



EDITED BY

CAROLE
HOUGH

≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**NAMES AND
NAMING**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

NAMES

AND NAMING

OXFORD HANDBOOKS IN LINGUISTICS

Recently Published

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF THE HISTORY OF LINGUISTICS

Edited by Keith Allan

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY

Edited by Jae Jung Song

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Edited by Thomas Hoffman and Graeme Trousdale

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF LANGUAGE EVOLUTION

Edited by Maggie Tallerman and Kathleen Gibson

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF ARABIC LINGUISTICS

Edited by Jonathan Owens

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF CORPUS PHONOLOGY

Edited by Jacques Durand, Ulrike Gut, and Gjert Kristoffersen

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF LINGUISTIC FIELDWORK

Edited by Nicholas Thieberger

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Edited by Rochelle Lieber and Pavol Štekauer

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Edited by Patrick Honeybone and Joseph Salmons

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Second Edition

Edited by Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF THE WORD

Edited by John R. Taylor

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF INFLECTION

Edited by Matthew Baerman

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF LANGUAGE AND LAW

Edited by Peter M. Tiersma and Lawrence M. Solan

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF DEVELOPMENTAL LINGUISTICS

Edited by Jeffrey Lidz, William Snyder, and Joe Pater

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF LEXICOGRAPHY

Edited by Philip Durkin

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF NAMES AND NAMING

Edited by Carole Hough

For a complete list of Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics, please see pp. 773–4

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

NAMES

AND NAMING

Edited by
CAROLE HOUGH

With assistance from
DARIA IZDEBSKA

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© editorial matter and organization Carole Hough 2016

© the chapters their several contributors 2016

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2016

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015945520

ISBN 978-0-19-965643-1

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

*This volume is dedicated to the memory of Eva Brylla,
an outstanding name scholar, colleague, and friend
1944–2015*

PREFACE

NAMES are a linguistic universal. All known languages make use of names—most commonly, but not exclusively, to identify individual people and places. The study of names, known as onomastics, is central to the work of scholars in various disciplines. It is also of enduring interest to the wider public, many of whom participate enthusiastically in societies formed to investigate names of different kinds. Indeed, name studies is an area where it is often essential for academics and non-academics to work closely together, with local knowledge making an important contribution to scholarly research. This volume aims to provide an up-to-date account of the state of the art in different areas of name studies, in a format that is both useful to specialists in related fields and accessible to the general reader.

The main focus is on general principles and methodologies, with case studies from a range of languages and cultures. The editors are grateful to the many leading scholars from different parts of the world who have agreed to contribute, and who have made this Handbook what it is. We are also grateful to our colleagues in the subject area of English Language at the University of Glasgow for their support, and to the editorial team at Oxford University Press for their unfailing helpfulness, wise guidance, and good humour. They have been a pleasure to work with.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xvii

1. Introduction	1
CAROLE HOUGH	

PART I ONOMASTIC THEORY

2. Names and Grammar	17
WILLY VAN LANGENDONCK AND MARK VAN DE VELDE	
3. Names and Meaning	39
STAFFAN NYSTRÖM	
4. Names and Discourse	52
ELWYS DE STEFANI	

PART II TOPONOMASTICS

5. Methodologies in Place-name Research	69
SIMON TAYLOR	
6. Settlement Names	87
CAROLE HOUGH	
7. River Names	104
SVANTE STRANDBERG	
8. Hill and Mountain Names	115
PETER DRUMMOND	
9. Island Names	125
PEDER GAMMELTOFT	

10. Rural Names 135
JULIA KUHN
11. Street Names: A Changing Urban Landscape 144
BERTIE NEETHLING
12. Transferred Names and Analogy in Name-formation 158
STEFAN BRINK

PART III ANTHROPONOMASTICS

13. Personal Naming Systems 169
EDWIN D. LAWSON
14. Given Names in European Naming Systems 199
KATHARINA LEIBRING
15. Family Names 214
PATRICK HANKS AND HARRY PARKIN
16. Bynames and Nicknames 237
EVA BRYLLA†
17. Ethnonyms 251
ADRIAN KOOPMAN
18. Personal Names and Anthropology 263
ELLEN S. BRAMWELL
19. Personal Names and Genealogy 279
GEORGE REDMONDS

PART IV LITERARY ONOMASTICS

20. Theoretical Foundations of Literary Onomastics 295
GRANT W. SMITH
21. Names in Songs: A Comparative Analysis of Billy Joel's *We Didn't Start The Fire* and Christopher Torr's *Hot Gates* 310
BERTIE NEETHLING
22. Genre-based Approaches to Names in Literature 330
BIRGIT FALCK-KJÄLLQUIST

23. Corpus-based Approaches to Names in Literature	344
KARINA VAN DALEN-OSKAM	
24. Language-based Approaches to Names in Literature	355
PAUL CAVILL	

PART V SOCIO-ONOMASTICS

25. Names in Society	371
TERHI AINIALA	
26. Names and Identity	382
EMILIA ALDRIN	
27. Linguistic Landscapes	395
GUY PUZEY	
28. Toponymic Attachment	412
LAURA KOSTANSKI	
29. Forms of Address	427
IRMA TAAVITSAINEN AND ANDREAS H. JUCKER	
30. Pseudonyms	438
KATARZYNA ALEKSIEJUK	
31. Commercial Names	453
PAULA SJÖBLOM	

PART VI ONOMASTICS AND OTHER DISCIPLINES

32. Names and Archaeology	467
RICHARD JONES	
33. Names and Cognitive Psychology	476
SERGE BRÉDART	
34. Names and Dialectology	488
MARGARET SCOTT	
35. Names and Geography	502
PEDER GAMMELTOFT	

36. Names and History	513
GILLIAN FELLOWS-JENSEN	
37. Names and Historical Linguistics	525
RICHARD COATES	
38. Names and Language Contact	540
BERIT SANDNES	
39. Names and Law	554
ANDREAS TEUTSCH	
40. Names and Lexicography	572
ALISON GRANT	
41. Place-names and Religion: A Study of Early Christian Ireland	585
KAY MUHR	

PART VII OTHER TYPES OF NAMES

42. Aircraft Names	605
GUY PUZEY	
43. Animal Names	615
KATHARINA LEIBRING	
44. Astronomical Names	628
MARC ALEXANDER	
45. Names of Dwellings	636
ADRIAN KOOPMAN	
46. Railway Locomotive Names and Train Names	645
RICHARD COATES	
47. Ship Names	655
MALCOLM JONES	
<i>Bibliography</i>	661
<i>Subject Index</i>	757
<i>Index of Languages</i>	769

LIST OF FIGURES

3.1	The interrelations between the lexical and proprial meaning illustrated with the Swedish (Gotland) word and place-name element <i>ård</i> ‘promontory in the sea’	45
6.1	Place-names in Britain from OE <i>mynster</i> ‘large church, minster’ and its reflexes	89
6.2	Place-names in Britain from P-Celtic <i>aber</i> , Gaelic <i>inbhir</i> , OE <i>muþa</i> , and ON <i>mynni</i> , all meaning ‘river-mouth’	91
6.3	Place-names in Scotland from Pictish * <i>pett</i> ‘piece of land’	95
6.4	Place-names in Britain from ON <i>bý</i> ‘village’	96
6.5	Place-names in Britain from OE <i>wordð/wordīg</i> ‘enclosure’	101
6.6	Place-names in Britain from OE <i>ford</i> ‘ford’	102
9.1	Map showing the distribution of island names containing Polynesian <i>motu</i> ‘island’	129
27.1	This sign at the entrance to the village of Drumnadrochit, in the Highland council area of Scotland, features the name of the village in both Gaelic and English	400
27.2	This municipal boundary sign from Gáivuotna-Kåfjord in Troms county, Norway, is one of the several that were destroyed by vandals	406
27.3	A selection of signage at the junction of the A82 and A831 roads in Drumnadrochit, including (on the top centre panel) an unusual instance of a silenced majority language toponym	407
30.1	Allonym: definitions	439
30.2	Cryptonym: definitions	439
30.3	Terms for a name written backwards	440
30.4	Criteria of categorization by Ormis (1944)	440
30.5	Categorization by Świerczyńska (1983)	441
30.6	Distribution of terms: <i>nick(name)</i> , <i>handle</i> , and <i>username</i> across selected sources in Dutch, English, Polish, and Russian	448
30.7	Definitions of the term <i>login</i> in selected sources in Dutch, English, Polish, and Russian	449

30.8	Examples of definitions of the term <i>nickname</i>	449
30.9	Examples of popular references in usernames	451
35.1	Sketch map from Gelling and Cole (2000: 248), showing landscape representations of OE <i>beorg</i>	505
35.2	Map from Müller (1904: 18), showing the distribution of Bronze Age mounds running along ancient roads	508
35.3	Map of northern Egvad parish from 1871	509
35.4a	Relational database structure	511
35.4b	Hierarchical database structure	511
38.1	Road sign in Norwegian, North Sámi, and local Finnish (Kvænsk)	544
38.2	Copperplate copy of Lindeström's map of Nova Suecia, published by Th. Campanius Holm 1702	551
42.1	Two black-painted <i>Dassault DA-20 Jet Falcon</i> aircraft are operated by 717 Squadron of the Royal Norwegian Air Force, covering electronic warfare and VIP transport roles	613
43.1	Different categories of contemporary animal names based on an urban–rural division	616
45.1	<i>Ein Gedi</i> : the name of the Frenzel family's house	637
45.2	The reverse side: the name <i>Ein Gedi</i> repeated, with the family identity and the symbolic flowers and river	637
45.3 and 45.4	This house could easily have been simply named <i>The Palms</i> , as there are several large palm trees in the garden	643

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Austria
AUS	Australia
CH	Switzerland
CHL	Chile
COK	Cook Islands
D	Germany
DNK	Denmark
Engl.	English
F	France
FJI	Fiji
Fr.	French
GBR	Great Britain
Germ.	German
Gr.	Greek
GUF	French Guiana
I	Italy
It.	Italian
KIR	Kiribati
Lat.	Latin
NCL	New Caledonia
NEZ	New Zealand
NOR	Norway
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse
Rtr.	Raeto-Romance
SHN	Saint Helena, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha

Slav.	Slavonic
SLB	Solomon Islands
Sp.	Spanish
SWE	Sweden
TKL	Tokelau
VUT	Vanuatu

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Terhi Ainiala is University Lecturer in Finnish Language at the University of Helsinki. After her doctoral dissertation on Finnish place-names in change (1997), her research has been focused on socio-onomastics and place-naming. She is one of the three authors of *Names in Focus: An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics* (2012).

Emilia Aldrin is Senior Lecturer at Halmstad University, Sweden. She received a PhD in Scandinavian Languages from the University of Uppsala in 2011. She has published a monograph on the choice of first names as an act of identity, *Namnval som social handling [Naming as a social act]* (Uppsala University Press, 2011), as well as a number of articles on the subject. Her research interests also include socio-onomastics and anthroponyms.

Katarzyna Aleksiejuk is a graduate of the University of Białystok, where she studied Russian philology. Her Master's thesis addressed anthroponymy in the town of Narew during the sixteenth century. Her main interests lie in anthroponomastics, especially Slavonic anthroponymy, from both historical and contemporary perspectives, as well as internet linguistics. She is currently a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh, where she is analysing usernames on RuNet (the Russian internet) from a socio-onomastic perspective.

Marc Alexander is Senior Lecturer in Semantics and Lexicology at the University of Glasgow. His work primarily focuses on digital humanities and the study of meaning in English, with a focus on lexicology, semantics, and stylistics through cognitive and corpus linguistics. He is Director of the *Historical Thesaurus of English*, and works mainly on applications of the *Thesaurus* in digital humanities, most recently through the AHRC/ESRC-funded SAMUELS and Mapping Metaphor projects. He also directs the STELLA Digital Humanities lab at Glasgow.

Ellen S. Bramwell is Research Associate at the University of Glasgow. Her PhD, awarded in 2012, examined personal naming practices in five communities within Scotland with differing social profiles, including both immigrant and indigenous communities. In addition to research into anthroponymy, she works on semantics and lexicography with a particular interest in conceptual metaphor.

Serge Brédart is Professor in the Cognitive Psychology Unit at the University of Liège (Belgium). His research bears upon the processes involved during the identification of

familiar persons, including person naming. In his more recent work, he has investigated different aspects of self-related cognition such as self-recognition and self-reference effects in memory.

Stefan Brink is Sixth Century Professor of Scandinavian Studies, Adjunct Professor of Archaeology, and Director of the Centre for Scandinavian Studies at the University of Aberdeen. He is also *Docent* (Associate Professor) of Scandinavian Languages, especially Onomastics, at Uppsala University, Fellow of The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, and Fellow of The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, Uppsala.

Eva Brylla† was Docent (Senior Lecturer) in Scandinavian Languages at Uppsala University, specializing in name research. Her doctoral thesis was on the inflection of place-names in Old Swedish, and she published extensively on both place-names and personal names. She was formerly the Head of the Department of Names at the Institute of Language and Folklore Research in Uppsala. Her death in March 2015 was a great loss to scholarship as well as to her family, colleagues, and friends.

Paul Cavill teaches Old English at the University of Nottingham. He is Editor of the *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*. He is author of many essays and several monographs on Old English literature including *Maxims in Old English Poetry* (1999), and, most recently, articles on the *Battle of Brunanburh*. He has edited *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England* (2004) and co-edited *Language Contact in the Place-Names of Britain and Ireland* (2007).

Richard Coates is Professor of Linguistics/Onomastics at the University of the West of England, Bristol, Honorary Director of the Survey of English Place-Names, and principal investigator of the Family Names of the United Kingdom project (2010–16). He has special interests in the philological origins of place-names and surnames, especially in England, and also in the linguistic theory of names and naming, being responsible for The Pragmatic Theory of Properhood.

Elwys De Stefani is Professor of Italian Linguistics and Director of the research unit Multimodality, Interaction & Discourse (MIDI) at KU Leuven, Belgium. His research interests range from historical onomastics to the analysis of naturally occurring interactions. His previous academic appointments include the Universities of Basel, Neuchâtel, Berne (Switzerland), the University of Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany), and the University of Lyon 2 (France).

Peter Drummond has an MSc by Research from Edinburgh University on the hill-names of southern Scotland, and a PhD on place-names in the upper Kelvin basin from Glasgow University. He is the author of *Place-Names of the Monklands* (1982) and *Scottish Hill Names* (2007), and co-author of *Pentland Place-Names* (2011). He is also a leading member of the Scottish Place-Name Society.

Birgit Falck-Kjällquist is Senior Lecturer and was previously employed at the Institute for Languages and Folklore, Department of Onomastics in Uppsala, later Archive Manager of the Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Gothenburg. She has also been Editor at the Board of the Swedish Academy Dictionary. She is now working on linguistic interpretations of place-names designating lakes, rivers, mountains, and so on, including minor names. Her research interests also include coastal names and literary onomastics.

Gillian Fellows-Jensen is Reader Emerita in Name Studies at the Department of Scandinavian Research of the University of Copenhagen, where she taught from 1961 to 2003. She has published widely in the field of place-names and is still actively interested in settlement history in the British Isles and Normandy, as well as in the care and conservation of manuscripts.

Peder Gammeltoft has researched place-names since 1996, focussing on place-names of Scandinavian origin outside of Scandinavia. His major contributions include a survey of the Old Norse place-name element *bólstaðr*, regional studies of place-names containing Old Norse *tóft* in the former Viking-Age colonies, island names, and managing the digitization of the Danish place-name collections. He also takes an active part in the standardization of place-names through the Danish Place-Name Commission and UNGEGN.

Alison Grant has a PhD in place-names and language contact from the University of Glasgow. She is Senior Editor with *Scottish Language Dictionaries* in Edinburgh, and is currently working on the revision of the *Concise Scots Dictionary*. She is also the Convener of the Scottish Place-Name Society, and is the author of *The Pocket Guide to Scottish Place-Names*.

Patrick Hanks is Lead Researcher on the Family Names Project at the University of the West of England. He is Editor-in-chief of the *Dictionary of American Family Names* and the forthcoming *Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* (both Oxford University Press). He is co-author of the *Oxford Dictionary of First Names*. In addition, he holds a part-time position as Professor in Lexicography at the University of Wolverhampton. From 1990 to 2000 he was Chief Editor of Current English Dictionaries at Oxford University Press.

Carole Hough is Professor of Onomastics at the University of Glasgow. Her research interests include Scottish and English place-names and personal names, names in literature, and onomastic theory. She has around 300 publications on these and other topics. A former President of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences and Convener of the Scottish Place-Name Society, she is currently President of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, Vice-President of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, and a Council Member of the English Place-Name Society.

Malcolm Jones retired from the School of English at Sheffield University in 2010. Before joining the university he had worked as a lexicographer and museum curator. To date he has published two books concerned with art history: *The Secret Middle Ages* (2002), and *The Print in Early Modern England* (2010), and he is currently working on a book on Gaelic place-names and their associated folklore.

Richard Jones is Senior Lecturer in Landscape History based in the Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester. His research focuses on the rural communities and environments of medieval England. His books include *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (2006), *Thorps in a Changing Landscape* (2011), *Manure Matters: Historical, Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives* (2012), *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (2012), and *The Medieval Natural World* (2013).

Andreas H. Jucker is Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Zurich. His current research interests include historical pragmatics, politeness theory, speech act theory, and the grammar and history of English. His recent publications include *English Historical Pragmatics* (Edinburgh University Press, 2013) co-authored with Irma Taavitsainen and *Diachronic Corpus Pragmatics* (Benjamins, 2014) co-edited with Irma Taavitsainen and Jukka Tuominen.

Adrian Koopman is Professor Emeritus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. He has taught Zulu linguistics and literature for over thirty-five years but his major research interest has always been in onomastics. He is currently the President of the Names Society of Southern Africa, and the Editor of its journal *Nomina Africana*, and has served on the Executive of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences, including being Vice-President from 2008 to 2010.

Laura Kostanski is the CEO and Director of Geonaming Solutions Pty Ltd. She holds a PhD in Geography and History, a Graduate Certificate in Tertiary Education and a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Linguistics and History. Her professional and research interests centre on developing robust geospatial, addressing, and geographic naming policies and systems for government and private clients at national and international levels.

Julia Kuhn is full Professor of Romance Linguistics at the Friedrich Schiller Universität Jena, Germany. Her main research interests are Onomastics, Discourse Analysis, Construction Grammar and Systemic Linguistics. From 2005 to 2011 she was a member of the Board of Directors of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences, and a member of the editorial boards of the journals *Namenkundliche Informationen* and *Onoma*. She worked on the project *St. Galler Namenbuch* initiated by Gerold Hilty and Hans Stricker, University of Zürich, Switzerland, and for the *Lexikon der schweizerischen Gemeindenamen* edited by Andres Kristol, University of Neuchatel, Switzerland. She has published numerous articles and books on onomastic subjects.

Edwin D. Lawson is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at the State University of New York, Fredonia. His doctorate is from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Before coming to Fredonia, he taught at the State University of New York, Albany, and Acadia University, Nova Scotia. He has published many articles in social psychology and also in onomastics. Work in onomastics has included annotated bibliographies and several names websites.

Katharina Leibring received her PhD in Scandinavian Studies at the University of Uppsala in 2000, and became Reader at the same university in 2006. She is currently employed as Senior Research Archivist at the Department of Onomastics, Institute for language and folklore in Uppsala. Her main research interests include animal names, personal names, and contemporary name-giving. She is an editor of *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* and is a former member of the Board of Directors of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences.

Kay Muhr read Celtic Studies at Edinburgh 1966–70 and gained a PhD on Gaelic literature from the same university. After postgraduate fellowships in Cambridge, Dublin, and Queen's University Belfast, she became Senior Researcher of the Northern Ireland Place-Name Project in Irish & Celtic Studies, from its foundation in 1987 until 2010. A former president of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, and chairman of the Ulster Place-Name Society, she is now a private scholar.

Bertie Neethling is currently Senior Emeritus Professor at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. His research interests vary, but he has lately focused entirely on onomastics. Contributions have been on anthroponymy (first names, family names, bynames), toponymy (street names, school names), names in the economy, names in songs, and animal names. His most significant publication is the monograph *Naming among the Xhosa of South Africa* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).

Staffan Nyström is Professor (chair) in Scandinavian Onomastics at Uppsala University, Sweden. He is active in the Place Names Advisory Board of Sweden (member), the Name Drafting Committee of Stockholm (chair), the Place Name Society of Uppsala (chair), the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (treasurer), and United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (convenor of its working group on toponymic terminology). His research interests include field names, microtoponymy, urban names, national and international name standardization, and name theory.

Harry Parkin is Research Associate on the Family Names Project at the University of the West of England, Bristol. He is a linguist with particular interests in the history of English surnames, the methodology of surname research, and the use of historical onomastic data in philology, demography, and Middle English dialectology.

Guy Puzey is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he also teaches Norwegian and works as a course organizer for lifelong learning courses in Germanic and Slavonic languages. In the field of language policy, he has carried out extensive research on the relative visibility of languages in public spaces and language

activism, while in critical toponomastic studies, he has incorporated the linguistic landscape approach into studies of power and place-naming.

George Redmonds works as a freelance historian in Yorkshire, specializing in Name Studies, Language and Local History. He has lectured widely in Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand, and in 2001 presented the BBC Radio 4 series *Surnames, Genes and Genealogy*. His numerous books include *Surnames and Genealogy* (1997) and *Christian Names in Local and Family History* (2004). In 2011 he co-authored *Surnames, DNA, and Family History* with Turi King and David Hey.

Berit Sandnes wrote her doctoral thesis on Old Norse place-names in Orkney with special focus on contact linguistic aspects. She has worked with Onomastics in Norway and Denmark. Since 2006, she has been Research Archivist at the Institute for Language and Folklore, Department of Dialectology in Lund, Sweden. One area of interest is how speakers interpret and adapt names.

Margaret Scott is Lecturer in English Literature and English Language at the University of Salford. She formerly worked as a lexicographer for the Historical Thesaurus of English at the University of Glasgow, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and Scottish Language Dictionaries in Edinburgh. She edited *Nomina*, the journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, from 2008 to 2013. Her research interests include Onomastics and the History and Lexicography of English and Scots.

Paula Sjöblom is Senior Lecturer and Docent in Finnish language at the University of Turku, Finland. Her main interests are in commercial naming, theoretical and methodological questions of onomastics, cognitive linguistics, text linguistics, and business language. Her doctoral thesis (2006) on Finnish company names presents new methods for name studies. She is one of the three authors of *Names in Focus* (2012), and she has published a number of scholarly articles about commercial naming and name theory.

Grant W. Smith is Professor of English and Coordinator of Humanities at Eastern Washington University. He has served as President of the American Name Society, Vice President of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences, Regional Secretary for the American Dialect Society, and is a long-time member of the Washington Board on Geographic Names. His current scholarship emphasizes literary onomastics, especially Shakespeare, but previous publications include American Indian languages and the emotive effects of language sounds.

Svante Strandberg presented his doctoral thesis at Uppsala University in 1991: *Studier över sörmåländska sjönamn: Etymologi, namnbildning och formutveckling* ('Studies of Södermanland lake names: Etymology, name formation and morphological development'). From 1994 to 2007 he held the chair of Scandinavian Languages, especially Onomastics, at Uppsala University. Since 2006 he has been the Editor of the journal *Namn och bygd*. He has published a large number of articles, many of them dealing with hydronyms.

Irma Taavitsainen is Professor Emerita of English Philology at the University of Helsinki. Her interests cover historical pragmatics and corpus linguistics, genre studies and historical discourse analysis. She has published widely in these fields. Her most recent co-edited volume is *Developments in English: Expanding Electronic Evidence* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) with Merja Kytö, Claudia Claridge, and Jeremy Smith. Her research team has produced two electronic corpora, and a third, *Late Modern English Medical Texts 1700–1800*, is under way.

Simon Taylor is Lecturer at the University of Glasgow specializing in Scottish toponymics. He has published extensively on the subject including five volumes of the place-names of Fife (2006–12) and individual volumes on the place-names of Kinross-shire and Clackmannanshire (forthcoming). He co-founded the Scottish Place-Name Society in 1996. He has been Editor of the annual *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* since its inception in 2007, the first academic, peer-reviewed publication devoted to Scottish onomastics.

Andreas Teutsch worked as a translator for a French company in the automotive sector, after graduating in Applied Linguistics and Cultural Studies. In 2001 he joined the trademark department of the Swiss Federal Institute of Intellectual Property in Berne as a linguistic consultant and trademark examiner. In 2007 he received his PhD in General Linguistics. His main fields of research are language and law as well as onomastics with special focus on product names.

Karina van Dalen-Oskam's research interests focus on the digital and computational humanities, especially on stylometry and (comparative) literary onomastics. She is head of the department of Literary Studies at Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) and Professor of Computational Literary Studies at the University of Amsterdam. She is currently president of EADH, the European Association for Digital Humanities.

Mark Van de Velde is a researcher at Llacan, a research lab of CNRS dedicated to the study of African languages, where he is currently Deputy Director. He is interested in linguistic typology, linguistic documentation, and especially the grammatical analysis of previously undescribed sub-Saharan languages. Traditionally a specialist in the Bantu languages, he has recently started working on the Adamawa languages of Nigeria.

Willy Van Langendonck was Professor of Linguistics at the University of Leuven until 2003. He started as a structuralist, became a generativist, turned to Generative Semantics, and became interested in cognitive linguistic theories. His research interests include markedness and iconicity, reference and semantics (especially proper names), grammatical categories such as definiteness, genericness, number, grammatical relations, prepositions, dependency syntax, and word-order. He has published widely on proper names.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CAROLE HOUGH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

THE study of names, known as ‘onomastics’, is both an old and a young discipline. Since Ancient Greece, names have been regarded as central to the study of language, throwing light on how humans communicate with each other and organize their world. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others were keenly interested in the relationship between names and referents, and this has continued to be a major theme of both philosophical and linguistic enquiry throughout the history of Western thought. The investigation of name origins, on the other hand, is more recent, not developing until the twentieth century in some areas, and being still today at a formative stage in others. Here the emphasis is on etymology, systematically tracing the derivation of individual names back through time, and the resulting data have provided a rich evidence base for the investigation of historical and linguistic topics. Relatively new is the study of names in society, which draws on techniques from sociolinguistics and has gradually been gathering momentum over the last few decades.

Whereas these approaches encompass names of all kinds, others prioritize particular types of names, such as place-names or personal names. A wide range of inter-disciplinary research bearing on archaeology, geography, and landscape studies focuses largely on the names of places, while research bearing on anthropology and genealogy focuses largely on the names of people. Fictional as well as real names repay attention, most obviously in the study of names in literature, but also in relation to areas such as commerce, law, psychology, and religion. Named entities are not limited to people and places, but extend to other living creatures, man-made objects, and celestial bodies, all reflecting different aspects of the interaction between humans and their surroundings.

Much research in the field begins at the level of the individual name, but only reaches full significance when the results are grouped together, allowing patterns to emerge. Comparative analysis of large datasets has been facilitated enormously by advances in

technology, as some of the contributions to this volume explain. Also important is the sharing of knowledge through national and international collaboration. Many name scholars are closely involved in subject societies, whether focusing on names of a particular type or within a particular geographical area, and the over-arching organization, the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, brings together research into names of all types throughout the world at its triennial conferences.

The structure of this volume reflects the emergence of the main branches of name studies, in roughly chronological order. First, a section on name theory outlines key issues about the role of names in language. Some of these will be revisited in later chapters, often from different viewpoints. Many aspects of the subject are controversial, and the volume does not aim to present a party line, but rather to reflect the rich diversity of scholarship. Part II deals with toponomastics, the study of place-names, with an opening chapter on methodology followed by chapters on different types of referents. Part III turns to anthroponomastics, the study of personal names, beginning with an overview of naming systems in different parts of the world, followed by chapters on the individual components of those systems. Part IV outlines contrasting approaches to the study of names in literature, otherwise known as literary onomastics, with case studies from different languages and time periods. Part V introduces a range of recent scholarship within the field of socio-onomastics, with chapters relating to the names of people, places, and commercial products. Part VI focuses on the inter-disciplinarity of name studies, outlining some of the ways in which other disciplines both draw on, and contribute to, this field of research. Finally, Part VII presents a selection of animate and inanimate referents, and explores the naming strategies adopted for them. Strikingly, each has distinctive naming patterns, some esoteric, some idiosyncratic, and some developed with great ingenuity according to a complex system.

1.2 ONOMASTIC THEORY

What are names, and how do they function in language? As Coates (2006e: 7) explains, name theory is ‘arguably the most ancient topic area in the whole of linguistics since it was first problematized by Plato in his *Cratylus*, and it is, notwithstanding its antiquity, one with foundational problems still to be resolved’. In the English-speaking world, names are traditionally regarded as a type of noun or noun phrase, sometimes referred to as ‘proper nouns’. Whether they are atypical or prototypical nouns has been hotly debated, and attempts have also been made to reclassify them as determinatives (Anderson 2003, 2004, 2007). This volume therefore begins with the crucial issue of the definition of names—a definition which, like other key questions addressed in subsequent chapters, must be universally applicable rather than language-specific. To this end, Willy Van Langendonck and Mark Van de Velde advocate a cognitive approach, focusing on

the pragmatic-semantic properties of names as distinct from language-specific grammatical categories. Drawing on data from a range of European and African languages, they argue that names are definite nouns with unique denotation, an inherent basic level sense, no defining sense, and optional connotative meanings.

In the following chapter, Staffan Nyström picks up on the issue of meaning, elaborating on the different types of meaning attributed to names by different scholars, and outlining the main arguments relating to this highly controversial area of name theory. Despite the influential view that absence of semantic meaning is a defining characteristic of a name, some theorists argue that names have certain types of semantic meaning, while many—perhaps all—accept that names have non-semantic meaning. This chapter too takes a cognitive approach, focusing particularly on the interface between lexical and proprial meaning, such that lexically transparent components of names may bring to mind their non-proprial meanings. Nyström also provides a cogent exposition of the range of potential presuppositional meanings, including categorical (basic level) meaning, associative (connotative) meaning, and emotive (affective) meaning. Like Van Langendonck and Van de Velde, who identify a ‘cline of nameworthiness’ from more to less typical types of names, he argues that ‘names and words should not be seen as completely isolated from each other but instead as two communicating and integrated parts of the total network, the mental lexicon’. Both chapters thus situate names within a language continuum, rather than proposing a cut-off point separating them from other linguistic items.

The third and final chapter in this section shifts the perspective from the internal properties of names to their uses in spoken language. Elwys De Stefani introduces the concept of interactional onomastics, applying techniques from conversation analysis to the study of names in discourse. Again pragmatic analysis is key to the investigation, but whereas traditional approaches to onomastic theory have been dominated by issues relating to the denotative function of names, this chapter raises broader questions about their social and cultural significance. In so doing, de Stefani introduces a number of themes that will be revisited in later sections of the volume, particularly in connection with anthropology and socio-onomastics.

1.3 TOPONOMASTICS

The study of place-names is known as ‘toponomastics’, the term recommended in the list of key onomastic terms produced by the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS 2011). An alternative term ‘toponymy’ is preferred by some scholars but is ambiguous, as it also refers to a corpus of place-names, otherwise known as ‘toponyms’. Much research in toponomastics is organized geographically, surveying the place-names of an area by compiling and analysing sequences of historical spellings in order to establish etymological origins. The opening chapter of Part II offers an introduction to

sources and methodologies, focusing on the recently-inaugurated Survey of Scottish Place-Names. Simon Taylor draws on his extensive experience of place-name research to discuss key issues relating to the collection, organization, storage, analysis, and presentation of data, including evidence from both written and oral sources. Although Scotland is a small country, its toponymy draws on an unusually wide range of languages including both Celtic and Germanic strata, and hence the examples presented here have a much broader relevance.

The following chapters deal with the names of different types of geographical entities, including both the natural and the built environment. The prototypical place-name is that of a human settlement such as a town, city, or village, and there are many parallels between those found in different parts of the world. Some parallels result from similar naming strategies being applied independently by unrelated groups of speakers; others result from names being transferred directly from one area to another. Carole Hough outlines the main structures of settlement names, grouped broadly into descriptive and non-descriptive names. The former tend to predominate in Indo-European languages, whereas the latter, which include commemorative, transferred, and incident names, are characteristic not only of some non-Indo-European languages but of the names created by European settlers in the African, American, and Australian continents during the Age of Exploration. The second part of Hough's chapter discusses some of the evidence preserved in both groups, particularly for settlement patterns, settlement chronologies and historical linguistics. Examples are mostly from the mainland of Britain, but again the underlying principles have a broader relevance.

The most ancient toponyms are those of large geographical features. The names of major rivers are among the earliest evidence for language and population movement, with some dating back two millennia or more. Svante Strandberg analyses the linguistic and chronological strata reflected in different types of formations, as well as the implications of identical or related river names in areas of Britain and continental Europe. His chapter includes a discussion of some of the most common roots in European river names, alongside semantic and morphological factors. A controversial area is the stratigraphy of 'Old European' hydronymy, a system of river naming dating back to a period before the emergence of individual branches of Indo-European. This has been a major focus of scholarship throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and the chapter traces the development of the debate.

Other large geographical features include hills and mountains, whose names are the subject of Peter Drummond's chapter. These tend to be recorded later than the names of settlements and of rivers, a factor attributed to their economic marginality. It is also more common for more than one name to be attached to a single feature, partly due to lack of communication between rural societies on different sides of a single mountain. Something similar accounts for the fact that the names of ranges tend to be later than those of individual hills, since the concept of a local hill being part of a larger group depends on a degree of mobility. Changes over time are also relatively common in hill

names, as are uncertainties regarding the precise referent, which may comprise the whole massif, its main or subsidiary summit, a shoulder, or another prominent part. Alongside such issues, Drummond gives an account of research into the defining elements or ‘generics’ of mountain names in Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland, and France, followed by a discussion of selected types of qualifying elements or ‘specifics’, focusing in particular on the application of personal names to summits in the former European colonies, the USA, and Europe.

The naming strategies of the European colonizers are also reflected in many island names, since islands are often among the first places to be settled and named by new groups of incomers. For the same reason, they provide unique evidence for language history and migration patterns. Peder Gammeltoft explores these and other issues, with particular attention to the mindsets of the namers. Case studies include island names of Scandinavian origin in the British Isles, and island names from Polynesian *motu* ‘island’ in the Pacific Ocean. Both illustrate the central role of island names in tracing the spread of people and their languages throughout the world.

Julia Kuhn deals with a more disparate set of entities, linked by being ‘uninhabited, delimited objects in rural settings and surroundings’. Her chapter on rural names covers the names of fields, meadows, forests, single trees, and so on, many of which are associated with the agricultural exploitation of land. Changes in farming practices are leading to the loss of such names, so there is a real urgency to the task of documenting and studying them. Their main purpose is orientation and the identification of areas within small and limited units, and they provide fine-grained evidence for local conditions and dialects. Kuhn offers a detailed analysis of semantic and morphological patterns, followed by an outline of methods of collection and interpretation. Many examples are from Romance and Germanic languages, and the chapter demonstrates the value and importance of this often neglected group of toponyms.

Whereas rural names serve to organize uninhabited space, street names fulfil the corresponding purpose in towns and cities. There are, however, marked contrasts, not least in that whereas rural names are gradually diminishing in use, street names represent the most productive area of the present-day toponymicon. Bertie Neethling begins by outlining the characteristic structures of street names, and moves on to examine their functions, both referential and symbolic. His chapter focuses particularly on the renaming of streets, with case studies from South Africa. The high emotive value of commemorative names is strikingly illustrated, reinforcing the key role of such formations in the naming environments treated in previous chapters.

The final chapter in this section deals not with a type of referent but with a type of naming strategy, touched on in previous chapters but here brought centre-stage. Stefan Brink presents an in-depth treatment of place-name transfers, including different ways of adapting existing names, and the importance of analogy and patterning in name formation. Many examples are from Scandinavia; others from Polynesia and the European colonies.

1.4 ANTHROPONOMASTICS

Also referred to as ‘anthroponymy’, anthroponomastics encompasses the study of names given to individuals or to groups of people. As in toponomastics, etymological investigation is a major thrust of investigation, but there is in addition a greater emphasis on the historical development of naming patterns and on synchronic research into name choices. This section outlines the development and uses of different kinds of personal names, and concludes by discussing links with related areas of research.

Unlike place-names, where there are different naming strategies for different referents, personal names all refer to the same type of referent—people—but the system itself comprises different types of names, including given names, family names, nicknames, and so on. The various components of the personal naming system are selected and combined in different ways in different cultures, and the opening chapter in this section presents a comparative analysis of fifteen languages across the world. Edwin D. Lawson assembles a range of specialists to outline the naming practices in their language of expertise, and then correlates the data in order to identify shared features. The results show that naming practices in the UK have the most overlap with others, followed respectively by those found in Greek, German, Dutch, the USA, French, Portuguese, Hungarian, Polish, Chinese, Maltese, Jewish, Zulu, Māori, and the Bible.

The following chapter by Katharina Leibring focuses on given names, otherwise known as first names. After defining and categorizing given names both morphologically and semantically, she presents a diachronic survey of their evolution and selection in a wide range of European naming systems from pre-Christian times to the present day. Despite differences between countries and regions, a number of common features are identified, including a bias towards male, upper class names in the extant records. Changes in naming practices are linked to historical developments, and the survey concludes with a discussion of the current trend in many European countries for individualization in given names, through such strategies as unorthodox spellings and the creation of new, innovatory names.

In many naming systems, one or more given names are followed by a surname, otherwise known as a family name since its function is to identify an individual as a member of a family. Patrick Hanks and Harry Parkin address the origins and typology of hereditary surnames in different parts of the UK, drawing both on previous scholarship and on examples from the ongoing *Family Names of Britain and Ireland* research project at the University of the West of England. They also discuss the influence of migration on the world’s family-name stocks, such that, for instance, present-day surnames in the UK reflect origins in languages as diverse as Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Gaelic, Hebrew, Indian, Latin, Persian, Turkish, and Yiddish. The chapter goes on to present an account of scholarship in continental Europe, Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, and concludes by drawing attention to the potential of large surname databases to underpin further research in the field.

As Hanks and Parkin explain, an intermediate stage before the development of hereditary family names was the use of non-hereditary bynames. These, alongside nicknames, are the focus of the next chapter by Eva Brylla. She begins by defining the terms, before turning to issues relating to function, syntax, semantics, and morphology. Coverage extends to the names both of individuals and of groups such as football clubs, and there is also a brief analysis of internet names, to which the next section will return. Similarly, the concluding discussion of bynames as a mirror of society raises issues that will be addressed in further detail within Part V.

The names of ethnic groups are known as ‘ethnonyms’, and Adrian Koopman discusses the relationship between the names themselves and a range of factors often linked to ethnicity, including race, nationality, geographical area, language, and religion. Case studies focus on Scottish and Zulu clan names, and the chapter addresses theoretical issues concerning the linguistic status of ethnonyms.

The remaining two chapters in this section deal with areas of research which both draw on and contribute to anthroponomastics. Ellen S. Bramwell outlines the role of names within anthropological frameworks, with examples from different parts of the world. Examining the close connection between names and the cultural contexts in which they appear, she argues that despite some existing cross-over between the two disciplines through, for instance, the use of ethnographic fieldwork methods, there is potential for much closer theoretical engagement. Finally, George Redmonds explores the key role of personal naming patterns in tracing ancestry. While the significance of surnames for genealogy has long been recognized, he argues that the importance of given names in this connection has been undervalued. His chapter presents a compelling analysis of patterns of distribution, showing how they can be used not only to reveal the origins of individual names, but also to trace migration, whether between countries or between counties. The complexities associated with the development of surname variants, abbreviations, and contractions are illustrated by a wealth of examples, and the chapter emphasizes the role of the genealogist as contributor to, as well as beneficiary from, name research.

1.5 LITERARY ONOMASTICS

Despite an exponential growth of publications on literary onomastics in recent decades, the development of methodologies for the study of names in literature is at a much earlier stage than for the study of either toponomastics or anthroponomastics. This section discusses the theoretical basis of literary onomastics and offers a survey of different kinds of approaches.

The opening chapter by Grant W. Smith takes as its starting point the philosophical debate concerning the meaning of names, and provides a magisterial survey of competing theories. Supporting the semiotic approach advocated by C. S. Peirce, he analyses literary uses of names in terms of iconic associations, indexical associations, and

symbolic associations. The chapter concludes by emphasizing the importance of systematic analysis.

In contrast to this broad theoretical approach, Bertie Neethling presents a comparative analysis of uses of names in two songs from the late twentieth century: Billy Joel's *We Didn't Start The Fire* and Christopher Torr's *Hot Gates*. Both are remarkable for the sheer number of names included in the lyrics. Torr uses place-names exclusively, while Joel brings in a variety of place-names, personal names, brand names, and others. Particular significance is attached to connotative meanings, bringing out the ways in which they enrich the artistic experience.

Some uses of names are genre-specific, so a number of literary onomastic studies approach names through groups of texts related by genre. Birgit Falck-Kjällquist outlines previous research in connection with a variety of genres, including nineteenth-century novels, twentieth-century detective fiction, sequels, comics, fantasy literature, drama, films, heroic poetry, medieval romance, and parodies. The main focus is on English and German literature.

Advances in technology are transforming many branches of name studies, not least in this field. Karina van Dalen-Oskam outlines the development of literary onomastic scholarship from the qualitative analysis of selected names to the quantitative analysis of the entire 'onymic landscape', an approach facilitated by the availability of electronic databases. As yet, only relatively small text corpora are available for this kind of study, but the chapter demonstrates the immense potential of a computational approach.

Paul Cavill's chapter on language-based approaches to names in literature traces the history of literary onomastics from the earliest written traditions to the present day. It relates literary names to contemporary naming practices, showing how and why they sometimes differ. There is a particular focus on Old and Middle English literature, Shakespeare, and later modern novelists.

1.6 SOCIO-ONOMASTICS

The emerging subdiscipline of socio-onomastics offers new approaches to names of all kinds, including both personal names and place-names. As Terhi Ainiala explains, this branch of onomastics examines names in society, focusing particularly on name variation. Names vary according to the social, cultural, and situational fields in which they are used, and socio-onomastics draws on techniques from sociolinguistics in order to trace and to analyse this phenomenon. Ainiala's chapter offers a state-of-the-art account of the field, and concludes by presenting folk onomastics as a sub-category of socio-onomastics.

The role of names is key to the construction of identity and to notions of selfhood, but has only recently begun to be critically examined. Emilia Aldrin gives an overview of theoretical and methodological tools, and outlines current trends and gaps within the field. Her chapter focuses mainly on contemporary names, primarily those of individuals.

Turning from personal names to place-names, Guy Puzey introduces linguistic landscape research, an approach that has emerged in recent years to reflect issues relating to the language(s) used on public signs (e.g. roads, railway stations, shops) in areas occupied by different speech communities. These issues are crucial to the field of language planning. Puzey details major theoretical and methodological developments here and in the related fields of geosemiotics and semiotic landscapes. He then turns to the onomastic potential, including opportunities to apply linguistic landscape fieldwork techniques to study observable onomastic practice, to facilitate the collection of names, and to study names in relation to language policy.

Recent work on place attachment (comprising place identity and place dependence) has led to a new theory of 'Toponymic attachment', with particular relevance to areas of the world with both indigenous and immigrant populations. Toponymic attachment is defined as a positive or negative association made by individuals and groups with real or imagined place-names. It was developed by Laura Kostanski, whose chapter makes comparisons between existing geographical-domain-based theories and potential new avenues for exploration, while also investigating and explaining the sub-domains of 'Toponymic identity' and 'Toponymic dependence'. Most examples are from the Grampians National Park in Australia.

The names used to address a person may not be the names used to refer to him or her, and may indeed vary substantially in different situations and social environments. As much if not more than names themselves, forms of address reflect changing cultural values and attitudes both synchronically and diachronically. As Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker explain, address terms are used by speakers to appeal to their hearer(s) and to convey both interpersonal and expressive meanings, with a scale extending from endearment to deference and to terms of abuse. Their chapter outlines alternative semantic classifications, and presents a diachronic overview of changes in both the frequency and the semantic types of address terms. The focus is on English, but there is also some consideration of developments in other languages.

Unlike personal names and nicknames, which are generally bestowed by other people, and also unlike surnames, which are inherited, pseudonyms are chosen by the individual, and hence offer specific insights into naming and self-presentation. Katarzyna Aleksiejuk introduces pseudonyms as a category of names, and describes practices of use from various angles. She goes on to outline the historical development of scholarly approaches to anonymity and pseudonymity, and the functions of pseudonyms in different contexts, including literature, entertainment, politics, religion, and selected non-European traditions. Her chapter also discusses the recent phenomenon of internet usernames, and puts forward a proposed typology.

Another area of naming that has come to prominence in recent years is commercial nomenclature, often but not always referring to businesses and products. Paula Sjöblom explores the increasing commercialization of the Western way of life and its impact on names. Her chapter casts light on the history of commercial naming and

introduces different approaches to linguistic analysis. There is a particular focus on the semantics and functions of names, and Sjöblom explains how English, as the global language of business, is pervasive in commercial names throughout the world.

1.7 ONOMASTICS AND OTHER DISCIPLINES

Onomastics is essentially inter-disciplinary, and it might be difficult to identify any major subject area to which it is completely unrelated. The chapters in this section explore some of the most prominent connections between name studies and other fields of research, but are by no means exhaustive. Their number could easily have been multiplied, and readers will no doubt be able to think of other topics that could have been included.

First, Richard Jones discusses names and archaeology, explaining how place-names and field names can be used to locate sites of archaeological interest, while examination of material culture can contribute to the understanding of when and why places were named. The emergence of cognitive approaches has also led to place-names being used as evidence for the mental world of past communities.

Cognitive approaches are also central to Serge Brédart's chapter on names and cognitive psychology. He begins by summarizing empirical evidence demonstrating that personal names are both more difficult to retrieve than other biographical information about people, and more difficult to retrieve than other words. Then he outlines competing hypotheses that attempt to explain these difficulties, respectively on the grounds that personal names lack descriptiveness, that person naming requires the retrieval of one specific label, that the set size of plausible phonology is larger for personal names, and that the frequency of personal name usage is relatively low. The conclusion is that a combination of factors makes personal names hard to recall.

Maggie Scott's chapter on names and dialectology explores the relationship between the study of language varieties and the study of names, taking account of historical developments in theory and methodology. The oral corpus of local names is usually more detailed than that represented on maps, and such 'unofficial' names can provide a range of insights into the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions of non-standard, slang, and dialectal terminology. Place-names also preserve important evidence for dialect geography, and Scott draws on Nicolaisen's concept of the *onomastic dialect* to provide an explanatory framework for instances where onomastic isoglosses do not parallel their lexical counterparts.

Peder Gammeltoft also focuses largely on place-names for his chapter on names and geography. A challenge in using place-names in this connection is to establish when a name was established and the significance of the naming focus. In addition, later onomastic developments may create a mismatch between the current denotation and the original place-name meaning. These and other issues are explored here, alongside a

discussion of the role of Geographical Information Systems and geospatial databases in both onomastic research and geography.

Turning to names and history, Gillian Fellows-Jensen outlines the various linguistic layers of place-names in England in reverse chronological order. She moves from names of French origin to those from Norse, Anglo-Saxon, and Celtic languages, tracing the principal areas where each group is found, and also touching on river names of Old European origin.

Richard Coates's chapter on historical linguistics looks at names as evidence for the nature and progress of linguistic change, and for prehistoric languages which have since disappeared. The relationship between names and other vocabulary items is also addressed, and the chapter concludes with a description and evaluation of the practice of the etymological study of names.

As Berit Sandnes explains, place-names are easily borrowed in language contact situations, probably because sharing a place-name is the easiest way to point out a specific location. Loan names are regularly adapted to the sound system of the recipient language, and adaptations occur sporadically on other linguistic levels, including grammar and syntax. Elements may be translated or substituted by similar-sounding words in the new language. Sandnes also draws attention to the key role of the speaker in contact onomastics, as processes such as translations, replacement of elements, and syntactic adaptations can only be explained as the result of a speaker's interpretation and adaptation.

Personal names feature prominently in Andreas Teutsch's chapter on names and law, since they are closely connected with personal rights. Teutsch presents an overview of legal regulations concerning personal names in different countries, but also attempts to define universal tendencies and to discuss the challenge of legal harmonization on an international level. Since law regulates social interaction, it can also be a decisive institution for conflicts relating to other types of names, including those of places, streets, undertakings, and commercial products.

Alison Grant charts the increasing use of onomastic source material in English lexicography, from its marginal consideration in the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* to the much more inclusive policy of the ongoing third edition. In Scotland, the situation is less well advanced, and name evidence is used unsystematically in the major dictionaries of Scots, a language for which reliable onomastic source material is also less readily available. However, toponymic and anthroponymic evidence can provide valuable ante-datings and reinterpretations for existing dictionary entries, as well as providing new additions to the lexicon.

Kay Muhr discusses the interface between names and religion, focusing particularly on place-names in Ireland. Her chapter presents some place-name elements from Ireland illustrating the sacredness of water, hills, and burial and assembly sites. She analyses problematic terms such as *findabair*, *temair*, the Otherworld dwelling *síd*, the pagan grave *fert*, and the human house *tech*, as well as ecclesiastical terminology borrowed from Latin: *domnach*, *cell*, *dísert*, *aireagal*, *martar*, and *reilic*.

1.8 OTHER NAMES

Names are given to many animate and inanimate referents, with distinctive patterns even for apparently similar referents such as boats and ships, locomotives and trains, or pets and farm animals. The shorter chapters in this section explore some of these patterns. Again, their number could have been expanded exponentially, but the aim is to provide a representative cross-section, illustrating a variety of naming strategies.

Guy Puzey covers aircraft names, presenting an outline history of approaches to naming British military aircraft types. Civil aircraft naming practices are illustrated with the example of the Boeing Company's 700-series of airliners, and the chapter also discusses aircraft naming in international development projects. Finally, examples are given of names and nicknames for individual machines.

Two of the chapters in Part I drew attention to similarities between personal names and pet names, and Katharina Leibring now treats the names of domestic animals in fuller detail both diachronically and synchronically. She focuses on the names of production animals and companion animals in European countries from the eighteenth century onwards, but also includes some coverage of African and Arctic animal names. Changes in the name stock for different species are related to changes in agriculture, and differences between the names of male and female animals are also addressed.

Marc Alexander introduces the study of astronomical naming practices, showing how they relate to scientific and general culture. His chapter focuses on constellation names, star names, and planet names, and addresses both the historical background and the complex modern conventions.

Adrian Koopman discusses the names of private dwellings, outlining the various semantic categories and levels of meaning. He focuses particularly on the functions and meanings of Zulu homestead names, with an emphasis on their use to communicate messages aimed at relieving tension and conflict.

The two remaining chapters deal with land and sea transport. Richard Coates describes the history of the names of steam locomotives, showing a progression from attributive to arbitrary names. He also more briefly considers the names of trains. Finally, Malcolm Jones discusses the names given to ships from the earliest records to the present day. Political and religious motivations for the giving and changing of names are illustrated from the English, French, and Russian Revolutions. Categories of name are illustrated from medieval and early modern English and Spanish fleets, and modern navies, merchantmen, and cruise-lines.

1.9 CONCLUSION

As well as outlining the current state of name studies in its various branches, the chapters in this volume show the discipline continuing to expand and to develop into new areas.

To mention a few examples from different sections, de Stefani introduces the concept of interactional onomastics, Neethling argues for song lyrics as a legitimate area of investigation for literary onomastics, Sandnes introduces contact onomastics as a branch of contact linguistics, and some of the legal cases cited by Teutsch show changes still in progress through ongoing rulings with a binding effect. Research within name studies is vigorous, vibrant, and innovative, and if this volume had been produced twenty or even ten years ago, many of the chapters would have been radically different or even absent. We can be confident that a similar undertaking in another ten or twenty years would be as different again.

PART I

.....

ONOMASTIC THEORY

.....

CHAPTER 2

NAMES AND GRAMMAR

WILLY VAN LANGENDONCK
AND MARK VAN DE VELDE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

THE study of names and grammar involves establishing the grammar of proper names (henceforth: names) in one or more languages. First, we should have a workable idea of what is to be understood by *names* and by *grammar*, because ‘... finally onomastics is a branch of linguistics’ (Algeo 2010: 93). Thus, we first have to deal with a long-standing distinction. In recent decades, many scholars have adopted Ronald Langacker’s (1987) distinction between the ‘established linguistic convention’ (formerly *langue* or competence) and ‘language use’ (formerly *parole* or performance), which appear to form a reasonable continuum. As a rule, grammar deals with the morphosyntactic peculiarities of a specific language. In this, we follow Haspelmath (2010: 663), who contends: ‘Descriptive formal categories cannot be equated across languages because the criteria for category-assignment are different from language to language’. Thus, grammar is language-specific (compare Algeo 1985, 2010). The Chomskyan universal grammar seems to be a remote ideal in approaching language research. By contrast, Haspelmath (2010) introduces the notion of ‘comparative concept’, thus avoiding speaking of ‘universal categories’. In this chapter, we advocate a cognitive view, and more specifically, an approach with a constructionist flavour.

In construction grammar (Croft 2001), it is argued that the semantics of a linguistic expression determines its (morpho)syntax to a considerable extent. Thus, the semantic status of names is mirrored by certain syntactic (called ‘symbolic’) constructions (see also Van Langendonck 2007b: ch. 2). Unfortunately, as Croft (1990: 268, fn. 24) notes, only few data about names are available in the linguistic typological literature because ‘most grammatical descriptions do not include information on proper names’. So far as Bantuist studies go, Van de Velde (2003) speaks of ‘a lack of the study of proper names, at least from a grammatical point of view’. Anderson (2004: 438) complains that ‘little theoretical attention in general linguistics has been paid to the morphosyntax of names’. To make things

worse, contemporary ‘pragmatic’ or ‘discourse’ approaches to names show little interest in looking for grammatical criteria to characterize names, if only because their attention is focused on language use, not on established linguistic convention, whose rules are described by grammar. Often, established linguistic convention and grammar are hardly taken into consideration, see, among others Coates (2006a, 2006b, 2009b, 2012c), De Stefani and Pepin (2006: 132, 142, 2010), Brendler (2008), and even Algeo (2010: 95), who writes ‘... the individual use of names may form an important part of the theory of onomastics’. Nevertheless, all these scholars refer to (proper) names, common nouns, though seldom pronouns, without defining these nominal categories. It is apparently left to the speaker to determine what a name is in discourse since grammarians are sometimes said to just make a mess of it. We cannot of course share this defeatism, although the limited data available on names are undoubtedly insufficient to constitute a representative sample of the world’s languages (but see Anderson 2007; Van Langendonck 2007b, 2010). A bias towards Indo-European (Western European, and especially English) will be unavoidable here. This will not prevent us from taking into account old and new morphosyntactic criteria for name status in some ‘exotic’ as well as more familiar languages.

We will start from a semantic-pragmatic ‘comparative concept’ applying to the essence of ‘properhood’, as Coates (2006a, 2006b) calls it. Thus, we regard a name as a nominal expression that denotes a unique entity at the level of established linguistic convention to make it psychosocially salient within a given basic level category. The meaning of the name, if any, does not (or not any longer) determine its denotation (Van Langendonck 2007b: 125).

Our task here is to find out to what extent the comparative concept of name corresponds to language-specific descriptive (sub-)categories in the languages for which we have data, and to what extent these categories formally mirror the denotative and semantic properties of names. As far as possible, morphosyntactic criteria will be connected with each of the semantic-pragmatic characteristics, that is, nominal status, unique denotation, categorical (or: basic level) presupposition, and the lack of defining sense. We will use a well-established convention in the typological literature to distinguish the universally applicable semantic-pragmatic comparative concept of name from the language-specific grammatical categories of Name, by using initial capitalization for the latter. Two important distinctions are to be made first: established linguistic onomastic convention vs. the use of language and names, and name vs. name lemma. Section 2.2 will then provide a characterization of proper names. The chapter will conclude with a partial typology of names, organized according to a scale of typicality.

2.1.1 Established Linguistic and Onomastic Convention vs. the Use of Language and Names

The view that names have a unique denotation and can refer in discourse is in accordance with Langacker’s (1987) notion of established linguistic convention (formerly *langue* or competence), forming a continuum with language use (formerly *parole* or

performance). Just as denotation is an abstraction from reference, established linguistic convention is an abstraction from language use. Only in established linguistic convention does it make sense to speak of grammar or morphosyntax, which most linguists call the heart of the linguistic system. In this way, names can be given a genuine place in grammar as a structural category, like all other word classes.

The grammar of names describes their peculiarities in established linguistic and onomastic convention. Langacker's (1987) concept of established linguistic convention is flexible and useful, also for names. As a part of it, we discern established onomastic convention. Names enter established onomastic convention via bestowal or via gradual onymization. This allows us to make three observations.

First, although it is admitted that acts of reference fix the denotation of proper nouns (Coates 2006b: 39, 2012c: 121), it is not clear where this denotation finds its place if names are defined in terms of reference in language use. Clearly, unique denotation pertains to established linguistic convention. The rejection of this uniqueness in Coates (2012c) prohibits a distinction between names and pronouns since in this framework, both essentially refer in language use, even if they appear to denote as well, but not uniquely according to Coates (2012c). The lack of the notion of established linguistic convention led philosophers like Bertrand Russell (1919: 179; 1964 [1918]: 201) to claim that genuine names were 'logically proper names', that is, referring words like *this* or *that* (compare Kripke 1972: 345, fn. 16). Russell called ordinary names 'shorthand descriptions'. Surely, referring words like *this* or *that* refer uniquely in a certain context, but the reference will differ in another context. However, taking Kripke's term 'rigid designator' seriously, names denote uniquely in any context.

Second, there is a continuum from established onomastic convention to the use of names in speech and writing. We may use a name just once, and then forget it, so it does not enter established onomastic convention. For instance, referring to an unpopular guest, we could say: *Hitler is coming tonight*. In this example, *Hitler* is a new referent in discourse only, not yet a denotatum in established onomastic convention. That is one extreme. The other extreme for names is that many have been functioning in society for centuries, for instance family names, city, country, or river names, and the like.

Third, the notion of established onomastic convention allows us to recognize that there are well established names known and used only in small communities, such as nicknames in a family, for example, Dutch *Ons Pop* 'Our Doll', called that by her father. This is an established name in this minimal community (Van Langendonck 2007b: 286). The other extreme is that there exist names known worldwide, such as *Africa* or *Mandela*.

2.1.2 Name vs. Name Lemma (Proprial, Appellative, other Lemmas)

Another important distinction is between lexical items and the way they are used in different contexts. Thus, names need to be distinguished from name lemmas. The term

name lemma indicates a dictionary entry with an onomastic valency. For instance, the lemma *Mary* has the potential to be used as a name with one or more sublemmas that each underlie a name. Thus, the lemma *Mary* underlies a large number of names, such as Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Stuart, and so on. Since the lemma *Mary* is typically used as a name, it can be called a *proprial lemma*. Proprial lemmas always allow common noun uses, albeit marginally, as in *I was thinking of a different Mary*. Proprial lemmas could be further subdivided into personal name lemmas, place-name lemmas, and so on, according to the type of name they are most typically used to denote. Again, this does not exclude a personal name lemma such as *Mary* from being used to denote the name of a boat, for instance. We have seen that a proprial lemma can be used as a common noun (*a different Mary*). Conversely, names can be based on all kinds of lemmas. Thus, for instance, an appellative lemma is assigned to a name like the film name *Gladiator*, and a phrasal lemma to a novel name such as *The Old Man and the Sea*. In many languages the etymology of most personal names is transparent, and it is sometimes stated that ‘names have a meaning’ in such languages. A more accurate way to characterize these languages is to say that they have no or few proprial lemmas and that personal names tend to be based on appellative lemmas. Finally, common nouns can be derived from names metaphorically or metonymically, as are *Napoleon* and *Jane* in (1)–(2). Such common nouns are called *deproprial* in Van de Velde (2009).

- (1) That soldier is a second Napoleon.
- (2) She purports to be another Jane.

2.2 CHARACTERIZATION OF NAMES

In this section we will characterize names as nouns (2.2.1) with unique denotation (2.2.2) that have an inherent basic level sense (2.2.3), no defining sense (2.2.5), but optionally connotative meanings. We will argue that names can be considered to be the most prototypical nominal category (2.2.4), and we will compare names with pronouns (2.2.6).

2.2.1 Names and Nouns

From Antiquity onwards, it has been held that names are nouns (or possibly noun phrases). Classical terminology speaks of *onoma kyrion* (*nomen proprium*), and *onoma proseigorikon* (*nomen appellativum*). Therefore both names and appellatives are considered to be nouns (Gary-Prieur 1994: 243). Following Hudson (1990: 170), personal (and other) pronouns can also be regarded as nouns. According to this, we have three kinds of nouns. Few scholars seem to dispute the thesis that names are nouns or at least nominal

expressions. For Coates (2006a: 373), names are noun phrases though not typically nouns. Anderson (2004: 436; 2007) contends that names ‘are no more nouns than are pronouns or determiners’. If a pronoun is a kind of noun there is no problem. However, it seems difficult to view a name as a kind of determiner, at least syntactically, even if the determiner is considered to be the head of the ‘noun phrase’ (Anderson 2004: 456; but see Van Langendonck 1994).

From a cross-linguistic perspective, trying to determine whether names are nouns may not be the most meaningful goal, since the answer depends on how one chooses to define the comparative concept of *noun*, especially in languages such as Straits Salish where parts of speech distinctions are not very clear cut. The question can better be answered on the language specific level, where the semantic-pragmatic comparative concept of name provided in the introduction can correspond to zero, one or more than one grammatical category of Name. The grammatical characteristics of Names in a given language should be compared to those of Common Nouns in that language. In English, for instance, Names can take (non-restrictive) determiners, just like Nouns but unlike Pronouns, for example *that* modifying *George Bush* in (3), and *Britain’s* modifying *Jeremy Irons* in (4). See Section 2.2.6 for more discussion of the difference between names and pronouns.

- (3) That George Bush is a nice guy. (Vandelanotte and Willemse 2002: 22)
- (4) Britain’s Jeremy Irons was present at the premiere in New York. (Vandelanotte and Willemse 2002: 25)

Still in English, Names can be grammatically differentiated from Common Nouns due to their ability to appear as the identifying element in close appositional patterns of the form [(definite article +) noun + (definite article +) noun], for example *Fido the dog*. (Van Langendonck 2007b: 4, 131; Idiatov 2007).¹ The unit that does not characterize but identifies is a name (noun), that is, *Fido*. The appellative *dog* indicates the categorical presupposition.² This grammatical criterion for distinguishing Names from Common Nouns seems to be valid for most Indo-European languages (e.g. French *la ville de Paris*, Dutch *de stad Amsterdam*, or Polish *miasto Kraków* ‘(the) city (of) Cracow’). In other languages, such as the Gabonese Bantu language Orungu, this criterion cannot be used to distinguish Names from Common Nouns, but agreement provides a grammatical criterion (see Van de Velde and Ambouroué 2011 for Orungu and Van de Velde 2009 for Kirundi).

¹ Moltmann (2013) deals with ‘sortals’ and close appositions with names from a different perspective.

² Of course, not all close appositions give us the basic level meaning, e.g. *President Obama* does not indicate that Obama is necessarily a president. Mostly, the basic level meaning is not overtly expressed, especially not in prototypical names such as personal names, where it is taken for granted.

2.2.2 The Unique Denotation of Names

The unique denotation of names entails their definiteness, as well as their incompatibility with restrictive relative clauses and their inability to refer back anaphorically.

2.2.2.1 *Names as Definite Noun Phrases*

Definiteness is well-established both as an inherent feature of names (cf. among others Sørensen 1958; Dalberg 1985: 129; Löbner 1985: 299; Pamp 1985: 113; Wotjak 1985: 7, 13; Abbott 2002; but see Allerton 1987; Lyons 1999; Anderson 2003: 351, 394, 2004), and as of personal pronouns (Löbner 1985: 300). The feature ‘definite’ is often understood as displaying a presupposition of existence in the universe of discourse, at least in its prototypical occurrences (Van Langendonck 1979; cf. 1981; Kleiber 1992). It does not come as a surprise that names, which have a fixed denotation, suggesting uniqueness and existence, are bound to have this grammatical meaning. The syntactic evidence we will adduce for the definiteness of names will pertain only to their denotative use as arguments (see Van Langendonck 1981). Sometimes, languages show an overt distinction between this use and other uses. Greek, for instance, puts a definite article before personal names in argument position, that is, in the denotative use of names, though not in vocatives or name-giving utterances (e.g. *I name this child X*, Anderson 2004: 441–2, 456).

A diagnostic for the definiteness of names in (colloquial) English can be found in the following observation: NPs that occur in right dislocation and are announced by a cataphoric personal pronoun, have to be definite. It turns out then that, like other definite NPs, names can occur in right dislocation in this way, at least in colloquial speech (Quirk, et al. 1985: 632):

- (5) a. He’s a complete idiot, *that brother of yours*.
b. It went on far too long, *your game*.
- (6) *He’s a complete idiot, *a neighbour*.
- (7) He’s a complete idiot, *John*.

Announced by a personal pronoun (*he, it*), the definite NPs of a proprial, pronominal, or appellative nature *that brother of yours, your game, John* are able to appear in right dislocation. For the indefinite appellative NP *a neighbour*, this possibility is excluded. Apparently, it is only definite NPs, with their presupposition of existence and uniqueness, that can occur as ‘afterthoughts’, in this case; well-known referents that the speaker wants to recall, just to ensure the hearer will think of the right person or thing.

Since names are inherently definite, the addition of an overt definiteness marker is superfluous, and definite articles with names are often used to express notions other than definiteness. Certain types of names have a fixed determiner in English (e.g. *the Nile*), which can be argued to have a classifying function. We shall return to this in Section 2.3.2. We also find an expressive use of the article, such as the augmentative use

of the article with Flemish forenames in certain dialectal areas, for example *de Jan* ‘the John’. In German, the article has almost lost its expressivity with first names because of its frequency in discourse (e.g. *der Johann*). In other contexts, the addition of a definite article is honorific: *La Callas*.

When a name appears with an indefinite article in English, the latter expresses merely countable singularity (its original function), while the propriality and therefore the definiteness of the name are preserved, as in:

- (8) a. A devastated Claes entered the court room.
 (= Claes entered the court room as a devastated man)
- (9) b. This idiot of a Jack!
 (= Jack is such an idiot!)

It is useful at this point to remind ourselves of the distinction between names and the name lemma on which they are based. In the Gabonese Bantu language Orungu, nouns are marked for definiteness by means of their tone pattern. Many personal names are based on an appellative lemma with an indefinite tone pattern, for example *ngùwà* ‘a shield’. Used as names, these nouns are definite, as is the phrasal name of the French movie *Un prophète* (A prophet).

2.2.2.2 No Restrictive Relative Clauses with Names

Restrictive modifiers limit the extension of a given NP. Therefore, names are incompatible with such modifiers (see Sørensen 1958; Seppänen 1971, 1982; Vandelanotte and Willemse 2002). The most conspicuous of restrictive modifiers is the relative clause. As a rule, the English relative pronoun *that* refers to inanimate appellative antecedents and introduces a restrictive clause. A zero form can be used for any restrictive clause if it is not intended to ‘replace’ the clause’s subject, for example

- (10) The city **that** I visited was nice.

By contrast, proprial antecedents do not allow such restrictive devices because of their unique denotation, for example

- (11) *Ghent **that** is the most beautiful city in Flanders, was one of the biggest in medieval Europe.
- (12) *Mary I saw smiled.

2.2.2.3 Anaphoric Relations

Since names display a fixed denotation, it is predictable that they cannot refer back in the discourse to any other kind of NP, at least in the standard anaphoric way. Lakoff

(1968: 17–19) and Cole (1974: 671) pointed this out, setting up a cline going from the strongest anaphoric elements (clitic pronouns) to the weakest (names) (Van Langendonck 2007b: 153). Examples could be:

- (13) a. Napoleon was the emperor of France. He lost at Waterloo.
 b. *He was the emperor of France. Napoleon lost at Waterloo.
- (14) a. Quisling was at power during the war. The prime minister betrayed his country.
 b. ?*The prime minister was at power during the war. Quisling betrayed his country.

With this criterion, the most marked difference between personal pronouns and names is brought to the fore. Personal pronouns display the least specific denotation whereas names show the most rigid reference because of their fixed extension. At the same time, we can see that in this respect, names differ least from multidetentative NPs like *the prime minister* in (14).

2.2.3 Names (not Lemmas) Have an Inherent Basic Level Sense

A crucial characteristic of names is that they have an inherent categorical presupposed sense (compare Coates 2012c: 125). Philosophers such as Geach (1957: section 16) and Searle (1958) argue that this categorical sense is necessary for every use of a name to preserve the identity of the referent. Likewise, certain psychologists see a categorical, and more precisely a basic level sense in names. La Palme Reyes et al. (1993: 445) establish

- (15) [Freddy: *dog*] = [*this*: *dog*]

which is to be read as ‘Freddy in the category DOG’ is ‘this in the category DOG’.

Thus, there is a deictic component in names (*this*), as in pronouns, but there is also a categorical appellative sense (*dog*). Names can therefore be situated between pronouns and common nouns from a semantic viewpoint (see Molino 1982: 19; Valentine et al. 1996; Hollis and Valentine 2001; James 2004; Van Langendonck 2007b: 169–171).

The inherent categorical sense of names is presupposed and therefore cannot be negated. *A fortiori*, in a sentence like *London is on the Thames*, the existence of London is presupposed, as is its basic level category *city*. Obviously, we can say *London is not a city*. But in this special case, the asserted sense contradicts the presupposition. The basic level categories for which the individual members typically receive a name, are to a certain extent culture specific. Thus cows typically have a name in Kirundi (Bantu, Burundi), but not, or much less often, in present-day English. Note that *person* is usually

not the basic level category for personal names, nor is *place* the one for place-names. In such highly salient categories the basic level tends to be lower on the hierarchy, *man* and *woman* for human beings, *city*, *country*, *village*, etc. for places.

The rest of this section will adduce neurolinguistic and morphosyntactic evidence for the presupposed inherent categorical meaning of names. Neurolinguistic evidence is reported in Bayer (1991) (see Van Langendonck 2007b: 110–13 for discussion), who worked with a patient (H.J.) suffering from so-called deep dyslexia, which means that she can observe written texts exclusively via a semantic route and not by means of a transmission from grapheme to phoneme. Such patients cannot read nonsense words, they have difficulties reading abstract words or grammatical morphemes, and reading concrete common nouns often gives rise to paralexia, for example reading *hammer* when *axe* is written. H.J. is unable to read names. However, she always recognizes them as names and for personal names she could usually specify whether the name bearer is a man or a woman. She could also identify place-names as names for cities, countries, or rivers. Bayer concludes that there must exist a minimal lexical categorical sense belonging to the semantic memory, specifying the categorical presupposition. Bayer also reports on a different type of response that H.J. gave when asked to read names, *viz.* connotations. Thus, the name *Australia* triggered the basic level sense ‘country’, but also connotations such as ‘far away’ and ‘kangaroos’. We will come back to these non-lexical connotative meanings in Section 2.2.7.

Strong morphosyntactic evidence for the categorical sense of names can be found in the Burundese Bantu language Kirundi (Van de Velde 2009). As in the great majority of Bantu languages, nouns trigger noun class agreement in Kirundi. Noun classes are overtly marked by means of a nominal prefix, so that the agreement pattern triggered by a noun is largely predictable from its prefix. This is not the case for Kirundi Names, however, which trigger the same agreement pattern as the common noun that is used to refer to their basic level category. Thus, names for dogs agree according to the noun class of the common noun *imbwa* ‘dog’ (class 9), and personal names agree according to the class of the common noun *umuuntu* ‘person’ (class 1). This is illustrated in (16) by means of the name *Rukara*, based on the lemma that underlies the common noun *urukara* ‘blackness’ (class 11). Agreement prefixes are marked by means of roman numbers in the glosses.³

- (16) a. Rukara a-rikó a-rafuungura
 Rukara I-is I-eating
 ‘Rukara (a person) is eating.’
 b. Rukara i-rikó i-iraryá
 Rukara IX-is IX-eating
 ‘Rukara (a dog) is eating.’

³ Arabic numerals are used to gloss overt noun class markers in examples of Bantu languages, whereas Roman numerals mark noun class agreement prefixes. Wherever possible, we follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with the following additions: NTP non-definite tone pattern, PROP proper name.

More grammatical evidence for the basic level sense of names can be found in the choice of an interrogative pro-word in name questions such as *What is x's name* (Idiatov 2007: 61–94, 2010). In languages that differentiate between ‘who’ and ‘what’, the choice between both is determined by two independent parameters, *viz.* entity type and type of reference. Entity type distinguishes between PERSONS and THINGS (i.e. non-persons). Type of reference distinguishes between IDENTIFICATION and CLASSIFICATION or categorization. ‘Who’ is prototypically used in questions for the identification of a person, whereas ‘what’ is used to ask for a categorization of a thing. The name question *What is x's name* is non-canonical in that it asks for the identification of a thing (i.e. a name). In order to deal with this non-canonical situation, many languages avoid the choice between ‘who’ and ‘what’, using other interrogatives such as ‘how’, ‘which’, or ‘where’. In languages that do not use this avoidance strategy, the choice between ‘who’ and ‘what’ very often depends on the categorical sense of the name that is expected as an answer. If the name of a human being is expected, ‘who’ will be selected. If the basic level category of the name is non-human or inanimate (depending on the language), ‘what’ is selected. This is illustrated in (17) with an example from the Sepik-Ramu language Namia from Papua New Guinea (cited from Idiatov 2007, who obtained the example from Becky Feldpausch, p.c.). Note that English selects ‘what’ in such questions, irrespective of the categorical sense of the expected answer.

- (17) [A:] ne-k(a) ilei tal(a)? [B:] John
 2SG-POSS name who PROP
 [A:] ‘What is your name?’ [B:] ‘John’

Finally, the presence or absence of a categorical sense distinguishes names from other words with unique reference, such as *the internet*, *the universe*, or *the sun*. These words for singleton categories lack a basic level categorical presupposition: [the x (the) internet] and [the x (the) universe].

2.2.4 Names as the Most Prototypical Nominal Category

If we look at the grammatical features that are relevant for names, it is striking that names tend to have the unmarked feature value. Therefore, it could be argued that names are the most prototypical nominal category. This conclusion runs counter to Langacker (1991: ch. 1).

We saw in Section 2.2.1 that names are definite. As regards DEFINITENESS, it has been argued in Van Langendonck (1979) that it is the unmarked counterpart of the feature [+/- definite]. Karmiloff-Smith (1979), Mayerthaler (1988), and Croft (1990) have come to the same conclusion on various grounds: early acquisition, experiential and typological evidence. In fact, definiteness is the most natural state of a referring expression, that is, definite and referential go together (Van Langendonck 1994). As regards the feature

NUMBER, names are mostly singular (and countable): *Kevin, Mary, London, the Rhine*, and so on. Sometimes they show a collective plural: *the Andes, the Philippines*.

As regards the features DEFINITENESS and NUMBER, there is an essential difference from common nouns: where we have a dichotomy of plus and minus in the features of one and the same common noun, e.g. *the city* vs. *a city*; *city* vs. *cities*, there is no such opposition in one and the same name. *Pluralia tantum* such as *the Andes* and *the Philippines* are rare, and are not even ordinary plurals since they are not quantifiable: **(the) many Andes*. Even in such plural names we find an element of singularity: the plurality is construed as a unity, a singularity, a fact we have accounted for by calling *pluralia tantum* collective plurals.

2.2.5 Names have no Defining Sense

To get to grips with the notion of ‘sense’, we can put specific questions asked by Stephen Ullmann and other scholars, such as: *What does the word ‘table’ mean?* Or *What do you understand by ‘table’?* If these are questions that make sense, then the word has ‘sense’, that is, definitional lexical meaning. Indeed, we can give a definition of the word *table*, as found in dictionaries. Usually, such words, in this case the common noun *table*, show polysemy, that is, a coherent set of semantic features, of which one is often prototypical. For instance, Webster’s dictionary defines *a table* as a piece of furniture consisting of a smooth flat slab fixed on legs; this sense is akin to the sense of a tablet or a contents list, and so on. On the basis of these senses, we can find the referents. By contrast, in the case of names, the designation prevails over the meanings. As Ullmann (1969: 33) contends: ‘One cannot possibly say that one understands a name; one can only say that one knows whom it refers to, whose name it is.’⁴ It does not make sense to ask: *What does the word ‘London’ mean?* or: *What do you understand by ‘London’?* This applies to pronouns as well. It does not make sense to ask: *What do you understand by ‘he/she’, or ‘this’?* Therefore neither names nor pronouns appear to have sense, that is, definitional lexical meaning, let alone a polysemous structure. The rest of this section will discuss three morphosyntactic patterns that reflect the absence of a defining sense of names.

2.2.5.1 *The Non-restrictive Relative Construction with which*

Predicate nominals, nouns or NPs that function as a predicate, contain only an intension, not an extension. In English, they can be modified by non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by *which*.

(18) Obama is (the) president, *which* McCain will probably never be.

⁴ Similar observations were made by Nicolaisen (1995b: 391); for German: Boesch (1957: 32) and Debus (1980: 194). However, Brendler (2005: 108–9) rejects the relevance of such statements since he adheres to a kind of maximum meaningfulness theory for names, although he (2008) refers to *nomeme* (equivalent to ‘name’), *archinomeme* (equivalent to ‘properial lemma’), and a number of other terms.

Since for names, as well as for personal pronouns, it is essential to have denotation and not descriptive meaning, neither names nor personal pronouns can appear in these structures (Van Langendonck 2007b: 146–8):

- (19) *The president is Obama / him, *which* McCain will probably never be.

2.2.5.2 *The [for + NP] Construction*

For similar reasons, names and pronouns are excluded from the constructions exemplified in (20):

- (20) For *a* schoolboy he is not performing badly.

The *for*-phrase can be paraphrased as: ‘although he is a schoolboy’. This makes clear that the object NP of the preposition *for* behaves as a kind of a predicate nominal. Normally, predicate nominals can be definite, as in: *Obama is the president*. That seems, however, not to be the case in this structure:

- (21) *For *the* schoolboy he is not performing badly.

To patch up the pattern with a definite NP, a few stratagems are necessary. First, a relative *be*-clause has to be added; second, a qualitative, evaluative element has to be inserted, either an evaluative noun or qualitative adjective accompanying the noun. Compare:

- (22) For the idiot that he is, he is not performing badly.
(23) For the modest schoolboy that he is, he is not performing badly.

However, if the noun in question is not a common noun but a name, the sentence cannot be patched up:

- (24) ?*For the modest Leroy that he is, he is not performing badly.

For non-personal names, the test works even better. An example involving place-names is the following:

- (25) a. For the hectic river that it is, the Rhine is not that polluted yet.
b. *For the hectic Rhine that it is, this river is not that polluted yet.

2.2.5.3 *Names and Homophonous Coordination*

It has been observed by McCawley (1968: 144) that homophonous NPs cannot be coordinated.⁵

- (26) *The employees and the employees are male and female respectively.

Instead, a single NP must be used:

- (27) The employees are male and female respectively.

However, this rule is not always valid. For instance, with names homophonous conjunction is permitted to a certain extent (Van Langendonck 1981). At least two different cases are possible:

- (28) a. Johnson and Johnson have set up a new subsidiary.
b. London and London are two different cities.

In (28a) we have to do with the name of a company formed by the coordination of two occurrences of the same family name; (28b) is about the capital of the UK, the name of which emigrated to the USA to become the name of another place.

Different again is an example from German (Dobnig-Jülch 1977):

- (29) Toni, also die Tochter von nebenan, und Toni, der Sohn der anderen Nachbarn, kommen heute nicht.
'Toni, next door's daughter, and Toni, the other neighbors' son, are not coming today.'

In (29), first names with identical lemmas are coordinated. After each name, a loose apposition is inserted so as to clarify the identity of the referent without affecting the proprial character of the lemmas. Cases such as (29) in particular are similar to those of personal pronouns and demonstratives employed deictically, that is, with a pointing gesture:

- (30) a. *Yóu* and *yóu* should leave.
b. *This* and *this* will have to be removed.

⁵ McCawley's (1968: 144) generative semantic rule runs as follows: 'There is a transformation which obligatorily collapses the conjoined subject *the employees and the employees* into a single occurrence of *the employees*'.

The rationale behind these examples may be that no two homophonous NPs containing a lexical sense could be conjoined. In Hansack's (2004) framework, we would have to say that no two homophonous NPs with *denotata* belonging to the same set could be conjoined. However, two such NPs containing a combination of a deictic word and a common noun are possible, for example

- (31) This man and this man will be fired.

In (31), *man* has the same meaning each time and belongs to the same set of *denotata*. The rule would then have to be qualified as follows: two (or more) homophonous NPs cannot be coordinated unless they emphasize some deictic element (extension) in them, whether an intensional element is present or not. Apparently, names come closest to such ambivalent expressions as *this man*. It should be recalled that this ambivalent structure combining a deictic (extensional) element and a categorical (intensional but presupposed) element is inherent in names. The difference from the type [deictic + appellative], for example *this man* lies in the fact that this NP shows the ambivalent status on the level of the construction, while names unite the two aspects in common on word level. This resemblance explains the grammaticality of (28a), (28b), and (31).

2.2.6 Names between Pronouns and Appellatives

Language philosophers have tended to view names as a kind of indexical, closer to personal pronouns or demonstratives than to common nouns. Although this view is also supported by some linguists (e.g. Anderson 2004, 2007), most linguists seem to find it more difficult to distinguish names grammatically from common nouns. Section 2.2.1 has already pointed out that English Names can take determiners, just as Common Nouns, but unlike pronouns. Moreover, we have seen that names and pronouns are at opposite ends of a cline in anaphoricity (Section 2.2.2.3), bringing to the fore the most marked difference between pronouns and names. This section compares names and pronouns in more detail, pointing out differences and commonalities. Overall, names share more commonalities with common nouns than with pronouns. We will limit ourselves here to giving three differences between names and pronouns.

First, in Dutch both proprial and appellative NPs can be construed in left dislocation such that the coreferential demonstrative *die/dat* features in the sentence proper, for example

- (32) Karel / De baas, *die* lacht altijd.
lit. 'Charles / The boss, that laughs all the time.'

However, we cannot do the same with personal pronouns (Van Langendonck 2007b: 170):

- (33) *Hij, *die* lacht altijd.
lit. 'He, that laughs all the time.'

Second, English and Dutch personal pronouns still display case distinctions (*I—me/ik—mij*, etc.) while common nouns and names do not. Third, as Anderson recognizes (2007: 118, 197–8, 201–3), derivation and compounding are typical of names and appellatives, but not of pronouns. Often, names and appellatives share the same classifiers or affixes, for example

- (34) a. Compounding: Sherwood Forest / rainforest
b. Derivation: Spain > Span-ish / fever > fever-ish
(Anderson 2007: 197)
Elizabeth-an / republic-an (Anderson 2007: 198)

Anderson (2007: 201) argues that 'the inflectional and derivational morphology of names . . . cannot be identified with noun morphology', but it is not clear why.

Coates (2006a, 2006b) argues in favour of the thesis that is the opposite of Anderson's, that is, that names are nouns and noun phrases. He does not even mention pronouns in this context. In fact, names are said to be distinguishable from common nouns only at the (pragmatic) level of language use. Perhaps the truth lies in the middle: names can be considered a nominal category to be situated between pronouns and appellatives (Van Langendonck 2007b: 169–71). Names are a kind of noun and form an open class, *pace* the opposite claim of Anderson (2004, 2007). A number of arguments have been provided for this thesis in Van Langendonck (2007b).

2.2.7 Names Can Have Connotations

An aspect of the meaning of names that we have not mentioned so far is the different types of optional connotative meanings that they can have. These are not essential for the characterization of names and have no or far fewer morphosyntactic correlates. At least four types of connotative meanings can be distinguished.

First, names with a transparent etymology can give rise to associative meanings related to the name form. Thus, the family name *Baker* may remind us of a baker. This type of connotative meaning is exploited in personal name-giving in many cultures. Old English dithematic names such as *Ælf-weald* 'elf-king' (Insley 2007), for instance, had an aspirational character. In literature too, this type of connotation is often exploited, as in the

name *Snowwhite*. Second, there are connotations that arise via the *denotatum* and can be exploited in discourse to identify or to characterize the name-bearer. No polysemy is involved here (see also Semenza 2009), for example Obama is president of the United States, Obama has a wife and children, Obama does not eat hamburgers, and so on. The third type of connotative meanings that can be distinguished are emotive meanings such as augmentative, diminutive, or honorific. These can be inherent in certain names, for instance if the name contains a diminutive or augmentative suffix, as in the Dutch first names *Jan-tje*, *Marie-ke*, and *Bert-ie*, where *-tje*, *-ke*, and *-ie* are diminutive suffixes. Needless to state, bynames and nicknames tend to have strong emotive connotations. Although connotative meanings are not part of the lexical meaning of names, contrary to their categorical presupposition, morphosyntactic correlates can be found. In Kirundi, for instance, personal names can trigger diminutive or augmentative agreement patterns in order to add an endearing or deprecating connotation. Example (35) shows three possible agreement patterns with the personal name controller *Taama*. The first is agreement of class 1, according to the noun class of the basic level term ‘person’ (see ex (16) above). The second (32b) and third (32c) are augmentative agreement of class 7 and diminutive agreement of class 12, respectively (Meeussen 1959: 191, cited via Van de Velde 2009: 234).

- (35) a. Taama a-raaje
 Taama I-arrives
 ‘Taama arrives’
 b. Taama ki-raaje
 Taama VII-arrives
 ‘Taama arrives’ (augmentative)
 c. Taama ka-raaje
 Taama XII-arrives
 ‘Taama arrives’ (diminutive)

Fourth, there are what Cislaru (2006, 2012) calls ‘facets’ of meaning. Although the basic level meaning of city names is ‘city’, and that of country names is ‘country’, these geographical names often adopt additional meanings (animate), induced by metonymy. English examples are:

- (36) Paris elected a new mayor < The citizens of Paris elected a new mayor
 (37) America decided to declare war on terror < The Government of The United States of America decided to declare war on terror

Personal names, especially of artists, can stand for the work the artists produced:

- (38) Rodin se trouve dans la troisième salle du musée. (Lemghari 2014: 354)
 ‘(The work of) Rodin is to be found in the third room of the museum.’

2.3 A PARTIAL TYPOLOGY OF NAMES

This section provides a partial typological classification of names, in which we will show that there is a grammatically relevant cline from more to less typical types of names. A fuller account dealing with more types of names can be found in Van Langendonck (2007b: 183–255). Individuals in the psychosocially highly relevant categories of people and settlements normally have a name. The names for settlements and especially persons are also the most typical names from a grammatical point of view. Towards the bottom of the cline we often find mismatches between what counts as a name from a semantic-pragmatic point of view (cf. our comparative concept in Section 2.1) and what is construed as a Name from a grammatical point of view in individual languages. We find categories for which only some members have a name that behaves as a Name, whereas names of other members are construed as Common Nouns, for example the category of diseases. Non-prototypical names can have unusual properties such as being non-count, or recursive. For the analysis of certain types of names, such as brand names, the distinction between name and proprial lemma turns out to be crucial.

2.3.1 Personal Names

Personal names are arguably the most prototypical names. The number and types of names that are bestowed on people are highly culture specific, as are the principles that guide the choice of a name. A discussion of personal names in European societies can be found in Van Langendonck (2007b: 187–96). Before moving on to other types of names, it is useful to point out that personal names do not always originate in a name giving act. The process of onymization, the gradual evolution of a name, can be observed with personal names as with other types of names. Van Langendonck (2007b: 194) gives the example of the Flemish first name—byname combination *Suske de Verver* ‘Francis the Painter’, in which the byname has a transparent origin in the appellative *painter*. In the process of onymization, the primary accent moved from the first syllable of the first name to that of the byname (*Súske de Verver* → *Suske de Vérver*). At the same time, *de verver* was semantically bleached, losing its asserted lexical meaning, so that the byname could continue to be used when its name bearer was no longer a painter. When animals such as pets receive a name, this name tends to have the properties of personal names.

2.3.2 Place-names

Often, interesting insights and generalizations can be gained through recognizing the validity of a synchronic view. A case in point is the synchronic semantic and formal

place-name hierarchy, as defended in Van Langendonck (1998, 2007b: 204–12). Here, we can observe a synchronic formal cline, based on basic level categories:

ZERO MARKING, as in city and town names: *London, Berlin*;

SUFFIXING, as in country names: *Fin-land, German-y*;

ARTICLE PREPOSING, as in names of, e.g. fields, regions, and rivers: *the Highlands, the Rhine*;

The use of CLASSIFIERS plus possibly an article, as in names of seas, oceans, or deserts: *the North Sea, the Gobi Desert*.

This formal markedness hierarchy apparently corresponds to a cline in human organizational involvement: maximal in cities and countries, but minimal in regions, rivers, seas, or desert. Anderson calls it an ‘anthropocentric’ cline. If only English examples are cited (as in Anderson 2007: 115, 187), we see no distinctions in gender since in English all place-names exhibit neuter gender. Hence we cannot observe the interesting interaction between gender and basic level sense that occurs in languages like German, where the prototypical articleless names of cities and countries have neuter gender, whilst the more marked categories systematically construed with articles (*der Rhein* ‘the Rhine’, *die Nordsee* ‘the North Sea’) continue the historical appellative gender. Last but not least, English shows the humanized place-names (e.g. settlement names) omitting the article, whilst the non-human place-names (e.g. river names) tend to adopt the article. This can be observed where the names of former colonies or regions lose their article when they become independent countries: the Ukraine > Ukraine, The Congo > Congo, the Lebanon > Lebanon.

2.3.3 Names of Months

Names of months are ambiguous between a non-recursive (39a) and a recursive/generic (39b) reading, which is admittedly an untypical feature for names.

- (39) a. *June was hot*
 b. *June is always hot*

This semantic characteristic of month names has been adduced to argue against their name status. However, non-recursivity is not a defining semantic characteristic of names in our view. Grammatical evidence in a typologically and genealogically diverse set of languages shows that the category of months is rather similar to those of people and places in that its individual members typically receive a name. From that perspective, names of months are typical names.

According to the close appositional test, names of months are Names in English, since we can speak of *the month of June*. In the Bantu Language Kirundi too, names of months

display the grammatical properties of Names, including agreement according to the basic level categorical term *ukwêzi* ‘month’ (Van de Velde 2009: 229). Likewise in Rapa Nui, spoken on Easter Island, names of months are marked by the morpheme *a*, indicating onymic status, for example *i a hori iti* ‘in August’ (Idiatov 2007; Van Langendonck and Van de Velde 2007: 459–61).

2.3.4 Trade and Brand Names

When dealing with trade and brand names, the distinction between name and name lemma is of crucial importance, since the same lemma is typically used as a name and as a common noun. Lemmas such as *Ford* can therefore be called proprio-appellative lemmas. In example (40a) *Ford* is the name of a brand, whereas in (40b) it is a common noun used to refer to a product of this brand. In the latter use, *Ford* has a defining sense.

- (40) a. Ford is a familiar brand.
b. Jane bought a Ford yesterday.

Note that several names are based on the multidenotative lemma *ford*, for individuals of different categories. In (41a) *Ford* is the name of a person, in (41b) that of a company. Thus, in the examples (40)–(41) we are dealing with three different names and one common noun, all of which are semantically linked by metonymy.

- (41) a. Ford founded a car industry.
b. Ford is an American car company.

2.3.5 Numbers

Numerals have a versatility comparable to that of the proprio-appellative lemmas underlying trade and brand names. They can certainly be construed as names (42a), (42b), as appellatives (42c) and, probably most frequently, in an attributive function (42d) (likewise Langacker 1991: 86):

- (42) a. Three is a sacred number.
b. the number seven
c. He has millions of books.
d. People normally have ten fingers.

Grammatical evidence for analysing numerals as names in some uses can be seen in (42b), where *seven* occurs in a close appositional construction. The Bantu languages

also provide grammatical evidence. In the Gabonese language Orungu, numbers trigger an agreement pattern typical for Names in subject position of clauses similar to that in (42a) (Van de Velde and Ambouroue 2011: 135). Kirundi is interesting, in that the same number can be alternatively construed as a Name (43b) or as something in between a Name and a Common Noun (43a), with a preference for the latter.

- (43) a. Ga-taanu ga-kwirikira ka-ne
 12-five XII-follows 12-four
 ‘Five comes after four.’
 b. Ga-taanu gi-kwirikira ka-ne
 12-five VII-follows 12-four
 ‘Five comes after four.’

In (43b), the number five has the two typical grammatical characteristics of Names in Kirundi, *viz.* the absence of the so-called augment—a word-initial grammatical morpheme—and an agreement pattern determined by the class 7 categorical term *igitigiri* ‘number’ (see Section 2.2.3). In (40a) the augment is lacking, but the agreement pattern is the one predicted by the overt class prefix *ga-*, *viz.* agreement pattern 12. The Name construction in (43b) is stylistically marked as learned, or even pedant. This seems to be typical in situations where the same item can be construed as a Name or as Common Noun.

2.3.6 Names of Diseases and Biological Species

As we move further away from the most prototypical types of names, we encounter categories for which only some members receive a name, whereas other members are designated by means of an appellative. The distinction is not random. Phenomena that are familiar tend to be treated as one of a kind, that is, categories of their own, and they are not designated by means of a name. On the other hand, unfamiliar phenomena tend to be treated as belonging to a category of which the individual members receive a name. We will look at names for diseases and biological species here.

Names of diseases are apparently never Names in English, but in Dutch it depends on the disease (compare Van Osta 1995). Apart from the fact that names of diseases behave as mass nouns in common noun use, they seem to differ regarding the capacity of taking on a proprial function, and to appear in close apposition. As the close appositional constructions in (44) show, names of diseases that are new, exotic, and/or are to be taken seriously appear to be treated as genuine names. They are also capitalized in spelling.

- (44) a. *De ziekte Aids* breidt uit in Afrika.
 ‘The Aids disease expands in Africa.’
 b. *De ziekte Ebola* heeft vreselijke gevolgen.
 ‘The Ebola disease has terrible effects.’

By contrast, ordinary diseases are not capitalized and cannot appear in apposition except in coordinate structures, compare:

- (45) a. *De ziekte (de) griep komt elk jaar terug.
 'The influenza disease returns every year.'
 b. De ziektes griep, mazelen en rodehond vind je overal.
 'The diseases influenza, measles and rubella are found everywhere.'
 c. Griep kan nog gevaarlijk zijn.
 'Influenza can still be dangerous.'

It therefore seems that words for ordinary or older diseases are rarely construed as names, but that new and exotic terms for illnesses can be given name status more easily.

From a grammatical point of view, names of subspecies low on the biological taxonomy are sometimes Names in Bantu languages. Evidence can be found in the Cameroonian language Eton (Van de Velde 2006: 232, 2008: 111) and in Kirundi, where all names for species of beans agree according to the noun *i-gi-haragé* 'bean' (Van de Velde 2009).

2.3.7 Autonyms

In Section 2.1.2, we saw that proprial lemmas such as *Mary* are construed as common nouns in certain contexts. Likewise, any other lemma can be construed as a name with the presupposed categorical sense of 'word'. In this usage, called *autonymy*, linguistic expressions refer to themselves. Autonyms have the grammatical characteristics of names in English, as they can occur in close appositional constructions (46).

- (46) The words *stand for* and *about* (Meyer 1992: 84)

Moreover, autonyms need not be preceded by an article in English.

- (47) *Bank* is a homonymous word.

Languages differ as to whether autonyms have the grammatical properties of Names. One language that is like English, in that autonyms belong to the grammatical category of Names, is Orungu (Bantu, Gabon). In this language, Names trigger agreement of class 1 on verbal targets. This can be seen in the metalinguistic statement on the word *ònémé* 'tongue, language' in (48). If *ònémé* were construed as a common

noun, it would trigger a prefix of agreement pattern 5 on the copula (Van de Velde and Ambouroue 2011).

- (48) ònémé èrê n ìmpìbínyí mbání
 ònémé.NTP I.is with 10.meaning x.two
 ‘Oneme has two meanings.’

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

Starting from the comparative concept of (proper) name, we distinguish between established linguistic convention and the use of language, and subsequently between name and name lemma. Names are nouns with unique denotation, they are definite, have no restrictive relative modifiers, and occupy a special place in anaphoric relations. They display an inherent basic level and can be argued to be the most prototypical nominal category. Names have no defining sense. They can have connotative meanings, but this has little grammatical relevance. We have stressed the need to rely on grammatical criteria, which are too often ignored in approaches to names.

The approach developed in this chapter aims at being universally valid in two ways. First, the pragmatic-semantic concept of names defined in the introduction is cross-linguistically applicable. It is distinct from language-specific grammatical categories of Proper Names for which language-specific grammatical criteria should be adduced. Second, our approach takes into account all types of proper names. The question of what counts as a name, very often debated in the literature, should be answered on two levels, keeping in mind the distinction between proprial lemmas and proper names. The language specific question as to what belongs to the grammatical category of Names does not necessarily yield the same answer as the question of what can be considered to be a name from a semantic-pragmatic point of view. Mismatches are most likely to be found at the bottom of the cline of nameworthiness introduced in Section 2.3.

CHAPTER 3

NAMES AND MEANING

STAFFAN NYSTRÖM

Do names have meaning? To most people such a question might seem strange. Of course names have meaning, they would probably say, even if the meaning is sometimes difficult to grasp. *Long Island* means ‘long island’, which is obvious if you know English. *Costa Blanca* means ‘the white coast’ to anyone who speaks Spanish. *Lago Maggiore* and *East River* mean ‘the greater lake’ and ‘the river to the east’ to people speaking Italian and English respectively. Surnames such as Eng. *White*, Germ. *Müller* ‘miller’ and Sw. *Svärd* ‘sword’ do not have to be explained. The meaning of all these names is obvious—you do not need to be a trained onomastician to realize that—and if the meaning is obscured by time or otherwise, there are name scholars to help us interpret and explain such opaque names as well. So yes, names do have meaning.

3.1 ARE NAMES ‘MEANINGLESS’ OR ‘MEANINGFUL’?

In fact it is not as simple as suggested above. Many scholars from different disciplines have claimed for a long time that names do not have meaning, names only have reference. In the examples mentioned in the opening paragraph it is the corresponding words (*long*, *island*, *costa*, *maggiore*, *east*, *river*, *white*, etc.) that have meaning, not the names as such. A name has an illusory lexical and etymological meaning, while the real ‘meaning’ of the name is actually the place carrying the name, the named object. Thus the meaning of *Stockholm* is ‘the city that is the capital of Sweden situated on a group of islands where Lake Mälaren meets the Baltic Sea and where . . .’ or something like that. The fact that the words *stock* ‘log’ and *holm* ‘islet’ were once used to form the name is not at all important to the people using the name today. A meaning ‘the islet with the logs; log island’ is completely irrelevant. The name *Stockholm* has a clearly identifying function, but no meaning. The name is just a label.

The same arguments apply to personal names. Given names in Sweden like *Karl* and *Sten*, as well as the surnames *Gren* and *Modig*, still have equivalents in the Swedish lexicon (*karl* 'man', *sten* 'stone', *gren* 'branch, twig', *modig* 'brave'), which in some sense enables us to 'understand' the names, but despite that fact the words and their meanings are normally not relevant to us at all. Roger *Black* was a **white**, very successful British athlete in the 1990s. Almost 40 people in Sweden today bear the surname *Löpare* 'runner' (how many of them run on a regular basis?) and also a very short person can answer to the surname *Lång* 'long; tall'. It is only the identifying function of the names—their reference—that is important, not the lexical meaning of the words they are based on.

Names do not need to contain recognizable words at all and they function equally well when they are completely unintelligible to the name users. All proper names (i.e. place-names and personal names, as in the examples above, animal names, names of vehicles, products, etc.) are a type of word that people use to identify and refer to objects individually without having to describe them. When a linguistic expression turns into a proper name, the deictic, referring function of the name becomes more or less the only function. The former lexical meaning (if there ever was one) ceases to exist. The 'meaning' of a proper name, therefore, is only the place, person, animal, or whatever the name identifies and refers to; in all other respects, names are 'meaningless'. This scientific position, represented for instance by Saul Kripke (1972) and Keith Donnellan (1972, 1974), has been referred to as 'the meaninglessness thesis'.

Other scholars disagree. According to them names do have meaning, at least some kind of meaning. A crucial point is what we mean by *meaning*. In my opinion we cannot ignore the importance of lexical meaning when discussing the meaning of names. Names and words (with lexical meaning) interact and influence each other to a varying degree in different situations. And even if names do not have an asserted lexical or etymological meaning, they normally have other kinds of meanings, presuppositional meanings. Names are not only practical labels, instead they are packed with meaning in many senses. Based on such an assumption, 'the maximum meaningfulness thesis', represented for instance by Otto Jespersen (1924) and Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1980), has attracted many followers.

So who is right? Do names have meaning or not, that is do they have both meaning and reference or do they only have reference? This question is closely connected to the dichotomy *proper name*—*common noun* (or to use another pair of terms *name*—*appellative*) and also to the idea of names being more or less 'namelike', showing a lower or higher degree of propriality or 'nameness'. Can a certain name be a more 'namelike' name than another? I believe it can. To support such an assertion one might argue that a name is not a physical, material object. It is an abstract conception. A name is the result of a complex mental process: sometimes (when we hear or see a name) the result of an individual analysis of a string of sounds or letters, sometimes (when we produce a name) the result of a verbalization of a thought. We shall not ask ourselves what a name *is* but what a name *does*. To use a name means to start a process in the brain, a process which in turn activates our memories, fantasy, linguistic abilities, emotions, and many other things. With an approach like that, it would be counterproductive to

state that names do not have meaning, that names are meaningless. So let us look a little closer at what the meaningful element in a name can be.

3.2 DENOTATION—CONNOTATION

We can all agree that the identifying function of a name is important, and perhaps the most important. Using a name is an efficient way to individualize an object (the referent) and to point at it with a concentrated linguistic expression (the name) instead of describing or ‘explaining’ it. The relationship between a name and its referent is sometimes called *denotation*; at least that is how the term is used in British and Scandinavian onomastics. The named object is called the *denotatum* (plur. *denotata*). *Oxford* is the linguistic sign (the name) while the city itself with the old university is the object (the referent) that the name *Oxford* nowadays *denotes*. Depending on, for instance, my personal knowledge and experiences of the city of Oxford, the name *Oxford* evokes certain *connotations* when I hear it: greyish buildings, a cosy book-shop, hot tea, heavy rain, etc.

Connotations like these (scattered images, associations, information) might be individual or commonly shared by a smaller or larger group of people. Comparatively few people in Sweden have visited Gottröra, a rural parish north of Stockholm. But the name *Gottröra* evokes similar connotations in many Swedes since 27 December 1991 when Scandinavian Airlines Flight 751 managed to make an emergency landing there shortly after the engines of the aircraft had ceased to function. The plane was broken into three parts when forced to land in a field but the crew and all the passengers survived. The lexical, etymological meaning of *Gottröra* is probably ‘Gutte’s barrow’, true or not, referring to an old tradition with a Viking named *Gutte* being buried there, while the connotative, associative meaning of the name *Gottröra* since 1991 to many people is something like ‘plane crash ending miraculously well’.

3.3 LEXICAL AND PROPRIAL MEANING

As I have shown with the examples *Long Island*, *Lago Maggiore*, etc. above, it has been argued that only the corresponding words (*long*, *island*, *costa*, *maggiore*) have meaning, not the names as such. In my opinion this is a much too simplified way to view the problem. In fact a constant interplay takes place between the proprial part of our mental lexicon (the onomasticon) and the non-proprial part (the common words), which makes even the idea of lexical meaning more complicated and more important than it appears. The lexical meaning and the proprial meaning (i.e. the meaning of a certain word used as a name or a name element) depend, or at least can depend, on each other. The proprial meaning of for example the name element (name part) *island* in the name *Long Island* does not necessarily have to be exactly the same as the lexical meaning of the word used

in a phrase like ‘let us row to that little island over there.’ I will elaborate on this with some examples.

Stockholm is the well-known name of the capital of Sweden. *Storsjön* is a frequent lake name. The names *Stockholm* and *Storsjön* are compounds including the still very common words *stock* ‘log’ + *holm(e)* ‘small island’ and *stor* ‘big’ + *sjö* ‘lake’ respectively. *Bromma* is the name of a district in Stockholm (an old village and parish name), *Kalmar* is a town in the south-east of Sweden, and *Vättern* is the second largest lake in the country. The last three names are completely unintelligible to people without onomastic skills. So let us compare the transparent names *Stockholm* and *Storsjön* with the strange *Bromma*, *Kalmar*, and *Vättern*, names in which modern name users can hardly find a meaning besides the identifying, deictic place-name meaning (the reference). As already mentioned, such opaque names do function equally well when we use them in daily life, even though we cannot identify or understand their linguistic content. So is there—concerning the meaning of the names—no difference in principle between transparent names like *Stockholm* and *Storsjön* on the one hand and completely opaque names such as *Bromma*, *Kalmar*, and *Vättern* on the other? No, some scholars say, there is no difference. Names are names and as such meaningless. Yes, other scholars say, there is a difference. The fact that the name *Storsjön* has something to do with the words *stor* and *sjö* can hardly be questioned, and in that respect the name includes a dimension—a lexical intelligibility—that the names *Bromma*, *Kalmar*, and *Vättern* do not include (what is a **brom* or **bromma*, a *kalm* or a *vätt(er)*?). But if, despite this quality, *Storsjön* does not have meaning, what does it have that the other names do not? Well, the name *Storsjön* has open, working connections to the living vocabulary, the mental lexicon.

In the same way, certain personal names have open connections to the living lexicon. We take *Björn* as an example. A meaningless sequence of sounds (if that is what a name is?) cannot be translated from one language into another, but still a man *Björn* can sometimes be called *Bear*. His name has obviously—besides its identifying function—a living connection to the appellative *björn* ‘bear’ in the lexicon, and with that an associative meaning ‘björn’ is available and also possible to be expressed in other languages. The name *Björn* might thus activate several functions in the brain apart from guiding us to the right person. Also many surnames and earlier bynames, alongside their dominating, identifying function, still retain something of the meaning we see in the corresponding words. For instance, nouns for professions and ordinary adjectives are the basis of many Swedish surnames like *Målare*, *Snickare*, *Karsk*, *Svensk*, and *Säker* (*målare* ‘painter’, *snickare* ‘carpenter’, *karsk* ‘plucky’, *svensk* ‘Swedish’, *säker* ‘secure, safe’). The correspondence between these names and their equivalent words may cause facetious comments if reality does not match the names. And when people in today’s Sweden apply for new given names such as *Mango* ‘mango’, *Prins* ‘prince’, *Solstråle* ‘sunbeam’, and *Summercloud*, or for surnames as *Cyklist* ‘cyclist’, *Måndroppe* ‘moondrop’, *Nightlove*, *Rymdport* ‘spacegate’, *Stenriker* ‘made of money’, and *Tvärnit* ‘sudden braking’, it is hardly because the names are without meaning, but, on the contrary, because the meanings of the names are clear and important to them, associatively and emotionally.

The human brain can be described as a dictionary, a mental lexicon, where words and names are organized and stored in a gigantic network. Within this network the names as such—the mental name stock—form an onomasticon. Names occupy a place in the brain just as much as other linguistic units. What we learn through life and through our experiences is collected in this lexicon. Figuratively speaking, we can ‘look up’ words and names in the lexicon when we need to interpret and understand them as well as choose the relevant word or name when we need to use it ourselves. Exactly how this works in the brain is uncertain: the brain is immensely complex, but nevertheless we can have some ideas.

One such idea that I have presented previously is that names and words should not be seen as completely isolated from each other but instead as two communicating and integrated parts of the total network, the mental lexicon (Nyström 1998). When we hear or see a name in use, the network is activated and the place, person, animal, company, vehicle, etc. is identified. But at the same time personal memories can be awakened, different associations take place (see Section 3.5.2), and in addition the common words forming the name (if they still exist in our lexicon) are crying out for attention with their lexical meaning, adding to the overall meaning of the name in our brain. As long as the words *stor* ‘big’ and *sjö* ‘lake’ are alive in the brain, we simply cannot cut off the connection between these and the name *Storsjön* ‘the big lake’. *Storsjön* is quite obviously a place-name, in most cases we know that instinctively from the situational context when we use it, but the name does not exist in splendid isolation. Should *Storsjön* turn out to be a very small lake we will no doubt be surprised. The linguistic expression *Storsjön* has not only identified the lake and told us that its name is *Storsjön*, it has also led us to certain assumptions about the lake, certain presuppositions. And as long as *snickare* ‘carpenter’, *svensk* ‘Swedish’, *prins* ‘prince’, and *cyklist* ‘cyclist’ are common words in the Swedish language there is always the potential to activate everything these words mean to us even if the expression we hear or see (*Snickare*, *Svensk*, *Prins*, or *Cyklist*) is only meant to be a name. The risk of misunderstanding, of making the wrong choice between name and word, should be greatest when the name is new to the person hearing it. Concurrently with him or her hearing or using *Storsjön*, *Snickare*, *Svensk*, etc. in their function as names in real situations, the deictic, onomastic meaning—the reference—will become more and more evident and dominant while the descriptive lexical meaning will be correspondingly repressed.

Thus, the exclusive name character in a name can be weakened or ‘blurred’ through influence from a living homonymous appellative or from other words. The common words do have meanings which can make themselves felt in certain situations. This makes it hard to claim that, for instance, *Storsjön*, *Snickare*, and *Björn* are completely without meaning. If meanings, qualities and characteristics in the appellatives ‘leak’ to the names, these may assume an associative or characterizing meaning as well. If that happens we easily presume for instance that *Storsjön* ‘the big lake’ is a big lake. Personal names such as *Annika*, *Roland*, and *Bodin*, and place-names such as *Bromma*, *Kalmar*, and *Vättern*, on the other hand, have no living connections whatsoever to recognizable

appellatives or other words, and this makes it easier for us to accept them as being without meaning.

3.4 THE WORD AND PLACE-NAME ELEMENT ÅRD

Another way of describing the mutual influence and interrelations between lexical and proprial meaning will be illustrated through a single word and place-name element, the terrain denoting *ård*, known only from the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea. The example is partly fictional, partly real.¹ Names in *-ård* have previously been thoroughly examined by Ingemar Olsson (1959). An *ård* can be described as ‘a promontory sticking out into the sea, mainly consisting of rocks, stones and gravel’. In the following, and mostly for pedagogical reasons, I will discuss one type of possible influence at a time, following a chronological framework (see Fig. 3.1). Reality is of course less simple. Much happens simultaneously, and the individual language user and name user lives in a buzz of linguistic and emotional forces.

Fig. 3.1 is divided into two: on the right is the onomasticon, that is, the proprial part of the mental lexicon, on the left is the non-proprietary lexicon. On the far left there is a time axis. We imagine a diachronic development from the top downwards and we watch what is happening at some specific points (1–6) in time.

1. At the starting point a word *ård* (an appellative) exists in the non-proprietary part of the lexicon.
2. Based on the word *ård* in the lexicon, some place-names ending in *-ård(en)* are formed (*Grasården*, *Grundården*, *Klasården*, etc.). Most Swedish place-names are compounds with the generic as the second element and the specific as the first. The final *-en* in *-ården* is the definite article in non-neuter words. The names are stored in the onomasticon of an individual person or of a smaller or larger group of people depending on how well known the names are. Every filled circle in the figure represents such a place-name. There are connections between the two systems, i.e. between the onomasticon and the non-proprietary lexicon, in that the linguistic element *ård* is used both as a common noun and as a name element. The influences go from lexicon to onomasticon, shown as arrow A in Fig. 3.1.
3. Time passes and the appellative *ård* becomes more and more frequent, perhaps at the expense of other words. The word frequency is illustrated in Fig. 3.1 by the increasingly wider arrow (the ‘striped tie’) from the top downwards. At the same time, new names ending in *-ård(en)* are formed continuously, partly influenced by

¹ This example is largely a translation from Swedish of my article ‘Lexikon och onomastikon—två samverkande system’ (Nyström 1995).

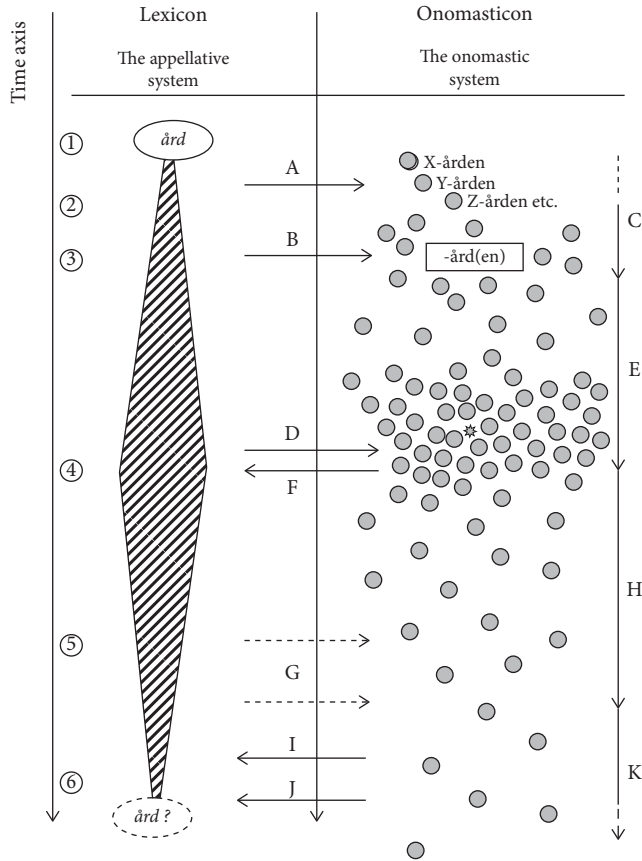


FIGURE 3.1 The interrelations between the lexical and proprial meaning illustrated with the Swedish (Gotland) word and place-name element *ård* 'promontory in the sea'.

Adapted from Nyström (1995).

the living and frequently used appellative *ård* in the lexicon (arrow B), partly due to analogical patterns (ready-made structures) in the growing number of names ending in *-ård(en)*, i.e. internal influences within the onomasticon, the proprial system (arrow C). In time these names become so numerous that a productive, type forming place-name element *-ård(en)* can be said to exist.

4. We move further on in time. To the individual name user, the meaning of the place-name element *-ård(en)* is the synthesis of all the individual names in *-ård(en)* that exist in his onomasticon, a sort of lowest common denominator for a lot of places. If the creation of new names in *-ård(en)* increases or decreases over time, the centre of gravity of the semantic content of the name element *-ård(en)* will be affected as well (the centre of gravity is shown as *). Periods with many new names in *-ård(en)* will put a greater mark on the collective meaning of the name element (the lowest common denominator) than periods with few new *ård*-names.

Exactly where in time we find the point of gravity in a place-name element is unimportant providing the meaning does not change over time. It does not matter if the inspiration for creating new *ård*-names comes from older or younger names in *-ård(en)*, and it matters little whether the basis is an older or younger lexical meaning providing the meaning has not changed over time. However, if the meaning of the appellative, the lexical meaning, shifts over time (through widening, narrowing, or polysemy), so also will the semantic point of gravity change in the place-name element, since the appellative to some extent also affects the creation of new names (arrow D).

But, as I have claimed above, new names are just as much formed from internal forces within the onomasticon. This means that older names with an older meaning represented will also play a role when new names are formed (arrow E). The onomasticon is constantly present to the name users as well as the non-proprial lexicon; the connections between them are available and open, which means that the many names which include older meanings of *ård* will affect new *ård*-names and more or less counteract the changing lexical meaning of the appellative *ård*. In other words: a change in lexical meaning (in the appellative) could probably have been more dramatic if the preservative powers of the onomasticon had not dampened it. We see here a possible influence from the onomasticon to the non-proprial lexicon according to arrow F.

5. Later on, the appellative *ård* starts to be used less frequently, perhaps being considered as increasingly old fashioned or dialectal. Perhaps it is outcompeted by other words. Meanwhile, but not to the same extent, new place-names in *-ård(en)* are created. The influences behind these new names are now only to a limited and decreasing degree coming from the lexicon (arrow G). But due to analogical and other internal powers within the onomasticon, new names in *-ård(en)* may still be produced long after the appellative has become obsolete.
6. Places (localities) carrying names in *-ård(en)* change in appearance, something that also might affect the lexical meaning of the appellative *ård*. And this is what has actually happened in the island of Gotland. The land is slowly rising from the sea, a gradual shoaling is taking place, slowly covering the 'årds', the original stone formations, with soil, sand, and vegetation. The places with names in *-ård(en)* no longer look the same as they did when the majority of them were given their names, and this fact also affects people's sense of what the meaning of the place-name element *-ård(en)* is.

If, at the same time, the appellative is going out of use, and the uncertainty regarding its actual meaning is increasing, the place-name element through its *denotata* will be more and more influential in relation to the lexical meaning of the appellative. We see an obvious influence from the onomasticon on the non-proprial lexicon (arrow I). Sometimes this helps to keep a vanishing appellative alive. Still, in the final stage of its life cycle the word *ård* can be 'filled' with a semantic content, which is basically retrieved by the individual language user from his onomasticon. The fact that informants extract the meaning of words (the

lexical meaning) from (certain) place-names is well-known to many name scholars and name collectors, and the explanation for that is simply that the connections between the two systems, the two parts of the mental lexicon, are still open and available for use, while the internal connections within the lexicon are obsolete. There is nothing better on which to base one's understanding of the word than how it has been used in place-names (arrow J).

A possible concluding phase in this scenario could be that *ård* completely dies out as an appellative. It will then be impossible to talk about, for instance, 'a great ård in the sea' without confusing people. The communication will not work. But if someone in the future gives a name to a promontory in the sea, a name in *-ård(en)* will still be an option, an internal onomastic pattern available to be copied. But gradually too the name element *-ård(en)* will appear more and more obscure and difficult to use in a new name. Not only are the connections between *ård* and other elements in the lexicon cut off, but also the connections between the proprial and the non-proprial lexicon will cease to exist, and like the Swedish examples *Bromma* (possibly from an Old Swedish agricultural word **brumma* meaning 'place to harvest leaves') and *Kalmar* (from the dialectal word *kalm* 'pile of stones' and an old *arin* 'island of gravel'), they can only be restored by onomasticians and other scholars with knowledge of Old Swedish.

3.5 PRESUPPOSITIONAL MEANINGS

Apart from the lexical meaning and the proprial meaning (as used above), every proper name in a given situation gives rise to one or more presuppositional meanings, varying from person to person, from group to group: categorical meaning, associative meaning, and emotive meaning, to mention the most important ones.

3.5.1 Categorical Meaning

The notion of names having a categorical meaning is very much debated. It is based on the presumption that human beings mentally divide objects and other phenomena in our world into categories of some kind (such as animals, horses, people, fruit, cities, cars, etc.), that we use words to gather and group referents that belong to such common categories, and that such a categorization also forms an underlying structure when names and name giving are concerned. Certainly, it is not evident that we know for sure which category should be brought to the fore when we hear a certain name, but that does not prevent the idea of categorical meaning from being correct. We make an assumption about a certain category—a categorical presupposition—when we hear a name, an assumption that later can prove to be right or wrong. Willy van Langendonck (2007b) argues that the supposed proprial categories are closely linked to what Eleanor Rosch

(1977) called ‘basic level concept’. To show what this concept is, an often used example of a hierarchy with three levels can be presented: *animal—dog—basset*. Here *dog* is the basic level concept, that is, the conceptually and perceptually most available word (or term), while the other words are either of too vague and abstract a level, or of too specific or technical a kind. It has been said that children normally acquire the basic level concepts before words from the other levels.

Transposed into names, a categorical presupposition should mean for instance that when we hear a certain name, we draw the conclusion that the name must belong to a dog, not to an animal of any kind and not to a basset, beagle, or labrador retriever. Other possible name categories could include human beings, male human beings, female human beings, cats, rivers, cities, countries, companies, aircraft, or something else. Certainly, movements within the onomasticon do take place (Andersson 1997) so that, for instance, given names and surnames are used as place-names (the names of the church parishes *Fredrika* and *Vilhelmina* in the north of Sweden, and the city and state *Washington* in the USA), place-names are used as personal names (for instance, the Norwegian surnames *Haugen*, *Lund*, *Moen*, *Strand*, and *Bakken*) and today personal names are frequently used also to name our pets (the animals are made human, almost personified: a dog *Erik*, a cat *Lisa*, etc.). However, in principle there are still onomastic patterns and models sufficiently impressed on us to make our brains categorize the name bearer as soon as we hear a name. In many cases, the category is explicitly shown in the name phrase itself: *the river Nile*, *the city of New York*, *Fritz the cat*, etc.

The fact that names have or may have a categorical meaning leads to the result that people in a real situation easily ascribe a name a categorical presupposition.

3.5.2 Associative Meaning

Associative meaning (connotative meaning) implies that a name user—or a group of name users—when hearing a certain name comes to think of something else or something more, apart from reacting to the primary function of the name, namely the function of individualizing and localizing the referent. Something comes to his or her mind, an association with a person, a point in time, a milieu, a certain mood or an event, as in the case described above with the Swedish place-name *Gottröra* and the airplane crash. Associations can differ from one name user to another according to the attitude or point of view they have as regards the place, person, company, etc. in question; a variety of thoughts, hopes, feelings, and memories emerge when the brain is confronted with a name. Associations like this are often personal, others are commonly shared by many people.

The boy’s name *Adolf* has not been bestowed upon many people in Sweden since the Second World War. Not until recently, almost seventy years after the end of the war, do we see children occasionally being given that name. Of course this is not the result of some emerging linguistic problem with the name *Adolf* (spelling, inflection, pronunciation), nor of the fact that the lexical (etymological) meaning of the name has become

inappropriate in some way. Instead it is all about the negative associations we may have towards the most famous name bearer from the twentieth century. The associative meaning (the connotations) of *Adolf* is still strong and unpleasant to many people. Other given names, borne by stars from cinema, TV, sports, or the music business, conversely give rise to positive associations—often during a shorter period of time—and thus are reflected in many children's names around the world.

For similar reasons many politicians, city planners, and marketing people today try to avoid urban place-names that could cause negative associations. Instead they prefer names that are supposed to have a positive meaning, names sending signals of well-being and of a good life, that is, names including elements like *beach*, *garden*, *park*, or *village*. Older, supposedly strained names of streets, squares, districts, and parks, they try to get rid of, despite the fact that it is the places as such that are the real problem, not the names. Branding and re-branding of places is a huge business today (Alderman 2008; Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2010).

In cases like the ones above it is quite obvious that names are not 'meaningless'. On the contrary, names show themselves as linguistic expressions of great symbolic value and bearers of important associative meanings.

In connection with this aspect of names and meaning it is appropriate to mention also the so-called folk etymologies (especially concerning place-names). In many cases people wish to find a meaning, a common sense, in a name. They look for an understandable reason why a certain place is called the way it is. They want the name of the place to be explained. And if there is no explanation available or acceptable (the scientific interpretation might be too complicated, too difficult to grasp), it quite often happens that an explanation is created by the name users themselves. Several places in Sweden are called *Bälinge* (two parishes and an old jurisdictional district). These names are probably formed from an Old Swedish word *bal* or *bale* meaning 'height; hill', but they may alternatively contain another word corresponding to the present day Swedish word *bål* 'fire'. They have not been definitively interpreted. An old, local explanation of the parish name in the province Uppland refers to a particular event a long time ago. The story tells us that all the men in *Bälinge* were gathered at the *thing* (the old district court) to decide upon a suitable name for their parish. They agreed that a good name would be something ending in *-inge* or maybe *-linge*, both of which are common endings used in many names in the neighbourhood. Such a name should fit in well. At that point in the process, one of the sheep close by bleated—*bäääää* (sheep in Sweden sound like that)—and that solved the problem. The name must be *Bälinge*. Of course no one takes this explanation seriously today, but still it has emerged: it is known, and it shows that names make people associate, in this case with bleating sheep.

In the *Bälinge* case, it is a question of phonological resemblance, which is a well-known reason for associations. A very thorough investigation of how parents in Sweden choose or reject names for their children (Aldrin 2011) shows, among many other things, that they sometimes avoid names that rhyme with 'unfavourable' words of different kinds. They want to protect their child from being teased at school and also later in life. *Johan*

(pronounced /jo:an/) is an old traditional name form in Sweden, but still we can hear comments like ‘we don’t want to call him Johan because it rhymes with toan’ (and *boan*; *toan* means ‘toilet’ and *boan* means ‘boa constrictor’). Johan might be called *Johan Toan* or *Johan Boan*! So phonological resemblance can give rise to unwanted associations in cases like this.

3.5.3 Emotive Meaning

The associative meaning of names as described in the previous subsection is closely related to the emotive (or affective) meaning that names may have. Positive or negative associations (connotations) caused by or connected to a certain name might be of an emotional character. Certainly most place-names are emotionally neutral and objectively descriptive, like Sw. *Mörtsjön* ‘roach lake’, *Järnväggsgatan* ‘railway street’, *Råggärdet* ‘rye field’, *Smedstorp* ‘smith’s hamlet’, and *Aspholmen* ‘aspen island’, but many others are instead loaded with emotions, values, hope, or anger. Fishing spots on the Swedish coast named *Jämmerdalen* ‘vale of tears’ and *Eländet* ‘misery’ or *Guldtunnan* ‘gold barrel’ and *Riksdalergrundet* ‘*riksdaler* sunken rock’ bear witness to that (*riksdaler* is an old Swedish currency used before the present-day *krona* ‘crown’). Also, many replicated names of fields or small hamlets in Sweden, such as *Amerika* (Eng. America) and *Sibirien* (Eng. Siberia), show traces of hope, dreams, and longing, or of toil and hard work respectively. In cases like these, the names are not only coined as unbiased references, but equally as a means of communicating emotions and sharing them with others.

Modern examples of emotionally based place-names can easily be found in developing urban environments from the late twentieth century. From my personal experience, growing up in a small town in central Sweden, I take the name of a new residential area that was planned and built in the 1960s on land that had earlier been the main fields of the old farm *Salsta* with its roots in the Iron Age. The location close to a lake was excellent and the houses as well as the apartments in them were innovative and different. A fresh, new thinking characterized the—in some peoples’ eyes—posh area, causing jealousy as well as sarcastic remarks about those who chose to move there. The area was called *Salsta gårde* ‘Salsta field’ in the official, municipal administration, but *Guldkusten* ‘gold coast’ in popular parlance (not a unique name in situations like this). As the years passed, however, *Guldkusten* deteriorated, the former freshness disappeared, the town saw many industrial closures, the housing company had serious problems, rents were raised, buildings and yards were not as carefully managed as before. People started to leave the area, to move away. Others moved in, but the newcomers were mostly immigrants from other parts of the world, who had had apartments assigned to them after having lived temporarily in the town’s local refugee camp. To the surrounding and name giving population, *Guldkusten* ‘gold coast’ was no longer an apposite name. Instead, the well-known *Ångermanland* turned up with a new reference, as a somewhat sarcastic name, based on the resemblance between the ancient and now obsolete topographical word *ånger* (*anger*) ‘(narrow) bay in the sea’ and the

word *ånger* meaning ‘repentance’. *Ångermanland*, with the topographical reference, is the name of a province in Northern Sweden.

In personal names, the emotive presuppositions might be inherent in the stem or in the suffix used in the name itself. Hypocoristic name forms or certain name endings like German *-chen* or Spanish *-ito/-ita* can be found in many languages, perhaps characterizing the name bearer at some point in life, and still more clearly showing the special relation between the name bearer and the name user. Emotive meaning may also be caused by associative (connotative) emotions, as in the case of *Adolf* mentioned above.

CHAPTER 4

NAMES AND DISCOURSE

ELWYS DE STEFANI

4.1 INTRODUCTION

THIS chapter presents an overview of several methods of investigation that analyse names in the context of their discursive and interactional appearance. Various disciplines within the humanities and social sciences are concerned with exploring names as resources that may serve a plethora of socially relevant purposes, and with describing their discursive functions and related interactional practices. The focus of this chapter will thus be on those approaches that examine how speakers, that is, social actors, use names in their everyday lives.

4.2 ANTHROPOLOGY

For some authors, an anthropological approach to names is the reverse of that developed in historical onomastics, which is believed to be mainly preoccupied with organizing names in complex onomastic taxonomies. With regard to the study of personal names, Bromberger (1982: 104) states that ‘rather than analysing how societies classify the individuals through the names that they bestow on them, they (i.e. the onomasticians) remain attached to classifying the names by adopting (formal and semantic) criteria that are external to the culture investigated’.¹ In the light of studies such as Walther and Schultheis (1989 [1974]) and Kohlheim (1977), which address the issue of the social significance of personal names from a

¹ ‘[Or, paradoxalement, la plupart des études anthroponymiques se sont situées aux antipodes d’un tel programme:] plutôt qu’à analyser comment les sociétés *classent les individus* à travers les noms qu’elles leur assignent, on s’est attaché à *classer les noms*, selon des critères (formels ou sémantiques) extérieurs aux cultures considérées. . . .’

historical perspective, Bromberger's criticism is only partially acceptable. However, the anthropologist's vision foregrounds the necessity of studying names—just like any other cultural phenomenon—from an emic perspective, or, as Malinowski (1922: 25) puts it, 'to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world'. Two consequences follow from this standpoint: first, names cannot be studied as isolated entities but need to be described in a contextualized way, encompassing the linguistic as well as the broader social environment in which they occur; second, anthropology makes researchers aware of the fact that the analytical categories conventionally used in onomastics are themselves rooted in a historical and epistemological tradition, and cannot simply be transferred to societies in which these categories have no cultural significance. This holds true not only for the highly particularized onomastic nomenclature, but also for broader concepts such as 'place-name' and 'personal name' (see section 4.6).

In fact, anthropology developed an early interest in the contextualized analysis of both place- and personal names. Franz Boas' (1934) pioneering examination of the place-names of the Kwakiutl (today named Kwakwaka'wakw), an indigenous people living in northern Vancouver Island, is a milestone for the anthropological approach to name studies. The excellence of Boas' fieldwork practices allowed him to deliver not only a precise formal description of some 2,500 toponyms and their respective geographical locations, but also to investigate the practical and mythological uses that the members of the community make of these names. In his book, Boas effectively illustrates his claim that the study of place-names provides understanding of how a community conceptualizes environmental phenomena. Boas' interest in place-names already emanates from earlier work (Boas 1901–07), and has been influential for American anthropology (see Thornton 1997). Many of his disciples carry out analyses of Native American place-names, among them Harrington (1916), who publishes a fine-grained and monumental analysis of Tewa place-names, and Sapir (1912), who maintains that 'the physical environment is reflected in language only in so far as it has been influenced by social factors' (1912: 227). In other words, place-names do not emerge from descriptions of visible features of the landscape, their use rather reveals the community's perception and experience of the environment.

Later work includes Lounsbury's (1960) work on Iroquois place-names and de Laguna's (1972) monograph on the Tlingit, which contains a significant focus on place-names. In his article on Apache narratives, Basso (1984: 23) neatly describes the anthropological relevance of places and their names: 'A native model of how stories work to shape Apaches' conceptions of the landscape, it is also a model of how stories work to shape Apaches' conceptions of themselves.' The anthropological perspective thus stresses the fact that place-names are culturally constructed and that the analysis of place-names has to take into account the community's beliefs and practices. In this sense, Iteanu (2006) shows that among the Orokaiva (New Guinea), places are defined with regard to kinship or exchange relations, rather than to territorial extensions.

Consequently, a place-name may be used to refer to a variety of localities and rarely solidifies as a fixed name.

Clearly, from the point of view of anthropology, the study of place-names goes beyond the mere etymological explanation of isolated units of language. Instead, it begins with a contextualized examination of names as they appear in narratives, witnessed through (participant) observation. However, recent developments in the anthropological analysis of names are surprisingly close to the historical onomastic tradition, see for example Senft (2008) on the place-names of the Trobriand Islands.

As far as personal names are concerned, they are examined with regard to their social significance, that is, social identification and the embedding of an individual within a community. Personal names have been described as a means to index aspects of identity (such as gender, descent, religion, etc.) and mark biographical changes (transition to adulthood, marriage, maternity, etc.). Therefore, they are of great importance for the social organization of communities. In Britain, for instance, parents are required by law to register the name of a baby within six weeks of the birth (Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck 2006: 2). Thus, with regard to naming practices, anthropologists are typically interested not only in the source of names (or onomastic basis), but also in when a name is assigned and by whom, whether or not it is gender-specific.

Anchored in an evolutionary approach to the study of communities, Morgan (1860) provides a first description of *The Indian Method of Bestowing and Changing Names*. But it is Lévi-Strauss (1962) who makes a major contribution to how naming practices and name usage are related to social and religious life, maintaining that naming is a practice of social classification. In a similar vein, Geertz and Geertz (1964) publish an analysis of teknonymy in Bali—whereby adults are designated with respect to the names of their children—and find it to be ‘a coherent system of ideas, a consistent set of beliefs, a theory even, about the way in which social life is, and ought to be, organized’ (1964: 103). Subsequently, a comprehensive overview of naming practices is provided by Alford (1988), who offers a cross-cultural investigation of naming practices and related phenomena, such as how communities classify and individualize their members through names, and how names may change in the course of one’s life, and who also describes the social and religious relevance of name usage vs. name avoidance in social interaction.

While anthropology has not developed a consistent methodology for the analysis of personal names, there is a general view that understanding how a community bestows and uses personal names is of paramount importance in anthropological fieldwork, precisely because it provides a grasp of the community’s understanding of identity, kinship, genealogy, and social life. This is also true for urban settings, as Rymes (1996) shows in her analysis of names used by gang members of a Los Angeles barrio. In this study, the author analyses excerpts from narratives by a gang member and thus provides a contextualized understanding of the practical meaning of gang names. Her strong focus on speech situates her work in the proximity of linguistic pragmatics, which I outline in the subsequent section.

4.3 PRAGMATICS OF NAMES

The pragmatic analysis of names is largely indebted to the philosophy of language, more specifically to the theories of reference that have emerged from logic. John Stuart Mill's (1973 [1843]: 43) observation, according to which 'proper names . . . have, strictly speaking, no signification', is often reported as a starting point for the different accounts that subsequent philosophers developed with respect to proper names. While in Mill's view proper names merely refer to an object, authors such as Frege (1892) and Russell (1973 [1905]) maintain that they can have a meaning (*Sinn* in Frege's terms), or at least a connotation. These authors see names as 'descriptions of single objects' (Frege 1892) or as 'abbreviated definite "descriptions"' (Russell 1973 [1905]). Such descriptivist theories of names are challenged by authors adopting a causal approach to names and reference, such as Kripke (1972), who describes names as 'rigid designators'. A much lesser influence on the study of naming and reference was exerted by Charles S. Peirce's reflections on names, which have been keenly discussed only since the 1980s (see Pietarinen 2010 for an overview).

The influence that philosophy of language exerted on linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s is also visible in the work on proper names stemming from that time. Continuing the language philosophical tradition, authors such as Searle (1958) and Zabeeh (1968) reflect on the 'classical' logical problems of name reference and meaning. In line with the pragmatic conception, authors aim at describing the different functions that names can have in the speakers' utterances (see Coates 2006a and Van Langendonck 2007b for an overview). However, these analyses are generally based on invented examples emanating from the researchers' introspection, thereby manifesting their solid philosophical roots. Yet an empirically more grounded account has also emerged within the field, mainly in the German research tradition. Dobnig-Jülch's (1977) book bears the revealing title *Pragmatik und Eigennamen* [Pragmatics and Proper Names] and proposes an analysis of how farmers use the names of their breeding animals. The author's innovative approach is echoed in later work by German scholars, such as Werner (1986, 1995) and Hoffmann (1999), who analyse names beyond the traditional, language philosophical approaches concerned with understanding the referential and semantic properties of names.

Within pragmatics, the topic most frequently investigated in relation to names is probably their use as forms of address (see chapter 29 in this book). However, the topics currently analysed from a pragmatic perspective are varied. Pang (2009) studies the eponymic use of names, as in *Lounge Lover. The Naomi Campbell of Bars* (2009: 333), and provides the narrative and cognitive backgrounds that make such uses possible. A further line of research examines the use of personal names in social interaction with regard to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. Anchimbe (2011) shows, for instance, that while in Western communities it appears to be polite to use a person's name when engaging in interaction, this is not the case in postcolonial African countries, such as

Cameroon, where using someone's name can be perceived as disrespectful and impolite. In these communities, kinship terms and other social titles are typically used to address someone. Gehweiler (2008) provides instead a historical take on pragmatics, and analyses the transition that led in the English language from the name *Jesus* to the interjection *gee!*

While the first linguistic studies on the pragmatics of names (e.g. Dobnig-Jülch 1977) are largely indebted to Austinian and Searlian speech act theory, recent investigations offer a wide spectrum of approaches and methodologies. At present, the pragmatics of names does not denote a sharply defined method of investigation, and its analytical interests regularly overlap with those of other approaches.

4.4 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

While in the field of pragmatics the study of names is mainly concerned with the oral use of proper names (actual, imagined, or enacted, e.g. in literature), discourse oriented approaches mostly deal with the 'public' use of names as observed throughout various kinds of media. For example, Clifton (2013) analyses the construction of national identity through naming practices. He focuses on the political debate triggered by the French nationalist party *Front National*, whose leader Marine Le Pen maintains that children of immigrants should be given traditional French names in order to better assimilate into the French culture. In this article, the author shows how personal names are used to create membership categories leading to social inclusion or exclusion, and thus to fostering what has been termed 'new racism'. Similarly, Bertrand (2010) analyses the use of place-names as a device of 'discursive deracialization', that is, the veiled indexing of race. She bases her analysis on focus group discussions about the quality of education in California. In the discussions among two groups of parents with different ethnic backgrounds, the participants' use of place-names and school names can frequently be seen to index racialized communities, that is, members of a community that are ultimately categorized on the basis of race. This line of research is anchored in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995), with its focus on language practices and the exertion of power and domination. In particular, the studies of Bertrand (2010) and Clifton (2013) are soundly inspired by Van Dijk's (1992) work on racist discourse. In a similar vein, Galasiński and Skowronek (2001) discuss issues of social categorization and show how proper names are used in political addresses to the nation to represent an 'ideologically preferred reality' (2001: 63). Names are thus paramount resources for the implementation of institutional power and ideology, precisely because power 'comes to appear as something other than itself, indeed, it comes to appear as a name' (Butler 1997: 36).

A further study that should be mentioned here is Kalverkämper's (1977) analysis of (personal and place) names that the author situates in the field of text linguistics. On the basis of a corpus of literary data, Kalverkämper analyses not only the traditional pragmatic dimensions of naming, but also what he calls their communicative and rhetorical