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VOLUME 5: LITERARY ONOMASTICS. OTHER NAMES. COMMERCIAL NAMES.

Edited by
Carole Hough
Daria Izdebska

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Literary Onomastics

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Literary Onomastics

Names of Fictional Characters by Three Alcoholic Novelists

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Abstract

Names of fictional characters in novels by three male alcoholic authors, Ernest Hemingway, Kingsley Amis, Sinclair Lewis, differ from names of fictional characters in novels by three male authors and three female authors who do not appear to have drunk alcohol excessively. The three alcoholic authors created the highest proportion of male fictional characters, ranging from 77% to 66%. The proportion of male fictional characters ranged from 64% to 56% for the three other male novelists and from 53% to 49% for the three female novelists. The novels by the alcoholic authors were mostly satirical, containing flawed characters, subordinated females, and unhappy outcomes. The first name of many fictional females has a masculine last letter. The alcoholic authors probably used the depressant effect of alcohol to deny their stressful conflict between infantile dependence and adult self-reliance. The mother of Hemingway was a musician who often dominated her husband and first son. The British mother of Amis passively accepted the family's descent to lower middle class. The mother of Lewis died of tuberculosis when he was six years old. The fictional female characters of the other six authors were generally more important and admirable.

* * *

Alcohol Intoxication Relieves Conflict

Some popular and admired male novelists have been addicted to alcohol intoxication. Attributes of the fictional characters created by three male alcoholic authors may reveal motivations of men with great literary aptitude to become addicted to the depressant effect of alcohol.

Each infant is dependent on the mother or on a substitute for her. Subsequently, children gradually develop adult self-reliance. A desire for both conditions persists throughout life. The conflict between the incompatible desires is a source of distress.

Beverages containing alcohol have been drunk by humans for at least several thousand years. Alcohol is a powerful drug that depresses and impairs all functions of the central nervous system. The effects of this drug were summarized in a two-volume book (Wallgren and Barry 1970). Many people have been killed by an overdose of alcohol. A similar depressant effect is caused by barbiturates. They are used as sleeping pills and are sometimes used for a suicidal overdose. A similar but milder depressant effect is obtained from tranquilizers, such as Valium, Librium, and other benzodiazepines.

Several hours after a severely depressant effect of alcohol, a hangover usually occurs. It is a compensatory but aversive overstimulation of the central nervous system. Symptoms include headache, nausea, vomiting, and distressed feelings. Chronic consumption of alcohol results in physiological tolerance, so that repetition of the same dose has a diminishing effect. If the full depressant effect is desired, higher doses are required. A behavioral tendency is to

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obtain the desired depression of the central nervous system by drinking progressively larger amounts of alcohol.

A crucial question is why a drug with such maladaptive effects is repeatedly consumed in excessive quantities by some people. The answer is that the depressant effect of alcohol relieves a different source of distress. The highly developed brains of our species contain contradictory desires. The conflict between these desires is distressing because satisfaction of one desire frustrates the opposing desire. Adult males suffer from a conflict between infantile dependence and adult self-reliance.

Dependence on the mother or on a substitute for her is necessary for survival of each infant. The mother is the source of milk from her breast, companionship, and protection from environmental threats. During physical development, the child separates from the mother. The toddler walks away from her more often than toward her. Self-reliance becomes a necessity and desire. A depressant drug can relieve the stressful conflict by enabling the person to deny either the motive for dependence or the motive for self-reliance. The drug effect can obliterate conscious awareness of the desire for dependence in some situations and the desire for self-reliance in other situations. Alcohol is an especially popular depressant drug because it is a legal substance for adults and usually drunk by groups of people in a convivial situation. A person who has withdrawn from other people by reading and writing fiction can enjoy companionship with the help of the depressant effect of alcohol. Three alcoholic novelists, Ernest Hemingway, Kingsley Amis, and Sinclair Lewis, became increasingly addicted to the depressant effect of alcohol during many years of heavy drinking.

	Novels	**% Males**
Ernest Miller Hemingway (1899-1961)	6	77
Sir Kingsley William Amis (1922-1995)	5	67
Harry Sinclair Lewis (1885-1951)	8	66
Phillip Milton Roth (born 1932)	5	64
John Hoyer Updike (1932-2009)	8	57
David Herbert Richards Lawrence (1885-1950)	4	56
Margaret Drabble (born 1939)	3	53
Edith Newbold (Jones) Wharton (1862-1937)	4	50
Anna Quindlen (born 1952)	5	49

Table 1. The name, year of birth and death, number of novels sampled, and the percentage of male fictional characters

Sample of Nine Novelists

Novels by each of nine authors have been admired by literature scholars and enjoyed by millions of readers. Table 1 identifies the authors in sequence of decreasing percentage of fictional characters who were male instead of female. Three male authors with the highest percentage of male fictional characters were alcoholics. Three male authors with lower percentages of fictional males were apparently not alcoholics. The lowest percentages of fictional males, close to 50%, were created by three female authors who were apparently not alcoholics.

The percentage of males was calculated for each novel. The average % Males shown for each author was calculated separately for each novel. The % Males in Table 1 therefore was determined equally by the percentage of males in each novel by the same author regardless of differences among the novels in number of fictional characters.

Each of the three alcoholic authors had two or more failed marriages. Their closest and most prolonged friendships were with other men instead of with women. Many of their novels are satirical, containing fictional characters who are unethical or foolish. The names and other attributes of their fictional characters are summarized separately for each alcoholic author.

Ernest Miller Hemingway

The six novels are *The Sun Also Rises*, *A Farewell to Arms*, *To Have and Have Not*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *Across the River and Into the Trees*, and *Islands in the Stream*. They narrate actions in France, Italy, Spain, or Cuba, but the principal male character in each novel has a surname that indicates the English language. The principal character, who is also the narrator, is Jacob Barnes in *The Sun Also Rises*, Frederick Henry in *A Farewell to Arms*, and Harry Morgan in *To Have or Have Not*. The principal character is Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and Colonel Richard Cantwell in *Across the River and Into the Trees*. Both men die at the end of the novel. Thomas Hudson ('old Tom') is the principal character in *Islands in the Stream*.

The principal female characters in the six novels are subordinated to the men and have little or no influence on the principal events. Those with English language names are Lady Ashley Brett in *The Sun Also Rises*, nurses Catherine Barkley and Helen Ferguson in *A Farewell to Arms*, Mrs. Marie Morgan in *To Have and Have Not*, and Audrey Bruce in *Islands in the Stream*. The family name was not revealed for an important female in two novels. They are Maria, a young native Spaniard who has sexual intercourse with Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and Countess Renata, a native Italian, in *Across the River and Into the Trees*.

Many biographies of Ernest Hemingway have been published. The most pertinent to his motive for alcoholism is probably *The Hemingway Women* by Bernice Kert (1983). Hemingway's portrayal of European countries and Cuba reveals deficient interest in their natives, especially the females. The author was the second child and first boy in a family of six children. He grew up in Michigan but spent most of his adult life in Europe or Cuba. He developed a compulsive interest in hunting, fishing, and watching the masculine behaviors of bull fighting and warfare. He identified strongly with his father's enjoyment of hunting, fishing, and hiking. The author's father was a strictly moralistic Christian physician. The author's mother forsook a potential career as an opera singer to marry his father. She was a devoted and attentive maternal presence throughout his childhood. In adulthood he denied his initial affiliation with her. He repeatedly declared that he hated her as a domineering shrew who drove her husband to suicide.

Sir Kingsley William Amis

The five sampled novels are *Lucky Jim*, *Ending Up*, *Jake's Thing*, *Girl*, *20*, and *The Old Devils*. Some of the principal fictional characters have expressive and imaginative names. The principal fictional males are ethically flawed. In *Lucky Jim,* James Dixon is motivated by anger to do impulsive, nasty actions that he fails to conceal. In *Ending Up*, Bernard Bastable is selfish and malicious. In *Jake's Thing*, Dr. Jacques Cecil Richardson is obsessed with the declining ability of his penis to consummate adultery. In *Girl, 20*, famous orchestra conductor Sir Roy Vamdervane compulsively pursues adulterous affairs with young women. In *The Old Devils*, Alun Weaver excessively craves recognition as a foremost writer. In accordance with the titles of two novels, *Ending Up* and *Old Devils*, the principal male character dies at the end.

The principal female character in the five novels is subordinated to the men and ethically or emotionally flawed. The last letter of the first name of most of them is a consonant that usually ends the first name of males. The first name of most females ends in a vowel, *a, e, i,* or the consonant *h* or *y*.

In *Lucky Jim*, Miss Margaret Peel is masochistic and attempts suicide. In *Ending Up,* Mrs. Marigold Pike has grandiose fantasies. In *Jake's Thing*, Mrs. Evelyn Greenstreet initiates adultery with 'Jake' Richardson. In *Girls, 20*, Penny Vanderveen, daughter of Sir Roy Vanderveen, tries to be a seductress. In *Old Devils*, Mrs. Rhannon Weaver is obediently subservient to her husband.

A lengthy biography is *The Life of Kingsley Amis* by Zachary Leader (2006). The novelist was the only child of his parents. The author's father had the lower middle class occupation of clerk in London, United Kingdom. The author's paternal grandfather, Joseph James Amis, had been a prosperous merchant. The author's father was strictly moralistic, for example warning his young son that masturbation would result in insanity. The author's mother passively supported his father but urged the son to become a writer.

The author throughout adulthood was a frequent adulterer, rebelling against his moralistic parents. Frequent alcohol intoxication probably helped the author to deny close affiliation with his mother during infancy and early childhood. The characters of the principal fictional females appear to express that denial.

Harry Sinclair Lewis

The eight sampled novels are *The Job*, *Main Street*, *Babbitt*, *Arrowsmith*, *Elmer Gantry*, *Dodsworth*, *Ann Vickers*, and *It Can't Happen Here*. They contain a wide variety of themes. In three of them, a woman is the principal character. All of the novels satirize flaws of the principal fictional characters.

The principal male characters are either ethically flawed or unsuccessful. In *The Job*, Walter Babson is a journalist who is admirably creative and cynical but drinks alcoholic beverages too often and loses his job. In the end, he has the opportunity to be rescued by the principal female character. In *Main Street*, Dr. Will P. Kennicott loyally but unsuccessfully supports his wife's efforts to improve their small city. In *Babbitt*, George Follansbee Babbitt is a real estate agent and developer who epitomizes an enthusiastic, insensitive booster of his profession and city. He has an episode of adultery. In *Arrowsmith* Dr. Martin Arrowsmith is an idealistic physician who fails to document adequately an epidemic that has killed his wife. In *Elmer Gantry*, Reverend Elmer Gantry is successful but insincere in persuading other people to devote their lives to Jesus. In *Dodsworth*, the owner of an automobile company sells his company and travels to Europe with his wife. She leaves him for a European lover. In *It Can't Happen Here*, newspaper owner Doremus Jessup heroically opposes a Fascist politician but flees to Canada to save his life and continue his struggle from that foreign country.

In most of the eight novels, the principal female is subordinate to a man. In *The Job*, Una Golden performs well in clerical positions. She foolishly marries Julius Edward Schwirtz, who is a more obnoxious caricature of Babbitt, the title character of a subsequent novel. Una Golden improbably becomes a successful business executive. In *Main Street*, Carol Milford, after marrying Dr. Will P. Kennicott, tries persistently but unsuccessfully to improve the small city where her husband is a physician. In *Babbitt*, Mrs. Myra Babbitt loyally subordinates herself to her husband. In *Arrowsmith*, Miss Leora Tozzer marries Dr. Martin Arrowsmith. Her principal effect on the narrative is her death in a disease epidemic, thereby causing her husband to abandon his systematic study of the origin of the epidemic.

In most of the four subsequent novels, the first name of the principal female has a consonant last letter that occurs more often in first names of males. Miss Sharon Falconer, a successful evangelist, becomes the lover of Elmer Gantry. She dies when a fire destroys her and the building where she was preaching. In *Dodsworth*, Mrs. Frances Dodsworth, is selfish and commits adultery during the trip to Europe with her husband.

In *Ann Vickers*, the title character becomes an admirable and successful superintendent of a prison for women in New York City. Contrary to conventional morality, she marries two men whom she does not love enough, and as a single woman she has two pregnancies. She chooses abortion of the first but not the second pregnancy. At the end of the novel, she subordinates herself to the only man whom she loves sufficiently. He is Judge Bernard Dow Dolphin. This fictional judge is jailed for bribery and pardoned by the Governor of New York soon after 1972, the year the novel was published. In *It Can't Happen Here*, Mrs. Lorinda Pike joins Doremus Jessup in opposing the Fascist political regime and flees to Canada with him.

A detailed biography is *Sinclair Lewis: Rebel from Main Street* by Richard Lingeman (2002). The novelist was four years old when his mother became ill from tuberculosis. She died when he was six years old. In adulthood he stated that he had no memory of her. A traumatic deprivation has persistent effects even if the event is repressed from conscious memory. The biographer stated that the early maternal deprivation suffered by the novelist was a source of his quarrels with both wives and with other women. Alcohol intoxication during adulthood enabled him to deny his expectation that his two wives and other women would abandon him. When he was intoxicated, he sometimes eloquently described to both of his wives their offensive characteristics. These episodes contributed to his divorce from both wives.

Three Other Male Authors

The sample of novelists includes three males who were apparently not alcoholics. Their novels indicate some flaws of their fictional characters but less severe and less repetitious than in the novels by the three alcoholic authors.

The five novels by Philip Roth that were sampled are *Goodbye Columbus*, *Portnoy's Complaint*, *American Pastoral*, *The Plot Against America*, and *Nemesis*. Alexandeer Portnoy, in the second novel, is satirized. The topics of the novels are diverse. Some of the events are horrifying. There is no consistent subordination of women. Most of the principal characters are not ethically flawed or unsuccessful.

The eight novels by John Updike that were sampled are *The Poorhouse Fair*, *Rabbit, Run*, *Rabbit Redux*, *Marry Me*, *Rabbit is Rich*, *The Witches of Eastwick, Rabbit at Rest*, and *The Widows of Eastwick*. The first novel includes a resident, John F. Hook, who was given the author's first name. John Hook is the most admirable character among the residents and staff members of the poorhouse. Four novels are about successive stages in the life of Harry Angstrom, whose nickname 'Rabbit' refers to his running speed as a basketball player. Two novels are fantasies about several women who sometimes display malevolent or benevolent powers of witchcraft. Diverse social and sexual actions are described. One episode is sexual intercourse by 'Rabbit' with his son's wife. The novels contain no consistent subordination of women. The only death of an important character is 'Rabbit' at the end of the fourth novel about him.

D.H. Lawrence was a British author. Four of his novels were sampled. The first three are *Sons and Lovers, The Rainbow*, and *Women in Love*. In spite of the titles of two of them, they contain very few explicit descriptions of sexual behavior. *Sons and Lovers* describes the family of Walter Morel, a coal miner. The author's father had the same occupation. The narrative spans the years from birth to young adulthood of the oldest children. Paul, the third child and second son, becomes a writer and is an autobiographical model for the author. Paul and his mother, Gertrude, display an almost erotic love for each other. The father becomes a contemptible drunkard. As a young adult, Paul has unsatisfactory romances with two unsuitable women, Miss Miriam Leivers and Mrs. Clara Dawes.

The Rainbow describes a family that owns a farm. The principal fictional character is a daughter, Ursula Brangwen. She has a brief love affair with another woman, Miss Winifred Inger, followed by an unsatisfactory love affair with a young man, Anton Skrebensky. *Women in Love* narrates the subsequent young adulthood of Ursula and her younger sister, Gudrun. Ursula, a school teacher, marries a highly intellectual and unconventional young man, Rupert Birkin. Ursula, a talented sculptress, almost marries a rich young owner of a coal mine, Gerald Crich. When Gerald Crich freezes to death after a solitary accident in the Swiss Alps during winter, Gudrun Brangwen prepares to join Herr F. Loeke, a small, ugly, young sculptor, who lives in Dresden, Germany.

The fourth and most famous of these novels is *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. It is a love story that contains explicit descriptions of sexual intercourse between Lady Constance Chatterley and Oliver Mellors. She is the wife of Clifford Chatterley, a British baronet who is partially paralyzed and sexually impotent because of a wound during combat in World War I. Oliver Mellors is the gamekeeper for her husband. The outcome of the adultery is uncertain.

A preference for male over female fictional characters is indicated by the majority of males created by each of the six male authors. The majority of fictional characters share the male gender of the author. The six male authors demonstrate a tendency for male novelists to create a majority of male fictional characters. The preference for fictional characters of the same gender as the male author is less extreme for each of the three non-alcoholic novelists than for each of the three alcoholic novelists. The three non-alcoholic authors portrayed most of their fictional characters realistically without satire. The behavior of their principal characters was motivated by love or rational self-interest instead of by malice or stupidity.

Three Female Novelists

Slightly more males than females are born in most human populations. Slightly more adults are female than male because of greater mortality of male than female infants and children. Contrary to the six male novelists, the three female novelists reproduced the usual social conditions accurately by approximately equal percentages of male and female fictional characters.

The three sampled novels by a British author, Margaret Drabble, are *The Millstone*, *The Needle's Eye*, and *The Ice Age*. The topic of *The Millstone* is an unmarried woman who unintentionally becomes pregnant and decides to become a single mother. *The Needle's Eye* and *The Ice Age* are about relationships between spouses, ex-spouses, and between parents and their children. Stressful relationships are described, but there is no dominance of men over women, behavior is not intentionally unethical, and the outcomes are not lethal or tragic.

The two other female authors are United States citizens, Edith Newbold Wharton and Anna Quindlen. The four sampled novels by Wharton are *The House of Mirth*, *Ethan Frome*, *The Custom of the Country*, and *The Age of Innocence*. Diverse relationships among people are described. Some are tragic, including suicide of a young woman in *The House of Mirth*. In *Ethan Frome* the title character and his lover, Mattie Silver, are crippled by a mutual suicide attempt. They spend many subsequent years living with and being taken care of by Ethan Frome's unpleasant wife, Zenobia. There is no male dominance. Stupid and self-destructive actions are narrated as tragic instead of satirical.

The five sampled novels by Anna Quindlen are *Object Lessons*, *Black and Blue*, *Blessings*, *One True Thing*, and *Rise and Shine*. Their topics are diverse. *Object Lessons* is about three generations of a rich Irish-American family, *Black and Blue* is about a wife who is battered by her husband, *Blessings* is about adoption of an abandoned infant by the male caretaker of the house of a wealthy family. *One True Thing* is about a young woman who interrupts her career to care for her dying mother. The daughter is mistakenly accused of giving her mother a lethal overdose of morphine. Her mother had secretly accumulated enough morphine pills to overdose herself. A jury acquitted the daughter prior to revelation of the mother's suicide. *Rise and Shine* is about the relationship between two adult sisters. None of the narratives is satirical. Most of the fictional characters are admirable. Male dominance occurs only in the first two novels. Outcomes are generally happy.

Conclusions

Chronic alcoholism of three prolific, popular, and generally admired male novelists appears attributable to the depressant effect of alcohol. The addictive alcohol intoxication is motivated by craving for temporary relief from conscious awareness of the stressful conflict between infantile dependence, usually on the mother, and subsequent development of adult self-reliance.

Predominance of male fictional characters is the most objective difference found between the three alcoholic novelists and the six non-alcoholic novelists, three male and three female. Distrust of women is inferred from adverse experiences of the three alcoholic novelists with their mother during infancy or childhood. The fictional female characters of alcoholic novelists are usually subordinated to the males and satirized in addition to being less numerous. Distrust of women is also inferred from multiple failed marriages and from stronger and more enduring friendships by the alcoholic authors with other men than with their wives and with other women.

A possibility is that the inferred motive for addictive alcohol intoxication by three male novelists is the same as for most other male alcoholics. Evidence in favor of this inference is in a review article by Blane and Barry (1973). Alcoholic patients were more often the last child in a large family of four or more children. The last child often receives extra nurturance from the mother and is described as the baby of the family. The intensified affiliation with the mother might strengthen the desire for infantile dependence in the conflict against the desire for adult self-reliance.

An alternative possibility is that the motives of the three alcoholic novelists differ from the motives of most other alcoholics. Each of the three alcoholic novelists had superior literary aptitude and achievement. They created popular and generally admired fictional narratives during many years of addictive alcohol intoxication.

The most severe limitation of this research is the small number of alcoholic authors, only three. Conclusions must be tentative instead of definitive, especially because the three alcoholic authors differ from each other in various attributes. The principal value of this research might be to induce further research that can support or refute the inference that temporary relief of the conflict between infantile dependence and adult self-reliance motivates addictive alcohol intoxication by male novelists. I hope that other people interested in personality and drug addiction will do and report research on additional alcoholic authors.

I am in the process of sampling novels by three additional alcoholic authors. They are Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald, John Steinbeck, and William Faulkner. The latter two, in addition to Sinclair Lewis and Ernest Hemingway, were awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Further alcoholic authors might include John Cheever, Jack London, Steven Crane, and Edgar Alan Poe. Alcoholic authors of many plays were Eugene O’Neill, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, and Tennessee Williams. The names of fictional characters in plays can be analyzed and also can be compared with the names of the actors or actresses who portrayed them.

Several novelists who were female alcoholics are identified in a book by Lucy Barry Robe (1986). The author, born in 1934 and died in 1996, was the younger of my two sisters.

The most popular of these female novelists was Margaret Mitchell, author of *Gone with the Wind*. (1936). Her alcoholism probably contributed to the fact that she wrote no other novel.

Each of the three alcoholic authors wrote numerous short stories. A single short story contains few fictional characters, but many fictional characters are accumulated in many short stories by the same author. A disadvantage of analyzing short stories is that many of them were written rapidly for the purpose of making more money than can be obtained from the much smaller number of novels. An advantage of analyzing the novels is that they probably express more authentically the foremost emotions of the authors.

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Quelques remarques sur l'anthroponymie dans le récit d'Amélie Nothomb[1]

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Résumé

Le but de cet article est d'explorer le rôle joué par l'onomastique dans la réflexion d'Amélie Nothomb sur le langage et sur la langue. En effet, l'œuvre de Nothomb se caractérise notamment par un aspect, pour ainsi dire, "métalinguistique". Les personnages, ainsi que les voix narratives, montrent souvent un intérêt hors du commun pour la langue : pour son usage, pour ses expressions littéraires (cf., par exemple, *Hygiène de l'assassin* et *Les Combustibles*, dont les protagonistes sont "professionnels de la langue"), pour sa façon d'établir des liens entre les êtres humains (cf. *Acide sulfurique*), pour les étymologies des mots, etc.

L'onomastique (notamment l'anthroponymie) constitue une part importante de l'attention que porte l'auteure belge aux faits de langue. La majorité de ses personnages, d'abord, portent des noms évocateurs. C'est le cas de Pietro Livi, que Pannonique rencontre lors de son emprisonnement dans le camp de concentration (cf. *Acide sulfurique*). Un hommage évident à Primo Levi, conteur de la vie dans le camps de concentration nazis.

Les personnages eux-mêmes, ensuite, accordent une grande importance aux noms propres : c'est à cause d'un problème onomastique que Lucette va même jusqu'à tuer son mari (cf. *Robert des noms propres*).

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate the role played by onomastics within the framework of Amélie Nothomb's reflection on language, which is very present in her novels. The characters often show an uncommon interest in language: for its daily or literary use (e.g. see *Hygiene and the Assassin* and *Human Rites*, whose main characters are 'professionals of language'), for its ability to establish relations between human beings (see *Sulphuric Acid*), for words' etymologies, etc.

Onomastics (expecially anthroponomastics) is an important part of Nothomb's focus on language: on the one hand, most of her characters carry descriptive names. This is the case of Pietro Livi, met by Pannonique in the concentration camp (see *Sulphuric Acid*): an evident tribute to Primo Levi, who described the life in Nazi concentration camps.

On the other hand, Nothomb's characters themselves consider anthroponymy and proper names very important: it is due to an onomastic problem that Lucette kills her husband (see *The Book of Proper Names*).

* * *

Aujourd'hui, Amélie Nothomb n'est pas seulement l'une des romancières les plus connues au niveau mondial, mais aussi l'un des auteurs les plus interessés par les faits de langue, souvent abordés dans ses romans et dans ses nouvelles.

[1] Cette étude fait partie d'une recherche plus large sur la réflexion métalinguistique nothombienne (*Metalingvistická reflexe v prózách Amélie Nothomb*), que je mène grâce à un financement de l'Université d'Olomouc dans le cadre du programme *Excelence 2014* ; cf. www.francescobianco.net/linguistica/progetti/nothomb/. Je tiens à remercier Samuel H. Bidaud, Florence Campesan, Michelle Campesan et Haude Morvan pour avoir corrigé les fautes de français dans cet article.

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La réflexion d'Amélie Nothomb sur le langage et sur les langues n'a pas échappé aux nombreux chercheurs qui ont abordé ses ouvrages pendant les quinze dernières années (c'est-à-dire, depuis le succès international de *Stupeur et tremblements*, en 1999). Cependant, pour autant que je sache, il manque encore une étude systématique sur cet aspect de sa production, entre littérature et linguistique.

Cela vaut aussi pour le domaine spécifique de l'onomastique nothombienne, bien que l'intérêt d'Amélie Nothomb pour cet aspect du langage ait déjà été envisagé par plusieurs auteurs.[2]

En fait, en lisant n'importe quel roman de Nothomb, on est frappé par les particularités onomastiques et par la présence de discours méta-onomastiques. Par conséquent, dans la présente étude, je ne pourrai pas aborder chaque détail de la question : je ne montrerai que des exemples, différant une analyse complète à une prochaine occasion.[3]

D'abord, il faut distinguer dans les ouvrages d'Amélie Nothomb deux groupes : les romans-fictions et les romans autobiographiques, où l'auteur parle de sa vie, et particulièrement de ses séjours à l'étranger : *Le Sabotage amoureux* (1993), *Stupeur et tremblements* (1999), *Métaphysique des tubes* (2000), *Biographie de la faim* (2004), *Ni d'Ève ni d'Adam* (2007) et le plus récent *La nostalgie heureuse* (2013).[4]

Néanmoins, cette distinction se révèle utile et dangereuse en même temps : elle est utile, parce que l'on peut supposer que dans un récit autobiographique la liberté onomastique soit limitée par les contraintes de la réalité ; cependant, elle est aussi dangereuse, parce que rien n'empêche l'auteur de mélanger réalité et fiction, même au niveau des noms propres, sans que l'on puisse toujours distinguer ce qui est véritable de ce qui ne l'est pas.

En plus, parmi les ouvrages de Nothomb, il y a des romans qui se trouvent clairement au milieu des deux groupes : selon Christine Suard il faut ainsi classer *Hygiène de l'assassin* (1992), *Péplum* (1996), *Robert des noms propres* (2002), *Antéchrista* (2003) et *Acide sulfurique* (2005), histoires où 'l'auteur expose partiellement sa vie sans que l'oeuvre ait un caractère autobiographique évident' (2008 : 80). À mon avis, il faut ajouter à cette troisième catégorie au moins *Le Voyage d'hiver* (2009) et rappeler deux autres ouvrages où Amélie Nothomb est présente en tant que personnage-témoin : *Une forme de vie* (2010) et *Tuer le père* (2011).

Certains prénoms, comme ceux des proches d'Amélie, sont facilement vérifiables, d'autant plus que la famille Nothomb est l'une des familles les plus anciennes et connues de la Belgique : *Patrick*, père d'Amélie, diplomate et écrivain ; *Danièle*, mère de la romancière ; *André* et *Juliette*, frère et sœur de l'auteur ; sans oublier, *last but not least*, le prénom d'Amélie même qui, d'ailleurs, semblerait n'être qu'un nom de plume.[5]

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[2] Il suffira de rappeler ici, juste à titre d'exemple, les travaux "classiques" de Zumkir (2003), Amanieux (2005, 2009) et, plus récemment, Brandigi (2012).

[3] En particulier, je ne vais aborder que l'anthroponymie et la réflexion sur l'anthroponymie.

[4] Dans la présente étude, j'ai envisagé tous les romans nothombiens, d'*Hygiène de l'assassin* (1992) jusqu'à *La nostalgie heureuse* (2013), en plus de la pièce de théâtre *Les Combustibles* (1994). Sont exclus le roman *Petronille* (2014), trop récent, et les nouvelles : *Légende peut-être un peu chinoise* (1993 et 1999), *Électre* (1996), *L'Existence de Dieu* (1996), *Simon Wolff* (1996), *Généalogie d'un Grand d'Espagne* (1996), *Le Mystère par excellence* (1999), *Le Hollandais ferroviaire* (1999), *De meilleure qualité* (1999), *Aspirine* (2001), *Sans nom* (2001), *L'Entrée du Christ à Bruxelles* (2004), *Les Champignons de Paris* (2007), *Les myrtilles* (2011).

[5] Cf. Hiramatsu Ireland (2012 : 136).

Parmi les autres prénoms les plus récurrents dans les romans nothombiens, on peut rappeler la gouvernante japonaise *Nishio-san*, le fiancé japonais *Rinri*, l'amie d'enfance italienne *Elena*, la camarade *Claire*.

Il s'agit, comme l'on peut voir, de prénoms assez communs, à l'exception, peut-être, des prénoms en japonais, langue (et culture) dont l'onomastique, selon Amélie elle-même, ‘est coutumière de l'hapax’ (*BF* : 232).

C'est dans les romans-fictions qu'Amélie Nothomb libère sa propre creativité onomastique, en choisissant soigneusement noms et prénoms obsolètes ou en en créant *ex nihilo*. Juste quelques exemples : *Léopoldine*, *Prétextat Tach* (*HA*) ; *Palamède* (*Catilinaires*) ; *Jérôme Angust*, *Textor Texel* (*CE*) ; *Lucette*, *Plectrude* (*RNP*) ; *Pannonique*, *Zdena* (*AS*) ; *Baptiste Bordave*, *Olaf Sildur* (*FP*) ; *Aliénor*, *Astrolabe*, *Zoïle* (*VH*).[6]

Fantaisie et goût pour la création des noms propres, surtout (mais pas seulement) anthroponymes, font partie de la personnalité et de la biographie de la romancière, comme elle l'a elle-même affirmé lors d'un entretien à propos des années d'université :

> Je créai une académie littéraire où il n'était permis que de parler d'écrivains qui n'existaient pas. Il n'y avait que deux membres à cette académie bruxelloise : Claire et moi. Nous évoquions les œuvres méconnues de Viateur Calyce, de Claire Bouquette et d'Amélie Casus Belli. Amélie Casus Belli est l'identité sous laquelle je demandai aux éditions Albin Michel, quelques années plus tard, de présenter l'auteur d'*Hygiène de l'assassin*. Ce pseudonyme fut refusé, allez savoir pourquoi. (Amanieux 2005 : 225-226)

Le lieu où cette créativité se manifeste au plus haut degré est la pièce de théâtre *Les Combustibles*, dont les personnages parlent de nombreux auteurs fictifs : *Blatek*, *Obernach*, *Esperandio*, *Kleinbettingen*, *Sterpenich*, *Belinda Bartoffio*, *Faterniss*, *Fostoli* (qu'on peut interpréter en tant que *Faust au lit* ; *Combustibles* : 36), *Salbonatus*. Également, portent des noms fictifs les mannequins d'*Attentat* : *Francesca Vernienko*, *Melba Momotaro*, *Antigone Spring*, *Amy Mac Donaldova*.

La créativité onomastique donne souvent naissance à des noms parlants, porteurs d'un message plus ou moins clair. Les noms propres constituent l'un des moyens par lesquels Amélie Nothomb aborde des sujets d'un grand intérêt pour elle. Je n'en donnerai que deux exemples.

L'un des sujets les plus récurrents est la religion. Cet intérêt a été suscité par des lectures précoces. Comme cela a été souligné par les chercheurs, l'onomastique nothombienne en porte aussi trace : *Clémence*, mère de la protagoniste de *Robert des noms propres*, ‘est associée à la compassion et à la miséricorde’, alors qu'Epiphane, protagoniste d'*Attentat*, ‘rappelle la fête chrétienne de l'Epiphanie’ (Suard 2008 : 44). Quant à *Antéchrista*, le lien avec la religion est présent dans le titre mais aussi dans les prénoms des deux filles : *Blanche*, claire référence à la couleur ‘qui représente la pureté, l'innocence, la chasteté, la paix, la virginité, la spiritualité et la sainteté’ (Suard 2008 : 44), et encore plus *Christa*, renommée *Antéchrista* par Blanche elle-même.

[6] En plus, on peut ici rappeler *Petronille*, titre du dernier roman d'Amélie, publié à la rentrée littéraire 2014.

Les lectures nombreuses et variées d'Amélie Nothomb (laquelle, ne l'oublions pas, a étudié la philologie romane à l'Université libre de Bruxelles) influencent aussi l'onomastique dans ses livres : dans *Acide sulfurique*, histoire de science-fiction qui se déroule dans un camp de concentration moderne servant de décor à une émission de télé-réalité, l'un des personnages s'appelle Pietro Livi, nom qui rappelle tragiquement celui de Primo Levi, l'une de ses sources d'inspiration, comme elle l'affirme dans *Biographie de la faim* :

> Je lisais passionnément aussi la littérature concentrationnaire, *La mort est mon métier*, *Si c'est un homme*. Sous la plume de Primo Levi, je découvris la phrase de Dante : « Les hommes ne sont pas faits pour vivre comme des brutes. » (*BF* : 216)

La culture classique joue un rôle important parmi ses lectures. C'est évident dans les titres de certains de ses romans, depuis *Les Catilinaires* à *Mercure*, jusqu'à *Péplum*, où l'un des deux personnages porte le nom latin *Coelsius*. Laureline Amanieux (2005 : 146) et Eleonora Brandigi (2012 : 69) ont souligné le lien étymologique du nom de famille d'Epiphane *Otos* avec le mot grec *ôtos* ‘oreille’. Lorsqu'on lui demande pourquoi elle s'appelle ainsi, *Saturnine*, la protagoniste feminine de *Barbe bleue*, répond que son propre prénom vient ‘[d]u dieu Saturne, équivalent latin du grec Cronos, le Titan père de Zeus’ (*BB* : 78). Comme le rappelle Amanieux, dans *Mercure*, le personnage ‘d'Omer fait d'ailleurs référence à l'aède grec aveugle, Homère’ (2005 : 147). Le protagoniste du *Voyage d'hiver*, qui s'appelle *Zoïle*, porte le prénom d'un orateur grec qui vécut au quatrième siècle av. J.-C. (400 av. J.-C. – 320 av. J.-C.) ; *Astrolabe*, le prénom de sa bien-aimée, est également d'origine grecque. Le voisin d'Émile et Juliette, dans *Les Catilinaires*, s'appelle *Palamède*, comme l'un des princes grecs qui prirent part à la guerre de Troie. D'Elena, sa petite amie italienne lors de son sèjour en Chine, Amélie elle-même rappelle l'homonymie avec Hélène, la fille de Zeus et de Léda :

> [J]'ai lu une historie obscure, où il était question d'une guerre entre Troie et les Grecs. Tout avait commencé à cause d'une superbe créature qui s'appelait Hélène. [...] Évidemment, je ne pouvais prétendre au parallelisme. La guerre de San Li Tun n'avait pas commencé à cause d'Elena (*SA* : 167)

> Mais moi, quand je faisais la guerre, j'ai rencontré la belle Hélène, et je suis tombée amoreuse d'elle, et à cause de cela j'ai une autre vision de *L'Iliade* (*SA* : 168).

Tous les romans d'Amélie Nothomb, pas seulement ceux autobiographiques, constituent un réseau intertextuel dense et complexe, dont les noeuds sont parfois les noms propres. En évoquant dans un texte un nom déjà employé dans un récit antérieur, Amélie jette un pont entre les deux et donne à l'ensemble de son œuvre l'impression de partir d'un seul univers littéraire.

Le prénom d'*Amélie*, en plus d’appartenir à plusieurs romans dont l'écrivain est aussi l'un des personnages, coïncide également avec celui de la bien-aimée de Gustave Eiffel nommée dans *Le Voyage d'hiver*. De même, la protagoniste de *Péplum* partage avec Amélie soit des traits autobiographiques (en effet, elle est une jeune romancière active pendant les années quatre-vingt), soit ses initiales : elle est désignée comme *A.N.*[7]

Le couple âgé des *Catilinaires* porte les prénoms *Emile* et *Juliette*. Ce dernier est le même prénom que celui de la sœur d'Amélie, tandis que le prénom d'Emile est ‘volontairement proche de celui d'Amélie’ (Amanieux 2005 : 19). De plus, le patronyme d'Émile, *Hazel*, correspond au prénom de l'un des personnages de *Mercure*.

Le nom de famille d'Hilarion *Griveland*, sécretaire de Don Elemirio Nibal y Milcar (*BB*), est presque l'anagramme de celui d'Ernest *Gravelin*, secrétaire de Prétextat Tach (*HA*).[8]

Dans *Biographie de la faim*, on parle de deux prénoms très rares, *Prétextat* et *Eleuthère* (*BF* : 232), que le lecteur nothombien a déjà rencontrés : le premier est le prénom du protagoniste d'*Hygiène de l'assassin* ; le deuxième figure parmi les ‘prénoms fantasmagoriques’ que Lucette trouve ‘dans une encyclopédie du siècle précédent’ (*RNP* : 9).

Shéhérazade, personnage des *Mille et Une Nuits*, est nommée dans *Attentat*, dans des contextes différentes (‘Je me prends pour la Shéhérazade du fax’, *Attentat* : 129 ; ‘J'avais jeté mon dévolu sur Miss Liban, qui correspondait à l'idée que je me faisais de Shéhérazade’, *Attentat* : 132), et dans *Une forme de vie*, en tant que "double" obèse de Melvin Mapple.[9]

Alter-ego de la philologue Amélie, ses personnages explorent l'étymologie des noms propres, à la recherche de leur véritable sens. Dans *Les Catilinaires*, Émile, professeur de latin et de grec à la retraite, rappelle que le nom du personnage mythologique Polyphème signifie ‘celui qui parle beaucoup’ (*Catilinaires* : 27).[10]

Le sens ou la racine du nom marque le destin du personnage : comme l'observe le bistrotier, interrogé par Françoise, le mystérieux Capitaine installé à Mortes-Frontières ‘s'appelle Omer Loncours : avouez que ça prédispose à devenir marin’ (*Mercure* : 71). En effet, il est un capitaine au long cours ; sans parler de son prénom, *Omer*, qu'on peut lire aussi comme *au mer*, *eau-mer* (évidemment, l'eau dans son destin), *oh, mer !* ou (peut-être) même *haute mer*. Les ‘prénoms fantasmagoriques’ que Lucette lit dans l'encyclopédie de son grand-père ‘présageaient des destinées hirsutes’ (*RNP* : 9). Lucette nomme sa fille *Plectrude*, malgré l'avis contraire des autres, car ce prénom ‘préviendra les gens qu'elle est exceptionnelle’ (*RNP* : 20). Selon Amanieux, la *Blanche* d'*Antéchrista* ‘porte, comme nom de famille, le terme « Hast » qui désigne en japonais une arme dont le fer est emmanché au bout d'une longue hampe. Blanche s'identifie à une arme plantée en elle, la scindant en deux’ (2005 : 47-48). Même sans arriver au Japon (qui pourrait bien-être une source d'inspiration pour Amélie), on pourrait y voir un lien avec le mot latin *hasta* (d'où, par exemple, l'italien *asta* 'barre, lance'), de même sens 'arme formée d’une hampe munie d'un fer' (Gaffiot et

[7] À cet égard cf. aussi l'extrait suivant : ‘Elle avait prsque fini son inventaire quand, en date du 28 décembre 1903, elle avisa : / « Décès : A. Langlais, née à Point-à-Pitre le 17/1/1875. » / A., ce pouvait être Adèle, bien sûr, mais aussi Anne, Amélie ou Angélique’ (*Mercure* : 85).

[8] *Don Elemirio Nibal y Milcar* aussi, avant *Barbe bleue*, avait été nommé dans la nouvelle *Généalogie d'un grand d'Espagne* (1996).

[9] Dans *Une forme de vie*, ce nom est écrit avec une graphie un peu différente : ‘Je me suis enrichi d'une personne énorme depuis que je suis à Bagdad. Puisqu'elle m'est venue ici, je l'appelle Schéhérazade’ (*FV* : 30). Cfr. également l'extrait suivant : ‘Elle a sauvé aussi Schéhérazade dans les *Mille et Une Nuits*’ (*Mercure* : 156).

[10] Cf. Amanieux (2005 : 147).

Flobert 2000 : 742).[11] Lors de Noël, Blanche parle à ses parents de Christa et leur dit que, 'vu son prénom, c'est sa fête' (*Antechrista* : 105). Ainsi, à l'oreille de Zoïle, le prénom *Aliénor* qualifie d'*alien* l'écrivaine handicapée dans *Le voyage d'hiver* ; *Astrolabe*, bien-aimée et inspiratrice du détournement d'avion de Zoïle, porte le nom d'un ancien instrument utilisé pour orienter la navigation. À l'école, Plectrude rencontre un garçon, Mathieu *Saladin*, dont le patronyme 'lui évoquait les contes des *Mille et Une Nuits*' (*RNP* : 89). Jérôme *Angust* (*Attentat*) est quelqu'un qui ne se souvient plus d'avoir assassiné sa femme. Le tueur à gage de *Journal d'Hirondelle* choisit deux pseudonymes que l'on peut interpréter dans un sens antiphrastique : d'abord *Urbain*, ensuite *Innocent*.[12] C'est le personnage lui-même qui réfléchit sur le sens, sur l'étymologie et sur le pouvoir de ses deux prénoms :

> Innocent. À ma connaissance, c'était le seul prénom qui comportait une négation. [...] Ce n'était pas ma progéniture, mais moi-même que j'avais baptisé de la sorte. Si ce prénom m'avait sauté aux lèvres sans aucune réflexion, c'est qu'il devait correspondre à quelque chose de profond. Pour un tueur à gages, décider soudain que l'on s'appelle Innocent, c'est plus qu'un changement de nom, c'est un changement d'identité. / Je n'avais pas réfléchi davantage quand j'avais inventé que je m'appelais Urbain, ce nom collait parfaitement à l'assassin des villes que son absence de sentiment autorise à liquider des inconnus en toute urbanité. (*JH* : 80)

Dans *Mercure*, le lien entre les personnages de *Chavaigne* et *Hazel* est souligné par leur affinité chromatique et, encore une fois, onomastique :[13]

> [Hazel :] - Peut-être existe-t-il des liens mystèrieux entre certaines personnes. Nos noms, par exemple : vous vous appelez Chavaigne, n'est-ce pas ? / [Françoise :] - Oui. / [Hazel :] - On dirait châtaigne - et vos cheveux sont châtains. Or, moi, je me nomme Hazel, ce qui signifie noisetier - et mes cheveux sont couleur de noisette. Châtaigne, noisette, nous venons d'une famille identique (*Mercure* : 74)[14]

Au sujet de son prénom, Baptiste Bordave dit qu'il 'donne le droit de baptiser' (*FP* : 70).[15] En effet, il «baptise» Sigrid la charmante et mystérieuse femme d'Olaf, qu'il vient de connaître.

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[11] Cf. aussi *ThLL* (6, 3 : 2550-2555). *Hast* pourrait aussi être lié à la forme verbale allemande, presque homographe, *hasst* '[il/elle] hait' : en effet, le sentiment d'amitié de Blanche pour Christa se développe en haine. Une connexion avec le substantif allemand *hast* 'hâte' est moins vraisemblable.

[12] Il s'agit ainsi, comme le remarque Urbain-Innocent, de deux noms de papes (*JH* : 79).

[13] Cf. Brandigi (2012 : 65-66). Cf. aussi, dans le même roman, l'affinité autant biographique qu'onomastique entre Adèle et Hazel : '- Ouvrez les yeux ! Deux jeunes filles de dix-huit ans, orphelines, égales par la beauté et la grâce, toutes deux victimes d'un grave accident qui eût pu les dèfigurer ; l'une s'appelle Adèle Langlais, l'autre Hazel Englert. Même leurs noms résonnent de façon similaire !' (*Mercure* : 153).

[14] Quelques lignes plus loin, Hazel continue : 'L'autre nom du noisetier est le coudrier. Les baguettes de coudrier servaient à détecter les sources [...]. S'appeler Hazel, c'est s'appeler sourcière. [...] Le châtaigner [...] est un bois particulièrement résistant, solide, inaltérable. Comme vous, Françoise' (*Mercure* : 74-75).

[15] En fait, il prononce cette phrase à propos du nom de la femme d'Olaf, qui se déclare sans prénom et dont le patronyme, est egalement *Baptiste*.

L'interprétation des noms, notamment des noms japonais, concerne aussi les personnages des romans autobiographiques : de son fiancé japonais, Amélie écrit qu'il ‘s'appelait *Rinri*, ce qui signifie Moral, et il l'était’ (*BF* : 232) ;[16] dans l'entreprise où Amélie travaillait lors de son séjour japonais décrit dans *Stupeur et tremblements*, l'un de ses supérieurs s'appelait *Omochi*, un homme ‘énorme et effrayant’ (*ST* : 9), homonyme d'un gâteau japonais typique. Pour la romancière, employée dans l'entreprise, il y a une telle identification entre son supérieur et ce gâteau, que cela l'empêche d'en manger : ‘Parmi ces nourritures de fêtes, il y a les Omochi : des gâteaux de riz dont, auparavant, je raffolais. Cette année-là, pour des raisons onomastiques, je ne pus en avaler’ (*ST* : 184). Comme l'a observé Cécile Narjoux, donc, ‘[l]es raisons du dégoût d'Amélie, de physique, sont devenues « onomastiques »’ (2004 : 29).[17] Du nom et du prénom de Fubuki Mori, sa supérieure directe dans la compagnie Yumimoto,[18] femme ‘irréprochable’ (*ST* : 104) et de beauté ravissante,[19] l'auteur parle plusieur fois :

> Mori, le patronyme de Fubuki, signifiait « Forêt ». Fut-ce pour cette raison qu'à cet instant je posai sur elle des yeux désemparés ? (*ST* : 23-24).

Deux pages après, Amélie lui demande

> quel était l'idéogramme de son prénom. Elle me montra sa carte de visite. Je regardai le kanji et m'exclamai : / [Amélie :] - Tempête de neige ! Fubuki signifie « tempête de neige » ! C'est trop beau de s'appeler comme ça. / [Fubuki :] - Je suis née lors d'une tempête de neige. Mes parents y ont vu un signe. (*ST* : 25-26)

Dans *Métaphysique des tubes*, Amélie donne même une relecture "à la japonaise" de son prénom (de plume) :[20]

> L'eau en dessous de moi, l'eau au-dessous de moi, l'eau en moi - l'eau, c'était moi. Ce n'était pas pour rien que mon prénom, en japonais comportait la pluie (*MT* : 122).[21]

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[16] De la sœur de Rinri, par contre, Nothomb affirme : ‘Son prénom [= *Rika*] me déçut, mais pas le reste de sa personne. C'était un ange’ (*NENA* : 89-90). Sur le prénom de Rinri cf. aussi le roman *La nostalgie heureuse* (*NH* : 9).

[17] Cf. aussi Brandigi (2012 : 68).

[18] Sur ce personnage clé du roman, cf. Narjoux (2004 : 29-31).

[19] Cf., par exemple, l'extrait suivant : ‘Deux mètres devant moi, le spectacle de son visage était captivant. Ses paupières baissées sur ses chiffres l'empêchaient de voir que je l'étudiais. Elle avait le plus beau nez du monde, le nez japonais, ce nez inimitable, aux narines délicates et reconnaissables entre mille. Tous les Nippons n'ont pas ce nez mais, si quelqu'un a ce nez, il ne peut être que d'origine nippone. Si Cléopâtre avait eu ce nez, la géographie de la planète en eût pris un sacré coup’ (*ST* : 14). Pour Amélie, Fubuki Mori ‘est la Japonaise idéale, ou plus exactement l'idéal de la Japonaise’ (Narjoux 2004 : 29). La relation d'amour-haine entre Amélie et Fubuki passe à la fois par la beauté de cette dernière et par une affinité onomastique entre les deux femmes, liées de façons différentes à l'eau : ‘- Dans votre prénom [= *Fubuki*], il y a la neige. Dans la version japonaise de mon prénom [= *Amélie*], il y a la pluie. Cela me paraît pertinent. Il y a entre vous et moi la même différence qu'entre la neige et la pluie. Ce qui ne nous empêche pas d'être composées d'un matériau identique’ (*ST* : 78). Cf., à ce sujet, les remarques de Brandigi (2012 : 66-67).

[20] Le profond lien entre Nothomb et le Japon est bien connu : il suffira ici de citer le travail de Lou (2011) et de rappeler que l'auteur, née à Etterbeek, en Belgique, continue à indiquer la ville japoneise de Kobe comme son lieu de naissance. Cf. Hiramatsu Ireland (2012 : 139, 143-146).

Ce n'est pas seulement le *signifié*, dans le sens saussurien, mais aussi le *signifiant*, qui joue un rôle : le son produit par un nom propre est tout aussi important que son sens. Dans *Biographie de la faim*, la petite Amélie reproche à sa gouvernante Inge d'être tombée amoureuse d'un homme dont le seul tort est de s'appeler *Clayton Newlin* :

> [Amélie :] - Tu ne peux pas tomber amoreuse d'un type qui s'appelle Clayton, dis-je comme une évidence. / La jeune fille s'allongea sur son lit et répéta, pâmée : / - Clayton Newlin... Clayton Newlin... Clayton... Inge Newlin... Clayton Newlin...
> Son cas me parut soudaint désespéré. (*BF* : 120-121)

Souvent, les noms les plus bizarres se prêtent à des jeux onomastiques et peuvent être interprétés de façons différentes : le prénom de Prétextat Tach a été interprété comme *pré-texte*, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui précède le texte (Helm 1997, Brandigi 2012 : 65), *prétexte*, ‘la raison apparente qui en cache une autre’ (Helm 1997), ou plutôt associé à la *praetexta*, une sorte de toge romaine (Brandigi 2012 : 65) qui donne aussi son nom à l'un des genres littéraires classiques. *Tach* évoque peut-être la *tache*, ce qui ferait allusion au crime commis par le personnage de nombreuses années auparavant (Helm 1997, Brandigi 2012 : 65-66), ou à *attaque* (Brandigi 2012 : 65), en référence à ses qualités rhétoriques.[22] Le mot-clé *texte* fait également partie du prénom du protagoniste de *Cosmétique de l'ennemi*, *Textor*, qui :

> n'est pas bien différent du mot « texte », qui est irréprochable. [...] Le mot «texte» vient du verbe latin *texere*, qui signifie « tisser ». Comme quoi le texte est d'abord un tissage de mots. Intéressant, n'est-ce pas ? (*CE* : 14-15)

Du patronyme *Otos* j'ai déjà rappelé la racine grecque ; le même personnage, cependant, affirme que son nom de famille est homonyme du nom d'une entreprise d'ascenseurs : ‘Je me nomme Epiphane Otos – Otos comme les ascenseurs’ (*Attentat* : 11), ce qui est une claire référence à *OTIS Elevator Company*, leader mondial de la fabrication de ces moyens de transport, fondée par l'inventeur américain Elisha Graves *Otis*.[23]

Les personnages nothombiens sont souvent obsédés par le manque de connaissance au sujet du prénom de quelqu'un, comme Baptiste avec la femme d’Olaf, dans *Le fait du prince*, où la curiosité s'exprime presque en façon de *climax* :[24]

> Une Suédoise, cela se nomme comment ? Ingrid ? Selma ? [...] J'eus le temps d'examiner toutes les hypothèses. [...] Mme Sildur s'appelait Latifa, c'était une jeune Marocaine dont la beauté m'envoûterait. [...] Il n'y avait pas de Mme Sildur, mais un M. Sildur qui se nommait Bjorn. (*FP* : 37)

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[21] Cf. Brandigi (2012 : 67).
[22] Helm (1997) a evoqué ainsi le mot *tâche*.
[23] Cf. www.otis.com (page consultée le 1.12.2014). L'auteur peut avoir décidé de changer une voyelle ($i \rightarrow o$) pour ne pas violer le droit de l'entreprise à l'égard de son nom.
[24] Sur la connaissance des prénoms, cf. aussi le dialogue suivant, entre Joe Whip et son père putatif (pour ainsi dire) Norman Terence : ‘[Norman :] - Excuse-moi. Et tu es sûr que tu vis bien ? Tu ne parles plus jamais de filles. / [Joe :] - De laquelle veux-tu que je te parle ? De Trisha, de Cameron, d'Angel, ou des innombrables dont je n'ai jamais connu les prénoms ?’ (*TP* : 123).

> Je ne savais pas son prénom. (*FP* : 41)
>
> Et pourquoi continuais-je à l'appeler Sigrid ? Elle portait sûrement un prénom français. Lequel ? Je ne pouvais pas l'imaginer. (*FP* : 67)
>
> Je n’osais toujours pas lui demander son prénom. J'avais tellement envie de le savoir que mon excès de curiosité aurait rendu ma question très intime. (*FP* : 69)

Cette curiosité est portée à son comble dans *Cosmétique de l'ennemi*, où Textor en arrive à assassiner Isabelle, qui refuse de lui dire son prénom :[25]

> « Je vous aime. Je voulais seulement connaître votre prénom. » Elle est tombée en murmurant avec un rictus : « Vous avez une singulière façon de demander aux gens comment ils s'appellent. » C'était une mourante très civilisée. J'ai dit : « Allez, dites-le ! » Elle a dit : « Plutôt mourir. » Ce furent ses dernières paroles. De rage, j'ai lacéré son giron de coups de couteau. Peine perdue, elle avait gagné : elle était morte sans que je puisse la nommer. (*CE* : 80)

La Zdena d’*Acide sulfurique* brûle également du désir de connaître le prénom de sa victime Pannonique. Zdena ignore qu' ‘il est beaucoup plus difficile de battre un individu dont on connaît le nom’ (*AS* : 109). Donc, c'est d'abord en refusant, ensuite en révelant son prénom que Pannonique gagne son défi personnel avec Zdena, qui tourne sa haine en amour : ‘Pannonique avait encore embelli depuis qu'elle s'était nommée. Son éclat avait accru son éclat. Et puis, on est toujours plus beau quand on a un mot rien que pour soi’ (*AS* : 110).

Les noms, donc, cessent d'être un attribut de la personne (à vrai dire, du personnage), pour devenir élément narratif, parfois central, l'un des piliers de l'histoire. Dans *Le fait du prince*, par exemple, la relation entre Baptiste et Sigrid se joue autour des noms. Le nom peut constituer une raison de vie où de mort, comme on l’a vu dans *Cosmétique de l'ennemi* et dans *Robert des noms propres*, où l'onomastique est présente à partir du titre.[26]

En conclusion, on pourrait citer les mots de Françoise, dans *Mercure* : ‘les prénoms, c'est important’(*Mercure* : 83). Plus généralement, on dirait que dans les histoires d'Amélie Nothomb les noms propres jouent un rôle très important : c'est aussi dans l'onomastique que l'écrivain joue le match de sa créativité linguistique et littéraire. Par manque d'espace, nous n'avons pas pu traiter exhaustivement le sujet, mais nous avons étudié plusieurs exemples significatifs. Le sujet de l'anthroponymie, en effet, devrait être davantage développé dans le cadre de l'onomastique nothombienne et, plus généralement, de la réflexion métalinguistique de l'auteure. À cet égard, il faudra aussi envisager les nombreuses occasions où Nothomb, lors d'émissions télévisées, a abordé le thème de l'onomastique, répondant à des questions sur

[25] De même, dans *Robert des noms propres*, Lucette tue son mari pour une raison onomastique : dans ce cas, c'est à cause du prénom à donner à leur fille.

[26] Dans ce titre, Nothomb joue avec les mots : *Robert des noms propres* est le titre d'un important dictionnaire biographique français, mais fait aussi allusion à la chanteuse *RoBERT* (pseudonyme de Myriam Roulet), dont la vie a inspiré Nothomb et pour qui l'écrivain belge a écrit plusieurs textes. Cf. Zumkir (2007 : 146-147).

les plus originaux parmi les noms de ses personnages. Je m’occuperai de ceci et d’autres questions dans de prochains travaux.

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New Digital Worlds to Explore: The Onomastic Styling of Procedural and Open-World Videogames

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Abstract

One genre of videogames (an artistic medium which is only now starting to undergo academic scrutiny) that is currently seeing a surge in popularity is known collectively as 'sandbox' titles. These are titles in which the player is presented an open environment in which they can freely pursue different elements of gameplay in a non-linear manner. As a result of such freedom, each such game requires the development of a uniquely shaped closed microcosmic environment that is stylistically tailored to the individual setting; a significant part of which may be observed in the names of people, places, organisations, and products that appear. This paper will compare and contrast the development of these interactive multi-sensory environments, showing how terrapsychological value is used to utmost efficiency in creating emotionally recognisable renditions of particularly desired environments. The development of both procedurally generated and carefully-crafted worlds will be compared, and the semantic value in the names encountered within two of Rockstar Games' titles, Red Dead Redemption and Bully, will be assessed in detail.

* * *

Paul Martin's recent article (2011) on the toponymy and naming within the Grand Theft Auto series introduced the merit of open world videogames as a primary resource for onomastic assessment – requiring a level of artistic creativity that extends far beyond the insular and tightly-scripted design of other artistic mediums. The medium is long overdue for a greater level of inclusion in academic discussion, given the increasing social presence of games – the gaming industry is rapidly dominating the commercial entertainment market. Martin's research focused on the artistic adaptation of New York (transformed into 'Liberty City'), yet he skirted around the role that semantic identity plays within such developments. A natural opening is thus presented, for combining the methodology developed for the author's doctoral research, and spoken/written on previously (Butler 2011) to this relatively unexplored and recent form of media.

The field of terrapsychology may be broadly defined as the study of the emotional responses generated by certain types of space and terrain. The author's take on the field involves the examination of how and why emotional responses to certain types of environment come to be formed, and the ways in which they can be altered or subverted through purposeful or through unintentional means. In doing so, this allows for critical investigation of the functional semantic bond between form and intended effect to be conducted. What has been poetically called the *genius loci*, the 'spirit' of place, exploring the responsive interplay between man and environment is a fundamental aspect of artistic interpretation. Once a supposed guardian – a literal spirit – transformed into an intangible

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‘sense’, or semantic presence, which is a useful metaphor relevant to such hermeneutic assessment.

It may be proposed that this sense is one which is transferable to – and inevitable has an impact on – linguistic analysis. In regard to how this concept may be applied to onomastic research, especially of artistic resources, it may be argued that stylistic and thematic demands provide an essential overarching framework against which naming strategies may be assessed. It is not necessarily a philosophic question of which comes first: the name or the place, but rather how the two aspects work together to fashion an overarching semantic identity.

Names present perhaps the most efficient manner by which a creator may express base information about any textual asset – but especially for landscape and place. These qualities apply equally across artistic and real-world functionality, providing a key means of assessing the interactivity of any environment in influencing the emotional reaction of the viewer. This is a powerful force that requires precise wordsmithing (a wonderfully apt term beloved by the author), so as to point any such engagement towards an intended direction.

The worlds crafted for the videogame medium necessarily border the uncanny in order to evoke a sense of identifiable contextual placement. However, they are distinct enough to allow the creators utmost freedom to pursue development along their chosen stylistic path, where even subtle colour palette shifts can affect perception (and thereby emotional engagement). So the combination of multi-sensory medium and methodology would appear to be a most suitable fit.

There is one particularly apt category (or genre) of videogames that provide what is known as ‘open-world’, or ‘sandbox gameplay’, which may be taken to provide an especially rich resource for analysis – as noted in the introductory paragraph through Martin’s recent work. They are essentially a self-contained microcosm – representative of wider thematically identifiable areas, but otherwise contained within a smaller navigable environment that allows for a degree of interactivity afforded by the technical limitations. It is important to recognise the restrictions on the elements that can be incorporated into such titles given intense processing requirements to populate such titles, that often graphical fidelity is reduced (such as texture resolution), traversable map size, and the amount of non-prescribed interactive entities that can appear at any given time (for example, the amount of pedestrians and cars on a single observable street). Both of these aspects typically feature as notable selling points during an open world title’s promotional material, and all are key to the development of a believable and thematically-appropriate setting. The world created for a title, as seen in literature, albeit to a lesser extent due to the representational differences offered by textual description alone as opposed to the multi-sensual visual depiction, is very much a paracosm; a self-contained virtual environments that allows for a higher level of player immersion than could be allowed by an entirely pre-scripted experience.

Sandbox titles of one sub-class, currently seeing a surge in interest, spawn random worlds for each and every game, typically referred to as ‘Procedural Generators’, which by their very nature defy a precisely crafted nature. One of the most well known of these titles is *Minecraft*, which forms nigh unlimited worlds comprised of various biomes, from tundras through deserts, arctic forests through swamplands, with some crazy combinations sometimes occurring, and exploring these forms is one of the primary aims of the title. The question arises of how villages or specific areas can be assigned meaningful names, if these areas are created on-the-go. Players have no means of reference, mapping, or sense of location, other than through visual terrain. There is not a single name to be found in this onomastically barren environment – and as with all other parts of the game, it is left to the players to craft their own environmental identity.

Another procedural title is *Sir You Are Being Hunted*, which situates the player on a series of abandoned islands, overlaid with very 'English' stylistic elements. The players are being hunted by swarms of robots bedecked as various types of gentry (each with their own patterns and styles of hunting), whilst searching for a dozen parts of a broken 'machine'. Each island is generated along a complex algorithm called Voronoi modeling (Rossignol 2012b), designed specifically to emulate the unusual field, road, and stream patterns that occur in the countryside. Abandoned villages and hamlets are an integral part of the game, providing opportunities to scavenge resources and hide from the robotic hunting parties, but like the unique yet still non-descript settlements of *Minecraft*, these too were initially bland, lacked identity, and their utility in providing good locational anchor points was limited because of this.

A script was developed that allowed for the assignment of names crafted from an assortment of elements (Rossignol 2012a). This led to some very curious and quirky combinations, but this only added to the charm, and provided a major boon in the utility of the maps. It shows how important having a name attached to a site is, not only as a frame of reference, but also as a way of meaningfully engaging with a place – even a temporary, digital, creation. Some examples of this quirky means of name creation include: Great Tweaking, Comely Twiddle (Please d-i-e slowly, the two letters from a common roadsign welcoming visitors to small UK towns purposefully eroded), Hard Upton (on-the-Wold), and Little End (on-the-end). But no two players will ever encounter the same sets, and their topological relevance can *only* be inferred as the surrounding environment is explored; for there is no underlying basis for particular assignment. The names are provided to create a sense of haunting verisimilitude, a haunting transposition of familiar forms, in addition to serving as a means of creating relational cognitive maps (despite a lack of uniquely identifying elements that could have been included) within a uniquely formed world.

There are many series that provide a more crafted form of open-world game. The key underlying aspect of such games lies in the freedom and open-ended gameplay, with a level of interactivity that allows a player to form their own experience inside the world provided. There are a number of set story and side missions, but the player is not forced to pursue these immediately following a predetermined order, and may instead explore the game world, taking on other optional activities or even creating their own within the parameters of the programming.

These include the likes of: *Fallout* (retrofuturistic nuclear apocalyptic wasteland), *Just Cause* (South American dictatorships over a tropical archipelago), *Dead Rising* (micro Las Vegas-inspired entertainment complex overrun with zombies), *Saints Row* (street gang turned commercial entrepreneurs in a darkly-comedic urban environment), and *Assassin's Creed* (campaigns of cat-and-mouse warfare with Templars throughout Jerusalem, Rome, Venice, and Constantinople, in just the earlier entries). Such a broad range of environmental types provided by the snapshot description of just five different series, exemplifies one of the fundamental appeals of the medium – a source of active fantasy entertainment, in worlds very different from our own. Each of these series could provide a fascinating semantic analysis in their own right, for the representation of a strong characterised area in this way bears a significant resemblance to Robinson's argument that all such artistic works possess a unique 'cultural geography' (2013: 70) that is imposed to shape audience expectations and provides authorial guidance (or even, it may be proposed, limitation). Each of the worlds is rich in a particularly stylised manner, providing a hyper-realistic representation of the real world, exaggerated in key aspects in order to emphasise particular environmental motifs.

Two of the titles from Rockstar Games – critically lauded as the finest designers of open world games – shall provide examples to showcase functional terrapsychology behind generating semantic content of names within the confined remit of this paper.

First of all, *Red Dead Redemption* – a wild-west epic with a storyline that spans repercussions, the ever-changing world, and revenge. And that summation does the complex story very little justice. But the setting is a sprawling landscape divided into three distinct areas, each of which bears topological designs intended to approximate and emulate the semantic identity of the entire United States in an extremely condensed form. The names provide a concise, succinct, and economical way of expressing this within a world that is necessarily condensed for both technical and gameplay reasons (providing long rides, but not excessively so, between territories).

The player starts in **New Austin**, based on the American South-Southwest (from California, through Arizona, New Mexico and Texas into Louisiana). Desert covers most of the region to the west, becoming rolling prairie as one travels eastward, turning into wetland and culminating in a rich arable environment; this covers what may be taken for the archetypal landscapes for this genre of work, but condensed so that the slice is representative of the country as a whole.

Nuevo Paraiso, 'New Paradise', is the second major area, stylistically based on the southwestern Arizona and the Mexican border state Nuevo Leon. This area is even vaster and emptier than New Austin with swathes of desert scrubland, enormous mesas, canyons and mountains. One of the three constituent regions is named Perdido ('Lost') reflecting the vast, mostly empty wilderness.

The final explorable state is **West Elizabeth**, characterised by mountainous pine forests to the west, snowy mountains in the far north, and large empty prairie to the east. It is the equivalent of the American Rocky Mountains region (Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona).

There are so many individual settlements and named places within each of these states that an hour would not even be enough to cover them all. But five key settlements spread amongst these regions will demonstrate the environmental diversity that is reflected in the underlying semantics of the assigned names.

Blackwater – The north-eastern most point of the setting, this town represents the concept of 'civilisation' that is slowly encroaching on the remnants of the wild lands below it. Serving as a major port for the area, the designers chose the name 'black' to convey the threat posed to the natural wilderness of both world and man; the town consists of brick buildings, cobbled streets, electric lighting, and primitive automobiles. This is especially felt when considered in conjunction with the state's name of West Elizabeth, where humans are literally remaking the landscape to their own design.

Manzanita Post – bearing a name for all intents inspired by a Native American word or tribe that once resided there, now displaced, and the onymic origins forgotten as being of little importance to the role of the site, this remote settlement lies in the midst of a forest that is being quickly hunted empty and torn down – the lumber sent to service industrial needs in the east.

Thieves Landing – set within swamps and bayous, with architecture reminiscent of New Orleans, and the Mason Bridge and Dixon Crossing that lead into town, referencing the Mason-Dixon Line; the traditional border between the Northern states and the South (which resulted in the realworld nickname of 'Dixie' for that area of the United States). The name reflects its role in the game, as a dangerous and lawless place, filled with ideologically disparate groups interested only in self-gain.

Armadillo – named literally for the animal commonly found in the land around the town, this is a stereotypical boom town, consisting of one main street, in which duels frequently occur. Like its former rival – now ghost-town – **Plainsview –** this is named for environmental features, emulating the quintessential role of names in allowing ease of recognition for reference, is a commentary on the need to work within the limits of nature.

Escalera – the town's name translates to 'ladder' or 'stairway'. It is named for its physical characteristic of being built on a hill divided into levels, with the market and shanty town being at the bottom, and a ruling colonel mansion being on top.

These are very different names and symbolic applications, but they all convey important details of a unique semantic identity, carefully cultivated and designed.

However, the craftsmanship of openworld names requires the coverage of all manner of scale, and this paper would like to 'zoom-in' from this expanse, to visit a very different setting in *Bully* / *Canis Canem Edit* ('Dog Eat Dog', as it was known in the UK upon initial release, the original name censored due to political concerns and pressure). Mackenzie (2006) provides a brief description of the title's erroneously perceived gameplay focus – set in a public school within a small, remote New England town, the player discovers the area in the shoes of new pupil from out of state, Jimmy Hopkins. The world of this title is on a much smaller scale than most open world games, but still offers distinct areas with their very own character or identity.

The major theme explored by the game – as its title suggests – is bullying, in its myriad of forms, and a lot of this is mechanically borne through populating the school with five distinct archetypal student groups, which differ not only in personalities, but also in social status. This is not a sprawling city surrounded by miles of barren countryside, but rather a small town comprised of various districts (each housing the families of different student groups), and small patches of land between them, traversable by pushbike and skateboard, rather than exotic sports cars, helicopters, or fully-armed tanks, to accurately reflect the typical school students' situation. There is a very noticeable shift in where these groups are randomly found outside of the confines of the school (and the world is slowly opened up to the player as they progress through the story, interacting with these different groups) It was with great pleasure the onymic semantics were noticed to strongly reflected this relational and associational aspect.

The Old Vale – a semi-gated community of mansions, estates, and sprawling gardens. The use of the definitive marks this area with a prominence so desired by the residents, attempting to set themselves apart from the rest of the community. Old money and old family names that emblazon the neighbourhoods are the aspects that matter most to the residents, nicely shown in the name.

Bullworth Vale – suburbs: quiet, tidy, tree-lined streets, a small shopping plaza of designer boutiques, and populated by well-to-to families of the Jocks. The generic 'vale' reflects marked upper-middle class pretensions; the setting is topographically correct in that the area is situated atop and within a valley, making it a popular place for bike races. The in-game nickname of 'B-Vale' is taken in part to denote that still, for some, the area holds only a secondary status.

Bullworth Town – more down to earth, noticeably more populated and not as well maintained as Bullworth Vale. A commercial borough, this is where the Nerds live, and is very much middle-of-the-road, socially. Far fewer detached houses, and more built up with apartments, emphasise the identity of this area as truly being a representation of a typical American town.

New Coventry – very much a rougher part of town, where the streets are lined with litter, the street lights are strung haphazardly, derelict houses abound, filled with tenement housing, and the player is likely to be accosted by the greaser gang members. The name, like the stylistic design, is meant to evoke the feeling of an inner-city suburb through its ironic retention of the (presumably) older colonial honourific reference.

Blue Skies Industrial Park – the most run-down and neglected part of the town, holding factories, storage warehouses, trailer parks, and populated with the delinquent townies – the lowest social tier encountered in the game. The two parts of the name attempt to mask its actual nature through semantic amelioration, which showcases the onomastic trickery frequently employed in the naming of such sites.

The creation of these virtual worlds lies in their ability to provide an archetypal template built upon concentrated features that are instilled with what may be identified as a 'feeling', 'essence', or 'sense' – the aforementioned *genius loci* – and so onomastic assessment of artistic resources may be identified as an assessment of how assigned names mutually work with this semantic presence, complemented by environmental characteristics and attributes. The interactive, graphical, and audio nature of videogames allows for a greater variety of stimuli to shape an emotional response; all of which contribute to the rich onomastic definition of a setting. The artistry behind videogame – particularly openworld titles – require entire worlds to be created, spanning countries, groups, shops, and even individual products, and hopefully this paper is a convincing first step for the viability of future onomastic work on these creations.

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Names as Communicators of National Identity: Re-constructing Englishness in *England, England* by Julian Barnes

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Abstract

English national identity (Englishness) has attracted a lot of popular and scholarly attention recently. Among the most significant novels that have attempted to explore Englishness is *England, England* by Julian Barnes. The novel's central story is the creation of a theme park on the Isle of Wight representing a collection of 'typically English' things.

The aim of the present study is 1) to analyze how English national identity (Englishness) is discursively reconstructed in the novel, 2) to define the main types of onyms used in its re-construction, and 3) to present a quantitative analysis of their distribution in the novel.

Preliminary results suggest the following:

1. Englishness is discursively constructed in *England, England* through contrast with other non-English identities;
2. There are two dimensions of English national identity in the novel: horizontal (geographical) and vertical (cultural) one. Similarly, these dimensions are metaphorically represented through a 'puzzle' (a Counties of England jigsaw puzzle) and 'diamond' (the shape of the Isle of Wight) metaphors;
3. While the first type of identity is constructed by toponyms (names of the counties), the second one is more complex and comprises various types of onyms (anthroponyms, gastronyms, microtoponyms), primarily those reflecting England's history and culture.

Tiziano Scarpa is Milena Fiotti: A True Story

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Italy

Abstract

Tiziano Scarpa (1963) is an Italian writer who has achieved fame as a novelist and poet. He received great critical acclaim in 1997 with his debut novel *Occhi sulla graticola*. Right at the beginning of his career something curious happened. Scarpa took part in a collection of stories named *Anticorpi*, where we can find his *Madrigale*. The writer, however, has signed on to write two short stories, and not just one as the other writers. Indeed, a few years after the book publishing, he admitted to also having written *La correzione*, initially signed as Milena Fiotti, a woman. This is a peculiar choice considering that a few years later the writer asserted that '[i]n the real world, people do not give any credit to those who are not ready to stand up for what they say using their own name and surname. Imagine an appeal against the death penalty signed using a nickname. Otherwise, would you accept a *cheque* signed with a nickname?'. The aim of this article is to explain the reason of this choice, a one-off in the author's career.

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Who is Tiziano Scarpa?

This paper aims to analyze a short story by Tiziano Scarpa. Some of you may not have heard of this writer. I will briefly introduce Tiziano Scarpa. Tiziano Scarpa is an Italian writer who was born in Venice in 1963. He debuted in 1996 with the novel *Occhi sulla graticola* (*Eyes on the Gridiron*).[1] Two very important works produced by him are the autofiction *Kamikaze d'occidente* (*Kamikaze of the West*) published in 2003 and the historical novel *Stabat Mater*, set in 18th-century Venice. Thanks to this book he won the prestigious Strega Prize in 2009 and became very popular in Europe. Scarpa is not only a storyteller but also writes poetry and theater performances. It is important to mention the poem *Groppi d'amore nella scuraglia* (*Knots of Love in the Dark*) which is considered by many as one of the most beautiful books of Italian contemporary poetry. The novella I will discuss in this paper is called *La correzione* (*The Correction*) and it has been published in the Einaudi anthology *Anticorpi* (*Antibodies*). This anthology tried to repeat the success achieved by an anthology of short stories by young rookies the previous year. I am talking about the famous anthology *Gioventù cannibale* (*Cannibal Youth*). *Anticorpi*, however, did not have the expected success. The story, although by Tiziano Scarpa, is signed under the name of Milena Fiotti. And, even when carefully examining the anthology *Anticorpi*, there is no concrete evidence that Milena Fiotti and Tiziano Scarpa are the same person. So there are two stories in the collection by Tiziano Scarpa. The first of these is called *Madrigale* (*Madrigal*). And it is published under the name of Tiziano Scarpa, whereas the second is called *La correzione*, and is signed by Milena Fiotti.

[1] In the brackets you can find the translation of the book's title in English beside the original in Italian. Unfortunately, there are no English translations of these books so the translations from Italian are mine.

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This kind of operation is unique in the writings of the Venetian writer. The author, when asked about the reason for this choice, stated that Einaudi deemed that only one female writer (Simona Vinci) was insufficient as compared to the far more substantial representation of men. Hence the need to include in *Anticorpi* another story signed by a woman. Thus Milena Fiotti was born. In the afterword, as is the case for the other authors, there is a short biography by first-time writer:

> Milena Fiotti was born in Biancade (Treviso) in 1969 and graduated in Spanish language and literature. She currently lives in Madrid, where she is carrying out a research on the folk origins of Don Giovanni prior to *El burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de piedra by Tirso de Molina* (Scarpa *et al*. 1997: 181).

Milena,[2] a name of Slavic origin, is quite common in northern Italy, while the surname Fiotti is rare. In fact, according to name.statistics.it there are only 27 people in Italy that bear this surname. Interestingly, in Italian *fiotti* means ‘streams’, ‘rush’ and it is usually used together with the word blood. When you have a serious injury sometimes there is a rush of blood from the wound. Rush of blood in Italian translates as *fiotto di sangue*. The place where Milena was born is called Biancade, a little town near Treviso. The historian Ivano Sartor attributes the origin of the name to the Venetian dialect word *sbiancade* by which the ‘deforested areas’ were indicated. From 1000 AD, in fact, there was a large agricultural development after the destruction of forests and the reclamation of the lands. This etymology, however, is not important for our reflections. In this fake biography Scarpa plays with the colours that the words Fiotti and Biancade suggest to the Italian reader. I shall explain why. If the surname Fiotti brings to mind the colour red, Biancade makes think of the colour white instead. In fact the word *bianco* in Italian means ‘white’. According to the author, this is the first small clue that makes us realize Milena Fiotti does not exist. A much more interesting clue is the relationship between Tiziano Scarpa and the town of Biancade. The family Scarpa is originally from Biancade and the maternal grandparents and uncles of the writer lie in the village cemetery. The writer’s keen interest in Biancade already at the time has led him to consult the book written by the aforementioned local erudite Ivano Sartor *Biancade documentata* (*Biancade Documented*). What we witness is borne by the author himself in *Soprattutto*, supplement to *The Gazzettino* on September 3, 1999. In 2003, the writer visited the grave of his dead relatives who rest in the little town near Treviso. After this experience, the author composed the poem ‘Incontro con Dio e con i miei morti a Biancade’ (‘Meeting with God and with my Dead Relatives at Biancade’). In the poem, one beside the other, the names that the Venetian writer reads by the graves of his ancestors are cited. Very curiously they are all written with the initial lower-case letter.

> […]
> I go to the cemetery
> to greet the surface of the tombs

[2] It is the feminine form of Milan, a Slavic name based on the root *mil* ‘dear’, ‘pretty’ and it was originally a hypocoristic of other names.

the outside of the tombs
of my grandparents
of my uncles
[…]
eugenio assunta renato ernesto luigi maria antonio
alessandro

You came to see me all together
how do I look?

alessandro maria ernesto
born in 1879
I do not know you
tell me who you are
you have touched me lightly
you have touched me
long-range dead
you died before I was born. (Scarpa 2006: 62-63)

The fact that Milena was born in Biancade makes her ideally a close relative of the author. This allusion, however, can only be understood by someone who knows the biography of Tiziano Scarpa very well. The much more interesting piece of information is that Milena 'currently lives in Madrid, where she's carrying out a research on the folk origins of Don Giovanni prior to *El burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de piedra by Tirso de Molina*'. As everyone knows the tradition of Don Giovanni begins with *El burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de piedra*, published in 1630 by Tirso de Molina. In fact, this is the first work that features Don Juan, then made famous by the opera *Il dissoluto punito ossia Don Giovanni* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The character was later reused by various authors in theater and literature: Molière, George Gordon Byron, Aleksandr Sergeevič Pushkin, José Zorrilla, José de Espronceda and José Saramago.

The Name Milena Fiotti is Similar to the Ones Featured in *Occhi sulla graticola*

This biographical data is the only one that makes the reader suspicious. But Tiziano Scarpa does not use the name Milena Fiotti only as a pseudonym. In fact Milena Fiotti is also the name of the protagonist of the short story *La correzione*. So the story written by Milena Fiotti has Milena Fiotti as its protagonist. Probably in 1997 some readers believed that *The Correction* was an autobiographical account. Before talking about the story it is interesting to note that Milena Fiotti is similar to other names of female characters that are present in the first novel of the author, *Occhi sulla graticola*, as we can see from this quotation:

> For seven months one character has been using the name Maria Grazia Graticola ('Rack'), but her real name is Carolina Groppo ('Knot'). As Maria Grazia Graticola she gets paid to draw male and female genitalia on Italian translations of manga, the Japanese comics (Scarpa 1996: 7).

From the very first lines of his debut novel it is understood that Scarpa has a fascination with the *nom de plume,* which in the case of Carolina Groppo comes from a practical need: to ensure the anonymity of a college student who agrees to draw male genitalia for Italian translations of Japanese cartoons. In fact, if in the Japanese original print private parts are systematically censored, Tullio Parmesan, the director of KissManga decides to restore them in the Italian version to give greater commercial appeal to his magazine. He, like Carolina Groppo ('Knot'), and together with the whole KissManga crew conceals his identity under a female pseudonym:

> Behind the pseudonym Manuela Manopola ('Knob'), director of KissManga, hides a very clever man who graduated in Japanese Language and Literature, Tullio Parmesàn of Sboldrigo, province of Vicenza, 1969 class (i.e. 26 years) (Scarpa 1996: 49).

This choice to conceal all employees under female names is not a random choice. It is Parmesan himself that unveils his editorial strategy in detail:

> [it is] clear to me that the manga should be adapted to Western tastes. It's useless doing philology with comics. There is little to do, for us Westerners the erect penis continues to be the hub of porn, vagina still represents the abyss of meaning, the well of Saint Patricia. If we want to sell in Italy all those things we have to show them, draw them, overexpose them. […] ... clear that the names of the editors are all fictional, what did you think? But did you read well the editorial column of the credit? It does not take much to figure it out! Manuela Manopola ('Knob'): the managing director! Valentina Veleno ('Poison'): translator! Stella Tacchi ('Heels'): art director! Gianna Gargianti ('Brights'): adapter of onomatopoeia and Japanese alphabet! Amelia Miele ('Honey'): lettering! Maria Grazia Graticola ('Gridiron'): inguinal graphics! Hi hi! But where have you ever seen it? This is also a political choice! […] ...impersonate women in editorial credits of the magazine is not a false modesty. All women, yes, from the director to the assistants, to the last office boy. It's a move that displaces and reassures. Shock and comfort in one fell swoop. A fist and a caress. (Scarpa 1996: 52-53)

Probably Tiziano Scarpa decided to sign this short story with a female pseudonym also for the reasons explained by the character of his novel Tullio Parmesan. So the choice to sign the story *La correzione* with the name Milena Fiotti is not only a publishing necessity but also a communication strategy. In fact, as we shall see, the ending of the story will have explicit sexual content. And indeed the publication of that story with a male author's name could have offended the female audience.

It should however be emphasized that there was a prestigious example of an artist who decided to disguise himself as a woman: that of Marcel Duchamp who became Rrose Sélavy, a character created by the French artist and at the same time the author of some of his works. In the 90s this experiment was picked up by John Frusciante. In fact the American guitarist, after leaving Red Hot Chili Peppers, devoted himself to record his first solo album, *Niandra Lades usually just Wears a T-shirt* (1994). The album was released under the name John Frusciante but the cover portrays his feminine alter ego that is precisely Niandra Lades. This is obviously a clear homage to the French, as Frusciante himself has candidly admitted. In 1994, the record was a dismal failure, but it should be stressed how the fact that 'John Frusciante had left the group' had a wide resonance in the music world and beyond. Just think of the famous book by Brizzi *Jack Frusciante è uscito dal gruppo* ('Jack Frusciante Left the Group') where the name of the American musician was only slightly changed to avoid copyright issues. There is no doubt that Scarpa refers directly to Duchamp, but considering the vastness of the interests of the Venetian writer, it is possible that the news of Niandra Lades could have reached his ears. However, it is certain that in 2003 Tiziano Scarpa in the autofiction *Kamikaze d'occidente* cites Marcel Duchamp, putting in the mouth of the character Tiziano Scarpa these words: 'I am the Marcel Duchamp of sex'. Maybe during the whole novel the only time when the character Tiziano Scarpa says the words 'I am', a phrase that, I am sure, if we dwell on it, lead to interesting insights.

What is the Topic of *La correzione*?

Now it is time to talk about the character Milena Fiotti. The editors of the anthology, Mauro Bersani and Ernesto Franco, summarize the story as follows:

> Milena tells us about the professional initiation of a young teacher, which, in the hands of a crazy old professor, also becomes a sexual initiation. The body threatened and abused [...] here is bureaucratized, rendered abstract by procedures and practices, but comes back to life in the obsessions caused by the same school life. (Scarpa *et al*. 1997: IX)

The story is written in the form of a letter addressed to the Director of Education of Treviso Guglielmo Guerrazzi. In the letter Milena Fiotti writes about her recruitment as an alternate in Spanish Language and Literature at the private Institute 'Magagnis Sisters' and the troubled relationship she had with an elderly teacher who is called Irma Zazzi. The name Guglielmo Guerrazzi appears only at the beginning of the story but it is very interesting. The name derives from the Germanic name **wilja*, 'will', and **helma*, 'helmet'. Furthermore, the Guerrazzi surname derives from the Germanic **werra*, which means 'fray', 'war'. In my opinion this name anticipates the subject of the story, or the 'ideological war' that will take place between Milena Fiotti and Irma Zazzi.

The Institute Magagnis is a private Catholic school and most of its teachers are nuns. The school is run by Mother Adele who, when she meets Milena, asks her to show exemplary behavior. In fact, the elderly nun is troubled not only by the young age of the alternate, but also because Spanish is a very sensual language. The name Adele, as that of William, is of German origin and is derived from **athala*, which means 'noble'. The school seems to be a parallel dimension in which the sexual revolution of the 60s has not taken place. There is an almost medieval atmosphere of repression and closure. Milena Fiotti is troubled by the workplace and does not know how to deal with it. On the first day of school Milena Fiotti enters the class 5th B and meets Irma Zazzi. The old Professor is doing a lesson on the text that the pupils will bring to the high school final examinations: *Lives and Memorable Sayings of the Mothers of the Desert*. For the uninitiated, this work, also known as *Meterikon*, can be considered the first work of Christian spirituality built solely for women. In *Meterikon* not only the teachings and maxims of the great solitary of the Egyptian desert are collected, but also those of other well-known mothers who had lived in solitude. Thus, from the point of view of a single book, the result is an insight into the varied experience of the ancient female monasticism. In *La correzione*, while Milena's going out of the classroom, she hears the name of St. Mary of Egypt, the patron saint of repentant prostitutes.

In the short story, the two women seem to be hopelessly incompatible and far from each other. In fact, there is a profound lack of communication between the young Spanish teacher and Irma Zazzi. But, unexpectedly, Irma Zazzi decides to invite the young fellow teacher home with the aim of correcting an Italian task together. The student's name is Debora Bondi and will be present in person at the correction. The title of the task is: *Say how you spent the last night of Carnival*.

Milena Fiotti is shocked by the odd title. How do you prepare a verification test of maturity training with such an easy task? Irma Zazzi begins to correct the writing and argues with Debora Bondi:

> Well, here you say that you were on a skiing holiday in the Dolomites – Prof. Zazzi indicated the mistakes of the task with a monumental red and blue pencil. – On the evening of Shrove Tuesday you took part in a torchlight skiing and then you went to a costume party dressed as a baby with a pacifier and diapers. You drank five glasses of brandy, and at midnight you let a guy you had just met take you to bedroom. You locked yourselves in to chat and had an interesting exchange of views for two hours. [...]– But it is exactly what happened ... It's all true! – Protested Bondi snuggling even deeper behind her glasses. We didn't do anything wrong! – Exactly! That is the point! (Scarpa *et al*. 1997: 77)

Irma Zazzi is angry because Debora Bondi spent the night chastely with the boy. So she decides to put the pencil under the skirt of the girl. This is the correction to which the title refers. When the young student understands the intentions of the elderly Professor she decides to run away. Milena Fiotti, however, decides to submit to the will of Irma Zazzi:

> It was a short surgery. I heard the Red and Blue Pencil rummage inside me and lacerate the hymen. Eventually, the pain was sharp as the relief. [...] I hope that your spirit of understanding will prevail over your charge, Mr. Director. In any case, apply to me the measures you deem most appropriate. As for me, I've already decided by myself: I will not teach anymore. (Scarpa *et al.* 1997: 79)

This story may possibly offend. But it must be considered that it was written in 1995-1996 when the Pulp phenomenon was at its height. In those years many young writers deliberately wrote short stories and novels with gory content. And Tiziano Scarpa is not the Marquis De Sade! The Venetian writer in the first phase of his career interrogates himself on the relationship between bodily impulses and intellectual activities of the human being, and notes an irreconcilable conflict between these two opposite poles. In fact, for all the characters there seems to be no other way than repression or trauma and the subsequent insanity.

The analysis of the name Irma Zazzi allows us to understand more precisely the message of this particular story. In fact the name Irma is derived from Germanic word **ermina*, meaning ‘whole’, ‘universal’. Names derived from the same root are Ermengilda, Ermengarde and Emma. The surname Zazzi is very interesting and represents the author’s taste for names of great phonetic impact. Speaking recently on the name Irma Zazzi, Tiziano Scarpa said:

> I invented Zazzi because it allowed me to create many words with zed as zazzizazione, zazzizzare, etc.., And so it is, phonetically, a run-name, a word-pad towards the suffixes, the individual name that flows into the universal, the kind that opens on gender, etc.[3]

So Irma Zazzi is an individual name which flows into the universal. The pencil is reconnected to the body in the same way as the literature, once arbitrarily divided from the body of the author, gets back its entirety. And this is the correction mentioned in the story. Italo Calvino in *Una pietra sopra* claims that ‘The author is an author since he plays a role, as an actor, and is identified with the projection of himself when he writes’. In our case, the authorial projection Milena Fiotti, however, is ‘corrected’ by Irma Zazzi, representative of wholeness, universality against fragmentation. In conclusion, therefore, we can say that this story is a recovery tool, a way to claim a relationship between author and writing that in the Postmodern era was deemed impossible.

Let’s Say Goodbye to *Nom de Plumes*

The experiment of Milena Fiotti is unique in the career of the writer Tiziano Scarpa. And it will most likely remain so, because in the introduction to *Batticuore Fuorilegge* (2006) Scarpa reflects on the nicknames used on the net; such reflection may also be extended to the use of classic pseudonyms:

> While there are more and more books attributed to powerful people and celebrities (as are also the clothes of designers and design objects), on the other hand there are more and more speeches left to themselves by anonymous authors who write on the net, which holds blogs and news on personal or collective sites, which are also very interesting and lively. I call them abandoned speeches, because their authors, in the

[3] A quotation from an e-mail that Tiziano Scarpa sent to me in January 2014.

> great majority of cases, sign with nicknames, that is to say that in fact they do not identify themselves, thus avoiding having to take responsibility for what they say. The network has allowed a healthy, truly democratic, diffusion of the individual writing. But the habit of disguising oneself under nicknames weakens the political clout of a large part of the internet outside of it, in the society where the writing flows with very different procedures. In reality you do not give credit to the words of those who are not willing to defend what they say with their names and surnames. Imagine an appeal against the death penalty signed with nicknames. Or would you accept a check signed with a nickname? (Scarpa 2006: 12)

This sums up a critical position that Scarpa had already stated in an article dated June 16, 2003 and published on the website Nazione Indiana.com with the title ‘Bloggers, you’re Worse than Liala’. The article caused a big controversy. In 2003, the blog had been on the net for a few years and had strongly changed the reality of those who wanted to pursue a career as writers. If before there was a whole editorial process that made a selection of the wannabes, now everybody could become a self-published writer and, in some cases, gain visibility, and maybe even get a publishing contract with a few clicks:

> Today anyone can publicly go to the depth of one’s self, without having to go through any social filter – the filter that, for convenience, we shall call ‘the publisher’, whether a publisher of newspapers, books, etc. or, why not, a webmaster with esoteric html knowledge, a professional who until a few months ago, before everybody could start a blog for free, you had to pay for building and updating your personal website – I said, a whole series of social filters that until a few years ago (a few months ago!) allowed the authors to be published only by the editorial system of publishing (newspapers, books, etc.). (Scarpa 2003b)

This revolution was not only to question the social role of the writer but also the word itself, sucked into the vortex of the internet, often detached from its author, who not only could decide to self-publish but also choose to remain anonymous or hide behind a nickname. ‘Bloggers you’re Worse than Liala’ is a title that deserves our attention. Liala was a writer of great success who owed her fame to serial novels often in a military setting. In fact the *nom de plume* Liala was given by Gabriele D’Annunzio: ‘I'll call you Liala so that there’ll be always a wing in your name’.[4] So the title of it sounds a bit as: ‘Bloggers you're worse than serial novel writers’. But there’s something more. In the essay *Cos’è questo fracasso?* Scarpa devotes some thoughts to the figure of Liala that are worth reporting here:

> Liala is the one writer who has crossed our century telling us compulsively of the sexual attraction between males and females, forcing her stories to stop in front of the bedroom door. Meanwhile, the 20th century was neurotically jumping on the mattress of hundreds of couples. Chatter pillow, pillow conversation, kamasutra character, empires of the senses in a double bed, post-coital cigarettes narrative. D’Annunzio,

[4] *Ala* in Italian means ‘wing’.

> the baptizer of Liala, in the 19th century had already set up an entire novel on the revealing lapse of Andrea Sperelli who blurts out the name of an ex-lover while he is making love to another. On the cover of the novels of Liala there is a card hanging on the handle commanding the plot: do not disturb. Of course silenced sex is the best way to erect a monument to it. [...] Sex is the inexpressible, the ineffable, the unheard. It is, at the same time, the vulgar and the sublime. And it is the double bottom to which language never ceases to refer, while not being able to designate it. God’s not to be taken in vain, or rather, it is useless to hope to be able to give it a name. Old reactionary myth, that there is an afterlife of words, an armored elsewhere, a core of uranium of meaning that would melt all of our vocabularies, and that makes Liala akin to noir subgenre of so-called ‘locked room mysteries’, where a corpse lies lonely in a room barred from the inside. (Scarpa 2000: 45)

It is worth noting, however, that name is mentioned twice, in a context that apparently seems to refer to something completely different. This was not surprising, since the name is a single reference term, while ‘sex is the double bottom in that language never ceases to refer, while not being able to designate it’. In the blog *Nazione Indiana* Carla Benedetti also took part in the controversy with the intervention ‘Why bloggers use the cover of nicknames’. Also in this case the target of the intervention is not limited to name only but also to profound implications that the use of a nickname has on the written word:

> I was struck by reading the dialogue between Tiziano Scarpa and Marsilioblack on Nazione Indiana. One writes: ‘Dear Tiziano Scarpa’. The other replies: ‘Dear Marsilioblack.’ What a strange thing! On the one hand, there is an individual with a personal data, an age, a face, a shaved head, the author of those particular books (which, if I want, I can even read, to check the consistency of what he says). On the other an entity in a costume, like a super-hero in disguise. Or: one is a human in flesh and blood, the other a cartoon – like in the movie Who Framed Roger Rabbit? Yet they are facing one another, to discuss the same things, as if their words could affect the world in the same way. As if the world could react to what they say in the same way. Between these two statements there is a difference in height, a different level of reality, an abyss. (Benedetti 2003)

But this controversy certifies well what had happened in the five years from 1998 to 2003. The advent of the internet had opened up new possibilities for the publication of literary works. No wonder, then, that the story of Milena Fiotti, aka Tiziano Scarpa, dates back to 1997. Within a few years the use of an author’s name and its implications changed radically. Scarpa would never have written a short story in 2003 under a false name. Even in 2014 the Venetian author published the essay *Disavventure del mio nome* (‘Misadventures of my Name’) devoted entirely to his real name. This attitude is at odds with the phrase contained in Italo Calvino’s *If on a winter night a traveler*: ‘How well would I write if I were not there’. Scarpa is not the only one having a deep relationship with his name. There is another great Italian writer who even came to put his name in the *diegesis* of his work. And not as a character, but as an author who enters suddenly to speak about himself. His name is Antonio Moresco. But that’s another story.

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Shakespeare’s Charactonyms in Russian Translations (in Commemoration of the Writer’s 450th Anniversary)

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Abstract

The study deals with the space or environment of characteristic names in Shakespeare’s works and their rendering into Russian. The material for the research will be the complete works of Shakespeare and their numerous translations into Russian of the 19th-20th centuries including annotated editions which may show additional interpretations of the names. The analysis allows arguing that nicknames were subject to changes in Russian translations due to the explicit nature of some names. Overall, the study is an attempt to make up a classification of names (exceeding 1200 units) in Shakespeare’s works with a focus on charactonyms and their contextual significance. The names in the plays are divided into groups according to the following types: characters without names (groom), titles (Douglas, Earl of), names borrowed from other languages (Diomedes), charactonyms (Pistol). The latter type will be subject to a closer analysis according to the idea expressed: an abstract idea (Silence), personality trait (Belch), occupation (Dick the Butcher).

Granny Names in The Ozark Trilogy

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Abstract

This paper investigates one aspect of the naming systems in Suzette Haden Elgin's science fiction series, *The Ozark Trilogy* (2000). The fictional Ozark society of the novels is organized according to a system of magic in which naming plays a crucial role for females but not for males. Males are named by their parents, following a traditional patrilineal naming pattern, whereas girls are named by Grannys, in accordance with numerological and magical principles. There is, however, a third naming system just for naming the Grannys themselves. When a woman becomes a Granny, she discards the name she was assigned at birth and assumes a new name of her own choosing. The present paper investigates the names of the twenty named Grannys in the trilogy of novels, comparing their chosen name with the numerological properties of other female names and discussing the implications of this self-naming within the context of the fictional Ozark society.

* * *

Introduction

Suzette Haden Elgin (1936-2015) is an American linguist and science fiction author who taught at University of San Diego until 1980, at which time she retired to the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas where she continued writing. Elgin is widely known for *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* (1980) and its many sequels. Among feminists, she is perhaps best known for her *Native Tongue* trilogy, consisting of *Native Tongue* (1984/2000), *The Judas Rose* (1987/2002), and *Earthsong* (1993/2002), for which series she invented the women's language, Láadan. However, her less well-known Ozark trilogy is the topic of the current analysis.

First published in 1981 by Daw Books, *The Ozark Trilogy* was reprinted in 2000 in a single volume. Elgin had originally intended it to be written as one long novel, but her publishers felt that formatting it as three separate volumes was the most effective marketing plan at the time (Elgin 2001). Subsequently, in 1986, Elgin published a sequel, *Yonder Comes the Other End of Time*, which brought together two of her series, the Ozark series and the Coyote Jones series, and then in 1990, she published the short story, 'What the EPA Don't Know Won't Hurt Them', as a prequel to the Ozark series.

The fictional premise of *The Ozark Trilogy* is that in 2012 (which was three decades in the future at the time Elgin was writing), twelve families from the Ozark Mountains of Earth board a spacecraft, unbeknownst to anyone else on Earth, and set forth to find a new planet on which to settle, because they were fed up with the environmental degradation and wars on Earth. They travel for nine years before they finally find a planet suitable for settlement, and they name that planet Ozark (Elgin 2000: 495-496). The leader of the expedition, Granny Motley, was later to be known simply as First Granny. The Ozark trilogy is set in a time 1000 years after the twelve families had first settled planet Ozark.

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The fictional planet Ozark and its inhabitants operate according to the principles of magic. Specifically, the Ozarkers recognize five levels of magic:

> Common Sense level, available to everyone unless they just plain weren't interested, same as the times tables and the alphabet were. Middle Level, for the ambitious, or those as didn't care to be overdependent on the Grannys. Granny Magic, for the Grannys only; Hifalutin magic, for the Magicians. And for the Magicians of Rank, the highest level – the Formalisms & Transformations. (Elgin 2000: 285)

Magicians typically exercise magic over individuals or small groups of two or three, while Magicians of Rank are capable of operating across the entire planet. Magicians of Rank are also capable of fluent mindspeak (telepathy) and have a few other magical skills that ordinary Magicians lack (Elgin 2000: 503). Granny Magic focuses on healing simple ailments, tending to home and garden affairs, and administering minor punishments, such as warts and rashes (Elgin 2000: 502), all of which are considered beneath the dignity of the professional classes of magicians. The one aspect of Magic that is unique to Grannys is that they alone are able to carry out Proper Naming of the girl children.

Naming Systems in the Ozark Trilogy

All Ozarkers descend from the original twelve families that left Earth together, and all bear one of the twelve original family surnames: Airy, Brightwater, Clark, Farson, Guthrie, Lewis, McDaniels, Motley, Purdy, Smith, Traveller, and Wommack. At birth, both male and female children are assigned the surname of their father and they keep that surname throughout their life. For given names, there are two principle naming systems in Ozark society, one for males and one for females, and then there is a third naming practice exclusively pertaining to Grannys.

Male Names

Males are named by their parents, following a pattern in which they are assigned two given names followed by a surname and a numerical designator, e.g. Donald Patrick Brightwater the 133rd. There are no restrictions on the choice of boys' names, and there is a tendency for names to be recycled, so the ordinal number is used to distinguish boys/men who bear the same name. At any given time and in any given generation, there could be several males bearing the same name. So, for example, in addition to an uncle named Donald Patrick Brightwater the 133rd, there could be five cousins all named Donald Patrick Brightwater, so the first of those born would be the 134th, the second would be the 135th, the third would be the 136th, etc. This naming convention does not require that the 133rd be the son of the 132nd or that the 134th be the son of the 133rd, only that the ordinal reflects which of them was born before the other (Elgin 2000: 505). Outside of intimate family contexts, it is usual for males to be addressed and referred to by their full name, including the ordinal.

Female Names

The most important naming system on planet Ozark is the one pertaining to girls. Unlike boys, who always have two given names, girls are assigned only one name, which could be a simple name, such as *Sally*, a compound name, such as *Marycharlotte*, or a hyphenated name, such as *Caroline-Anne*. Girls are referred to by that name and their father's surname, as in *Sally of Lewis*, *Violet of Smith*, or *Rozasharn of McDaniels*. Girls must be named by one or more Grannys, according to the system of Proper Naming, which is 'the system used by the Grannys of Ozark to ensure that a female infant will have the name intended for her by destiny' (Elgin 2000: 504). At the heart of this system is numerology, and the Grannys use magical principles known only to them to discern what number, from 1 to 9, each individual girl-baby is destined to be. Once the baby's predestined number is divined, a name is devised, such that the letters in the name add up to the proper number. Table 1, below, summarizes the letter-number correspondences, with the symbol ` representing glottal stop, not found in Ozark names, but found in the names of another species on the planet and included for symmetry (Elgin 2000: 504).

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	`

Table 1. Ozark numerology grid

If a female is improperly named, 'this is a serious matter, and will bring bad luck upon the entire Family in which it happened' (Elgin 2000: 503). Thus, the naming of girl children is a weighty responsibility for the Grannys.

The Ozark numerology system is fairly simple, at least on its surface. Using the grid in Table 1, for example, the number associated with the name *Jessica* would be calculated in the following manner: $1 + 5 + 1 + 1 + 9 + 3 + 1 = 21 \rightarrow 2 + 1 = 3$. This calculation shows that, based on the letter-number correspondences, the name *Jessica* comes to a sum of 21, and the digits 2 and 1 are then added together to yield the number 3. Names must always be reduced to a number from 1 to 9, so the digits must be added together in sequence until a number from one to nine is achieved. The name *Rozasharn* further illustrates this principle. *Rozasharn* would translate to $9 + 6 + 8 + 1 + 1 + 8 + 1 + 9 + 5 = 48 \rightarrow 4 + 8 = 12 \rightarrow 1 + 2 = 3$. Thus *Rozasharn* is a three, according to this system of numerology.

In the Ozark stories, Elgin does not systematically elaborate on the meanings that correspond with each of the numbers. On occasion, either the narrator or another character will make reference to properties associated with a particular number, but this happens only with respect to the numbers Two, Three, Four, Five, and Six. Table 2 summarizes the information directly provided about those numbers.

Number	**Properties Ascribed**
Two	‘A female whose name came to the number two was intended by destiny to be passive and submissive and weak’ (Elgin 2000: 381).
Three	‘A three she was, and she lived up to the number; in everything that Charity of Guthrie did, she succeeded with a kind of careless ease, as if there was nothing to it at all’ (Elgin 2000: 52). ‘She [Jessica of Lewis] was a true Three: brilliant, creative, high-spirited, and one for whom everything seemed to come easily’ (Elgin 2000: 477).
Four	‘…she could be any number she chose, including the horrible four…’ (Elgin 2000: 69).
Five	‘…but Becca of McDaniels was a true Five, she’d as soon take your head off as look at you, and she ran the Brightwater kitchen the way her husband ran its stables. No sass, no slack, and no time to breathe from the minute you got there until you were through *by the clock*’ (Elgin 2000: 361).
Six	‘…a true Six – her loyalty to her Family and her devotion to its members were her ruling qualities’ (Elgin 2000: 351).

Table 2. Direct evidence about Elgin’s number system meanings

The quotations in Table 2 provide scant evidence about the meanings associated with the numbers in Elgin’s numerological system, and in the case of the number Six, the evidence is somewhat unreliable. The passage quoted in Table 2 refers to Gilead of Wommack, who is actually a Two, but who is misidentified on p. 351 as a Six. That error leaves the reader to wonder whether loyalty to family is really a characteristic typical of a Six or is a characteristic of Gilead, and therefore of a Two. Furthermore, about the numbers not listed in Table 2 the reader has even less information and is left to infer the qualities associated with each of the numbers, based on an analysis of the characters who bear those numbers.

Since Elgin’s numerological grid mirrors other numerology grids for the English alphabet, it might be instructive to look at an example of how another source relates the numerals to personality and character traits. In *The Hidden Truth of Your Name* (1999), the unidentified members of The Nomenology Project provide a description of what each number represents. Their descriptions are briefly summarized below in Table 3.

Number	**Ascribed Characteristics**
One	the beginning or origin of all things; unity, wholeness, self-sufficiency; masculine energy; aggression (positive or negative); often outgoing, aggressive, achievement-oriented; leaders; dynamic, expressive; occasionally obstinate & overbearing
Two	duality, polarity, the interaction of opposites; feminine energy; good at reconciling and negotiating between conflicting interests; compromising, passive, follower not leader; creativity
Three	family & family values; time (past, present, future); assertive, generally positive; can be blunt
Four	stability, foundations, solidity, the earth, the four elements; equilibrium & balance; reliable, stable, efficient, well organized, calm, respectable; can be dull or slow, even boring, if not balanced with creativity
Five	the material world, humanity, the 5 senses, instability, distraction; uncertainty and chance; activity & energy; adventurous, willing to try new things; risk taker; resilient
Six	health, balance and harmony; an androgynous quality; creative, artistically oriented, willing to take action to accomplish goals; can be nitpicky or fastidious
Seven	spirituality, mysticism, perfection, order, good fortune; artistic, intuitive, empathetic; can be aloof, moody, depressed
Eight	regeneration, stability, new life, eternity, justice, equilibrium, balance; materialism & worldly interests; tenacity; can be hard-headed
Nine	completeness, fulfillment; possibly self-centered and egotistical; can have lofty goals & high ambition

Table 3. The meaning of numbers (Nomenology Project 1999: 35-37)

The Hidden Truth of Your Name is not and does not purport to be an academic reference book, so the authors do not cite sources. However, the book presents overviews of onomancy, Kabbalah, runic interpretation, and modern Western numerology. ‘Western numerology developed primarily from the Hebrew methods of gematria and the Pythagorean techniques of analyzing the meanings of individual numbers’ (Nomenology 1999: 33). Since the letter-number grid presented in this book mirrors the one that Elgin uses, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Elgin based the numerology in the Ozark trilogy on some version of this modern Western numerological system, although not on this particular book, which was not published until nearly two decades after Elgin wrote her novels. A comparison of the properties ascribed by Elgin to each number with those ascribed by the Nomenology Project reveal little overlap, except that in both systems, the number two seems to be associated with a degree of passivity and submissiveness. Even this preliminary comparison demonstrates that there is no consistent scientific basis for numerological inferences; nevertheless, since this study analyzes a naming system in a fictional world, there is little harm in suspending disbelief and proceeding with the analysis of Granny names using these numerological systems.

Granny Names

Grannys are older women (although there is no set age at which one may become a Granny) who are celibate, either because they are virgins or because they are widows. Before they can become Grannys, they must pass tests in Granny Magic administered by those who are already Grannys (Elgin 2000: 502). By no means will every woman become a Granny. *Granny* is a distinct category not to be confused with that of grandmother, and the non-standard plural *Grannys* where one might expect *Grannies* is a visual reminder that *Granny* is a professional title, not a biological one. Grannys, like all females, are given a Proper Name at birth by a Granny, and they bear that name throughout their lives until such time as they become Grannys. At that point, they cease to use the name they were given at birth and they choose for themselves a new name by which they are known thereafter. Although their family origins are not hidden, they also cease to use their father’s surname. It is as though the Grannys have entered a different order of being in which their primary identity is no longer that of an individual or of a member of a family, but is, rather, that of a member of a small but crucial order of highly specialized magicians who, together, look out for the collective good of all the people of Ozark. It is common for one or more Grannys to live in the main household of each of the twelve families, but there are no restrictions concerning where they may or may not reside.

There are 29 Grannys on Ozark in the time period in which the novels are set and not all of them are identified by name, so the analysis that follows is based only on the 20 named Grannys, plus the titles *Granny* and *First Granny*, since these are used as forms of address. The fact that Grannys name themselves is somewhat remarkable in the context of a society in which naming is fairly tightly regulated, especially for females. No other group, not even Magicians of Rank, who are ostensibly the highest ranking members of the Ozark magical hierarchy, are permitted to name themselves. Perhaps it is fitting, though, that those who are charged with the weighty responsibility of administering Proper Naming to all girl children have as their first act as Grannys the responsibility of naming themselves. This practice raises the question, however, of whether the Grannys, steeped as they are in the Ozark numerological naming system, use that system when naming themselves.

Table 4, below, lists all the named Grannys in the Ozark series, with their number designate, according to this form of numerological calculation. I have included *First Granny*, even though this is not a name chosen by this Granny, because it is used as a proper name when she is referred to in the books.

Name	**Number**	**Name**	**Number**
Granny	7	Goodweather	4
First Granny	7	Graylady	3
Cobbledrayke	4	Hazelbide	9
Copperdell	7	Heatherknit	2
Dover	1	Leeward	5
Edging	1	Scrabble	8
Flyswift	3	Sherryjake	3
Forthright	3	Stillmeadow	7
Frostfall	1	Twinsorrel	9
Gableframe	7	Whiffletree	9
Golightly	7	Willowithe	1

Table 4. Granny names and numbers

The analysis of the Granny names of Ozark is hindered by the fact that for many of the named Grannys, the reader is provided with little more than her name and sometimes her family affiliation. Thus, there is almost no way to determine the extent to which either Elgin’s or the Nomenology Project’s numerological interpretations fit with the personality and character of most of the individual Grannys. The only Granny for which the reader is told her original name is Granny Gableframe (number 7), whose original name was Bethany of Brightwater (number 3). Based on this example, it would seem that Grannys need not choose a name that corresponds with the number that destiny assigned them. Indeed, a comparison of the proportion of non-Granny female names and the proportion of Granny names matching each of the nine numerals suggests that Grannys pay little heed to choosing a Granny name that matches the numeral they were determined to be at birth. Table 5 shows the relative percent of non-Granny female names and Granny names that correspond with each number.

Number	**% Grannys**	**% All Girls**
1	20.0	12.7
2	5.0	12.7
3	20.0	19.1
4	10.0	10.6
5	5.0	10.6
6	NIL	17.0
7	20.0	8.5
8	5.0	6.3
9	15.0	2.1

Table 5: Percentage of non-Granny and Granny names by numeral

The name *Granny* itself is a seven, which, in the Nomenology Project numerology system includes characteristics related to mysticism, perfection, order, and intuition. These characteristics seem to be appropriate for Grannys and they also correlate well with the most fully developed of the non-Granny ‘Sevens’ in the stories, namely, Silverweb of McDaniels.

Silverweb is a young woman steeped in mysticism and spirituality, who appears to have chosen a life of celibacy and about whom the narrator speculates, '…perhaps it was her intention to become a Granny without the bother of waiting around to become a widow' (Elgin 2000: 22). Thus, there may be some correlation between the number seven, in both Elgin's and the Nomenology Project's systems, and some of the expected characteristics of Grannys. Beyond that, however, there is little evidence to suggest that Grannys make any effort to choose their names to reflect the characteristics associated with particular numbers, and there is no evidence that any characters in the novels interpret Granny names in this manner. Instead, Granny names appear to be taken at face value and to not be expected to bear any magical significance whatsoever.

Of the twenty Granny names, seventeen are compounds. The three non-compounds are *Dover*, *Edging*, and *Scrabble*. While it is impossible to say exactly which meanings or connotations Elgin had in mind when she chose these names, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (online) offers definitions that seem more than plausible, given that the Grannys of Ozark are ritually obstreperous in their speech patterns and mannerisms. The explanations offered in this section are drawn from that dictionary, except where otherwise indicated. *Dover* is more likely to be associated with a dialectal meaning pertaining to a slight, unsettled sleep than to the place name, and *Edging* is likely to connote a metaphorical setting on edge, rather than edging as applied to sewing, although the added connotation of the feminine (on Ozark) art of sewing adds an appropriate nuance of meaning. *Scrabble* is probably used in its American sense of a scramble or confused struggle. All of these non-compound Granny names, then, suggest varying degrees of unsettled or edgy character, without suggesting actual instability.

Of the 17 compound Granny names (see Table 4), most can be interpreted as having transparent surface meanings, although some may rely on obsolete or dialectal terms and some may be used ironically. Since humans on Ozark ride flying mules, *Flyswift* may be taken at face value, and it may also carry overtones of a Granny who is likely to be wherever she is needed in the blink of an eye, for better or for worse. Other names whose meanings are likely to be transparent to most readers are *Forthright*, *Frostfall*, *Golightly*, *Goodweather*, *Graylady*, *Heatherknit*, *Leeward*, *Stillmeadow*, *Twinsorrel*, and *Willowithe*. Nevertheless, even though the names may seem simple, the protagonist, Responsible of Brightwater, has comments to make about the names of Grannys Golightly and Leeward that suggest that even seemingly transparent surface meanings may belie the real nature of the Grannys. In the case of Golightly, the name may suggest that the Granny herself steps lightly and is easy-going. This is not, however, how Responsible of Brightwater sees her. Granny Golightly is 129 years old and likes to play tricks on Responsible, prompting Responsible, as narrator, to comment, 'I intended to go lightly near her, for sweet providence sake, as befit her name' (Elgin 2000: 33). About Granny Leeward, Granny Cobbledrayke remarks that she 'is about as much like a leeward side in a storm as a lizard is like a belly button' (Elgin 2000: 392). In Book Three of the trilogy, Granny Leeward has become corrupted and she supports a harshly theocratic structure. Her corruption is best illustrated when she flays a 12-year-old girl to death as punishment for the girl resisting the marriage that had been arranged for her (Elgin 2000: 379-382). Thus, even seemingly simple compounds such as *Golightly* and *Leeward* can be deceiving if taken at face value.

Six of the compound Granny names may require some explanation, either because they utilize obsolete forms or because the meaning of the compound may not be entirely transparent. In *Cobbledrayke*, the first morpheme, *cobble*, may favour the idea of ‘a water-worn rounded stone’ more so than the meaning of ‘mend or put together clumsily’. For its part, *drayke* is a non-standard spelling that occurs neither in the OED nor in the online *Collins English Dictionary*. It may be related to *drake* ‘male duck’, but the website *Babycenter* also offers ‘dragon’ as a possible synonym. The latter seems more likely to be what a Granny might have had in mind in naming herself. With some imagination, one might, therefore, think of *Cobbledrayke* as alluding to a smooth, round dragon’s egg: a deceptively benign shell which houses the potential for a firestorm.

The name *Copperdell* has multiple possible meanings. *Copper* could refer to the metal, but it could also refer to a cop, a mechanism that forms part of a spinning wheel, once again suggesting concerns that are considered appropriate for females, including Grannys, on Ozark. *Dell* could mean a deep hole, but according to the OED it could also refer to a wench or young girl ‘of the vagrant class’. Combining the various possible meanings, one might think of a deep and strong-minded woman who maintains the gendered order of things without being entirely a part of that system.

Gableframe is at once transparent and not. *Gable* could refer to a roof structure, but it is also possibly a variant of *cable*, suggesting bonds or chains. Likewise, *frame* could refer to a structure of some sort, usually of wood, but the OED offers an obsolete meaning ‘bold, brave, strong; strenuous, active, eager; excellent, splendid; efficacious, effective’. This latter cluster of meanings seems more fitting for the character of Granny Gableframe in the stories. So perhaps Gableframe is meant to suggest a Granny who is active and effective in creating and maintaining bonds. For its part, *Hazelbide* appears transparently to mean something pertaining to hazelnuts or possible the colour hazel, and *bide* refers to a dwelling place or to the act of staying. Yet the reader may well wonder whether deeper connotations are intended. Granny Hazelbide raised Responsible of Brightwater, the Meta-Magician of the planet, along with Troublesome of Brightwater, Responsible’s older sister. Troublesome was properly named and she more than lived up to her name; raising her would have been no mean feat for any Granny. Raising a Responsible, of which there is one in every Ozark generation, is also a complex and weighty responsibility. The stability and support offered by Granny Hazelbide to both of these girls turns out to be pivotal in resolving the crisis into which planet Ozark is plunged in Book Two.

Sherryjake and *Whiffletree* are both formed using regional United States dialect forms. *Sherry* may be associated with *scurry*, denoting a hurried movement. *Jake* may refer to a rustic individual or to an alcoholic beverage. So perhaps for the citizens of planet Ozark, *Sherryjake* would connote a spirited yet slightly conservative individual. *Whiffletree* is identified in the OED as being a U.S. variant on *whippletree*. *Collins* goes a step further and identifies both as names for *swingletree*, itself a variation on *singletree*, ‘a wooden bar swung at the center from a hitch on a plow, wagon, etc. and hooked at either end to the traces of a horse’s harness’ (*Collins English Dictionary* online). So Granny Whiffletree may wish her name to be associated with hard work, the carrying of burdens, and forward movement: achieving progress by assuming a traditional position and moving forward in tandem with others.

The analysis of these 20 Granny names is, at best, suggestive of meanings and connotations that the author may have wished to convey to her readers. Evidence from the novels is scant and many of the Grannys are only mentioned by name once or twice in over 500 pages of the novels, so any interpretation must rely heavily on contextual clues from the fictional Ozark society portrayed in the stories. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that Granny names on Ozark form a distinct category of names that is independent of the primary naming systems for females and for males.

Conclusion

Suzette Haden Elgin's *Ozark Trilogy* draws the reader into a fictional universe in which magic is as essential on planet Ozark as electricity is in the 21st-century industrialized countries of Earth. Although outwardly a patriarchal society, Ozark's true power and stability are in the hands of women. All magic on Ozark flows through the Responsible in every generation and the determination of who that Responsible is depends upon the Grannys. All girl children's names hold magical and numerological significance, none more so than *Responsible*, and Grannys must conduct the Proper Naming of all girls. Although Magicians and Magicians of Rank are male, the magic of males is not tied to Proper Naming, so the naming of boy babies is done by the parents in accordance with their own preferences.

In this fictional universe where family names are used prominently, especially for boys, and where girls are assigned names with magical significance, Grannys stand apart in naming themselves. All Grannys are steeped in the magic of numerology and Proper Naming, yet there is no evidence to suggest that Grannys apply numerology when choosing their own names. In fact, what little evidence one can glean from the stories suggests the opposite. Grannys pay no heed either to the numeral associated with their new name or to the numeral associated with the name they were given at birth and lived with up until becoming Grannys. Instead, Grannys appear to favour folksy-sounding names, particularly compounds. Whether compound or simple, a Granny's name is apt to suggest virtues or character traits embraced by the Granny, or, as in the case of Granny Leeward and Granny Golightly, they choose names ironically, signifying something other than what a surface reading might suggest.

The Ozark Trilogy has long had an in-group following among science-fiction aficionados, but it has received very little attention from academics. As the present paper has attempted to show, however, Elgin the linguist brings her linguistic sophistication into her fiction, and in the case of the Ozark series, she applies her genius to the creation of a magical and wonderful set of naming systems, well worth the attention of literary onomastic scholars.

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Names and References in *Midsummer Night's Dream*

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Abstract

Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* is about true love and felicitous marriage as essentials of both natural and social order. With three interwoven plots, Shakespeare's names and references reflect three types of sources, each with associative possibilities relevant to the basic themes. The main plot is about Athenian nobles whose names draw symbolic meaning from Greek mythology. It focuses first on Theseus and Hippolyta, whose approaching marriage symbolizes the settlement of domestic order, while dramatic tension emerges in the pairing of four young lovers. A second plot is about the 'mechanicals' preparing entertainment for the noble wedding, whose names are figurative coinages associated with common trades and English life. The third plot is about the fairy world and the troubled marriage of its king and queen, whose names suggest an overriding hierarchy and order in nature – a significant reinterpretation of traditional folklore. This paper will describe various associative possibilities (iconic, indexical, and symbolic) of *Theseus* and *Hippolyta*, and will present a detailed classification of all names and generic references. It will illustrate a semiotic approach advocated in 'Theoretical Foundations of Literary Onomastics' in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*.

* * *

Let me begin by saying that a name can mean anything we want it to, just as appellatives or any other form of reference. Deciding what a name means is an act of interpretation, guided by the physical attributes of the word (e.g. its sounds), by the possibilities of reference within a specific context (such as the people standing on a stage), and by the significance of the name as a word related to other words in all other contexts (i.e. sources) known by the interpreter.

This is how we may describe the three basic modes of interpretation – the *iconic*, the *indexical*, and the *symbolic* – more or less as Charles Sanders Peirce described them about a hundred years ago. I have used these concepts before and most recently in a chapter that appeared in the *Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (Smith 2016). My purpose here, today, is to examine Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* as an example of literary and language theory.

The symbolic mode of interpretation is the combination of indexical references from two or more different contexts, and it is certainly the most important mode in literature. Symbolic interpretation is thematic, and themes are generated by words having indexical reference in more than one context. All names have indexical reference – i.e. a fixed designation and one-to-one correspondence – in at least one context, but in literature they have their most important meaning in their thematic relevance – i.e. a significance because of their relationship to other words within other contexts (sources) as well as within the specific work at hand as a whole.

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Thus, we must begin with the assumption that Shakespeare's names can mean whatever we want them to, depending on the interpretations we might want to give to his plays. That is to say, the names might elicit references to things in our time that did not exist in Shakespeare's time. However, it is easily observed that most, if not all of his names have obvious and very specific reference in pre-existing or co-existing contexts in Shakespeare's time. The only question is the degree to which, if any, those pre-existing references and contexts might be relevant to the themes apparent in the work at hand, which, of course, is an interpretive question, requiring us to recognize a similarity between references in two or more different contexts – the play itself and some other context.

We need not pursue Shakespeare's personal intentions, but the study of his names, as in the works of any author, ties us closely to the text of his works and to the pre-existing contexts (i.e. sources) in which the names might have reference. That is to say, we begin with a name, a specific indexical reference to a character or other entity in a play, and by studying how this same word is used as a specific indexical reference in pre-existing contexts (e.g. in sources or the culture of Shakespeare's time) we may infer a similarity of importance and thereby gain an understanding of its *symbolic* value and a richer understanding of thematic meaning in the work at hand.

Of course, it may be that a name has a different kind of reference in contexts that neither Shakespeare, nor his audience could know. For example, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, the character Dogberry insists that he 'be written down an ass'. Modern audiences laugh in part because the word *ass* now has an anatomical reference, and a director in the 21st century certainly should have the artistic freedom to take advantage of this interpretation. However, an onomastic scholar is obligated to acknowledge that it is not an interpretation clearly available to Shakespeare or his audience. To understand Shakespeare's achievement as an artist we need to focus on the texts of his plays and on the pre-existing contexts of his references.

Midsummer Night's Dream appears to have been written initially to celebrate a specific wedding of mature English nobles and the sources and other contexts in which the names have pre-existing reference illustrate themes of love, marriage, and domestic order as a part of civic order. Appendix 1 lists and (for convenience) classifies all the names in this play. I shall describe the central importance of Theseus and Hippolyta.

A good marriage follows personal choice, and true love is found when the natural order is undisturbed. There are three distinctive plot lines in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The main plot is about nobles whose names derive from Greek mythology. It focuses first on the approaching marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta. They are the lead couple, but their marriage is a settled matter. For them there is no drama, just a celebration. The drama of the main plot lies in the tribulations of four young nobles – especially the fickleness of the two young men, Demetrius and Lysander. The tribulations of the young nobles help to show the stability of the older, mature nobles.

The other two plots show other contrasts. One is about commoners, the 'mechanicals', who are preparing the 'Pyramus and Thisby' play for entertainment at the noble wedding. Their names are all figurative references to specific English trades, clearly tying the real context of this play to England rather than ancient Athens.

The third plot is about the fairy world and the troubled marriage of its king and queen. Most of these names refer to elements of nature or characters in folklore. The unusual feature in Shakespeare's version of this world is that it is hierarchical and guided by beneficent rulers, which is a significant reinterpretation of English folklore.

The names of characters in the main plot derive from very specific passages in classical literature and link these characters to heroes of antiquity. Theseus is most often referred to on-stage as 'Duke', a prestigious English title, but it is not clear for whom Shakespeare may have written the play. The name *Theseus* would link the duke to one of the best known Greek heroes, and the subject of the first story in Plutarch's *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (Rouse 1910). According to Plutarch, Theseus volunteered to be sent by Athens as a human sacrifice in tribute to their Minoan masters in Crete. However, Theseus managed to kill the Minotaur, escape, and thereby free Athens of its annual tribute.

Plutarch emphasizes Theseus's later role as a founding leader of Athens. After his return to Athens, Theseus united all of Attica under Athens as its civic hub. Yet, Theseus always acted as a noble peer and never as a sovereign ruler of Athens. Thus, seeing an English nobleman as a type of Theseus would not be a big stretch of the imagination and in fact reasonably appropriate flattery.

The symbolic meaning of the name is made even more specific, even emphatic, in the context of Theseus's marriage to Hippolyta. Plutarch notes that there are many stories about Theseus and many marriages, but he says that the story of his marriage to Hippolyta comes from a very special source, and that the name *Hippolyta* should not be confused with *Atiopa* or similar sounding names of other romantic encounters. Soon after Theseus organized the young nobles in the government of Athens, they were attacked by the Amazons, young women warriors, and a great battle ensued that was fought to an exhausting draw. Hippolyta was among the Amazons and became the leader who initiated a peaceful end to the war by suggesting her own marriage to Theseus. This war was seen as the quintessential battle of the sexes in all of classical literature, and Plutarch describes Hippolyta's initiative as the archetypal settlement of gender conflict.

Shakespeare could read Latin when he needed to, but here clearly relied on Thomas North's translation of Plutarch, and in this translation the specificity of the context makes the symbolic meaning of Shakespeare's names even plainer. On page 71 there is a side-bar note to guide the reader, saying, 'Peace concluded by means of Hippolyta'. At the same time, Plutarch describes the marriage as a settlement of both domestic and civic customs for Athenian society. Thus, Shakespeare's application of names from this very specific context to an equally specific English context not only confers heroic stature to the central characters, but also focuses the play on marriage and, of course, on love as fundamental elements in a civil society.

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Appendix 1: Types of Thematic Associations of All References in *MND*

- **A. References to Characters**
  - *1. Proper Names*
    - a. Borrowings
      - i. Classical:
        - Demetrius, Egeus, Helena/Helen, Hermia, Hippolyta, Lysander, Philostrate, Pyramus, Theseus, Thisby, Titania
      - ii. Biblical
      - iii. Medieval & Ren. Lit.
        - Goodfellow (Robin), Oberon
      - iv. Topical
    - b. Descriptive Tags (& Epithets)
      - Cobweb, Moth, Mustardseed, Peaseblossom
    - c. Associative Tags
      - i. Occupational
        - Bottom, Flute, Quince, Snout, Snug, Starveling
      - ii. Social class
        - Nick, Francis, Peter, Tom, Robin
  - *2. Descriptive Labels*
    - a. Occupational (Forester)
      - Mechanicals
    - b. Social (Titles)
      - Duke/Duchess, King of Fairies, Queen (Fairies), Rabble, Train
    - c. Personal
      - Fairy, Goblin, Hobgoblin, Puck
    - d. Theatrical
      - Clown
- **B. Names of Places**
  - *1. Classical*
    - Acheron, Athens/Athenian, Crete, Sparta, Taurus' snow, Thebes, Thessaly/Thessalian bulls,
  - *2. Biblical*
  - *3. Medieval & Ren*
  - *4. Topical*

C. Literary Allusions

1. Classical

Aegles, Amazon, Antipodes, Apollo, Ariadne, Aurora's harbinger, Bacchanals, Cadmus, Carthage queen, Centaurs, Corin, Phillida, Cupid, Daphne, Diana, 'Ercles, Fates, Furies, Hecat, Helen (of Troy), Hercules, Jove, Limander, Muses, Neptune, Ninny's/Ninus' tomb, Perigenia, Phibbus' car, Philomele, Phoebe, Procrus, Shafalus, Sisters (Three), Thracian singer, Troyan, Venus' doves,

2. Biblical

3. Medieval & Ren. Lit.

Bergomask, Jack & Jill, Saint Valentine

4. Topical

Peascod, Squash

D. Coinages

Nedar

E. Generic References

Egypt, Ethiop, French crowns, India/Indian, Jew, Tartar

F. Personifications

Hiems, Lion, Love, Moon/Moonshine, Morning's love, Nature, Night's swift dragons, Wall

G. Oaths

God

Namescape:
or How to Deal with Noise

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Abstract

Researchers of literary onomastics have increasingly called for the analysis of all the names in a literary work, an oeuvre, a genre or a time period. This approach, however, is humanly impossible. But things are changing. Digital text corpora and the tools to recognise, classify and tag named entities are becoming more and more available, along with tools to search, retrieve and visualise the data. The results of the automatic analysis of a large corpus of text, however, still include a lot of 'noise' – mistakes made by the software. Nevertheless, the number of correct results can be staggering. To leave them aside because of the noise would not be wise, but that is still the reaction of many humanities scholars. We propose a different reaction, namely to try to find ways to deal with noise and thus profit from the large gains that are there for the taking. This paper presents some first methodological experiments in dealing with noise that were carried out during the Namescape project (www.namescape.nl), which concerned modern Dutch fiction.

* * *

Introduction

The aim of comparative literary onomastics is to analyse the usage and functions of proper names in literary texts such as novels, plays and poems (van Dalen-Oskam 2005, 2006). The approach is based on the hypothesis that patterns and trends can be discovered in the ways in which literary authors make use of proper names in their work. These patterns involve the number of names used as well as the distribution of and visible preferences for different functions in which names are applied. Some examples of name functions are identifying or (its opposite) cloaking an identity, and characterising the entity endowed with the name. For both usage and function, a quantitative analysis is considered to be appropriate. The patterns in usage and functions are expected to be related to either genre or, for example, topics or thematic characteristics in the works on the one hand, and to the background and preferences of the authors on the other hand. The onymic choices an author makes are assumed to be consciously or unconsciously informed by her or his cultural background and knowledge, and are therefore expected to differ between authors and texts. They may also differ throughout the ages. As such, comparative literary onomastics approaches the use of proper names in literary works as embedded in the broader, literary and general culture of a time period and area.

To verify or falsify these fundamental hypotheses we need to have access to a huge amount of data on name usage and name functions in literary works. This implies a very large corpus of literary and other kinds of texts (to be able to compare between literary and other text types) – 'very large' being something like many thousands, preferably millions of texts,

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nicely metadated with information about author, date of publication, text type and so on.[1] This corpus needs to have all the proper names tagged, with additional labelling of the name type and the name functions. To give only one example: many occurrences of a proper name in a literary work will have the function of identifying an entity (a character), but may also characterise the entity. Since it is impossible to tag a really large corpus manually, we need to turn to information technology to see whether some of these steps can be automated.

Automatically detecting proper names in texts and classifying the name occurrences as belonging to different types of names has a long history under the label ‘named entity recognition and classification’ (NERC or NER). These tools were originally developed for non-literary texts. How useful the application of NER tools to literary texts would be from the perspective of comparative literary onomastics was one of the research questions in the Dutch project Namescape. The project ran from April 2012 until December 2013 and was funded by CLARIN-NL, the Dutch branch of the European-wide digital infrastructure project CLARIN (Common LAnguage Research Infrastructure), which is intended for humanities researchers who work with language data and tools. In this paper, we report some of the main results of Namescape.

Namescape

The full name of the project was *Namescape: Mapping the Onymic Landscape*. It was a ‘demonstrator project’, that is, a project scheduled to deliver a set of tools (computer programs) geared towards literary onomastic research. The collaborating partners were the Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands (Huygens ING – KNAW, one of the research institutes of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences), the Institute for Dutch Lexicology (INL) and the Information and Language Processing Systems Group of the University of Amsterdam (ILPS – UvA). A large corpus of books in digital form (around 8,000 titles) was gathered, but due to copyright issues the files of most of these cannot be made publicly available. The corpus was annotated with a rich tag set. The proper names in the whole corpus can be searched, and search results are presented as keywords in context; in other words, the names are presented in concordance form, with a couple of words before and after the keyword so that the context of the name can be gleaned from this snippet of text. Furthermore, several visualisation tools help the scholar explore the huge amount of data that has thus become available.

The Namescape project took as point of departure a pilot project in which the usage of proper names in a corpus of 22 Dutch and 22 English novels was analysed (van Dalen-Oskam 2013). As to name functions, the pilot project focused on the use of geographical names in these texts (van Dalen-Oskam 2012, 2013). That usage and functions of place names are especially interesting has also been convincingly demonstrated by Rosa and Volker Kohlheim (Kohlheim and Kohlheim 2011, Kohlheim 2013). The tagging of this small corpus was done using a combination of manual and semi-automatic procedures. The tagging took

[1] Opinions differ on how large such collections have to be. From a humanities perspective, I rather like the definition that Alan Riddell presents in a recent article: ‘I will refer to any collection of texts as a *very large collection* if it contains more texts than a single researcher would be expected to digest in a year’s worth of dedicated reading’ (Riddell 2014: 92).

around 12 months. The tagset was specifically developed for the research questions from the perspective of comparative literary onomastics, as sketched above. We wanted to be able to make separate calculations for the occurrences of first names and family names, because our hypothesis is that the usage of first names has functions that differ from the usage of family names. For instance, the level of ‘intimacy’ in a novel could be indicated by the ratio between first and family names (van Dalen-Oskam 2005). We also wanted to distinguish names referring to entities (characters, places, etc.) that ‘exist’ only within the fictional narrative from names referring to persons and places that exist in the real world. We label the first ones ‘plot internal’ (e.g. Bilbo, Tyrion) and the second ones ‘plot external’ (e.g. Merkel, Glasgow). The reason for this distinction is the hypothesis that names that refer to plot-internal entities usually have functions that differ from those that refer to plot-external entities. Only the systematic labelling of name occurrences for this feature will enable the testing of this hypothesis.

Although many tools for automatic named entity recognition and classification (NER, NERC) exist, these two distinctions are generally not made in the tools. In the Namescape project, we not only tested existing NER tools, but also retrained the tool that best suited our needs and developed a new one for Dutch novels. We presented several visualisation tools to explore the results. More information and links to the tools can be found at www.namescape.nl. In this contribution, we focus on the fact that NER tools are still far from perfect, suggesting possible ways to deal with the ‘noise’ – the mistakes – in the results of such tools.

Named Entity Recognition

In the semi-automatically and manually corrected pilot corpus of 44 novels, personal names are far more frequent than place names, and occurrences of other names are so sparse that they are statistically uninteresting. This is different for the text types on which NER tools are usually trained, such as newspapers. As can be expected, existing NER tools are especially elaborate in their distinction of different classes of other names, such as organisations, brands, etc. As stated, existing NER tools lack a subdivision for personal names with the types ‘first name’, ‘family name’ and ‘nickname’, and they do not label names as being plot internal or plot external. And when an entity is mentioned by first name and family name, traditional NERs tag the complete phrase as a name, whereas from a literary onomastic point of view we would want to consider these as two different name types that in combination indeed do indicate a certain entity (character), but of which the first name can have a set of functions that is different from the set of functions of the family name. To be able to answer onomastic questions about literary names, we therefore need another kind of NER.

The best available NER proved to be the Stanford NER (van Dalen-Oskam *et al*. 2014), which was developed primarily for English-language texts. When we applied the Stanford tagger to Dutch literary texts, training on Dutch-language newspapers, the results were below expectations. This only partly had to do with the language difference. We improved the results for Dutch literary texts by using a special training corpus. The adapted Stanford tagger was the first new NER we delivered. The second one – the ‘Namescape tagger' – added the classification of personal names into first name / family name / nickname and expanded the structure of the tags dealing with combinations of first names and family names, giving each part of the name a separate tag and clustering the parts together as a whole.

We evaluated the success rate of the two new NERs. The overall score (F1) for the adapted tagger was 0.845; for the Namescape tagger, it was slightly better, namely 0.893. If we look at the scores for the different name types, personal names and place names have the highest F scores. The tagger adapted from the Stanford NER scored 0.896 for personal names and 0.776 for place names. Again, the Namescape tagger performed slightly better, namely 0.936 for personal names and 0.844 for place names. Both taggers scored badly on other names, such as organisations: 0.339 with the adapted Stanford NER and 0.222 (Miscellaneous) and 0.54 (Organisation) with the Namescape tagger. Since in the pilot project with 44 novels this name category proved to be not very frequent, meaning that a statistical approach would not be very relevant, this low score is certainly not a big problem.

Although the scores for the successful recognition of personal names and place names seem rather high, there are still a lot of errors. And these are what the human eye tends to notice more than all the correct attributions. Names are missed by the tool, words that are certainly not names are marked as names, and names are miscategorised.

Named Entity Resolution

We have not yet been able to adapt the taggers to have them label names as referring to plot internal or plot external entities. In the Namescape project, we applied an existing tool for named entity resolution that we hope will help us find a way to do this. We applied a 'semanticiser', a tool used for something called 'Wikification'. The tool makes a list of words or phrases (N-grams) in a running text that may be represented with an entry in Wikipedia, and provides each item on this list with a direct link to the Wikipedia entry that most probably describes the item, based on probability scores, based on internal link probabilities within Wikipedia, that are calculated for each possible link (van Dalen-Oskam *et al.* 2014).

In the pilot study we found that most names in the chosen 44 novels were plot internal. This group included, for example, the names of the characters, with the names of the main characters occurring most often. Names referring to plot external entities often occur only once or twice in a text, and tend to be either real place names or the names of well-known politicians, artists and so forth. For now, we assume that names that are found by the Wikifier and linked to a Wikipedia entry will most probably refer to plot external entities. We know this is not a perfect match: J.R.R. Tolkien's famous hobbit character Bilbo Baggins has his own Wikipedia entry, as does the relative newcomer Tyrion Lannister, from George R.R. Martin's series of fantasy novels *A Song of Ice and Fire*, better known under the title of the first volume, *A Game of Thrones*.[2] But these are expected to be outliers. Furthermore, the tool attempts to detect articles about fictional entities using features extracted from the entry title and the categories that are attributed to the entry.

[2] Bilbo Baggins, see Wikipedia (2014a) s.v. 'Bilbo Baggins', and for Tyrion Lannister see Wikipedia (2014b) s.v. 'Tyrion Lannister'.

We have not yet been able to measure the success rate of the Wikifier. It seems clear that further adaptation for the application to the literary domain is desirable, because when we looked at the list of generated links, we immediately noticed a lot of errors. For one novel, for instance,[3] the name ‘Stalin’ got the correct link to the entry in the Dutch Wikipedia, but strangely enough ‘Adolf Hitler’ did not get a link.[4] The names of several fictional characters did not get a link, as was expected; however, others did get a link to entries presenting real persons with the same name. And the name of one of the female main characters (‘Jet’) also got a link, but to the Wikipedia entry describing an Australian rock band of the same name. This is typical: the most prominent type of error is perhaps over-resolution: isolated first name or surname parts referring to a plot internal character are often resolved to an apparently unconnected Wikipedia entry. One has to take into account here that the current version of the semanticiser has been designed to optimize the choice between different possible resolutions, rather than the decision between resolution and non-resolution. Despite all this, however, reasonable success rates in classifying entities as plot internal or external have been measured on the pilot corpus.

How to Deal with Noise?

The reaction of many scholars who see the errors thrown up by new digital tools such as the ones described above, is to decide never to use the tools and to disregard any other deliverables produced in the era of digital humanities. However, NER tools do not perform any worse than other tools; on the contrary, they tend to be among the most successful ones. Errors – ‘noise’ – are a standard feature of many digital tools. The question is: how useful are tools that still make this many mistakes?

The tools can deal with a lot more texts and a lot more data than an individual scholar or even a group of scholars could ever deal with, let alone in a reasonable amount of time. On top of that, the number of correct hits is overwhelmingly larger than the number of misses. We therefore believe that it would be unwise to ignore these new tools: we will simply have to learn how to deal with noise.

We will be able to cope with any errors by applying two strategies. The first entails quantifying the uncertainty caused by noise by comparing manually tagged with automatically analysed data. How many names were found by the taggers, and how many were tagged as such by the scholar, manually or using semi-automated procedures? What is the ratio? This ratio can then be used to estimate the reliability of results on data that have not been tagged manually. In the Namescape project, we did this to see whether the results of the Wikifier tool were somehow comparable to the results of the manual tagging for names referring to plot internal and plot external entities (van Dalen-Oskam *et al*. 2014). The results of this measurement were not perfect, but we established a rather high correlation between the manual and the automatic ratio (Pearson r = 0.87). So even though the automatic tagging resulted in quite a lot of mistakes (from the perspective of the human eye), and it is

[3] The novel is *De tweeling* by Tessa de Loo. See http://visualizer.namescape.nl/book/73 (accessed 11 December 2014).

[4] On closer inspection we found this has to do with a systematic error in the reading of the name through OCR (optical character recognition).

unrealistic to assume that all names with links to Wikipedia refer to plot external entities, we can use the number of established links as an indicator or a predictor of the number of names that refer to plot external entities in a text or a corpus.

The second strategy follows from the first. We are talking about predictions and indications, and certainly not about definitive proof or convincing results leading to the confirmation of a hypothesis or the falsification of an assumption. Many humanities scholars automatically assume that computer tools are meant to be perfect, and that the tools' makers meant them to deliver absolute truths leading to clear verification. This is an unrealistic expectation. It is more profitable to look at the tools as a way to explore much more data than ever before and to do so in much more depth, and thus find pointers for the next steps in the research. The results can, for instance, inspire the scholar to focus on certain parts of the dataset for a more detailed analysis to answer a specific research question. This means that we should not consider the tools the deliverers of absolute truth in the whole heuristic process of knowledge creation. For the literary onomastics scholar, the tools are not the goals but additional means (in addition to, for example, tools such as close reading) to arrive at new answers.

The visualisations that many tools generate to present their results also have to be seen as a means to explore the data. Here, we mention only one of the types of visualisations created in the Namescape project; more can be found through the Namescape website. Screenshots can be found in van Dalen-Oskam *et al*. (2014), where technical details of much of the above can also be found. In the barcode graph (see Figure 1), we can follow the occurrence of personal names throughout a novel. The visualisation does not give the absolute total number of occurrences of a name, but uses a bar to indicate for each paragraph of the file whether a name occurs in that paragraph. The paragraphs are automatically numbered and run from left to right on the horizontal axis. The visualisation helps scholars easily pinpoint which characters occur in which parts of a novel. Main characters are visible throughout the novel; secondary characters show up only now and then or in a specific part of the novel.

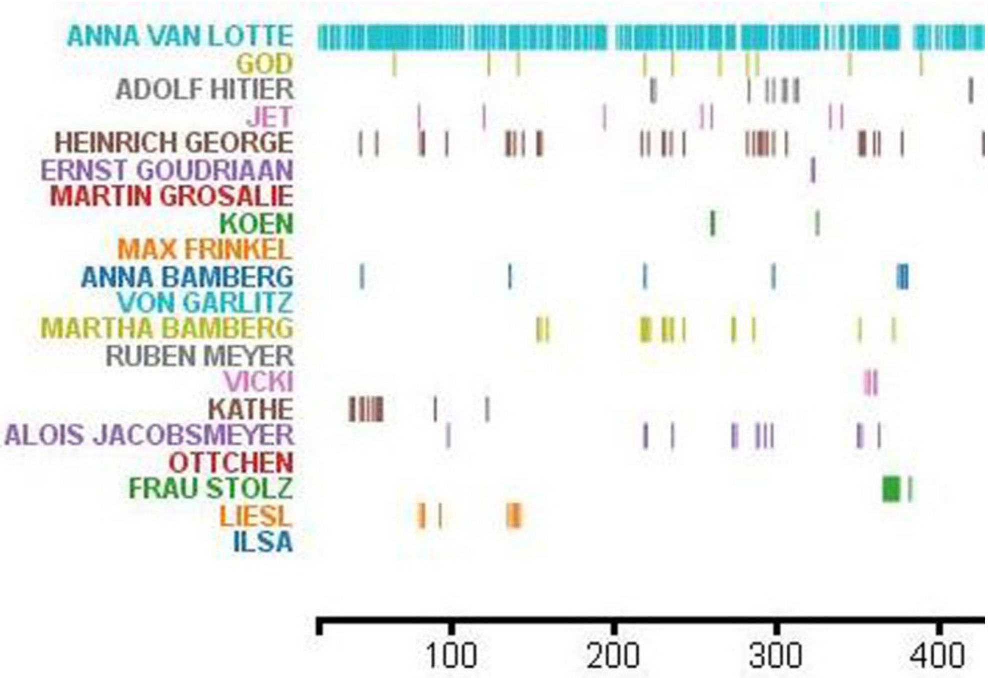

Fig. 1. The barcode graph of Tessa de Loo's *De tweeling*.
See http://visualizer.namescape.nl/graph/index/type/barcode/bookid/73 (Date of access: 11 December 2014). The occurrence of a name in a paragraph is indicated on the horizontal axis by means of a bar.

Even when we know that the underlying tagged file of the novel may have an error rate of, say, 10%, this should normally not distort the general pattern of (co)occurrence we see. The visualisation can help scholars to develop new ideas about the usage and functions of personal names in a novel, and can be the starting point for a more detailed analysis of the usage pattern of, for example, a small set of the personal names or a small part of the corpus or of one novel.

Conclusion

Although the tools are not yet perfect and the number of errors seems staggeringly high, there is no reason not to use them for research into literary onomastics. The hits already outweigh the misses, meaning that the amount of data we can explore is much larger than ever before. Taking into account that it may still be too early to use these results as certain proof, we will be able to benefit from them by using them as indicators of certain patterns and as such as useful means to better explore large amounts of data. The explorations, using every possibility that visualisation techniques have to offer, will certainly lead to new ideas, new hypotheses and new kinds of research. In addition to exploring the data and the results, literary onomastics scholars should sit down with information technology specialists and tool developers to devise ways in which the existing tools can be further adapted to support their own research. It is in these kinds of collaborations, where each of the participants contributes what she or he is best at, that far-reaching progress can be achieved.

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Terminologie der Literarischen Onomastik aus der Perspektive Eines Internationalen Terminologischen Wörterbuchs

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Russland

Abstract

Die Liste onomastischer Schlüsseltermini auf der Website von ICOS umfasst noch keine Termini zur literarischen Onomastik. Die Erarbeitung einer solchen Liste für die literarische Onomastik gehört daher durchaus zu den aktuellen Aufgaben im Rahmen der Bemühungen um die Internationalisierung der onomastischen Metasprache. Da es keine nationalen Fachlexika von diesem hochspezialisierten onomastischen Bereich gibt, erweist sich die genannte Aufgabe als recht kompliziert. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit besteht darin, dass die literarische Onomastik tief mit den nationalen Stil- und Texttheorien verbunden ist. Die relevante Fragestellung in diesem Beitrag lautet folglich: Ist die verfügbare kurze Basis-Liste von Termini in englischer Sprache ausreichend für die Repräsentation des Fachwissens im Bereich der literarischen Onomastik oder aber ist ein anderes Herangehen an die lexikographische Darstellung nötig, das der Idee der Internationalisierung dient, zugleich aber auch die nationalen Charakteristika der Terminologien widerspiegeln kann. Auf der Grundlage des Materials von russischen und deutschen Termini der literarischen Onomastik wird im Vortrag eine integrierende Herangehensweise vorgeschlagen, die auf Deskriptoren als Stich- und Schlagwörtern basiert und auch Elemente der Facettenklassifikation enthält.

L’autre néoréalisme dans la *nominatio* de Pavese, Fenoglio et Vittorini

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Résumé

L’objectif de cet article, titré *L’autre néoréalisme dans la nominatio de Pavese, Fenoglio et Vittorini* est de donner une interprétation du catalogage onomastique complet des œuvres de Beppe Fenoglio, Cesare Pavese et Elio Vittorini par l’analyse de leurs *nominatio*.

Nous nous proposons de présenter un nouveau parcours interprétatif de l’œuvre des cités auteurs en raison de l’actualité de leurs textes qui, contant en particulier les histoires de personnes impliquées dans le drame de la guerre, dévoilent une Résistance quotidienne profondément empreinte d’une *humanitas* dénuée de tout héroïsme.

La relecture critique de ces écrits néoréalistes italiens devient ainsi un moyen de revisiter dans le contexte culturel d’aujourd’hui les valeurs fondamentales que la Résistance avait su inspirer naguère.

La *nominatio* de ces auteurs est d’ailleurs, en raison, aussi bien de la quantité que de la diversité des noms qui la constituent, un vrai univers qui se prête parfaitement à une étude comme celle-ci, toute référence onomastique étant motivée, voulue par l’auteur désireux d’expérimenter pour enrichir la diégèse.

Nous nous proposons un parcours d’analyse qui tient compte du panorama complet des noms utilisés par les trois auteurs (on fera aussi des références à l’onomastique des œuvres de Vasco Pratolini), les toponymes et les anthroponyms (prénoms, noms de famille, pseudonymes et surnoms), comme un exemple de complexité allégorique dans un contexte littéraire souvent considéré comme caractérisé par un langage populaire et strictement lié aux dynamiques de la langue parlée.

Abstract

The aim of this article titled ‘L’autre néoréalisme dans la nominatio de Pavese, Fenoglio et Vittorini’ (‘The Other Neorealism in the *Nominatio* of Pavese, Fenoglio and Vittorini’) concerns the interpretation of the full onomastic cataloguing of Beppe Fenoglio’s, Cesare Pavese’s and Elio Vittorini’s novels through the analysis of their *nominatio*. The article proposes to introduce a new interpretive trail on the above-mentioned authors’ works because of the modernity of their texts. They tell the stories of people involved in the tragedy of war and reveal a daily resistance deeply imbued with a *humanitas* which lacks heroism. Thus the critical review of these Italian neorealists’ literature becomes a way of revisiting the core values inspired lately by the Resistance in today’s cultural context. The *nominatio* of these authors is also characterized by a large, varied number of names constituting a real world that lends itself to a study such as this one, considering that any onomastic reference is motivated by the author’s willingness to experiment and to enrich the diegetic profile of his works. The article proposes a critical course based on the analysis of the full onomastic review of names used by the three authors mentioned (the article also contains some references to Vasco Pratolini’s onomastic interpretation) both toponyms and anthroponyms (names, surnames, pseudonyms and nicknames). The use of names will be shown to be an example of allegoric complexity in a literary context characterized by a popular language, strictly tied to the dynamics of the spoken language.

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Introduction : Méthodologie

Ce travail de recherche vise à proposer un résumé de l’interprétation de l’inventaire onomastique que j’ai catalogué dans les œuvres qui appartiennent au genre néoréaliste[1] italien. En effet j’ai travaillé sur plusieurs auteurs italiens que la critique a normalement identifiés comme néoréalistes sur la base des théories que n’ont presque jamais tenu en considération les éléments typiques de leur *nominatio*.

Il faut dire tout d’abord que l’étude onomastique d’un texte doit tenir compte du travail de la critique et des études narratologiques. En outre, l’entité « nom » elle-même représente à plein titre un élément du plan diégétique. Par conséquent, dans mon travail, l’étape successive à l’énumération des noms à l’intérieur de l’inventaire, et à son étude relative, a été de formuler, sur la base de ces mêmes listes onomastiques recueillies à partir de l’œuvre de chaque auteur, des jugements critiques qui peuvent être placés dans le domaine du débat scientifique comme une confirmation, un achèvement ou une nouveauté par rapport à des théories de recherche littéraire déjà débattues.

Les auteurs auxquels j’ai consacré ce travail sont principalement Cesare Pavese, Elio Vittorini et Beppe Fenoglio mais la création d’un itinéraire de recherche qui pose le problème de l’utilisation de l’élément onomastique à l’intérieur d’une narration, communément définie comme néoréaliste, devient un développement naturel de mon étude précédente sur l’œuvre de l’auteur florentin Vasco Pratolini.

L’analyse des anthroponymes et des pseudonymes à l’intérieur de ses romans a permis l’ouverture de nouveaux horizons interprétatifs purement littéraires qui se sont révélés innovants, fussent-ils parfois inespérés. En outre, en vue d’une analyse plus rigoureuse et attentive, une comparaison approfondie entre l’œuvre de Pratolini et un vaste ensemble de romans qui appartiennent à la même période et au même courant narratif s’est avérée nécessaire. La comparaison a impliqué, par exemple, les romans d’Elio Vittorini, Italo Calvino et Cesare Pavese. Bien entendu, en considérant la forte influence du cinéma, e. g. Vannini (1987), sur les ouvrages de Pratolini, ma recherche a dû s’occuper aussi des films de quelques metteurs en scène italiens : Luchino Visconti, Roberto Rossellini et Guido Brignone.

L’utilisation des méthodologies d’études onomastiques dans ces textes et dans ces films a démontré la possibilité de développer le même type de recherche sur d’autres écrivains qui présentent des caractéristiques semblables à celles de Vasco Pratolini. Par conséquent, je pense qu’il est possible d’atteindre également chez d’autres narrateurs les mêmes résultats que ceux auxquels je suis parvenu dans les ouvrages de l’écrivain florentin. En effet, certaines des conclusions que j’avais faites m’ont conduit à placer sous un jour nouveau quelques interprétations qui avaient été déjà reconnues par la critique littéraire.

En considérant que le procédé de la *nominatio* est indispensable au concept même de « diégèse », car il est le point de départ du procédé créatif, l’analyse du langage des auteurs néoréalistes, souvent interprétés comme des écrivant linguistiquement simples, trouvé dans l’onomastique un valide aide dans l’interprétation littéraire des textes parfois sous-évalués.

[1] Bien que les confins de la prétendue prose néoréaliste soient discutables et encore des objets d’étude.

Cela parce que le nom est l’élément absolu d’identification à l’aide duquel l’auteur décide de définir les personnages qui animeront l’intrigue. Par conséquent, il est l’un des premiers éléments sur lesquels le narrateur réfléchit lors de la création d’un récit. Parfois, il peut être tout à fait le point de départ du récit, l’incipit : « […] *Una delle poche cose, anzi forse la sola ch’io sapessi di certo era questa : che mi chiamavo Mattia Pascal*[2] […] » (Pirandello 2006 : 3).

Le parcours interprétatif de nature onomastique de l’œuvre de Fenoglio, Pavese et Vittorini contant les histoires de personnes impliquées dans le drame de la guerre, dévoilent une Résistance quotidienne profondément empreinte d’une *humanitas* dénuée de tout héroïsme. La relecture critique de ces écrits devient ainsi un moyen de revisiter dans le contexte culturel d’aujourd’hui les valeurs fondamentales que la Résistance avait su inspirer naguère. La *nominatio* néoréaliste est d’ailleurs, en raison, aussi bien de la quantité que de la diversité des noms qui la constituent, un vrai univers qui se prête parfaitement à une étude comme celle-ci, toute référence onomastique étant motivée, voulue par l’auteur désireux d’expérimenter pour enrichir la diégèse.

Ainsi deux motivations principales se trouvent-elles à l’origine du présent travail : la grande quantité de données susceptibles d’être cataloguées et qui ont un grand potentiel interprétatif ainsi que le fait qu’il n’existe guère, dans le panorama actuel de la critique fénoglienne, une étude ayant pour objet le catalogage et l’interprétation, à la fois méthodiques et articulés, du répertoire onomastique de l’œuvre complète de Fenoglio, Pavese et Fenoglio.

Ce qui fait que l’analyse d’une si grande quantité de matériel onomastique, souvent très élaboré, acquiert un irréfragable intérêt, c’est sans aucun doute la possibilité d’une approche multidisciplinaire – qui est au demeurant celle que nous nous proposons d’adopter – dont découlent des méthodologies et des instruments scientifiques, critiques et interprétatifs qui sont ceux de la linguistique, de la philologie, de la narratologie, de l’anthropologie, de la sociologie, de l’historiographie voire même de la statistique.

Le Gendre Néoréaliste : Problématiques

L’un des problèmes essentiels que posent ces textes est l’emplacement du genre, puisqu’il est bien difficile de proposer une identification nette du néoréalisme, à cause de ses contours très indéfinis. Pour ma part, j’ai choisi de définir tout d’abord ce type de narration comme : *un linguaggio popolare «medio» che sembra quasi emanare una voce propria*[3] (Ferroni 1995 : 385), qui atteint son point le plus authentique exactement entre les années 1940 et 1956[4], en se liant nécessairement aux événements de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale et, pour beaucoup d’auteurs, à la résistance contre l’occupation nazi fasciste, accueillant donc à son intérieur un fort appui idéologique. Par conséquence L’un des mes objectifs principaux était vérifier la présence d’un fil conducteur unique dans la *nominatio* de ces trois auteurs pour proposer une

[2] […] Une de rares choses, ou mieux peut-être la seule que je savais sans aucun doute était celle-ci: que je m’appelait Mattia Pascal […].
[3] […] un langage populaire “moyen” qui semble presque dégager une voix propre […].
[4] Dans cette époque il y a le début du dégagement du soi-disant « intellectuel de gauche ». Le Parti Communiste Italien décide, en effet, de s’éloigner de l’Ex Union Soviétique après son intromission armée contre l’Hongrie, qui étai en train de se détacher du bloc d’influence soviétique.

nouvelle définition du genre, en partant exactement de l’interprétation des inventaires onomastiques comme de possibles éléments d’union, ou séparation, parmi des ouvrages d’auteurs très différents l’un de l’autre.

Je crois qu’il y a un principe selon lequel le style néoréaliste peut être considéré comme un contact direct entre le réel et la narration. Cela se produit même quand la réalité est le simple fond d’une intrigue plus complexe et souvent allégorique[5], utilisée comme une base sur laquelle bâtir des métaphores du réel et qui peut aller au-delà du simple mécanisme d’action et de réaction de la réalité. Il y aurait une sorte de parenté avec les pastiches linguistiques et combinatoires qui sont typiques de Carlo Emilio Gadda[6] et Pier Paolo Pasolini[7], ainsi qu’une anticipation des thématiques métafictionnelles d’Italo Calvino[8], où l’allégorie et le parler d’autre chose n’impliquent pas seulement le nom, mais deviennent une expérience totalisante, de sorte qu’ils entraînent une définition de *méta-roman*.

Dans le texte que je me propose d’analyser, le nom est un des lieux privilégiés où le langage utilisé revêt des signifiés symboliques qui peuvent exprimer quelque chose qui va outre la soi-disant dimension de l’existant. À l’intérieur du fond réaliste où les noms s’enchâssent, il y a la création, en effet, d’une mythification de la donnée véridique. Cela est souvent signalé par le signifié ou le signifiant d’un anthroponyme qui devient de cette façon une représentation de réalité par un procédé exclusivement narratif. Les résultats que j’ai obtenus dans l’analyse des profils onomastiques des ouvres attribuables à la soi-disant “letteratura resistenziale”[9] (Luti 1975 : 198) peuvent aider à établir un aperçu général de la plupart des textes néoréalistes italiens.

En particulier, Fenoglio, Pavese et Vittorini présentent beaucoup d’analogies : dans les thématiques qu’ils représentent et dans les choix linguistiques auxquels ils ont recouru ; mais aussi en ce qui concerne la façon dont ils créent les noms des personnages dans leurs œuvres : ils font preuve d’une attitude dynamique dans leur façons de nommer en ayant recours à diverses stratégies onomastiques ; tantôt ils trouvent des noms en puisant dans leurs biographie, tantôt ils les inventent ou les modifient, toujours en proie à une perpétuelle expérimentation qui constitue un précieux objet de recherche.

La jeunesse, la guerre, les affections, les paysages grâce auxquels leurs personnalités et charisme d’écrivain se sont formés sont le fil rouge liant leur romans et qui ont leur origine sur les sommets des Langhes, dans les rue d’Alba, de Milan ou de la Sicile, dans les regards de leur famille et les sourires des amis. Les romans de ces auteurs naissent sans doute de cette source autobiographique qui marquera profondément toute leur production, à partir de premières proses jusqu’aux dernières œuvres narratives.

À cause de la production prolifique qui les distingue, la composition du catalogue de la *nominatio* de leurs romans a parfois été compliquée, mais a permis de délimiter quelques traits distinctifs de leurs façons d’écrire en prose.

[5] Un exemple parmi d’autres, *Conversazione in Sicilia* d’Elio Vittorini.
[6] Cf. *Quer Pasticciaccio brutto de Via Merulana*, 1957.
[7] Cf. *Ragazzi di Vita*, 1955.
[8] Cf. *Se una notte d’inverno un viaggiatore*, 1979.
[9] Littérature de la Resistance.

Toponymes

La première particularité linguistique, qui se manifeste dans la plupart de leur écrits, est fortement liée à la recherche d’un vocabulaire très varié mais jamais caractérisé par des mots d’origine régionale ; bien que le décor narratif soit localement défini et réfère sans cesse aux caractéristiques autochtones des protagonistes. De la même manière, la nomination est liée à la réalité diégétique, mais, en même temps, elle développe des détails qui rendent possibles certaines réflexions de nature critique.

Grâce à l’analyse des toponymies, il nous est possible de constater que les localités citées sont les lieux réels où les faits qui ont inspiré la narration se sont produits. Par exemple, beaucoup de batailles partisanes décrites ont vraiment été livrés, comme le combat de Valdivilla du 24 Février 1945 (cf. *Il partigiano Johnny*) ; mais bien que les éléments régionaux propres à la vie du partisan soient continuellement représentés, les noms de lieux sont exprimés en italien, c’est-à-dire dépourvus de l’influence du dialecte.

L’utilisation des noms de lieu dans ces romans ne présente pas des particularités linguistiques importantes, mais elle est caractérisée de certaines modalités d’utilisation que nous décrirons dans cette part. Normalement Beppe Fenoglio utilise le toponyme écrit dans sa forme standard italienne, sans aucune influence dialectale ou aucune proposition de marques typiques de la langue parlée. Par ailleurs, il recourt très souvent à des sigles dont on a rapporté une liste complète. Grâce à l’examen des noms de lieu et de leur interprétation nous pouvons reconnaître fondamentalement deux fonctions du toponyme. La première est une fonction dénotative, c’est-à-dire que le toponyme a pour but de rendre évident un certain contenu dans le cadre d’une situation précise; dans ce cas, l’utilisation correspond au nom de lieu cité afin d’indiquer le déplacement du personnage. La deuxième est une fonction connotative, c’est-à-dire avec un signe qui a un signifié associé ou secondaire s’ajoutant au signifié initial ; il s’agit de citations d’épisodes historiques, d’horizons culturels ou de qualités de différents personnages.

Langage et Noms

Cette particularité stylistique est le signe du choix que ces auteurs ont fait dans l’intrigue et que se trouve confirmé par la *nominatio* ; ces auteurs font continuellement référence à des spécificités régionales mais ils ne les utilisent pas comme un matériel susceptible de constituer leur texte : par exemple, ils informent le lecteur que certains dialogues se déroulent dans un dialecte, mais ce dialecte n’apparaît jamais dans le discours direct, écrit dans un italien standard.

Le nom enrichit sans aucun doute la structure diégétique des textes étudies, donnant des indications qui dépassent les choix ou les goûts d’un auteur, conjuguant des instances autobiographiques à des nécessités narratives, contant des histoires et assurant un destin aux personnages. La deuxième instance nécessaire est de considérer que le nom est en premier lieu un signifiant et par conséquent il est susceptible d’une codification qui peut être subjective ou objective. Aussi, la perception du signe-nom est influencée par les expériences spécifiques de l’individu (codification subjective) ou filtrée par un horizon culturel commun (codification objective). Pour cette raison, la vision onomastique subjective de Pavese, Vittorini et Fenoglio, est aussi liées à leurs individualités, émotions, impressions et à la perception d’être part d’une communauté populaire et politique au même temps.

En ce qui concerne l’utilisation et les fonctions des premiers noms dans la production de Fenoglio, Vittorini et Pavese il faut nécessairement tenir compte d’une subdivision préliminaire fondamentale entre les anthroponymes utilisés dans les textes situés à la campagne et ceux utilisés dans les œuvres de la Résistance. La première donnée intéressante, grâce à laquelle il est possible de fonder les théories interprétatives de la donnée onomastique que nous développerons dans ce chapitre, concerne le fait que Beppe Fenoglio insère dans ses œuvres partisanes une quantité de NP très répandus plus importante que celle présente dans la deuxième catégorie de romans et contes. En effet, dans les textes narratifs ruraux (surtout pour Beppe Fenoglio et Cesare Pavese) reconstruit un microcosme où les personnages apparaissent comme cristallisés dans leur univers petit et simple, éloigné de la plus grande et bien plus complexe réalité citoyenne et nationale. C’est exactement pour cette raison que leur noms propres ont une diffusion faible: ils reflètent l’image d’un monde renfermé en lui-même aussi dans le choix des anthroponymes. Par contre, la tendance nominative des écrits de la Résistance est indubitablement opposée. Le contexte partisan permet la formulation de certaines observations significatives. Tout d’abord, l’utilisation des prénoms est totalement subordonnée à celle des pseudonymes et des surnoms. A la différence de ce qui se passe dans les contes relevant du milieu paysan, les noms de baptême indiquent d’habitude les personnages secondaires, et non les protagonistes des contes.

Les Prénoms

Les prénoms sont utilisés dans la plupart des cas pour identifier les personnes qui ne sont pas les héros principaux et les civils dans les sections textuelles qui parlent de la guerre. Chez Fenoglio le choix des prénoms consiste à recourir à des anthroponymies communs et largement répandus comme *Raffale* (*Primavera di bellezza*), *Sergio* (*Il partigiano Johnny*), *Valerio* (*Una questione privata*) ; chez Pavese les nomes de baptême des personnages proviennent généralement de l’aire septentrionale : *Nuto* (*La luna e i falò*), *Corrado* (*La casa in collina*). Chez Vittorini, en revanche, on trouve moins d’occurrences de prénoms ; là où ces derniers sont utilisés, ils figurent des symboles des concepts dont la narration de manière plus ou moins marquée s’avère le porte-voix (*Silvestro* di *Conversazione in Sicilia*) .

L’usage des noms qui figurent dans le texte, révèle des caractéristiques semblables à celles de la catégorie anthroponymique précédente. Cette utilisation véhicule souvent des contenus importants concernant les personnages, même si nous avons affaire à peu d’occurrences dans l’inventaire onomastique, surtout dans les romans de la Résistance.

Les Noms de Famille

En ce qui concerne l’utilisation des noms de famille, l’univers onomastique contenu dans les œuvres études confirme une tendance à diversifier les anthroponymes, les typologies narratives ainsi que les fonctions socio-politiques que les personnages exercent à l’intérieur des histoires racontées. Les auteurs recourent ainsi, afin de mieux marquer ces distinctions, au lieu d’origine du nom de famille même afin de créer un binôme provenance-fonction diégétique, ce qui permet de situer chaque personnage dans une catégorie narrative bien précise. Dans les romans qui sont situés à la campagne, la concentration des noms de famille est principalement celle de la partie septentrionale de la péninsule. La volonté principale de Fenoglio, Pavese et Vittorini est en effet de créer des textes dont la mimesis de la vie et de la réalité rurale investisse aussi ses choix onomastiques. Dans les romans de la Résistance nous voyons une tendance particulière dans l’utilisation des noms de famille, car ils sont utilisés d’habitude pour indiquer les fascistes.

Le nom de famille devient, de plus, le facteur discriminant qui distingue le degré des soldats enrôlés dans la Repubblica Sociale di Salò. Les auteurs recourent également, ce qui paraît fort intéressant, à l’usage des noms de famille de provenances géographiques différentes afin de connoter de manière diatopique les militaires de l’armée italienne. Le parcours qui concerne l’utilisation du nom de famille est particulièrement intéressant, car il démontre la sensibilité de ces auteurs dans tous les phénomènes, linguistiques et sociaux, liés aux différences diatopiques qui, depuis toujours, caractérisent l’Italie. Les auteurs démontrent la capacité d’utiliser de telles différences comme des engrenages fondamentaux de la machine diégétique. Elles créent dans l’onomastique de ses personnages une instance régionale caractérisant

De manière sporadique, de telles appellations dissimulent la provenance du personnage et dévoilent, grâce à cette information, quelle relation il peut entretenir avec les autres actants qui animent l’histoire. Chez Fenoglio, le nom de famille est habituellement utilisé dans le dessein d’identifier les personnes adhérant à l’idéologie fasciste ; les noms en question sont en particulier d’origine piémontaise (cfr. *Tomalino* e *Manzone* di *I ventitré giorni della città di Alba*), quand ils indiquent les représentants de la bourgeoisie nantie, sympathisant du régime. En revanche, si les noms utilisés sont d’origine extra-piémontaise, comme c’est le cas de *Caprara* et de *Guerrini (I ventitré giorni della città di Alba)*, le lecteur se trouve face à de simples soldats venus combattre pour la République de Salò contre les partisans. De la même façon que chez Fenoglio, l’usage des noms de famille se révèle rare aussi bien dans les romans de Vittorini que dans ceux et de Pavese: chez le premier ce sont, semble-t-il, dans certains cas des *nomi parlanti* (des noms qui évoquent un concept) (cfr. *Ferrauto* dans *Conversazione in Sicilia*, référence possible au voyage intérieur du héros) tandis que dans l’autre, l’usage de cette typologie des anthroponymes paraît en général très limité (dans *Paesi tuoi*, aucun n’est cité).

Surnoms et Pseudonymes

Les surnoms ainsi que les pseudonymes présentent la variété onomastique la plus importante de ces romans ; grâce à cette dernière, l’auteur caractérise son personnage de façon plus ou moins explicite soit dans son comportement diégétique soit dans son rapport aux autres protagonistes de l’intrigue. L’attention réservée à ces épithètes est importante et se manifeste dans le rôle narratif substantiel confié à ceux à qui de telles dénominations sont attribuées ; il convient de remarquer que d’aucuns des principaux protagonistes de ces œuvres ne se manifestent au lecteur qu’à travers ce type de noms.

En particulier le nom de guerre est le phénomène le plus important et le plus consistant de l’entière production littéraire de ces auteurs. Son usage est naturellement concentré dans les romans de la Résistance, dont il constitue le fond. Il ne peut pas exister, en effet, un partisan sans cette qualité, c’est-à-dire sans le seul indice qui en dévoile les caractéristiques les plus intimes et profondes – en cachant pourtant son identité officielle – devant le reste de ses compagnons. L’onomastique partisane dans les œuvres étudiées, mais aussi dans toute la littérature de la Résistance, est normalement en lien avec les événements historiques réels. De plus, les modalités par lesquelles un personnage choisit ou reçoit un nom de guerre sont presque les mêmes que celle attestées dans les chroniques de la Résistance. Le nom de guerre tout en suivant le double fil de la *fictio* narrative et de la donnée biographique et la considération principale concerne le fait que l’utilisation des noms de guerre dans les œuvres de Fenoglio, Vittorini et Pavese est liée aux caractéristiques narratives que les auteurs veulent transmettre à son personnage. L’analyse continue ensuite en classifiant les anthroponymes de la Résistance selon leurs fonctions principales. Ils sont divisés en fonction de leurs aspects structuraux et grammaticaux ainsi que de leurs aspects typologiques et sémantiques. Par chacune de ces catégories on présente des essaies explicatifs et des explications détaillées des différentes sous-catégories délimitées.

Par exemple, chez Pavese, le choix de l’anthroponyme *Anguilla* (*Anguille* en français) dans *La luna e i falò* reflète l’histoire du héros ainsi nommé : un enfant trouvé qui quitte son village natal afin d’y revenir après, après avoir entendu l’appel de ses origines. Il s’avère donc tout à fait naturel de mettre en relation le personnage de Pavese avec le poisson qui, à l’instar de *Anguilla*, retourne toujours à l’endroit où il est né afin de se reproduire. L’appel ancestral vers la terre primitive, comme celui vers la Mer des Sargasses qu’entend l’anguille, est très fort et caractérise profondément de nombreux personnages de Pavese: de cette manière *Anguilla* perdu dans le monde réalise que nul endroit ne lui appartient de la même manière que sa Langa et pour cette raison il décide d’y retourner.

En faisant un *excursus* parmi les divers noms fictifs dans l’œuvre de Vittorini, il convient de prendre en considération, la différence entre le symbolisme des noms de guerre des résistants de *Uomini e no* et l’allégorie des anthroponymes de *Conversazione in Sicilia*. En effet, le membre du gap *Enne 2* du premier roman, est décrit comme un être solitaire à qui la vie et la guerre ont volé toute possibilité d’autodétermination en ce qui a trait à son engagement civil et sentimental : ce personnage n’est doublement personne (*nessuno* en italien) ; bien qu’il combatte afin de retrouver son identité et conquérir son amour, son destin est inscrit dans son nom de guerre à travers l’initiale du substantif ***n****essuno* (le mot *Enne* est la représentation graphique de la prononciation italienne de la lettre *N*) et le chiffre qui indique les deux plans existentiels qu’il ne parvient pas à vivre. *Silvestro* de *Conversazione in Sicilia* est en revanche engagé dans un voyage jusqu’au cœur de sa terre : la Sicile. Pendant son parcours, il rencontrera des personnes désignées par des noms qui symbolisent des concepts réels et vrais exprimés de manière plutôt explicite. Parmi ces nombreuses personnes, le héros rencontre le *Gran Lombardo,* représentant d’une Sicile susceptible d’être définie comme septentrionale : c’est une synthèse abstraite, le mythe d’une civilisation du nord qui est, dans l’idéal, la plus évoluée. La juxtaposition de cette Sicile du nord à celle qui est méridionale est l’allégorie de la rencontre entre l’idée républicaine et la dictature : l’antifascisme contre le fascisme. Ainsi, l’anthroponyme général *Gran Lombardo*, déjà utilisé dans le *Paradis* de

Dante[10] (où il désigne Bartolomeo della Scala) est ici l'expression à travers laquelle on trace une image mythique d'un ensemble de voix par la représentation du blason qui montrait son lignage (Alighieri 1991 : 219) ; chez Vittorini, elle revêt la même valeur en devenant le symbole de tous les antifascistes.

Enfin, chez Beppe Fenoglio, le surnom et le pseudonyme, dans la plupart des cas, doivent être considérés comme des éléments fictifs qui sont cependant inspirés par des situations réelles. Dans ce cas de figure, l'inventaire onomastique des textes de Fenoglio semble se confronter aux noms réels des partisans qui ont combattu dans les Langhes (Castelli, 1986). Les noms utilisés par Fenoglio sont ceux de personnes réelles qui ont combattu durant l'occupation nazie : l'objectif de l'auteur est de favoriser la mimesis entre le plan narratif et la réalité. Fenoglio crée des pseudonymes comme *Sgancia* (*il file* en français) dans *I ventitré giorni della città di Alba*, c'est-à-dire des noms verbaux qui renvoient à des caractéristiques déterminées, dans ce cas celles qui désignent la fourberie du personnage.

Par ailleurs, nous avons affaire à d'autres catégories onomastiques: des appellations exprimées à travers des noms de marques, des diminutifs. Elle sont toutes censés décrire les particularités intrinsèques de chacun des partisans présents dans sa production. En outre, un grand nombre de xénismes concernant les noms comme *Johnny* (*Il partigiano Johnny*) ou *Jack* (*Una questione privata*) reflètent une génération tout entière de jeunes qui choisirent leurs noms de guerre afin de s'approcher du monde anglophone que le régime fasciste cherchait à combattre. Cependant, les références à des anthroponymes qui proviennent d'autres horizons culturels demeurent nombreuses comme : *Miguel* e *Carmencita* (*I ventitré giorni della città di Alba*) o *Ivan* (*Appunti partigiani*).

Conclusions

Compte tenu des brèves observations onomastiques que nous venons de présenter, il nous est loisible de conclure en affirmant que Cesare Pavese crée une construction diégétique dans laquelle le nom figure la suggestion onirique de son élégie narrative ; l'appel des racines, la volonté de décrire ce rapport à la fois ténu et profond entre l'homme et sa terre s'explique dans la description de ses paysages et trouve dans la *nominatio* l'équivalent humain qui embrasse le milieu décrit.

Elio Vittorini voit dans les noms la clef grâce à laquelle il est possible de codifier les allégories dont il compose ses romans ; chaque anthroponyme devient l'occasion de décrire un concept précis qui dépasse souvent l'histoire racontée *sensu stricto*. Ce qu'il souhaite décrire c'est la manière dont les idées, surtout politiques, sont présentes dans toutes les actions quotidiennes de la vie d'un individu. Ainsi, pour rester fidèle à cet objectif, le nom est même susceptible d'être utilisé comme un signifiant qui renvoie à d'autres référents.

Beppe Fenoglio utilise constamment le nom de guerre comme un moyen idéal pour construire un récit épique de manière anti-héroïque. Ses personnages portent des surnoms et des pseudonymes qui, en plus de dévoiler certains traits de leur personnalité, peuvent en

[10] […] *Lo primo tuo refugio, il primo ostello/sarà la cortesia del Gran Lombardo/che 'n su la scala porta il santo uccello* […] - Canto XVII, vv. 70-72.

décrire les aspirations, le *background* culturel ou l’orientation politique. La *nominatio* de Fenoglio saisit l’homme comme tel, dans sa spécificité personnelle, en tant qu’élément narratif, elle souligne son attitude anti-héroïque dans l’accomplissement de ses devoirs de militant. Ces partisans fuient, ont peur, sont des amateurs du point de vue militaire, presque dénués d’idéologie et, en plus, ils jurent, ils profèrent des imprécations et ils désobéissent (Falaschi 1992 : 3) ; ils sont des antihéros de la manière dont leurs noms les décrivent.

En conclusion les interconnexions qui concernent les noms propres investissent les mêmes du rôle de clé interprétative d’épisodes et de personnages. La question des noms dans l’œuvre de Fenoglio, Pavese e Vittorini est strictement liée à un principe d’élaboration symbolique du nom qui, même s’il s’exprime surtout à travers le nom de guerre, touche aussi d’autres entités onimiques, comme les prénoms et les noms de famille. En effet, le nom met en évidence des traits individuels du personnage, par ressemblance ou antiphrase, tels que son appartenance politique, ses particularités physiques et caractérielles ou ses capacités. L’analyse des noms devient cruciale à l’intérieur du décodage des instances narratives du texte parce qu’elle peut révéler chaque référence au texte qui les contient. Par exemple les éléments onomastiques peuvent mettre en évidence les sources littéraires explicites, c’est-à-dire les titres des œuvres et les prénoms et les noms de famille des auteurs rapportés dans le texte d’une façon directe : on a remarqué que les correspondances entre la *nominatio* de ces auteurs et les références onomastiques relevées concernent surtout la littérature et, plus en général, la culture anglophone.

Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Hardy, Emily Brönte, Edgar Lee Masters représentent des références très importantes pour les écrivains italiens de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale et l’onomastique néoréaliste vérifie cette source à laquelle on ne peut renoncer comme, de plus, les éléments judéo-chrétiens et la littérature classique toujours recensables dans l’usage des noms.

Comme on l’a remarqué, le nom propre est donc considérable comme la caractéristique typique de la structure narrative et certains exemples sont très explicatifs de cette tendance où le prénom et les autres éléments de l’intrigue se joignent afin de renforcer les messages que les auteurs veulent transmettre à leur lecteur. Par exemple l’utilisation du dialecte faufilé sur un tissu linguistique nationale, même si taché par quelques traits régionaux, s’avère proche de la langue parlée et les noms des protagonistes, témoins de ces variantes régionales, sont même caractérisés par des éléments régionaux.

Les noms présents dans ces textes sont des éléments diégétiques très complexes à soumettre à une analyse systématique, remarquant comme définition « un langage populaire “moyen” qui semble presque dégager une voix propre » (Ferroni 1995 : 385) est vraiment limitant. En effet l’étude sur les noms des œuvres de Fenoglio, Pavese et Vittorini démontrent comme la recherche d’un style complexe, formé d’une volonté plus narrative et moins autobiographique est déjà présente dans leurs œuvres. Ils ne sont pas considérables comme des chroniqueurs de la guerre de Résistance italienne mais, au contraire, la façon d’utiliser les noms démontre leur vocation de narrateur.

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Other Names

Individual Names of Household and Office Appliances

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Abstract

Prototypically, we tend to name persons and places, which allows us to (ideally) uniquely identify single entities from these groups. However, another important function of proper names is individualisation, i.e. an accentuation of an entity's uniqueness. This second function becomes more important with the respective objects' significance in our lives (a pet, for instance, will usually get a more creative name than a production animal).

Drawing data from an online survey, I will argue that household and office appliances are more likely to receive individual names the more agentive they are perceived to be, and that these names serve to individualise, while their identifying function is virtually non-existent.

I will also analyse naming practices, particularly if people use specific patterns when naming multiple objects, where the names are drawn from (appellatives, other name classes, made-up names, etc.), and what role, if any, the names' genders play when naming appliances.

Pet Names as Seismographic Instruments in a Changing Society

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Germany

Abstract

The present paper is based on a socio-onomastic study which focuses on the names of cats and dogs in Saxony-Anhalt (Germany). The aim of the study is twofold: firstly, to find out why pet owners use a certain name, and secondly, what people think about or associate with that name. Initially, a survey was conducted that included more than 600 questionnaires. Most of the data used here was collected from October 2012 to July 2013. Special emphasis was placed on linguistic and socio-onomastic strategies in the naming process. The results of the study reveal that the outlook on pets within a changing socio-cultural environment is reflected in the individual names given to them. There is, for example, a growing tendency towards humanization of the animal. In addition, pet owners increasingly project their dreams and longings onto the animal. The aim of the paper is to show developments of pet names from the viewpoint of two different trends: the deconstruction of traditional boundaries between humans and animals and the human-centred use of pet names to speak about the things which are important to *us*.

* * *

Introduction

Pets or companion animals – according to Belk the term *companion animal* 'is more in vogue' (1996: 123) – have lived with humans for thousands of years. Cats and dogs can be said to be prototypical examples of co-habitating animals.

With advancing technology and cultural developments their role and position in society has undergone a considerable change. The early associates of humans filled a variety of needs, many of which, such as hunting, guarding and providing warmth and companionship, related closely to survival. Today most humans no longer rely on animals to help them find food or provide them with physical warmth. However, animals are still in our homes. Keeping a pet is a voluntary behaviour, and the survival of this behaviour suggests a strong human-animal bond across time, change, and cultures (Staats *et al*. 2008: 279, Herzog 2010: 72-74).

Keeping a pet is also a form of behaviour that can meet basic, unchanging human needs such as the need for companionship. In addition, new human needs emerge in modern technological societies, among them the need to avoid loneliness, to keep active or cope with a hard time. Few would admit that they keep pets as toys or valuable property. For most of us pets such as cats and dogs have personalities that are distinctive and effective in their relationship with humans.

According to an old joke, quoted in Woodward and Bauer (2007: 169), dogs and cats can be understood by the basic manifestation of their world views. Regarding owners a dog thinks: 'This person's great. She feeds me, she pets me, and she plays with me. She must be a

Names and Their Environment. Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 25-29 August 2014. Vol. 5. *Literary Onomastics. Other Names. Commercial Names*. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska (eds)

god'! A cat, on the other hand, thinks: 'This person's great. She feeds me, she pets me, and she plays with me. I must be a god'!

It is in fact the name of an animal that transforms it into a pet, an individual with a personality, a member of the family – in short into something tangible for the owner, something onto which they can 'project human traits' (Belk 1996: 132). As Phillips (1994: 120) points out:

> We produce biographies for some animals, and these are animals that we name: pets, race horses, prize bulls, Bambi. In giving an animal a name and using that name to talk to and about the creature, we interactively construct a narrative about an individual with unique characteristics, situated in a particular historical setting, and we endow that narrative with a coherent meaning.

This function of animal names is nicely described in Martin Amis' novel *Money* (1984: 286) in which the narrator refers to his friend's dog, a former street dog:

> His name was *Shadow*, short for *Shadow That Comes in Sight*, an old Indian name, Apache or Cheyenne. I very much approved of this. You don't want dogs called *Spot* or *Pooch*. You don't want dogs called *Nigel* or *Keith*. The names of dogs should salute the mystical drama of the animal life. *Shadow* – that's a good name.

The name thus plays a key role in the owner's access to the mystery of their pet. This explains why participants in the present study, regardless of age, gender or social position, were more than willing to give information about naming their pets. The naming of animals does not take place in a vacuum and outside of society. And, in addition, pet owners increasingly project their dreams and longings onto the animal. In a way, pet names can thus be seen as seismographic instruments in a changing society.

The Survey

The present paper is based on a socio-onomastic study which focused on the names of cats and dogs in Saxony-Anhalt (Germany). The aim of the study was twofold: firstly, to find out why pet owners use a certain name, and secondly, what people think about or associate with that name. Most of the data used here was collected from October 2012 to July 2013 (see Bergien 2015).

Initially, a survey was conducted that included more than 600 questionnaires. Special emphasis was placed on differences and similarities between cat and dog names. In addition, pet owners were asked to give examples of what they considered to be typical cat or dog names. In the study, official (registered) names were distinguished from unofficial names (for a more detailed distinction between official and unofficial cat names, see Felecan 2014). Especially cats and smaller dogs frequently have more than one unofficial name, as for example in the case of a Chihuahua whose official name is *Chico* but who is also called *Schlumpi*, *Lutz*, *Zwerg* (‘dwarf’) or *Ratte* (‘rat’).

The first part of the survey included 230 questionnaires: 114 for dogs and 116 for cats. It is interesting to note that 184 out of 230 questionnaires were filled in by female pet owners, which in a way can be seen as a first result. In the second part of the survey, participants (with or without pets) were asked to evaluate three names each from the corpus of cat and dog names respectively. Participants were also asked to write down what they considered to be typical cat and dog names. In the following section I will concentrate on selected results and a few general observations.

Results

The presentations in Figure 1 and 2 give an overview of naming categories in official and unofficial names. The category *Appellatives* refers to names with an appellative base, for example *Hummelchen*, *Biene*, *Hund*, *Komtess*, *Dicker* for dogs or *Kiwi*, *Mütze*, *Dicki*, *Bumminator*, *Katzilla* for cats. A few names (e.g. *Siys*) are opaque.

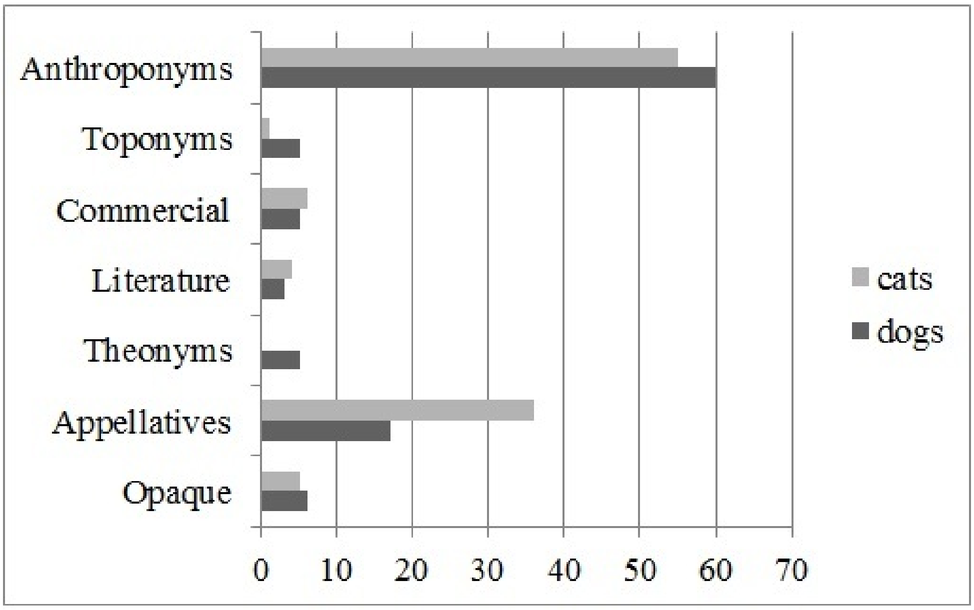

Fig. 1. Categories of official pet names according to origin (absolute figures)

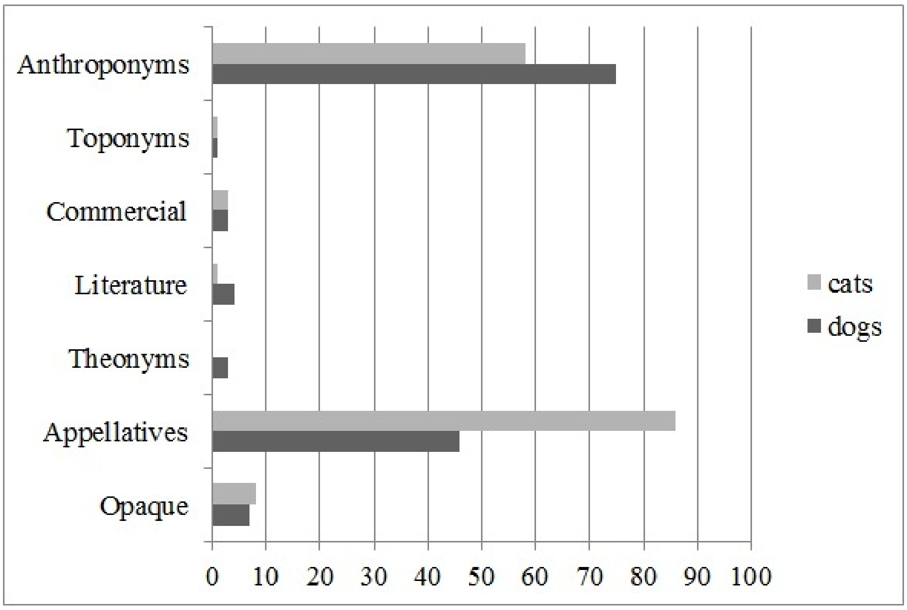

Fig. 2. Categories of unofficial pet names according to origin (absolute figures)

With regard to dog names, Figure 1 and 2 reveal that these names become more individual. There are only a few names such as *Jimmy* or *Bal(o)u* that occur more than once. In addition, there is a growing tendency towards anthropomorphism. This observation is supported by Schaab (2012) who studied more than 1000 dog names. Many names from the corpus of the present study can also be found in the top lists for children's names in Germany (e.g. *Paul*, *Lilli*, *Maja*, *Lenny*, *Max*). In most cases the name clearly specifies the sex of the dog. So, *Jimmy* is used for a male, *Lilli* for a female dog. The name *Charly*, however, is used for both, male and female dogs.

With cat names the results are slightly different. Cat names, too, become more individual, but multiple instances of individual names occur when the name is derived from an appellative base, for example *Krümel* ('crumb'), *Lucky*, *Miezi*.

The process of anthroponymization is slower compared to dog names. The reason is that names from an appellative base clearly dominate in the group of unofficial names. In addition, cat owners seem to be less strict when it comes to sex marking. One cat owner named her kitten *Adelheid*. When it became clear that she actually had a tom cat, the name *Adelheid* was nevertheless kept.

In contrast to dog names, cat names in the corpus under discussion frequently do not specify the sex of the animal. This may, among others, be related to the high frequency of diminutive forms ending in *-chen*, *-i* and *-lein* especially in cat names (*Lanachen*, *Moppelchen*, *Gingi*, *Schätzelein* (the exact translation would be 'little treasure')). It could be argued that this indicates a tendency towards seeing cats as something, maybe a soft toy, to cuddle and snuggle and thus taking away some of their independence and individual ('shadowy') character. Yet, it may also indicate enjoyment of animals in their infantile behaviour, their dependence on our care, and their capacity to create amusing chaos (Figure 3).

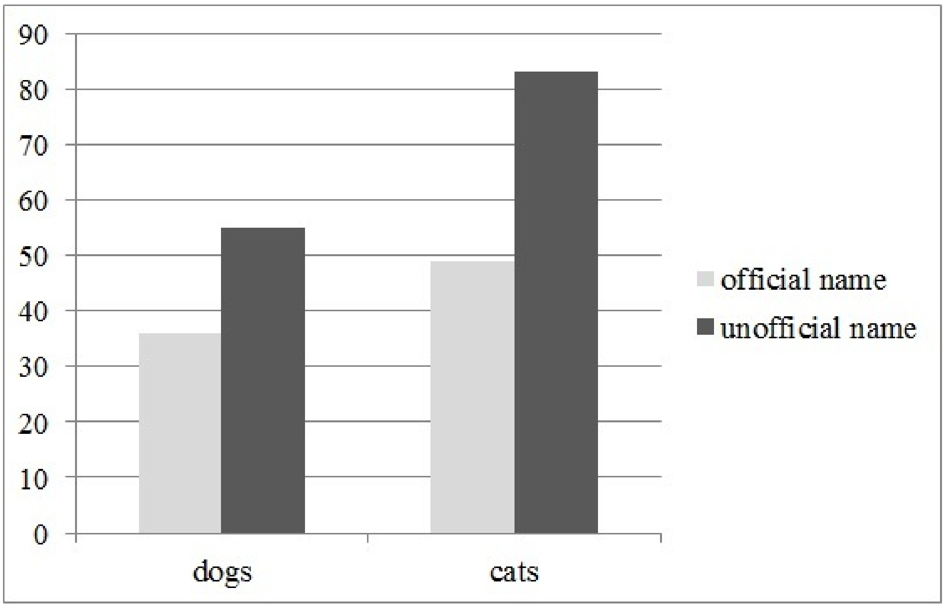

Fig. 3. Number of diminutive forms (absolute figures)

In both groups, cats and dogs, commercial names, such as *Red Bull*, *Ecstacy* (from ‘Ecstasy’) for cats; *Illy* and *Jack Daniels* for dogs, were less frequent than expected. This is especially interesting, since one third of the participants in the survey were younger than 18. This may support findings which indicate tendencies towards anthropomorphism and away from pets as property or valuable objects.

As to the reasons for the choice of names, physical characteristics are much more important for cat names compared to names of dogs (Figure 4). Aesthetic reasons may be sound symbolism, e.g. onomatopoeia or iconism, or general beauty (according to the taste of the pet owner) of the respective name.

The category *Other* refers to different criteria: one participant wrote, for example, that he named his Yorkshire Terrier *Leonid* because the dog’s eyebrows resemble those of former Soviet politician Leonid Breshnev. This is, however, more than naming according to physical characteristics. Depending on the socio-cultural context and background knowledge of the name users, aspects like manners and temperament may also be involved in the construction of a metaphorical relation.

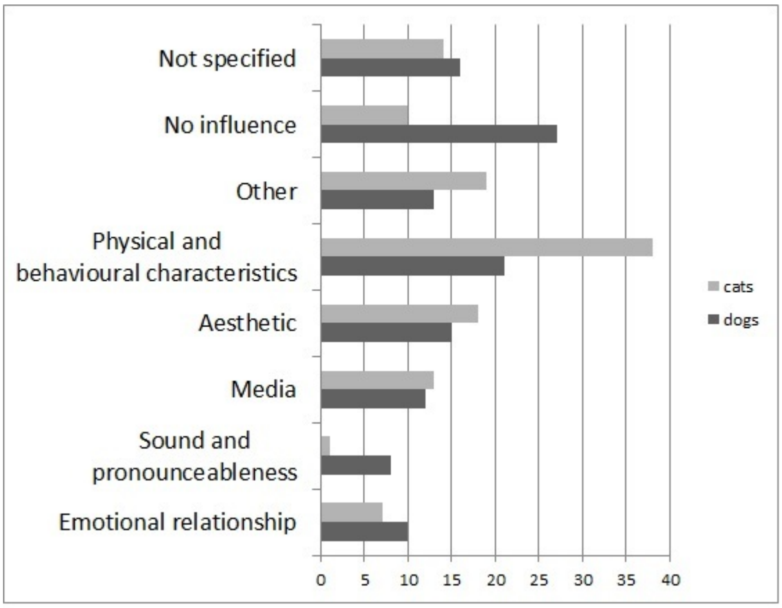

Fig. 4. Factors influencing name choice (absolute figures)

In the second part of the survey, participants (with or without pets) were asked to evaluate the following names according to their appropriateness as cat or dog names: *Oskar*, *Sergeant Felix*, *Rocky* for dogs and *Ecstacy*, *Hopsi* (from the verb ‘hop’) and *Red Bull* for cats. The overviews differentiate between male and female participants’ responses (Figure 5).

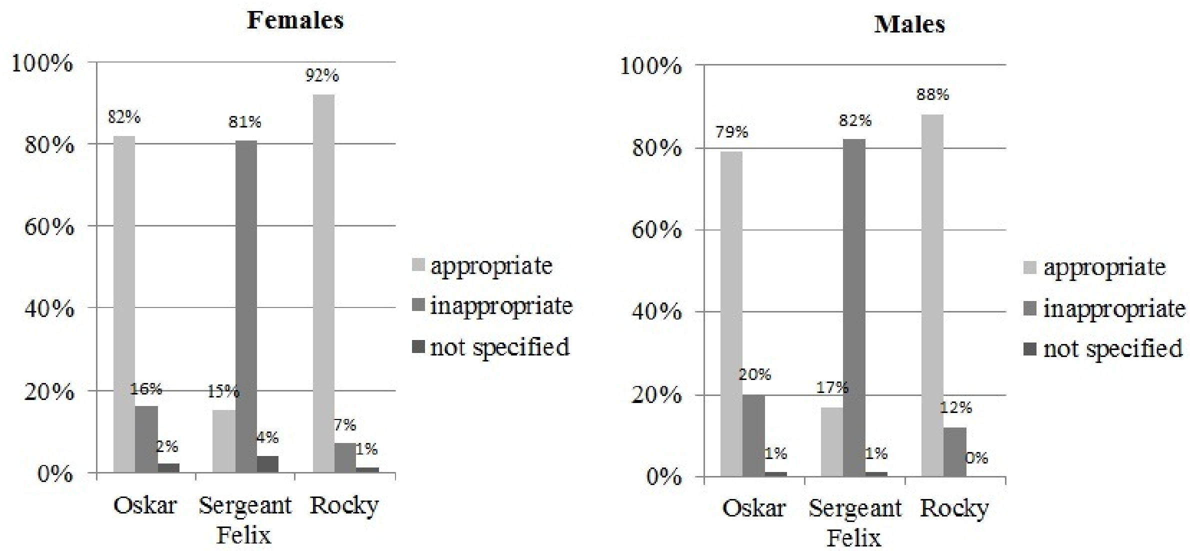

Fig. 5. Evaluation of selected dog names

There are clear decisions for *Rocky* and *Oscar* as appropriate dog names. The vote ‘inappropriate’ for *Sergeant Felix* is also very clear. *Felix* is traditionally considered a typical cat name, and *Sergeant* does not seem to fit a dog’s role as pet and companion. It is interesting to observe that dog names (perhaps with the exception of very small dogs), generally speaking, do not reflect ironic or humorous language use. This is different in cat names, where examples such as *Katzilla*, *Bumminator* or *Herr Lehmann* could be found.

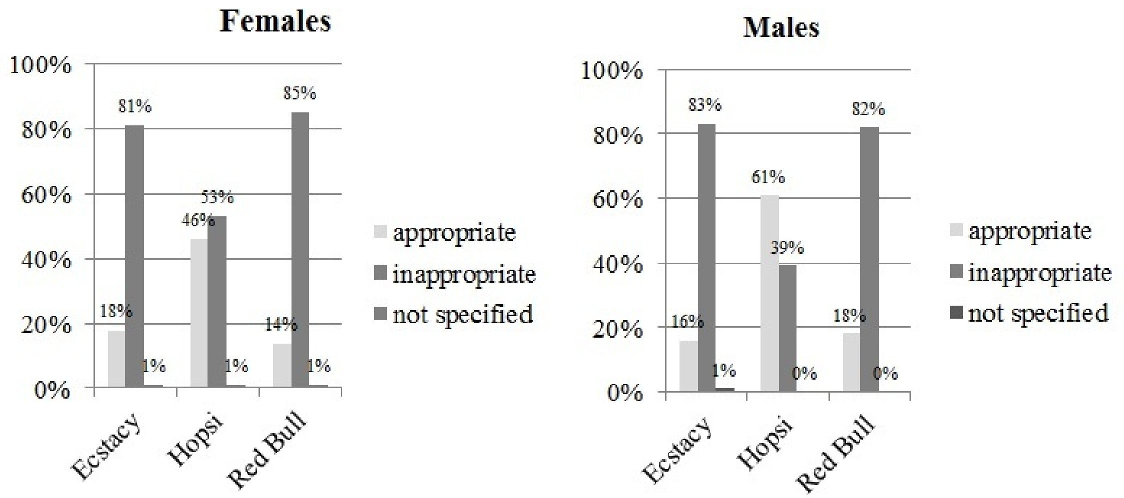

Fig. 6. Evaluation of selected cat names

Male and female participants agree in their rejection of *Ecstacy* and *Red Bull*. This may again support the fact that pets are not so much seen as property, but as companions. The only example in which male and female participants disagree is *Hopsi*. Unfortunately, participants did not have to give reasons for their decision. It would have been interesting to find out why male participants are more tolerant in this case (Figure 6). Participants were also asked to indicate what they considered typical cat or dog names. The most frequently mentioned names are listed in Table 1 (dog names) and Table 2 (cat names).

Male		**Female**	
Name	**Number**	**Name**	**Number**
Bello	96	Rex	86
Rex	79	Bello	76
Max	16	Rocky/Hasso	12

Table 2. Ranking of the most frequently mentioned dog names

Male		**Female**	
Name	**Number**	**Name**	**Number**
Kitty	39	Felix	39
Muschi	38	Muschi	26
Felix	35	Garfield	20

Table 3. Ranking of the most frequently mentioned cat names

The ranking lists show that *Bello*, *Rex*, *Max*, *Rocky* and *Hasso* are the most frequently mentioned names for dogs, and *Kitty*, *Felix*, *Muschi* and *Garfield* the most frequently mentioned names for cats. For the topic of the present study it is interesting to note that these names do obviously exist in our cultural memory, but with the exception of *Felix*, *Rex*, *Rocky* and *Max*, which appear only one time each in the corpus (*Max* only as a cat name!), they are no longer used by pet owners.

Finally, the following 13 names are used for dogs as well as for cats, which indicates an interesting development away from typical dog or cat names (Table 3).

Name	**Number (dogs)**	**Number (cats)**
Bal(o)u	3	1
Benny/Benni	2	1
Carlo	1	1
Charly	4	1
Hugo	1	1
Jackie/Jacky	2	1
Lilli/Lilly	1	2
Mütze (‘cap’)	1	1
Püppi	1	1
Rocky	2	1
Susi	1	2
Teddy	2	1
Willy	1	1

Table 4. Names used for both cats and dogs

Concluding Remarks

Pet names can be compared to seismographic instruments in that they signal profound changes in the human-animal bond. Today, we treat cats and dogs as companions or quasi-human equals rather than pets and we behave as guardians rather than owners, although these animals did not freely choose to be with us. We may even say that pets act as part of our extended self and their names thus reflect the way we view ourselves in the contemporary world.

The need for uniqueness and distinctiveness may lead to the complete disappearance of certain names from the lists of currently used names, which then paves the way for new and more expressive naming patterns. It remains to be seen if the inclusion of larger corpora from different regions reveals differences in this process.

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Häuserlitaneien: Ein Phänomen an der Schnittstelle von Onomastik und Ethnologie

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Zusammenfassung

Hof- bzw. Häusernamen spielen nach wie vor eine wichtige Rolle in der Namenlandschaft Österreichs. Der vorliegende Beitrag befasst sich mit einem besonderen Gesichtspunkt dieser Namenkategorie, der in den Bereich der Ethnologie hineinreicht. Aus mehreren Teilen (Alt-)Österreichs sind uns Beispiele einer bestimmten Art von Volksdichtung überliefert, bei der die Hof- bzw. Hausnamen einer Ortschaft (die als onomastische Zwitterwesen auch eine anthroponymische Funktion aufweisen können) aufgezählt werden, wobei diesen Spitznamen bzw. Nominal- oder Verbalphrasen beigefügt sind. Für dieses seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhundert dokumentierte Phänomen finden sich in der Literatur unterschiedliche, nicht immer eindeutige Bezeichnungen, z. B. *Nachbarreim*, *Dorf-*, *Orts-* oder *Häuserlitanei*. Auch wenn die Erscheinung im volkskundlichen Schrifttum immer wieder erwähnt wird, ist die Zahl der konkret dokumentierten Beispiele überschaubar. Eine gewisse Ausnahme bildet hier das ehemals deutschsprachige Gebiet im südlichen Böhmen, für welches zahlreiche solcher Häuserlitaneien dokumentiert sind. Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden verschiedene Aspekte dieser Volksdichtung angerissen, so etwa bestimmte formale und inhaltliche Besonderheiten, die Frage des Alters sowie des sozialen Kontextes. Des Weiteren werden Streiflichter auf die wissenschaftshistorisch-terminologische Dimension sowie die geographische Verbreitung dieser Litaneien geworfen, die – so das Fazit – auch aus onomastisch-dialektologischer und nicht zuletzt historischer Sicht einen interessanten Forschungsgegenstand darstellen.

Abstract

Farm- or house-names play an important role in the toponymicon of Austria. This paper deals with a particular aspect of this category of names, which extends into the field of anthropology. Our examples, from several parts of (historical) Austria, are from a particular type of folk poetry, whereby the farm- or house-names of a village (which may also have an anthroponymic function) are enumerated, to which with these nicknames or nominal or verbal phrases are attached. For this phenomenon, which has been documented since the late 19th century, different, not always unique, identifiers can be found in the literature, such as *neighbour rhyme*, *village-*, *town-* or *house-litany*. Although the phenomenon is repeatedly mentioned in the ethnographic literature, the number of examples securely documented is limited. A notable exception is the German-language area formerly in southern Bohemia, for which many such house litanies are documented. In this paper, various aspects of folk poetry are touched on, such as certain formal and internal characteristics, the question of age, and the social context. Furthermore, sidelights are thrown on the scientific-historical terminological dimension and the geographical distribution of these litanies which – according to the result – also represent an interesting research topic from an onomastic-dialectal, and not least a historical, perspective.

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Names and Their Environment. Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 25-29 August 2014. Vol. 5. *Literary Onomastics. Other Names. Commercial Names*. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska (eds)

Einleitung

Vor einiger Zeit stieß der Autor dieses Artikels in einer Ausgabe der Zeitschrift *Osttiroler Heimatblätter* aus dem Jahr 1930 auf ein ihm bis dato unbekanntes Beispiel von Volksdichtung: eine Art längeres Gedicht, in dem die Hofnamen der Gemeinde Außervillgraten aufgezählt werden, wobei jedem ein Spitzname oder eine Nominal- bzw. Verbalphrase beigefügt ist. Dieses war von Judith Obbrugger aufgezeichnet, unter dem Titel ‛Brugger Häuser-Litanei’ publiziert und mit einem kurzen Einleitungstext versehen worden (Obbrugger 1930). Das Interesse des ebenfalls aus Osttirol (d. i. der politische Bezirk Lienz in Österreich) stammenden und dort sprachlich sozialisierten Autors war geweckt, er kontaktierte die Ortschronistin von Außervillgraten, Imelda Trojer, die ihm in der Folge bereitwillig Auskunft zu dem ihr noch bekannten Phänomen gab und ihn auf eine weitere, allerdings weitaus kürzere derartige Litanei aus Sillianberg (Gemeinde Sillian) aufmerksam machte bzw. ihm diese zur Verfügung stellte, wofür ihr an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt sei. Als Einstieg in die Thematik sei letztere hier vollständig wiedergegeben:

<u>*Hernegger*</u>[1]*– der öberste Bauer*
<u>*Polunger*</u> *– Zuckersau*
<u>*Haselgruber*</u> *– Haselhüahndl*
<u>*Eder*</u> *– Blerre*
<u>*Oberwieser*</u> *– Tagscherre*
<u>*Unterwieser*</u> *– Nagelstock*
<u>*Hofer*</u> *– Groaßkopf*
<u>*Bacher*</u> *– Grampe*
<u>*Kraler*</u> *– Souhle*
<u>*Matzer*</u> *– Pechkugel*
<u>*Geiger*</u> *– Houtze*
<u>*Simler*</u> *– Stoutze*
<u>*Löller*</u> *– Küahwade*
<u>*Gödner*</u> *– Turte*
<u>*Staffinga*</u> *– Gasegaggele*
<u>*Höggiler*</u> *– Ritsch-Ratsch-Häusltatsch*
der <u>*Raster*</u> *– hängt auf dem Ast*
der <u>*Pircher*</u> *– hats Leschte gewirkt* (Trojer 2014: o. P.)

Die Suche nach parallelen Beispielen bzw. Literatur zu solchen erweiterten Hofnamenlisten gestaltete sich zwar als nicht ganz einfach, lieferte jedoch einige Ergebnisse, der Autor hier präsentieren möchte. Das Thema ist dadurch natürlich noch lange nicht erschöpft. Es steht zu vermuten, dass weitere, eingehendere Nachforschungen das Korpus noch anwachsen ließen. Aus Platz- und Zeitgründen musste auch eine gewisse räumliche Beschränkung erfolgen, sodass die folgenden Ausführungen vor allem auf den Raum (Alt-)Österreich fokussieren.

[1] Die Hof- bzw. Hausnamen werden in den Beispielen durch Unterstreichung hervorgehoben.

Hof- bzw. Häusernamen

Hofnamen (Aulonyme) spielen in weiten Teilen Österreichs auch heute noch eine wichtige Rolle in der Namenlandschaft. In vielen Gegenden ist es nach wie vor üblich, Personen über ihren Hofnamen zu individualisieren bzw. Zu benennen. Dies gilt weniger für die direkte Anrede an eine Person, vor allem jedoch wenn von dieser (in ihrer Abwesenheit) die Rede ist. Der Autor dieses Beitrags konnte in Osttirol beobachten, dass Hofnamen keineswegs zu verschwinden drohen, sondern im Gegenteil vermehrt sichtbar werden. Ein interessantes Beispiel stellen in diesem Zusammenhang etwa Todesanzeigen in Regionalzeitungen, Partezettel (so der österreichische Ausdruck für Trauerzirkulare) oder sogenannte Sterbbildlein (nach der Beerdigung verteilte Erinnerungsbildchen an den Verstorbenen) dar. Hier wird neben dem Vor- und Familiennamen häufig der Hausname angefügt, oft in Verbindung mit der dialektalen Variante des Vornamens. Die Erklärung für dieses Phänomen ist sicherlich im Umstand zu suchen, dass der Hausname, z. T. auch die dialektale Form des Vornamens, als vertrauter, intimer, die Person im Kontext der Trauersituation besser und treffender bezeichnend und charakterisierend empfunden wird. Auf Grabsteinen bzw. -kreuzen steht der Hofname ebenfalls oft zu lesen. Doch auch in anderen Domänen sind diese Namen heute deutlicher denn je sichtbar. Gerade weil Höfe eine wichtige Rolle bei der Orientierung im Raum spielen, interessieren sich zunehmend auch Rettungsdienste für diese Namenkategorie und legen entsprechende Verzeichnisse an. Auch in Telefonbüchern, analogen wie digitalen, werden nach wie vor Hofnamen angeführt. Sie spielen weiters eine gewisse Rolle im administrativen Bereich (so beispielsweise bei den für Tiergesundheit zuständigen Behörden) und nicht zuletzt auch in der Domäne der Wirtschaft (Nennung im Zusammenhang mit Angeboten zu Urlaub am Bauernhof sowie mit dem Ab-Hof-Verkauf von landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnissen, wohl nicht zuletzt zwecks Hervorhebung der Ursprünglichkeit und Qualität des jeweiligen Produkts).

In diachroner Perspektive sind Hofnamen sehr alt und beharrsam. Während die Besitzerfamilien einer Hofstatt in der Regel wiederholt gewechselt haben, sind Hofnamen oft jahrhundertelang am jeweiligen Denotat haften geblieben. Für den Raum Lienz etwa ist eine Art Musterungsregister aus dem Jahr 1385 erhalten, in dem die einzelnen Höfe, deren Bewirtschafter sowie die im Konfliktfall zu stellende Ausrüstung aufgezählt sind.[2] Viele der dort genannten Hofnamen sind auch heute, über 600 Jahre später, noch gebräuchlich. Hofnamen stellten denn bekanntermaßen auch eine wichtige Quelle für die Bildung von Familiennamen in Österreich dar.

Es verwundert vor diesem Hintergrund, dass die wissenschaftliche Dokumentation und Erforschung von Hofnamen in Österreich noch lange nicht umfassend zu nennen ist. Es gibt zwar eine Reihe von (überwiegend germanistischen) Diplom- und Doktorarbeiten zum Thema, doch sind diese in der Regel nicht publiziert worden und deshalb nur in wenigen Exemplaren vorhanden und schwer zugänglich. Zudem beschränken sie sich oft auf die Zusammenstellung der aktuellen Lautform und der historischen Belege sowie auf die etymologische Erklärung. Auf die Rolle von Hofnamen als onomastische Zwitterwesen, ihre spezifische Funktion und ihren jeweiligen Gebrauch sowie ihre Beziehung zum

[2] *Musterregister des Landgerichtes und der Stadt Lienz*. Tiroler Landesarchiv (Innsbruck), Hs. 63.

Familiennameninventar wird dabei meist nicht näher eingegangen. Viele dieser Arbeiten thematisieren nicht, wie angedeutet, die besondere Stellung der Hofnamen zwischen Toponymen und Anthroponymen. Bekanntlich benennen diese sowohl ein Gebäude bzw. den dazugehörigen Grund etc. einerseits als auch den Bewohner des betreffenden Gehöfts andererseits, wobei diesen unterschiedlichen Funktionen auch unterschiedliche formale Realisierungen entsprechen können. Anderwärtige Monografien zum Thema sind so gut wie nicht vorhanden. Die Außervillgrater Häuserlitanei, der Ausgangspunkt dieser Ausführungen, beinhaltet wohl ausschließlich Hofnamen, d. h. Namen landwirtschaftlicher Betriebe. Bei anderen untersuchten Texten kann dies nicht mit Sicherheit gesagt werden, weshalb in diesen Fällen der Terminus Hofname eventuell unkorrekt wäre. Aus diesem Grund und weil andere Termini, wie im Folgenden ersichtlich wird, teilweise ambig sind, hat sich der Autor des vorliegenden Beitrags dazu entschlossen, hier *Häuserlitanei* als Leitterminus zu verwenden.[3]

Terminologisches rund um das Phänomen Häuserlitanei

Die ältesten schriftlichen Belege für Häuserlitaneien finden sich bei Hruschka und Toischer (1891: 370). Dort sind zwei Beispiele aus dem Raum Eger abgedruckt, jedoch ohne mit einem bestimmten Terminus versehen zu sein. Eine erste konkrete Bezeichnung für diese Art von Volksdichtung, nämlich *Nachbarreime*,[4] liefert Meyer in seiner 1898 veröffentlichten *Deutschen Volkskunde*:

> In den sogenannten Nachbarreimen wandert der Spott durch das ganze Dorf von Haus zu Haus und zerrt am liebsten am Bürgermeister, der z. B. einen Kürbis ausbrütet, an dem Pfarrer, dem Müller und anderen Handwerkern, von denen die Kinder schon namentlich den gefürchteten Schlotfeger, während sie ausreißen, damit ärgern (1908: 336)

Es ist hier allerdings, wie ersichtlich, nicht ganz klar, ob in den Meyer vorliegenden Beispielen (auf die er nicht weiter eingeht) Haus- oder Hofnamen vorkommen oder nicht. Schacherl spricht in seinen 1900 erschienenen *Geheimnissen der Böhmerwäldler* die hier thematisierte Art von Volksdichtung im Kapitel *Spitznamen der Böhmerwäldler* an:

> Jedes Haus im Böhmerwalde hat seinen Spitznamen, den jeder kleinste Knabe schon herunterleiern kann vom ganzen Dorfe, da es zusammenhängend sogar reimweise geht (1900: 2)

Danach findet sich der Beginn der Spitznamenaufzählung seines Heimatorts Plattetschlag abgedruckt. In dem von Unger zusammengetragenen und von Khull herausgegebenen

[3] Die genaue Abgrenzung zwischen den Namenkategorien Haus- und Hofname ist schwierig und möglicherweise im Letzten sogar nicht durchführbar. Man beachte nur die Tatsache, dass beispielsweise Höfe ihren Namen behalten, auch wenn sie nicht mehr als landwirtschaftliche Betriebe fungieren, ein Fall, der gerade in den letzten Jahren immer häufiger eintritt. Bezüglich theoretischer Grundlagen zu Haus- bzw. Hofnamen sei auf Harvalík (2004) und Weber (2004) verwiesen.
[4] Die einzelnen Termini werden in diesem Abschnitt bei Erstnennung durch Unterstreichung hervorgehoben.

Steirischen Wortschatz treffen wir 1903 auf ein Stichwort *Dorflitanei* mit der Bedeutungsangabe ‘scherzhafte Aufzählung der Dorfbauern mit boshaften Anspielungen auf die Eigenschaften und Verhältnisse der einzelnen’ (Unger und Khull 1903: 161). Dieser Terminus begegnet in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts auch bei Moro (1952: 131), Klier (1955: 190), Schmidt (1972: 188), Zinnburg (1977: 384) und Knogler (online). Hausotter (1904: 110) bringt ein *Dorflied* aus Stachenwald im Kuhländchen zum Abdruck, das einer Häuserlitanei entspricht. Bei Bronner wird im Zusammenhang mit dem Brauchtum um den Funkensonntag bzw. dem Rügegericht auch auf die *Dorflitaneien* verwiesen, jedoch ohne auf diese näher einzugehen:

> Das war also eine Art fastenzeitlichen Rügegerichts. (Vergl. die Narrengerichte, die Dorflitaneien, das Haberfeldtreiben!) (1908: 85)

Jungbauer greift im selben Jahr einerseits den von Meyer gebrauchten Terminus *Nachbarreime* – den später übrigens auch Moro (1952: 131) verwendet – auf, nennt aber auch zum ersten Mal den Ausdruck *Ortslitanei* für dieses Phänomen:

> häufig werden sie [d. h. diese Neckereien von Ortsbewohnern untereinander, H. B.] auch, weil sie sich zu einer Art Litanei zusammenschließen, Ortslitaneien genannt (1908: 197)

Nachbarreime bzw. *Ortslitaneien* sind auch die Termini, die Jungbauer in seinem 1914 veröffentlichten Aufruf zur Sammlung solcher Art von Volksdichtung verwendet (Näheres dazu weiter unten). Von *Ortslitaneien* sprechen später, in den 1950er-Jahren, auch Klier (1955: 190) sowie Riedl und Klier (1957: 155). 1924-1930 werden sechs Häuserlitaneien aus dem östlichen Nordtirol, konkret aus Scheffau, Fieberbrunn, *Sänihans* (d. i. St. Johann in Tirol), Wildschönau, Kundl und Kitzbühel in den *Tiroler Heimatblättern* abgedruckt (Tremmel 1924, Arnold und Blattl 1924, –r. 1924, Thaler 1925, Hechenberger 1930, Reinisch 1930). Die dabei verwendeten Begriffe sind *Litanei*, *Leibsprüche* (dazu weiter unten) bzw. *Laufspruch*. Das Letzterem zu Grunde liegende Bild ist offenbar das eines Reims, der quasi von Haus zu Haus „läuft“. Die umfangreichste Litanei ist die bereits erwähnte *Brugger Häuser-Litanei*[5] (Obbrugger: 1930). Brosch (1939: 45) publiziert vier gesungene Litaneien inklusive Melodien aus dem Egerland, die er als *Ortsliedl* bezeichnet. Fink (1957: 323) nennt ebenfalls einige hierher gehörige Beispiele und verwendet dafür die Bezeichnungen *Höfespruch* bzw. *Höfe-Sprüche*.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich das Phänomen der Häuserlitaneien auch in dem an den bairischen Raum angrenzenden Slowenischen findet. Dort ist bereits 1924 in einer Erzählung von den *vaške litanije*, d. h. von der ‘Dorflitanei’, die Rede, die von Jugendlichen an Sommerabenden unter dem Kastanienbaum, der hinter dem Ort auf einem Hügel steht, ausgeheckt werden (Bukovčan 1924: IVb). Der Terminus wird auch von Verbuč (2008: 40) im Zusammenhang mit einer von ihm 2007 in Čreta pri Kokarjah durchgeführten Aufnahme

[5] *Brugge* war eine früher übliche Bezeichnung für den Kern der Gemeinde Außervillgraten (Auskunft Imelda Trojer).

verwendet. Für ein anderes von ihm dokumentiertes Lied (aufgenommen 2001 in Ljubno ob Savinji), in dem die Gasthäuser der Gegend in Form einer Litanei aufgezählt werden, gebrauchen die Sänger den Ausdruck *godčevske litanije*, den man als ‘Musikantenlitanei’ übersetzen könnte (2008: 41). Karničar (1990: 353) wiederum bezeichnet das von ihm in seiner Monografie zur kärntnerslowenischen Mundart von Ebriach/Obirsko angeführte Beispiel als *pavrške* bzw. *pasje litanije*, d. h. als ‘Bauern-’ oder ‘Hundslitanei’. Das Adjektiv *pasje* dient dabei offenbar als pejorativer Marker.

Die oben erwähnten Begriffe *Dorf-* bzw. *Ortslitanei* weisen insofern eine gewisse Unschärfe auf, als sie auch für Aufzählungen von Übernamen für ganze Ortschaften und deren Einwohner (oft auch als *Ortsneckreime* oder *Ortsneckereien* bezeichnet) verwendet werden.[6] Im Rheinischen Wörterbuch etwa finden sich beide Begriffe in dieser Bedeutung angeführt.[7]

Geografische Verbreitung

Wenn man jene Orte (Alt-)Österreichs, aus denen Häuserlitaneien vorliegen, kartiert, so fällt zum einen auf, dass der überwiegende Teil dieser Punkte im Sudetenland liegt, d. h. in jenem ehemaligen deutschsprachigen Raum, der heute zur Tschechischen Republik gehört. Innerhalb dieses Gebiets wiederum ist eine auffällige Verdichtung im Böhmerwald bzw. dem östlich angrenzenden Areal zu beobachten. Möglicherweise ist diese Auffälligkeit aber auch nur das Ergebnis der intensiven Sammeltätigkeit Jungbauers, der bereits in seiner *Volksdichtung aus dem Böhmerwald* 26 Beispiele aus diesem Raum veröffentlicht (1908: 202f.). Am 21. Februar 1914 lanciert er einen Aufruf im *Böhmerwald-Volksboten* zur Einsendung von ‘Nachbarreime[n] oder Ortslitaneien’ und vermerkt, dass ein Oberlehrer in Krumau bereits 74 solcher Texte zusammengetragen habe, wobei er die betreffenden Orte nennt. In den Ausgaben vom 21. März, 2. Juni sowie 1. August desselben Jahres berichtet er über das rege Echo. Eine gewisse Häufung an Belegen lässt sich auch für das Burgenland beobachten, doch muss auch hierzu angemerkt werden, dass diese allesamt aus Riedl (1955) bzw. Riedl und Klier (1957) herrühren. Die 1924-1930 publizierten Nordtiroler Beispiele stammen, wie bereits angedeutet, aus dem sog. Unterland, d. h. dem östlichen Nordtirol, und wurden in der damals auf diesen Raum fokussierenden Zeitschrift *Tiroler Heimatblätter* publiziert. Es ist zu vermuten, dass die Veröffentlichung des Laufspruchs aus Scheffau 1924 die weiteren Beispiele aus der Gegend hier sozusagen nach sich gezogen hat.

Aus Salzburg, Oberösterreich sowie aus dem deutschsprachigen Teil Kärntens stammt jeweils nur ein Beispiel, nämlich aus Anthering (Zinnburg 1972: 384f.), Rainbach im Mühlkreis (Knogler: online) bzw. dem Nockgebiet (Moro 1952: 131). Die Tatsache, dass sich, wie erwähnt, *Dorflitanei* in einem steirischen Dialektwörterbuch als Stichwort eingetragen findet, suggeriert, dass Häuserlitaneien durchaus verbreitet waren. Doch lässt

[6] Dieses Phänomen scheint weiter verbreitet zu sein als das im vorliegenden Beitrag behandelte, zumindest wird es in der Literatur öfter thematisiert. Stellvertretend für die vielen Beispiele auch aus nicht-deutschsprachigen Ländern kann auf die umfassende Zusammenstellung und Analyse für den dänischen Raum von Schmidt (1957) verwiesen werden.

[7] Dies wird deutlich, wenn man eine Volltextsuche nach den Begriffen *Dorflitanei* bzw. *Ortslitanei* in der digitalen Ausgabe dieses Wörterbuchs durchführt, vgl. http://woerterbuchnetz.de/RhWB/ (eingesehen am 22. 12. 2014).

sich aus der Literatur für die Steiermark nur ein konkreter Beleg erbringen, nämlich durch Holler (1958). Ähnlich verhält es sich mit Niederösterreich, für welches Schmidt (1972: 188) die Erscheinung zwar erwähnt, ohne jedoch ein Beispiel zu nennen. Auch Obbrugger suggeriert, dass – in ihrem Fall in Osttirol – diese Art von Volksdichtung früher weiter verbreitet war, wenn sie notiert:

> Wohl in vielen Orten Osttirols wird man im Volksmunde Häuserverzeichnisse mit „poetischer Zulage“ vorfinden (1930: 14)

Tatsächlich konnte nur für Sillianberg ein weiteres Beispiel aus diesem Raum ermittelt werden (Trojer 2014). Ein möglicher Grund für die doch sehr spärliche Dokumentation dieser Art von Volksdichtung könnte in einer gewissen Scheu liegen, die darin enthaltenen Spitznamen bzw. zum Teil ja auch spöttischen Bemerkungen zu publizieren. Man darf davon ausgehen, dass der Kreis der Personen, die Kenntnis von diesen Spitznamenaufzählungen hatten, eher klein war. Sie an Außenstehende weiterzugeben, möglicherweise sogar mit der Perspektive, sie gedruckt zu sehen, mag von dem einen oder anderen deshalb als unpassend oder unangenehm empfunden worden sein. In diesem Zusammenhang kann auf folgende Bemerkung Schacherls verwiesen werden, der nach seinen Ausführungen über Spitznamen für einzelne Höfe und Ortschaften anmerkt:

> Ich wüsste zwar noch sehr viele solcher Spitznamen und auch deren Entstehen, doch aus gewichtigen Gründen darf ich dieselben jetzt noch nicht öffentlich mittheilen (1900: 2f.)

Die 1924 veröffentlichte Erzählung aus Slowenien, in der der Begriff *vaške litanije* genannt wird (Bukovčan 1924), ist nicht genauer lokalisiert. Bei Karničar (1990: 353) findet sich eine von ihm aufgezeichnete slowenische Litanei aus dem Kärntner Ebriach/Obirsko. Die von Verbuč (2008: 38f.) veröffentlichten slowenischen Litaneien stammen aus dem oberen Tal der Savinja (Sann) in Nordslowenien, das bei Samec (2014: 32, 58, 74, 94, 160, 268, 284, 318) publizierte Beispiel wiederum aus Žalna in der südöstlich von Ljubljana gelegenen Gemeinde Grosuplje.

Nur am Rande sei erwähnt, dass sich analoge Beispiele für Häuserlitaneien auch aus Baden-Württemberg und aus Bayern erbringen lassen.[8] Entsprechende Volksdichtungen gibt es offenbar auch in Finnland.[9]

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[8] Siehe etwa Ilg (1911). Gleich mehrere bayerische Litaneien sind im Internet veröffentlicht, so z. B. aus den Gemeinden Deining, http://feuerwehr.deining.de/ffdw/seite/ort/dlitanei.php), Dietfurt an der Altmühl, http://wadlbeisseronline.wordpress.com/2012/07/26/die-ottmaringer-dorf-litanei/) oder Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz, http://www.woffenbach.de/stauf/dorflitaneist.html (jeweils eingesehen am 22. 12. 2014). In allen diesen Beispielen wird der Terminus *Dorflitanei* verwendet.

[9] Vgl. Mäkinen (2007). Für diesen Hinweis möchte ich Terhi Ainiala (Universität Helsinki) herzlich danken.

Kategorisierung

Im Folgenden wird versucht, jene Häuserlitaneien, die im Volltext oder zumindest in Fragmenten vorliegen, unter bestimmten inhaltlichen Kriterien (die wiederum Auswirkungen auf die äußerliche Form haben können) zu kategorisieren.

Einfach strukturierte Häuserlitaneien

Der einfachste Typus von Litaneien besteht darin, dem jeweiligen Hausnamen einen Spitznamen bzw. eine Nominal- oder Verbalphrase zuzuordnen:[10]

> *Ronnebacher Grenzwacher,*
> *Agner Kniescheibe,*
> *Trojer Mogennoier,*
> *Hofilate Mäusl,*
> *Schuster Pechpatze,*
> *Lusser Läusetöter,*
> *Peatler Flöderle fochts Vögele* [...] (Außervillgraten, Obbrugger 1930: 14)

Komplexer strukturierte Häuserlitaneien

Abfolge von (angeblichen) Zitaten

Einen komplexeren Typus stellen zum einen jene Litaneien dar, bei denen jedem Akteur, d. h. jedem angeführten Hausbesitzer bzw. -bewohner, ein Zitat bzw. ein charakteristischer Ausspruch in den Mund gelegt wird. Eine solche Litanei aus St. Johann in Tirol wird deshalb auch als *Leibsprüche* (vgl. Ausdrücke wie *Leibspeise*, *Leibgericht* etc.) betitelt (–r.1924). Das folgende Beispiel stammt aus dem salzburgischen Anthering:

> Aber heuer is ’s Kraut wieda so furchtbar sauer,
> sagt da Christabauer.
> Ja, i sag’s Euch, dös hab’ i a schon g’spürt,
> sagt da Neuwirt.
> Statt dö Küah fuatter i all’ Jahr so a 5 a 6 Gansl,
> sagt da Bauernhansl [...] (Zinnburg 1972: 384)

[10] Vgl. Jungbauer: ‘Die Mehrzahl dieser Litaneien ist ganz einfach zusammengesetzt, indem dem Hausnamen irgend ein Spottname oder eine witzige Bemerkung angehängt ist [...]’ (1908: 199).

Erzählen einer Geschichte

Wiederholt anzutreffen ist jener Typus, bei dem eine zusammenhängende Geschichte erzählt wird.[11] Im Zentrum des folgenden kurzen Beispiels aus Glashütten steht etwa eine Semmel:

Da Daiml bocht d' Saiml,
Da Alschbauer schaut's åuñ,
Da Hia(r)ta mit di Goaßböick
Füah(r)t's eini iñ d' Plåuñ. (Jungbauer 1908: 207)

In diesem Beispiel aus Rohr im Burgenland treten die einzelnen Protagonisten zu einer bestimmtem Stunde auf:

Uma n'oans kummt der Brånser,
Uma zwoa kummt der Bohrer,
Uma drei kummt der Beier,
Uma vieri kummt der Bierer [...] (Riedl/Klier 1957: 155)

In einer kärntnerslowenischen Litanei aus Ebriach/Obirsko wird, analog zum biblischen Stammbaum Jesu, eine Art Ahnenreihe erstellt, indem ein mit einem Übernamen versehener Bauer jeweils den nachfolgenden auf die Welt bringt:

Prè:dastənq həgláč je rudi:w Mà:wca qlé:pija,
Mà:wc qlè:pi j rudì:w Župà:nca mərqá:ča,
Župà:nc mərqá:č je rudi:w Brú:mənqa sà:tana [...] (Karničar 1990: 354)

Weitere (formale) Besonderheiten

Reim

Fokussiert man auf rein formale Aspekte, so fällt zum einen auf, dass manche der Litaneien Reime aufweisen. Durchgehender Endreim begegnet uns etwa in diesem unveröffentlichten Beispiel aus Gutenbrunn in Südböhmen:

Də Fainzai mit də Stoŋ
Də Gallai min gsong
Də Schuəmon mit də Scha
Də Wenai woəß a [...] (DBÖ, Sammler Lenz, 1951)[12]

[11] Dazu Jungbauer: 'Andere [Litaneien, H. B.] sind wieder kunstvoller gebaut, indem die ganze Litanei derart eingefaßt ist, daß alle darin genannten Personen an irgend einer Handlung z. B. an der Schlachtung eines Kalbes oder der Zubereitung einer Speise beteiligt sind' (1908: 199).

[12] Ich danke an dieser Stelle den Kollegen vom Institut für Corpuslinguistik und Texttechnologie der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für die Bereitstellung von Belegen aus der DBÖ.

Auch Stabreim begegnet vereinzelt, wobei dieser teilweise dadurch gegeben ist, dass der Spitzname auf den (transparenten oder vermeintlich transparenten) Hausnamen anspielt:

> [...] Pecher Pechkugl [...]
> [...] Glinzer Sternglunzer [...] (Außervillgraten, Obbrugger 1930: 15)

> [...] Haselgruber – Haselhüahndl [...] (Sillianberg, Trojer 2014: o. P.)

Anfänge und Ausklänge

Wiederholt ist zu beobachten, dass Anfänge und Ausklänge der Litaneien in besonderer Weise als solche gekennzeichnet sind.

Markierte Anfänge

Bisweilen erfolgt die Aufzählung der Häuser analog zu ihrer Lage im Raum, wie bei einem Spaziergang durch das Dorf werden die Häuser bzw. die dazugehörigen Personen aufgezählt, wobei der Beginn der virtuellen Wanderung mit Verben wie *anheben* oder *anfangen* gekennzeichnet ist:

> Beim Josl hebt es sich an [...] (Plattetschlag, Schacherl 1900: 2)

> Ban Föidara fängt ’s Dörfl a*a*^{n} [...] (Eger, Hruschka/Toischer 1891: 370)

Die folgende Litanei beginnt wie ein Auszählreim. Sie stammt aus Poppendorf im Burgenland, das Intro bilden die Grundzahlen *eins* bis *vier* auf Ungarisch:

> Egy, kettö, harom, négy,[13]
> Wås i find, dejs nimm i mit.
> Gfind i an ålte Sichl,
> Ghört s’ ’n Jany Michl [...] (Riedl/Klier 1957: 155)

Markierte Ausklänge

Analog zu den Anfängen sind auch die Enden der Litaneien manchmal als solche gekennzeichnet. In diesem Beispiel aus Wildschönau in Nordtirol wird das Ende schlichtweg durch das Adverb *zuletzt* (*zlöscht*) angezeigt:

> […] „Net? Wos host gsagg? Hear ma zweanch,“ sagg da Wagna no zlöscht. (Thaler 1925: 7)

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[13] Schreibung laut Original, korrekt: *Egy*, *kettő*, *három*, *négy*.

In der kurzen Litanei aus Sillianberg in Osttirol steht der Name *Pircher* am Schluss – er hat *das Letzte gewirkt* (d. h. ʽdas letzte Stück Tuch gewebt', vgl. zu dieser Bedeutung von *wirken* Schatz 1955-56: 708):

> […] der Pircher – hats Leschte gewirkt (Trojer 2014: o. P.)

Ähnlich wie ein Gebetsschluss endet die Litanei aus Anthering im Salzburger Flachgau:

> […] Ja, dös kam ma gar net z'teuer,
> sagt da Schuasta Meier.
> Daß wir alle Gott erba(r)men: Amen. (Zinnburg 1972: 385)

Inhaltliches

Es wird nicht weiter verwundern, dass die Häuserlitaneien im Hinblick auf den Inhalt vor allem die dörfliche Lebenswelt widerspiegeln. Dazu zählen natürlich in erster Linie diverse Arbeitsvorgänge in der Landwirtschaft, Handwerkstätigkeiten oder etwa auch der Sinnbezirk der Kulinarik im weitesten Sinn.

Wie erläutert, handelt es sich bei vielen Litaneien um bloße Aufzählungen von Spitz- oder Übernamen. Diese fokussieren bezüglich der Bildungsweise bekanntlich gerne auf das äußerliche Erscheinungsbild der Träger. Daneben spiegeln sich in diesen auch (angebliche) charakterliche Eigenschaften der Benannten wider. Eine weitere, wohl vielen aus ihrer Schulzeit hinlänglich bekannte Bildungsweise von Spitznamen geht vom Vor- oder Familiennamen aus. Auch in den Litaneien spielen manche Spitznamen auf den betreffenden Haus- oder Hofnamen an, was sich, wie bereits angedeutet, in der Litanei teilweise in Stabreimen abbildet. Dabei können Hausname und Spitzname in etymologischer Hinsicht zusammengehören oder aber nur zufällig ähnlich klingen. Manche der Spitznamen bzw. den einzelnen Häusern oder deren Bewohnern zugewiesenen Nominal- bzw. Verbalphrasen. Zitate etc. stehen in Beziehung zur Lage des betreffenden Hauses innerhalb der Siedlung.

Wie so oft bei Spitznamen ist das Motiv für deren Vergabe für Außenstehende und/oder Nachgeborene nicht mehr ersichtlich bzw. nachvollziehbar. Manche der Namen könnten auch episodischen Ursprungs sein, während andere heute, auch in etymologischer Hinsicht, völlig unverständlich sind.

Die in den Häuserlitaneien anzutreffenden Spitznamen bzw. die den einzelnen Hausnamen beigestellten Nominal- bzw. Verbalphrasen oder Zitate können teilweise recht derb sein. So enthält die von Obbrugger publizierte Litanei das Partizip Perfekt von *scheißen*, welches jedoch nur abgekürzt (*Housngsch–*) wiedergegeben wird (1930: 15). Ein solches Verschweigen aus Tabugründen erwähnt auch Verbuč (2008: 41) im Zusammenhang mit einer von ihm aufgezeichneten gesungenen Litanei, in der die Gasthäuser der Gegend aufgezählt werden. Seine Informanten meinten, dass es noch mehr Strophen gebe, wollten diese wegen des unanständigen Inhalts jedoch nicht preisgeben.

Alter und Autorschaft

Die meisten Angaben zur Entstehungszeit der untersuchten Häuserlitaneien sind vage. Für die Datierung liefern deshalb in erster Linie die Publikationsdaten den Terminus ante quem. Jungbauer (1908: 199) argumentiert, dass die Tatsache, dass diese Volksreime zur Kinderdichtung herabgesunken sind, für ein hohes Alter spräche. Hausotter vermerkt 1904 im Zusammenhang mit der Publikation eines Beispiels aus Stachenwald im Kuhländchen, dieses sei 'Bei 100 Jahre alt' (1904: 110). Tremmel nimmt an, dass die von ihm veröffentlichte Litanei 'Ende der Siebzigerjahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts' (1924: 14) enstanden ist, während Obrugger zu ihrem Text notiert, dass dieser 'aus der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts' (1930: 14) stammen dürfte. Karničar (1990: 353) schließlich merkt zu seiner Litanei an, diese sei laut mündlicher Überlieferung Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts von zwei notorischen Säufern, die sich gern im Gasthaus aufhielten und mit Verseschmieden befassten, geschaffen worden. Damit ist bereits die Frage der Autorschaft berührt, über die jedoch noch weniger bekannt ist. Konkrete Autoren werden nie genannt, was jedoch nicht zuletzt auf Grund des Inhalts der Dichtungen nicht verwundert.[14]

Soziale Aspekte und Kontexte

Zwangsläufig stellt sich auch die Frage nach der Rolle, die diese Häuserlitaneien im dörflichen Zusammenleben spielten, d. h. letztlich nach ihrer sozialen Funktion. Jungbauer (1908: 199 bzw. 202) betont, dass es sich dabei um Elemente der Kinderdichtung handle:

> vor allem in Schulen, welche von der Jugend mehrerer Ortschaften besucht werden, necken sich die Kinder gegenseitig mit diesen Namen (1908: 202).

Ähnlich verhält es sich mit sämtlichen von Riedl/Klier gesammelten burgenländischen Belegen, ihr Publikationsrahmen ist bekanntlich eine Monografie zur Kinderdichtung. Auch die Außervillgrater Informantin, Imelda Trojer, erwähnte, dass die in der dortigen Häuserlitanei vorkommenden Spitznamen früher von den Kindern gebraucht wurden, ein ähnlicher Hinweis findet sich auch bei Meyer (1908: 336).

Vereinzelt wurden die Häuserlitaneien auch gesungen. Dafür finden sich in der Literatur mehrere Hinweise. Der von Hausotter (1904: 110) verwendete Terminus *Dorflied* suggeriert eine gesungene Vortragsweise. Reinisch (1930: 296f.) berichtet, dass die von ihm dokumentierte Litanei 'vor Zeiten' als Sternsingerlied in einem Ortsteil der Gemeinde Kundl gesungen wurde. Auch die Litanei aus dem oberösterreichischen Rainbach im Mühlkreis wurde angeblich als Lied vorgetragen (Knogler: online). Brosch merkt an, dass die von ihm ausgezeichneten Litaneien aus dem Egerland als *Ortsliedl* gesunden werden, was er als Besonderheit herausstreicht:

[14] Der bereits erwähnte Laufspruch aus Fieberbrunn wurde mit dem Vermerk 'Abgefaßt von Stephan Arnold, Verwalter, u. Elise Blattl. 1895. Mitgeteilt von Matth. Stockklausner' versehen (Arnold/Blattl 1924: 12), es ist allerdings nicht klar, ob die ersten beiden genannten Personen tatsächlich die Autoren sind.

> Zum Unterschiede von anderen Gegenden, wo die Ortslitanei bloß gesprochen wird, ist die Egerländer Ortslitanei, wie schon der Name „Ortsliedl“ sagt, durchwegs zum Singen geschaffen. Es gibt wohl Orte, wo die Weise vergessen wurde und daher die Ortslitanei bloß gesprochen wird; das sind aber bloß Ausnahmen (1939: 45).

Gesungene Häuserlitaneien wurden 2001-2007 auch von Verbuč in Slowenien aufgenommen (Verbuč 2008: 38f.).

Schmidt erwähnt die Dorflitaneien als Element der Faschingsumzüge (Schmidt 1972: 188), während Zinnburg anmerkt, dass sie im Rahmen der geselligen Zusammenkunft am Ende der Drescharbeiten, der sog. *Drischleg* bzw. der *Dampferroas* zum Besten gegeben wurden (Zinnburg 1977: 383). Ein Hinweis Jungbauers in einem seiner Berichte über den bereits erwähnten Aufruf zur Sammlung von Häuserlitaneien legt nahe, dass diese vereinzelt auch schriftlich verbreitet wurden:

> Anschaulich erzählt der Einsender [ein Johann Andraschko, H. B.] von den Eindrücken, die er als neunjähriger Knabe empfing, als ein Nachbar [...] in das Haus trat, die Neuigkeit meldete, daß „s’ wieda an Briaf – so nennt man dort diese Reime – g’legt hab’n“ und selben würdig und gelassen, ohne zu stocken, vortrug (Jungbauer 1914: 7).

Fazit: onomastische bzw. linguistische und historische Relevanz

Die in diesem Beitrag behandelten Häuserlitaneien sind aus mehreren Gründen durchaus von Wert für die Forschung: Zum einen stellen sie eine interessante onomastische Quelle dar, bilden also kleine onomastische Korpora für sich, indem sie Hausnamen dokumentieren, und dies teilweise in einer Form, die der tatsächlichen basisdialektalen Aussprache näher steht als die Schreibung. Bisweilen enthalten sie auch wertvolle zusätzliche kontextuelle Informationen, wie z. B. den Gebrauch von Artikeln oder Präpositionen.

Vor allem aber begegnet in den den Hausnamen beigestellten Spitznamen bzw. Nominal- oder Verbalphrasen interessante, teils sehr altertümliche dialektale Lexik. Hier nur einige Beispiele aus der Häuserlitanei von Außervillgraten (Obbrugger 1930: 14f.): *Bänderstuidl* ‘kleiner Webstuhl zum Weben von Bändern und Schnüren’ (vgl. *stuɛndl* bei Schatz 1955-56: 615), *Mogennoier* ‘Mohnstampfer’ (vgl. *nuiɛn* bei Schatz 1955-56: 450), *Numalsack* ‘Sack für Getreidespreu’ (vgl. *nûmal* bei Schatz 1955-56: 457), *Rachgabile* ‘langstielige, zweizinkige Gabel, etwa zum Hinaufreichen der Getreidegarben auf die Trockenvorrichtung’ (vgl. *roachgąbl* bei Schatz 1955-56: 468). Unter diesem Aspekt können die Litaneien also teilweise auch als interessante kleine Dialektbelegkorpora dienen.

Unter Umständen können die Häuserlitaneien schließlich auch für die Regional- und Sozialgeschichte relevante Ergebnisse liefern, etwa für die Siedlungsgeschichte einzelner Ortschaften oder Gegenden.[15] Nicht zuletzt gewähren die Litaneien, wie weiter oben bereits

[15] Ähnlich sah dies bereits Jungbauer: ‘Diese Sprüche [d. h. die Häuserlitaneien, H. B.] sind sowohl für den Sprachforscher als auch für den Historiker von Wert. Einerseits haben sich darin oft alte, aus dem gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauche ausgeschiedene Wörter erhalten und andrerseits sind die darin genannten Hausnamen mitunter von so hohem Alter, daß sie ein Licht auf die Entstehungsgeschichte und Entwicklung der Ortschaften werfen;

angedeutet, auch in ethnologischer Hinsicht interessante Einblicke in den Alltag der ländlichen Bevölkerung.

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DBÖ = Institut für Corpuslinguistik und Texttechnologie der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Datenbank der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich (DBÖ).* Wien 1993-lfd. [Stand : 20. 8. 2014]. http://wboe.oeaw.ac.at (eingesehen am 22. 12. 2014).

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so finden sich in mehreren heute ganz deutschen und stundenweit von der Sprachgrenze entfernten Dörfern tschechische Hausnamen neben den deutschen’ (Jungbauer 1908: 199).

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Names of Stars and Constellations in the Slavic and Germanic Languages

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Belarus

Abstract

The range of nominated objects in folk astronomy is limited. These stars and constellations are the Pleiades, Ursa Major, Ursa Minor, Orion, the Milky Way, the North Star, Venus and Sirius. The principles of nomination of stars and constellations are analyzed in this paper on the basis of folklore, mythological and cultural information, and the reasons for similarities between Slavic and Germanic astronyms are discussed. Three types of development are possible: borrowings, calques, and intralanguage changes. Examples of all three types are given in the paper.

There are different astronyms for the same astronomical object in the Slavic and Germanic languages and dialects, and the same name may be used for different stars and constellations. According to the authors, this fact indicates that the traditional astronymic system collapses.

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Introduction

The subject of this paper is dialectal, or folk names of stars and constellations in the Slavic and Germanic languages. Types and causes of similarities between Slavic and Germanic folk astronyms are also highlighted.

The range of nominated objects in folk astronymy is not large. These objects are the Great Bear, the Little Bear, the Milky Way, Orion, the Pleiades, Polaris, Venus and Sirius. However, the limitations of the traditional astronymic system are compensated by a variety of dialectal names for the same object.

For example, in Belarusian dialects the Big Dipper is called *Світальна; Стажар'е* (*Svitalna*; *Stazharje*) ≈ 'light'; *Апалонічак, Коўшык* (*Apalonichak, Kowshyk*) 'a dipper'; *Воз, Карэта, Калясніца, Павозачка, Брычка* (*Voz, Kareta, Kalyasnitsa, Pavozachka, Brychka*) 'wagon, cart'; *Конь* (*Kon'*) 'horse'. In Polish dialects Venus is called *Gwiazda Zwierzęca, Wilcza Gwiazda, Gwiazda Wołu, Gwiazda Zająca* 'bestial, wolf, cow, hare star'; in addition, it is called the evening and the morning star in many languages, including the Indo-European ones. The Germanic names of stars and constellations are also plentiful. For example, the Great Bear in English is called *Ursa Major* (in the German language there is the same name from Latin), *the Great Bear, the Charles' Wain*; asterysm *the Big Dipper, the (Star) Plough, the Saptarishi* (< *seven rishis*). Germ. *der Große Bär* is also called *der Große Wagen, Wotanswagen, Irmineswagen, Karlswagen, Theiws Wagen, Himmelswagen, Wagen am Himmel, Eliaswagen, Peterswagen, Mariaswagen, Davidswagen, Wagen des Dietrich von Bern.*

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Polaris has other English (*Polar Star, Pole Star, North Star, Northern Star, Lodestar, Guiding star, Cynosure*) and German names (*Polarstern, Polar, Nordstern, Angelstern, Navigatoria, Leitstern, Fixstern*).

The Reasons for Similarities between Slavic and Germanic Astronyms

Similarities between Slavic and Germanic dialectal astronyms are caused by the following reasons: 1) borrowings from the same source, 2) calques from the same source, 3) typological similarity of semantic development.

Borrowings

Diagnosis of loanwords is quite complicated because of the preference for calques instead of direct borrowings. We have not found direct borrowings from the Germanic to Slavic languages or vice versa among folk astronyms. (It is well known that many astronyms of standard literary Germanic and Slavic languages are loan words).

In dialects, in particular Slavic dialects, there are only a few borrowings from other languages. For example, in ancient Russian texts we can find the name *звезда Чигирь* (*zvezda Chigir'*) 'Chygir-star', which means both Venus and a comet with a tail. There are several versions of this name origin. Probably, the word was borrowed from the ancient Hebr. *Tsigr (Zohar)* 'Venus' (Sviatskij 1962: 38, Karpenko 1981: 80). This name undoubtedly correlates with the names of Venus in Polish and Slovenian dialects: Pol. *Żydowska Gwiazda,* Slov. *Židovska Zvezda* 'Hebrew star'.

One more example of loanwords among astronyms is South Slavic names of Orion: Bulg. dialectal *Терзията* (*Terzijata*), *Терзии (Terzii)*, Ukr. dialectal *Терези* (*Terezi*) were borrowed from Turk. *terazi* 'scales'. So, for Orion the Turkish name of another constellation the Libra was taken.

Calques

Calques are more common among dialectal astronyms, but their identification is not always clear-cut.

The constellation name that means 'bear' is well known in the languages of different families: the Indo-European, Paleoasian, Finno-Ugric, Semitic, North American languages, etc. In the European languages, this nomination was formed under the influence of the Greco-Latin astronomical terms *Ursa Major* and *Ursa Minor*. Names associated with images of animals or people often go back to the zoomorphic or anthropomorphic myths. For example, in the Slavic world, the constellation of the Great Bear correlates not only with the bear, but also with a moose (elk) or a horse, which does not match the actual shape of the constellation (Nikonov 1973: 375). Jacob Grimm believed that neither Slavs, nor Germans or Balts knew the name of the constellation with the meaning 'bear' (1876, 2: 605). In early Slavic translations of the Bible we see instead of the Hebrew *Ash* 'the Big Dipper' such names as 'cart' or 'cradle'. This is one of possible proofs that astronyms with the meaning 'bear' in the Slavic and Germanic languages are semantic calques.

According to Jacob Grimm, the motivation ‘wagon’ for the names of the Big Dipper in the Slavic and Germanic languages is considered to be a semantic calque (1876, 2: 605). This image appeared in Western Asia, then moved on to the Greeks (the name was first mentioned by Homer), from them to the Romans, and later to the European languages (Nikonov 1973: 375). In the Slavic dialects these words are Rus. *Кола*, *Колесница*, *Воз, Арба*, *Телега*, *Повозка*, *Колымага* (*Kola*, *Kolesnica, Voz, Arba, Telega, Povozka, Kolymaga*), Bel. *Калясніца*, *Павозачка*, *Воз*, *Брычка*, *Кąрэта* (*Kaliasnica, Pavozachka, Voz, Brychka*, *Kareta*), Pol. *Wóz, Fura, Kalasa, Kareta, Wasąg*, etc. These names may be related to different religious, historical or geographic contexts. For instance, in the Christian era such astronyms as Bel. *Ільёў Воз* (*Illiow Voz*), Pol. *Niebieski Wóz*, Lower Sorbian *Ńiebiaski Wóz*, Slovenian *Nebeški Voz* appeared. They are associated with the Christian legend of Elijah the Prophet, who was taken up into heaven in a fiery chariot. Jacob Grimm calls the pre-Christian German names *Wotanswagen* ‘Wotan’s wagon’, *Irmineswagen* ‘Irmin’s wagon’ (Wotan, Woden, Wodan, Irmin are different names of Germanic god Odin), *Karlswagen* (1875, 1: 125, 295; 1876, 2: 604), *Theiws Wagen,* etc. As in the Slavic languages, in German not only pagan, but Christian names are represented: *Himmelswagen, Wagen am Himmel* (Allen 1963: 429), *Eliaswagen, Peterswagen, Mariaswagen, Davidswagen*, etc. The same pattern is used to create non-religious names, for example Germ. *Wagen des Dietrich von Bern* ‘wagon of Dietrich from Bern’, Engl. *the Charles’ Wain*.

Names of the Pleiades motivated by semantics ‘hen’, ‘chicken with chicks’ are widely used in the Slavic dialects: Bel. *Курачка* (*Kurachka*), Ukr. *Квочка* (*Kvochka*), Rus. *Курица с Цыплятами* (*Kurica s Cypliatami*), Pol. *Kwoka*, *Kwoczka*, *Kura*, *Kwoka z Kurczętami*, Czech. *Kuřátka*, *Kvočna s Kuřátky*, Slovak. *Kuriatka*, Slovenian *Kura s Piščeti*, *Kokoška*, *Kvočka*, *Kokla*, *Kvokača*, Serb. *Квочка с Пилиима* (*Kvoćka s Piliħima*), Maced. *Квачка* (*Kvachka*), Bulg. *Квачката*, *Квачката с Пиленцата*, *Клочката*, *Кокошката с Пиленцата* (*Kvachka*, *Kvachkata s Pilencata*, *Klochkata*, *Kokoshkata s Pilencata*).

Such names are common not only among the Slavs. In the German dialects we find the name of the Pleiades *Gluckhenne* ‘clocking hen, broody’ (*Glucke* is onomatopoeia); the similar ones are used in Asia and Africa (Nilsson 1920: 118-119, Moszyński 1967: 40-41, Gładyszowa 1960: 25-26) provide us with a lot of examples.

What is the origin of these names: typological similarity or semantic calque? In Slavic texts this image appeared relatively late: in the Old Czech language it was first used in the 15th century (Gebauer 1970, II), in Old Polish – in the 16th century (Kupiszewski 1974: 98). This late use indicates that the names appeared in the Slavic dialects as semantic calques of the German name, or this motivation was borrowed to the dialects of both languages.

Another group of names of the Pleiades, which are semantic calques, are words with a meaning ‘sieve’. This nomination is known in the Belarusian, Russian and Polish dialects: Bel. *Сітка* (*Sitka*), *Сітцо* (*Sitco*), *Рэшата* (*Reshata*), Rus. *Решето* (*Resheto*), *Решетка* (*Reshiotka*), *Сито* (*Sito*), Pol. *Sito, Sitko*. An idea of the Pleiades as a sieve is widely known in the Baltic and Finno-Ugric languages, see Latvian *Sietins*, Hung. *Fiastyúk*, Finnish *Seulaset*. Distribution of this motivation in the contact zone of the Slavic and the Baltic languages allows us to see semantic calque in the development of the meaning ‘a sieve’ → ‘the Pleiades’.

It is well known that in the literary standard Slavic and Germanic languages the astronym *the Milky Way* (Rus. *Млечный Путь* (*Mlechnyj Put'*), Bel. *Млечны Шлях* (*Mlechny Shliah*), Germ. *Milchstraße*, etc.) is a semantic calque of Latin *Via lactis*, or *Via lactea* 'the Milky Way', which has spread around the world. The Latin name itself is associated with the Greek Γάλα 'milk' or Κύκλος γαλακτικός 'milk round'. For centuries the word *Galaxy* was considered to be synonymous to the name of *the Milky Way*. Only in the late 18th century, after the discovery of Frederick William Herschel (Germ. Friedrich Wilhelm Herschel), it became apparent that the Milky Way is only a visible reflection of the star system in the night sky. Afterwards, the word *Galaxy* was used to describe any star system.

Similar Semantic Development

If the names of the Milky Way and the Big Dipper in the literary codified Germanic and Slavic languages are semantic calques, then similar folk astronyms are usually results of authentic semantic development.

For most of the world the Milky Way is associated with a road. This image is universal, but it is varied in different ways.

In some folk names a semantic feature 'white, milk' is used: Bulg. *Белия Път*, *Бял Път* (*Belia Pyt*, *Bial Pyt*) (Koseska 1972: 85), Pol. *Biała Droga* 'white way' (Kupiszewski 1974: 106), cf. the Germanic names with motivation 'milking path', 'milking street', 'path of cows' and *Cow Lone*, which is the name of the Milky Way in Scottish dialects.

Semantic type 'bird path' is one more variant of the image 'path'. Probably, in spring, the direction of the Milky Way was associated with the routes of migratory birds, cf. Rus. *Гусиная Дорога* (*Gusinaja Doroga*) 'goose road', *Птичий Путь* (*Ptichij Put'*) 'bird path', *Журавлиная Дорога* (*Zhuravlinaja Doroga*) 'cranes' road', Bel. *Гусіная Дарога* (*Husinaja Daroha*) 'goose road', *Жураўлiная Дарога* (*Zhurawlinaja Daroha*) 'cranes' road', Ukr. *Дорога у Вирій* (*Doroha u Virij*) 'road to the edge of migratory', Pol. *Droga Ptasia, Droga Ptasząt, Ptasi Gościniec* 'bird path', Lower Sorbian *Ptaškowa, Teškowa Droga, Korúška Cesta* 'bird path'. The same semantic image is represented in the northern dialects of the German language.

One more variant is the 'road of souls', for instance, Pol. *Droga Dusz, Droga Duchów, Droga Umarłych*. It is known that different peoples have an idea that souls are moving up into the heaven. There is also a belief that the soul at this time becomes like a bird. Such names are also known in Germany.

Another motive of names with the semantics 'a path is the weather or stars': Pol. *droga na pogodę, droga pogody* 'way of the weather', *droga mroźna* 'frosty road', *droga na deszcz, mgławica* 'rain way', *droga słoneczkowa* 'sunny way', *droga księżycowa* 'Moon way', *droga gwiazdowa* 'star way' (Kupiszewski 1974: 106-107); the same motive we can see in Saxony ('rainway') or in Westphalia ('road of storms').

The motive of way in the names of *Via lactis* is related to various religious, historical or geographic contexts of the motive of 'wagon' mentioned above: Rus. *Иерусалимский Путь* (*Ierusalimskij Put'*) 'Jerusalem way', *Моисеева Дорога* (*Moiseeva Doroga*) 'road of Moses', Ukr. *Божа Дорога* (*Bozha Doroga*) 'God's way', *Дорога в Ерусалим* (*Doroga v*

Erusalim) ‘Jerusalem way’, Pol. *Droga do Nieba*, *Droga do Raju*, *Droga Do Zbawienia* ‘celestial Way’, *Droga Świętego Elijasza* ‘way of St. Elijah’, *Droga Jakuba* ‘way of St. Jacob’, *Droga Do Częstochowy* ‘road to Czestochowa’, *Droga do Warszawy* ‘road to Warsaw’, *Droga do Jerozolimy* ‘Jerusalem way’, Upper Sorbian *Njebjeska Droha*, *Swjata Droha* ‘celestial way’, *Romska Droha* ‘Roman road’, Slovenian *Božja Cesta* ‘God’s way’, *Rimski Pot*, *Rimska Cesta* ‘Roman road’. According to these models new names appeared, which were connected with new historical events, for example Rus. *Батыева Дорога* (*Batyeva Doroga*) ‘Batu road’, *Мамаева Дорога* (*Mamaeva Doroga*) ‘Mamaj road’, Ukr. *Чумацький Шлях* (*Chumac'kij Shliah*) ‘Chumak Way’.

The same models are used in the Germanic languages, too. For the Normans the Milky Way was ‘a path of spirits to Valhalla’ (i.e. Odin’s hall, which was inhabited by the heroes who fell in battle), for the Swedes it was ‘winter way’ (Karpenko 1981: 15, 17); for all the Scandinavians it was ‘the way of Woden’; in Germany it was ‘a last journey of the army’, ‘God’s way’, ‘the way of Mary’, ‘the way of Hilda’, ‘the way of St. Jacob, Joseph’, ‘the way of the Mother of God’, and others (Gładyszowa 1960: 80, Handwörterbuch 6: 367-371; 7: 10; Allen 1963: 478-480). Ancient Hessian option is *Iringsweg* (Iring is one of the names of the god Odin, see above *Irmineswagen* ‘Irmin’s wagon’).

In the Russian dialects the name of the Milky Way includes the word *улица* (*ulica*) ‘street’. Similar names are known in the Germanic languages: Swedish *Winter Gatan* ‘winter street’, Germ. *Jakobs straße* ‘Jacob street’, Dutch *Vronelden Straet* ‘women’s street’ (cf. literary German name *Milchstraße*) (Allen 1963: 479-480). It is a later version of the ancient image of the way when the sky was understood as a town.

So, names of the Milky Way with the motivation ‘road’ in the Slavic and Germanic languages are the results of similar semantic development.

In the Slavic and Germanic languages semantic type ‘a bucket, ladle, dipper’ → ‘Ursa Major’ is represented. This motivation stems from the fact that the constellation really looks like a bucket with a long curved handle: Rus. *Ковш*, *Большой Ковш* (*Kovsh*, *Bol’shoj Kovsh*), бел. *Апалонічак*, *Коўшык* (*Apalonichak*, *Kowshyk*). This semantic type is used in many other languages (see Engl. *the Dipper*, *Bowl of the Big Dipper*) (Nikonov 1973: 375).

In addition to the above-mentioned anthropomorphic or zoomorphic cosmology, cosmology of numbers is effective for astronymy, too.

For example, Orion is connected with number ‘three’ for many peoples. In this constellation it is the Orion’s Belt, which consists of three bright stars, that catches the eye immediately. Folk names refer mainly to Orion’s Belt. Numerical component in the names of Orion is the result of typological similarity. Semantic type with the number three is known in different traditions (Gładyszowa 1960: 49). In the German language there are names *Drei Mäher* ‘three Reapers’, *Drai Könige* ‘three kings’, *Drai Marien* ‘three Marys’, *Drai Stäbe* ‘three sticks’, *Drai Holzhacker* ‘three woodcutters’. Number three for Orion is widely represented by the Slavs, too: Bel. *Трайко* (*Trajko*) ‘three’, Pol. *Trojki* ‘three’, *Trzy Siostry* ‘three sisters’, *Trzy Króle* ‘three kings’ (Kupiszewski 1974: 92), Slov. *Tri Palce* ‘three fingers’, *Trije Kralji* ‘three kings’ (Matičetov 1972: 68, 69).

Similar to Orion associated with number three, the Pleiades is associated with seven, cf. Germ. *Siebengestirn* ‘seven stars’, *Sieben Schwestern* ‘seven sisters’, Engl. *the Seven Sisters*, Old Polish *Siedem Gwiazd* (Kupiszewski 1974: 100), Slovenian *Sedem Zvezd* ‘seven stars'(Matičetov 1972: 66), etc. Three and seven are magic numbers for all the Indo-Europeans, so the seven was seen not only in the Pleiades. See, for example, Sansk. *Saptarishi* (< *seven rishis* 'seven wisemen'), which is the name of the Big Dipper and goes back to the Indian cosmology.

So, in the Slavic and Germanic dialects there is a set of astronyms with similar motivation due to the fact that the Slavic and Germanic folk astronymy uses universal images. In this case we can talk about typological similarity.

Since ancient times, Venus, which was considered a star, attracted the attention of people as the morning star, visible before sunrise, and the evening star, which can be seen after sunset. Hence, there are the two most common types of Venus names: the morning star (which appears in the east) and the evening star (which appears in the west). The opposition 'morning star' – 'evening star' is represented in the majority of languages of the world and is widely used by poets, see: «Добрай ночы, *зара-заранiца*» (Dobraj nochy, zara-zaranica – M. Bahdanovich, Belarusian poet); The *evening star* peeping between the black roof-timbers (Munro J. Splendid). In this case, we see a universal semantic process.

One more example is the North Star, the most important feature of which is its immobility. Because of this, the star has a lot of names that liken it to a stake, pole or nail: Rus. *кол* (*kol*), *прикол* (*prikol*), *небесный кол* (*nebesnyj kol*), *стожар* (*stozhar*); Serb. *nekretnitsa* 'that does not rotate'. A similar motivation is the basis of Germ. *Fixstern*.

Engl. *pole* 1 'a stake' and *pole* 2 'ends of Earth's axis' are understood as omonyms with different origin, and, according to etymological dictionaries, *pole* 2 was borrowed from Latin *polus*. The above analogies from the Slavic and the German dialects suggest the possibility of semantic self-development for the meaning 'polar star' on the basis of *pole* 1.

From ancient times stars and constellations served as natural reference points in space and time. People associated agricultural work with them, predicted the weather and harvest based on their observations, searched the road and blazed new trails with their help. Names of constellations reflect ancient beliefs about the world and the very nature of the universe perception by ancient man. For example, the North Star always served for orientation in space, which is the reason for its popularity among the seafaring peoples. The Slavs were not good sailors, as their land is not surrounded by seas and oceans. As a result, in the Slavic areal there was no much interest in the North Star.

The Germans, who were much more strongly associated with navigation, had many folk names for the North Star, some of which clearly indicate its relationship with the sea and navigation functions: Engl. *Lodestar, Guiding star,* Germ. *Angelstern* (*angeln* 'to fish'), *Navigatoria*, *Leitstern*. In ancient times it was known as *scip-steorra* ('ship-star', 10th century).

Thus, the most common cause of the similarity between Slavic and Germanic astronyms is a typological one. Semantic calques are applied less often, and direct loans are not common.

In the Slavic and Germanic astronymy not only universal, but specific images are presented. The latter reflect the characteristics of life and mentality of peoples. It is very interesting to see such specificity. For example, the Belarusians imagine the Pleiades as a sieve (Bel. dial. *Сита* (*Sitca*)), and British citizens imagine it as a butcher's knife (Engl. and Irl. dial. *Butcher's Cleaver*).

Conclusion

Folk names of stars and constellations are in the process of disappearing. Astronyms are characterized by such phenomena as contamination of names, the loss of connection between name and object, mixing objects of nomination.

For example, in the Russian dialects both the Pleiades and the Big Dipper are called *Лось* (*Los’*) ‘elk, moose’ (Nikonov 1973: 375; Rut 1975, 19; Sviatskij 1961: 118), Venus, Sirius and the Big Dipper are called *Волчья Звезда* (*Volchja Zvezda*) ‘wolf star’. Engl. *Cynosure,* Germ. *Cynosaura, Cynosura,* which came from the Latin *Cynosura,* means the Little Dipper, and Polaris, and – rarely – the Big Dipper.

Rus. *Ковш Большой Медведицы* (*Kovsh Bol’shoj Medvedicy*) (literally ‘the Dipper of the Great Bear’) is the result of contamination of two names for the same constellation.

Contamination of astronyms, transfer of names from one object to another indicates that they leave language and culture. This fact increases the importance and necessity of the present study.

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Names of Companion Animals: Rovers in the Onomasticon?

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Abstract

The names of companion animals could, from the outside, be seen as freely roving elements in the onomasticon. There are few or no legal restrictions on their given names, so, in theory, a dog, or a cat, could have any kind of word creation as a name. Dogs and other companion animals play a larger role as family members in many countries than ever before, something that possibly has an influence on their names. My major aim here is to establish, from a socio-onomastic viewpoint, whether animal owners in general take advantage of this apparent liberty, or whether they restrict themselves to using otherwise well-established name groups, e.g. anthroponyms or older zoonyms. The first part of the study is devoted to dog names. A large corpus of such names used in Sweden during the last decade is examined. The features of the most popular names given to dogs are studied and their relationship to popular baby names is discussed. This is combined with a study of dog names attested only once in the corpus. The results are supplemented with some findings on general attitudes to names of companion animals, taken from a recent questionnaire survey of animal owners.

* * *

Introduction

It is well known that dogs and other companion animals play an important role as family members in many countries today (Thorsen 2001, Leibring 2015a, Saarelma 2012).[1] This close relationship could and does have an influence on their names – more popular anthroponyms are now used for animals than seems to have been the case in earlier times. However, as there are few or no restrictions on what kind of spoken names companion animals could bear,[2] a dog or a cat could, in theory, be given any phonetic combination as a name. But is this the case in real life? From a broader perspective, can zoonyms be said to have any specific functions, or roles, to play in the general onomasticon – what relationships exist between animal names and other name categories, e.g. personal names or place names?

In this paper, the vast field of names of companion animals has been slimmed down to the names of dogs, not least because of the very rich sources of names available. My aim is to examine, from a socio-onomastic point of view, the most popular names given to dogs in contemporary Sweden and to compare them with dog names attested only once. I will also discuss the relations between popular dog names and popular baby names. These findings will be related to the results from a recent questionnaire survey on views of companion

[1] For reasons of clarity, I prefer to use the terms *companion animals* and *names of companion animals* rather than the older terms *pet animals* and *pet names*. The last term is ambiguous, as it is sometimes used to define nicknames or certain kinds of bynames of humans (see e.g. Nair and Scherr (2016) in vol.4 of these proceedings, *Collins Dictionary*).

[2] With the exception of such animals as racehorses, for which there are regulations preventing two contemporary animals having identical names.

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animals in general and their names. As an introduction, I will briefly discuss some of the general functions of animal names, for both production animals and companion animals.

Different Functions of Animal Names

The most important function of animal names, as for all proper names, is of course as a communication tool. An animal name can, like a personal name, be used either in direct communication with the name bearer, or in indirect communication, as when the animal is spoken (or written) about.

However, as the Norwegian ethnologist Bjarne Rogan (1994) has pointed out, there are three different sub-functions or aspects of the giving of proper names which, in my opinion, clearly sum up how and why we give names to individual beings or things, such as animals or boats.

First, in Rogan's structure, is the singularising aspect, by which something more than just identifying the individual named is intended. Through its name, the animal is regarded as an individual, is singled out, something which the giving of a name expresses.

The second aspect is the expressive; we can express our attitudes, preferences or viewpoints in a name. One example of this is the messages conveyed by African dog and ox names (Batoma 2009, Koopman 2015) from the name giver to, for instance, neighbours or superiors. Another is when we express irony through a name, as in naming a small lapdog *Belsebub*. Animal names can also be humorous and used in jokes. Among these, we find what can be called question names, where the dog's name is identical to an answer to the question: 'What's the name of the dog?' The answer could be *Guess* (Sw. 'Gissa') or *Ask'im* (Sw. 'Fråg'en') (Nordlander 1880: 425). These names seem to have been quite popular in Sweden in the late 19th century, and are still used, especially for working dogs. And, of course, names can (and often do) express affection and tender feelings towards the animal.

The third aspect or function that Rogan discusses is the ritual. Here, naming after other animals is an important factor. The function of *Nachbenennung* works with animals as it does with humans. We may perhaps want to recall the earlier animal's positive qualities by recycling its name – or to avoid reusing a name that was given to an animal seen as unsatisfactory.

In addition to these three functions or aspects, there is a fourth, of more recent origin: animal names are nowadays used as introducers or reintroducers of new or outdated personal names. I will return to this later in the article.

Material and Method

The name corpus used is extracted from the Swedish Central Dog Register, Centrala Hundregistret (hereafter CHR). This register has been kept for dogs in Sweden since 2004, and is maintained by the Swedish Board of Agriculture. Information on all dogs in the country is entered by the animal's breeder or owner. The register provides data on the dog's identification number, pedigree name, spoken name,[3] breed, date of birth, and owner's name and address. I have used a download made in January 2013, containing entries for over 750,000 dogs. Not all these entries, however, include information about a spoken name, and in some instances the pedigree name is entered in the column for spoken name. For about 500,000 dogs, however, a spoken name is given. Many of these names have few bearers, but a considerable proportion of Swedish dogs have names emanating from a limited pool, as 310,000 of the named dogs have one of the 500 most common names. A majority of the names come from the anthroponomasticon. The toponomasticon is not used as much as are ergonyms (commercial names), so we can infer that not all areas of the onomasticon are equally popular.

The 500 most popular names form the basic material for the first part of my study. Of these names, only 23 can be defined as gender-neutral, in the sense that at least 20 per cent of their bearers belong to the under-represented sex (Leibring 2015a). For the analysis, I have used quantitative methods, combined with some more qualitative considerations, such as the names' origins in the onomasticon and their morphology, and a comparison of the most popular of these names with contemporary usage of them as anthroponyms in Sweden. Only a small subset of my findings will be presented here.

As a contrasting second object of study, I have chosen dog names attested only once in the CHR, beginning with the letter *F*, and have analysed their morphological and semantic features. My aim is to investigate whether there are any specific differences between these rare names and the very popular ones.

The Most Popular Dog Names in Sweden

The 20 most popular names for female and male dogs in Sweden in January 2013, and the numbers of dog bearing them, are shown in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

Pos.	Name	Number	Pos.	Name	Number
1	Molly (9)	5,894	11	Nova (26)	1,830
2	Wilma (11)	4,467	12	Lisa (72)	1,748
3	Bella	3,604	13	Mimmi	1,717
4	Ronja (69)	3,532	14	Lady	1,627
5	Alice (1)	2,450	14	Ebba (6)	1,627
6	Selma (34)	2,357	16	Zita	1,527
7	Maja (5)	2,287	17	Elsa (2)	1,497
7	Sally	2,287	18	Kajsa	1,487
9	Tindra (71)	1,958	19	Freja (21)	1,451
10	Doris	1,908	20	Isa	1,392

Table 1. The 20 most popular names for female dogs in Sweden, January 2013

[3] This term refers to the name that is used as a call name, or everyday name. The Swedish word is 'tilltalsnamn'. This name can sometimes be part of (or created from) the pedigree name, and sometimes a completely different name. On different formal types of dog names, see Leibring (2014a).

Pos.	Name	Number	Pos.	Name	Number
1	Ludde	3,590	11	Simba	1,686
2	Bamse	3,269	12	Hugo (4)	1,684
3	Sigge (77)	3,169	13	Ville (62)	1,571
4	Rocky	2,497	14	Buster	1,561
5	Charlie (8)	2,394	15	Leo (11)	1,549
6	Zorro	2,203	16	Diesel	1,529
7	Tyson	1,847	17	Lukas (3)	1,510
8	Ozzy	1,776	18	Gizmo	1,490
9	Max (28)	1,725	19	Caesar	1,452
10	Elvis	1,712	20	Rex	1,408

Table 2. The 20 most popular names for male dogs in Sweden, January 2013

The numbers in brackets after several names indicate the name's position on the top-100 list of forenames given to babies in 2013. There is a significant overlap between names for baby girls and names for female dogs, as 16 of the most popular dog names were also found among the top 100 names given to baby girls. The only 'traditional' dog name, not given to any babies at all, is *Lady*.

Among the names given to male dogs, fewer are popular for baby boys; only seven appeared on the top-100 list. However, most of the popular male dog names are loans from other areas of the anthroponomasticon, not the least from the names of popular characters, both fictitious and real. The reason the name pool for male dogs is larger is historical, as more names seem to have been created for male dogs over time (Leibring 2014a). The smallish name pool for female dogs is also reflected in the fact that there are more females per name than males per name among the most popular dog names. The 20 most popular female dog names have around 46,000 bearers, while the 20 most popular male ones only have some 39,000 bearers.

We can observe that the influx from personal names to animal names is overwhelming, especially concerning baby girls and female dogs. The path in that direction has become more of a highway, something that several scholars have pointed out in recent years (Coren 2011, Schaab 2012, Leibring 2015a). There are, however, some interesting facts that suggest a two-way traffic between dog names and baby names.

Influences of Animal Names on Baby Names

From the large name corpus available in the CHR, at least two specific name situations can be identified in which the use of certain names for dogs seems to herald their use as names for babies. These situations or areas can be characterised as (a) testing grounds for first names new as personal names in Sweden, and (b) reintroduction of old-fashioned or outdated first names for babies.

We will look first at some forenames recently introduced in Sweden. Many of these names originate in the Anglo-American tradition, and some are quite popular in English-speaking countries, but have not, until recently, been popular in Sweden. Some girls' names in this category are *Amber*, *Holly*, *Kira* and *Pixie* – these are all among the 200 most popular names for female dogs, and are now rising in popularity as baby girl names.[4] They are not, however, as popular as dog names as are the boys' names *Buster*, *Dexter*, *Diesel* and *Ozzy*, which have a similar background. These male names are all found in the top-50 list of male dog names, and they have all slowly begun an upward-moving career as boys' names in recent years.[5] I would argue that their popularity as dog names is one of the reasons why they have become accepted as baby names in Sweden. Their use as names in contemporary popular culture contributes to them becoming a part of Swedish society as well, but their introduction has partly gone via their being used as animal names.

The second area where names given to dogs can pave the way for their use as baby names concerns the use of old-fashioned or outdated personal forenames as dog names. This phenomenon seems to be more frequent among names for male dogs and boys than among names for female dogs and girls. The three-generation cycle of name popularity is familiar; many baby names return after roughly 90 years (Meldgaard 2001), but the usage of these names as dog names precedes their use as given names for babies. Two Swedish examples of this are shown in Table 3. Let us first study the male forenames *Gösta* and *Torsten*. They were very popular as boys' names 70 to 90 years ago, have been practically out of use as first names for babies for some decades, but have now begun a revival as boys' names. As dog names, they have been popular for over ten years. Then we can look at the male names *Lennart* and *Bengt*, which belong to a later time cycle. Their popularity as boys' names peaked in the 1940s, and they have been virtually extinct as the main forename for small boys for a couple of decades, but in just the last few years they have been given to a few boys. They are also on an upward trend as names for dogs.

Name	**Number of dogs in CHR**	**Number of boys in 2013**
Torsten	186	11
Gösta	186	25
Bengt	40	4
Lennart	80	8

Table 3. The frequency of some male forenames as dog names and as names given to baby boys in 2013

With reference to these cases, I would argue that today's dog names (and perhaps names of other companion animals as well) have specific functions in relation to personal names, especially forenames. A two-way traffic, whereby names can wander from humans to animals and back again, has evolved in recent decades, possibly as a consequence of the widespread anthropomorphisation of companion animals. At the same time, we can identify a new testing ground on which hitherto unknown names are introduced as animal names before they 'graduate' to the anthroponomasticon.

[4] *Amber* was given to 12 girls in 2012, while *Holly* was given to 40, *Kira* to 13 and *Pixie* to 11 (www.scb.se).
[5] *Buster* was given to 4 boys, *Dexter* to 62, *Diesel* to 3 and *Ozzy* to 11 in 2012 (www.scb.se).

Some Characteristics of Dog Names Attested Only Once

We have now established that there are major similarities between popular dog names and popular baby names, and that the use of anthroponyms for dogs can precede their use as baby names. We have also noted that many dogs have a name drawn from a limited name corpus. Let us now take a look at dog names which in the CHR are given to only one dog. How many dogs in the CHR have a unique name? Are there any specific features common to them? Do the name givers show signs of creativity?

To answer these questions, I examined all the spoken names beginning with the letter *F* in the CHR.[6] The letter was randomly chosen among the letters less used in Swedish. Of these dogs, around 9 per cent (about 1,650 animals) had a unique name form. Some of these forms were obviously misspellings or typos made when the names were entered in the data files, so it is not possible to give exact numbers. More male than female dogs are among the bearers of unique names, an observation in keeping with the trend for the most popular names, which are used for a larger share of the female dog population (see above).

Among the linguistic characteristics of the corpus of unique names is the use of many hypocoristic forms, e.g. *Flubbe*, *Fluffis*, *Fimpie*.[7] Various suffixes, some also found in human nicknames, are used. Most names, as among the more popular ones, have two syllables. Many names are obviously created as a play on words, or as puns on more common names, especially well-known dog names and personal forenames. Place names are rare in this context, as among the popular names.

Names attested only once can also be combinations of two popular dog names, e.g. *Bella Fina*, or a combination of a popular dog name (which of course may be a personal name as well) and an anthroponym (*Felix Rudin*, where *Rudin* is a common Swedish surname). Many names contain or are derived from English words, e.g. *Flashdance*, *Fearless*, *Fatzo*. Among the names beginning with *F*, not many other foreign languages seem to have been used.

So, do these findings shed any light on the question whether name givers take the opportunity to be creative and form unusual names? Most dog names, both the popular and the uncommon ones, comply with an unspoken agreement on such names: they should be functional, i.e. easy to say and call out. In Swedish, as in many other languages, this means that a large majority of dog names consist of two syllables.[8] Of the 500 most popular ones, only 62 have a different syllabic structure. Most of the singly attested names are derived from, or related to, other dog names. Combined with the fact that 500 names cover over 60 per cent of the dog population, this implies that creativity is not really blooming. Another factor pointing in the same direction is that a majority of all dog names are loans from other name areas, mostly from the anthroponomasticon, with the ergonomasticon in second place.

Speaking against this vote for conformity are the facts that there are indeed very many names attested only once, and that many names contain puns, both of which are evidence of creativity. The many different spellings of popular names, e.g. *Tyson*, *Tyzon*, *Taizon*, *Tayson*,

[6] Around 19,000 dogs in the CHR have a spoken name starting with *F*.
[7] For the morphological structure of the more popular names, see Leibring 2015b.
[8] As early a writer as Xenophon advises that names of two syllables are the most functional for dogs and horses.

are also indicative of an enthusiasm for creating names, or a wish for uniqueness. The question remains open.

Attitudes to Animal Names – Results from a Questionnaire

We will now take a look at the name givers themselves. Do they have any opinions on or attitudes to dog names or names of companion animals in general? I will present some results here from an online questionnaire on companion animals sent out during the spring of 2014.[9] It consisted of open-ended questions aimed at animal owners and was designed to elicit their general views on and experiences of companion animals. The questions of interest for this paper were:

1) Do you think there are names that are unsuitable for animals?
2) Do you think certain names are better suited to certain animal species than others?
3) Can you see any changes over time in fashions concerning animal names?

Of the 59 responses received so far, 57 gave information on the name(s) of the respondents' animal(s), but only 23 (less than 40 per cent) expressed any opinion on the suitability of particular types of animal names or on fashions in animal names. This low percentage is interesting in itself, as a possible indicator of low awareness of these issues.

Regarding the first question, 15 gave a negative answer: there are no unsuitable names. Five informants stated that there were name types unsuitable for animals; of these, four mentioned personal names.

In answer to the second question, 11 respondents felt that all kinds of names were suitable for all animals, while four believed that certain names were better suited to particular animal species. Two informants stated that animal names should contain an /s/-sound, and one that human bynames were a good choice as animal names.

The third question, on changing fashions, was also answered by 23 respondents. Of these, 14 commented that personal names were now much more common. Four informants stated that animal names nowadays were more 'special' and imaginative, while three expressed the opinion that foreign names and names from popular culture were used more than in the past.

Although the very low number of participants prevents any statistically significant conclusions being drawn from the answers, it is interesting that the occurrence of personal names is the feature most often mentioned, both as a modern trend, and as something to be avoided. However, no one mentions the fact that name fashions for dogs and babies (especially girls) seem to be synchronised. One explanation could be that this phenomenon is now so well established that there was no need to comment, another that these respondents had not even noticed it. Most answers seem to express a relaxed and inclusive attitude towards names given to animals, as all kinds of names were seen as suitable by a majority of the respondents.

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[9] The questionnaire (DAGF 1629) was distributed through the Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research, Gothenburg.

Conclusions

To return to the question posed at the start of this paper, whether the names of companion animals are rovers in the onomasticon, I would argue that there are two sides to the answer, at least where dog names are concerned. On the ‘no’ side, the namers of dogs do not use the full potential of onomastic freedom available. For instance, the pool of very popular dog names is rather small (60 per cent of the named dog population have one of the 500 most popular names), and a large share of this name pool is identical to (or borrowed from) the anthroponomasticon. This implies that many dog namers take an easy way out, giving their dog a common personal forename, or choosing a name from a set of conventional and traditional dog names.

On the ‘yes’ side are the many names attested only once, and the many different spellings of common dog names. These factors indicate that many dog owners want their animal to have an uncommon or unique name, the same result as young parents in Sweden nowadays often seek when naming their child (Leibring 2014b: 86-88, Aldrin 2011: 82-94).

The phenomenon discussed above, of outdated first names making their return as dog names before becoming popular as baby names, is another point in favour of the ‘roving’ function. The givers of dog names do not have to be just borrowers in the onomasticon; they can also be rediscoverers or introducers of names later taken over by those giving names to babies.

My present answer to the question in the title will be a hesitant ‘no’: dog names are, on the whole, not rovers. However, there are signs of bubbling name creativity, as dogs’ names do wander around the onomasticon, and in that they are used as trial balloons for new names. As dogs have a very long tradition of being named, and their names have a practical function in life, it could well be that the names given to them are more standardised than those of, say, rabbits, gerbils, snakes or other companion animals, for which there is a shorter tradition of naming, and which are less responsive to their names. Further investigation into the names given to other species of companion animals would therefore be rewarding.

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Naming and Renaming of South African Naval Vessels

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Abstract

South Africa is situated at the southernmost tip of the African continent. It has a coastline comprising of 2798 kilometres, and is flanked by the Indian Ocean in the east and the Atlantic Ocean in the west. The two oceans join at Cape L'Agulhas, the southernmost point of Africa.

A country with a coastline, particularly as big as that of South Africa, would tend to develop naval bases harbouring various types of naval vessels in order to defend and protect its people as well as participating in naval activities together with other countries.

The purpose with this contribution is to take a trip through history by focussing on naval vessels intended for South Africa but mostly built in other countries and receiving a name, but once in South Africa, having the name changed that would suit the South African circumstances. In the early years preceding apartheid, South Africa had a close connection with the colonial British, but after 1994 with the change of government, many vessel names changed. These will be discussed. The commemorating function, i.e. a vessel named after an individual, was the most prominent category.

Carnival Place Nicknames Alluding to Those of a Neighboring Town: *Strienestad, Strienedurpke* and the Like[1]

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Abstract

For a long time, neighboring settlements have attributed insulting inhabitant nicknames to each other. From the end of 19th century onward, however, these names lost their aggressive nature. Many of them developed into honorary nicknames which formed the basis for self-attributed *place nicknames*, used during the Dutch carnival. For example, *Ganzemelkers* ('goose herds') resulted in the place nickname *Ganzegat* ('geese hamlet').

The Dutch carnival is a typically local feast: outsiders are not welcome. Carnival place nicknames, being in-group nicknames, can thus be supposed to reflect the spatial unit with which the inhabitants concerned identify themselves the most. Attention will be paid to a special category of in-group nicknames: those of neighboring towns which share name elements with each other and thus show a certain degree of similarity, obviously because the name of one of them alludes to or is inspired by the name of the neighbor. For example, the nickname *Strienedurpke* ('tiny village on the Striene') for a hamlet alludes to *Strienestad* ('city on the Striene river') for Steenbergen. How were such alluding names formed and which differences between the neighbors do they express?

* * *

Introduction

Since at least the 15th century, neighboring settlements in the Netherlands have attributed insulting inhabitant nicknames to each other. From the second half of 19th century onward, however, these names have lost much of their aggressive nature or passed into oblivion. Insofar as they have survived, many of them have developed into honorary nicknames which, in turn, have formed the basis for in-group-attributed *place nicknames* traditionally used during the Dutch carnival season. For example, ***Ganze****melkers* ('goose herds') resulted in the carnival place nickname ***Ganze****gat* ('geese hamlet').

The paper is based on the assumption that the Dutch carnival is a typically local feast: outsiders are not welcome (WIJERS 1996). Carnival place nicknames, being in-group nicknames, can thus be supposed to reflect the spatial unit the inhabitants concerned identify themselves with most.

Attention will be paid to a special category of in-group names: those of neighboring towns which share name elements with each other and thus show a certain degree of similarity, obviously because one name alludes to or is inspired by the name of the neighbor. For example, the nickname ***Striene****durpke* ('tiny village on the Striene') for a hamlet alludes to ***Striene****stad* ('city on the Striene river'), for Steenbergen.

[1] I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Jelle Vervloet and Dr. K.A.H.W. Leenders for commenting on an earlier version of this article.

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Problem

This paper explores (1) how such alluding names were formed from a linguistic point of view, (2) what differences between the neighbors are expressed.

Method

Firstly, a list was made containing a special category of inhabitant nicknames: compounds which share one or more word elements, and therefore might be related to each other. From this list, sets of *adjoining* settlements have been selected. From the latter list, settlements were selected whose self-attributed place nicknames equally share one or more word elements. Finally, an attempt was made to reconstruct the chronology of each cluster.

Results

Six name sets were found, and fourteen nicknames. Table 1 demonstrates that the clusters differ in size: 4 clusters each consist of 2 items, 1 consists of 3 items, and 1 of 6 items.[2]

Cluster	In-group- attributed carnival place-nickname Earliest attestation	Official name Population Administrative background	In-group-attributed inhabitants' carnival nickname which forms the basis of the place nickname	Out-group-attributed inhabitants' nickname which has developed into the honorary nickname on which the place nickname has been based
1	't **Klei**gat ('hole in clay ground, filled with water') 1999	Fijnaart (NBr) 5,500 until 1997 part of mun. Fijnaart en Heijningen since 1997 part of mun. Zevenbergen 1998 name change: mun. Zevenbergen > mun. Moerdijk	CS De **Klei**batsers, since 1966	
	Kleiknoestenstad ('clay knots city') 1996	Oudemolen (NBr) 300 until 1997 part of mun. Fijnaart en Heijningen since 1997 part of mun. Zevenbergen 1998 name change: mun. Zevenbergen > mun. Moerdijk		

[2] The name pair *Dringersgat* (for Gilze) and *Wringersgat* (Rijen) has been disregarded because the two names are more or less synonymous and were often interchanged for a long time, even before they became honorary nicknames. Neither name can therefore be interpreted as an allusion to the other. See also Reinsma (2011).

2	**Lampe**gat (‘hamlet of lamps’) 1962[3]	Eindhoven (NBr) 200,000 mun. Eindhoven		
	Lappegat (‘hamlet of rags’) 1996	Geldrop (NBr) 28,000 until 2004 mun. Geldrop since 2004 part of mun. Geldrop-Mierlo		
3	**Oetel**donk (*donk* = sandy hill; *oetel* alludes to a C 19 bishop who obstructed carnival celebration) 1882	’s-Hertogenbosch (NBr) 140,000 mun. ‘s-Hertogenbosch	Oeteldonkers, since 1924	
	Oetelhoazendam (*hoazen* = hares; *dam* = dam) 1994	Hintham (NBr) 6,500 until 1996 part of mun. Rosmalen since 1996 part of mun. ‘s-Hertogenbosch	CV De Oetelhazen, since 1958	
	Zand**hazen**durp (‘village of sand hares’) 1994	Rosmalen (NBr) 30,000 until 1996 mun. Rosmalen since 1996 part of mun. ‘s-Hertogenbosch		Zandhazen (Cornelissen 1930, VI, 168)
	Waoter**hazen** (‘water hares’)	Kruisstraat (NBr) 500 until 1996 part of mun. Rosmalen since 1996 part of mun. ‘s-Hertogenbosch		
	Waoterrijk (‘water empire’) 1997	Nuland (NBr) 4,000 until 1993 mun. Nuland since 1993 part of mun. Maasdonk		
	Rotten**rijk** (*rotten* refers to some neighborhoods Geffen consists of)[4] 1963	Geffen (NBr) 4,500 until 1993 mun. Geffen since 1993 mun. Maasdonk	CS Rottenrijk, since 1963	

[3] See Van der Sommen (2004: 70).
[4] The local carnival organization is called CS Rottenrijk, since 1963 (see Stichting Rottenrijk 2016). According to Wikipedia.nl (2015) (s.v. ‘Geffen (plaats)’), the name Rottenrijk was first attested in 1965. Six neighborhood

4	**Peel**leuterrijk (*leut* = fun, pleasure) 1975	Landhorst (NBr) 700 mun. Sint Anthonis	CV De Peelleuters, since 1975	
	Peeltuterland,[5] Peeltuutersrijk[6] (*tuters* = golden plovers)[7] 1962	Venhorst (NBr) 1,500 part of mun. Gemert-Bakel	CV De Peeltuters, since 1962	
	Peelvruutersrijk (the Peel is a region; vruuters = rooters) 1964 ?	Elsendorp (NBr) 1,000 part of mun. Gemert-Bakel	CV De Peelvruuters, since 1964	
5	Strienestad (town on the [former] Striene river) 1960 ?	Steenbergen (NBr) 12,000 mun. Steenbergen		
	Striene**durpke** (‘small village on the Striene river’)	De Heen (NBr) 500 mun. Steenbergen		
6	Windbuulstad (windbuul = windbag, boaster) 1950 ?	Hengelo (O) 80,000 mun. Hengelo	H.C.V. De Windbuuln, since 1/1/1950	Wind (Navorscher 1859: 240)
	Mel**buul’n**dorp (melbuul = flour bag; many farmers used to cultivate buckwheat)	Borne (O) 20,000 mun. Borne	CV Melbuulen, at least before 1964 (De Telegraaf 20-11-1982); relaunched in 1977 as *Melbuulkes*.	Mèèlbulen (Cornelissen 1929-’33, III, 9)

Table 7. Clusters of related nicknames and their official counterparts

The names are mentioned in order of age; the first name being the one which is alluded to, etc.
Shared name elements are rendered in bold letters.
The abbreviations *CS* or *CV* refer to carnival organizations.
Province abbreviations: NBr = Noord-Brabant; O = Overijssel.

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names in Geffen contain the element *rot*: Papendijkrot, Broekrot, Bergoyenrot, Runsrot, Kerkrot, Hengstrot (*Geffen* 1998: 9). Geffen is not unique, however, in having been organized in ‘rotten’. According to *WNT* s.v. *Rot* (II), neighboring villages in this region, the Meierij, were also organized in ‘rotten’. Moreover, the term has also been in use in other parts of the country, for example in Gemert (Van der Elsen 2008) and Gelderland and Overijssel (Gallée 1895). I have not been able to determine to what extent the adjoining settlements (Nuland, Oss, Lithoijen and Vinkel) have comparable neighborhood names.

[5] See C.V. De Peelteuuters (n.d.)

[6] See Hutsturm (n.d.).

[7] Hens (1926: 137) mentions the dialect variant *tüter* for Venray and its surroundings (Peel region), referring to *Pluvialis apricarius oreophilos* Meinertzh.

The basic principle in these name clusters is that one word element in a given name is repeated (or – in the case of Lappegat – almost repeated) in another name, while one or more remaining elements are replaced by new ones. Sometimes the initial element is repeated while the final element is replaced (clusters no. 1 and 2; clusters 4-6; also items 1 and 2 within cluster 3). Sometimes the central part is repeated (item 3 in cluster 3), or the final element (item 5 in cluster 3; see also below). The initial as well as the final part are repeated in item 5 in cluster 3. Partial repetition has taken place in cluster 2: the alluding name Lappegat containing a pun: *lampe* 'lamps' > *lappe* 'rags'; see also below.

In many cases, the chronological order is evident, one name being considerably older than another, as in the case of Lampegat (1974) and Lappegat (1996).[8] In cluster no. 3 (Oeteldonk) the chronological order is, however, somewhat problematic. Obviously, ***Oetel**hoazendam* alludes to ***Oetel**donk*; and Zand**hazen**durp, for its part alludes at first sight to *Oetel**hoazen**dam* (*hoazen* is a dialectal equivalent of *hazen*). The problem is, however, that *Zandhazendurp* is based on an out-group inhabitants' nickname (first attested in 1930) and therefore cannot be considered as an allusion to *Oetelhoazendam* (first attested in 1994): carnival place nicknames are, as mentioned above, in-group names. We have thus to assume that *Oetelhoazendam* alludes both to *Oeteldonk* and *Zandhazendurp*.[9]

The second problem is in the sequence Waoterrijk – Rottenrijk. The nickname *Rottenrijk* dates from as early as 1963 and is thus considerably older than *Waoterrijk* (1994). The latter name must therefore allude to *two* neighbors (just like *Oetelhoazendam*), namely to ***Waoter**hazen* and ***Rotten**rijk*.

Some nicknames whose initial common word element is *Peel* (cluster no. 4) are a somewhat dubious case. *De Peel* is the name of a vast region alongside the province boundary between North Brabant and Limburg, which until about 1850 was an almost uninhabited peat moor. Living conditions were extremely bad; in Landhorst, for example, people lived as late as 1900 in turf huts. Six towns all over this region share the *Peel* prefix, which seems to prove that they experience a shared identity to some extent. Only three of them, however, have been mentioned in the table; the remaining three towns cannot be considered as each other's neighbors, separated as they are by long distances.

Within the Peel cluster the chronological order is not quite certain. Obviously, *Peelleuterrijk* is the oldest nickname, but the remaining two names hardly differ in age. Anyway, it is clear that rhyme was the connecting element: *Peel**tuter**land* (or *Peeltuutersrijk*) having been inspired by *Peel**vruuters**rijk* (or maybe the reverse way). In the two names the vowel of the middle syllable has the same pronunciation.

What naming motives can be discerned in these alluding nicknames? Most allusions indicate various kinds of differences between the settlements concerned:

[8] Another interpretation might be that the *Lappegat* does not allude to *Lampegat*, but to the out-group nickname *Wevers* ('weavers') for the Geldrop inhabitants (cf. Van der Heide 1998: 155). This name refers to the numerous home weavers who used to work for local textile facturies. I prefer, however, the rhyming interpretation.

[9] The idea that Oetelhoazendam (Hintham) is a 'hinge nickname', alluding to two neighbors at one time, is supported by the feeling of the Hintham inhabitants, expressed in Wikipedia.nl (2012), s.v. 'Oetelhoazendam', that their town forms a 'bridge' between 's-Hertogenbosch and Rosmalen.

- Geological condition. In the case of *Waoterhazen* (‘water hares’) the condition of the soil (wet land) has been the naming motive, as opposed to *Zandhaozendurp* (sand, dry land).
- The nature of wildlife has been decisive in the case of Peeltuuters (golden plovers).
- The name *Rottenrijk* alludes to the administrative organization within this town.
- Type of industry. *Lappegat* (*lap* = ‘piece of clothing’), alluding to the well-known lamp fabrication in adjoining Eindhoven (*Lampegat*).
- Hard living conditions were the motive in the case of *Peelvruutersrijk*.
- Contrast between a hamlet and its larger neighbor. In *Strienedurpke* this contrast has been emphasized by the diminutive *-ke* (thus: ‘small village’).

A huge dose of irony can be observed in the names of the hamlet *‘t Kleigat* (‘clay hamlet’, for Fijnaart, positioned on clay soil) and *Kleiknoestenstad* (‘clay knots city’, for Oudemolen). Considering that Fijnaart (5,500 inhabitants) is the larger of the two settlements (Oudemolen has fewer than 300 inhabitants), these names are surprising. The division of roles is, however, understandable if one considers that the Fijnaart nickname is the oldest, and that *-gat* (‘hamlet’) is traditionally a very common final word element in carnival place nicknames which (more or less ironically) refer to agriculture and countryside; even large cities can carry this word element (cf. the abovementioned *Lampegat*). Thus, in the case of Fijnaart and Oudemolen the proportions were jokingly transposed: the Fijnaart name (Kleigat) ‘asking’ for an ironic allusion: *Kleiknoestenstad*.

Some names do not, however, allude to local differences. Carnival pleasures are the name motive in *Peelleuters* (*leut* means ‘fun’). And due to the lack of any geographical or other striking differences between Nuland (Waoterrijk) and Kruisstraat (Waoterhazen), both lying near the river Maas, the Nuland people had to rely on language play, resulting in the combination *Waoterrijk* (‘water empire’).

A somewhat complicated relationship can be seen in the nicknames referring to Hengelo and Borne (see Table 2). The out-group-attributed nicknames, attributed by Borne to Hengelo and vice versa, long before the carnival nickname era, were not related at all: *Wind* (‘boaster’, for the Hengelo people) and Melbuuln (‘flour bags’, for Borne). In the carnival era, after the relationship between the two towns had turned into a friendlier one, each of these nicknames changed into an honorary nickname. Subsequently, Hengelo adapted this honorary inhabitants’ nickname, *Wind*, so much that it alluded to the Borne inhabitants’ nickname: *Windbuuln*. Later on, however, when the *place* nicknames came into being, the reverse happened: the Borne place nickname *Melbuul’ndorp* alludes to *Windbuulnstad* (Hengelo).

	Out-group attributed INHABITANTS nickname	**Honorary inhabitants nickname**	**In-group attributed PLACE nickname**
Hengelo	*Wind*	*Windbuuln*	*Windbuulnstad*
Borne	*Melbuuln*	*Melbuuln*	*Melbuulndorp*

Table 2. Nickname changes in the Hengelo/Borne area

Hengelo and Borne are a good example of ameliorated relationships, within, as well as beyond the carnival context. In the guestbook of one of Borne's carnival organizations a 'visitor' from Hengelo announced a Hengelo carnival meeting on 11 November 2012, therefore probably implying that Borne carnival celebrants were also welcome (C.V. De Toet'n Bloazers 2015). On the official administrative level, too, rustic strife is over: today, Borne, Hengelo and some other towns in the area are working together in Twente Netwerkstad, a regional cooperative body.

Three cases make clear that municipal boundaries do not necessarily put up barriers. Firstly, Geldrop has never been part of Eindhoven; nevertheless, its nickname alludes to the large neighbor. The second case concerns Kruisland, Nuland and Geffen. None of the three has ever been part of the same municipality as any of the others. Thirdly, all of the three Peel towns are part of different municipalities.

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Cognitive Systems in the Naming of Finnish Ships

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Abstract

This paper deals with Finland's stock of ship names (nautonomasticon) mostly recorded over the period 1838-1938. The material is supplemented with names of modern sailing yachts. The study clarifies the categories of names that appear, formation, lingual origin, functions and semantic qualities. Traditional onomastic methods are used alongside interdisciplinary and socio-onomastic approach. Cognitive linguistic theories have provided the tools for exploration of the metaphorical meaning of the names, and the semantic domains that the names create.

The interdisciplinary perspective has made it possible to explain certain trends in the stock of boat names, for example the predisposition towards names from classical mythology and the continuing rise of place names during the latter part of the period. The cognitive linguistic methods have revealed that the greater part of the vessel names can be interpreted as metaphors, in particular personifications, and that many names also form semantic networks and cognitive systems. The results indicate that there is a mental nautonomasticon that consists of a standard set of traditional ship names, but they also reveal the existence of conscious or unconscious cognitive systems (rules and conventions) that guide the naming of boats.

* * *

Introduction

Names of ships have been documented throughout the millennia, from the time of the Pharaohs to the present day. *Praise of the Two Lands* was a large Egyptian vessel made of cedar wood, built ca. 2680 B.C. (Kennedy 1974: 14). In Ancient Greece and Rome as well, vessels were given names, often god names such as *Isis*, *Castor* and *Pollux* (Casson 1994: 110-111). Ship names have thus existed for 4,700 years and probably longer, although written evidence is lacking. Ship names are colored by the culture in which they occur. During the Middle Ages, Christianity permeated the culture of the whole of Europe. Vessels were named after saints and figures from the Bible. *Gracedieu* 'grace of God' was among the most common religious names (Sandahl 1994: 275). During the Renaissance, interest in Classical literature and thought reawakened in Europe and names such as *Hektor* and *Herkules* became dominant in Western European war fleets during the 17th and 18th centuries. One type of ship names which became popular during the 18th century was feminine first names. Up to 40% of names in international ship registries could be women's names (Karlsson 1970: 17, 108-109). Contemporary history and trade interests are also reflected in vessels' names. Until the middle of the 19th century, Romanticism dominated thinking. In the Nordic countries, Romanticism brought with it a new enthusiasm for the Viking Age and names from Nordic mythology and the ancient saga literature became popular. *Ellida*, *Frej*, *Oden*, *Thor* and *Vikingen*, among others, were found in the trade fleets of the Nordic region (Berg 1993: 28, Karlsson 1970: 61). In the wake of Romanticism, people in Finland also chose mythical

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names from the national epic, the Kalevala, alongside Old Norse names. Vessels and the seafaring industry have changed, but traces of Classical, Renaissance and Romantic ship names persist in the modern onomasticon, in Finland as well as in other places.

Materials and methods

In my 2009 dissertation, *Cognitive Systems in the Naming of Finnish Merchant Vessels 1838-1938*, I focused on the names of Finnish merchant vessels during the period 1838-1938 (2,066 attestations). The data have been complemented in my subsequent research with a larger data set (2,774 attestations) that includes the names of small cargo boats from the Finnish archipelago from around the same time (1865-1938) and a data set (2,574 attestations) that contains the names of pleasure boats (yachts) from the decades around 1900 (1850-1920). I have identified which categories of names occur: the names' origins, frequency, morphology, to which language they belong, their function and semantic properties. I use traditional onomastic methods and quantitative calculations, but also an interdisciplinary approach, in the sense that the names are elucidated using historical facts from economics, politics and culture. With the help of theories from cognitive linguistics, I study the metaphorical and prototypical qualities of the names, as well as the semantic networks to which they belong. The three data sets containing ship names – names of trade ships from Finnish cities, rural cargo boats from the archipelago and pleasure boats – invite comparison and interpretations of name variation in relation to social and cultural context (for example, *Concordia*, the goddess of concord, and *Enig* 'In agreement'). The comparison gives the study a socio-onomastic dimension.

The quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis has provided an overview of the Finnish nautonomasticon (i.e. Finnish ship name practice) during the period in question. The following principal categories of ship names can be distinguished:

- Borrowings from both feminine and masculine first names, as well as surnames: *Sofia*, *Johannes*, *Runeberg*;
- Names formed from the lexicon of the language (ordinary Swedish and Finnish words): *Freden* 'peace', *Tähti* 'star';
- Borrowings from mythological names: *Neptunus*, *Freja*, *Wellamo* (sea goddess in the Kalevala);
- Borrowings from place names: *Finland*, *Imatra*, *Africa*.

Smaller name classes also occur, consisting of novel formations, corporate names and names that cannot be identified. Personal names dominate among all the types of ship names investigated. For trade ships, the distribution is as follows:

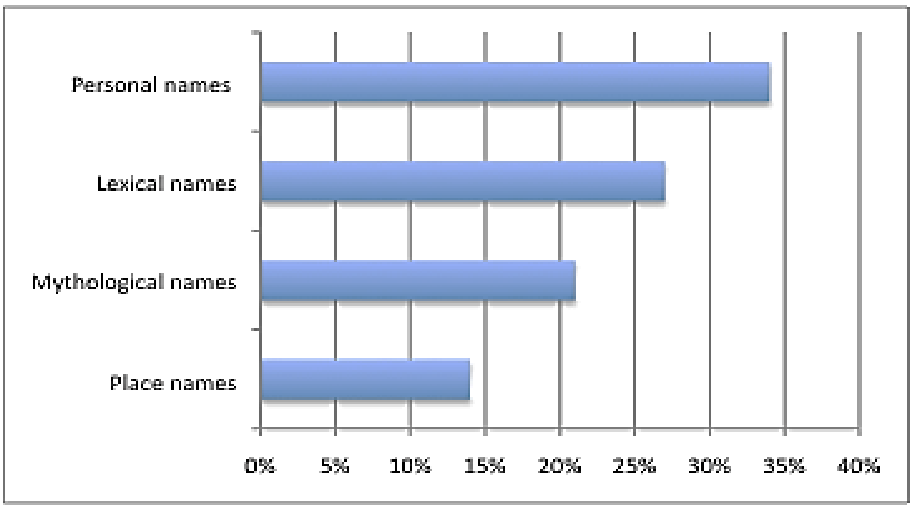

Fig.1. Principal categories of names among urban ships 1838-1938

The names of small cargo ships from the archipelago and pleasure boats (sailing yachts) represent the same general categories, but the distribution among the categories is somewhat different.

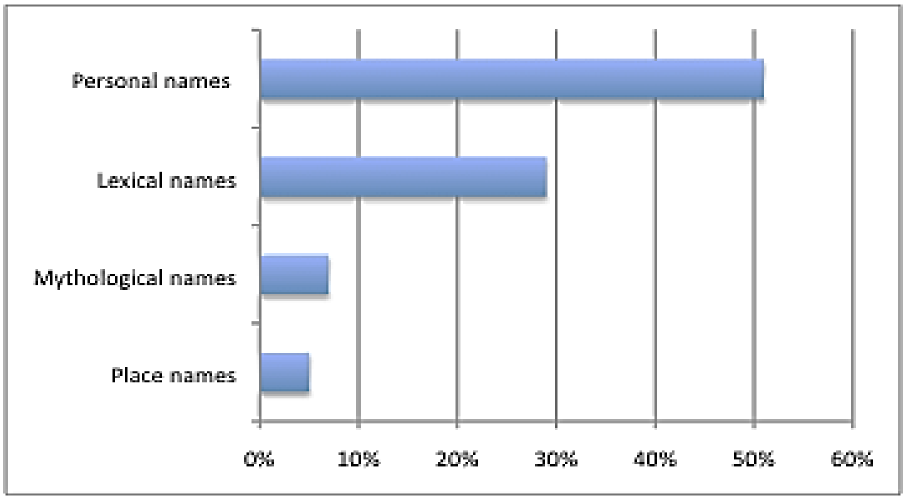

Fig.2. Principal categories among the names of ships owned by members of the rural population 1865-1838

The names of trade ships from the cities are characterized by the large number of mythological names, predominantly names from classical mythology. Another distinctive characteristic which emerges clearly in the mid-19th century is a large number of names from the national epic Kalevala and names in the Finnish language. In the cities we can also find a large proportion of ship names that are borrowed from place names. Cargo ships from the archipelago and pleasure boats for the most part have feminine forenames. The names of pleasure boats are frequently novel formations. A comparison between urban trade ships, cargo boats from the archipelago and pleasure boats shows that the same types of names occur in all three groups. On the other hand, there are also clear differences, due to the social milieu and the use of the ships, for economic profit or for leisure and pleasure.

Interdisciplinary Perspectives

An interdisciplinary perspective can explain the distinctive characteristics of the Finnish nautonomasticon. Names from Classical mythology – *Argo*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Minerva* – occur in large numbers in the early part of the period. In 1838, almost one-third of the ship names come from Classical mythology. At that time, Finland had recently separated from Sweden and had been incorporated into Russia. Those in power in Russia were opposed to contacts with the old motherland, Sweden; in their eyes the names of Classical gods were almost certainly a less provocative alternative to Swedish names. The Classical names of course reflect the strong position that Classical education held in Finland – stronger and more lasting than in the other Nordic countries. All indications, however, suggest that the names were also perceived as a neutral and diplomatic choice at a time when it was important not to challenge the rulers or advertise radical political orientations.

Finland was, as mentioned above, an autonomous part of the Russian Empire, but thoughts of independence gradually strengthened, and patriotism was often expressed through ship names. Among other things, people chose names in Finnish and names from the national epic, the Kalevala. The increase in Finnish ship names is like an avalanche in the urban fleets during the period around 1850, despite the fact that Swedish remained the language of culture as a result of the Swedish period. This rapid increase in Finnish names is related to the fact that patriotic sentiments were attached to the Finnish language and the mythical prehistory of the Finns as it was represented in the Kalevala. Names such as *Toimi* ('commission') and *Usko* ('belief, hope') occurred early and were followed by many other Finnish names. In the mid-19th century, it was a patriotic gesture to give ships Finnish names and mythical names from the Kalevala, such as *Aallotar* and *Sampo*. Finnish names gradually became popular among cargo boats from the archipelago as well and persisted long after they had become outdated in the cities.

Names of recreational vessels sometimes express political stances as well. General Governor Bobrikov's (1898-1904) Russification effort aroused abhorrence and vehement resistance around the turn of the 20th century. The boat name *Cagalen* alludes to a secret organization which led the passive resistance to Russification. In 1904, the Russian-Japanese war broke out with an attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. Some ten new Finnish yachts were named after the Japanese admiral, his flagship, other Japanese war ships and the Japanese commander-in-chief in the war: *Togo*, *Mikasa*, *Sikishima* and *Oyama*. The Finnish yachtsmen's sympathies in the war were evident and become even more obvious when many boats were given the name *Banzai*, which is a Japanese war cry.

During the century 1838-1938, the fundamental economic structure of society altered and thereby also people's way of thinking. It is obvious that this also influenced ship names, so that certain types of names were perceived as old-fashioned toward the end of the period, while other types of names became more common. When regular steamboat traffic along the coast emerged, a large number of vessels were named after places, for instance, to specify destinations. New steamboat companies adopted practices of systematic naming in which the whole fleet had similar names.

Theories from Cognitive Linguistics

With the help of theories from cognitive linguistics I have studied the semantics of ship names and their nature as stylistic figures. Cognitive linguistics has, among other things, emphasized the metaphorical nature of language and the ability of metaphors to structure thought. Many ship names can be viewed as metonymic, inasmuch as the names emphasize a relationship between the ship and a larger entity, as with the ship name *Finland*. Other ship names point to the affinity between the ship and the sea, its waves and winds. Some examples of this are *Aalto* 'wave', *Meri* 'sea', *Ocean* and *Passat*. While these names emphasize a relationship within one cognitive area, other metaphoric names imply a comparison between two different cognitive areas and accentuate similarities between them. The ship name *Örnen* 'The Eagle' connotes the strength and superiority of the bird in comparison to other birds and its quick movements. The star metaphor has strong positive connotations; it is connected with beauty and success. Such ship names as *Capella*, *Nordstjärnan* 'the Northern Star', *Sirius*, and *Vega* occur among all types of vessels. Among metaphorical ship names, personification is especially common, for instance *Thor*, *Atalanta*, *Prinsessan* ('the princess'). The large number of first names found among the ship names, such as *Maria*, *Johannes*, *Olga* and *John* are also personifications. The metaphors derive their strength from the fact that they emphasize certain properties and obscure others, a strength that is exploited more and more in modern seafaring, where it is necessary to create an attractive brand.

It is easy to find vessel names that are related in their content and that can be viewed as forming domains in semantic networks. During the time of navigation by sailing ships, speed was among the most desirable qualities. The following figure illustrates semantic connections among names connected with the concept of speed. Unfortunately, the picture cannot reproduce the complex and dynamic nature of the network, but it does show how name givers show similar paths of association with starting points in the semantics of the names.

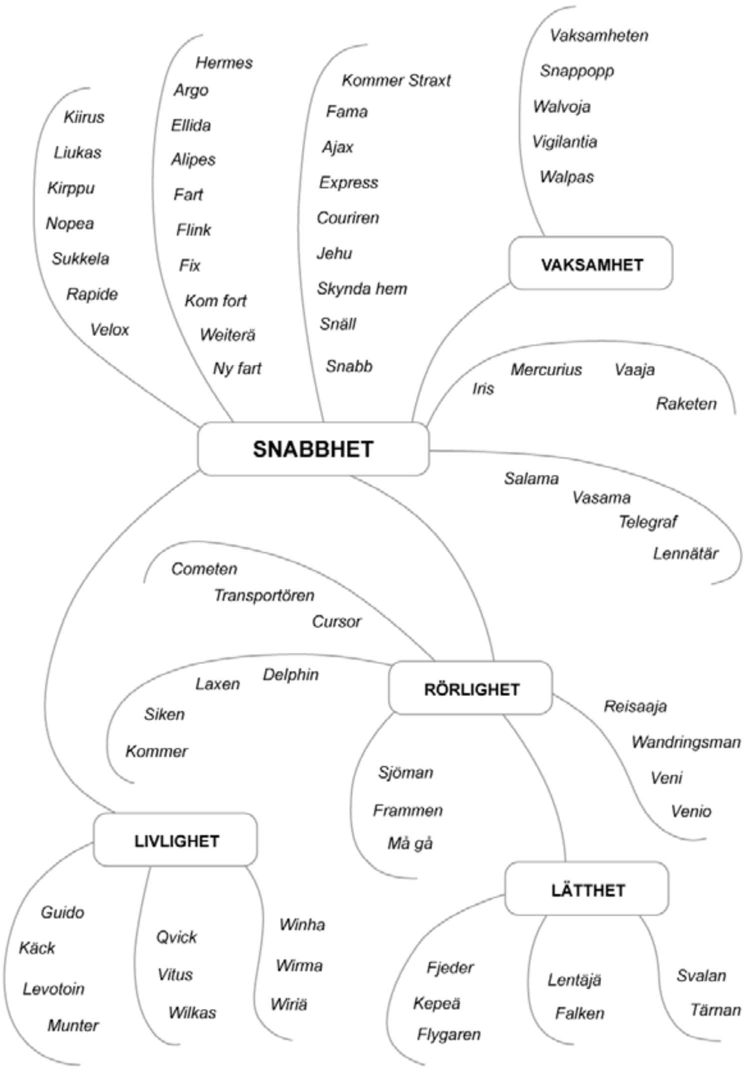

Fig. 3. Semantic connections among names connected with the concept of speed

Conclusions

Seafaring is the most international of all economic activities. Vessels travel over the world's oceans and the namers find models in prevalent international naming trends. Investigations of vessel names are, however, rare even in an international perspective. Therefore it is, in my view, worth to continue systematic and typological investigation of ship names and compare the nautonomastica of different countries. It is also productive to analyze names in an interdisciplinary perspective in relation to intellectual movements and historical facts. Of course, one should also pay attention in future research to social and cultural variation, i.e. apply a socio-onomastic approach. In a multifaceted approach to this name type, cognitive linguistics justifies its position.

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The Limits of Commemorative Naming: A Consideration through Cases of Name Change for University Buildings

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Abstract

The notion of commemorative naming is well established and the term appears in documents produced by local government authorities and geographical societies. For example, the Vancouver city council provides this definition: 'Commemorative Naming refers to the naming of a property in honour of outstanding achievement, distinctive service, or significant community contribution,' though we might broaden this definition in relation to the entity being named and the rationale of naming. The specificity of that definition is of interest because it indexes some of the community's expectations with respect to commemorative names. Clearly names are not just denotative, but also contain 'sense'. In this paper, I will consider this matter in relation to name change because that puts the expectations into focus. The first example is of New College becoming Murray Edwards College at Cambridge University: this has not been controversial. The second example is that of Simkins Residence Hall to Creekside Hall at the University of Texas. This has been much more fraught with difficulties because of Simkins's links with the Ku-Klux-Klan (Brophy 2011). Finally I consider the low-key change of Angsana College to the College of Alice and Peter Tan in Singapore, which while not controversial has raised some eyebrows.

* * *

The Notion of Limits

The rights and wrongs of particular instances of commemorative naming can attract considerable attention. This can arise out of situations of new entities newly christened or entities being rechristened. It is the issue of rightness or otherwise of commemorative naming that will be the focus of this paper. I have not been able to determine when the term 'commemorative naming' was first used; the earliest entry for *commemorative* in the Oxford English Dictionary is 1662, but the *practice* of commemorative naming must probably have been going on since the time human beings have started naming people, landscape features or objects. If these are named commemoratively, they can commemorate people or events. There is probably a built-in universal cultural imperative to remember and memorialise, and people who belong together remember similar things: commemorative naming aids in this enterprise of supporting the collective memory. There are of course cultural predilections in the actual form the commemorative name takes. The French, for example, are happier than others about employing dates to commemorate events (e.g. *Place du six juin*, to commemorate D-day in 1944).

I talk about the notion of 'limits' to focus my discussion on the moral acceptability or social constraints on what is considered an acceptable commemorative name. I use this looser term, in contrast to terms like 'rules' because the discussion will not be legal in nature.

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The first limit then is that at least some minimal value is ascribed to an event or person; or perhaps the context (e.g. historical or social context) surrounding the event or person.

The term ‘commemorative name’ has filtered into non-academic language. Tourist guides like *Frommers* (Strachan n.d.) have employed the term in discussing street names for example, and this is seen as a worthwhile task for tourists to be involved in as a way into the history of a place. There, the focus has generally been on names of buildings or streets. What this indicates is that commemorative naming is understood to involve the interest, or perhaps the involvement, of the general public. Public consultation may be involved in these instances of naming. It is also not just a private matter because the public will need to employ these names. Within the tradition of linguistics that I am most familiar with, names are often associated with research in the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997) or of geosemiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) of the city. In these names signs convey some message about the community in which the signs operate.

As mentioned above, I have chosen to discuss commemorative naming because of tensions associated with it. On the one hand, names can be seen to signal the cultural and ideological background of the community. On the other, names also serve more pragmatic purposes: witness the discussions about branding and naming rights (see, for instance, Quester 1997). Elsewhere, I looked at the naming of residential buildings and concluded that the economic orientation could best account for the naming practices that seemed to ignore the lack of cultural resonance in the names (Tan 2011). In all of these, the naming attracts public attention precisely because it is not a private matter: the public has a need to employ those names. The public is therefore also drawn to the question of the rights and wrongs of a particular naming. The second limit then is that there should be some community involvement or assent.

My own approach also draws upon the notion of ‘indexicality’. The word is, unfortunately, used in a number of ways. My own focus is on the way linguistic choices (including the choice of particular constructions, words or accents) point towards the speaker’s affiliation or outlook. Names also serve an *indexical* function and point to other semiotic systems in operation within the sociocultural and sociopolitical realms. I take the position that all names, like all linguistic choices, are potentially indexical. It follows therefore that names, particularly commemorative names, cannot be completely meaningless, although I do not necessarily accept the Russellian position that all names are descriptive in nature. My third limit then is that there is at least some minimal level of meaningfulness in commemorative names.

We are also aware of names that are of a commercial nature because they involve sponsorship, endowments or other financial arrangements. The understanding is that the commemorative naming provides opportunities for promotion. Commercial commemorative naming is indexical of the community’s value of enterprise. It therefore follows that commercial naming also conforms to Limit 1 (the particular commercial enterprise is valued) and Limit 3 (the particular naming is indexical).

Finally, it will not have escaped the notice of many that there are limits set by rules drawn up by the empowered. Many city councils maintain an interest in the matter and guidelines. Examples of these include the rules set up for commemorative naming in Dublin, including the following:

- The person/s must have been born or lived in Dublin or have had strong and/or enduring connections with the city.
- The person/s must have made a unique and outstanding contribution to the life or history of Dublin through outstanding achievement, distinctive service or significant community contribution.

The notion of identity and personal connection to the city is particularly emphasised. This, interestingly, contrasts to the rules for Ottawa:

> A commemorative name honours individuals who have: demonstrated excellence, courage or exceptional service to the citizens of the City of Ottawa, Province of Ontario and/or Canada; provided extensive community service; worked to foster equality and reduce discrimination; made a significant financial contribution to a park or facility, and the contribution significantly benefits the community that the park or facility serves (i.e. the park or facility may not have otherwise been possible without the financial assistance) or who has historical significant to the community, City of Ottawa, Province of Ontario and/or Canada.

The city council of Ottawa does not require the individual whose name provides the basis for the commemorative name to have a connection to Ottawa – merely that the individual has contributed to the city and its citizens.

And finally here are the rules in Singapore (for buildings and estates): 'Avoid using names of persons, living or dead, unless for special reasons.' Clearly there are some aspects of the rules that are different, and the relevant authorities are free to set up rules for names that come under their jurisdiction.

This then takes us to the fourth limit: authority structures need to be conformed to.

We can now restate the limits that I have highlighted here:

1. The conferring of a commemorative name indicates at least some minimal value ascribed to the event or person
2. Commemorative names generally work when there is some community assent.
3. Commemorative names are meaningful names.
4. Different authorities are free to set up further different restrictions for commemorative naming.

The limits above are of course not mutually exclusive or always distinctive, and they are not only specific to commemorative naming and could very well also apply to other kinds of naming.

Renamings Involving Commemorative Naming

In the rest of the paper, I would like to explore the extent to which the limits mentioned are useful when we look at three particular cases of renamings. I have three case studies from different parts of the world: in the USA, the UK and Singapore. It is not my intention to suggest that each case is representative of naming practice in these three locations. They were selected because of the contrasting approaches adopted and the cases lend themselves well to the discussion. All of them relate to name changes which involve commemorative names: either the original commemorative name was converted to some other category of name, or some other category of name was converted to a commemorative name.

Name changes are of interest because they involve overcoming inertia and generally require more effort, and therefore generate more discussion or debate. This is useful in teasing out the underlying assumptions about commemorative names.

I have also chosen to focus on building names with university connections: these fall slightly under the radar as they are generally not prominent civic buildings. Universities have their own peculiarities, and many inhabit a world with unresolved tensions:

> It has been argued that in the past the academic collegial culture was dominant, but this has been replaced today by a managerialist culture …. Any such contrast is bound to be a simplification, and possibly a reflection of not a little nostalgic thinking about some rather undefined and indeterminate golden age. There are, however, clear changes that support this general thesis. (D'Andrea and Gosling 2005: 17)

> The balance between advancing knowledge through teaching and research … and achieving a business model that is sustainable, progressive and innovative is precarious at best and can spiral out of control in turbulent times …. (Mukerjee 2014: 16)

This kind of tension can also be compared with that in the field of language planning, where there is often a distinction made between pragmatic and ideological motivation. We can similarly highlight the ideological versus the economic tension in naming. There can be a tradition that highlights cultural or political values and another that highlights sponsorship or commercial attractiveness. Either can be incorporated into a legal or semi-legal framework (notion of authority structures).

There have of course been earlier studies on name changes involving commemorative naming, such as those involving street names (Azaryahu 1992, Faraco and Murphy 1997). The motivation for changes in many of these examples are linked to obvious cases of regime change and are therefore ideological in nature. In such cases the value accorded to different individuals or events changes (Limit 1), and different authorities wield power that enables them to effect this change (Limit 4). We should therefore not be surprised at renaming activity in postcolonial or post-independence situations where there is a changed balance of power with the ability to cause a re-assignment of heroes. The particular examples that I want to discuss do not involve ideological shifts.

New Hall

The first case involves a renaming that is not controversial. New Hall at the University of Cambridge received £30m from Ros and Steve Edwards in June 2008. Ros Edwards (née Smith) graduated from the University in 1981. As a result of the endowment, the college was renamed Murray Edwards. (Murray in the new name refers to Rosemary Murray, the first President of the college.)

The point that is worth noting is that the original name (New Hall) was a 'placeholder name' and a descriptive name was chosen and reflects an avoidance of according value to any individual or event (Limit 1).

The second point worth noting is that the new name did not *solely* reflect the name of the benefactors' family. The college's first president's name is also incorporated into the new name, and in fact comes *before* the name of the benefactors' family name. This suggests that there is a balancing of the economic and ideological factors mentioned earlier: the new name indexes a balancing strategy (Limit 3).

The college's website also highlighted consultation with alumnae (it is a women's college), underlining the public aspect of renaming (Limit 2).

Simkins Hall

In contrast to the New Hall name change, my second case is a more vexed one. This involves a hall of residence at the University of Texas at Austin. It was named in 1954 after William Simkins, a law academic who was with the university in the years 1899-1928. In 2010, another law academic Thomas Russell published a paper that indicated Simkins's involvement with the Ku Klux Klan as a Klansman who admitted to violence against freed slaves (Russell 2010a). He subsequently wrote an 'op-ed' piece in the University of Texas paper *The Horn* calling for *Simkins* to be removed from the name of the building (Russell 2010b).[1] This led to two public meetings where the university administration agreed to recommend a change of name, and by so doing accepted that the name of the Hall carried meaning that was no longer desirable (Limit 3) and acted within its powers to change it (Limit 4).

Therefore, in 2010, the hall was renamed Creekside Residence Hall, and the adjoining park had its name changed from Simkins Park to Creekside Park. There was therefore a shift from commemorative naming to descriptive naming (it lies beside a creek!), effectively moving in the opposite direction from the one in New Hall. The original naming had all the right cultural elements – the individual was academically eminent and had the relevant connection with the University. It was his moral eminence that was questioned: had the original namers been misled? Rather than considering another prominent person, commemorative naming was abandoned, a possible avoidance strategy (Limit 1).

Brophy (2011), in writing about the case, grumbled about the complete erasure of the earlier name in the Hall's publicity material, in contrast to the New Hall case where the

[1] 'Op ed' is a North American term for an article *op*posite the *ed*itorial page to express the opinion of an individual not affiliated to the editorial board.

background to the name change is discussed in its website. Questions that could well be asked are:

- Is there a danger of forcing people to forget?
- Shouldn't commemorative naming also function like an artefact and point to historical predilections?

These questions point to a need to balance of different aspects of value including historical value (Limit 1).

Angsana College

Finally, we turn to an example in Singapore, which we could arguably class as a less 'mature' naming society because of its shorter history. In many of the current buildings of the National University of Singapore which began to be used in 1981, an alpha-numerical system prevails with a single or double letter prefix for the faculty and a digit to distinguish between buildings in the same faculty; therefore, Blocks AS1, AS2, etc. are buildings in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences; and E1, E2, etc. are buildings in the Faculty of Engineering. Perhaps this could be called a referential style of naming.

However, the building that has undergone a name change is one that forms part of the expansion programme of the National University of Singapore. In this particular set of buildings, a tropical trees theme has been developed for naming purposes. This constitutes a vague associative naming, indexing the region. This also represents a deliberate effort to name differently. The three buildings were initially named Angsana (Malay name of a tree native to the region), Cinnamon and Tembusu (another Malay name). Cinnamon is perhaps a little unfortunate because the public tends to be more familiar with the spice than the tree whose bark produces the spice.

However, as a result of a significant endowment resulted in a name change in January 2013, the college was renamed as the College of Alice and Peter Tan. This marks a switch to commemorative naming, with a clear economic motivation, although with a nod towards cultural rightness by referring to the children having gone through the university. The Singaporean newspaper *The Straits Times* reports, 'Citing the Tan family's request for privacy, it [the college website] only said in the online statement that "Mrs Tan's six children are all NUS alumni"' (Straits Times 2013).

The newspaper reports initial disgruntlement about the lack of a consultation process (Limit 2), and the lack of information about who Alice and Peter Tan are as this jeopardises the value and meaningfulness of the commemorative name (Limits 1 and 3). However, the university is of course within its rights to rename buildings in its campus (Limit 4).

The grumbles have since subsided, but these grumbles point towards expectations about commemorative naming, and questions continue to be asked:

- Is the ‘rightness’ of a naming that is purely economic in motivation questionable? Does Murray Edwards approach (of not solely employing the names of donors) soften it?
- Is there something about university buildings that makes it different from other buildings? The business model sits uneasily in a university context.
- Is there a contradiction in the request for privacy?

Quick Conclusions

In this article, I have tried to tease out acceptable limits to commemorative naming. These are not limits in a legal sense, but in terms of general acceptability. There can be variation to it in different cultural contexts and they could perhaps be prioritised differently. In the first two case studies discussed, there seems to be an attempt to keep these limits. The University of Cambridge, in the case of the New College renaming, seems to have resisted the business model of commemorative naming and did not introduce a commemorative name based solely on the donors’ names, and by so doing seems to have upheld the notion of cultural value for commemorative naming. The University of Texas, in the renaming of Simkins Hall, also reacted to the fact that the value accorded to the individual has changed and as a result have moved into an avoidance strategy by employing an alternative naming method. The Angsana College situation raises issues in terms of value and meaningfulness of the new name. Perhaps this just demonstrates priority accorded to the authority of the namer.

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Commercial Names

Green Trade Names in the UK

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Abstract

The paper aims at analysing a corpus of British trade names taken from the Company House website, where British companies are officially listed, incorporated and dissolved, and company information is examined and stored. The term ‘green’ will be used as a keyword to find out which companies adopt the lexeme ‘green’ in their names as a marker of ecological sustainability. Indeed, in the last decades, new companies specialising in environmental issues have been founded and named all over the world. This is a consequence of the recent increase in environmental awareness, which has also entered the political debate about sustainable economic and social policies. By analysing the morpho-syntactic behaviour of the word ‘green’ in the corpus, the paper will assess whether it is used in a linguistically innovative way (e.g. new compounds, category shift, etc.) and whether it is synonymous with ‘ecological’ or ‘environmental’. Moreover, the paper will show whether the word ‘green’ is included in British trade names also when it has nothing to do with environmental issues and/or when it is employed to attract eco-friendly customers.

Pronunciation of Foreign Chrematonyms in Czech TV Advertising

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Abstract

Advertisements broadcast on Czech TV channels are characterised by a predominance of foreign product names. These chrematonyms have a phonetic form which is the result of two contradictory forces: (1) the form remains close to the original pronunciation and (2) it is easy to identify and pronounce by Czech speakers. The aesthetic function and language-specific connotations play a role too.

A sample of several hundred foreign product names was collected, transcribed and analysed. The data were compared with previous results obtained for foreign common names. The following trends were identified:

1) The prevailing adaptation principle is phonological approximation (substitution of foreign phonemes by their nearest domestic counterparts: *Acer* [ˈʔɛjsr̩]). However, the application of this principle is less frequent than in common names.

2) Pronunciations based exclusively on spelling (e.g. *Samsung* [ˈsamsuŋk]) are very rare, but combinations of phonological approximation with spelling-based pronunciation (e.g. *Renault* [ˈrɛnolt]) are quite frequent. While some (mostly robust) features of original phonology are maintained, the name is brought closer to the customer, and the link between pronunciation and spelling is strengthened.

3) Foreign phonemes or prosodic patterns are largely avoided, which reflects the preference of ‘usability’ over positive connotations potentially arising from the original pronunciation.

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Why the *Eiger* Became a Sports Outfitter and the *Jungfrau* (‘Virgin’) a Brewery, While the *Mönch* (‘Monk’) Remained Disregarded: On the Use of Mountain Names as Company Names

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Abstract

The choice of a company name not revealing the business’s purpose, location or ownership is becoming increasingly important. Among this group of ‘fancy names’, those borrowed from other name categories have been neglected to date. My paper investigates the choice of mountain names as company names in Switzerland. Why do companies choose such names, what sectors are likely to do so and what mountains are chosen? A sample of 1,200 company names whose names contain mountain names can be divided into two main groups. The first group contains companies geographically related to their eponymous mountain and choosing this name to express a sense of localness. The second group consists of companies trying to convey abstract ideas. Values such as trustworthiness, cleanliness or healthiness can be seen as either mountain-related in general or as typically Swiss. These values are expressed by choosing a mountain name. With the rise of alpine tourism, mountains have become the core image of Switzerland. Companies following this strategy usually opt for the names of well-known, touristically developed mountains as well as for unique and euphonic names.

* * *

Introduction

Several company naming categories focus on different kinds of companies, linguistic material or extralinguistic connotations (e.g. Fahlbusch 2011: 56, Wochele 2009: 312-314, Ronneberger-Sibold 2004: 572-573, Latour 1996: 27-28, 38, 44, 76-80, 94-96). For instance, company names in Germany are categorised as a) derived from a person (possessor, founder), b) from the company’s purpose, c) the company’s seat or area of operation, d) fancy names and e) blendings of these (Fahlbusch 2011: 56).

It is not clear though, which category is appropriate for company names derived from mountains. They could be interpreted as fancy names. Respective examples are usually in transparent names with no clear extralinguistic reference (Fahlbusch 2011: 56). Even clearly geographically inspired names (Kremer 1996: 365, Latour 1996: 79) are not exactly comparable: *Dresdner Bank* and *Nippon Express GmbH* refer to their headquarters or activities (group c) above). This is also true for restaurants named after the mountain they are situated on, whereas the *Jungfrau Bräu* brewery might be situated within sight of its eponymous mount *Jungfrau*, but certainly is not producing beer for this mountain or using parts of it.

The borrowing of names from other categories has been surprisingly disregarded up to date. To my knowledge, only Koß (2008: 11) mentions cases such as *California* cigarettes, while Kuhn (2009) dedicates a study to the use of artists’ names as ergonyms in Mexico.

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Investigating the use of mountain names as company names should therefore develop a not so mediocre perspective of company name research. Investigating in this field also provides an insight into Swiss cultural history and self-perception.

It has been pointed out that company names and trade and product names must be analysed separately (Sjöblom 2009: 289). As studies on company names are even rarer than studies on trade names (Nübling *et al*. 2012: 278, Wochele 2009: 309), I will nevertheless draw a few parallels between these categories, insofar as they both concern commercial names.

Data

The number of mountain peaks depends on the measuring method, namely the minimal topographic isolation and the minimal topographic prominence. Whatever method, there are several thousand mountain peaks in Switzerland.

Around 1,200 Swiss company names containing a mountain name were extracted from a Swiss telephone directory (www.tel.search.ch) in June 2014. In many cases it was not easy to determine whether a company name was inspired by a mountain name or not. For instance, *Les Diablerets* pharmacy could be named after the respective mountain as well as the homonymous village. Quite certainly the *Eiger* pharmacy in Bern is not referring to mount *Eiger*, but to its seat at *Eigerplatz* ‘Eiger square’ (which is ultimately named after the mountain). In other cases it is hard to guess whether two entries in the directory really refer to two companies or just two branches. Therefore, the number of companies borrowing their names from mountains cannot be identified precisely.

Company names will only be analysed with regard to their mountain name elements. Annexes referring to a company’s legal status (Kremer 1996: 360) as well as other additions will not be taken into account. *A Pilatus* cleaning service would be analysed as *Pilatus* (an *A* is often added to a name to appear on top of the telephone directory). In many cases, the mountain name itself is shortened by a common word such as Swiss German *Horn*. *Morgenberg* sewing studio is certainly related to mount *Morgenberghorn*.

Given the database, the investigation has no diachronic perspective. As mountain names used as company names are subsumed in this study under the category of fancy names, this should not be a problem: this category is just about to become important in company naming (Fahlbusch 2011: 77). Supposedly, most of the names under scrutiny are not very old. Neither will different legal statuses or company sizes be distinguished. Both factors are important parameters in name choice (with regard to the target public as well as the probability of mergers leading to the need of renaming). As the examples will show, most companies concerned are small or medium size. Names denoting non-commercial institutions such as cooperatives will be disregarded.

Sectors

Most of the names are not astonishing: they denote companies directly related to a mountain. This is the case with 225 mountain or aerial railways and most of 451 restaurants and hotels, as well as with 14 camping sites. They are situated on their eponymous mountains, serving people who are visiting them (group c) above).

There are, however, also restaurants named after mountains farther away. The *Lötschberg* restaurant in the city of Bern refers to the homonymous *Lötschberg* mountain pass. As the railway tunnel under this mountain connects Bern with the canton of Valais, the name of the mountain becomes a prototypical motive for a restaurant serving food from Valais.

The second largest name group are 72 garages, e.g. *CarXpert Torrent* (referring to mount *Torrenthorn*). 65 banks bear the name of a mountain. They are local branches of nine credit unions. Another large group with 48 entries consists of sports outfitters and sports facilities such as tennis courts and golf ranges. 38 real estate agencies and 31 financial services or trust companies also follow this naming pattern.

The choice of mountain names seems also quite common among general retail businesses. 28 of these follow the pattern, among them *Adula* bakery and grocery store, *Guggershörnli-Lade* corner shop (referring to mount *Guggershorn*) and *Wiggis-Park* shopping mall (referring to mount *Wiggis*). Similarly, several shops with a specialised profile, such as electric shops, kiosks, clothing stores, bear a mountain name.

Another group is formed by care companies: 27 nursing homes and homes for the handicapped opted for such a name, e.g. *EMS Résidence Dents du Midi* retirement home and *Scalottas* disabled children’s home (referring to *Piz Scalottas*). The pattern is also common among other business related to health care. Ten home care companies, e.g. *Säntisbetreuung* (referring to mount *Säntis*), and 30 drugstores/pharmacies, e.g. *Rigi* and *Falknis*, belong to this group, as well as six medical centres and four dentist’s surgeries. In addition, there are 14 physiotherapists who have chosen this kind of name, such as *DAN Forum Rigi* and *Ankenbälli*.

The choice of a mountain name is much less surprising for 26 mountaineering agencies and sports schools, e.g. *Active Dreams Weissmies* mountain guide and *Castor* mountaineering school (the latter belongs to *Pollux* sports outfitter; the two names refer to two twin climbing peaks *Castor* and *Pollux* in the neighbourhood).

18 of the companies are active in the field of craftsmanship, e.g. *Alvier* carpenters and *Pilatus* plumbers. Another group is formed by taxis, of which 16 are named after a mountain, e.g. *Piz Aul*, *Speer*. 12 companies can be ascribed to cleaning. Whether three *Pollux* cleaning services really bear the mountain name or are rather related to Greek mythology remains unknown.

A total of 11 dairies have opted for a mountain name. Examples are *Eigermilch*, *Galenstock* and *Napf*. The same number of travel agencies is named after a mountain, e.g. *Calanda* and *Tödi*.

Ten companies in the field of computer services and the same number in air conditioning/heating technologies follow the pattern, among which are *CalandaComp* and *Lopper*. Eight companies with mountain names are takeaways, e.g. *Alpstein Kebab* and

Gonzen Kebap-Hus kebab houses. Six printing companies join the collection, e.g. *Alvier-Druck* and *Siebdruckerei Stockhorn* serigraphy.

Five brewery names refer to mountains, namely *Napf*, *Calanda*, *Hohgant*, *JungfrauBräu*, *Rugenbräu* (referring to mount *Ruuge*). The five media companies bearing a mountain name are *Jungfrau Zeitung* newspaper, *Rigi Anzeiger* gazette, *Radio Kaiseregg*, *Tele Napf* tv productions and *Radio Pilatus*.

Another five companies named after mountains are hairdressers; examples are *Palü*, referring to *Piz Palü*, and *Chavalard*. The same number applies to art galleries such as *Säntis* and *Titlis*.

There are many more companies bearing mountain names, which cannot be listed here in completeness. They remain more or less isolated cases in their field of operation.

Why Choose a Mountain Name at All?

Why would companies adopt a mountain name rather than naming the company’s founder or owner, choosing a name describing the company’s purpose or seat or a fully intransparent name? Obviously, the choice of a mountain name has to do with connotations this name is hoped to evoke. The importance of connotations in order to create a positive image is well-known in chrematonymy (Bergien 2007: 262, Latour 1996: 20). The question therefore is not why choose a mountain name, but what will customers associate with mountains in general and with particular mountains?

What do mountains stand for? Some might say aloofness, most would agree to some beauty and grandeur. Healthy environment and lifestyle are other catchwords. The respective alpine image of Switzerland is mirrored by one of the world’s most popular literary characters, Heidi from Johanna Spyri’s 1880 and 1881 novels (Leimgruber 2005: 435):

> The simple life in the Alps is associated with affinity to nature, healthiness, cheerfulness and love, city life on the other hand with affliction, donnishness, distance to nature. The world displayed in the stories, the small village and Alm-Öhi have become the embodiment of Switzerland and add to the myth of Switzerland as a country where people live in innocence in the healthy alpine atmosphere. (HLS digital, Heidi, 2014-07-22, translation by This Fetzer)

The picture Heidi portrays is quite the bottom line of alpine Swiss-ness and authenticity and it has become a precious trademark (Leimgruber 2005: 439, 440). *Heidi* itself became the name of dairy products.

This mountainous image of Switzerland evolved gradually (for a summary see Böning 2005). People did not access mountain peaks until the end of the Middle Ages. Humanists were the first people to access mountain tops with scientific aims. Only in the 17th century did young British aristocrats start visiting Switzerland on their classic tour across Europe. Eventually, Switzerland evolved from an intermediate goal of the Grand Tour to a destination on its own. This was partly due to changes in the ideal of natural beauty: while classic beauty favoured nature to be clearly settled and well-organised, alpine grandeur later became the leitmotif. 18th-century bourgeoisie saw the Alps as exotic, pure and lofty, related to freedom (Leimgruber 2005: 431). Thus, in the late 18th century tourism in Switzerland became equivalent with alpine enthusiasm, and according to Mathieu (2010: 416), Switzerland became the very embodiment of ‘the Alpine’ in the view of the French and German Enlightenment. In the 19th century, the world’s first Alpine Club was founded in England (Mathieu 2010: 417). Mostly British mountaineers such as John Ball, John Tyndall, Leslie Stephen and Edward Whymper conquered the highest Swiss mountain tops. Meanwhile, travelling in Switzerland became more popular within broader levels of the population, which is mirrored in Thomas Cook’s first organised tours in Switzerland in 1863.

Thus, the image of the Alps and their residents gradually shifted from rather wild, sometimes lawless, full of poverty and in constant danger from nature, to an idea of virginity, purity, authenticity, unsophisticatedness, but also republicanism: mountains as a hotbed of political and social virtues (Böning 2005: 184, 87-188, HLS digital, Alpinismus, Schweizerreisen, Tourismus, 2014-07-22). A quote from one of the many contemporary travel reports:

> […] Swisserland; a country long celebrated for the peculiarities of its different governments, and for the singular beauties conferred upon it by nature. […] I have great pleasure in breathing the air of liberty: every person here has apparently the mien of content and satisfaction. The cleanliness of the houses, and of the people, is peculiarly striking; and I can trace in all their manners, behaviour, and dress, some strong outlines, which distinguish this happy people from the neighbouring nations. (Coxe 1779: 1, 6-7)

Summing up, one could say that native scientists first established the interest in mountains which was then assumed by tourists and transformed into an alpine enthusiasm, then adopted by the local population.

The companies choosing a mountain name (apart from the above-mentioned companies directly related to the mountain the business is working on) can be divided into two main groups.

The first group consists of companies which by choosing a mountain name want to convey a sense of localness. They do not refer to how mountains evoke the sublime, but use them as a symbol of their neighbourhood. Of course, the idea of mountains as the core of a sense of home is likewise influenced by the touristic discovery of the Alps. Only the popular alpine enthusiasm beyond a scientific audience could lead to the Swiss self-perception of mountains as the very typical Swiss feature.

This first group prototypically contains companies in the field of home care. By choosing a name such as *Jungfraublick* ‘view to mount Jungfrau’ for a retirement home, the inhabitants are provided with warm memories of a core feature of their possibly life-long home, a sight they might see every single day of their life. Media companies are another prototypical sector in this group. Regional media can provide a sense of localness by choosing a mountain name. Of the five companies in this sector, four opted for mountains which are well-known. Even the five breweries belong to this group: four of them are small local businesses. The fifth was named after mount *Calanda* after a merger in 1971 (HLS digital, Calanda Bräu, 2014-07-28; now part oft he Heineken group). The case is less clear for other sectors. Probably, most of the retail shops can also be ascribed to this category, simply because there is no need for them to choose a mountain name for any other reason than localness.

The second group consists of companies which want to convey something more abstract. They conceive themselves as bearers of values such as trustworthiness, reliability, assiduity, cleanliness and seriousness. These values are generally seen as typically Swiss. They are obviously important for sectors such as real estate and financial/trust services. Other companies want to portray themselves as related to a healthy lifestyle and cleanliness, which can also be seen as typically Swiss and, even more directly, as alpine. This is important for pharmacies, medical centres and physiotherapists as well as for cleaning services. How could these companies convince their clientele of their core values? Possibly by relating the company to something else that is widely seen as typically Swiss and already broadly being advertised: mountains. Doing so, they would use the existing connotations in a new way, leading to a general idea of being positive. These businesses certainly need not choose a mountain name to prove their local rootedness, because they are less important for the local community than corner shops. Choosing the names *Silvretta-Alpinresort* for a real estate company and *Combin* for a financial service conveys a sense of trustworthiness, maybe also constancy. On the other hand, *Blüemlisalp* and *Piz Ot* pharmacies probably refer to healthiness in general, and *Gonzen* cleaning services to mountainous cleanliness.

Big Swiss insurance companies such as *Zurich*, *Basler*, *Vaudoise* are named after their headquarters, but not after mountains. This is interesting because the image an insurance might want to portray could be very comparable to that of a real estate or financial services company. The reason for this difference in naming might be found in the international target clientele of these companies. As Fahlbusch (2011: 77) points out, international companies nowadays more and more choose intransparent names.

In many cases, there might have been more than one reason for a company’s name choice. For instance, when *Galenstock* dairy products chose their name, they might have had in mind a reference to their being part of the local community as well as to a generally healthy alpine lifestyle. Clearly enough, even companies choosing mountain names for more abstract reasons usually opt for mountains in their neighbourhood.

What Mountain Name?

So why did the *Mönch* remain disregarded, while the neighbouring *Jungfrau* and *Eiger* were borrowed many times? Out of all names in the database, a striking number contain the same few mountain names: 64 *Rigi*, 52 *Säntis* and 50 *Pilatus* names contrast with the vast majority of mountain names that never occur in business directories.

Some mountain names are not chosen for linguistic reasons such as non-onymic associations (Latour 1996: 95). For instance, the transparent *Mönch* ‘monk’ might evoke undesirable associations in the Protestant Bernese Oberland. What associations would this name evoke? The neighbouring *Jungfrau* ‘virgin’ on the other hand can easily be associated with mountainous purity. The name chosen should also be unique, thus *Rothorn* ‘red peak’ is a poor choice simply because too many mountains bear that name. Even more important for something so liable to the rules of marketing (Fahlbusch 2011: 68, Latour 1996: 38, 44) are the pronounceability and euphony of a name. Therefore, Rhaeto-Romance *Piz S-chalambert* could hardly be chosen because it is hard to pronounce. On the other hand, a Rhaeto-Romance name such as *Piz Buin* is an excellent name choice for a sun cream producer: it is unique, somehow exotic and easily pronounceable (Lötscher 1992: 226).

But there are also extra-linguistic reasons influencing the choice of a mountain name. For instance, the traces of early alpine tourism can still be found in company naming: early hotspots are more likely to lend mountain names to companies.

The name chosen most often is mount *Rigi* (eponym for 64 companies), which became one of the very first touristic destinations in Switzerland due to its easy accessibility in Central Switzerland, a region seen as the source of the Swiss political tradition. Europe’s first cog railway opened access to the mountain’s peak in 1871 (HLS digital, Rigi, 2014-07-23).

Even though mount *Säntis* could never compete with the touristic hotspots in Central and Western Switzerland, the mountain, accessible by aerial cableway since 1935, became the eponym for 52 companies (HLS digital, Säntis, 2014-07-23).

50 *Pilatus* names refer to the *Pilatus* massif, which was first accessed in 1518 by the humanist Vadian. It has been accessible by the world’s steepest cog railway since 1889 (HLS digital, Pilatus, 2014-07-23).

The *Matterhorn* has given its name to 46 companies (of which ten chose its French name *Mont Cervin*). The region, with its abundance of 4,000-meter-high mountain peaks, is a natural favourite among mountaineers. Undoubtedly, the *Matterhorn* is the physically most impressing mountain in Switzerland (on the border with Italy). In the 20th century, the *Matterhorn* became a national symbol leading to its use as an advertising vehicle in international marketing (HLS digital, Matterhorn, 2014-07-23).

Mount *Jungfrau* (eponym for 38 companies) was the first 4,000-meter-high mountain ever ascended in Switzerland (by locals in 1811). Situated in the heart of one of the early touristic destinations in Switzerland, the mountain is said to have inspired writers and painters more than any other mountain in the world (e.g. Byron’s drama *Manfred*, 1817) and having an international effect on Switzerland’s image similar to the one of Schiller’s drama *Wilhelm Tell* (1804). The famous cog railway leading to the nearby *Jungfraujoch* built in 1896-1912 makes the high alpine region accessible for both mountaineers and excursionists (HLS digital, Jungfrau, 2014-07-23).

36 companies have borrowed the name of mount *Eiger*. The mountain’s famousness was mostly influenced by several attempts to reach the top via the so called *Nordwand* ‘north face’, particularly the first successful ascent by Anderl Heckmair, Ludwig Vörg, Heinrich Harrer and Fritz Kasparek in 1938 (HLS digital, Eiger, 2014-07-23). Thus, two companies named *Nordwand* should be added to the *Eiger* names: *Nordwand* human resource services and *Nordwand* rope construction works.

The 28 *Aletsch* company names refer to either mount *Aletschorn* or (more likely) to the *Aletschgletscher*, the largest glacier in the Alps. Since the 19th century, huts, railways and aerial cableways stimulated tourism around the glacier, which became part of the UNESCO wold natural heritage in 2001 (HLS digital, Aletschgletscher, 2014-07-23).

Piz Bernina is the only 4,000-meter-high peak in the Eastern Alps. Its beauty was subject to a poem by von Tscharner in 1789 (HLS digital, Bernina, Piz, 2014-07-23). 25 companies named *Bernina* could have borrowed their name from the mountain as well as the *Berninapass* mountain pass.

Mount *Moléson* has lent its name to 20 companies. The mountain has been attracting European tourists since the late 18th century. First projects for touristic infrastructure were opposed by environmentalists as early as 1905-1908, following which the mountain was seen as the embodiment of the virgin mountain and pristine Switzerland. However, modern infrastructure including an aerial cableway was installed after the Second World War (HLS digital, 2014-07-23).

11 companies took their names from mount *Niesen* with its typical pyramidal shape. The mountain was the inspiration for a poem about the two mountains Stockhorn and Niesen discussing faunal issues (Aretius 1561, see Schneider 2012/2013: 644). Despite a funicular leading to the mountain’s top since 1910, its closeness to much higher and more famous mountains restricts the importance of mount *Niesen* (HLS digital, Reichenbach im Kandertal, 2014-07-24).

Piz Palü has given its name to seven companies. Though quite high and impressive, it is also a bit far away from civilisation but gained some famousness with the silent film *Die weisse Hölle vom Piz Palü* (‘The White Hell of Pitz Palu’) with famous actress Leni Riefenstahl in 1929.

One single company chose the name of *Piz Beverin*, a prominent mountain in central Grisons. This mountain is particularly far away from international tourism.

The above selection of the most common and a few other mountain names shows: the closer to a hotspot of international tourism and the more touristically developed a mountain, the more often it is chosen as a company name. There are exceptions though: Mount *Säntis* is situated far away from the classic routes. But even in regions such as the Grisons, which have had a great touristic development (e.g. the still glamorous St. Moritz Winter Olympics venue 1928 and 1948; HLS digital, Engadin, 2014-07-23), mountain names (*Piz Bernina*, *Piz Palü*) become company names less often. The *Rugenbräu* brewery on the other hand is located close to the Interlaken hotspot in the Bernese Oberland, but it is named after a minor mountain amidst the highest peaks.

So why were the *Eiger* (intransparent name) and *Jungfrau* ‘virgin’ borrowed for businesses such as event agencies, pharmacies, sports outfitters, garages, tool producers, hairdressers, real estate companies, photo studios, newspapers, travel agencies, financial services, breweries, while the *Mönch* ‘monk’ remained disregarded? Not only are the ideas associated with monks less attractive than those associated with virgins (in the sense of purity). More important, while *Jungfrau* and *Eiger* are of high touristic interest, the *Mönch* remains a mountain focused only by mountaineers.

Special cases

Some company names are striking because the associative link between their sectors and mountains does not seem obvious.

Yoga is associated with Far Eastern traditions, not with Swiss mountains. But choosing a mountain name for a yoga company (*Lischana*, *Rigi*) could transform something exotic into something local by emphasising the common characteristic of calmness. Similarly, the choice of mountain names for air conditioning/heating technology companies might refer to alpine coldness.

The choice of a mountain name for takeaways such as *Alpstein Kebab* could similarly link exotic food with a sense of local identity. This name might also be comparable to the name of *Piz Aul* taxi, which possibly bears a mountain name to signal localness not of the business, but of its owner. Taxis are often operated by foreigners, e.g. *Matterhorn Taxi* by Asim Eljezi. Choosing a typically Swiss name could be a promising strategy for foreigners to prove localness.

In a few cases, naming a company after mountains seems inadequate: what is the commonality of mountains and art galleries or clothing stores unless they display and sell traditional or modern mountain-related items? It is similarly hard to understand why a travel agency would choose the name of a mountain: why would someone who is planning a travel choose a company referring to a place they can possibly see every day, e.g. *Alpstein Reisen* travels? Maybe the naming pattern of borrowing mountain names has become independent by means of copying it in sectors that are not at all related to mountains such as the many garages named after mountains.

The company names and sectors mentioned up till now show that mountain names are mainly the choice of small and medium size companies with a Swiss clientele. There are, however, a few larger companies with such names. *Vilan* was the name of a department store chain in Eastern Switzerland, which is nowadays part of the *Manor* chain. The name no longer used referred to a not-so-prominent mountain. *Six Madun* used to be the name of a building services company, which is now called *Tobler Service*. The name referred to *Six Madun*. *Säntis* was the name of a dairy company, which merged with another company to *Swiss Dairy Food* in 2002. The trademark rights were bought by a local cooperative but are currently not in use. *Bernina* is the name of a sewing machine brand belonging to a company named *Fritz Gegauf AG*. The name is widely used for the producer as well (HLS digital, Bernina, 2014-07-23). One might assume the machine was not actually named after *Piz Bernina* or *Berninapass* mountain pass, but after the railway crossing this pass since 1910, thus the name would not refer to mountain loftiness, but to technical progress. *Pilatus Flugzeugwerke* airplane factory was founded in 1939 close to the eponymous mountain in order to foster the development of the Swiss air force (HLS digital, Pilatus Flugzeugwerke, 2014-07-23). As the first three examples show, larger companies seem to tend not to use names referring to local toponyms any longer; a finding that corresponds to that of Fahlbusch (2011: 77).

Conclusion

Some companies choose mountain names to convey a sense of localness (e.g. homes, media, gastronomy), while others try to propose more abstract ideas such as trustworthiness and cleanliness (e.g. financial services, pharmacies). These ideas can be associated with Switzerland, which on the other hand can be ideally represented by the picture of mountains.

Contrary to Kuhn’s (2009: 297) findings about Mexican companies, Swiss companies borrowing their names from names of another category are interior-oriented. They choose a local or regional name. The exterior-related aspect of this naming pattern is the fact that the image of Switzerland and its mountains as a hotbed of serenity and trustworthiness dates back to the country’s discovery as a travel destination mainly by foreign travellers. In second place, this has become common Swiss self-perception.

The names chosen are usually derived from well-known mountains mostly in the company’s neighbourhood. Mountain names are chosen by companies addressing a Swiss target public, while big international companies rarely occur in the database.

It would be interesting to investigate how national self-perception is expressed in company names in other countries such as Austria with its quite different history in a similar landscape. Another question that still awaits research is how the targeted customers actually perceive the names chosen by companies who opt for mountain names.

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When a Polar Bear Invests in a Tree: Strategies Applied by European Banks to Brand Their Financial Services

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Abstract

In general, from a marketing communications perspective, brands need, on the one hand, to make both rational and emotional appeals (Belch and Belch 2009: 287) and, on the other hand, to enhance their recognition (Lane, King and Reichert 2011: 49).

The purpose of our research is to reveal the branding strategies pursued by European banks in view of their financial products (current accounts, loans, cash cards, credit cards, etc.). Some banks are using, for example, tree or animal names, music styles as well as compound names which carry connotations pointing to success and wealth.

To answer our research question we create a corpus of both websites and sales literature from banks in different European countries (France, Germany, England, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Romania etc.), which we analyze qualitatively from a morphological and semantic point of view.

Branding the Environment

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Abstract

The present study is dedicated to the brand names for environmental and ecological products and their communication to the public (slogans), i.e. Body Shop, Anthropologic, Patagonia. The green market is rapidly growing due to the consumers' gravitation toward natural, organic and eco-friendly products, especially in the Western countries. Regarding the fact that the average green consumer has virtually no brand awareness at all, the concept will show new trends in this sector on the phonetic, morphologic and semantic level, and analyse their psycholinguistic impact on the customers in different countries (Russia, Germany, France and the United States). The research is based on the registered trademarks and an empirical survey on their perception in the relevant countries and their influence on the consumers' behaviour.

Names and Sustainability: How do Company Names Reflect Sustainability?

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Abstract

Company names of family enterprises often reflect, among other things, a long lasting history of development, growth, decline, changes and tradition. Sustainability is thus a component of the semantic structure of a company name.

This article describes the interaction of company names and brand names which were acquired from other companies to extend the company's portfolio. In the sense of sustainability it can be seen as one way of adapting to economic challenges.

It enables the company to get access to new markets and clients. In this way the company stabilizes its existence and its own value. It also creates a solid basis for future acquisitions and extensions, and furthermore it prevents the extinction of a well-known name.

The article aims to demonstrate by some examples how some companies incorporated brand names in their portfolio and the outcome of it.

* * *

Historical Background and Aspects of Sustainability

Historical Background

The term *sustainability* has a long tradition and is a multifaceted concept. More than 300 years ago the German Hans Carl von Carlowitz, a famous scholar at that time, coined the concept of sustainability. His field of activity was the forest and he recognized and realized the importance of the forest for the environment and also for our life.

The German word *nachhalten* means – tracking, keep tracking, following up. With reference to his activities it was to keep part of the forest which was well grown, to fell those trees which were ill or old or both and to replace them by seedlings and finally to repeat this process through the generations, and maintain/grant a continuous life cycle.

In our mind map and related to all areas of life this has to be understood as keeping an essential part of a system and add, extend and spread a new part for generations to come.

Aspects of Sustainability

Moreover, in economic or corporate contexts sustainability is essentially recognizing that 'a corporation's long-term interests are intellectually and financially consistent with resource efficiency, proactive health and safety practices, and responsible leadership' as Doug Morrow, vice president of research at Corporate Knights, said:

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> ‘On the one hand, it means doing more with less; squeezing more output out of every capital input including financial, human and natural capital,’ he explains. ‘But the hallmark of a sustainable enterprise is not just efficiency, but also mechanisms to encourage meritocracy, diversity, innovation and long-term planning.’ (Forbes 2014)

Toby Heaps, editor-in-chief of Corporate Knights, says sustainability is when what is good for a company is also good for the planet, and vice-versa. ‘It means creating more wealth than we destroy’ (Forbes 2014). Corporate Knights, a Toronto-based media company, published a list of the 100 most sustainable companies in the world.

Aspects of the Proper Name, Especially the Company Name

General Semantic Aspects

I briefly want to mention the definition and functions of a name just to demonstrate the relation between both or to show where sustainability may anchor on a name.

The semantic background of company names is referred to as reference, identification, individualization, signalization and traditionalisation or heritage communication.

Reference, identification and individualization cover the core meaning of a name,. With regard to the company name this refers to the name of the company being given by the founder, owner or entrepreneur.

Special Semantic Aspects of Company Names

P1 peripheric or connotation level 1 is related to the products carrying this name – also the level of the brand. I am not going to go into detail here as it will require more time and space. P2 peripheric or connotation level 2 comprises all the activities related to marketing. P3 peripheric or connotation level 3 includes all activities within the social sphere, among others sustainability.

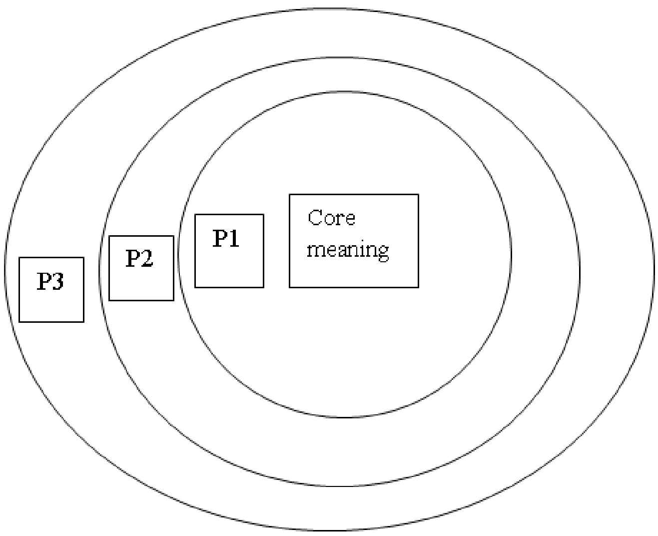

Fig.1. Levels of connotation

Sustainability is certainly not a part of the core meaning of a name, but it does not have a fixed position in the peripheric meanings. It depends on the role sustainability plays within an enterprise, institution, organization or company.

Sustainability has a connotational meaning and it may therefore vary in its position. The stronger and the more pronounced companies include sustainability as a principle in their philosophy the stronger this connotation will become.

What data are considered to assess a company's sustainability, among others ethics + innovation?

A major role is given to the handling of resources, energy consumption, production of waste but also to social engagement and fair business conduct.

According to the above-mentioned scheme, sustainability seems to have a marginal role, but the peripheries mentioned are not rigid, their transition is smooth. It may be compared to an atomic model where the electrons switch from one level to another as some branches of a company are, e.g. more profitable than others, are better known or more popular etc.

What data are considered to assess a company's sustainability?

Among others: ethics, innovation meritocracy, diversity and long-term planning. Management teams at sustainable corporations are afforded room to think and plan beyond the next financial quarter.

Methods and Purpose of the Study

Going through social and economic changes demands a great flexibility and adaptability to new situations, regulations and standards. On the one hand, I searched for family enterprises, big and small that have a long tradition. On the other hand, I looked for new companies having started their business under the precondition of sustainability. I read about both their historical development and about their business philosophy.

I chose articles from business newspapers, weeklies, books and internet presentations, e.g. reports on sustainability. The articles were searched for changes in names, additions to names, e.g. claims, adverts and possibly in management, as some companies added the position of a CSR manager or employed a person who has a strong approach to sustainability. I linked the facts and information collected to the requirements of the topic, i.e. theory of sustainability and CSR.

The aim was to find out in which respect sustainability is represented by the name and may have an effect on both the business and the environment.

Examples of Sustainable Companies

How are the different aspects of sustainability handled in companies? Let me show you some examples of companies to demonstrate how this can be seen. First I analysed companies that have existed for a very long time.

Lemken GmbH & Co. KG – a manufacturer of agricultural machinery. They started their business in 1780 as blacksmiths producing, e.g. ploughs. Now in the seventh generation of the family, they are among the leading companies in this field worldwide. They improve and develop machinery focusing on safe agriculture, i.e. avoiding damage to the structure of the soil when employing a harvester or plough and minimizing energy consumption. Their motto is groundedness (Erdverbundenheit). The customer thus knows what he is investing in and what he is going to buy. Currently their portfolio also includes the production of plant protection equipment and materials.

Faber-Castell AG also a company with a long history, founded in 1761, F-C has consequently followed its strategy of selling pencils at reasonable prices. The present CEO does not necessarily give way to any trend that comes up. He sees the strength of the enterprise (present in almost all parts of the world) in extending the visibility of their products, i.e. to open more shops, but also selling products via online platforms. Sustainability for F-C means accompanying people through their life, from childhood to adult age. But the company also invests in new branches. Their field of innovation develops cosmetic pencils.

These two companies represent enterprises that do not show their involvement in sustainability at the surface, but in their philosophy. With having been in the market for such a long time, sustainability must have played a major part in their history, in both their entrepreneurial thinking and their entrepreneurial approach/attitudes.

Secondly, I would like to give you two examples of company names that underline and emphasise their commitment to sustainability through a claim added to their name.

ABB Turgi – a Swiss company, the **ABB subsidiary** in Turgi has been given the Industrial Excellence Award in 2014. For the employees sustainability is a synonym for quality, and quality is considered as specialization, service and product and process development. Good products are improved ones, having been made cheaper and having been given a longer life span. Furthermore, their aim is to adapt to special/individual conditions of the customer.

Memo AG – nachhaltig gut; their claims are ‘sustainably good’ and ‘go shopping sustainably’. Founded in the late 1980s this company has grown consistently. They started with selling writing material for pupils made of recycled paper.

They were among the first who sold writing material and paper which was produced wholly from recycled material. The idea behind the business was to offer and sell only environmentally friendly products, the prices of which should not exceed those of conventional products. As the company has continued to grow, they even developed their own recycling system.

Thirdly: a new class of company names will emerge showing their commitment to sustainability at the surface, in their name, such as:

Innatura – the spelling is different to the Latin expression *in natura* (in German this expression has several meanings among others *in Naturalien*, in English it is referred to as *in kind*).

Innatura is a very young company founded in 2013. Its business idea has emerged from the necessity to help people who cannot afford the things they need. The people of Innatura mediate donations of things. Normally products that are not sold are taken to a disposal site and the company may write off the cost. But goods donated cannot be written off, so it took some persuasive powers to convince the companies to donate their goods to Innatura.

The goods they receive are transported to many parts in the world – glasses to Africa, medicines to Eastern Europe or Latin America. In all these cases the product is not wasted and neither is the energy, but great social responsibility is shown.

Other examples in this group are Green Banks, in German Grüne Banken or Ökobanken. Two names have become quite established in this sector, the **Thüringer Ethikbank** and the **Triobos Bank**, a Dutch based institution.

Fig.2. Ethics Bank, money is given under fair conditions

Cooperative Banks, in Germany also related to Donate-Borrow-Give (GLS Geben-Leihen-Schenken), are increasingly investing and donating money into projects having a sustainable perspective.

Green Banks have moved to the centre of attention of ecologically oriented clients. Green Banks used to support and finance social and environmentally-friendly projects. Due to the change in energy production, Green Banks now invest and grant loans for wind and solar plants/parks beside the classical green projects, such as Bio agriculture or Bio-shops. Energy efficiency is the key parameter for deciding whether to invest. A future project for financial support may be care homes for elderly people. The number of clients is increasing consistently.

I do not want to forget to mention a company that has worked in this context for decades – **Speick**. They started their production of natural cosmetics before anybody knew the term. It is the Walter Rau GmbH near Stuttgart. The name of the production line is derived from the plant which is used as the basis for the cosmetic series. Speick (spelling may be either Speik or Speick) is a plant that grows in the Alps in Austria, and may only be picked up with special permission of the regional government, as it is under protection and collection is strictly regulated.

Speick does not speak of sustainability – they live it. There is minimal turnover of employees, they use environmentally-friendly production processes, a nursery for the employees' children, and workers' representatives have been in place from the start.

The company is sustainably organized and built: ventilation, provision of heating and water, etc. Speick was elected the most sustainable brand in Germany in 2013. They now make use of the prize in their marketing strategies. It has become a part of the advertisements, so it has become fixed in the awareness of the customers.

German Award for Sustainability

Fig.3. Prize for Germany's most sustainable enterprises

Since 2008 the German industry has been awarding the so-called Nachhaltigkeitspreis. The prize is awarded in different categories to companies, organizations and individuals for their engagement in and their attitude towards sustainability. Enterprises are grouped according to their size: small, medium and large. Among the companies in 2013 were: **Tchibo** – large over 5,000 employees, **Hipp** – over 500, **Studiosus Travel** – from 50 employees upwards.

Tchibo buys the coffee harvest of a whole area – this area grows coffee in a sustainable way, for example they harvest manually, wash with water, dry in the sun etc. This coffee is sold as a specialty product at a somewhat higher price. Tchibo thus supports the Rainforest Alliance in their activities of eco-friendly agriculture and CSR. Rainforest Alliance certifies these producers for their social role.

Groups of Sustainable Naming Behaviour

Taking the examples into account we can say there are three groups of company names reflecting sustainability:

Family Enterprises with a Long Entrepreneurial Tradition

In this group sustainability is an inherent element of the company's name. They have been practicing sustainability for generations and they will certainly continue to do so. To them sustainability means surviving, planning ahead. Company and sustainability form/make up a unit. A long list of names may be mentioned here, such as Faber-Castell, Kühne (food industry), Lemken, Klosterfrau, etc.

Enterprises Emphasizing their Sustainable Commitment in a Claim

In this group sustainability is visibly expressed. Their products or services are directed towards sustainability. They take care of social needs. This attitude is mainly expressed in a claim in the form of sentences, noun phrases or adverbial phrases. Memo – sustainably good, Lemken – The Agrovision Company (they have added this claim recently to demonstrate their commitment to sustainability).

Enterprises, Choosing a Name which Points out their Business Approach

In this group companies use a name indicating their commitment and responsibility to the environment. Often these names have elements, such as green, eco-, or ethics to reference their sustainability. E.g. Green Bank, Ethics Bank, Innatura, Speick and others

Conclusions

What influence does sustainability have on business activities? There are at least five important points to be mentioned:

- **Better image**
  The company is not only seen as being interested in making profit but giving something back to their employees and the area in which the company operates.
- **Long-term success**
  As customers and stakeholders alike value the company's engagement in sustainability, they support this attitude by buying the products.
- **Higher rate of motivation of employees**
  Employees learn that their work is appreciated.
- **Better customer contacts and relations**
  This is due to the better image.
- **Better access to financials – so far sustainability has not yet paid off**

These items summarize the main purpose why companies and enterprises should give more attention to sustainability.

'Younger people now pay particular attention to the company they want to work for. When they choose to work for a company they look closely at the company's philosophy and its attitudes towards environment and its engagement in the area it is based', said Claudia Rewitz (personal communication, 20 November 2014). Mrs. Rewitz is a business coach who is involved, among others, in the training of young staff of green enterprises.

Summary

Not only within Europe, but also worldwide, standards and regulations have changed. Enterprises need to follow the expectations of their stakeholders and consequently suppliers are obliged to adapt to these regulations. The pressure exerted by customers is passed on to the company to alter their attitudes and approaches, to rethink their way of manufacturing, handling and processing.

The name of classical family enterprises does not itself reflect sustainability at the surface. The different aspects of sustainability are hidden in the connotations or visible in claims.

A lot is done through advertising or presented in reports. Enterprises such as Bayer, Daimler or BMW and others publish a yearly report on sustainability. Bigger companies create a position for a CSR manager to direct and guide their social activities.

When going public, a change in the name may be anticipated resulting from the expectations of the customers and as an indication to competitors. New brands may even be created to promote the company's activities in this field. Prizes awarded may encourage smaller companies to rethink or reorganize their business. Start-ups may follow this path from the beginning.

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