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1. Introduction

Due to its most characteristic topics, the research of proper names is pre-eminently an activity pursued within the framework of a given national and linguistic community. Onomastics, however, like other academic fields, naturally and necessarily transcends these boundaries and puts its subjects into a wider context as well.

This paper is dedicated not to the academic problems of international onomastic studies but to the international dimension of pursuing this academic field. Thus, its focuses are the institutions and forums of international onomastics and the wide range of potential international cooperation. First, the international organisations and bodies working in the field will be enumerated, which will be followed by an examination of the various types and varieties of institutional backgrounds present in different countries. The short overview will then attempt to list the most specific international conferences, the characteristics of onomastic periodicals and some of the basic publications in the field. Finally, it wishes to call attention to the possibilities in and importance of cooperation and the widening of academic horizons on an international level.

Comprehensive literature on these subjects is scarce. The bulky trilingual international handbook of onomastics published in the mid-1990s (EICHLER et al. eds. 1995–1996), for example, includes a short summarising chapter on international onomastic cooperation (VAN LANGENDONCK 1995), while information covering specific countries in different chapters of the handbook is often random and, by now, also outdated (EICHLER et al. eds. 1995–1996. 1: 23–276). While one can gain insight into specific issues from a variety of sources (publications and websites in different languages, interpersonal communication, etc.), a systematic and comprehensive overview can hardly be found at present. The major websites of the field do help with useful links and information (see below), as does the information, for example, contained in international periodical databases. However, these are not sufficient enough in themselves since, yet again, they cannot be complete, and their data tends to be more or less random and not rarely also outdated.

The successful functioning of an academic field is very much dependent on how well developed and even how visible its institutional network and academic forums are. Thus, in my view, providing an overview of these fields in an international context may be a useful contribution. Although this paper can only



focus on the major tendencies and bring a few examples, I do hope that looking at these will serve as a suitable introduction to the upcoming papers, many of which were presented at the *International onomastic cooperation and projects* symposium of the XXVI International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. The papers of this volume will offer more detailed and specific insight into many important fields of enquiry and tasks ahead, while they will also provide feasible examples of fruitful international cooperation.

2. The institutional background of international onomastics

2.1. International organisations and bodies

The first and most comprehensive international academic organization of scholars in the field of onomastics is the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS). The Council continues the work of the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences (originally set up in 1949) as an academic society. It publishes a periodical (*Onoma*), organises the series of International Congresses of Onomastic Sciences, and (currently) runs two working groups: the Bibliography Group and the Terminology Group. ICOS is the most comprehensive international organisation of onomasticians. (For more information on ICOS and its history, see its website and DE STEFANI n. d.)

There are several other bodies within the field of onomastics, organised along geographic and/or linguistic lines or by profile. The Commission of Slavic Onomastics within the International Committee of Slavists (SOK) was set up in 1958, while NORNA, the Nordic Cooperative Committee for Onomastic Research has been working since 1971. (For details see their websites, as well as GALKOWSKI 2018 and ALDRIN–SÆRHEIM–SYRJÄLÄ 2018 in this volume.)

The United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) should also be mentioned here, whose continuous functioning started in the late 60s. Its activity is manifold, but its main focus is the collection, standardisation and dissemination of geographical names. (For more detailed information see the UNGEGN website.)

2.2. Institutional background in different countries

Onomastics works by relying on very different institutional backgrounds in different countries. (For an overview see EICHLER et al. eds. 1995–1996. 1: 23–276 passim, the websites of the given organisations, for additional references also FARKAS 2015). It is obvious that an appropriate institutional background (in the form of administrative, organisational, financial, academic, etc. support) is essential for the successful functioning of any academic field.

The role of academic societies is especially characteristic. Some of these aim to hold a comprehensive position in a given country, as in the cases of the American Name Society, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Namenforschung, the Société Française d'Onomastique, the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, and the Names Society of Southern Africa. Other societies are organised with a narrower (geographic or academic) scope, as, for example, in the cases of the association entitled *Onomastica & Letteratura* in Italy; or in the United Kingdom, where beside the above-mentioned comprehensive body, a number of other organisations also function, such as The English Place-Name Society (founded in 1923), The Scottish Place-Name Society, The Welsh Place-Name Society and The Ulster Place-Name Society. In other countries, onomasticians organise themselves as a section of another academic society, as in Hungary, for example, where a Section of Onomastics in the Society of Hungarian Linguistics exists.

In several countries, academic research institutes provide the institutional background for onomastic studies. Thus, in some Nordic countries (Institute for Language and Folklore, ISOF in Sweden; Institute for the Languages of Finland, KOTUS; Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Iceland), and in several Central and Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland), where an onomastic department within a respective institute of linguistic research exist. These research institutes usually belong to the corresponding academy of sciences, or, less frequently, to the ministry of education and culture or a university.

Universities also play a significant role in providing an institutional background to onomastic research. Although a department of onomastics was set up as early as 1930 at Uppsala University, for example, and the fact that there are onomastic scholars employed by university departments throughout the world, it is a rarity to find a separate section or centre dedicated to onomastics (as in Nottingham, Copenhagen, Bern, Zadar or Baia Mare). However, onomastics boasts a professorship in other places (e.g. at the University of Helsinki, since 1969). At any rate, the majority of onomasticians do their onomastic research (among other work) affiliated with some kind of institution within higher education.

A committee of the academy of sciences of a given country can also coordinate onomastic research in this country (as in Slovakia [since 1964], the Czech Republic or Croatia).

Apart from the above, official bodies or committees can also provide a background for onomastic research, notably in the field of applied onomastics. This most usually occurs in the case of the national, regional or local level bodies dealing with toponyms, but the maintenance of the calendar of name



days, for example, can be a similar task (as in the case of the University of Helsinki Almanac Office in Finland).

It is to be noted here that name archives have been set up, mainly for toponyms in several European countries. These work with different backgrounds in different places, either in a research institute of linguistics (e.g. in KOTUS, in Finland), or as part of other institutions (e.g. in the Archives nationales, in France).

The institutional background of onomastics has a varied history and works differently in each country. In many cases, an institutional framework is lacking, while in others there are multiple types of relevant institutions and bodies working in the field. Onomastics is considered useful and/or a field of special national interest in several countries, and thus has its place in the institutional framework.

3. Academic forums, publications and resources

3.1. Conferences

The most important event in the field is the series of International Congresses of Onomastic Sciences (abbreviated as ICOS as well). The first congress was held in 1938, and the third in 1949, where the foundation of the international committee, which was the forerunner of today's ICOS, i.e. the International Council of Onomastic Sciences. (For information on the earlier congresses and their proceedings, see the ICOS website). These congresses are held every three years, in a different city and country. The one-time congresses had a specified focus, however, recently more comprehensive titles have become common. These congresses are organised by ICOS, which also holds its general assembly during the congresses. The proceedings of the ICOS congresses (in print in the past and typically online in recent years) provide a sweeping overview of the most recent developments of the field.

Similar conference series are organised by regional groups of countries or languages (as seen, for example, in the onomastics of Slavic and Nordic countries). Further conference series are framed by a specific topic (e.g. *UN Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names* or the *Names in the Economy* symposiums) or a given location (e.g. *ICONN, The International Conference on Name and Naming* conferences in Baia Mare, Romania). All these, taken together with the long-running conferences of individual languages, countries and onomastic societies, as well as the one-off topical international conferences provide many opportunities for the discussion of issues in onomastics.

3.2. Periodicals

The world's first periodical of onomastics, the Swedish *Namn och bygd* was first published in Uppsala in 1913, and has been in annual publication ever since.

The year following the creation of ICOS, 1950 saw the first publication of its periodical called *Onoma*. For several decades it functioned as a bibliographic-informative publication, but in the 1990s became an academic journal in the traditional sense, published annually, containing academic papers. Since the end of that decade, its issues have been dedicated to specified topics. Its papers are available in one of the three official languages of ICOS (English, French or German), while article abstracts are published in each. The volumes are distributed among members free of charge, and are accessible online as well, but not as Open Access content.

It is no easy task to provide a worldwide overview of onomastic periodicals, but hopefully a recent ICOS initiative (a meeting of editors of onomastic periodicals during the ICOS congresses) will result in some positive changes. At present (at the end of 2017), for example, the European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS) revised list, focussing on high-standard (and especially European) scientific and academic periodicals includes less than ten onomastic journals: *Names* (USA); *Nomina* (Great Britain and Ireland); *Namn och bygd* and *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* (Sweden); *Onomastica* (Poland); *Acta onomastica* (Czech Republic); *Folia onomastica Croatica* (Croatia); *Вопросы ономастики* (*Voprosy onomastiki*, Russia); *Névtani Értesítő* (Hungary). However, this list is far from exhaustive. At the moment, for example, *Onoma* (the journal of ICOS, possibly due to its several years' delay), as well as the onomastic periodicals of most of the major European languages and their countries (*Namenkundliche Informationen*, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, Germany; *Österreichische Namenforschung*, Austria; *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica*, Italy; *Nouvelle Revue d'Onomastique*, France; *Onomàstica. Anuari de la Societat d'Onomàstica*, Spain) and many other onomastic journals are missing from the list.

Some countries boast more than one onomastic periodical (such as in the case of Swedish, German or Italian onomastics). It is more typical, however, that a country has only one; and most typically, not a single periodical is dedicated solely to this field. The vast majority of onomastic publications come from European countries (the rare exceptions being *Names*, *Onomastica Canadiana* and *Nomina Africana*).

As for their thematic focus, the majority of onomastic periodicals are comprehensive in scope, while a few are more specialised. Certain periodicals are dedicated to toponyms or anthroponyms (e.g. the Swedish onomastic



periodicals *Ortnamnssällskapets i Uppsala Årsskrift* and *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica*), but there are periodicals focussing exclusively on literary onomastics, too (*Il Nome nel testo*, *The Journal of Literary Onomastics*).

Many onomastic periodicals are published only in the language of the publishing country, while several (and an increasing number of) periodicals accept papers (or reviews) in other languages – mostly in the major European languages or also in related languages of the country of publication (as in the case of *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica* or several Slavic onomastic periodicals). Most of these periodicals help an international readership gain insight into their content by adding abstracts and contents pages in a major world language (typically in English).

As for the frequency of their publication, most periodicals in onomastics are published annually; more than one issue per year is considered extraordinary. The most frequent ones are *Names* and *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (four issues a year), while the bulkiest (and also richest in content) is *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica* (two issues a year). Periodicals are usually published by the given background institution, but sometimes by a professional publishing house (several periodicals now outsource the tasks, this seems to be a recently developing trend). Besides paper-based publication, online sharing has been on the rise – although it is still far from being a generally adopted practice – with some of the content published online being Open Access, while others have to be paid for. Many of the onomastic periodicals now provide free digital access to, at least, the contents pages and abstracts, if not the actual papers.

Some of the periodicals regularly publish reviews of other onomastic journals as well; this provides researchers support in following developing trends and new results in the field of name studies. The visibility of new findings is also increased by indexing them in international periodical databases.

3.3. Publications and resources

Several handbooks of onomastics have been published in major world languages, including contributions from an international board of authors. One of these is the trilingual handbook *Namenforschung / Name Studies / Les noms propres* published in the series *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (HSK)* by the Walter de Gruyter publishing house (EICHLER et al. eds. 1995–1996). Another is *Namenarten und ihre Erforschung* (BRENDLER–BRENDLER eds. 2004) published by Baar-Verlag in German, and, most recently, *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (HOUGH ed. 2016) published by the Oxford University Press in English. Within its own field the handbook of Slavic onomastics (RZETELSKA-FELESZKO et al. eds. 2002–2003) is similarly important, as well as the range of publications summarising the

onomastic findings of a national or linguistic community or topic for a wider readership.

Onomastic dictionaries, atlases and more and more often online databases of different kinds of proper names are indispensable reference items in the field, as well as bibliographies and reference databases. The different kinds of onomastic websites, including onomastic blogs and academic social network sites becomes more and more important in the field (for more detailed information see SHOKHENMAYER 2018 in this volume).

Numerous onomastic publications have published either their bibliographic data or full text on social networking sites for researchers such as *Academia.edu* and *ResearchGate*. Apart from traditional ones, online bibliographical resources are becoming important as well. The ICOS Bibliography Group is to be involved in creating such databases as well. (See their websites in the References section.)

Access to up to date information (news, conference calls, links, etc.) is a requisite of an effective academic life in any given field, and this is best served these days by online communication. However, online communication is not always quite as efficient as it could be on a national level, not to mention an international one. Beside the website and Facebook page of ICOS, it is also fruitful to look for information on international issues on, for example, the website of the American Name Society, the *Onomastik-Blog* of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Namenforschung or especially EVGENY SHOKHENMAYER's *e-Onomastics* blog (see the links in the References section).

The development and communication of international onomastics is also supported by the terminology lists serving the standardization and the appropriate use of the relevant terms. The most important glossaries of onomastic terms today are the *ICOS List of Key Onomastic Terms* (2011) and the *UNGEGN Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names* (2002), which are both accessible online in several languages. There were and there are a number of ongoing projects in the field (see FARKAS 2017, as well as HARVALÍK–VALENTOVÁ 2018 in this volume).

4. Shared topics and international cooperation

Almost any research topic can be suitable for international cooperation (cf. e.g. GERRITZEN–CAFFARELLI eds. 2006). Questions of contacts and connections, similarities and differences between the name systems, the name giving and using practices of various languages and speaking communities are especially inviting for joint research.

These studies might range from traditional topics to the most contemporary issues. Those in historic onomastics or name etymology, for example, offer



numerous points of connection, but the same goes for the research of the linguistic (onomastic) landscape.

Joint enquiries can be started in theoretic research as well as more practical issues of applied onomastics, be it comparative toponymy or anthroponymy, the research of the functioning of name models or the issues of name planning and the legal framework of the name giving practices of ethnic or linguistic minorities.

Potential topics range from the fairly obvious to the obscure; for example, from onomastic language contact phenomena or the international standardization of geographical names to the research of commercial names or the fundamental questions of onomastic theory.

Topics of a limited (e.g. regional) scope are just as suitable for specifically international cooperation as research plans with a wider (e.g. geographic) range.

5. Conclusion

Knowing about the developments of onomastics in other countries can help research in a given country in many different ways: from the widening of horizons through influencing our thinking, methodological and topical considerations, to finding common points, etc. This, of course, presupposes making our findings accessible to our colleagues working in other countries, both technically and linguistically. However, we have numerous tools at our disposal to do just that (cf. e.g. FARKAS 2015).

The interconnections between national level and international onomastic research have been intensified thanks to a variety of positive developments. However, there is still a lot of potential in widening our horizons on the individual as well as the national level. Developing and enriching international collaboration is thus not just an opportunity but an obligation for those involved in onomastic research today.

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Internet resources

Academia.edu = <https://www.academia.edu>

American Name Society = <http://www.americannamesociety.org>

e-Onomastics blog = <http://e-onomastics.blogspot.de>

ERIH PLUS = <https://dbh.nsd.uib.no/publiseringsskanaler/erihplus>

ICOS Bibliography Group = <https://icosweb.net/drupal/bibliography>

ICOS Bibliography Group on Zotero = https://www.zotero.org/groups/1001877/icos_bibliography_group_onomastics



ICOS Facebook page = <https://www.facebook.com/icosweb>
 ICOS List of Key Onomastic Terms = <https://icosweb.net/drupal/terminology>
 ICOS website = <https://icosweb.net/drupal>
 NORNA = <http://norna.org>
 Onomastik-Blog = <http://www.onomastikblog.de/>
 ResearchGate = <https://www.researchgate.net>
 SOK = <http://onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl/mkos-co-mks>
 UNGEGN Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names =
https://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/pubs/Glossary_of_terms_rev.pdf
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 University of Helsinki Almanac Office = <http://almanakka.helsinki.fi/fi>

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Abstract

This paper was written to serve as an introduction to the *International onomastic cooperation and projects* symposium of the XXVI International Congress of Onomastic Sciences in 2017, in Debrecen, Hungary. It presents an inevitably selective overview of the current state of onomastics, but it is dedicated not to the academic problems of international onomastic studies but the international dimension of pursuing this academic field. Following the introduction (1), the paper presents the institutional background of international onomastics (2): international and country-specific organizations and bodies working in the field. It also presents the academic forums of onomastic studies (3): onomastic conferences and journals, and tries to enumerate the most important types of onomastic publications and resources. The paper also pays attention to the possibilities in international cooperation in the field of onomastic research today (4), and emphasizes the importance of building and maintaining these interconnections, any kind of international cooperation and overarching international research initiatives as well (5).

Keywords: international onomastics, institutions and organizations, onomastic conferences, onomastic journals, international cooperation

Emilia Aldrin–Inge Særheim–Väinö Syrjälä

NORNA – The Nordic Cooperative Committee for Onomastic Research

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present NORNA (the Nordic Cooperative Committee for Onomastic Research) as an example of an international onomastic research cooperation. Through a discussion of the experiences from working with this association we hope to inspire the formation of similar organizations elsewhere.

The name of the organization, NORNA, refers both to ‘north’ and to ‘name’. One might also say that the name refers to the so-called ‘norne’, Old Norse *norn* f., a goddess of fate in the Old Norse mythology. NORNA’s aim is to encourage and support onomastic research in the Nordic countries, as well as collaboration between Nordic scholars (the statutes of NORNA are accessible at the website <http://norna.org>). Any researcher with an interest in names and naming from any of the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Greenland, Sweden and The Faroe Islands) can become a member of NORNA. At present (2017), the association has a total of 250 registered members, which can be compared with the 200 paying members of ICOS. However, membership in NORNA is free of charge and not all registered members are active.

2. Organization and activities

The executive body of NORNA is a committee, which consists of one member (as well as an alternate) from each of the seven Nordic countries. Members of the committee are nominated among the members from each country and thus depend on the presence of active onomastic scholars. At the moment (2017), the Greenlandic position is sadly vacant. The committee of NORNA is elected at a congress that takes place approximately every four or five years. The position as chairperson is shifted between each of the Nordic countries according to a regular schedule. This has the benefit of dividing the workload, responsibility as well as the overall influence over the direction of the association. The committee holds meetings at least once a year in one of the Nordic countries, when possible in relation to an onomastic symposium or other event in order to enable travel funding.

In order to encourage and support the field of onomastics, NORNA organizes a number of activities: Congresses and symposia, Publication of proceedings, Annual chronicle with overview of Nordic research, Bibliography, Common projects, Webpage and social media.



As already mentioned above, congresses take place approximately every four years. In addition, smaller symposia are being arranged regularly. The symposia are organized by members of NORNA in collaboration with the committee. The symposia are thematic and bring focus to a certain topic or issue. This can be suggested by the committee or by others – any member of NORNA who would like to arrange an onomastic symposium in collaboration with NORNA is welcome to do so. The organization of thematic symposia is a crucial means for bringing researchers with common interests together across the Nordic region. Furthermore, it encourages all researchers to discover new topics and issues, which to some degree can be said to influence the direction of the body of research within the region as a whole. It naturally also constitutes an important arena for critical discussions and dissemination of onomastic research.

Some of the most recent symposia have dealt with topics such as names of settlements (Lund, Sweden, 2017), name and identity (Tampere, Finland, 2015), Scandinavian names and naming in the medieval North Atlantic area (Normandy, France, 2014), name and name bearers (Hulsig, Denmark, 2014), innovations in names and naming patterns (Halmstad, Sweden, 2013), names in urban environments (Helsinki, Finland, 2011), names in coastal cultures (Tórshavn, The Faroe Islands, 2011), bynames (Älvkarleö, Sweden, 2010) and the role of etymology within onomastics (Halden, Norway, 2010). Symposia are normally avoided during congress years (2012, 2016). NORNA congresses are avoided during the years of ICOS congresses, in order to enable researchers to attend both.

Due to the regular symposia, Nordic scholars of onomastics meet rather often and get to know each other. This enables social bonding and provides support in common challenges such as attracting students, financial austerity, re-organizations of onomastic institutions etc. Furthermore, it facilitates the creation of common research projects and funding applications. In recent years, two networks have been developed: one regarding names on settlements across the Nordic region and one regarding Nordic socio-onomastics. A number of joint Nordic applications for funding of onomastic projects have also been written, although the funding situation is difficult.

Papers from congresses and symposia (along with abstracts or summaries in English) are published in the associations' own scientific series: *NORNA-rapporter*, which is published by NORNA-förlaget. There is currently an increase in online publication, although some volumes are printed as well. Several of the printed volumes have also been made available online (at the website <http://norna.org/rapporter>). The members of the NORNA committee also compile an annual chronicle – written in the Scandinavian languages Danish, Norwegian as well as Swedish – which provides an overview of the development of the

onomastic research within the Nordic region. This is published in the Swedish scientific journal of onomastics *Namn och Bygd*.

As part of the process of preparing the chronicle, all members of NORNA are asked to inform the committee about their publications each year. These are also compiled into a bibliography, which is available and searchable on the website (<http://norna.org/namnbibliografi>). For example, it is possible to search the bibliography for keywords or a certain author, or to get an overview of all publications from a specific Nordic country or publications that were published during a specific year. The bibliography dates back to 2003, but searchable online are only publications from 2013 and onwards. During 2016, the members of NORNA published approximately 185 contributions to the field of onomastics.

NORNA furthermore runs common scientific projects. One example is the compilation of a dictionary of common Nordic place name-elements, called NONELex, which is available at the NORNA website. Another example is the creation of a descriptive database of Nordic terminology regarding anthroponyms, which is currently largely varying between the different Nordic countries. This database is also available and searchable at the NORNA website.

As is evident from the presentation above, the NORNA website functions as an important platform for the association. Here, members as well as other visitors are able to find information about the association as such, discover ongoing activities, current events and new publications, as well as utilize the digital resources. The webpage further includes contact information to the members of NORNA as well as notification of their research interests. In addition to the website, NORNA is also present in social media (Facebook).

3. Historic background

An important step in the creation of NORNA was the *Nordic name research congress*. It was during the 5th Nordic name research congress in 1967, that the idea of a cooperative committee was formed in a proposal by LARS HELLBERG (see HELLBERG 1999). During the 6th Nordic name research congress, which took place in Helsingør (Denmark) in 1971, the proposal was further discussed and a *Nordic Cooperative Committee for Onomastic Research* was appointed to prepare the founding of NORNA. The theme of this congress was uncompound names. The participants had received the presentations in advance and were well prepared. Old names of islands, fjords, rivers and lakes, as well as Hans Krahe's theories about *die alteuropäische Hydronymie* and Hans Kuhn's theories about *ein zweites Alteuropa*, were eagerly discussed. Among the key persons – and part of the first appointed committee of NORNA – were Thorsten Andersson (Sweden), John Kousgård Sørensen (Denmark), Kurt



Zilliacus (Finland), Per Hovda (Norway), Þórhallur Vilmundarson (Iceland), and Jóhan Hendrik Poulsen (the Faroe Islands). The first board meeting of NORNA was held already in December that year with the Swedish onomastician Thorsten Andersson as chairman. A few years later, in 1977, the formal statutes of NORNA were created and voted for at the proceeding congress in 1980 (WAHLBERG 1999). The statutes state the purpose, constitution, and procedures of election of the NORNA committee (the present statutes can be found at the website <http://norna.org>).

Since the foundation of NORNA, 47 symposia have been arranged. The latest one took place in Lund, Sweden in may 2017. This time the topic was the dynamics of settlement names. In June 2016, the 16th Nordic name research congress was arranged in Kleppe, Norway. The theme of the congress was names as sources. The congress included paper sessions as well as special workshops on socio-onomastics and contact onomastics. By the end of 2017, NORNA has published 96 reports, including proceedings from symposia and congresses. Most of the proceedings contain summaries in English or German. These numbers give us a picture of the activity of NORNA since the organization was founded in 1971.

4. Topics discussed in symposia, congresses and reports

A number of topics have been discussed in NORNA-symposia and congresses. The most recent themes have already been mentioned. Most of the topics deal with either place-names or personal names, however, other types of names have also been debated. The 19th NORNA-symposium in Gothenburg (Sweden) in 1991 was dedicated to the theme *other names* and a particularly high amount of papers on this topic were also presented at the symposium on *innovations in names and naming patterns* in Halmstad (Sweden) in 2013.

Two NORNA-reports present and discuss terminology: toponymic terminology (1973, Uppsala, Sweden) and anthroponymic terminology (1983, Lund, Sweden). The theme of a report from 1974 (Copenhagen, Denmark) is computer-aided processing of names, whereas a report from 1978 (Hanaholmen, Finland) deals with place-name planning and place-name care. A report from 1983 (Copenhagen) presents name archives and name institutions in the Nordic countries, and a report from 1993 (Tórshavn, The Faroe Islands) deals with name editions.

Themes related to cultural contact and naming have been discussed in several NORNA-symposia, e.g. toponyms and language contact (1978, Uppsala), Christian influence on Nordic naming (2000, Skálholt, Iceland), names and cultural contacts in the Baltic sea (2001, Visby, Sweden; 2008, Haapsalu, Estonia) and names in a multicultural and multilingual milieu (2006, Umeå, Sweden). Other themes related to cultural contact and naming are personal

names and place-names in the Viking period (1993, Copenhagen) and foreign names in the Nordic countries (1997, Oslo, Norway).

Bynames and family names were discussed during a NORNA-symposium in 1974 (Uppsala), family names also in 1992 (Oslo) and bynames in 2010 (Älvkarleö, Sweden). Other anthroponymic themes from NORNA-symposia are: regional and social anthroponymic variation (1983, Umeå), personal names in toponyms (1984, Trondheim, Norway), personal name traditions and patterns (1985, Skammestein, Norway) and personal names in old Germanic languages (1991, Uppsala).

Among toponymic themes debated in NORNA-symposia in the 1970s and 1980s are place-names and society (1975, Hanaholmen), place-names as linguistic sources (1979, Copenhagen), the age of old settlements and settlement names (1982, Copenhagen), the semantics of topographical appellatives used in toponyms (1983, Reykjavík, Iceland), names and old settlement (1988, Hamar, Norway), coastal naming (1987, Volda, Norway) and the change of denotation of toponyms (1988, Tvärminne, Finland). Examples of toponymic themes from 1990 to 2008 are: sacral names (1990, Gilleleje, Denmark), field names (1991, Svidja, Finland), urban naming (1996, Copenhagen), Nordic þorp-names (2002, Jaruplund, Denmark), settlement names ending in *-staðir* (2004, Utstein kloster, Norway), the centrality and regionality of names (2006, Bornholm, Denmark) and name milieu and society in the Iron Age and the Viking period (2008, Ryslinge, Denmark).

The theme of the 25th NORNA-symposium in Uppsala (1997) was Nordic onomastic research yesterday, today and tomorrow, whereas the symposium in Stiklestad (Norway) in 1999 dealt with the name researcher Oluf Rygh.

The Nordic name research congresses have also dealt with a number of topics. Analogical naming was the theme of the Nordic name research congress in 1989 (Brandbjerg, Denmark). Other themes from the congresses are the dynamics of names (2003, Tällberg, Sweden), Nordic names – names in the Nordic countries (2007, Borgarnes, Iceland), names and borders – the border between names (2012, Askov, Denmark) and names as sources (2016, Kleppe, Norway).

5. NORNA from a student perspective

The activities of NORNA are important also for younger scholars, such as postgraduate students. Although there have not yet been activities targeted specifically at students, the symposia are a great arena to present and discuss ongoing PhD-projects. The possibility to publish in NORNA-reports is also important, not least since the *PhD by publishing* format is growing more

popular. The bibliographic resources offered by the NORNA webpage are also quite useful for students.

One should not underestimate the effect of networking through NORNA. As onomastics is a small subject, there is only a limited number of PhD-students at the various universities. NORNA-events allow young scholars to meet each other across national borders, as well as to interact with more experienced colleagues. These meetings can lead to further cooperation: research visits, support during the PhD-project, collaboration in postdoctoral projects, etc.

6. Final notes

To conclude, it is our view that NORNA has managed to create a sense of ‘togetherness’ among the onomastic scholars in the Nordic region and is of great importance for the development of various research directions. NORNA contributes in arranging meeting-places for the researchers within the field and in publishing recent research. NORNA is also a meeting-place where one can discuss other important questions related to name study and research in the Nordic countries, e.g. the teaching of onomastics at the universities and the fight for positions in onomastics at these institutions, as well as the fight for onomastic archives. NORNA is a forum where the young and promising researchers meet the more experienced scholars. It can be seen as a big family with three generations: daughters and sons, parents and grandparents (cf. ANDERSSON 2016: 10), where new members are always welcome. We hope the organization will continue to be helpful in handling of future challenges.

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Abstract

The Nordic Cooperative Committee for Onomastic Research (NORNA) was founded in 1971 with the aim to encourage and support onomastic research in the Nordic countries, as well as collaboration between Nordic scholars. The article presents the organization and activities of NORNA and discusses its' contribution to Nordic onomastics.

Keywords: NORNA onomastic research association, Nordic cooperation



Figure 1: Participants at the 16th Nordic name research congress at Jæren folkehøgskule, Kleppe (Norway) 8.–11.06.2016
(Photo: Anastasia Khanukaeva)

Artur Galkowski

Objectives, challenges, history and present organization of the Commission of Slavic Onomastics within the International Committee of Slavists

1. Introduction¹

To begin with, it has to be underlined that this article is based on reports of the author prepared in recent years regarding the activity of the Commission of Slavic Onomastics (CSO) within the International Committee of Slavists (ICS), as well as the reports of the previous presidents of this commission, e.g. a paper written by ALEKSANDRA CIEŚLIKOWA (2013).² Nota bene, until 2013, that is until the 15th International Congress of Slavists in Minsk in Belarus, Stanisław Gajda from the Institute of Polish Studies of the University of Opole in Poland was the coordinator of all commissions accredited at the ICS. Since 2013 Peter Žeňuch from the Department of Slavistics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava has been the new coordinator of the ICS commissions.

2. How can the International Committee of Slavists be defined?

The International Committee of Slavists (Russ. *Международный комитет славистов МКС*) is a scientific union that works for the promotion of Slavic studies by setting a number of professional national sub-committees and international thematic commissions and organising the International Congress of Slavists, attended by researchers in the Slavic languages and literatures, Slavic poetics and stylistics, phonetics and phonology, lexicology and lexicography, dialectology, onomastics, terminology, history, ethnography, folklore of the Slavic peoples, Balto-Slavic relationships and the bibliography of works in linguistics and literary criticism in the Slavic area. The official languages of the Congress are customarily Russian and the language of the country organizing the event; but the papers can be presented in all Slavic languages and in English, German and in French.

The ICS was founded in ex-Yugoslavia in Belgrade in 1955, and its aim has been the renovation of relations and contacts between Slavists as well as the continuation of the tradition of the First International Slavic Congress held in Prague in 1929. The ICS concentrated its work at each subsequent site of its congresses: Moscow (1958), Sofia (1963), Prague (1968), Warsaw (1973)

¹ I thank Ms. Martyna K. Gibka for the linguistic correction of this article.

² Available also at: <http://onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl/mkos-co-mks/organizacja>.

and others every five years. The last one, the 15th, as mentioned before, was organized in Minsk in 2013. The next one will take place in Serbia in Belgrade in August 2018.

The ICS is a part of the system of educational and cultural organizations of UNESCO and unites the national committees of Slavists all over the world: from the Eastern and Western Slavic area, the countries of East and West Slavs, and also from other European countries like Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, as well as countries from other continents, e.g. Israel, the USA, Canada, India, Japan etc.

The responsibility of each national committee is to announce a general call for papers, review submissions, select a group of national delegates to the Congress, edit the submitted papers, and publish them in a volume or volumes that appear in time for distribution at the Congress itself.

3. Commissions of ICS

The ICS establishes also thematic commissions (focused on different disciplines and fields of Slavic researches). These commissions include specialists from different countries. They are run by the presidents nominated for 5-year terms by the Board of the ICS during the Congress of Slavists. Since 2013 there have been 39 active international commissions within the ICS, among others one can mention: the Commission on Slavic Archeology, the Commission of Balkan Historical and Cultural Studies, the Biblical Commission, the Commission on Linguistic Bibliography, the Commission for Slavic Ethnolinguistics, the Dialectological Commission, the Etymological Commission, the Commission of Phonetics and Phonology, the Commission for Phraseology, the Commission of Grammatical Structure of the Slavonic Languages, the Commission of Religious Language, the Commission for Lexicology and Lexicography, the Commission on Slavic Microlanguages, the Commission on Slavic Linguistic Atlas, the Commission for Translation Studies, the Commission for Slavic Media Linguistics, the Commission on Word-Formation, the Commission for Sociolinguistics, the Commission for Stylistics, the Commission for Terminology, and certainly the Commission of Slavic Onomastics.

The commissions operate on an international level and carry out their activities on the basis of definite rules (*Ramowe zasady działania komisji afiliowanych przy MKS* [The framework of the basic principles of the Commissions affiliated at the ICS]).³

One of the more visible and permanent tasks of the commissions directly connected with the ICS Congress is the organization of the so-called Thematic Blocks that constitute special and additional symposia during the Congress. In the course of the block meetings, 5 to 8 papers are presented by their authors and discussed with other participants of the block. Texts of the papers are published before the Congress in journals or in scientific series. For the next Congress of Slavists in Belgrade in 2018⁴ the Commission of Slavic Onomastics is preparing one thematic block dedicated to a general subject *Ономастика и современная культура / Onomastics and the Contemporary Culture*. The texts of that block have been already published in *Onomastica LXI* (HLADKÝ 2017, VALENTOVÁ 2017, MEZENKA 2017, SKOWRONEK 2017, GAŁKOWSKI 2017).

4. The history of the CSO

The Commission of Slavic Onomastics is one of the oldest commissions affiliated to the ICS. It has existed since the beginning of the post-war history of the ICS, i.e. since 1959. Witold Taszycki from Poland became the first president of the Commission and Mieczysław Karaś the secretary; among ordinary members one can find: I. Duridanow, V. Šmilauer, F. Bezłaj, R. Fisher and K. Cilujko.

Three sub-commissions were also formed in that starting period: 1. the sub-commission of the Slavic (top)onomastic atlas (called the SOA dictionary) – Vladimir Šmilauer became its chairman; 2. the sub-commission of the onomastic terminology – with Jan Svoboda as its chairman; 3. the hydronymic sub-commission – with Przemysław Zwoliński as the chairman.

Since then many international onomastic Slavic conferences have been held independently of the Congress of Slavists; they were dedicated mainly to the subject matters of these sub-commissions (e.g. the 2nd plenary conference of the CSO in 1961 in Berlin or the 3rd in Liblice near Prague in 1966).

The number of members of the Commission was enlarged in 1968 at the Congress of Slavists in Prague; one can mention here names such as: I. Duridanow, V. Šmilauer, J. Svoboda, R. Fisher, E. Schwarz, M. Hraste, M. Pavlović, B. Vidoeski, W. Taszycki, M. Karaś, P. Zwoliński, E. Petrovici, I. Sipos and K. Cilujko. At that time the representatives of Russian and Belarussian onomastics were missing in the Commission.

Under the auspices of the CSO, such international conferences as the Polish Onomastic Conference (*OKO Ogólnopolska Konferencja Onomastyczna* [Polish Onomastic Conference]) and Slovak Onomastic Conference (*SOK*

⁴ The programme of the Congress is available at: <http://www.fil.bg.ac.rs/lang/sr/centri-i-instituti/mks/xvi-mks/osnovne-smernice-programa/>.

Slovenská onomastická konferencia [Slovak Onomastic Conference]) have been organized. Both conferences take place every two years, always under the auspices of the CSO and national onomastic commissions strictly collaborating with the CSO, in different academic centres in Poland and Slovakia. Both conferences have so far recorded 20 editions and proceedings: the *OKO* (nowadays *MiOKO Międzynarodowa i Ogólnopolska Konferencja Onomastyczna* [International and Polish Onomastic Conference]) celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2016 in Cracow; the 20th *MiOKO* was dedicated to the subject: *Onomastics-Neohumanism-Social Sciences*; on the other hand the 20th *SOK* was organized in June 2017 in Banská Bystrica in Slovakia; its major subject was *Convergences and divergences in proprial sphere*. Other general subjects discussed during the last editions of *MiOKO* and *SOK* were: e.g. *Proper names in the social context* (the 16th *MiOKO*; v. ŁOBODZIŃSKA ed. 2010), *The chrematonymy as a phenomenon of contemporary days* (the 17th *MiOKO*; v. BIOLIK–DUMA ed. 2015), *The microtoponymy and the macrotoponymy* (the 18th *MiOKO*; v. GALKOWSKI–GLIWA ed. 2014, 2015, 2016), *Functions of proper names* (the 19th *MiOKO*; SARNOWSKA–GIEFING–BALOWSKI, GRAF ed. 2015); *Proper names in language and society* (the 14th *SOK*; KRŠKO ed. 2000), *Proper names in communication* (the 15th *SOK*; ŽIGO–MAJTÁN ed. 2003), *Individual and general in onomastics* (the 18th *SOK*; OLOŠTIK ed. 2012). The CSO meetings take place during the *MiOKO* and *SOK* conferences, and usually they are linked with the meetings of the Polish and Slovak Onomastic Commissions.

Coming back to the history, the 4th assembly of the CSO together with the meetings of three sub-commissions took place in 1969 in Skopje and Ohrid in Macedonia. It was discovered that the most advanced works have been done in the field of the Slavic onomastic terminology. The works on the SOA (Slavic onomastic atlas) were continuing, especially at the Prague center (directed by Vladimír Šmilauer), as well as at the Leipzig centre (Rudolf Fisher with collaborators), and in the Wrocław centre (directed by Stanisław Rospond).

In Leipzig, Ernst Eichler was working on the methodology regarding the SOA. In his paper entitled *Zum Slawischen onomastischen Atlas*, he proposed the elaboration of the local/national SOA Atlases and only later the preparation of the general one for all Slavic world (v. EICHLER 1964, EICHLER–SCHULTHEIS–WALTHER 1967). In 1970 in Wrocław, a special conference dedicated to the SOA was organized. The works on the atlas survey began.

At the 5th *SOK*, the information about a publication of the onomastic terminology edited by JAN SVOBODA was given (*Základní soustava a terminologie slovanské onomastiky*, published in *Zpravodaj Mistopisné komise ČSAV* 1973, rotaprint).



At the 7th International Congress of Slavists in Warsaw in 1973, Mieczysław Karaś became the president of the CSO, taking the place of Witold Taszycki,

who became the honorary president of the Commission. Moreover, Rudolf Šrámek became its vice-president, Alexandra Superanskaya the second vice-president, Vladimir Šmilauer another honorary president and Kazimierz Rymut the secretary. Among ordinary members one can enumerate I. Duridanov, K. Popow and J. Zaimow from Bulgaria; V. Blanár, R. Krajčovič, I. Lutterer, V. Šmilauer and R. Šrámek from Czechoslovakia; F. Bezljaj, V. Mihajlović, M. Pavlović, P. Šimunović, D. Vujčić and B. Vidoeski from Yugoslavia; E. Eichler, G. Schlimpert and T. Witkowski from German Democratic Republic; M. Karaš, S. Rospond, K. Rymut, B. Siciński, W. Taszycki, A. Zaręba and P. Zwoliński from Poland.

Besides those already existing, another sub-commission was created; it was the Anthroponymic sub-commission with Vincent Blanár as its chairman. And the chairmanship of the sub-commission of SOA was given to Rudolf Šrámek. Under the direction of Rudolf Šrámek the survey of name types was elaborated.

Since 1974 the SCO has been involved in the global onomastics researches. Its members admitted that the Commission should be represented on the Congress of ICOS.

Henri Draye promoted the idea of the unification of the Slavic works with other international works at the 12th Congress of ICOS in Switzerland (Bern) in 1975. Members of the CSO prepared for this Congress papers entitled: *The methodology of the Slavic onomastics*, *The project of the SOA*, and *The Slavic onomastic terminology*.

The change of the president of the CSO took place after the 8th ISC in Zagreb in 1978. Kazimierz Rymut was elected as the new president. At subsequent CSO meetings, voices (e.g. of Ivan Lutterer from Prague) about the need of cooperation of onomastics with other fields of science were heard.

At the assembly in 1980 (Mogilany near Cracow), Henryk Borek presented a toponymic atlas project that would include both word-formation and lexical databases of onymic units.

At the International Onomastic Symposium in Leipzig in 1982, a microtoponymic section headed by Witold Śmiech was created. Significant effects of microtoponymic works can be noted now in many Slavic countries, for instance Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Russia, Belarus and Poland.

At the 9th International Congress of Slavists in Kiev in 1983, a print of the *Slavic onomastic terminology* prepared by the CSO terminology sub-commission led by Božidar Vidoeski was presented. It was the famous edition of the *Основен систем и терминологија на словенката ономастика* / *Osnoven sistem i terminologija na slovenskata onomastika* – *Основная система и*



терминология славянской ономастики / Osnovnaja sistema i terminologija slavjanskoj onomastiki – Grundsystem und Terminologie der Slawischen Onomastik, edited in Skopje in the same year by a Slavic group of experts (BEZLAJ FRANCE et al. 1983); it was a dictionary based on previous Slovak and Czech publications, e.g. by SVOBODA (1973).

The composition of the Commission presented during the ICS Congress in Kiev in 1983 was as follows: Austria: O. Kronsteiner; Bulgaria: I. Duridanov, N. Kovačev, J. Zaimov; Czechoslovakia: V. Blanár, M. Knappová, R. Krajčovič, I. Lutterer, M. Majtán, R. Šrámek (the vice-chairman of the commission); Greece: Ph. Malingoudis; Yugoslavia: F. Bezlaaj, D. Čupić, V. Mihajlović, P. Šimunović, D. Vujčić, B. Vidoeski; East Germany: E. Eichler, G. Schlimpert, T. Witkowski; West Germany: J. Udolph; Poland: H. Borek, H. Górniewicz, W. Lubaś, J. Rieger, K. Rymut (President), B. Siciński, W. Śmiech, A. Zaręba; Romania: A. Constantinescu, J. Patruț; Hungary: I. Sipos; Soviet Union: J. Karpenko, W. Lemtjugova, A. Nepokupnyj, N. Podolskaya, A. Superanskaya (vice-President), O. Trubačev.

In 1986, the meeting of the SCO in Mogilany near Cracow in Poland was dedicated to the Slavic hydronymy, and the *Hydronymia Europaea* project was discussed. It is worth noting that by 2005, a total of 20 volumes of *Hydronymia Europaea* (v. SCHMID–RYMUT–UDOLPH 1988) of the Polish area were successfully published. It is now the starting point for the project *Electronic Dictionary of Hydronyms in Poland*.⁵

Under the auspices of the CSO, the International Slavic Onomastics Conference in 1987 in Novi Sad in Serbia focused on three issues: the methodology of comparative onomastic research, the contrasting analysis of certain types of toponymic and anthroponymic nomenclature, and the interpretation of selected singular names on a comparative perspective. The Slavic Toponymic Atlas was invariably intended for teamwork, but also a new project – the Slavic Anthroponymic Dictionary – was started, but has not been realized yet.

At an onomastic session in 1988 in Leipzig, Rudolf Šrámek presented the results of Czech works on mapping of place names in the toponymic atlas taking as an example the Bohemia and Moravia regions.

The International Conference of the CSO in Austria in 1992 was dedicated to the oronymy. Another topic of the conference was the word-formation of toponyms considered through the atlases of different Slavic languages.

At the Congress of Slavists in 1993 in Bratislava, a sample book of the SOA Slavic Onomastic Atlas was reported.

At the 9th MiOKO in Warsaw, in 1994, the principles of mapping of selected oiconymic structures from the western Slavic area were discussed. It was found that the 1st volume of the dictionary related to atlas studies would contain methodological assumptions, lists of formants, bibliography and maps of chosen oiconymic structures.

The Hydronymic Conference in 1994 in Mogilany in Poland was an opportunity to discuss the following issues: 1. the state of work on the *Hydronymia Europaea* series; 2. the draft of the Polish hydronomasticon; 3. the possibility of including hydronyms from other Slavic languages and countries in the project *Hydronymia Europaea*.

In 1998 during the 12th International Congress of Slavists in Cracow, Kazimierz Rymut resigned from the chairmanship of the Commission and was replaced by Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko. Aleksandra Cieřlikowa was elected as the vice-president. Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko presented an encyclopaedia compiled under her coordination: *Polskie nazwy własne. Encyklopedia* [Polish Proper Names. Encyclopedia] (RZETELSKA-FELESZKO 1998).

In the same period, the works on the international project *Encyclopaedia of Slavic onomastics* started (*Słowiańska onomastyka. Encyklopedia* published later in 2 volumes in 2002 and in 2003, edited by EWA RZETELSKA-FELESZKO–ALEKSANDRA CIEŘLIKOWA–JERZY DUMA).

At the beginning of the new century, according to the idea of developing national atlases, in Leipzig under the direction of ERNST EICHLER (2000–2004), an Atlas of Old Sorbian structures was prepared (*Atlas altsorbischer Ortsnamentypen: Studien zu toponymischen Arealen des altsorbischen Gebietes im westslawischen Sprachraum*).

The method of developing the atlas of word-formation types of Old Sorbian oiconyms refers to the basic assumptions of the SOA in the questionnaire *Slawischer onomastischen Atlas (SOA). Strukturtypen der slawischen Ortsnamen. Struktúrní typy slovanské oikonymie* (EICHLER–ŠRÁMEK eds. 1988).

The 13th ICS in 2003 in Ljubljana was an opportunity for the next CSO general assembly, at which it was agreed that the additional task of the Commission would be an elaboration of a new onomastic terminology (an *aggiornamento* of the Slavic onomastic terminology), as well as the language policy in the field of proper names in various Slavic countries.

In 2005, a meeting of the members of the CSO was held at the 21st ICOS Congress in Pisa and a decision was taken to propose a thematic block for the 14th Congress of Slavists in Ohrid in 2008 entitled *Globalization as a trend in the development of modern Slavic onymy*.

In 2006 Aleksandra Cieřlikowa became the president of the Commission. She ceded informally the chairmanship of the CSO to Artur Gałkowski in 2010 during the 17th *MiOKO* organized in Olsztyn.

In September 2011, a CSO public assembly was held under Artur Gałkowski's direction during the 24th ICOS Congress in Barcelona. At the meeting Artur Gałkowski presented the site of the CSO (www.onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl), at the same time being the website for 18th *MiOKO* organized in 2012 in Łódź.

In Barcelona, Milan Harvalík confirmed the leadership of the terminology sub-commission of the CSO. The work of the SOA team was coordinated by Romana Łobodzińska from the University of Wrocław in close cooperation with Rudolf Šrámek (v. JAKUS-BORKOWA–NOWIK 2008).

The participants of the Barcelona CSO assembly acknowledged that the Commission could be a forum for scientific discussions and a representative for broadly understood “interests” of the Slavic onomastics on the international level.

In order to intensify the collecting and exchange of information inside and outside the CSO, a team of correspondents has been approved for individual countries and areas of interests: Liliana Dymitrowa-Todorova (Bulgaria), Grazilde Blažene (Lithuania), Milán Harvalík (Czech Republic), Natalia Vasileva (Russia), Pavol Odaloš (Slovakia), Tamás Farkas (Hungary), Christian Zschieschang (Germany, Lusatia), Irena Kałużyńska (China, Asia), Enzo Caffarelli (Italy).

Since 2011 the Commission has been extended by gaining many new members, including younger colleagues – representatives of onomastic Slavic and non-Slavic centres, among others: P. Odaloš, J. Krško, J. Hladký and I. Valentová from Slovakia; E. Berezovič, I. Kryukova and A. Šapošnikov from Russia; U. Bijak, I. Sarnowska-Giefing, A. Siwiec, K. Skowronek, R. Zarębski from Poland; A. Mezenka and A. Kopač from Belarus; V. Lučik from Ukraine; M. Momirovska from Macedonia; and Ch. Zschieschang from Germany. Today, over 60 members belong to the Commission.

The honorary members of the Commission are: Rudolf Šrámek (Czech Republic) and Karol Zierhoffer (Poland). Many outstanding and meritorious members of the Commission are already gone, among them, three honorary members: Ivan Lutterer (Czech Republic, 1929–2016), Milan Majtán (Slovakia, 1934–2018), Aleksandra Cieřlikowa (Poland, 1936–2018). Thus, their achievements remain in the collective memory and are the source of knowledge and the model of scientific work for the new generations of onomasticians. One has to admit that many of the challenges and tasks of the CSO have already been fulfilled and the present task of the Commission, among others, is to preserve and popularize them.

The activity of the Commission depends on the activity of its members. Naturally, most of the members of the Commission participate not only in conferences and congresses, but are also the authors of numerous onomastics works: volumes and articles. The papers of the CSO members appear in such onomastic Slavic journals as *Onomastica*, *Acta Onomastica*, *Вопросы ономастики/Voprosy onomastiki*, *Onomastica Slavogermanica*, *Onomastica Uralica*, *Folia onomastica Croatica*, but also in extra-Slavic ones, e.g. *Névtani Értésítő*, *Names*, *Onoma*, *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica RION*, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, *Zunamen*. Reports on CSO meetings are also published by onomastic journals, among others by *Onomastica*, *Voprosy Onomastiki* and *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica (RION)*.

In 2013 during the 15th ICS in Minsk, Artur Gałkowski received an official nomination for the President of the Commission. Joaromír Krško from Slovakia became the Vice-President.

In Minsk, there was also a CSO assembly, during which as usual representatives of several countries presented recent onomastic achievements in their areas and centers. Similar presentations were made at the subsequent meetings of the Commission, as were also in previous years and at various international Slavic onomastic conferences, such as the last *MiOKO* and *SOK* conferences.

5. The present activity of the Commission of Slavic Onomastics

Works on the SOA Slavic Onomastic Atlas are still continuing (in Wrocław and Brno academic centers of onomastic studies, directed by Romana Łobodzińska and Rudolf Šrámek).

There are also postulates, such as the one made by Pavol Odaloš, who suggested the necessity to develop a new Slavic onomastic terminology based on the *Osnoven system*... (BEZLAJ et al. 1983).

Meanwhile, the CSO members are working on onomastic terminology in their respective countries and languages. For example, one should consider the encyclopaedia of Bulgarian onomastic terminology edited by TODOR BALKANSKI and KIRIL TSANKOV (2010) *Енциклопедия на българската ономастика/Entsiklopedija na blgarskata onomastika*.

Moreover, it is worth noticing that a project on Slovak onomastic terminology in electronic form was launched – a project coordinated by the SAV centre in Bratislava. Milan Harvalík from Czech Republic and Artur Gałkowski from Poland also participate in this project. Their contribution consists in assigning Czech and Polish equivalents to the developed terms and translating all descriptive elements of the Czech and Polish lemmas. The project is likely to become even more international, also in a global context, taking into account the



achievements of the Terminological Group of ICOS in the field of contemporary onomastic terminology. The ongoing terminological observations will be discussed during the subsequent *MiOKO* and *SOK* conferences in 2018 and 2019 respectively.⁶

One of the current CSO matters concerns the presence of onomastics in the forthcoming 16th International Congress of Slavists in Belgrade in 2018. As already mentioned, an onomastic block will be organized and it will include the presentation of papers prepared by 8 CSO members (from Poland, Slovakia, Russia, Serbia and Macedonia). However, CSO members are not pleased that the onomastic issues in the main congress program do not have a separate section and are only one of the marginal problems included in a dialectological subsection. An official protest against this was lodged by Artur Gałkowski to the organizers of the Congress in Belgrade through the intervention of Peter Žeňuch, the present coordinator of all ICS commissions. So far there has been no satisfactory answer. Undoubtedly, the Slavic onomastics and the onomastics in general are so important for Slavic studies that they should receive the right place in the Congress framework program as they used to be in many past Congresses of Slavists. Attempts to intervene in this matter will continue to be undertaken. Maybe the ICOS could present the right postulate to the International Congress of Slavists for the solution of this problem. It remains the unofficial suggestion of the author of this work and it can be taken into official consideration.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, the CSO is and will remain an organization with a mission to initiate, support and coordinate onomastic research within the Slavic languages and countries as well as the institutionally responsible agency that represents globally the Slavic onomastics and onomasticians from Slavic area.

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⁶ The announcement and the news about the organisation of the 21th MiOKO are available at: <http://www.umcs.pl/pl/onomastyka.htm>.

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Abstract

The article reports objectives, tasks and challenges concerning the history and the present activity in international context of the Commission of Slavic Onomastics (CSO) within the International Committee of Slavists. The CSO has existed for over 60 years bringing together representatives of onomastic sciences of all Slavic and some non-Slavic countries. The CSO aims to integrate the international onomastic society in the area of Slavic studies. It deals with the issues of proper names of all categories. Three sub-commissions operate within the CSO: the sub-commission of the Slavic onomastic atlas (the SOA dictionary), the sub-commission of the onomastic terminology and the hydronymic sub-commission. The CSO has an active role in the works of the International Committee of Slavists. The Commission coordinates several important pan-Slavic projects, e.g. the *Hydronymia Europaea* and co-organizes and patronizes many onomastic conferences in the Slavic countries.

Keywords: onomastics, Commission of Slavic Onomastics, International Committee of Slavists, history, slavists

1. Introduction

My aim is to give a general overview of sources of various information on onomastic studies.

I have been editing onomastic blog (e-Onomastics)¹ since 2012 providing access to diverse information resources. By doing so, I have built up my own system of collecting and offering names-related news concerning onomastic events, publications, databanks, projects, software, etc. Here I argue that onomastic blogs and social network groups may function as an interface between the onomastic community and the public, hence they may be particularly well suited for public outreach and science communication.

I ask two questions about the roles and value of onomastic media. First, how do we quantify audience and reach and what factors influence that reach? Second, what value does content hold for the community of onomasticians? My perspective is that of active onomastic content creators and readers. I believe that engaging with media, either as author or reader, can make significant contributions to onomastics and other fields. I also believe that there is an important niche for onomastic community media, despite the fact that they are ignored in many treatments of networking. For example, onomastic media are not mentioned among the Linguistic Blogs on The Linguist List, the essential guide that recently passed 70,000 followers on social media and circulate announcements to 30,000 email subscribers. Names-oriented networks are also not explicitly represented in most scholarly treatments of linguistic media.

I will clarify where and how we could be informed about onomastic events and publications, what kind of available sources (web pages, blogs, newsletters, Facebook and Twitter communities, bibliographies etc.) exist, how they could be used and what kind of developments should be desirable in this field. Working in cooperation with various scientists and new media in pursuit of onomastic information improves the connectivity of onomasticians worldwide. Finally, I will address the issue of the possible onomastic future.

2. Onomastic Internet resources

In the age of the internet, social media tools offer a powerful way for researchers to boost their professional profile and act as a public voice for onomastics. I

¹ www.e-onomastics.blogspot.com

aim to prevent my onomastician colleagues from treating online outreach and scientific research as separate entities.

Below you find the list of links in alphabetic order related to proper names studies. The list represents the most popular and significant academic resources, but it is far from being exhaustive (see Fig. 1):

Title	Address
American Name Society	http://www.americannamesociety.org/
Asociación Galega de Onomástica	http://ilg.usc.es/agon/
Canadian Society for the Study of Names	http://sco.csj.ualberta.ca/
Centre for Adriatic Onomastics Research	http://www.unizd.hr/eng/research/research-centres
Centre of Bulgarian Onomastics „Nikolay Kovachev“	http://www.uni-vt.bg/bul/?zid=145
Centre for Name Research, Univ. of Copenhagen	http://names.ku.dk/
Center of Onomastics, Romania	http://www.onomasticafelecan.ro/
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Namenforschung e.V.	http://www.gfn.name/
Dictionary of Medieval Names from European sources	https://dmnes.wordpress.com/
Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Univ. of Uppsala	http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn.html
Institute for Name-Studies, Univ. of Nottingham	http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/groups/ins/
International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS)	https://icosweb.net/drupal/
Namenberatungsstelle an der Universität Leipzig	http://www.namenberatung.eu/
Names Society of Southern Africa	http://namessociety.za.org/
Onomastics (University of Glasgow)	http://onomastics.co.uk/
Onomastic research (University of Mainz)	http://www.namenforschung.net/
Onomastic School of Donetsk, Ukraine	http://azbuka.in.ua/
Onomastika Elkarte / Sociedad Vasca de Onomástica	https://onomastika.org/
Portal der schweiz. Ortsnamenforschung	https://www.ortsnamen.ch/

Societat d'onomàstica	https://www.onomastica.cat/
Société française d'Onomastique	https://www.sfo-onomastique.fr/
Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland	http://www.snsbi.org.uk/

Figure 1: Links to websites about proper names and onomastics

3. Onomastics outreach via social media

While there is a burgeoning academic literature on scientific content-sharing from a communication perspective, I believe this is the first time practising onomasticians who blog have analysed their own experience. I argue here that social media may enhance onomastic networking. It is actually obvious that the online discussions can lead to tangible, real-world social interactions. It is deemed necessary for onomasticians to engage with the public online, and during last years, researchers have seen increasing calls to maintain contacts with both the non-scientific public and scholars from other disciplines (RANGANATHAN 2013), especially by means of social media (BIK–DOVE–GOLDSTEIN–HELM–MacPHERSON et al. 2015).

3.1. Theoretical background

Academics value a broad range of scholarly activities, including research, teaching, academic service and outreach. Among these, the outreach component of the academic portfolio is gaining increasing attention. Outreach can be defined in a variety of ways, but most broadly it means communication beyond the obvious audiences of students and academic peers in sub-disciplines (for more detailed information about academic forums, paper publications and resources in the field of onomastics, see FARKAS 2018, this volume). Outreach can target both scientific audiences and general ones. Outreach is a required part of life for many academics. Perhaps one of the easiest ways for a scientist to reach a wider audience quickly is by social networks (SAUNDERS–DUFFY–HEARD et al. 2017).

Social media have evolved since their origin as an online tool, to become a popular way to share content and publish comment and opinion. Scientific social media have become increasingly popular over the past decade, but are still only undertaken by a small proportion of practising scientists. This may partly reflect uncertainty about what social media are for and how time-investment in social networking can return benefits to scientific careers and to science generally. I differentiate in particular what I call onomastic community networking and the more common onomastic communication networking. Briefly, onomastic communication media disseminate names-related information with their



main target audience being non-specialists and the general public. Onomastic community media, in contrast, focus on issues about the names' analysis and academia, with their main target audience being other name researchers.

Many active and popular media written by linguists and geographers are names-centered communication media with often numerous followings (e.g. *Beliebte Vornamen*,² *Namepedia*,³ *Toponímia de Lisboa*⁴). Other media are onomastic community media, intended primarily to be read by other anthroponymists or toponymists (e.g. *Onomastikblog*,⁵ *Waternames*,⁶ *Arqueotoponímia*⁷). These often address the linguistic and/or cartographic analysis of proper names, spread information about posts and funding for early-career scientists, discuss academic writing and publishing, consider issues of methodology and so on. There is also overlap between the onomastic communication and onomastic community categories, with some media addressing both audiences with a mix of post topics and writing styles (e.g. *e-Onomastics*,⁸ *Namenforschung*,⁹ *Neotoponymie*¹⁰).

Let us go through the main media resources.

3.2. Onomastic Twitter

The scientists appear to favour more the use of Twitter (COLLINS–SHIFFMAN–ROCK 2016). Because Twitter serves as an information filter for many scientists, publicizing onomastic articles on social media can alert researchers to interesting studies that they may not have otherwise come across. The online world can also broaden an onomastician's impact in the research world. Tweeting from conferences (discussing research developments, linking to journal articles or lab websites) can introduce other onomasticians to valuable content, and consequently provide networking opportunities for users who actively post during meetings (BIK–GOLDSTEIN 2013).

² <https://www.beliebte-vornamen.de/>

³ <http://www.namepedia.org/>

⁴ <https://toponimialisboa.wordpress.com/>

⁵ <http://www.onomastikblog.de/>

⁶ <https://waternames.wordpress.com/>

⁷ <http://arqueotoponimia.blogspot.com/>

⁸ <http://e-onomastics.blogspot.com/>

⁹ <http://www.namenforschung.net/>

¹⁰ <https://neotopo.hypotheses.org/>

Below you will find the list of the most famous¹¹ onomastic Twitter channels based on numbers of tweets in descending order and run by professional researchers or organisations, which study proper names (see Fig. 2).

Channels' name	Tweets' number (appr.)	Run by (person, country, affiliation)
eOnomast	10.600	e-Onomastics (E. Shokhenmayer, Germany, ICOS)
@Flurnamen	7.400	Peter Löffelad (Germany, Ellwanger Institut für Sprachforschung)
@EOnomastica	4.250	e-onomastica (Santi Arbós, Spain, Lleida)
@theDMNES	2.900	Dictionary of Medieval Names from European Sources (United Kingdom)
@namnfragor	2.650	Språk och folkminnen (Sweden, Uppsala)
@place_names	1.450	Institute for Name-studies (UK, Nottingham)
@AmNameSociety	1.100	American Name Society (USA)
@waternames	950	Flood and Flow Project (UK, Leicester)
@Namenberatung	750	Namenberatungsstelle (D. Kremer, Germany, Leipzig)
@ICOSnews	650	International Council of Onomastic Sciences
@GhanaPlaceNames	600	Ghana Place Names Society (John Turl, UK)
@OnomaMainz	500	Namenforschung (R. Heuser, Germany, Mainz)
@DFDmainz	400	Digitales Familiennamenwörterbuch (Germany, Mainz/Darmstadt)
@ToponimiaVila	400	Toponímia de Vilafranca del Penedès (Lluís Tetas Palau, Spain)
@NameStudies	350	Institute for Name-Studies (UK, Nottingham)
@namenforschung	350	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Namenforschung e.V. (D. Kremer, Germany, Leipzig)
@StaffsPNProject	200	Staffordshire Place-Names Project (UK, Nottingham)

Figure 2: List of the most famous onomastic Twitter channels run by professionals

3.3. Onomastic blogs

Along with forging links between onomasticians, online interactions have the potential to enhance “broader impacts” by improving communication between

¹¹ By the middle of 2018.

name researchers and the general public. One of the modern kind of online communication and information transfer is blogging. Majority of scientists are now using blogs for writing, reading or as a lab notebook. Before starting any blog, it is however useful to think about who should be reached with the writing – be it potential collaborators, potential employers, or people on the street.

Onomastic blogs could be an important outlet to contribute informed opinions to linguistic, historical or social debates and develop a collective presence in the blogosphere, thereby increasing its inherent credibility. The internet can be a more powerful force than traditional channels – when content goes “viral”, the reach can be truly global.

I admit, as A. GOLDSTEIN noted, that blogs might not be the best type of source for systematic and authoritative information (GOLDSTEIN 2009: 553). KOUPEL agrees, noting that, “this way, the news becomes more entertaining, thereby making it difficult to rely on this form of reporting as a source of accurate information” (KOUPEL 2010). For onomastic bloggers, this personal expression illustrates science engagement more than objective authoritative information. Many names-related blogs have different categories in which they classify their posts: anthroponyms, toponyms, hydronyms, zoonyms, astronoms, etc. Some can be about topics that are more personal and others on more research-oriented themes: PhD, postdoc, laboratory, department or section subjects.

Below you find the list of examples of names-related blogs in alphabetic order still kept up-to-date in corresponding languages:

Blogs' names	Topic	Language(s)
http://arqueotoponimia.blogspot.com/	Paleotoponymy	Spanish
https://blog.namsor.com/	NamSor Software	English/ French
http://www.cornishonomastics.net/	Cornish Onomastics	English
https://igorinternational.com/blog/	Naming Agency	English
http://imja.name/	Russian onomastics	Russian
http://namesaremygame.blogspot.com/	Names in literature	English
http://namernerds.blogspot.com/	Names in general	English
http://neotopo.hypotheses.org/	Political toponymy	French
http://nomesportugueses.blogspot.pt/	Portuguese anthroponyms	Portuguese
http://nothinglikeaname.blogspot.com/	Anthroponyms	English
https://www.nordicnames.de/wiki/Blog	Nordic Names	English
http://onomasticetymology.tumblr.com	Etymology of Names	English

https://onomastika.org/	Basque onomastics	Basque/ Spanish
http://politicalstrangenames.blogspot.com/	Political names	English
http://www.theartofnaming.com/	Name-giving	English
http://thebeautyofnames.blogspot.com/	Names in the arts	English
https://toponymio.wordpress.com/	Bulgarian toponymy	Bulgarian
https://www.vernoeming.nl/	Dutch forenames	Dutch
http://vousvoyezle topo.blog.lemonde.fr/	French place-names	French

Figure 3: List of examples of the onomastic blogs run by professionals

3.4. Onomastic Facebook

This is the evident fact that an increasing proportion of the public get their news through social media, especially through Facebook. A new political and cultural climate, in which the dissemination of “fake news” and “alternate facts” on Facebook rose considerably, has not touched on the onomastics yet. Besides that, Facebook represents a very promising outreach platform if you consider how many persons use it: as of the third quarter of 2017, Facebook had 2.07 billion monthly active users or more than a quarter of the world’s population (Statista 2017).¹²

The main important advantage is the networks that individuals form on the platform: a medial adult user connects with 338 friends. Although the numbers of likes, shares and comments may not be considered as the productive metrics to estimate impact of scientific posts, they may show tendencies to new perspectives. Onomasticians should note that while Facebook usage is high in both total numbers and frequency of usage, many users only passively consume rather than actively participate in discourse (MCCLAIN 2017). Facebook, in terms of awareness, only falls behind research profiling sites such as Google Scholar, ResearchGate, and LinkedIn for scientists and engineers (VAN NOORDEN 2014).

Despite the fact that groups/communities and pages have major differences from a communicative perspective, below you find the top 20 list of onomastic Facebook groups, communities or pages put together in descending order of members, followers or friends (data as of July 2018).

¹² <https://www.statista.com/>

Name of FB Groups, Communities etc.	Statistics	Language
Toponomastica femminile	9.870 members	Italian
Prof. Udolph - Zentrum für Namenforschung	5.683 followers	German
Surname distribution maps	3.187 members	English
Celtic Surnames and Place-names	1.615 members	English
Харківська топонімічна група	1.455 members	Ukrainian
Toponimia de Galicia	1.352 followers	Galician/Spanish
Welsh Place-Name Society	899 followers	Welsh/English
Namenkundliches Zentrum der U. Leipzig	850 followers	German
Scottish Place-names	441 members	English
Deutsche Gesellschaft f. Namenforschung	399 followers	German
International Council of Onomastic Sciences	321 followers	Multilingual
English Place-names	298 members	English
Institute for Name-Studies	283 followers	English
American Name Society	245 followers	English
Център по българска ономастика	220 friends	Bulgarian
Onomástica galega e Lusófona em geral	188 members	Portuguese
Digital Exposure of English Place-Names	179 followers	English
Voprosy onomastiki / Problems of onomastics	142 followers	Russian
Ономастика Поволжья: взгляд молодых	119 members	Russian
Onomastics	113 members	English

Figure 4: List of onomastic Facebook groups, communities or pages

3.4. Academic social network sites

The term academic social network is used as a general term referring to online services, tools or platforms, which can help scientists to build their professional networking with other researchers and facilitate their activities while researching. This is about networks focused on shared research interests. Some well-known examples of the academic social network sites (ASNSs) include Academia.edu, ResearchGate, Google Scholar, Mendeley and Zotero. Most of them provide a platform that allows professionals to create profiles with academic properties, upload their publications and/or create online groups. Those websites contribute in maintaining records of actual research tendencies, as well as in fostering relationships between the researchers.



Below I will provide a brief overview how the onomastic sciences look like on those academic social network sites.

3.4.1. Academia.edu

Academia.edu is an academic social networking website that allows users to create a personal profile, upload papers, request feedback, follow researchers, send personal messages to other researchers and view analytics on your papers. Users on Academia.edu can also import contacts from Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo and Google to find colleagues who already have Academia.edu profiles, thus connecting many different networking tools described.

In what way can we weigh onomastics among other research interests? According to the statistics,¹³ over 64 million academics have signed up to Academia.edu, adding 21 million papers. If we admit that all 5.641 scholars who have chosen *Onomastics* as their research interest, do equally join *Linguistics* (what is not always the case, of course), which count 218.276 followers, then it still only represents around 2,6% of the linguistics-interested researchers. From the whole number of academics, it will be not more than 0.009%. As for papers, 2.330 works assigned to onomastics from 21 million consist about 0.011% but they represent 3,44% from 67.739 manuscripts with *Linguistics* tag. It is even less relevant to quantify the amount of *Toponymy* research interest with 5.096 followers and 1.609 uploaded papers because of its highly interdisciplinary character. The most “attractive” names-related research interests on Academia.edu are listed below.

Followers	Research interests
5.641	Onomastics
5.096	Toponymy
3.144	Place names
2.046	Toponomastics
1.050	Toponimia
929	Toponomastica
677	Naming
411	Roman onomastics
284	Literary onomastics
249	Onomástica
166	Onomastique
112	Anthroponyms

Figure 5: List of onomastic research interests on Academia.edu with corresponding numbers of their followers

¹³ <https://www.academia.edu/about> Academia.edu. (Retrieved: 2018.07.19.)

3.4.2. ResearchGate

ResearchGate is a similar resource with over 15 million verified scientists¹⁴ that gives the option to upload journal articles, conference papers, posters, data and code to an online repository. ResearchGate users also receive analytics on their publications including the number of times their papers have been read and cited by other users on ResearchGate. Additionally, the platform allows researchers to create project logs that can be used to update peers on current projects, attract potential co-authors or request submissions for journal special issues.

Unfortunately, due to the system of the continuous scrolling effect and infinite loading webpage, it turns to be impossible to calculate the total number of publications dedicated to onomastics and authors working on it.

3.4.3. Google Scholar

Google Scholar provides a search engine that can be used to identify hyperlinks to articles that are publically available or may be obtained through institutional libraries. Users who choose to create a personal Google Scholar profile can access their citations per year metrics. Articles uploaded on ResearchGate, Academia.edu or other databases can also be linked to Google Scholar profile so that readers can find hyperlinks to all of the work.

Taking into consideration the fundamental specificity and difference of this platform, it is nothing to be surprised about 21.300 articles found for *onomastics* or 15.800 for *toponymy*.

There is no contradicting that technological progress has changed the way we make connections and access information. Face-to-face interaction is still crucial, but social networking has “changed the rules of the game”. Platforms such as ResearchGate, Academia.edu, Google Scholar, Twitter and Facebook can be utilized to create a personal brand, disseminate scientific findings and connect with researchers worldwide.

3.4.4. Zotero

Zotero functions primarily as a research tool, allowing users to collect, save, cite and share materials from a wide range of sources. The site also maintains a significant community of academics who can connect through groups and forums, or through their search engine. Each Zotero user can build a personal profile complete with CVs and other detailed information.

Zotero also allows creating groups, where researchers can collaborate remotely with project members and set up web-based bibliographies for classes they teach. For example, the International Council of Onomastic Sciences set up there its onomastic library run by the International Bibliography of Onomastic Sciences Group for adding recently published works.

4. Future of onomastic media

To the end, I would like to discuss a possible evolution of the onomastic sciences without concluding because to foretell the times to come is thankless task.

However, in the future, in order to get onomastic news online, it would be useful to develop: 1. News aggregation website that provides and updates information from different sources in systematized way on a chosen topic (a name-related news aggregator can give another way to parse news from multiple trusted sources into a single, streamlined “newspaper”). 2. Web-based feed readers that allow users to find a web feed on the internet and add it to their feed reader. 3. Feed reader applications that can be installed on a PC, smartphone or tablet computer and designed to collect news and interest feed subscriptions and group them together using a user-friendly interface.

Ideally, I would even dare to dream of an online platform for all onomasticians, sort of ResearchGate (or Academia.edu). It could become a key venue for scholars wanting to engage in collaborative discussion, for peer review papers, for sharing questionable results that might never otherwise be published and for uploading raw data sets.

That could be a tool that onomasticians would be using to raise their profiles and become more discoverable. Such a platform would allow to maintain profiles, boost professional presence online and post content related to work. It would also enable to discover related peers, augment track metrics, find recommended research papers, follow discussions on research-related issues or comment on research that is relevant to one’s field.

Furthermore, that platform, being actually an Onomastic Social Network, could allow researchers to download journal articles from a variety of sources and create a personal library to share within a private group (similar to Quora, LabRoots and the science groups of LinkedIn). Name researchers could discuss, annotate and benefit from the free flow of ideas between like-minded colleagues at research facilities around the world regardless of affiliation, all of which drives citation and usage, which are a vital metric in research.

4.1. Will traditional onomastic journals disappear?

In a time of huge digital change and virtual uncertainty, we need to think about the future of traditional onomastic paper journals. Has the traditional format of the onomastic journal had its day?

Taking into consideration how almost all scientific journals are trending, I predict the development of names-related activities focused on realizing the ideals of open science (OS) and particularly open access (OA) and open data (OD). Let us recall that open access publishing and post-publication peer review are becoming more common. The journals would adopt a web-based platform run by onomasticians themselves. This is what already happens with the arXiv for the physical sciences and bioRxiv for biological sciences.

Moreover, we should turn our attention to the Research Data Alliance (RDA), a community-driven organization launched in 2013 by the European Commission with the goal of building the social and technical infrastructure to enable open sharing of data. With more than 6,300 members from 132 countries (November 2017), RDA provides a neutral space where its members can come together through focused global Working and Interest Groups to develop and adopt infrastructure that promotes data-sharing and data-driven research.¹⁵

The Linguistics Data Interest Group (LDIG) became an endorsed RDA Interest Group in July 2017, with the aim of facilitating the development of reproducible research in linguistics. The LDIG is for data at all linguistic levels, including proper nouns from all of the world's languages. The Group plans to develop the discipline-wide adoption of common standards for data citation and attribution. The LDIG also aims to improve education and outreach efforts to make linguists more aware of the principles of reproducible research and the value of data creation methodology, curation, management, sharing, citation and attribution.¹⁶

5. Looking ahead to onomastics' interdisciplinary future

Increasingly, onomastic research is moving towards more interdisciplinary endeavours. I agree that the current models of science differ from the way in which sciences were previously understood, primarily in their complexity (KRŠKO 2013: 289). Any science conducted in isolation without collaboration between related scientific disciplines is doomed to stagnation. Therefore, onomastics is, more or less, seen as an integral to interdisciplinary comparative

¹⁵ Research Data Alliance (2017) "Who is RDA?". Web Page. <https://www.rd-alliance.org/about-rda/who-rda.html> (Accessed: 2018.01.01.)

¹⁶ Research Data Alliance (2017) "RDA and Linguistics". Web Page. <https://www.rd-alliance.org/rda-disciplines/rda-and-linguistics> (Accessed: 2018.01.01.)

studies conducted within other sciences. The onomastics uses knowledge from other disciplines to shape its academic hypotheses and conclusions, and thus is also part of these disciplines. Onomastics, although an autonomous discipline, overlaps the subject matter of many other disciplines since name use is central to human activity (ALGEO–ALGEO 2000: 265). The interaction between research projects and the development of joint research teams are very promising. Many of the problems, with which onomastics research engages, can only be comprehensively explained from an interdisciplinary point of view, since it concerns issues that are the subject of research by several of various sciences (see Fig. 6).

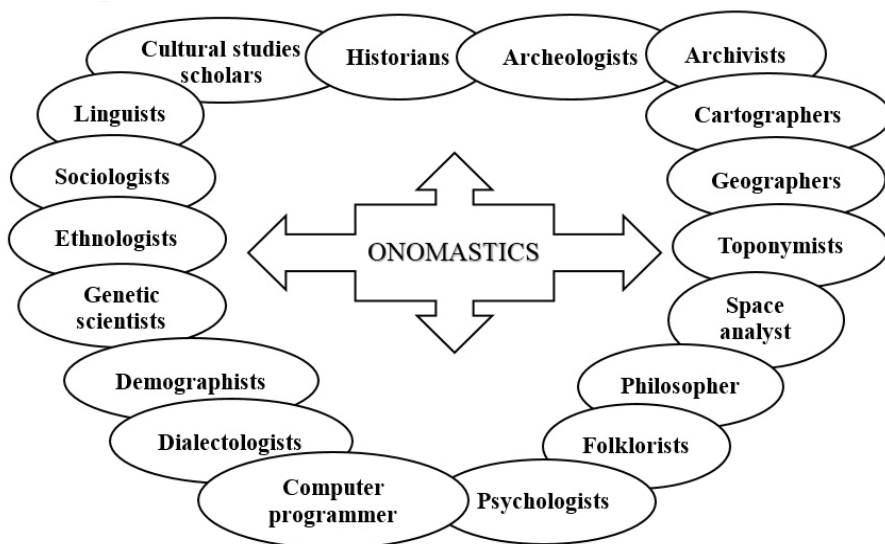


Figure 6: Interdisciplinarity of onomastics

The onomatometric analysis of China's scientific power may serve as an example of the interdisciplinary approach (CARSENAT–SHOKHENMAYER 2016). This project involves the analysis of about one million medical research articles from PubMed. The researchers proposed to evaluate the correlation between the onomastic class of the article authors and that of the citation authors. They clearly demonstrated that the cultural bias exists and that it evolves in time. By doing so, they proved that onomastics provides a reliable estimation of the cultural bias of a research community.

5.1. Future of onomastics

Returning to the notion of technological advances, there are a number of major breakthroughs likely to happen in the coming 50 years that will change



onomastics significantly. These breakthroughs may be: 1. Advanced AI: it will certainly put a damper on theoretical onomastics and its efforts to contribute to models of language and names processing; 2. Neuron- or neuronal-cluster level brain simulations and measurement. The future hopefully holds a detailed description of how name is processed and produced in healthy and dysfunctional brains involving what each neuron or neuronal cluster is doing.

Aside from those technologically-driven advances, there are also some evergreen tasks that onomasticians will likely always be working on: 1. Names documentation and revitalization: we are so far behind on this (~15% of the World's languages) that it is hard to imagine a time when there won't be work to do in documenting languages and names therein. 2. Socio-onomastics: presumably new models of social interaction and transmission will inform sociolinguistic theories, but the collection and interpretation of names will always be required. Besides that, new names are constantly arising. 3. Forensic onomastics: onomastic research within criminal investigation. 4. Internet onomastics: usernames, netizens' nicknames, identity creation and space of freedom, virtual onomastics, digital names research.

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Abstract

My aim is to give a general overview of sources of various information on onomastic studies. Here I argue that onomastic blogs and social network groups may function as an interface between the onomastic community and the public, hence they may be particularly well suited for public outreach and science communication. I will clarify where and how we could be informed about onomastic events and publications, what kind of available sources (web pages, blogs, newsletters, Facebook and Twitter communities, bibliographies, etc.) exist, how they could be used and what kind of developments should be desirable in this field. Working in cooperation with various scientists and new media in pursuit of onomastic information improves the connectivity of onomasticians worldwide. Finally, I will address the issue of the possible onomastic future.

Keywords: onomastic studies, names-based blogging, onomastic resources

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The Current State and Perspectives of Onomastic Terminology

Research and every presentation of new scientific knowledge require a precise, stable and correct terminology. At the same time, terminology represents one of the goals of onomastic and linguistic research, as well as all research, because it is the means to disseminating knowledge. The development of the terminology depends on the development of the scientific discipline and on the term and object knowledge and this causes divergence and the creation of new terms which then become established and begin to be increasingly used. On the other hand, efforts aimed at convergence also appear in order to ensure comprehensibility, i.e. the need for unification and coalescence in vacillating practice, when, for example, one of two terms for the same object is abandoned on the basis of certain fundamental criteria for the creation of terminology.

The significance ascribed to onomastic terminology is also borne out by the fact that works which have a wider primary focus or are even focussed on a different area entirely also concern themselves with this terminology. It was also the subject of attention in the international onomastic encyclopaedia, *Namenforschung/Name Studies/Les noms propres* (ZGUSTA 1996).

The establishment of a special onomastic committee at the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS), whose goal would be to compile an international handbook of the used onomastic terms and their definitions, was proposed at the 21st International Congress of the Onomastic Sciences in Uppsala in 2002 in the interests of achieving simpler orientation within the individual national onomastic terminologies and also with the goal of achieving the mutual coordination of the used terms among individual languages and onomastic schools, but always with a view to the existing usage and with respect for the right to pluralism (HARVALÍK 2005a). This terminological group, which works at the ICOS Board of Directors, was established at a meeting of the ICOS Board of Directors in Prague in 2004 (26th–27th March) and it currently has 20 members who represent the individual languages, countries, regions and onomastic schools.

The causes and genesis of the preparations for the compilation of an international onomastic terminology which culminated in the creation of the ICOS terminological group and the group's working procedures along with the problems associated with the differences in the onomastic terminologies of different countries and their differing degrees of elaboration, which the committee members had to face, have been characterised in a number of studies



(HARVALÍK 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008, 2014). The list of the key terms and definitions in English, French and German which has been prepared to date is available online at the ICOS website (<https://icosweb.net/drupal/terminology>).

Some of the visions of the international terminology group include, among others, the processing of more terms, the need to focus on the theory and methodology of onomastics and on the terms from literary onomastics, the creation of other language versions of the set of key terms and their definitions, the achievement of correspondence between international and domestic terms, the elimination of term ambiguities. A wider team of experts and correspondents from different countries, who will prepare the national versions of the terminology, should be created in the future. It is therefore the task of the individual national onomastic committees to translate the basic list of key onomastic terms which is published on the ICOS website into their national languages in a way which ensures that the original definition is preserved as accurately as possible. If a specific term is understood or used differently and/or the definition of the terms in the official ICOS languages differs from the definitions which are common in the individual national languages, these divergences will be resolved in the form of comments in the additional notes for the individual terms.

The individual national versions of the list of key onomastic terms will be published on the ICOS website. Work is currently underway on the Macedonian version (Meri Iosifovska), while the Czech (Milan Harvalík), Hungarian (Andrea Böleskei, Mariann Slíz, Tamás Farkas), Polish (Artur Gałkowski, Urszula Bijak) and Slovak (Iveta Valentová) versions are already finished.

There has long been a strong emphasis on building a highly uniform system of onomastic terminology in Slavic onomastics.

Slavic onomastic terminology had two levels of development. The first period took place from the 1960s to the 1980s. The task of preparing a standardised Slavic linguistic terminology was set as early as at the 4th International Congress of Slavists in Moscow in 1958. Onomasticians also responded to this idea and a decision was taken to unify the Slavic onomastic terminology, which had been characterised by instability and ambiguity, at the 1st Slavic onomastic conference in Krakow in 1959. The aforementioned instability and ambiguity were not only prevalent in Slavic onomastic terminology, but also in non-Slavic languages and in the use of international terms.

Jan Svoboda, who had been charged with preparing the proposal for the unification of the onomastic terminology, compiled the system of the basic Czech onomastic terms (SVOBODA 1960). The members of the individual national onomastic committees discussed this very well-prepared system of onomastic terms. J. Svoboda published the comments of some linguists and

the principles for the further work on the onomastic terminology in 1961.¹ Once the comments had been incorporated into the work and terms had been added in other Slavic and non-Slavic languages which were concerned with Slavic onomastics, the official Slavic onomastic terminology (with German equivalent terms) was published as *Základní systém a terminologie slovanské onomastiky* (The Basic System and Terminology of Slavic Onomastics) in *Zpravodaj Místopisné komise ČSAV* (Bulletin of the Topographic Board of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences) in 1973 (SVOBODA et al. 1973). Another handbook of Slavic onomastic terminology entitled *Osnoven sistem i terminologija na slovenskata onomastika* (The Basic System and Terminology of Slavic Onomastics) (SVOBODA et al. 1983) involved a newer version of the original publication, but it was only updated minimally. For example, the term *exonym* was added, but not *endonym*. On the other hand, the term *geonym* was removed, for example. The terminological system was conceived in order to enable the system to remain open and to ensure the possibility of supplementing it in the future in connection with any future developments in onomastics.

The reason why some terms from the area of onomastic theory and methodology were not included into the handbooks was that many of the principles of theoretical onomastics were still being shaped in the 1960s and 1970s and the handbooks in question therefore focussed more on the formal aspect of the terms rather than the conceptual one. They were also influenced by an effort to achieve an international character for the terms which significantly resonated with the entire expert terminology as a consequence of the need for scientific communication on an international scale.

The second stage of development began in the 1990s and it is still ongoing. The onomastic terminology not only expanded in the scientific onomastic community, but also among the non-onomastic community where it has continued to develop and deepen. The personalities of Slavic onomastics, whose work is known both at home and abroad, were formed.

The status and development of onomastic terminology in the Slavic languages has been collectively characterised in the encyclopaedia of *Ślowiańska onomastyka* (Slavic Onomastics) (2002–2003). In addition to the aforementioned *Osnoven sistem i terminologija na slovenskata onomastika*, the Russian terminology was lexicographically presented in book form in N. V. PODOLSKAYA's dictionary (1978¹, 1988²), while most recently the Ukrainian onomastic terminology has been published in the *Slovnyk ukrainskoi onomastichnoi terminolohii* (Dictionary of Ukrainian Onomastic Terminology) (2012) by the authors DMYTRO BUCHKO and NATALIA TKACHOVA. The basic Polish onomastic terms,

¹ V. BLANÁR (1962) also published the genesis of the work on the Slavic onomastic terminology, its characteristics and his comments on J. Svoboda's proposal.

which have been compiled by ARTUR GALKOWSKI (2012), are available online on the website of the Commission for Slavic Onomastics at the International Committee of Slavists,² where there is also a selected bibliography of the works concerned with onomastic terminology.³ A number of other contributions dedicated to the problems of onomastic terminology in the individual Slavic languages have been published in the form of articles and studies.

The more rapid development of onomastics also caused the more hectic development of the onomastic terminology which has been accompanied by individual creativity, divergence and fluctuation, the result of which has led to a certain confusion and loss of certainty which has once again begun to manifest itself in the need for unification and efforts to achieve it. V. BLANÁR also pointed to the need to supplement onomastic terminology in association with the development of onomastic theory, with questions of the content (semantic) aspects of proper names, with the area of the system-forming elements in the onymic system, including the definition of their onymic validity, and with the dimensions of the onymic system in the first part of the encyclopaedia *Słowiańska onomastyka* (Slavic Onomastics) (2002: 84–85). He stated terms which were absent in these handbooks (e.g. *linguistic status of the proper name*, *onomastic status of the proper name*, *onymic (proprial) semantics*, *naming model*, *identification/differentiation of the proper name*, *referential identification*, *presuppositional identification*, *dimensions of the onymic system*, *average anthroponymic system*, *sociolinguistic aspect of onomastics*) as well as those, which no longer corresponded to the latest state of knowledge.

Some of the terms did not pass into common usage after the publication of the Slavic onomastic terminological handbooks (e.g. *pseudoandronym*, *pseudogynym*), while others began to be used in different contexts, underwent their own development and changed their contents (e.g. the Slovak term *terénny názov* (lit. ‘terrain name’) was originally used as the equivalent of the international term *oronym*, but its meaning has gradually shifted and in contemporary works it is used as the Slovak synonym of the term *anoikonym*). The development of the discipline and the individual onomastic schools, the establishment of new theories, the interdisciplinary nature of onomastics, international cooperation, individual creativity and non-standard classification criteria and analytical and synthetic approaches when processing onymic material caused changes in the terminological systems and the creation of new both suitable and less suitable terms. It was not easy to unify the Slavic and German onomastic terminologies

² <http://onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl/strona-glowna/terminologia-polska> (cited 19.11.2016.)

³ <http://onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl/strona-glowna/publikacje> (cited 20.4.2016.). It is also accessible on the ICOS website (<http://icosweb.net/drupal/terminology>), within the framework of the file ICOS-Terms-en.pdf (cited 20.4.2016.)

(since both *Základní systém a terminologie slovanské onomastiky* (SVOBODA et al. 1973) and *Osnoven sistem i terminologija na slovenskata onomastika* (SVOBODA et al. 1983) comprise onomastic terms in eleven Slavic languages and in German), let alone to do so at a much wider international level, because the terminological apparatus is dependent upon many factors such as the status and level of development of the onomastics in the given country, the theoretical and methodological starting points of the different onomastic schools and the individual scientific personalities and the scope of the collected onymic material and its analysis and subsequent synthetic processing.

All of these circumstances have led the members of the Slovak Onomastic Commission (SOC) to rework the Slovak onomastic terminology. The SOC organised three working meetings with Slovak and Czech onomasticians, the aim of which was to become acquainted with the state of the international and Slavic onomastic terminology and with the current terminological problems and to formulate the principles and concept for the preparation of the Slovak onomastic terminology. The Slovak onomastic terminology is being prepared in two phases. The first phase involves the compilation of an electronic database which represents an inventory of the Slovak onomastic terms. The material in the Slavic handbook from 1983 has been used as the starting point and the basic list of terms, because, despite the development which has occurred since its publication, it still constitutes the most advanced system of onomastic terminology on to date on a global scale. Taxonomical terms, which designate types of proper names, and terms which are associated with the state of the theory are being processed. The digital database alphabetically records all the onomastic terms which have appeared to date in Slovak onomastics, which is in line with R. ŠRÁMEK's (2003: 38) recommendation that the dictionary of onomastic terms should be an open inventory of whatever is being used which would respect the state in which onomastics finds itself. The processing of terms, which are no longer used, as well as contemporary terms depicts the way that things have developed. The individual terms are recorded in digital forms which contain the entries: *term*, *synonyms*, *superior term*, *origin of term*, *equivalents in other languages*, *definition*, *examples*, *bibliography*, *notes* and *discussion*. Synonyms and partial synonyms for terms will have a separate digital card with a "click link" option. The statement of the superior term indicates the terminological system. In the case of the equivalents in other languages, terms in English, German and Hungarian are listed in addition to the terms in the Slavic languages; other languages are under consideration for the future. The English equivalents are mainly based on the terminology which has already been processed and published on the ICOS website. The requirement for Hungarian equivalents was mainly based on the needs of the Slovak linguists from the Research Institute of the Slovaks in Békéscsaba, Hungary,



with whom the Ľ. Štúr Linguistic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences is cooperating on the onomastic project.⁴ Cooperation with onomasticians from other countries is anticipated when entering the equivalents in other languages. In the future, it will also be possible to enter equivalents in other non-Slavic languages. The *notes* column is used for a commentary on the term, for example any differing understanding of the term in a different language or languages, the suitability – unsuitability of the term or its formation along with justification as to why it is unsuitable or has been unsuitably formed, any limitations to its use, the accepted usage in Slovak onomastics or in other onomastic schools, older synonymous terms, whether or not the term is still used, the period when it was used, how its content has shifted, who first used the term, etc. This involves an acceptance of the comments of M. Majtán, who emphasised the depiction of the development and stability of the terms and the need for the accepted usage and comparability of new terms and for the Slovak terminology to gel with the Slavic and world terminologies. He proposed that everything which had been used should be depicted when processing the terminology, because terminology is also subject to development, but he emphasised that it would be necessary to decide what to prefer and also to consider the recommendations of some newly formed terms (for example *literaronym*, *orohodonym*, *socioorohodonym*, *genderoanthroponomastics*, *skionym*) which have appeared in Slovak onomastic literature. These are often the creations of the aforementioned individual creativity and they usually only appear in the work or works of a single author.⁵ However, some have proved themselves to be necessary and they have come into common usage (for example, *logonym*). The most important works (monographs, studies) where the term has been used or the work in which the term was defined for the first time are listed in the *bibliography* column. The *discussion* field is used for the other members of the SOC to make comments on the processing of the given term.

The advantage of the primarily digital processing in the form of a database is also the option of subsequently adding terms and the updating of the contents of the individual database entries in association with further developments in onomastics. The Slovak onomastic terminological database will be accessible on the website of the Ľ. Štúr Linguistics Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences as part of the Slovak terminological database of the Slovak National

⁴ The project involves research into the origins of the surnames of families of Slovak origin in Hungary. At present, the first output is the collective monograph entitled *Čabianske priezviská* (Surnames in Békéscsaba) (2015).

⁵ See VALENTOVÁ (2014) for more on M. Majtán's comments.

Corpus which contains similarly conceived databases with terms from other fields.⁶

In the second phase, a systematic codifying handbook will be compiled in digital and book form on the basis of the database. It will only contain the recommended terms in acceptance of M. Majtán's recommendation that the prepared Slovak onomastic terminological handbook should not only be informative, but also normative. The compilation of this handbook should be based on the main principles set out by J. SVOBODA which were also used during the conception of the two onomastic handbooks (SVOBODA et al. 1973: 10, 1983: 12–13): "1. Do not deviate from the international terminology in the basic terminology and consistently state *-onym* (*antrop-*, *top-*, etc.) for one proper name, *-onymy* for a set of proper names and *-onomastics* for the discipline involved in researching them. 2. Pay attention to the conformity with the linguistic and geographical terminology. 3. Do not overload the terminology with special terms for all types of objects (urbanonyms, limnonyms, etc.); some newly established terms (bionyms, abionyms) usually only have the character of generic designations." On the other hand, it will also be necessary to consider criteria such as common usage, stability, comparability, the correctness of the term's formation and whether or not the term has been accepted by the scientific fraternity when assessing the selection of the terms. The terminological system will also be able to be highlighted using a graphic computer program. The most important principle of the systematic division should mainly be the relationship to the object.

The researchers involved in the project have divided the individual terminological areas and are entering the given terms into the digital forms.⁷ Of the taxonomical terms which designate the types of proper names according to named objects, some terms from anthroponomastics and toponomastics have so far been elaborated, while it is mainly Vincent Blanár's terms, which arise from his theory of proper names (e.g. *functional member of the proper name*, *onomastic status of the proper name*, *linguistic status of the proper name*,

⁶ For more information about its characteristics, concept and the individual terminological databases, see <https://terminologickyportal.sk/>, https://terminologickyportal.sk/wiki/Hlavn%C3%A1_str%C3%A1nka, <https://terminologickyportal.sk/wiki/Kateg%C3%B3ria:Kateg%C3%B3rie>.

⁷ The thematic areas which are being processed by the individual project researchers in their current composition: *oikonymy*, *urbanonymy* (J. HLADKÝ, A. ZÁVODNÝ), *anoikonymy*, *literary onymy* (J. KRŠKO), *chrematonymy* (P. OĐALOŠ, A. GÁLKOWSKI), *anthroponymy*, *general terms of V. Blanár* (I. VALENTOVÁ). The editing and addition of equivalents in other languages: J. BAUKO – Hungarian equivalents, A. GÁLKOWSKI – Polish equivalents, M. HARVALÍK – Czech and English equivalents.

content model, onymic motivational model), which have so far been processed from the terms which are associated with the state of the theory.

Problematic terms and definitions are discussed at the working meetings of Slovak, Czech and lately also Polish and Croatian onomasticians (VALENTOVÁ 2014, 2015).

The area of processing onomastic terminology is complicated and it will continue to require the discussion of many other ambiguous terms and their inclusion in the terminological system, as well as any other conceptual principles. The prerequisite is the continuation of the processing of the Slovak onomastic terminology within the framework of the independent grant task.

The vision of the future involves the processing of parallel onomastic terminological databases in other languages while taking into account the specific characteristics of the national onomastics and onomastic schools and with the option of “clicking” on links (using the principle of Wikipedia from a technical point of view) to the individual databases via the equivalents in other languages. At present, databases of English (M. HARVALÍK), Czech (M. HARVALÍK) and Polish (A. GALKOWSKI) onomastic terminology are being prepared in cooperation with the Slovak National Corpus, while discussions on the preparation of Croatian (A. FRANČIĆ, A. ČILAŠ ŠIPRAGA) and Hungarian (J. BAUKO in cooperation with Hungarian onomasticians) databases are currently ongoing. The simple and commonly used method of searching in digital media will enable the user to easily find the definitions of the individual terms in the given languages, which would remove many of the misunderstandings caused by different ways of understanding certain terms and would assist those beginning in onomastics to orient themselves in the terminology, including on an international scale, and would teach them to use the correct and appropriate terms. The digital corpus of onomastic terminology would play a significant role during the translation of onomastic publications and would also be of assistance to other linguists.

In this way, the compilation of the Slavic and possibly also non-Slavic onomastic terminology would take into account the specific nature of the terms in the individual languages and onomastic schools and show the convergences in the individual national onomastic terminologies, as well as any divergences where it will be necessary to look for consensus in the sense of synergy and integration when unifying both the Slavic and international terminologies. The creation of the digital corpus of onomastic terminology would form a good basis for updating and modifying the system of Slavic onomastic terminology and for the formation of a system of international onomastic terminology.

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Abstract

Recent years have brought an intensive interest in onomastic terminology, which is closely connected with the development of onomastic as such and, especially, with the general theory of onomastics.

The first part of the paper briefly discusses the activities of the Terminology Group of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences and its efforts to unify the basic onomastic terminology. Further, the paper informs about the contemporary state of Slavic onomastic terminology and about its main features and problems.

In the next part, the authors characterise the latest project of the Slovak Onomastic Commission at the Ľ. Štúr Linguistic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava. The aim of this project is the alphabetical and systematic processing of taxonomic terms that designate particular kinds of proper names along with the processing of terms connected with general onomastic theory in a digital database.

A possible further step would be creating parallel digital databases of onomastic terms in both Slavic and non-Slavic languages and interconnecting them. Such a project would form a springboard for the updating of the system of Slavic onomastic terminology and for unifying international onomastic terminology.

Keywords: Onomastics, terminology, digital database

1. Introduction

When I was asked by the congress organizers in Debrecen¹ to talk about “name policy in 21st century society” my first thought was to make a more direct comparison of different countries and provide examples of strategies, regulations, differences and similarities. But there turned out to be no point in doing so! There are hordes of variations, of linguistic and pragmatic conditions, of different problems and solutions so that I soon abandoned the idea. Instead I will focus on place-name policy principles from a more overall perspective based to some extent on examples from Scandinavia and Sweden in particular. Even so I hope that many readers will identify with my discussion and that what I say can be applied in different circumstances and situations in different parts of the world.

2. What does a place-name policy involve?

What does a place-name policy involve? In my opinion it means that approaches or courses of action are based on principles – regulations, strategies or agreements of some sort – about how place-name issues can, in broad terms, be “managed”. Principles of this kind are as a rule intentional but they can be created or applied more or less unconsciously. The principles can be determined in due political or judicial process or merely be implicit, and they can be codified in writing or based on custom and usage. The principles may be generally applicable or linked to specific contexts, situations, stakeholders or types of names and, like all policies, a place-name policy may be popular and enjoy respect or quite the opposite.

3. Why is a place-name policy needed?

There are many reasons why a place-name policy is needed today, and these include the following. Earlier most of the repertoire of place-names developed spontaneously in everyday contacts between individuals and were shaped by their users themselves. Anything that needed a name was given one and these were mainly used orally. If a name was, nevertheless, written down, it could admittedly vary a great deal in both form and spelling but the main thing was that it functioned, that it served its purpose in identifying a specific

¹ Originally this article was presented as a key note lecture at the 26th Congress of Onomastic Sciences in Debrecen, Hungary, on 29 August 2017.

locality. In the local context in which a name was used there was a natural process of elimination so that collisions (in other words the use of identical or almost identical names for localities close to each other) were avoided and other linguistically inappropriate names (too long, too difficult to pronounce) removed. Practical everyday needs led automatically to a certain extent of pruning of the way names were used to make life easier for the individual users.

In modern contexts as well, especially in urban settings, place-names would probably more often be created ad hoc with little systematization if there were no place-name policies at all. There would probably be a much larger number of contributors to the place-name market. Less consideration would be paid to the possibilities of confusion and to the way new names could integrate with and adapt to the current repertoire of names. New names could more easily be created on the basis of the opinions and preferences of powerful individuals or groups. Names that aroused the displeasure of some could be discarded and replaced by new ones in a very subjective way. Commercial interests could shape and influence the repertoire of names, economic arguments could easily gain a hearing, and contradictory trends and models could develop alongside each other. Without an overall place-name policy, there would be a risk that both new and existing names could be formed and developed totally in accordance with prevailing usage, so that varied and competitive pronunciation and morphology would be allowed to emerge. There would be no policy that could monitor and moderate the repertoire of names to make it possible to regulate and coordinate their use.

Today sets of place-name users – in other words the groups of individuals that know and use the same names – look different from those of the past. Our urban environments in particular are larger and more complex than they used to be. Because of new technology, modern communications and totally different media, place-names, the way in which they are used and new proposals reach large groups of people very quickly, while at the same time the self-regulation of the repertoire of names that characterized earlier and less open local communities no longer functions as it did. Opinions, ideas and initiatives – even where place-names are concerned – can circulate widely at lightning speed irrespective of their quality. This is why a deliberate place-name policy is needed, one that provides a sound overview and some control of both individual names and the repertoire of place-names as a whole, a policy that forestalls personal preferences, drastic and arbitrary changes in the place-name repertoire, and confusing and capricious variation in their morphology and spelling. In most parts of the world, most of the repertoire of official names result from official decisions of one kind or another. Here there is a process, an idea, an intention – in other words names are based on certain principles. A place-name policy with explicit principles makes life easier for those who

decide on names (officials and politicians) as well as for individuals or sets of users (the general public).

When we talk about principles and place-name policies of this kind, it is more than likely that we most frequently envisage official policies that are applied by government and municipal bodies – even though these applications may take very different forms of organizational expression in different cities, provinces and countries. But to establish and maintain a place-name policy all that is really needed is access to some type of place-name – a group of names or a naming system – as well as a mandate of some kind to control and influence these names. This can involve certain categories of names, for instance street names in a city, a farmer's fields, states that form a nation, lighthouses along a coastline, nature reserves in a province or something entirely different. A place-name policy may have the power to impose sanctions to some extent and the decision-makers are appointed in different ways or even nominate themselves. Some place-name policies apply to official names, like for instance the names of municipalities, railway stations or real estate, and decisions about them are made pursuant to legislation or ordinances by a specific authority, group or individual empowered to do so. Other types of name are less official but even so may be subject to a place-name policy based on traditional usage or according to recently established “rights” for which there is no explicit support in the legislation or statutes. If varying place-name policies of this kind come into conflict with each other, in most cases those that have been established through due political or legal process should be given greatest weight. In practice, for instance, a local usage or local customs may conflict with the national policy enforced by a government authority with the force of law. Ultimately it is the authority that is legally entitled to decide. Even so, this can give rise to disputes.

What is needed, therefore, to implement a specific place-name policy is no more than a strong will and a number of names that can be subjected to it. But to implement a *rational* place-name policy, knowledge is also needed, as well as an overall perspective and a capacity to listen. And in addition the implementation of a *rational* and *legally grounded (official)* place-name policy requires an acknowledged right (codified in legally valid provisions or according to generally accepted usage) to deal with and make decisions about a certain category of names.

4. Who has the right to draw up a place-name policy?

So who has this right? Here things look very different in different parts of the world. Differences already appear when you compare the Scandinavian countries with each other. To begin with, we can also determine that there are international organizations, groups and corporations that may have opinions



about names, such as Google (through Google Maps), the ICA (International Cartographic Association), the IGU (International Geographical Union), ICOS (International Council of Onomastic Sciences), and UNGEGN (United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names), but this does not mean that any of these organizations have the right to decide on individual names or naming that outweighs stakeholders at the national level. They can give advice and recommendations or adopt resolutions but it is still up to each nation itself to decide on place-name policies within its own boundaries. One of the early resolutions adopted in the work of the UN (1/4 from 1967)² stated therefore that each country should have a national place-name authority of some kind to take overall responsibility for all forms of place-names that are not explicitly assigned to some other domain. The wording of the resolution states, for instance that:

“It is recommended that, as a first step in international standardization of geographical names, each country should have a national geographical names authority:

[...]

It is recommended that those countries which have not yet begun to exercise their prerogative of standardizing their geographical names on a national basis should now proceed to do so.”

A great deal has happened since then but some countries still lack this kind of authority with overall responsibility for place-names.

Issue 51 of UNGEGN’s Information Bulletin³ from November 2016 was entirely devoted to “National Names Authorities – structures and operations”. It offers concise descriptions of how a dozen countries have organized their official place-name operations and these examples alone show how they can differ. The first page of the bulletin includes a map (Fig. 1) that shows which countries today have national place-name authorities and which that do not. We can see for instance that Finland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom lack authorities of this kind. Of course this does not mean that there is a place-naming anarchy in these countries, but they have so far chosen other solutions.

² All UN resolutions on names can be found through UNCSGN Resolutions Database Search on <http://www.ngii.go.kr/portal/ungn/mainEn.do>.

³ Bulletins (started in 2003) and newsletters (1988–2002) can be found on <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/bulletin.html>.

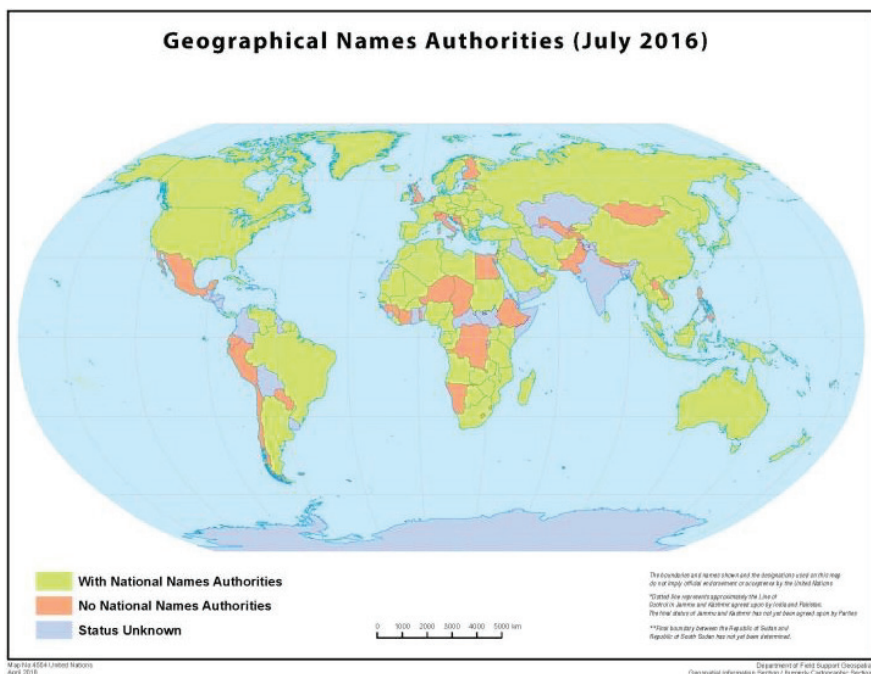


Figure 1: Geographical Names Authorities (July 2016)
(From UNGEGN Bulletin 51)

When it then comes to the rules and treatment of different kinds of names and of objects to which names are given, each country has its own solutions that more or less correspond with each other. In the publication entitled *God ortnamnssed* (Good place-name practice) published by the Swedish Place-Name Advisory Board (Ortnamnssrådet) in 2016 there is a table listing official decision-makers in Sweden. This table shows clearly who is entitled to decide on which names and on what grounds, as well as who has to be consulted before a decision is made, for instance. A small part of the table is shown below. I should point out here that Lantmäteriet is the Swedish Mapping, Cadastral and Real Estate Authority.

Tables of this kind can be made for every country to provide surveys and enable comparisons. This would offer both quantitative and qualitative insights about which objects different countries decide on, at what level these decisions are made, who decides, how many stakeholders are involved, to what extent legislation and regulations exist, etc. They could also give rise to ideas, proposals and procedural models that we could all consider. The task of gathering all the necessary information and collating it systematically is a gigantic one, but someone may be prepared to undertake it in the future – perhaps a working group in UNGEGN.

Object	Consultant/ Advisory Bodies	Decision made by	Statutory support
Counties	Lantmäteriet and the Institute for Language and Folklore, according to precedent	Government drafts, Parliament decides	Decree on the Names of Counties (1973: 105).
Municipalities	Lantmäteriet and the Institute for Language and Folklore, according to precedent	Swedish Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency drafts, Government decides	Act on Changes in the Division of Sweden into Municipalities and County Councils, Section 1:1 (1979: 411).
Districts	Lantmäteriet and the Institute for Language and Folklore, according to precedent	Government decides	Ordinance on Districts (2015: 493).
City blocks (in the cadaster of real estate)	Lantmäteriet	Municipalities	Ordinance on the Real Estate Cadaster (2000: 308).
Dioceses		The General Synod	Swedish Church Ordinance.
Natural features	The Institute for Language and Folklore	Lantmäteriet	Ordinance with Instructions for Lantmäteriet Section 5:7 (2009: 946).
Streets, roads, public places in detailed development plans	Lantmäteriet with the support of the Institute for Language and Folklore if needed	Municipalities	No legal provision.

5. Who and what is affected by a place-name policy?

What then can we manage with a specific place-name policy and what is not affected? To begin with, we can wonder about who it will affect. Who do its contents, proposals and decisions concern? In principle, of course, a place-name policy can be very far-reaching and apply stringently to the use of all place-names. In Sweden the paragraph on good place-name practice in the Historic Environment Act applies explicitly only to state and municipal activities, i.e. public agencies and the like. Officials and politicians who deal with and decide

on place-names must comply with the letter and spirit of the law to the best of their abilities. The users, in other words the rest of the population, have to accept and live with their decisions. But when it comes to non-governmental and non-municipal bodies this legal provision does not apply. In theory private companies, shops, publishers, newspapers and individuals may spell place-names any way they want to and even create their own names, registers, databases and maps that have no official status. Leaving aside the confusion and variations in names that fail to serve their purpose that this could give rise to, it is nevertheless completely possible. Unofficial place-naming may therefore end up conflicting directly with an official place-name policy like Sweden's.

There may be those who do not agree with the existing official place-name policy (either national or municipal). A group, an individual or an organization may prefer one or more alternative names to the one officially adopted because the names they advocate serve their purpose better, for instance by presenting something in a more positive light or by toning down or concealing something, perhaps a name that is alleged to have a bad ring to it. A more commercial name, sometimes called an “estate agent’s name”, may then be proposed either by creating something totally new that arouses positive associations or by extending the use of an existing name with a positive aura. In the context of the catastrophic fire at Grenfell Tower in London at the beginning of the summer 2017 there were discussions about a suitable name for the area in which it stood. It is normally referred to by its address – Latimer Road – but recently it has more often been called *North Kensington*, even though it has few links with the “real” Kensington further south. But the prestige and reputation of the name *Kensington* can be “borrowed” to raise the status of an area that is looked down on. This kind of unofficial, manipulative use of names is something we recognize from many parts of the world and it is difficult, if not to say impossible, to eradicate on the grounds of an official place-name policy, whether it has the force of law or not. One cannot in spite of everything disregard the fact that place-names have many different functions and that their fundamental – cognitive – purpose of identifying and specifying a certain location is sometimes eclipsed by other functions such as emotional and idealistic ones. Here names become something more than tools for identification and for finding our way around: they function symbolically, embody intentions, are weapons in public and political debates, express opinions, preferences and feelings as well as social bonds. When functions like these prevail, a stringent place-name policy will not always be enough to keep deviations and exaggerations at bay.

The same applies to slang terms and different affectionate forms of official names that are probably always going to arise because of human linguistic playfulness and efforts to simplify language. Place-names that are too long or too pretentious risk being morphed into more everyday, more manageable,



perhaps temporary forms. In my opinion it is impossible to prevent this with an official place-name policy and there is probably little point in doing so, either. Then the names should have their official forms in more official (written) contexts and their unofficial form may be used elsewhere.

Here it is also worth recalling policies that actively attempt to make use of the popular, unofficial names and types of names that are in use. These occur in spoken everyday speech, irrespective of whether they are condoned officially or not. Trials have been carried out in Sweden, in the city of Gävle for instance, in which Lantmäteriet used a special telephone app to collect previously unrecorded, popular place-names used in this urban area. The results have been presented in several articles (e.g. TORENSJÖ 2015). It is possible to have a deliberate policy of collecting unofficial names and recording them on special maps or in special databases so that the police and emergency services, for instance, can identify all the locations in the city by both their popular and official names. This does not mean that the names are approved and given official status, but they can still be accepted as a natural element of place-names usage and can be of great practical use. In addition, names like these can provide a basis for scholarly studies of the linguistic landscape and for place-name studies with a socio-onomastic and folk onomastic approach.

Choosing a place-name policy can influence and affect individuals or groups of people, as well as general social functions and structures. Names that have a public function concern everyone in some sense while those of a more private nature impact on fewer individuals. Which is perhaps not so odd. In purely principle terms, of course, although once decided a place-name policy applies to the same extent to all the names it concerns, it is undeniably the case that these policies are considered to be more important when they apply to names that are used frequently – in other words often, by many users and in many different contexts – than those that concern names used rarely and in special contexts. One simple illustration of this can be found in the names given to blocks and streets in Sweden. Figure 2 shows a local plan from Stockholm indicating where new names are needed. City blocks have to have names in Stockholm but they primarily serve a technical purpose. They are used in land registries and appear in certain official situations, such as the real estate cadaster, conveyancing, etc., but are not often used in everyday speech. The exception is when these block names take on a secondary function as the names of shopping malls, for instance, sheltered housing or pre-schools. The names used more often for everyday purposes, on road signs, in addresses and GPS navigators, and for giving directions are, after all, street names. This means that we could consider that greater demands are made of street names and a prudent place-name policy is necessary. The general guidelines for new names – which are often stressed in Sweden – say that names must be easy to grasp, to

pronounce, to spell and to remember, and these demands are more applicable to streets than to city blocks.

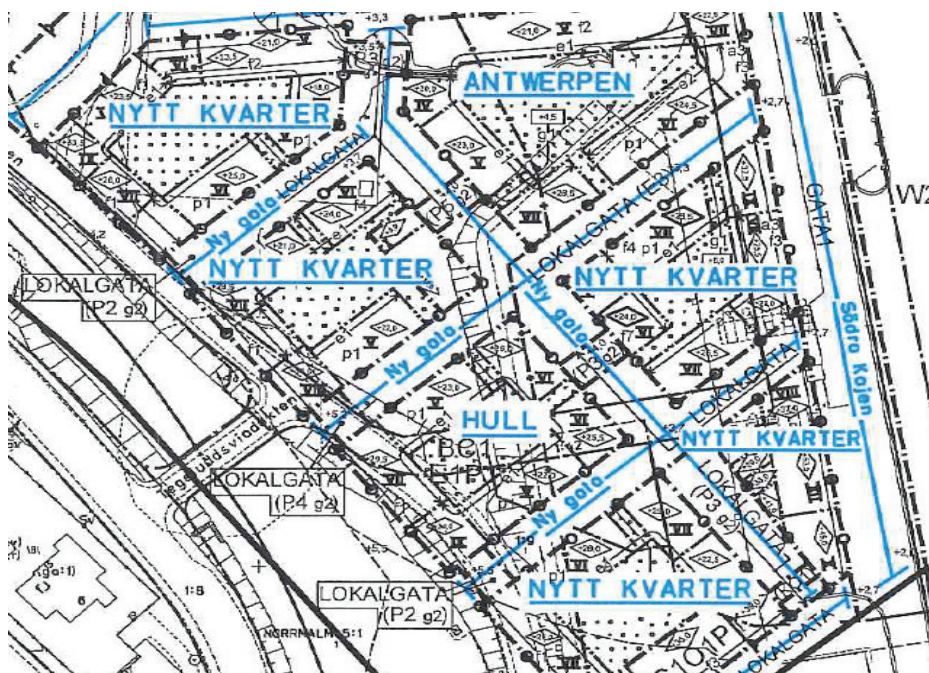


Figure 2: Detail of a local plan from Stockholm, showing where new names are needed. Nytt kvarter = new block, ny gata = new street. Already existing block names are *Antwerpen* and *Hull*.

This can provide the background for discussion of what are called commemorative names, place-names that include the name of an individual and which are intended to honour or remind us in some other way of a specific person (NYSTRÖM 2013). It might well be better to avoid long commemorative names or those that are difficult to spell or only give them to objects whose names do not need to be written down so often. Because what can happen? Well in Stockholm, for example, the name *Johan Helmich Romans Park* is not used by the general public as it is very long, difficult to spell and the man himself is not at all well known today. On the other hand *Dag Hammarskjölds väg* in Uppsala is admittedly used fairly frequently and denotes a well-known person but even so it gives rise to the colloquial variant *Dag H*, which is sometimes used for convenience as the real name is a little too long. In a place-name policy that involves commemorative names one could opt to include – in addition to the requirement that the individual concerned is dead and has been for some period of time – the principle that commemorative names normally should not be created that are considered likely to create difficulties for users because of

their spelling or pronunciation. A waiting period after the death of an individual can be one year, five or twenty-five years, or some other period of time. In the UN resolution (VIII/2) adopted in 2002 no actual time period is specified. The recommendation merely states that “the appropriate national authorities include in their guidelines clear statements on the length of the waiting period they wish to establish before using a commemorative name”.

6. What can an official place-name policy include?

A place-name policy can include for instance 1. place-name planning, 2. place-name regulation, 3. place-name preservation and 4. place-name legislation and include everything from observations and ideas to discussions, drafting and decision making. At times the different elements merge into each other and often take place in parallel.

6.1. Place-name planning

Let me begin with place-name planning. Here a policy may entail listening to and involving either very few participants or a large number. In addition to the organ making the decision (political or technical) a special drafting body can be set up. Stakeholders in the form of property owners and other users of names, like residents in a street, village, town or whatever, can also be involved. The drafting bodies, for instance place-name drafting groups or urban place-name committees can consist solely of politicians who submit their own proposed names, discuss them and reach decisions, but they may also be groups with special expertise that produce proposals to submit to the politicians who decide. An adopted place-name policy can here, to put it simply, involve as many people as possible in the planning process – which makes it highly democratic but at the same time more extensive, costly, slower and more cumbersome – or for the sake of convenience and efficiency the planning can be restricted to a smaller group of place-name “professionals”.

6.2. Place-name regulation

I use the term place-name regulation to refer to the management and control of the external features of existing and planned names, their morphology and spelling. Here a policy can apply different principles: as in Sweden where it is generally provided in the legislation that place-names must comply with acknowledged rules for linguistic correctness. This means that the rules and norms that apply to the spelling and morphology of the language in general (codified in the Swedish Academy’s lexicon) also apply to place-names as far as possible. Exceptions can be made when deviant forms of names were established a long time ago and have then been used in every context. In such cases names

are not altered to comply with the main rule. This policy means that the national, shared written language also characterizes and governs the use of place-names. Local, dialect or idiosyncratic pronunciation and spelling variants are not allowed to have any impact on the official written forms. Anyone may pronounce place-names as they want to, but everybody writes them in the same way. The generic element *-vägen* ‘road, street’ can for instance be pronounced as /vä:gen/, /ve:gen/, /ve:gön/, /we:n/, /vejen/, etc. But all over Sweden its written form is *-vägen*. This means that local and private perspectives sometimes collide with the overriding national rules. Then people may feel that the state, the authority or some other superior agency is making decisions about their names and that their genuine language and their genuine names are being suppressed and forbidden. This is true, and one can have different opinions about this fact. But a shared national standardized written form undeniably makes it easier to search for names or addresses in a register, GPS or some other database.

It is also possible to allow the inherited, local pronunciation to play a greater role when it comes to writing a name, as in the Norwegian place-name law.⁴ In it Section 4 lays down that:

“Where nothing else is provided in this Act, the written forms of place-names are to be determined on the basis of the inherited local pronunciation.”

And later:

“When the same name is used for different objects in one and the same locality, the written form used for the object the name originally referred to shall, as a rule, provide guidance on the written forms to be used for the other objects it identifies.

[...]

Two or more written forms of the same name for the same object can be determined as parallel if one or more of the following criteria are satisfied:

- a) There are several variant pronunciations of the name because the locality covers a wide geographical area or is situated on the border of a dialect or administrative area
- b) Two or more written forms of the name are well established
- c) There is powerful local interest in two or more forms.”

⁴ <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1990-05-18-11>

This of course leaves an opening for greater variation in writing when the elements in names with the same etymology can appear differently in maps or road signs for instance.

Denmark's place-name policy is described as follows by Peder Gammeltoft in the UNGEGN Bulletin from 2016 referred to above:

“In Denmark the Place-Name Commission (which is the standardizing body) maintains a website of approximately 25,000 authorized names. The names included in the lists of authorized names represent only a small part of Danish place-names, as it includes only the names for which there is a practical (cartographic, postal, local, etc.) need of a uniform spelling. This means first and foremost that all major and minor settlements of importance to state affairs must have an authorized form. [...] In addition to this the Place-Name Commission has published a recommendation on their website to use Danish Orthography.”

So the external form of place-names (spelling and morphology) can be regulated in a number of different ways and to varied extents.

6.3. Place-name preservation

And so to name preservation or the reverse. An adopted place-name policy might argue for as few limitations and hindrances as possible for the existing repertoire of names and the unrestricted development of future name usages. It might deliberately advocate changes, new names and new naming patterns as valuable and creative – the use of names in step with modern society and its many and varied forms of expression. Streets and urban settings are refashioned, new patterns of movement emerge, buildings disappear and new ones are erected, the composition of populations change, businesses close and start up, etc. and place-name usages have to keep up in the same way and reflect these developments. This kind of policy would mean that names that feel out of date could be unsentimentally replaced by fresher ones.

In Sweden – in contrast to such an approach – place-name preservation has for a long time enjoyed great esteem (NILSSON–NYSTRÖM–TORENSJÖ 2008). Officially determined place-names are not replaced nor are they changed unless there are very powerful reasons. Every change has to be examined and decisions are made in the stipulated fashion. We take into account the cultural and historical value of names whatever their age and we also make an assessment of the practical consequences of replacing or changing a name. Names are like annual rings in the landscape that tell us something about their eras. In this way place-names reflect our entire history and not just circumstances today. The

current legislation on place-names – laid down in Section 4 of Chapter 1 of the Historic Environment Act (1988: 950, amended as 2013: 548) – is imbued with this place-name preservation approach and reads as follows:

“Good place-name practice

In state and local government operations, good place-name practice shall be observed. This means that a) place-names established by long usage shall not be changed without good cause; b) place-names shall be spelled in accordance with generally accepted rules for linguistic correctness, unless spelling forms established by long usage otherwise require; c) the impact on names established by long usage shall be taken into account when forming new place-names; and d) Swedish, Sami and Finnish names and names in Meänkieli shall, as far as possible, be used in parallel on maps and also for signs and other marking in multilingual areas.

Names that have been approved by Lantmäteriet shall also be used in their approved form in other contexts.”

Well then, can the needs of modern society and its rapid changes be combined with a functional use of names and a desire to preserve place-names as part of our intangible cultural heritage? This is a pertinent question and the answer is a resounding yes – it is totally possible. A restrictive place-name policy that stresses the preservation and protection of place-names does not at all have to mean that the repertoire of names is conserved, only that it is not altered without reflection and consideration. We can introduce modern phenomena and new perspectives into our repertoires of names, for instance when there are unnamed objects that require names, rather than replace earlier place-names to make room for new ones. To take another example from Stockholm, the city in which I live, in some areas we have taken new names for streets and blocks from the telecommunications industry and used words like *modem*, *digital*, *telephone* or names of individuals linked to developments of this kind. And we have done this when these areas have been developed or extended so that new names have been needed. We have not allowed new demands and wishes to result in the replacement and eradication of the footprints of history, but to supplement them. In these cases there are traces of different eras in the landscape of urban names. But if streets or squares disappear completely, then their names must at times be permitted to vanish, just as in rural environments when, for instance, farmland is reapportioned or virgin land reclaimed and used in new ways. A repertoire of names cannot be preserved at all costs – neither in cities nor the countryside – but changes can be made prudently and respectfully.

6.4. Place-name legislation

A place-name policy can, therefore, be based on and find support in specific legislation or a policy's aim may be to bring about changes in the legislation. The official policy that applies in a specific society at any one time may be supported by explicit legislative or other legally binding documents. In Sweden – as we saw in the table I showed you earlier – names of counties, municipalities and parishes are decided by the Swedish Parliament, the Government or the Diocesan Board as laid down in specific legal enactments. But on the other hand it has been a long-standing custom for municipalities to decide on the names of streets and squares in the detailed development plans for certain urban areas. There are no statutes or instructions that stipulate this. But when it comes to the form taken by a name, its spelling and how it is otherwise dealt with, both state authorities and municipalities have to comply with the paragraph on good place-name practice in the Historic Environment Act.

Where Sweden is concerned the place-name policy has not been changed to any great extent since the enactment of specific legal provisions on place-names in 2000 – we have a long tradition of name preservation, regulations about names and other aspects of their management in Sweden – but the statutes from 2000 still provide sound support in arguments and discussions and give more weight to issues relating to names in society. An evaluation of the effects of the legislation on the actions of the municipalities (KARLSSON–NYSTRÖM 2006, NYSTRÖM 2013: 129) contained the following observation:

“The answers and comments from the municipalities also showed that the addition of the place-name paragraph had not resulted in any significant changes in the way the work is organized when handling place-name affairs. But many of them emphasized that – and this is an important result – due to the Act there is an obvious increase of interest, of awareness and of consideration, especially concerning the preservation and management of place-names as parts of the intangible cultural heritage, but also concerning place-names as necessary linguistic expressions for daily use (including their morphology and spelling). People handling place-name affairs in the municipalities actually felt a bit more appreciated and respected after the introduction of the name paragraph.”

The decision to include place-names in the legislation enhances, in other words, the value and significance of place-names in discussions, puts a focus on place-name issues and means that flagrant abuse of the right to determine and to manage names has become less frequent. This is a good thing! Awareness of the statutory provisions provides a basis for greater possibilities of coordinating the ways in which different authorities and bodies decide on names as it is easier

to produce a shared norm – a benchmark – that can be circulated to serve as an example to others.

7. Tasks and challenges?

What then are the major tasks and challenges for rational place-name policies today? Well, there are of course a large number of widely varying challenges if we adopt a global perspective and I can only mention a few here that are important in my part of the world:

a) It is important to lay down who makes decisions, what kinds of names they decide on and on what grounds; who is entitled to express an opinion about names of this kind and who has the right to appeal against a decision to adopt a name. If there are no regulations about this they should be introduced as soon as possible.

b) There are many stakeholders with different powers and different messages to convey. It is important to find ways and methods to reach them and provide them with information so that all right-minded contributors move in the same direction.

c) It is important to counter the commercialization of the repertoire of names. Here we can invoke, for instance, a UN resolution. Economic forces can easily run counter to cultural historical and practical concerns. Are the names *Metallåtervinning Arena* ('Metal Recycling Arena') and *Tele2 Arena* good ones? They both include names of business companies. Will they still exist in five years if new sponsors take over?

d) The increasing anglicization of the repertoire of names (or other linguistic influences linked to prestige and status) has to be confronted: *Stockholm Waterfront*, *Ericsson Globe Arena*, etc. These are the names of venues (and therefore relatively manageable) but demands have been made in the capital of Sweden for English names for Metro stations, parks and hospitals. Is this good and who is it good for?

e) Contacts between languages (apart from English) also have to be dealt with. To what extent can settings in which two or more languages are used be reflected in place-name usage. These settings can be historical and long-standing or they may have arisen recently as a result of immigration. How can we deal with the complicated issue of minority languages and the revitalization of place-names?

Although I have not said a great deal about this in this paper, the wording of the Swedish statutes makes it clear that the official management of names must include parallel Sami or Finnish names as well as names in Meänkieli in areas where established names in these languages exist. No name has to be translated to a minority language today or be created anew in these languages.



Revitalization of minority language names in Sweden involves therefore cataloguing the names that exist and then ensuring their use in official contexts. A place-name policy can, however, opt to go further than this in its endeavours to promote minority languages. Extensive programs on this have been launched in for instance Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

In Sweden other major languages, such as Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, Spanish, Persian, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian or Somali, that are spoken in certain areas with large immigrant populations in the large cities, have not yet left any direct traces in official place-name usage. Varying forms of Swedish seem to function as a *lingua franca* where the use of names is concerned as well.

8. What contributions can place-name researchers make?

Finally the question arises of how place-name research and place-name scholars can contribute to understanding and awareness about these important aspects of place-names and how they are determined?

a) Universities and other institutions must include place-name planning, place-name standardization and place-name preservation in the teaching and research they offer about place-names. Individual researchers can act to make this possible. Lots of useful material is available on the UNGEGN website.

b) Researchers should, as far as possible, contribute through popular lectures, articles, radio broadcasts, etc. in different contexts to making sure that sensible ideas about place-names as well as knowledge and insights into naming and place-name standardization are made available to the general public and decision-makers in different positions.

c) Researchers should endeavour to take part in serious collaboration in networks and work groups with participants from a variety of organizations, institutions and authorities outside the academic world. Two examples from Sweden that I can mention are the Place-Name Advisory Board and the Geographical Names Network. The first group includes members from Lantmäteriet, the National Heritage Board, the Institute for Language and Folklore, the Swedish Universities, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, the Swedish Transport Administration, and the Sami Parliament, while the second consists of representatives from Lantmäteriet, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Institute for Language and Folklore, including the Language Council of Sweden, the University of Uppsala, the Swedish Centre for Terminology, Radio Sweden, the Swedish Standards Institute, the Swedish Translation Service in the General Secretariat of the EU Council and the Institute for the Languages of Finland. Both these groups provide information and advice to other name stakeholders in society while at the same time they learn a lot from each other.

9. In conclusion

So to conclude: discussion of place-name policies covers a very wide field and this is a subject that can involve a large number of considerations. I have tried to shed light on some aspects on the basis of my own experience of working with these policies at various levels. I hope that I have at least been able to provide some inspiration for others to continue to work in this important area. Place-name policies and place-name standardization are important aspects of place-name research, aspects that have a direct impact on a large number of people.

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Abstract

A chosen place-name policy (or the lack of such a policy) might affect the existing place-name stock as well as emerging, proposed or future place-names in many ways. A chosen place-name policy might include name regulation, name preservation, name legislation, and name planning – including every step from observations and ideas to decision-making. A chosen place-name policy might affect individuals or groups of people as well as important societal structures and functions. So, what are the main tasks and challenges of today's place-name policies in Scandinavia and elsewhere? How can modern demands and modern usage be combined with a quest to safe-guard place-names as part of our intangible cultural heritage? And finally, how can onomastics and onomasticians help the most and contribute to the understanding and awareness of these important aspects of names and naming. In this paper I discuss these matters (with examples mostly from Sweden) of course without giving any definite answers or solutions.

Keywords: Place-name, policy, legislation, preservation, minority language

Pavel Štěpán

Namegiving in the Czech Republic: Legal Regulation and the Role of Onomasticians

The relationships between names and legislation represent one of the crucial topics of contemporary onomastics. One of the last volumes of the journal *Onoma* (2012) was dedicated to the theme *Names and Law*; it provides a comparative overview of the situation in different European countries which have or used to have name legislation, namely Austria, Denmark, France, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, Poland, Russia, and Sweden. The aim of this paper is to focus on the issue of the name policy in Czech Republic. The process of namegiving is investigated from the point of view of its legal regulation and the role of experts, namely onomasticians, in this process. Two basic categories of proper names are examined: anthroponyms (particularly given names) and toponyms (with a focus on oikonyms and street names).

1. Anthroponyms

The legislation on personal names has a long tradition in Europe. Modern civil laws were preceded by ecclesiastical regulations. For example, according to the Roman Catechism, approved at the Trent Council in 1560's, children were to be given names of the Catholic saints or beatified. Ecclesiastical rules significantly influenced the regulation of personal names in the territory of the present-day Czech Republic up to the half of the 20th century (cf. KNAPPOVÁ 2017: 41). The first civil name law in Czechoslovakia was approved in 1950. At present, the crucial legal norm that influences the choice and use of personal names in Czech Republic is the Law of Registers, Name and Surname from 2000; its last amendment is from 2014 (cf. HENYCH 2015).

What does this law say about the forms of given names¹ that are to be registered by local state authorities? The main condition is that distorted, diminutive or pet forms of names may not be registered in official documents. Until 2014, the law did not explicitly say that the existence of the name is necessary. However, according to the interpretation of this law used by the state authorities, the existence of a name was a necessary condition for its registration. This condition was included as late as in the amendment of the law from 2014. Moreover, a person can use a maximum of two given names, the name must be in accordance with the gender of the person, a person cannot have two identical

¹ Not only given names, but also surnames are regulated by the law. The topic of this paper is, however, restricted to given names.



names, as well as siblings cannot have identical names. An important condition, though rather vague from the linguistic point of view, is that name must be registered in its correct orthographic form. This formulation departs from an inaccurate understanding of orthography, which is often understood more broadly, often in relation to other linguistic levels, such as phonology, grammar or word-formation.

If any doubts occur, according to the law, the registry office should require an expert opinion concerning the particular name form. This expert opinion should be issued by one of the official experts in the field of verification of names and surnames for their registration in official personal documents.

Local authorities represented by the register offices officially use the handbook by MILOSLAVA KNAPPOVÁ (last edition 2017). This name dictionary is regularly updated and its last 6th edition includes 17,000 name forms. It comprises also etymological data, hypocoristic forms and other complementary information (KNAPPOVÁ 2017). The author of this book is also one of the official experts in this field; name expert opinions are issued also by the Department of Onomastics of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

If an expert is asked for an official opinion, it must be considered that from a linguistic point of view only basic, official, standard forms of reliably recorded existing names can be positively evaluated. When evaluating a name form, a research in name dictionaries from various languages must be done. All accessible (and, of course, reliable) name dictionaries and indexes are used.

The most important problems experts must face when evaluating the individual name forms should be given some attention. One of the crucial questions is “what is the basic form of a name?” According to the mentioned law, a diminutive or pet form (hypocoristic form) of a name cannot be registered. This means that only a basic, official name form can be positively evaluated. However, the boundary between a basic, official form and an unofficial, hypocoristic form is not always sharp and sometimes it is permeable. A hypocoristic form may gain independence of the original name and a new official name form without a sign of unofficiality comes into existence. This principle is one of the sources of enriching the repertory of given names. For example, the male name *Radek* was recognised only as a pet form of compound names like *Radoslav* or *Radomír* till 1950s. Nowadays, it is regarded as a completely autonomous name.

It is immensely difficult to keep a unified system regarding the boundary between official and pet forms. For example, applicants for expert opinions can hardly understand that it is not possible to register the form *Věrka*, which is a diminutive pet form of the female name *Věra*, whereas there is no problem to register the form *Alenka*, generally regarded as a diminutive pet form of the name *Alena* in Czech. These problems sometimes result from the interference of

foreign languages. For example, names like *Janek* (a pet form of *Jan*) or *Alenka* are regularly used as official, independent forms in South-Slavic languages (KOVATSCHEV 1995: 577, KEBER 1988: 99).

Sometimes a mere coincidence may play an important role in evaluating a name-form. The form *Jarka* is widely used as a both male and female unofficial hypocoristic form of compound names like *Jaroslav(a)* or *Jaromír(a)*. Such pet forms cannot be officially registered in Czech Republic. However, the opinion concerning the female name *Jarka* issued by the Czech Language Institute was finally positive despite these facts. This surprising conclusion was based on the existence of a Frisian female name of the same form, but completely different origin: the Frisian name *Jarka* is interpreted as a female form of the male name *Jark*, which is a variant of the name *Jarig*, which came into existence as a short form of compound names with the first Germanic element *ger-* ‘spear’ (SEIBICKE 1998: 527).

Another question experts must often solve is how should the formulation “existing name” be interpreted. It must be considered that an isolated occurrence of a name in a state with different laws or its presence on the Internet may not be relevant. Experts from the field of linguistics must evaluate the individual names from the linguistic point of view. Therefore, the name should be included in some reliable name dictionaries; its appearance in a dictionary should be understood as a proof of its “linguistic acceptability”. Names that only sporadically occur abroad must be evaluated negatively. This was the case of the female name *Metallica*, which was finally accepted by Swedish authorities, or literary female name *Renesme(e)*, sporadically found in the USA (this is a name of a literary and film character from the Twilight Saga, half-girl and half-vampire). These names cannot be, so far, regarded as official name-forms. On the other hand, the female name *Skrollan* (from Swedish *Skrålan*, a literary name invented by Astrid Lindgren, author of books for children) could be positively evaluated because it is reliably recorded as a name commonly used in Germany in name dictionaries (KOHLHEIM 2016: 381), though it was also originally used as a literary name.

The practise of evaluation of given names in the Czech Republic can be illustrated by the individual types of name forms that cannot be recommended from the linguistic point of view, adducing authentic examples from the expert opinions issued by the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences:

- a) Invented forms, such as *Wift*, without any obvious sense in any language are rejected. Such forms are sometimes created on the basis of numerology.
- b) Invented blends of two existing names, such as *Kamlou* (a name intended for a boy, formed from the beginnings of the names of his parents *Kamila* and



Louis) or *Foxmilián* (*Fox* and *Maxmilián*) are also unsuitable according to the name law.

c) Common nouns such as *Pampeliška* ‘dandelion’ or adjectives (e.g. *Killed* or *Blue*) not attested as given names in relevant sources are also excluded.

d) Toponyms, such as *Havana* (capital of Cuba) or *Almeida* (a city in Portugal), cannot be, according to the Czech name law, registered as given names, if they are not reliably attested as personal names.

e) A name must be registered in its official form; pet forms are excluded. Especially hypocoristic forms used for both genders, like *Mila* from both *Miloslav* (male) and *Miloslava* (female), are regarded as unsuitable. Neither diminutive pet forms like *Julek* from *Julius*, *Růženka* from *Růžena* or *Apolenka* from *Apolena* can be used.

f) Forms with incorrect spelling are excluded: *Timy* (recommended alternatives include *Tim* or *Timmy*), *Trinyti* (instead of *Trinity*), *Nicollas* (instead of *Nicolas*), *Maxmillián* (instead of *Maxmilián*), *Júlie* (instead of *Julie*), *Márfy* (this form was intended as a Czech adaptation reflecting the supposed pronunciation of the name *Murphy*). These changes of the official spelling are often influenced by numerology as well.

g) Other changes of existing names must be also evaluated negatively, e.g. the female name form *Vilmína* created by contamination of the existing names *Vilma* and *Vilemína*.

h) A male name cannot be used as a female name, and vice versa (for example the form *Walter* cannot be recommended as a female name).

As regards the consequences of the issued expert opinions, local state authorities usually, in accordance with the law, require the submission of expert opinions in problematic cases and they respect their conclusions. In several cases, courts have decided about a certain name form. Courts do not always respect the linguistic arguments, finding them less important than for example “children’s rights”. This was the case of the name *Apoléna*, which is not, from the linguistic point of view, a correct and justified name form; the recommended form was *Apolena* without the length of the third syllable. However, the court decided that the child has a right to use the form *Apoléna*.

2. Toponyms

The situation in the field of toponyms is completely different in the Czech Republic.² The names of towns, villages, their parts and streets, representing

² The most important problems of the standardisation of toponyms in the Czech Republic are summarised by BOHÁČ (2009).

those categories of geographical names that are most important for the official communication, including the delimitation of addresses, are “regulated” by the municipal law from 2000 (*Zákon o obcích*, online). This regulation is rather symbolic, if compared to the strict regulation in the field of personal given names. According to the mentioned law, a name of a municipality (town, village), its parts, streets and other public areas must be given in the Czech language.³ The law also determines that streets or other public areas „should not have identical names and names in honour of living persons“. Another point of the law is that a municipality can suggest a change of the name of the municipality; these changes are approved by the Ministry of the Interior. Names of municipality parts or streets and other public areas are in competence of the municipality; the Ministry of Interior is only informed about them.

The policy in the area of oikonyms in the Czech Republic will be illustrated by several recent cases of place-name changes:

a) The village of *Dolany* near Prague was renamed to *Dolany nad Vltavou* in 2016 (*Informace o územní identifikaci*, online). The reason for this change was the ambiguity of the name *Dolany*, which belongs to 12 different villages in the Czech Republic, the nearest of which is located only 18 km from the current *Dolany nad Vltavou*. The original name *Dolany* was complemented by a localising attribute meaning ‘upon the Vltava river’. The approval of the Ministry of Interior was only formal in this case.

b) The name of a part of the municipality of Třebotov near Prague called *Solopysky* was changed to *Solopisky* in 2004, due to the decision of the local representatives (*Změny v datovém obsahu ÚIR-ZSJ*, online). In accordance with the law, the Ministry of Interior just took this change into account. The change affects only the spelling, not the pronunciation of the name. It is rather interesting that the original spelling with *-y-* is kept in the name of three different villages in Bohemia called *Solopysky*. The etymology of the name is uncertain: it is usually interpreted as departing from a derisive nickname of the inhabitants and is connected with the nouns *sůl* ‘salt’ and *pysk* ‘lip’ (PROFOUS–SVOBODA 1957: 134–135). The inhabitants of the village infer that the name should be associated rather with the noun *písek* ‘sand’ (however, this interpretation is impossible for linguistic reasons); this was probably the impulse for the change. From the linguistic point of view, this change is nonsensical, but onomasticians were not asked for their opinion.

c) A part of the municipality of Hazlov in the westernmost part of Bohemia called *Táborská* was renamed to *Vlastislav* in 2016 (*Informace o územní identifikaci*, online). However, the name *Táborská* was valid only from 1961; by this time,

³ Special rules are valid for localities with certain ethnic minorities.

this settlement, situated in the Sudeten region with a dominance of German inhabitants until 1945, was officially called *Seichenreuth* (*Retrospektivní lexikon obcí československé socialistické republiky 1850–1970*, 1978: 471–472, 533). The significant change of inhabitants after the World War 2, when an absolute majority of German inhabitants were expelled from the country, caused changes of toponyms. Most of these changes, which consisted usually in translation of names from German to Czech, phonological and/or morphological adaptations of names or creation of completely new toponyms, independent of the original German names, took place in the first years after the war. What is important, all the changes of the original German place names had to be approved by the toponymical committee in the period after 1945 and subsequently registered by the Ministry of the Interior (cf. MATUŠOVÁ 2015: 151–152), which is in a sharp contrast to the present situation. The fact that the original German name *Seichenreuth* was replaced by the official Czech name as late as in 1961, is rather striking in this context. This delay was caused by problems with the approval of the new Czech name. The local authority refused the suggested names *Kopaniny* or *Klučeniny*, both meaning ‘cleared land’, corresponding to the meaning of the second element of the original German name *-reuth*, and tried to enforce the name *Vlastislav*. This form exists as a place name belonging to a village and old castle. The place name *Vlastislav* is derived by an old possessive suffix *-jb* from the personal name *Vlastislav* (a compound of *vlast* ‘homeland’ and *-slav* found in *sláva* ‘glory’ or *slavný* ‘glorious, famous’); it referred to ‘Vlastislav’s castle’. The motivation of the name *Vlastislav* newly suggested for the original village of *Seichenreuth*, was political: it was to express relations to the homeland, understood as a progressive communist country in this period. The name *Vlastislav* was to express the contribution of the village to the “glory” of the “homeland”, namely the fact that the local cooperative farm contributed to the accomplishment of the compulsory agricultural state supplies.⁴ The name *Vlastislav* was rejected by the toponymical committee, because “place names should not express such facts” (BURDOVÁ 1972: 213–214). Another possible reason for its rejection could be the fact that newly created names should have respected the contemporary productive types of place names, not using old and no longer productive ones. Finally, the name *Táborská* was approved; this name

⁴ In the late 1940’s and in 1950’s, there was a tendency to create new politically motivated oikonyms in the countries of the Soviet block. Some of these proposals were rather absurd, cf. some of the suggestions for the new city of Havířov situated in a coal mine region, gathered by a public inquiry in 1955, cf. *Brygadobytostav* (a compound form the components *brigáda* ‘voluntary work’, *byt* ‘flat, apartment’ and *stavět* ‘build’ or *Šachtoslav* (from *šachta* ‘shaft; mine’ and *sláva* ‘glory’, etc.; see DAVID 2011: 285–295). Also the name *Vlastislav* for the former *Seichenreuth* must be understood in this context of these proposed “progressive” names expressing the “building” of socialism. Such names were finally not accepted by the authorities in Czechoslovakia.

was derived from the place name *Tábor* belonging to a city in South Bohemia. The naming motive was based on the fact that most of the colonists came from the *Tábor* region. However, the proposed name *Vlastislav* was not forgotten in this locality. According to archival sources, this name was used for Seichenreuth already since 1947 (RÁJKOVÁ 2005), though without the approval of the state authorities. As it emerges from the official list of watercourses, a brook running through the locality had the official name *Vlastislavský potok* ‘Vlastislav Brook’ in 2003, and probably also long before this year (see *Narřízení vlády č. 71/2003 Sb.*, online), though the settlement was officially called *Táborská* (cf. also DAVID–SOUKUP 2010: 206). In 2016, the local authority of the municipality of Hazlov decided to “restore” the place name *Vlastislav*, which was unofficially used for *Táborská* in 1950’s. The reason for this decision was the ambiguity of the name *Táborská*, which belongs also to one of the streets in the nearby town of Aš. This fact makes orientation and finding addresses difficult. According to the quoted law, the Ministry of Interior only took this change of the name of the municipal part into account. Unlike in the period after 1945, onomasticians had no opportunity to influence the name change. Thus, the name *Vlastislav* was finally approved almost 70 years after the first attempts to implement it. This interesting example illustrates that onomasticians usually do not play any role in approving changes of oikonyms nowadays in the Czech Republic, though the situation used to be different in the past.

As regards street names, onomasticians can, to some extent, influence the individual names at least in the cities such as Prague or Brno as members of local nomenclature committees, which, however, have only advisory competences. Otherwise, onomasticians have no competence to influence street names. This results in the fact that street names sometimes include linguistically corrupted forms, with orthographic, morphological or word-formation mistakes, for example: *Roosewelta* ‘Roosevelt Street’, *Radouňova* from place name *Radouň* (the possessive suffix *-ova* is used in connection with anthroponyms, not toponyms; the correct form of the street name should be *Radouňská*), *Za Zahradama* (substandard morphological form; the standard form should be *Za Zahradami*), *Zelenýho* (substandard morphological form; the standard form should be *Zeleného*).

In the case of street names, onomasticians are consulted only exceptionally. Several years ago, the Institute of the Czech Language was asked for an opinion concerning the street name *Města Lwówek Śląski* (street in Chrastava in North Bohemia, which was to be named in tribute to Chrastava’s partner city *Lwówek Śląski* in Poland). However, in accordance with the law, the only question of the Ministry of Interior was whether the given street name “is in Czech or not, if it includes Polish diacritics that do not exist in Czech”. The answer was that the name is in Czech, using the Polish endonym, for which a Czech exonym is

not used. Thus, the name was finally taken into account by the ministry without any further objections.

3. Conclusion

Comparing the two analysed categories of proper names, it becomes evident that there is significant imbalance between the relatively strict regulation in the field of anthroponyms and almost absolute freedom, lack of central regulation and almost no impact of onomasticians in the field of oikonyms and street names. However, toponyms, especially oikonyms and street names, are of extreme social and even political significance, which is in no extent smaller in comparison to the social relevance of anthroponyms, considering the fact that geographical localities such as settlements and streets are usually known and referred to by more language users than average anthroponymic objects, i.e. “ordinary” people, and the duration of toponymical objects and their names is usually much longer. As it can be seen from the example of the oikonym *Vlastislav* and its history, oikonyms had not always been without regulation and approval of onomasticians, though it must be taken into account that the period after 1945 was socially and politically specific.

It is rather paradoxical, in this context, that while oikonyms and street names are in competence of the individual municipalities, names of unsettled geographical objects are centrally standardised in the Czech Republic. Due to the valid version of the law of land surveying, this standardisation is in competence of the Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre (*Jazyková pravidla pro standardizaci jmen nesídelních geografických objektů z území České republiky* 2015: 4). According to this law, standardisation of geographic nomenclature is a process of land surveying performed in public interest. However, names of municipalities, their parts, names of streets and other urban public spaces (as well as names of the state, regions, communications and public buildings), though they would be equally or even more important from the point of view of land surveying, are not in competence of this office (see *Jazyková pravidla pro standardizaci jmen nesídelních geografických objektů z území České republiky* 2015: 10).

It would be immensely interesting and important to compare the language policy in the area of both anthroponyms and toponyms with the situation in other countries, both European (cf. *Onoma* 2012) and extra-European.

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the issue of the name policy in Czech Republic. The process of naming is investigated from the point of view of its legal regulation and the role of experts, namely onomasticians, in this process. Two basic categories of proper names are examined: anthroponyms (particularly given names) and toponyms (with a focus on oikonyms and street names). Comparing the two analysed categories of proper names, it becomes evident that there is significant imbalance between the relatively strict regulation in the field of anthroponyms and almost absolute freedom, lack of central regulation and almost no impact of onomasticians in the field of oikonyms and street names.



Keywords: anthroponyms, given names, toponyms, oikonyms, street names, name policy

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The ideological function in names of public spaces in the city of São Paulo, Brazil

Brazil is a developing country that, unlike many, does not yet have toponymy committees. The urgency of other national basic issues (public health, safety, economy, education) has a strong impact on studies that do not offer “practical results” to the society, such as: vaccines, medicines, technological discoveries that would drive the industry, etc. This lack of public policies to place names or even better, specialized committees, makes the process (although relevant to municipal organizations) quite precarious from the urban point of view and to the preservation of the group’s memory.

This paper shows, through a historical and political process that is underway in Brazilian cities, the toponym as an ideological tool in the expression of the thought of certain dominant groups, which through places’ names, assure the maintenance of a specific political system in a subtle but effective domination.

The results of this study are part of the Project for the History of Paulista Brazilian Portuguese (PHPP), funded by the Foundation for Research Support of the State of São Paulo (FAPESP). It is a project that studies the refined varieties of the language spoken in the state of São Paulo. The other project to which this text refers is the Toponymic Memory of São Paulo, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, in its phase 4. This particular study is associated with the PHPP for providing, through the urban toponymy, a historical contextualization of the 20th century, highlighting in its second half the period known as the military dictatorship (1964–1985) and the process of democratization. In a previous study, which will be published (in CARVALHINHOS–LIMA–HERNANDES 2019), the authors analysed some documents referring to people captured and tortured during the military period, people who were forgotten to favour their torturers, the latter honoured during the military regime in numerous public places.

The particular interest in the theme comes from the current wave of toponymic substitutions in Brazilian cities. By recommendation of the National Truth Commission (Comissão Nacional da Verdade, CNV),¹ one should erase from

¹ Established by law in 2011, the National Truth Commission (CNV) was created in 2012 and published the results of its investigations in 2014. Its objective was to “investigate serious violations against human rights that took place in Brazil between September 18, 1946 and October 5, 1988”. Information and reports are available at <http://www.cnv.gov.br/institucional-acesso-informacao/a-cnv.html> (accessed on June 20 of 2017).



the Brazilian toponymy the traces of the military dictatorship by changing the names of public places. Our object is, precisely, the group of streets of São Paulo that must change because of this standard. The discussion on the subject varies among the population: on the one hand, the indifference towards the change of the onomastic referential, only observing the question from the political point of view; on the other hand, the resistance towards change and attachment to old names, regardless of the honouree.

Another issue is stirred up in this debate: if the name of a place is a cultural heritage, it should not be changed, as it would cause a historical erasure. On the other hand, there is the ethical question: should “torturers” and collaborators of the military period be honoured?

It is worth recalling from the beginning what ALDERMAN (2002: 101) ponders, expressing Azaryahu’s thought: the tribute (or celebration, which involves a wider range of categories than just personal first names) memorializes in an urban denomination a vision of the present that will come to pass; to the detriment of this, another vision is no longer offered for the future.² A toponymic change in a city will therefore always oscillate between two historical views of the present to be preserved. Which present São Paulo intends to preserve as a memory for the future is the question that we intend to investigate as much as possible.

1. The current state of affairs

As mentioned before, Brazil does not have municipal authorities that are exclusively dedicated to the naming of public places like other countries have. The general orientation comes from the federal legislative power through laws and decrees, such as Law no. 6.454, of October 24, 1977, which is entitled *Providing names of public places, works, services and monuments, and other measures* (Brasil 1977). This law forbids the use of names of living persons in tribute, as well as of public people or favoured by public money in public places, works and monuments.

This same law takes a clearly political aspect and is aligned with the ideology of the parties in power in 2013, when it is modified by Law no. 12.781, of January 10, 2013. In that law (Brasil 2013: 1), the prohibition is extended to the person “who has been characterized by the support or exploitation of slave labour in any form, in public properties of any nature, belonging to the Union or to legal entities of the indirect administration”.

² “Street names are unique and potentially politicized memorials because of their geographic connectivity, their ability to touch diverse neighbourhoods and social groups who may or may not identify with the person or event being memorialized. Street naming is also controversial, according to Azaryahu, because, with the commemoration of one vision of the past, there is often a decommemoration of another.” (ALDERMAN 2002: 101).

These two examples show that there is no homogeneous policy regarding the naming of public places and other public elements: laws and decrees often change towards the political situation of the moment. States and Municipalities are responsible for establishing more specific rules and criteria for naming public properties.

In the city of São Paulo, these criteria for naming public places are regulated by the Decree no. 49.346, of March 27, 2008. Criterion number one establishes tribute to personalities (Article 9), provided that death is proven and that the honouree has been a person of merit and “has rendered relevant services in some field of human activity or knowledge” (São Paulo 2008: 1). The second criterion points to facts and historical dates. These two first criteria became popular in the late 19th century with the Proclamation of the Republic (1889) and with the growth of the cities. No criterion contemplates the formalization of spontaneous toponyms. The other criteria indicate the following motivations as possible toponyms: civic, cultural and sports events; recognized literary, musical, pictorial, sculptural and architectural works; folklore characters; celestial bodies; toponyms; geographical features; flora and fauna specimens.

Thus, the average naming of sites with anthroponymic motivation is between 50 and 60%³ of the approximately 65,000 public places. If on one hand, the anthroponymic criterion means a practically never ending source of options, on the other hand, its application represents a complete emptying (or desemantization) of denominations and references. Although the honouree is a popularly known figure, the referential factor is stronger than that of the tribute, and his name becomes detached from the human referential in the mind of the group and turns out to be just another street name.

The changes or substitutions of toponyms in the cities are proposed by the Municipalities. Each Bill that presents a toponymic change or replacement consists of committees formed by parliamentarians to review, issue opinions, approve or reject the Bill. The absence of a toponymy committee generates a great demand of parliamentarians to analyse these issues, representing approximately 60% of the activity of the councillors. As it can be noticed, there is a contradiction: considering the little importance that toponymy has in the country, why does the same point involve so many politicians at the municipal

³ This percentage comes from surveys made by undergraduate and graduate students in the Toponymy subjects offered at the University of São Paulo by Carvalhinhos. Similar numbers may appear in other surveys offered by print media. Check out <http://desacato.info/maioria-dos-projetos-nas-camaras-visa-a-trocar-nomes-de-ruas/> (access on June 30 of 2017), or <https://www.nossasaopaulo.org.br/portal/files/PLsSPTransparenciaBrasil.pdf> (access on June 30 of 2017). Moreover, the subject is frequently cited as a motto that criticizes the activity of the councilmen.



level? The answer can be found in another research (still unpublished)⁴ connected to this one, about “inflation” in the nomenclature of the São Paulo bridges: urbanonyms are, in fact, excellent exchange coins favouring vanities, making agreements and using the denomination as an exterior mechanism of ideological determination.

2. The ideological function of the names

The place name can be an instrument of an ideological imposition, because there is a direct connection between the name and the ideology that binds it. In the onomastic substitution, a movement can take place that forces the acceptance of this new ideology conveyed by the new toponym by simple accommodation and later desemantization, when the new ideas are already settled within the group.

Considering toponym as one of the elements of a text that is represented by the city itself, to therefore change an urbanonym for political reasons, either by the will of a councillor, by the determination of a commission or even by family reasons (tribute to other politicians in the family), would mean, in Greimasian semiotics (GREIMAS–COURTÉS 1989), to reproduce the real and constitute a simulacrum, as if from the surface structure one could get to the deep structure, linked to the ideology and change it, moulding it as stated by the will of the dominant group. According to some authors who dedicate themselves to the issue about name and ideology as ALDERMAN (in papers published in 2002 and 2008), AZARYAHU (in paper published in 2009) and GILL (2005), this is what in fact happens.

The name of a place has the purpose of expressing the world view and the ideology of the group that produces it, but the question in this case is *who* produces the name. For AZARYAHU (2009: 53), who comments on the issue especially with regard to urbanonyms, this official version presented to the public in the form of commemorative names or of tribute is nothing more than a “semiotics makeup”: “When used for commemorative purposes, street names and the version of history they introduce into the public sphere belong to the semiotic makeup of local and national identity and to the structures of power and authority. In their commemorative capacity, street names communicate official representations of the ruling socio-political order. In particular, they introduce an official version of history into networks of social communication that involve ordinary urban experiences that seem to be separated from the realm of political ideology.”

Creating bridges between the past and the present in the form of new connections would be the purpose of the toponymic changes. ALDERMAN (2002: 99), considers urbanonyms as “memorial arenas”, pondering that the past erupts in the present through commemorative names applied to the streets and roads of a city, naturally in construction process. He points out however, that not everything is appropriate or can be remembered: “Commemorative street naming is an important vehicle for bringing the past into the present, helping weave history into the geographic fabric of everyday life. Named streets, like any place of memory, can become embroiled in the politics of defining what is historically significant or worthy of public remembrance. I am interested in street names as ‘memorial arenas,’ public spaces for representing the images of historical figures and debating the meaning and relative importance of these figures to contemporary society.” (ALDERMAN 2002: 99).

In another work published in 2008, ALDERMAN (2008: 196) mentions Azaryahu (1992 in ALDERMAN 2008), who in a critical position on the subject demonstrates how toponyms are shaped in the construction of a nation and how they are “rewritten” during processes of ideological change, serving as a useful tool to the dominant elites, so far as they are vulnerable to manipulation: “These studies largely emphasize how government elites in countries such as Israel, Germany, Russia, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia have manipulated place names – particularly commemorative street names – to advance reinvented notions of national identity and history” (ALDERMAN 2008: 196).

AZARYAHU (2009: 54) makes it clear also to think, as we have already pointed out, that history becomes a semiotics reality. By sharing a cultural experience with a homage nomination, the ruling group (“authorities”) loses control over how these urbanonyms are used or evoked: “Individual responses are to a large extent governed by preconditioned ideological dispositions and political attitudes, and are also dependent upon the social and psychological contexts in which the evocation of a particular street name takes place.”

ALDERMAN (2002: 100) uses an interesting term, “reputation policy”, or an approach centred on a socially constructed and contested type of tribute to historical figures. In this process of memorialisation (creation of memory by naming), comes what is called “discursive rivalries in which the memorialisation of these figures is based” (2002: 100).

AZARYAHU (2009) mentions two toponymic functions: the primary, connotative and referential; and the secondary, symbolic and ideological. According to this view in the urban space, a toponym has an ideological function that is its second nature, as much as the singularization of the space and its role in localization.

Commemorative names symbolize, therefore, the story that is wanted by a group. In São Paulo, then, there is currently a tension between two stories to be



preserved: one, consolidated, fruit of the will of a dominant group established in power for a long time; another, a historical vision rewritten by another dominant group recently established in power. Two stories of power, however with different actors.

3. The substitutions happening in the city of São Paulo

In a previous work (CARVALHINHOS–LIMA–HERNANDES 2019, in press), we observed only one “desire” of toponymic changes that was a natural consequence of two legal provisions: a law of 2013 and the Streets of Memory Program, which was to be instituted in August of 2015 in the city of São Paulo with the objective of realizing the recommendations proposed by the National Truth Commission. At the time, we studied documents relating to the military period (1964–1985) in São Paulo in the archives of the State Department of Political and Social order of São Paulo (Departamento Estadual de Ordem Política e Social de São Paulo – DEOPS).⁵ It is interesting to note that many of the political prisoners of that time are in public life today. Both the prisoners and the tortured and killed, as well as others who would have suffered violence of any kind, would be the most indicated to be honoured in streets of São Paulo and Brazil, as recommended by the National Truth Commission.⁶ The text that served as guideline to the Brazilian municipalities in the toponymic changes was the following: “49. With the same purpose of preserving memory, the CNV [National Truth Commission] proposes the annulment of measures that honoured authors of serious violations of human rights during the period of the military dictatorship. Among others, measures should be taken to [...] promote the alteration of the names of public places, public transport routes, buildings and public institutions of any nature, whether federal, state or municipal, which

⁵ This Body has changed its name several times over the years since its creation in 1938, during the New State (Estado Novo), when it was designated Department of Political and Social Order of São Paulo-DOPS: “The Political and Social Order Office was responsible for supervising the manufacture, importation, exportation, trade, employment or use of explosive materials; to supervise the entry and stay of foreigners, to institute, to prosecute, and to finalize investigations relating to facts; to inspect newspapers, magazines and advertising companies in general; to inspect hotels, inners and similar; to inspect airports, railway stations and highways; to carry out investigations on suspected persons, places where any change or attack against the order is presumed political and social; to organize day by day information bulletins of all services performed in the last 24 hours; and finally, to identify and to pronounce individuals suspected of crimes and contraventions that threaten the political and social order, organized in an appropriate binder, ‘in order to facilitate the statistical work of your movement and any and all investigations.’” (Text of Decree No. 9.893-B, of December 31, 1938, creating the Body).

⁶ In the Final Report of the National Truth Commission (2014), there is a volume with Conclusions and Recommendations. Among these is “[28] Preservation of the memory of serious violations against human rights” (Brasil 2014: 974), to which we refer in this text.

refer to public agents or individuals who have been committed to the practice of serious violations.” (Brasil 2014: 974).

According to what we verified in that moment (CARVALHINHOS–LIMA–HERNANDES 2019), “One of the strategies used in the Brazilian dictatorial period for the exaltation of dictatorial control and of the national order was, according to information from the current Secretariat of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Municipality of São Paulo, precisely the attribution of names of personalities linked to this dictatorial movement to public places. These names remained unchanged for at least two decades without people realizing they were a negative memory.”

Such facts reveal two stories. The first one is already told and it is present in the streets of São Paulo and Brazil. According to the Secretariat of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Municipality of São Paulo, it was the story of the former municipal administration (which ended on December 31, 2016), which exalted and somehow controlled the desired order during the military government.

The story that is intended to be told from the 21st century onwards and especially from the work of the National Truth Commission is what supporters of the Brazilian extreme right call “the history of the defeated”, who, from persecuted by the military regime came to power after 1985. The names of streets and other public bodies (schools, sports centres, public buildings) must be replaced, generally, from the torturers to those who have been tortured in the streets of São Paulo. The usual speech found in these documents is that of “historical reparation” (see note 9). According to AZARYAHU (2009), however, it is a question of erasing what was already there and inscribing a new story in the vision that interests the group currently in power.

In reference to the actions of the government of the city of São Paulo in recent years regarding specifically about these toponymic changes (because it is a fact that many changes take place daily for a variety of reasons), we mention again the Streets of Memory Program (Secretariat of Human Rights and Citizenship⁷ of the City of São Paulo, 13 August 2015), located within the scope of the National Human Rights Program. In the words of one of those responsible for the Streets of Memory, in official news of the City Hall, is the definition of the program: “The Streets of Memory is a clear expression that we will not tolerate

⁷ Also, this Secretariat was created under the same administration, which was of the Workers’ Party, a party that is considered to be socialist that has been in the Federal Government since 2003 and is going through an unprecedented political crisis since 2015. In 2016, a candidate was elected to the office of the São Paulo City Council who was never a politician but, like the US President Donald Trump, he had a career as a successful entrepreneur and media communicator and was nominated by an opposition party that is considered conservative and of right wing.



more tributes to symbols of authoritarianism in sites of our city. The removal of these tributes from public space represents a fundamental symbolic reparation to the victims of the State”, said Rogério Sottili, former deputy secretary of Human Rights and Citizenship, who created the action.

The program is based on the understanding that, in addition to serious violations of individuals and groups of people, the military dictatorship has oppressively interfered in the public arena in order to contain possible resistance outbreaks by forbidding political demonstrations and meetings. They thus barred the right to use these spaces, transforming the city into a simple space between home and work. Along the same lines, public places and facilities were named after public and civil officials who supported the authoritarian politics in power and who committed crimes against humanity, thus praising symbols of repression and promoting undemocratic values as references to new generations who circulate daily in the city.

According to the survey made by the coordination of Right to Memory and Truth [...], “there are at least 38 sites associated with the dictatorship, of which 22 are directly linked to the repression: dictators, torturers and heads of security services who served the repression.” (Prefeitura de São Paulo 2015)

In the 2016 elections, a politician of the opposition party was elected mayor of São Paulo, who took office on 1 January 2017. What can be noted then is an urgency to approve a legal device that guarantees the naming criteria to be followed in this particular case, that is, in streets that have as their name figures linked to political persecution, torture or even military institutions. It was approved on December 27, 2016 (four days before the new party took office in São Paulo) an ordinance⁸ with these criteria, or better, with a list of names to be honoured as substitutions.

Although the recommendation of the National Truth Commission and the Municipal Truth Commission suggest replacing anthroponyms referring to military or civilian personalities linked to torture and political persecution by the tortured or killed, or even by supporters of the movement against military in power, that wasn’t what really happened. The list of anthroponyms in the Human Rights Reference Database (the official name of the anthroponyms’ list to be entered in the substitutions) is a list of categories that exactly correspond to the coordinates of the Secretariat of Human Rights and Citizenship (São Paulo), which are: gender equality (6 names), racial equality (8 names), LGBT population (7 names), children and teenagers (5 names), alcohol and drug policies (2 names), youth (6 names), memory and truth (the only one directly

linked to the issue, 18 names), right to the city (2 names), homeless population (13 names), immigrants (3 names), decent work (3 names), people with disabilities and reduced mobility (3 names), human rights education (3 names), culture (7 names). The Article 3 (São Paulo 2016: 7) clarifies that “The Human Rights Reference Database, built based on nominations from various municipal government and civil society departments, may be extended at any time”, but it does not detail their criteria or responsible bodies.

The *Human Rights Reference Database*, which is a database of toponyms to be used in specific substitutions in places whose honourees belonged to the military period, has some interesting peculiarities of which we highlight only one that perfectly illustrates our point: across all categories of honourees, much of it is composed of black and afro-descendant names. The “historical compensation”⁹ is a motto of the Brazilian socialist left wing and it seems that this history that wants to be written with the new denominations walks in this line of thought, overlapping a socialist vision to the militarist vision, implicit in the names to be replaced, which puts into practice what AZARYAHU proposes in theory.

The 22 toponymic altered areas in the Streets of Memory Program (August 2015) are: 3 avenues (*Avenida General Ênio Pimentel da Silveira*, *Avenida General Golbery Couto e Silva* and *Avenida Presidente Castello Branco*), 4 squares (*Praça Augusto Rademaker Grunewald*, *Praça General Humberto de Souza Melo*, *Praça General Milton Tavares de Souza* and *Praça Ministro Alfredo Buzaid*), 2 overpasses and one elevated road (*Viaduto 31 de Março* and *Viaduto Governador Abreu Sodré*; *Elevado Presidente Arthur da Costa e Silva*) and 12 streets (*Rua 31 de Março*, *Rua Alberi Vieira dos Santos*, *Rua Alcides Cintra Bueno Filho*, *Rua Délio Jardim de Matos*, *Rua Governador Roberto*

⁹ The Law of Historical Compensation is an inheritance of the Russian communist thought, linked (although indirectly) to Lenin and Trotsky, of whom C.L.R. James was a follower. According to BEILHARZ (1987), C.L.R. James was a philosopher and activist of the Soviet cause, having published in the decades of 30 and 40 several critical studies. He was also a political supporter of the Pan African movement, to which the concept is also linked. SMITH (2010) clarifies that the concept of the law of historical compensation came from an almost enchanted state from reading a notebook of Lenin, in notes to the *Science of Logic*, by Hegel: “Such were specific instances of what James called, with his tongue somewhat in his cheek, ‘the law of historical compensation’ (1980 [1948]: 136). He had been struck by a small piece of marginalia left by Lenin in his notebook on Hegel’s *Science of Logic*. The comment reads only: ‘Leap. leap. Leap. Leap.’. This, for James, was the most inspiring shorthand for that understanding, which I have described, that ‘the ideal’ is discernible as a ‘concrete negation’ of what already is.” (2010: 67). This seems to be connected, in Hegel, with the critique of cosmology: “[...] a major interest in this discipline was the establishment of the so-called ‘universal cosmological laws’ like, for instance, that there is no ‘leap’ in nature. ‘Leap’ here means the same as qualitative difference and qualitative change, which appear as non-mediatized, whereas that which is gradual (qualitative) presents on the contrary as something mediatized” (Hegel [1830] 1995: 97).



Costa Abreu Sodré, Rua Hely Lopes de Meirelles, Rua Henning Boilesen, Rua Dr. Mário Santalucia, Rua Octávio Gonçalves Moreira Junior, Rua Olímpio Mourão Filho, Rua Senador Filinto Muller and Rua Sérgio Fleury).

The former honourees and the honourees that are still present in the São Paulo toponymy, which was the reason for this change, have developed countless activities during the military period, whether military or civilian. These personalities worked on various organs and fronts:¹⁰ Former Information Operations Detachment of the Internal Defence Operations Centre (DOI-CODI), repressor body of the Brazilian Military Regime (1964–1985); and also members of the Brazilian Armed Forces. It's also possible to find personalities honoured as executive collaborators at various levels during the Military Period: in the Legal Medical Institute, in financing equipment and actions, in the way prisoners were dealt with (inquiries, taking statements and means to obtain them, such as coercion and torture). Knowing their biographies, one makes contact with the obscure side of this twenty-year period, but only at that moment of decoding: in the act of identifying the place, it is just another place name for the passer-by, anthroponymic toponym. In other words, as AZARYAHU (2009) has proposed and was already mentioned, the primary function is kept in these odonyms, denoted and utilitarian, which is superimposed on the secondary function, connotative and symbolic.

Until the present date (August of 2017), only 3 have been changed within this program: *Avenida General Golbery do Couto e Silva*, now *Avenida Giuseppe Benito Pegoraro* (changed by Ordinary Law 16.524/2016), *Rua Alcides Cintra Bueno Filho*, now *Rua Zilda Arns* (Law No. 16.628, April 11, 2017) and the most controversial of all, the current *Elevado Presidente João Goulart* (formerly *Elevado Presidente Arthur da Costa e Silva*), popularly known as *Minhocão* (which means, in English, “Big Worm”, a reference to the extension of this high-line).

We analysed the legal history of the names in these 22 places; only one of them does not present any data. It is interesting to observe that only few of them were named when the military period was at its peak (Figure 1), only 19%:

¹⁰ It is not our goal to describe each of the honourees in the denominations and determine their actions, so we suggest the interested reader to search the sites in São Paulo's Dictionary of Streets: <http://www.dicionarioderuas.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/PaginasPublicas/Introducao.aspx> (accessed on July 15 of 2017).

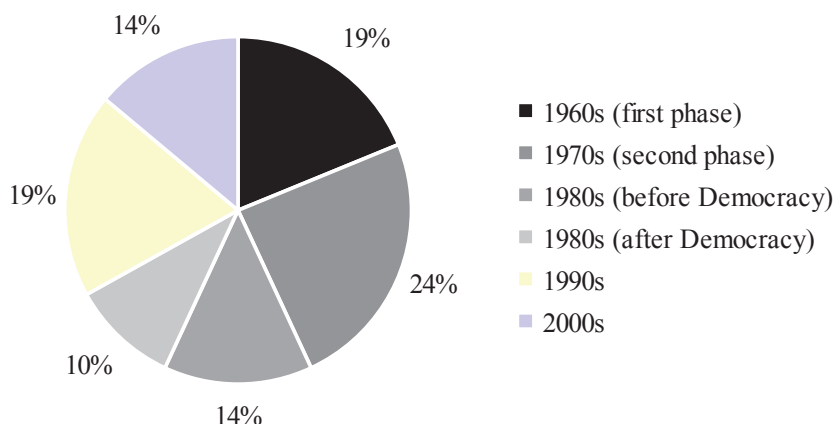


Figure 1: Year/decade of the naming of sites related to tributes to military personnel and sympathizers in São Paulo from 1964 to 2000

Considering the entire period of military government (1964–1985), the chart shows in black and grey (black 1960s, dark grey 1970s and grey 1980s before Democracy) 57% of denominations, but it is curious to note that even after the installation of democracy in 1985 (light grey, yellow and lilac), many denominations were made using the same personalities of the military regime in the tributes, making a total of 43% – a relatively high percentage. Obviously, the numbers refer only to this small sample and perhaps an overall analysis within the (65,000) public places may reveal other statistics.

Despite the progress in the discussion since the launch of the Streets of Memory Program, only 3 names (one of them of great impact, as previously mentioned) have been substituted and 2 are in the process of being processed in the City Council of São Paulo. 77% thus remain unchanged, as evidenced by Figure 2.

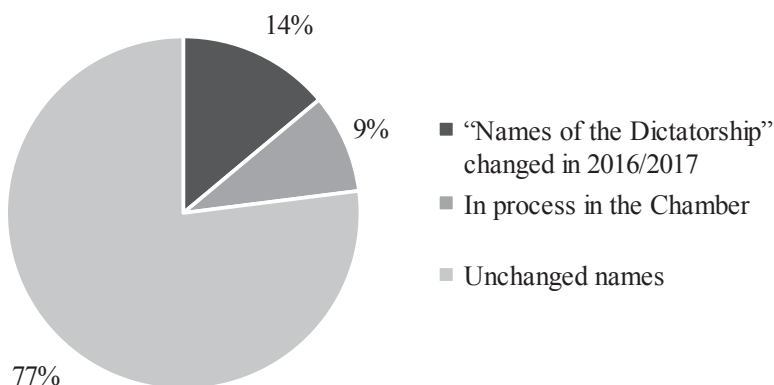


Figure 2: Status of the proposed amendments – names referring to personalities linked to the military period replaced by the tortured or anti-militarism activists



Another interesting data to consider is what kind of toponym was replaced when they paid tribute to militarism, both during the military period and after 1985. Of the 22 names analysed, one is difficult to identify in case of substitution because it is an express way composed of five avenues and popularly known as *Marginal do Tietê*. One of these avenues is in the replacement plan (*Avenida Presidente Castello Branco*); the great strength of spontaneous denomination seems to make the change innocuous.

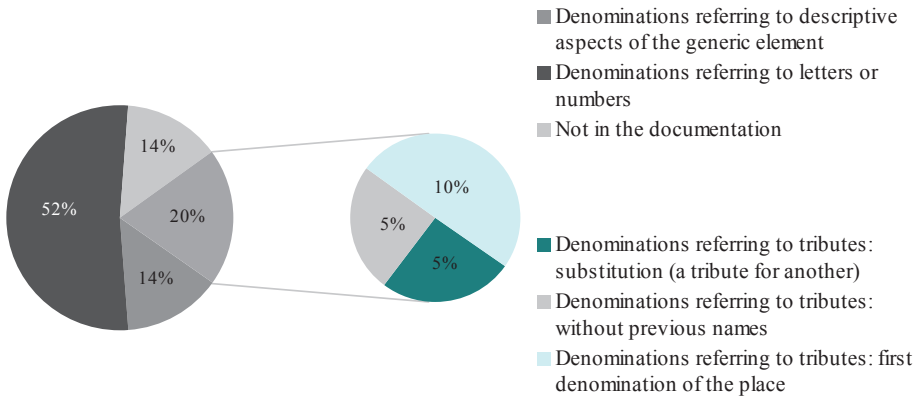


Figure 3: Previous motivations – public places replaced with names of tribute between 1964–2000

Most of the changes made in the period under consideration, including the period of military government, replaced alphabetic or numerical names (52%). It is worth remembering that the period is part of the time when the city of São Paulo had to establish criteria to regularize repeated or insufficient denominations for identification because of the high number of sites that were emerging and made official.¹¹ Some of the changes (only 14%) refer to descriptive names of the street (“Private Passage”, “Left Auxiliary Avenue of the Tietê and Ring Road”, “Left Marginal Avenue of the Tietê River”). The same percentage (14%) refers to unidentified changes in documentation and 20% refer to tributes. Of these,

¹¹ In 1973, a commission was created to solve the problem of 20,000 irregular or repeatedly named sites. A database of names was developed to meet this demand as well as the demand of the following years. Denominational options were listed from A to Z by the commission members and the trainees (who were given days off by the number of names suggested), who searched in libraries and other possible sources for names – songs, states, countries, cities, geographic elements, cultural objects, people. For further information about these facts please consult Prefeitura de São Paulo 2017 (references).

only 5% makes the substitution of a tribute for another: *Praça Pérola Byington*¹² (from 1964 to 1974) to *Praça General Humberto de Souza Melo*.

On the other hand, the current changes (those already in use and the proposals) have the purpose to replace old tributes by new tributes in 100%, which in the motivational plane maintains the denomination as anthroponymic – in the symbolic plane however, the militarism still persists in a certain way: the torturer is replaced by the tortured. Nonetheless, the intention of the program is to teach the “never again”. However, they forget that the primary function of the toponym is stronger than its symbolic function, at least on a day to day basis.

4. Final considerations

The dichotomous positioning of the Paulistanos regarding these changes reflects the clash between right and left wing that took Brazil about five years ago. The most striking toponymic change we referred to was the flagship of the Streets of Memory Program, which proposed to change at its launch the name of two important downtown areas: the *31 de Março* overpass and the *Elevado Presidente Artur Costa e Silva* (already changed in 2016).

In the Bill, the name *31 de Março* would be replaced by *Therezinha Zerbini*. The city has many important main avenues which motivations are historical or of important dates: *Avenida 9 de Julho*, *Avenida 23 de Maio* (which is one of the north-south axis), *Rua Sete de Abril* and *Rua 25 de Março* (an important popular shopping centre). On a daily basis however, the São Paulo citizen (or those who adopted São Paulo as a city, immigrants and migrants) does not know what is celebrated on those dates: the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932¹³ (in the figure of the avenues *9 de Julho* and *23 de Maio*, which are dates related to the revolution),¹⁴ the abdication of D. Pedro I in favour of his son D.

¹² We find ourselves in a mess here: there is today in São Paulo the *Praça Pérola Byington* in the *Bela Vista* borough (the *Praça General Humberto de Souza Melo* is located in the *Belenzinho* borough), because of the hospital of the same name (formerly named *Pró-Cruzada Infantil* Hospital, which was renamed in 1963 and is currently known by the spontaneous name of “Women’s Hospital”). This square, which besides the name has a bust in honour of *Pérola Byington*, is not included in the São Paulo Dictionary of Streets, nor did we locate the decree of 1963 for which it would have been named.

¹³ Being almost an echo of the current Brazilian situation, the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932 was an armed movement occurred in the state of São Paulo. In 1930, there was a coup: the legitimately elected president, Julio Prestes, was prevented from taking office and his defeated opponent, Getúlio Vargas, took over. The São Paulo revolution had the purpose of overthrowing Getúlio Vargas and establishing a constituent assembly for the drafting of a new Constitution.

¹⁴ The justification of the bill for naming the avenue *23 de Maio*, which extends itself over the Itororó Creek says: “The great date of 23 May 1932, which marked the reconquest of the



Pedro de Alcântara (Pedro II) on April 7, 1831) or the promulgation of the first Brazilian constitution on March 25, 1824. Similarly, the common Paulistano has no idea that the *31 de Março* Overpass celebrates the time of the installation of militarism in power in 1964. The replacement Bill was proposed by the former mayor of São Paulo (Fernando Haddad, 2013–2016) and is still in the City Hall. The text of the bill says it has the purpose of “[...] to pay a just homage from the city of São Paulo to the recently deceased Therezinha Zerbini, due to her brilliant and exemplary performance as a human rights activist, in the social movements of resistance to the dictatorship that followed the military coup begun on March 31, 1964, as well as in the fight for the amnesty of prisoners and political exiles due to the regime of exception established in Brazil at that time. [...] the present tribute intends to remove from the overpass in question the allusion to the date of 31 March of 1964, considered as the milestone of the coup that started the military dictatorship.” (HADDAD 2015: 1).

The former *Elevado Presidente Artur Costa e Silva* and current *Elevado Presidente João Goulart*, denomination that was changed in 2016, has always divided opinions because of the impact it caused. The high-line connects the centre of the city to the *Barra Funda* district and is more than three kilometres long, passing a few meters from the buildings around it.

Built in 1969, its popular denomination was installed even before its construction: *Minhocão*, a metaphorical allusion to its format and extension. There is currently a debate about its demolition. The toponymic change has caused much controversy, and the reactions on the news reflect how these changes are being viewed from a political point of view.¹⁵ However, the fact is that the Paulistano seldom used the old denomination or will ever use the current one, for *Minhocão* is a term so dear for being spontaneous and descriptive that it will not be abandoned. Perhaps this fact will soften the connotative function of the official name of João Goulart. According to GILL (2005: 480–481), the symbolic function is “help to locate people spiritually by linking geographical

autonomy of São Paulo in the face of the dictatorship, does not yet have in the city a just commemorative sign of a street, avenue or square. [...] *Avenida 23 de Maio* will be very well next to its twin sister, *Avenida 9 de Julho*, forming a vertex in *Praça das Bandeiras*, a V that will speak to the soul of São Paulo, symbolizing the victory of São Paulo” (dating from 1954) (Prefeitura de São Paulo 2017). On May 23, 1932, students who became involved in the confrontation were killed. From the acronym of their names (Martins, Miragaia, Dráusio and Camargo), MMDC, emerged the banner of the revolutionaries.

¹⁵ It is not our goal to explore these comments, but we would like to point out to the reader some news that may expose this dichotomy, such as the one entitled: “Law changing the name of *Minhocão* to *Elevado João Goulart* is sanctioned”, <http://g1.globo.com/sao-paulo/noticia/2016/07/lei-que-muda-nome-do-minhocao-para-elevado-joao-goulart-e-sancionada.html>, accessed on 30 of June of 2017.

location and space with the legitimating structures of that community and its regime”.

Considering the turbulent political moment in Brazil, the toponymic changes determining the substitution of names consolidated by others are seen by a portion of the population as a political retaliation and by another portion as a necessary action for the education of future generations.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in 2017, in the administration of another mayor, there was a toponymic change within the proposed terms and one change that was at least strange: the *Ponte das Bandeiras* became *Ponte das Bandeiras Senador Romeu Tuma*. Contrary to the recommendations of the National Commission of Truth, the São Paulo bridge honours (although moderately, as its former name was kept)¹⁶ the ex-senator, who was also director of the extinct Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS), which was an organ of repression between the years of 1966 and 1983.

According to GILL (2005: 481), the replacement of symbols in a regime change is important as a problem in order to generate its legitimacy (in this case, the change of the party in power): “[...] commemorative place names help to legitimate existing power structures by linking the regime’s view of itself, its past, and the world, with the seemingly mundane settings of everyday life; [...] the regime’s legitimating symbols are interwoven with daily life in a routinized, almost unnoticed, fashion through place names. [...] Public space is given particular meaning by the names attached to it. [...] They turn the landscape into a world structured by the legitimating myths and symbols of the regime, projecting a particular view of the past and present onto that landscape. Collective memory is moulded and contemporary location defined by the symbolism of the regime reflected in commemorative place names. [...] This means that the symbolism of place names may be even more important than the other, and more commonly recognized, types of symbols: people come into direct contact with place names every day and they gain their orientation from those place names, which means that the symbols have an immediate practical reality for the populace in the way that, for example, flags and anthems do not. People’s geographic space is defined and structured in terms of the categories that the regime considers important and that help to legitimate the regime itself. In this sense, the symbolism involved in place names is fundamental to the successful restructuring of society.”

Only time will tell in Brazil if the ideological clash extended to the toponymic symbols will in fact shape a progressive collective memory that learns from the mistakes of the past or if it will only erase a period of its history.

¹⁶ About the compound denominations of this type, see LIMA-CARVALHINHOS 2018.

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Abstract

Important changes in urban toponymy have been taking place in recent years in many Brazilian cities. However, Brazil does not have toponymy committees, and members of the legislative power present bills, many of which have little logic, whereby toponyms are changed. São Paulo follows this pattern, and we will check how street names are replaced. This often happens so suddenly and without the foreknowledge of the population that it displeases the people. We will discuss the forced erasure of a difficult historical moment for Brazil, the military dictatorship of the 1960s. The National Truth Commission has been clarifying the crimes committed throughout the dictatorship period, and one of the results is the replacement the names of public spaces that were “paying homage” to figures connected to acts of torture by the names of those who were tortured or fought against the military dictatorship. Nevertheless, far from pleasing the population, these replacements have not been seen favourably. This paper discusses some of these alterations, the ensuing controversies, analysing the extent to which they interfere in the location of an individual in the city, and examines the use of the odonyms as a tool for slow, but permanent ideological manipulation.

Keywords: São Paulo toponymy, Brazilian urban toponymy, odonyms, politics and ideology

Place names based on personal names form a specific category among toponyms, i.e. names of objects on the land surface cartographically set on the maps. For historians, the most interesting names feature an honorifying motif, i.e. commemoration of an important personality (KŘÍŽOVÁ–MARTÍNEK et al. 2017). Their use and reasons for their application changed over the time much as the types of the named objects. The most frequent example in this respect includes naming of residences or castles, while the development of the urban society – especially over the past two centuries – was increasingly reflected in urbanonyms, i.e. names of the streets, squares, orchards and objects in the towns in general. In the most recent period, the names have also reflected on the current ideology, thus becoming an important tool in its promotion (DAVID 2011, BUCHER 2015).

Naming of places after the personalities dates back to Ancient Greece where we can find examples such as Filippopolis (today's Plovdiv) or all the various Alexandrias, which Alexander of Macedon (356–323 BC) named and which have survived up to now in rare cases. According to the mythology, Rome was named after Romulus, its founder, and many colonies established in the whole empire were named after the king or his close relatives. For example, today's Cologne, established as *Colonia Ubiorum*, was renamed to *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* in the year 50 AD to honour Empress Agrippina Jr., the local native. Renaming of Rome to *Colonia Lucia Annia Commodiana* by the insane Emperor Commodus in 192 was quite unusual. However, the emperor was murdered at the end of the same year and the city became Rome again. In a contrast, Constantinople, which Constantine the Great († 337) named after himself, is still bearing the emperor and founder's name, though in a word modified by Turkish.

Many names derived from personal names are also documented from the Middle Ages and modern times. There are a number of locations named after the Emperor and King of Bohemia Charles IV († 1378; Sigismund, the important King of Hungary, was his son), especially the Karlštejn Castle, then Kašperk, Karlovy Vary or the less known castles of Karlsfried near Zittau and Karlsburg in the Olomouc region. Charles' names of Karlskrone (Radyně) or Karlshaus (a hunting castle Hrádek near Purkarec) did not survive (ŠMAHEL–BOBKOVÁ 2012: 358). In fact, most European countries have place names with similar features from this period: a significant group of "royal" names originated in Scandinavia where the monarchs richly named locations representing the

still important points on the network of settlements – for example Danish Fredriksborg, Swedish Karlstad and Karlskrona or Norwegian Kristiania (today's Oslo) and Kristiansand.

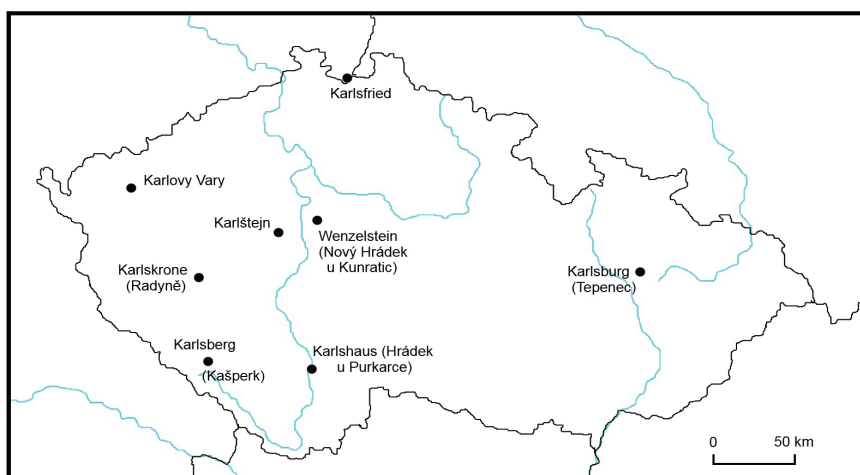


Figure 1: Places in the Czech Lands, named after Charles IV
(Map © Jiří Martínek)

Naming of objects (lands, islands, mountains, etc.) during expeditions had a different character, but de facto the same effect. Also in these cases, the travellers often used names of the living persons, mostly the monarchs, but also other personalities or even their associates or patrons. In this way, the *Philippines* (named after the Spanish king Philip II) or the *Victoria Falls* appeared on the map (the explorer David Livingstone honoured his Queen Victoria, much like John H. Speke who named *Lake Victoria* shortly afterwards). *Franz Josef Land* in the Arctic Ocean was named after the monarch in 1873 by the cartographer and polar explorer Julius Payer, who was born in Bohemia.

Official rules for naming objects after personalities were established gradually and without uniformity. A system of naming objects after the living personalities only exceptionally and in especially merited cases did not become stabilized until the 20th century. Although they are no longer erased from the maps and we can still encounter naming after living personalities (e.g. Lech Wałęsa Airport in Polish Gdańsk, or, in the U.S.A., for example Ronald Reagan Airport in Washington and George Bush Airport in Dallas), it is not a mass phenomenon. However, this fact did not apply to the two totalitarian regimes in Europe, Nazism and Communism in the 20th century where naming of the objects and even the whole towns frequently reflected direct promotion of the person's own self.



Over the years, Nazism (we use this simplified term for the regime in Germany connected with Adolf Hitler in the 1930s and 1940s) built up its own ideology

based on the Führer principle. The “Führer” most frequently appeared on the maps of Germany and the subjugated countries: for example, the main square or one of the most important streets. In Germany, it was the *Rathausplatz* in Hamburg or the Nuremberg *Hauptmarkt*, *Rynek* in Krakow, *Piotrkowska Street* in Łódź or the Warsaw *Plac Saski* (now Piłsudskiego) and similar names are documented in Riga or Tartu in Estonia. Incidentally, no square was named after A. Hitler in Prague – allegedly, he did not wish it. Curiously, there is no documented town of Hitlerstadt (or similar), although there was the name of Führerstadt given to some of the most important cities, but in the form of an honorary title rather than renaming (perhaps except for the planned “Führerstadt Linz”).¹

Other Nazi leaders appeared in the names of streets, towns or other geographical objects much more rarely and on a “lower” level – not in the names of towns, but streets, etc. Hermann Göring came into the awareness especially thanks to the complex of industrial plants referred to as *Hermann-Göring-Werke*, while Heinrich Himmler was satisfied with renaming the Polish town of Zamość to *Himmlerstadt*. Reinhard Heydrich appeared on the map of Prague in one of the main embankments after his assassination in the spring of 1942. Yet, sometimes we can find an example of a large number of living persons’ names in the streets. The particularly active town in this respect was Ústí nad Labem, where *Dr. Joseph-Goebbels-Strasse*, *Hermann-Göring-Brücke*, but also *Konrad-Henlein-Platz* or *Hans-Krebs-Strasse* can be documented. In Ostrava-Vítkovice, *Baldur-von-Schirach-Park* was named after the leader of Hitlerjugend.

To anchor the ideology in the minds of ordinary citizens, the personal names were used even more frequently in the Soviet Union and later its satellite states (MARTÍNEK 2010). There was a cult of the supreme leader, in this case Lenin and Stalin, but the names soon covered also the lower ranking representatives, especially in the older period when the names of the living as well as dead personalities appeared. The original names (and also the local realia in line with the creators’ ideas), whether based on the German language, connected with the Tsar’s family or inspired by a saint, disappeared from the map, being substituted by marking of a “new, better” society.

The names of the towns started the change shortly after a series of revolutions in 1917. First of all, names referring to the Tzar’s family started to disappear: Tsarskoye Selo changed into Detskoye Selo (meaning Children’s Village), Yekaterinodar became Krasnodar (1920) after being conquered by the Red Guard and other names also gradually disappeared (for example, Novonikolayevsk became Novosibirsk in 1925). The places also started to acquire new names after the fallen fighters for the victorious revolution (for example Makhachkala

¹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architektur_in_der_Zeit_des_Nationalsozialismus#Linz.

or Stepanakert). While Lenin's name appeared on the maps after his death (Saint Petersburg became Leningrad five years after his death on 26 January 1924), some others had themselves immortalized still during their lives. The first was probably L. D. Trotsky after whom the town of Gatchina (south of Saint Petersburg) was called Trotsk in 1923 for some time. In 1924, Yelisavetgrad in the Ukraine was renamed Zinovyevsk after its native representative in the Politburo (later Kirovohrad, now Kropyvnytskyi), Yuzovka (or Hughezovka after the founder and factory owner Hughes – Russian [yuz]) became Stalino and one year later, Tsaritsyn on the Volga River was renamed Stalingrad, etc.

This process, which can be called “transfer of the politics to the map”, accelerated with the growth of Stalin's power mainly in the 1930s. Some other persons of merit appeared on the map (Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Ordzhonikidze) and many large towns became renamed – Nizhny Novgorod became Gorky after the famous writer, Samara became Kuybyshev, Vyatka became Kirov, Yekaterinburg was renamed to Sverdlovsk – in many cases, the names involved persons who were subsequently revealed as “traitors” and sentenced or right away executed, so the town was renamed again. Trotsk or Zinovyevsk, but also Kabakov, Sulimov, Mirzoyan or Baumanabad vanished quickly. In some cases, the politician was even revealed as a “traitor” and executed before the renaming was enough (Tambov – Tuchachevsk).

There were extreme cases when a location changed up to five names over ten years. For example, one Ciscaucasian town on the Terek River was called Batalpashinskaya up to 1931, Batalpashinsk in 1931–34, Sulimov in 1934–37, Yezhovo-Cherkessk in 1937–39 and finally Cherkessk since 1939 up to now. In the Urals, the same place was called Nadezhdinsk up to 1934, Kabakovsk in 1934–37, again Nadezhdinsk in 1937–39 and Serov since 1939 up to now. (The flyer A. K. Serov was already dead, so the name survived up to the present.) Many names were really only ephemeral and it is a question how they could actually have got into the real use. Hypothetically, these endless changes could have been a part of secrecy policy of the USSR, which obstructed orientation of foreigners and the Soviet citizens on the territory.

This process stopped in the early 1940s not because of exhaustion of the worthy persons, but especially because of World War II, which cost the Soviet Union twenty-eight million lives, but also demanded many new names on the map during its course and after it. For example, some of the “less meritorious” towns, which lost their honourable names after liberation, were renamed: Ordzhonikidze became Charagauli (1944), Voroshilov in the Ciscaucasus returned to the original Stavropol, Krasnogvardeysk near Leningrad of course did not return to Trotsk, but the tsarist Gatchina was “granted a pardon”. During the war and after its end, the German city names became widely changed especially in the newly annexed South Prussia (Königsberg – Kaliningrad,

Insternburg – Chernyakhovsk, Trakehnen – Yasnaya Polyana) and in other areas. For example, Oranienbaum in the Leningrad agglomeration became Lomonosov regardless of the circumstances concerning establishment of this name. The maps were supplemented with the names of heroes including some of the field marshals (but only very exceptionally the living and active, such as Zhukov or Konev, while the incompetent Budyonny remained!). The names of the worthy persons continued to appear on the map, though more slowly, although more frequently after their death: Shcherbakov (previously and now Rybinsk) in 1946 or Zhdanov (Mariupol) in 1948, etc. All the more, however, the cult of Stalin grew and extended to the satellite states where the great generalissimo's name was given to Katowice, Varna, Braşov or Gerlachov Peak and even the entire new towns such as today's Eisenhüttenstadt or Dunaújváros. (Paradoxically: Sztalinváros was one of the main centres of resistance against the Soviet invasion in 1956.) Otherwise, names of towns in the East European countries were renamed relatively sporadically, although there are such examples (Karl-Marx-Stadt, Gottwaldov, Dimitrovgrad), quite a lot of names in Yugoslavia, especially after Josip Broz-Tito and some of his cooperators or guerrilla leaders. However, the street names experienced much greater turbulence.



Figure 2: Some places in Central and Southeast Europe, named after Communist leaders (Map © Jiří Martínek)

Slow but sure changes occurred in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death in March 1953. The most notorious politicians quickly disappeared, Khrushchev beat Malenkov in the struggle for power and the new Secretary General gave a non-public speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1956 in which he revealed Stalin's cult of personality. During one or two years, some names referring to Stalin's minions disappeared (e.g. Molotov – Perm, while Vyacheslav Molotov did not die until 1986!) together with some other historical names (Chkalov became Orenburg again) and slowly but surely, even Stalin himself disappeared – although Stalingrad did not change into Volgograd until 1961. Naming of places after the living persons disappeared almost entirely according to the resolution of the Supreme Soviet in 1957: an attempt to name a newly established town (for people moving from the Dnieper River flooded by the Kremenchuk Reservoir) in the name of Nikita Khrushchev was stopped and the town of Khrushchev became Kremgres in 1962 and Svitlavadsk in 1969. (This fact also corresponds with the attitude in Czechoslovakia where the names of Malenkovgrad or Zápotockýgrad appeared in the public enquiry of 1955, but finally the neutral Havířov, meaning the “town of the miners”, prevailed; cf. DAVID 2011: chapter 5.)

The renaming continued under Khrushchev's successor, the four-time hero of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev. The persons of merit were not forgotten: when K. J. Voroshilov died in 1970, the town of Lugansk became Voroshilovgrad again (the name from 1935–57) and Budyonnovsk (Prikumsk in 1957–73) returned to the honorary name after the legendary field marshal. There was even an effort to name places with certain motivation. Thus, the town of Gzhatsk, a centre of a district where the first cosmonaut of the world J. A. Gagarin was born and where he went to school, was named after him in 1968, immediately after his death. In fact, the cosmonauts were an exception and the streets were named after them shortly after their successful flights: for example, the previous (and present) Koblišná Street in Brno was named after Gagarin already on 14 April 1961 and in some other names, the condition regarding the dead persons is still breached. For example, there is Leonov Street and Tereshkova Street in Karviná (near Ostrava, close to the Polish border). Both cosmonauts are still alive...

An interesting feature is naming of towns after representatives of the communist regimes in the satellite states: Melekes on the Volga River became Dimitrovgrad in 1972, Zmiiv in the Ukraine was called Gotvald in 1976–90 after the former Czechoslovak president (by the way, it is the regional town of Sokolovo, which is known for heroic fight of the Czechoslovak troops in WW II). The legendary example of Tolyatti on the Volga River acquired its still existing name after a leader of the Communist Party of Italy when a large plant for car manufacture under the FIAT licence was built there.



Figure 3: Tereshkova Street in Karviná, April 2017
(Photo © Vojtěch Szajkó)

Also Brezhnev (but only after his death) appeared on the map with the name of a town (Naberezhnye Chelny) together with his short-lived successors Andropov (Rybinsk) and Chernenko (Sharypovo in Siberia). However, the names of the secretaries on the maps, much like the entire Soviet empire started to cloud over. From the beginning of perestroika introduced by M. S. Gorbachev shortly after his arrival in the mid-1980s, the most infamous names (Brezhnev, Andropov, Ustinov) started to decline gradually and carefully (MURRAY 2000). There was a greater wave of changes in 1989, although the public announcement was realized gradually: Ordzhonikidze became Vladikavkaz again, Kuybyshev became Samara and Gorky was changed into Nizhny Novgorod again. Important historical towns mostly returned to their former names: the original proposal calculated with about twenty locations, but some of them, for example Sovetsk (the historic Tilsit from the Napoleonic wars) have finally their names from the communist period up to now. The name of Saint Petersburg was separately changed into the original name in a referendum (symbolically on November 7th, 1991).

After the fall of the communist bloc, a significant part of names coming from the totalitarian regime disappeared in most of the countries. In some places, *everything* Soviet was removed (for example in Poland or the Baltic region, where it was probably the most radical, but the so called Decommunisation

Laws of 9 April 2015 demands a similar approach even in the Ukraine), in other places only the names of the most infamous persons were removed and the names of the living persons were practically all removed. There are more Soviet relics remaining in Russia and also in the Ukraine, especially in its eastern part. However, the renaming is not always sufficiently thorough – although Sverdlovsk in the Urals became Yekaterinburg, the local central station is still called Sverdlovsk Passazhirski and the area is called Sverdlovskaya still in 2017.

Extreme situations occur in the conflict areas where the naming again becomes a weapon in the hands of one of the groups. In Croatia, the president and leader of the nation in the war with Serbia Franjo Tuđman thus appeared on the map in 1991 where his name was used for a large bridge in Dubrovnik. In the town of Trogir, the main street was named *Kohla Genschera* according to German politicians (still fully active at that time) who had their merit in Croatian independence. (These experiments were resolved by the time – Tuđman died in 1999, and Trogir street was silently renamed to simple Jadranka, instead of the name of the German politicians.) We can find similar names in other countries, too. For example in Tbilisi, Georgia (not in eastern Europe, but politically similar), one of the important streets bears the name of the American president George W. Bush Jr. Nevertheless, Georgian legislation requires that the person named after it be dead for at least 25 years: this rule was also violated in Tbilisi by other people who are named after streets or squares – for example Heydar Aliyev or Václav Havel. There is *Rruga Xhorxh W. Bush* in the Albanian town of Kazëm, but also *Rruga Silvio Berluskoni* and *Rruga Nikolas Sarkozy*. In a contrast, the name of *V. V. Putin Street* was used in Grozny, Chechnya or Simferopol.

Conclusions

One of the elements in which political regimes (including those in Central and Eastern Europe) strengthened their position in the public space was the naming of locations – streets, squares, or even entire cities. These tendencies have been known since antiquity and the Middle Ages, but culminated in the 20th century. But there are significant differences between the regimes: while in the democratic ones, except in the democratic ones, they are named after death or at the end of life (e.g. Ronald Reagan Airport in Washington), the names of the living, including current politicians, are also applied in totalitarian regimes. While in Nazi Germany the name of Adolf Hitler clearly dominated, and only occasionally other leaders, the Communist regime in the USSR commonly used the names of current officials (Stalin, Molotov, but many of the executed politicians) or renamed just after death (Brezhnev). After the fall of the regime,

decomunization took place, somewhere complete (Central Europe, the Baltic States, but now Ukraine too), else weaker (especially Russia).

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Abstract

Twentieth-century history of Central and Eastern Europe meant not only changes in people's lives or appearance and disappearance of countries, but also many changes in place names (e.g. urbanonyms). The most striking such changes were in countries with totalitarian regimes, especially in the USSR (and its successor states), but also in Germany and the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, from Poland to Bulgaria and Albania.



The names have changed not only the streets and squares, but also cities, often several times (e.g. Voroshilovgrad / Luhansk). Most of the names are changed in the 30s (USSR) and 50s (other Communist states) years, while at the end of the communist era was situation already considerably. The frequency change of names was different in countries, and even in their parts, e.g. in the USSR (little change in the Baltics versus almost renamed Armenia). Only in the USSR was renamed several hundred locations, while in other Soviet satellites was renamed streets more than cities.

Paper (written by a historian and geographer, not a linguist) briefly characterizes the most significant changes. Especially are monitored names after the political (including living) figures, depending on the different eras of history, often personalized by their leaders.

Keywords: changing of geographical names, Central and Eastern Europe, 20th century

Hirofumi Nakaba–Toyomi Nakaba

***Naming Method of Tunnels in Japanese Expressways:
A 2016 study of tunnel names in Noetsu Expressway
between Toyama and Ishikawa Prefectures of Japan's main
island***

1. Introduction

We present our 2016 study of tunnel names in Japanese Expressway, through our research specifically focused on 19 tunnels in Noetsu Expressway, which connect Toyama Prefecture, our home and study field of place names, and its west neighbour, Ishikawa Prefecture. Both are situated in the centre of Japan's main island facing the Sea of Japan, about 400 km northwest of Tokyo. We will introduce the naming method of tunnels in Japanese Expressways, by taking an example of Noetsu Expressway where this study was conducted. Based on this research of tunnel names, our aim in this paper is to answer questions such as: What is the basis and process of naming? What do the names derive from? Who determines the final names?

The method we introduce in this study remain an example of naming method applied to the tunnels in Japanese Expressway (to be specific, the entire Noetsu Expressway runs from West of Toyama, starting at Oyabe Tonami Junction in Tonami City on to Oyabe City, Takaoka City, Himi City through the prefectural border to Wajima Interchange in Wajima City, Ishikawa Prefecture. Its total length is 117km. However, the part construction between Nanao City, Anamizu Town on to Wajima City is yet to be completed. Our 2016 research on 19 tunnels covered the completed part between Oyabe Tonami Junction in Tonami City and Nanao Interchange in Nanao City, the part currently in service. Therefore, we must add that this paper is a preliminary essay.

1.1. A brief geographical facts of Japan, a role of tunnels in Japanese Expressways

Japan is an Arc-shaped chain of islands off the coast of the eastern end of the Eurasian Continent or a coastal region of northwest Pacific Ocean. Total area: 377,972 km². Mountain area: 70% of total area, woodland area: 67% of mountain area. In such terrain, expressways allow an efficient form of transport across the country, therefore, construction of tunnels is essential for enhancing the expressway network operation in Japan.

1.2. Tunnel names change from “Tentative Names” to “Official Names”

Early stage construction: tunnels are initially called by simple tentative names, for the sake of convenience of carrying out the construction. This will enhance efficiency of construction term in both cost and man-power.

Later stage construction: a few months prior to completion, consideration of official tunnel names is concurrently activated amongst the offices of National, Regional, Municipal and the local residents.

1.3. The location and route of Noetsu Expressway

Toyama and Ishikawa Prefectures are situated in the centre of Japan’s main island. Noetsu Expressway connects the two Prefectures from its starting point Oyabe Tonami Junction in Tonami City (west of Toyama), Oyabe City, Takaoka City, Himi City, through to Ishikawa’s Noto Peninsula via Nanao City, Anamizu Town, on to the ending point of Wajima Interchange in Wajima City. Its total length is 117km when the whole route is completed.

Historically (over 1,000 years ago), Ishikawa Prefecture was called *Noto* country and Toyama Prefecture was called *Etchu* country. The name *No-Etsu* of NOETSU EXPRESSWAY derives from both historical country names combining the two symbolic Chinese characters; *No* and *Etsu*.

1.4. The Research of 19 tunnels in Noetsu Expressway

The subject 19 tunnels start from Takaoka Ikari Tunnel near the Takaoka North IC in Toyama through to Nanao Tunnel near the Nanao Joyama IC in Ishikawa. The research objectives were: a) who is responsible for naming?; b) naming procedure; c) naming grounds and origins.

2. Noetsu Expressway and its 19 tunnels between Takaoka North IC and Nanao Joyama IC

This chapter describes the first half of the tunnel naming process, focusing on Tentative Names.

2.1. Structure of Administering Offices of Expressways and Tunnels

Expressways and tunnels in Japan are administered by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT). Its national function is divided into Regional Development Bureaus. Noetsu Expressway runs through Toyama and Ishikawa Prefectures. Both belong to Hokuriku Region, which also includes Ishikawa’s west neighbour Fukui Prefecture. The administering office for the three Prefectures is called “Hokuriku Regional Development Bureau”, which

has three subsidiary offices in respective Prefecture directly administering the local expressways and tunnels.

National Office – MLIT; Regional Office – Hokuriku Regional Development Bureau; Prefectural Office – Toyama/Ishikawa/Fukui Offices of River and National Highway.

Below is the list of 19 tunnels between Takaoka North IC through to Nanao Joyama IC; 15 of which belong to Toyama side and 4 to Ishikawa side.¹

No.	Prefecture	City	Admin. Office	Tentative Tunnel Name	Official Tunnel Name	Tunnel Length (m)
1	Toyama	Takaoka	TORNH	Himi No.1	Takaoka Ikari	750
2	Toyama	Takaoka	TORNH	Himi No.2	Ebisaka	1531
3	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.3	Kojiro	323
4	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.4	Shoboji	233
5	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.5	Nakaoyama	716
6	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.6	Ebisuyama	360
7	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.7	Hinomaruyama	370
8	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.8	Sasaki	511
9	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.9	Kitayashiro	412
10	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.10	Yabuta Unami	1645
11	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.11	Unahi	778
12	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.12	Sugata	624
13	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.13	Tabinoki	403
14	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.14	Nakada	213
15	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.15	Nakanami	596
16	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Higashihama	Higashihama	153
17	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Asou	Asou	576
18	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Oguri	Oguri	279
19	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Nanao	Nanao	1760

Table 1: List of 19 tunnels between Takaoka North IC through to Nanao Joyama IC

¹ Abbreviations: TORNH = Toyama Office of River & National Highway (responsible for sites in Toyama), KORNH = Kanazawa Office of River and National Highway (responsible for sites in Ishikawa).



You can see from the list, that the naming methods applied to Tentative and Official Names vary by responsible administering offices.

2.2. Naming method of Tentative Tunnel Names

a) In Toyama's case (No. 1–No. 15)

Noetsu Expressway is a branch of the main route Hokuriku Expressway. From the branching point Oyabe Tonami Junction, tunnels in Noetsu Expressway towards Nanao way were given the simple, numeric tentative names with Himi as a prefix, as “construction names” for convenience. For example, the first tunnel after Takaoka North IC was called “Himi No.1 Tunnel” (later called as: Takaoka Ikari Tunnel), the 10th tunnel as “Himi No. 10 Tunnel (later called as: Yabuta Unami Tunnel), and the 15th tunnel as “Himi No. 15 Tunnel” (later called as Nakanami Tunnel). That is to say: MLIT (via TORNH) was responsible for the tentative naming pattern: [Himi + (Number)]

Toyama's naming pattern: [Himi + (Number)].

b) In Ishikawa's case (No. 16–No. 19)

The 4 tunnels constructed in Ishikawa, are all in Nanao City, the largest city in Ishikawa's Noto Peninsula. Three of them (No.16 – No.18) are in the township of Higashihama, Asou, Oguri respectively. The tentative names here were given in accordance with the township. For the longest tunnel (No.19) however, the same rule was not applied. Rather than the name of township *Mangyo*, the City Name Nanao was selected owing to its length, name recognition and significance of the city. It is the longest of all 19 tunnels.

That is to say: MLIT (via KORNH) is responsible for the tentative naming patterns: [Town Name] and [City Name].

Ishikawa's naming pattern: [Town Name] and [City Name].

3. A concrete Work Procedure and Naming Conditions applied to “Official Tunnel Names”

This chapter describes the latter half of the tunnel naming process, focusing on Official Names.

3.1. Work Procedure for determining “Official Tunnel Names”

The work flow below shows a concrete Work Procedure of determining “Official Tunnel Names”. The same rule applies for both Toyama and Ishikawa.

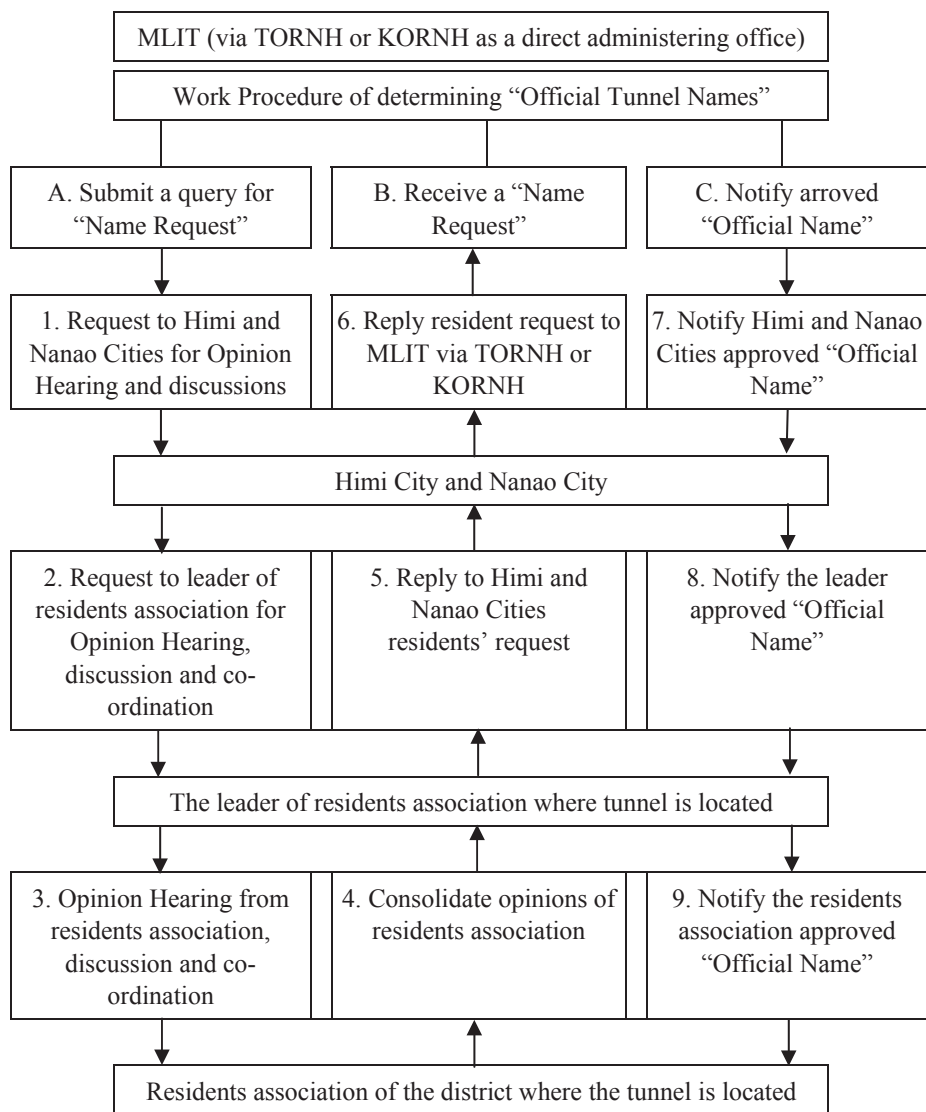


Figure 1: Flow Chart

The procedure 1–9 is initiated by MLIT. The Final decision on “Official Tunnel Name” is made by MLIT and they notify the residents association.

3.2. Naming Conditions applied to 19 tunnels

MLIT’s naming conditions for “Official Names “ vary by each administering office in this case TORNH and KORNH.

a) In Toyama's case

Condition applicable for Toyama side when considering Official Names are:

Condition No. 1. Select a name from 4 types of origin below: a) Place Name (*Oaza*: section of District or Smaller unit of District, *Koaza*: smaller unit of Oaza), b) Mountain Name, c) Old Place Name, d) Local Common Name.

Condition No. 2. Reaching a mutual consent by Hearing of Opinions and discussions with residents association where the tunnel is located is a must.

b) In Ishikawa's case

Condition applicable for Ishikawa side when considering Official Names are:

Condition No. 1. Tentative Names continue to be adopted as Official Names.

Condition No. 2. Reaching a mutual consent by Hearing of Opinions and discussions with residents association where the tunnel is located is a must.

MLIT (via TORNH and KORNH) states that, when selecting “Official Names”, clearing the conditions 1 and 2 above has significant factor in determining “Official Names”.

3.3. An example of Work Procedure and Naming Condition in Toyama (applicable to Himi 11 Tunnel – Himi 15 Tunnel)

We have shown below the Work Procedure and Naming Conditions for the 5 tentative names Himi No. 11 – Himi No. 15 tunnels in Toyama.

a) Work Procedure

The administering office of these 5 tunnels is Toyama Office of River and National Highway (TORNH). Prior to determining the Official Names, they contact both the city of Himi, and the district's residents association where the tunnels are located, for opinion hearing. They also ask the leader of residents association (a volunteer not a politician), to discuss and co-ordinate to consolidate the district opinions. Tunnel No.11 and No.15, for example, as the tunnels cover two districts, the leaders of two districts association will act as co-ordinators to reach a consensus of both. After thorough discussions and hearing of what the residents request, a formal request from the residents association is submitted to Himi City, City to TORNH, and finally TORNH to MLIT for a National approval.

b) Naming Conditions

Below explains the conditions that applied to Himi 11–15 tunnels when “Official Names” were determined.

The 5 Official Names from Tentative Names Himi No. 11 to Himi No. 15 are below:

No. 11. Himi No.11 Tunnel to UNAHI TUNNEL. 70% of total length belongs to Unami District. Amongst the opinions heard by the locals of Unami, the name UNAHI, the district's old place name was the most popular choice.

No. 12. Himi No.12 Tunnel to SUGATA TUNNEL. This tunnel's starting point and ending point both belong to Sugata District. The residents association agreed to SUGATA.

No. 13. Himi No.13 Tunnel to TABINOKI TUNNEL. Tabinoki is a place name where the tunnel is constructed Tabinoki is a small administrative unit (Koaza) of NAKADA District. The residents association agreed to TABINOKI.

No. 14. Himi No.14 Tunnel to NAKADA TUNNEL. This tunnel's starting point and ending point both belong to Nakada District. The residents association agreed to NAKADA.

No. 15. Himi No.15 Tunnel to NAKANAMI TUNNEL. 70% of the total length belong to Nakanami District. The residents association of Nakanami near the ending point agreed to NAKANAMI.

No. 11 and No. 15 are the examples of districts where the tunnel lies on the border of two districts. All of above five districts, after consent is reached, the request from the residents association is submitted to Himi City, City to TORNH, and finally TORNH to National MLIT approval.

A summary of data concerning Himi No. 11 to Himi No. 15 tunnels:

No.	Tentative Tunnel Name	Name of Starting District	Name of Ending District	Official Tunnel Name	Notes
11	Himi No.11	Unami	Sugata	Unahi	Total length – 778 m 70% (545 m) in Unami district
12	Himi No.12	Sugata	Sugata	Sugata	Total length – 624 m
13	Himi No.13	Nakada	Nakada	Tabinoki	Total length – 403 m
14	Himi No.14	Nakada	Nakada	Nakada	Total length – 213 m
15	Himi No.15	Nakada	Nakanami	Nakanami	Total length – 596 m 70% (417 m) in Nakanami district

4. Official Names of 19 Tunnels on Noetsu Expressway and their Naming Types

In this chapter we will explain the Naming Types that are adopted in Toyama and Ishikawa.

4.1. Official Name and Naming Types in Toyama

Detailed naming conditions in Toyama are shown below:

Select a name from 4 types of origin below: a) Place Name (*Oaza*: section of District or Smaller unit of District, *Koaza*: smaller unit of *Oaza*), aa) *Oaza* Type, ab) *Koza* Type, ac) *Oaza* + *Oaza* (combined) Type; b) Mountain Name: Mountain Name Type; c) Old Place Name: Old Place Name Type; d) Local Common Name: Local Common Name Type.

The list below is a summary of Naming Types for 15 tunnels in Toyama side

No.	Prefecture	City	Managing Office	Tentative Tunnel Name	Official Tunnel Name	Naming Types (Toyama)
1	Toyama	Takaoka	TORNH	Himi No.1	Takaoka Ikari	d
2	Toyama	Takaoka	TORNH	Himi No.2	Ebisaka	aa
3	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.3	Kojiro	aa
4	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.4	Shoboji	ab
5	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.5	Nakaoyama	b
6	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.6	Ebisuyama	b
7	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.7	Hinomaruyama	b
8	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.8	Sasaki	aa
9	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.9	Kitayashiro	aa
10	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.10	Yabuta Unami	ac
11	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.11	Unahi	c
12	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.12	Sugata	aa
13	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.13	Tabinoki	ab
14	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.14	Nakada	aa
15	Toyama	Himi	TORNH	Himi No.15	Nakanami	aa

Table 2: Naming Types for 15 tunnels in Toyama side

In Toyama side there are cases where the tunnels start and end in the same district, or lie on the border of two different districts. No. 10 Tunnel lies on the border of two districts therefore “*Oaza* + *Oaza* combined Type” applied.

The Naming types of Himi No. 11 and No. 15 are shown above. Please refer to 3.3. for detailed naming conditions.

4.2. Official Name and Naming Types in Ishikawa

Detailed naming conditions in Ishikawa are shown below:

Tentative Names continue to be adopted as Official Names. a) Named after town name where the tunnel is located: Town Name Type; b) Named after city name where the tunnel is located: City Name Type.

In Ishikawa's case, Tentative Names continue to be adopted as Official Names. Naming Types were given in accordance with City or Town Name.

The list below is a summary of Naming Types for 4 tunnels on Ishikawa side

No.	Prefecture	City	Admin. Office	Tentative Tunnel Name	Official Tunnel Name	Naming Types (Ishikawa)
16	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Higashihama	Higashihama	1
17	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Asou	Asou	1
18	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Oguri	Oguri	1
19	Ishikawa	Nanao	KORNH	Nanao	Nanao	2

The final decision on Official Tunnel Names is made by MLIT. Each administering office (in this case TORNH in Toyama and KORNH in Ishikawa) has a significant role in implementing their own conditions on selecting and naming the tunnels.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we introduced the naming method of tunnels, taking an example of 19 tunnels in Noetsu Expressway based on our 2016 research. How the official tunnel names are decided? What is the basis and process of naming? What do the names derive from? Who determines the final names? I have introduced here a naming sample of tunnels on Japanese Expressways.

Through this study we found that, in order to determine Official Tunnel Names, various elements such as length ratio of districts when the tunnel lies on the border of two districts; district name; Oaza, section of district or smaller unit of district; Koaza, smaller unit of Oaza; mountain name; town name; and city name are considered to define the determination basis. All of above is discussed and evaluated by the residents association, the city, and finally approved by the national government (MLIT). I wish to emphasise that tunnel names are



determined by consensus of all concerned, rather than a scenario made by the government offices.

The research was conducted focusing the 19 tunnels in Noetsu Expressway in our home country Toyama, the field of our place name studies over many years since 1970's, and neighbouring Ishikawa area. We must add that the naming method in this paper applies only to Noetsu Expressway.

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Abstract

This paper is based on our 2016 study of naming method of tunnels in Japanese Expressways. Our research was specifically focused on 19 tunnels in No-etsu Expressway, which connect Toyama Prefecture, our home and study field of place names, and its west neighbour Ishikawa Prefecture, in the centre of Japan's main island.

During the early stage construction, tunnels are initially called by simple, tentative names for convenience and efficiency. A few months prior to completion, consideration of official tunnel names is concurrently activated. Our aim in this paper is to answer questions such as: What is the basis and process of naming? What do the names derive from? Who determines the final names?

Based on our field research we will describe the theory in naming rules applied to the 19 tunnels, which includes steps a) construction(tentative) names and final(official) names; b) reaching a consensus on name selection by government offices and residents association; c) a concrete working procedure, naming conditions and types of naming rules applied.



The method we introduce in this study remain an example of naming method applied to the tunnels in No-etsu Expressway. Our research covered the

completed part of No-etsu Expressway already in service. Its extension to Wajima City is yet to be completed, therefore, we must add that this paper is a preliminary essay.

Keywords: Tunnel Names, Japanese Expressway, Tentative Tunnel Names, Official Tunnel Names, Naming Procedure, Naming Types

Peter K W Tan

The True Name: public and private housing in Singapore

1. The city as text

In much of popular culture, names are seen as capturing the essence of a person or another entity and it is believed that there is a certain rightness to the name. How do we, then, deal with instances in which the perception is, instead, that the names are wrong? I wish to explore this particular issue in this paper by demonstrating how name options can be conceived of as a matter of styling and that this styling can be judged as “true” or “correct”. If names are judged to be “wrong”, in what way are they so? Although I focus on two groups of names in a particular location, my hope is that the discussion will have broader implications beyond the confines of my specific examples.

One subject that has attracted continued opprobrium is the subject of “condo names” in Singapore. “Condo”, a clipping of *condominium*, refers to a group of private flats, apartments or maisonettes that have shared facilities and common spaces, and are run by a management corporation. A recent article (YAP 2016) about names that are “funny, bizarre or just downright facepalm-worthy” mentions *D’Zire*, *Thr3e Thre3 Robin*, *Jools Suites*, *38 iSuites @ Ipoh Lane*, *Tresalveo*, *L’viv*, *Vogx*, *Cradels @ Balestier* and *The Levelz*.

In contrast to that, the government has also been involved in a programme of building flats at reasonable cost, especially as the purchase also attracts government grants. Because of this, there are strict rules about who is allowed to buy them first hand, and there is often a waiting list for purchasers. I will also consider the names given to these flats. In the interest of brevity, I shall only refer to the condo names mentioned by YAP (2016) and those raised in my earlier study (TAN 2010) in addition to the names of public housing developments from my corpus of names (Section 5); my main focus is on the nature of naming practices in Singapore.

What are we, then, to make of these names, and what does this tell us about Singapore as a city? It seems to me that if we are to answer these questions, we need to regard the *city as a text*, and the strategies that we need to employ are akin to those used when engaging with other texts. This notion has already been raised by BARTHES: “the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language” (1986: 92). This can be compared to collaborative fiction or non-fiction, a form gaining popularity with the advent of platforms like Google Docs. Building names, street names and all manner of linguistic signs communicate information about the city. Although there is no central author to the texts in a



city, these individual texts come together to build up a composite impression on a resident of, or visitor to, the city.

There are already allied approaches within what has been labelled “linguistic landscape” (LANDRY and BOURHIS 1997) and “geosemiotics” (SCOLLON and SCOLLON 2003). The linguistic landscape refers to “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region. It is proposed that 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: 23). Condo and flat names are therefore also part of the linguistic landscape as they find their way onto signs in the city; moreover, since these names, to a greater or lesser extent, conform to norms of specific languages, they can be analysed as “belonging” to particular linguistic communities. Similarly, geolinguistics focuses on the distribution of languages within particular spaces; SCOLLON and SCOLLON also use the term *geosemiotics* when they refer to the indexicality of a language in space:

the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs in the world. By “signs” we mean to include any semiotic system including language and discourse. (SCOLLON and SCOLLON 2003: 110)

Both perspectives will be pertinent to what I have called the *city as text* approach. It is true that these approaches do not specifically investigate names but instead examine how language is visually represented in the cityscape in the form of signs or hoardings or writings on the wall. However, because the language used on shop fronts is often examined, names come into studies in these traditions fairly often. The focal point tends to be the space devoted to individual languages, their relative prominence and how they are positioned. Initial studies have taken on a strong quantitative approach: all this is seen as indexical of the ethnolinguistic prominence of communities associated with these languages. Later studies have gone on to question whether it is only this that is indexed (as in, for example, KASANGA’s (2012) examination of signs in central Phnom Penh); some have abandoned the quantitative methodology altogether (as in, for example, RUBDY’s (2014) investigation of signs in India): this again shows the fluidity of the styling options as mentioned earlier. In my approach, this corporate entity – which might be carefully managed and controlled by clear policies, or haphazardly manifested without a controlling hand – presents itself as a form of communication. The city council or the government might closely control naming practices, or the situation could be more or less *laissez faire*.



In a related study on building names in Singapore (TAN 2010), the increased use of Italian, French and Spanish elements was noted and it was suggested that

this was a deliberate exercise in exoticism on the part of property developers as opposed to signalling Singaporean identity: this would be in the aid of increasing the attractiveness of their projects. This again shows an attenuated relationship between language choice and ethnolinguistic vitality, which will be something I want to raise again in relation to the issue of authenticity.

I will start therefore by outlining how considerations of style are pertinent to the present discussion and how this consideration of style can be applied to a city.

2. Naming as styling

The notion of style is increasingly seen as a useful overarching framework under which one can consider linguistic variation, including elements that are associated with the local or the vernacular as well as elements that are not.

There has always been a strand of stylistics that has been concerned with all texts, and not necessarily texts that are overtly literary in nature. A key work is CRYSTAL and DAVY's (1969) *Investigating English Style*. For them, style choices are linked closely to the social function of the text. This has been developed most fully within the tradition of systemic functional grammar, in which language is seen as a social semiotic (HALLIDAY 1978). For a more recent textbook on systemic functional grammar, see, for instance, HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2013), where the notion of "alternatives" is conceived as choices which operate as systems. The social context is manifested as different situation types, often discussed in terms of "registers", which give rise to different genres or text types. Finally, these choices are seen as meaningful and semiotic in nature.

In sociolinguistics, the notion of style involving meaningful choices has also been strongly developed within the Labovian tradition of variationist studies (say, LABOV 2006). With the incorporation of a statistical methodology, linguistic choices are correlated to and are indexical of affiliations of class, gender, age, ethnicity and so on. Often, particular pronunciation choices are recorded on a large scale, such as the use of rhotic pronunciations or glottal stops. However, the use of linear scales (in other words, variation is examined as two-dimensional along the vernacular-standard continuum) opens up this conception of style to the charge of being reductive, oversimplifying the issue at hand (COUPLAND 2007).

GILES's (1973) development of the Labovian paradigm into his communication accommodation theory – in terms of convergence or divergence – made for a more dynamic model of style with its emphasis on the relational processes of the interlocutors and the motivations of the speakers. This paved the way for a more complex sociolinguistic conception of style where speakers are



social actors harnessing linguistic and non-linguistic resources to make social meaning, which itself is “a complex phenomenon, not merely referring to simple indexical relationships between language forms and membership of social groups” (COUPLAND 2007: 177). The emphasis has now moved to local indexical work, sometimes described as “stance” (e.g. JOHNSTONE 2009), anchored on human activity.

The notion of what is indexed (signalled or pointed at) is now also broadening out. ECKERT developed a perspective which incorporates SILVERSTEIN’s (2003) notion of indexical order, so that “the meanings of the variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an *indexical field*, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (ECKERT 2008: 454).

Style is also seen not only as pertaining to individuals and choices by individuals. Organisations can also be seen to have a particular style (WEE 2015), even beyond elements like corporate culture, branding and taglines. We now inhabit a world where we are becoming increasingly sensitised to the significance of styling options. It is surely not too much of a stretch to consider the city making style choices.

3. Names and styling

For many, that naming is a significant part of culture seems to be a self-evident truth: after all, names are deliberate choices which reflect the particular preferences of the particular communities of practice (LAVE and WENGER 1991). The fact that in modern societies naming frequently involves a process of formal registration and can be accompanied by a christening ceremony makes the act of naming and the names themselves all the more culturally significant. Names also form a part of language, and language itself is also seen to be linked to culture, whether we are in the realm of social constructivism, linguistic anthropology or anthropological linguistics (SHARIFIAN 2014). Even in cases in which naming does not involve a formal procedure – consider the names of artistic works: books, paintings, plays, films and so on – these are usually perceived as non-frivolous and contain significant clues to the meaning of the work. Therefore, it seems right that special attention should be devoted to names.

However, within naming theory, there is the theory of names known as the “direct reference” theory, attributed to the philosopher J. S. MILL. In this view, names are inherently meaningless and merely serve to identify, or in Mill’s terms, names are said to *refer* but have no *sense*. (Using terminology from logic or semantics, we can also say that names *denote* rather than *connote*.) In other

words, the name itself does not matter; if it successfully identifies an entity, it has done its job.

We can best imagine entities given names composed of random letters or digits (*Building C, Prisoner 128759*) as the most appropriate illustrations of the purely referential function of names.

British onomastician COATES re-examines the Millian position and concludes: “But even if names are senseless, it does not follow that they are meaningless; they may be used to refer, and if one wishes to express it so, the meaning is the referent [...]; they may set up cultural expectations [...] And carry a great deal of social information; they may have transparent etymologies” (COATES 2006: 364).

My assumption therefore is that although names clearly have a referential function, the actual name itself is significant. This would be the position taken in the descriptivist theory of names (associated with the philosopher BERTRAND RUSSELL) and the causal theory (developed by SAUL KRIPKE) which superseded the Millian perspective.

4. The notion of the *true name*

I want to start the discussion about authentic names by evoking the notion of the *true name*, a concept that has resonances in religious and mythological contexts. This can become the basis of the notion of the *authentic name*. The implication of this label is obvious: names are meaningful and contain sense, and there are names that are untrue or perhaps names that are less true. In the Bible, there are references to new names given to the one who is victorious (Revelation 2:17), and to a glorified Jerusalem (Isaiah 62:2). We can think about *Abram* (“high father”) becoming *Abraham* (“father of many”): “No longer will you be called Abram; your name will be Abraham, for I have made you a father of many nations” (Genesis 17:5, New International Version).

In the New Testament, the apostle Paul abandons his Hebrew name *Saul* (“asked for, prayed for”, perhaps named after Israel’s first king) for the Roman name *Paul* (“small”, “humble”). Here, the difference is that the name change does not seem to have been initiated by God. It is also significant that the true name need not reflect the bearer’s linguistic community. The bearer’s linguistic identity might in fact be superseded by another identity. The name indicates Paul’s role as missionary to the Gentiles: “But the Lord said to Ananias, ‘Go! This man is my chosen instrument to proclaim my name to the Gentiles and their kings and to the people of Israel’” (Acts 9:15).

This also exercised the minds of Greek philosophers in the 5th century BC. In PLATO’s dialogue *Cratylus*, Socrates is asked by Cratylus and Hermogenes



whether names are “natural” or “conventional”. The position of Cratylus is that names in literary works represent some essence of the bearer and therefore contain sense; names are descriptive in some way. Cratylus talks about the “correctness of names”, allied to the notion of “true name”. The position of Hermogenes is that names are merely conventional and semantically empty. (See, for example, CAVILL 2016.) And therefore the discussion about *Cratyllic* and *Hermogenean* names (i.e. meaningful and meaningless names, respectively) in literature continues. In the discussion about true names, the assumption is that names are Cratyllic.

BOTTUM (1995) highlights the multiplicity of names in DICKENS’s *David Copperfield*, not only for David the narrator (*Davy, Trot, Trotwood, Copperfield, Daisy and Doady*), but also for the other characters. He suggests the narrator’s growth as a writer is linked to his appreciation of true names.

Of course, the notion of authenticity has also been picked up by fashion, style or marketing gurus and the like. But it is not *merely* a fashionable term. It is an established term in psychology, philosophy and aesthetics. Being authentic involves showing good faith and being true to one’s (internal) identity rather than being shaped by one’s environment.

We can summarise the account given by saying that an authentic name is one that reflects stylistic options which index the true identity of an entity. The true identity does not necessarily refer to the linguistic community relevant to the entity concerned. Although language is salient, it is not necessarily the most salient aspect of an entity’s identity.

Two difficulties immediately arise. The first is that our current postmodern sensibilities do not allow us to luxuriate in the confidence of a single self or identity. Furthermore, identity is not static, and what might have been a prioritised identity feature in the past might no longer be the case. (I shall develop this discussion about postmodernism further below.) As far as personal naming is concerned, the availability of multiple name forms can be said to reflect these multiple identities. We have given names, middle names, surnames, hypocoristics, diminutive forms of all of those, and so on. Place and building names might also be variously denominated. London is also *the Smoke*, Edinburgh is also *Auld Reekie*. The choice of any of these alternative names must surely be indexical of different parts of the identities of the people or places highlighted.

BAUMAN also talks about modern social life (and therefore social identities) as “liquid life”: “Life in a liquid modern society cannot stand still. It must modernize (read: go on stripping itself of attributes that are past their sell-by dates and go on dismantling/shedding the identities currently assembled/put on) – or perish.” (2005: 2).

But then again, identities have been shifting since time immemorial. Again this can be reflected in names, for example, as we transition from *Eboracum* to *Jorvik* to *York*. This example reinforces the point that the choice of language can be part of styling: Latin as we think of the garrison town in Roman times, Norse as the Vikings take control of the north-east of Britain, and English as the nation was unified.

The second difficulty is that in the face of multiple and changing identities, who is it to decide that a name is incorrect or inauthentic? Is there an arbiter? Those who claim that names are inauthentic (‘incorrect’, ‘ridiculous’, ‘laughable’: all these labels signalling a misalignment to identity) are often those who are not the namers themselves, but come from the community. The issue of challengeability will always be there. In the case of Singapore building names, there is currently an arbiter in the form of the Street and Building Names Board (SBNB), set up in 2003 under the Urban Redevelopment Authority. Three of their six guidelines highlight the need for names to reflect the (true) identity of the place: a good name should 1. fit the location and environment of the development; 2. fit the size and type of the development; 3. retain the history of the building or the area (Urban Redevelopment Authority).

We can assume that the recommendations were in reaction to names used prior to the recommendations being drawn up and this can be seen to hint at the nature of inauthentic names. (There is also a more detailed handbook that provides more specific guidelines and recommendations – Street and Building Names Board, 2017.)

5. Private and public housing names

As Singapore is a small nation with limited land (278 square miles or 719 square kilometres) and a population of some 5.6 million, it is no surprise that housing is a key concern in the city state and that the majority are housed in high-rises!

The majority of the population live in public housing, built and managed by the Housing and Development Board (HDB). These are Build-to-Order (BTO) flats, meaning that they will only be built if there is a sufficient number of people who apply for them. In its history, however, there has *always* been a demand for new flats. A balloting exercise has always been needed to decide who is offered a chance to buy these flats. These BTO flats are usually known as *HDB* flats by Singaporeans.

There are also private flats, and if they come with facilities, they are generally known as *condominiums*, often clipped to *condos*. Condos have almost always been given names. BTO flats have only been given names since around 2000; previously they were just known by their block number and street name.



A clear emerging pattern in condo names has been noted in TAN (2010: 2007–2008). “Some of the more recent buildings have names based on French, Spanish and Italian, with very little apparent local relevance, although sometimes they are translations of the street name [...]:

Papillon (French: “butterfly”) > Jalan Rama Rama (Malay: “butterfly”) [...],

Nuovo (Italian: “new”) – no apparent local relevance [...]. Also noteworthy is the fact that consistency is not always aimed for. Apart from the approximations towards a particular language [...], the building names are a mix of a range of sources.

Casa Merah (Spanish: “house” + Malay: “red”) > Tanah Merah Kechil Avenue (Malay: “Little Red Land”).

Chuan Villas (Mandarin Chinese: “river” + English) > Chuan Close [...]. Among the more recent names, a noticeable tendency is to coin new names [...]:

Viz @ Holland,

Mandale Heights > Mandalay Road [phonological similarity to the street name, and dale is a possible suffix].”

The names mentioned by YAP (2016) – *D’Zire*, *Thr3e Thre3 Robin*, *Jool Suites*, *38 iSuites @ Ipoh Lane*, *Tresalveo*, *L’viv*, *Vogx*, *Cradels @ Balestier* and *The Levelz* – clearly follow the same trajectory of naming but take things a step further. The linguistic source of *Tresalveo*, *L’viv* and *Vogx* is unclear; the other names mainly involve unorthodox orthography.

BTO flat names always retain the generic (*Spring*, *Green*, *Glen*, *Vista*, *Valley*, etc.) in English, with the exception of *Costa Ris* (2011) and *Punggol Vue* (2014) – Spanish and French. A number of the earlier names from 2001–2006 also lacked the generic. The specific element is often derived from the street name, with English highly represented, together with Malay and Chinese names. Representative samples of names from 2017 flats include *Northshore Cove*, *Clementi Peaks*, *Marsiling Grove* and *Pine Vista*. They also lack the kind of orthographic manipulation or coinages mentioned by YAP (2016).

6. Responses

6.1. Untrue names

If we go along with the recommendations of the Name and Building Board, then building names must be descriptively correct; names are also assumed to have a descriptive function.

We might extrapolate comments about identity by also suggesting that true names must be in the appropriate language and therefore in endogenous languages rather than exogenous languages. This immediately calls into question some of the French- or Spanish-based names mentioned above.

If we go along with the notion of the risibility of names mentioned by YAP (2016), we might suggest that names that are not true to the grammatical or orthographic rules of a language are of questionable status.

Finally, we have coinages and apparently unpronounceable names.

Considering all of these criteria, it would seem that private condo developers are transgressors, whereas BTO flats keep to good names. But how can we explain why high-end developments are getting it wrong?

6.2. The marketisation critique

The marketisation critique is a key critique within critical discourse analysis (for example, FAIRCLOUGH 1993), according to which the discourse associated with commerce has invaded other kinds of discourse, such as the discourse of education. This can be used more loosely to mean that the motivation of the market has affected the style options in relation to building names, in that the potential for attracting customers is seen as overriding concerns relating to a true representation of the project. The use of Spanish or Italian can be interpreted as contributing to the exoticisation of property, thereby making the property attractive and exciting and distinguishing it from people's quotidian and lacklustre world, ultimately causing the take-up rate of the property to rise. This reading is certainly supported by TEO (2016) who looked at housing names together with the promotional discourse and images associated with the properties.

6.3. The neo-colonialism critique

The spread of English in the world is often linked to globalisation, and the English language is charged as the cause of the demise of smaller languages – English is the “killer language”. This view is commonly associated with PHILLIPSON (1992). The expansion of English has continued apace, even beyond the era of the British Empire, causing smaller languages to be abandoned by their speakers in favour of global languages (English among them), which in turn results in an increase in homogeneity and a decrease in diversity. It could be argued that the apparent abandonment of endogenous languages and the appropriation of exogenous languages is indicative of Western-oriented aesthetics and identity.

6.4. The metro-ethnic, metrolingual response

In contrast to the negative outlook of the responses given above, there is the view that modern culture revels in breaking down the old categories. The British sociolinguist MAHER (2005) proposes the notion of *metroethnicity* that rejects an essentialised notion of culture in favour of one that celebrates hybridity, which might be employed for aesthetic effect: the principle of the “cool” as opposed to the “authentic”. The “cool” is attractive and exciting, rather than conventional and boring. He gives an account of his conversation with an Ainu young man (the Ainu people are indigenous people in Japan and Russia). He was not interested in the Ainu language but had took on an Ainu name because it was fashionable to do so. He was instead interested in Italian food, Italian football and the Italian language. The reaction of the group of people in the vicinity was “Cool!” This admiration, he suggests, points to a new conception of ethnicity that is not static but malleable, hybrid and perhaps even contradictory. He calls this phenomenon “metroethnicity”. The reaction of the people is telling. Would the reaction have been less approving with a different audience or in the past? It is perhaps a symptom of the postmodern world that we inhabit that the fixed and static notion of ethnicity is rejected. The presence of French, Italian or Spanish in housing names could be said to be a part of this new culture of “cool”, in which we need not be confined to traditional languages. The opposite of a “true” name might be a “cool” name!

6.5. The postmodern response

Finally, the breakdown of the old categories can also be seen as a manifestation of postmodernism. “Postmodern intellectual inquiry started to turn back on itself, to question how we come to think as we do, why we construct particular visions of reality, in whose interests supposed norms, values, and givens operate. Postmodernism, then, is a philosophical questioning of many of the foundational concepts of received canons of knowledge. Postmodern thought can generally be viewed as anti-essentialist, anti-foundationalist, and opposed to grand narratives.” (PENNYCOOK 2006: 62).

Essentialism is the view according to which there is an essential or required attribute for an entity to be identified as such. For example, an essentialist may consider a facility with the English language as essential to a person’s identity as an Englishman or Englishwoman. The postmodernist position is that this essentialised relationship between language and national identity or nationality or the nation state is untenable.

Foundationalism as used by PENNYCOOK (2005) above is to be distinguished from the philosophical concept of the same name. What he means to say is that individual languages are generally seen to have their ontological status

linked to particular colonial or modernist states, which therefore leaves a clear demarcation and separation between different languages. If we examine discourse, it is apparent that these demarcations are less clear-cut. The postmodernist enterprise, then, needs to “develop an anti-foundationalist view of language as an emergent property of social interaction and not a prior system tied to ethnicity, territory, birth, or nation” (PENNYCOOK 2005: 67).

The postmodernist approach takes a sceptical view of any kind of totalising or universalising grand narrative. It is suspicious of any single theme that can account for human behaviour through time. For example, the issue of language shift has traditionally been greeted by an attitude of dismay, but this is because of the “nineteenth-century romantic idea that pegs human dignity as well as individual and collective identity to individual languages” (COULMAS 1998: 71). The postmodernist view rejects this grand narrative of dignity of a community and having a language of its own. Discourses about language rights and about linguistic imperialism seem, however, to continue to depend on that grand narrative.

From this point of view, the search of a “true” name is a failed enterprise!

7. Conclusion

There appear to be contradictory forces in play in the naming of housing developments in Singapore. On the one hand, there appears to be a belief in names being “true” and “authentic”, as espoused by the Urban Redevelopment Authority, and as evidenced by the BTO flat names given in Section 5. The marketisation critique suggests that the lure of mammon (i.e. needing to sell condos) has caused the names to be “untrue”, and proponents of this critique appear to hold on to the notion of the “true” name. Similarly, the neo-colonialism critique appears to credit this notion and blames neo-colonial forces for causing nations to betray their roots and therefore be untrue to their identity.

On the other hand, the metro-ethnic or metro-lingual and the postmodern responses dismiss the notion of the “true” name as the product of a wrongfully Modernist outlook. The uptake of these positions will not be universal, simply because not everyone will buy into the metro-ethnic or metro-lingual definition of “cool” and sophistication or accept the postmodern premises outlined above. The tensions caused by these different naming styles are therefore likely to remain for the foreseeable future.

The city text might therefore have multiple narrative lines at play.

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Abstract

This paper raises the issue of the rightness and wrongness of names by focusing on the names given to residential buildings in Singapore as part of the enterprise of considering cities as texts. Names are seen as being amenable to sociolinguistic styling and the notion of the “true name” is discussed as a possible way of constraining naming. Nevertheless, transgressive names seem to abound, and this paper suggests a number of ways in which we can respond to them.

Keywords: city as text, Singapore, building names, true name, styling, marketisation, neo-colonialism, metro-ethnicity, metrolingualism, postmodernism

Identifying power of names in the service industry (based on the examples of hotel names in Siberia)*

Hotel choice has become a routine task and is commonly made via the Internet. When we choose a hotel, do we pay attention to its name? Of course, although the name is not the only thing that determines our choice of a hotel, it serves as an additional argument in favor of a particular hotel. Moreover, after staying in the hotel its name leaves a kind of positive or negative emotional trail. It can also affect our choice of the same hotel in the future. For example, would you choose to stay at the Hotel Grelka? (In Russian *гrelka* means ‘hot-water bottle’) (Russians, at least, may be suspicious that this is not a hotel, but something else.)

1. Identification of objects in the urban environment through naming

Identification of goods and services through naming affords the shortest way to convey the brand idea to the consumer. It is, in fact, the ABC of naming and one of the key factors in the commercial naming strategy. Names of objects in the urban environment (urban names) such as shops and service facilities are included in the list. They have a pragmatic function, facilitating “navigation” in the city, helping to quickly find the right place whenever necessary. In some cases, one needs to find, for example, a pharmacy or dentist’s office spontaneously and quickly. In this case, clear identification of objects of the urban environment becomes even more important because it motivated by the vital needs.

Despite the obviousness of this criterion, unmotivated names that mislead the consumer are often found in a variety of areas. What goods are sold or what services are offered in a place with the sign *Наш друг* (‘Our Friend’)?¹ Could one find food for pets here? No, books! In the hotel called *Medea* they sell honey (the name of the mythological wife of the hero Jason in Russian sounds similarly to the word *мед* ‘honey’). There is also a pharmacy with a similar name (apparently, pharmacy owners were not familiar with Medea’s ancient history). *Амбре* (*Ambre* means ‘scent’, ‘fragrance’) is the name of a hairdresser’s shop (in Russian this word has a negative connotation – it refers to a bad smell). A furniture store is for some reason called *Гротеск* (‘Grotesque’)

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¹ Here and elsewhere transliteration and English translation are given in brackets, if necessary. Names in the Latin alphabet are given in the original spelling.

and this raises concerns about the quality of their furniture. It seems that such names are not intended to attract the consumer, but to take him/her away from the product or service.

The problem of bizarre and confusing names is relevant even outside the Russian context.

According to CHEKITAN S. DEV from Cornell University School of Hotel Administration, hotels have traditionally been named after an owner or a place. But more recently, he says, “the naming process has evolved from an off-the-cuff process into something far more systematic” (DEV 2012).

Psychologists say millennials are driving the trend. Hospitality brands are crafting their marketing strategies accordingly. “Hotel companies are lazing in on consumer needs”, says MATTHEW VON ERTFELDA, Marriott’s vice president for insight, strategy and innovation (ERTFELDA 2015). The explosion of social media has also got a starring role in the name of the game. “Thanks to social media, millennials are the first global generation”, says Dr. DONNA QUADRI-FELITTI, academic chair of the New York University School of Professional Studies Tisch Center for Hospitality and Tourism, in CNN interview with LAURA POWELL. “And since this generation is so much enamored with texting and tweeting, the hotels really have to think how names will play in the new media world” (POWELL 2015).

The journalist JULIANA SHALLCROSS discusses why bizarre hotel names are becoming a trend: “How and why do hotels come up with the names that are good, bad, and confusing-for their new brands?” She demonstrates some examples of new hotel names: “Canopy. GLō. Vīb. Tribute. Moxy. Quorvous. No, these are not random smartphone apps or obscure nightclubs. These are the brand new hotels from Hilton, Best Western, Starwood, Marriott and Radisson, respectively, that have popped up in recent years. With no end to the new brands in sight (Hilton Hotels just announced Canopy By Hilton for the young and restless [...] and business travellers), we can expect more off-the-wall names to emerge. Although these new names may be funny or cute, from a hotel guest’s perspective, they’re maddening. How are we to get directions to a hotel? Are the hotel marketing teams in some elaborate game of one-upmanship? Or is there an algorithm that says these bizarre handles actually resonate with people looking for hotel rooms?”, JULIANA SHALLCROSS asks (SHALLCROSS 2015).

2. The problem of creating an identifying name and the linguacognitive foundations of naming



As we see it, the problem of generating a successful name with identifying power exists and there are no simple ways to solve it. The complexity of the

problem is related to two aspects: on the one hand, naming requires quick and unhampered identification and, on the other hand, the name should be original and not be confused with the names of competitors. The name should help the consumer's mind perceive the service or product as unique.

The urgency of these problems is proved by requests of hotel owners: "Help for Hotel name! Lately I have been building a hotel but I have no idea what to call it!!" (Empire Minecraft 2012).

How can one find a balance between the recognisability of the service and its originality? It is useful to consider this problem from the standpoint of cognitive linguistics.

Linguists have significantly contributed to the theory and practice of developing commercial names (BALODE–BUŠS 2014, BUGHEȘIU 2012, KLINK 2001, HOUGH–IZDEBSKA eds. 2016, FELECAN 2012, SJÖBLOM–AINIALA–HAKALA eds. 2013, SJÖBLOM 2013, SPITZNER 2016, etc.). Names in the service industry are an actual sphere of linguistic researches. Some of them are focused on hotel names (COX 1994, SHALLCROSS 2017). A comparative analysis of hotel names in Italy and Romania was held by W. HOLGER (2007).

There are various methods of generating names, which are based on the semantics, structure and pragmatics of the linguistic sign. At the present stage, the theoretical understanding of naming covers two areas – marketing and linguistics. While there are many manuals and recommendations for naming in marketing, the study of the linguistic aspect of modern naming in Russia has been developing actively only in the last 10–15 years (GOLOMIDOVA 2012, DOMNIN, 2002, ELISTRATOV–PIMENOV 2014, EMELIANOVA 2007, IVANOVA 2013, KRYUKOVA 2004, REMCHUKOVA–MAHIJANOVA 2015, SHIMKEVICH 2002, SHMELEVA 2013, SOKOLOVA 2012).

In terms of theory of brand positioning, the brand must form a certain niche in the mind of the consumer: "Marketing is a battle in the minds of consumers"; "Positioning is how you differentiate your product in the minds of consumers" (TROUT–RIVKIN 2010: 109).

The name of a product or service is a way of differentiation and, therefore, the key that allows you to penetrate the customer's mind. In this way, the creation of a successful commercial name cannot but rely on the methodological basis of cognitive linguistics.

The premise of our study is to identify on the structure of the frame of a service in the mind of target consumers which would help generate original names with a high identifying ability. The linguist's task is to reveal this structure for a specific category of goods or services and analyse the filling in of slots.



3. Material and method

The empirical database includes the names of hotels registered in the major cities of Siberia: Tyumen (745,000 inhabitants), Omsk (1,178,000 inhabitants) and Novosibirsk (1,603,000 inhabitants). The corpus includes approximately 500 hotel names. On the one hand, in these regional centers there is a high level of competition on the hotel service market and, accordingly, the need for an effective name of an urban site has emerged, which allows researchers to collect representative material. On the other hand, Russian provincial businessmen have not yet developed the habit to turn to the services of naming agencies, whereas small businesses simply cannot afford them. I intentionally excluded from consideration the names of international hotel chains (such as the Ibis Sibir in Omsk). Thus, I am dealing, for the most part, with so-called “amateur naming”, which reflects the owners’ views about an effective name for their business.

This research studies the names of hotels of three large Siberian cities based on frame analysis. The selection of names was made from specialized Internet sites (Map of Russian Cities, hotels.com). In the following, a particular city is indicated if the name reflects specific characteristics of a territory or a city that differ in terms of frequency of a particular group of names.

As a basic tool for generating a name, a frame operation can be used, which allows to reveal the structure of knowledge about a product or service in the mind of consumers (VIGSO 2010). Frame analysis identifies standardly filled slots and those that are rarely represented in the naming practice, despite their significant identifying power. On the other hand, frame analysis allows to identify names that are not associated with the knowledge structure of the proposed service and, as a rule, requires enhanced advertising support in positioning and promotion.

The procedure for frame analysis and thread generation is carried out sequentially through the following steps: 1. analysis of the frame-slot structure of the goods (services); 2. filling in slots with real names based on the example of several regions; 3. comparison of regional slots: identification of standard naming steps and gaps; 4. creating original names with high identifying power.

The research tasks included the definition of the main and optional slots of the structure of the “hotel” frame; filling in the slots based on the material of hotel names in Omsk, Tyumen and Novosibirsk (separately) and their comparison; the identification of “gaps” of the frame “hotel” and the development of names that fill in the data “gaps”.

4. The structure of the frame “hotel”

The concepts “hotel” and “hotel services” are built on the lexical meaning of the word *hotel* and the background knowledge about the specified object based on personal experience and familiarity with social and discursive practices: *hotel* is “house for temporary residence of visitors with single or non-standard rooms, with services provided” (OZHEGOV–SHVEDOVA 1996); “establishment that provides lodging and usually meals, entertainment, and personal various services for the public: *inn*” (Merriam–Webster Dictionary 2015).

The “hotel” frame structure has mandatory categorial attributes: house, premise; temporary residence; accommodation in rooms/apartments; payment of accommodation; service.

When constructing a frame, it is important to define this concept as a set of typical questions arising in a stereotyped situation (GOFFMAN 1974, MINSKY 1979). Logical questions about a hotel are the following: 1. characteristics that identify category – the type of service (what is it?), 2. participants in the situation (who are they?), 3. location (where is it?), 4. conditions of accommodation (how is it done?), 5. cost of the service (how much does it cost?), etc. The most relevant questions are reflected in the criteria to evaluate a hotel based on its guests’ opinions (for example, on the website *hotel.com*). Based on the texts on this website and other specialized websites presenting hotels, and according to the guests’ reviews, it can be established that the frame structure includes a number of characteristics determined by primary and secondary associations. For example, convenient for temporary accommodation – depending on the purpose of the customer; cozy, comfortable, “like at home”, “homelike”, clean, etc.

Our hypothesis is that these characteristics should be updated in the practice of hotel naming. Names of hotels in three Siberian cities are examined here as examples.

5. Strong semantic identifiers

We suppose that strong semantic identifiers result from answers to the most relevant questions of potential consumers: *what?* (the type of urban facility), *who?* (the subject of the service is the “host” and the “object” is the guest), *where is it located?* (territorial convenience, accessibility), *is the service good?* (quality of service), *how much is it?* (price-quality ratio), etc. Let’s see how this applies to naming.

5.1. The generic component of hotel names

The generic concept of a hotel is an unambiguous identifier of the service category. At the same time, “categorical” names are used, too, in which the type of service is indicated by means of a word borrowed from English and written in the Cyrillic or Latin alphabet: гостиница (‘hotel’): *Гостиница на Каширской* (‘Hotel on Kashirskaya’), *Hotel Brick Walls*, *Comfort Inn*, *Gorsky City Hotel*; апартаменты (‘apartments’): *Дом апартаментов* (‘Apartment house’), *Apartment-Voyage*, *Sib Apartments*; хостел (‘hostel’): *хостел Омск* (‘Omsk Hostel’), *Hostel Globus*, *Traveler’s Hostel*.

In addition to the borrowed generic nominations that are already familiar to Russians, such as *hotel*, *apartment* and *hostel*, there are various modifications of categorical (generic) names that differentiate the type of hotel services. *Differentiate or Die*, pointed out TROUT and RIVKIN (it is the name of the 2010 book by the two authors).

The naming practice takes it into account constantly. Most of the modified generic names are formed according to the analytical model: *a boutique-hotel*, *sauna-hotel*, *apart-hotel*, *park-hotel*, *mini-hotel*, *mini-gostinitza* (a mini-hotel). It should be noted that similar variations of generic names are employed by traditional Russian hotel names such as *Гостинный двор* (*Gostiny Dvor* ‘courtyard’) and *Гостинный дом* (*Gostynyi Dom* ‘guest house’). However, hotel naming is not only motivated by Russian historical associations: in Novosibirsk there is *Шале на Комсомольской* (*Shale na Komsomolskoy* ‘Chalet on Komsomolskaya street’) which is unexpected for a city with a population of more than a million people (in Russian *chalet* designates ‘a small rural house in the mountains of Switzerland’ or ‘a small country house, a dacha’).

Since Soviet times, Russian naming has also used the nomination *Гостиничный комплекс* (*gostinichny complex* ‘hotel complex’, usually includes a hotel and a restaurant). In some cases, these names are contaminated, resulting in *Гостиничный комплекс «Постоялый двор»* (*Gostinichny complex “Postoyaly Dvor”* ‘hotel complex “Inn”’).

It should be noted that in such names as *Green House* and *Orange House*, the category of the object is denoted ambiguously, which makes it difficult to identify it.

The object can be identified as a hotel through its components such as rooms and floors (in Cyrillic or Latin script): *Четыре комнаты* (*Chetyre Komnaty* ‘four rooms’), *Семь этажей* (*Sem’ Etazhey* ‘7 floors’), *Три этажа* (*Tri Etazha* ‘3 floors’), *Four Rooms*. Nominations like *Апартаменты Отель 007* (*Apartmenty Otel 007* ‘Apartments Hotel 007’) are semantically redundant because the object is identified twice.

5.2. Participants in the situation: the Owner and Guest of a hotel

A reliable semantic identification of the hotel is also achieved through the identification of participants in the situation of hospitality services: the owner and the customer (guest). Thus, the next slot is filled by this concept.

The research is focused on the names of hotels in the Siberian cities where large network brands are still underrepresented. Due to the fact that owners of small hotels, as a rule, do not turn to professionals and do the naming themselves, Russian commercial names are traditionally based on anthroponyms – the first name of the owner or his/her relatives (*Svetlana, Olga, Valeria, Milena, Valery Hotel*, etc.). It should be noted that hotel names do not refer at all to the generic appellants (host) and the pragmatically significant characteristics of the owner: for example, “caring”, “honest”, “tidy” and others. See, by comparison, the names of dental clinics and offices; in these situations, positioning is often performed through the image of a doctor. For this purpose, words with explicit positive evaluation are selected: *Merry Doctor, Good Doctor, Good Dentist, Dent Master*, etc.

The names identifying the guest basically bring forward the seme “travel”. Since in most cases this is synonymous with “tourism”, typical names are *Tourist, Traveler, Traveler’s Hostel*.

A name can be created on the basis of metonymic transfer, as a designation of customers’ activity: *Вояж* (‘voyage’), *Круиз* (‘cruise’), *Транзит* (‘transit’), *Визит* (‘visit’), *Discovery*.

5.3. Hotel location. Direct and indirect street naming

Toponymy is one of the most common sources for choosing hotel names. According to our data, a significant number of hotel names in the Siberian cities belong to this category.

The names of Siberian hotels are of three types: direct and indirect street naming; names motivated by topographic objects; and geographical and administrative names. In particular, direct street naming often comprises a prepositional structure: in Omsk – *На Омской* (*Na Omskoy* ‘On Omskaya Street’), *На Челюскинцев* (*Na Chelyuskintsev* ‘On Chelyuskintsev Street’), *На Малиновского* (*Na Malinovsky* ‘On Malinovsky Street’), etc. Search for a hotel in the city is facilitated by double nominations, including, an indication of the street in addition to the hotel name: *Аура на Шаминых* (*Aura na Shaminyh* ‘the Aura on Shaminyh street’), *Нараяна на Сибирской* (*Narayana na Siberskoy* ‘the Narayana on Siberskaya street’), *Шале на Комсомольской* (*Chalet na Komsomolskoy* ‘the Chalet on Komsomolskyaya street’) (all in Novosibirsk).

Russian hotel naming particularly favours the borrowed “beautiful” word *Авеню* (‘avenue’) (there are such names in Omsk and Novosibirsk).

Toponymy is often present where a non-resident guest may expect anthroponomy. For the inhabitants of Omsk it is obvious that the names of the hotels *Рокоссовский* (Rokossovsky was an outstanding Soviet military leader), *Лермонтов* (Lermontov was a famous Russian poet) and *Zhukov Inn* (Zhukov was an outstanding Soviet military leader) are connected with the names of the respective streets where they are located, although visitors can perceive them as precedent anthroponyms. Naming based on location on a certain street can be indirect. Thus, there is the *Red Hotel* on *Красный проспект* (*Krasny Prospekt* ‘Red Avenue’) in Novosibirsk. The hotel *Авиатор* (‘Aviator’) is not an aviation industry-sponsored hotel for pilots, but it is named so because it is located on *улица Авиастроителей* (*Aviastroiteley street* ‘Aircraft builders’ street’).

The location of the hotel is often motivated by a local identifying toponym: *Иртыш* (*Irtysk*), *Омск* (*Omsk*), *Тюмень* (*Tyumen*), *Tyumen City Hotel*, *Новосибирск* (*Novosibirsk*), *Hotel “N”* (according to the first letter of the city Novosibirsk) or by an urban landmark of topographic nature: *Перекресток* (*Perekrestok* ‘Crossroads’), *У фонаря* (*U fonarya* ‘By the Lamppost’), *Придорожная* (*Pridorozhnaya* ‘Roadside’), *Центральная* (*Centralnaya* ‘Central’), *Апартаменты в центре* (‘Apartments in the Center’), *Железнодорожная* (*Zelevnodorozhnaya* ‘Railway’), *Набережная* (*Naberezhnaya* ‘Embankment’), etc. It is interesting that in all the Siberian cities that are located on the sides of a large river, there is *Заречная* (*Zarechnaya* *hotel* ‘Hotel Across the River’) despite the fact that the identification “across the river” in a modern metropolis does not clearly define the location. In comparison with Omsk and Novosibirsk, “toponymic” naming in Tyumen is represented by word names: *Берег* (*Bereg* ‘Riverside’), *Заречная* (*Zarechnaya* ‘Across the river’), *Тюмень* (*Tyumen*), *Перекресток* (*Perekrestok* ‘Crossroads’).

The location of a hotel in the Siberian region also affects the use of the identifying toponym: *Сибирь* (*Siberia*, in Omsk), *Сибирская* (*Siberian*, in Tyumen), *SibHotel* (in Novosibirsk).

The cardinal points of a compass are traditionally used for names of hotels. However, these three Siberian cities have only two such names: *Север* (‘North’) and *Северная* (Northern) (Novosibirsk).

The group of toponymic hotel names includes those designations that are not directly related to local toponymy, but motivated by prestige and tradition: *Евразия* (*Eurasia*), *Европа* (*Europe*), *Восток* (*East*), *Прага* (*Prague*) in Tyumen; *Арапат* (*Ararat*), *Родес* (*Rhodes*) in Omsk; *Венеция* (*Venice*) in Novosibirsk, etc.

In addition to toponymic names, the location slot is filled with a variety of geographical names: 55 *широта* ('55th latitude'), *Азимут* ('Azimuth'), *Золотая долина* ('Golden Valley'), all in Novosibirsk.

5.4. Service quality

In many cases the positioning of the hotel is carried out through the slot "living conditions". This categorical feature is highly relevant for choosing a hotel. This meaning is represented in hotel naming through standard lexemes like "comfort" and "rest". In Tyumen there are hotels with such names as *Уютная* (*Uyutnaya* 'Comfortable'), *Уют – Центр* (*Uyut-Centre* 'Comfort-Center'), *Отдых* (*Otdykh* 'Rest'), *Домашняя* (*Domashnyaya* 'Homelike'), *Атмосфера комфорта* (*Atmosfera komforta* 'Atmosphere of comfort'). In Omsk one can find the same *Уютная* (*Uyutnaya* 'Comfortable'), *Академия уюта* (*Academiya Uyuta* 'Comfort Academy'), *Абсолютный уют* (*Absolutny Uyut* 'Absolut Comfort'), *Rest-time*. In Novosibirsk there is *Тихая площадь* (*Tikhaya Ploschad* 'Quiet Square').

The ideas of comfort and warm atmosphere are associated with such names as *Абажур* (*Abazhur* 'Lampshade'), *Очаг* (*Ochag* 'Hearth') and the somewhat ambiguous *Грелка* (*Grelka* 'Warming bottle'). Similar associations are assumed in names that refer to a hotel as "paradise": *Мечты* (*Mechty* 'Dreams'), *Мираж* (*Mirage*), *Оазис* (*Oasis*), *Ангел* (*Angel*) in Omsk; *Парадиз* (*Paradise*) in Tyumen; *Мираж* (*Mirage*) in Novosibirsk. Note that modern Russian linguoculture would view these names as ambiguous in terms of offered services.

Semantic identification is successfully provided by names that are directly or associatively related to the thematic area "travel" and "Accommodation": the hotel complex *Три версты* (*Tri Versty* 'Three Versts', in Novosibirsk; *versta* is the old Russian measure of length, 1.06 km), *День и ночь* (*Den' and Notch* 'Day and night', in Omsk). Hotels that are located in the suburbs or the city's green zone are often positioned through the designation of these competitive advantages: *Три медведя* (*Tri Medvedya* 'Three Bears', the name of a Russian fairy tale), *У медведя* (*U Medvedya* 'At the Bear's'), *Шишка* (*Shishka* 'Pinecone'), *Сосновая* (*Sosnovaya* 'Pine tree Hotel'), *Соловьиная роща* (*Solovynaya Roshcha* 'Nightingale Grove').

5.5. Strength and weakness of precedent names

Hotel naming traditionally involves typical sources for urban names: historical precedent and mythological names, names of plants and animals. With rare exceptions, they are non-specialized and used in the naming of the most diverse urban objects, thereby making it difficult to identify the type of object.



Precedent names include mythological names, anthroponyms and other cultural and historical signs.

Many Russians are familiar with such historical names as *Dostoevsky* in Omsk, *Remezov* and *Nakhimov* in Tyumen. The name *Admiral* in Omsk is associated with *Admiral Kolchak*, whose significance in the history of Russia is recognized by all Russians.

The name of the guest house *Тридцатье царство* (*Tridevyatoe Tsarstvo* ‘Far Off Lands’, in Novosibirsk) is based on associations with Russian fairy tales that involve traveling.

At the same time, a group of associative names related to mythology is widely represented in the Siberian hotel name stock, which is not always understandable from the point of view of the specifics of the object. While the names *Аврора* (*Aurora*) and *Морфей* (*Morpheus*) can be explained from the perspective of the specifics of hotel services, it is hard to do so with names like *Афина* (*Athena*), *Купидон* (*Cupid*), *Ной* (*Noah*), *Велес* (*Veles*), *Ника* (*Nika*) and *Афродита* (*Aphrodite*), all occurring in Omsk. In Novosibirsk, the slot of mythological names is also filled: again we came across *Аврора* (*Aurora*), alongside *Антей* (*Antey*), *Пегас* (*Pegasus*), *Посейдон* (*Poseidon*) and *Меркурий* (*Mercury*), while in Tyumen we only found *Аврора* (*Aurora*). Thus, *Aurora* is the leader in the group of “mythological names” among Siberian hotel names.

6. Weak identifiers

Russian hotel naming includes typical names referring to prestige and size, as well as to many other systems of urban nomination: *Престиж* (*Prestige*), *Президент* (*President*), *Авангард* (*Avanguard*), *Континент* (*Continent*), *Меганполис* (*Megapolis*), names of signs of the zodiac: *Водолей* (*Vodoley* ‘Aquarius’) and names related to affiliation to different organizations: *Энергия* (*Energy*) to Ministry of Energy, *Лайнер* (*Liner*) to Aeroport Service, *Старт* (*Start*) to Department of Sport, etc. These names have no structural or semantic identifier which makes them unrecognizable in terms of the service category.

In both cities there are nominations whose sources are common names – names of plants and animals: *Абрикос* (*Abrikos* ‘Apricot’), *Крокус* (*Crocus*), *Ирис* (*Iris*), *Елка* (*Elka* ‘Pine Tree’), *Ивушка* (*Ivushka* ‘Willow’), *Березка* (*Beryozka* ‘Birch Tree’), *Колос* (*Kolos* ‘Spike’), *Сокол* (*Sokol* ‘Falcon’), *Буревестник* (*Burevestnik* ‘Stormbird’), *Колибри* (*Kolibri*), the boutique hotel *Серебряная лошадь* (*Serebryanaya Loshad* ‘Silver Horse’). Some of them are Sovietisms like *Sokol*, *Beryozka*, *Ivushka* and *Kolos* (usually the name of a hotel for rural residents, “collective farmers”). Others still have a weak associative relationship with the service, for example, the *Сова* (*Sova* ‘Owl’, compare with *Morpheus*),

but some would bewilder even the most adventurous travelers, such as *Тритон* (*Triton*).

The name of the hotel Mafia can hardly be attractive, and one can claim the same about the unmotivated from the client's viewpoint names *Оксид* (*Oxide*, in Novosibirsk) and *Герр Шулер* (*Ger Shuler* 'Herr Spieler', in Omsk).

7. Gaps of naming

The study revealed some gaps of Siberian hotel naming. Based on frame analysis and the collected material, it is possible to propose an algorithm for the development of competitive and creative names. It involves the following stages: 1. analysis of the frame-slot structure of the goods (services); 2. filling in slots with real names based on the examples from several regions; 3. detecting standard naming steps and gaps based on the analysis of slot filling; 4. creating original names.

Analysis of the practice of hotel naming of Siberian cities also revealed some weakly filled slots. These slots are relevant for the identification and selection of a hotel. To fill in the above gaps, the following names can be considered:

1. Names that directly or associatively reflect the image of the traveler (including the structural element "guest") and names characterizing the host (the owner): *Путешественник* (*Puteshestvennik* 'Traveler'), *Пилигрим* (*Pilgrim*), *Званный гость* (*Zvaniy Gost* 'Welcome Guest'), *Желанный гость* (*Zhelannyi Gost* 'Desired Guest'), *БлаГость* (*BlahGost* 'The Hospitable Host').
2. Names that define the price category of a hotel: *Эконом-Уют* (*Econom-Uyut* 'Economy-Comfort'), *VIP-ГОСТИНИЦА* (*VIP-GOSTINITSA* 'VIP-Hotel').
3. Names with toponymic identifiers in their structure: "*Tyumen*", "*Omsk*", "*Novosibirsk*", *Омск-Визит* (*Omsk-Visit*), *Омский терем* (*Omsk Terem* 'Omsk Palace'), *Тюменский дворик* (*Tyumensky Dvorik* 'Tyumen courtyard').
4. Names with local cultural and historical sonority (referring to settlement founders, etc.): *Бухгольц* (*Bukholts*, the name of the founder of Omsk), *Старая крепость* (*Staraya krepost* 'Old fort').

The study draws on only a few examples of hotel naming gaps, but it certainly demonstrates the method that could be useful for generating effective names with high identifying power.

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Abstract

The article demonstrates framing as a basic technique of generating names which helps determine consumers' knowledge about a product or a service. Starting from frame analysis and gathered material, a unique algorithm for developing competitive names was created.

The research examines more than 500 names of hotels in the Siberian region. They are classified according to their identifying power. This analysis uncovered that most of the names are generated according to several productive models. The generic concept of a hotel is an unambiguous identifier of the service category. Thus, a significant number of names include generic names, which allow for the identification of the company's profile in a more precise way. Semantically, the same aim is performed by names that are directly related or associated with the theme of "Travel". A large group of hotel names contain street names and names of urban objects. In addition, there is a group of names that emphasize the idea of quality. Some "gaps" and weakly filled slots have been found in the practice of hotel naming of Siberian cities.

The study resulted in developing a method of frame analysis of the names that have high identifying power. This method may be applied to a branding strategy for creating effective commercials names.

Keywords: Naming, Frame analysis, Hotel names, Commercial names

Ingrid Spitzner

Nachhaltigkeit in Firmennamen – Ein Ranking in der Namensgestaltung

1. Einleitung

Seit 1971 übersteigt der jährliche Verbrauch an Ressourcen das natürliche Vorkommen. Es wird jeweils der Tag eines Jahres berechnet, an dem die Menschen die natürlichen Ressourcen für das betreffende Jahr aufgebraucht haben. Dieser Tag wird als „Welterschöpfungstag“ (Earth Overshoot Day) bezeichnet. Es ist ein Orientierungswert, der Schwankungen unterworfen ist, da wetterbedingte Faktoren auf den Ressourcenverbrauch Einfluss nehmen. So war es im Jahre 2017 der 2. August.

Bereits vor Jahren hatte man den Begriff der *Nachhaltigkeit* aufgegriffen, um zu verdeutlichen, dass etwas für die nachfolgenden Generationen bewahrt und Veraltetes entsprechend verändert oder ersetzt werden muss. Im Bereich der Forstwirtschaft vormals verankert, fand er allmählich Eingang in unsere Alltagssprache und wird seitdem beinahe exzessiv gebraucht, was zur Folge hat, dass die Menschen oft über diesen Begriff hinwegsehen.

„Gesucht wurde eine neue Idee, um die sich neue, notwendig gewordene Formen der global governance würden organisieren können, ein kleinster gemeinsamer Wert der Globalisierung – kraftvoll genug, die Ängste und Hoffnungen unserer Zeit überzeugend zu bündeln. So kam es, dass eine Formel, die gut dreihundert Jahre in forstwirtschaftlichen Spezialwörterbüchern gedämmert hatte, zum praktischen Ideal des 21. Jahrhunderts aufstieg: *Nachhaltigkeit* (sustainability)“.¹

Erwägungen zur *Nachhaltigkeit* finden sich in allen Lebensbereichen und jeder Mensch kann bewusst oder unbewusst seinen Beitrag dazu leisten. Global gesehen kann das schon mit einer umfassenden „Mobilmachung“ verglichen werden (s. ebd.).

2. Methoden und Ziele der Untersuchung

In Deutschland prägte und prägt der Mittelstand die Industrielandschaft. Quantitativ betrachtet sind es die kleineren und mittleren (ca. 10–150 Mitarbeiter) Betriebe und qualitativ gesehen sind es Eigentümer geführte Familienunternehmen. Darüber hinaus gibt es die weithin bekannten Großunternehmen, die ebenfalls Familienunternehmen sind und damit nicht

¹ Vgl. dazu Eilenberger Süddeutsche Zeitung (online) 05.08.2014/22.09.17.

weniger interessant für diese Untersuchung. Bei Familienunternehmen ist entscheidend, dass sie in Generationen denken, d.h. zum einen wird etwas Altes (Tradition) bewahrt und zum anderen wird etwas Neues (Innovation) geschaffen, um als Unternehmen weiter bestehen zu können.

Im Rahmen einer solchen Untersuchung können jedoch nicht alle Unternehmen bzw. Branchen berücksichtigt werden, so dass eine Begrenzung auf die ältesten und jüngsten Unternehmen erfolgte, unabhängig von der Branche. Bei den ältesten Unternehmen handelt es sich um Unternehmungen, die in der 5. oder 6. Generation am Markt sind, d.h. mehr als 200 Jahre (oder länger) existieren. Die jüngsten Unternehmen wurden in die Untersuchung einbezogen, da den Gründern der Terminus *Nachhaltigkeit* weithin bekannt ist und von vielen in die Praxis umgesetzt wird. Daraus ergaben sich die folgenden Fragestellungen: Wie kennzeichnen diese Unternehmen ihren Umgang mit diesem Thema? In welcher sprachlichen Form erscheint es im Namen? Für die Auswahl der Branchen war entscheidend, in welchen Bereichen es eine besondere Verbindung zwischen Unternehmen und Verbrauchern gibt, um die größtmögliche Nähe zur Thematik *Nachhaltigkeit* zu erhalten.

Für diese Analyse wurden Unternehmen aus dem Lebensmittel- und Agrarsektor sowie aus der Kosmetikbranche, vor allem Naturkosmetik, untersucht. In beiden Branchen ist *Nachhaltigkeit* heute von essentieller Bedeutung. Der zuerst genannte Bereich hat einen sehr großen Einfluss auf die Natur und unseren Lebensraum und umgekehrt üben die Menschen mit ihrem Konsumverhalten einen beträchtlichen Einfluss auf die Herstellung von Lebensmitteln aus. Der Umsatz in der Kosmetikbranche ist in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten stetig gewachsen und damit auch der Rohstoffverbrauch. Auch hier beeinflussen die Menschen mit ihrem Konsumverhalten maßgeblich den Einsatz von Ressourcen.

Analysiert wurden die Darstellungen der Unternehmen im Internet, da es ein Medium ist, das von vielen Menschen zu Informationszwecken genutzt wird und in dem sich die Firmen mit ihrem ökonomischen, ökologischen und sozialen Anliegen oft recht ausführlich darstellen. Das Internet ermöglicht es auch, durch weitere Recherche dargestellte Positionen zu hinterfragen. Die Positionen der Firmen wurden verglichen und gegeneinander abgewogen, um so Rückschlüsse auf die semantische Einbettung der komplexen Thematik *Nachhaltigkeit* in den Firmennamen ziehen zu können. Im Ergebnis sollte eine Rangfolge/Abstufung in der Umsetzung nachhaltiger Ansätze zu ermitteln sein.

3. Nachhaltigkeitsparameter



Eine einheitliche Definition des Begriffes *Nachhaltigkeit* gibt es bisher nicht. In den existierenden Definitionen werden lediglich einzelne Aspekte hervor-

gehoben, doch ist allen Definitionen gemein, dass sie eine Orientierung für politisches, wirtschaftliches und ökologisches Handeln geben. Beim Konzept der *Nachhaltigkeit* geht es weniger darum, eine exakte Definition zu entwickeln, sondern vielmehr, „um die Bestimmung dessen, was Bestand haben soll und um die Verknüpfung der zeitlichen und räumlichen Ebene, die eine Nachhaltigkeitspolitik einzubeziehen hat. Die Grundidee basiert also auf der einfachen Einsicht, dass ein System dann nachhaltig ist, wenn es selber überlebt und langfristig Bestand hat. Wie es konkret auszusehen hat, muss im Einzelfall geklärt werden.“ (CARNAU 2011: 14).

Das *Zentrum für Nachhaltige Unternehmensführung* an der Universität Witten-Herdecke, das aus einer Initiative von Vertretern aus Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft entstanden ist, beschäftigt sich seit Jahren mit dem Thema Nachhaltigkeit in Unternehmen und in der Unternehmensführung und hat dafür ein Zertifizierungsverfahren entwickelt, in das die Standards nationaler und internationaler Einrichtungen eingeflossen sind, u.a. *Deutscher Nachhaltigkeitskodex*, *ISO 26000*, *UN SDGs*, *ISO 50001*, *ISO 14001/EMAS*, *BSCI*, *GRI*, *UN Global Compact*, *FAO/SAFA*, *GSCP*, *ISEAL*.² Damit soll das Thema transparenter und für die Öffentlichkeit nachvollziehbarer gestaltet werden.

Die Hauptparameter für Nachhaltigkeit sind: Ökologie, Ökonomie und Soziales.³ Diese drei Faktoren sind als Einheit anzusehen und in ihrer Wechselbeziehung zueinander zu betrachten. Das ökonomische Wachstum eines Unternehmens darf die Umwelt und die Mitarbeiter nicht außer Acht lassen, die dieses Wachstum ermöglichen und erschaffen. Heutzutage geht es dabei nicht mehr nur um die nationale, sondern um die globale Ebene. Eine besonders wichtige Rolle kommt dabei der Kommunikation zu. Einerseits im Unternehmen selbst, um den Mitarbeitern die intendierten Positionen zu verdeutlichen und sie so zu motivieren, das Anliegen der Firma zu unterstützen und mitzutragen und andererseits nach außen, um den Kunden das Engagement des Unternehmens zu vermitteln. Das geschieht zum einen, um eine Kundenbindung zu erreichen und zum anderen, um neue Kunden zu gewinnen.

4. Theoretische Positionen zu Unternehmensnamen

Wie spiegeln die Firmen- bzw. Unternehmensnamen das Anliegen *Nachhaltigkeit* wider? Wie sind die genannten Parameter Ökologie, Ökonomie und Soziales darin umgesetzt? Welche Bedeutung haben eigentlich Namen?

² <https://www.znu-standard.com/znu-standard/15.08.17>.

³ Vgl. dazu auch die Ausführungen von Eilenberger.

In seinem Beitrag „Was ist ein Name?“ in den *Namenkundlichen Informationen* 105–106 schreibt W. DEBUS: „Mit Wörtern verständigen wir uns, indem wir ihre Bedeutung verstehen, Namen/Benennungen hingegen müssen wir kennen, um uns zu verständigen. Das gilt prinzipiell für alle Namen-Arten“. (2015: 33).

Im selben Beitrag zitiert W. DEBUS den Schweizer Namensforscher STEFAN SONDEREGGER „Namenbedeutsamkeit ist die Summe der mit einem Namen verbundenen positiven, neutralen oder negativen Assoziationen, Vorstellungen und Gefühle. Sie ergibt sich grundsätzlich aus dem Wechselverhältnis zwischen Name und Benanntem.“ (2015: 40).

Bezogen auf den Namen eines Unternehmens bedeutet dies, dass wir den Namen kennen und ihn in der Kommunikation benutzen, zum einen als Namen an sich und zum anderen zur Übermittlung zusätzlicher Informationen durch Konnotationen.

D. NÜBLING führt zum Unternehmensnamen folgendes aus: „Schließlich lässt sich mit einem guten Namen bestens werben. Von elementarer ökonomischer Bedeutung ist er besonders in gesättigten Märkten, wo sich Konzerne wie Produkte häufig nur noch durch dieses *Alleinstellungsmerkmal* grundsätzlich voneinander abheben. Deshalb werden hohe Anforderungen an ihn gestellt. Neben der eigentlichen Benennungsfunktion soll der Name zusätzlich positive Assoziationen hervorrufen und Vertrauen schaffen, also sowohl identifizieren als auch charakterisieren. Darüber hinaus sorgt er für eine unverzichtbare Orientierung in der Wirtschaftswelt.“ (NÜBLING 2012: 277).

KREMER (1996) unterteilt in seinem Beitrag „Die Firma“ einen Firmennamen in obligatorische und fakultative sowie in zentrale und periphere Elemente (KREMER 1996: 360). Somit besteht ein Firmenname aus einem Firmenkern und einer Peripherie, die sich in einen obligatorischen Firmenzusatz und in fakultative Erweiterungen aufgliedert. L. KREMER erläutert dazu: „Als Erweiterung des Firmenkerns möchte ich all jene Hinzufügungen ansehen, die über die gesetzlichen Vorschriften hinaus eine Zusatzinformation liefern oder in werbender Absicht hinzugefügt werden, für die Identifikationsfunktion aber nicht unbedingt erforderlich sind.“ (KREMER 1996: 361).

Zu den Erweiterungen zählt KREMER u.a. Branche, Abkürzungen, geographische Hinweise sowie weitere erklärende oder werbende Zusätze (KREMER 1996: 361).

Diese theoretischen Positionen wurden für diesen Aufsatz in Erwägung gezogen, um die Namen und die Präsentationen von mehr 100 Unternehmen zu untersuchen. Dabei wurden Unternehmensnamen der ältesten und jüngsten Unternehmen sowie von Unternehmen aus der Kosmetikbranche und

dem Lebensmittelsektor ausgewählt. Beispiele von Firmennamen anderer Wirtschaftsbereiche, wurden ebenfalls berücksichtigt.

5. Name und Nachhaltigkeit

In diesem Zusammenhang muss noch einmal betont werden, dass ein Firmenname ein äußerst ökonomisches sprachliches Zeichen ist. Damit soll auch noch einmal auf die unter Punkt 3 aufgeführten theoretischen Positionen verwiesen werden.

Der Firmenname soll positive Assoziationen hervorrufen, Vertrauen schaffen und für eine unverzichtbare Orientierung in der Wirtschaftswelt sorgen (NÜBLING 2012: 277) Das hohe Identifikationspotential wird verbunden mit hoher Qualität und das über einen langen Zeitraum.

Ausgehend vom Firmenkern (KREMER 1996: 361), dem Namen des Firmengründers oder -inhabers sowie der Angabe der Gesellschaftsform⁴ ist durch den Gebrauch des Namens dieser mit Konnotationen aufgefüllt worden, wobei diese Konnotationen nicht als permanente Namenselemente anzusehen sind, sondern als temporäre aufgrund der Veränderungen, die sich im Laufe der Entwicklung des Unternehmens ergeben.

Unter dieser Prämisse wird klar, dass bei sehr bekannten und lange präsenten Unternehmensnamen nicht in der Kernbedeutung der Verweis auf die Nachhaltigkeit erfolgt, sondern in den peripheren Konnotationen, u.a. in der Unternehmensphilosophie, in einem Code of Conduct, in vertretenen Werten, in der Unternehmensverantwortung, Tradition und damit in vielen anderen Bereichen des Unternehmens. Das bestätigt sich in den Postulaten einiger Unternehmen wie *Meggle*. Diese bringen klar zum Ausdruck, dass Nachhaltigkeit kein Marketingansatz ist, sondern Unternehmensaufgabe: „Nachhaltigkeit ist beständige Unternehmensaufgabe. Sie berücksichtigt neben dem Ziel, den Fortbestand des Unternehmens zu sichern, in ausgewogenem Maße sowohl die Interessen der heutigen als auch der nachfolgenden Generationen in Bezug auf Lebensqualität und Lebensstandard. Konkret bedeutet das: Wir berücksichtigen bei jeder Entscheidung neben ihren kurzfristigen Auswirkungen auch den langfristigen Effekt auf Wirtschaftlichkeit, Ressourcenverbrauch und Umwelt, Mitarbeiter und die Gesellschaft.“⁵

Häufig fügen die Unternehmen ihrem Namen einen Claim bei. B. SAMLAND, definiert den Begriff *Claim* wie folgt: „Claim wird häufig als Synonym für

⁴ Gemeint sind die gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Angaben nach §18 HGB, §12BGB und §30 HGB.

⁵ Meggle/Nachhaltigkeit, abgerufen 22.08.17.

„Slogan“ benutzt. [...] Der Terminus Claim heißt wörtlich übersetzt Anspruch, Behauptung, aber auch Bekenntnis.“ (SAMLAND 2006: 114).

Letztere Bedeutung ist wesentlich für die Deutung der Claims, die den in diesem Aufsatz untersuchten Namen beigelegt wurden. Es geht hier um die Positionierung des Unternehmens im Kontext von *Nachhaltigkeit* und *Umweltengagement*. Der Claim übernimmt die Funktion, positive Assoziationen zu schaffen und für die nötige Orientierung zu sorgen (NÜBLING 2006: 277). *HIPP – Das Beste aus der Natur. Das Beste für die Natur* oder *oekom research AG – ökologisch, sozial und kulturell*.

Die Firma *Kühne* setzt u.a. den Slogan *Mit Liebe gemacht* hinzu. Einerseits ein etwas veraltet anmutender Ausdruck, andererseits ein Verweis darauf, dass der Hersteller den Kunden seinen hohen Qualitätsanspruch und Vertrauen mit nur drei Worten vermitteln möchte.

Die Firma *Kühne* ist nur eine von weit über 100 Unternehmen, die auf eine lange bzw. sehr lange Firmentraditionen zurückblicken können.

5.1. Die ältesten Unternehmen Deutschlands

Die lange Existenz dieser Firmen ist ein Beispiel dafür, wie Nachhaltigkeit, auch ohne sie konkret zu benennen, dazu beigetragen hat, ein über Jahrhunderte dauerndes Wirken zu sichern und damit zu einem Stabilitätsfaktor in Raum und Zeit zu werden. Diese Unternehmen haben, um ihre Existenz zu sichern, immer wieder nach Innovationen gesucht, ohne dabei ihre Ursprünge außer Acht zu lassen. Sie haben das Portfolio erweitert oder eingegrenzt, um sich den Erfordernissen der Zeit anzupassen.

Zu den ältesten noch aktiven Unternehmen in Deutschland zählen die Brauereien *Weihenstephan*, gegründet 1040 und *Weltenburg*, gegr. 1050, das *Lazarus* Hilfswerk aus Hürth (1120) sowie die Brauereien in Brüne (1131), Herrngiersdorf (1131) Freising (1160) und in Irsee (1181). Die *Morasch GmbH* aus dem Jahre 1191 ist ebenso noch aktiv wie das 1242 gegründete *Weingut Fürst zu Hohenlohe Öhringen* oder das *Fürstlich Castell'sche Domänenamt* (so die Eigenschreibweise) zu Castell, dessen Tradition bis ins Jahr 1224 zurückreicht. Das älteste, noch existierende produzierende Unternehmen Deutschlands ist die Firma *Prym*, die bereits im Jahre 1530 von dem Goldschmied Wilhelm Prym in Aachen gegründet wurde, wo sie jedoch nicht mehr ansässig ist.

Diese Unternehmen verweisen häufig auf ihr Gründungsjahr und beziehen es mit dem Claim, z.B. *Osiander - Bücher seit 1596*, in ihre Präsentationen ein. Diese Form der *heritage communication* wird auch von Unternehmen mit jüngeren Gründungsdaten aufgegriffen. (Vgl. hierzu HEIKE BÜHLER, 2008.)

Gründungsjahr	Unternehmen ⁶	Branche	Standort
1530	Prym	Metallwaren	Stolberg (Rhld.)
1596	Osiander Buchhandlung	Bücher	Tübingen
1668	Merck (Engelapotheke)	Apotheke	Darmstadt
1674	Metzler	Bank	Frankfurt a.M.
1688/1899	Lambertz	Bäckerei ⁷	Aachen
1709	Farina – Kölnisch Wasser	Duftwasser	Köln
1722	Kühne	Essigbrauerei	Hamburg
1745	J.D.Neuhaus	Hebetechnik	Witten
1748	Villeroy & Boch	Keramikwaren	Mettlach (Pfalz)
1761	Faber (Castell)	Bleistiftmacher	Stein b. Nürnberg

Das Thema Nachhaltigkeit nimmt bei diesen Unternehmen einen stetig wachsenden Anteil an der Unternehmensphilosophie, am Code of Conduct, in der Ausbildung von Nachwuchskräften etc., ein.

5.2. Die jüngsten Unternehmen Deutschlands

„Die deutsche Wirtschaft“ – das Portal für Veränderung und Wertschöpfung hat die folgende Liste zu den 15 jüngsten Top Familienunternehmen in Deutschland veröffentlicht.⁸

Gründungsjahr	Firma	Branche	Standort
2009	Energy2market GmbH	Energie	Leipzig
2009	DvH Medien GmbH	Medien	Stuttgart
2006	VERBIO Vereinigte BioEnergie AG	Biokraftstoffe	Leipzig
2006	AURELIUS Equity Opportunities SE & Co. KgaA	Beteiligungen	München
2003	B. H. Holding GmbH	Einzelhandel	Stuttgart
2003	Adcuram Group AG	Beteiligungen	München
2002	flyeralarm GmbH	Druckereien	Stuttgart
2002	VAPIANO SE	Systemgastronomie	Hamburg
2001	DFH Deutsche Fertighaus Holding AG	Fertighäuser	Simmern/ Hunsrück
2001	F+S Milchprodukte GmbH & Co. KG	Lebensmittel	Hamburg

⁶ Auf die Nennung der Gesellschaftsform wurde bewusst verzichtet.

⁷ 1899 ist das Jahr, in dem der Name Lambertz als Marke eingetragen wurde (5).

⁸ Die Liste wurde aus dem Original so übernommen und etwas gekürzt. Im Artikel geht es nicht um eine Wertung im wirtschaftlichen Sinne.



Wie aus den Jahreszahlen ersichtlich ist, handelt es sich allesamt um Unternehmen, die erst nach der Jahrtausendwende gegründet worden sind. Die Zahl der Branchen ist zwar vielfältig, auf die Menge der Unternehmen bezogen, aber es sind nur wenige Unternehmen des produzierenden Gewerbes dabei. Hieran wird deutlich, dass sich die gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen (Veränderung von der Industrie- zur Dienstleistungsgesellschaft) auch in den Firmengründungen sowie deren Benennungen niederschlagen.

Nicht alle der hier genannten Unternehmen beziehen das Thema Nachhaltigkeit in ihre Präsentation ein oder erwähnen einen Nachhaltigkeitsbericht wie *VERBIO*. Die Beteiligungsgesellschaft *Adcuram* wählt in ihrem Claim die Schlagworte: *operativ nachhaltig kapitalstark*. Das bedeutet, dass Nachhaltigkeit bei der Neuausrichtung des Unternehmens (Turnround) ein entscheidender Faktor ist. *DFH* verweist in seiner Präsentation darauf, dass sie für den Nachhaltigkeitspreis 2017 nominiert wurde.

Interessant aus onomastischer Sicht sind die Firmennamen selbst, insbesondere unter semantischem Aspekt.

Vier Unternehmen enthalten die Namen der Gründer und Inhaber als buchstabierte Initialwörter, u.a. *DvH* (Dieter von Holtzbrink), *B.H. Holding* (Benjamin Heinig) und *F+S Milchprodukte* (Fude + Serrahn). Die Beteiligungsfirmen entschieden sich für latinisierte Namen *Adcuram* bzw. *Aurelius*. Weitere Akronyme finden sich in den Namen *VERBIO* und *DFH*.

Energy2market steht für ein Benennungsmodell, das in der ersten Dekade des neuen Jahrtausends oft gebraucht wurde, da sich durch die verstärkte Nutzung von SMS eine besondere Sprachform aus Buchstaben, Zahlen und Zeichen entwickelt hatte.

Graphematische Besonderheiten weisen die Namen *flyeralarm* – nur Minuskeln – und *VAPIANO* – nur Majuskeln – auf.

Der Inhaber der Firma *VAPIANO* ist italienischer Herkunft und entschied sich daher für einen Namen, der Ruhe und Gelassenheit (*deutsche Übersetzung des Namens*) ausdrückt und somit einen symbolischen Wert in der hektischen Gastronomie vermittelt. Die Angabe des Standorts ist zwar nicht bedeutend, aber es ist immer noch von wirtschaftlichem Interesse, wo neue Firmen gegründet werden.

Die folgenden Abschnitte konzentrieren sich auf Unternehmen aus der Kosmetik- und der Lebensmittelbranche zu. Diese beiden Branchen wurden gewählt, weil sie in unserem Alltag eine zentrale Rolle spielen, da nicht nur die Hersteller und Vertreiber in hohem Maße unser Leben beeinflussen, sondern auch wir als Verbraucher mit unserem Verhalten Einfluss auf die Unternehmen ausüben.

5.3. Unternehmen der Kosmetikbranche

Die Unternehmen, die in diese Untersuchung einbezogen wurden, sind ausschließlich im Bereich Naturkosmetik aktiv. Dass in den letzten Jahren ein erheblicher Zuwachs an Produzenten in dieser Branche zu verzeichnen ist, resultiert zum einen aus einem gewachsenen Umweltbewusstsein der VerbraucherInnen im Umgang mit Kosmetik und zum anderen lösen die Inhaltsstoffe der herkömmlichen Kosmetikartikel oft Allergien und Unverträglichkeiten aus, die die VerbraucherInnen zu alternativen Produkten greifen lassen. Hatten vor Jahren Naturkosmetikprodukte noch ein negatives Image u.a. wegen fehlender Duftstoffe oder altmodisch erscheinender Verpackungen, so haben sich sowohl das Erscheinungsbild als auch die Wahl der Rohstoffe für die Kosmetika sehr verändert.

Die ersten Unternehmen für Naturkosmetik entstanden bereits in den 20er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts, u.a. infolge des anthroposophischen Ansatzes in Philosophie und Bildung. Später kamen u.a. ayurvedische Ansätze hinzu.

Die folgende Tabelle gibt einen kleinen Überblick über wichtige Unternehmen der Kosmetikbranche.

Der Standort spielt eine wesentliche Rolle sowohl in Bezug auf den sozialen als auch auf den ökologischen Aspekt der *Nachhaltigkeit*. Die meisten Unternehmen sind nicht in größeren Städten angesiedelt, sondern häufig in ländlichen Regionen, d.h. in der Nähe zu den Rohstoffen, auf denen ihre Produkte basieren. Darüber hinaus fördern sie soziale Projekte in ihrer Umgebung.

Gründungsjahr	Unternehmen	Standort
1921	Weleda AG	Schwäbisch-Gmünd
1928	Speick, Walter Rau GmbH & Co. KG	Leinfelden-Echterdingen
1959	Annemarie Börlind GmbH	Calw
1978	Lavera GmbH & Co. KG	Hannover
1981	Bergland Pharma GmbH & Co. KG	Heimertingen/Allgäu
1997	Amla Natur GmbH	Drestedt
2001	BIOTURM GmbH	Marienrachdorf

Fast alle analysierten Unternehmen weisen den Namensweiterung Naturkosmetik auf – bei neueren Gründungen auch in der englischen Version. Durch den Claim *Natürlich schön* möchten die Hersteller Transparenz erzeugen. Transparenz bedeutet in diesem Zusammenhang, dass natürliche Rohstoffe ohne Konservierungsmittel für die Herstellung der Produkte eingesetzt werden. Des weiteren entstand eine Reihe der Produkte und Produktlinien dadurch, dass eigene Haut- oder Haarprobleme nicht mit den herkömmlichen Mitteln



beseitigt werden konnten. Die Inhaltsstoffe variieren, aber sind ausschließlich auf der Basis von Heil- und Blütenpflanzen hergestellt.

Alle Unternehmen verweisen auf die Zertifizierung ihrer Produkte nach den entsprechenden Standards und auf ihr soziales Engagement in den Herkunftsländern der Rohstoffe. Dabei geht es nicht nur um den Anbau der Rohstoffe selbst, sondern auch um soziale Projekte, wie den Bau von Schulen, Krankenstationen oder ähnlichen Einrichtungen.

Die Namen der Unternehmen zeigen unterschiedliche Benennungsmotivationen auf:

Speick und *Amla* gehen auf eine Pflanze bzw. eine Frucht zurück. *Speick*⁹ ist eine Alpenpflanze, die nur unter strengsten Auflagen von Seiten der österreichischen Behörden gepflückt werden darf und *Amla* bedeutet in der ayurvedischen Heilkunst – Frucht für ewige Jugend und Schönheit.

Hersteller, wie Annemarie *Börlind*,¹⁰ führen ihren Namen auf die Gründer zurück, während *Bergland* (Heimertingen im Allgäu) auf die Ortsansässigkeit verweist.

Ein alter Wasserturm, der auf dem Firmengelände steht, war maßgebend für den Firmennamen: Biokosmetik und Turm = *BIOTURM*.¹¹

5.4. Unternehmen der Lebensmittelindustrie

Fast 1000 Jahre liegen zwischen dem zuerst – die Molkerei „*Weihenstephan*“ – und dem zuletzt – *F+S Milchprodukte* – gegründeten Unternehmen. In keiner anderen Branche ist die Zeitspanne so groß. Auffällig ist, dass die Mehrzahl der Gründungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert lag. In einem Zeitraum, in dem sich die Industriegesellschaft entwickelte und Produktentwicklungen und Handel zunahmen.

Mit Ausnahme von *Kathi* sind alle Unternehmen in den alten Bundesländer angesiedelt und haben lediglich Niederlassungen in den neuen Bundesländern.

⁹ Der neueste Slogan lautet: grüner geht nicht (7).

¹⁰ Der Name Börlind ist eine Kombination aus den Namen Börner und Lindner.

¹¹ www.bioturm.de/cms/Ueber_Bioturm/626-1.

Gründungsjahr	Unternehmen	Branche	Standort
1021	Weihenstephan* Molkerei GmbH & Co. KG	Molkerei	Freising
1682	Ponnath Die Meistermetzger GmbH	Metzgerei	Kemnath
1688/1899	Lambertz GmbH & Co. KG	Bäckerei	Aachen
1688	Harry-Brot* GmbH	Bäckerei	Schenefeld bei Pinneberg
1722	Kühne Carl Kühne KG	Essigbrauerei	Hamburg
1882	Meggle AG	Molkerei	Wasserburg am Inn
1908	Melitta Unternehmensgruppe Bentz KG	Kaffeefilter	Minden
1912	Ritter Sport Alfred Ritter GmbH & Co. KG	Süßwaren	Waldenbuch
1951	Kathi Reiner Thiele GmbH	Lebensmittel	Halle/Saale
1975	Dennree GmbH	Bio-Lebensmittel	Töpen
2001	F+S Milchprodukte GmbH	Molkerei	Hamburg

Die meisten Unternehmen haben den Namen des Gründers bzw. Eigentümers im Firmennamen, *Schwarze*, *Meggle*, *Ritter*, *Lambertz*, *Kühne* usw. Dass sich der Firmenname *Melitta* auf die Erfinderin des Kaffeefilters Melitta Benz gründet, ist weithin bekannt. Die Initialen *F+S* stehen für die Namen Fude und Serrahn. *Kathi* ist ein Akronym aus Karl und Käthe Thiele. Der Name *Ponnath* hat sich aus dem vormaligen Familiennamen Ponnader entwickelt, unter dem die Metzgerei ursprünglich gegründet wurde. Eine ähnliche Anpassung des Namens ist bei dem Hersteller *Harry-Brot* zu verzeichnen, der in seinen Anfangsjahren unter Harrie firmierte.

Der Name *Dennree* geht auf das französische Wort für Grundnahrungsmittel *denrées* zurück.

Nicht alle der aufgelisteten Unternehmen sind bundesweit geläufig. Viele sind nur in einigen Regionen bekannt: *Ponnath* und *Harry-Brot*. *Kathi*, in Halle an der Saale ansässig und eine Marke der ehemaligen DDR.

6. Ranking in der Namensgestaltung

Der Begriff *Ranking*, der z.B. durch Ranking-Berichte im Hochschulsektor Eingang in unseren Sprachgebrauch gefunden hat, bedeutet Rangfolge oder Rangliste. Es ist eine Reihenfolge vergleichbarer Objekte. Daraus kann abgeleitet werden, dass *Ranking* eine Möglichkeit ist, komplexe Informationen nach bestimmten Kriterien auszuwerten und durch deren Bewertung eine



Rangordnung festzulegen. Da Namen und somit auch Firmennamen komplexe sprachliche Zeichen sind, schien dieser Ansatz für die Auswertung des Untersuchungsmaterials geeignet.

Bezogen auf das untersuchte Namensmaterial war herauszufinden, welche Namen sich ganz der Thematik *Nachhaltigkeit* verschrieben, welche Namen Links- oder Rechtserweiterungen zur Kennzeichnung ihrer Zuordnung haben und welche Namen durch einen Claim ergänzt werden.

Wie wird in herkömmlichen Unternehmensnamen verfahren, um nachhaltiges Engagement zum Ausdruck zu bringen? Gibt es mögliche Umbenennungen?

Daraus lässt sich folgende Rangfolge ableiten:

1. Noch in geringer Zahl sind die Unternehmen, die *Nachhaltigkeit* bzw. einen sprachlichen Ausdruck, der synonym dafür steht, als Bestandteil im Namen führen. Vor allem jüngere und kleinere Unternehmen orientieren sich in der Namensgestaltung an diesem Wert.
2. Ein zum Namen hinzugefügter Claim und die Nennung der Zertifizierungen übernehmen die Funktion der Übermittlung dieser Nachhaltigkeitsinformation.
3. Die Mehrzahl der Unternehmen ist in ihrem ökonomischen, ökologischen und sozialen Handeln auf *Nachhaltigkeit* ausgerichtet. Im Namen des Unternehmens erscheint dieser Verweis nicht.

Die erste Gruppe bilden vorwiegend Unternehmen aus jüngerer Zeit. Die ersten Unternehmen dieser Sparte wurden vor etwa 20–30 Jahren gegründet als die Grünenbewegung und das Umweltbewusstsein in den Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit rückten. Es ist nicht immer klar ersichtlich, in welchem Umfang sich die Unternehmen wirklich engagieren. Namenserverweiterungen wie Öko-, Bio-, Green, Fair-, Natur- (als Rechts- oder Linkserweiterung) oder Ethik- fungieren als Informationsübermittler für nachhaltige Inhalte. Die Verwendung dieser Namenserverweiterungen setzt eine Zertifizierung voraus. Ohne Zertifizierung kann eindeutig von Greenwashing¹² gesprochen werden.

In der zweiten Gruppe finden sich sowohl ältere als auch jüngere Unternehmen. Vor allem sind es die Unternehmen der Kosmetikbranche, die in ihren Namen eindeutig Stellung beziehen, nämlich zur Verbundenheit mit der Natur. Sie tragen den Namenszusatz: Naturkosmetik. Dahinter verbirgt sich der Einsatz von Rohstoffen aus kontrolliert biologischem oder biologisch-dynamischem Anbau. Alle Unternehmen verweisen auf die Zertifizierung ihrer Produkte durch nationale oder internationale Zertifizierungsorganisationen:

¹² https://www.nachhaltigkeit.info/artikel/lebenstil_1974.htm?sid=mitr2lffvq92r1tklonhmkc7d7/30.08.2018 9.



Zur Komplettierung der Einordnung seien hier noch Beispiele für Unternehmensnamen mit Claims genannt: *sonett – ökologisch konsequent*, *naturstrom – Energie mit Zukunft*, *Neuendorff – Freude am naturgemäßen Gärtnern*, *Lebensbaum – Natur und Mensch*, *Ulrich Walter GmbH*, *oekom research AG – ökologisch, sozial und kulturell*, *EthikBank – Faires Geld*, *Green City Energy – der alternative Dienstleister*.

In die dritte Gruppe gehören die ältesten Unternehmen Deutschlands. Sie bringen in ihren Claims vor allem zwei Aspekte zum Ausdruck: Qualität aus Tradition. Das Wort „Qualität“ ist dabei eine Umschreibung für Kontrolle, Regionalität, Umweltbewusstsein und Verantwortung der Mitarbeiter und des Unternehmens. Tradition steht für Langlebigkeit, Stabilität, Innovation und Pioniergeist.

Einen Slogan, der das zum Ausdruck bringt, setzt die Firma Kühne ein: *Aus Gutem das Beste – Seit 1876*.

7. Zusammenfassung

Aus dem bisher Gesagten kann festgestellt werden, dass eine große Anzahl von Firmennamen dem Leitgedanken der „Nachhaltigkeit“ auch in ihrem Namen Ausdruck verleiht und zwar auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise.

Die älteren Unternehmen führen zwar keine Elemente im Namen, die auf *Nachhaltigkeit* hinweisen, für diese Unternehmen liegt sie in der Tradition. Dennoch spielt gerade in diesen Unternehmen *Nachhaltigkeit* eine große Rolle. Für sie ist *Nachhaltigkeit* Unternehmensphilosophie und keine Marketingstrategie.

Gleiches gilt für die meisten Unternehmen, die in den 70er und 80er Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts gegründet wurden. Durch das Hinzufügen eines Claims zum Namen verleihen sie ihrem Anliegen Nachdruck. In den Namen, die aus jüngeren und jüngsten Firmengründungen resultieren, ist das Nachhaltigkeitskonzept weit häufiger als Namens-element zu finden als bei Unternehmen mit langer Tradition. Es gab nur ein Beispiel einer Umbenennung durch Firmenzusammenlegung.

8. Schlussfolgerungen

Diese Untersuchung ist ein erster Ansatz, den Leitgedanken *Nachhaltigkeit* in Firmennamen nachzuweisen und zu analysieren.

Es ist nicht immer offensichtlich, in welchem Maße sich das Unternehmen nachhaltig engagiert. Der Name allein gibt oft darüber nicht hinreichend Auskunft. Bei Unternehmen, die schon sehr lange am Markt sind, ist es erforderlich, sich nicht nur auf den Namen zu konzentrieren, sondern das gesamte Unternehmen bzw. dessen Präsentation zu analysieren, um auf der semantischen Ebene des Namens, über die Konnotationen, *Nachhaltigkeit* zu verorten. Diesem Aspekt sollte in künftigen Untersuchungen mehr Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden. Bei einer Vielzahl der jüngeren und neu gegründeten Unternehmen erfolgt von Beginn an eine Ausrichtung auf *Nachhaltigkeit* als Gesamtkonzept. In diesem Segment wäre es interessant zu untersuchen, mit welchen sprachlichen Mitteln Entwicklungen im Unternehmen angezeigt werden und ob dies Veränderungen im Namen oder in Claims zur Folge hat. Ein weiteren Untersuchungsansatz bietet der Digitalisierungsprozess in den Unternehmen und die Umsetzung der daraus resultierenden Veränderungen im Hinblick auf das Thema *Nachhaltigkeit*, u.a. am Beispiel der Firma *Merck*.

Zusammenfassend zum Anliegen des Artikels soll eine Aussage der Firma *Roeckl* (dieses Unternehmen ist in der Textilbranche angesiedelt) stehen, die die Essenz nicht besser beschreiben kann.¹³

Seit nunmehr sechs Generationen steht Roeckl für Qualität, Perfektion und Innovation. Durch unseren Leitgedanken „Aus Tradition innovativ sein. Bewährtes erhalten. Gutes noch besser machen!“

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Abstract

Nachhaltigkeit ist zu einem Kernthema in vielen Unternehmen geworden. Die Unternehmen haben erkannt, dass sie, um den Fortbestand ihres Unternehmens zu sichern und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Verantwortung gerecht zu werden, ihr ökologisches, ökonomisches und soziales Handeln überdenken und ändern müssen. Dies ist auch an den Verbraucher zu übermitteln. Der Name eines Unternehmens ist der Mehrheit der Verbraucher bekannt und scheint daher ein geeignetes Medium, das Anliegen zu transferieren.

Schlüsselwörter: Nachhaltigkeit, Firmennamen, Greenwashing, Marketingstrategie, Kosmetikbranche, Lebensmittelbranche, Unternehmen mit langer Tradition, neue Unternehmen, Namensgestaltungslogik

Judit Kozma

Names of Astronomical Objects from a Global and Local Perspective

1. Astronomical objects

The following article¹ deals with some aspects of naming astronomical objects that have not yet been onomastically explored in great detail (for onomastical and orthographical researches see KOZMA 2013). Nevertheless, amongst astronomers, celestial nomenclature “has long been a controversial topic. At its inaugural meeting in 1922 in Rome, the International Astronomical Union (IAU) standardized the constellation names and abbreviations. More recently IAU Committees or Working Groups have certified the names of astronomical objects and features” (<https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming>).

What kind of astronomical objects are there? Here we will follow the approach of the International Astronomical Union (see <https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming/>):

Solar System objects and features are: the major planets and the Moon, planetary features, dwarf planets, satellites of planets in the Solar System, minor planets and comets.

Objects outside the Solar System include: stars; nebulae, galaxies and other objects (the so called “deep-sky objects”); and exoplanets. In this paper, two categories of astronomical objects are added here: meteor showers and constellations.

(Human-made space objects, such as spaceships, rockets, space probes, satellites, etc. are beyond the scope of this paper.)

2. “Globality”: Naming conventions

2.1. Ancient names

The first objects to be named were objects visible to the naked eye: planets, bright stars and constellations. Many names from the Greco-Latin mythology are still in use today, e.g. the names of the major planets: *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Jupiter* and *Saturn*. Planets discovered later (*Uranus*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*) got their names from this thematic group, as well. *Moon* also has an ancient name. “The IAU does recognize official names for the major planets (*Mercury*,

¹ This research has made use of data and/or services provided by the International Astronomical Union’s Minor Planet Center. Furthermore, I would like to thank László Szabados, Krisztián Sárneczky, James Whitby and Réka Gyöngyhalmi for their help, suggestions and corrections.



Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune) and Earth's satellite (*Moon*)" (https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming/#def_planet). Pluto has been categorized as a dwarf planet since 2006 ([https:// www.iau.org/public/themes/pluto/](https://www.iau.org/public/themes/pluto/)).

More than half of the 88 modern constellations recognized by the IAU "were recorded in the seventh and eighth books of Claudius Ptolemy's *Almagest*, although the exact origin of these constellations still remains uncertain" ([https:// www.iau.org/public/themes/constellations/](https://www.iau.org/public/themes/constellations/)). Such ancient constellation names still in use today are, e.g. *Andromeda*, *Corvus*, *Triangulum* or *Ursa Minor*.

The brightest stars were already named in ancient times, as well. As of 1st June 2018, 330 star names are approved by the IAU. It may be interesting that "[b]efore the establishment of the WGSN [the Working Group on Star Names], the IAU had only ever officially approved the names of 14 stars, in connection with efforts to catalogue the names of newly discovered exoplanets" ([https:// www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_stars/](https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_stars/)). The vast majority of the approved star names are of Arabic (*Aldebaran*, *Rigel*, *Unukalhai*, etc.), Greek (*Antares*, *Merope*, *Procyon*, etc.) or Latin (*Capella*, *Pollux*, *Regulus*, etc.) origin.

2.2. "Modern names"

After the invention of the telescope in the early seventeenth century, more and more objects became visible to astronomers, and they had to be named, as well. *Uranus*, *Neptune* and *Pluto* as planets discovered later were already mentioned.

In 1610, Galileo Galilei discovered four star-like objects near Jupiter which he named the "Medicean Stars". These "stars" later turned out to be satellites of Jupiter. Simon Marius, following Kepler's recommendation, suggested the names *Io*, *Europa*, *Ganymede* and *Callisto* (lovers of Zeus) for them already in 1614, but these only became established in the 20th century (see: VAN HELDEN 1994: 1; https://www.iau.org/public/themes/our_moon/#3).

By the middle of the 19th century, eight moons of Saturn had been discovered by direct observation: *Titan* (discovered by Christian Huygens in 1655), *Iapetus*, *Rhea* (both: Giandomenico Cassini, 1671–1672), *Tethys*, *Dione* (both: Giandomenico Cassini, 1684), *Mimas*, *Enceladus* (both: William Herschel, 1789) and *Hyperion* (William Lassell, George Bond, independently of each other, 1848). The names were suggested by John Herschel in 1847. He recommended the usage of names of the mythological Titans, Saturn's brothers and sisters (see VAN HELDEN 1994: 2).

The first surface features of the Moon were also described and named in the early 16th century and some of them are still in use today, e.g. *Langrenus* (crater) or *Sinus Medii* (see PAPP-VÁRY 2007: 385–392). The convention of differentiating

between “highlands” (*terrae*) and “seas” (*maria*) also originated with the first telescopic observations (see e.g. MIZSER 2002: 211). Although 22 *mare* names are officially approved (*Mare Anguis*, *Mare Australe*, *Mare Cognitum*, *Mare Crisium*, *Mare Fecunditatis*, *Mare Frigoris*, *Mare Humboldtianum*, *Mare Humorum*, *Mare Imbrium*, *Mare Ingenii*, *Mare Insularum*, *Mare Marginis*, *Mare Moscoviense*, *Mare Nectaris*, *Mare Nubium*, *Mare Orientale*, *Mare Serenitatis*, *Mare Smythii*, *Mare Spumans*, *Mare Tranquillitatis*, *Mare Undarum*, *Mare Vaporum*), the *terrae* are not officially recognized by the IAU as standard lunar nomenclature (see <https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/SearchResults?target=MOON&featureType=Mare,%20maria>).

During the Age of Discovery, constellations only visible from the southern hemisphere of the Earth were also defined. Johannes Hevelius, Frederick de Houtman, Pieter Dirksz Keyser, Gerard Mercator, Nicolas Louis de La Caille, Petrus Plancius and Amerigo Vespucci made particular contributions to the “new” constellations. Most southern constellations were named by La Caille in 1763, for example: *Mensa*, *Norma* or *Sculptor* (see: <https://www.iau.org/public/themes/constellations/>).

Between 1801 and 1900, 463 minor planets were discovered² and were named mostly after (female) mythological characters.³ They were referred to simply by these names until the early 1850s, when they got ordinal numbers reflecting their sequence of discovery (<https://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/info/OldDesDoc.html>): (1) *Ceres* (nowadays defined as a dwarf planet), (2) *Pallas*, (76) *Freia*, (129) *Antigone*, (209) *Dido*, (246) *Asporina*, (328) *Gudrun*, (342) *Endymion*, etc. From the beginning of 1925, a new style of provisional designation is in use for objects observed on at least two nights that cannot be identified immediately. “The standard designation consists of the following parts, all of which are related to the date of discovery of the object: a 4-digit number indicating the year; a space; a letter to show the half-month; another letter to show the order within the half-month; and an optional number to indicate the number of times the second letter has been repeated in that half-month period” (<https://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/info/OldDesDoc.html>). For example, 1999 OY₃ means that this is the 99th minor planet reported as discovered in the second half of July 1999.

2.3. “Newest names” and designation systems

More modern equipment and techniques, such as space telescopes and the use of computers made it possible to discover distant stars, exoplanets, more minor

² As of 10th September 2018, 523584 minor planets received permanent numbers (see <https://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/NumberedMPs.txt>).

³ For a variety of name sources nowadays, see 3.8. below.

and dwarf planets and planetary surface features that also needed to be named or designated.

Catalogue numbers, especially for designating stars or sources of radiation outside the Solar System, have been in use since Johann Bayer's star atlas (*Uranometria*, 1603). He grouped „the stars by magnitude class, from first to sixth, then allocated letters to the members of each class as he saw fit. [...] In the larger constellations, once the 24 Greek letters from *alpha* to *omega* were exhausted Bayer turned to Roman letters, starting with a capital *A* followed by lowercase *b*, *c*, *d* etc. Hercules, with 48 stars, was the only constellation in which he reached *z*. (The letters *j* and *v* were omitted, but *o* was included.)” (RIDPATH 1988, Bayer letters). Later catalogues (such as Flamsteed, Hevelius, Bode and Gould) used numbers instead of Greek letters, and others (like the Bonner Durchmusterung) operated with positions and apparent magnitudes of the stars. “The same star can appear in several catalogues, each time with a different designation. As an example, *Betelgeuse* is known as *Alpha Orionis*, *HR 2061*, *BD +7 1055*, *HD 39801*, *SAO 113271*, and *PPM 149643*” (https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_stars/). The same applies to binary or multiple systems, e.g. the white dwarf companion of *Sirius* is catalogued as: *Sirius B*, *Alpha Canis Majoris B*, and *HD 48915 B*. (To find out the meaning of a specific acronym, you can use the Dictionary of Nomenclature of Celestial Objects at: <http://vizier.u-strasbg.fr/viz-bin/Dic>.)

To avoid confusion between designations for astronomical radiation sources outside the solar system, the IAU Commission 5 Working Group on Designations has published complete specifications (see <http://cds.u-strasbg.fr/vizier/Dic/iau-spec.htx>). Some recommendations are cited here: Designations should consist of an acronym and a sequence, and an optional specifier (latter written in brackets). Between these three parts are spaces (or underscores if necessary, such as within an electronic catalogue where blanks would be problematic). An acronym shall be unique, it shall consist of at least three characters (letters and/or numerals only, no special characters), but it shall not be excessively long. A sequence, a string of usually alpha-numerical characters (running numbers or coordinates of the objects) should also be unique to unambiguously identify the source within the catalogue. Existing designations should never be altered, and the title of a catalogue shall include the acronym by which it is to be known. The examples *NGC 205*, *PKS 1817–43*, *CO J0326.0+3041.0*, *H2O G123.4+57.6 (VLSR=–185)*, *3C 196* illustrate the recommended form of astronomical designations (see <http://cds.u-strasbg.fr/vizier/Dic/iau-spec.htx>). There are numerous star catalogues in use today, see <http://cdsarc.u-strasbg.fr/cats/cats.html>.

Based on the designation system for minor planets, a new designation system for comets was introduced at the beginning of the year 1995. Prior to that date, both a provisional (year/letter) and a definitive (year/Roman numeral) designation system were in use. In the new system “each cometary discovery is given a designation consisting of the year of observation, the upper-case code letter identifying the halfmonth of observation during that year according to the procedure used for minor planets, and a consecutive numeral to indicate the order of discovery announcement during that halfmonth” (<http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/CometResolution.html>).

Furthermore, an initial prefix indicates the nature of the object: For example, *P* stands for a periodic comet, *C* for a non-periodic comet, *X* for a comet with a non-computable orbit, etc. Finally, „[n]oting that some redundancy of nomenclature is desirable, it is proposed to retain in general terms the tradition of naming comets for their discoverers” (<http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/CometResolution.html>). As of 7th May 2018, 367 periodic comets are listed by the Minor Planet Center (<http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/PeriodicCodes.html>), some examples are: *1P Halley (P/1682 Q1)*, *29P Schwassmann–Wachmann (P/1927 V1)*, *277P LINEAR (P/2005 YQ127)*, *316P LONEOS–Christensen (P/2005 RV25)*, *362P (P/2008 GO98)*.

With the discovery of the minor planet *A/2017 U1*, a new problem of the nomenclature arose. The kinematics of this object indicate that it does not belong to our Solar System, and it might be the first asteroid outside the Solar System (SCHNEIDER 2017, MAMAJEK 2017). Because of its uniqueness, it should get a name of a new scheme. From now on, interstellar objects will get a provisional designation using a *C/* (for comets) or *A/* (for asteroids) prefix, and a permanent designation with the letter *I*. The new object should be referred correctly as: *I1*; *I1/2017 U1*; *I1/‘Oumuamua*; and *I1/2017 U1 (‘Oumuamua)* (see WILLIAMS 2017).

2.4. Naming rules of the IAU

As we saw in 2.3., there are special rules for different objects and features, but many suggestions or restrictions apply to all of them (see <https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming/> and <http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/info/Astrometry.html#nametype>). Some of these rules are listed and commented below.

A) The initial letters of the names of individual astronomical objects should be printed as capitals. Accented characters must be indicated by use of the TeX format.

B) The spelling or the pronunciation of a name should not be very difficult. Though, this rule might be rather subjective as difficulty of spelling or pronunciation can depend on one's mother tongue. As you will see later, there is a relatively large number of Hungarian names that cannot be spelled or pronounced easily by foreigners.

C) Names should not be very long and shall be preferably one word.

D) Names must be non-offensive, so "names of individuals, places or events with military or political connections are prohibited, unless at least one hundred years have passed since the individual died or the event occurred.

E) Names shall not be too similar to an existing name of another astronomical object. This rule may be also rather subjective, because there are name pairs of minor planets such as (11802) *Ivanovski* and (11814) *Ivanovsky*, (114) *Kassandra* and (3298) *Massandra* or (1760) *Sandra* and (11337) *Sandro* (see <http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/MPNames.html>).

F) Names of pet animals are discouraged.

G) Names of a purely or principally commercial nature are not allowed.

3. "Locality": Naming clusters of astronomical features

At this point, let us turn to the local perspective. "Locality" will be used in the astronomical sense, because astronomical objects or features with similar names or names connected to one thematic group can physically be very far away from each other. The following groups of objects or features are good examples of naming clusters.

3.1. Planetary features

As of September 2018, more than 15000 planetary features are named on 46 celestial bodies (see <https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/>): 9139 on the Moon, 2034 on the Venus, 1923 on the Mars, 506 on the Mercury, 269 on Titan, 227 on Io, 202 on Ganymedes, 154 on Callisto, 145 on Rhea, 140 on Ceres, 112 on Europa, 106 on Vesta, 96 on Dione, 86 on Enceladus, 70 on Iapetus, 61 on Triton, 53 on Tethys, 43 on Mimas, 41 on Eros, 37 on Lutetia, 34 on Gaspra, 26 on Ariel, 25-25 on Ida and on Phoebe, 24 on Steins, 23 on Mathilde, 20 on Phobos, 18-18 on Miranda and Titania, 17 on Itokawa, 16 on Pluto (it got its first surface features named in September 2017; see <https://www.iau.org/news/pressreleases/detail/iau1704/>), 13 on Umbriel, 12 on Charon, 10 on Oberon, 5 on Hyperion, 4-4 on Janus and Amalthea, 3 on Puck, 2-2 on Deimos, Dactyl and Epimetheus, and 1-1 on Thebe and Proteus. Furthermore, rings of the giant planets are also named: 3 of Jupiter, 23 of Saturn (including its ring gaps and divisions), 13 of Uranus, and 9 of Neptune (including its ring arcs).

The Working Group for Planetary System Nomenclature set up several categories for naming features on planets and satellites. Names contain a descriptor term (<https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/DescriptorTerms>), *crater* being implicated, and a proper name. To see the variety of approved names, consider some of Mercury's feature names (<https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Page/Categories>):

- A) Catenae are named after radio telescope facilities (*Arecibo Catena*).
- B) Craters are named after deceased artists, musicians, painters, and authors who have made outstanding or fundamental contributions to their field and have been recognized as art historically significant figures for more than 50 years (*Abedin, Chekhov, Ghiberti, Mofolo, Rameau, Sveinsdóttir, Ts'ai Wen-Chi*, etc.).
- C) Dorsa are named after deceased scientists who have contributed to the study of Mercury (*Antoniadi Dorsum, Schiaparelli Dorsum*).
- D) Fossae are named after significant works of architecture (*Pantheon Fossae*).
- E) Montes: Their names contain the word for "hot" in various languages (*Caloris Montes*).
- F) Planitiae, plana are named after Mercury (either the planet or the god) in various languages (*Catuilla Planum, Sihtu Planitia, Utaridi Planitia*, etc.).
- G) Rupēs are named after ships of discovery or scientific expeditions (*Calypso Rupes, Santa María Rupes, Vostok Rupes*, etc.).
- H) Valles are named after abandoned cities (or towns or settlements) of antiquity (*Angkor Vallis, Paestum Vallis, Timgad Vallis*, etc.).

3.2. Craters and satellite craters on the Moon

In the 1830s, Johann Mädler "established the system of naming the larger craters and assigning capital Latin letters to surrounding, smaller 'satellite' craters" (DE JAGER 1973: 205, citing an Interim Report of Dec. 11, 1972). There are e.g. *Kepler A, B, C, D, E, F, P, T* (<https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Feature/2990>), *Patsaev G, K, Q* (<https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Feature/4611>) or *Theon Senior A, B, C* (<https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Feature/5963>) satellite craters.

3.3. Planetary satellites

Satellites of other planets can be connected to their planet not just by gravity, but also by naming clusters: As of September 2018, a total of 190 known planetary satellites (including those of Pluto and Earth) are in the Solar System:



1 of Earth, 2 of Mars, 79 of Jupiter, 62 of Saturn, 27 of Uranus, 14 of Neptune and 5 of Pluto (see <http://home.dtm.ciw.edu/users/sheppard/satellites>). When a newly discovered natural satellite is “reported to the IAU Central Bureau for Astronomical Telegrams, the object is assigned a provisional name, consisting of the letter *S* followed by the year of discovery and a number indicating the order of discovery within that year” (<https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming/#satellites>). The satellites are numbered by Roman numbers in order of discovery, and when they are confirmed, their discoverer may suggest a final name of a mythological character if possible.

The two Martian satellites are named for the horses that drew the chariot of Mars (see <https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Page/Planets>).

“The Jovian satellites have previously been named for Zeus/Jupiter’s lovers and favorites but now Zeus’ descendants are also included as an allowable source of names” (<https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming/#satellites>). Furthermore, names of Jupiter’s “outer satellites with a prograde orbit generally end with the letter »a« (although an »o« ending has been reserved for some unusual cases), and names of satellites with a retrograde orbit end with an »e«” (<https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Page/Planets#Asteroids>).

“The satellites of Saturn have so far been named for the Greco-Roman Titans, descendants of the Titans, Giants and the Roman god of the beginning. In order to internationalize the names, we now also allow names of giants and monsters in other mythologies (so far Gallic, Inuit and Norse)” (<https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming/#satellites>).

Satellites of Uranus are named for characters from Shakespeare’s plays and from Pope’s “Rape of the Lock”, those of Neptune for characters from Greek or Roman mythology associated with Neptune/Poseidon or the oceans. Its irregular satellites are named for the Nereids and the attendants of Neptune.

Pluto’s satellites are named for characters and creatures in the myths surrounding Hades/Pluto and the classical Greek and Roman Underworld (see <https://planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov/Page/Planets>).

Some examples of planetary satellite names are: *I Phobos*, *II Deimos* – moons of Mars; *VI Himalia*, *XIII Leda*, *XVIII Themisto* (*S/2000 J1*), *XXIV Iocaste* (*S/2000 J3*), *XXXVII Kale* (*S/2001 J8*) – moons of Jupiter; *VI Titan*, *XLV Kari* (*S/2006 S2*), *LII Tarqeq* (*S/2007 S1*) – moons of Saturn; *II Umbriel*, *XI Juliet* (*S/1986 U2*), *XV Puck* (*S/1985 U1*) – moons of Uranus; *I Triton*, *IV Thalassa* (*S/1989 N5*), *XI Sao* (*S/2002 N2*) – moons of Neptune; *IV Kerberos* (*S/2011 P1*), *V Styx* (*S/2012 P1*) – moons of Pluto.

3.4. Groups of constellations

Constellations can be ordered into thematic or mythological groups. One possible classification is that of Donald Menzel, the so called Menzel's Families (MENZEL 1964). He arranged eight groups, as follows:

The Ursa Major Family: *Ursa Major* (the Great Bear), *Ursa Minor* (the Little Bear), *Draco* (the Dragon), *Canes Venatici* (the Hunting Dogs), *Boötes*⁴ (the Bear Driver, sometimes called the Herdsman), *Coma Berenices* (Berenice's Hair), *Corona Borealis* (the Northern Crown), *Camelopardalis* (the Giraffe), *Lynx* (the Lynx), *Leo Minor* (the Smaller Lion).

The Zodiacal Family: *Leo* (the Lion), *Virgo* (the Virgin), *Libra* (the Scales), *Scorpius* (the Scorpion), *Sagittarius* (the Archer), *Capricornus* (the Sea Goat), *Aquarius* (the Water Carrier), *Pisces* (the Fish), *Aries* (the Ram), *Taurus* (the Bull), *Gemini* (the Twins), *Cancer* (the Crab).

The Perseus Family: *Cassiopeia*, *Cepheus*, *Andromeda*, *Perseus*, *Pegasus*, *Cetus* (the Whale or Sea Monster), *Auriga* (the Charioteer), *Lacerta* (the Lizard), *Triangulum* (the Triangle).

The Hercules Family: *Hercules*, *Sagitta* (the Arrow), *Aquila* (the Eagle), *Lyra* (the Lyre), *Cygnus* (the Swan), *Vulpecula* (the Fox), *Hydra* (the Sea Serpent), *Sextans* (the Sextant), *Crater* (the Cup [of Bacchus]), *Corvus* (the Crow), *Ophiuchus* (the Serpent Holder), *Serpens* (the Serpent), *Scutum* (the Shield), *Centaurus* (the Centaur), *Lupus* (the Wolf), *Corona Australis* (the Southern Crown), *Ara* (the Altar), *Triangulum Australe* (the Southern Crown), *Crux* (the Southern Cross).

The Orion Family: *Orion*, *Canis Major* (the Larger Dog), *Canis Minor* (the Smaller Dog), *Monoceros* (the Unicorn), *Lepus* (the Hare).

The Heavenly Waters: *Delphinus* (the Dolphin), *Equuleus* (the Little Horse, interpreted by Menzel as a small sea horse), *Eridanus* (the River), *Piscis Austrinus* (the Southern Fish), *Carina* (the Keel), *Puppis* (the Stern), *Vela* (the Sail), *Pyxis* (the Mariner's Compass), *Columba* (the Dove).

The Bayer Group: *Hydrus* (the Water Snake), *Dorado* (the Goldfish), *Volans* (the Flying Fish), *Apus* (the Bird of Paradise), *Pavo* (the Peacock), *Grus*⁵ (the Crane), *Phoenix*, *Tucana* (the Toucan), *Indus* (the Indian), *Chamaeleon* (the Chameleon), *Musca* (the Fly).

The La Caille Family: *Norma* (*et Regula*; the Level [and Ruler]), *Circinus* (the Compasses), *Telescopium* (the Telescope), *Microscopium* (the Microscope),

⁴ Written as *Bootes* in the original.

⁵ Written as *Crus* in the original.

Sculptor (the Sculptor's Apparatus), *Fornax* (the Furnace), *Caelum* (the Graving Tool), *Horologium* (the Clock), *Octans* (the Octant), *Mensa* (Table Mountain at Capetown), *Reticulum* (the Net), *Pictor* (the Easel), *Antlia* (the Air Pump).

3.5. Trojan asteroids

Trojan asteroids are minor planets with the same orbit as Jupiter. They “are to receive names associated with the Trojan War. Objects at the preceding L4 point are named for Greeks, objects at the trailing L5 point are named for Trojans” (<http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/info/HowNamed.html>). According to the Minor Planet Center, there are 6703 Jupiter Trojans (stand: 6th November 2017). Some examples are: (588) *Achilles*, (911) *Agamemnon*, (1143) *Odysseus*, (5264) *Telephus* – Greek camp; (617) *Patroclus*, (884) *Priamus*, (1172) *Aeneas*, (6998) *Tithonus* – Trojan camp (see <https://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/Trojans.html>).

3.6. Meteor showers

The IAU Meteor Data Center (MDC) is responsible for the designations of meteor showers, collaborating with the Working Group on Meteor Shower Nomenclature of IAU Commission F1 (Meteors, Meteorites, and Interplanetary Dust). As of 10th September 2018, 112 established meteor showers are listed by the MDC (https://www.ta3.sk/IAUC22DB/MDC2007/Roje/roje_lista.php?corobic_roje=1&sort_roje=0). In general, a meteor shower is named after the possessive Latin form of the constellation containing the nearest star to the radiant point (*Geminids*, *Orionids*, *Piscis Austrinids*, etc.). If needed, the name also contains the name of the nearest (if in doubt, the brightest) star in the constellation (e.g. *kappa Cygnids*, *h Virginids*, *49 Andromedids*), or the name of the month can be added to distinguish among showers from the same constellation (*April Lyrids*, *October Camelopardalids*, *January xi Ursae Majorids*, etc.). For restrictions, exceptions and other suggestions see: https://www.ta3.sk/IAUC22DB/MDC2007/Dokumenty/shower_nomenclature.php.

3.7. Exoplanet names

Basically, exoplanet names are also based on distant star names: “The scientific nomenclature for the designations of exoplanets usually consists of two elements: 1) a proper noun or abbreviation, sometimes with associated numbers 2) followed by a lowercase letter” (https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_exoplanets/). The first planet discovered in a system is designated with “b” (the host star is considered to be “a”), the second one with “c”, and later planets are given subsequent letters. The order of the lower case letters sign the order of discovery of the exoplanets, not their distance from the host

star (see https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_exoplanets). As of 14th November 2017, there are 3706 known exoplanets in 2776 planetary systems (621 multiple planet systems). Exoplanet *PSR B1957+20 b* was the first ever discovered exoplanet around star *PSR B1957+20*. Further examples are: *Ross 128 b*, *11/2017 UI*, *K2-137 b*, *EPIC 246393474 b* or *GJ 9827 d*, just to mention the most recent discoveries (see <http://exoplanet.eu/catalog/>).

Recently, the names of 19 ExoWorlds (14 stars and 31 exoplanets orbiting them) have been chosen by public vote in the NameExoWorlds contest, and accepted by the IAU. This was the first time it has been made possible for non-astronomers to name exoplanets, and their stars. “The public voted on the 247 proposed ExoWorld names submitted by a wide variety of astronomy organisations from 45 countries all over the world” (<https://www.iau.org/news/pressreleases/detail/iau1514/>). As a result of the contest, for example, *mu Arae* and its planets are officially named as *Cervantes*, *Quijote*, *Dulcinea*, *Rocinante* and *Sancho*.

3.8. A special case: Names given by one discoverer

Lastly, names given by one discoverer could be interpreted as a special case of “locality”. Take, for example, the most successful Hungarian minor planet hunter Krisztián Sárneczky. As of 10th September 2018, he is credited by the *Minor Planet Center* with the discovery of 208 and co-discovery of 163 numbered minor planets (<http://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/lists/MPDiscsNum.html>). He suggested names from the following thematic groups (see the last pages of the monthly Minor Planet Circular [MPC] at https://www.minorplanetcenter.net/iau/ECS/MPCArchive/MPCArchive_TBL.html):

- a) place names from the present or the former Hungary, e.g. (23718) *Horgos*, (82071) *Debrecen*, (111468) *Alba Regia*, (137066) *Gellért-hegy*;
- b) names of Hungarian observatories (a subcategory of the previous group), e.g. (37432) *Piszkéstető*, (86196) *Specula*, (117714) *Kiskartal*;
- c) names of Hungarian scientists, engineers, architects, explorers, etc., e.g. (38442) *Szilárd*, (126245) *Kandókálmán*, (163819) *Teleki*, (166886) *Ybl*, (250526) *Steinerzsuzsanna*;
- d) names of Hungarian astronomers (a subcategory of the previous group), e.g. (31872) *Terkán*, (113202) *Kisslászló*, (265490) *Szabados*;
- e) names of Hungarian artists, poets, writers, etc., e.g. (39971) *József*, (147421) *Gárdonyi*, (254846) *Csontváry*;

- f) names of (female) family members of his own or of his friends/co-discoverers: e.g. (44479) *Oláheszter*; (178156) *Borbála*, (266622) *Málna*, (269232) *Tahin*;
- g) names of deceased Hungarian politicians, e.g. (68114) *Deákferenc*, (91024) *Széchenyi*, (260601) *Wesselényi*;
- h) names of Hungarian athletes, e.g. (82656) *Puskás*, (151659) *Egerszegi*, (199687) *Erősszolt*;
- i) names of Hungarian animals or mythical creatures: e.g. (84921) *Morkoláb*, (161975) *Kincsem*;
- j) names of foreign astronomers, e.g. (171429) *Hunstead*, (231470) *Bedding*, (320260) *Bertout*;
- k) names of Hungarian actors/actresses, e.g. (180824) *Kabos*, (233893) *Honthyhanna*, (274810) *Fedáksári*;
- l) names of other famous Hungarian personalities, e.g. (209054) *Lombkátó*, (235201) *Lorántffy*, (240757) *Farkasberci*, (253412) *Ráskaylea*.

4. Final notes

In this paper, I have attempted to show the variety of types of astronomical names and how one type can be linked to others, building naming clusters. But talking about astronomical names, one shall not forget that there are special scientific designations as well. “The IAU is keen to make a distinction between these two terms. In IAU publications, *name* refers to the (usually colloquial) term used for a star in everyday speech, while *designation* is solely alphanumerical and used almost exclusively in official catalogues and for professional astronomy” (https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_stars). Furthermore, a public name will not replace the scientific designation, but it may be used internationally along with, or instead of, the scientific designation, permanently and without restrictions (see https://www.iau.org/public/themes/naming_exoplanets/).

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Abstract

This paper focuses on a field that is onomastically rather unexplored yet: astronomical names. Firstly, an overview of the astronomical names is given from a “global perspective”. The most important astronomical objects are listed according to the International Astronomical Union (IAU). Their naming conventions in past and present times are presented, including some of the naming rules of the IAU. In the second half of the paper, we will turn to the “locality” (in astronomical terms), and some examples will be mentioned, how already existing names impact newer ones. Examples for naming clusters of planetary features, craters and satellite craters of the Moon, planetary satellites, groups of constellations, Trojan asteroids and exoplanets are given. Finally, a special case will be discussed in more detail: minor planet names given by one discoverer, the Hungarian astronomer Krisztián Sárneczky.

Keywords: astronomical objects, designation systems, International Astronomical Union, naming clusters

Richard Coates

Meaningfulness in literary naming within the framework of The Pragmatic Theory of Properhood (TPTP)

For some years now, I have been promoting an approach to proper names and naming called The Pragmatic Theory of Properhood (TPTP; COATES e.g. 2000, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, 2016; CAPRINI 2015). The essentials of this can be stated briefly:

1. Names are devices for referring senselessly. (Names have no sense.)
2. An expression which is used on some occasion to refer senselessly is a name (a corollary of 1.).
3. Etymological sense is cancelled or suspended by the process of becoming a name or the act of creating one (the historical precondition for 1.).
4. Names do not denote categorially, but only individually. (Names have no intension, but only a set of individuated extensions.)

Much of that may look at first sight like the common position of the great majority of onomasticians and name theorists. The key points are that it prioritizes **reference** over **denotation** (hence the use of the word **pragmatic** in *TPTP*), and that it entails a way of theorizing the relationship between homonymous words/phrases on the one hand and names on the other. That allows the simple equation of the term *name* with *expression that carries no sense*. This paper focuses on the implications of these basic tenets for name-interpretation and name-translation as literary activities.

Proper names chosen for characters, places or other nameable individual events or things in works of fiction can be organized into four broad categories, one of which might be seen as problematic from the perspective of TPTP. It is desirable to clarify and remove a potential problem when developing a general theory of naming, and that is the main purpose of this paper.

For the purposes of this paper, I shall use simplified terminology as follows: *names* always means proper names; an *author* is any creator of a work of art, the *reader* is its perceiver-interpreter and *literature* means any genre of creative artistic activity. An *individual* is any single character, place or other nameable individual event or thing.

Firstly, we need to define some key semantic terms, because they have long been used inconsistently in the literature of linguistics and especially of philosophy. My use of these terms is essentially the same as that in the tradition of LYONS (1977, especially chapters 7–9). **Reference** is the act of picking out



an individual **referent** in a **context of utterance** (which can be defined in relation to speech, signing or writing, or non-linguistically through gesture). **Denotation** is the range of *potential* referents of a word or other lexical expression; that is, it is an abstraction from reference and must not be confused with it. **Sense** is the network of semantic relations in which lexical words and more complex expressions participate; those relations include synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy, meronymy, polysemy, and so on: i.e. a set of logically definable relations among lexical items in a conceptual space or field.

Let us now move on to the implications of these thoughts for literary namegiving. An author may choose a name for an individual by a decision process which falls into one of four broad categories:

- a) The name may be invented. If the author invents with no intention of using the invented form to convey any meaning (in the broadest possible linguistic understanding of that term), this does not amount to a choice or provide a reason at all, but it might be of interest to a critic with an interest in subconscious associations. Examples might include Charles Dickens' *Mr Micawber*, William Blake's creative force *Urizen*, *Mr Spock* in the TV series *Star Trek*.¹
- b) The name may be chosen as if randomly from some pre-existing set, e.g. of (personal) given names, in which case the same applies as in (a). Examples might include, for all I know: Jane Austen's *Emma*; Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*; Solzhenitsyn's *Ivan Denisovich*.
- c) The name may be chosen commemoratively, i.e. to replicate deliberately the name either of a real individual known to the author or of one which is already present in some real or fictive world known to the author; or in some way to allude to such an individual. There is a potentially important distinction between commemoration and allusion: an individual's name may directly commemorate Jesus by actually being *Jesus*, or a name may allude indirectly to Jesus, as in the case of *Salvador*, which means 'saviour' in Spanish; but that distinction does not play a role in what needs to be discussed here. Examples of commemoration in a range of sub-senses might be drawn from the vast literature on Shakespeare's names and their associations, e.g. most recently SMITH (2015); Gottfried Keller's *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe*, playing on Shakespeare; James Joyce's *Stephen Dedalus*, from Greek mythology. A name might be put together out of separately allusive parts, as in the "official" story of

¹ Any of these might be disputed from a particular critical or biographical perspective. On *Urizen*, compare METCALF (1972) and SHA (2009: 237). Gene Roddenberry, the creator of *Star Trek*, was originally and notoriously unaware of a prominent namesake of Spock, the internationally famous paediatrician of that surname.

the case of Paul McCartney's Eleanor Rigby.² The commemoration might be punning and playful rather than direct, as in the case of the cartoon character *Yogi Bear*, whose name plays on that of the famous baseball player Yogi Berra.

d) The name may be invented, but consist of or contain interpretable elements, and the author may intend to impose a meaning (in the broadest understanding of that term) on the reader by his or her invention; that is, the act of naming, and the name chosen, are non-random, and the lexical meaning of any expression that constitutes or is included in the name is relevant to understanding its significance in its context of use. The author may or may not succeed in imposing that meaning on an actual reader, but the (presumed) intention, desire or vague hope to do so is enough for our purposes. Examples are manifold. Shakespeare's practice as suggested at numerous points in COATES (1987) and writings referenced there; Kipling (in the Sussex edition of his works, 1: 43) explains, for example, that "KAA is pronounced *Kar*. A made-up name, from the queer open-mouthed hiss of a big snake." The practice of J. K. Rowling in her *Harry Potter* books has excited a great deal of recent interest, especially in relation to the translatability of her charactonyms.

It is the fourth case that is of particular interest for the topic of this paper, because one of the axioms of TPTP (1. above) is that a name has no **sense**, i.e. no lexical meaning; and conversely (2. above) that a referring expression with no lexical meaning is a name; a name is a **referential** device that comes to have a **denotation** only through an accumulation of acts of **reference** using the same name to pick out the same individual. A major consequence of literary interest follows from this: if names have no sense, they cannot be used referentially in a way which draws on any sense; and it further follows that names are untranslatable. If a name appears to deliver lexical meaning in the context of its use, as many readers and you, my listeners at this conference, will undoubtedly believe, at least at first, we need another way of conceptualizing that meaning if the principles of TPTP are to remain credible in this respect. Non-translatability does not mean that names cannot form equivalence-pairs. A name may often have a denotational equivalent in another language which is not an exact translation as ordinarily understood: *la Manche* is *the English Channel*, the estuary called *Šaṭṭ al-ʿArab* 'stream of the Arabs' in Arabic is *Arvand Rūd* 'swift river' in Farsi, Italy's *Cenerentola* 'Cinderella' is Germany's *Aschenputtel* or *Aschenbrödel*, the bilingual 1960s radio DJ Mike Pasternak

² In an interview referenced in the Wikipedia article on "Eleanor Rigby", McCartney said he made up the name with *Eleanor* from actress Eleanor Bron and *Rigby* from the name of a shop in Bristol, Rigby & Evens Ltd, Wine & Spirit Shippers. He recalled in 1984: "I just liked the name. I was looking for a name that sounded natural. 'Eleanor Rigby' sounded natural." Others have observed that exactly this full name occurs on a gravestone in Woolton, Liverpool, which might have been known to the Liverpudlian McCartney, subconsciously or otherwise.



was *Emperor Rosko* in English, but became *le Président Rosko* when operating in French. Importantly, these name-pairs are not complete translations of each other in any fully linguistic sense of the term. Equivalencing rather than translating is a key notion when the “translation” of charactonyms is being evaluated.

Moving on from the issue of translatability, there are many interesting things that might be said about names in works of art in general, and especially about what ANNE BARTON, in her Alexander Memorial Lectures at the University of Toronto in 1983, called “cratylic” charactonyms in literature (BARTON 1990, esp. 7–10). There are broadly three types of literary naming: *arbitrary* or *intention-free naming* (not really a special type at all, but covering (a) and (b) above, and of no purely linguistic interest); *cultural naming* (which trades, intentionally, on conveyed meanings, i.e. implicit meanings which may or may not be fully recoverable in context, covering (c) above); and *semantic naming* (which trades, presumably intentionally, on *apparent* senses or lexical meanings, covering (d)). *Cratylic naming* might be understood as covering aspects of both the last two sorts, but takes its most potent form in cases like (d). It needs to be said explicitly, here and for what follows, that in relation to (c) and (d) an authorial intention is taken for granted in the genesis of charactonyms, for expository reasons. That does not mean that there necessarily was one, but it does mean that one might be assumed by a reader, even if s/he is in error. We are dealing with what might be intended by the author or deduced by the reader, with greater or lesser degrees of probability, with a focus on where there is likely to be an overlap.

Cratylic names are also known by the familiar German terms *sprechende* or *redende Namen*, literally ‘speaking names’, and their (literary or non-literary) existence is alluded to by the ancient expression *nomen (est) omen* ‘the name is a sign’, i. e. ‘the/a name can be understood as having literal relevance at the moment of utterance’, whether *name* is taken to apply generically, or individually in some context). These are names whose form seems designed to require the reader to access or retrieve some meaning within some literary work. Many charactonyms illustrate what I have called, in another paper (COATES 2012), *The Etymological Onomastic Turn*, which is perhaps not a very catchy term. This term means that such names seem to be designed to be understood in a way relevant to the plot of the work in which they appear. Take for example the names famous in English literature of *Ancient Pistol*, *Christian*, *Doll Tearsheet*, *Mrs Malaprop*, *Roderick Random*, *Peter Poundtext*, *Wackford Squeers*, *Rosa Bud*, *Mr M’Choakumchild*, *Becky Sharp*, *Mr Quiverful*, *Gabriel Oak*, *Ernest Worthing*, *Titus Groan*, *Auric Goldfinger*, and so on. Such names may be understood, at least in part, with their etymological meaning, and arguably therefore, in many cases, their sense or semantic value, remaining

available whenever they are used to refer to the relevant individual. Perhaps that is an overstatement. Perhaps it would be more realistic from the reader's perspective to say that such a semantic value is available at least on the reader's first encounter with the name, where it will help form the reader's perception of the individual's personality and role in the narrative, but the name surely need not be (but could be) interpreted anew on each occasion of use, once their referent has been established, in the way that a conventional word needs to be interpreted anew for its semantic contribution on every such occasion.

Contrast:

This is Pistol. Pistol is a comic character who is always boasting. But Pistol is really a coward.

This is a pistol. The pistol was used to shoot the diplomat. The pistol is in an evidence bag.

You do not need to interpret *Pistol* lexically on each occasion of usage (though you *may well do* on the first): you just use the label to identify the individual in question. But *pistol* needs to be understood lexically, semantically, each time for the mini-narrative to be understood.

The potential difficulty we face is that the axioms of TPTP mentioned above require us to accept that the event or act of naming separates a name from the sense of any and all of the senses of its etymological component parts. But the point of cratylic names of this type is precisely to suspend, to subvert or to compromise such a separation. What any semantically aware and intentional literary act of naming actually consists of is the *repotentialization* or *resemanticization* of the etymology of a name. To focus on what is perhaps the simplest example in the above list, *Christian*, we can presume with reasonable plausibility that John Bunyan's choice of his name in *The pilgrim's progress* was intentionally transparent, that Christian was to be understood as being a Christian, even the archetypal Christian, and that the authorially intended connection between name and word would be made by the reader as soon as the character was introduced to him or her. However, the reader is not required to access the sense of the lexical word *Christian* every time the name appears in order to identify successfully the name's referent in the text (and thereby identify the unique character whom the name denotes). Of course, the resemanticization of an etymology fails if the reader is ignorant.³ Activating the potential of the connection, and therefore recovering an intended "meaning", is only possible if the etymology is transparent to the reader, and even then only if she or he actually makes the necessary connection. Putting it very starkly, a reader could understand when they meet him that the referent of *Christian* is a

³ Of course, I am not using this word in a derogatory sense.

character and they could follow his progress as a pilgrim without ever making the connection with the lexical word *Christian*. Evidently that poor reader will miss something which was surely of considerable importance for the author and his *imagined* reader. However, that is not a matter for linguistics or onomastics as such, insofar as they have to do with meaning in the broadest sense and communication, but a matter for the study of individual variation in cultural and lexical knowledge. Activating an etymology (of a name) is obviously a very different linguistic skill from activating a sense (of a regular referring expression which is not a name). No-one can understand that the referent of *a certain town* at the beginning of Dickens' *Oliver Twist* is an unspecified place having the characteristics of a town unless they understand the lexical senses of *a certain* and *town* – not just the first time they are used, but every time they are used. However, in the same verbal context, “Among other buildings in [...]”, they could grasp that *Mudfog* was a place-name without understanding either *mud* or *fog*, and without necessarily recovering their senses every time the place-name was used.⁴

The non-translatability of names is another issue which may give rise to misunderstandings. I have had my opinion about this dismissed publicly, at a previous Congress, because the scholar attacking my view had failed to grasp the essence of the distinction between *translation* and *the substitution of equivalents*, and insisted on the superficial and obvious point that it is possible to substitute one name-form for another where the two stand in an equivalence relation, as explored above. By *translation* I mean narrowly the substitution of material in the target language for material in the source language having what is judged to be an equivalent *sense*. If charactonyms traded on some kind of semantic transparency amounting to having sense, it would follow from that that they could be translated, and indeed should be when the opportunity arises, just like the text which surrounds them. That would leave some charactonyms *necessarily translated* (those of type (d)) whilst others remained *necessarily untranslated* (those of types (a) and (b), and probably a goodly number of (c)). To understand the force of the *if*-clause fully, we need to take into account the *context* of name-bestowal.

Literature is art. It is legitimate to suppose that this fact cancels the assumption about name-bestowal which is normal, certainly within TPTP, namely that the everyday real-world act of name-bestowal annuls or eliminates from subsequent acts of referring the sense of any words or phrases which appear in the expression chosen as the name. Literary name-bestowal is different. The essence of its literariness is that it invites the reader precisely NOT to annul the connection between usage and etymology, but to perform the balancing-act of maintaining

⁴ Dickens used the name *Mudfog* for the town in earlier drafts of the novel.

both the (senseless) form of a name and its etymological meaning active for the duration of the literary event, whether it is watching a play or TV program, reading a novel, or whatever. In cases of my type (d) like *Christian*, that means acknowledging **both** that the item is a charactonym and in principle senseless because a name, **and** that the act of using it relevantly references its etymology involving the homonymous lexical word. For that reason, in apparent defiance of the strictest application of TPTP, something like charactonymic translation is *in a restricted sense* possible. *Crookshanks* in J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* novels appears in the German translation as *Krummbein*, a literal equivalent, 'bent leg', with the exception of the loss of the English plural suffix; but there is no **semantic** reason why he should not be *Hoffmann*. *Dörchen Lakenreisser*; in German, is literally and etymologically '(pet form of) Dorothy sheet-ripper' for a tart called *Doll Tearsheet* in Shakespeare's history play *Henry IV, part II*; but there is no **semantic** reason why she should not be *Gretchen Werther*. Of course, there are evidently reasons which are justifiable in **literary** terms for the author not to be satisfied with or to make do with *Hoffmann* or *Gretchen Werther*; but that is not the point at issue.

B. J. EPSTEIN (2009: 202) reports an exchange with Meta Ottosson, the translator into Swedish of Roald Dahl's children's book *Matilda*. Ottosson wrote: "How did it come about that I translated Miss Trunchbull with Domderassonskan? [...] I had an impression of how she was after I read the book for the first time. When I was a child, there was a film called "Anderssonskans Kalle".⁵ Kalle was a naughty boy and Anderssonskan was a real matron, a bitch who was both angry and grim, and dared to say what she thought, as I recall [...] This is what I think of when I hear this name: Anderssonskan. A not very nice person. [...] Someone who commands and blusters, so it became Domderassonskan. That's how I think it was but I can not be completely sure of how my thoughts wander, how I associate when I translate." (EPSTEIN's translation.)

The point of this is that the "translated" name is an effectively arbitrary blend of an established charactonym *Anderssonskan* with the verb *domdera* 'to go on about / keep on grumbling about [something]', a blend with full "meaning potential" only within the translator's mind at the moment of creation, and not necessarily resemanticized on every occasion of use in the text thereafter.

As these examples indicate, any name-"translation" may be either purely lexical and literal, or idiomatic and suggestive, just like all other translation. However, it can, and must, still be argued that the act of "translating" charactonyms is exactly like all other non-literary onymic "translation" in TPTP, and therefore that it accesses the **etymology** of the name in question rather than any **sense** which might be detectable from elements in its linguistic form. One does not

⁵ A film of 1950 directed by Rolf Husberg.

after all (have to) investigate a charactonym cognitively for sense every time it is used referentially (recall the case of *Christian*), as one does for the senses of ordinary words and other expressions in a text, although the possibility of such a cognitive reconnection during the act of reading is not ruled out. A reading of charactonyms for meaning or “translation” therefore differs from a reading of ordinary lexical items for meaning or translation; whilst **sense** is necessarily accessed in the case of lexical items, it is **etymology** in the case of names, amounting to something *resembling sense* on the first encounter if the etymology is transparent, with the reservations set out earlier. We might adapt a remark by THEO HERMANS (1988: 12)⁶ who said that “the translatability of proper names is a function of their ‘semanticization’” – asserted in the context of a discussion of how names become common nouns. We could replace “the translatability of proper names is a function of their semantic transparency” with “the translatability of proper names is a function of their etymological transparency to the would-be translator.”⁷

I began this paper by suggesting a second type of consequence of the basic tenets of TPTP. This has to do with the role of etymologies in ordinary literary reading, not with translation. I shall make an attempt to harmonize the notion that etymology may be accessible during ordinary reading with current views on the nature of semantic processing more generally.

The presentation of a charactonym to a reader resembles the presentation of a verbal stimulus to a subject in a psycholinguistic experiment, but with an extra layer of detachment. Before introducing a character, the author may or may not present some context which will prime or skew the reader’s response to the character’s name. If such a context is absent, the reader may (but need not) seek the dominant or most frequent lexical item(s) that might represent the name’s etymology, and suppress the less frequent material, to help “get a handle on” the character, typically generating a single possibility (or probability). Such a process is essentially the same as *convergent semantic processing*, a left-brain dominant activity whose main function is processing efficiency which eliminates ambiguity. But an author may choose to tease the reader by seeking to exploit a non-dominant or less frequent etymology which has to be approached indirectly: one relying on a less frequent sense, a metaphorical one (the teacher Mr M’Choakumchild in Dickens’ *Hard times* does not literally choke children, but does so metaphorically) or a metonymic one (Herbert Pocket in *Great expectations*, who has no prospect of the riches that *pocket* may

⁶ I owe this reference to a reading of DUKMAK (2012).

⁷ I pass over here the often-remarked fact that etymologically transparent naming and charactonym-“translation” is far more prevalent in children’s literature than in adult literature (cf. for example FORMALCZYK 2013, esp. 426–427). This is at least as much a matter for audience design theory as for onomastic theory.

seem to suggest), or even an ironic one (*Little John* for the tall man in the Robin Hood stories), or even paradoxical one (a cat named *Dog* in Norma Tanega's song "Walkin' my cat named Dog", 1966). Such a process is essentially the same as *divergent semantic processing*, a right-brain dominant activity which may leave a pool of possibilities available to the reader and favours ambiguity and creative inefficiency. The increased time inefficiently made available may be required for, and deployed for, understanding the author's probable or presumable charactonymic intention.⁸

It is important to note that the proposed process is a two-stage one: one stage where the charactonym's etymology is identified with lexical material, and another stage where the lexical material is processed for meaning (sense or denotation or both). The first stage may never take place, but must take place in order to activate the second stage, the only source of any linguistic understanding of a charactonym and its possible ironies or paradoxes. And the proposed two-stage process is universal, whether the charactonym involved is transparent or not.

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⁸ For these processing concepts in action, see for example FAUST–LAVIDOR (2003: 593) and ABRAHAM (2014).

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Abstract

This paper develops ideas originally floated in the *Journal of Literary Onomastics* 4 (2015) particularly concerning the genesis of “meaningful” or “cratylic” names for characters, so-called “sprechende/redende Namen”. I argue that literary naming falls into three or four basic types. *Cratylic naming* might be understood as covering aspects of two of these sorts. Two types of consequence follow from the views which I set out. The first type deals with the translatability of names, which I argue is technically impossible because

names have no sense. In countering the superficially irrational nature of this idea, I espouse instead a view of name substitution which is completely in harmony with the view in TPTP that names are definitionally senseless; in so-called name-translation, it is the *etymology* of a name which is accessed, not its “sense”. The second type of consequence has to do with the role of such etymologies in literary reading. An attempt is made to harmonize the notion that etymology is accessible during ordinary reading with current views on the nature of semantic processing more generally.

Keywords: Literary onomastics, etymology, sense, reading, The Pragmatic Theory of Properhood

Martyna Katarzyna Gibka

The Functions of Characters' Proper Names in Guards! Guards! by Terry Pratchett

1. Introduction

A name builds. A name destroys. A name is loved. A name is hated. The power of names is often underestimated and not only in the real world, but also by writers creating fictional universes. Nevertheless, some of them have an onomastic awareness that results in their fictional characters' proper names serving a great number of functions. One of such writers is Terry Pratchett and in one of the towns he created the reader meets a midwife called Mrs Slipdry or a female dwarf named Cheery Littlebottom whose father was called Jolly Littlebottom and grandfather Beaky Littlebottom.¹ This article's aim is to analyse the functions served by characters' proper names in *Guards! Guards!* – the eighth Discworld novel and the first of The City Watch series.² The examination will include both permanent and momentary functions.

Sir Terence David John “Terry” Pratchett was born in 1948 in Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, and died in 2015 in Wiltshire. He left school, became a journalist in a local newspaper and published his first novel *The Carpet People*. In 1987 “the income from his books made a day job ridiculous” (PRATCHETT–BRIGGS 2012: 325), so he quit the job and devoted the rest of his life to writing. Pratchett won many literary awards, “was knighted by the Queen for services to literature”³ and was awarded ten honorary doctorates.

Guards! Guards!, first published in 1989, introduces the reader to the City Watch of the biggest city in the Discworld. It features a secret brotherhood, a plot to abolish the rules of the Patrician and reinstate monarchy, a dragon, a guard who changes the whole Watch as well as swamp dragons and a lady in wellington boots. The city guards are faced with an uprising, but “they are regarded as a bunch of incompetents who just walk around ringing their bells, and this is mostly true”.⁴ Therefore, were it not for a new guard, a two metre man who thinks he is a dwarf, things would end terribly.

¹ More on the humorous function of characters' proper names in the chosen books by Terry Pratchett see GIBKA–RUTKOWSKI 2015 and GIBKA 2018.

² This study is meant to be the first in a series of works that will focus on the functions of characters' proper names in the whole City Watch cycle and its Polish translation.

³ Quoted from <http://www.terrypratchettbooks.com/sir-terry/> (accessed: 17.07.2016.).

⁴ The quotation as well as the remaining information on the novel were taken from: http://discworld.wikia.com/wiki/Guards!_Guards! (accessed: 30.06.2018.).



It has been claimed that research within literary onomastics “is limited by an obvious deficit of theory and method” (WINDT 2005: 58), because “there are yet no fully developed theories for this particular subject [literary onomastics]” (WINDT 2005: 45). Even though a great number of works concentrate on proper names in literature, very few of them deal with the problem of functions served by this category of words and even fewer present and/or use a methodological background.⁵ There are two articles that introduce typologies of functions of literary proper names (see RUDNYCKYJ 1959 and GERUS-TARNAWECKY 1968), but they do not define the term function or explain the method of identifying individual functions. However, a new, comprehensive theory on functions of characters’ proper names in a novel has been recently created by the author of this paper. As it is based on two acts: the naming act and the act of using a name, it can be called “the theory of two acts” (see GIBKA 2017). It will be used in this article to analyse all, that is one hundred and eight, proper names of characters in the chosen novel. Other groups of appellations, e.g. toponyms or names of objects will not be the object of study here.⁶ Basing the examination on the act of naming in *Guards! Guards!* will enable the identification of functions served by *nomina propria* from the moment of naming regardless of the circumstances of their use – the permanent functions. On the other hand, supplementing this research with an analysis based on the act of using a character’s proper name in *Guards! Guards!* will result in the identification of functions served by the *nomina propria* in question only in individual acts of use – the momentary functions.

2. Permanent functions

A permanent function occurs when a character’s proper name serves a role in relation to an element of the naming act. One such role is served by every *nomen proprium* as it is its primary, obligatory role – the identifying-differential function. It emerges because the name identifies a fictional figure and differentiates it from other figures. Being intrinsic to every proper name, the role will not be studied here. All other functions have also been identified on the basis of the naming act and are understood according to the above definition. They may, but do not have to be served by characters’ proper names (or their parts).

⁵ Some of the topics discussed in these works are: techniques in nominology (e.g. ALVAREZ-ALTMAN 1974, BLACK-WILCOX 2011, COMPAGNONE-DANESI 2012), anonymical names, acronyms and anonyms (e.g. ALVAREZ-ALTMAN 1974, NICOLAISEN 1986), the differences between literary proper names and usual proper names (e.g. PAVEL 1979, SMITH 2016), translation of literary proper names (e.g. DIAMENT 1996, MAYLATH 1996, PABLÉ 2002).

⁶ It remains to be seen whether or not the theory of two acts can be used to analyse these categories of proper names as well.

The analysis based on the naming act must begin from preparing a model of such an act for the novel that is to be analysed. Such model is shown in Figure 1.

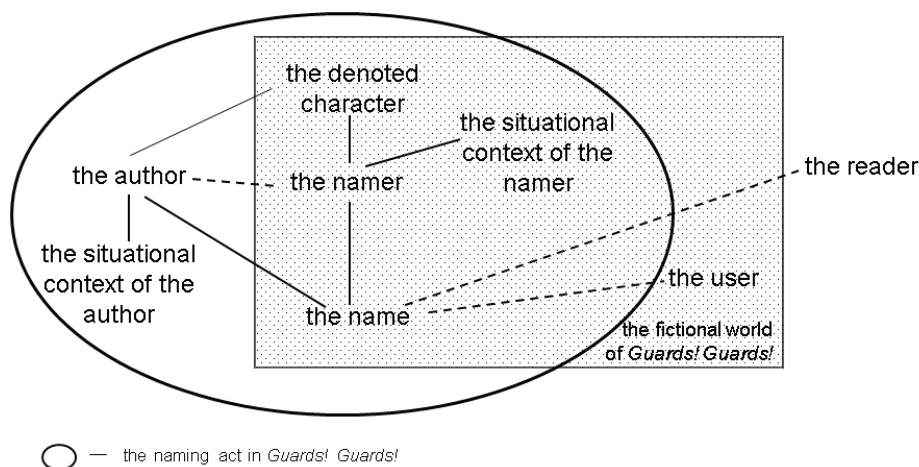


Figure 1: The naming act in *Guards! Guards!*⁷

The elements of this model are analogous to those in the basic naming act⁸ and thus will be defined here only briefly. THE NAME⁹ refers to the character's proper name that is given to a fictional figure, THE DENOTED CHARACTER is the figure that is being named, THE NAMER is the fictional figure who names the denoted character. THE SITUATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE NAMER refers to all physical and social circumstances surrounding the naming and THE USER includes all fictional figures who use the name. Finally, THE AUTHOR is the writer who wrote the novel, his SITUATIONAL CONTEXT refers to all circumstances surrounding the process of writing and naming characters, and THE READER includes all people who will read the book. THE NAME can serve functions in relation to each element of the act, that is why the analysis is arranged by relations.

1. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to THE DENOTED CHARACTER

In this relation some of the characters' proper names in *Guards! Guards!* serve the semantic, sociological and conative functions. First, in the analysed material, there are fifteen meaningful *nomina propria*: *the Librarian*, *Brother Fingers*, *Brother Doorkeeper*, *Brother Plasterer*, *Mr Secretary*, *Carrot*, *Death*, *Mr Steel-toecaps-in-the-groin*, *I-was-just-checking-the-doorhandle-and-it-opened-*

⁷ Compare the basic naming act in a novel shown in Diagram II.1.1 in GIBKA 2017.

⁸ See GIBKA 2017.

⁹ Because italics will be used for the discussed examples of characters' proper names, the elements of the acts are written in small caps.

all-by-itself, *Nersh the Lunatic*, *Giggling Lord Smince*, *Psychoneurotic Lord Snapcase*, *Great A'Tuin the Sky Turtle*, *Errol and Cut-me-own-Throat Dibbler*. Each of these names serves the semantic function because it “characterizes a fictional figure [...] according to the metaphoric or the literal meaning of the name” (WILKOŃ 1970: 83). *The Librarian* received his name due to his job in the library of the Unseen University. *Brother Fingers*, *Brother Doorkeeper* and *Brother Plasterer* are all members of a secret society; their names reflect their daily occupations or duties in the community. Similarly, *Mr Secretary* is a name Captain Vimes gives to Lupine Wonse because of his job. Then, the name *Carrot* is meaningful not because of the young’s man hair, but because of his shape (PRATCHETT 1990: 34). Next, the name *Death* is again a description of the anthropomorphic personification’s occupation. Corporal Nobbs is named by his Watch colleagues *Mr Steel-toecaps-in-the-groin* and *I-was-just-checking-the-doorhandle-and-it-opened-all-by-itself* because of his behaviour while on duty. *Nersh the Lunatic*, *Giggling Lord Smince* and *Psychoneurotic Lord Snapcase* are former rulers of Ankh-Morpork (the biggest city in the Discworld) and their names reflect the manner in which they ruled. *Great A'Tuin the Sky Turtle* is a gigantic turtle upon whose back the Discworld is carried through space. Finally, the names *Errol* and *Cut-me-own-Throat Dibbler* characterize their denoted characters in a metaphoric and metonymic manner respectively. A swamp dragon called Goodboy Bindle Featherstone is renamed *Errol* because he “looks more like my [Corporal Nobbs’s] brother Errol” (PRATCHETT 1990: 195). And *Cut-me-own-Throat Dibbler* is an entrepreneur who having given the price of his product always says “and I’m cutting my own throat” (PRATCHETT 1990: 151).

The second function served in this relation, the sociological function, emerges when a character’s proper name “indicates the character’s social, group or national affiliation” (WILKOŃ 1970: 83) or when it “expresses (or suggests) the social inferiority or superiority of the character” (KUFFNER-OBRZUT 2003: 493). In *Guards! Guards!*, the characters’ proper names serve this function only by expressing their denoted characters’ inferiority or superiority. Some of them do it because they simply include a title: *Lord Vetinari*, *the Patrician of Ankh-Morpork*, *Lady Ramkin*, *Brenda*, *lady Rodley* and *Lady Rodley*. Some also include a title, but belong to a specific group among the analysed names. These are the names of swamp dragons bred by Sybil Ramkin. The creatures are incredibly important to the woman and this is reflected in their names: *Lord Mountjoy Gayscale Talonthrust III of Ankh*, *Talonthrust Vincent Wonderkind of Quirm*, *Dewdrop Mabelline Talonthrust the First*, *Gayheart Talonthrurst of Ankh*, *Moonpenny Duchess Marchpaine*, *Moonmist Talonthrurst II*, *Goodboy Bindle Featherstone of Quirm* and *Lord Mountjoy Quickfang Winterforth IV*. Their superiority is however not objective because for the majority of the society,

these are just small, smelly animals. Then, the last two sociological *nomina propria* indicate the social position of their denoted characters differently. Firstly, Lady Sybil's position is indicated simply by the number of her names: *Sybil Deidre Olgivanna Ramkin* and secondly, a palace guard who perceives the Commander of the City Watch inferior to him deliberately mistakes the latter's name and instead of calling him Captain Vimes names him *Captain Slimes*.

Finally, the conative function is served by a character's proper name when it causes the character it denotes to do something or when it provokes a reaction in him/her. In the analysed material there is one *nomen proprium* that serves this function in relation to the denoted character. The name *Captain Slimes* makes Captain Vimes, whom it denotes, correct the palace guard by saying: "'Vimes,' he said. 'With a Vee.'" (PRATCHETT 1990: 253).

2. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to THE NAMER

The only function served by some of the examined *nomina propria* in this relation is the expressive function, which appears when a character's proper name voices the namer's feelings or emotions towards the denoted character. There are two such names in *Guards! Guards!:* *Mad Sybil Ramkin* and *Vinny*. The first reveals the feelings of Sergeant Colon towards Lady Sybil, and the second in turn shows Sybil's emotions towards one of her swamp dragons – Talon thrust Vincent Wonderkind of Quirm.

3. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to themselves

The only hitherto identified function that can be served by characters' proper names in this relation is the poetic function. In *Guards! Guards!*, it is performed by one *nomen proprium*: *Skrp* (a name of a rat) because the name's "internal organisation is of an exceptional kind, which attracts attention to the name's linguistic form in the first instance" (RUTKOWSKI 2001: 100–101).

4. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to THE USER

From all the roles that can be served in this relation – humorous, conative, camouflaging and didactic-educative – only the last one is performed by some of the names in the examined material. The function occurs when a character's proper name "enriches or preserves the knowledge" (KĘSIKOWA 1988: 81) of the user, therefore when names denoting historic figures (historic for the universe presented in the novel) are included in the work. There are two such *nomina propria* in *Guards! Guards!:* *Tubal de Malachite* and *Sybil Deidre Olgivanna Ramkin*. Both denote characters who are presented as authors of some books written within the frame novel. The first wrote *the Summoning of Dragons* and the other *Diseases of the Dragon*.

5. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to THE READER

The relation to the reader is the last one in which any permanent functions are served by the examined *nomina propria*.¹⁰ Two roles are performed in this relation: the camouflaging and humorous. The first emerges when a character's proper name conceals its denoted character's identity from the reader. In the analysed work such situation happens with six *nomina propria*: *the Librarian*, *Brother Fingers*, *Brother Doorkeeper*, *Brother Watchtower*, *Brother Plasterer* and *Brother Dunnykin*. *The Librarian* conceals the identity of the wizard who, as a result of an accident, was changed into an orangutan. The other names identify members of a secret society called Elucidated Brethren of the Ebon Night. The identity of all of these characters apart from *Brother Fingers* remains unknown to the reader throughout the whole novel.

Then, the humorous function appears when the reader laughs at a character's proper name, so it is a function whose occurrence cannot be decisively determined in relation to the reader because it is impossible to access the reactions of all people who read the novel. However, it is possible to establish if a name perceived as a text has a humorous element, thus the function can be examined in relation to the implied reader. In the previous studies of the issue, five groups of humorous characters' proper names have been proposed: 1. *nomina propria* with the meaningless-meaningful incongruity (sounding identically to appellatives), 2. proper names with the aforementioned incongruity and a "catalyst" (a context that reinforces the probability of the humorous reception of the *nomen proprium*) (LEW 2000: 131), 3. *nomina propria* in which the neutral-not neutral incongruity arises (names based on words which are colloquial, vulgar or that belong to semantic fields such as sexuality, physiology or scatology), 4. *nomina propria* depreciating their denoted characters, and 5. "(mis)matched" onymic clusters (GIBKA–RUTKOWSKI 2015: 186–187). The first group is represented by names: *Minty Rocksmacker*, *Bjorn Stronginthearm*, the second by *Detector Sergeant Colon*, the third by: *Brother Dunnykin Sergeant Colon*, *Mrs Colon* and *Mistress Garlick* and the fifth one by: *Jimkin Bearhugger*.¹¹ There is also one intertextual name (*the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*) which has been slightly altered in a manner that might suggest the similarity to the word 'crap' (compare "the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse").

¹⁰ No permanent functions are served by characters' proper names in *Guards! Guards!* in relation to the situational context of the namer, the author and the situational context of the author.

¹¹ The novel does not include any characters' proper names that would belong to the fourth category.

3. Momentary functions

Apart from permanent functions, characters' proper names can also serve momentary functions. They emerge and last in individual uses of *nomina propria*.¹² That is why they are identified on the basis of the act of using a proper name in a novel and they can be defined as follows: a momentary function is a role served by a character's proper name in relation to an element of the act of using a proper name. Such act prepared for *Guards! Guards!* is shown in Figure 2.

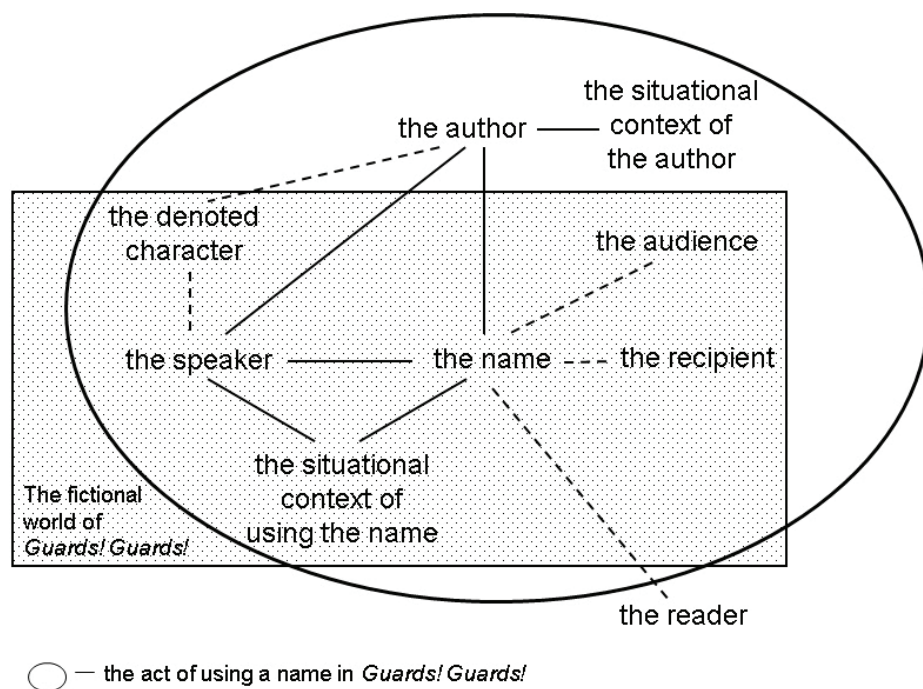


Figure 2: The act of using a proper name in *Guards! Guards!*¹³

THE NAME refers to the *nomen proprium* that is used, THE SPEAKER is the character who utters (thinks) the name, THE SITUATIONAL CONTEXT OF USING THE NAME refers to all circumstances surrounding the act of use. THE DENOTED CHARACTER is the figure whose name is used, THE RECIPIENT is the character to whom the act is directed, THE AUDIENCE includes all characters that witness the act. Finally, THE AUTHOR is the writer who created the novel, his SITUATIONAL CONTEXT refers to all circumstances of the process of writing and THE READER

¹² In other words not only the names, but also various occurrences of names need to be analysed.

¹³ Compare the basic act of using a proper name in a novel shown in Diagram II.2.1 in GIBKA 2017.



refers to all people who will read the book. Similarly to that of permanent functions, the analysis of momentary functions is arranged by relations.

1. Functions served by THE NAME in relation to THE SPEAKER

In relation to the speaker, the analysed *nomina propria* serve two roles – the revealing and conative. The first emerges when the name that is used reveals some information about the character who uses the proper name. Firstly, the name *Detector Sergeant Colon* used by Corporal Nobbs reveals his alcohol intoxication. Then, *Rex Vivat* is the (quasi) name with which Sham Harga (an Ankh-Morpork citizen) answers Captain Vimes the question about the new king's name. It reveals both how little the man knows about the ruler as well as his lack of knowledge of Latin.

Then, the conative function occurs when the character's proper name that is used causes a reaction in the speaker. There is one *nomen proprium* that serves this function in this relation. The name *Carrot* causes Captain Vimes, who utters it, to doubt the correctness of this appellation (PRATCHETT 1990: 72).

2. Functions served by THE NAME in relation to itself

In the examined material, there is one proper name that serves the momentary poetic function since it does not attract attention to its structure from the moment of naming, but only in one of its uses. The name *Throat* draws attention to itself in the following act of use:

“Throat looked both ways conspiratorially, and then passed Vimes a slip of parchment. [...]

Vimes handed it back. ‘Why the sacks?’ he said.

‘On account of the hoard,’ said Throat.

‘Oh, yes,’ said Vimes gloomily. ‘Of course.’

‘Tell you what,’ said Throat, ‘tell you what. For our boys in brown, ten percent off.’

‘And you’re cutting your own throat, Throat?’” (PRATCHETT 1990: 152).

Although *Throat* was named such (or in the full version *Cut-me-own-Throat*) because of his frequent use of this phrase, the above quoted conversation is the first instance (and in *Guards! Guards!* the only) where the name is juxtaposed with the phrase which emphasizes the etymology and structure of the name.

3. Functions served by THE NAME in relation to THE DENOTED CHARACTER

Here, there are three *nomina propria* that serve the conative function. Similarly to the permanent one, the momentary conative function occurs when the proper name that is used causes the denoted character to react or to perform an action

because of the name, the difference, however, is that it is not the name itself that is the origin of the function, but its specific use. Firstly, the use of the name *Lupin Squiggle, Sec'y, pp* causes bewilderment in its denoted character (PRATCHETT 1990: 399). Secondly, the use of Frederick Colon's first name by Corporal Nobbs leads to the Sergeant's saying: "'It's Sergeant Colon to you, Nobby.'" (PRATCHETT 1990: 243). Finally, when Captain Vimes calls Sybil Ramkin *Lady Ramkin*, she tells him to call her by her first name (PRATCHETT 1990: 249).

4. Functions served by THE NAME in relation to THE RECIPIENT

In this relation it is also the conative function that emerges and its definition differs from the one presented in the previous paragraph only in the element of the act that reacts to the use of the name (the recipient instead of the denoted character). There are six *nomina propria* that serve this function, these are: *Samuel Vimes*, *Lupin Squiggle, Sec'y, pp*, *Carrot*, *Lance-constable Carrot*, *Lord Mountjoy Gayscale Talon thrust III of Ankh* and *Errol*. The use of the first results in Samuel's interlocutor saying: "'My father was a Sam,' said Brenda vaguely. 'You can always trust a Sam, he said'" (PRATCHETT 1990: 417). Then, the use of *Lupin Squiggle, Sec'y, pp* receives the following response: "'What's the pp for?' said the guard suspiciously. 'Could it be Pretty Promptly?' said Carrot, who had wondered about this himself'" (PRATCHETT 1990: 48). Next, the use of the name *Carrot* evokes astonishment (PRATCHETT 1990: 66) and of *Lance-constable Carrot* causes the recipient to ask about the identity of the person the name denotes (PRATCHETT 1990: 402). Finally, the use of *Lord Mountjoy Gayscale Talon thrust III of Ankh* confuses Captain Vimes, who thinks that the name denotes a person (and not a swamp dragon) (PRATCHETT 1990: 125–126) and the use of the name *Errol* results in a renaming of the pet swamp dragon that is given to the City Watch (PRATCHETT 1990: 195).

4. Conclusions

The above analysis shows that characters' proper names in the first novel of the City Watch series serve a great number of secondary functions, some of which are permanent and some momentary. However, the analysed *nomina propria* do not serve all functions that they theoretically could and do not even serve any functions in some of the relations they can enter. Nevertheless, this cannot be perceived as the author's mistake or the work's drawback, because none of the secondary functions of proper names are obligatory. The novel chosen for the study belongs to the fantasy genre, about which GRZEGORZ TRĘBICKI wrote: "fantasy [...] appears as [...] a genre of the exomimetic literature, that is literature that presents a distinct model of reality" (TRĘBICKI 2009: 20). Therefore, the emergence of some functions, for instance the didactic-educative



function served in relation to the reader, or the localizing function served in relation to the situational context of the author, would be incongruous with the work's genre.

Moreover, the examination also shows that while some proper names serve more than one secondary function, others do not serve any. Furthermore, the number of *nomina propria* performing individual functions differs greatly, as some functions are served by only one proper name while other are served by as many as fourteen or fifteen appellations.

Finally, due to the fact that the theory of two acts proved to enable the conducting of the study of functions of characters' proper names in *Guards! Guards!*, this analysis will serve as a reference point for the examination of the functions served by characters' proper names in other parts of the City Watch series and thus in the whole cycle, which in turn will allow for the examination of the evolution of functions served by individual proper names throughout the series. The above analysis will also be used in a comparative analysis of *Guards! Guards!* and its Polish translation that will be the starting point used to establish the methods for successful translating of the functions rather than proper names.

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Abstract

The article opens a series of works dedicated to the onimyc stratum of a series of novels by Terry Pratchett. The goal of the project is to examine the functions served by characters' proper names in individual novels and the cycle as a whole. The main aim of this article is to examine said functions in the first novel of the City Watch Cycle (part of the Discworld Series). For the theoretical background the Theory of Two Acts is used. Thus, the article discusses both permanent and momentary functions of the onyms. Later, the results of this article will be used to perform a comparative analysis of the functions served by the analysed names in the English novel and its Polish translation.

Keywords: literary onomastics, characters' proper names, functions, naming act, Terry Pratchett

Marie A. Rieger

»In Afrika haben die Kinder oft solch merkwürdige Namen.« Das Fortwirken kolonialer Denkmuster in aktuellen Afrikaromanen

1. Einleitung

Das Zitat¹ im Titel dieses Beitrags weist auf ein Phänomen hin, das in Deutschland lange Zeit nicht nur als gesellschaftliches Tabu galt, sondern dessen Existenz geradezu geleugnet wurde: „In Deutschland hat man mit dem Eingeständnis, rassistische Tendenzen in der Gesellschaft zu erkennen, Schwierigkeiten. ›Rassismus‹ wird hier mit der als überwunden verstandenen nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit verbunden: Weil diese Vergangenheit ›bewältigt‹, ›bearbeitet‹, ›verarbeitet‹ und als Mahnung dauerhaft im kollektiven Gedächtnis verankert wurde, scheint man gefeit gegenüber solchen Denkmustern“ (PREUSS–VÖLKELE–PACZYNA 2017: 10).² Jedweder Form von Rassismus liegt die Vorstellung zugrunde, „wonach die Natur verschiedene Menschheiten mit unterschiedlichen Merkmalen und Besonderheiten hervorgebracht habe, die deren Unterschiede begründeten und auf einer Stufenleiter der Ungleichheit anordneten“ (MBEMBE 2016: 28). Obwohl wissenschaftlich längst widerlegt, erscheint die „Einteilung in ›Rassen‹ [...] den meisten Menschen auch heute noch logisch, klar und unüberwindbar“ (CASTRO VARELA–MECHERIL 2016: 11). Dieser für viele so „unüberwindbaren“ Überzeugung spielt in die Hände, dass die Rastentheorie auf bewusst gewählten, „zumeist visuell sichtbaren körperlichen Merkmalen“ basiert, denen in einem zweiten Schritt „bestimmte soziale, kulturelle und religiöse Eigenschaften und Verhaltensmuster zugeschrieben [werden]“ (ARNDT 2015: 39). Somit ist „Rasse [...] eine Form urwüchsiger Darstellung [...]“. Da sie nicht zwischen Innerem und Äußerem, zwischen den Hüllen und ihrem Inhalt zu unterscheiden vermag, verweist sie in erster Linie auf Oberflächenbilder“ (MBEMBE 2016: 27).

Die gezielte „Diskriminierung, Entmachtung und Destabilisierung von den [...] als ›Andere‹ Konstruierten“ dient denjenigen, „die sich selbst als Norm erfinden“ letztendlich zur „Sicherung ihrer Macht und Privilegierung“ (ARNDT 2015: 39). Damit ist Rassismus die *conditio sine qua non* von *Kolonialismus*, denn erst aus der Konstruktion eines minderwertigen Anderen ergibt sich die Rechtfertigung für dessen gewaltsame Unterwerfung. Das fast vollständige Fehlen eines öffentlichen Diskurses zur Aufarbeitung des deutschen

¹ MORSTATT 1954: 5.

² Vgl. dazu auch ARNDT 2015 (insbesondere 37f.) und EL-TAYEB 2016 (insbesondere 14–16).

Kolonialismus hat ähnliche Gründe wie die Tabuisierung von Rassismus. So dürfte „die berechtigte Konzentration auf den Nationalsozialismus und – seit den 1960er Jahren – auf die Shoah dazu beigetragen haben“ (BAY 2011: 272), dass die deutsche Kolonialgeschichte bis heute fast völlig ausgeblendet wird.

Wie sich seit einigen Jahren und insbesondere seit der sogenannten „Flüchtlingskrise“ im Spätsommer 2015 immer deutlicher zeigt, hat die Konzentration auf die Aufarbeitung des Nationalsozialismus und der Verbrechen, die in seinem Namen an den „als Andere Konstruierten“ begangen wurden, aber durchaus nicht zu einer selbstverständlichen Ablehnung und zu gesamtgesellschaftlicher Ächtung „fremdenfeindlicher“³ Gesinnung geführt. Ganz im Gegenteil formiert sich zunehmend „eine feindselige und gewaltbereite Stimmung gegenüber allen, die als ›fremd‹, ›anders‹ oder ›unnormale‹ wahrgenommen oder als solche gebrandmarkt werden. Diese dunkle Stimmung reicht bis weit in die Mitte der bundesdeutschen Gesellschaft hinein“ (ZICK-KÜPPER 2015: 11). Immer häufiger ist die Stimmung nicht nur „gewaltbereit“, sondern schlägt in tatsächliche, rassistisch motivierte Gewalttaten gegen „als Andere Konstruierte“ um. So zwangen Morddrohungen einen aus dem Kongo stammenden katholischen Priester dazu, seine bayerische Gemeinde zu verlassen⁴ und immer wieder werden Menschen mit einer Hautfarbe, die nicht der von den Privilegierten gesetzten Norm entspricht, Opfer von lebensbedrohenden Prügelattacken.⁵

Rassismus zeigt sich aber nicht nur in lauten Stammtischreden und offener Gewalt. Nach Meinung von MORGAN und PRITCHARD sind nicht hinterfragte „contemporary representations [...] more insidious and ultimately more dangerous, in the sense that whilst colonialism has been rejected economically and politically, it continues to construct cultural perspectives of peoples and places,

³ Die Anführungszeichen sollen auf das Verschleierungspotential des Begriffs hinweisen. Tatsächlich unterminiert er „die Notwendigkeit, Rassismus als solchen zu benennen. Stattdessen geht es wieder wie gehabt um ›Fremdenfeindlichkeit‹“ (EL-TAYEB 2016: 14). PREUSS, VÖLKEL und PACYNA behaupten dagegen, dass sich die Bevorzugung des Begriffs *Fremdenfeindlichkeit* gegenüber *Rassismus* daraus ergibt, dass letzterer einen „auf unterstellten hierarchisierten biologischen Unterschieden bestehende[n] Ausgrenzungsmechanismus“ bezeichne, ersterer dagegen „auf fundamentale kulturelle Differenzen“ verweise (2017: 10).

⁴ Vgl. dazu die Meldung vom 07.03.2016: <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/zorneding-pfarrer-bittet-um-verstaendnis-fuer-rueckzug-nach-morddrohungen-a-1081094.html> (letzter Aufruf 01.12.2017.).

⁵ Vgl. dazu z.B. die Meldung vom 10. Juli 2013 auf: <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/berlin-ueberfall-auf-mann-aus-guinea-womoeiglich-rassistisch-motiviert-a-910502.html> (letzter Aufruf 01.12.2017.).

but in a way which is covert“ (1998: 176).⁶ Eine unerschöpfliche Fundgrube für das unterschwellige Fortwirken und damit die ungebrochene Wirkmächtigkeit kolonial-rassistischer Denkmuster stellen aktuelle⁷ Afrikaromane dar.

Tatsächlich lassen selbst in der Jetztzeit spielende Afrikaromane kein Klischee und kein Vorurteil aus. Afrika wird immer noch in erster Linie als menschenleerer Kontinent imaginiert: „Ich mag die Geräusche am Tag und die in der Nacht. Den Gesang der Vögel, das Zirpen der Grillen, das Quaken der Frösche, das Brüllen des Löwen und das unheimlich klingende Gelächter der Hyänen. Das alles ist Afrika und ich bin froh, dass ich hierher gekommen bin“ (Hyänen 100–101).⁸ Ist die Gegenwart von afrikanischen Menschen unvermeidlich, dann bewegt sich die Kellnerin natürlich mit „langsam-tänzelndem Gang“ und ihre Zähne „strahlten makellos“ (Kilimatinde 95). Und afrikanische Kinder wünschen sich immer noch nichts sehnlicher als für Weiße zu arbeiten und sind – ganz wie es bereits der Askari-Mythos will – ihren Dienstherrn und -frauen treu ergeben: „Also, er gehört dir, wenn du willst. Dieser Junge ist in Ordnung, das sehe ich ihm an. Er wird dir folgen wie ein Hündchen“ (Herz 108).⁹ Auch andere koloniale Mythen werden immer noch kolportiert: „»Sie redet vom Maji-Maji-Krieg zwischen 1905 und 1907«, erklärte Joseph. »Die Deutschen wollten das Land modernisieren«“ (Afrikaflug 204). In Geschichten, die während der deutschen Kolonialzeit spielen, lässt sich wiederum nicht immer zweifelsfrei auf die Entstehungszeit des Textes schließen: „»Eine verfluchte Sache. Genau wie in Südwest, da sind sie auch frech geworden. Als ob diese Neger sich mit ihren verdammten Buschtrommeln quer über den Kontinent miteinander abgesprochen hätten...«“ (Kilimandscharo 621). Diese unkommentierte und unwidersprochene Aussage, ein Beispiel unter vielen, stammt nicht etwa aus kolonialer Propagandaliteratur, sondern aus einem 2012 veröffentlichten Roman.

In zwei Studien (RIEGER 2015a und 2015b) konnte ich bereits aufzeigen, dass in zwischen 1885 und 1945 entstandenen Kolonialromanen neben dem

⁶ Dieser verdeckte Kolonialismus beeinflusst bis heute die Art des Umgangs mit deutschen Schwarzen. Vgl. dazu aus wissenschaftlicher Sicht z.B. ASSNER et al. 2012, BECHHAUS-GERST–GIESEKE 2006, ROHRDANTZ 2009; aus Sicht der Betroffenen selbst z.B. AYIM 2002, JUNG 2013, MASSAQUOI 2015, MASSINGUE 2005, MICHAEL 2013, OGUNTOYE–AYIM–SCHULTZ 2006, SCHRAMM 2011, SOW 2008, USLEBER 2002; im Hinblick auf die verzerrte Darstellung von Afrika in deutschen Medien z.B. MÜKKE 2009, STURMER 2013.

⁷ Bereits an dieser Stelle sei darauf hingewiesen, dass sich *aktuell* in diesem Zusammenhang auf das Erscheinungsdatum und nicht auf die Zeit der Handlung bezieht.

⁸ Zur besseren Unterscheidbarkeit werden Primärtexte nicht mit dem Namen der jeweiligen AutorInnen zitiert, sondern mit einem zentralen Begriff des Titels. Eine komplette Liste der analysierten aktuellen Afrikaromane findet sich im Literaturverzeichnis.

⁹ Zum Mythos des treuen Askari vgl. z.B. BECHHAUS-GERST 2007 und MICHELS 2009.

Handlungsverlauf und der Darstellung von Afrika und afrikanischen Menschen auch die Namen der Romanfiguren kolonial-rassistisches Gedankengut widerspiegeln.¹⁰ Die gefundenen Namengebungsmuster trennen Weiß von Schwarz und diskriminieren und entmachten die aus Weißer¹¹ Perspektive „als Andere Konstruierten“. Da eine auch nur oberflächliche Lektüre zeigt, dass sich Kolonialromane und aktuelle Afrikaromane im Handlungsverlauf und der Darstellung von Afrika und afrikanischen Menschen nicht wesentlich voneinander unterscheiden, stellte sich mir die Frage, ob sich auch die in Kolonialromanen benutzten Muster der Namengebung in aktuellen Afrikaromanen wiederfinden. Zur Beantwortung dieser zentralen Fragestellung werde ich im nächsten Kapitel zunächst das untersuchte Korpus beschreiben, während die Ergebnisse der onymischen Analyse in Kapitel 3 dargestellt werden. Der Beitrag endet mit einer Schlussbetrachtung.

2. Korpus

Die für die vorliegende Untersuchung ausgewählten Texte haben eine Reihe von Merkmalen gemeinsam. Dazu gehören zunächst zwei Auswahlkriterien, nämlich, dass es sich um im Original deutschsprachige Literatur handelt und dass der in Afrika angesiedelte Teil der Geschichten in der Kolonie Deutsch-Ostafrika bzw. in Tanzania spielt.¹² Dieses geographische Kriterium hat damit zu tun, dass ich nur für diesen Teil Afrikas das nötige Minimum an historischem, kulturellem und sprachlichem Wissen besitze.

Wie sich aus der Fragestellung ergibt, setzt sich das Gesamtkorpus aus zwei Teilkorpora zusammen, nämlich zum einen aus 23 zwischen 1891 e 1955 [sic] veröffentlichten Romanen und Erzählungen, die durchweg zur Textsorte der sogenannten *Kolonialromane* gehören,¹³ und zum anderen aus 11 zwischen 2003 und 2016 veröffentlichten Romanen, die im Folgenden als *Afrikaromane* bezeichnet werden. Bemerkenswerterweise enthält das *Metzler Lexikon*

¹⁰ Zur Darstellung von Afrika und afrikanischen Menschen im (deutschen) Kolonialroman vgl. z.B. BENNINGHOFF-LÜHL 1983, MERGNER-HÄFNER 1989, SADJI 1985, SCHMIEDEL 2015, SCHNEIDER 2003, SCHNEIDER 2011.

¹¹ Die Großschreibung auch bei adjektivischem Gebrauch soll darauf hinweisen, dass es sich bei *Schwarz* und *Weiß* nicht um „harmlose“ phänotypische Beschreibungen, sondern um diskriminierende soziokulturelle Zuschreibungen handelt.

¹² Ein typisches Merkmal von Kolonialromanen ebenso wie der untersuchten Afrikaromane ist, dass die Handlung in Deutschland oder doch zumindest auf der Überfahrt nach Afrika ihren Ausgangspunkt nimmt. Außerdem benutze ich ganz bewusst das Endonym zur Bezeichnung des afrikanischen Landes.

¹³ Im Literaturverzeichnis des vorliegenden Beitrags, in dessen Mittelpunkt aktuelle Afrikaromane stehen, werden nur diejenigen Werke aus Teilkorpus 1 aufgenommen, aus denen zitiert wird. Eine vollständige Liste findet sich im Literaturverzeichnis von RIEGER 2015b (der Artikel kann aus dem Internet heruntergeladen werden).

Literatur (BURDORF–FASBENDER–MOENNIGHOFF 2007) kein Stichwort *Kolonialroman* oder *Kolonialliteratur*.¹⁴ Die *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* (WILD 2008) erwähnt das Genre zwar, enthält aber nur Angaben zu einigen wenigen „Autoren von Kolonialromanen, ›Negerromanen‹ oder ›Afrikaromanen‹, wie die Zeitgenossen sagen“ (WILKENDING 2008: 219).

Unter dem Stichwort *Abenteuerroman* findet sich im *Metzler Lexikon Literatur* dagegen folgender Eintrag: „Während in Antike und [Mittelalter] sich der Held den Abenteuern unterzieht, um ›Ehre‹ zu gewinnen, sind für den Abenteurer der Neuzeit der Ausbruch aus der festgefügtten Welt bürgerlicher Ordnungen und die oft gefährvolle Reise ins Unbekannte bzw. die Erfahrung physisch-psychischer Extrem-Situationen symptomatisch, wobei die Motive von positiver Neugier bis zum negativen Zivilisationsüberdruß reichen können, letztlich aber Ausdruck einer heldischen Bewährungsstrategie sind“ (BURDORF–FASBENDER–MOENNIGHOFF 2007: 2). Damit haben die Texte des Korpus ein drittes Merkmal gemeinsam, denn es handelt sich durchweg um *Abenteuerromane* im oben beschriebenen Sinn. Zudem sind viertens die Hauptfiguren immer Deutsche und die Geschichten werden fünftens immer aus deutscher Perspektive erzählt.

Allerdings gibt es auch Unterschiede, denn beim Genre der Kolonialromane handelt es sich erstens um sogenannte *Trivialliteratur*, also um eine „einfache und leicht verständliche Lit[eratur], die sich durch die ausgeprägte Bindung an lit[erarische] Schemata und gesellschaftliche Klischees auszeichnet“ (ibid.: 782) und zweitens um *Propagandaliteratur*, die „für die Kolonialidee einnehmen [wollte]“ (WILKENDING 2008: 224). Aus dem Merkmal *Abenteuerroman* ergibt sich außerdem, dass es sich traditionell um Jungenliteratur handelt, deren Helden dementsprechend männlich sind.¹⁵ Die im Korpus enthaltenen Afrikaromane gehören dagegen nur z.T. zur Trivial- und in keinem Fall zur Propagandaliteratur im oben beschriebenen Sinn. Außerdem gibt es sowohl männliche als auch weibliche Hauptfiguren.¹⁶ Die Afrikaromane können außerdem in zwei Untergruppen unterteilt werden, denn in sieben Romanen spielt das Geschehen während der Kolonialzeit, in den anderen vier dagegen in der Gegenwart.¹⁷

¹⁴ Dies ist umso erstaunlicher, als es sich um eine quantitativ nicht unerhebliche Produktion handelt. So schreibt BENNINGHOFF-LÜHL: „Meine Suche nach Primärliteratur hat in den letzten drei Jahren über 500 Kolonialromane ergeben“ (1983: 7).

¹⁵ Einzige Ausnahme im Korpus ist der Roman *Wiete erlebt Afrika* von ELSE STEUP (1938), in dem – wie der Titel bereits sagt – eine junge Frau im Mittelpunkt steht. Zu den Anfängen „exotischer“ Reise- und Abenteuerliteratur für Mädchen und junge Frauen vgl. WILKENDING 2008: 226–228.

¹⁶ Zum aktuellen Trend von Mädchen als Protagonisten und ihrer Inszenierung im Vergleich zu männlichen Hauptfiguren vgl. BÖHM 2017.

¹⁷ Im Literaturverzeichnis werden die beiden Untergruppen getrennt aufgeführt.

3. Namen im kolonialen und aktuellen Afrikaroman

3.1. Namenmuster im Kolonialroman¹⁸

Die Besonderheiten der Namengebung hängen eng mit den drei Lebensräumen zusammen, die für Kolonialromane konstitutiv sind: So gibt es immer ein im Verhältnis zur Realität überdimensioniertes Zentrum, das sich hell gegen einen dunklen, dem Zentrum feindlich gesinnten Hintergrund abhebt. Dazwischen liegt eine schmale Kontaktzone. Diese drei Lebensräume werden von fünf verschiedenen Figurengruppen bevölkert: In der Mitte des Weißen Zentrums steht der Weiße Held, umgeben von den anderen Weißen Kolonialisten. In der in sich geteilten Schwarz-Weißen Kontaktzone gibt es zum einen einige afrikanische Hausangestellte, typischerweise den Koch und den auch im deutschen Text als *Boy* bezeichneten persönlichen Diener, zum anderen die etwas größere Gruppe der weiteren Angestellten, insbesondere der Plantagenarbeiter und der *Askari* genannten afrikanischen Soldaten in Kaisers Diensten. Die große Masse der Afrikaner und Afrikanerinnen ist allerdings ein sich kaum abhebender Teil des Hintergrunds.¹⁹

Nach GOTTFRIED SCHRAMM (1957: 7) schafft erst der Name die „Person. Darum ist der Name kostbarster Besitz, ohne den ein Mensch nicht wirklich leben kann.“ Folgerichtig für kolonial-rassistisches Denken werden so gut wie alle Weißen Figuren namentlich genannt, und genauso folgerichtig bleibt das Gros der afrikanischen Figuren namenlos. Nur Hausangestellte und gelegentlich Vorarbeiter oder Karawanenführer erhalten einen Namen, allerdings mit dem entscheidenden Unterschied, dass es sich dabei um Rufnamen handelt, während Weiße fast immer einen Vor- und Nachnamen erhalten, selbst wenn sie nur einmalig vorkommen. Die (wenigen) Namen der afrikanischen Figuren können wiederum drei der vier Kategorien in DEBUS' *Typologie der Poetonyme* zugeordnet werden (vgl. 2012: 207–209): Dabei haben die allermeisten eine *klangsymbolische* Funktion, denn so fremd klingende Namen wie *Mkotima* oder *Ntindinganja* (VIERA 1924) unterstreichen die zentrale Botschaft kolonial-rassistischen Denkens: AfrikanerInnen sind anders als wir.²⁰ Namen wie

¹⁸ Im Folgenden werden nur die im vorliegenden Kontext relevanten Ergebnisse dargestellt. Ausführlich zur Namengebung allgemein vgl. RIEGER 2015a und zum Einsatz von unkonventionellen Namen RIEGER 2015b.

¹⁹ Zwar dürfte diese Perspektivierung tatsächlich den gelebten Alltag insbesondere der deutschen Siedler widerspiegeln. Es sollte trotzdem nicht vergessen werden, dass es sich dabei um einen absolut ethnozentrischen Blick auf das Land handelt, denn tatsächlich standen geschätzten 4 Millionen EinwohnerInnen von Tanganyika (vgl. ILIFFE 2008: 9) nie viel mehr als 1000 Deutsche, etwa die Hälfte davon Militär und Kolonialbeamte (vgl. PESEK 2005: 284), gegenüber.

²⁰ Auch haben die Namen nicht nur einen fremden Klang, sie lassen oft nicht einmal das Geschlecht der Namenträger erkennen. Tatsächlich handelt es sich hier um zwei männliche Rufnamen.

Abu Hassan oder *Selim bin Abdallah* (SCIPIO o.J.) haben (auch) eine *klassifizierende* Funktion, denn sie heben die muslimischen Araber und Suaheli ab von den „Mschensi, d.i. Buschneger[n]“ (ALLERBECK o.J.: 6).²¹ Getaufte afrikanische Figuren legen dagegen ihren ursprünglichen Namen ganz ab, wodurch sie wiederum als Christen erkennbar sind: „[...] und dann war ich Pate bei der Taufe von Uledi, Koko und deren kleinem Sohne! Otto haben sie mir zu Ehren den Buben genannt; Johannes und Maria heißt das Elternpaar“ (FALKENHORST 1909: 148). Schließlich gibt es eine Handvoll *redender* Namen, die ausnahmslos dazu dienen, die Namenträger zu degradieren bzw. der Lächerlichkeit preiszugeben (vgl. dazu RIEGER 2015a).

3.2. Namenmuster im aktuellen Afrikaroman

3.2.1. Gruppe 1

Alle Romane dieser Gruppe spielen in der Kolonialzeit, diejenigen von BACH (2012 a, 2012 b, 2014), HILLIGES (2009, 2013) und von JARY (2012) um die vorletzte Jahrhundertwende, derjenige von SCHULZ (2005) in den 1930er Jahren, also während des britischen Mandats über Tanganyika. Zur Entfaltung ihrer Geschichten bedienen sich alle Texte völlig unkritisch des kolonialen Settings, übernehmen also die oben beschriebenen Lebensräume und Figurenkonstellationen des Kolonialromans und damit zum großen Teil auch die Muster der Namensgebung. Wieder sind die meisten auftretenden afrikanischen Figuren namenlos, während die allermeisten deutschen Figuren mit Vor- und Familiennamen genannt werden, selbst dann, wenn es sich um einmalig erwähnte Nebenfiguren handelt. So wird „Dr. Snell, ein Kollege aus der Abteilung A“ (Insel 12) nur in diesem einen Nebensatz erwähnt, genauso wie die Freundin der Mutter der Hauptperson: „»Amelie von Bols, hat dich gesehen«“ (Sansibar 22).

Die vorkommenden Namen der afrikanischen Figuren, z.B. *Usimbi* (Strom), *Suahibu* (Sterne) oder *Ndrema* (Kind Afrikas) haben nach wie vor eine *klangsymbolische* Funktion, wobei sie für heutige LeserInnen, die in einer informationsreichen, global vernetzten Welt und multikulturellen Gesellschaft zuhause sind, wohl nicht so sehr auf das Anderssein der afrikanischen Figuren hinweisen als vielmehr die Exotik des Settings unterstreichen. Auffällig ist die klassifizierende Funktion *aller* Namen, denn sie unterteilen die erzählte Welt nicht nur in Schwarz und Weiß. So tragen Deutsche Namen wie *Charlotte von Roden* (Kilimandscharo), *Hermine Doll* (Sterne), *Dr. Alfred Wilkening* (Kind Afrikas) oder *Viktoria Wesermann* (Sansibar), die auf den sozialen Stand, den Beruf und die regionale Herkunft schließen lassen. Afrikanische Figuren ha-

²¹ *Mshenzi* stammt aus dem Kisuahili und bedeutet 'Wilde/r, Barbar, Unzivilisierte/r'.

ben dagegen Namen wie *Badili* (Sterne), *Mtusi* (Kilimandscharo) oder *Ontulwe* (Usambara), die sie nicht nur als Schwarze klassifizieren, sondern aufgrund des einteiligen Namens auch als Dienstpersonal. Dazu gibt es zwei Ausnahmen. Zum einen *Jonas Sabuni* und *Johannes Kigobo*, wobei es sich aber keineswegs um Vor- und Nachnamen handelt: „Johannes Kigobo war einer der Diakone [...]. Wie alle bekehrten Schwarzen hatte er bei seiner Taufe einen christlichen Namen erhalten, den er seinem Waschamba-Namen voranstellte“ (Usambara 170). Auch einem auf einer britischen Missionsstation erzogenen einheimischen Lehrerehepaar wird ein zweigliedriger Name zugestanden, nämlich *Elisabeth Kidogo* und *Vincent Mkono* (Sansibar).²² Die wenigen mehrgliedrigen Namen sind damit *getauften* afrikanischen Figuren vorbehalten.

Etwas seltener als in Kolonialromanen sind arabisch klingende Namen,²³ die aber, wenn sie vorkommen, durchaus als Kennzeichnung der Religionszugehörigkeit eingesetzt werden: „»Gott sei mit dir, mein kleiner Jonathan!«, rief sie dem hochgewachsenen Schwarzen zu. »Hast du deinen Freund immer noch nicht zu Jesus Christus bekehren können?« Die beiden Schwarzen schienen diese Frage schon oft gehört zu haben [...] und derjenige, den sie mit Jonathan angeredet hatte, erklärte [...], er mühe sich seit vielen Jahren mit seinem Freund Omar, doch dieser habe sein Herz vor der frohen Botschaft verschlossen.“ (Insel 563). Anders als in Kolonialromanen, wo Araber die Rolle eines doppelten Feindbildes innehatten,²⁴ verkörpern sie in Afrikaromanen bisweilen orientalisierende Phantasien von Luxus und gehobener Lebensart. Dies spiegelt sich in Namen wie *Prinz Omar ibn Salim* (Sansibar) und der Tatsache wider, dass selbst eine Dienerin einen mehrgliedrigen Namen trägt. Auf eine Frage, „erwiderte die andere in fast akzentfreiem Deutsch, »[...] Ich bin Nassim al-Tahabi und heiße dich im Beit al-Sahel willkommen. Mein Gebieter möchte, dass ich dir helfe, dich bei uns einzuleben« (Sansibar 146). In die schwüle Harems-Atmosphäre des Romans passt auch der Name *Zouzan* für eine geraubte Massai, die ein Weißer Plantagenbesitzer einem Sklavenhändler abgekauft hat und die ihrem neuen Herrn dafür Liebesdienste erweist. So heißt es im Buch: „Der Sklavenhändler [...] gab ihr den arabischen Namen Zouzan, der Roger gefiel – wie fast alles an ihr“ (Sansibar 118).

²² Der jeweilige zweite Name stammt aus dem Kiswahili mit der Bedeutung *kidogo* ‚(ein) wenig‘ bzw. *mkono* ‚Hand, Arm‘, was im Text aber nicht thematisiert wird.

²³ Das könnte damit zusammenhängen, dass die arabische Bevölkerung in den Kolonialromanen funktional war. Denn die Kolonialisierung Afrikas wurde u.a. mit der Notwendigkeit begründet, gegen arabische Sklavenhändler vorzugehen.

²⁴ Sie wurden nicht nur als verabscheuungswürdige Sklavenhändler dargestellt, sondern ihnen wurde auch die Schuld am sogenannten *Bushiri-Aufstand* (1888–1889) zugesprochen, dem ersten Versuch der Einheimischen, die deutschen Kolonisatoren aus Tanganyika zu vertreiben.

3.2.2. Gruppe 2

Auch die in der Jetztzeit spielenden Geschichten werden aus deutscher Perspektive erzählt. Dabei geht es weiterhin nicht um eine wirkliche Begegnung mit Afrika und seinen BewohnerInnen und also auch nicht um eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, „Afrika“ ist und bleibt in erster Linie exotische Kulisse für Ereignisse und Abenteuer, die grundsätzlich in jedem anderen Land stattfinden könnten. Hinsichtlich der Namengebung gibt es allerdings deutliche Veränderungen.

So sind mehrgliedrige Namen nicht mehr Privileg der Weißen. Der *Boy* der Hauptperson „heißt Thomas Kilumbi. Alle nennen ihn Temeo“ (Herz 16) und die Haushälterin *Anita Tajoma* (Afrikaflug). Auch wenn man erst etwa 35 Seiten nach Einführung der Figur *Abraham* erfährt, dass er *Abraham Tirumanywa* heißt und keinesfalls ein verarmter Bauer, sondern der ehemalige Tierarzt des Dorfes ist (vgl. Kilimatinde 122), so haben afrikanische Figuren nicht nur Vor- und Nachnamen, sondern auch angesehene Berufe und/oder akademische Titel wie der Pilot *Ibrahim Karusi* (Afrikaflug), der Professor *Simon Kamata* (Herz) oder der Lehrer *Dr. Francis Kilenga* (Kilimatinde). Andererseits erfährt man zwar nur den Vornamen des Taxifahrers *Moses*. Doch lässt der junge Deutsche *Nick Geldermann*, Hauptfigur des Romans *Zurück nach Kilimatinde* (SCHULZ 2003), so lange nicht locker, bis der Taxifahrer ihn nicht mehr *big Massa*, *Mister* oder *Mister Nick*, sondern einfach *Nick* nennt (vgl. Kilimatinde 63). Nach wie vor gibt es afrikanische Figuren wie den Plantagenarbeiter *Elijah*, die Köchin *Victoria* oder den Laborassistenten *Abdul*. Aber das gilt eben auch für die gestrandeten holländischen Touristen *Irma* und *Roloff* (alle zuletzt genannten Namen: Afrikaflug) oder *Valerie*, die Freundin der Hauptfigur *Nick Geldermann* (Kilimatinde), deren Nachnamen man nie erfährt. Überhaupt nur Vornamen für alle Figuren gibt es in *Hyänen im hohen Gras* (SIEGE 2004). In dieser figurenarmen und in einem sehr informellen Setting spielenden Geschichte zeigt der einzige vorkommende Familienname an, dass *Dr. Michael Lehmann*, der neue Freund der Mutter der Hauptfigur, nicht zur Familie gehört.

Durch diese zunehmende „Normalverteilung“ im Hinblick auf Namengebung, Berufe und soziale Rollen ergibt sich ein generalisierender Effekt. Denn das Vorhandensein einer angemessenen Zahl von afrikanischen Figuren mit Vor- und Nachnamen in angesehenen Berufen zeigt, dass sich die afrikanische Gesellschaft in diesem Bereich nicht grundsätzlich von der deutschen unterscheidet. Genau in dieselbe Richtung zeigt ein weiterer Abbau sozialer Schranken, nämlich die Verwendung von Anredeformen auch für afrikanische Figuren. Während in *Leg nieder dein Herz* (SCHULZ 2005) die Kisuahili Anrede *bwana* ‚Herr‘ noch dem deutschen Missionar vorbehalten bleibt, werden in

Afrikaflug (BÄDECKER 2016) auch afrikanische Figuren als *Bwana Karusi*, *Bwana Tumbo* oder *Bibi Sabulana*²⁵ angesprochen.

4. Schlussbetrachtung

Im Hinblick auf die Muster der Namengebung kann zusammenfassend festgestellt werden, dass sich die in der Kolonialzeit spielenden Afrikaneromanen (Gruppe 1) nicht von ihren Vorläufern unterscheiden. Zwar gibt es keine bewusst abwertenden *redenden* Namen, doch werden auch durch das literarische Mittel der onymischen Diskriminierung afrikanischer Figuren die in kolonialen Gesellschaften herrschenden machtpolitischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Unterschiede als „naturgegeben“ übernommen und dargestellt. In den Afrikanromanen der Gruppe 2 kann bei Namengebung und Anredeformen dagegen eine zunehmende Gleichbehandlung festgestellt werden.

Man könnte nun im Hinblick auf die Befunde für Gruppe 1 einwenden, dass auch deutsches Personal nur *Minna* oder *Johann* (Insel) heißt oder – selten – auch mal namenlos ist. Aber es gibt ein aus den Kolonialromanen übernommenes Phänomen, das auch in den meisten aktuellen Afrikanromanen beider Gruppen²⁶ unterstreicht, dass Weiß-Sein die Norm, Schwarz-Sein dagegen – offensichtlich auch in Afrika (!) – die Abweichung von der Norm darstellt. Denn nur so lässt sich erklären, dass auf dieses „körperliche Merkmal“, auf „die Hülle“ geradezu obsessiv hingewiesen wird. Die folgenden Beispiele stammen alle aus Usambara, um zu zeigen, wie unterschiedlich dieselbe Autorin mit europäischen und afrikanischen Figuren umgeht: Namenlose Europäer sind „erfahrene Seeleute“ (93), „ein Steward“ (100), „zwei junge Herren aus Hamburg“ (102). Namenlose Afrikaner sind „schwarze Angestellte“ (121), „schwarze Kinder“ (142), „schwarze Diakone“ (161). Bezeichnend ist auch die folgende Stelle, aus der Feder derselben Autorin: „Die drei deutschen Offiziere und der schwarze Offizier, [...]“ (Insel 436). Besonders verräterisch sind Stellen mit sprachlichen Wiederaufnahmen wie im folgenden Textausschnitt: „Sie nahm an der Morgenandacht teil und bat im Anschluss Johannes Kigobo und Jonas Sabuni, sie auf einen Ausritt zu begleiten. [...] »Wohin du willst, *bibi* Johanssen?«, fragte einer ihrer schwarzen Begleiter, Johannes Sibuni, neugierig“ (Usambara 192). Dass dies nicht dem kolonialen Setting geschuldet ist, zeigt der folgende Ausschnitt aus einer in der Jetztzeit spielenden Geschichte: „[...] rief Simon Kamata an [...] Joseph brauchte ein paar Sekunden, bis er sich an den Schwarzen erinnerte. Kamata half ihm auf die Sprünge: »Sie wissen doch! Der Literaturprofessor aus Ukerewe [...]« [...] Schon während dieses

²⁵ *Bibi*, eigentlich 'Großmutter', entspricht der Anrede *Frau*.

²⁶ Die im folgenden beschriebene Beobachtung gilt nicht für *Afrikaflug* (BÄDECKER 2016) und *Hyänen im hohen Gras* (SIEGE 2004).

Mittagsmahls [...] erfuhr Simon fast den gesamten Lebensweg und die aktuellen Veränderungen des neuen Freundes. Und Joseph lernte Einzelheiten aus dem Leben des Schwarzen kennen.“ (Herz 86–87).

In Insel (Gruppe 1; 703 S.) gibt es 316 Belege für das Suchwort *schwarz**, in Kilimandscharo (Gruppe 1; 671 S.) 266, in Usambara (Gruppe 1; 592 S.) 307, in Sterne (Gruppe 1; 544 S.) 67, in Kind Afrikas (Gruppe 1; 432) 89, in Sansibar (Gruppe 1; 446 S.) 84, in Strom (Gruppe 1; 136 S.) 66 und in Herz (Gruppe 2; 214) 56.²⁷ Natürlich kommt *schwarz** auch in harmlosen Kontexten wie *schwarzer Anzug* oder *schwarze Haare* (der deutschen Hauptfigur) vor. Doch bleibt die Tatsache, dass afrikanische Figuren, selbst solche, deren Namen den LeserInnen längst bekannt sind, in unzähligen Fällen in erster Linie anhand der Hautfarbe identifiziert werden. Neben der unkritischen Übernahme des kolonialen bzw. exotischen Settings, dem Kolportieren jahrhundertealter Vorurteile und Klischees sowie der unkritischen Präsenz des *N-Wortes* auch in Texten aus Gruppe 2 ist dies ein weiterer Hinweis auf die ungebrochene Wirkmächtigkeit kolonial-rassistischen Gedankenguts.

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²⁷ Diese Romane liegen elektronisch vor, so dass eine Auszählung möglich war. Auch Kilimatinde benutzt *schwarz** überaus häufig zur Markierung von afrikanischen Figuren. Da es keine elektronische Ausgabe gibt, können jedoch keine genauen quantitativen Angaben gemacht werden.

²⁸ Bei der um 1930 veröffentlichten Sammlung handelt es sich um fünf ursprünglich einzeln erschienene Geschichten, wobei jede Geschichte mit der Seitenzählung neu beginnt.

2. Analyisierte Afrikaromane

2.1. Gruppe 1 (Kolonialzeit)

Insel = BACH, LEAH 2014. *Insel der tausend Sterne*. München, Blanvalet.

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Usambara = BACH, LEAH 2012b. *Sanfter Mond über Usambara*. München, Blanvalet.

2.2. Gruppe 2 (Jetztzeit)

Afrikaflug = BÄDECKER, TANJA 2016. *Afrikaflug*. Berlin, Edition Graugans.

Herz = SCHULZ, HERMANN 2005. *Leg nieder dein Herz*. Hamburg, Carlsen.

Hyänen = SIEGE, NASRIN 2004. *Hyänen im hohen Gras. Spuren in der Serengeti*. Frankfurt a.M., Brandes & Apsel.

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Abstract

Im Mittelpunkt des vorliegenden Beitrags stehen Gegenwartsromane über Afrika, deren Handlung sowohl in der Kolonialzeit als auch in der Jetztzeit spielt. Auch wenn die deutsche Kolonialzeit in der Öffentlichkeit bisher kaum aufgearbeitet wurde, so muss doch erstaunen, wie unkritisch diese in heute geschriebenen Romanen dargestellt wird. Aber auch die Romane, die in der Jetztzeit spielen, bleiben über weite Strecken im kolonial-rassistischen Gegensatz von Weiß und Schwarz gefangen. Dies lässt sich zum einen an der Handlung sowie an unzähligen Stereotypen und Klischees nachweisen. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist jedoch aufzuzeigen, dass auch die Namengebung von weiterhin wirksamen kolonialen Denkmustern beeinflusst wird. Auffälligstes Merkmal ist dabei, dass – genau wie in Kolonialromanen – auch in Gegenwartsromanen die Mehrheit der afrikanischen Figuren namenlos ist, während selbst Weiße Nebenfiguren in aller Regel mit Vor- und Nachname eingeführt werden. Im Hinblick auf in der Kolonialzeit spielende Romane kann außerdem gezeigt werden, dass sich weitere auch in Kolonialromanen vorhandene Muster der abwertenden Namengebung finden. Erst in den Romanen, die in der Jetztzeit spielen, scheinen zumindest die tatsächlich gegebenen Namen nicht mehr als Instrument der Diskriminierung eingesetzt zu werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Onomastik, Anthroponyme, Afrikaromane, Tansania, Kolonialismus

Ayokunmi Ojebode

African Onomastics and Gender Semiotization in Chimamanda Adichie's Purple Hibiscus and Kunle Afolayan's The Figurine

1. Introduction

The question of What's in a Name? has stimulated several interrogative discourses among onomasticians globally but, it has not sufficiently been answered with researches on gender characternyms from a Nigerian standpoint. This study is thus an attempt to break the dearth of silence on the symbolic implication of gender characternyms in Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and Kunle Afolayan's, 'The Figurine'. It was discovered by the researcher that despite several laudable reviews on Adichie and Afolayan, there are no onomastic researches of their works particularly, gender characternyms in the selected prose and film respectively. The present study is therefore an extension of the interrogation from William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, as we suggest 'Gender Semiotization' to critique the significance of male and female characters' names in the two purposively selected texts.

Significantly, the above concept is an adaptation from OHA's study titled *Onomastic Semiotization in Nigerian Movies* (2005) which indicate the prospect of theorising a model for analysing names as symbols through synergetic components of onomastics and semiotics. The above concept from his study was purposely created to analyse names symbolically in Nigerian films so, it is not out of context to also adopt it for this study. The present study fuses literature (print) and film not solely film as done by OHA's study (2005) for hermeneutics because the latter genre took its germ foremost as a dramatic text before its eventual metamorphose into stage and screen productions.

Consequently, onomastic semiotization is a subtle way of fusing two different fields, onomastics (study of names) and semiotics (study of signs and symbols), where meaning becomes a unifying feature to both fields. Also, the researcher extends the above concept into gender studies as it fuses names and semiotics purposely to situate implicit and explicit functions of (male and female) characternyms in the two selected texts. By permutation, names in Adichie and Afolayan's works then appear as signifiers of Nigeria's cultural and situational practices cum contexts. The interface between his and the present study necessitate this theoretical adaptative process.

The above premises establish that literature can provide a modest amount of detail, but a successful use of naming evokes powerful images (signs) and associations



which exceed limited textual descriptions (BUTLER 2010: 18). Thus, semiotics in this study is deployed as a theoretical enclosure for investigating names within the socio-cultural milieu of Nigerians. Names and naming in Africa have primarily two contexts, socio-cultural and literary contexts (IZEVBAYE 1981). In his study, he explains that an author infuses life into his characters through naming exactly as enacted in real names (1981: 168). By application, there is thus a thin line between name significations within the African culture and literary texts because it is the fundamental source of imagination for several African literary artists, the two selected artists inclusive.

2. African Onomastics

Apart from IZEV BAYE (1981), ODEBODE's study (2010) also pivots the direction of this study in that, it expressively demarcates the uniqueness of 'African Onomastics' (names and naming) and their functions from Europeans'. He establishes that a name is a 'social DNA' from which the ancestry, sex, occupation, education, birth aura and religious background of the bearer can be unearthed (ODEBODE 2010: 209). African names as such describe where an individual is from (past), his status (present), and where he is likely headed (future). Names in Africa are thus extremely mystical because, a name-bearer strides into the 'destiny' encoded in his/her name. Specifically, among the Yoruba (an ethnic division in Southwest, Nigeria), there is a prominent aphorism that *Oruko omo niiro omo*, which implies 'a child's name propels him into fulfilling his destiny'.

Furthermore, DASYLVA's study (1997), another pillar upon which the present research leans similarly identifies the stylistic variables of sex, age, religion, education, socio-economic status and occupation of the characteronyms in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*. While, AGYEKUM (2006) though a Ghanaian, further adds that, African names are not arbitrary but are based on sociocultural and ethnopragmatic contexts. African names to all the above scholars are thus influenced by culture from which variables such as sex, hierarchy in birth, circumstances of birth, the person's structure, status and several other variables originate. With the above explication, Nigerian names whether in print or film must thus be stereotypically analysed through a sociocultural naming context.

3. Gender Semiotization

Within the African context, gender names can be grouped into male and female names. Adichie and Afolayan's texts portray negative effects of patriarchal subjugation across lines of gender, social, and cultural differences, while ironical names in this case thus perform dual functions. They offer a way of

critiquing the attitudes of such culture within the text and also for the readers to establish connections with characters that bear such names (AKINYEMI 2016: 6). He further explicates that male names are popularly used by Yoruba playwrights to give special traits such as bravery, wisdom, royalty and wealth (AKINYEMI 2016: 3). While female names are used by these playwrights to reflect femininity and aesthetics thus they often adopt *oriki àbísò*, descriptive praise names that suggest endearment (ORIE 2002: 135).

4. African Names, Ethnonyms and Ethnotheonyms

The introduction of *African theonymy* into onomastic studies is germane in order to create an auspice to discuss the replete metaphoric names/name of God/gods in Christian/traditional religions of the African people (OJEBODE 2017). One of the previous studies of the researcher delineates on the concept of *ethnotheonymy* which was used to critique ten names of God extracted from Michael Fashina's (alias *Erujeje*) album. Similarly in the present study, some names of gods/deities will be appropriately examined.

The concept of *ethnotheonym* is premeditated, it is coined from three words, *ethno* culture, *theos* god/deities, and *-onyma/-nym* name. The concept of *ethnonym* offshoot of onomastics, which denote 'proper name of an ethnic group (tribe, folk clan, etc.)' has been in existence for quite some time. While *-onyma* is also certified by the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences* (ICOS, 2010) for wide usage, and it is reflected in onomastic terms such as: toponym place name, anthroponym proper name for a group of person/persons, zoonym animal name, hodonym street name, hydronym water body name, etc. The above concept negates, *theonymy*, that is, application of Biblical laws in place of civil laws, therefore, its usage does not in any way correlate with *theonyms*.

The Yoruba and most indigenous African communities are by nature, largely animist, therefore, they strictly celebrate and adhere to the belief of life-after-life. This belief foregrounds the unbroken link between their world (of the living) and the world of the (living-dead ancestors) DASILVA (2006: 27–28). In respect to this notion, Soyinka also describes the metaphysical sphere of the Yoruba worldview as the 'liminal realm' and it takes appeasements to reunite the human essence with the divine ("Fourth Stage" 29). Soyinka's phenomenon exemplified in *Death and the King's Horseman* where *Olohun-iyó* 'the Praise-Singer' is visibly possessed by the spirit of the departed Alaafin of Oyo. The Praise-Singer as such becomes a transport for the spirit of Alaafin to communicate his worries to the living over the apparent devastative delay by *Elesin-oba* 'the King's horseman'.

Significantly, IZEVBAYE's study (1981) also supports the existence of the 'liminal realm', to him it is the stage that particularly dictate the destiny of a character in reality and fiction. The reality of this stage is supported by names like *Oruko Amutorunwa* (names brought from heaven) names like Dada, Iyabo, Funso and Abodunrin, etc. And also *Oriki* (invocation of *ori*, the "head"), the seat of mental and spiritual attributes, which includes reason, will, and luck (IZEVBAYE 1981: 169). The head (*Ori*) in some Nigerian cultures is depicted as *Chi* by Igbo, *Ori* Yoruba and *Ehi* Edo. The predestined head is the stage that prompts the literary artist to create individual and social identities which summarise the concept of *role performance* in literary context and *destiny* in the context of social reality (IZEVBAYE 1981: 169).

Consequently, below are the constituents of the Yoruba cosmological planes of existence is explained by B. M. IBITOKUN as follows: "there are the realms of ancestors (the past), gods (the eternal) and the unborn (the future) (the departed) [...] their home is a »resting place«. The ancestral is the measure of the Yoruba Past [...] stationed in the same metaphysical edifice are the unborn whose exact apartment Wole Soyinka rightly calls a 'staging house'." (1995: 22).

The abode of the unborn is likened to a "staging house" in the sense that before a newly born child arrives in the world of the living it must have rehearsed and gotten itself thoroughly equipped for the task. The fourth plane of existence according to IBITOKUN, "is the natural home of the unseen deities. While in the terrestrial realm rituals/rites permit free intimation of gods and mortals as done among the Yoruba people. The sustenance of the metaphysical is determined by the activities carried out by humans in the physical" (1995: 22).

The above explication is important for a complete overview of names and naming in most Africa cultures because they in their original forms are foremost offshoots of spiritual processes. It is from the spiritual realm that are transported into the physical realm and transferred by an herbalist to parents/aged individuals/oral performers during a naming ceremony. A literary artist as such mimics the role of a performer who presents the performance on a specific occasion (FINNEGAN 1970: 111). The third and least process in naming is the literary transmutations created by Nigerian literary artists to fulfil their respective ideological purposes.

5. Contextualisation of Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*

Adichie titles the first chapter of *Purple Hibiscus*, 'Breaking Gods', a prologue to the ensuing chaos in Eugene Achike's home. "Things started to fall apart at home when my brother, Jaja, did not go to communion and Papa flung his heavy missal across the room and broke the figurines on the etagere" (Adichie 2004: 3). The smashing of Beatrice's (Mama) figurines to the floor is crux to

Adichie's narrative because, it is from the event that she recounts Eugene's tyrannical leadership over his wife and children. Adichie's intertextual creation is conspicuous in the above statement which is an offshoot of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*.

Such artistic creation indicates her emulation of themes of social, cultural and religious fragmentation resulting from the West's intrusion into African cultures and traditions through religious emissaries which typify most of Achebe's works. Brenda Cooper notes that Adichie in *Purple Hibiscus* integrates Igbo customs and language with catholic ritual and which incorporates men into gender politics and embraces the literary traditions of her elders – Chinua Achebe, Ngugi Wa Thiong and Alice (COOPER 2012: 1–12).

Subsequently, as the narrative continues the significance of the *broken gods/figurines* is tied to Beatrice's personality (Mama). She is profoundly portrayed in a kneeling posture like a devotee appeasing her *gods* in the following instance, "She stared at the figurine pieces on the floor and then knelt and started to pick them up with her bare hands" (Adichie 2004: 7). The above act signals Beatrice's break from enduring constant physical and emotional abuses from her husband. As it is later revealed in the narrative, Beatrice's *ballet-dancing figurines* is a coping mechanism from emotional wounds inflicted on her and her children by her husband, and its breakage foreshadows an impending cataclysmic collapse of her rational personality.

6. Contextualisation of Kunle Afolayan's *The Figurine*

The figurine: Araromire is a 2009 Nigerian supernatural suspense thriller film written by Kemi Adesoye, academic papers on it were compiled by Adeshina Afolayan in a volume titled, *Autering Nollywood: Critical Perspectives on the Figurine* (2014). The film was produced and directed by Kunle Afolayan, who stars in the film as one of the main protagonists. It also introduces Ramsey Nouah and Omoni Oboli. It narrates the story of two friends who finds a mystical sculpture in an abandoned shrine in the forest while serving at a National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) camp, and one of them decides to take the artwork home. Unknown to them, the sculpture is from the goddess *Araromire* which bestows seven years of fortune on anyone who encounters it, and after the seven years have expired, seven years of bad luck intermittently follow. The lives of the two friends begin to change for good, as they become successful and wealthy businessmen. However, after seven years, things start to change for the worse.

7. Synergy in Adichie-Afolayan Artistic Visions

BRENDA COOPER (2010), describes Adichie's integration of Igbo customs and language with Catholic ritual into her works. She portrays the syncretised world



through the material culture and everyday realities of life of modern Nigeria using solid objects – tables and chairs, grains of rice and ceramic ornaments – syncretised with bodies and infused with spiritual life. She like other African writers create a world where there are no boundaries between the living and the dead, the animate and the inanimate, the big and the small, the literal and the symbolic, words and things (COOPER 2012: 1–12).

Soyinka similarly describes this same world as the *liminal realm*, and it takes sacrifices to harmonise the human essence and the divine (“Fourth Stage” 29). The extra-terrestrial world described by COOPER and SOYINKA interlaces Chimamanda Adichie’s *Purple Hibiscus* and Kunle Afolayan’s *Araromire* (The Figurine) exposing the spiritual influence of African deities on the destinies of individuals. The consecrated belief portrayed by the two artists is identical of Greek mythologies. Adichie’s belief in the supernatural is expressed in a *modern* ballet-dancing figurines, while it is a form of *traditionally* carved figurine of an African goddess in Afolayan’s film.

Symbolically, Beatrice as a type of *adherent* to her *feminine gods* inflicts death on her husband, Eugene for trespassing her gods. While, Afolayan depicts an African river goddess whom upon violation enacts seven years of prosperity and seven years of traumatic turmoil on her male victims. Furthermore, Adichie depicts a father that is obsessed with Catholic rituals, while Afolayan depicts Sola, another father as extremist philanderer obsessed with ladies as well as his friend, Femi who is passionately obsess with Sola’s wife, Mona. Both Beatrice (Mama) and Mona are trophies for patriarchal control, the former is propelled by religious zeal while the latter is an outcome of licentious passion.

After the breakage of the *ballet-dancing figurines* in the Achike’s home, Beatrice loses her pregnancy during a battering experience from her husband and this incidence with other grievances made her poison him. Mona on the other hand loses her pregnancy the time she attempts to dispose the mysterious reappearing wooden figurine in her house. Eugene assaults his wife physically while Sola victimises his wife psychologically with a scary-looking *statuette* in their home and sexually by indulging in extra-marital affairs. Both Eugene, Sola as well as Femi prostitutes religions contrast to their beliefs. Eugene, a son to a traditionalist enstrange himself with Catholic beliefs while the other male characters in the Afolayan’s text both repudiate their Christian faith.

Beatrice only son, Jaja goes to the prison to defend her mother’s murder of his father, while Mona’s son dies when he attempt to jump over the balcony of their house to rescue his mum from with his father during a heated argument. The paedophilic act is alludes *Spiderman*, his comic idol. Conclusively, both Mama and Mona have wrangles with their husbands, victims of supposed *influences* from Catholic and traditional gods whose beliefs they promote. The three male

characters, Eugene, Sola and Femi's lifestyles are all overshadowed with their *hypocritical* profession of the Christian faith.

8. Methodology

The primary source for this study are texts from Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and Kunle Afolayan's *The Figurine*, while secondary sources are interviews from fellow scholars who are Igbo. Also, bibliographic search on relevant reviews are added. Six (6) Igbo and six (6) Yoruba characteronyms are respectively selected for analysis in this study. The twelve names indicate the cultural milieus of both literary artists, Adichie reflects Igbo culture in her naming origin while Afolayan reflect Yoruba culture.

9. Theoretical Framework

The uniqueness of the African naming context informs the adoption of HALLIDAY's Socio-semiotics as our study's theoretical framework. Unlike semiotics in the tradition of Ferdinand de Saussure, which focused primarily on theorising unchanging semiotic systems or structures (termed *langue* by de Saussure), social semiotics tries to account for the variability of semiotic practices termed *parole*. This altered focus shows how individual creativity, changing historical circumstances, and new social identities and projects can all change patterns of usage and design (HODGE–KRESS 1988).

Signs are considered to be resources which people use and adapt (or “design”) to make meaning from a social semiotic perspective, rather than being fixed into unchanging “codes”. In these respects, social semiotics is influenced by, and shares many of the preoccupations of pragmatics and sociolinguistics and has much in common with cultural studies and critical discourse analysis. The main task of social semiotics is to develop analytical and theoretical frameworks which can explain meaning-making in a social context (THIBAULT 1991).

HALLIDAY's Socio-semiotic theory is basically sociocultural and it is within such context that certain situations trigger variation of meaning and supply treasured information in understanding why and how a name varies in meaning when it is used in a particular culture. Texts in the present study have been domesticated as characteronyms in Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and Kunle Afolayan's , *The Figurine*. Cultural context in this study is centred on ethos, tenets and philosophies that define traditional/ethnic implications of names in Nigeria, while the situational context is centred on circumstances around the portrayals of characteronyms (male and female names) in Adichie and Afolayan's works.

By application, gender names in the selected texts would then be signs uniquely meant for signification and de-codification purposes by the researcher. The deployment of African names as signs does not reduce their symbolic-cultural function, they act as the essence of an individual's existence, the license into the world of the living unlike the Western culture where name is merely a tag, pointer-out which in itself is meaningless (ADAMIC 1942: 72).

10. Data Analysis

	<i>Purple Hibiscus</i>	<i>Araromire (The Figurine)</i>
1.	Modern <i>ballet-dancing figurines</i>	Wooden Figurine
2.	Mmuo (Igbo Masquerading spirits) during Aro festival	<i>Araromire</i> (Yoruba Goddess)
3.	Papa Eugene	Sola, Femi
4.	Beatrice (Mama)	Mona
5.	Jaja	Junior (Spiderman)
6.	Kambili	Lara
7.	Papa Nnukwu	Femi's father

10.1. Feminine/Masculine/Ethnotheonymic Names

In Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*, Beatrice *gods* (the *ballet-dancing figurines*) depicts probably, a kinetic moving statuette of Virgin Mary which would symbolise delightful moments in the life of the character before the eventual collapse of/ in her home. The *dancing* figurines may also symbolise gradual depletion of the joys of Africans before Western incursion into their culture. Eugene's forceful smashing of the figurines symbolise the destructive instincts of adherents of neo-colonial ideologies. Similarly, in Afolayan's film, *Araromire* which in Yoruba implies 'water fosters friendship', where *Ara* denotes, 'kinfolk', while *romi* imply, 'to touch water' and *ire* 'wealth/favour' (a Yoruba fictional River Goddess). In the film, the deity is deified as a carved wooden figurine which brings the presence of a supernatural power to its plot through the timeline of seven years blessing and accompanying turmoil.

Mmuo (Igbo Masquerading spirits) are celebrated during the Aro festival in reality and *Purple Hibiscus*. A cultural reference in Adichie's text which symbolise the patriarchal strength of Eugene and in extension the Igbo community. While *Araromire* (a Yoruba Goddess) symbolise feminine *power* reflected in the physical and psychological devastations undergone by female characters in the film and extension the Yoruba community. Its feminine undertone cannot be disputed considering the physiological outline and nudity of the deity.

10.2. Masculine/Cultural/Descriptive/Ironic Names

Eugene is a Greek name that denotes a person that is 'noble', well-born'. While *Sola* denotes a person that is 'clad in wealth', it is taken from the Yoruba word, *ola* which denotes 'wealth'. Also, *Femi* denotes 'love me' from the Yoruba word, *Ifẹ* 'love'. In Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*, Papa Eugene falls short as an extremist and fanatic of the Catholic rituals to the point of tyranny. While Sola is depicted as a philanderer, who is obsessed about women, and his friend, Femi is alike obsessed with marrying Mona, Sola's wife.

10.3. Feminine/Historical Names

Beatrice is a Latin word which denotes a 'bringer of joy, blessings', though, in Adichie's novel, her name is ironic of the life she is forced to live. Her joy and expectation of having a blessed home is dashed by her wife-battering and oppressive husband, Eugene. Likewise, *Mona* is an abridged version or nickname for *Mona Lisa*, Leonardo da Vinci's most popular painting of a flawlessly beautiful woman. Mona as her name implies is the trophy for male contentions between Sola and Femi, two friends who are locked in the battle for her heart. The aesthetics of art history in this name is further complemented with the introduction of a feminine god named, *Araromire* represented with a wooden figurine, which depicts the producer's predilection for his female characters. Equally, Adichie also keenly emphasises on the broken *étagère*, and modern *dancing-ballet figurines* which represent Beatrice, as used in depicting her shattered personality and home.

The choice of viewing the novel from the feminist approach is also supported by BRENDA COOPER (2010), who includes Susan Stewart's quote on the 'compelling and powerful miniature shelf where the figurines were kept in the novel. She says, "Susan Stewart in her *On Longing*, which is a study of *Narrative of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* suggests that Adichie's figurines occupy a »privatised and domesticated world«" (STEWART 1993: 172). It is a woman's world, where knickknack shelves satisfy the longing of women, who seek limited mastery over space. She suggests that Adichie exploits her fictional space by magnifying her plot to accommodate radical feminism at the central stage. STEWART further elaborates that the 'miniature' shelf where Beatrice's figurines are kept becomes a stage on which Adichie and other female writers deliberately project series of actions (1999: 54).

10.4. Feminine/Cultural/Descriptive Names

Lara in Yoruba is an abridged version of *omolara* which implies 'a child is relational/next of kin/covering'. The name points to the importance of giving birth to a child, it is believed among the Yoruba people that couples that are



barren may not have a continuity or someone to inherit their possessions long after they are gone. In Afolayan's film, Lara plays out her name as the only sibling/relation of Femi, and she is compelled to follow her brother's instructions even when they are inhumane. She also has sexual escapades with Sola, a known philanderer/Casanova in the film. Similarly, *Kambili*, an Igbo name which implies 'let me live', 'let me be'. In the Adichie's novel, she attempts to find expression for her initial naivety under a tyrannical father. Also, like Afolayan's Lara, she is also infatuated with Father Amadi. Both characters share juvenile and fantastical emotions by imagining an unrealistic relationship with Sola, an already married man, and Father Amadi, a sworn Catholic priest who has settled not to marry.

10.5. Masculine/Cultural/Descriptive/Role Names

Nnukwu in Igbo denotes 'castle'. In Adichie's novel, he closely acts out his name being an encase and embodiment of the Igbo traditional beliefs just like Femi's father. In Afolayan's film, Femi's father is portrayed as a proficient sculptor and in fact, he is the persona that assists Femi's to reproduce *Araromire's* figurines. His real name is not used because he has a minimal role to play in the film thus, his given name is meant to solely reflect the relationship between him and his son. He attributes his speedy recovery from cancer as a *miracle* during the *supposed* seven years of fortune bestowed on individuals who have had contact with the deity. He apparently, believes in ancestral deities as obvious in the displayed sculptures in his studio.

10.6. Masculine/Historic/Appellative/Role Names

Jaja is adapted name from *Jaja of Opobo*, a prominent King during the colonial era in Ijaw land, which is today in Niger Delta region, Nigeria. He goes down in history as a courageous King, man of valour and one who sent fear into the hearts of imperialists. The introduction of this character's name can be linked to him being a fighter against oppression, though, in this case, feminine subjugation. Similarly, *Junior* (a name that depicts him as a younger version of his father) is an appellation among Nigerians for firstborn sons of prominent families. They are issued to the sons to preserve their fathers' surnames and legacies. The characteronym serves as role name to show association with main protagonist of the film, Sola. The character has a minimal role to play hence, his real name is not considered important. In the film, Sola being an affluent personality indulges his son with comics on Hollywood's Spiderman purposely to inspire his son to live a hero. Tragically in the film, while trying to rescue his mother from a heated argument with his father Junior jumps from a balcony, falls and die in an attempt to showcase his flying technique learnt from the comic.

Conclusively, characteronyms analysed in this study indexically reflect the cultural context of names and naming in Nigeria. Although, they are locally-generated as oral renditions yet, they attain global significance when they are deployed as symbols within a Nigerian literary context. Also, by analysing characteronyms in Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and Afolayan's *The Figurine*, the researcher has been able to unearth art, history, religion, cultural beliefs and gender names that typify Nigerians. The study asserts that the spirits of Nigerian tradition and literature both align in the two selected texts.

Furthermore, Adichie's broken figurines and Afolayan's *figurine* are *feminist symbols/ideologies* through which the two artists portray the delicateness and ill-mannered experiences of their female characters. Overall, the two selected artists have both used their arts to challenge the subjugation of females within Nigeria's rigid patriarchal system. Though, they are tender and easily underestimated, yet, they wield deific powers as displayed by Mama, Mona and their Matriarchal gods, *figurines* and *Araromire* who avenge male oppressors with death and mishap. On this note, it is highly recommended that onomasticians should further explore African characteronyms imbedded in African cultures and traditions within close Nigerian literatures and films.

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Abstract

This study explores characteronyms in Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and Kunle Afolayan's *The Figurine* with the aim of reflecting Nigeria's gender, sociocultural and religious philosophies. To this effect, we fused filmic and prosaic genres to institute the symmetrical adaptation of *gods* – *figurines* from literary into graphic formats. Adichie depicts some delicately cherished household *gods* of Beatrice to whom she owes her *devotion* until Eugene, her husband's interruption who is subsequently punished for the trespass. While, Afolayan depicts an African river goddess whom upon desecration similarly enacts seven years of prosperity and seven years of traumatic turmoil on her male victims. Furthermore, Halliday's Socio-semiotic theory serves as the study's theoretical construct and it is deployed to unearth a plethora of significations on feminine subjugation which is crux to the selected literature and film. The study postulates that Nigerian names though indigenously generated from a cultural context however, attain global relevance when they are deployed as symbols within Nigerian literary context.

Keywords: Afolayan, Adichie, literary onomastics, Gender and Nigeria

István Boda–Judit Porkoláb–Éva Máté

Le Mississippi, poème de Milán Füst : un exemple de dénomination artistique de la nature environnante

1. Introduction

Notre choix d'étude a été motivé par plusieurs raisons. Depuis plus de deux décennies, les co-auteurs de l'exposé, Judit Porkoláb et István Boda (mère et fils), poursuivent l'essentiel de leurs recherches littéraires et linguistiques à l'exégèse de l'œuvre poétique de Milán Füst : plusieurs dizaines de publications, dont des livres d'auteurs, témoignent du succès de leur collaboration singulière. Leur application originale du concept d'hypertexte dans l'analyse littéraire leur assure une certaine notoriété au sein de la communauté linguistique et littéraire, tant en Hongrie qu'à l'étranger.¹

Le choix du poème de Milán Füst, intitulé *Le Mississippi*, est lié à l'histoire anecdotique de sa traduction en français. En 1965, Eugène Guillevic, excellent traducteur de la poésie hongroise, a été interviewé lors d'une soirée littéraire à Paris. À la demande du public de parler de l'un de ses poètes étrangers préférés, il a choisi Milán Füst. Après la mort de ce poète, en 1967, *Arion, nemzetközi költői almanach* (l'*almanach international de la poésie* rédigé par György Somlyó) a consacré un numéro spécial dédié à la mémoire de Milán Füst, et a notamment publié ses « Trois poèmes » accompagnés d'une préface de Guillevic et d'une postface de Sándor Rákos (Corvina, 1968). Parmi les traductions proposées par Guillevic, figurait le poème qui nous occupera tout au long de cette étude : *Le Mississippi*. C'était l'adaptation du poème de Füst, paru dans « Válogatott versek » (*Poèmes choisis*) en 1934.

Dans sa préface intitulée « Sur Milán Füst », Guillevic se rappelle : « Milan Füst est une figure un peu singulière. [...] Chacun de ses poèmes est une aventure intérieure, une expérience dans un univers complexe où l'élémentaire se mêle à l'histoire, à la mythologie, à la légende. Il y a [...] dans cet univers un grand espace creux où le cri de l'homme résonne douloureux, mais digne, fier. » Dans la traduction du *Mississippi*, Guillevic nous entraîne en français dans un univers littéraire complexe et nous invite à plonger dans l'aventure intérieure du poète.

Pour une meilleure compréhension de l'œuvre de Milán Füst, nous avons eu recours au « Choix de poèmes » traduit du hongrois par Isabelle Vital et Pierre

¹ <https://pim.hu/hu/dia/dia-tagjai/fust-milan#szakirodalom>; https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/92006/BibliographicResource_1000095226935.html



della Faille, paru chez P.J. Oswald et les Éditions Corvina (1971) ainsi qu'à de multiples ressources consultées sur l'internet.

2. Analyse du poème « Le Mississippi »

2.1. Approche théorique

La notion de nom propre a déjà fait l'objet de multiples recherches en linguistique, en sémiotique et en sciences cognitives. La présente étude se propose d'examiner le réseau complexe d'interactions formé par les différentes variétés de noms propres présents dans le poème de Milán Füst, tout en gardant à l'esprit la cohérence du texte poétique initial. L'interprétation hypertextuelle, en tant que méthode, se fixe pour objectif de révéler les associations littéraires et artistiques liées aux noms propres contenus dans le poème.

Grâce à cette méthode, nous nous proposons d'explorer plus en détail l'apparente cristallisation de *l'opposition [entre] la réalité profane, « physique » [et] celle de la réalité sacrée, spirituelle* dans le poème de Milán Füst. Le premier type de réalité constitue à la fois une construction et une transfiguration de la nature par l'esprit humain ; le second type de réalité s'ancre, pour sa part, dans la nature originelle, vierge de toute intervention humaine.

Nous retrouvons ce type de dialectique chez d'autres grands écrivains. Ainsi, pour Baudelaire, dans les *Correspondances* (1857), « La Nature est un temple », tandis que pour Shakespeare, dans la *Tempête* (1611), la réalité profane est condamnée à demeurer fugace et imaginaire.

Selon Eliade (1965), le sacré constitue également « une réalité absolue » – celle du croyant – au caractère éternel et inaliénable. La frontière entre les deux types de réalités spirituelle et naturelle est symbolisée par la métaphore de la 'rivière', par « le puissant dieu brun » brièvement évoqué par T. S. Eliot.²

Un certain nombre de textes font office de vérités immuables, suggérant par là-même un lien très fort entre le monde sacré et celui des hommes : il s'agit des *10 commandements* de Moïse (gravés sur deux tables de pierre),³ de textes de la mythologie grecque classique où certains héros, tels Orion et Callisto, sont métamorphosés en constellations⁴ ou bien encore de celui de la loi morale de Kant (1781).

² « Je ne sais pas grand chose des dieux mais je crois que le fleuve est un puissant dieu brun - buté, sauvage et intraitable, patient jusqu'à un certain point... » (T.S. Eliot. Four quartets. The Dry Salvages. Traduction Pierre Leyris).

³ cf. Les dix *commandements* : premières lois fondamentales que Dieu a gravées lui-même sur des pierres puis données à Moïse (*Exode* 20.1–26).

⁴ <https://mythologica.fr/grec/constellation.htm>

2.2. Présentation des vers 1–15

Dans la première partie du poème (vers 1–15), nous découvrons un homme que le poète rencontre au bord du Mississippi. Le poète l'aborde d'un ton familier, le tutoie, engage la conversation. Sa tentative se solde toutefois par un échec : le poète monologue, comme si ce personnage muet en apparence était véritablement « Personne ». ⁵ Plus tard, le poète souhaitera tout de même lui attribuer une identité sommaire, au moyen d'une apostrophe : « Je connais les gens de ton espèce ». L'anonymat du personnage du *Mississippi* n'est pas sans rappeler celui des contes populaires dont l'amorce nous semble offrir un clin d'œil évident. ⁶

L'auteur ne mentionne nulle part l'âge de ce personnage anonyme, mais les verbes (*fumer*, *cracher*), l'énumération de quelques accessoires de pêche (*nasses*, *piquets*) et du *bungalow* avec *puits*, non loin du Mississippi laissent entendre au lecteur qu'il s'agit d'un vieillard solitaire qui fut jadis actif, mais qui, avec l'âge, n'a plus de force et se sent las de sa vie insipide et monotone.

Pour les besoins de l'analyse, nous découperons ce texte en unités sémantiques de 2 à 4 vers. La présentation en vis-à-vis des traductions de ce poème en hongrois et en français (*Annexe 1*), nous familiarise en outre avec la forme poétique fétiche de Milán Füst – le poème en *vers libres* – dont il a été le précurseur au sein de la poésie hongroise.

1^{er} vers :

*Alors, quoi de neuf? Ou serais-tu devenu sourd-muet?
Hány hét a világ ?*

Cette première question, placée en tête de poème, correspond à une expression idiomatique populaire en Hongrie depuis le XIX^e siècle (Magyar nyelv szótára. 1862.). Cette expression - qui signifie en langue française : *Quoi de neuf, comment ça va, tout se passe bien* [?] – s'emploie habituellement pour s'enquérir plaisamment d'une personne au moment où on la rencontre. L'adaptation de Guillevic rend avec finesse et humour le sens figuré de la question hongroise.

Ce n'est pas un hasard si Milán Füst commence son poème par une question aussi drôle que familière. Dans les lignes qui suivent, l'accumulation de mots et d'expressions à vocation triviale tels que *les lobes des oreilles*, *cracher*, *les nasses*, *le ventre ouvert des poissons*, etc., accentue le contraste entre deux mondes antagonistes : le monde du personnage anonyme, primitif, vulgaire, quasi-misérable, et le monde transcendant du poète, enthousiasmé par l'idée

⁵ cf. *Mon nom est Personne*, un western spaghetti de Tonino Valerii sorti à l'écran en 1973.

⁶ « Il était une fois un vieil homme. » (L'invincible) http://contes-et-legendes-hongrois.blogspot.hu/p/blog-page_1560.html

de Dieu et dont les pensées sont résolument nobles et tournées vers le sublime. D'un point de vue stylistique, la composante populaire du réel a pour fonction de souligner le caractère éphémère du monde « profane », tout en constituant une réminiscence de la rhétorique classique du *Carpe diem* popularisée par Horace et bien d'autres écrivains après lui.

Ou serais-tu devenu sourd-muet ?

L'adjectif « sourd » se comprend ici dans son sens figuré. Il désigne l'insensibilité et l'indifférence du protagoniste qui refuse de percevoir le grondement sonore du merveilleux fleuve Mississippi qui s'écoule à proximité.⁷ Le mutisme est un handicap qui s'oppose à bien des égards à la surdité : si une personne muette peut éprouver les plaisirs sensoriels du monde, elle se trouve néanmoins dans l'impossibilité de les partager avec autrui.⁸

Vers 2 à 5 :

*Tout près de toi, à trois lieues, il gronde,
Ses ondes noires se brisent sur les cîmes rocheuses,
En forme d'éventail, des Rocky Mountains. Les bosquets gémissent
Où il passe, mais toi, vieille carcasse, tu ne bronches pas.*

Les beautés de ce paysage indiffèrent notre personnage. A contrario, le poète partage avec ses lecteurs une multitude de ressentis artistiques, tant visuels (*ondes noires, cîmes rocheuses*), que sonores (*gronde, gémissent*) ou animés (*se brisent, il passe*). Le poète, émerveillé par ce site romantique aussi captivant qu'effrayant, est choqué par l'insensibilité de l'inconnu qu'il compare à une *vieille carcasse* écœurante. L'expression *vieille carcasse* (ou *vieil os* dans une autre traduction) est l'équivalent de *vén csont* ou *öreg csont* en hongrois. Ces expressions se recouvrent parfaitement : généralement utilisées sur le ton de la plaisanterie, elles désignent en langage familier ou populaire un vieil homme sec et maigre.

La problématique de la vieillesse préoccupe Milán Füst tout au long de son œuvre, et ce, depuis son plus jeune âge. Peter Esterházy mentionne clairement cet aspect de la personnalité de l'écrivain dans la *Préface* du roman « l'Histoire d'une solitude » (2007) : « À vingt ans, Milán Füst était déjà un vieillard ; la vieillesse était son temps. C'est un vieil homme qui se moque ici de lui-même et du monde. Tout en pleurant. Et il nous est impossible de faire la différence entre larmes et larmes de crocodile : c'est peut-être cette impossibilité qu'il faudrait appeler « art » ».

⁷ « Ils ont des yeux et ne voient point ; Des oreilles et ils n'entendent point », Jérémie 5:21.

⁸ « Et j'attacherai ta langue à ton palais, tu seras muet, et tu ne seras pas pour eux un censeur », Ezéchiel 3:26.

La *Lettre d'un vieillard à Suzanne* (*Az egyik agg levele Zsuzsannához*), l'*Ode au vieillard* (*Óda az öregséghez*) et *Vieillesse* (*Öregség*), témoignent tous trois à leur manière de cette préoccupation majeure de l'auteur.

Vers 5 à 7 :

*Où il passe, mais toi, vieille carcasse, tu ne bronches pas.
Même les lobes de tes oreilles, tu ne les remues pas.
Tu fumes tout ton soûl, et vers le fleuve tu ne craches même pas.*

Dans ce passage, l'accumulation des termes péjoratifs est un procédé très efficace qui sert à la fois à déprécier le personnage et à exprimer le mépris du poète à son égard. Les phrases *tu ne bronches pas* / *Même les lobes de tes oreilles, tu ne les remues pas* / *Tu fumes tout ton soûl* / *vers le fleuve tu ne craches même pas* poursuivent toutes le même objectif : dépeindre l'indifférence et la médiocrité foncières du personnage muet qui se contente de vivre dans l'instant, dans l'insouciance et dans l'indifférence, en opposition radicale avec la figure morale du poète.

D'un point de vue symbolique, c'est la rivière qui désigne la frontière entre la réalité « profane » et la réalité « sainte, éternelle ». Tandis que la « vieille carcasse » fumant au bord du Mississippi n'y prête aucune attention (il « ne crache même pas dans l'eau »), le poète rêve « de grands fleuves lointains » (Dante : *le fleuve infernal*).

Vers 8–10 :

*Tu ne nages pas dans ses flots, tu ne te reposes pas sur ses bancs de sable,
Tu ne poses pas de nasses, afin de tendre sur des piquets, sous la bonne
chaleur du soleil d'été,
Des poissons roses dont tu as ouvert le ventre.*

Les trois premiers vers évoquent quelques activités de détente estivales (*nager, se reposer sur les bancs de sable*) ainsi que diverses tâches du pêcheur (*poser des nasses, tendre des piquets, ouvrir le ventre des poissons*) dont le personnage muet aurait pu s'occuper. Bien au contraire, il passe sa vie à ne rien faire, ce qui finit par irriter le poète qui stigmatise son apathie avec la toute-puissance de la négation. Situation ironique sinon cocasse puisque les poètes ont eux-mêmes tendance à se reprocher leur propension à l'indolence :

*« moi qui était paresseux comme un crocodile
Et d'humeur à massacrer, comme cavalier jaune d'Apocalypse.
« S'il fallait donner mes os » –
« Ha csontaimat meg kelletik adni » (Arany János)*

Dans l'Histoire d'une solitude (Traduit par Sophie Aude en 2007. p. 31.),⁹ il écrit : « Tout laborieux que je fusse les temps derniers, la vérité est qu'il n'existe pas fainéant plus appliqué que moi. J'ai hérité cela de mon père. C'est quand je ne fais rien que je suis dans mon état normal. Je peux passer des heures à regarder les mouches, et à rire de leur bourdonnement sur la fenêtre. [...] Et en même temps, je ne suis pas seulement comme ça, car deux personnes parlent à l'intérieur de moi. »

Vers 11–12 :

*Es-tu à ce point satisfait : les joies du bungalow que tu t'es acquis, et l'écoulement égal des mois,
Que Jupiter lui-même avec ses neuf lunes ne te ferait pas plaisir, s'il venait boire à ton puits ?*

L'apathie du personnage semble associée à son indifférence vis-à-vis de ce qui l'entoure. Ses journées insipides s'écoulaient dans une monotonie implacable : même une visite céleste – celle de Jupiter et de ses satellites – ne saurait venir à bout de sa passivité. L'hospitalité d'Abraham – aux antipodes de la réaction de ce personnage anonyme – n'en sera que plus remarquable.

Jupiter n'est pas choisi par hasard : il s'agit du dieu le plus important de la mythologie romaine. Il règne sur terre et dans les cieux, aussi bien sur les autres dieux que sur les hommes. Son nom proviendrait de l'indo-européen et signifierait *Ciel Père*.¹⁰

Notons, pour finir, l'exactitude scientifique relative du poème : en 1927, date de son écriture, en effet, l'astrologie n'a enregistré que 9 lunes jupitériennes. De nos jours, les astronomes dénombrent officiellement 69 satellites de cet astre parmi lesquels 59 seulement sont numérotés et 51 nommés.¹¹

Vers 13–15 :

*Vois-tu, Abraham lui-même s'est levé devant les anges, il leur a lavé les pieds, a tué pour eux un chevreau
« Et leur prépara un mets savoureux », mais à quoi bon expliquer longuement cela ?
Tu t'es habitué également aux anges et aux diables, – je connais les gens de ton espèce.*

⁹ <http://parfumdelivres.niceboard.com/t5180-milan-fust-hongrie>

¹⁰ [https://fr.wikidia.orgr_\(mythologie\)](https://fr.wikidia.orgr_(mythologie)).

¹¹ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satellites_naturels_de_Jupiter

Hospitalité d'Abraham

L'épisode de l'hospitalité d'Abraham est extrait du Livre de la Genèse [18, 1–10]. Abraham y apparaît comme un parangon de générosité. Dans ce captivant épisode biblique, Abraham et Sarah accueillent les messagers de Dieu à bras ouverts lors de leur arrivée au gîte des chênes de Mamré. Abraham y assume pleinement sa fonction d'hôte, leur lave les pieds et leur permet de s'ombrager sous un arbre pour se reposer de leur voyage tandis que Sarah s'isole sous la tente pour confectionner le repas.

La scène du repas est une forme de mise à l'épreuve de la bonté d'Abraham. Les trois étrangers se révèlent être des anges missionnés par Dieu qui, après avoir *goûté l'hospitalité d'Abraham, confirment à ce dernier que la promesse du Créateur serait bientôt tenue : ils auraient bientôt un fils dénommé Isaac*.¹²

Les deux scènes iconiques où Abraham lave les pieds des anges et lors de l'invitation à dîner – ont inspiré des générations de peintres successives. La première scène a notamment été illustrée dans les tableaux de trois grands peintres ayant tous reçu le prix de peinture de Rome la même année, en 1854.¹³ Les tableaux baroques sur le thème de l'invitation au dîner, quant à eux, présentent généralement Abraham en compagnie des (trois) anges.¹⁴

Le poète s'interrompt dans son récit par la question « Mais à quoi bon expliquer longuement cela ? » que nous pensons pouvoir interpréter de différentes façons (non exclusives les unes des autres) :

Il pense que son interlocuteur est athée ou bien, qu'il a cessé de croire en Dieu, mais il n'écarte pas non plus la possibilité qu'il ignore tout simplement les épisodes bibliques ;

Son mépris s'accroît au fur et à mesure car il le trouve indigne d'Abraham. Son apostrophe prend dès lors la forme d'un dénigrement : « je connais les gens de ton espèce ».

Le poète arrive ensuite à un moment charnière de son récit. Il change de ton et de sujet pour avouer son enthousiasme pour Dieu et son rêve de visiter des fleuves lointains. Nous voici au début du deuxième mouvement du poème...

¹² D'après *P. Thomas Rosica* : L'art de l'hospitalité biblique <http://seletlumieretv.org/blogfeed/getpost.php?id=10540> D'après La Bible en français, version Louis Segond 1910. <http://sainte bible.com/lsg/genesis/18.htm>

¹³ http://www.wikiwand.com/fr/Liste_des_prix_de_Rome_en_peinture

¹⁴ <http://imrikzsofia.hu/atlathato-oszovetseg-i-abraham-tortenete-barokk-festmenyeken>

2.3. Présentation des vers 16-27

Dans la première partie de son poème, Milán Füst a délibérément choisi de ne pas donner de nom à son personnage. Ce dernier passait ses journées à « fumer tout son soûl » au bord du Mississippi. En l’abordant, le poète a entrepris de l’identifier conformément à son attitude. Toutefois, l’anonymisation du personnage ne facilite pas la suite de l’interprétation. Comment expliquer, en effet, le changement de ton du poète, devenu presque amical lorsqu’il s’adresse au personnage, en l’interpelant avec le substantif « compagnon » et en lui demandant de l’emmener près du Mississippi ? Le poète va même encore plus loin : il dit ce qu’il a sur le cœur, se met à se plaindre, et même à rêver à haute voix. Cet épanchement soudain offre un contraste saisissant avec le personnage indifférent et sourd, décrit dans la première partie du poème.

Pour individualiser cet inconnu, nous avons suggéré, au début de notre étude, de le nommer « Personne », car l’emploi de son synonyme « inconnu », prend une dimension sacrée chez Milán Füst : il est privilégié pour le poème intitulé « L’inconnu boit » (*A névtelen iszik*). D’ailleurs, le nom « Personne » est une *référence* à un épisode de *L’Odyssée* d’Homère¹⁵ dont l’idée a été reprise par Jules Verne, par la création du capitaine Némó (1869–1870) et dans le film *Mon nom est Personne* (1973).

Dans la deuxième partie du poème, Personne se trouve en face du moi lyrique du Poète, il est son « antipode » (peut-être son Ombre). Personne s’assimile à l’archétype du philistin, illustrant à la perfection la figure médiocre du petit-bourgeois (*nyárspolgár*) en opposition aux gens utiles (*valamirevaló emberek*). Milán Füst inclut la figure du poète dans ce dernier groupe : « Les gens utiles – dit-il – se sentent toujours épuisés parce qu’ils prennent tout trop au sérieux et ils ne cessent pas de lutter contre l’enfer qui les brûle à l’intérieur » (*Teljes napló : Journal II. 271* – propre trad.).

Vers 16–17 :

Mais, vois-tu, moi, c’est autre chose; moi, comme Abraham, j’éprouve encore de l’enthousiasme pour Dieu

Et je rêve des grands fleuves lointains. Moi, vois-tu, quand je serai mort

Désormais, le poème se transforme en une confession pathétique, chargée d’émotions : contrairement à l’anonyme, sans foi ni passion, le poète

¹⁵ Dans l’*Odyssée* d’Homère, « Personne » est le nom par lequel le cyclope Polyphème désigne Ulysse qui s’est identifié auprès de lui sous ce nom avant de lui crever l’œil. Le jeu de mots permet d’éviter le renfort des autres cyclopes, qui croient alors leur congénère devenu fou, n’était attaqué par « personne ». Ulysse peut ainsi fuir l’île des cyclopes avec ses marins. La même idée est reprise dans le film *Mon nom est Personne* » (<https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Personne>).

« s'enthousiasme pour Dieu », il croit en Dieu et en la justice divine, espérant que le jugement dernier ne sera pas pour lui apocalyptique, mais idyllique.

La rivière est un motif symbolique classique dans la littérature antique¹⁶ : elle marque ici la frontière entre la vie terrestre et la vie posthume du poète. Une fois passé de vie à trépas, ce dernier s' imagine demander à Dieu la récompense qu'il mérite. L'immortel poète souhaite ainsi obtenir la reconnaissance de son juge céleste pour toutes les souffrances consenties au terme d'une vie d'efforts, de « travail écartelant ». In fine, il caresse l'espoir de se montrer suffisamment digne pour prendre son ultime retraite tout près du lointain et paradisiaque fleuve Mississippi.

Vers 18–19 :

*Et que dans l'au-delà le bon juge mettra la main sur mon cœur
Et me demandera à quelle récompense je prétends, ce que je pense être le
salaire de mon travail écartelant,*

L'image convoquée par le nom propre « juge » s'apparente chez Milán Füst à celle du juge céleste, c'est-à-dire tout aussi bien à celle du Dieu biblique.¹⁷ Une fois mort, le poète croyant s' imagine sa comparution devant Dieu, le « bon juge », figure de la justice. Ce dernier apparaît dans plusieurs poèmes dont « l'Autoportrait » (*Önarckép*) :

*„Alors en faisant toujours oui de la tête je m'en vais doucement.
comme celui qui portait en son cœur depuis longtemps la mort,
intendant berné, vieux serviteur offensé – et s'en allait
cherchant le juge sans jamais le retrouver.”*

Milán Füst pense que la plus grande récompense pour un poète est le succès littéraire. Mais selon lui, « le succès littéraire dépend lui aussi de la chance : vu que le monde ne distribue pas toujours les récompenses selon les mérites, on ne doit pas s'obstiner, mais il faut tâcher d'avoir de la chance » (*Teljes napló* : *Journal I*. 246 – propre traduction).

Vers 20–23 :

*Moi, compagnon, je dirai : le Mississippi, parce que, là, à ce moment-là,
j'ouvrirai la bouche.
Je ne me tairai pas, je n'aurai pas honte de parler comme auparavant :
Emmenez-moi près du Mississippi,*

¹⁶ Dans l'Antiquité, c'est sur le Styx, le fleuve principal autour des Enfers, que Charon, le « nocher des Enfers » avait dû transporter les défunts à « l'autre rivage » pour une pièce de monnaie placée dans la bouche du mort. (<https://mythologica.fr/grec/enfers2.htm>)

¹⁷ « Car l'Eternel est notre juge, L'Eternel est notre législateur... » (Ésaïe 33:21)
« Dieu est un juste juge, Dieu s'irrite en tout temps. » (Psaume 7:11)

*Loin, très loin. Car c'est là mon pays, là où tout m'aime, parce que
personne ne me connaît,
Et ce que je ne connais pas, vois-tu, il n'y a plus que cela que j'aime,
moi-aussi.*

Dans la quatrième strophe, à partir du vingtième vers, le ton du poète change : il s'adresse à son interlocuteur imaginaire d'un ton familier, presque amical, en l'appelant « compagnon » et en lui demandant de l'emmener près du Mississippi. Cette fois-ci, le poète doit renoncer à stigmatiser l'inconnu pour solliciter son aide et partager ses soucis avec lui.

En effet, le poète se met directement en scène dans ces vers, s'exprime en son nom propre, à la première personne du singulier. Quelques verbes de sens proche, au futur simple (*je ne me tairai pas, j'ouvrirai la bouche, je parlerai*), évoquent l'état d'esprit du poète qui aspire à rompre avec le passé pour désormais se tourner vers l'avenir. Rempli d'amertume et condamné au mutisme suite aux insultes et aux humiliations honteuses subies dans son propre pays, il est excédé et bien décidé à ne plus souffrir. Il préfère l'exil.

Milán Füst, tout comme Endre Ady ou Attila József, éprouve le désir ardent d'être reconnu et aimé en tant que poète :

« O passionnément, aimez-moi ! » –

Attila József : *Cris (Kialtozás, 1936)* – Traduit par Jacky Lavauzelle

*« Je ne veux qu'un lecteur pour mes poèmes :
Celui qui me connaît – celui qui m'aime – »*

Attila József : Je ne veux qu'un lecteur...

Ad. de Jean. Rousselot (*Csak az olvassa..., 1937*)

*« Mes vers, ma torture de moi-même /
Tout vient de là : j'aimerais qu'on m'aime
Pour être à quelqu'un / Pour être à quelqu'un. »*

Endre Ady – J'aimerais qu'on m'aime – Traduit par Jean Rousselot (*Szeretném, ha szeretnének, 1909*)

Milán Füst pense que son rêve ne saura être exaucé que dans un pays inconnu, loin de l'acrimonie des critiques et des gens mal intentionnés. Il croit pouvoir trouver ce « havre de paix » dans la lointaine Amérique, près du Mississippi.

Pourquoi l'Amérique ?

Il est bien connu qu'à partir de la fin du XIX^e siècle, plusieurs millions d'immigrés européens sont arrivés en Amérique dans la recherche de « la terre promise ». Le Nouveau Monde a incarné le « rêve américain » pour plusieurs

milliers de Hongrois. C'est cet exil massif que József Attila déplore dans son poème intitulé « Ma patrie » (*Hazám*, 1937).

Vers 25–27 :

*C'est comme si je n'avais jamais vu de cieux ensoleillés. . .
Oh! fleuve lointain, oh! rudes et lointaines forêts de l'Amérique, j'ai peur:
Il n'y a peut-être même pas de bon juge, et je ne vous verrai jamais.*

Les premières lignes reprennent les plaintes des vers précédents au moyen de métaphores : *la journée noire* désigne la vie du poète traversée de périodes tristes, sombres et douloureuses qui occultent les cieux ensoleillés, c'est-à-dire les jours heureux d'autrefois. Les vers cités rappellent par leur mélancolie le poème « El Desdichado » de Nerval :

*« Je suis le Ténébreux, - le Veuf, - l'Inconsolé,
Le Prince d'Aquitaine à la Tour abolie :
Ma seule Etoile est morte, - et mon luth constellé
Porte le Soleil noir de la Mélancolie. »*

Les idées noires ont rattrapé le poète et elles ne le quittent plus : il se demande si le « bon juge » existe, si tout cela n'était qu'un rêve. Les derniers vers du poème expriment ses craintes de devoir quitter l'empire des rêves, des aspirations et des désirs, la peur de se retrouver dans la rude réalité « profane ». Les rêves du poète « se sont fondus en air, en air subtil » comme les illusions de Prospero chez Shakespeare.¹⁸

3. Tableau récapitulatif des noms propres du poème « Le Mississippi » (Annexe 2)

- 1^{ère} colonne : Liste des noms propres
- 2^e colonne : Groupe (sous-groupe) des noms propres
- 3^e colonne : Caractéristiques onomastiques
- 4^e colonne : Citations du poème
- 5^e colonne : Liens hypertextuels

4. Conclusions

Il y a des rêves et des désirs qui ne peuvent être accomplis que dans l'imagination, dans le monde symbolique des noms et des dénominations. Telle fut la rencontre entre Milán Füst et le Mississippi, « grande rivière » légendaire dont le nom a laissé entrevoir au lecteur quelques pistes potentielles d'interprétation. Le nom de ce fleuve qui peut donner et retirer la vie, celui-même, qui peut relier et séparer les gens, « le grand Dieu brun » (T. S. Eliot) s'associe bel et bien à autres noms

¹⁸ http://www.bouquineux.com/pdf/Shakespeare-La_Tempete.pdf

propres tels quels Rocky Mountains, Jupiter, Abraham, Dieu et Amérique. Notre étude avait pour but de démontrer comment certains noms propres ancestraux se sont entrelacés dans l'imagination du poète, selon la logique associative du rêve, tandis que la cohésion du texte tenait au Mississippi : les métaphores de la VIE et du RÊVE ainsi que celles du FLEUVE et de la FRONTIÈRE ont assuré un cadre cohérent au mélange des noms de lieux existants et des noms de personnages bibliques et mythologiques.

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Résumé

Nommer les choses, les désigner, les définir, les conceptualiser – autant d'opérations qui reviennent à reconnaître et à affirmer leur existence, à les inscrire dans le réel. Sans l'usage de la parole, aucun phénomène naturel ou social, aucun espace-temps, aucune relation humaine, rien autour de nous n'aurait de sens. Pour l'écrivain, penser et concevoir le monde, le faire exister consiste avant tout à le mettre en mots. La sous-classe grammaticale des noms propres a déjà fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches en linguistique, en sémiotique et dans les sciences cognitives. La multiplicité des noms propres permet en outre d'attribuer une charge sémantique, affective et esthétique particulière à ce qui, à nos yeux, revêt le plus d'importance. Dans cette étude, nous nous proposons d'examiner le réseau complexe des interactions tissées entre les différentes variétés de noms propres recensées dans le poème *Le Mississippi* de Milán Füst, tout en veillant à préserver la cohérence du texte initial. À cet effet, nous étudions le poème tant d'un point de vue symbolique et pragmatique que d'un point de vue inter- et hypertextuel.

La combinaison de deux méthodes d'analyse - l'interprétation hypertextuelle et l'approche textologique – nous permet d'explorer les associations littéraires et artistiques relatives au fleuve Mississippi et aux autres noms propres afin d'assurer une compréhension plus riche et plus fine du poème étudié.

Mots-clés : Le fleuve Mississippi et Milán Füst, le poète hongrois, Motifs de la mythologie grecque classique, L'épisode de l'hospitalité d'Abraham, Dieu et rêve dans la poésie de Milán Füst

MILÁN FÜST : LE MISSISSIPPI <i>Adaptation de Eugène Guillevic</i>	FÜST MILÁN : A MISSISSIPPI
Alors, quoi de neuf? Ou serais-tu devenu sourd-muet? Tout près de toi, à trois lieues, il gronde, Ses ondes noires se brisent sur les cîmes rocheuses, En forme d'éventail, des Rocky Mountains. Les bosquets gémissent Où il passe, mais toi, vieille carcasse, tu ne bronches pas. Même les lobes de tes oreilles, tu ne les remues pas. Tu fumes tout ton soleil, et vers le fleuve tu ne craches même pas.	Hány hét a világ? Vagy siketnéma lettél? Ott dörög mellett három mértföldnyire, Fekete hullámai megtörvén a Rocky Mountains Legyező-formájú záró-szirtjein. – Zúgnak a ligetek, Amerre halad, – ám te meg se billensz vén csont, még a fülcimpád se mozgatod, Dohányzol Isten igazába' – s mégcsak feléje se köpsz a folyónak...
Tu ne nages pas dans ses flots, tu ne te reposes pas sur ses bancs de sable, Tu ne poses pas de nasses, afin de tendre sur des piquets, sous la bonne chaleur du soleil d'été, Des poissons roses dont tu as ouvert le ventre. Es-tu à ce point satisfait : les joies du bungalow que tu t'es acquis, et l'écoulement égal des mois, Que Jupiter lui-même avec ses neuf lunes ne te ferait pas plaisir, s'il venait boire à ton puits? (Vois-tu, Abraham lui-même s'est levé devant les anges, il leur a lavé les pieds, a tué pour eux un chevreau « Et leur prépara un mets savoureux », mais à quoi bon expliquer longuement cela? Tu t'es habitué également aux anges et aux diables, – je connais les gens de ton espèce.)	Árjában nem uszol, zátonyain nem pihensz, Varsát sem eresztel, hogy rózsaszín halait Megmetszve hasukon, kipeckeld a forró, jó nyári napon! Vaj' annyira kibékít az eredmény: megszerzett bungalow-d gyönyöre s a hónapok egyforma futása, Hogy Jupiternek s kilenc holdjának sem örülnél, ha lejönne a kutadhoz inni? (Lásd Ábrahám is felállt ám az angyal előtt, megmosta lábaikat s ledőfött nekik egy gödölyvét „S ízes ételt készít vala nekik”, – ej ugyan, mit is magyarázgatom annyit? Hisz megszoktál te angyalt és ördögöt egyaránt, – ismerem a fajtiád.)

MILÁN FÜST : LE MISSISSIPPI <i>Adaptation de Eugène Guillevic</i>	FÜST MILÁN : A MISSISSIPPI
Mais, vois-tu, moi, c'est autre chose; moi, comme Abraham, j'éprouve encore de l'enthousiasme pour Dieu Et je rêve des grands fleuves lointains. Moi, vois-tu, quand je serai mort Et que dans l'au-delà le bon juge mettra la main sur mon cœur Et me demandera à quelle récompense je prétends, ce que je pense être le salaire de mon travail écartelant, Moi, compagnon, je dirai : le Mississippi, parce que, là, à ce moment-là, j'ouvrirai la bouche. Je ne me tairai pas, je n'aurai pas honte de parler comme auparavant : Emmenez-moi près du Mississippi, Loin, très loin. Car c'est là mon pays, là où tout m'aime, parce que personne ne me connaît, Et ce que je ne connais pas, vois-tu, il n'y a plus que cela que j'aime, moi-aussi.	De lásd én másképp vagyok ezzel, – én, mint Ábrahám, Még telkesedem Istenért. S a messzi, nagy folyókról álmodom. Én, lásd, ha meghalok S szivemre teszi majd kezét a földöntúli, jó bíró S jutalmam kérdezi tőlem, megillető igényemet, hogy szívszakító munkám béreként mit gondolok?... Én majd a Mississippit mondom cimbora, mert ott és akkor kinyitom ám a szám S nem hallgatok, de nem is szégyenkezem többé, ahogy eddig. – Vigyetek a Mississipp mellé, messzire Oh nagyon messzire. Mert ott az én hazám, hol minden csak szeret, mert senki sem ismer S amit nem ismerek, – látod, már én is csak azt szeretem.
Ma vie était une journée noire. A qui faut-il m'en plaindre? C'est passé. C'est comme si je n'avais jamais vu de cieux ensoleillés... Oh! fleuve lointain, oh! rudes et lointaines forêts de l'Amérique, j'ai peur : Il n'y a peut-être même pas de bon juge, et je ne vous verrai jamais.	Fekete nap volt az életem. – Kinek panaszojjam? Elmult. Oh mintha sose láttam volna napfényes szép egetek... Ó távoli folyam s ó Amerika zordon és messzi vadonjai! – félek... Hogy nincs is jó bíró s én sose látlak meg benneteket.
Somlyó, György éd. 1968. <i>Arton : Nemzetközi költői almanach.</i> [Almanach international de poésie.] Budapest, Corvina Kiadó. 153–157.	<i>Füst Milán válogatott versei.</i> Budapest, Nyugat, 1934. 32–33.

NOMS	GROUPE		ONOMAS- TIQUE	CITATIONS	HYPER- TEXTE
Milán Füst (Füst Milán)	Prénom + Nom de famille (Nom de famille + Prénom en hongrois)		Nom original juif: Milán Konstantin Fürst qui a été „hungarisé” en Milán Füst.	Mais, vois-tu, moi, c’est autre chose: moi, comme Abraham, j’éprouve encore de l’enthousiasme pour Dieu / Et je rêve des grands fleuves lointains.	<i>Chant printanier</i> , <i>chant de vagabond</i> , poème mis en chanson par Ludvig József (2011). <i>Exhortation du tombeau, poème mis en musique par</i> István Romanovits.
Amérique	Nom géographique Nom de continent		Le nom „Amérique” vient du navigateur italien Amerigo Vespucci. „America” est le nom en latin médiéval du continent américain (Martin Waldseemüller 1507).	Oh! fleuve lointain, oh! rudes et lointaines forêts de l’Amérique, j’ai peur : / Il n’y a peut-être même pas de bon juge, et je ne vous verrai jamais.	L’arrivée de Christophe Colomb en Amérique, gravure de 1893. La chanson <i>America</i> de West Side Story (1957).
	Toponyme nommé d’après une personne				
Mississippi	Nom géographique		Le Mississippi (ou Mississippi River en anglais) est un fleuve en Amérique du Nord ; Son nom est d’origine amérindienne <i>misi-ziibi</i> , qui signifie „grand fleuve”. Le 10 décembre 1817 : le Territoire du Mississippi devient le 20 ^e État, le Mississippi.	(Pour) le salaire de mon travail écartelant / Moi, compagnon, je dirai : le Mississippi Emmenez- moi près du Mississippi, / Loin, très loin. Car c’est là mon pays, là où tout m’aime, parce que personne ne me connaît	<i>La Découverte du Mississippi</i> (William H. Powell, 1847- 1855) ; William Faulkner : Mississippi Nouvelle (1954), <i>Poèmes</i> (1979) ; Mark Twain : <i>Les Aventures de Tom Sawyer</i> (1876), <i>La vie sur le Mississippi</i> (1883), <i>Les Aventures de Huckleberry Finn</i> (1884) ; Paul Robeson : <i>Ol’ Man River</i> (Showboat – 1936).
	Le fleuve	L’État			
	Toponyme traduisant, a l’origine, les particularités de la nature	Toponyme façonné par l’homme			

Rocky Mountains (The Rockies)	Nom géographique		Les (montagnes) Rocheuses sont la chaîne la plus puissante de l'Amérique du Nord, aux États-Unis et au Canada.	Ses ondes noires se brisent sur les cîmes rocheuses, / En forme d'éventail, des Rocky Mountains.	Tableaux: Rocky Mountain Majesty by Mark Keathley (1963-), Thomas Kinkade : Mountain Majesty (1998).
	Toponyme traduisant, a l'origine, les particularités de la nature				
Jupiter	Noms propres de divinités	Religion plurithéiste	Le nom « Jupiter » vient de l'évolution d'un nom composé d'origine indo-européenne signifiant „Ciel père”.	Que Jupiter lui-même avec ses neuf lunes ne te ferait pas plaisir, s'il venait boire à ton puits?.	Ingres : Jupiter et Thétis (1811) ; Gustave Moreau : Jupiter et Sémélé 1894-95) ; Jupiter : <i>Le Destin de l'univers</i> (2015) – film de science-fiction.
Dieu		Biblique Religion monothéiste	Avec une majuscule, Dieu est un nom propre : il désigne l'être transcendant créateur de l'univers.	moi, comme Abraham, j'éprouve encore de l'enthousiasme pour Dieu	La Bible : Ancien et Nouveau Testament – Version Louis Segond (1910).
Abraham	Nom propre de prophète		Son nom original était Abram avec le sens « père élevé » que Dieu a changé en Abraham car il a promis de le rendre „père d'une multitude” (Genèse 17:5) ; Sarai ‚Querelleuse’ > Sarah ‚Princesse’ (Genèse 17:15).	Abraham lui-même s'est levé devant les anges, il leur a lavé les pieds, a tué pour eux un chevreau / « Et leur prépara un mets savoureux »	<i>Abraham lavant les pieds aux Anges</i> , 1854 : Giacomotti, Maillot, Fossey, Lévy. <i>Abraham et les trois anges</i> : Rembrandt avec Jan Victors, son élève (1640), Tiepolo (1770), Gelder (1680-85), Chagall (1940-1950), (1960-1966).

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