese for which there are considerable problems regarding phonological adaptation. Unsurprisingly, therefore, newsreaders pronounce Polish names correctly: for example Mariusz Szczygieł is pronounced as [marijuf \hat{f} [igjel], Alexander Kwaśniewski as [alɛksandr kvaʃnɛfskı] and Henryk Sienkiewicz as [hɛnrık ʃɛnkjɛvıt͡ʃ] (see also Zeman 2006).

But our main interest lies in how everyday Czech language users pronounce these and other Polish (and Hungarian names); we are not concerned with how they are pronounced in the media. To elicit this information we wrote 28 sentences including some more or less known Polish names which we assumed might be familiar to Czechs, and we asked 65 respondents (37 men and 28 women) to read these sentences. We also asked the respondents to underline the names with which they were familiar. Three independent variables were taken into consideration: 'age', 'level of education' and 'sex'. We tested the pronunciation of the following Polish names: Mariusz Szczygieł, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Aleksander Kaczyński, Adam Mickiewicz, Adam Michnik, Gazeta Wyborcza, Zbigniew Czendlik, Jerzy Kosiński, Kazimierz, Donald Tusk, Olsztyn, Grudziądz, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Górny Sląsk, Kudova Zdrój.

Results

Name	Recommended pronunciation (number of respondents)	Other variants (number of respondents)	Number of variants with one token only	Number of respondents familiar with the name (recommended pronunciation)
Mariusz	[marıjuʃ] 13	[ma:rɪjuʃ] 16 [ma:rɪjus] 13 [marɪjus] 9 [maurɪjus] 5 [maurɪjuʃ] 2	7	6 (2)
Szczygieł	[∫t͡ʃìgjɛl] 15	[scigjel] 6 [ʃīgjel] 5 [sci:gl] 3 [sītʃīgjel] 3 [sīgjel] 2 [sīngjel] 2 [scigel] 2	25	5 (3)
Kwaśniewski	[kva∫nɛfskı] 47	[kvaspefsk1] 8	10	49 (45)
Kaczyński	[kat͡ʃiɲskı] 19	[katjintski] 36 [katsintski] 2	10	53 (19)
Mickiewicz	[mītskjevīt]] 15	[mītskijevit]] 34 [mikjevit]] 4 [mit]kijevit]] 3	9	48 (14)
Michnik	[mɪxɲɪk] 44	[mɪxnɪk] 13 [mɪt͡ʃɲɪk] 3 [mɪʃɲɪk] 2	3	26 (21)
Wyborcza	[vibort͡ʃa] 42	[vibortsa] 11 [vibortsa] 2 [vibortsa] 2	8	27 (27)
Czendlik	[t͡ʃɛndlɪk] 41	[tsendlik] 6 [tʃendliːk] 5 [t͡ʃedɲɪk] 3 [t͡ʃedlīk] 3	8	33 (26)
Jerzy	[jɛŗɪ] 8	[jɛrzı] 28 [jɛrʒɪ] 11 [d͡ʒɛrʒɪ] 10 [jɛrd͡zɪ] 2	6	8 (0)
Kosiński	[koʃiɲskı] 13	[kosijiski] 31 [ko∫inski] 6 [kosinski] 6	9	8 (3)

Kazimierz	[kaʒımjɛr] 1	[kazımjɛr] 20	5	18 (0)	
		[kazımjɛrs] 13			
		[kazımjɛr] 12			
		[kazımi:r] 5			
		[kazımjɛr∫] 3			
		[kazımjɛŗʃ] 2			
Tusk	[tusk] 46	[task] 18	1	34 (23)	
Olsztyn	[ol∫tın] 27	[olstin] 23	7	14 (10)	
		[ol∫tiːn] 6			
		[oscin] 2			
Grudziądz	[grudzonts] 0	[grudzjats] 28	13	0	
		[grudzjats] 10			
		[grudzjat]] 4			
		[grudzjat]] 3			
		[grudzat]] 3			
		[grudzjak] 2			
		[grudʒontʃ] 2			
Sienkiewicz	[ʃɛnkjɛvɪt͡ʃ] 3	[sınkjɛvıt͡ʃ] 16	15	49 (2)	
		[sınkıjɛvıt͡ʃ] 14			
		[ʃɪnkjɛvɪt͡ʃ] 7			
		[sjɛnkjɛvɪtʃ] 4			
		[sjɛnkɛvıt͡ʃ] 2			
		[senkjevīt]] 2			
		[sınkjevitj] 2			
Górny	[gurn1] 2	[go:rni] 50	0	5 (1)	
		[gorn1] 13			
Śląsk	[ʃlonsk] 3	[ʃlask] 37	4	6(1)	
		[slask] 19			
		[slaſk] 2			
Kudova Zdrój	[kudova zdruj] 4	[kudova zdroj] 58	0	25 (2)	
		[kudova zdro:j] 3			

Table 2.

We see in Table 2 that not all respondents read the names according to the recommended pronunciation. The names for which the recommended pronunciation was most commonly observed are as follows: Szczygieł (though only 15 respondents pronounced the name as [Jt]igiel], other variants were pronounced by even fewer respondents, see Table 2), Kwaśniewski (pronounced by 47 respondents as [kvaʃnɛfski]), Michnik (44 respondents), Wyborcza (42), Czendlik (41), Tusk (46), and Olsztyn (27).

The pronunciation of the other names in most cases differed from the recommended variant used in the Czech media. These names were as follows: Mariusz, Kaczyński, Mickiewicz, Jerzy, Kosiński, Kazimierz, Grudziądz, Sienkiewicz, Górny, Śląsk, Kudowa Zdrój. In total, the observed pronunciation of 11 names differs from the recommended pronunciation used in the Czech media. We now need to consider why this is so and to identify what role, if any, respondents' familiarity with the names plays in pronunciation.

Factors Influencing Pronunciation

Here I will consider the impact of the respondents' knowledge of the names on pronunciation. It is important to note in this respect that our respondents could recognize the Polish names under study merely from their written form, and not from speech, for they had at their disposal only written sentences.

Let us look at a few examples to demonstrate this point. First, let us look at the pronunciation of the name of the former Polish president Aleksander Kwaśniewski, whom 49 out of the 65 respondents claimed to know. Of these respondents 45 read the name correctly as [kvaʃŋɛfskɪ]. On the other hand, of the 16 respondents who claimed not to know the name only two read it correctly, while for the other respondents forms like [kvasɲɛfskɪ], [kvasɲɛvɛfskɪ] were recorded. The relationship between familiarity and pronunciation is therefore clearly visible in this case.

Now let us look at the name of another former Polish president Lech Aleksander Kaczyński. We see that in this case the relationship between knowledge of the name and its pronunciation is not so straightforward. Although 54 of our respondents claimed to know the name, only two of them pronounced it according to the phonological approximation principle as recommended, that is, as [katʃiŋski]. Most of respondents pronounced this name as [katʃiŋtski]. Here there is only one slight difference, though: most of the respondents pronounced the Polish grapheme \dot{n} as [n] and not as [n] (and after [n] we can see the assimilation of the sound [s], which was pronounced as [ts]). Conversely, the respondents who claimed not to know name Kaczyński struggled with the pronunciation of the name in considerably more cases, hence we could still state the impact of familiarity on pronunciation is visible.

Such impact was visible also in the pronunciation of the famous Polish writer's name Adam Mickiewicz: of 48 respondents who claimed to be familiar with this name, 15 pronounced it as $[mitskj\epsilon vitf]$ and 34 as $[mitskj\epsilon vitf]$, which again is only slightly different from the recommended pronunciation. On the other hand, only 4 of 17 respondents who were not familiar with the name were able to pronounce it in this way. Therefore, the relationship between familiarity with a name and its pronunciation seems to be significant.

However, if we take the case of the famous Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz, then the relationship between knowledge of the name and its correct pronunciation as $[\int \epsilon nkj\epsilon vit]$ is not so straightforward. Although 48 of our respondents claimed to know the name, only four of them pronounced it as $[\int \epsilon nkj\epsilon vit]$, and two of these four respondents hesitated and were not sure about the proper pronunciation. The name was read most frequently as $[sinkj\epsilon vit]$ (16 respondents) and $[sinkij\epsilon vit]$ (14). We therefore need to look for reasons why this case is different from those considered above and why respondents struggled with the pronunciation of this name.

Clearly, it is the spelling si, which should be pronounced as [\int] by Czechs, that caused problems for our respondents. The respondents also struggled with the names Kosiński and Kazimierz for similar reasons: that is, due to the pronunciation of the graphemes si and zi. Only one of them read the grapheme zi in the name Kazimierz as [31] (we can assume the impact of the Czech exonym Kazimír on the pronunciation, but this is not the case with the names Sienkiewicz and Kosiński).

As we have already seen, most of our respondents had no problems with the graphemes \dot{s} and ni in the name Kwaśniewski or with the digraph cz in the names Kaczyński and Mickiewicz. We can conclude therefore that Czechs can read to some degree the digraphs cz (cf. also the pronunciation of the names Wyborcza, Czendlik, Sienkiewicz, Szczygieł) and sz (cf. also the pronunciation of the names Mariusz, Olsztyn and Szczygieł), and Polish graphemes which are similar to their counterparts: \dot{s} (cf. Czech \check{s}), \dot{z} (cf. Czech \check{z}) and \dot{n} (cf. Czech \check{n}). On the other hand, they struggle with spellings whose pronunciation differs from that of Czech, regardless whether they are familiar with the name or not. This is clear from the examples in which our respondents were unable to read the graphemes si and zi as [fi], or [f] before a vowel, and [3i] or [3].

From our research it is also obvious that the Czechs do not know how to pronounce the Polish graphemes q and δ . We tested each of these graphemes in two names (Grudziądz, Górny Śląsk and Kudova Zdrój) that comprise 130 tokens for each grapheme. The nasal vowel q was pronounced correctly as [on] in only three of 130 cases, and the Polish vowel δ was pronounced correctly as [u] only five times.

Our respondents also had problems with reading the Polish digraph rz as the Czech grapheme \check{r} (that is, as [r]); this was clear from their pronunciation of the names Jerzy and Kazimierz. On the other hand, the Polish grapheme l caused no problems: respondents pronounced it as Czech [1].

We can conclude that, on the one hand, most Czechs cannot read the Polish graphemes q, \dot{o} , the digraphs rz and combinations of graphemes like si, zi and dzi (cf. the pronunciation of the name Grudziądz) correctly. On the other hand, however, they can read to some degree the Polish digraphs sz and cz and graphemes \dot{s} , \dot{z} , \dot{n} , especially when they are familiar with the names in which these graphemes occur.

Impact of English on Pronunciation

It is also worth considering the influence of English (and of other languages) on the pronunciation of Polish names. The influence of English was clearly noted in four of the sample names: Michnik, Jerzy, Mickiewicz and Tusk.

Firstly, the grapheme *ch* in the name Michnik was read by 5 respondents as $[t\hat{f}]$ and as $[\int]$ in three cases, despite the fact that *ch* in both Polish and Czech is pronounced [x]. With the cases of the pronunciation *ch* as $[\int]$ in the name of Michnik we can assume influence of French (cf. the pronunciation of the well-known name Michelin).

Secondly, the *j* in the name Jerzy was read as $[d_3]$ by 11 respondents, although the Czech variant of this name is Jiří read as [jɪri:], with [j] as in Polish.

Thirdly, ten of our respondents read the combination graphemes c + k in the name Mickiewicz as [k] instead of [[\widehat{tsk}].

Finally, 19 of our respondents read the u in the name Tusk as [a]. We should take into consideration here that the first name of the Polish politician, Donald, does not sound Polish, but is characteristic of English, and this may have influenced respondents' pronunciation.

Written vs. Spoken Forms of Polish Names

Finally, I would like to give some thoughts to the relationship between written and spoken forms of Polish names. As was stated earlier, our respondents had only written examples at their disposal. An important question that needs to be addressed is whether or not there is a gap between the written form of a particular name and its spoken form, which is commonly used in the Czech media. It is important to know whether our respondents are unable to recognize certain Polish names in writing, but are familiar with them from speech.

This question became apparent while I was dealing with the results for the pronunciation of the name of the Polish writer Mariusz Szczygieł. Only 15 respondents read the name as [ft] igit]. For the others the name proved a difficult tongue twister, and the respondents had no idea how to pronounce it. Given what has been written so far, we might assume that the name Szczygieł would not be so problematic. We have already seen that Czechs can to some degree read the digraphs sz and cz properly as [f] and [tf], especially in names with which they are familiar. The problem in the name Szczygieł may be that two digraphs immediately follow one another. The consonant cluster itself is not unfamiliar to Czechs, but they are not used to clusters compromising four sibilants without a sonorous consonant. Moreover, the most surprising finding was that only five respondents claimed to know this name. The level of unfamiliarity with this name is quite astonishing because Mariusz Szczygieł is a contemporary writer who wrote a well-known book about Czechs that is quite popular among Czech readers. In addition, a film based on the book was released this year and Mariusz Szczygieł has also appeared as an invited guest on a couple of popular Czech TV shows. Therefore, I am very suspicious that only five of 65 respondents were familiar with this name. I strongly suspect that most people would be familiar with the name from the media but that they were unable to recognise it in its written form. Similarly, some of our respondents might not have recognized the written form of the Polish town Grudziadz or the name of the Polish priest Zbigniew Czendlik, who has lived in the Czech Republic since 1992, who has appeared many times in the Czech media and who is quite popular among Czechs.

Conclusion and Discussion

An interesting observation emerging from our research is that Czechs struggle to read Polish names from their written form. They are able to read only some digraphs (*sz*, *cz*), and even then not entirely consistently, and Polish graphemes which are either similar to their Czech counterparts (\dot{s} , \dot{z} , \dot{n} , l) or are the same (a, r, p, k, t, e, etc.) and which are pronounced more or less identically in both languages. Because of this inability there is a significant discrepancy between the spoken forms of the Polish names which Czechs hear in the media and the same Polish names that they see written in newspapers, magazines, etc. As linguists, we should think about possibilities for decreasing the gap between the written and spoken forms of Polish names. There are two obvious methods that we can use to address the issue.

Firstly, we might abandon the phonological approximation principle of pronunciation for Polish names and instead pronounce them according to the spelling pronunciation principle. The problem with this method is that it would not be easy for Czechs to pronounce clusters of sibilants like *szcz*.

The second possible solution (which we might label 'the Russian method', as it is used in Russian) is to replace the Polish spelling with a spelling more characteristic of the Czech writing system. For example, we could write Ščigjel, Kačiňsky, Kažiměř, and so on. But obviously, the gap between the written and spoken forms of the Polish names would have been decreased at the expense of increasing the gap between the written forms in Czech and in the original language (i.e. in Polish). Secondly, if we use Czech spelling for Polish names, then why should we not do the same for Hungarian, German or English names? And here is a very important point. Czechs tend to (and like to) use the original spelling of loanwords and proper names, especially those coming from English (this tendency is also evident in decline of exonyms of the type Řezno for Regensburg, or Vratislav for Wrocław). Consequently, if Czechs want to be able to recognise Polish names both in their written and spoken form, then they should learn rules outlined in the first part of this paper.

Most Czechs, however, are unlikely to do so, as, for the most part, they have little interest in cultural, political or sports events in Poland. We may assume that this is the case not only from the reactions of our respondents, but also from the lack of interest shown by the Czech media in events taking place in Poland. In fact, the above-mentioned media interest in the writer Mariusz Szczygieł and the priest Zbigniew Czendlik is triggered merely by the connection between these people and the Czech Republic, as what is interesting for most Czechs, is how they are perceived by foreigners.

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The Great Onomastic Divide in Norway: The Standardizing Problem of Settlement (Farm) Names after 400 Years of Danish Influence¹

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Abstract

In Norway the spelling of place names, in particular the names of farms and smallholdings, has been disputed since the second half of the 19th century. There are two reasons for this, one being the strong influence by Danish on the written language after 400 years of Danish rule, and the other one being the idea that the ownership of a farm implies the ownership of the name of the farm or the smallholding. In 1990 an act on the spelling of place names was passed to safeguard the place names as a part of the cultural heritage. The farm owners, however, should be heard before the spelling is decided (by the Mapping Authority). Numerous farm owners have protested against the spelling regulations and in 2009 a small group of MPs forwarded a proposal to give the owners of smallholdings the right to decide on the spelling. The Parliament voted, rather surprisingly, in favour of the proposal. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs has been charged with formulating an amendment according to the wishes of the politicians. The bill is in process, and if such an amendment to the law will be adopted, the onomastic divide in Norway will be legally mandated.

* * *

Introduction

Let me start by posing an intricate question: who owns names? I do not think that people in general pay much attention to such a question in everyday life. Some may say that, as names are parts of the language, they are owned by everybody and should be considered as being in shared ownership. Of course, people are concerned with their own names and like to see them written and used correctly. Most people would probably say that 'this is my name', for instance *Tom*, and correspondingly 'that is your name', for instance *Ann*, perhaps meaning that a name is a personal thing attached to one's identity. In fact it is, but that does not mean that Tom owns the name 'Tom' or Ann owns the name 'Ann'. They are sharing those names with thousands of other individuals. Some people bear unique names bestowed on them by their parents, while some have invented their own unique names. When it comes to company names and brand names, the owners will certainly claim that such names are privately owned

¹ My thanks go to Guy Puzey for proofreading the language in the paper.

in the sense that no one else can use them for other purposes than those they were made for. Such names are also normally protected by law. I shall return to this category in connection with the claimed ownership of farm names.

In my view there is a common understanding that personal names (first names / surnames) – as opposed to place names – are taken on an individual basis, and that the person carrying the name, and those who gave the name, have a kind of ownership of the name, at least of its spelling. Names of things belonging to the private sphere, like boats, rooms, cabins etc., may also be considered private property. When place names are used in a private context they are often used with varying spellings, and it is by no means forbidden to do so. However, in this paper I will argue that place names belong to the whole society and that they should be standardized in accordance with officially adopted regulations. These names are linguistic terms handed down from generation to generation mostly without identified name givers. Consequently, they should be regarded as common cultural property. This is also in line with United Nations resolutions (UNGEGN 1897-1926). In many cases, however, individuals like to see their own private spellings of place names on maps and road signs instead of the official spellings, and bitter conflicts sometimes emerge from such disagreements. This applies, not least, to Norway.

Legal Requirements for Giving and Using Names

Names have a formal aspect at the state level as authoritative means of identifying individual people, ships etc., and they also have a communicative function among people. As part of a language, names are shared by a linguistic society, which may be small or large. Most personal names are borrowed from a personal name stock and, as mentioned above, these are normally shared by a certain number of people. Many countries have issued laws concerning personal names. The recent Norwegian personal names law (Lovdata 2001) is quite liberal in the sense that it allows almost any name to be taken as a first name or surname. A first name should, however, have the character of a first name, and it should distinguish between males and females. Furthermore, it should not be derogatory.

Surnames are normally transferred to children from the family to which they belong. If a person at a later stage wishes to change his or her surname, he or she is relatively free to do so. An existing surname may be assumed by anyone if it is borne by more than 200 individuals. The law also accepts that any place name may be taken as a surname, as long as it is not protected in the capacity of a surname. So instead of the common surname *Hansen*, a person may choose the name of a well-known topographic feature as a surname, such as *Jotunheimen*, the name of Norway's highest mountain area. It would, however, not be very well received if a person were to assume the name of such an iconic place for personal naming purposes. As soon as somebody assumes a unique surname, including any 'vacant' place name, then that name is, so to speak, taken and protected. A great number of place names used as farm names are already taken as surnames, as there is a long tradition in Norway of using farm names as surnames – a point to which I will return shortly.

Coining New Place Names

Before discussing the question of the ownership and spelling of farm names and the names of parts of farms (smallholdings²), I will briefly comment on the naming of unnamed topographical features. This question may sound redundant, but it is not. The large majority of place names have been handed down from generation to generation without any indication of who coined them. Most place names have come into use 'by themselves' through a gradual process, with exceptions such as the planned naming of streets or similar spaces by local and governmental authorities.

In fact, there are countless spaces large and small that are not named. As a result, the name consultancies and the Mapping Authority sometimes receive enquiries from people or groups who wish to name topographic features in their local areas. The answer is that there is no law that forbids such an action, and in private contexts people may give names as they wish. The Norwegian Mapping Authority's attitude is that a place name, even if it is a result of a private initiative, may be accepted for mapping if it becomes known among a larger group of users. It should then also be confirmed by the municipal authorities. Recreational organizations have on several occasions taken the initiative to coin new names for parts of the Norwegian mountains. Now the 'touristic' names *Breheimen* 'the home of glaciers', *Reinheimen* 'the home of reindeer', and *Trollheimen* 'the home of trolls' are all well established. *Jotunheimen* 'the home of giants' received its name already in the 19th century at the very beginning of mountain tourism.

Recently, a discussion has been going on in Scandinavia about giving a new name to the long mountain range running from the south to the north of Norway and through part of Sweden. An existing name $K_{j \phi len}$ is traditionally used for the border area between the two countries, but this name does not quite fit the mountain range in question. The Geological Society of Norway announced a name competition a year ago and, after a committee had evaluated the proposals, the winner was announced as *Nordryggen* 'The Northern Ridge'. However, both Norwegian and Swedish geological experts protested and claimed that *Skandane / Skanderna* had a long tradition as the name of the common mountain range and is accepted by the two countries as well as by Finland. Time will tell if the new name comes into use (Jenstad *et al.* 2013, Nystuen 2014).

Standardization of Place Names in a Historical Perspective

One question is who owns place names; another question, more relevant in practice, is who has authority over their spellings. If there is an 'owner' of a name, it could be assumed that the owner decides. The question regarding the spelling of place names (or geographical names) becomes pertinent, for instance, when the mapping authorities publish maps, or national statistics agencies construct national names registers, or the public roads

² There are about 50-60,000 farms in Norway which were established in the Middle Ages or earlier. During the following centuries, most of these farms, if not all, were divided into parts (in Norwegian (gards)bruk)); sometimes into two parts, but mostly into several parts. The individual farm parts might continue to bear the same name as the original farm, or they might get a different name. In this paper, I will use the term *smallholding* although it does not quite comply with the corresponding Norwegian term *bruk*.

administration put up names on road signs. Most countries have regulations on how to spell place names. Theoretically, any spelling of a name could function if the society in question agrees upon it. Normally it is agreed that the same spelling rules used in the language in general should be used for place names, although not without exceptions, as many traditional names are used in old and very often distorted spellings. In many cases, however, more than one spelling of a place name is used, especially in Norway.

In Norway, the standardization of place names started in the middle of the 19th century. When the Danish-Norwegian Union was dissolved in 1814, Danish was totally dominant as a written language, whereas the various dialects spoken in the country had developed more or less directly from the Old Norwegian spoken language. This resulted in a great difference between the written and spoken forms of place names. In 1836, the authorities decided to establish a new land register in which farm names would be modernized and written more in line with the Norwegian spoken forms. The new register was an important step forward, but many mistakes remained. Another great undertaking was launched in 1886, when a completely new cadastre was issued. Now most of the names had been given a standardized spelling based on their local pronunciation and their etymology. Oluf Rygh, who had been the chairman of the committee working on the revision, continued to study farm names, and from 1897 onwards his material was published and explained in an 18-volume series entitled *Norske Gaardnavne* ('Norwegian farm names') (Rygh 1897-1926).

The Mapping Authority issued its first rules on the spelling of place names on maps in 1912-1913. Here, the main principle was that the spelling should be based on the inherited local pronunciation and at the same time follow the spelling rules of the newly established Norwegian language, Nynorsk. In the following decades, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued updated versions of the regulations, following the same principles. However, there were numerous protests against many official spellings, and in around 1960, several cases were brought to court. It was ruled that the Ministry had no legal authority to decide on the spelling of names of smallholdings. In fact, this verdict was one of the reasons for beginning the process of creating a new law.

The Place Name Act

Another 30 years came to pass until the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget) adopted a law on the standardization of place names in 1990. The law maintained the principle of standardizing place names on the basis of inherited local pronunciation, including old names of farms and smallholdings. To some extent, the views of the owner should be taken into consideration, but only new names were completely left to the owner's decision. The law stated that geographical names should be standardized according to one of the two official forms of Norwegian (Bokmål or Nynorsk), and then on the basis of the traditional local pronunciation. However, some dialectal traits, as well as widely used traditional spellings, may be retained. More detailed spelling rules were issued in the regulations pertaining to the law. Sámi and Kven (Finnish) geographical names should be standardized according to the spelling rules of those languages. During the standardization process, local views must be heard and taken into consideration before the determination of a spelling. The Mapping Authority is responsible for standardizing most names on governmental level. The purpose of the Act is to safeguard the cultural heritage vested in geographical names, to determine a spelling that is both practical and useable, and to promote knowledge and active use of names. The Act applies where any state, county or municipal body needs to determine geographical names or the spelling thereof, or use them in the performance of its duties (Lovdata 1990).

Local Protests

In many cases, however, locals have reacted against the official standardization of names. To understand this, one should bear in mind that a large number of Norwegians have a surname derived from a farm name. Until the 1800s, farm names functioned as addresses for the inhabitants of a farm, and when a person moved from one location to another, their 'surname' was changed in order to correspond to the new residence. As time went on, mostly in the second half of the 20th century, farm names were adopted as permanent surnames. When such names were entered in church records, an Old Danish-like spelling was normally used. The orthography of the farm name and surname was frequently inconsistent and could be confusing with regard to etymology and local pronunciation. When the orthography of farm names was standardized during the 19th and 20th centuries, the same names used as surnames were preserved in the old orthography with any distorted spellings or 'mistakes'.

Another historical factor is that most old farms have been divided up over the last few centuries, but the various smallholdings parcelled off have mostly retained the same name as the original main farm. As the same name is used for both the original farm and the subsidiary farmsteads or smallholdings, it has been customary to standardize both names according to the same rules, but individual families often have their own way of spelling their surnames. For example, a family with the surname *Wiig* might live on a farmstead named *Vik* that was originally a part of a main farm named *Vik*. The owners of one of the smallholdings within the major farm *Vik* may prefer to spell their surname *Wiig*, while their neighbours might insist on other spellings like *Wik*, *Wiik*, *Wig*, *Wiig*, *Wich*, or in many cases also the standardized form *Vik*. The same applies, for instance, to *Krogvold*, a Danish-inspired form of the standardized form *Kråkvål*. *Krogvold* looks like a compound of Danish *krog* 'hook' and *vold* 'meadow', whereas the compound *Kråkvål* consists of *kråke* 'crow' and *vål* 'burnt clearing'.



Fig. 1. The figure illustrates a possible situation (worst-case scenario) where an inherited farm named *Vik* has been divided into a number of smallholdings and where the owners of the various holdings may decide on the spelling of their property's name – if the proposed law amendment is adopted. Illustration by Kristoffer Kristiansen. Permission by the Norwegian Mapping Authority.

In many cases, names of smallholdings are used for businesses, often also in a distorted spelling. Gradually, as a 'private' spelling takes over, even among local people, there are renewed requests for this spelling to be accepted as official. As a result, economic interests may pave the way for a spelling which is not in conformity with the standardization principles.

A Proposed Amendment of the Norwegian Place Name Act

A basic question is whether the ownership of a private property with an inherited name also includes the right to determine the name's spelling or even to change the name. This is a widespread view. It is understandable that people object to having to use a spelling of a name that they are not accustomed to using. This means weighing up considerations of individual or family identity against orthographic consistency to serve the common good. The current trend, however, in politics as well as public opinion, seems to be that jurisdiction over the name of property should be on an equal footing with the right to choose one's own surname.

The law had not solved the discrepancy between authoritative spellings of farm names and spellings used in private contexts. A group of farmers contacted two MPs from the conservative political party Høgre, who took the matter forward through the political process. In 2009, the Parliament voted unanimously, rather surprisingly, in favour of an amendment aiming to give owners the right to decide on how to spell the names of their smallholdings. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs then prepared an amendment which was sent out for consultation among relevant administrative bodies and organizations. An extract from the justification states as follows (translated from Norwegian by the author):

In the opinion of the Ministry, it will prove expedient to establish different rules in connection with the orthography of names of smallholdings than those used for farm names.³ The Ministry believes this solution will pave the way for creating a good balance between the right of owners to influence the orthography of the name of their property and considerations involved with preserving cultural heritage. (Kulturdepartementet 2007-2008)

Counterarguments

The Mapping Authority, as well as the Language Council of Norway and name scholars, have argued against the proposal as it will allow for various spellings of the same name to exist, depending on the owner's view. Seen in the light of the drive to preserve intangible cultural heritage, this initiative is regarded by name scholars as a step backwards, although most Norwegian place names will be safeguarded in compliance with the existing paragraphs of the regulations. According to the Mapping Authority, this line of reasoning will make it difficult to distinguish between the name of a smallholding, where the owner has the right to determine the spelling, and a farm name, which is standardized according to orthographic rules; as mentioned above the name of the smallholding may be derived from the farm name.

³ A farm name is in this context the name that the original farm had in the Middle Ages, before it was divided.

This may, in turn, lead to a situation in which the spelling of a smallholding name also takes over the function of a farm name. If the proposed amendment is carried out, Norway will see the establishment of a double onomastic system, or a divided system, in which most of the place names will be consistent with the spelling rules, but where many names of smallholdings (parts of farms) will be written in an inconsistent and casual way.

Place names are an important part of cultural heritage locally and nationally, as well as for the international community. Most names have appeared, so to speak, by themselves, at various times in the area's history, and they are a reflection of man's activity in the area over the ages. They show how name givers have described nature and various stages of settlement. In many countries place names are traces of earlier language communities. And they represent a broad spectrum of historical linguistic forms. Therefore, the precious value of place names should be managed like other types of national heritage. This implies that place names should be standardized according to national standards and used consistently on all public levels.

Conclusion

The Ministry of Cultural Affairs has, in this proposal to amend the Place Name Act, accepted the onomastic divide in Norwegian nomenclature. Or, more explicitly, it has accepted the premise that one category of place names, specifically those of smallholdings, should be left to owners to determine, whereas other names principally belonging to the same onomastic category, i.e. farm names, should be determined according to a set of regulations. In its proposal, the Ministry itself stresses the importance of place names as valuable constituents of the intangible cultural heritage, giving good arguments for their preservation. But, as the names of smallholdings have become politicized, the Ministry has been charged with formulating an amendment according to the wishes of the politicians. Before too long, the onomastic divide in Norway will probably be legally mandated.⁴

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⁴ The proposed amendment of the Place Name Act which has been discussed in this paper was passed by the Parliament on 15 June 2015. However, a considerable minority consisting mainly of the Norwegian Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party and the Christian Democrats voted against the amendment.

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Pronunciation of Hungarian Proper Names in Czech¹

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Abstract

This paper is devoted to the analysis of the pronunciation of selected Hungarian proper names in Czech – anthroponyms and toponyms considered rather well-known in the Czech context (e.g. *Lajos Kossuth, Imre Kertész, Harkány, Pécs*) and which contain potentially problematic sounds (e.g. the digraphs *ly, gy* and *ny*). These names were incorporated into simple sentences (e.g. *This year I want to visit the famous spa Harkány*), which were read by 65 Czech respondents with no knowledge of Hungarian. For some names in particular there was – considering the number of respondents – a great number of registered pronunciation variants, e.g. in the case of the Hungarian anthroponym *Rákóczi*, there were 14 different pronunciations, e.g. [ra:ko:ts1], [ra:kotʃ1], [ra:kosʃ1], [ra:kosʃ1], [ra:kosʃ1], [ra:kosʃ1], [ra:kosʃ1], [ra:kosʃ1], [ra:kosf1], [ra:kosf

* * *

Introduction

In this paper, I would like to share the results of my research on how Czech respondents pronounce selected Hungarian proper names. I focused on those Hungarian athroponyms and toponyms, which are considered familiar in the Czech context. To start with, (1) I will give an overview of all the variants in pronouncing the selected Hungarian names; then (2) I'll discuss to what extent the recorded variants depend on the respondents' previous knowledge of these names; and finally (3) I will explore the principles that the respondents employed when pronouncing these loanwords.

Method

Selected Hungarian names appeared in so-called test sentences, which the respondents had to read out. The total number of respondents was 65, out of which 37 were men and 28 women, all with secondary or university education. Their reading was recorded on a dictaphone Sony ICD-UX534F. In the test sentences, I chose such Hungarian names that could be quite

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familiar (from school, media, and so on) and at the same time could include some problematic sounds for Czech speakers. Here are the sentences:

- *V roce 2002 získal Nobelovu cenu za literaturu maďarský spisovatel Imre Kertész.* (In 2002 the Nobel Prize was awarded to the Hungarian writer Imre Kertész.)
- Spisovatel Sándor Márai prožil značnou část svého života v emigraci. (The writer Sándor Márai spent most of his life in exile.)
- Pécs má český název Pětikostelí.
 (Pécs is called Pětikostelí in Czech.)
- *Básníci Sándor Petőfi a János Arany byli dobří přátelé.* (The poets Sándor Petőfi and János Arany were good friends.)
- Ferenc Rákóczi II. má pamětní desku na pražském Malostranském náměstí. (Ferenc Rákóczi II has a memorial plate at the Prague's Malostranske namesti.)
- Hudební skladatel Ferenc nebo také Franz Liszt je znám svými Uherskými rapsodiemi.
 - (The composer Ferenc or Franz Liszt is known for his Hungarian Rhapsodies.)
- Lajos Kossuth je zásadní osobností maďarských dějin, konkrétně roku 1848. (Lajos Kossuth was a major figure in Hungarian history, in particular after 1848.)
- Současným maďarským prezidentem je János Áder. (János Áder is a current Hungarian president.)
- V letech 2005–2010 byl prezidentem Maďarska László Sólyom. (Between 2005 and 2010, the president of Hungary was László Sólyom.)
- Bedřich je německy Friedrich a maďarsky Frigyes. (The Czech name Bedřich is Friedrich in German and Frigyes in Hungarian.)
- Spisovatel a básník Dezső Kosztolányi mimo jiné přeložil do maďarštiny Romea a Julii Williama Shakespeara.
 (The writer and nest Dezs" Kosztolányi translated Shekespeara?

(The writer and poet Dezső Kosztolányi translated Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* among others.)

• V divadelní hře Kočičí hra, kterou napsal István Örkény, svého času excelovala Dana Medřická.

(The Czech actress Dana Medřická starred in the drama *Catsplay* written by István Örkény.)

• *Letos chci navštívit vyhlášené termální lázně Harkány.)* (This year I want to visit the renowned thermal Baths Harkány.)

Having read the sentences, the respondents were asked to mark each sentence and say whether they knew the Hungarian name before.

The Proper Pronunciation of the Tested Proper Names

In Czech, there are two basic rules for pronouncing loanwords. According to the first rule, if an unknown sound appears, it is replaced by the closest Czech sound. The second rule says that the stress needs to be placed on the first syllable even if it appears on a different syllable in the original language (cf. Romportl *et al.* 1978, Palková 1994, Hůrková 1995, Strahl 1999, Zeman 2006).

In accordance with these rules, the Hungarian names in the tested sentences should be pronounced as follows: *Imre Kertész* [Imre kerte:s], *Sándor Márai* [ʃa:ndor ma:rajī], *Pécs* [pɛ:tʃ], *Sándor Petőfi* [ʃa:ndor pɛtɛ:fɪ], *János Arany* [ja:noʃ araŋ], *Ferenc Rákóczi* [fɛrɛnts ra:ko:tsī], *Ferenc Liszt* [fɛrɛnts lɪst], *Lajos Kossuth* [lajoʃ koʃut], *János Áder* [ja:noʃ a:dɛr], *László Sólyom* [la:slo: ʃo:jom], *Frigyes* [frɪɟɛʃ], *Dezső Kosztolányi* [dɛʒɛː kostola:pɪ], *István Örkény* [ɪʃtva:n ɛrkɛ:p], *Harkány* [harka:p].

The recordings show that while in Czech some consonants are represented by one grapheme, in Hungarian they are written as digraphs. This difference between Czech and Hungarian is notable in palatal sounds: ly [j], gy [j], ty [c], ny [n], and in sibilants: sz [s], s [f], zs [3] or affricates: cs [tf]. If a Hungarian name contains one of those consonants, in Czech it needs to be pronounced as indicated in the square brackets. In other words, we follow the principle of so-called phonological approximation (that will be explained in detail in Part 3).

When pronouncing Hungarian vowels, the situation may seem slightly unclear because two principles are employed: the principle of phonological approximation and the principle of spelling pronunciation (graphical). Unlike Czech, Hungarian has rounded vowels: \ddot{o} , \ddot{o} , \ddot{u} , \ddot{u} , 2 which are replaced by Czech sounds: \ddot{o} [ε], \ddot{o} [ε :], \ddot{u} [I], \ddot{u} [I:] according to the principle of phonological approximation in labial sounds. However, there are two cases when Czech follows the principle of spelling pronunciation. The first case is the pronunciation of Hungarian long \acute{e} , which is in Hungarian much more closed than in Czech and sounds almost like Czech long i. The second case is the pronunciation of Hungarian short a, which is more closed in Hungarian than in Czech and sounds almost like Czech short o. If these two Hungarian vowels appear in Czech speech, they are pronounced according to the principle of spelling pronunciation: \acute{e} [ε :], a [a].

(1) The Overview of All the Variants in Pronouncing the Selected Hungarian Names

² Similarly as in Czech, vowel length in Hungarian can indicate the meaning of a word. In Hungarian, this includes the labialized sounds, e.g. $t\ddot{o}r$ (to break) vs. $t\ddot{o}r$ (dagger).

Tested name and number of the recorded variants	Proper pronunciation of the tested name	Recorded pronunciation and number of the respondents, who pronounced the tested name this way	
Ferenc 3	[fɛrɛnts]	[ferents] 63 [fe:rents] 1 [fran] 1	
Liszt 6	[lɪst]	[lɪst] 53 [lɪsts] 5 [lɪts] 3 [lɪʃt] 2 [lɪts] 1 [lisəzətə] 1	
Rákóczi 14	[raːkoːtsɪ]	[ra:ko:tsi] 2 [ra:kotfi] 28 [ra:kofi] 11 [ra:kotsi] 9 [ra:ko:tsi] 2 [ra:kostfi] 1 [ra:kof] 3 [ra:kostsi] 3 [ra:kosi] 2 [rako:tfi] 1 [ra:kocəzi] 1 [ra:dotfi] 1 [ra:ko:ftfi] 1	
Sándor 7	[ʃaːndor]	[ʃaːndor] 28 [saːndor] 24 [sandoːr] 5 [sandor] 4 [ʃandoːr] 1 [sandor] 1 [ʃaːndoːr] 1	
Petőfi 17	[pɛtɛːfɪ]	[pɛtɛ:fɪ] 23 [pɛtœ:fɪ] 12 [pɛtofɪ] 4 [pɛtœfɪ] 1 [pœ:tœ:fɪ] 1 [pœtœfɪ] 1 [pœ:tɛfɪ] 1 [pɛ:ftœfɪ] 1 [pɛtro:fɪ] 1 [pɛtɛfɪ] 1 [pɛtofɪ:] 1 [pɛtɛ:fː] 1 [pɛtɛfɪ] 1 [pɛtɛfɪ] 1 [pɛtɛfɪ] 1 [pœ:tœfɪ] 1 [pœtœ:fɪ] 1	
Pécs 10	[pɛːʧ]	[pɛ:tʃ] 38 [pɛ:c] 14 [pɛ:cs] 3 [pɛ:ʃtʃ] 2 [pɛ:ʃ] 1 [pɛ:sc] 3 [pɛ:cs] 1 [pɛ:ʃ]1 [pɛscɛː]1 [pɛtʃ] 1	
Lajos 6	[lajoʃ]	[laːjoʃ] 43 [lajoʃ] 3 [lajos] 9 [laːjos] 9 [laːo] 1 [lajoj] 1	
Kossuth 14	[koʃut]	[koʃuːt] 13 [koʃut] 15 [koːʃut] 1 [kosut] 20 [kosuːt] 7 [kazux] 1 [koʃtʃut] 1 [kasux] 1 [koʃutʃ] 1 [kozut]1 [kosuːs]1 [kostup]1[kotʃux]1[kosuthə]1	
Harkány 7	[harkaːɲ]	[harkaːɲ] 7 [harkaːni] 53 [harkaːnɪː] 1 [harkanɪ] 1 [harkeːnɪ] 1 [herkaːnɪ] 1 [harkaːn] 1	
Frigyes 35	[frɪɟɛʃ]	[frɪgjɛs] 8 [frɪgɪs] 5 [frɪjɛːʃ] 4 [frɪgɛs] 4 [frɪgjɛʃ] 3 [frɪgjɛːs] 3 [frɪgɛːs] 3 [frɪːgɪs] 3 [frɪjɛʃ] 2 [frɪjɛːs] 3 [frɪjɛs] 2 [frɪgɪːs] 2 [frɪːks] 1 [frɪjɛː] 1 [frɪːjɛs] 1 [frɪk] 1 [frɪgjɛːʃ] 1 [frɪgɛʃ]1 [frɪgɪːʃ]1 [frɪgɛs] 1 [frɪjɛzɪə] 1 [frɪgjɛs] 1 [frɪgjɛːʃs] 1 [frɪgjɛːrs] 1 [frɪgiɛs] 1 [frɪjɛɡijɛs] 1 [frɪgjəs] 1 [frɪgœːs] 1 [frɪgjɛːc] 1 [frɪgɛːʃ] 1 [frɪːɡɛs] 1 [frɪgɪʃ] 1 [frɪgajs] 1 [frɪdəʒɛs]1 [frɪɡɛːʃ] 1	
Arany 11	[aran]	[aran1] 40 [ara:n1] 11 [aran] 5 [a:ra:n1] 2 [ara:n1] 1 [ara:n1:] 1 [ara:n] 1 [adran1] 1 [a:ra:n] 1[a:raj] 1 [ere:n1] 1	
Áder 3	[a:der]	[a:der] 62 [ade:r] 2 [a:dR] 1	
Dezső 28	[dɛʒɛː]	[dɛʒo] 10 [dɛʒoː] 9 [dɛːʒo] 7 [dɛːso] 4 [dɛʃoː] 3 [dɛsoː] 3 [dɛzo] 2 [dɛʒœː] 2 [dɛːʃo] 2 [dɛʃœː] 2 [dɛːʃɛː] 1 [dɛːsko] 1 [dɛːʃœ] 1 [dɛstʃɛː] 1 [dœːsɛː] 1 [dœːʒɛː] 1 [dɛzœː] 1 [dɛʒɛː] 1 [dɛːʒɛː] 1 [dɛʃɛː] 1 [dɛsʃo] 1 [dɛʒɛ] 1 [dɛsco] 1 [dɛːʃoː] 1 [dɛzsoː] 1 [dɛzoː] 1 [dɛːzo] 1 [dɛdzɛː] 1	
Kosztolányi 20	[kostolaːɲɪ]	[kostola:n1] 22 [koftola:n1] 7 [kostola:n1] 7 [kostola:n1] 5 [koftola:n1] 5 [koftola:n1] 2 [kostola:n1] 2 [kostol1]a:n1] 2 [kostolan1] 1 [kostozla:n1] 1 [kostola:n1] 1 [kostola:n1] 1 [kacol1]a:n1] 1 [kostala:n1] 1 [kostozola:n1]1 [ka:stola:n1] 1 [kostla:n1] 1 [koscotla:n1] 1 [kozontla:n1] 1 [kostal1:n1] 1	
István 6	[ıʃtvaːn]	[Iftva:n] 53 [Istva:n] 6 [Istvan] 2 [Istja:n] 1[Isva:n] 1 [Ista:n] 1 [Iftvan] 1	
Örkény 21	[ɛrkɛːɲ]	[ɛrkɛ:nɪ] 18 [orkɛ:nɪ] 12 [œrkɛ:nɪ] 6 [orkɛnɪ] 4 [œrkɛ:n] 3 [ɛrkɛ:n] 3 [œːrkɛnɪ] 2 [ɛrkɛ:nɪ] 1 [œːrkɛ:nɪ] 1 [œrknɛnɪ] 1 [orkɛ:n] 1 [ɛːrɛkɛnɪ] 1 [ɛrkɛ:n] 1 [œkrɛ:nɪ] 1 [ɛːrkɛnɪ] 1 [œːrkœn] 1	

Table 1. V	ariants in	pronouncing	Hungarian names	3
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(2) The Role of Previous Knowledge in Recorded Pronunciation

As I have already mentioned, after the respondents finished reading the tested sentences, they marked whether they knew the words before (for example from media). Two groups were formed: those who knew the words and those who did not. First, I analysed the first group (pronunciation of the respondents who knew the name before) and then the second group (those who did not know the name before). The next step was to compare the two groups to find if their previous knowledge played some role when pronouncing each and every name. The following overview shows the number of respondents who marked respective name as known before and the number of respondents who did not mark it (number in brackets):

Tested name	Prev. knowledge Tested name		Prev. knowledge	
	yes (no)		yes (no)	
Imre Kertész	8 (57)	Lajos Kossuth	24 (41)	
Sándor Márai	9 (56)	János Áder	5 (60)	
Pécs	25 (40)	László Sólyom	4 (61)	
Sándor Petőfi	29 (36)	Frigyes	3 (62)	
János Arany	11 (54)	Dezső Kosztolányi	4 (61)	
Ferenc Rákóczi	31 (34)	István Örkény	19 (46)	
Ferenc Liszt	40 (25)	Harkány	19 (46)	

Table 2. Previous knowledge of tested names

I will illustrate how previous knowledge corresponds with pronouncing the unknown names on the example of the anthroponyms *Ferenc Rákóczi* and *Lajos Kossuth*, and on the toponym *Harkány*. These names were known by a considerably high number of respondents.

Ferenc Rákóczi

The name *Ferenc Rákóczi* was marked as known by 31 respondents, which means almost half. However, out of these 31 respondents only two pronounced the name properly, i.e. [ra:ko:tsi]. The most frequent recorded pronunciation of this surname was [ra:kotfi] (16), followed by [ra:kof1] (5), [ra:kot51] (3), [rako:tf1] (2), [ra:kostf1] (1), [ra:kof] (1), and [ra:kosts1] (1). The pronunciation of the Hungarian digraph cz [ts] is a result of historical spelling, which the respondents found particularly unusual. That is why they pronounced it mostly as [t], sometimes [f], but not as [ts]. The pronunciation of cz as [tf] can be in case of Czech speakers influenced by Polish or English, in which cz is pronounced as [tf]. The recordings also reveal that the respondents often change the length of the vowel when pronouncing the surname *Rákóczi*. Long \dot{o} in the second syllable is often shortened. Such shortening is common in other Hungarian names with long \dot{o} and could be explained by the fact that long \dot{o} basically does not exist in Czech with the exception of words with foreign origin or emphatic pronunciation. To sum up, in the case of the surname Rákóczi, the proper pronunciation [ra:ko:ts1] corresponds little to previous knowledge. Although the respondents often know the historical figure Ferenc Rákóczi II, the most frequent pronunciation of this name is [raːkotʃ1].

This pronunciation prevailed also in the case of the other 34 respondents who did not know the name *Ferenc Rákóczi* before and pronounced it as [raːkotʃ1] (12). Other variants were [raːkoʃ1] (6) and [raːkots1] (6), and among the less common ones were [raːkoʃ], [raːkostʃ1], [raːkostʃ1], [raːkots1], [raːkots21], [raːkotʃ1], [raːkotʃ1]. In conclusion, the previous knowledge of the name *Ferenc Rákóczi* did not play any important role.

Lajos Kossuth

The name *Lajos Kossuth* was known before to 24 respondents, and its proper pronunciation is [lajof kofut]. With only one exception, all the respondents pronounced the first name *Lajos* using a long vowel in the first syllable [la:jof]. Only one respondent respected the length of the vowel and pronounced it [lajof]. Thus, we can observe in the name *Lajos* a similar tendency as in the name *Rákóczi*. Respondents know the name, but do not follow the proper pronunciation. The surname *Kossuth* was also subject to changes in the length of the vowel, but this time it was the second vowel that was pronounced longer. The variant [kofut] (12), and individual respondents used the following rare variants: [ko:fut], [kosut], [kazux].

As for the second group, out of the 41 respondents who did not know the name before, two of them pronounced it properly [lajof], while 20 respondents pronounced it [la:jof], exactly as most of the respondents who knew the name before. Nine respondents pronounced it [lajos] and another nine somewhere between the proper pronunciation [lajof] and the stereotypical [la:jos]. The least frequent variants were [la:o], [lajoj]. Thus, in the case of the first name *Lajos*, previous knowledge did not correspond much with the ways of pronouncing it.

But, when we look at the surname *Kossuth*, the situation is different. Out of 41 respondents who did not know the name *Lajos Kossuth* before, 19 pronounced the surname [kosut], which means they followed the principle of spelling (graphical) pronunciation. A smaller part of nine respondents pronounced it [kosut], four respondents pronounced [kofut], and three succeeded in pronouncing it properly [kofut]; other individual variants [koftfut], [kasux], [kofutf], [kozut], [kosu:s], [kostup], [kotfux], [kosuthə]. In sum, in the case of the surname *Kossuth*, the role of previous knowledge is highly significant. Lack of knowledge resulted in a high number of variants, and many respondents followed the principle of spelling pronunciation (graphical).³

Harkány

The toponym *Harkány* was previously known to 19 respondents, but only four of them achieved to pronounce it properly [harka:n]. The prevailing tendency was to pronounce it according to the spelling [harka:n], but there were also individual variants [harka:n1] and [harkani]. Out of 46 respondents who did not know the word before, most of them also pronounced it [harka:ni] (40), three respondents pronounced it properly [harka:n], while

³ The pronunciation variant [la:jof] can be perhaps explained as an erroneous analogy with the pronunciation of the first name Janos [ja:nof].
individual respondents pronounced it [harke:n1], [herka:n1], or [harka:n]. Thus, in the case of the name *Harkány*, the role of previous knowledge was quite insignificant. Both groups of respondents pronounced the name in accordance with the spelling [harka:n1].⁴

Generally speaking, considering all the tested names, it can be said that previous knowledge of a particular name had some influence on the pronunciation. If the respondents knew the name from the past, they pronounced it more properly, in other words, they tended to apply the principle of phonological approximation or original pronunciation in more cases than the respondents who did not know the word before, especially in the case of the name *Lajos Kossuth*. However, in the case of the discussed names *Rákóczi* a *Harkány*, previous knowledge did not play any important role in their pronunciation.

(3) Pronunciation Principles Employed by the Respondents

I have already mentioned several pronunciation principles, namely the principle of phonological approximation, the principle of original pronunciation and the principle of spelling pronunciation. These principles, together with another five principles, give a thorough overview of alternatives that exist when pronouncing loanwords and foreign proper names.⁵

⁴ Considering this toponym, the pronunciation [harka:n1] is on increase, as can be seen not only from this research but also from the webpages of the Czech travel agencies that offer holiday in the thermal spa Harkány. For example, the following citations: Vážení klienti, naše cestovní kancelář ve spolupráci s cestovní kanceláří Thermal Travel v Harkánech přichází v roce 2013 s několika změnami, o kterých bychom Vás rádi informovali. (http://www.eichlerbus.cz/Pendulum.aspx) [2014-05-05]; Naše cestovní agentura Vám nabízí ubytování v Harkánech ve více než 46 hotelech, apartmánech a penzionech a to nejen přímo ve městě, ale i v okolí Harkán, kde najdeme města Siklós, Matty, Ócsárd, Nagyharsány a Palkonya. A pokud například hledáte pouze hotely v Harkánech, vyzkoušejte záložku Ubytování pro upřesnění výběru. (http://harkany.b-madarsko.cz/) [2014-05-05]. / Dear clients, our travel agency in cooperation with the travel agency Thermal Travel in Harkány wants to inform you about the following changes in the year 2013. (http://www.eichlerbus.cz/Pendulum.aspx); Our travel agency offers accommodation in Harkány in more than 46 hotels, suits, and guest houses not only in town but also at the outskirts of Harkány, in the towns Siklós, Matty, Ócsárd, Nagyharsány and Palkonya. If you look only for hotels in Harkány, you can click on Advance search of accommodation. (http://harkany.b-madarsko.cz/).

⁵ These eight principles (from Duběda et al. 2014: 315-316) are as follows:

^{1.} Phonological approximation. This process, which is the most frequent and is presented as the default method in pronunciation manuals, denotes the substitution of non-native sounds with their nearest counterparts in Czech, together with the application of Czech prosodic, phonotactic, and morphological rules, e.g., *Windows* [windous] \rightarrow [vindous].

^{2.} Spelling pronunciation. According to this principle, Czech pronunciation rules are applied to the foreign spelling form (e.g., *Superman* [superman], but *Batman* [betmen] and *Spiderman* [spajdṛmen], pronounced according to Principle 1, probably because they are more recent).

^{3.} Original pronunciation. This kind of pronunciation, according to which the phonological and phonetic rules of the donor language are maintained, is sometimes used in citations (*Výslovnost spisovné češtiny* 1978: 30), in scientific communication (Hůrková 1995: 69).

^{4.} Analogy with the donor language. In this case, the adapted form is the result of the (often incorrect) application of a phonetic analogy from the source language (e.g. *Robert* [ro[^] ubrt], a widespread pronunciation variant, commonly heard in the media, may be considered a hypercorrect form of [robrt]).

^{5.} Analogy with the recipient language. According to this principle, the phonological changes made to the word that has been adopted are motivated by analogy with Czech words, or, more generally, by analogy with sufficiently integrated words of any origin. This principle accounts for what is usually called *folk etymology*; for example, the word *protežovat* (Engl. 'to favour' < French *protéger*) is often pronounced (and even spelled) as ['proce3ovat], under the influence of Czech words such as *vytěžovat* and *zatěžovat*, which share a number of semantic features.

Although the respondents should employ the principle of phonological approximation, my research showed that the prevailing principle is that of spelling (graphical) pronunciation. This tendency is perfectly understandable in the case of non-expert speakers, because respondents often do not know that some Hungarian sounds have a different graphical recording from Czech. Out of many examples of the spelling (graphical) pronunciation, I can mention the recurring pronunciation of the first name *Frigyes* [frigijɛs], surnames *Sólyom* [so:lijom], *Arany* [aran1], and toponym *Harkány* [harka:n1] among others.

The principle of phonological approximation was also employed, but to a much smaller extent. For example, considering the toponym *Harkány*, the pronunciation [harka:ŋ] was recorded only in seven cases.

Another principle that the respondents employed was the influence of universals. As for Hungarian names, this principle was repeatedly used when the respondents attempted to pronounce the Hungarian labialized vowels \ddot{o} , \ddot{o} . The long labialized vowel appeared in the surname *Petőfi*. It is perhaps the exotic nature of this sound that made the respondents use it not only in the second, but also in the first syllable. Such a tendency was recorded repeatedly in my research, including the variants in the vowel length: [pœtœf1], [pœtœf1], [pœtœf1]. In one case the labialized sound moved to the first syllable, while the second syllable was not labialized: [pœtɛf1]. A short labialized vowel appeared in the surname $\ddot{O}rk\acute{e}ny$, whose pronunciation was recorded as [œ:rkœn].

Exceptionally, the respondents also employed the principle of original pronunciation when they copied the Hungarian pronunciation, for example [petœ:f1].

Two cases show the influence of a third language. When pronouncing the surnames $R\acute{a}k\acute{o}czi$ and $\acute{A}der$, the digraph cz in the name $R\acute{a}k\acute{o}czi$ was repeatedly pronounced as [tf], which can be attributed to the influence of the third languages Polish or English (the frequent word *Czech*). Only one respondent pronounced the surname $\acute{A}der$ as [a:dR], while the final r sounded like the English rolled r, so called rhotic schwa; in this case, the third language is definitely English, whose pronunciation was used when pronouncing this Hungarian name in Czech.

The last principle mentioned (Duběda *et al.* 2014) is that of unclearly motivated pronunciation. This particular research offers more cases that could be grouped in this category, for example *Harkány* [hɛrka:nɪ], *Imre* [Imr], *Kossuth* [kostup], *Petőfi* [pɛtɛrfɪ] and many others. These variants are rather uncommon in Czech and may be just individual slips or problems with optical identification of the graphemes.

In the light of the eight principles, I can conclude that in this research the respondents employed six of them.

^{6.} Influence of a third language. Words may be affected by the phonology of a third language, either because they were adopted via this language (e.g. *lajtnant*, adopted through German *Leutnant* from the French *lieutenant*) or by analogy (e.g. *puzzle*, often pronounced as ['putslɛ] in Czech). This last form may have come about through analogy either with German pronunciation rules or with the similar-sounding Czech word *puclík* (Engl. 'chubby child'; Štěpánová 2013).

^{7.} Influence of universals. An example is the word *peloton*, which is often pronounced as [pɛlɛton] and sometimes spelled *peleton*. The presence of an [ε] in the second syllable can be explained by vowel harmony.

^{8.} Unclearly motivated pronunciation. This last category, which is technically not a *principle*, includes cases for which there is no obvious explanation (e.g. *country* pronounced as [ka:ntr1]).

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Cognitive Onomastics

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> *MIND*, n. A mysterious form of matter secreted by the brain. Its chief activity consists in the endeavor to ascertain its own nature, the futility of the attempt being due to the fact that it has nothing but itself to know itself with.

> > Ambrose Bierce, The Devil's Dictionary

Abstract

Proper names exist in the language, while the language exists in the heads of human beings, in their mental lexicons, and emerges as speech in communicative acts. What onymic entities exist in mental lexicon and in what forms – that is the main problem of cognitive onomastics, which makes it a completely new trend in the study of proper names. Entering mental lexicon, due to the processes of conceptualization and categorization, onyms transform into concepts and find their place, forming frames and subframes. Onymic concepts, understood as the unit of information storage, may exist in two forms: active and passive, the former being actualized in the process of their immediate employment in communication, while the latter is applied to the concepts, which are not in the immediate use, only stored in memory depository in the form of embryos of thought. Onymic concepts are connected with other elements of mental lexicon as their organizers, optimizing the functioning of mental lexicon and increasing its effectiveness.

* * *

In comparison with **traditional** onomastics, which investigates proper names in the language and speech, **cognitive** onomastics has to deal with the black box of the human mind and its contents – the **mental lexicon**. The latter may be understood as 'a system, which reflects in the linguistic ability knowledge about words and their mental equivalents; besides, this system fulfils complex functions, connected not only with such linguistic units, but also with corresponding extra-linguistic knowledge representations' (Кубрякова *et al.* 1997).

We suggest that this term is not impeccable – probably **human informative thesaurus** (Залевская 1985) will be better, actualizing the meaning of 'repository of all the knowledge of a human being, which implies integration of verbal and non-verbal knowledge about the world'.

What onymic entities exist in the mental lexicon and in what forms – that is the main problem of cognitive onomastics, which makes it a new trend in the study of proper names. The topicality of this research line became evident within the last 20 years: in 1996 O. Jäkel made a report 'Metonymy as a Cognitive Principle in Onomastics', T. Valentine with the other authors published 'The Cognitive Psychology of Proper Names', L.M. Dmitrieva investigated onthology and mental being of the toponymic system in 2002, P. Sjöblom presented 'Cognitive Linguistics and Onomastics: How Company Names Reflect

Subjectivity?' in 2004. In Odessa I.I. Mechnikov National University cognitive onomastic studies started in 2000: general theory being developed by E. Karpenko (Карпенко 2006а, 2006b, 2010), chononymic research – by V. Neklesova (2010), chrematonymic – by A. Tkachenko (2012), zoonymic – by K. Dolbina (2014). The work is supported by younger onomatologists.

At the new 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, held in Glasgow in August 2014, the section of theory of onomastics opened with two reports in the cognitive line: O. Karpenko 'Cognitive Onomastics' and M. Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 'Semantics of Proper Names. The Structure of the Mental Lexicon of Proper Names' (see Karpenko 2016 and Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2016, this volume).

The term **cognition** of Latin origin, in my humble opinion, cannot be translated into English as **knowledge**. More likely, it should be treated as **foreknowledge** – 'a variation of cognitive operations which attend to perception and production of both knowledge and its language representation' (Демьянков 2005: 9). According to J. Fauconnier **cognition** is primarily **a backstage phenomenon** – automatic, unrealized human activity in adjustment to the surroundings (1999: 125). Proper names exist in the language, while the language exists in the heads of human beings, in their mental lexicons, and emerges as speech – in communicative acts, oral or written texts.

Only the units which already exist in the mental lexicon can emerge from it. Cognitive **linguistics** concentrates on the mental lexicon and its structure, while cognitive **onomastics** concentrates on the mental existence of proper names. Cognitive onomastics examines the **input** of linguistic processes (an unknown onym enters the mental lexicon of the person or is created by him) and **output** (the proper name comes out of the mental lexicon for communication or falls out – that is, is forgotten).

Entering the mental lexicon, proper names undergo the processes of **conceptualization** (the process of meaning construction (Evans 2006); in other words comprehension of new information which leads to the formation of the concept (Стернин, Попова 2007: 121)), and the process of **categorization** (classification into all types of units – classes, categories, groups, etc.).

As a result onyms transform into **concepts** and find their place in the mental lexicon, forming frames and subframes. **Onymic concepts** are understood as the units of information storage, 'the units of mental or psychic resources of our consciousness, and the informative structure, that reflects knowledge and experience of the human being' (Карпенко 2006а), or, following Ray Jackendoff, 'a concept is an entity within one's head, a private entity, a product of imagination that can be conveyed to others only by means of language, gesture, drawing, or some other imperfect means of communication' (1992:191).

The essence of the concept, its heterogeneity, is evident. Following Joseph Sternin's guidelines, **the structure of the concept** may be presented like this:

- 1. An image. A visual component of the concept's structure is formed from perceptual cognitive features (a perceptual image) or figurative features, formed by a metaphorical perception (a metaphoric image);
- 2. Informative content. It is very close to the dictionary definition of a word.

3. Interpretational field. It embraces the estimation zone (general axiology, as well as aesthetic, emotive, intellectual esteem); encyclopaedic zone (based on experience, general knowledge, etc.); sociocultural zone (connection with traditions, cultural landmarks, etc.). The number of zones is not exhausted (2007:108).

The structure of the onymic concept may deviate from the one mentioned above with respect to a multi-store memory model, consisting of **sensory memory**, **short-term memory** and **long-term memory** (Field 2004). Through sensory memory of a very short duration iconic, echoic and other sensual information finds its way into short-term memory where 'a limited number of items for current processing' are kept. This memory is 'actively engaged in cognitive operations; hence a preference for the term **working memory**'. Long-term memory contains 'knowledge of two types: declarative knowledge which gives us access to facts and procedural knowledge which enables us to perform processes' (Field 2004). According to Richard Gross, long-term memory is subdivided into **episodic memory** ('autobiographical' memory, based on personal experience) and **semantic memory** ('our store of general, factual knowledge about the world') (Gross 2010: 265). Based on this subdivision of memory **levels-of-processing model** includes a **superficial** level, where the surface features of a stimulus are processed; an **intermediate** level, where 'the word is analysed for its sound; a **deep** (semantic) level, at which the meaning of the word is analysed' (Gross 2010: 268).

The application of the above-mentioned psychological computations may enhance our understanding of the mental existence of proper names. By means of sensory memory the exponent of the onym gets into the mental lexicon. By means of short-term memory the onym is conceptualized and categorized. Then it is stored in long-term memory, either episodic or semantic.

Consequently, the structure of the onymic concept will have a three-fold character:

- 1. A verbal field, which is self-explanatory;
- 2. An informational field, where we shall refer 'autobiographical' and general encyclopaedic information about the entity;
- 3. A sensory field, where visual, auditory, and kinaesthetic information is stored.

The question arises: where is the place for multi-dimensional evaluative information, which many concepts comprise? Either it is necessary to add one more field, or it may be included into the previous divisions optionally.

Onymic concepts may exist in two forms: **active** and **passive**, the former being actualized in the process of their immediate employment in communication, while the latter is applied to the concepts, which are not in the immediate use, only stored in memory depository in the form of embryos of thought.

Onymic concepts are connected with other elements of the mental lexicon as their **organizers**, optimizing the functioning of the mental lexicon and increasing its effectiveness. The name is like **a label on the bookshelf** (in our mental palace); like **a key on the keyboard**, by pressing of which we open a memory depository to extract certain information – or to fill it. The key *Glasgow* gives us access to encyclopaedic, historical, personal information stored in an individual depository of memory.

Memory depositories, mental shelves – are **frames** in Charles Fillmore's (2011) understanding; they are means of organizing experience and instruments of cognition. We can see these frames only 'with mental eyes', as Leonard Talmy poetically put it.

It is possible to differentiate **10 onymic frames**:

- 1. anthroponymic, which includes the names of people;
- 2. toponymic, which includes the names of places;
- 3. theonymic, which includes the names of gods and demons;
- 4. ergonymic, which includes the names of groups of people;
- 5. zoonymic, which includes the names of animals;
- 6. phytonymic, which includes the names of plants and trees;
- 7. cosmonymic, which includes the names of natural cosmic objects;
- 8. chrononymic, which includes the names of events and time periods,
- 9. chrematonymic, which includes the names of material objects;
- 10. ideonymic, which includes the names of spiritual objects.

Onymic frames have subdivisions – **subframes**, maybe **microframes** – because they include proper names of different extra-linguistic nature. For instance, the anthroponymic frame embraces personal names, middle names, patronymics, family names, pseudonyms, nicknames, etc.

Each onymic frame consists of three components:

- 1. a real component (we may call it **script**) includes all the proper names from the objective reality, present or historical, e.g. *Simon Taylor* or *Carole Hough*;
- 2. a virtual component embraces proper names, created by human imagination, e.g. *Alice in Wonderland, Tom and Jerry, The Mentalist*;
- 3. a sacral component includes all the proper names, which refer to religious beliefs, e.g. *Jesus, Holy Grail, Thor, Vishnu.*

The third component has a specific dual character, since personal religious beliefs are true to the believer and, consequently, all the proper names referring to them are real, while religious beliefs of others are not real, relevant proper names included.

Thus, mental existence of the onomasticon in a language is realized through a sum of the mental lexicons of all the native speakers. Each lexicon contains proper names 1) universally known, 2) known to groups of people, 3) known only to the owner of the mental lexicon.

Such an ethnic mental lexicon consists of individual mental lexicons, the structure of which is concentric, and is grouped around the Ego of its owner. It consists of several (likely four) concentric **circles**:

- 1) the 1st, closest circle contains proper names, that are really dear to the person: parents, spouses, children, friends, cats, soccer teams, universities, etc.;
- 2) the 2nd circle includes those proper names, with whose referents the owner is personally acquainted or is personally interested without being **too** emotionally involved: former students, classmates, neighbours, ex-lovers;
- 3) the 3rd circle embraces the names of referents of no personal importance to the owner: some book I've heard about or read, a resort my friend visited, and the like;
- 4) the 4th circle consists of the unknown: proper names we do not know yet or have already forgotten. It is a sea of the unknown, from which we extract the names we need and into which we release what we do not need any more.

The nature and functioning of the mental lexicon and its organization only start opening their mysteries to onomatologists. New projects are launched – the amazing **Cognitive Toponymy Project** in Glasgow University, together with the Universities of Copenhagen and St. Andrews (2014). Hopefully, the black box of our mind will open its onomastic secrets to the aspiring (and inspiring) investigators of proper names.

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Heraldry as a Name System

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Abstract

Although the difference between the core of proper names and common nouns is intuitively obvious, defining properhood is one of the hard questions in onomastics. This is true to the extent that there are categories of nouns, such as the names of months or languages, that are considered proper names in some traditions and common nouns in others. Heraldry provides an interesting further comparison to traditional name categories, as the use of coats of arms fulfils most of the usual criteria suggested for properhood.

While heraldry is not a part of a linguistic system in the usual sense, there are strong similarities. Coats of arms have a structure that can be described in syntactic terms, and they have fragmentary semantic content that is very similar to that found in proper names. While at first glance these two systems for identification look widely different, the clear similarities between them make a strong case that something like properhood is very fundamental to the way humans see the world.

* * *

Introduction

Properhood is one of the fundamental concepts in onomastics that has been debated on and off for centuries, as described e.g. by Nicolaisen (1995) and Coates (2006). Historically proper names have been considered a separate category of nouns, defined essentially by their being senseless. At the same time, there has been a dispute on whether proper names develop from appellative descriptions: while some onomasticians side with Leibiz (1710) in claiming that all proper names can be traced to such origins, others claim that proper names result from specific naming processes which make them separate. It is easy to find well-documented counterexamples to both these extremes.

Coates (2006) ends up with a position that properhood is not a structural category but should instead be considered pragmatic. Van Langendonck (2007) expands on this, but he too considers the central criterion to be that '[t]he meaning of the name, if any, does not (or not any longer) determine its denotation' (Van Langendonck 2007: 322). Figure 1 shows this in terms of the semiotic sign: properhood is defined by the existence of the arrow a, linking the form of the name directly to the referent, while common nouns require the route shown as arrow b, from form to meaning and only from there to the referent (Leino 2007: 53-54).



Fig. 1. Onomastic and linguistic meaning on the semiotic triangle

Using the tripolar formulation of a linguistic sign instead of the Saussurean bipolar one is useful in that it makes an explicit distinction between the onymic reference and semantic content (or meaning) while at the same time acknowledging the existence of both. The naming process can often involve an interplay between the two, in both the new name and prior names used as models, but as the primary function of proper names is to refer to the named individual, the semantic content is often fragmentary.

It is possible to see how this works while looking at a traditional core category of proper names, such as toponyms (Leino 2007). However, when trying to make sense of a phenomenon, it is often useful to look not only at typical examples, but also non-typical ones. In the field of linguistics, onomastics is itself at the fringe; but when looking at properhood a new point of view can be found by looking at non-linguistic sign systems used for identification. Heraldry¹ is one such system.

Names and Heraldry as Seen by the Public

Heraldry has been used to identify people, places and various corporate entities for centuries, although its origins are not well known. The most common explanation for having armorial insignia is their use in medieval warfare and tourneys, but it is evident that other cultural factors contributed (Bedingfield and Gwynn-Jones 1993). What is clear, though, is that the first coats of arms in the modern sense appeared in the first half of the 12th century, and by the end of the century, the systematic nature of heraldry had been established and arms were widely used by the high nobility all over Europe.

Some heraldists, especially in the English-speaking world, consider coats of arms as inherently tied to noble rank (see e.g. Gayre 1961). However, in continental Europe arms were soon adopted by commoners, and as far away from central Europe as in Scandinavia the oldest burgher seals with coats of arms date to the middle of the 13th century and become widespread in early 14th century (Wasling 2008: 16, 51). The social range of their use is not relevant here, though: what is important are the similarities between coats of arms and proper names.

¹ Some British scholars argue that the strictly correct term for the system and study of armorial insignia would be *armory*, as the term *heraldry* is also used in a wider sense to mean everything a herald works with. However, I am using *heraldry* in the narrower sense, since this is also a common English meaning of the word and since this is the way its cognates are used in other European languages.

The connection between proper names – in the case of people, primarily surnames – and coats of arms is old and widespread. The statutes of the Swedish House of Nobility, given in 1626,² protect the surname and coat of arms of a newly ennobled family in the same article:

Till thett Tiugw och Tridie: Jngen tage vpp annars Slächt Nampn, eller Wapn, hon ware Lefwandes eller Vthdödd, och Confundere i så motto Ätterne: Vtan den beholle tillnampned som dedh först hafwer Vptagett.

23. No-one may take the name or arms of another family, whether living or extinct, and thereby confuse families: but the one keep the surname who first took it.

In England, surnames and arms have been connected in that the Court of Chivalry used to have jurisdiction over both (Squibb 1959: 139). In Germany, a title of nobility, a surname and a coat of arms were all seen as property, to the extent that when the laws of inheriting surnames were changed, there was some discussion on whether the inheritance of arms should be changed similarly (Sunnqvist 2001: 89, 97-98, 134).

The similarities between names and arms are not limited to people. Various geographical entities, from towns to countries, have had armorial insignia – most notably, coats of arms and flags – since the dawn of heraldry, and these are used as clear signs of identity. As an example, most passport covers have both the name and coat of arms of the country in question. The connection between the two has occasionally been used consciously, so that for instance when the Finnish municipalities of Pälkäne and Luopioinen were merged in 2007 the new municipality adopted, as a compromise, the name of Pälkäne and the coat of arms of Luopioinen.

Structural Similarities

Proper names are widely different from each other. At one end there are expressions which are structurally identical to grammatical phrases but contextually recognisable as proper names, whose existence Coates (2006) uses as a part of his argument that properhood is pragmatic in nature. At the other extreme there are expressions that can only fit in the parent language as proper names, but which nevertheless may have some visible internal structure. A comprehensive linguistic theory should, in addition to being useful in describing the core parts of a language, be able to deal with all this variation.

Some schools of cognitive linguistics have explicitly stated as goals the ability to describe linguistic phenomena that are outside the core grammar. As Fried and Östman (2004) point out, language users know peripheral expressions, and do so without having been explicitly taught them; therefore, this knowledge must be in some way a central part of their knowledge of the language. Construction grammar is flexible enough to describe the structure of both toponyms (Leino 2007) and coats of arms (Leino 2008) with a similar enough notation that the two can be compared.

² Digitised original available at the Swedish national archives, http://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0001944

To illustrate how the notation of Construction Grammar can be adapted to place names, Figure 2 shows the structure of the lake name *Pieni Haukilampi* 'Lesser Pike Pond', including that of the hypothetical underlying toponym **Haukilampi* 'Pike Pond'.³ Similarly, Figure 3 shows the structure of the coat of arms of Scotland using another variant of the same notation.

Pieni Haukilampi CAT PN SEM 'Lesser Pik	e Pond'	
pieni CAT A ROLE modifier SEM 'small'	Haukilampi CAT PN ROLE head SEM 'Pike Pond	,
	<i>hauki</i> CAT N ROLE identifier SEM 'pike'	<i>lampi</i> CAT N ROLE classifier SEM 'pond'

Fig. 2. The composition of a lake name using the notation of Construction Grammar



Fig. 3. The composition of a coat of arms using the notation of Construction Grammar (original image of the arms: Wikimedia Commons / Sodacan)

For both systems of identification there is also a corresponding system that normally lacks properhood. In the case of toponyms this is obvious, as place names are clearly used as a part of language. The case for heraldry is less clear, but in fact modern traffic signs conform to the traditions of heraldry to the extent that they can be described using the same 'grammar'. Heraldic symbols can also be described completely unambiguously in a verbal form, and

³ There are some examples of *Pieni Haukilampi* being next to *Haukilampi*, but it is more common to have *Pieni Haukilampi* and *Iso Haukilampi* 'Greater Pike Pond' next to each other.

while the specific jargon did not develop parallel to the coats of arms themselves but instead emerged only about a century later (Brault 1997: 5-10), a verbal blazon is usually considered more trustworthy than a pictorial emblazon.

Similarities in Naming

The processes of coming up with a new name, or a new coat of arms, are varied. In some cases, the new toponym (such as *Mustalampi* 'Black Pond') can be a fairly direct description of a place; similarly, so-called canting arms involve a direct reference to the name (so that the 20th century Finnish heraldic artist Ahti Hammar had two hammers⁴ on his arms). However, it is relatively common that the new name has associations that link it not only to the properties of the named entity but also to existing names.

Figure 4 (Leino 2007:46) shows how a pre-existing lake name Mustalampi and the opposition of the lexical meanings of *musta* 'black' and *valkea* 'white' are used to give the neighbouring lake the name Valkealampi. The process itself is similar to the conceptual blending presented by Fauconnier and Turner (2003), although the notation is simplified.



Fig. 4. Contrastive naming

Creating a new coat of arms can be described similarly. Figure 5 (Leino 2008) shows how the coat of arms of the Howard family was augmented after the battle of Flodden where King James IV of Scotland was killed by archers in the English army commanded by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. To commemorate this, the Howard arms were changed to include an escutcheon that has what looks like the arms of Scotland, except that there is only half a lion with an arrow through its throat.

⁴ In English, the shield would be blazoned as *sable, two hammers in saltire or.*



Fig. 5. Heraldic augmentation

Conclusions

Heraldry has several characteristics that resemble a name system. It is a system of symbols used for identification, with a clearly definable syntax-like structure to the symbols. It is also possible for these symbols to have semantic content, but neither the structure, nor the semantic content need to be complete and they both can dilute over time. Moreover, both the structure and the motivational origins of a coat of arms can be described using similar tools that have been successfully used to describe the corresponding onomastic phenomena.

Looking at these two systems in parallel, it seems that an onymic reference is somehow very fundamental, in that it can be coded similarly in a linguistic and an extra- or quasi-linguistic medium. In both these systems the naming process can involve a rich interplay between the onymic reference and the semantic content of the signs or their parts, in a way much more complex than the usually postulated process of an appellative expression becoming a proper name through semantic bleaching.

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La dénomination des chèvres en corse : du nom commun au nom propre

Francescu Maria Luneschi France

Résumé

Cette contribution présente des éléments issus d'un doctorat relatif au vocabulaire ovin et caprin en Corse. Ce travail s'inscrit à la fois dans la continuité des travaux du *Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de la Corse* et de la *Banque de Données de la Langue Corse* tout en explorant une méthodologie et des thématiques dont l'intérêt pour l'onomastique corse pourra être mis en relief au-delà des différents aspects du lexique pastoral (élevage, fabrication des produits laitiers). Le volet qui sera développé concerne les processus de dénominations des caprins en Corse. La dimension onomastique fera l'objet d'analyses visant à explorer les processus qui conduisent du nom commun au nom propre, et dans le figement de celui-ci. Nous nous focaliserons sur les noms qui puisent leurs motivations dans l'observation des caractères phénotypiques de la chèvre corse. Les études préliminaires ont démontré l'intérêt des relevés en la matière (noms de couleurs oubliés, processus de création lexicale).

Abstract

This contribution will present elements from a PhD thesis related to ovine and goat vocabulary in Corsica. This work follows on from two works: from the *Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de la Corse* and from the *Banque de Données de la Langue Corse*, while exploring methodology and themes whose interest for Corsican onomastic will be emphasized beyond the different aspects of pastoral lexicon (farming, manufacture of dairy products). The part that will be developed concerns the denomination of caprines in Corsica. The onomastic dimension will be the object of analyses, which will aim to explore process leading from common noun to proper noun, which are fixed. We will be focusing on the nouns that obtain their motivations in the observation of phenotypical characteristics of the Corsican goat. Preliminary studies proved the importance of surveys in the matter (nouns for forgotten colours).

* * *

Introduction

La richesse lexicale permettant de décrire les animaux est un trait distinctif des sociétés agro-pastorales.¹ L'anthropologue Ravis-Giordani (2001), dans son étude concernant les bergers de la microrégion du Niolu relève de nombreux termes qui décrivent les 'traits distinctifs' naturels de la chèvre corse: couleurs de robe, dispositions des couleurs sur la robe, formes des cornes, etc. Partant de ce principe, nous allons exposer le lexique qui permet de décrire les caractères visibles de la chèvre, ce qui permettra d'illustrer dans ce domaine le processus de création onomastique qui conduit du nom commun au nom propre. Les données que nous présenterons sont extraites d'enquêtes de terrain, réalisées auprès de locuteurs 'natifs' dans le cadre d'un projet de thèse que nous menons sur le lexique corse de l'élevage. Un des volets de cette thèse concernera l'onomastique. Le lexique glané durant des entretiens

¹ Voir notamment, Alvarez Perez (2008).

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semi-dirigés avec les dépositaires de ce savoir sera abordé selon les principes de la taxinomie populaire. Les données onomastiques restituées dans cet exposé appartiennent au cadre dialectal traditionnel de la Corse.

Le cheptel caprin de l'île est composé majoritairement de chèvres de races locales, même si des éleveurs, minoritaires, ont choisi d'en introduire d'autres comme la chèvre alpine. La chèvre corse est un animal laitier, de taille moyenne, qui possède des poils longs à mi longs. De part son format moyen, elle est parfaitement adaptée à son milieu. La race corse est reconnue depuis 2003 par la Commission Nationale d'Amélioration Génétique. Son patrimoine génétique est resté stable depuis le Moyen Âge. Des études interdisciplinaires notamment archéologiques, génétiques et paléo-génétiques ont montré par la comparaison entre le marqueur mitochondrial d'ossements de chèvres de l'époque médiévale prélevés sur l'île et celui des populations de chèvres actuelles qu'au delà de l'aspect strictement génétique, les techniques d'élevages sont restées sensiblement les même en Corse, depuis des siècles voire des millénaires (Hughes et al. 2012). Ce système d'élevage repose sur une gestion des troupeaux en semi-liberté. Dans les communautés villageoises s'était développé également un élevage que l'on peut qualifier de domestique. Chaque cellule familiale disposait de quelques chèvres autour de la maison appelées sgiotti, mannarini, ou casarecce en opposition avec 'la chèvre de troupeau' désignée par le terme capra. Le lait de chèvre est utilisé en Corse dans la fabrication de différents produits laitiers. La viande de cabri est servie traditionnellement durant les fêtes de fin d'année (Debat Burkarth 2004). Le poil de chèvre permettait la fabrication de cordes *i funi* ou *minatoghji* et son cuir était utilisé pour fabriquer des sacs u $zagnu^2$ ou *l'otri*.

Cette courte introduction laisse entrevoir le rôle dominant qu'a pu constituer l'élevage caprin dans la société de subsistance qui valu comme modèle économique en Corse jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XXème siècle.

Le lexique d'identification des chèvres

Des couleurs

La chèvre corse est reconnue pour son pelage très varié. Si aujourd'hui la sélection des cheptels ne tient pas compte de la diversité des couleurs et se focalise sur la production laitière, nos anciens étaient très attachés à maintenir cette caractéristique. La beauté du troupeau est une marque de la domestication du berger et de sa capacité à sélectionner ses animaux démontrant une bonne gestion du troupeau.

La perception des couleurs (Berlin et Kay 1999) et leurs expressions linguistiques selon les locuteurs peuvent être ample ou, au contraire, très restreintes. Le nuancier des robes est très diversifié, nous proposons toutefois une classification en deux gammes d'adjectifs. S'appliquant aux chèvres, ces adjectifs seront exprimés avec une désinence féminine:

² Enquêtes personnelles (formes relevées à Cuttuli è Curtichjatu).

Des blanches et des noires

Pour designer 'une chèvre blanche', on retrouve le continuateur du germanique BLANK³ en corse *bianca*. *Una capra bianca* désigne 'une chèvre blanche'. Le continuateur corse de NIGER, *nera* ou *negra* qualifiera la chèvre foncée *capra negra/nera*. Plusieurs adjectifs correspondent à différentes nuances de couleurs, ainsi sont attestés du blanc au noir pour les adjectifs hérités:

- bianca /bj'ãnka/, 'blanche' et une forme dérivée bianchiccia 'blanchatre';
- canosa /kan'oza/, 'entre blanche et grise' < CANUS (REW 1621) 'gris';
- muglia /m'uʎa/, 'grise claire à foncée';
- grisgia /gr'iʒa/, 'grise' du germanique *GRĪSI (REW 2873) 'gris';
- nera /n'ɛra/, 'noire' < NIGER (REW 5917) 'noir'.

L'expression des couleurs peut également se faire par transfert métaphorique, par exemple l'adjectif *lattina* dérive de *latti* 'lait' et indique une chèvre 'claire comme le lait'. L'adjectif *cinnarata* dérivé de *cennara* 'cendre' renvoie à une chèvre 'cendrée', etc. Linguistiquement ces métaphores permettent d'augmenter le matériel linguistique à disposition des locuteurs tout en apportant une valeur stylistique au discours.

Des blondes et des rousses

Les différentes nuances de roux peuvent être exprimées par les adjectifs:

- *fala* /f'ala/, 'fauve', 'blond clair'(BDLC et CECCALDI) < FALVUS (REW 3174.1) 'fauve'.
- bionda /bj'5nda/, du germanique *BLUND 'blond' (REW 1179).
- giadda /dʒ'aqa/, 'jaune' ou 'marron' (BDLC) < GALBĭNUS (REW 3646) 'jaune'.
- *spana* /sp'ana/, 'rousse' du grec SPANOS (REW 8118c) 'rouge feu' (attesté en Sardaigne pour le manteau des animaux).⁴
- *rossa* /r'ɔ̄s̄a/, 'rousse' < RŬSSUS 'rouge' (REW 7466).
- rùpina /r'upina/ < RUBEUS (REW 7408).

L'emploi de certains termes n'est pas diffusé dans toutes les exploitations. Des types de couleurs ne sont pas représentés dans certains cheptels. La répartition géolinguistique des termes semble être restreinte pour certains adjectifs alors que d'autres sont beaucoup plus répandus. Il conviendra d'approfondir cette question à l'avenir, au terme de notre campagne d'enquêtes.

³ REW 1152, et Tognotti (à paraître) concernant les continuateurs de BLANK en Corse pour les noms corses à propos de variétés de raisin.

⁴ DES s.v. *ispanu. Spano* est attesté comme anthroponyme en Sardaigne.

Des robes

La chèvre corse présente fréquemment une robe 'bariolée' *varghja*. Ces répartitions de couleurs peuvent être reconnaissables et exprimées linguistiquement lorsqu'elles se manifestent par une disposition de poils blancs ou d'une couleur autre que celle dominante de manière ordonnée sur la robe: par exemple dans le sud de l'île 'une chèvre plus claire à l'avant' sera désignée par l'adjectif *pàlisgia*, et 'une chèvre plus claire à l'arrière' par *cùlisgia*. Le Nord utilisera respectivement l'opposition *còllata* et *rovia* ou *ruviata*. Le berger dans sa description précisera la couleur foncée par composition *cùlisgia nera* 'chèvre plus claire à l'arrière': dans ce cas nous ne sommes pas renseigné sur la nuance de couleur à l'avant, ces compositions sont établies par oppositions négatives. De nombreux termes permettent de localiser une zone plus claire ou reconnaissable, de la couleur dominante souvent précisée par la base lexicale appartenant au lexique du corps notamment:

- *gruppata* [grup̄'ata], chèvre 'avec la croupe (généralement blanche) qui se distingue de la couleur dominante', dérive de *groppa* 'croupe';
- *lumbata* [lumb'ata], chèvre 'avec les lombes (généralement blancs) qui se distingue de la couleur dominante', dérive de *lombi* 'lombes';
- *cintarata* [tʃintar'ata], chèvre 'avec la ceinture (généralement blanche) qui se distingue de la couleur dominante', dérive de *cinta* 'ceinture';
- *calzata* [kalts'ata], chèvre 'avec une patte (généralement blanche) qui se distingue de la couleur dominante', dérive de *calza* 'chaussette'.
 Sur la tête de la chèvre:
- *bucchisgiata* [bukiʒ'ata], chèvre 'avec la bouche (généralement blanche) qui se distingue de la couleur dominante', dérive de *bocca* 'bouche';
- nasata [naz'ata], chèvre 'avec les naseaux (généralement blancs) qui se distinguent de la couleur dominante'; nasiglata [naziʎ'ata], précise 'une zone centrale de poils blancs (généralement blancs) ordonnée de façon verticale du chanfrein aux naseaux', dérivent de nasu 'nez';
- *merulata* [merul'ata] ou *merlata* [merl'ata], dérive de *mèrulu* 'joue', indique 'une chèvre' aux joues colorées.
- *stiddata*, [stid]'ata], chèvre 'avec une tache uniforme sur le du front', dérive de *stedda* 'étoile'.
- mòsciata [m'ɔʃata] ou musculata [muskul'ata], chèvre 'avec des petites taches régulières sur la tête de l'animal' (doublet étymologique, du latin MŬSCA (REW 5766) 'voler').

Des membrures

La chèvre corse présente la particularité de posséder ou non des cornes. La chèvre avec des cornes est désignée par l'adjectif *curruta* [kur̈uta] et la chèvre sans cornes par *mòtina* /m'ɔtina/ ou *coccia* /k'ɔt̄ʃa/ selon une répartition dialectale Nord / Sud. Ainsi, on pourra évoquer une chèvre en parlant de *a mòtina nera* [a m'ɔdina n'ɛra] ou *a coccia rossa* [a k'ɔt̄ʃa

r'ɔ̄sa], c'est à dire 'une chèvre sans corne rousse'. Pour la description de la forme des cornes de nombreux termes sont attestés, *corristramba* [koristr'āmba] pour 'chèvre présentant une dissymétrie au niveau des cornes', *palmulata* [palmul'ata] ou *pargulata* [pargul'ata], pour 'chèvre aux cornes en forme de fourche', *chjirchjata* [c̄irc̄'ata] pour 'chèvre aux cornes cerclées'.

La langue corse dispose donc d'un lexique technique spécialisé concernant l'élevage caprin. Ces termes seront largement repris dans le processus de dénomination.

Du nom commun au nom propre

La conscience des locuteurs corses reconnaît disposer d'un système de désignations et de dénominations traditionnelles pour les bestiaux notamment les caprins et les bovins mais également pour les canins et les équidés. Les ovins et les porcins ne se voient pas attribuer un nom systématiquement:

- Comu si dici *appeler les bêtes?
- Chjamà? Addità...
- Pà falli vena comu si facci?

– Ah dipendi s'eddi sò vacchi tè, tè... è i capri dimu... chjamemu carchiduna à *prenomi, Bucchisgiò, Bucchisgiò aiò ch'hè ora.

- $-\dot{E}$ pà i pecuri?
- Ah i pecuri t'aviani menu noma *hein. Eu! Eu! Si dicia à i pecuri.⁵

Lors de nos premières enquêtes concernant l'onomastique animale en Corse nos informateurs nous ont expliqué qu'ils donnent des noms à leurs animaux en fonctions de leurs observations. Nous avons choisi d'illustrer quelques processus qui conduisent du nom commun au nom propre dans la dénomination des chèvres en Corse car le modèle de dénomination selon des critères morphologiques observables exposé précédemment est une constante sur toutes les exploitations, *'i chjamu sicondu u culori, a fattura di i corri...'*, ⁶ *'sò cullata à piglialle in Niolu, avianu tutte un nome....'*.

Le baptême

Les chèvres évoluent en restant proches de leur lignée appelée *reghja*. Lorsque la chèvre met bas, généralement au mois de novembre, les cabris restent enfermés, la journée, dans *u sarconi* lorsque leurs mères paissent en extérieur. Matin et soir, le berger distribue chaque

⁵ '- Comment dit-on appeler les bêtes?

⁻ Appeler? Appeler les bêtes...

⁻ Pour les faire venir comment fait-on?

⁻ Ah ça dépend si c'est des vaches *tè*, *tè*... et les chèvres on dit... on appelle quelques-unes avec les prénoms, *Bucchisgiò*, *Bucchisgiò* allez c'est l'heure.

[–] Et pour les brebis?

⁻ Ah les brebis elles avaient moins de noms hein. Eu! Eu! On disait aux brebis.'

⁶'Je les appelle en fonction de la couleur, de la forme des cornes...'

⁷'Je suis montée les chercher dans le Niolu, elles avaient toutes un nom'

cabri à sa mère. Cette distribution lui demande une connaissance parfaite de chaque individu du troupeau ainsi que de sa filiation. Une chèvre n'acceptera pas de faire téter un cabri qui n'est pas le sien. Il appelle alors chaque chèvre par son nom. Les cabris qui assureront le renouvellement du cheptel sont marqués du *segnu* 'identification du berger par une entaille à l'oreille de l'animal', les autres seront destinés à l'abattage. Plus tard, au printemps les chevreaux suivront leurs mères, pour rejoindre les estives: la détermination se fait jusqu'alors en référence à la filiation: *l'eghju di Culumbedda, l'eghjaredda di a coccia mirulata* littéralement 'le cabri de Culumbedda', 'le petit cabri de la chèvre sans cornes aux joues colorées'. Lorsque la chevrette mettra bas pour la première fois elle sera considérée comme individu à part entière au sein du groupe. Pour des raisons pratiques, c'est durant cette période qu'elle se verra généralement attribuer un nom. Nous sommes devant l'acte premier de la dénomination.

Le rôle discriminant du nom dans la gestion des troupeaux

Le modèle de dénomination des caprins corses est à la fois un acte strictement privé et assumera une fonction publique (D'Aveni 1994: 12). Le nom prend naissance dans le domaine privé en famille ou entre associés afin de pouvoir échanger à propos du troupeau (si une bête est malade, si une bête à beaucoup de lait, si elle a mis bas, etc.). Ces dénominations sont également utilisées en montagne, lorsqu'une bête s'égare, le chevrier peut demander aux autres éleveurs s'ils ont vu par exemple la chèvre *Coccia Mirulata* [k'ɔt̄ʃa mirul'ata]. Dans l'exemple cité la motivation est transparente, il s'agit d'une chèvre sans cornes aux joues colorées. Dans d'autres cas, si le nom ne peut satisfaire l'intercompréhension, le berger ajoute une description précise de l'animal. Au-delà même des éleveurs, les locuteurs corses peuvent avoir une connaissance du système de désignation des chèvres, pouvant ainsi venir en aide aux bergers.

Bien que la dénomination des chèvres ait une fonction publique elle n'est pas reprise dans les actes officiels concernant le cheptel, ce qui a probablement favorisé le maintien du modèle traditionnel. Le lexique de la désignation des chèvres est largement réemployé dans la création onomastique.

Un tagliolu di capri 'une poignée de chèvres'

Nous avons sélectionné dans notre corpus une série de noms qui permettent d'illustrer des processus qui conduisent du nom commun au nom propre.

La dérivation d'adjectifs permet de générer un important corpus onomastique. En effet, à partir de formes qui visent à décrire la chèvre physiquement, ces formes descriptives vont se figer au fil du temps pour donner naissance à des noms propres.⁸ Des noms dérivés, motivés par la couleur de la chèvre aboutissent à des dénominations: *Bianchisgiola* [bjānkiʒ'ola] dérive de *biancu* 'blanc', *Russuledda* [rusul'eqa] de *rossu* 'roux' ou encore *Nirona* [nir'ɔna] dérive de *neru* 'noir'. Notons que les suffixes affectés à ces adjectifs de

⁸ Voir Gouvert (2008: 203), pour la différence proposée entre 'figement' ('cristallisation et démotivation progressive d'une désignation lexicale antérieure') et 'baptême' ('acte performatif de désignation délibéré').

couleurs renvoient à la chèvre : -ola (Rohlfs 1969: 404-406) et -edda (Rohlfs 1969: 402-403). pour Bianchisgiola et Russuledda ont une valeur diminutive ou hypocoristique qui caractérise la chèvre docile ou la chèvre de petite taille. En revanche -ona (Rohlfs 1969: 414-418). pour Nirona, peut avoir une valeur augmentative 'une chèvre de grande taille', ou bien qualificative 'une chèvre à dominante noire' (Dalbera et Dalbera-Stefanaggi 2003). Généralement, dans la création des noms de chèvres en Corse les suffixes ne déterminent pas la base à laquelle ils sont rattachés hormis pour quelque attestation: Bianchiccia [bjānk'itʃa], le suffixe -iccia (Rohlfs 1969: 367-369). renseigne la base biancu, prend le sens de 'à peu près blanc'. Des noms motivés par la forme des cornes sont très diffusés: Cucciona [kut͡ʃ Sna], dérive de coccia 'sans cornes' Parguledda [pargul'ed̄a] dérive de pargula 'fourche', Strambedda [strāmb'ed̄a] dérive de strambu 'qui louche' ou 'asymétrique'. Les exemples des noms dérivés d'adjectifs de couleurs ou de formes de cornes sont, du point de vue de la motivation, transparents. Pour autant, nous nous éloignons de la description précise de la chèvre, une seule caractéristique est jusqu'à présent soulignée par le nom.

La composition de termes relatifs à l'identification de la chèvre permet quant à elle de renforcer le caractère motivé de certains noms. L'étude des noms des chèvres corses montre une organisation morphosyntaxique relativement souple qui permet toutefois de mettre en évidence des modèles de construction:

Composé Adjectif + adjectif

Forme des cornes + disposition des couleurs sur la tête + couleur dominante: *Coccia Mirulata Nera*, /k'ɔt̄ʃa mirul'ata n'ɛra/, *coccia*, adj. 'sans cornes', *mirulata*, adj. 'aux joues colorées', *nera*, adj. 'noire'.

Forme des cornes + disposition des couleurs sur la tête: *Coccia Manzita*, /k'ot͡ʃa mãndz'ita/, *coccia*, adj. 'sans cornes', *manzita*, adj. 'au menton et aux yeux colorés'.

Forme des cornes + couleur dominante de la robe: *Chjoppa Rossa*, /c'opā r'osā /, *chjoppa*, adj. 'aux cornes recourbées', *rossa*, adj. 'rousse'; *Pàrgula Grisgia*, /p'argula r'iʒa/, *pàrgula*, adj. ' aux cornes en forme de fourche', *grisgia*, adj. 'grise'.

Disposition des couleurs sur la tête + couleur dominante: *Facciata Rossa*, /fat̄ʃ'ata r'ɔs̄a/, *facciata*, adj. 'au visage blanc ou d'une autre couleur que la robe', *rossa*, adj. 'rousse'; *Chjàrisgia Rossa*, /c'ariʒa r'ɔs̄a/, *chjàrisgia*, adj. 'tête avec deux traits verticaux symétriques parallèles du chanfrein au naseaux'.

Disposition des couleurs sur la robe + couleur dominante: *Pàlisgia Rossa*, /p'aliʒa r'ɔ̄s̄a/. *pàlisgia*, adj. 'chèvre plus claire à l'avant', *rossa*, adj. 'rousse'; *Lumbata Grisgia*, /lumb'ata r'iʒa/ *lumbata*, adj. 'aux lombes blancs ou d'une autre couleur que la robe', *grisgia*, adj. 'grise'; *Gruppata Mufrina*, /grup̄'ata muvr'ina/. *gruppata*, adj. 'à la croupe blanche ou d'une autre couleur que la robe', *mufrina*, adj. 'couleur semblable à celle du mouflon'.

Couleur dominante + caractéristique particulière: *Rùpina Buttulata*, /r'upina butul'ata/, *rùpina*, adj. 'rousse foncée', *buttulata*, adj. 'avec des appendices de chair (sous le cou)'; *Rossa Fiurita*, /r'ɔ̄sā vjur'ita/, *rossa*, adj. 'rousse', *fiurita*, adj. 'fleurie' 'bariolée'; *Cùlisgia Facciata*, /k'uliʒa fat͡ʃ ata/, *cùlisgia* 'chèvre plus claire à l'arrière', *facciata* 'au visage blanc ou d'une autre couleur que la robe'.

Composé Nom+Adjectif

Giadda Spana, /dʒ'ada sp'ana/, 'rousse feu'. *Maschirossa,* /maskir'ɔs̄a/, 'joue rousse'. *Bocchigrisgia,* /bɔk̄ir'iʒa/, 'bouche grise', *Coddinera,* /kod̄in'ɛra/, 'queue noire'.

L'organisation des adjectifs dans une relation partie-tout, particulièrement productive, reflète un processus cognitif. Des relations morphologiques et sémantiques, pour la création d'adjectifs et de noms par des compositions adjectif + adjectif émergent de notre corpus:

L'organisation morphosyntaxique dominante est celle hiérarchisée partant des caractères observables de la tête de l'animal jusqu'à la couleur dominante (Santucci et Franceschi 2002). bien que des compositions comme couleur dominante + forme de cornes soient attestées, par exemple pour *Rossa Chjoppa* 'rousse aux cornes recourbées'.

Des noms sont du type substantif + adjectif comme *Bocchigrisgia* 'bouche grise', *Coddinera* 'queue noire' ou *Maschirossa* 'joue rousse'. La désinence du substantif en *-i* marque la lexicalisation du composé. En corse et en Italie méridionale ces formations sont nombreuses (Rohlfs 1969: 339-340).

D'autres noms entretiennent entre leurs composés des relations déterminantdéterminé. Pour *Giadda Spana*, *giadda* 'jaune' 'marron' et *spana* 'rousse feu' appartiennent au même nuancier, *spana* renforce tout de même la perception de la couleur (Rohlfs 1969: 345-346).

Les noms de chèvres construits par la composition d'adjectifs ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des syntagmes lexicalisés: *Fiurita Rossa* et *Chjàrisigia Rossa* sont définis par les informateurs par les syntagmes «*Fiurita Rossa, hè rossa fiurinata*»,⁹ «*Chjàrisgia Rossa, hè rossa chjarisgiata in faccia*».¹⁰

Motivation et remotivation

Des noms motivés

La recherche de définitions des termes descriptifs devenus des dénominations de chèvres a été au centre de notre étude: nous proposons ainsi de voir pour l'adjectif *pàlisgia* 'une chèvre plus claire à l'avant' un dérivé de *pala* attesté pour 'épaule' (Rohlfs 1941: 15), dans la dénomination des chèvres dans des formes dérivées comme *Palisgetta* et *Palisgiol*a ou des composés comme *Pàlisgia Rossa*, *Pàlisgia Uchjata*, bien que ce terme soit démotivé pour bon nombre de locuteurs.

Concernant le transfert depuis d'autres zoonymes des noms dérivés de *culomba* 'pigeon' sont très productifs : *Culumbedda, Culumbina, Culomba*. Majoritairement, les chèvres blanches se voient attribuer ces noms. Toutefois une chèvre à dominante *giadda* 'rousse' présentant une ceinture de poils blancs de type *cintarata* porte le nom de *Culumbedda*. Cet informateur dit avoir donné ce nom car selon lui la morphologie de cette chèvre est caractéristique de la race Corse, montrant le figement du nom *Culomba* dans

⁹ Fiurita Rossa, elle est rousse et bariolée'.

¹⁰ Chjàrisgia Rossa, elle est rousse, avec deux traits plus clairs sur le visage'.

l'onomastique caprine insulaire, qui est généralement connoté positivement.¹¹

Des noms Remotivés

Notre corpus onomastique atteste de noms reprenant l'organisation des couleurs sur la tête des ovins et caprins corses de type *mirulata* 'aux joues d'une autre couleur que celle dominante'. Ainsi nous pouvons citer: *Merlata* [mɛrl'ada], *Merlata Nera* [mɛrl'ada n'ɛra], *Merlata Bughja* [mɛrl'ada b'uja], *Merlatuccia* [mɛrlad'utʃa], *Mirulata* [mirul'ata], *Mirulatedda* [mirulat'eda], *Mirulata Rossa* [mirul'ata r'ɔs̄a]. La reconstruction lexicale de l'adjectif *merlata* met en évidence la base nominale *merli* pour 'joue' qui n'est diffusée comme substantif que dans le centre Corse, l'ouest et le Cap Corse (BDLC). En revanche, l'adjectif *merlata* pour la chèvre est attesté dans l'ensemble de l'île avec plusieurs réalisations phonétiques [mirul'ata], [mɛrl'ada], [merul'ata], [merul'ada]. Lorsque l'on s'éloigne de la zone de diffusion *merlu* ou *merlettu* pour 'joue', on observe chez les locuteurs une remotivation ou *mirulata* est rapproché du zoonyme *merula* 'merle'.¹²

Un autre exemple de remotivation peut être illustré par les dérivés de *chjàrisgia* 'tête avec deux traits verticaux ordonnés du chanfrein au naseaux'. Des noms comme *Chjarisgiola, Chjarasgiata,* renvoient à un dérivé de l'adjectif pancorse *chjaru* 'clair', bien que certaines productions métalinguistiques mettent en relief l'interprétation depuis *chjarasgia* 'cerise'. Falcucci (1915) dans son vocabulaire donne une définition analogue pour *vino chiarasgiato* 'vin couleur cerise'. Pour designer le 'vin rosé' en corse est attesté aussi bien *vinu chjaru* que *vinu chjarasginu* (BDLC).

Des noms démotivés

L'attribution du nom *Fasgiana* peut renvoyer à une chèvre qui a des ressemblances avec la couleur (Medori 2008: 51) du 'faisan' *fasgianu* ou bien d'autres bergers l'utiliseront pour un animal noir et blanc. L'adjectif dérivé *fasgianata* revêt alors un caractère polysémique. Comme le souligne Stella Medori (2008) pour la désignation du papillon en corse par *fasgianella*, littéralement 'petite faisane', le sème 'beauté' n'est pas à exclure comme le suggère le proverbe '*Omi d'Orezza è donne d'Alisgiani facenu figlioli chì parenu fasgiani*'.¹³ Ce nom est extrêmement répandu dans la dénomination des animaux en Corse au delà des caprins pour les bovins, les canins et les équidés.¹⁴ Ce nom propre semble aujourd'hui aboutir à une opacification du signifié. Il appartient au corpus onomastique traditionnel dont disposent les locuteurs corses.

¹¹ *Culomba* est attesté comme nom propre en corse pour les canins et les équidés mais également comme prénom féminin.

¹² Concernant les aboutissements de MER(U)LA en Corse, voir notamment Dalbera-Stefanaggi (1991 § 214).

¹³ 'Les hommes d'Orezza et les femmes d'Alisgiani font des enfants qui ressemblent aux faisans'.

¹⁴ Une forme *Fasianella* est également attestée dans la documentation corse du seizième siècle pour une femme en Tavagna 'la cumare Fasianella' (Retali-Medori 2008).

La transmission du nom

On observe que les noms des chèvres en Corse peuvent se transmettre à la descendance par exemple lorsque la mère d'une chevrette meurt. Ainsi, le nom *Canusedda* est transmis de mère en fille dans une exploitation, sans que l'éleveur n'établisse le lien avec la base *canosu* 'gris', motif premier pour lequel il a été attribué et qui s'est opacifié. *Canosa*, et les dérivés *Canusedda*, *Canusè*, ainsi que l'adjectif *canosu* sont encore en usage notamment dans l'aire taravaise pour la description et la dénomination des caprins et des porcins (Zicavu, Palleca, Cuzzà).¹⁵

Par ailleurs, la construction à partir du même motif ou d'une réinterprétation / remotivation peut attester d'une filiation. Pour une famille de chèvres de type *chjàrisgia* (cf. *supra*) la mère pourra s'appeler *Chjarasgiola* et sa chevrette *Chjarasgina* avec substitution du suffixe *-ola* (qualificatif) par *-ina* (diminutif, voire hypocoristique), tous les deux refaits sur *chjarasgia* 'cerise'.

Conclusion

Le modèle de dénominations que nous avons exposé, est issu de la création langagière des éleveurs insulaires. Ce modèle connaît aujourd'hui un recul sans précédent dans sa mise en œuvre au sein des nouvelles exploitations. Chaque éleveur aurait, *a priori*, un choix important de noms à attribuer. Toutefois la tradition a transmis jusqu'à nous un important répertoire de noms d'animaux au-delà des seuls caprins. Ces noms, transmis de génération en génération, montrent la veille qu'effectuent les éleveurs dans le maintien de ce modèle traditionnel. La tradition orale a donc imposé ou plutôt insisté sur la genèse d'un répertoire onomastique comme il peut exister pour les animaux sélectionnés. Ce système est chargé sémantiquement, ce qui caractérise sa productivité. A l'avenir, il conviendra d'éclairer d'autres processus qui conduisent notamment du 'nom propre au nom propre', par exemple par le transfert du nom de lieu *Aghja Martina* à une chèvre qui a mis bas pour la première fois à cet endroit. D'autres individus prennent le surnom de leur ancien propriétaire dans le cas d'un échange ou de vente de chèvres¹⁶. Ainsi, la chèvre dénommée *Pignatta* (littéralement 'marmite') aura hérité du surnom du berger qui l'a vue naître. Ces noms pourront être transmis de génération en génération, et assumeront dès lors le rôle de 'nom de famille' au sein de la lignée.

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¹⁵ Des formes toponymiques attestent de l'adjectif *canosu* par exemple *Monti Canosu* (Zicavu).

¹⁶ L'échange d'animaux entre les bergers est très fréquent pour le renouvellement génétique.

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Eponyme in der deutschsprachigen medizinischen Fachpresse

Ewa Majewska Polen

Abstrakt

Personennamen spielen eine bedeutsame Rolle in der medizinischen Terminologie. Benennungen nach Personen sind in der Medizin weit verbreitet. Solche Begriffe wie *Eustachische Röhre, Basedow Krankheit* oder *Morbus Crohn* werden als feste Bestandteile der medizinischen Fachsprache angesehen. Es gibt verschiedene Möglichkeiten, eine Struktur oder eine Krankheit mit einem Eponym zu bezeichnen. Üblicherweise werden die Benennungen mit dem Namen der Erstbeschreiber oder Entdecker von Körperteilen, Syndromen, Verfahren, physiologischen Erscheinungen, oder ärztlichen Instrumenten gebildet. Seltener finden sich Namen von Ortschaften des erstmaligen oder gehäuften Auftretens einer Krankheit. Aufgrund der Artikel der medizinischen Fachpresse wurden Beispiele der dort verwendeten Eponyme nach ihrer Struktur und Bedeutung klassifiziert.

Abstract

Proper names play an important role in medical terminology. Naming after people is very common in medicine. Terms like *Eustachische Röhre, Basedow Krankheit* or *Morbus Crohn* are permanent elements of the medical language for special purposes. There are various possibilities to describe an illness or a structure with an eponym. Usually, the eponyms are formed from the name of the explorers or the first describers of parts of the body, illnesses, procedures, physiological symptoms or medical instruments. Geographical names are rarely used. They are usually related to a place where a given disease has appeared for the first time. This article includes information about eponyms collected from medical press articles. They have been examined and classified according to their morphological structure and semantics.

* * *

Das Wort 'Eponym' kommt von den griechischen Wörtern *epi* 'bei' und *onoma* 'Name'. In der Medizin sind Eponyme weit verbreitet und sie nehmen einen wichtigen Platz im medizinischen Fachwortschatz ein (Winkelmann 2009: IX). Es handelt sich dabei um Gattungsbezeichnungen, die auf einen Personennamen zurückgehen (Duden 1989: 444).

Eigenschaften und Funktion

Solche Eponyme wie *Eustachische Röhre, Basedow Krankheit, Morbus Crohn, Burkit-Tumor, Pfeiffer-Drüsenfieber* oder *Doppler Sonografie* sind feste Bestandteile der medizinischen Fachsprache. Die in den Begriffen enthaltenen Eigennamen bestimmen die mediznischen Einheiten näher, die u.a. Krankheiten, Syndrome, Bakterien, Effekte, Formeln, Gesetze, Gleichungen, Handgriffe, Hypothesen, Instrumente, Methoden, Organe, Phänomene, Proben, Reaktionen, Regeln, Symptome, Tests, Theorien, Viren, Zellen darstellen (vgl. Leiber/Olbert 1968). Durch die Benennung mit Eigennamen wird der gemeinte spezifische Sachverhalt genau identifiziert, obwohl der Eigenname selbst keine Informationen über den benannten Sachverhalt vermittelt. Für die Fachleute haben die Eponyme eine konkrete Bedeutung und sind praktisch im Gebrauch, weil sie in der ärztlichen Kommunikation auf den Eigennamen verkürzt werden können. Für den Laien ist die Bedeutung des Eponyms dagegen verhüllt und undurchsichtig (Wiese 1984: 44). Jochems (2010: 91) schreibt den Eponymen einen großen Vorteil zu, weil dank ihnen lange schwierige Umschreibungen vermieden werden können. Zugleich meint er doch, dass der Gebrauch der Eponyme in der medizinischen Nomenklatur schnell zurückgeht, so wie sie nicht mehr zu der anatomischen Nomenklatur gehören. Die Eponyme gewähren nach ihm nicht die Einsicht in die tatsächliche Bedeutung des Begriffes, während ein beschreibender medizinischer Terminus den Gebraucher auf die richtige Spur bringt (Jochems 2010: 92).

Mit den Benennungen mit Autorennamen wurden Verdienste eines Arztes, eines Entdeckers oder Erstbeschreibers einer Krankheit oder eines Syndroms geehrt, z.B. der Terminus Morbus Koch ist zu Ehren Robert Kochs, dem Entdecker der Tuberkulosebakterien, gebildet worden. In der Gegenwart wird der Personenname besonders zur Benennung von Tests, Verfahren, Methoden und deren Varianten benutzt. In diesen Fällen handelt es sich nicht um eine beabsichtigte Ehrung, sondern ist die Bildung des Eponyms eher als Ausdruck eines Benennungsbedürfnisses anzusehen (Wiese 1984: 44).

Struktur und Schreibung

Die Eponyme kommen als Attribute in Mehrworttermini vor oder sind Bestimmungsworte in den Zusammensetzungen (vgl. Kühtz 2007: 45). Wiese (1984: 45) unterscheidet zwischen attributiven Fügungen und Eigennamen als Bestandteil einer Bindestrich-Bildung, z.B.: *Schottmüllerische Krankheit, Münchmeyersche Krankheit* oder *Manchester-Operation, Menghini-Punktion, Burkitt-Tumor.*

Der Eigenname tritt als Wortbildungselement zusammen mit einem Appellativum auf, das als Grundwort fungiert. Das Grundwort bezeichnet einen allgemeinen Sachverhalt, z.B. Krankheit, Operation, Handgriff, Faktor. Semantisch determiniert und spezifiziert der Eigenname das Grundwort (Wiese 1984: 45). Wird das lateinische Morbus ,Krankheit' als Grundwort verwendet, so wird der Eigenname nachgestellt: *Morbus Crohn, Morbus Bechterew, Morbus Cushing, Morbus Biermer*. Diese Formen sind Latinismen und werden analog zu anderen lateinischen Strukturen gebildet, z.B.: *Morbus haemolyticus neonatorum*.

Bei Operationstechniken, Methoden, Tests u.a. sind auch präpositionale Fügungen gebräuchlich, z.B. *Magenresektion nach Billroth II, Leberblindpunktion nach Menghini* (Wiese 1984: 45).

Durch sprachliche Kürzung kann das Basiswort wegfallen und der Eigenname selbst repräsentiert den Sachverhalt, z.B. *Paget* \leftarrow *Morbus Paget*, *Hodgkin* \leftarrow *Morbus Hodgkin*, *Billroth II* \leftarrow *Magenresektion nach Billroth II* (Wiese 1984: 45). Kurzformen werden vor allem in der mündlichen ärztlichen Kommunikation verwendet, erscheinen gelegentlich aber auch in schriftlichen Texten. Ableitungen von Eigennamen sind im medizinischen Fachwortschatz seltener (Wiese 1984: 45).

Was ihre Schreibung betrifft, werden die Eponyme als umstrittene Formen der medizinischen Fachterminologie angesehen. Früher wurde statt der Zusammensetzung mit dem Personennamen im Vorderglied ein Attribut mit einem vom Eigennamen abgeleiteten Adjektiv auf *–scher, -sche, -sches* gebildet, z.B. z.B. *basedowsche Krankheit*. Gegenwärtig sind diese Formen aus der Fachliteratur weitgehend verschwunden. Es besteht stattdessen die Tendenz, aus diesen attributiven Fügungen neue Formen zu entwickeln, indem man die adjektivische Endung *–sche* durch einen Apostroph ersetzt, z.B. *Basedow' Krankheit* (Duden 2007: 39). Caspar (2007: 10) stellt folgende Strukturen der Eponyme im Rahmen der klinischen Termini vor:

-Namen der Entdecker + Bindestrich + Grundwort: z.B. Arnold-Chiari-Syndrom
-Grundwort + Name des Entdeckers: z.B. Morbus Crohn
-Name des Entdeckers + Suffix: z.B. Bilharziose
-Name des Chirurgen + Zählung: z.B. Billroth I, II, III

Geschichte der Eponyme

Die ersten Eponyme stammen aus dem Bereich der Anatomie. Nach dem flämischen Arzt, Andreas Vesal, haben seit dem 16. Jahrhundert Generationen von Anatomen die einzelnen Organe, Muskeln und Sehnen immer genauer studiert und häufig ihre Entdeckungen mit ihrem Namen versehen. So war es beispielsweise mit dem italienischen Anatomen Bartolomeo Eustachi (1520-1574), der seine Entdeckung der Ohrtrompete als *Tuba Eustachii* =*Eustachische Röhre* bezeichnet hatte (Willmans/Schmitt 2002: 19). Die Benennung von Krankheitsbildern mit Eigennamen begann in der Medizin in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Neurologie. Seit Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts wird dieses Verfahren in fast allen klinischen Fächern genutzt (Wiese 1984: 43). Die Eponyme wurden mit den Namen der Entdecker oder Erstbeschreiber von Krankheiten, Syndromen, Vorgängen, Verfahren, Operationstechniken oder ärztlichen Instrumenten gebildet (Duden 2007: 39).

Probleme mit der Verwendung

Der Gebrauch der Eponyme ist nicht frei von Nachteilen, dadurch dass sie manchmal zur Verwirrung Anlaβ geben können. Es passiert, dass ein bestimmtes Eponym zwei Bedeutungen haben kann. Beispiele dafür sind die *Paget Krankheit, Recklinghausen-Krankheit* oder *Malpighi-Körperchen*. Die *Paget Krankheit* (Morbus Paget) kann auf eine Erkrankung des Skelettsystems (Osteitis deformans) hinweisen. Diese Bezeichnung kann sich aber auch auf eine Krebsform beziehen (Paget-Karzinom). Ein anderes Beispiel ist das *Malpighi-Körperchen*, das ein Nierenkörperchen (Corpusculum renale) oder ein Milzfollikel ist. Zwei Bedeutungen hat auch der Fachbegriff *Recklinghausen-Krankheit*. Es handelt sich dabei entweder um Neurofibromatose oder um eine Knochenveränderung (Osteodystrophia fibrosa generalisata) (Jochems 2010: 91) Auch der Numerus kann auf einen Bedeutungsunterschied hinweisen. Eine andere Bedeutung hat *Cooper-Band*, das als Teil des Knochens (Os pubis) aufzufassen ist, und anders sollte man *Cooper-Bänder* (Ligamenta

suspensoria mammae) verstehen, die Stränge innerhalb der Bindgewebe der Brustdrüse sind. (vgl. Winkelmann 2009: 54). Problematisch kann auch im Eponym der Bestandteil *Krankheit* oder *Syndrom* sein, die verwechselt werden können. Es handelt sich dabei um unterschiedliche Erkrankungen. Als Beispiel gilt *Morbus Parkinson* (Schüttellähmung, Paralysis agitans) und *Parkinson-Syndrom*, worunter der sekundäre Parkinsonismus und alle anderen Erkrankungen, die die gleichen Bewegungsstörungen hervorrufen, z.B. *Morbus Wilson*, zusammengefasst worden sind (vgl. Winkelmann 2009: 209).

Täuschend kann schlieβlich auch die Tatsache sein, dass dieselbe Krankheit oder dasselbe Syndrom von unterschiedlichen Personen beschrieben worden sind. Oft passierte das unabhängig voneinander. Diese Situation führte zur Entstehung von synonymen Benennungen, die Jochems ,polyniemen' nennt (Jochems 2010: 91). So ist es im Falle von *Thyreoiditis*, die im Deutschen als *Morbus Basedow* gekannt ist. Im Englischen wird aber die Bezeichnung *Grave's disease* gebraucht. Im Polnischen gebraucht man für diese Krankheit beide Eigennamen: *choroba Gravesa-Basedowa*. Ein Sonderfall der klinischen Nomenklatur sind die aus Personennamen und Buchstaben oder Zahlen zusammengesetzten Termini. Sie dienen besonders häufig in der Unfallchirurgie zur Differenzierung und Lokalisierung der Verletzung, z.B. *Tossi I, Weber A* (Jakob 1996, 1640).

Die untersuchten medizinischen Eponyme wurden hauptsächlich aus den Fachartikeln der österreichischen medizinischen Zeitschrift "Ärztewoche" gesammelt und morphologisch sowie semantisch analysiert, anschließend wurden sie nach ihrer Struktur klassifiziert. Die semantische Einteilung erfolgt nach der Weise der Benennung und der Bedeutung des Appellativums, sowie nach den Fachbereichen, in denen die Erstbeschreiber/Entdecker tätig waren.

Die morphologische Einteilung erfolgt nach der Struktur des Eponyms. Die Eponyme sind entweder Glieder der Zusammensetzungen oder attributive Fügungen. Eine große Gruppe bilden Aneinanderreihungen, die in der modernen Werbe- und Wirtschaftssprache immer öfter auftauchen (vgl. Duden 2007: 40).

Morphologische Einteilung

Zusammensetzungen: (38)

- ohne Bindestrich: Achillessehne, Alzheimerrisikofaktoren, Crohnerkrankung, Röntgenaufnahmen, Röntgenbestrahlungen, Röntgenbilder, Röntgenscanner, Röntgenstreumethode, Röntgenanwendung, Parkinsonzentrum.
- mit Bindestrich: Alzheimer-Demenz, Alzheimer-Erkrankung, Alzheimer-Krankheit, Alzheimer-Merkmal, Alzheimer-Typ, Alzheimer-Pathologie, Alzheimer-Typ, Barret-Ösophagus, Barret-Patienten, Beighton-Score, Charcot-Fuβ, Dieulafoy- Läsionen, McLeod-Syndrom, Menière-Attacken, Lyell-Krankheit, Raynaud-Phänomen, Reiter-Syndrom, Schrittmacher-Implantation, Whipple-Eingriff, Smiley-Skalen, Steinach-Methode, Tourette-Syndrom, Fuhrman-Grad, Hickman-Katheter, Wolfram-Syndrom, Gleason-Score, Marfen-Syndrom, Clara-Zelle.

Aneinanderreihungen: (32)

Im medizinischen Fachwortschatz kommen auch Fachbegriffe vor, die aus zwei Wörtern bestehen, die getrennt geschrieben werden. Außer dem Personennamen taucht oft das lateinische Wort für Krankheit "Morbus" oder Syndrom auf. Im Sprachmaterial wurden folgende Belege gefunden:

Cogan Syndrom, Cowden Syndrom, Cushing Syndrom, Alzheimer Stadium, Addison Krise, Hickman Katheter, Langerhans Inseln, Parkinson Erkrankung, Parkinson Selbsthilfe, Parkinson Syndrom, Turner Syndrom, Proteus Syndrom, Sjörgen Syndrom,

Morbus Addison, Morbus Alzheimer, Morbus Basedow, Morbus Behçet, Morbus Berechtew, Morbus Crohn, Morbus Fabry, Morbus Gaucher, Morbus Hansen, Morbus Hirschsprung,

Morbus Menière, Morbus Parkinson, Morbus Pick, Morbus Pompe, Morbus Reiter, Morbus Whipple, M. Cushing, Osler Knöttchen, Glomustumor Masson,

Kürzungen: (3)

Der Fachbegriff wird nur auf einen Personennamen gekürzt, der den Sachverhalt repräsentiert. Das Basiswort ist weggefallen: *Parkinson, Hashimoto, Huntington*.

Attributive Fügung: (7)

Der Personenname tritt als adjektivisches Attribut auf:

Dupyutren'sche Krankheit, Kraepelinsche Sarkopenie, Oberst'sche Leistungsanästhesie, Parkinson'sche Krankheit, Parkinson'sche Erkrankung, Eustachische Röhre, Henle'sche Schleife.

Mehrwortbenennungen (15)

Manche Eponyme bestehen aus mehr als einem Personennamen. Es ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass eine Krankheit von mehreren Personen beschrieben worden war, was oft unabhängig voneinander geschah. Solche Beispiele nennt Jochems (Jochems, 2010: 91) ,polyniemen'. Ich verwende dafür die Bezeichnung "Polynome'. Im Sprachmaterial wurden folgende Polynome gefunden:

Cheyne-Stokes-Atmung, Creutzfeldt-Jakob-Erkrankung, Creutzfeldt-Jakob-Patienten, Epstein-Barr-Virus, Goltz-Gorlin-Syndrom, Henry-Gauer-Reflex, Tolosa-Hunt-Syndrom, Ullrich-Turner-Syndrom, Von-Hippel-Lindau-Erkrankung, Zollinger-Ellison-Syndrom, Stevens-Johnson-Syndrom, Mallory-Denk-Körper, Prader-Willi-Syndrom, Lawrence-Moon-Bardet-Biedl Syndrom, May-Grünwald-Färbung.

Manchmal wird der Terminus mit einem Personennamen gebraucht, obwohl die entsprechende Krankheit eigentlich von zwei Personen entdeckt oder beschrieben worden ist, z.B. *Turner-Syndrom* (statt Ullrich –Turner Syndrom)

Das untersuchte Material enthält auch Mischformen. Zu ihnen gehören:

Hoyer-Grosser'sches Organ, Brown-Séquard (nur Personennamen – Kurzform mit Polynom), Morbus Niemann-Pick (Aneinanderreihung mit Polynom)

Ableitungen (3)

Leishmanien, Morganella, Borrelia

Auβerdem wurden im Material Hybridbildungen angetroffen. Deutsch-lateinische hybride Bildungen sind: *Morbus-Alzheimer-Patienten, Morbus-Crohn-Erkrankung, Morbus-Crohn-Patienten.*

Zu deutsch-englischen Hybridbildungen gehört u.a. Boyarsky-Symptom-Score.

Semantische Einteilung

Die medizinischen Eponyme lassen sich auch semantisch nach der Art der Benennung eingliedern.

• Benennung einer anatomischen Struktur nach ihrem Entdecker

Eustachische Röhre	\rightarrow	Bartholomeo Eustachio
Henle' sche Schleife	\rightarrow	Friedrich Gustav Jakob Henle
Langerhans Inseln	\rightarrow	Paul Langerhans
Hoyer-Grosser'sches Organ	\rightarrow	Heinrich Hoyer/ Otto Grosser
Dieulafoy- Läsionen	\rightarrow	Georges Dieulafoy
Clara-Zelle	\rightarrow	Max Clara

• Benennung einer anatomischen Struktur nach einer fiktiven Figur

Achillessehne	\rightarrow	mythologische Figur, altgriechischer Held, nur
		an der Ferse verbundbar
Proteus Syndrom	\rightarrow	griechischer Meergott

• Benennung der Bakterien, Viren, Parasiten nach dem Entdecker:

Epstein-Barr-Virus	\rightarrow	M. A. Epstein / M.L. Barr
Leishmanien	\rightarrow	W.B. Leishman
Borrelia	\rightarrow	Amédée Borrel
Morganella	\rightarrow	H. de Reimer Morgan

• Benennung der pathologischen Veränderungen, Deformierungen, krankhaften Prozesse, Symptome nach dem Entdecker / Erstbeschreiber

Osler Knöttchen (Schwellungen)	\rightarrow	Sir William Osler
Mallory-Denk-Körper	\rightarrow	Kenneth Mallory
Cheyne-Stokes-Atmung	\rightarrow	John Cheyne / William Stokes
Alzheimer-Demenz /	\rightarrow	Alois Alzheimer
Alzheimer-Pathologie		
Barrett-Ösophagus	\rightarrow	Norman R. Barrett
Charcot-Fuβ	\rightarrow	Jean M. Charcot
Menière-Attacken	\rightarrow	Prosper Menière
Burkitt -Tumor	\rightarrow	Denis Burkit

• Benennung einer pathologischen Veränderung nach dem Zweitbeschreiber

Glomustumor Masson	\rightarrow	Pierre Masson
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• Benennung einer Krankheit, eines Syndroms nach dem Entdecker/ Erstbeschreiber Drei Eponyme wurden als Kürzungen, nur mit dem Personennamen gebraucht.

Parkinson	\rightarrow	James Parkinson
Hashimoto	\rightarrow	Hakaru Hashimoto
Huntington	\rightarrow	George Huntington

Bei der Aneinanderreihung mit dem lateinischen Appellativum *Morbus* wird der Personenname nachgestellt:

Morbus Addison	\rightarrow	Thomas Addison
Morbus Alzheimer	\rightarrow	Alois Alzheimer
Morbus Basedow	\rightarrow	Karl v. Basedow
Morbus Behçet,	\rightarrow	Hulushi Behçet
Morbus Bechterew	\rightarrow	W.M. Bechterew
Morbus Crohn	\rightarrow	B.B. Crohn
M. Cushing	\rightarrow	Harvey Cushing
Morbus Fabry	\rightarrow	Johannes Fabry
Morbus Gaucher	\rightarrow	Philippe Gaucher
Morbus Hirschsprung	\rightarrow	Harald Hirschsprung
Morbus Menière	\rightarrow	Prosper Menière
Morbus Parkinson	\rightarrow	James Parkinson
Morbus Pick	\rightarrow	Arnold Pick
Morbus Pompe	\rightarrow	Joannes Cassianus Pompe
Morbus Reiter	\rightarrow	Hans Reiter
Morbus Whipple	\rightarrow	G.H. Whipple

In der Aneinanderreihung mit *Syndrom* oder *Krankheit/ Erkrankung* wird der Personenname vorangestellt:

Cogan Syndrom	\rightarrow	David Glendening Cogan
Cushing Syndrom	\rightarrow	Harvey Cushing
Goltz-Gorlin-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Robert J. Gorlin, / Robert William Goltz
Marfen-Syndrom	\rightarrow	J.B.A. Marfan
Turner Syndrom/		
Ullrich-Turner-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Otto Ullrich /Henry H. Turner
Tolosa-Hunt-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Eduardo Tolosa / William Eduard Hunt
Tourette-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Georges Gilles- de- la –Tourette
Reiter-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Hans Reiter
Sjörgen Syndrom	\rightarrow	Henrik Sjörgen
Parkinson Erkrankung/		
Parkinson Syndrom	\rightarrow	James Parkinson
Brown-Séquard	\rightarrow	Charles-Edouard Brown- Séquard
Crohnerkrankung	\rightarrow	B.B. Crohn
Zollinger-Ellison-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Robert Milton Zollinger / Edwin Homer
		Ellison
Stevens-Johnson-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Albert Stevens / Frank Johnson
Prader-Willi-Syndrom	\rightarrow	Andrea Prader / Heinrich Willi
Laurence-Moon-Bardet-Biedl	\rightarrow	John Z. Laurence / Robert Moon /
Syndrom		Geoges Bardet / Arthur Biedl
Creutzfeldt-Jakob-Erkrankung	\rightarrow	Hans G. Creutzfeldt /Alfons Jakob
Von-Hippel-Lindau-Erkrankung	\rightarrow	Eugen v. Hippel/ Arvid Vilhelm Lindau
Lyell-Krankheit	\rightarrow	Alan Lyell
Alzheimer-Erkrankung /	\rightarrow	Alois Alzheimer
Alzheimer-Krankheit		
Barret-Patienten	\rightarrow	Norman R. Barrett

• Benennung der Syndrome nach dem ersten Patienten/ der ersten Patientin

Cowden Syndrom	\rightarrow	Rachel Cowden
McLeod Syndrom	\rightarrow	Hugh McLeod

• Benennung einer Erscheinung, eines physiologischen Prozesses, Mechanismus nach dem Erstbeschreiber

Raynaud-Phänomen	\rightarrow	Maurice Raynaud
Henry-Gauer-Reflex	\rightarrow	Otto Gauer
• Benennung eines Instruments nach dem Entwerfer

Hickman Katheter \rightarrow Robert O. Hickman

• Benennung der medizinischen Verfahren, Methoden nach den Autoren

Steinach-Methode	\rightarrow	Eugen Steinach	
Whipple-Eingriff	\rightarrow	G.H. Whipple	
May – Grünwald-Färbung	\rightarrow	Richard May/ Ludwig Grünwald	
Röntgenbestrahlungen	\rightarrow	Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen	
Röntgenanwendung, Röntgenbilder,			
Röntgenaufnahmen, Röntgenscanner,			
Röntgenstreumethode			
Gleason-Score	\rightarrow	Donald Gleason	

• Geographische Namen als erstes Glied: West-Nil-Virus, Mallorca-Akne, Hantavirus

Einteilung der Eponyme nach den medizinischen Fachbereichen, in denen die Erstbeschreiber, Entdecker tätig waren:

Allgemeinmediziner:

Huntington, Morbus Addison, Morbus Basedow, Morbus Menière, Leishmanien, Raynaud Phänomen, May –Grünwald-Färbung, Burkitt –Tumor, Dieulafoy- Läsionen Laurence-Moon-Bardet-Biedl Syndrom (→Geoges Bardet) Cheyne-Stokes-Atmung (→William Stokes)

Gastroenterologen:

Crohnerkrankung/ Morbus Crohn

Anatomen:

Eustachische Röhre, Henle' sche Schleife, Clara-Zelle, Hoyer-Grosser'sches Organ

Pathologen:

Langerhans Inseln, Von-Hippel-Lindau-Erkrankung \rightarrow (Arvid Vilhelm Lindau) Morbus Pompe, Whipple-Eingriff, Osler Knöttchen, Mallory-Denk-Körper \rightarrow (Kenneth Mallory), Epstein-Barr-Virus (\rightarrow Michael Epstein), Goltz-Gorlin-Syndrom (\rightarrow Robert J. Gorlin), Glomustumor Masson, Gleason-Score

Ophthalmologen:

Von-Hippel-Lindau-Erkrankung (\rightarrow Eugen v. Hippel), Sjörgen Syndrom, Cogan Syndrom, Laurence-Moon-Bardet-Biedl Syndrom \rightarrow (John Z. Laurence, Robert Moon)

Dermatologen:

Lyell-Krankheit, Morbus Behçet, Morbus Fabry, Goltz-Gorlin-Syndrom (→Robert William Goltz), Morbus Gaucher

Psychiater:

Morbus Pick

Neurologen:

Alzheimer- Krankheit, Creutzfeldt-Jakob-Erkrankung, Tourette-Syndrom, Charcot-Fuß

Physiologen: Steinach-Methode, Brown-Séquard

Chirurgen:

Barret-Patienten, Zollinger-Ellison-Syndrom, Cushing Syndrom, Hashimoto, Cheyne-Stokes-Atmung, Morbus Parkinson/Parkinson Erkrankung/ Parkinson Syndrom

Neurochirurgen: Tolosa-Hunt-Syndrom

Bakteriologen: Reiter-Syndrom, Borrelia

Biologen: Epstein-Barr-Virus

Pädiater:

Stevens-Johnson-Syndrom, Morbus Hirschsprung, Prader-Willi-Syndrom (→Heinrich Willi)

Nephrologen:

Hickman Katheter, Marfen-Syndrom

Endokrinologen:

Prader-Willi-Syndrom (\rightarrow Andrea Prader), Laurence-Moon-Bardet-Biedl Syndrom (\rightarrow Arthur Biedl)

Physiker:

Röntgenbestrahlungen, Röntgenaufnahmen

Schlussfolgerungen

Die aus den medizinischen Fachzeitschriften stammenden Eponyme wurden morphologisch und semantisch analysiert. Sie stammen hauptsächlich aus 53 Nummern der Zeitschrift Ärztewoche vom Jahr 2011. Insgesamt wurden 103 Eponyme gesammelt.

Im ersten Teil wurde ihre morphologische Struktur untersucht. Die meisten Eponyme sind Bestandteile der Zusammensetzungen (37%) oder kommen als Aneinanderreihungen vor. Außerdem wurden Kürzungen (3%), attributive Fügungen (31%)(7%), Mehrwortbenennungen=Polynome (15%) und Ableitungen (3%) angetroffen. Das untersuchte Material umfasst auch Mischformen.

Der zweite Teil des Artikels stellt die Ergebnisse der semantischen Analyse dar. Es wurden 11 semantische Kategorien aufgestellt, nach denen sich die Eponyme einteilen lassen. Diese Kategorien sind: Benennung nach den Entdeckern/Erstbeschreibern von: 1) anatomischen Strukturen, 2) Bakterien, Viren, Parasiten, 3) pathologischen Veränderungen, Deformierungen, krankhaften Prozessen und Symptomen, 4) Krankheiten und Syndromen 5) Erscheinungen, physiologischen Prozessen, Mechanismen, 6) Instrumenten, 7) medizinischen Verfahren, Methoden. Es wurden auch Eponyme von den Zweitbeschreibern, den ersten Patienten und fiktiven Figuren gebildet (5%). Im Sprachmaterial wurden auch geographische Namen (3%) gefunden. 92% der Eponyme wurden nach den Entdeckern/Erstbeschreibern einer medizinischen Einheit (Krankheit, Syndrom, Methode, Instrument usw.) benannt. Darauf entfallen 42% auf die Bezeichnungen der Krankheiten und Syndrome. Ihnen folgen die pathologischen Veränderungen und Symptome (9%), den nächsten Platz nehmen die anatomischen Strukturen ein (6%).

Anschließend wurden die Eponyme nach den medizinischen Fachbereichen der Entdecker/Erstbeschreiber eingeteilt. Es wurden 14 Fachbereiche ausgewiesen (Allgemeinmedizin, Gastroenterologie, Anatomie, Pathologie, Ophthalmologie, Dermatologie, Psychiatrie, Neurologie, Physiologie, Chirurgie, Neurochirurgie, Bakteriologie, Biologie, Pädiatrie). 20% der Eponyme wurden von den Namen der Allgemeinmediziner oder Pathologen gebildet.

Die österreichische Zeitschrift "Ärztewoche" publiziert Artikel, die hauptsächlich für Ärzte vorgesehen sind. Es kann wundern, dass die Zahl der gefundenen Eponyme in 53 Nummern der Zeitschrift nicht höher ist. Obwohl die Eponyme in der medizinischen Fachpresse nicht in großen Mengen vorkommen, lassen sie sich doch nicht so einfach durch Umschreibungen ersetzen. Sie gehören der Fachsprache der Medizin an und müssen als solche ein fester Bestandteil der Medizin bleiben. Wahrscheinlich werden sie öfter in der gesprochen Sprache und in der direkten Kommunikation zwischen dem medizinischen Fachpersonal verwendet.

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Mapping and Visualizing Linguistic and Territorial Convergent Data: Imola and Its Environment as a Case Study

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Abstract

This paper presents the innovative outcome of a convergent approach applied to research results coming from historical linguistics and etymology, medieval history, palaeography and diplomatics, historical geography and topography, historical cartography, and historical semantics. All data converge upon a new interpretation of the remote origins of the place name *Imola* (Emilia-Romagna, Italy) and of the name of its river *Santerno*, in relation to their environment and territory. It comes out as a toponymic alignment in a linguistic border area between Indo-European and Etruscan, which defines—through an interdisciplinary set of direct and internal 'auto-confirmations'—a settlement 'on the bend of a river', the 'river which turns'. This etymological reconstruction meets the identification that originally puts this inhabited center on the top of the low hill currently known as *Castellaccio* (aka *Castrum Imolas*), which preserves evidence of population dynamics from Prehistory till 1222, and is located beside the natural ford used by the Etruscan piedmont path to cross the river *Santerno*. The toponym, during the Middle Ages, expanded from this original settlement to the Roman *Forum Cornelii* one, replacing its name into nowadays Imola.

* * *

Imola as a Case Study

Imola (geographic coordinates 44°21'12"N 11°42'51"E) is an Italian town in the Province of Bologna (region Emilia-Romagna), situated along the ancient *Via Æmilia*, at the point where the Apennine valley of the Santerno river joins the Po valley (Nanetti 2008, *passim*; Nanetti and Giberti 2014, *passim*).

This paper is part of an interdisciplinary series of works published by Andrea Nanetti in collaboration with other authors using Imola and its territory as a laboratory to test new methodologies for historical research, with the constant support of the Foundation of the Savings Bank of Imola by statute responsible for the cultural heritage of the territory of Imola. Among these authors, the architect Mario Giberti has always been the principal inspirer of new interpretations and a constant provider of previously unknown evidence—not only because of the depth and breadth of his experience of the territory of Imola, its historical memories and traditions, but also through his private collection of maps, books, paintings, art objects, and other documents concerning the history of Imola and its territory. This new specific research on linguistic and territorial convergent data is the result of the meeting with Francesco Perono Cacciafoco at the Nanyang Technological University Division of Linguistics in late 2013 and early 2014.

All of the published research projects in this series have used Imola's historical memory as a laboratory for experimenting with new approaches, in order to better understand historical processes. They have provided ontological solutions to be used in the migration of historical data sets to web-based visual platforms, in particular, for 1) historical maps of the city, investigated as gateways for understanding urban development at the scale of a single building (Giberti *et al.* 2005);¹ 2) early modern chronicles as pre-digital historical narratives (Nanetti 2008);² 3) archival documents as surviving molecular components of institutions at work (Nanetti and Mazzanti 2010);³ and 4) historical data mapping and visualization of all available historical data about the relationship between roads and settlements during the Middle Ages (Nanetti and Giberti 2014).⁴ In all these research endeavours, the interdisciplinary factor came out from the intention to answer questions and provide solutions to problems, for which history alone was not yet able to fulfil the expectations and the needs of the scholarly community, and get traditional historical data sets prepared for the semantic web: (digital) maps are seen as knowledge aggregators and navigators, and (digital) mapping has been the epistemological tool used to pioneer experimental narrative and non-narrative operations. These operations associate each element of given sets of data coming from traditional disciplines (history, archaeology, art history, etc.) with one or more elements of a range of automatically generated sets of different things of the same general type (places, people, buildings, events, dates, ideas, etc.).

The area where the present-day city is located was already inhabited in Prehistoric and Proto-historic times (between 8000 and 3000 years ago, during the Neolithic and the Metal Ages, but the origins of the settlement of the area can be traced back to the Upper Paleolithic). A Villanovan village is attested in the Pontesanto locality, on the *Via Æmilia*, after the archaeological excavations that date back to the 1999-2000 biennium. Umbrian populations settled in Romagna and Umbria between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, also in the territory of Imola. The area of Monte Castellaccio (d'Imola) is a testimony of these settlements (perhaps chronologically dating back, at least in part, to the most remote ages), while the seventy-seven graves of the Montericco necropolis represent the most extreme advancing point of Umbrian people towards the West (Montanari 2000: 35-52).

It can be traced back at least to the Etruscans, dating it between the 5th and 4th centuries BC, the use of a road that, for unavoidable or traditional functional reasons, connected Rimini (*Arimna*) with Bologna (*Velzna/Felzna*) at the foothills of the Apennine

¹ This book on *The Cartography of Imola, 15th-19th c*. has a sole author CD-Rom designed by Andrea Nanetti, which pioneered the scientific organization of cartographical data in the digital era in its first edition (2000).

² In this book on *The Early Modern Chronicles of Imola*, written in 2007 during a research stay at Princeton University, Andrea Nanetti first theorised his 'Engineering Historical Memory' method, which led to the development of http://www.engineeringhistoricalmemory.com (© Meduproject Pte Ltd., a spin-off company of the University of Bologna based in Imola), and the creation of the collaborative Nanyang Technological University and Microsoft Research project started in September 2014.

³ This book is the second volume of a work on *The Benedictine Abbey of St Mary at Imola* edited by Mario Giberti and Andrea Ferri for the Foundation of the Savings Bank of Imola.

⁴ This book on *Roads and Settlements in the Territory of Medieval Imola* has an archaeological excursus by Laura Mazzini and a linguistic excursus by Francesco Perono Cacciafoco, that provide consistent convergent data following a theoretical discourse developed by Perono Cacciafoco (2014a).

Mountains at the intersection of the rivers and paths of Apennine valleys with the waterways of the Po valley. However, one can not speak of origins, when it is increasingly accepted by the data cross of historical linguistics and palaeoanthropology that the piedmont, foothills, and other paths along waterways are a characteristic feature of the human movements in the Indo-European area, and furthermore archaeology confirms that humans usually established settlements at the confluence of two or more of them (Facchini 1993, Layton and Ucko 2004). During the same 5th and 4th centuries BC, among other things, Celtic populations (perhaps moving from Central Europe) settled along the whole Cispadane Italy, extending their presence to the borders of Picenian and Umbrian territories.

The consolidation of this path as a road acquires historical visibility only in the framework of the Roman interregional road infrastructure. In 220 BC the construction of the military road *Flaminia* from Rome to Fano was completed and allowed faster access to the Po Valley. Its continuation to *Placentia* (Piacenza), for reasons related to the Second Punic War, was suspended and resumed only after the 189 BC when *Bona* (Bologna) was founded after having won the last stands of the Gauls, the *Boii*, in 191 BC. The viability of the new road was provided in a very short time, just two years later, in 187 BC, when the consul Marcus Æmilius Lepidus received credit of it by its new given name of *Via Æmilia*, which the road still carries today (Marini Calvani 2000, *passim*).

The Via Æmilia was linked to the re-establishment or foundation of Roman settlements like Caesena (Cesena), Forum Popili (Forlimpopoli), Forum Livii (Forli), Faventia (Faenza), Forum Cornelii (Imola), Claterna (†), Bononia (Bologna), Mutina (Modena), Regium Lepidi (Reggio Emilia), Tannetum (Taneto di Gattatico), Fidentia (Fidenza), Placentia (Piacenza), and the structure of the relevant municipal districts (Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, III, 115 ff.).

Thus, in Roman times the town was denominated as Forum Cornelii or, less commonly, Forum Cornelium. In ca. 403, Prudentius linked the toponym to Lucius Cornelius Sulla ('Sylla Forum statuit Cornelius; hoc Itali urbem/ voc{it}ant ab ipso conditoris nomine': Peristefanon IX. Passio Cassiani Forocorneliensis, vv. 1-2). But this is commonly believed as an incorrect attribution, because of the very 'late' age, around 82 BC, to which the foundation of the forum should be accordingly referred, even if the most ancient mention of Forum Cornelii dates back only to the Epistulæ ad familiares (XII, V) by Marcus Tullius Cicero (1st century BC) and the archaeological findings do not preserve evidence that can be dated earlier than the 1st century BC (Nanetti 2008: 90-97; Nanetti and Giberti 2014, Ch. 1 and Ch. 4, Doc. 1). Nevertheless, Forum Cornelii is commonly believed to have been founded by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica (who defeated the Boii in 191 BC), or, with relatively less confidence, by Gaius Cornelius Cethegus (consul in 197 BC, who fought against the Boii, the Cenomani, and the Insubres), or by Publius Cornelius Cethegus (consul in 181 BC, who managed the land division in the territory of Imola in 173 BC). The decline of the Roman town of Forum Cornelii seems to start in the 3rd century, since after 255 AD historical sources no longer indicate the name of the Curator Viæ Æmiliæ (Nanetti 2008: 92).

In any case, the Roman foundation of *Forum Cornelii* did not cause the disappearance of the pre-Roman settlement in the area of present-day *Castellaccio*, which was possibly called *Imola* since pre-Roman times. In fact, the existence of human settlements in the area where the city of Imola now stands is the result of one single factor: it is the place where the

ancient east-west foothills road crosses the river Santerno that flows from south to north. To facilitate the passage of the river it has always been used as a natural ford, known as *Le Lastre* (The Slabs), which attracted two more streets, one coming from the neighbouring valley of the river Senio and the other coming from the valley of the river Santerno. The role played by this natural ford in pre-Roman times was re-established during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, when the stretch of the Roman road towards Faenza close to *Forum Cornelii* became mire, unenforceable, and was finally deleted by the river Santerno (Nanetti and Giberti 2014: *passim*). This meeting place was the aggregator of the human settlement; as it is demonstrated also by the following etymological reconstruction of the origins of the place name Imola.



Fig. 1. Diagram by Arch. Mario Giberti

The Methodology

In the work by Andrea Nanetti and Mario Giberti (2014), on roads and settlements in the territory of medieval Imola, in order to support the work of re-discovery, reading, and reviewing of the different sources used for the research—archival, archaeological, cartographic, chronicle, art historical—and of the historiographical narratives based on them,

the authors decided to explore a specific new approach to the organization and presentation of historical data sets. This approach is at the same time analytic (the mapping of the sources by Andrea Nanetti) and synthetic (the visualisation of the results by Mario Giberti). To understand the emphasis on the unity of this method, the rhetorical and conceptual linking of 'mapping and visualization' should be seen as a hendiadys in the approach to historical data. Thus the term 'mapping' is understood, in its basic meaning, as the localization and description of elements, facts or phenomena that relate to a circumscribed area, historically understood at the intersection of precise space and time coordinates. The aim is to provide and test an example of an innovative epistemological process in order to visually distil historical data. The 'visualization' process is seen not as a reductive representation to epitomise and/or illustrate written narratives, but as an investigative tool that the historian (especially one who intends to enter fully into the digital era) can use for discovering and organising new relationships between objects, in an innovative historical landscape where past, present, and future can merge in a democratised whole (Nanetti *et al.* 2013).

This 'mapping and visualization' method is intended to be a first step towards experimentation with less narrative (if not non-narrative) ways to make history in the digital era. It does not reflect a positivistic revival; rather, it is a consequence of the belief that 'narrative is not just a set of materials, but it is a quite specific method of organizing those materials';⁵ and the famous statement by the Italian theorist and philosopher Benedetto Croce (1951: 26) can also be discussed in this context: 'Where there is no narrative, there is no history'. Rick Altman (2008: 339-340) ironically and futuristically framed the case in the conclusions to his famous book on narrative:

If medieval physics clearly grows out of dual-focus assumptions, and its Newtonian successor develops a fundamentally single-focus cause-and-effect model, then we may perhaps recognize in Einstein's famous equation $e=mc^2$ the ultimate multiple-focus hem-naming process, recognizing for the first time that energy and matter can be treated as equals. When energy and matter, action and character, are reduced to the same entity, can the end of narrative be far behind?⁶

In fact, as Altman also highlighted in the first pages of his book (2008: 1-3), few human endeavors are more widespread or more generally endowed with cultural importance than narrative. Stories are the major vehicles of personal memory, a mainstay of law, entertainment, and history (2008: 1). Historically, definitions of narrative have been tied

⁵ For the citation see Altman (2008: 5), where the author rephrases a definition given at the height of structuralist activity by Stierle (1972: 178) referring to the 'basic structure of all narrative texts' by Danto (1965):

x is f at t1

g happens to x at t2

x is h at t3

⁶ The theory presented in Altman's book, which is applicable wherever humans tell stories or implicitly refer to previously told tales, offers powerful potential for describing human activities. In the final conclusion, Altman (2008: 338) suggests how the theory might be used to image and explain such varied phenomena as individual texts, literary and film history, social organization, religion, and political life. Many other domains could have been evoked. Whether the topic is literature, art, or epistemology, we regularly find a historical series that may usefully be described as developing from dual-focus, through single-focus, to multiple-focus.

tightly to a particular type of plot. This tendency began with Book VI of Aristotle's *Poetics* (Bywater 1909: 13), which informed us that a tragedy is impossible without action, but may exist without characters (Altman 2008: 2). Adopted from Aristotle, the notion of unity of action involves the need to build a play around a single, unbroken plot thread, eschewing competing story lines, unnecessary characters, and unrelated episodes. Stories must be coherent; they must have a distinct beginning, middle, and end; they must connect their parts through clearly motivated causes; and they must expunge any material unrelated to this unity of action (Altman 2008: 3). Altman notes, towards the end of his work (2008: 291-292), that 'We circulate among characters and places, not according to our own interests but according to an itinerary fixed by the narrator'. If it is inaugurated by the process of 'following', the act of reading also involves a tendency toward 'mapping': calling on our memory of the text at hand, as well as on our prior experience of other texts, the process of mapping involves the reader in a perpetual return to the past, and in a constant attempt to define the present in terms of that past, permitting eventual understanding of the present.

The Place Name Imola and the Hydronym Santerno

For the systematic refutation of previous theories and the new etymological reconstructions of the place name *Imola* and the hydronym *Santerno*, see Perono Cacciafoco (2014c) and Perono Cacciafoco and Nanetti (2015).

The current (highly questionable and, in a way, 'volatile') etymology (DTI: 328; Galassi 1999: *passim*) of the place name *Imola (Jômla* in the *Emiliano-Romagnolo* dialect) derives the denomination from an unspecified Germanic anthroponym *Immilo*, crossed (without a valid historical-linguistic explanation in support of this hypothesis) with the name of *Via Æmilia* (Violi 1982: 252-69; Gamillscheg 1934-36: II, *passim*).

The ancient form of the *Santerno* river name, *Vatreno*, Latin *Vatrenus / Vaternus*, is a pre-Latin (Italic or, more likely, Celtic) hydronym, derived from the root **uat*- (Pokorny 1959-69: 1113, 2), 'to bend', 'curve' + *(*s*)*reu*- (from which, for example, the ancient Greek verb $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\omega$), 'to stream', 'to flow' (Pokorny 1959-69: 1003), and, in fact, it bends in the vicinity of a sandstone massif of prehistoric origins – between 5 and 2 million years ago – just outside the town of Imola in the area called *Le Lastre /* The Slabs (Nanetti and Giberti 2014: Abstract in English). The hydronym's etymological reconstruction sequence, therefore, could be the following, *Vatreno < *Uat-reu(-o) → *Uat-re(u)(-o) → *Uat-re(u)-o → *Uat-re(u)-n-o* (euphonic 'n') = **Uat-re-n-o > *Uatreno > Vatreno*, Lat. *Vatrenus / Vaternus* (with change *-tre- → -ter-*), meaning '(flowing) bending river'. The later transformation *Vatrenus → Vaternus → Santernus / Saternus (Santerno)*⁷ could be explained on the basis of the assimilation of the river name to a Roman (but, in origin, Etruscan) gentilitial family name attested in that area, *Santernius* (CIL XI 6689), when speakers had already lost the original meaning of the same river name. Etymology, historical semantics, and hydro-geo-morphological analysis of the territory converge in the explanation of this

⁷ Vaternus in Martial, *Epigrammata*, III, 67, 2; Vatrenus / Saternus in Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, III, 120; Santernus in Frontin, Stratagemata, 3, 14, 3.

hydronym and we can safely assume that – if we do not follow the unscientific and undocumented widespread reconstruction – the place name *Imola* is also pre-Roman.

The local language immediately preceding Latin (and, therefore, pre-Latin) in the area was the Gaulish of the Boii, Senones, and Lingones. This was a language that, at its turn, was conceivably preceded by an Italic - specifically Umbrian - substratum. Anyway, the first official (written) attestation of the place name is *Castrum Imolas* (maybe a regular plural or, rather, an archaic / Celtic genitive also due to the form *Castrum Imolæ*), reported by Paul the Deacon (Historia Langobardorum, II, 18) at the end of the 8th century AD, but referring to the territory before the Lombard conquest (Thomsen 1947: 253-256; Nanetti and Giberti 2014: Ch. 4, Doc. 7). As demonstrated by Andrea Nanetti and Mario Giberti (2014: Ch. 3.2) the toponym *Imola* is linked to the settlement that was in the area of the present-day *Monte* Castellaccio (to be considered as the pre-Roman Imola), on the right bank of the Santerno (Vatreno) river near the above-mentioned natural ford called Le Lastre / The Slabs, used by the path coming from the right side of the valley of the river Santerno (Vatrenus), as well as by the tracks coming from the valley of the river Senio and by the pre-Roman foothills path. This track remained in use until the end of the medieval period (even after the demolition of Castrum Imolae in 1222), and is still visible in the local historical maps of the modern times beginning with the map of Imola possibly drawn by Danesio Maineri in 1473 and used with some updates by Leonardo da Vinci in 1502 in proposals for strengthening the fortifications of Imola.

The subsequent spellings/writings *Immola*, *Imula*, *Emola* can be explained respectively as vulgarism, cultism, and dialect form (in the *Emiliano-Romagnolo* dialect the Latin long stressed /i:/ becomes /e:/). The Dissimilatory Lateralization of Nasal Sequences, a Romance phonetic law, provides a simple passage $/n/ \rightarrow /l/$ between Latin and Italian, for example *uenēnum* > *veleno*, 'poison', *Bŏnōnĭa* > *Bologna*, *Hieronymus* > *Gerolamo* (*Geronimo*), 'Jerome'. It is, however, subject to debate whether this is also true for /n/ when this comes after a /m/, because it is difficult to exactly understand if *Gemolo* (Saint's name) may be derived from *Gĕmĭnus* (as stated in some Biographies, *Gĕmŭlus* is also attested as an alternative form, not in the meaning of 'plaintive', but as a variant of *Gĕmĭnus*, 'twin', 'geminous') or from *Hiemulus* or *Gemmulus* (forms attested for the same Saint's name) or from other (Polloni 1966: 157).

It is necessary to consider that in Cisalpine Gaulish the initial word sequence /#je-/ becomes /i-/, assumed in (Vulgar) Latin as [i] (not a rounded high front vowel) and then equalized to the Latin phoneme /i:/ (long). If the just-mentioned Romance phonetic law is valid, the only possible source – in this position (beginning of a word not followed by palatal consonants) – of the Italian accented /i/ would correspond to /e/ in the *Emiliano-Romagnolo* dialect. Therefore, a Celtic etymon of *<Imola>* would be very likely **Jemonā*, 'twin' (> Cisalpine Gaulish **Imonā*), female of **jemono-s* > Irish *emon* (the female of which, *emuin*, has an antecedent with a different theme that is always Indo-European, **jemonī*). Unless this is not the equally regular corresponding form of ablauting/apophonic reduced radical degree, **imono-s* (in this case **jemono-s* would be 'equable' of *emon*, rather than its 'equate', therefore partially corresponding – but still regular – rather than totally corresponding). The *sema* linked to the meaning of 'twin' may derive from the presence of more than one settlement (at least two), homologous and connected to each other in Prehistoric and Proto-historic ages in the territory of Imola, where archaeological excavations provided evidence of human settlements in the areas of Montericco, Pontesanto, and Monte Castellaccio (Montanari 2000: 35-52; Nanetti 2008: 87-89).

*Jemonā is a secondary derivative of the Indo-European stem *yemo- (*yem- / *jem-), 'twin'. If the Dissimilatory Lateralization of Nasal Sequences law was not working in the context of the nasal /m/ - /n/, the Indo-European *yemo- would remain valid to explain the first part of the name, while the final part of the same name could be interpreted as the second element of the compound, always Celtic, *olā, 'curve', 'turn', 'twist', 'bend', 'fold', 'loop', 'spiral' (> Irish ⁷ol), from Indo-European *h₃olah_a $\leftarrow \sqrt{*h_3el}$ -, 'to bend', or *h₁olh_aah_a \leftarrow

 $\sqrt[6]{*h_1elh_a}$, 'to push in one direction', 'to move', 'to go'. It is a possible reference – as it appears self-evident – to the river Santerno (*Vatreno*) flowing in the territory of Imola and 'bending' just in front of the Monte Castellaccio settlement, which was called *Imola* (Nanetti and Giberti 2014: Ch. 3.2).

It should be noted that this Indo-European compound **yemo-h*₃*olah*_a, or **yemo-h*₁*olh*_a*ah*_a, 'twin curve' (both forms become in late Indo-European **yemolā*), would have produced even in the Italic **Jemolā* that the Cisalpine Gauls adopted, regularly transformed in **Imolā*, and that, at its turn, became, in Vulgar Latin, **Imola*.

We have already described the substance of Adolfo Zavaroni's proposal (Perono Cacciafoco and Nanetti 2015). In order to try to analyze this position, without taking into account the 'extreme' interpretations of the same (the 'non-existence' of *yem- / *jem-), thoroughly considering the two roots, Indo-European *yem- / *jem- and Etruscan am-, and interpreting the second through the meaning proposed by Zavaroni, we can attempt to link the two stems in a 'convergent' way, without one excluding the other. Inherently in the root *yem- / *jem- it could be possible to talk, in fact, about an Indo-European hereditary linguistic 'coinage' shared by Italic and Celtic. Even if the Etruscan am- was connected to *yem- / *jem-, the naming process of the place name Imola would concern only *yem- / *jemand the derivation would be only from Italic and/or Celtic, without the intervention of Etruscan (for chronological reasons). Etruscan, in fact, would not be involved in the naming process in any case, because it would be too 'recent' for this kind of 'coinage' and 'obsolete', at this point, for a transmission to Latin. The right sequence of the onomastic composition of *Imola* should be 1) Indo-European 'coinage' \rightarrow 2) Italic evolution \rightarrow 3) passage through the Celtic, starting from Italic (if the 'coinage' is not only and directly Celtic) \rightarrow 4) passage in Latin, from Celtic.

At the basis of – and before – Italic and Celtic we have to consider their common ancestor, the Italo-Celtic (Late Western Indo-European), which was a regional Western Late Indo-European assuming the form of a singular collective linguistic 'collector'. Before the Etruscan, on the other hand, in the area, the substratum was constituted by Italic and Celtic, from the already differentiated Italo-Celtic.

In any case, the Celtic 'mark' for *Imola*'s etymology, the Indo-European root **yem-/* **jem-* (**iem-*), may have been associated, in the 'sensitivity' and perception of speakers of that time, to the Etruscan *am-*, if we accept the semantics of *am-* proposed by Zavaroni. The naming process would have been Indo-European – Italic and Celtic or only and directly

Celtic –, but, through the semantic relevancy and similarity, the place name could have been 'clear' and 'understandable' also in Etruscan.

The territory of Imola, in Emilia-Romagna, was occupied by the Celts and the Indo-European 'mark', in local Toponymy, seems really strong. It is possible, however, to hypothesize, also in the naming process of the places of that area, an Etruscan influence (and/or sharing, and/or participation), due to the proximity of Etruscan towns and centers and to the mutual cultural, social, political, and economic relationships between Celts and Etruscans in that territory.

It seems plausible, therefore, if not to assume a sort of 'double naming process' of Imola (Indo-European and Etruscan) or the possibility of the presence of two names (Celtic and Etruscan) for the town, to postulate, at least, a natural common participation in the final fixing of the place name (and in the perception of its meaning starting from different roots – pertaining to different languages – similar and aligned in their semantics). This Indo-European reconstruction of *Imola* takes into account also the analysis of the hydro-geo-morphology and historical topography of the territory (Nanetti and Giberti 2014) with the semantic developments linked to the root(s) involved in the naming of the place.

In Zavaroni's proposal the discretion (or arbitrariness) moments in the $i\bar{u}dicium$ are two, the lexical interpretation of the texts and the recognition of inter-linguistic segments (synonymous words in different languages) on which to reconstruct (and to build) the historical phonetics.

The difficulties connected to the 'Etruscan hypothesis' (certainly open to new developments) about (*)am- = 'to pair', that could imply relationships between Indo-European and Etruscan in a possible 'common' origin (naming process) of the place name *Imola* (*yem- / *jem- and *am- [*me-]), reside also in two facts: 1) the pre-nasalization, in Indo-European, is a highly hypothetical phenomenon, quite uncertain, so it is very difficult to base the 'rewriting' and the reinterpretation of a root on this linguistic postulate; 2) the interpretation of Etruscan texts and documentation is strongly debatable and absolutely not confirmed (Etruscan is still an undeciphered language, although some scholars could disagree) and this is, with the current available philological bibliography, really an unbridgeable gap.

If Zavaroni's semantic interpretation of the Etruscan (*)*am*- was confirmed, without the elimination of the root **yem*- / **jem*-, it would be possible, in any case, to compare this stem with the same root **yem*- / **jem*- and this fact, as discussed earlier, would be an enormous breakthrough in the study of the naming process of *Imola* by considering it as the product of a natural common 'participation' or 'perception' (by Celts and Etruscans) in the final fixing of the place name.

If we would accept Zavaroni's *sema 'cum*', 'with', for *am*-, moreover, the same Etruscan *am*- might be connected to the Indo-European root **am*- (**me*-), in the meaning of 'grab', 'seize' $< \sqrt{*h_2amh_3}$ -, 'to proceed with vigor', 'to front', 'to catch', 'to grab', 'to seize', 'to firmly insist on something', 'to establish', 'to confirm by oath', 'to suffer', from which the Latin *amo* (Pokorny 1959-69: 35).

The possibility of mutual linguistic contacts and interexchange in that specific area of the Emilia-Romagna region is, in any case, really high, and the probability of a double influence (and/or sharing, and/or participation) in the naming process of places appears

plausible. The linguistic link between Celts and Etruscans in that territory seems to be reasonable also according to the evidence of cultural, social, political, and economic contacts between the two populations.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the analysis presented in this article points to a natural reuse and refunctionalization (by speakers in the area) of roots and/or (loan)words between the different linguistic systems involved in this process. This 'convergent' dialectics demonstrate how to elaborate and provide a pattern finalized to return the right etymology of Prehistoric and Proto-historic place names.

The existence of human settlements in the area where the city of Imola now stands is the result of one single factor: it is the place where the ancient east-west foothills road crosses the Santerno river, which flows from south to north. To facilitate the passage of the river, it has always been used as a natural ford, known as *Le Lastre* (The Slabs), which attracted two more streets, one coming from the neighbouring valley of the Senio river and the other coming from the valley of the Santerno river. This meeting-place was the aggregator of the human settlement, as is demonstrated also by the linguistic reconstruction of the origins of the place name 'Imola' — '[the settlement] at the bend of the river'—and of the hydronym 'Santerno' (the river that curves/turns). In different epochs, at least one or two ferries were associated with this ford a little further downstream, and the Romans built a bridge on the way to and from Faenza.

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Place Names, Addresses and Standardization. A Summing-up of a Swedish Project

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Abstract

The Swedish Dwellings Register Act states that for every entrance in residential buildings the municipality shall establish a location address. To help the local officials responsible, the Swedish Standards Institute has produced a national standard for location addresses. The standard is supplemented by a handbook, which describes how the standard may be used in practice.

The location addresses always contain place names. It is with the help from place names that a location address becomes unique and unambiguous. The place names are at the same time an important carrier of the country's cultural heritage. When establishing the names in location addresses, 'good practice for place names' shall be observed in accordance with section 1 § 4 in the Swedish Heritage Conservation Act. This means that place names shall be written in compliance with established rules for linguistic correctness and that established place names may not be changed without compelling reasons.

There are obvious challenges as regards the treatment of place names in this work, which for the last decade has been the most important place name project in Sweden and a major task for the 290 municipalities. The project is now in its final year and my paper is a summing-up with some statistics and some concluding remarks.

Pour une structuration prototypique de la catégorie nom propre en français

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Résumé

S'inspirant de la théorie du prototype, notre recherche vise à rendre compte de la progression de la typicalité des membres de la catégorie nom propre (Np) du point de vue formel et du point de vue de la relation pragmatico-sémantique avec l'entité individualisée. A cette fin, nous prenons en compte la distance de leurs propriétés vis-à-vis de la fonction Np.

Cette approche implique la mise en place d'un outil d'analyse destiné à simplifier la structuration des membres de la catégorie. L'application de la première phase de son développement aux exemples retenus ici pour illustrer notre démarche aboutit à deux propositions de gradation : une première concerne leur nature formelle et une seconde rend compte de la progression de leur typicalité d'un point de vue pragmatico-sémantique.

Malgré certaines limites, elles constituent des propositions de structuration des Np dont le principal apport est de permettre d'attribuer à la catégorie une cohésion qui, à la vue de l'hétérogénéité de ses membres, est difficile à envisager.

Abstract

Drawing upon prototype theory, our research aims to assess the progression of members of the proper noun (PN) category from a formal point of view and from the point of view of the pragmatic-semantic relation with the individualised entity. To this end, we take into account the distance of their characteristics from the PN function.

This approach implies the design of an analytical tool whose aim is to simplify the structuring of the category members. The application of the first phase of its development to the examples shown here by way of illustration of our approach provides two proposals for gradation: the first regarding their formal nature and the second regarding the progression of their typicality from a pragmatic-semantic viewpoint.

Although certain limitations undoubtedly exist, they nevertheless constitute hypotheses allowing the structuring of the PN whose primary strength is to bring cohesion to the category which, given the heterogeneous nature of its members, is otherwise difficult to achieve.

* * *

Dans le cadre de notre recherche doctorale, nous proposons une description synchronique du nom propre (Np) inspirée par la théorie du prototype. Elle implique l'analyse de deux caractéristiques des membres de cette catégorie : d'une part, leur nature formelle et, d'autre part, la (ou les) fonction(s) pragmatico-sémantique(s) à l'origine du support formel utilisé pour opérer l'individualisation. Cette description prend appui sur un corpus de plus de 2000 occurrences issues de la presse écrite dans lesquelles le Np désigne le référent qui lui a été conventionnellement associé.

Nous appréhendons le Np en tant que catégorie pragmatico-cognitive. Basée sur les définitions que proposent Jonasson (1994) et Kleiber (1995), cette catégorie regroupe les

dénominations dont le support formel est associé dans la mémoire à long terme à une entité sans l'intervention de contenu sémantique. Le résultat de cette opération cognitive est une catégorisation individualisante : le référent est distingué des autres entités dont il peut être rapproché en raison de caractéristiques communes.

À l'instar de Vaxelaire (2005), nous soutenons que l'appartenance à la catégorie Np n'est pas graduelle. Pour autant, la représentativité de ses membres est inégale. Nous proposons une analyse visant à structurer cette hétérogénéité catégorielle, conséquence de la différence de typicalité. Dans la première partie de cet article, nous décrivons la méthode utilisée pour évaluer la représentativité des Np. Elle implique la mise en place d'un outil destiné à simplifier leur structuration. La présente contribution s'attache à l'analyse de la performance de la première phase de son élaboration.¹ Dans la seconde partie, nous présentons les résultats obtenus lors de l'application de cet outil aux occurrences utilisées pour le définir. Ils constituent une première hypothèse de structuration des Np dans chacun des niveaux d'analyse décrits (formel et pragmatico-sémantique).

La définition de la progression

Notre description de la progression de la typicalité dans la catégorie Np prend comme point de départ le détournement d'un des « glissements définitoires [de la notion du prototype dans la version standard (Kleiber, 1990)] qui la font passer de 'meilleur exemplaire' à 'combinaisons de propriétés typiques' » (Kleiber 1990 : 186). Cependant, elle ne réduit pas la définition de la représentativité des Np à la présence/absence des caractéristiques qui constituent le prototype de la catégorie. En effet, les niveaux d'analyse auxquels celles-ci appartiennent peuvent souvent donner lieu à plusieurs manifestations dont la relation avec la fonction Np n'est pas forcément assimilable.² C'est pour cette raison que nous proposons de structurer nos occurrences à partir de la distance de leurs caractéristiques vis-à-vis de cette fonction.³ Dans le présent article, cette méthode descriptive est appliquée aux deux niveaux d'analyse participant à la définition du prototype du Np qui sont explorés dans notre recherche doctorale : le niveau formel et le niveau pragmatico-sémantique.

La caractérisation des Np correspondant à chacun de ces niveaux d'analyse est établie à partir de l'articulation de deux traits. La description formelle est basée sur la nature

¹ Cette première phase de l'outil a été élaborée à partir des Np construits autour d'un noyau monolexical (*Barcelone, Méditerranée, Libération*), éventuellement déterminé par une ou par plusieurs subordinations simples du point de vue morpho-syntaxique (*Saint-Denis, Mur de Berlin, Communauté Économique Européenne*). Le traitement de la combinatoire avec l'article des constituants autour desquels les Np sont construits est complexe, notamment lorsqu'il faut déterminer si celui-ci fait ou non partie de leur support formel. C'est pour cette raison qu'à l'exception des Np à article inhérent (Togeby, 1982 : 160) ou intégré (Molino, 1982 : 11) correspondant à la configuration [dét+Np] (*Le Caire, La Haye*), le déterminant n'est pas intégré dans la caractérisation des occurrences et son impact sur le degré de typicalité n'est pas non plus évoqué. Par ailleurs, le déterminant des Nc participant à la construction du support formel au niveau subordonné n'a pas d'incidence sur la représentativité des Np. C'est pour cette raison qu'il n'est pas pris en compte dans leur caractérisation formelle. Par exemple, la configuration attribuée à *Café du Centre* est [Nc+SP(Nc)₁] et non [Nc+SP(dét+Nc)₁].

² En effet, un Np comme *Barcelone* [Np] fait écho à la configuration formelle prototypique. Néanmoins, la typicalité d'exemples comme *Méditerranée* [adj], *Saint-Denis* [adj₁+Np], *Libération* [Nc] ou *Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie* [Nc+- s_1 +adj₁+Adj₁+SP(Np)₁] n'est pas équivalente.

³ La caractérisation des Np créés dans un moment reculé dans le temps dépend du statut des formes linguistiques qui les ont motivées dans la synchronie analysée.

morpho-lexicale des constituants de leur support formel et sur la relation morpho-syntaxique qu'ils entretiennent. Pour la description de la motivation pragmatico-sémantique, nous avons pris appui sur la fonction que les constituants assument vis-à-vis du référent individualisé, en distinguant le niveau (nucléaire ou secondaire) dans lequel elle intervient.⁴ Cette approche se traduit par la définition d'éléments bi-critériels qui sont utilisés pour évaluer la typicalité formelle et pragmatico-sémantique des membres de la catégorie.

La structuration de ces unités descriptives à partir de leur distance vis-à-vis de la fonction Np s'avère extrêmement utile pour rendre compte de la progression de la typicalité des membres de la catégorie. Cette démarche, visant à simplifier le traitement des occurrences, se traduit d'un point de vue méthodologique par la définition dans chacun des niveaux d'analyse décrits de deux gradations qui distinguent les éléments bi-critériels à partir de leur position hiérarchique dans le support formel. Cette discrimination s'explique par la nature essentiellement référentielle de la catégorie Np. En effet, étant donné que la relation avec l'entité individualisée repose sur le noyau du support formel, la nature formelle ou pragmatico-sémantique de cet élément a une incidence décisive sur le degré de typicalité.

Outil de simplification du niveau formel

La progression de la typicalité formelle des Np est établie à partir de la fonction première de la catégorie morpho-lexicale de leurs hyper-praxèmes.⁵ La première gradation utilisée à ces fins est définie à partir des constituants qui assument le rôle morpho-syntaxique de noyau du support formel :

Np > adjectif> Nc

Elle rend compte de la typicalité plus importante des occurrences construites autour d'un constituant proprial (*Barcelone* [Np], *Saint-Denis* $[adj_1+Np]$)⁶ parce que celui-ci appartient à la catégorie à décrire. Elles sont suivies par celles dont le noyau est de nature adjectivale (*Méditerranée* [adj], *Grande Bleue* [adj1+adj]), qui sont plus typiques que les exemples construits autour d'un Nc (*La Tribune* [dét+Nc], *Union européenne* [Nc+adj_1]) car la qualification est moins éloignée de la fonction Np que le rôle caractéristique du Nc. Celui-ci est situé à l'opposé de la fonction propriale puisqu'il consiste à rattacher l'entité désignée à un ensemble de référents par le biais d'une série de caractéristiques qu'ils ont en commun et qui sont capitalisées par le concept.

La deuxième gradation concerne la nature morpho-lexicale des éléments subordonnés :

⁴ Cette hiérarchisation ne correspond pas toujours à la relation que les éléments entretiennent d'un point de vue formel, puisqu'un mécanisme pragmatico-sémantique peut être incarné par l'articulation de plusieurs éléments appréhendés comme un tout.

⁵ La notion d'*hyper-praxème* sous-tend une appréhension large de celle de praxème qui est destinée à rendre compte de tout élément ou structure linguistique participant, en raison de sa fonction et/ou de sa vie de mot, à la sélection des constituants du support formel utilisé pour individualiser une entité.

⁶ Afin de faciliter la caractérisation des configurations polylexicales, les constituants sont caractérisés par un indice qui rend compte de leur niveau de subordination.

Elle est illustrée par les occurrences suivantes : <u>Le</u> Caire [dét+Np] > Louis <u>Aragon</u> [Np+Np₁] > Victoria <u>d'Angleterre</u> [Np+SP(Np)₁] > Balkan<u>s</u> [Np+-s₁] > <u>Saint</u>-Denis [adj₁+Np] > Philippe <u>le Bel</u> [Np+(dét+adj₁)] > Afrique <u>du Sud</u> [Np+SP(Nc)₁].⁷

Outil de simplification du niveau pragmatico-sémantique

La description pragmatico-sémantique est établie à partir de la fonction principale⁸ des constituants du support formel vis-à-vis du référent individualisé. La première gradation utilisée pour décrire la progression de la typicalité de ce point de vue est définie à partir du noyau motivationnel du Np^{\pm}

identifiante > *qualificative métonymique* > *qualificative sémantique* > *classifiante*

Ces fonctions pragmatico-sémantiques sont respectivement illustrées par les exemples suivants : *Le Cheval Noir > Fonds Mondial pour la nature > Méditerranée > La Tribune*. La *fonction d'identification* fait écho à la catégorisation individualisante. Elle correspond à la volonté de distinguer une entité des autres membres de l'une des catégories référentielles auxquelles elle appartient à partir de l'attribution d'un support formel sans l'intervention de contenu sémantique. C'est le cas par exemple de *Le Cheval noir*, qui ne dit rien de l'hôtel ainsi nommé.

La *fonction classifiante* correspond au mode de désignation et de catégorisation typiques du Nc. Les constituants motivés par cette fonction, antagonique à la propriale, sont destinés à inclure l'entité individualisée dans une catégorie référentielle par le biais de sens. Ils sont ceux qui entraînent une diminution plus importante du degré de typicalité. La fonction classifiante est par exemple illustrée par le nom de journal *La Tribune* ou par le noyau du support formel des occurrences <u>rue</u> Stalingrad, <u>tour</u> Eiffel et <u>Mur</u> de Berlin.

La *fonction qualificative* se situe à mi-chemin entre les deux fonctions référentielles. Elle est attribuée aux constituants sélectionnés par leur capacité à rendre compte d'une propriété de l'entité individualisée. La prise en compte du rôle (direct ou indirect) du contenu de leur hyper-praxème dans la prédication entraîne la distinction de deux modes de qualification : la *qualification par métonymie* (dorénavant *métonymique*) et la *qualification sémantique*.

La qualification métonymique, qui fait écho aux mécanismes référentiels de métonymie et de synecdoque, repose sur une '*indirection* dénotative' (Lecolle, 2003 : 76). Le contenu hyper-praxémique des constituants qui correspondent à cette fonction participe à la désignation de l'entité avec laquelle le référent individualisé entretient la relation

⁷ La justification de la progression de l'impact sur la typicalité de ces éléments est exposée dans notre recherche doctorale.

⁸ Le cumul de plus d'une fonction pragmatico-sémantique est loin d'être exceptionnel. Néanmoins, à quelques rares exceptions, il est toujours possible d'établir une hiérarchie entre elles basée sur la prégnance de leur rôle dans la sélection du constituant.

extra-linguistique de contiguïté ou d'inclusion. Il ne joue cependant aucun rôle dans l'établissement de cette dernière.

Ce mécanisme pragmatico-sémantique est moins représentatif que l'identifiant parce que le rapport entre le référent de l'hyper-praxème et celui du Np entraîne une prédication sur ce dernier du type « x(i)-HP est /relation métonymique/ de xi-Np ».⁹ Par exemple, l'ergonyme *Fonds Mondial pour la nature* rend compte de l'objet de l'organisation ainsi nommée lors de sa création.

Il est possible de distinguer deux modalités de qualification métonymique à partir de la participation ou non de sens dans l'actualisation du référent hyper-praxémique. La première est établie par un Np comme *Armani*, motivé par le nom du styliste qui a créé la marque. L'hyper-praxème de la seconde est un Nc, comme dans le nom de département *Nord*.

Pour finir, la qualification sémantique consiste à mettre en évidence une caractéristique de l'entité individualisée, cette fois par le biais du contenu sémantique. Cela explique que ce type de constituants soient moins représentatifs de la catégorie que les métonymiques. Un exemple de cette motivation est *Méditerranée*, car le sens de l'adjectif hyper-praxémique caractérise la mer ainsi nommée comme étant au milieu des terres.¹⁰

La deuxième gradation utilisée pour structurer les occurrences d'un point de vue pragmatico-sémantique concerne les fonctions qui nuancent le noyau motivationnel des exemples recensés.¹¹

identifiante > *plurielle* > *désambiguïsante* > *métonymique* > *qualificative sémantique*

Elle est illustrée par les expansions des occurrences suivantes : *rue* <u>Stalingrad</u> > Balkan<u>s</u> > Louis <u>XIV</u> > tour <u>Eiffel</u> > Mur <u>de Berlin</u>.

La fonction de deux de ces motivations secondaires est incompatible avec leur participation dans la construction des Np en tant que mécanismes pragmatico-sémantiques centraux. La première, la *fonction plurielle*, est assumée exclusivement par les morphèmes de pluriel articulés à un constituant qui n'identifie pas les éléments composant le référent collectif¹² (**Balkan*). Leur rôle principal est la circonscription de ce dernier afin de lui

⁹ Nous utilisons dans cette formulation la notion de *référent initial* (x_i) proposée par Gary-Prieur (1994 : 29). *HP* est l'abréviation d'hyper-praxème.

¹⁰ L'hyper-praxème des noyaux qualificatifs sémantiques est généralement un adjectif. Cependant, des éléments d'autres catégories morpho-lexicales (des Np et des Nc) peuvent assumer cette fonction. C'est le cas par exemple dans le nom de bar à hôtesses *Lewinski* [Np], motivé par le nom de la stagiaire impliquée dans le scandale sexuel de l'ancien président américain Clinton, ou dans *Pentagone* [Nc], qui rend compte de la forme du bâtiment abritant le département de la Défense américain. Du point de vue formel, l'intervention au niveau secondaire de cette fonction est moins homogène. En effet, si la qualification sémantique secondaire est fréquemment opérée par un adjectif (*Royaume-Uni*), d'autres éléments assument également cette fonction de manière récurrente. C'est le cas du morphème de pluriel (*États-Unis*), du SP(Np) (*Mur de Berlin*) et du SP(Nc) (*Café du Centre*). Plus exceptionnellement, la modulation qualificative de la fonction pragmatico-sémantique centrale est opérée par un Nc, comme dans *Club Automne*, qui est un lieu de socialisation destiné au troisième âge.

¹¹ L'absence de représentation dans le corpus analysé de la fonction classifiante au niveau subordonné ne signifie pas qu'elle soit incompatible avec cette position. Elle est par exemple illustrée par l'expansion *père* de l'anthroponyme *Alexandre Dumas père* [(Np+Np₁)+Nc₁] (Jonasson, 1994 : 36).

¹² En effet, dans les Np correspondant à cette configuration, ce n'est pas le noyau du support formel mais son articulation avec la marque de pluriel qui assume la fonction pragmatico-sémantique prototypique. En revanche,

attribuer le statut d'individu.¹³ Puisque cette fonction implique la participation de contenu sémantique, elle est moins typique que l'identifiante.

La seconde motivation secondaire par définition est la *désambiguïsante* (*Louis XIV*). Elle est incarnée par les constituants qui ont été sélectionnés afin d'évacuer l'ambiguïté référentielle sous-tendue par l'élément qu'ils déterminent. Celle-ci est la conséquence de l'emploi préalable du noyau du support formel pour désigner d'autres entités avec lesquelles celle qui est individualisée partage une série de caractéristiques. Malgré le recours à du contenu sémantique hyper-praxémique, la motivation désambiguïsante est plus typique que la métonymique. En effet, le rôle principal de sa prédication, qui concerne le rapport du référent à son nom,¹⁴ est moins éloigné de la fonction Np que celui de nature plus descriptive qui est issu de l'établissement d'une relation extra-linguistique.

Enfin, la comparaison de la désambiguïsation et de la délimitation du référent collectif individualisé en vue de déterminer lequel de ces deux rôles est plus proche de la fonction Np est complexe. Néanmoins, l'absence d'autonomie du noyau du support formel dans les exemples comme *Balkans* invite à considérer que la fonction désambiguïsante est moins représentative de la catégorie que la fonction plurielle.¹⁵

Proposition de structuration des Np

Les gradations rendant compte de la progression de la typicalité des Np sont constituées d'*étapes* qui regroupent des *paliers* où sont structurés les *stades* définis à partir des configurations formelles ou pragmatico-sémantiques observées. L'outil d'analyse que nous avons élaboré à partir des unités descriptives bi-critérielles joue un rôle décisif dans ces propositions de structuration.

Pour commencer, la nature essentiellement référentielle du Np invite à attribuer un rôle déterminant, dans la progression de la typicalité, au noyau des formes de la catégorie. C'est pour cette raison que sa nature formelle ou pragmatico-sémantique est utilisée pour établir une première structuration des exemples : les *étapes*. Par ailleurs, cet aspect est également à l'origine de la proposition d'une typologie formelle des Np, inspirée de celle que Jonasson (1994) définit exclusivement à partir de leur nature lexicale.

Ensuite, la structuration des formes regroupées dans les étapes prend appui sur la gradation établie à partir de la nature des éléments secondaires de leur support formel. Néanmoins, l'hétérogénéité de la catégorie requiert également de la prise en compte la complexité de ses membres. C'est pour cette raison que nous avons défini dans chaque étape autant de *paliers* que de variations dans le nombre de subordinations ont été observées.¹⁶

les morphèmes qui traduisent la flexion en nombre du noyau du support formel (*États-Unis*) sont rattachés à la fonction qualificative sémantique.

¹³ La prédication correspondant à la mise en évidence de la pluralité du référent dans le cas de ces Np est secondaire.

¹⁴ La plupart du temps, le sens hyper-praxémique des constituants désambiguïsants rend compte de la position que l'entité individualisée occupe au sein du paradigme référentiel établi à partir du noyau du support formel.

¹⁵ D'autres arguments invitant à pencher vers un éloignement plus important de la désambiguïsation vis-à-vis de la fonction Np sont proposés dans notre recherche doctorale.

¹⁶ L'autonomie pouvant être attribuée au palier défini à partir de la configuration sans éléments secondaires de chaque étape est cependant réservée exclusivement au trait prototypique de chaque gradation : la nature morpholexicale [Np] dans la formelle et la fonction d'identification dans la pragmatico-sémantique.

La performance de notre outil de structuration dans les niveaux d'analyse décrits est inégale. En effet, il manifeste dans les deux cas des limites notamment dans les zones de contact entre les sous-divisions des gradations.¹⁷ C'est pour cela que le nombre de *stades* ne coïncide pas avec celui des configurations établies à partir des exemples. La gradation pragmatico-sémantique nous confronte à une difficulté supplémentaire : la définition de la progression de la typicalité dans l'étape qualificative. Cela s'explique par l'existence de trois modalités de mise en évidence de propriétés du référent individualisé : la métonymie Np (*Armani*), la métonymie Nc (*Nord*) et la qualification sémantique (*Méditerranée*).

Proposition de structuration formelle

Jonasson (1994 : 34-38) établit une typologie destinée à rendre compte des Np du point de vue lexical. Elle est constituée de trois catégories : les *Np purs*, construits exclusivement à partir d'éléments spécialisés dans la fonction propriale, les *Np descriptifs*, dont aucun constituant n'est de cette nature, et les *Np mixtes*, à mi-chemin entre ces deux sous-types parce que leur support formel est motivé par des éléments propriaux et par des éléments d'autres catégories. Nous nous sommes inspirée de cette typologie pour en définir une de plus adaptée à la description de la représentativité formelle correspondant à l'approche adoptée.

Au sein des Np descriptifs, nous différencions les Np adjectivaux, construits autour d'un élément de cette nature morpho-lexicale (Méditerranée), et les Np descriptifs (à proprement parler), dont le noyau est un Nc (Libération, Union européenne). Dans l'ensemble constitué par les Np mixtes de Jonasson (ibid.), nous réservons cette dénomination aux formes qui, comme le sous-type précédent, sont construites autour d'un appellatif (*rue Stalingrad*). Celles dont le noyau du support formel est un Np (*Saint-Denis*) sont regroupées dans une catégorie supplémentaire que nous dénommons Np mixifiés. Le statut de Np purs est réservé aux formes motivées par un Np (Armani) ou par une structure pour laquelle aucun lien avec des éléments de la synchronie de la langue analysée ne peut être reconstitué (*Barcelone*).¹⁸

¹⁷ Cette limite touche tout particulièrement les frontières entre les étapes, dont le traitement n'est pas détaillé ici.

¹⁸ Pour une justification des raisons qui nous ont amenée à ne pas inclure dans la caractérisation des Np purs la spécialisation dans la fonction propriale que Jonasson (ibid.) utilise pour établir ce sous-type lexical, voir notre recherche doctorale.

Jonasson (1994)	Reformulation	
Np purs	Np purs	
Armani	Armani	
Barcelone	Barcelone	
Np descriptifs	Np adjectivaux	
Méditerranée	<i>Méditerranée</i>	
La Tribune États-Unis	Np descriptifs La Tribune États-Unis	
Np mixtes	Np mixifiés	
Saint-Denis	Saint-Denis	
rue Stalingrad	Np mixtes rue Stalingrad	

Fig. 1. Reformulation de la typologie de Jonasson (1994)

Notre approche permet d'établir une typologie plus nuancée que celle de Jonasson. Néanmoins, tous les sous-types distingués ne s'avèrent pas utiles pour définir la progression de la typicalité d'un point de vue formel, qui est structurée en trois étapes regroupant neuf paliers.

L'étape propriale

Les occurrences construites autour d'un noyau proprial sont à l'origine de la définition de trois paliers. Le premier rend compte de la nature formelle prototypique de la catégorie : [Np] (*Barcelone*). Les deux autres sont établis à partir de Np impliquant respectivement un et deux éléments subordonnés.

La distinction des Np mixifiés au sein de l'ensemble constitué par les Np mixtes de Jonasson présente l'avantage de circonscrire toute une série de configurations se situant en continuité avec les Np purs.¹⁹ Cependant, elle ne permet pas de définir une frontière étanche entre ces deux sous-types formels.²⁰

Nous remarquons, pour terminer, que la structuration au sein des paliers peut être réalisée sans difficulté à l'aide de la gradation rendant compte de la progression de l'impact sur la typicalité des constituants subordonnés. Elle s'avère malheureusement insuffisante dans la zone de contact entre les deux derniers paliers de cette étape.²¹

¹⁹ Voir figure 2, où les Np purs sont en bleu et les Np mixifiés en noir.

²⁰ L'établissement de frontières entre les éléments de notre typologie n'est pas une fin en soi. Cependant, nous avons constaté qu'une caractérisation formelle plus précise le permettrait. Elle consiste à distinguer les Np mixifiés dont le constituant non proprial est l'article de ceux dans lesquels le noyau du support formel est déterminé par un (ou par plusieurs) élément(s) signifiant(s).

²¹ Pour déterminer la progression de la typicalité dans cette partie de la gradation formelle, il est nécessaire de déterminer si la distance vis-à-vis de la fonction Np d'un $SP(Nc)_1$ (*Afrique du Sud*) est plus ou moins importante que celle des cumuls $[adj_1+SP(Np)_1]$ (*Rainier III de Monaco*) et $[-s_1+adj_1]$ (*Pyrénées-Orientales*).

Palier	(x ₁)	x ₁ +x ₁
[PROT]	[Np] Barcelone	
[PROT-1]	[dét+Np] <i>Le Caire</i>	
	[Np+Np ₁] Louis Aragon	
	[Np+SP(Np) ₁] Victoria d'Angleterre	
	[Np+-s ₁] Balkans	
	[adj ₁ +Np] Saint Denis	
	[Np+dét+adj ₁] <i>Philippe le Bel</i>	
	[Np+SP(Nc) ₁] Afrique du Sud	[Np+adj ₁ +SP(Np) ₁] Rainier III de Monaco
[PROT-2]		[Np+-s ₁ +adj ₁] Pyrénées-Orientales
		[adj ₁ +Np+adj ₁] Nouvelle-Guinée Occidentale
		[Np+adj ₁ +Nc ₁] France 3 Ouest

Fig. 2. Étape propriale

L'étape adjectivale

L'utilité de la distinction proposée au sein des Np descriptifs de Jonasson est confortée par les deux paliers suivants de la gradation, définis à partir des occurrences construites autour d'un constituant adjectival. Le premier regroupe les Np monolexicaux correspondant à cette particularité et ceux dont le support formel inclut une subordination. Le deuxième palier est défini à partir d'un exemple impliquant deux expansions.

Palier	(x ₁)	x ₁ +x ₁
[PROT-3]	[adj] Méditerranée	
	[adj+-s ₁] Malouines	
	[adj ₁ +adj] Grande Bleue	
[PROT-4]		[adj ₁ +adj+-s ₁] trente glorieuses

Fig. 3. Étape adjectivale

L'étape appellative

Les Np construits autour d'un noyau Nc sont à l'origine de la définition de quatre paliers établis à partir de leur complexité morpho-syntaxique. Regroupant les Np correspondant à la redéfinition des Np mixtes et des Np descriptifs que nous proposons, ils montrent que le recours à la nature lexicale des éléments subordonnés dans les occurrences à noyau Nc est superflu pour caractériser la progression de la typicalité. En effet, dans l'ensemble ainsi constitué, les configurations correspondant à ces deux sous-types de notre typologie formelle sont imbriquées.²²

La gradation définie à partir de la nature morpho-lexicale des constituants subordonnés s'avère encore plus insuffisante pour définir la progression de la typicalité que dans l'étape propriale. En effet, elle manifeste à plusieurs reprises des limites pour traiter les zones de contact entre les paliers des Np construits autour d'un Nc.²³ Notre outil d'analyse s'avère également moins efficace pour structurer certains Np poly-déterminés regroupés dans le même palier dont le degré de représentativité est proche.²⁴ Pour finir, la pertinence du recours au nombre de constituants subordonnés comme critère exclusif pour délimiter les paliers est aussi compromise dans cette étape.²⁵

²² Voir figure 4, où les Np mixtes sont en bleu et les Np descriptifs en noir.

²³ Comme dans l'étape propriale, la gradation établie à partir de la nature morpho-lexicale des constituants subordonnés ne permet pas de déterminer la place du cumul $[adj_1+SP(Np)_1]$ vis-à-vis de $SP(Nc)_1$ (*Reseau Ferré de France* et *Café du Centre*; *Journées Mondiales de la Jeunesse* et *Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie*). Elle ne permet pas non plus de comparer l'impact sur la typicalité du SP(Nc)₁ avec celui de la cooccurrence dans un support formel d'un $-s_1$ et d'un SP(Np)₁ (*Café du Centre* et accords d'Helsinki; Institut supérieur européen de gestion et Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie).

²⁴ C'est le cas de *Communauté Économique Européenne* et de *Les Restos du Cœur*, impliquant les paires d'éléments $[adj_1+adj_1]$ et $[-s_1+SP(Nc)_1]$ respectivement.

²⁵ Cette limite se manifeste lors de la comparaison de *Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie* et d'*Organisation Mondiale du Commerce*, qui ne sont pas rattachés à des paliers consécutifs. Leur structuration requiert qu'on détermine si la participation dans la construction du support formel d'un SP(Nc)₁ entraîne une diminution de la typicalité plus importante que celle du cumul $[-s_1+adj_1+SP(Np)_1]$. Cela justifie la ligne discontinue dans la figure 4 entre l'exemple *Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie* et le dernier stade du palier [PROT-6].

Palier	(x ₁)	x ₁ +x ₁ (-	+x ₁)	x ₁ +x ₁ +x ₁ +x ₁
[PROT-5]	[Nc] Libération			
	[Nc+Np ₁] tour Eiffel			
	[Nc+SP(Np) ₁] <i>Mur de Berlin</i>			
	[dét+Nc+-s ₁] Les Halles			
	[Nc+adj ₁] <i>République</i> française			
[Nc+Nc ₁] <i>Club Automne</i>				
	[Nc+SP(Nc) ₁]	[Nc+-s ₁ +SP(Np) ₁] accords d'Helsinki		
[PROT-6] Café du Centre	[Nc+adj ₁ +SP(Np) ₁] <i>Réseau Ferré de France</i>			
		[Nc+-s ₁ +adj ₁] Etats-Unis		
		[Nc+adj ₁ +adj ₁] <i>Communauté Economique</i> <i>Européenne</i>	[dét+Nc+- <i>s</i> ₁ +SP(Nc) ₁] <i>Les Restos du Coeur</i>	
		[Nc+adj ₁ +SP(Nc) ₁] Organisation Mondiale du Commerce		
[PROT-7]		[Nc+-s ₁ +adj ₁ +SP(Nc) ₁] Journées Mondiales de la Jeunesse		[Nc+-s ₁ +adj ₁ +adj ₁ +SP(Np) ₁] Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie
[PROT-8]		[Nc+adj ₁ +adj ₁ +SP(Nc) ₁] Institut supérieur européen de gestion		

Fig. 4. Étape appellative

Proposition de structuration pragmatico-sémantique

L'efficacité des gradations destinées à simplifier la structuration pragmatico-sémantique des exemples retenus est compromise par l'existence des trois modes de qualification du référent individualisé : la métonymie-Np (*Armani*), la métonymie-Nc (*Nord*) et la qualification sémantique (*Méditerranée*). En effet, l'importance accordée à la fonction autour de laquelle le support formel est construit invite à prendre appui sur ces trois façons de prédiquer pour définir des étapes autonomes distinguant, au moins, la qualification métonymique et celle basée sur du contenu sémantique. Cependant, l'identité de leur fonction et l'incidence sur la typicalité des constituants pragmatico-sémantiques secondaires appelle au rassemblement de ces trois modes de qualification dans une seule étape. Ce choix n'est pas sans conséquence sur la structuration des Np ainsi regroupés.

La difficulté que présente la définition de l'étape qualificative contraste avec la simplicité avec laquelle notre outil permet de structurer la progression de la typicalité dans les

étapes identifiante et classifiante. La délimitation de leurs paliers à partir du nombre de constituants secondaires est facilitée par la réduction considérable des configurations à structurer, conséquence de l'équivalence pragmatico-sémantique de toute une série de structures formelles.²⁶ Par ailleurs, les frontières entre les paliers de ces étapes sont étanches.

L'étape identifiante

La première étape de la gradation pragmatico-sémantique implique trois paliers. Le premier est établi à partir des Np dont le support formel est motivé exclusivement par la fonction pragmatico-sémantique prototypique, à savoir l'identification du référent individualisé. Les deux autres paliers regroupent les Np dans lesquels cette fonction est modulée respectivement par une et deux fonctions secondaires.

Palier	Fonction(s) secondaire(s)	Exemples
[PROTOTYPE]	Ø	Écosse Le Cheval Noir
[PROT-1]	Plurielle	Balkans
	Désambiguïsante	Louis XIV
	Métonymique-Np	Louis Aragon
	Qualificative sémantique	Victoria d'Angleterre Chine populaire Philippe le Bel
[PROT-2]	Désamb. + qual. sém.	Rainier III de Monaco

Fig. 5. Étape identifiante

L'étape qualificative

La structuration de la deuxième étape de la gradation pragmatico-sémantique s'avère complexe en raison des trois modes de qualification utilisés pour la définir. En effet, rien ne garantit que l'écart entre la typicalité du noyau métonymique-Np, du noyau métonymique-Nc et du noyau impliquant un contenu sémantique qui prédique sur le référent individualisé soit supérieur à l'impact sur la représentativité des fonctions secondaires. Par conséquent, la progression de la typicalité des Np qualificatifs d'un point de vue pragmatico-sémantique ne correspond pas forcément à la structuration caractérisée dans la figure 6.

²⁶Les fonctions faisant l'objet de cette simplification sont l'identifiante et la qualificative sémantique. Voir note 10.

Palier	Fonction centrale	Fonction secondaire
[PROT-3]	Métonymique-Np	
	Métonymique-Nc	Ø
	Qualificative sémantique	
	MétonNp	
	MétonNc	identifiante
	Qual. sém.	
	MétonNp	
	MétonNc	désambiguïsante
	Qual. sém.	
	Etc.	Etc.

Fig. 6. Hypothèse de structuration de l'étape qualificative

Les analyses opérées au cours de notre recherche doctorale invitent à proposer une autre structuration de cette étape (voir la figure 7). Elle permet de faire trois constats. Premièrement, notre outil d'analyse ne permet pas de rendre compte de la progression de la typicalité des Np qualificatifs.²⁷ Deuxièmement, sa performance est également compromise par une configuration propre aux Np métonymiques. Illustrée par des formes comme *Loire-Atlantique*,²⁸ *Croix-Rouge* ou *Réseau Ferré de France*,²⁹ elle implique la participation d'une fonction secondaire qui restreint ou qualifie le référent hyper-praxémique mis en rapport avec celui qui est individualisé par le Np. Pour terminer, le nombre d'expansions ne garantit pas la délimitation d'intervalles correspondant à l'évolution de la représentativité dans cette étape.³⁰

²⁷ Les configurations impliquant des noyaux motivés par les deux types de relation métonymique sont corrélatives. Néanmoins, leur imbrication avec celles construites autour d'une qualification sémantique ne peut pas être expliquée à l'aide de la gradation définie à partir des fonctions pragmatico-sémantiques secondaires.

²⁸ Ce toponyme est motivé par le principal fleuve qui traverse le département et qui se jette dans l'Atlantique. L'ancien nom de cette division administrative, *Loire-Inférieure*, conforte la nature adjectivale du constituant *Atlantique* et permet d'exclure que la cible de la qualification qu'il opère soit le département.

²⁹ Étant donné que la prédication du syntagme prépositionnel *de France* concerne le référent individualisé par le Np, ce constituant est exclu du « foyer métonymique » (Lecolle, 2003). Par ailleurs, il est également possible d'attribuer la configuration [Nc+SP(Np)₁] à *Réseau Ferré de France* dans le niveau pragmatico-sémantique, parce que *réseau ferré* peut être assimilé à un Nc complexe. Dans ces circonstances, nous avons affaire à un Np métonymique-Nc qualifié sémantiquement.

³⁰ Les configurations du palier [PROT-4] impliquant deux fonctions secondaires sont en bleu dans la figure 7.

Palier	Configuration pragmatico-sémantique du Np		E	xemples	
[PROT-3]	Métonymique-Np		Armani		
	MétonNp complexe		Loire-Atlantique		
	Métonymique-Nc	Máton Nn identifiá	Nord	Volkswagen Passat ³¹	
	MétonNc complexe	- MétonNp identifié	Croix-Rouge	Voikswagen Fussai	
	MétonNc ident.		Port-Arthur ³²		
	MétonNp désambiguïsé		France 3		
	MétonNc désamb.		TV 5		
	Qualificatif sémantique	Qualificatif sémantique		Méditerranée	
	MétonNp qualifié par métonNp/*Nc ³³	*Qual. sém ident.	Paris-Bercy	ø	
	Méton-Nc qual. par métonNp/*Nc MétonNp qual. sém.		Météo-France		
			Afrique du Sud ³⁴		
	Méton-Nc qual. sém.	Qual. sém. désamb.	<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i> ³⁵	Vatican 2	
	Méton-Nc complexe qual. sém.		Réseau Ferré de France		
[PROT-4]	MétonNp désamb. et qual. par métonNp		France 3 Ouest ³⁶		
	*Qual. sém. qual. par métonNp/Nc		ø		
	Qual. sém. qual. sém.		Grande Bleue trente glorieuses ³⁷		
	MétonNc (qual. sém) ²		Fonds Mondial pour la Nature		

Fig. 7. Étape qualificative

L'étape classifiante

Les limites dans l'étape qualificative de notre outil destiné à simplifier la structuration des Np contrastent avec la facilité avec laquelle il permet de décrire la progression de la typicalité dans la dernière étape de la gradation pragmatico-sémantique. Celle-ci implique trois paliers. Le premier regroupe les occurrences motivées par le rattachement de l'entité individualisée à

³² *Port-Arthur* est le nom qui a été attribué en Occident à la ville portuaire chinoise de Lüshunkou.

³³ Les configurations marquées par un astérisque n'ont pas été attestées.

³¹ La prise en compte de cet exemple est justifiée par la stabilisation de l'articulation *nom de marque+nom de produit* dans certains Np de ce domaine de référence. Elle est comparable à celle des noms complets.

³⁴ Afrique du Sud est construit à partir d'un syntagme prépositionnel déterminatif qui restreint l'applicabilité référentielle du nom auquel il est subordonné. Néanmoins, étant donné que le constituant Afrique informe de la localisation du référent individualisé, qui n'est pas un continent mais un pays, sa motivation est rattachée à la fonction métonymique, et non à l'identifiante.

³⁵ La subordination de ce nom de pays est motivée par l'importance du commerce de l'ivoire provenant des éléphants africains qui a été pratiqué par les colons français.

³⁶ La configuration formelle de ce Np est [Np+adj₁+Nc₁]. Néanmoins, le patron dénominatif de ce domaine de référence invite à conclure qu'*Ouest* participe en tant que Np (appellatif) de région dans la construction de son support formel.

³⁷ Étant donné que le morphème de pluriel est requis par l'adjectif numéral subordonné, il n'est pas pris en compte dans la caractérisation pragmatico-sémantique de ce Np.

une catégorie référentielle, éventuellement modulé par une fonction secondaire. Le noyau pragmatico-sémantique des exemples des deux derniers paliers de cette étape impliquent respectivement deux et trois fonctions secondaires. Nous signalons pour terminer que les frontières entre les paliers classifiants sont étanches.

Palier	Fonction(s) secondaire(s)	Exemples
[PROT-5]	Ø	La Tribune
	Identifiante	rue Stalingrad République de Chypre
	Métonymique-Np	tour Eiffel
	Métonymique-Nc	île Gloriette ³⁸
	Qualificative sém.	Mur de Berlin Royaume-Uni Club Automne Café du Centre
[PROT-6]	Qual. sém. + désamb.	Concile Vatican 2
	(Qual. sém.) ²	accords d'Helsinki Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie ³⁹ États-Unis Les Restos du Cœur Communauté Économique Européenne Organisation Mondiale du Commerce
[PROT-7]	(Qual. sém.) ³	Journées Mondiales de la Jeunesse Institut supérieur européen de gestion

Fig.8. Étape classifiante

Conclusion

La description de la progression de la typicalité des Np obtenue lors de l'application de la première phase de développement de l'outil conçu pour simplifier leur structuration est partielle. En effet, lorsque la caractérisation formelle ou pragmatico-sémantique des Np dont la typicalité est proche diffèrent dans le nombre, la nature ou le niveau de hiérarchisation de leurs éléments bi-critériels, la comparaison n'est pas toujours concluante. Par ailleurs, cette étape préliminaire à l'élaboration définitive de notre outil permet de constater également que le recours au nombre d'éléments secondaires du support formel ne rend pas toujours possible la délimitation de paliers homogènes.

³⁸ Le constituant *Gloriette* est motivé dans ce toponyme par le terme architectural désignant un petit pavillon.

³⁹ La catégorisation référentielle est opérée dans ce Np par l'articulation de constituants *forces armées*. Par conséquent, même s'il est à l'origine de la définition du stade le moins typique de la gradation formelle, il est l'équivalent d'un Np $[Nc+adj_1+SP(Np)_1]$ dans le niveau pragmatico-sémantique.

Pour autant, les résultats présentés dans la seconde partie de cet article mettent en évidence que cette première étape de concrétisation de notre démarche descriptive est fructueuse. En effet, elle permet de rendre compte avec précision d'intervalles importants de la progression de la typicalité des Np. Par ailleurs, même si elle est appliquée pour l'instant uniquement aux niveaux formel et pragmatico-sémantique, les résultats obtenus invitent à adopter cette démarche descriptive pour établir des hypothèses de structuration de la catégorie Np dans d'autres niveaux d'analyse.

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Some Semantic Universals in Latvian Toponymy

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Abstract

There is a general assumption in onomastics that investigation of place names should begin with semantic universals of toponymy (V. Toporov, L. Nevskaja, V. Ivanov), namely, with the investigation of metaphoric toponyms derived from appellatives of body parts or utilitarian objects. Semantic universals can be divided into three groups: universals of language groups, universals of language family, and international or absolute semantic universals.

Approximately a twentieth part of Latvian toponyms are derived from terms of anatomic or utilitarian objects. Mainly three types of physiogeographical objects are named metaphorically: relief objects – elevations (*galva* 'head : hill', *mugura* 'back : hill', etc.) or reductions ($r\bar{i}kle$ 'throat : estuary', bluoda 'bowl : dale', etc.), long objects (*aste* 'tail', $k\bar{a}ja$ 'feet', $m\bar{e}le$ 'tongue', etc.), hydrographical objects (*acs* 'eye : pool', etc.).

Analysis of Latvian semantic universals shows at least three ways of formation of semantic universals – terms of body parts may have flowed into place names due to archetypical concepts, utilitarian object designations – according to the principles of language formation – by world perception through metaphor, but sometimes they have formed according to folklore. Toponymic semantic universals, from the point of view of derivation, can be divided into *conceptual semantic universals* and *lexico-semantic universals*.

* * *

Unlike toponymy, semantic universals in general linguistics are frequently investigated. David Crystal provides the following definition for a universal – it is a property that is claimed to be common for all languages (Crystal 2008: 504). A semantic universal, in his opinion, is one of substantive universals along with phonological, syntactic, and the others. Anna Wierzbicka considers that for identifying semantic universals, it is enough to find common concepts in several languages (Wierzbicka 1996: 13). In this paper, a semantic universal is considered to be common semantic derivational models of names in several languages.

Although metonymy is considered to be the main process of formation of proper names (Brozović Roncević and Žic Fuchs 2005: 34; after Ullman 1962), semantic universals in toponymy as a whole seem to appear mainly through metaphorization. According to the origin of languages, semantic universals could be subdivided into three levels:

the first level includes semantic universals of language groups (for example, there are many common derivational models of place names in Baltic languages, such as bog names derived from words denoting food (e.g. Baltic: food ↔ swamp: Latvian *luga* 'smooth swamp : porridge, beer', *dulke* 'swamp, pool : cloudy drink', Lithuanian *makõnė* 'bog : porridge', *marmalas* 'swamp : soup'). Baltic semantic universals have been investigated by the Russian linguist Lidija Nevskaja (1977: 126);

- the second level contains language family semantic universals which can be found through the etymon of the name (e.g. there are many place names derived from words denoting colors in Indo-European languages: Latvian *rūda* 'marsh < red', Ukranian *pydũha* 'swampy pasture < red', *pydá* 'logged swamp < red', Polish *ruda, reda* 'swamp < red', Slovak *ruda, rudačka* 'red soil', etc. (Tolstoj 1959: 188-189, Nevskaja 1977: 109);
- the third level is made of international or absolute semantic universals that occur in languages of different language families (body part ↔ physiographic object, household object ↔ physiographic object).¹

In this paper, the utterance of the third level semantic universals – the most widespread principles of naming, respectively, place names derived from words denoting body parts and utilitarian objects in the Latvian language – are observed. These two groups of semantic correlations between different semantic fields are the most widespread in Latvian toponymy (see Figure 2); they are also approved in world linguistics and geography and this process (body part or utilitarian object \rightarrow place name) is considered to be an Indo-European semantic formula (Burrill 1945, Nevskaja 1977, Kagami 2010, Murzaev 1974, Toporov 1971, Wierzbicka 1996, etc.).



Fig. 1. Place names with words denoting body parts or household objects

Names derived from appellatives of **body parts** constitute a large proportion in toponymy of every nation – it is assumed that typically they make five percent of the total number of any toponymicon. Among metaphorical names, they take the first place not only in frequency, but also in distribution. That is why Anna Wierzbicka considers the correlation 'body parts – national environment' as being one of the most widespread concrete concepts (Wierzbicka 1996: 218). Furthermore, they are considered to be witnesses of archetypical concepts of land as a living being, therefore an investigation of place names should begin with the investigation of body part appellatives that have been transformed into place names or topoformants. Indeed, in many nations one can find stories about demiurges – usually mythical creatures – whose bodies have been transformed into parts of land. For example, the Hindu believed that land and its relief was created from Brahma's body, the Old Slavonics

¹ The boundaries of each group can not be definite – deeper research could prove that semantic universals of the first and second levels are much broader and, thus, should be called international semantic universals.

considered land as body of Rod, the Caucasians believed that the relief has created their God Tha, and the Poetic Edda of the Icelanders tells about Ymir who formed the whole landscape, e.g.:

'From Ymir's flesh the earth was formed, and from his bones the hills, the heaven from the skull of that ice-cold giant, and from his blood the sea.' (Thorpe 1866: 14)

In most of the tales, the land of Latvia has formed from the body of a devil, an animal, or young women. It is quite possible that exactly this concept created correlations between place names and words denoting body parts. Therefore, place names that have an etymon of anthromorphic origin are considered to be the most ancient and a part of the Indo-European semantic formula. In spite of this opinion, place names derived from words denoting body parts in the Latvian toponymy have been investigated only in a few cases. However, researchers of other countries (especially in Russian onomastics) have drawn attention to the place names derived from anatomical terms (Nevskaja 1977, Murzaev 1974, Kagami 2010).

It is difficult to asses the actual number of place names which are derived from anatomical terms. They have entered Latvian toponymy through different routes: most of them are of Latvian, and respectively of Baltic origin, but many borrowed geographical nouns in place names have had anatomical origin in the donor languages (compare, e.g. the productive topoformant – borrowing from Finno-Ugric *selga*, which in Latvian means 'open sea', but in Livonian $s\bar{a}lga$ – also 'back' (Kettunen 1938: 393)).

Analyzing onomastic word groups, compounds, and narrators' commentaries in 65,000 compound names of the card file of the Latvian Language Institute, about 4,000 onomastic word groups with anatomical geographical terms and 500 compound place names with a utilitarian object name were found. According to the facts of the card file, 40 body part designations are used as physiographic name (93 anatomical terms of the Latvian standard language were searched). A similar number of anatomical terms is used in toponymy of other countries (Murzaev 1974: 127-132).

In the category of geographical object, place names derived from anatomical terms can be divided into three groups:²

- terms that describe the relief rising grounds (*mugura*³, *kukurs*, *kaupre*, *kauburs*, *kuprs* 'back', *galva* 'head', *piere* 'forehead', *pauris* 'top of the head', *pakausis* 'back of the head', *kauls* 'bone', *krūts* 'breast') or relief reduction (*dibens* 'bottom', *rīkle* 'throat', etc.),
- terms that describe the location of the object plane (*aste* 'tail', *kāja* 'leg', *mēle* 'tongue', *mute* 'mouth', *rags* 'horn', *šekums* 'perineum'),
- hydrographical terms (acs 'eye').

² Topographical meanings of anatomical term are deduced from correlation between place name (meaning of the appellative) and category of geographical object.

³ Lexemes here and further are presented in order of decreasing frequency.
The first group – namely, anatomical relief names – designate mainly elevations. The most widespread anatomical lexemes in Latvian relief names are those with the meaning 'back' – *mugura* 'hogback, hill spine : human or animal back'. This word still keeps topographical meaning not only in place names, but also in the standard language and it has been accepted as a geographical term. It is used in Latvian toponymy to denote the upper part of hill that looks like the back of a living being – usually the back of an animal. In most cases it is used with the lexeme *āzis* 'he-goat', for example, hill *Āža mugura* 'Back of He-goat', hill *Cūkmugura* 'Back of Pig'. Designations of 'back' have topographical meaning also in other languages: for example, *raxis* in Greece, *dorsum* in Latin, *nugara* in Lithuanian, *xpe6em* in Russian, *Hyppy* in Mongolian, etc.

Words denoting the part of back such as kukurs, kaupre, kauburs, kuprs (e.g., hills Priežu Kaupre 'Hump of Pines', Kaupris 'Hump' hill, Velna kupris 'Devil's Hump') which mean 'a top of the hill, small elevation of relief: hump of the back' have similar phonetic substance and probably have developed from the Indo-European root *keu- that means 'to bend, to curve'. Words of the same origin with anatomical or topographical meaning can be found also in other Indo-European languages: Lithuanian kuprà, kauprė, Old English hofer, etc. Therefore, probably, we should make a distinction between semantic universals of that kind from others and call them lexico-semantic universals. In order to differentiate these two kinds of semantic universals, terms conceptual semantic universals and lexico-semantic universals should be used. In the first case, a semantic formula – concept 'body parts stands for environment' - is used, in the second case, concrete phonetic substance with concrete semantic meaning is used to form two meanings of words of the same origin. In the first case, different body part appellatives of different origin could be used to denote different geographical objects – words denoting body parts can refer to different geographical objects (for example, head as hill in Latvian and head as the source of river in the Slavonic languages).

Relief elevation is also often expressed with lexemes which denote a head of a living being or its parts: *galva* 'hill : head', *pakausis* 'hill, top of hill : back of head', *pauris* 'hill, top of hill : back of head', *piere* 'slope of hill : forehead', *kauss, galvaskauss* 'hill : skull' (e.g. hills *Kazas galva* 'Head of Goat', *Nabaga pakausis* 'Back of the head of Beggar' hillock, *Pauris* 'Back of head'). This group of lexemes shows how metaphorically precise the naming by semantic universals is: *forehead* in place names always designates objects without or with poor flora, names of *back of the head* usually are given to the very top of the object. Lexemes with meaning 'head' are not very widespread in Latvian toponymy and through the metonymic transposition are included in meadow or forest names. Probably, that is why the topographical meaning of these lexemes in place names has survived to the present day, but disappeared from dictionaries of standard language. Correlation *head – hill* also could be called the Baltic conceptual universal, because, in other languages (e.g. Bulgarian, English, Turkic), *head* often denotes the source of a river or stream, not the elevation of relief (Murzaev 1974: 134).

Lexemes which denote small objects are often semantically transposed, that is, they are included into names of a much wider territory. The lexeme *kauls* 'bone' designates underwater rocks or stones, as well as hills in Latvian place names, e.g. underwater rock *Baltais kauls*, *Puntes kauls* or 'White Bone' and 'Punte's Bone' in the river Daugava, ford

Rēznas kauls or 'Rēzna's Bone' in river, etc. As a warning landmark, it is used rather frequently, while words denoting other small objects as well as body parts (such as *pumpa* 'mound : pimple', *auss* 'forest : ear', *zobs* 'elevation : tooth') occur only in several place names. Like in the body of a living being, also in nature *bone* remains invisible, surrounded by water or deep forest.

Among lexemes of small body parts and small geographical objects, the most widespread is $kr\bar{u}ts$ 'mound : breast' (e.g. *Garsila krūte* 'Breast of Long Forest', *Kalna krūte* 'Breast of Hill' – part of the *Garais kalns* 'Longhill'). However, this lexeme with a topographical meaning appears only in Eastern Latvia, which has a stronger influence of Slavonic languages (compare Slavonic generic elements with meaning 'land elevation' derived from Indo-European root $*kr\bar{a}u$ - : $*kr\bar{u}$ -). It seems that, in this case, we can speak rather about syncretism of anatomical and topographical names, than semantic universals. Due to smallness of the designated object, this appellative through metonymization is used in place names of broader territories, moreover – appellatives which designate small objects are used to derive new lexemes (e.g. meadow with mounds $Kr\bar{u}taine < kr\bar{u}ts + suff.$ -*aine* '[place where many $kr\bar{u}ts$ 'breasts' are]').

Only two body part designations are used in place names denoting land depression – *dibens* 'bottom of valey : hydrographic object or butt' (e.g. *Bluodas dibens* 'Bottom of Bowl', field *Meždibens* 'Buttocks of Forest', forest *Rāceņdibins* 'Rāceņi' [oikonym] Buttocks') and *rīkle* 'cave : throat' (e.g. swampy place *Pūra rīkle* 'Throat of Swamp; between two meadows', narrow river *Andža rīklīte* 'Throat of Andžs [anthroponym]'), but they are one of the few words that have preserved topographical meaning also in standard Latvian. They both have additional semes in their semantic field – lexeme *dibens* can refer also to distant places or objects that could not be easily reached – for example, depths of the forest, out-of-the-way places, etc., but word *rīkle* can be included in place names of river entries. Correlation 'low – wet' is considered to be a Baltic universal (Nevskaja 1977). It helps to make a transition between different object groups into place names.

The second group of toponyms with body part appellatives designates objects that are long or formed in a particular shape. The number of these lexemes is smaller, but the distribution in place names is much wider. It is probably due to the Latvian terrain in which objects can be more easily described and found by object layout not by relief.

For describing the layout of a place, usually lower body part names are chosen. The most widespread anatomical lexeme not only in this group, but also in the whole Latvian toponymy is *aste* 'tail', which is used mainly in place names of the West Latvia and in the deep Livonian dialects of Latvian (e.g. long meadow in a forest *Garā aste* 'Long Tail', narrow, long meadow in forest *Vilkaste* 'Wolf's Tail', swampy forest *Poraste* 'Tail of the Swamp'). Topographical meaning of the lexeme *aste* does not occur in standard Latvian, but the analysis of Latvian compound names and narrators' commentaries shows eight shades of meaning or semes of lexeme *aste*: 'long', 'narrow', 'small', 'distant, at the end of something', 'worthless, with bad flora', 'overgrown, scrubby', 'jutting into other landscape', 'meandering, snaky'. It indicates that words denoting body parts can bring a very wide set of meanings into a place name.

The similar meaning nuances in place names are also brought by lexemes $k\bar{a}ja$ 'leg', rags 'horn', and $m\bar{e}le$ 'tongue' – they usually denote objects which are 'long, narrow, small,

snaky, often worthless, overgrown part of a landscape that stretches into other kind of landscape' (swampy pasture surrounded by pine forests *Purkāja* 'Swamp Leg', meadow along the marsh, narrow – like boot *Zaķkāja* 'Hare's Leg', narrow, long forest *Bukurags* 'Deer Buck's Horn', longish pond *Medusmēle* 'Honey Tongue'). Two lexemes – *šekums* 'perineum' and *elkonis* 'elbow' denote bend or branching of the object and are used sporadically (distributary *Šekums* 'Pelvis', branched ravine *Šekumgrava* 'Ravine of Pelvis', bend of road *Elkonis* 'Elbow').

In the third group – hydrographical names of anatomical origin – there are only two body part appellatives that can refer to hydrographical objects. They are *acs* 'eye' and *vēders* 'stomach'. The first one is often used in marsh pools, ponds and well names (e.g. pools in the marsh *Gāgas purva acis* 'Eyes of Gāgas Swamp', lake *Lielā ace* 'Big Eye', spring *Salas acs* 'Island Eye'), but the second one – in pond and lake names as well as in names that denote rank swamp or meadow with little river or rivulet (pond *Kazas vēders* 'Goat Belly').

Only the appellative $p\bar{e}da$ 'foot' in Latvian place names remains outside of these three groups, because, in spite of its productivity, it does not denote one, single kind of an object, but it is included in a type of subordinate word-group – *vella pēda* (e.g. pit *Vella pēda* 'Devil's foot', stone, 'brought by devil' *Vellapēda* 'Devil's foot'). It has appeared in Latvian toponymy because of a very widespread folk story about paths of a fooled devil.

The second type of semantic universals in Latvian toponymy – words denoting **utilitarian objects** in place names is not very varied – only six productive appellatives were found: *gulta* 'bed', *abra*, *mulda* 'kneading trough', *bloda* 'bowl', *krāsns* 'oven', *laiva* 'boat'. All these lexemes denote relief depressions – usually valleys, pits, water beds (cave *Velna Krāsns* 'Devil's Oven', valley which looks like bowl *Sidraba Bloda* 'Silver Bowl', narrow valley *Abriņa* 'Little Kneading Trough', valley *Laivas grava* 'Ravine of Boat', old riverbed *Abavgulta* 'Bed of Abava [hydronym]'. While in other languages utilitarian object names are used to describe also elevations (see, for example, Murzaev 1974: 126-135), Latvian names of utilitarian objects are used to denote mainly land depressions.

Although words of utilitarian objects in place names are rare, they should be mentioned in order to show metaphorical, not archetypical semantic universals. Describing the motivation of these names, all narrators emphasize the external similarity to the utilitarian object, while names with appellatives of body parts are crowned with legends and tales. This principle of metaphorical naming has even created a special toponymical genitive in Latvian toponymy which cannot be found in the everyday language. In the Latvian standard language, this genitive case expresses possession – although this meaning of the case occurs also in place names, additionally the meaning of comparison which is not used in the common language can be found. For example, the place name *Laivas grava* cannot be translated as 'Ravine of Boat', namely, 'a ravine which belongs to a boat', but as 'a ravine that looks like a boat'.

Other body part and utilitarian object appellatives which were not mentioned in this paper, occur sporadically in Latvian toponymy, therefore we could not deduce many conclusive regularities. But it is clear that every body part appellative brings into a place name the main concept of the body part's role in the living being or the shape. Thus, *hearts* and *navels* in the Latvian toponymy usually are central objects of the areal, *fingers* and *fingernails* are small meadows with bad flora, *living rooms* are open area in forests, *mouthes*

are places were water flows, *et cetera*. It proves that, in most cases, words without topographical meaning have come into place names through metaphorical transposition – objects are named by similarity. However, it is impossible to find out which meaning arose earlier – the topographical or anatomical meaning. Two different opinions have appeared – some toponymists (e.g. Nevskaja 1977: 163) consider that body part appellatives in place names are the result of syncretism (it means, both meanings have appeared simultaneously), but others (e.g. Murzaev 1974: 126) think it is based only on a metaphorical shift. But we can never be sure if a topographical meaning of the appellative in a name had formed in everyday language or only in the place naming process.

What kinds of geographical objects are marked by semantic universals analyzed in this paper? In most cases, the anatomical and utilitarian object appellatives in place names mark objects with plain relief (e.g. meadow, morass, forest, field, pasture), in second place there are relief forms (such as mountains, rocks, holes, gullies), in third – hydrographic objects (such as lakes, rivers, ponds). Only the fallow does not obtain a geographical term of anatomic or utilitarian object origin in Latvian Toponymy (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Objects with names containing anatomic or utilitarian object term

However, the lexicon of the Latvian standard language shows that semantic universals (body part or utilitarian object terms for place name) have a tendency to disappear. For example, in the earlier Latvian bibliographical sources (e.g. Mülenbachs-Endzelīns *Dictionary of the Latvian Language* (Mülenbachs 1923-1932)), topographical meaning has been given to 15 anatomical lexemes, nowadays (e.g. in *Dictionary of the Latvian Standard Language* (LLVV)) only four anatomical terms *dibens* 'butt', *mugura* 'back', *piere* 'forehead', *rags* 'horn' keep the topographical meaning (LLVV). The same tendency is found in place names: metaphorical place names increasingly are substituted or specified, or explained by a more common generic element. Thus, many *tails* (*aste*) have changed to *meadows* (*plava*) or *forests* (*mežs*), *backs* (*mugura*, *kaupre*, *kukurs*, etc.) and *noses* (*deguns*) to *hills* (*kalns*), *eyes* (*acs*) to *wells* (*aka*) or *springs* (*avuots*), etc. Very often epexegetic word groups appear (e.g. the hill *Jura galva* is now *Jura galvas kalniņš* ('Head of Juris [anthroponym]' \rightarrow 'Hill of

Juris' Head'), $Purk\bar{a}ja - Purk\bar{a}jt\bar{i}rums$ ('Swamp Leg' \rightarrow 'Field of Swamp Leg', $Paur\bar{i}te - Paur\bar{i}tes kalniņš$ ('Back of Head' \rightarrow 'Hill of Back of Head')).

The main conclusion is as follows: the analysis of these semantic universals shows at least three ways of formation of semantic universals – some terms of body parts may have flowed into place names due to archetypical concepts, utilitarian object designations – according to the principles of language formation – by world perception through metaphor, but sometimes they have formed according to folklore or legends. Semantic universals which can be divided, from the point of view of derivation, into *conceptual semantic universals* and *lexico-semantic universals*, help to organize the territory and make the world of place names more colorful and even more accurate.

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Onomastics vs Etymology

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Abstract

Onomastics and Etymology are adjoining fields, with most names coming ultimately from words, and many words (known as eponyms) coming from names. As an etymologist, I came across *macadamize* and *strontium* that come from Gaelic names that came from Gaelic words. This led to some questions: Is this etymology or onomastics? Are these relevant to the history of English? Or of other languages which now use these words? Are the linguistic processes involved typical of words or names? The poster will consider these questions and invites your views and ideas.

But is *strontium* even a word? It is in the dictionary, but the linguistic processes by which a chemical is named seem to have more in common with the naming of people or places than with words for colours or emotions. What about other semantic fields like animals or plants or parts of the body? We talk about plant names. Some common plant names are in the dictionary, but rarer ones are not. Can you have a semantic field that spans a range from words like *blackcurrant* (a metonymous use of an eponym) at one end to names like *Ribes nigrum* (derived from Latin words) at the other?

A Dictionary of Turkic Names in Germany and Austria: A Book Project

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Abstract

Today many people of Turkish and Turkic background live in Germany and in Austria, but Turkic names and names systems are not yet well known in Germany. There is a lack of a comprehensive reference work. Turkish history, language and Turkish culture are unknown in Germany. The present study is part of a project of a dictionary of Turkic names. The paper describes the current onomastic situations in Germany and Austria.

* * *

About Turkic and Turkish Names

Around 20% of Germany's population are foreigners or descendants of immigrants. More than 16 million people are of foreign descent (first and second generation, including mixed heritage and ethnic German repatriates and their descendants). The largest ethnic group of non-German origin are the Turkish, many of whom (or their children) acquired German citizenship over time.

In 2011 – 1,607,161 people came from Turkey (25%) and in 2009 about 3 million migrants had a background with Turkish roots (Federal Statistical Office of Germany 2012). In Austria there are around 247,500 people with Turkish roots (Statistica Austria 2010).

Besides Turks, there are also people from Turkic-speaking countries in Germany and Austria. These are, among others Turks from Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia (Macedonia), Lebanon, also people from Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tatarstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikstan, Uyghur Region, Yakutia, Chechnya, Tuvia, Khakassia, Cherkessiya, Dagestan (Kumyks) and others.

Turkic languages are spoken as a native and second language by over 200 million people. Their characteristic features are vowel harmony, agglutination and lack of grammatical gender. The Turkish language, the religion of the Turkish people and other Turkic groups manifests itself in naming traditions. All Turkic peoples have similar ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious origins.

The largest group of Turkic peoples in Germany and Austria are Turks. Today, a Turkish name consists of a given name and a surname. In the beginning the majority of Muslim Turks had no surname. In 1934 the Law on Family Names was introduced in Turkey. The law required all citizens of Turkey to adopt an official surname (a single word according to Turkish law). Most of them chose a father's name with the endings *-oğlu* 'son of', *-zade* 'descendant in the male line' or a nickname of the family: Mustafa-oğlu Mehmet. The Turkish language does not have grammatical gender. That is why there is a selection of

unisex given names such as Deniz, Derya, Evren, Evrim, Özgür and Can. These names could also be used as family names. In addition to Turkish names, numerous Arabic names of important figures in the religion of Islam are chosen, such as Ali, Muhammed, Mehmet and Zeynep.

All Turkish words, if they are suitable as a first name, can also be used as a family name, and vice versa. In principle, any sound sequence could be chosen as a surname.

Therefore, appellatives, adverbs, adjectives, verbs and sentences (declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative sentences) are encountered with the family name. On the one hand this is an advantage: the names are transparent and easy to understand. On the other hand, this can cause difficulties. Turkish names were not fixed in written sources, therefore, there are many different possible reasons for the motivation behind the designation, none of them documented.

The most frequently surnames in Turkey today are: Yılmaz with 1,508,846 bearers, Kaya with 1,038,538 bearers, Demir with 973,133 bearers, Şahin with 875,848 bearers, and Çelik, Yıldız, Yıldırım, Öztürk, Aydın and Özdemir with 841,971 bearers (Istatistik 2010). These are surnames that express the pride of the Turks and patriotic ideals: Öztürk means 'real, pure Turk', Özdemir means 'pure iron', Demir means 'iron', Yılmaz means 'one, who is not afraid', Kaya means 'rock, stone', Şahin means 'falcon', Çelik means 'steel', Yıldız means 'star, lucky star, happiness', Yıldırım means 'lightning' and Aydın means 'bright, light, happy'.

Table 1 shows the most common surnames in Turkey, Germany and Austria, and the comparison of the name lists shows that there are not many significant differences.

Surname	Order of rank		
	Turkey	Germany	Austria
Yılmaz	1	1	1
Kaya	2	2	5
Demir	3	5	6
Şahin	4	3	3
Çelik	5	4	8
Yıldız	6	10	7
Yıldırım	7	9	4
Öztürk	8	7	2
Aydın	9	6	lower-ranking
Özdemir	10	8	10
Arslan	lower-ranking	12	9

Table 1. The most common surnames in Turkey, Germany and Austria¹

¹ Data was collated from Istatistik (2010), the project of surnames in Austria, Geogen, and the database of the University of Leipzig.

In Germany, numerous spelling variations of Turkish surnames have emerged. Thus, we can find the most frequent surnames in Germany with several different spellings: Yılmaz with 4,524 bearers, Yilmas with 16 bearers, Jilmaz (18), Jilmas (1), Yelmaz (12), Jelmaz (1); Kaya with 3,163 bearers and Kaja (133); Şahin with 2,992 bearers and also Schahin (8), Schachin (1), Shahin (54), Shakhin (2); Çelik and Celik with 2,742 bearers; Demir with 2,721 bearers and Dimir (1); Aydın with 2,532 bearers and also Ajdin (10), Ayden (24); Öztürk with 2,509 bearers and also Öztuerk (4), Oeztürk (17), Oeztuerk (40), Östürk (6), Ozturk (4), Özturk (31), Östurk (2); Özdemir with 2,501 bearers and also Oezdemir (70), Oesdemir (1), Ösdemir (1), Ozdemir (27); Yıldırım with 2,460 bearers and also Yeldirim (3), Yelderem (3), Jildirim (9); and finally Yıldız with 2,450 bearers, but also Yeldiz (6), Yeldez (6), Yildis (3), Jildiz (14). Uncertainties in the adoption of these new names produced a wealth of spellings.

Classification of Turkic Names

Turkish and Turkic surnames can be classified in two different ways: grammatically and lexically.

Grammatical classification

1.	noun: Kılıç, Aslan, Ateş
2.	adjective
2.1.	primary adjective: Uzun, Temiz, Güzel
2.2.	derived adjective: Soylu, Uslu, Uğurlu
3.	compound
3.1.	noun+noun: Eraslan, Demirbilek, Eroğlu
3.2.	noun+adjective: Erker
3.3.	noun+verb in participle form: Türkyılmaz, Cansever
3.4.	noun+verb in imperative form: Erol, Ünver, Güngör
3.4.	noun+verb in past form: Gündoğdu, Aydoğdu, Tanrıverdi
3.5.	adjective+noun: Karakaya, Sarıkaya, Akyıldız
3.6.	verb in imperative form + verb in imperative form: <i>Doğanay</i>
3.7.	verb in participle form+noun: Vural
4.	verb
4.1.	verb in past form: Bulduk
4.2.	verb in imperative form: Sun, Bak, Koş
5.	participle
5.1.	active participle: Duran, Değen, Sezen
5.2.	participle (in German Grammar, but in Turkish grammar abstract form of
	present): Uçar, Sever, Solmaz, Sönmez

Lexical classification

- Given names:
 - 1. Turkic names: Eraslan, Çelik, Yıldız
 - 2. Islamic names: Ali, Musa, Mustafa
 - 3. names from other languages (Persian, Arabic, Kurdish): Gül, Polat, Kahraman
 - 4. titles: Usta, Han, Çelebi
- Origin/Ethnic names
 - 1. place names: Tuna
 - 2. tribe, nation, root: Tatar, Türkmen, Karaman
- Habitation:
 - 1. geographical term: Kaya, Dağ, Irmak
 - 2. geographical name (toponym): Akdeniz, Karadeniz, Kızılırmak
- Occupation, profession, function and dignity:
 - 1. agriculture: Dam, Biçer, Koyuncu
 - 2. forestry: Balta, Kozak
 - 3. hunting: Kovar, Avcı
 - 4. fisheries
 - 5. food: Bal, Balcı
 - 6. textile industry: Tarakçı
 - 7. leather
 - 8. fur
 - 9. metalworking: Demirci
 - 10. wood processing: Keser
 - 11. pottery
 - 12. building sector
 - 13. healthcare, sanitation, body care
 - 14. trade and traffic
 - 15. entertainment: minstrels, jongleurs, singers und poets: Ozan
 - 16. other professions: Deveci, Dür
 - 17. secular and islamic charge, function: Önder, Bilgin, Yazıcı
 - 18. legal relationships, property situation and other circumstances
 - 19. warfare: Kalkan, Vural, Akın
 - 20. authoritative occupation
- Nicknames or personal quality:
 - 1. physical characteristic: Sarı, Küçük, Güçlü, Gökçe, Topal, Salak
 - 2. character, mental characteristic: Kaba, Düzgün, Dönmez
 - 3. behaviour, conduct: Görgülü, Gezer, Durmaz
 - 4. habits
 - 5. clothes and accessory: Kocak, Toman, Kılıç
 - 6. special things in the family/in the tribe: Durmuş, Gündoğdu, Gündüz
- Nature:
 - 1. animals: Böcek, Kuş, Doğan
 - 2. plants: Budak, Çimen, Çiçek

- 3. metal and minerals: Altın, Gümüş, Demir
- 4. meteorological phenomena: Gök, Tan, Kış
- Patriotic ideals and symbols: Turan, Bayrak, Yıldız, Bozkurt, Türker

For the dictionary of Turkic Names to be created, 381 surnames were already assessed as part of the Family Name Project in Austria (Project FamOs). Of these 381 surnames, 309 were Turkish (from Old Turkish: Kaya, Demir, Çelik, Onmaz, Sönmez, Duran, Güçlü, Biçer, Bala; Kaya, Demir, Çelik – new popular names), 56 were non-Turkish (Persian: Can, Gül, Pehlivan, Pak, Polat, Baran – a popular name with the Turkish Kurds; Arabic: Ali, Abbas, Metin, Mustafa; Urumic: Fidan, Kukla, Biber, Temel, Poyraz; Hebraic: Ismail, Ibrahim; Armenian: Çap, French: Tusch/Tuş, Italian: Pala, Greek: Piliç), 13 were mixed (Turkish-Persian: Bayraktar, Demircan, Ercan, Özcan, Akgül, Ergül; Persian-Turkish: Caner, Cansever, Candan, Cankaya, Gültekin, Harmancı; Arabic-Turkish: Celepçi) and three were unexplained (Sulyok, Kozar, Balan).

The Turkish name stock in Germany is still under investigation. We expect similar results.

There are also similarities in Turkish and German names and it is important to consider them. The surnames *Türk*, *Türker*; *Bayer*; *Kaplan*, *Ender*; *Dür*; *Denk*; *Berk* and *Kurt* may be both German and Turkish names.

The spelling and pronunciation of Turkish names cause problems for German people, particularly difficulties arise for the graphemes Şş, Çç, Ğğ, Iı, Cc, Jj, Zz, Ss, Yy and Hh. Unknown graphemes can be adapted to the German language or mispronounced: *Şahin - Sahin; Şenay - Senay; Şengül - Sengül, Şentürk - Sentürk; Ekşi - Eksi; Metintaş - Metintas; Çiçek - Cicek; Dağ - Dag; Doğan - Dogan; Yıldız - Yildiz, Yıldırim - Yildirim, Pınar - Pinar; Can - Can [Kan]; Cem - Cem [Kem].*

In the dictionary, we will also include first names. The most frequent Turkish first names in Germany 2013 were, for boys: Can, Ali, Mehmet, Kaan, Arda, Efe, Emre, Ahmet, Enes, Enis, Mert, Kerem, Malek, Yusuf, Cem, Deniz, Mustafa, Emirhan, Emir, Bilal, Yasin, Yassin, Ibrahim, Furkan; and for girls: Nur, Aylin, Elif, Samira, Aleyna, Ela, Elanur, Tuana, Zeynep, Dilara, Ilayda, Nisa, Nisanur, Amina, Amine, Amne, Emine, Esma, Esmanur, Meryem, Azra, Ezra, Esra, Yas(e)min, Jasemin, İrem, Leyla, Eda, Edanur, Melek, Selin, Sude, Sudenaz (Datenbank der Namenberatung der Universität Leipzig).

Here are some examples of entries from the planned dictionary. The structure of the entry is: Name, origin, kind of name, frequency and distribution, part of speech, etymology, signification, history of name, compounds and sources.

Arslan, turk.+ mong., first name (m), surname, turk., Kazakh, Azerbaijani, Chechen, Ingush,

Turkmen. noun.: arslan – 'lion'.

History of first name and surname, etym. ars (Kaz., Kir.) + -lan

1) Given name, 2) Nickname

Religious belief: Arslan – a name for Ali

Lexical variants: Aslan, Arsalan

Compounds: Arslanali, Arslanbaş, Arslanbay (Arslanbiy), Arslanbek, Arslangerey (Arslangeray), Arslanhan, Alparslan (Alpaslan), Karaarslan (Karaaslan) Frequency and distribution in Germany (2,060/5,488 Arslan (1526.), 1,367/3,640 Aslan, 18/48 Arsalan) and Austria (3,700: 2,432 Arslan, 1,268 Aslan) BTS, GTS, KAS, LW (2001: 48), Gafurov (1987: 126-127), Kohlheim (2008: 83), Oktay (2007: 30), Schimmel (1992: 37), Sakaoglu (1979: 386), Zengin (2007: 770-771).

Demir, turk., first name (m), surname. noun.: demir - 'iron'.

History of name 1) Given name

2) Nickname

Akdemir, Aydemir (Aydemir) and Demirci

Lexical variants: Damir, Tamir, Temir, Temur.

Compounds: Aldemir, Akdemir, Alpdemir, Aydemir, Demiraslan, Demirbaş, Demirbilek, Demircan, Demirel, Demirci, Demirkol, Demirtaş, Kandemir Frequency and distribution

GTS, KAS, LW (2001: 117), Kohlheim (2008: 162), Oktay (2007: 69), Schimmel (1992: 7, 34, 51, 65-66).

Yilmaz (Yılmaz), turk., first name (m), surname. Participle – abstract past, negation: *yılmaz* 'undaunted'.

History of name

1) Turkish Given name

2) Nickname

Compound: Türkyılmaz.

Frequency and distribution

KAS, LW (2001: 495), Ersen-Rasch (2004: 214-215), Hengirmen (2001: 153-154), Kohlheim (2008: 674), Oktay (2007: 203), Schimmel (1992: 6, 13, 61).

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Onomastic Space of Kazakhstan: Current Condition and Problems

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Abstract

Onomastic space of Kazakhstan is gradually returning to its national identity, freed from ideological nominations imposed by the communist ideology, which is characteristic of many post-Soviet CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) states. Twenty-three years of independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan have been a period of growth of the national onomastics as a branch of the Kazakh linguistics to a new level. However, another concern, which cannot be ignored, is that the growing process of globalization is reflected in the linguistic landscape of cities, large and small settlements of the country, where a lot of space is given to English-language information in advertising signs, in the names of boutiques, shopping, entertainment centers and even entire residential blocks, which appear in the European manner. One of the pressing issues at the moment is the standardization of onomastic names and their compliance with international standards.

To provide regulations on the implementation of undertaken tasks of national onomastics such as naming, renaming, transcribing, transliterating, and so forth, the Government has formulated its normative legal bases and regulatory enactments. In recent decades, Kazakh scholars are actively studying theoretical problems of language and onomastics in their linguo-cognitive aspects, which allow reconstructing axiological components of Onoma.

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Introduction

Onomastic names are one of the basic factors that determine the national language and national identity, beginning with the name of the state, place names, personal names and the names of its citizens. Kazakhstan is a huge country covering a territory equivalent to the whole of Western Europe, five times the size of France. It is a unique combination of a desert landscape and wooded plains, lake edges, highlands and boundless steppes. Spiritual, material culture, traditional culture, religion and other axiological components found bright and organic reflection in the Kazakh onomastic picture of the world.

State Onomastic Commission and local Onomastic Commissions function in Kazakhstan and they regulate the process of a new nomination, renaming, and restoring of historical names. According to the Language Committee of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan, since the country gained its independence in 1991, hundreds of distorted names in different parts had their historical names restored. By the decision of the State Onomastic Commission 5 oblasts, 13 cities, 54 regions, 7 city districts, 119 railway stations, and hundreds of settlements changed their names, and Russian-language transcriptions of 6 oblasts, 12 cities, 14 districts, 76 railway stations, and more than 40 settlements were clarified. And a comparative analysis of dynamics shows that if until 1999, the names of 641 settlements, education, culture centers, etc. were changed, for the period of

2000-2009, 1221 settlements, 951 education, culture, sports, health care, and other centers were renamed (Rysbergen 2011: 300-302).

It should be noted that the toponymy of the Soviet and post-Soviet era is characterized by ample use of names of well-known personalities in the names of streets and settlements. In this regard, the government is taking active measures to normalize the nomination processes in place names, so as not to repeat the mistakes of the past.

The development history of Kazakh onomastics is divided into 3 major phases:

- 1st phase 1950-1970 Kazakh onomastics has started to emerge as a branch of linguistics.
- 2nd phase 1970-1990 At the beginning of this phase the Department of Onomastics was founded in 1971 at the Institute of Linguistics named after A. Baitursynuly. A brief explanatory dictionary of toponymy of Kazakhstan was compiled by Ye. Koishybayev (1974) and A. Abdirakhmanov's book entitled *Toponymy and Etymology* was published (1975). T. Zhanuzak defended his doctoral thesis entitled *The Main Problems of the Kazakh Onomastics* (1976).
- **3rd phase 1990-present** This can be called a spiritual renewal period, because the late 1990s was a period of national reconstruction in the (former) Soviet Union republics, and political and cultural reforms began. And there is a special stage in this phase, that is 1991-2011 factual base, theoretical and methodological foundations of the national onomasticon were well-developed, made more sophisticated by its theoretical and methodological approaches, the most effective and fruitful period (Zhanuzak and Kyzdarkhan 2004: 14-25).

The current study aims at providing descriptive analysis and presenting brief information about the 3rd phase of the development of onomastics of Kazakhstan beginning with the time the republic gained its independence in 1991, till the present day.

Legal Bases of Developing National Onomastics

Productivity measures for the implementation of the urgent tasks of development of national onomastics are directly related to their normative legal bases and regulatory enactments. Currently, legal and regulatory framework of onomastic work is based on the relevant provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan; the Law on languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 11 July 1997; the Concept of Language Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, approved by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated November 4, 1996 Oder No 3186; the Law on the Administrative-territorial System of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 8, 1993; the Regulation on the State Onomastic Commission at the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, approved by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated April 21, 1998, Decree No 368; the Regulation on Naming and Renaming of organizations, railway stations, airports, as well as physico-geographical objects of the Republic of Kazakhstan and changing the transcription of their names, approved by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated March 5, 1996, Decree No 281.

In order to further systematize and coordinate the work in the field of onomastics, due to democratic changes in the country, there emerged the need to develop a new normative document. In the result, the Concept of State Onomastics Operation in the Republic of Kazakhstan was approved by the Resolution (No 45) of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, January 21, 2005.

Later the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan about Amendments and Additions to Some Legislative Acts on the Issues of Onomastics was signed by President N. Nazarbayev, January 21, 2013, LRK No. 72-V. 'the regulation in the field of public relations, naming and renaming of administrative units, other physico-geographical objects of places and transcription of names will be achieved, according to the memorandum to the law' wrote BNews.kz, January 21, 2013, 19:47 (13:47 GMT).

Besides, the State Program of Development and Functioning of Languages of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020 which has been adopted by the Decree of the President of Kazakhstan (No.110 dated June 29, 2011.) indicates, among many other indications, that Kazakhstan should achieve as a result of implementation of the State Program:

• increase of the population's satisfaction with the activities of onomastic commissions regarding observance of principles of transparency and public access to discussion of decision-making process to 60% by 2014, to 75% by 2017, to 90% by 2020;

A Period of Growth of the National Onomastics

Kazakh onomastics developed rapidly and actively in the late 1990s and in the years of independence. Basically, regional place names were focused on, and dissertations were defended in almost all areas of 14 regions (oblasts) of Kazakhstan. Also theses on ethno-linguistic problems of the Kazakh cosmonyms and oronyms were defended, which actively developed questions of historical onomastics based on Orkhon-Yenisey and other ancient and medieval written monuments.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, onomastics of the country, which had been using conventional methods of system-centered, semantics-centered, structural linguistics, began its new evolutionary stage of development in view of the new global scientific paradigm: anthropocentrism and cognitive linguistics. This approach is clearly characterized as anthropocentric, since a human stands as a coordinator of all values and of all existing things, that is, namely he/she is at the epicenter of the universe, for the space is 'animated' by human presence only, and it is treated and perceived by a person.

Twenty years of independence of Kazakhstan have been a period of growth of the national onomastics as a branch of the Kazakh linguistics to a new level. To a great extant scientific-theoretical issues of fundamental research expanded, enriching factual, methodological, scientific and empirical bases for the Kazakh onomastics. Defended theses aimed at studying different onomastic materials in close relationship with the ethnic culture, mentality, attitude, world outlook, ethno-psychology, and speech activity of the Kazakh people.

Here are the main works defended on onomastics in this period:

Doctoral theses (research theses defended in pursuing **the Doctor of Philological Sciences Degree):** A. Abdrakhmanov 'Historical Etymology of Place Names of Kazakhstan' (1991); Ye. Kerimbayev 'Ethno-cultural Foundations of the Nomination and the Functioning of the Kazakh Proper Names' (1992); V. Mahpirov 'Ancient Turkic Onomastics' (1998); V. Popova 'Structurally Semantic Nature of Names of Kazakhstan' (2005); B. Bektasova 'Toponymy of Northern Regions of Kazakhstan' (2005); G. Madiyeva 'Onomastic Space of Modern Kazakhstan: Structure, Semantics, Precedent, and Lemmatization, (2005); B. Tleuberdiyev 'Linguo-conceptological Bases of Kazakh Onomastics' (2006); A. Zhartybayev 'Historical and Linguistic, Ethno-cultural and Etymological Bases of Toponymy of Central Kazakhstan' (2007); K. Rysbergen 'Linguo-cognitive and Ethno-cultural Foundations of Kazakh Toponymy' (2010); S. Imanberdiyeva 'Historical Onomastic Space (based on Turkic Written Monuments of the 10-14th Centuries.)' (2010). In this dissertation onomastic field of historical poetonyms was discussed and for the first time theonym was explored as the concept, structural types were determined; linguistic-conceptual description of the Lord was identified on the basis of the associative experiment.

Regional studies on toponymy got their logical continuation as well: K. Sembiyev 'Toponymy of the Kyzylorda Oblast' (1992); G. Sagidoldagiyn 'Kazakh-Mongolian Toponymic Parallels' (1993); B. Tleuberdiyev 'Ethnolinguistic Particular Place Names in Southern Kazakhstan' (1995); U. Yerzhanova 'Ethnolinguistic Particular Place Names in Western Kazakhstan' (1998); B. Biyarov 'Oronyms of Southern Altai' (2000); A. Alimkhan 'Linguistic and Ethno-cultural Peculiarities of Southern Part of the East Kazakhstan' (2001).

Research theses defended in pursuing **the Candidate of Philological Sciences Degree** (closer to the western PhD) are as follows:

The theses here became more diversified and among them were works dedicated to the peripheral, so-called marginal zones of the national onomastics. Here are some of them: K. Aronov 'Ethnolinguistic Nature of Folk Cosmonyms in the Kazakh Language' (1992); K. Zhappar 'Aesthetic Function of Proper Names in O. Suleymenov's Poetry' (2000). Analysis of pragmatonyms and ergonomics (on the materials of cultural and entertainment facilities of cities of Kazakhstan) had been previously a completely unexplored problem, S. Imanberdiyeva's and M. Kakimova's theses were dedicated to these issues (2001). B. Koshimova touched on a new theoretical problem for the Kazakh onomastics: 'Deonym and Appellation of Proper Names' (2001). A. Arysbayev in his dissertation examines the cumulative nature of Kazakh toponyms (2005). The dynamics of development of the toponymic system for the last hundred years on the materials of a specific region (South Kazakhstan) can be found in the work by Zh. Ismailova (2006); 'Arabic Borrowings in the Kazakh Anthroponymic System' discussed in the dissertation of Zh. Agabekova (2005); Mythopoeic thinking of the Kazakh people, reflected in place names, became the object of a research dissertation of S. Kerimbayeva (2005); The problems of spelling Kazakh Onomastic Names in English by means of transcribing and transliterating have found some sort of solution in the thesis by N.M. Rsaliyeva (2008). 'Phonologically Motivational Conditionality of Kazakh Toponyms' was considered in the work by A. Makulbekova (2008); 'Onomastic

Space in Works of Children's Writers' was the object of analysis in Z. Abdullina's dissertation (2008). In her work N. Asylbekova considered peculiarities of motivation of anthroponyms in historical and linguistic paradigm (2008). Toponymic myths and legends of Kazygurt, wonderfully echoing the myth of *The Deluge*, are reflected in the thesis of B.Taspolatova entitled 'Ethnolinguistic Features of the Kazygurt Region' (2010). The object of the dissertations of Ye. Orynbetova and E. Orazbayeva (2010) and many others was onomastic space of art works of Kazakh writers that address theoretical issues of unexplored artistic onomastics, paving way to a new direction so-called linguo-poetics in the field of national onomastics.¹

Since 2011, Kazakhstan's higher education system has moved to the international European standards, a number of defended PhD theses have been dedicated to topical problems of the Kazakh onomastics in a growing globalization processes. They are mostly related to national-identifying and linguo-cultural aspects.

Defended PhD thesis (to name a few): K. Kydyrbayev's 'Scientific-Theoretical Bases of Transliterating Kazakh Onyms into Arabic' (2012); L. Nakhanova's 'Historical and Semantic Interpretation of Names in Orkhon-Yenisey Monuments' (2014); A. Aksholakova's 'Kazakh Onyms in Russian Speech: Norm, Adaptation, Variation' (2014).

Onomastics of Kazakhstan as an Integral Part of the Global Turkic Onomastic System

Onomastic space of modern Kazakhstan is an integral part of the global Turkic onomastic system. The genesis of the Kazakh onomasticon, being historically linked to many linguistic and extra-linguistic parameters with Turkic ethnic culture, has its own way of formation and development, uniqueness, and a number of specific characteristics. Besides, in the onomastic space a huge number of ancient place names with archaic language elements are found, dating back to the ancient Turkic language. Now actively functioning 'modern' historical place names are the living memory of the Turks, which is considered as a cultural phenomenon, linking eras and centuries.

For thousands of years the picture of the world of the Turkic peoples has been of exogenous origin. In the formation of their ethnic composition, starting from the Neolithic period, various ethnic components such as Saka, Massaget, Hun, ancient Turkic, Tatar-Mongol tribes and other nationalities have been involved for thousands of years. The exogenous nature of the culture of Kazakhs was predetermined by the duration of interaction with the cultures of the peoples of the surrounding areas: China, Russia, Iran, and the Arab East. Naturally, all this is reflected in the formation of the Kazakh onomastic picture of the world that has a distinct identity and originality.

Such ancient geographical names preserved on the map of modern Kazakhstan, as the Caspian, Otyrar, Yertis, Syr Darya, and many others, being the cradle of the birth of the Kazakh ethnic group, the time of occurrence, and, in general, in terms of humanities, can

¹ The enumerated works above might not reflect the exact number.

stand in one row and are comparable to those ancient names of ancient civilizations, like the Nile, Euphrates, Rome, Hellas, and others. Thus, the ancient historical place names of Kazakhstan can be viewed as linguistic and ethno-cultural phenomenon of the Eurasian, global, and wider, holistic human culture.

Astana, the World's Youngest Capital City

The word *astana* means 'capital' in Kazakh. It is the second largest city (after Almaty) located in central north of the country on the Ishim River. Onomastic landscape of the capital city is continually expanding by building new facilities, streets, squares and others. If we consider that in 2030 the city will expand the infrastructure by half, one can imagine how many new names will appear on the map of Astana. According to the City Department of Architecture and Construction currently in Astana urbanonyms encompass 789 street names, 6 squares, 10 parks, 12 bridges, 4 main roads, etc. Linguistic grounds of the city urbanonyms are associated primarily with the *names* of such individuals who were actively involved in the history of formation of the Kazakh state, the city of Astana; the names of prominent personalities who have contributed to the establishment and strengthening of the Kazakh statehood; the names of public figures, figures of science, and the names associated with the spiritual, cultural, aesthetic and human values.

A Journal of Onomastics

In Kazakhstan since the year 2004 a special journal *Onomastikalyk Khabarshy*, whose literal meaning is 'Onomastic Announcer', has been issued to disseminate research results of current theoretical and practical problems of Kazakh onomastics (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. A Journal of Onomastics (photo by the author, N.R.)

The journal is a Bulletin of the Onomastics Commission of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the same time, and it distributes information concerning Onoma of the country.

The Department of Onomastics

Since 1971 (with a one-year break; in 1979 closed, in 1981 reopened) at the Institute of Linguistics named after A. Baitursynuly a Department of Onomastics functions (current head of which, since 2003 is prof. Rysbergen).

Top research priorities of the Department are as follows:

- 1. to focus on fundamental, theoretical and applied issues of research of the Kazakh Onomastics;
- 2. to take a leading role in making onomastic regulation measures aimed at development work in the country (the draft of normative legal documents such as onomastic concept, instructions on the spelling of names, etc.);
- 3. to prepare linguistic documents and certificates to meet the demands and desires on onomastic problems of governmental, non-governmental organizations and institutions and with respect to documenting the names of the citizens.

The participation of the specialists of the Department of Onomastics in drafting of normative legal documents on onomastics activities of the country:

- 1. The Concept of the State Onomastic Work in the Republic of Kazakhstan, approved by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, January 21, 2005, Decree No 45;
- 2. Manual of Transferring of Kazakh Geographical Names to Russian and Transferring of Russian Geographical Names to Kazakh. 2003, together with scholars of the Institute of Geography;
- 3. Manual of Transferring of Kazakh Anthroponyms (name and surname) to Russian and Transferring of Russian Anthroponyms to Kazakh. 2014-2015, currently in the process of approval.

The Department of Onomastics permanently develops fundamental and applied problems of onomastics, under awarded grants by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan on a competitive basis.

The Research Works Done and Being Done Under Grant-Supported Projects by the Department of Onomastics:

- 1. 'The Reflection of the National Idea in the Kazakh Onomastics' 2007-2009;
- 2. 'Research of Onomastic Space of the Kazakh Ethnic Group in the Ethno-cultural, Historical and Linguistic Paradigm' 2009-2011;
- 3. 'Onomasticsas a Major Factor in Ensuring the Spiritual Harmony in a Multicultural Area of Modern Kazakhstan' 2012-2014;

- 4. 'Research of Cultural-Historical and Linguistic Bases for the Kazakh Onomastics in the Common Turkic Context' 2012-2014;
- 'Development of Scientific-Theoretical Principles of National and International Standardization of Place Names of the Republic of Kazakhstan' 2013-2015 (Principal Investigators: K. Rysbergen, N. Rsaliyeva).

Currently the department is exploring topical scientific issues of contemporary and historical onomastics.

Linguo-cognitive Aspects of Onoma as One of Current Research Interests

In recent decades, Kazakh scholars have been actively studying theoretical problems of language and onomastics in their linguo-cognitive aspects, which allow reconstructing axiological components of Onoma. The study of linguo-cognitive aspects of the nomination allows us to decipher ethno-cultural code, entire complex of public knowledge accumulated over centuries. In this regard, we have studied the spatial code, somatic code, and the specifics of metaphorical nominations of Kazakh geographical names (Rysbergen 2010). And ethno-ecological aspect of toponymics of Kazakh culture is being developed as well.

In the Kazakh toponymy the use of anatomical vocabulary is highly developed, although this onomastic feature is common to many other language families. More than 70 parts of the body, starting from the top of the head to toe were reflected in geographical terminology of the Kazakh people:

Bas (head), *kulak* (ear), *muryn* (nose), *auyz* (mouth), *moiyn* (neck), *kol* (hand), *ayak* (foot), *bauyr* (liver), *zhurek* (heart), *bel* (waist), *taban* (heel+arch+ball taken together), etc.

Rysbergen and Imanberdiyeva (2010) in their studies argue that the national cognitive base should be regarded as a universal unity of consciousness, which structures, stores, transmits and accumulates various toponymic information and knowledge encoded in geographical names. For the first time a comprehensive analysis of the nature of national precedent names and phenomenononyms which take a central place in cognitive base of the Kazakh people were performed. For the first time in the Kazakh onomastics within the new anthropocentric paradigm linguo-cognitive and psycholinguistic analyses of Kazakh personal and place names were held. It offered a completely new approach by applying research tools of the exact sciences in modelling 'virtual' pre-concept of cognitive algorithmic matrix of language (toponymic) concepts. Fundamental properties and parameters were worked out, and a within-hierarchy description of frame structures of national onomastic concepts was depicted.

We (Rysbergen 2011) offer a cognitive-algorithmic matrix of onomastic concepts such as *village, mountain, river, sea*, and so forth, by applying research tools of computational linguistics such as domains, modes, frames, slots, and so on. It is noteworthy that for the first time the concept of 'cognitive matrix' in linguistics was applied by an American scholar R.W. Langacker (1987) in onomastics, and in Russian onomastics N. Boldyrev used the concept of 'cognitive-matrix analysis' to create a semi-model of the

concept (Boldyrev 2007: 106). According to S.G. Vorkachev, 'Linguo-cultural concept is an open structure for both denotative and connotative interpretations, which is in a "standby" state, ready "to acquire" a specific "bodily incarnation", i.e. the very proto-concept' (Vorkachev 2004: 24).

Thus, it is impossible to discover and embrace all the available cultural information and knowledge even of one concept, and even within the same linguistic culture. Detailed information on any concept is usually given in dictionaries, encyclopedias, reference books, and the degree of how well they will be revealed in those sources highly depends on the result of investigation of the concepts under consideration.

The community of Kazakh scholars is very involved in on-going investigations in this area, and expects some more interesting results.

Standardization Issues

In 1959, at the Institute of Linguistics under the supervision of Prof. Donidze (from Moscow) 'Instructions for Transferring Kazakh Geographical Names of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic into Russian', was worked out, which was the first work on the standardization of Kazakh geographical names. A new more developed one was worked out in sovereign Kazakhstan in 2003, which is currently the main guide of transcribing geographical names for publication of various cartographic products, dictionaries, reference books, and encyclopedias.

The agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'The State Catalogue of Geographical Names of Kazakhstan' was created by the Republican State Enterprise 'National Cartographic-Geodetic Fund' and it is constantly updated with new data and renaming results.

S. Abdrakhmanov and A. Makenova, specialists of the Institute of Geography, write about this catalogue:

Pursuant to the legislative authority, all cartographic services of the republic, on the basis of scientific and practical multi-volume work, 'State Catalogue of Geographical Names of Kazakhstan', which is of not only national, but also international importance, now actively correct their distortions on transliteration with publication of national, regional, topographic, tourist, educational and other types of maps. After the widespread introduction of 'State Catalogue of Geographical Names of Kazakhstan' into practice at national, provincial and district levels, the use of place names in Russian, and through it the other languages of the United Nations will unify and standardize, as required by the UN Commission on Standardization of Geographical Names (2013: 3).

At the present stage of development of sovereign Kazakhstan when the country has intentions to join the top 30 countries of the world, to move to Latin script, the problem of working out scientifically proven general rules of transliteration of Kazakh onomastic names in the English language is sharply raised. Kazakhstan now has actively entered into relations with

numerous world states in cultural, political, economic and other areas. Practically onomastic names of the country are reflected in a variety of intergovernmental documents, treaties, political, economic maps, reference manuals of various states of the world. Thus, national onomastics in its romanized form is already actively involved in the global communications space. However, the issues that pose a significant difficulty to citizens and foreigners is the spelling of names in English, for there are no accepted rules of transcribing Kazakh names to foreign languages or Romanization standards that could reverse back to the original sound of names. Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names and the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names states that: 'The best method to achieve international standardization is through strong programs of national standardization'. In this regard, a dissertation entitled 'Theoretical-Scholarly Bases for Transliterating Kazakh Onomastic Names in the English Language' submitted by us (Rsaliyeva 2008) is considered one of valuable studies on applied onomastics, the results of which may become a basis for the first grant to research the rules of spelling Kazakh names in English and their transliteration/transcribing into the English writing system. The set up rules are believed to facilitate the work of translators, domestic English-speaking authors, western scientists investigating the Kazakh history, culture, literature, the encyclopedia writers, bibliographers, Internet users, editors, lawyers, etc. The results of the research promote realization of Article 19 in 'The Law about Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan' (Ch. 4. Language in the Names of Inhabited Localities, Proper Names, Visual Information; Article 19. Procedure for Usage of Toponymic Names, Names of Organizations. 1997), where it states:

Traditional, historically formed Kazakh names of inhabited localities, streets, squares, as well as of other physico-geographical objects should be reproduced in other languages in compliance with transliteration rules. Names of state organizations, and structural subdivisions thereof shall be given in the state and the Russian languages. Names of joint ventures, foreign organizations should be given with transliteration in both the state and the Russian languages.

At the moment the issues of standardization of onomastic names and their compliance with international standards are undertaken. Within the framework of Grant-Supported Projects the thesis entitled (mentioned above) 'Development of Scientific-Theoretical Principles of National and International Standardization of Place Names of the Republic of Kazakhstan' for the period 2013-2015 (Principal Investigators: K. Rysbergen, N. Rsaliyeva) is being carried out.

Westernization as a Concern

Economic growth promotes globalization. As is known, *economic globalization* has both positive and negative effects on cultural values. And the growing processes of globalization are reflected now in the linguistic landscape of the cities, and large and small settlements of Kazakhstan as well, where a lot of space is given to English-language information in

advertising signs, in the names of boutiques, shopping, entertainment centers and even entire residential blocks, which appear in the European manner.

European names are usually represented in two ways; in English and English words in Cyrillic. Figures 2 and 3 are examples of that.



Fig.2 Shopping Center in Almaty (photo by the author, N.R.)

Actually, *City Center* in Fig. 2 is not a city center; it is just a name of a medium sized trading complex, located in the western part of the city.



Fig. 3. Shopping Center in Almaty (Photo by the author, N.R)

In Fig. 3 we have focused on the top of the building, where English word *prime* and Spanish word *plaza* are written in Cyrillic letters. The owner of the Trading Complex could write it in English or in Spanish, but the idea behind this naming may be 'there is nothing against the language law of the country', where Kazakh is the state language, Russian is official, and both are in Cyrillic.

As we have said, this situation is noticeable in building names in cities and settlements, owners of which are usually one person. How this problem will find solution in the future is a matter of time. In the documents of the above mentioned State Program of Development and Functioning of Languages of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020, it is indicated (among many other indications) that Kazakhstan should achieve as a result of implementation of the State Program:

- increase of the share of the country's population speaking English to 10% by 2014, to 15% by 2017, to 20% by 2020;
- increase of the share of population speaking three languages (Kazakh, Russian and English) to 10% by 2014, to 12% by 2017, to 15% by 2020.

Looking at the figures, Westernization or Americanization seem to be inevitable as time passes. It is twice as hard to avoid Westernization when there is an increasing demand for the languages of the West to be known, via programmes implemented by the State. But we must not confuse Westernization with modernization. Any country preserving its cultural identity and uniqueness, maintaining sustainable development may flourish. And we consider the importance of preserving cultural and traditional values accumulated over centuries a non-disputable matter, for a simple reason that if the whole world turns into Europe, it will lose its natural color.

Conclusion

Thus, for more than half a century, onomastics of Kazakhstan has achieved significant results in the development of scientific-theoretical, and applied problems, relevant to topical onomastic issues of the whole world. Onomastics research theses have been defended by more than 60 candidates of sciences and 20 doctors of sciences (former educational system terms). Hundreds of scientific monographs, dictionaries, reference books and tutorials have been published.

The country has its strategic development plans for the foreseeable future. Students are taught Onomastics as a subject at university departments. Under supervision of prof. G. Madiyeva at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University in Almaty there is a students' onomastic club, so-called *Zheruyk*, which means 'peaceful and prosperous home place' in Kazakh. What we can learn from this is if the youth is involved in the study of Onomastics, it will continue to develop.

At the end of our descriptive analysis, we would like to express the idea that the main objective of studies of linguistic sciences, onomastics, in particular, is to ensure secure harmonious co-existence of all cultural and linguistic communities, mutual understanding and tolerance of peoples and countries in our sophisticated world. Kyzdarkhan Rysbergen Institute of Linguistics named after A. Baitursynuly Kazakhstan ms.rysbergen@mail.ru

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Perspective Traductive et Statistique de la Traduction du Nom Propre. Le Cas de l'Anthroponyme

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Abstract

Une des particularités de la traduction du nom propre comporte une constante récurrence de complications au niveau des anthroponymes. Cette communication se propose ainsi de considérer un vaste corpus anthroponymique et d'examiner le comportement des unités dénominatives dans la démarche traductive de la langue-source (le roumain) vers la langue-cible (le français).

L'effort traductologique que ces sous-catégories supposent vient des changements au niveau sémantique, formel, discursif etc. déterminés par la traduction, notamment en fonction du contexte extralinguistique. C'est pourquoi l'étude de ces unités se rend indispensable pour établir des normes qui puissent influencer à la fois la tâche du traducteur et du lecteur, à travers des pratiques variées et tout en respectant le sémantisme des noms propres d'origine. Les limites de la traduction, ainsi qu'un répertoire des pratiques les plus courantes et des conséquences sur le discours seront déterminées à travers une analyse ponctuelle et statistique.

L'objectif de la recherche est de déceler une méthodologie et des outils permettant d'une part au traducteur spécialisé de trouver une solution qui assure la compréhension, menant à des résultats fonctionnels dans la langue-cible, et d'autre part à tous ceux intéressés de comprendre réellement l'univers discursif de la culture-source.

Semantics of Proper Names. The Structure of the Mental Lexicon of Proper Names¹

Małgorzata Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska Poland

Abstract

The subject matter of this paper is the specificity of access to the mental lexicon of proper names, which specificity is exemplified by aphatic language disorders with accompanying anomia, i.e. name retrieval deficiency. The initial part of the paper deals with neurobiological bases of proper name retrieval, including the phenomenon of double dissociation. This phenomenon consists in a retained ability to name people and geographical places when the person is unable to name categories of common names, with a coexisting reverse pattern of anomia, i.e. a retained ability to retrieve common names when the person is unable to retrieve onyms, especially anthroponyms. The main part of the paper focuses on various methods applied to compensate for the naming process deficiencies which make it possible to describe the structuring of the mental lexicon of proper names.

* * *

Introduction

The lexicon is considered the nucleus of language. Each unit belonging to the lexicon, as a carrier of phonological, semantic and categorial properties, conforms to certain rules of grammar. Researchers are of the opinion that the lexicon largely determines the functioning of these rules. The lexicon contains words which represent a combination of sounds and meaning or gestures and meaning. Grammar as a computational system indicates which systems or sequences of specific words form meaningful utterances (Wunderlich 2006: 2).

Research into the Mental Lexicon

Individual words are connected with a corresponding meaning on the basis of a social contract. These connections are not permanent, because words and the meanings assigned to them are separate entities. The semantics of certain lexemes are changeable, e.g. becoming broader or narrower. In addition, lexical units are not an example of identical semantic representation: many of them correspond to several meanings, which emerge in various contexts (Reeves *et al.* 2005: 174-175). The nature of these connections, the location of lexemes, their structure and manner of arrangement, as well as the role of the lexicon in the grammatical system, have been objects of special attention from scholars specializing in various disciplines, particularly linguists, psychologists, psycholinguists and cognitivists.

Research into the concept of the mental lexicon began in the 1960s, connected with the study of the rules of semantic organization of common nouns (Forster 2002: 270-296).

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168

Common-name retrieval processes are exceptionally complex and have not yet been fully understood. Several models of lexical access (to the mental lexicon) have been distinguished. The best known one is the logogen, connectionistic, cohort serial retrieval model (Reeves *et al.* 2005: 189-201).

Research into the mental lexicon of proper names only started in the 1980s, much later than the study of the lexicon of common nouns. It was linked with proper-noun retrieval disorders experienced by people suffering from aphasia² (Semenza 1997: 120-121), but principally with the discovery of the phenomenon of double dissociation (Martins and Farrajota 2007). Double dissociation refers to the co-existence of two patterns of disorders: an ability to retrieve common names accompanied by an inability to retrieve proper names, and the reverse phenomenon, i.e. a retained ability to retrieve proper names and a hindered ability or inability to retrieve common names. Thanks to these observations we now know that access to the mental lexicon of proper nouns is much more complex than access to the lexicon of common nouns, and that there are separate paths of access to both of these lexicons (Semenza 2006: 890, Martins and Farrajota 2007, Semenza 2009: 347). Differences in the structure and functioning of these lexicons are thought to lie in individual semantics of proper names and general semantics of common nouns (Semenza 1997, 2006: 890, 2009). Researchers underline semantic uniqueness (exceptionality) of proper nouns, which is understood as being individual or meaningless (Yasuda et al. 2000). Common names refer to concepts, whereas proper names refer to entities.³ This *object* - *name* relation is exceptionally sensitive in the case of proper nouns because here one can hardly talk of widespread neuronal networks (characteristic of common nouns), which are accessible and activated from different cognitive outputs (Semenza and Zettin 1989, Martins and Farrajota 2007: 1745).

As a result of these observed differences between the retrieval of common nouns and proper nouns, scholars have striven to build appropriate models of proper-noun production. The specific nature of proper-noun retrieval disorders makes it possible to distinguish several components of such a model, with several levels of proper-noun retrieval (cf. Schmidt *et al.* 2004, Semenza 2009). However, the present paper focuses not on the construction of a model of proper-name retrieval, but the architecture of the mental lexicon of proper nouns. One can observe this architecture in the study of naming processes, which are a fundamental aspect of linguistic processes.

² Aphasia is an acquired and usually permanent disorder of linguistic processes at various levels of functioning (phonological, semantic and/or syntactic), caused by destabilization of cerebral systems due to various types of brain damage (Pachalska 2008: 156).

³ This is the neuropsychologists' most common approach to the discussion of the essence of the meaning of proper nouns. The most important thing for neuropsychologists is the fact that *nomina propria* do not have a lexical meaning. We know, however, that the concept of the meaning of proper names is sometimes considered in other categories, namely motivational, emotive, pragmatic, structural, and connotative (Kaleta 1998: 25-27). According to this approach, proper names have a meaning which is much broader than that of common nouns (Gajda 2004: 24). In the opinion of van Langendonck (2002), this meaning is limited to the so-called categorial meaning, which is a semantic minimum retained in people's minds, representing their referential knowledge.

169

Compensating for Anomic Disorders Regarding Proper Names

The structure of the mental lexicon may be assessed not only in relation to the so-called norm, i.e. natural onomastic aberrations (such as slips of the tongue, language errors) but also in pathology. Naming deficiencies are known as anomia: the most crucial symptom of language dysfunctions following from cerebral strokes, brain damage, neurodegenerative diseases, etc. (cf. Semenza 1997, Kertesz 2010). Naming deficiencies are the most conspicuous in anomic (nominal, nominative) aphasia.⁴ Simultaneously, these errors are a form of compensation for naming problems. Their nature makes it possible to reconstruct – at least partially – the structure of the lexicon in question. This paper will focus on aphasic disorders of proper-name retrieval (observed on the basis of a pictorial presentation) with basically retained access to conceptual (extra-linguistic) knowledge.

The different manners in which knowledge is disclosed in anomic disorders with regard to common nouns have been described and classified quite precisely in the aphasiological literature. It is well known that techniques applied to compensate for anomic deficiencies correspond to specific kinds of aphasia. Here, they will be attributed to the kinds of knowledge being retrieved (cf. Fig. 1): knowledge referring to a) an object (knowledge about something, somebody) or b) a sign (knowing who? What?). They are not discussed with reference to specific types of disorders, because the purpose of this paper is to present the mental structure of onomastic signs. Therefore, we will mostly be interested in compensating for naming disorders which initiate substitutive references to the target sign, because such compensation techniques are a kind of reference to the **semantic level** (**semantic linguistic knowledge**), which determines the use of words and creation of correct utterances. Extra-linguistic knowledge about the meaning of objects and events belongs to the **level of conceptual information** (Mikołajczak-Matyja 2008: 19).

However, it should be pointed out that name-retrieval disorders are very frequently accompanied by forms used to mask a person's naming problems. Such forms consist in disclosing, in various ways, a person's conceptual knowledge about a specific object (its relation to other objects), and much less frequently about the sign itself.

⁴ Frequently, it is a form of retreating, withdrawing aphasia. It may also be a primary deficiency that emerges after damage incurred to the cortical parietal-occipital-temporal junction. A person suffering from nominal aphasia does not have disorders of speech production or understanding. Such a person's deficiencies consist in difficulties with the retrieval (recollection) of names of various things and their characteristics, or names of activities (Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2012c: 299-300).



Fig. 1. Diagram of paths of verbal compensation for naming disorders in aphasia

Knowledge about an object as a form of compensation for naming disorders emerges in the form of periphrases, i.e. descriptions of the designatum that one is unable to retrieve. Such periphrases (circumlocutions) may be regarded as elements of knowledge regarding denotation or connotation. This depends on the type of information contained therein. The cognitive status of semantic features distinguished in this manner is divergent. Denotation is thought of as a set of objects of extra-linguistic reality, a scope of a specific referent (extension). Disclosure of such knowledge is thus connected with indicating a reference of the sign, which one is unable to retrieve due to anomia. To denote a name is to indicate a referent being named, by means of such reference. Consequently, knowledge resulting from the use of a linguistic sign is disclosed, i.e. a lexical definition is provided. For the common name *city* the sign is '*Kraków*, *Gdańsk*, *Warsaw*...', whereas a denotation of the name *Poznań* is '*city* (*on the Warta river*)'.¹

Apart from the pure reference, we can observe disclosure of knowledge resulting from associations with the object being denoted (objective connotation) or associations referring to

¹ In the case of proper names, it is not easy to distinguish denotation from connotation. Usually it is considered that connotative meaning comes into being as a result of initiation of interpretation processes during the reception of proper names, processes controlled either by the structure (form) of an onym or by properties of the referent to which such an onym refers. Denotative or referential meaning of proper names contains an objective description; it links a sign with a specific object in the extra-linguistic reality. Such meaning is assigned to names on the basis of a social contract concluded at the moment a specific name is being created (cf. Gajda 2004: 24). However, this contract (as opposed to a contract constituting a relation between a proper name and its referent) results from extra-linguistic properties (Grochowski 1993: 22-29). In the opinion of van Langendonck (2002), names cannot be denied a minimum meaning, i.e. an ability to indicate a category, for example *city, river, mountain*.

properties of the name and its structure (lexical connotation) (Kosyl 1978: 136). Connotations are usually not included in a lexical definition; they disclose knowledge about random associations with a specific referent of the name. These associations are personal in nature because they depend on a person's cognitive skills and his or her experience and knowledge. Instead of a target structure, aphasics provide periphrases with elements of knowledge relating to both denotation and connotation. Instead of the surname *Walęsa*, they retrieve such knowledge as *man*, *surname* or *president* (denotation) or *he jumped the fence; his wife is Danuta; from Solidarity* (connotation). Usually this knowledge comprises connotations, but can also consist of denotations and – much less frequently – both at the same time.

Disclosure of knowledge about a sign – as stated above – is a less frequent form of compensation for proper-name anomia. However, on the basis of such forms, scholars can try to reconstruct the architecture of the mental lexicon of proper names. The present author undertook such an attempt in the observation of the aphasic speech of three patients suffering from subcortical aphasia (as such compensations take place in this type of aphasia). In clinical practice, aphasia is usually a result of damage to the cerebral cortex (the so-called cortical aphasia or simply aphasia). If it is accompanied by proper-name anomia, it is compensated for by means of disclosure of extra-linguistic knowledge about the referent (whenever proper names are concerned). Subcortical aphasia occurs much less frequently and for this reason, it used to be called 'aphasia without aphasia' (cf. Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska et al. 2012). Research shows that compensation for proper-name anomia occurring in this context takes place at the level of access to knowledge about the sign. Finding such patients (with subcortical aphasia and accompanying anomia) is not easy. Out of the 300 patients treated at the Department of Neurology and Vascular Diseases of the Nervous System, Poznań, Poland, in the period 2010-2014, ten patients were diagnosed with subcortical aphasia² and only three of them showed proper-name anomia clearly compensated for by means of access to the level of knowledge about the sign being sought.

The Structure of the Mental Lexicon of Proper Names

Utterances made by patients with aphasia show that, like the lexicon of common names (Łobacz and Mikołajczak-Matyja 2002), the lexicon of proper names is hierarchical in nature and its elements enter into specific semantic relations. Research into free associations, conducted in the area of psycholinguistics, has contributed to the development of various models of semantic memory based on a hierarchical relation (cf. Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976). The universality of tendencies to disclose the semantic hierarchization of vocabulary has been confirmed in various lexical lists (Kurcz 1976, Łobacz and Mikołajczak-Matyja 2002).

In aphasic speech, hierarchical relations manifest themselves by means of diverse types of so-called 'paraphasias', i.e. the use of variously distorted (or different) forms of the target word. Compensations (at the level of knowledge about the sign) encompass the following types of paraphasias: semantic, lexical (verbal), phonetic (phonemic), neologistic

 $^{^2}$ Some suffered from total aphasia (no word production) and some were diagnosed with aphasia without anomia.

and 're-etymological'. They are not associations with the target word, but are connected with a denotative nature of knowledge about the sign. Their form may ultimately be considered a result of association, but it is a consequence of an erroneous choice made when looking for a word in the hierarchical structure of the mental lexicon. Structures which consciously control the process of choosing may be regarded as results of association (connotation). Such structures may be found for instance in 're-etymologies' (see below).

Semantic paraphasias are references to words which are not the target words but which maintain a specific semantic relation between them. These references include various types of semantic systems consisting in substitution, opposition, partitiveness and hierarchy. Instead of seeking words in the mental lexicon, aphasics retrieve words that, for them, are meronyms, hyponyms, synonyms or antonyms (antonyms concern the retrieval of common nouns). In other words, they choose other units from the hierarchical structure of the mental lexicon. Most frequently, however, aphasics use substitutes that remain in the relation of partiality or hierarchization to the word being looked for. In the case of proper nouns it is the only type of retrieved substitutes among semantic paraphasias.

The relation of hyponymy arranges elements of reality in the categories of superiority and subordination, which means that the meaning of one word is included in the meaning of another word, e.g. fruit - apple, flower - daisy. Therefore, it is a differentiating and organizing relation (Mikołajczak-Matyja 2008: 31). The subordinate unit (hyponym) has a wide scope but a narrow meaning (content). Conversely, the superior word (hyperonym) has a narrow scope and a rich content. Therefore, semantic paraphasias consist in indicating, rather than the name being sought, its equivalent, i.e. one with the same meaning. Such meaning can be gradable, just as the relation of hyponymy is gradable. The following levels of hyponymy can be distinguished: proper name > name of a person > name of a person who practises a specific profession. A choice from the lower levels is a choice from among proprial co-hyponyms (cf. Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2012a). Referents of the names being mentioned thus belong to the same category. For example: presidents (Janusz Carter instead of 'Reagan'; Bill Clinton instead of 'John Kennedy'; Lech Kaczyński instead of 'Aleksander Kwaśniewski'); dictators (Hitler the second instead of 'Stalin'; Jan Mussolini instead of 'Lenin'); kings (Charles II instead of 'Mieszko I'); popes (Jan Paweł II instead of 'Benedict XVI'); singers (Jarocka instead of 'Santor'). Wrong names are sometimes provided during this kind of retrieval.

The above-mentioned paraphasias may also relate to retrieval of names from different categories of onyms, e.g. geographical names (toponyms) and personal names (anthroponyms). Thus retrieved onomastic units are related by means of a correct association, and can be considered as an attempt to reflect the relation of meronymy: London [Churchill] ('Churchill worked in the capital of England - London') or Tunezja [Tunisia] instead of Afryka [Africa].

Due to the specific nature of proper names – the relations of synonymy, polysemy or antonymy do not manifest themselves in the compensatory function. It should be added that also in the area of common names, aphasics (with 'post-stroke' aphasia³) utilize these

³ Easier retrieval of names of general categories is typical of language disorders connected with neurodegenerative diseases.

substitutes much less frequently because they find it hard to retrieve names of categories. If synonyms occur in aphasic speech, they are stylistic synonyms, and therefore belong to different varieties and styles of language (cf. *kłaki* [tuft] instead of *włosy* [hair]; *leb* [noggin] instead of *głowa* [head]). Polysemic and antonymic words are occasional and ephemeral.

The disturbed process of proper-name retrieval contains much fewer lexical (verbal) paraphasias. They consist in replacing a target word with a similar-sounding word that starts identically or similarly, but has a completely different meaning (e.g. *lapa* [*lawa* – 'bench'], *muszka* [*muszelka* – 'shell'], *wujek* [*wózek* – 'trolley']). In fact, these words can hardly be discussed with reference to proper names. Usually patients oscillate between semantic and lexical paraphasias (e.g. *Paderewski* [Pavarotti]). Apart from a connection with the beginning of the name, there is a connection between referents (music).

The compensatory function of the onym-naming process is also performed by phonetic (phonemic) paraphasias, which resemble the target word, but do not exist in the lexicon of the language. This group contains names with substituted sounds: *Koziorowski* [Komorowski], *Kartaty* [Karpaty – Carpathian Mountains], *Lefer* [Lepper], *Redan* [Reagan]. Other frequent units include dissimilations, elisions, metatheses and epenthesis: *Karczyński* [Kaczyński], *Malaje* [Himalaje – the Himalayas], *Tuchosk* [Tusk]. However, this type of disturbed production of proper names manifests associations which are clearly lexicon-based, phonemic, connected with the target word. It is not an illustration of the connection with the referent of a specific sign, although the structure of the lexeme being sought is basically (in the case of names that are commonly known) comprehensible.

There are few data confirming the existence of neologistic paraphasias in compensation for proper-name retrieval disorders. Usually, observed patients search for onomasticons generally known to them. This group includes such examples as: *Jeryska* [Jaruzelski] and *Kamiczok* [Kaczyński]. Neither of these surnames is listed in *Slownik nazwisk współcześnie w Polsce używanych* ('The Dictionary of Surnames Currently Used in Poland) (Rymut 1993: 353, 461), although it does contain formally close structures: *Jerys* (three holders) and *Kamicz* (one holder). The structural elements *-ka* and *-ok* in the retrieved names are commonly used in Polish word formation, although they do not appear in the target forms. Due to the presence of certain sounds in the structure of the retrieved and target names, they can be regarded as a type of strong phonetic paraphasias.

Therefore, it appears that names are selected from a ready set of proper names. As there are few examples of such compensation in the retrieval of proper names, it is difficult to draw far-reaching conclusions. However, it can be presumed – at least for proper names – that a set of onyms is stored in the mental lexicon in the form of ready structures. As far as common names are concerned, there are two hypotheses on how they are stored in the mental lexicon. According to the first hypothesis, related to original words, every word is a separate entry in the lexicon; meanwhile, the decompositional hypothesis allows for immediate formation of words from single morphemes (Sandra 1990, Pinker 2000, Aitchson 2003, Harley 2003, Kurcz 2005). Researchers have proposed a hypothesis that it is possible to store full structures (also polymorphemic ones) in the mental lexicon on condition of their semantic non-transparency or high frequency, as well as inability to generate by means of morphological and syntactic rules (Pinker 2000). Proper nouns represent exactly this type of structure. In the case of proper nouns, the meaning of the whole does not result from the sum
total of meanings of constituent morphemes. This is because proper names do not have a lexical meaning, but they do have a denotative and connotative meaning.⁴

A characteristic method of compensation for proper-name retrieval disorders is 're-etymology'. This consists in a formal association with the structure of the name being sought: in the example *Green[s]* 'Zielony' [Verdi], the 'etymology of the surname is connected with the colour green' (Semenza and Zettin 1988: 718). Re-etymologies do not occur in the process of disturbed retrieval of common names; nor are they frequent in the retrieval of proper names. Their occurrence, however, is connected with the specific nature of proper names, which, though devoid of lexical meaning, have an exceptionally rich connotative meaning. Proper names acquire new connotations in usage, and so they contribute to the creation of new motivations. As a rule, they are generated subconsciously and reflect the speaker's purpose, as the speaker usually wants to find a justification for the name and discover the rule behind the connection between the sign and the object, i.e. the name and the referent (cf. Łobacz and Mikołajczak-Matyja 2002). A person using the name is determined to interpret it – as shown in the above-mentioned attempt to compensate for the user's naming deficiency.

Obviously, etymology is out of the question here, because it can only be ascertained correctly by a specialist, that is, a linguist. In our case one can talk about re-etymologizing because the newly produced connotative content may be (but does not have to be, especially with reference to transparent names derived from appellatives) incompatible with the original motivation of the onym. Such re-etymologization is founded on stereotypical associations of a notion defined on the basis of a specific name. A person retrieving the 'substitute' does so on the basis of associations evoked by the lexical meaning of the root of the target name (cf. Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2012b: 359).

Summary

The mental lexicon of proper names, similarly to the lexicon of common names, has a hierarchical structure. The question whether it is a single glossary or a complex mental representation of names is still open (Kertesz 2010: 46). Proper names are mostly arranged on a superior-subordinate basis by means of various types of relations (*part – whole, general – specific, native – foreign, real – fictional*) and in terms of commonly known categories (people, places, representatives of various professions or people with similar interests, e.g. musicians, athletes, journalists, politicians, rulers). They are not used to retrieve synonymic, polysemic or antonymic arrangement (in the case of common nouns it is also a less frequent method of compensation for anomia). It is hard to use this kind of substitute with regard to proper names; however, we can also observe synonymy or polysemy of proper names, only on a smaller scale than in the case of common nouns (cf. Krško 2002, Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2012a, 2013). Legitimacy of differentiation of antonymic relations is usually arguable (cf. Krško 2002, Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2012a, 2013). On this basis, it is possible to confirm the hypothesis about interconnection of two levels of meaning: the

⁴ It has been proposed that such units of the mental lexicon should be referred to as cognitive morphemes (Marlsen-Wilson *et al.* 2002).

semantic (linguistic) level and the conceptual (extra-linguistic) one.⁵ The latter seems much broader than the former (cf. the approach suggested by Aitchison 2003, Mikołajczak-Matyja 2008) because aphasic patients' naming deficiencies are usually compensated for by means of resorting to extra-linguistic knowledge, to the level of *knowing something about the subject*. It is easier to choose an element from a rich set of information than to look for content with a limited pool of this information. This limited source is the knowledge from the level of *who? What?* In the case of anomia, aphasic patients utilize this compensatory channel much less frequently. If they do use it, they refer to a denotative meaning of the signs being retrieved. Connotative meaning (at the level of knowledge about the sign) is minimal in the form of re-etymologies, phonetic paraphasias or neologistic paraphasias.

The findings on proper-name anomia outlined above confirm the opinion of Rutkowski (2005: 104) on the semantic value of proper names. He claims that the semantic value of proper names comprises not only the meaning of the form but also the meaning of the object being denoted, i.e. a set of properties or opinions assigned to this object. The first type of meaning is linguistic or systemic in nature, whereas the second goes beyond the sphere of language studies and displays features of encyclopaedic knowledge.⁶ Research into proper names that takes account of properties connected with the rules of the naming act is 'not possible', according to Siwiec (2010: 9), in isolation from objects being named. These objects constitute such an extra-linguistic component of the naming. The question is, is there any point in looking for this two-layer knowledge (cumulated by proper names) in appropriate neuronal structures? Answering this question will require extensive further research on the brain.

As demonstrated above, name-retrieval processes are extremely complex and are not yet fully understood. However, errors in their functioning enable us to partially discover the rules of cerebral arrangement of this lexicon. Naming requires efficient association of 'information coming from various sensory modalities (therefore from various regions of the brain)' (Springer and Deutsch 2001). In our analyses one of these routes has been utilized, namely the route from a picture (referent) to a word (proper name). It is certainly worthwhile to analyse other routes applied for the purpose of compensating for disturbed ability to name (e.g. from a definition to a name).

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⁵ In cognitive methodology, separation of these two levels is considered unreasonable or even impracticable (Taylor 2001).

⁶ Adoption of the first element of semantic value of proper names leads to them being considered devoid of meaning, whereas if the second constituent of this value is taken into account, names can be viewed as meaningful signs (cf. Rutkowski 2005: 101-106).

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177

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How Should These Names Be Pronounced? Specific Phonetic Features of Proper Names in Czech

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Abstract

The paper analyses proper names in contemporary Czech that are interesting with regard to their pronunciation. There is a high degree of uncertainty regarding the adequate pronunciation of many proper names (most of them of foreign origin) used in everyday communication. The analysed material (several hundreds of proper names) is based on a database of inquiries addressed to the Language Consulting Centre of the Institute of the Czech Language, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, and on a special database of proper names which occur in contemporary media discourse and whose pronunciation is variable. The second database shows how the proper name is spelled and includes a transcription of its recorded pronunciation in Czech and a transcription of its pronunciation in its original language.

The analysis focuses on the most prominent questions relating to pronunciation problems. Such questions focus, for example, on which languages the problematic proper names originate in, why speakers hesitate about the pronunciation of a given form and what categories of proper names (anthroponyms, toponyms, etc.) occur in the data. In addition, some specific phonetic features of proper names are compared to phonetic features of common nouns.

* * *

Introduction

The paper¹ analyses proper names in contemporary Czech that are interesting from the point of view of their pronunciation. The analysed material is from two different sources: from (1) a database of inquiries sent to the Language Consulting Centre of the Institute of the Czech Language, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and (2) a special database of proper names that occur in contemporary media discourse and whose pronunciation is variable.

There are currently more than 200 different proper names about whose pronunciation language users were unsure in the internal database of the Language Consulting Centre. The public repeatedly inquired about the pronunciation of some more frequent proper names, for example, about the pronunciation of the surname of the composer *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*.

This database thus shows which names Czech speakers consider to be problematic with regard to pronunciation, which types of names are difficult for them in spoken discourse, or in which names they have noticed variation in pronunciation and for which they want to find out which pronunciation is recommended by linguists in standard Czech. These data are especially valuable for linguists because they highlight pronunciation problems experienced

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by everyday language users that have to date not been identified or recorded in specialised literature.

The second source also contains proper names interesting from the point of view of their pronunciation, but these names were recorded by phoneticians monitoring spoken discourse in the Czech media.² The proper names are mostly those, whose pronunciation in Czech is variable and, for instance, even within a single, short programme may be pronounced differently. Proper names recorded in this way are registered in the database in their orthographic form, and are accompanied by the authentic pronunciation written in phonetic transcription; the name of the speaker (if known), the name of the programme and radio/television station are recorded, as is the date of the broadcast and the language in which the name originates. Supplementary notes include information of the type that a speaker stumbled over the pronunciation. This database of proper names will be released as one of the outputs of the project Pronunciation of Non-Integrated Lexical Items in Czech (GAČR 13-00372S). The project is running from 2013 to 2015 and deals extensively with the pronunciation of loan words and proper names in contemporary Czech.

Material

213 different proper names from the database of the inquiries sent to the Language Consulting Centre and 106 items selected from the database of names recorded in the media were analysed. Every proper name is counted only once, though many names have been recorded repeatedly; that is, they appear in different sound variants or are the subject of multiple inquiries.

It is interesting to compare the representation of the individual categories of proper names in both databases. Anthroponyms appear most frequently; unsurprisingly, they form the biggest proportion of proper names in both databases. However, in the database of proper names from the media, chrematonyms are also very frequent – the fact that in advertisements the pronunciation of various products is variable is distinctly manifested here. On the other hand, individuals who contact the Language Consulting Centre are more often interested in toponyms than in chrematonyms. We can only speculate why this is the case. It is possible, for example, that individuals wish to verify the pronunciation of those categories of proper names in which they expect the existence of a standard sound form (i.e. in anthroponyms and toponyms), whereas they are less concerned with the names of individual products, etc. It is also plausible that language users believe that the appropriate pronunciation of names and brands of products, organisations, etc. should not be recommended by linguists, but should be determined exclusively by the authors of the given names, clients ordering advertisements or directors of individual firms (who are, however, often foreigners without a basic knowledge of Czech and its functioning).

A typical example of this situation is represented by the recent decision of the Hyundai Group to present their car brand *Hyundai* as ['fijondɛ:] in the Czech media, despite

² The database also contains common nouns of foreign origin interesting from the point of view of pronunciation and expressions recorded beyond medial discourse; these categories are not analysed in this paper.

the well-established form ['fijundaj] being commonly used. However, even after this decision, the pronunciation of this brand name in advertisements was not consistent; for example, a variant sounding rather like ['fijundɛ:] had been recorded, which consequently spread also in the speech of one of the professional speakers of Czech TV, whereas most of her colleagues used the traditional form ['fijundaj]. Another speaker on the public TV used the variant ['fijundɛj], which is a compromise between the traditional pronunciation and the new one.

Language of origin

All the names from both databases were classified according to the language of their origin to identify which languages the names with interesting or problematic pronunciation come from.³ In particular, I have been trying to answer the question whether names from English, the contemporary European lingua franca,⁴ would prevail in both databases or not. The relationship between spelling and pronunciation is not so straightforward or regular; it is more complicated than the Czech system. Ološtiak (2011) observes the same concerning the relationship between English and Slovak. Moreover, English has more regional varieties. These facts could lead to the occurrence of various pronunciation variants of English proper names in Czech, and therefore the names of English origin could prevail in both databases. On the other hand, the occurrence of English names is very frequent in Czech, many Czechs studied English at school⁵ and knowledge of English is automatically expected in many professions; this could mean that English pronunciation would be known to Czech speakers.

³ The principles of phonetic adaptation of foreign common nouns and proper names into Czech are described in detail by Duběda *et al.* (2014).

⁴ Cf. the surveys of Eurobarometer 'Europeans and their languages', in which English repeatedly occupies first position in the scale showing knowledge of foreign languages in Europe (European Commission 2006: 12; European Commission 2012: 19).

⁵ According to the survey of Eurobarometer 243 (European Commission 2006: 33), 89% of Czechs believed that children should learn English as the first foreign language at school; six years later the number had risen to 92% (European Commission 2012: 78).



Fig. 1. Languages of origin of the proper names (data: inquiries in the Language Consulting Centre; 213 items)

Figure 1 shows the most frequent languages of origin of the proper names that were the subject of the inquiries sent to the Language Consulting Centre. More than 30 different languages were recorded. Matching an individual name with a certain language was not always easy because, for example, the origin of some 'exotic' anthroponyms cannot be found in the available sources (such cases are marked by a question mark in Fig. 1). Furthermore, several names cannot be matched unambiguously with only one language (such cases are marked as Combinations in Fig. 1). Examples of this type include an inquiry concerning the pronunciation of the surname of an African person living in Britain (*Oguntoye*) and a surname of a German citizen of Polish origin (*Wisniewski*).⁶ In these cases, the inquirers were often unsure whether the pronunciation of these names should be influenced by the form reflecting the origin of the name or whether their pronunciation in the language of mediation should be respected. In such cases it is more important to know how the person himself/herself pronounces the name rather than to rely on linguistic knowledge; however, such information is often difficult to find.⁷

⁶ This situation is described as so-called multiple language interference by Ološtiak (2011: 6).

⁷ It is an advantage if easily accessible lists are available, in which an appropriate pronunciation form of names of individual persons, places, etc. can be found. It is not realistic, of course, to have a universal worldwide

There are also some names which are not of Czech origin, but which have been used for a very long time in Czech (some of them like the surname of German origin *Langer/Langr* have even been orthographically adapted). Moreover, there are also names whose origin may be found in various languages (e.g. the female given name *Nina*) and while the language of their origin is known, these names are used in many European languages and we cannot be sure how they started to be used in Czech (i.e. we cannot be sure through which language(s) they were adapted) and in some cases a name (e.g. the female given name *Adina*) may have entered Czech in different ways.

Most inquiries (21%) dealt with by the Language Consulting Centre concerning the pronunciation of proper names are thus made up of names that cannot be unambiguously attributed to one language of origin. The inquirers are often aware of this fact, and this is why they ask linguists for advice.

If we skip the category 'Other languages' that contains all the names from the languages that occurred fewer than four times in the database, we find that most often the inquirers were unsure about the pronunciation of names of French origin (14% of inquiries). Again, this is related to a relatively high frequency of French names in Czech discourse, together with a relatively complicated relationship between French orthography and pronunciation. A frequent problem is the pronunciation of some French names that are declined in Czech; in oblique cases a vocalic ending is added to the final consonant (e.g. the surname *Flaubert* [flobɛ:**r**], genitive *Flauberta* [flobɛ:**ra**] or [flobɛ:**rta**] – no satisfactory and unambiguous recommendation can be found in Czech pronunciation manuals).

Inquiries concerning the pronunciation of English proper names are not so frequent (8%); their number is only slightly higher than that of the names of German origin, as well as of Czech names (5% each). German proper names are problematic in Czech mostly with regard to vowel quantity (cf. the name of the supermarket chain *Lidl*, pronounced both as [li:d]] and [lɪd]] the surname of the composer *Richard Wagner*, attested both as [va:gnɛr] and [vagnɛr] in Czech). Other inquiries concerned voicing of final consonants in the oblique cases (for example, the genitive of the surname of the German president *Paul von Hindenburg*, fluctuates in Czech between [hındɛnburga] and [hındɛnburka]), or the groups *-el*, *-er*, *-en* in final position (speakers are unsure whether they should pronounce the German automobile brand as [?opl] or [?opɛl]). Though the frequency of German names in Czech is still relatively high, German proper names do not usually cause problems for Czech speakers. The relationship between the graphical and the sound form is relatively regular and uncomplicated in German; moreover, many Czechs are familiar with German (cf. European Commission 2006: 13).

Particularly interesting is the relatively high number of inquiries concerning the pronunciation of names of local (i.e. Czech) origin. The graphics–pronunciation relationship is basically regular and the orthography is to a large extent phonetic; nevertheless, native speakers of Czech are unsure how to read some names that are quite frequent. This is usually the case for names that appear to be of foreign origin but are in fact Czech. Non-linguists tend not to be aware of the 'local' origin of these names, as the relationship between these names

database; however, lists such as, for example, the NHL Pronunciation Guide (2014), regularly updated, may be very useful.

and other Czech words is often not evident, and/or these names are related to peripheral, rarely used, dialectal or archaic words, which most everyday language users do not know. For example, inquiries were made about the pronunciation of the name of the cheese *Niva* (the common noun *niva* is a bookish expression for a meadow or field); the initial syllable *ni*- is palatalised – as $[\mathbf{p}\mathbf{I}]$ – in Czech words, whereas in words of foreign origin it is usually pronounced $[\mathbf{n}\mathbf{I}]$. Another example is the toponym *Pecopala*: speakers did not realise its relation to the Czech expression *pec* $[p\epsilon \mathbf{fs}]$ 'oven' and pronounced it incorrectly, under the influence of English, as $[p\epsilon \mathbf{k}opala]$ instead of $[p\epsilon \mathbf{fs}opala]$.

As we see in Fig. 1, other inquiries concerned proper names originating from Italian, Hindi, Hungarian, Slovak, Arabic, Latin, Greek, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and Romanian.



Fig. 2. Languages of origin of the proper names (data: Czech media; 106 items)

The second graph (Figure 2) based on the second database shows the most frequent languages of origin of names interesting in terms of their pronunciation, recorded by phoneticians when monitoring spoken discourse in the Czech media. In comparison with the first database there are fewer languages; altogether, this database comprises names originating from approximately 20 different languages. Names from French and German have almost the same proportion as in the first database. However, there is a striking difference with regard to names of English origin. English proper names form almost half of the total number of all

proper names included in the second database (44%) compared to just 8% in the first database. This confirms the initial assumption that proper names of English origin are encountered very often at present, especially in the media, and at the same time, many names occur in more pronunciation variants in Czech; moreover their pronunciation is sometimes indeed problematic for Czech speakers (for the reasons given above). This finding would be in no way new or surprising, if there were many inquiries concerning the pronunciation of English names sent to the Language Consulting Centre. We can only speculate why Czech speakers do not write to the Language Consulting Centre for information about the pronunciation of English names so often. Perhaps many speakers consider themselves to be proficient users of English and are therefore reluctant to admit that they are uncertain about the appropriate pronunciation of English names. If these speakers are employed in the media, they can, as speech models, spread certain pronunciation forms in the public. For example, the pronunciation [roubrt] for the name *Robert* is commonly heard among Czech speakers (including professionals). However, this form with the diphthong [ou] does not correspond to the original English pronunciation or to the graphical form of the name. Similarly, the names Andrew and Bruce are often pronounced [?endrju:] and [brju:s], although the consonant [j] is not present in this position in standard varieties of English.⁸ Another example, this time concerning the pronunciation of a toponym, is the name Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota, USA. The name Wounded Knee was recorded twice in the Czech media - once it was used by the presenter of a competition program on Czech Television; in the second case, it was in the text of a country song that was played on a commercial radio station. In the first case it was pronounced [vaundit ni:], while in the second it was pronounced [waundit ni:].⁹ However, the appropriate pronunciation of the English lexeme *wounded* should be [vu:ndɪt] if it is adapted in Czech. In such cases, it usually occurs neither to speakers nor to listeners to verify the original English pronunciation. On the phonetic level, so called Czenglish (poor or 'broken' English spoken by native Czech speakers, see Sparling (1991)) comes into play in these cases, and the Czenglish pronounced examples are adapted in Czech.

Another reason why there are so few inquiries about English names sent to the Language Consulting Centre may be that inquirers are embarrassed and are not willing to confess that they have problems with such a widespread language as English, assuming that its knowledge is considered to be natural and absolutely necessary.¹⁰ Thus the inquirers ask linguists to help them mostly with the pronunciation of such names in which it is not completely clear that they have been borrowed from English (the programming language *Java*, for instance) or names that are rare (e.g. Australian athletics coach *Percy Wells Cerutty*). In addition, inquiries are made about names that are unusual in English (e.g. the

⁸ Ološtiak (2011) also recorded this phenomenon in Slovak; it may also be observed in some other Slavic languages.

 $^{^{9}}$ It is evident that the singers of the country band tried to pronounce the name *Wounded Knee* according to the original pronunciation; that is, as close to the English original as possible. This is reflected in the use of the sound [w], which – in contrast to English – does not normally occur in Czech. However, their knowledge of English was not sufficient for them to realise the correct pronunciation of the following vowel.

¹⁰ Evidence confirming this assumption is supported by the following inquiry: 'I have a device from the firm *Hewlett-Packard*. The English pronunciation is overly complicated for me and I do not know if it would be understood in everyday communication. How could I, please, modify the pronunciation not to be embarrassed? Is this at all possible?'

book title *Brisingr*) or about names that evidently entered English via another language (e.g. the surname of *Noam Chomsky* or the name of the hurricane *Ivan*).

Discussion

As the database of proper names in contemporary media discourse shows, the pronunciation of certain English proper names, some of which are relatively frequent and widely known, is not fully stabilised in Czech, and linguists should devote more attention to the pronunciation of proper names.¹¹ On the other hand, we cannot speak about an absolute pronunciation 'anarchy' even in such cases in which we find more sound variants of one name in actual language use; we do not necessarily face the danger of misunderstanding in these cases.¹² The adaptation of proper names from other languages into Czech is often not a simple process and it does not proceed according to a single principle.¹³ Rather, as Ološtiak (2011: 10) identified for Slovak, the situation in Czech can be characterised as dynamically stable and stably dynamic (cf. also the concept of flexible stability, introduced into linguistics in 1932 by Mathesius, a member of the Prague Linguistics Circle).

Conclusion

Monitoring spoken discourse in the media and communication with language users through the Language Consulting Centre are valuable sources of information both for phoneticians investigating current trends in pronunciation and onomasticians or, more precisely, socioonomasticians, dealing with the use of proper names in social communication. Due to globalisation we encounter immense heterogeneity of proper names coming from foreign languages, which are – from our point of view – sometimes regarded as 'exotic'. Moreover, from the phonetic point of view, proper names often show some non-standard features; that is, their pronunciation often does not follow the rules generally valid for most common nouns,¹⁴ or the determination of their appropriate pronunciation is complicated due to their uncertain origin and/or doubts concerning the rules that should be applied for them.

¹¹ For Slovak an extensive electronic dictionary of English personal and geographical names, comprising their recommended pronunciation in Slovak, as well as their declension, is already available; cf. Projekt Vega 01/0102/09 (2009).

¹² However, in connection with at least eight different (and very diverse) existing pronunciation forms of the name *Wordsworth*, Zeman warns that a very high number of variants that are substantially different from one another can act as a communication barrier (Kučera and Zeman 1998: 6).

¹³ The eight different adaptation principles of integration of foreign common nouns and proper names into Czech were recently described by Duběda *et al.* (2014).

¹⁴ In connection with pronunciation, the specificities of proper nouns are pointed out also by Ološtiak (2011: 14): 'In these cases the knowledge of the language in its common noun sphere is not enough. *Onymic competence*, including the presupposition and reference identification, which are immediately tied to the expression aspect of the proper name, is foregrounded.'

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Contemporary and Antiquarian Views as Evidence for Toponymic Research: A Comparative Study of the Bass Rock and Greendykes Bing

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Abstract

Toponymic literature is often focussed on the historic landscape, yet it is most often concerned with cartographic source material, rather than pictorial representations of place, or 'views', considering the former as more 'accurate' descriptions of place. This paper considers two forms of viewing: antiquarian and artistic to explore their place as supplementary to toponymic fieldwork. The topographical features compared in this study are the Bass Rock, a small island off the East Lothian coast and Greendykes Bing, a post-industrial slag heap in West Lothian.

* * *

This paper investigates the value of views and viewing for toponymic studies. The focus will be on one feature, the Bass Rock, which was of interest to the Early Modern antiquarian and the Greendykes Bing in West Lothian, viewed and reinterpreted by the artist John Latham in the mid-1970s. By comparing two methods of viewing: that of the antiquarian and the contemporary artist, and the practices of each used in order to evaluate these landscape features, this study will investigate how viewing can influence naming and how renaming can change long held perspectives on landscape features.

In recent years, fieldwork has become increasingly important to toponymy, and viewing features from different perspectives is a vital part of a toponymist's fieldwork. For example, Gelling and Cole (2000) have made an extensive study of English topographical features and Drummond (2007) has pioneered the study of Scottish hill names, with a focus on the importance of viewing the landscape feature. This interest in viewing, however, has rarely been extended to historic views of places. This paper, therefore, will consider the geographic and historic context of two landscape features, with a focus on methods of viewing and the reasons for viewing.

Over the 17th century, and emerging from older chorographical traditions of place-making, antiquarian enquiry in Britain was increasingly concerned with the making of pictorial representation, or views, alongside written and cartographic descriptions of place (Todman 2013). Increasingly, views of single landscape features were produced, for example Roman or Gothic ruins, or views of and from specific hills.

The Bass Rock, situated in the Forth Estuary off the coast of East Lothian, is a landscape feature well-described by British antiquarians during this period. This section, therefore, looks at the ways in which histories of viewing have influenced ideas of the Bass Rock over time, and primarily, how it is viewed as a single topographical feature. Changes to perceptions of the Bass Rock over time are attested in cartographic and topographic evidence and it has several names which contribute to the way that it is seen. Over the 17th and 18th centuries names for the Bass Rock were interchangeable, including Bass, The Bass, Bass Island, and Bass Rock. A view of the Bass Rock produced in the early 1700s, to which we will return, was titled 'Bass Island'. In Roy's survey of the 1750s, the feature was called 'Bass', shifted to 'The Bass' on the first series OS map, then to 'Bass Rock' on the one-inch OS map of 1945. The island is no longer inhabited by people and has lost precedence since the 1800s. Due to the physical attributes, as discussed above, as well as it now being uninhabited, this topographical feature is now seen as, and is named, a rock, rather than an island. In the present day Ordnance Survey Explorer map, it is called 'Bass Rock'.

The Bass Rock was an important topographical feature for the early British antiquarian, Francis Place, as well as others including the author of the Atlas of Scotland, Robert Sibbald.



Fig. 1. Francis Place and Francis Barlow, *The Bass Island*, c. 1686 (image courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum)

The image (Fig.1) shows the late-17th-century print of the Bass Rock engraved by the noted antiquarians Francis Place and Francis Barlow. As well as this print, Place and others made a number of drawings of the Bass Rock, its shoreline and nearby antiquities, taken from different vantage points along the coast. Place's views were produced during extensive angling and sketching tours around England, Scotland and Wales from the 1680s through the 1710s. As evidenced by the many views that exist of it, the Bass Rock has long been valued for its rich history, distinct wildlife, and human habitation; both as a prison and earlier as a monastery. Reasons for such antiquarian interests in pictorial depictions of the Bass Rock might include its distinction from other landmass, as an island set apart from all other features, as well as being a well-known geological curiosity, a volcanic plug, and with a rich and vibrant community of flora and fauna. The Bass Rock was also known for its human occupants, and the island holds a chapel and a garrison, used as a prison in the late 17th century, for covenantors.

In apposition to the Bass Rock, on the coast, is North Berwick Law, another well-known topographical feature of the area. It is also a volcanic plug and, like the Bass Rock, is easily seen from a distance due to its flat surrounding. In the photograph (Fig.2), the Bass Rock and North Berwick Law look equally outstanding and impressive against the rolling countryside. North Berwick Law was the site of an Iron Age hill fort and has been steeped in cultural heritage ever since. Despite this, perhaps tellingly, there are no 17th-century views of North Berwick Law by Place, nor by his contemporaries. The Bass Rock appears to have been singled out for visual depiction for its rich and diverse interplay of human, animal and plant life, as well as its sharp contrast to the sea which surrounds it. This example indicates the impact of situation on the history of landscape and viewing.



Fig.2. North Berwick Law (left) and the Bass Rock (right) in the distance; taken from White Castle Hill Fort, 2013 (photo by Amy Todman)



Fig. 3. Greendykes bing, West Lothian, 2013 (photo by Amy Todman)

This paper will now turn to a very different, more recent landscape feature, Greendykes Bing. This feature was created as a by-product of the shale gas industry of the 19th century. As such it provides a more recent example of a feature for which both viewing and naming have been significant. During the 1970s the West Lothian shale bings were seen as an eyesore and a marker of the area's industrial past. During an artist's residency, undertaken with the Scottish Office in 1975-1976, and using the power of viewing and renaming, the artist John Latham consciously changed perceptions of the bings (Richardson 2012). These features continue to exert a powerful visual presence on the landscape and are part of the area's identity, once despised, now embraced as part of the cultural heritage of the place.

Latham took to a new aerial perspective in order to reimagine a landscape feature which had a problematic history. By reinterpreting the bings, he aimed to alter their perceived history and align them with other, older and more respected, landscape features. As part of his residency, Latham looked through a number of aerial surveys of the region, a technology then in its infancy. His resulting artworks placed much importance on viewing, on how seeing a landmark from a different perspective had allowed him to re-imagine its origins, and to see it as something new. Seeing the bings from the air allowed him to see them differently, and he imbued them with an ancient goddess mythology, connecting them with ancient Celtic traditions, far removed from their industrial heritage. Richardson notes Latham's naming process: the bings were collectively named 'Niddrie Woman', a 'modern variant of a Celtic legend', anthropomorphising the landscape features: Greendykes, the largest shale bing, was viewed as the torso, Faucheldean as the limb, Niddry as the heart, and Albyn as the head. With this named landscape, Latham created the narrative of a torn female, having a heart too large for her body (Richardson 2012). This allows a starting point for further imagining, inviting more interpretation of the place. As the Bass Rock was being reinterpreted through

new uses and its name being altered accordingly, the bings were being renamed in order to create a change in outlook. Indeed, the Bass Rock and the bings also share some physical attributes: both are protrusions in otherwise fairly flat landscapes, both are created from material that differs to the landscape surrounding them.

For the purposes of toponymic research, all names come from interpreting and imagining a place or feature. When a toponymist begins to understand the processes of viewing, they can understand a place in a new manner. The bings and the Bass Rock both have had considerable change in their uses, which have been documented. Importantly for toponymy, these changes in use have seen changes in naming practices. The Bass Rock has a well documented history with antiquarian views and early maps recording it. The bings came to have a similar history as they were viewed, reimagined, and reinterpreted. Views help us to visualize the landscape and understand how it was observed in the past. Early Modern views might not inform us of many more name forms, but they do provide us with information on which attributes a place was recognised for and how, at this point in time, the past and present attributes of this place were perceived. These are the fundamental attributes of the topographical feature which relate to naming practices.

All toponymists are aware of how useful, necessary even, fieldwork is. Toponymists know the importance of seeing a feature for themselves; having the opportunity to walk or sail round it, and understanding how climbing up it or standing beside it can prove vital in understanding an etymology. Early topographical views and more recent attempts to use viewing to change the perception of a place provide an insight into formal attempts to describe this important way of coming to an understanding of a place. While it is doubtful that views can tell us more about the origin of a name, they can tell us something about the way people reflect on the history of individual landscape features in their multitudinous contexts. The forms of viewing explored in this short article provide another perspective on individual landscape features, pictorial representation of landscape features, and their associated practices of viewing. Viewing, both contemporary and historical, gives a variety of perspectives which can enrich the place name researcher's understanding of a place.

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Geographical Names Network in Sweden Has an Eye on Names!

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Abstract

Peking or Beijing, Burma or Myanmar – which name should we use?

The Geographical Names Network (in Swedish Namnvårdsgruppen) is a newly established group under the Swedish Foreign Ministry's responsibility. To be more aware and gain knowledge on how to use foreign names (of countries and other important geographical locations) in the world we have created this network. The purpose of the group is to provide guidance on matters of principle, to give advice or recommendations in individual name issues, not just place names but also names on authorities and job titles in public service. We shall also develop the Swedish terminology on this and also promote good place name practice.

In my paper I aim to describe how this work advances.

Socio-onomastics

Usernames and Identity Construction on RuNet as Seen in the Example of the Posidelki ('Gatherings') Forum

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Abstract

Anthroponyms in virtual environments function as primary devices used to construct, validate, and assess identity. Studies of themed environments have revealed a connection between the context and identities, demonstrated in recurrent patterns in name selection. For example, Stommel (2007), in "Mein Nick bin ich!" Nicknames in a German Forum on Eating Disorders', reveals frequent references to recognisable attributes of anorexia—such as smallness, weightlessness, and childishness—while Del-Teso-Craviotto (2008), in 'Gender and Sexual Identity Authentication in Language Use', reports that in dating chat-rooms participants' names often feature desirable physical attributes of stereotypical male and female identities, in order to construct images of attractive bodies. In contrast, *Posidelki* ('Gatherings'), a non-themed social forum on the Russian-speaking Internet, is not addressed to any specific category of participant, or restricted to a particular purpose of communication, and therefore lacks such a clear context-related point of reference. In this environment independent clusters of usernames can be observed, which display varied concepts of identities—revealing both national and foreign influences, and expressing attachment to tradition as well as an aspiration to be up to date with worldly trends which can be seen as a sign of the process of identity re-definition in the post-Soviet era.

* * *

Identity and Self-Presentation

I would like to demonstrate how usernames can be read as elements of identity construction on the Internet, and what role they play in this process.

The general concept of identity applied in this paper is that identity is not to be treated as a source of, or an explanation for, the course of the interaction or behaviours of interactants, but rather as a product. It is not that we have identities which make us behave in certain ways, but rather that we act in certain ways to construct one or another identity. To do so, we may act in such a way as to display characteristics that are associated with specific categories that people are typically ascribed to, and in this way promote identities that we find relevant in a specific context. For example, the category of 'cabin crew' may assign certain attributes to the persons so labelled, such as being polite, knowledgeable about aircraft safety, well-travelled, following a specific dress-code, etc. And this can be reversed: if you look and behave in a certain way, you might be taken to be a member of the 'cabin crew' category. Identity might constitute the final accomplishment of a performance, or an identity might be performed in order to achieve some other outcome (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 2-4). People may construct their identities by means of self-presentation, which might be described as the intentional public performance that Goffman (1959) has compared to performance on the stage. It might be realised by linguistic and non-linguistic means: by speech and gesture, the way one dresses, the places one visits, the people one knows, and by making use of any other social and cultural resources – depending on the desired effect, available resources, properties of the current channel of communication and other circumstances in which the communication takes place (Goffman 1959: 11, 14-15, 23). The same is true for virtual identities, except that these are constructed mainly linguistically, as the cues that are provided by our bodies in face-to-face interactions are typically absent on-line.

Usernames and Identity

The character of usernames as linguistic phenomena, their place in Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC), and their relationship with identity have been conceptualised in various ways.

For example, in Del-Teso-Craviotto's (2008: 254) study of English- and Spanish-speaking dating chat-rooms, usernames have been shown to be a means to authenticate¹ participants' gender. Gender identity is particularly important in dating chat-rooms because the understanding of sexual desire is typically linked to a specified gender. As the manifestation of gender identity typically takes place through the body, usernames are employed to represent participants' bodies. The performance of gender identity as a bodily sign might occur through displaying characteristics that are stereotypically associated with, or desirable in, a specific gender. Usernames commonly function as representations of gendered bodies by direct or indirect references to traits that are found to be attractive in members of a certain gender.

Del-Teso-Craviotto (2008: 255-258) has noticed a number of recurrent strategies applied in usernames to achieve the above-mentioned effects, which includes both explicit indications of gender—e.g. the 'age/sex/location schema' (*MsGaPeach35* 'Ms Georgia Peach35', *TiO18Mad* 'guy 18 Madrid'), grammatical indications of gender (*diablito18769* 'little male devil 18769', *gata00001* 'female cat 00001'), and other indications (e.g. *Diamondboy02*, *ELHOMBRE157* 'the man 157', *IVANN_22*, *LVNVCowboy*)—as well as indirect indications, such as references to body parts associated with attractive gendered bodies, e.g. *rubia peligrosa6* 'dangerous blonde 6', *TRUEblonde821*, *blueeyescs*, *SoftNSweetLips*, as well as animal bodies, or any other objects that may represent attributes commonly recognised as desirable in members of a certain gender, e.g. *BIGBADBLUEDOG*, *DarrellRooster5*, *DRMMMYAngel*, *HOTAZHEAT88*, *sirenita1* 'mermaid 1'. Del-Teso-Craviotto has noted, for example, that females often present themselves as cats: *gata00001*, *A kitty kat 4 u, TAMED SEX KITTEN*, *BadKitty040270*, or *KittyCatPurrs68*. As she puts it: 'Just as we dress, put on make-up, or move in certain ways to display an attractive image of

¹ As Del-Teso-Craviotto (2008: 252) explains: (...) an authentic identity does not depend on the correspondence between the gender and sexual orientation of online and offline people, but on the authenticating processes that take place in interaction.'

our bodily selves, participants choose screen names to create an "appearance" that will attract other participants to chat with them' (2008: 257).

This study demonstrates that in CMC, where there are no pre-existent bodies on which the identities might be constructed, they are created, co-constructed, and negotiated between the participants. The first steps in this process are the choice of the room (typically in terms of age and sexual orientation²) and the creation of a username; these are both performative acts, because these are the ways in which participants recognise each other as members of gender and sexual categories (Del-Teso-Craviotto 2008: 266-267).

Stommel (2007: 144-145) conceptualises usernames as so-called 'emblems'.³ An emblem is any perceivable sign or thing that somebody reads as indicating identity or, in other words, as images of personhood. If an emblem is widely recognisable, i.e. many people attach the same social meaning to it, it becomes an enregistered emblem – in contrast to situational emblems that emerge and disappear during the course of interaction. Enregistered emblems convey stereotypical images of persons (such as female/male, upper-class, lawyer) through which individuals can be allocated enregistered identities. While the emergent emblems are bound with a particular text, stereotypes circulate in a decontextualised form and shift from one text to another. Their meaning might be modified or altered by the specific context in which they appear.

Usernames can be considered enregistered emblems. They are selected before any interaction takes place; they are fixed and all future interlocutors will normally refer to them. They automatically appear with every post to indicate who wrote it—thus they do not appear and disappear or change depending on the text.

Referring to the example of one German forum for people suffering from eating disorders, Stommel (2007) demonstrates how usernames that can be read as emblems of stereotypical femininities⁴ gain an additional element of meaning as indices of anorectic and bulimic identities in this specific environment.⁵ For example, there is a group of usernames that refer to nature—to flora and fauna, as well as to meteorology and astrology, e.g. *marienblume* (German 'daisy'), *Snjorblum* (Icelandic 'snow flower'), *cielo* (Italian/Spanish 'sky'/'heaven'), **Schneeflocke** (German 'snow flake'), *Lluvia* (Spanish 'rain'), *Schattenvoegelchen* (German 'small shadow bird'). In European cultures there is a shared idea of associating nature with femininity, which is expressed, for example, in the concept of 'mother nature'. In addition, the objects referred to on this forum are small and light; this can

² As observed by Del-Teso-Craviotto (2008: 254) these are the most frequently used criteria to divide dating chat rooms (e.g. 'Bisexuals', 'Thirties Love', 'Gay 40s'), although occasionally religion and ethnicity are also important (e.g. 'Jewish Singles', 'Asian Singles').

³ Based on Agha (2007).

⁴ On this forum approximately 97% of participants were female, which is in line with results of studies of the prevalence of eating disorders that have found that females account for approximately 92% of the total number of anorectics and approximately 85% of all bulimics (Stommel 2007: 146-147).

⁵ The ways in which the reading of usernames is modified by the context of usage can also be observed in identities displayed in Del-Teso-Craviotto's study. First, by the general character of communication in dating chat rooms: where people meet to flirt with each other and possibly to look for romantic partners, usernames will be read through the lens of sexual attraction. And, in addition, locally, depending on specific room—as Del-Teso-Craviotto explains: 'If bianca66 interacts in 'Amor', she will be presenting a female, heterosexual identity. However, if she interacts in 'Lesbianas' she will be presenting a female, homosexual identity.' (2008: 260)

be related to the anorectic and bulimic ideal of thinness and weightlessness, which is often a goal and measure of success for the sufferers.

Another observable group of usernames are references to cartoon and play figures, e.g. *Dorie* (a cartoon figure) or *lillifee79* ('Lillifee', a play figure), that can also be related to both feminine and anorectic identities. Women have often been portrayed as childish, meaning that they are sweet and cute, as well as immature and infantile; linguistically this is expressed, for example, in the fact that women are more often addressed as girls than are men as boys. The wish not to be mature is also characteristic of eating disorders: the attempt to 'regain' control over the changing body may express itself as an attempt to diminish the body.

A different concept of femininity evokes references to figures that are associated with power, high status, and achievements, and bring to mind images of noble, gracious, and intelligent persons, e.g. *Freya*, *hypathia*, *Kassiopaiah*, *Anthea*, *Salome*, *Aletheia*. The modified reading of these references might be as expression of high expectations that the sufferers often have of themselves.

In Androutsopoulos' (2006) study on the multilingual environment of diaspora groups on the web sites based in Germany, he has investigated the role of language choice and code switching in constructing national and ethnic identities. Similarly to Stommel (2007), Androutsopoulos presents usernames as static elements of CMC, in contrast to conversation, and as 'acts of self-presentation that are designed for and displayed to, rather than negotiated with, an audience' (2006: 525). To demonstrate the 'multilayered character of contemporary web environments' Androutsopoulos based his study on 'the distinctions between edited and user sections on the one hand, and "regular" and "emblematic" discourse on the other.' Edited sections are texts produced by editors while user sections are those produced by participants; regular texts are produced on a regular basis while emblematic texts are more stable items of self-presentation. Examples of regular edited texts are various genres of media discourse, such as news or entertainment; regular user texts are interactions between the users; emblematic edited elements are website names and slogans, while usernames together with user signatures—belong to emblematic user elements (Androutsopoulos 2006: 523-525, 540).

First, usernames are presented as important means of construction of ethnic and national identities by various strategies, such as direct indication, e.g. *Ellinas* 'Greek', *Tehrani, PersianLady, GreEk_Chika, greekgod19, sexy_greekgirl*, language choice, i.e. using one's native language, or references to a homeland's culture, such as cuisine, football, mythology, and religion. They may also signify a variety of other identity aspects, such as appearance, gender, character traits, or interests (Androutsopoulos 2006: 525, 539).

In addition, in terms of language diversity, the emblematic elements were found by Androutsopoulos to be more varied compared to conversations, and user texts were more varied than edited texts. Although the majority (roughly two-thirds) of usernames in each forum were in the native language, the language choice was not limited to the native language and German. The second most popular language was English (e.g. *MrCroft, caramelgirl*, on the Greek forum); some users combined the home language with English or German (e.g. Persian *Ramin4ever* or Turkish *Zeynepchen*, composed of the first name *Zeynep* 'gem' and the German diminutive suffix) while some participants used other languages, especially Spanish (e.g. *Chica*, *Cubalita*, from the Greek forum). Other users made references where languages were irrelevant, for example references to brands and names that circulate globally (e.g. *Dolce e Gabanna, Kamasutra, Don Huan*) (Androutsopoulos 2006: 539). Thus the general picture of national and ethnic identities presented in usernames was found to be more varied than in other types of texts.

Identity on the Russian Internet

As Del-Teso-Craviotto states, identities in CMC are constructed in the context of the 'intersection among the globalizing nature of the Internet, the influence of national cultures, and the local norms of each individual room' (2008: 254).

RuNet, a Russian-speaking segment of the Internet, unites users from Russia, former Soviet republics, as well as from the diaspora all over the world—which makes it a culturally complex environment. The introduction of the Internet in Russian society in the 1990s coincided with the transformation of the political system and accompanied its shift from the isolation constructed by Soviet ideology and practice to exposure and confrontation with international and multicultural influences, globalisation, and commercialisation (Schmidt and Teubener 2006: 17).

In a schematic way, there are two main currents in how the interrelationship between the Russian Internet and Russian society is conceptualised, as presented in Schmidt and Teubener (2006: 18-19). On the one hand side, RuNet is perceived as no longer a Western import, but as something genuinely Russian. It is often referred to as nash RuNet ('our RuNet', which has no equivalent expression in other languages) due to its features of interactivity, connectivity, de-hierarchisation, informal networking, and free information delivery, which are perceived to be in line with characteristics of Russian cultural traditions and the Russian mentality characterised by 'collaborative ethics and aesthetics, spiritual unity and collectivism, creativity and freedom'. These qualities are said to be more pronounced on RuNet than in other Internet sectors-which is, for example, expressed, in a 'specific and more flexible understanding of intellectual property rights' (e.g. richly furnished web libraries) and a 'strongly expressed tendency towards collectivist behaviour patterns' (e.g. weblogs largely oriented towards community building). The other approach perceives the Internet as technology of a globally uniform nature and 'an instrument for work' rather than 'a specific milieu or community'. This approach sees the Russian sector of the Internet as 'on the road towards a complete integration into the global networks' and as 'the possibility to escape narrow, national contexts'. Its only particularity is observed in the fact that it has not yet adapted to Western standards, i.e. in persistent problems with its infrastructure and financing, low rates of performance as well as in the general control of media.

The Posidelki Forum

The examples of Internet environments presented above demonstrated the sites addressed to specific types of users, or dedicated to a particular subject, or a particular purpose of communication. The forum that I have selected, *Posidelki* ('Gatherings'), is addressed to

anyone who is able to communicate in Russian, and is not dedicated to any specific topic. My goal, in short, is to see what usernames can tell us about identity in this type of environment.

Forums offer an asynchronous mode of communication, which means that the posts do not have to be responded to immediately; one can access and re-enter a discussion, and contribute at any time.

The *Posidelki* forum is organised into a broad selection of topics that cover virtually anything from 'how do you have your coffee' to 'what is your opinion on the death sentence'. Any registered user can open a new discussion. There are currently 676⁶ registered users, and some 1600 topics. The language of communication is Russian. I have not registered as a user and could only access publicly available data.

Usernames in Posidelki

As stated before, according to Del-Teso-Craviotto's (2008) usernames may stand for participants' bodies. Because in text-based CMC there are no bodies, and therefore none of the audio-visual cues that are facilitated by bodies in face-to-face interactions, the role of usernames is to substitute for those missing cues that are relevant in specific environments, which in the case of Del-Teso-Craviotto's study was first of all gender.

In *Posidelki* we can observe some gender-constructing strategies similar to those mentioned in Del-Teso-Craviotto's (2008: 258) work. One of these is by means of grammatical gender, which might constitute the main indicator of gender identity—or which might also be combined with associations related to semantics. The examples are: ethnonyms, such as *Aziatka* 'an Asian' (f) or *tatar* (m), some usernames derived from adjectives or adjectival nouns, e.g. *molod* 'young' (m), *Cmponmus@a* [stroptivaia] 'obstinate' (f), *ceamoŭ* [sviatoi] 'saint' (m), *Cepoznasaa* [seroglazaia] 'grey-eyed' (f), *pыжаa* [ryzhaia] 'redhead, ginger' (f), and nouns referring to persons: *Гость* [gost'] 'guest' (m), *Форумчиха* [forumchikha] 'forumer' (f), *eemepah* [veteran] (m).

Other explicit indications of gender identity in *Posidelki* include: denotations with no equivalents for the opposite gender, e.g. *Alpha_Dog*, personal nouns that are different for males and females, e.g. *misterX*, *Lord Fell*, *GiRl*, *NastyGirl*, *pandagirl*, *KilerLedy2008*, *Lady*, *Дамочка* [damochka] 'little lady', and *superledi* 'super lady', as well as conventional names.

However, there are no references to the age/sex/location schema. There are a number of usernames containing numbers that might suggest age (e.g. *Anny26*, *alex25*), year of birth (e.g. *adro77*, *OLICS68*, *integral66*), or date of birth (e.g. *Ulyana13111975* (13/11/1975), *galina5161* (05/01/1961), *Kali13666* (13/06/1966))—but not all of them indicate gender, and even those that contain gender-indicative names may not have been intended primarily to represent gender identity.

Some usernames might indicate gender indirectly, by reference to stereotypically masculine or feminine characteristics. Del-Teso-Craviotto (2008: 258) has observed references to body parts, animal bodies, and other objects commonly associated with the bodily attributes of femininity and masculinity.

⁶ On 23 December 2014.

In Posidelki references to body parts are very few: Сероглазая [seroglazaia] 'grey-eyed' and рыжая [ryzhaia] 'redhead, ginger'. Other examples of usernames that may be considered as evoking body images are: Krasa 'beauty', molod 'young', Старушка Бетти [starushka Betty] 'the elderly/granny Betty', Krasavchik 'little handsome; a dandy'. Also, as in Del-Teso-Craviotto's findings, there are a number of references to cats and kittens, a stereotypical reading of which will be that they express female identities, possibly as an attractive, sensual or 'cute' images of femininity: кошка [koshka] 'cat, pussycat' (in Russian the generic name for a cat is grammatically feminine), Kummu [kitti] 'kitty', Kisa 'kitty, pussycat', kisa6 'kitty6, pussycat6', Nekotenok 'Non-kitten', and kiska25627 'kitty25627, kitten25627'. Other references to animals are not frequent, and include: енот [enot] 'raccoon', Шмель [shmel'] 'Bumblebee', клоп-вонючка 'stinky bedbug' (grammatically masculine), CaMo4κA CoБa4κИ [klop-voniuchka] [samochka sobachki] '(little) dog's (little) female' (possibly a euphemism for 'bitch') and Старая Собака [staraia sobaka] 'old dog' (grammatically feminine), and pandagirl. However, whether or not these carry associations with sexual attractiveness is questionable, especially considering that some of them are of a rather derogatory character.

Usernames referring to elements of attire, although not referring to the body as such, may also associate with appearance, e.g. *Muftocka* 'little muff, hand-warmer' and *Бусинка* [businka] 'little bead', which connote female identities. Also references to 'angels': ~*Angel*~, *Ангел* [angel] 'angel' as well as *White AngeL* and ~*Sweet Angel*~ may suggest persons of a pleasant appearance. 'Angel' might be used as a term of address for a nice, kind, but also attractive-looking person and will probably be associated with a female rather than a male, although in Russian 'angel' is grammatically masculine.

Other types of usernames that might stereotypically be perceived as expressing female identity are references to food. The traditional division of labour between the sexes 'requires women to feed others and not the self' (Stommel 2007: 143). *Bampyuka* [vatrushka] 'a pie with soft cheese' and *kulebyaka* 'a pie with a savoury stuffing'—traditional Russian dishes may be seen as referring to a traditional, domestic model of the female role as a feeding and nurturing person. On the other hand, females that are perceived as attractive are also often referred to by food-related terminology, such as tasty, yummy, sweet, etc.: Джуси Фрутка [juicy fruitka] 'little/female juicy fruit' (suffix –ka may indicate both diminutive as well as feminine forms), малиновый десерт [malinovyi desert] 'raspberry dessert', and *Chupa-Chups* may be considered as constructing this type of image.

Similarly to what Stommel (2007: 151-153) has observed, in *Posidelki* the natural world seems to be a popular source for usernames, and also mostly connote feminine identities, e.g. *Kalendula* 'calendula', *Heзaбудка* [nezabudka] 'forget-me-not', *Maльвa* [mal'va] 'mallow', *mak* 'poppy', *вишенка* [vishenka] 'little cherry', *Pябинка* [riabinka] 'little rowan(berry)', *Pomauka* [romashka] 'chamomile', *alaya_malva* 'scarlet mallow', *Belka2010* 'Squirrel2010', *Cmpeko3a* [strekoza] 'dragonfly', *Лютик* [liutik] 'buttercup flower', *kalibri* 'hummingbird', *Kalibri_N*, *cucushonok* 'cuckoo chick', *Svetliyachok* 'little firefly', *Raduga* 'rainbow', and *Ladybird*. In addition, the majority of these words are also grammatically feminine. Although they also denote small or light objects, there is no reason to interpret them through the lens of eating disorders—even though in some cases this might in fact be the case.

Тhe concept of 'childish femininity', as observed by Stommel (2007: 155), can also be noticed in *Posidelki*. There are a number of usernames that include popular terms of endearment (*Kisa* 'kitty, pussycat', *kisa6* 'kitty6, pussycat6', *kiska25627* 'kitty25627, kitten25627', *Maлышкa* [malyshka] 'baby (girl)', *PbI6KA* [rybka] 'little fish', *Sweety* 'sweetie', *Pupsik* 'little doll, cutie', *ConныФкo* [solnyfko] 'little sun', *lapo4ka* [lapochka], and *лапочка15* [lapochka15] 'sweetie, honey'), fairy-tale characters: (ДюЙмОвОчКа [diuimovochka] 'Thumbelina', *Лиса алиса* [lisa Alisa] 'Alisa the Fox') as well as a considerable number of usernames in the form of diminutive variants of conventional names, such as: *аленушка* [alenushka], *Danochka*, *Олесенька* [olesen'ka], *Юленька* [iulen'ka], *Юлечка* [iulechka], which will connote female rather than male identities—although some of them may be derived from both male and female names, e.g. *сашулька* [sashul'ka] and *Санечка* [sanechka] can originate from either Aleksandr or Aleksandra.

Another way of gender-typing in usernames is by referring to famous figures. These might be authentic persons or invented characters. The names that designate individuals who are widely known will invoke a specific gender as well as other characteristics associated with these figures that may or may not include physical appearance, e.g. *Тарантино* 'Tarantino', *kaligyla*, *Osiris*, *ЭркюльПуаро* 'Hercule Poirot', and *СанчоПансо* 'Sancho Panza' connote masculine identities, while *Пандора* 'Pandora', *ariadna*, *Audrey Tautou*, and *Shakira* connote female identities.

Referents from more specialised subcultures, such as computer games (*Atagachi* 'Tagachi', *Vuky* 'Wookie', *RiptoR*) and manga and anime characters (*Katashi, Inyasha, Xapyĸo* [kharuko], *xapyĸa* [kharuka]), familiar amongst narrower groups of people, might not bring immediate gendered associations; for example, names of manga and anime characters are not obviously gendered for those who do not speak Japanese or who are not familiar with manga and anime series.

Several usernames in *Posidelki* do not seem to represent bodies. Rather, they seem to construct psychological representations by more or less direct references to personality, states of mind, feelings, emotions, etc. A group of these seem to form another model of female identity that can be described as 'emotional femininity'. A common cultural stereotype links femininity with emotions, in opposition to masculinity which is associated with reason. One side of this concept is the warm, comforting, caring, and loving ideal of femininity, whose reflection we may find in *~Lovely_Love~*, *lovestori*, *smile1*, *SMILE*, *LovingHeart*, *Поцелуйка* [potseluika] (from *nouenoeamb* – 'to kiss' or *nouenyй* – 'a kiss') 'the kissing/kissable one'. In contrast to this, feminine emotionality is also conceived as irrational, nonsensical, and quarrelsome. *Шалена* [shalena] 'crazy', *Меланхолия* [melankholia] 'melancholy', *Лавина* эмоций [lavina emotsii] 'avalanche of emotions', *Cmpanная* [strannaia] 'strange, weird', *Cmponmus@a* [stroptivaia] 'obstinate', *prichuda* 'whim; freak', *Plaksa* 'crybaby', *~ГрубаЯ_Нежносtь~* [grubaia nezhnost'] 'rough tenderness', and *yapanкa* [tsarapka] (from *yapanamb* – 'to scratch') 'the scratching/scratchy one', might serve as examples.

Other types of usernames that do not necessarily evoke images of bodies are references to seemingly more external aspects of existence: activities, roles, status, etc. Some of these evoke traditional gender roles (such as Лилия мама [lilia mama], Mère Susie 'Mother Susie', Kopcap10000 [korsar] 'corsair', Создатель Миров [sozdatel' mirov]

'creator of worlds', ветеран [veteran], Executioner, Xumep [khiter] 'hitter', Lady, Дамочка [damochka] 'little lady'), some are not associated ideologically with any specific gender: Гость [gost'] 'guest', Форумчиха [forumchikha] 'forumer', LariSKA gitaristka 'Lariska the guitarist', Царица Ирина [tsaritsa irina] 'Empress Irene', @RTi\$T—while other contrast stereotypically associated roles: $УлИчНаЯ_ХуЛиГаНкA$ [ulichnaia khuliganka] 'street hooligan (f)'. In fact, many of these would perhaps be better read metaphorically as mental states rather than as references to actual activities, such as: Пилигримм [piligrim] 'pilgrim', *Скиталец* [skitalets] 'wanderer', or lunatic 'sleepwalker'.

Some usernames refer to what might be described as 'cultural prototypes' – ready-made personal models that circulate in the social space: *Glamik* 'little glamour' (referring to a specific style), *Chainik* 'kettle; dummy', *Sterv*@ 'bitch', *Kpaля* [kralia] 'a darling, a doll, a bird', *Alpha_Dog*, *JoeJock2007*, and *Djok*. They are often used with derogatory or humorous overtones and are also associated with specific genders.

One group of usernames refers to various phenomena from everyday life (*Melodia* 'melody', *Cekyhda* [sekunda] 'a second', *VILKA* 'fork', *Ahanu3* [analiz] 'analysis', *Пирамидка* [piramidka] 'small/little pyramid', *Wilo4ka* [vilochka] 'little fork') that in general evoke images based on the qualities associated with these objects. They might be interpreted as standing for various types of characteristics, for example, *kislota* 'acid' may evoke a drug user. Some of these usernames might be perceived as gender-typing, e.g. *шлямбур* [shliambur] (an element of climbing equipment) might be associated with an activity that requires physical strength, and is also grammatically masculine. But often they do not seem to carry any stereotypical images and there is no thematic lens on this forum through which they might be interpreted.

Many of the usernames in this group are derived from English (over a hundred in total are derived from English), e.g. sunday, secret555, SKI, stop, Air, Energy+, Hazelnut, simple-words, you6907, needle, Fluid, Bag, Venom, Smiling Spectre, scarsopen, Eagle, joystik19, Silk, †DarkNess†, IMusic babyI, easyeas, Happy Free Bird, MyDoom, Standart, miror 'mirror', eNENeRGY, manki 'monkey', -inception, newalias, Noname, antiMiracle, sherrymark728. This makes English the second most common language, which is consistent with Androutsopoulos' findings (2006). There are also hybridal formations, such as Glamik (glamour + -ik) 'little glamour', bodiartik 'little body art' (body + art + -ik), or Джуси $\Phi pym\kappa a$ [juicy fruitka] 'little/female juicy fruit' (juicy fruit + -ka).These usernames most likely reflect the general influence of English in CMC, including Russian CMC.

Other languages used in *Posidelki* are much less frequent and include: French (*Le Soleil* 'The Sun', *Mère Susie* 'mother Susie'), Italian (*cattiva* 'bad'), Spanish (*Amigo* 'friend'), and Ukrainian Шалена [Shalena] 'crazy'. These usernames may perhaps indicate nationality (especially the Ukrainian username) or current place of living in the case of diaspora members. There are also usernames that came from Japanese (*Hitsugi, Katashi, Xapyko* [kharuko], *xapyka* [kharuka], *Camomo* [samoto], *Yonaki*) that may illustrate an interest in Japanese contemporary culture, notably manga and anime series. Some usernames may indicate Russian speakers of non-Russian ethnicity, for example from former Soviet republics (*amira, Farida, faruh, mahmud, maksat, Nurbek*). These usernames do suggest specific ethnicity/nationality but we do not know whether or not this was a deliberate strategy of self-presentation to specifically manifest ethnic identities. Other usernames that suggest

nationality, ethnicity, or place of living are direct references to places, nationalities or ethnicity (*Lemberg*, *Sakartvelo* 'Georgia', *tatar*, *Aziatka* 'Asian'). A number of usernames refer to internationally recognised brands that are not associated with any specific culture or language, e.g. *Chanel*, *MARTINI*, *Chupa-Chups*, *Activia* (as in Androutsopoulos 2006: 539). Specific references to Russian culture are not frequent and include references to personages from literature (*AnnaKarenina*, *Accoль* [assol']) and cinema (*Фрося Бурлакова* [frosia burlakova]), Russian music bands (*AKADO*, *Психея* [psikheya]), and traditional dishes (*Bampyuka* [vatrushka] (a kind of pie), *kulebyaka* (a kind of pie)).

Finally, there is a group of semantically and gender-ambiguous usernames that seem like novel formations whose meaning is only known to their authors, e.g. *groes77*, *BARS5911*, *awtoyscom*, *aeda*, *ulireuu*, *turpb*, *suc95*, *stra111*.

Conclusions

The present study has confirmed that usernames serve to construct a first impression that is similar to the image we get of people when we first meet them. This might be performed by the construction of body images but also of psychological portraits, as well as by references to other activities, such as interests.

As stereotyped tags that are modified by the context of their appearance, in a non-themed environment, where the factor of meaning modification is weak, usernames will probably be read as decontextualised representations of stereotypical identities. On the forum analysed in this study, there seems to be no central type or concept of identity that is performed through usernames. Usernames are also varied thematically: inspired by religion, history, mythology, literature, and popular culture, and include references to traditional and modern values in both Russian and international cultural phenomena.

Gender seems to be an important aspect of the identity to present, although with gendered nouns and adjectives it is much more difficult to avoid gender-typing usernames in Russian, whereas usernames in English are more often gender-ambiguous. The concepts of femininities and masculinities in *Posidelki*, although they partly overlap, seem more varied than those reported by Stommel (2007) or Del-Teso-Craviotto (2008). A number of references to stereotypical models of gender identities can be observed: some of these form groups of more or less linked patterns, but there are also usernames that do not evoke unambiguous associations.

In line with Androutsopoulos' (2006) findings, in *Posidelki*—where Russian is the only language of communication—the language diversity in usernames is much greater than in conversations, especially due to derivations from English.

In general, usernames can be categorised in many ways and several usernames will fit various categories. What is important to note is that the interpretations may not always match the intentions of the author; but this is in the interactional nature of identity – it is constantly negotiated between the interlocutors. As Danet *et al.* (1997) put it: 'There is a certain amount of risk in the interpretations of the nicks we develop (...). However, we are actually in the same position as the players themselves, who must develop their own interpretations of the textual mask presented by any given player.'

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Personal Naming in Scottish Communities

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Abstract

This paper reports on a project which explored the bestowal and use of personal names in several communities, each with differing social features. The fieldwork was entirely situated in Scotland, but the communities discussed vary in type from rural to urban, mono- to multilingual, indigenous to immigrant and stable to transient. The indigenous communities were located in the Western Isles/Nan Eilean Siar, Buckie and Glasgow, and the immigrant communities included one which was fairly stable and well-established, and one which was transient and artificially constructed: Pakistani-Muslim and Asylum Seeker/Refugee communities in Glasgow.

Alongside gaining descriptive information on the organization of each personal naming system, the cross-cultural nature of the study allowed for more theoretical insights. Links were found between naming systems and social structure, though these links were far more complex than originally envisaged, as this paper will discuss. Awareness of the contexts in which cultural and linguistic contact had taken place was also key to understanding personal naming practices, and changes in those practices, within several of the groups in the study. The results of contact with other naming systems differed markedly between communities.

Onomastics to Measure Cultural Bias in Medical Research

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Abstract

This project involves the analysis of over ten million medical research articles from PubMed. We propose to evaluate the correlation between the onomastic class of the article authors and that of the citation authors. We will demonstrate that the cultural bias exists and also that it evolves in time. Between 2007 and 2008, the ratio of articles authored by Chinese scientists (or scientists with Chinese names) nearly tripled. We will evaluate how fast this surge in Chinese research material (or research material produced by scientists of Chinese origin) became cross-referenced by other authors with Chinese or non-Chinese names. We hope to find that onomastics provide a good enough estimation of the cultural bias of a research community. The findings can improve the efficiency of a particular research community, for the benefit of science and the whole humanity.

* * *

Introduction

PubMed/PMC is a large collection of scientific publication in LifeSciences. We used the 2013 data dump for data mining, with 14 million articles and 3.3 million author names. Some of the names are duplicates due to different orthographies, inconsistent use of initials and other data quality issues.

We used NamSor software to allocate an onomastic class to each author's name. NamSor software was initially designed to analyse big data in the field of economic development,¹ business and marketing. The method for anthroponomical classification can be summarized as follows: judging from the name only and the publicly available list of all ~150k Olympic athletes since 1896 (and other similar lists of names), for which national team would the person most likely run? Here, the United States are typically considered as a melting pot of other 'cultural origins': Ireland, Germany, etc. and not as an onomastic class on its own.

The breakdown of author names by onomastic classes is represented below:

¹ Onomastics and Big Data Mining, ParisTech Review 2013, arXiv:1310.6311 [cs.CY]



Fig. 1. Top 20 of PubMed onomastic classes

The largest groups of unique names in PubMed are British, French, German, Italian, Indian, Spanish, Dutch, etc. An author with a French name might have a name from Brittany, Corsica or Limousin ... or he might have a Canadian French name, or a Belgian French name. Or he might be an American professor with a French ancestry.

Scientists' performance is often measured according to the number of publications, and the number of times a publication is cited by other publications (bibliometric rankings). The table below shows the number of publications and the number of citations, by onomastic classes (top 20), as well as the ratio between the two metrics:

Onoma	Α	С	Ratio (C/A)
(GB,LATIN)	557,177	1,664,415	3.0
(FR,LATIN)	272,150	743,471	2.7
(DE,LATIN)	192,778	448,103	2.3
(JP,LATIN)	172,866	361,682	2.1
(IT,LATIN)	187,564	323,771	1.7
(IE,LATIN)	86,161	422,103	4.9
(NL,LATIN)	102,982	321,787	3.1
(AT,LATIN)	78,199	339,819	4.3
(CN,LATIN)*	219,040	186,464	0.9
(IN,LATIN)	153,555	221,332	1.4
(ES,LATIN)	113,407	228,650	2.0
(PL,LATIN)	47,961	268,115	5.6
(SE,LATIN)	65,717	237,017	3.6
(FI,LATIN)	35,533	247,231	7.0
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(KR,LATIN)	146,444	105,605	0.7
(TW,LATIN)*	88,822	162,132	1.8
(GR,LATIN)	51,564	196,056	3.8
(DK,LATIN)	42,403	181,199	4.3
(BE,LATIN)	44,647	162,146	3.6
(CH,LATIN)	32,295	162,495	5.0
*CN+TW	307,862	348,596	1.1

Table 2. Ratio publications / citations by onomastic classes

This table tells us that scientists with British names have published 557,000 articles in PubMed and have been cited 1.6 million times in other PubMed articles: the ratio is 3. Articles written by authors with Italian names have been relatively less cited (with a ratio of 1.7) while the articles written by authors with Irish names or Finnish names have been more cited (with ratios respectively 4.9 and 7).

We cannot conclude on the overall performance of British, Italian or Finnish scientists (many of them might be American scientists), but already we can observe interesting cultural biases emerging that cannot be explained by the imprecision of onomastic classification only. They raise interesting questions:

- can linguistic mastery of the English language explain why authors with British or Irish names have more citations?
- can features of a particular culture (e.g. the Irish are excellent networkers and have great pubs) explain why scientific articles are more cited?
- do scientists with Italian names tend to cite more scientists with foreign-sounding names (English, Irish, etc.)?
- do scientists with Finnish names tend to cite more scientists with Finnish names?
- are there additional cultural biases in the publication process itself (selection, curation, promotion of scientific publications)?
- is there a gender bias worth noting (e.g. male scientists are more cited; a culture with fewer female scientists would get a higher ratio)?

Altogether, scientists with Chinese names – with names from mainland China or Taiwan – have produced 307,000 articles and been cited 348,000 times: a ratio of 1.1, in the low range. We will now focus the rest of this paper on Chinese names: publications authored by a scientist with a Chinese name, or citations of scientists with Chinese names.

Scientists with Chinese Names in PubMed

Globally, the number of publications in life sciences has been growing exponentially. Many countries and institutions encourage scientists to publish and link performance to bibliometric rankings (i.e. publications in reputable journals, number of citations, etc.)



Fig. 2. Share of publications by authors with Chinese names with respect to other onomastic classes

From this chart, we can observe,

- that the absolute number of publications authored by scientists with a Chinese name has nearly tripled between 2007 and 2008 (x2.5, from 7k to 17k);
- that the relative share of publications authored by scientists with a Chinese name (compared to other onomastic classes) is also growing steadily.

This growth in the number of publications by authors with Chinese names, in absolute and relative terms, is matched by a drop in the ratio of citation/authorship:



Fig. 3. Evolution of publications' number authored by scholars with Chinese names

Year	Α	С	Ratio (C/A)
2012	81326	68038	0.8
2011	52396	42371	0.8
2010	33821	49260	1.5
2009	24726	35715	1.4
2008	17258	26321	1.5
2007	6944	17234	2.5
2006	4770	11299	2.4
2005	3260	6910	2.1
2004	1830	3782	2.1
2003	1195	2211	1.9
2002	849	1436	1.7
Before	3477	3823	1.1

Table 2. Ratio of Chinese names by year

Next, we will look at co-authorships. We do expect co-authorships to be more frequent within a same onomastic class, because of the correlation with geography: scientists with an Italian name might live in Italy, work at the same University on a research project and publish together the result of their research. We also expect to find diversity: many publications are the result of an international cooperation; scientists are internationally mobile; last, but not least countries like the US or Switzerland attract talents from everywhere and, as a result of this global 'brain drain', produce very international research teams.

Both aspects, affinity and diversity, are reflected in the following matrix – displaying the number of co-authorships between onomastic classes:

Onoma	GB,LATIN	(FR,LATIN)	(CN,LATIN	(DE,LATIN)	(JP,LATIN)	(IT,LATIN)	(IN,LATIN)	(NL,LATIN)	(KR,LATIN)	(ES,LATIN)	[]
(GB,LATIN)	382218	94038	64678	76279	22348	38788	48313	44690	13184	24706	
(FR,LATIN)	97544	149321	22037	38419	11171	29738	16172	23120	4722	22213	
(IT,LATIN)	44314	33266	10990	19491	6610	174415	9683	10570	2101	17081	
(DE,LATIN)	57724	28115	14364	82552	6110	12564	9508	18716	3082	6844	
(JP,LATIN)	7813	3625	9647	2695	262912	2269	3046	1538	2533	1220	
(CN,LATIN)	12530	4030	180438	3552	5428	2165	3354	2311	4827	1163	
(ES,LATIN)	29102	22746	6094	10593	3683	16138	6307	6623	1350	79839	
(KR,LATIN)	7598	2613	8391	2081	4681	1173	2530	1095	168436	918	
(IN,LATIN)	30202	9681	9829	8762	4625	4481	64147	4148	2607	2653	
(NL,LATIN)	29661	15546	6415	14739	2326	6109	5680	43438	1349	3707	
[]											

Table 3. Number of co-authorships between onomastic classes

For example, the first column of the matrix (reflected in the pie chart below) shows that scientists with British names have a strong affinity to be co-author with scientists with British names, but also that they are likely to publish (in order) with scientists with French names, German names, Irish names, Italian names, etc.



Fig. 4. Co-authorship of scholars with British names

Scientists with Chinese names have an even stronger affinity to be co-authors with scientists with Chinese names; they are likely to publish (in order) with scientists with British names, French names, German names, Italian names, Irish names, Korean names, etc.



Fig. 5. Co-authorship of scholars with Chinese names

Next, we will look at citations. In a perfect world, we expect citations to be based on the merits of scientific research only. We assume some 'invisible hand' will self-regulate the visibility of publications among research communities, so that all relevant research is known by the experts of the field. If scientific excellence is equally distributed, we expect the number of publications citing authors of a particular onomastic class to be proportional to the number of authors of that particular onomastic class. However, the following table tells a different story.

Onomastic	Onoma	Onoma Salf Citations 9/	Bias Factor
Class	Authored %	Self Citations %	
(GB,LATIN)	16.6%	17.0%	1.02
(FR,LATIN)	8.1%	7.6%	0.94
(IT,LATIN)	5.6%	3.8%	0.68
(DE,LATIN)	5.8%	6.1%	1.05
(CN+TW,LATIN)	9.2%	12.1%	1.32
(ES,LATIN)	3.4%	3.8%	1.13
(JP,LATIN)	5.2%	19.3%	3.73
(IE,LATIN)	2.6%	4.4%	1.73
(NL,LATIN)	3.1%	5.6%	1.83
(AT,LATIN)	2.3%	4.2%	1.79
(SE,LATIN)	2.0%	3.5%	1.76
(IN,LATIN)	4.6%	4.1%	0.89
(PT,LATIN)	1.9%	2.3%	1.17
(GR,LATIN)	1.5%	2.8%	1.82
(KR,LATIN)	4.4%	3.0%	0.68
(BE,LATIN)	1.3%	2.6%	1.98
(DK,LATIN)	1.3%	3.4%	2.65

Table 4. Bias factors of citing/cited authors

In this table, we observe that authors with British names represent 16.6% of publications, but 17% of their citations: a bias factor of 1.02 (almost no bias). Conversely, we observe that authors with French names represent 8.1% of publications, but only 7.6% of their citations: a bias factor of 0.94 indicating that authors with French names tend to cite authors with foreign names more.

As for authors with Chinese names, they represent 9.2% of the publications, but 12.1% of their citations: a bias factor of 1.32 indicating that they tend to cite authors with Chinese names more.

Authors with Chinese names have a positive bias in citing authors with Chinese names; however we can see other cases where the bias is even stronger: authors with Japanese names citing authors with Japanese names, authors with Danish names citing authors with Danish names...

More interestingly, the following table shows that – apart from authors with a Chinese name – every other onomastic class (British, French, Italian, German etc.) has a negative bias towards citing authors with a Chinese name.

Onomastic class	Chinese Onoma	Bias Factor
	Citation Pct%	
(GB,LATIN)	3.9%	0.43
(FR,LATIN)	3.9%	0.42
(IT,LATIN)	3.9%	0.43
(DE,LATIN)	4.1%	0.44
(CN+TW,LATIN)	12.1%	1.32
(ES,LATIN)	4.0%	0.43
(JP,LATIN)	5.2%	0.56
(IE,LATIN)	4.0%	0.44
(NL,LATIN)	3.5%	0.38
(AT,LATIN)	4.1%	0.44
(SE,LATIN)	3.6%	0.40
(IN,LATIN)	5.9%	0.65
(PT,LATIN)	4.0%	0.43
(GR,LATIN)	3.9%	0.42
(KR,LATIN)	6.8%	0.74
(BE,LATIN)	3.8%	0.42
(DK,LATIN)	3.9%	0.42

Table 5. Bias factor and ratio of Chinese names' citations

Authors with a Chinese name tend to cite authors with a Chinese name more. Comparatively, scientists with non-Chinese names (British, French, Italian, German etc.) have a bias factor of 0.46 and are 3 times less likely to cite publications authored by a scientist with a Chinese name.

We will now see of the biases factors evolve between 2002 and 2012:



Fig. 6. Bias factor's evolution with respect to citing scholars with Chinese names

According to this graph, the positive bias factor of authors with Chinese names in citing other authors with Chinese names remains roughly stable. On the other hand, the negative bias factor of scientists with non-Chinese names in citing authors with Chinese names is generally increasing.

Manual Controls

Given the large number of names automatically classified in a taxonomy based on geographic origin (China, etc.), we could not verify manually the entire database. We verified manually two randomly selected subsets:

- firstly, a list of 1280 names recognized by the software as Chinese names;
- secondly, a list of ~10000 names classified by the software into the full taxonomy (over 100 onomastic classes, corresponding to different countries of origin)

Identification of Romanized Chinese Names

The onomastic units have been classified on the basis of the considerable amount of commonly known Chinese forenames and on principles of names' Romanization (ISO 7098: 1982). It is easy to distinguish Chinese names from European ones, but they can be hardly distinguishable from the Taiwanese and Singaporean names or it is even sometimes difficult to tell the Chinese names from the Vietnamese, Thai or Korean ones. For, instance, Chén (陈/陳) is perhaps the most common surname in Hong Kong and Macau, where it is Romanized as Chan, and is also common in Taiwan, where it is Romanized as Chen. Fang (方), which is only the 47th most common overall, is much more common in San Francisco's Chinatown in the United States, although the surname is, more often than not, Romanized as Fong, as based on the Yue dialect (The New Hundred Family Surnames's Totems ... 2011).

Transliteration of Chinese family names into foreign languages poses a number of problems. Chinese surnames are shared by people speaking a number of dialects and languages which often have different pronunciations of their surnames (Norman 1988). The spread of the Chinese diaspora into all parts of the world resulted in the Romanization of the surnames based on different languages. As a result, it is common for the same surname to be transliterated differently. In certain dialects, different surnames could be homonyms so it is common for family names to appear ambiguous when transliterated. Example: 鄭/郑 (pinyin: Zheng) can be Romanized into Chang, Cheng, Chung, Teh, Tay, Tee, Tsang, Zeng or Zheng, (in pinyin, Chang, Cheng, Zheng and Zeng are all different names). Translating Chinese surnames from foreign transliteration often presents ambiguity. For example, the surname 'Li' are all Mandarin-based pinyin transliteration for the surnames 黎 (Lí); 李, 理 and Ξ (Lǐ); 郦/酈, 栗, 厉/厲, and 利 (Lì) depending on the tone which is often omitted in foreign transliterations (Dictionary of Chinese Variant Form 1994).

Most commonly occurring Chinese family names have only one character as well; however, about twenty double-character family names have survived into modern times. These include Sima (司馬, simp. 司马), Zhuge (諸葛, simp. 诸葛), Ouyang (歐陽, simp. 欧阳), occasionally Romanized as O'Young, suggesting an Irish origin to English-speakers, and Situ (or Sito 司徒). Sima, Zhuge, and Ouyong also happen to be the surnames of four extremely famous premodern Chinese historical figures. There are family names with three or more characters, but those are not ethnically Han Chinese. For example, Aixinjueluo (愛新 覺羅, also romanized from the Manchu language as Aisin Gioro), was the family name of the Manchu royal family of the Qing dynasty (Sheau-yueh 2009: 8-9).

Due to the different pronunciation and Romanizations, it is sometimes easy to tell whether a Chinese person has origins in China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, or Taiwan (Cook 1997). In general people who descend from the Mainland will have both their surnames and names in pinyin. Those who are of Taiwanese descent use Wade-Giles Romanization. People from Southeast Asia (mainly Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines) and Hong Kong usually base their Romanization of surnames and names on the Min, Hakka and Cantonese languages. The younger generation from Singapore predominantly have their surname in dialect and given name in English (Russel 1997: 1-3).

There are also people who use non-standard Romanizations, e.g. the Hong Kong media mogul 邵逸夫 Run Run Shaw's surname 邵 is spelt as Shaw, pinyin: Shao. The use of different systems of Romanization based on different Chinese language variants from 1900~1970 also contributed to the variations (Du, Yida, *et al.* 1992: 18).

According to the first validation method, 83% of names the software recognized as Chinese were manually verified as Chinese; 2% unknown; 15% as non-Chinese (i.e. misclassifications).

The software outputs a confidence level. 76% of the names were classified with positive confidence. For the names recognized as Chinese with a positive confidence, 94% were manually verified as Chinese; 1% unknown; 4% as non-Chinese (i.e. misclassification).



Fig. 7. Onomastic classification coverage and accuracy

In PubMed, many names do not have a full first name, only initials.

For names classified with positive confidence, we found that first names of just one or two character (e.g. J or JH) accounted for 90% of misclassifications. When the input includes a full name (as would generally be the case with other bibliometric sources such as Thomson WoS, Scopus or ORCID) the accuracy is 99%.



Fig. 8. Manual verification of names classified as Chinese with positive confidence

According to the second validation method, we can calculate the usual metrics used in classification: precision and recall.

10,172 names were manually classified by a manual operator independently. In this method, errors could be made by the computer and also by the manual operator.

For the calculations below, we assume the manual operator made no mistakes (this is not the case, error is human). The manual operator could classify 50% of names, left the rest as 'Not Sure'.

For Chinese, non Chinese names, the software precision was respectively 81% and 97% and the recall was 59% and 99%. For names classified by the software with positive confidence (52% of all names), the precision was 93% and the recall was 69%. Excluding the names with first name length < 2 (initials, such as J or JH) the precision was 97% and the recall was 72%.

If, conversely, we assume that the computer made no mistakes, then we can compare the precision and recall of the operator with that of the computer:

	Chinese I	Names	Non-Chinese	e Names
All Names	Computer	Human	Computer	Human
Precision	81%	59%	97%	99%
Recall	59%	42%	99%	48%
	Chinese I	Names	Non-Chinese	e Names
Confidence>0	Computer	Human	Computer	Human
Precision	93%	69%	96%	99%
Recall	69%	49%	99%	48%
	Chinese I	Names	Non-Chinese	e Names
Confidence>0 && Len(firstName)>2	Computer	Human	Computer	Human
Precision	97%	72%	96%	100%

Tables 6-8. Cross validation computer / human by precision and recall

51%

100%

48%

72%

This method of cross validation between computer and human could be improved by having several manual checks by different operators to obtain a good validation sample.

Future Work

Recall

For future work, we would data mine the large commercial bibliographic databases (Thomson WoS, Scopus and possibly ORCID), because they offer better data quality and useful additional information:

- firstly, they have the full name in addition to the short name cited with just initials; this significantly reduces the error rate of onomastic classification;
- secondly, they link scientists to research institutions (affiliations) and geographies (country of affiliation); this allows additional analysis on the topic of Diasporas and brain drain, comparing – for example – the research output of Chinese / Chinese American scientists in the US with that of scientists of Mainland China;
- thirdly, those databases have a larger coverage in terms of scientific disciplines, allowing comparison between different fields of research.

Conclusions

Significant cultural biases exist, not only in the way scientists do co-author publications together, but also in the way they make citations. Scientific publications authored by scientists with Chinese names are three times less cited by the international research community that they are cited by other scientists with Chinese names. We cannot draw any conclusion as to the quality of Chinese research, but we can challenge the commonly accepted idea that the volume of publications and citations alone indicate that China is becoming a superpower in Science and Technology.

Given the importance of bibliometric rankings in the way countries build and monitor public policies on Science and Education or international cooperation; in the way research institutions measure and reward scientific excellence of researchers and teams, those biases should be accounted for. Otherwise, international comparisons are not 'scientific', not fair and can lead to wrong decisions.

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An Overview of Personal Naming Practices in Scotland, 1680-1840

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Abstract

It is often claimed that Scottish children were named in a fixed sequence after relatives (first son after paternal grandfather, first daughter after maternal grandmother, second son after maternal grandfather, second daughter after paternal grandmother, etc.), especially during the Early Modern period (e.g. Cory 1990, Durie 2009). This theory, based on limited qualitative evidence, has been seriously challenged by recent research, a quantitative study of the baptismal records of four Scottish parishes for the period 1700-1800, which has demonstrated that the sequence was not widely followed. The question which then arises is: if families in Early Modern Scotland were not following the 'traditional' naming pattern, what naming patterns, if any, were they following?

In this paper, I discuss the findings and implications of my recent project and show that the 'traditional' naming pattern was in fact not followed by the majority of Early Modern Scottish families, with an estimated 60% of familial groups not using it. Using material gathered from the baptismal records of eleven parishes, covering the period 1680-1840, I then outline the potential usage of other naming practices, including naming for deceased relatives, influential townsfolk, and godparents.

* * *

Introduction

The field of Scottish personal naming practices has been largely unresearched, particularly for the Early Modern period. The few studies that exist have tended to employ a purely qualitative rather than quantitative approach, and we therefore have limited information on the general naming practices of this period. My ongoing research aims to rectify this situation; a recent Masters project focussed on the usage of what is known as the 'traditional Scottish naming pattern', and my current PhD project examines the other naming practices and influences on naming evident during the Early Modern period. In this paper, the results and implications of the Masters project will be discussed, and the naming practices so far observed in the course of my PhD research will be outlined.

A 'Traditional' Scottish Naming Pattern

It is widely claimed by the general public and by genealogical researchers (e.g. Cory 1990, Durie 2009) that Scottish families in the Early Modern period followed a specific pattern, known as the Scottish naming pattern, when naming their children. This pattern is stated to be as follows: the first son is named for the paternal grandfather, second son for the maternal grandfather, third son for the father, first daughter for the maternal grandmother, second daughter for the paternal grandmother, and the third daughter for the mother (Cory 1990: 68). Younger children would be named for other relatives, often aunts or uncles, or influential townsfolk. The description of the pattern might suggest that six children, three of each sex,

would be needed to fulfil all stages of naming for grandparents and parents. However, the pattern could be condensed if several relatives shared the same name. For example, the first three children of James Anderson and Margaret Millar fulfil all of the main steps of the naming pattern (see Figure 1): the eldest son, John, shares a name with his paternal grandfather; the second son, James, shares a name with his maternal grandfather, and also with his father; and the eldest daughter, Margaret, shares a name with her maternal grandmother, her paternal grandmother, and her mother.



Fig. 1. Family of James Anderson and Margaret Millar

My Masters project was an investigation of this pattern, specifically focussing on the claim that its use was widespread in Early Modern Scotland. This claim had been largely unsubstantiated in the sources, with only qualitative evidence of the pattern itself rather than quantitative evidence of its usage. It was therefore prudent for quantitative research to be conducted into the usage of this pattern.

For this research, the baptismal records for 24,325 children were collected from the Old Parish Registers (hereafter OPRs). These records represented four parishes – Govan (Lanark), Beith (Ayrshire), Dingwall (Ross and Cromarty), and Earlston (Berwickshire) – for the period 1700-1800. Parishes were chosen to represent a range of geographic, social, and linguistic variables. The OPRs were kept by the Scottish Kirk, meaning that this research only represents the Presbyterian Scots, rather than including, for example, Catholics or non-Christians. Nevertheless, with the majority of Scottish people being Presbyterian, these records are an excellent source of personal names in Early Modern Scotland.

Once the selected baptismal records had been collected, they were organised into 7,734 familial units (groups consisting of father, mother, and children). It was not possible to determine whether all 7,734 groups did or did not include children sharing names with their

grandparents and parents, in the specified order. However, two methods were devised to establish the rate of pattern usage within a smaller number of groups. As stated above, the 7,734 familial units consisted of father, mother, and children. It was not possible to further reconstruct all groups (i.e. linking children with grandparents), but 50 groups were linked with grandparents. These 50 groups were then examined to determine whether they strictly followed the specified naming pattern. Of those groups, it was discovered that no group clearly followed the naming pattern and 62% did not follow the pattern. It could not be known definitively whether the remainder did or did not follow the pattern.

Due to time constraints, it was impractical to apply this method to a larger number of groups. Therefore, a second method was devised which could be applied to any number of groups, as long as each group contained three or more same-sex children. The pattern dictates that the third child of each sex should be named for the parents; therefore, the family could potentially be following the pattern if the parent's name appeared within the first three unique names of children of the relevant sex. It is necessary to specify the first three unique names for each sex, rather than the first three names for each sex, as if, for example, a second son named for the maternal grandfather had died, it is possible that the third unique name in particular being shared with the parent; if the father had shared a name with either grandfather, for example, then the name would appear earlier in the birth-order but the family could still be classed as following the pattern. Overall however, if the pattern were being followed, the parent's name could not appear any later than the third unique name for a child of the relevant sex.

To demonstrate, it was reasoned that it was possible that the family in Figure 2 was following the naming pattern. There were three sons (named *James*, *John*, and *William*), and one of them shared a name with the father (John Rodger).

<u>Surname</u>	First Name	<u>Sex</u>	Father's Name	Date of Baptism	Record Note
Rodger	Isabell	Female	John	1701-08-24	Ridpeth
Rodger	James	Male	John	1704-02-06	shoemaker in Ridpeth
Rodger	John	Male	John	1706-08-18	shoemaker in Ridpeth
Rodger	William	Male	John	1709-10-16	shoemaker in Redpeth

Fig. 2. Children of John Rodger

However, it was concluded that the family in Figure 3 were not following the naming pattern. The father's name, *John*, did not appear until the fourth son, with earlier sons being *George*, *William*, and *Thomas*. Therefore, even if the parents had intended to follow the naming pattern, this usage had been disrupted.

<u>Surname</u>	First Name	<u>Sex</u>	Father's Name	Date of Baptism	Record Note
Young	Agnes	Female	John	1765-12-01	wright in Earlstoun
Young	George	Male	John	1767-07-12	wright in Earlstoun
Young	William	Male	John	1769-06-26	wright in Earlstoun
Young	Thomas	Male	John	1771-06-16	wright in Earlstoun
Young	John	Male	John	1774-10-09	wright in Earlstoun
Young	James	Male	John	1776-11-03	wright in Earlstoun
Young	John	Male	John	1779-11-21	Fewer and wright in Earlstoun

Fig. 3. Children of John Young

This reasoning was applied to all families who had three or more same-sex children; results are given in Table 1. Where the parent's name does not appear within the first three unique names of each sex, it can be said that the family is not following the specified naming pattern. For fathers and male children, this figure is 27.04%, and for mothers and female children, the figure is 31.58%.

	Count	%		Count	%
Father's name appears	858	72.96	Mother's name appears	611	68.42
Father's name does not	318	27.04	Mother's name does	282	31.58
appear in first 3			not appear in first 3		
	1176			893	

Table 1. Analysis of families with three or more same-sex children

Although these figures suggest that 27.04% and 31.58% of these families were not following the pattern, it cannot be assumed that the remaining 72.96% and 68.42% were. The parents may indeed have been consciously following the naming pattern, but equally they may have simply decided to name the son for the father or the mother for the daughter. Therefore, to further refine these figures, similar analysis was conducted on those families which had both three sons and three daughters, of which there were 371. For this analysis, the important families were those which exhibited some parent-child name-sharing, so the 40 groups which lacked information or displayed no name-sharing were then removed (see Table 2).

	Count	%
Father and mother's names appear	205	61.93
One parent's name appears	126	38.07
	331	

Table 2. Families with three or more children of each sex which exhibited parent-child name-sharing

If these families were following the naming pattern, the names of both parents should appear within the first three unique names for each sex. As can be seen in Table 2, 61.93% of these families had both parents' names appearing within the first three unique names. However, a substantial proportion -38.07% – had only one parent's name appearing. Despite having a parent's name appearing, these families could not have been following the pattern; this had

implications for those groups in Table 1 listed as exhibiting father-son or mother-daughter name-sharing.

I therefore applied these figures to the previous table, excluding those families used to generate the Table 2 results to avoid double-analysis. This resulted in an estimate of 58.42% of families not following the naming pattern. This figure includes those families where the parents' names did not appear at all and an estimate of those who were likely to have been practising patrilineal or matrilineal naming but not following the pattern. Earlier, it was stated that, of the 50 groups where grandparents were known, 62% of groups did not follow the pattern. Significantly, the estimate of 58.42% is close to the figure of 62%, which would suggest the estimate is accurate. It should also be noted that these figures show the estimated minimum percentage that were not using the pattern, rather than the minimum percentage that were.

Other Naming Practices and Influences

My current research project aims to establish what, if any, naming practices or influences are evident in cases where the traditional naming pattern is not used. It also aims to reveal whether these other practices and influences are actually disrupting usage of the naming pattern, or whether the pattern is simply not always used. The final stage of the project will be to quantify the answers to these questions, and uncover what proportion of families we can expect to find following the pattern faithfully, what proportion are following it but have also been influenced by other factors, and what proportion choose not to follow it at all.

The project data have been taken from the baptismal registers of eleven parishes, selected to represent a range of linguistic, social, and geographic variables, for the period 1680 to 1840. These parishes are shown in Figure 4 and, from north to south, are: Holm (Orkney), Durness (Sutherland), Longside (Aberdeenshire), Kilmallie (Argyll), Tiree (Argyll), Auchtermuchty (Fife), Kilrenny (Fife), Saltoun (East Lothian), Govan (Lanark), Dundonald (Ayrshire), and Tongland (Kirkcudbrightshire). Baptismal records have been collected for 63,462 children.

This project was designed to involve largely quantitative research, but some qualitative case studies are also being included. During data-collection, it was discovered that some records were explicit about whom the children were named for. This has allowed remarks to be made based on specific records, although the final project will focus mainly on overall trends.



Fig. 4. Map of parishes. (Map data ©2014 Google)

Naming for Deceased Relatives

One situation that seems to have affected naming is that of recently deceased relatives. To return to the family shown in Figure 1 (repeated below in Figure 5), James Anderson and Margaret Millar had five children, with the first three fulfilling the main steps of the pattern. The next child, Agnes, shares a name with a maternal aunt. The fifth child, however, represents the first occurrence of the name *Andrea* in Kilrenny. Usefully, the clerk tells us where her name has come from: 'She was named after Andrew Anderson, Supposed to be [lost at sea]' (Kilrenny OPR: 438/00 0020 0047). The clerk reports that Andrea's father, James, is also missing, but there is already a child with this name. Andrew Anderson is one of Andrea's uncles, a younger brother of James; while she could have been named after one of her four paternal aunts, she has instead been named after her recently deceased uncle.



Fig. 5. Family of James Anderson and Margaret Millar

In Andrea's case, the name *Andrew* was modified to make it a female name, applicable to a daughter. However, this does not seem to have always been the case. Figure 6 shows the two children of Thomas Watson and his wife Minnie, who lived in Saltoun, in East Lothian. The couple married in August 1799 before the arrival of their son George in 1801 and their daughter Thomas in 1803. The record for the baptism reads 'Meney Mutter Relict ['widow'] of Thomas Watson in Samuelston Mains lately deceased had a Daughter named Thomas' (Saltoun OPR: 719/00 0020 0177); it would be logical to assume that the daughter was named after her dead father. Unfortunately, the grandparents could not be determined, and it therefore cannot be known whether Thomas and Minnie had been following the naming pattern with their eldest child, and subsequently whether pattern usage was interrupted by the father's death.



Fig. 6. Children of Thomas Watson and Minnie Mutter

Substitution

It was mentioned in the section on the traditional naming pattern that, when looking at the usage of the parents' names within the first three children of each sex, it was necessary to specify the first three unique names rather than the first three names. This was because, if, for example, a first daughter named for the maternal grandmother had died, it is highly possible that the second daughter may have been given the same name. This practice of giving children the same name as deceased siblings is known as 'substitution' and seems to have been fairly common in Scotland.

For example, Philip Anderson and Elspith Fowler, from Kilrenny (Fife), had nine children (Figure 7). The eldest three all survived childhood, but the twins, Philip and Janet, were both buried a few days after their baptism. The next daughter was named *Janet*, substituting for the deceased elder sister. The parents seemed especially keen to give a child the name *Philip*, either due to following the naming pattern or to a desire to perpetuate the father's name; however, despite having a total of three sons named *Philip*, none survived. The couple had no more children, the father dying a year after the youngest was born.

	ip Anderson 4 Feb. 1800 m. 6 Nov. 1784	Elspith Fowler
Robert	b. 26 Feb. 1786	
Margaret	b. 1 Dec. 1787	
Elspith	b. 15 Nov. 1789	
Philip	b. 8 Nov. 1792 (twin)	d. 17 Nov 1792
Janet	b. 8 Nov. 1792 (twin)	d. 12 Nov. 1792
Janet	b. 15 Dec. 1793	
Sophia	b. 7 June 1795	
Philip	b. 19 Oct. 1797	d. 24 March 1798
Philip	b. 3 Feb. 1799	d. 15 April 1802

Fig. 7. Children of Philip Anderson and Elspeth Fowler

With this couple, the names of all deceased children were used again. However, this was not always the case. For example, David Cairns and Marjory Bell had eight children, two of whom died (Figure 8). The name *Helen* was repeated with a later child; however, *Mary* was not, despite there being multiple female children born after her death. The eldest daughter was named *Marjory*, either after the mother or the maternal grandmother; if the latter, it would indicate the family may have been following the naming pattern. Unfortunately, it was not possible to trace David's parents; however, if his mother's name were *Helen*, it may be that Helen's name was used again as it followed the naming pattern. Mary's name, on the other hand, would not need to be used again – the mother's name had already been given, so name-choice would be less pre-determined.



Fig. 8. Family of David Cairns and Marjory Bell

It seems most common for children to be named for relatives, but some were named for other townsfolk, including the clergy. The fourth and final child of Thomas Smith and Christian Cuningham was named *James Brown* (Figure 9), with the clerk noting in the baptism entry that the child was 'named James Brown, in honour of our new Minister' (Kilrenny OPR: 438/00 0020 0105).¹

	mas nith m. 27 Dec. 1811 d. 5 March 1821
Thomas	b. 20 June 1813 d. 18 Aug. 1815
Janet	b. 1 July 1815
Thomas	b. 20 April 1817
James Brown	b. 25 April 1819

Fig. 9. Children of Thomas Smith and Christian Cuningham

Genealogists such as Steel (1962: 39) and Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 73) have noted that it was traditional for the first child baptised by a minister in a Scottish parish to be named after him, and this record would support this idea. Records have also been found which suggest that children were sometimes named for the minister even if they were not the first to be baptised by him. However, it is possible that this tradition did not extend to all parts of Scotland: during the course of the Masters research, it was discovered that, despite Laurence Johnston being minister in Earlston (Berwickshire) for approximately two decades, no children were baptised with his name. It is therefore possible that this tradition is affected by other variables, perhaps geographic in nature.

When considering well-known townsfolk other than ministers, there are again explicit cases of children being named after them. In Tiree (Argyll), the daughter of Alexander McPherson was named *Jane Maxwell*, and the clerk noted that the child had been named after the Duchess of Gordon (Figure 10).

¹ In Scotland, 'minister' is a term used to refer to the leader of the local church.

Surname	<u>First</u> Name	<u>Middle</u> <u>Name</u>	<u>Sex</u>		Date of Baptism	Record Note	Record Reference	Options
McPherson	Jane	Maxwell	Female	Alex	29-01- 1810	Excise Officer [] Kirkapoll [] This Child was named after the Duches of Gordon	551/1 FR237	Edit Delete

Fig. 10. Baptismal record for Jane Maxwell McPherson

This is an explicit case of naming for a prominent townsperson, but several likely instances of children being named for powerful families were also found. From the Masters data, four children in the parish of Beith (Ayrshire) were named *Ralston*, which was the surname of the local laird. Similarly, in Govan (Lanark), four children were named *Maxwell*, which again was a surname of a powerful landowner. It is possible that this was either due to affection and respect for the family, as has been noted by Redmonds (2004: 126), or that there was a sponsorship arrangement, as discussed by Steel (1962: 39).

Naming for Godparents

Finally, there are indications of some children being named after godparents. Of the 24,325 records examined for the Masters research, only 441 referred to a godparent. 174 of these were suitable for analysis, and, of those, 46 contained an example of godparent-child name-sharing: 26.45%. It is possible that these instances of name-sharing may be coincidental due to the godparent sharing a name with another relative. However, as the proportion of name-sharing is reasonably high, it is likely that some children were deliberately named for their godparent. This is being tested in the current project by looking at godparents with uncommon first names. For example, the sponsor of Zacharias, son of Matthew Smith and Isabel Rankin, was Zacharias Steill (Govan OPR: 646/1 FR113). In this parish, the name *Zacharias* was uncommon, being given to only eight children. It did not feature in the names of the child's known relatives, and was not the name of a minister or landowner. It is therefore likely that this child was named for his godfather.

This child was the third son of his parents, and one of his elder brothers was named *Matthew*, thus sharing a name with the father. This means that the family may have faithfully followed the naming pattern, completing the specified stages with the brother Matthew being named after the father, and thus had the freedom to name Zacharias after someone who was not a relative. Therefore, this example does not provide evidence of naming pattern usage being disrupted by godparental naming, but it does indicate that it was thought important to name children for godparents. It is therefore possible that future examples will be found where godparental naming does disrupt usage of the naming pattern.

Conclusion

In this paper, the results of research into the 'traditional' Scottish naming pattern have been discussed, and it has been highlighted that fewer families in Early Modern Scotland followed this particular naming pattern than has been previously suggested. Drawing on the findings of ongoing research, evidence for some alternative naming practices has been presented; these practices include naming for deceased relatives and for influential townsfolk. The future stages of this research project include quantifying these practices, based on a database containing over 60,000 baptisms, and examining the potential effects of geographic and social variables.

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The Diverse Naming Patterns of Contemporary India

Sheila Embleton Canada

Abstract

With a population of over 1.2 billion, India is currently the second most populous country in the world, and has enjoyed a recent and rapid rise to prominence in the world's economy and more generally on the world stage. Very little is known among 'Western' scholars about naming in India, and this paper attempts to partially remedy that with a brief overview of the diversity of naming patterns in contemporary India. India is – and always has been – a diverse land of many cultures, religions, and languages. Add to that its colonial past (British, French, Portuguese), its varied other rulers and influencers (e.g. Mughals) in comparatively recent times, as well as social factors such as the caste system, and this produces a complicated system of naming, which is highly variable regionally and ethnically. This paper will concentrate on personal naming systems, and will look at different systems as determined by social class (caste), religion, and northern (Indo-European) vs. southern (Dravidian) systems of naming. Throughout, attention will be paid to the sociological and sociopolitical effects in contemporary India.

Surnames in the Melting Pot: Presentation of a Project on Surnames and Immigration

Märit Frändén Sweden

Abstract

This article presents a new three-year research project on surnames and immigration in present-day Sweden. Chosen surnames from some of Sweden's most important immigrant languages will be examined through interviews with name bearers. The interviews will focus on changes in pronunciation and spelling, parallel use of name form in different stages of adaptation, the officially registered name form (where not all special characters can be properly registered) and the relation between name and identity in a migration context.

* * *

This article presents a new research project on surnames and immigration in present-day Sweden. After World War II, the number of immigrants has increased and at present, almost every fifth Swedish citizen is either born abroad or born in Sweden, but with both parents born abroad. Of course, this has had great influence on the Swedish surname stock, as many immigrants bring surnames which have not been in use in Sweden before. And when those surnames from foreign countries and languages become used in Swedish society, it also has an influence on the forms of the names. Swedes in general do not know much about Hungarian, Turkish or Arabic pronunciation, so when names from, for example, those languages are used in a Swedish context, the names are almost always bound to get a more or less different pronunciation. This is, of course, a natural process – but also a process of great onomastic interest. Many of these surnames will be handed over to new generations, and therefore be a part of the Swedish name stock in the future as well. Which name forms will be in use in the future, are results of the adaptation process going on today.

My research project is called *Surnames in the Melting Pot. How Immigrant Surnames are Integrated into the Present Day Swedish Surname Stock.* It is financed by Riksbankens jubileumsfond, the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences, and will last for three years, with one researcher. The aim of the study is to investigate how immigrant surnames are adopted to a new country, in my case Sweden. The reason for choosing surnames is of course that they are hereditary, and are therefore likely to be part of the name stock in the future as well. A researcher on Swedish immigrants in America has claimed that, of the whole Swedish language that was once in use there, it is the surnames that have remained the longest (Hedblom 1984: 87-88). That can possibly be the case with the immigrant languages and surnames in future Sweden, too.

This study concentrates on what I call *immigrant names* – which partly, but not completely, overlap with *immigrants' names*, in the sense 'names borne by immigrants'. In

my investigation, it does not matter if the name bearers are born abroad, if they are immigrants of the so-called second or third generations or if they bear the name as a married name. Of course, all these different conditions will influence the name bearer's relation to the name in different ways, but in this project, I am interested in all these aspects. My approach is the name itself. It is, so to speak, the name that is the immigrant.

Immigrant surnames have been defined as surnames that:

- 1. Had no bearers in Sweden by 1 Jan 1920, and
- 2. Are borne by at least 100 bearers registered as residing in present-day Sweden.

The date 1 Jan 1920 is chosen for purely technical reasons: a stock was taken of all the family names registered as being in use in Sweden that specific date. This resulted in the name list *Sverges familjenamn 1920* ('The family names of Sweden 1920'), which can be used to check which names were in use in the country, by at least one person, at that time. The reason for the limit of 100 bearers is to avoid most of the newly created surnames, which are quite common in Sweden as a group, but where the individual name in most cases has fewer than 100 bearers.

If you count the surnames that meet these two criteria, you will find that they are about 1,500. But how to handle them? As a start, I wished to group them by their language of origin. That is, however, no easy task. The first problem is that I do not know all the languages of the world. As a remedy for that, I have formed a reference group of people with knowledge in some of the major immigrant languages in Sweden, e.g. Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Polish, Turkish, Albanian, etc. The members of the reference group are mainly native speakers working as university teachers and researchers, and thus highly qualified for the task. But this does not help me in my second problem, namely the general difficulties of name classification. In many cases, personal names are hard to classify, since they are borrowed and transferred between languages and often get new, more or less, adopted forms. Therefore, no definite classification can be expected. But at this stage, a preliminary classification is nevertheless better than none at all. The plain and unpleasant truth is that when you try to get a grasp of a huge material, you cannot have the ambition of being as exact and particular as when dealing with only a few objects. Sometimes it is worth more to get an overall picture than to get exact information on just a small part.

Each member of the reference group was given a list of the 1,500 selected surnames in alphabetic order, but with no other marks or comments. I asked them to mark all the names they considered belonging to their own language, not necessarily in the etymological sense, but also names from other languages which have an adopted form in the actual language. Needless to say, such languages labels are apt to be very rough, since it is not always easy to determine to which of two related languages a certain name belongs. But even if it is not possible to distinguish if a certain name has a Spanish or Portuguese form, it can still be possible to determine that the name is not e.g. Estonian or Chinese – and in a first mapping of names that might be of almost any origin, that information is actually useful. My previous work (presented in Frändén 2013) has given an overall picture of the most important donor languages when it comes to immigrant surnames. With both the number of immigrant names and the frequency of specific names taken into consideration, the most important languages seem to be Arabic, Finnish, Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, Turkish, Spanish, Chinese, Persian, Albanian, Vietnamese, Hungarian, and Polish.

Out of these languages, I will pick specific names to investigate. In the choice of which names to investigate, I will combine various aspects. In principle, on the one hand, highly frequent names, and on the other, names that in some way differ from the normal structure of Swedish names. Highly frequent names can be e.g. *Ali* (borne by 9,829 persons in Sweden) and *Ahmed* (borne by 7,445). One can always argue that the most common names are of great importance, simply since they are most likely to remain. Names that differ from Swedish language or name structure are on the other hand the ones more likely to undergo a change of pronunciation. Such names are e.g. *Khosravi, Nousiainen*, and *Kovács*.

When it comes to written forms, there are a lot of names with special characters or diacritics which are not in use in Swedish, e.g. *Ćosić*, *Yılmaz*, *Şahin*, and *Pawłowski*. Apart for the problem that these characters are not very well known to Swedes in general, there are also limitations to which letters can be handled by the Swedish population registration system. What you can register is the ordinary Swedish alphabet (a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z å ä ö) alongside with some special characters, namely à á â ã è é ê ë ì í î ï ò ó ô õ ù ú û ü ý æ ø ç ñ and ÿ. Thus, many vowels can be registered, but only two consonants apart from those of the Swedish alphabet. This means that for example the letters ć č š ž ğ ı ş ł ś and ź, which are all in use in some of the major immigrant languages in Sweden, cannot be registered. These conditions will be highly relevant to my investigations.

Names originally written in other alphabets or writing systems form a special category. Their transcription forms normally do not include problematic characters – but there might be quite a few possible transcription forms for the same name. For example, the forms *Sharif, Sharef, Sharef,* and *Charif* all represent the same Arabic name, but are transcribed according to different systems. Names with various transcription forms are also an interesting object for this study.

My main research question is how the immigrant names are Swedified. But how can I find that out? My idea is that the best information about the different name forms in use is to be found with the name bearers. Therefore, I am going to interview people who bear those names that I have selected. To find informants, I am planning to use university student databases. This does not, however, mean that I am only going to interview university students. The databases contain information on everyone who has attended or even only applied for some kind of university course, long education programs as well as freestanding part time courses, since the computer based registration of applicants started some decades ago. This means that persons found in the database can be of all ages and professions, present-day students, teachers, civil servants, engineers, nurses, unemployed artists, etc. What they do have in common is interface with Swedish society and, not of least importance for me, up-to-date contact information. Thus, those databases are an easy way to access information: I can search the database for a certain name, and immediately get a list of name bearers and how to get in touch with them.

My main interview themes are planned to be four: spelling and pronunciation; parallel name forms; officially registered name form, and name and identity.

The first theme, spelling and pronunciation, concentrates on the linguistic changes of the names. Which sounds or sound combinations actually cause problems? Are there

similarities or dissimilarities compared to loan words, which also undergo a process of phonetic adaptation? Are names treated in the same way, or differently? In this adaptation process of names, there might also be differences between languages. In general, one can presume that names from languages which are well-known and high status are pronounced closer to its original form. So, English, German or French names in Sweden are probably pronounced in a more English, German or French way, while names from low-prestige languages might be more likely to undergo change. I will not investigate any English or German names this time, but maybe there can still be differences between the languages of my investigations.

Parallel name forms means two different forms of the same name, being in use by the same person in different contexts. This is often one name form close to the original name (in the sense of a normal pronunciation in the homeland) and one more Swedified form. If parallel name forms are in use – and I think they often are – it is interesting to find out in which contexts the informants use the Swedified form, and in which contexts the form closer to the original name. On this point, I hope the informants will be able to report not only which forms they use themselves, but also which forms their family members use in different contexts. I have an idea that there might be differences in the same family, so that the younger ones use the Swedified form more often. In that case, based on this information, can you get an idea if the use of parallel forms will be maintained, or if only the Swedified form is likely to remain?

The restrictions on special characters in the official Swedish registers mentioned earlier form the background of my third interview theme. Quite a few special characters or diacritics are left out or replaced with characters that are graphically similar. But will the name bearers continue using these diacritics when writing their names, or will they start leaving them out after some time? Diacritics bear information on the pronunciation of its letter. If a diacritic is left out, will that gradually cause a change of the pronunciation, so that it is adjusted to the new spelling? Or will the spoken form remain unchanged, regardless of the loss of the diacritic?

Finally, it is of course of great interest to find out more about the relation between name and identity in this specific context. Can one identify with a 'misspelled' and 'mispronunced' name? How long does it take to accept the new Swedified name form as your own name – if you ever accept it at all? The questions of name and identity are important to everyone, but maybe they can be of even greater importance for those who have, for some reason or other, separated from a former homeland, or else are part of a linguistic or ethnic minority group.

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User Names in Finnish Online Communities

Lasse Hämäläinen *Finland*

Abstract

The subject of the presentation is user names, registered unofficial personal names that are used in Internet communities. Research data consists of 7,600 user names, collected from three online communities where Finnish is the primary language.

The analysis of user names is focused mainly on their structure. The structure of a user name can be divided in two functionally different parts. The identifying part is the foundation of a user name. Mostly it is the user's forename or an appellation, but other proper names (toponyms, commercial names) or made-up words are also quite common. A user name must be unique in the community it is registered to. Therefore, in many names there is also supplementary part, which sets the name apart from other user names with the same identifying part, e.g. in user name *someone44914* the identifying part is *someone* and the supplementary part is *44914*.

Capitalization of user names is also examined. Capitalizing proper names is an essential orthographic norm in many languages, but in user names it is not necessary. For instance, in a Finnish online gaming community Aapeli (www.aapeli.com) only 40% of user names are capitalized. The causes of this kind of tendency are discussed.

Naming 'the Other': Derogatory Ethnonyms in the Nguni Kingdom in the Early 1800s

Adrian Koopman South Africa

Abstract

Ethnonymic insults are often based on a perception that the group named is in some way different from the group bestowing the name. They may behave differently, wear their hair in a different way, speak differently, have different religious beliefs, or come from 'the other side of the river'. Today, the Zulu-speaking inhabitants of the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa think of themselves as amaZulu ('the Zulu people'). However, before the rise of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka kaSenzangakhona in the early 1800s, this area was populated by a variety of different groups, identified, *inter alia*, as the amaNtungwa, the iziYendane, the abaQulusi, the amaLala, and the abeNzansi. These are all names given by other groups for the sorts of reasons mentioned above. This paper analyses these names in the light of recent comments made by Nuessel (2008) about 'ethnopaulisms' and research done by McConnell in 2006 about 'shibbolethnonyms' and 'directional ethnonyms' among Australian aborigines.

The paper ends with a brief examination of terms like 'non-Aryan', 'non-white' and 'non-European', where ethnic groups are specifically identified as not belonging to the group coining and using the names.

Toponymy and Vivification of Identity Among School-Age Children

Carol Léonard Canada

Abstract

It may be assumed that the toponymic landscape, just as the linguistic landscape, may serve 'important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory' (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Landry and Bourhis (1997) also found that the linguistic landscape constitutes an important correlate of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality representing perceptions of the vitality of the in-group language in various domains. Inspired by the results of this research, our project was designed to create and provide all schools of the francophone minority in Saskatchewan (Canada) with monumental and synoptic maps showing more the 2,500 French toponyms in this province to offset as efficiently as possible the 'carryover effect' of the English dominant language in the linguistic landscape on the linguistic behavior of students. Identical but poster-size maps were also distributed to all French immersion schools of this province. The production of these maps (as permanent exhibits in schools) is part of a larger project that stems from the largest Canadian research on the French place names in Western Canada.

Reference

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For or Against Renaming *Hindenburgplatz* in Münster, Germany

Olga Mori

Germany

Abstract

In front of the castle of the city of Münster there is a large square which was named *Hindenburgplatz* in 1927 on occasion of Hindenburg's 80th birthday. Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934) was appointed chief of the general staff of the German armies in August 1916 and President of the German Republic in April 1925. In 1932 he was persuaded to run for re-election against Hitler and won in a run-off. However, in 1933, he appointed Hitler as Chancellor.

Due to the negative political connotations of *Hindenburgplatz* the Town Council decided to rename it *Schloßplatz* on 21 March 2012. This decision split the inhabitants of Münster into two groups, those who accepted the new name and those who wanted to keep the old one. Consequently, the Town Council decided to hold a referendum on the selection of one of these names on 16 September 2012. Finally, the name *Schlossplatz* won.

The aim of this paper is to show the active social participation in the propaganda previous to the referendum by analysing some of the posters used. Through the semiotic content of words and images the posters point to different arguments which should lead the citizens to accept or reject *Hindenburgplatz*.

* * *

The City of Münster

The city of Münster (Latin: *Monasterium*) in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, is considered to be the cultural centre of the Westphalia region. The Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, was signed in Münster. The Peace was proclaimed on 24 October 1648. Münster has around 300,000 inhabitants, with about 49,000 students.

In the city of Münster there is a Baroque castle designed by Schlaun, former residence of the prince-bishops, which was partially finished in 1773. It was destroyed during World War II and rebuilt after 1945. Nowadays, it is part of the *Westfälische Wilhelms – Universität Münster*.

In front of the castle there is a large area which, in the course of time, received different designations. An accurate chronology of the official and non-official names used since 1661, documented with plans showing the amount of surface designated by each name, can be found in Rommé and Thier (2012: 5-11). Also Lambacher (2012: 153-155) documents chronologically the different names given to this place.



Fig.1. Schloss - Castle. University Building

Designations after 1773

Only those names used after 1773 will be mentioned here. From this year on, the area right in front of the castle was called *Schlossplatz* and the one which reached the street *Neuer Platz* or *Neuplatz*. However, the extension of each area changed in the course of time as Rommé and Thier (2012: 8-11) show.



Fig. 2. Designations *Schlossplatz* (orange) and *Neuer Platz/Neuplatz* (light green), ca. 1830-1927 (Rommé and Thier 2012: 10)

In 1927, the *Neuplatz* was renamed *Hindenburgplatz* in honour of Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934). On this square there are other buildings – some of them belong to the University – as well as a promenade and a free area used for different purposes, e.g. parking, circus location and amusement park three times a year. The street running in front of the castle was also called *Hindenburgplatz*.



Fig. 3. Designations *Schlossplatz* (orange) and *Hindenburgplatz* (grey), 1927-1933 (Rommé and Thier 2012:10)

However, following the decision of the Town Council on 21 March 2012, both areas and the street are called nowadays *Schlossplatz*.



Fig. 4. Designation *Schlossplatz* (orange), since 21 March 2012 (Rommé and Thier 2012: 11)



Fig.5. Schlossplatz – Promenade



Fig. 6. Schlossplatz – University building



Fig. 7. Street Schlossplatz and buildings on the other side of the street

Historical Background of the Name *Hindenburgplatz* – Paul von Hindenburg

Paul von Hindenburg (2 October 1847 - 2 August 1934) was a well-known military leader during World War I, who became famous because he defeated the Russian armies at the battle of Tannenberg (August 1914). He also had an important political career and was elected president of Germany (second president of the Republic of Weimar) in 1925. In 1932, at the age of 84, he was persuaded to run for re-election against Hitler and won in a run-off. However, a year later, in 1933, he appointed Hitler as Chancellor.

In order to honour Hindenburg on occasion of his 80th birthday in 1927, his name was given to different urban referents in many cities; this also occurred in Münster, where the *Neuplatz* was renamed after Hindenburg because of his merits in times of peace and war (Thamer 2012: 262). Lambacher (2012: 156) provides copies of the official decision to honour Hindenburg and of the telegram sent to him, as well as the program of the birthday's celebration.

According to Thamer (2012: 259-260), many streets, squares and schools called *Hindenburg* were renamed in Germany after 1945, but about 400 such designations are still used. Several cities did not accept to change this name. (cf. 'Deutschlands Städte entsorgen Paul von Hindenburg' (2013) and 'Hindenburgstraße Gronau: Wissenschaftler klar gegen Umbenennung' (n.d.)). In Münster, from 1965, there were several official petitions so that the name *Hindenburgplatz* would be changed, but with no result (Lambacher 2012: 160). One possible cause of uncertainty about the renaming might have been the time in which the name was bestowed and the aspects of Hindenburg's life taken into account. Should the hero of Tannenberg (1914) or the president of Germany ('Reichspresident') since 1925 be remembered? (Thamer 2012: 261-262).

At present the figure of Hindenburg is quite controversial, mainly after the publication of his biography by Wolfram Pyta (2009), where Hindenburg is depicted as the person who intentionally transferred the power to Hitler because the latter could accomplish his totalitarian ideas of a '*Volksgemeinschaft*' (cf. also: Kellerhoff (2008)). Even if this opinion has been broadly accepted by present-day historians, this does not mean, that there are not other historians who argue against it.

Before the decision to suppress the name *Hindenburgplatz* in Münster was taken, a commission did research on Paul von Hindenburg and they came to the conclusion that Hindenburg had played a much more important role in the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor and in the rise of the Nazi Party to power. Consequently, due to the negative political connotations of *Hindenburgplatz*, the Town Council renamed this place *Schlossplatz* on 21 March 2012, but this decision was not accepted by all the inhabitants of Münster which split into two groups.

According to Pöppinghege (2012: 33-38), people offer massive resistance to renaming a street which has a politically motivated name, because the designative function is kept even if the evocative meaning cannot be accepted anymore. The objections, which are mentioned by Pöppinghege, are based on:
- 1. functional, practical arguments, e.g. cost of the renaming,
- 2. traditional arguments, e.g. all names constitute a historical corpus which should not be changed,
- 3. didactical arguments, e.g. the intention behind the act of renaming is to suppress the names which are historically uncomfortable or inconvenient,
- 4. categorical arguments, e.g. the change of a street name is based on the desire to obtain political correctness,
- 5. arguments politically incorrect,
- 6. arguments autonomously fixed, e.g. people do not want to accept the opinion of professors or historians.

Opinions for or against *Hindenburgplatz*

The different opinions of the citizens about the political role of Hindenburg are shown in the following arguments exposed in the Town Council in its session of 27 June 2012 (Stadt Münster August 2012).

The *Citizens' Initiative 'Schlossplatz'* ('Bürgerinitiative *Schlossplatz'*) (www.schlossplatz-ms.de and www.facebook.com/schlossplatz.bleibt) asked the inhabitants to vote for '*Nein'* (No) to *Hindenburgplatz* so that the name *Schlossplatz* should remain. The *Citizens' Initiative pro 'Hindenburgplatz'* (www.hindenburgplatz-muenster.de) asked the inhabitants to vote for '*Ja*' (Yes) in order not to accept the decision of the town council and to rename this area again *Hindenburgplatz*. The information under these links can be read even today.

The group called *Citizens' Initiative pro Hindenburgplatz* ('Bürgerinitiative pro *Hindenburgplatz'*) presented a public petition signed by 15,123 persons rejecting the name *Schlossplatz* and asking the Town Council to replace it by *Hindenburgplatz*, the name used before, but this petition was rejected and the town council called for a referendum on 16 September 2012. Previous to the referendum, the city of Münster published a flier called '*Bürgerentscheid*' (Citizens' Decision), in which each one of these groups presented their point of view for or against the renaming (Stadt Münster, August 2012).

The *Citizens' Initiative pro Hindenburgplatz* argued that the name *Hindenburgplatz* was part of the history of Münster because it had been used for 85 years. Besides, Hindenburg had to be viewed in the light of the time he lived in and considering the problems he had to solve, among others, a lost war, hyperinflation, 5,500,000 unemployed and 20 changes of government. They also added that even the Socialists (*SPD*) supported him in 1932 for his re-election as president and that a referendum would cost the city of Münster 285,000 euros.

The *Conservative Party* (*CDU*) agreed to hold a referendum because of the different opinions of its members.

The *Socialists (SPD)* voted against the renaming for several reasons, among others, Hindenburg was responsible for the use of poisonous gas in World War I, for the destruction of the Republic of Weimar and for the designation of Hitler as Chancellor. He also prohibited the Socialist Party and persecuted its members. The Socialists were for *Schlossplatz* because they did not want to forget the victims of Hindenburg's decisions. Place names are used to honour persons and at present it is impossible to honour persons who remind us of the Nazi dictatorship or the DDR regime. Münster, the city of the Peace of Westphalia, should not send any positive signal for such a person as Hindenburg.

The members of the *Green Party* (*GAL*) said that the city of Münster had done critical research on Hindenburg's biography by means of courses, exhibitions, workshops and publications. According to the new historical findings the name *Hindenburg* does not deserve to be seen on a street sign. He contributed to the destruction of the Republic of Weimar. The propaganda against the Republic, the '*Dolchstoßlegende*', would not have been possible without Hindenburg. He was the president of Germany, but he was not for pluralism. There was no political need to appoint Hitler; he wanted Hitler. He abolished the freedom of the press and of public meetings. Socialists and communists were sent to the first concentration camps and anti-Semitism increased. Books were burnt in front of the cathedral of Münster. Since the new historical facts are known as a result of scientific research, the names which keep alive the memory of the Nazi past should no longer be used.

The *Liberal Party* (*FDP*) expressed the view that Hindenburg does not deserve the greatest honour that a Town Council can confer: to give the name of a person to a street. According to the new historical studies, Hindenburg should be seen as the man who abused his power to build an authoritarian state from a democratic one. The *FDP* thinks that it should not be taken into account that many streets named *Hindenburg* exist in Germany and that the liberals should show that this man does not deserve to be honoured.

The *Communist Party* (*DIE LINKE*) said that in the history of a country there are mistakes, cruel actions, political catastrophes and dictators, and these persons and facts do not deserve to be honoured. Hindenburg was an enemy of democracy. He did not admit that Germany was guilty of World War I and found socialists and communists guilty. The left-wing party asks to vote for '*Nein*' (No) because to rename this place would be a slap on the face for all historically conscious and humanistic persons. The image of Münster as a University town and a tolerant City of Peace would be damaged. The renaming of *Neuplatz* for *Hindenburgplatz* in 1927 cannot be justified.

Propaganda Previous to the Referendum on 16 September 2012

After it had been decided that a referendum should take place on 16 September 2012 to decide which name should be chosen, an active campaign for or against the renaming began. In this paper, I try, mainly, to call the attention to the appellative and evocative functions of this street sign which has caused – in a special context and circumstances – unusually strong reactions among the inhabitants of Münster. For some, this name was untouchable, for others, it should be replaced by all means. The act of renaming a street was not an isolated decision of an official commission, but became an important social event leading each group to struggle to achieve its goal in different ways, such as readers' letters, lectures, exhibitions, fliers and posters adequately placed in the city. Next we present and analyse some of the posters used as a means of propaganda previous to the referendum to influence the inhabitants of Münster to vote for one name or the other. On the posters the appellative

function of speech signs is powerfully enhanced through the appellative function of images, design and colours. Thus the street names appear in a new fictitious context which evokes the real one.

According to Frese (2012: 9-11), street names evoke the time, the type of government, the culture and the place in which they were given. They help to build and keep the collective memory just as monuments of people or deeds do. They are a form of historical politics, of political memory. The renaming of a street interferes with the cultural memory; it banishes a person, event, place, etc. from the official memory of a city. In Germany, the renaming has mainly taken place as consequence of political caesura.

Posters for Hindenburgplatz

The group called *Citizens' Initiative for 'JA'* (YES) *for Hindenburg* worked enthusiastically so that *Schlossplatz* should be renamed *Hindenburgplatz* at the referendum.

As it can be seen, active individual propaganda was also used. This lady (see Fig. 8) stood in a very busy street downtown; she had an unfolded copy of a flier on her chest with reasons why people should vote 'JA' (YES). In her left hand she had samples of the same flier to hand out to those passers-by who might have an interest in it and in her right hand another flier with the copy of the poster to be shown next. She was willing to exchange information or opinions with passers-by and allowed me to use a photograph of her in this article.



Fig. 8.

On the next poster (Fig. 9), the name of *Citizens' Initiative for 'JA'* (YES) for *Hindenburgplatz* is written in white letters on a blue background at the top of the poster. In

the centre, there is a shield with the name *Hindenburgplatz* with the blurred picture of the castle at the back. At the bottom, on a white rectangle it can be read '*EIN VERTRAUTES STÜCK MÜNSTER*: *HIER SIND WIR ZUHAUSE*' ('A familiar part of Münster: Here, we are at home'). These words call the attention to the fact that this place is known to the inhabitants of Münster under the name *Hindenburgplatz*, which has been used for 85 years and they feel themselves at home surrounded by the names known to them.



Fig. 9.

Posters for *Schlossplatz*

As the following posters show, most of the groups, or representatives of the different political parties, wanted to keep the name *Schlossplatz*.

The socialists, *SPD*, attracted the attention of the citizens by using letters in the symbolic colour red on a white background at the top of the poster: '*Das ist nicht mein Münster*' ('That is not my Münster') and white letters on a red background at the bottom: '*Am 16. September für ein offenes und modernes Münster: X Nein zu Hindenburg! SPD*' ('On 16 September for an open and modern Münster: X No to Hindenburg!') (Fig. 10). They strongly rejected the renaming because Hindenburg did not deserve to be honoured as a statesman and a politician.



Fig. 10.

The picture caricatures the city of Münster, which is well-known because of its many churches. Three of the most important ones, the Cathedral, the Lamberty Church and the Überwasser Church, as well as the Town Hall, are personified representing the city. They are terrified, sad, and angry under the overwhelming influence of Hindenburgs' helmet and fear his name might be chosen. The Überwasser Church takes her hand to her head worried about the future. Another identifying characteristic of the city is the Kippenkerl, a typical vendor of former times, who is depicted here as a cyclist.

The most impressive poster (Fig. 11) is the one which reproduces a photo of Hitler and Hindenburg shaking hands. The black and white photo is on a red background with the blurred figure of a soldier between both of them. In the upper left hand corner, in a yellow circle, there is a black design of the castle plus the desired name *Schlossplatz*. This symbol can be found on all posters for '*Ja*' (Yes). No other words besides '*NEIN zu Hindenburg*' ('NO to Hindenburg') are needed because the picture speaks for itself. It confronts the inhabitants with reality, with a past moment of German history, which awakens memories and associations.



Fig. 11.

Some other posters show the photo of an important person representing a group (Fig. 12). For example, Notburga Heveling, chairwoman of the Catholic Committee, asks the citizens to vote for *Schlossplatz*: *'Für Münster: Schlossplatz, ja bitte!'* ('For Münster: *Schlossplatz, please!'*). At the bottom of the poster *'NEIN'* (NO), in huge capital letters, indicates to vote against *Hindenburgplatz* at the referendum of 16.09.2012. Yellow is the representative colour of the posters of the *Citizens' Initiative 'Schlossplatz*', whose links are given as well.

On a similar poster, Friedrich Ostermann, auxiliary bishop of Münster, asks the citizens to vote for *Schlossplatz* '...weil wir Stadt des Friedens sind.' (... 'because we are a city of peace'). These words remind everybody that the treaties of peace which ended the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) were signed in Münster and Osnabrück.



Fig. 12.

In representation of the students of the University of Münster, Lena Rosa Beste (Fig. 13), a law-student, smiles ironically. In a white heart we can read the words '*Ein Herz für Hindenburg*!' ('A heart for Hindenburg!'). She asks to vote for the name *Schlossplatz* '...weil eine erneute Umbenennung albern wäre.' (... 'because a new renaming would be foolish').



Fig. 13.

The Students' Association (ASTA) rejected to choose *Hindenburgplatz* ('AStA: "Schlossplatz muss bleiben" (2012)).

Result of the Referendum

A majority of voters (59,38%) rejected *Hindenburgplatz* at the referendum on 16 September 2012 and voted for the name *Schlossplatz* ('Münster lehnt "Hindenburgplatz" ab' (2012)).

However, five months after the referendum, to indicate the location of a circus both names have been written, the new one in larger letters (Fig. 14). This helps to orient many people who keep on using *Hindenburgplatz* or do not know that this name has been changed. It takes some time until a new name is widely used.



Fig. 14. Announcement of Circus Paul Busch

Conclusions

Different styles have been used to represent and evoke these two street names.

On the one hand, each linguistic sign should be clearly represented and identified, on the other, form and content of the posters should appeal to the citizens so that they should vote for one of the proposed names.

Through the semiotic content of words and images, the posters point to different arguments, such as war, peace, modernity, history, culture and religion, which should lead the citizens to accept or reject *Hindenburgplatz*.

The posters also convey the emotions which each street sign may awake, e.g. either neutral or positive for the *Citizens' Initiative for 'JA*', or negative ones for the groups against it.

In any case, they show clearly that the function of a street name goes far beyond the designation and identification of a referent as a means of orientation. It also influences the social behaviour of the citizens.

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What Were Women Really Called? Pet Forms of Female Names in English Parish Registers, 1540-1800

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Abstract

This paper forms part of a wider study on women's names in their social context. Hypocoristic or pet forms of English personal names have existed as long as the names themselves. Very occasionally, such forms for female names are recorded in the 16th- and 17th-century parish registers. However, it is not until the mid-18th century that the phenomenon becomes widespread and pet forms appear regularly as baptismal names in the registers. This study shows which names were amenable to pet forms, what forms such hypocorisms took, and which pet forms became recognised as names in their own right. The collection of these names sheds some light on differences in their historical or regional pronunciation and also on the development of their usage. The authors begin to investigate whether it might be possible to distinguish any differences in practice by region, by religious practice or by social context. They attempt to explain why this development applied particularly to female names, and why such forms became accepted as names in their own right and therefore acceptable at baptism and other times of official record.

* * *

This paper arises from a wider project investigating English women's names in their social context. In total, some hundred parish registers, covering all areas – though not yet every county – of England, have been studied. The formats of the sources used vary from original registers, early-20th-century transcripts, and some online resources including digitised originals, and other transcripts; supplemented, where necessary, by the potentially less reliable forms in the International Genealogical Index.

We became interested in surviving traces of vernacular, familiar and pet name forms in these, and other, records. We found that English parish registers, whilst obviously recording formal baptismal names, also contain some evidence of what adult women were actually called on a day to day basis, and how they were known in the family and community. At the same time, we became aware of a growing incidence of pet forms actually recorded at the time of baptism over the centuries. In particular, we were intrigued by the circumstances in which the phenomenon of forms with diminutive -y endings (as in *Betty, Fanny, Kitty* and so on) seems to become acceptable almost universally, allowing these forms to be seen as names in their own right. Redmonds (2004: 160-161) notes that this topic seems to have attracted little serious attention: we hoped to shed some light on the process, or at least to provide more examples for discussion.

We can assume that hypocoristic, or pet, forms of women's names in England have been around as long as the names themselves. McClure (1981 and 1998) has provided an authoritative discussion showing how the various classes of such names should be analysed and interpreted. Here we merely note that evidence from the medieval, pre-parish register era is to be found in those documents that record women, and that further proof can be seen in those fossilised pet forms of female personal names which survive in metronymic surnames. Examples such as *Bibb(y)* (diminutive of Isabel), *Cass, Cassie* and *Casson* (Cassandra), *Till* and *Tillotson* (Matilda) and more can be retrieved from Reaney (1976) and Hanks and Hodges (1988).

By the time of the first parish registers, occasional pet forms for female names make an appearance. Interestingly, these are usually first found recorded, not at baptism, but later, during adulthood, when the woman married, gave birth, or died. Some pet names that we found in these circumstances appear in a variety of short forms: *Bess* (Elizabeth) married 1545 Sussex, *Eme* (Emma) buried 1553 Shropshire, *Myn* (uncertain) adult 1583 Norfolk, *Nell* (Ellen) married 1598 Sussex. Others show the diminutive suffix -y: *Barbery* (Barbara) married 1545, *Edie* (Edith) buried 1576 Gloucestershire, *Saly* (Sarah) married 1593 Derbyshire; the last form, *Saly*, is a true (double) diminutive form, whereas the first two forms also reflect the current vernacular pronunciation of the full name.

Our findings in the 16th century only uncovered the baptisms of *Luce* (Lucy) 1579 Buckinghamshire and *Eme* (Emma) 1595 Shropshire: apparently confirming the theory that pet forms in parish registers were first applied to adult women and less likely to be recorded as formal baptismal names. Such a linking of pet names with adult women also tallies well with the evidence from medieval metronymic surnames. Obviously, to determine the full social contexts in which such pet forms were acceptable, a much wider survey of other written records, both public and private, would be needed.

However, we did find, in the later 17th century, a few more short forms being registered at baptism. We cannot say for sure whether this new style reflects the name as spoken by the godparent, or by the parish priest, or as recorded afterwards by a parish clerk sympathetic to the family's wishes: *Kate* (Katherine) 1692 Cornwall, *Nann* (Ann(a), Hannah) 1672 Shropshire. Some earlier baptismal names, which appear to be short forms, such as *Angel* (Angela) 1618 Somerset and *Cordell* (Cordelia) 1646 Sussex, may already have been seen as names in their own right. Possibly the earlier example of *Eme*, recorded twice in Shropshire, above (and also found as *Eamme* married 1605 Sussex) was part of the same process.

A few more new short forms are recorded at baptism, later, during the 18th century. One, *Frews* 1764 Surrey, is particularly interesting in that it is an abbreviation of the name *Frusanna*(h), which in turn seems to be an 18th-century invention, a combination of *Frances* and *Susanna*(h). Here we have a hint of the imaginative naming of girls (as opposed to boys) which can be traced throughout the period, and indeed has much earlier roots.

Turning to those adult pet names recorded before the 18th century and which take a longer form, we found one type to be that of the name itself plus a diminutive ending in -y: *Anny* (Ann(a), Hannah) married 1595 Surrey, *Joanie* (Joan) adult 1649 Staffs. In passing, we note that this form *Joanie* may reflect that the simple name *Joan* was, according to Camden (1614), already unpopular (and giving way to the name *Jane*). Particular examples which attracted our attention were the diminutives by extension *Faythye* buried 1628 Devon, *Gracie* adult 1665 Derbyshire and *Truthy* married 1688 Norfolk: the names *Faith*, *Grace* and *Truth*

(amongst others) forming part of a previous study on virtue names (Nair and Scherr 2012). Other names use a short form of some sort and then add the -*y* suffix, producing a double diminution in the same style as *Saly* noted above: *Dolly* (Dorothy) adult 1685 Devon, *Silly* (Priscilla) buried 1654 Devon.

Concentrating now on baptismal names, the -y ending is found from the 16th century onwards. *Thamsy* (Thomasin(a), Tamsin) 1552 Devon also uses a shortened form and then extends this. However, *Margery* (Margaret) baptised 1540 Surrey is identified by Hanks and Hodges (1990) as the usual medieval vernacular form of the name, which seems to have become a name in its own right by this time. Generally, this early appearance of -y endings, whilst also infantilising a name, may therefore just (or additionally) reflect the current popular pronunciation: *Averie* (Aphra) baptised 1572 Kent, *Presselay* (Priscilla) baptised 1607 Devon, *Deberie* baptised 1630 Staffordshire, *Marthy* baptised 1649 Surrey, *Phillippy* (Phillipa) baptised 1683 Cornwall, *Sarye* (Sarah) baptised 1613 Yorkshire, *Urseley* (Ursula) baptised 1573 Norfolk.

Meanwhile, further forms such as *Adrie* (Audrey) buried 1637 Sussex, *Yedye* (Edith) baptised 1580 Warwickshire, made us realise that our collection could also be used to study pronunciation, local, regional or over time. This would be a topic for another paper. Here we merely note a few examples of the various different pronunciations recorded in parish registers. Some seem to be regional dialect variations: for example, adding *Y* or *H* to the start of a word, as in *Yeedith* (Edith) baptised 1645 Gloucestershire, and also *Hiddy* (Edith) baptised 1810 Sussex, *Hellenor* (Eleanor) baptised 1664 Berkshire. Some reflect the particular pronunciation of the age: *Custance* (Constance) baptised 1562 Bedfordshire, *Darity* 1563 Bedfordshire (Dorothy). The form *Betteridge* (Beatrice) baptised 1566 Worcestershire, along with many variants, including *Betteritch* adult 1599 Staffs, *Bitterice* baptised 1612 Surrey, perhaps attempts to preserve the original Italian pronunciation.

Returning to pet forms of names, of course none would have appeared in the registers if they were not acceptable to the minister in question. This view of propriety and acceptability no doubt varied from person to person and parish to parish, as well as, we would suggest, over time and perhaps reflecting the gradual influence of nonconformist practice. Occasionally the priest (or the parish clerk) feels the need to give both pet and formal names, for the record. The earliest example we have noted is *Alexan* alias *Alex* (presumably Alexandra) married 1600 Leicestershire. An appearance of the older style of diminutive ending *-et* is recorded in *Jenet* alies *Johan* baptised 1630 Yorkshire. Later we have *Betty* aliter *Elizabeth* baptised 1767 Lancashire, *Aggy* 'or if you please' *Agnes* baptised 1783 Lancashire, *Mary* (or *Polly*) married 1811 Nottinghamshire and *Charry* or *Charity* baptised 1815 Sussex.

By studying the full registers in their original or transcribed format we can occasionally identify the same woman, at different stages of her life, using different forms of her name. Here again, such evidence as we have seems to point to the adult use of pet forms. For example, *Han* adult 1732 Shropshire was earlier married as *Hannah*, *Tim* buried 1741 Staffs was married as *Thomasin*, *Patty* married 1758 Devon was baptised *Patience*, *Milly* adult 1759 Staffordshire was elsewhere *Amelia*, *Mille* married 1763 Gloucestershire was baptised *Milberrow*, *Vye* adult Staffordshire 1786 was baptised *Viletta*, and *Creechy* adult 1793 Staffordshire was elsewhere *Lucretia*.

This recorded fluidity of usage throughout a woman's lifetime leads us to suppose that official and pet forms were therefore interchangeable in everyday life. We find the short form *Frank* (Frances) – used for an adult female, a wet-nurse, in Wimbledon, Surrey in 1722, 1723 and 1725 – mutating to *Fanny* when she was buried in 1751. We note evidence for the transition from *Jane* to *Jenny*: the adult *Jenny* in 1764 in Staffordshire is recorded elsewhere as *Jane*, and *Jenny* baptised in 1767 in Surrey was the daughter of a *Jenny*, who was elsewhere called *Jane*. *Jenney* daughter of *Jeney* baptised 1740 Surrey may even reflect this transition in pronunciation by its spelling. We also observe the possibility of levels of informality: the adult known as *Nanny* (Ann) 1787 Staffordshire was baptised *Nancey*.

As noted before, this study would need to be extended to include other types of documentary evidence in order to define more exactly when a pet form was officially acceptable and when not. Perhaps it is when it can be agreed by relevant parties to be a name 'in its own right', though this is a very subjective judgement to make. One thing that becomes very clear when we reach the 18th century is the number of baby girls given a diminutive of their mother's name. This is perhaps indicative of the growing influence of, and choice made by, the mother by this stage, although of course it can also be seen as part of the general tendency to memorialise popular family names across the generations. We have *Peggy* daughter of Margaret 1738 Cornwall, *Babby* daughter of Barbara 1755 Sussex, *Bett* daughter of Elizabeth 1756 Sussex, *Hetty* daughter of Hester 1760 Gloucestershire, *Nan* daughter of Ann 1772 Surrey, *Milly* daughter of Millicent 1778 Surrey.

In passing, we draw attention to our three examples of *Mille*, *Milly* which show that one pet form can arise from several different names – Amelia, Milborough, Millicent: something to be aware of generally when suggesting possible origins without any corroborating evidence.

Finally, we begin to see an explosion in growth of the pet form ending in -y at baptism as the 18th century unfolds: for example Alley 1772 Staffordshire, Annie 1705 Staffordshire, Bessy 1770 Staffordshire, Betsy 1778 Surrey, Betty 1710 Somerset, Biddy 1770 Surrey, Commey 1758 Worcestershire, Dessy 1762 Worcestershire, Docey 1731 Lancashire, Dolly 1749 Staffordshire, Epsey 1801 Bedfordshire, Fanny 1789 Surrey, Ginney 1785 Staffordshire, Happy 1815 Norfolk, Hippie 1755 Somerset, Jinny 1765 Lancashire, Katy 1735 Sussex, Kitty 1749 Staffordshire, Lany 1784 Staffordshire, Lyddy 1712 Worcestershire, Marsy 1753 Staffordshire, Matty 1766 Lancashire, Molly 1744 Staffordshire, Pally 1783 Yorkshire, Peggy 1732 Staffordshire, Philly 1775 Surrey, Polly 1781 Staffordshire, Silvey 1770 Staffordshire, Sophy 1775 Staffordshire, Sukey 1746 Worcestershire, Tabby 1774 Lancashire, Totty 1769 Staffordshire, Winney 1802 Staffordshire, Zanney 1836 Staffordshire.

This distillation from our records tends to confirm the findings of Redmonds (2004), Dunkling (1977) and others about the general emergence of baptismal names ending in -*y* at this time. Redmonds (2004: 161) notes that Yorkshire evidence differs from parish to parish, but finds the first instances – usually of *Betty* and *Fanny* – from the 1720s. Our study suggests that, although we may find sporadic earlier examples (*Nancy* baptised 1568 Cambridgeshire, *July* baptised 1602 Sussex, *Fransy* baptised 1658 Cornwall), generally this use of name form is a practice which became increasingly evident and widespread from the 1730s.

Of course, there are variations. At Dymock (Gloucestershire) the fashion is very marked between the 1730s and 1750s: of 50 female baptisms, 28 are either *Nancy* or *Betty*! We find our earliest *Betty* in 1710 in Wedmore (Somerset), with a few every decade thereafter. On the other hand, the fashion seems not to have reached Wimbledon (Surrey) until somewhat later, in the 1760s and 1770s. Interestingly, here, from 44 female baptisms, 14 take the form of the diminutive -*y*, but with a much greater variety: *Barbary, Betsy, Betty, Dolly, Fanny, Jenny, Milly, Molly, Nanny, Polly, Sally.*

So far, we too can only offer tentative explanations for this phenomenon. Ultimately the responsibility for allowing the record of a baptismal name in the vernacular must have rested with the relevant incumbent, and we have not yet discovered documentary evidence to explain this growing acceptance of informality. We may suspect it was encouraged by the general rise of non-conformity. There seems to be no particular regional influence at play (although we note a preponderance in Staffordshire and Worcestershire). Overall, the trend towards a longer delay before baptism, allowing mothers to be present, noted by Coster (2002) and by Cressy (1997) as beginning in the later 17th century, may have had some influence in allowing 'baby names' to be established. A greater incidence of private baptism, and the decline in naming after godparents, an important factor in the choice of baptismal name in the earlier period, may also have contributed, as suggested by Redmonds (2004) and Smith-Bannister (1997).

There is now widespread agreement that the case for a 'revolution in sentiments' in the second half of the 18th century has been somewhat overstated. Nevertheless, there is evidence of a growing informality in familial relations and a greater readiness to express, for instance, affection for children, together with an increased recognition of childhood as a separate stage of development. It is plausible to link greater informality in naming practices at baptism with this.

However, this does not explain why – as seems to be the case – this practice should be applied to girls much more than to boys. George Redmonds (2004) found no male diminutives recorded before the 1750s. We have noted a very small number (*Harrie* (Henry) baptised 1542 Sussex, *Harry* baptised 1580 Shropshire; *Sandy* (Alexander) baptised 1698 Somerset). We note (Healey 1995) that a typical family in 1780s Shropshire baptised their children *Fanny*, *Kitty* – and *William*. As for day to day usage, it is known that John and Charles Wesley, the 18th century founders of Methodism, had seven sisters, baptised Emilia, Susanna, Mehetabel, Mary, Anne, Martha and Kezia. Throughout their lives they were known as *Emily* or *Em*, *Sukey*, *Hetty*, *Molly*, *Nancy*, *Patty* and *Kezzy* (Best 2011). As far as we know, the brothers John and Charles were not referred to as *Johnny* or *Charlie*...

We have elsewhere (Nair and Scherr 2012) drawn attention to some changes in the type of abstract qualities used as girls' names in the same period, tentatively linking this to shifts in gender relations, and it is tempting to view the growing acceptance of pet forms as female baptismal names as part of the same process.

We have not yet analysed this corpus in enough detail to detect regional variations in popularity; nor by religious practice; nor by social standing of the family. We might suspect class considerations (of families and/or of clergy) may be behind the fact that St George's Chapel, Windsor has only two pet forms recorded – Em 1674 and Annie in 1842. Likewise,

Temple Church, London, only records two *Bettys*, and one *Sally Fanney* [sic] in the whole of the 18th century.

Overall, the use of pet forms in parish registers may record an informal, familiar way of referring to a particular age or type or class of person. The reasons why this should apply mostly to female names, and for the overwhelming acceptance as proper names, by the end of the 18th century, of female names ending in the diminutive *-y*, deserves further study.

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Sources

Names were selected from volumes published by the following county series: Bedfordshire Parish Register series; Birmingham and Midland Society for Genealogy and Heraldry; Cornish Parish Registers: Marriages; Lancashire Parish Register Society; Shropshire Parish Register Society; Staffordshire Parish Register Society; Surrey Parish Register Society; Sussex Record Society; Warwickshire Parish Register series; Worcestershire Parish Register Society; Thoresby Society (Yorkshire). All other forms were found online in digital facsimiles of registers or by using the database provided by the International Genealogical Index via <FamilySearch.org>.

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Variation in Women's Name Phrases in Official Documents in Helsinki 1780-1930

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Abstract

This paper is based on my dissertation,¹ which is a socio-onomastic study of variation in women's name phrases in official documents in Finland during the period 1780-1930. The aim is to discuss both the changeover from patronymics to inherited family names and the use of surnames after marriage (i.e. whether women adopted their husbands' family names or retained their maiden names), before new laws in this area entered into force in Finland in the early 20th century. In 1920, a law requiring fixed family names put an end to the use of the patronymic as a person's only surname. After 1929, it was no longer possible for a married woman to retain her maiden name.

Methodologically, to explain this development from a socio-onomastic perspective, I have based my study on a syntactic-semantic analysis of the relevant name phrases found in parish registers, estate registers, trade licenses, gravestones, diaries and family announcements on newspapers. The analysis, which reveals the overall picture of various ways of denoting women in official documents, is based on frequency calculations of the different types of name phrases, as well as on describing variation in the structure and semantic content of the name phrases, e.g. social variation in the use of titles.

* * *

Background

During the 150 years that my research covers, Helsinki grew from a small town to a big city. As long as Finland remained part of the Swedish kingdom, that is, until 1809, Helsinki was a small staple port with only a few thousand inhabitants. But when the country became a grand duchy under Russia and when, in 1812, Helsinki became the capital of Finland, the population began to increase rapidly. In 1827 the highest classes of society received a significant addition when the university was also moved from Turku to Helsinki.

At the end of the 17th century, the majority of the inhabitants of Helsinki were still Finnish-speaking, but in the course of the 18th century, the proportion of Swedish speakers increased; starting in the 1780s, Swedish was the dominant language in Helsinki. During the first half of the 19th century, migration did not yet affect the linguistic makeup of the city, as the majority of the migrants came from nearby Swedish-speaking rural areas. Those urban dwellers who came from the Baltic and from Germany also quickly acquired the majority language.

It was only starting in the 1850s that Finnish speakers began to move to the city in larger numbers. In 1890 the two linguistic groups were equally large, and twenty years later Finnish speakers comprised a clear majority. In official sources, Finnish began to become established after the bilingual city parish was divided into three Finnish and three Swedish

¹ Nakari (2011), see also Nakari (2007, 2009, 2013).

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congregations. The largest foreign population group were Russians, who included both mobile soldiers and settled traders.

During the first half of the 19th century, Finland was still a typical class society, in which the aristocracy and the clergy comprised the upper classes and the bourgeoisie and farmers the lower classes. During the latter half of the 19th century, new relations of production and new political and economic views began to transform the social structure. The class society became an industrial society in which class and circumstance no longer necessarily went hand in hand. With industrialization and modernization, the significance of lineage was reduced and the family in the modern sense came into existence.

Women's educational opportunities in Finnish society gradually improved after the authorities began to establish schools for girls in the 1860s. Until the start of the 20th century, however, the path to university and other institutes of higher education was opened primarily through private co-educational schools and by special request. In 1901 one-fourth of the students at the university were women. The women's movement achieved an important goal in connection with the Parliament Act of 1906, when Finland became the first country in Europe to grant women the right to vote and to hold elected office.

Aims, Methods and Data

This study aims to discuss from a socio-onomastic perspective both the changeover from patronymics to inherited family names and the use of surnames after marriage, before new laws in this area entered into force in Finland in the early 20th century. In 1920, a law on family names that required fixed surnames put an end to the use of the patronymic as a person's only last name. After 1929, it was no longer possible for a married woman to retain her maiden name.

Methodologically, to explain this development, I have based my study on a syntactic-semantic analysis of the relevant name phrases. To be able to analyze the extensive data, I have devised a scheme to divide the 115 different types of name phrases into 13 main categories. The analysis of the data for Helsinki is based on frequency calculations of the different types of name phrases sampled once every thirtieth year, as well as on describing variation in the structure and semantic content of the name phrases, e.g. social variation in the use of titles.

I from 1780	referred to together with spouse	title	given name	patronymic or metronymic	surname	patronymic or metronymic/ surname / ''née''/ ''married''	title	no. of instances
1	-/∞	t						58
2	-/∞	-/t	GN					211
3	-/∞	-/t/tt	GN	PA/ME			-/t	242
4	-/∞	-/t/tt	GN	PA/ME	SN	-/PA	-/t	103
5	-/∞	-/t/tt			SN			76
6	-/∞	-/t/tt	GN		SN		-/t/tt	2 192
7	-/∞	-/t/tt/ttt	GN		-/HS/MN	nMN/nPA/mHS	-/t	147
8	-/∞	t	GN		SN	SN		7
II from 1888	patronymic or metronymic	surname	surname/ 'née'/ ''married''	given name	patronymic or metronymic	surname/ ''née''/ ''married''	title	
9	PA/ME			GN			-/t	86
10	-/PA	SN	-/SN/nMN	GN	-/PA/ME	-/SN/mHS	-/t/tt	623
11		HS/MN/nMN	-/nMN/nPA/HS	GN		-/nMN/nPA/mHS	-/t/tt	234
12		SN		GN			-/t/tt	1 935
13		SN	-/SN	GN		-/SN	-/t/tt	36
Total								5 950

∞ referred to together with spouse
 n. née ("född")
 MN maiden name

GN given name

m married ("gift")

husband's surname metronymic patronymic title surname

Table 1. Schematic representation of types of name phrases in the data, consolidated into 13 main types

HS

ME

PA

t

SN

The study is based mainly on parish registers from the period 1780-1929, estate registers from the period 1780-1928, and trade licenses from the period 1880-1908, but for comparison I also use family announcements in newspapers from the period 1829-1888, gravestones from the period 1796-1929, and diaries from the periods 1799-1801 and 1818-1820, altogether providing a corpus of 5,950 name phrases.

Variation Dependent on Time, Source, Social Class and Marital Status

The two most frequent types of name phrases account for over 45% of the data. These consist of the elements title, given name(s) and surname, as in *Jungf:* [*Jungfru* 'Miss'] *Christ.* [*Christina*] *Charl:* [*Charlotta*] *Stigzelia* (marriage record 1780) or *Lundell, Edla Amalia Cecilia, ogift* ['unmarried'] (baptismal record 1888). Even if women's names were written with surnames starting from the beginning of the period under investigation, the data also include 269 name phrases which include neither patro- or metronymic nor surname, e.g. *Voluntairen* ['volunteer'] *Carl Appelgren med sin hustru* ['with his wife'] (moving certificate 1795) or *Tim.* [*Timmerman* 'carpenter'] *Mickael Westerberg - Hustru* ['wife'] *Catharina* (birth registry 1780), as well as 318 name phrases in which the patro- or metronymic is given

instead of a surname, e.g. *Pigan* ['maidservant'] *Maria Sigfrids dotter* (marriage record 1780) or *Andersdr* [*Andersdotter*], *Maria, jfru* [*jungfru* 'Miss'] (moving certificate 1888).

Both patro- or metronymic and surname are included in a total of 726 name phrases, e.g. *Siömans Enkan* ['sailor's widow'] *Maria And:dr* [*Andersdotter*] *Antéen* (marriage record 1780) or *Willman, Serafina Mattsdr ju* [jungfru 'Miss'] (moving certificate 1888). Name phrases that include patro- or metronymic as well as surname are associated primarily with the period when fixed surnames were not yet fully established. However, in my data from the moving registers for 1928 and 1929, the pastors in certain congregations still diligently recorded patro- and metronymics even though the use of surnames had been required by law for over eight years. The fact that name phrases including patro- or metronymic and surname occur at the end of the period specifically in moving registers can be explained by the rural connotations they were perceived as having. A large fraction of the migrants of course came from rural areas. By contrast, patronymics are rare in the sources that indicate what name phrases women themselves provide, i.e. in estate registers and trade licenses. This may be interpreted as an expression of emancipation.

In my data from official sources, the name phrases for women are most systematic in the marriage registries and in the birth and baptismal registries. By contrast, pastors were quite inconsistent in their notations in death and burial registries. The greatest variety of name phrase types occurs in moving records, which, at least to some extent, may reflect regional variation.

Variation in the registries may also reflect the different functions of the different sources. If the woman is responsible for underage children or for property, she is identified with as complete a name phrase as possible. For instance, *Pigan* ['maidservant'] *Kurhushjonet*¹ ['hospital worker'] *Maria Lindman* (birth registry 1828) as the mother to an illegitimate child and *hustrun* ['wife'] *Amanda Ulrika Löfgren, född* ['née'] *Samuelsson* (estate register 1928) as the executor to the estate of *kontrollören* ['controller'] *Karl Ivar Löfgren*.

The great variation in name phrase types may also reflect the social structure of the population of Helsinki. Analysis of the content of the name phrases shows that the higher the social standing, the fuller the name phrase in the class society. Still in 1866 we can find, for instance, both *kanslisten i kejserliga senaten för Finland, Ewald Kuhlefelts älskade maka Anna Henriette Kuhlefelt, född Wasenius* ['clerk in the imperial senate for Finland Ewald Kuhlefelt's beloved spouse Anna Henriette Kuhlefelt, née Wasenius'] (Helsingfors Tidningar 31.1.1866) and *sjöforman A.W. Pettersons hustru Hedwig* [sea captain A.W. Petterson's wife Hedwig] (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 9.1.1866).

Social differences can also be seen clearly in the use of titles. The name phrases in my data can include two titles in a row in order to indicate both status and marital status, e.g. *Klara Vilhelmina Littson, Generalsdtr.* [*Generalsdotter* 'general's daughter'] *ogift* ['unmarried'] (death registry 1858). An example of the use of two titles in a demeaning sense is seen in the name phrase *Pigan Qvinspersonen* ['maidservant female person'] *Benedicta Charlotta Gustafsdotter* (moving certificate 1858). But both status and marital status can be

¹ According to *SAOB* (1938: K 3238) *kurhus* means '(ward of) a hospital for treatment of sexual diseases'; *hjon* 'servant'.

indicated in a single title. Among the godparents in the birth and baptismal registry for 1780, for instance, the titles *friherinnan* ['baroness'], *överstlöjtskan* ['lieutenant-colonel's wife'], *fru* ['Mrs.'], *madame* and *hustru* ['wife'] indicate married women from different social groups.

Until the end of the 19th century, the title was an important social marker, which clerks carefully noted in official documents, whereas the function of the title at the start of the 20th century appears more and more often to have been primarily to indicate marital status. Women's entry into the workforce and education is, however, also seen in title use in the 20th century. Unmarried women were no longer denoted with titles such as *matrosdotter* ['seaman's daughter'] or *bondedotter* ['farmer's daughter']; instead, they had their own professional titles such as *sömmerska* ['seamstress'], *fabriksarbeterska* ['factory worker'], *affärsbiträde* ['saleswoman'] and *bankkassörska* ['bank teller']. *Pigor* ['maidservants'] and *tjänstepigor* ['serving girls'] were replaces by *tjänarinnor* ['servants'], *hushållerskor* ['housekeepers'] and *städerskor* ['cleaners']. Two titles can also express both marital status and education and profession, as with the name phrases *Berglöf, Inez Ingeborg frök., stud.* [Berglöf, Inez Ingeborg Miss, student – i.e. secondary school graduate] (moving certificate 1909) and *kassörskan, fröken Anna Lovisa Less* ['cashier Miss Anna Lovisa Less'] (moving certificate 1909).

The development of name phrases for women in Helsinki 1780-1930 clearly reflects changes in the status of women in Finnish society, such as women's suffrage and right to hold office in 1906. From being someone's daughter, serving girl, wife or widow, for instance *hand:* [handlanden] Pett: [Petter] Heidenstraughs pig. [piga] ['merchant Petter Heidenstraugh's maidservant'] (death registry 1780), Rådman Bolwianders fru [alderman Bolwiander's wife] (death registry 1780), Const: [Constantin] Blåfieldts Ea [Enka 'widow'] (death registry 1780) or Pigan Stina Olofs dr [dotter] ['maidservant Stina Olof's daughter'] (moving certificate 1799), the woman becomes an independent individual who can appear in official documents under her own name.

The development of power relations within the family appears to go directly opposite to societal changes. The fact that women began to take their husband's surname after marriage can from today's viewpoint be seen as a symbol of women's subordinate status. But in the beginning of the 20th century, people viewed the shared name as expressing equality, that is, that the wife obtained the right to the man's surname and thereby to the same social status.

In my data, married names are encountered for the first time in estate registries for the year 1780. Even though *Brandevachts Karlen* ['firefighter'] *Johan Krook*'s widow writes her own name with her first name and her father's name, she is referred to in the ingress with a name phrase that also includes her married name, viz. *Brandvachts Enkan* ['firefighter's widow'] *Christina Pehrsdotter Krook*. On the other hand, *Brita Degerman*, the widow of *Fiskaren* ['fisherman'] *Hindric Degerman*, writes her own name using her married name but is also referred to in the ingress without a surname, but as *Encka* ['widow'] *Brita Hindrichs dotter*. In the capacity of mothers in birth and marriage registries, married women are indicated almost throughout by their maiden names, but married names, on the other hand, are noted for baptismal witnesses in this source already in 1780. The earliest attestation of a married name in the comparative data stems from 1796 and occurs on a memorial stone in

Old Church Square in Helsinki. This is *Maria Elisabeth Wahlberg*, daughter of *handlanden* ['merchant'] *Johan Forselius* and wife of *byggnadskonduktören*² ['building supervisor'] *Olof Niklas Wahlberg*.

The fact that my attestations of married names at the end of the 18th century belong primarily to bourgeois circles, which in their struggle for a better position in society were most open to new ideas, is in accordance with previous research. On the other hand, aristocratic women had every reason to emphasize their origin, using their maiden names or married name + maiden name preceded by the word *född* ['née'], which my examples from official data also show. Therefore my investigation of married women's surnames in the diaries of 15-year-old *Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm* around the turn of the century 1800 revealed an unexpected result. Namely, it emerges that all 37 married upper-class women bear married names, such as *Ebba Regina von Schoultz*, who was titled *fru* ['Mrs.'] *Nyberg* in private circles (JCM: 86). Even if the practice of married names appears to have been implemented in the diaries studied, it is nonetheless impossible to know how the women in question identified themselves.

Conclusion

Syntactic-semantic analysis reveals the overall picture of the various ways of denoting women in official documents. In Helsinki towards the end of the 19th century, the use of inherited family names seems to be almost fully developed in official contexts. In the late 19th century, a patronymic still appears as the only surname of some working-class women, whereas in the early 20th century patronymics were only entered in the parish register as a kind of middle name. At the beginning of the 19th century, most married women were still registered under their maiden names, with a few exceptions among the bourgeoisie and upper class. Comparison with name phrases that appear in diaries, however, indicates that the use of the husband's family name by married women was a much earlier phenomenon in private contexts than in official documents.

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² SAOB (1937: K 2092) lists among definitions for the word *konduktör* 'foreman in construction; supervisor at a (larger, public) building; (acting) architect'.

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Marketing Software: Environmental Complications to Predicting Ethnicity with Onomastics

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Abstract

Onomastic research powers contemporary marketing software. An understanding of a name indicates who an individual is, how he perceives the world, and through this, his purchasing behavior. Today, when less than half the births in the United States are simply 'white' and we experience an ever diversifying world, successful marketers realize that advertisements directed towards specific consumers generate the best return on marketing investments. Through onomastic research, marketers can gain insight into the ethnic identities of their clientele, allowing them to customize promotions or find their products' target audience.

Although software can predict ethnicity from a name alone, the accuracy of this prediction increases with the added consideration of a name's environment. Within the United States, onomastic analysis must be considered in combination with neighborhood composition. Furthermore, as global marketers take interest in multicultural audiences, the logic patterns designed for a United States' software product must be modified for each specific international market. A detailed look at (1) methods of identifying African American names in the United States and (2) the differences between identifying concatenated names in the United States versus Brazil, indicate the importance of environmental considerations in applied onomastic analyses.

Die Verbreitung der Mehrnamigkeit in Finnland in den Jahren 1725-1744 und 1825-1844

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Zussamenfassung

Ich untersuche die quantitativen und qualitativen Veränderungen der Mehrnamigkeit über einen Zeitraum von hundert Jahren 1725-44 und 1825-44 in Finnland. Die drei Untersuchungsstädte, Kuopio, Oulu und Turku, liegen in verschiedenen Teilen Finnlands und sind auch von ihrer sozialen Struktur und ihrer Entwicklung her unterschiedlich.

Die Untersuchung zeigt, dass das Vornamensinventar und die Vornamensgebung nicht separat voneinander funktionieren. Vornamen sind ein Teil der Gesellschaft und der Kultur. Sie entwickeln sich abhängig vom sozialen Handeln des Menschen und vom gesellschaftlichen Wandel. Namensinnovationen tauchen in denselben Familien und in denselben Sippen auf. Bildung, Mobilität und soziale Vernetzung mit fremden Kulturen öffnen den Horizont, was wiederum einen Einfluss hat auf die Wahl der Vornamen.

Abstract

I investigate the quantitative and qualitative changes in multiple names over a period of a hundred years from 1725-44 to 1825-44 in Finland. The three cities in the study, Kuopio, Oulu and Turku, are in different parts of Finland and also differ regarding their social structure and development.

The investigation shows that the first name and the middle name do not function separately from each other. Forenames are a part of society and culture. They develop according to human society and social change. Name innovations appear in the same families and in the same groups. Education, mobility and social networking with foreign cultures open the horizons, which in turn has an influence on the choice of forename.

* * *

Ziel der Untersuchung

Ich beschäftige mich mit der Mehrnamigkeit von Personen, die in den Zeiträumen 1725-1744 (Untersuchungszeitraum I) und 1825-1844 (Untersuchungszeitraum II) in Finnland geboren wurden. Unter Mehrnamigkeit verstehe ich, dass ein Kind bei der Taufe mehr als einen Vornamen erhält. Dabei spreche ich von einer Kombination aus einem Erstnamen und einem oder mehreren weiteren Vornamen.

Ich untersuche die quantitativen und qualitativen Veränderungen der Mehrnamigkeit über einen Zeitraum von hundert Jahren. Weil Mehrnamigkeit meist in der Form von Zweinamigkeit auftritt, liegt es nahe, sich genauer mit deren regionaler und sozialer Übernahme und Verbreitung zu beschäftigen. Die vorliegende Untersuchung ist Teil meiner 2013 angenommenen Dissertation im Fach Fennistik (Rajasuu 2013).

Ziel der Untersuchung ist es, Antworten auf die folgenden Fragen zu finden: Wie häufig ist Mehrnamigkeit in verschiedenen Regionen? Welches sind die beliebtesten Vornamenskombinationen? Wie sind sie strukturiert? Wie taucht Mehrnamigkeit in den verschiedenen Gesellschaftsklassen auf? Wie zeigt sie sich im Familienkontext?

Untersuchungsmaterial und -methode

Als Untersuchungsmaterial liegen mir 31 715 Namenskombinationen von 21 301 Kindern vor. Sie wurden den auf Mikrofilmen gespeicherten originalen Taufregistern der evangelischlutherischen Kirchengemeinden in Kuopio, Oulu und Turku entnommen (Abbildung 1). Diese drei Städte liegen in verschiedenen Teilen Finnlands und sind auch von ihrer sozialen Struktur und ihrer Entwicklung her unterschiedlich (Abbildung 2). Jede von ihnen ist ein regionales Zentrum.



Abbildung 1. Auszug aus dem Taufregister (Turku 1738)



Abbildung 2. Finnland, ca. 1750

Das in der ostfinnischen Peripherie gelegene Kuopio war im Untersuchungszeitraum I eine räumlich weit ausgedehnte, spärlich besiedelte Landgemeinde. Die Stadtrechte erhielt es in den 1770er Jahren. Es wurde Sitz der Provinzregierung und bekam neue Einwohner beispielsweise aus Turku und aus Schweden. Der größte Teil der Stadtbewohner gehörte der finnischsprachigen Arbeiterschaft an, eine kleine Oberschicht sprach Schwedisch. Trotz seines Stadtstatus blieb Kuopio zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts agrarisch geprägt. (Toivanen 2000: 91 und Laine 2002: 80.)

Oulu ist ein alter Handelsplatz am nördlichen Ende des Bottnischen Meerbusens. Von der Handelstradition angelockt zogen im Lauf der Zeit reiche Bürgerfamilien aus dem Ausland in die Region und gründeten später Reedereien. 1765 bekam Oulu das Stapelrecht und begann mit dem Holzteerexport. Der Schiffsverkehr war rege und ermöglichte Fahrten bis nach Lateinamerika. Als Zentrum Nordfinnlands wurde Oulu Sitz der Provinzregierung; hier wurde aber auch Landwirtschaft und Viehzucht betrieben. Die Einwohner waren bis in die untere Bürgerschicht finnischsprachig, des Schwedischen bedienten sich die Beamten und das Großbürgertum. (Hautala 1975: 71, 272 und Enbuske 1999: 30, 41.)

Das am Eingang zum Bottnischen Meerbusen gelegene Turku ist die älteste und in beiden Untersuchungszeiträumen auch größte Stadt Finnlands. Während der schwedischen Herrschaft war es als inoffizielle Hauptstadt Finnlands ein Zentrum der Verwaltung, des Rechtswesens, der Wirtschaft, der Bildung, der Kultur, des Handels und der Schifffahrt und erhielt schon früh das Stapelrecht. Zwei Drittel seiner Einwohner sprachen Finnisch als Muttersprache. Zum schwedischsprachigen Drittel gehörten Beamte, Großbürger und die Angehörigen der einzigen Akademie Finnlands. Die führende Bevölkerungsschicht wurde von schwedischen Kaufmannsfamilien gebildet. (Suistoranta 1985: 174, 187 und Kallioniemi 1992: 12.)

In der Zeit zwischen den Untersuchungszeiträumen änderte sich die finnische Gesellschaft: Das im Untersuchungszeitraum I zu Schweden gehörige Land wurde 1809 zu einem autonomen Teil Russlands und die agrarische und statische Lebensweise geriet in Bewegung. Die Sprache der Verwaltung, der Oberschicht und der Kirchenbücher war Schwedisch, das einfache Volk sprach Finnisch. Die von den Pfarrern aufgezeichneten Namen haben eine für diese Zeit typische schwedische oder deutsche Form. Namen fremden Ursprungs oder fremder Form waren nur schriftlich gebräuchlich. In der Alltagssprache wurden finnische Varianten gebraucht: *Elisabeth* war *Liisa* und *Henric* war *Heikki*. In den Kirchenbüchern manifestieren sich die fremdsprachlichen Namen, die allgemein noch schwankende Orthographie und die persönlichen Vorlieben der Pfarrer: Der Name einer Person konnte abhängig von Zeit, Ort und Schreiber in unterschiedlicher Schreibweise auftauchen. Deswegen musste die schriftliche Form der Namen für diese Untersuchung nach bestimmten Prinzipien vereinheitlicht werden.

Ich definiere die Zweinamigkeit im Untersuchungszeitraum I und die Dreinamigkeit im Zeitraum II als Innovation, deren Übernahme und Verbreitung ich anhand der 1962 von Rogers (Rogers 2003 [1962]) entwickelten Diffusionstheorie untersuche. Dieser zufolge können Menschen je nachdem, wie schnell sie eine Innovation übernehmen, in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt werden. Die horizontale bzw. vertikale Weitergabe der Mehrnamigkeit innerhalb einer Familie untersuche ich mithilfe der biographisch-genealogischen Methode.

Ergebnisse

Regionales Vorkommen von Mehrnamigkeit

Im Untersuchungszeitraum I erhalten durchschnittlich fünf Prozent der Kinder mehr als einen Vornamen (Abbildung 3). Mehrnamigkeit taucht, von zwei Fällen abgesehen, als Zweinamigkeit auf, deren Anteil regional variiert (in Kuopio 1,6 %, in Oulu 3,3 % und in Turku 12,6 %). Im Verlauf von hundert Jahren nimmt die Zweinamigkeit explosiv zu. Im Untersuchungszeitraum II bekommen in Turku acht von zehn Neugeborenen zwei Vornamen, in Kuopio sechs von zehn und in Oulu etwas weniger als die Hälfte.



Abbildung 3. Prozentueller Anteil von Personen mit einem, zwei und mehr Vornamen

Kuopio und Oulu übernehmen diese Vornamensgebung langsamer als Turku. Der Gebrauch mehrerer Vornamen breitet sich von der Küste ins Binnenland aus und von Westen nach Osten. Die Bevorzugung des Althergebrachten in Kuopio und Oulu erklärt sich zumindest teilweise aus der geographischen Lage und der sozialen Struktur dieser Städte. Oulu ist als alter, aber auch internationaler Handelsplatz und Wohnort vermögender Reederfamilien bei der Vornamensgebung moderner als das agrarische Kuopio.

Im Untersuchungszeitraum II ist die Situation überraschenderweise völlig entgegengesetzt. Es wäre zu erwarten gewesen, dass die Innovationen sich erst an der Küste entlang nach Oulu ausgebreitet hätten und dann erst ins Binnenland nach Kuopio. Der Grund für das Festhalten an der althergebrachten Vornamensgebung in Oulu mag in der nordfinnischen Mentalität und in der kulturellen Zwiespältigkeit liegen: Einerseits war man interessiert an Neuem, andererseits hielt man an Traditionen fest und schätzte alte Gewohnheiten (Palola 2005: 59 und Asunmaa 2010). Auch die konservativen, eine einfache Lebensweise fordernden Erweckungsbewegungen verlangsamten die Übernahme von Innovationen.

Die Verleihung der Stadtrechte und die Stellung als Sitz der Provinzregierung öffnete für Kuopio die Welt der Vornamen. Die neuen Einwohner brachten neue Vornamen mit und eine neue Art und Weise, Kindern mehrere Vornamen zu geben. Der russische Brauch eines einzigen Vornamens ist in Kuopio nicht zu beobachten.

Die Vornamensgebung wird beeinflusst von der sozialen Stellung der Einwohner. Obwohl der größte Teil der Einwohner von Turku der Arbeiterschaft angehörte, wurde das kulturelle Leben der Stadt von der Oberschicht geprägt (Suistoranta 1985: 187). Die wohlhabenden Großhändler, die Akademieangehörigen, die Verwaltungsbeamten und die Handwerksmeister brachten von ihren Auslandsreisen kontinentale Strömungen mit. Die Fortschrittlichkeit von Turku ist auch verbunden mit der günstigen Lage der Stadt in der Nähe von Schweden, von wo die Kultureinflüsse zu jener Zeit nach Finnland drangen. Turkus Stellung als "Hauptstadt" und seine lange historische Tradition machen es zu einer Besonderheit unter den finnischen Städten. Die Innovationen bürgern sich zu Beginn bei den Mädchennamen ein. Konservativität ist in Oulu sichtbar, wo vor allem die Vornamensgebung bei den Jungen traditionell geprägt ist. Am innovativsten bei der Namensgebung ist man in Turku, das dem schwedischen Vorbild folgt und dessen Namenstrend eine Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter ankündigt.

Die beliebtesten Vornamenskombinationen

Im Untersuchungszeitraum I gibt es aufgrund der Marginalität der Mehrnamigkeit nur wenig verschiedene Vornamenskombinationen und die Häufigkeit der einzelnen Kombinationen ist gering. Bei den Mädchen gibt es mehr Vornamenskombinationen als bei den Jungen (in Kuopio 25 bzw. 21, in Oulu 34 bzw. 12). Turku hat das qualitativ und quantitativ reichhaltigste Vornamensvorkommen (213 bzw. 83). In den Tabellen der beliebtesten Kombinationen in Kuopio und Oulu (Tabelle 1 Mädchen und Tabelle 2 Jungen) sind von den Mädchennamen alle Kombinationen aufgeführt, abgesehen von den unikalen Namen. Um eine zu große Stichprobe zu vermeiden, werden von den Namenskombinationen in Turku nur aufgeführt, die mindestens viermal auftauchen. Auch die einzigen diejenigen Dreinamenskombinationen im Untersuchungszeitraum I sind in Turku zu finden (Anna Christina Gustava und Anna Stina Gustava).

	Kuopio (≥2)		Oulu (≥2)	Turku (≥4)		
	Name (25)	St.	Name (34)	St.	Name (213)	St.
1.	Anna Christina	4	Anna Margeta	5	Anna Christina	14
2.	Anna Maria	3	Anna Elisabeth	4	Maria Christina	11
3.	Beata Christina	2	Margaretha Elisabeth	4	Maria Elisabeth	7
4.	Margeta Lisa	2	Anna Catharina	3	Anna Cathrina	6
5.	Maria Elisabeth	2	Maria Magdalena	3	Anna Margaretha	6
6.	Ulrica Eleonora	2	Anna Christina	2	Maria Ulrica	5
7.	-	-	Eva Christina	2	Anna Brita	4
8.	-	-	Helena Christina	2	Anna Gretha	4
9.	-	-	-	-	Anna Sofia	4
10.	-	-	-	-	Eva Christina	4
11.	-	-	-	-	Eva Stina	4

Tabelle 1. Die beliebtesten zweiteiligen Mädchennamenskombinationen 1725-1744

	Kuopio (≥2)	Oulu (≥2)		Turku (≥4)		
	Name (21)	St.	Name (12)	St.	Name (83)	St.
1.	Eric Johan	2	Carl Jacob	2	Carl Fredric	6
2.	Petter Gabriel	2	-	-	Johan Fredric	5
3.	-	-	-	-	Eric Johan	4
4.	-	-	-	-	Hans Henric	4

Tabelle 2. Die beliebtesten zweiteiligen Jungennamenskombinationen 1725-1744

Jede Region hat ihre eigenen Lieblingskombinationen. Die Kombination, die in allen drei Regionen auftaucht, ist *Anna Christina*, die den Küstenstädten gemeinsame ist *Eva Christina* und die in Oulu und Kuopio ist *Maria Elisabeth. Eric Johan* ist die einzige Namenskombination für Jungen, die Kuopio und Turku gemeinsam haben.

Im Untersuchungszeitraum II ist das Vornamensvorkommen der Mädchen reichhaltiger als das der Jungen, aber die relativen Unterschiede sind kleiner geworden. In Kuopio gibt es für Mädchen 224 verschiedene Kombinationen und für Jungen 196; die entsprechenden Zahlen in Oulu sind 370 und 335; in Turku gibt es hinsichtlich der Namenskombinationen kaum Unterschiede zwischen den Geschlechtern (1076 und 1043). Die absoluten Namensmengen sind jedoch nicht vergleichbar, weil die Anzahl der Neugeborenen variiert: Beispielsweise in Turku gibt es fünfmal so viele Neugeborene wie in Kuopio.

Aus den Tabellen 3 und 4 geht hervor, dass es in keiner der Regionen eine ganz bestimmte absolute Lieblingskombination gibt. In der Tabelle mit den Mädchennamen in Kuopio tauchen nur neun Kombinationen auf; fünf finden sich erst an zehnter Stelle (*Anna Lisa, Eva Carolina, Gustava Vilhelmina, Maria Christina* und *Maria Lovisa*). Das ungleiche Verhältnis der Kinder- und Vornamenshäufigkeit in den drei Städten wird darin deutlich, dass die absolute Lieblingskombination in Kuopio (*Maria Sofia*) 33-mal auftaucht, während sie in Turku zwar fast gleich oft (32-mal) vergeben worden ist, aber erst an zehnter Stelle zu finden ist.

Kuopio	Oulu			Turku				
Name (224)	%	f	Name (370)	%	f	Name (1076)	%	f
Maria Sofia	6,2	33	Anna Maria	3,9	48	Maria Vilhelmina	2,1	65
Anna Maria	4,3	23	Anna Sofia	3,6	45	Sofia Vilhelmina	2,0	64
Eva Sofia	4,2	22	Maria Sofia	3,4	42	Johanna Vilhelmina	1.5	48
Maria Charlotta	3,2	17	Caisa Gretha	3,0	37	Maria Lovisa	1,4	43
Maria Vilhelmina	2,5	13	Maria Elisabeth	2,9	36	Gustava Vilhelmina	1,3	40
Agata Sofia	2,3	12	Maria Caisa	2,8	35	Carolina Vilhelmina	1,2	38
Maria Fredrica	2,1	11	Anna Lisa	2,3	29	Fredrica Vilhelmina	1,2	37
Anna Carolina	1,7	9	Brita Caisa	2,3	28	Maria Carolina	1,1	34
Anna Sofia	1,7	9	Anna Gretha	2,2	27	Maria Josephina	1,1	34
			Maria Gustava	2,2	27	Maria Christina	1,0	32

Tabelle 3. Die beliebtesten zweiteiligen Mädchennamenskombinationen 1825-1844

Kuopio	Oulu			Turku				
Name (196)	%	f	Name (335)	%	f	Name (1043)	%	f
Johan Henric	5,5	24	Johan Jacob	6,7	49	Carl Gustaf	4,4	149
Gustaf Adolf	4,6	20	Johan Henric	5,8	42	Johan Fredric	4,0	135
Johan Fredric	4,1	18	Johan Fredric	4,4	32	Gustaf Adolf	3,9	133
Gustaf Wilhelm	1,1	16	Johan Petter	3,3	24	Carl Fredric	3,0	103
Petter Johan	1,0	15	Carl Johan	2,8	20	Carl Johan	2,8	97
Carl Fredric	1,0	14	Carl Gustaf	2,6	19	Johan Wilhelm	2,2	74
Henric Johan	0,9	13	Johan Eric	2,1	15	Carl Wilhelm	1,9	64
Carl Gustaf	0,8	12	Carl Fredric	1,8	13	Johan Gustaf	1,8	62
Eric Johan	0,8	11	Johan Adolf	1,6	12	Gustaf Wilhelm	1,6	56
Gustaf Fredric	0,7	10	Johan Gustaf	1,5	11	Johan August	1,5	51

Tabelle 4. Die beliebtesten zweiteiligen Jungennamenskombinationen 1825-1844

Wegen des geringen Namensinventars und der traditionellen Vornamensgebung tauchen in den verschiedenen Regionen immer wieder dieselben Jungennamen auf. Allen drei Regionen gemeinsame Lieblingskombinationen sind *Carl Fredric, Carl Gustaf* und *Johan Fredric.* Für die Mädchen gibt es keine überall gleich beliebte Namenskombination, die Spitzennamen sind geprägt von Individualität und Regionalität. Im Vorkommen der Kombinationen und in der Verbreitung der Namen sind eigene regionale Profile zu beobachten. Oulu und Turku sind in ihrer Vornamensgebung weit voneinander entfernt: Sie haben keine gemeinsame Spitzennamenkombination für Mädchen. Kuopio dient als Vermittler zwischen den Namenswelten von Turku und Oulu. Auch die geschlechtsspezifischen Unterschiede sind deutlich. Das Namensinventar für Mädchen ist reich und regional individuell, die Namensmode der Jungen ist im ganzen Land gleich.

Im Untersuchungszeitraum II gibt es für Mädchen mehr Dreinamenskombinationen als für Jungen (Abbildung 4). Weil es viele verschiedene einzelne Namen gibt (in Kuopio 230, in Oulu 276 und in Turku 428) und weil es bei einer dreigliedrigen Kombination unendlich viele Kombinationsmöglichkeiten gibt, sind fast alle Kombinationen einzigartig. Nur die Namen *Amanda Carolina Emilia, Clara Maria Sofia* und *Carl Victor Wilhelm* in Turku und *Carl Johan Ferdinand* in Kuopio tauchen in ihrer Region zweimal auf. Dreinamenskombinationen sind auch insofern einzigartig, als es keine den Regionen gemeinsame Kombination gibt.



Abbildung 4. Dreinamenskombinationen (Stück) 1825-1844

Die Beliebtheit der Einzelnamen in den Kombinationen variiert. In der Kombination Anna Sofia Fredrica sind alle drei Namen verbreitet, in den Kombinationen Ada Charlotta Augusta und Ina Maria Gustava ist der erste Name unikal und in Augustina Alexandra Blondina ist es der letzte. Die Kombination Frederique Louise Constance in Kuopio setzt sich komplett aus unikalen Namen zusammen.

Struktur der zweiteiligen Vornamen

Die Struktur der Vornamenskombinationen basiert auf der Länge der Einzelnamen, die nach der Silbenanzahl definiert wird. Die Anzahl der Silben in den Einzelnamen variiert bei den Mädchen von zwei bis fünf und bei den Jungen von eins bis vier. Die meisten Mädchennamen sind zwei- oder dreisilbig, die Jungennamen haben zwei Silben.

Auf der Grundlage der gegenseitigen Platzierung von Namen verschiedener Länge lassen sich die Kombinationen in drei Gruppen gliedern: In denen, die dem so genannten Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder (auch Behaghelsches Gesetz) folgen, geht Kürzeres Längerem voraus, so dass die Silbenzahl der Namen wächst (z. B. 2 + 3; *Anders Engelbrecht*). In denen, die dem Behaghelschen Gesetz widersprechen, zerstört die abnehmende Silbenzahl den Rhythmus, weil Längeres vor Kürzerem platziert ist (z. B. 3 + 2; *Margeta Lisa*). In rhythmisch gleichen, das heißt in bezüglich des Behaghelschen Gesetzes neutralen Namenpaaren ist die Silbenzahl in den einzelnen Namen gleich (z. B. 2 + 2; *Lena Caisa*).

Mädchennamen folgen meist dem Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder (Abbildung 5) und die üblichste Silbenkombination ist 2 + 3. Für Jungennamen ist rhythmische Gleichheit typisch. Weil die meisten Jungennamen Zweisilber sind, ist die beliebteste Kombination 2 + 2. Obwohl es auch viele einsilbige Jungennamen gibt, ist die Kombination 1 + 1 selten. An verschiedenen Silbenkombinationen finden sich im Untersuchungszeitraum I bei den Mädchen 12 und bei den Jungen 11, hundert Jahre später 14 bzw. 18. Der Zuwachs ist mit der Zunahme verschiedener Vornamen verknüpft.



Abbildung 5. Verwirkligung des Gesetzes der wachsenden Glieder in zweiteiligen Vornamenskombinationen 1825-1844

Die meisten Variationen tauchen in den das Behaghelsche Gesetz befolgenden Kombinationen auf. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören sowohl kurze (*Carl Johan*, 1 + 2) als auch lange Kombinationen (*Margaretha Otteliana*, 4 + 5). Der Unterschied in der Silbenzahl zwischen den einzelnen Teilen der Kombination liegt zwischen einer und drei Silben (*Märta Elisabetha*, 2 + 5). In den dem Rhythmus zuwiderlaufenden Kombinationen liegt der Unterschied höchstenfalls bei zwei Silben. Große Silbenunterschiede zerstören den natürlichen Rhythmus, aber eine lange Kombination wie *Catharina Gertrud* (also 4 + 2) ist vom Rhythmus her weniger störend als eine kurze wie *Samuel Carl* (also 3 + 1).

Die dem Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder zuwiderlaufenden Kombinationen mag es deswegen geben, weil sich die Zweinamigkeit als neues Phänomen noch nicht richtig etabliert hat. Vielleicht half nicht das Sprachgefühl bei der Kombination der Namen, und das gemeine Volk hatte auch nicht unbedingt eine Vorstellung von den schwedischen Namen. Möglicherweise hat der Namensgeber sogar eine rhythmusmäßige Variante (*Greta Sofia*) vorgeschlagen, aber der Pfarrer hat die Namen in einer von ihm präferierten Form vermerkt (*Margaretha Sofia*).

Soziales Vorkommen von Mehrnamigkeit

Die verschiedenen Gesellschaftsklassen übernehmen Innovationen zu verschiedener Zeit. Die Gesellschaftsklasse eines Kindes definiere ich anhand der Informationen in den Kirchenbüchern über Beruf und Rang des Vaters. Im Untersuchungszeitraum I verteilt sich die Übernahme ungleich. Die ersten Innovatoren sind höhere Beamte, Pfarrer, Großkaufleute, Handwerksmeister oder Militärpersonen. Diese haben in Kontakt zu fremden Kulturen gestanden, von denen sie vielleicht auch Einflüsse aufgenommen haben. Von den Vätern der beiden Mädchen mit drei Vornamen ist der eine Beamter, der andere Offizier.

Ein Jahrhundert später verbreitet sich die Zweinamigkeit im ganzen Volk, die Väter sind auch in Landwirtschaft und Verkehr beschäftigt oder Arbeiter. Der Brauch verbreitet sich innerhalb einer Berufsgruppe von Personen mit höherem Rang zu denen mit niedrigerem: Gesellen und Lehrlinge entschieden sich im Untersuchungszeitraum II auf dieselbe Weise für die neuen Vornamenskombinationen wie die Handwerksmeister im Untersuchungszeitraum I. Um sich vom einfachen Volk zu unterscheiden, begann die europäischen Modeströmungen folgende Oberschicht ihren Kindern drei oder vier Vornamen zu geben. Die Unterschiede zwischen den Namen der Oberschicht und denen des einfachen Volkes sind auch qualitativer Natur: Die der Oberschicht stammen aus fernen Ländern (*Andreitte, Blondina; Napoleon, Qvintinus*). Im Untersuchungszeitraum II bevorzugen vor allem die Offiziere slawische Namen (*Feodora; Nicolai, Wladimir*). Anders als das einfache Volk waren sie positiv zur russischen Präsenz im Land eingestellt.

Die höheren Beamten, Pfarrer, Großkaufleute und Handwerksmeister, die im Untersuchungszeitraum I Zweinamigkeit favorisierten, gingen im Untersuchungszeitraum II zu Dreinamigkeit über. In Kuopio sind es die neu errungenen Stadtrechte und die neuen Bewohner, die Namensinnovationen mit sich bringen. Die Bedeutung internationaler Kontakte zeigt sich auch in den Vornamen der Kinder von Schiffsoffizieren in Turku: Diese sind auf allen Meeren der Welt gefahren und geben auch ihren Kindern Namen im Stil der großen Welt.
Ungeachtet der traditionellen Vornamensgebung bei Jungen haben zwei Jungen aus Turku vier Vornamen: der Sohn eines Textilfabrikaten, *Berndt Wilhelm Axel Abraham*, und der eines Segeltuchfabrikanten, *Sven Carl Mauritz Konstantin*. Beide sind zum Teil Namensvettern ihrer Väter und beide haben Erfolg im Leben. Die genannten Beispiele beleuchten die gesellschaftsgebundene Abhängigkeit der Übernahme von Namensinnovationen, die Weitergabe der Namen innerhalb der Familie und die Kontinuität der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Familienmitglieder.

Mehrnamigkeit im Familienkontext

Die besonderen Erscheinungsformen in der Vornamensgebung – Zweinamigkeit im Untersuchungszeitraum I oder Dreinamigkeit im Zeitraum II – konzentrieren sich auf dieselben Familien der Oberschicht. Im Untersuchungszeitraum I haben sowohl die Frau (*Ulrica Charlotta*) als auch die Kinder (*Märta Elisabetha, Ulrica Rolandina* und *Petter Ulric*) des Assessors und Sekretärs am königlichen Hofgericht Roland Martin zwei Vornamen. Das Verhältnis der Vornamen der beiden Generationen zueinander ist eine Besonderheit: Der zweite Vorname des Jungen ist die maskuline Form des Namens seiner Mutter und der zweite Vorname der Tochter *Ulrica Rolandina* ist die feminine Form des Vatervornamens. Über die Anzahl der Vornamen hinaus werden auch diese selbst über die Geschlechtergrenzen hinweg vererbt.

Die Kinder des Kapitäns Johan Ludvig von Creutlein und seiner Frau Beata Magdalena haben je zwei Vornamen (Gertrud Elisabeth, Margaretha Elisabeth, Ulrica Eleonora, Conrad Hendrich und Gustaf Pontus). Die Zweinamigkeit ist von einer Generation auf die nächste übergegangen. Auch die Kinder des Amtsrichters Eric Gustaf Salonius und seiner Frau Hedvig Magdalena sind zweinamig (Catharina Charlotta, Hedvig Magdalena, Axel Fredric, Carl Otto und Lars Magnus). Eine der Töchter ist eine komplette Namensvetterin ihrer Mutter.

Im Untersuchungszeitraum II gibt es interessante dreinamige Geschwisterserien (Tabelle 5). Beispielsweise die Kinder des Kleinschmieds Enoch Järnefelt sind unabhängig von ihrer Geschlechtszugehörigkeit Namensvettern ihres Vaters. Als einen weiteren Vornamen haben beide Jungen den ihres Vaters (*Enoch*) und die Mädchen haben ihn in einer femininen Form (*Enochlina*). Das eine der Mädchen hat als ersten Vornamen den Namen ihrer Mutter (*Christina*) und einer der beiden Jungen die maskuline Form davon (*Christian*).

	Kinder	Eltern
Kuopio	Fanny Vilhelmina Rosaura Ina Maria Gustava Johan Anders Hugo Constantia Margeta Johanna Carl Emil Johan	Gustava Wilhelm Euphrosyne Sofia Constantia Carl August Leonard
Oulu	Hedda Christina Margaretha Lucina Constantia Ingeborg Matts Georg Theodor Thomas Oscar Birger Charlotta Maria Sofia Frans Lorenz Oscar	Catharina Margaretha Johan Constantin Fredrica Sofia Thomas Eva Charlotta Lorenz
	Helena Christina Enochlina Urabina Enochlina Vilhelmina Anders Enoch Alexander Gallus Christian Enoch Hilda Augusta Henrietta Sofia Christina Abigael Ernst Johan Fredric	Ulrica Christina Enoch Margaretha Sofia Ernst Petter
	Johanna Maria Augusta Carl Johan Wolmar Lars Oscar Wilhelm	Johanna Carolina Johan Wilhelm
Turku	Hedvig Alma Maria* Lovisa Paulina Sofia Lars Georg Alarik*	Carolina Sofia Hedvig Christina Sofia* Zacharias
	Ebba Lovisa Sofia* Ernst Magnus Reinhold* Lars Magnus Robert	Lovisa Vilhelmina Charlotta Sofia* Lars Magnus
	Ida Mathilda Gustava Axel Henric Georg Lorenz Wilhelm Casimir	Carolina Lovisa Lorenz Conrad
	Clementina Antoinetta Elisabeth Carl Anton Jacob Pehr Adolf Fredric	Elisabeth Anton Benjamin

*zweite Ehe

Tabelle 5. Geschwister mit drei Vornamen

Die Untersuchung zeigt, dass das Vornamensinventar und die Vornamensgebung nicht separat voneinander funktionieren. Vornamen sind ein Teil der Gesellschaft und der Kultur. Sie entwickeln sich abhängig vom sozialen Handeln des Menschen und vom gesellschaftlichen Wandel. Namensinnovationen tauchen in denselben Familien und in denselben Sippen auf. Bildung, Mobilität und soziale Vernetzung mit fremden Kulturen öffnen den Horizont, was wiederum einen Einfluss hat auf die Wahl der Vornamen.

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Place Names in Oral Tradition: Sources of Local Language and Cultural History

Inge Særheim Norway

Abstract

Toponyms localize former traditions, activities and phenomena. By their semantic content they give specific information about the locations, e.g. about topography, flora, fauna, farming, hunting, fishing, travel, administration, defence and religion. The names also provide interesting information about the local language, e.g. about phonological and morphological development, dialect boundaries and the semantics of topographical appellatives. Place names have been passed on in oral tradition for a long time. They form part of the local culture and tradition. The value and reliability of toponyms in oral tradition used as sources about cultural history and the local language is discussed in this paper, mainly based on examples from southwestern Norway.

* * *

Introduction

Many place names have been passed on in the local dialect through the generations, some of them for hundreds of years. On some farms in Norway more than 500 microtoponyms have been coined, and they denote fields, meadows, rivers, lakes, bogs, forests, mountains and other topographical features. The names form part of the local tradition and culture. They provide valuable information about cultural history and the local language. The names localize different phenomena and traditions, and by their semantic content they provide information about the landscape and the local culture.

This paper deals with toponyms in oral tradition used as linguistic evidence and source of cultural history. Most of the examples are from Rogaland and neighbouring counties in the southwestern part of Norway.

Name Continuity - The Survival of Microtoponyms

In this context name continuity needs to be discussed. For how long do microtoponyms in oral tradition survive, e.g. in a farming community? This question has recently been discussed by Pihl (2014) in a doctoral thesis from Uppsala University dealing with field names. She argues that microtoponyms linked to property boundaries have better opportunities to survive than other microtoponyms.

An interesting example – or case – relating to this question is found in Kvinesdal (Vest-Agder), where seven microtoponyms are mentioned in a medieval document (diploma) from 1292, describing the boundary between two farms, Gullestad and Eikeland:

or skotbærgi ok i steindyr, or steindurum i næfsteinin, firir ouan sauðato. or steininum ok (i) varðan sæm hæst er fiallæt. þaðan i runit sæm bækræn fællr or Miaua vatni i Kældo as vatne þæðan i holma þan sæm nestr ligr Valskarða lande (DN 1 no. 81)

from Skotberg to Steindør, from Steindør til Nevsteinen, above Saueto, from the rock to the cairn on top of the mountain, from there to the stream where it runs out of Mjåvatn to Kjeldåsvatnet, from there to the small island close to Våskeland (author's translation)

According to Fintland (2005), who has coined and studied place names from Gullestad, the seven names mentioned are still known by people representing local oral tradition, some of them with a somewhat changed form. The Old Norse (ON) names and the equivalent names in modern Norwegian are: *Skotberg – Skotet, Steindyrr – Steindør, Nefsteinninn – Nasesteinen, Sauðató – Saueto, Mjávavatn – Mjåvatn, Kelduásvatn – Kjeldåsvatnet, Valskarðaland – Våskeland.*

ON *Skotberg* (a mountain where logs have been pushed down) relates to the uncompounded *Skotet* /'skå:de/. ON *Steindyrr* ('rock door', an opening in the mountain) is also nowadays called *Steindør*. ON *Nefsteinninn* ('nose rock') is now called *Nasesteinen*, with the same semantics. ON *nef* 'nose' has been replaced by the modern word for 'nose' in Norwegian: *nase*.

ON Sauðató ('the mountain shelf where sheep go') is also today called Saueto, whereas ON Mjávavatn ('the narrow lake') is called Mjåvatn. ON Kelduásvatn ('the lake by the mountain ridge with a source') is used in the definite form today: Kjeldåsvatnet. ON Valskarðaland has developed into Våskeland. This is an old farm name ending in *-land*. The first element is most likely a toponym ON *Valskarð, containing ON valr m. 'falcon' and skarð n. 'mountain pass'.

This example from Kvinesdal shows how well some microtoponyms have survived in the local oral tradition. The seven names mentioned in 1292 are also known today, some of them with a changed grammatical form. They have been passed on in the oral tradition for more than 700 years. This indicates that many microtoponyms found in the mountains, along the seashores or in a farming community, and maybe believed to be fairly young, might in fact be very old, in some cases from medieval times. This shows how strong and reliable the oral tradition has been some places. It indicates that microtoponyms in oral tradition may be regarded as a valuable and reliable source material. From this example, e.g. the name *Våskeland* (ON *Valskarðaland*), we also learn that it is necessary in many cases to know old forms and spellings in order to be able to interpret the names.

The Grammatical Form Indicating the Age of Microtoponyms

In some cases the grammatical form of a place name in oral tradition indicates that it is quite old. Some topographical names and field names have developed from so-called oblique case (*casus obliquus*) in ON in areas where the case system has not been used after c. 1500. Farm names reflecting oblique case in Old Norse are quite common in southwestern Norway, e.g.

Bakka (from ON *Bakka*, oblique case of ON *bakki* m. 'hill, slope') and *Brekke* (from ON *Brekku*, oblique case of ON *brekka* f. 'steep slope').

Names reflecting the oblique case are also found among field names. One example is *Side* /"si:e/, from ON **Siðu*, oblique case of ON *siða* f. 'side', denoting a field beside a brook. This name is used as a field and farm name in Årdal (northern Rogaland) and as a farm name in Hafslo (Sogn og Fjordane).

This phenomenon also appears in topographical names, e.g. in names denoting mountains, headlands and rocks in the sea. The name *Kråke* /"krå:ke/, denoting rocks in the sea several places in Rogaland, has developed from ON **Kráku*, oblique case of ON *kráka* f. 'crow'. *Mula* /"mu:la/, denoting headlands several places in Rogaland, relates to ON **Múla*, oblique case of ON *múli* m. 'muzzle'. *Hobda* /"håbda/, denoting a mountain in Sirdal (Vest-Agder), has developed from ON **Hofða*, oblique case of ON *hofði* m. 'head'.

Microtoponyms in oral tradition like these must have been formed before 1500, due to the fact that they reflect the old case system. Norwegian place names in indefinite form lost the case inflexion in late medieval times (before 1500). In some names, especially farm names, but also in some topographical names and field names, the oblique form was 'frozen' at that time. This phenomenon occurs especially in names from southwestern Norway (Indrebø 1926). The dative is still used in some Norwegian dialects, but only in the definite form of nouns and toponyms. In the dative-area, i.e. in the area where dative is still used, place names in definite form have a special dative form, used after certain prepositions. However, southwestern Norway is not a part of this area.

Phonological and Morphological Development and Dialect Boundaries

Place names provide information about the phonological and morphological development of a dialect and language, and about linguistic relationship and heritage, and they represent a treasure trove of words and semantics, especially topographical appellatives. In some Scandinavian toponyms we find personal names not recorded in written documents or runic inscriptions.

Place names are unique sources when studying phonological development. Quite often the different elements of compound toponyms have not been associated with the original meaning of the words represented, and the names have therefore easily been exposed to spontaneous sound changes. The farm name *Belse* (Akershus, eastern Norway) is a so-called *rud*-name, containing ON *ruð* 'clearing', with the male name ON *Berdórr* as the first element, i.e. ON *Berdórsruð* (Harsson 1997). The local pronunciation and older spellings, e.g. *j Bærdorsrudi* (dative) 1339, *Belsrudt* 1578 and *Bellse* 1647, indicate consonant assimilation in addition to lengthening and lowering of the vowel in the first syllable. The forms also indicate shortening and reduction of the vowel in the middle syllable and finally loss of this syllable. In the final syllable there has been vowel reduction and consonant assimilation.

Several *rud*-names with the sound combination *sr*, e.g. *Jonsrud* and *Bjørnsrud*, both containing male names (*Jon* and *Bjørn*) as the first element, are registered in 1880 with a

local pronunciation showing *t*-insertion between *s* and *r*, /'jønstru/, /'bjønstru/. These forms indicate that the combination *sr* is less acceptable in Norwegian than *str* (Harsson 1995).

Toponyms are valuable sources when studying certain grammatical innovations, e.g. definite form. The postpositive article in nouns developed in the Scandinavian language in the Viking age. Toponyms normally had an indefinite form in Old Norse, however many names received a definite form in late medieval times, e.g. *Namdalen* (ON *Naumudalr*), *Jæren* (ON *Jaðarr*) and *Smøla* (ON *Smyl*). However, many names still have an indefinite form, e.g. farm names like *Vik*, *Steine* and *Sandnes*, and old topographical names like *Sira*, *Rott* and *Bokn*. The distribution of this phenomenon differs (Haslum 2003). Most examples of the definite form in Norwegian place names are found in Trøndelag, where even several old farm names ending in ON *-staðir* have got a definite form, e.g. *Buston* (ON *Bústaðir*). In an area in southern Norway, with Telemark and a large part of Agder as the key area, many compound topographical names still have an indefinite form, e.g. *Førsvatn* and *Berghyl*.

Due to the fact that many place names preserve older grammatical endings and pronunciations of words, the local pronunciation of the names sometimes reflects that dialect boundaries (isoglosses) have changed over time. In some cases earlier dialect boundaries appear from a corpus of place names. An isogloss which is relevant to study in this context, deals with the voicing of /p, t, k/ following a long or lengthened vowel, e.g. in words like *pipe* f. 'pipe', *båt* m. 'boat' and *tak* n. 'roof', pronounced /"pi:ba/, /bå:d/ and /ta:g/. According to Haslum (2004), a corpus of toponyms collected by school children in the 1930s clearly indicates that this development earlier had a wider distribution in the southern part of Norway (Agder) than today. This coincides with the findings of Hannaas (1911: IV), who has studied a collection of words from this part of Norway (Råbyggjelag) from the first half of the 17th century.

The rounding of /a/ in front of /ng/, e.g. in the adjective *lang* adj. 'long', today represents a difference between the dialects of northern Rogaland, where /ång/-pronunciation is common, /'långe/, and southern Rogaland, with /ang/-pronunciation, /'lange/. However microtoponyms like *Langåger* /"långå:ger/ ('the long field'), *Longevoll* /"långevåd,l/ ('the long meadow') and *Longhol(en)* /"långho:d,l/ ('the long mound'), found in several places in southern Rogaland (e.g. in Klepp and Time), indicate that the rounding of /a/ in front of /ng/ earlier was common further south than today. This isogloss has moved northwards.

Microtoponyms collected from oral sources in Northwest-Rogaland since the 1980s reflect that the use of different endings in strong and weak declined feminines has had a wider distribution in this area than stated in linguistic publications and maps showing dialect boundaries (Christiansen 1969). Different endings are found in toponyms as far south as Sandve in south-western Karmøy, e.g. *Fjellsnova* /"fjelsnå:ve/ (*nov* f.) and *Ura* /'u:re/ (*ur* f.), containing strong feminines, but *Hella* /'hedlå/ (*helle* f.) and *Hola* /"hå:lå/ (*hole* f.), with weak ones. The system with one ending, /-å/, in all feminines is nowadays spreading to neighbouring areas which traditionally have had different endings in the two types of feminines.

Microtoponyms Referring to Falcon Catching

In medieval times and the two following centuries a number of falcons were caught in Norway and sent (exported) to the European continent and the British Isles where the birds were trained and used in falconry (i.e. in aristocratic hunt). This is recorded in medieval literature (diplomas, sagas, didactic literature, poetry etc.) and in post-medieval tax records and judicial documents. A number of microtoponyms in Norway – from the mountains as well as the seashores – refer to the catching of falcons. Reliable examples are compound place names with first elements like *Falkfangar*- ('falcon catcher') and *Falk(e)hytt*- ('falcon hut'), the latter referring to a special type of hut, *falkehytte* f., used by the falcon catcher. Several toponyms referring to catch sites are found in the mountains between Sør-Trøndelag, Oppland and Hedmark.

The first element of the name *Hytteheia*, denoting a mountain plateau in Suleskard (Sirdal, Vest-Agder) refers to the catching of falcons. There is an old catch site for falcons (a 'falkehytte') on this mountain, mentioned in a report from a journey in 1839 (Keilhau 1839).

The shores of Jæren (southern Rogaland) are reported in post-medieval sources to be one of the best catching sites for falcons (Pontoppidan 1753: 118). Information about falcon catching in Jæren is found in tax records from c. 1520 (NRJ 1: 690). A so-called *falkeleie*, i.e. a place where falcons were caught, was, according to written sources, situated in a farm called Kvalbein (Hå). Toponyms like *Falkhaug* ('falcon mound'), *Leiet* and *Leiesteinen* denote locations on the shore, referring to the *falkeleie* (Særheim 2013). The place name *Fuglakung* ('bird king'), which most likely refers to falcon catchers, denotes a farmyard on the neighbouring farmstead. A small bay in this area is called *Fuglaviga* ('bird bay'), most likely relating to the many birds staying there because of the seaweed (tare). This might also be a reason why falcons, especially peregrine falcons (*Falco perigrinus*), have come to this place. According to the official record of the Jæren and Dalane court from February 1st 1668, the catching of falcons in Hå had ended by that time (Tingbok Ba 42 1668, 2a–3a). The bay Fuglaviga used to be one of the best places to collect tare in Jæren. Earlier the tare was collected, dried and burnt, and the ash was exported, especially to Scotland, where it was used in the production of iodine.

Toponyms Referring to Ship Wrecks - Løvebukta

The frigate *Norske Løve* ('the Norwegian lion') was a flagship of the Danish-Norwegian navy during a war in 1666. English warships had raided the coast of Rogaland and set fire to the customs house in Nedstrand. After having crossed the North Sea in October that year, *Norske Løve* sought shelter from an autumn storm in the island of Eigerøy (Eigersund, southern Rogaland). During a hard storm (hurricane) on 21 October the ropes of the anchors broke, the ship was loose and stranded on the rocky shore. The bottom of the ship was badly damaged. The crew managed to tow the ship into a small bay, however it was not possible to save the ship, which broke down during hard storms during the winter of 1666-1667. The crew worked hard that winter to save as much as possible from the ship (canons, equipment, the rigging etc.).

In the late 1970s marine archaeologists from Stavanger maritime museum wanted to find out more about the shipwreck. In searching for the right location some microtoponyms from the area proved to be very useful. Two small bays in southeastern Eigerøy are called *Vestra* and *Austra Løvebukta* ('western' and 'eastern lion bay'), sometimes only *Vestra* and *Austra Løva* ('western' and 'eastern lion'). These names apparently refer to the events in 1666 and denote the location where the once so proud battle ship was wrecked. The names have been passed on in the local tradition since that time. The researchers found traces of the ship in this location, e.g. iron canons, canon balls, ceramics and parts of the wooden construction.

The two bays are situated below an elevation called *Skansane* ('the entrenchment'), a toponym which according to oral tradition also refers to the events in 1666. Written sources report that the officers and the crew built a bulwark in order to defend themselves against pirate ships ('privateers') during the rescue work. The text: 'Blef Nordske Løvwia Helt' on a map from 1708 (R. Juell) indicates where the ship (with admiral Helt) was stranded.

This example shows that place names in local oral tradition provide information about historical events that go several hundred years back in time, and that the coining and interpretation of place names is useful not only for linguists. The names are valuable sources for researchers representing different disciplines.

A number of place names along the Norwegian coast contain the names of wrecked ships. These toponyms are useful when searching for shipwrecks. Examples from the Jæren area (southern Rogaland) are *Kosmosgrunnen* (Kvitsøy), *Vestasteinen* (Tunge, Randaberg), *Ofeliasteinen* (Hårr, Hå) and *Fortunholmen* (Holmane, Hå). Breaking up wrecked ships has in fact been an important income source for farms along the coast of Jæren, which is referred to in some place names, e.g. *Tynevika* (Hodne, Klepp), named after a ship called *Tyne*, and *Skibasteinen* (Reve, Klepp), a rock used to fasten ships that were broken up by the sea.

Myths of Origin 1: Galgarinda

A special story is linked to the name *Galgarinda* ('gallows ridge') from a farm called Orre (Klepp, southern Rogaland), mentioned in several collections of local stories (legends). This toponym supposedly refers to a stranded ship from the early 17th century. It is told in the local tradition that some people from the ship were lying 'half-dead' on the beach, however people from the nearby farm did not do anything to help them because they were more interested in the goods (cargo). When this beame known to the authorities, four men from the farm were supposedly hanged in Galgarinda.

It is often difficult to decide the reliability of such stories. Is there some truth in it or is this fiction? Could this name refer to gallows used for other purposes, e.g. the drying of fishing seines, called *notgalge* ('seine gallows') in Norwegian?

A few years ago a legal document was found in the State archive in Stavanger where it is documented that *two* men from Orre were executed by hanging because they had taken some cargo from a stranded ship in the winter of 1613-1614, i.e. goods belonging to the King (Seldal 1999). The document apparently confirms and dates the event and the story linked to the toponym, which has been passed on in the local oral tradition up to present day, i.e. for 400 years.

Myths of Origin 2: Klokkeskjeret

A special story is also linked to the name *Klokkeskjeret* ('the bell rock'), located way out in the sea by the island Håstein in Sola (southern Rogaland). There are two rocks (skerries): *Stora* ('the big') and *Litla* ('the small') *Klokkeskjeret*, also called *Stora* and *Litla klokka* ('the big' and 'the small bell'). A bay on the island Håstein is called *Klokkebaien*. According to oral tradition the names refer to an event in the 16th century when the church bells from Stavanger cathedral were taken onboard a ship sailing to Copenhagen. The bells were supposed to be recasted into canons for the castle. However, the ship ran into Klokkeskjeret and sank. Divers have searched for the ship and found a wreck from the 16th century, but not the church bells. Old fishermen tell that in storm with rough sea they can hear the bells ring on the bottom of the sea. When they hear the bells, they never go out with their boats.

This story is included in collections of stories (legends) from this area, and it is referred to by the county governor Bendix Christian de Fine in his book *Stavanger Amptes udførlige Beskrivelse* from c. 1745, where it is also mentioned that the rock is called *'Klokke-Skiæret'* (de Fine 1952: 40). In the book *Norriges Beskrifuelse* by Peder Clausson Friis from c. 1600 it is told that 'by the island Håstein one of the king's ships was stranded (broke down) in the year 1558. Onboard were five church bells that were taken from Stavanger cathedral' (Friis 1881: 327; author's translation). In a letter (diploma) written in Bergenhus (Bergen) on 29 April 1558 it is told that the leader ('høvedsmann') Christoffer Valkendorf, on request, sends to Herr Mogens Gyldenstjerne in Copenhagen 13 bells to be recast into canons for the castle (DN 2: 866 f.).

Due to written evidence from the 16th through the 19th centuries it seems probable that at least some of the tradition linked to the name *Klokkeskjeret* is reliable. It is a mystery, however, why the church bells have not (yet) been found. The story of the ship wreck and the sunken church bells has been passed on in the local oral tradition for more than 450 years.

Final Remarks

The aim of this paper has been to show that microtoponyms in the local oral tradition, maybe believed to be fairly young, in some cases prove to be quite old. Some of them have been passed on in oral tradition for many hundred years, in some cases linked to stories about events that have taken place in the locations. The fact that myths of origin are linked to some of the names, presumably makes it easier to remember these names, even though some of the myths might be so-called folk etymology. Some names and locations have had special functions, e.g. as border marks. Toponyms in oral tradition are valuable sources about the local language and several other aspects of cultural history.

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Large Scale Harvesting of Variants of Proper Names

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Abstract

A definition of true variants of a proper name is that they have been used for the same person (excluding nicknames). Harvesting name variants, then, requires documents that contain these variants, while there is sufficient evidence that they refer to the same individual. This approach has been followed for the Dutch 19th- and early-20th-century vital register where a person and his parents are named in birth, marriage and death certificates (currently about 16 million digitized). Together, these persons have three first names and two distinct surnames, since in The Netherlands the child and father share the same surname while the mother keeps her maiden name throughout life in formal registrations. Dutch naming is rich enough that when four out of these five names are identical, the group is almost always uniquely identified. Year of birth is used as an additional criterion to increase its uniqueness. Subsequently, all variants that could be found in the fifth name were harvested automatically. Since the source materials also contained errors, additional procedures are needed to clean up the results. 34,818 variants of female first names, 22,478 variants of male first names, and 120,115 variants of surnames were collected. The approach and results will be evaluated and discussed.

Municipality Names in Consolidations: What Happens to Place Branding?

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Abstract

A place name is not only a valuable carrier of individual and social identity but also historical ties. Place branding includes many aspects, but a name is always the core of a brand. What happens if the name changes due to a municipality consolidation?

In the ongoing reform of the Finnish municipality structure, the number of municipalities will decrease markedly. The nomenclature will be revolutionised while most municipal names will be withdrawn, and just one name will be selected as a joint name. Moreover, new names have been invented. Therefore, the image of the new city may become fragmented and the place-of-origin image might be lost. The municipal office-holders in marketing will face unexpected problems in branding, if they have not taken identity and image questions related to names into account.

In our paper, we will contemplate the impact of municipality name change on place branding from the viewpoint of socio-onomastics and place branding research. We will reflect our theoretical views on our data that consists of responses to a survey conducted among residents in the region of Southwest Finland. According to the survey, names do represent collective memory and place identity and carry a significant heritage value among the residents.

* * *

Introduction

A name is a crucial component of any brand. Without a name, a brand does not have an identity. Prosperous place identity is the foundation for a successful place brand. According to many scholars, a name entails a story about the place's history, values and culture. A place name carries the heritage of the place in the minds of residents; it triggers their collective memories and makes them feel belongingness to a group living in the same place. (See e.g. Basso 1996, Helleland 2009, Kostanski 2011, Mueller and Schade 2012). But what happens if the place name changes? How do residents respond to the change? Is the place name as important to the residents as it is claimed to be?

This study contemplates the impact of municipality name change on place branding. The role of local people is crucial for the evaluation of place brands as well as an important asset in the branding itself (Braun *et al.* 2013). This is why we are interested in the people's genuine attitudes towards municipality names and their changes. We will discuss the role and importance the name has to residents in a situation where a municipality name changes due to administrative procedure. In order to gather empirical evidence, we conducted a large survey among residents of the region of Southwest Finland in spring 2013.

Geographically, the area has the longest history of structured municipality administration in Finland. Compared to the other parts of the country, numerous small municipalities and a dense population have been typical. This results from the history and the strong role of the established Church. Close, compact and socially coherent parishes created the foundation for the later development of municipalities (Laamanen 2007). In 2014, there were 28 municipalities in the region, ten of them with fewer than 4,000 inhabitants. In terms of population, they range in size from Kustavi with 900 residents to Turku with 182,000 residents.

In the ongoing reform of the Finnish municipality structure, the number of Finnish municipalities will decrease markedly. There has already been a significant drop, from 431 in 2006 to 230 in 2013. In some estimates, the final number of municipalities will be under 100 in 2017. This would mean extensive consolidation in the Southwest region as well. From the beginning of 2015, 27 municipalities in the region will remain, and according to the reports focusing on this issue, the aim is to have five municipalities in 2017.

The reform is also revolutionising the nomenclature in that most municipal names will disappear, and just one of the names will be selected as a mutual name (Paikkala 2012). This was the case, for instance, in the town of Salo, with which nine other municipalities merged in 2009. Nine municipal names faced a demotion to an area name, and only *Salo* preserved its position as the municipal name. Moreover, new names have been and will be invented: when the island municipalities of Parainen, Nauvo, Korppoo, Houtskari and Iniö merged in 2009, the new municipality got a completely new name, *Länsi-Turunmaa* ('west Turku land'). However, this new name was not generally accepted, and in 2012, the municipality was renamed *Parainen*. Quite seldom, old municipal names are combined to form a blended name: there is a town in Central Finland known as *Mänttä-Vilppula*, which got its name after the consolidation of two municipalities, Mänttä and Vilppula, in 2009.

Names and Brands – Some Theoretical Viewpoints

The linguistic character of proper names, from the cognitive or functional linguistic viewpoint, fits perfectly with the goals of marketing and branding. Cognitive linguistics underlines that the primary purpose of language is to produce meanings. As proper names are signs of language, they also produce meanings. However, there is a significant difference between *having* a meaning and *producing* and *constructing* meanings. Appellatives, such as *city*, have a meaning that links similar entities and categorises them. Proper names, such as *Glasgow*, do not have such a meaning. Nevertheless, proper names pick up and individualise entities, in other words, they are meaningful parts of texts when expressing that certain beings or things are worth identifying and individualising. Proper names are on the highest schematic level in the hierarchy of nouns, and there is always a reason why a language speaker chooses a name instead of some appellative. In other words, a proper name has functions – textual, interpersonal and ideational – just like any other linguistic expression (Sjöblom 2006, Ainiala *et al.* 2012; on cognitive linguistics e.g. Croft and Cruse 2004, Langacker 2008, see also Halliday 1985).

The longer the history behind a name, the more meaningful it is as a part of language. Some current meanings arise from the individual emotions and experiences of each language user, but some meanings belong to collective memory and common folklore and, as such, are transferred to the future generations (Helleland 2009, Kostanski 2011). Branding can make good use of the linguistic nature of names. A brand has to identify and individualise a corporation or a product. It has to have the ability to entail several cognitive and emotional meanings that can shape people's images about the referent. An established, unique name with a long enough history is at the core of a brand and asserts the existence and individuality of the brand to consumers (Hakala *et al.* 2015: 264-265).

What happens if the brand name changes? It is an interesting question regarding the importance of the name to the brand. Strangely enough, marketing research has not paid very much attention to names even though the brand name has been generally considered to be central to consumer brand equity. To fill this gap, Round and Roper (2012) have studied the functions of names by focusing on name changes of established global consumer brands. They found qualitative evidence from semi-structured consumer interviews that the name element performs various rational as well as relationship, habitual and symbolic functions. For instance, name change diminished the consumers' relationship to the newly named brand of which all other elements (e.g. package and colours) remained the same.¹ All and all, they claim that name change causes discomfort and distress among consumers. Despite corporate promotion, individual consumers have their personal associations of the brand name and they determine the equity of that name.

One important concept regarding brands and names of brands is *heritage*. This can be defined as a representation of the past and production and reproduction of meanings of the past. It includes almost all intergenerational exchange between societies as well as individuals, but it should not be confused with the concept of history. Rather, it is the timeless value of the past justifying our contemporary ideas of the future. It is created and transferred by means of language as well as via our socio-cultural practices and tangible products. Heritage is one of the attributes that play a significant role in distinguishing places, and it also takes part in building the identities of the communities within them (Graham *et al.* 2000, Balmer *et al.* 2006). Heritage has recently become one of the future priorities in branding research (Keller and Lehman 2006).

Heritage should be acknowledged as an important factor in toponomastics as well. Place names, identity and heritage are closely connected to each other.² Helleland (2009: 503) sees names as 'historical oral or written text of the landscape and the people in it'. According to him, people born in a specific area or who live there for most of their lives may have particularly strong feelings about the historic ties of the place names, which also produce the feeling of social belonging in the area. Kostanski (2011) even claims that the residents' connections with a place's history and the community are stronger with regard to names rather than to the places themselves.

So-called critical toponomastics (see Berg and Vuolteenaho 2009) emphasises the key role of naming in the formation of identities. Traditional place names transmit the

¹ One informant's opinion on *Opal Fruits* that was changed to *Starburst* was: '-even though I know that it's the same sweet inside it's lost that history behind it, so it's almost like a new sweet-' (Round and Roper 2012).

² About conceptualization of place heritage see Hakala et al. (2015: 266).

significance of the place to new generations of local people. However, naming is connected to power: authorities may claim the right to name places, and thus, they can make certain places exist as 'real' places. They also can ignore traditional names, people's place identities and the heritage carried by these traditional names. This is what is happening in the merging process of municipalities. In many cases, authorities just remove the old municipal names from signposts and maps without any discussion with the residents or taking their feelings into consideration.

Findings of the Survey: Residents' Attitudes towards Names

In order to find out if a place name is as important to people as it is always claimed to be, we acquired empirical evidence on residents' attitudes by the use of a survey. The questionnaire was given to 5,020 randomly selected residents of all 28 municipalities in the region of Southwest Finland. The percentage response rate was 27.5, and the final sample thus contained 1,380 responses. The data was weighted for the purpose of sample adjustment, and statistically analysed. The questionnaire comprised 52 questions and statements in total, but for the purpose of this paper we only analysed the following nine statements:

- 1. The name of my place of domicile is important to me.
- 2. The coat of arms of my place of domicile is important to me.
- 3. The history of my place of domicile is important to me.
- 4. A municipality's name change is primarily a question regarding people's emotions.
- 5. Changing the name of my place of domicile makes or would make me feel angry.
- 6. The name of a newly merged municipality is a secondary issue.
- 7. If my place of domicile were to undergo a name change, I would lose part of my identity.
- 8. If my place of domicile were to undergo a name change, I would no longer really know where I come from.
- 9. My city or town has lost or would lose its appeal because of a municipality name change.

A five-point Likert-type scale was used to measure the level of agreement (completely disagree [1] to completely agree [5]) of the statements. A zero [0] was used for 'I can't say'.

First of all, both symbols of the municipalities – the name and the coat of arms (statements 1 and 2) – were valued high among the residents as well as the history of their place of domicile (statement 3). However, the coat of arms was clearly not as important as the name and the history of the place: the mean value of all responses for the importance of the name was very high, 4.16, whereas the importance of the coat of arms was given a mean value of 3.53 (see Table 1).

Statement	Mean	N	Standard deviation
1. The name of my domicile is important to me.	4.16	1345	1.105
2. The coat of arms of my domicile is important to me.	3.53	1313	1.302
3. The history of my domicile is important to me.	4.09	1333	1.089

Table 1. The mean values for statements 1 to 3

People were quite unanimous about the importance of the name and the history. However, the respondents were slightly more divided when asked about the coat of arms (Table 2).

	The name of my place of domicile is important to me.		The coat of arms of my place of domicile is important to me.		The history of my place of domicile is important to me.	
	Unweighted		Unweighted		Unweighted	
	count	Weighted %	count	Weighted %	count	Weighted %
Completely disagree	60	4.4%	136	10.2%	45	3.7%
Partly disagree	75	5.3%	128	10.2%	69	5.9%
I don't agree or disagree	131	10.3%	302	22.5%	192	14.3%
Partly agree	346	27.3%	321	24.4%	398	28.1%
Completely agree	733	50.2%	426	28.2%	629	45.7%
I can't say	35	2.5%	67	4.5%	47	2.3%
Total	1,380	100.0%	1,380	100.0%	1,380	100.0%

Table 2. The importance of the name, the coat of arms and the history of the place of domicile

We asked the respondents about the feelings that a name change would evoke or had evoked in the case of a municipality consolidation. All in all, people take to municipality name changes quite emotionally; the residents gave statement 4 'A municipality's name change is primarily a question regarding people's emotions' a high rating (mean value 3.92). Middle-aged (age group 40 to 59) and elderly (age group 60 to 79) respondents especially felt strong negative emotions towards a name change (statement 5). However, over 21 per cent of the middle-aged respondents would not describe their emotion with the word *anger* (see Table 3).

		Changing the name of my place of domicile makes / would make me feel angry.						
		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree	Total	
Age group	18-39	8.3%	10.1%	13.3%	28.8%	39.5%	100.0%	
	40-59	10.2%	11.0%	15.0%	20.3%	43.4%	100.0%	
	60-79	7.8%	6.4%	13.8%	17.2%	54.7%	100.0%	
Total		8.9%	9.4%	14.0%	22.5%	45.1%	100.0%	

Table 3. The feeling of anger towards name change among different age groups

The attitudes towards a name change were tested with opposite statements as well. The responses to these statements attested to the assumption that name change has a strong effect on people's emotions and it is important how names will be used in municipality mergers. For instance, the majority of respondents disagree (mean rate of 2.82 on the Likert scale 1 to 5) on statement 6 'The name of a newly merged municipality is a secondary issue'.

Regarding the concept of identity, it is interesting that the place's identity and image are thought to suffer more than the residents' personal identity in a name change: 48.8% of all respondents agreed (values 4 and 5) on statement 9 'My city or town has lost or would lose its appeal because of a municipality name change', the mean value being 3.29. Conversely, almost half of the respondents (48.9%) disagreed (values 1 and 2) with statement 7 'If my place of domicile were to undergo a name change I would lose part of my identity', the mean value being 2.64. However, the name seems to be more important to the identity of farmers compared to other occupational groups: 47.6% of farmers agreed (value 4 and 5) with statement 7, whereas 49.4% of the respondents of other occupations disagreed. The responses to statement 8 'If my place of domicile were to undergo a name change of a name change, I no longer really know where I come from' gave parallel results. Clearly over a half, 56.6%, of those who had other occupations than agricultural entrepreneurship disagreed with the statement, whereas only 33.3% of the farmers disagreed and as many as 49.2% agreed with it.

Discussion

Our survey confirms that residents place high value on the history of their place of domicile as well as its symbols – especially the name. A place name to a certain degree goes hand in hand with place identification, even though most residents do not consider the name of their place of domicile as a crucial part of their own identity. However, municipal name change has strong emotional consequences on residents, and a constant name is considered important regarding the identity and image of the municipality.

People's place identification gets established in the question 'Where are you from?'. We also asked this question in the survey, and almost all respondents gave a place name - or several names - as an answer. Therefore, we can make a conclusion that one essential

linguistic meaning of a place name is to carry one's place identification. But in carrying many cognitive associations and memories of the place's past as well, names represent the collective memory and identity of the place itself. In other words, place names have a significant heritage value.

A place's identity and heritage are crucial to place branding, and place brands are driven by the identities of the residents. Names are crucial elements in branding, and a name change affects branding efforts. It is important that authorities responsible for making decisions also understand the role of names in place branding. As far as we know, this has not been properly taken into account in the consolidations thus far.

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Application of Names in Ukraine: A Modern Discourse Towards European Integration

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Abstract

In this paper I will concentrate merely on the application of personal names in Ukraine, which undoubtedly has a deep connection with the civil society matters and citizenship-identity interrelation due to their constitutional, linguistic, social and financial background.

In order to discuss the particular situation in the official standardization of personal names and. furthermore, its influence on everyday life of the ordinary Ukrainians we should remember that usually application of names is a crisp image of the cultural and historical heritage, recent upheaval of the political despair, lack of consensus among society, gap in the regions' development, etc.

During more than 20 years in Ukraine there were a lot of attempts to find a fair balance between the protection of the rights of minorities and the preservation of the State language. It sounds to be a very hard and simultaneously delicate decision for Ukraine being on the 'grand chessboard', searching to step out from the post-Soviet environment and considering the everlasting distractive 'manoeuvres' of our close neighbours. Therefore, in this paper I will try to answer a vital question whether the application of names in Ukraine is evidence of a search for the preservation of national identity or is it set within a modern discourse of globalization?

* * *

Initially, I began this research with a strong belief that the 'essence of a person is assigned through naming' (Bourdieu 1991: 122) and that is why the application of personal names in Ukraine needs to be more precise and reasonably clarified, specifically through legislation, in order to preserve national identity whilst moving towards European integration. Obviously, names play an important but intertwined role both for the individual and for the state. Gross (1996) observes that these days the name exists at the intersection of the 'public' and the 'private'. Like the coin which has two sides, a name is considered 'private' since it belongs to a person during his / her entire life, and yet it is subject to 'public' legislative regulation and must fulfil certain legal and linguistic requirements due to particular ethnic and religious peculiarities, national customs and traditions.

Shear Kushner (2009: 318-322) argued that the public sphere of application of names is foreseen in the situation where the name is a source for identification (the state government's ability to distinguish one person from another, to track records, allocate benefits, attribute blame or credit, grant rights, and impose responsibilities) and communication (fostering interactions among individuals, organizations, and institutions), where a private one is expressed by self-expression (name's role as a speech act) and identity-formation (name's function in describing and symbolizing an individual). Such a multilayered and versatile combination (also called duality or dichotomy of names) helps us to understand the real value and significance of a name not only for a person, like a sign, symbol or label (which serves the functional role of precise identification of its bearer), but also for a state seeking to keep national traditions and to present its specificity in context of language application and domestic legal requirements.

In order to express my point of view precisely with regard to the above-mentioned arguments, I shall try to structure this research chronologically and topically. That is why I divide my paper into a few sections related to the particular characteristics of the application of names, with an aim to answer several important questions corresponding to public and private spheres: Is a right to choose one's name constitutionally protected? Does a state need to regulate the child naming process? Does it have sufficient competence to control it? Does it have enough power to limit official names' repertoire (onomasticon) by appropriate legally-based measures keeping in mind national heritage? Does it have precise legal tools to prevent parents from bestowing upon their children names which are improper or the use of which can otherwise cause inconvenience, which are prohibited, contain offensive content (might incite violence or be considered fighting words) or can cause public confusion or hypothetical future harm? Is it important to clarify certain and precise proof-of-identity requirements to obtain government identification in the form of citizenship?

I am sure it is very important to draw the line between private and public spheres, and so far to speak about child naming policy at least in the Ukrainian context. Unfortunately, a name that would be ideal for one person or his/her parents, may be undesirable, inconvenient or even unacceptable for the rest of society and incompatible with state regulations. That is why here I begin my brief analysis of child naming within public dimension (identification) and finish with private matters (identity).

Public Sphere and Legally-Based Background in Naming a Child

'Names are peculiarly situated among most trivial and foundational, social practices, being typically chosen by parents for their newborn children and constructing a crucial point of connection between personal identity and the outside world' (Emens 2007: 861-862). Definitely, it would be completely in frames of state interest to clarify name-a-child policy and to impose names' registration requirements and to limit official names' repertoir by appropriate legally-based measures due to public interest and national heritage since 'the selection of a child's name, which he / she will likely bear for the rest of his / her life, is one of the most significant decisions parents will ever make' (Larson 2011: 162).

Tirosh (2010) says that 'names are tricky entities, [they] both carry and generate meaning'. By naming a child (sometimes not only by choosing it from an official list, but shaping a name) parents are involved in personal 'branding' of their newborn child. By constructing such a reality many prospective and successful parents feel themselves paralyzed and inexperienced enough, trying to find the intangible name that is 'exotic yet not bizarre, classic yet not pompous, on trend but not trendy' (New York Times 2013), traditional but not old-fashioned, modern but not harmful to a child.

Constitutional dimensions in naming a child are related to the fundamental and personal right to a name and so far might be found in the constitutions of different democratic countries, like Austria, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, etc. Some countries have some very strict rules for how you can name your child. Argentina, Australia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain and Sweden have an official, list of pre-approved 'good' and 'bad' names, some for girls, some for boys, updated on a yearly basis. In Germany you must be able to tell the gender of the child by the first name.

In the USA legal restrictions in the registration of names depends completely on state policy of a particular state. For example, Connecticut does not require a child's name to be entered on the birth certificate; Iowa prohibits names over a certain number of characters and in Massachusetts the length of the first name is limited to 40 characters because of software limitations; Michigan states that 'a child does not have to be given a name at all'; in Nevada a birth certificate does not need to include the child's name, but parents are given a form to submit as soon as the child will have been named; New Jersey permits to reject names that contain obscenity, numerals, symbols, or a combination of letters, numerals, or symbols, or a name that is illegible; Iowa prohibits names over a certain number of characters; California, Kansas, Massachusetts and New Hampshire impose a restriction to use only 'the 26 alphabetical characters of the English language with appropriate punctuation if necessary' (so called prohibition of pictographs, ideograms, diacritical marks, special characters); Texas prohibits numerals as part of the name or suffix (although Roman numerals may be used) and Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and Montana impose no restrictions on parents' choice of names, so parents can give their child 'any name they wish' (Larson 2011: 161-170).

Regarding Japan, there are listed a couple thousand 'name kanji' and 'commonly used characters' for use in naming babies (only these official kanji may be used in babies' given names). There are additional requirements that all the names should be easily read and written by the Japanese, also names that might be deemed inappropriate are restricted. The official government of the Republic of China recommends Chinese parents give their children names that are easily readable, and encourages simplified characters over traditional Chinese ones. Usually parents can choose for their children the given names composed of Chinese characters, represented on the computer, but numbers and non-Chinese symbols and characters are not allowed. In New Zealand people are not allowed under current naming law to name their children anything that 'might cause offence to a reasonable person; or [...] is unreasonably long; or without adequate justification, [...] is, includes, or resembles, an official title or rank'. However, for the countries seeking to protect their citizens (customs and traditions, identity, values) and using therefore only a formal list of previously selected, approved or rejected names it is likely to cause particular problems within society.

So far as we know, article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights does not explicitly and precisely refer to names, the European Court of Human Rights possesses some case law, which might be divided into few types: protection of names (*Guillot v. France 1996, Bulgakov v. Ukraine 2008*), compatibility with interference into private life (*Kemal Taskin and others v. Turkey 2010*), inconveniences which such an unusual name could cause in future (*Salonen v. Finland 1997*), compatibility with domestic naming practice (*Johansson v. Finland 2007*), activity acted within its 'margin of appreciation' (*Baylac-Ferrer v. France 2008*), etc.

In all cases the Court admitted that they fall within the scope of the right to private life, pointing out not only the importance of the name for the identification and national identity, but also the interest of the child and possible consequences of the name for his / her development in the future, notwithstanding that 'many people use their names as vehicles for self-expression' (Shear Kushner 2009: 336).

Here we come to Ukraine.

Ukraine and Legal Regulation of Child Naming Practice

As far as I know, newborn babies as Ukrainian citizens are bestowed with proper names, registered in Ukrainian language, due to linguistic rules and legal requirements, but simultaneously not limiting their parents' choice, nor conflicting with their family ties.

Therefore, this paper is merely an attempt to look on child naming policy in Ukraine from the legal perspective and to show certain close connection between a person's given name and their feeling of self-identity in the context of Ukrainian national identity. In order to protect and develop national identity we need to deal with sufficient legal challenges to make relatively important changes in a naming system in Ukraine (to limit individual (parents) right and choice of names, to avoid improper and incorrect names' official registration, etc.).

Due to the above-mentioned aspects it is very important to find an answer for a vital question for Ukraine: does Ukraine have an obligation to recognize all names, not taking into account their legality and country interest to preserve national identity? Do existing legal rules substantially interfere with the exercise of the fundamental right to a name?

In order to look more precisely on name standardization from the legal perspective, I would like to provide some legal background on these matters. Basic legal information on name giving in Ukraine is provided by the Civil Code of 16 January 2003 and Family Code of 10 January 2002. According to the essence of Article 144(1) of the amendments to Family Code of Ukraine, adopted on 13 June 2011, it is stressed that 'parents shall promptly, but not later than one month after the birth of a child, register its birth in the bodies of civil acts registration'.

These national legal provisions are based precisely on international legislation. We can find specific information in Article 24 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966, where it is stated that 'Every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name. ... Every child has the right to acquire a nationality' and Article 7(1) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by General Assembly of the United Nations Organization resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989, where it is written that 'The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents'.

In Ukraine important rules in name giving are set forward in provisions of Article 146 of abovementioned Family Code of Ukraine, where it is stated that, firstly 'the child's first name is determined by the consent of parents.' Definitely such a decision must be based on legitimate or reasonable concerns of both parents. Small wonder that 'name of a child born

from a woman who is not married, in the absence of a voluntary acknowledgment of paternity is determined by the child's mother'. Secondly, 'the child may be given no more than two names, unless other follows from the custom of the national minorities, to which belong its mother and (or) father'. However, there is nothing about the reasons for denial in official name registration by regional and local state bodies.

There are no Ukrainian laws in place restricting what you can name your newborn child (signs, numerals, words with no-alphabetical characters or otherwise unusual characteristics for instance), neither is there any information about the presence of such traditional legal requirements as prohibition of ideograms, pictograms and numerals, diacritical marks, or prohibition of obscenities, or length restriction, etc. by law. So far, the naming practices in Ukraine remain flexible enough and there is no exact and precise information about the standards of scrutiny to be applied in naming policy. However, other countries in the world are not so lenient in official child naming policies.

The only regulation present is related to the linguistic rules of the Ukrainian language applied to name registration by state bodies. Therefore, we have masculine and feminine names. We might combine either two masculine, or two feminine names in double-barrelled (hyphenated of non-hyphenated) names, like Roman-Marko (Роман-Марко), Roman Marko (Роман Марко), Anna-Marija (Анна-Марія) or Anna Marija (Анна Марія), but we do not have Ukrainian forms of androgynous (unisex) names, only in cases of borrowing of foreign names, or merged names (like Renesmee from 'Twilight Saga').

Name, Personhood and Identity: Nationality Matters

Dwyght (1911: 389), in his article on proper names, wrote that 'such importance as proper names have, accrues only as civilization becomes complex, with a greatly increased mingling of people, the multiplication of written records, and the growing necessity for preserving identities'. Under different life circumstances people might change not only a 'names' repertoire', but also formal criteria for name giving and their registration requirements in a particular country.

Names often indicate belonging to a certain community, society, ethnic or religious group. When parents choose a personal (first) name for their newborn child that is common in their society, they definitely show a high degree of their acculturation and a high sense of their national identity. In contrast, by selecting a name common only in some regions of country, the parents support only regional, but not national identity, and show by this their temporality, detachment from the political and social life of the country they live in and disrespect to national traditions, heritage and values.

Obviously, names, identity, personhood and nationality are closely interrelated, intricate and centered not only on psychological, but also on legal, linguistic and political aspects. The name a person bears is often a determining factor in his/her relations within state, society and community he/she lives in and desires to be a part of. The connection between one's personal name and his/her identity is a rich area for understanding how identity is constructed through the language of naming and is closely bound to it.

It is highly important to note that personal (first) names are often part of a severe struggle for pure national identity that all parents face, as they attempt to imagine the identities they mostly want to claim for their newborn children.

Obviously, as I wrote before (Sofinska 2014), the variety in personal names has increased enormously over the past two decades. Thus, Ukrainian academics categorize Ukrainian names into two broad groups: specific and borrowed names. Specific names that exist even today, are mainly of Old Slavic origin, which belong to the time of Kievan Rus' (9th-14th centuries AD). However, the majority of Ukrainian personal names nowadays belong to a group of the so called borrowed names, because usually we know them in their Ukrainian form, but they are derived from Hebrew, Yiddish, Ancient Greek and Latin, Germanic, Old Norse, etc. The most notable loans to domestic anthroponymy appeared after the baptism of Kievan Rus' in 988 AD. It means that after the adoption of Christianity, the population of Kievan Rus' received an entirely new type of names, names of saints or Christian names of Greek and Hebrew origin. It should be noted that, in fact, the number of masculine saints' names was several times greater than the number of feminine saints' names (so called masculine domination in names because of the patriarchal system of family rule in a male-dominated society).

During 14th-20th centuries personal names maintained social divisions, hierarchies, social institutions (such as the family and the nation), and some elements of national identity. Till now, some of those names are very popular in Ukraine and specifically in L'viv region. The next wave of the borrowing of personal names was made in a few stages due to the peculiarities of history of the administrative and territorial division of modern Ukraine. The first one was based on the appearance of names of Latin origin, which remain very popular till now.

Because of historical complexity and the two waves of the last European Union enlargement in 2004 and 2007, Ukraine became a direct, close and one of the most important neighbors of the European Union due to its historic background, geographical position and common land-border with four EU Member States (Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia with a total length of the border ~ 1400 km). Thus, since 1991, citizens of Ukraine have enjoyed the possibility of building intense relations across borders and travelling easily to the neighboring countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, among ordinary citizens of Ukraine, there appeared a seduction to be not like the other young parents and to give their newborn children names which were popular in different periods of Ukrainian history. However, all of them may identify their bearers as citizens of modern Ukraine.

The last (for now) period of the borrowing of personal names might be characterized by simple word – fashion (Belej 2011: 49). Ukraine is not in any isolation from the rest of the world. More so during the last 20 years as all the barriers were dramatically reduced. It means that up-to-date and changeable fashion on foreign policy movements and music, literature, movies, television, sport, etc. entered into ordinary life of Ukrainians and became a driving force of the name giving process. Usually, such names are far from Ukrainian traditions and religious views, but popular in other countries of the world and are used in other languages. However, such names are still very rare.

Traditionally, there is precise residential model for mapping names in Ukraine.

Conversation about Ukrainian Language and Identity Patterns

Bourdieu (1991: 45) observes that 'language is a code', which is enciphered in national identity of particular person and 'is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and social uses.' Also, it is well-known that 'language is an organism developing through the interaction between people, also it has an important function as a carrier of culture and identity' (Windt-Val 2012: 274-275).

Using Hitchings' words in recent *Language Wars* (2011: 6), 'a language is a transcript of history'. That is completely true, at least from the Ukrainian prospective. Doubtless, Ukraine has a long-going history. Despite the fact that for some centuries all parts of modern Ukraine were parts of different European countries with different legal systems and anthroponymic traditions, different historical patterns, religious and language preferences, life styles, etc., we might count several attempts to unify and build a sovereign country (Kievan Rus' during 9th-13th centuries, Cossack and Het' manate during 17th-18th centuries). Even during the turbulent 20th century (we can characterize it by periods of political upheaval, brutal dictatorship, forced famine, genocide, war, resistance movements, economic uncertainty and renewal of independence), the territory of Ukraine was divided into several parts, which have been included into different European countries (Austria and Hungary, Czech and Slovakia, Poland, Romania and Soviet Union) with different ethnicity, language, religion (all features of national and personal identity), administrative and political structure, level of economic and industrial development. But the language remained the same: Ukrainian.

Usually, the official state language is identical with the national language, belongs to constitutional matters of every democratic state and seems to constitute a self-image of a nation. The same situation can be observed in Ukraine. We need to underline that due to Art. 10 of the Constitution of Ukraine (1996) there is only one official state language in Ukraine -Ukrainian, and therefore, all official workflow must be done only in this particular language without prejudice to the rights provided for national (ethnic and linguistic) minorities in Ukraine. Already in 1999 there was a decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine (№ 10 $p\pi/1999$ of 14.12.1999), where an official interpretation of abovementioned constitutional provision was made and where it was stated that 'the Ukrainian language as the official state language is a mandatory means of communication throughout the Ukraine during the exercise of authority by state bodies and local self-government bodies (it is the only language of an official workflow, acts, activities, records, documents, etc.) as well as in other public spheres of public life which are determined by law'.¹ At the same time, the Constitutional Court of Ukraine in above-mentioned decision noted that Ukrainian is the language of instruction in preschool, general secondary, vocational and higher education, notwithstanding whether it is founded on state or communal property.

According to officially provided information (2009) Ukrainian language is spoken in 27 countries worldwide. It is an official state language in Ukraine, where 37.5 million of people (81% of its total population) use it not only at home. Therefore, lexically, the closest

¹ It is stated in the operative part of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine Decision № 10-pπ/1999, 14.12.1999, in the Ukrainian language application case [in Ukrainian]

to Ukrainian is Belarusian (84% of common vocabulary), followed by Polish (70%), Serbo-Croatian (68%), Slovak (66%) and finally Russian (62%).

Also, Ukrainian is spoken by a large emigrant population (13-15 million people), particularly in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, the United States (because of a few waves of voluntarily emigration since 1877 till now), all the European countries (because of voluntarily circular migration, academic mobility since 1991 till now) and Kazakhstan and Russia (because of repressions and forced transmigration during 1937-1991).

Honestly speaking, it is not that easy to define and to clarify received heritage in the sphere of national identity and names standardization in Ukraine after the World War II (specifically since 1947 because of the intervention of foreign Russian written forms of names and denial of Ukrainian ethnical, language and religious traditions). Only after the 'iron curtain' finally fell and Ukraine obtained a favored independence and sovereignty in 1991, we might think on some restoration of a common national identity which had been lost for more than eight centuries.

Nevertheless, some citizens of Ukraine were reluctant to lose their Soviet identity, where the mainstream of ordinary life was organized along the lines of Russian superiority. Final confirmation of the latter may be found in the Law on the principles of state language policy in Ukraine (2012), which has created controversy among Ukrainian citizens residing in different regions of Ukraine, not only from the East to West, but also from the North to the South, centered in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

However, a serious problem with personal names' standardization and state registration in Ukraine lies in correct transcription and transliteration of personal names due to the rules of Ukrainian language. Basically, this situation appeared when names, misspelled in Ukrainian, are given by parents, who want to use a name of their newborn child written in foreign language (for example, Russian-speaking parents, who are living in the East region of Ukraine want to give their child the Russian written form of a name without correct transcription and spelling in Ukrainian). Those Russian written forms of personal names are completely different from Ukrainian forms of the same personal names used in Ukrainian onomasticon² and therefore caused a lot of problems for their bearers even in the light of the Law on principles of state language policy in Ukraine (2012), which was adopted to generate crushing danger to our national security and identity, to destroy our sovereignty and reputation on the international arena, to neglect our independence and to cause weird hatred to all Ukrainians.

We can find useful and precise argumentation due to the misspelling of personal names in Ukrainian, for example, in the final version of the already mentioned ECtHR judgment in *Bulgakov v. Ukraine* case of 31 March 2008, where the question concerning people's surnames and forenames is recognized in the light of the essence of Article 8 of European Convention of Human Rights (interference into private and family life) due to previous case-law of the ECtHR (p. 42 of the judgment) and where the Court found no violation of Article 8 of the Convention.

² Artyom (Артбом) instead of Artem (Артем), Gleb (Глеб) instead of Hlib (Гліб), Daniil (Данііл) instead of Danylo (Данило), Kirill (Кірілл) instead of Кугуlo (Кирило), Nikita (Нікіта) instead of Мукуta (Микита); Alyona (Альона) instead of Olena (Олена), Alesya (Алеся) instead of Olesja (Олеся), Darya (Дар'я) instead of Darija, Daria or Dariya (Дарія) and Kristina (Крістіна) instead of Кhrystyna (Христина)

Separately, we must take into consideration the extrusion of Ukrainian language, history, culture and mass media (Ukrainian national identity markers) from Donbas and Crimea, the prevailing usage of Russian language and the support of the growing development of Russian identity there, simply because of forced famine in 1933, repressions and transmigration of Ukrainians to concentration camps during 1937-1947, deportation of Crimean Tatars in 1944 and transfer of ethnic Russians into their homes. We experienced a regrettable result of such anti-state position in Ukrainian real life during 2014 by official Russian annexation of Crimea and unaccredited occupation of Donbas region and undeclared war there.

Keeping in mind new trends in the development of modern Ukrainian onomasticon (fashion of foreign names, restoration of old names or usage of Russian written forms of names), doubtless, we observe that the name is not only an important element of self-identification and self-clarification; also it is an example of the personal identification in society. In order to respect parents' individual choice in personal name giving to their newborn child, we need to specify its criteria as for example followings: family based, language based, religion based, ethnicity based, territory based, tradition based and modern fashion based. Those criteria might be compound and have as a result some hybrid solution which can fit to several of them, however, more often they are used like single one.

In order to avoid reaching conflicting conclusions on interdependence between names and national identity, I am sure that Ukraine has to clarify legal nihilism in naming a child and adopt a naming law in order to preserve Ukrainian national identity and not forget about European integration. There is not the slightest doubt that it would be very important, firstly, to regulate names' standardization on legislative level, secondly, to impose explicitly certain rules and requirements for name giving and their official registration. Finally, it is high time to make a serious attempt to look on the application of personal names in Ukraine with certain intent to diagnose a person's relations within state, society and community he/she lives in and to determine level of his/her social integration into it.

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Toponyms as Memory Marks

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Abstract

This paper seeks to undertake a wide-ranging theoretical reflection on what might be considered a specific function of toponyms – understood as 'geographical proper names': that is, their role, as what I shall refer to as memory marks. Like landmarks, toponyms constitute 'marks' or 'signs', constructed within given spatial and temporal coordinates and having a fixed geographic reference, their ultimate goal being to identify, via our cognitive mechanisms of perception and memory, specific places on Earth.

Why do geographical proper names, as applied spatially, tend to persist in time? Why do some names, despite their long history and despite undergoing major upheavals as far as their 'linguistic materiality' is concerned, frequently retain a link with their referent (that is, the originally designated geographical space or place) that remains unchanged (or only partially modified) over the intervening decades and centuries? Why, in principle, do all the languages and all the geographies of the world, when 'generating' toponyms, tend to adhere to this particular pattern of behaviour?

It would seem that the answers to the questions raised should be sought by considering toponyms as memory marks – that is, as mechanisms or tools at the service of the cognitive process that enable the person using them to undertake two especially important tasks (in relation with their own 'environment'): first, to specifically identify the place or referent in question; and, second, to relate it to other places and thus, ultimately, to aid this person to construct their personal 'geography', i.e. their own individual and unique geographical reading of space.

This study, which adopts what is essentially a reflexive and epistemological approach, takes as its starting point some of the toponyms of the Iberian Peninsula. These place names, because of their ancient nature and deep-rooted geographical meaning, show quite clearly this tendency of toponyms to persist over time.

Lithuanisation of Personal Names of the Polish Minority in Lithuania

Justyna B. Walkowiak Poland

Abstract

The article presents the Lithuanisation of personal names of the Polish minority in Lithuania as implemented since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the rebirth of an independent Lithuanian state at the beginning of the 1990s. This policy applies to personal names in their written form recorded in official documents and it constitutes part of Lithuania's overall official language policy. The approach adopted has been inspired by the tripartite division into language policy, ideology and practice as proposed by Spolsky and Shohamy (cf. 1999: 31-32), as well as by Schiffman's idea of 'linguistic culture' (1996: 5). First the linguistic principles of transposition have been presented, then language ideology has been discussed in its selected historical, legal and linguistic aspects. Finally the divergences in practice from the rules of Lithuanisation are outlined.

* * *

Language Policy

Among language policies, two types are usually distinguished: *de jure* and *de facto* ones. The analysed policy is of the former type. Its legal framework is composed of a number of laws and regulations, one of which is the decree of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania of January 31, 1991:

Given names and surnames of Lithuania's citizens of ethnicity other than Lithuanian shall be written in identity documents with the use of Lithuanian spelling and Lithuanian letters. At a citizen's written request given names and surnames shall be written:

a) according to pronunciation, without grammatical transformations (without Lithuanian suffixes), or

b) according to pronunciation, grammatically transformed (with Lithuanian suffixes).¹

Another legal act is the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania (1992), stating in Art. 14 that 'Lithuanian shall be the State language'. Finally, the Law on the State Language (1995) stipulates that 'Genders, which are prescribed by laws, of personal names of the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania shall be used in the Republic of Lithuania. Personal names shall be changed and corrected in the manner prescribed by laws' (Art. 15).

The rules for the transposition of personal names from Polish to Lithuanian have been established by the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language (*Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos*

¹ Official translation can be found on the website: Republic of Lithuania (2015). In fact, what is added to names is inflectional endings (*galūnės*), not derivational suffixes (*priesagos*).

komisija, henceforth VLKK). The Lithuanian and Polish alphabets, which both have 32 letters and are based on the Latin script, differ significantly. The letters \dot{c} , l, \dot{n} , \dot{o} , \dot{s} , w, \dot{z} , \dot{z} are used in Polish but not in Lithuanian, whereas \check{c} , \dot{e} , \dot{i} , \check{s} , u, \bar{u} , \check{z} are used in Lithuanian but not in Polish. Moreover, the letters q, e, v, y are used in both languages (the letter v in Polish only for loanwords), yet with different phonetic values. All the differences in the stock of letters have a direct bearing on the transposition, whose detailed principles are described below. The examples used are those given on the VLKK website.

The Polish letters q, e are generally used to represent nasal vowels, whereas their Lithuanian counterparts, once nasal, nowadays represent oral sounds. Consequently, q, e are replaced in Lithuanian with om/em before the bilabial stops b, p, e.g. Dqbrowski - Dombrovski(s), Kepski - Kempski(s), and with on/en in all other cases: Lqtkowski - Lontkovski(s), Wezyk - Venzyk(as). It is noteworthy that nasal vowels in the dialect of Polish spoken by Poles in Lithuania (dialekt północnokresowy) may exhibit asynchronous nasalisation² (Rieger *et al.* 2006: 25); therefore the aforementioned spelling matches the dialectal pronunciation. The Polish letter *i* as a mark of softness before *e*, *e* disappears in transposition into Lithuanian: *Bielikowicz – Belikovič(ius)*, *Niedzielska – Nedzelska*, *Czekień – Čeken(is)*, Dziegeielewski – Dzengelevski(s), *Mieczysław – Mečyslav(as)*, though it is preserved before other vowels: Białecki – Białecki(s). The Polish letter *o*, non-existent in Lithuanian, is replaced by its phonetically equivalent letter *u*: Piórko – Piurko / Piurka, Józef – Juzef(as).

Also the letters corresponding to consonants undergo changes in transposition from Polish to Lithuanian. The letter *j* before consonants is rendered as *i*: Ajdukowicz -Aidukovič(ius), Domejko – Domeiko/Domeika. Polish letters with diacritics that do not exist in Lithuanian $(\dot{c}, \dot{l}, \dot{n}, \dot{s}, \dot{z})$ are replaced with the same letters without diacritics (c, l, n, s, z)respectively, e.g. \acute{C} wikliński – Cviklinski(s), Paweł – Pavel(as), Jasiński – Jasinski(s), Śniadecki – Sniadecki(s), Kuźma – Kuzma). Since most of these diacritics (except for l) mark palatalisation in Polish, such spelling does not reflect standard Polish pronunciation. However, in the dialect of Poles in Lithuania letters \dot{c} , \dot{n} , \dot{s} , \dot{z} are pronounced as semipalatal, not fully palatal (this phenomenon is in Polish sometimes called *śledzikowanie*), thus the Lithuanised orthography in a limited way matches the actual pronunciation. The letters c, l, n, s, z are rather obvious choices as replacement for \dot{c} , \dot{l} , \dot{n} , \dot{s} , \dot{z} because of their visual similarity to the letters they replace. As regards pronunciation, \check{c} , \check{s} , \check{z} might also be considered substitutes for \dot{c} , \dot{s} , \dot{z} ; such an alternative solution, however, would lead to confusion and to the lack of one-to-one correspondence between the sets of the replaced and replacing graphemes since the latter also correspond to the Polish cz, sz, \dot{z} (moreover, there does not appear to be any alternative equivalent in Lithuanian of the letters l, \dot{n}).

The letter *i* is inserted after *l* when followed by *a*, *q*, *o*, *ó*, *u*: $Grzela - G\check{z}elia$, Ludmila - Liudmila. However, in names of non-Polish origin, such as Jolanta or Adelajda (Adelaida), there is no insertion. The Lithuanian equivalents of *w*, *ż* are *v*, *ž* respectively: Wladyslaw - Vladyslav(as), Wanda - Vanda, $\dot{Z}mijewski - \check{Z}mijevski(s)$, $Wa\dot{z}ny - Va\check{z}ny/Va\check{z}nas$.

Finally, Polish diagraphs *cz*, *sz* undergo replacement with Lithuanian letters \check{c} , \check{s} which correspond to the phonemes that are their closest phonetic equivalents: *Czesław* – $\check{C}eslav(as)$, *Szejnicki* – $\check{S}einicki(s)$. The diagraph *rz* becomes \check{s} after *ch*, *k*, *p*, *t*, and \check{z} in all other cases:

² In Polish *rozłożona (asynchroniczna) wymowa samogłosek nosowych.*

Krzywicki - Kšyvicki(s), Przemysław - Pšemyslav(as), Trzebiński - Tšebinski(s), Rzecki - Žecki(s), Grzegorz - Gžegož(as). Such spelling reflects perseveratory assimilation of voicing.

Because there are no geminates in Lithuanian, double consonants in Polish names undergo reduction to single letters: *Dowgiałło – Dovgialo/Dovgiala*, *Anna – Ana*, *Violetta – Violeta*, *Emma – Ema*.

Language Ideology (Linguistic Culture)

The Historical Aspect

As Schiffman observes, 'language policy is ultimately grounded in linguistic culture, that is, the set of behaviours, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language' (1996: 5). The ideologies that constitute the background of the policy under consideration may be explored in their three aspects: historical, legal and linguistic.

On the historical plane, for several centuries Lithuania and Poland jointly formed a state known as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the years 1772-1795 the polity underwent three partitions, the last one erasing the dual state completely from the map of Europe for 123 years. By the end of the 19th century, with Lithuania still under imperial Russian rule, it had slowly become clear that Polish-Lithuanian relations needed to be redefined:

At the turn of the twentieth century, there was no Lithuanian state. The elite, reared in Polish culture and living in the Belarusian and Lithuanian provinces of the Russian Empire, consciously cultivated the traditions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1772. Yet reconstruction of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was out of the question, not only for political reasons related to the military power of the Russian Empire but also because the evolution of the popular consciousness tended toward the creation of national states and not to the reconstruction of multiethnic ones on the basis of historical precedent. (Eberhardt 2003: 25-26)

At the turn of the 20th century, with several decades of Herderian-style national revival behind them and having developed some intelligentsia of their own, Lithuanians considered themselves wronged by how they had been treated in the Commonwealth, in which Polish had been the language of the upper classes, of culture and – since the end of the 17th century – also of state administration, with minoritised Lithuanian deemed fit only for peasants. Poles, in their turn, regarded Lithuanians as ungrateful younger brothers with incomprehensible aspirations to independence.

Poland and Lithuania were resurrected as independent states in the aftermath of the First World War. In this way Lithuanian, formerly *de facto* a minoritised language, became *de jure* a majority, national language, with an accompanying language policy. In the 1930s a campaign was launched to de-Slavicise personal names in Lithuania:

Surnames were the most problematic. They had been reworked and distorted in various ways under the influence of enforced denationalization. Often in a given family group some would have a Lithuanian, others a Polonized or Slavicized surname [...]. There was a desire to restore the original forms of these altered Lithuanian surnames. To this end [the linguists] accurately recorded the surnames as used by the people and created an index (about 260,000 entries) for them. Preparations were made to publish a dictionary of original Lithuanian surnames, but time ran out. The onset of World War II and the occupation of Lithuania interrupted the work. (Zinkevičius 1998: 308-309)

The situation in which there was an official majority form of a personal name and a different minority form was not entirely novel to Lithuania since a large part of its territory had long been multiethnic and multicultural, with a long-standing tradition of the *sui generis* diglossic existence of equivalent forms of personal names in different languages, including Lithuanian dialects. Until the end of the 17th century the language of official records in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was Chancery Slavonic, whereas the population of this state at its largest included, alongside Lithuanian, several other non-Slavonic ethnicities (e.g. Prussian, Jewish, Livonian, Latvian, German). Of considerable importance is also the fact that between the end of the 18th century and the end of the First World War Lithuania had been a province of the Russian Empire and therefore at least for some of this period personal names were Russified. Russification intensified in the years 1864-1904, when printing books in the Latin alphabet was strictly forbidden and only the Cyrillic script was allowed. All these facts made name changes that took place in the interwar period a relatively familiar phenomenon to those affected, not only in Lithuania but also in Latvia and Estonia, which two countries to some degree shared with Lithuania their history both in the GDL and in the Russian Empire:

Personal names became an object of contention as [after 1918] all three Baltic states demanded conformity to national orthographic traditions – in Latvia and Lithuania names are declined and usually gender marked, and non-Latvian names were officially written with endings conforming to this pattern. Original spellings could usually be included in parentheses and always used in signatures. Cyrillic-written names were Latinised in conformity with those principles. (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009: 32)

The Soviet rule in Lithuania in the years 1940-1990 led to the gradual marginalisation of Lithuanian, manifested in such phenomena as Lithuanian-Russian code-mixing, or in increasing functional diglossia. Russian played an increasingly important role as the language of science, administration, army and public life (Baločkaitė 2013, Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2013). The pressure of Russification relented slightly in mid-eighties, shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

With the re-emergence of independent Lithuanian state, the Lithuanian language regained the status it had enjoyed before the war. The status of Russian was reduced to that of a minority language, which it now shares with Polish. In the census of 2011 Poles were found

to constitute 6.6% of Lithuania's population (200.3 thousand), Russians -5.8% (176.9 thousand), Belarusians -1.2%; other minorities do not exceed 0.5% each.

For a relatively long period, there have existed two conflicting narrations about the Polish-Lithuanian past and present relations. To this day Poles tend to consider the series of unions signed with Lithuania between 1385 and 1569 as an achievement that enhanced the country's stature on the international arena. Lithuanians, in their turn, see the unions as detrimental to Lithuanian statehood, with the Union of Lublin in 1569 considered particularly odious. Also particular historical figures are differently evaluated today. King Jogaila (Władysław Jagiełło), who in 1385 signed the Union of Kreva, is highly regarded in Poland as one of the founders of the power of the Commonwealth. At the same time he is held in such low esteem in Lithuania that in 1930 a symbolic lawsuit was even brought against him in the Samogitian town of Kaišiadorys: he was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death, with all memory of him erased from Lithuanian history (Venclova 2013: 27).

As Nowicka observes, 'the basic elements of the policy toward ethnic minorities in the pre-war Lithuanian state [...] are exactly rehashed in independent Lithuania of the 1990s' (2000: 81). The Lithuanian narration includes the thesis that there are no Poles in Lithuania, only Lithuanians forcibly Polonised several generations ago, whose national awareness needs to be (re-)awakened. By contrast, the Polish narration, especially when linked with right-wing political leanings, includes sentimental idealised memories of the imagined peaceful coexistence of nations in the past, oblivious of the actual ethnic tensions of the interwar Polish state. Nevertheless, certain facts might indicate that the acceptance by Lithuania's Poles of their Lithuanised names seems to be increasing, as evidenced by their use in public space in informal situations, where they are not obligatory: on the Internet or on tombstones (Radczenko 2013).

The long period of cultural dominance of Polish in the GDL and of the concomitant neglect of Lithuanian, coupled with some Proto-Indo-European features it preserved, made language one of the core values of Lithuanian culture in the sense attributed to this term by Smolicz:

Core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership [...] Poles provide one of the best examples of a culture where the native language has the status of a central or core value. (1999: 105, 106)

Smolicz identifies what he calls language-centred cultures, among which he includes Poles and Lithuanians (1999: 28). The language-centredness of these two languages unquestionably reinforces each of the two narrations.

The Legal Aspect

The legal aspect is subsumed under ideology for two reasons. First, laws may reflect what people think about language; second, people's convictions may be based on what they know from experience and are accustomed to. As regards internal legislation, non-Lithuanian letters

or diacritics are not allowed in Lithuania. A similar policy is pursued by Latvia. Art. 19 of the State Language Law of 1992 stipulates that personal names of citizens have to conform to the norms of Latvian, which implies not only the use of Latvian letters but also the addition of endings corresponding to the Latvian language grammatical system, including the appropriate genders.

However, as a comparison with policies in other European states shows, such a strict approach is not the only possible option. For instance, as Satkauskas (2008) notes, foreign diacritics are admitted in personal names of citizens in Italy, Denmark, Germany and Slovenia. Also Sweden allows 26 foreign letters with diacritics, mostly vowels, apart from the 29 letters of the Swedish alphabet (see the article by Märit Frändén (2016) in vol. 4 of these proceedings). In Northern Ireland any Unicode character can be used for registering a child's name. In the USA regulations differ from state to state, but in general, despite the rather liberal American attitude to choosing given names, surnames are subject to certain limitations:

Prohibitions of accent marks and other diacritical marks are common. For example, the California Office of Vital Records provides a handbook to county vital records departments that states birth names can be recorded using only 'the 26 alphabetical characters of the English language with appropriate punctuation if necessary.' The handbook further specifies that 'no pictographs, ideograms, diacritical marks' (including 'é,' 'ñ,' and 'ç') are allowed [...] Kansas imposes similar restrictions. In Massachusetts, the 'characters have to be on the standard american [sic] keyboard. So dashes and apostrophes are fine, but not accent marks and the such.' New Hampshire prohibits all special characters other than an apostrophe or dash. (Larson 2011: 169)

In Poland some surnames of German origin with non-Polish diacritics (e.g. *Brandstätter*, *Möller*, *Krüger*), as well as some surnames written in Polish letters but with non-literal pronunciation (e.g. *Gieysztor*, *Schramm*, *Chopin*) have long been in official use. In the dictionary of all Polish surnames in use in 2002 (Rymut 2005), there are also some other surnames with foreign diacritics (e.g. *Veličković*). Since 2005, the names of members of minorities in Poland may be spelled using minority alphabets.³ The letters used in the names of foreigners by the media and by publishers of books often include ϕ , β , δ and other non-Polish letters (*Jo Nesbø*, *Karl-Markus Gauβ*, *Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir*).

On the international plane, Lithuania's membership in supranational organisations and treaties (e.g. Council of Europe since 1993, the European Union and NATO since 2004) has brought Lithuania's domestic legislation under the direct influence of international laws and supranational judicial institutions. This influence potentially brings into play also actors from outside the European Union:

The local language situation in the Baltic has also seen intense internationalisation, with a variety of governments (most prominently of Russia) and a host of international organisations involved in an international battle over the status of

³ There are nine officially recognised national minorities in Poland (Belarusians, Czechs, Lithuanians, Germans, Armenians, Russians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Jews) and four ethnic minorities (Karaites, Lemkos, Roma, Tatars).

languages, often cast in terms of language rights. The at times overwhelming interest of international organisations in the Baltic language situation and the stubborn adherence by the Baltic States to their intention to change their language regime significantly [i.e. from the domination of Russian to the domination of titular languages] has the potential to bring about some profound refinements of understandings about human rights, national rights, and citizenship as well as about discrimination and related areas. (Hogan-Brun 2009: 5-6)

Most relevantly, Lithuania has been party to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (henceforth FCNM) since 2000. Art. 11 (1) of FCNM states that 'every person belonging to a national minority has the right to use his or her surname (patronym) and first names in the minority language and the right to official recognition of them, according to modalities provided for in their legal system'. This means, as the explanatory report clarifies, that 'a state may use the alphabet of their official language to write the name(s) of a person belonging to a national minority in its phonetic form'. While the rendition of Polish names into Lithuanian is not quite consistent, in principle it *is* phonetic, and thus in the first cycle of the monitoring of FCNM implementation (2003) it occasioned only the following comment:

The Advisory Committee regrets that, in spite of the discussions that have been ongoing for several years both at the national level and in the context of bilateral relations, no commonly approved solution has yet been found on the modalities of transcribing the surnames and first names of persons belonging to national minorities (in particular the Poles) in passports [...] The Advisory Committee hopes that the parties concerned will be able to identify an acceptable solution as soon as possible.

The Advisory Committee mentioned in the second-cycle opinion (2008) the draft law drawn up in 2005 by the Ministry of Justice, then under examination in parliament; according to the draft, personal names 'when not originally written in Latin characters' were to be 'phonetically transcribed using the Latin script, without the addition of Lithuanian characters'. In all likelihood, this opinion mistakenly referred to the names of Lithuanian Russians, not Poles, since it is Russian and not Polish that uses a non-Latin alphabet.

The third monitoring cycle (2013) notes 'the absence of progress in the long-standing controversy' and stresses that 'efforts to promote the correct use of the official language in Lithuanian should not extend to altering the spelling of names that originate in other languages, simply because the holder of the name is a Lithuanian citizen'. Further, VLKK is quoted as emphasising that 'foreign proper names do not belong to the system of the Lithuanian language and therefore they need not be Lithuanised'.

The Linguistic Aspect

The question whether foreign proper names are part of the Lithuanian language system (or if so, then to what extent) is of relevance to the third, linguistic aspect of the ideology. There are two contradictory traditions, Polish and Lithuanian, concerning the writing of foreign anthroponyms. In Polish the general rule provides that the original spelling of a name is preserved at the expense of pronunciation, whereas in Lithuania the spelling is sacrificed for the sake of (approximated) pronunciation.

In Polish the debate about which option to choose started as early as the beginning of the 19th century. The idea of intact spelling, which ultimately prevailed, was supported, among others, by famous Polish linguists Zenon Klemensiewicz and Witold Doroszewski. Bartmińska and Bartmiński (1978: 96-103) list the main arguments put forward since the 19th century in favour of the present solution:

- Distorted orthography is an obstacle in recognising the names of famous personages, although certain traditional Polonised forms such as *Szopen (Chopin)*, *Szekspir (Shakespeare)*, *Wolter (Voltaire)* or *Kartezjusz (Descartes)* have become so established in the Polish culture that reverting to their original form might be harmful to the language.
- Language users are continually confronted with new foreign-language surnames that they have never heard before, so those not versed in foreign languages might not even be aware of the difference between the spelling and the pronunciation of a newly encountered name.
- Some claim that Polonisation is indispensable for correct declension of surnames, but no matter if one writes *Lacroix, Le Beau, Menou, Daru,* or *Lakroa, Lebo, Menu, Dariu,* the declension is equally problematic; furthermore, in the case of certain surnames Polonisation may even render declination more difficult: *Lanselo, Klero, Lebrę* are more intractable in that respect than *Lancelot, Clairot* or *Le Brun.*
- Literal pronunciation is not so evil as to be avoided at all costs.
- Each language has a different inventory of sounds, so the pronunciation preserved at the expense of spelling is nevertheless only approximated, never accurate; it can be accepted as satisfactory only in the case of different scripts when it is the only solution. Even then it is the lesser evil and may lead to confusion one may consider for instance the various renderings in Polish of the name of the famous Mongolian military leader: *Dżengis kan*, *Djenguis-Khan*, *Gengis-Kan*, *Zingiscan* and many more.
- In the case of a language less popular in a particular country there may be discrepancies in the particular ways in which names are written on the basis of their pronunciation, since different writers may transcribe the same name differently.

In contrast with Polish, contemporary Lithuanian perpetrates the tradition of adapting foreign proper nouns to fit the Lithuanian alphabet and declension. In reference books there appear such forms as *Džordžas Vašingtonas* (*George Washington*), *Liudvikas van Bethovenas/Betovenas* (*Ludwig van Beethoven*), *Džonas Lokas* (*John Locke*), *Fransua Žeraras Žoržas Nikolia Olandas* (*François Gérard Georges Nicolas Hollande*) or *Čarlzas* *Darvinas* (*Charles Darwin*). The practice in the media is not uniform. For instance, referring in the nominative case to the president of France, in the same year 2013, the Lithuanian press and the electronic media used various forms, ranging from the original to the most adapted, e.g.:

François Hollande (the portal Tiesos);
Francois Hollande – without the cedilla (the Lithuanian-language website of the embassy of France in Lithuania);
Francois Hollande'as (Lietuvos rytas, Lietuvos žinios, the portal Delfi);
Francois Hollande'as (Fransua Holandas) – the portal VilniausDiena;
Fransua Olandas (Lietuvos aidas, Respublika).

The actual inconsistent usage is paralleled by a diversity of opinions about how best to render in writing foreign-language features in Lithuanian. As Mikulėnienė notes,

Discussion about the writing of foreign proper nouns in the original has been on in Lithuania for over more than ten years. The supporters of the traditional orthography are for writing foreign forms based only on the pronunciation. The introduction of the Latin letters Q q, X x, W w in Lithuanian print is compared to treason by some radical members of the public. The public is polarised: those for writing foreign proper nouns in the original [...] and against it. (2009: 50)

Language

Given names and surnames fulfil different roles in the onomastic system and therefore will be discussed separately. As regards Lithuanised Polish given names, their orthography differs from both standard Polish and standard Lithuanian orthography. In fact, a whole new onomasticon developed, unnoticed by normative name dictionaries, although present in the minds of name users. The table below presents some examples.

Polish name	Lithuanian name	Lithuanised name	
Agnieszka	Agnė, Agnetė	Agneška	
Andrzej	Andrius, Andrys	Andžej(us)	
Anna	Ona	Ana	
Ewa	Ieva, Jieva	Eva	
Franciszek	Pranciškus, Pranas	Francišek(as)	
Grzegorz	Grigalius, Grigas	Gžegož(as)	
Jan	Jonas	Jan(as)	
Jerzy	Jurgis	Ježis	
Józef	Juozapas, Juozas	Juzef(as)	
Katarzyna	Kotryna, Katryna	Katažyna	
Krzysztof	Krystupas, Kristapas	Kšyštof(as)	

Łukasz	Lukas	Lukaš(as)
Małgorzata	Margarita	Malgožata
Paweł	Paūlius, Povilas	Pavel(as)
Piotr	Petras	Piotr(as)
Rafał	Rapolas	Rafal(is)
Ryszard	Rikardas	Ryšard(as)
Tadeusz	Tadas	Tadeuš(as)
Tomasz	Tomas	Tomaš(as)
Witold	Vytautas	Vitold(as)

Table 1. Polish, Lithuanian and Lithuanised given names

By contrast, the specificity of surname Lithuanisation is not limited to their distortion. Equally noticeable are discrepancies between the forms postulated by VLKK and those actually used. The following table presents selected examples; the sources of these names are bilingual websites of Polish minority organisations in Lithuania and of schools in Lithuania where Polish is the language of instruction.

Polish	Lithuanised according to rules	Actual Lithuanisation	Discrepancy
Adamajtis	Adamaitis	Adomajtis	back vowel reduction (<i>akanye</i>)
Masojć	Masoic	Masoit	t instead of c
Andruszkiewicz	Andruškevič	Andruškievič	preserved <i>i</i> before <i>e</i>
Brzozowska	Bžozovska	Bržozovskaja	preserved r before \check{z} , Russian
Błaszkiewicz	Blaškevič	Blaškievic	ending
Bogdziewicz	Bogdzevič	Bogdevič	preserved <i>i</i> before e, c instead of \check{c}
Bujnicki	Buinickis	Buinickas	d instead of dz
Jedziński	Jedzinski	Jedinskij	ending -as instead of -is
Michalkiawicz	Michalkiavič	Michalkevič	d instead of dz, Russian ending -ij
Poczykowska	Počykovska	Počikovska	ke instead of kia
Rekść	Reksc	Rekst	<i>i</i> instead of <i>y</i>
			t instead of c

Table 2. Surname Lithuanisation in principle and practice

Certain observed inconsistencies might be a result of the history of surnames in Lithuania. For instance short forms ending with *-oit*, *-eit* (e.g. *Masoit*, *Dudoit*, *Vilkoit*) are typical of Lithuania Minor, where they developed under German influence. In several cases Russian endings (*-ij*, *-aja*), usually formed at the time of the Soviet Union, are preserved. It was possible to remove them after 1990, but not everybody used that opportunity. Inconsistent registration practice led to confusion (e.g. each of the Polish surnames *Sienkiewicz*, *Sinkiewicz* is in practice rendered in Lithuanian as *Senkevič* or *Sinkevič*).

It must be stressed that while some surnames of Lithuanian Poles are of Polish/Slavic etymology (e.g. *Baranowski/Baranauskas*, *Makowski/Makauskas*, *Malinowski/Malinauskas*,

Kozłowski/Kazlauskas), others – e.g. *Ławrynowicz/Laurynavičius*, *Masojć/Masaitis*, *Możejko/Mažeika*, *Rymsza/Rimša* – are indeed genetically Lithuanian (Baltic). The proportion of genetically Slavic surnames among Poles in Lithuania is probably similar to that in all Lithuania. Due to the predominance of Slavic languages in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, approximately 70% of surnames in contemporary Lithuania are of non-Baltic, mostly Slavic origin (Vanagas 1976: 74). Needless to say, name origin does not determine one's national self-identification.

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