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Contents

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On the Characteristics of Toponymic Communities*

1. Definitions of the term "onomastic community"

1.1. In order to define the term "onomastic community", it is best first to provide a brief overview of which properties sociolinguists have previously emphasized when defining the concept of "linguistic communities". As early as the 1970s, GUMPERZ claimed that linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or they may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve, and these groups are characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs. In other words, their functioning is characterized by a certain kind of adherence to norms (1971). CHOMSKY excluded heterogeneity as a property of ideal speaker-listener communities, as, according to his theory, linguistic competence is homogeneously distributed amongst individual speaker-listeners (cf. 1965). LABOV developed the "speech community" concept simultaneously using these two views; he integrated CHOMSKY's thought on structural homogeneity, while also putting an emphasis on the role of GUMPERZ's shared norms (1972).

LABOV's and CHOMSKY's ideas, while they eventually exerted a decisive effect on sociolinguistics, have also been subjected to a number of criticisms. The most significant objection has been raised against homogeneity. Additionally, for large speech communities (such as a complete linguistic community), the criterion of daily interaction has also been deemed unfulfillable. Both CHOMSKY and LABOV evaded the possibility of individual differences, while later research has shown context and situation to have a strong influence on the choice of linguistic elements, indeed, stronger than gender, age, social class, etc. HYMES has also called attention to the need to differentiate between full members of a speech community and mere participants (1974). BROWN and LEWISON have also pointed out that any particular individual can be a member of several speech communities (1979). Faced with the difficulties of defining the term, some have suggested simply avoiding it altogether (see e.g. DURANTI 1997), while others have asserted the ad-hoc status of speech communities (see e.g. WARDHAUGH 2002).

1.2. With activity in socio-onomastic research having increased during recent years, the term "onomastic communities" has also gained the centre of attention.

Several researchers have made attempts to grasp its essence, these attempts, however, either revealed slightly outdated sociological views (since lifestyles have undergone a significant change during the last few decades: traditional farming has declined, digital maps have emerged, passenger transport has intensified, mobility has generally increased, etc.) or investigated the term without empirical data, i.e. results deduced from actual name usage.

When discussing his multiple level toponym typology models, ISTVÁN HOFFMANN touches upon these socio-onomastics issues, even though he doesn't treat them as an aspect in their own right. Mostly, researchers take away a single conclusion from his brief description of onomastic communities, namely, that HOFFMANN considers settlements to be the natural units of toponomastics. This definition, however, has several elements worth deeper elaboration:

"Onomastic communities, generally consisting of the inhabitants of a particular village or smaller city, are frameworks within which new names are formed, partly dictated by the system, partly driven by a communicative need. Names formed by members of the community can be taken into usage, and thereby be accepted and canonized only by a social environment where knowledge on the material and intellectual surroundings is mainly uniform, while linguistic differences, as well as differences in toponymic knowledge, are minimal. The concept of an onomastic community is represented the best by the population of a relatively small settlement." (1993/2007: 39).

Thus, the initial presumption could be HOFFMANN's thought (or intuitive comment) that onomastic communities consist of name-users with similar toponymic knowledge. It should also be noted, however, that when discussing his system of toponyms, HOFFMANN, beyond the definition above, also calls attention to degrees of scale – that is, the scope of investigation may cover the entire Hungarian toponymicon, or just the onomastic corpus of a single regional unit (settlement, district, county). However, he considers these to be artificial units (1993/2007: 39).

Nearly three decades later HOFFMANN again commented on the issue of onomastic communities, this time expanding to a certain extent on the idea of scalability put forward previously. The onomastic communities, as he discusses them, still consist of members whose knowledge of toponyms (and the closely related localities) is identical or largely identical, at the same time, however, he also presumes the existence of a unit with a larger scope, that is, the onomastic community of speakers of the Hungarian language, by which he means a network of onomastic communities of varying sizes connected to each other through both loose and tight bonds (HOFFMANN 2012: 15).

Like HOFFMANN – prior to carrying out empirical studies – I have tended towards such an interpretation of the "onomastic community" concept: "An onomastic community represents a virtual group whose members share more or less the same toponymicon, with similar mental projections linked and usage rules applying to individual place names" (GYŐRFFY 2011: 40). I came to this definition with respect to describing larger bodies of water, and I presumed the parallel existence of several onomastic communities when deriving it. The adjective *virtual* was, at the same time, meant to indicate that I considered onomastic communities more difficult to empirically grasp in the real world, instead, I saw them as some kind of theoretical entities.

It was ÉVA PÁSZTOR who first commented on onomastic communities based on evidence drawn from live language investigations (actually, collecting live language toponyms), concluding that: "in localities with larger stretches of land nearby, those involved with a particular pasture or segment of land can be considered members of the same onomastic community, given their shared knowledge of place names." (2013: 136). However, as her study was not written for the purpose of socio-onomastics, there was an absence of information on what the author actually meant by a "shared knowledge of place names"; still, one could surmise that her notion was the same as that of "identical or largely identical" knowledge on toponyms discussed by earlier works.

2. Relationships between toponymic communities and knowledge on toponyms

2.1. Socio-onomastic research of recent years provides an excellent foundation for a full in-depth examination of the relationships between toponymic communities and the knowledge on toponyms. For the purposes of my comparative studies, in addition to my own research results, I have also relied on the Hajdúvid, Pród, Bakonszeg and Bodaszőlő analyses performed by E. NAGY.[1]

Before discussing the data on toponymic knowledge, a brief introduction to the settlements (see Table 1) is due, as the history, size, nature and economics of a settlement will certainly all have shaping effects on what the toponymic knowledge of its inhabitants is like. With a territory 35 km², Bakonszeg is the largest of the five settlements analysed, its population (1176, of whom the research covered 5%), however, is identical to that of the second largest

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[1] On the results of the Tépe analysis on toponymic knowledge see GYŐRFFY 2015a, 2015c, on the research work carried out in Pród and Bakonszeg see E. NAGY 2015, while a report on the results of the toponymic knowledge research carried out in Hajdúvid and Bodaszőlő has been provided by E. NAGY in the form of a series of lectures.

settlement, Tépe. The earliest charter to mention the name is from 1438, but the area was probably inhabited even before the Hungarian Conquest. It lost its population during the era of Ottoman rule, and was later rebuilt. The settlement has a farm engaged in sheep breeding. Inhabitants are also engaged in land cultivation, primarily the cultivation of backyards.

Tépe is a small settlement in Hajdú-Bihar County, with an area of 23.2 km^2 and a population of 1150 at the time of the survey (7% of whom took part in the survey as informants). The name of the settlement appears as early as 1222/1550, and it has been continuously inhabited ever since. The inhabitants have been engaged in agriculture for centuries, with the establishment of communal farms, however, these lands were collectivized. Since the end of the Communist era, the village has undergone significant changes.

The first written record of Hajdúvid dates back to 1217; later, the village was completely destroyed; in the 17th century, it was among the first cities to be assigned for Hajdús (soldiers) settling in and was granted certain liberties, but it did not actually become populated. The 19th century and the first half of the 20th century saw a steady increase in the farmstead population. The settlement became an independent township in 1952, and its central inner region took shape; the population was engaged in agriculture. It has been an administrative division of Hajdúböszörmény since 1978. At the time of the socio-onomastic survey, the inner region had 841 inhabitants, 3% of whom took part in the survey as informants. With its area of 0.8 km^2, this settlement is far smaller than the other two.

Pród is also one of the outer regions of Hajdúböszörmény. The name was first mentioned in 1067. Local history is similar to that of Hajdúvid – the village lost its population during the era of Ottoman rule, was later assigned as an area for settling Hajdús, but did not actually become populated. The present village took its shape mainly in the 1960s, with the elimination of the farmstead structure. It is the smallest surveyed area (0.4 km^2). At the time the survey was carried out, Pród had a population of 256 (with a 9% portion of informants). Farming and animal husbandry, characteristic in former times, have by now lost a great deal of their former significance.

Bodaszőlő is yet another administrative region belonging to Hajdúböszörmény. The area occupied by the present-day settlement was originally a forest and, later on, a vineyard, which then transformed into an inhabited area nearly 200 years ago. The settlement has 1857 inhabitants, 5.6% of whom participated in the toponymic knowledge survey, and an area of 3 km^2. It is noteworthy that a large segment of the population is comprised of Gypsy families.

With the exception of Bodaszőlő, every settlement is characterized by a continuous decline in population.

Before summarizing the results of my toponymic knowledge survey, I present the method the analysed materials were collected and the surveys were carried out.

I myself collected the toponymic corpus in Tépe in the summer of 2013, with the involvement of seven informants. For my work I did not have access to any written toponym list and the available map included only a negligible number of toponyms. The interviews were semi-structured: in most of the cases I let the informants traverse the landscape in their thoughts, and I helped them with questions concerning the types of places only when they got stuck. Questioning was facilitated by a map as well and with two informants I also visited the sites. The toponymicon of Tépe is also available in print: GYŐRFFY 2015d. I completed the survey on the awareness of this toponymicon in 2013 in Tépe, with the participation of 80 people. In connection with the particular place names the informants had to answer if 1) they knew the name and where it was located, 2) they knew only the name but could not locate the place designated by it, or 3) they had never heard of the name. Of course, during the interview the discussion was not limited to this, several other issues were mentioned spontaneously related to the toponyms. See GYŐRFFY 2015c for details on this survey.

In 2011 and 2012 CSILLA KATONA and KATALIN E. NAGY completed the collection of modern toponyms in the Pród, Hajdúvid, and Bodaszőlő settlement parts that administratively belong to Hajdúböszörmény. This is available in print: 2015: 99–252. Names were collected by KATALIN E. NAGY in Bakonszeg in 2014, for the relevant material see 2015a. KATALIN E. NAGY published her findings on toponym awareness in Pród and Bakonszeg in an article (2015b), while she presented papers on her research findings in Bodaszőlő and Hajdúvid. These will form part of her doctoral dissertation to be completed soon. In terms of the collection of the toponymicon and the survey on toponym awareness they followed a process similar to the one used by myself.

I must point out that the research works presented below, while similar in several aspects, also have some differences between them.

Like me, E. NAGY also utilized age groups ranging 20 years each, and involved both female and male informants in her survey. Another common trait is that we considered a toponym to be known if the informant could also localize it. Our methods were different, however, with respect to the types of toponyms within the toponymicon of each settlement that our respective surveys targeted. E. NAGY, in accordance with traditional methodology, included the names of buildings (post office, pub, church, guardhouses, etc.) of the outer and

inner regions in her registry, while I ignored these. Therefore, bearing these differences in mind, in order to render the different surveys easier to compare, I re-evaluated the research results presented in KATALIN E. NAGY's earlier work, matching them better to the methodology of my own procedures. Consequently, the figures provided on toponymic knowledge herein are different from the metrics published in the source works I used. Still, I found this modification inevitable, as it enabled me to grasp the essence of toponymic knowledge possessed by small settlement inhabitants using an identical basis of approach and methodology.

2.2. Toponymic knowledge in the settlements surveyed can be described as follows. The ratio of names known to every informant proved to be the lowest in Tépe and Bodaszőlő, where 1% of the names had active knowledge associated with them; the same ratio was 3.4% in Pród, and slightly higher, 4.5% in Bakonszeg; proportionally, the number of names known to the inhabitants – 5.5% of the toponymicon – was the highest in Hajdúvid. These ratios are rather low; therefore, I decided it would be useful to examine the issue excluding informants below the age of 20. While it may be generally true that toponymic knowledge is dynamic, that is, a perpetually changing kind of knowledge, with new toponyms learned and old ones forgotten every once in a while, still, compared to other age groups, the youngest generation has far less knowledge of toponyms. In Tépe and Pród, age groups over 21 are familiar with one tenth of the toponyms on average, and the informants from Hajdúvid are not much behind with their average of 9.8%. What is surprising, however, is the fact that in Bakonszeg and Bodaszőlő, all the inhabitants over 21 put together can localize a mere one percent more names (5.6% and 2%, respectively) compared to calculations based on the results of all the age groups. That demonstrates that toponymic knowledge of school-age and adolescent members belonging to these communities is not as low as it is within the corresponding age groups of the other settlements.

Based on toponymic knowledge, I consider the name corpus known to at least 70% of the informants to be the base toponymicon. I also examined the knowledge of the latter amongst those over 21 years of age. The results show the knowledge of the base toponymicon to be a multiple of names known to everyone: In Tépe, 64% of the names could be put into this category, in Pród; the same value is 41%, while it is the smallest in Bodaszőlő and Hajdúvid, with 30.8% and 29.5%, respectively.

	Bakonszeg	**Tépe**	**Bodaszőlő**	**Hajdúvid**	**Pród**
Area (km^2)	35	23.2	3	0.8	0.4
Inhabitants	1176	1150	1857	841	256
Number and proportion of the informants	60 (5%)	80 (7%)	104 (5.6%)	26 (3%)	24 (9%)
Toponyms in total	176	269	107	180	290
Names known by everyone (all groups)	4.5%	1%	1%	5.5%	3.4%
Names known by everyone (over 21)	5.6%	10%	2%	9.8%	10%
Names known by at least 70% of the informants (over 21)	NDA	64%	30.8%	29.5%	41%

Table 1: Toponymic knowledge metrics

The toponymic knowledge surveys allow for the following conclusions to be drawn. We haven't found a single person at any of the settlements to be familiar with every element of the toponymicon we compiled. Analyses covering all of the age groups have shown the number of names known to everybody to be negligible. Even when ignoring the youngest (under 20) age group, then the number of names known to everyone although higher, still, did not go over 10% in any of the cases. It is only names belonging to the base toponymicon that have a much higher toponymic knowledge ration attributed to them.[2] From a theoretical perspective, this means that the shared knowledge of names cannot be a sufficient precondition for establishing the existence of an onomastic

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[2] Empirical data strongly corroborate the comments made earlier by KATALIN RESZEGI based on a theoretical stance: "Certain places functioning as high priority points of reference their names are represented in the mental system of nearly every member of the community, while other names are known to fewer speaker-listeners, and there is a segment of names known only to a few members of the community. An onomastic community's extremely flexible (with respect to time and space as well as membership) network is formed by the individuals' mental networks that represent the names in the mind and more or less overlap with each other." (2013: 130).

community.[3] Similar surveys carried out at larger settlements could presumably further refine the general picture seen here.

In her studies of personal names, VALÉRIA TÓTH has also addressed the issue of onomastic communities. Even though she analyses the phenomenon primarily from the perspective of the usage of personal names, she does make a few comments on toponymic communities as well: "in some cases, it is the horizontal (spatial) aspects of name communities that are important, while in other cases, the vertical (social) components are more emphatic (in the case of anthroponyms)" (2014: 189). Further analysing this latter factor, she also claims that the onomastic community can be interpreted as a genetically and/ or socially organised community functioning as a kind of social network. It must be noted, however, that the same, so-called "vertical" component is also present in the toponymic communities within which toponym usage takes place. Firstly – as with any other language acquisition process – the primary sphere of toponym-acquisition is the family, and secondly, the existence of toponyms used exclusively within close family circles can also be demonstrated. Additionally, toponyms known only to limited groups will also emerge in communities shaped by social circumstances, such as in the military or at educational units; slang toponyms are one of the categories supporting this claim (e.g. *Szivatszállás, Tirland, BTK Beach, Szop city,* cf. GYŐRFFY 2016a).

Therefore, the layout of the toponymic knowledge of such micro-groups also seems to be worth exploring. The Tépe survey material consisted of toponymic knowledge interviews I conducted with members of two three-generation families. (The toponymic knowledge data of the families is shown in Table 2.) In the first family, I met male members only, while by contrast, in the second family the second generation was represented by the mother. The smallest discrepancy detectable was that between the toponymic knowledge of the grandfathers: they both know the outer regions of Tépe well. Due to several factors, there was a significant difference between the number of toponyms known to the parents. In the first family, the father is the leading farmer of the village, he knows the periphery of the village well, and it is only extinct names, that is those that were in use earlier but are now forgotten that he is unaware of. In the other family, the mother is a teacher, even though she had a close relationship with the land lots in her childhood, the outer regions have by now become marginalized in her life. The most interesting difference we saw was in

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[3] As a result of similar studies carried out in Finland, TERHI AINIALA also came to the conclusion that while knowledge of names may differ greatly between individuals, such differences still do not prevent mutual comprehension, as more important, central names are known to everybody or at least to many (AINIALA et al. 2012: 113).

the toponymic knowledge of the children; the child in the farmer family knows 14% more names than the child of the other family. With passively known toponyms (i.e. toponyms which the subject has heard but cannot localize) also considered, this difference rises to 40%. (Not to mention that the little boy is four years younger than his counterpart.)

The comparison clearly shows the family to be a natural unit of shared toponymic knowledge; by also examining the ratio of names known to everyone, results convincingly supporting this claim can be arrived at. In the first family, where every generation has a closer relationship with land cultivation, 26% of the names were known to members of all three generations. In the other family, this ration is as low as 8%. Yet, shared toponymic knowledge is in both cases much higher than what we saw during the previous survey of informants living in the same settlement.

Toponymic knowledge	Family 1	Family 2
The grandparents	77%	87%
The parents	73%	35%
The children	33%	19%
Toponymic knowledge in common	26%	8%

Table 2: The toponymic knowledge of two three-generation families

Micro-communities can also be shaped based on non-genetic grounds. I have also analysed the toponymic knowledge of those who claim themselves to have a close relationship with the periphery, as they work there. The smallest toponymic knowledge ratio with this group is 60%, while the inhabitant with the largest ratio is familiar with 86% of the names (see Diagram 1). Analysis of the sample with 18 informants shows the ratio of names known to everyone within the group to be 30%.
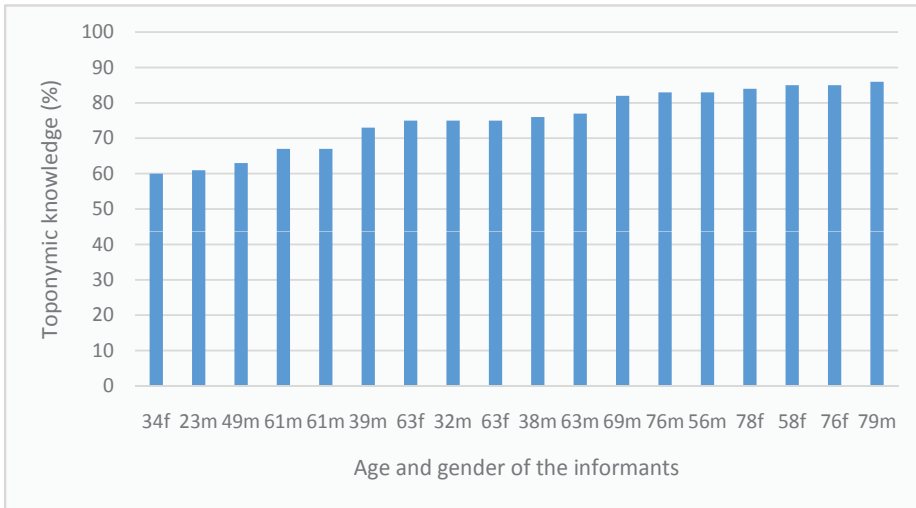
Diagram 1: The toponymic knowledge of those engaged in land cultivation in Tépe (f = female, m = male)

Valéria Tóth puts strong emphasis on spatial arrangement even with respect to these small communities: "These [that is, families, circles of friends and other micro-communities] are, however, also essentially interpreted in a spatial manner, as it is obviously only within the context of family members or friends sharing the same scene of name-users that such research is justified." (2014: 189). Yet, the initial presumption that socio-onomastic research may be based on is the very concept that social space is one of the forces shaping the usage of toponyms. In this respect, I do not see this component as the best means to grasp the difference between the onomastic communities based on these two kinds of names – provided such a difference exists in the first place. Katalin Reszegi doesn't consider a sharp distinction between anthroponymic vs. toponymic communities justified either: "the usage of toponyms and anthroponyms actually takes place within identical communities" (2015: 167).

3. Toponymic competence

3.1. The greatest challenge in defining the term "toponymic community" – in my opinion – lies in the fact that due to the spatial limits of place, we tend to think of onomastic communities as spatially strictly limited structures. While a hundred years ago the mostly individual (small) settlement was the range within which people almost exclusively lived their lives, and of which they had in-depth knowledge so far as areas and toponyms are concerned, today – and in particular, in the case of younger generations – one has to deal with more plastic and fluctuating lifespaces. Therefore, knowledge of places and

toponyms is not limited to one's dwelling place in the limited sense (people will commute and migrate), and knowledge of places and toponyms gained from vicarious sources (e.g. through learning) has also increased (see GYŐRFFY 2015b: 102, 2016b).

With these caviates in mind, the following observations can be made of onomastic communities (see Fig. 1). The term "toponymic community" is relative, with a meaning that varies by the group (family, region of settlement, entire settlement, county, country) it is applied to. The smallest onomastic communities, held together by actual communicational relationships, are characterized by relatively uniform knowledge of places and toponyms, as – approached from a different angle – the mental maps of space held by individuals also have similar patterns.
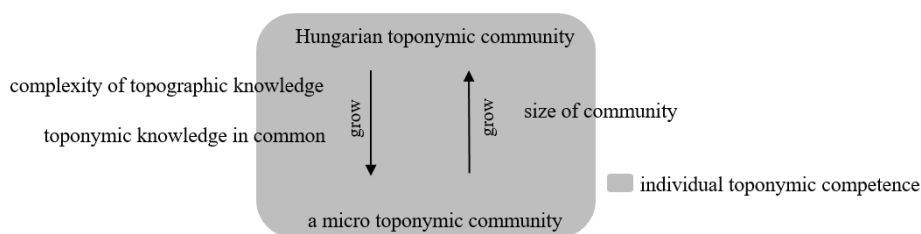
Figure 1: Relationships between toponymic knowledge, toponymic communities and toponymic competence

As in the functional approach to languages "a separate onomastic community (a society or nation speaking the same language) represents a network of numerous verbal communities" (LADÁNYI–TOLCSVAI NAGY 2008: 27), onomastic communities are also formed as a network of smaller name-user communities whatever the size, structure or type of locality at hand. These small onomastic communities, and even separate individuals form networks, which then add up to onomastic communities of larger scope. In the case of these communities, it is not necessary – or even feasible – to presume direct communicational relationships, and shared knowledge of places and toponyms also reflects a decreasing trend. Yet, even when considering the onomastic community with the largest scope (that is, the complete Hungarian onomastic community) certain objects (such as the rivers Danube and Tisza, the capital, Budapest, the Mátra mountain, the lake Balaton, etc.) can be expected to be present on everyone's mental maps, and, as such, to be known by their names to everyone. KATALIN RESZEGI has a similar view on the term "onomastic community"; she believes there are actual communities of name-users, settlement-level onomastic communities, those of larger regions, and finally, those of entire language territories (2015: 174). In her opinion, such a network-based approach to onomastic communities (as well as the mental onomastic systems of individuals) is also perfectly suitable

to represent their dynamic, heterogeneous and open nature. As I see it, behind toponymic community networks, lies the toponymic competence of individuals, enabling any speaker of the Hungarian language to recognize, use and create toponyms. It is appropriate, therefore, to delve further into the nature of this competence.

3.2. NYIRKOS discusses name-giver competence, a kind of competence possessed by both the speaker and the listener participants in a communication (1989). In his brief work, he gives no detailed description of what this competence is, there can be no doubt, however, that by it he means the Šramek- and Kiviniemi-models.

In his monograph, "Helynevek nyelvi elemzése" (Linguistic analysis of toponyms), HOFFMANN uses the terms "toponymic norm", "command of names" and "onomastic competence" (1993/2007: 34–35). Toponymic norm covers on the one hand what kind of objects are given names by each community, and, on the other hand, the name formation rules acquired. This skill enables language-users to identify unknown linguistic elements within certain contexts as toponyms, and also to create new names themselves.

In one of his later essays, HOFFMANN discusses the patterns used in functional linguistics, which are also observable in semantics, morphosyntactics, phonotactics and socio-onomastics (2012). As a synonym for "onomastic competence", he also uses the term "command of names". He emphasises the fact that knowledge of toponyms is acquired by name-users through communication with other name-users. The socio-cultural prerequisites of the "command of names" are provided by this environment. He further emphasises the definitive role that the frequencies of each name instance, name model and pattern play in onomastic competence, as the degree of acceptance is determined by these.[4]

HOFFMANN, however, in another article, also stresses the individualistic character of such onomastic competence. In other words, names represent a wide variety of different kinds of knowledge for each individual: knowledge of the world, of society, of others and the person concerned themselves (2010: 53).

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[4] In TÓTH's opinion, anthroponym-related competence is a cognitive-pragmatic factor of a kind, a multi-faceted aggregate of name-patterns and -models, as well as the cultural, pragmatic and linguistic skills associated with names (2014: 186).

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Abstract

The concept of "toponymic community" is very often used in the descriptions of the genesis and the use of place names. Many Hungarian onomasticians approach this term from a theoretical viewpoint, while this essay attempts to define it using empirical data. The starting point is the presumption that the members of a certain toponymic community have a lot of local place names in common, i.e. their toponymic knowledge is very similar, which means that they know and use the same stock of place names. But empirical research suggests this is not the case, or at least it was not so in the researched settlements. By comparing the results of other studies carried out in different settlements a more detailed picture emerged of the toponymic knowledge of the inhabitants of these communities. The study also offers a definition of "toponymic community" from another aspect based on the concept of "toponymic competence" which has a much wider meaning than the knowledge of the settlement's toponomasticon.

Keywords: onomastic community, toponymic community, toponymic competence, toponymic knowledge

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Studies on Toponymic Knowledge in Hajdú-Bihar County*

Besides the genesis of names, 21st century Hungarian onomastic research is focusing ever more on toponymic knowledge and name usage, thus, toponym-sociological terms appear as a subject of scientific research programs with increasing frequency (e.g. GYŐRFFY 2013, 2015, 2018, E. NAGY 2015, 2016). This essay is an effort to refine the concept of toponymic knowledge – through empirical research on the topic – thereby making a contribution to the series of these works mentioned here.

This study is comprised of two units. First, a discussion of the research method used. Second, an illustratation of the relationship between the age of informants and toponymic knowledge through modern toponymic corpora. Also discussed are the opportunities researchers have when wishing to transfer the cognitive map existing in the minds of informants to some platform, so that they can explore the relationships within toponymic knowledge and spatial visualization.

I carried out the case studies in six settlements of Hajdú-Bihar county, all of which are amongst the relatively small members of the Hungarian system of settlements, with even the largest settlement examined having a mere 1800 residents. I mention details about the toponymic knowledge of only two village communities (Bodaszőlő and Pród) while making an effort to underline general conclusions.

1. Methodology

The study on toponymic knowledge has been carried out on smaller, geographically well delineated settlements; the informants involved in the research are members of the various village communities. The survey on toponymic knowledge was in each case preceded by collecting toponyms, in the course of which, the toponymic corpus of the settlement in question took shape. Whether or not the researcher collecting the corpus and the one carrying out the research on toponymic knowledge is the same person does indeed matter for the success of the research work. This is because in the course of collecting toponyms preceding the survey on toponymic knowledge, researchers can gain insight into the history and the onomastic corpus of the settlement, and even familiarize themselves with the village community to some extent. Prior

knowledge earned through the collection work enables researchers to understand the medium of language users within which they perform their research work in its variety, specific sociological and psychological dimensions (Kiss 1995: 40).

I selected my informants so that every age group would be represented, from the youngest primary school children up to retired people. When selecting any informant – and, in particular, the youngest and the oldest ones – the existence of several abilities, which are also included as the criteria for collecting toponyms has to be considered. Amongst other requirements, it is essential that the informants possess the mental capacities required for the interviews, that is, they should be capable of understanding the situation and the intention of the researcher. I categorized the informants of each settlement into four generational groups: the first group is of those under the age of 20, the second is of those between the ages of 21 and 40, the third group is of those between the ages of 41 and 60, and finally, the fourth group is of those over 61.

Data collection had two phases. In the first phase, sociological data were recorded, and the coached conversations directly producing toponyms took place. Each interview began with a free conversation first on the names of the outer plots of land, and then on those of the inner regions. In an imaginary fashion, I navigated my informants to a specific point in the area, and then asked them to list the places near to it. Then, selecting their own street as the point of departure, I asked them to imagine themselves leaving from there and walking through the village while introducing it to me. I concluded the conversations by putting questions to the informants on their toponymic knowledge concerning places they had not mentioned.

Following the on-site work, I performed the research procedure in the course of which I compiled Excel-spreadsheets and personal digital name-maps. Transferring the cognitive maps existing in individual persons' minds to a given platform is primarily a geographical, psychological task, rather than an onomastic one. That being said, in the latest works on socio-onomastics there is still an effort made to contribute in some fashion to the issue of mental mapping. There are several ways of doing that.

Attempts to grasp the cognitive maps of informants can be made, on the one hand, by making, or having the informants themselves make drawings, that is, by either the informant or the researcher putting the names known to the former on paper. I personally do not consider this method to be practical, as maps prepared this way often lack details, not to mention that they are largely dependent on the orientation abilities of the informant or the researcher.

On the other hand, using the benefits of modern technology, it is possible to make attempts at representing toponymic knowledge on a digital platform. The reason why this latter solution is likely to be more successful is that space itself

is actually a given element, and, instead of a blank sheet, toponyms can be projected onto the actual world, or, to be more precise, photos of it. Therefore, I relied on the Google Earth program to represent the toponymic knowledge of the informants I involved in my research. One of the advantages of this method is that maps of individual informants can be conveniently compared, which allows for further analysis.

2. Results

The results for the two settlements includes a report on the toponymic knowledge of the four age groups. For each age group, I indicate the collated name competency average. I calculated the collated toponymic knowledge average by averaging the toponymic knowledge percent ratios of all the members of the age group in question. After that, I determined the number and the percentage ratio of the names known to every member of the group, and also of those names which are not known to any member of the group. I considered an informant to be familiar with a toponym where the informant had heard the name and could localize it as well, that is, if the name was an active element of the informant's toponymicon. The informants are not familiar with a name if they do not mention it of their own accord, and cannot localize it even after being asked about it by the collector. I also studied the ratios of outer- and inner-region names. Without aiming for an exhaustive list, I have also mentioned several factors of settlement history, farm husbandry, geography, socio-cultural and other non-linguistic aspects, which are highly likely to have an influence on toponymic knowledge.

2.1. Results of the survey carried out in Pród

The settlement with the smallest population, Pród, has 256 inhabitants. It is a village located in the Northern part of the county, and as a unit of public administration, it was merged into Hajdúböszörmény in 1978. It is a settlement that is both geographically and socially isolated. The geographical isolation is due to the fact that the village lies some 15 km-s Northwest to the city, on the Hajdúhát plains, while the social isolation is a consequence of the inhabitants being the descendants of the people who once established their homes on the outer plains. The toponymic corpus of the village consists of 317 pieces of onomastic data. I involved 24 of the residents of Pród in my socio-onomastic survey, thus, I interviewed 9% of the entire population. Distribution by gender is 9 females (38%) and 15 males (62%). The youngest informant was 11 years old, the eldest 87 years old.

The first age group can considered to be familiar with 18% of the complete onomastic corpus on average. The proportion of names known to every

member of the group adds up to a mere 6% of the complete onomastic corpus. Even though the village only has a few streets, the members of the first group are not familiar with all of the inner-region names. One third of the names known to everyone are inner-region names (e.g. *Bagota utca* 'Bagota street'). Typically, knowledge with respect to the inner-region names is supplemented by knowledge with respect to the names of those outer regions (67%) which are either located near the inner settlement (e.g. *Gátőrház* 'Dike-reeve's house') or denote larger objects of any part of the outer region (e.g. *Keleti-főcsatorna* 'Eastern main canal'). The ratio of names completely unknown to the age group was 56%. These denote both smaller and larger objects, and several examples can be mentioned for virtually any kind of toponyms: hydronyms (e.g. *Szőke-ér* 'Blond brook'), names of farmsteads (e.g. *Csíkos-tanya* 'Csíkos farm'), names of dirt roads to borderlands (e.g,. *Perséte dűlő* 'Perséte lain'), names of taverns (e.g. *Dedő csárda* 'Dedő tavern'), etc. are all included among them. These cover the outer regions in their entirety, and are exclusively outer-region names.

At 49%, the toponymic knowledge of the second age group is nearly three times higher than that of the first one. The ratio of names known to everyone is 24%, with 88% of the names in this category denoting outer-region, and 12% of them denoting inner-region names. The toponymic knowledge of the second age group does not cover every inner-region name either, even though the village, consisting of merely eight streets, is very small indeed. Within the complete toponymicon, the proportion of names completely unknown to the age group was 24%. These names denote outer-region objects, more than half of them are names of farmsteads. This result stems form the history of the settlement, i.e. the members of the second age group already grew up in the streets of the inner region, and as such, did not have an intensive relationship with the farmstead network of the outer regions.

The average toponymic knowledge of the third age group is 60%. 28% percent of the complete toponymicon is known to all of the informants, 13% of these names denote inner-region, and 87% of them outer-region objects. Most of the inner-region names are known to every member of the group, with the exception of the former official names of two streets, *Kossuth Lajos utca* ('Lajos Kossuth Street') and *Petőfi Sándor utca* ('Sándor Petőfi Street'). Names known to everyone are mostly associated with formerly inhabited places of the outer regions, i.e. the names of former farmstead-area schools (e.g. *Bársony-iskola* 'Bársony School'), taverns (e.g. *Dedő csárda* 'Dedő tavern'), and other outer-region buildings (e.g. *Tejház* 'Milkhouse') are all mementos of the bygone network of farmsteads. It is conspicuous that while the second age group is uniformly familiar with the names of the main borderlands only (e.g. *Bársony dűlő* 'Bársony Lane'), the third age group, in contrast, knows the

names of 11 borderlands (*Miniszteri út* 'Minister's Road'). There is only 8% of the toponymicon not known to anyone of the informants belonging to this age group. Each of these names denotes an outer-region object, they are mostly the names of farmsteads (for example *Bodnár-tanya* 'Bodnár Farm'), roads and dirt roads to borderlands (*Meditációs út* 'Meditation Road'), as well as plots of land (e.g. *Gimnázium földje* 'High School Estate').

On average, 79% of the toponymicon is known to the fourth age group. The proportion of names known to everyone is 27%. 8% of these names denote inner-region objects, while 92% of them denote outer-region objects. Nearly half of the inner-region names are unknown to members of this age group. Similarly to what has been seen in surveys on modern toponymicon carried out in other settlements, the residents of Pród are also not familiar with the official names of all of the streets. One fourth of the outer-region names known to everyone are names of farmsteads. The number of farmsteads known by their names to the first age group is two, the same number is not even a dozen for the second age group, while the names of 20 farmsteads are uniformly known to the fourth age group. These names mostly denote the larger, more important farmsteads of the former farmstead centre. Just like the names not known to anyone within the first age group, and the names known to everyone in the third age group, from an onomastic aspect, these names cover virtually every kind of toponyms, and from a geographical aspect, virtually all of the outer plots of land. All of the names which are not known to anyone denote outer-region objects and add up to a mere 2%.

2.2. Results of the survey carried out in Bodaszőlő

Bodaszőlő is a village with a population of 1376, as a public administration unit (like Pród) it belongs to Hajdúböszörmény. It is located 16 km-s to the south of the city. The settlement is surrounded by a huge forest area. This circumstance is a fundamental determinant of the nature of the onomastic corpus, namely, a significant proportion of the names denoting outer-region objects have a geographical common word, related to forestry, as a second constituent. The toponymic corpus of the settlement consists of 127 data. In my survey, I involved 60 local residents, which is 4% of the entire population. The gender distribution is 38 females (66%), 20 males (34%).

Members of the first age group on average are familiar with 30% of the complete onomastic corpus, that is, with nearly every third toponym. The proportion of names known to every member of the group adds up to a mere 12% of the complete onomastic corpus (e.g. *Lorántffy*). All of the names known to every informant from the first age group are inner-region names. The number of names not known to anyone is high, nearly half of the toponymicon (46%) is

unknown to all of the members of the group. With the exception of two official inner-region street names (e.g. *Kun Béla utca* 'Kun Béla Street'), all of these denote outer-region objects (e.g. *Lédig-erdő* 'Lédig Forest').

The average toponymic knowledge of the second age group corresponds to 41%. The proportion of names known to everyone is 19%, with only two outer-region names in this category (*Dombi-tanya* 'Dombi Farm' and *Zelemér*). 27% of the complete toponymicon is unknown to members of this age group. These names denote outer-region objects, most of them objects related to forestry (e.g. *Rókaporozó nyiladék* 'Foxhole Road').

Members of the third age group on average are familiar with 48% of the complete onomastic corpus, that is, with nearly second or third toponym. 17% of the complete toponymicon is known to every member of the group. Most of the names known to every informant from the third age group are inner-region names. The outer-region names which they are familiar with are mostly point-like locations nearest to the settlement (e.g. *Ruszki-laktanya* 'Russian military base'). The onomastic corpus of Bodaszőlő has but a single toponym not known to any member of the age group, *Hegyes-kert* 'Hilly Garden'.

On average, 66% of the toponymicon is known to the fourth age group. The number of names known to every informant adds up to a mere 18% of the toponymicon (e.g. *Józsai út* 'Road to Józsa'), 60% of these names denote inner-region, while 40% of them outer-region objects. Within the fourth age group, the number of names everyone claimed to be unfamiliar with is also one, this particular name denotes an outer-region animal breeding facility.

2.3. Personal name-maps

According to the informants personal name-maps, it can be said that while the toponymic knowledge of the eldest informant from Pród (aged 87) covers nearly all of the borderlands, that of the youngest one (aged 11) consists of but a few dozen names (see Figure 1 and 2). Moving from the inner region to the outer regions, the geographical distribution of these grows sparser. The names best known to younger informants are those of places located near more important roads.

Figure 1: The toponymic knowledge of the youngest informant (Pród)

Figure 2: The toponymic knowledge of the eldest informant (Pród)

3. Conclusions

Both the name-maps and the summarizing charts clearly show the average toponymic knowledge to increase significantly from the lower age groups to higher ones at both settlements (see Figure 3).

	Names known to every member of the group (%)		Names unknown to every member of the group (%)	
	Pród	Bodaszőlő	Pród	Bodaszőlő
Age group 1	6	12	56	46
Age group 2	24	19	24	27
Age group 3	28	17	8	~1
Age group 4	27	18	2	~1

Figure 3: The toponymic knowledge of the different age groups

The results of my research support the hypothesis generally known in the literature, i.e. the toponymicon of a given settlement will be better known to its older, and less well known to its younger residents. This, however, does not necessarily imply that older informants will be the ones to know the most toponyms, as socio-cultural, social and other factors can have a significant effect on the toponymic knowledge of an individual resident. A 52 year-old informant from Bodaszőlő – who, unlike most people in his age group, is familiar with a significant proportion of the onomastic corpus, 84% – owes his exceptional toponymic knowledge to the fact that he became active in forestry when still a child; to put it more specifically, his family owned a *vákáncs* 'newly planted forest', and he often joined his parents in pruning the branches.

I also involved one non-locally born resident from each of the two village communities as an informant. One of the residents of Pród (male, aged 54) has been living in the village for a mere six years. The toponymic knowledge average within his age group is 60%, in contrast, he is familiar with only 24% of the toponymicon. His toponymic knowledge falls in line with the toponymic knowledge of those in the first age group the best: a 15 year-old male informant, for example, is familiar with 27%. The non-locally born informant from Bodaszőlő (aged 65), who has been living in the village for eleven years, is familiar with 31% of the toponymic corpus, just like two informants in their teens, who belong into the first age group. All of this leads to the presumption that an adult who has newly moved into a village has to go through cognitive processes – by which I primarily mean learning about toponyms of the mental lexicon and the spatial objects they denote – which are very similar to those experienced by a child who has lived there since birth.

I have presented the methods and the results of research work on toponymic knowledge carried out in two settlements, with the focus set on age, a sociological aspect. Further research results may be obtained by broadening the territorial boundaries, in other words, extending the scope of the surveys to the toponymic knowledge of the village communities living in the neighbouring settlements. This expansion, however, should be the topic for another time.

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Abstract

Toponymic knowledge as a scientific research field is an increasingly popular topic among Hungarian toponomastics. The toponymic knowledge of name-users is undoubtedly influenced by various sociological factors such as age, gender, ethnic origin, occupation, education, etc.The subject of this case study of the toponymic knowledge of inhabitants in different ages living in the same settlement focuses on whether the hypothesis "older people know more place names, while younger people know less" is still valid. The study used the onomastic corpus of two settlements, Pród and Bodaszőlő in Hajdú-Bihar county. The primary purpose of this research is to reveal the relationship between the age of informants and their knowledge of the toponymic corpus of their settlements. Tthe informants' toponymic knowledge is presented on maps where information from field work and interviews is transferred onto a digital map.

Keywords: socio-onomastics, place names, the knowledge of toponymy, age groups

Magdolna Nemes

Where do you live? – children talking about their surroundings

1. Background and previous onomastic studies

Carrying out research into children's speech and lingustic development can be useful for parents and professionals as well (psychologists, linguists or pedagogues). The active and passive vocabulary of children grows rapidly during the pre-school years due to their improved speech activity (GÓSY 1999, LENGYEL 1981, S. KÁDÁR 1985). In the active vocabulary of a child there are mainly nouns and verbs in the beginning, with adjectives and adverbs coming later. A four to five year-old child uses adjectives and numerals in his/her speech too. In accordance with cognitive process and a more sophisticated way of thinking, adverbs referring to place (e.g. *here, there, behind, in front of*) and later to time (e.g. *now, tomorrow, soon*) also appear. However, we know very little about the appearance of proper names, especially place names in a child's vocabulary.

The research targetting children's speech concerning places is based on the wish to understand how children experience their environment and how they absorb place names, and from what point can we talk about the use of real place names. It is well established that place names, being an onomastic universal, can be found in every language. However, onomastic research on this topic generally deal with adults (e.g. ZSOLNAI 1967). This paper seeks to report children's ways of talking about their immediate environment in a measurable way, as very little research has been conducted in this field.

2. Place names and children

According to some researchers, in the early period of child language place names and common nouns are not two separate categories and that they only become differentiated at a later stage. However, the latest research modifies these opinions and it now appears that children learn proper nouns and common nouns as well in the beginning of the lexical development during first language acqusition (RESZEGI 2015: 84, 2016: 8–10, HALL 2009: 404–408). From a linguistic point of view it is also important to mention that the beginning of the use of place names appears later than that of personal names. For children it takes a longer time and it is also more complex skill to learn place names. It is also widely known that knowing place names does not effect orientation in the space, however, they play an important role in talking about space (RESZEGI

2012a: 99, 2012b: 375–376, 2015: 87). Getting to know the places is also important, because children become familiar with their narrower and wider environment and also, they will have the feeling of belonging somewhere. Children learn place names as well as the other elements of the language. The place names that his/her parents, family members, grandparents use, become familiar for the child.

In the case of children, a name doesn't have the same meaning as for adults, and it is a long process for children to understand what is a stream and what is a street or a town (RESZEGI 2015). As an other example we can tell the story of a five-year-old child who was travelling by boat from the the central point of Budapest, from Margaret Island to the harbour in Vigadó Square in the Hungarian capital. At a certain point, he asked his mother where Budapest was. It was unclear to him that everything he can see from the boat is Budapest, as it is a large city. Also, rivers make children's life complicated as they run through several towns. How is it possible that the same river, for example, the River Tisza, can be in Tiszaújváros, Szolnok and Szeged too? A four year-old child finds it hard to imagine that he can walk on the banks of the same river in different towns.

As for getting to know their surroundings, children also create names that are usually used only within their family or their immediate environment. These names are used only for a short period of time, though some names can be used in adulthood as well. DÁNIEL KOVÁTS mentions children who were living in one of the housing estates of Miskolc and who created a lot of names for a relatively small area. These names were used primarily by those children, and the social validity of the names was limited (KOVÁTS 1981).

In Finland since the 1990s researchers have been working on the questions of the use of place names, a lot of socioonomastic papers deal with the contemporary place names, describing the language used today too. These papers analyze place names in connection with the age, job and gender of the name users. Age has a significant effect on onomasic competence since, as we have already mentioned, getting familiar with place names starts in the early years. Someone who has been living in the same settlement since birth knows and uses more place names than someone who moves there later (e.g. E. NAGY 2015: 41). However, individuals who move to a village are also able to learn a lot of place names in a relatively short period of time if they have active connections with the place (because of their job), talk regularly with locals who tell them stories about the settlement, or for some other reasons (GYŐRFFY 2015c: 17)

KIM RASMUSSEN (2004) writes about the place-names used by children in Denmark from the aspect of child sociology. According to him, in their everyday lives, children largely stay within and relate to three settings – their homes, schools

and recreational institutions. However, these environments have been created by adults and designated by them as 'places for children'. A more differentiated picture of children's spatial culture emerges when children discuss and take photographs of settings that are meaningful to them. The analysis shed light on interfaces and discontinuities between 'places for children' and 'children's places' and argues that the concept should not be underestimated. Also, BALDO BLINKERT (2004) writes about children's experience in connection with their environment and tells how spatial conditions of childhood have changed and produced what is arguably an entirely new type of childhood.

KAISA TIKKA in her university thesis carried out research on names used by Finnish primary schol pupils (AINIALA–SAARELMA–SJÖBLOM 2012: 115). Taking into account that the area used by children every day is relatively small, common nouns also function as place names e.g. *School, Shop, Park.* Being a teacher in the school, the writer had the opportunity to observe and note the place names used by children in an everyday context. The most well known and most often used names connect to the playground of the school where children create secret hiding places and name them. The use of these names also strenghtens the feeling of belonging to a group.

In Hungary very few papers deal with the place name knowledge of children and children's oral language concerning usage of place names, but among these we can mention papers by KATALIN RESZEGI (2009, 2015) and ERZSÉBET GYŐRFFY (2012, 2013, 2015a, 2015b).

3. Orientation in space

Perception and sensation together form the bases of cognition. Before the age of three, perception of shape, colour and size are formed. Besides that, the emergence of perception of space and time are also crucial. Even toddlers are able to realize depth, which is the first indicator of spacial awareness, although this ability improves most during the preschool years, between age of three to six (BALOGH 2005). Children need functioning eyesight and mobility in order to move around and to get to know the world. Toddlers are able to crawl as early as 6 months old. While crawling, they start to become aware of depth and space, which play crucial roles in discovering their surroundings. Developing a sense of space is strongly connected to the body image. During the pre-school years, a child realizes the symmetry of his/her body and is able to distuinguish between left and right sides. They come to learn which is their dominant hand and, at the same time, they develop an enhanced image of their own body.

The pre-school years are important for many reasons, such as directions, which are crucial in a child's spatial development (COLE, M.–COLE, S. R. 2006, GALAMBOS 2013). Only after acquiring this knowledge is the child

able to determine linguisitically the place of items in his/her surroundings. An example of this is whether an object is to the child's right or left. Similarly, the child first determines the place of his/her body parts and later can tell if something is under it, above it or next to it. Consequently, imaging depends on the improvement of the body schema. Besides senso-motoric learning in pre-school years, getting to know the fragrances, colours and orientation in the space are also important. Children also get to know colours and smells by moving around. The role of parents, grandparents and the caregivers is very important during these formative years.

According to our every day experience, a child may be able to recall a route used every day, for example, from home to the nursery. This is possible due to the subalternation of certain dislocation experience residues. After some time, besides these experiential residues, pictorial starting points appear that play a significant role for the child to orientate in space such visual starting points can be a shop, a school or a gate etc. We also have to add that these pictorial starting points are always unique, as every child uses a different route or finds different points important or distinctive on the given route that later becomes an orientation point, but these are not marks on a map but memories (Mérei–V. Binét 2006: 159).

The elements of place can be classified into objective or subjective frames, for example the *kindergarten is in west* (objective frame), the *kindergarten is close to the green house* (subjective frame) (Fazekas 2012). As the spacial orientation of young children is in the process of developing, they mainly map places in a subjective frame. We also have to mention that in different stages of childhood, children sense place and the environment differently. Moreover, the sense of place is a complex activity that includes not only sensation and sighting (Fazekas 2012).

In our paper we would like to explore a slice of oral language – preschool and primary school children talking about the space based on their every day experience. My hypothesis is that they mainly use generic elements and that place names play a less important role in these years. In the following I review what factors might be in the background of name competence and name usage of children aged 5–10.

4. Methods and materials

Our research was carried out within the early childhood research group at the Department of Child Education of University of Debrecen and is also part of an international research project called *Journey to School* (Plymouth University, United Kingdom). The aim of the project is to collect data from several countries based on certain criteria and to publish the results. The children

are also asked to take photos during their journey or draw pictures about the journey. Another goal of the paper is to explore the language development in different age-groups. As our research is part of a pedagogical project, we were also interested in the pedagogues' opinion concerning the topic, as we believe there may be connections between the child's behaviour and his/her journey to school in the morning. We also asked kindergarten teachers how the start of the day influences the child and what information it gives them (NEMES 2018: 92–93).

This paper is about children living in Hajdúböszörmény, which is a medium-sized town in the East of Hungary. In Hajdúböszörmény, which is located in Hajdú-Bihar county, there are 30,000 inhabitants, who mainly work in agriculture. As the official name is quite a long one, the residents usually use unofficial variants like *Böszörmény* or *Böszi, Bösz.*

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with children in a nursery school and in a primary school in Hajdúböszörmény. Ethical approval was received from the parents and the heads of the instititions.

The aim of the interviews is to compare the way these children talk about the way they get to nursery/preschool or school and the town where they live. In exploring the way children get to know their home town, several sources have been used: drawings, interviews, and chatting with children. We would also like to examine a range of issues relating to children and the town where they live and the way they talk about it. We are interested in how children see their environment and also how they acquire place names.

The interviews included 12 questions including open-ended questions and questions which required only one word answers. The key questions (age, gender) were asked at the beginning of the interviews.

This paper analyzes answers for the following questions:

Which country do you live in? What is the name of the country where you live?

In which town do you live? What is the name of the town where you live?

In which street do you live? What is your address?

Tell me your way from home to kindergarten/school.

We also asked children how they get to school, with whom they go to school, where their grandparents live and what they like most about their town, though our results to those questions are discussed in another paper (NEMES 2018).

4.1. Participants

We interviewed 100 children in Hajdúböszörmény in June 2014 (N=100, average age 6;11 years). In our research we asked 48 children who attend kindergarten (they are aged 4–7) in Hajdúböszörmény. The interviews (48) were carried out in the training kindergarten of the University of Debrecen which is a modern, well-equipped institution in the town centre. There are approximetely 300 children who come from every part of the town. Being a training kindergarten, future nursery school teachers do their practical training here. We also asked 52 children who attend first and second class in primary school in Baltazár Dezső Református Általános Iskola [Dezső Baltazár Protestant Primary School], Hajdúböszörmény. It is a religious school open not only to children coming from protestant families. Approximately 400 children come to this school from every part of the town. In Hungarian primary school children are 6/7 to 14 years old.

In the training kindergarten we asked 32 girls and 16 boys, while in the primary school 26 boys and 26 girls between the age of 4;6 and 9 answered my questions. We tried to pay attention to the balance between girls and boys being interviewed.

In the nursery school the youngest child was 4;7 years old while the eldest child was 7 years old (average: 5;9 years old). In the primary school the youngest child was 7 and the eldest child was 9 years old (average 7;9 years old).

The age of the children played an important role in our research project as getting around in the space culminate by the end of the preschool years, when children are 7 years old. It is not just a coincidence that among the tasks which check psychological aspects of school readiness we can find tasks concerning spacial orientation, getting around in space and the ability to name the directions. By the end of the preschool years, thanks to improved vocabulary, variety of word classes and improved body scheme, the child is able to differentiate his/her left and right side and is able to carry out instructions in space.

As we believe that children under the age of 4 are also suitable for such research, we conducted a pilot research project in autumn 2017 with fifty children aged between two and three in creches in Hungary. The research questions targetted personal names (e.g. *What is your name?, What is your Mom's name?*) and place names (e.g. *In which town do you live?*). The interviews were carried out in a relaxed atmosphere by caregivers whom the children have known for some time. Our findings will be discussed in another paper.

4.2. Procedure

The participants were interviewed individually and the interviews lasted 5–10 minutes in a quiet room at the kindergarten or in the school. Notes were taken during the interviews and the children could go and play after the interview. After the interviews were carried out, all interview data were coded and EXCEL was used to facilitate analysis of data and themes (with the help of MOLNÁR BALÁZS, assistant professor at the University of Debrecen).

5. Results and findings

We decided to ask for information about the wider environment and later on ask about the child's narrower environment. Our first question was *Which country do you live in?* to which the correct answer is: *Magyarország [Hungary]*. We believe that, even if the children are not fully aware of the concept of the country, they can reply to our question, as they might have heard it or might have talked about it with their family members.

From the 100 children asked 70 children replied: *in Hungary* (average age 7;2 years). Sixteen children said they live in *Hajdúböszörmény* and four that they live *in Böszörmény* - which is an unofficial variant of the name of the town. It seems that for these children the concept of country and town are not clear yet (average age 7 years). The ambiguity of the concept of place can be seen also in those ten answers when children said *I don't know* to our question. These children were on average 5;7 years old, which is more than a year lower than of those who gave the correct answer (7;2 years). We believe that in order to grasp the concept of a country, a child needs a lot of information about his/her surroundings, and many children at the age of six are unable to engage in such abstract thinking. Moreover, giving the correct answer does not mean that the child has a concept of the country. It is more probable, however, that he/she has heard that expression many times and was able to recall it when needed. KATALIN RESZEGI (2015, 2016) has also called attention to uncertainty over places (street, town, country).

Our second question was *Which town do you live in?* for which the correct answer was: *I live in Hajdúböszörmény.* From the children asked, 48 said *Hajdúböszörmény* and 18 replied *Böszörmény* (average age 7;2 years). As both forms refer to the same denotatum, in the following I do not make a difference between them. Four children said they live in *Debrecen* (average age 7;6 years). The two towns are very close to each other and families travel very often from Hajdúböszörmény to Debrecen, the centre of the county. The relatively high number of 30 children replied *I don't know.* and their average age is exactly one year lower than in the former group (6;3 years).

The following question was: *In which street do you live?/What is your address?*.
The answers were analyzed by these aspects: the child said only the name of the
street *(I live in X Street.),* the child said the number and the name of the street *(I
live at ..... X Street.),* the child didn't know the answer. Most children asked (84,
average age 7;1 years) replied with the street name without saying the number
e.g. *I live in Újvárosi Street.* 37% of the children asked replied with the number
and the street name, e.g. *I live at 5 Újvárosi Street.* The average age of these
children is 6;7 years. To this question, nobody replied *I don't know.* This result
can be interpreted in several ways. First, we can assume that parents teach their
children in which street they live. It can be a useful piece of information in case
the child gets lost and has to ask for help. Children look at the number and the
street name as an complex linguistic unit and its division gradually gets similar
to the adult way of thinking.

To sum up what has been said so far, 70 children replied we live in Hungary,
from which 53 children answered we live in *Hajdúböszörmény ~ Böszörmény.*
37 children mentioned the number and the street name as well (6;7 years).
About a quarter of the children asked (24 children) gave the correct, full answer
to the three questions, their average age was 7;2. The youngest child who was
able to answer these three questions correctly was 6 years old.

5.1. The way from home to school – narratives

In 1987 LÍVIA NEMES and FERENC SZAKÁCS carried out some research into the
spatial orientation of children aged three to six. First, they asked the children
to tell them their route to the kindergarten and back. The children recalled their
route as a series of actions (e.g. *here .... straight on .... I turn left ... we step on
to the road ... then I run*). The children also used individual visual orientation
points that signal to them where to cross the road or turn left/right, whether it be
a cake shop or a building site (MÉREI–V. BINÉT 2006: 162–165).

Our most important research question targeted the activization of the
children's narratives *(Tell me your way to school/kindergarten).* When hearing
the question, most children thought a little bit then tried to recall the morning
journey. Analyzing the narratives can help to map how well-developed the
cognitive map of the children we asked is, and how they can describe their
journey they make to school day by day. As every child has a different journey,
there are not correct or incorrect asnwers to this question. In order to make the
data analyzable, I created two categories. In the first one I put the answers of
those children who used orientation points when talking about their journey,
such as *A **bolt**tól indulunk, lefordulunk balra és itt vagyunk.* (6 years old boy,
nursery). [We start from the **shop,** we turn left and we are there.] By orientation
point I mean generic elements (e.g. valley, hill) and names of institutions, words

meaning places (e.g. *shop, crossroads, main square, pedestrian crossing*). Here is an example from an 8-year-old girl: *Beszállok anyával a kocsiba, ad egy puszit, elindulunk, a **kereszteződés**nél odaadja a táskámat, kiszállok és egyedül megyek tovább.* [I get in the car with Mummy, she gives me a kiss, we start off at the **crossroads** she gives me my bag, I get out and carry on on my own.]. In the following I take as orientation points the following common nouns: *át kell hajtani a **főtéren**, aztán megyünk egyenesen* [you have to drive through the **main square** then we go straight]; *kimegyünk **a sportpálya mögött**, lefordulunk balra* [we go out **behind the sports field** then turn left]. More than a third of the children asked used orientation points in their narratives (37 children).

It is quite hard to distinguish generic elements (common nouns refering to places) from place names in linguistics, and among other data common nouns referring to places can be found (e.g. *fehér ház/*white house; *STOP sign, cycle path, traffic lights*). The average age among children using orientation points is 7;6 years. The 37 children used altogether 75 orientation points, which means they used almost two per person (1.97/child, S:1.098). The youngest child who used an orientation point was five years old, which may suggest that orientation points appear earlier in verbal communication than place names. HAZEN and his collegues in a research project (1982) revealed that children at the age four are consciously able to use orientation points on their way, though by the age of six they can also use orientation points that are further away from their field of movement (KÁLLAI 2004).

When analyzing our data in the second category, we found that 14 of the 100 children we questioned used place names, especially street names. These 14 children used the relatively high number of 16 street names (1.86 place name/child). The youngest child who used a place name was a six-year-old boy (*ott van az **Erkel Ferenc [utca]*** */ There is **Erkel Ferenc Street** then you walk along.* Here is another example: *A **Polgárin** végigjövünk, ott lekanyarodunk balra, és ott jövünk be és itt vagyunk. / We walk along **Polgári** [street] then we turn right* (girl 7 years old). Place names appear in low number among older children as well, 7;8 is the average age (S: 0.668). The most place names were used by an 8-year-old boy, in his narrative five place names can be found (*A **Madách Imre** utcán elfordulunk balra, de nem a **Korpona utca** felé, hanem a **13 vértanú** felé. Megyünk egyenesen, a **Deák Ferencnél** lefordulunk, megyünk egyenesen az **Iskola utca** felé, ott bejövünk és jobbra lesz az iskola. / We turn left in **Madách Imre Street** but not towards **Korpona Street** but towards **13 Vértanú Street**. We walk along and turn at **Deák Ferenc Street** then we go straight towards **Iskola Street**, then the school is on the right.* His place name knowledge might have been affected by the fact that he goes to school on his own most mornings and his parents taught him to orientate himself. HAZEN (1982) found out by analysing the qualitative elements of spatial orientation

that the differences between four years old children's spatial orientation is in connection with observing the environment in an active or passive way (KÁLLAI 2004). Those children who actively discover their environment have more integrated spatial information and better spatial memory than their passive peers.

To sum up what has been said so far about orientation points and place names we can conclude that the appearance of orientation points is earlier than the appearance of place names. Among preschool children (aged 3 to 6), nine children (18%) used at least one orientation point in their narrative though they didn't use any place names. An orientation point was used by more than half of the school children (28 children, 56%) as well. Among primary school children 13 (26%) used a place name when talking about their journey to school.

In lingusitic socialization, parents and the family play an important role as well as the communities where the child spends time. In representing the geographical surroundings, the environment that the child grows up in also has an important role. In the future we are planning to carry out research among children living in different geographical environments. Children, based on their lingusitic experience, realize that there are unique scales in the language, however, their use can be different from the adults's use as the children's concept of place is still unclear (e.g. what is a town? how long is a street?). In comparison with other elements of the vocabulary, we don't know much about the appearance of place names in a child's speech. Nevertheless, we assume that learning and using place names is a gradual process and continous improvement in this process between the ages of seven and eight seems to be particularly important.

6. Conclusions and further tasks

A preschool child is able to recall the routes used every day based on several experiential residues such as visual, auditive, tactile, verbal, emotional experience. Later, besides these experiential residues, different visual reference points also appear (e.g. shop, school, gate) that play an important role in a child's orientation. We also have to add that these orientation points are very personal. However, in our sample we could also see that, from the age of six, children used not only orientation points but place names as well as directions in their narratives (e.g. *menni kell **egyenesen**, utána kicsit **jobbra** az **Iskola utcán*** / *you have to go **straight** then to the **right** in **Iskola Street***). According to our results, between the age of six and eight there are quatitative and qualitative changes in the cognitive development of the children which is reflected in their way of talking about places.

I am confident that this brief overview will help to raise awareness of the importance of studies within the area, and I hope my work will serve as a good

foundation for further research on a larger sample and in different types of settlements e.g. in towns, cities and villages.

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Abstract

This paper seeks to report children's way of talking about their area in a measurable way. Our research is being carried out within the early childhood research group at the University of Debrecen and is also part of an international research project called Journey to School (Plymouth University). Another goal of the paper is to explore the development between different age-groups. In our research we asked 48 children who attend kindergarten (they are aged 5-7). We also asked 52 children who attend first and second class in a primary school in Hungary (N=52; S=7.98). The aim of the interviews (2014) is to compare the way these children talk about the way they get to nursery or primary school. We also want to investigate what they use in narratives – whether these are names or orientation points.

In exploring the way children get to know their home town, several sources have been used: drawings, interviews, and chatting with children. Our research helps us to see what is meaningful to children in their surroundings. We came to realize that at the age of six children start to use place names as well as orientation points, enabling them to more accurately verbalize their cognitive map.

Keywords: Children aged 5–9, socio-onomastics, narratives

Daiana Felecan–Alina Bugheşiu

Artifex ludi, or On the Game of Naming.
Form and Meaning in the Act of Giving Names to Toys

1. Introduction

1.1. Due to the growth and diversification of products for entertainment especially in the past decades, toys make up a realm that is particularly meant for children. Nonetheless, this universe provides a means of relaxation for grown-ups as well, for whom the concrete, tactile and affective dimension of playing has not disappeared yet. While anthroponyms are more likely to pique researchers' interest due to their abundance and smooth access to social life, proper names resulting from the internalisation of personal experiences are communicated with greater difficulty and are therefore less investigated.

For ludic objects (i.e. toys) to become part of our referential field, they need to become "alive". Thus, they double their (utilitarian) purpose of objects *used to* communicate (they serve individuals' ludic needs) with an additional (intersubjective) purpose when they function as objects *with which* one communicates: they satisfy users' need for establishing an interlocutionary connection (which does not get materialised in articulate speech – response to stimulus). The first action one carries out to establish this quasi-relational dimension of toys is *naming* them.

1.2. The universe of childhood displays a complex cognitive and semantic architecture, which initially consists of simple concepts and basic operations, but develops steadily into systems of meanings and references. Children gradually acquire and learn to manipulate conceptual data in various settings beginning with infancy and toddler years, but the process becomes more elaborate with age (see MORGENTHALER 2006: 65–66) and experience (see RHEMTULLA–HALL 2009: 173). More often than not, these continual activities are mediated by play, seen as a "context or frame […], with an emphasis on process rather than goals. Play's major characteristics are active involvement, intrinsic motivation, attention to process rather than product, nonliterality, freedom from external rules, and self-reference rather than object-reference" (WILTZ–FEIN 2006: 137). It facilitates a child's growth along both axes of the coordinate system of human existence, the personal axis (focused on self-discovery and, subsequently, self-improvement) and the social axis (centred on sociocultural belonging; see MORGENTHALER 2006: 68). Among the numerous types of play, the one that reaches over both directions of development is play with objects, because it reveals the way in which children mould their identity in relation to others. In

this context, names given to toys are of particular interest: regardless of the naming agent, the names are suggestive of toy users' perception of themselves and of the playthings as instances of otherness.

1.3. Children's use of toys during playful activities takes various shapes, which are either "exploratory and manipulative" (MORGENTHALER 2006: 65), when the toys are mere indices of items outside the play environment, or symbolic, if the toys (regardless of their realism) are vehicles in the construction of a distinct story-like world that may be independent or serialised (see MORGENTHALER 2006: 66). During this type of pretend play (see TAGGART–HEISE–LILLARD 2017: 1), playthings may function as props (see MORGENTHALER 2006: 69), e.g. a toy car is manoeuvred by a child who imagines himself/herself driving it (the focus is not on the play object, but on the plot line). Nevertheless, they may also function as actors in the play, invested with abilities that they do not commonly possess: e.g. they talk, go shopping, go out with friends, cook, dress up and perform all sorts of other activities specific to human life. According to WILTZ–FEIN (2006: 135), "these actions, statements, and clothing are not meant to be replicas of the real thing. They are exaggerations, abbreviations, and highlighted caricatures of whatever the children know and feel about what they are representing". Sociologically and pragmatically, toys are attributed roles that simulate the conceptualised behaviours we adopt in various situations and provide children the opportunity to practise tackling them (see LANDRETH–HOMEYER–MORRISON 2006: 50).

At the same time, the transfer of anthropomorphic qualities onto toys is indicative of a higher degree of individualisation to which children subject certain playthings. Objects used during play-related activities are endowed with an identity established in relation to the players, who thereby take further steps in discovering their own personality and learn to acknowledge the identity of others. Thus, "while objects may be involved as catalysts for the play, they more often serve as the external stimuli for a primarily internal process" (MORGENTHALER 2006: 69).

2. Aims, methodology and corpus

This research aims at exploring the field of toy names in view of determining the main trends that define this onomastic subcategory in contemporary Romanian space. The analysis of the names starts from their multilevel classification: according to the naming agents (*official names,* given by toy makers, and *unofficial names,* attributed by children or other individuals), as well as according to the (lexical-semantic) structure of the identifying constructions. Overall, the names are interpreted from a multidisciplinary perspective, which includes

onomastics, linguistics, lexicology, child/behavioural psychology, pragmatics, referential semantics, sociolinguistics, stylistics and psychopedagogy.

The material investigated comprises official and unofficial names of toys collected by the authors of this paper by means of an online survey in Romanian carried out in July 2017, disseminated on Facebook and via e-mail. The survey was divided into two parts, one requiring general information about the respondents and the other focusing on the subject matter. In the first part, respondents were asked to mention their gender and age, as we believe these variables strongly influence the sociolinguistic interpretation of the data. The second part contained three open-ended questions that referred to toy names, name givers and the motivation behind the onomastic choices (in the case of unofficial names), as follows:

a) What name(s) did your favourite childhood toy(s) bear?

b) Did the name(s) correspond to the commercial name (shelf name) or did you or someone else (please mention who) choose it/them? In the latter case, please state what inspired the selection.

c) What other toy names from your childhood do you remember? At the same time, please specify whether the commercial name was replaced (by yourself or someone else – mention who) with a different name. If so, kindly mention the motivation behind the nominal choice.

Of the forty-five respondents, two are men and forty-three are women, aged 5 to 53. Their answers (103 names of toys) are analysed in the sections below.

3. Naming toys, between institutional and personal

3.1. Given the fact it takes up a significant part of the management of the personal time reserved for entertainment, *playing with toys* casts an individual in various *roles*. Moreover, it determines one to adopt *scripts* that are usually enacted during one's socio-professional time (i.e. the time when the primacy of civil status demands one's abandoning the "frivolous" role and putting on a serious face, required by the specificity of the context in which the individual performs: familiar, institutional/informal, (semi)formal, and so on).

As overlapping (parity), then doubling and, with the passing of time, (un) conscious perpetuation of habits acquired during infancy, games (including playing with toys) are universes that give players the opportunity

a) to formulate laws based on which the profile of the activity represented (of the type of game chosen) is delineated the most plausibly, by keeping a significant distance in relation to the surrogate and recovering as faithfully as possible the prototype from immediate reality;

b) to observe the aforementioned laws in view of ensuring a consensus-based framework between partners;[1]

c) to violate the laws, with potential risks and consequences of deteriorating interpersonal harmony and creating chaos; or

d) to change the laws during the game, an act that is not at all advisable if preserving the feeling of camaraderie between play partners is sought even after play time is over.

Although the choice of playing would impose the cancellation of the intrinsically prescriptive nature of most contiguous activities, once an individual enters a game (s)he has the reflex to reiterate real-world customs on another spatial-temporal scale. One of the practices transposed by the experimenter into the secondary world (i.e. the world of play) is to establish a contact *by means of a name* with the object of ludic possession. This statement holds true whether one refers to *subject-toys* (which the player considers more than the vehicle of his/her manipulation (the various manoeuvres by means of which one applies/attempts at the "production" of human physiology: speaking,[2] eating, sleeping, waking up, getting dressed, combing one's hair, walking or using a means of transport, fighting etc.) and which must be addressable in their quality as anthropomorphised "collocutors") or *object-toys* (such as (lego) cubes, puzzles, cars and trains, for instance, which on the level of form do not reproduce animated objects and thus do not fit the category of potential "dialogue" partners, so that naming *in actu* becomes an optional action on the part of the user).

3.2. Wishing to treat inanimate "interlocutors" on a par, name-giving players follow a naming path that can be broken down into three phases according to the stages of their biological development:

a) *name-giving commanded by external authority:* the beneficiary (the child who has not yet reached literacy) cannot (literally) issue a name for the subject of his/her play; thus, someone else (from his/her familial milieu) takes on the role of name giver (0–2 years);[3]

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[1] The term *joc* 'game, play' somehow also refers to the possibility of triggering a failure in the absence of the malfunctioning of the law of camaraderie as a result of the multiplication of the game (see the plural form of the noun) and implicitly of the initial number of rules of behaviour. We bear in mind the phrase *game theory,* which designates a "mathematical theory of conflicting situations, in which two or several parties have opposing aims and tendencies" (*DEX Online,* https://dexonline.ro/definitie/joc, orig. Romanian).

[2] In this respect, technology has developed towards producing and marketing a wide variety of talking (interactive) toys.

[3] For the stages of object play depending on children's ages, see Morgenthaler (2006: 65–66).

    b) *naming as mimesis:* the beneficiary acquires the name given by the third party and employs it, by means of imitation, with a phonetical structure that is faithful to the original or contains orthoepic deviations specific to the biological stage experienced (3–5 years);

    c) *deliberate naming:* beneficiaries are at the age of becoming aware of their belonging to the surrounding world, whose elements they "convert" into (ludic) entities with which they "furnish" their personal world by means of baptism (children older than 6).

In all the stages identified, names used for play objects may coincide with their official onyms or they may be naming agents' onomastic choices.

4. Cognitive process and semantic-referential structures: name-giving and its results

4.1. One of the means through which the identity of play objects is signalled, as in the case of any other entity, consists of the names under which they exist. According to the name-giving entities (the *producer* or *beneficiary* of the playthings), toy names can be grouped as follows:

4.1.1. Official/commercial/prototype name (the label name); the result of *objectivised onymisation,* which is meant to convey specific concepts that make up the *brand identity* of the product (see CORBU 2009: 64). Every use of the brand name during play should evoke, in a condensed form, the conceptualised representation of the product. Contextual adaptations of this type of identity may occur, in the sense that children emphasise through play only certain meaning associations, sometimes even adding novel connotations to the official ones or removing aspects from their configuration, depending on their experience with the object of play and beyond it. Put differently, the conceptual load associated with an official toy name varies according to children's knowledge and understanding of the world and the toy itself, although the notional nucleus is the same: *Barbie* is *essentially* 'Barbie' despite sociocultural differences. Moreover, the social roles that a toy fulfils are determined by the narrative of children's play and several shifts may occur within a single play episode (e.g. the official name *Barbie* can refer to various roles of the doll bearing it, such as 'Barbie – the best friend', 'Barbie – the fashion icon' and 'Barbie – the sportswoman').

4.1.2. Unofficial name (spontaneous name, given by another naming entity (child or parent) than the one(s) involved in the making and selling of a certain toy); the result of *subjectivised naming.* In this context, name-giving unfolds as a simulation of official naming, by means of which children grow accustomed to the standard procedure and develop their "metalinguistic awareness" (FREEMAN

DAVIDSON 2006: 38) even when they are not the ones carrying out the task. The onym of choice is the result of a more or less conspicuously motivated "linguistic mechanism of nominal referential identification" (FELECAN 2014: 19). As such, it is tightly linked to characteristics of the named object, as "the object itself is supposed to elicit certain child actions" (MORGENTHALER 2006: 67), naming included. Thus, the unofficial name is almost forced upon the name bearer and name giver alike, by means of associations triggered in the name giver by the name bearer (the toy) on the cognitive-affective level. These associations are context-bound, because there is a "strong reliance on spatiotemporal history when making judgments that pertain to individual identity" (RHEMTULLA–HALL 2009: 167). They may relate to numerous aspects, ranging from a play object's physical features to its alleged (perceived) similarity to another toy or a real-life entity. From this viewpoint, unofficial proper names may be derived from appellative constructions (clearly denoting or merely suggesting the aforementioned features and associations: e.g. *Brown,* a doll whose hair was brown) or proper names: e.g. *Betty,* based on the homonymous female character in the animated series *The Flintstones.* While the former are the result of "feature selection" (JONES–SMITH 2002: 219), the latter endow the toy with qualities of the original name bearer. They thereby confirm the thesis advanced by RHEMTULLA–HALL (2009: 174), according to which "two representational objects sharing a proper name do share certain properties, if the shared name is connected to a shared character identity".

4.2. Within the boundaries of *official names* (in fact, fake proper names given to series of prototypes), one can identify:

a) *non-individualising names:*

   a_1) *"pure" generics*: *mascotă* 'mascot (plush toy)';

   a_2) *classifying appellatives*, which have the role of subsuming a species of toys under a "genus": *bebe* 'baby', *caleidoscop* 'kaleidoscope', *cuburi* '(lego) cubes', *cowboy şi indieni* 'cowboys and Indians', *maşinuţă de fier* 'iron car', *minge de fotbal* 'football', *moară* 'cat's cradle', *morişcă* 'windmill', *păpuşă* 'doll', *pistol cu capse* 'BB gun', *pony*, *puzzle*, *tricicletă* 'tricycle', *trotinetă* 'scooter', *ursuleţ* 'teddy bear';

b) *individualising (specifying) names turned into brands*:

   b_1) *simple names: Ariel* (*The Little Mermaid*, Disney's 1989 animation), (*Păpuşa*) *Barbie* ('Barbie (doll)'), (*Răţoiul*) *Donald* ('Donald (Duck)'), (*Păpuşa*) *Ken* ('Ken (doll)'), *Lucifer* (plush toy), (*Păpuşa*) *Manuela* ('Manuela (doll)'), *Minnie*, *Pinypon* (small dolls), *Piticot* (literally 'dwarf', board game), *Sportacus* (one of the main characters in *Lazy Town,* a children's educational musical series);

b₂) *compound names:*

– *appellative + proper name: Cubul Rubik* ('Rubik's Cube'), *Mickey Mouse, Păpuşa Ileana* ('Ileana Doll'), *Păpuşa Luminiţa* ('Luminiţa Doll'), *Păpuşa Mihaela* ('Mihaela Doll'), *Păpuşa Oana* ('Oana Doll'), *Păpuşa Zurli* ('Zurli Doll'), *Polly Pocket, Prinţesa Sisi* ('Princess Sissi'), *Ursul Panda* ('Panda Bear'), *Ursul Yoyo* ('Yoyo Bear');

– *established phrases (in Romanian linguistic space)/sentences: Bunul gospodar* ('the good householder'), *Nu te supăra, frate!* ('don't be upset, brother!'), *Sus, jos* ('up, down'; utterance with ellipted predicate).[4]

4.3. As already mentioned, *unofficial names* occur as a result of another "baptism" than the one performed by the authority responsible with the creation and marketing of toys. Thus, an unofficial name is

a) either the product of onomastic tradition (local naming customs) or a cultural trend promoted at a given time (stereotypes imported out of the need to distinguish the autochthonous universe of toys from the foreign one), or

b) an indication of the need to individualise and, at the same time, of the name giver's wish for the onym of choice to be as expressive as possible.

As regards carrying out the act of naming toys, in Romanian one can identify two verbs specialised in pointing out the status of *named entity,* or *individualised entity: a se chema* ('to be called') and *a boteza* ('to baptise'). The former is actualised in cases of *imposed* (official) *onomastics* ("o/îl cheamă X": '(s)he is called X'), whereas the latter appears in instances of *onomastics created according to subjective criteria* (unofficial onomastics) ("am botezat-o X, l-am botezat X": 'I baptised him/her X').

One cannot overlook the educational(-moralising) and equally funny dimension of resulting names. It is brought about by the now serious, now facetious "meaning" of the onomastic intention contained by a name.[5]

Most toy names are motivated (their semantic and/or lexical structure embeds a story that decodes the onomastic option). They can include an owner's name, names of (animate/inanimate) entities in the surrounding environment, characters in fiction, computer games, films and animations, and so on. In the past years one can notice the tendency to preserve traditional (local) names, alongside the drive (cultural fashion) to *exoticise* (globalise) names of toys.

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[4] All the names under this subcategory designate board games.

[5] For how children derive humour from the employment of wrong names instead of well-known official names as an example of language play, see FREEMAN DAVIDSON (2006: 33).

The unofficial names collected on the occasion of the present research consist of

  a) *anthroponyms (original or hypocoristic forms): Alison, Amanda, Betty (The Flintstones), Bibi* (the respondent claimed this was the only girl name she knew), *Camelia* (the respondent liked this name when she was a child), *Cindy, Eloise, Kiki, Persida, Prinţesa Sisi* ('Princess Sissi'), *Sandy, Sida* (a form obtained by means of aphaeresis from *Persida*); *Dupound, Leila* (the subject's cousin is the source for both names); *Camilo, Coco* (in association with the Hungarian noun *tata* 'daddy', used for 'grandfather'), *Dodi, Norm* ("Norm was a plastic dummy doll whose hair and face I made out of modelling clay. He could not move and *Norm* seemed the most suitable name for him"),[6] *Păcală* ("*Păcală* was the name of a boy-doll made of cloth, who wore trousers and a white shirt and had a black hat on his head"; due to the character's humour and wit, Păcală, a hero of Romanian folk anecdotes, became a source of inspiration for certain Romanian writers, such as Petre Dulfu and Ion Creangă), *Zoli.*

It is worth pointing out the saliency of international onomastic influences, especially Western ones. Among these, there is a clear preference for names pertaining to the field of children's animation *(Cindy Bear, Sandybell)* and films in general.[7]

  b) *brand names of toys: Barbie* (a name borrowed from the famous brand, although the doll pertained to another trademark), a typical instance of "brand extension" (see Olins 2010: 19 and Felecan 2015: 22); "Barbie, called *Barbi*", a situation of adapting original orthography to rules of Romanian phonetics (overlapping between pronunciation and spelling).

  c) *brand names from other fields except toys: Cocolina < Cocolino,* a derivative obtained by means of gender-changing suffixation, "The plush toy 'wore' a dress" (*Cocolino* is the name of a well-known brand of washing products and it has the form of a masculine noun).

  d) *zoonyms: Azorică* (the name of the grandparents' dog, formed with the typically onomastic suffix *-ică* from the main name *Azor,* with poignant autochthonous character), *Iepurică* ('little rabbit', formed by means of suffixation from the noun *iepure* 'rabbit' + onomastic diminutive suffix *-ică*), *Léon* (a lion; the name was chosen by the parents), *Toto* (the name of a stray dog that lived around the respondent's block of flats, a famous

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[6] The information provided between inverted commas in parentheses after the toy names and explaining the onomastic choices consists of the comments of the survey respondents, which were translated by the authors of this paper.

[7] A similar tendency was noted by Leibring (2010: 368).

zoonym that establishes a connection with the initial referent, Dorothy's pet dog in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*).

Two hypocoristics were identified among the answers to the survey: *Delfi* and *Pingu,* obtained by means of apocope from Romanian *delfin* 'dolphin' and *pinguin* 'penguin', respectively.

e) *phytonyms: Azaleea* ('azalea'; the respondent used to like this flower).

f) *nicknames/bynames:*

– *names of "toys converted into ironic-sentimental messages"* (ZAFIU 2003, orig. Romanian): *Băieţoiul* ('the big boy'; "*Băieţoiul* was a Barbie[-like] doll from a set of bride and groom dolls. I chose this name because I cut her hair really short, so she looked like a boy."), formed by means of derivation from the noun *băiat* 'boy' with the augmentative suffix *-oi,* which does not actualise a pejorative meaning, but physical characteristics; *Căţeluş Ciufulit* ('tousled puppy'; the referent is a plush puppy, which stood out due to the tousled tuft of hair on its head); *Nepieptănata* ('the uncombed one', feminine noun form; "a doll whose hair was always disheveled", a name given by the respondent's father). The affective-moralising note is conveyed on the level of the implicitness construed from the internal form of the name; in fact, this is a warning type of indirect speech act, by means of which the paternal authority makes his daughter aware of the possibility of being in a similar situation, of not being aesthetically appropriate. The name is decoded as offensive, an indirect lesson taught by the adult to the child, a consequence of not observing the code of personal hygiene. Thus, the child will remember that obtaining such a qualification is not to be desired.); *Pityu* (the name of a coloured rubber dwarf, consisting of the nickname of a friend of the respondent's uncle); *Zburătorul* ('the flier'; "I used to call the swing *the flier* because I had the impression I was flying"; the name of the object accounts for the action that the child perfoms *(to swing)* when she is in a swing. The connection with flight is salient due to the repeated motions in the air brought about by the manipulation of the respective object by the child herself or by an adult.).

– *epithet-nicknames obtained by means of metonymy: Brown* (the doll had brown hair); *Cântăreţul* ('the singer', masculine form; "a plush bear that would begin to sing when his paw was touched", the name is based on an adjective formed through suffixation from the verb *a cânta* 'to sing' + suffix *-eţ,* which turned into a noun as a result of articulation with the definite article *-l*); *Omul albastru* ('the blue man', the initial referent, the character Sportacus in the Icelandic children's programme *Lazy Town,* usually wore clothes of this colour); *Petuţa* ('spotty', feminine form, a

spotted plush cat; the name is formed by means of derivation from the noun *pată* 'spot' + the onomastic diminutive suffix *-uţă*).

– *metaphor-nicknames: Bagheta magică* ('the magic wand'; "I would take a stick and call it *magic wand* because I pretended to do magic tricks").

g) *onomatopoeia: Mor-Mor, Piu-Piu* (formed by means of imitating in articulate language the sound produced by bears and chicken, respectively).

h) *sentences: Un căţel care lătra* ('a dog that was barking'; "I didn't name the toy"). The name consists of an evocative utterance, a quality that is ensured through the use of the imperfect tense of the indicative mood. Thus, "negative delineation by means of absence" (ZAFIU 2003, orig. Romanian) is achieved, i.e. the referent's being unnamed. The definite article emphasises the idea of the denotatum's indetermination. The only piece of information that one can access (and that could be perceived as tautological at first sight) refers to the action performed by the referent, i.e. barking. On another level of significance, mentioning this aspect foregrounds extra information: a toy that barks has an additional (superior) characteristic in relation to other non-sound-emitting toys.

5. Concluding remarks

5.1. Taking into consideration the two sociolinguistic variables on which the survey focused (respondents' age and gender), the following can be noted:

a) most respondents are women (43 respondents, i.e. 96%, cf. Fig. 1), and the best represented age group overall is the one between 21 and 30 years old (23 respondents, i.e. cca. 52%, cf. Fig. 2);
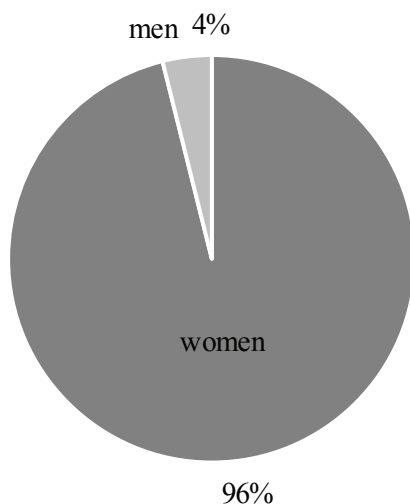
Figure 1: Respondents according to gender
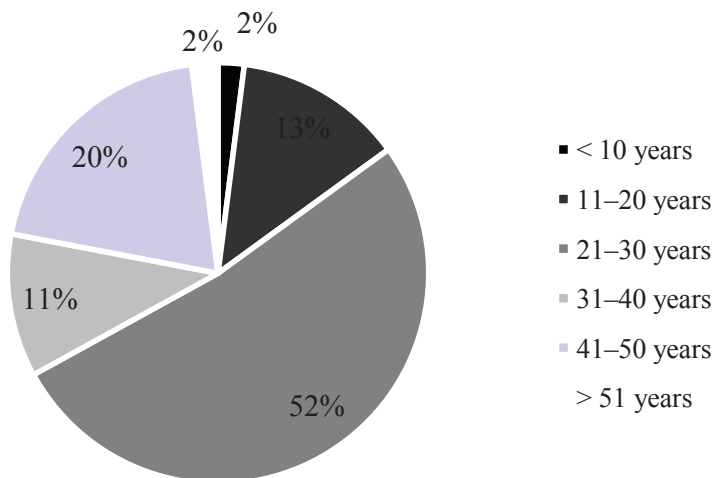
Figure 2: Respondents according to age

- < 10 years
- 11–20 years
- 21–30 years
- 31–40 years
- 41–50 years
- > 51 years

b) according to the profile delineated (feminine majority), the respondents'
   favourite toys consist of dolls and plush toys (84 toys, i.e. 82%, cf. Fig. 3);
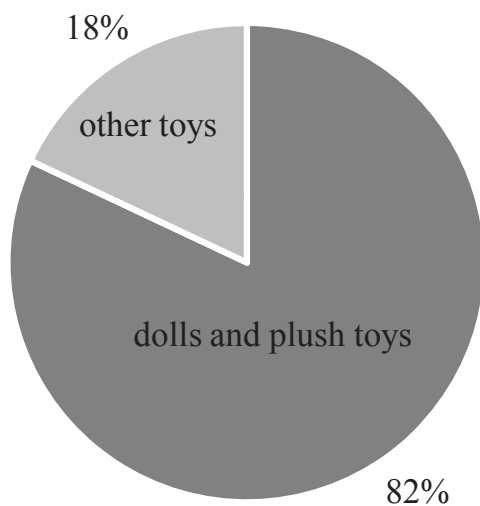
Figure 3: Types of toys

c) in the first category, the predominantly recurring name is *Barbie* (14
   instances), regardless of the official or unofficial status it displays. The
   appellative *barbie* semantically subsumes/classifies a certain category of
   dolls (representing both genders) irrespective of the producer, as it has
   become a universally employed generic term (see CLANKIE 2013: 28).

Although it does not always convey the original referential reality (the products made under this brand), the trademark *Barbie* has suffered an "extension" on the market of Romanian toys along with the increase in the number of companies making Barbie-like dolls.

5.2. As regards name sources, toy owners prove to be onomastically conservative: commercial, official names are favoured (in 60 instances, i.e. 58%, cf. Fig. 4) – be they disseminated by the user himself/herself or by an official authority – to the detriment of unofficial names (43 instances, i.e. 42%, cf. Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Official names vs. unofficial names

The latter most often consist of names of objects in the childhood universe with which the child comes into contact (cartoons, the world of pets and wild animals, films, literature). One can notice the poor orientation of name givers towards names of plants and the unquestionable supremacy of onomastic models from the "animated world". On some occasions, there is preference for names with international aspect, full and/or diminutive forms, hypocoristics (see the suffixes *-el* and *-ica*), constructions that evidence the intersection between onomastic localism and globalism. These names invite receivers to decode them on several levels of interpretation and function as ironic-affective and moralising messages issued by the user himself/herself or formulated by the guardianship authority. They are onyms obtained by amplifying various stylistic devices (epithet, metaphor and metonymy) according to the principle of exploiting their phonetic expressiveness. At the same time, there are rare instances of pure generic names (*mascotă* 'mascot (plush toy)' as an official name) and onomastic absence (which is yet another case of "nominally" preserving a referent within genericity).

5.3. For our youngest respondents (< 10 years old), it was usually the parents that filled out the survey. Given this situation and the fact that, in the other cases, the names recorded are based on childhood recollections, this research could be continued through the application of a similar survey to kindergarten or early school-age children. Such an approach would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the process of naming toys.

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Abstract

The world of toys is essentially a children's universe. However, it is also a means of relaxation for adults due to the enrichment and diversification, especially in the past decades, of entertainment products.

For ludic objects to become a part of our referential field, they need to become "alive". Our first action in this respect is naming them.

Depending on the name-giving agents (toy makers or beneficiaries), toy names can be classified into official/commercial/prototype names (appearing on packages) and unofficial names (given by another naming agent than the one involved in making and selling the toys).

Within the boundaries of official names, one can identify *generic names* (e.g. *păpuşă* 'doll' and *ursuleţ* 'teddy bear', classifying appellatives with categorising role) and *specifying names* (e.g. *Barbie* and *Donald,* proper names that have become brands).

In the past years, along with the preservation of traditional (local) names, one can notice the tendency (cultural fashion) of *exoticising* (globalising) toy names.

The methodology employed is integrated and consists of onomastics, linguistics, lexicology, child/behavioural psychology, pragmatics, referential semantics, sociolinguistics, stylistics and psychopedagogy.

The corpus comprises toy names collected by the authors through the application of a questionnaire to subjects delimited according to age group and gender.

Keywords: toy name, official name, unofficial name, generic name, individualising name, semantic motivation

Väinö Syrjälä
Names in Teenagers' Linguistic Landscapes

1. Background

The visible language use in (urban) public spaces, the *linguistic landscape* of a given territory or place, offers great potential for onomastic research (see PUZEY 2011, 2016). Even in my study of teenagers' observations of the suburban linguistic landscapes in Helsinki (see SYRJÄLÄ 2018) proper names can be found in the material and are mentioned in the discussion. But how do teenagers comment on proper names: are they given special attention compared to other texts? What types of names appear in the teenagers' observations? These questions are discussed in this paper.

My experimental study had as aim to discuss how language users interact with the linguistic landscape of their home area – and whether or not the visible language use affects their perceptions of linguistic places or communities. Thus, I am combining the *study of linguistic landscapes* (e.g. PUZEY 2016) with the more ethnographic take of *folklinguistic* studies (e.g. NIEDZIELSKI–PRESTON 2000). As the focus here is on the proper names in the landscapes, one could also talk about *folk onomastics* (cf. AINIALA 2016: 378).

Studies of linguistic landscapes are usually based on observations made by the researcher. Some, such as COLLINS and SLEMBROUCK (2007: 335), have noted that the question of what passers-by make of the signs rarely gets asked. More recently there has however been development towards more qualitative studies (cf. BARNI–BAGNA 2015: 11–12), some of them also discussing the views of language users. An example is the study of GARVIN (2010) where she uses a "walking tour method" to interview the townspeople in Memphis, Tennessee during a walk through the linguistic landscape. As language users construct attitudes and perceptions as a dialogue with both the landscape and the interviewer (GARVIN 2010: 255), she concludes that the language of public spaces functions as both a stimulus for discussions about languages and a motive for emotional responses on identities and communities (GARVIN 2010: 268).

With a focus on brand names, TUFI and BLACKWOOD (2010: 198–199), too, discuss how the interpretation of the language on signs is dependent on one's own background. Thus researchers with the objective to map the visibility of different languages see the linguistic landscape differently from those for whom it is just a backdrop for the daily interactions. The commercial names that do not

have an obvious linguistic background can be perceived differently in different linguistic surroundings and by different people, depending on their language skills and knowledge of the name bearer (cf. the discussion in SYRJÄLÄ 2016).

As demonstrated by e.g. EDELMAN (2009), proper names have a central role in the linguistic landscape. According to SJÖBLOM (2013: 163–165) commercial names are highly salient features of language in the public space. Both these facts are true even in the case of bilingual towns in Finland (SYRJÄLÄ 2016: 274). Thus the way in which these proper names are categorised affects the perception of the visibility – and thereby also the status – of different languages (cf. EDELMAN 2009: 150). Despite some recent studies (e.g. MATTFOLK 2017) touching on the subject, the matter of how the average language user perceives the proper names in the linguistic landscapes has still not been investigated thoroughly.

Setting aside the question of interpreting single signs (and names in them), the overall linguistic landscape does affect our perception of specific places, what can be called our *sense of place* (e.g. STJERNHOLM 2015). Her study shows how different kinds of names are used in two different areas of Oslo, thus contributing to the idea of different kinds of places (STJERNHOLM 2015: 101). Another example is found in ÖSTMAN (2017). The visible use of dialectal place names evokes a lot of questions related to identity, that of the place in question and those of the language users, and authority (ÖSTMAN 2017: 436–437).

The interaction with names showcased in public spaces potentially challenges our understanding of the very nature of proper names. This is discussed by SANDST (2016: 125–127), whose examples of urban names in Copenhagen highlight the *multimodal* nature of name use in the linguistic landscape. Other studies have shown this multimodality to be a key aspect of commercial naming (e.g. SJÖBLOM 2008). All the aforementioned studies illustrate the potential of the linguistic landscape as a starting point of onomastic research into the societal roles of names (cf. PUZEY 2011: 220–221).

This paper looks at how names are featured in teenagers' observations of linguistic landscapes in suburban Helsinki. The aim is to discuss the importance of names as building blocks of the linguistic landscape – and of the (perceived) linguistic place. Thus the study broadens the discussion from studies such as STJERNHOLM (2015) and SANDST (2016) by looking into the subjective views of language users: which names get noticed and commented by the teenagers?

2. The method

I will here summarise the main design of my study, starting with a brief description of the informants and the areas (linguistic landscapes) in focus, as well as the method used. A more detailed description can be found in SYRJÄLÄ (2018). As only a limited number of teenagers participated in this experimental study, the paper should first and foremost be seen as a contribution to the methodological discussion within the fields of socio-onomastics and linguistic landscape studies.

Two groups of teenagers took part in the study. The first group consisted of four Finnish-speaking teenagers from *Kontula/Gårdsbacka,* a suburb in eastern Helsinki. They were all girls and born in 2000. The second group consisted of two Swedish-speaking teenagers. They were both girls, born in 2001 and from the area of *Espoon keskus/Esbo centrum,* one of the "city centres" of Espoo, the municipality comprising the western suburbs of the Helsinki metropolitan area.

Both groups observed the linguistic landscape round the commercial centre of their own suburb. These suburbs offer a highly multilingual setting. Officially part of bilingual (Finnish–Swedish) municipalities, they are also a home to a large amount of people speaking different (foreign) first languages. As often is the case with minority languages, this linguistic diversity is underrepresented in the visual linguistic landscape. And while there are a number of Swedish-speaking residents, the language is hardly visible outside the official signage.

The Finnish-speaking teenagers appear positive about the multilingualism of the public space. They cannot, however, really relate to the viewpoints of the Swedish-speaking teenagers, who are clearly more concentrated on the visibility of their own language (see SYRJÄLÄ 2018). I return to the linguistic attitudes and observations of the teenagers in the following two chapters.

Methodologically, the study comprises three parts. First the teenagers got instructed to observe the linguistic landscape while walking around their own suburb. Because the aim was to see what kind of signs get noticed, they got only simple instructions to photograph any signs that they found interesting. The teenagers used the cameras of their smart phones and sent their pictures to me using WhatsApp.

In the second part the teenagers where tasked to discuss amongst themselves the pictures they had taken. They were instructed to discuss and write down motivations for choosing to photograph the specific signs as well as to identify the languages used on the signs. Their discussion was recorded, and at the end of the discussion, they handed over their written notes to me as well.

As the last part of the study, the groups were interviewed. I asked about their attitudes towards the use of different languages in the public space, as well as

more generally about their take on the linguistic landscape as a mirror of the language situation. The interview was recorded.

The method resulted in a varied material that I have used in my analysis. The core data comprises of the pictures taken by the teenagers, 20 from Kontula and 11 from Espoon keskus, as well as the notes written by the teenagers. This data is complemented by the recordings of approximately 10 minutes of discussion from each group and approximately 10 minutes of interview with each group, as well as my own field notes.

3. Names on the signs picked by the teenagers

As mentioned above, previous studies (e.g. SJÖBLOM 2013, SYRJÄLÄ 2016) have concluded commercial names to be among the most prominent features of linguistic landscapes. SJÖBLOM (2013: 169) further discusses how the same international brand names construct much of the linguistic landscape of urban areas in different countries. These names can still be interpreted differently in different contexts (cf. TUFI–BLACKWOOD 2010: 198–199). As noted in SYRJÄLÄ (2017), the bilingual towns of Finland are no exception to this.

When it comes to the Finnish-Swedish bilingualism in names in public spaces, parallel names are a norm in official signposting (cf. SYRJÄLÄ 2016). However, SJÖBLOM (2013: 168) concludes that Finnish names dominate in the commercial sphere together with the international names. The second national language, Swedish, seems to only get used in commercial naming when there is a larger percentage (a local majority) of Swedish-speaking residents (SYRJÄLÄ 2017: 199).

In addition to the commercial names, toponyms (both street names and names of different localities) are well represented in the linguistic landscape. In all, proper names of different types were featured on 76 % of all signs in the public spaces of bilingual Finnish towns analysed in SYRJÄLÄ (2016: 268). This is in accordance with previous studies on names in the linguistic landscape (cf. e.g. EDELMAN 2009). Thus it could be expected that names would feature even in the signs photographed by the teenagers.

Of the 31 pictures taken by the two groups of teenagers, a total of 23 include signs with proper names. In some of these signs the name(s) is (are) the main feature of the sign, and thus in focus in the picture. To determine what is in the focus is not always straightforward, but at least ten of the pictures can be counted into this category. These signs include both official place names, e.g. on a street name sign, and commercial names, e.g. the name of a restaurant.

In the rest of the pictures with proper names, the names appear as part of a longer text or more peripheral in the sign. Names are e.g. included in addresses

or in logos placed at the bottom of an advertising billboard. Thus, only eight of the 31 pictures depict signs with no proper names. This factors in with previous studies, when it comes to the amount of names and the fact that they are often the most salient parts of the linguistic landscape, as mentioned above.

The examples already mentioned illustrate that proper names from different name categories got noticed by the teenagers. Officially signposted place names are included on six of the signs photographed by the teenagers. Some place names feature on the commercial signs, too: this is the case with six of the pictures. Different types of commercial names, both business names (in 14 of the pictures) and product names (on three of the pictures), are however the names featured most often. Even some personal names can be found on the observed signs. This is the case with one sign, where names of judges of an agility competition are listed in addition to both place names and commercial names. As the figures listed here show, several of the other signs depicted in the material, too, include e.g. both a place name and a company name.

4. Names in the motivations of teenagers

It is thus clear that names are a part of both the linguistic landscapes in general and the observations made by the teenagers. But is the fact that they are proper names relevant when teenagers are discussing the different signs? To get a better understanding of the role of proper names, I will in the following look into the comments made by teenagers regarding these signs.

The teenagers gave varying motivations for choosing to photograph the signs in question. Their reasons include both the languages used, the information displayed on the sign, and the overall design of the sign. The Finnish-speaking teenagers focused e.g. on signs that were multilingual, included a "nice poem" or ones they had not noticed before. The Swedish-speaking teenagers were more concerned about the use of their own language, commenting e.g. "weird" translations and lack of bilingualism. Both groups commented on the multimodal aspects of the signs (images, colour, etc.) as well. The teenagers' motivations are discussed further in Syrjälä (2018).

When it comes to proper names, they certainly influence many of the above mentioned comments: several of the signs commented as "multilingual" include place names in different languages, for example. The number of comments where names are specifically mentioned is limited though. Only two names are given as reasons for choosing to photograph a specific sign. These are the street name *Edgränden* (Swedish: 'Oath alley') and the company name *Matkamieli Oy* (Finnish: 'Travel mind Ltd.'). The teenagers comment these as "a weird name in Swedish" (although it is a direct translation of the Finnish street name *Valakuja,* also displayed on the sign) and as "sounding funny", respectively.

In an additional comment the product name *Eau Thermale* is referred to as a "fine text". It is, however, unclear whether the teenagers are commenting on the name itself or e.g. the typographic features of the sign. In other comments, the names are used to refer to the actual name bearer that is relevant in the narrative. This is the case with both the company name *Tiimari* referred to as "legendary" and the comment that (restaurants) *Fullmoon* and *Sagun Nepal* "both have left the mall". It is thus not the names themselves, but the fact that the businesses that once put up these signs have been closed down, that motivated the teenagers to photograph them. One more related comment, only written down as "Kontula hoods", refers to an ad for a locally produced ice cream brand. Here, too, it is not the name *Kontula* itself (nor the brand name *Kolmen Kaverin Jäätelö* 'Three Friends Ice cream', found on the sign), but the image of the suburb it symbolises, that is in focus.

Other than the comment about the street name *Edgränden* mentioned above, the word *name* is only used once by the teenagers. This is in connection with a sign at a supermarket featuring the word *PERSIMON*. The teenagers motivate the choice of this sign with it being "so weird name". Thus, the word *name* does not refer to a proper name, but to the name of a type of fruit.

In the study of AINIALA (2010: 42–43) teenagers with Somali background from another suburb of Helsinki appeared to be irritated by the official Swedish place names. Negative reactions towards bilingual features in the linguistic landscape are prominent also among the Estonian majority language users in Tallinn in ZABRODSKAJA (2014). It is therefore worth to notice that both groups of teenagers in my study are overall positive to the visible multilingualism in their suburb.

5. Final remarks

In line with previous research this study has confirmed that names are an important feature of the linguistic landscape. The teenagers commented for example on some "funny" and "weird" names; the creativity of commercial naming thus getting noticed by them. These names can therefore be said to have had the desired effect, as one of the functions of commercial names is to catch the attention of potential consumers (cf. BERGIEN 2007).

The attention of the teenagers is not necessarily on the names as such, though. There are various features, both linguistic and non-linguistic, that they comment upon while motivating their choice of signs. This points to the importance of multimodality in the linguistic landscape, a fact also influencing the interpretation of the signposted proper names, as discussed by e.g. SANDST (2016: 133). Furthermore, the function of names as symbols for the actual name bearers is central to how they are commented upon by the teenagers (cf. TUFI–

Blackwood 2010 on how names are partially interpreted on the basis of our knowledge of the name bearer).

The fact that proper names are present in both the signs photographed by the teenagers and in their motivations for choosing these signs is thus above all due to them being a prominent part of the linguistic landscape. The fact that these linguistic features are actually proper names is not that relevant from the point of view of the teenagers.

The experimental, participatory method used in this study worked well. It gave new insight into the views of the language users – and to the role of names as features of the linguistic landscape. There is a lot of potential in both using folklinguistic methods and enlisting the participants in the data collection when studying the linguistic landscape. As already pointed out by Puzey (2011), the linguistic landscape offers great possibilities for further socio-onomastic research. By applying folk onomastic methods to the context of public spaces, attitudes linked to visible use of names can be discussed, as well as what is actually recognized as a *name* by language users. These methods also shed light on the multimodality of names, as exemplified in this paper.

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Abstract

This paper discusses how proper names are featured in teenagers' observations of the linguistic landscapes of suburban Helsinki. Two groups of teenagers, one of Finnish-speaking and one of Swedish-speaking teenagers, participated in an experimental study combining methods from the study of linguistic landscapes and folk onomastics. The teenagers first took pictures of signs in their suburb. Afterwards they discussed motivations for choosing these specific signs. Their linguistic attitudes were then surveyed through an interview. The study finds that proper names of different types (place names, commercial names) feature both in the photographed signs and in the teenagers' comments. This is, however, more due to the prominent role of names in the linguistic landscapes in general, than the fact that these linguistic features are proper names.

Keywords: Folk onomastics, Linguistic Landscape, Place, Commercial names

Emilia Aldrin–Linnea Gustafsson

Teenagers' inclusion and exclusion in their everyday onomastic environments

1. Introduction

This paper describes some initial results from a research project that was initialized during 2016. The research question we will focus upon here concerns to what extent names contribute to inclusion and exclusion of teenagers in different kinds of linguistic landscapes. The belonging to one or more groups is often important for young people. They want to be not only included in a group, but also mark boundaries to those who do not belong to the group, such as adults, parents and other teenage groups, which consequently results in exclusion as well (ECKERT 1988, GOODWIN 2002). Such acts of youth solidarity, inclusion and exclusion, have previously been studied in a number of sociolinguistic studies in Sweden (i.e. WIRDENÄS 2002, GUNNARSDOTTER GRÖNBERG 2004, KAHLIN 2008). However, the concepts of inclusion and exclusion are diversified and, therefore, used in various ways in research (SAHLIN–MACHADO 2008: 178). In this study, we define these concepts as different linguistic actions (i.e. onomastic choices) that together create a pattern which through its visibility has an important impact on the individual. The issue of inclusion and exclusion has been studied to some extent in onomastics, although mainly in relation to nicknaming practices (JAMES 1979: 633, CROZIER–DIMMOCK 1999: 511, GUSTAFSSON 2016: 43).

The socio-onomastic site in focus is a medium-sized Swedish town: Halmstad, situated in southwestern Sweden with approx. 100,000 inhabitants. The town is socially stratified and inhabitants of different social groups live quite separated from one another, which makes it interesting for socio-onomastic inquiry. The river, Nissan, that flows through the city center constitutes an informal social boundary. On its west side, you will find the town hospital, the local airport, living areas with high social status where levels of education and income are high and have nearby long sandy beaches. On its east side, you will find the railway station, the harbor, industrial areas and living areas with low social status where levels of education and income are significantly lower.[1] At this point we have identified two main environmental layers, although we are aware that there may be several more. Firstly, there is a geographical landscape that the youngsters move through and secondly, there is a virtual landscape where they also spend time. These will be studied in two separate component studies.

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[1] Statistics is available at www.halmstad.se, and will be mentioned in detail later in the article.

A common feature of both these layers is the frequent occurrence of highly visible names. The names that youngsters meet when moving through the geographical landscape are to a high degree commercial names appearing on public signs and in windows. These names contribute to the sense of place much in the same way as place names (cf. SYRJÄLÄ 2017: 191). The first component study, therefore, focuses on commercial names in a selected number of public outdoor environments. The virtual landscape that teenagers move through is much larger and provides a richness of discursive resources and communication practices (BARTON–LEE 2013). The second component study, therefore, focuses only on a certain part of it: namely settings accessed by the mobile phone. In this virtual landscape, neither place names nor commercial names are prominent, but rather user names. As the two environment layers are very different, somewhat different methods will be used in each study, which will be explained later in the article.

2. Names in public landscapes

The aim of the first component study is to compare how different types of names interact in a landscape where the youngsters live or move in their everyday life, and where tensions between globalization and local anchorage can give rise to different linguistic repertoires.

The starting point of this component study is from LANDRY and BOURHIS (1997) who see the linguistic landscape as a given context for sociolinguistic processes. Their way of combining public discourse with sociolinguistic reality clarifies how the landscape promotes both inclusion and exclusion of people due to boundaries underlined by linguistic differences (LANDRY–BOURHIS 1997: 25).

Within the research field, primarily urban centers have been focused upon. Modern urban centers tend to be a melting pot for cultural impulses and linguistic influences, which means that multilingualism is of major importance within the field (i.e. GORTER 2006: 81, JÄRLEHED 2011: 5, LÖFDAHL–WENNER 2017).

Research on the sense of place shows that this can be a signal of power between different social groups (CRESSWELL 2015: 190, MÜHLHÄUSLER–NASH 2016). This also creates a social feeling for the place. The names that youngsters meet when moving through the geographical landscape are to a high degree commercial names, which appear on public signs and in windows. These names contribute to the sense of place much in the same way as place names.

The study is based on public outdoor environments that were photographed during the first two weeks of October 2016. Four squares in Halmstad were

included: the square of Söndrum (west of the city center), the square of Grönevång (east of the city center) as well as the big square and little square (located in the city center, with a connecting pedestrian area in between).

Figure 1: Grönevång's square **Figure 2:** Söndrum's square

Figure 3: The center of Halmstad

In the central residential areas of Halmstad, 11.5% of the population is foreign-born and 80% have employment. The average income is 244,300 SEK/year (approx. 25,000 euro) and 53% of the residents have a higher education. The two other squares, Söndrum's square and Grönevång's square, are located in opposite areas of the town. Söndrum is what you would call a typical middle-class suburb. The average income in the area is rather high (300,000 SEK/year, approx. 30,000 euro). The proportion of inhabitants born abroad is 7% and the proportion of employed persons is 85%. The level of inhabitants with higher education is 56% (www.halmstad.se).[2] In the area where Grönevång's square is situated, a majority (56%) of the population is born outside Sweden. The employment rate is 48% and 26% of the residents have a higher education. The

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[2] The statistics on the municipality's website refer to the years 2008, 2011 and 2013.

average income is rather low (134,400 SEK/year, approx. 13,440 euro) (www. halmstad.se).

These socio-economic differences affect young people indirectly because their circumstances of upbringing are quite different. In the central areas of the town, there is a (natural) contact area between teens from different areas; however, since the city is segregated, young people nor adults seldom visit other neighborhoods than their own.

In recent decades, Sweden has become increasingly multilingual, and in Halmstad many different languages are spoken, but as in several other Swedish cities the number of languages heard and spoken vary between different areas in the town (PARKVALL 2015: 149). In addition to the migration influencing the Swedish language, the influence of English is also increasing. During the past twenty years, the use of English has grown immensely so much that Sweden is now part of the *Expanding Circle,* which implies the English language is changing from a foreign language to a second language (KACHRU 1985: 11, HYLTENSTAM 2004: 52, PARKVALL 2015: 177).

2.1 Results and analysis

In total 49 commercial windows and adjacent areas have been studied. There is no claim that these surveyed places are completely comprehensive, considering that they can change quickly. In the town center, most of the survey areas (28 examples) are found, while 13 are found in Söndrum and 8 are found around Grönevång's square. The distribution reflects the fact that there are fewer shop windows and signs in the residential areas than in the town center.

One way to show inclusion or exclusion through signs is to use either a personal or place name in the commercial name. By this, the addressee can feel included or excluded in the geographic surroundings. For businesses that have a personal name in the commercial name, there are either first and / or last names. The combination of first and last name appears in two dental clinics, *Lena Hansson tandvård* and *Bo Andersen tandläkare*. Commercial names containing only first names occur mainly in the naming of businesses involving food and restaurants.

Around Grönevång's square there are commercial names containing first names, *Alice kiosk*, *Marias café* and *Sindibadi Grill*. The girl names *Alice* and *Maria* exist in many different cultures and languages, and, therefore, are perceived as Swedish in the Swedish context. The commercial name *Marias café* appeals to an international, Arabic as well as Swedish clientele. The name *Sindibad*, on the other hand, is not at all regarded as Swedish, but rather emphasizes a foreign descent.[3]

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[3] The name has been considered as a form of the name of Sindbad in Thousand and one nights.

In the pedestrian street, which runs between the squares in the town center, there are two coffee shops containing first names in its composition, *Liams bar & café* and *Wayne's coffee*. The former first name, *Liam*, has become more common in Sweden in the past few decades (www.scb.se) and, therefore, it signals a form of Swedishness especially for younger persons, which is probably not the case regarding *Wayne*.

In cases where the commercial name contains a place name, this appears to be of two different types. Either it underlines the geographical location of the business, for example *Halmstads djurklinik* (animal clinic), *Söndrums fotvård* (pedicure), *Söndrums pizzeria* and *Söndrums-Tvätten* (laundry), or the establishment is named after long-distance places, where some connotations follow the original name. This seems to be the case at *Tarboosh Damascus Restaurant* and *Siam royal massage*. Damascus is the capital of Syria and the restaurant is located at Grönevång's square where one of the spoken languages is Arabic. *Siam* is the older name for Thailand and this name appears on a sign that exudes exoticism via an Asian woman, who is also featured in the picture (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Siam Royal Massage at Söndrum's square

Commercial names that include first names, but not last names, seem primarily to be in the food and restaurant industry. First names appear to be used in this way to appeal to the customer's feelings and to create an air of letting the world come to the customer instead of the opposite, i.e. the name's connotations seems to be more important than their denotation (EDELMAN 2009: 144). Therefore, the name and choice of name may be part of a process where immigrants try to find a firm anchorage after a radical relocation (cf. LÖFDAHL–TINGSELL–

WENNER 2015: 158). People who voluntarily or involuntarily have lost their geographical belonging feel the need to recreate this and the use of names and linguistic varieties can be a way to do so. An example of relocation of foreign culture may be found in the restaurant name containing the city name *Damascus*.

The review shows that the teenagers are almost as likely to see English as Swedish in the shop windows and on signs. In total, Swedish occurs in 33 cases and English is included in the text on 27 windows or signs. Arabic also occurs, but only in the area where many Arabic speaking persons live. A comparison of the commercial names around the squares shows that the differentials of the respective areas are visualized by the choice of language (cf. HELLELAND 2017: 111). In middle class Söndrum, the Swedish language is usually used, as well as English. Swedish is also prominent around Grönevång's square, but there are some elements of Arabic as well. The fact that Arabic occurs – unlike other migrant languages – may be because Arabic is the largest migrant language in the area. The language variables can, thus, represent a relationship of power, but also a size ratio. The area around Grönevång's square reflects multilingualism in which Swedish and Arabic exist in parallel. As only these two languages appear in the windows and on the signs in the neighborhood, it implies that other languages are excluded. Such a non-participation in the public arena signals a low degree of power and possibly, in the long run, a loss of language (cf. KALLEN 2010: 51).

Whoever names a restaurant with a commercial name that contains a commemoration preferably chooses a name that emphasizes the cultural origins. By using a personal name or a place name in this way, authenticity due to known elements can be created, which may affect the clientele via an increased confidence in the product and the brand. The language choice marked by the commercial names or by the texts presented in the windows and on the signs also affects the customers and signals to which clientele an establishment wants to attract (cf. BLETZER 2003: 230 ff.). As a result, shop owners also become producers of linguistic varieties that clearly address the customers: To those who understand Swedish or Arabic around Grönevång's square, to those who without difficulty understand English in the center and to the clientele who understands and prefers Swedish in Söndrum.

The social space that is manifested in the name and choice of language accentuates welcoming and belonging, two values of great importance to young people. Not only power relations are manifested by language choice but also inclusion and exclusion of different teenage groups in the city's public environments. The signs that are only understandable to certain must be perceived as exclusive for other teenagers.

3. Names in virtual landscapes

The second component study explores names in a virtual landscape accessed by teenagers through their mobile phones. This setting is of a highly private nature and the form of communication – including onomastic choices – is created by the teenagers themselves. In Sweden, almost all teenagers own a mobile phone and use this daily, primarily for interaction with peers (Swedish Media Council 2015: 7). Previous research on online naming practices has emphasized not only the high degree of playfulness (BECHAR-ISRAELI 1995), but also that online names often act as markers of identity (BUGHESIU 2012). However, existing studies have almost exclusively focused on chatfora usernames. The names to be studied in this article are of a partly different nature, since they are used for communication with close peers rather than with distant strangers and, therefore, probably constitute an environment that teenagers meet more often in their day-to-day lives.

For the purpose of this study, a small group of Swedish 14-year old youngsters (two girls and two boys) took screenshots of all of their written mobile phone interaction during two days in the year 2016. As they are minors, parents consented to the study. The teenagers live in a middle status suburb located a few miles south of the city center. The level of education is lower here than in many other parts of the municipality; 38% of the adult population have higher education.[4] At the same time, the yearly level of income is at an intermediate level (approx. 26,500 EUR) and the employment rate is high (87%). Few inhabitants are born abroad (11%).[5]

During the time of the study, the participating teenagers used a number of different technologies for peer interaction: Embedded Mobile Instant Messaging (MIM), Facebook, KiK, Snapchat as well as the YouTube channel. Some of these technologies allow their users to both choose a self-referencing name and to adapt how the display names of others are indicated on their phone, i.e. the teenagers could use another form of reference for their peers than the actual names they had chosen for themselves. This resulted in a virtual onomastic landscape consisting of both self-referencing and other-referencing names.

The collected strings of interaction documented by the teenagers during the study were searched for indications of user names and display names. For ethical reasons, only names created by the participating teenagers themselves were collected and analyzed (i.e. not names created by peers who were not informed about the study). The teenagers also participated in individual

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[4] All referred statistics is available at: www.halmstad.se

[5] This information was provided through e-mail correspondence with an official at Halmstad municipality statistics unit, <direkt@halmstad.se>, November 11, 2017.

reflective interviews, during which they were asked to, among other things, give further examples of and explain their onomastic choices.

In order to protect the identities of the teenagers, names that include offline personal names have been anonymized and other identifying elements are handled with care. The small data in this component study does not allow for any generalizations, but may point out some initial indications of socio-onomastic aspects of the virtual landscape accessed by a particular group of people.

3.1. Results and analysis

The data collection resulted in a total of 14 self-referencing usernames and 35 other-referencing display names that were used by the four teenagers during the two days of the study. Table 1 illustrates the distribution of onomastic elements within the names.

	Self-referencing names	Other-referencing names
First name element (incl. abbreviations)	11 of 14	19 of 35
Last name element (incl. abbreviations)	6 of 14	7 of 35
Byname element (incl. hypocoristics)	–	6 of 35
No offline personal name element	1 of 14	10 of 35

Table 1: Onomastic elements in teenagers' online virtual landscape

As is evident from table 1, the usernames apparent in the virtual landscape of these teenagers, often contained elements from offline personal names. First names were used more often than last names, which manifests the informality and relative closeness of peer-relations within the particular setting. At the same time, use of first names and last names leads to a higher degree of formality than would bynames or name innovations, which seldom occur in this particular setting. Furthermore, usernames containing offline names evoke the same indexical socio-onomastic meanings (ALDRIN 2017, cf. OCHS 1992, ECKERT 2008), with the consequence that certain offline social hierarchies are reproduced by teenagers in the virtual landscape. This will be discussed later in the article.

In addition to an offline name element, the user names and display names in this data often contain supplementary parts (cf. HÄMÄLÄINEN 2013). This part of the online name includes playing with spelling, numbers and emoticons in a way that mediates the formality of the name as a whole. In line with previous studies, it is evident that the written form of a username is important in the virtual landscape (ALEKSIEJUK 2016). In this respect, online personal names deviate from offline personal names (for which the spoken form of the name is often more important) and approximate names in the toponymic landscape.

Bynames and hypocoristic forms are only used in other-referencing display names, indicating that this name category may, at least by these teenagers, be perceived to be an onomastic strategy for referencing to others, but not a strategy taken on for self-reference. An interesting example of this is provided by one of the teenagers in the interview. He describes that he once tried to create a byname for himself, as part of the search for a proper online username. Many of his friends have offline bynames in the peer group, but he does not. He perceives the prime reason for this being that his first name is not of Swedish origin and, therefore, difficult to adapt to the general Swedish patterns for hypocoristic nicknaming. However, offline nicknames differ from online self-referencing usernames in that the former are not created by individuals themselves and often indicate the existence of a particular relationship between name giver and name carrier (GUSTAFSSON 2016: 48). When this teenager created an online self-referencing username seemingly containing an offline byname (which was not in use), he also went against a naming norm. As a result, the name was described as "really strange" both by the teenager himself and his peers and it was not used as an online self-referencing username for long.

The pattern among the other-referencing names is slightly different, since almost a third of the names avoid offline personal name elements. Instead, these names are constructed using descriptive words. Firstly, there are a number of names consisting of social categorizations, such as *Best friend, Mum, My sister* etc. These names position the named peer in relation to the name giver and can be said to emphasize relational identities. They all seem to be positively including in relation to the specific named peer. Excluding names or names with negative connotations seem to be non-existing (at least from the point of view of an outsider; according to LYTRA 2003 the final interpretation of a certain name use can only be made by the addressed peer or by studying his/her reaction to the name). Instead, it seems that exclusion is created through not giving all peers adapted other-referencing names, i.e. the absence of a personalized name can be excluding (cf. ADAMS 2009). However, in some cases a differentiating hierarchy among the names is manifested. This is achieved through lexical items (such as in the name *Best friend*) or through emoticons (such as the addition of one or several hearts), which point to an exclusive position of a particular

peer in relation to others (cf. ADAMS 2009). Secondly, several other-referencing names consist of other nouns and adjectives that are not social categorizations, such as *My everything, My hero*. These names seem to have a primary affective function explaining why the named peer is viewed as important by the name-giver. Again, they are all seemingly including and carry positive connotations. One of the boys explains his use of such onomastic strategies in this way:

> If you like someone a lot or find them nice, you may write 'the king'. You may write 'the best' if it is someone you 'have days' with, or are in love with, or friends with.

This example emphasizes the multi-indexical and metaphorical nature of descriptive name elements, similar to offline nicknaming practices (MORGAN–O'NEILL–HARRÉ 1979, DE KLERK–BOSCH 1999, LYTRA 2003).

The majority of all collected names within the studied part of the teenage virtual landscape seem to have been created using Swedish name elements, Swedish hypocoristic patterns and Swedish words. This creates a primarily monolinguistic Swedish onomastic landscape. However, other languages are represented to some degree as well. One teenager uses a number of other-referencing names in Arabic, which is not her mother tongue but a language she is studying as a foreign language in school. For example, she uses the name *Shaqiqa* (meaning 'sister') as display name for one of her closest peers. In the interview she explains the language choice: "We want something special that no one else understands". She thus indicates that Arabic is not a commonly used language in her peer group and, therefore, can act as "something special". The use of Arabic words as onomastic resources, in this case, seems to function simultaneously as a way to create something unique and to create a secret code that strengthens the in-group connection between peers. At the same time, other peers that are not familiar with the Arabic language are excluded from the interaction and constructed as out-group members (cf. GUSTAFSSON 2016: 102). This implies that the minority language is constructed as exotic. At the same time, it results in the language becoming more visible in the particular virtual landscape. Only one name in the data is created using English (the name *My hero*). This is interesting considering that the group of teenagers often used English words in their mobile phone interaction. This may indicate that the position of the English language is perceived differently as tool for interaction versus as tool for onomastic creation, at least in this particular group.

When the teenagers described their attitudes to their own and others' usernames in the reflective interviews, they often used labels such as: "cool", "creative", "unique", "practical", "easy", "boring" and "immature". These labels seem to be corresponding to potential social positions within the peer-group: cool-nerdy, creative-boring, unique-common, practical-unpractical, immature-mature.

Due to the limited data, no conclusions can be drawn regarding which kind of usernames are connected to which positions by which teenagers. None the less, teenagers' narratives suggest that choosing a certain username for one self and others can be part of social positioning and creation of inclusion and exclusion within the online social space.

Within the virtual setting people have access to a large variety of resources and are able to influence the linguistic and onomastic landscape to a great extent. The virtual onomastic landscape, thus, largely consists of a bottom-up flow (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10). People can construct names that display themselves, not only as they are, but as they want to be. Nevertheless, the participating teenagers in this study often choose to construct names that signal closeness to their offline selves, sometimes complemented with a more personalized element. Using some of the communication technologies, the teenagers were also allowed to construct names for their peers. This gives them an opportunity to take control over the social space within the landscape and create relations and hierarchies in a way they wish – including or excluding – mostly without others ever seeing and contesting their descriptions of reality. The virtual landscape that teenagers move through therefore becomes, not so much a landscape of localities, but a landscape of social relations. Names are chosen and interpreted as guiding cues within the social space.

4. Conclusion

With these two somewhat different studies, we have tried to give insights in an ongoing project on socio-onomastic landscapes in Halmstad. We wanted to explore the importance of names for the establishment of inclusion and exclusion in everyday life. The results so far show that, quite expectedly, there are differences between the two environmental layers: the public outdoor environment and the virtual environment. In the first of these there also exist adults, and the names are created by adults, while this is considerably less common in the virtual one. Another difference between the two kinds of environments is that place names have more importance in the geographical landscape and personal names in the virtual landscape. In both environmental layers, names contribute to mark boundaries and include or exclude certain groups of teenagers. However, the question of to what extent this influences teenagers' perceived sense of belonging has not been analyzed here and is something we will return to in forthcoming studies within the project.

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Abstract

The paper discusses the notion of onomastic inclusion and exclusion of teenagers in their everyday life. The socio-onomastic site is a Swedish medium-sized town, Halmstad, which is somewhat segregated. This indirectly affects youngsters. In the study, two layers are studied – the geographical and the virtual environments. The first component study describes the geographical environment based on commercial signs around four different squares. The results show that in the center English appears on signs as often as Swedish do, while Swedish is preferred in the middle class areas and Arabic sometimes exists around the square where many Arabic speakers live. The second component study describes teenagers' created usernames for everyday interaction in social media through their mobile phones. The results show close links to offline personal names, and that teenagers create new kinds of social hierarchies and draws on resources from a variety of languages.

Keywords: Onomastic Landscapes, Teenagers, Inclusion and Exclusion, Digital Interaction

Veslava Sidaravičienė

Multilingualism and Unofficial Urban Place Names of Vilnius in the Languages of Lithuanian and Polish Youth

1. Introduction

According to the data of the census conducted in 2011, there are 154 different ethnic groups living in Lithuania, the biggest of which are Lithuanians (84.2%) and Polish (6.6%). Furthermore, these are also the largest ethnic groups in Vilnius (59.4% of Lithuanians and 23% of Polish). As a result, the research presented in this article of unofficial urbanonyms (UU)[1] is based on the youth of those two ethnic groups within the city of Vilnius. Since Lithuanian and Polish young people mostly speak several languages or language varieties, this article attempts to ascertain the actual usage of unofficial urbanonyms in the multilingual environment of Vilnius.

In the field of socio-onomastics, unofficial urban place names have been studied extensively in recent years. Scholars have explored name usage, variation and change (PROTASSOVA–REPONEN 2011, AINIALA 2005, 2009, 2010, 2012, etc.). While Lithuanian studies about official urban place names reach back to the 1960s (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 1973: 4–5, JURKŠTAS 1979, 1985), studies of the unofficial Lithuanian urbanonyms used in the language of the youth are only just beginning to emerge (BALODE 2014: 66–67, RAČICKAJA 2014, 2014, BALODE, DONIŅA 2015, SIDARAVIČIENĖ 2015, 2016, 2017).

The results of the research on multilingualism[2] (RAMONIENĖ 2010, 2013, RAMONIENĖ–EXTRA et al. 2011) show that all the inhabitants of the city of Vilnius know more than one language and mostly communicate using Lithuanian, in addition to speaking Slavic languages: Russian, Polish, Belarusian, Ukrainian; Germanic ones: English, German; Romance ones: French, Spanish, Italian; and Latvian (GUDAVIČIENĖ 2010: 217). The languages most commonly known to the Lithuanian and Polish ethnic groups are Lithuanian, Russian, English and Polish (GUDAVIČIENĖ 2010: 217).

In Lithuania, the standard Lithuanian language is used for communication in both public and private situations (RAMONIENĖ 2010: 280). People of a higher

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[1] Unofficial urbanonyms (hereinafter referred to as UU) are defined as all place names in the urban environment which are not official (AINIALA 2012: 105).

[2] Multilingualism is defined as psychological and social state of individuals or groups of persons that is a consequence of linguistic interactions during which two or more linguistic codes are utilised for communication (BUTLER–HAKUTA 2006: 115).

social status and with a higher level of income, as well as younger and more educated inhabitants of the city, are more proficient in English, which they learn in school, though the competition between Russian and English has been observed within all social groups (RAMONIENĖ 2010: 284). After Lithuanian, Russian is the language that is best known and most commonly used by the citizens (RAMONIENĖ 2010: 283).

Sociolinguistic research reveals that the Poles read books or curse mostly in Russian, write, read the press and watch television mostly in Lithuanian or Russian, talk to their spouse in Polish or Russian, so they can easily transition from one language to another. Children are mostly addressed in Lithuanian (GEBEN 2010: 158–159). It has been determined that the Polish youth uses Lithuanian, Russian and Polish daily (SOKOŁOWSKA 2004: 166, GEBEN 2010: 157). Thus, the Polish ethnic group, in contrast with the Lithuanian one, constantly finds itself in a multilingual environment. This naturally leads to a different effect on the UUs.

2. Research material

The unofficial urbanonyms of Vilnius (UUVs) of Lithuanian and Polish youth comprise the basis for this research. The material was collected using questionnaires, which allows information from a lot of people to be collected very quickly, and it is very important to have written forms of the same official urbanonyms. It creates a possibility to compare the form of the same place name, which clearly shows variability.

In questionnaires, respondents aged 16–25 were asked to write down what they call various urban place names in an unofficial setting. In the article, the unofficial names are provided as they were written down in the answers to the questionnaire and they are treated as separate lexical units. Only unofficial urban place names and variants that have an official variant were included in the questionnaire. In total, 62 unofficial urban place names have been analysed and represented.

3. Change of vowels of official urban place names

The unofficial names written down in the questionnaires by Lithuanian and Polish youth groups exhibit qualitative and quantitative changes in the stem and reflect the particularities of urban speech compered to official urban place names.

a) Stem vowels may be lengthened in Lithuanian unofficial name forms:

/u/ – <ū>: *Viršūlai* (: *Viršuliškės*) d.: *Viršuliškės* d.

/i/ – <y>: *Gedimynkė* (: *Gediminas*) un.: *Vilniaus Gedimino technikos universitetas* 'Vilnius Gediminas Technical University' un.

b) Stem vowels may be shortened in Lithuanian unofficial name forms:

/ū/ – <u>: *Žirmunkės* (: *Žirmūnai*) d.: *Žirmūnai* d.

/y/ – <i>: *Tris bobos* 'Three old ladies' (: *trys*: *boba*) 'the sculpture depicts three female beings' s.: *Trys mūzos* s. 'The Three Muses' s.

c) The quality of the stem vowel may be changed in Lithuanian unofficial name forms:

/a/ – <o>: *Santorai* (: *Santariškės*) d.: *Santariškės* d.

/a/ – <e>: *Mekas* (: *McDonald's*) f.f.rest.: *McDonald's* f.f.rest.

/o/ – <a>: *Salama* (: *Salomėja*) gym.: *Vilniaus Salomėjos Neries gimnazija* gym. 'Vilnius Salomėja Neris gymnasium' gym.

/i/ – <a>: *Naujanai* (: *Naujininkai*) d.: *Naujininkai* d.

/i/ – <e>: *Naujenai* (: *Naujininkai*) d.: *Naujininkai* d.

/e/ – <ė>: *Univėras* (: *universitetas*) un.: *Vilniaus universitetas* 'Vilnius University' un.

/e/ – <ie>: *Univieras* (: *universitetas*) un.: *Vilniaus universitetas* 'Vilnius University' un.

The stem changes of UUs used in language of Lithuanian youth reflect colloquial speech, where several tendencies may be observed: lengthening or shortening of the stem, as well as qualitative changes. Deformations of quality and quantity of the stem are also characteristic to the shortening of two-stem names used in spoken language (Sɪɴᴋᴇᴠɪᴄ̌ɪᴜ̄ᴛᴇ̇ 2002: 329). Sociolinguistic research shows that lengthening short vowels that are stressed is also characteristic of the colloquial language of Vilnius (Gʀᴜᴍᴀᴅɪᴇɴᴇ̇ 1989, Aʟɪᴜ̄ᴋᴀɪᴛᴇ̇ 2014).

Polish UUs also exhibit changes in the quantity of the stem in written form:

/e/ – <ie>: *Giedyminka* (: *Gediminas*) a.: *Gedimino prospektas* 'Gediminas avenue' a.

/dź/ – <dz>: *Wiedzmy*[3] pl. nom. (: *wiedźma*) s.: *Trys Mūzos* 'The Three Muses' s.

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[3] Lit. *Ragana* – Pol. W*iedźma*

/i/ – <e>: *Pomnik*[4] *Gedemina* (: *pomnik*: *Gediminas*) mon.: *Paminklas LDK didžiajam kunigaikščiui Gediminui* 'Monument to commemorate the Grand Duke Gediminas of Grand Duchy of Lithuania' mon.

/i/ – <y>: *Gedyminka* (: *Gediminas*) a: *Gedimino prospektas* 'Gediminas avenue' a.

/ł/ – <l>: *Teatr młodziezowego*[5] sg. gnt. (: *teatr*: *młodież*) th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* 'State Youth Theatre' th.

The written forms for the unofficial names provided by the Polish youth demonstrate several tendencies. First, spelling the vowel /i/ as <y> in the anthroponym *Gediminas* in the unofficial form might be related to the Polish stress system, which favours stressing the penultimate syllable. Second, it can be seen how forms from Lithuanian names are applied to the linguistic system of the Polish language, cf. /e/ spelled as <ie>. Third, the homogenization of the consonants /dź/ and /ł/ is a particularity of the local Polish language.

Summarising the written forms of UUs provided by the Lithuanians and the Poles, it can be stated that changes in the sounds within UUs reflect the current tendencies in the changes of the Lithuanian and Polish colloquial languages.

4. The morphology of UUVs

Names used by Lithuanians are not changed morphologically and the provided forms do not exhibit a tendency for variations. This is contrary to the UUs of the Polish youth, in which variations in parts of speech, cases, gender and derivation are common.[6] Nonetheless, these phenomena are related and the same name can be written down not only by changing the part of speech, word formation, but also the case and the gender, for instance:

a) Changes between adjectival and nominal forms may be observed in Polish UUs:

Uniwersytet edukologii[7] sg. nom. (: *uniwersytet*: **edukologia*) un.: *Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas*) 'Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences' un. and ***Uniwersytet edukologiczny*** sg. nom. (: *uniwersytet*: *edukologiczny*)

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[4] Lit. *Paminklas* – Pol. *Pomnik*.

[5] Translation of *Jaunimo teatras* into Polish.

[6] Only one case was observed where the formation UU was affected by the Polish form, cf.: *Dramatkė* (: *drama*) theatre: *Lietuvos nacionalinis dramos teatras* theatre, cf.: Pol. *dramatyczny*.

[7] Lexeme **edukologia* is not characteristic for the Polish language. Unofficial forms *Uniwersytet edukologii* and *Uniwersytet edukologiczny* are transleted from Lithuanian *Edukologijos universitetas*.

un.: *Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas*) 'Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences' un.

[Teatr] *operycznego i baletycznego*[8] sg. gen. (: **operyczny: *baletyczny*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras* 'Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre' th. and ***Teatr opery i baletu***[9] sg. gen. (: *teatr*: *opera*: *balet*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras* 'Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre' th.

b) The UUs are being changed formation-wise in Polish:

[Teatr] *operycznego i baletycznego* sg. gen. (: **operyczny: *baletyczny*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras* 'Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre' th. The forms *oper-ycznego* and *balet-ycznego* are probably created following an analogy with *dram-atycznego*, cf.: Pol. *Teatr dramatyczny* 'Drama theatre'.

There are cases of UUs in use that have a Russian pronominal form *-oe,* and a suffix of a Slavic origin *-k-,* cf.: *Gediminkoje* (: *Gediminas*) a.: *Gedimino prospektas* a.

c) An inflexion may be added to different forms of the same name:

A UU is provided with a singular genitive inflection that is added to the adapted name: *Zamek*[10] ***Gedimin**a* gen. sg. (: *zamek*: *Gediminas*) t.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas* 'Gediminas Castle Tower' t.

Or the name is not adapted and a genitive inflexion *-a* is added, cf.: *Wieza* ***Gedyminas**a* gen. sg. (: *wieża*: *Gediminas*) t: *Gedimino pilies bokštas* 'Gediminas Castle Tower' t.

d) Variations in UU cases are reflected in the written form of the urbanonym *Halės turgus* 'Halė market':

The name is written with a Polish language instrumental inflection *-ą,* cf.: *Pod Halą* (: *pod*: *Halė*) or an inflection from the local Polish language *-u: Pod Halu* (: *pod*: *Halė*).

With the urbanonym *Halės turgus,* an influence of Lithuanian can also be observed, cf. the forms: *Pod Halė* (: *pod*: *Halė*) and *Podhalė* (: *pod*: *Halė*).

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[8] *[Teatr] operycznego i baletycznego* and *Teatr opery i baletu* is tranlation into Polish from Lithuanian *Operos ir baleto [teatras].*

[9] In standard Polish: *Teatr operowy i baletowy.*

[10] Lit. *Pilis* – Pol. *Zamek.*

e) Gender variations:

The writing of the UU *Halės turgus* with an *-(i)a* can be observed in the local Polish speech, where words of the neuter gender with *-o, -e* and *-ę* acquire the forms of the feminine gender with *-a* (Turska 1995, 20), cf.: *Pod Galia* (: *pod*: *Halė*), *Pod Hala* (: *pod*: *Halė*), *Podhala* (: *pod*: *Halė*), *Podhalia* (: *pod*: *Halė*) 'Halė Market' m., also cf., *Jajko* (: *jajko*) s.: *Margutis* s.; *Jajka* (: *jajko*) s.: *Margutis* 'Easter Egg' s.

The provided forms show that the morphological structure of the UUs is changed in the speech of the Polish youth, as demonstrated by the changes in the part of speech, cases, gender and word formation. Changes are influenced by the Lithuanian language or local Polish speech.

5. The vocabulary of UUVs

Having analysed the unofficial names provided by Lithuanians, it can be seen that, contrary to the Polish UUs, the use of slang is especially characteristic. This layer of unofficial urban place names is taken into account based on the background of UU, because it is mostly influenced by other languages.

Babkės, cf.: *Babkių* pl. gen. [ministerija] (: *babkės*) 'the activity of the ministry is related to money' min.: *Finansų ministerija* 'Ministry of Finance'. Respectively, *babkės* (*bapkės*) cf., Rus. *бабки:* 'money' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 24, KUDIRKA 2012: 52).

Barakynas, cf., *Barakynas* (: *barakas*) 'district dormitories' d.: *Saulėtekis* d. Respectively, *barakas* 'student dormitory' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 26, KUDIRKA 2012: 63).

Bašnė, cf., *Bašnė* (: *basznia*) twr.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas* twr., cf. local Polish *basznia* tower, might also come from rus. *башня* 'tower' (SRJA I, 66).

Bomžynas, cf.: *Bomžynas* (: *bomžas*) 'where poor people live' d.: *Naujininkai* d. Respectively, *bomžynas,* cf. Rus. *бомжатник* 'a place where the homeless, vagrants, drifters are' (KUDIRKA 2012: 90).

Chujnia, cf., *Chujnia* 'the sculpture is received negatively's: *Krantinės arka* 'Quay Arc' s. Respectively, *chuinia,* cf. rus. *хуйня,* Pol. *chujnia:* 1. 'Nonsense, junk, shit; poor, shitty; a thing of poor quality, of little value'; 2. 'Nothing, insignificant thing, mix ups; empty chatter, gibberish'; 3. 'Small thing, insignificant thing, trinket, peace of crap'; 4. 'Thing or phenomenon (usually unclear, incomprehensible, hard to describe, tricky)' (KUDIRKA 2012: 111–112). *Chuinia:* 'rubbish, nonsense' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 36).

Chujovi, cf., *Chujovi* 'the café is received negatively' c.: *Artistai* 'Artists' c. Respectively, *chujovas, -a,* cf. rus. *хуёвый,* Pol. *chujowy:* 'bad, poor, unsuitable,

screwed up' (KUDIRKA 2012: 114). *Chujovas* 'bad, hard, unhappy, poor, failed, etc.' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 37).

Čiudakas, cf., *Čiudakų* [teatras] (: *čiudakas*) 'oddball' th.: *Vilniaus keistuolių teatras* 'Vilnius Oddball theatre' th. Respectively, *čiudakas,* cf. rus. *чудак:* 'weirdo, oddball' (KUDIRKA 2012: 126).

Čiurka, cf., *Čiurka* (: *čiurka*) 'the Japanese have slanted eyes' nc.: *In Japan* nc. Respectively, *čiurka,* cf. rus. *чурка*: 'slur for an Asian' (KUDIRKA 2012: 127). *Čiurka:* 1. 'Asian, yellow-skinned (Chinese, Japanese, Uzbek, etc.)'; 2. 'Idiot, moron, doofus' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 40).

Čiuvakas, cf., *Čiuvakų teatras* (: *čiuvakas*: *teatras*) 'weirdos' theatre' th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* State Youth Theatre th. Respectively, *čiuvakas,* cf.: rus. *чувак:* 'youth, man' (KUDIRKA 2012: 127). *Čiuvakas*: 1. 'Boyfriend to a girl'; 2. 'Guy, dude, friend' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 40).

Dyleris, cf., *Forgery of business dealers* (*verslas*: *dyleris*: *kalvis*) 'where future businessmen study' sc.: *Tarptautinė verslo ir teisės mokykla* 'International School of Law and Business' sc. Respectively, *dyleris, dileris, dealeris, -ė,* cf. En. *dealer:* 'drug merchant' (KUDIRKA 2012: 143).

Duchas, cf., *Trys duchės* pl. nom. (: *trys*: *duchas*) 'the sculpture depicts three creatures of the female gender' s.: *Trys Mūzos* 'The Three Muses' s. Respectively, *dūchas, -ė,* cf. rus. *дух* 'inexperienced, weak, silly, doofus'; 2. 'An army recruit until they are sworn in'; 3. 'One who works for others as a servant' (KUDIRKA 2012: 152). *Duchas* (*dūchas*): 1. 'A young soldier who just started service'; 2. 'A weak, abused prisoner that follows the orders of others'; 3. 'Pawn'; 4. 'Stupid, idiot, doofus' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 48).

Fake, cf., *Fake universitetas* (: *fake*: *universitetas*) 'fake university' un.: *Mykolo Romerio universitetas* un., cf. En. 'fake'.

Kazarma, cf., *Kazarma* (: *kazarma*) 'the dormitory reminds of *kazarma*' dorm: *Baltupių bendrabutis* 'Baltupiai dormitory' dorm.: Respectively, *kazarmos*, cf. rus. *казарма:* 'military barracks' (KUDIRKA 2012: 258).

Liudajedas, cf., *Liudajedai* (: *liudajedas*) s.: *Trys mūzos* 'Quay Arc' s., cf. rus. *людоед* 'man-eater, ogre' (SRJA II, 210).

Požarka, cf., *Koralų požarka* (: *Karoliniškės*: *požarka*) sc.: *Ugniagesių gelbėtojų mokykla* 'A school for firefighters' sch., cf. rus. *пожарка* 'fire station, fire' (SRJA III, 234).

Šlanga, cf., *Šlanga* (: *šlanga*) 'sculpture reminds of a hose' s.: *Krantinės arka* 'Quay Arc' s., cf. rus. *шланг* 'hose' (SRJA IV, 722).

Šulė, cf., *Gabijos šulė* (: *Gabija*: *šulė*) 'a gymnasium (high school) is called *šule*' gym.: *Vilniaus "Gabijos" gimnazija* 'Vilnius 'Gabija' gymnasium' gym.: also cf., *Mickevičiaus šulė* (: *Mickevičius*: *šulė*) gym.: *Vilniaus Adomo Mickevičiaus gimnazija* 'Vilnius Adam Mickiewicz Gymnasium' gym. Respectively, *Šūlė,* cf. ger. *Schule:* 'secondary, elementary, high school, gymnasium' (Kudirka 2012: 585). *Šulė:* 'school' (Zaikauskas 2007: 158).

Truba (Trūba), cf., *Truba surūdijus* (: *truba*: *surūdyti*) s.: *Kratinės arka* 'Quay Arc' s., Respectively, *Truba:* cf. rus. *труба;* cf. rus. *труба* 'pipe' (SRJA IV, 416).

Žopa, cf., *Geros žopos* (: *gera*: *žopa*) gym.: *Vilniaus Simono Daukanto gimnazija* 'Vilnius Simonas Daukantas Gymnasium' gym. Respectively, *Žopa:* rus. *жопа: Behind, ass* (Kudirka 2012: 674).

A comparison with two dictionaries (Zaikauskas 2007, Kudirka 2012) of Lithuanian jargon reveals that the slang used by the Lithuanian youth is well known to other social groups. However, new lexis can be observed. For instance, *Bašnė* twr.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas,* which is based on the local Polish *basznia* 'tower', might also come from rus. *башня* 'tower', or *Fake universitetas* 'fake university' un.: *Mykolo Romerio universitetas* un., cf. En. 'Fake' and others. In conclusion, it seems that unofficial urban place names not only reflect the urban speech of Lithuanians, but also supplement the vocabulary of slang and nomenclature of UUs.

Contrary to the UUs of Lithuanian youth, not only are slang names observed in UUs used by the Polish youth, but also code switching and translation into Polish are also used. Two slang names of the Polish youth are registered: **Bomżatnik,** cf., *Bomżatnik* (: *bomż*) sh.: *Norfa* sh.: cf. rus. *бомжатник:* 'a place where the homeless, vagrants, drifters are' (Kudirka 2012: 90) and **Niżni** cf.: *Niżnie* (: *niżni*: *Paneriai*) *Ponary* d. cf., local Pol. **niżni.* The latter reflects the local Polish language.

Because UUs are written down, code switching is rarely observed, although a few examples are revealed:

Pod, cf., *Pod Halė* (: *pod*: *Halė*) turg.: *Halės turgus* turg. Halė market, cf. Lit. *Halė.*

Teatr, cf., *Teatr jaunimo* (: *teatr*: *jaunimas*) th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* 'State Youth Theatre': cf. Lit. *jaunimas* 'youth' and Pol. *teatr* 'theatre';

Teatr, cf., *Teatr keistuolių* (: *teatr*: *keistuolis*) th.: *Vilniaus keistuolių teatras* 'Vilnius Oddball theatre' th.: cf. Lit. *keistuolis* 'weirdo, oddball' and Pol. *teatr* 'theatre'.

In summary, it can be stated that the lexical layer of the UUs used by the Polish youth reflects urban speech. Slang is used, while code switching is also characteristic. However, UUs are mostly translated into standard or local Polish.

6. The order of lexemes of UUVs

Even though it is hard to make claims about the order of lexemes of UUVs, which consists of a few members, several unofficial names, which are used by the Polish and exhibit variations, were noted cf.:

Młodzieżowy teatr[11] (: *młodzieżowy: teatr*) th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* 'State Youth Theatre' th.

Mały teatr[12] (: *mały*: *teatr*) th.: *Valstybinis Lietuvos mažasis teatras* 'State Lithuanian Small Theatre' th.

Nacionalny dramatyczny teatr[13] (: *nacionalny*: *dramatyczny*: *teatr*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis dramos teatras* 'Lithuanian National Drama Theatre' th.

The names used by the Polish youth have a written form based on the word order dictated by the Lithuanian language.

7. Conclusions

UUs are used in an environment that includes four languages, i.e. Lithuanian, Russian, English and Polish. An important influence can also be observed coming from the colloquial variants of Lithuanian and Polish. Yet the analysis of UUVs shows the difference in the influence multilingualism has on the UUs used by the Lithuanian and Polish ethnic groups: from the names provided by the Polish youth, a clear effect on the morphological system of the names can be seen, while in the case of Lithuanians, it is the lexical aspect that is affected. The names used by both ethnic groups experience structural changes: the vowels show a tendency to change both quantitatively and qualitatively. In summarizing the UUs provided by Lithuanians and Poles, it can be stated that that multilingualism has an effect on the whole of the UUs within all linguistic levels. Unofficial names reflect the changes in the sound system, structure and vocabulary of the contemporary spoken languages of the Lithuanian and Polish youths that live in Vilnius.

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[11] Lit. *Jaunimo teatras* – Pol. *Teatr młodzieżowy.*

[12] Lit. *Mažasis teatras* – Pol. *Teatr mały.*

[13] Lit. *Nacionalinis dramos teatras* – Pol. *Teatr nacionalny dramatyczny.*

Abbreviations

a. – avenue
c – cafe
d. – district
dorm. – dormitory
En. – English
f.f.rest. – fast food restaurant
gen. – genitive
ger. – german
gym. – gymnasium
Lit. – Lithuanian
m. – mall
min. – ministry
mon. – monument

nc. – nightclub
nom. – nominative
Pol. – Polish
sh. – shop
s. – sculpture
sc. – school
sg. – singular
p. – pizzeria
pl. – plural
Rus. – Russian
t. – tower
th – theatre
un. – university

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Abstract

According to the data of the census conducted in 2011, the biggest ethnic groups living in Vilnius are Lithuanians (59.4%) and Polish (23%). Since the Lithuanian and Polish youth mostly speak several languages or language varieties, this article attempts to ascertain the actual usage of unofficial urbanonyms in the multilingual environment of Vilnius.

The analysis of unofficial urban place names of Vilnius reveals that multilingualism has a different effect on names used by Lithuanian and Polish youth.

Keywords: unofficial urbanonyms, multilingual environment, socio-onomastics

Tatyana Petrovna Sokolova

Naming Examination of Foreign-sounding Urbanonyms

1. Foreign-sounding Urbanonyms as commercial names

In recent years, Moscow, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities have seen the appearance of many foreign and foreign-sounding urbanonyms (names of cafés, restaurants, shops, residential complexes, travel agencies, beauty salons and other urban facilities). We affiliate all such urban names with the field of commercial naming, which, according to the fair observation of PAULA SJÖBLOM (2016: 453–455), is the broadest one and includes various types: company names, product names, brand names, trade names, etc. These commercial urbanonyms realize "two important functions of commercial names, i.e. bearing identity, on the one hand, and producing a good image, on the other" (SJÖBLOM 2013: 2) and call not only for a linguistic study, but also for naming examination, as they are involved in legal relations.

It should be clarified that the notion *foreign-sounding* is used in a broad sense: these urbanonyms do not only sound, but they also look unusual and unfamiliar to native Russian speakers, because Russian writing uses the Cyrillic, not the Latin script. In this regard, *foreign-sounding* urbanonyms often become conflictogenic – i.e. such names can give rise to conflict in society. Taking into account the pragmatic factors of naming allows to extrapolate the concept of conflictogenity, i.e. the ability to be perceived as non-cooperative (unfriendly) verbal behavior, which can lead to conflict (FORMANOVSKAIA 2007: 39), on urban communication space.

It has been found out that foreign-sounding urbanonyms cause a negative reaction of some citizens or a particular social group, e.g. teachers proposed to establish linguistic police for eradicating such names. Therefore, conflictogenic urbanonyms get involved in the sphere of civil relations, and the need for legal protection of urban names as intellectual property became one of the factors of the emergence and development of naming examination.

Naming examination significantly differs from linguistic police. The latter deal with offenses against the Russian language, including with foreign words on city signs, by efforts of the police, i.e. employees who do not have special knowledge in the field of the Russian language. Naming examination, however, is procedurally regulated linguistic research of names as speech products, culminating in the conclusion on the issues the resolution of which requires the application of special knowledge in linguistics, onomastics, forensic speech studies and legal expertology (SOKOLOVA 2016a: 32). Naming examination is

an analysis of a name as a unit of language and conversational speech (at all levels – lexical, semantic, morphemic, word-formative, phonetic, grammatical), as a part of a specific onomastic system (subsystem), and at the same time as a means of identification of an object in the legal aspect. Naming examination uses both general linguistic methods (semantic analysis, structural analysis, analysis of word-formation, etc.) and sociolinguistic, cultural ones. For the analysis and interpretation of specific cases of forensic practice, a case-study strategy (Titscher–Meyer–Wodak–Vetter 2000: 73–79), allowing to thoroughly analyze the legal-linguistic phenomenon in its interrelation with the urbonymic context, was used. For the analysis of specific cases, the methods developed by legal expertology were employed (Rossinskaja–Galjashina–Zinin 2016: 98–129).

The purpose of the article is to classify foreign-sounding urbanonyms and to reveal the capabilities of naming examination in identifying factors of the urbanonyms' conflictogenity, related to foreign-sounding urban names, and to show its role in the protection of intellectual property rights in the procedural and non-procedural regime, including in the mainstream of reconciling strategy.

We consider commercial urban space as an integral part of the linguistic landscape, which also includes public signs on government buildings, road signs, advertising billboards, street names, so the analysis technique described by Guy Puzey (2016: 395–411), including opportunities to apply linguistic landscape fieldwork techniques, is applicable to its study. The experience of describing the segment of the Romanian public space, where trade names are treated as cultural mediators, "they perform a transfer, and translation of information between the names of givers and name users" (Bugheşiu 2015: 9), is also indicative.

The material was collected by means of the fieldwork method, as well as from the Open Registers of the Federal Institute for Industrial Property website, from Internet sites of commercial enterprises, from Internet forums of goods and services users, news agencies. A total of more than 3000 foreign-sounding commercial names was collected.

The urbanonyms analyzed in the article are foreign-sounding names containing their original spelling in the Latin characters *(LA TAVERNA; DRIVEbike)* or the Cyrillic alphabet *(Чарда)* or code-mixing *(Шаурмитта);* their transliteration and translation (if necessary) are given in brackets, e.g. *ЧАРДА* (*Charda,* from the Magyar word *csárda* – 'a lonely inn or an inn in the Hungarian steppe').

2. Types of foreign-sounding urbanonyms

2.1. Foreign-sounding anthroponyms in commercial urban space

In recent decades, the signs of Russian cities have featured a large number of names that date back to anthroponyms. Those can be genuine foreign-language anthroponyms, for instance, the name of the beauty salons network *Dessange* indicates that they employ professional hairdressers who have completed training at the *Jacques Dessange* school in Paris. It should be noted that often the spelling of foreign-language anthroponyms on signs is distorted, for example, *ODRY CLUB Студия маникюра* (*Studija manikjura* 'manicure studio'), where the name *Audrey* is spelled phonetically.

It is perfectly normal for foreign languages to be used on urban signs if they represent actual foreign companies with foreign names in different cities of the world. For example, in Moscow one can see: French – *DIOR, Pierre Cardin, Yves Rocher, Cartier, Jean Paul Gaultier;* Italian – *Prada, Alberta Ferretti, Alberto Guardiani, Antonio Marras, Canali, Dr. Taffi, Salvatore Bersani;* Spanish – *Zara, Adolfo Dominguez, Pedro del Hierro;* German – *Schmidt, Klein;* English – *Jane Norman, Karen Millen, Marks & Spencer, Paul Smith, Alexander McQueen,* and others. Such names are, as a rule, descriptive of the owners' or designers' personal backgrounds. These and similar, almost familiar names act as brand names. "A brand is a widely known, financially valuable name which includes the image of the surplus value offered by the products" (SJÖBLOM 2014: 94). Such names are protected (according to Russian legislation and international conventions) and do not contain a conflictogenity factor.

The greatest number of names spelled in foreign languages are those of clothing, footwear, furniture, jewelry and household appliances shops. Therefore, they sound foreign to the Russian consumer's ear and are representative of the country – real or fictitious – where the commodity they offer is (thought to be) produced. Russian linguistic mentality has developed a stereotyped phonetic image of any (mostly European) foreign language, which facilitates the determination of the national identity of a particular shop owner or producer: thus, *Richard James, Elizabeth and James, Betsey Johnson* are unmistakably identified as Anglo-American, *Pierre, Nicole* as French, *Roberto Morelli, Fabiani* as Italian, *Rodriguez* as Spanish, *Kim* as Korean, *Bernhard Willhelm, Schumacher* as German, etc. Such family names may, however, be only indicative of the designer's, rather than the producer's country of origin. Thus, e.g. *Narciso Rodriguez, Suzi Chin, Eugenia Kim* offer goods manufactured by New York designers. The conspicuously artistic *Takeshi Kurosawa* is an Italian brand, a compound name of two cult cinema directors from Japan: *Takeshi Kitano* and *Akira Kurosawa*.

The most popular foreign-sounding names on Russian urban signs and billboards appear to include those in Italian, with their characteristic and easily identifiable phonetic indicators *-o (-io), -i (-etti, -ani, -ini, -li): Valentino, Giorgio Armani, Roberto Cavalli, Sergio Bellini, Sergio Rossi, Christiano Cardinalli, Fabio Gavazzi, Pietro Filipi, Cappelletti, Cividini,* and others. Often, Russian manufacturers of goods and services adjust their brand to a widely known foreign one and thereby provoke a conflict of interests between the owners, as well as mislead consumers in terms of the place of production of goods. It is such commercial names that are conflictogenic, and naming examination makes it possible to reveal counterfeit brands (e.g. *Carlo Pazolini, Francesco Donni, Donatto, Malinelli, Sergio Falconi*) (see SOKOLOVA 2014a: 361–366).

2.2. Foreign-language toponyms in commercial urban space

Very often foreign toponyms have become commercial urbanonyms, which are often used as names of cafes and restaurants, hinting at the type of cuisine, for instance, the Pakistani restaurant *Гандара (Gandara)* in Moscow (*Gandhara* is a historical area and the name of an ancient kingdom stretching from eastern Afghanistan to northwestern Pakistan); the pub *BRUGGE* ('Bruges') serving Belgian cuisine, the restaurant *Корё* (*Koryo,* from *Goyeo,* an ancient name of Korea), offering Korean cuisine. An exotic geographic appellative can also become an urbanonym, e.g. *Чарда (Charda),* a Hungarian restaurant (from the Magyar word *csarda* 'a lonely inn or an inn in the Hungarian steppe').

But in a number of cases, the foreign toponym does not fulfill the characterizing function and becomes a conflictogenity factor. Amid the anti-Russian sanctions from the US, residents of Belogorsk (a town situated in the Far East of Russia, in the Amur Region, in the valley of the Amur River) considered the name of the *New York* cafe with the image of the Statue of Liberty on the signboard inappropriate. At the request the Belogorsk residents, the owner of the *New York* café renamed it *Амур бистро (Amur Bistro)* and removed American symbols from the sign.

As shown by research (see SOKOLOVA 2014b, SOKOLOVA 2016b), foreign-language toponyms are often used in the names of residential complexes and business-class cottage settlements for wealthy buyers, such as the *Deauville* residential complex with the slogan *"Deauville, the French charm"*; *Hyde Park ("Feel like a Londoner");*[1] *Остров Эрин (Ostrov Erin* 'Isle of Erin', *"A piece of Ireland in Moscow"); Bristol:* a guarded residential complex of townhouses and cottages, created in a truly English style. A true England 7 km from away the Moscow Ring Road.

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[1] All names and advertising texts were translated by the author of the article.

Such urbanonyms implement a status-raising naming strategy.

A new Moscow business-class apartment quarter *TriBeCa APARTMENTS (Treebyeka Apartamenty,* involving a distorted Russian word *ТРИБЕКА),*[2] is named after the Tribeca district in Manhattan. Names of celebrities perform an attracting function in the advertisement:

This is a fashionable place in New York where famous American artists and performers such as Mariah Carey, Kate Winslet, Robert De Niro and other celebrities live.

The advertisement of the new residential complex *Art Residence* underlines its "European character": the atmosphere that Europeans had been cultivating in their cities for years, has been recreated by the *Art Residence* architects specifically for the inhabitants of this quarter.

The name is an example of how words that have long been assimilated into the Russian language, such as *резиденция* (*rezidentsiya* 'residence'), take on a foreign appearance again in order to emphasize the high status of future residents.

Russian names can also be represented on signboards in a foreign guise in line with the status-raising naming strategy: for example, the ancient Moscow urbanonym *Балчуг*[3] (*Balchug*) turned into *BALCHUG RESIDENCE* to match the "lot of the elite", which is demonstrated by the advertising text:

The architectural style of the *BALCHUG RESIDENCE* apart-residence complex, restrained, respectable and elegant, will never go out of fashion. Calm classical lines, laconic semi-circular and rectangular forms, traditional golden-sandy hues – these features give the object a majestic and noble look. Natural stone, metal, huge windows and stained glass, the favorite materials of the architect Hadi Teherani, provide a sense of expensive simplicity, harmony and monumentality.

Another elite complex, *Balchug Viewpoint,* is located 500 meters away from the Kremlin *("The maximum approach to true elitism!")*.

In the course of transliteration, the creators of the *St. Nickolas* elite house's name replaced the Russian model of the oldest *Nikolskaya* street's name in Moscow with an "alien" model, and the Russian term *улица (ulitsa)* with the English *St. (Street)*. In their opinion, this gave the urbanonym "gloss and charm". Such names can also cause discontent of citizens who defend Russian identity.

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[2] See the website: https://mskguru.ru/novostroyki/202-tribeca-apartments for further information.
[3] AGEEVA–BONDARUK–POSPELOV–SOKOLOVA–SHILOV 2007: 45–46.

2.3. Foreign appellatives and artificial names in commercial urban space

More and more often, namers use foreign appellatives, which are perceived as exoticisms, on their signboards. An example of this is the *VISIONARY салон красоты* ('beauty salon'), the name of which cannot be read and understood by everyone, unlike, for instance, the network urbanonym *Prime* (a fast food cafe). The latter urbanonym is simple and understandable.

Often the same signboard combines words and realities of different languages and culture, for example, *Чайхана LOUNGE* (*Chaikhana* 'Chaikhona, a specific tearoom in Central Asia, Iran', BTS 2000: 1467), *lounge* 'a room in a hotel, theatre etc where people can relax, e.g. lounge bar, part of the bar where visitors sit' (CLD 2011: 527).

The *UNO* cafe looks like a reference to the Italian numeral *one* (in Russia, the *UNO* game is also popular). However, according to the namers, "The first letters of the UNO abbreviation correspond to the English words *unison, nobility, order*".[4] These words represent the organization's motto. And the Latin *U* letter together with the flowing stream of steam form a stylized image of a cup with a hot drink in it.

The *Rancho Luncho* cafe (In Latin America, a *rancho* is a farm, a homestead, while *luncho* is a neologism from the English word *lunch,* rhymed with the first component of the name).

Шаурмитта (Shaurmitta), from the Russian *шаурма* (*shaurma* 'shawarma, a Middle Eastern dish made of a pita, stuffed with chopped grilled meat with spices, sauces and fresh vegetable salad').[5] The urbanonym is decorated with an allegedly European Suffix *-itta.*

A foreign appearance is also taken on by artificially created urbanonyms in order to attract customers' attention. Those can be quasi anthroponyms with the *-off* formant: the *JEANSOFF* store, the *OchkoFF* optics salon (from the Russian word *ochki* 'glasses'). The network of bakery cafes *Месье Круассан* (*Mes'e Kruassan* 'Monsieur Croissant') has become popular in Russia.

There are appellatives with a deliberately foreign formant: the Russian word *поросёнок* (*porosyonok* 'a little pig'), is replaced with an "à la Italiano" version *POROSELLO* (a bar with food); instead of the Russian *пара ног* (*para nog* 'pair of legs'), there is *PARA NOGAS* (a Spanish shoes store).

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[4] FIPS. Federal Institute for Industrial Property website. Information resources. Open registers. URL: http://www1.fips.ru (07-08-2017).

[5] Explanatory dictionary of the Russian language of the beginning of the XXI century. https://www.livelib.ru/book/1000162988-tolkovyj-slovar-russkogo-yazyka-nachala-xxi-veka-aktualnaya-leksika-pod-redaktsiej-g-n-sklyarevskoj (12-08-2017).

Such names can be presented on city signs in Latin, Cyrillic, in a mixed alphabet and also as creolized or polycode names, where the verbal and nonverbal components are merged together (for instance, the *ALPARI* cosmetics store, where the second letter *A* is replaced by the image of the Eiffel Tower).

Here it is deemed necessary to specify that we believe that modern urban space should be considered as a media space. Each city sign is a visual media message created not only by verbal means, but also by compositional, graphic ones, including font, color, graphic means, etc. Such urbanonyms are a kind of polycode names. A polycode name is a semiotic complex, which, in addition to a verbal component, includes a pictorial one (as well as an audio and/or a video component). Such an understanding of a polycode name lies in the framework of the multimodality concept developed by GUNTHER KRESS and THEO VAN LEEUWEN (2001).

Visual and multimodality studies applicable to any dimension of mediated meaning making and visual mode can excellently present concrete details (KRESS 2010: 28).

The interpretation of such polycode urban commercial names depends on the personality of the addressee of the media message, his or her age, education, speech culture, social status, civic position. In the aspect of the problem of the conflictogenity of polycode names that we are considering, the thesis by G. KRESS that modern communication is paying more attention to the pragmatics and that "sensory, affective and aesthetic dimension is too often ignored and treated as ancillary" (KRESS 2010: 78) is deemed topical.

3. Linguistic police or Naming examination?

3.1. Linguistic police as a means of combating foreign-sounding urbanonyms

It is the ambiguous perception of foreign-sounding urbanonyms that provoked a media scandal and a broad public discussion in 2016. The Association of Literature and Russian Teachers initiated the creation of the "linguistic police" to protect the Russian language from the "army of foreign words", from "spelling illiteracy", from the "spoiling" of the Russian alphabet with Latin characters.[6] The task of the new department, in particular, is to control the number of foreign words and the protection of literary norms. Teachers offer to pay special attention to the names of shops and signs, which often abound in foreign words that have analogues in Russian speech. For example, a member

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[6] See the websites for further information: https://iz.ru/news/631433; https://lenta.ru/news/ 2016/ 09/08/grammarnazi/; https://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=2804941; https://rutube.ru/video/ e791cffad832655c774b2c07f824aa8f/.

of the Council on the Russian Language under the President of the Russian Federation proposed to replace the sign of the store *mamas&papas* with *мама и папа* (*mama i papa* 'Mom and Dad'). But the polycode name had not been read up to the end. In the lower right corner of the *mamas&papas* signboard, there is the graphic element ®, a symbol of legal protection of the trademark, which protects the right holder from encroachments on his or her individualization means, his or her intellectual property.

The comments of experts regarding the linguistic police, which appeared in the media, indicate the incompetence of philologists and teachers in matters of naming and its legal regulation in Russia. So, when discussing the name of the *ZERKALO* store (from the Russian *зеркало* 'mirror') in class with students, the teacher makes a strange statement that *"foreign language use is typical for a person with a low level of culture".* However, students who were invited to share the teacher's indignation, on the contrary, found the sign very successful, expressive, and considered its design motivated.[7]

A teacher from Volgograd (the former famous city of Stalingrad) formulates an absurd thesis: In a heroic city, even names of cafes, bars, restaurants should carry a heroic message.

This is a violation of one of the basic rules of naming: the name should correspond to the type of the named object, and a beer bar with a heroic name may look blasphemous and offend the feelings of the Great Patriotic War veterans, while the foreign-sounding name of a popular restaurant, for instance, *Scoozi,* performs not only an individualizing, but also an informative function. It is a family establishment with Italian cuisine. The name of the cafe *DÉJÀ VU* and others are also creative and commercially successful (See Remchukova– Zamaletdinova 2016: 90–94).

A number of other comments show that linguists, writers and journalists transfer their thoughts about the expansion of foreign words in Russian colloquial and journalistic speech to a specific sphere of naming, where other laws operate. In particular, the use of foreign, exotic words, the Latin alphabet is often necessary to create an original, non-repeating verbal designation, otherwise it cannot be registered, because the "Russian analogues" are already patented. On the other hand, the discrepancy between the interpretation of the urbanonym by the sender (namer) and that by the addressee (the consumer of goods and services, the city dweller) can lead to conflict, which can be resolved by naming examination.

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[7] See the website: https://rutube.ru/video/e791cffad832655c774b2c07f824aa8f/ for further information.

3.2. Naming examination as a means of commercial naming regulation

3.2.1. The Initial Objective of Naming Examination

The initial objective of naming examination is to qualify the type of the name (trade name, trademark or service mark, commercial designation). Each individualization means provided for by the Civil Code of the Russian Federation has its own peculiarities and limitations, including those in verbal design (SOKOLOVA 2012).

1) Urbanonyms can be registered as a trademark or a service mark in different classes of the Nice Classification – and in this case, the examination is usually carried out at the Institute for Intellectual Property (Rospatent) as part of the application procedure. However, such an examination often is a mere formality and does not reveal the factors of conflictogenity of the claimed signs, which subsequently leads to the consideration of disputes of right holders in the Rospatent Chamber and in courts.

2) Urbanonyms may have the status of a trade name of a legal entity (e.g. a trade or a construction company) – then it is included in the Uniform State Register of Legal Entities on formal grounds (without a naming examination). This often results in conflictogenic names: *ООО МИН ХЕРЦ* (*ООО MIN HERTS* a distorted German *Mein Herz* 'my heart'), as well as *КАЙФ* (*kayf,* which in Russian means 'thrill' or 'buzz', and the self-explanatory 'fuck').[8]

3) Urbanonyms may also have the legal status of a commercial designation, which is not subject to registration. Such names do not undergo examination and come to the attention of the FAS or Rospatent in the case the latter are addressed by owners, consumers and citizens.

3.2.2. Trademarks: Case Комфорт[9]

The naming examination ruled that the authors of a news story were wrongly indignant with the penetration of a Latin letter into the name of the *Комfорт* (*komfort* 'comfort') store. This trademark is officially registered in Rospatent as a combined designation, with all letters but *f* spelled in Cyrillic. The Latin *f* is depicted against the background a boot, the elements of which resemble the lateral curves of the letter *f,* enabling the word to be easily read by the Russian consumer. The unprotected element *обувь европейских марок* ('European brands shoes') narrows the wide semantics of the word *comfort* and guides the buyer to a certain type of goods. Thus, the result of the namer's linguistic and

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[8] EGRJUL. URL: http://www.egrul.ru (12-08-2017)

[9] FIPS. URL: http://www1.fips.ru (17-06-2017).

creative activity is fixed in a protected trademark, which is legally posted on the signboard.

3.2.3. Trademarks: Case Cook'kareku[10]

The signboard of the *Cook'kareku* cafe exists on legal grounds as a legally protected service sign. This name realizes the right to freedom of the rightholder's verbal creativity: the combined designation includes a pictorial element in the form of a stylized frying pan with two triangles arranged in the shape of a bird's open beak, black on a yellow background. In the frying pan, one can see a fried egg. Under the pictorial element, there is the verbal element *Cook'kareku,* written in bold black letters of the Latin alphabet. This element consists of the element *Cook,* which is an English word that can be transliterated as *Кук* in Russian, and the element *kareku,* which has no semantic meaning (the Russian transliteration is *кареку*). The elements *Cook* and *kareku* are separated with an apostrophe. Phonetically, the verbal element *Cook'kareku* reproduces the sound a rooster produces, according to the Russian perception (the English version of this sound is known as *cock-a-doodle-do*). The verbal element *Cook'kareku* is placed above the unprotected verbal element *завтраки 24 часа* ('24-hour breakfast'). The semantic meaning of the designation is in creating an image of an early morning.

3.2.4. Commercial designations, the registration of which is not required, are the most vulnerable ones to the "linguistic police". Here the namers' right to freedom of linguistic creativity will have to be defended in official instances. Naming examination can be of essential help in this regard by means of answering the following questions:

*"Is the **X** name individual, unique, i.e. original, non-recurring?"*

*"Is the **X** name conflictogenic? If so, what are the conflictogenity factors?"*

For example, the name of the *PerovSky* residential complex outraged fighters against foreign words, for whom it presented a distortion of the name of the historical Moscow Perovo district in a Western manner. However, the naming examination revealed the specificity of a creolized name *PerovSky*. The non-verbal component (the image of a bird's feather) dividing the name into two components, ensures the realization of the internal form of the old toponym (the possessive adjective formed from the ancient nickname *Pero* became the village's name). The formant of the relative adjective *sky* (*-ский* in Russian) is played with as a homonym of the English word *Sky* reflecting the height of the new residential complex. The advertising text clarifies the semantics of the name:

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[10] FIPS. URL: http://www1.fips.ru/ (17-06-2017).

The PerovSky residential complex makes the sky closer. Here a long familiar district acquires new features.

The transformation of the name of another historical district, *Измайлово (Izmaylovo),* into a creolized name of the *ИзМайЛовО (IzMayLovO)* residential complex is creative but linguistically unsuccessful. The advertisement contains a distorted English "Is My Lov (e)", written in Cyrillic letters, where the final letter *O* of the toponym is replaced with a heart. The name is featured in the advertising text:

С любимыми не расставайтесь. Я ♥ ИзМайЛов♥ ('Do not part with your loved ones. I ♥ IzMayLov ♥').

The distorted *Лов (Lov)* in Russian is homonymous to the noun *лов* (from the verb *ловить (lovit')* 'to catch'). As a result, the name takes on a different meaning, 'this is my catch', which in the context of the housing market situation is often associated with crime and fraud in Russia and therefore can take on a negative meaning. This name is conflictogenic.

3.2.5. Questions to the expert can be formulated more specifically, for example, *"Do the names that appear on signs contain signs of violation of humanity and morality norms?"*

For example, in Tyumen (a city in Siberia), a wave of discontent was raised by a "gangster" name of the restaurant *Мафиози* (*Mafiozi* 'Mafioso'), which eventually led to the closure of the place[11].

The city of Belogorsk saw a two-year conflict between local authorities and the owner of a lingerie shop regarding the sign *Sisin dom.* The explanation is as follows: the first component of the urbanonym was formed on the model of a possessive adjective with a productive suffix *-in,* from the word *сиси* (*sisi* 'tits, a reduced colloquial name of women's breasts') (BTS 2000: 1190).

Naming examination reveals that the conflictogenity of the name of the *BarSouk* club is due to a language game (based on the capitalization of *S*), which resulted in a number of potential visitors feeling insulted. The negative semantics and the reduced stylistic coloration of the second component of the name, *сука* (*suka* 'bitch, *Rude.* A person, usually a woman, whose behavior causes anger, irritation') (BTS 2000: 1288) can be easily recognized by native speakers. This is evidenced by the data retrieved from surveys and online forums, for example:

The name of this café is blowing garbage!; I will not go there, because it says Bitches Bar, I do not see myself as a bitch.[12]

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[11] See the website: http://www.nashgorod.ru/otdih/journal/news70081.htm

[12] See the website: http://www.pln-pskov.ru/forum/116568.html

4. Conclusion remarks

In forensic expert practice, the decision-making for each case of using foreign-sounding words in commercial naming is difficult and disputable. This is due to the fact that the issue of the contradiction of this or that designation to the principles of humanity and morality is rather subjective and often depends on the principles the judges themselves adhere to. One of the ways to solve this problem is to request the help of an expert with special knowledge in the field of linguistics, onomastics and forensic expertology.

We believe that the linguistic police as a punitive body is a wrong way to stop the expansion of foreign names on city signs and conflict resolution, and naming examination can help harmonize the urban space on the legal scope, including protecting the rights of namers and those of owners of freedom of creativity.

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Abstract

A great number of foreign-sounding commercial urbanonyms (names of cafés, restaurants, shops, residential complexes, travel agencies, beauty salons and other urban facilities) have appeared in Russia in the 21th century. Such urbanonyms look and sound strange and alien to the Russian eye and ear, so in 2016 teachers came up with a suggestion of creating a "linguistic police" in order to restrict signboards. The paper considers foreign-sounding urbanonyms as conflictogenic ones, which may give rise to conflict situations in the society, cause a negative reaction of some citizens or a particular social group, as well as provoke a clash of interests in terms of the holders' rights. But instead of "linguistic police" the author suggests using naming examination – a new kind of forensic linguistic examination arising at the intersection of linguistics, law, onomastics and forensic expertology. The paper reveals the capabilities of naming examination in identifying urbanonyms conflictogenity factors – negative semantics of foreign-sounding names, violation of the spelling or grammatical norm in the title, incorrect use of foreign precedent names. The analysis of specific urbanonyms and leading cases serves as the basis of the need for naming examination in the protection of intellectual property rights and civil rights.

Keywords: naming examination, commercial naming, naming, name, urbanonym, conflictogenity

Ilia Baranov

Who wants to live forever: Survival analysis in names research

Commercial names have been thoroughly studied from the point of view of linguistics (SJÖBLOM 2016: 456). We also know which name properties can affect consumer perception (LOWREY–SHRUM–DUBITSKY 2003). However, the influence of name properties on actual business performance is relatively undefined. For a practical approach, it is important to know whether the effect of the name can persist among the abundance of other business factors. Our goal was to find measurable name properties that correlate directly with business success, thus providing the possibility to formalize the naming process for managers. To reduce the role of the environment, it was reasonable to limit the sample to names within a certain industry, location and time. In this study, we determined what properties of a commercial name are related to its success in food service, Moscow, 1999–2013.

Literature review

Existing criteria for name assessment were proposed basing on manager interviews (SHIPLEY–HOOLEY–WALLACE 1988, HSU–LIN 2013) or on linguistic research (ROBERTSON 1989, USUNIER–SHANER 2002). In order to establish the pool of name properties capable of affecting business success and to define unexplored areas, we analyzed the existing research data on commercial names using the concept of brand functions, i.e. the overarching benefits of the brand for the consumer that are displayed across the scope of certain products or services. As an integral and ubiquitous brand attribute, the name can fulfill all the brand functions (ROUND–ROPER 2012: 940–941). It includes both the brand properties that are important for the consumer during their first acquaintance with the brand and the properties that maintain constant consumption of a familiar brand:

Identification, where the brand name helps the consumer in quick recall and recognition of a familiar brand.

Search cost reduction through which an unfamiliar product is quickly associated with a certain product category or price segment. The name could orient the consumer directly through its lexical meaning, or indirectly through its connotations, sounding, pronunciation, and even through the shape of its letters.

Quality signaling can be expressed in not only the direct meaning or a connotation of a name. For everyday brands, an increase in fluency leads to

an increase in evaluation (Janiszewski 1993: 388). Although in food service rating, it being a hedonistic (vs. utilitarian) service, one might say that "good enough" is not good enough. Customers may want to be delighted, not just satisfied, especially in quality restaurants (Jang–Namkung 2009: 458). Peculiarity, rarity and even vagueness of meaning may serve as quality signals, especially in the expensive segment.

Risk reduction means that the brand reduces perceived risk from the purchase, as it signals that the product corresponds to the functional, pricing or social expectations of the consumer. In case of services, it can be stated that the more tangible and familiar the name seems, the safer the brand appears to be (Atasoy–Trudel–Kaufmann 2015: 84).

Relationship function is expressed in the fact that the brand can maintain a permanent customer–product relations, creating an emotional attachment. Brands may acquire personal traits and perform the functions of a friend, mother, teacher etc.

Habitual function is the convenience of the brand in everyday use. A fluent brand name helps the consumer to spare cognitive resources and save effort in recognizing and transferring the name.

Symbolic function is manifested in the fact that the brand creates the feeling of belonging to a reference group, raising one's status and sharing the ethical, sentimental, national values of the consumer.

All of the brand functions described above are present in food service. Throughout the lifetime of the brand, the properties responsible for long-term brand-consumer contacts may prove important, i.e. Identification, Relationship and Habitual function. Services (vs. goods) have a specific trait where they cannot be pre-evaluated before the purchase, which leads to the importance of Search cost reduction, Quality signaling and Risk reduction functions. The Symbolic function is important as well, since in Russia in the analyzed time eating out at a restaurant was still a significant, exceptional event (Semanova 2011).

The brand functions of the name are not independent: performing a certain function can automatically promote or hinder other functions. Depending on the industry and the context, the optimal configuration of the functions may be different. For the probing purposes of this study, let us consider what name properties affect business success and what functions of the brand they could serve. In addition to the information about the direct connection of name with business, we also rely on 'mind-set' metrics characterizing consumers' brand attitude. These are brand awareness, brand attitude, purchase intention and so forth. Their importance for business performance was established but is still

problematic (HANSSENS–PAUWELS 2016). Following the language nature of name, we consider the literature in accordance with semantic, grammatical, graphic and phonetic name properties sequentially.

Semantics

Identification
Brand awareness is markedly higher for names consisting of existing words of the language than for agnonyms, i.e. formations without lexical meaning (LERMAN–GARBARINO 2002: 632). High-imagery names are recalled better than low imagery names (ROBERTSON 1987). At the same time, imagery was ranked last in the managers' survey on the role of name properties for business (HSU–LIN 2013:194).

Search cost reduction
Brand awareness is higher for names connected to a product category (KANUNGO 1968). Clients rate restaurants higher if they find the cuisine authentic (KOVÁCS–CARROLL–LEHMAN 2013). A clear ethnical reference in the name can serve as a search signal to clients. However, in Seoul the advantage in brand loyalty was found for restaurants with arbitrary names as compared to descriptive or associative names (BAI–PARK 2016).

Quality signaling
Relevant national stereotypes can enhance the perceived hedonistic value of the facility, and clients may rate the facility higher as a result (SALCIUVIENE et al. 2010). For example, French and Italian cuisines are thought highly of in Russia, and a name with such connotation may improve the evaluation of the facility.

Relationship
People tend to buy products with a personality (SJÖBLOM 2016: 456). Animacy enhances the imagery of the name and therefore it might have an effect on facility success.

Symbolic function
Prestigious words in real estate names raise the price by 5% (ZAHIROVIC-HERBERT–CHATTERJEE 2012: 72). As eating out at a restaurant or a cafe in modern Moscow is often an activity of symbolic and conspicuous nature, the symbolic properties of the name can be significant for the success of the facility. Clients could percept agnonyms as foreign or trendy names, so the status of the named entity could increase (BOGDANOV 2009: 181–182).

As a result, we could assume that a successful food service name possesses 'semantic tangibility' expressed in the presence of meaning, ethnicity, imagery and animacy of the name.

Grammar

Both morphological structure and formation of commercial names have been comprehensively described (RONNEBERGER-SIBOLD 2000: 232), however the connection of name grammar and business performance has not been thoroughly studied.

Identification
Names formed by word blending negatively affect brand recall, while unusual spelling displays a positive effect on it (LOWREY–SHRUM–DUBITSKY 2003).

Quality signaling
As opposed to mass market, in upscale products and services (gourmet cheese, fine dining restaurant) lower perception fluency leads to higher brand evaluation (POCHEPTSOVA–LABROO–DHAR 2009)**.** Unusual word formation models reduce the speed of cognitive processing (LEHRER 2003), which might positively affect perceived quality. At the same time, a non-typical service name increases the risk of failure (TURLEY–MOORE 1995: 48).

Relationship
Congruency in the grammatical gender of the product category and the name heightens brand evaluation (YORKSTON–DE MELLO 2005). Brand gender could be more related to the gender of the typical brand user and to the personality of the brand than to the actual brand name (ULRICH–TISSIER-DESBORDES–DUBOIS 2011: 140). Exploring a wide range of goods and services (but not food service), LIEVEN with colleagues (2014) showed that high levels of brand masculinity or femininity relate positively to brand equity. Masculine names dominate among the US independent restaurant names, being used almost twice as often as feminine ones (NILSEN 1995: 35), although there is no information provided about the connection of facility gender with business results.

We suppose that grammatically unusual names would differ from the usual ones in their connection to facility success. Name gender could be significant too. Competition of functions makes it difficult to predict the direction of these effects.

Graphics

Identification
Short brand names are recognized faster than long ones (GONTIJO et al. 2002: 332). The memorability of names declines with the increasing number of syllables (VANDEN BERGH et al. 1984: 838). Later it was shown that word memorability is not determined by the length and instead is related to distinctiveness and number of orthographic neighbors, i.e. words differing in 1 letter from the target word (HULME 2004, JALBERT 2011).

Search cost reduction
Recent studies demonstrated the existence of crossmodal associations of graphic shapes with food tastes (SPENCE–GALLACE 2011). Strong taste was considered more angular in shape; mild taste was considered more rounded in shape (SPENCE et al. 2013).

Quality signaling
People prefer round shapes to angular shapes (BAR–NETA 2006, SALGADO-MONTEJO et al. 2015). To our knowledge, the connection between name letter legibility and brand success has not been described before. On the one hand, high letter legibility may improve name recognition and increase brand confidence similarly to reading fluency (SIMMONS–NELSON 2006). On the other hand, a slight difficulty in perception can attract more attention to the name and might affect the choice in its favor (POCHEPTSOVA–LABROO–DHAR 2009)**.**

Risk reduction
According to TURLEY and MOORE (1995: 49), service names are longer than product names and more often consist of several words. It could be assumes that bigger name length provides higher service tangibility. The length could reflect some other name properties that are important to the client. In particular, the length of bank names does not serve as an independent success driver, but rather represents the amount of information carried by the name (BARANOV 2018: 195).

If the consumer evaluates a familiar name positively, the positive attitude is transferred to an unfamiliar name that resembles the familiar one (KRONROD–LOWREY 2016). Russian bank names with segments repeated within the category have higher assets and live longer than names without such segments (BARANOV 2018: 189). It could be suggested that segments and words repeated within the category create a feeling of name familiarity (WHITTLESEA 1993).

Habitual function
The convenience of a short name in everyday use may be more important to the consumer than the tangibility of long names. For example, joint-stock companies with shorter names show better financial performance (GREEN–JAME 2013). US chain restaurants with shorter names are more profitable (PARSA–VAN DER REST 2017). In clothing stores, shorter names are more often associated with better survival (BARANOV 2011: 128).

It was recently found that another name property also reflects brand convenience. It is not purely graphic, although it is related to letters. For e-commerce goods, names with a large share of letters typed with the right hand on the desktop keyboard were more frequently chosen by consumers than "left-handed" names (GARCIA–STROHMAIER 2016).

We assume that business success could be associated with:
– the length per se or as the reflection of other name properties;
– the shape and legibility of letters in the name;
– the share of left/right-handed letters in the name.

Phonetics

Identification
Names with fluent pronunciation increase brand recognition (BAO–SHAO–
RIVERS 2008). Repetitions of sounds within a name improve its memorability
(ROBERTSON 1989: 67). Names starting with stop consonants are better
recognized and distinctively better memorized (VANDEN BERGH et al. 1984:
838) and web domain names with initial stop consonants are associated with
higher traffic (GIROTRA–ULRICH 2012: 14).

Search cost reduction
The sound of the name could convey information about the product and its
function. Consumers rate a name with phonetic symbolism congruent to the
category benefits higher than a name without such congruity (KLINK 2001: 30).
In English, brand meaning in the name is more efficiently conveyed through
vowels than consonants (KLINK–WU 2014: 22). In Russian, unstressed vowels
are strongly reduced, and this effect could be less pronounced. The significance
of phonetic signals can rise for agnonyms that can not orient the consumer
through lexical meaning.

Quality signaling
Consumers rate names higher if they include repetitions – rhymes, assonances and
alliterations (ARGO–POPA–SMITH 2010). Sound symbolism of brand name was
found to affect brand perception in English. Front vowels improve assessment
of the product as a whole. Back vowels are recommended for products of
efficiency, velocity and health, as well as for larger-sized products; front vowels
– for high-end men's products (DUDUCIUC 2015). Voiceless consonants in names
convey environmental attributes of brands via associations with metaphorical
attributes such as trustworthiness or purity (JOSHI–KRONROD–LOWREY 2014).
Such research with Russian material is unknown to us. However, ZHURAVLEV
(1974: 38 ff.) found a stable semantic charge for Russian sounds. In semantic
differential experiments, he calculated the phonosemantic charge of Russian
sounds in 23 scales with the main scale of 'bad–good'. He found that the more
frequent the sound is in speech, the less prominent its phonetic meaning is.
Russian people rated voiced consonants better on average than voiceless ones.
Soft (palatalized) and hard consonants were rated equally. Based on these
estimates, we assume that a high proportion of voiced consonants in the name
will correlate with business success, and palatalization will not affect it.

Risk reduction

Food additives will seem less hazardous with an easy to pronounce name rather than a chemical term (SONG–SCHWARZ 2009). Companies with easier to pronounce names have more confidence, and therefore are more effective in stock market (ALTER–OPPENHEIMER 2006, GREEN 2013). Purchase intension is higher for names consisting of high-probability sound chains (VITEVITCH–DONOSO 2011), and the cause may be a decrease in perceived risk.

Habitual function

Twenty per cent of Brits prefer not to order a dish in the restaurant because they do not know how to pronounce it correctly (BOND 2012). Easy to pronounce names increase brand preference (BAO–SHAO–RIVERS 2008). However, moderately fluent names were favored in an exclusive product context (ERZ–CHRISTENSEN 2014). In Russian speech, food service names are often used with the preposition «в» 'to/at', cf. title of paper (GORYAEV 2016): "Пообедаем в ОНЕГИНе" 'Let's have dinner at *Onegin'*. The combination в+Name is inconvenient to pronounce if the name starts with В/Ф [v/f] followed by a vowel: в ВЕРТИКАЛЬ, в ФЕНИКС.

Based on the phonetics data, we can expect a connection between brand success and sound symbolism, euphony, pronunciation ease as well as the usual order of sounds in the name.

It follows from the literature that the same name properties could serve several functions of the brand, both similarly and in the contrary manner. We cannot predict which of the properties will be more crucial for business success. In addition, the facts described above mainly concern English-speaking audience, names in other languages are studied more rarely, and only a few studies were conducted for the Russian names. Cultural differences can reverse the perception of a certain name property or ignore it. Therefore, it is important to fill in the gaps in the study of name – business links, both for practical purposes and for future theoretical comprehension.

Method

The effect of commercial names is most often associated with consumer perceptions. It is measured through surveys and therefore, even in the big data era, is available not for a large number of names at a time. In addition, consumer metrics are the most remote from the ultimate business performance. Name power is quite subtle: ROUND and ROPER (2015: 1953) found that name effect explains about 5 per cent of the branded product price. The interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic factors is difficult to measure. Will the effect remain visible against the background of external circumstances and marketing activities?

Well-known brand rankings like *Interbrand Best Brands* or *Fortune 500* represent merely the top of the iceberg, i.e. the most successful brands. Name properties analysis in samples like that requires caution since it is impossible to define how common the same properties are among less successful or even failed brands (survivor bias). Let us say we compared the properties of ten names of cornflakes at a supermarket chain (this is a typical study) and found that flakes with the property X in the name are better sold than without X. We have not considered the hundreds of failed names. What is the X property share among them? It cannot be ruled out that the failed names (but not our top ten names) possibly possessed some Y property that prevented them from succeeding. Additionally, the name accompanies the brand all the time, and the perception of the name can vary throughout the brand life cycle (ROPER–ROUND 2017). To avoid these difficulties, we will try to estimate name benefits: a) on a representative sample; b) at a long time.

Following BARHATOV and PLETNEV (2014: 15), we assume that a business's ability of long existence indicates its integral success. MCCLURE (1995), LAFONTAINE and SHAW (2016) used facility lifetime as its success metric. Instead of laboratory experiments where the extent of name influence remains unknown, we can observe the real-life outcome in the environmental noise. For these purposes, we use the survival analysis (GUO 2010). It allows to include objects that (dis)appeared outside the study period in the sample.

Each object is characterized by two parameters, lifespan in the observation period and observation completeness: if the entire item lifespan lies within the observation period, it counts as uncensored, in the opposite case it is considered censored. Results are presented as Kaplan–Meier graphs where the horizontal axis marks the lifespan and the vertical axis marks the probability to live up to that lifespan. The higher the graph "ladder", the longer the lifespan (Fig.1). All differences in indicators mentioned below are statistically significant (Gehan–Wilcoxon $p<.05$) unless otherwise stated.

Widely known in medicine and insurance, survival analysis is also applied in management studies (CARROLL–HANNAN 2000, FRITSCH–BRIXY–FALCK 2006). Better survival of larger restaurants rather than smaller ones was demonstrated by PARSA et al. (2011). Arbitrary and descriptive names survive better than suggestive names (MCCLURE 1995). Names of clothing stores (BARANOV 2011), banks (BARANOV 2018) and TV-programs (KHESSINA–REIS 2016) have been investigated with this method.

Data

We studied food service facilities in Moscow in 1999–2013. It is an emerging market of several thousand facilities (GOLOVKIN 2003) with an average lifespan of about 5 years (GORELKINA 2007: 143). The lifespan was registered from annual yellow pages data. Sample size was 2,093 facilities with a mean annual number of about 1,300 facilities. The distribution of the names by type of facility is shown in Table 1. A café is usually distinguished from a restaurant by its smaller size, lower average bill and limited food choice, but there is no strictly determined borderline between the two. In our study, the type of the facility was registered as the one stated in the yellow pages. Restaurants survive significantly better than cafes.

Food service type	N uncensored	% uncensored	Total N
Restaurant	533	50	1143
Cafe	547	70	820
Other[1]	88	70	130
Total	**1168**	**56**	**2093**

Table 1: Distribution of names by type

Results

In the course of the study, it was observed that name length correlates with numerous other linguistic properties of the name. Names with properties that correspond to bigger length survive better. To exclude the role of the length, we compared samples of names of similar length where length did not correlate with the property being analyzed.

Semantics

We found only one restaurant without a name in our sample. Named cafes survive much better than no-name cafes (Fig. 1).

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[1] Because of their small numbers, bars, coffee shops and pizzerias were not studied separately but were included in the common sample.

Cumulative Proportion Surviving (Kaplan–Meier)
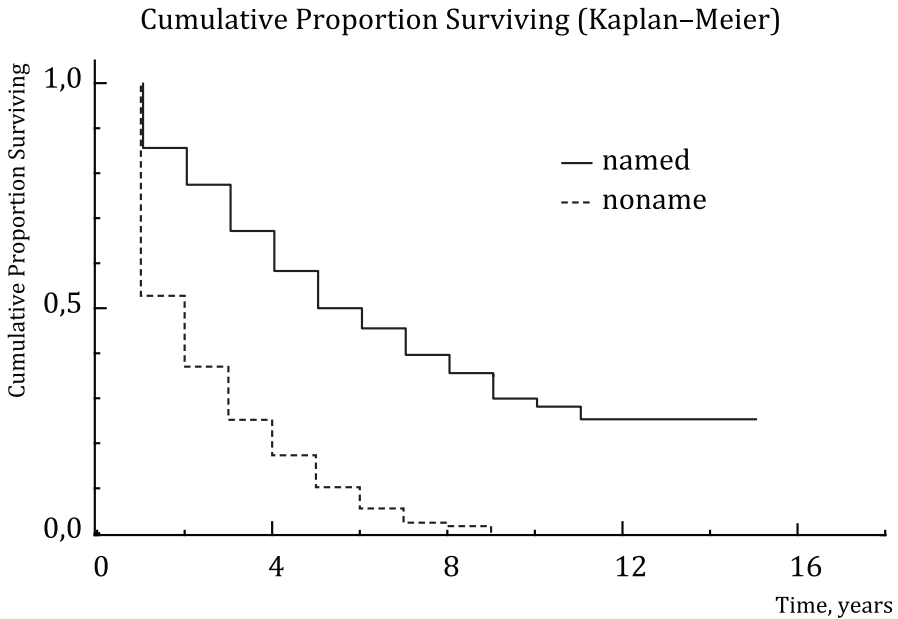
Figure 1: Cumulative proportion surviving for named vs. no-name cafes (p<.001)

We divided the sample into two groups: names with at least one meaningful word, and agnonyms, i.e. names without obvious meaning (ЧЕТВЕРГ 'Thursday', КОФЕ ДЕН 'coffee something', КОЛИЗЕЙ 'Colosseum' vs. ЗОЛО 'something', УРЕОК 'something', КЕТАМА 'something'). The *absence of meaning* did not affect survival. However, high-imagery restaurant (and not cafe) names (РЫБИЙ ГЛАЗ 'fish eye', МЯСНОЙ КЛУБ 'meat club') survive better than low-imagery ones (НОТА БЕНЕ 'nota bene', ПРАВДА 'truth'). Names referring to *big* objects (ОЛИМП 'Olympus') survived better than names referring to small objects (ВИННЫЙ ПОГРЕБОК 'small wine cellar'). Reference to *color* (СИНЯЯ ПТИЦА 'blue bird' vs. СИТИ ПИЦЦА 'city pizza') or *lightness* (ОГОНЁК 'small flame' vs. НОЧНОЙ ДВОРИК 'night courtyard') was not found to affect survival.

Animate names (ВЕЛИКИЙ СУЛТАН 'great sultan', АНДРЕАС 'Andreas', БЕЗУМНЫЙ ЦЫПЛЕНОК 'mad chicken', ФЕНИКС 'phoenix') survived better than inanimate ones (ДВОРЕЦ СУЛТАНА 'palace of sultan'). Division of animate names into humans and animals, and division of animals into wild and domestic showed no difference in survival. Names with the meaning of 'place' survived equally to animate names, and both of them survived better than 'things', 'ideas' and agnonyms. '*Geography' names* (related to toponyms: КАВКАЗСКАЯ ПЛЕННИЦА 'Kidnapping, Caucasian Style' (the

famous comedy name), ОГНИ БАКУ 'lights of Baku' or to cardinal points: ВОСТОЧНЫЙ ЭКСПРЕСС 'Orient-Express', ЮЖНАЯ НОЧЬ 'South night') had insignificant advantage in survival over the rest of 'places' (ДОМ БЕЛОГО ЖУРАВЛЯ 'white crane house'). Names pointing to a country or big territory (РУСЬ 'Ancient Russia', ВЕНЕТО 'Veneto', КУБА ЛИБРЕ 'Cuba Libre') but not a city survived better than animate names. Names specifying the *location* of the facility in Moscow (НАГАТИНО 'a certain Moscow district', КОНСЕРВАТОРИЯ 'Concert Hall', ТВЕРБУЛЬ 'unofficial acronym of well-known street') are situated on the graph between the *country* and *city* groups, but do not differ significantly from either of the two groups. Location names survive significantly better than animate names (Fig. 2). The opposition of the topics of *poor/rich* and *real/fiction* in names showed no difference in survival.

Human = Animal
Domestic = Wild

O < Animate

Thing = Idea = No meaning < Place = Animate

O ≤ Geography

Cardinal < City ≤ Country
points

Animate ≤ Country

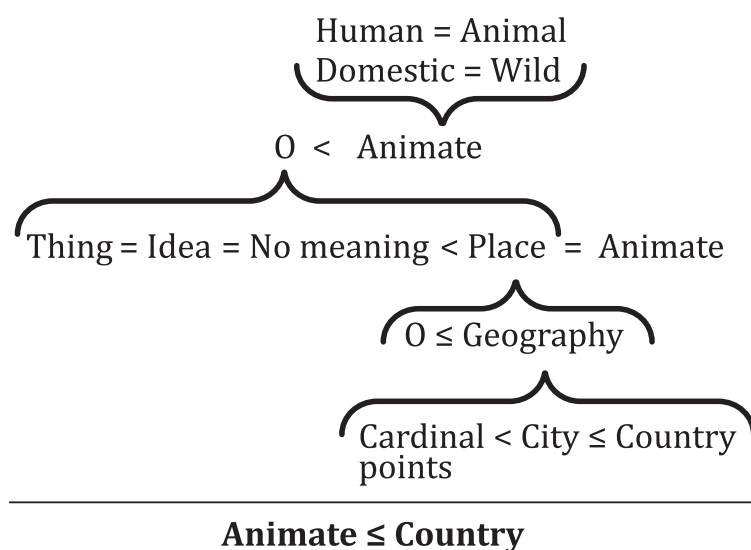**Figure 2:** Survival in thematic groups of names.

Here and elsewhere we use the following notations:

X<Y: names with X property have significantly less lifetime than names with Y property (p≤.05).

X=Y: names with properties X and Y have statistically equal lifetimes (p>.10).

X≤Y: names with X property have less lifetime, but not statistically significant (.05<p≤.10).

O – absence of property.

To study *national connotation,* we divided names into four groups. International names (ЗОДИАК 'zodiac', ДОПИНГ 'dope') survived worse than Russian names (ДЯДЯ КОЛЯ 'Uncle Nick'; ЖЕСТОКИЙ РОМАНС 'cruel romance', song genre and famous movie title). Names with distinctively 'foreign' semantics (ЗОЛОТОЙ ТАЛЕР 'golden thaler', МАРОКАНА 'Moroccan') displayed no difference separately from international and Russian names. Indefinable nationality (АОЗОРА 'something', МЕНЗА 'something') did not differ from foreignness.

International≤Foreign=Indefinable≤Russian

Congruency of the name nationality and the facility's cuisine did not affect survival.

Names *related to food and food service* (ИЗЮМ 'raisins', СКАЗОЧНЫЙ ДАСТАРХАН 'fabulous dastarchan') survived worse than non-food names. Food-related names were even less surviving than agnonyms.

The reference list of *soviet* names was compiled from a Moscow yellow pages book from 1983. We took into account only those names from the list that are present in the sample of 1999–2013, without regard to whether these are the same facilities or new ones (БЕРЕЗКА 'young birch', МЕЧТА 'dream'). We found that restaurants with soviet names survived better than the rest, while cafes with such names survived worse than the rest.

Since it turned out that geographic connotation in the name is not connected with the facility's cuisine, we assume that this effect is symbolic. Animate names sound less natural in speech (Заглянем в НАТАЛИ 'let's take a look inside *Natalie*'), but the relationship (and/or identification) takes over in this case.

Meaningful names survive better than agnonyms in both banks and clothing stores (Baranov 2018: 189, Baranov 2011: 133), whilst unclear meaning in food service names has no effect on survival. Search cost reduction is not manifested through the name nationality or its congruence with the cuisine of the facility but through the increased survival of names pointing to location. This is consistent with the findings of Bai and Park (2016) that descriptive names of the food service in Korea have no advantage over arbitrary names. We assume that the symbolic function outweighed the rest: unclear meaning seems prestigious, and the financial risk is not so great as in bank operations or when buying clothes. The survival difference in soviet names might be explained if we assume that cafe clients, as opposed to restaurant clients, are younger[2] and

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[2] We did not find direct indications for the age difference between the customers of cafes and restaurants. The average bill in a cafe is lower than in restaurants, and young people have less income than older clients do. Therefore, we assume that the age of cafés clients is on average less than in restaurants. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude a greater propensity of young people to conspicuous consumption and thus to spending more.

experience no nostalgia for the past. Therefore, it is the symbolic function of the name, too.

Grammar

In Russian, the word 'ресторан' is of masculine *gender*; the word 'кафе' is of neutral gender. Among the restaurants, there are much more masculine names than feminine ones. Among the cafes, the masculine gender predominates less pronouncedly (Table 2). Feminine names (СУЛИКО 'well-known Georgian female name', АЙВА 'quince', ЛАКАДА 'something of feminine gender') demonstrated better survival than masculine names (РОЗОВЫЙ ФЛАМИНГО 'pink flamingo', АН САН 'something of masculine gender') regardless of their length, animacy and clarity of meaning, but only in the restaurant subsample. Gender congruence with the type of facility did not cause any difference in survival.

Gender	Total	Restaurants	Cafes
Feminine	30	25	38
Masculine	55	60	48
Other	14	16	13

Table 2: Distribution of names (%) by grammatical gender

Most often food service names are single nouns (ЧИ 'something', АРЕНА 'arena', БАКИНЕЦ 'Bakuvian') or combinations of noun+noun (ОМАР ХАЙЯМ 'Omar Khayyam', ПАША КЕБАБ 'Pasha kebab', ГАЛЕРЕЯ ХУДОЖНИКА 'artist's gallery') or adjective+noun (ЗОЛОТАЯ БУХАРА 'golden Bukhara', БАЛТИЙСКИЙ ХЛЕБ 'Baltic bread'). These three groups demonstrated no difference in survival. Rarer types like names containing verbs (САМ ЗАШЕЛ 'you came by yourself'), pronouns (Я-ПОНЧИК 'I'm the donut / little Japanese man') or plurals (ПЕЛЬМЕНИ БУМ 'meat dumplings boom' or 'we will eat meat dumplings', ЖИЛИ-БЫЛИ – literally '[they] lived and were', traditional beginning of Russian tales) were indistinguishable in survival from the majority. As there were very few acronyms (СВ 'wagon-lit', ГЛАВКУРОРТ 'Main Dept. for health resorts'), alphanumeric names (ПЯТЬ МОРЕЙ 'five seas', 33 ЗУБА '33 teeth') and neologisms (ПАРИЖСК 'Parisville', ФУДВИЛЬ 'Foodville') in the sample, we were unable to evaluate their effect on survival.

The sample contained a small group of 43 names with the structure of *prep+noun*. Most of these names referred to a location: НА БАСМАННОЙ 'at Basmannaya st.' or a person: У АЛЕКСАНДРА 'at Alexander's'. These

names are not convenient in speech since they require a sequence of two noncompatible prepositions: let's go to *At Basmannaya*. These preposition names survived better than the rest. The effect persisted when we controlled for length and number of words as well as within thematic groups 'place' and 'person'. A similarly limited group of names with a visually comparable structure of *article+foreign noun* (ЛЕ ГАТО 'le gâteau') exhibited worse survival than noun+noun combinations:

Article+Noun<Noun+Noun<Prep+Noun

The morphologic commonness of the names was evaluated both within the sample and in the language.

To study *commonness within the sample,* the names were divided into words and the frequency of root morphemes within the sample was calculated. The commonness value of the name was calculated as the mean of frequencies of its morphemes. The threshold between common, or cliché, and uncommon, or non-cliché, names was determined as the highest value, provided that the cliché group contained a sufficient number of names for analysis. For the threshold value of 6 in 1-word names clichés survive worse than non-cliches.

Language clichés were defined through a similar procedure, with logarithms of the dictionary frequencies (LYASHEVSKAYA–SHAROV 2009). Name survival worsened with the growth of dictionary frequency. Language clichés exhibited an effect on restaurant names and showed no effect on café names.

The advantage of the feminine gender in restaurant names could be explained through their relative rarity as compared with cafe names. Facilities with 'other' gender of the name are even rarer, however, according to LIEVEN et al. (2014), they may have less brand equity, and therefore do not have an advantage in survival.

Along with the main meaning, the *At+noun* structure in food service names possesses the connotations of 'retro', 'local', 'home-like', 'personal', 'familiar', 'traditional'. Taken together, these connotations signal clients about both quality and risk reduction. The disadvantage of cliché names within the category is a result of insufficient search cost reduction. Presumably, linguistic commonness interferes with the Identification function of the name.

Graphics

The length of names in the sample varies from 2 to 35 characters (including spaces) with the mean of 8.1 characters or 1.3 words. The shortest examples are ЧИ, БО, ЩИ, and the longest name is НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ РУССКИЙ ОХОТНИЧИЙ КЛУБ. Name survival displayed positive correlation with length. The same effect was observed for 1-noun names. For agnonyms the

effect was insignificant. For *noun+noun/adjective+noun* names the length effect was not present. For masculine names or names with the meaning of 'bigness' the length effect remained, while for feminine names or names with the meaning of 'smallness' the effect was not observed.

We assumed that the *graphic legibility* of the name equaled to the mean of its letters' legibility. More familiar words can be recognized by their outline, while for unfamiliar words the priority of letter-based processing is more probable (Yap–Balota 2015). Limited research has been done on the legibility of the Cyrillic alphabet:

(1) Correct recognition share of blurred letter in fovea (Korshunov 2011).

(2) Correct/incorrect recognitions in parafovea (Alexeeva–Konina 2016).

(3) Recognition time of letters in fovea (Alekseeva 2013).

(4) Letter perimetric complexity (PC), i.e. the ratio of letter perimeter squared to the letter area (Tarasov et al. 2016: 6 ff.). The PC of the name was calculated as the sum of letter PCs divided by name length.

The results acquired through different methods had no mutual correlation; therefore, we used all four legibility data sets in our experiment. Name letter legibility calculated through method (1) showed a tendency towards better survival of less legible rather than more legible names (p=.14). For nouns consisting of 6–10 characters the difference in survival reached significance. Legibility according to methods (2) and (3) displayed no survival difference, but Kaplan–Meier graphs according to method (3) showed a tendency towards better survival of less legible names. According to method (4), less legible names survived better than more legible names.

Exploring *letter shape* we found that name survival was not affected by the percentage of angular (Г, Н), round (О, С), or symmetrical (Ж, Н, О) letters.

Names containing *repeating letters and 2- or 3-letter combination* (2- and 3-grams) had no difference in survival from names without such repetitions. Survival of names containing *letters and 2-grams frequent in the sample* was equal to that of names without such combinations. Names with 3- and 4-grams frequent in the sample survived worse than names without these combinations. Analysis of frequencies according to the frequency dictionary (Lyashevskaya–Sharov 2009), showed that names with frequent 3-grams survived worse than names with rarer 3-grams. The frequency of letters and 2-grams in the language had no connection to survival.

We calculated the ratio of *right-handed characters* to the total number of characters in the name (RSR). Right-handed names (RSR>0.6) survived better

than left-handed names (RSR<0.4) within the name length range of 5–11 characters.

Name length manifests itself as the most conspicuous and independent from other properties. We consider the length effect to be a reflection of service name tangibility that serves the risk reduction function of the brand. The absence of this effect in feminine names and names with the meaning of 'smallness' shows that gender and size semantics have stronger manifestations than mere length. These may be called the strong (and less frequent) members in these opposition pairs.

Absence of the length effect observed in agnonyms might be explained by a number of reasons. Length can represent a stronger factor, in particular the number of elements of meaning within the name, for example the number of morphemes or frequent segments. Agnonyms might be viewed by the consumer as indivisible, i.e. conveying the same amount of meaning regardless of the length. The tangibility advantage of longer names is counter-balanced by the convenience and memorizability of shorter names. Agnonyms are unique and that signal could be stronger than the length. We assume that slight perceptual difficulties catch the consumer's attention and signal about the quality, therefore they improve survival. On the contrary, typing discomfort interferes with the habitual function and leads to worse survival.

Phonetics

Pronunciation fluency was detected as absence of vowel or consonant clusters. Our sample contained only 18 names with 3-vowel clusters (ХМУР**ОЕ У**ТРО). To these we added the most inconvenient 2-vowel clusters with А/О/Э as the second vowel (КУЛ**УА**Р, М**АО**, Г**УЭ**ЛЬ). Together these two name groups exhibited a tendency to survive worse than the rest (p=.07 for the cafes).

There were not enough names with 4-consonant clusters for analysis (БИ**РШТР**АССЕ, **ВСТР**ЕЧА). The group with 3-consonant clusters (190 names) can be divided into 4 types: XYZ, XXY, XYY и XYX, where different letters denote different places of articulation. In this case name survival increased in the following order:

XYX<O<XYZ=XXY=XYY.

Names beginning with consonant [v/f] followed by vowel (**ВЕ**ГА, **ФА**ЗАНЧИК) showed worse survival than the rest. Names ending in -CC or starting with CVCVCV- did not demonstrate survival difference from the rest.

To measure *vowel backness* we calculated the percentage of front (и, е), central (а) and back (о, у) vowels within a name. No survival difference was found.

Stop consonants at the beginning of the name did not affect survival. Names starting with a consonant showed a tendency to survive better than names starting with a vowel (entire sample: p=.10; restaurants: no effect; cafes: p<.001).

We calculated the phonetic '*badness*' of consonants as the product of the phonetic meaning from the 'bad – good' scale by ZHURAVLEV (1974: 66) times frequency rank given in the dictionary (LYASHEVSKAYA–SHAROV 2009). The phonetic '*badness*' of the name did not demonstrate any survival correlation for both the entire sample and agnonyms. *Palatalization* of consonants did not affect survival. Names with a high share of *voiced* consonants survived better than the rest.

There are few names with prominent pronunciation difficulties within the sample. It seems that native speakers have sufficient phonetic intuition to create fluent enough names. Non-fluent names show a tendency to survive worse than fluent names. This is the habitual function of the name. Of all the effects of phonetic symbolism considered, only one was distinctive: a higher percentage of voiced consonants corresponds to better survival. We classify this effect as a brand quality signal, according to ZHURAVLEV (1974) estimates.

Discussion

Results of the study are summarized in Table 3. We established survival effects for different linguistic properties and tried to assign them to the corresponding brand functions. In general, more successful names are more tangible: they are of high imagery, they are long and have the semantics of bigness; they contain a high share of voiced consonants. Furthermore, more successful names are less fluent: they contain infrequent letter combinations or words and have slight difficulties in reading. We suggest that such difficulties help service names to catch the attention of the recipient. Perception difficulties operate as quality signals and have a positive effect on survival, while communication difficulties (v-fluency, RSR-effect) interfere with the habitual function and thus affect survival in a negative way.

Brand functions	Semantics	Grammar	Graphics	Phonetics
Identification	no-name < named, low imagery < high imagery, food-related < O	cliché < non-cliché (language)		
Search cost reduction		place < *At* + place; cliché < non-cliché (category)		
Quality signaling	small < big		high legibility < low legibility; 3-grams: frequent < rare	Voiceless < O = Voiced
Risk reduction		masculine < feminine	short < long	
Relationship	inanimate < animate	person < *At* + person's		
Habitual function			RSR: left < right	Non-fluent < fluent
Symbolic function	O ≤ geography O < Soviet (restaurants) Soviet<O (cafes)			

Table 3: Brand linguistics and survival effects

What is the nature of the revealed connections between the name properties and survival? There are four possibilities for such a connection: one influences the other and vice versa, both phenomena have a common cause, and an accidental coincidence. Firstly, most of the facilities were named before their activities began. Therefore, their lifetime cannot be the reason for the appearance of certain properties in the name. Next, let us suppose that the business success and the associated name properties have a common cause. For example, older firms might have access to more available names and thus are more likely to have selected better names (XING–ANDERSON–HU 2016: 67). Then, at the same period, place and type of activity, it should be sought in the competence of name givers, i.e. managers. It turns out that they were well aware, consciously or intuitively, of the properties that we have just established. Moreover, while for some properties it is possible to assume such intuition (a named entity is

better than an unnamed one; a unique formation is better than cliché), other properties are counterintuitive (a long name is better than a short one; low legibility is better than high), or were discovered at the end of the period observed (QWERTY-effect). Research data are contradictory for now, and as far as we know, are not set out in the form of a general theory. We share the GIROTRA and ULRICH (2012: 13) point of view about the low probability of the hypothesis that people with good business skills are as well versed in the commercial naming. Furthermore, in the period observed, the level of naming education in Russia was not high. Among more than 30 contemporary manuals on restaurant business in Russian, we did not find anywhere the subject of name benefits was discussed and 2/3 of them do not mention the name at all. The first marketing papers concerning brand naming appeared at the beginning of the study period, however they were oriented to mass-market goods (and not services) and did not describe the correlations like ours (e.g. DYMSHITS 1999). Linguistic works on business name efficacy appeared in Russia (e.g. ROMANOVA 1998), but was there at least one food service manager who would read them? Until now, there are almost no quantitative studies on commercial name effectiveness in Russian open sources[3].

The third possibility, namely the random correlation between name properties and survival, cannot be completely excluded, but its probability in our findings is below the threshold ($p<.05$). Moreover, the name properties we chose are not arbitrary, but based on the branding theory and previously known researches. The consistency of the obtained results and the literature data can also be interpreted in favor of the non-randomness of the correlations found.

The last option is to consider the ability of a name to influence, at least or most via audiences' perception, the business success expressed in its market lifetime as the most probable reason for the correlations discovered. The mechanism of this influence may not be limited to a simple cause-effect relationship. For example, the clients can groundlessly attribute the cause of occasional failures of a certain facility to the name, then the number of visitors will decrease, things will get worse, and eventually the facility will be closed or renamed. That feedback loop or self-fulfilling prophecy (MERTON 1968: 475 ff.) can enhance the interaction of name and business, both positive and negative. Whatever the mechanism of this interaction is, the business survival appears to be related to the far from arbitrary name properties.

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[3] From the conversations with marketing analysts, the author got the impression that such studies are not in demand by the market, and the matter is limited to testing the variants of the name for a particular project. See also the Cyrillic section of bibliography on commercial names here: brnd.name/bibliofull.

We offer a brand functions framework for practical purposes and are far from claiming theoretical generalizations. To bring together the results of linguists and psychologists is a separate big deal. The perception of name by employees, managers, stakeholders, the society and the authorities remained outside our research. All these groups are able to influence the business. They can take into account certain properties of the name, evaluating them differently than the clients. This circumstance can affect the relationship of name and survival and requires separate consideration. Our goal was to draw attention to the little-explored area, namely the search for connections between linguistic properties of the name and business success.

In service names, survival analysis could shed light on the relationship of their linguistic properties with brand functions. The name could contribute to all the functions of the brand. Survival time is sensitive to various linguistic levels of the name.

It is advisable to caution managers against the overestimation of name power. Interviews with owners of restaurants that failed within the first year showed that none of them promoted the restaurant concept but rather expected it to succeed primarily on name recognition (CAMILLO–CONNOLLY–KIM 2008: 374).

Finally, one could find gaps attractive for further research in Table 3. For example, it would be interesting to determine a sematic property of the name related to its convenience in everyday usage. We suppose that survival analysis can also be applied to other classes of proper names.

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Abstract

The statistical method of survival analysis is proposed for studying the linguistic properties of contemporary Russian food service names. It is found that reference to food, name imagery, lexical frequency, length, repetition of words and bigrams, letter legibility, pronunciation fluency, and euphony could affect name survival. Results are discussed in relation to brand functions. It is concluded that tangibility for a name is as important as fluency.

Keywords: commercial names, survival analysis, food service names, brand functions

Paula Sjöblom–Ulla Hakala

Toponyms and place heritage as sources of place brand value

1. Introduction

Commercial producers have long seen the advantage of branding their products, and the idea of discovering or creating uniqueness also attracts the leaders and governments of countries, states and cities (ASHWORTH 2009). However, traditional product marketing framework has proved to be inadequate for places; therefore, place branding has rather leaned on corporate branding. Place branding is a long-term, strategic process that requires continuity, and these actions take time to be recognised (KAVARATZIS 2009).

As generally recognised not only in onomastics but also in marketing, a name can be seen as the core of a brand. Therefore, a place name is the core of a place brand. Having a name is having an identity. A brand name has functions that can be regarded as sources of brand equity, and name changes have proved to cause discomfort and distress amongst consumers (e.g. ROUND–ROPER 2012, BROWN 2016).

The name of a place – having stayed unchanged – has traditionally represented permanence and stability and could be regarded as the place's memory (BASSO 1996, HELLELAND 2009). Referring to LAURA KOSTANSKI (2016) and her theory of toponymic attachment, place names carry strong emotional and functional attachments. This theory is very important also regarding place branding.

According to GRAHAM et al. (2000), *heritage* can be defined as the past and future in the present. Accordingly, *place heritage* is heritage which is bound up with physical space that is a place. As for the concept of *place,* it is a named space (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1962). Place heritage is created and transferred by means of language (e.g. if we think about the heritage of Paris, French is focal), socio-cultural practices (e.g. meeting friends in cafés, buying French bread in the mornings, relaxing in parks), and tangible artefacts (e.g. buildings such as the Eiffel Tower, bridges, fashion stores). It is significant in distinguishing places, building identities of places, and building identities of the individuals and communities within places. (See GRAHAM et al. 2000.) All of these are important functions of toponyms as well.

Herein, we will introduce the conceptualisation of place heritage, a place name being one of its focal components, and measure the place heritage value of 28 municipalities in Southwest Finland (HAKALA et al. 2015). These results will

be compared to the results of our comprehensive survey on municipality name changes, which was conducted amongst the residents of these municipalities (SJÖBLOM et al. 2014, 2016). This article will give special attention to the importance of a municipality name and collective identity in comparison to place heritage. Finally, we will present an example of utilising place name and heritage value in place branding.

2. Measuring place heritage

We divided the concept of place heritage into components that could be measured (HAKALA et al. 2015). Our aim was to find a method of defining the value and the strength of a place's heritage. We reviewed scholarly literature on heritage and arrived at four components: place history, place essence today ("personality"), residential permanence and place symbols (Fig. 1). We chose certain features for these four components that were possible to be calculated. In searching for and defining the value of the components, we used the municipalities' websites and Internet search engines as well.

Place history
Written history
Prominent persons
Old buildings

Place symbols
The importance of the place name and coat of arms

Place heritage

Place essence today
Attractions; annual events; national celebrities; recreational possibilities; prominent businesses

Residential permanence
Municipality's removal vs.population
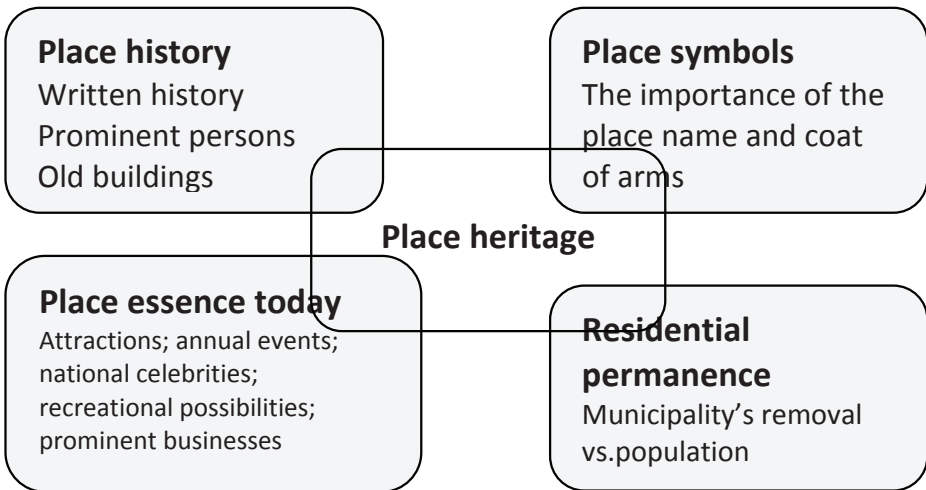
Figure 1: The components of place heritage
(HAKALA et al. 2015)

First, a known history is essential in terms of heritage. The further back the marks of history can be traced and seen in the place, the stronger its heritage is. The problem, herein, was how to give a value to place history. We paid attention to tangible buildings, especially churches and their age, to prominent people from the past rooted in the place, and to the written history of the place. We

did not take prehistory into account. We created five categories for the places according to their notable history and gave values accordingly: 0 = only from the 20th century, 1 = from the 19th century, 2 = between the 17th and 18th centuries, 3 = between the 14th and 16th centuries, 4 = between the 12th and 13th centuries (there are no older traces of Finnish history prior to these dates; instead, earlier eras can be only be followed by archaeological research findings).

Secondly, given that heritage is not only about the past, we also included the present place essence, that is "personality", in the concept of heritage. These are elements that are special to a place and can be used in branding: ASHWORTH (2009, 2010) notes them as recognisable buildings and design, distinctive events and personality association. The elements we included reflect these instruments to some extent, but not as such. We looked not only at buildings, but at attractions in a wider scope, for instance, annual events which can promote a place brand. In terms of personality association, we consider nationally recognised celebrities, local heroes, who are, in some way or another, strongly associated with the place. In addition to these, we looked at the recreational possibilities both offered and highlighted by the municipality on its website, as well as its prominent businesses, which at best can lend their successful brand for supporting the place brand, creating linking value (HAKALA–LEMMETYINEN 2013). After discovering these factors through official municipality websites, we created four categories: 0 = no significant features, 1 = features on the local level, 2 = features on the national level, 3 = internationally recognised features (as interpreted by us).

As to the third component, we argue that the more stable the residence base in a community is, the stronger the place heritage. To give a value to residential permanence, we counted the ratio of every (28) municipality's removal (numerator) to their population (denominator) during a 10-year time span (2004–2013), and then counted the average (Statistics Finland 2013). In Table 1 we give an example of two municipalities, Aura and Pargas, of which the latter is mostly Swedish speaking. Perhaps surprisingly, the residential base is less permanent in the rural Aura than in the more urban town of Pargas, in Finnish *Parainen*. This may be explained by the geographical location of the municipalities and their demographics: the Swedish-speaking Pargas is located in the Archipelago Sea, where the culture and way of life are long-rooted in maritime history and close relationships within the community.

Municipality	Year	Removal	Population	Ratio %
Aura	2004	191	3,620	5.28%
	2005	243	3,699	6.57%
	2006	228	3,750	6.08%
	2007	252	3,823	6.59%
	2008	238	3,852	6.18%
	2009	253	3,840	6.59%
	2010	222	3,911	5.68%
	2011	251	3,975	6.31%
	2012	234	3,971	5.89%
	2013	211	3,962	5.33%
	Mean	**232**	**3,840**	**6.05%**
Pargas/Parainen	2004	456	15,283	2.98%
	2005	553	15,298	3.61%
	2006	561	15,368	3.65%
	2007	601	15,373	3.91%
	2008	520	15,405	3.38%
	2009	523	15,490	3.38%
	2010	491	15,501	3.17%
	2011	508	15,505	3.28%
	2012	531	15,561	3.41%
	2013	552	15,507	3.56%
	Mean	**530**	**15,429**	**3.43%**

Table 1: The value of residential permanence of Aura and Pargas/Parainen

People born in a specific area or who have lived there for most of their lives may have particularly strong feelings about its toponyms, which also produces a feeling of social belonging to the area. Finland has previously been a very homogenous country demographically, and particularly people have tended to stay in their birthplaces in the southwestern area. Hence, newcomers, and especially foreign people, might have an effect on the heritage, for example

confuse the permanent residential base. This is, however, something that we did not take into account. If more people move in than out, it tells us about the overall attraction of the place and its name, not necessarily about its heritage. (See HAKALA et al. 2015.)

Finally, place symbols, such as names, slogans, flags and coats of arms are integral to the heritage of a place (cf. URDE et al. 2007). The old names of the municipalities as well as the heraldic age of the coat of arms in Southwest Finland are especially important. We looked at these two symbols and gave the values 0 through 4, based on their age: the older the name and the coat of arms, the more valuable they are. Regarding the age of a place name, the following values were given: originated between the 20th and 21th centuries = 0, between the18^{th} and 19th centuries = 1, between the 16th and 17th centuries = 2, between the 14th and 15th centuries = 3, older = 4. As for the coats of arms, most of them are quite young in Finland – having originated between the 1950s and the 1960s – thus they received the value 0. Only a few are older, and they were given the value 1. In addition, we gave a value between 0 and 3 if a place's coat of arms was displayed on the municipality's website and the history of the name described: neither = 0, only one = 1, both = 2, both very visibly = 3. The total sum of these values varied between 0 and 8, one city (Raisio) being the only one to receive an 8.

As generally accepted in onomastics, the longer the history behind a name, the more meanings it conveys as a word. Some current meanings of names arise from the individual emotions embedded in them, and some are a part of folklore. All of these meanings accumulate in the place name over decades and even centuries, and are thus transferred to the next generations (HELLELAND 2009, KOSTANSKI 2011). People born in a specific area, or who have lived there for most of their lives, may particularly have strong feelings about the historic ties of its place names, which also produce a feeling of social belonging (HELLELAND 2009). Toponyms transfer messages and stories about the earlier life, behaviour and history of the dwellers in an area. Contemporary users may sense the historical content of the name, even if they do not specifically know or consciously think about it.

3. Place heritage value of 28 Finnish municipalities

Previously in 2013, we had conducted a survey covering all 28 municipalities in the region of Southwest Finland as a part of our study on the impact municipality name change has on place branding (HAKALA–SJÖBLOM 2013). The questionnaire comprised 52 statements in total and was sent by post to 5,020 randomly selected residents in these municipalities. The final sample contained 1,380 responses. The data were weighted for the purpose of sample

adjustment and were statistically analysed. (SJÖBLOM et al. 2014.) We decided to exploit some parts of this study in testing the correlation between the place heritage value and the importance of the municipality name. Therefore, we had to define the place heritage value of the 28 municipalities included in the survey.

We put the framework into practice and measured the four components of heritage amongst the 28 municipalities in Southwest Finland. To illustrate the strength of the municipality's heritage, we drew a radar graph (see Fig. 2). The heritage values for each municipality were reached by totalling the values cumulatively in the following order: history, symbols, place essence today and residential permanence.
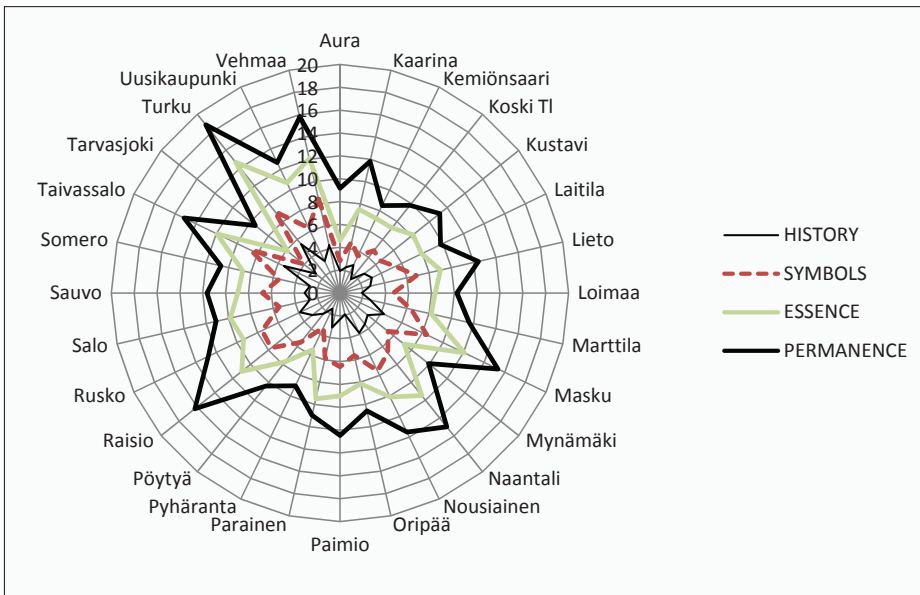
Figure 2: The strength of place heritage amongst Southwest Finland municipalities (HAKALA et al. 2015)

4. The place heritage value and the importance of the place name

One of our interests was to investigate how the strength of the heritage a place carries relates to the collective identity of the residents and to the importance of the place name amongst those residents. Our survey (HAKALA–SJÖBLOM 2013) involved 52 different statements, mostly concerning attitudes towards municipality names and name change. For the present study, we calculated correlations between the two statements *The name of my place of domicile is important to me* (Statement 1) and *A name change will weaken the sense of community and solidarity in the municipality* (Statement 2) and four

municipality groups, the latter being categorised by using the aforementioned heritage values. Thus, the groups were divided up according to the strength of the place's heritage (see Fig. 3).
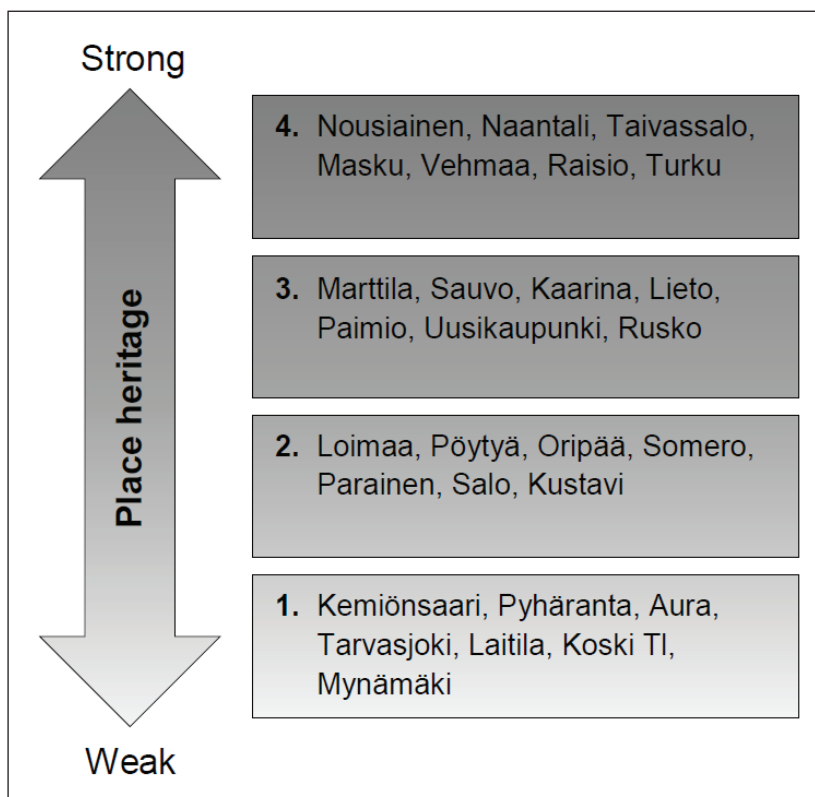
Figure 3: The four municipality groups according to their place heritage strength (HAKALA et al. 2015)

Based on our analysis, and as it was partly expected, the strength of place heritage correlates positively with Statement 1, that is the importance of the municipality name (rho 0.080; *p* 0.001). However, the effect of a name change on collective identity (Statement 2) correlates negatively with the strength of the place heritage (rho 0.057; *p* 0.001). These correlations are statistically significant.

Based on these results, we made two conclusions: the stronger the place heritage is, the more important the place's name is and also the stronger the sense of collective identity amongst its residents is. This is, of course, already a well-known supposition among onomasticians, but it has not been empirically proven before.

5. Case example: using the heritage in branding the City of Turku

The City of Turku is the central municipality in our region of research. With its population of approximately 183,000, it is the sixth largest city in Finland. It is known for its medieval castle and cathedral, and as it was founded in the late 13th century, it is the oldest city in Finland. For hundreds of years, it was the most important city in the eastern region of Sweden. After Finland became a part of the Russian Empire in 1809, Turku lost its status as capital of Finland to Helsinki. The first university in Finland was founded in Turku in 1640. Bishop Mikael Agricola, the founder of literary Finnish, carried out his life's work in Turku during the 16th century. An example of the prominent persons in the more recent history of Turku is Mauno Koivisto who was President of Finland from 1982 to 1994.

The city is located on the Aura River, just on the coast of the Baltic Sea and its large archipelago. There is an industrious harbour and plenty of significant businesses, including one of the most important shipyards in Europe (Meyer). There are also many leisure-time attractions and museums in Turku. Furthermore, Turku hosts many cultural events, for example the festivals Ruisrock and Turku Music Festival are amongst the oldest in Scandinavia. Turku is also widely known for its Declaration of Christmas Peace which is an almost unbroken tradition hailing from the 14th century. Many nationally, and even internationally, known celebrities have their roots in Turku, including, for example hockey player Saku Koivu, rock musician Michael Monroe and opera singer Matti Salminen.

Turku is officially bilingual, with 5.2 percent of its residents having Swedish as their mother tongue. Due to having been one of the most important cities of the Swedish Kingdom in the Middle Ages, the city also has the Swedish name *Åbo* (*Aboa* and *Abo* in 13th century documents). This name is comprised of the Old Swedish word *aa* > Swedish *å* 'river' and the Old Swedish *bo* 'dwelling; house, estate'. Therefore the etymological meaning of *Åbo* could be 'residence by the river'. The Finnish name most likely *Turku* dates back to the 13th century as well, even though its first written documentation was in 1543. The name originates from the Old Russian word *turgu* meaning 'market', and was probably brought along by Novgorodian tradesmen. (PAIKKALA et al. 2007.) The components of the place heritage of Turku are illustrated in Fig. 4.
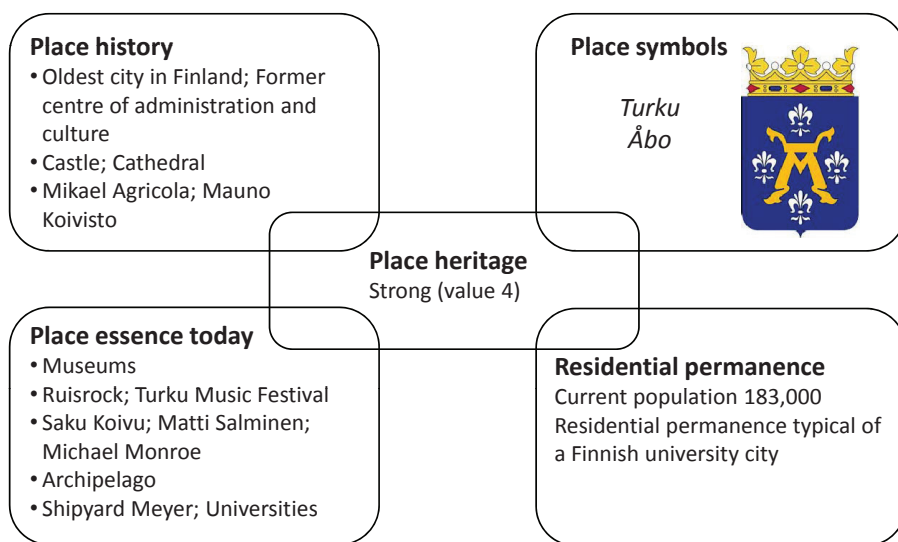
Figure 4: The components of the place heritage of Turku

Turku has used all of these historical and present characteristics efficiently in place branding. The latest step, and rather large one, in making use of its heritage was in 2015, when the city started using its historical coat of arms in its marketing and branding. The coat of arms is based on the city's seal, dating back to 1309. The seal shows the Gothic letter *A*, referring to the city's Latin name *Aboa*. The lilies represent the emblem of the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of Turku Cathedral. At the same time, it unified the city image in all its communications and marketing. The goal of uniformity, a recognisable style and cost-efficiency was behind this decision. (See City of Turku 2016.)

6. Conclusion

Above we have introduced a conceptualisation of place heritage, a place name being one of its focal components. For this, we carried out an empirical study on the 28 municipalities of Southwest Finland and measured their place heritage value. We have demonstrated the importance of a place name in reference to place heritage value. The City of Turku is a good example of systematically utilising this value in place branding.

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Abstract

Commercial producers have long seen the advantage of branding their products, and the idea of branding also attracts place managers. In general, the core component of a brand is its name. In place branding, the name is even more crucial. It marks a geographical entity and creates the identity and image of the place. Having stayed unchanged, it represents longevity and stability and can be regarded as the place's memory. In addition, place names carry of strong emotional attachment. The longer the history behind a name, the more meaningful it is as a word.

A strong place brand is built upon a strong place heritage. Heritage is acknowledged as one of the future priorities in branding research. It is one of the intangible factors, in other words associations that differentiate brands from each other and are a source of tangible prosperity. Many of these associations are susceptible to competitor copying them – however, not the heritage or the name.

This paper will introduce the conceptualisation of place heritage, with the place name being one of the focal components. For this, we will use data from our previous empirical survey carried out in 2013 on the 28 municipalities in

Southwestern Finland. This survey investigated residents' attitudes towards municipality names and name changes. Herein, we will focus on answers to two statements in the survey – *The name of my place of domicile is important to me*, and *A name change will weaken the sense of community and solidarity in the municipality* – and correlations between them and the place heritage value of each municipality. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the importance of a place name in reference to place heritage value and to show an example of utilising this value in place branding.

Keywords: toponyms, municipality names, place heritage, place branding

Katalin Reszegi
*Mental Aspects of Proper Names**

1. Introduction

Conventional onomastic research deals with the etymology of names, the linguistic strata in name corpora, the linguistic description and categorization of names. Besides that, socio-onomastics exams the way names are embedded into the social environment. To gain a comprehensive view of language and names as its elements, however, beyond the two layers previously outlined (usage in the community and the linguistic system), both also have to be examined as elements of the mental system, since language, and thus, also names, are physically present in a person's brain. These problems are covered by the research scope of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics, therefore, onomastic research, an inherently multidisciplinary field, has to expand towards these scientific fields as well.

Psycholinguistics as a science was born in the United States in the 1950s, with the primary aim of gaining knowledge of and becoming able to model the representation of language and linguistic processes in the mental system (PLÉH 2014a). In order to achieve that aim, sophisticated experimental procedures were applied. Yet, for long decades, the category of proper names barely surfaced in research, if at all. This group of words was included in studies only from the 1980s onwards, but research on the subject may still be considered peripheral. In the 2000s interest towards the neurological representation of this group of words manifested itself in the field of neuroscience related to psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics, and researchers are leveraging rapidly developing electrophysiological and imaging procedures to explore the neural aspects of the word group (cf. RESZEGI 2014, YEN 2006: 44–60, MÜLLER 2010: 351–352).

This study attempts to demonstrate the benefits that onomastics can gain by expanding to include the achievements made in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics on the mental representation of proper names, while also addressing the limitations of applying these results. As a matter of fact, the requirement to pay closer attention to the achievements of psycholinguistics

and neurolinguistics has recently been raised by onomastic experts (e.g. Van Langendonck 2007, Hoffmann 2015: 19, Nikolaevna 2018), still, the integration of the results into onomastic research is, for the present, quite rare.

2. Psycholinguistics and name theory issues

The achievements of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics could be useful in the evaluation of a number of name theory issues.

2.1. The meaning of proper names

One of the main issues concerning names is whether or not they have meanings. This issue has been intriguing thinkers engaged with language, including philosophers, as well as representatives of logic for quite some time, and their theories are occasionally adopted by experts approaching names from a linguistic perspective. It is, however, not possible to do so without any problems, as logical-philosophical analysis is focused on the referential properties of proper names; that is, it approaches the issue from the perspective of the truth-content of statements, rather than the usage of words in natural speech. The primary aim of formal linguistics is the examination of linguistic structure, and is, therefore, based on linguistic forms, with studies basically concentrating on nothing but these forms. This approach does not facilitate grasping the meaning associated with actual language use, as the real function of a name is limited to identifying an entity (cf. e.g. Kiefer 2000: 161). Functional linguistics, on the other hand, focuses on the function and the meaning of expressions in language, and linguists applying this approach attribute meanings, indeed, complex structures of meanings to names (Tolcsvai Nagy 2008).

As can be seen, the answer to the question whether or not names have meanings, and what proper names mean, depends primarily on the theoretical framework chosen for interpretation. If, however, one wishes to understand the actual ways in which language and name usage exist, then the initial question has to be how names are used as parts of language behaviour, and there is only one of the approaches mentioned that can provide a suitable framework for that – functionalism. Still, when evaluating the issue, it is useful to take into consideration the results provided by psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics on the semantics of proper names.

2.1.1. Approaching the question from the point of view of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics, the same ambiguity can be found as in the case of formal and functional linguistics as can be demonstrated through studies on language impairments.

One particular type of aphasia, anomia is a type of word-retrieval disorder. It is often the category of proper names or one class of proper names only, that anomic patients have difficulties processing. Furthermore, acquiring new names frequently causes problems for them, while they are able to learn new appellatives without any difficulties (cf. e.g. SEMENZA–ZETTIN 1989, ELLIS–YOUNG–CRITCHLEY 1998). Based on studies on proper name anomia, experts often consider names as nothing more than referring labels, i.e. tags which allow the identifying of the name-bearers but do not describe any of their properties (BRÉDART–VALENTINE 1998: 200, SEMENZA–ZETTIN 1989, LUCCHELLI–DE RENZI 1992).

It is worth going deeper into this question. First of all, aphasias are not all or nothing issues, even proper name anomia does not cause an impairment of retrieval of the whole word class. CRUTCH and WARRINGTON (2003), for example, reported a patient, whose ability to identify country or city names became worse when selecting geographically close rather than distant places.

In some cases – especially those of global aphasia – proper names or some types of this word category may be preserved. This is often accounted for by the different semantic features and neural representation of the word class.

Based on the relevant literature on neuropsychology as seen from an onomastic point of view, WILLY VAN LANGENDONCK inferred that names not only have meanings, but they can be described as having a complex structure of meaning (2007: 106–117). He referred to a selective conceptual deficit for people's names due to anterior left temporal trauma reported by MICELI and his colleagues (2000). The researchers explained it as an impairment of conceptual knowledge of people. VAN LANGENDONCK interpreted it as evidence that "associative meaning connected with the referent may constitute an important feature of proper names" (2007: 113).

In the latest research on the topic MAŁGORZATA RUTKIEWICZ-HANCZEWSKA also argued for the complex meaning of names. The researcher analysed the difficulties her patients with subcortical aphasia (anomia) had in retrieving proper names, and those compensational processes they applied. One type of compensational techniques consists of periphrasis, i.e. descriptions of the designatum. In these cases, patients used their denotative knowledge of the object as well as their knowledge related to denotatum in an associative manner, all of which are based on conceptual knowledge. The other type of compensational technique relies on retrieving linguistic knowledge of names, which manifests itself in paraphrases. These can be semantic paraphrases, such as the ones based on part-whole relationships, or the frequent case of retrieving the name of a person with the same profession instead of the target word. Synonymic, polysemic and oppositional relationships, on the other hand, are

rarely used as means of paraphrasing, which led RUTKIEWICZ-HANCZEWSKA to hypothesize that these relationships play a less determinant role in organising proper names within the mental lexicon. Besides paraphrases of semantic nature, anomic patients occasionally produce lexical and phonemic paraphrases or neologisms in place of the target word. As to associations linked to name forms, they lead to reetymologies (2016: 169–175). It has to be noted, however, that the classification of individual processes is not always clear-cut, partially due to the fact that they are often manifested in a complex manner.

Thus, these conceptual (encyclopaedic knowledge on the object and associations) and linguistic elements of knowledge are all parts of a name's mental representation, within which representation no strict line can be drawn between different types of knowledge.

2.1.2. Besides anomia, proper names are particularly frequently involved in retrieval difficulties. The processes we apply in the case of the TOT (the tip of the tongue) phenomenon or speech errors are similar to those described for anomic patients. Speakers, when faced with the problem of access, also often use periphrasis based on their knowledge of the denotatum to substitute for the target word, while speech errors are often words semantically or phonologically related to the target word (e.g. for family names, *Kiss* 'Little' instead of *Nagy* 'Big', *Keskeny* 'Narrow' instead of *Széles* 'Broad', *Katona* 'Soldier' or *Lovas* 'Cavalier' instead of *Huszár* 'Knight'; *Bokor Pál* instead of *Bodor Pál,* HUSZÁR 2005: 93–94; cf. RESZEGI 2009: 12–13, YEN 2006: 28).

Most of the researchers focus only on frequency of retrieval difficulties, and consider this fact as corroboration of the concept of formal linguistics, i.e. the meaninglessness of proper names (cf. e.g. COHEN–BURKE 1993). Models explaining name retrieval integrate this kind of meaning of proper names as well (e.g. VALENTINE–BRENNEN–BRÉDART 1996). According to COHEN–FAULKNER's hierarchical model there is a weak connection between the name form (phonological node) and the lexical node, and it might lead to deficits in the transmission of excitation resulting in TOT states (1986).

However, the meaninglessness or low-degree-of-meaning of proper names can be debated from more perspectives. Some experts consider, for example, the frequency of TOT states in the case of proper names as an illusion, namely appellatives can be substituted for another (synonymous) one in the case of retrieval difficulties, due to this fact more semantic paraphases for names can be detected than that for common nouns (VALENTINE–BRENNEN–BRÉDART 1996: 28–29). The low-degree-of-meaning of names also can be interpreted as a difference from the meaning structure of appellatives (as corroborated in the field of neuropsychology by DOUVILLE et al. 2005: 700, VAN LANCKER et al. 1991). Furthermore, the frequency of retrieval difficulties can be effected by

the exposure frequency of names (either type and token frequency) (COHEN–BURKE 1986).

VAN LANGENDONCK also emphasised the special meaning structure of proper names. While having no lexical meaning similar to those of appellatives, they still carry some meaning: namely, a presuppositional meaning, with several components – a categorical one (a basic level meaning corresponding to the category of basic concepts within the hierarchy of concepts, cf. ROSCH 1978), an associative, an emotive and a grammatical meaning (2007: 106–117).

2.1.3. Results obtained by studies carried out using imaging procedures may also indicate that proper names have extended neural representations, and, consequentially, that proper names have complex meanings. In a study of speakers of Mandarin Chinese using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) it has been found that listening to proper names activates not only the usual brain areas in the left cerebral hemisphere, but also other regions of that hemisphere (regions within the precentral gyrus, superior temporal gyrus, subcortical regions) and certain regions of the right cerebral hemisphere (MÜLLER 2010: 355).

Extended neural (even subcortical) representations of proper names are corroborated by other studies using imaging procedures and electrophysiological techniques as well (cf. YAMADORI et al. 2002, MÜLLER et al. 1999, YEN et al. 2005, REINKEMEIER et al. 1997, LUCCHELI et al. 1997, OTSUKA et al. 2005, GORNO-TEMPINI et al. 2000, 2001).

Yet, when discussing studies on the localization of proper names within the brain, it must be emphasised that based on neural representation only tentative consequences can be drawn related to meaning, since these two aspects consist of two different levels of language description.

Furthermore, studies on the localization of proper names are fairly contradictory, which is not surprising, considering the language centres themselves do not have intrinsically fixed locations. Language does, of course, have its specific brain regions (such as Broca's area and Wernicke's area), the locations of these, however, may vary significantly between individual persons, not to mention that they are not exclusively responsible for processing language. They could be more accurately defined as convergence zones taking part in linguistic processes, where neurons having roles in linguistic processes can be found in much higher numbers than in other parts of the brain (cf. JANCSÓ 2004: 130–140, MÜLLER–PALMER 2008: 87–90, DAMASIO et al. 2004, TRANEL 2006).

2.1.4. As has been demonstrated psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics are not uniform on the meaning of proper names. While it is true that they do not deal with issues of language theory or onomastics directly, still, what they attribute to

language within the mental system (i.e. whether they reckon with an independent language module or the close integration of various cognitive functions within the mental system) will fundamentally determine whether or not they consider conceptual knowledge to be a part of meaning, and also the kind of knowledge they consider to belong to the meaning of a name. Studies related to proper names usually tend to corroborate the special characteristics of this word group, i.e. the tenet of formal linguistics. But a hypothesis of independent language and the assumption of separate levels of language (separated syntax) is rather problematic both from the evolutionary aspect and the aspect of ontogenesis (cf. Nánay 2000: 130, Fehér 2011, MacWhinney 2003: 517). Besides, with such a hypothesis, it is not possible to account for specific traits of language usage and language change. Therefore, onomastics considers it more advantageous to follow the concept of models based on holistic, connectionist (constructivist) approaches.

In the light of the above, one can draw the conclusion that neither the actual way in which names are used, nor the insight gained into the mental representation of names corroborates the views taken by formal linguistics on the meaning of proper names. Thus, while such a limited interpretation does indeed make it easier to describe language, it does not correspond to the way names exist within the mental system in reality. Representations of proper names and appellatives build up together with conceptual knowledge of the world and the environment during language acquisition, and as a consequence, conceptual knowledge and semantic content cannot be separated one from the other (cf. Reszegi 2015, 2016).

2.2. The issue of word classes

Conclusions drawn from psycholinguistics may also provide help with categorizing proper names into word classes. According to formal linguistics, word classes can be described relying mainly on syntactical means. The category of proper names can be determined, however, only based on logical-semantic criteria, thus in formal linguistics, proper names are not viewed as a category of the language system, and are not considered to belong to language (Barabás–Kálmán C.–Nádasdy 1977: 140, 144, 146, Fabó 1979, 1980: 55). The approach of formal linguistics, however – as seen above – fails to take into account the way language exists in fact. Functional linguistics, being aimed at exploring language based on the way it is used, considers syntactical characteristics and other kinds of knowledge equally important for the definition of word classes. According to this approach, proper names – being the names of entities – are elements within the category of nouns, which elements, however, denote a single entity, rather than a category of entities, and as such, belong to their own peculiar group within the category of nouns (Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 31).

This approach provides a smooth path for prototype theory applied in psycholinguistics to model several aspects of language. The theory was developed by psychologist ELEANOR ROSCH to provide an explanation for the organization of conceptual categories (1978). This kind of organization, however, appears to be well suited to the description of various levels of linguistic categories as well (LADÁNYI 1998: 410), and word class categories may well be also constructed along these lines. At the same time, according to the functionalist (connectionist) models of psycholinguistics, which have recently become even more influential, knowledge of word classes, like grammar in general, exists as connections between the elements of the mental lexicon, since words, based on their similarities of form, usage, etc. are organized into networks of varying strengths. The links along which these networks are organized are the equivalents of the conventional concept of grammar (BYBEE–SLOBIN 1982, BYBEE–MODER 1983, cf. NÁNAY 2000). To put it another way, there is no separate grammar, and word classes do not have to be delineated based exclusively on their grammatical properties. In such a network-structured mental lexicon, proper names have several similarities with appellatives, yet, due to their unique denoting function and certain grammatical peculiarities, they form a special sub-network(s) within the category of nouns.[1]

Systematic data obtained by neurological examinations also show proper names to be organized in a somewhat unique fashion. In a study carried out on native English language speakers, the analysis of brain surface electric potential measurements taken using the EEG procedure[2] has demonstrated that processing sentence-initial proper names and appellatives results in similar brainwaves. The presumption of a special subcategory of proper names is still born out, however, by the fact that when these language elements are processed, 100 and 200 ms after the stimulus is sounded, a wave of higher amplitude (N100, P200)[3] can be measured along the medial longitudinal fissure separating the two hemispheres and also from the posterior lateral region (MÜLLER 2010: 353–355, MÜLLER–KUTAS 1996). Then again, this difference is observable only for the two primary types of proper names, anthroponyms and toponyms, while brand names covered by the study mostly trigger the same waveforms as

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[1] One of the dominant notions about the construction of grammatical categories is the presumption of a likely link with early semantic categories, with semantic categories seen as quasi antecedents, without, however, refuting the existence of specifically linguistic categories (BABARCZY–LUKÁCS–PLÉH 2014: 449–457, 472–476).

[2] The procedure is based on measuring the electrical activity of the brain with conductive electrodes placed along the scalp.

[3] N100 is a negative deviation of the electrical wave observable when proper names are being processed; that is, the amplitude can be observed to have increased in the negative direction 100 ms after the stimulus is sounded, while P200 is an increased positive deviation 200 ms after the stimulus is sounded.

appellatives, which indicates anthroponyms and toponyms are special (MÜLLER 2010: 353–355, cf. CRUTCH–WARRINGTON 2004, GONTIJO–ZHANG 2007). These observations allow for the conclusion that different types of proper names also have significant differences with respect to neural processing.

Results of lexical decision task studies are considered as a good tool as well when delineating this group of words. In these experiments participants had to decide for each item on a random list of words whether it was an appellative or a proper name. Researchers had expected that because of the difficulties of proper name retrieval, decisions on them would need more time. However, decisions on proper names were made significantly faster both in visual and auditory modalities. The experiment has been carried out in German, Mandarin and Arabic languages and difference was only found related to German toponyms (MÜLLER 2010: 352–353, YEN–MÜLLER 2003, YEN 2006: 125–127). Nevertheless, different data on reaction time also occurred (cf. YOUNG et al. 1988). Considering the time aspect in the processing of proper names required electrophysiological studies as well. Researchers recording those electrical potentials of the brain which occur when processing sentences (cf. the EEG experiment presented in the previous paragraph) found that in the case of sentences beginning with names, the waveforms characteristic of proper names often appear even before the word form has been heard to its end. Researchers were curious to find out what caused this early processing, and when examining the acoustics of the sentences, they found noticeable differences between the physical properties of the phonemic forms of appellatives versus those of proper names: in the case of first names there is a higher F_2 formant of the first vowel (MÜLLER 2010: 356). This may be an indication that with regards to mental processing, as well as to categorization into word classes, it is not only grammatical and semantic properties of each word group that are important, but other properties matter and also have their roles.

The issue of word class of proper names raises the so-called double dissociation phenomenon. Results show that mental deficits of appellatives and those of proper names possibly occur independently from each other. This fact is often used in psycholinguistics as an argument to prove that the two classes of words are completely independent from each other. However, a more thorough examination of specific cases reveals that there is no indisputable evidence for the double dissociation of proper names and appellatives (cf. e.g. YEN 2006: 44–54, RESZEGI 2014: 133–136), since the behaviour manifested by patients was not of an all or nothing issue, and it did not involve every type within the category of appellatives and proper names. Patients described by GOODGLASS and his colleagues, for example, while having difficulties in retrieving the names of body parts, have preserved toponyms (GOODGLASS–BUTTERS 1988, GOODGLASS–WINGFIELD 1993), yet, the likelihood that the names of body

parts are represented in a way different from other appellatives, or that they are retrieved in a different way from the latter is considered small.

The assertion that appellatives and proper names are represented in different ways, and to some extent also processed differently, is also supported by a phenomenon within the mental lexicon of Hungarian speakers, viz., the occasional differences between the conjugation of Hungarian names versus appellatives (*aranyat* 'gold, accusative' vs. *Aranyt* 'the family name of a famous Hungarian poet, accusative'). This morphological peculiarity has been shown by experiments. In a survey led by ÁGNES LUKÁCS (2001), participants were asked to insert pseudo-words (e.g. *noszár*), similar to real words, into sentences in contexts of appellative, name and loan word adaptation. The researcher found speakers to be very sensitive to the phonological-morphological structure of words in an appellative context, that is, they applied the conjugation paradigms of irregular forms more often *(noszarat),* in a name context, on the other hand, speakers made no distinction between regular and irregular classes of stems *(Noszárt).* (In the Hungarian language, this is the very characteristic based on which – in combination with other characteristics – an unknown series of sounds is processed either as a proper name or as an appellative.) ÁGNES LUKÁCS's explanation for the phenomenon is that the appellative lexical units belonging to similar classes of stems with irregular phonological structures are not accessible in the case of words within name contexts (2001: 143). The unequivocalness of this statement, however, can be refined based on retrieval difficulties and mistakes concerning proper names. Language games and the word forms originating from them, some of which have become fixed, must not be disregarded either.

2.3. The issues of proper names as linguistic units

According to cognitive linguistics, the acquisition of proper names and their representation in the cognitive system is likely to be based on the storage of complete forms rather than analytical processing. That is, toponyms are linguistic units, and, as such, acquired and stored without analytic processing, and analytic processing can only supplement processing by units as a secondary method (cf. TOLCSVAI NAGY 2008: 32). Several onomasticians (e.g. HOFFMANN 2012: 20–21), myself included, however, treat this axiomatic statement with some reservation, and presume that names are, to a certain degree, analytically processed and analogically matched upon their acquisition. One piece of evidence for this process is provided by folk etymology explanations for toponyms. Needless to say, this also depends on the linguistic sensitivity and previous experiences of toponyms – that is, to what extent the names met with earlier are motivated – of the persons concerned, their interest towards the

particular language, and also the linguistic structure of each newly met name (RESZEGI 2009: 12).

The issue of the unit-like quality of names is related to those of the models of the mental lexicon and the ways in which grammatical analysis takes place, that is, how complex word forms are processed and stored. As a consequence of studies carried out with appellatives, in the field of psycholinguistics, models combining analytic (grammar rule operated) and holistic processing have become mainstream (cf. LUKÁCS–PLÉH–KAS–THUMA 2014: 225–227). However, a holistic mental lexicon operating essentially on the basis of analogies can also provide an explanation for the results of all of these studies. A separate repository of grammatical rules – as mentioned before – is also difficult to explain from an evolutionary aspect (cf. NÁNAY 2000: 130, PLÉH 2014), additionally, holistic storage is ontogenetically far better grounded (FEHÉR 2011). The storage of complete forms, however, does not imply that every possible form of a word has to be stored; in the course of first language acquisition, these complete patterns – based on similarities in comparison with each other and their contexts – are gradually segmented into morphemes and organized into dynamic morphological-syntactical groups (BYBEE–SLOBIN 1982, BYBEE–MODER 1983). The morphological-syntactical principles along which the lexicon is organized may correspond to grammar in the conventional sense (cf. TOMASELLO 2009). Thus, holistic models also reckon with some sort of analysis, i.e. mapping based on analogies, which processes, however, are not necessarily conscious.

A similar, analogy-based processing of names is indicated by semantically triggered speech errors of anthroponyms, as well as priming studies. These experiments show that words introduced as a family name *(Baker)* automatically also trigger the semantics of the corresponding appellatives (as evidenced by the fact that after the introduction of the family name, semantic decisions on words related to the corresponding appellative are made faster) (cf. VALENTINE–BRENNEN–BRÉDART 1996: 72).

In the light of these – even though no studies focusing directly on the subject have been carried out – a similar modus operandi can be presumed for toponyms and other kinds of names. For the aforementioned reasons, based on aspects of phonology, phonotactics, name structure, semantics, co-occurrence, etc., the representation of any particular name is closely related to the representations of several other names and/or appellatives, some of which relationships correspond to similarities with other names and/or appellative elements (cf. RESZEGI 2014: 141–142). Some sort of analogy-based mapping obviously does take place even with names, even if unconsciously, just like vernacular word forms are not learned through conscious analysis in the course of language acquisition. (With regards to toponyms, see also RESZEGI's comment in RESZEGI 2018.)

2.4. The acquisition of proper names

Besides psycholinguistical research on the issues of semantic and grammatical categorization, studying the acquisition of proper names could also be beneficial for onomastics, since knowledge gained in this fashion may be informative with regards to the functioning of proper names, and can also make it easier to solve problems like those surrounding the genesis of the category of proper names.

General experience shows infants to have word representations by the age of one year, and they can understand and process words even earlier; approximately at the age of one year, or perhaps a bit later, they start producing words themselves. Experimental research has proven this process begins much earlier; by the age of six months, infants are capable of differentiating between proper names and appellative denotations of countable things (TINCOFF–JUSCZYK 1999, 2000).[4] In other words, babies acquire elements from both groups of words at the earliest stages of lexical development. The generally accepted view is that there are conceptual biases underlying children's early meaning-associations. According to HALL, for example, in the initial stages, conceptual biases are to be reckoned with, such as the fact that babies conceive certain entities (specifically human beings) as individual existing beings, while they conceive other entities (objects) as specimens of their categories (2009: 422–429). The content of these initial biases is disputed, however, and it is as yet unknown when and how the mechanisms characteristic of adults replace the initial biases which determine the association of meanings (cf. RESZEGI 2015: 85–86, 2016: 8–9).

In spite of unsettled issues, based on research in developmental psychology and psycholinguistics, at the present, it appears already evident that in the process of language acquisition, proper names appear at the same time as appellatives. Besides, separation and marking of conspecific versus heterospecific specimens is one of the essential attributes of human behaviour, and so also is the spatiality concerning passive objects (MIKLÓSI 2005: 53). Based on these facts – even though the ontogenetical development of a particular ability cannot be projected back onto the evolution of an entire species, not to mention that the evolution of language is generally an uncertain field of scientific thinking – one might have some grounds to presume that the category of appellatives and that of proper names might also have appeared simultaneously in the development of language. As to which proper names were the first ones – even though

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[4] When hearing the words *Mummy* and *Daddy* – which, according to the researchers, function as proper names in the initial phases of language acquisition – babies turned towards the image of the corresponding parent at a significantly higher ratio, provided they were only shown the images of the two parents. No similar phenomenon is discernible when images of other men and women are shown. On the other hand, when hearing the words *hands* and *feet,* babies do expand the word categories to various hands and feet (TINCOFF–JUSCZYK 1999, 2000).

anthroponyms and toponyms can both be considered to be ancient word categories – they were probably the anthroponyms. According to child language research on the acquisition of proper names, proper name denotations of places also appear in a later phase of the first language acquisition process than those of persons. This is because rudimentary knowledge on the wider geographical environment is a prerequisite for the former (Reszegi 2015: 90–94, 2016).

As a matter of curiosity regarding processing, a person's own name has a special role amongst anthroponyms which can be detected very early. Babies as little as four to five months old already manifest clear signs of this special role – they will turn towards the source from which they hear their own names more frequently than towards the source of any other series of sounds (Mandel–Jusczyk–Pisoni 1995, Jusczyk–Mandel 1996: 36–37). The special role of one's own name remains during life. In the course of single-ear hearing tasks, one's own name is processed significantly faster than other personal names (Muller–Bovet 2002), and even in sleep, the brain reacts to it in a unique way (Bastuji–Perrin–Garcia-Larvea 2002).[5]

3. Summary (limitations, further possibilities)

The achievements made in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics have real and considerable benefits for onomastics, while at the same time there is a demonstrated need for circumspection on the part of onomastic scholars. On the one hand, it goes without saying that a comprehensive understanding of the entire field of science is required for the evaluation of results. In this respect, it has to be realized that there are multiple possible interpretations for the results themselves, and also that there are only certain concrete questions to which they provide answers. Besides, the very sources in which the results are published apply certain presuppositions in their interpretation. Another point to always bear in mind is that psycholinguistical models are systems of hypotheses. As nobody knows what exactly happens in the brain, and the only known factors are some behavioural outputs, a few aspects of time and of brain activity, researchers are trying to draw conclusions as to the underlying mechanisms based on what they do know, then develop models of the processes within the mental system relying on their conclusions. Then again, there are some models meant to explain given phenomena, without consideration for the mental system as a whole. Obviously, the preferred model should comply with further criteria: it should be dynamic, it should coincide with the theory of evolution, and it should account for the process of ontogenesis.

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[5] The role that names, including not only a person's own name, but names of other types as well, play in the development of an identity, is well-known in onomastic research (cf. e.g. Hoffmann 2010: 53–54).

Without losing sight of those points, the achievements made in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics may help with gaining insight into the subtleties of not only the issues outlined here, but also of other onomastical issues as well, such as how semantic relationships (synonymy, polysemy, etc.) can be interpreted in the case of proper names; or how proper-name-to-appellative transformations can be interpreted within the mental system, and what correlates it has in the neural system. The relationship between the mental map and toponyms has recently surfaced in several studies on onomastics. Hypotheses made on the basis of observations made of language behaviour or on theoretical grounds may also be confirmed by psycholinguistical and neurolinguistical research.

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Abstract

To gain complete insight into name usage and name-giving, it is necessary to study it from three different perspectives: 1. First of all, researchers need to examine the mental process, that is, what happens in one's mind while using proper names in conversations, what features the process of the acquisition, production, and comprehension of proper names has in comparison with common nouns. 2. Besides the mental level, it is also important to study the name stock as a system used for describing the linguistic characteristics of different name types and explore the interrelations within the name stock and between the names and other linguistic elements. 3. It is also necessary to

consider names as parts of language functioning in conversation, in other words to study the circumstances of name usage and its pragmatical aspects: when one uses proper names instead of descriptions, what kind of names are preferred in different situations, etc. By referring to the psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic researches on mental aspects of names, this study endeavors to demonstrate why it is important for onomastics to take this aspect and knowledge into consideration.

Keywords: psycholinguistics, acquisition of proper names, mental aspect of proper names

Lidia Becker

Folk onymic[1] discourses about personal names on the web

1. Folk linguistics

The concept of "folk onomastics," recently coined in the publications of TERHI AINIALA (2008, 2016), was inspired by the term "folk linguistics" that denominates a field of research within sociolinguistics. HENRY (HEINRICH MAX FRANZ) HOENIGSWALD can be considered one of the pioneers of folk linguistics, as is seen in the following quotation from as early as 1966: "[W]e should be interested not only in *(a)* what goes on (language), but also in *(b)* how people react to what goes on […] and in *(c)* what people say goes on […]" (HOENIGSWALD 1966, cited in PRESTON in print). DENNIS PRESTON, who has made a considerable contribution to the field of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology in the past decades, together with NIEDZIELSKI (2000) defines the term "folk" as follows: "We use *folk* to refer to those who are not trained professionals in the area under investigation (although we would not for one moment deny the fact that professional linguists themselves are also a folk group, with their own rich set of beliefs)" (NIEDZIELSKI–PRESTON 2000, VIII). PRESTON (in print) also specifies that "[…] even the most empirically-minded scientist may approach some of their work with tradition-based practices that belong to the entire profession or a subset of it (and I eagerly await a study of the folklore of sociolinguists)." Consequently, he points out that "folk linguistics is primarily concerned with overt, nonspecialists' beliefs about the history, structure, and uses of human language" (PRESTON in print). The field of folk linguistics has a long tradition not only in the USA, where it seems to have originated, but also in Germany (LEBSANFT 1990 and 2017, ANTOS 1996), France (PAVEAU 2005, 2008, ACHARD-BAYLE–PAVEAU 2008), Austria (STEGU 2008), Great Britain, Finland, Spain, Costa Rica, Chile, and recently Italy and Russia, among other countries.

Since folk linguistics is interested in "how people react to what goes on" (= language behaviour) and "what people say goes on" (= metalanguage discourses), as mentioned by HOENIGSWALD above, it necessarily includes such traditional fields of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis as language attitudes, (meta) language awareness, metalinguistic representations, stereotypes, evaluations and ideologies, metalinguistic discourses, etc. Whereas folk linguistic beliefs and myths used to be regarded by specialists as false and "naïve" (cf. *Naive*

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[1] In the present paper, the attribute "onymic" is used to refer to proper names, whereas "onomastic" is used to refer to the science about proper names.

Zugänge zur Namenforschung [Naïve Approaches to Onomastics] by Ruoff 1995), especially regarding beliefs about etymology, the field of folk linguistics is currently gaining more attention in the context of a general democratization of science (cf. the concepts of "citizen / open science", European Commission ed. *What is citizen science?*). It has become clear that differences between linguists and non-linguists are gradual and not always easy to define (Paveau 2008). For this reason, alternative definitions of "folk linguistics" also take into account that folk linguistic discourses pursue different goals than scientific discourses (Hardy–Herling–Patzelt 2015: 7–8). I consider the term "bottom-up-linguistics" to suit the modern research interests within this field better than "folk linguistics," which is actually obsolete due to the generally negative connotation of the attribute "folk" (Preston in print). The term "bottom-up-linguistics" has been sporadically used in theoretical and corpus linguistics to refer to the "bottom-up" (= corpus based) approach (cf. Gilquin 2010: 8). The terms "bottom-up" and "top-down" have also been used in political sciences with a different meaning: "bottom-up" processes are initiated within the civil society, while "top-down" processes are initiated "from above" by political actors (cf. Voss 2014). A similar meaning can be attributed to the term "bottom-up-linguistics" to denote metalinguistic activities initiated "from below", far from the official state structures. However, as Preston (in print) rightly observes, the terms "folk linguistics" in English, "Laienlinguistik" in German, "linguistique populaire" in French (similarly "lingüística popular" and "linguistica popolare" in Spanish and Italian), etc. have already been codified.

2. Folk onomastics

How about "folk" or "bottom-up" onomastics? So far, a few folk onomastic studies that actually use this term have already been published. Terhi Ainiala used the term "folk onomastics" in 2008 for the first time (see a brief overview of research in folk onomastics in Ainiala–Östman 2017: 11). In the paper *Names in society* published in the *Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming,* she defines "folk onomastics" as "the study of people's beliefs and perceptions about names and name use" (Ainiala 2016: 378, see also Ainiala–Halonen 2017: 204). Like Niedzielski–Preston 2000, she distinguishes metalanguage 1 ("talk about names and name elements") and metalanguage 2 ("[talk] about name use and beliefs connected to name users") (Ainiala 2016: 378). This definition does not focus on problematic differences between onomasticians and non-onomasticians. But in this case it deviates from the commonly used definitions of folk linguistics. As such, it does not consider a whole series of dichotomies discussed within folk linguistics like "lay vs. expert", "non-specialised vs. specialised", "popular vs. academic/intellectual", "spontaneous vs. deliberate", "unconscious vs. conscious", "implicit vs. explicit", "covert

vs. overt", "subjective vs. objective", "feeling vs. reasoning", etc. (ACHARD-BAYLE–PAVEAU 2008, BECKER–HERLING–WOCHELE in print). In my opinion, this definition (as well as the existing definitions of folk linguistics) also underplays the role of the "people" as active agents who not only have beliefs and perceptions and demonstrate reactions but also create and promote names, negotiate about them, change and ban them, create online communities, compile dictionaries, etc. AINIALA's definition actually corresponds better to "onymic attitudes" which is however only a hyponym of "folk onomastics". The discussion about what "folk onomastics" is or should be is certainly just at its beginning.

As for further investigations on folk onomastics, BEREZKINA 2011 dedicates her paper to the perception of place names in Oslo. Publications by EMILIA ALDRIN (2009, 2014, 2016, in print) about the process of naming children and about personal names and identity have contributed to establish folk onomastics within anthroponomastics. BONDARENKO 2016 uses the terms "наивная лингвистика" ('naïve linguistics') and "наивная ономастика" ('naïve onomastics') in Russian and presents research on the perception of dialectal personal names as "normal" or "strange".

3. Metaonymic discussions on the web as primary sources for folk onomastics

So far, folk onomastic research about negotiating the meaning and status of proper names has mainly been approached through interviews and questionnaires. Interviews, especially qualitative in-depth interviews, remain the central method of sociolinguistics and socioonomastics, however further methods of assessing metalanguage and metaonymic discourses like analysing the results of non-participatory observation, perceptive experiments or vast Internet resources should also be explored in order to diversify research data. Furthermore, as NÜBLING et al. (2012: 118) and ALDRIN (2014, 2016: 392–393) point out, interviews are time-consuming to conduct and to transcribe (cf. also the longitudinal survey *Das Image von Namen* by BIELEFELD 2014). ALDRIN (2016: 393) also rightly notes that, due to the observers' paradox, the interviewer may influence the answers of the participants.

It appears surprising that as yet Internet resources have only been the subject of socio-onomastic research to a limited extent. Especially forum-like discussions represent a vast source of folk onymic attitudes. From the methodological point of view, this source offers the advantage of a naturally covert non-participatory observation while conducting ethnographic field research. It thus allows a deep insight into the processes of negotiating social "profiles" of personal names and into naming practices.

In what follows, I would like to present the potential of this source, which I argue has been underestimated in light of its highly interesting contents, free availability, findability and the fact that there is no need of transcription. Of course, there are also methodological reservations in this case. First of all, there is no or little possibility to ask questions about the contents found on the web. It has also been suggested that forum users cannot be identified as real persons. Computer mediated communication has been qualified as anonymous, with no possibility to verify sociolinguistic parameters like age, gender, origin, etc. (HERRING 2001). However, it has been observed that user nicknames do provide some sociodemographic information (ANDROUTSOPOULOS 2006: 425). Instead of talking about "anonymity", researchers in computer mediated communication now prefer to talk about "pseudonymity" which refers to the self-representation of the user while interacting with unknown partners. It does appear possible to compile a databank of user profiles and to assess the authenticity of the nickname-bearers. Sometimes, social media users even seem to be more prone to reveal their intimate partial identities than they would probably be offline (DÖRING 2010: 166). In any case, the concept of "identity" should be understood as a category of practice, at the level of self-representations and not as a first-order-category.

3.1. Examples of metaonymic comments on *enfeminino.com*

The following examples of online metaonymic discussions were obtained from the website of the international media group *aufeminin,* created in France in 1999 and currently present in 21 countries. *Aufeminin* has been the property of the Axel Springer company since 2007. It publishes editorial and community-based content for women and the group has run a research lab dedicated to marketing to women since 2011. The group offers more than 40 websites and blogs in various languages including French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English about subjects like "Fashion & Beauty", "Love & Psychology", "Mom", and "Horoscope". The success of the group is evident, as "[i]n June 2015, the group achieved close to 132 million unique worldwide visitors per month, and more than 7 million members on their social networks *(Facebook, Twitter, Google+, YouTube, Instagram and Pinterest)*" (WIKIPEDIA ed. *aufeminin*).

For the purpose of this study, I analysed the Spanish version of *aufeminin: enfemenino.* The forum discussions on this site are freely accessible. I managed to find the following discussions with the search term "nombres" 'names' (as of May 2016):

- "Leo o Leonardo", 6 answers

- "¿qué os parece el nombre de niño aimar?" ('what do you think about the baby name aimar?'), 13 answers

- "Nombres clásicos pero poco oídos" ('Classic but less heard names'), 18 answers

- "Son gemelas ... 2 nombres!!" ('It's twins … 2 names!!'), 28 answers

- "Nombres que nos han conquistado por la tele o libros" ('Names that have conquered us through TV or books'), 28 answers

- "Nombres raros, originales, poco comunes de distintos idiomas para niños" ('Rare, original, less widespread names from different languages for babies'), 33 answers

- "¿tan feo es mi nombre? 😠" ('is my name that ugly?'), 36 answers

- "Nombres unisex" ('Unisex names'), 45 answers

- "¿qué os parece noa/noah para niña?" ('what do you think about noa/noah for a girl?'), 79 answers

- "Nombres canarios..." ('Canarian names'), 90 answers

- "Pongan sus favoritos 5 nombres de niña e niños" ('Give your favourite 5 names for boys and girls'), 223 answers

- "Nombres y significados" ('Names and meanings'), 335 answers, etc.

The titles of these threads already reveal the breadth of folk metaonymic discussions at *aufeminin.*

The following four comments (translations into English by the author, the original punctuation is preserved) confirm the opinion that data and methods of the observational "netnography" (cf. Janowitz s. a.) can offer a deep insight into the naming process:

Figure 1: Comment "Grimanesa" from the thread "Nombres canarios"
('Canarian names') (Enfemenino.com ed. *Foro: Nombres canarios*).

Translation into English:

Grimanesa
The correct spelling of the name is Grimanesa, with just one S. If you look
for it this way you will find references to María Grimanesa who has been
cited in different historical sources. As for the meaning "grey sunrise", it is
totally made-up (as sadly happens with all the meanings that are attributed to
guanche[2] names).
The name Grimanesa also exists (spelled Grimanessa in the work Duocento
novelle [1609], of the Italian author Celio Malespini), of literary tradition (it
appears in Amadís de Gaula), it was used in Europe for quite a long time and
is currently used in Portugal and South America. The figure of Grimanesa de
Mongrovejo, sister of San Toribio de Mongrovejo archbishop of Lima, and
spouse of Francisco de Quiñones, governor of Chile, influenced its usage in
America.

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[2] Canarian / Names of indigenous Canarian origin.
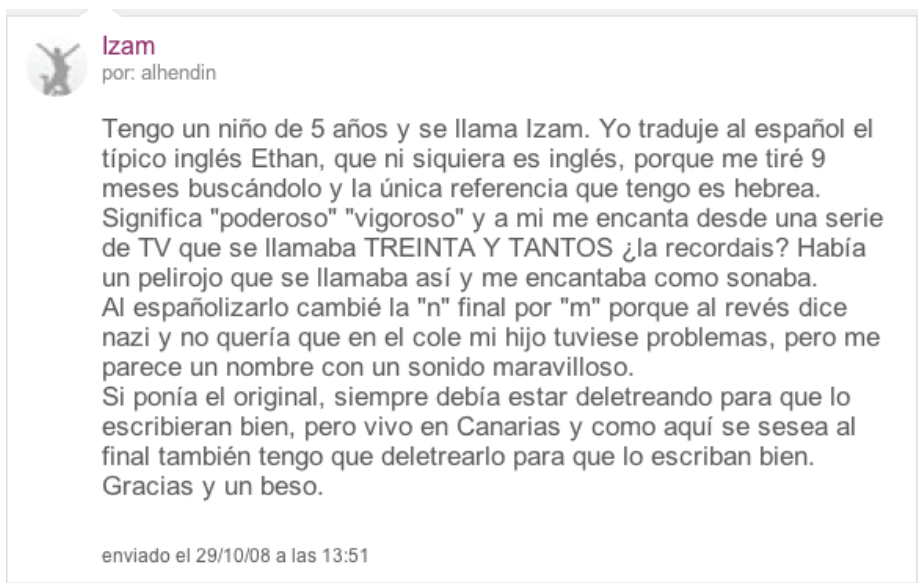
Figure 2: Comment "Izam" from the thread "Ayuda con estos nombres...
ethan/izan, irune/istar" ('Help with these names…ethan/izan, irune/istar')
(ENFEMENINO.COM ed. *Foro: Ayuda con estos nombres...ethan/izan, irune/istar*).

Translation into English:

Izam

*I have a son who is 5 years old and his name is Izam. I translated the typical
English Ethan to Spanish, which is not even English, because I spent 9 months
looking and the only reference I have is Hebrew. It means "powerful" "strong"
and I've liked it since a TV series that was called Thirty Something, do you
remember it? There was a redhead with this name and I loved the sound of it.*

*As I put it into Spanish, I changed the final "n" for "m" because backwards
it is nazi and I didn't want my son to have problems at school, but it sounds
wonderful to me.*

*If I had chosen the original, I would have had to spell it every time so that it was
spelled right, but I live in the Canary Islands and as they have "seseo"[3] here so
in the end I have to spell it anyway for it to be spelled correctly.*

Thank you and kisses.

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[3] "Seseo" refers to the lack of the phoneme /θ/ in the Canarian variety of Spanish as opposed
to the European Spanish standard pronunciation, which has a distinction between /s/ (<s> in
the orthography) and /θ/ (<c> before <e, i> and <z> in the orthography). The name *Izam* is
pronounced /isam/ in Canarian Spanish and /iθam/ in the European standard Spanish.
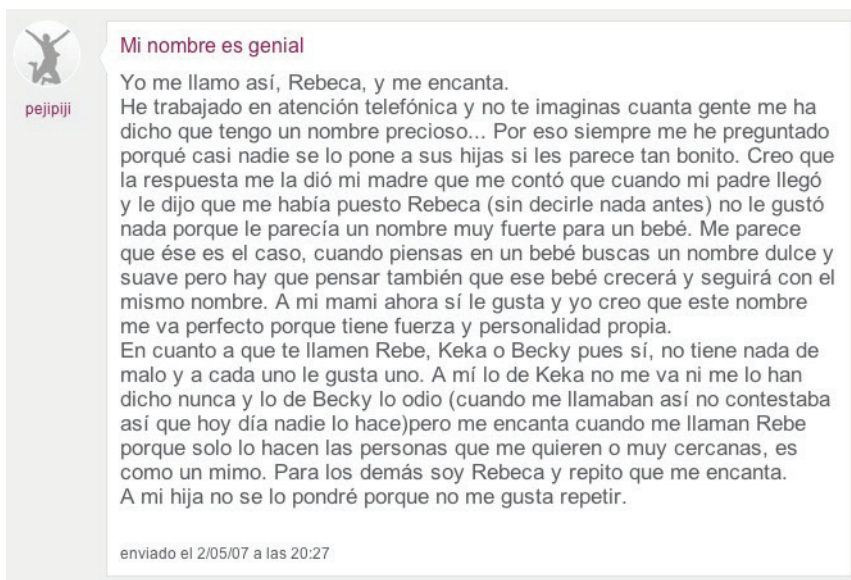
Figure 3: Comment "Mi nombre es genial" from the thread
"¿tan feo es mi nombre? 🙂" ('is my name that ugly?')
(ENFEMENINO.COM ed. *Foro: ¿tan feo es mi nombre?* 🙂).

Translation into English:

My name is awesome
Rebeca is my name and I love it.
I have worked in a call centre and you can't imagine how many people have
told me that my name is lovely… That's why I have always asked myself why
almost no one gives it to their daughters if they think it is so beautiful. I think
that my mom gave me the answer when she said that when my father came and
told her that he had named me Rebeca (without having asked her first), she
didn't like it because to her it sounded very strong for a baby. I think that's it,
when you think about a baby you look for a sweet and gentle name but you have
to think that this baby will grow up and keep the same name. My mom does like
it now and I think that this name suits me perfectly because it has strength and
its own personality.
Ok, as for the fact that they call you Rebe, Keka or Becky, it's not bad at all and
each person prefers one or the other. Keka doesn't suit me and nobody has ever
called me it and Becky is the one I hate (when I was called this I didn't answer
so that today nobody uses it), but I love it when I'm called Rebe because only
those who love me or family members do it, it's like a meme. For the rest I am
Rebeca and I insist that I love it. I won't give it to my daughter because I don't
like repetitions.
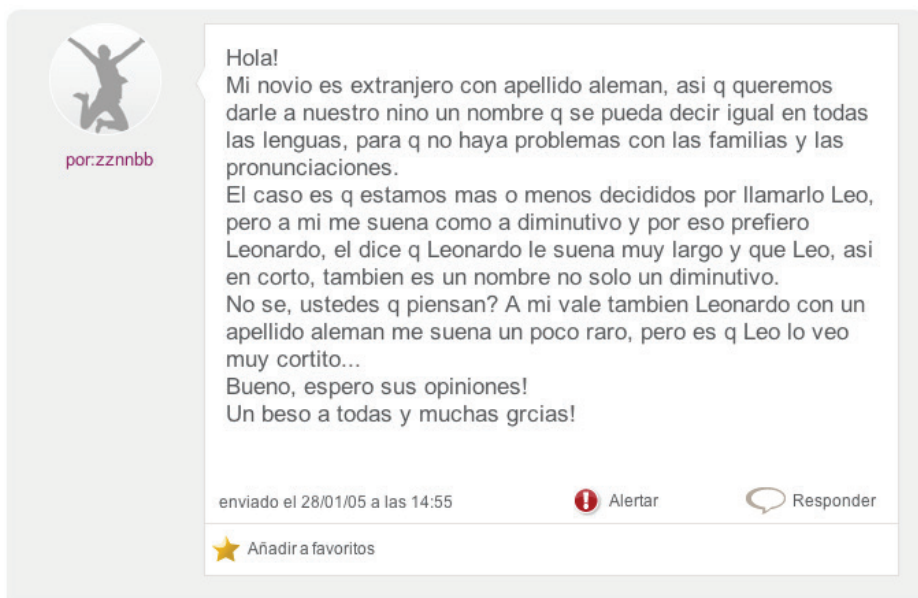
Figure 4: Initial comment from the thread "Leo o leonardo"
(ENFEMENINO.COM ed. *Foro: Leo o leonardo*).

Translation into English:

Hello there!
My fiancé is a foreigner with a German surname, so we want to give our baby a name that would be pronounced the same way in all the languages, to avoid problems with the families and pronunciations.
The thing is that we have almost decided to give him the name Leo, but to me it sounds like a diminutive and that's why I prefer Leonardo, he says that Leonardo sounds too long to him and that Leo, the short form, is also a name and not just a diminutive.
I don't know, what do you think? Leonardo is ok with me, with a German surname it sounds a bit odd, but Leo is really short…
I'm looking forward to your opinions!
Kisses to everyone and many thanks!

3.2. Analysis of selected metaonymic comments on *enfemenino.com*

The analysis of metaonymic online discussions can answer a number of open questions, not only in the field of folk onomastics but also of in the pragmatics of names, for example:

What role does the etymology of a name play in the naming process? The user with the nickname "alhendin" (Fig. 2) discovered, after a nine months of searching, that the name *Ethan*, the base of the form *Izam*, is a "typical English name" of Hebraic origin with the meaning "powerful, vigorous". She started to look for the etymology after she heard and liked the name of a TV character.

What do the name bearers know about the history of their names? The user "aurembiaix" (Fig. 1) mentions several historical personalities and literary characters called *Grimanesa* and is skeptical about the meaning "grey sunrise" proposed by other users in the forum.

Which personal names are considered to be suitable for a baby? The user with the nickname "pejipiji" (Fig. 3) reports her mother's negative reaction to the name *Rebeca* given to her by her father. According to the mother, *Rebeca* was too "strong" for a baby. The user "pejipiji" thinks that one should also think that a baby with a sweet and soft name will grow up one day.

What attitudes towards different forms of first names do users have? According to "pejipiji" (Fig. 3), there are three non-conventional forms of her name *Rebeca: Rebe, Keka* and *Becky.* She prefers *Rebe,* does not mind *Keka* and dislikes *Becky.*

Which literary characters have inspired popular first names? The user "alhendin" (Fig. 2) mentions the US-American TV series "Thirtysomething" as a source of inspiration for the name of her son. According to this user, *Izam* is a "Spanish translation" of *Ethan,* the name of one of the characters of "Thirtysomething".

Why do some first names undergo creative modifications? The user "alhendin" (Fig. 2) modified the form of the popular male name *Izan* (number 19 in the official statistics of the most popular first names of newborns in Spain in 2014, cf. BECKER 2018) to *Izam* after she realised that *Izan* turns to "nazi" if the alphabetical order is reversed. She did not want her son to have problems at school.

What are the phases of the naming process and what activities are characteristic for these phases? These are exactly the questions EMILIA ALDRIN has asked in her investigations (cf. 2014). The initial comment of the thread "Leo o leonardo" (Fig. 4) illustrates what the testing phase of the naming process ("a phase of testing when parents test how well the name suits the child or explore others' reactions to the name", ALDRIN 2014: 394) may look like this: the user "zznnbb" explains that she has a problem with the name *Leo* for her son, because she thinks that it is too short. She would prefer *Leonardo,* but she would like to hear opinions of other users in the forum first.

Finally, I would like to offer you one example of "locality" and another one of "globality", according to the topic of the *XXIV International Congress of Onomastic Sciences:* Which first names are considered to be local and which global/international? The user "aurembiaix" (Fig. 1) regards the first name *Grimanesa* as Canarian ("guanche"). On the other hand, the user "zznnbb" (Fig. 4) is looking for an international first name for her son because her partner is a "foreigner with a German surname" and her son's first name should have a simple pronunciation "in all the languages". She considers *Leo* or *Leonardo* suitable for this purpose.

4. Conclusions

To conclude, I would like to argue that investigations in the emerging field of "folk onomastics" should consider the developments within the wider context of "folk linguistics". According to the existing definitions of "folk linguistics", "folk onomastics" is primarily interested in non-specialists' beliefs and perceptions about the history, qualities and uses of proper names. Folk onymic discourses can also be expressed by "specialists" as long as they pursue different goals than scientific discourses on proper names. Taking into consideration the negative connotations of the attribute "folk", the alternative term "bottom-up-onomastics" could help to shift the focus away from the deficit-oriented approach towards a more comprehensive understanding of popular onymic beliefs and activities.

The aim of this paper has been to demonstrate the importance of Internet resources, especially forum-like discussions, for the research in folk onomastics. The following pragmatic and methodological advantages of the online material should be mentioned: a new kind of research data, a vast amount of sources, its accessibility and findability via thematic websites and specific search terms in search engines, easy handling (e. g. no need of transcription) and covert non-participatory observation.

An analysis of only four selected metaonymic comments on one website has demonstrated that folk onymic discourses can provide information about a variety of questions within folk onomastics and pragmatics of personal names, such as: motivation of the selection of names and interest in their etymology, negotiations about the "correct" etymology, reasons for creative modifications of a name form, phases of the naming process, non-conventional forms of first names and attitudes towards them, profiles of first names considered "strong", "sweet", "local", "international", etc.

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Abstract

This paper aims to contextualize the emerging field of "folk onomastics" within the broader context of "folk linguistics" and to present examples of folk onymic discourses on the web as rich and easily available resource for research within this field. It first offers a brief overview of research within folk onomastics and discusses some terminological and methodological issues. The author argues that the alternative term "bottom-up-onomastics" offers new perspectives on popular onymic attitudes and activities. The second part of the paper is dedicated to an analysis of selected online metaonymic comments on a Spanish website. Forum-like discussions about personal names are presented as promising primary sources for pragmatic and methodological reasons.

Keywords: folk onomastics, bottom-up-onomastics, folk onymic discourses, forum-like onymic discussions, onymic attitudes

Jaromír Krško–Alena Záborská
Onymic Space versus Social Space

1. Introduction

Socio-onomastic research focuses on two basic spheres. According to V. BLANÁR (1996), the first sphere was singled out due to the interest of onomastics in how pragmatic attitudes of users of proper names affect proper names in terms of their onymic designation – this impact is reflected in the onymic attributes of a proper name. In anthroponymy, these attributes are influenced by, among other things, family relationships (and by the social position of an individual within their family) – we tend to use hypocoristic forms of given names in communication with family members and family names in communication with outsiders, i.e. non-members of a family as a social group. Social relationships within a social group and the pragmatic attitudes of its members towards both members and non-members influence the choice of the appropriate anthroponyms in other spheres, too – e.g. unofficial personal names[1] used within a town (i.e. the way its inhabitants refer to one another in unofficial communication), individual nicknames of pupils, students, teachers, employees etc. within the social groups of classrooms, work teams, etc. Regarding toponymy, the attributes of a proper name and its pragmatic communication aspect are determined by several variables, such as the onymic class of the referent that a toponym relates to found in the field, the social importance of the object (i.e. the action radius of a toponym),[2] whether the referent is inhabited etc. V. BLANÁR (1996: 161) claims that these categories "of geonyms and bionyms connect more general (generic) features of <the stabilization by administrative and legal standards> and <the stabilization by narrower social convention>".[3]

The second sphere of socio-onomastic research is based on the tension between the fixed form of a proper name in the official society-wide communication and its form used by small social groups, informed by their customs and habits. In Slovak linguistics, research in this sphere started sooner in onomastics than in sociolinguistics. Detailed research of Slovak anthroponomastics started thanks to V. BLANÁR and J. MATEJČÍK in the mid-1970s. Their research and

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[1] Or "living names" (see BLANÁR 2009: 91).

[2] See KRŠKO (2014: 25–26) for further information.

[3] When classifying onymic features, V. BLANÁR uses terms from the componential analysis and from the synthesis of the appellative lexical semantics. According to this theory, generic and differential features of proper names influence that part of their content which differs from their lexical meaning. Generic and differential features are thus related to the designation of a proper name (see BLANÁR 1996: 21).

analysis of unofficial anthroponyms in central Slovakia showed how various forms of anthroponyms associated with a single person function and how the choice of these forms is based on the communication setting and the particular communication situation within the society of a given municipality.

2. The Onymic System in the Social Space

French sociologist Pierre Félix Bourdieu (1930–2002) defined the social space, which is created by a person living in it, as "a structure of differentiated social positions, each of which is defined by its position within the social field that an individual takes in the process of participation on a certain type of capital. The social space consists of two axes – vertical and horizontal. At the vertical axis one's position is based on the total disposable capital. At the horizontal axis, one's position is based on the relation between the economic capital and the cultural capital" (MALINA 2009: 3273). "Various social positions and relationships coexist in the social space. It has a relational character; social relationships are not, however, determined by space. Quite the opposite – they create and modify space" (MALINA 2009: 3273). One of the social system's constituents is linguistic communication, and thus the sphere of proper names as well. Based on these facts, we may study how the onymic system functions in communication from the viewpoint of the social space and its complex social relationships. In other words, we may study the choice of a specific form of a proper name based on an individual's social status, social group and so on – one may choose to use a nickname instead of a birth name, a hypocoristic name instead of an official name, an unofficial toponym instead of an official toponym (see also AINIALA 2010, DAVID–MÁCHA 2012).

The onymic space is defined by V. BLANÁR as "a sum of proper names used in the language of a certain nation in order to name real, hypothetical, and fantastic objects" (BLANÁR 1996: 25). Social relations among members of a society (or smaller social groups) and the position of an individual within these groups significantly influence the form of proper names used in communication.

An individual's social position within a social group is defined by their status and role (KOŠTIALOVÁ 2009: 98). Overall, status[4] refers to the social position of an individual in a social group, which he or she acquires when entering the group. The individual's status is perceived via appreciation from other members of the social group in the form of positive choices, privileges, and benefits. Status may be ascribed – it is given to a person regardless of their will (e.g. based on

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[4] American anthropologist Ralph Linton (1893–1953), the author of terms *status* and *role*, characterized *status* as "one's position in a certain type of society, a set of rights, privileges, duties, obligations, and expectations" (in KOŠTIALOVÁ 2009: 98). In this article, we use both terms in accordance with his definitions.

their age, gender, ethnicity), and sometimes it is based on social circumstances, mainly heritage. Another type of status is achieved status, which the individual may influence (e.g. through work and education). A certain level of education defines our status at work – as a result we may derive another type of status, namely socioeconomic status (e.g. monthly income, company car). Naturally, one has a different status within their family (different in relation to their parents, different in relation to their children), their group of friends and so on.

Role is a dynamic aspect of status because it is performed, played. Role is a group of certain obligations, restrictions, prescribed behaviour, as well as privileges. From the moment we come into this world, we learn to play various roles based on situations we find ourselves in as part of the socialization process (see for example KOŠTIALOVÁ 2009: 98–100, MALINA 2009: 3909).

Besides various appellative expressions, we choose different forms of proper names in ordinary communication based on the characteristics of the communication situation – in other words, our choice of proper names is affected by the situational variability of language. According to D. SLANČOVÁ (SLANČOVÁ–SLANČOVÁ 2012: 178), the character of the social situation makes us prefer particular language units; from an onomastic point of view, this applies to use of various types and forms of proper names. The communication situation is influenced not only by social stratification but also by social variability, i.e. the composition of social groups and strata which participate in communication. Therefore, it is an intersection of the social space and the onymic space.

The conception of how proper names function in communication and the selection of particular forms of a name, which is influenced by the social position of an individual and their social relationships within the social group, arise from the theory of the onymic register, which comprises the onymic component of the register of a social group (as part of the collective consciousness or so-called social memory) and that of each member of this group (as part of the individual consciousness – individual memory) (KRŠKO 2016: 101). We characterize the onymic register as a group of onymic (linguistic) and extralinguistic units used in certain communication spheres and communication situations that are determined by social, communication, macro-social, and micro-social register norms (KRŠKO 2016: 25).

The conception of the onymic register is based on the former reflections on the existence of so-called social or microsocial toponyms (KRŠKO 1998)[5]

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[5] The author of the term *microsocial toponym* is J. Krško who used it at the beginning of his research activities. Later, he replaced it with the term *social toponym*. Such toponyms are used within a fairly closed microsociety (e.g. hunters, fishermen, families) and these names are known only to members of the group. This term corresponds with T. Ainiala's *slang toponym*, Pablé's *mental onomasticon*, David's *unofficial* (or "living") *toponym* etc.

and it corresponds to similar reflections on the existence of so-called mental onomastics (see PABLÉ 2010) and the functioning of unofficial toponymy (DAVID–MÁCHA 2014, DAVID 2015). When thinking about using various linguistic and extralinguistic units in specific communication spheres and communication situations, one must consider the position of an individual and the position of a social group. Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish the anthroponymic and toponymic components of the onymic register. In the anthroponymic register, complex social relationships influenced by social status, role, and other factors among communication participants (i.e. micro-social register components) are more evident than in the toponymic one. Social perception of toponymic space differs from the perception of anthroponymic space, particularly in its emotional and pragmatic aspects in communication – one does not experience social relations with nature (i.e. objects in nature), and the emotional connection one has with a specific place arises from the social relationships one has with a particular group of people (family members, friends, a town's inhabitants etc.). Expressivity of the toponymic space may be reflected in the linguistic form of a toponym and its motivation.[6] In both anthroponymic and toponymic registers, we distinguish the anthroponymic register of an individual, the anthroponymic register of a group, the toponymic register of an individual, and the toponymic register of a group.

The onymic register may be classified as follows:

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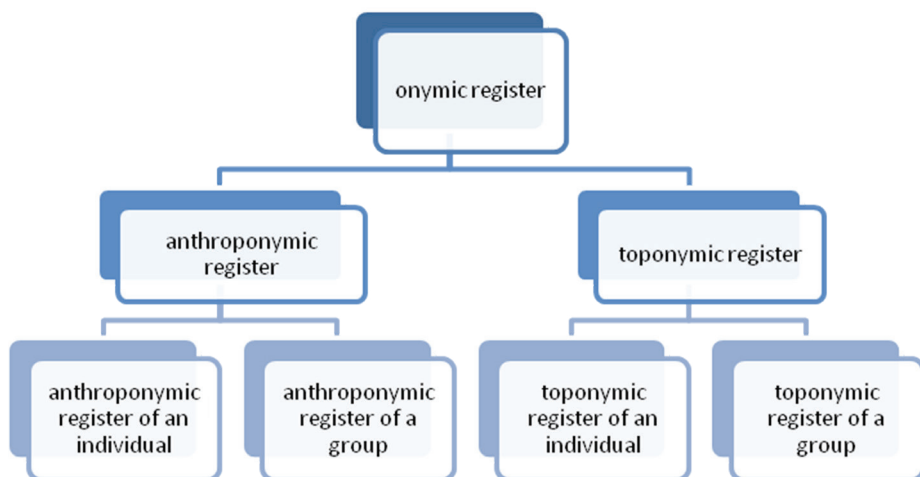
[6] This may be demonstrated in such toponyms as *Peklo* and *Žobráčka*. The literal translation of the former is 'hell' as this toponym refers to an unpleasant place; the meaning of the latter is 'beggar woman' and refers to a weakly flowing spring (KRŠKO 2006).

3. The Anthroponymic Register

The anthroponymic register consists of various types of interconnected anthroponyms, which cannot always be clearly separated. As a result, we may find proper names that formally belong to one type of anthroponym but are functionally connected to a different type of anthroponym.[7] For example, in the one-name system[8], bynames were coined as nicknames, and in this case we may find a relationship between two types of anthroponyms – bynames and nicknames.[9] But in the two-name system, bynames are used to characterize a person in more detail, as well as to differentiate them from other members of the society with the same (usually family) name. In this case, the byname is a functional element of the unofficial anthroponym.[10] This phenomenon (connection between various types of anthroponyms) may also be found among nicknames and social media handles – the nomination process of these anthroponyms is, however, different.

Social space is not homogeneous, as it consists of many various social groups, such as families, groups of friends, political parties, neighbourhoods etc. Every individual belongs to a number of social groups, and each group may use different forms of anthroponyms. The anthroponymic register may be defined as the set of all anthroponyms and their forms that are determined by the existence of a particular social group, the social status of an individual within this group, and the pragmatic aspects of communication within this group.

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[7] An anthroponym may have various functions – for example before the two-name system, name *Kováč* ('Smith') was used to refer to a man with only one name based on his profession. In this case, *Kováč* was a byname. Nowadays, this name is a hereditary last name and is no longer connected to the profession.

[8] The one-name system existed in the past when it was enough to identify a person with one name only. With the population growth, however, one name was not sufficient in identifying individuals and so individual characteristics were added to names. These additions (called *bynames*) were derived from one's profession, place of origin, family line and so on. In Latin, bynames were preceded by the word *dictus*, i.e. 'called' (*Paolo dictus Koza – Pavol called Koza; koza* means 'goat'). Later on, bynames became hereditary and they turned into last names. In Austria-Hungary, Emperor Joseph II codified the two-name system (i.e. first name and last name) in 1787. Russians, Ukrainians, and Bulgarians use the three-name system – first name (birth name), father's name, and last name.

[9] Whereas bynames were well-known among people, nicknames are tied to a specific social group in which they are used to refer to its members.

[10] For example, there are several men named *Peter Siman* living in one town and thus bynames are used to differentiate between them – *Peter Siman Biely* (meaning of the byname is 'white' – his house is white), *Peter Siman Zimný* (meaning of the byname is 'cold' – he lives in a cold part of the town), *Peter Siman Zvršku* (meaning of the byname is 'from a hillock' – he lives in a house on a hill).

The anthroponymic register of a group consists of all the proper names that are used to refer to its members. All members of this group know these names, and the names exist only as long as the group exists (i.e. their use is restricted by time and space). For example, in secondary schools, official given names and family names as well as hypocoristic forms of birth names are used, the latter of which may express positive or negative emotional attitudes of their users in communication (e.g. hypocoristic forms of names, nicknames, and other types of anthroponyms used in various languages – Polish name *Malgorzata* can have hypocoristic forms *Gosia, Malgoska;* nickname *Bob* for the English name *Robert* and so on). In such social groups, nicknames are also quite popular, resulting from the social position of members within the group. Nicknames may be assigned to outsiders by the leader of the group, as well as the other way round[11] (see KRŠKO 2016: 43–44). When the group ceases to exist, the names are no longer used, but when the group is reunited, these names are actively used in communication again. Such situations occur at high school reunions, for example – while talking about the time spent together, all the names students used to refer to one another or their teachers come alive again. Social toponyms of the group, i.e. names of places known only to members of the group, are also revived.[12]

The anthroponymic register of an individual is the set of all the anthroponyms and their forms (nicknames, hypocoristic forms etc.) that refer to all members of social groups to which a particular individual belongs and whom he or she knows. This register may be further divided into the anthroponymic register of loved ones and the anthroponymic register of acquaintances, as well as the register of people who are not in a mutual social group with the individual (anthroponyms of the social or cultural context – names of famous people from cultural, social, and political life). An individual's anthroponymic register consists of all the anthroponyms the individual has known in his or her life, such as names of close relatives, distant relatives, schoolmates, friends, colleagues and so on. Onymic registers are dynamic, just like the register they are part of – in this respect, some anthroponyms may gradually move to the periphery (e.g. when one is not in regular contact with a person because he or she is not a member of the original social group anymore or no longer lives), some

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[11] The names the leader of the group assigns to outsiders are usually expressive, whereas the names assigned to the leader by the members of the group are usually admiring.

[12] Although the presented statement is based on J. KRŠKO's personal observations in Slovakia in 1995, this phenomenon is present also among other ethnic groups and in other languages. Members of a particular social group tend to remember unofficial names of places and people from the time when the group existed. When such an unofficial nickname or social toponym from the past is used, it revives a moment from the past of the social group that no longer exists (like for example a group of students from the same class).

anthroponyms are new to the register (e.g. when an individual has met new people) and so on. Everyone's anthroponymic register has a different extent, influenced by their personality, their job, as well as the place where they live. We may see, for example, a clear difference between the registers of an introvert working in a small private company and living in the countryside, and a world traveller extrovert living in a city who has an active social life.

4. The Toponymic Register

Social space, complex interpersonal relationships, and communication within small social groups influence toponymy, too. Whereas in anthroponymy social relations among users of proper names are expressed directly and primarily, in toponymy social relations are not expressed directly, as they are secondary social relations – mainly through a specific person (owner of the toponymic object) or a place where one lives or lived (relationships with one's ancestors form a relation to their birthplace). An emotional attachment to a toponymic object may be expressed via memories, too – places where one spent one's youth, important events occurred and so on. These memories are, however, associated with people with whom they were formed. B. HELLELAND (2012) sees toponyms as important social signals which indicate the affiliation of individuals with a specific society. "Place names are social signals of belonging to a group, and the more names that are shared, the stronger the bonds are within the group. […] Most people would agree that it is fundamental for the wellbeing of individuals to be familiar with places and place names in their surroundings in the same way as it means a lot to have close relationships to one's family and neighbours. To know the places and the names of the places in one's neighbourhood is part of the spirit of community" (HELLELAND 2012: 96).

Even though toponymy refers to static objects, it is a very dynamic part of any language. We may attribute this dynamicity to that of social relations – toponymy lives and changes along with human societies. J. DAVID and P. MÁCHA (2012: 30) move the adjective *unofficial,* first used by V. BLANÁR, from anthroponymy to toponymy, as they deem it appropriate to distinguish written names (i.e. fixed names found in documents, such as on maps, in chronicles etc.) from unofficial names (which are being studied by new field research). In the introduction of his monograph entitled *Paměť města – názvy míst. Ostrava,* J. DAVID (2012: 7) claims that besides the official standardized street names, there are unofficial non-standardized place names in every city, which help its inhabitants in everyday orientation. Thus, the nomenclature of every city consists of names well known to its inhabitants as well as local names known

only to students of a particular school, for example, or the inhabitants of a certain building or street and so on.

When considering the existence of social toponyms, it is necessary to point out that they are not a specific type of toponyms but rather a stable part of toponymy – social toponyms have all the attributes of toponyms. However, they are unofficial names referring to onymic objects. The entire toponymic set consists of both official and unofficial toponyms. The way social toponyms are perceived and interpreted is related to one's view of how a proper name functions in the communication of a social group. In other words, social toponyms reflect how a particular social group perceives its social space. We may define social toponyms as "toponyms which were coined and are used in a fairly closed social group, have a low (or zero) communication potency towards outsiders, and refer to toponymic objects of the social space of a certain group during its existence" (KRŠKO 2016: 72).

Social toponyms comprise the toponymic register, which we further divide into two subregisters – that of the group and that of the individual. The toponymic register of a group consists of all the toponyms a certain social group uses in communication to refer to its important points of orientation. Research in Slovak toponymy has shown that we may distinguish several types of social groups based on various criteria. Based on region, there are, for example, social groups of neighbourhoods (a specific city district, the higher/lower area of a village, etc.), and we may consider the relationship of the social group of a village towards other villages or the whole region. The toponymy of such social groups may be defined as regional social toponyms. As already stated, these toponyms are used in social groups of specific neighbourhoods, but also within a municipality singled out from its surroundings. Use of this type of social toponyms indicates that these groups are fairly closed off from outsiders. In common practice, people's choice of proper names is one of the criteria used to distinguish native (born and raised) inhabitants of a certain municipality or neighbourhood from those who have moved there (see also AINIALA 2009, VUOLTEENAHO–AINIALA 2009). When defining a group from the sociological and psychological points of view, many authors connect it mainly with a psychological bond and these social groups are identified and defined on the basis of an 'us versus them' polarity (KOŠTIALOVÁ 2009: 66).

Based on age, we may distinguish generational social toponyms, differentiating children and young adults' social groups in particular. We may consider a social group of adults as well, but this is more complicated because these social toponyms may be contaminated by the toponymy of the municipality. A specific kind of age-based social toponymy is family social toponymy. Family social toponyms are traditionally associated with the area of a village where

the given family owns property. The coinage of this type of social toponym is usually motivated by an emotional relationship with the property as a symbol of inheritance or continuity of the family line, or by an emotional attachment to the acquirer of the property.[13] Toponyms coined spontaneously on family trips and walks may be considered family social toponyms, as well. If they are used on a regular basis, they may later function as basic points of orientation – *Otcova skrýša* ('father's hiding place'), *Pri Majkovom potoku* ('at Majko's brook') (KRŠKO 2014: 77). Onymic motivation of these names is based on mutual experience and connected with mutual family memories.

Other social groups may be distinguished based on hobbies and profession. In the appellative lexicon, the criterion of profession determines the use of professionalisms,[14] and in the onymic sphere we may likewise observe professional social toponyms. This group is represented by names that are or were used by people working in the countryside – farmers, herdsmen, forestry workers, coalmen, fishermen, hunters, as well as sportsmen (cyclists, tourists, rock climbers, boaters) etc.

Researchers have recently been focusing not only on the language of the city but also more specifically on urban toponymy. They have not studied standardization processes, urbanonym typology etc. but rather urban toponymy from the viewpoint of the orientation of city-dwellers, the coinage of new non-standardized names, and the perception of landmarks (see DAVID 2012, 2015, DAVID–MÁCHA 2012). J. DAVID (2015) claims that the coinage of urban toponymy results from the original urbanonyms found in the city centre being gradually overlapped by two other groups of toponyms – the original toponyms of communities which became part of the growing city and the unofficial toponymy. The third layer (i.e. the unofficial toponymy) is particularly interesting because, as asserted by J. DAVID (2015: 379), these names comprise a specific communication group as they blend with standardized names. Names used within villages that later became part of cities are a matter of the past, whereas unofficial toponyms are truly alive. In this respect, J. DAVID understands the term urbanonymy in a broader sense – not only names of streets and squares but also "names of restaurants and bars, hotels, theatres, cinemas, and museums, bus stops, pharmacies, hospitals, railway stations, and airports" (DAVID 2015: 379).

Like the anthroponymic register, the regional toponymic register enters communication in three forms – official, semi-official and private (unofficial). The more objects we specify (and localize) in communication, the more diverse

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[13] For example, *Mamine* ('mother's') referring to a field bought by one's mother.

[14] We understand professionalisms as language units referring to objects, actions, and phenomena characteristic for a certain professional (work) sphere (see FINDRA 2004: 29).

regional social toponyms we find in all forms of communication. Object specification within the social space of a particular social group results from the tendency to name smaller onymic objects (unlike a larger onymic object such as a street or a square). In communication, people use points of orientation known to the social group of locals. In Slovakia, this phenomenon was reflected in the past on notice boards of private companies, and in the present we may find it in written forms of advertisements – a company with the address Partizánska 89 in Banská Bystrica has a territorial localization stated in brackets – *premises next the IVECO company;* the address Skuteckého 1, Banská Bystrica is specified by the comment *from the main post office towards courthouses.*

The unofficial naming of the social space by social groups within cities, neighbourhoods or streets is a common phenomenon not bound to a specific language or region. Regional social toponyms also include unofficial names of public transport stops. Unofficial toponyms locals use have different motivations from the official names assigned to stops by public transport workers. Use of the unofficial toponymic register in communication with an outsider may lead to misunderstanding or communication interference – for example, a tourist in Olomouc who needs to get to the city centre and get off at a stop called *Náměstí Republiky* is told by locals to get off at a stop called *U muzea,* which is not found on any map.

An individual who does not belong to a regional social group (for example that of a city) uses the official toponyms as basic points of orientation within the unknown space. Since the official toponymy is found on maps, outsiders identify names found on maps with the actual image of the foreign social space. They also look for and use objects found in their mental toponymic register (for example, retail chains which they know from their social space; well-known buildings familiar from newspapers, television, Internet). In communication including locals, i.e. members of the local social group (for example when asking for directions, establishing meeting points etc.), the onymic points of all the interlocutors' respective toponymic registers must overlap. If the overlap does not occur, members of the local social group have to describe the surroundings of a given object until his or her communication partner (i.e. the outsider) identifies an object they know and can use as a landmark.

The analysis of social groups using their own specific toponymy helps us describe the toponymic registers of these societies. From the perspective of an individual, the situation in toponymy is similar to that in anthroponymy. Everyone is a member of different social groups, whether in the past or the present. If we define the toponymic register of a social group as the set of all the toponyms the group uses in communication to refer to its important landmarks, we must analyse the character of the toponymic register of the

individual as well. If we determine that an individual belongs to various social groups in which they have different social positions, we can assume they know the toponymic register of the social groups to which they belong. Is the individual familiar with the entirety of these registers or only part of them? The answer to this question lies in the character of one's belonging to a group and one's social position within the group – one might be a passive member in one group and thus not know the group's entire toponymic register, whereas in a different group one might be a long-time active member and thus know the group's entire register. Based on this analysis we may define the toponymic register of an individual as the sum of all parts of the toponymic registers of the groups to which the individual belongs and which he or she knows. The content of an individual's toponymic register consists of all the toponyms he or she has known in his or her life. Since onymic registers are part of the register, they are dynamic – an individual may not use certain toponyms anymore (e.g. if he or she is no longer a member of the original social group and its social space), some toponyms may be new to the register (the individual has found new places) etc.

5. Conclusion

The issue of how anthroponyms and toponyms function in the social space and communication points to the complex social relationships within groups as well as to the interconnection of these groups via individuals and their social positions. These factors strongly influence the choice of specific forms of proper names. Anthroponymy uncovers interpersonal social relationships in more detail, whereas toponymy uncovers the social interconnection between an individual and his or her surroundings, as well as the way he or she notices and perceives important onymic points as basic landmarks in the social onymic space.

Both anthroponyms and toponyms are parts of the onymic register. We may study the onymic register from the viewpoint of an individual or from the viewpoint of a whole social group. The anthroponymic register of a group consists of all the proper names used to refer to its members. These names are known to all members of the group and they exist while the group exists. The anthroponymic register of an individual consists of all the anthroponyms and their forms, referring to all members of social groups to which a given individual belongs and whom he or she knows. The anthroponymic register of an individual consists of all the anthroponyms an individual has known in their lifetime – closest relatives, distant relatives, classmates, friends, and so on.

Complex interpersonal relationships and communication among people in small social groups influence toponymy, too. According to B. HELLELAND (2012), the

richer the toponymic register of a group, the stronger the social relationships within the group. The toponymic register consists of social toponyms and we distinguish the toponymic register of a group and the toponymic register of an individual. The toponymic register of a group represents a sum of all toponyms a particular social group uses in communication to refer to important points of orientation. We distinguish several types of social groups based on various criteria. Based on region, there are regional social groups (e.g. a social group of a specific city district, a social group of a town in contrast with neighboring towns or regions); toponyms of such groups may be called regional social toponyms. We may distinguish other social groups based on age of their members – mainly children and young adult's social groups. In these social groups we may use the term generational social toponyms. A specific type of age-based social toponymy is family social toponymy. Other social groups may be distinguished based on hobbies and profession. In the appellative lexicon, the criterion of profession determines the use of professionalisms, and in the onymic sphere we may likewise observe professional social toponyms. This group consists of names used by people working in the countryside – farmers, herdsmen, forestry workers, coalmen, fishermen, hunters, and even sportsmen (cyclists, rock climbers, boaters, etc.).

Each of us becomes a member of various social groups throughout our lives. If we define the toponymic register of a group as a set of all toponyms a social group uses to refer to important points of orientation and which are active in communication of its members, the toponymic register of an individual may be defined as a group of parts of toponymic registers of all the groups to which an individual belongs and which are known to him or her. The content of an individual's toponymic register are all the toponyms he or she has known in his or her life.

The understanding of the issue of social anthroponyms and social toponyms corresponds with opinions of other onomasticians who work with mental onomasticon or mental onymy, slang toponymy or unofficial ('living') toponymy.

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Abstract

In this paper, we present the conception of the social perception of proper names and their functioning in fairly closed social groups through the prism of the onymic register. We focus on the onymic system, namely the functioning of the anthroponymic and the toponymic systems in language and social communication. An individual's complex social relations and placement in various social groups create conditions for the application of many forms of anthroponyms – from the motivation of birth names to the stabilization of surnames, hypocoristic forms of birth names, nicknames, and aliases used on social networks.

Just like in anthroponymy, many toponyms are also created and used within various (fairly closed) social groups. In many studies, we have worked with the term "onymic register", which belongs to register as its onymic component. We divide the onymic register into the anthroponymic register and the toponymic register. In both groups, we have to take into consideration the status of an individual and the status of a social group. The research data come mainly from the Slovak language but the presented theory is universal and may be applied in any language.

Keywords: onymic register, social space, communication, slang proper names, mental onomasticon

Angelika Bergien

'Name and Shame' strategies in a socio-onomastic perspective

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the function of names in specific social and cultural contexts. The way names are used in interaction is central to the process of constructing individual identities. As AINIALA and ÖSTMAN (2017: 3–4) point out, names function not only as tools for identification but also as tools for the social classification of an individual. A personal name therefore tells a community who the individual is and, secondly, lets the individual know what his or her place in the community is.

This is, for example, the case when names are used as vocatives. Vocatives have traditionally been described as "attention-getters" (ARCHER et al. 2012: 217) which are used "to attract the attention of the person being called or summoned" (LYONS 1977: 217). This use is closely related to "the function of singling out the appropriate addressee(s)" (BIBER et al. 1999: 1112). In recent years, a third function of vocatives has been in the focus of interest. BIBER et al. (1999: 1112) call it "maintaining and reinforcing social relationships", and with regard to their study of vocatives in casual conversation, JAWORSKI and GALASIŃSKI conclude that "the speaker does not use the vocative to attract the attention of his addressee, but to define the interpersonal space between them" (2000: 49). Against this background, vocatives can also be described as im/politeness strategies, since they may be used as face-saving or face-threatening acts. These observations will be seen as central in the present study.

The following example from *The Guardian* (2013: 10) is an interesting starting point for this paper. It is part of a full-page promotional campaign by the international non-governmental organisation *Actionaid* against tax dodging. The background is a black-and-white photograph of former British Prime Minister David Cameron and the text reads: *Dave – it's time to make the big boys pay.*

In the example above, the name *Dave* occurs in initial position and is used in its vocative function. The initial vocative *Dave* combines the attention-getting with the identifying function, but in this case the attention-getting function clearly dominates, since identification of the addressee is achieved mainly via the huge photo of the Prime Minister.

There is no straightforward answer as to the social function of the vocative *Dave*. It is interesting to note that the familiarised first name *Dave* is used rather than the first name in full, *David*. This is no doubt a rather unconventional name use, since the familiarised first name is normally reserved for family members or friends. What is even more striking is the fact that the title *Prime Minister* would have been appropriate in this public environment. Familiarisers mark the relationship between speaker and addressee as a friendly or even familiar one to claim in-group membership with the addressee. Claiming in-group membership is, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), a positive politeness strategy. This is supported by the informal style of the imperative *it's time to make the big boys pay*. Dressed up in a tone of familiarity, the sentence may be intended to negotiate a decrease in social distance between *Actionaid* and the Prime Minister, but it may also fit into broader accusations that the Prime Minister is too soft on tax dodging. The violation of an expected conventional form is certainly "strategic" (Jaworski–Galasiński 2000: 38), but outside a particular context there is also vagueness concerning the concrete strategies intended with the vocative (cf. Bergien 2014). The name *Dave* is perhaps used to intensify a face-threatening imperative, belittle the Prime Minister, make him feel guilty, or simply show irony and humour.

The problems resulting from the analysis of this example show that vocatives in English "are almost never neutral: they express attitude, politeness, formality, status, intimacy, or a role relationship, and most of them mark the speaker," characterising them in relation to the addressee, as Zwicky (1974: 796) observes. This is especially the case when the name is used in social interaction to generate emotions like guilt and shame, which is linguistically expressed in the phrase *name and shame*. The aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, to show what the origin of naming and shaming is, and secondly, to argue how this is related to a new social-symbolic function of names.

2. The origin of *name and shame*

When searching the internet for instances including the verb "to name" it soon becomes obvious that in the past years there have been an increasing number of hits including the phrase *name and shame*. The following examples illustrate this:

> HMRC empowered to name and shame tax evasion 'enablers'[1]
>
> Sydney noodle bar forced to name and shame itself for unsafe food[2]

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[1] https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/jan/01/hmrc-tax-evasion-enablers-fines. (01-08-2017).

[2] http://www.smh.com.au/business/consumer-affairs/sydney-noodle-bar-forced-to-name-and-shame-itself-for-unsafe-food-practices-20170727-gxkc54.html. (01-08-2017).

City of Cape Town 'to name and shame' high water consumers[3]

Police to name and shame accused drink drivers on Twitter[4]

The headlines all include individual people or companies who, generally speaking, deviate from certain standards. By naming them they are shamed or should feel ashamed.

In addition to these examples there are also examples which criticise naming and shaming:

Embarrassing youth with name and shame laws not the answer[5]

When is it OK to name and shame people on social media?[6]

The limits of "name and shame" in international financial regulations[7]

According to the book *Twentieth century words,* the phrase *name and shame* was first used in 1991 and means to disclose publicly a person's or institution's (perceived) wrongdoing or failure. Originally US. A popular move in the morally self-righteous 1990s (AYTO 1999: 593).

A more recent definition by Macmillan includes the aim of such a disclosure: to publish embarrassing facts about a person or organization, especially in order to persuade them to change their behaviour or policies (Macmillan Dictionary).[8]

The verbs *disclose* or *publish* imply that the strategy can be used only in a particular environment or social context. This context includes first of all a person or institution that has the authority, information and power to determine what's right or wrong and then disclose the names and information about persons or institutions that in one way or other violate legal standards and moral norms. The central component of this strategy is public exposure, which seeks to induce shame in a person, or at least express a judgement that the person ought to feel ashamed of themselves. If the practice succeeds, it can lead to feelings of exclusion and isolation for a named person. But even if it does not succeed in inducing shame, it can lead to a loss of status or reputation in the eyes of others (cf. ROWBOTTOM 2013: 17).

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[3] http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/city-of-cape-town-to-name-and-shame-high-water-consumers-20170216. (01-08-2017).

[4] http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/police-to-name-and-shame-drink-drivers-on-twitter-9908189.html. (01-08-2017).

[5] https://www.sunshinecoastdaily.com.au/news/embarrassing-youth-name-shame-laws-not-answer/2036477/. (01-08-2017).

[6] http://www.stuff.co.nz/technology/75684067/when-is-it-ok-to-name-and-shame-people-on-social-media. (01-08-2017).

[7] http://cornell.lawreviewnetwork.com/files/2013/02/Greene-Boehm-final.pdf. (01-08-2017).

[8] http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/name-and-shame. (01-08-2017).

Public exposure penalties are no invention of the late twentieth century. In the medieval era the pillory, a device made of a wooden or metal framework erected on a post, with holes for securing the head and hands, was used for punishing by public humiliation and often further physical abuse. Pillories were set up to hold people, for example, in marketplaces. They were often placed on platforms to increase public visibility of the person. Often a placard detailing the crime was placed nearby.

Based on Elias' famous book *The civilizing process,* SCHEFF (2013: 117) concludes that "as physical punishment decreased shame became increasingly dominant as the main agent of social control." Today the physical appearance of offenders is replaced by their names. The pillory is replaced by the media or by press releases and websites provided by legal authorities. And the visitors in the marketplace have developed into a worldwide and mostly anonymous audience.

3. The function of shame penalties

According to KARP (1998: 280), shame is a fundamental aspect of human existence: shame is felt by those who care deeply about the relationships they are in and do not wish to mar them. Shame is felt when one is concerned about social status. One may even feel ashamed by the knowledge that complete strangers hold a low opinion of one's behavior. […] The penalties are meant to communicate that the offence has a moral and social nature in addition to its legal content.

It is important to note that the use of *name and shame* strategies in the media has to be distinguished from *name and shame* penalties by the legal authorities, although it can be more effective if the publicity is carried in the media. "Media publicity surrounding a conviction does not constitute punishment in the usual sense of the word" (ROWBOTTOM 2013: 18). However, media publicity can provide a supplementary informal sanction for a violation of the law, since the risk of public shame is part of the law's system of deterrents. The difference between *name and shame* strategies in the media and *name and shame* penalties in a legal context is first of all to be found in different aims. Although aims like *punish* and *criticise* play an important role in the media, we must not forget that the dominating relation in media discourse is that between editor and audience, not between editor and offender. Therefore the major aim is to inform, and if the offender happens to be a celebrity or another well-known person from public life it may also be to entertain the audience. So publicity of an offender serves as a means to achieve the goals of journalism. The effect on the offender may nevertheless be the same, namely feeling shame. Many prominent figures or companies therefore seek to win back their good name and reputation as

members of society and react with more or less elaborate public apologies. The question is in how far public apologies can signal sincere shame in times in which this practice seems to have become a routine form of reaction to naming and shaming.

In the legal context, *name and shame* strategies are one form of public exposure penalties. In contrast to media exposure, the relation here is one between the legal authorities and the offender. The public forms part of the punishment procedure and serves as witness. *To name and shame* is, as far as the legal context is concerned, an institutionalised act. An interesting point, however, is that in contrast to institutionalised and ritual speech acts like *I sentence you to 10 years,* there is, to my knowledge, no institutionalised speech act like *I name and shame you for having done this or that.* The announcement of the penalty is linguistically realised without a performative verb. This can, for example, be seen in so-called *name and shame* lists which contain the names of tax defaulters. In the following example from Australia, the list is announced as follows:

If you owe more than $10,000 to the Northern Territory Government your name may be published on the name and shame list. […] Your name will remain on the list until the owed fines are paid.[9]

The example shows that in order to identify the function of names in this list the context has to be taken into consideration. In other words, the framing context of a name list is essential for its interpretation, since the persons whose names are listed have nothing in common except their status as tax defaulters. However, an internal structure of such a list may be provided by the readers of these lists, who will soon find ranking structures like the top-ten tax defaulters, the worst drink-drive offenders, and so on.

4. Controversial aspects of *naming and shaming*

Naming and shaming still arouses controversy, and not all countries use it. According to ROWBOTTOM (2013: 19) there are a number of criticisms that can be advanced against publicity as a formal or informal sanction:

a) It is, for example, not clear whether naming and shaming will be effective and the publicity may be counterproductive. It may fail to trigger the desired social response.

b) Naming and shaming may also highlight the frequency with which the norm is broken, and thereby normalise and make more acceptable the very behaviour regarded by the authorities as shameful.

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[9] https://nt.gov.au/law/processes/fines-name-and-shame-list. (01-08-2017).

c) *Naming and shaming* practices may be too effective and undermine the goal of rehabilitation. The social stigma generated by naming and shaming an individual may be so great that the person has difficulty putting past mistakes behind them and being accepted by a wider community.

d) Deeper problems arise when the media act more independently of the state and take a proactive role in deciding when people should be subject to censure and stigmatised as criminals.

Finally, there is at least a theoretical possibility that a person's name may at the same time appear on different lists, for example one for tax defaulters, one for drink-drivers and one for high water consumers. How much shame is possible at all? In the digital world, in which the name becomes more and more separated from the real person, an endless list of shame penalties is possible. From a linguistic point of view, the name of a person then serves as a kind of collective term for different social identities, which is reflected in partitive constructions like *drink-driver Jones*, *tax dodger Jones, high water consumer Jones,* and so on.

5. Concluding remarks

Summing up, *naming and shaming* as a legal and journalistic strategy is a relatively new phenomenon in our media-driven world, although it stands symbolically for the mediaeval pillory. The new aspect is that today the name rather than the name bearer is used as a medium to experience and convey social meaning. Given the limitations of the data, the findings can only be read as indications of trends in social behaviour and legal penalties. Future research on *name and shame* strategies should give explicit attention to concrete situations and specific uses of this strategy as indicators of new symbolic functions of names. It would also be interesting to compare *name and shame* with *name and praise* strategies, which are used in some countries to encourage, for example, tax payment.

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Abstract

The way names are used in society is central to the process of constructing individual identities within specific social figurations and contexts in order to foreground them with reference to the matter in hand. If the matter in hand is a deviation from certain standards of social behaviour or decency, public authorities use, among others, *name and shame* strategies as a form of punishment. These strategies disclose information about an identified person or body, either seeking to induce shame in that person, or at least express a judgement that the person ought to feel ashamed of themselves. While the legal authority can provide publicity through its own press releases and websites, it can be more effective if the publicity is carried in the media. As a result, the offender's status in the community is diminished. Viewing *name and shame* strategies as a form of modern pillorying, the present study seeks to find out how name usage in today's media-driven society is intertwined with various social-symbolic functions.

Keywords: identity, media-driven society, name and shame, symbolic function of names

Yolanda Guillermina López Franco

Une enquête socioanthroponymique finiséculaire : la perception des prénoms dans huit communes de l'Hérault, France, en 1995. Une méthodologie toujours en vigueur

1. Cadrage théorique de cette contribution

Les bases théoriques sur lesquelles se fonde ce travail sont les études de l'onomastique classique, spécialement française (cf. FABRE 1987, VAN LANGENDONCK 2007), de la pragmasémantique (KLEIBER 1995, JONASSON 1994, GARY-PRIEUR 1994) et de la socionomastique (cf. HOUGH–IZDEBSKA 2016, TORT 2014), notamment des travaux prégnants (AINIALA–SJÖBLOM 2014, ALDRIN 2011, BRAMWELL 2012, FELECAN–BUGHEȘIU 2016, JIMÉNEZ–LACHINO-LANCHINO 2013). Les présupposés sous-jacents sont que le nom propre – et par conséquent le prénom – est un signe linguistique à part entière, et que c'est aussi un bien symbolique, culturel, obligatoire et gratuit dont le choix synthétise le projet parental de ceux qui prénomment l'enfant.

D'autres bases théorico-méthodologiques du travail sont le concept d'imaginaires linguistiques (BRANCA-ROSOFF 1996, HOUDEBINE 2002), et la réflexion autour de l'enquête sociolinguistique (CALVET–DUMONT 1999) héritière des réalisateurs des atlas linguistiques des XIXe et XXe siècles.

Cette contribution voudrait s'inscrire dans cette lignée disciplinaire, et montrer comment l'application d'une méthodologie conçue avec soin peut bien être en vigueur une vingtaine d'années après et permettre de tester dans l'usage réel certains aspects théoriques.

2. L'enquête dans 8 communes de l'Hérault, en Languedoc, France, en 1995

L'enquête ici présentée a été réalisée dans le cadre d'une thèse en sciences du langage, dirigée par M. Paul Fabre, professeur émérite de l'Université de Montpellier III. Elle correspond au 2e volume de l'ouvrage appelé *Le prénom : situation onomastique et attitudes socioculturelles. L'exemple d'un corpus en Languedoc.* Elle a été soutenue en 1997 et publiée en 2001.[1]

Après avoir analysé un corpus de 10668 actes de naissance de l'état civil – premier volume – les objectifs poursuivis avec l'enquête sociolinguistique

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[1] ISBN : 978-2284-01676-6. Référence ANRT : 29160. Dans la collection « Thèse à la carte », ISBN : 978-2-7295-3143-0

étaient de cerner certains aspects de la prénomination auprès de la même population étudiée, parmi lesquels se trouvaient : a) les critères de choix des prénoms ; b) la perception du genre grammatical, spécialement le statut des prénoms épicènes ; c) la perception de l'évolution des cycles d'attribution et d'usage à l'intérieur de paramètres spatio-temporels ; d) leur opinion quant aux conséquences du choix prénominal dans la vie quotidienne du porteur ; et e) leur idée des phénomènes de dérivation et de composition, ainsi que des variations dans la forme graphique de certaines unités. L'enquête visait une partie de la compétence onomastique, des attitudes et des imaginaires linguistiques[2] des locuteurs interrogés.

3. Méthodologie

3.1. Le questionnaire

Un questionnaire en deux parties a été élaboré : la première comportait des questions fermées, plus faciles à traiter du point de vue statistique ; et la deuxième était constituée par un certain nombre de questions ouvertes presque toutes, plus complexes à examiner mais qui fourniraient des informations plus riches (BOUKOUS 1999). Il a été testé plusieurs fois afin d'arriver à la version définitive, fixée après 3 versions préliminaires. On voulait un temps de passation de 15 à 20 minutes pour que l'informateur arrive au bout des questions sans se fatiguer. On a appliqué la première partie à la moitié de locuteurs, et la deuxième à l'autre moitié.[3]

La première partie de ce questionnaire présentait un micro-corpus extrait du grand corpus d'actes de naissance étudié. Il comportait : i) les prénoms les plus attribués par génération tout au long du XXe siècle,[4] selon les proportions issues des résultats statistiques tirés des actes d'état civil ; ii) 5 hapax féminins et 4 masculins susceptibles de provoquer des réactions chez les informateurs à cause de leur étrangeté pour l'époque ; iii) les 3 unités épicènes les plus usuelles de la période, *Claude, Dominique* et *Camille,* ainsi que iv) les « piliers » de la prénomination française, *Jean, Pierre, Marie et Jeanne.* L'informateur devait faire des classements dans le temps et dans l'espace – prénoms considérés

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[2] ANNE-MARIE HOUDEBINE-GRAVAUD (2002 : 9–21) parle d'« imaginaire linguistique », au singulier. Puisque le concept comporte, entre autres, le discours épilinguistique et des connotations plus ou moins partagées par la communauté linguistique, je préfère en parler ici au pluriel. Sonia Branca-Rosoff (1996 : 79) affirme : « Les notions de *représentation* et d'*imaginaire* langagiers désignent l'ensemble des images que les locuteurs associent aux langues qu'ils pratiquent, qu'il s'agisse de valeur, d'esthétique, de sentiment normatif, ou plus largement, métalinguistique ».

[3] Pour une meilleure compréhension, le questionnaire est placé en annexe.

[4] J'ai considéré une génération tous les 30 ans : 1900–1930, 1935–1960 et 1965–1993.

comme « français », « régionaux » ou « étrangers » / prénoms « vieux », « normaux » ou « à la mode » – ainsi que des associations libres autour des unités présentées qui pourraient montrer certains imaginaires socioculturels et sociolinguistiques de la population interrogée.

Après, l'informateur devait marquer ses 5 prénoms préférés de la liste, puis, essayer de relier à leur base lexicale d'autres prénoms, dérivés ou doublets étymologiques. Et finalement, face à une liste d'emprunts, il devait dire si ces unités étaient en français ; autrement il fallait signaler la langue dans laquelle ils se présentaient (pas l'étymologie). C'était pour déterminer si ces prénoms étaient déjà assimilés à la langue française dans le lexique mental des locuteurs ou bien, si elles étaient encore perçues comme étrangères.

La deuxième partie du questionnaire était plutôt un guide d'entretien semi-structuré, étant constitué pour la plupart par des questions ouvertes. Les informations recherchées concernaient la perception de l'interviewé quant à la transmission des prénoms reçus et donnés par lui, les critères de choix mis en œuvre, la perception d'une évolution dans les pratiques, et l'influence des prénoms sur la vie des porteurs. Enfin, on lui demandait de choisir une forme graphique parmi plusieurs, d'unités récemment entrées dans l'usage.

3.2. La population

Pour établir le profil des informateurs, j'ai décidé de contrôler 4 variables sociolinguistiques : leur sexe (masculin ou féminin), leur âge (de 18 à 29 ans, de 30 à 49 ans et de 50 ans et plus), leur niveau d'instruction formelle (d'aucun au certificat d'études, du brevet au baccalauréat, et diplômés du supérieur), finalement, leur commune de naissance ou de résidence. Les informateurs qui n'étaient pas natifs de la commune observée devaient y habiter de façon permanente depuis au moins 10 ans.

Ces 8 communes de l'Hérault étaient les mêmes où les actes d'état civil ont été collectés : 1) Béziers, 2) Caux, 3) Le Caylar, 4) Mauguio, 5) Montpellier, 6) Saint-Gervais-sur-Mare, 7) Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert et 8) Saint-Pons-de-Thomières.[5]

Les 3 premières variables établissaient 18 catégories d'informateurs qui constitueraient un échantillon stratifié à fixation uniforme (AZORÍN 1972 : 14 ; JAVEAU–VIGNERON 1989 : 85).[6] Pour bien identifier chaque répondant

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[5] Cf. la carte située en annexe. Elle a été élaborée par la D.S.T., Atelier de Cartographie du Conseil Général de l'Hérault, et est montrée ici seulement pour faciliter la compréhention.

[6] Les sources de la méthodologie de l'enquête, de l'échantillonnage et des traitements statistiques des données textuelles, employées dans le travail sont bien plus nombreuses, mais l'espace ici alloué ne me permet pas de les citer toutes.

sans pour autant briser son anonymat, j'ai créé un code unique qui signalait immédiatement les caractéristiques de chacun.

On a interrogé un même nombre d'informateurs par commune, au total 36, dont 18 répondraient au questionnaire A (questions ouvertes) et 18 au questionnaire B (questions fermées). Ceci a donné un total de 288 entretiens retenus sur les plus de 300 que j'ai effectivement réalisés. Chacune des catégories avait 16 informateurs, ce qui donnait 144 hommes et 144 femmes distribués uniformément : 96 par classe d'âge et de niveau d'instruction. Les petites communes étaient surreprésentées afin d'y cerner plus clairement les informations recherchées. L'enquête ne voulait pas être démonstrative, mais bien représentative et illustrative des variables contrôlées (DEVILLE 1990 : 23–26).

Je voulais avoir un indicateur de la population étrangère immigrée de longue date. Par conséquent, j'ai cherché à avoir un informateur aux caractéristiques fixées par catégorie dans les 8 communes. Mais la réalité du terrain s'est avérée tout autre : surtout dans les petits villages il était difficile voire impossible de trouver des immigrés ayant certains traits ciblés. J'ai dû donc y renoncer dans certains cas et les « remplacer » par des Français dits « de souche ». Au total, dans l'échantillon il y a 20 immigrés, ayant fourni des informations à titre indicatif.

Pour obtenir des renseignements complémentaires, j'ai demandé dans le signalétique du questionnaire la religion pratiquée, les langues connues, la catégorie socioprofessionnelle d'appartenance, ainsi que les voyages ou les séjours à l'étranger vécus au cours de la vie. Ces données n'ont pas fait l'objet de traitements statistiques mais elles ont aidé à comprendre certaines réponses.

Les techniques employées pour aborder les locuteurs ont été celle du sondage aléatoire et celle de « boule de neige », surtout dans les communes les plus petites, car un informateur m'envoyait ou me présentait à un autre ayant les caractéristiques qui m'intéressaient. Le but de cette technique est « d'estimer des proportions de sous-populations au sein de la population échantillonnée » (WILHELM 2014 : 5). Elle se prêtait donc particulièrement bien aux objectifs de l'enquête.

Celle-ci a eu lieu entre avril et août 1995, un peu partout, là où je trouvais des locuteurs qui acceptaient de répondre au questionnaire. Les réponses ont été transcrites à la main par l'enquêtrice – moi-même —afin d'éviter le plus possible de refus ou d'abandons en cours d'entretien.

Lorsque tous les questionnaires ont été collectés, les réponses ont été saisies dans deux bases de données informatisées, créées à l'aide d'un logiciel de

traitement d'enquêtes et de données textuelles. Puis j'en ai tiré les résultats pertinents, tout aussi bien quantitatifs que qualitatifs.

4. Quelques résultats à titre d'exemple

N'ayant pas ici de place pour rendre compte de tous les résultats obtenus,[7] je vais citer quelques exemples qui me semblent saillants. Le questionnaire B tout d'abord (questions fermées).

Commençons par le **genre grammatical** attribué aux prénoms du micro-corpus. Je m'attendais à ce que, mis à part les épicènes, *Claude, Dominique* et *Camille,* toutes les unités soient unanimement distribuées en masculines ou féminines. Mais les réponses sont plus nuancées. En effet, certains locuteurs ont trouvé que *Marie* et *Pierre,* par exemple, sont épicènes dans les prénoms composés : *Marie-Pierre,* féminin, ou *Pierre-Marie,* masculin, selon l'ordre syntaxique choisi. On a également trouvé que des unités comme *André,* clairement masculines par écrit, sont épicènes à l'oral : *Andrée,* le féminin, se prononçant de la même façon (puisqu'homophone). Par ailleurs, même si tout le monde coïncide en ce que *Dominique* est épicène, *Claude* est « plutôt masculin » et *Camille* « plutôt féminin ». Lorsqu'on met en rapport ces imaginaires avec les résultats statistiques issus du corpus d'actes de naissance d'état civil, on constate que la distribution est bien celle que les informateurs signalent : en 1993, 11 sur les 12 *Camille* recensés sont des filles.

Si l'on observe maintenant la **distribution dans l'espace imaginé**, les trois catégories de prénoms « français », « méridionaux » et « étrangers » sont encore plus perméables que celles du genre grammatical : elles montrent un continuum, pas de frontières closes. Voici quelques exemples. Les unités qu'on a considérées comme les plus françaises sont *Laurent / Claude* (86%), *Jean* (76%) et *Pierre / Jeanne* (71%). *Marie* est considéré français seulement par les 58% des informateurs. C'est que beaucoup le considèrent le plus « universel » de tous, étant à la fois « régional », « français » et « étranger ». Certains locuteurs l'ont même qualifié de « méditerranéen » ou d'« espagnol ».

Une parenthèse par rapport à cette dernière interprétation : dans des communes comme Mauguio, il y a eu une très forte immigration espagnole, commencée lors de la chute de la République face aux troupes de Franco, et qui a continué jusque dans les années 1980. Quelques femmes espagnoles qui s'y sont installées s'appelaient *María*. Une surgénéralisation est alors établie et il en découle que *Marie* est considéré un prénom espagnol, malgré sa forme française. Ce phénomène de surgénéralisation conduit à la création de stéréotypes dans les imaginaires entourant les prénoms à une certaine époque : ainsi en 1995

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[7] Pour cela, je renvoie les intéressés au 2ᵉ volume de la thèse.

Conchita était la bonne espagnole, *Firmin,* le domestique, *Nestor,* le chauffeur, *Marie-Chantal,* la femme BCBG ou *Jacques* le paysan.

Mais revenons aux perceptions des locuteurs. Le prénom le plus « régional » pour eux est *Étiennette.* Il a la connotation de très vieux prénom ne pouvant pas concurrencer son doublet étymologique, *Stéphanie,* très porté dans les années 1990, lorsque l'enquête a été menée. Qui plus est, dans la petite ville de Pézenas, près de la commune de Caux, il y a une représentation carnavalesque appelée « le chevalet de Pézenas » dont les protagonistes sont *Estiénou* et *Estienette.* *Étiennette* peut donc seulement être « régional ».

Quant aux unités considérées les plus « étrangères » du micro-corpus, voici juste un exemple : *Plume,* un hapax choisi parce qu'il pourrait susciter des réactions. En effet, il est surprenant voire choquant pour les gens interviewées dont les 53% n'ont pas fourni de réponse pour cet item, et un tiers d'entre elles a affirmé que ce n'était « pas un prénom » – tellement il semblait « étranger » à leur vocabulaire prénominal qu'il soit actif ou passif.

En ce qui concerne la **distribution des unités dans le temps**, force est de constater que, dans les perceptions des locuteurs, il n'y a pas de frontières claires entre les catégories des prénoms « vieux » « normaux » ou « à la mode » : c'est aussi un continuum. Comme signalé ci-dessus, les prénoms les plus portés par génération, selon les résultats du corpus d'actes de naissance, ont été présentés aux informateurs. Pour m'assurer de la validité de ces données, j'ai révisé celles tirées des statistiques nationales (BESNARD–DESPLANQUES 1995) qui ont confirmé mes résultats.[8]

D'après les réponses des informateurs, un prénom « normal » signifiait 'en usage actuellement', 'porté par des connaissances vivantes'. Dans cette catégorie, les plus cités ont été *Françoise* (64%), *Christine, Jacques, Dominique et Michèle.* Comme lors de l'évaluation du paramètre spatial, *Marie* a été considéré « de tous les temps » par les 22% des interrogés.

Qu'était un prénom « vieux » en 1995 ? En premier terme, *Marguerite* (88% des réponses) et, ensuite, *Jeanne* et *André.* Parmi les hapax présentés, les plus « vieux » étaient *Étiennette* (92%) et *Ferdinand.*

Les prénoms « nouveaux » à la fin du siècle dernier étaient ceux « à la mode » selon les locuteurs. Les plus clasés de cette manière ont été *Julie* (53%), *Julien, Stéphanie, Nicolas* et *Camille.*

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[8] Actuellement il y a le « Fichier des prénoms. Édition 2016. État civil » qui contient ceux qui ont été attribués en France entre 1900 et 2015, tout aussi bien en général que par département. Il est disponible dans le site de l'INSEE : https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2540004 [consulté le 9 août 2017]. En 1995 cela n'était même pas imaginable.

Il est certain qu'en 2017 les perceptions ont forcément changé et certaines unités lexicales estimées « vieilles » au moment de l'enquête sont actuellement « à la mode ». Comme *Rose*, par exemple, qui est aujourd'hui très attribué.[9] Tandis que celles qui étaient des « prénoms d'enfants » en 1995 sont sans doute perçues de nos jours comme « normales » voire « vieilles ». Comme on sait, le phénomène social de la mode est cyclique et certains prénoms reviennent au bout de quatre générations.

Voici les 5 **critères de choix** les plus mentionnés par les informateurs lorsqu'ils ont été interrogés à propos de la manière dont ils avaient trouvé les prénoms de leurs enfants ou la raison de ceux qu'ils portaient.

Le premier était le « goût personnel » : l'interrogé trouvait « joli » un certain prénom. Souvent, il se rendait compte par la suite qu'il était « dans l'air du temps », que c'était un prénom à la mode.

Le critère de l'accord avec le / la partenaire a eu la même fréquence que le précédent : sans l'accord de l'autre, il n'y a pas de choix possible. Voici la manifestation du *projet parental* (OFFROY 1992), que l'on retrouvera ci-dessous, lorsqu'on parlera du quatrième critère.

Le deuxième critère le plus fréquent est celui de la tradition familiale ou culturelle : on transmet un prénom familial, en particulier d'un grand-père ou d'une grand-mère qui peut être aussi le parrain ou la marraine de l'enfant prénommé. Les informateurs considèrent important de choisir un prénom qui a une histoire dans la langue, dans la région, dans le pays ou dans la religion pratiquée. Ils n'attribueraient pas un prénom étranger à leurs traditions.

Le troisième critère de choix le plus cité est celui de la signification, étymologique – connue ou supposée – ou affective, lorsque le prénom renvoie à un être aimé ou important dans la propre histoire de vie.

La quatrième raison pour choisir un prénom est le propre projet parental, spécialement lorsque le couple est mixte du point de vue linguistico-culturel : on choisit plus attentivement, on fait des compromis, on préserve des racines familiales ou ethniques.

Le dernier critère à citer ici est le « non-choix », ce qui veut dire que la personne interrogée n'a pas choisi le prénom de son enfant, soit parce qu'on ne l'a pas laissée choisir (quelqu'un d'autre a imposé sa volonté), soit parce que le couple n'arrivait pas à se prononcer et a trouvé un mécanisme alternatif de prise de décision. On m'a raconté l'anecdote d'un couple qui, ne sachant pas quel

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[9] Cf. le graphe du site https://dataaddict.fr/prenoms/#rose-f qui montre le nombre d'attributions de cette unité entre 1945 et 2015, selon le « Fichier des prénoms » de l'INSEE, mentionné dans la note précédente. [Consultation faite le 9 août 2017.]

prénom donner à son garçon, a écrit sur des bouts de papier les 5 candidats possibles, a posé dessus un morceau de sucre, et a ensuite appelé le chien. L'animal s'est intéressé à l'un de ces morceaux et le choix était fait : ils ont attribué à leur fils le prénom qui était écrit dessus !

Avant de parler des apprentissages tirés de cette enquête, je mentionne deux exemples d'**associations libres** établies par les locuteurs devant un certain prénom. Le premier est *Marguerite* qui évoque « la vache de Fernandel » parce que dans le film *La vache et le prisonnier* (1959) le protagoniste, incarné par le célèbre acteur, conduit une vache à travers les terres afin d'échapper aux nazis. Et la vache s'appelle *Marguerite*. Le prénom fait aussi penser à *La reine Margot,* roman de Dumas père, adapté au cinéma en 1994, dont l'actrice principale était Isabelle Adjani, très populaire à l'époque. On l'associe également à des porteuses célèbres (Duras ou Yourcenar), à la fleur, et aux harkis, soldats algériens musulmans, souvent enrôlés de force, qui étaient supplétifs dans l'armée française. Lors de l'indépendance, considérés des traitres par leurs compatriotes, se sont réfugiés en France. L'un des camps se trouvait près de Saint-Pons-de-Thomières où l'enquête s'est déroulée. Ces harkis ont parfois manifesté leur adhésion à leur nouvelle patrie par le choix de prénoms français, attribués en décalage temporel par rapport aux choix des autres Français. Une *Marguerite* jeune pouvait seulement être fille d'harki dans cette commune.[10]

Le deuxième exemple d'associations libres déclenchées par un prénom est celui de *Jean*. Pour les informateurs, il évoque l'apôtre évangéliste, Saint-Jean-Baptiste, les feux de la Saint-Jean – pratique festive du solstice d'été, préchrétienne – et des personnages comme Jean Valjean (*Les Misérables* d'Hugo), Jean de Florette (du film de Marcel Pagnol, 1952, paru après en tant que roman) ou Petit Jean *(Robin des Bois)*.

Il va sans dire que, parmi les associations suscitées par la mention des prénoms *Marguerite* et *Jean,* revenait souvent l'image de connaissances, d'amis ou de membres de la famille des locuteurs.

Revenons à l'objectif de ce symposium qui est de discuter le statut et les tâches de la socioonomastique et de la socioanthroponymie.

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[10] À mon avis, il y a une autre raison pour que les familles harkis aient choisi *Marguerite* ou *Rose* : ce sont des noms des fleurs. Tous les noms personnels arabes (« *ism* ») sont des noms de la langue générale. Ils sont sémantiquement transparents et leur sens joue un rôle important dans le choix. Ce trait de la langue arabe, qu'on peut retrouver dans beaucoup d'autres et qui semble être la règle (Caprini 2001), confirme le fait qu'il y a une seule catégorie grammaticale du nom, et un continuum dans les usages.

5. Brève discussion

Il me semble que les apprentissages issus de la réalisation de cette enquête socioanthroponymique de la fin du XXe siècle, depuis sa conception jusqu'à l'obtention des résultats, sont nombreux. Je n'en mentionnerai que deux.

En premier terme, à propos de l'application de l'instrument : le fait d'être moi-même la seule enquêtrice avait l'avantage de connaître personnellement tous les informateurs et de pouvoir compter sur les données paralinguistiques (gestes, intonations, apparence de l'informateur, etc.) parce que j'étais présente au moment des interactions.

Lorsqu'on engage une équipe d'enquêteurs, le chercheur ne sait pas comment se sont déroulés les échanges, sauf si l'on prend des vidéos. À l'époque, ce n'était pas concevable, la technologie n'étant pas si développée ni si accessible qu'aujourd'hui. Mais même de nos jours, annoncer que l'on prendra en vidéo l'entretien intimide, surtout les personnes âgées, et spécialement dans les petits villages. Le seul inconvénient d'être une seule enquêtrice est que le travail est immense parce qu'une seule personne fait tout.

Le deuxième apprentissage important à partager est que la technique d'enquête dite « boule de neige » est très utile lorsqu'il s'agit d'obtenir des entretiens de façon relativement simple et rapide parce que les nouveaux informateurs sont des connaissances des précédents et sont donc moins méfiants puisque c'est quelqu'un de connu qui présente l'enquêtrice.

Par ailleurs et de façon plus générale, le travail sur le terrain permet parfois de prouver des faits de langue signalés par les théories. Par exemple, l'enquête semble confirmer qu'au moins une partie de la signification du prénom est d'ordre grammatical (Van Langendonck 2007: 31). Lorsque les locuteurs ont été interrogés à propos de *Josquin,* c'était pour la plupart la première fois qu'ils l'entendaient. Les 72% l'ont classé parmi les prénoms masculins grâce à son suffixe *-in* qui, selon leur compétence onomastique – et lexicale – les conduisait à le placer, par analogie, dans la série de *Quentin, Martin* ou *Justin,* tous masculins.

Sur le terrain j'ai pu également constater que les catégories de perception dans le temps, dans l'espace et le genre grammatical ne sont pas étanches : c'est un continuum entre deux pôles ('vieux' – 'à la mode' / 'régional' – 'étranger' / 'masculin' – 'féminin'). Et le passage de l'une à l'autre dépend des usages vécus par la personne, plus ou moins partagés par la communauté linguistique. Les réponses révèlent donc la complexité des faits onomastiques.

Une autre constatation faite concerne la question sociolinguistique des normes et des traditions discursives. En effet, si les informateurs ont été si surpris voire choqués par la présence d'une unité telle que *Plume* parmi des prénoms

bien connus, c'est parce que la notion d'une division entre « noms propres » et « noms communs » persiste dans leurs imaginaires linguistiques. Elle est encore très ancrée par le prestige de son origine antique. Et pourtant, les gens admettent bien des prénoms tels que *Perle, Rose* ou *Cerise*. La différence réside en ce que ces dernières unités lexicales ont une tradition plus ou moins ancienne dans leur usage en tant que prénoms, tradition que *Plume* n'a pas. C'est donc bien la preuve qu'il y a une seule catégorie du nom et que c'est l'usage qui le rend « propre » ou « commun », comme l'affirment WILLY VAN LANGENDONCK (2007) ou PAUL FABRE (1980), ce dernier avec son concept du « seuil du nom ».

Dans les entretiens, j'ai pu observer combien les prénoms peuvent acquérir des connotations et des associations extrêmement riches des points de vue ethnosocioculturel, historique, linguistique et affectif. Ils peuvent évoquer une grande quantité d'images et d'expériences collectives qui auront une certaine influence sur les choix. Ils rappellent à la mémoire le patrimoine, dans un sens large : musique, cinéma, littérature, histoire, etc. Côté affectif, ils convoquent ici et maintenant l'image de personnes chères ou détestées, importantes dans l'histoire de vie des locuteurs d'une langue. Quelques évocations sont partagées, comme le montre l'anecdote racontée par une dame âgée qui disait qu'en 1944, sous l'occupation allemande, certaines familles attribuaient à leurs filles les prénoms *Victoire* ou *France* pour montrer discrètement leur patriotisme.

6. Conclusions

Vingt ans après la soutenance de cette thèse, la relecture du deuxième volume montre que la méthodologie employée est encore en vigueur. Il aurait fallu pénétrer plus en avant dans l'analyse de l'influence des variables sociolinguistiques contrôlées. Ni le temps ni l'espace ne me l'ont alors permis. Si c'était à refaire, la thèse aurait été plus brève mais plus profonde.

Revenant au présent, il me semble important de réaliser beaucoup de travaux de terrain qui exploreraient d'autres espaces contemporains, et qui permettraient de tester dans leur usage réel certaines hypothèses théoriques. Il serait nécessaire de constituer de véritables équipes de recherche collaboratives qui travailleraient en synergie, ce qui permettrait de contrecarrer les inconvénients d'être plusieurs enquêteurs dans un même projet. Il faudrait également continuer à explorer diverses voies méthodologiques, comme : a) l'enquête en ligne ou par courriel, b) les groupes de discussion focalisée (ALDRIN 2011), les visées pluriculturelles et plurilinguistiques (BRAMWELL 2012), ou l'analyse d'histoires de vie (JIMÉNEZ–LACHINO-LACHINO 2013).

Ce qui nous prouve que la socioanthroponymie a encore de beaux jours devant elle.

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Résumé

L'objectif de cette contribution est de montrer la méthodologie d'une enquête socioanthroponymique qui s'est déroulée en 1995, dans huit communes du département de l'Hérault (France). Les trois variables étudiées ont été le sexe, l'âge et le niveau d'instruction. Près de 300 informateurs (échantillonnage stratifié) appartenant aux 18 catégories issues de la combinaison des variables parlent de leur vision des prénoms et de l'acte de la prénomination : perception et transmission de leurs prénoms, critères de choix pour prénommer leurs

enfants, conséquences d'un prénom original sur le porteur, changements observés dans l'attribution et dans le lexique prénominal. Devant un micro-corpus, ils montrent leurs imaginaires en faisant des associations libres. Enfin, ils mettent en évidence leur connaissance du corpus quant à la morphologie prénominale. Le travail montre que la communauté linguistique impose des limites à l'intérieur desquelles l'individu exerce sa liberté de choix et vit l'acte de la prénomination, si important dans la vie des êtres humains. Les résultats confirment certains aspects théoriques dans les usages réels à travers les réponses des locuteurs. Finalement 20 ans après la réalisation de cette enquête, la méthodologie employée est encore en vigueur.

Mots-clés : Socioanthroponymie, Prénoms, Attitudes socioculturelles, Enquête sociolinguistique, France, XXe siècle.

Annexe. Questionnaire A (Questions ouvertes)

LES PRÉNOMS DANS L'HERAULT

Date: _____

Votre prénom: _____

Prénom de votre père: _____

Prénom de votre mère: _____

Sexe: **M   F**

Niveau d'études: Aucun - CEP _____
Brevet - Bac _____
Université _____

Code: _____

Vous avez entre:
18-29 ans: _____
30-49 ans: _____
50 ans et +: _____

Vous habitez la région depuis _____ ans.

Vous êtes né(e) à: _____

Lieu de naissance   de votre père: _____
de votre mère: _____

Votre profession: _____

Vous parlez: occitan   catalan
italien   anglais
portugais   allemand
espagnol   arabe
autre: _____

Votre religion: _____

1. En dehors de votre premier prénom, en avez-vous d'autres ? **Oui / Non**   Les utilisez-vous ? **Oui / Non**   Quelqu'un de votre famille le(s) porte ? **Oui / Non**.

2. Aimez-vous le(s) prénom(s) que l'on vous a donné(s) ? **Oui / Non**   Pourquoi ?

3. Avez-vous des enfants ? **Oui / Non**   Comment s'appellent-ils ?   Où iriez-vous chercher (avez-vous trouvé) des prénoms pour vos propres enfants ?

4. Donneriez-vous à vos enfants un prénom étranger (Français:) **anglais** ☐, **espagnol** ☐, **arabe** ☐, p. ex. ? / (pour les immigrés:) **français** ☐ ou autre ? ☐ **Oui / Non**   Pourquoi ?

5. D'après vous, les prénoms choisis actuellement sont-ils très différents de ceux que l'on choisissait avant ? **Oui / Non**   Qu'est-ce qui a changé ?   **goûts** ☐   **mœurs** ☐   **société** ☐
autres réponses: _____
Depuis quand ?   **- de 10 ans** ☐   **10 à 20 ans** ☐   **+ de 20 ans** ☐

6. Considérez-vous que le prénom porté a des conséquences dans la vie de tous les jours (professionnelle, sociale ou privée) ? **Oui / Non**   Lesquelles ?

7. Un garçon qui porte un prénom très "original", se fait-il accepter par les autres personnes + **facilement** ☐ - **facilement** ☐ qu'une fille ? Raison possible ?
C'est la même chose ☐

8. Quels sont les prénoms les plus portés par les gens de votre âge ? **Filles:** _____
Garçons: _____

9. Si votre mari / femme était Etranger(e), quel type de prénoms donneriez-vous à vos enfants ?   Situation réelle ☐   Possibilité exclue ☐

Questionnaire A (verso)

10. Préférez-vous les prénoms **simples** ou les prénoms **composés** ? **c'est la même chose** ☐ **ça dépend du prénom** ☐ Pourquoi ?

11. Aimez-vous les prénoms comme *Claude ou Michel(le)*, qui peuvent nommer tout aussi bien des filles que des garçons ? **Oui / Non** Pourquoi ?

12. Quels sont pour vous les prénoms typiques du Languedoc ?

13. Quels sont les prénoms qui vous paraissent typiquement français ?

14. Citez deux exemples des prénoms qui vous paraissent typiquement étrangers ?
a) _____ b) _____

15. Pour vous, des prénoms comme *Jacky, Elisa ou Pauline*, sont-ils des prénoms **à part entière**, ou ce sont des **diminutifs** d'autres prénoms ?

16. Il y a des prénoms qui terminent en *-ette*, en *-ine*, en *-elle/-elle*, en *-ie* et en *-a*, lesquels préférez-vous ? Lesquels ne sont plus à la mode ?

-*ette*:   ► ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐   **démodés**
-*ine*:
-*èle/-elle*:   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
-*ie*:
-*a*:

17. Connaissez-vous d'autres prénoms dérivés des prénoms suivants ?:

- Marie   - Jean
- Jeanne   - Jacques
- Elisabeth   - François
- Catherine   - Louis
- Charlotte   - Florent
- Anne

18. Comment doit-on écrire en français les prénoms suivants:

- Cathie / Cathy   - Karine / Carine   - Maëva / Maëva   - Myriam / Maryam / Mérième
- Christelle / Chrystel / Chrystelle / Christel   - Louiza / Louisa   - Mohammed / Mohamed / Muhammad   - Ghislaine / Ghyslaine / Ghislène
- Laëtitia / Laëtitia / Lætitia   - Sarah / Sara   - Thibault / Thibaut / Thibaud   - Priscilla / Prescilia / Prescillia   - Jordan / Jordane
                                                                                                    - Matthieu / Mathieu
                                                                                                    - Kévin / Kevin

N. R. ☐

Questionnaire B (Questions fermées)

LES PRENOMS DANS L'HERAULT

Date _____

Votre prénom: _____

Vous avez entre: 18-29 ans: ___ 30-49 ans: ___ 50 ans et +: ___

Votre profession: _____

Prénom de votre père: _____

Vous habitez la région depuis _____ ans.

Vous parlez: occitan catalan

Prénom de votre mère: _____

Lieu de naissance de votre père: _____ de votre mère: _____

italien portugais espagnol

anglais allemand arabe

autre: _____

Sexe: M F

Niveau d'études: Aucun - CEP ___ Brevet - Bac ___ Université ___

Vous êtes né(e) à: _____

Code: _____

Votre religion: _____

Voici une liste de prénoms. **I.** Mettez une croix dans les cases qui vous semblent correspondre aux caractéristiques de chacun. (Pour l'instant, ne tenez pas compte de la colonne "ordre").

ORDRE	PRENOM	MASC.	FEM.	REGIONAL	FRANÇAIS	ETRANGER	A LA MODE	"NORMAL"	VIEUX	ASSOCIÉ A...
	André									
	Armandine									
	Camille									
	Christine									
	Claude									
	Dieudonné									
	Dominique									
	Etiennette									
	Ferdinand									
	Françoise									
	Jacques									
	Jean									
	Jeanne									
	Josquin									
	Julie									
	Julien									
	Laurent									
	Marguerite									
	Marie									
	Michel									
	Michèle									
	Monique									
	Nathalie									
	Nicolas									
	Oranne									
	Pierre									
	Plume									
	Rose									
	Stéphanie									
	Ulysse									

II. Sur la colonne de gauche, ordonnez hiérarchiquement les 5 prénoms que vous aimez le plus (le no. 1 = votre préféré).

III. S'il y en a que vous écrivez autrement, signalez-le sur la colonne vide.

Questionnaire B (verso)

IV. D'après vous, lesquels de ces prénoms ne sont pas français? Veuillez noter leur langue d'appartenance.

Anna
Audrey
Aurélia
Carmen
Elisabeth
Elsa
Emma
Evelyne
Fanny
Julia
Linda
Maëva
Magali
Maguelone
Maria
Nadia
Natacha
Nora
Patricia
Sabrina
Sandra
Sonia
Sophie
Vanessa

Dany
Dimitri
Eric
Francis
Franck
Guilhem
Jacky
Jonathan
Manuel
Marius
Patrice
Patrick
Quentin
Yann
Yannick
Yvan

V. Considérez-vous que les prénoms suivants dérivent d'autres prénoms? (si oui, duquel ou desquels).

Alice
Arlette
Caroline
Cathy
Christelle
Eliane
Elsa
Evelyne
Fanny
France
Gisèle
Jeannine
Juliette
Karine
Linda
Lise
Lola
Lorraine
Louiza
Manon
Marion
Muriel
Myriam
Nadia
Nadine
Nancy
Natacha
Nelly
Sonia
Tania

Dany
Florian
Francis
Franck
Geoffrey
Jacky
Jimmy
Johann
Jordi
Lionel
Loïc
Ludovic
Marcel
Robin
Sammy
Stéphane
Teddy
William
Yann

Carte des 8 communes du département de l'Hérault étudiées

Carte reproduite uniquement à des fins illustratives.
Source : D.S.T. Atelier de Cartographie du Conseil Général de l'Hérault –
1993

Linnea Gustafsson (Halmstad, Sweden)
Modern Nicknames in Sweden*
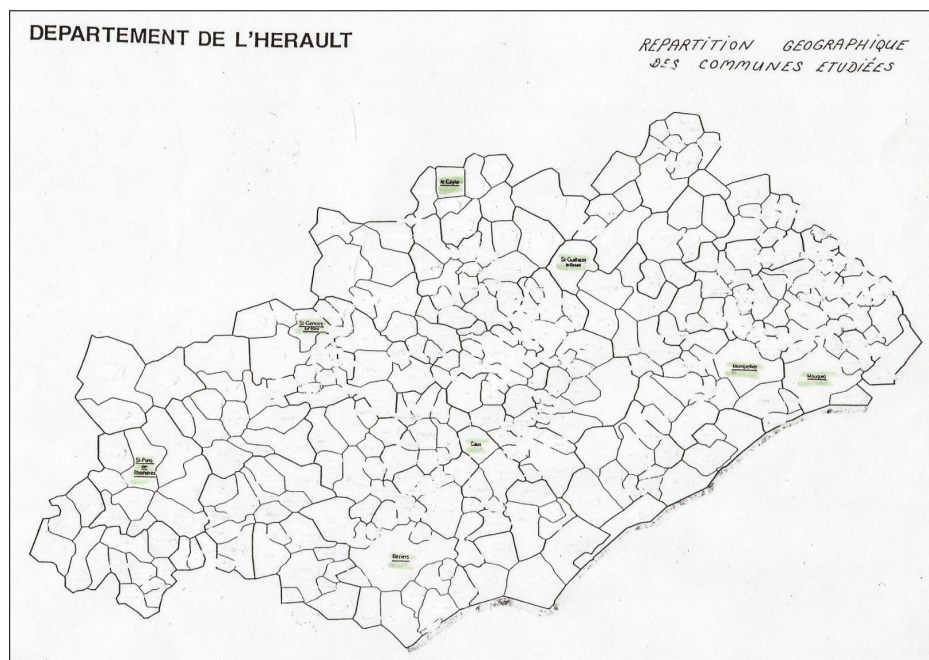
1. Introduction

Modern nicknames comprise a very common name group that does not always receive the attention it deserves. Perhaps this is because the names in this group are too common, they do not always exist in the written language and are therefore transient, or because they are difficult to define. To draw attention to this name group, this paper will consider the composition and function of Swedish nicknames, focusing specifically on addressing the following questions:

1. What types of nicknames are documented in the collected material?
2. In which environments are nicknames created?
3. What functions do nicknames have?
4. How can nicknames act as an identity marker in terms of gender identity and youth identity?

Regarding nickname delimitation, it is primarily the demarcation between first names and nicknames that needs to be discussed. The biggest difference between nicknames and first names is that the latter are official names and appear in birth registers. Nicknames do not have this status, which complicates their collection. It also means that nicknames may have more of a temporary and changeable nature, which can lead to a more permissive attitude towards nicknames than is the case with first names. Compared to first names, a higher degree of intimacy between sender and receiver is observed in the use of nicknames. A similarity between nicknames and first names is that they are both identifying names (LIDARÄNG 1982: 182, ALDRIN 2011: 225), but the process of identity construction itself may be different for each name group.

2. Some Theoretical Perspectives

In order to understand and analyze nicknames, theoretical perspectives are needed, for example from sociology, ethnology, psychology and linguistics. From these disciplines insights will be applied from pragmatics and name research, as well as drawing on different theoretical perspectives on power, identity and the interactional context as the basis for the analysis of the results.

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* This article is an English abridgment of a study originally published in Swedish (GUSTAFSSON 2016).

The context contributes to the meaning and understanding of personal names. The researcher therefore concurs with LEECH (1983: 13), who states that the context comprises basic background knowledge shared by the sender and receiver in an interaction, thus contributing to the intended understanding of the utterance.

The present study focuses on everyday discourse, which includes different areas such as school, work, family life and sports activities; in this paper, effort has been made to include all of these areas in the analysis. In discourse analysis based on the work of FAIRCLOUGH (see, for example, FAIRCLOUGH 1992), which often constitutes the linguistic starting point for the study of discourse as a cross-disciplinary subject, it is understood that language not only describes reality but also affects it; the researcher also ascribes to this perspective in the analysis of nicknames.

Communication theory also makes a contribution to the analysis in this paper. This model is based on the idea of a message being sent from the sender to the receiver, who understands it in the intended way (SCHRAMM 1954). The researcher would argue that the audience is also important since they participate in and influence the interaction through their presence (BELL 2009: 272). During a conversation, the relationship between participants is under constant negotiation and someone may be temporarily or permanently included or excluded from the formation of relations (ECKERT–McCONNELL-GINET 2003: 165).

Herein lies the identity process and the negotiation of this process, which is constantly ongoing at both the individual and collective levels. The analysis in this paper is based on two aspects of identity – gender identity and youth identity. Identity is difficult to grasp, but the analysis in this paper begins from the assumption that language is a part of identity, both as a manifestation of the required identity and as a recomposition of it. The discussion will draw on the perspective of social constructivism and the concept of dynamic identity.

When someone identifies or assigns an identity, such as belonging to a particular group, the individual is expected to behave in a certain way in order not to be corrected by the others in the group. Thus, an assigned individual identity as well as a collective identity may affect the self-image of the name-bearer (ASHLEY 1996: 1748, RYMES 1996: 252, STARKS et al. 2012: 136). In this way, identity is constructed in much the same way as gender (WEST–ZIMMERMANN 1987: 137, BUTLER 2004: 91). Name researchers (e.g. ALDRIN 2011, BRYLLA 2001) have previously shown how first names can be used to "do" gender, but only a few similar studies on nicknames exist. In a study in the context of South Africa, for example, it is reported that women's nicknames tend to be more

intimate and to serve as an indicator of affection than is the case with men's nicknames (DE KLERK–BOSCH 1996).

Another type of identity that is important for nicknaming is youth identity, which is based on solidarity, friendship and inclusion, and on belonging to the right group.

An inherent intimacy already exists in nicknames, and nicknames can be said to represent a linguistic resource for expressing intimacy. This can be further enhanced when nicknames are connected with other linguistic resources to express intimacy. Such a resource may be humor, which is said to be a common feature in the use of nicknames, although it may be difficult to define what is perceived as fun by those involved. Another linguistic resource is the social positioning that can be reinforced through the use of nicknames.

3. Materials and Methods

The material for this study was collected through postal surveys and interviews. Two complementary methods were used, quantitative and qualitative methods, to gather data that were as multi-faceted as possible. The participants shared all the nicknames they had had during their lives and that they knew about. For ethical reasons related to research, only positive or neutral nicknames have been included in the study. Since nicknames can be very individual and personal, it is difficult to publish them in a confidential manner and, therefore, all participants have been requested to only provide nicknames that they would not mind sharing. Negative nicknames have not been actively collected, but the informants have been asked if they do know any of their potential negative nicknames, which, in general, they do not. In the material, however, many nicknames are perceived as positive or neutral by the name bearer, although they may be perceived as negative to an outsider.

The sample consisted of 203 informants: 125 women and 78 men. A total of 181 informants answered the questionnaire while 22 informants participated in the interview. In total, there are 311 nicknames in the material, 197 of which are given to women and 114 to men. It was more persons under 30 years who participated in the interviews and more elderly persons (over 50 years old) who answered the questionnaire. However, the nicknames are not distributed evenly between questionnaire and interview informants.

4. Some statistics

In the questionnaire material, 48% of the respondents noted that they currently have, or have had, nicknames, while 52% maintained that they have never had nicknames. In contrast, all of the interviewees indicated that they currently have

nicknames, which may be due to the fact that those who chose to participate in the interviews had several nicknames or that they were more interested in the topic than the average person. On the other hand, the questionnaire informants may have underestimated the number of nicknames they have, or they may have forgotten the nicknames they once had.

The interview material (55 nicknames for women and 49 for men) revealed a mean total of 4.8 nicknames per person (4.5 nicknames per woman and 5.1 nicknames per man). It is more difficult to calculate corresponding values for the questionnaire material (142 nicknames for women and 65 for men). If the calculation is based only on those who indicated that they have nicknames, then each person has 2.3 nicknames, consisting of 2.2 nicknames per woman and 2.4 nicknames per man. However, if the calculation includes all informants, even those who stated that they do not have a nickname, then this gives a total of 1.6 nicknames per woman and 1.5 nicknames per man. As indicated above, the interpretation of the numbers points to some extent in different directions, but in spite of this, it cannot be concluded that women have fewer nicknames than men, which is a point argued by some researchers (e.g. Busse 1983: 302, Leslie–Skipper 1990: 275, de Klerk–Bosch 1996: 539).

5. Nickname Composition

The collected nicknames were categorized according to four features: 1) the source, 2) the composition, 3) the meaning, and 4) the perceived reason for the naming. The source of the nicknames is (with a few exceptions) either the onomasticon or the lexicon. In this study, most nicknames (73% – 229 in total) derive from the common Swedish onomasticon, e.g. *Lina, Mia* and *Pelle.* Nicknames from the onomasticon may also consist of a location indication, e.g. *Avesta,* or a commemorative, e.g. *Buster, Madame Mim, Nasse, Saab, Tarzan* and *Tjorven.* Sometimes, in a first phase of nicknaming, a commemorative may be an appellative, but its name character is then reinforced by the original name-bearer so that the name can be considered to belong to the onomasticon. The actual naming pattern can be inspired by different sources, such as fictional characters – preferably from comic books or children's literature.

There are fewer names (23% – 71 in total) that derive from the lexicon, and in many cases they have a less clear name character. Examples are *Krullas* (Curly), *Limpan* (the loaf), *Loppan* (the flea), *Långkalsong* (long pants), *Pannan* (the forehead), *Touch* and *Äpplet* (the apple). These nicknames are nouns, adjectives or verbs, and the vast majority of them are nouns.

Concerning the composition of the nicknames, four varieties have been distinguished: nicknames formed from a first name, nicknames formed from initials, and those formed from foreign influences. The most common type are

nicknames formed from the name-bearer's first name (44% – 138 in total), e.g. *Sussi* from *Susanne*. Other examples include *Anki (< Ann-Kristin), Bettan (< Elisabeth), Bosse (< Bo), Freddan (< Fredrik), Jossan (< Josefin), Lasse (< Lars), Madde (< Madeleine), Nicke (< Niklas), Ninni (< Ingrid), Robban (< Robert), Tobbe (< Torbjörn)* and *Uffe (< Ulf)*. The associative variation type differs by the fact that a nickname is formed from an already existing nickname. The other two forms of composition are not as common, but are nevertheless well known to Swedish speakers. The nickname can be based on initials, e.g. *LS, PeO* and *UP,* and these have a similarity to nicknames that come from computer log-ins in the office environment and have since spread to the spoken language, such as *Didrob, Krfo* and *Marado.* Finally, some nicknames are influenced by other languages, mainly from an English pattern, such as *Baby, Euroboy* and *Shorty*, but also from other languages, e.g. *Aco, Azad* and *Teppe.*

Concerning the meaning of the nicknames, four different features have been distinguished: 1) an event, 2) a characteristic trait, 3) sibling order, and 4) occupation. When a nickname arises as a result of an event, it is often a fairly common incident. An event is quite sudden and has the character of taking place on a single occasion, while a characteristic trait describes outer or inner consistent characteristics of the name-bearer. Examples of nicknames that are based on an event are *Pannan* (the forehead), *TBC* (TB) and *Touch* after an accidental slag with the forehead, a fit of coughing and a smash in table tennis, while characteristic trait names are *Långkalsong* (long pants), *Myran* (the ant), *Shorty, Turbo* and *Yrvädet* (the whirlwind). More uncommon are nicknames related to siblings; for example, *Lili* means little brother and *Lillan* means little sister. Nicknaming after an occupation has taken place for a long time (JANZÉN 1947: 50), and this is also apparent in the present study, e.g. *Captain, Chef, Presidenta* and *Reiseleiter.*

The perceived reason for naming is defined by the name-bearer so the categorization depends on his or her experience. In this study, it has been possible to distinguish four reasons: 1) identification, 2) to ease pronunciation, 3) humor and 4) to position someone affectionately. Identification is considered to be the basis for the existence and use of nicknames (RIAD 2002: 51, BRYLLA 2012: 9), and this reason for nicknaming is also common in the present study. Examples of nicknames used for the purpose of identification are *Betan, Hjulan, Kajsa, Mia, PG* and *Pilla.* Another reason for the use of nicknames is when someone, for example a child, creates a nickname for ease of pronunciation: examples include *Jaja, Kicka, Maja, Nenne, Ninna, Ninni* and *Oja.* Influences from child language in the formation of nicknames in this way have also been noted in studies of historical naming (MODÉER 1989: 40).

A review of the nicknames collected in the present study leads to certain conclusions and reflections. One of these, when the naming arises from an event or characteristic, is that there is an indication of traditional gender roles, were men are seen as more active than women and women's appearance as more important than men's. In the case of events, 10% of men's nicknames have this feature, but only 2% of women's do (cf. PHILLIPS 1990: 286). However, with nicknames that arise from a characteristic trait the numbers are more even: 15% among men and 14% among women.

Regarding nicknames, the increasing prevalence of the reading of names (JOSEPHSON 2004: 82) leads to a mixing of numbers and letters in a way that makes it impossible to pronounce the name. Sometimes there is even a sharp difference between written and spoken names, as some names are only used in one or the other context. In the written language, it is primarily nicknames that are used in different forms of computer-mediated communication, and in the spoken language there are sometimes variants that do not have spelling conventions.

6. Nickname Environments

The information needed to answer the research questions about the nickname environments was not available for all collected nicknames, and therefore the second section of the study is based on 265 nicknames, of which 178 are given to women and 87 to men. In the material, it is often difficult to determine who the first name-giver was. It does not appear to be important for informants to know exactly who was the first person to use a nickname, but instead they described the naming group and situation. This has been interpreted as indicating that the focus should be on the naming environment and therefore the material was sorted into six environments (see Fig. 1).
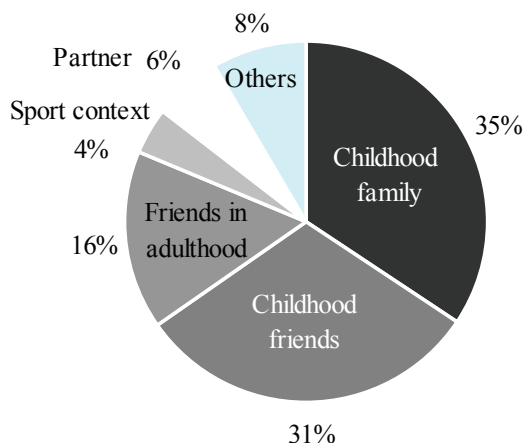

Figure 1: The six environments in which nicknames occur

Most commonly, nicknames emerge during childhood in the family context (35%). The large number of nicknames that occur here may indicate that there is, if not a practical need for identification, an emotional need to show that the child has particular significance to the name-giver. Using nicknames for children expresses empathy and friendliness (SIFIANOU 1992: 158).

The next most frequent name-giving environment is childhood friends (31%), a group that consists of both friends from school and outside school, where the friends often overlap. The distinction between this group and friends in adulthood (16%) is more complicated than it at first seems, since it is not only age that defines the difference between children and adults, but also activities. Therefore, I have based the definition on the activity rather than exact age. If informants have got their nicknames due to a connection with adult activities, such as those at work or in higher education studies, the nicknames are considered to have been created by friends in adulthood. The remaining three naming environments in descending order of frequency are from others (8%), from a partner (6%) and from the sport context (4%). Within the group of others, there are informants who have received their nickname from children through work (e.g. teachers), or from in-laws who do not have Swedish as their native language. Nicknames from one's partner occur among both men and women, although it is more common among women. However, it should be added that there are only a few examples in the material and the result should, therefore, be treated with caution. Furthermore, the results indicate that further study of the subject would be desirable.

When the variable of gender is introduced into the analysis, the results become even more interesting from a research point of view. Although it is most common to receive a nickname in the childhood family and from childhood friends, there is an important difference between women and men. 42% (74) of women's nicknames emerged in the childhood family while the corresponding total for men is 19% (17). Furthermore, 27% (49) of women's nicknames and 38% (33) of men's nicknames emerged from childhood friends. A further difference is found in the sport context where 2% (3) of women's nicknames and 9% (8) of men's nicknames were created. An explanation for this difference is the fact that nickname frequency is positively affected by team sports, and in the informant sample more men than women have been active in team sports. See Fig. 2 for a comparison of the distribution of nicknames across the six nickname environments by gender.
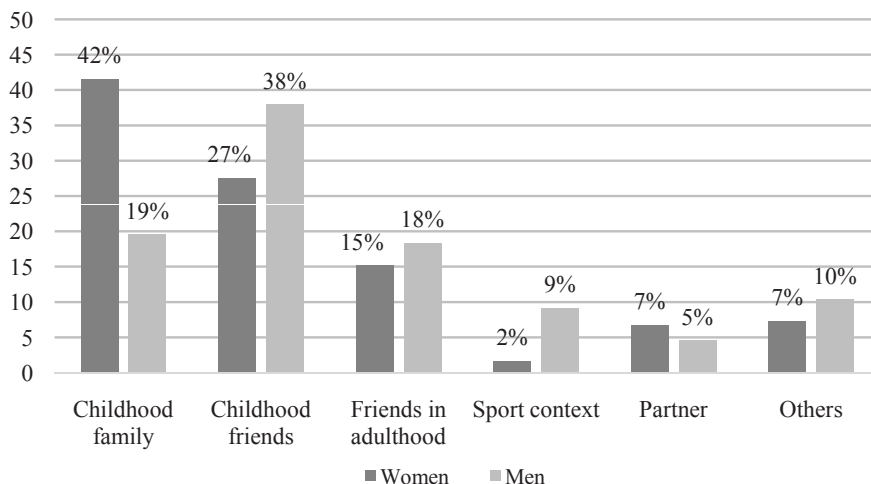
Figure 2: The six nickname environments where women and men were given their nicknames

As there is a difference between the contexts in which women were given the majority of their nicknames and those in which men received theirs, the function of nicknames appear to be somewhat different for each sex. For younger children (mostly girls), a nickname is an expression of intimacy while for older children (mostly boys) it is a signal of solidarity. This can be seen as an aspect of gender identity, with intimacy being associated with females and group solidarity with males.

Women's nicknames seem to stand more for intimacy and a sense of smallness and the men's for a greater sense of solidarity – inclusion and exclusion – the same way as might be seen in youth language. At school age, nicknames are a male phenomenon. The inherent closeness between name-giver and receiver and the intimacy of the nicknames give a hint of "smallness", which leads to a somewhat more subordinate power position. This type of power hierarchy exists, for example, between children and parents as well as between women and men. Subordination (and smallness) is also part of the traditional gender structure of "woman" (Hirdman 2001: 65).

In the material, nicknames that are given to both sexes can be found, e.g. *Knoppen,* which can thus be perceived as a gender-neutral nickname. In addition, two names, perceived as male, *Kenneth* and *Pelle,* are given to women. These observations show a greater level of playfulness with nicknames than is the case with first names.

Analyzing the age of the name-bearer at the time of the naming indicates that the nicknames belong to the language of youth and youth identity. Most nicknames were assigned before the name-bearer was about 15 years old. The use of nicknames declines in the 16–20 year age range, and then becomes even less prevalent. Regarding nickname creation, 29% of nicknames were created in the 0–5 year age range, while 18% were created in the 6–10 year age range, and 25% in the 11–15 year age range. It is also possible to note, primarily based on the interviews, that nicknames often emerge early in a relationship when the participants want to get to know each other better.

Several processes of identity thus emerge in parallel and appear to mutually affect each other. Through the use of nicknames, certain features, memories, events, and so on, are highlighted in the identification process of the name-bearer's individual identity or of the name-user's collective identity. When there are common memories associated with the naming, the identity is recomposed every time the nickname is used. Since a person, at least in theory, can have an infinite number of nicknames, there is room to have varying nicknames in different group constellations; therefore, shifting identities of the name-bearer can be stressed.

7. Nickname Functions

The last section of the study focuses on three nickname functions, with the interview material functioning as the main basis for the observations made. The three main functions identified in the material are affective function, relationship function and positioning function. The functions can be difficult to distinguish as they not only intersect, but can also be consequences of each other. The easiest way to separate them is by their focus, specifically to whom the focus is directed. In the affective function the utterance is the focus, in the relational function, it is the name users, and in the positioning function the audience.

In the interviews, the informants stated that a nickname can indicate how the utterance is to be interpreted, for example as playful, silly, cute or loving. One example is *Plutarkos,* which, although the informant is currently an adult man, is still used "once again when mother is going to be really affectionate". This implies that a nickname may affect an utterance in the same way as laughter, tone of voice, word choice or pronunciation (ADELSWÄRD 1991: ch. 5, ECKERT 2011: 13).

The relationship function means that nicknames are given and used to achieve a more intimate relationship between name-giver and name-bearer. Several informants discussed how nicknames are signs for the relationship the name-giver has, or wants, with the name-bearer. For example, nicknames often occur

early in the relationship-creating process between younger persons. If someone receives and accepts a nickname in such a situation, it is an illocutionary force that changes the whole scene (ADAMS 2009: 81). As relationships are not static but are constantly renegotiated, the use of an existing nickname may also be a confirmation of an existing relationship. This resembles the gender explanation of "doing gender", where gender is socially reconstructed in interaction with others. A nickname may be about "doing friendship" or "doing identity".

The use of nicknames is often a reciprocal act, which further underlines the sense of solidarity and intimacy between the name users. In my interviews, there are several stories about the giving of nicknames as a mutual action, such as when all "children on the farm gave each other a nickname", which generates solidarity and a common identity. Even in school classes, everyone may have nicknames. In the material there are examples of group-produced nicknames that all end with -*lle*. This creates a group identity that indicates the inclusion of those belonging to the group and the exclusion of those who do not. Concurrently, an individual can have varying names in different groups and thus shifting identities can easily be illustrated (cf. VANDERVEKEN 1990: 98). Both solidarity and intimacy emerge from the formation of the nicknames and the stories relating to the nickname emergence and experiences shared between the name users (GUSTAFSSON 2015: 82).

The nickname preserves a common memory that is activated by the name usage and then acts as a solidarity or intimacy reinforcer. If solidarity is linked to an entire group, intimacy is rather linked to a smaller group, maybe only the name-giver and the name-bearer. One way of increasing intimacy is to use (secret) nicknames between two name users. In these cases, it is usually a so-called couple nickname.

The third function is a positioning one, where the focus is on the audience. The function is exclusionary rather than inclusionary and therefore it is closer to being relationship affirmative than relationship building. Positioning occurs when the denominator wants to show the audience that there is a special relationship between the name users from which the audience is excluded.

This argument is based on the fact that nickname usage is a linguistic resource that can contribute to the understanding of an utterance or be an illocutionary force that changes the situation between the name users. To name somebody involves taking over the situation and the name-bearer because all meaning can be displaced and distorted. The use of a nickname is not as neutral as a first name or pronoun, and therefore a nickname can bring about a clearer social categorization. Because relationships are not static, but change over time or during the conversation, the usage of nicknames also provides a variety of possibilities that can be a source of renewed affirmation of the relationship.

8. Conclusion

Two scales need to be considered when discussing nicknames. The scales should not be perceived as dichotomous because they can mutually interact with and strengthen each other. The first scale is public–private, which expresses the degree of intimacy between the name users, and the other is exclusion–inclusion, with solidarity and group-forming processes as the main ingredients. The former scale grades the intimacy that exists and is strengthened through the nicknames. This may be viewed as a paradox because intimacy is a basic component of the nicknames, but some nicknames are more intimate than others, such as couple nicknames, and some are more public, such as sports celebrity nicknames commonly used in the media.

The other scale, inclusion–exclusion, presumes a somewhat larger context for the nickname use, e.g. a school class or a sports team. The nickname can have symbolic value for a group where members have a common subculture and, thus, simultaneously indicates exclusion for those who do not belong to the group. This is similar to the function of other linguistic features, such as those found in youth language.

This study indicates a number of issues that would be fruitful to explore in future research, and which it would be useful to briefly comment on here. In this study, the practical use of the nicknames has not been touched upon, even though the survey is based on the name-bearers' own perceptions of the names. However, the practical aspect deserves to be examined more carefully. Another interesting perspective would be to deepen the analysis of identity issues to see how nicknames and their use affect identity. Is there any mutual interaction between different types of names to form the identity? Are there any connections between unofficial place names or artifact naming and unofficial personal naming? Another issue that has not been discussed in this study is the possible similarities and differences between the nicknames in different languages and cultures. The results should also be applicable to studies regarding historical material, where it is more difficult to describe the function of nicknames among the name users.

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to discuss both the structure and the function of modern nicknames in Sweden. The material for the study has been collected, partly through postal surveys and, partly through interviews. In total, the material consists of 203 informants – 125 women and 78 men. In order to understand and analyze the nicknames, theoretical perspectives from sociology, ethnology, psychology, and linguistics are used. From these disciplines, I have applied reasoning used in pragmatics and onomastics, as well as different theoretical perspectives concerning power, identity and the interactional context as the basis for the analysis of the results. The categorization of the material is based on four categories: the source, the composition, the meaning, and the perceived reason for the naming. In general, nicknames occur in the childhood family (34 %), especially among women. Finally, three main functions of the nicknames, affective function, relationship function, and positioning function, are discussed in the article.

Keywords: nicknames, nickname composition, nickname environments, gender, nickname function.

Anna Tsepkova

Pragmatic and Motivational Peculiarities of Contemporary Russian Nicknames (case study: Novosibirsk school, college, university contexts)

1. Introduction

1.1. Aims, previous study, stating the problem

The present research is the case study of nicknaming practices of Novosibirsk (Russia), aiming at analyzing the pragmatic potential of anthroponymic nicknames as reported by school, college and university students (2014– 2017).

The stages of the case study are connected with the years when nicknames were collected: 2004–2007 (further referred to as 'SD1' = sample of data 1); 2014 (further referred to as 'SD2'); 2015–2017 (further referred to as 'SD3'). In this research SD3 is regarded as a supplement, verifying and developing the preliminary conclusions of SD2 as compared to SD1.[1]

Thus, the present research takes a deeper look into the tendencies of informal anthroponymic nominations, attempting to verify the results based on SD2, using a larger sample of data. In particular, the following aspects of nicknaming practices were pointed out in SD2 for further consideration and verification of applicability (TSEPKOVA 2015):

a) a decreasing number of nicknames among young people;

b) reduction of creative, allusive, inventive nicknames;

c) a discrepancy and disproportion between the amount of nicknames actually reported by the subjects and their opinions on the frequency of nicknaming practices.

Besides, the present research is also an attempt to fill in the gap in the Russian onomastic research connected with the analysis of the dynamics of Russian micro-group nicknames[2] based on quantitative and descriptive analyses.

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[1] It should be noted that SD1 was initially intended as a part of a comparative study of Russian, American and British nicknaming practices. However I had to put aside the Russian sample of collected data due to the requirements of my major. As a result SD1 lacks certain points which were later introduced and considered in SD2 and SD3.

[2] By micro-group (or microsocial) nicknames I understand nicknames from a person's everyday discourse represented by such spheres as family, friends, school, college, university, workplace, sports club, neighbourhood (playground) etc. This type of nicknames is opposed to macro-social nicknames, coined and spread by the mass media (mostly nicknames of celebrities).

In 2004 the prominent Russian onomastician ALEXANDRA SUPERANSKAYA emphasized the necessity of regional case studies in the field, stating that the process of harvesting micro-social nicknames in many regions had not started yet, though the problem of compiling the nickname stock was urgent (2003–2004: 485–486).

In 2007 HARRY WALTER and VALERIY MOKIENKO contributed to the field having issued "The Large Dictionary of Russian Nicknames" (2007), which includes both macro- and micro-group nicknames[3] (collective and individual). Since then no more dictionaries focusing on Russian nicknames have been published.

Over the last decade several case studies of regional nickname stocks have been conducted, describing nicknames from: Tambov city and region (SHOSTKA 2009, MOROZOVA 2016); Vladivistok (STRELTSOVA 2010), Volgograd (STAKHANOVA 2011), Arzamas Region (GUZNOVA 2016), Perm Region (BOBROVA 2016). To the best of our knowledge there is no profound research on Siberian nicknames.

Regional research of the national nickname stock is of importance due to the following factors:

a) processes in the Russian language cannot be recorded otherwise than through regional case studies at least due to the territorial peculiarities of the country (remoteness of the regions from each other, especially in the Siberian part of Russia) and its cultural diversity;

b) monitoring, registering, compiling synchronic nickname corpuses, though challenging, is necessary, because they can serve as valuable resources of information about contemporary or near future styles of people's interaction and socialization as well as attitudes, values, needs.

However, the regional studies are sporadic and for the most part lack analysis of quantitative and qualitative dynamics of the Russian nickname stock, though they describe the key issues associated with traditional nickname research such as their motivational types, structure and derivation patterns, functions, connotation, spheres and age groups.

For the present research the surveys by EVGENIYA SHOSTKA and ALENA GUZNOVA are of interest as they provide commentaries on the frequency of nicknaming practices within their case studies. SHOSTKA in her dissertation thesis comes to the conclusion that the number of nicknames reported by adult respondents exceeds the number of nicknames mentioned by young people (2009). Besides, in GUZNOVA's study (2016: 153–155) it is pointed out that school nicknames count only 6.5% among all dialectal nicknames of Arzamas

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[3] In this dictionary the authors gathered rich and varied data from different resources: dictionaries of Russian slang, research papers and articles, Internet resources, newspaper publications as well as field research (St Petersburg and Pskov schools).

region. The author believes that the reduction of nicknames in school sphere is due to improving the level of human culture, education and upbringing.

1.2. Methods of research

For collecting the data the questionnaire survey was used. The questionnaires were distributed among respondents in printed form. The respondents filled in the questionnaires anonymously in their free time and handed them in to the researcher's assistants (school and college teachers and university lecturers from Novosibirsk), who moderated the procedure at corresponding locations.

The questionnaires, used for collecting nicknames, consist of 2 parts:

1) part 1 represents an explicit inquiry into respondents' opinions about and attitudes to a nickname as a type of nomination, as well as their opinions about its frequency, sphere of use, connotation and functions;

It should be noted that in part 1 of the latest version of the questionnaire the statements were phrased in a more personalized manner in order to obtain reliable information (view Table 1).

SD2	SD3
What is your attitude to nicknaming? (range -2/-1/0/+1/+2)[4]	I don't mind having a nickname (agree/disagree)
People use nicknames in order to … (open-ended)	I use nicknames in order to … (close-ended, choose 6 from the list)[5]
Today nicknames are used… (range: often/rarely/never)	I use nicknames… (range: often/rarely/never)
Most often nicknames are used by (whom)… (open-ended)	Mostly I use nicknames in… (choose 3 spheres from the list)[6]

Table 1: Sample questionnaires compared (part 1)

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[4] In this range *-2* stands for "bad"; *-1* – "bad rather than good"; *0* – "neutral"; *+1* – "good rather than bad"; *+2* – "good".

[5] The list included the following options: describe appearance; describe character; name defects; name positive qualities; humiliate; tease; show respect; show tenderness; show friendliness; indicate social position; indicate superiority; differentiate namesakes; distinguish one person from others; recognize/accept a person as a group member; make communication friendly and informal; for fun; remember a person; remember a person's name better; shorten a teacher's name and patronymic name; address a person in a shorter way (shortening a name or a surname); encrypt/hide a name; show off as a witty person; other. These options were based on the respondents' answers from SD1 and SD2.

[6] The list included the following options: friends; family; playground/neighbourhood; school (classmates); school (teachers); college, university (groupmates, teachers, lecturers); sports club; social networks; computer games; other. These options were based on the respondents' answers from SD1 and SD2.

2) part 2 was designed as a template in the table format to be filled in with all nicknames respondents bear or know of. In SD1 the respondents were asked to enumerate nicknames, comment on their motivation, age and gender of their bearer and giver. For SD2 and SD3 the table in part 2 was supplemented with two more aspects: sphere of use and connotation (jocular, neutral, affectionate, offensive).

For processing the collected data the following methods were employed:

a) comparative quantitative analysis (including Chi-square test);

b) descriptive and interpretational types of analysis. Particularly, these types of analysis were used to interpret nicknaming motivational contexts and classify nicknames according to motivational patterns. In our research we follow the principles of classification, suggested by NIGEL BARLEY (1974), JANE MORGAN, CHRISTOPHER O'NEILL, ROM HARRE (MORGAN et. al. 1979), ERIC PARTRIDGE (1984).

1.3. Demographic characteristics of participants

Most of the respondents who have taken part in the three surveys are Novosibirsk residents, representing patterns of behaviour in terms of social interaction, typical of the urban environment. All of them are students from Novosibirsk schools, colleges and universities. The focus groups were chosen so that they could represent different types of educational institutions (grammar schools, comprehensive schools, lyceums; colleges of vocational training; technical or humanitarian faculties of universities), as well as diverse age, gender, social and professional groups.

1.3.1. Sample distribution by institution

Table 2 below shows the distribution of respondents by institution over the period 2004–2017. When involving the students into the surveys (2014, 2015–2017) I was aiming to keep the number of participants in equal proportion so that the results can be comparable. Besides, in the subsequent research the new focus group was introduced, represented by students from two Novosibirsk colleges of vocational training.[7]

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[7] Novosibirsk College of Telecommunication and Information Technology; Novosibirsk College of Railway Engineering.

Institution	SD1	SD2	SD3
Novosibirsk schools	86	100	221
Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University (NSPU)	56	40	0
Novosibirsk State Technical University (NSTU)	0	65	0
Other institutions of higher education	0	6	0
Novosibirsk colleges of vocational training	0	0	189
Total number of respondents	142	211	410

Table 2: Sample distribution by institution[8]

1.3.2. Sample distribution by gender

In SD1 the questionnaire lacked the information concerning the gender of respondents.

In SD2 the gender difference in the school subsample is not significant[9]. In SD3 the gender difference in the school subsample is not significant[10]. However, the difference is significant in SD2 (university subsample)[11] with the ratio of the female respondents higher than the male ones.

In order to keep the gender ratio between respondents equal[12] in SD3 the college subsample was added. In the college subsample the difference is significant[13] with the ratio of male respondents twice higher than the number of female respondents, which reflects gender peculiarities in institutions of vocational training (view Table 3 for more detail).

In total, over the period of 2014–2017 318 male and 287 female respondents participated in the survey, thus, the gender difference is not significant[14].

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[8] The same samples of data were also used in the paper that I have contributed to the ICONN 4 (The Fourth International Conference on Onomastics "Name and Naming". Sacred and Profane in Onomastics, Baia Mare, Romania, September 5–7, 2017). However, the data are intrpreted in a different aspect according to the theme of the mentioned conference.

[9] $\chi 2=0.02$; $\chi 2$ value=3.841, $p \leq 0{,}05$, df=1.

[10] $\chi 2=2.8$; $\chi 2$ value=3.841, $p \leq 0{,}05$, df=1.

[11] $\chi 2=6.2$ ($\chi 2$ value=3.841, $p \leq 0{,}05$, df=1.

[12] This is necessary in order to avoid the results biased in favour of one of the gender groups.

[13] $\chi 2=78.8$; $\chi 2$ value=3.841, $p \leq 0{,}05$, df=1.

[14] $\chi 2=3.3$; $\chi 2$ value=3.841, $p \leq 0{,}05$, df=1.

Institution	Gender					
	Male		Female		Not specified	
	SD2	SD3	SD2	SD3	SD2	SD3
Schools	51	98	49	116		7
Institutions of higher education	45		65		1	
Novosibirsk colleges of vocational training		124		57		8
Total number of respondents	96	222	114	173	1	15

Table 3: Distribution by gender

1.3.3. Sample distribution by age

In SD1 the questionnaire lacked the information concerning the age of respondents.

In SD2 and SD3 the biggest age group is 17 years old, the second largest age group is 16 years old and the third largest age group is 11 years old. More details about the biggest groups and age range by institution are provided in Table 4.

Age	Number of respondents (SD2, SD3)	Number of respondents in % (SD2, SD3)
10	10	1.6
11	**61**	**9.8**
12	40	6.4
13	58	9.3
14	21	3.4
15	46	7.4
16	**82**	**13.2**
17	**106**	**17**
18	55	8.9
19	49	8
20	35	5.6
21	26	4.2
22	7	1.1
27	1	0.2
Not given	24	3.9

Table 4: Sample distribution by age (biggest age groups are in bold)

2. General characteristics of a nicknaming act

Characterizing the nicknaming act we will dwell upon: gender characteristics of nickname-bearers and nickname-givers;[15] sphere of use; attitude to nicknaming practices as reported by the subjects.

2.1. Gender of nickname-bearers

Comparison of SD1 and SD2 revealed a slight decrease in the number of male nicknames and an increase in the number of female nicknames, registered in 2014. However, verification on a larger group of respondents shows that there is no significant difference between SD1 and SD3 in either of gender subsamples, and, consequently, the significant difference between male and female nicknames remains, with male nicknames prevailing.

Gender	**SD1**	SD2	**SD3**
Male nicknames	**61.4**	55.2	**62.3**
Female nicknames	**38.6**[16]	43.6[17]	**32**[18]

Table 5: Nickname distribution by the gender of the nominee (%)[19]

2.2. Gender of nickname-givers

Table 6 shows the following results which can be considered applicable: boys are twice as active in nickname-giving practices as girls across the three SDs.[20]

Gender	**SD1**	**SD2**	**SD3**
Male	61.8	62.8	60.2
Female	33.3	32.4	38.5

Table 6: Nickname distribution by the gender of the nickname-giver (%)

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[15] The respondents were asked to report on any nicknames they know of (either their own or somebody else's). The information about the gender of a nickname-bearer and a nickname-giver is provided by the respondents for each nickname (part 2 of the questionnaire).

[16] The difference between the number of male and female nicknames is significant at $\chi2=13.5$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[17] The difference between the number of male and female nicknames is not significant at $\chi2=3.1$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[18] The difference between the number of male and female nicknames is significant at $\chi2=28.7$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[19] The proportion of nicknames, which were not specified by gender, is not included in Tables 5, 6.

[20] Besides the respondents lable some of the nicknames as given by a group of people (4.9% in SD1, 4.8% in SD2, 1.3% in SD3).

2.3. Spheres of use

In SD2 I based my conclusions about the spheres of nicknaming practices on the answers directly reported by the respondents in part 1 of the questionnaire. At the same time, respondents were asked to provide the information about the sphere of nickname circulation in part 2 of the questionnaire when enumerating the nicknames they know and/or use. Comparing the two sources of information, I noticed the quantitative discrepancy between what the respondents think about nicknames and how they actually use them. Hence, I consider the information from part 2 of the questionnaire more reliable and use it for further interpretation (unlike in TSEPKOVA 2015).

Taking into account the difference in age and educational institution the subjects are affiliated with, I can trace the following peculiarities (view Table 7 below for detail):[21]

a) the results about the most frequent spheres shed light on the following question: do the subjects report the place of their current occupation as the most frequents sphere? The answer is affirmative concerning school and college students. However, 49% of nicknames listed by university students come from school years, university taking the third place;

b) the three subject groups are unanimous about *friends* as the second most frequent sphere where nicknames are spread. Besides, according to the most recent data obtained from school students in 2015–2017, the ratio of nicknames used at school and among friends is almost equal,[22] which is due to the fact that in school age these groups often overlap. The difference between the spheres of college and friends is not significant either, thus pointing at the similarities between school and college students on the level of age, psychological and behavioral peculiarities;

c) the third most frequent sphere in the school subsamples is *family*, unlike the university and college subsamples, where it recedes into the background, taking the fourth (4.9%) and the fifth (3.3%) places respectively. This fact can be explained in terms of changing the degree of independence, familiarity and intimacy of relations within the family (between parents and children) when a child grows into an adult and becomes more dependent on the opinions and attitudes of his/her peers. Thus, for university subsample the third most frequent sphere is university (12.9%), whereas in the college subsample it is school (14%);

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[21] Please note, that a number of nicknames in SD2 and SD3 are referred to more than one sphere of circulation.

[22] The difference is not statistically significant at $\chi2=0.4$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

d) specific spheres indicated by the subjects are: *neighbourhood* (school and college students), *halls of residence* (university and college students), *work* (university students), *summer camp*, *dacha*, *village, countryside* (school students), *army* (college students). These spheres reflect the peripheral social groups associated with a certain age;

e) regardless of the affiliation, all subjects report about *sports club,* but this sphere is among the least frequent;[23]

f) *social networks* are mentioned in school and college subsamples as one of the least frequent spheres of using real-life nicknames.

| | SD2 | | | | SD3 | | | |
| | university | | school[24] | | college[25] | | school[26] | |
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
school	228	*49*	154	*56.7*	56	*14*	334	*46.1*
friends	111	*23.9*	74	*26.7*	121	*30.3*	300	*41.4*
family	23	*4.9*	32	*11.6*	13	*3.3*	51	*7*
neighbourhood			13	*4.7*	15	*3.8*	27	*3.7*
college	11	*2.4*			154	*38.6*		
sports club	3	*0.6*	10	*3.6*	3	*0.8*	17	*2.3*
university	60	*12.9*						
social networks			3	*1*	4	*1*	21	*2.9*
summer camp			5	*1.8*			3	*0.4*
village			13	*4.7*				
halls of residence	11	*2.4*			1	*0.3*		
army					10	*2.5*		
couple	8	*1.7*						
work	5	*1*						
dacha					1	*0.3*		
Total N of nicknames per subsample	465		277		399		725	

Table 7: Nickname frequency depending on the sphere of use

[23] Sports club is relatively frequent among school students rather than among the respondents from college and university.

[24] The sphere was not specified for 10 nicknames from the school subsample (SD2).

[25] The sphere was not specified for 56 nicknames from the college subsample (SD3).

[26] The sphere was not specified for 15 nicknames from the school subsample (SD3).

2.4. Subjects' attitude to nicknaming practices

In SD1 and SD2 respondents approached the question "What is your attitude to nicknaming?" (suggested answer options are given in the legend to Figure 1 below). The results, visualized in Figure 1, demonstrate that the "neither good nor bad" sector has doubled, whereas positive evaluation of nicknaming practices (the "good rather than bad" and "good" sectors) fell by about half and the number of negative responses fell by one third[27].

Thus, the results based on SD1 and SD2 show a tendency to neutral / indifferent attitude of respondents to nicknaming practices as such.
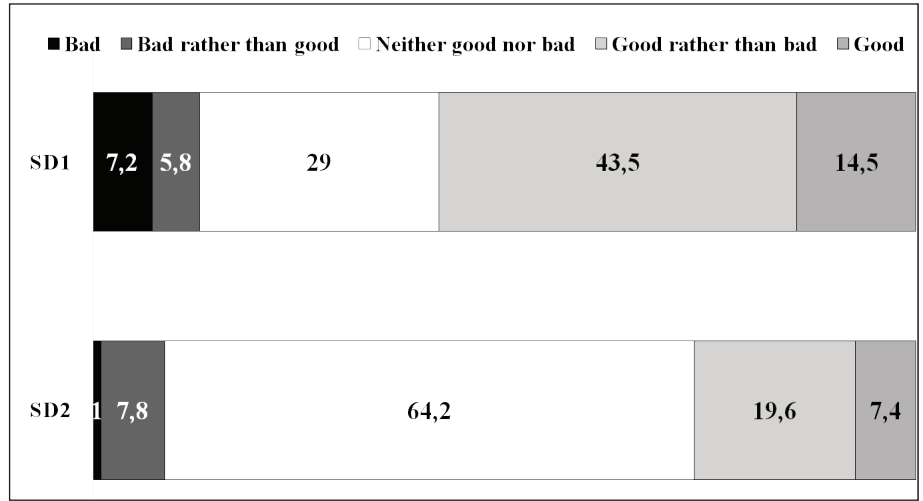
Figure 1: Subjects' attitude to nicknaming practices: SD1 and SD2 compared (%)

Further on, in SD3 the respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "I don't mind having a nickname" aimed at getting more personalized answers about themselves as nickname-bearers. As the difference between the opinions of school and college students is not statistically significant I am giving average results across both groups: 53% of respondents agreed with the statement, 24 % disagreed, and 22% admitted that it was hard for them to decide (1% of students did not give any answer at all). Thus, more than half of the respondents reacted positively to the prospect of being a nickname-bearer.

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[27] When processing the answers to this question for this paper, we excluded the questionnaires, in which this question was ignored.

3. Sample description

3.2. Frequency of nicknaming practices as reported by the subjects (source: questionnaire, part 1)

In SD2 I stated a discrepancy between the reported frequency of nicknaming practices and the actual number of nicknames listed by the respondents (TSEPKOVA 2015: 389–390). This became a special issue in our further investigation.

If we compare the SD2 and SD3 results, we observe a complete discrepancy, with the significant difference in the case of each variable[28] (view Table 8).

Frequency variable	SD2		SD3		SD2, SD3 compared		
	university	school	college	school	SD2	SD3	χ2
a) often	68.6	71	37.1	32.5	69.8	34.8	35.2
b) rarely	28.6	22	40.7	54.8	25.3	47.75	10.6
c) never	0	3	21.7	12.7	2	17.2	13.4
no answer	2.8	4	0.5	0	3.4	0.25	–

Table 8: Frequency of nicknaming practices as reported by the subjects (%)

As a result, in a larger sample (SD3) the most frequent answer is "rarely", given by about a half of college students and more than a half of school students, with "often" taking the second and "never" the third place. The latest results prove to be more applicable due to the following reasons:

1) low frequency of reported nicknames per a subject (source: questionnaire, part 2; see point 3.2 for more detail);

2) extended number of participants in SD3;

3) extending the focus groups by including college students in SD3;

4) difference in phrasing the question about frequency, directly addressing the personal experience of the respondents in SD3 (unlike SD2, where the respondents were asked to give general opinion rather than share personal thoughts).

Thus, the general opinion or impression about the frequency of nicknaming practices differs from what is found in real interpersonal communication.

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[28] χ2 value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1.

3.2. Quantitative characteristics of nickname stock (source: questionnaire, part 2)

Taking into consideration the tendency pointed out above, I approach the issue of the frequency of nicknaming practices as reflected in the quantity of nicknames reported by the respondents in part 2 of the questionnaire.

SD2 revealed that the number of nicknames reported by the subjects in 2014 has decreased in comparison with the results, obtained in 2004-2007. Thus, my aim was to check if these results are accidental or a tendency. The results based on questioning a larger group of respondents showed that the average number of nicknames per a subject in the SD3 is 2.7 as compared with 3.6 in the SD2. Statistically the difference is not significant[29] (view Table 9 for more detail). These data drove me to the conclusion about the general reduction of nicknames in spheres where they are universally considered to be the most frequent, namely, school, college, university (SUPERANSKAYA 2004: 485).

SD1		SD2		SD3	
university students	school students	university students	school students	school students	college students
16.5	11.8	4.4	2.8	3.3	2.4
13.5		3.6		2.7	

Table 9: The average number of reported nicknames per a subject

3.3. Functions of nicknames

According to the subjects' opinion about the functions of nicknames in part 1 of the questionnaire (SD1 and SD2) the two key functions of nicknames are attitudinal and nomination economy. In SD3 students report that they use nicknames to establish and express friendly relationships (86%), to positively characterize (70%), to individualize and differentiate (60%), to have fun (42%), to integrate and show acceptance of a person by other members of the group (37%), to remember a person (35%), to express positive attitude (30%), for linguistic economy (29%). Thus, most frequent functions reflect positive sides of nicknaming.[30]

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[29] $\chi2=0.3$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[30] OLIVIU FELECAN points out the function of relaxation nicknames perform in the context of classroom environment (2015: 80). This function discloses the psychological need in nicknaming as a means of integration in a group of peers.

3.4. Frequency of nicknames with different motivation patterns[31]

In our research on unconventional nomination we classify nicknames into externally motivated, internally motivated and mixed (combining external and internal motivation), following (BARLEY 1974), (MORGAN et. al. 1979).

A. *Externally motivated nicknames* are nicknames, motivated by extralinguistic factors (features of the nominee) and based on mechanisms of direct nomination of the quality (description, metonymy) and language play (metaphor, antonomasia, paronomasia, paronomasia, irony). The main function of these nicknames is characterizing a person by one (examples 1–4) or more qualities (examples 5–7):[32]

(1) *Banan* [Banana] < a person wore a yellow coat (metaphor);

(2) *BBC*: a person loves nature (allusion to *BBC Nature*);

(3) *Sensei* < "he teaches us the art of technology" (metaphor, allusion);

(4) *Czech* < "after a goalkeeper, jocular/honorific" (metaphor, allusion to Czechs as skillful hockey players);

(5) *Buratino* < Russian book character, based on Pinocchio; mixed motivation: 1) short; 2) skinny; 3) long nose (antonomasia, allusion);

(6) *Terminator*: 1) tall and strong; 2) vicious, brutal, evil (antonomasia, allusion);

(7) *Los'* [Elk] < 1) tall; 2) plays basketball (metaphor).

Direct nominations of a quality (including body parts metonymy) form the least inventive group of nicknames which is the most stable across the three SDs: *Ryzhy* [Red, Red-haired]; *Tolsty* [Fatty]; *Maloy, Melkiy* [Shorty/Small; about height or/and age]; *Lysy* [Bald]; *Kudravy* [Curly]; *Ochkarik* [Four-Eyes]; *Boroda* [Beard]; *Mozg* [Brain]; *Shshyochki* [Cheeks], etc.

B. *Internally motivated nicknames* are nicknames, motivated by linguistic attributes of a person, i.e. a person's name. Hence these nicknames cannot perform the characterizing function, being non-characteristic. This group includes the following subgroups:

a) asemic nicknames (personal name shortenings, abbreviations, diminutives, lacking inner from): *Dyukhan* < first name *Andrey*; *Fosya* < surname *Afanasyev* (SD1); *Yuka* < first name *Yuliya*; *Sheremyasha* < surname *Sheremetyev* (SD2); *Gocha* < first name *Gosha*; *Bakha* < surname *Bakhareva* (SD3);

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[31] 18% nicknames in the questionnaires were not provided with explanations and are hence excluded from the analysis.

[32] Illustrative examples 1–7 are taken from SD3.

b) traditional shortenings of surnames, formed from first names: *Nester* < *Nesterenko*; *Frol* < *Frolov*; *Foma* < *Fomichyov*; *Potap* < *Potapov*; *Gera* < *Gerasimov,* etc.;

c) traditional surname shortenings, reviving their etymology: *Tkach* [Weaver] < surname *Tkacheva*; *Kazak* < surname *Kazakov*; *Gus'* [Goose] < *Gusev,* etc.

These three subgroups of nicknames represent trite types of nomination requiring little or no creative and intellectual impulse on the part of the nickname-giver.

However, internally motivated nicknames can also be formed from a person's name by means of mechanisms of language play (rhyme, paronomasia, false etymology, inevitable association[33]), demonstrating wit and creativity of nickname-givers:

d) meaningful first name or surname transformations, reviving their etymology:

(8) *Koroleva* [Queen] < name *Regina* (SD3);

(9) *Utkin* [*utka* – 'duck'] < surname *Seleznev* [*selezen* – 'drake'] (SD1);

(10) *Karych* [allusion to a crow, the Russian cartoon character; *kar* – onomatopoeia, imitating the crow's sound] < surname *Voronov* [*voron* – 'crow'] (SD2);

(11) *Berkut* [Golden eagle] < surname *Sokolov* [*sokol* – 'falcon'; thematic association: birds of prey] (SD3);

e) meaningful first name or surname transformations, created by means of false etymology based on phonetic (examples 12–17) or inevitable (examples 18, 19) associations with the name:

(12) *Alligator* < first name *Oleg* (SD1);

(13) *Yega*[34] < first name *Yegor* (SD2);

(14) *Pul'ka* [Bullet] < first name *Polina* (SD3);

(15) *Bizon* [Bison] < surname *Bessonov* (SD1);

(16) *Kosha*[35] < surname *Koshkin* (SD2);

(17) *Malakhit* [Malachite] < surname *Malakhov* (SD3);

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[33] ERIC PARTRIDGE uses the terms *inevitable* or *inseparable nicknames* for nicknames, based on the thematic, synonymic, antonymic analogy with the meaning of a personal name or phonetic associations of the name with a famous namesake (1950: 21–27, 1984: 1388–1389). Such nicknames are often trite and traditional, however they represent a typical mechanism of coining occasional nicknames.

[34] Allusion to the Russian folklore witch.

[35] Allusion to Koshshey the Immortal, the Russian folklore villain character.

(18) *Muradeli* < name *Ivan* + inevitable association with Vano Muradeli, a famous Georgian musician (*Vano* is the Georgian version of the Russian first name *Ivan*) (SD1);

(18) *Emil-Zarya* < surname *Zarya* + phonetic association with the name of the French writer *Émile Zola* (SD3).

C. *Nicknames, combining internal and external motivation*, i.e. characteristic features of a person with linguistic motives (meaningful transformations of a person's name) and based on mechanisms of language play:

(19) *Fed'ma* < blending the surname *Fedyuk* and the appellative *ved'ma* ['witch'; motive: a girl's rumpled hairstyle] (SD1);

(20) *TV* < the teacher's initials + hairstyle (hair sticks up like a TV antenna) (SD2);

(21) *Ptichka* [Birdie] < little as a bird + surname *Zhavoronkova* [< *zhavoronok* – 'skylark'] (SD3);

The results of quantitative and comparative analyses of the three SDs, presented in Table 10, show a non-significant reduction in the groups of:

1) characteristic nicknames based on imagery (metaphor, metonymy, antonomasia, irony, paronomasia);

2) non-characteristic nicknames (asemic and based on false etymology);

3) nicknames, combining linguistic and extra-linguistic motives.

At the same time, the results demonstrate an increasing popularity of such traditional nicknaming patterns as direct nomination[36] and shortenings of personal names, reviving their etymology.[37]

Besides, the figures show that the gap between externally and internally motivated nicknames is narrowing: unlike in SD1[38] and SD2,[39] in SD3 the difference between externally and internally motivated nicknames is not significant at $\chi2=0.67$.[40] Nevertheless, externally motivated nicknames remain the most numerous group.

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[36] The difference between SD1 and SD3 is not significant at $\chi2=0.39$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[37] The difference between SD1 and SD3 is significant at $\chi2=8.95$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[38] In SD1 the difference between externally and internally motivated nicknames is significant at $\chi2=19.2$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[39] In SD2 the difference between externally and internally motivated nicknames is significant at $\chi2=16.7$ ($\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1).

[40] $\chi2$ value=3.841, p≤0,05, df=1.

Type of motivation	SD1	SD2	SD3
A) External motivation: characteristic nicknames	**61.6**	**61.2**	**52.3**
Metaphor	29.45	28	23.4
Direct nomination	11.49	17.3	13.8
Metonymy	9.63	6	7.4
Antonomasia	8.19	7.4	6.9
Irony	2.16	0.8	0.6
Paronomasia	0.57	1.4	0.1
Onomatopoeia	0.14	0.3	0.1
B) Internal motivation: non-characteristic nicknames	**35.5**	**36.5**	**46.7**
Revived etymology	9.9	17.8	24.8
Asemic	14.37	10.5	11.6
False etymology, paronomasia, rhyme, inevitable association	11.2	8.2	10.3
C) Combined internal and external motivation	**1.9**	**2.3**	**1**

Table 10: Sample distribution by the type of motivation
(SD1, SD2, SD3 compared, %)

Conclusion

The main purpose of the paper was to verify if the tendencies pointed out in the SD2 in comparison with SD1 (2004–2007) are applicable. As a result, the following conclusions can be made concerning the tendencies in nicknaming practices within the present case study:

1) males as the main participants of nicknaming practices, both as nickname-bearers and nickname-givers;

2) respondents' neutral/indifferent attitude to nicknaming practices as such;

3) respondents' positive attitude to bearing a nickname;

4) reduction of nicknames reported by respondents;

5) characteristic nicknames remain the most numerous group. Though the tendency to reduction is observed, the difference is statistically not significant;

6) a non-significant reduction of characteristic nicknames based on such mechanisms of secondary nomination as metaphor, metonymy, antonomasia, paronomasia, irony;

7) a non-significant increase in the number of characteristic nicknames based on direct nomination of a quality;

8) a significant increase in the number of non-characteristic nicknames, based on shortenings or transformations of personal names and reviving their etymology;

9) reduction of nicknames based on the combination of linguistic and extralinguistic motivation.

Not all of the aforementioned reductions are crucial for nicknames. However, in my opinion, reduction of characteristic nicknames, especially of creative, inventive, playful nature, and potential to grasp a person's identity and increasing number of descriptive nomination as well as non-characteristics transformations of a person's proper name leads to degradation of the very concept of a nickname, at least in linguistic sense, because in this case it loses its specific flavour and independence within the anthroponymic system, moving closer either to common nouns or to personal names.

In the present research I did not tackle the issues of connotation, gender and age, type of affiliated institution, urban or rural environment and how they predetermine such aspects of nicknaming as frequency of nicknaming, register, motivation, choice of nicknaming patterns, creativity, functions. These aspects are considered as a prospect for future research.

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Abstract

The paper aims to analyse the pragmatic potential of Russian anthroponymic nicknames as reported by school, college and university students of Novosibirsk, Russia (2014–2017). The present research takes a deeper look into the tendencies of informal anthroponymic nominations, which, though being connected with and limited to local data, can shed light on the reasons of a decreasing number of nicknames among young people, which I pointed out in the pilot research on this matter, conducted in 2014.

The focus group includes predominantly schoolchildren and young people, who are considered to be the bearers of a nicknaming culture.

The conclusions are based on the following aspects of contemporary nicknaming practices of the area in focus:

1) respondents' attitudes and opinions about a nickname as an alternative informal nomination of a person;

2) frequency of nicknaming practices in respondents' everyday communication;

3) functions of nicknames as viewed by respondents;

4) spheres where nicknames circulate;

5) frequency of characteristic nicknames *vs* non-characteristic nicknames.

Judit Kecskés

Names Moving Across the Borders:
Onomastic Tasks Facilitating Social Integration

The aim of the study is to present onomastic tasks that not only move outside the grammar lesson in the classroom but have the special task of facilitating social integration in a broader sense in a multicultural educational environment. Accordingly, the present paper connects two research areas of applied onomastics, namely: Teaching and Onomastics, and Using Onomastics to detect and solve issues of discrimination and migration. The framework of the research was provided by the 'StepTogether' teaching programme, the target group of which are migrant pupils in Hungary. Thus, the main title of the paper may be interpreted in different ways. On one hand, it reflects on the interdisciplinary nature of onomastics, due to which knowledge of proper names and of onomastics may transgress the boundaries of grammar. On the other hand, it points out that migrant name bearers are at the same time name-holders as well, transgressing borders; therefore, the aim of the tasks indicated in the title is to facilitate the integration of these migrants. Names, and especially proper names, may become the source of discrimination on the basis of language. The tasks were thus created to foster the creation of an open/inclusive classroom environment and to help children transgress communicational barriers.

Just as the interpretation of the title may be manifold, the study may be divided into three parts. The first part introduces studies on Hungarian applied onomastics that provided a basis for the creation of the onomastic tasks in the StepTogether teaching programme. The second part demonstrates the tasks that were created for grammar lessons and other subjects. The third part expounds on a research the aim of which was to assess pupils' knowledge of their own names after having used the teaching tools complemented with these onomastic tasks, as well as their attitudes to foreign personal names.

1. The situation and discussion of onomastic knowledge

1.1. Exploring the possibilities in Hungarian theoretical literature on Teaching and Onomastics

This section provides a brief overview of theoretical literature on Teaching and Onomastics which determine the theoretical framework of the study in the process of using tasks widening onomastic knowledge in teaching and learning.

The educational reforms of the 1990s led to an amplified professional discourse on the role and place of onomastic knowledge in public education. The studies

that became decisive (HOFFMANN 1994, RAÁTZ 1994, LISZKA 1997), were the ones the authors of which also shaped public education from a pedagogical aspect. OTTÓ HOFFMANN, who propagated the concept of a complex linguistic-communicational education, viewed onomastics as an unexploited tool for achieving cohesion among subjects; his study (1994) included several examples and revealed the educational opportunities implicit in the interdisciplinarity of onomastics. A successful textbook writer, JUDIT RAÁTZ called attention to the fact that the teaching tools for primary schools lack tasks concerned with the pupils' own names (1994: 29), the inclusion of which she insisted on. GÁBOR LISZKA (1990) prepared a curricular proposal for the teaching of Hungarian Grammar in secondary grammar schools and presented his pedagogical arguments about the teaching of Onomastics, concatenated with onomastic-professional aspects, at the 5th Hungarian Conference on Onomastics in 1995.

LISZKA's review had four cornerstones: the function/importance of onomastic knowledge from the aspect of children's self-identification, the place of onomastic knowledge in the Framework Curricula for eight-year secondary schools, the way onomastic knowledge could be discussed in teaching, and its appearance at different levels of public education. According to LISZKA (1997: 513), onomastics is important regarding identification with the mother tongue because onomastic knowledge is part of children's basic experiences of identifying themselves with and specifying themselves through their family and their environment. He reviewed the curricula for secondary schools as well and concluded that in the curricula which regard onomastics as an independent study, onomastic knowledge was mostly discussed during the teaching of nouns, and the review pointed out that onomastic knowledge could be processed as an extra-curricular topic written in an additional book or chapter; otherwise, it could be part of grammar lessons. Besides, he emphasized that, due to the insufficient number of grammar lessons, "if we do not insist on treating onomastics as a strictly linguistic, grammatical body of language, then the boundaries of traditional grammar lessons may be shifted to a considerable extent" (translated by J. K.). (LISZKA 1997: 515). Although his survey concerned the Hungarian secondary education system, he suggested teaching onomastics at the level of primary education (1997: 517). Several authors drew on LISZKA's ideas, such as ERZSÉBET FERCSIK (1999), who emphasized in the title of her article "Nem lehet elég korán kezdeni" [You cannot get started early enough] how important teaching onomastics in the primary school is. JUDIT RAÁTZ (2003) took his thought one step further and reviewed onomastic knowledge in terms of its place in the teaching of the mother tongue. Twenty years after LISZKA's review, in a review of applied onomastics in the 21st century, RAÁTZ JUDIT renewed all these points and asserted that "Making room for onomastics, for dealing with onomastics, in all school curricula (not only the one for Hungarian

Grammar) would be welcome" (translated by J. K.). (2015: 239). As if an answer to RAÁTZ's question but still drawing on LISZKA's theses, in 2016 an article by ÉVA F. LÁNCZ (2016) presented onomastic tasks that might be used in grammar lessons in grades 9 to 12 of secondary school. Building on previous authors' thoughts she also called attention to digital repositories of onomastics, as well as to the role to be assigned to onomastic tasks – and especially to tasks about versions of family names in different dialects – in order to do away with prejudice and misconceptions concerning speaking in dialects.

By the time StepTogether was beginning to be developed into a programme in 2012, new directions became palpable in theoretical literature on onomastics – directions which could provide the basis for a teaching tool that aimed at developing Hungarian language competences and fostering social integration: 1.) cognitive tasks connected to the pupils' own names, inserted into teaching materials for Hungarian Grammar; 2.) tasks building on the interdisciplinarity of onomastics and linked to various subjects; and 3.) the objective of making onomastic knowledge available at the lower levels of public education.

1.2. Exploring the possibilities in the StepTogether teaching programme

The Steptogether teaching programme represents content-based language teaching. It is a series of six consecutive one-year projects started in 2010, developed at the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics and Literary Studies at the University of Miskolc. The project series was brought to life to meet the challenge of teaching migrant pupils in Hungarian public education, and it has become a program reaching all participants of teaching and learning. The primary aim of the programme is to improve the Hungarian as a second language (L2) competence of pupils and thereby decrease their early school leaving. For this reason, the developers produced CLIL-based (Content Language Integrated Learning) teaching tools which aid migrant pupils at A1–B2 levels in Hungarian – who are most likely to drop out – to make progress in learning along with their Hungarian classmates. As opposed to dual-focus European CLIL models (COYLE et al. 2010), NyIT, the methodological background of the programme, has a triple focus. NyIt is an acronym for *nyelv* [language], *integráció* [integration] and *tartalom* [content], while the word *nyit* itself means 'to open,' and it indicates the authors' conception and approach (ROSTÁS–KECSKÉS 2016) that places specific emphasis on the improvement of L2. The content that provides the basis of language improvement is linked to various general education subjects and conforms to the current National Core Curriculum (Nat). The third component is integration – this does not refer to the integrity of language and content, as in CLIL models in general, but to the integration of migrant pupils in the classroom and, in a wider sense, to

their joining in Hungarian and European culture, that is, to social integration. In the teaching tools of StepTogether, the tasks designed to widen onomastic knowledge link up with this focus point.

In the six projects carried through in the programme, nearly 30 teaching tools (from textbooks to mobile application) were developed in Hungarian. These tools were tested in a 3 to 6-month-long pilot project in partner schools in Budapest[1] that have a great number of migrant children in integrated classrooms. These schools reflect the diversity of Hungarian public education: some of them are bilingual schools, others are monolingual with a multicultural educational programme, traditional monolingual primary schools, and complex educational institutions. Thus the suitability of the teaching tools could be measured with regards to various school types.

The programme, introduced in part two, involved the participation of 410 pupils altogether. Their origins and backgrounds represented migrant communities in Hungary; that is, the rate of Chinese and Vietnamese pupils was dominant, but participants also included Turkish, Syrian, Mongolian, Russian, Ukrainian, Iraqi, Iranian, Indian, Canadian, American, Nigerian, Japanese, Philippine, Cameroonian and Bolivian pupils as well. 73 teachers took part in the testing of the teaching tools. Since the aim of the programmes is to facilitate Hungarian language competences through contents of various subjects, there were only 6 EFL teachers involved, besides 4 teachers of Hungarian Literature and Grammar, 4 teachers of Hungarian as L2 and 58 teachers of other subjects.

2. Tasks that widen onomastic knowledge and involve aims of integration in the Hungarian Grammar class and beyond

2.1. Examples and Opportunities in Hungarian Grammar class

The first project was developed for migrant children in the 5th and 6th grade and built on thematic units of Hungarian Literature and Grammar, Mathematics and Natural Sciences for language improvement. In the second project connected to the same subjects but were designed for 7th- and 8th-graders. At the time of both projects (2010–2011), the curriculum in force was Nat2007, which, for the then current theoretical literature on onomastics, was a starting point

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[1] Kőbányai Szent László Általános Iskola (1105, Budapest, Szent László tér 3.), Erzsébetvárosi Magyar-Angol Kéttanyelvű Általános Iskola, Szakgimnázium és Szakiskola (1077, Budapest, Dob utca 85.), Janikovszky Éva Magyar-Angol Két Tanítási Nyelvű Általános Iskola (1101, Budapest, Üllői út 118; 1105, Bp. Kápona tér 4.), Magyar-Kínai Két Tanítási Nyelvű Általános Iskola és Gimnázium (1158, Budapest, Neptun utca 57.), Orchidea Magyar-Angol Két Tanítási Nyelvű Óvoda, Általános Iskola és Gimnázium (1105, Budapest, Cserkesz utca 10-14, 1139, Hajdú utca 38.)

for research and the development of sample tasks for the sake of including onomastic knowledge – as discussed in the previous section. This meant that the greatest novelty of the tasks designed to widen onomastic knowledge was their integrational component. In both projects, the tasks were linked to the thematic content of Hungarian Literature and Grammar. In grade 5 the topic of spelling lent itself to the inclusion of tasks concerning types of names, such as family names, while in grade 6 the topic that proved to be most suitable for such inclusion was that of proper nouns, as part of the system of word classes.

The set of tasks below are from the teaching material complementing the textbook for 6th grade (KECSKÉS 2010: 29/44.) and it demonstrates how language, integration and content may build on one another.

> a) Az *utónev*et másként *keresztnév*nek is nevezzük. Írd le öt osztálytársad *keresztnev*ét!
> b) A magyar személynév = családnév + *utónév*. Szerkessz személynevet!
> c) Írj tíz adható magyar *utónev*et! (Lásd még a www.nytud.hu/oszt/ nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/index.html honlapot!)[2]

From the aspect of Hungarian language competence development, the task puts an emphasis on suffixes; that is why the stems of the technical terms connected to the subject content are italicized in the original Hungarian sentences. Regarding developing content, the aim was to illustrate the relationship between the terms *utónév* 'first name' and *keresztnév* 'Christian name.' The integrational aspect of the task was represented by the fact that the children had to communicate with their classmates in order to complete the task, as in a predominantly Hungarian classroom they were asked to put down their classmates' Christian names, the spelling of which may require pupils with an A1–B2 level of Hungarian to ask questions repeatedly. The task was especially challenging for pupils with an A1–A2 level of Hungarian, who tend to have problems with using the letters of the Latin alphabet. The set of tasks above emphasized order in the structure of Hungarian names and called the pupils' attention to widening their knowledge of Christian names individually.

In a somewhat unconventional way, tasks designed to widen onomastic knowledge were included in 8th-grade grammar books in the chapter about Using books and libraries. The names of authors and the titles of their books lent themselves to focusing on Hungarian family names. The parts of the tasks aimed to foster integration illustrated names to be found in the host society of Hungary and also provided room for including the migrant pupils' culture in

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 [2] a) [*First names* are also called *Christian names*. Write down the *Christian name* of five of your classmates.], b) [Hungarian personal names = family names + *first name.* Create a personal name.], c) [Write down ten Hungarian *first names*. (See also website)] (translated by J. K.).

classroom work, while continuously encouraging pupils to make contact with others, as demonstrated by the example below (KECSKÉS 2011: 66).

> *Milyen régi magyar családnevet ismersz? (Kérj segítséget az osztály-társadtól!)*
> *Keress lakóhelyed térképén a hagyomány elve szerint írt utcaneveket (ezek sokszor régi családnevek)! (Kérj segítséget az osztálytársadtól, barátoktól!)*
> *Ki a te nemzeted leghíresebb írója/költője?*[3]

The authors of the task recommended teachers to facilitate making contact by including migrant pupils' own knowledge in the process of teaching and learning.

In 2012 the third project intended to fill the gaps in 3rd grade, so teaching tools were developed for grades 3 and 4. Although the tasks did not go beyond the boundaries of the Grammar lessons in this project either – they were built into the parts of the curriculum that determine the place of proper names in the system of word classes –, they nevertheless strove to achieve the goal advocated by authors in the 1990s: to include onomastic tasks in the lower levels of education. The following task, for instance, is to be found in Grammar for 3rd graders (KECSKÉS 2013: 61)

> *21. a) Csoportosítsd a keresztneveket! Lánynév: Fiúnév: (Kérj segítséget az osztálytársaidtól!)*
>
> *b) Milyen fiúneveket és lányneveket ismersz az anyanyelveden?*[4]

The task called attention to the gender-specificities of Hungarian names, while its integrational component widens the host community's knowledge about non-Hungarian names. Depending on the migrants' country of origin and in line with the aim of the tasks, such questions may shed light on the fact that distinguishing genders in first names are not universal grammatical categories. This observational aspect fits in well with the 5th developmental task for Key competences of communication in the mother tongue, as elaborated in Nat2012 for grades 1 to 4: recognizing differences between the mother tongue and the foreign language, and formulating this difference in the pupil's own words.

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[3] [What old Hungarian family names do you know? (Ask a classmate for help.)]
Find hodonyms with a traditional spelling (which are also often old family names) on the map of your place of residence. (Ask a classmate or friend for help.) Who is the greatest writer/poet of your nation?] (translated by J. K.).

[4] 21. a) [Group the Christian names. Girls' names: Boys' names: (Ask your classmates for help.)
b) What girls' and boys' names do you know in your mother tongue?]

2.2. Examples and opportunities outside the Hungarian Grammar class

The teaching tools developed in the fourth and fifth project concerned another field, Social Studies, for 5th- to 8th-grade pupils. It was at this point that onomastic tasks ventured outside the syllabus of Grammar classes and were included in teaching materials developed for other subjects such as History, Hungarian Heritage or Career Orientation. In the book of Career Orientation tasks can be found after the description of professions about the connection, motivation of proper names. Family names, hodonyms deriving from professions are may be linked both to the labour market and onomastics, and may also be linked to linguistic questions, as well as ones concerned with professions and content, serving to facilitate integration, as illustrated by the following example.

The following two tasks are from book for Career Orientation (GRÉCZI–ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS–KECSKÉS–ROSTÁS 2014: 12).

> *1.) Gyűjts a környezetedben foglalkozást jelentő családneveket! / Keress Hajdú Mihály: Családnevek enciklopédiájában (Tinta Kiadó, 2010)!*
>
> *2.) Kovácsol-e a Kovács? Tegyél fel kérdéseket a szöveghez!*
>
> *Kovács Ákos az egyik legismertebb Magyar énekes. Kezdetben a Bonanza Banzai nevű zenekar énekese volt…*[5]

Introducing professions provided a great opportunity for demonstrating the motivation of surnames deriving from occupational names, as well as for making the pupils observe the range of these proper nouns. The first task built on the pupils' immediate surroundings to make them discover that occupational names can be regarded as one of the most characteristic types of Hungarian family names (SLÍZ 2016: 65). The second task shed light on the connection between the proper name and the meaning of the common word. Such a task is especially important if we take into account the fact that the integrational component widened the scope of research on connections between proper names and occupational names to family names coming from other languages.

The project[6] carried out between 2016 and 2018 intended to meet the challenges of language learning based on digital technology; therefore, a digital teaching material for Hungarian as L2 (E-MID) was developed for grades 5 and 6, including onomastic tasks as linked to various topics. In the chapter entitled

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[5] 1.) [Take a look around and collect surnames/family names which refer to professions! Search for such surnames in Mihály Hajdú's *Encyclopedia of Family names* (Tinta, 2010). 2.) Does the Kovács [Smith] do smithing? Ask questions about the text. Ákos Kovács is one of the most well-known Hungarian singers. Initially, he was the lead singer of the band Bonanza Banzai, … (translated by J. K.).

[6] The work is supported by the MMIA.2.2.4-2015-00003 project. The project is co-financed by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund of the European Union.

Kezdés-Ismétlés [Beginning and Revising], for instance, which revisits knowledge connected to linguistic levels, the following task was featured within the unit Lexémák [Lexemes] in the section Szófajok [Word classes].

> *Rakd ábécé sorrendbe az azonos jelentésű neveket! Hua, Virág, Flóra, Fleur, Hoa, Flor, Fiorella, Blume, Çiçek*[7]

The first names listed were written in different colours and there was a colourful puzzle that helped those not familiar with the rules of the Hungarian alphabet find out the correct order. This A1-level task served a triple purpose: it deepened pupils' knowledge of spelling, facilitated the acceptance of cultural diversity and pointed to the identical semantic background of names.

The task below also concerns alphabetical order, but at a B2 level and connected to the unit Étkezés [Meals]; it is built on the figure of József Dobos, a well-known Hungarian confectioner.

> *Rakd ábécé sorrendbe a magyar családneveket! Figyeld meg! A gyakori magyar családnevek foglalkozásnévből származnak. Gyakorisági sorrend: Kovács, Szabó, Varga, Molnár, Dobos, Takács, Lakatos, Szűcs, Mészáros, Kocsis). Ábécé sorrend:*[8]

Having put the names in the correct alphabetical order, the pupils can move on to the next task:

> *Pótold a magyar családnévben a magánhangzót! Figyeld meg! A foglalkozásnévből származó családnevek minden nyelvre jellemzőek. Kínai családnév: Tao; angol családnév: Potter, magyar családnév: F_ zekas.*[9]

Language improvement in this task focused on the connection between letters and sounds, but the task also added another layer to pupils' knowledge of family names deriving from occupational names and served to foster integration by calling attention to the identical meaning inherent in family names. In this way, the recognition that there are occupational names in every culture could become a true experience, similarly to the realization that the family names of two pupils in the class may mean the same in different languages. Making

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[7] [Put the names with the same meaning in an alphabetical order.] (translated by J. K.)

[8] [Put the following Hungarian family names in an alphabetical order. NOTE: Common Hungarian family names often derive from occupational names. In order of frequency, these are: *Smith, Taylor, Shoemaker, Miller, Drummer, Webster, Locksmith, Skinner, Butcher* and *Coachman* In an alphabetical order:_ .] (translated by J. K.).

[9] [Fill the gap in the following Hungarian family names with a vowel. NOTE: Family names deriving from occupational names can be found in every language. Chinese family name: *Tao;* English family name: *Potter;* Hungarian family name: *F_zekas.*] (translated by J. K.).

pupils realize this parallel may lessen discrimination based on the linguistic categorization of personal names.

2.3. Examples of personal names in tasks for the sake of lessening discrimination based on proper names

The choice of proper names in the tasks discussed above were determined by experiences of discrimination by migrant groups living in Hungary, as well as their proportion and knowledge of the language of the host society.

ENDRE SÍK and ZOLTÁN VÁRHALMI's study analysing how migrants living in Hungary experience discrimination clearly indicated that the lack of knowledge of Hungarian is a strong component in discrimination. Comparing the Arabic, Chinese, Lower Carpathian, Turk Vietnamese, Ukrainian migrant groups' experience with discrimination it may be considered that Chinese people experience the most discrimination and Turks experience it the least (2012: 131). The authors also noted that even in a well-regulated environment like the school, discrimination on the basis of one's racial markers might be decreased with the help of regulations, but the discrimination experienced because of one's lack of language skills was much greater. The latter may be further intensified by discrimination based on one's name. StepTogether drew on international research on the labour-market dimension of this problem (BERNTRAND–MULLAINATHAN 2003, CARPUSOR–LOGES 2006) and on theoretical literature in Hungary exploring the issue with regards to national minorities (SLÍZ 2012, VÁRADI 2012). Therefore, in the tasks highlighted in the previous section the choice of a Chinese proper name was justified by the fact that in Hungary the experience of discrimination is present at the highest rate among Chinese migrant groups. Furthermore, among all the migrant groups in Hungary, the Chinese have the greatest population, and one of the partner schools is a Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school. At the same time, examples of English proper names do not represent "white" names (BERNTRAND–MULLAINATHAN 2003: 2) but are transfer names by nature, as the most popular foreign language studied in Hungarian public education is English. The use of English proper names was also supported by the fact that many of the partner institutions were English-Hungarian bilingual schools and that these personal names may be connected to certain characters in film and literature and figures in English-language music which are popular with pupils today (see, for example, Potter, as used in the aforementioned task). Besides the examples shown, all the teaching tools promote a wider knowledge of the personal names of migrants living in Hungary. Thus, *Aysha, Chen, Hien, Jan, Nur, Razan, Tarik, Tasnim, Yuko, Tim, Viet* are frequently featured in the tasks. These examples not only facilitate the establishment of an open intercultural atmosphere but also play a

vital pedagogical role by enabling migrant pupils to identify with the materials taught.

Of course none of the teaching tools focus pronouncedly on onomastics, similarly to textbooks for any subject used in public education. Nevertheless, the primary function of the teaching tools is to complement textbooks, so they represent an added value enriching pupils' onomastic knowledge. The quantitative and qualitative value of the teaching tools was measured by a survey discussed in part three of this study.

3. A survey on the impact of tasks widening onomastic knowledge, introduced in teaching tools by StepTogether

In 2017 a questionnaire-based survey was prepared and carried out in the partner schools.[10] One objective of the questionnaire for pupils was to measure the facilitating impact the tasks discussed above had on pupils' communication activities. 100 pupils participated in the survey, 50 pupils who don't know the program and 50 who know, among them 35 migrants (17 Chinese, 11 Vietnamese, 2 Mongolian, 2 Turkish, 1 Nigerian, 1 Russian and 1 Syrian), and 15 Hungarians who attended an integrated class with the migrants. The number of migrants participating in the survey was low compared to the total number of pupils involved in the project, but many migrant parents did not give permission to collect data about family and first names in fear of being identified on the basis of the name.

There were three questions in the survey connected to the communication facilitating impact of the tasks.[11] The answers given to the first question revealed that although few pupils in either groups told others about their family names (a total 19% of the pupils asked), 13 pupils participating in StepTogether did talk about their name before, 31 pupils have never done that and only 6 pupils left the question unanswered. With regards to the same question asked from pupils not participating in the programme, 6 pupils indicated that they

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[10] Erzsébetvárosi Magyar-Angol Kéttannyelvű Álatlános Iskola, Szakgimnázium és Szakiskola did not participate in the survey. The questionnaire included 17 points and served several purposes. First, it intended to continue previous research (KECSKÉS 2013, KOVÁCS-KECSKÉS 2014). Second, it repeated the survey presented in ÁGNES GELEGONYÁNÉ-KATONA's study (2015) on pupils' onomastic knowledge, measuring their awareness of the meaning and origin of family names and first names. Since the present study has restraints in length, the results of each point of the survey are not presented.

[11] 1. Meséltél-e már valakinek az osztályban a vezetéknevedről? [Have you told anyone in class about your surname?], 2. Meséltél-e már valakinek az utónevedről? [Have you told anyone in class about your first name?], 3. Melyik a legérdekesebb vezetéknév/utónév az osztályodban és mit tudsz erről a névről? [Which is the most interesting surname or first name in your class and what do you know about it?] (translated by J. K.).

have told others about their name, 31 said they had not and 5 pupils did not answer the question. This means that the rate of those who said yes was twice as big among participants of StepTogether as that of pupils who did not use the teaching tools. The rate was similar for the second question, concerned with first names. Only 13% of non-participating pupils told their classmates about their first names, while the number of those in the programme who did so was 9. In 25 cases the answer was no and ten pupils did not give any answers, whereas in the control group 4 pupils said yes, 40 said no and 6 did not answer the question. In light of the tasks of StepTogether containing examples of first names, this result demands an explanation. A study on the use of names as connected to contact situations (KECSKÉS 2013: 2017) already pointed out that several migrant pupils choose a Hungarian nickname (e.g. *Sziszi, Tomi, Peti*) for themselves to be used in the school community and this means that chosen names frequently cover up the real names.

In question three, the data to be assessed by the researchers was not the family or first names themselves that the pupils found the most interesting but how many of the pupils asked gained more knowledge of the name they indicated. In both groups, pupils were interested in one another's personal names, but while pupils participating in StepTogether found *Arvid* and *Pogány* most interesting, the control group said *Schäffer* and *Miklavicz*. 38 of the pupils in the programme found one name or another interesting and 21 of them provided further information about the name they chose. In contrast, although 31 pupils in the control group put down a name they found exciting, only 12 had any knowledge about that name. The act of asking directly for information was also confirmed in the StepTogether group: "*Pogány,* mine is the most interesting because many children have asked about it" (translated by J. K.).

The last set of questions pointed to the attitudes of the pupils – it inquired whether they would like to get to know a pupil whose family name has the same meaning as their own.

> *Szívesen megismernél-e olyan tanulót, akinek a Tiéddel azonos a vezetékneve (pl. Kiss : Little; Fehér : Weis, Sárkány : Lung) vagy az utóneve (pl. Máté : Matthew, Klára : Clara, Virág : Hua)?*[12]

The pupils were asked to indicate their answers on a scale of four (no, it does not matter, yes, very much). The answer "it does not matter" gained 21 and 22, respectively. The number of those who said yes was also high in both groups: 19 for pupils in StepTogether and 14 in the control group. Furthermore, 8 pupils in the program said they would very much like to get to know such a person,

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[12] [Would you like to get to know a pupil whose surname /family name (e.g. *Kiss: Little; Fehér: Weis, Sárkány: Lung*) or first/Christian name (e.g. *Máté: Matthew, Klára: Clara, Virág: Hua*) means the same as yours?] (translated by J. K.).

and 6 pupils in the control group said the same. The percentage of positive answers may lead to the conclusion that children in both groups are open to meeting foreign children of the same name, but it is also important to note the rate here: 8 of the non-participants and only two of the participants said no.

The recurring question[13] which included ethnicity, name, origin, age and appearance as possible answers and which points to a highly important factor in one's status in the school, underlined the hypothesis that for pupils in non-integrated classrooms the second most important aspect of choosing members for their group – first being age – is the same nationality. The third aspect they chose was the same T-shirt, followed by the same hair colour. None of the pupils indicated "we have the same name" as a factor in deciding who to choose. The latter aspect was not dominant but did appear in the answers of 7 pupils from StepTogether. At the same time, the third choice was "we have the same hair colour," which indicates the importance of ethnic markers/physical appearance associated with ethnicity. Number 4 on their list was having the same family name, then came the same T-shirt, which expresses one's social background or a subculture in school communities, and having the same surname was their last choice. The fact that the sameness of the family name came in fourth in the StepTogether group may be considered to be an impact of the knowledge gained in the programme and also a step towards becoming more inclusive.

4. Summary

The study presented tasks that widen onomastic knowledge and which, as parts of a special teaching tool, were designed to aid the integrated education of migrant pupils. Accordingly, the tasks also had an integrational component, which aimed at helping migrant pupils build relationships in the classroom, as well as at facilitating the acceptance of other cultures, languages, personal names and persons in integrated classrooms. The first part of the study marked the background of its research, while the second analysed the tasks connected to and moving beyond the syllabus of Grammar lessons. The questionnaire-based survey discussed in the third part revealed a positive impact made by the use of the tasks: in classrooms using the teaching tools developed by StepTogether pupils tended to speak more about their own names and appeared to be more open to the group representing the type of names discussed in the tasks.

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[13] Kit választanál a csapatodba? Csak maximum 3 embert választhatsz! a) azonos a hajunk színe b) azonos a vezetéknevünk jelentése, c) azonos az utónevünk jelentése, d) azonos származásúak vagyunk, e) azonos korúak vagyunk, f) azonos pólónk van [Who would you choose to be in your group? You may only choose 3: a) we have the same hair colour b) our surnames have the same meaning, c) our first names have the same meaning, d) we come from the same country, e) we are the same age, f) we have the same T-shirt.] (translated by J. K.).

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Abstract

The aim of the study is to present onomastic tasks that not only move outside the grammar lesson in the classroom but have the special task of facilitating social integration in a broader sense in a multicultural educational environment. Accordingly, the present paper connects two research areas of applied onomastics, namely: teaching and onomastics, and using onomastics to detect and solve issues of discrimination and migration. The first part of the study marked the background of the research, while the second analysed the tasks connected to and moving beyond the syllabus of Grammar lessons. The questionnaire-based survey discussed in the third part revealed a positive impact made by the use of the task: in classrooms using the teaching tools developed by StepTogether pupils tended to speak more about their own names and appeared to be more open to the group representing the type of names discussed in the tasks.

Keywords: teaching onomastics, personal names, migration, integration

Anikó Szilágyi-Kósa

Zur Übersetzung von nomina propria in literarischen Werken. Eine Fallstudie Ungarisch–Deutsch

> *„Für die Übersetzer/-innen kommt es darauf an, den Signal- und Ausdruckswert literarischer Namen, ihre „Aura" und „Strahlkraft" [...] einfühlsam zu erfassen und in kreativ-pragmatischer Entscheidung angemessen wiederzugeben…"*
>
> (Debus 2012: 52)

1. Einführung: Namen in literarischen Werken

Poetonyme, d.h. Namen in literarischen Werken, haben nicht nur – wie alle anderen Eigennamen – eine Benennungs- und Identifizierungsfunktion, „hier wird vielmehr das Phänomen der Namenbedeutsamkeit poetisch genutzt" (KUNZE 2000: 197).

Die besondere Stellung der Poetonyme ergibt sich aus ihrer bewussten Wahl oder ihres Zustandebringen seitens des Autors bzw. ihrer ästhetischen Funktion: „Im literarischen Werk ist der Name nicht arbiträr…" (Trost 1986: 22, zitiert von DEBUS 2012: 206) Die „Aura" der literarischen Namen gibt nicht nur Auskunft über wesentliche Züge der Personen (Orte usw.) sondern auch über das Milieu im jeweils gegebenen literarischen Werk. Dies trifft für Fälle des Unbenanntseins, d.h. der Namenlosigkeit, ebenfalls zu. Die literarischen Namen können eine wirkliche, eine mögliche oder keine Entsprechung in der realen Namenwelt haben. (KUNZE 2000: 197) Authentische Namen lassen fiktionale Wesen realer erscheinen, fiktionale Namen sind aber im Stande, die Realität der dargestellten Sachverhalte zu verbergen.

Die Klassifizierung des literarischen Nameninventars reicht bis in die Antike zurück. Bereits Aristoteles unterschied zwischen den „beliebigen/erdichteten" (fiktiven) Namen der Komödien und den „überlieferten/bekannten" (realen) Namen der Tragödien (KUNZE 2000:197). Laut DEBUS (2012: 206) werden jedoch auch die real existierenden Namen in den literarischen Werken fiktionalisiert, d.h. sie werden im Schaffensprozess den erfundenen Namen „prinzipiell gleichgestellt".

Parallele Namenwelten bilden Onyme (in der realen Welt existierende Namen) und Poetonyme (in der Literatur existierende Namen). Dies gilt selbstverständlich nicht nur für die Personen- sondern auch für (z.B.) Ortsnamen: „Es gibt eine Landkarte der literarischen Realität, die nicht weniger und nicht mehr fiktiv ist als die Karten der außer-literarischen Welt […]." (NICOLAISEN 1980: 18, zitiert von DEBUS 2012: 207).

Eine derzeit allgemein akzeptierte Aufteilung nach Hendrik Birus (1978), Kunze (2000), Debus (2012) ordnet die literarischen Namen in vier grundlegende Kategorien ein.

Verkörperte Namen enthalten eine Anspielung auf einen realen *(David)* oder fiktionalen *(Ulysses)* Namenträger und erhalten ihrem Bedeutung durch diesen Verweis bzw. den intertextuellen Bezug.

Klassifizierende Namen evozieren eine bestimmtes Milieu (*Don Juan ~* Adliger, *Nathan ~* Jude) und ordnen ihre Träger bestimmten nationalen, religiösen, sozialen Gruppen zu.

Klangsymbolische Namen nutzen den Klang als Bedeutungselement aus (*Daradiridatumdarides:* der prahlende Soldat bei Gryphius). Der Klang eines Namens ist zwar objektiv wenig messbar, doch können manche Lautkombinationen den wohl- oder Missklang eines Namens herbeiführen.

Redende Namen zeigen einen deutlichen Bezug zum apellativischen Wortschatz, durch ihre semantische Durchsichtigkeit sind sie in der Lage, zum Leser zu sprechen (*Professor Unrat* bei Thomas Mann*, Pastor Lämmerhirt* bei Theodor Fontane). Im Gegensatz zu den klangsymbolischen Namen entfalten redende Namen ihre poetische Wirkung einzelsprachlich, was bei der Übertragung der Werke in andere Sprachen mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist.

2. Namen und Übersetzung

Aus der Sicht der Onomastik sind Eigennamen nur teilweise übersetzbar: „Namen sind prinzipiell unübersetzbar, selbst transparente." (Nübling u.a. 2012: 42).

Darunter wird verstanden, dass die Wortbedeutung bzw. der Wortsinn zumindest nicht so übersetzt werden kann wie bei Apellativa. Back (2002) unterscheidet daher zwischen Namenübersetzung und der Verwendung der so genannten interlingualen Allonyme. Diese bedeuten eine Ersetzbarkeit durch Namenvarianten, die den verschiedenen Sprachen angehören, z.B. *Deutschland ~ Germany ~ Allemagne ~ Németország ~ Saksa.*

Aus der Sicht der Translatologie gibt es vielfältige Strategien bei der Übersetzung von Eigennamen. Eigennamen gelten für die Übersetzungswissenschaft als Realien, die in der Ausgangskultur verankert sind und nur mit gewissen Einschränkungen in die Zielsprache übertragbar sind.

Die Wiedergabeverfahren für EN bewegen sich auf einer langen Skala zwischen **Verfremdung** (Erhaltung der Originalformen) und **Einbürgerung** (Adaptierung in die Zielsprache). Zwischen diesen Endpolen gibt es mannigfalti-

ge Übergangslösungen: die Suche nach einer Teiläquivalenz, Lehnübersetzung, erläuternde Übersetzung, Hinzufügung, Generalisierung, Eliminierung usw. (Mujzer-Varga 2010: 57). Bei Debus (2012: 52) sind es vier „verschiedene Stufen der Wiedergabe": (1) Übersetzung, (2) Übertragung, (3) Substitution und (4) Transliteration/Transkription.

3. Empirische Untersuchung

Als Paralleltexte für die korpusbasierte empirische Untersuchung wurde der Novellenzyklus (Roman) *Esti Kornél* des ungarischen Schriftstellers *Dezső Kosztolányi* bzw. dessen deutsche Übersetzung *Ein Held seiner Zeit – Die Bekenntnisse des Kornél Esti* ausgewählt. Die Sprachrichtung der Untersuchung war demnach Ungarisch > Deutsch.

Durch die Recherche und den Vergleich der Poetonyme konnten die angewendeten Übersetzungsverfahren und Übersetzungsstrategien festgestellt werden.

3.1. Vorstellung der Texte

Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936), ein erfolgreicher ungarischer Lyriker und Prosaist der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, kehrte während seines Schaffens mehrmals zur Figur des *Esti Kornél* zurück. Er betrachtete ihn als sein Alter Ego: Der verantwortungslose junge Mann, ein echter Bürgerschreck, wurde zur Leitfigur seines Lebenswerks. Die Novellen, die die Abenteuer des Esti Kornél und seine (fiktive) Beziehung zum Autor, einem wohl erzogenen und funktionierenden Bürger, darstellen, sind zwischen 1926 und 1933 entstanden; sie erschienen im Jahre 1933 in einem selbstständigen Band, der als Titel den Namen des Protagonisten trägt. (Grundlage der Untersuchung ist die Ausgabe des Verlags Európa Könyvkiadó aus dem Jahre 2009, 257 S.)

Die als Paralleltext herangezogene deutsche Übersetzung des Werks mit dem Titel *Ein Held seiner Zeit – Die Bekenntnisse des Kornél Esti* wurde von Christina Virágh (*1953, Budapest) angefertigt. Die Übersetzung erschien im Jahre 2004 beim Berliner Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag (297 S.) mit einem überaus poetischen Nachwort des Schriftstellers Péter Esterházy. Christina Virágh ist eine ungarisch-schweizerische Schriftstellerin und Übersetzerin (bspw. von Péter Nádas, Sándor Márai, Alain-Fournier). Für ihre Übersetzertätigkeit erhielt sie u.a. den Europäischen Übersetzerpreis (2012).

In den Texten erscheint die letzte glückliche Periode des 20. Jahrhunderts, Ungarns Zwischenkriegszeit, in der der Hauptheld, „ein Weltbürger und ein leidenschaftlicher Budapester" (Esterházy 2005: 299), selbstsicher unterwegs ist.

Die literarische Gestalt des Esti Kornél wuchs im ungarischen Kulturkreis weit über die Grenzen der Literatur hinaus: Nach ihm wurden u.a. ein Popband, eine Schnaps, aber auch eine Straße in Budapest benannt.

3.2. Personennamen im Korpus

In der Namenwelt des Parallelkorpus sind Personenamen am stärksten frequentiert. Im ungarischen Text fanden sich 90 verschiedene Personenamen (Types). Personennamen gehören zu den so genannten prototypischen Eigennamen, die in der Regel nicht übersetzt werden, da sie ihre identifizierende Funktion nur in der Originalform ausüben können.

3.2.1. Der Name *Esti Kornél*

Der wichtigste und am häufigsten auftretende Personenname im Text ist *Esti Kornél.* Der reale Familienname *Esti* stand im Jahre 2010 mit insgesamt sechs Namenträgern auf Rang 16.271 in der Reihenfolge der cc. 150.000 ungarischen FN.[1] Er mag auch in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, zur Entstehungszeit des Romans, ein ähnlich seltener ungarischer Familienname gewesen sein. Der Familienname *Esti* leitet sich aus dem Appellativ *este* ('Abend') ab, demnach ist *Esti* ein redender Name:

Und nicht zu vergessen: Esti ist ein sprechender Name, Esti, der Abendliche, ein Abend- und kein Tageswesen. [...] Er ist ein Wesen der Nacht, des Traums, er lebt im Modus des Konditionals, des Konjunktivs, ihn interessiert das Mögliche und nicht das Seiende oder, noch eher, das Unmögliche und nicht das Mögliche. (ESTERHÁZY 2005: 301f.)

Dieser redende Name mit einem Hinweis auf das Naturell der Künstlerfigur, geht bei der Übersetzung verloren, er wird in unveränderter Form in den deutschen Text übernommen.

Der Vorname des Protagonisten, *Kornél,* wird in Ungarn selten getragen, noch mehr trifft das auf das 19. und den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts zu (FERCSIK–RAÁTZ 2009: 151). Der Name stammt aus dem Lateinischen und ist in ähnlicher Form in zahlreichen europäischen Sprachen vorhanden: *Cornell* (engl.), *Cornelius, Kornel* (nl, dt.), *Cornelio* (sp, it.), *Corneille* (fr.), *Kornel* (poln., slow., tschech.) usw. (FERCSIK–RAÁTZ 2009: 151). Trotzdem hat die Übersetzerin die ungarische Form (*Kornél*) in ihrem Text beibehalten und sich nicht für eine leichte Adaptation (*Cornelius, Kornel*) entschieden. Damit widersetzt sie sich der präskriptiven Einstellung von GÜTTINGER (1963: 84, zitiert von DEBUS 2012: 51): Namen bei der Übersetzung einfach *so zu lassen, wie sie sind [...].*

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[1] Quelle: http://www.kekkh.gov.hu/hu/

Es ist üblich, aber keinesfalls löblich. [...] Namen, die ausschließlich englisch sind, wird man stehen lassen; Namen, die es auf deutsch [sic!] auch gibt, sollte man dagegen in der deutschen Form schreiben. Gute Übersetzer haben es jedenfalls noch immer so gehalten.

Hier zeigt sich die Veränderung, die sich in der translatologischen Praxis in den letzten Jahrzehnten vollzogen hat. Mit der Zunahme von übersetzten Texten und der internationalen (interkulturellen) Mobilität ist es immer selbstverständlicher geworden, fremden Namen zu begegnen, die immer weniger einer Übertragung (Adaptation) bedürfen.

Allerdings wird in der Übersetzung die Reihenfolge der Namenglieder verändert. Im deutsch-ungarischen Vergleich ist die Serialisierung der Personennamenglieder eine häufig diskutierte Frage: Während im Ungarischen der Familienname (entstanden aus einem Attribut zum Rufnamen, syntaktisch betrachtet vor dem Rufnamen stehend) dem Vornamen voransteht, werden im Deutschen Familiennamen den Rufnamen (als Apposition) nachgestellt. Aus translatologischer Sicht wird die Frage nach der Reihenfolge nicht ganz einheitlich gehandhabt: Üblicherweise werden die ungarischen Personennamenglieder in deutschsprachigen Texten (wie auch hier: *Kornél Esti*) umgekehrt, nicht jedoch in der entgegensetzten Richtung *(*Mann Thomas):*

(ung.) *Esti Kornél* tényleg volt, de nem volt jogi személy. (14)[2]	*Kornél Esti* gab es, aber er war keine juristische Person. (17)

An einer einzigen Textstelle, im Titel des Romans, finden wir keine quantitative Äquivalenz vor, der Personenname erscheint im deutschen Untertitel:

(ung.) *Esti Kornél* (Titelblatt)	(dt.) *Ein Held seiner Zeit. Die Bekenntnisse des Kornél Esti* (Titelblatt)

3.2.2. Fiktive Personennamen

Auch alle anderen fiktiven ungarischen Personennamen wurden in der deutschen Übersetzung (bis auf die Reihenfolge) nicht verändert. Vornamen wurden auch dann nicht adaptiert, wenn der Vorname ein deutsches Äquivalent hat, im ungarischen Text vorhandene Diminutivsuffixe wurden ebenfalls unverändert beibehalten:

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[2] Die Zahlen in Klammern bedeuten die Seitenzahlen der beiden oben erwähnten Textausgaben.

(ung.) *Vándory V. Valér* (87)	(dt.) *Valér V. Vándor* (sic!, 102)
(ung.) kiabált *Gergely* a pincérnek (134)	(dt.) rief *Gergely* dem Kellner zu (134) ('Gregor')
(ung.) Igen, *Szűcs Zsuzsikára.* (145)	(dt.) Ja, an *Zsuzsika Szűcs.* (169) (Verkleinerung von Susanna)
(ung.) *Boros Pista* (147)	(dt.) *Pista Boros* (171) (Verkleinerung von Stefan)
(ung.) *Vermes Tónitól* kölcsönkérte (148)	(dt.) lieh sich von *Tóni Vermes* (173) (Verkleinerung von Anton)
(ung.) *Ürögi Dani* (243)	(dt.) *Dani Ürögi* (281) (Verkleinerung von Daniel)
(ung.) *Lacikát* (231)	(dt.) *Lacika* (268) (Verkleinerung von Ladislaus)

An den Originalformen der Vornamen wird so weit festgehalten, dass selbst die zum Buchstabieren von Namen verwendete Rufnamen beibehalten werden, d.h. das deutsche Buchstabieralphabet wurde nicht herangezogen:

(ung.) *Sükki*, úgy mint: *Sándor, Üxhüll, Károly*, még egyszer *Károly* […] és *Ilona* (114)	(dt.) *Sükki*, wie *Sándor, Üxhüll, Károly*, und noch einmal *Károly* […] und *Ilona* (135)

Lediglich einmal wurde das Diminutivsuffix ins Deutsche übersetzt: (ung.) *Editke* (54): (dt.) *Editchen* (63).

Mit einem Kosenamen (*Pali*, abgeleitet aus Pál, 'Paul') hat der Autor ein Sprachspiel geschaffen:

(ung.) *Pali* (112)	(dt.) *Pali* (133)
(ung.) így *paliztak* az újságírók (112)	(dt.) So *palaverten* die Journalisten (133)

Das okkasionelle ungarische Verb *palizik* (aus dem Kosenamen Pali + einem Verbalsuffix) mit der Bedeutung ihm mit seinem 'Namen Pali zurufen' hat selbstverständlich keine deutsche Entsprechung, das Verb *palavern,* durch das es ersetzt wurde, enthält aber genauso zumindest einen Teil des Namens und den semantischen Hinweis auf das laute Rufen.

In einer Novelle erscheint die Figur eines türkischen Mädchens namens (ung.) *Kücsük* (108). Der hier als fiktive Name eingesetzte Appellativ ('klein') wurde aus dem Türkischen ins Ungarische entlehnt (ung. *kicsi*), die Aussprache lautet

[kʏt͡ʃʏk], auch dieser Name – mit einer für die deutschen Leser eher proble-matischen Aussprache – wurde unverändert ins Deutsche übernommen: (dt.) *Kücsük* (127).

3.2.3. Reale Personennamen

Namen mit real existierenden (existierten) Namenträgern kommen im Novellenzyklus und seiner Übersetzung ebenfalls häufig vor. Hier kommen un-terschiedliche Übersetzungsverfahren zum Vorschein.

Namen aus Sprachen mit abweichenden Schreibsystemen werden anders trans-literalisiert:

(ung.) *Tolsztoj Leó* grófot látja (185)	(dt.) Graf *Leo Tolstoi* (215)

Eine „altmodische", am Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr übliche Praxis zeigt sich – im ungarischen Text – in der Adaptation von Vornamen bei bekann-ten Personen:

(ung.) *Edison Alva Tamás* (161)	(dt.) *Thomas Alva Edison* (187)

Aus der ungarischen Übersetzung von Goethes Faust stammt der Name *Margit*, der in der deutschen Übersetzung in zwei verschiedenen Formen erscheint:

(ung.) *Margitot,* […] a gyermekgyil-kos anyát (19)	*Margarete,* […] die Kindsmörderin (23)
(ung.) *Margit* hajdani költő-lovagja (19)	*Gretchens* ritterlicher Poet (23)

Bei der Anspielung auf eine ungarische Volksmärchenfigur bleibt der ungari-sche Rufname (Ilona 'Helene') ebenfalls erhalten:

(ung.) *Tündér Ilona* jelmezében (153)	(dt.) *in ihrem Fee-Ilona-Kostüm* (179)

Namen von Herrschern, die oft nur aus Rufnamen und Namenzusätzen beste-hen, werden üblicherweise übersetzt, so auch in der Übersetzung von Christina Virágh:

(ung.) *I. Ferenc József* (75)	*Franz Josef I.* (88)
(ung.) *XVI. Lajos* rejtélyesen eltűnt gyermekéhez (163)	(dt.) das rätselhaft verschwundene Kind *Ludwigs XVI.* (189)

Der fiktional eingesetzte Name *Hannibál,* der hier als verkörperter Name erscheint, blieb in der deutschen Übersetzung unverändert, d.h. er enthält das ungarische Akzentzeichen:

| (ung.) *Hannibál*, az éji árus (88) | (dt.) *Hannibál*, der Nachthausierer (103) |

3.2.3. Namenzusätze

Namenzusätze in Form von appellativischen Namengliedern werden übersetzt und dem Sprachusus entsprechend umgestellt:

(ung.) *Wirth doktor* (124)	(dt.) *Doktor Wirth* (146)
(ung.) *Lojzi úr* (7)	(dt.) *Der Herr Lojzi* (10)
(ung.) *Pali* mind a két nemesi előnevét odaírta: *Alsó- és Felsőmogyoródi Mogyoróssy Pál* (120)	(dt.) hatte *Pali* seinen vollständigen Adelstitel geschrieben: *Pál Mogyoróssy von Unter- und Obermogyoród* (141)
(ung.) Nézd, *Kornél fiam* (12) ('mein Sohn')	(dt.) Hör mal, *Kornél, mein Lieber* (15)

3.3. Geographische Namen im Korpus

Selbstverständlich wird das Nameninventar des Romans mit dem viel reisenden Protagonisten auch durch Toponyme geprägt: Es sind insgesamt 9 Ortsnamen, 8 Straßennamen (Hodonyme), 8 Länder- und Landschaftsnamen, 2 Gewässernamen (Hydronyme) und 2 Bergnamen (Oronyme) im Text vorhanden.

3.3.1. Siedlungsnamen (Oikonyme)

Die Übersetzerin verfährt bei der Übertragung von geographischen Namen – konsequenterweise – ähnlich wie bei Personennamen und verwendet nur selten (im Falle von appellativischen Namengliedern) einbürgernde Verfahren:

| (ung.) *ferencvárosi* bérkaszárnyák (76) | (dt.) Mietskasernen des Ferenc-Viertels (89) |

Allerdings wird die umgangssprachliche Verwendung (des Ortsnamens Budapest in Form von) *Pest* für das deutschsprachige Leserpublikum ergänzt:

| (ung.) meg is érkezett *Pestre* (32) | (dt.) kam er … in *Budapest* an. (38) |
| (ung.) a „*pesti*" ember" (33) | (dt.) der „Mensch von *Budapest*" (39) |

Namen von Orten mit nicht-ungarischer Provenienz werden ausnahmsweise durch ihre interlingualen Allonyme ersetzt, während Siedlungsnamen mit ungarischer Provenienz auch im deutschen Text erhalten bleiben:

(ung.) *Kassán, Bécsben* vagy *Kolozsvárott* (13)	(dt.) in *Kassa, Wien* oder *Kolozsvár* (16)
(ung.) még ott volt *Lisszabon* szele, (cipőjén *Tagus* fövénye) (144)	(dt.) der Wind *Lissabons,* an seinen Schuhen der feine Sand des *Tejo.* (168)
(ung.) hajója, a Dániel Ernő, akkor indul *Velence* felé (63)	(dt.) fuhr sein Schiff, die Dániel Ernő, nach *Venedig* ab (74)
(ung.) a *fiumei* gyorsra (34)	(dt.) den Express nach *Fiume* (40) (heute: Rijeka in Kroatien)

Bei den Ortsnamen fällt das häufige Meiden der interlingualen Allonyme auf: Obwohl z.B. der Stadtteil von Budapest, Ferencváros, benannt nach dem österreichischen Kaiser, ein deutschsprachiges Allonym *(Franzstadt)* hat, wird das genauso wenig verwendet, wie die deutschsprachigen Bezeichnungen der Städte Kassa *(Kaschau)* oder Kolozsvár *(Klausenburg).*

3.3.2. Straßennamen (Hodonyme)

Bei Hodonymen werden lediglich die appellativischen Bestandteile der Namen *(út, utca > Straße, körút > Boulevard, sétány > Allee, Promenade, Bástya > Bastei)* übersetzt:

(ung.) az *Andrássy úton* (32)	(dt.) auf der *Andrássyallee* (39)
(ung.) Hát ti nem a *Gombkötő utcában* laktok? (12)	(dt.) Wohnt ihr denn nicht in der *Gombkötőstraße?* (15)
(ung.) *Damjanich utcában* (12)	(dt.) in der *Damjanichstraße* (15)
(ung.) mire kiértek a *körútra* (78)	(dt.) auf den *Boulevard* (92)
(ung.) a *Rákóczi út* sarkán (80)	(dt.) an der Ecke zur *Rákóczystraße* (94) (sic!)
(ung.) Elmentek a *Mária utcába* (89)	(dt.) Sie gingen in die *Máriastraße* (104)
(ung.) az *Üllői úton* (95)	(dt.) auf der *Üllőistraße* (111)
(ung.) letekintett a *Bástya-sétányról* (113)	(dt.) schaute von der *Basteipromenade* hinunter (134)

Ähnlich wie bei den Straßennamen werden die semantischen voll durchsichtigen Namenglieder der Bahnhofsbezeichnungen Wort für Wort ins Deutsche übersetzt:

(ung.) a *Nyugati-pályaudvarnál* (124)	(dt.) in der Nähe des *Westbahnhofs* (146)
(ung.) érkezett a *Déli vasútnál* (113)	(dt.) im *Südbahnhof* angekommen (133)

3.3.3. Weitere geographische Namen

Bei Kontinenten-, Länder- und Landschafts- und Flussnamen werden in der Übersetzung konsequent die interlingualen Allonyme eingesetzt: *Itália > Italien, Nyugat-Európát > Westeuropa* usw.

(ung.) a szent és imádott *Itália* felé (67)	(dt.) heiliges, angebetetes *Italien* (78)
(ung.) *Amerikában* (27)	(dt.) in *Amerika* (33)
(ung.) *Nyugat-Európát* (109)	(dt.) *Westeuropa* (129)
(ung.) megpillantotta a *Vérmezőt*, (a *Gellért-hegyet*) (113)	(dt.) den *Vérmező* und (den *Gellérthügel*) erblickte (134)
(ung.) aki olyan egyedül élt Budapesten, mintha *Madagaszkárban,* vagy a *Fidzsi-szigeteken* lakna (123)	(dt.) der in Budapest so einsam lebte, als wohnte er auf *Magadaskar* oder auf den *Fidschiinseln* (145)
(ung.) *Portugáliából* érkezett haza (144)	(dt.) kehrte von *Portugal* heim (168)
(ung.) pántolta át a *Dunát*. (15)	(dt.) über die *Donau* (18)
(ung.) a Dunát és a *Gellért-hegyet* (32)	(dt.) die Donau und den *Gellérthügel* (39)

Existierende, jedoch weniger bekannte deutsche geographische Namen werden in der Übersetzung nicht verwendet: Die zum Teil von Deutschen bewohnte *Batschka*, heute in Serbien, ist die Heimat des Autors.

(ung.) *Bácska* a mi *Gascogne*-unk. (144)	(dt.) *Bácska* ist unsere *Gascogne.* (168)

Manche geographische Namen, die im Ungarischen in appellativischer Funktion (als Weinsortenbezeichnung) auftreten, erscheinen im Deutschen als Eigennamen (in Apposition):

(ung.) *Badacsonyin* kezdte, *csopakin* folytatta […] az *arácsi* papi pincék ászokfáin (144)	(dt.) Begann mit dem Wein von *Badacsony,* fuhr mit dem Wein von *Csopak* fort, […] der geistlichen Herren von *Arács* (169)

Auch bei den Toponymen findet sich ein Sprachspiel, das eine besondere Herausforderung für die Übersetzerin bedeutete. Der sich reimende ungarische Einführungssatz (*Hajdanában, danában:* 'Es war einmal…') klingt dem Ländernamen *Dänemark* (ung. *Dánia*) ähnlich, daraus ergibt sich das Zusammenspiel der festen Wortverbindung mit dem Toponym. Im Deutschen schafft die Übersetzerin dafür den fiktiven Ortsnamen *Füllehülle*, die sich der festen Wortverbindung *in Hülle und Fülle* anschließt. Die Semantik des Toponyms Dänemark im Quellensprachentext wird im Zielsprachentext in der anschließenden Frage *An der Ostsee?* – zumindest teilweise – wiedergegeben.

(ung.) Hajdanában, danában. *Dániában?* (97) ('Es war einmal… in Dänemark?'	in Fülle, in Fülle Hülle. In Füllehülle? An der *Ostsee?* (115)

3.4. Ergonyme im Korpus

Unter den Namen für Gegenstände treten Institutionyme, vor allem Kneipennamen, bzw. Titel am häufigsten auf. Semantisch auffallend durchsichtige Eigennamen wurden dabei (ihrer lexikalischen Bedeutung nach) ins Deutsche (im engeren Sinne des Wortes) übersetzt: *a Denevér szállóban > im Hotel Fledermaus, a Vörös Ökör-be > in den „Roten Ochsen", „Rabló" > „Zum Räuber", az Erdélyi Borozóban >* in der *Siebenbürger Weinstube* usw.

(ung.) a *Denevér szállóban* (15)	(dt.) Im *Hotel Fledermaus* (19)
(ung.) a *Vörös Ökör*-be megy (22)	(dt.) in den „*Roten Ochsen"* (27)
(ung.) A *Vörös Ökör* az elemi iskola volt. A népművelésnek ez az egyemeletes palotája… (24)	(dt.) Der *Rote Ochse* war die Volksschule. Dieser einstöckige Palast der Volksbildung… (29)
(ung.) „*Rabló"* nevű kisvendéglőbe (86)	(dt.) im Wirtshaus „*Zum Räuber"* (101)
(ung.) az *Erdélyi Borozóban* (124)	(dt.) in der *Siebenbürger Weinstube* (146)
(ung.) a *Nemzeti Múzeumban* (32)	(dt.) *im Nationalmuseum* (38)
(ung.) a *Bank of England* (211)	(dt.) die *Bank of England* (245)

Das weniger transparente Lexem Vitriol bedarf bei der Übersetzung (zumindest bei der ersten Erwähnung) einer Ergänzung: *der Vitriol* **genannten** *Kneipe* (17).

(ung.) A *Vitriol-lebuj* főpincére (13)	(dt.) der Oberkellner *der Vitriol genannten Kneipe* (17)
(ung.) a *Torpedó-ban* vagy a *Vitriol-ban* (20)	(dt.) *im Torpédo oder im Vitriol* (25)
(ung.) a *New York kávéházba* (79)	(dt.) *das Kaffeehaus New York* (93)
(ung.) a *Torpedó kávéházba* (170)	(dt.) *im Kaffeehaus Torpédo* (198)

Keiner Ergänzung bedarf die Übertragung des Zigarettenmarkennamens *Média*, da das Verb *rauchen* und das Genus des Substantivs eindeutig auf den Begriff 'Zigarette' schließen lässt:

(ung.) Elszívtak egy-egy zöldpettyes, világos *Médiát.* (78)	(dt.) Sie rauchten je eine grüngetupfte helle *Média.* (92)

Bei der Recherche nach Eigennamen erscheint es als etwas überraschend, dass der Heiligenname als Bestandteil des Krankenhausnamens in seiner ursprünglichen Form belassen wurde:

(ung.) a *Szent Miklós elmeosztályra* (124)	(dt.) die *Szent-Miklós-Nervenheilsanstalt* (146) ('Sankt Nikolaus')

Im Gegensatz zu den mehrgliedrigen Personennamen wurde beim sekundären Schiffsnamen *Dániel Ernő*, der mit einem Personennamen identisch ist, die Reihenfolge der Namenglieder in der Quellensprache auch in der Übersetzung beibehalten.[3]

(ung.) hajója, a *Dániel Ernő,* akkor indul *Velence* felé (63)	(dt.) fuhr sein Schiff, die *Dániel Ernő,* nach *Venedig* ab (74)

Die Esti Kornél-Novellen sind reich mit Literaten, Gedichten und Zeitschriften bevölkert – dementsprechend kommen in ihnen oft Titel von literarischen Werken und Zeitschriften vor. Ihre Übertragung ins Deutsche wurde folgendermaßen gehandhabt.

Nicht-ungarische Eigennamen werden unverändert in die Übersetzung übernommen, dem Ungarischen angepasste Lehnnamen an die Originalform zurückgeführt (*Germánia* > *Germania*).

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[3] http://www.hajoregiszter.hu/hajoadatlap/daniel_erno/1075

(ung.) a *Bank of England* (211)	(dt.) die *Bank of England* (245)
(ung.) az ottani közművelődési egyesületnek, a *Germániá*-nak elnöke (170)	(dt.) dem Präsidenten der *Germania*, des Städtischen Bildungsvereins (198)
(ung.) a *Balkán-egylet* (79)	(dt.) der *Balkan-Trupp* (93)

Titel von Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und literarischen Werken werden dem früheren (und zum Teil auch heutigen) Usus entsprechend Wort für Wort in die Zielsprache übersetzt. Zur Wahrnehmung der Eigennamen dienen dabei in der Übersetzung die kursiv geduckten Titel und auch der Kontext, aus dem sich der Namencharakter erschließen lässt:

(ung.) … ráordítani a prímásra, mikor a „*Csendesen, csak csendesen*"-t nem húzta eléggé csendesen és a cimbalmosra, mikor a „*Hullámzó Balaton*" nem eléggé zúgott és morajlott a cimbalom vattaütőkkel vert acélhúrjain … (147)	(dt.) … den Primas anschreien, wenn er das *Stille, nur stille* nicht stille genug spielte, und den Zimbelspieler, wenn die *Wellen des Balaton* auf den mit Watteschlägern bearbeiteten Stahlsaiten nicht genug brandeten und rauschten. (172)

Alle Titel von literarischen Werken sowie Presseerzeugnissen erfuhren eine wortwörtliche Übersetzung.

(ung.) a „*Közlöny*" belső munkatársa (131)	(dt.) festangestellter Mitarbeiter des *Journal* (154)
(ung.) Rengeteg újság volt itt. Ezúttal csak a *Hazugság*-ot, az *Önérdek*-et, a *Gyáva Útonálló*-t és a *Bérenc*-et emelem ki. (71)	(dt.) Es gab hier Massen von Zeitungen. Ich erwähne an dieser Stelle nur die *Lüge*, den *Eigennutz,* den *Feigen Wegelagerer* und den *Söldling*. (83) [Zeitschriften]
(ung.) *Unalom.* Ez a címe. (72)	(dt.) *Langeweile.* Das ist der Titel. (84) [Zeitschrift]
(ung.) Jobb, mint az „*Őrült hinta*"? 7(6)	(dt.) besser als die *Wahnsinnige Schaukel*? (90) [Gedicht]
(ung.) dalfüzéremen, melynek ez a címe: *Gátlások és átvitelek* (165)	(dt.) Lieberliederzyklus, *Hemmungen und Übertragungen* (195)

(ung.) *Háború és béke* három vaskos kötetét (185)	(dt.) die drei Bände von *Krieg und Frieden* (215) [Roman]
(ung.) *Viciszláv gróf titokzatos kastélyá*-nak gördülékeny […] fordítása (221)	(dt.) Der Titel lautete: *Das geheimnisvolle Schloß des Grafen Viciszláv* (256) [Roman]

Auch bei dieser Namenart erlaubte sich der Autor ein Sprachspiel, indem das Adjektiv *független* ('unabhängig') im Zeitschriftentitel durch ein Verhören in *fületlen* ('ohne Ohren, ohrenlos') umgewandelt wurde. Dieses phonematisch-graphematische Spiel hat die Übersetzerin noch gesteigert, indem sie in der Übersetzung aus dem zweiten Glied des Titels *(Ungarn)* ein ähnlich witziges Adjektiv geformt hat *(ungar)*:

(ung.) A *Független Magyarország*-ba (77)	(dt.) Im *Unabhängigen Ungarn* (90) [Zeitschrift]
(ung.) a *Fületlennek* (81)	(dt.) dem *Ungaren Unabhängigen* (95) [Zeitschrift]

4. Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass im Parallelkorpus des ungarischen Textes *Esti Kornél* und seiner deutschsprachigen Übersetzung unterschiedliche Übersetzungsverfahren eingesetzt wurden.

Eine grundlegende Strategie war dabei die möglichst häufige Erhaltung der originalen Namenformen bei den „starken" (prototypischen) Namen, d.h. bei Personennamen *(Esti Kornél > Kornél Esti),* und auch oft im Falle der geographischen Namen *(Kassa > Kassa)*. Bei den Personennamen reichte das bis zur Übernahme der ungarischen Rufnamen und Diminutivformen. Dieses verfremdende translatorische Verfahren wurde trotz der großen sprachlichen Entfernung (auch z.B. bei Heiligennamen: a *Szent Miklós elmeosztályra >* die *Szent-Miklós-Nervenheilsanstalt*) praktiziert.

Eine Art Adaptation (Integration des Namens in die Zielsprache) konnte vor allem bei den geographischen Namen beobachtet werden: Bei international bekannten und geläufigen geographischen Namen hat die Übersetzerin interlinguale Allonyme verwendet *(Velence > Venedig)*. Den zielsprachlichen Lesern weniger bekannte Eigennamen wurden u.U. durch Ergänzung adaptiert *(Pest > Budapest)*.

Ein völliger Namenersatz, d.h. der Ersatz des Eigennamens durch ein anderes sprach- und kulturspezifisches Element, wurde bei Sprachspielen eingesetzt *(Dániában? > In Füllehülle?, a Fületlennek > dem Ungaren Unabhängigen)*.

Die durch die hohe Frequenz der Institutionyme gar nicht so seltene eigentliche (wörtliche) Übersetzung erfolgte vor allem bei Titeln und Namen von Restaurants und anderen städtischen Einrichtungen *(dalfüzéremen, melynek ez a címe: Gátlások és átvitelek > Lieberliederzyklus, Hemmungen und Übertragungen).*

Der größte translatorische Verlust zeigte sich beim redenden Namen des Protagonisten *Kornél Esti,* weil im Zielsprachentext der Hinweis auf die appellativische Bedeutung des Namens ('abendlich, nächtlich') gänzlich verlorenging, dafür wurde dem aufmerksamen Leser im Nachwort ein Ersatz geboten.

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Abstract

Das Ziel des Beitrags ist, die translatorische Praxis und dadurch die Übersetzung (Übersetzbarkeit) der Eigennamen in der Literatur im Sprachenpaar Ungarisch-Deutsch zu untersuchen. Das Original und die Übersetzungen(en) von literarischen Werken bieten geradezu ein ideales Korpus, um nicht nur die Entsprechungen von Eigennamen sondern auch ihre textuelle Einbettung zu analysieren. Als Paralleltexte wurden der Novellenzyklus *Esti Kornél* von *Dezső Kosztolányi* und seine deutschsprachige Übersetzung ausgewählt. Es sollen die grundsätzlichen Übersetzungsstrategien (Verfremdung vs. Einbürgerung) und die verschiedenen Übersetzungsverfahren eingehend untersucht werden. Dabei geht die Untersuchung von der Annahme aus, dass Eigennamen im Text als Realien gelten, deren translatorische Wiedergabe im Zielsprachentext sich auf einer breiten Skala von der direkten Übernahme bis zur vollständigen Auslassung des sprachlichen Zeichens bewegt.

Schlüsselwörter: Literarische Übersetzung, Eigennamen als Realien, Übersetzungsverfahren

Justyna B. Walkowiak

Personal Name Policies in Europe in the Context of Globalization

1. Introduction

It is unusual for personal names in contemporary Europe to belong to the private realm in the sense of unofficial, secret names available only to the chosen and initiated, as it still happens in many naming cultures of the world. On the contrary, personal names – even if diminutive forms of given names are used chiefly in informal parlance – typically function in the public, not private sphere. What is more, among the diverse objects of onomastic inquiry, personal names are special: while they denote their bearers and enable their being "a legible people" (SCOTT 1998: 71), they simultaneously connote ethnicity and/ or nationality, sometimes also gender. Their choice (this refers mostly to given names) allows for "languaging" (cf. SHOHAMY 2006: 15), i.e. they may be a vehicle for communicating something about their bearers: their religion, social class/status, tastes, political convictions or world-view, marital status, even age.

Once private designations needed and known only in the local circle,[1] now personal names are public property. Consequently, today far more important than the traditional division into the private and the public seems to be the gap between the local and the global. Nowadays personal names accompany their bearers in flowing freely across frontiers within the EU, and they also cross borders with migrants from the outside. This occasions frictions in the sphere

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[1] Polish writer Edward Redliński depicts in his novel a conversation between a teacher from town and a rural family ignorant of what their family name is (English translation JBW):
'Kirelejsons is your village byname? And the surname? Real surname? Ba, and then? Well? Bar?'
'Bartoszko!', Handzia bursts out, and dad immediately opposes: 'Not at all! You just say Bartoszko. It's really Bartosz. My father was Bartosz, Stanisław Bartosz!' The teacher turns to me, asking how priest wrote us at wedding? Bartosz or Bartoszko?
'Bartosz, I guess'.
'And I'd say Bartoszko', Handzia recalls: 'Bartoszko Kaźmier and Hanna'.
'You don't have any documents, do you?' the teacher asks. […]
I give her these papers and the one with the stamp, she takes them to the window and reads, reads.
'Bartoszewicz!' she announces.
[…] Handzia was the most surprised. She started to laugh: 'Bartosiewicz hahaha, look, Kazimierz, so many years with him, I'd think with Kaźmier, and he's Kazimierz. And Bartosiewicz! So I'm Bartosiewicz Hanna? Ha, ha, ha, look: Bartosiewicz!'
'Bartoszewicz', the teacher corrects […] (REDLIŃSKI 1975: 107)

of naming, especially when radically different naming patterns are at variance with each other.

The migrations, coupled with easier access to other cultures – due among others to the fall of the Iron Curtain, to the enlargement of the European Union and to the existence and the increasing accessibility of the Internet – have led to visible globalisation trends in the naming of children. These trends are manifested in two ways: in the actual naming and in the liberalisation of applicable laws in some countries.

At the same time, the awareness of minority rights in the realm of personal naming is increasing. This refers to national and ethnic minorities, but also to women, who are known to have been, in a manner of speaking, "anthroponymically minoritized" for a long time in recorded history. While in contemporary Europe nobody obviously denies to women the right to their own personal name – in contrast with the situation observed several centuries ago (a case in point may be 17th-century Sweden, cf. LEIBRING 2014) – the shape of feminine surnames raises concern in the countries with naming patterns that feature them.

All the above aspects considered, four major areas of personal name policies emerge in contemporary Europe:

1. the tensions between states that result directly from the differences in naming patterns;

2. the struggle of ethnic minorities for anthroponymic emancipation;

3. the reconsideration of policies regarding the traditional forms of feminine surnames

4. the liberty (or lack thereof) of naming children

In what follows, these areas will be discussed in more detail with the intention of outlining trends and likely future developments in the respective policies.

2. Differences in naming patterns across countries

The underlying differences among the countries of Europe in naming patterns are responsible for potential problems that come to the fore in the case of migrant workers, mixed marriages, naturalization, etc. They may also cause misunderstandings in international relations, tourism or business travel. A case in point may be the time of the Spanish presidency in the European Union (January–June 2010), when journalists from outside Spain experienced problems trying to log on the presidency website (cf. NIMMO 2010). The system demanded a two-surname identification, which is typical of Spanish and Portuguese naming culture, but not common in Europe outside the Iberian peninsula. Similarly, the

contemporary Russian, Bulgarian, Belarusian, Serbian or Ukrainian pattern of a tripartite personal name (with the given name, patronymic and the surname proper) is typically not adhered to in Western Europe, notwithstanding the fact that many contemporary Western European surnames are patronymic in origin.

An exceptional, even if numerically insignificant case is that of Iceland, where the standard naming practice involves a given name followed by an individual patronymic, with an optional middle name, *millinöfn,* between the two for more precise identification (*Lög um mannanöfn* 1996). Only a small minority bear a fixed, inheritable family name (MANNFJÖLDI 2018: 1). Until the turn of this century, foreigners who settled in this country were expected to Islandise their names in the same fashion, the practice renounced only in 1996.[2] The fact that the traditional Icelandic naming pattern is unique in today's Europe may lead to international misunderstandings: "When Icelandic couples are traveling abroad with their offspring or if they want to register the names of their babies abroad they often run into difficulties because most Western bureaucracies demand that the child is given the surname of the father if the parents are married and of the mother if they are not" (HAUPTMANN 2013).

As regards the order of the constituent elements of a personal name, Hungary differs from other European states since it follows the so-called Eastern order[3] with the surname (family name) preceding the given name(s).[4] Misunderstandings may arise from this fact, especially in the case of given names of Hungarian origin that do not have their equivalents in other languages and are therefore not easily recognisable as such outside the Hungarian community (e.g. *Árpád, Béla*).

A related issue is that of differences in writing systems and the resulting transcription/ transliteration, as in the 1993 case *Christos Konstantinidis v Stadt Altensteig,* in which a Greek citizen working in Germany complained about the distortion of his personal name in transliteration. Within Europe, the conflicting systems are typically the Latin alphabet vs. the Cyrillic or Greek one, as illustrated by the following question to the European Parliament:

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[2] As of 1996, "If a person with a foreign name acquires Icelandic nationality by an act of law, he or she may retain his full name without any changes […] Persons who acquired Icelandic nationality subject to requirements regarding changes of their names prior to the commencement of this Act may, by permission of the Minister of Justice, re-adopt the names they bore previously and/or discontinue the use of the names that they were required to adopt, though with the condition that the total number of their forenames and family names may not exceed three [...] The same shall apply to their descendants." (*Personal Names Act..,.* 1996).

[3] The name is derived from the fact that this order is followed in Japanese, Chinese, Korean or Vietnamese personal names.

[4] In the years 1947–89 a similar phenomenon existed in Romania as well, but after the fall of Communism this country returned to the Western name order (ВАСЧЕНКО 1986).

"Major problems are caused when Greek civil servants transliterate Greek names into Latin characters (when issuing new identity cards, passports, diplomas, etc.), especially for Greek citizens who have names of foreign origin. The particular standard applied – ELOT 743 – devised by the Greek Standardisation Organisation does not seem to cover all cases where letters are pronounced differently from one country to another. For example, the name of a Greek woman married to a German named »Weber« would in Greek appear as »Βεμπερ«, which then transliterates back into Latin characters using the new standard as »Vemper«.

The result of this situation is that citizens with Greek identity documents have »dual« names in the other Member States and experience considerable complications and inconvenience over matters such as insurance, pensions, bank accounts, etc." (*Written question…* 2002).

Needless to say, in the case of immigrants from outside Europe, the original version of their personal names may be in practically any writing system of the world, although, considering the statistics of the immigration to Europe from other continents, it may be assumed that the most numerous group uses the Arabic script.

However, some problems in the recording of personal names do not involve non-Latin scripts but apply to the Latin alphabet and result from the existence of diacritics. This applies for instance to Slavic and Baltic languages. The use of diacritics is regulated by Art. 2 of the Convention on the Recording of Surnames and Forenames in Civil Status Registers, which states that "Any diacritic marks forming part of such surnames and forenames shall also be reproduced, even if such marks do not exist in the language in which the record is to be made" (KAPPENBERG 2015: 189). The Convention was signed only by a couple of states: Germany (ratified 1977),[5] Greece (1977), Italy (1981), Luxembourg (1982), the Netherlands (1977) and Turkey (1976). Austria, which signed the Convention (and ratified it in 1980), withdrew from ICCS membership in 2008. As can be seen, no Slavic or Baltic country is party to the Convention.

3. Ethnic minorities and personal name policies

The personal naming of ethnic minorities is regulated by national, supranational and international laws. Of the latter, one could invoke the Central European Initiative Instrument for the Protection of Minority Rights (Turin 1994), which states in Art. 11 that "Any person belonging to a national minority shall have the right to use his or her surname and first names in his or her language and the right to official acceptance and registration of such surname and names"

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[5] The years in brackets are those of ratification.

(Arp 2008: 202). Another law is the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (Barcelona 1996) with the following provisions:

"Art. 31: All language communities have the right to preserve and use their own system of proper names in all spheres and on all occasions.

Art. 34: Everyone has the right to the use of his/her own name in his/her own language in all spheres, as well as the right, only when necessary, to the most accurate possible phonetic transcription of his/her name in another writing system." (*Universal…* 1996).

However, the minority laws that merit the most attention are the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Strasbourg 1992) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM, Strasbourg 1995). Both have been signed and ratified by a considerable number of EU member states. The former declares in Art. 10, p. 5 that "[t]he Parties undertake to allow the use or adoption of family names in the regional or minority languages, at the request of those concerned" (Arp 2008: 156), whereas the latter (in Art. 11, point 1) reads as follows:

"The Parties undertake to recognise that every person belonging to a national minority has the right to use his or her surname (patronym) and first names in the minority language and the right to official recognition of them, according to modalities provided for in their legal system" (Arp 2008: 144).

The states that are party to these two legal acts are relatively numerous. However, the Charter has never been signed by Ireland, Belgium, Portugal, all the three Baltic states, most of the Balkan states or Turkey, whereas it was signed but not ratified by Russia, Iceland, France, Italy and Macedonia (FYROM). Similar exceptions reappear in the Framework Convention: France and Turkey never signed it, while Iceland, Belgium and Greece signed it without ratification.

The successive monitoring cycles of the FCNM reveal a gradual and slow, but visible improvement in the implementation of art. 11 (cf. *Country-specific monitoring…* 2018). Thus among the states whose laws and administrative practice do not currently occasion any minority complaints in that respect there are e.g. Azerbaijan, Czechia, Hungary, Macedonia (FYROM), Poland, Slovakia, probably also Norway and Russia. Nevertheless, in the case of some states the monitoring reveals unresolved issues. According to the monitoring reports, Bulgaria, which has Turkish and Pomak minorities, still experiences difficulties in having non-Slavic names officially recognised – there are problems with name restoration, also regarding the names of the deceased (*Third Opinion on Bulgaria* 2014: 29) – as well as with the discrimination of those using non-Slavic names (ibid.). In Kosovo, minority names, especially Bosnian and Turkish ones, are often misspelled in identity documents (*Third*

Opinion on Kosovo 2013: 35). Ukraine tends to impose the Ukrainian form of names (*Fourth Opinion on Ukraine* 2017: 39), which practice appears to be taking place despite the legislative provisions (Article 28 of the Law of Ukraine "On the Fundamentals of the State Language Policy", cf. *Fourth Report* 2016: 40–41). In Lithuania, there is the long-standing controversy (cf. *Third Opinion on Lithuania* 2013: 5) regarding the right of persons belonging to national minorities that use the Latin script to spell their names and surnames in their minority language in official documents, though transcription from non-Latin alphabets, e.g. Russian, does not appear problematic. In Latvia, the historical or original forms of names are registered only on request and on production of documentary evidence; moreover, Latvian transcription of minority names differs from the original. In Estonia, members of the Russian minority have no right to use their patronyms *(отчество)* according to the Russian-language naming pattern (*Fourth Opinion on Estonia* 2015: 21).

Contentious issues related to minority personal naming find their reflection also in the cases brought to EU supranational courts (cf. *HUDOC*). The cases include *Güzel Erdagöz v. Turkey* (refusal by authorities to record in documents a regional version of the name of a Turkish citizen), *Bulgakov v. Ukraine* (Ukrainization of the name of a Ukrainian citizen of Russian ethnicity), and *Lidija Kuharec alias Kuhareca v. Latvia* (Lettonization of the name of a Latvian citizen of Russian ethnicity). Of note was also the case *Raihman v. Latvia,* decided in favour of the complainant by the UN Human Rights Committee, which concerned the Latvianization of the personal name of a Latvian national of Russian ethnicity to Leonīds Raihmans (cf. Varennes–Kuzborska 2015 passim, *ECHR Case Law* 2012).

As has been mentioned, the general trend seems to be towards the relaxation of laws that pertain to personal names of minorities. A case in point may be Germany, where until 2007 Sorbian minority names were forbidden in official documents (Wenzel 2008: 246), but are legal today (*Gesetz zur Ausführung…* 2007). Similarly in France Breton and other minority names used to be forbidden until 1993 (there was also an official name list which did not include minority names) (Benelbaz 2011: 337). Nevertheless, occasional lapses may appear. In 2017 a couple in Brittany tried in vain to register their newborn "Faňch", which is Breton for "François". The registry refused to approve the name on the grounds that the letter "n" with a tilde (ñ) exists only in Breton, and not in French (*France's name police…* 2017).

4. The issue of feminine surnames

Feminine surnames are officially used in Slavic and Baltic languages. The Slavic group includes Polish, Czech, Slovak, Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian

(especially in the east), as well as Bulgarian or Macedonian; the Baltic languages are Lithuanian and Latvian. There exist various patterns. In some countries (e.g. Latvia, Czechia, Slovakia) feminine surnames are borne by practically all female citizens, while in others (e.g. Poland) – only by those with a particular morphologically suitable type of surname.[6] In most states there is a bipartite division (masculine vs. feminine surnames), but in Lithuania the tripartite system exists, with morphologically different surnames for married women and for unmarried ones.

In some Slavic languages – notably Slovene and the so-called BCMS languages (i.e. Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian) – gender differences in surnames no longer exist in official documents and situations, though they used to exist historically, with detailed rules determining their formation, and still may be encountered in informal everyday communication (VOJTECHOVÁ POKLAČ 2016). In Polish the traditional tripartite division, with two types of feminine surnames depending on marital status, was obligatory in official documents in the interwar period. However, after WW2 such surname forms disappeared from official use, though sometimes they are still used informally today. They are considered more cultured, and to this day are used in public life (though not in identity documents) by certain actresses or specialists in the Polish language (cf. WALKOWIAK 2016b).

A traditional type of surname used exclusively by married women exists in Hungary. It is formed by adding the derivational suffix -*né* to the husband's name (either his given name or his surname). For instance, Kovacs Anna, the wife of Kis (surname) János (given name), may use this sufix to be called *Kis Jánosné, Kisné Kis Anna,* or *Kisné Kovacs Anna.* However, since the formation with the -*né* suffix is legally permissible but not obligatory (FERCSIK 2012), it does not occasion problems in contemporary Hungary.

Two areas of potential conflict may be outlined with regard to feminine surnames. First, controversies may arise language-internally. A case in point is Lithuania, where some women do not want surnames that reveal if they are married or not (MILIŪNAITĖ 2013). In Czechia or Slovakia, by contrast, some women object to feminine surname suffixes in general, even though these are not indicative of marital status (KOMANICKÁ 2016).

Second, there might be language-external tensions, resulting from coming into contact with states that do not have feminine surnames. That once used to be the case with Hungarian surnames in Slovakia (cf. MISAD 2012). The situation is

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[6] This is a matter of degree rather than a binary division. In contemporary Polish onomasticon, approximately two thirds of the most frequent 1,000 surnames do *not* form feminine forms (own calculations on the basis of ZAWADZKI 2002). In Czech, surnames that have only one form irrespective of gender (e.g. *Janků, Jarní*) are exceptional in status and rather infrequent.

somewhat alleviated by the minority regulations of some countries. For instance, Slovak feminine suffixes are not obligatory for the Hungarian minority (*Zákon* 1993/2015). Similarly, the female members of the Polish minority in Lithuania do not have to add Lithuanian feminine suffixes to their surnames in documents, books or the press – in that respect these surnames are on average less divergent from their Polish shape than their masculine counterparts, which in most cases in publications obligatorily take the Lithuanian masculine endings *-as, -is, -(i) us or -s* (cf. WALKOWIAK 2016a: 346–347).

5. Given names

The practice of state control over the choice of names for children has a long-standing tradition. In the 3rd century BC a naming taboo in China involved legal sanctions: there was a punishment for using the name of the emperor or his ancestors (and the necessity to change such a name for those who were already bearing it at the time of the emperor's ascension to the throne; cf. CREAMER 1995: 911). A European example from the close of the early modern period is the 1787 decree of Joseph II of the Habsburg Empire, laying down a list of 156 given names permitted to Jews (BERING 1992: 35).

Allowed names lists exist currently in Denmark (*Navnelister* 2018), Portugal (*Nomes* 2017) or Hungary (*Utónevek* 2018). In Germany, Czechia or Slovakia there is formally no list, yet name dictionaries are consulted by registry clerks in case of doubt. In some other countries (France, Poland) there used to be an allowed names list once but it is not in use any more. In Iceland a given name cannot be approved if it is not on the personal names register, i.e. not in use (*Lög um mannanöfn* 1996). In Russia name lists are offered in some registry offices, but they serve only as aid and one does not have to limit oneself to the names on those lists.

Contemporary states of Europe generally tend to steer towards the gradual relaxation of the name laws. A case in point may be Hungary, where in 1948 about 1,000 names were officially allowed, with several thousand forbidden. The year 1971 saw an extension of the allowed list to nearly 2,000. In the next decade several dozen new names were added to the list each year at the request of citizens, until in 1993 the list included approximately 10,000 given names. There followed a step back in 1997, when the list was reduced to merely 2710 names. Nevertheless, in exactly twenty years there were again nearly 4,000 permitted given names (cf. RAÁTZ 2008).

In Poland until 2015 there was a name list used by registries to execute a *de facto* name policy. Foreign given names were usually Polonised, or at least certain pressure to that effect used to be exerted on the parents by the registry employees. As a result, phonetic adaptations like *Brajan, Dżesika/Drzesika* [!]

or *Wanesa* disseminated (adapted from the English *Brian, Jessica, Vanessa*), as evidenced in Rʏᴍᴜᴛ 1995. At the same time, the Polish Language Board advocated refraining from such domestications in the case of new names considered unlikely to stay permanently in the Polish onomasticon, invoking as examples also the names whose Polonisation was in practice encouraged by registry officials: *Dustin, Jessica* instead of *Dastin, Dżesika* (cf. "Zalecenia dla urzędów stanu cywilnego"). However, in view of the fact that the Poles' contacts with foreign countries have intensified and more Polish children than before are born abroad, at the beginning of March 2015 also foreign names were admitted (regardless of the nationality or citizenship of the parents), provided they are not diminutive and they do not expose their bearers to social ridicule. A name does not have to indicate gender, as long as it is commonly understood as ascribed to one gender (*Jak zarejestrować…* 2018).

6. Conclusions

It goes without saying that the four areas outlined above are interrelated and overlapping. For instance, feminine surnames are language-specific, therefore they constitute a potential bone of contention if a language in which they exist is a minority language, while the majority/state language does not have them (naturally, the opposite situation is possible as well). Increasingly liberal regulations pertaining to child naming simultaneously and automatically benefit foreigners or national/ethnic minorities, since then they have the possibility of naming their children according to their own traditions. The gradual disappearance of feminine surnames that indicate marital status constitutes a step towards a general unification of naming patterns in Europe.

All these examples paint a picture wherein name policies weave an intricate web of interrelationships. It becomes quite difficult, faced with globalisation in many spheres of life, to preserve naming separatism. Liberalisation seems the inevitable option. Thus certain trends already visible in contemporary Europe may be outlined. First, there will probably be gradual *de facto* unification/convergence of naming patterns, to the exclusion of the least frequent ones. Second, there will be intensified attempts at anthroponymic emancipation of minorities, though in some nation-states probably counteracted with strong nationalistic pressure. Third, feminine surnames will undergo gradual *de facto* disappearance if they express/imply/connote women as male possession. Fourth, the right to the Latin script complete with language-specific diacritics will increasingly be recognised internationally (cf. Kᴀᴘᴘᴇɴʙᴇʀɢ 2015). Finally, the restrictions on naming children will be steadily relaxed.

It must be remembered, nevertheless, that the major force jeopardizing the liberty of naming is the assumption that the principal role of personal names

(both given names and surnames) is not to reflect and support an individual's personal freedom but, rather, to reinforce national identity. Such an approach permeates the following court verdict:

"Surnames must be regulated … for the convenience of members of society. […] Regard being had to the fact that, … in the context of globalisation, Latvia is the only place in the world where the existence and development of the Latvian language and, by the same token, the Latvian nation, can be guaranteed, a restriction or limitation on the use of [this] language … on the national territory constitutes a threat to the democratic regime of the State" (*The Judgement…* 2001).

Therefore, if the globalising tendencies outlined above are ever to be curbed and reversed, this would probably happen in the service of nationalisms, to which naming patterns are known to have been hostages in the not-so-distant past. In its extreme version, this would be the legacy of forcible renamings, of the denial of linguistic human rights, and of the subordination of minorities to the idealised imagined communities (cf. ANDERSON 2006).

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Abstract

For personal names, the gap between the local and the global has replaced the
much older division between the private and the public. Not only do personal
names accompany their bearers in flowing freely across frontiers within the EU,
but they also cross borders with migrants from the outside. On the other hand,
the awareness of minority rights in the realm of personal naming is increasing
as well. This refers to national and ethnic minorities, but also to women, who
are known to have been "anthroponymically minoritized" for a long time in
recorded history. Finally, in an individualistic political culture, typical of many
states in today's Western world, the freedoms accorded to an individual in the
sphere of personal naming are ever-expanding, along with the relaxation of the
applicable laws.

Consequently, the article outlines and discusses four problem areas:
1. the tensions between states that result directly from the differences in
   naming patterns;
2. the struggle of ethnic minorities for anthroponymic emancipation;
3. the reconsideration of policies regarding the traditional forms of feminine
   surnames;
4. the liberty (or lack thereof) of naming children.

Keywords: anthroponyms, personal names, name policy, globalization,
minorities, feminine surnames

Mariann Slíz

The legal deficiency of publishing calendars and the problems caused by calendars and dictionaries of given names based on lay ideas in Hungary*

1. On the problem

The legal regulation of personal name giving (if there is any) varies from country to country. The contemporary Hungarian regulation can be regarded as moderately strict, while the publication of calendars is not restricted by law. There is no one and only official calendar; on the contrary, anyone has the right to publish calendars and match any name with any day of the year. Moreover, the published calendars are not registered in any database, consequently, there is no information about the number of calendars available in Hungary today.

Although these facts do not seem to be connected, the paper will demonstrate the way these two fields influence each other, causing several onomastic, administrative, and social problems.

2. The legal regulation of personal name giving in present-day Hungary

Starting with the main rules of choosing given names, it must be emphasized that every Hungarian citizen has to bear one or two given names corresponding to their sex and parents may choose only from an official list of names. However, they have the right to apply to the authorities if they would like to give their baby a name which is not on this list. In these cases, the application is considered by the Given Name Comittee working within the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This committee only has the right to recommend, but the authorities regularly accept its positive or negative verdict. Names suggested by the committee are automatically put on the list of registrable names for boys and girls, updated monthly on the homepage of the Research Institute for Linguistics.[1] In the case of names that are not recommended, parents are entitled to go to court, if they persist with their choice. It is important to note that the thirteen recognized minorities of Hungary have their own respective official name lists compiled by their respective representatives (S. Dávid ed. 2004, Brenner–Erb–Knipf 2015).

[1] Male names: http://www.nytud.mta.hu/oszt/nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/osszesffi.pdf, female names: http://www.nytud.mta.hu/oszt/nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/osszesnoi.pdf.

These lists contain many names which are not on the official list for non-minority Hungarian citizens. If minority parents choose a name which is not on the list for their minority and the list for non-minority citizens, they may apply to their respective national minority self-government. As minority descent does not have to be proven, several non-minority parents whose application is rejected by the Given Name Committee take a chance by applying to one or more national minority self-government. (For further information see RAÁTZ 2012.)

3. The importance of calendars in Hungarian name giving

The system of motivation behind picking a certain given name in Hungary has changed significantly in the past 50–70 years (cf. RAÁTZ 2008). While previously the main motive was to follow the naming traditions of the family, the region, or the country, finding more unique names for babies has become a general intention of parents over the second half of the 20th century. Due to this change, people seek new names from different sources, mostly from name dictionaries and calendars that contain given names.

To clearly understand the importance of calendars in Hungarian name giving, the tradition of name days must be known. This can be traced to the Christian celebrations of saints' days. Although a significant part of the Hungarian population is not connected to the Catholic or the Orthodox Churches today, the habit of celebrating one's name day is so deeply rooted in culture that it lost its religious features long ago and celebrations with gift-giving have become general practice on these days, similarly to birthdays. Consequently, many parents consider it highly important to pick a name which has a name day. The calendars' importance has been emphasized by the centuries-long habit of choosing the name of the saint whose day the child was born on. Although this tradition has been overshadowed by other motives during the 20th century, the significance of calendars was preserved in another naming intention: to choose a name with a celebration day which is far from the child's birthday to distribute the days of gift-giving relatively evenly over the year. For this reason, parents who manage to register the name they apply for often ask the Given Name Committe to propose a name day for it. The proposal usually happens randomly, except in cases when the new name can be connected to another one. (E.g. the name *Gergő* became a registrable given name from a nickname of *Gergely* 'Gregory', so the two can be celebrated on the same day.) Due to the relatively fast growth of the given name stock, in 2013 the Committee created 4 "days of rare names", one in each season (the 15th of January, April, July and October). Anyone who has no unique name day may select one of them. Since the right to create a new name day is not legally regulated or restricted, parents

also may designate a day of celebration. Apparently, the absence of regulation in this field leads to a great variability in name days. To counter this uncertainty and help parents in their decisions, a new given name dictionary was published, in which the authors connected all known name days or created new ones if needed to every name which was registrable on 1 January 2017 (FERCSIK–RAÁTZ 2017).

4. Two problems caused by the unregulated publishing of calendars

4.1. Deficiencies in name days

The word *variability* is used over *confusion* because the majority of calendars contain traditional name days, which provides a relative stability to the whole picture. However, when a name is connected to more than one day, as the more than 30 celebrations of *Mária* ('Mary'), not every single one of the name days can be found in each calendar. For example, the 20th of October is a traditional name day of *Irén* 'Irene' but many calendars fail to mark it, despite the fact that *Irén* was still the 16th most frequent name in the whole population in 2016.[2] The problem is that people usually consider the name days they have become used to in their milieu the "real celebration" of names and if they cannot find the day in the calendar they may feel disappointed. Moreover, this feeling can be escalated by discovering a rather rare name marked on the same day, such as *Vendel* (a male name of German origin) instead of *Irén*.

4.2. Problems with calendars based on lay ideas

Nevertheless, these troubles are dwarfed by those caused by calendars and lay dictionaries of given names full of unofficial names which are claimed to be of ancient Hungarian origin. In the following, I will demonstrate the main features of these calendars and dictionaries based on three typical and easily available representatives of this type: Regélő Falinaptár [Regélő Wall Calendar], Tengri hun–magyar naptár [Tengri Hun–Hungarian Calendar],[3] and Magyar Keresztnevek Tára [The Collection of Hungarian Given Names],[4] which is a dictionary connected to a calendar available on the internet.

Their main common characteristic is that their editors reject the Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarian language and nation, merging the ideas of the linguistic and ethnic origin of a people. I will not go into details regarding

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[2] According to the official statistics published yearly: http://www.nyilvantarto.hu/hu/statisztikak (12-11-2017).

[3] Tengrism is a modern subculture based upon a mixture of the ancient beliefs of steppe people, samanism etc. See http://www.tengri.hu/index.php/en/ (12-11-2017).

[4] In the following, these will be cited by their title translated into English.

the social-historical or socio-psychological background of this phenomenon, as several monographs and papers have dealt with this topic exhaustively (e.g. KOMORÓCZY 1976, HEGEDŰS 2003, HONTI ed. 2010, HONTI 2012, etc.) However, it has to be mentioned that searching for more splendid ancestors for a nation is an international problem. The Hungarians and the Hungarian language have been considered by different lay theories relatives of Sumerians, Etruscans, several Turkic and Iranian peoples, aliens from Sirius etc. The belief in the genetic relationship between the Huns, the Scythians and the Hungarians roots in the medieval chronicle tradition, while the others are ideas from the 19th–20th centuries.

The calendars mentioned above do not distinguish between languages, handling them as if they were the different embodiments of the same language. For example, the dictionary part of The Collection of Hungarian Given Names describes the name *Ur-Engur* as a Hungarian male name of Sumerian origin,[5] and the name *Kötény* as a male name of Hungarian–Cuman origin.[6] Moreover, the dictionary commonly does not deal with the origin of the name but with the original name bearer (e.g. a Hun, Scythian etc. person mentioned in a medieval chronicle or a fictional character from an alternative Hungarian mythology or history). For instance, the name *Mátra* is described as follows: "The name was borne by several chief-shamans before Christ in the Carpathian basin, the mountain was named after one of them, probably because he lived there."[7] In reality, there are no sources of any Hungarian shamans from the time, especially not in the Carpathian basin, where Hungarians only settled at the end of the 9th century.

This example reflects another typical problem of these calendars and dictionaries: they create names from the place names of Hungary, which they regard to be of Hungarian, Scythian, Hun etc. origin, not knowing or refusing to acknowledge their veritable origin. However, the real problem is the toponymic origin of these given names, which clashes with the principle of the Given Name Committee that place names can only be accepted as given names if they are of anthroponymic origin.[8]

Since the calendars do not accept the linguistic explanation of the origin of names, their name stock is rather mixed in origin. While they claim to contain

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[5] http://magyarnevek.hu/nevek/ferfinevek/U/Ur-Engur.

[6] http://magyarnevek.hu/nevek/ferfinevek/K/K%C3%B6t%C3%A9ny

[7] "A Kárpát-medencében Kr.e. több fősámán viselte ezt a nevet, egyikükről kapta a hegység az elnevezését, valószínűleg, mert ott lakott." http://magyarnevek.hu/nevek/noinevek/M/M%C3% A1tra.

[8] The principles can be found on the homepage of the Research Institute for Linguistics: http://www.nytud.hu/oszt/nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/alapelvek.html

only ancient Hungarian names, and the Collection of Hungarian Given Names eliminates some Christian names such as *Mária* 'Mary', or *Mihály* 'Michael', others can be found in it, e.g. *György* 'George', or *Margit* 'Margaret'. Similarly, the Tengri Hun–Hungarian Calendar[9] contains the female name *Piroska* 'Prisca' of Latin origin or *Boriska,* a nickname of the Christian name *Borbála* 'Barbara'.

Listing further typical deviations common in the three calendars, the following content is of note: non-official orthographic, phonetic or morphological variants of registrable names, e.g. *Kötény* and *Szömöre* instead of the registrable *Kötöny* and *Szemere;* non-official pairs for registrable names by gender, e.g. *Atánka* as a female pair of the official male name *Atos* (Collection of Hungarian Given Names); names with spelling or orthography uncharacteristic in Hungarian, e.g. *Énee* or *Sellö* (Regélő Wall Calendar), neither double *e* nor *ö* are typical at the end of Hungarian words; names of common word origin that may become registrable if the parents apply for it but are currently not part of the given name stock, e.g. *Pillangó* 'Butterfly' (in both).

What are the consequences of these problems? First, such calendars spread nonlinguists' views not only about the given name stock but also about the origin of the Hungarian language and nation. Second, parents, who ingenuously choose a name from such a calendar, often face the problem that the name cannot be registered officially. They do not understand, why the Given Name Committee refuses their application, as they found the name in a calendar or in a dictionary of given names.

5. Conclusion

Thinking over these questions, the real problem is not the lack of legal regulation in publishing calendars per se. It is evident, that there are no similar troubles in countries where name giving is not restricted by law. In fact, the problem is generated by the legal differences between the two fields. The resolution could either be to liberate personal name giving, or to restrict the publishing of calendars.

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[9] Moreover, Tengri months do not overlap with traditional Christian months but follow the zodiac. They also have their own names (e.g. *Kéksólyom hava* 'the month of the blue hawk', between 21 December and 20 January, or 22 December and 21 January). See tengri.hu.

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[10] The title is a hardly translatable word play based on the title of the great 17th century general, politician and poet Miklós Zrínyi: Az török áfium ellen való orvosság, avagy: Az töröknek magyarral való békessége ellen való antidotum [Cure against the Turkish opium, or Antidote against the peace between the Turks and Hungarians].

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RAÁTZ, JUDIT 2012. The Giving and Usage of First Names in Hungary. *Onoma 47:* 13–34.

Abstract

The paper deals with the legal deficiency of publishing calendars in Hungary, which may generate a complex problem in the administration of personal name giving. Calendars contain the names connected to the days they are celebrated on. Although this habit goes back for the veneration of saints, the majority of non-Catholic Hungarians also celebrates their "name day". Due to this, choosing names from a calendar is still a way of name giving. At the same time, the publishing of calendars lacks legal regulation, anybody may publish them and match any name with any days of the year. While most calendars follow traditions, there are some uncommon ones, full of non-existent names, e.g. some which are claimed to be ancient Hungarian. As a result, parents, who chose a name from a "non-regular" calendar, may run into difficulties, as that the name cannot be registered officially. In this case, they may apply to the Committee of Given Names of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the reception of the name into the given name stock. This process can be full of confrontations, while a great number of problems could be avoided by a single regulation for the publishing of calendars.

Keywords: calendar, dictionary of given names, personal name giving, law, lay ideas

Lasse Hämäläinen
Level Names in an Online Minigolf Game

1. Introduction

During the past few decades, rapid technological development has dramatically changed our everyday life. Mobile devices and the internet help us communicate with each other regardless of our physical location. They have also changed how we spend our time. One of the new pastime activities is playing video games.

Video games often consist of several separate virtual spaces. Depending on the speaker and the type of the game, these spaces are referred to as *levels, maps, tracks* or *worlds* (PICARD 2014: 99). The term *level* is used in this article. Levels share the same rules and physical laws of the game, but they have different structures and layouts. Levels usually include some type of task or mission that must be completed before the player gains access to the next level. Levels usually appear in order of their difficulty, such that the first level constitutes the easiest task and the last one is the hardest. Consequently, levels introduce variation and additional challenges to the gameplay, making the game more fascinating to the player for a longer time.

As games usually consist of several levels, levels need some type of identifiers. Some games identify levels only by ordinal numbers (*Level 1, Level 2,* etc.), but some games also use names. The naming of levels is useful for at least two reasons. Firstly, a name usually appears at the beginning of each level, giving players a first impression of that level and helping them to perceive the task and the virtual environment that they face. Secondly, names are needed to discuss the game. Members of a gaming community often share their achievements, experiences, thoughts and emotions of their gameplay with one another. When doing so, it is important to contextualise the information: *in which level did event X happen?* This is done by using level names.

Why should we onomasticians be interested in level names? Although video games are an essential part of contemporary culture, few studies have been conducted on the place names in these virtual environments. This gap in the scholarly literature needs to be addressed. Level names also offer a number of interesting viewpoints for onomastic theory. For example, previous studies have demonstrated that assigning names is predominantly based on the models and analogies established by the names that have already been given (for example, see KIVINIEMI 1977, LEINO 2007). As STEFAN BRINK (2016: 159) puts it, "name-givers are seldom adventurous and inventive". But what if we have to

create a completely new category of names, such as level names? Where do we take the models then?

The main objective of this article is to present an overview of a naming system for levels. Data for the study were collected from *Playforia Minigolf* (2002), an online minigolf video game. The game and the data are introduced in section 1.2. The analysis section 2 focuses especially on the structure and semantics of level names. Those features are subsequently compared to other name categories in section 3. But firstly, let us place the subject of this article in its academic framework.

1.1. Theoretical framework

As mentioned in the introduction, very few studies have investigated place names in video games. PAUL MARTIN (2011) has analysed place names in Grand Theft Auto IV, but to my knowledge, there are no earlier scholarly studies about level names. Due to the lack of previous research, level names are compared to other types of proper names.

Perhaps the most obvious parallel for level names are other proper names on the internet. Previous studies on that field have mainly concentrated on user names, names of registered website user accounts. User names became a subject of scholarly interest already in the early days of the internet (BECHAR-ISRAELI 1995), yet a greater volume of research has emerged only in 2010s. These studies are reviewed more thoroughly by ALEKSIEJUK (2016: 447–452, 2017) and HÄMÄLÄINEN (2018). Also worth mentioning are studies of character names in online games (HAGSTRÖM 2008, DRACHEN–SIFA–THURAU 2014, CRENSHAW–BARDI 2014).

Video game levels are virtual places, so they can be compared to places in the non-virtual world as well. Toponomastics is probably the most studied branch of onomastics, so there are plenty of knowledge concerning place names (see for example HOUGH 2016: 67–166, 395–426, 465–602). Place name systems are usually constructed somewhat differently in rural and urban environments. Playforia Minigolf can be regarded as mixture of those, using mainly natural (e.g. grass, water, sand) but also human-designed (e.g. landmines, teleports, walls) elements.

Designing game levels not only requires knowledge of the game and its culture, but also demands artistic vision and creativity. Thus, a relevant counterpart for level names are the names of various works of art, such as paintings, novels, songs or films. Artwork names have been discussed to some extent in philosophy, aesthetics and art history (for example, see LEVINSON 1985, FRANKLIN–BECKLEN–DOYLE 1993), while in central onomastic works, they have mainly

remained as a footnote (see for example, ŠRÁMEK 1996, VAN LANGENDONCK 2007: 233–234, SJÖBLOM 2016: 463). Furthermore, the growing branch of literary onomastics examines names *in*, not *of,* literary works (HOUGH 2016: 7).

In addition to onomastics, this article contributes to *game studies* (or *ludology*). This relatively new, but rapidly growing branch of science examines video games from many perspectives, bringing together scholars from arts, humanities, social and technical sciences. The topic of this article is most closely related to the area of *game design,* and more specifically to the subarea of *level design.* A distinctive feature in these areas is the great number of game design guidebooks (e.g. SALEN–ZIMMERMANN 2004, ADAMS 2014, ROGERS 2014, SCHELL 2014), with a few of them especially concentrating on level design (e.g. BYRNE 2005, FEIL–SCATTERGOOD 2005, KREMERS 2009, HULLETT–WHITEHEAD 2010, TOTTEN 2014, 2017). Perhaps surprisingly, these volumes have very little to say about names. JESSE SCHELL (2014: 351) mentions that giving names to places makes the imaginary world feel richer and deeper, while SCOTT ROGERS (2014: 220) advises game developers: "Remember, level names provide your level's first impression, so put your best foot forward!" It seems that these writers recognise the importance of names, but the lack of research prevents them from stating anything more specific.

1.2. Data

The data for the current study are from *Minigolf* (2002), an online minigolf game found on the gaming website Playforia (www.playforia.net). Playforia, developed by the Finnish company Apaja Creative Solutions Ltd in October of 2002, provides over 50 online games, which are based on well-known non-virtual games (Billiards, Chess, Yahtzee) or video game classics (Tetris, Minesweeper, Bomberman). More than 5 million user accounts have been registered on the website. Although the Finns constitute the largest user group, 60% of all users represent other nationalities.

Minigolf is one of the oldest and most popular games on Playforia. The main objective of the game is the same as in real-life minigolf, to pass various courses with as few strokes as possible. Most courses in Playforia Minigolf, however, are longer and more complicated, and most of its 20 level elements, such as ice, swamp, mud, acid or landmines, do not appear in real-life minigolf courses. For a more elaborate description of the game, see an introduction video (HÄMÄLÄINEN 2017).

There are 2,072 levels in Minigolf. Each level has a name, given by the level designer.[1] The name appears below the level in the gaming window (picture 1).[2] The research data include all the level names. They are obtained from a Minigolf level database, hosted by Taateli.com, an official Playforia fan website.[3]

I have analysed the structure and semantics of level names in Minigolf from *language community's perspective* (about the term, see SJÖBLOM 2006: 59–61 and AINIALA–SAARELMA–SJÖBLOM 2012). This means that I have estimated, what the name looks like from the perspective of an ordinary Minigolf community member. I have not tried to interview name givers (level designers) about the names' backgrounds. There are two reasons for that: Firstly, while chatting with some level designers, I have noticed that on many occasions they have forgotten ideas behind the names they created. Therefore, the original principles of naming could not be always retrieved. Secondly, many designers no longer play Minigolf, so it would be difficult to contact and interview them.

2. Level names in Minigolf

2.1. General characteristics

A vast majority (84%) of level names in Minigolf are English. From the very beginning, Playforia has been designed to serve both Finnish and foreign users, and as English is the most common lingua franca on the internet, it was an obvious choice for the language of the names[4]. 8% of the names represent other languages, such as Finnish, Latin, Italian, French and German. These names are usually based on proper names *(Dante, Moulin Rouge, Tour de France)* or other widely-known words or phrases *(Apfelstrudel, Carpe diem, Mamma mia)* that can be understood even by those players who do not speak these languages. The rest 8% of level names cannot be recognised as belonging to any known language.

By their structure, Minigolf level names are usually rather simple. A vast majority of the names are single words, compound words or clauses. Only a

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[1] Over the game's history, there have been 16 level designers. The first three designers were the founders of Playforia, but soon after the game was released, they began hiring hobbyists of the game to design new levels.

[2] This article presents several pictures of the Minigolf levels to demonstrate the connections between level names and characteristics. To access these pictures, please visit http://imgur.com/a/VuXII or http://photos.app.goo.gl/JIqaNe2pSmm6DxsS2.

[3] www.taateli.com/index.php?s=ratalista–lista=minigolf. I would like to thank Taateli.com administrator, user Wormhole, for delivering the data for this study.

[4] This was told to me via email in 2015 by Pasi "Tiikoni" Laaksonen, who is one of the three founders of Playforia and the main creator of Minigolf.

few per cent of level names include a complete sentence. The longest name in Minigolf, according to a count of both words and characters, is *It's like this and like that and…*

In Minigolf, level names are typically unique, meaning that no two levels have exactly the same name. There are only nine exceptions to that – the names *Back and Forth, Bridges, Divider, Epic Fail, Four Rooms, Hangover, Separated, There and back* and *Too easy* have been given to two different levels. These occasions are presumably accidental. Two designers may have created a level with the same name somewhat simultaneously, or a designer may have forgotten that a level with the name already exists.

2.2. Semantics

Semantically, level names in Minigolf can be divided into two main categories: names that *are* or *are not* connected to the characteristics of the level. 1,462 names (70.6% of the data) belong to the former group and 610 (29.4%) to the latter. More specifically, names can be divided into seven subcategories. Name's connection to the characteristics of the level could be based on the elements, appearance or playable characteristics. If no such connection exists, the name may be a tribute, refer to popular culture or some other object, or it might not have a visible reference to any known object. Table 1 lists the frequencies for each category. It is important to note that a name can simultaneously belong to more than one category. For instance, the name *Dangerous swamps* (picture 2) refers both to an element (swamp) and to playing the level (crossing the swamps is dangerous), while the name *Candle in the wind* (picture 3) alludes to both level's appearance (a large candle-like figure in the level) and popular culture (a song by Elton John). As a consequence, the sum of the categories (2,393) slightly exceeds the number of levels in Minigolf (2,072). Nonetheless, a clear majority of the names belong to one category only.

Semantic group	Count	%
Elements	480	23.2
Appearance	489	23.6
Playing	741	35.8
Tribute	61	2.9
Popular culture	127	6.1
Other reference	403	19.4
No visible reference	92	4.4

Table 1: Frequencies of the semantic name groups

Elements. A common way of naming a level is to describe the elements that it is comprised of. However, as Minigolf levels consist of 5.5 different elements on average, it is usually impossible to refer to all of them. For this reason, one or a few of them need to be selected. But which ones? Obviously, the name often refers to an element that is frequent on that level. For instance, the levels *Mudventure*, *Swamp Island* and *Acid Castle* (pictures 4–6) contain considerable amounts of mud, swamp and acid. The name may also refer to an element that is infrequent at that level, provided that it is important for the gameplay. For example, *Bounce Matress*[5] (picture 7) has only a small shred of a bounce wall between large areas of slope and water, but it is impossible to pass the level without using that bounce wall. Another example is the name *Acidofilic* (picture 8), which refers to a single pond of acid, even though it is surrounded by 10 similar ponds of water. This is because acid is a more unusual element than water, and it is also far more relevant in playing that level: if the ball sinks into water, it is returned to its previous location, but if it sinks into acid, it is returned to the tee of the level.

Appearance. Level elements often form recognisable shapes or figures, which can motivate naming. Sometimes they are only simple geometrical shapes, such as triangles *(Triangles, Pyramid adventure),* squares *(Ice squares, Ice Cube),* circles *(Ball road, Missing Balls),* arrows *(Green arrow, How many arrows?)* or crosses *(Basic Cross, Crisscross)* (pictures 9–18).[6] The elements can also form letters and numbers, like in the levels *2003, Alphabet, Numbers* and *Green Apaja* (pictures 19–22), or even detailed and artistic images. For example, *Leonardo's Sketch* is a naive replica of Mona Lisa, *Sonata* a piece of musical composition, *Moulin Rouge* a silhouette of a windmill and *Monaco* depicts the famous racecar circuit in Monte Carlo (pictures 23–26).

Playing. Even though levels may offer aesthetic experiences, they are primarily created for playing. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the largest group of names are connected to playing the level. Some names generally describe what the level is like to play: *Easy road, Piece of cake, Super mysterious, Tough one.* Some names describe the route from tee to hole: *Back and forth, Clockwise, Round and Round, There and back, Up'n Down.* The name may also tell, how the level should be played: *Avoid Extra Strokes, Hit the roof, Keep on track, Let them help you.* There are also names that imply the minimum result: *Tricky hole-in-one, Par 2, Dream of Four Strokes, Guru 6, Real Pro's 7 Strokes.* These names may reveal the optimal strategy of playing the level but in some cases

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[5] The name is probably supposed to be *Bounce Mattress*. Typing errors are rare but not unprecedented in Minigolf level names.

[6] The names of three-dimensional shapes *(pyramid, cube, ball)* are also used in level names, even though the game and the shapes are two-dimensional.

mislead the player. *Real Pro's 7 Strokes,* for instance, can be played with 6 strokes at best.

Tribute. Some levels are named after respected members in the Minigolf community, either experienced players or designers. In this article, those names are referred to as *tributes.* Some of them refer to the tribute targets rather straightforwardly (*Dante* after Dante, *Tribute to Leonardo* after Leonardo), but more often the tribute names contain some twists. The reference to the person can be hidden for example by using wordplays (*Whost Griter* after Haamukirjailija 'ghost writer') or writing the name backwards (*Geoh* after Hoeg). Tribute names also include simultaneous references elsewhere: *Nico's Golf Corner* refers not only to a player named *-Nico-o,* but also to a golf equipment shop in Helsinki with the same name, and *Zwan lake* (picture 28) both to a designer called Zwan and to Swan Lake, a ballet composed by Piotr Tchaikovsky. The tribute could also be motivated by the characteristics of the level, as in the levels *Zwan lake* and *ConTrick* (picture 29).

Popular culture. A large number of level names contain intertextual references to popular culture phenomena such as movies *(Dumbo, Lost in Translation),* television programmes *(Stargate, Michael Knight),* literature *(Popeye, Society of the Spectacle),* music *(ice ice baby,*[7] *Over the hills and far away),* sports *(Grand Slam, Finnish Flash)* and other video games *(Mario vs Goomba, The Legend of Zelda).* These references are also often motivated by the characteristics of the level. For instance, in *ice ice baby* (picture 30), the ground is covered in ice, and *Over the hills and far away* (picture 31) features a long playing route that involves several uphills. However, many popular culture references, such as *Dumbo, Michael Knight* and *The Legend of Zelda,* are not connected to level characteristics.

Other references. There is also a rather large and heterogeneous leftover category of names that does not refer to level characteristics. This category includes a large variety of referents, such as places *(Copenhagen, Florence, Ouagadougou),* food and drink *(Absinth, Banana split, Pepper steak),* human conditions *(Hangover, Insomnia, Overeating),* aphorisms and phrases *(After the rain comes sun again, Carpe diem, Sleep when you're dead)* and even poker terminology *(Big Blind, Semi-Suited Connectors, Stonecold nuts).* Many of these names may somehow be connected to the designer's personal life. At the time of designing the level, the designer could have eaten pepper steak, visited Copenhagen or suffered from insomnia.

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[7] The name is exceptionally started with a lowercase letter. There are only eight such names in Minigolf.

No visible reference. As mentioned in section 2.1, 8% of the level names in Minigolf have no meaning in any language, at least to my knowledge. Some of them can be recognised as acronyms that describe the levels' characteristics. *Shoorlon* (picture 32), for example, stands for 'short or long', referring the level's two routes to a hole, a shorter but more challenging and a longer but easier one. A majority of these names, however, make no clear reference to either the level or any other object. Some of them are rather close to existing words or expressions, such as the name *Alchemea* which may have been motivated by the word *alchemy* (*alchemia* in Latin, *alkemia* in Finnish), or the name *Carusell* which resembles the word *carousel* (*karuselli* in Finnish). There are also some names that form a rhyme *(Dui-Hui, Herkimer Jerkimer, Kim-Dim, Mur Mur, WhoopShoopaLoop, Zappadappa)* which is probably not a coincidence. Many names, however, seem to be completely opaque, at least I could find no semantic or phonetic motivation for names like *Fohudaji, Garapalou, Mubbrumb, Otaoa Snau, Rah az bor* or *Wimbaloo*.

2.3. Level series

Although giving exactly the same names to levels is avoided in Minigolf, an important feature in the naming system are *level series*. The term refers to a set of levels that are somewhat similar in their architecture or playable characteristics, created by the same designer – usually consecutively – and named in a similar manner. For example, the levels *Stone Passage Race I* and *II* (pictures 33–34) have the same layout, but there are some added elements in version II. The levels *Neutralium I–IV* (pictures 35–38) have rather different structures, but they all include the same artistic patterns of stone wall. The levels *Beware water I–III* (pictures 39–41) look rather different, but they all contain an abundant amount of water, which of course should be looked out when playing the levels.

The levels of the series are differentiated predominantly by serial numbers (either Roman or Arabic): *Adventure I – Adventure II – Adventure III, Zab 1 – Zab 2 – Zab 3*. The first level of the series may be numbered, as in the previous examples, but more often it is not: *Foris – Foris II, Upwind – Upwind 2*. Differentiation can also be achieved by adding *(Speedy – Speedy Reloaded, Water Par Four – Water Par Four Edit)* or changing *(Acid Castle – Water Castle, Dream of Four Strokes – Dream of Six Strokes – Dream of Ten Strokes)* something in the original name.

66% of level series consist of only two parts, but the largest series include ten parts. In total, there are 209 level series and they contain 550 levels, 27% of all levels in Minigolf.

3. Comparing level names to other name categories

Many level names in Minigolf resemble place names in non-virtual world. When analysing level names' semantics, I realised that the three most frequent groups – reference to elements, appearance or playing the level – correspond the categories used in Finnish toponomastics. According to the *syntactic-semantic classification model,* developed by KURT ZILLIACUS (1966) and EERO KIVINIEMI (1975), the categories are: "nature or characteristics of soil, water or material", "topographic dimension or shape" and "use, activities, origin" (AINIALA et al. 2012: 80–81).

Nevertheless, the syntactic-semantic model is based on the presumption that a name is always linked to the characteristics of a place. As we have seen, this does not apply to all Minigolf level names. The names that are not connected with level's characteristics are perhaps closer to urban toponymy, especially street names. The objective of naming streets, at least in Finland, is that the name themes would be based to local toponymy, history or culture. However, as there are not always such themes (or the city planners do not always make the effort to find them), many districts use the same themes, such as national literature and mythology, or the names of trees, flowers, birds and animals. Consequently, the connection between the district and street names often seems ambiguous or even arbitrary, as does in the level names referring to popular culture, food and drink or poker terminology (AINIALA et al. 2012: 103–104).

Another feature that links level names with urban toponymy are tribute names. They can be compared with *commemorative names,* names given to streets, parks, squares, etc. after influential persons. Commemorative names are, however, given *in memory* of a person, which means that they should not be given after living persons. In Minigolf, on the other hand, most of the people who receive tributes are still active in the community (AINIALA et al. 2012: 101–102).

References to popular culture are frequent not only in level names but in internet user names as well. Users often adopt names of fictional characters, movies, television series, music bands, albums and songs (HÄMÄLÄINEN 2018). Otherwise, level names are rather different from user names. For example, they include few changes to the standard language orthographies or modifications such as numbers, special characters or additional letters that are frequently used to make the user names unique. An explanation for this may be that the Minigolf level name system is much smaller than most user name systems and modifications are therefore needed less often.

Level series are perhaps most closely connected to the names of visual artworks such as paintings, photographs and films, which are frequently named by using

ordinal numbers. Adding to or changing something in the original name is used as well in film names *(Scary Movie – Date Movie – Epic Movie, Matrix – Matrix Reloaded – Matrix Revolutions)*. As in level names, the first part of the series is sometimes numbered and sometimes not *(Kill Bill: Vol. 1 – Kill Bill: Vol. 2, The Godfather – The Godfather Part II)*. In addition to the serial number, film sequels usually also have an independent subtitle *(Police Academy 2: The First Assignment, Terminator 2: Judgment Day)*. Minigolf level names do not include these kinds of subtitles.

It is difficult to estimate whether these similarities between level names and other name categories are coincidental. Undoubtedly, many of those categories are included in the level designers' everyday life. User names are an essential part of web culture and therefore certainly familiar to the designers. Street names are seen everywhere in urban areas. Movies are a highly visible part of contemporary popular culture, and their names can be seen not only in cinemas but also on television, on the internet and in outdoor advertisements. These name categories probably have an impact on people's conception of what proper names are like, and consequently have also influenced the naming of Minigolf levels, either consciously or unconsciously.

4. Conclusion

Current developments in information technology are changing our language and culture. One of the new name categories it has evoked is level names in video games. Thus far, level names have been overlooked in academic literature. This article addresses that gap by examining the level naming system in Playforia Minigolf, an online virtual minigolf game.

In Minigolf, the designers name their levels. A majority of level names are in English. This is simply because English names are understood throughout the world and therefore best serve players from different countries. A clear majority (71%) of these names are related to level characteristics in terms of elements, appearance or playing it. The remaining 29% are an exceedingly heterogeneous category, including references to popular culture, respected players of the game, designers' personal interests and even invented words. Giving exactly the same names to levels is avoided, but one-fourth of the levels belongs to a level series, a set of similar levels named in the same manner. Parts of a series are primarily differentiated by serial numbers, but sometimes words are added to or changed from the original name.

Level names share some features with several categories of proper names, but no category is especially close to them. According to their semantics, level names resemble both rural and urban toponymy. References to popular culture bring them close to user names and serial naming to various artwork names. We can

probably assume that the existing name categories influence the development of new ones, at least on a subconscious level.

This article only offers a brief glimpse at the nature of level names. Several other studies on different types of games are needed before we can draw more general conclusions of the name category. Hopefully this article will inspire other scholars to conduct similar research. I am convinced that level names will be an interesting and fruitful research area for onomastic scholars in the years to come.

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Appendix. Pictures of Minigolf levels.

This article uses 41 pictures of Minigolf levels to demonstrate the connections between levels' names and characteristics. In order to view the pictures, please visit   http://imgur.com/a/VuXII or
        http://photos.app.goo.gl/JIqaNe2pSmm6DxsS2.

Abstract

Giving names to various objects is an essential part of creating an immersive, entertaining and functional video game. However, this virtual nomenclature has mainly been overlooked in previous onomastic or game studies literature. This article addresses that gap by analysing names of game levels in *Playforia Minigolf,* an online virtual minigolf game. The data include all the 2,072 levels of the game.

Level names in Playforia Minigolf are mostly in English. A majority of them (71%) are based on either levels' elements, appearance or playable characteristics. Those names that are not linked to levels' characteristics (29%) include references to popular culture, respected players of the game, level designers' personal interests, and even self-invented words. Even though giving exactly the same names to levels is avoided, an essential part of the name system are so called *level series,* sets of levels named in a similar manner.

The article also makes comparisons between level names and other proper name categories, such as rural and urban toponymy, artwork names and internet user names. Level names seem to have something in common with all these categories but do not especially resemble any of them. Further research concerning other kinds of video games is needed to confirm the discoveries of level names presented in this study.

Keywords: level names, onomastics, video games, game studies, internet

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