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RICHARD COATES  
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*Grant W. Smith*

## ***The symbolic meanings of names***

### **1. Introduction**

The purpose of this paper is to broaden the general understanding of name meaning by emphasizing the importance of contextual associations and how language functions symbolically. Naming is the prototypical act of linguistic reference, and philosophers have commonly analyzed names as simple indices, i.e. as fixed, one-to-one designations of individual referents without lexical meaning. However, the natural use of human language is symbolic in which meaning is generated by the relationships among signs and referents.

This paper will argue that names carry symbolic meanings because of contextual associations in the minds of interpreters. In semiotic terms, their symbolic meanings are an inherent extension of their indexical function. In actual practice, the work of onomasts usually consists of recovering the symbolic meanings of names and describing how such references vary in use and form over time.

My procedure here is first to give an elementary review of typical philosophical analyses to clarify what I see as their limitations. I will then describe recent physiological studies of the brain and how they show images and words, including names, are found in clusters. I will argue that the understanding of a name depends on, and arises, not just from formal definitions or the actual attributes of any referent, but essentially from mental images associated with the referent.

Much like any other word, a name evokes a context of related associations, as well as a sense of designation, and the qualities shared by the related associations makes the meaning relational and thereby symbolic in semiotic terms. Only thereby is a name comprehensible within the individual's linguistic universe.

That is to say, the indexical function of a name is only one of its semiotic functions. Our understandings and uses of names depend on their contextual associations that give them symbolic values, and these associations vary among people and over time. We do not, in fact, understand the indexical reference without a set of contextual associations – even if the context is just a set of courthouse records.

I hope to illustrate this argument by describing, at least briefly, the results of two surveys that, not surprisingly, display wide variations in the interpretations of prominent place names. I will not be able to present a full analysis of these results here, but I pursued an elaboration at ICONN4 (see SMITH 2017).



## 2. Typical philosophical analyses

Most of us know the philosophical history of names, and so I beg your patience as I sketch some typical theories as a springboard for my differences. J. S. MILL set the modern basis for discussing name meaning by drawing a categorical distinction between common and proper nouns. Common nouns carry lexical meaning because their definitions specify sets of common attributes among all items in the class of things named – e.g. the word *dog* refers to a set of attributes shared by all examples within the class of things we call dogs. Proper nouns, such as *Fido*, do not carry lexical meaning because they refer to specific rather than common attributes; they designate individual items within a class and function grammatically much like demonstratives.

Thus, the communicative value of common and proper nouns is to be seen strictly in terms of their logical definitions. MILL emphatically dismisses any associations that might arise in an individual's mind as a part of meaning. Such associations, according to MILL, are merely incidental to the act of reference rather than vital to it: "By saying: This is York, [the listener may understand] that it contains a Minster. But this [is] by virtue of what he has previously heard concerning York, not by anything implied in the name" (MILL 1843/1973: 36).

In referring to *Fido*, we might think about his color or shagginess, but according to MILL, the name as a word does not specify those attributes as a part of its definition. The attributes are presumably irrelevant even though they must come to mind for the referent to be identified.

MILL's focus on formal definitions ignores some simple observations. As I hope to show, specific associations are in fact necessary in evoking recognition and in distinguishing between different referents similarly named. That is to say, the name *Fido* evokes no meaningful reference whatsoever, indexical or otherwise, without also evoking some pre-existing images already associated with the referent.

Which *Fido* are we referring to?



**Figure 1:** *FIDO* and *FIDO*

### 3. Since MILL

Since the time of MILL, two general types of philosophical theories have emerged about names and meaning. These are usually referred to as descriptive and causal theories of names. The descriptive theories emerged first to argue that names carry connotative as well as denotative values in their meanings, partially accounting thereby for the associated images that I believe are evoked by names. Among the descriptive theories, two types are most important, those of FREGE and RUSSELL.

G. FREGE (1848–1925) is especially significant among those who have argued that names carry descriptive values as a part of their meaning. He begins with the simple observation that two names for the same referent carry what he calls a different sense while making the same reference. Using the name *Mark Twain*, for example, is not the same as using *Samuel Clemens*. FREGE concludes that names clearly denote individual entities apart from classes of things, which he calls their reference, but in addition they also carry connotations derived from contextual associations, which he calls their sense (1892/1970).

Thus, FREGE recognizes both denotation and connotations as vital aspects of name meaning, but he denies the value of subjective interpretations that vary from person to person. The sense of a word, according to FREGE, has significance only insofar as its context is verifiable. For example, fictitious names, such as *Santa Claus*, carry meaning in terms of sense because the contextual associations can be verified among examples of language used



within a linguistic community, even though the name does not make reference to a real entity.

In denying the significance of subjective variations, FREGE places strict emphasis on the logical structure of language and neglects the imperfect sharing of contextual associations between addressors and addressees, upon which human communication depends.

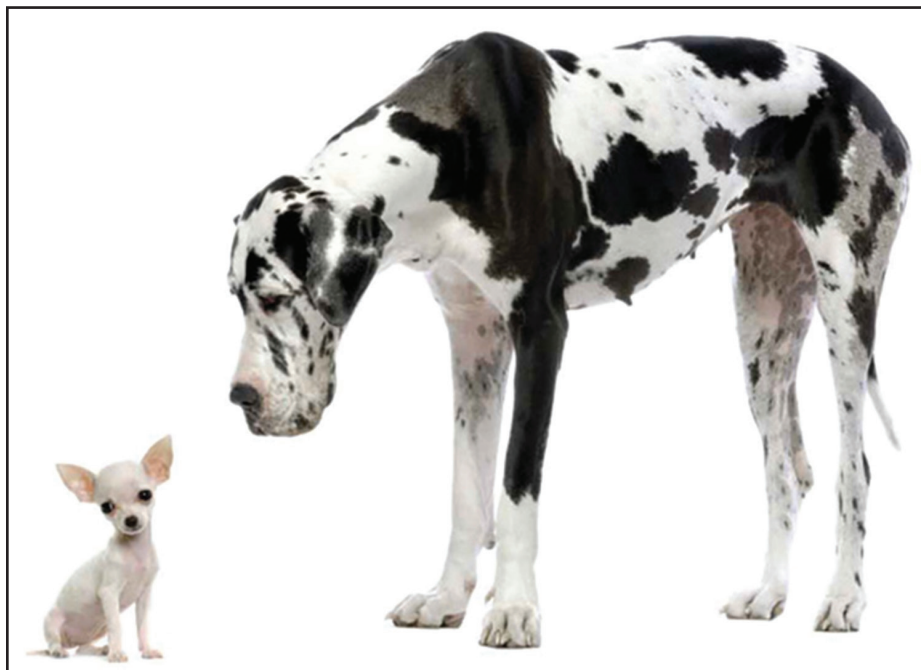
I believe that the recognition of a referent depends on the images associated with the referent by the individual, that associations vary at least a little from person to person, and that the degree to which these associations are shared by addressors and addressees determines the communicative efficacy of a name, especially when one name can be used for two different referents. There are many examples in our daily lives, and in the results of my two surveys.

B. RUSSELL (1872–1970) rejected FREGE’s distinction between sense and reference in order to place even more emphasis on logical analysis. He theorized that names are, in fact, abbreviated forms of logical propositions.

The statements, “The present King of France is bald,” and “The present King of France is not bald,” are both false because the reference is false. That is to say, the reference, “the present King of France,” is an abbreviation of the proposition, “This man is the present King of France,” and such a proposition is obviously false. There is no man, either bald or not bald, who might be described as the “present King of France.” RUSSELL focuses here on the act of reference and is using a descriptive phrase as a name, as we often see in Amerindian languages.

RUSSELL thereby claims that names “have no meaning in isolation” (1905: 118) but convey definite descriptive meanings implied by their contexts within a world that is knowable, verifiable, and subject to logical analysis. It follows that their meanings are not at all subject to the variations of personal interpretations. We can and should judge them as true or false in terms of their demonstrable contexts and/or formal structures, i.e. whether they are fictitious (e.g. *Santa Claus*) and/or conceptually consistent (e.g. *the Theory of Relativity*).

RUSSELL is happy to point out that denials of false propositions are true, such as, “Santa Claus is not a real person.” At the same time, two referents with the same name may be both true, but RUSSELL does not explain how two such referent are distinguished, one from the other, by the addresser or addressee. To what does the name *Fido* refer?



**Figure 2:** *FIDO* and *FIDO*

FREGE and RUSSELL, as well as other descriptive theorists (e.g. J. R. SEARLE, 1983), argue well for a contextual basis of name meaning, but dismiss subjective variations. They focus primarily on the logical structure of language, in and of itself, and neglect what may be actually evoked in the minds of different people.

#### 4. Causal theories of name meaning

Most current philosophers have abandoned descriptive theories of reference epitomized by FREGE and RUSSELL. They emphasize instead causal theories of reference that are propelled by the writings of SAUL KRIPKE (beginning with his lectures at Princeton and published as *Naming and Necessity*, 1972 and 1980).

According to causal theories, we need not be acquainted with a propositional context of an entity, as posited by RUSSELL, in order to use a name correctly. One only needs to use a name in a way that correctly identifies the entity in question, and in order to do so, one's use of a name need only be a link in a chain of uses following the cause of the name, i.e. the dubbing.

For example, when a child is born, the parents may say simply, "we'll call him Jacob," and give no explicit reason, assuming merely the acceptability of the name. The meaning and reasons for the name, even though they exist, are not needed for the name to be used effectively by family, friends, teachers, and

record keepers. Also, once a name is given, its reference is fixed for all users unless formal action changes it. According to KRIPKE, names do not vary in their reference because of their connotations but are rigid designators within a given and reasonably static linguistic community.

## 5. Some empirical observations

Philosophical analysis helps to clarify logical categories, but simple observation will detect little logic in how the human brain actually processes language. Recent research has shown that the brain processes all words in varied patterns depending on where they are stored in the brain. All words exist in our brains alongside many other words linked to images imprinted there from previous experience and reinforced by conversations, reading, various media, and word play.

Using MRIs and charting blood flow, scientists have found that word recognition is distributed in clusters across the cerebral cortex and in many different areas that span both hemispheres of the brain (HUTH et. al. 2016). Furthermore, the clusters represent types of meaning. For example, words associated with people are generally clustered in one area of the brain, words associated with places are clustered in another, and the types of clustering vary from person to person.

Interpretations are therefore colored by nearby words and images in the same brain area, the types of coloring vary from person to person, and the clusters vary over time because additional experiences provide new types of reinforcement. Of course, common experience shows our dependence on associated words and images in recalling names.

## 6. Semiotic theory

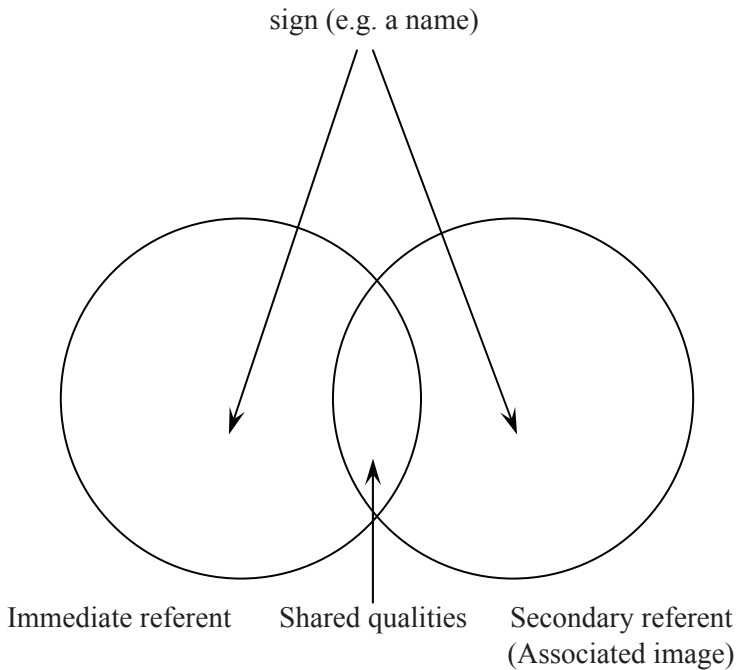
These empirical observations are generally consistent with semiotic theory. Over a century ago, C. S. PEIRCE used the terms icon, index, and symbol to describe the types of interpretations and the formal relationships between signs and images evoked in acts of reference (in selected publications, 1897–1910).

An icon “is like that thing and used as a sign of it” (PEIRCE 102); it is a sign that represents something else on the basis of similarity, as a photo or map resembles that to which it refers. By resembling something, an icon brings that something to mind in the form of an idea. If a bird looks at a moth colored the same as the bark of the tree on which it sits, the bird might think of bark, and the moth will be safe.



An index, by contrast, “is a sign which refers to the Object that it denotes by virtue of being really affected by that Object” (PEIRCE 102). It suggests a strict one-to-one relationship based on contiguity or correlation, as smoke indicates fire, or a thermometer indicates temperature. An indexical interpretation infers a connection between two iconic recognitions. If the bird sees movement, it will associate movement with food, and the moth will be eaten.

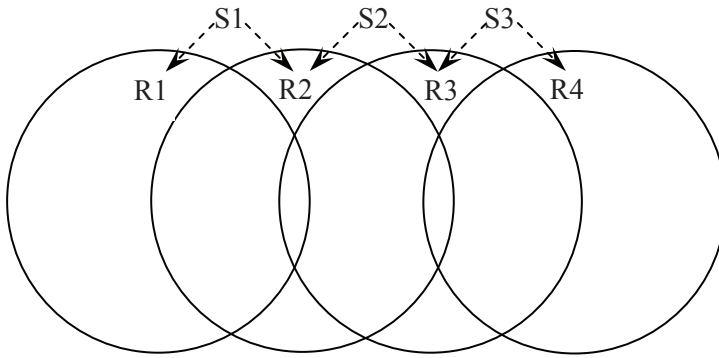
A symbolic interpretation compounds the complexity. It infers a relationship between two or more indices and evokes a quality or set of qualities shared by the entities referred to. If a name, for example, refers both to a person and to an occupation or habitat at the same time, the qualities partially shared by the two referents become an idea, and meaning is partially transferred, much as meaning is partially transferred between the vehicle of a metaphor and its tenor (see BLACK 1962: 38–47), and as illustrated in the following diagram.



**Figure 3:** Symbolic meaning

Of course, words functioning as signs often come together in discourse, and so a diagram should look more like this:





**Figure 4:** A Diagram of Symbolic Discourse

The hypothetical signs, S1, S2, and S3, refer to two or more hypothetical referents. The circles represent a variable range of attributes of the referents R1, R2, R3, and R4. The referents are thereby understood in terms of one another, and the meaning is relational, i.e. symbolic, rather than causal.

The symbolic interpretation of words is an elemental feature of human thought because of their clustered storage in the brain and the rules imposed on their combination (phonological, morphological, and syntactical). An undetermined array of words and references can be correlated by the rules of language and can thereby evoke widely differing interpretations.

Such interpretations may, of course, correlate very little, or not at all, with reality, as we can see with such words as *unicorn*, *griffin*, and *vampire*. Thus, the human mind revels with symbolic references, especially in our fantasies, and language is essentially symbolic insofar as it implies a system of ordered relationships “among the infinite array of possible indexical references” (SMITH 2006: 14). According to PEIRCE, this complexity is heightened by the fact that signs may be interpreted iconically, indexically, and symbolically at the same time.

J. S. MILL was correct in identifying denotation, the indexical designation of physical or conceptual entities, as an assumed function of a name (as soon as the word is recognized as a name grammatically), but he was wrong to dismiss the varied associations that actually enable an addressee to recall a referent within a mental universe of words and experiences.

For many addressees the reference of the word *York* is located in the brain only if it has an association with a “minster.” There are many *Yorks*, and a communication cannot succeed unless the addressor and the addressee share some, but not necessarily all, of the same associations that can be evoked by the word. Many addressees in America would have no idea what MILL refers



to as *York*. Similarly, many here or around the world would have no idea what I might refer to as *Spokane*, the city where most of my students live and work, without my supplying more context, doing my best, of course, to use images understood by the audience.

Furthermore, whatever context I supply will be incomplete, limited to a selection of my own associations, and only partially recorded and stored in the brain of any addressee. At the same time, a name that evokes multiple associations will suggest a relationship of qualities shared by those associations, and insofar as the qualities are shared, the meaning is relational and symbolic, rather than just indexical – or simply part of a causal chain.

For example, the Golden Gate Bridge, linking the city of San Francisco to Marin County, is literally descriptive as well as symbolic. It spans a gateway to the vast Pacific Ocean and glistens in the golden sun. It is not made of gold, but it certainly suggests value to the economy of the San Francisco Bay area. More importantly, the name associates the bridge with the state motto and, above all, with state history and the great gold rush of 1849. Thus, the name not only designates a particular bridge, but also associates it with other contexts in which the word is used.

## 7. A description of procedures for two surveys

To illustrate the ways in which people recognize the referent of a name with different contextual associations, I asked students in two of my classes to respond to nearby place names in two separate surveys.

In one survey 79 students were asked to state what comes to mind with the word *Spokane*. *Spokane* is the name of the nearby city (pop. 210,000) where most students work and live and with which they are very familiar. Responders generally assumed the location of the city and proceeded to identify the referent with contextual associations.

In a second survey 28 students were asked to state what comes to mind with the word *Vancouver*; the name for two cities, each about 500 km away from our university, and about 500 km apart from one another. The larger one (pop. 631,500) is just north of the border in Canada, and the other (pop. 161,800) is to the south across the Columbia River from Portland, Oregon.

Again, the responders identified one city or both with widely differing associations. Ten responders focused exclusively on the city in Canada, seven exclusively on the U.S. city to the south, six gave no indication of which referent, and five (18%) clearly indicated the two possible referents.

## 8. Conclusion

The responses to these surveys revealed little uniformity in the contextual associations cited by these responders. Although there was enough similarity to suggest that the respondents thought of the names as designating something, the responses were highly varied and emphasized personal experience in thinking about or even locating the referent.

The responses may give us much to debate, but I believe they show name meaning arises more from the contextual associations among words than from logical definitions or from the scientific attributes of the referents. Names always have an indexical function, but our understandings and uses of them depend on their contextual associations in a fundamental and crucial way.

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**Abstract**

J. S. Mill and, more recently, S. Kripke have argued that names should be interpreted as simple indices, i.e. as fixed, one-to-one designations of individual referents. This paper argues that the natural use of human language is fundamentally symbolic, and will describe a more inclusive and empirical basis for name meaning. Recent biological research has shown that all words are stored in various areas of the brain along with words of similar relevance to previous experience. Thus, all words, including names, are related to other words as much as they are to the objective phenomena of human experience. As described by C. S. Peirce, symbolic meaning arises when a word, or any other type of sign, evokes a mental awareness of two or more referents. The meaning is symbolic insofar as it lies in the relationship of the referents rather than in a single referent. Names can be used and analyzed as simple indices, but if a name evokes an image recorded in the human brain, it is ineluctably associated with other images giving it a relational meaning and symbolic value. Two surveys will be cited that illustrate the variability of contextual associations in the meanings of names.

**Keywords:** Contextual Associations, Relational v Causal Reference, Semiotic, Indexical, Symbolic, Fixed Designations, Denotation v Connotation



*Annamária Ulla Szabó T.*

## ***Bilingualism: binominalism?***

This paper discusses first and second generation Hungarian–French bilingual speakers’ name giving habits, their motivations, and the interrelation of name giving and identity. The study of identity formation via name giving is an important task since, in addition to their linguistic aspects, “name giving and name changing have social, cultural, and psychological factors behind them” (ZELLIGER 2012: 42) that also underlie the creation, development, and expression of identity. Name giving is done in the present but it affects the future. The position, appreciation, and integration of the next generation are influenced by parents’ intentions in this way, too. In this paper, we will focus on given names as they best reflect the name giver’s intention and give us a clue to the way of identity creation within the family. “What names parents give to their children reveals the development of identity awareness, as well as the changes that language use currently undergoes” (ZELLIGER 2012: 47). This research was realised among French–Hungarian bilinguals in 2007 and 2010. The present paper discusses name giving habits of the first generation of emigrant families, and the use of those names by the second, in terms of interviews and questionnaires, complemented by participant observation and data taken from first communion notice boards. A total of 111 given names are studied with the help of numerous excerpts from interviews. Children’s data are mainly gleaned from interviews with parents and questionnaires completed by them; special conversations were also conducted with young adults.

### **1. Problem identification: Bilingualism vs. binominalism**

Due to their social embedding, proper names can be seen as simultaneously socio-, psycho-, and ethnolinguistic etc. phenomena, all in one. In a bilingual environment, name giving is also linguistic code choice that has to be studied in terms of the sociolinguistic rule system of bilingualism (VÖRÖS 2007a: 146–147). In a minority situation people declare their self-identification and can express their feeling of affiliation and identity by the names they give their children. Bilingual minority members’ attitudes to their second language are motivated by cultural and psychological factors (SZABÓ T. 2012: 337–350). On the basis of their kinds of motivation, three types of people can be distinguished: assimilationist, anti-assimilationist, and bilingual/bicultural. The assimilationist type strives for taking over the language and culture of the host country as fast as possible; the anti-assimilationist type takes pains to preserve its own language and culture, while the third, bilingual/bicultural type “seeks



balanced relationships in both directions” (ZELLIGER 2007: 229). The question is whether all bilinguals living in a minority situation have two names, too, or only members of the last, bicultural type do. My preliminary assumptions would suggest that speakers of the first type give only French names to their children, those of the second type give only Hungarian names, whereas those of the third type either give them two names, or else they give what can be called neutral names. Is it only children of the last type that can be termed “binominal”?

## **2. A study of given names**

### **2.1. The data**

The material of the present talk is given by answers to the following questions taken from my language use questionnaire. Questions posed to first generation speakers: 1. If you have children, what are they called? Why were they given the names they were? 2. Do you call them by a nickname? What name? 3. If you do not have children as yet, would you give your future children Hungarian names? Why / Why not? Questions posed to second generation speakers: 1. Do you know why your parents gave / did not give you a Hungarian name? 2. Have you got a nickname at home? What is it? 3. Do you use that name outside the family? 4. What is/are your sibling's name / your siblings' names? 5. If you have children, what are their names? / Would you give your children Hungarian names? Why?

In what follows, I will analyse 59 second generation given names, 31 of which are children's names (0 to 14 years of age), and 28 are young adults' names (above 14 years). Further 15 names were collected by participant observation (at children's study groups), and 37 from first communion notice boards. These latter sets of names, 52 in all, will be used as a sort of control group of data to back up the study of 59 pieces of data gleaned from questionnaires and language use interviews. Thus, a total of 111 data points were used.

### **2.2. Popular names in Hungary and in France**

In studying my corpus, I tried to take naming fashions into consideration (J. SOLTÉSZ 1979: 136–144), the extent to which names that were currently popular either in Hungary or in France might have played a role in how parents living in France chose names for their children (SZABÓ T. 2011: 318–320). For example, let us consider 2004, the year Hungary joined the European Union, as this year is more or less at the midpoint of the second period under investigation (1995–2010), a year in which the effect of uplifting relationships between the two countries was already felt, together with increasing mobility, and the

growing importance of internet, the new medium of mass communication. “People who arrived within the past 20 years (and parents belonging to the second generation of the Hungarian diaspora) are more lenient in name giving. They are citizens of ‘free Europe’ and many of them (presumably more than in the former group called “émigrés”) live in mixed marriages” (ILLÉS-MOLNÁR 2010: 60). It is to be added that they also have more occasion to keep contacts with their country of origin and they follow naming fashions in Hungary and in other countries more closely than those who had emigrated earlier on.

The collected name material includes two boys’ names (*Dániel, Péter*) and four girls’ names (*Anna, Réka, Fanni, Eszter*) that were among the top 10 names in 2004 in Hungary, supporting the claim often made in onomastic studies that in choosing boys’ names subjects are more conservative whereas in choosing girls’ names they follow the current fashion to a larger extent (RAÁTZ 2005). For male children born in 2004 in Hungary, the ten most popular names were *Bence, Máté, Balázs, Dávid, Dániel, Levente, Tamás, Ádám, Péter, Gergő*. For female children, this list was *Anna, Viktória, Réka, Vivien, Zsófia, Petra, Dorina, Fanni, Boglárka, Eszter*.<sup>1</sup>

Of the names figuring in the list of the most popular names in France, I only accessed those pertaining to the area of Île-de-France (Paris and its surroundings), as this was the area where I conducted my data collection. Again, I looked at the 2004 data. It turned out that my corpus included four of the most popular boys’ names (*Alexandre, Raphael, Paul, Victor*) and four of the most popular girls’ names (*Emma, Sarah, Alice, Juliette*). Thus, we encounter a tie here: we can say that the effect of French or international naming fashions was equally strong for both boys and girls. The 15 most often given names occurred in large numbers in 2004 in Île-de-France, the area of my data collection.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing, we can conclude that naming fashion obviously does play a role in name giving; but the issue is more nuanced since, for our purposes, what counts is what “types” of names the parents give their children. In order to set up a typology, it is necessary to see what possibilities there are for classification.

### 2.3. Possibilities of classification

Two Hungarian scholars who conducted onomastic research (including sociolinguistic data collection) concerning the Hungarian diaspora in Western Europe around the turn of millennium were ERZSÉBET ZELLIGER and MÁRTA

<sup>1</sup> Source: [www.nyilvantarto.eu/kekkeh/.../nepessegfuzet/2005/2005\\_jan\\_szoveg.doc](http://www.nyilvantarto.eu/kekkeh/.../nepessegfuzet/2005/2005_jan_szoveg.doc) (downloaded: 09. 18. 2010.). Names set in non-italics were also part of the corpus I collected.

<sup>2</sup> Source: <http://www.linternaute.com/femmes/prenoms/classement/101/2004/> (downloaded: 09. 25. 2010.)

ILLÉS-MOLNÁR. Both research were made on name usage of German–Hungarian bilinguals. This study on French–Hungarian name giving habits is unprecedented, so there is no relevant literature to refer.

ZELLIGER (2007: 227–233 and 2012: 42–49) collected 1004 names of 665 persons in four parishes in Linz and Wels (Austria), in the office of cure of souls for foreign speakers of the Bishopric of Linz, and the Evangelic church of Leonding, and she also took into consideration christening data from the journal *Életünk* [Our Life]. One advantage of research made on birth certificates is that it makes large-scale data collection possible; one drawback, however, is that one cannot inquire into name giving motivations. ILLÉS-MOLNÁR (2009: 68–82 and 2010: 59–69) conducted a questionnaire study among Hungarians living in Germany in 2008 and in 2009, in which she also inquired into name giving motivations. In her 2010 paper, she studied given names of 381 second and third generation Hungarians living in Germany. In both authors' publications, we find summary tables with name data classified in them.

ZELLIGER distinguishes six categories: Hungarian #1: untranslatable names (e.g. *Csilla*); Hungarian #2: international names used in a Hungarian form (e.g. *István*), Neutral #1: names in the written form of which there is either no difference (*Anna*) or only a minimal difference like the lack of accent marks (*Ádám*) or some other small (single-character) difference between the two languages (*Szilvia*), Neutral #2: German equivalents of Hungarian names were registered but the name is used at home in a Hungarian (diminutive) form (e.g. *Franz* > *Feri*); German: (e.g. *Ingrid*); Other.

ILLÉS-MOLNÁR (2009)'s categorization is as follows: A) single name: Hungarian (or written in a Hungarian orthographic form); German; international; other. B) two names: the first is Hungarian (or considered Hungarian), the second is German (or international); the first is German (or international), the second is Hungarian (or considered Hungarian); both are Hungarian (or considered Hungarian); both are German (or international); other. Later ILLÉS-MOLNÁR (2010) offers a simplified system of categories.

ZELLIGER (2007) classified names in terms of their “origin”, or attachability to a given community. In what follows, I will use this classification, with the proviso that I only include a particular name in a particular category if the subjects themselves categorized it as such, on the basis of a “feeling of affiliation” (ILLÉS-MOLNÁR 2009: 70). The type that is the most difficult to circumscribe and define, is doubtlessly her Neutral #1, labelled “International” by ILLÉS-MOLNÁR (2009). Although the genre of language use interview provides fewer data, it gives us more opportunity to inquire into name giving motivations, thus I found it important to focus on ILLÉS-MOLNÁR's parenthetical “considered”. This is one of the reasons why I set up my own classification on



the basis of parents' intentions and motivations. For each category, I present a typical excerpt from the interviews; at the end of this subsection, I summarize the names in the corpus in a table.

### Single name

1. Hungarian (#1, #2) / Hungarian given name or a given name considered to be and/or spelt as Hungarian:

Interviewer: And the children's names?<sup>3</sup>

FM11: They are intentionally Hungarian. [...] The two kids think of themselves as Hungarians but they have a double identity.

2. French (or used in a French form)

Interviewer: And they gave you a French name to make it easier for you here?

2FM11: Well yes, I think so, as this was one step towards integration.

3. Neutral (international) #1: names whose spelling shows no or little difference, e.g. in the use of accents (e.g. *Daniel* ~ *Dániel*).

FM5: We wanted a name that works in Hungarian and in English, too, that is international.

FM9: *Sara*, not *Sarah* as it would be in France. [...] In Hungary, *Sára* [...] They put it in for me, there was a form to fill, and I wrote it with *á*, I won't write *Sara* [its mud] in Hungarian.

4. Neutral (international) #2: names registered in a French manner that are translated in Hungary into a Hungarian form (e.g. *Sophie* ~ *Zsófi*).

Interviewer: What are you called at home?

2FM2: *Zsófia*. I am christened that in Hungarian.

Interviewer: And officially? *Zsófi* or *Sophie*? In your identity card, in your passport?

2FM2: Ah, *Sophie*. I'm *Sophie*. Oui, oui,<sup>4</sup> *Sophie*.

Interviewer: But at home, do they call you *Zsófi*?

2FM2: Yes, in Hungary. Actually, it depends. Now, most people do. But when I was christened, it was *Zsófia* then.

<sup>3</sup> I give only the English translation of the Hungarian-French interviews.

<sup>4</sup> It is a code-switching in the Hungarian interview, means 'yes, yes'.

## Two given names

While one-third of ILLÉS-MOLNÁR (2009)'s subjects (Hungarians living in Germany) gave their children two names each, it was roughly 20% of Parisians that chose that solution. These parents only rarely took the option of expressing the double identities of their children by giving them double names. Rather, names of the Neutral #1 or #2 type were given in most cases, that is, international names, to express their double (or intermediate) identity. A total of nine persons in the corpus had double (3 persons), triple (5 persons), or even quadruple names (1 person); but only six of them had mixed-code names, e.g. *Réka Lauréline* (born 2002). There were also children with two Hungarian names: *Álmos Attila* (1988), or two international names: *Axelle-Emma* (2000). Multiple given names were more frequently given in the 14-plus age group; of the younger age group, only two children had been given double names by the parents participating in this study.

The material was divided on the basis of the year of birth of the second generation: into data of children born between 1970 and 1995, and those of children born between 1995 and 2010. The division was needed since in the early 1990s the political changes in Hungary had an impact on possibilities and forms for the Hungarian émigré community of keeping contact with Hungary, as well as the structure of the Hungarian community living in France. As a consequence, the two subcorpora exhibit significant differences, as we will see. The following table contains names in two groups based on the two intervals of birth and the motivations of name giving, with percentages of occurrence.

Motivation of name giving	1970–1995	1995–2010
Hungarian or considered to be Hungarian	16%	10,75%
French	12%	7,75%
Neutral (international) #1	36%	76,75%
Neutral (international) #2	36%	3,75%

**Table 1:** Percentages of name types

Motivations of name giving were explored directly by asking the parents or, in the case of adult subjects, the name bearers themselves. On the basis of their answers, I set up the four categories exemplified above. As can be seen, the ratio of exclusively Hungarian or exclusively French names is rather lower than that of neutral names suggesting double identities. The following table shows all names occurring in the corpus, with the year of birth of their bearers. (One parent did not give me permission to use their children's names; hence in that slot I only give the name type.)

Motivation of name giving	1970–1995	1995–2010
Hungarian or considered to be Hungarian	<i>Tünde</i> (1980) <i>Jenő</i> (~1980) <i>Attila</i> (1983) <i>Baltazár</i> (1993)	<i>Botond</i> (2000) <i>Vince</i> (~2002) <i>Bendegúz</i> (2008)
French	<i>Cédric</i> (1971) <i>Clarie-Anne</i> (1981) <i>Nicolas</i> (1991)	<i>Jérémy</i> (~2000) <i>Juliette</i> (~2005)
Neutral (international)#1	<i>Dora/Dóra</i> (~1970) <i>Ilona</i> (1979) <i>Peter/Péter</i> (1985) <i>Nina</i> (1986) <i>Lily/Lili</i> (1987) <i>Fannie/Fanni</i> (1991) <i>Anna</i> (1993) <i>Marc/Márk</i> (1993) <i>Eric/Erik</i> (1995)	<i>Sara/Sára</i> (1997) <i>Axel</i> (1999) <i>Liza</i> (~2000) <i>Donat/Donát</i> (1997) <i>Est(h)er/Eszter</i> (2000, 2005) <i>Benjamin/Benjámin</i> (2001) <i>Noémie/Noémi</i> (2001) <i>Jazmin/Jázmin</i> (2001) <i>Elza</i> (2002) <i>Mathilde/Matild</i> (2002) <i>Daniel/Dániel</i> (2005) <i>Julia/Júlia</i> (2003) <i>Raphael/Rafael</i> (2004) <i>2 Victor/Viktor</i> (both in 2004) <i>Gaspar/Gáspár</i> (2005) <i>Maya</i> (2005) <i>Lili</i> (2007) +2 names
Neutral (international)#2	<i>Anne-Marie</i> (~1970) > <i>Annamária</i> <i>Christian</i> (~1970) > <i>Krisztián</i> <i>Dominique</i> (1970) > <i>Dominika</i> <i>Alexandre</i> (1980) > <i>Sanyi</i> <i>Christina</i> (1982) > <i>Kriszti(na)</i> <i>Sophie</i> (1984) > <i>Zsófi(a)</i> <i>Elisabeth</i> (1989) > <i>Erzsébet</i> <i>Isabelle</i> (1987) > <i>Iza(bella)</i> <i>Antoinette</i> (1988) > <i>Antónia</i>	<i>Martin</i> (2006)

**Table 2:** Names in the corpus classified in terms of name giving motivations

## 2.4. Motivations and generational differences

On the basis of the table above, the second generation's name bearing habits can be clearly seen. That "second" generation, although in principle it could be seen as a unitary group, is worth dividing into two subgroups:<sup>5</sup> one extending from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s, and one from the mid-1990s to the present day. It can be observed that in the 1970s and 80s the preponderance of French-looking names suggests a tendency for assimilation, since these are typically children of parents having emigrated for political reasons. Parents who gave names of the Neutral #2 (international) type kept the Hungarian version for "home use" (cf. section 3 below) and for communication with the grandparents (e.g. *Anne-Marie* ~ *Annamária*). Of course, the opposite tendency is also observable with anti-assimilationist families where the child was intentionally given untranslatable and typically Hungarian names (e.g. *Attila*). The 1990s were a period of transition when the proportion of neutral or international names grew even further; and from the turn of millennium onwards, most parents chose double registration as made possible by administrative regulations: members of the bicultural economic emigration chose international names that are used frequently in both countries and possibly raise no orthographical problems. Double registration reinforces double identity. Given that Hungarian parents now have the possibility of having their children, born in France, be registered in Hungary, too, and given that they actually take advantage of that possibility, members of the second age group (0 to 14-year-olds) are registered in both countries. (The peculiarities of name giving based on the possibility of double registration were also indicated in the table above: The parents typically have their children's names recorded in the Hungarian way (with accents) in Hungary, and in the French manner (without accents) in France.) At the time of data collection, the following documents had to be handed in by the parents for registration in Hungary: 1) the original birth certificate ("*extrait d'acte de naissance*") with its official translation; 2) a filled-in document signed by both parents (father, mother) and entitled "Data sheet for registration of birth in Hungary"); and, if the child had more than two given names, 3) another document called *Name use declaration* signed by both parties, in which the parents specify which two names are to be entered in the Hungarian documents.<sup>6</sup>

The instruction in the data sheet said "Please fill in the data sheet according to the rules of the Hungarian language (name: 1. family name, 2. given name; date: year, month, day; use of accents etc.), in block letters, and in Hungarian" where

<sup>5</sup> The problems of categorizing groups of people into generations are discussed in detail by ZELLIGER (1997: 94–98).

<sup>6</sup> Source: <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kulkepviselet/FR/hu/Konzuliinfo/anyakonyvezes.hu> (Downloaded: 09. 18. 2010.)

the invitation to use accents is especially noteworthy since a number of parents complained to us that they had had difficulties in the course of registration in Hungary due to the fact that the French birth certificate contained the child's name with no accents and therefore (despite the clearly expressed intention of the parents) officials were unwilling to enter the child's name with appropriate accents. There were parents who failed in making sure that the official translation contained the accents; they either put up with the child's names being recorded with no accent in the Hungarian documents, too (e.g. *Daniel*, rather than *Dániel*), or they gave up and applied for official change of name. There was even a parent who admitted that she "smuggled in" an accent in the birth certificate, and consequently the Hungarian passport of the child was already made out with an accent. (The procedure underwent radical changes since the period of data collection; but this will not be described in detail here.)

What can be the reason for Neutral (international) #1 type names being the most popular? Parents tried to foster children's feeling familiar and integrated in both cultures by choosing that name type. Practical considerations also give preference to using the same or nearly the same written form in both countries. The most important aim of parents choosing a given name of the Neutral (international) #1 type is that the child should feel at home both in French and in Hungarian culture; they do not wish to raise their children as completely French (unlike the assimilationist type that was more widespread earlier on) but they do not want to use too "conspicuous", typically Hungarian names, either (as was the case with anti-assimilationist people). Of course, there are exceptions in both categories. We can merely identify tendencies here, as I met children who had been given typically Hungarian names or untranslatable French names in the past decade. (One mother thought that there are so many different names in France that no one is surprised at another "exotic" name like *Réka*, but people learn to use it sooner or later, although they cannot faithfully reproduce the original Hungarian sound sequence in any case.)

One of the most important parents' motivations in choosing a name is that it should be easier and simpler for the child. Let me quote from a conversation with a parent: "It was for simplicity's sake [that my daughter got the name *Maya*] [...] We did not want names like *Emese* [likely to be pronounced as] *Émösze* or *Émez*, unpronounceable ones, no. It would be difficult for the child, not for me."

Some parents intentionally have the child's (international) name entered even in the French register in a non-French manner. Here is an example: "*Rafael* was not entered with *ph*, this irritates everyone."

## 2.5. Choosing a name as linguistic code choice

Are names of the Neutral (international) #1 type “mixed” or “bicodal” ones? FERENC VÖRÖS raises this question in connection with the name giving habits of Hungarians living in Slovakia: “How many given names do Hungarians have in Slovakia?” He concludes that these names are in fact used in two versions, forming what are called “metalinguistic pairs” coming about by borrowing. Proper metalinguistic pairs “exhibit smaller or larger formal differences. Etymologically, they go back to a common source language form in general, considered as a name of some third language. Their formal differences can be explained by various sound changes that took place in an earlier period, obeying the very different phonetic or phonotactic regularities of the two languages. For instance, Slovak *Adam* ~ Hungarian *Ádám*” (VÖRÖS 2007b: 196). These are names existing in both languages, albeit in different forms. The duality has linguistic and pragmatic reasons. The two forms are used alternatively, depending on the situation, the interlocutor, the code being used, etc. The difference between the two name forms may be minimal, existing in pronunciation only. The alternation of name forms results in code switching in some cases (VÖRÖS 2007b: 195).

In this study, all minimal differences will be taken to constitute alternating name use. It can be stated that in a bilingual situation all names are realised in two different forms, whether it is *Tünde* or *Juliette*. A speaker whose first language is French will pronounce the Hungarian name “in the French manner” and a speaker whose first language is Hungarian will pronounce the French name “in the Hungarian way”. Therefore, concerning the issue whether bilingualism entails binominalism, the answer is affirmative. In vain do parents take every effort to give their child a neutral name, the pronunciation of a name of identical orthography will never be the same in the two languages. Thus, the answer is affirmative with the proviso that the sound shapes of the two names are language dependent or code dependent. Several parents told me that they tried to find a name for their child that was spelt identically in both countries. Yet it turned out that they are not pronounced identically:

Interviewer: ...and your daughter is...

FM17: *Lili*, with *i* at the end. With us, the *i* is a lot closer [read: opener]. And with them, the *i* is sort of tenser. Well I tried to make sure because names are kind of iden... for when at the age of three, two, or one, she learns her name, she should have no problem with who she is in fact.

Interviewer: Was it on purpose that you chose names that in both countries [...]?

FM18: I thought I did, that they are pronounced the same way, so I tried to find ones that... do not show much of a difference... that are not particularly Hungarian, so that it would not be difficult to pronounce them in France.

### 3. Summary

#### 3.1. What the control set tells us

I promised above that I would make further comparisons across the 52 name data gathered informally and the 59 name data of the interviews. As a participant observer at children's study groups, I collected 15 data of the self-naming habits of the generation born between 1995 and 2010; further 37 data come from first communion notice boards made public at the Hungarian Catholic Mission of Paris that enrich the data set of those born between 1980 and 1995. The 15 data support the conclusions drawn so far concerning the predominance of (fashionable) international names, whereas the 37 Mission names show Hungarian bonding to a larger extent. Families that are attached to the Mission had a clearer intention to preserve Hungarian identity and follow Hungarian traditions; this was also made clear through their choice of given names. On the other hand, it is worth noting that in many cases it was the name received in baptism that was posted on the notice board, a name form that I knew from the interviews was not necessarily identical with the officially recorded form (see the case of *Zsófi* ~ *Sophie* in section 2.3 [example 4] above). Thus, the study of these control data cannot be taken to be representative or authoritative; it can only be a colourful admixture at best.

#### 3.2. Comparisons

Comparing my own results with MÁRTA ILLÉS-MOLNÁR's studies conducted in a similar period, we can draw the following conclusions. As she points out, it is at most the first immigrant generation that change their names, and the preservation and transmission of Hungarian identity are not exclusively, not even dominantly performed via name use or name giving. Still, with name giving instances prior to 1989, parents consider the preservation of Hungarian identity more important, and do it (partly) through the names they give. Names given after 1989 are more of the international type (ILLÉS-MOLNÁR 2010: 66–67). It is a shortcoming of our own corpus from France that we (should) draw conclusions from far less data than ILLÉS-MOLNÁR did; yet the tendency seems to be clear and just the opposite of the situation in Germany: prior to 1989, a larger number of names were officially registered in French and used only at home in the Hungarian manner. This shows some similarity with ERZSÉBET



ZELLIGER's data from Austria (2007: 227–233 and 2012: 42–49); similarly to the increasingly “international” character of name giving after 1989.

“We can and must find connections between name giving habits and the preservation of identity. However, we can by no means put an equation sign between a Hungarian given name (or family name) and Hungarian identity” (ILLÉS-MOLNÁR 2010: 67). Let us not forget, however, that the identity marking role of linguistic factors is not as strong as it is in the Carpathian Basin (GEREBEN 1999). In France, it is rather traditions, family holidays, food, mentality, etc. that are important for our subjects. Also, as ERZSÉBET ZELLIGER did and suggested, it would be worth carrying out the exploration of names gleaned from birth certificates (baptism documents), too.

### 3.3. Bilingualism = binominalism

The manner of parents' identity creation may be expressed by the names they choose for their children. However, parents' intention to create a unitary identity for their children by choosing international names does not take it into consideration that ultimately all names have different sound shapes and hence different attitudinal contents in the two languages, and duality remains even in that case.

The material collected clearly shows that double identity is a heritage of the second generation, and name giving motivations are also subject to that fact: the intention is to give names that are as unproblematic as possible, fitting into the name inventories of both languages. Bilingualism nevertheless leads to binominalism in all cases, given that even names that are spelt the same have their typical (different) sound shapes in both languages and even the most “international” names are no exception to that conclusion.

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## Abstract

This research was realised among French–Hungarian bilinguals in 2007 and 2010. The paper presents 110 names given to the children of Hungarian-Hungarian or French-Hungarian families living in Paris and around (Île-de-France). We can divide this names to 5 different types: 1. Hungarian (or considered Hungarian) names, 2. French names, 3. Neutral 1. / International 1. names (these names are written almost the same way everywhere), 4. Neutral



2. / International 2. names (officially French names, but exist a Hungarian translation for home use), 5. Others. The highest number of the names is found in the Neutral 1. (e.g. *Dániel* ~ *Daniel*). The motivation of the parents is clear: the international names help the most to the children in the easy integration to both (French and Hungarian) society. The data should be analysed and divided by a historical perspective: 1. Names of the children born between 1980–1995, 2. Names of the children born between 1995–2010. We can see that the part 1 includes more French or Neutral 2. type names. Cause they are mostly the children of a political emigration who's assimilation (and sometimes anti-assimilation) effort was heavy. After the political change in Hungary in 1989, mainly an economic emigration came from Hungary and the parents preferred to give international names to their children borned after 1995 (2<sup>nd</sup> group). These names can symbolise also a double identity. So, bilingualism: does it mean one or two names in the reality?

**Keywords:** bilingualism, double identity, international names, neutral names, two names

## **1. The concept of onomastic dialects**

The differentiation of linguistic phenomena by regions is definitely not a new tenet of linguistics, but is what the dialectological approach – amongst others – to linguistic systems is based on. With toponyms as one of the groups of linguistic signs that have as their essential features systematic behavior and differentiation by region, onomatogeographical regions can be delineated like those of dialects. This approach entails the introduction and clarification of the term *onomastic dialect*. W. F. H. NICOLAISEN raised the concept of onomastic dialects in 1980 maintaining that onomastic dialects come into existence through communication between name-givers, and are determined to a large extent by cultural and social backgrounds. Toponymic structures characteristic of various onomastic dialects can be grasped through their geographical distribution, but there are certain factors relevant to the issue, which must not be ignored. NICOLAISEN delves into the concept of onomastic dialects basically focusing on the lexemes which appear in toponyms (STEWART 1943), while at the same time also attributing importance to migrational and foreign language effects (NICOLAISEN 1980: 42). In the Hungarian literature on onomastics, the concept of possibly existing onomastic dialects was formed a couple of decades ago, and has been surfacing in various works over and over again ever since. FERENC ÖRDÖG applied the term “onomato-dialect” to the phenomenon (1989: 27, 1991: 488), and determined its subject to be the examination of the way name types come to be and the spatial examination of their linguistic tools (part of speech, morphology, phonology, stylistics, etc.). At a theoretical level, the idea of onomastic dialects can be attributed primarily to the work of ISTVÁN HOFFMANN (1993: 29). In his interpretation, the toponymic system of individual settlements will have no significant differences within a linguistically homogeneous territory with generally common history and culture, and no conspicuous geographical contrasts. Vice versa, the discrepancies in these factors will result in differences. On these grounds, it appears to be reasonable to presume that – following the pattern of dialects, so to speak – the boundaries of toponymic geographical regions and onomastic dialects can be drawn (HOFFMANN 1993: 29).

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

## 2. Hypothesis

Within the territory inhabited by speakers of the Hungarian language, there are onomastic dialects, which can be delineated. My doctoral dissertation outlines one possible method of accomplishing such a task, and – in my opinion – does so with sufficient certainty. Methodologically, the treatise is based on a statistical approach (which I will describe in more detail later on). However, being a very recent development in the literature on onomastics (to the best of my knowledge, no one has approached the issue of onomatogeographical areas in this manner before), this method needs to be refined in several aspects. Therefore, in this essay, I introduce possible versions of this method: specifically, the statistical comparison methods most suitable for mapping out regions of individual onomastic dialects.

## 3. Method

As the first step in comparing toponymic systems on statistical grounds, representative sampling has to be carried out in order to define the onomastic corpus which will be the subject of examination. The county chosen in the Western part of Hungary has several regions identifiable not only from the aspect of dialects, but also from that of ethnography and geography. Beyond the differences of culture, language and geography, I presumed there would be a good chance of finding differences in toponymic systems as well. Within the county, I selected the onomastic corpora of 105 settlements, all of which had an average number of microtoponyms for the county,<sup>1</sup> and compared these by settlements. It is important to perform the comparison by settlements because the toponyms of individual settlements, and in particular those of smaller ones, are systematically organized (for more details see DITRÓI 2014: 1083–1084), and these systems make comparison easy. I analysed the toponymic corpora of individual settlements based on the functional-semantic, lexical-morphological

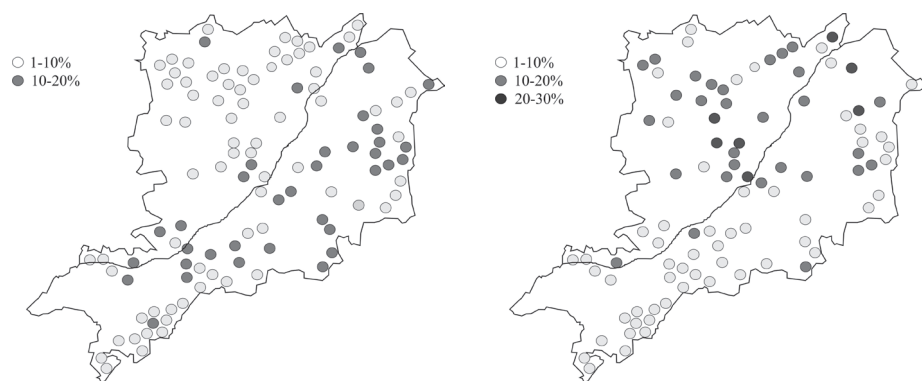
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<sup>1</sup> The natural unit of toponymic research is the settlement, because within such a framework we can still speak about names largely determined by a system, that is names whose emergence was spurred by the communicational need, whereas the aforementioned systematic character cannot be detected any more in larger units constituted by districts or even counties (cf. HOFFMANN 1993: 39).

The differences between particular areas can be revealed exclusively through the comparative study of the settlements, thus it still seems reasonable to treat settlements as basic units of the research. In the compilation of the database further, practical criteria should be taken into consideration as well: in order to avoid distorted pieces of information we should consider the average amount of names, the area and size of the examined settlements, as well as their indices of name density, and subsequently to examine only the toponymic material of those settlements which match the given criteria (DITRÓI 2014: 1084).

model developed by ISTVÁN HOFFMANN (1993) and focused the analysis mostly on the structures of toponyms.

The analysis revealed the outlines of a number of types of toponymic structures. I organized the latter into a table of frequency series: I then examined the frequencies with which certain toponymic structures can be found at individual settlements, in this way making it easy to establish the spatial prevalence of each given toponymic structure. As an example, I will discuss the way ownership is indicated in Hungarian toponyms. In figure 1 the line marked on the map represents the run of the river Rába, which is the most important waterway of the county.



**Figure 1:** Indication of ownership in two-constituent toponyms of the structures “appellative denoting a person + geographical common word” and “anthroponym + geographical common word”

Within the Hungarian system of names, possession can be indicated by single- or two-constituent toponyms, within which category names can include an appellative denoting a person or an anthroponym. Names formed in this manner are: *Vitéz* (an appellative denoting a person, where *vitéz* ‘knight’ is the occupation of the owner of the estate), *Ágoston* (where *Ágoston* is an anthroponym, the name of the owner), *Pap-tag* (an appellative denoting a person + geographical common word, where *pap* ‘priest’ denotes the occupation of the owner), and *Simon-tag* (anthroponym + geographical common word, where *Simon* is the name of the owner). The two maps in Figure 1 show the distribution of two-constituent toponymic structures indicating ownership: on the first map, within the county examined, the “appellative denoting a person + geographical common word” structure is characteristic south of the river Rába, but less prevalent north of it. Similarly, this is also the region where “anthroponym + geographical common word” structures are less common which means that these two structures obviously complement each other.

Using the compiled frequency series, the distribution of such and similar toponymic structures can be examined. Compiling such a list is important not only for examining the prevalence of given toponymic structures, but also because a matrix may be formed in this way. Within this matrix, differences between two settlements can be described by values within the interval of 0 to 1. These values can be computed using a particular algorithm. The input of this algorithm consists of the numbers in the frequency table, thus, it provides a metric on the relative difference between the name samples of any two settlements. Ratios closer to 1 indicate more significant differences between the customs the respective settlements have in forming and using names. Higher similarities (i.e. less differences) are indicated by computed values closer to 0. As an example, I present a part of such a matrix.<sup>2</sup>

	Nemescsó	Zanat	Meszlen	Ispánk	Szőce	Halas-tó	Nemes-kocs	János-háza	Keléd
Nemescsó	0	0,256	0,179	0,514	0,511	0,546	0,502	0,501	0,501
Zanat		0	0,294	0,511	0,545	0,539	0,544	0,512	0,501
Meszlen			0	0,523	0,534	0,496	0,527	0,521	0,495
Ispánk				0	0,145	0,203	0,530	0,493	0,579
Szőce					0	0,154	0,490	0,549	0,581
Halastó						0	0,516	0,576	0,534
Nemeskocs							0	0,290	0,268
Jánosháza								0	0,294
Keléd									0

**Figure 2:** A comparative matrix of some of the settlements in the county examined

The numbers in the table indicate the similarities and differences between individual settlements. I consider values below 0.5 indicate similarity and values higher than that indicate difference. The table shows the onomastic corpora of Nemescsó, Zanat and Meszlen to be similar, as well as those of Nemeskocs, Jánosháza and Keléd, or Ispánk, Szőce and Halastó. There are also differences between the onomastic corpora of these groups of three settlements each, as indicated by the values of 0.5 or higher. The geographical distribution of settlements is indicated on the following map.

<sup>2</sup> Prior to computing the matrix below, I applied weighting to the frequency series I used as its input. Doing so has no other consequence than certain toponymic structures (which have more significant territorial differences) being given stronger emphasis in the analysis than others.



**Figure 3:** The locations of settlements included in the matrix

Similar settlements are relatively close to each other, while there are greater distances between different ones. To summarize, by examining the values obtained in the matrix, and projecting the latter onto a map, levels of similarity a particular settlement has with other settlements can be established.

Up to this point, I have used the Bray–Curtis index (1957) to compute matrices (this is the method with which the matrix in the above example was created). This semimetric comparative method is suitable for frequency series where values vary on a wide scale (0 to 1 with a number of different values, such as 0.003; 0.02; 0.3; 0.951), or the number of data points is high (KREBS 1998: 499–501, 503, 509, 513). Since I compared nearly 80 toponymic structures (i.e. compiled my frequency table with a high number of data points), and similarity data varied on a wide scale, I found this comparative method to be the most suitable one. Due to its semimetric nature, this method is also considered appropriately permissive, that is, not too exact, and is widely used in sociology, biology, and so forth for comparative purposes. In view of these considerations, I presumed the method to be suitable for linguistic investigations as well – after all, language is also a biological product, and in many respects, it behaves just like other biological systems, therefore, I thought it possible that this comparative method would also fit linguistic phenomena.

In addition to the Bray–Curtis index, however, there are also quite a few other comparative methods. Consequently, I will discuss several methods similar to the one above, and compare the results. There are several different kinds of indices, of which I will consider three additional ones: the Horn, the Canberra and the Euclidean index.

The Horn index (1966) is also semimetric. It is not used as often as the Bray–Curtis method, yet, is similarly suitable for comparing name samples. As with the Bray–Curtis method, frequency series with values covering a large scale can be handled with this method, but this comparative method is better suited for smaller samples (WOLDA 1981: 513, KREBS 1998: 504–509, 524–525, 527–529, MAGURRAN 2004).

Being fully metric, the Canberra index (1967) is a more exact method of comparison, best suited for variational series with high numbers of data. The frequency series I computed satisfies this requirement, but with the series being metric, the method will not necessarily be the most suitable one (LANCE–WILLIAMS 1966, 1967, KREBS 1998: 499–501, 503, 513–514, 518).

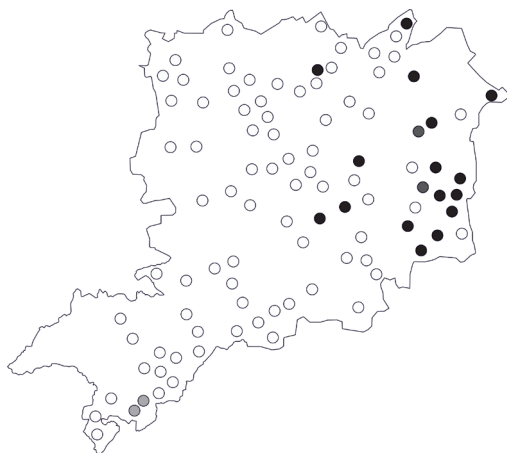
Lastly, I considered Euclidean distances, which is most frequently applied as a means of measuring distances. Most measurements are based on this method, or are improved versions of it, which is the very reason why I thought it worthwhile to include it in this study. Being metric, it is an exact method of comparison, rarely applied to investigations such as the present linguistic analysis (KREBS 1998: 497–498, 500, 503, 513).

For the compilation of the matrices, I used the statistics program “R”. Once the matrices were compiled, the results were subjected to cluster analysis. With clustering, all of the data included in a particular matrix can be rendered on a single map; that is, in this case, the data of 105 settlements placed on a single map. There are several methods of clustering available. In this study I used the means clustering method, also known as centroid-based clustering, while for clustering purposes, I used the online program “GabMap” (NERBONNE 2011).

#### 4. Results

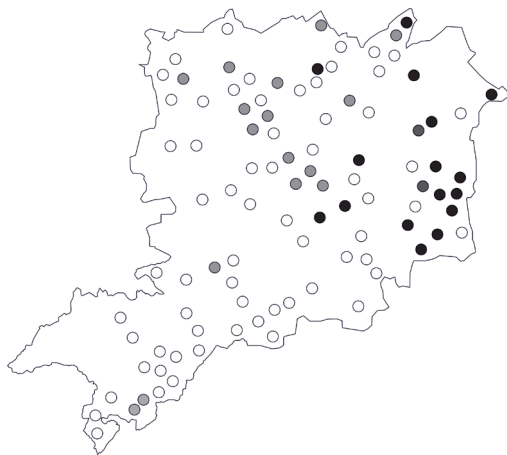
The matrix compiled using the Bray–Curtis method resulted in an east-west pattern of onomatogeographical regions. Therefore, based on this method of analysis, there is an Eastern and a Western onomatogeographical region to consider. The figure indicates these territories with black and white circles. Additionally, two settlements in the southern part of the county have toponymic patterns which are similar to each other, while also being distinct from the rest of the settlements.





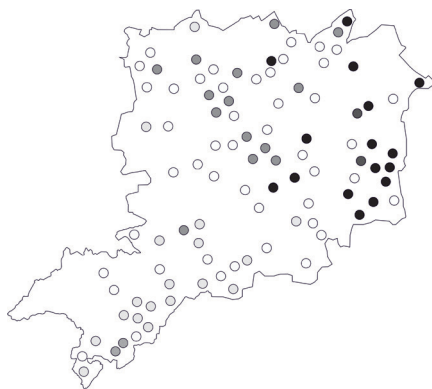
**Figure 4:** The three geographical regions obtained by the cluster analysis of the matrix compiled using the Bray–Curtis index

By refining the examination for the purpose of rendering further onomatogeographical regions, the map in Figure 5 can be drawn.



**Figure 5:** The four geographical regions obtained by the cluster analysis of the matrix compiled using the Bray–Curtis index

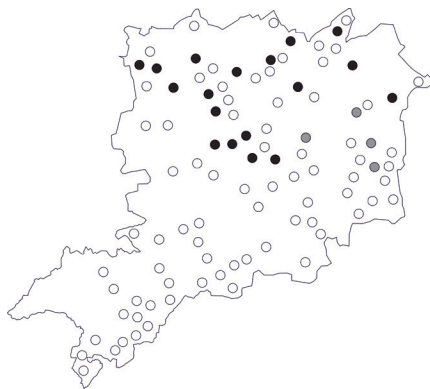
In the West, a new onomatogeographical region takes shape in the middle of the county, indicated by grey circles on the map. The name sample of this territory is closely related to that of the white circles. The representation may be refined to include still more subtle differences, in which case the South-Western and the Western parts of the county will have further, relatively well delineated onomatogeographical territories. The settlements in question appear in light grey colour.



**Figure 6:** The five geographical regions obtained by the cluster analysis of the matrix compiled using the Bray–Curtis index

Before moving on to present the results obtained with the other comparative methods, it is important to underline the rather striking fact that none of these examinations lead to a sharp and unequivocal delineation of onomatogeographical regions. Firstly, some of the toponymic structures included in these examinations have no differentiating effect, that is to say, projected on a map, these structures will not result in any territorial differences. Secondly, the toponym registries used as references for compiling the database are not completely homogeneous; their quality varies by the collectors who provided them. Thirdly and finally, the method itself will have to undergo further modifications; with an approach this new, further studies will be required to clarify how exactly onomatogeographical regions should be examined, and just how their borderlines should be drawn.

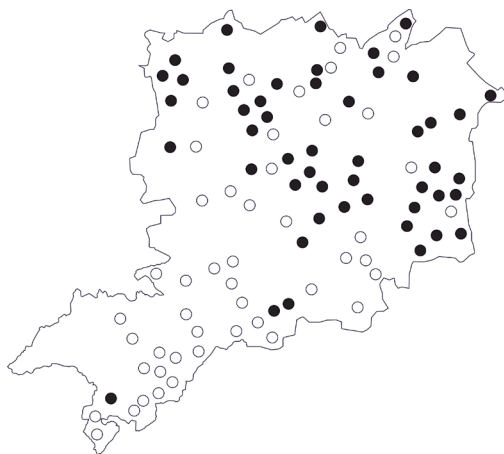
Besides the Bray–Curtis index, I have used, amongst others, the Horn index, (1966). The map below represents results obtained with this method.



**Figure 7:** The three geographical regions obtained by the cluster analysis of the matrix compiled using the Horn index

Using this method, no more than three relatively homogeneous regions can be identified within the county under investigation; a smaller one, covering the Eastern parts of the county, with four settlements (indicated in grey colour), and a name sample characteristic of the Southern part of the county (white circles). West of the smaller onomatogeographical region (marked before by grey colour), the outlines of yet another, relatively homogeneous region can be drawn (black circles) – this latter region is closely related that defined by grey circles in figure 6. Using the Horn method, no further homogeneous onomatogeographical regions can be defined, nor will a cluster analysis lead to the identification of any separate area.

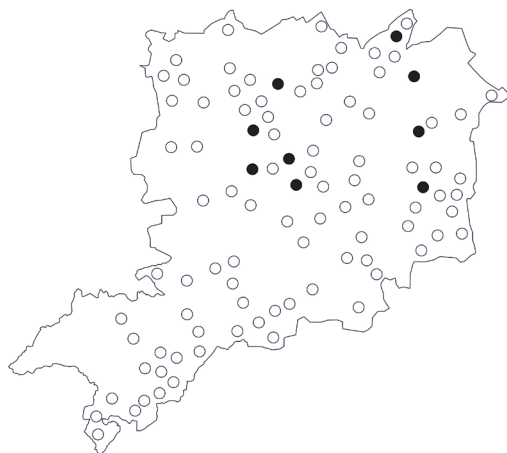
For the matrix compiled using the Canberra index (1967) the following result is produced.



**Figure 8:** The result obtained by the cluster analysis of the matrix compiled using the Canberra index

In this case, there is yet again a clearly discernible North-South contrast, indicated by the colours black and white, respectively. With this comparative method, no further regions can be defined.

The results obtained using the Euclidean comparison can hardly be evaluated – with high tolerance, two regions may be found within the county, which, however, I would definitely not consider onomatogeographical regions. The latter are shown on the map below.



**Figure 9:** The result obtained by the cluster analysis of the matrix compiled using the Euclidean index

## 5. Conclusions

Based on these results, the Bray–Curtis index appears best for purposes of defining onomatogeographical areas. Being semimetric, it is not too exact, and it facilitates the examination of large volumes of data covering large territories; furthermore, the 0 to 1 range of the values makes it possible to easily handle even large discrepancies. Using this method – as shown by the maps – as many as four onomatogeographical regions can be delineated. The Horn index should not, however, be dismissed. Being semimetric, it is best suited for examinations of toponymic systems. Its similarity to the Bray–Curtis index is convincing. That being said, this latter method – due to its nature – appears better suited for the examination of smaller regions with a sufficient degree of certainty. Amongst the metric indices, the one least suited for this kind of analysis is the Euclidean, while the Canberra index, in contrast, is far more useful. Still, all points considered, none of the comparative methods can compete with the benefits provided by the Bray–Curtis method.

I hope this brief introduction has provided a clear image of the characteristic features of this statistical method; I have also tried to show how it is still in an experimental phase, as I think it is important to test several procedures before deciding on a method for defining and examining onomastic systems and onomatogeographic areas. Because of this, one of my objectives remains to test further comparative methods in a similar manner. In addition to looking into further possibilities of compiling matrices, I wish to study methods for generating frequency series to discover which toponymic structures are best suited for examination, and to determine which frequency data of which

structures should be weighted. Also, the most suitable clustering method must also be selected, which will require further investigation.

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## Abstract

It is a universal feature of languages that from a territorial, historical, cultural and linguistic point of view they display a segmented picture. This general feature implies that beyond regional and cultural differences, in toponymic systems territorial differences can also be discovered. This study employs statistical comparative methods, such as the Bray–Curtis matrix-based method to compare place name/name-giving patterns. This analysis combined with mapping name-giving patterns settlement by settlement sheds light on the existence of onomastic dialects. Other statistical comparative methods yield further results as this study demonstrates, yet such methods have both advantages and disadvantages.

**Keywords:** statistics, onomastic dialects, onomastic systems, name-giving patterns

*Thomas Stolz–Nataliya Levkovich*

## ***Toponomastics meets linguistic typology:***

### ***Glimpses of Special Toponymic Grammar from Aromanian and sundry languages***

#### **1. The common interest of two disciplines**

This paper is meant to demonstrate empirically that the domains of onomastics and linguistics overlap in certain subsections of the grammatical system so that it is worthwhile for both of the disciplines to work hand in hand in order to capture those phenomena which are of common interest to them in the most adequate and comprehensive way possible.<sup>1</sup> To prove our point we will first whet the reader's appetite (in Section 1.1.) by way of discussing examples from Italo-Albanian suggesting a morpho-syntactic behavior of toponyms which is not predictable if toponyms and common nouns are lumped together in one and the same word-class. On the side, our terminology is explained in the accompanying footnotes. In Section 1.2., further background information is provided and the current state of the art is briefly reviewed before we look more closely at the Aromanian facts in Section 2. The structural parallels that are discernible between Aromanian and Italo-Albanian toponyms on the morpho-syntactic level are especially highlighted. Section 3. is dedicated to integrating the Aromanian and Italo-Albanian findings into a wider typological framework by way of comparing the data with those from Yucatec Maya. The conclusions are drawn in Section 4.

#### **1.1. The absence of prepositions with toponyms in Italo-Albanian**

The examples in (1) stem from Italo-Albanian varieties spoken in the Provincia di Cosenza in Calabria (southern Italy). Throughout this study, the absence of an otherwise expected spatial preposition is indicated by the zero-sign Ø. For each of the examples, we identify the spatial relations (= PLACE, GOAL, SOURCE) which are illustrated.<sup>2</sup> The toponyms in (1) belong to the classes of settlement

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<sup>1</sup> This paper elaborates on one of the issues raised in the talk "The morphosyntax of toponyms in typological perspective" that we gave on occasion of ICOS XXVI in Debrecen (2017). We are grateful to WOLFGANG DAHMEN (Jena) for his non-bureaucratic readiness not only to provide us with urgently needed Aromanian reading matter but also to lend us a helping hand with finding solid proof of zero-marking of spatial relations with toponyms in Aromanian. NORBERT BORETZKY (Bochum) kindly shared his expertise in Albanian linguistics with us.

<sup>2</sup> The labels refer to three of the four categories of general location put forward by BENNETT (1975). The fourth spatial relation of his – PATH – is of no relevance to this study. In this study, no other spatial relation (such as e.g. POSTERIOR/SUPERIOR/INFERIOR LOCATION, etc.) is taken



names and country names. In the morpheme glosses and the English translations, the Italian equivalents of the Italo-Albanian toponyms are employed.

(1) Italo-Albanian

(a) PLACE (PERRONE 1977: 146)<sup>3</sup>

<i>Tek</i>	<i>nj'</i>	<i>lëm</i>	[Ø	<i>Muskaritull</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ]	
at	INDEF	threshing_floor	Ø	<b>Moscherato</b>	
<i>pán</i>	<i>nj'</i>	<i>valle</i>	<i>burrash</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>grásh...</i>
see.AOR.3PL	INDEF	round dance	man:ABL.PL	and	woman:ABL.PL

‘On a threshing floor **at Moscherato** they saw a round-dance formation of men and women [...]’

(b) GOAL (PERRONE 1977: 271)

<i>Menatet</i>	<i>pas,</i>	<i>Lal Minku</i>	<i>nëng</i>	<i>vate</i>	[Ø <i>Lugadh</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ],
morning	after	Uncle Domenico	NEG	go.AOR.3SG	Ø <b>Prato</b>
<i>po</i>	<i>vate</i>	[ <i>nd'</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>Malt ka Llaka Maries</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ]		
but	go.AOR.3SG	<b>in</b>	<b>Piano di Santa Maria</b>		

‘The next morning, Uncle Domenico did not go **to Prato**, but he went **to Piano di Santa Maria** [...]’

account of because it is unlikely that they are affected by zero-marking in the first place. According to TALMY’s (1983) approach, the spatial relation of PLACE is static in the sense that a potentially movable entity (= figure) is situated at the location of a potentially fixed entity (= ground). The other two spatial relations are dynamic in nature, because in the case of GOAL the figure is captured in its movement towards the ground (= destination) whereas the spatial relation of SOURCE requires the figure to move away from the ground (= point of departure).

<sup>3</sup> We respect the orthographic conventions of the sources from which we draw the examples. Each numbered sentential example in the main-body of the text is accompanied by morpheme glosses. Those parts of the examples which are focused upon in the ensuing discussion are highlighted in bold. Syntagms which contain toponyms or common nouns to be compared to toponyms appear in square brackets. Toponyms are additionally identified by an index as are the adpositions which co-occur with the toponym in the same constituent. In the morpheme glosses and grammatical indexes we employ the following abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 = 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, AOR = aorist, CN = common noun, CONJ = conjunctive, D1 = 1<sup>st</sup> deixis, D2 = 2<sup>nd</sup> deixis, DAT = dative, DEF = definite (article), DEM = demonstrative, DIS = distal, EXI = existential, EU = euphonic segment, F = feminine, IMPERF = imperfect, INDEF = indefinite (article), ITR = intransitive, M = masculine, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, POR = possessor, PREP = preposition, PRET = preterit, PROG = progressive, REFL = reflexive, REL = relativizer, RTL = relational, SG = singular, SUBORD = subordinator, TOP = toponym, TRS = transitive, VOC = vocative. Except otherwise stated all of the morpheme glosses and all of the English translations are ours.



## (c) SOURCE (PERRONE 1977: 186)

<i>Nj'</i>	<i>hér</i>	<i>nj'</i>	<i>suldat</i>	[...]	<i>vinej</i>	<i>m'</i>	<i>këmb</i>
INDEF	time	INDEF	soldier	[...]	come.AOR.3SG	with	foot
<b>[ka<sub>PREP</sub> Rroma<sub>TOP</sub>] [nd'<sub>PREP</sub> Kallabriet<sub>TOP</sub>].</b>							
<b>from Rome in Calabria:DEF.ACC</b>							

‘Once a soldier [...] came **to Calabria from Rome** on foot.’

These examples give evidence of variation in the sense that the toponyms which are involved in the spatial-adverbial adjuncts do not always require the presence of a preposition.<sup>4</sup> The preposition is absent from the spatial-adverbial adjunct of PLACE in (1a) and in the first of the two spatial-adverbial adjuncts of goal in (1b). On the other hand, the second spatial-adverbial of GOAL in (1b) and that in (1c) come with the appropriate preposition *nd'* ‘in, to’. Similarly, the spatial relation of SOURCE is expressed by the preposition *ka* ‘to, from’ in (1c). What is important with this scenario is that it is possible in Italo-Albanian to drop spatial prepositions provided that the ground-function is fulfilled by a toponym.

The relevance of this fact becomes evident when we compare the above examples in (1) with those in (2) which illustrate the morpho-syntactic behavior of common nouns in constructions functioning as spatial-adverbial adjuncts.

## (2) Italo-Albanian

## (a) PLACE (PERRONE 1977: 366)

<i>Nj'</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>një</i>	<i>student</i>	<i>ish</i>	<b>[nd'<sub>PREP</sub> kullexht<sub>CN</sub>].</b>
INDEF	time	INDEF	student	be.3SG.IMPERF	<b>in college:DEF.ACC</b>

‘Once upon a time a student was **in college**.’

## (b) GOAL (PERRONE 1977: 397)

<i>Pulza</i>	<i>ngarkoi</i>	<i>gadhjurin</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nxonjat</i>
hen:DEF	load:3SG.AOR	donkey:DEF.ACC	with	washing:DEF.ACC
<i>e</i>	<i>vat</i>	<b>[nd'<sub>PREP</sub> lumt<sub>CN</sub>]</b>		
and	go.3SG.AOR	<b>in</b>	<b>river:DEF.ACC</b>	

‘The hen burdened the donkey with the washing and went **to the river**.’

<sup>4</sup> In the Albanian standard language, the absence of prepositions from spatial-adverbial adjuncts is not licit (BUCHHOLZ–FIEDLER 1987: 468–470).

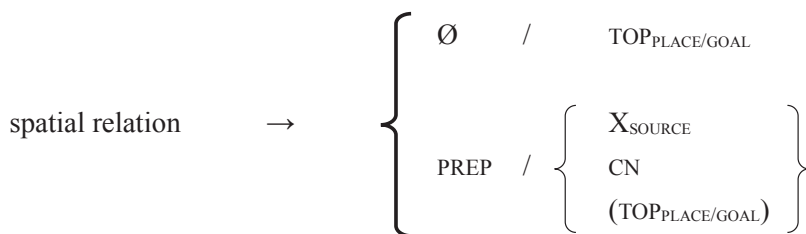
## (c) SOURCE (PERRONE 1977: 370)

*Nj' hër di ulq me kulisht*  
 INDEF time two wolf.PL with young:DEF.ACC  
*kallarshin [ka<sub>PREP</sub> mali<sub>CN</sub>]...*  
 descend:3PL.CONJ from mountain:DEF.NOM

‘Once upon a time two wolves with their young descended **from the mountain** [...]’

It makes a difference whether the ground is represented by a toponym or a common noun. In the latter case, the common noun in ground-function cannot escape being the complement of an overtly realized preposition, i.e. examples (2a–c) involve genuine prepositional phrases. If however a toponym is used as ground the presence of a spatial preposition is optional with PLACE and GOAL. In the absence of the preposition, the question arises whether we are still facing a proper instance of a prepositional phrase since the bare toponym suffices to form a grammatically acceptable construction. The employment of a spatial preposition is compulsory only in the case of SOURCE – independent of the classification of the ground as toponym or common noun.

This means that it is no longer possible to capture the differential morpho-syntactic behavior of toponyms and common nouns by sweepingly postulating a simple rule that covers both cases. What is required minimally is a binary set of sub-rules as illustrated in Diagram 1.



**Diagram 1:** Rules for the presence/absence of spatial prepositions in Italo-Albanian

Thus, it is decisive in terms of grammar whether a proper noun of the toponymic brand forms part of a given construction. Italo-Albanian toponyms differ from common nouns insofar as the former allow for the zero-marking of the spatial relations of PLACE and GOAL whereas this possibility is strictly barred for common nouns.

Since Italo-Albanian is not unique cross-linguistically in attesting to morpho-syntactic differences of this kind, one might want to look into the possibility of dissociating toponyms from common nouns generally so that the model

of a unitary word-class of nouns eventually has to give way to an alternative model with two – more or less strictly – distinct categories, namely toponyms vs common nouns (with anthroponyms and other name types being potential candidates for further distinctions).

## 1.2. Towards the grammar of names

The seminal book-length studies by ANDERSON (2007) and VAN LANGENDONCK (2007) mark a change of attitude in general linguistics. Names are no longer considered to fall outside the domain of linguistics because of their putative arbitrary and culture-dependent nature which is associated with a lack of systematicity. The above authors argue that the study of names reveals a high degree of systematicity and promises many important insights into the workings of grammar in human languages in general. More recently, NÜBLING–FAHLBUSCH–HEUSER (2015: 64–92) propagate the concept of *Special Onymic Grammar* (“onymische Sondergrammatik”) as the cornerstone of a research program which combines onomastic and linguistic expertise to determine the role of names in the language system. In the same vein, VAN LANGENDONCK–VAN DE VELDE (2016) provide evidence of recurrent structural traits which are typical of names in a variety of languages so that further support is given to the hypothesis that it is not only feasible to investigate the grammar of names but that a project of this kind will broaden the horizons of both onomastics and linguistics considerably.

Semantic and pragmatic properties of names dominate the discussion in the linguistic community. Definiteness, mono-referentiality and related issues are discussed time and again (VAN LANGENDONCK 2007: 20–84, NÜBLING–FAHLBUSCH–HEUSER 2015: 17–27). At the same time, however, there is an urgent need for taking stock of the structural (i.e. morphological and syntactic) properties of names to clarify their relation to common nouns (and other name types). It results from the contributions to edited volumes and thematic issues of journals such as DEBUS–HEUSER–NÜBLING (2014), LÖFSTRÖM–SCHNABELLE CORRE (2015), HELMBRECHT–NÜBLING–SCHLÜCKER (2017), and ACKERMANN–SCHLÜCKER (2017) that there is indeed a plethora of structural phenomena in a sizeable number of languages which set names apart from common nouns. However, hitherto the research has mainly been dedicated to individual languages. Genuine typological i.e. comparative studies on the basis of large samples of languages world-wide however are still wanting. It is therefore high time to go beyond the identification of name-related phenomena in a particular language. What needs to be inquired into is the question of whether names share certain structural (= morpho-syntactic) traits across languages.

We have therefore defined a project which looks at the morpho-syntactic behavior of toponyms in cross-linguistic perspective. The basics of this typological project have been laid down in STOLZ–LEV KOVYCH–URDZE (2017a) where it is also shown that evidence of *Special Toponymic Grammar* can be unearthed in several regions of the globe from Micronesia via the Americas to Africa and Europe. Moreover, the data cover a wide range of phenomena reaching from mandatory overt marking of toponyms to covert restrictions over the possible combinations of toponyms with markers of certain grammatical categories. Based on prior work by STOLZ–LESTRADE–STOLZ (2014), zero-marking of spatial relations as illustrated above for Italo-Albanian in (1a–b) has been recognized as probably the most salient property of toponyms in contrast to common nouns (STOLZ–LEV KOVYCH–URDZE 2017b). The phenomenon is known from 89% of the one hundred and twelve languages of STOLZ–LESTRADE–STOLZ’s (2014: 287–291) sample. Thus, the vast majority of the sample languages attest to the phenomenon whereas the percentage is down to 41% for common nouns. Since these findings rely heavily on the descriptive grammars explicitly stating that there is zero-marking of spatial relations with toponyms in the first place, our knowledge of the phenomenon is still largely fragmentary. There are many uncertainties and open questions to answer. This paper paves the way for the solution of these problems by way of scrutinizing zero-marking of spatial relations in the Balkan Romance Aromanian first and then comparing the intermediary results to what is known already from other languages which display a similar behavior on the morpho-syntactic level.

Methodologically we adopt the framework of *Basic Linguistic Theory* as defined in DIXON (2010). For the purpose of this study, the elementary ideas of *Construction Grammar* come in handy (FISCHER–STEFANOWITSCH 2006) because we have to look at constituents which are potentially binary constructions. Besides the Balkan Romance language Aromanian and Italo-Albanian, several other languages mostly from Europe and the Indo-European language family are accounted for in this paper albeit to a limited extent. This strictly synchronic qualitative approach is situated in the wider framework of functional typology (GIVÓN 1995).

## 2. Aromanian

### 2.1. Previous accounts

The fact that Aromanian displays optional employment of spatial prepositions with toponyms is by no means a recent discovery. This property of Aromanian can be traced back to some of the earliest records of the language such as BOJADSCHI’s Aromanian grammar of 1813 where the phenomenon as such is mentioned only in passing but is amply attested in the texts which accompany

the grammar.<sup>5</sup> BOJADSCHI (1813: 133) states very briefly that city names are used without prepositions.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the absence of prepositions from spatial-adverbial adjuncts is documented in the collections and anthologies of Aromanian folklore and oral traditions. CAPIDAN (1932: 531–532) devotes §309,2 of his Aromanian grammar to this construction type. In conformity to SANDFELD's (1930: 111) previously expressed opinion, CAPIDAN (1932: 532) assumes that the bare toponyms in spatial-adverbial function reflect the Latin directional accusative and thus must be classified as direct heritage from the ancestor language.<sup>7</sup> This view of the diachrony of the Aromanian construction is shared by CARAGIU MARIOŢEANU (1975: 238) whereas, in accordance with HØEG (1943), KRAMER (1981: 97 and 1989: 430) propagates a Greek origin of the bare-toponym construction in Aromanian. Whatever the diachronic development may be, what counts for the purpose of this study is the synchronic situation.

## 2.2. Synchronic data

Aromanian examples of zero-marking of spatial relations are discussed summarily in STOLZ–LESTRADE–STOLZ (2014: 73–75). In this section, we aim at describing the phenomenon in some detail without, however, fully exhausting the subject matter. In Section 2.2.1, the morpho-syntactic behavior of a certain class of toponyms (= settlement names) is described. That this behavior is markedly different from that of common nouns is illustrated in Section 2.2.2. Section 2.2.3. addresses the issue of different classes of toponyms behaving differently in the morpho-syntactic domain.

### 2.2.1. Point of departure

In (3), we present sentences from different Aromanian texts<sup>8</sup> to illustrate that settlement names in constructions expressing PLACE or GOAL relations do not

<sup>5</sup> We are indebted to WOLFGANG DAHMEN (personal communication) for drawing our attention to this important text.

<sup>6</sup> This structural option is excluded from the Rumanian standard language (BEYRER–BOCHMANN–BRONSERT 1987: 301–302).

<sup>7</sup> The prehistory of the spatial-adverbial adjuncts without prepositional head is not crucial for our line of argumentation. However, it strikes the eye, that the proponents of the Latin origin exclusively refer to the so-called accusative of motion (*eo Rom-am*<sub>ACC</sub> ‘I go to Rome’ = GOAL) although there was also the spatial use of the bare toponym in the ablative or relics of an erstwhile inflectional locative to express the spatial relation of PLACE (*natus est Athen-is*<sub>ABL</sub> ‘He was born in Athens’) (TOURATIER 2013: 187).

<sup>8</sup> Our Aromanian corpus is heterogeneous since it comprises texts from different regional varieties, genres, and registers (written and spoken). Moreover, the corpus spans the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century.



need a preposition to constitute a grammatically acceptable spatial-adverbial adjunct. In contrast to the absence of prepositions in (3a–b), example (3c) requires the presence of the ablative preposition *di* ‘from’ because, in the language under scrutiny, the spatial relation of SOURCE generally disallows for zero-marking to apply.

(3) Aromanian – settlement names as grounds

(a) PLACE (GOŁĄB 1984: 143)

[Ø **Krušuva**<sub>TOP</sub>] *həvǎja* *ǰáste* *ávra* *šə* *sənətósə*.  
 Ø **Kruševo** air:DEF be.3SG fresh:F and healthy:F  
 ‘In **Kruševo**, the air is fresh and healthy.’

(b) GOAL (CARAGIU MARIOȚEANU 1975: 238)

*nî* *dúsim*<sup>u</sup> [Ø **Samarína**<sub>TOP</sub>] *vǎra* *ațea*  
 1PL go:PRET.1PL Ø **Samarina** summer:DEF DEM.DIS:F  
 ‘We went to **Samarina** that summer.’

(c) SOURCE (CÂNDROVEANU 1977: 210)

*Fudzim* *amînat* [*di*<sub>PREP</sub> **Băiasă**<sub>TOP</sub>]...  
 leave:PRET.1PL late from **Băiasă**  
 ‘We departed late from **Băiasă** [...]’

The construction type [Ø TOP]<sub>PLACE/GOAL</sub> is by no means exceptional. To the contrary, the absence of the preposition predominates when settlement names are involved in spatial-adverbial adjuncts. In Table 1, we document all instances of zero-marking of spatial relations as attested in GOŁĄB’s (1984) description of the Aromanian variety of Kruševo (Macedonia). For reasons of space, no morpheme glosses are provided in the table. All examples above the bold line are instances of the spatial relation of PLACE whereas those at the bottom of Table 1 illustrate the spatial relation of GOAL.

page	Aromanian	English translation
135	<i>S-nu-irám viniť<sup>u</sup>, sígur<sup>a</sup> tóra va-s-šideám [Ø Skopja<sub>TOP</sub>].</i>	‘If I had not come, I would certainly stay now <b>in Skopje</b> .’ <sup>9</sup>
143	<i>Faptu ésku [Ø Krúšuva<sub>TOP</sub>].</i>	‘I was born <b>in Kruševo</b> .’
143	<i>Kət láo are [Ø Krúšuva<sub>TOP</sub>]?.</i>	‘How many people are there <b>in Kruševo</b> ?’

143	[Ø <i>Krúšuva</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ] <i>áre cínci n'íl' d-inši.</i>	'In <b>Kruševo</b> there are five thousand people.'
143	<i>Kác Armán' are [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>]? </i>	'How many Aromanians are there <b>in Kruševo</b> ?'
144	<i>Jo ésku faptu [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>]...</i>	'I was born <b>in Kruševo</b> ...'
144	<i>...ta-s-káftu lúkru [Ø <i>Bitule</i><sub>TOP</sub>].</i>	'...to seek work <b>in Bitola</b> .'
144	<i>Fáptu ésku tu únə n'íl'e náó súde trejzəc i trėj ánlu, [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>].</i>	'I was born in the year 1933 <b>in Kruševo</b> .'
144	<i>Tuc frásł'i bənáəm š lukráəm [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>]...</i>	'All of us brothers live and work <b>in Kruševo</b> ...'
145	<i>...a sórmea bəneázə š lukreázə [Ø <i>Skópja</i><sub>TOP</sub>]</i>	'...my sister lives and works <b>in Skopje</b> .'
145	<i>Min-ésku faptu únə n'íl'e náó súde trejzəc ánlu, [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>], di pərincə óárfən'.</i>	'I was born in the year 1930 <b>in Kruševo</b> , of poor parents.'
145	<i>Zənáte u-mvícáj š tu únə n'íl'e náó súde i cinzəc ánlu inši la komisije [Ø <i>Skopja</i><sub>TOP</sub>] š inši mastur.</i>	'I trained for handyman and in the year 1950 I went into commission myself <b>in Skopje</b> and became a mason.' <sup>10</sup>
145	<i>...s-lukrézu pi zənáte tu utélu aųá, [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>], tu Ílinden.</i>	'...and I work as handyman here in the hotel, <b>in Kruševo</b> , in the Ilinden.'
145	<i>...ci s-are fáptə [Ø <i>Óhərda</i><sub>TOP</sub>] tu məhələ.</i>	'...who was born <b>in Ohrid</b> in the neighborhood.'
145	<i>...ci s-feáce [Ø <i>Óhərda</i><sub>TOP</sub>] tu məhələ.</i>	'...who is born <b>in Ohrid</b> in the neighborhood.'
144	<i>Dekłó vín<sup>u</sup> jára [Ø <i>Krúšuva</i><sub>TOP</sub>]...</i>	'From there I came back <b>to Kruševo</b> ...'
208	<i>Mi dúk<sup>u</sup> [Ø <i>Bešli</i><sub>TOP</sub>]</i>	'I go <b>to Vienna</b> .' <sup>11</sup>
208	<i>Mi dúk<sup>u</sup> [Ø <i>Bitule</i><sub>TOP</sub>]</i>	'I go <b>to Bitula</b> .' <sup>12</sup>

**Table 1:** Zero-marked PLACE/GOAL with toponyms in Aromanian (GOLAB 1984)

<sup>10</sup> This is but a very tentative translation because of the unclear status of *inši*.

<sup>11</sup> Original translation.

<sup>12</sup> Original translation.

In the same descriptive grammar there are only two examples of settlement names being the complement of an overt preposition in a construction that serves as spatial-adverbial adjunct of a motion verb as shown in (4).

(4) Aromanian – overt marking of spatial relations

(a) GOAL (GOŁĄB 1984: 205)<sup>13</sup>

<i>Mi</i>	<i>dúk<sup>u</sup></i>	[ <i>ən</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>Póle</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ]
1SG	go:1SG	in	Istanbul

‘I go to Istanbul.’

(b) GOAL (GOŁĄB 1984: 208)<sup>14</sup>

<i>Mi</i>	<i>dúk<sup>u</sup></i>	[ <i>ən</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>Biligrád<sup>u</sup></i> <sub>TOP</sub> ]
1SG	go:1SG	in	Belgrade

‘I go to Belgrade.’

The situation can be summarized as follows. Aromanian resembles Italo-Albanian insofar as in both languages, settlement names allow for zero-marking of PLACE and GOAL whereas SOURCE is always expressed overtly by a preposition. Furthermore, the two languages are additionally similar in the sense that they give evidence of variation, i.e. the absence of the preposition is not compulsory. It seems however that the construction type [Ø TOP]<sub>PLACE/GOAL</sub> is the vastly preferred option in Aromanian as opposed to the alternative [PREP TOP]<sub>PLACE/GOAL</sub>.<sup>15</sup> There is as yet no tangible proof of a comparable preference in Italo-Albanian. Since prepositions are not strictly excluded from constructions which involve a settlement name, it stands to reason that settlement names and common nouns do not constitute absolutely disconnected classes.

### 2.2.2. Common nouns

As the examples in (5) are meant to show common nouns are usually full-blown complements of prepositions in spatial-adverbial adjuncts.

(5) Aromanian – spatial relations with common nouns

(a) PLACE (GOŁĄB 1984: 184)

[ <i>Tu</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>komšac</i> <sub>CN</sub> ]	<i>aveá</i>	<i>unə</i>	<i>kásə</i>
in	neighborhood	EXI:3SG.IMPERF	INDEF:F	house

‘In the neighborhood, there was a house...’

<sup>13</sup> Original translation. The same example is also used on p. 244 of the grammar.

<sup>14</sup> Original translation.

<sup>15</sup> Already CAPIDAN (1932: 532) mentions that the employment of prepositions in spatial-adverbial adjuncts involving settlement names is attested – however only on a considerably minor scale.



## (b) GOAL (CÂNDROVEANU 1977: 154)

<i>amirălui</i>	<i>îl'i</i>	<i>vine</i>	<i>oara</i>
emperor:DEF.DAT	3SG.M.DAT	come	hour:DEF
<i>să</i>	<i>s-ducă</i>	[ <i>tu</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>polim</i> <sub>CN</sub> ].
SUBORD	REFL.3SG-go.CONJ	<b>in</b>	<b>war</b>

‘...the time came for the emperor to go **to war**.’

## (c) SOURCE (CÂNDROVEANU 1977: 246)

<i>În</i>	<i>loași</i>	<i>grailu</i>	[ <i>din</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>gură</i> <sub>CN</sub> ],	<i>firtate!</i>
1SG.DAT	take:PRET.2SG	word:DEF	<b>from</b>	<b>mouth</b>	friend:VOC

‘You took the words **from my mouth**, friend!’

Irrespective of the spatial relation to be expressed, the common noun is always accompanied by the appropriate preposition in our corpus. Interestingly, CAPIDAN (1932: 532) presents a small number of cases in which the construction without preposition is also attested with a common noun in ground function. On the one hand, the construction type [Ø CN]<sub>PLACE/GOAL</sub> seems to be marginal. Where it is realized however, the common noun tends to refer to a landmark such as *buzda-de-amare* ‘coast-line’. The conceptual closeness of landmarks and toponyms is evident so that it need not be discussed in detail here.

As in the previous subsection, it can be concluded that Aromanian and Italo-Albanian behave similarly because in both languages, common nouns do not normally come as bare nouns to fulfill the function of spatial-adverbial adjunct. In both Aromanian and Italo-Albanian, settlement names are privileged morpho-syntactically since they are exempt from the obligation to combine with prepositions to express spatial relations.

### 2.2.3. Settlement names vs country names

It is not possible to generalize over all kinds of toponyms. There is strong evidence of a markedly different behavior of settlement names and other kinds of toponyms. In (6), we illustrate the split of the class of toponyms by way of providing examples of country names employed in spatial-adverbial adjuncts.

## (6) Aromanian – country names

## (a) PLACE (GOLAB 1984: 182)

<i>ci</i>	<i>bəná</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>uóĭ</i>	[ <i>tu</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>Turk'ii</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ]
REL	live:3PL.IMPERF	with	sheep	<b>in</b>	<b>Turkey</b>

‘who used to live with their sheep **in Turkey** [...]’

## (b) GOAL (GOLAB 1984: 144)

<i>vrém</i>	<i>ta-s-fúg</i>	<i>[tu</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>Eládă</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ].
want:1SG.IMPERF	SUBORD-CONJ-go.1SG	<i>in</i>	Greece

‘I wanted to go **to Greece**.’

## (c) SOURCE (GOLAB 1984: 145)

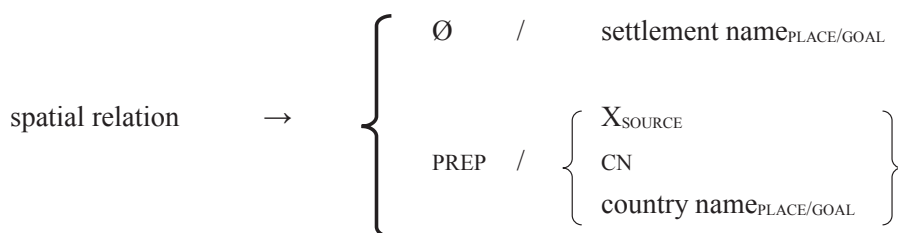
<i>h'il'su</i>	<i>s-toárnă</i>	<i>[ditu</i> <sub>PREP</sub>	<i>Amerik'îje</i> <sub>TOP</sub> ]
son:DEF	REFL.3SG-turn	<i>from</i>	America

‘the son returns **from America** [...]’

In each of the sample sentences, the country name forms part of a prepositional phrase with an overt prepositional head. This means that country names side with common nouns when it comes to expressing spatial relations. This in turn means that country names differ from settlement names in this domain. Note that CAPIDAN (1932: 531) claims that country names are affected by zero-marking of spatial relations too albeit only very rarely. In our own corpus, we have not yet found evidence of this phenomenon with country names.<sup>16</sup> The assumed morpho-syntactic differences between country names and settlement names define a dividing line which cuts across the class of toponyms so that settlement names are singled out, in a manner of speaking.

The data we have reviewed so far for Italo-Albanian are still too limited to allow for being directly compared to those of Aromanian in this case. However, the similarity of the rules captured by Diagrams 1–2 come clearly to the fore.

<sup>16</sup> How strong the morpho-syntactic distinction of the two kinds of toponyms is in Aromanian can be gathered from the following passage in the bilingual Aromanian-Rumanian collection of literary Aromanian (CÂNDROVEANU 1977: 294–295). The protagonist reports on his journey across the Balkans where he met with Aromanian communities almost everywhere. This is what he claims in the Aromanian original: *iu nă videa ocl'il'i: [Ø Ianina]<sub>TOP</sub>, [Ø Ghiorghea]<sub>TOP</sub>, [Ø Bitule]<sub>TOP</sub>, [Ø Perlep]<sub>TOP</sub>, [tu]<sub>PREP</sub> Vurgărie<sub>TOP</sub>, [tu]<sub>PREP</sub> Serbie<sub>TOP</sub>, [Ø Bosna]<sub>TOP</sub> – tute a noastre era.* ‘I saw them there with my own eyes: **in Ianina, in Ghiorghea, in Bitola, in Prilep, in Bulgaria, in Serbia, in Bosnia** – every place was ours.’ Prepositions are used exclusively if the complement is a country name. If the construction involves a settlement name, no preposition is employed. The corresponding synonymous Rumanian version is telling, too: *...încotro vedeam cu ochii: [la]<sub>PREP</sub> Iănina<sub>TOP</sub>, [în]<sub>PREP</sub> Ghiorghea<sub>TOP</sub>, [la]<sub>PREP</sub> Bitolia<sub>TOP</sub>, [la]<sub>PREP</sub> Përlep<sub>TOP</sub>, [în]<sub>PREP</sub> Bulgaria<sub>TOP</sub>, [în]<sub>PREP</sub> Serbia<sub>TOP</sub>, [Ø Bosna]<sub>TOP</sub> – toată lumea era a noastră.* In Rumanian, the division of the class of toponyms does not apply. Zero-marking of spatial relations is ungrammatical. The supposed counter-example [Ø Bosn(i)a]<sub>TOP</sub> turns out to be explicable differently. This is not a case of genuine zero-marking but the effect of enumerative co-ordination, i.e. the preposition in the immediately preceding prepositional phrase [*tu*<sub>PREP</sub> Serbie<sub>TOP</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> ~ [*în*<sub>PREP</sub> Serbie<sub>TOP</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> has scope over the subsequent links in the chain of country names – we are witnessing a case of what was formerly known as Equi-P deletion and is currently labeled ellipsis in coordination (HASPELMATH 2008: 37–45).



**Diagram 2:** Rules for the presence/absence of spatial prepositions in Aromanian

We concede of course that Diagrams 1–2 simplify the actual situation because they do not properly reflect the degree of flexibility of the rules. The rules describe preferences in the morpho-syntactic behavior, i.e. there are options for the speakers to choose from. Nevertheless, the synoptic view provided in Diagrams 1–2 is indicative of different leanings of the word-classes such that they can be located at different points of a continuum with settlement names and common nouns occupying the extremes and country names the space between them.

### 3. Comparison: Yucatec Maya

The necessity of postulating special rules for at least a sub-class of toponyms to do justice to their morpho-syntactic properties gains importance if it can be shown that Aromanian and Italo-Albanian are representative of a considerably larger group of languages, namely those which give evidence of *Special Toponymic Grammar*. Several neighbors of Aromanian in the Balkans have been reported to display zero-marking of spatial relations. Parallel cases from various languages of the same region (e.g. Greek) are focused upon in HØEG (1943). In STOLZ–LESTRADE–STOLZ (2014: 75–76), evidence from southern varieties of Macedonian and Bugurdži (Romani) is briefly discussed. STOLZ–LEVKOVYCH–URDZE (2017b: 459–462) scrutinize the strikingly similar facts of Molise Slavic which – like Italo-Albanian – is historically connected to the Balkans. As the empirical section in STOLZ–LESTRADE–STOLZ (2014: 65–278) shows, however, there are many more languages beyond the Balkans which share at least some features of the *Special Toponymic Grammar* with Aromanian and Italo-Albanian – especially if zero-marking is involved.

For reasons of space, we restrict the comparison to a confrontation of our above findings with those of GOLDAP (1991) in her detailed study of spatial relations in Yucatec Maya. In (7), we reproduce her examples of the expression of categories of general location with common nouns.

## (7) Yucatec Maya – common nouns

## (a) PLACE (GOLDAP 1991: 80)

<i>Tuláakal</i>	<b>[ich</b>	<i>u</i>	<i>nah-il-o'b</i>	<i>yàan-o'b</i> .
all	<b>in</b>	<b>POR.3</b>	<b>house-RTL-PL</b>	EXI-PL

‘They are all **in their houses**.’

## (b) GOAL (GOLDAP 1991: 88)

<i>Káa</i>	<i>sùu-nah</i>	<b>[ti'</b>	<i>u</i>	<i>y-otoch</i>	<i>áakob</i> ].
and	return-PRET. ITR	<b>in</b>	<b>POR.3</b>	<b>EU-home</b>	<b>Jacob</b>

‘And they returned **to Jacob’s home**.’

## (c) SOURCE (GOLDAP 1991: 88)

<i>Tíim</i>	<i>bin</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ch'a'</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ha'-o'</i>	<b>[t<sub>PREP</sub>-e</b>	<i>ch'e'n</i>
PROG:1SG	go	1SG	fetch	DEF	water-D2	<b>in-DEF</b>	<b>well-D2</b>

‘I am going to fetch water **from the well**.’

According to GOLDAP (1991: 88–90), the use of spatial prepositions is mandatory if the ground is represented by a common noun. This holds for all of the spatial relations under review. With toponyms however, the situation is completely different since in this case the use of prepositions to encode the spatial relations of PLACE, GOAL or SOURCE is barred as can be seen in (8).

## (8) Yucatec Maya – toponyms

## (a) PLACE (GOLDAP 1991: 36)

<i>le</i>	<i>xòok</i>	<i>t-in</i>	<i>w-u'y-ah</i>	<b>[Ø méehikoh<sub>TOP</sub>-a']</b>
DEF	story	PRET-1SG	EU-hear-TRS.PRET	<b>Ø Mexico-D1</b>

‘the story that I heard **in Mexico-City**.’

## (b) GOAL (GOLDAP 1991: 89)

<i>k-u</i>	<i>ka'</i>	<i>bin</i>	<b>[Ø yukatàan<sub>TOP</sub>]</b>
IMPERF-3	again	go	<b>Ø Yucatan</b>

‘He returns **to Yucatan**.’

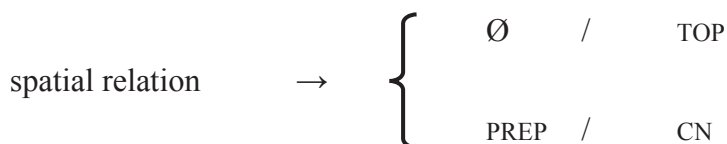
## (c) SOURCE (GOLDAP 1991: 89)

<i>k-u</i>	<i>líuk'-ul</i>	<b>[Ø yukatàan<sub>TOP</sub>]</b>
IMPERF-3	depart-ITR	<b>Ø Yucatan</b>

‘He departs **from Yucatan**.’

In none of the spatial-adverbial adjuncts is there a preposition. The bare toponym suffices to fulfill the syntactic task. Zero-marking also applies in the case of SOURCE. Moreover, it makes no difference what brand of toponym functions as ground. Settlement names and country names are not differentiated morpho-syntactically.

GOLDAP (1991: 90) mentions the possibility that prototypical spatial reference points such as *chiumuk* ‘centre, marketplace’ may occasionally trigger the construction type  $[\emptyset \text{ TOP}]_{\text{PLACE/GOAL/SOURCE}}$ , i.e. they sometimes – but not always – behave like genuine toponyms. If we discount these occasional extras, we can set up another set of rules in Diagram 3.



**Diagram 3:** Rules for the presence/absence of spatial prepositions in Yucatec Maya

In Yucatec Maya, the division is strictly binary. Toponyms are not like common nouns and *vice versa*.

#### 4. Conclusions

The above data are indicative of the possibility that the supposedly unitary class of nouns can be subject to splits. First of all, we have seen that there are languages in which toponyms cannot be simply subsumed under the same heading as common nouns because there are morpho-syntactic differences which make it necessary to postulate either different sets of rules or a variety of sub-rules. On the other hand, toponyms do not automatically behave homogeneously for relevant categories and in all of the classes of names for geo-objects. For Aromanian and Italo-Albanian, it is evident that toponyms and common nouns are in agreement as to the mandatory overt expression of the spatial relation of SOURCE. As to those of PLACE and GOAL, however, settlement names and other toponyms as well as common nouns go their separate ways, in a manner of speaking, because zero-marking is legitimate only with settlement names.

Similar splits are frequent cross-linguistically. For German for instance, WIESE (2012: 54–55) argues that the names of stops on the itinerary of means of public transportation invite zero-marking of PLACE and GOAL (but not of SOURCE). Street names have the monopoly on zero-marking in French – again excluding SOURCE (STOLZ–LEVKOVYCH–URDZE 2017a: 137–140). Maltese, on the other hand, allows zero-marking of PLACE and GOAL with settlement names, country names, and further toponyms but not with street names (STOLZ–LEVKOVYCH–URDZE 2017b: 476). There is thus a wide margin for variation also in the realm of those languages which give evidence of *Special Toponymic Grammar*.

Two major types of languages can be distinguished, namely (a) those which treat toponyms and common nouns on a par and (b) those in which toponyms and common nouns differ from each other structurally. As to type (b), further sub-divisions can be assumed such as (b1) languages with zero-marking and (b2) languages without zero-marking. On the next lower level, it can be determined which of the spatial relations tolerates zero-marking – and so forth. It is an important task for future research to investigate this range of options and their structural/functional correlates in other parts of grammar across the languages of the world.

Yet, to accomplish this, we have to build up a comparable data-base first. At the moment, our knowledge of the morpho-syntactic properties of toponyms is still very limited since we lack reliable information about the grammar of toponymic classes other than settlement names. As long as we are in the dark as to say, oronyms and hydronyms in morpho-syntax, our generalizations over toponyms must largely remain speculative. Linguists who aim at writing the typological grammar of toponyms need the expertise of onomasticians to determine which name types are relevant to their project. For onomastics, on the other hand, it might prove to be of interest to add a morpho-syntactic perspective to their approach because names do not exist in isolation from grammar. We are confident that what has been said in connection to the relation between toponyms and common nouns also holds for the relation between other name classes and common nouns as well as among the different name classes themselves.

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## Abstract

This study is intended to demonstrate that it is worthwhile investigating names also from the point of view of morpho-syntax. The feasibility of a grammar-oriented approach to names is illustrated empirically by way of analyzing and comparing data from Italo-Albanian, Aromanian, and Yucatec Maya in the domain of spatial relations. The focus is on the behavior of toponyms in



spatial-adverbial adjuncts as opposed to the behavior of common nouns in the very same syntactic context. Special attention is paid to the possibility of zero-marking of spatial relations. It is argued that cross-linguistically (subclasses of) toponyms display properties which are not shared by common nouns so that the question might be asked whether it makes sense to consider toponyms and common nouns automatically as members of one and the same word-class.

**Keywords:** toponyms, typology, morphosyntax



Les frontières entre les catégories de noms propres ne sont pas toujours nettes. Les lieux par exemple peuvent être naturels, mais aussi souvent ils résultent du travail de l'homme. Par conséquent, les noms des lieux (les toponymes) seraient donc classifiés respectivement en tant que géonymes ou en tant que chrématonymes.<sup>1</sup>

De la même façon, les urbonymes (noms d'éléments du paysage urbain) peuvent être considérés comme les chrématonymes selon le critère qu'ils désignent des œuvres résultant du travail de l'homme. En effet, les noms de bâtiments ou de stations du transport public font l'objet d'études faites par CISLARU (2007) qui les rapproche des noms d'institutions et des noms des pays.

De plus, la classification des noms propres pose des difficultés à cause de l'ambiguïté que certains noms peuvent représenter par leur appartenance à plusieurs catégories. Prenons l'exemple du nom *Wimbledon* cité par LECUIT (2012). Il peut désigner le quartier au sud-ouest de Londres, et ainsi, il serait donc classifié en tant qu'oïkonyme, il peut aussi (par synecdoque) désigner un tournoi de tennis qui a lieu tous les ans et, dans ce cas, il serait classifié comme un pragmonyme, enfin le mot peut désigner le stade de tennis lui-même et dans ce cas, on le classifierait comme un urbonyme et également un chrématonyme selon la terminologie slave. C'est le contexte seul qui permettra de différencier le référent d'un tel nom propre, et par conséquent, de le classifier dans une catégorie. MAUREL et al. (1996) appellent ce phénomène l'homonymie du nom propre. Nous l'appellerons transonymisation, selon la terminologie slave.<sup>2</sup>

En effet, d'un côté, l'usage transonymique, métonymique, métaphorique, ou autre, est très fréquent dans le cas des noms propres et rend la classification des noms propres difficile. La catégorisation des noms propres, telle quelle, s'avère donc insuffisante. De l'autre côté, nous constatons que la classification des noms propres peut varier non seulement au sein de la même langue mais aussi, elle peut varier d'une langue à l'autre. Dans cet article, nous essayerons de présenter ce type de différences.

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<sup>1</sup> Géonymes – des noms donnés à des sites géographiques délimités naturellement comme chaînes de montagnes, déserts, etc. ; chrématonymes – des noms donnés aux objets, entités, et à tout ce qui résulte du travail humain.

<sup>2</sup> Certes, nous pouvons différencier les deux : en parlant de transonymisation nous sommes plutôt dans l'approche diachronique et en parlant de l'homonymie du nom propre, nous nous plaçons dans l'approche synchronique.

## 1. Différences dans la classification onomastique polonaise et française

L'idée d'aborder cette problématique vient de l'étude onomastique contrastive. GALKOWSKI (2011 : 43) dans son ouvrage consacré entièrement à la chrématonymie polonaise, française et italienne constate que l'onomastique française ne prête presque aucune attention à l'étude des chrématonymes<sup>3</sup>, mais constate aussi que les linguistes francophones étudient les types de noms propres qui ne sont ni des toponymes ni des anthroponymes. Certes, nous pouvons retrouver de telles études chez HUMBLEY (2000, 2006), ou BOSREDON (1997) sans oublier CISLARU (2005) et son étude des noms d'institutions et des noms de pays, ainsi que l'ouvrage remarquable de VAXELAIRE (2005) qui est une analyse des noms propres en général dans une approche lexicologique. Nous pourrions dire que tous les types de noms propres y sont mentionnés.

Ainsi nous constatons que les différents noms propres qui correspondent à la définition du chrématonyme sont étudiés ou simplement mentionnés dans les publications onomastiques et linguistiques françaises sans être soumis à une terminologie :

« Les noms propres se classent par le type de référent qu'ils nomment : toponymes (Londres, la France, Oberon), anthroponymes (Pierre, Rougeon), gentilices (les Nambikwara), hydronymes (la Seine, le Pacifique). Mais au-delà de ces types, des êtres variés ont des noms propres : Bucéphale (cheval), Aldébran (étoile), Thor (dieu), Durandal (épée), Enola Gay (avion), etc. » (CURAT 1999 : 255).

Ceci nous mène au constat que les différents types des noms propres, dont les chrématonymes, sont étudiés ou au moins pris en considérations dans les études linguistiques francophones.

## 2. Rectification terminologique

### 2.1. Chrématonyme/ Ergonyme

Ce qui peut être trompeur pour les onomasticiens, c'est le fait que le terme chrématonyme n'apparaît pas dans les publications françaises. La seule occurrence de ce terme que nous avons observé c'était dans le dictionnaire

<sup>3</sup> La définition du chrématonyme d'après des publications slaves : Chrématonymie – (du grec *chrema* 'chose, article, événement') étude des noms propres des effets du travail de l'homme. Plus précisément, l'étude des noms d'objets culturels, civilisationnels, comme par exemple les effets du travail industriel ou de la manufacture, les bâtiments, magasins, produits cosmétiques, moyens de transport, etc. C'est une vaste catégorie à l'intérieur de laquelle on distingue plusieurs sous-catégories. Selon certains linguistes, on ajoute dans la famille de chrématonymie des noms de fêtes religieuses, sociales, d'événements, etc. (MANDOLA 2017 : 430).

spécialisé de Dorion, POIRIER (1975) qui est un dictionnaire du lexique québécois, et dans lequel il désigne le nom commercial.

La confusion est d'autant plus facile car, les noms propres que généralement les linguistes slaves appellent les chrématonymes, sont soit appelés par les linguistes français ergonymes (du grec *ergon*, qui signifie « travail, force »), soit, on emploie des formes descriptives, comme nom de produit, nom d'institution, etc.

## 2.2. Microtoponyme / Anoïkonyme

Nous observons une autre incompatibilité dans le terme de microtoponyme. Comme le dit CAMPROUX (1982) : « Quand on ne précise pas, on emploie généralement le terme de toponymie pour désigner l'ensemble des lieux habités d'un pays : dans cet emploi, toponymie s'oppose alors à microtoponymie ». La tradition française onomastique comprend par le terme « microtoponymes » les noms de lieux non-habités, tandis que la tradition onomastique polonaise (et slave) utilise aussi pour ce type de noms le terme « anoïkonymes ». Le terme ayant un sens opposé, oïkonyme, largement utilisé pas les toponymistes slaves, n'est pas populaire parmi les toponymistes francophones ni anglophones. Par conséquent, il a été proposé de le supprimer du glossaire de GENUNG (Groupe d'Experts des Nations Unies pour des Noms Géographiques), lors de la session du groupe de travail sur la terminologie<sup>4</sup>, en faveur du terme « nom d'un lieu habité » ou « nom d'habitat ». Au contraire, dans les publications de l'onomastique slave on utilise aussi souvent le terme d'oïkonyme, que la forme descriptive « nazwa miejscowa » (nom de lieu habité) (KALETA 2005 : 77).

Dans un glossaire onomastique slave que nous avons trouvé en ligne, on rencontre les deux termes : anaïkonyme et microtoponyme qui sont cités comme synonymes (Zajac E. : source Internet). Le microtoponyme y est défini en tant que nom de lieu non habité mesuré sur une échelle plus petite que dans la toponymie. Par contre le glossaire ICOS<sup>5</sup> définit le microtoponyme comme un nom désignant des petites entités sans mentionner l'aspect habité/non-habité.

## 2.3. Toponymie vs toponomastique

Selon le *Manuel de normalisation nationale des noms géographiques, Glossary of Toponymic Terminology* (2000) et *Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names* (2002) du GENUNG, toponymie est définie de deux

<sup>4</sup> Session des groupes de travail GENUNG sur les exonymes et la terminologie, Corfou, 23-25 mai 2013.

<sup>5</sup> <https://icosweb.net/drupal/sites/default/files/ICOS-Terms-fr.pdf>

manières : en tant qu'équivalent du terme anglais *toponymy* (index 344) et de *toponomastics* (index 338), donc ce terme figure dans deux entrées :

« A « Toponymie – a) Science qui a pour objet l'étude des toponymes en général et des noms géographiques en particulier ; b) Ensemble des toponymes d'un territoire donné.

B « Toponymie – a) Science qui a pour objet l'étude des toponymes en général et des noms géographiques en particulier ; b) Activité ou procédure d'attribution des noms de lieux. (Le terme toponomastique, synonyme de toponymie n'est plus usité) ».

Le dictionnaire de la langue polonaise *Słownik języka polskiego*,<sup>6</sup> ainsi que les glossaires onomastiques polonais<sup>7</sup> présentent la définition suivante :

« Toponyme (gr. *topos* – lieu, environs et *onimos* - nom) est dans le sens général un nom de lieu. Le toponyme est l'objet d'études d'une branche de la linguistique qui s'appelle toponomastique. L'analyse des toponymes peut fournir des informations sur le développement d'une langue ou sur l'histoire d'une région géographique ».

Nous devons bien remarquer qu'en polonais, la science qui étudie les toponymes est appelée toponomastique, mais on peut rencontrer aussi le terme toponymie, comme dans la langue française : « Toponomastique (ou Toponymie) : branche de la linguistique dont l'objet d'étude est la signification et l'origine des noms géographiques ».<sup>8</sup>

## 2.4. Oronyme

Il existe des incompatibilités dans l'extension du terme *oronymie*. Ce terme est utilisé par les onomasticiens slaves dans un sens assez restreint. Il concerne uniquement les élévations du territoire au-dessus du niveau de la mer. Dans ce sens-là les oronymes sont uniquement les noms des montagnes et des formes du relief qui s'élèvent au-dessus de la surface des mers et des océans. Tandis que les noms de montagnes formées au fond des océans ne sont pas des oronymes. Cette question a fait partie du débat au sein de la commission polonaise de la toponymie (Komisja Standaryzacji Nazw Geograficznych poza Granicami Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej – KSNGN) et du groupe de travail de GENUNG sur la terminologie. D'après ce que nous avons suivi lors des discussions au

<sup>6</sup> Traduction d'après : *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. prof. Mieczysława Szymczaka, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998.

<sup>7</sup> <https://onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl/strona-glowna/terminologia-polska>

<sup>8</sup> Traduction d'après *Encyclopedia Językoznawstwa Ogólnego* (Encyclopédie de la linguistique générale), 1999.

sein du GENUNG, le terme français oronyme contient par contre les noms de montagnes sous-marines.

## 2.5. Pragmonyme

Pragmonyme (praxonyme) est un terme français pour les noms propres d'événements (fêtes, mais aussi catastrophes naturelles). Il a dans la terminologie slave plusieurs équivalents : anemonyme (grec *anemos* – le vent), le nom propre des vents, ouragans, orages et tempêtes ; chrononyme, le nom propre d'époques, de fêtes et festivités ; actionyme, le nom propre d'événements historiques.

Il existe en revanche dans la terminologie française le terme *polémonyme*,<sup>9</sup> le nom propre de bataille, que nous n'avons pas rencontré en étudiant la terminologie slave.

## 2.6. Choronyme

Choronyme (*choros*- gr. χώρα + ὀνύμιον → (*chōra|ōnýmion*) – qui, selon la caractéristique slave, est un nom de pays, de région ou d'une partie du monde, dans la nomenclature franco-canadienne est caractérisé ainsi : « Une branche de la toponymie, baptisée « choronymie » étudie les noms de lieux sous l'angle du contact des langues et elle s'est développée au sein des recherches canadiennes sur le bilinguisme » (DORION 1972).

## 2.7. (H)Odonyme

La dernière rectification que nous sommes obligée de faire concerne l'orthographe du terme *odonyme*, que l'on peut rencontrer en tant qu'*hodonyme*. Ceci vient d'une confusion dans la translittération de l'alphabet grec *ὁδός* – *hodós* en *odonyme* et *hodonyme*. Les tendances actuelles montrent que la deuxième version n'est plus utilisée dans la langue française. On peut la rencontrer dans les publications toponymiques polonaises. Or, c'est l'orthographe avec le « h » qui est une translittération plus correcte, car le nom grec *ὁδός* – *hodós* commence par une consonne « h » aspirée.

## 3. Comparaison des termes issus des publications sur les noms propres et des glossaires onomastiques : polonais, français ICOS (v. fr.), GENUNG (v. fr.)

Les termes polonais que nous avons inclus dans cet article sont issus majoritairement des travaux de RZETELSKA-FELESZKO (2005). On pourrait les appeler en général sous l'étiquette de la terminologie slave car les slavistes

<sup>9</sup> Terme cité d'après MARIE-ANNE PAVEAU 2008, 2009.

échantent et publient ensemble des travaux sur l’onomastique slave et nous avons observé que la terminologie est assez cohérente parmi les onomasticiens slaves.

3.1. Termes onomastiques polonais

Voici les diagrammes avec les termes onomastiques slaves correspondant aux branches principales de l’onomastique. Nous avons essayé de les regrouper par grandes catégories, et nous acceptons le fait qu’ils pourraient être discutés.

ONOMASTIQUE												
Toponymie												
Hydro nymie	Oro nymie	(H)Odo nymie	Plateo nymie	Speleo nymie	Hagioto ponymie	Urbo nymie	Oïko nymie	Anaïko nymie	Choro nymie	Néso- nymie	Cosmo nymie	
Anthroponymie												
Patronymie	Ethnonymie	Mythonymie	Cryptonymie	Hagionymie	Eponymie	Pseudonymie						
Chrématonymie												
Poreïo nymie	Falero nymie	Ergo nymie	Acto nymie	Uniquato nymie	Ideo nymie	Tyro nymie	Chrono nymie	Actio nymie	Heorto nymie	Projecto nymie		
Pragmonymie												
Anemonymie												
Zoonymie												
Pragmatonymie												
Fitonymie												
Dendronymie  Drimonymie												

3.2. Termes onomastiques français et francophones

Concernant la description des termes des noms propres qui apparaissent dans des travaux linguistiques français, nous nous sommes basés sur des publications de MAUREL et TRAN (2006) ou de DAILLE et al. (2000) qui est une sorte de classification conçue pour le traitement automatique des langues.





Nom propre						
Anthroponyme			Toponyme		Ergonyme	Pragmonyme
Individuel	Collectif				Objet (Œuvre Pensée Produit Vaisseau	Catastrophe Fête Histoire Manifestation Météorologie
Personne Patronyme Prénom Pseudo Anthroponyme	Dynastie Ethnonyme	Groupe	Astronyme Edifice Géonyme Hydronyme Ville Voie	Territoire		
		Association Ensemble Entreprise Institution Organisation		Pays Région Supranational		

Typologie des noms propres de Prolex (AGAFONOV et al. 2006)

### 3.3. Glossaires francophones

Parmi les versions françaises des glossaires onomastiques de ICOS, GENUNG<sup>10</sup> et IGN Belgique nous avons extrait uniquement les noms ayant le suffixe -onyme.<sup>11</sup> Précisons que GENUNG et IGN travaillent sur les noms géographiques et les glossaires sont donc concentrés plus sur les toponymes que sur l'ensemble de l'onomastique.

#### 3.3.1. Termes onomastiques trouvés dans le glossaire de ICOS<sup>12</sup>

\**Allonyme* (terme issu de la linguistique générale mais défini par rapport à l'onomastique : « variante d'un nom propre issu de la même racine étymologique – par ex. anglais *Joe* et *Jess* issus de *Joseph* »), *Anthroponyme*, *Choronyme*, *Cryptonyme*, *Déonyme*, *Endonyme*, *Eponyme*, *Chrématonyme*, *Ethnonyme*, *Exonyme*, *Hagionyme*, \**Hodonyme* (et version *odonyme*), *Macrotoponyme*, *Matronyme*, *Microtoponyme* – cf. *Choronyme*, *Nésonyme*, *Oikonyme*, *Onyme*, *Oronyme*, *Patronyme*, *Pseudonyme*, *Théonyme*, *Toponyme*, *Zoonyme*.

#### 3.3.2. Termes onomastiques trouvés dans le glossaire GENUNG<sup>13</sup>

\**Acronyme* (terme défini de la même manière que dans la linguistique générale), \**Allonyme* (terme issu de la linguistique générale mais défini par rapport à l'onomastique), *Anthroponyme*, *Choronyme*, *Endonyme*, *Eponyme*, *Epotoponyme*, *Ethnonyme*, *Exonyme*, \**Homonyme* – (terme issu de la

<sup>10</sup> Il existe aussi un portail EuroGéoNames, qui est harmonisé avec le glossaire GENUNG.

<sup>11</sup> Nous considérons alors comme termes onomastiques toutes les entrées terminées en -onyme et nous aimerons souligner que nous avons relevé uniquement ce type d'entrées et non des formes descriptives.

<sup>12</sup> <https://icosweb.net/drupal/sites/default/files/ICOS-Terms-fr.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.toponymiefrancophone.org/DivFranco/pdf/kadmon.pdf>

linguistique générale mais défini par rapport à la toponymie en tant que deux ou plusieurs noms de lieux identiques attribués à des entités géographiques différentes), *Hydronyme*, *Odonyme*, *Oronyme*, *\*Synonyme* (terme défini de la même manière que dans la linguistique générale), *Toponyme*.

### 3.3.3. Termes onomastiques trouvés dans le glossaire IGN Belgique<sup>14</sup>

*\*Acronyme* (terme défini de la même manière que dans la linguistique générale), *Allonyme*, *Choronyme* (à la différence de la définition slave, ce terme est défini en tant que « nom de lieu qui identifie un espace géographique », ce qui correspondrait aussi à la définition du toponyme), *Endonyme*, *Éponyme*, *Épotoponyme*, *Exonyme*, *\*Homonyme* – (terme issu de la linguistique générale mais défini par rapport à la toponymie, cf. glossaire GENUNG), *Hydronyme*, *Odonyme*, *Oronyme*, *Toponyme*.

## 4. Conclusion

La description de l'usage des noms propres et de la terminologie onomastique que nous venons de faire, aussi lapidaire et sélective qu'elle soit, nous donne une certaine image de la terminologie onomastique et de son emploi.

Le système terminologique slave est plus développé que celui des linguistes occidentaux. Bien qu'il existe des glossaires onomastiques dans la langue française, en étudiant les travaux portant sur les noms propres en français, nous avons constaté que des nombreux noms propres sont étudiés sans emploi de la terminologie onomastique. L'onomasticienne polonaise KALETA (2005 : 77) remarque que dans les travaux onomastiques de l'Europe de l'ouest il y a une préférence pour les noms descriptifs et la terminologie n'est quasiment pas employée.

Par ailleurs, toujours selon KALETA (2005 : 77), il y a des tendances opposées à l'intérieur de l'onomastique polonaise elle-même. On emploie tantôt la terminologie pour nommer les noms propres tantôt les noms descriptifs (on peut rencontrer par exemple oïkonyme ou nom d'habitat). Les premiers travaux de grande importance et qui servent toujours de référence dans l'onomastique polonaise sont nés sous la plume de Taszycki et Rospond. On y observe un emploi plus important des noms descriptifs que de termes non polonais. Mais parallèlement, KALETA a observé dans les travaux de Jakus-Borkowa une tendance opposée, d'employer des termes étrangers sous influence de l'onomastique tchèque, slovaque ou allemande KALETA (2005 : 77).

L'avantage des formes descriptives par rapport à la terminologie est la transparence car la terminologie onomastique est fondée sur le vocabulaire issu du grec. Ainsi, soit un bon nombre des termes onomastiques ne s'est pas incrusté dans la langue polonaise, soit il est employé sous une forme différente, voire avec un sens différent. Il y a parfois des termes qui peuvent être compréhensibles car liés au lexique déjà existant ex. cosmonyme et cosmos, mais chrématonyme par exemple n'a pas d'équivalent dans le lexique polonais ni français (KALETA). Ceci peut poser de problèmes de compréhension même pour les linguistes et/ou onomasticiens.

Nous avons évoqué dans notre article les différences de définitions et d'orthographe dans la terminologie française et polonaise. La terminologie n'est donc pas cohérente ni au niveau des langues nationales ni à l'international. En 1983 à Skopje il a été publiée un recueil des termes onomastiques de toutes les langues slaves : « Osnoven sistem i terminologija na slovenskata onomastika ». On y trouve 220 termes polonais mais une cinquantaine de ces termes n'est plus usité. Les onomasticiens slaves, comme RZETELSKA-FELESZKO (2007) constatent qu'il y a un besoin d'élaboration d'une nouvelle terminologie onomastique polonaise qui selon la linguiste comptera environ 700 termes. Les critères de cette nouvelle terminologie seraient : la transparence et la clarté des termes, la fréquence d'emploi ou autrement dit, leur popularité, et le caractère non-ambiguë des termes. Une clarification concernant les termes ambiguës, même parfois très populaires, serait aussi souhaitable. Au contraire, certains onomasticiens de ICOS et du GENUNG du groupe travaillant sur la terminologie remettent en question l'utilité de la terminologie proprement onomastique et tendent régulièrement à la simplifier.

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### Résumé

Les différences terminologiques et taxonomiques peuvent provoquer maintes confusions. Par exemple, dans son ouvrage consacré entièrement à la chrématonymie polonaise, française et italienne, Gałkowski (2011 : 43) constate que l'onomastique française ne prête presque aucune attention à l'étude des chrématonymes. Pourtant, citons Curat (1999 : 255) : « Les noms propres se classent par le type de référent qu'ils nomment : toponymes (Londres, la France, Oberon), anthroponymes (Pierre, Rougeon), gentilices (les



Nambikwara), hydronymes (la Seine, le Pacifique). Mais au-delà de ces types, des êtres variés ont des noms propres : Bucéphale (cheval), Aldébran (étoile), Thor (dieu), Durandal (épée), Enola Gay (avion), etc. ». Ainsi, les différents types de noms propres sont étudiés dans la langue française sans être soumis à une terminologie. Cela peut donc être trompeur du point de vue des études onomastiques contrastives et de la taxonomie onomastique elle-même. Nous présenterons dans cet article les différences dans les classifications onomastiques polonaise (slave) et française, les incompatibilités terminologiques, ainsi que quelques taxonomies onomastiques venant de différentes études. Nous espérons, par cet article, élaborer une tentative de rectification et de désambiguïaison des systèmes onomastiques slave et occidental, par le biais de la terminologie onomastique polonaise et française.

**Mots-clés :** onomastique contrastive, taxonomie, classification, noms propres

Andrea Bölcskei

## *A report on the compilation of an English–Hungarian glossary of onomastic terms\**

### **1. Bi- and multilingual glossaries including Hungarian onomastic terms**

Following the increasing popularity of terminological research in general, works on onomastic terminology are enjoying a revival. A recent report on the history of international and Hungarian studies on onomastic terminology, drawn up by TAMÁS FARKAS (2017), offers readers an overview of earlier achievements as well as current trends and initiatives in the field. The author concludes that the multilingual harmonization of onomastic terms is important because it facilitates international professional communication by connecting communities of scholars whose native language is different.

Two bilingual glossaries were published in the early 2000s containing the most important general onomastic terms in the Hungarian language. JUDIT SZILVIA VÁRNAI (n.d.) edited a list of 172 English and Hungarian term equivalents with the intention of later expanding the list into a terminological database or a printed dictionary, containing encyclopaedic as well as linguistic information connected to each term. This glossary of term equivalents was published on the internet under the title *English–Hungarian glossary of linguistic terms*. In the short introduction preceding the actual term list, its editor emphasizes the incompleteness, the changeability and the “descriptive character” of the glossary, and identifies its main aim as “matching the corresponding English and Hungarian terms”.

ZSUZSANNA FÁBIÁN (2001) compiled an 89-entry glossary of Italian and Hungarian onomastic term equivalents, entitled *Glossario dei termini più importanti dell’Onomastica*. Entries consist of the Italian term as a headword, a short definition of the term in Italian, and the Hungarian term equivalent(s). In most cases, one to six characteristic illustrative examples are also provided in both languages. Main entries and cross-references are also present in the glossary.

English–Hungarian bilingual glossaries of specific onomastic terms were first prepared in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by geographers and

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cartographers. In 1979, proper names for undersea features in the Hungarian language were standardized at the request of the Hungarian Committee on Geographical Names by a working group. As a first step, 42 Hungarian equivalents for 65 English terms appearing in undersea feature names were identified based on the definitions of an UNGEGN (United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names) source document. In the second phase, using the standardized Hungarian undersea feature terms as toponymic generics, the relevant Hungarian name forms were elaborated to be adopted in Hungarian world atlases. Both the Hungarian–English glossary of undersea feature terms and the principles governing the creation of Hungarian name forms for undersea features were published in a report by ERVIN FÖLDI (1979).

The glossary was revised and updated into a list of 94 Hungarian undersea feature terms and their English equivalents by MÁTYÁS MÁRTON (1991, reprinted in 2012: 190–192), fostering the idea that undersea feature terms adopted in specialized literature on geography and undersea feature generics appearing in toponyms on maps should coincide in the Hungarian language. A version of MÁRTON's glossary was also published in the onomastic journal *Névtani Értesítő* (1992). This version consists of 106 entries (including main entries and cross-references). Each entry begins with an English undersea feature term as a headword, followed by a Hungarian definition and the Hungarian term equivalents that occur in sources used by the author. In the entries, suggested Hungarian terms are in bold.

As a further step, the English–Hungarian bilingual version of the IHO (International Hydrographic Organization) – IOC (Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission) document entitled *Standardization of Undersea Feature Names* was edited by MÁTYÁS MÁRTON and ANDRÁS ÁKOS DUTKÓ (2003). This document includes guidelines for the standardization of undersea feature names, the proposal form for new undersea feature names, and a glossary of undersea feature terms. The bilingual version of the glossary identifies 86 Hungarian term equivalents for 53 English undersea feature terms. The English and Hungarian entries of the glossary are built up in a similar way. The undersea feature term headword is followed by a short, general definition, restricted to the “geomorphological description” of the feature concerned. In many cases, illustrative examples and references of term use are also given. Although the Hungarian definitions are direct translations of the English ones, illustrative examples and references cited were not transferred from the English text, but were substituted with corresponding Hungarian name forms and suitable references. Both main entries and cross-references can be found in the glossary, which ends with a Hungarian–English alphabetical index of the terms.



A Hungarian–English bilingual glossary concerning specific onomastic terms was also compiled regarding geographical names standardization by ERVIN FÖLDI (1992), based on the 1987 UNGEGN document entitled *Technical Terminology Employed in the Standardization of Geographical Names* (Glossary No. 330/Rev<sup>2</sup>). The Hungarian translation of the English term list consists of 111 main entries and 45 cross-references. Main entries begin with the Hungarian term, followed by the English (rarely also the French, Spanish and/or Russian) term equivalent(s) in parentheses and the short Hungarian definition of the term, based primarily on the English texts in the original glossary.

The most recent achievement in the field is the publication of the Hungarian versions of two important international glossaries (BÖLCSKEI–FARKAS–SLÍZ 2017): the *ICOS List of Key Onomastic Terms* and the *UNGEGN Glossary of Terms for the Standardization of Geographical Names (Revised)*. Together the two lists contain almost 400 English–Hungarian term equivalents. The entries in the Hungarian versions begin with the English term, followed by its Hungarian equivalent(s) and a Hungarian definition, based on the texts in the original documents. Illustrative examples (transferred or substituted with suitable Hungarian ones) as well as notes on meaning or on term use are also provided. The English–Hungarian equivalencies as well as the definitions in the Hungarian versions of the ICOS and UNGEGN glossaries were reconciled and made consistent. Hungarian–English term indices help the retrieval of the Hungarian terms; and, in the case of the ICOS list, an index of the English–Hungarian–German–French term equivalents deduced from the English, German and French versions of the term list found online (<https://icosweb.net/drupal/terminology>) is also offered to enhance usability (for other principles adopted when preparing the adaptations see BÖLCSKEI 2017).

In addition, attempts are being made to include Hungarian terms in a Slovak onomastic term database involving multilingual term equivalents, currently being built by the Slovak Onomastic Commission (BAUKO 2015: 73, HARVALÍK–VALENTOVÁ 2017).

## 2. A draft of an English–Hungarian glossary of onomastic terms

In my work as the translator of Hungarian abstracts into English for the onomastic journal *Névtani Értesítő* and a few other onomastic volumes since 2005 (e.g. BÖLCSKEI–N. CSÁSZI eds. 2008, FARKAS–KOZMA eds. 2009, FARKAS–SLÍZ eds. 2015), I myself have repeatedly dealt with terminological issues, as the conceptual relations in the systems of the Hungarian and English onomastic terms are significantly different at several points. To achieve the maximum level of intelligibility as well as a considerable degree of consistency in term use, I realised that it was advisable to collect English onomastic terms



as they appear in English specialised literature, identify the corresponding Hungarian terms and use the term equivalents accordingly in translation. This realization happens to coincide with the generally accepted principle adopted in present day terminology, claiming that the identification of cross-language term equivalents instead of direct translation should be based on actual term use in specialised discourse by field experts. As a result, I decided to prepare an English–Hungarian bilingual glossary of onomastic terms, in which, at least in its final version, terminological units are described from cognitive, linguistic and socio-communicative points of view (cf. CABRÉ CASTELLVÍ 2003: 183).

From year to year, based on my experiences with English onomastic texts, I was able to identify the Hungarian–English term equivalents needed for the translation of the abstracts. All the English abstracts were proofread by a native speaker. After 12 years, in possession of ample material, MA students of terminology extracted the English terms manually from the abstracts, identified the Hungarian term equivalents using the source language versions of the abstracts, and recoded the data into an excel file. Because of its unique theoretical approach, terms from the English summary of ISTVÁN HOFFMANN's book (1993/2007) on the linguistic analysis of place names were also included in the list.

Then, again with the help of MA students of terminology, I started to complete the glossary with terms taken directly from English onomastic textbooks and journals, a work still in progress. English terms have already been extracted from the relevant chapters of a series of representative handbooks (CLARK 1992a, 1992b; COATES 1998), and from the last issues of the journal *Nomina*. I am planning to check and extract English terms from recent handbooks (CARROLL–PARSONS 2013; HOUGH 2016), from introductions to place name dictionaries (DEPN, CDEPN, DBPN), and from some well-known English volumes on onomastic issues (REANEY 1960; MATTHEWS 1972; STEWART 1975; CAMERON 1969/1996; QUINTON 2009; GELLING 1978/2010). The source documents sometimes provide definitions for the adopted terms as well, in which cases the definitions themselves are recorded in the file. Hungarian equivalents of the English onomastic terms are continuously being recorded in regular supervision phases.

The present glossary includes more than 1000 English–Hungarian term equivalents. With respect to scope, the list obviously contains strictly onomastic terms, such as terms for distinct name types, e.g. E. *hydronym* = H. *víznév*; E. *pharmacy name* = H. *patikanév*; E. *names of settlements developed from tribal names* = H. *törzsnévi településnevek*; E. *names of wells in the field* = H. *külterületi kutak nevei*; E. *family names derived from pseudotoponyms* = H. *álhelynévi alapú családnevek*. General linguistic terms are included only

if they are relevant, e.g. E. *context* = H. *szövegkörnyezet, kontextus*; E. *clipped form* = H. *szócsonkítással keletkezett forma*; E. *metathesised* = H. *hangátvetéssel keletkezett*; or have a restricted meaning in onomastics, e.g. E. *borrowings* = H. *jövevénynevek, kölcsönnevek, névátvételek* (cf. E. *borrowings* = H. *jövevénytiszavak, kölcsönszavak, szóátvételek*); E. *entry* = H. *névcikk* (cf. E. *entry* = H. *szócikk*).

Because of the interdisciplinary nature of onomastics, term equivalents associated with other disciplines are also involved. Thus, the list contains geographic terms for objects that are regularly named, e.g. E. *stream* = H. *patak, vízfolyás*; E. *grove* = H. *liget, berek*; E. *hamlet* = H. *falucska*; E. *fenland* = H. *mocsár, láp*; cartographic terms, such as types of maps, e.g. E. *cartogram* = H. *kartogram*; E. *choropleth map* = H. *koropletikus térkép, felületkartogram*; E. *distribution map* = H. *névföldrajzi térkép*; statistic terms of data evaluation, e.g. E. *frequency* = H. *megterheltség*; E. *occurrence* = H. *előfordulás*; E. *frequency distribution* = H. *gyakorisági megoszlás*; and philological terms for indicating types of source documents, e.g. E. *parish register* = H. *egyházi anyakönyv*; E. *patent roll* = H. *szabadalmi lajstrom*; E. *cartulary* = H. *okmánytár, okiratgyűjtemény*.

As the glossary in its present form is partially a by-product of my translation practice, the terms occurring in it are strongly determined by the contents of the texts I have had to translate and the subject matter of the English onomastic literature I have happened to read thus far. This means that there is some degree of accidentality in the terms incorporated into the list, see equivalents such as E. *names of cyclones* = H. *ciklonnevek*; E. *names for galleries* = H. *(bánya)tárnák nevei, tárónevek*; E. *names for routes of rock-climbing* = H. *sziklamászóutak nevei*; E. *shield names* = H. *fűrőpajzsok nevei, fűrőpajzsnév*; E. *names of Masonic Lodges* = H. *szabadkőművesi páholynevek*.

Another consequence of the fact that the initial aim of the term list was to aid translation can be observed in the wide range of identifiable domains. The list contains terms from onomastic theory, e.g. E. *onymic* = H. *névszerű*; E. *name bearer* = H. *névviselő*; E. *act of name changing* = H. *névváltoztatási aktus*; E. *denotative meaning* = H. *denotatív jelentés*; E. *name consciousness* = H. *névtudat*; of place name studies, e.g. E. *derivate suffixes producing settlement names* = H. *helységnévképzők*; E. *gazetteer* = H. *helységnévtár*; E. *incident name* = H. *esemény nyomán keletkezett (hely)név*; E. *numerical naming* = H. *számozással történő megnevezés*; of personal name studies, e.g. E. *accessories occurring in name forms referring to married women* = H. *névkiegészítőkkal bővített asszonynévformák*; E. *familial by-name* = H. *családban öröklődő informális név*; E. *matrimonial by-naming* = H. *házassággal szerzett informális név adása*; of literary name studies, e.g. E. *nickname-in-tale* = H.

*mesei ragadványnév*; E. *invented (fictive) place names* = H. *kitalált (fiktív) helynevek*; and of studies of other types of names, e.g. E. *names of astronomical phenomena* = H. *csillagászati nevek*; E. *goat names* = H. *kecskenevek*; E. *ship names* = H. *hajónevek*.

Furthermore, titles of relevant books, e.g. E. *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* = H. *Az angol nép egyháztörténete* (by the Venerable Bede); H. *Árpád-kori személynévtár* = E. *Onomasticon of Personal Names of the Age of the Arpads* (by Katalin Fehértói); H. *Szabó T. Attila Erdélyi Történeti Helynévgyűjtése* = E. *Attila Szabó T.'s Gazetteer of Transylvanian Historical Place Names*; H. *Régi magyar családnevek szótára* = E. *Dictionary of Old Hungarian Family Names* (by Miklós Kázmér); references to linguistic records, e.g. H. *A tihanyi apátság alapítólevele* = E. *The Deed of Foundation of Tihany Abbey*; H. *Tihanyi Alapítólevél* = E. *Foundation Deed of Tihany Abbey*; the names of committees, e.g. E. *International Council of Onomastic Sciences* = H. *Nemzetközi Névtudományi Társaság*; E. *Board on Geographical Names* = H. *az Egyesült Államok földrajzinév-bizottsága*; E. *English Place-Name Society* = H. *az angol helynévtudományi társaság*; H. *Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Névtani Tagozata* = E. *Onomastic Section of the Society of Hungarian Linguistics*; references to onomastic projects and conferences, e.g. E. *Survey of English Place-Names* = H. *az angol földrajzinév-gyűjtés*; H. *Magyar Névtudományi Konferencia* = E. *Conference on Hungarian Onomastics*; H. *Névtan és terminológia műhelytalálkozók* = E. *Onomastics and Terminology workshops* are also included in the list to provide lasting consistency in term use.

Based on my previous experiences with bilingual onomastic term lists, I have paid considerable attention to meeting certain requirements in the identification of the English–Hungarian term equivalents. Attempts are made to maintain the balance between terms of national language origin and internationally recognized terms, when providing the Hungarian equivalents for the English terms, e.g. E. *anthroponomastics* = H. *személynévkutatás, személynévtan, antroponomasztika*; E. *ethnopsychology* = H. *néplélektan, etnopszichológia*; E. *urbanonym* = H. *városi név, urbanonima*; E. *onomasociological factor* = H. *névszociológiai tényező*.

The process of term harmonisation is considered a high priority. The equivalence of several English and Hungarian onomastic terms is not necessarily obvious at first sight, but can be deduced from specialised discourse, e.g. E. *simplex name* = H. *egytagú név, egyrészes név*; E. *generic* = H. *alaptag, általános jellegzetességet megadó helynévi alaprész*; E. *county survey* = H. *megyei földrajzinév-gyűjtés*; E. *charter bound* = H. *határleírás*; E. *onomasticised* = H. *tulajdonnévvé vált*; E. *name stock* = *névkészlet*.

The creation of new term equivalents proves to be necessary if the source language term is an ad hoc invention, e.g. E. *naminess* = H. *névszerűség, tulajdonnévi jelleg*. Term gaps must be eliminated when culture-specific phenomena are identified, e.g. E. *hybrid compounds* = H. *hibrid összetételek, különböző nyelvi eredetű összetevőkből felépülő kétrészes helynevek*; E. *inversion compounds* = *inverziós összetételek, helynévi összetételek, melyekben az általános jellegzetességet megadó alaprész megelőzi a sajátos jellegzetességet megadó bővítményrészt*; H. *toponímia-költészet, helynevek átértelmezésén alapuló versek írása* = E. *toponymy poetry*.

The proper treatment of term variations used in specialised discourse requires the registration of synonymous terms, e.g. E. *place name, toponym* = H. *helynév, toponima*; E. *estate surveys, extents, terriers* = H. *birtokösszeírás* (cf. “[t]he main sources for medieval field names are estate surveys [...], variously called ‘extents’ and ‘terriers’”; CLARK 1992b: 596). Recent changes in terms can also be regarded as an important requirement of such a list, e.g. E. *onomatodialectological factor* = H. *onomatodialektológiai tényező* (cf. the earlier Hungarian notion of *névjárás*, i.e. an area where names are somewhat different from the names of the same language in the surrounding areas); E. *minor place name* = H. *mikrotoponima*, recently also *mikronév*; E. *major place name* = H. *makrotoponima*, recently also *makronév*.

Recreating the contents of a source text in a foreign language often brings challenges that word for word translation cannot solve. In some cases, relatively common Hungarian linguistic terms lack short English equivalents, thus must be explained, e.g. H. [...] *oklevél helynévi szórványai* = E. *Hungarian place names in the Latin charter of [...]*; H. *aszó* = E. *dried-up river-bed*; H. *névmagyarosítás* = E. *adoption of Hungarian family names*. What is more, instead of translating the title of the charter used as a source document, clarifying its relevance in Hungarian cultural and language history in the English text is at times more efficient, e.g. H. *A tihanyi apátság alapítólevelének néhány szórványa* = E. *some Hungarian words of the oldest authentic linguistic record of Hungarian (1055)*. The translation of terms sometimes requires encyclopaedic knowledge, e.g. E. *Grimston-hybrids<sup>1</sup>* = H. *Grimston-hibridek* (sajátos angol helynévtípus, amelyben egy óangol alaptag, leggyakrabban a *-tūn* alaprész egy skandináv, személynévi eredetű bővítményrésszel kapcsolódik össze); H. *szónevek* = E. *so-called “word names” (i.e. names having appellative meanings)*; H. *jelnevek* = E. *so-called “sign names” (i.e. names having no appellative meanings)*. These translation operations, of course, influence the term equivalents listed.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. „an OE generic, *-tūn* especially, might take a Scandinavian specific of either sort, most often a personal name” (CLARK 1992a: 484).

The logical relations between terms can easily be recognised and interpreted, e.g. the terms *habitative generic* (= H. *lakott helyre utaló alaptag*) and *topographical generic* (= H. *természeti környezetre utaló alaptag*) are co-hyponyms of *place name generic* (= H. *alaptag, általános jellegzetességet megadó helynévi alaprész*); the umbrella term *hydronym* (= H. *víznév*) is a hyperonym of *river name* (= H.  *folyónév*), *stream name* (= H. *pataknév*), *creek name* (= H. *csermelynév*), *names of still waters* (= H. *állóvizek nevei*); the terms *inversion compounds* (= H. *inverziós összetételek, helynévi összetételek, melyekben az általános jellegzetességet megadó alaprész megelőzi a sajátos jellegzetességet megadó bővítményrészt*) and *generic-first constructions* (= H. *alaptaggal kezdődő szerkezetek*) are practically synonyms; *genericless place name* (= H. *alaptag nélküli helynév*) is a meronym of *simplex name* (= H. *egytágú név, egyrésztes név*).

In some cases, integrating the non-obvious linguistic features of terms into the list, for instance, irregular plurals (e.g. *denotatum*, pl. *denotata*; *corpus*, pl. *corpora*), references to word classes (e.g. *generic*, noun; *specific*, noun), constraints of use in scope, time and space (e.g. E. law, GB, hist. *extent* = H. *földbirtok felbecsülése*; E. archaic *assart* = H. *irtványföld*; E. US *bayou* = H. *folyó mocsaras ága*) improves usability. Incorporating certain collocations frequently used in onomastic literature may also prove useful, e.g. E. *names referring to sg* = H. *vmire utaló nevek*; E. *names derived from sg* = H. *vmiből származó nevek*; E. *adopt a name* = H. *nevet felvesz, átvesz, alkalmaz*; E. *gain currency* = H. *elterjed*; E. *coin a new name* = H. *új nevet alkot*.

Another factor to be taken into consideration when deciding on a term is its applicability in certain contexts. The theoretical background of the text can trigger the choice of certain terms, such as E. *proprial lemma* = H. *tulajdonnévi lemma* (cf. LANGENDONCK 2007) in name theory; H. *névrész* = E. *name component* (cf. HOFFMANN 1993/2007); E. *classify* = H. *osztályoz* (cf. formal semantics); E. *categorise* = H. *kategorizál* (cf. cognitive linguistics) in name semantics. The frequency of terms in native specialised discourse can also be a determining factor in drawing equivalencies, e.g. H. *patrocíniumi helységnevek* = E. *settlement names derived from the name of the patron saint*, more rarely, *patrociny settlement names*.

### 3. Conclusion

Several improvements are needed to turn the present bilingual glossary into a proper term database. First, a higher degree of systematicity should be introduced into the ongoing collection of terms. Exact guidelines for term selection should be drawn up to allow the involvement of more participants in the building of the database. All attributes of each term should be recorded in the database,



based on the applicable source documents. Domain identifications, definitions, logical relations, relevant linguistic information, source documents, examples for contextual use, and, if necessary, notes on applicability, and on frequency in use, as well as illustrative name forms should also be provided alongside the term equivalents.

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## Abstract

It is a generally accepted principle in terminology that the identification of cross language term equivalents should be based on actual term use in the specialised discourse of experts in the field. Bearing this in mind, the author presents the ongoing process of the compilation of a new English–Hungarian glossary of onomastic terms. The paper lists the kinds of source texts being examined in the project, how the relevant terms are extracted and paired, and why the compilation of such a glossary is felt necessary. The author describes the equivalent terms identified so far with respect to domains, scope, logical relations, linguistic features, applicability, frequency in use and quantity. Terminological units are examined from cognitive, linguistic and socio-communicative points of view. Problematic issues such as maintaining a balance between terms of national language origin and internationally recognized terms; the establishment of new term equivalencies; term harmonisation; the proper treatment of term variations; the elimination of term gaps; and the registration of recent term changes are also discussed. The primary purpose of the paper is to demonstrate how the latest ideas and trends in terminology can be adopted in practical terminological work on onomastic terms.

**Keywords:** onomastic terms, Hungarian, English, terminological units, term equivalents

*Aleh Kopach*

## *The Sigmatics of Place-Naming*

Place-names are rarely studied from the semiotic perspective. It has long been out of the question that onymic signs perform a nominative function as they cannot express any notions, each of them being a name of an individual object devoid of the ability to generalize. By applying such an approach, we cannot do anything with names but define their origin and elements that turn stems into proper names. This is a traditional language-centered approach which shows no connection of names to human's consciousness of the outer world.

According to one of the founders of semiotics, the American philosopher CH. MORRIS, the theory of signs consists of three parts: **semantics**, i.e. a relation of signs to objects; **syntactics**, i.e. a relation between signs; and **pragmatics**, i.e. a relation of subjects to signs (MORRIS 1983: 37–89). In the second half of the twentieth century, this scheme underwent revision by the German Marxist philosopher GEORG KLAUS (1967: 17). In particular, he emphasizes that relations between signs are formed both syntagmatically and paradigmatically; therefore, we could distinguish the aspect which determine the position of a sign in a system (paradigmatics, or semantics) alongside with syntactics, and consider it as a sense of a sign. Thus, he divides semantics into two more parts. Klaus distinguishes the reflection of a sign in our consciousness (paradigmatics, or **semantics**) and the relation of a sign to the object itself, or the referent (denotatics, or **sigmatics**).

The theory of Klaus received mostly negative reaction around Europe (NÖTH 1995: 52), but rather a positive appraisal from some post-Soviet researchers (NORMAN 2011: 311–317). A very interesting in-between point of view was presented by JOHANNES HEINRICHS: “Georg Klaus was fundamentally right in postulating a fourth semiotic dimension [...] But his “materialistic” motivation must be restated in an action-oriented way instead of an object-oriented one” (2011: 237).

My goal is to justify the possibility of studying place-names from the position of a sigmatic (denotative) dimension of a sign. Achieving this goal requires the following tasks to be solved: 1) to display indexical, iconic, and symbolic features of place-names, select and analyze those of the features that help to explain their functional character; 2) to give a brief account of the history of studying three recognized semiotic dimensions of place-names – syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics; 3) to propose a scheme of sigmatic (denotative) approach to geographical names.



1. From a set of linguistic signs used in society, proper names belong to a considerable group of words, which is often ranked as defective in comparison with common names. The former class has most often been studied scientifically as the one which most vividly displays the mythological nature of relationship between individual objects and the consciousness of the subject (LOTMAN 1992: 61). JURIJ LOTMAN, in particular, says that the set of proper names is “a differently arranged language which is incorporated into the depth of a natural language” (1992: 62). By perceiving all names as symbols man automatically reduces all onyms to Peirce’s symbols as it shows nothing but arbitrary bonds between the signifier and the signified of a proper name. The approach also gives ground to study onyms by using the methodology applied to common nouns. However it does not remove a number of questions concerning the causes and continuity of coining names. On the whole, reducing all the proper names to a group of non-motivated signs does not add much to its explanation. As if “behind the scenes” are the ideas of logicians and philosophers of language (G. Frege, B. Russell, et al.), who argued that “there is no reason to think that we disable »consciousness« while using proper names” (RUDENKO 1988: 63).

CH. PEIRCE insists on the traditionally indexical nature of proper names: “They should probably be regarded as Indices, since the actual connection (as we listen to talk) of Instances of the same typical words with the same Objects, alone causes them to be interpreted as denoting those Objects” (CP 4: 544). Indeed, a proper name is primarily aimed at pointing to an object, referring to it. By utilizing the opposition of mainly symbolical appellatives and mainly indexical onyms we could change the focus of onomastic research from using traditional algorithms of research applied both to appellatives and onyms towards considering the nature of individual objects first.

Possessing a sigmatic (denotative) aspect may be sufficient for certain linguistic signs. A proper name is a classic example in this respect. References to particular objects are required for onyms, but at the same time semantic information contained in them is close to a zero point (NORMAN 2011: 312). Yet, even such a semantically reduced item is still able to generalize.

At the same time complicated interconnections behind linguistic signs let PEIRCE say that “it would be difficult if not impossible to instance an absolutely *pure index*, or to find any sign absolutely devoid of the indexical quality” (CP 2: 306).

Being classified as indices, place-names nevertheless could hardly be fully disclosed as solely indexical signs. Most traditional papers point at the onymic tendency toward loss of motivation, i.e. “increasing thirst for symbolism” (RUT 1992: 108). For instance, according to estimates made by V. ZHUCHKEVICH, only 23 and 28 out of every 100 names of Belarusian rivers and lakes respectively

could be more or less accurately interpreted (1961: 10). Undoubtedly, a significant number of names for the largest natural bodies of water (rivers, lakes) can now be seen as PEIRCE's symbols, but it would be an oversimplification to consider the work of a system of place-names as a process of mere attaching "labels" to objects. Moreover, PEIRCE in his *Prolegomena to an Apology for Pragmatism* (2000: 223) speaks about the absence of explanatory potential of symbols. A symbol is an agreement between the communicants, a habit that should be remembered, but not understood.

A name could also be used as an icon. Applying to icons occurs mainly when it is necessary to display likeness or unlikeness of objects and to establish the degree of this (un)likeness (e.g. images, metaphors, diagrams). PEIRCE considered that "it is by icons only that we really reason" (CP 4: 127).

Modern toponymic systems are poor in metaphorical units. They are found in the names of geographical objects very rarely, sporadically (NECHAI 1991: 90). In addition, even in presumably uncontested metaphorical place-names such as a reap Blr. *Kaŭryga* 'round loaf of bread' "informants give the meaning of a word not as certainties, but as probabilities" (RUT 1992: 108). However, man cannot but express his attitude to various objects of the world and notice similarities in the same types of objects. The imagery of names can sometimes be unnoticed only because they are no longer linguistic metaphors. Similarities move from an area of direct displaying the likeness of objects in a word (e.g. names of marshes Blr. *Žarnavok*, Eng. *Little Hell*) to schematizations, frames, etc. Different attitude to the realities is not seen in separate examples, but it is easily detected in cases of comparing groups of names en masse. Modern iconic place-names could be classified as icons-diagrams, not icons-images.

Iconicity is easily found in place-names. The linguists engaged in structural studies repeatedly pointed out that a place-name tends to come off the appellative which motivates the onym. Usually a toponymic formant is added to a stem to form a place-name. The onym-building role is not necessarily played by derivational morphemes, e.g. the indicators of number and gender could equally perform as formants in Slavic languages. In such a case the gender of a place-name is not necessarily correlated with the gender of a geographical appellative representing the object: *balota* (neut.) 'swamp' *Biarozavik* (masc.), *raka* 'river' (fem.) *Nieman* (masc.), etc. A plural form often does not indicate a real multiplicity of objects (settlements *Kalinkovichi*, *Khoiniki* et al. with the inflection -i denoting plurality). Thus, the formation of Slavic place-names is performed, in fact, only by means of derivative morphemes. The appearance of derivational means in place-names (including gender or number inflections) indicates special human attention to the object, a desire to distinguish the name from the motivating appellative stem, and to get rid of "toponymic homonymy"



by means of word-formation: Blr. *most* ‘a bridge’ > *balota* ‘swamp’ *Masty* ‘bridges’ (though only one bridge is found in the vicinity of the swamp).

Eloquent examples of iconicity in place-naming are also found when proper names are formed on the basis of other names by means of morphemes and words: *vioska* ‘village’ *Talynava* > *balota* ‘swamp’ *Talynaŭski Moch*, et al. Derivatives will be at least one morpheme longer than the words which play the role of a motivating appellative stem. So, in a certain sense this correlation will repeat the relations between the geographical objects. The name of the village (in the example above) is more suitable for orientation. It does not need another place-name to be a reference point for people. Typically, the name of a macroobject is duplicated in the name of a microobject.

Semantic derivatives among place-names are also very representative in this respect. They do not add any formant to the motivating appellative stem. The researcher could easily notice that smaller and unstable objects are endowed with such names more often than large and stable objects. Small water objects, for example, appear and disappear when time passes: they can overgrow, dry up, be filled with water. They are not as easily followed by humans as macroobjects. A changed landscape is not always accurately reflected in the language signs because of the high dynamics of changes in reality (or man does not want to change the habits and gives the same name to an object which has already changed its status). The object could also be seen by a name-giver as a less visible and therefore less significant landmark. In the latter case, the name displays not the object itself but its surrounding: Blr. *balota* ‘swamp’ *Kamienny Log* ‘stone ravine’.

2. The aspects of toponymic signs are not studied equally well. Syntactics is predictably the most developed part of the sign theory of place-names. It is easily explained because distinguishing simple, compound, and complex names (syntactics) is easier than describing the meanings of obsolete stems of hydronyms or changeable references of field names (semantics), and searching for ethnic and cultural behaviour enclosed in names (pragmatics). This aspect is presented in different theories of names, such as “empty labels”, “mythological” layer of units unchanged in all “possible worlds”, and the like (Mill, Kripke, Lotman, etc.).

From the very first steps in exploring onyms place-name studies were considered a discipline aimed at distinguishing a stem and a formant of a name. Special interest to singling out formal structures and elements is indispensable at the very beginning of any research. It resulted in comparative-historical and structural investigations of names. As a result of a special interest in the most ancient names (primarily rivers and lakes) which very often lack inner form, an etymological method took the lead in investigations. Suffixes were proclaimed



the most important elements of names because only a word-formation act let researchers define the time when a place-name was coined. Interest in the distribution of formants was primarily connected with history. The distribution of suffixes was used to explain the movement of peoples: *-sa, -ža, -ishki* (Baltic), *-ica, -ka, -shchyna* (Slavic), etc. (Blr. *Biareža, Lučosa, Hlybačka, Rybnica*, etc.). The status of a sign for a place-name in such a formal research is lost. It is not a toponymic sign that matters, but a formant localization.

Subsequent interest in the structural characteristics of names of other types of geographical objects and the algorithm for analyzing them was to a great extent predetermined by the previous comparative-historical experience which added value to a very few classes of names (BEREZOVICH 2001: 41). Structural linguistics paid even less attention to extralinguistic factors, attempting to focus on the language itself and search for declarative knowledge. A database of onymic stems and formants was the main result for such a kind of analysis: Blr. *harely* ‘burnt’ > *Harel-iec*; *kaza* ‘goat’ + *bor* ‘coniferous forest’ > *Kazibor*; *miaža* ‘border’ + *balota* ‘swamp’ > *Miež-naje balota*; Amer. Ind. *Appoqueneme* ‘wounded duck’ or ‘view of settlement’; *Floyd* (man’s name) > *Floyd Cove* > *Floyd Cove Reservoir*, a castle > *Castle Creek* > *Castle Creek Marsh*, etc.

Formants of a place-name constitute a purely grammatical or “formal” class of elements in structural research. They tend to be either consistent with grammatical characteristics of geographical appellatives like *lies* ‘forest’ or *polie* ‘field’: *Lagazínski lies* ‘Lagazínski forest’ (sing., masc.), *Rashatkóůskae polie* ‘Rashatkóůskae field’ (sing., neut.), etc. – or just confirm belonging a place-name to the category of object, e.g. *Vágaravščyna, Čapyalica*, et al.

According to Morris, “successfully developed semantics is provided by a relatively highly developed syntactics” (MORRIS 1983: 55). However, it is impossible to unconditionally accept the term “semantics of place-names”. It is evident that a mandatory component of individuality and uniqueness, which is present in each proper name, does not allow it to get into conceptual, common usage. So, linguists search for the semantics of stems, not the semantics of names. The former is not transparent rather often, especially in the names of large and ancient objects.

Nowadays, pragmatics is the aspect which is actively used by place-names researchers. It has been noticed long ago that names could bear a good deal of extralinguistic information about the object, including space perception (G. Frege, B. Russell, A. Superanskaya, E. Berezovich, etc.). As soon as researchers apply less to ‘archaeologically-oriented’ names and more to the names of small-scale objects, a stem of a name becomes the main aim of research. The stem reflects encyclopedic semantics and keeps the peculiarities of spatial cognition in a certain culture which could be interpreted through their analysis alongside



with other cultural codes. An abstract of pragmatic classification made by ELENA BEREZOVICH is given below.

- 1) manifestation / implication of the subject of observation: Rus. *Bližneje* 'Near' (orientation from the subject), *Za Kamienkoj* 'Behind Kamenka' (orientation from the object);
- 2) direction of reference: Rus. *Pravaja Storona* 'Right Side';
- 3) coordinating mechanism: Rus. *Dun'kina Ber'oza* 'Dunka's Birch';
- 4) coverage of the territory: Rus. *Za Bolotom* 'Behind the Swamp', *Pod ovracom* 'Under the ravine';
- 5) character of cohesion of elements of a spatial picture of the world: Rus. *Vas'utina Baba* 'Vas'utin's Woman' and parts of the object *Noga* 'Foot', *Seredina* 'Middle', *Golova* 'Head', etc. (2009).

Pragmatics retains interest in the motivation of names, attempting to make explanations based on senses and culture of a particular group of people. Nevertheless, the pragmatic approach still sees only a set of varied qualities of separate objects in place-names. This drawback of detailed consideration of qualities was criticized by the Polish linguist MICHAŁ ROZWADOWSKI more than a hundred years ago: "there is always only one side of the object, one feature of [...] representations that stands out in a name of the subject [...] Distinguishing this feature depends on the momentary sight of the object and has nothing to do with logical reflections on the essence of the object and its constituent parts" (1961: 32).

If we remain at the level of individual characteristics of objects and representations of people about them, it could be possible to collect the totality of all the properties of objects. This step, however, would give us just an average image of different types of objects and meanings people attain to them. It is highly unlikely that men's attitude towards rivers as compared to e.g. lakes or swamps, or towards forests as compared to plains is the same (even if we consider only names of individual objects). To see that we would adhere to the necessity to distinguish the fourth dimension of a sign – its sigmatics.

3. Despite the long-observed differences of an onym and an appellative, the first is still investigated in the same way manner as the second (see point 1 of this article). From my point of view, it would be logical to go after PEIRCE. Any word, including a place-name, generalizes. By confirming the status of place-names as indexical units, the researcher recognizes the possibility of an onym to have a special type of generalization which is different from that of an appellative. Such a slight assumption makes researchers search for a different way of processing onymic material which would take an object and



the indicators of it in names (not its occasional properties) as the initial point for further investigation.

Generalizations are carried out by affixes in common names: Eng. *occupation*, *maximize*, etc.; Blr. *цяжка* ‘difficult’, *пераадолець* ‘overcome’, etc. Thus, the elements given in bold in this paragraph could conditionally be called “symbolizers” for they add conventionality to linguistic units (Eng. *-tion* denotes a thing or phenomenon, *-ize* is used when naming actions; Blr. *-a* gives the characteristic of an action while *-ць* confirms the status of a verb).

We could see a totally different situation in toponyms. The stem of a place-name has a tendency to deetymologization while functioning. To see that one could remember the names of the largest rivers: Blr. *Dnieper*; Rus. *Volga*, Eng. *Thames*, etc. The formant of a place-name shows no stability either. It loses its referential significance in the course of time, and this is true both to analytical names (Amer. names of bays: *Gig Harbor*, *Oak Harbor*; Blr. names of swamps *Ržavy Luh* ‘Rusty Meadow’, *Svaja Pušča* ‘Own dense forest’, etc.) and synthetical names (Blr. *miadzviedz* ‘bear’ > *Miadzviednia*, *čysty* ‘clean’ > *Čyscik*, etc.). The formants of the latter names (*-nia*, *-ik*) are used in the names of different kinds of objects, e.g. rivers, lakes, swamps, populated places, etc.

It is obvious from the above that generalizations in place-names are not discovered in the same way as in common names, since they refer to the objects differently. At the same time, it would be an oversimplification to assume that a generalized structure remains invariant and does not change depending on the context of its use.

Since affixes often lose their classifying role, and the stem points at an “occasional” attribute, researchers could rely only on relations between the categories of the object and the attribute. There are four types of “stem + formant” meaningful relations. I call them sigmatic frames as they display how the category of individual object is successively expanded in place-names. It starts from analyzing the correspondence of a formant to the kind of object it represents.

When a human naming activity starts man usually tries to find a model in his previous experience to fit the object he observes. Therefore, the first name that comes to our mind while observing an object is a common noun that is applied to a number of objects of the same nature: *bay*, *meadow*, *swamp*, *stream*, *lake*, etc. These words allow to point at an object and adequately classify it. Any person having a command of language is able to do it. Besides, these words are most frequently used in geographic names and can be considered core elements of proper names. The American toponymic system is an example itself, for more than 99% of names here are given geographic appellatives. Besides, the most natural way of perceiving an individual object is to define the nature of it



before giving an individual name. So, a geographic appellative is one of the two principal and equal parts of a place-name.

So, first we define the feature type under investigation and search for key words (geographic appellatives) representing it in the names of a toponymic subsystem. These are such words as *a stream, a lake, a swamp, a pond* and other words designating a certain kind of toponymic objects. Geographic appellatives sometimes turn into place-names after changing an indefinite article into a definite one, though it is not a usual case: *the Run, the Swale, the Peak, the Cove, the Desert*. What is most intriguing is that at least one name without any differentiating attribute can be found in almost all toponymic subfields: *the Arm* (bay), *the Narrow* (channel), *the Palisades* (cliff), *the Dalles* (falls), *the Island* (island), *the Lagoon* (lake), *the Butte* (summit), *the Gorge* (valley), etc.

Can such a name be called a proper name? If we consider the function of this element of language then no, it cannot. The proper name of this kind does not individualize. Still it works as a name in a system. Names without descriptive attributes can appear only in places, which are devoid of numerous objects of a certain kind. In case we have many objects of the same kind on a small territory, these names will not perform their function properly. Then the only explanation for their occurrence in the system is preserving of such a type of names in man's mind as **the first type** of "stem + formant" meaningful relations. I call it **"stating of the presence"**.

Yet, there is one more group of toponyms that could join names like *the Portage, the Slide, the Parks, the Horn*, etc. Sometimes the geographic term of a name has nothing in common with the present state of the object in question. Names of harbors are frequently used in the names of bays: *Gig Harbor, Oak Harbor, Big Beef Harbor*. Helonyms (names of swamps) are full of inappropriate terms from many toponymic fields, especially if we look across the whole country: *Beljica Meadows Lake, Cow Creek Meadows, Turtle Hole, Finley Meadows, Old Channel*. Hence, man perceives not the object but its surroundings. What adds much to this view is the scale of the objects that serve as motivating stems for the names: proper names of other objects are most frequently taken by smaller objects. The element of microlevel only occasionally appears on macrolevel: *Granite Mountain Potholes* (lake).

It is of a great importance that the term shift is most frequently used in the names of smaller objects, i.e. microtoponyms. Less significance of microobjects for man is obvious. Besides, they are unstable for they can suddenly disappear and emerge again, sometimes in different aspects. It also influences names. This is **the second type** – **"translating the environment"**.



If nothing is added to the stem to create a new name, then what knowledge a language speaker adds to the information, which has long existed in common

and proper names before this naming act? Probably in both ways of naming man does not expect an object to be worth of any special attention. For human's perception, a small object hasn't yet become a significant landmark to be used in orientation. This is the stage when man does not notice specific features of an object.

A "true" geographic name appears as soon as it singles one object out of all the others. It happens when a name reflects the only and specific characteristic of the object in question: either its depth, or cleanliness, or the inhabitants of the territory, etc. Both a classifying noun and a differentiating attribute constitute a proper name now: *Legoe Bay*, *Guemes Channel*, *Horseshoe Slough*, *Ancient Lake*, *Judy Reservoir*, *Willow Spring*, etc. Since an attribute is added to a geographic appellative, which correctly translates reality, the interest of man in this kind of objects is supposed to be obvious. Man does not establish the object availability any more. He turns to its own qualities and connections.

Words laying the basis of a new proper name may now be of various semantics, but availability of an extra onym-making element as against the names of the two previous types makes us prove the existence of **a third type – "recognizing a place-name individuality"**. It is aimed at getting and representing an individualized part of man's categorizing and naming of objects. Naming techniques is getting more complicated but the unit, which has been found at the initial stage (presented by a geographical appellative), still exists in man's mind.

In spite of the fact that "true place-names" have already appeared in the system, the process of naming individual objects does not stop. Changes observed in nature lead to emerging of some new objects and disappearing other, lead to joining and dividing into two, three or more objects. Of course, it is easier for man to get orientated if connections to the previous name of a divided object are preserved. Therefore, the objects, which have obtained a differentiator once, sometimes need to be repeatedly differentiated. It often happens when two or more objects with the same individualizing attribute appear too close to each other: *Greider Lake* > **Big** *Greider Lake*, **Little** *Greider Lake*, *Eureka Channel* > *Eureka Lower Channel*, *Eureka Upper Channel*, *Ahtanum Creek* > **North Fork** *Ahtanum Creek*.

One can describe **the fourth type** – "distinguishing proper similarities" as a name-giver's intention to elaborate, which of the two or more objects is meant. The angle of observing is predictably getting narrow.

Each of the four types is a distinctive interruption in the activities of human's mind aimed at keeping the achievements of a cognizing-and-communicative mechanism. The process of perceiving information about objects starts at the level of feelings and finishes in creating a restricted number of frames. Once



frames are started up, they create all the names around us, employing different classifiers and attributes but keeping to the same frames.

The results of studying place-names indicate that microtoponyms most frequently use the types 1 and 2, while the other place-names prefer the type 3. The fourth variant is observed in the names of objects that were once part of the whole, or still exist in close proximity (most often names of villages), or remain part of the object (rivers or river tributaries).

Toponymic classes should be considered not only and not so much individually (showing all their essential properties), but on the background of each other (considering the quantitative differences of each subsystem).

Thus, a place-name, as well as other fully-fledged linguistic signs, cannot be given a predetermined place in semiotic classifications. The explanatory power to research can be given by a combination of pragmatic and sigmatic aspects which allows to study the correlation of signs to one another, their relations to the world, and man's relation to different types of objects in the world. The elements are viewed as interconnected parts of a single system, and the activity of the interpreter does not go beyond the borders of signs.

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## Abstract

Studying place-names from the viewpoint of sigmatics is discussed. The article displays the irreducibility of names to a clearly specified place in classifications, and defines its symbolic, indexical, and iconic characteristics. Exploring toponyms as icons can bring the field to explanatory theories of names. The stages of studying semiotic aspects of place-names (syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics) repeat the stages of studying common names. Syntactics is a simple, «tangible», and therefore the most studied aspect of a name. Proper semantics is considered conditional (researchers explore the semantics of stems) due to a unique component in the structure of names. This component prevents a name from expressing the concept. Turning to anthropocentrism gave the rise to a trend in modern place-names studies which is focused on pragmatics. It comes



from the need to explore ethnic and cultural meanings enclosed within names. The author proposes that sigmatic properties should be taken into account alongside with pragmatic features. The role of the human factor is revealed in contrasting the graded importance of objects for people as reference points in spatial cognition. Four frames are singled out which reflect both key meanings reflected in place-names, and constructive character of creating the system of names.

**Keywords:** place-name (toponym), semiotics, syntactics, semantics, pragmatics, sigmatics, idea of an object, categorical idea of an object and its characteristics

## ***Toponyms as Sources of Historical Phonology\****

1. One could make the general observation on Hungarian literature dealing with phonological history that researchers mostly consider common word data when examining sound change processes. Such studies rarely focus on other groups of linguistic elements (more specifically, on proper names), in other words, up until the most recent times, researchers used toponyms and anthroponyms to illustrate only a few phenomena in phonological history.

2. Even on such rare occasions, the toponymic data considered for explanatory purposes almost always had an element to which some common word corresponds; that is to say, even in these cases it is a common word element that is in the focus of the examination. Therefore, I will consider the possible benefits of adding toponyms to the source materials on which linguistic history relies.

Toponyms preserved in written documents are one of the most important primary sources for the study of Old Hungarian. There is little else for such studies to rely on because from the first centuries of written Hungarian records, apart from Hungarian language texts consisting of barely a few hundred words, almost all of the sources that still exist are Latin language charters. These do, however, include a high number of toponyms and anthroponyms recorded in Hungarian.

Besides having documented data from the earliest times, another advantage of toponyms is that they are bound in time and to an area; consequently, these linguistic elements can be examined not only in themselves, as separate lexemes, but also within their onomastic environment. Such an extended analysis then makes it possible to line out both the linguistic and the non-linguistic contexts of individual toponyms, and in this way carry out linguistic history studies with more accurate results. These two circumstances explain why far greater importance may be attributed to toponymic data than to common words.

3. In order to appropriately assess the value that proper names – and, in particular, toponyms – have as primary sources, the systematic differences between toponyms and common words first have to be identified. The reason

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why doing so is important is that this information is a prerequisite for deciding whether to use toponyms only as sources in the exploration of the changes of toponyms, or to use them more generally in the study of historical linguistic, and, more specifically, historical phonological changes of the Hungarian language. (See also KENYHERCZ 2008: 179.)

Previously, several Hungarian linguists held that proper names change slower than common words. According to this view the phonological and morphological changes relevant to these two groups of linguistic elements are roughly the same, but, in the case of toponyms, they become apparent much later, and also run their course much slower (BENKŐ 1967: 375). Yet another view is that proper names, and within that group, toponyms, are definitely distinct from other elements of the word corpus, with regard to both phonology and morphology (BALÁZS 1970: 296).

In contrast, the latest studies of historical linguistics and phonology demonstrate that proper names undergo the same phonological changes as common words. This is shown by data such as the development of the Slavic word *brat* > Hungarian common word *barát* ‘friend, friar’, and that of the toponym Slavic *Blatin* > Hungarian *Balaton*, with both changes triggered by a word-initial consonant cluster. In the Hungarian version of the word, the consonant cluster was resolved by the insertion of a vowel in both cases. The latter is not the only example, however: the parallel insertion of the *l* sound into both the common word and the toponymic lexemes can also be registered as a similar change. Such a change may be observed both in the common words *bódog* > *boldog* ‘happy’, *ód* > *old* ‘dissolve, loosen’ and the toponyms *Garbóc* > *Garbolc*, *Csegőd* > *Csegöld*. There is no difference whatsoever between the two word types (TÓTH 2004a: 454).

The underlying cause of these phenomena is that once it has been formed, any toponym will be added to the mental-cognitive system of the community of name-users as an independent lexical unit. Therefore, even though toponyms often have common word origins, by having become a proper name, a newly formed toponym will lose its ties to its common-word antecedents. From this point onwards, the changes of the given toponym will be realized as the changes of an independent lexical unit. This may even entail processes of phonological changes which occur in the toponym independently from the common word corresponding to it. Such is the case, for example, of the toponym *Németi* (c.f. *német* ‘German’ ethnonym + *-i* derivative suffix), which, in many instances, developed into *Nemti*, as the vowel of the second syllable dropped out – without, however, the corresponding common word, *németek* ‘Germans’ undergoing a similar change, in spite of the phonological structure satisfying the prerequisites of such a change (TÓTH 2004b: 204–205). Thus, generally speaking, the



processes involving names and those involving common words can, indeed, be seen as being identical, that is, from the aspect of sound changes, it is irrelevant whether a particular word is a toponym or a common word. Then again, the process in the course of which such changes occur, and often the end results as well – for a number of complex reasons – can be different within the groups of linguistic elements (KENYHERCZ 2008: 180).

In the conventional literature on historical linguistics, proper names are considered as belonging to the less changeable, relatively permanent layer of word corpora, and within the group of proper names, experts see toponyms as the most archaic layer of corpora. In contrast to such hypotheses, more thorough investigations show toponyms to indeed preserve archaic features, but also to manifest neological phenomena with a similar frequency. One archaic feature of toponyms is the preservation of the primary *monyoró* form of the plant name *mogyoró* ‘hazel’, e.g. *Monyoród* (1394: *Monorod*), *Monyorókerék* (1221/1240/1774: *Monyorókerék*), *Monyorós* (1330/1477: *Monyorus*) (TÓTH 2004b: 191).

For a neological feature, toponyms of the type *Nemti*, mentioned above, can be referred back to, and the case of the toponymic form *Besnyő*, existing alongside the form *Besenyő* can also be considered as belonging to this category.

4. It should also be noted that by studying toponyms, far more information can be gathered on individual linguistic phenomena than by limiting the scope of studies to common words. For example, the Hungarian appellative *eszterág* ‘stork’ is a loan word of Slavic origins (\**strk* > *storkъ* ‘stork’) that entered the Hungarian language from one of the Southern Slavic languages. The lexeme started with a consonant cluster initially, and this is the form in which it appears in Hungarian sources even as late as the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (1395: *ftrak*, 1405: *ztrag*). In the Hungarian language version, the initial consonant cluster was resolved by the insertion of a vowel before the cluster, e.g. 1519: *eztrag*, 1533: *Ezterag*. This is all that can be uncovered by studying the common word examples. Possibilities can, however, be broadened by extending the scope of study to toponymic data containing the word *eszterág*. While the examination of toponymic data will not alter the facts previously established, nevertheless with toponymic data being precisely localizable and attributable to specific communities of speaker-listeners, an image can be formed of the territorial coverage of the lexeme and the community of those who used it (KENYHERCZ 2008: 177, 2013: 15).

In the Southern part of Hungary, in the county of Baranya, there is a settlement called *Eszterágpuszta*, which was independent during the Árpád-era. There are three pieces of early data on the settlement, 1329/14 c.: *Straak*, 1336: *Ztraak* (Gy. 1: 301), 1338: *Ztraak* (Cs. 2: 529). These pieces of data –due to the fact



that they can be precisely localized – make it possible to examine the context of the toponym. The data piece *Ztraak*, from the year 1336, appears next to toponyms the phonological structures of which satisfy Hungarian language syllable-construction rules. This means, amongst other criteria, the absence of initial consonant clusters, e.g. the toponyms *Szalonta* (1336: *Zalanta*), *Szilvás* (1336: *Zilvas*), *Aranyos* (1336: *Aranus*) (A. 3: 277).

Not far from the county of Baranya, in the county of Zala, there is another name of similar origin. The available data shows the word initial consonant cluster of the toponym from the county of Zala to be resolved, e.g. 1359: *Istrog*, 1408: *Eztreg* (Cs. 3: 51). What can be seen here is a name used in two different forms, both of which can be traced back to a common etymon. Actually, these examples represent two different ways in which a linguistic change can manifest, i.e. the resolution of the word initial cluster and, in contrast, its temporary preservation. Based on these observations, the toponym (and the common word upon which it is based) can be presumed to be in use in the form having a consonant cluster in some parts of the territory inhabited by Hungarian speaker-listeners of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (KENYHERCZ 2013: 15–17).

The phonotactic patterns originating from the Finno-Ugric root language determine the structure of Hungarian words. The Finno-Ugric root language (with the exception of a few onomatopoetic words) had no word initial consonant clusters (BAKRÓ-NAGY 1998: 235). Speaker-listeners of the Hungarian language, upon their arrival in the Carpathian Basin in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, met a large Slavic population, in whose language words beginning with consonant clusters were frequent. The Hungarian language, however – in accordance with the rules on syllable structures that it brought along as part of the Finno-Ugric legacy – was driven towards eliminating word initial consonant clusters. Then again, this could not be realized without any exceptions for several possible reasons. As the original phonological structures, containing consonant clusters, remained unchanged in several words of Slavic (and other language) origins, the phonotactic patterns characteristic of Hungarian gradually also changed. These changed phonotactic rules, in turn – under certain circumstances – allow for the presence of word initial consonant clusters in Hungarian (KENYHERCZ 2013: 195–203). This also implies that it was the very changes which the phonotactic rules were undergoing at the time that made it possible for the 1336: *Ztraak* form to exist in the language of the community concerned.

With the aforementioned in mind, I think that by extending the scope of historical phonological research to toponyms, the range of possibilities could be broadened with a new aspect, and they could also help to better understand individual phenomena. In some cases, however, there are limitations to doing so. Because the survival of charters – mainly due to historical and cultural

historical reasons – is often haphazard, their presence is not homogeneous in all parts of the territory inhabited by speakers of the Hungarian language. The effect of such limitations, however, can be partially mitigated by reviewing general considerations of historical linguistics and possibly by involving other linguistic corpora.

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## Abstract

The conclusions drawn by Hungarian historical phoneticians and phonologists are typically based on common words, while proper names, including toponyms, are only sporadically used to illustrate phonological changes. In older periods of Hungarian language history, however, the toponyms preserved in written documents can become most important sources. This essay focuses on the potential benefits of using toponyms for researching historical sound changes in Hungarian illustrated by the changes occurring in the phonotactic structure of names.

Toponyms preserved in old diplomas are indispensable sources for the phonological history of the old Hungarian period. In the early centuries of the Hungarian kingdom only charters written in Latin contained – and have preserved to this day – certain elements of the Hungarian language mainly in the form of place names and personal names. These elements are almost the only sources of the early periods of Hungarian language history.

Toponyms are strongly determined by chronological and territorial conditions and, therefore, it follows that a place name maybe studied not only in itself but also in the framework of other names that surround it, which makes it possible to examine both the linguistic and non-linguistic context of toponyms and define the results of historical linguistic research with greater precision.

**Keywords:** toponyms, historical sound changes, historical phonology

1. Dans la tradition des recherches onomastiques, un onomasticon, c'est un ensemble de noms propres appartenant à une ou à plusieurs catégories propres, se référant particulièrement aux noms de lieux et de personnes. Parfois, en linguistique ou d'autres sciences humaines, le terme était utilisé comme équivalent de l'onomastique, c'est-à-dire de l'étude des *nomina propria* en général. Dans les glossaires de la terminologie onomastique, p.ex. de celle du groupe terminologique ICOS, l'onomasticon est défini comme : « dictionnaire onomastique, ou son équivalent mental ou théorique ».<sup>1</sup> Cette détermination constitue une inspiration pour deux termes hyponymiques spécifiant l'idée d'un « onomasticon » : de l'« anthroponomasticon » et du « toponomasticon » définis dans les travaux du même groupe respectivement, comme dictionnaires anthroponymique et toponymique, ou leurs équivalents mentaux ou théoriques.

Le terme central et ses deux hyponymes principaux figurent dans d'autres travaux de la terminologie onomastique, comme p.ex. dans l'espace slave dans l'*Osnoven system i terminologija na slovenskata onomastica* (BEZLAJ et al. 1983) ou dans le dictionnaire de la terminologie onomastique russe de NATALYA PODOLSKAYA (1978), réélaboré sous le même titre en coopération avec ALEXANDRA SUPERANSKAYA (1988). De toute façon, chez PODOLSKAYA (1978), les deux termes apparaissent sous une version qui est rare dans d'autres langues : « anthroponymicon » russ. *антропонимикон* et « toponymicon » russ. *топонимикон* (conséquence de l'utilisation des vocables paronymiques : russ. *антропонимика* « anthroponymique » et russ. *топонимика* « toponymique » en tant que synonymes d'« anthroponomastique » russ. *антропономастика* et de « toponomastique » *топономастика*). Toutefois dans l'*Osnoven system...* (BEZLAJ et al. 1983) l'anthroponomasticon et le toponomasticon sont restreints dans leur définitions aux ouvrages (livres, dictionnaires) qui fournissent des listes d'anthroponymes et de toponymes avec des explications linguistiques et extralinguistiques appropriées (v. BEZLAJ et al. 1983 : 244 et 293; PODOLSKAYA 1978 : 33, russ. *список антропонимов* 'liste d'anthroponymes' ; russ. *список топонимов* 'liste de toponymes'). Or, il est toujours convenable et opportun d'adopter l'idée des onomasticiens russes qui font entendre l'anthroponomasticon (« anthroponymicon ») de plus comme répertoire (c'est-à-dire un inventaire, un catalogue, un glossaire) des anthroponymes (russ.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://icosweb.net/drupal/terminology> (le dernier accès: 21.11.2017.).

именник) et le toponomasticon (« toponymicon ») comme répertoire des toponymes (soit des géonymes).

Effectivement, comme le préconise VINCENT BLANÁR : « With regard to the type and character of an onymic object, onomasticons are classified thematically. Onomasticons can be further distinguished by the aim and scope of the onymy processed » (BLANÁR 2009 : 131). Cette remarque concerne en principe les travaux lexicographiques en onomastique, mais elle peut être aussi appliquée avec ces indices à la conception élargie d'onomasticons que j'adopte dans cet article.

2. L'application du terme « onomasticon » aux répertoires des noms propres utilisés par des communautés linguistiques données est confirmée par beaucoup d'ouvrages qui aujourd'hui sont cités comme sources du savoir historique sur les realia d'un patrimoine national ou international, p.ex. l'*Onomasticon d'Eusèbe de Césarée* ou (*de*) *Pamphile*, un catalogue de noms de lieux bibliques créé entre le III<sup>e</sup> et le IV<sup>e</sup> siècles ap. J.-C. (v. WOLF 1971) ; l'*Onomasticon priorum nominum, virorum, mulierum, sectarum, populorum, idolorum, syndrum, ventorum, vabium, marium, fluviorum, montium, et reliquorum, ut sunt vici, promontoria, stagna, paludes*, etc. (GESNER 1544) ou un travail de l'époque contemporaine : l'*Onomasticon Cataloniae* (COROMINES 1989–1997), un inventaire avec des toponymes et des anthroponymes des territoires catalans.

Remarquons encore que le terme « onomasticon » dans les disciplines philologiques acquiert aussi d'autres significations, surtout celle de « glossaire de mots » dans le titre d'un ouvrage qui a pour but de fixer le sens et l'emploi des mots, p.ex. l'*Onomasticon d'Aménémopé*, un document égyptien d'environ 1100 av. J.-C. avec de nombreuses informations sur des objets célestes, des peuples, des villes, des bâtiments, des formes de terrains, des produits agricoles, des boissons etc. (v. GARDINER 1947) ; l'*Onomasticon de Pollux* provenant du II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C., une source de connaissances sur les réalités de la Grèce antique (MAUDUIT 2013) ; l'*Onomasticon zoicon, plerorumque animalium differentias & nomina propria pluribus linguis exponens : cui accedunt Mantissa anatomica; et quaedam de variis fossilium generibus* (CHARLETON 1668) ; l'*Onomasticon historiae Romanae* (GLANDORP 1589). Ce sens-là de l'onomasticon peut être aussi prêté à des glossaires spéciaux de mots utilisés par un auteur ancien, p.ex. par Tacite : l'*Onomasticon Taciteum* (v. FABIA 1900) ; par Aristophane : l'*Onomasticon Aristophaneum; sive, Index nominum quae apud Aristophanem leguntur [...]* (v. HOLDEN 1902).

Il est important de souligner que bien des ouvrages analogues étaient dénommés avec des termes paronymiques qui en pratique résultaient des synonymes de l'onomasticon : *onomasticum*, *onomatologia*, *onomata*, *onomastica*,

onomastique, p.ex. un dictionnaire spécialisé trilingue *Onomasticum trilingue, Latino-Germano-Polonicum rerum et verborum ad officinam pharmaceuticam spectantium*, in *Gratiam et Usum Juventutis huic arti addictae, collectum et conscriptum a Paulo Guldenio, Seniori S. R. M. Polon: et Sveciae Pharmacopaeo et Cive Thorunensi. Accesserunt quaestionem nonnullae pharma copolarum Tyronibus scitu digna* (GULDENIUS 1641).<sup>2</sup>

Il est significatif que la majeure partie des publications historiques dont les titres contiennent un de ces termes clefs constituent des recueils avec des entrées onomastiques et encyclopédiques qui créaient presque des almanachs spécifiques du savoir encadrant un thème ou des lexicons qui fournissent divers renseignements sur des réalités culturelles codées essentiellement par des unités propres.

3. Le renvoi au terme « lexicon » est d'ailleurs une bonne association d'idées pour expliquer le concept d'onomasticon. Je suis d'avis que la plupart des noms propres peuvent être vus comme des lexies qui composent une partie légitime et importante de la langue avant encore d'entrer dans sa couche générale ou générique en tant que déonymisations (déonymes) ou bien éponymes, antonomases, métaphores ou autres créations figuratives qui enrichissent le lexique d'une langue-culture, aussi au niveau global. C'est déjà ALAN H. GARDINER qui observe qu'« [i]l est remarquable de constater l'aisance et la virtuosité avec lesquelles les langues modernes européennes peuvent utiliser les noms propres afin d'attribuer à quelques personnes ou lieux, une ou plusieurs qualités saillantes, réelles ou hypothétiques, que l'on ne souhaite pas préciser. Par exemple : *C'est un véritable Paderewski. [...] Un Shakespeare ou un Goethe n'a pas besoin de publicité. [...] La nouvelle Jérusalem. [...] Chaque pays a sa Babylon, très peu ou un Athènes ou une Florence* » (GARDINER 2010 [1954]: 48).

Notons encore que parmi les onomasticons historiques il y a maintes œuvres qui pourraient obtenir l'étiquette cible de cette étude, c'est-à-dire d'onomasticons globaux ; en effet, beaucoup d'entre eux se présentaient « globaux » pour leurs temps. Ceci peut être montré plus clairement à la lumière des réflexions qui suivent.

4. Dans la définition conventionnelle de l'onomasticon et de ses hyponymes majeures (anthroponomasticon, toponomasticon, chrématonomasticon) et mineures (ergonomasticon, zoonomasticon, phytonomasticon etc.) on prend en considération les critères liés à l'ethnie, au groupe social, à l'époque et à la culture particulière dans laquelle les onymes rassemblés émergent. Toujours est-

<sup>2</sup> Le dictionnaire recense surtout des noms d'espèces de la nomenclature botanique, de certaines substances, de maux et de maladies, mais aussi des unités lexicales que l'on pourrait rapprocher des para-pharmaconymes. Le texte est accessible au site <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=400792> (le dernier accès : 25.11.2017.).



il qu'on doit prévoir dans les recherches onomastiques matérielles et théoriques un espace dédié aux onymes dont l'emploi dépasse les limites d'une nation, d'une langue, d'un pays ou d'une région et qui se répandent sur une échelle internationale, globale. D'où l'idée des « onomasticons globaux » qui constituent des ensembles d'unités d'une catégorie ou d'une sous-catégorie propre utilisée par les usagers de différentes langues et cultures indépendamment de leur appartenance ethnique, sociale, culturelle ou linguistique. Dans bien des occurrences référentielles il s'agit de réalités (d'objets de dénomination) qui entraînent un impact planétaire.

Pour illustrer cette thèse, voyons quelques exemples d'onomasticons globaux précis en tenant compte des trois critères de rassemblement onymique qui déterminent : [1] le taux ou le degré de la globalisation que peuvent manifester les noms propres dans des ensembles circonscrits ; [2] la notoriété des unités propres incluses dans les onomasticons globaux transparents ou hypothétiques<sup>3</sup> ; [3] l'appartenance aux lexicons culturels<sup>4</sup> qui n'ont plus de bornes en raison de la globalisation de la culture/de la civilisation.<sup>5</sup>

En nuancant le critère [1] on pourrait parler de globalisation forte ou illimitée, de globalisation faible ou restreinte, de globalisation potentielle et de glocalisation. Par contre, les critères [2] et [3] sont au fond des catalyseurs du critère [1] parce qu'en fait, plus les unités propres sont notoires, plus elles ont la capacité d'entrer dans des onomasticons globaux, ou, d'autre part, plus les lexicons culturels s'ouvrent sur la communication internationale (aujourd'hui un fait inévitable à cause des mass-médias et d'Internet), plus les sens codés par eux deviennent communs pour les usagers non indigènes.

Les exemples qu'on peut citer sont décidément très nombreux. Essayons de les stocker dans des formules catégorielles mais qui se traduisent par certaines dominantes et impulsions culturelles comme justement la notoriété et l'appartenance aux lexicons culturels nationaux et internationaux s'élargissant grâce aux effets du développement des processus de la « globalisation propre » des langues et des cultures.

<sup>3</sup> À propos, comme le souligne EVGENY SHOKHENMAYER (2011 : 268), « La notoriété du nom propre est un phénomène anthropocentrique, individuel et personnalisé, dont le sens peut être dégagé par l'ensemble des facteurs : fréquence de l'usage, durée d'emploi, entrée dans les unités phraséologiques et participation au processus dérivationnel ». Ajoutons à cela que la notoriété des noms propres dans une situation communicative globalisée acquiert un statut et aspect social et sociétal.

<sup>4</sup> À la « lexiculture » dans les termes de ROBERT GALISSON (1988).

<sup>5</sup> Un procès très actif de nos jours mais observé aussi dans les époques précédentes, p.ex. par la diffusion des religions ou l'expansion continentale ou extra-continentale des empereurs ou des découvreurs, des colonisateurs et des envahisseurs dont l'activité portait jusqu'à des changements aux niveaux des strats linguistiques.



5. En premier lieu observons des cas qui se situent au niveau des anthroponomasticons et des toponomasticons globaux.

L'effet de la globalisation mais en même temps de la glocalisation se vérifie surtout là où l'on utilise et réutilise les formes anthroponymiques qui se sont diffusées dans le monde avant tout grâce à l'avancement et aux réalisations reconnues des civilisations grecque et romane, mais aussi de la christianisation du monde et du rayonnement de différentes idéologies et puissances autoritaires et sociales. D'où entre autres l'adoption de prénoms qui au départ de leur voyage à travers les anthroponomasticons de différentes langues et ethnies portaient une valeur sémantique et pragmatique évocatrice, p.ex. ceux de la souche hébraïque ou araméique comme *Daniel*, un prénom masculin ou féminin présent et potentiel dans plusieurs langues (de l'hébreu *dayân* et *el* qui signifient « Dieu est juge ») ; *Michel* (dérivé du prénom *Mika'el*, qui signifie « semblable à Dieu » en hébreu) ; *Jean* avec ses équivalents et des variantes ou des formes hypocoristiques que l'on peut dégager de toutes les langues majeures et mineures du Globe comme angl. *John*, *Ian*, *Sean*, fr. *Jeannot*, it. *Giovanni*, *Gianni*, *Nino*, *Ivano*, *Nanni*, *Vanni*, all. *Johann*, *Jan*, *Hans*, *Jens*, pol. *Jan*, *Janusz*, russ. *Иван* etc. (un dérivé du prénom hébraïque *Yehohanan* qui signifie « Dieu a fait grâce »). Dans le dernier exemple, analogiquement à plusieurs autres dans leur fonctionnement, on observe l'effet de la glocalisation, c'est-à-dire du ralliement d'une adaptation de la forme originale qui a passé par d'autres espaces linguistiques pour arriver et s'implanter dans une langue véhiculaire ou vernaculaire (ne fût-ce que pour des raisons fondées uniquement dans l'ordre esthétique ou à cause d'une mode en vigueur).

Remarquons que la glocalisation (ou la globalocalisation) proprement fonctionnelle comme le phénomène économique qu'est l'utilisation de la monnaie commune « euro » en Europe : l'euro « globalocal » reçoit dans chaque pays où la monnaie est utilisée une face dédiée à l'identité communautaire et l'autre aux symboles nationaux de chacun des pays (cf. CRAWFORD–HUMPHRIES–GEDDY 2015). Dans le cas des noms propres « globalocaux », des anthroponymes mais surtout des toponymes, on est devant des structures qui s'avèrent exonymiques par rapport à l'endonyme de la langue de départ ou d'une langue qui a servi d'intermédiaire pour arriver à une forme « globalocale ». Ainsi, angl. *Warsaw*, fr. *Varsovie*, esp. *Varsovia*, all. *Warschau*, irl. *Vársá*, hongr. *Varsó* sont des équivalents « globalocaux » du pol. *Warszawa*.

J'ose avancer l'hypothèse que les ensembles d'exonymes dans une langue donnée (en majorité des géonymes) créent des faits onomastiques qu'établissent en général des onomasticons (toponomasticons) globaux soit globalocaux.

Il ne faut pas toutefois oublier que les critères [2] et [3] de la globalisation proprement jouent toujours des rôles prépondérants. En effet, des microtoponymes



ont peu de chance d'entrer dans les toponomasticons globaux compris en tant qu'exonymes à moins qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'occurrences individuelles qui sont des témoignages d'événements historiques célèbres, parfois légendaires, sur l'échelle globale comme *les Thermopyles* (un ancien passage montagneux en Grèce) grâce à la *bataille des Thermopyles* ou des effets de la commercialisation d'un produit portant le nom démicrotoponymique, p.ex. les noms des sources d'eaux minérales fameuses comme *Évian* ou *Perrier* en France.<sup>6</sup>

Les noms *Évian* ou *Perrier* appartenant aux onomasticons globaux se comportent comme les noms de marque fixés dans leur forme originaire non modifiable pour pouvoir être reconnus et non confus avec d'autres dénominations possibles (pas de question d'exonymisation).

Pourtant le phénomène de la globalisation (ou de la glocalisation) propre consiste dans l'internationalisation par la voie des procédés de la déindigénation, parfois de la créolisation et de l'hybridisation lexicale. De prime abord, on est des fois incapable de reconnaître la forme d'origine qui est la base de l'exonyme globalisé, notamment quand elle a passé une évolution phonomorphologique encrée dans le système d'une langue X, comme p.ex. pol. *Rzym*, l'équivalent de *Rome, Roma*, soit qu'elle correspond à une traduction du nom d'origine, comme p.ex. pol. *Góry Skaliste* ou fr. *Montagnes Rocheuses* (amér. *Rocky Mountains*).<sup>7</sup>

Rappelons que la glocalisation propre concerne plus que tous les toponymes déjà fondés dans le dictionnaire mental d'une société ou d'une communauté linguistique ; les néo-toponymes sont ici moins évidents parce qu'ils commencent leur trajet de diffusion nationale et internationale. Nonobstant, tout dépend encore du taux de la notoriété et de l'ampleur de la diffusion communicationnelle voire discursive. Dans les onomasticons globaux, par la force des choses, sont entrées des formes néo-toponymiques qui servent à appeler p.ex. de grandes autoroutes européennes comme en Italie l'*Autostrada del Sole* (Milan-Naples), l'*Autostrada del Mediterraneo* (Salerno-Reggio Calabria), ou l'*Autostrada Adriatica* (Bologna-Taranto) soit les noms des aéroports internationaux déterminés du point de vue onomastique comme indications des lieux sur le terrain, exposés sur les cartes géographiques et routières, p.ex. l'*Aéroport Charles-de-Gaulle de Paris Roissy*, *Frankfurt Rhein-Main-Flughafen* ou *JFK Airport – John F. Kennedy International Airport de New York*.

<sup>6</sup> Quant à *Perrier* il faut noter que le nom a été obtenu par transonymisation déanthroponymique, résultat d'un procédé de nomination néo-toponymique attribuée à une source appelée jusqu'en 1903 Bouillens : il s'agit du nom de famille du découvreur et du premier propriétaire des thermes et de la production de l'eau minérale *Perrier*, Louis-Eugène Perrier.

<sup>7</sup> L'oronyme donné vers la moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à ce massif aux États-Unis par le voyageur Pierre Gautier de Yarenes et de la Vérendrye.

6. Il est évident que les onomasticons globaux abondent de nos jours sous la forme des chrématonymes de marketing (noms commerciaux), des chrématonymes sociaux (noms des groupes et organisations sociaux), des chrématonymes idéatifs (noms des actions et initiatives culturelles ainsi que des résultats de l'activité artistique, scientifique, idéologique, ludique etc.).

Tous les chrématonymes sont des faits onomastiques culturels qui ont un grand potentiel et pouvoir de devenir des unités propres internationales et internationalisées dès leur création et à partir de leur lancement sur le marché ou en général sur la scène de la vie sociale globalisée. C'est éminemment le cas des noms de marques (des ergonymes et des noms de produits) qui doivent être reproduits dans leur forme originale dans chaque langue où ils entrent comme éléments du discours et enseignes d'une activité économique, d'une firme, d'un produit ou d'un service, souvent en tant que « branduits » spécifiques. Pour citer quelques insignes exemples dans le chrématonomasticon de marketing global voyons : *Coca-Cola*, *Schweppes*, *Nutella*, *Ferrero-Rocher*, *FIAT*, *Ford*, *Renault*, *Versace*, *Prada*, *YSL*, *hp*, *Samsung*, *Canon*, *Colgate*, *Apple*, *Microsoft*, *Google*, *McDonald's*, *Tokaji*, *Martini* etc.

De plus, on note un grand nombre de noms propres de type chrématonymique qui composent des onomasticons globaux par excellence, rangés dans le cercle d'« onymo-lexèmes » par des lois internationales rigides, comme p.ex. la pharmaconymie c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des noms des médicaments et des produits pharmaceutiques. En effet, les pharmaconymes suivent des règles de formation prescrites par des normes et suggestions nettes et par l'utilité et l'usage spécifique de leurs objets de nomination. Ils codent des informations pratiques pour les spécialistes et les patients en indiquant des substances, des maladies, des organes etc., p.ex. les noms des médicaments dits dans la pharmacologie anti-inflammatoires non stéroïdiens (AINS) comme : *Arthrocine*, *Ibuprofen(e)*, *Diclofenac*, *Cartrex*, *Ketoprofen(e)*, *Meloxicam*, *Biogaran*, *Naproxene Sodique Teva*, *Piroxicam Irex* etc.

En vérité toute sorte de noms commerciaux indépendamment de leur localisation d'origine peuvent s'internationaliser et entrer finalement dans le chrématonomasticon global, en particulier quand ils sont déjà présents dans la communication en ligne qui ne pose aucun obstacle à l'expansion du chrématonyme parmi les idiomes du monde par l'intermédiaire de l'e-monde (Internet).

Les chrématonomasticons, avec ce potentiel globalisant, accumulent aussi, comme signalé ci-dessus, des formes transonymisées provenant p.ex. des endonymes qui indiquent des objets topographiques dans une langue étrangère, la source des soi-disant « emprunts onomastiques ». On le note entre autres dans le cas des urbonymes qui sont transposés dans la chrématonymie de marketing,



sociale ou idéative, comme p.ex. fr./intern. *Paris* (au lieu de *Paryż*, la forme du nom de la capitale française adaptée en polonais), servant en Pologne pour désigner quelques dizaines d'objets de nomination commerciale : restaurants, magasins de vêtements, studios de massage, coiffeurs, salons de beauté etc. Le recours aux formes étrangères munies de valeurs culturelles significatives, c'est bel et bien l'effet des stéréotypes: Paris, parisien renvoient au sublime, à l'exceptionnel, au sophistiqué, au luxueux etc.

Si on passe à d'autres types de chrématonymes, on retrouve des « champs onymiques » qui présentent un haut degré de globalisation, et cela concerne divers types d'idéonymes (titres d'œuvres artistiques, d'ouvrages littéraires, de peintures, de sculptures, de productions musicales, cinématographiques et de show-business, mais aussi des actions politiques, militaires, scientifiques, pédagogiques etc.). Ainsi, pour maintenir l'homogénéité communicationnelle et ne pas confondre les choses, on cite les titres des objets artistiques avec leurs noms originaires ou traduits littéralement dans une autre langue. P.ex. *Guernica* de Picasso, comme c'était l'intention de l'auteur, reste *Guernica* dans chaque langue qui l'évoque, au contraire de la peinture à l'huile de Vincent Van Gogh *De sterrennacht* qui passe dans d'autres espaces linguistiques sous le nom traduit à la lettre du titre hollandais ou de l'ang. *Starry Night* : fr. *La Nuit étoilée*, esp. *La noche estrellada*, rus. *Звёздная ночь*, tch. *Hvězdná noc*, pol. *Gwiaździsta noc* etc. Rien de plus global malgré certaines situations de doublets ou renominations des titres des œuvres passant d'un propriétaire à l'autre ou revendiquées par d'autres peuples et personnes.

7. Le caractère onomastique global ou globalocal est attribué en général aux mondes qui doivent rester immuables pour fonctionner comme tels et être perçus de la même manière par tous les usagers des langues diverses. De fait, c'est le cas de l'onymie littéraire, mythologique ou religieuse (spirituelle).

Voyons l'exemple du bestiaire et de tout l'univers imaginaire des sagas *fantasy* comme celle d'Andrzej Sapkowski dans *Wiedźmin*, en fr. *Le Sorcelleur*,<sup>8</sup> adaptée pour une production cinématographique mais surtout un jeu vidéo fameux peuplés par des centaines de noms de personnages, de figures fantastiques, de lieux, de choses et d'actions et d'événements présentant les exploits des héros littéraires transposés dans l'espace médiatique. Au niveau international global, dans la diffusion du langage propre sapkowski de *Wiedźmin*, on utilise deux sortes de processus : le premier consiste à transcrire les noms originels qui sont souvent des néologies ou des endonymes caractéristiques adoptés pour des raisons stylistiques (p.ex. les noms de la mythologie slave ou bien des créations dans la « langue antique », une langue inventée qui dans le monde fantastique

<sup>8</sup> La série de la *Saga du Sorcelleur* est publiée en France chez Bragelonne, en Pologne chez SuperNOWA.

des histoires du Sorceleur est utilisée par des elfes, la langue elfique avec ses traits phonétiques et para-morphologiques individuels imitant les langues nordiques, les parlers anciens germaniques et celtiques), p.ex. les noms des elfes *Filaverel aén Fidháil, Aenyeweddién, Aerirenn, Eredin Bréacc Glas, Avallac'h, Emean aep Sivney, Coinneach Dá Reo, Errdil, Ettariel, Galarr, Iorveth, Echel Traighlethan, Vanadàin, Yaeivin* etc. ; le deuxième c'est la traduction littérale du nom originel (polonais) ou la substitution de ce nom par un équivalent dans une autre langue en maintenant les effets stylistiques spécifiques, p.ex. angl. *The Cockatrice Inn* = pol. *Karczma « Kuroliszek »* (fr. *Cocatrix*), fr. *Traque Sauvage* = pol. *Dziki Gon*, un groupe de spectres malicieux, fr. *Charognard* = pol. *Trupojad*, une bête de l'espèce des putréfacteurs ou des nécrophages.

On pourrait faire les mêmes remarques à propos des mythonymes issus de la culture grecque ou latine, mais aussi slave, celtique, scandinave, biblique etc. Les preuves en sont nombreuses ; elles se manifestent à travers le riche lexique démytonymique et pénètrent au niveau global dans les langues du monde, p.ex. les noms et les phraséologies comme *cyclope, cerbère, furie, Sisyphe, ondine, boîte de Pandore, talon d'Achille, complexe d'Œdipe* etc.

La nature globalisante est propre aussi à des onomasticons à caractère religieux comme p.ex. l'onomastique mariale dans l'Église catholique ou dans d'autres confessions chrétiennes reconnaissant Marie Mère de Dieu (v. p.ex. CAFFARELLI 2016). Cette onomastique comprend entre autres des appellations attributives de la Sainte Vierge reproduites rigoureusement dans chaque langue dans laquelle on évoque le nom de Marie, p.ex. dans les litanies de Lorette : *Rose mystique, Tour de David, Reine des Patriarches, Salut des infirmes* ou dans les noms des fêtes mariales comme *Solennité de l'Immaculée Conception de Marie* (8.12), *Fête de la Visitation de la Vierge Marie* (31.05), *Solennité de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie* (15.08), *Mémoire de Notre Dame du Rosaire* (7.10) et autres.

Par surcroît, les noms des fêtes religieuses de diverses religions ainsi que des fêtes laïques ou d'origine païenne<sup>9</sup> composent un important onomasticon globalisé ou glocalisé qui reflète le respect d'une culture donnée par rapport aux traditions spirituelles ou populaires d'une nation, d'un territoire, d'une tradition observée, p.ex. les noms presque désacralisés et commercialisés de *Noël, de Pâques* ou de l'*Épiphanie*, fêtes chrétiennes ; ou les noms des fêtes juives comme *Pourim, Roch Hachana, Yom Kippour, Hanouka*, reconnues surtout dans la réalité israélienne et nord-américaine mais aussi dans d'autres coins de la Planète. Des cas particulièrement intéressants et qui prêtent à discussions

<sup>9</sup> On pourrait les appeler « héortonymes », en adoptant le terme fonctionnant dans l'onomastique slave : russ. *зеорто́ним*, pol. *heortonim* < gr. *heorté* 'fête, festival' (v. PODOLSKAYA 1978/1988 : s.v. ; <https://onomastyka.uni.lodz.pl/strona-glowna/terminologia-polska>, le dernier accès : 10.07.2018.) ; parfois entendus comme 'noms des événements' (cfr. VRUBLEVSKAYA 2006).

idéologiques sont les noms comme *Halloween*, *la Saint Valentin*, it. *Ferragosto* (la Fête de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie), pol. *Noc Kupały*, la nuit de Kupala, une fête traditionnelle des slaves célébrée aux environs du solstice d'été en juin, compte tenu du fait que Kupala est une figure du monde slave ; *la Sainte-Lucie* (dans le calendrier suédois mais aussi d'autres pays scandinaves sous le nom de *Lucia* avec des processions consacrées à Sainte Lucie su. *Luciatåg*, célébrée aussi en Italie, en Hongrie et dans d'autres pays européens).

8. Pour conclure, il faut constater qu'il existe plusieurs ensembles de noms propres auxquels on peut attribuer l'étiquette d'« onomasticons globaux ». Ces ensembles sont riches en unités onymiques parmi lesquelles on retrouvent de nombreux exemples de toutes les catégories propres. Les anthroponomasticons, les toponomasticons, les chrématonomasticons et d'autres types possibles d'onomasticons définis comme « globaux » ou « globalocaux » se caractérisent par des traits pertinents qui renvoient à des effets du phénomène de la « globalisation » ou de la « glocalisation » active aussi dans d'autres sphères de la vie publique (p.ex. dans le monde économique, idéologique et artistique) ; leur nature « globale » recourt aussi à la notoriété propre pour l'internationalisation des faits onomastiques particuliers, à l'appartenance et à l'incorporation culturelles du « lexique propre » dans une langue. Par ailleurs, les unités des onomasticons globaux s'enregistrent dans la mémoire collective de l'humanité à différents niveaux de leur fonctionnement. Les onomasticons globaux particuliers forment des lexicons culturels voire des encyclopédies mentales avec un savoir commun de la culture humaine. La formation et la fondation des onomasticons globaux est un procès spontané mais aussi guidé par certains buts qui relèvent de l'activité intellectuelle, créative, scientifique, idéologique et médiatique du monde qui est devenu aujourd'hui un village commun. À l'échelle planétaire de plus en plus d'onymes finissent « globaux », c'est-à-dire re/connus et utilisés dans divers discours de langues variées.

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## Résumé

L'article présente une approche théorique de la question des « onomasticons globaux », c'est-à-dire des ensembles de noms propres qui appartiennent simultanément à de nombreuses zones linguistiques et culturelles et deviennent ainsi éléments de la culture universelle. Les onomasticons globaux sont propres pour toutes les catégories onymiques. On peut les délimiter surtout en tant qu'« anthroponomasticons globaux », « toponomasticons globaux » et « chrématonomasticons globaux ». Le caractère global des unités onomastiques se manifeste principalement dans le domaine des chrématonymes, en particulier les noms de marques et de produits. De toute façon on peut parler de phénomènes de globalisation aussi dans le cas des anthroponymes et des toponymes dès qu'ils subissent des procès de glocalisation ou reçoivent officiellement ou inofficiellement le statut des exonymes.

**Mots-clés:** globalisation, glocalisation, onomasticon, théorie onomastique, noms propres, exonyme



César López-Leiva–Joan Tort-Donada

## ***Toponyms related to plants in transitional vegetation areas: How diversity is conveyed by place-names***

### **1. Introduction**

In this study we select a set of territorial cases as empirical examples of areas in which vegetation ecotones are reflected in place-names. More particularly, we include references to spatially close plant covers that otherwise occupy separate biogeographic zones or different bioclimatic and altitudinal levels. Such occurrences are not uncommon in transitional regions, as exemplified here by many territorial zones of the Iberian Peninsula. Our contribution focuses on single vegetation types as alluded to by place-names, rather than whole ecosystems or landscapes, and on types which furthermore require a more in-depth analysis to determine whether toponymic references are direct or indirect.

We adopt a case-study approach in order to show the relevance of the use of place-names as preliminary indicators for the ‘reading’ of landscapes using toponymic-referenced maps, prior to field surveys or image photointerpretation focused specifically on the vegetation cover. In short, it is our contention that place-names may provide an understanding of shifts in plant cover in specific geographical contexts at different scales.

### **2. Transitional vegetation areas: ecotones**

The classical definition – one that is already ‘old’ in Ecology – states that an *ecotone* (from the Greek roots *oikos* ‘home’ and *tonus* ‘tension’) is a zone of transition, an edge environment, between two or more distinct adjacent ecological units that meet and integrate. Diverse forest and shrub communities, belonging to different bioclimatic levels or allocated to distinct potential physiognomic types, grow in narrow fringes or occur together in a given area. Moreover, ecotones may commonly involve biodiversity hotspots due to the concurrence of elements. Ecotones are essentially dynamic. They behave as filters and their permeability – related to the degree of contrast – depends on the characteristics of the systems present and the type of boundary, which can facilitate, hinder or be neutral for the flows of species, genes, water, nutrients, energy or disturbances. The mortality rate may increase for some species while, at the same time, pioneer recruitment may also be higher. Plant communities and taxa that occur in ecotones may not be the only ones on both sides, we



are also likely to find other highly adaptable, communities able to colonize transitional zones (especially, if we are contemplate them at the large scale).

Depending on the scale, different units may be blended or be in spatial contact, such as biomes, landscapes, ecosystems, habitats (that is, plant communities) or botanical taxa. Since the definitions first outlined by LIVINGSTON (1903) – “stress lines connecting points of accumulated or abrupt change” – and CLEMENTS (1905), who viewed ecotones as abrupt lines between two systems, the concept of the ecotone has evolved: “zones of tension between biogeographical regions” (CURTIS–MCINTOSH 1951) or “broader landscape elements with more dynamic, somewhat unstable characteristics” as defined by VAN DE MAAREL (1990), who also argues that there should be a distinction between *ecoclines* (zones with higher species richness) and *ecotones* in the strict sense (zones with similar or lesser species richness). This argument is also supported by more recent research (LLOYD et al. 2000, WALKER et al. 2003, SENFT 2009).

Boundaries and zones of intergradation may be very sharp, abrupt or contrasted, derived from drastic changes in environmental conditions (*limes convergens*) (MARGALEF 1974, TERRADAS 2001). Or, in contrast, they may show a gradually blended interface area (*limes divergens*), where the superior competitors spread out as far as they are able to. Also, they may be narrow or wide, local or regional, depending on the scale. Traditionally, the study of ecotones has been developed at three somewhat different scales: local edges, mountain timberlines and at wider scales (regional, continental).

The type of ecotone, therefore, is dependent on multiple factors: be they current or historical, natural or derived from human action.

Ecotone research has increased greatly since the 1980s, resulting in a variety of scientific studies. The delineation and interpretation of ecotones have emerged as core tasks in some approaches to Ecology. But, as far as the transversal concept of landscapes is concerned, each related discipline provides its own relevant information. The starting point for this study is the consideration of ecotones as areas in which geobotanical research, supported by place-name indicators can make a noteworthy contribution to a more comprehensive understanding of complex, multifunctional landscapes as defined by NAVEH (2001). In this context, place-names belong to our *noospheric* knowledge and there is a need for primary approaches to identify indicators of ecotonal situations.

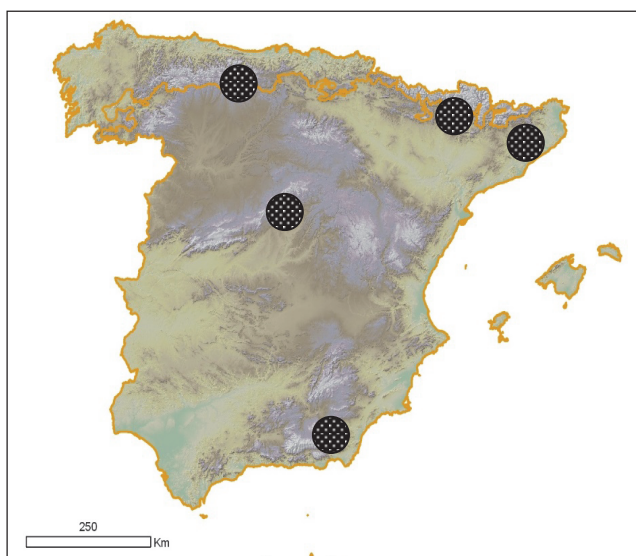
Additionally, in these transitional belts, the Onomastic Sciences can furnish highly valuable information, either about morphosyntactic traits or, more particularly, about the lexicon and semantics (local common names of botanical species or plant communities and their possible meanings). Moreover, place-names may indicate the spatial location where certain taxa become rare at the

local or regional scale, regardless of just how extensive they are in adjacent territories: the basilar performance of the ‘edge effects’.

Boundaries attract even greater interest if they are also transition areas for language traits (dialectal transitions). In this regard, it is not uncommon, especially in mountain landscapes of complex relief, to find that geographic barriers have historically become local limits for the spread of language varieties at a distinct level, as the case studies below illustrate.

### **3. Biogeographic regions and mountain ranges as ecotonal zones and even language boundaries: the case of Spain**

As discussed above, the variety of plant species or communities can be quite remarkable in mountain ranges compared to that found in the surrounding landscapes. On the Iberian Peninsula, especially within Spanish territory, we witness the meeting of two great biogeographic regions: the Eurosiberian/Euroatlantic and the Mediterranean (Figure 1). The line across the northernmost quarter of this map of Spain represents the boundary between the two regions. The Pyrenees Range, although primarily Alpine –linked to the European central massifs – is usually included within the Euroatlantic region since their dominant plant species are similar to a large degree.

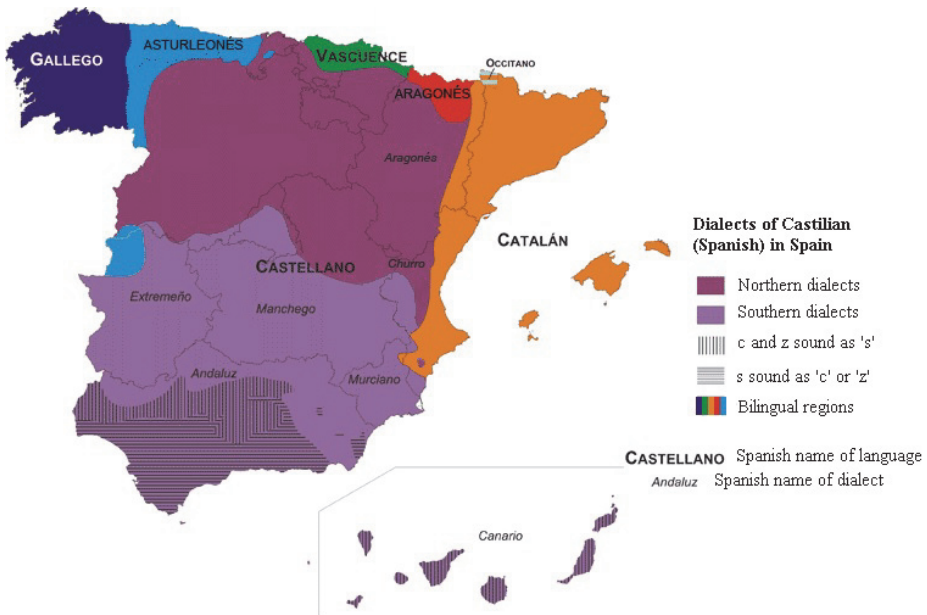


**Figure 1:** Spanish territory (without the Canary Islands) and the approximate division line between the main biogeographical regions: Euroatlantic (north) and Mediterranean (south). Circles represent the approximate locations of the five areas studied

(Source: Own mapping based on RIVAS-MARTÍNEZ 1987 and the Digital Elevation Model; [www.cnig.es](http://www.cnig.es))

Nevertheless, the boundary is not entirely clear and, apart from local controversies concerning its real limits, there is, in fact, a wide/narrow strip (depending on the scale) where a transition is evident when we compare the composition of the plant covers and the different patches in the landscape mosaic. Slight differences in altitude, gradient and, most significantly, in aspect (shady-sunny hillslopes) can result in the occurrence of highly diverse plant communities. A further notable feature on the Peninsula is provided by the mountain massifs in southernmost Spain, with the coexistence of Euroatlantic and Mediterranean (including transitional or Submediterranean) ecosystems. This is made manifest by a wide range of introgression categories, ranging from constricted plant populations to widespread types of blended plant covers.

Mountain belts are quite typically often related to language current or historical domains, as shown in the map in Figure 2.



**Figure 2:** Spanish territory and the current geographic distribution of languages and dialects

(Source: Martorell 2006 based on GARCÍA MOUTON 1994)

The scale is a crucial factor for evaluating transitional or ecotonal indicators in place-names, determining, if the contrasts are noteworthy and, above all, if they can be considered local or regional. Likewise, scale in place-name mapping may be a relevant trait for the location and extension of such a site, along with such features as distribution, frequency and density. Moreover, the

scale conditions the type of place-name (be it urban or rural) recorded on maps, taking into account dialectal considerations (often, with highly blurred limits).

#### 4. Case studies in the Iberian Peninsula

For our case study, and for an initial reflection, which seeks to identify regularities in ecotonal hotspots where the edge effect is at its highest expression, we have selected five areas that correspond to mountain ranges in the Iberian Peninsula, as illustrated in the map included here as Figure 1.

Our data bases and maps are derived from the Iberpix viewer made available by the *Instituto Geográfico Nacional* (Spain) at <http://www.ign.es/iberpix2/visor/>. We have implemented consecutive use of different zooms to identify the most diverse toponymy (at a scale of 1 : 25,000).

##### 4.1. Montseny

Montseny is a mountain massif integrated in the Catalan Pre-coastal Range, lying in the province of Barcelona, in Catalonia. In some of its traits, it represents a marginal area of the adjacent, albeit somewhat distant, Pyrenean Range. In fact, it presents conifer forests of silver fir (*Abies alba*), representing the southernmost samples in the Iberian peninsula. The unique and dominant language of its toponymy is Catalan. From the point of view of potential vegetation types, the Montseny represents a convergence core of occurring ecosystems based on conifer forests, deciduous and semideciduous forests, along with even sclerophyll vegetation in what is quite a small area (RUIZ DE LA TORRE 1990–1998).

The place-names selected are highlighted and located in Figure 3: to the west, *Fageda Gran*, *Passavets* and *Els Ginebrons*; in the central-eastern section, *Auleda Gran*.

*Fageda* refers to the presence of *Fagus sylvatica*, the collective name for the catalan phytonym *faig* being *fageda*. The beech is one of the best exponents of the Eurosiberian vegetation type, requiring as it does a wet climate, or at least a high degree of relative humidity. *Font de Passavets* bears the Catalan name of the silver fir, ‘avet’, a species similarly associated with a wet climate and mountain areas. Both place-names could be taken as indicators of exceptional or even unique forests in the surrounding regional area (excluding the neighbouring Pyrenees) and, above all, the *Abies alba* forests, so that their presence can be explained in terms of the exceptionality principle (TORT-DONADA 2010).

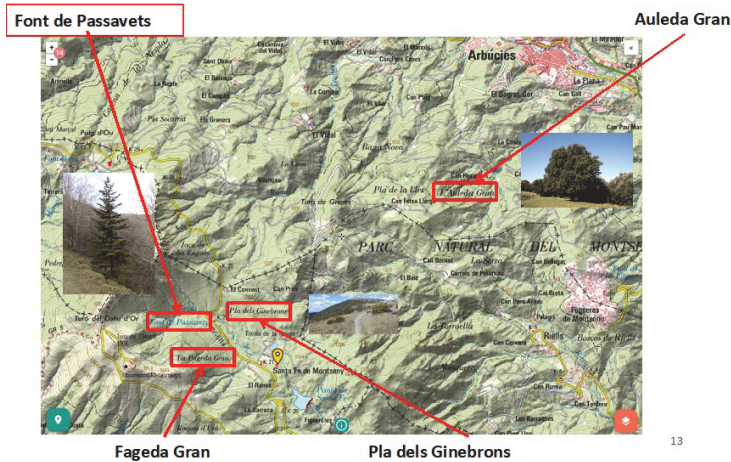
In the nearby area, the disappearance of most of the mature forest has led to the development of shrubland communities, such as *Juniperus communis* (*ginebre*),



as alluded to by the place-name *Pla dels Ginebrons*. Today, however, the site is almost totally covered by forests.

The biodiversity and the richness of the Montseny ecotone are highlighted by neighbouring toponyms: at a distance of just 4.5 km, we find *Auleda Gran*, indicative of the presence of a more Mediterranean forest of *Quercus ilex ilex*, a collective stand of which is known in Catalan as an *aulet* or *auleda*. The scale factor also has to be taken into account here, since, at the local level, beech forests may be considered common.

The toponym allows us to delimit the area in relation to the dominant species, while considering the other interstitial plant communities as mixed components, secondary or ancillary species or simply inclusions or introgressions in a mapped polygon of current vegetation, and especially for its potential, or historical, vegetation. Logically, image interpretation is always essential, but toponymy turns out to aid in this task.



**Figure 3:** Some place names related to vegetational traits at the Montseny Massif (Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain) and their mutual spatial proximity showing ecotonal transition between eurosiberian and mediterranean elements

(Source: MTN = Mapa Topogràfic Nacional de Espana / National Topographic Map of Spain at scale 1:25.000)

#### 4.2. Pre-Pyrenean range

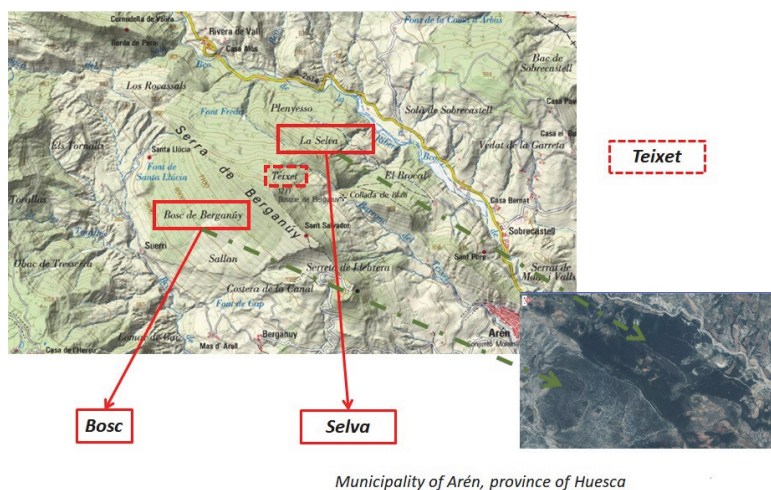
The area surveyed belongs to the pre-Pyrenean range, lying primarily in the province of Huesca (Aragón), although we discuss other place-names in the adjacent province of Lleida (Catalonia). The pre-Pyrenean range constitutes a lower mountain range parallel to the main Pyrenees, but it also presents highly complex structural characteristics. The territory is located in a transitional fringe



between two floristic domains: the Euroatlantic and the Mediterranean, so that it includes alternating, and blended vegetation covers in a highly broken mosaic pattern. Its climate is Submediterranean, even Mediterranean on its sunny hillslopes, where summer dryness is more acute due to evapotranspiration. The dominant language in the toponymy is western Catalan with a strong influence of Castilian/Aragonese. From the point of view of potential vegetation types, Submediterranean semideciduous forests are dominant in the area, along with their substitution communities in which maturity is not achieved. This means that the main arboreal vegetation consists of oak forests (*Quercus faginea*, *Q. humilis*), although the occurrence of the evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex ballota*) is also very common. This can, therefore, be interpreted as a very gradual ecotone, which has adapted to the small differences in physiographic aspect.

Two nearby place-names show this concurrence: *Lo Coscollar* and *Rouredes de Sas*. *Coscolla* refers to *Quercus ilex* while *roure* is the Catalan name for deciduous *Quercus*. Another interesting occurrence is the nearby presence of two names that refer to the same plant cover: *roure* (Catalan) and *cajigo/quejigo* (Castilian) lie just 7 km from each other.

Two other place-names refer to structural traits of vegetation communities: *bosc* and *selva* allude to original arboreous, dense and comparatively large forests (Figure 4). A high density of trees can be considered the main characteristic of these locations, making it a significant feature. It should be borne in mind that *bosc* is a frequently occurring name, particularly for *Quercus ilex*.



**Figure 4:** Examples of place names related to vegetation units. Sierra de Berganuy (Arén/Areny, Huesca, Aragón, Spain). Ecotonal contact between submediterranean and subsclerophyll forests and sites of remnant taxa (Source: MTN = Mapa Topográfico Nacional de España / National Topographic Map of Spain at scale 1:25.000)

In contrast, we find a singular place-name referring to a mountain peak: *Teixet*. This alludes to *Taxus baccata* (cat. *Teix*, yew), a tree that today is in regression, hidden away in inaccessible sites and commonly represented by scattered or unique examples. The diminutive suffix *-et* indicates the occurrence of what was probably a temporarily small tree. Toponyms can be an eloquent way of conveying the degree of gregariousness and, therefore, the diversity of patterns of plant species and their insertion in the landscape.

Eighteen kilometres from the municipality of Arén in the north-northeast, another interesting place-name and indicator of ecotonal site can be found: *La Faiada de Malpàs*. This refers to a deciduous forest of *Fagus sylvatica*, associated with a wet local climate on a site located on shady hillslopes, representing a medium-scale exception within the whole.

### 4.3. The southern slopes of the Cantabrian Range

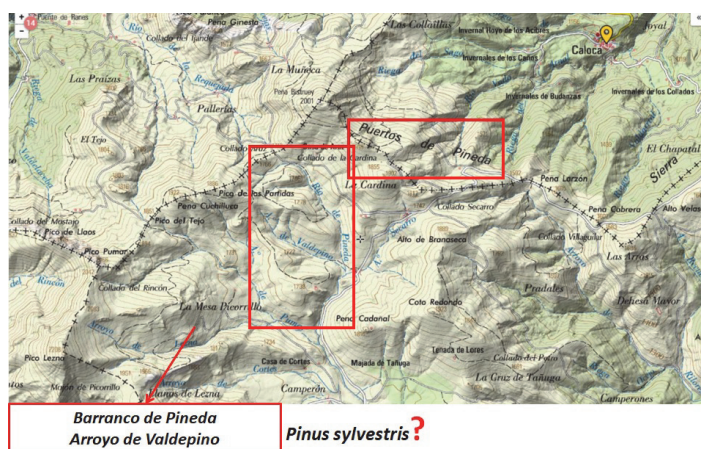
The area surveyed belongs to the Cantabrian Range, in the provinces of Palencia and Burgos (Castilla y León region). The southern slopes of this large range adjoin the Duero basin and present an outstanding ecotonal transition from the highest altitudes, that is, from its northernmost strip, due to the south facing aspect of the hillslopes. The floristic domain is mostly Eurosiberian/Euroatlantic passing to wet Submediterranean in what is a very narrow transition. The dominant language of the toponymy is northern Castilian. The local *comarcas* (district or supramunicipal areas) studied are La Pernía-Alto Carrión (Palencia) and Merindades (Burgos). From the point of view of potential vegetation types, Euroatlantic and Submediterranean deciduous forests are dominant in the area. There is a direct transition from these two types and the shrublands and grasslands of the high mountain vegetation, above the timberline.

Only in a few small and scarce sites do we find natural, spontaneous samples of pine forests, which would have been more extensive in early periods before gradually disappearing in the late Holocene and, over the last 5,000 years, as a result of the management of pastures by human populations. Hence, the occurrence of place-names related to ‘pine’ (*Pineda*, *Valdepino*) (Figure 5) is noteworthy. Although the hypothesis that the reference might be to ‘pino’, an adjective meaning ‘steep slope’, should not be rejected, the reference to *Pinus sylvestris* is more likely, taking into account that one of the Cantabrian relic pine forests is located 24 km far away, in Velilla de Río Carrión. As such, this could be evidence of a historical ecotonal shift within the Cantabrian mountains.

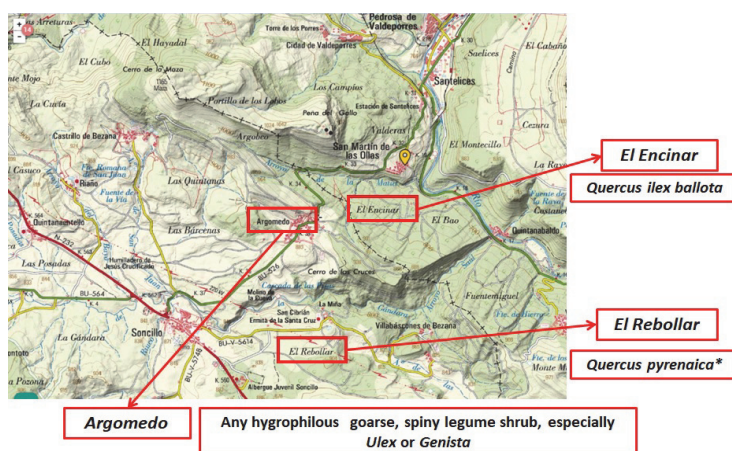
A further example of an ecotone indicated by place-names lies in Las Merindades (Burgos). Three toponyms concentrate in a small area between the municipalities of Soncillo and San Martín de las Ollas (Figure 6). *Argomedo*, collective phytonym derived from ‘árgoma’ (uncertain origin), may refer to



any gorse species of the *Fabaceae* family, but only to those occurring in wet or sub-wet climate regions, such as the tree alluded to in *El Rebollar*; *Quercus pyrenaica*. However, close to *Argomedo*, the place-name *El Encinar* is an evident indicator of a stand of *Quercus ilex*, a much more typical Mediterranean species.



**Figure 5:** Past occurrence of needleleaved forests within current prevailing deciduous forests domain in some sites in de Cantabrian Range (northern Spain) (Source: MTN = Mapa Topográfico Nacional de España / National Topographic Map of Spain at scale 1:25.000)



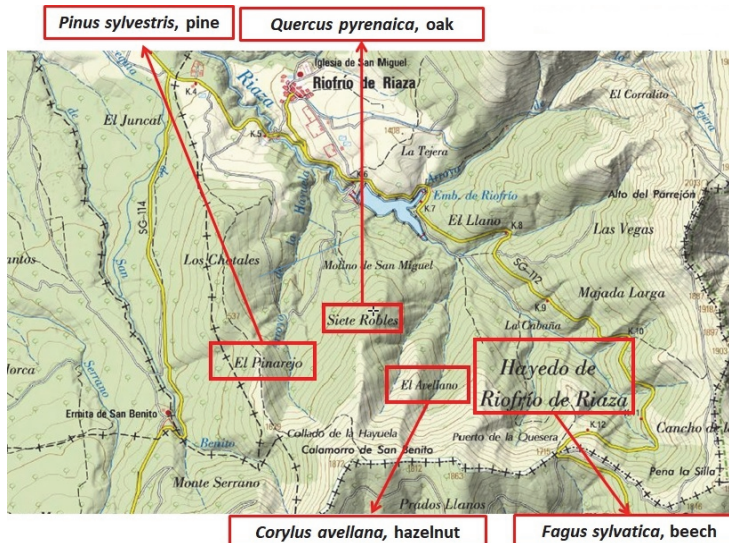
**Figure 6:** Some place names related to transitional physiognomies between sclerophyll and subsclerophyll (=submediterranean) forests, along with allusions to shrub communities linked to the euroatlantic floristic elements (Source: MTN = Mapa Topográfico Nacional de España / National Topographic Map of Spain at scale 1:25.000)

#### 4.4. The Central System

In an area surrounding the municipality of Riaza (province of Segovia), we find one of the scarce beech forests (*Fagus sylvatica*) of the Central System of the Iberian Peninsula. The area concentrates the principal traits of this mountain range: continentality, due to its location, a mountain climate and an ecological transition of its potential arboreal vegetation (excluding the highest levels). At the sites surveyed, we find samples of marginal, interstitial deciduous Euroatlantic forests, particularly of *Fagus sylvatica*, mixed with Submediterranean sub-wet communities, along with *matrix* pine forest of *Pinus sylvestris*, especially common in this eastern half of the Central System.

The place-names selected in the surveyed area are transparent in meaning (Figure 7): *El Pinarejo*: a diminutive collective phytonym of *Pinus sylvestris*; *Siete Robles*: a plural phytonym, “seven oaks”; *El Avellano*: a singular toponym alluding to the presence of an individual of *Corylus avellana*, a subarbooreal species occurring mostly in Euroatlantic forests; *Hayedo de Riofrio de Riaza*: a place-name alluding to a collective unit of vegetation (*symphytotoponym*).

The main feature of all these place-names, taken as a whole, is their proximity to one another in a relatively small area. Another feature that stands out is the mixture of conifer, broadleaved deciduous and semideciduous forests and their potentiality if the climate conditions remain as they are.



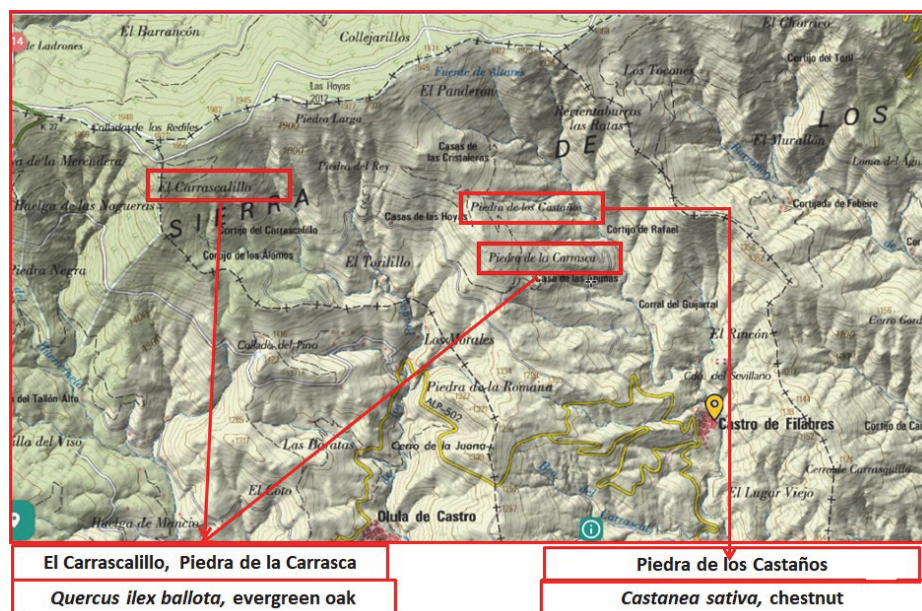
**Figure 7:** Remnant mesophile deciduous forests in the eastern Central Range (Spain) and several vegetational place names alluding to some typical species of transitional areas

(Source: MTN = Mapa Topográfico Nacional de España / National Topographic Map of Spain at scale 1:25.000)

#### 4.5. East of Sierra Nevada

Finally, heading south, the highest peaks of the Iberian Peninsula are found in the Penibaetic range. The area surveyed corresponds to the eastern massifs, principally the Sierra de los Filabres, in the foothills of Sierra Nevada. The vegetation of the Sierra de los Filabres presents marked contrasts at the medium-large scale. From the Submediterranean vegetation of the highest altitudes, there is a spatial succession of plant cover types of primarily xerophilic species, with a dominant level corresponding to a typical potential Mediterranean vegetation type: sclerophyll.

At the small scale, there are few place-names related to the transitional vegetation. *Carrasca* and *Carrascalillo* point to the presence of *Quercus ilex ballota*, the evergreen oak, known in other regions as *encina*, while *Piedra de los Castaños* refers to the *Castanea sativa*, the deciduous, broadleaved chestnut (Figure 8). *Carrasca* is the dominant phytonym for the abundant *Quercus ilex* in the eastern half of the Iberian Peninsula, including Aragon, part of Castile, Valencia, La Mancha, Murcia and Eastern Andalusia.



**Figure 8:** Toponyms in Sierra de Filabres (Eastern Andalusia, Spain), representing collective names of two plant species characteristic of two physiognomic types of vegetation: evergreen and deciduous-submediterranean. The sector of the images is located very close to semiarid and arid areas (Desierto de Tabernas, province of Almería), hence being a sharp transition at larger scales (Source: MTN = Mapa Topográfico Nacional de España / National Topographic Map of Spain at scale 1:25.000)



The Desierto de Tabernas lies less than 20 km from the aforementioned toponyms. This ecotone is perhaps one of the most striking and most abrupt transition areas in the whole of Spain, at least from the point of view of its vegetation structure: forests (scarce or open), at one extreme, and an almost total lack of vegetation, at the other, corresponding to hyper-xerophilic landscapes.

## 5. Concluding remarks

1. Ecotones are areas of biodiversity, across which the complexity of vegetation cover may increase. Place-names related to the vegetation cover in such enclaves tend to be transparent (this is, the names can be interpreted in their proper sense). However, in many cases a consideration of the exceptionality principle might be relevant, in particular, to gain a better understanding of the biogeographical changes in these places over long periods of time.

2. In mountainous countries, especially in areas of transition, where altitude, slope and aspect determine variations in the landscape units, the toponymy can reveal interesting information about the distribution and features of vegetation and the importance of the plant cover based on the local inhabitants' perceptions over time.

3. Here, we selected a number of areas with these characteristics in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain) to illustrate how links between natural and cultural landscapes are forged and how place-names are subsequently coined. The areas selected and surveyed present their ecotonal features due to their boundary strip locations and also as a result of diverse circumstances related to the history of their management.

4. Above all, the 'scale factor' appears to be highly relevant in being able to interpret the toponymy of these areas correctly.

5. As primary indicators, toponyms may provide useful tools for locating and understanding current plant covers in transitional areas, and for determining whether the boundaries are sharp (*limes divergens*) or gradual (*limes convergens*). This has an immediate application in vegetation mapping when the whole territory cannot be surveyed *in situ* and singularities, introgressions, etc. have to be accounted for.

6. A specific application of toponyms in vegetation mapping may be their delimitation of potential or historical areas of distribution. Analysing old locations, enclaves that have survived or disappeared, may reveal important features.

7. The core of the rural toponymy in an ecotone can be delimited by gathering place-names. In this regard, the greater the density of toponyms available, the

more accurate the analysis can be. Cadastral place-names, where present, can serve as an excellent source.

### Acknowledgments

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## Abstract

Ecotones are areas of biodiversity, across which the complexity of vegetation cover may increase. Diverse forest and shrub communities, belonging to different bioclimatic levels or potential physiognomic types, grow in narrow fringes or meet and integrate in a given area. Place-naming related to the vegetation covering such enclaves tends to be strongly influenced by the toponymic principles of significativeness and exceptionality at a very small scale, although these principles may eventually become blurred. In mountainous countries, especially transition areas, in which altitude, slope and aspect determine variations in the landscape units, the toponymy can reveal interesting information about the distribution of the vegetation and the importance of the plant covers based on the local inhabitants' perceptions over time. We select a number of areas with these characteristics in the Iberian peninsula (Spain) to illustrate how links between natural and cultural landscapes are forged and how place-names are subsequently coined. We examine specifically the Montseny in Catalonia, some comarcas of the pre-Pyrenees, the northern province of Burgos, the southern slopes of the Cantabrian range in the province of Palencia, the sierras of the Central System and the ecotone formed by the deserts and adjacent mountains in Eastern Sierra Nevada. Above all, the 'scale factor' appears to be a highly relevant determinant of the toponymy of these areas.

**Keywords:** place-names and vegetation, natural and cultural landscapes, Iberian peninsula

Barbara Bába

## ***Chronological and Word-geographical Stratification of Geographical Common Words meaning ‘Watercourse’\****

1. The etymological, word-geographical and chronological stratification of geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’ has been addressed several times in the works dealing with geographical common words. For instance, the most recent word-geographical study of the lexeme *patak* ‘brook’ has been carried out by ISTVÁN HOFFMANN (2003), whereas the other geographical common words denoting ‘watercourse’ of the early Old Hungarian period have been studied in detail by ERZSÉBET GYÖRFFY (2011: 85–104, cf. MELICH 1925: 53, KÁLMÁN 1967, TÓTH 1997, 1998). These studies give an overview of the word-geographical characteristics of the geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’ in the early Old Hungarian period. Drawing on these studies we can get closer to grasping the factors that have influenced the spread of geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’ from the early Old Hungarian period. Yet, we must anticipate limiting ourselves to making assumptions and listing arguments supporting those assumptions to some extent instead of providing reassuring and exhaustive replies (cf. DITRÓI 2016: 39–128).

For the compilation of the data corpus of my study I have used GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY’s work (1963–1998) *Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Árpád Dynasty* (Gy.), the publications *Data on Toponymic History from the Early Old Hungarian Era* edited by ISTVÁN HOFFMANN, ANITA RÁCZ and VALÉRIA TÓTH (HA. 1., 2., 3., 4., 1997, 1999, 2012, 2017), and the *Dictionary of Early Hungarian Toponyms* (KMHsz. 1., 2005). However, a number of blank spots have remained on the map covering the language area of the early Old Hungarian period even after recording these basic sources; as further sources, I have taken data from TIVADAR ORTVAY’s (1882), SÁNDOR MIKESY’s (1940), LÁSZLÓ PAIS’s (1941–1942), GEORG HELLER’s (1975, 1981, 1985), PÉTER NÉMETH’s (2008) and ISTVÁN SZABÓ’s works (1937), as well as from RÓBERT KENYHERCZ’s compilation relating to Szepes county and from the database of the Research group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics

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in Debrecen. The data corpus compiled in this way contains more than 1300 geographical common words (appellatives and parts of toponyms) meaning ‘watercourse’ originating from the early Old Hungarian period.

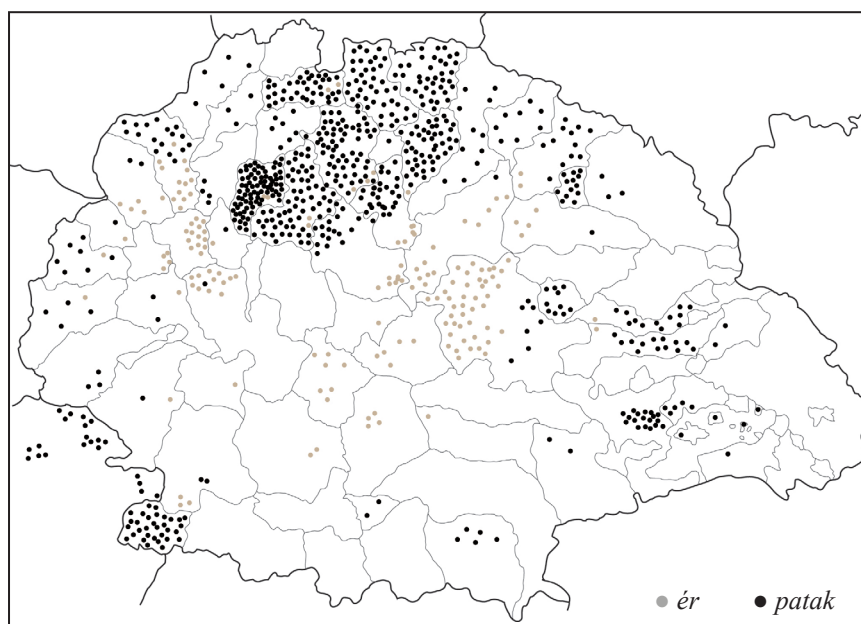
2. While studying the chronological stratification of geographical common words denoting ‘watercourse’, first and foremost we must bear in mind that among geographical common words we can observe a certain kind of contradiction that certain geographical common words of Ugric and Finno-Ugric origin (e.g. *falu* ‘village’, *hát* ‘promontory’, *ház* ‘settlement’, *mál* ‘slope’) appeared in the sources only in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Furthermore, there are examples showing that the first data on such geographical common words come only from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (*domb* ‘promontory’). The spread of those ancestral geographical common words must have been influenced (besides many other factors) by the rapid spread of an element having a similar meaning, more precisely by its inhibiting and limiting role. For instance, the early spread of the lexeme *halom* ‘lower hill’, which inhibited the spread of the lexeme *domb* (RESZEGI 2011: 89–90), and the lexeme *kerek* ‘forest’ must have been overshadowed at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the influence of another lexeme of the lexical field, the derivative word *erdő* ‘forest’.

We can enumerate many other – phonetic, morphological and vocabulary-related – examples supporting the assertion that the withdrawal or the limited spread of a given linguistic phenomenon is caused by the advancement of other linguistic phenomena. For example, the restriction of the use of the phoneme *ly* [ɬ] (e.g. *hely* ‘place’) (which had been previously widespread throughout the Hungarian language area) to the Palóc regions situated in the Northern part of the language area occurred as a consequence of the use of the phoneme *j* (e.g. *hej* ‘place’) and the use of the phoneme *l* (e.g. *hel* ‘place’). In the field of morphophonology there are similar processes in the creation of forms with palatal-velar or labial–non-labial assimilation (e.g. *ötször* ‘five times’) of single-form suffixes (e.g. *ötszer* ‘ötször’ / ‘five times’) that led to the withdrawal of non-assimilated forms (BENKŐ 1957: 22, 2002: 231). Of the numerous lexical phenomena, a parallel phenomenon is, for instance, the overshadowing of the previously generally known *törökbors* ‘pepper’ under the influence of the Southern Slavic *paprika* ‘pepper’ (BENKŐ 2002: 364). The spread of the different toponym types may also be influenced by such factors, i.e. the previous name types may hold back the territorial spread of a given name type. For instance, according to ANDRÁS MEZŐ, in the territory of Szabolcs county, the spread of patrociny settlement names may have been inhibited by the fact that by the time this name-giving habit reached that region, the settlement names had been designated according to other settlement name-giving patterns (MEZŐ 1996: 229, TÓTH 2010: 137, cf. DITRÓI 2016).



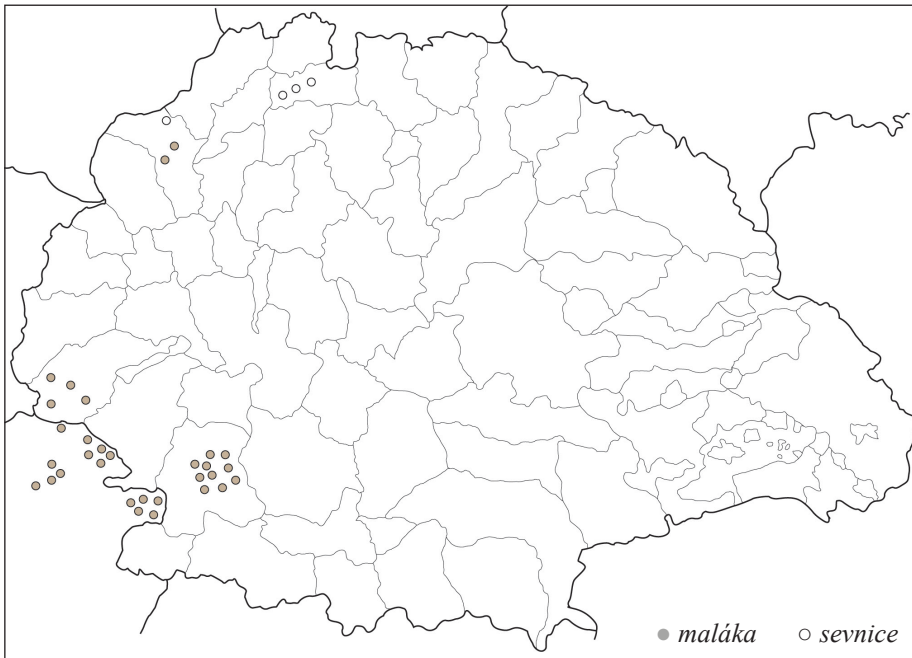
The situation may have been somewhat similar in the case of geographical common words denoting watercourses: the geographical common word *patak* ‘watercourse, smaller than a river’, which is of Slavic origin, displaced the ancestral words *jó* ‘river’ and *ügy* ‘river, brook, fish pond’, and its spread may have significantly inhibited the frequent use, as well as the territorial spread of other elements of the lexical field (such as the lexemes *aszó* ‘periodic watercourse, dry brook’, *fok* ‘brooklet or canal flowing out of larger waters’, *sár* ‘muddy stream, moorland, soggy area’, *séd* ‘source, brook’) (cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 104).

The mutual impact of the spread of geographical common words is well illustrated by the territorial distribution of the two most frequent geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’ of the early Old Hungarian period, since by studying the word-geographical characteristics of the geographical common word *ér* ‘brook’ and the geographical common word *patak* we can observe that their distribution is relatively sharply separated from each other: in the Northern, the Southern, South-western and the Eastern territories the geographical common word *patak*, while in the Central and North-western part of the language area the geographical common word *ér* can be found (see Figure 1). This separation is certainly not independent from several other circumstances either such as the geographical environment or the semantic factors that are in close relationship with it (cf. KÁLMÁN 1967: 346–347).



**Figure 1:** The Word-Geographical Distribution of *ér* and *patak*

We must also bear in mind that certain geographical common words were used a priori as dialectal lexemes in the early Old Hungarian period. In connection with the lexeme *patak*, ISTVÁN HOFFMANN refers to the fact that it must have been a dialectal word at the time of its inclusion in our language, since the word *patak* is a Slavic loanword. The geographical common words *sevnice* ‘smaller watercourse mostly with sour water’ and *maláka* ‘soggy moorland’ as Slavic loan elements may also have had a dialectal restriction, since on the basis of the early Old Hungarian maps they can unequivocally be linked to Slavic territories (see Figure 2).



**Figure 2:** The Word-Geographical Distribution of *sevnice* and *maláka*

According to the assumptions of several researchers and from the testimony of the cartographic data, the geographical common word *jó* was used also as a dialectal element only in the Northeastern and Eastern dialects (cf. KÁLMÁN 1967: 345–347, TÓTH 1997: 263, HOFFMANN 2003: 669, GYÖRFFY 2011: 97–99, 100–101). (See Figure 3.) The territoriality of *jó* may be linked to the fact that it must have had an ethnic or tribal restriction even before the Hungarian Conquest. So it is less likely that a word previously widespread throughout the Hungarian language area would have rolled back to a more confined area in the course of time. Similarly, the fact that in the early Old Hungarian period several ancestral lexical elements and Turkish loanwords anterior to the Hungarian Conquest had a dialectal character (e.g. the Finno-Ugric words *csúp*

‘peak’, *lol* ‘ham’, *hoporcs* ‘uprise’, the Turkish words *pőcsik* ‘horsefly’, *üvecs* ‘two-year old sheep’, *csécs* ‘pock-mark’, *szongor* ‘predatory bird belonging to the Falconidae’) may also be related to the fact that in one of the ancestral Hungarian dialect types they may have been present as real dialectal words (cf. BENKŐ 1957: 70, 2002: 362–363). In the Old Hungarian period, it is of course not easy to demonstrate that a given word was a colloquial word or a dialectal word in the period, but in connection with a given lexeme, e.g. the geographical common word *mál* ‘versant’ it can be assumed that it must have been a more widely known word, and its use must have withdrawn in the course of time (BENKŐ 2002: 365, cf. RESZEGI 2011: 108). The dialectal restriction of *jó* may provide an explanation for the spread of certain loan elements as well, since it seems obvious that the lexeme *jó* as a dialectal lexeme inhibited to a lesser extent the rapid spread of other (newly emerging) elements of the lexical field (e.g. *patak* which is of Slavic origin).<sup>1</sup>



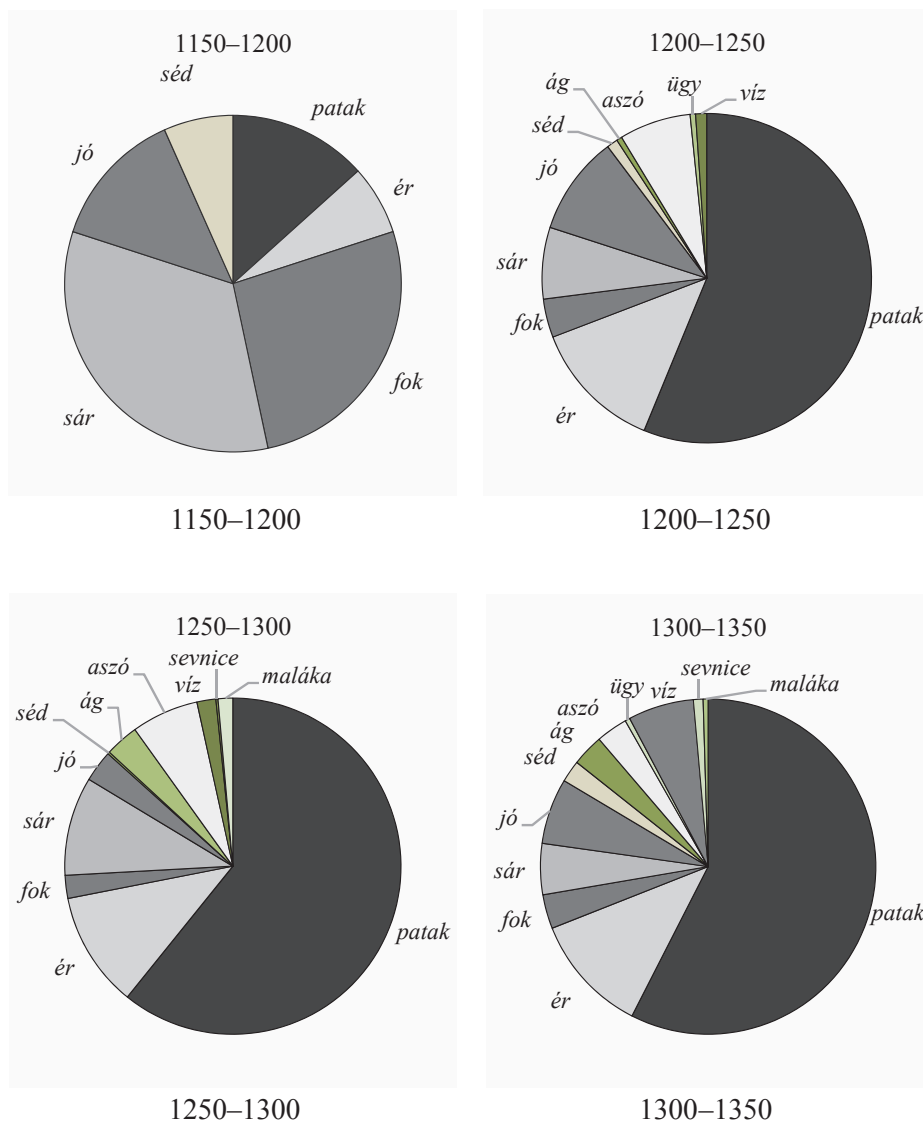
**Figure 3:** The Word-Geographical Distribution of *jó*

According to the testimony of early toponyms and common words, in the stock of geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’ we witness a continuous spread, which is not independent from the subsistence of the sources and the

<sup>1</sup> It is important to emphasize that in this period Old Hungarian does not have a normative variety so that ‘dialects’ aren’t defined relative to it, we can only talk about geographical variations in general.

data they contained. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, only the occurrences of *sár* ‘muddy stream, moorland, soggy area’ and *ér* ‘brook’, one datum about *ügy* ‘river, brook, fish pond’ and one datum about *patak* can be found in the charters. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the lexical field is enriched with the geographical common words *aszó* ‘periodic watercourse, dry brook’, *séd* ‘source, brook’, *fok* ‘brooklet or canal flowing out of larger waters’ and *jó*, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century with the geographical common words *víz* ‘river, watercourse, still water’ and *ág* ‘arm of a river, brook’, as well as with the geographical common words *maláka* ‘soggy moorland’ and *sevnice* ‘smaller watercourse mostly with sour water’. So, the unevenness that can be generally observed in the etymological stratification of geographical common words is also typical in relation to geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’, since, for instance, in the case of the lexeme *ág* of Ugric or Finno-Ugric origin and of the lexeme *víz* of Uralian origin, it is rather contradictory that their data appear only in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, so relatively late compared to the beginning of the use of written records in Hungary (cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 89, 94).

However, by analysing the frequency indicators it is also obvious that from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, the proportion of data about *patak* presents a sharp increase, and the frequency of the geographical common word *patak*, by the 14<sup>th</sup> century becomes almost dominant within the given semantic field. (The reduction of the amount of data in the corpus about *patak* at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is related to the fact that certain compendia include data only until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, see Figure 4.) So, the rapid spread of the data about *patak* could not be limited by the flow of many other loan elements. It should also be noted, however, that no data can be found about the lexeme *patak* in the central part of the language area even in the first half of the 14th century. In the case of the data about *patak* occurring here sporadically, we must also bear in mind that they could be linked to the dialect of the given region only with uncertainty. For instance, in Baranya and Fejér counties we find only a few data about *patak* (1239: ad *patak* Kekkektowa, Gy. 2: 323, 421; 1294: ad quod *potok*, Gy. 1: 345), and in their case the context leads to the assumption that they occurred as common words. That circumstance is important because it implies that they might have been the linguistic intervention or the mark of the charter writer rather than an element of the local spoken language (cf. BÁBA 2016: 107–121).



**Figure 4:** The Frequency of Geographical Common Words Meaning 'watercourse'

**3.** Consequently, the territorial spread of geographical common words meaning 'watercourse', like the territorial spread of lexical elements, may be impeded by the dominance and the territorial spread of other geographical common words having the same or similar meaning. Furthermore, the degree of dominance of a given geographical common word in a territory may show a close relationship with the meaning or the semantic change of the given geographical common word. The spread of the geographical common word *domb* was also hampered

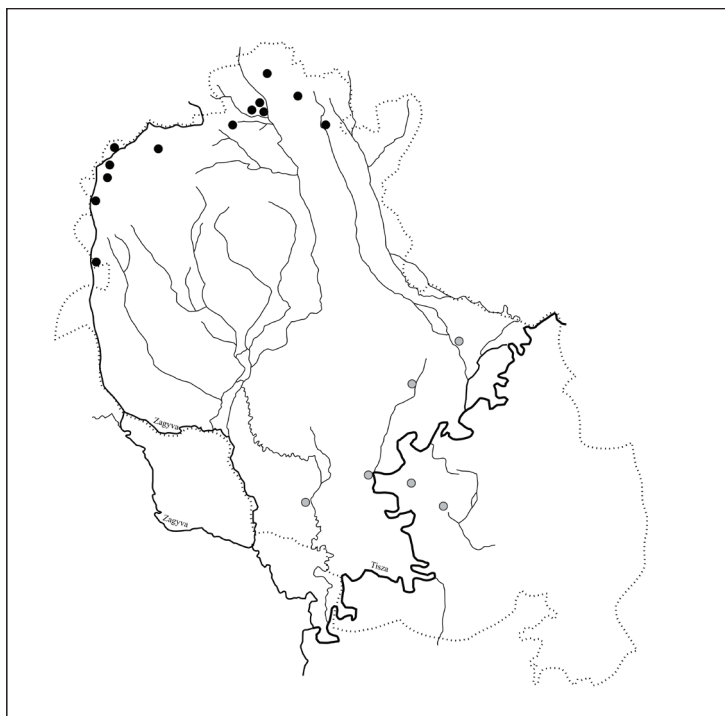
by its meaning as a ‘protuberant thing’ in the original basic language, since the meaning of the geographical common word as ‘hill’ emerged only in the Old Hungarian period (RESZEGI 2011: 90).

In the case of certain geographical common words the withdrawal may have been facilitated by their polysemic nature as well. The fact that the lexeme *erdő* ‘forest’ reached a significant dominance by the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century despite its somewhat later emergence, may have been influenced by the fact that its synonym, the geographical common word *kerek* meaning ‘forest’ was also used in its meaning as ‘round’ even in that period. We can assume a similar background factor in connection with the extinction of the geographical common word *jó* as well, since it has a meaning as an adjective (‘good’) which has survived until today. Yet, another important circumstance in the disappearance of the lexeme *jó* was the rapid spread of the lexeme *patak* and the significant increase of the elements of the lexical field (BENKŐ 1998: 126).

With the enlargement of the use of *patak* its meaning also became more general, which accelerated its spread in the Hungarian language area (HOFFMANN 2003: 671, cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 85). The same may be said about the lexeme *víz* ~ *vize*. The enlargement of the meaning of the geographical common word *ér* in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century probably also influenced the spread of this word (cf. BÁBA 2014: 146). This semantic change may also have entailed the fact that the lexeme *ér*, as it became an element having the same or similar function as the lexeme *patak*, could not penetrate to the lexeme *patak*’s area of diffusion.

4. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the meaning of the geographical common words influences their territorial spread in such a way that the word-geographical distribution also means semantic distribution, which might arise from the different nature of the geographical environment as well. For instance, by taking a closer look at the territorial separation of the lexemes *patak* and *ér*, it can be observed that in the Central Tisza region and the area to the North of the Tisza mainly data about *patak* appear, whereas on the Southern and South-eastern bank of the river there are almost exclusively data about *ér*. By concentrating on a narrower area, this separation is more eye-catching. For instance, in Heves county there are data about both geographical common words, whereas in the Northern part of the county we can record data almost exclusively about *patak*, and in the Southern and South-eastern part of the county we can record data almost exclusively about *ér* (see Figure 5). At the same time, it is also noticeable that the names containing the lexeme *ér* are all microtoponyms designating the branches of the river Tisza. So, their territorial separation may derive from the fact that the smaller watercourses designated as *ér* were fed by the water of a larger river, both in the Árpád era and today. By comparing the territorial distribution of the lexemes *patak* and *ér* with the topographic conditions, the

assumption that the smaller, slow and lower section-like watercourses were designated by the name givers as *ér*, while the upper and central section-like watercourses were designated as *patak*, appears to be justified (GYÖRFFY 2011: 88, TÓTH 1997: 263, KÁLMÁN 1966: 346–347).



**Figure 5:** The Word-Geographical Distribution of *ér* and *patak* in Heves County

5. The spread of geographical common words meaning ‘watercourse’ of the early Old Hungarian period might have been influenced by many other background factors. Yet, they cannot be justified by data from the early Old Hungarian period. Our assumption may still be justified by the fact that in the synchronic onomastic corpus we can find obvious traces of such phenomena. For instance, there are the migration processes going on as a result of settlements or certain cognitive factors (cf. BENKŐ 1957: 31–32, TÓTH 2010: 135, BÁBA 2016, DITRÓI 2016: 79–106).

As we have seen in several cases, while compiling and presenting the data on a map, the work of the researcher is made difficult by a number of obstacles, such as the survival of the charters, the norms of the charter-writing practice, or the name-density indexes (cf. SOLYMOSSI 2006: 194, 206–207, HOFFMANN 2007: 10, TÓTH 2016: 13–14, BÁBA 2016: 63). Since those circumstances influence significantly the assessment of the chronological and word-



geographical results, the period-related and word-geographical source value of data about toponyms, common words may subsequently become the subject of an independent study.

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## Abstract

This essay highlights those factors affecting the territorial spread of linguistic phenomena primarily affecting vocabulary. The examination attempts to answer the question how different factors promote or inhibit the spread of the elements of a particular word field, such as specific language historical reasons, the role of cognitive factors as well as the semantic relationships of the given lexemes. The research compiled the data mainly by involving Old Hungarian place names, namely those place names that are suitable as sources of historical dialectological examinations because of their early appearing in the charters and due to their exact location. This does not only enable dialectological analysis of common geographical names functioning as a marker of place-names, but through the place names other common word elements can play a role in the

research. The involvement of place-names in historical dialectological research is particularly useful because in this way the territorial expansion of the various place name models may also be examined.

**Keywords:** geographical common nouns, territorial spread, place name



## **1. Latvian generic terms. Aspects of topographical nomination**

In world onomastics, there are many terms used to denote geographic appellatives in place-names, for example: *generic element / term, geographical / topographical / physiogeographical element, geographical / topographical / physiogeographical term, topographical / geographical appellative, geographical nomenclature word, lexical topoformant, geographical nomen, determinative component of the name*, etc. Several of them can be used in parallel in the same article or monograph. In this paper, the term *generic term* is used (the term *generic element* is used in those cases when dealing with an appellative as a part of a toponym). In the official definition which is included in the UNGEGN Glossary, *generic element* is defined as a part of a toponym that consists of a generic term and *generic term* is a common noun which describes a topographic feature in terms of its characteristics and not by its proper name (UNGEGN Glossary 2002: 12).

Generic terms are in a lexical border-zone between appellatives and proper names, and, being locked in a practically unchangeable onomastic formula, they keep their archaic and dialectal semantic nuances and phonetic features more strongly than the general vocabulary does. This can be proved by the fact that generic terms used in toponymy often have a wider range of meanings than standard vocabulary (e.g. *driksna* means ‘stigma [botanical term]’ in Standard Latvian, but in Latvian toponymy it can also have the dialectal meaning ‘narrow strip of land’ [ME 2: 498–499]).

Generic terms are used in the toponymy of all countries, but their number differs in various languages. The corpus of Latvian geographic generic terms is particularly rich – it comprises more than 1200 units. In order to achieve reliable results, more than 60,000 place-names of the Card Index compiled by the Latvian Language Institute were analyzed (in total, the Card Index comprises approximately a million place-names). More than a half of them contain a generic element as the second (or last) component of compound place-name. 1200 generic terms from about 500 Latvian subdialects are used in different combinations, as well as in various phonetic and morphological forms.

Although there are many classification systems in the onomastics of the world, only few of them are suitable for all national geographical nomenclatures. There are two main traditions of generic term classification: 1) according to the geographical features of an object (mainly used in Russian onomastics:

e.g. orographic, hydrographic, dendrographic, botanical, and household terms; see VASIL'EV 2001: 6–7), 2) according to the type of the geographical object (mainly in the Western tradition: e.g. generic elements of hills, rivers, lakes, etc.; NICOLAISEN 2011). However, these classification systems are not fully practical to use. In the first case, the classification does not reflect the essence of the generic element, i.e. does not denote the category of the object. In the second case, the overly detailed groups of generic elements do not allow to see the whole of geographical nomenclature. Moreover, metaphoric generic elements which can refer to any category of objects remain outside both systems.

After evaluating several classification systems of generic terms in world onomastics and considering their advantages and disadvantages, the following classification system was elaborated (combining both of the main traditions), where generic terms are grouped according to the type of geographical object, and at the same time they are merged in bigger groups according to their features):

1. Generic terms of terrain/relief:

elevated terrain (*kalns* 'mountain, hill', *paugurs* 'mound')  
 sunken/depressed terrain (*ieleja* 'valley', *bedre* 'pit')

2. Generic terms of environment:

wooded areas (*mežs* 'forest, wood', *krūmi* 'bush')  
 woodless areas (*pļava* 'meadow', *lauks* 'field')  
 wetlands (*purvs* 'swamp, marsh, bog', *dūksts* 'slough, quagmire')

3. Hydrographic generic terms:

watercourses (*upe* 'river')  
 water bodies (*ezeri* 'lake')  
 parts of watercourses or water bodies (*atvars* 'whirlpool')

4. Generic terms of artefacts:

dwelling houses (*māja* 'house')  
 other built structures (*ceplis* 'brick-kiln')  
 places of human activity (*lauztuve* 'quarry')  
 burial places (*kapsēta* 'graveyard')

5. Generic terms of various spatial features of objects:

object parts (*daļa* 'part', *puse* 'half')  
 layout (*gals* 'end, ending', *mala* 'side, border')  
 object shape (*aste* 'tail')

6. Generic terms of administrative/territorial division (*ciems* 'village')



The first group – generic terms of terrain relief – comprises words denoting places of elevated or sunken landforms such as hills, mounds, pits, ravines, valleys, etc. This is not the most numerous group (representing 20% of all Latvian generic terms in toponyms), but these terms are among the most productive ones in the formation of toponyms. Although Latvian terrain is made up of 40% of hills and 60% of lowlands, the proportion of the respective terms in Latvian toponymy is the opposite – 63% of generic terms denote elevated terrain and 37% describe sunken/depressed terrain. It shows that in the coinage of generic elements, the visibility of realia in the environment is a more stimulating factor than their frequency.

Almost a half (45%) of the Latvian generic nomenclature consists of generic terms that describe the vegetation of the environment: forests, bogs, meadows and other woodless areas. The majority of these generic elements are denominal derivatives from plant names (e.g. *eglājs* ‘spruce forest’ < *egle* ‘spruce; fir’, *dābolene* ‘clover meadow’ < *dābols* ‘clover [dialectal word]’). Thus, in a way these generic elements can be regarded as metonymical derivatives.

Most of the hydrographic generic elements (16%) in Latvian toponymy are watercourse appellatives, but they are used rarely in coining hydrographic place-names. Appellatives of waterbodies are included in toponyms more frequently, but in general they are rather few. But it may also be due to the fact that hydronyms are supposed to be older and more stable than any other toponyms, therefore the generic terms in Latvian hydronyms are mostly omitted, or merged into the toponyms as onomastic lexemes through the process of toponymic ellipsis (e.g. the name of the lake *Sedzeris* (in Seda civil parish), which is now morphologically analyzed as having the root *Sedz-* and suffix *-er-*, probably originally was *\*Sed-ezeris* ‘lake of Seda’).

The group of generic terms denoting artefacts (1%) contains appellatives of various hand-made objects or places of human activity: various buildings, places of work activity, burial areas, etc. Among the general terms of housing in Latvian toponymy, the most widespread is the lexeme *māja* ‘house’ while other appellatives with the same or very similar meaning (e.g. *celtne*, *ēka*, *ērbeģis*, *istaba*, *nams*) are used sporadically. Quite often, the place-name component denoting a building expresses its small size or low quality (e.g. *budka* ‘hut’, *lēģeris* ‘settlement’, *mazmāja* ‘little house’) or breakdown state (e.g. *grausts* ‘wreck’, different lexemes for ‘ruins’: *drupas*, *gruvisis*, *krāsmata*, *puočas*). Only one generic element of this type – *pils* ‘palace’ – denotes a large and luxurious building. Among generic terms denoting other man-made structures, the appellatives of boundary marking (e.g. *kapcis*, *kupica*) and that of water-well (*aka*) occur most frequently.

The fifth group contains those generic terms that denote object parts or their disposition or shape (6%). Although description of object shape is sometimes also included in the semantics of geographic appellatives of terrain or environment (e.g. *buogs* ‘a small, compact forest’ [dialectal word]), there are many more generic elements which can be considered as *general designations* and can refer to any type of geographical object. These lexemes only characterize some parts of an object or its layout or shape. The number of these generic elements is the smallest (approximately 100 units), but they are the most productive in Latvian toponymy. The diversity of denotata and elaborate polysemy is the main feature of this group. It mostly contains appellatives of body parts and household objects which are used metaphorically to describe object shape.

The generic terms of settlement types used in administrative or territorial division are the least-used in Latvian toponymy. According to the law “On the administrative territory of the Republic and the establishment of settlements status determination” (06. 06. 1991.), namely its 10<sup>th</sup> paragraph, there are only two types of settlement in Latvia: urban, i.e. city/town (*pilsēta*) and rural, i.e. village (*ciems*) and farmstead (*saimniecība*). However, Latvian place-names contain more than 20 various designations of populated places: *pilsēta* ‘city’, *lielpilsēta* ‘big city’, different lexemes for ‘village’ – *ciems*, *miests*, *deravņa* (*dzeravņa*), *sādža*, *sala*, *palata*, *ciemats*, different lexemes for ‘estate’ – *dvariška*, *foļvarka*, *muiža*, as well as *mācītājmuiža* ‘rectory’, *mežkungmuiža* ‘forester’s estate’, *pusmuiža* ‘half a manor’, *sāts* ‘farm’, *sēta* ‘farm’, *slabada* ‘free village’, etc. Their usage and productivity in toponymy has been influenced by administrative reforms, practice of living in communities, and derivation models of microtoponyms.

Latvian generic terms of toponymy equally cover all categories of geographical objects in Latvia: land relief, vegetation, waterbodies, etc. Quite widespread are the appellatives of woodless areas – namely, cultivated land, especially meadows (even though meadows now occupy only 1% of the territory of Latvia). It is probably due to the history and traditions of the Latvian nation, and the fact that microtoponyms (such as meadow names) are very prone to change, therefore the generic elements denoting them should be kept as subsidiary landmarks and identifiers of the category of the objects.

Only one tenth of Latvian generic terms are hyperonyms or superordinate concepts (among them are *pļava* ‘meadow’, *kalns* ‘hill’, *lauks* ‘field’, *mežs* ‘forest’, *ceļš* ‘road’). The majority of generic terms are hyponyms, namely, specific names of geographical objects such as forests of particular trees (e.g. *priedulājs* ‘pine grove’, *alksnājs* ‘alder grove’), or meadows of specific flora (e.g. *grīslene* ‘sword-grass meadow’), or mounds of particular size (e.g. *paugurs* ‘small hillock’), etc. Hyperonyms (mostly generic terms which are used in the

whole territory of Latvia) are either very old derivatives or basic words. They occur in place-names very frequently, therefore they have often partially lost their meaning and have become topoformants – a kind of toponymic affixoids. Hyponyms (mostly derived generic elements which are used sporadically and in small areas), on the contrary, have very narrow and concrete meanings and are often used without an onomastic component (e.g. *Niedrājs* < *niedrājs* ‘place where reeds grow’, *Dekšņa* < *dekšņa* ‘burnt-out place in a forest’). However, nowadays the usage of hyponyms in the naming of objects is decreasing.

## 2. Origin of Latvian geographic nomenclature

Since the first steps in the study of generic elements, the generic term is considered to be the basis and the etymological key to toponymy („territoriality is one of the basic human instincts”, LAKOFF–JOHNSON 2003: 30). Before the need to differentiate various geographical objects by onomastic lexemes, generic terms or appellatives which are used in their function, probably were the main and often the only lexical landmarks of environment, but in the further development of proper names they become independent geographical names, respectively, toporoot or place-name formants, or topoformants. Therefore generic terms beside toponyms can be considered as one of the most ancient parts of lexis. Words that describe land features are seen as the most ancient part of our lexis by foreign as well as Latvian scientists (BOGORAZ-TAN 1928: 34–35, OZOLS 1968: 43, etc.).

All set of Latvian generic terms and their meanings have been developed through long language history and contacts of different nations. The etymological study of Latvian generic terms<sup>1</sup> and the historical development of the Latvian language as well as contacts of nations shows that Latvian generic terms can be divided into three groups: 1) primary lexemes (lexemes of Indo-European and Baltic origin), 2) borrowed lexemes (generic terms of other Baltic languages, lexemes of Germanic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric origin), 3) lexemes of unclear origin.

It is obvious that many language contacts and closely interlaced systems of microtoponyms have enlarged the number of Latvian generic terms, but the inherited native words are still dominant (75%) in Latvian geographical nomenclature. The earliest, oldest appellatives are those which originated in the epoch of Proto-Indo-European language community which ended in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (DINI 2000: 66, GIMBUTAS 1963: 43). Vocabulary of Proto-

<sup>1</sup> The origin of 1200 Latvian generic terms was defined according to different etymological dictionaries, onomastic studies and the earlier investigations of word origin (ME, FRAENKEL 1955–1962, KARULIS 1992, KETTUNEN 1938, POKORNY 1959, FASMER 1964–1973, HIRŠA 1986, 1987, BOIKO 1992, etc.), as well as etymologizing.



Indo-European origin in Latvian geographical nomenclature consists mainly of:

- a) terms that function as hyperonyms. The most frequent generic terms in Latvian placenames – *kalns* ‘mountain, hill’, *plava* ‘meadow’, *upe* ‘river’, *mežs* ‘forest’, *ezers* ‘lake’, *tilts* ‘bridge’, *sala* ‘island’, *leja* ‘valley, dale’, *līcis* ‘bay’, *ceļš* ‘road’ – are of Proto-Indo-European origin. Meanwhile inherited words that function as hyponyms tend to disappear: for example, *dauba* ‘deep dale’ and *kukse* ‘forest clump’ nowadays are very unproductive in the formation of new place-names;
- b) derivations from the most productive Proto-Indo-European stems in geographical nomenclature have created the so-called etymological nests where several generic terms and their derivatives have developed from one Proto-Indo-European stem (e.g. Indo-European roots with meaning ‘to bend, to twist, to fold’ – *\*keu-*: *čupa* ‘pile’, *čukurs* ‘crest’, *kupena* ‘pile’, *kūdra* ‘peat’, *kuprs* ‘hump’, etc.; *\*lenk-*: *lanka* ‘marshy meadow’, *lunka* ‘inlet’, etc., *\*dheu-*: *dauba* ‘ravine’, *duobe* ‘pit’, etc., *\*el-*: *leja* ‘valley’, *liekņa* and *līkņa* ‘wet soil’, etc., *\*leuk-*: *lukne* and *luksts* ‘meadow in a low place’, etc., *\*kek-*: *kakts* ‘corner’, etc., *\*(s)kel-*: *klāns* ‘big low plain’, etc., *\*(s)ker-*: *krūms* ‘bush’, *cers* ‘mound’, etc.; Indo-European roots with meaning ‘to run, to flow, [to sparkle]’ – *\*dheu-*: *dūksts* ‘slough’, *džūkste* ‘swampy place’, *daukste* ‘quagmire’, *dumbrava* ‘quagmire’, etc., *\*au(e)-*: *avuois* ‘spring’, *avuoisnājs* ‘place with many springs’, etc., *\*tek-*: *tece* ‘brook’, *tēce* ‘brook’, *taka* ‘path’, etc.; Indo-European roots with meaning ‘to dig, to thrust’: *\*bhedh-*: *bedre* ‘pit’, etc.; ‘middle, border’: *\*medhi-*: *mežs* ‘forest’, etc., *\*eġh-*: *ezers* ‘lake’, *eža* ‘boundary’, etc.; ‘wet’: *\*bal(i)-*, *\*pal(i)-*: *bala* ‘swamp’, *palts* ‘wet place’, *palce* ‘wet place’, etc., *\*meu-*: *muklājs* ‘quagmire’, etc. If one could prove these origins we could further speak about the archetypical concepts of land formation;
- c) derivations from names of trees and plants (*apsājs* < *apse* ‘aspen’, *bērziens* < *bērzs* ‘birch’, *egliens* < *egle* ‘fir-tree’, etc.).

Latvian geographical nomenclature also comprises many borrowed appellatives that have become generic terms of Latvian toponymy. This layer of Latvian generic terms consists mainly of adapted German words – borrowings from Middle Low German (spoken earlier in Northern Germany) which entered the Latvian language during the 12<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Borrowings from Germanic languages usually denote artificial hydrographic objects (e.g. *dīķis* ‘pond’ < Middle Low German (MLG) *dīk*; *grāvis* ‘canal, ditch’ < MLG *grave*; *rennis* ‘outlet’ < MLG *renne*; *renstele* ‘pit with water’ < MLG *rennestēn* ‘pond’, etc.) and artefacts (e.g. *kaļķenīca* ‘chalk kiln’ < MLG *kalk*; *ķieģeļnīca* ‘brick kiln’ < MLG *tēgel*; *smēde* ‘forge, smithy’ < MLG *smede*; *šķūnis* ‘barn’ < MLG *schune*;

*tuornis* ‘tower’ < MLG *torn*, etc.). These words were sometimes borrowed to denote newly-introduced realia and in those cases are the only designations of the respective objects in Latvian. In most cases, however, generic terms of Germanic origin had entered the Latvian language as synonyms of the respective Latvian words without any additional shade of meaning. E.g. as geographical terms, the borrowing *kante* ‘edge’ exists besides Latvian words with similar meaning *kausa*, *kaupris*, *mala*, *piere*; *stūris* ‘corner’ – besides *kakts*; *trepe* ‘here: rapids’ – besides *krāce*, *ūdenskritums*, etc.).

The second largest group of borrowings in Latvian geographical nomenclature are words of Slavonic origin which have been mainly borrowed into Latvian from Russian and Old Church Slavonic. Many of them are old borrowings which were adapted in Latvian since the 9<sup>th</sup> century when trade and political contacts between the tribes of ancient Russians and Latvians developed. Nowadays, many of these older borrowings from Slavonic languages used in Latvian toponymy have become unrecognizable and function only as onomastic lexemes – any associations with their language of origin has vanished and an epexegetic Latvian generic element has been annexed (e.g. *Goru kalns* ‘Goru [< Russian *гора* ‘hill’] hill’, *Gaina mežs* ‘Gaina [< *гайно* ‘forest] forest’). Many generic terms are completely adapted in Latvian, e.g. *baznīca* ‘church’ < Old-Russian *божница*; *bors* ‘deep forest [dialectal word]’ < Russian *бор*; *prods* ‘pond [dialectal word]’ < Russian *пруд*; *slabada* ‘free village [dialectal word]’ < Old-Russian *слобода*, etc. This group also comprises many generic terms of administrative/territorial division which obviously were borrowed during the 18<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries when Latvia was a part of the Russian Empire.

The third largest group of borrowed generic elements in Latvian geographical nomenclature are words of Finno-Ugric origin – borrowed from Livonian and Estonian. Most of these Finno-Ugric elements are Livonian borrowings, since Livonians had been living in a large part of the territory of modern Latvia before the arrival of the Baltic tribes, but later were largely assimilated by them. Most of these Finno-Ugric words denote hydrographic objects or relief landforms (e.g. *joma* ‘vale’ < Livonian *jūom*, *kolka* ‘depth of water; cape’ < Estonian *kolgas* (dialectal word *kolk*), *voja* ‘pond, pit with water’ < Livonian *võjā*, *sedums* ‘bay’ < Estonian *sadam* ‘port’, etc.), some of them gained specific hydrographic meaning only in Latvian (e.g. *selga* ‘open sea’ < Livonian *sālga* ‘back’).

### 3. Derivational and structural features of Latvian generic terms

Most generic terms in Latvian geographical nomenclature are simple words, but approximately one fourth of them are morphological derivatives. The most widespread means of word-building are suffixation and prefixation. Inflection



and compounding is relatively less used in the formation of these generic terms. Overall, in geographic nomenclature derivation techniques are similar to those that are applied in common vocabulary – generic terms are derived with prefixes, suffixes, interfixes and inflection. The main difference is the productivity of formants. Most productive affixes are those that denote a place containing a bulk of something, for example, the suffixes *-āj-*, *-en-*, *-ien-*, *-ain-* (e.g. *avenājs* ‘place where raspberry-bushes (*avenes*) grow’, *avotiens* ‘place with many springs (*avots*)’, *cinene* ‘meadow or field with many small mounds (*cinis*)’). Another productive suffix is *-um-* which is used to express a completed action (e.g. *cīnījums* ‘field after clearing’ < *cīnīt*; *pūdējums* ‘fallow-land’ < *pūdēt*). The following suffixes (*-ul-*, *-ul-*, *-av-*, *-kl-*, *-tav-*, *-tuv-*, *-ait-*, *-et-*, *-at-*, *-el-*, *-ij-*) are used in derivation of less than ten generic terms. In compound place-names, generic terms with diminutive suffixes or old derivatives are mainly used (which means that simple words are used more frequently in formation of new place-names, and new topographical derivatives appear very rarely).

Compounding is not very widespread in Latvian geographical nomenclature. The first component of a compound generic term usually characterizes or specifies the second component, therefore most compound generic terms are collocations with a hyperonym which describes the shape or layout of an object (*upe* ‘river’, *kalns* ‘hill’, *ceļš* ‘road’, *plava* ‘meadow’, *leja* ‘valley, dale’, *ezers* ‘lake’, *lauks* ‘field’, *mežs* ‘forest’, *mala* ‘edge’, *gals* ‘end’, *kakts* ‘corner’, etc.). The first component of a compound generic term can be: a) usually a noun (*avuotleja* ‘spring valley’, *birzgals* ‘end of grove’, *dīkmala* ‘pond-shore’, *dzirnezers* ‘mill lake’, *ezer mala* ‘lake-shore’, *grantsbedre* ‘gravel pit’, *kalnupe* ‘mountain river’, *linmērce* ‘flax pit’, *laukstarpa* ‘space between fields’, *sēravuots* ‘sulphur spring’, *ūdensdzirnavas* ‘water mill’, etc.); b) less frequently an adjective (*dziļupe* ‘deep river’, *lielceļš* ‘big road’, *tīrupe* ‘clean river’, *sausleja* ‘arid valley’, *senleja* ‘old valley’, *šauraiza* ‘narrow ravine’, etc.); c) very rarely an adverb (*lejteka* ‘downward flowing brook’, *augstcīles* ‘high rising hills’).

Regarding semantic derivation, Latvian geographical nomenclature can be divided into two large groups: 1) spatial landmarks which help to orientate oneself and to identify objects in horizontal and vertical levels (they are mostly generic terms denoting relief of terrain, shape and artefacts) and 2) featural landmarks which characterize the quality of land or environment (they are mostly environmental generic terms). Generic terms of the first group are usually derived by morphological or metaphorical means, but appellatives of the second group – by means of metonymy. There are seven semantic derivation models in Latvian geographical nomenclature: a) plant name → place where it grows (*auzājs* < *auzas* ‘oats’); b) animal name → place where it lives (*čūskainis* < *čūska* ‘snake’); c) term denoting a substance → place where it can be found



(*akmenājs* < *akmens* ‘stone’); d) anatomical term → part of an object (*aste* ‘tail’, *kāja* ‘leg’); e) name of household object → landform (*bloda* ‘bowl’); f) onomatopoeic word → bushy, overgrown place (*brikšņi* < *briks* ‘sound of breaking branches’).<sup>2</sup>

The first three models are based on metonymy, and are derived with various affixes. The following three are metaphorical, and the respective words have entered geographical nomenclature from other semantic fields without any morphological changes. In the last case, the base-word is created by means of onomatopoeia.

#### 4. Generic terms in place-names

In compound place-names, generic terms can be included in different combinations. All toponyms with a generic term are noun phrases where the head is a noun as a generic term. There are seven syntactic models of toponymic word-groups or compounds with generic term: a) noun constructions (noun in genitive + generic term, e.g. *Mājas pļava* ‘Home meadow’); b) adjective constructions (adjective + generic term, e.g. *Lielā pļava* ‘Big meadow’); c) prepositional constructions (preposition + generic term, e.g. *Aizpurvs* ‘Behind the swamp’); d) coordinative constructions (noun in genitive + [conjunct] + noun in genitive + generic term, e.g. *Rīgas–Liepājas ceļš* ‘Rīga–Liepāja road’); e) numeral constructions (ordinal numeral + generic term, e.g. *Pirmā pļava* ‘The First meadow’); f) pronominal constructions (demonstrative pronoun + generic term, e.g. *Viņais gals* ‘Other end/side’); g) interjectional constructions (interjection + generic term, e.g. *Līgo kalns* ‘Līgo [refrain of Latvian Midsummer folk songs] hill’).

Most compound place-names which contain a generic element are nominal constructions – generic term in combination with another noun (89%) or with an adjective (10%). Other constructions – prepositional, coordinative, numeral, pronominal, and interjectional are very rare and make up only 1% of compound place-names.

Generic elements in toponymical word groups, due to their regular use, tend to transform into affixoids; in this case, topoformants. When functioning as last components of compound toponyms, generic elements in regular use partially lose their lexical meaning; sometimes they even become universal topoformants and disappear from common vocabulary. Usually this process affects place-names containing borrowings (e.g. place-names with the suffix *-mund-* borrowed from Middle Low German *mund* ‘mouth’), but several

<sup>2</sup> However, the etymology of this generic term is not absolutely clear and convincing. Its link with the interjection was suggested by Jānis Endzelīns (ME 1: 332).





Latvian generic elements, too, have features typical of affixoids – their original meaning has faded out, and as part of the compound place-names they have often acquired different form (e.g. *gaļi* < *gals* ‘end’, *maļi* < *mala* ‘side, edge’, *zemji* < *zeme* ‘land, soil’). It is obvious that all generic elements which tend to transform into affixoids are rather polysemic and (except *upe* ‘river’) they have no concrete semantics. Therefore they are used when coining oikonyms, not the names of the corresponding geographical objects. Generic elements, unlike other components of place-names, are frequently affected by toponymical ellipsis which in the studies of grammaticalization is termed erosion or loss of phonetic substance (HEINE–KUTEVA 2002: 2). In most cases, it happens when a toponymical word group becomes a compound, and later the generic term transforms into a topoformant.

Generic terms, due to their regular use in toponymical word groups, undergo semantic changes as well. Research into Latvian compound place-names shows that more than one third of their generic elements partially or completely no longer describe the category of the real geographical object. This could be the result either of functional change or metaphorical and metonymical transposition. Probably due to the changing nature of geographical objects, Latvian generic elements have a wide range of semantic shades of meaning or semes. Semantic microfields of geographic appellatives are often quite close or even overlap, thus creating semantic chains with many common semes and stimulating further semantic changes and mismatches between the actual geographical objects and their names.

The causes of semantic changes in place-names are often extralinguistic. When geographical objects change their names often remain as they are. Analysis of semantically mismatched place-names shows that they often keep their generic element even after the geographical object has changed and the appellative in the toponym is going through the process of toponymisation. This process could be called functional transposition. Most frequently it occurs in hydronyms. For example, a water-related appellative in a meadow name sometimes testifies that in earlier times there really has been hydrographic object in the named territory – for instance, a wetland that has later been drained or overgrown. E.g. *Lāčpuors* ‘Bear swamp’, which is a meadow in Kuldīga, “in the past was a big swamp, [but now it is] reclaimed land”,<sup>3</sup> *Ezeriņš* ‘Little lake’, a forest in Brukna, “in the old times was a lake”; *Sīna pūrs* ‘Hay swamp’, a forest in Varakļāni, was a swamp in the past, etc.

Metaphorical transposition in the Latvian place-names with generics is a rare phenomenon. Traditional as well as genetic metaphors which highlight the etymological semes of appellatives can sometimes be observed. They can be

<sup>3</sup> In quotation marks are given excerpts from the respondents’ narratives gathered in expeditions.

found, for instance, in place-names that contain anatomical terms or names of household objects (e.g. *Sidraba blūda* ‘Silver bowl’, a valley in Anna, is “in the shape of a bowl, where water accumulates in springtime and glistens like silver”; *Mazā laivīna* ‘Little boat’, a pond in Cēsis, is “in the shape of a boat”, *Dzērves kāja* ‘Crane leg’, a meadow in Branti, is “a long meadow, it looks like a leg”, etc.). A genetic metaphor highlights the original, central meaning of the word that has later become peripheral (KÖVECSES 2010: 37). For example, the generic term *purvs* ‘marsh’ in Modern Standard Latvian has no negative meaning, but it is often used in place-names to denote poor soil or vegetation. E.g. *Mazais purvis*, a pasture in Taurkalne, was described by a respondent as having low quality grass, but *Purs*, a meadow in Vaidava, as being “poor soil, nothing grows in it”.

The most common mode of semantic transposition in generic elements is metonymy or synecdoche, whereby a part of geographical object refers to the whole, or the whole refers to a part. Most frequently, a part which is situated inside an object gives its name to the whole. For example, a meadow in Baldone is named *Bakanu avots* ‘the spring of Bakani’ because there is a spring. The second type of synecdoche probably can be found only in toponymy. In this case, the name of an outside object stands for the whole entity. Sometimes the part can be even at a short distance from the named object. For example, a road in Daugmale is called *Sarkanais dīķis* ‘Red pool’ because it goes along a pond of the same name. This is unlike the use of synecdoches in the common vocabulary, therefore probably a term “toponymic synecdoche” might be used. The third type of synecdoche in Latvian toponymy is what the researchers define as the relation between an object and its material (for example, trees and forest). This group comprises several place-names derived from phytalexemes (e.g. *Lielie kārkli* ‘Big osiers’, a forest in Barkava, which is a “low place, overgrown with osiers”) or names of geological material (*Mazie akmeņi* ‘Little stones’, a field with small stones on the ground). The fourth type of synecdoche in Latvian toponymy is the whole-for-part synecdoche (the whole refers to a part), e.g. in place-name *Krancīšgrava* ‘Dog’s ravine’, road in Ainaži, generic element of decreased object (vale) denotes the road that winds through the ravine.

Thus, Latvian toponymy demonstrates all types of semantic transposition – functional, metaphorical, and especially metonymical. In the case of functional and metaphorical semantic changes, the transposition is partial, because the name still denotes at least one feature of the object. But metonymical transposition is often quite total, because the geographical appellative in the respective place-name no longer refers to any feature of the object.

## 5. Conclusion

Etymological, derivational and structural analysis of this large variety of Latvian generic terms used in toponyms shows that generic terms are a specific lexical category with peculiar principles of semantic and word-formation. The systematization and scientific description of endangered dialectal vocabulary is necessary, because numerous hyponyms (mostly, dialectal words) often are replaced with one of the few hyperonyms. It may also help to learn more about Indo-European toponymical models and the ethnogenesis of the Balts. Results of the statistic analysis of these terms and elements can be further used in various fields of study: cartography, terminology, etymology, and grammar.

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## Abstract

It is general assumption in onomastics and geography that geographical appellatives are the main predecessors of toponyms. Latvian generic terms, being the part of Baltic, as well as Indo-European lexis, provide information about ethnogenesis of the Balts and landscape in their country of origin.

The set of Latvian generic terms is one of the richest sources of geographic appellatives – it comprises more than 1200 generic terms. The paper discusses the role of generic terms in toponymy and their function in onomastic formulas with the examples from Latvian toponymy. On the basis of deeper etymological, areal, derivational and semantic analysis, the paper provides 1) a classification of the Latvian geographical nomenclature, 2) the statistics regarding the etymology of the Latvian generic terms – the main paths of borrowings, 3) the main techniques of word formation of the Latvian generic terms, 4) the role of the generic terms in place-names, paying particular attention to the semantic (metaphoric, metonymic, and functional) transposition.

**Keywords:** toponymy, generic elements, place names, toponymic models



*Carole Hough*

## ***Place-Name Evidence for Old English Dialects***

### **1. Dialects of Old English**

Members of ICOS will be very familiar with the role of place-names in preserving evidence of historical languages, including lexicographical aspects such as vocabulary and semantics, and structural aspects such as morphology and phonology.<sup>1</sup> In some instances, place-names may comprise almost the only extant data, as for the language spoken by the Picts in north-east Scotland during the early centuries of the first millennium (see e.g. NICOLAISEN 1996). In others, they significantly extend the data available from written sources, as for the Older Scots language spoken in other parts of Scotland during the early centuries of the second millennium (see e.g. SCOTT 2003). Older Scots itself developed from Old English, the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxon settlers on mainland Britain from the fifth to the eleventh centuries AD, and which was brought to south-east Scotland towards the beginning of the seventh. However, Old English is not a single homogenous language but rather a collective term for a group of related dialects, some of which are better attested than others. Most Old English dictionaries and grammars are based on West Saxon, the dialect that predominates in manuscript sources and appears to have been adopted as a literary standard by the late Anglo-Saxon period, and possibly before. AS GNEUSS (1972: 65) explains, “in our Old English texts of the eleventh century we are dealing with a standard literary language which, although based on a dialectal foundation, had extended its domain beyond the borders of this dialect”. The main dictionary of place-name vocabulary, on the other hand, is based on Anglian, which was spoken over a much wider geographical area and appears to be more representative of vernacular language (SMITH 1956). Since its inception in the 1920s, the Survey of English Place-Names has thrown much light on this and on other varieties of Old English that are sparsely attested in written texts.

Anglian too is a collective term, which covers two main varieties of Old English: Mercian and Northumbrian. These in turn may be further subdivided.

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<sup>1</sup> Material from this paper was presented at the 26<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Onomastic Sciences held at the University of Debrecen, Hungary, from 28 August to 1 September 2017, a seminar for the Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, on 24 October 2017, and a Workshop on Medieval Northern English held at the University of Seville, Spain, from 6 to 7 November 2017. I am grateful to participants at all three events for comments and feedback that have helped to improve the final version, as well as to my colleagues on the REELS project team for all their help and advice.



Old Northumbrian includes both South Northumbrian, the version spoken in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira, and North Northumbrian, the version spoken in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Bernicia which spanned the present-day border between England and Scotland. The latter forms the primary focus of the present paper.

Old Northumbrian is particularly poorly represented in both written and epigraphic sources. In the most recent discussion, Scragg writes:

Our knowledge of Northumbrian in the pre-Conquest period is very limited. There are a few very early texts, all of which are brief: the two copies of Caedmon's Hymn in the margins of Bede's account of the cowherd in the *Ecclesiastical History*, early copies of Bede's Death Song, the Leiden Riddle, and some runic inscriptions. After these, with the exception of a runic text on stone, there is nothing before the glosses on the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Macregol Gospels and the Durham Ritual, all three from the 970s. (SCRAGG 2017: 48-49)

New discoveries are very rare, although one came to light in 2017 with Scragg's identification of a fragment of an Old Northumbrian homily in a ninth-century Latin manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63). As he points out, this "adds very significantly to the written history of early Northumbrian and to the history of English in general" (SCRAGG 2017: 49). Given that the fragment comprises only eight words, it says a lot about the paucity of source material for Old Northumbrian that so much hangs on them.

## **2. Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names (REELS)**

While the written and epigraphic records for Old Northumbrian are sparse and have been examined in minute detail, the place-name record is extensive but has barely been touched. This is largely because the foundational work of place-name survey has not yet been undertaken for the relevant area. The Survey of English Place-Names has not yet reached the northernmost county of Northumberland, while the Survey of Scottish Place-Names has only recently been inaugurated, and so far only covers Fife, Bute and Kinross-shire.<sup>2</sup> The Germanic toponymy of the Border counties of Scotland was the focus of a PhD thesis in the early twentieth century, which highlighted the potential of the data for throwing light on Old English and Scots (WILLIAMSON 1942), as did a more recent PhD thesis on the wider Germanic toponymy of southern Scotland (SCOTT 2003). Building on these foundations, and on subsequent research into individual names or elements (e.g. GRANT 2012, JAMES 2010, SCOTT 2004), a

<sup>2</sup> In addition, a survey of Clackmannanshire is approaching publication.



three-year research project is now underway to initiate systematic place-name survey of this important area, with a view to using the data to research the Old Northumbrian dialect and its development into Older Scots.

The project is funded by the Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow, and is known as *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names* (REELS). Fuller information can be found on the project website at <http://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/>, with more detail on background and methodology in HOUGH (2015). In brief, the project team is surveying the place-names of the historical county of Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders, the heartland of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Scotland from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. Many of its place-names are from Old Northumbrian, while some are from the other Germanic and Celtic languages that have contributed to the toponymy of Scotland, including Old Norse, Brittonic and Gaelic – and, later, Scots. Full survey is needed in order to identify the Northumbrian stratum, but since Berwickshire is a very large county, with no less than 32 parishes, comprehensive survey of all its place-names would take many years. The aim of the project is therefore to complete full survey of six parishes along the border with England: namely, Coldstream, Eccles, Foulden, Hutton, Ladykirk and Mordington. The results will be published within the Survey of Scottish Place-Names as *The Place-Names of Berwickshire Volume 1: The Tweedside Parishes*. Alongside this, we are collecting and analysing all major settlement, hill and river names throughout the county. These results will be made freely available as a web resource. The data will add substantially to the current sources of evidence for Old Northumbrian, and will underpin a detailed study of the language variety to be completed after the end of the lifespan of the project. Different strands of the study will focus on lexis, morphology and phonology, while analysis of the early personal names used as place-name qualifiers will add further to our knowledge of the Old Northumbrian onomasticon.

The project team comprises Carole Hough (Principal Investigator), Simon Taylor (Co-Investigator), Eila Williamson (Research Associate), Brian Aitken (Systems Developer) and Dàibhidh Grannd (PhD student). We are supported by a highly distinguished team of project advisors, who include specialists in related areas as well as our colleague Thomas Clancy, whose AHRC-funded project *Scottish Toponymy in Transition: progressing county surveys of the place-names of Scotland* (2011–2014) both produced the surveys of Clackmannanshire and Kinross-shire mentioned above, and laid the foundation for the current research (see e.g. HOUGH 2012).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This project also produced a valuable PhD thesis focusing on Berwickshire place-names (DUNLOP 2016).



### 3. Evidence for Old Northumbrian

Our starting point for researching Old Northumbrian is of course the work that has already been done. Despite the sparsity of the existing sources, they have yielded quite rich pickings. The ongoing *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) has so far covered letters A–H, and within these letters alone there are 269 headword entries presenting evidence for Old Northumbrian. Of these, 120 identify words or meanings that are exclusively or mainly Northumbrian, and 152 identify Northumbrian spellings.<sup>4</sup> As regards the data from written and epigraphic sources, then, there would appear to be more evidence for morphology and phonology than for lexis and semantics. Turning to parts of speech, almost half the entries in question (123) are verbs, with 82 nouns and 12 adjectives. The remaining 52 headwords comprise adverbs, cardinal and ordinal numbers, conjunctions, interjections, prepositions, pronouns and so on. Of the nouns, 43 are concrete and 39 abstract. Of the adjectives, several refer to mental rather than physical qualities: examples include *fyrwit-full* ‘full of anxiety: solicitous, anxious’ and *hoga* ‘prudent, wise; careful’. The overall profile is thus strikingly different from that of place-names, which are mostly made up of concrete nouns and visually descriptive adjectives. These areas of lexis are a minority of those represented in the dictionary sources, and this means that there is huge potential for place-names to extend the current range of knowledge. Moreover, some of the headword entries are element-by-element glosses of Latin originals, as with *eft-gemyndig* ‘mindful, remembering’ and *eft-selenes* ‘recompense, repayment, reward’, which are clearly unlikely to represent the day-to-day usage associated with place-names.

As an example of how our data can fill gaps in the existing evidence, Figure 1 shows the outline DOE entry for Old English *bȳme* ‘trumpet’, one of the 43 concrete nouns included in the above figures.

<sup>4</sup> Three headword entries appear in both groups.

**bȳme**

Noun, f., wk. (1x m., wk., 1x m. or n., st.)

Att. sp.: byme | bieme (CP M5 Cor) | biise (CP) | beme | beeme (CorpG) || byman, byman (PsGIE) | himan, himan (PsGIE) | beman | beamen (WSGosp M5 R) || bymena, bymana; bymene | biemena | bemena || bymum; byman, bymon (Josh M5 Z); byman (PsGIE) | himum | beman (PsGIE); beum (for beumum, Ex).

In late North. texts: bema (nom./acc.sg.) || beam (dat.sg.).

Late: bemen (HomU 5.5, xiii).

M. wk.: byma (EGl M5 J).

M. or n. st.: beames (gen.sg., xii<sup>1</sup>)

ca. 150 occ.

1. trumpet; *blawan / singan* '(of) byman 'to blow / sound (from) a trumpet'; *byme blæwþ / clīpþ / singeþ* 'the trumpet blows / calls / sings'

1.a. sounding the message or presence of God, a king, etc., especially of God's presence on Sinai; also figurative; *bymena dream* 'blare / blast of trumpets'

1.a.i. in a simile describing the proclaiming voice

1.a.ii. describing the voice of the phoenix

1.b. sounding the Day of Judgement: *se byman dæg* 'the day of the trumpet', *seo endenehste byme* 'the last trumpet', *Godes byme* 'the trumpet of God'

1.c. as a call to worship

1.d. as an instrument of joyful music

1.d.i. glossing *barbita* 'wind instrument' (cf. CLat. *barbitos* 'lyre, lute')

2. erroneously glossing *classis*, here 'division, group' (of singers) as if *classicum* 'trumpet' (cf. MLD *classis* sense 3.c)

Lat. equiv. in M5: barbita, bucina, classicum, concha, salpinx, tessera, -tuba

See also: bymesangere; heofon-, here-, scip-, sige-bȳme; bȳmere, bȳmian; cf. beām

MED *bȳme* *n.* (//) OED2 *beme* *a.* DOST *beme* *a.*<sup>2</sup>

Figure 1: DOE, s.v. *bȳme*

The headform *bȳme* is in the West Saxon dialect used for dictionary headwords, but this is followed by a list of attested spellings from different sources. Of particular interest here is line 4 of the entry, which identifies the spelling <bema> “in late North[umbrian] texts”.

Old English *bȳme*, *bēma* ‘trumpet’ does not appear in place-names, but the agent noun *bȳmere*, *bēmere* has been identified in the toponymy of both England and Scotland. Within our Berwickshire study area, it comprises the qualifying element of the place-name Bemersyde in Mertoun parish. Historical spellings such as *Bemersyd* (1183 × 1212 and 1209 × 1212) and *Bemasyd* (c.1636 × 1652) show that spellings with <e> as the stem vowel are also represented, as we would expect, in this agent noun, which combines here with the common generic element *side* ‘hillside’.

**bȳmere**

Noun, m., cl. 1

Att. sp.: bȳmere, bemere || bemeras | beameret (acc.pl., Li)

6 occ.

1. trumpeter

CIGl 2 749: rubicen **bemere** (cf. Corp.gl.lit. 5.396.50 rubicena: qui cum tuba cantat).

ÆG 302.5: rubicen **bȳmere**.

CIGl 3 155: rubicines **bemeras**.

AntGl 6 774: salpita, aule **bȳmere**.

1.a. glossing *tibicen* 'piper, flute-player' as if *tibicen* 'trumpeter'

MrGl (Li) 9.23: et cum ... uidisset *tibicines* ... dicebat recedite &c midby ... gesch **beameret** ... he gecueð cettas l efigeroendas (Ru *piperas*, CpHR forms of *hwistlere*).

ÆGram 40.4: sume syndon masculini generis: ... *tibicen* **bȳmere**.

2. perhaps as a place-name element, e.g. *bȳmera cumb*

Lat. equiv. in MS: aule, salpita, -rubicen

See also: *bȳme*, -ere; cf. *bȳmesingere*

MED *bȳmere*. OED2 *bemer*. PNE, VEPN *bemere*.

Figure 2: DOE, s.v. *bȳmere*

As shown in Figure 2, spellings with <e> also appear in the DOE entry for the agent noun, listed under the West Saxon headform *bȳmere* 'trumpeter'. However, they are not identified as Northumbrian, and therefore this entry was not counted among the total of 269 discussed above. The explanation is that <bemere> is one of the attested spellings from the Third Cleopatra Glossary (MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.III), some of whose entries are in the Anglian variety of Old English that encompasses both Northumbrian and Mercian. At the bottom of Figure 2 are references to entries in other dictionaries including *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (VEPN), the ongoing dictionary of English place-name vocabulary. Here the relevant entry leads to other place-names from the same element, including some with the <e> spelling within the Mercian dialect area. Here, then, the Berwickshire place-name data confirm that <bemere> was the form common to both Anglian dialect groups.

A key contribution of the place-name evidence is in fact semantic, since Bemersyde and its counterparts in England do not refer to trumpeters but to a type of bird. As has been established in previous research, place-name occurrences of Old English *bēmere* use the term in an extended sense as a bird-name, probably with reference to the bittern, a bird with a trumpet-like voice which is still known in some areas by the etymologically related term *boomer* (HOUGH 1997–1998, HOUGH 1999). This sense is not identified in the DOE entry (Figure 2) because it is not represented in written sources, and although a separate sense 2 is created for the use “perhaps as a place-name element”, no definition is provided. Place-names such as *Bemersyde* provide the only evidence for the meaning ‘bittern’.

Bird and animal names are among the main types of Old English lexis attested uniquely by place-names in England and Scotland, partly because they tend not to feature in the surviving literature from the Anglo-Saxon period, and

partly because they tend to have a wide range of alternative names in local use.<sup>5</sup> Also found within the REELS study area is Old English \*cā ‘jackdaw’, which appears in a lost Berwickshire place-name *Cauchest<er>lawe* ‘jackdaw fortification hill’ recorded c.1190 x c.1211 in the parish of Greenlaw (KELSO LIBER i, no. 78). As a combination of three elements would be unusual, it is reasonable to assume that the final element, Old English *hlāw* ‘hill’, has been added to an existing name \**Cauchester* ‘jackdaw fortification’, pushing the date of formation very securely back into the Old Northumbrian period. Another example is Old English \**grǣg* ‘wolf’ in Milne Graden in the parish of Coldstream. First recorded as *Greiden* (1095; Durham Cathedral, Miscellaneous Charter 559), *greidene* (1095; Durham Cathedral, Miscellaneous Charter 558a) and *Graydone* (1354; RMS i, app. 1 no. 123) prior to the addition of the affix Milne around 1845 by David Milne Home, the second element is Old English *denu* ‘valley’. Again, both \*cā ‘jackdaw’ and \*grǣg ‘wolf’ also appear in the place-names of England although not in written sources, so the Berwickshire data show that the terms were current in Old Northumbrian as in other varieties of Old English.

Moreover, there are implications for the derivation of the former term. Whereas \*grǣg ‘wolf’ is clearly an extension of meaning from the attested colour adjective Old English *grǣg* ‘grey’, used of a prototypically grey animal (BIGGAM 1998: 79–80, HOUGH 1995), the origin of \*cā ‘jackdaw’ has been uncertain. Its descendants, Middle English *co* and Scots *ka*, are tentatively attributed to Old Norse within the respective headword entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED, s.v. *co*, *coe* n.<sup>1</sup>) and *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST, s.v. *ka*), whereas *Vocabulary of English Place-Names* inclines more towards a native Old English origin (VEPN, s.v. \*cā). The latter alternative is strongly supported by *Cauchest<er>lawe*. As mentioned above, Berwickshire place-names represent a range of historical languages, including Old English and Old Norse. However, the Old Norse stratum is very sparse in the Borders, and the only clear occurrence within our study area is Corsbie (*Crossebie* 1306 x 1329; RMS i, app. 2 no. 272) in the parish of Legerwood, from Old Norse *krossa-bý* ‘farm with crosses’. The overwhelming probability is therefore that *Cauchest<er>lawe*, from Old English *ceaster* ‘fortification’ and Old English *hlāw* ‘hill’, also contains an Old English first element. The significance of this is to establish \*cā ‘jackdaw’ as a native Old English word rather than a later borrowing from Old Norse.

<sup>5</sup> Examples and discussion appear in HOUGH (2001).

#### 4. Conclusion

The examples discussed in this paper illustrate the rich potential of the Berwickshire place-name evidence to extend our knowledge of the Old Northumbrian dialect of Old English, particularly in the areas of lexical semantics and phonology. The semantic field of bird and animal names may of course turn out to be exceptional, punching above its weight in the toponymicon while being under-represented in other types of sources. Nevertheless, it has provided a useful starting point from which to explore the issues. Indeed, one aim of the REELS project is to test the capacity of place-name evidence to reconstruct a language variety for which so little other evidence survives. The results so far are very promising.

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## Abstract

Old English is a collective term for a group of related dialects, some of which are better attested than others. The West Saxon variety tends to predominate in manuscripts, while the Northumbrian variety is particularly poorly represented in either written or epigraphic sources. Place-name evidence adds substantially





to our knowledge of language varieties spoken in the areas covered by the ongoing national place-name surveys of England and Scotland, but neither has yet reached the Northumbrian heartland that spanned the present-day border between the two countries. The deficit is being addressed by a three-year project funded by the Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow, *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names* (REELS): <http://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/>. The study area is the historical county of Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders, and the project team is undertaking a comprehensive survey of six parishes alongside broader analysis of major place-names throughout the county. The early findings presented in this paper illustrate the potential of place-name evidence to extend the current understanding of Old Northumbrian, drawing on examples from the semantic field of bird and animal names.

**Keywords:** toponomastics, Old English, dialectology

***Place-names containing occupational terms:  
a study based on data from two regions in Norway***

## **1. Introduction**

When dealing with the place-names of a region, it is striking to see the great variety of words and terms found in the material. Any natural or manmade feature so to speak, any field of human activity may be represented. Name researchers, historians, as well as other scholars interested in onomastics, have repeatedly highlighted place-names as a source for learning about the interaction between man and his surroundings. Among the large number of semantic categories represented in place-names, I will look into the one where the context is occupations (or occupational activities, including trades and professions), based on material from two Norwegian districts (see map below). Preliminary examples are *Munkerud* ‘the monk’s clearing’, cf. English *Monkton*, and *Prestedalen* ‘the priest’s valley’, cf. English *Priestcliffe* (GELLING 1984: 136). In most cases the occupational term stands as specific (first element) in compound place-names, whereas a topographical word makes out the generic (last element), for example *Lensmannsstølen*, from *lensmann* ‘sheriff’ and *støl* ‘summer farm’. The relationship between the profession in question and the generic is of various kinds, for instance performance of a particular occupation at a certain place, an individual’s proprietorship of that occupation, or an incident related to a person having that occupation. Further examples are *Skrivargarden* ‘the farmstead of the district court judge’, *Falkafangarnuten* ‘the hill where the falconer operates’.

In some names we find an aspect of irony, for instance in *Hovmannen*, from *hovmann* ‘clerk of the court’, ‘the king’s deputy’. This position as the king’s deputy was very unpopular among the rural population. In this case the name refers to a rock which the name givers have associated with a “hovmann”. By studying this group of names, we can find out more about the social status of the occupations in question.

## **2. Purpose**

Collecting and analyzing place-names may have a general interest as a part of the language and cultural history for a certain locale. Place-names are congealed linguistic documents from the past and as such they convey a range of information about various aspects of human life from the time when they were coined. One question which may be raised in reference to place-names regards

the context of specialized work that was performed by earlier generations. Even if this question to a great extent may be answered by historians, additional information will be found in place names. The fact that place-names are space-related linguistic signs gives them particular value as historical documents.

A number of professions which were common until the first half of the 20th century have in later decades been replaced by machines and automation. People in general have for instance little or no idea about the work of a cooper. As a result, the old techniques and the names of many of them are being forgotten. This topic has been addressed by several Norwegian name researchers, for instance ELI ELLINGSVE (1999). MARGIT HARSSON's study on vanished professions (2006) gives also many interesting examples (some of her findings are included in my material).

The present study aims at revealing various kinds of occupations represented in place-names, as well as their geographical distribution and frequency. It is also of interest to learn which topographical words are used in combination with the various occupational terms.

### 3. The terms *occupation/profession*

The terms *occupation* and *profession* may include a number of human activities. *The Oxford Living Dictionaries* defines *occupation* in the following way: 1. "A job or profession", whereas the definition of *profession* reads: 1. "A paid occupation, especially one that involves a prolonged training and a formal education". Thus, we see that the two terms denote activities that are pretty closely related to one another. One category of occupations especially relevant in the Middle Ages, which is the main timeframe for many of the names in my data, is the tradesman. Tradesmen like bakers and blacksmiths had often spent many years learning their trade. But professions are usually tied to academic training, and in our context, the only professions would be clerical or administrative and legal. Some military positions might also be considered professions. A term like 'monk' is difficult to classify, since the context of being a monk is a lifestyle, a calling from God, and a protest against living in the ordinary world of work. It involves being a member of a brotherhood and living under vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. But monks spent many hours in Bible study, and their positions were a part of the clerical hierarchy. A more obvious example of an occupation is that of NOR *budeie* 'milkmaid', referring to women working at summer farms. The same applies to NOR *husmann* 'cotter'. A common occupation like NOR *bonde* 'farmer' is strangely enough not found in my material. One reason may be that *bonde* was (and is) so commonly used that it did not work very well as a distinguishing term in place-names (although it may be used occasionally in other materials). A less

honourable occupation is that of a thief, for instance in *Tjuvaholet*, from NOR *tjuv* ‘thief’ and *hol* ‘hole’ (here rather ‘cave’). There is a tradition that some thieves used to hide in *Tjuvaholet*. In consideration of the many connotations of these activities, I use the two terms in a rather wide sense. In Norwegian *yrkeshnemning* (SCHMIDT 1983) would correspond to English occupational (and professional) terms.

A broader approach to the research would include all kinds of terms which refer to human roles. Some adjacent terms, but outside my scope, are for instance NOR *frue* ‘Madame, wife’, NOR *kjer(r)ing* ‘adult (elderly) female person, wife’, NOR *jomfru* ‘virgin’, NOR *brur* ‘bride’, all of them well known as place-name elements. In fact, a person can have multiple social roles through her or his lifetime and these may be reflected in place-names. Once a thief does not mean that a person is always a thief. And to be a bride is not a permanent role, although it may be repeated several times during a woman’s life. Or *brur* may imply that many brides do some activity. Interestingly enough, names containing NOR *brur* ‘bride’ are abundant as specific in Norwegian place-names. They may be explained in various ways; *brur* in *Bruravika* may for instance refer to an inlet where the bride and the wedding guests went ashore on the way to or from the church. The name *Brurabenken* ‘the bride’s bench’ is used several times about naturally shaped stone seats, suitable for a bride (or a bride and a groom).

In order to organize the findings, I will distinguish between the following four groups: 1) Agriculture and various work activities attached to the countryside; 2) Crafts and Trades; 3) Official secular positions; 4) Official clerical positions (see further below).

#### 4. Material

The study is based on material from a western inland district and an eastern mainly coastal district in Norway (see Figure 1). The results show significant differences between the two areas, which is partly due to the data selection. The material from the eastern district is excerpted from a list of some 39 000 names (including a number of name variants) of farmsteads and cotters’ farms (SCHMIDT 1994–2017). The material from the western district comprises names of all sorts of features and is excerpted from various inventories of local place-names, the most important one being an inventory of about 13 000 place-names covering the municipality of Ullensvang (TRONES 2016). The material published by HEGGSTAD (1949), RYNNING-NIELSEN (1958), and others as well as card files were also excerpted. Neither group in the material pretends to be exhaustive. Nor are the two groups quite commensurable as the eastern group does not comprise names of natural features. However, the material was



selected on the basis of available name lists. In spite of this difference I shall show that interesting results were achieved.

Altogether I have listed some 360 names based on about 80 occupational terms. A very rough estimation indicates that approximately one per cent of the name material contains an occupational term. As is shown on the table below, a great variety of terms is used in the material.



**Figure 1:** Map of Southern Norway showing the two areas of investigation. In the west the district of Hardanger (part of the County of Hordaland) is marked, and in the east the County of Østfold (© Mapping Authority of Norway)

## 5. Methodological considerations

The normal structure of Norwegian place-names is a specific followed by a generic, for example *Klokkargarden*, composed by NOR *klokkar* ‘sexton’ and *gard* ‘farm, smallholding’. The generic defines the feature in question whereas the specific defines or specifies certain qualities of the generic. However, the relationship between the specific and the generic is not always transparent. In many cases it is a question of ownership or rights of use, i.e. the named feature (in this case the farm) belongs (belonged) to or is (was) used by the person

mentioned in the specific. In *Klokkargarden* (Ullensvang) we know that *garden* ‘the farm’ used to belong to the *klokkar* ‘sexton’, but later it was taken over by private owners. In the case of *Prestegarden* the priest performs his job at the church, not in the house where he lives. However, in many contexts the name *Prestegarden* comprises the priest’s dwelling as well as the nearby surroundings. *Prestegarden* is by the way the most frequent name in my material and is found in most parishes as a part of the traditional clerical system. It may be considered as a technical term (cf. *bondegard* ‘farmer’s farm’).



**Figure 2:** A traditional Norwegian prestegard (to the left) next to the church.  
Historic picture from Rygge in Østfold  
(Lindman photo 1903)

However, most place-names are coined individually, for instance *Biskuskleiv*, composed by a vernacular form of *bisp* ‘bishop’ and *kleiv* ‘steep rocky part of a path’. According to a local tradition the name is considered as a remembrance of the bishop’s route. But the relationship between the word for *bishop* and the generic *kleiv* is unclear. Perhaps the bishop or his horse was exposed to an accident here. In that case the name does not tell anything about the bishop



himself. However, it does reveal that the term *bishop* and the bishop's role were well known in the region, and even more important, that the bishop had to travel around in the countryside.

Very often there will be more than one way of explaining the relationship between a particular occupation reflected in a place-name and the place to which the name refers. In some cases the oral tradition attached to a name may be secondary, based upon the name itself, and we do not always know if a tradition is reliable. In other cases local history books and genealogies may supply some facts. In the case of *Biskuskleiv* we know from historic sources that the bishop had to use the mountainous path where this name occurs. The name *Biskopsvarden* 'the bishop's cairn' on the Hardangervidda may be another linguistic trace of the bishop's travel, but it is uncertain if he really used to pass this cairn on his way. Another example is *Bakarbrekka*, composed of *bakar* 'baker' and *brekke* 'steep part of a road'. We don't know the exact background of the name, but to all appearances a baker must have been present in the imagination of the name givers for some reason or other. Perhaps a baker had been involved in an accident. Or his name was *Baker*. The most plausible explanation of such a name would be that a baker used to work nearby.

Other examples are *Klerkatjørn* and *Sutarebrekka* on the Hardangervidda. The first element in *Klerkatjørn* is NOR *klerk* 'clerk' and the last element is NOR *tjørn* 'pond, lake'. According to an oral tradition the name was given because a clerk who made his way across the Hardangervidda drowned in the Klerkatjørn. However, there is no contemporary documentation that such an incident occurred, so we have to view the truthfulness of this explanation with scepticism. In *Sutarebrekka*, which refers to a steep mountainous path, the first element reflects ON *sútari* 'shoemaker', cf. Latin *sūtor* 'shoemaker', a term which has been replaced by the Middle German loan word *skomakar* in current Norwegian. The last element is *brekke* 'steep part of a path or road'. *Sútari* is now obsolete in the local language and people do not understand the word. It is not probable that a shoemaker used to work in such a remote area. It is more likely that the name is motivated by an incident where a shoemaker was involved. But here, as is the case with many other place-names, a reliable explanation lies beyond our knowledge. Another occupation is reflected *Bøkkerhuset*, composed by NOR *bøkker* 'cooper' and NOR *hus* 'house'. In this case we have some documentation that barrel production formerly took place here. There is reason to believe that the connection between the occupation mentioned in the specific and the generic is performance of that profession, which again will include dwelling and ownership.





**Figure 3:** A cooper family at work. German drawing from 1880  
(Wikimedia Commons [https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fil:B%C3%B6ttcher\\_1880.jpg](https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fil:B%C3%B6ttcher_1880.jpg))

## 6. Nomen agentis

One group of occupational terms which requires special attention is the words of the agent (*nomen agentis*) like *skriver* ~ *skriver* ‘district judge’, cf. ON *skrifa* ‘to copy’; both forms are represented in the material. (In Norwegian we find *skriver* with the *-er*-suffix as well as *skriver* with *-ar*-suffix, the former being Bokmål and the latter Nynorsk). When such terms are found in habitation names they mostly denote the occupation of one of the owners (or former owners) of the place in question. This formation type corresponds to Latin *notarius*, derived from Latin *notāre* ‘take notes’, which has many parallels in Indo-European languages, also in place-names. Another Norwegian example is the above mentioned *Sutarebrekka*, from ON *sútari* ‘cobbler, shoemaker’. A number of such formations are adopted as currant words in Norwegian whereas others are created ad hoc on the basis of a particular action (RYGH 1907: 247). In field names and names of natural features the *-ar*-formation in the first element rather expresses a certain quality of the place than of the agent (see PELLJEFF 1975). In the case of *Spelarhaugen* for example, composed of NOR *spelar* ‘fiddler, person who plays’ and NOR *haug* ‘hill’, *spelar* may refer to the action of *speling* ‘playing the fiddle’ there. Thus *Spelarhaugen* would be equivalent to an alternative form *\*Spelehaugen* where *Spele-* represents the infinitive form of the verb. The same applies to *Skitarberget*, from NOR *skitar*

‘one who shits’, cf. ON *skíta* ‘to shit’, and *berg* ‘rock’ (not part of my material). Around 30 of the terms in my material may be classified as *nomen agentis*.

## 7. Occupational terms used as personal names or bynames, nicknames

Norway, unlike Germany for instance, has no inherited tradition for creating surnames from occupations. However, we encounter numerous names like *Meyer*, *Miller*, *Smith* in Norway, also widely used in street names and to some extent in other place-names. This category of surnames was established in Norway through immigrants before most Norwegians adopted permanent surnames. Such names indicate that one of the forefathers of the family must have been a smith (but not that the actual name bearer is a smith). The cradle of such names is most often to be found abroad, in particular in Germany (further on this question see for instance TENGVIK 1938 and KOUSGÅRD SØRENSEN 1975).

Elliptical names like *Piparen*, from NOR *pipar* ‘flutist’, *Kornetta*, from *kornettpeljar* ‘cornet player’, and *Tamburen*, from NOR *tambur* ‘drummer’, seem to be used as bynames as well as names of the place, depending on the context. As a place-name it is an elliptical form of *\*Piparhuset* ‘the house (property) of the flutist’. Such musicians carried lower military ranks (cf. HARSSON 2006: 8)



**Figure 4:** Drummers, flutists and cornet players used to be military officers of lower rank (Illustration: <https://no.pinterest.com/pin/308426274462728564>)

It is not unusual that an occupational term is used as a nickname or byname for a Norwegian, for instance *Johan Smed*, or just *Smeden* ‘the blacksmith’, about someone who works or used to work as a smith. The name may be kept even if the activity ceased generations ago. The place where he lives may be called *Smedagarden* ‘the blacksmith’s farm’, or just *Smeda* which is an elliptic form of *Smedagarden* (cf. \**Piparhuset* above). *Smeda* is a genitive plural form of the Norwegian *smed*. By saying “visit *Smeda*”, you might mean visiting a person by that nickname or his house or family. Local language users would be familiar with the meaning.

Terms like *Kongen* ‘the King’ and *Presten* ‘the priest’ may be motivated in various ways as place-name elements. In some cases they may have been used ironically as nicknames and transferred to a topographical feature for some reason or other (see below). The same applies to *Keisarbrakka*, from NOR *keisar* ‘emperor’ and *brakke* ‘shed, simple building’, probably because this building was looked upon as the best one in that neighbourhood.

## 8. Occupational terms as metaphors

Metaphoric use of words for professions is found several times in the material, mostly in the western material, and then particularly in names of natural features. Many names of this category are noncompound, for instance *Presten* ‘the priest’ and *Klokkaren* ‘the sexton’, sometimes used about two neighbouring rocks. In some cases we find metaphoric names representing various social ranks given to natural formations close to each other, like *Kongen* ‘the king’ (the highest of three minor hills), *Dronningi* ‘the queen’ (the second highest hill), *Prinsen* ‘the prince’ (the smallest of the three hills). The same kind of social rank is expressed in the hill names *Presten* ‘the vicar’, *Prestkona* ‘the vicar’s wife’, and *Klokkaren* ‘the sexton’, the first one referring to the highest and the last one to the smallest hill. In such cases *Presten* is used about the bigger one and *Klokkaren* about the smaller one, thus reflecting the social status of the two positions. Between these two features another rock named *Prestkona* ‘the priest’s wife’ may occur. So the social status of a priest’s wife seems to lie between the priest and the sexton. A different example is *Kvitskriuprestan*, composed by *Kvitskria* ‘the white avalanche’ and *prestan*, definite plural form of NOR *prest* ‘priest’ (Figure 5). This particular area is protected by law because of its geomorphological character.



**Figure 5:** *Kvitskriuprestan* in Gudbrandsdalen. These characteristic earth and stone columns have been compared with priests  
(Wikimedia Commons <https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kvitskriuprestan>)

*Kongen* ‘the king’ and *Prinsen* ‘the prince’ are also found as names of two neighbouring peaks. We see that the name givers have entertained themselves by using a contrasting principle, namely when one social role is represented in a name, another, often contrastive role is used in the proximity. The above mentioned peak name *Hovmannen* is often used about a rock or a big stone. Another example is *Futen*, from NOR *fut* ‘tax collector (in a rural district)’ who was a very unpopular official in the countryside. On the Hardangervidda a rock is called *Munken*, cf. NOR *munk* ‘monk’, apparently with reference to the shape of a monk’s head.

These names are also coined ironically. By giving and using such names people were able to express their respect and disrespect for the people in power in society. A closer look at the material reveals various social aspects, for instance the above mentioned names *Kjering*, *Stykmødrene* and *Tausakjelda* which reflect a kind of sex discrimination. Quite an opposite connotation is the case with *Ølkona* ‘the beer waitress’, the name of a well with good water, situated close to a mountain path. In this case the well has been metaphorically compared with a waitress. A positive connotation is also attached to the name *Gastgjevaren*, cf. NOR *gjestgjevar* ‘innkeeper’, likely referring to a well close to a path.



## 9. Chronology

It is well known that it is problematic to date place-names. Exceptions are names of streets, buildings and other artefacts which are “baptized” at certain dates. In the archives of towns and villages it is possible to trace the provenance of many names, also the date when they were given, with exception of very old names. Numerous street names refer to persons with occupational titles, and it is possible to get information on the background of the named persons. *Munk* ‘monk’ is a frequent term in the material, and some names of this type may go back to the Middle Ages, but most of them date from more recent centuries, and were given with reference to various qualities which were believed to be typical for monks, or comparison with a monk is implied. However, in most cases place-names result from naming over a long time and we do not know who gave the names or why.

## 10. Grouping

I have chosen to group the material into four divisions: 1) Agriculture, countryside, various work activities (30 terms), 2) Crafts and trades (24 terms); 3) Official professions/ secular (20 terms); 4) Official professions/ clerical (7 terms).

Some of the terms in group 1) may also fit into group 2, and vice versa. In group 1 we find typical terms like *husmann* ‘cotter’, e.g. *Husmannsåkeren*, compounded with NOR *åker* ‘field’. The cotter had to work in the fields belonging to the land owner, but was allocated a small field where he and his family could grow their own potatoes and other crops. On bigger farms an employee was responsible for overlooking the work with the cattle. He was called *sveiser* ‘foreman on a dairy farm’, a term which we find in *Sveiserhytta*, composed of NOR *hytte* ‘cottage, simple house’. Another specialist was responsible for gelding horses, an occupation which is reflected as the first element of *Jelkarhytta*. *Taus* is widely used about a maidservant and we find this term in *Tausakjelda* ‘well used by the maidservants’. The spring streamed out from under a vulva-shaped rock, and this circumstance is no doubt the main motivation for the name (and we can imagine that the name-givers were males).

In the material from Hardanger there are quite a few names containing NOR *budeie* ‘milkmaid’, especially around the summer farms and along the paths to the summer farms. We find several names like *Budeieklypet*, *Budeiesmyttet* and *Budeiesteinen*. The generics *klype* and *smytte* both mean ‘narrow passage’ and are used in place-names along the path. According to local tradition, the reason for giving such names was that the milkmaids had eaten too much cream and butter during the season so that they scarcely managed to get through those narrow passes. This was of course an exaggeration, but the names worked very



well as jokes, especially among male persons. Obviously, an element of irony or even discrimination lay behind such names. On the other hand, *budeie* is used in a more objective way in *Budeiesteinen*, where *stein* ‘stone, rock’, refers to a stone where the milkmaids used to rest or to look for the cattle.

### 11. Table of terms with distribution and number of names, plus name examples

1. Agriculture, countryside, various	Hord Number of names	Østf Number of names	Name examples + translation of the last element; noncompd = noncompound; ref. = referring to
Budeie – ‘milkmaid’	H-16		Budeiesmyttet – ‘narrow pass’
Falkafangar – ‘falcon capturer’	H-2		Falkafangarnuten – ‘mountain’
Fant – ‘vagabond’, ‘hobo’	H-2		Fantakroken – ‘corner’
Fisker – ‘fisherman’		Ø-3	Fiskertangen – ‘promontory’
Fløter – ‘log driver’		Ø-5	Fløterkroken – ‘corner’
Gartner – ‘gardener’		Ø-3	Gartnerhagen – ‘garden’
Gastgjevar – ‘host’, ‘innkeeper’	H-1		Gastgjevaren (noncompd) ref. a house
Giar (Jiar) – ‘fiddle player’	H-1		Giardalen – ‘valley’
Graver – ‘digger’	H-1	Ø-2	Graverstua – ‘small house’
Husmann – ‘crofter, cotter’	H-2		Husmannsåkeren – ‘field’
Jeger – ‘hunter’		Ø-1	Jegerhytta – ‘cabin’
Jelkar – ‘horse gelder’		Ø-1	Jelkarhytta – ‘cabin’
Kaptein – ‘captain’	H-1	Ø-1	Kapteinløkka – ‘small property’
Kremmar – ‘shopkeeper, salesman’	H-1	Ø-1	Kremmarbekken – ‘stream’
Mjølmar/møller – ‘miller’		Ø-20	Møllerhaugen – ‘hill’
Skavar – ‘bark stripper’	H-1		Skavarehelleren – ‘farmstead’
Skipper – ‘shipscaptain’		Ø-1	Skipperud – ‘clearing’
Skjelm – ‘scoundrel, deceiver’	H-1		Skjelmhaug – ‘hill’
Skysskaffer – ‘horse keeper (for transport)’		Ø-1	Skysskafferplassen – ‘crofter’s farm’
Skyttar – ‘shooter, hunter’	H-2		Skyttarfossen – ‘waterfall’
Spelar – ‘player, musician’	H-2	Ø-1	Spelarhaugen – ‘hill’
Spelemann – ‘player, musician’		Ø-2	Spelemannshaugen – ‘hill’
Sveiser – ‘foreman on a dairy farm’		Ø-3	Sveiserhytta – ‘cottage’
Tambur – ‘drummer’		Ø-4	Tamburen (noncompd) ref. a crofter’s farm
Taus – ‘maidservant’	H-2		Tausakjelda – ‘well’
Tjuv/tjov – ‘thief’	H-5	Ø-2	Tjuvahola – ‘cave’
Trøsker – ‘grain thresher’		Ø-1	Trøskerenden – ‘end (of something)’
Vaskar – ‘washer(woman)’	H-1	Ø-1	Vaskarbekken – ‘stream’
Viking – ‘viking’	H-2		Vikingnes – ‘promontory’
Ølkone – ‘woman who serves beer’	H-1		Ølkona (noncompd) ref. a well

2. Crafts and trade	H (Hord.) Number of names	Ø (Østf.) Number of names	Name examples + translation of the last element; noncompd = noncompound; ref. = referring to
Bakar – ‘baker’	H-4		Bakarbrekka – ‘steep road’
Bleikar – ‘cloth bleacher’		Ø-2	Blekerhuset – ‘house’
Brygger – ‘brewer’		Ø-1	Bryggerhuset – ‘house’
Bøkker – ‘cooper’		Ø-3	Bøkkerkasa – ‘heap of cut down trees’
Dreier – ‘turner’		Ø-1	Dreierud – ‘clearing, farmstead’
Garver – ‘leather tanner’		Ø-2	Garvergården – ‘farmstead’
Knapper – ‘button molder’		Ø-1	Knappervika – ‘bay’
Kopper – ‘turner’		Ø-15	Kopperud – ‘clearing, farmstead’
Lagger – ‘cooper’		Ø-1	Laggerholtet – ‘small forest’
Murmester – ‘master bricklayer’		Ø-1	Murmesterplassen – ‘crofter’s farm’
Måler – ‘painter’		Ø-1	Målerhytta – ‘cottage’
Notbindar – ‘net binder’		Ø-1	Notbindarskarvet – ‘rocky ground’
Pottemaker – ‘potter’		Ø-1	Pottemakerplassen – ‘crofter’s farm’
Rokkemakar – ‘spinning wheel maker’		Ø-1	Rokkemakerhytta – ‘cottage’
Salmakar – ‘saddler’, ‘saddlemaker’		Ø-1	Salmakerhytta – ‘cottage’
Skinnar – ‘leather maker’		Ø-2	Skinnerud – ‘clearing, farmstead’
Skjebinder – ref. to weaving <sup>1</sup>		Ø-1	Skjebinderhytta – ‘cottage’
Skomaker – ‘shoemaker’	H-4	Ø-12	Skomakerneset (Ø) – ‘promontory’
Skreddar – ‘tailor’		Ø-11	Skredderplassen – ‘crofter’s farm’
Snekker – ‘carpenter’	H-2	Ø-12	Snekkertangen – ‘promontory’
Suter – ‘shoemaker’	H-1	Ø-10	Suteren (noncompd) – ref. a small farm
Svarver – ‘cupmaker’		Ø-6	Svarvermoen – ‘flat sandy area’
Treskomakar – ‘clog maker’		Ø-1	Treskomakerhytta – ‘cottage’
Vever – ‘weaver’		Ø-1	Veverhuset – ‘house’

<sup>1</sup> Skjebinder ‘person who makes the weaver’s reed in a loom’.



3. Official positions – secular	Hord Number of names	Østf Number of names	Name examples + translation of the last element; noncompd = noncompound; ref. = referring to
Borgarmeister – ‘mayor’		Ø-1	Borgermesterløkka – ‘enclosure, field’
Dronning – ‘queen’	H-2		Dronninga (noncompd) ref. to a hill
Formann – ‘foreman’	H-1		Formannshuset – ‘house’
Forsete (hist.) – ‘foreman’		Ø-1	Forsetlund – ‘grove’
Forvaltar – ‘manager’		Ø-1	Forvalterboligen – ‘dwelling’
Fut/faut – ‘bailiff, tax collector’		Ø-2	Futerød – ‘clearing’
Hovmann – ‘clerk of the court’	H-4		Hovmannen (noncompd) ref. a rock
Kansler – ‘chancellor’		Ø-1	Kanslerhytta – ‘cottage’
Keisar – ‘emperor’	H-1		Keisarbrakka – ‘shed’
Klerk – ‘clerk’	H-3	Ø-1	Klerkatjørn – ‘tarn’
Kommissar – ‘commissar’		Ø-2	Kommissaren (noncompd), ref. a dwelling
Konge – ‘king’	H-2	Ø-28	Kongskleiv – ‘rocky path’
Kornetta [‘deriv. from] cornet player’		Ø-2	Kornetta (noncompd) ref. a dwelling
Lensmann – ‘sheriff’	H-2	Ø-2	Lensmannsstølen – ‘summer farm’
Piparen – derived from pipar ‘flutist’	H-2	Ø-6	Piparen (noncompd) ref. a dwelling
Prins – ‘prince’	H-2	Ø-5	Prinsahaugen – ‘hill’
Skolemester – ‘schoolmaster’	H-3	Ø-3	Skolemesterhytta – ‘cottage’
Skrivar – ‘magistrate’	H-3	Ø-4	Skrivarteigen – ‘field’
Soldat – ‘soldier’	H-3	Ø-4	Soldatplassen – ‘crofter’s farm’
Tamburen – ‘drummer’		Ø-2	Tamburen (noncompd) ref. a crofter’s farm

4. Official positions – clerical	Hord Number of names	Østf Number of names	Name examples + translation of the last element; noncompd = noncompound; ref. = referring to
Biskop/ bisp – ‘bishop’	H-2	Ø-7	Biskopskleiv – ‘rocky path’
Kannik – ‘canon’ (type of priest)	H-1		Kannikeberg – ‘mountain’
Klokkar – ‘sexton’	H-5	Ø-27	Klokkargarden – ‘(small) farm’
Munk – ‘monk’	H-10	Ø-9	Munkabu – ‘shack, cottage’
Prest – ‘priest, vicar’	H-15	Ø-40	Prestegarden – ‘farm’
Prestkone – ‘priest’s wife’	H-1		Prestkono (noncompd) refer. to a ‘hill’
Ringer – ‘bell-ringer’		Ø-2	Ringerhytta – ‘cottage’

## 12. Findings and conclusion

As shown in the table above, 81 different occupations were found in the material. It may be surprising that 34 terms are found only in the eastern material and 19 terms only in the western material. This is partly due to the above-mentioned difference in the material selection, but it is also due to differences in the basis for trade and industry of the different locales; for instance *mjølner* ~ *møller* 'miller' is found 20 times in the eastern material and not at all in the western material. *Budeie* 'milkmaid' is found in 16 names in the west compared to none in the east. As to the last element we see that words for dwelling are far more frequent in the east than in the west, which also is due to the material selection. In the western data topographical words are far more frequent than in the eastern data. Almost any topographical word may be used as last element in composition with an occupational term. However, as mentioned above the term *prest* 'priest' is in most cases compounded with *gard(en)* '(the) farm'. In the data from the eastern area (dwelling names) we find, not surprisingly, *hus* 'house', *hytte* 'cabin' as last elements much more frequently used than in the west.

The findings show that a great variety of specialists were at hand, not necessarily all of them at the same time. But we should also bear in mind that an inventory of place-names does not contain a complete list of occupational terms in the area in question, as the name giving is accidental as to motive. There is reason to believe that the society at any time had the specialists needed for various tasks, and that the technique developed over time. Thus, the terms may be seen as a mirror of a rather complex society. The study also shows how occupational terms may be used in a connotative context.

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## Abstract

Terms referring to occupations or professions are frequently found in Norwegian place names. A study of this category of names can give us information not only on the names in question but also on their regional distribution and to some extent on their social context. Names like *Munketeigen* ‘the monk’s parcel’, *Skrivargarden* ‘the farmstead of the district court judge’, *Falkafangarnuten* ‘the falconer’s hill’, *Sutarebrekka* indicate not only a topographical phenomenon,

but also give an indication of the status of the inhabitants. The last example is composed of Old Norse (ON) *sútari* 'shoemaker' and Norwegian (NOR) *brekke* 'steep part of a hill'. In current Norwegian *sútari* has been replaced by *skomakar*, which is a Middle German loan word. In some cases, names in this category are coined as metaphors, for instance *Hovmannen*, from NOR *hovmann* 'clerk of the court' also 'the king's deputy', referring to a rock which the name givers have associated with the king's servant. One part of the discussion will be devoted to the *occupation ~ profession* inherent term. Whereas for instance *husmann* 'cotter' and *taus* 'maidservant' are included in the analysis, terms like *brur* 'bride' and *frue* 'wife' are excluded. The study is based on data from an eastern, mainly coastal, district and a western inland district in Southern Norway. There are significant differences in the data from the two areas, partly due to the data selection. The eastern material is taken from a comprehensive list of names for farmsteads and cottages, whereas the western material comprises all sorts of named features. One noticeable difference is that metaphoric names are more frequent in the western material than in the eastern.

**Keywords:** place-names, settlement names, words for professions in places-names, distribution of words for professions



Soňa Wojnarová

## ***Colour Terms ‘Gold’ and ‘Silver’ in Finnish and Czech Toponyms***

Given all the differences between the two areas and languages, the very first question one can ask is whether Finnish and Czech toponyms can be mutually compared at all. Obviously, there are many differences but there can also be found features which in both languages work in a similar way, and these ones can be compared and used for the analysis of the words *hopea* (fin) – *stříbro* ~ *stříbrná* (cz) ‘silver’ and *kulta* (fin) – *zlato* ~ *zlatá* (cz) ‘gold’.

As for the differences, the most self-evident facts can be named such as that the countries are too far from each other to have any territorial ties, the types of landscape are different, and the languages are different, Czech belonging to the Indo-European and Finnish to the Uralic language family. Not surprisingly, the ways in which new words (and also toponyms) come into being differ, as the Finnish language prefers compounding (KOIVISTO 2013: 51–52) and Czech derivating (ČECHOVÁ et al. 2000: 93). Moreover, in Finnish there are no grammatical genders, but in Czech there three and this is also reflected in the forms of toponyms (endings *-ý/ěj*, *-á*, *-é* for masculine, feminine and neuter respectively, depending on the grammatical gender of the generic). Thus both Czech *Zlatá hora* and Finnish *Kultavuori* mean ‘gold(en) hill’, and the meaning of Czech *Stříbrnej potok* and Finnish *Hopeapuro* is ‘silver stream’. The two Finnish examples are compounds and the Czech names can be described as compounds as well, their first parts being concordant modifiers (cf. OLIVOVÁ-NEZBEDOVÁ 1995: 27–28) with gender markers: *-á* (fem.) and *-ěj* (*-ý*) (mas.). Last but not least, in both languages some toponyms are classified slightly differently. The differences in classification concern mostly agrarian names and hydronyms. In Finnish toponomastics, fields and other agrarian names are perceived as cultural names related to human activity, whereas in Czech they belong to geographical names and as such they are not related to human activity. Another example is names of marshes which in Finnish are considered to be a part of terrain whereas in Czech they are seen as “water” and thus classified as hydronyms (AINIALA–SAARELMA–SJÖBLOM 2008: 90–91, OLIVOVÁ-NEZBEDOVÁ 1995: 15–16).

Despite the aforementioned differences, there happen to be similarities as well. To start with, there is a relation between the Finnish word *kulta* and the Czech word *zlato* since they are considered to be of the same origin. The Finnish word *kulta* is a loan word from Germanic languages (*\*gulþa-* and *\*gulða-*, see e.g. English *gold* or German *Guld*) whose original form can be tracked down to



Proto-Indo-European *\*gh<sub>1</sub>to-* (SSA. 432) and thus is cognate with the Czech word *zlato* (OEtD, REJZEK 2012: 739). On the other hand, the Finnish word *hopea* dates back to the Proto-Finnic form *\*šopeḁa* meaning ‘soft’ (SSA. 172), which suggests that the metal was named after its qualities. However, it is not the etymology of these words but their meanings which enable the comparison, as they seem to be if not the same then very similar in both languages. The terms for *gold* and *silver* in both languages refer primarily to **1) precious metals** (or something related to these metals), or **2) to the colours** usually connected with these metals (shiny lustrous yellow or greyish-white). Interestingly enough, in both languages the word *gold* has **3) an extended, figurative**, meaning ‘valuable, good, productive and therefore important’ which has been very likely derived from the value of this metal and it is also used as a word of endearment in both languages (*kulta* and *zlato* can both mean ‘darling’, SKP. 260, 570, SSJČ). Because of the close connection to the metals as the origins of the colours, *gold* and *silver* are in general considered secondary colour terms and not as basic (cf. CASSON 1997: 233, 236). The concept of basic colour terms was created by BERLIN and KAY in 1969 when they set the criteria for specifying the qualities of basic colour terms. Based on the criteria they suggested a list of eleven colours (*white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, pink, orange* and *grey*) which was later limited to the first six that tend to come up in languages all around the world (WCS. 2–11). Basically, *gold* as a “warm colour” is ranked to the semantic field of YELLOW, and *silver* as a “cold colour” to WHITE (ŠTĚPAN 2004: 65, 74). Nevertheless, they are different because of the element of **brightness** which they include and which is otherwise missing in their hyperonyms and other basic colour terms. Brightness is related to the amount of light which is radiated or reflected by the object and it is actually considered one of the qualities found in colours, alongside with hue, tone and saturation (BIGGAM 2012: 3–5, 202). Perceiving the colours only as an equivalent of its hue is typical in languages of western cultures but elsewhere around the world speakers of other languages may focus on other aspects such as the surface of the given object (e.g. rough, prickly, smooth, etc.) or even on such qualities as the edibility of the object (WIERZBICKA 2014: 5–6, 312, VAN LEEUWEN 2011: 49). The way the colour is perceived (which aspects are given the priority) can actually undergo substantial changes over the years, as for example in English. In Old English the basic colours characterised different levels and types of brightness, the hue was secondary and it became the primary aspect only in the period of Middle English (CASSON 1997: 224, 227–230).

The analysed material consists of 1,910 names (1,410 Finnish place-names from the Names Archive in Helsinki and 500 Czech place-names from the Institute of Czech Language AV ČR in Prague). All of them are microtoponyms collected from local people who were supposed to know the area well. It can be questioned



how much folk linguistics there was in their approach and interpretation. Nevertheless, in the analysis all their information and explanations are taken into account and considered relevant as they do refer to the way people perceive the landscape and environment.

The initial amount of place-names starting with the terms *gold* or *silver* is higher than the final number of names used in this research because not in all cases can their motivation be identified. It can also happen that within one toponym there can be identified more motivations and the final figures refer to the number of all motivations available for the analysis. See Figure 1.

	place-names: total	min. 1 motivation	motivation: total
<b><i>Kulta-</i></b>	767	524	<b>566</b>
<b><i>Hopea-</i></b>	643	448	<b>508</b>
<b><i>Zlato (Zlatá)</i></b>	304	191	<b>223</b>
<b><i>Stříbro (Stříbrná)</i></b>	196	120	<b>134</b>

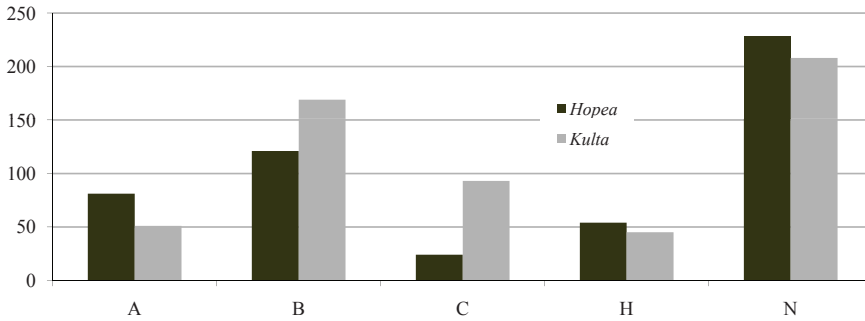
**Figure 1:** The amount of place-names starting with *Kulta-* / *Zlato* ‘gold’ and *Hopea-* / *Stříbro* ‘silver’ and the number of motivations that was possible to identify

In these toponyms it was possible to identify the following five main types of naming motivation: colour (A), metal (B), figurative meaning (C), human beings (H) and naming processes (N). In each category there can be classified several subtypes.

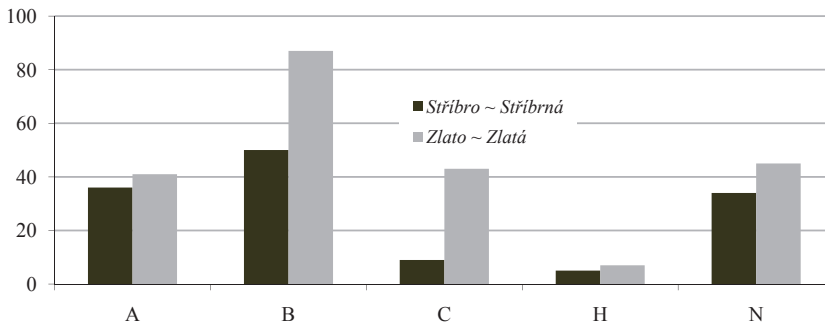
The categories of colour, metal and figurative meaning reflect the original meanings of these colour terms. Categories H and N can be considered “secondary” as there seems to be no direct connection to the original meanings of the terms *gold* and *silver*. In the case of category H, the place-names were motivated by names of (mostly) human beings<sup>1</sup> which had been derived from these persons’ characteristics, jobs (e.g. a goldsmith) or something they had done or said and could be related to *gold* or *silver*, or even from the ownership or tenancy of a place (farms, crofts) whose name started with *gold* or *silver*. Naming processes (category N) are also considered a type of naming motivation, at least in Finnish toponomastics (cf. AINIALA–SAARELMA–SJÖBLOM 2008: 101). A very frequent case of a naming process functioning as a motivation is the metonymical shift when a place-name (usually a geographical name related to landscape) is shifted to a settlement in that place (such as *Kultaranta* ‘gold/

<sup>1</sup> There were also several instances of cows’ names in Finnish toponyms starting with *Kulta-*, but the amount (about 4 names) in comparison to human beings is not considered significant in this study.

en beach’ was used first about the beach and when a house was built there, it got the same name). Another but less frequent example is variation, when the form of the place-name is a reaction to the form of a place-name of the same type somewhere in the vicinity (e.g. near *Kultavuori* ‘gold/en hill’ there was a *Kuparivuori* ‘copper hill’; however, in this case it was not possible to find out which name was used as the model and which one was the variant).

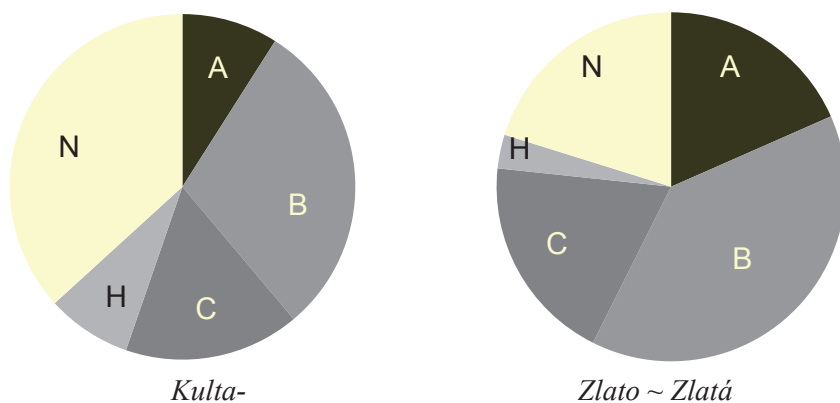


**Figure 2:** Types of motivation in Finnish place-names

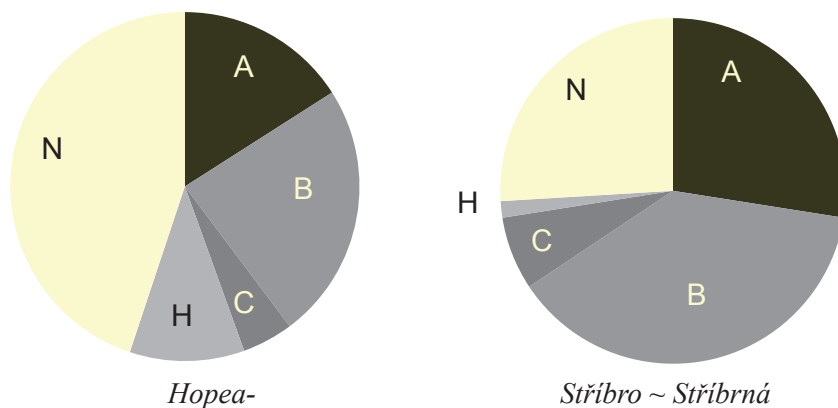


**Figure 3:** Types of motivation in Czech place-names

The data processed in graphs (see Figures 2 and 3) show that in Finnish toponyms the most frequent type of motivation is naming processes (N), whereas in Czech toponyms the prevailing type is the motivation based on metal (B). With a closer look at the individual types of toponyms (*Kulta*-, *Hopea*-, *Zlato ~ Zlatá* and *Stříbro ~ Stříbrná*) it becomes obvious that the types of motivation based on the original meanings of the words for *gold* and *silver* are the most common ones. They make up more than a half of all occurrences in each place-name type (see Figures 4–5). These three types (A, B, C) are going to be discussed more in detail.



**Figure 4:** Types of motivation in Finnish place-names starting with *Kulta-* and in Czech place-names starting with *Zlato ~ Zlatá*



**Figure 5:** Types of motivation in Finnish place-names starting with *Hopea-* and in Czech place-names starting with *Stříbro ~ Stříbrná*

Within the motivation based on colour there can be identified the following subtypes (see Figure 6). The first one (A1), which is based on something of that particular colour appearing in that place, can be derived from the colour of sand (A1-1), colour of stones (A1-2), colour of soil (A1-3), colour of plants (A1-4a) or animals (A1-4b), colour of waterbed, foam or reflections on water surface (A1-5), or an object of that colour (A1-6). The second subtype (A2) refers to the purity and clarity of water and thus to its quality. The third subtype (A3) is related to the glimmer and reflection of hard surfaces (e.g. rocks).

Motivation	<i>Kulta</i>	<i>Hopea</i>	<i>Zlato</i>	<i>Stříbro</i>
A1-1	19	6	2	0
A1-2	5	23	3	2
A1-3	1	4	15	5
A1-4	15	18	16	20
A1-5	1	4	1	0
A1-6	0	1	3	0
A2	5	22	1	7
A3	5	3	0	2

Figure 6: Motivation based on COLOUR (A)

The colour of place (A1) seems to reflect the environment and landscape types quite accurately. The motivation based on sand (A1-1) is very frequent in Finnish place-names starting with *Kulta*- and motivation based on the colour of stones or rocks (A1-2) in Finnish place-names starting with *Hopea*-. On the other hand, the colour of soil is the second most frequent motivation in Czech toponyms starting with *Zlato* ~ *Zlatá*. The motivation based on the plants or animals is rather prominent in both language areas. However, the sources of colour actually differ. In Finland the most significant motivators for *silver* colour are plants such as willow, spruce trees or moss (both on the ground or on the trees). In Czech language area the colour is most frequently derived from a plant with yellow flowers and greyish or whitish lower part of the leaves. This plant (in English *hoary cinquefoil*, *Potentilla argentea*) is in Czech called *muchna stříbrná* (fem.). The folk name of the plant is *stříbrnice* (fem.) or *stříbrník* (mas.) and both these forms come up as toponyms as well. In place-names starting with *Kulta*- or *Zlato* ~ *Zlatá* the motivator can be “goldfish” (both in Finnish and Czech) and in Czech toponyms pheasants may appear. An interesting finding is the distribution of subtype A2 in which the names are motivated by purity and clarity of water. This motivation is most frequent in Finnish *silver* names related to smaller watercourses, bays, springs or wells.

In category B (type of motivation based on metal), there are to be identified the following five subtypes (see Figure 7). B0 refers to any metal in general without any further specification. In subtype B1 the place-names are related to a precious metal and the activities around it, such as mining, gold-panning or research. Subtype B2 is connected to money in any form, as the motivation can stem from wages, fees, something expensive, or just money thrown into the well. Subtype B3 consists of several further types, all of them relating to precious objects. Type B3-1 refers to hidden treasures and magic. Type B3-2

refers to hidden treasures with a historical background with references to wars, burial sites, etc. Type B3-3 is connected to a specific object which was (once) found there, and B3-4 to an object which was irretrievably lost there, (sometimes references are made even to shipwrecks). Type B3-5 refers to other events which were connected to that particular place. Subtype B4 refers to a resemblance of a precious metal and B5 to other types of motivation related to metal.

Motivation	<i>Kulta</i>	<i>Hopea</i>	<i>Zlato</i>	<i>Stříbro</i>
<b>B0</b>	9	1	0	0
<b>B1</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>53</b>	30
<b>B2</b>	9	10	12	2
<b>B3-1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>26</b>	0	1
<b>B3-2</b>	8	23	1	2
<b>B3-3</b>	4	7	7	0
<b>B3-4</b>	15	12	0	0
<b>B3-5</b>	7	5	2	1
<b>B4</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>B5</b>	5	0	1	0

**Figure 7:** Motivation based on METAL (B).

As for the motivation based on metal, the most significant subtypes can be considered the presence of precious metal and the activities related to it (B1), and the resemblance of precious metals caused by presence of mica flakes or pieces of pyrite, crystals of quartz, feldspar or slate (B4). Very interesting are the subtypes connected with treasure (B3-1, B3-2) which come up almost solely in Finnish toponyms, especially the subtype related to hidden treasures and magic. This magic consists in the folk beliefs that if a person wants to gain the treasure, certain conditions must be met. Nevertheless, these conditions or tasks are impossible to be carried out. There seems to be a pattern of three conditions which come up all over the southern parts of Finland. The tasks usually consist in riding a one-night foal over one-night old ice on a specific night (e.g. cold and moonlit), being silent or throwing an axe from one island to another. This occurs extremely often in Finnish place-names starting with *Hopea*- and it might be worth looking into these place-names and their motivations e.g. from the perspective of folklore studies.

The subtypes of motivation based on figurative meaning (C) can be very varied (see Figure 8). They can range from the beauty of the place (C1), its



productivity and reliability (C2), a high quality (C3) to shifted meanings (C4), love relationship of two people (C5), a meeting place of the youth and activities related to that (C6), other activities, such as secret distilleries (C7); and others (C8). The subtype of shifted meaning (C4) consists of irony (C4-1); amelioration (C4-2); aesthetic effort, when an uninteresting place is given an attractive name (C4-3); or just joking and mocking (C4-4).

Motivation	<i>Kulta</i>	<i>Hopea</i>	<i>Zlato</i>	<i>Stříbro</i>
<b>C1</b>	9	7	2	1
<b>C2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>C3</b>	0	3	3	0
<b>C4-1</b>	5	4	6	1
<b>C4-2</b>	<b>15</b>	2	0	0
<b>C4-3</b>	9	2	1	0
<b>C4-4</b>	<b>15</b>	0	0	0
<b>C5</b>	6	0	0	0
<b>C6</b>	<b>13</b>	0	0	0
<b>C7</b>	4	4	0	0
<b>C8</b>	5	0	0	0

**Figure 8:** Motivation based on FIGURATIVE MEANING (C)

The motivation based on figurative meaning varies in each language and each name type. The widest range is to be found in Finnish place-names starting with *Kulta*-, especially in the subtype of shifted meaning (C4), when the word *kulta* is used ironically or in order to replace and ameliorate rude words (mostly those starting with *paska* ‘shit’). In some cases *kulta* can refer to manure which was used as a fertilizer on fields and meant a higher productivity (which can actually be related to subtypes C2 or C3).

It is obvious that the difference between Czech and Finnish toponyms in this type of motivation is huge, as the Finnish ones appear in more subtypes whereas in Czech toponyms this category is limited mostly to “being valuable or productive”, which on the other hand is a very prolific type of motivation especially for field names, and surprisingly, this motivation also appears in Czech place-names starting with *stříbro* ~ *stříbrná*.

## Conclusions

The main difference between the terms *gold* and *silver* in Czech and Finnish toponyms consists primarily in the range of motivations applied, Finnish toponyms being the ones with a much wider scope. This might be actually influenced by the fact that the landscape in both areas is different and/or people see things in their environment differently because they look for different things to mark the particular place to individualise it. In Czech toponyms the types of motivation based on metal and in the case of the term *gold* on figurative meaning (productivity) seem to occur most frequently and are closely connected either to the type of landscape or human activities in the country. There are far more fields than in Finland and in their names the motivation tends to be derived from their quality 'being valuable or productive'. Moreover, many areas in the history of this country used to be closely connected with mining activities which were also reflected in place-names.

What can be considered quite surprising about the place-names in the two different language areas is the fact that in both of them there can be identified the same five main types of motivation, i.e. colour (A), metal (B), figurative meaning (C), references to a human being (H), and naming processes (N). Another fact worth noticing is that their distribution within these main types is in both languages fairly similar. This can be caused by the following factors. Firstly, the terms for *gold* and *silver* seem to have very similar meanings regardless of the language (at least in the European language area). Secondly, the general naming tendencies in toponyms might be very similar too. Another common feature of these Czech and Finnish toponyms is the fact that the word for *gold* in toponyms of these two language areas comes up (is applied) more often. It also seems to have more different meanings and nuances probably because of the associations it evokes. Therefore the term *gold* in place-names of both languages is obviously also more "applicable" than the term *silver*. However, in Finnish language area the motivation based on colour is more frequently connected with *silver*; this being based on colour of rocks or water bodies. The naming motivation based on the clarity and purity of water seems to be quite unique and it would be worth comparing with other language areas.

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## Abstract

Colour terms play an important role in toponymy, frequently appearing as the first, specifying, part of place-names. This paper looks into Finnish and Czech place-names containing the colour terms ‘gold’ and ‘silver’ (*kulta* and *hopea* in Finnish, *zlatý* and *stříbrný* in Czech, respectively). Both colours are considered to be secondary colour terms and they are primarily derived from metals. The qualities related to these two precious metals can play a significant part in the

naming process, along with other factors. The paper investigates and compares the naming motives of these Finnish and Czech toponyms: which qualities 'gold' or 'silver' in these place-names can refer to. The preliminary results suggest that the usage of 'silver' and 'gold' in Finnish toponyms is related to more or less same areas: e.g. to the colour and quality of springs, beaches, rocks or vegetation, and others like mining history of the place, a hidden treasure or a secret distillery, etc. However, some differences can be seen as e.g. when denoting the quality or clarity of water or the type of vegetation, 'silver' appears more frequently, whereas 'gold' is used more often when referring to the beauty of a beach or any place in general. The analyzed material of Finnish place-names consists of about 1,600 microtoponyms collected in the Names Archive (Helsinki) in autumn 2016. The Czech toponyms are collected in the Institute of the Czech Language in Prague.

**Keywords:** Finnish toponyms, Czech toponyms, gold, silver, colour terms



*Katalin Reszegi*

## ***Names of Man-made Places and Natural Landscape Objects\****

1. Toponyms can be categorized based on a number of aspects: a) names can be distinguished based on whether they denote man-made or natural objects; b) macro- and microtoponyms can be distinguished based on their sizes and how widely they are known; c) finally, names can be categorized by the types of places (hydronyms, oronyms, etc.). This essay offers an overview of the main linguistic and typological differences between the names of man-made and those of natural landscape objects; besides these two main types, I also cover the differing characteristics of macro- and microtoponyms within the group of names of natural landscape objects. The corpus used for presenting the characteristics of these two categories consists primarily of medieval Hungarian toponyms from the era of the Árpád dynasty (1000–1301).

2. There is a fundamental socio-onomastic difference between the two groups due to the fact that in the formation and usage of names for man-made places, in addition to linguistic-communicational needs, social motives also play an important role. Most of the ancient names within this group are settlement names. In contrast, names for natural landscape objects mostly emerge from linguistic-communicational needs, therefore, deliberateness and social factors are far less relevant to their emergence (HOFFMANN 2007: 101, RESZEGI 2011: 13–14). Members of this type include the names of rivers, topographic formations, topographic regions, etc. Because of their socio-onomastic differences, these two groups of names have typological differences as well.

3. One of the most striking differences between the two groups is based on the motivation for name-giving. With settlements being created by human activity, the motives behind the creation and the history of a particular settlement may well be manifested in its name as well.

3.1. Thus, in the case of man-made places, possessive relationships being expressed in names, are one of the typical features because in an essentially oral culture, names and naming were possibly one of the important means of expressing possession (HOFFMANN 2007: 104). The fact of possession, although it does also emerge in names for natural landscape objects, is far less typical.

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Names of natural places formed from anthroponyms without formants<sup>1</sup> are rare and vague, even though this is one of the typical ways in which Hungarian settlement names are created (e.g. *Sarold* oikonym: 1343: *Sarold*, Gy. 3: 537, 559 < *Sarold* personal name). Moreover, in some cases when names of natural places are homonymic with an anthroponym we can assume that they are cases of multiple metonymy (e.g. anthroponym > oikonym > name of a landscape unit, e.g. *Miskó* oronym – *Miskó* personal name, cf. GYÖRFFY 2004: 131, RESZEGI 2006: 165, 2016: 243). A more frequent method of name-giving for a landscape unit is that of compounding an anthroponym and a geographical common word (e.g. *Encse-bérc*, 1293: *Encheberch* < *Encse* personal name + *bérc* 'hill' + *-e* possessive ending, ÁÚO. 12: 543). Even this kind of name-formation, however, is more frequent among settlement names. Besides, we also have to take into consideration that when discussing the names of hills, mountains, and other landscape units, establishing possessive relationships is not as unequivocal as in the case of settlement names: larger hills, for example, considering their sizes and their kind, are not likely to have been in the possession of a single person in their entirety.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the types of names denoting natural landscape objects should be used in investigations of ownership histories with a high degree of circumspection.

**3.2.** References to the inhabitants of a place are yet another feature typical of settlement names only. The settlement *Lovász* ('horseman') is an estate which originally belonged to horsemen in the service of the king, *Szakácsi* ('cook' + *-i* topoformant) was probably inhabited by royal cooks, while the name forms *Németi* ('German' + *-i* formant), *Csehi* ('Czech' + *-i*), *Olaszi* ('Italian' + *-i*) may possibly refer to the ethnic groups inhabiting the respective settlements at the time when their names were formed (TÓTH 2001: 149). Words denoting professions and ethnonyms are not characteristically included in names of natural landscape objects. Therefore, this group of names is far less suitable for the purposes of research on demographic history and the history of professions than settlement names.

The different motives behind the formation of names explain why there are many who believe that names of man-made places carry significant information about history, finances and intellectual culture, while no meaningful linguistic or historical conclusions are likely to be drawn from the study of names of

<sup>1</sup> Some Hungarian noun suffixes are used to create place-names as well, these are referred to as formants in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> In expressing possessive relationship, there are proportional differences between the subtypes of toponyms for natural landscape objects: for example, there is a relatively large number of fishponds which were named after the former owner of fishing rights, while in the case of rivers, names given for this reason are rare, and the genitive structures possibly indicate that the waterway ran through the estate of the person in question (GYÖRFFY–RESZEGI 2003: 201).

natural landscape objects (BENKŐ 2003: 7). A comparison between further typological characteristics of the two groups of names, however, reveals that such opinions should be reviewed from a number of aspects.

4. With regards to name-giving methods, there are significant differences between the names of landscape objects and those of man-made places.

4.1. In the earliest chronological layer of names denoting natural landscape objects, the proportion of loan toponyms is much higher than within early settlement names (HOFFMANN 2007: 101). In the county of Bihar, which was the largest county of medieval Hungary, beside Hungarians, significant populations of Romanian and Slavic ethnicity also have to be reckoned with, yet, hardly more than one twentieth of settlement names consists of loan toponyms (cf. RÁCZ 2005: 173–174, 222). The proportion of loan toponyms is considerably higher within the class of hydronyms where more than one fifth of medieval names can possibly be loan words (GYÖRFFY 2004: 143).

Toponyms of foreign origin make it possible to draw cautious conclusions about those who created and used these names, that is, the language of the people who once inhabited the area, and, indirectly, possibly about ethnic groups. But, we also have to take into account some factors related to name borrowing. It is well-known that Hungarians arriving in the Carpathian Basin applied the already existing names used by the inhabitants living in the area. In a lot of cases Hungarian name usage is reflected in the name form, generally speaking it means that loan names are modified in accordance with the features of the language into which they are adopted. The *Zsarnó hegye* (1321: *Zarnohygy*, Gy. 1: 153) name form is possibly such an example of a Slavic primary name (*Žarnov* < ‘millstone’) compounded with a Hungarian geographical common word. The vocalized -ó (originating in Slavic -ov) at the end of the name also demonstrates Hungarian name usage. Nevertheless, examining the present-day onomastic corpus, it also turns out that names are often loaned into the adopting language with quite minimal phonological or morphological changes, and, with those who recorded the documents at the time being unable, and perhaps even unwilling to indicate such changes, there are many cases in which no sign of loaning exists (PÓCZOS 2008: 205, cf. KENYHERCZ 2014). The issue is further complicated by the fact that with Hungarian- and Slavic-speaking communities living side-by-side for longer periods of time, the emergence of an active bilinguality has to be reckoned with (SÁNDOR 1998: 7).

When dealing with names of foreign origin, it is important to keep in mind that based on the etymology of a single name, it is impossible to establish whether it was used, for example, by a Slavic or a Hungarian speaker, or even a bilingual community, that is, there is no way of knowing whether any particular instance is or is not a name form which was adopted into the Hungarian language. All



that can be said with certainty is that the language of the community from which the name originated was Slavic. This also implies that there must have been a Slavic population living in the area in question before the name appeared in any charter. Information from the charter, however, reflects how the name was used in later eras. Thus, the linguistic form of the name allows for conclusions not on the language of name-givers, but on the language of name-users (cf. HOFFMANN 2007: 122).

**4.2.** Names of natural landscape objects are frequently formed from geographical common nouns without using formants; amongst settlement names, in contrast, examples for such onomastic structures are rare (HOFFMANN 2007: 101). Names created from geographical common nouns without any formants are mostly microtoponyms because names created in this fashion can usually fulfil their function only within a limited group of name users, that is, a name like *Hegy* ‘hill’ or *Patak* ‘brook’ will be suitable for the purposes of various communicational situations only within a limited area. This, of course, also implies that any name homonymic to a geographical common noun in question can only be used for a single object, even if there are multiple similar objects, and other units of the landscape will be given different names. In a village in the county of Veszprém, Rigács, for example, the elevation within the settlement is known simply as *Domb* (‘hill’), while elevations located around the settlement have two-constituent names: *Kopasz-domb* (‘bare hill’), *Kis-szöllő-domb* (‘little’ + ‘vineyard’ + ‘hill’), *Marton-hegy* (*Marton* anthroponym), *Ülő-domb* (‘sitting’ + ‘hill’), *Szöllőhegy* (‘vineyard’ + ‘mountain’) (VeMFN. 1: 29–30). In addition, this method of name formation is not too conscious, that is, these names are not given, but they simply become names.<sup>3</sup>

**5.** Elements within the two categories are significantly different from each other also with respect to their structures.

**5.1.** Amongst the names of natural landscape objects, two-constituent structures with geographical common nouns as the final constituent are far more frequent than amongst the names of man-made places. This is firstly due to the fact that within the category of names for natural landscape objects, there is a high proportion of names formed by compounding a descriptive function constituent and a geographical common noun. For example, more than one third of medieval hydronyms were created in this manner (GYÖRFFY 2004: 143). One possible explanation for the prevalence of formation by compounding may be that names of natural landscape objects are closer to the adjectival word structures used as appellatives (*Fekete-hegy* ‘black mountain’, *Köves-halom* ‘pebble hill’, *Szólát hegye* < ‘the hill of a person named *Szólát*’). Names formed

<sup>3</sup> These name forms are what RICHARD COATES distinguishes as evolved names rather than bestowed names (2017: 532).



in this manner are far less common amongst those of man-made places. In the county of Bihar, for example, barely more than one sixth of all settlement names had such a structure (RÁCZ 2005: 150), the same proportion was one fifth amongst medieval names for castles (KOVÁCS 2017). In addition, toponyms loaned from other languages as names of natural landscape objects also often had a geographical common noun added as a final constituent. The frequency of this structure is presumably not equal within the subcategories of names for landscape objects. Shedding more light on this issue would, however, require comparative analysis of the name types.

**5.2.** The proportion of onomastic structures with adjectives of quality is quite high amongst settlement names as well. In these cases, however, the initial adjectival constituent is not compounded with a geographical common word, but rather compounded to an already existing settlement name with a differentiating function. That is, the name *Kishecse* (*kis* ‘small’ + *Hecse* oikonym) does not indicate that the settlement is small in the absolute sense, but marks the settlement as the smallest one of several settlements with similar names. Such comparative systems can be interpreted particularly well in the case of pairs of names. For example, the initial constituents in the name pairs *Kishecse* – *Nagyhecse* (< *nagy* ‘big’), *Kisapáti* – *Nagyapáti* can really be understood within the contexts of their correlative relationships. These differentiated settlement names are pieces of evidence for historical processes in which villages, for reasons of ownership or demographical changes, were divided into several new villages. The same phenomenon lies behind settlement names with initial constituents like *al-* ~ *alsó* ‘lower’, *fel-* ~ *felső* ‘upper’ and *közép* ‘middle’ (cf. TÓTH 2001: 168–169, 2008: 31–40, BÖLCSKEI 2010: 155–163).

Although names of natural places also might be divided up into several parts, data documenting such processes are very rare from the Carpathian Basin of the medieval era, yet, cf. *Duna* ‘Danube’: *Holt-Duna* ‘backwater’ + ‘Danube’ ([1322 u.]: *Hold duna*, Gy. 1: 710), *Kis-Duna* ‘little’ (+1202: *Minorem Danubium*, Gy. 2: 208, 285), *Lassú-Duna* ‘slow’ (1192/1374/1425: *Losiuduna*, Gy. 1: 201, 236–237), *Nagy-Duna* ‘big’ (+1202/[1221]: *Magni Danubii*, Gy. 2: 256). In more recent times, however, processes in which an existing name is used to create new name forms denoting places spatially connected to each other have also become characteristic of microtoponyms.

**6.** The two groups of names also have significant differences in the frequency of synonymous forms.<sup>4</sup>

**6.1.** Based on the data available, the proportion of entities with multiple names was generally much lower in medieval times than it is in the present

<sup>4</sup> In this paper names referring the same object are considered as a synonymous name pair.

day toponymic corpus. (Within the present day onomastic corpus of Baranya county, for example, the proportion of places with two or more names is 36%, while in the Old Hungarian era in the county of Abaúj, the metric for multiple names is barely above 10%, PÓCZOS 2008: 183–184.) This may be result from charter-writing practices of the time: in the documents they composed, scribes often included only one of the names with identical referents, as toponyms appearing in charters precisely identified their denotata even without the lists of their variants (cf. PÓCZOS 2008: 183).

Within the historical onomastic corpus, multiple names are even less characteristic of natural landscape objects than they are of settlement names. Pieces of data indicating multiple names denoting the same river or landscape unit can only be found in a negligible number, yet, cf. 1317: *fluvius Aranyis*, *quod alio nomine Mezespatak* appellatur ‘Golden river, also known by the name Lime brook’ (Gy. 1: 40), +1269: *Popmal* seu *Pyspukmal* (Gy. 4: 585, 634, 682). The communicational function of names provides an explanation for this fact: the creation of synonymous forms is not beneficial for communicational situations (HOFFMANN 2007: 102). Changes of ownership, for example, are often reflected in the names of settlements and estates, but usually do not entail the creation of new names for the landscape units. Even if multiple names were actually formed, there is still no written evidence of them left behind. (Besides the interests of the person giving the name, another reason why synonymous name forms are mentioned together may be that the place in question is known to two (or even more) communities of name-users under different names, PÓCZOS 2008: 184.)

Even though the communicational determinant presented here also exists for man-made places, still, the proportion of settlements with multiple names is much higher, in spite of the fact that such names may theoretically lead to communicational difficulties. This means that in the case of settlement names, social and psychological factors, overriding communicational requirements, have to be reckoned with. The creation of a new name is usually motivated by the interests of its creator. There are some cases in which evidence suggests that a change in the person of the owner induced the creation of newer names in addition to already existing ones. The estate originally known under the name *Tömörkény* was donated by King Stephen V to Comes Parabuch, and the King simultaneously decreed that the former name has to be abolished, and the area has to be called by Parabuch’s name: 1266/1300: *nomina earundem terrarum Temerken [Fulgudus et Wonuz] mandamus penitus aboleri, et Parabuch nomine singulas ordinamus et statuimus appellari* (JAKUBOVICH–PAIS 1929: 121–122, for further examples, see: HOFFMANN 2007: 104–110).

Names derived from those of patron saints, propagated under the direction of the Church, are also deliberate. The very fact that these names have variants used in parallel in a conspicuously high number of instances – cf., e.g. 1441: *Kysfalud* al. nom. *Zenthgywrgh* – is one of the proofs for the case being so. Even patrociny settlement names are often used in alternation with their own synonyms (*Szentmária* ‘Saint Mary’ ~ *Boldogasszony* ‘Our Lady’, *Keresztúr* ‘Cross’ + ‘Lord’ ~ *Szentkereszt* ‘holy cross’, TÓTH 2007: 412–416).

**6.2.** In names of natural landscape objects – due to communicational requirements – changes of semantic type are also very rare. The lake of Kercsed, after it dried up, got the name *Tóhely* ‘lake place’; then again, this latter form remained in use even after water filled the lake basin again (cf. LÖRINCZE 1947: 20). This example demonstrates that names of natural landscape objects may remain, even if the features they were named for change. Changes occurring in this group are mostly linguistically motivated, and – for example, as a change between markedness and non-markedness – involve the structure of the name only, e.g. *Füzes* (< *fűz* ‘willow’ + *-s* formant) ~ *Füzesd* (*Füzes* + *-d* formant), *Nyárád* (< *nyár* ‘poplar’ + *-d* formant) ~ *Nyárágy* (< *nyár* ‘poplar’ + *-gy* formant) (TÓTH 2008: 131–140).

**7.** In the light of all these observations, it can be established that there are, indeed, significant typological differences between the two name groups, which, however, do not warrant the automatic preclusion of names of natural landscape objects from studies on linguistic history, the history of dialects and the science of history. With due circumspection, keeping their socio-onomastic and typological features in mind, these names can also be included in the scope of historically focused investigations, and can actually shed light on several characteristics of medieval language, which settlement names, having a different socio-onomastic status, are far less suited to reveal.

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## Abstract

It is well-known that place-names reflect the circumstances existing in the time of name-giving, and old place-names can convey information about bygone ages, which makes them an important part of both historical linguistic and onomastic studies. However, name-giving customs can be different in different types of places denoted by these names, which can result in linguistic differences between them. It is also known that place-names can be categorised in different ways, e.g. groups of microtoponyms and macrotoponyms can be distinguished, toponyms related to location types can be studied separately, etc. This study evaluates the differences between place-names focusing on the two main categories of toponyms: names of natural places (mountains, rivers, forest, etc.) and names of artificial places (settlements, castles, etc.).

**Keywords:** place-names, names of natural places, names of artificial places



Jaroslav David

## ***Toponymy in a Socialist City – the Cities of Ostrava-Poruba, Havířov and Most (Czech Republic)\****

### **1. Introduction**

The main purpose of the text is to summarize and present key findings from research on urbanonymy in Czech modern cities. The research was realized in the cities of Ostrava-Poruba, Havířov and Most between 2011 and 2016. This was not only focused on gathering of standardized and popular urban place names, but also attempted to find out, or map, their common knowledge and usage within the city communication. Urban place names were also examined from the local identity perspective as an important part of local memory – predominantly in case of Most, the city that was demolished and newly built.

### **2. A Socialist city in the centre of research**

The term *a Socialist city* can be understood in several ways. However, probably the most frequent image of the Socialist city from the Central European perspective is represented by the following two types. There are cities typical with an imposing main avenue entrance guarded by residential towers, a regular urban pattern and streets surrounded by the blocks of flats shaped in a decorative style of the so-called Stalin Renaissance, or later with impersonal concrete estates bursting into the city centre or creating a wall around it. After the fall of Communism in Central Europe, the latter, which were pejoratively labelled “logging houses” or “rabbit hutches”, were not interesting for researchers to study them. But nowadays, twenty-eight years after the Velvet Revolution (1989), Czech postwar (modern or modernist) cities are in the centre of leading interdisciplinary research; they are an interesting topic for sociology, architecture, demography, history (cf. MAYER–BENSA–HUBINGER 1997, ŠRAJEROVÁ 2006, FERENČUHOVÁ–GAČANOVÁ–VACKOVÁ 2010, NOVOTNÁ 2010, STRAKOŠ 2010, MALURA–TOMÁŠEK 2012, SOUKUPOVÁ–LUTHER–SALNER 2014, ZARECOR ELMAN 2015, JEMELKA–ŠEVEČEK 2016, SPURNÝ 2016), and also for linguistics; many studies and books on this issue have appeared, even the specialized Czech journal of *Lidé města / Urban People* has been published since 1999.

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In general, the linguistic approach to the cities in the Czech context was – and still is – mostly aimed at research on spoken language (“*městská mluva*”); if concentrating in particular on onomastic research, this is, in the long term, aimed at standardized urbanonymy (street and square names), and its development and changes in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (DAVID 2012). But a view of the city surpassing the traditional city core opened space for new approaches and concepts that are currently elaborated, “discovered” in Czech (or Czechoslovak) urban-area onomastic research. These are: 1. examining the relationship between standardized and popular (non-standardized) urbanonymies (DAVID–MÁCHA 2014, DAVID–MÍSTECKÝ 2016); 2. application of the linguistic/political landscape concepts on the place names research (HÁJEK 2002, HÁJEK 2008, DAVID 2011: 42–49, DAVID–MÁCHA 2014: 14–44, DAVID 2016b); 3. memory studies: e.g. perception of commemorative street names, mostly from the Communist era, in a non-ideological way as a part of cultural heritage, culture of commemoration, local memory and *genius loci*, and preservation of them (DAVID 2013, KOJETÍNOVÁ 2013, DAVID–MÁCHA 2014: 138–177, DAVID 2016a); 4) interpretation of the place names material in the sociolinguistic perspective: e.g. the micro-social toponymy concept (KRŠKO 2013, DAVID–MÁCHA 2014, KOJETÍNOVÁ 2016, DAVID 2018).

### 3. A Socialist city definition

Before I concentrate my attention on the specificities of Socialist city urbanonymy, it is necessary to define the research object. I use the definition of “pure Socialist city” formulated by Slovak sociologist RENÉ MATLOVIČ (2004). This is described as a city built as a totally new urban object on a green field after 1945, and characteristically with the absence of an older settlement layer. Its functions had a crucial impact on its specific urban structure; the city was planned mostly as a residential area for new Socialist people – the blocks of flats surrounding the main avenue, the wide avenue intended for Communist anniversary parades, the absence of a main square in a traditional sense; sacral objects – such as a church or chapel, and also cemetery – were not included in the urban structure. RENÉ MATLOVIČ divides Socialist cities into four categories according to the share of modern urban development and the existence/absence of a previous urban settlement. From the perspective of my research issue, the first and second types are of particular importance: 1) totally new cities built on a green field: e.g. Nová Dubnica (Slovakia), Tychy (Poland), Dunaújváros (Hungary), Eisenhüttenstadt (Germany), and also Havířov (Czechia); 2) projects realized as independent city districts within existing cities that are close to independent city organisms: e.g. Kraków-Nowa Huta (Poland), Halle-Neustadt (Germany), Košice-Šaca (Slovakia), Ostrava-Poruba (Czechia). Within this

type, a specific case is represented by the city of Most, which was transferred and newly built.

#### **4. The specificity of Socialist city urbanonymy**

In the following text, I would like to present the specificities of urbanonymy of Socialist cities illustrated with examples of Czech cities. There are Havířov: a city founded in 1955 after the public city-name competition; Ostrava-Poruba: a city district planned to replace the old city of Ostrava after 1945; and Most: a new city built in the course of demolition of the old one between 1965–1987. I examine the cities mentioned above from the perspective of two layers of urban place names, which differ from each other in the existence or the absence of the standardization. The first layer is represented by the standardized forms of street and square names. They are formed by political and ideological powers, and supported/protected by the process of standardization; dynamism of the layer results from the political changes. The second layer is non-standardized (popular, *živá* ‘living’) urbanonymy. This is a specific naming system used by inhabitants of the city; these names penetrate the standardized urbanonymy, i.e. they can become standardized forms, its dynamism resulting from generation changes.

Leaving aside discussions on the city names, or even the public city-name competition at the moment of a city’s foundation (see DAVID 2011: 129–131, 134–154), the Socialist cities were not planned with street names from the very beginning. At the time of a city’s birth, when the first block of flats appeared on a muddy field, only the numeric system – block-of-houses numbers, school numbers, and numbers of city building districts – was used for orientation. These numeric systems are still used in everyday communication – e.g. naming of schools (*První škola, Druhá škola* ‘1<sup>st</sup> School, 2<sup>nd</sup> School’, etc.), detecting city districts (*Prvák, Druhák, Trojka* ‘the First, the Second, the Third’, etc.; *Stovky, Dvojstovky, Osmistovky* ‘Hundreds, Two Hundreds, Eight Hundreds’) and also blocks of flats. The numeric system is predominantly developed in the city of Most and can be regarded as an orientation system which is independent or parallel to the standardized urbanonymy. Later, the numeric systems were gradually replaced by standardized street names reflecting a particular period of time and typical with the prevalence of commemorative (mostly personal) street names / motive. When one looks at the street names in the cities from the temporal perspective, it is possible to catch the main tendencies in their development – from an eclectic mixture of motives, commemorative street names based on personal names (writers, music composers, political leaders) in the 50s, to non-political/non-ideological street names (tree and flower names) typical of the 70s and the 80s. Because of the high percentage of commemorative street names (cf. DAVID 2011: 175–183), after the 1989 Velvet Revolution, renamings were done only in case of the main streets and squares; new – more or

less – apolitical namings were used (e.g. Havířov: *Gottwaldova třída* ‘Gottwald Avenue’ > *Hlavní třída* ‘Main Avenue’, *Leninova třída* ‘Lenin Avenue’ > *Národní třída* ‘National Avenue’, *Antonína Zápotockého* ‘Antonín Zápotocký Avenue’ > *Dlouhá třída* ‘Long Avenue’). But the process of “decommunization” of urbanonymy caused “strange” and totally inappropriate street names changes to be made – e.g. Havířov: *Fučíkova* ‘Fučík Street’ > *Anglická* ‘English Street’, *náměstí 9. května* ‘9<sup>th</sup> May Square’ > *T. G. Masaryka* ‘T. G. Masaryk Square’; Ostrava-Poruba: *Fučíkova* ‘Fučík Street’ – *Porubská* ‘Poruba Street’, *náměstí 9. Května* ‘9<sup>th</sup> May Square’ > *U Oblouku* ‘At the Arc’; cf. also Nowa Huta, the district of Kraków, Poland: *Majakowskiego* ‘Mayakovsky Street’ > *Obróńców Krzyża* ‘Crux Defenders Street’, *Alej Lenina* ‘Lenin Alley’ > *Alej Solidarności* ‘Solidarity Movement Alley’, *Planu 6-letniego* ‘Six-Year Plan Street’ > *Jana Pawła II* ‘John Paul II Street’. Examining these cases, we face two questions that are raised by the process of renaming: “Should the original standardized urbanonymy from the Socialist era be preserved, or not?” and “Is this a part of local cultural heritage?” – I discussed them in my previous research and in both cases my answer was “yes” (cf. DAVID 2013). There are several reasons for this: not only renaming as a very complicated task for local authorities and inhabitants, a weak general public knowledge “who is who” behind a particular commemorative street name, but also a perception of commemorative names as a part of cultural heritage and a genius loci of the Socialist cities.

As to the popular urbanonymy issue, it has to be emphasized that the same as in the standardized urbanonymy, specific characteristics can be detected in non-standardized urbanonymy, too. Popular urbanonymy in Socialist cities is typical with: 1) repeating (non-innovative, similar) popular names motivation caused a) by the similarity of the Socialist cities’ urbanism, predominantly visible in the case of the Stalin-era cities; cf. repeating names *U Labužníka* ‘At Labužník (= delicatessen)’, *U Lenina* ‘At Lenin (statue)’, *U rondlu* ‘At the Roundabout’, *Kravin* ‘A Cowshed (a long and low market building)’; b) by the absence of unique architectural urban objects (landmarks such as a church or monastery, a city hall, a Baroque column); from the perspective of motivation, these traditional city objects are replaced by shopping centres, bars, restaurants, or sculptural artefacts and specific architectural elements – their names form the base of place names; cf. city public transport stops names *Věžičky* ‘Small Spires’, *U Podloubí* ‘At the Arcade’, *U Oblouku* ‘At the Arc’; 2) numeric systems in names used for orientation; 3) different generation/social group usage vs. shared names; 4) visualization of names as a relevant factor that supports preservation of a particular name, frequently in case of closed shops and institutions the names of which are still saved in the public space – e.g. on the wall, or in the names of a pub or frequently a public transport stop situated nearby; 5) the existence of rich name-lore, such as puns (language jokes)

and sayings, connected with particular objects or place names, cf. the current research in Prague during the Communist era done by MARTINA PTÁČNÍKOVÁ (2017); cf. ironic namings *Pakul*, *Husákova stodola*, *Lidojem*, *Moby Dick* ‘an abbreviation of its official name, President Husák’s Barn, People Collector, Moby Dick’ for the Prague *Palác kultury* ‘the Palace of Culture’, the place of the Communist Party meetings.

## 5. Conclusions

The main aim of the paper was not only to attempt to summarize basic facts about urban names and naming characteristics of Czech Socialist cities, but also to point out the importance of the modern cities as an attractive research topic. Onomastics provides only one, but an important linguistic view on this within the complex approach to the city place names as a part of city texts and linguistic landscape. An active role of onomastics in the multidisciplinary approach to the urban area research can restart or bring an inspiring energy for further onomastic investigations, including an application of topical trends in urban studies.

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## Abstract

The paper is aimed at the toponymy (urbanonymy) of three Czech cities, the city of Ostrava-Poruba, Havířov and Most. The uniqueness of the cities and their toponymic landscapes lies in their specific position. The cities represent post-war Socialist housing estates built on a greenfield site. The presentation focuses on toponymy in the newly built cities, particularly on the existence of non-standardized forms of urban names against the background of standardized street name forms, and also examines the role of place names in the creation and preservation of local identities and memories of the cities. The paper presents the main results from two research projects on the toponymy of modern Czech cities effected in 2011–2016.

**Keywords:** urbanonymy, Socialist cities, standardized street names, popular street names, Czech urbanonymy







Joan Tort-Donada–Joan Carles Membrado-Tena

## ***Urban toponymy as a tool for interpreting the physical environment. A case study: Barcelona's mediaeval old town\****

### **1. Introduction**

Our purpose in this study is to analyse the urban structure (or, more specifically, *urban morphology*) of mediaeval Barcelona (that is, the part of the city known generically as *Ciutat Vella*) from the perspective of its correlation with the variation in the city's topography and taking into consideration also its correlation with the city's toponymy – in both cases at the local scale. In using this approach, we seek to determine what underpins the process of social differentiation that has historically been recorded in the original nucleus of the city.

Our point of departure is the frequent observation that the micro-shifts in gradient in the physical environment of Barcelona often go unnoticed by scholars because of the pre-eminence of the “built city”, which has given rise to what might be considered a mistaken interpretation of the urban evolution of the city. Barcelona's mediaeval old town is predominantly flat in appearance. However, a more detailed inspection reveals it to stand on a physical base of very uneven altitude, with numerous changes of gradient between high- and low-lying areas. In fact, the original core of the city, on which the Roman settlement of *Barcino* was built, is a small hill (*Mons Taber*) that rises above the rest of the old town.

There are many urban toponyms in *Ciutat Vella* that indicate that the streets “descend” from the top of the hill in all directions (from what would have been the Roman core down into the mediaeval quarters), and which usually receive the name *baixada* (*Baixada de la Presó*, *Baixada de Santa Anna*, etc.; the equivalent word in English could be *slope*, considered in a urban context). Although this is the most significant of the toponyms, it is not the only one. Other names serve as ‘indicators of the landscape’: *Pla de la Boqueria* and *Pla de Palau* refer to flat urban spaces (the equivalent English word could be *plain*);

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*Jonqueres* (name alluding to a marsh plant, *reedbed*) and *les Arenes* (literally, “the *sands*”) to low-lying depressions; and *la Rambla* (name of Arab origin, pretty frequent in the Mediterranean hydronymy of Iberian Peninsula, alluding to a *creek* or little *stream*) that refers the idea of, to the ancient hydrographic network. A toponym indicating a rise in altitude or a depression, as irrelevant as it may seem today, may historically have been significant, as it would have indicated whether the land was susceptible to flooding and, therefore, whether or not it was suitable for given activities – ultimately, this has been the starting point for the urban differentiation of the “built city”.

The study combines the qualitative approach characteristic of classical toponymic analyses with quantitative methodologies (specifically, LIDAR technology applied to Barcelona’s physical environment), which we have employed before in other Mediterranean cities, such as València (MEMBRADO 2016, 2017). Regarding the toponymic data, which mainly concern the old town of Barcelona, we use two sources of information: BALAGUER (1865–1866), for the old toponymy, and PORTAVELLA (2010) for the modern one.

## 2. Theoretical and methodological considerations

Relief features and other natural factors, including the quality of the soil, the presence of water, the climate, exposure to the sun or winds, condition the original siting of any urban settlement and determine the subsequent shape taken by that site (OLIVEIRA 2016: 11, CAPEL 2006: 85, MÉRIDA 1995: 465). These determinants, however, are not necessarily absolute: for while every city develops within a natural context, it also develops within its own historical context. Often, the strategic interests of the city’s founders determine which location is deemed most suitable (CAPEL 2006: 104). In general, in periods marked by peace and stability, efforts are made to find comfortable, accessible sites – normally on plains close to the sea or alongside a river, or at the meeting of crossroads – to facilitate movement and trade, while in times of political instability, sites that are difficult to access and easy to defend are often preferred.

The initial location adopted by a settlement tends to determine the subsequent shape taken by the site, and is a key determinant of its evolution (OLIVEIRA 2016: 11). Following its foundation, a city’s growth usually occurs – provided this is permitted by the orography – in a compact and successive manner, in a series of ‘waves’ or ‘circles’ of homogenous growth centred on the original nucleus. In the case of Barcelona and other Roman cities founded on an alluvial plain, the expansion of the city in Mediaeval times took place on the low-lying, floodable areas that the initial settlers had deliberately avoided. This process ends up generating what is known as urban segregation, with the high ground – safe from flooding – normally being occupied by the elite and the ruling

classes, and the surrounding low-lying areas being occupied by artisans and merchants and, in general, the more disadvantaged classes. In Barcelona, the high area where the Roman forum used to stand is still occupied today, two millennia later, by two of the city's most emblematic buildings: the City Hall (*Casa de la Ciutat*) and the home to the offices of the Presidency (*Palau de la Generalitat*) (CAPEL 2006: 21).

Here, we base our analysis on a dual methodology: *deductive*, on the one hand, insofar as we employ a high-resolution digital elevation model (created using LIDAR technology)<sup>1</sup> in seeking to establish, in the greatest detail possible, the micro-scale topography of the city's old town; and, *inductive*, on the other, based on the identification of the toponyms that in our study area allude to relief features (and, in particular those of microrelief) prior to its urbanisation. This multi-method methodology allows us to address what is, finally, the objective of our study: gaining an understanding of the influence of topography on a city's social and spatial patterns. In short, we consider that our analysis – centred on mediaeval Barcelona but applicable, in principle, to many other European and Mediterranean cities founded on an alluvial plain – can be framed within a line of research using mixed methods that allows us to address the following question: *As imperceptible as the relief might be, what impact does it have on the segregation of inhabitants and on the differentiation of land uses within a city?*

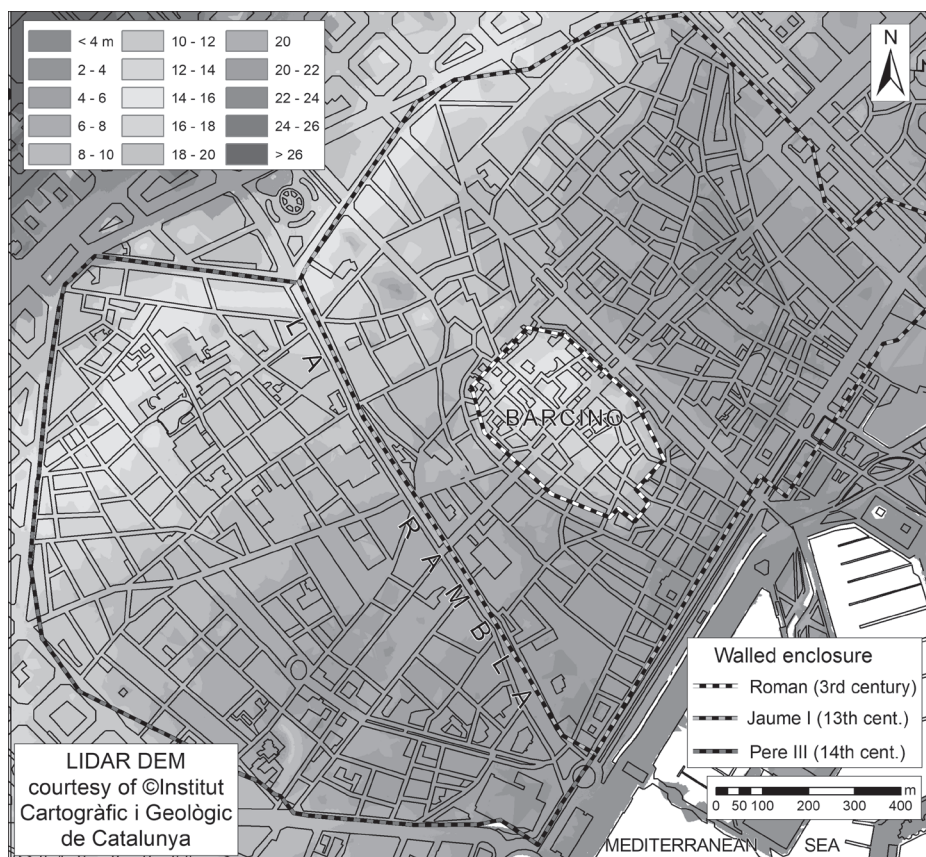
### 3. Case study: Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella*

#### 3.1. The city's original structure

Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella* is the sum of its three historic walled enclosures: the Roman (3<sup>rd</sup> century), the first Christian mediaeval enclosure (built under King Jaume I in the 13<sup>th</sup> century), and the second Christian mediaeval enclosure (built under King Pere III, known as the Ceremonious, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century) [Figure 1]. Administratively, the district of *Ciutat Vella* is composed of the *barris* (quarters) of the Raval, Gòtic and Sant Pere, Santa Caterina and the Ribera. The *barri* of Barceloneta is also part of the *Ciutat Vella* district, although it lies outside the mediaeval walled enclosure of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1</sup> LIDAR (acronym for Light Detection and Ranging or for Laser Imaging Detection and Ranging) is a remote sensing system aimed at obtaining data about the terrain, both in terms of *position* and *elevation*. Compared to traditional techniques, LIDAR remote sensing has important advantages, as it allows different models (or 'x-rays') of the same terrain (with and without buildings, with and without vegetation, etc.) to be obtained by applying laser technologies. In this way, LIDAR remote sensing avoids the limitations inherent to traditional cartography and allows us to improve technically the accuracy of our mapping.





**Figure 1:** The “global perimeter” of Barcelona’s *Ciutat Vella*, with its three historic walled enclosures: the Roman, at the centre, and the two halves of the Mediaeval city, separated by the bed of an ancient stream, *La Rambla*, urbanized from XVIII century (Own work.)

Founded probably in the decades preceding the change of era, in the reign of Augustus, the full name of *Barcino* was the *Colonia Julia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino* (GRANADOS–RODÀ 1993: 11, MAR et al. 2012: 64). The settlement was founded in relatively peaceful times and, therefore, the initial settlement (which had the status of a colony; that is, a lower rank than that of a city) could be sited on an alluvial plain by the sea and without any natural defences. The small rise on which the primitive *urbs* was located stood barely 5–10 m above the surrounding area. This hill received the mediaeval name of *Mons Taber* in honour of Mount Tabor in Palestine – since, at that time, it was customary to use biblical names in creating local toponyms (COROMINES 1989–1997/7: 252). Barcelona’s *Mons Taber*, although it reached a maximum height of just 16 metres, facilitated two important functions: first, it ensured the

settlement was safe from flooding and from the inconveniences of the marshy, unhealthy terrain of its immediate surroundings; second, it provided strategic visual control over this area and the adjacent coastline.

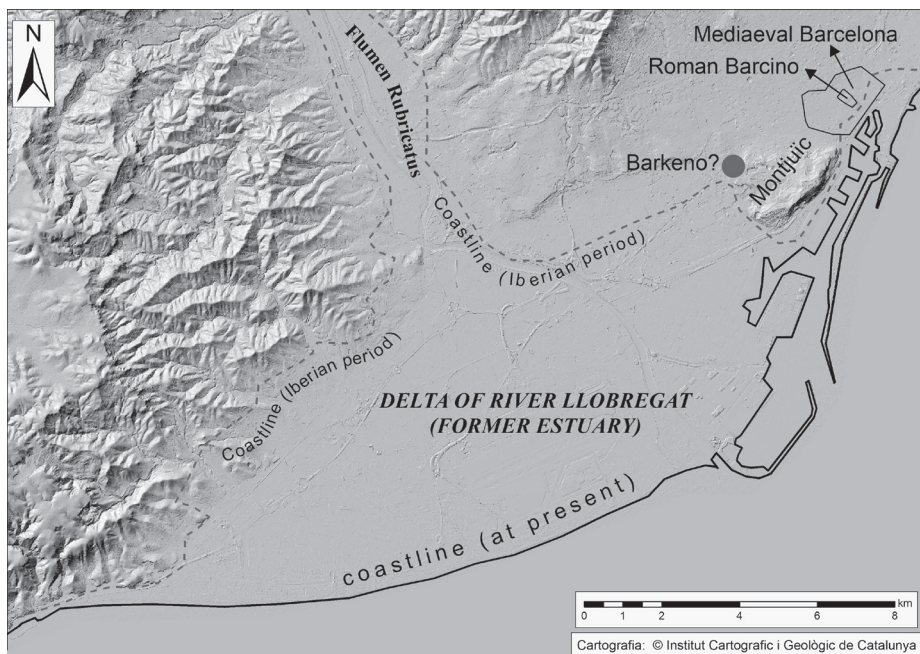
The siting of the settlement on the alluvial plain can be linked to its Roman origins. In fact, it is significant that Iberian settlements located in the vicinity of the city (on the perimeter of the plain known as the *Pla de Barcelona*), and chronologically pre-dating the Roman *Barcino*, are situated on top of high hills and, in general, in steep sites – which facilitated their defence in times of instability and protected them from potential attacks. However, the Romans did not feel this same necessity, because, as a rule, the military superiority of Rome in the territories they conquered was self-evident (GARCÍA-DELGADO 2000). In practice, the establishment of the new colonies on areas of flat or slightly sloping topography facilitated the implementation of their gridiron system of urbanisation, a system that they had inherited from the Greeks and which they applied widely in their Hispanic colonies – including that of *Barcino*.

### 3.2. The name *Barkeno* or *Barcino*. Etymological note

Although, in its present location, the city of Barcelona can be interpreted as being of Roman foundation, the toponym *Barcino* has an older origin. Specifically, the antecedent of this name is considered to be the Iberian form *Barkeno* – a name documented from coins struck at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, and considered to refer to a pre-Roman settlement located on the slopes of Montjuïc. However, the original site of *Barkeno* has not yet been accurately established. It is believed to have stood roughly three kilometres from the Roman colony, at the foot of the western slope of the mountain of Montjuïc. It is known that a village occupied this site, from at least the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, reaching its maximum growth in the so-called Full Iberian period (5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (MAR et al. 2012: 69). Montjuïc enjoyed a strategic position that allowed it to closely monitor access, from the sea, up the estuary of the Llobregat; we are referring to a time when the current delta had not yet been formed, and in which the final stretch of the river would have played the role of a natural route of penetration and exchange with the lands of the interior. According to SANMARTÍ-SANTACANA (2005), this *oppidum* or Iberian settlement would have had access to fresh water, was easily defended thanks to the steep relief of Montjuïc and would have had port facilities for storing cereals. It is likely that during the period of *Pax Romana*, the Romans decided to move this primitive settlement to a more accessible site (*Mons Taber*, on the coastal plain of Barcelona), and, at the same time, to transfer its toponym (Figure 2). Such processes of shifting Iberian cities from their defensive hill sites to flatter areas were especially frequent in Iberia during the PAX ROMANA (27 BC to AD 180) (CAPEL 2006: 108).







**Figure 2:** Evolution (hypothetical) of the coast line southwest of Barcelona, in the direction of Montjuïc and the Llobregat river (Own work.)

In common with the majority of Iberian place-names, attempts at deciphering the etymology of the toponym *Barkeno* or *Barcino* must be undertaken with considerable caution, due to our lack of knowledge of this language. The Iberian form *Bar* could be related to the Basque *Ibar*, ‘shore, bank (of a river)’. If, indeed, *Bar* was the river shore, the name would refer to the left bank of the Llobregat river whose delta, as we mentioned, had not yet been formed, and therefore the *oppidum* of Barkeno on Montjuïc would have stood next to the river. Although the hypothesis presented here – like any other hypothesis – is somewhat speculative, given the current lack of knowledge of the Iberian language, it at least seems likely that the first part of the place-name (*bar*) is related to the riverbank or shore of the Llobregat, and that it would have been linked to the trade conducted along this waterway. Indeed, this would confirm the city’s port vocation from its very foundation. Similar forms, including *Bàrcena*, *Bàrzana* and *Barcina*, present in the toponymy of the Iberian Peninsula, possess the same root as *Barcino* and describe a geographically comparable location: a location sited next to a river or in a valley bottom (URKOLA 2010, GARCÍA ARIAS 2015: 62).

### 3.3. Results of the analysis: a reconstruction of the original urban morphology of *Ciutat Vella*

The geography of Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella* is characterised above all by its location on a coastal plain site (historically known as the *Pla de Barcelona*) delimited by a number of distinct physical features: the Mediterranean sea, the Montjuïc hill, the Llobregat river, the Collserola mountain range and the Besòs river. Above and beyond its obvious flatness, the coastal plain is characterised by a slight incline (with a sharper shift in gradient in the area of contact with the foothills of Collserola) and, at the micro scale, by many small geomorphological features – which add considerable complexity to the physical landscape of Barcelona as a whole. In short, and from a geological perspective (RIBA 1992), the main orographic features of the plain are what is known as the Pleistocene platform, the Barcelona Step, the delta plain (corresponding to the Besòs river) and the small elevation (or palaeorelief) of *Mons Taber*. Similarly, in terms of its hydrography, among the small river courses or streams that cut across the plain perpendicularly, mention should be made of the seasonal torrent of Collserola (better known, in its final stretch, as the *Rambla*).

#### 3.3.1. Interpretation of the physical environment of Barcelona based on remote sensing data

First, we present the two maps that show the altimetry of *Ciutat Vella* of Barcelona based on LIDAR data. They show that the area occupied by the original Roman site (*Mons Taber*) is located at an altitude of between 8 and 15 m, while the area immediately surrounding lies below 8 metres. The small hill chosen by the Roman founders has, over the intervening centuries, served as a natural protection against the flooding of the torrents and has historically been the site chosen for the city's most emblematic buildings: the Roman city, with its temple and forum; the Visigothic cathedral; the See (the cathedral), the Episcopal Palace, the *Palau de la Generalitat* (home to the offices of the Presidency) and the City Hall. The line drawn by the *Rambla* marked the perimeter of the wall in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a perimeter that was extended west in the following century. The medieval enclosure of the 14<sup>th</sup> century occupied an enormous space, in provision of the city's future urban expansion: at that date, *Ciutat Vella* stood on an area of 216 ha, much greater than that of other cities in the crown of Aragon, such as València and Saragossa (both occupying about 150 ha). During the following centuries, there was a progressive increase in the urbanisation of this space, to the detriment of the rural areas that it initially housed. As for its population, a few decades after the construction of the second wall, 40,000 people lived within the walls of Barcelona.



The maps clearly show that the urban pattern of mediaeval Barcelona was determined by the site's irregular topography. Externally, in constructing the walls, use tended to be made of the slight but continuous rise in gradient of the terrain (what geologists refer to as the *graó barceloní* or the “Barcelona Step”) that separates the Pleistocene platform from the delta plain (CASASSAS–RIBA 1992). Internally, the role played by the channel occupied by the Rambla in structuring the space proved fundamental: on its right bank, towards the southwest, extends the part of the city known as *Raval* (in which, initially, the churches and buildings linked to the city's religious orders predominated, along with extensive orchards), while on its left bank crops out, like a small ‘islet’ above the alluvial plain, the area of *Mons Taber*. In other words, the pattern of occupation of the city's original nucleus is clearly reflected in the topography: its higher parts are home to those buildings with some relation to the nobility and the high clergy, while the lower parts are characterised by a network of streets and squares occupied in the main by the houses and workshops of the city's merchants and artisans.

### 3.3.2. *The reflection of the relief features in Barcelona's urban toponymy*

In the context described, we can identify numerous toponyms that directly or indirectly allude to elevations or depressions in the terrain. Today, when thanks to the hydraulic engineering works, *Ciutat Vella* is – theoretically – safe from floods, it might appear somewhat excessive to baptise a small change in gradient in its site with a toponym. However, for their creators such names were fully justified: to locate a building on a small rise – even if this stood no more than 2 or 3 meters above the immediate surrounding area – could be sufficient to save it from the effects of any flooding (MEMBRADO 2012).

The greatest concentration of toponyms of this type can be detected in the very heart of *Ciutat Vella*, that is, in the environs of *Mons Taber*. Notable here is the recurrence of words within the street names indicating that the streets slope downhill, i.e. *baixada*. As Figure 3 shows, these are small streets that link the highest part of *Mons Taber* with the flat lands that surround it. In the current city gazetteer<sup>2</sup> (in conjunction with an exhaustive search of the historical bibliography: BALAGUER 1865–1866, CARRERAS CANDI 1916), we have identified as many as seven names of this type: *Baixada de Caçador*, *Baixada de la Canonja*, *Baixada de la Llibreteria* (also known as *Baixada de la Presó* and *Davallada de la Cort*), *Baixada de Sant Miquel*, *Baixada de Santa Clara*, *Baixada de Santa Eulàlia* and *Baixada Viladecols*. To these names we might add others, which have fallen out of use: *Baixada de Regomir* or *de la Palma* (today known as *Carrer de Regomir* or Regomir street), *Baixada dels Lleons*

(today known as *Carrer d'Ataülf*), *Baixada de l'Ecce Homo* (today occupied by buildings) and *Baixada del Palau* (today known as *Carrer del Palau*).



**Figure 3:** The heart of Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella*: the hill of *Mons Taber*, circled by the Roman walled enclosure (Own work.)

Around the hill of *Mons Taber*, the predominance of depressions in the terrain is, likewise, often underlined by the local toponymy. In addition to the aforementioned hydronym of the *Rambla*, other place-names are highly expressive of the original nature of Barcelona's physical environment. They include *les Arenes* (the sandy site on which the church of *Santa Maria del Mar* was built), *les Jonqueres* (toponym alluding to the bulrush, a typical marsh plant), the flat plains of *Pla de la Boqueria*, *Pla del Palau*, *el Born* and the *Ribera* (seashore). In this same part of the city, there is a trilogy of streets whose names clearly point to a gradation in altitude (although barely noticeable at first

sight): Sant Pere *més Baix*, Sant Pere *Mitjà* and Sant Pere *Més Alt* – that is, Lower / Middle / Upper.

Interestingly, practically all the aforementioned place-names correspond to the city's public spaces: primarily streets and squares (regardless of their small dimensions). This correlation between the “traditional toponymy” and the public space observed in *Ciutat Vella* is paralleled, albeit with decreasing intensity, both in the Barcelona of the nineteenth century (*Eixample*) and in the city of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries (TORT-DONADA 2013).

#### 4. Final considerations

The case study that we have undertaken, focused on mediaeval Barcelona, is, we believe, indicative of the close interaction that may exist between a city and the physical environment in which it is located. This interaction may not be readily discernible at first glance – especially if the relief of the site is dominated by horizontal forms, and if, over time, there has occurred intense processes of human occupation and urbanisation. But, in such cases, a detailed understanding of the topography (based on remote sensing techniques), on the one hand, and of the city's toponymy, on the other, can be particularly useful analytical tools. The specific case of Barcelona reveals this underlying behaviour: that, no matter how insignificant the change in gradient in the topography, this characteristic can be a key determinant in the configuration of the city's urban plan.

The urban segregation (or separation) that results from changes in the altitude of a site is something that is repeated – in a manner similar to that documented in Barcelona – in the old towns of other major Spanish cities founded on a flat topography. A good example is provided by València, a city where, in common with Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella*, the activities of the traders and the artisans – many of them dangerous to the general health – were located primarily in low-lying areas such as the *Pla de la Boatella* and the neighbourhood of the *Mercat*. The pattern found in València is repeated in other cities located on flat land. These include Seville and Saragossa, whose commercial activities have historically been concentrated in the cities' low-lying areas city (*Calle de la Feria* in Seville; *Avenida César Augusto* in Saragossa, which occupies a former valley floor), while the centres of religious and political power are found on areas with a more pronounced incline, or on those that are at a slightly higher altitude, safe from any floods.

According to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE), the Spanish expression *bajos fondos* refers to “marginal areas of large cities”.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, according to the *Diccionari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (DIEC), the Catalan

<sup>3</sup> See *bajos fondos* at: <http://dle.rae.es/?id=IBhKM8D|IBiSV3w> (Consultation: 29.11.2017.)

expression *baixos fons* refers to the “lower reaches of society, especially those associated with criminal elements”.<sup>4</sup> Both expressions (*bajos fondos*, *baixos fons*) derive from the French *bas-fonds*, which in its literal sense describes a physical feature (‘terrain lying lower than that which surrounds it and, in general, marshy’), but which metaphorically alludes to social differences. The metaphorical sense of *bas-fonds*, as employed in the work of Honoré de Balzac in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in all probability derives from this literal meaning, used to describe those Parisian quarters that, orographically, were low-lying and vulnerable to flooding, and in which Paris’s marginal population lived. These swampy areas of low-lying terrain in European cities harboured over the centuries their mercantile and recreational activities and the workshops of their artisans, and stood in stark contrast with what were the supposedly more *noble* neighbourhoods built on the higher ground. After the bourgeois and industrial revolution, this pattern of urban segregation began to change, but typically to the greater detriment of the *bas-fonds*: the commercial bourgeoisie that had grown rich were gradually able to abandon these areas and to occupy the new, more spacious areas of the urban expansion plans. The neighbourhoods that occupied the low-lying areas – and which continued to be the *bas-fonds* socially – were exposed, in some cases, to extreme processes of deterioration and neglect throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In recent decades, however, Europe’s *bas-fonds* have undergone another change. The hydraulic engineering works carried out over the last few decades – which protect these neighbourhoods from potentially catastrophic flooding – have turned these run-down neighbourhoods back into desirable residential areas. Some of them are currently undergoing marked processes of gentrification or reconversion for tourist uses – a process that benefits from their proximity to the city centre, as well from the value of their traditional architecture and the historical nature of their urban fabric.

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<sup>4</sup> See *fons*, meaning 9, at: <https://mdlc.iec.cat/results.asp?txtEntrada=fons&operEntrada=0> (Consultation: 29.11.2017.)



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## Abstract

Barcelona's mediaeval old town, today known as Ciutat Vella, is predominantly flat in appearance. However, a more detailed inspection reveals it to stand on a physical base of very uneven altitude, with numerous changes of gradient between high- and low-lying areas. In fact, the original core of the city, on which the Roman settlement of Barcino was built, is a small hill (Mons Taber) that rises above the rest of the old town. There are many urban toponyms in Ciutat Vella that indicate that the streets “descend” from the top of the hill in all directions (from what would have been the Roman core down into the mediaeval quarters), and which usually receive the name baixada (Baixada de la Presó, Baixada de Santa Anna, etc.). Although this is the most significant of the toponyms, it is not the only one. Other names serve as ‘indicators of the landscape’: Pla de la Boqueria and Pla de Palau refer to flat urban spaces; Jonqueres and les Arenes, to low-lying depressions; and la Rambla, to the ancient hydrographic network. A toponym indicating a rise in altitude or a depression, as irrelevant as it may seem today, may historically have been significant, as it would have indicated whether the land was susceptible to flooding and, therefore, whether or not it was suitable for given activities. This study combines the qualitative approach characteristic of classical toponymic analyses with quantitative methodologies (specifically, LIDAR technology applied to Barcelona's physical environment), which we have employed before in other Mediterranean cities, such as Valencia.

**Keywords:** urban toponymy, Barcelona, mediaeval town, landscape indicators







Roberto Fontanot

## ***One Nation, One Name: not an Easy Task***

1. Among the various features that a community of people should possess to be considered a nation, scholars of nationalism usually include a specific territory, a common language, shared history, culture and traditions.

Less frequently quoted is an equally important element, the existence of a name which unambiguously identifies the community in question (and its own language). According, e.g. to A. D. SMITH, the founder of one of today's most important approaches to nationalism, the ethnosymbolic one, "the act of conferring a collective *proper name* is critical to ethno-genesis. [...] Only when a collective proper name is conferred on a population, highlighting the unity of its parts, and only when it becomes widely accepted by the members of the population, can a sense of distinctive ethnic identity begin to emerge" (2009: 46).

More often than one would expect, these terms were not already available to the national movements which have developed in Europe in the last two centuries.

In many cases, the claimed territory belonged to different states. There could be pre-existing identities (usually related to long-standing territorial entities), with a centuries-old demonym,<sup>1</sup> not always willing to be replaced by – or included in – a language-based identity and to adopt a new endonym. Sometimes, locals simply referred to themselves with the demonym of their place of residence or with terms meaning 'from here'.

A choice had to be done. This has not always been simple and has sometimes provoked conflicts within the national movement, or between it and the state – or the states – in which the claimed territory was situated, leading at times to the prohibition of a given ethnonym. Even its acceptance may have been gradual and have met with resistance, particularly in the areas where the influence of the national movement was weaker.

The crystallization of national identities in Europe has intertwined with the work of segmentation of dialect *continua* in a certain number of languages, and of classification and denomination of the latter, to which linguists have applied a long time (see e.g. BAGGIONI–VANCHE-ROBY 1997, SÉRIOT 1997, CANUT 2001), even though, as MAXWELL (2015: 29–30) wittily observes, "their collective unfamiliarity with political analysis contributes to their

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<sup>1</sup> For reasons of practicality, with the terms "ethnonym", "demonym", "endonym" and "exonym" I will refer both to the noun and to the relevant adjective.



confusion over how to approach the politics of linguistic classification”; they are “hopelessly divided between the theoretical awareness that classification is a political act and an apparently irresistible desire to invest their favoured classification with the prestigious aura of scholarly »objectivity«”; in every classification proposal, linguistic considerations and extralinguistic factors are inextricably blended. In any case, ethnonyms have usually been adopted as glottonyms, and sometimes the opposite happened.

But what were the strategies employed by national awakeners if they had to choose an adequate endonym for their people?<sup>2</sup>

2. The choice was simpler if a name clearly prevailed over the others. This was the case of Albania (see LLOSHI 1999: 277), where *shqiptar*, although of a relatively recent origin, at the time of the birth of the national movement was used in a much wider territory than the more ancient, pre-Islamic, *arbëresh*, preserved only in some Catholic communities in the North of the country (and in the Albanian diaspora in southern Italy and – besides *arbëror* – Greece).

3. If the ethnonyms in question were few and their geographical distribution less unbalanced, one solution was to use them together. A successful case was that of Czechoslovakia (see DICKINS 2011); its territory, roughly corresponding to the ancient realm of Great Moravia, since the 10<sup>th</sup> century remained divided into two parts, under Hungarian and German domain (but keeping a high degree of linguistic homogeneity). In the first, devoid of an administrative unit of its own, the old Slavic endonym (*slovenský*) survived; in the second, the term *český* became established. Given the diffusion of literary Czech in the Slovak lands (a language based on the local dialects was codified only in the 1840s and was fiercely opposed by the Magyars) and since the national movement has always been stronger among the Czechs, the inclusion of the whole region under the ethnonym *český* was not rare, but after World War I and the birth of an independent state for Czechs and Slovaks, which supported the conception of one people and one language, the form *česko(-)slovenský*, already used in the previous century, became the official one (prevailing over other variants). The definitive consolidation of a separate Slovak linguistic and national identity in the postwar period led to the prevailing use of this adjective as a demonym. But even the form employed in the official name of the state reflected the latter’s internal political turbulences.<sup>3</sup> In 1920 the hyphen was dropped, but reappeared in 1938, after the Munich Agreement and the achievement of greater autonomy by the Slovaks, only to be dropped again after World War II; at the breakdown of the Communist regime, in March 1990 the Parliament put it again in the

<sup>2</sup> I will not deal with exonyms, their codification, and their relationship with endonyms, a topic which deserves a separate study.

<sup>3</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyphen\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyphen_War) (Accessed 14 December 2017).

Slovak name, but not in the Czech one; one month later the compromise solution “Czech and Slovak” was adopted in both languages, till its use became an anachronism in 1993.

4. When the ethnonyms in a given territory were more numerous, the difficulties in choosing one have sometimes led to the adoption of another term.

In southern France, the local literary language had been traditionally called *lenga romana*, *d’òc*, or metonymically with one of the regional ethnonyms, such as *lemosin*, *gascon* and, most of all, *provençal*, even if Provence did not play a leading role in the history of its ancient literature (see SALVAT 1954, BICHURINA–COSTA 2016).

The first national revival, the Félibrige movement of F. Mistral, born in the mid-1800s in Provence, supported the local dialect and ethnonym, which was also in common use in the academic world; but the need to have a more generic name, not privileging any region in particular, led to the more and more frequent use of the adjective *occitan* and the choronym *Occitania*, derived – on the model of *Aquitania* – from (*lenga d’*)òc. And these, firstly rejected for their bookish origin, have triumphed among local nationalists in the last decades and are prevailing even among academicians (while *provençal* has been taken up by those who reject the pan-Occitan ideology and claim the autonomy of the different “*langues d’oc*”).

5. A similar solution was chosen more recently by the former leader of the Italian Northern League, U. Bossi, when he supported the existence of a nation roughly corresponding to northern Italy (of which he proclaimed in 1996 the fictitious independence).

The latter, though bounded by clear geographical frontiers (the Alps and the Apennines), is divided into a handful of regional identities, some of which have already codified long ago their language (such as Piedmontese, or Friulian, which is the only one officially recognized by Italy since 1999). One of the regional ethnonyms, *lombardo*, was used centuries ago in a much wider area, including almost the whole of northern Italy (which had been under the dominion of the Germanic Lombards): it still survives – or survived till recent times – in some areas outside today’s Lombardy, as e.g. on the Apennine slopes in nearby Emilia (and even in central-eastern Sicily which, after the Norman conquest in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, was repopulated with settlers mostly from today’s Piedmont and Liguria).

But Bossi, though he was born in Lombardy, and though Northern League militants are often called by the Italian press *lumbard* (the local form of the ethnonym), did not try to restore the ancient extent of *lombardo*, it being clear that it would face the other regions’ opposition. He adopted instead the



ethnonym *padano* and the choronym *Padania*, which were already employed sporadically (e.g. in the name of the *Grana Padano* cheese) to refer to the valley crossed by the river Po (Latin *Padus*), which covers about 40 percent of northern Italy.<sup>4</sup>

6. A more complex evolution took place in the Catalan speaking territories, divided into three historical regions: Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands, each with its ethnonym(s). To name the language there was, at the birth of the local nationalisms, a common term, *llemosí*; its presence was a legacy of its aforementioned use in the Occitan cultural world (of which Catalans were part), whose destruction following the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) opened the way for the literary use of the local dialects, Catalan included (see FUSTER 1962, RAFANELL 1991). But the development of a national movement peculiar to the Catalan lands – even though not without pan-Occitan suggestions (see ZANTEDESCHI 2010) – made this term unsuitable.

The nationalists based in Barcelona strove from the 1860s to distance themselves from the Felibristes and to revive the name *català*, which had fallen into disuse for centuries in the other two regions (repopulated, after the *Reconquista*, mostly by Catalans). This met with opposition in Valencia, which fought to keep *llemosí* as a more neutral denomination for the common language; once this battle was lost, its support – accompanied by bitter political disputes – went to the local denomination, *valencià*, which is now the official glottonym in the Valencian Community<sup>5</sup> (the Balearic Islands, on the contrary, have accepted *català*). Academicians, for their part, have generalized the use of *català* – and of the choronym *Països Catalans* – for the whole territory of the language.<sup>6</sup>

7. Let us move on the opposite case, that of an ethnonym used in a compact way in a given territory. Sometimes, it was replaced by the local national movement with another one. Reasons could be various.

Around the mid-1800s Estonians gave up the too vague term *maarahvas* (lit. ‘country people’), adapting instead the exonym *estnisch* used by their German rulers (*eesti rahvas*), also because it recalls – or derives from? – the name of

<sup>4</sup> *Padania* won no official recognition; the very idea of a Padanian identity has been dismissed by Bossi’s successor.

<sup>5</sup> The opposition to the use of *català* is also strong in the so-called Aragonese *Franja* along the border with Catalonia, where Catalan dialects are spoken but the Aragonese identity prevails; a regional law of 2013, concerning the protection and promotion of Aragon’s languages, avoids naming them; local associations favour the use of “Eastern Aragonese” (see GIRALT 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Other more neuter denominations, like the too heavy *català-valencià-balear* (proposed for the first time in 1925), or – using the first syllables of each word – *bacavà*, or *bacavès* (and the choronym *Bacàvia*) (1927), or more recently *cavabà*, *cavabànic* (1978), met with no success.

the *Aesti*, a people on the Baltic sea mentioned in classical sources (see BEYER 2007: 566–567).

Some time before, Greeks had rejected *Rom(a)ios*, which they had adopted as citizens of the Eastern Roman Empire (“Byzantine” is a creation of the Enlightenment). The desire to claim a direct continuity with Hellenic antiquity (relegating to the background one and a half millennium of history) – and to avoid possible confusions with Romanians – led, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to the restoration of the ancient *Hellen* (which had survived in the sense of ‘pagan’ and in oral tradition to refer to some mythical giants), the only ethnonym officially used since the 1822 Declaration of Independence (see MACKRIDGE 2010: 47–56, KAPLANIS 2014).

8. Sometimes, a glottonym, introduced by a linguist for a language area that he had identified, induced the birth of some national movements, which gave up or modified its use as an ethnonym.

This was the case of *ladin* (see KRAMER 1988, VANELLI 2006). It was used at first in two archaic Romance territories of the Alpine region: the Engadine valley, in the Swiss canton of Grisons (besides *romauntsh*, the only form known in the other archaic dialects of the canton), and one of the five valleys around the Sella massif, in Austrian Tyrol.

The extension of its meaning is due to the Italian linguist G. I. ASCOLI, who in his 1873 *Saggi Ladini* gathered in a single “favella ladina” all these archaic dialects of Grisons and Tyrol, adding those spoken in Friuli (his native region), and maintaining that they form an independent unit from the rest of northern Italy.

The identification of this language sub-family (which roused a heated debate – apparently conditioned by political questions – between Italian and German linguists, which continues today) did not lead to the birth of a unitary national movement, but each of these three areas – not geographically contiguous – developed its own one; this involved a shift in the use of *ladin*: for the whole range of these dialects, the glottonym “Rhaeto-Romance” is preferred today (especially in German-speaking academia), coined to refer to the Grisons dialects<sup>7</sup> and whose meaning was extended in 1883 by the Austrian linguist Th. Gardner; but it is historically incorrect (Friuli, where the great majority of speakers dwells, was never a part of Roman *Rhaetia*, but of *Venetia*). *Ladin* is almost always referred to the central section (belonging, after World War I,

<sup>7</sup> On the same model, the glottonym *istroromanzo* was introduced after World War II by Croatian linguists to refer to the indigenous (pre-Venetian) Romance variety of the southern part of Istria (which had been annexed by Yugoslavia), called in Italy *istrioto*, which they considered an independent language and not an Italian dialect. But the term is inaccurate: a pre-Venetian dialect was spoken in northern Istria too (e.g. in Piran).



to the Italian region of Trentino-Alto Adige), which did not have a common ethnonym and where the development of a strong identity movement – as a consequence of the contraposition between Italians and Germans – superseded the old Tyrolean identity shared with the German-speaking population;<sup>8</sup> in the Engadine, on the contrary, its use has almost disappeared in favour of *rumantsch*.

**9.** In the same year Ascoli identified another Romance area, divided between France, Italy and Switzerland (and – again – causing harsh reactions, this time by French linguists); in this case he decided not to privilege one of the local glottonyms (such as *patonès*, or *romand*, the latter in common use in the Swiss part), but christened it *franco-provenzale*, joining the names of the two languages among which it is located.

But when, in the 1970s, the first claims to autonomy appeared in this area (especially in its Italian part, the Aosta Valley), such a term certainly could not become an identity banner. A militant from Aosta, J. Henriët, in 1973 coined a new ethnonym, *harpitan* (see BICHURINA 2017) arguably modelled on *Occitan* (from a root meaning ‘mountain pasture’); its diffusion was at first limited to the leftist environment in which it was born; but later it partially lost its political connotations (and the *h-*) and is quite frequently used now – together with the choronym *Arpitan* – instead of the more official *francoprovençal* (since 1969 without the hyphen) by a part of the autonomist movements of this area (however still well far from developing a common language and identity).

The most frequent reason why the use of an ethnonym in a certain territory underwent modifications is the split of the latter into multiple projects of nation formation. What was done to avoid any ambiguity?

**10.** In the case of the Gaels, divided into three countries (Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man) politically, geographically and religiously separated, each of them, besides developing its own national identity (in the Scottish case, in common with the Scots-speaking inhabitants of the Lowlands) and standardizing its own language variety, adopted an ethnonym of toponymic origin.

As a glottonym, the original name was codified in three forms (*gaeilge*, *gàidhlig* and *gaelg* ~ *gailck*) which, especially in the pronunciation, are quite diverging; but their use is ambiguous: they can refer both to Gaelic in general (for which English possesses the unambiguous word *Goidelic*) and – specifying the name of the relevant country – to the individual Gaelic languages.

**11.** Most frequently, the end result was the disappearance of the ethnonym in part of the territory.

<sup>8</sup> A choronym *Ladinia* was coined as soon as 1879, but it does not refer to a clearly delimited region.



This is what happened in continental (or ‘West’) Germanic, characterized by numerous variations of the term rendered in Latin as *theodiscus* (lit. ‘of the people’). Luther’s Reformation led to the spread of the High German dialect employed in his 1534 Bible translation, and of the form *deutsch* of the ethnonym. But the Low Countries had a peculiar history; they were united by the dukes of Burgundy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and then inherited by the Habsburgs; in 1581 their northern part (today’s Netherlands) became independent, while the southern one (roughly today’s Belgium and Luxembourg) remained under Habsburg Spain. All this ensured the preservation of a separate literary language, based on the local dialects.

Two variants of the ethnonym were used here (see WYNANTS 1997) and their fate was determined by the 1581 frontier: at first *Diets(ch)*, typical of Flanders and Brabant, prevailed, but from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was ousted by *Duuts(ch)* (later *Duits(ch)*), typical of the northern regions, in the now independent Dutch Republic, which became the new centre of cultural life; because of their semantic ambiguity, both forms suffered from competition with the regional ethnonyms *Vlaams* ‘Flemish’ in the South and *Hollands* (used metonymically) in the North; here, *Duits* had to compete also with the bookish forms *Nederduits* (vs. *Hoogduits* ‘German’) and *Nederlands* (from the choronym); the former seemed to prevail in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the growing German nationalism (which would culminate with the birth of a unified Germany in 1870) led to the refusal of any “endonymic” affinity. *Nederduits* – also because of its resemblance to German *Niederdeutsch* ‘Low German’ – was discarded; *Duits* became the exonym for ‘German’; *Diets* instead was revived in Belgium during and after World War I by Flemish nationalists in a pan-Dutch and anti-Belgian perspective, but their collaborationism with the German occupier during World War II – even though the latter had forbidden the use of *Diets* in 1941 – led to its abandonment.

**12.** The two by far most complex cases – which deserve a more detailed treatment – lie in Eastern Europe, in the South and East Slavic *continua*, where territorial extent, political, cultural and ideological divisions and religious tensions provoked a growing national fragmentation, which has not yet come to an end.

In the first case, the Slavic endonym *slovenski*, *slovinski* had survived here and there, alongside many other local names of various origin (*koroški*, *kranjski*, *štajerski*; *hrvatski*, *slavonski*, *dalmatinski*; *bosanski*; *sprski*; *bălgarski*, etc.).

The national movement – born in the 1830s in Croatia – which intended to unify all the South Slavs (divided between the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires) tried to introduce a common ethnonym, promoting the use – dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century – of *ilirski* ‘Illyrian’; but the growth of a



Bulgarian nationalism and the lack of support from the nearby Serbs<sup>9</sup> led to the gradual reduction of the claimed territory. Even the northernmost South Slavs, in southern Austria, did not join – with some exceptions – Illyrism. The outbreak of the 1848 Revolutions marked the end of the movement<sup>10</sup> and paved the way to the codification of two different national identities on the sides of the border between Austria and Hungary, wherein the relationship between the Slavic endonym and the local names took opposite directions; on the Austrian side, *slovenski* was used in the regions of mixed German and Slavic population, while in the central one, Carniola, almost entirely Slavic, it had been replaced by the regional ethnonym *kranjski*: nonetheless, it was codified as the common endonym;<sup>11</sup> on the Hungarian side (and in Dalmatia), *hrvatski* imposed itself at the expense of the other regional ethnonyms and of *slovinski*.<sup>12</sup> Serbia, which had become autonomous from the Ottomans in 1815, retained its own ethnonym.

“Serbian” and “Croatian” continued to be used as glottonyms for the language codified in common by the two peoples after a 1850 agreement, despite the institutionalization of *srpskohrvatski* (in Croatian *hrvatskosrpski*); after 1991 the latter term survives in the academic world where it was born in the 1820s,<sup>13</sup> while even Montenegrins and Slavic-speaking Muslims have adopted their ethnonyms as glottonyms (in parallel with the claim to the status of autonomous languages for their own varieties of Serbo-Croatian); the latter in particular, living mostly in Bosnia (and recognized as a separate nationality only in 1968),<sup>14</sup> during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War discarded the name “ethnic Muslim” – introduced in the 1961 census – and embraced *bosnjački* as their endonym (in order to differentiate it from *bosanski*, which refers to all the inhabitants of Bosnia), soon accepted by the Slavic Muslims of southern Serbia, but not quite in Montenegro, which regards Muslims and Bosniaks as two different nationalities (see ĐEČEVIĆ–KNEŽEVIĆ–VUKOVIĆ–ČALASAN 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Their national leader, V. Karadžić, had refused the term *ilirski* (THOMAS 1994: 251).

<sup>10</sup> The use of “Illyrian” had already been forbidden by Austria since 1843.

<sup>11</sup> See LENCEK 1990. In 1848 the choronym *Slovenija* was coined.

<sup>12</sup> On the pre-national use of ethnonyms in the territory of today’s Croatia, see FINE V. A. 2006.

<sup>13</sup> On “Serbo-Croatian” see LENCEK 1976, KORDIĆ 2003. It had already been adopted in 1867 by the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia in place of “Yugoslav” (introduced in 1861) (THOMAS 1994: 252).

<sup>14</sup> In 1945 another language and nationality had been recognized in southernmost Yugoslavia, referred to with the classical ethnonym “Macedonian”, which had come to the forefront again – together with the relevant choronym – after the emergence of the “Macedonian Question” in 1878.

**13.** In the East Slavic area a common endonym had survived till the mid-1800s, but nonetheless the process of national fragmentation led up to the formation of at least four different identities.

Its territory had been unified in the ninth century in a state, with its centre in Kiev, called *Rus'* (from whence the endonyms *ruskij*, the adjective, and *rusin*, the noun), a name adapted in Latin as *Russia*. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century it began to disintegrate; its central part was annexed by the Lithuanians; the eastern one shattered into a handful of principalities, among which that of Moscow would become the most important; the southwestern one gave origin to an independent kingdom comprising the regions of Galicia and Volhynia, conquered in the mid-1300s by Poland.

The political split was followed by an ecclesiastical one. In 1303 Constantinople created a new metropolitan see in Galicia and then began to distinguish between a *Megàle Rhosìa* 'Great Rus' and a *Mikrà Rhosìa* 'Little Rus' (the Galician one); but after the end of the Galician state, this distinction fell into disuse.

Another division of *Rus'*, of debated origin and based on colours, has been attested since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Galicia took the name of "Red Rus'"; a part of the territory under Lithuanian domain, "Black Rus'"; to the north-east of the latter lay "White Rus'", which at the beginning referred to the northernmost East Slavic territory, but then expanded southwards, embracing an area with unstable borders (see VAKAR 1949 and 1956: 1–4).

In 1386 Lithuania established a personal union with Poland, which in 1569 would become political; this brought about the gradual spread of Polish and Latin in the cultural sphere; *ruski* was rendered in Latin as *ruthenus* (and the East Slavic-speaking territory under Polish-Lithuanian rule was called *Ruthenia*);<sup>15</sup> the existence of two Latin equivalents of *Rus' ~ ruski* would be used more than once, as we will see, for nationalist purposes.

The Orthodox Church of Kiev, which had been abolished in 1596 (when the Uniate Church was founded, obedient to Rome and not to Constantinople), once reinstated in 1620, restored the distinction between "Great" (Moscovite) and "Little" (Polish-Lithuanian) *Rus'* but adopted the Greek form of the name (*Rosìja*); and when, in the mid-1600s, the Cossacks, living in the southeast corner of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, rebelled in defense of Orthodoxy and proclaimed an independent state called *Ukrajna* (originally a word meaning in general a bordered land), which soon placed itself under the protection of

<sup>15</sup> The semantic ambivalence of *ruski* and the political disputes over the inheritance of ancient *Rus'* are reflected in how this term is translated when quoting Medieval and Modern Age documents: English-language works by scholars from Belarus or Ukraine usually employ *Ruthenian*, those from Russia, *Russian*; some have proposed a more neutral translation *Rus'(')ian*.

Moscow, the latter's sovereigns, who had adopted in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the title *vseja Rusi* 'of all Rus' (later 'of all *Rusija*') traditionally borne by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Moscow, amended it in 'of Great and Little *Rosija*', very soon changed in 'of Great, Little and White *Rosija*' (see PRITSAK-RESHETAR 1963: 244–245. In 1654 the Tsardom of Russia started a war with the Commonwealth, which ended in 1667 with the conquest of its easternmost regions. Black and Red Russia, on the contrary, were not annexed).

The partial overlapping of the popular division of Rus' based on colours and of the ecclesiastical one in Great and Little had given rise to a tripartition of the East Slavic territory which would pave the way for the birth of three nationalities.

This process began in southern Russia, in the so-called 'Sloboda Ukraine', a region colonized by Cossack refugees in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The establishment here of a University in Kharkiv in 1804 laid the foundations for the birth of a cultural movement which favoured the literary use of the local dialect and of the ethnonym *ukrainskij*, still in use around the city.<sup>16</sup> When the centre of the Ukrainian studies moved to the newly founded (1834) University of Kiev, in Little Russia, local academicians began to use "Ukrainian" and "Little Russian" as synonyms. With the growth, since the 1840s, of a lay and populist national movement, which rejected the Little Russian regionalism of the Russified Cossack gentry and exalted the democratic and individualistic nature of the ancient Cossack state (as opposed to the despotic autocracy of Moscow), the term became more and more an identity banner, so that its use – and that of the relevant language – was hindered by the Russian authorities starting from the failed Polish uprising of 1863; only after the 1905 Revolution did they adopt a more tolerant stance.

Things were more favourable in Galicia, annexed in 1772 by the Austrian Empire.<sup>17</sup> Its East Slavic population had retained – in addition to the Uniate (or "Greek Catholic") religion, repressed in Russia – the endonym *ruski* ~ *rusin* (or *rusnak*).<sup>18</sup> Here again the 1860s marked a turning point; the free hand given to the Poles after the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867 and the resentment against the dominance of the Uniate clergy in the national movement (which was leaning towards Russia in an anti-Polish function) fostered the rise of a secular

<sup>16</sup> On the history of such ethnonym, see BOECK 2005.

<sup>17</sup> The history of the struggle between different national orientations in Austrian Galicia is one of the best studied in Europe; for a dense overview, see HIMKA 2001.

<sup>18</sup> But in 1843 the Uniate Metropolitan pushed the Austrian authorities to adopt the form *Ruthenen* as the official German name (instead of *Russinien*), in order to oppose Russian aims (see [http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CR%5CU%5C\\_Ruthenians.htm](http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CR%5CU%5C_Ruthenians.htm), accessed 14 December 2017).

elite, increasingly anticlerical and populist-radical, who supported a Ukrainian identity based on the language of the peasants, and from the 1880s began to prevail over the Russophiles. Many Ukrainian intellectuals persecuted in Russia moved to Galicia which, thanks to the freedoms guaranteed by Austrian constitutionalism, became the hub of the national movement. Towards the end of the century even the use of *ukrajins'kyj* spread here instead of *rus'kyi* (the Russophiles wrote it *ruskii*, see HIMKA 2001: 125), but it was never recognized by the Austrian authorities. It was only during World War I and after the birth of a National Republic of Ukraine that *ukrajins'kyj* ~ *ukrajinets'* received for the first time an official recognition, putting aside other self-designations like *rus'kyj*, *maloros*, *khokhol*, etc.

Very different was the history of the national movement in White Russia (see VAKAR 1956, IOFFE 2003a and 2003b). This name had been officially applied to the northernmost territories annexed by Russia with the Partitions of Poland (1772–1795) even if, after the Polish uprising of 1831, tsar Nicholas II replaced it with the more neuter ‘Northwestern Province’ (see VAKAR 1956: 69); its inhabitants, Uniate East Slavs imbued with Polish culture and for the most part reconverted by force to the Orthodox faith in the mid-1800s, did not have a clear national consciousness and defined themselves *litsvin* ‘Lithuanian’ and especially *tutejši* ‘local’; White Russian nationalism was extremely weak and the work of a few noblemen, or clergymen, belonging to the Catholic minority. More than in Ukraine, World War I was here the turning point; the Austro-German forces, after occupying the Ukrainian and White Russian territories, encouraged the development of local, anti-Russian, national movements (they used e.g. the exonym *Weissruthenen* and not *Weissrussen*, see VAKAR 1956: 94–95).

At the end of the conflict, it was the need to secure the support of the different nationalities of the former Tsarist Empire that forced the Bolsheviks to recognize their national aspirations, including those of Ukrainians and White Russians, now regarded as autonomous peoples. With the so-called *korenitsacija* (lit. ‘putting down roots’), the Soviet nationalities policy of the 1920s, *ukrajin'skyj* was made compulsory and became the identity label of tens of millions of people, and not just of some thousands of militants, while *rus'kyj*, still widespread among the populace, was persecuted. In White Russia there was an attempt to introduce the ethnonym *krivič* (the name of one of the tribes who dwelled in the region in medieval times), but with no success (see VAKAR 1956: 142). With the emergence of a policy of Russianization and repression of the so-called “bourgeois nationalism” in the 1930s, *krivič* was forbidden (see VAKAR 1956: 148), while *ukrajin'skyj* managed to survive.

Galicia and other East Slavic territories had been annexed, after the war, by Poland; its government set up a “divide and rule” policy; in the 1921 census, East Slavs were split into four nationalities: *rosyjski* ‘Russian’, *rusiński* ‘Ruthenian’, *bialoruski*, and even *tutejszy* (for those nationally undecided); in the 1931 census (based on native language), *rusiński* was replaced by *ruski* ‘Ruthenian’ and *ukraiński*, thus recognizing the national categories which had crystallized in Galicia in the pre-war period. But some years later, Poland promoted the emergence of another identity in westernmost Galicia; it had mostly returned to the Orthodox Church at the end of the XIX century and had replaced the old endonym *rusnak* with *lemko* (originally the exonym used by the nearby groups of East Slavs); in the mid-1930s its vernacular was standardized and introduced in schools for a brief period (see SHEVELOV 1987: 176).

There was one more slice of East Slavic territory, which had belonged for almost a thousand years to Hungary and was annexed, after the war, to Czechoslovakia (see MAGOCSI 1978). Here the dominant ethnonym always remained *ruský* ~ *rusín*; the Ukrainian movement failed to assert itself as in Galicia (also because the Uniate clergy never dismissed its Magyar feelings), even though the local Communist Party – obeying Soviet orders – adopted in 1926 *ukrajinský* (see MAGOCSI 1978: 278–279). Besides the Russian orientation, a nationally autonomous trend was particularly strong, favoured – after an initial period of pro-Ukrainian stance – by Czechoslovakia, which forbade the use of *ukrajinský* in the 1930s (see MAGOCSI 1978: 229); to avoid any possible confusion, the endonym *rusínský* was adopted for the local emerging nationality (see MAGOCSI 1978: 279).

After World War II, the East Slavic territories of Poland and Czechoslovakia were almost entirely annexed to the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian and Belarusian ones were declared the only indigenous nationalities (as well as among the East Slavs who remained in the two countries). But, after the 1989 Revolution and the end of the Soviet Union, the “Rusyn” identity resurfaced and was formally recognized in Slovakia besides the Ukrainian one; Poland recognizes a Lemko nationality (distinct from the Ukrainian one), which is usually regarded as a subset of the Rusyn one; Ukraine, for its part, considers Rusyns as a branch of Ukrainians.

**14.** At the end of this review, I hope it is clear why to establish an endonym has not always been an “easy task” for European national movements. Europe’s “endonymic” landscape is composed of a set of terms of different origin and antiquity, which quite often have reduced, enlarged, changed their area of diffusion; some were introduced all of a sudden, others disappeared (sometimes reappearing later); some share their territory with other ethnyonyms, establishing a hierarchical relationship that may change over time, usually with the rising

of a regional ethnonym (and identity) to the status of a national one, which parallels the rising of “dialects” to “languages”, an ever-growing phenomenon in Europe.

As a host of scholars have made clear, national identities are not something found in nature. They are the outcome of the interaction between differences and affinities on the linguistic, political, historical, geographical and religious level. Many social actors are involved in this construction. All these factors intervene even in one of the key moments in the development of a national movement, the choice of an endonym. Its study therefore requires an interdisciplinary approach, combining linguistics and social sciences.

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## Abstract

This paper aims at offering an overview of the problems encountered by the different national movements which have developed in Europe in the last two centuries with respect to one of the most delicate aspects in the process of construction of a national identity, the choice of an endonym.

The often complex political, ethnic, and linguistic history of a given area may have resulted in the presence of more endonyms, often tied to territorial identities older than those propagated by national activists. A choice had to be done, usually privileging one of the existing terms, or introducing a new one.

Other problems arose in the opposite case, that of an area characterized by a common endonym, but divided between more national movements. Most often the solution was the partial replacement of the original name with other terms.

The choice of an endonym involves different social actors and is strictly bound to the political vicissitudes of the people in question during the period in which its national movement was born and developed. To address this issue, an interdisciplinary approach is needed.

**Keywords:** ethnonyms, national identity

## ***Secret Names and True Identities: Onomastics and Metaphysics among the Kabye***

### **1. Introduction**

There is something universally guarded, almost *secret* about the way people give out their names or use other people's personal names in everyday encounters, particularly when they meet someone for the first time. They usually take certain precautions when inquiring about their name or wondering how they would like to be addressed. Perhaps this is because, as MARY LASSITER (1983) has aptly phrased it, "our names are ourselves." Our names encapsulate a great deal of our personal identity, something we seek to keep private and hidden from all but a selected few. This secret attitude takes on different forms in different cultures, including the use of by-names such as titles, diminutives, and nicknames; or, as in French-speaking cultures, the use of the pronouns *tu* vs *vous*. In most cases it expresses respect and politeness toward the individual named or addressed. It also indexes more complex levels of communication strategies; especially in orally based societies in which the onomastic code both in name giving and name usage is complex. A case in point is the Kabye community in Northern Togo whose naming practices will serve as my case study.

The Kabye bear a plurality of personal names which express different facets of their social and cultural identity. But there is a category of names whose function is to index one aspect of personal identity that, for the Kabye, pre-exists their socio-cultural identity and which I will term here their "metaphysical identity". These names are called big names or real names. The Kabye have a heightened sense of respect toward this category of names.

I will first provide a brief description of where the Kabye community is located and highlight the general cultural characteristics that serve as a foundation of a name's secrecy. Next, I will describe the general structure of the onomastic system, analyze what role secrecy plays in Kabye naming practices, and look at how this relates to the concept of true or metaphysical identity.

### **2. Kabye community: Location, population, and culture**

According to the web-based publication *Ethnologue* ([ethnologue.com](http://ethnologue.com)), there are approximately 730,000 native speakers of Kabye spread over three countries: 700,000 live in Togo, 30,000 in Benin and a small group in Ghana. In Togo,

the Kabye constitute the second largest ethnic group after the Ewe<sup>1</sup> and inhabit the Kabye massifs located in the northern region of the country. There is also a small Kabye community in the central and southern parts of the country where they were sent by the German colonial authorities to build railroads, a practice continued by the French colonizers. This explains the proximity of these communities to railroads. Later, the overpopulation on the Kabye massifs and the overuse of arable soil led many Kabye farmers to migrate to the south where the land is fertile and favorable for cultivation. The Kabye, known to be very skillful farmers,<sup>2</sup> cultivate millet, corn, peanuts, yams, sorghum and cassava. While Kabye are essentially crop producers, they also raise some livestock, especially small animals and poultry. Dogs have a special status in relation to other animals and are close enough to humans to deserve to be named (in fact they are the only animals to be so singled out), and they are close enough to other animals to never reach the status of pets. Dogs render many services to their masters such as hunting, guarding the house, and being sold on the market; but they are also used as sacrificial animals during male initiation rites. Despite the privilege of being named, the category of dog names is limited in relation to the broader Kabye onomastic system, and as shown in BATOMA (2009b), they are often strategically used as verbal means in polemical communication.

The Kabye society is a hierarchal one. It is based on a system of masculine and feminine groups, as well as on initiation rites. Initiation rites are at once a process of gender differentiation based on Kabye metaphysics of the original androgyny of humans (PIOT 1999) and a process of structuring moral awareness and religious sentiments through an internalization of three basic experiences: community life, mystical life and the evocation of ancestors (KEYEWA 1997). Personal names are, to a great extent, an expression of how each community member has internalized these experiences or is expected to internalize them. The guarded attitude toward personal names noted in the introduction is a strong characteristic of Kabye society. Anthropologists have captured this cultural feature of Kabye society by describing it as a culture permeated by attitudes of secrecy. CHARLES PIOT (1993), for instance, describes several Kabye cultural phenomena that illustrate this, including naming practices, gift giving, ritual insulting, barter, and wealth concealing. Before I take a close look at PIOT's description of Kabye culture and its implications for *onomastic communication* among the Kabye, it is fitting to provide an outline of the Kabye onomastic system.

<sup>1</sup> The Ewe are the largest ethnic group in Togo. They constitute 22.2% of the total population of 7,965,000 people according to the CIA World Fact Book. The Ewe live in the Maritime and Plateaux regions of the country.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Frobenius writes, "No other people in Africa work their fields as intensely as the Kabre, here was a black people of Africa [...] who have attained the heights of science." (quoted in PIOT 1999).

### 3. Kabye onomastic system

Like many African names, Kabye names are semiotic strings. They are language signs that can take the form of full sentences and phrases, or even single words and other signs such as onomatopoeias. They are semantically transparent in the sense that anyone endowed with competence in the Kabye language can understand their linguistic meaning but, as I have showed elsewhere (BATOMA 2009a), the linguistic or literal meaning does not provide the full range of the name's meaning. Indeed, the full meaning of a name comprises a complex layer of meanings, including literal, cultural, and socio-pragmatic meanings. Names such as *Awoki*, *Kakonakate*, *Pamaazi* literally mean, respectively, "Who does not go there" "Let her bring herself to me" "They better think twice", but unless you share the cultural or community knowledge, you will not know what these names mean in terms of the Kabye value system, nor will you be able to make a guess about the particular circumstances that might have motivated the coinage of the name.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, you will not be able to make a proper use of the name in everyday community encounters, as the success of these encounters may involve knowing not only what a name means but also which of an individual's many names should be used, for the choice of a name, as I show in BATOMA (2019) can be a powerful strategy in social communication..

#### 3.1. Open naming process

The Kabye naming process is an open one. First, apart from names that are based on birth-related circumstances<sup>4</sup> such as day, place, sequence of birth in the family, etc., there are no pre-established lists of names from which to choose. In addition, except for some subjective constraints such as length,<sup>5</sup> aesthetic form and onomastic taste, any semiotic string that is meaningful can be coined and accepted as a name. One of the consequences of this openness is the uniqueness of personal names, a characteristic shared by several African

<sup>3</sup> The name *Awoki* refers to death and to the fact that no one can escape it. *Kakonakate* is a name bestowed or self-bestowed on a young man during initiation rites whereby boys tease girls by taking on erotic names. The third name, *Pamaasi* is a warning message generated by a conflict-laden situation. PERE-KWEZIWA (2004) has established cultural patterns that Kabye use to interpret cultural meanings of personal names.

<sup>4</sup> This type of names is used throughout Africa. It is included in almost every text published on African onomastics that describes the typology or classification of African names.

<sup>5</sup> The coinage of a name, especially a non-automatic name, is an artistic act that takes into account meaning, sound and form. But the brevity of the form, in addition to its figuration, has another function beyond the aesthetic function, namely that of facilitating the retention of the name and its content by human memory (see MAMOUSSE DIAGNE 2005).



onomastic communities,<sup>6</sup> whereby the onomastic creativity is based on the name giver's personal and collective experience and intentions as well as his or her worldview and expectations. It is not uncommon to come across names that are unshared, that is, they are not and have never been borne by anyone else in the onomastic community. In previous publications, I have termed the choice of names based on birth-related circumstances as “automatic” as opposed to the choice of the majority of Kabye names, which is based on the reflection and deliberation of the name giver. I will return to this distinction below.

### 3.2. Polyonymic system

The Kabye, like many other Africans, bear a plurality of individual personal names. This polyonymy is synchronic, not diachronic like in other African systems where new names replace previous ones. In the Kabye system, all the personal names of an individual coexist, for each constitutes a window onto the multifaceted dimensions of the name bearer's personality; and together they sum up important aspects of the individual's history as a community member. The use of each name will depend on the context, the user's status, his relationship with the name bearer, and his intentions of the moment. There is no limit imposed on the number of names an individual can bear, but traditionally, the Kabye bear up to five types of names throughout their lifetime according to BLANZONNOUA W.M. KAO (2007), who provides the following list:

**Name of the progenitor ancestor.** This is a name given at birth based on the child's ancestral lineage. It is also known as a big name (Yidi susodi). It is supposed to convey onto the child some essential personal qualities of the ancestor who returns to the community through the birth of the child and after whom the child is named (KEYEWA 1997). Other big names might be given to the child based on particular metaphysical circumstances related to the child's birth. I will elaborate on this below.

**Family name.** This is the equivalent of what is known in Western onomastic systems as surname.<sup>7</sup> It is a name shared by several individuals belonging to the same family. It can be derived from a personal name, a place name, an event name, or even an ethnonym.

**Nickname.** Early childhood name that might describe the observed physical or behavioral characteristics of a child. Some of these characteristics are viewed as negative, while others may be positive and flattering. Sobriquets are usually

<sup>6</sup> ADRIAN KOOPMAN (2009) provides a detailed and informative description of the openness and uniqueness of Zulu personal names.

<sup>7</sup> In everyday Western onomastics the surname is also called last name, but what the Kabye would consider as their last name based on the Kabye onomastic system would be the name acquired during the last initiation rite.

replaced by future names but some stick due to their descriptive relevance or their poetic resonance.

**Youth names.** This category of names is acquired between 15 and 18 years of age. They can be self-bestowed or bestowed on the name bearer by his peers. In an earlier article (BATOMA 2009a) I termed them “pedagogical names”; they are names that either exhort, praise or harangue. They are generally related to essential activities of the community such as labor, love, war, etc.

**Morality names.** This term is literally a misnomer, for the implication of the term is just the opposite of what the name is intended to do, that is, describe all the bad, morally wrong actions and attitudes of the name bearer during his life up to the coinage of the name during the fourth initiation rite (BLANZOUA 2007: 74). The name is usually bestowed by the elders but can also be self-bestowed as an act of confession of one’s past acts sanctioned by the community. These names are normally ephemeral, not surviving the initiation event during which they are bestowed, but some names can survive due to particular features. They may be called morality names because they are the last names taken by an initiate before he enters a phase of life characterized as one of full maturity and wisdom, a life of total maturity and wisdom.

**Apotropaic names** can also be added to this list. They are used as a strategy aimed at drawing attention away from the true self of the name bearer in order to protect him or her from curses and misfortune. Death prevention names used in the case of recurring infant death is the apotropaic name most used in Kabye culture.

Today the Kabye, like many other Africans, bear a mixture of traditional names and foreign names. Most Kabye foreign names are European/colonial names originally imposed by schools and churches as a means of acculturation. Many Kabye also bear Ewe names, especially Ewe day names and teknonyms. These were adopted first by the Kabye of the south and then introduced to the entire Kabye community. One of the consequences of this parallel naming phenomenon<sup>8</sup> is the deconstruction of the Kabye onomastic system, for the new names do not fit into the pattern of the traditional system.

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<sup>8</sup> Parallel naming is a naming practice in which individuals from a social group viewed as economically or culturally inferior add foreign names or nicknames to their indigenous names in order to connote positive socio-cultural or religious values. The Ewe, due to their geographical location on the coast came into contact with the Europeans before inland ethnic groups like the Kabye did. Due to this historic fact, the first European schools were opened in the coastal region. The Europeans also established businesses and built better infrastructure there. All this reinforced the perception that the imposed Western culture was superior to African traditional cultures. By extension, the culture of the Ewe who lived on the coast was perceived as superior to that of the ethnic groups that lived in the inland.





### 3.3. Categories of names

Because the choice of automatic names I referred to above is more constrained by external circumstances than the non-automatic names, the former tend to have less of an intentional meaning and, therefore, have a limited interpretative scope beyond the denotational function. To be sure, automatic names have cultural or religious meanings, but these are often concealed or forgotten. For example, a birth name such as *Masaabalo* denotes the fact that the individual named is male and was born on Saturday; but it also connotes the religious characteristics of the day and invokes the protection of the divinities presiding over that day. In that sense, it is a tutelary spirit name. Likewise, a twin name such as *Naka* denotes the fact that the individual named is a female twin, but it also points to the special, sacred nature of the birth and evokes the particular attitude that one ought to adopt while dealing with the named individual.

## 4. Functions of secrecy

It is important to distinguish two related concepts of secrecy when dealing with Kabye personal names. The first concept defines the secrecy of the names themselves, while the second concept defines the secrecy of their meaning.

**4.1.** The first concept subsumes the category of names I termed “big names” or “secret names” above. They are secret in the sense that they are known only to a few members of the community, usually the shaman, the parents and close relatives of the named. Even when big names are known to the community at large their use is infrequent and must be *justifiable*. They are usually deprived of everyday comments that I have termed “onomastic strategies” (BATOMA 2019). The category of secret names includes names that are based on the supernatural or sacred nature of the conditions under which the named individual was born and therefore indicate the metaphysical identity of the named individual. In Kabye society the metaphysical identity of an individual is usually revealed by a shaman during a ceremony which takes place a few days after the birth of the child. Three examples of birth conditions will suffice here.

**An ancestor returns to the family.** This is what in African onomastic literature is known as reincarnation. The term is often falsely understood as the rebirth or physical return of a long departed relative. It should rather be understood as the bestowal or attribution of the ancestor’s moral characteristics or qualities onto the newborn, who is expected to live up to the meaning of the name.

**The Child is given to a couple.** In Kabye society couples who can’t have children due to infertility or recurring infant death can undergo a religious process in order to have a child or stop infant mortality. The child born as a result of the parents having sought help from noumenal forces is named after the donor forces or the sacred place where the request was made.

**The child chooses his or parents.** Children in their pre-world life as spirits can choose their parents, that is, they can decide through which living humans they want to come to this world. I am providing below a narrative as a way of illustration of this third condition. It is worth pausing here to explain the difference between a spirit and other noumenal entities such as ancestors. Ancestors are also spirits but they are spirits that bear the names they had as human beings. The spirits, on the other hand are nameless. They may be conceived of as ancestors who have become nameless due to the effacing of their names from the memory of the living and who have therefore lost their identity.

**4.2.** The second concept of secrecy is related to the meaning of the name rather than the name itself. The meaning of the name is secret in the sense that it is intentionally hidden by the name giver. This is the name giver's meaning that is different from the linguistic and cultural meaning. It can only be understood on the pragmatic level of onomastic communication. It hinges on the intentions of the name giver within the context of indirect communication. These intentions may be directed toward any particular member of the community other than the named individual, or to noumenal entities such as God, ancestors, spirits, etc. Because indirect onomastic communication tends to be polemical, the real addressee of the name giver's message is indirectly interpellated (BATOMA 2009a).

I will use CHARLES PIOT's article on the cultural practices illustrative of the secrecy permeating Kabye society mentioned above. According to PIOT these practices have three characteristics in common. First, they refer to an event that is either named or unnamed. Second, they contain a concealed content, a secret message that is intended for specific members of the community. Third, the purpose of the secret message that they contain is to shame the addressee and at the same time protect the addresser. I will focus here on the Kabye naming practices which PIOT analyzes using the name *Maduesso*, which literally means "I feed God". The following passage sums up his analysis: "I feed God refers to the fact that the mother of the named gave birth to several babies who died in infancy. »I feed God« was born and survived. The name signifies the fact that this mother kept giving her babies back to the creator God from whom the children are said to originate. But the name does more than simply evoke this mother's suffering. It also implicitly accuses her co-wife of having caused the previous deaths: babies don't simply die (one doesn't voluntarily »feed« God), and serial deaths like these suggest witchcraft" (1993: 358).

Three levels of meaning of the name *Maduesso* can be identified in PIOT's analysis. The first is the literal or linguistic level accessible to any person conversant in the Kabye language. But "I feed God" might not have any



onomastic import without the cultural context. It might even sound pretentious to anyone foreign to Kabye culture. PIOT indicates the cultural meaning by providing the context in which the name was coined and given to the child. The unnamed but culturally guessable<sup>9</sup> event here is the recurring death of the infant children of *Maduesso*'s mother and the suffering that results from this misfortune. The cultural meaning also implies that there is someone behind the deaths of of *Maduesso*'s mother's deceased children, for "babies don't simply die".

PIOT's analysis reveals a third level of meaning: beyond the linguistic and cultural meaning of the name *Maduesso* there is a message that can be construed as saying, "I know who is responsible for the death of my children (namely my co-spouse)", but this message is conveyed in an indirect or allusive way, for only people initiated in the situation are the real addressees of the message and only they can decipher the intended meaning of the name. The rest of the community will only perceive the cultural meaning of the name, not the interpellative meaning.<sup>10</sup> The interpellative meaning implies accusations of the co-spouse and an injunction to respond by acknowledging her responsibility and taking actions to stop it.

The co-spouse could also deny the accusations; but whatever her response, it cannot be overt, for bringing the issue into the open would require proving that *Maduesso*'s mother was "talking" to her, in other words that she is the addressee of the accusations. As I showed in BATOMA (2009b), the strategic advantage of indirect communication is that the burden of proof is on the accused, not the accuser.

The function of the secret meaning of names as analyzed here is to shame the interpellated (in this example the co-spouse of *Maduesso*'s mother). But the shaming function of secrecy in Kabye names analyzed by CHARLES PIOT<sup>11</sup> is only one important function of the secrecy of names, one that has been analyzed by several African onomasticians including this author.<sup>12</sup> This article shows that there is another function, notably that of respecting the bearer of the name and protecting his person of true identity. This function is often attested in names

<sup>9</sup> PERE-KEWEZIWA (2004) describes and classifies the cultural patterns of the lexico-semantical motivations of Kabye anthroponyms.

<sup>10</sup> Interpellation is the verbal act by which a personal name is used to summon the name bearer to act or behave in a certain way. The injunction can also be directed to other community members than the name bearer. Giving a name to a person and thereby conveying a message to that person or other members of the community is also an interpellative act.

<sup>11</sup> The scope of the conclusions that PIOT draws from Kabye secrecy goes beyond the shaming function highlighted here. It includes the Kabye's epistemic stance on knowledge and its impact on the dynamics of social communication.

<sup>12</sup> See AGBLEMAGNON 1969, BATOMA 2009b, OBENG 1999, SHOTTMAN 1993.

that are called big names or real names, or sometimes secret names. Those are names that index the metaphysical origin of the name bearer and therefore call for protective naming practices.

### 5. Narrative: Pudumawari (“It followed me”)

This name sums up the story surrounding the conditions of the name bearer’s birth. The origin of the name was revealed by the newborn during a special interrogation undertaken by the shaman of the village assisted by a group of elders. The elders wanted to know about the child’s pre-world identity and his reasons for coming to the visible world in this particular village to this particular family. As a spirit inhabiting the invisible world, he observed over several years the life of a girl named *Cilahalo* and came to like her, to the point of wanting to come to this world through her. But before he reached his final decision he thought it would be wise to put her human and female qualities to a test. As a bodiless spirit, he could take on different physical forms or incarnations in order to interact with the visible world. So, he put her to a test and observed her behavior over a long period of her life time.

First step. One late afternoon, as *Cilahalo* was returning home from the market where she had sold palm nuts and bought some condiments for the evening meal, this spirit appeared to her in the form of a little dog. As if being chased by an invisible foe, he crossed directly in front of *Cilahalo*, causing her to fall and her purchases to be spread all over the place. She painfully got up, gathered her belongings and looked at the small dog now sitting still and staring at her. Instead of throwing a pebble or a piece of wood at him as any other woman would do, she threw him one of the doughnuts that she had bought for her siblings. Instead of anger and revenge, she displayed an attitude that conveyed kindness, generosity and patience.

Second step. *Cilahalo*’s overall moral conduct and her observance of society’s precepts was the second aspect of her personality that the spirit observed. Whether it was her contribution to her family’s life, or her exemplary participation in the cooperative work with her peers, or her helpful attitude towards the elders and the weak, *Cilahalo* always fulfilled her obligations willingly and to the best of her abilities. During the female initiation rite that ushered in her marriage she chose the name *Pa’ntchana*, which means “even if you were the most handsome man in the world”, the subtext being “I would not marry you for that reason alone, you would have to have additional qualities”. This erotic name<sup>13</sup> indexes

<sup>13</sup> In Kabye culture, erotic names are hypocoristic names bestowed on young people in the context of initiation rites. They contain cryptic messages used by the initiates to express their feelings toward, and personal approach to relationships with the opposite sex.



a sense of pride, self-confidence and self-esteem, qualities that the spirit saw as factors contributing to the equilibrium of a woman's character and personality.

Third step. The third and final critical observation came after *Cilahalo* had her second child. The spirit observed with admiration the love and dedication with which she raised her children and the important educational lessons she learned from the trial and error method she applied while raising her first child. What also appealed to the spirit was her attitude of justice and fairness toward other kids when they were playing with her own children.

The above personal qualities were the reasons why the spirit decided to make the definitive move from the spirit world to this physical world through *Cilahalo*. Based on this revelation during the interrogation by the elders, *Cilahalo* proposed to name her third child *Pudumawari* ("It followed me").

## 6. Conclusion

I have explored here how secrecy plays a role in Kabye personal names, emphasizing for this discussion names known as "big names" or "secret names" in Kabye culture. These names are intrinsically based on Kabye metaphysics, according to which children come to this world with a pre-world identity considered to be their true identity. "Big" or "secret" names constitute a socio-cultural strategy for protecting these identities. Related to this concept of secrecy is that of the secrecy surrounding the meaning of these names rather than the names themselves. This implies that there are hidden intentions on the part of the name giver or user. The act of coining or bestowing a name is an indirect address to a community member, and this form of communication often but not always is framed within a conflict-laden situation. Only individuals initiated into the situation can understand the name giver's secret meaning. In conflict-laden situations, name givers use the secret meaning of a name as a verbal strategy to avenge themselves, while at the same time shielding themselves from possible accusations or recriminations on the part of the addressee. Both concepts of secrecy within the system of Kabye personal names illustrate and specify the cross-cultural attitude mentioned in the introduction.

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## Abstract

The Kabye, a community of farmers who inhabit a mountainous region of Northern Togo in West Africa, bear a synchronic plurality of names, each name contributing to the expression of the multifaceted identity of its bearer. I focus here on a category of personal names which comprises names described by



the Kabye themselves as “big names”, “real names,” or “secret names.” These names are secret because they are often unknown to the public, and even when known, they are rarely used in daily communicative exchanges. They are said to express the true identity or selfhood of the name bearers, whereas the other categories of names have more of a social function as they can be rhetorical, polemical or pedagogical. After a brief description of the Kabye community and their onomastic system, I explore and illustrate the metaphysics behind the bestowal of Kabye ontological names.

**Keywords:** ontological names, secret names, personal identity, Kabye onomastics



*Ifeoma Udoeye*

## ***The Semantics of Ọka Dying Anthroponyms***

### **1. Introduction**

Nigeria is a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual nation with more than 400 languages according to AITO (2005). In 1840, the missionaries led by Bishop Ajayi Crowther popularized western education in the south-eastern part of Nigeria where Ọka and the Igbo people in general live. The missionaries introduced western education and banished certain aspects of Igbo culture which they felt were barbaric such as worshipping of idols, killing of twins and outcast system. The contact equally affected the pattern of naming; Christian names became popular; as NNAMDI-ERUCHALU (2018) observes, westernization has affected Igbo people so much that some of them have abandoned their surnames because they believe that their traditional surnames which are related to idols could be the cause of stagnation in their life, hence, they adopt Christian names hoping that such a name will help them to make progress in life. In the same light, UDEOLISA (2010) states that the introduction of Christianity has led to the gradual death of Igbo naming ceremony. Baptism has now taken over from the traditional Igbo naming ceremony hence, traditional names have been relegated to the background and children now bear Christian names popularly called Baptism name. Similarly in Ọka, the belief in God Almighty by Ọka people, is seen in the proliferation of churches in the town. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the number of churches increased, from having few churches to having churches in every nook and cranny of the town. Even though Christianity has taken away most of the traditional beliefs of the people, both young and old still believe in the efficacy of the gods. In Ọka, only elderly men and women worship the said gods and still have individual deities at their homes which are kept in conspicuous corners. However, because of Christianity many young people shy away and totally avoid the old people who still practice this religion since such people are regarded as being mean and are also agents of the devil. The gradual death of traditional names is not peculiar to Igbo names as Yoruba names are equally affected. OGUNWALE and BAMIGBADE (2014) observe that Yoruba elites drop their traditional names due to religious fanaticism and influence of western education. Dropping of names appear not to be peculiar to educated people alone but also common among the younger generation. In Batonu, young people abandon their traditional names because they see traditional names as being paganistic (FAKUADE et al. 2010). IKOTUN and ALADESANMIO (2014) lament that the advent of Christianity into Yoruba land has led to the dearth of traditional Yoruba names which reflected circumstances surrounding the birth



of the child, socio-economic status and culture. Yoruba personal names were also drawn names of deities such as *Ifa* 'god of divination', *Sango* 'god of thunder' and *Ogun* 'god of iron'. However, such names have been replaced with Christian names and are no longer in existence. OLATUNJI, ISAAC, NOAH, MUHAMMED and SULAIMAN (2015) observe that naming is the uniting tool among Africans because African names are instruments used for understanding the cultural reality and world view of the people. A name of an individual tells stories about the bearer, his dreams and aspirations and also his parents' belief system. Most African names reflect their singular belief in reincarnation. This point is taken up in several further notes below.

### 1.1. Background: The naming ceremony

Naming ceremony is a process of assigning names for identity.<sup>1</sup> Ceremonial naming is not peculiar to Oka people. It is an element of culture that is widespread in other cultures such as Yoruba culture as studied by ADEOYE (1972), EKUNDAYO (1977), AKINNASO (1980) and IKOTUN (2011). In Oka, naming ceremony takes place twenty-nine days after the birth of the child. Before the child is given a name, necessary traditional rites are performed; the baby is taken to the front gate of the compound. There, he would meet an elderly woman who would pretend to shave the baby's hair (although the baby's hair had been shaved 16 days before). Water is poured on the baby's head and those present would eat yam with stew. After the meal, the child's mother would be asked to bring the child to the Obu (ancestral home). The oldest male member of the family (the head) would receive the child outside of the obu, take the child round the obu once, before taking the child in. The child could not be taken into the obu before the ceremony. The father of the child would have earlier told the family the name he wishes to call the child; he would call the child by the name, bless the child and give the child a gift. He could also give the child his own name and hand the child over to his mother. The child's grandparents and parents-in-law also take part in naming the child; thereafter, each person gives the baby a name according to his or her experience and hand over various gifts to the baby, no matter how small the gift might seem. The gift is called *mkpoiruoman'uwa* meaning 'starting off well on its earthly journey'. At the end of the day, the baby ends up having many names. The baby eventually bears only one or two names that are significant, but where none is considered to be significant, that is, if any of the names do not indicate or suggest circumstances surrounding the birth of the baby or give a historical

<sup>1</sup> The naming ceremony is not peculiar to the Oka people, but is widespread in Igboland. However, every community has its unique way of assigning names to children. For Oka people, names are assigned on the 29<sup>th</sup> day, but, for Igbo people in general, names are given on the 12<sup>th</sup> day after the child's birth.

picture of his/her family background, the child would take the name of the market day (the name of the deity)<sup>2</sup> upon which day the child is born which is comparable to English days of the week (OFFORDILE 2006: 45).

## 1.2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical model for the present work is Socio-Semiotic Theory propounded by HALLIDAY (1978). HALLIDAY views culture as a set of integrated semiotic systems, of which language is one. Therefore, language is part and parcel of a society and it is a means of making meaning. He views language as a socio-semiotic item because language cannot be used in a vacuum, it must be used in a social context using signs. CHANDLER (2003) defines semiotics as the study of signs. A sign could be image, music, object, flowers, or clothes. ECO (1976) believes that a sign could be anything. One of the most interesting and closely related dimensions of semiotics is its relationship with semantics which is the study of the relationship between sign vehicles and their designate (MORRIS 1938/1970). The first semiotic study was done by SAUSSURE, in his posthumous book titled “Course in General Linguistics” in 1916. He gave the distinction between signifier and signified. He believed that the meaning of a sign solely depends on its relationship to other signifiers. He further argues that some signs are arbitrary. Furthermore, BARTHES (1977) incorporated *denotation* (the non-coded message) and *connotation* (the coded message) into Semiotics which correspond to Saussure’s *signifier* and *signified* respectively. From sections 3.1.–3.15., the researcher will discuss Socio-Semiotic Theory as it relates to Ọka personal names, their meaning and culture.

## 1.3. Literature review

Proper names are definite reminders of the existence of an entity. Many Ọka names are indexical in the sense that they denote an individual by virtue of their relation to the circumstances of their birth or other matters of relevance. Names are not just tags, they carry a lot of message about the individual and his/her world view. Naming is a global phenomenon which has deep cultural, historical, social and religious implications. For Ashantis and Akans of Ghana, names determine the behavior of the bearer (AGYEKUM 2006). Similarly, for the Nandi of Kenya, names reflect their past pastoral nomadic life (CHOGE 2006). Among the Igbo people names are symbolic. Igbo personal names reflect joy, sorrow, death, seasons of the year, cultural factors, wealth, individual’s place of birth, control of individual’s destiny and recalling or remembering the past.

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note here that the days of the week are the names of the gods that govern the activities of each market day. We have four market days in Ọka and Igbo in general; they are: Eke, Oye, Avbo, Nkwo more details are discussed in 3.1.



Names are part of the lexicon of a language, therefore, names like languages can die when the last bearer dies with the name or when there are few elderly bearers of such names. Therefore, the motivation for this study is to document those names borne by elderly people before they become extinct.

Many Nigerian scholars have written on anthroponyms. OLAOSUN and ARUA (2012) in their study on the semiotics of pet names in Yoruba and Igbo cultures posit that names in both Yoruba and Igbo are meaningful instruments used to change societal ills. They further observe that pet names are also used for the transmission of culture. The work is similar to the present work in the area of how names are used for cultural purposes and broadly similar in the choice of theoretical framework. However, the theoretical framework is also different. While they used the semiotic analytical approach of MARTIN and RINGHAM (2000), the present researcher adopts the Socio-Semiotic Theory of HALLIDAY (1978) to analyze the dying names of *Ọka*.

ODEBODE and ONADIPE (2011) examine the pragmatics of *Abiku* (*Abiku* denotes a child who dies repeatedly before puberty). An *Abiku* continues to move round the cycle of constant (birth, death and rebirth) names among Yoruba, they observe that *Abiku* names are not just used for identifying an individual, but, the names have historical, social, spiritual and psychological influence on the bearers and the name givers. *Abiku* is similar to the idea of incarnation and *Abiku* children are believed to bring poverty or fortune to the family such a child is born into and their names reflect death-life cycle or any other name that could be used to either appease or deceive the spirit so that the child may live and not die. The present work is similar in the area of the culture which is incarnation.

FILANI and MELEFA (2014) employ a socio-semiotic approach to the study of nicknames among students in a Nigerian university, and demonstrate how students creatively blend both Nigerian and English cultures in forming nicknames in order to reform and reinvent their identity. Their work is similar to the present work in the sense that it uses Socio-Semiotic Theory but the present work looks specifically at dying names in *Ọka*.

ONUMAJURU (2016) presents a semantic and pragmatic analysis of Igbo names. She groups names structurally into lexical, sentential and phrasal structures. She discovered that some Igbo names are difficult to understand except by the name givers or sometimes by the owners of the names because of the morphological process of clipping which makes the names lose their meaning and sometimes it is difficult for the name bearers to remember their full names. Her work is similar to the present work because of the semantic aspect; however, her analytical approach is different. The present work classifies *Ọka* names according to their meaning and the cultural implications of such names.

IBEMESI (2011) explores the origin of Igbo surnames, past and present. He observes that Christian religion and western education actually brought the idea of surnaming into Igbo cosmology in order to distinguish one person from another unlike the former Igbo use of personal names only. He further observes that the reason for the gradual death of personal names of parents rather than grand-parents is because personal names of our grandparents were used as surnames and passed from generation to generation, but our parents' personal names are often not passed from one generation to another. The work is related to the present work because it looks at dying personal names but also differs in the area of semantic classification of dying names.

Igbo names may relate to emotional events, circumstances, attitudes, gratitude to the gods, to the ancestors, or even to space. They may also relate to reincarnation or to socio-cultural events in general. Many Igbo scholars have analyzed Igbo names. Such previous works like MBABUIKE (1996), AKINREMI (2006), KAMMELU (2008), OKAFOR et al. (2008) and others will be used as a springboard for classifying Qka names. However, no research seems to have been conducted on Igbo proper names in relation to Qka names. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first effort in this direction.

## **2. Methodology**

A socio-demographic method was adopted for data collection. The population selected for this study was male and female indigenes whose age range was between seventy-five and ninety years and children between the ages of seven and twenty years. The number of men is higher because women in traditional Igbo society were not allowed to name their children. Assigning names was the sole responsibility of men particularly during naming ceremonies also; men are regarded as the custodians of culture. Simple structured interview was employed to elicit information from informants on Qka names, the motif behind the names and cultural undertones. However, because the elderly informants were not literate enough to write, 50 printed invitation cards for naming ceremonies were also used in order to find out the current naming patterns. The elderly informants were also asked to provide the meaning of each name given (in linguistic research it is believed that older people have better linguistic knowledge about the naming practice). 10 men and 5 women farmers were used for elicitation of information using purposive sampling technique. The reason for choosing farmers rather than the educated ones is that they have not had contact with other people and they still have all the names and their meaning without any dilution. One hundred and forty-five Qka names were collected in all and the names were grouped semantically.

### 3. Results

The data collected from informants were classified semantically into fifteen different categories such as: market days, names of gods, love for children, death, sorrow and suffering, philosophy of life, belief in God Almighty, complexion, remembrance and reincarnation, circumstances surrounding the birth of the child, parent's financial condition, state of polygamous homes, cultural attributes and hopes and aspirations. The categories were established based on the earlier works of other Igbo scholars such as MBABUIKE (1996), AKINREMI (2006), KAMMELU (2008), OKAFOR et al. (2008) who had earlier classified Igbo names into different categories. One interesting aspect of Ọka names that will become apparent in the illustrated examples of the categories is the *Nwa* prefix. This underlines the importance Ọka people attach to childbirth as a source of lineage and inheritance (ANAGBOGU 2000).

#### 3.1. Names relating to market days

In the traditional Igbo setting, there are four market days which make up the traditional week. The market days according to MBABUIKE (1996), are names of gods that rule over human beings. In addition, these gods are believed to govern heaven and also are patrons of the particular market days ([www.africanet.com](http://www.africanet.com)). Similarly, in Ghana, the days of the week are gotten from the names of the deities, and their days of worshipping automatically become the names of the bearers (AGYEKUM 2006: 213).

In Ọka, these market days are replicated in different parts of the village and each market day has a guardian god guiding it. 1. *Nkwo* market day usually takes place simultaneously at two different venues, each with its god. The *Nkwo* market located at Amachalla village has *Imoka* as the guardian, while the one located at Umueri village has *Nwokposhi* as the guardian. 2. *Eke* is located at Amikwo village and has Iyiokpu as the guardian idol. 3. *Oye* market day usually takes place concurrently at Umuogbu and Nkwelle. The guardian god of OyeUmuogbu is *Nwovbuybe*, while the guardian god for OyeNkwelle is *Okanube*. 4. *Afvo* market takes place at the same time in three different villages: AfvorUmubelle has *Agulu* as its guiding idol, Umeri has *Agbala* as the guardian idol, and Umudioka has *Nkpukpa* as its guardian idol (cf. OFFORDILE 2006: 18).

These market days are reflected in the names that Ọka people bear. Examples of such names are:

Names	Market day	Gender	Meanings
Nwankwọ	Nkwo	Male	Child of Nkwo
Nwangbọgọnkwọ	Nkwo	Female	Beautiful (girl) child of Nkwo
Nwankwọdụnmā	Nkwo	Female	A child of Nkwo is good
Mgbankwọ	Nkwo	Female	Beautiful girl of Nkwo
Nwaụgonkwọ	Nkwo	Female	Beautiful (girl) child of Nkwo
Nwānyankwọ <sup>3</sup>	Nkwo	Female	Woman of Nkwo market day

Names	Market day	Gender	Meanings
Nwēke	Eke	Male	Child of Eke market day
Nwangbọgọke	Eke	Female	Beautiful girl of Eke
Èkedùnmā	Eke	Female	Eke market is good (girl)
Èkemmā	Eke	Female	Eke market day is good (girl)
Èkegbò	Eke	Female	Let Eke market solve it (girl)

Names	Market day	Gender	Meanings
Nwoyè	Oye	Male	Child of Oye
Nwangbọgọoyè	Oye	Male	Beautiful girl of Oye
Oyèàmaka	Oye	Male	Oye market day is good
Nwùgoye	Oye	Male	Beautiful girl of Oye
Nwaoyèokāèbède	Oye	Male	A child born on Oye day. <i>Ebede</i> is a market square

Names	Market day	Gender	Meanings
Nwangbọgọàvbọ	Avbo	Female	Beautiful girl of Avbo
Nwāvbọ	Avbo	Male	Child of Avbo
Nwāvbọkā	Avbo	Male	A child born on Avbo market day
Mgbāvbọ	Avbo	Female	Beautiful girl of Avbo market day

<sup>3</sup> In *Nwānyankwọ*, the letter <a> instead of <i> as would be found in standard Igbo is one of the peculiarities of Ọka dialect.



Apart from *Nwankwọ*, *Nwéke*, *Nwoyè*, *Nwáfvpkā* and *Nwāvbọ* all other names are names assigned to the feminine gender. OKEBIE (2006: 48) sums it up by saying that often, these market days are used either to mark one's birthday or as a reminder of the bearer's age. Contrary to OKEBIE's opinion, it is difficult to use a market day as a reminder of one's age. Rather, it reminds one of the market day the person was born on. One characteristic of all the names above is the use of the word meaning 'beauty' for females, which is a sign that is connotative in this context. In this context, beauty is associated with fragility of the females. In Igbo culture, the woman is the weaker sex and is often considered to be lacking in sense. This is the reason why women are given such names while men bear names which will showcase bravery and fearlessness. By assigning such names to males and females respectively, the name givers have automatically initiated their sex roles at an early age. This is well encapsulated in Igbo proverb *mma nwanyi wu di* which means 'the beauty of any woman is the husband'. This implies that no matter how beautiful a lady is, her beauty is incomplete without a husband. Hence, beauty is the signified while husband is the signifier. The beauty will always remind the girl that a husband will make her culturally accepted in the society. In recent times, Ọka people refer ironically to any individual who is shabbily dressed as *Nwangboeke* thus, making the few name bearers to feel that they are old and are no longer accepted by the young generation.

### 3.2. Names reflecting the gods of the land

In a typical Igbo setting, every family has its *Obu Alusi* 'individual deity' and the deities are worshipped and served by the people. Each deity has its own function. In Ọka, the principal god is Imọka, others are Òvbùvbè and Àkpùtákpù which are worshipped by villages. Some others are Agụnâbọ, and Àlọ. Imọkā is regarded as the most powerful of all the gods in Ọka. It is even celebrated by a festival up till this day. It is the only cultural relic of the deities among the present day Ọka and the people still revere it.

These names of gods are also reflected in the personal names given by Ọka people. Examples of names reflecting these are:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwaimọkā	Male	Child of Imoka
Nwòsuòvbùvbè <sup>4</sup>	Male	A Child who is dedicated to god of Ovbùvbè
Nwaụdūòvbùvbè	Male	A child born during the celebration of god of Ovbùvbè

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwâkpùtâkpù	Male	A child born on god of Akputakpu day
Agụnâbò	Male	A name given to a child in honour of the Umuzocha deity known as Agunabo
Alọevbùnè	Male	‘Let my thought not disappear’; this is a name given to a child who continues to look after the personal god of the family

In Igbo and Ọka cosmology, gods are usually represented through ‘images’ and ‘objects’. CHANDLER (2003) opines that signs have meaning and the objects and images in this social context signify something which is the efficacy and powers of the gods. Men are often given such names because the culture makes them to appear to be strong and brave. The deities are also feared and believed to cause affliction and misfortune to people who do not follow the right path or who commit any form of abomination. The cultural implication of assigning names of gods to children is for protection and provision of their needs

### 3.3. Names reflecting belief in God Almighty

God in Igboland is known as *Chukwu* ‘great spirit’. God created the world and everything. He is the creator and finisher, the omnipotent and the supernatural being. AGYEKEM (2006: 222) and KAMMELU (2008: 212) grouped names relating to God as *theophoric* by which they mean relating to the supernatural in general. However, the researcher is of the view that these names should be brought under the group of belief in God Almighty. The reason is that the Ọka people extol God in their names. KAMMELU (2008) opines that names relating to belief in Almighty God (Theophoric) outnumber all other names. Examples of names reflecting belief in God are:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Ọnyeyilichukwu	Female/male	Who looks like God
Nwachinwè	Female	God owns
Chigbâtōasō	Male	God come to my rescue
Chidèkwe (m)	Male	God keep me
Nnàtùanyā	Male	May God look after my child
Nwôkikè	Male	Child of God
Chibùogwù	Male	God is my medicine
Ifeagāchukwu	Female/male	Nothing is beyond God
Chukwuezè	Male	God the king
Ikpedibechūkwa	Male	Judgement is in God’s house

Names	Gender	Meanings
Chiàkù	Male	God of prosperity
Chukwuezùgo	Male	God is sufficient
Chiaghànàm	Male	Let God not pass me
Chimèlù	Male	God did it
Chinwukò	Male	God owns the mighty
Chinwùba	Male	God owns all riches

The names above refer to the image of God Almighty. The meaning of the names is in relationship with the understanding of God as the omnipotent spirit. However, the concept of ‘God’ is a western concept. It does not have any cultural undertone. Traditionally, the people believe in *chi* ‘god’ and everybody has his personal *chi*. Even though, the names relate to Almighty God they are still on the verge of extinction because the young ones believe that the names are old, the names do not sound like English names and they are no longer fashionable to be used among the present day Òka.

### 3.4. Names showing love for children

Marriage is the lawful living together of the man and woman from different families for the purpose of begetting children after some rites have been performed (UKO 2002: 2). The definition above, gives an insight into the thought process of the Igbo man. From time immemorial, the Igbo man has always been patriarchal in nature. When a girl gets married, within the next nine months, families, friends, well wishers and even enemies begin to look forward to celebrating the birth of a child. MBABUIKE (1996: 53) opines that newly married couples engage in oath – taking by the two families in order for the newly married to start procreating. One of the happiest moments of an Igbo family is the birth of a child. This must be the reason why an Igbo man is polygamous in nature; for it is believed that having many children is a show of wealth.<sup>5</sup> It is also believed that a child belongs to everybody; therefore, everybody has the right to either correct or reprimand the child when he/she goes astray. Money can buy anything except children. In Òka, the news of delivery of a baby sends the husband into merriment and celebration. The Òka man believes that a child is important; a child eventually looks after the parents in old age, buries them; continues with the family lineage. This explains why there are no old people’s homes in Òka. Examples of names relating to love for children are:



<sup>5</sup> In recent times, particularly among elites, there is resentment about having many children. This could be attributed to the economic situation in the country.

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwakàshì	Male	A child is the greatest thing to have
Nwôrà	Male	A child belongs to the community
Nwakàegô	Female	A child surpasses wealth
Nwaàmàka	Female	Having children is good
Nnônyèlum	Male	A child has come to stay with me
Nwadùnkpà	Male	A child is important
Nwîgwedụnmā	Male	Having many children is good

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwàchèbèlu	Male	Children are good because they will look after you in old age
Nwabūishiàkù	Male	A child is the main property of a man
Nwaàkàùba	Male	A child is better than all the riches
Nwaôgugua	Female/male	A child has come to console me
Nwavūògò	Female	A child is an honour to the parents

The names above have the prefix *nwa-*, which means ‘child’. This is a signifier and a special feature found in most *Ọka* names. The name *Nwaôgugua* ‘a child has come to console me’ is symbolic because it is often given to children whose parents have been married for many years without conceiving or have been having stillbirths. The surviving child is now a comforter.

### 3.5. Names relating to belief in male succession

The Igbo believe so much in the continuation of life. The fate of a married woman’s home with only female children remains unpredictable until she gives birth to a male child; then she will be accepted by her husband, his extended family, his *umụnna* ‘agnate’ and even the woman’s parents. According to MBABUIKE (1996: 60), “a family without a male child is heading for extinction and a person without a child is inconsequential”. Examples of names reflecting male succession are:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwajiobu <sup>6</sup>	Male	My child holds my lineage
Òbuadà	Male	May my lineage not fall

<sup>6</sup> *Nwajiobu* is not just a name, but it is a belief held by every Igbo man irrespective of his academic achievements. In this present day, when a man is told that his wife has been delivered of a baby girl, it sends the man to a depressive mood, particularly if they have no male child yet in the family. This is an indication that the girl child is not as accepted as the male child is in the society.



Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwokēabjia	Male	A son has come
Nwōbukāibè	Male	Lineage that is greater than the others
Òbùevbùne	Male	Let my lineage not be lost

*Obu* ‘lineage’ is culturally significant not just in Oka but also in Igboland. *Obu* is the nucleus of the family even though it usually denotes to a small building separately erected and situated in the compound where the husband, the head of the family, stays and receives guests; it is also seen as the symbol of authority. It connotes social, economic and political ideologies of Igbo leadership. It is the centre of all Igbo family life. The names in the category above all represent the central believe that the first son will replace the father after death and continue with the family name and tradition. It is a taboo for a woman to inherit the *obu*; a woman can inherit landed properties of her father but never his *obu*.

### 3.6. Names relating to remembrance and reincarnation

The Igbo believe so much in remembering the dead and reincarnation. The dead family members are believed to reincarnate into the families that they were part of when alive. Once a child is born, he is examined thoroughly to determine any physical traits such as birth marks, shape of the nose, eyes, lips and even behaviour to determine who has come back. Sometimes, a diviner is called to help in detecting who the child reincarnated from. If a male child reincarnated a female, it is considered as an insult (ILOGU 1974). Names that reflect the act of incarnation are:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwandùmmūqo	Male	A child of the spirit
Nwasodi	Female	A child who rejects husbands, i.e. a child who incarnates and dies each time she wants to get married or advances to the age of getting married
Nwanna	Male	My father’s child

*Nwandùmmūqo* and *Nwasodi* are names typically given to children who are believed to have incarnated. Culturally, they are known as *Ogbanje* while in Yoruba culture they are known as *Abiku*, which ODEBODE and ONADIPE (2011) termed as ‘magical realism’. Such children bring either fortune or poverty into the home. In Oka, one easy way of identifying the female *Ogbanje* was her inability to conceive or frequent miscarriages and stillbirth. For some, they will not want to get married; even if they eventually get married, their spirit will kill

the husband, and names are assigned to appease the spirit or notify people about the child's heritage. *Ndùmmūọ* signifies 'spirit' and *Nwa* signifies 'child' the names are said to be connotative. A few elderly people who still bear the names above have changed their names to *Nwachukwu* 'child of God'.

### 3.7. Names indicating the complexion of the child

Usually, when a child is born and the child is fair in complexion, the child is considered to be beautiful, and beautiful children are irresistible. In the Igbo language, the two basic colours are *ọ́chá* 'white' and *ọ́jị* 'black', though there are other colours in Igbo beyond the two mentioned. But in English, accommodation is made for other related colours found in human skin according to geographical locations. In reality, skin colours are not just made up of two colours, there are different types of skin colour such as the middle brown often called mulatto, fair skinned, pale skinned, black skinned and very light skinned. But these differences in colour are not captured in Ọka personal names as can be seen in the names below:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwanyanwụ	Female/male	Morning star, implying a fair child
Nneọcha	Female	A mother that is fair
Àgbọnma	Female	Lineage of beautiful people
Ụgọjị	Male	A man that is fair
Ọkòlì	Male	A child that is dark in complexion

Culturally, women are known to be fair which symbolizes beauty, while men are meant to be dark which symbolizes strength. But, when a man becomes fair, such a man is regarded as being weak and fragile like women who cannot undertake serious tasks. The reason is that when the man stays long hours on the farm land under the scorching sun, the man's skin colour will turn into red and such a man will receive sympathy from people the same way as women. Culturally, fair women are seen as beautiful women who will get married to a wealthy man because of her complexion so that hard times and life will not affect her complexion in any way.

### 3.8. Financial condition of the parents

Names say a lot about the financial condition of the parents. Some names depict so much wealth around the family, some others reflect how poor a family is. Above all, the Ọka people give names that say a lot about themselves and their financial condition at the time of birth. Examples of names reflecting the financial conditions are:



Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwaàkùà nata	Female	Wealth has come back home
Òbjàgèlì	Female	One that has come to eat, i.e. a child that comes in a time of plenty
Èkwùlùiràbechūkwu	Female	We are not meant to be equal; a name given when the family is experiencing hard times
Nwaàkùka	Female	Child of wealth is great, i.e. for a child born when parents are very rich
Òbjanùjù	Female/male	A child born into wealth

The name *Èkwùlùiràbechūkwu* is symbolic, it shows Òka people's perception of the poor. A poor man is always associated with laziness, because land for cultivation was freely provided but the manpower is not there. So such people are taunted for being poor. The people believe that poverty is self-inflicted.

### 3.9. Names depicting sorrow and agony

Human beings go through pains and anguish. Culture and nature are so unkind to women especially. They are seen as the weaker sex; at the same time, they are made to go through hell in trying to keep the home and be virtuous women as it is written in the Bible. Even during pregnancy, women still participate in farm work. Women bear the brunt of not having children, even though it might be the husband's fault; women suffer a lot from pregnancy and labour-related pains; they also suffer emotional trauma for having stillborn babies. However, suffering is not exclusive to women alone; men do share some sorrows and agony. All these agonies are well captured in the names given to children, portraying a part of one's experience. Some examples include:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Taàbùgbo	Male	Today is still early
Nwaèlutu	Female/male	I have also gotten my own child
Kùtaanya	Female/male	Let's be watching
Nwaòshìnáòmùmù	Female	It is not by having children, but for them to live
Nwikeegbune	Male	Let hardship not kill me
Chètàùyà	Male	Remember my sorrows in life
Nwùyà	Male	A child of sorrow
Nkèmakōnam	Female	Let me not be deprived of mine
Nwandîrikà	Male	Remaining alive surpasses every other thing
Àmànjide	Male	One can't hold a child



The names above symbolize the traditional community at the time when modern technology was not available. Many mothers lost their children due to minor illness, as reflected in *Nwaòshìnàòmụmụ* which shows that the mother had given birth to children in the past but lost them. It signifies hopelessness on the part of the namegiver because the namegiver is not sure that the child will survive since they had a history of losing their children. (It is noteworthy that the researcher observed that some people bearing the name are still alive even though they are elderly now: this means that the child did not die contrary to the connotation of the name.) *Nwúyà* culturally means that the child reminds one of many losses, it could be the death of the husband while the wife was pregnant, or it could be that the woman had several miscarriages and stillbirth before giving birth to the child. *Tààbụgbo* culturally means that having children no matter how late or how many times you miscarried or had a stillbirth is still better than not having children at all. *Kùtaanya* is often given after several attempts at having children and the couple had lost hope of having any. *Nwandirikà* is also a name given when most of the children had died; and *Àmànjìde* is a name given when the family has lost many children. When they eventually give birth to such children, they give a name that will always remind them of what they have gone through in life. Such names mark as indelible reminder for the namegiver: each time they see the child, they remember their sorrow. *Nwaèlutu* culturally signifies that after a long period of waiting and looking unto God the couple eventually get their own child. It is a name often given to a child whose parents had lost hope of having their own child. *Nkèmakōnam* implies that if one has no child, people will torment the individual either by tagging the person a witch or by not allowing the person to come close to other people's children because of the suspicion that such an individual may harm those children out of frustration or jealousy. It is a name given out of joy and appreciation to God for giving them what other people had mocked and humiliated them with. *Chètàùyà* is symbolic. It symbolizes agony and sorrow. In the days when the use of diaries and storage devices were not available, people used days of the week to remember an event (it could be the death or burial of a father, mother, wife, husband or child); the name implies that the day on which the child was born reminds the namegiver of something terrible which had happened on that same day, hence the name is a reminder of a sad event. *Nwikegbune* is a name given to people who come from the lineage of wrestlers who may have died while wrestling or doing a hard job, hence, the namegiver is supplicating that the strength of the individual should not kill him but should make him to live long and do what God created him to do on earth.

### 3.10. Circumstances surrounding the birth of the child

Names under this group reflect the circumstances surrounding the bearer's conception, manner of birth, period of time and even place.

Some names relate to the sequence by which the mother has given birth. In other words, these are names that refer to the order in which children come. Example of such a name is *Nwaĩto* 'the third child'.

Some children are born unexpectedly or before the delivery date, which could be in the latrine or farm.

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwaĩtulu	Male	a child born in the bush
Ofviaelĩ	Male	Let the bush not eat me (for a child born in the bush)
Nwũdũijè	Male	Born on a journey
Nwaijèàmaka	Female	Travelling is good
Ọsọndũagwĩke	Male	Running for one's life is not tiring

Some women during labour may have encountered one difficulty or another that might make them offer sacrifices to gods for safe delivery. Children born under this circumstance bear names such as:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwaọjĩagwu	Male	Kolanut has finished after making sacrifices
Nwaezèjì	Male	A child born after offering sacrifices
Mmuṙnyèlù	Male	A child gotten from sacrifices and spirit
Ngenegbõ	Male	A child gotten from giving sacrifices to the idols

Often, women who may have encountered several deaths in giving birth give their children names like:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwaanaēne	Male	Let us be watching and see if he lives
Nwanoshiike	Male	Let the child stay put after several deaths

Some other women have searched for years for a child but could not find. When they finally get them, they reflect their long waiting in the names given to the child; an example of a name which reflects such incidence is:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwozoigwe	Male	A child from above

### 3.11. Names reflecting the state of polygamous homes in traditional Ọka homes

Polygamy was the order of the day those days in Ọka and the Igbo community in general. Men married many wives who bore many children so that the children will help the husband on his farm. Unfortunately, women always caused trouble for their husbands, making their homes a war front where enmity and constant fighting thrived. Polygamy came with suspicion within families and brought envy, bickering, jealousy, and even witch-hunting. Wives were rivals and each wanted to have the attention and love of her husband all to herself and her children, and each wanted her children to outshine the children of other wives so that the children will be favoured by their father greatly and inherit many of his properties when he dies. In most polygamous homes, there were always conflicts either caused by the fact the husband loves a particular wife and showers love and material things or that wives may be fighting among themselves for witch-hunting one of them by either making the child to die young or preventing her from conceiving. Sometimes, wives may be plotting on how to eliminate their co-wives by poisoning their food. This brewed suspicion within the home and the names are given in the table below:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Àrụ̀tọ̀	Female/male	Love for one another
Ilodigwè	Male	Enemies are many
Amashiilo	Male	I do not know all my enemies
Nwaadùmùònyemmā	Male	Am I good to anybody? i.e. Who really likes me?
Iloagùdòshì	Male	My enemies will not put me down
Mmāēgbūnem	Male	Let my good deeds not kill me
Nwaunǎma	Female	A child born in a home where there is peace
Nwaēmègini	Male	What did I do?
Chigbòolumògù	Male	Let God settle this fight for me
Ositàdinmā	Male	Let it start being better from today
Nwaēkwenùgo	Male	They never believed in me
Ekwutòsi	Female	Stop running me down

The names above are connotative and culturally inspiring. The names evoke emotion too. *Àrūūto* culturally implies that the name giver truly desires to be in the company of other people but cannot because of the suspicion that thrives in polygamous homes; in mingling with step mothers, brothers and sisters one could be killed hence, the name may be a mere wish. *Amashìilo* implies that enemies often disguise themselves as friends; your step brother or sister or mother whom you think is your friend, maybe your enemy and maybe the first to kill you if the need arises. *Ositàinmā* implies that after many bickering, quarrels, accusations and wide consultations (from native doctors and elders), the wives agree to live in peace and not fight among themselves and their husbands; it is considered as a welcomed development. *Nwaèmègini* is a name given where one is accused wrongly. In polygamous homes, when anything happens to anybody, an accusing finger is always pointed at somebody and often a diviner's help is sought. The problem associated with polygamy may have led younger generation of Oka men not to engage in marrying two or more wives. Enmity within homes is no longer there hence, names reflecting such attitude are no longer given too.

### 3.12. Names relating to death

Death is an inevitable end. Everyone must surely die be you a king or even a chief priest, but the year and time remain a mystery. Although, we all know that we will die one day, the increasing mortality rate and maternal death rate sometimes make human beings to supplicate to death. Examples of names reflecting death are:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwaonwunne	Male	Victim of the death of a mother
Onwumèlie	Male	Death has won
Onwumāeze	Male	Death knows no king
Ọzoemenē	Male	May it never happen again; usually referring to death
Nwaonwura	Male	Death leave me
Onwuegbūne (m)	Male	Let death not kill me
Egwonwū	Male	Dying scares me

Igbo and Oka girls in general cannot bear names relating to death because the people believe that it is a matter for the tough-hearted men. Death in Igboland could be a period for merriment or mourning. If an elderly man dies, his children or immediate family will slaughter a cow for the community. But if a young person dies, the whole community is thrown into mourning and the men often

go round the community with painted faces (black) and palm fronds across their mouths to symbolize that such death shouldn't be talked about and they find a way of appeasing the gods so that such a thing will not happen again. The names above are signs which signify the death of young persons.

### 3.13. Names that reflect the philosophy of life

Ọka names express their beliefs and values of the people. Examples of these beliefs are:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Mmadùka	Male	Human beings are the greatest
Ùdeòrà	Male	Peace brings good tiding to every body
Okwuikē	Male	Harsh words bring problems
Madùkekè	Male	Only God creates things
Ndùbùishi	Male	Life is the highest
Òdemaàlùechi	Male	Who knows tomorrow?
Ònyemà	Male	Who knows
Nwannom	Male	Let us look at the world
Nwaamankekwa	Male	I do not know what else to say because I have a lot to say

### 3.14. Names that Reflect the Cultural Attributes of the People

Culture is the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterize an institution, organization or group (KROEBER et al. 1952). Igbo tradition boasts of rich cultural heritage, likewise in Ọka many cultural activities such as festivals, *Ozo* title-taking, are organized to entertain, sustain and maintain the culture of the people. Land plays an important role in Ọka culture. The people believe so much in having land; they do not joke with land and land issues have brought so much problems and deaths among the people. Kolanut is one of such cultural items in Ọka and Igboland in general. It is usually called *Ọjī*. *Ọjī* is of great importance in Ọka and it is believed to bring good luck, blessings, unity, prosperity, reproduction, progress and so many other blessings to those who join in blessing and sharing *Ọjī* ([www.amaigbo.plus.com/files/orji](http://www.amaigbo.plus.com/files/orji)). It is a taboo for a woman to climb, pluck or break kolanut. Examples of Ọka names that express some of the above named cultural activities of the people are as follows:

Names	Gender	Meanings
Nwụdùọzō	Male	Child whose father is preparing to take ozo title
Nwaọzō	Male	A child of Ozo title
Nwaọjī	Male	Child of kolanut
Èbèm	Male	Respect
Nwaijèukwụ	Male	Child born during the feast of Ukwu
Nwaàlọ	Male	Child born during the feast of Alo
Nwaibhūde <sup>7</sup>	Male	Ude used to be a festival in Ọka and the name signifies that the child was born on the day of the festival
Nwanjā	Male	A child born during the feast of Nja
Nwaàngbàta	Male	The land should come to my aid
Ọkàọdugbo	Male	It has always been this way from ancient time
Ànàoma	Male	Good land
Nwaemēshiàna	Male	One should not destroy the land with atrocities
Ànikpe	Male	Let the land judge
Ineegbū	Male	A powerful medicine man
Nwaigwèdibja	Male	Child of several generations of traditional medicine men

Social class is often determined by the title an individual holds; hence, *Nwụdùọzō* and *Nwaọzō* names are symbolic and connotative. The names tell people about the bearer's social class that the family belongs to the upper class of *ozo*-title holders. *Ozo*-title holders are regarded as wealthy people because the cost of becoming an *ozo*-titled man is expensive. The individual is expected to slaughter a number of cows and lavishly feed the community for a number of days during the process of the title-taking; also, money is paid to the group to become a part of it. The title is not meant for the poor, it is strictly meant for the rich and the title automatically admits the individual to become one of the custodians of culture which comes with a lot of respect. Additionally, *Nwaigwèdibja* and *Ineegbū* are medicine men popularly known as *dibia* are revered in Igboland. The people believe that medicine men are so powerful that they can cure all types of illness or inflict pain and sickness on people who offend the gods. Sometimes, they are seen as diviners, because for them to proffer any solution to one's illness they must consult the gods of the land; afterwards, rituals are performed to appease the god that brought the illness.

<sup>7</sup> Ọka dialect has certain phonological peculiarities which distinguishes it from the Standard Igbo and other Igbo dialects. The phonological peculiarity is the voiced bilabial fricative /β/ orthographically written as “vb” in (OFFORDILE 1996: 5), and “bh” in (ANAGBOGU 1990: 1).

*Nwaijèùkwù*, *Nwaàlò*, *Nwaibhūde* and *Nwanjā* are also names of traditional Ọka feasts. In Ọka, there is always a feast in every month which falls on the Avbo day and is observed traditionally as a public holiday. However, the feasts are no longer celebrated in Ọka.

### 3.15. Names which express hopes and aspirations for the child

The wishes and expectations of a family for a child may also be expressed in the form of comparing the child with the strength of revered animals, this they believe will make the child grow big and as strong as the animals whose names they are given.

Names	Gender	Meanings
Òdùmôdù	Male	A strong man
Agummadù	Male	Lion of human
Èjìọfọ	Male	Truthful person
Òkoludō	Male	A man of peace
Nwabūezè	Male	A child is a king
Ibhàtù	Male	An exemplary thing or event

Culturally, the people believe that the earliest gods were animals and they had their personal gods. Children of hunters often have their *chi* or personal god of animals slain by their fathers. Again, *Agummadù* is the most revered of all the animals because of its bravery. Hence, parents give their children such names so that, they will become strong and fearless like the animals when they grow up. The animals here are symbolic because the characters of the animals motivate people to name their children after them.

### 3.16. Names currently used in Ọka

Finally, the semantic classification of Ọka anthroponyms agrees with the assumptions of HALLIDAY (1978), CHANDLER (2003) and BARTHES (1977) that signifiers could be anything. Names are actually signs which represent symbols, images, objects and many other things. This view agrees with HALLIDAY's view (1978) that socio-semiotic is a product of social practice. The names that reveal all the social practices of the traditional Ọka people are denotative and connotative because it has literal meanings and underlying meanings. The underlying meaning reveals the cultural practices of the people. Unfortunately, the names are dying as Christianity has gradually led to the gradual death of traditional names. This is evident from the names collected from invitation cards for over a period of two years from January 2016-January 2018 which is now tagged as 'x goes to church'. Such names do not tell any stories about the





people and are not dialect specific; this means that you cannot tell the region of origin of the bearers of the names. The names are widespread and they are not connotative. The names are often shortened so that it will be anglicized (sound like English names) which is the major motivation of the name giver. The shortened forms are the ones the name-bearers are known for and called by. Many do not even know their full names and their meanings. This is in line with the earlier observation by ONUMAJURU (2016) that most Igbo names are difficult to understand because the names have been clipped and their meanings have been lost. Some of the names are listed below:

<b>Names</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Shortened form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Munachimso	Female	Muna ‘me and’	I am with my God
Kamsiyochukwu	Female	Kamsi ‘the way’	The way I begged God
Akachukwu	Male	Aka ‘hand’	The hand of God
Beluolisa	Male	Belu ‘except’	If not for God
Kosisochukwu	Female	Kosi ‘the way’	The way it pleased God
Bugarachukwu	Female/male	Bugara ‘take to’	Carry all things to God
Chiamaka	Female	Amaka ‘fine’	My god is good
Binyelum	Female	Binye ‘stay’	Stay with me
Ifechukwu	Female	Ife ‘light’	Light of God
Daberechukwu	Female/male	Dabe ‘lean on’	Lean on God
Diarachukwudi	Female/male	Diara ‘live’	Live for God
Zikoranachidinma	Female/male	Ziko ‘show’	Show the world that the Lord is good
Kairaluchukwu	Female/male	Kaira ‘leave’	Let’s leave it to God
Gosifechukwu	Female/male	Gosi ‘show’	Show the light of God to all
Hanyechukwu	Female/male	Hanye ‘put in’	Leave it for God
Kaetochukwu	Female	Kaeto ‘praise’	May God be praised

The current trend of naming in Oka does nothing to indicate the culture of the people because the names are found all over Igbo speaking states. One striking thing about the names is the affixation of *Chukwu* in all the names. The names therefore support the claim that Christianity has taken over from indigenous names.

#### 4. Conclusion

Based on the semantic classification shown above, the following conclusions were drawn.

The importance of names in showcasing the uniqueness and socio-historical facts about the people is indisputable. This is line with earlier observations by OLAOSUN and ARUA (2012) that both Igbo and Yoruba names are instruments for transmission of culture and for changing societal ills. Similarly, ODEBODE and ONADIPE (2011) note that names have historical and social influence on the bearers. It is sad therefore that these names are becoming old-fashioned. Such names as *Unoma*, *Nwivude*, *Ekeedu*, *Nwimoka*, etc. are no longer heard among young people. Only aged people bear such names. This implies that the core *Qka* names maybe on the verge of being lost.

Second, Christianity has taken the greater part of us as observed earlier by NNAMDI-ERUCHALU (2018), UDEOLISA (2010), OGUNWALE-BAMIGBADE (2014), FAKUADE-WILLIAM-NNAJI-ODEIGAH (2010), IKOTUN-ALADESANMIO (2014) and also in the table above. People do not want to be associated with any form of deity. In fact, among the elderly who still bear their names, some have been converted to Christianity and so have given up their names. Those called *Nwalusi* ‘child of a deity’ now answer *Nwachukwu* ‘child of God’; those bearing *Nwuya* ‘a child that reminds me of my sorrows’, have given up their names and taken up Christian names like *Chukwuemelie* ‘God has taken away my sorrows’, *Chisom* ‘God is with me’, *Chidinma* ‘God is good’; some have even given up all their Igbo names and now answer either *John* or *Peter*. During the course of data collection, one of the informants, *Nwalusi*, narrated his experiences with regard to his name. He reported that prayer warriors who came to pray for him when he was very sick revealed to him that his sickness was connected with his pagan name. He quickly dropped his name to answer *Nwachukwu* and became healed of his sickness.

## 5. Recommendations

The knowledge of *Qka* proper names could be revived through: teaching of culture in our schools; media, TV programmes; enlightenment campaigns; additionally, the Traditional ruler of *Qka* kingdom should be advised to initiate strategies aimed at recovering those names; parents should be educated on the importance of names as they relate to the preservation of our rich culture; these names should be published in the widely read *Qka* newspaper called “Okwanka”; documented names should be displayed in public libraries, schools and tertiary institutions.

If the names are revived and utilized it would increase the anthroponomasticon of *Qka*, and of Igbo names in general.

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**Abstract**

This paper is a semantic classification of dying personal names in Ọka, a dialect of Igbo, using the Socio-Semiotic Theory of Halliday (1978). The objective is to document those personal names that are gradually going into extinction. A simple structured interview was used for data collection. The collected names were grouped into researcher-selected semantic categories. The study reveals that Ọka personal names are individually meaningful, because most personal names borne by the older generation convey the circumstances surrounding their birth. These, according to the information elicited from informants, could be used to understand the thought processes of people of that generation. Based on the findings, a few recommendations are made. One of them is that a dictionary of Ọka personal names should be written by onomasticians and displayed in the widely read Ọka newspaper called ‘Okwanka’, public libraries, and schools.

**Keywords:** Anthroponyms, Ọka, semantics, connotation, names

## *Authors of the Volume*

BÁBA, BARBARA, University of Debrecen, Department of Hungarian  
Linguistics, bbarb83@gmail.com

BATOMA, ATOMA T., University of Illinois, batoma@illinois.edu

BÖLCSKEI, ANDREA, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in  
Hungary, bolcskeiandrea@kre.hu

DAVID, JAROSLAV, University of Ostrava, Faculty of Arts,  
jaroslav.david@osu.cz

DITRÓI, ESZTER, University of Debrecen, Department of Hungarian  
Linguistics, eszter.ditroi@gmail.com

FONTANOT, ROBERTO, University of the Basque Country, utur69@gmail.com

GALKOWSKI, ARTUR, University of Łódź, artur.galkowski@uni.lodz.pl

HELLELAND, BOTOLV, University of Oslo, botolv.helleland@iln.uio.no

HOUGH, CAROLE, University of Glasgow, carole.hough@glasgow.ac.uk

KATONA, CSILLA, University of Debrecen, Department of Hungarian  
Linguistics, csillkat@gmail.com

KOPACH, ALEH, Belarusian State University, alehkopach@gmail.com

LEVKOYCH, NATALIYA, University of Bremen, levkov@uni-bremen.de

LÓPEZ-LEIVA, CÉSAR, Technical University of Madrid, cesar.lopez@upm.es

MANDOLA, MALGORZATA, Paris Diderot University,  
malgorzata.mandola@univ-paris-diderot.fr

MEMBRADO-TENA, JOAN CARLES, University of Valencia,  
joan.membrado@uv.es

RAPA, SANDA, Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia,  
sanda.rapa@inbox.lv

RESZEGI, KATALIN, University of Debrecen, Department of Hungarian  
Linguistics, kataszakall@gmail.com



SMITH, GRANT W., Eastern Washington University, gsmith@ewu.edu

STOLZ, THOMAS, University of Bremen, stolz@uni-bremen.de

SZABÓ T., ANNAMÁRIA ULLA, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University,  
ulla.szabot@gmail.com

TORT-DONADA, JOAN, University of Barcelona, jtort@ub.edu

UDOYE, IFEOMA, Department of English, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu  
University, i.udoye@yahoo.com

WOJNAROVÁ, SOŇA, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Czech  
Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences,  
sona.wojnarova@centrum.cz