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EPONYMS AS A NATURAL CATEGORY: A CASE STUDY ON THE FIELD OF EPONYMY IN *ЛЕКСИКОН ЛЬВІВСЬКИЙ*

ABSTRACT: The author discusses the pertinence of natural categorization (as understood according to E. Rosch and others) in the study of Ukrainian eponymy as a lexical and phraseological field viewed from the linguistic-cultural aspect. This article is a case study of eponymy in the lexis and phraseology of the Ukrainian urban Lviv dialect as represented in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyi* (fourth edition, Lviv, 2019). The analysis of relevant words and collocations contained in this dictionary is based on a broad treatment of eponyms as linguistic items formed from proper nouns (by semantic or formal derivation) or with the latter's help. The analysis aims to elucidate features qualifying these items as belonging to the centre or periphery of the field, with particular attention to the features of underlying proper nouns relative to the role these names play in the inner form of eponyms, especially in the case of word-play: their belonging to a specific part of speech, their syntactic character and function, the central or marginal onomastic status of the underlying name, the strictly or quasi-eponymic character of the derived entity, and the non-/uniqueness of the derivative relationship of the eponym, either to the proper noun alone or to the proper noun and the common name simultaneously.

KEYWORDS: eponymy, proper noun, natural category, field, periphery, centre, Lviv Ukrainian dialect

Eponimy jako kategoria naturalna: studium przypadku dotyczące pola eponimów w *Leksykonie lwowskim*

STRESZCZENIE: Autor rozważa celowość użycia naturalnej kategoryzacji (rozumianej według Eleanor Rosch oraz innych badaczy) w badaniu eponimii ukraińskiej jako pola leksykalno-frazeologicznego w aspekcie lingwistyczno-kulturowym. Niniejszy artykuł stanowi studium przypadku eponimii w leksyce i frazeologii ukraińskiej miejskiej gwary lwowskiej na podstawie *Leksykonu lwowskiego* (wydanie czwarte, Lwów, 2019). Jego analiza odpowiednich wyrazów i frazeologizmów, zawartych w tym słowniku, odwołuje się do szerokiego potraktowania eponimów jako jednostek językowych utworzonych od nazw własnych (przez derywację semantyczną lub formalną) lub z ich pomocą. Celem analizy jest ukazanie cech determinujących odniesienie jednostek eponimicznych do centrum lub peryferii ich pola, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem cech podstawowych nazw własnych wobec roli, którą odgrywają w formie wewnętrznej eponimów, zwłaszcza w wypadku gry słownej. Są to: ich przynależność do danej części mowy, ich charakter i funkcja składniowa, konstytutywny lub marginalny status onomastyczny jednostki podstawowej, ściśle lub quasi-eponimiczny charakter jednostki pochodnej oraz związek derywacyjny eponimu z nazwą własną lub – jednocześnie z nazwą pospolitą.

KEYWORDS: eponimia, imię własne, kategoria naturalna, pole, peryferia, centrum, lwowska gwara ukraińska

The subject of the paper is the feasibility of a field approach to the linguistic-cultural analysis and description of eponymy. Such an approach will consider eponymy as a natural, rather than strictly a logical category, and the set of eponyms found in a language or an idiom as a field structure consisting of a centre and a periphery.

Introduction

Basically, the study of eponymy is the study of the secondary use of proper nouns. To discover, describe and analyse the derivative and expressive potential of proper nouns as fully as possible, one should treat eponymy correspondingly, i.e., as an umbrella category that encompasses all sorts of linguistic items formed from, or with the help of, *nomina propria*, including, in particular, idioms, "winged" phrases, paroemias, and speech formulas, and, last but not least, lexemes belonging to parts of speech other than nouns. This comprehensive understanding of how eponymy is manifested in language has been adopted in some recent publications elaborating a parametrical model for the cultural-linguistic description and analysis of eponymy of Ukrainian[1]. Viewed from such a perspective, eponyms are indeed a motley crew. But in general current usage, the notion of eponym / eponymy likewise subsumes a fairly variegated set, which typically includes lexemes (more specifically nouns) as well as nominal phrases, onomastic as well as appellative items, and formal terms as well as traditional, or folk, nomenclature. At the same time, this is something to anticipate in an entity such as natural language. Somehow or other, however homogeneous and therefore asystemic the extension of eponymy is, our approach to describing and analysing it should only be systemic.

To deal in that way with such a loosely ordered set, it seems worthwhile to employ a so-called natural categorization. Generally associated with Eleanor Rosch and her prototype theory[2], it was used, for instance, by Willi Mayerthaler and his colleagues in developing their Natural Morphology, and also by cognitive linguists (such as George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, Leonard Talmy). At the same time, similar notions and intuitions seem to be fairly widespread independently of these, while similar views have always been held by linguists who, instead of imposing artificial logical schemes on language, seek to follow the immanent logic of its structural organisation. Classes

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[1] С. Єрмоленко, *Мовою власних імен: сучасна українська епонімія в інтерлінгвістичному і міжкультурному аспекті*, [в:] *Українська мова і європейський лінгвокультурний контекст*, відп. ред. Б. Миколайович Ажнюк, Київ 2019, с. 198-232; S.S. Yermolenko, *Eponymy and discursive-functional context*, «Мовознавство» 2021, № 2 (317), с. 19-35; S. Yermolenko, *The category of disembodied proper names and linguistic-cultural description of Ukrainian eponymy: with special reference to eponyms in Лексикон львівський*, „Slavia Orientalis" 2021, vol. LXX, № 3, s. 599-621.

[2] E.H. Rosch, *Natural categories*, "Cognitive psychology" 1973, № 4, pp. 328-350. Cf. also Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblance (L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical investigations*, Oxford etc. 1986, passim) and Lotfi Aliasker Zadeh's fuzzy sets (L. Zadeh, *Fuzzy sets*, "Information and control" 1965, vol. 8, № 3, pp. 338-353; G. Lakoff, *Hedges. A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts*, "Journal of Philosophical Logic" 1973, vol. 2, № 4, pp. 458-508).

constructed by means of this approach consist of items that, rather than sharing the same features, differ in the latter's distribution: some items have all the relevant distinctive features, while others do not, while at the same time possessing features characteristic of other classes. As a result, there are no clear-cut boundaries between natural classes as well as subclasses, which, instead, overlap with each other. As such, they manifest a kind of structural organization whose principal feature is the distinction of centre and periphery. This distinction was described and analysed in the works of Czech linguists gathered in the second issue of *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*[3] (published in 1966). There, the systemic interrelationship of centre and periphery was explained both diachronically and functionally, and this interrelationship was seen as a corollary of natural language being a dynamic and evolving (even when considered synchronically) system, which is never fully balanced and whose peripheral elements can move to the centre and vice versa[4]. Still earlier, in the interbellum period, the centre-periphery model of system organization emerged in the lexical-semantic field (*Wortfeld*) studies of German linguists (Jost Trier, Johann Leo Weissgerber), with the term field (*Feld*) initially being introduced by Gunther Ipsen[5].

The category of proper nouns was treated in this manner (if not in these terms), for instance, by Andrii Biletskyi[6] and Zofia Kaleta[7] (the former postulated transitory onomastic subclasses termed койноніми, or collective names). S.S. Yermolenko's 2022 publication[8] also argued for the feasibility, from the viewpoint of eponymy studies, of considering two types of entities as belonging to the periphery of the natural category of proper nouns and operating as underlying items from which eponyms are derived: one of them are the relative and possessive adjectives formed from proper nouns, and the other the collocations with a proverbial proper noun that can be used literally as well as in the generalized secondary sense, something that the proper nouns they contain cannot.

As for eponymy, it has not, to the best of my knowledge, been studied as a field structure and as a natural category. It is the aim of the present study to analyse eponyms found in *Лексикон львівський*[9] (hereafter called *Leksykon l'vivs'kyi*), a dic-

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[3] "Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague" 1966, fasc. 2. Les problèmes du cercle et de la périphérie de la langue. (see especially the papers of František Daneš, Jiří Václav Neustupný, and Josef Vachek).

[4] S.S. Yermolenko, *Proper names as a natural category: proverbial phrases with cultural names from the perspective of eponymy research*, «Мовознавство» 2022, № 1, с. 51-67.

[5] G. Ipsen, *Der neue Sprachbegriff*, „Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde" 1932, Heft 46, S. 1-18.

[6] А. Белецкий, *Лексикология и теория языкознания. Ономастика*, Киев 1971, с. 10.

[7] Z. Kaleta, *Teoria nazw własnych*, [w:] *Polskie nazwy własne. Encyklopedia*, red. E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, Kraków 2005, s. 15-36.

[8] S.S. Yermolenko, *Proper names…*

[9] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський: поважно і на жарт*, Видання четверте, змінене і доповнене, Львів 2019. I also employ the first edition (Н. Хобзей, Ксенія Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський поважно і на жарт*, відп. ред. Н. Хобзей, Львів 2009), since some data it contains, such as the indication of old, middle, or young generation usage, were removed in later editions.

tionary of Lvivian Ukrainian vernacular lexis and phraseology, from this perspective to establish features qualifying some of them as central or peripheral (previously, *Leksykon l'vivs'kyi* has already been used in the role of a case study data source for research on the relevance of Alan Gardiner's dis-/embodied proper noun opposition as a tool for the linguistic-cultural exploration of Ukrainian eponymy[10]). It will be noted that, while selecting entries derived from, or formed with the help of, proper nouns, I will omit deonomastic historical toponyms, which constitute a separate subclass of eponymic formations whose peculiar character necessitates special treatment. Also, I will exclude from the present study items originating from collective ethnic names, which are fairly numerous in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyi* and also merit a separate investigation; the same applies to phrases with relative or possessive adjectives deriving from proper nouns.

Analysis and discussion

I will start from several instances corresponding to eponym varieties that are generally recognized as such. I will proceed on the assumption that these instances, which are the simplest structurally and have, both intra- and extralinguistically, the most transparent inner form, are *ipso facto* central and prototypical ones; also, historically, the concept of eponymy emerged as the notion of one name originating from another[11]. At the same time, this simplicity and transparency covers a set of variables, such as semantic shift type, semantic or formal (affixal) derivation, autochthonous or borrowed origin, onomastic or appellative coinage, and modern or historical (in particular, obsolete) usage. Expanding the range of inquiry to consistently encompass all items formed from, or with the help of, proper nouns, brings to light other variables as well, which presumably will bear upon the periphery vs. centre opposition. These are their part-of-speech reference as well as syntactic function and status: central eponyms will be nouns or nominal phrases and perform the nominative rather than predicative role, but there are also eponymic items that belong to other parts of speech (cf. the noun **кульпа** 'a psychiatric hospital on Kul'parkivs'ka street'[12], derived from **Кульпарківська (вулиця)**, the verb **різдвувати** 'to celebrate Christmas'[13] (< **Різдво** ʿChristmas'), the adverb **пішкарусом** 'on foot'[14] (< **пішки** + **Ікарус**, see below) or are predicative phrases or sentences (such as paroemias, e.g., **Не відразу Львів збудовано** 'significant achievements are not obtained hastily'[15] (literally ʿLviv was not built in a day'), or perform still other discursive functions (speech formulas, such as greetings, exclamations, and expletives, e.g., **Матко**

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[10] S. Yermolenko, *The category of disembodied proper names…*

[11] S.S. Yermolenko, *Proper names…*, p. 52.

[12] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 409.

[13] Ibidem, p. 662.

[14] Ibidem, p. 583.

[15] Ibidem, p. 433.

найсолодша Мілятинська 'Oh, the most sweet God's Mother of Milatyn'[16], the colloquial interjection most probably referring to the sanctuary of the Lord Jesus in Agony from Milatyn at the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kamianka-Bus'ka, Lviv Oblast'. The last example demonstrates that, alongside primary eponyms, there are secondary ones, deriving from the former and (sometimes) occurring in a different kind of discursive-functional context. Also, last but not least, there are cases of eponymy where the underlying item itself, too, or the means of derivation, can be considered peripheral. It is these last varieties that are the most interesting theoretically, and it is these that I will mostly focus upon in the present paper.

Central eponyms

To be sure, *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* registers examples of these, cf., e.g., **малмазія** (senior usage) 'a vine from Mediterranean islands'[17]: this international metonymic eponym denoting a strong sweet wine (cf. also Polish **małmazja**, **małwazja**, English **malmsey** etc.[18]) as well as some grape varieties, originates from the Italian **Monemvasia**, Greek **Μονεμβασῑα**, a Byzantine fortress in Lakonia, which was also a wine exporting centre, important enough during the Venetian Republic for wine shops in Venice to be eponymically called **malvasie**[19].

A purely Lvivian eponymic designation of a locally produced alcohol is **бачевський** (alongside the less assimilated **баческі**, cf. Polish **Baczewski**, especially with [*w*] elided in conversational speech) 'vodka' (after the name of the distillery in Lviv whose proprietors were the Baczewski family)'[20]; cf. also a peripheral idiomatic phrase, (street slang) **нюхати бачевського** 'to drink vodka'. The Lviv Bachewski distillery was duly famous for a whole range of quality liquors, while Bachewski produce was to become one of Lviv's hallmark products[21], yet the idea of Baczewski becoming a synonym of *wódka* (also found in Kopor and Stańczyk's book) should be taken *cum grano salis*. **Baczewski** (and, accordingly, **бачевський**/**баческі**) metonymically denoted vodka of this brand since its *denotatum* was the prototypic merchandise of this name (in this, the surname underwent a typical eponymic shift, influenced by its presence on the labels of Baczewski spirits), but it is hardly conceivable that it would have become generified to the extent that vodkas of other brands, and of a poorer

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[16] Ibidem, p. 455.

[17] Ibidem, p. 447.

[18] *Етимологічний словник української мови*, т. 1-6, ред. О. Савич Мельничук, Київ 1982-2012, т. 3, с. 374.

[19] J. Harding, J. Robinson, T.Q. Thomas, *The Oxford companion to wine*, Oxford 2023, pp. 4800-4801.

[20] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 82.

[21] *Енциклопедія Львова*, ред. А. Козицький, І. Підкова, Львів 2007, т. 1, с. 194-195; S. Koper, T. Stańczyk, *Ostatnie lata polskiego Lwowa*, Warszawa 2019, s. 60-79. Antoni Słonimski, however, mentions in his *Alfabet wspomnień* „modne wówczas obrzydliwe likiery Baczewskiego".

quality, would have been called so. After all, there always were words for the latter, such as **люра** 'gut-rot, alcoholic drink of inferior quality'[22].

Also, a fairly old metonymic coinage, and also one of local provenience is (senior generation school slang) **цукєркандль** 'a publication containing the abbreviated text of a classical author that was a school set book, as well as commentary to it'[23]. Wilhelm Zuckerkandel (1851-1924) was a publisher and a bookseller in the town of Zolochiv (Polish Złoczów, some 50 miles from Lviv), who also was the owner of a bookshop in Lviv and famous for publishing quality literature, the target readership for which were children and school pupils[24].

Юрашок 'a gingerbread cookie traditionally sold at the Saint George Cathedral kermis festival'[25] and **миколайко** 'a gingerbread cookie in the form of Saint Nicholas'[26] differ in their formal derivation markers as well as their inner form complexity: **миколайко** is metonymically (and also iconically) related to **святий Миколай** (Saint Nicholas) and the eponymous feast name, whereas the association of **юрашок** with **святий Юр** (Saint George) is more multiple: these cookies were vended on Saint George's Day (**на святого Юра**, April, 22-23) as well as for the duration of the month-long Saint George festival fair (**святоюрський ярмарок**) held at the eponymous square (**Святоюрська площа**) near the cathedral whose patron saint was Saint George (**кафедральний собор святого Юра**)[27].

The following, fairly recent eponym soon lost its link to the underlying item and moved out from the field of eponymy. This was a coinage denoting what is otherwise called **маршрутка** (English **shared taxi, taxibus**, Polish **taksówka zbiorowa, busik**). The **маршрутки** that appeared in Lviv and some other Western Ukrainian cities in the 1990s were of the **Peugeot** brand (< Jean-Frédéric and Jean-Pierre **Peugeot**, the company founders[28]), correspondingly called **пежо** by their passengers. Later, when other brands of such vehicles came, they, too, were called **пежо**, i.e., this brand name's meaning was eponymically extended. At the same time, its form was changed, through paronymic assimilation, to **пижик**[29] (cf. Ukrainian **пижик** 'a reindeer calf; the valuable soft fur thereof'[30]). In the former Soviet Union, hats made of this fur were a coveted winter accessory, a difficult-to-buy high-end commodity, and therefore

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[22] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 462.

[23] Ibidem, p. 822.

[24] R. Żebrowski, *Wilhelm Zuckerkandel*, [w:] *Polski słownik judaistyczny*, [w:] https://web.archive.org/web/20181230233606/http://www.jhi.pl/psj/Zukerkandel_Wilhelm (12.03.2014).

[25] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 870-871.

[26] Ibidem, p. 463.

[27] І. Крип'якевич, *Історичні проходи по Львові*, Львів 2007, с. 86-88.

[28] *Peugeot. History*, [in:] https://me.peugeot.com/en/about-peugeot/peugeot-history.html (13.03.2023).

[29] О. Перехрест, *Чому франківські маршрутки називають «пижиками»?* [в:] *Куфер*, [at:] https://kufer.media/misto/chomu-frankivski-marshrutky-nazyvayut-pyzhykamy/ (13.03.2023)

[30] *Словник української мови*, гол. ред. І.К. Білодід, т. 1-11, Київ 1970-1980, т. 6, с. 350.

a symbol of prestige. Then, evidently, on the analogy of **маршрутка** and other nouns in **-ка**, **пижик** became **пижівка**. This coinage resulted in homonymity, presumably unintentional and generally unknown, with **Пижівка**, an obscure village in Khmelnytskyi Oblast', hence there is no reason to interpret this similarity as even fortuitous secondary eponymy. Being names with original connotations of exclusivity and affluence, both **пижик** and **пежо** were distinctly ironic when applied to the always crowded and often shabby **маршрутки**. Be it as it may, in **пижик** this irony, brought about by wordplay, was an incidental by-product of the assimilative adaptation of a foreign-sounding automobile brand name.

The next examples are detoponymic derivatives, differing, among other things, in the type of semantic shift, metaphoric or metonymic. **Кульпарків** (< **Гольбергов**, the former landowner's surname) '1. A district in Lviv, where a psychiatric hospital was built in the 19th c.; 2. A mental health facility on Kulparkivs'ka street' (also **Кульпа**, a truncated variant, most probably with no pun intended on the Latin **culpa** 'guilt')[31] is a Lvivian metonymic eponym (cf. the same combination of the primary and secondary senses in **Глеваха**, an urban settlement in Kyiv Oblast' and also an informal designation of the Kyiv Oblast' psycho-neurological hospital situated there). **Вода кольонська** (**колонська**) 'eau de Cologne, eau de toilette'[32] is an international metonymic phrasal eponym, cf. French **eau de Cologne**, German **Kölnisch Wasser**, and Polish **woda kolońska**. **Камчатка** (old student slang) 'a flat that is impossible to heat up' is, as different from all the previous items, a metaphoric coinage (cf. **Камчатка**, a peninsula in the Eurasian Far East), possibly influenced by the deportation, after World War II, of Western Ukraine's citizens to Far Eastern localities known for their severe weather[33], cf. also Polish **Kamczatka** 'a detention, a cell; a word describing a convict's abode; although it can denote custody and a minimum security prison, it primarily referred only to prisons with strict regimes'[34] and Russian **Камчатка** (prison slang) 'prison cells at the very end of the corridor'[35], (school slang) 'a rear desk where scamps, pranksters, and flunkers were seated'[36].

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[31] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 409.

[32] Ibidem, p. 166.

[33] (s.a.) Камчатська область, [в:] *Енциклопедія українознавства*, ред. В. Кубійович, Львів 1994, т. 3, с. 929; В. Гаврилов. *Масові депортації українців: від радянського „зміцнення національної єдності" до сучасних воєнних злочинів Росії*, «Українська правда», [at:] https://www.pravda.com.ua/columns/2023/06/15/7406695/#:~:text=Прояви%20непокори%20українського%20селянства%20часто,червня%20по%20липень%201931%20року (13.03.2024).

[34] *Kamczatka*, [w:] https://www.miejski.pl/slowo-Kamczatka (13.03.2024).

[35] Е. Отин, *Словарь коннотативных собственных имен*, Донецк 2004, с. 191.

[36] Л.В. Беловинский, *Иллюстрированный энциклопедический историко-бытовой словарь русского народа XVIII – начало XX в.*, Москва 2007, с. 261.

Periphery

The following collocation, too, is a metaphorical phrase, which, however, is used as a predicative epithet rather than a (phrasal) name. **Офяра з мосьціск** is listed in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* as a semantic equivalent of the lexeme **офяра** (and also **оферма**) and several collocations with the former, all of them denoting an awkward, incapable person, a dimwit[37] (which, it will be noted, is a secondary meaning of **офіра** / dialectal **офяра** 'a victim'[38]). The phrase, a senior generation expression (which O. Horbach associates with Drohobych and Ternopil as well[39]) literally meaning 'a victim from Mosciska,' must have emerged in the discourse of the period's print journalism, referring to several victims of brutal murders in the town of **Мостиська**, Polish **Mościska** (now in Lviv Oblast'): these murders, committed in the mid-1930s by local criminals, were widely reported in Polish media[40]. However morally unacceptable, the metaphorical comparison of an unfit person with victims of a heinous crime refers to a real state of affairs, including a real town and its name.

The next two phrases feature a similar meaning and a similar inner form structure, cf. **туманешті з Букарешті** (contemptuous, ironical) 'a dimwit, a fool'[41] (literally 'a dimwit from Bucharest') and **мурга з Петербурга** 'an uncouth or rude person; a boor'[42] (literally 'a boor from Petersburg'), both **туманешті** and **мурга** are registered as lexemes with the same respective meanings. The phrases, too, contain real city names, that of the Romanian capital (Romanian **Bucureşti**, Ukrainian **Бухарест**), and the capital of imperial Russia (**Saint**) **Petersburg**, yet the qualities they denote are not ethno- or nation-specific (but possibly associated with ethnic stereotypes). Therefore, as different from **Мосьціска**, these names are not what they seem, as they in fact are only used to emphasize the sense of their respective head nouns through rhyming wordplay[43]. It is especially evident in the former, creatively artificial phrase: **туманешті** is a macaronic formation, combining the Ukrainian **туман** 'a complete fool' with the Romanian **eşti**, the 2nd person singular of **fi** 'to be', to make it consonant with **Букарешті**. In other words, these city names are here used as a result of their formal, and not semantic, properties.

As used in the jocular phrase **йти до лежайська** 'go to bed'[44], **лежайськ**, too, is not quite a toponym (which is possibly why it is uncapitalized). Actually, Ukrainian

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[37] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 533.

[38] *Етимологічний словник української мови*, т. 1-6, ред. О.С. Мельничук, Київ 1982-2012, т. 4, с. 237.

[39] О. Горбач, *Арго в Україні*, Львів 2006, p. 147.

[40] М. Хомяк, *Шахраї, фальшівники, розбійники та крадії*, «Збруч», [в:] https://zbruc.eu/node/ 87776 (14.03.2024).

[41] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 766.

[42] Ibidem, p. 480.

[43] For the discussion of the similar usage of disembodied proper nouns, see: S. Yermolenko, *The category of disembodied proper names…*, p. 614.

[44] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 327.

Лежайськ / Polish **Leżajsk** is the name of a town in south-eastern Poland. Whatever its actual etymology might be[45], from the folk-linguistic viewpoint of an average Ukrainian speaker, the suffix **-ськ** in it is attached to the root of the verb **лежати** 'to lie' (also found in the nouns **ліжко** 'a bed', **ліжниця** 'ibid.', etc.[46]). Accordingly, the phrase jocularly interprets the bed as a travel destination, the town to which one goes[47]. Also facetiously denoting physiological activity is the euphemistic (but all the same rather rude) eponymic phrase **(по)їхати до риги** 'to vomit'[48] (literally 'to go to Riga'), where **рига**, although also uncapitalized, is easily identified as the name of the Latvian capital, with a pun clearly intended. As to the prison slang phrase **йти під варшаву** 'to crawl under the bunk bed in a prison cell' as well as **варшава** 'a place for sleeping under a cell bunk bed'[49], their motivation (if there was one) remains unclear.

In the idiomatic expletives **до дунаю**[50] (literally 'to the Danube') and its variant, **до дублян** (street slang oath) 'good-for-nothing, worthless'[51] (literally 'to Dublany'), **дунай** and **дубляни**, although spelt as appelatives, are nonetheless the toponyms **Дунай**, i.e., the Danube, and **Дубляни**, a town and a suburb of Lviv (the fact that both the Ukrainian **Дунай** and the Polish **Dunaj** can also be used, especially in dialects and folklore, as appellatives[52] is hardly relevant here). Yet they do not contribute to the meaning of the phrase; rather, they euphemistically replace, due to their partial similarity, the coarse word **дупа** 'an arse' in the phrase **до <ясної> дупи** 'good-for-nothing, worthless')[53] (literally 'to the arse'). The humoristic effect of these proper nouns unexpectedly emerging in an inappropriate context is an essential by-product of this ludic euphemistic substitution.

The proper nouns as used in the previous examples turn out to be essentially different from what they systemically are. On the contrary, the following instances can be termed quasi-eponymic in that, although not derived from, or with the help of, a proper noun, they at the same time look as if they are. They, too, involve humoristic wordplay, cf. **поїхати до срайковиц на ярмарок** (literally) 'to go to the *srajkovici*

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[45] W. Makarski, *O nazwie miejscowej Leżajsk*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne" 1981, vol. XXIX, nr 6, s. 45-55.

[46] *Етимологічний словник української мови*, т. 1-6, ред. О.С. Мельничук, Київ 1982-2012, т. 3, с. 212.

[47] As a wider parallel, cf. English **-ville** as used to form 'the names of fictitious places with reference to the particular quality suggested by the word to which it is added' (**Winnersville**, **dragsville**), [in:] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM*, Editor-in-chief Leslie Brown, Oxford 1993.

[48] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 658.

[49] Ibidem, p. 120.

[50] Ibidem, p. 257.

[51] Ibidem, p. 256.

[52] *Етимологічний словник української мови*, т. 1-6, ред. О.С. Мельничук, Київ 1982-2012, т. 2, с. 145; J. Bartmiński, U. Majer-Baranowska, *Dunaj w polskim folklorze*, „Etnolingwistyka" 1996, t. 20, s. 167-184.

[53] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 257.

fair' and **прибути до срайковиц на ярмарок** (literally) ʻto arrive at the *srajkovici* fair'[54] (the entries are marked as rude expletives and lack any definition). ***Срайковице** (***Сракйковиці**?) is a non-existent designation of a non-existent place, derived from the root **ср-/сер-** ʻto defecate' (and, more immediately, from **срайки**, cf. the nonce expressions Ukrainian **страйки-срайки** or Polish **najki-srajki**) by the use of the suffix **-ice** typically occurring in the Polish names of villages and towns[55], and therefore appearing like one.

Leksykon l'vivs'kyi registers some non-existent anthroponyms as well, cf. *на святого нігди (нікди)* ʻnever, upon no circumstances'[56]. Formed as a prepositional phrase consisting of *на* and the name of a date in the church calendar (cf. **на святого Семена**, **na świętej Agnieszki**), this item, however, refers to the non-existent saint ***Нігда**, whose genitive case form is identical with the regional **нігди** (**нікди**), as well as **the** Polish **nigdy**, meaning ʻnever', cf. also Polish **Na święty nigdy** and its variants, including **Na świętego nigdy** and **Na świętego Dygdy** / **Migdy**, with the same meaning and the same kind of word-play[57], cf. also, *mutatis mutandis*, Polish **Na święty Adam** ʻnever, since there is no Saint Adam[58] (although the memory of the progenitors Adam and Eve is celebrated on December 24, the biblical Adam is not considered to be a saint in Western Christianity).

Another idiom of this kind is (ironic) **день святого матрасника** ʻthe day- or hour-long period of complete idleness'[59], literally ʻthe day of saint *matrasnyk*', where **матрасник** is an affixal derivate from **матрас** (**матрац**) ʻa mattress', presumably on the analogy of such saints' names with epithets as **Симеон Столпник** (Symeon the Stilyte), **Агатон Пустинник** (Agathon the Anchorite), or **Григорій Затворник** (Gregory the Recluse) etc., the analogy extending to constraints on work on holidays.

There are also several examples of quasi-eponymic "speaking nouns", some of them preceded by **пан** ʻMr.' or **пані** ʻMrs.', that, formally imitating surnames in **-ький /-ська**, are in fact ludic designations of the person carrying the feature denoted by the underlying item, cf.: (**пан**) **ображальський** ʻan easily offended male', **образінський** ʻibid.', (**пані**) **ображальська** ʻan easily offended female'[60], cf. **ображатися** ʻto feel offended'; (**пан**) **ґуздральський** ʻa slowpoke', **ґуздра** ʻibid.', **ґуздратися** ʻto do something much too slow'[61]; (derogatory) **припердульський** (**пшипердульський**) ʻannoying; a bore', **пані припердульська** (**пані пшипердульська**) ʻan annoying

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[54] Ibidem, p. 875.

[55] E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, *Nazwy geograficzne*, [w:] *Współczesny język polski*, red. J. Bartmiński, Lublin 2001, s. 409.

[56] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 389.

[57] *Nowa księga przysłów polskich i wyrażeń przysłowiowych*, t. 1-4, pod red. J. Krzyżanowskiego, Warszawa 1969-1978, t. 2, s. 625.

[58] Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 7.

[59] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 235.

[60] Ibidem, p. 515.

[61] Ibidem, p. 227.

woman; an unpleasant woman;, **припердолити** (street slang, derogative) 'to fasten with nails', **припердолитися** (street slang, derogative) 'to pick on'[62], cf. also Polish **przypierdolić** (rude) 'to strike; to beat; to annoy'[63], **przypierdolić się** (colloquial) 'to criticize someone, often without grounds; to impose oneself on somebody';[64] **цікавский (цікавський)** 'snoopy, nosy', **пані цікавска (цікавська)** 'a small-minded person prying into the affairs of others'[65], cf. **цікавий** 'curious'[66].

Alongside the obvious Polish phonetic features of some of these, the pattern of such coinages, too, is presumably Polish, cf. the title of the children's play **Pan Obrażalski** by Elwira (Karataj-) Korotyńska (1864-1943), which is not the character's meaningful surname, such as **Milczek** or **Raptusiewicz**[67]. Rather, it is the nickname of one easily offended: 'Przebaczcie mi ukochani, nigdy już na nazwę **Obrażalskiego** nie zasłużę! <…> Nie będziesz **Obrażalskim**!'[68], cf. also the titles of two more of her pieces, **Pan Beksalski** (< **beksa** 'a cry-baby') and **Pan Jąkalski** (< **jąkać** 'to stutter, to stammer'). One may also mention the Polish proverb (1894) **Lepiej pan Odbieralski, niż pan Wydawalski** 'i.e., income must be larger than expenditure'[69] (cf. **wydawać** 'to spend' and **odbierać** 'to receive') and, *mutatis mutandis,* the nickname of the Polish football player of partially Nigerian extraction, Arkadiusz Milik, **pan Czarniecki** (cf. **czarny** 'black').

(Пан) лопатинський 'a grave-digger'[70] designates one's job by referring to one's professional instrument, cf. *лопата* 'a spade'. Although not capitalised, **лопатинський** is a real surname (originally a substantivized adjective) derived from the toponym **Лопатин** / **Łopatyn** (a village in Lviv Oblast' as well as some other villages in Ukraine, cf. also **Łopacin**, a village in the Masovian Voivodeship, Poland); and yet for the wordplay presenting a gravedigger as 'Mr. Diggerton' or 'Mr. Shovelton', it is the association with **лопата** that matters. One might say that **(пан) лопатинський** is *nomen agentis* pretending to be *nomen personae.*

Two other examples of this kind are (street slang) **таревич** and **тарковський**, both defined as 'container glass'[71] ('склотара', an abbreviation of **скляна тара**).

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[62] Ibidem, p. 623.

[63] *Przypieprzyć*, [w:] *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, [w:] https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/przypie-przyc;2512398.html (15.03.2024).

[64] *Przypieprzyć się*, [w:] *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, [w:] https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/przypieprzyc-sie;2512399.html (15.03.2024).

[65] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 820.

[66] Cf. also English (slang) **buttinsky** 'an intruder, a meddler' < **butt in** 'to meddle' + **-sky** final element in many Slavonic names', [in:] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM…*

[67] M. Głowiński, T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Okopień-Sławińska, J. Sławiński, *Słownik terminów literackich*, red. J. Sławiński, Wrocław 1976, s. 264.

[68] E. Korotyńska, *Obrażalski. Komedyjka w 1-m akcie z rysunkami*, Warszawa 1925, s. 15.

[69] *Nowa księga przysłów polskich i wyrażeń przysłowiowych*, t. 1-4, pod red. J. Krzyżanowskiego, Warszawa 1969-1978, t. 2, s. 680.

[70] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 431.

[71] Н. Хобзей, К. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 665.

Recyclable glassware collection points (**пункти прийому склотари**), where empty bottles were bought from private citizens, were a common feature in Soviet cities, yet it would seem far more plausible that **таревич** and **тарковський**, sharing the **тар**-component with **(скло)тара**, actually denote not (only) glassware but (also) a glassware collection point and, by further metonymic extension, a person working there, all the more so that both sound like typical surnames. **Тарковський**, a family name common in Ukraine and especially Poland, was widely known in the U.S.S.R. due to the cinema director Andrei Tarkovskii (a son of the poet and translator Arsienii Tarkovskii and a grandson of Aleksander Tarkowski, a Ukrainian banker, author, amateur actor, and activist derived from the Polish nobility of the Eastern *Kresy*[72]). **Тарський**, the last name of the outstanding representative of the Lviv-Warsaw school of logics and mathematics Alfred Tarski (1901-1983) would have been an even appropriate paronymic substitute for **тара**, had it been (more widely) known in the circles where the quasi-eponyms **таревич** and **тарковський** emerged.

There are some items derived from proper nouns but at the same time related to common nouns and so producing a comical effect, cf., **кокорудзянка (кукурудзянка)** 'a student of Ill'a and Ivanna Kokorudz gymnasium for girls at the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society'[73]. The surname **Кокорузд** of the founders of this institution's new edifice[74] originates from Ukrainian dialectal **кукурудз** (the plant, also known as **гніздівка звичайна** *Neottia nidus avis L.*) < **кукурудза**, dialectal **кокорудз** 'maize'[75], or directly from the latter. **Кокорудзянки** therefore were pupils named after their eponymous school and its founders and patrons; their name was also identical to the Ukrainian **кукурудзянка** 'maize cereal; a meal made from this cereal; the small white bean growing between maize stalks'[76]. **Кокорудзянка** can be compared with synonymous **упетянка**[77] (< **УПТ**, an acronym for **Українське Педагогічне Товариство**, with which the gymnasium was affiliated), the latter, of course, lacking the humoristic overtones of the former.

The school slang name for a pupil of the Main Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium (for boys) was **глувняж**[78] (Polish **główniarz** < Polish **główny** 'main'), a coinage presumably prompted by the 1904 division of that school into a main office and a subsidiary[79], resulting in a rivalry between their pupils. The illustrative citation from this entry shows that **глувняж** was used by subsidiary pupils as a soubriquet for their Main

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[72] М. Шевелєва, *Олександр Тарковський: Пора нам мати своє друковане слово*, «Український інтерес», [в:] https://uain.press/blogs/1330912-1330912 (16.03.2004).

[73] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 381.

[74] *Кокорудз Ілля*, [в:] *Енциклопедія Львова*, ред. А. Козицький, Львів 2010, т. 3, с. 334-335.

[75] *Етимологічний словник української мови*, т. 1-6, ред. О.С. Мельничук, Київ 1982-2012, т. 3, с. 131.

[76] Ibidem, p. 132.

[77] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 772.

[78] Ibidem, p. 193.

[79] *Енциклопедія Львова*, ред. А. Козицький, І. Підкова, Львів 2007, т. 1, с. 44-46.

Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium schoolmates: Під час навчання на філії (1937-1939) доходили до нас чутки від наших ровесників - гімназистів із Головної (яких ми називали з-польська «**глувняжами**»)[80]. The coinage may also have been influenced by the Polish **gówniarz** 'a wretch; a milksop', cf. also **główniarz**, a euphemism for **gówniarz** occurring in the 1930 novel *Nienasycenie* by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (Witkacy) (Zawsze można powiedzieć, że właściwie co nas obchodzi taki to a taki **głupniarz** czy nawet **główniarz**), although, as Magdalena Nowotny-Szybistowa has pointed out, in a somewhat different meaning 'someone who in his thinking only takes into account the main, most significant problems, but at the same time is an intellectual *gówniarz*'[81]. Both the Polish word and its associations must have been easily understood by bilingual Ukrainian students, while the strained Ukrainian-Polish interethnic relations of that period made the use of Polish **глувняж** all the more insulting.

Пішкарусом 'on foot'[82] is another portmanteau (< **пішки** 'on foot'+ **Ікарусом** 'by Ikarus bus'), but of a later period: Hungarian-made buses of this brand (< **Icarus**, a character from Greek mythology) were a ubiquitous part of the landscape of Soviet cities. Its adverbial reference and a rare type of formation as well as the word-play inherent in its inner form make it very peripheral indeed (cf. (**їхати**) **одинадцятим номером** or **одинадцяткою** also representing going on foot as riding on a vehicle following route number eleven,[83] the number 11 being an iconic metaphor for legs).

Conclusion

In this paper, due to length constraints, I have not been able to cite, let alone discuss, all the relevant data belonging to the periphery of the eponymy field as represented in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* (to say nothing of presenting and discussing this field in its entirety). Hopefully, I will tackle the latter more extensively in future research.

Nevertheless, my present research on peripheral eponymy seems to validate the field approach to the multidimensional description and analysis of eponymy, especially as seen against its linguistic-cultural background. Specifically, this approach elucidates the inner dynamics found within this category as well as the category of proper nouns considered from the perspective of eponymy studies. On the one hand, it presents eponymicon as an immanently dynamic set evolving, in typological terms, from a prototypal, common, transparent and formally simple chore to more complicated and/or rarely used structural varieties as well as to secondary de-eponymic derivates and varieties of their discursive environment. On the other hand, it brings to light the inner dynamics of the proper noun as the entity upon which the eponymic relation is built, showing that in peripheral eponymy, underlying proper nouns can lose some of their

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[80] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 193.

[81] M. Nowotny-Szybistowa, *Osobliwości leksykalne w języku Stanisława Ignacego Witkiewicza*, Wrocław 1973, s. 122.

[82] Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський…*, с. 582.

[83] Ibidem, с. 520.

prototypal features, whereas appellative items can turn into *quasi* proper names, so that marginal formations of a mixed nature emerge in both cases. Lastly, the centre vs. periphery distinction also bears upon the description and analysis of motivational relationships binding underlying onomastic units and eponymic derivates, demonstrating that, alongside instances of plain inner semantic forms, there are also ambiguous and contradictory cases of a complicated nature defying single interpretations and necessitating multiple ones instead.

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