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**THE CATEGORY OF DISEMBODIED PROPER NAMES  
AND LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL DESCRIPTION  
OF UKRAINIAN EPONYMS: WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO EPONYMS IN  
*ЛЕКСИКОН ЛЬВІВСЬКИЙ***

**Kategoria „wcielonych” imion własnych a opis lingwistyczno-kulturowy  
eponimii ukraińskiej: ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem  
eponimów w *Leksykonie lwowskim***

STRESZCZENIE. Autor roztrząsa możliwość zastosowania kategorii tzw. niewcielonych imion własnych (wprowadzonej przez A. Gardinera jako część opozycji wcielonych i niewcielonych imion własnych). Omawiana kategoria postrzegana jest jako wyznacznik lingwistyczno-kulturowego opisu eponimów ukraińskich. Na podstawie analizy eponimów zawartych w *Leksykonie lwowskim* ukazane zostały zarówno aplikacyjne zalety omawianej kategorii, jak i wiążące się z nią problemy. Artykuł uzasadnia stworzenie typologii zmian znaczeniowych derywatów imion niewcielonych w ramach integralnej deonomastycznej teorii tworzenia wyrazów pochodnych i frazeologizmów.

Słowa kluczowe: niewcielone imię własne, eponim, ukraińska gwara lwowska, derywacja, motywacja

ABSTRACT: The paper considers the application feasibility of the category of disembodied proper names (as introduced by A. Gardiner) in the context of embodied proper names regarded as a feature of the language-cultural description of Ukrainian eponyms. Drawing on eponyms found in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyi*, the author elucidates both advantages of this application and problems it involves, and argues for the typology of disembodied name semantic shifts within a unified theory of deonomastic formation of lexical and phraseological items.

KEYWORDS: disembodied proper names, eponym, Ukrainian L'viv dialect, derivation, motivation

## Introduction

In my recent publication, an outline was given of a model for describing and analyzing eponymy in the Ukrainian language as a phenomenon both linguistic and cultural<sup>1</sup>. Using the term *eponymy* in a broad sense and defining it as the derivational relationship between the proper name and the item (lexical or phraseological) formed with its help, this model comprised a set of parameters, some of which concerned the derivative eponym, and others the underlying proper name as well as relations between these. In the present paper, I will discuss the embodied proper name category of the embodied vs. disembodied proper name opposition as a possible candidate for an expansion of the parameter subset which is associated with the underlying onomastic entity. To do so, I am going to undertake a case study of relevant instances of eponymy in *Лексикон львівський*<sup>2</sup> (hereafter referred to as *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy*).

The dis-/embodied distinction, which was introduced by the British Egyptologist and linguist Sir Alan H. Gardiner (1879-1963) in his “controversial”, as he called it, essay *Theory of proper names*<sup>3</sup>, can be regarded as a ramification of his theory of speech and language<sup>4</sup>. Noting that the embodied names are historically prior, and the actual originators of, the disembodied variety, and adding that these categories show a great overlap, he said about such names as *Harris*, *Hobson*, and *Rose* used in a particular context and with a particular reference, that

though ultimately referred to particular persons, [they]... are immediately signs only for certain word-sounds of a specific quality, not signs for persons; you cannot predicate a person of a word-sound like a name<sup>5</sup>.

In his opinion, it was by adopting this course, that the fundamental distinction between commonly and individually used names could be saved<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the essential feature of disembodied names as understood by Gardiner is their capability of being repetitively used, something, which is true not only for given, or first, names but also for some place-names, such as **Sutton**, **Victoria**, or **York**. He cited, as an example,

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<sup>1</sup> С.С. Єрмоленко, *Мовою власних імен: сучасна українська епонімія в інтерлінгвістичному і міжкультурному аспекті*, [в:] *Українська мова і європейський лінгвокультурний контекст*, відп. ред. Б.М. Ажнюк, Київ: Видавничий Дім Дмитра Бураго 2019, с. 198-232.

<sup>2</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський: поважно і на жарт*. Видання четверте, змінене і доповнене, Львів: Видавництво Старого Лева 2019.

<sup>3</sup> A. Gardiner, *The theory of proper names. A controversial essay*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Oxford University Press 1954. On grammatical properties of proper names, ssee: Е. Курилович, *Положение имени собственного в языке*, [в:] Е. Курилович, *Очерки по лингвистике. Сб. статей*, Москва: Изд-во иностранной литературы 1962, с. 251-266.

<sup>4</sup> А.Н. Gardiner, *The theory of speech and language*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1932.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 11.

the official catalogue of Christian names that French law allowed to be selected for the children of France, some of which had actually not been embodied for decades<sup>7</sup>.

It may be added that similar catalogues of names were published, for instance, in the former Soviet Union to be used by registrars in ZAGS (civil registration offices)<sup>8</sup>, and before the October Revolution of 1917, in tsarist Russia, the same function was performed (for Orthodox and Catholic Christians) by the Menologium, or the calendar of saints (Ukrainian місяцеслов, or святці), following the age-old tradition of naming a newborn after a saint whose feast was celebrated on, or close to, his or her birthday. Regarding place-names, in so-called artificial toponymy<sup>9</sup> (as different from folk, or “natural”), especially in a state-regulated one, coinages have been following a naming (and renaming) convention, an important part of which is the choice of the underlying name, appellative or proper, from the stock of such names that are unofficially seen fit, if not officially allowed, to be employed for that purpose for honorific or loosely commemorative, and often ideological, reasons. cf., e.g., Borys Melnyk’s comprehensive collection of the renamings of L’viv streets and squares beginning from the 13<sup>th</sup> c., correlated with periods of this city’s long and complicated history, in particular, it being a part of Austria (Austro-Hungary), Poland, the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Region in Nazi Germany, the U.S.S.R, and, finally, modern Ukraine<sup>10</sup>.

Indeed, the very possibility of arbitrarily selecting an appropriate proper name from such a stock as well as of its being later replaced at will by a name from another stock does manifest a disembodied, even ephemeral nature even of embodied names when they are included in an inventory of items intended for the mass secondary use as underlying items from which eponyms of this kind are formed. Such eponyms can denote physiogenic objects (cf. the highest mountain peak in Tajikistan’s part of the Pamirs, first named **Stalin Peak** after the then Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, then, due to de-Stalinization, renamed **Communism Peak**, and, finally, **Ismail Samani Peak** after a Samanid dynasty emir<sup>11</sup>) as well as anthropogenic ones, such as numerous Soviet institutions and enterprises whose designations, too, were formed with the help

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<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Л.Г. Скрипник, Н.П. Дзятківська, *Власні імена людей*. Ред. В.М. Русанівський, Київ: Наукова думка 2005; *Справочник личных имен народов РСФСР. Рекомендовано Министерством юстиции РСФСР в качестве практического пособия для работников органов записи актов гражданского состояния РСФСР*, ред.: А.В. Суперанская, Ю.М. Гусев, 3-е изд., испр., Москва: Русский язык 1987.

<sup>9</sup> On artificialness vs. naturalness in toponymy, see М.В. Голомидова, *Искусственная номинация в русской ономастике*, Екатеринбург: Уральский государственный педагогический университет 1998, с. 140-183.

<sup>10</sup> Б.В. Мельник, *Довідник перейменувань вулиць і площ Львова. XIII-XX ст.*, Львів: Світ 2001; also available at: Б.В. Мельник, *Довідник перейменувань вулиць і площ Львова. XIII-XX ст.*, [в:] [http://alan.ucoz.lv/MELNIK/how\\_use.htm](http://alan.ucoz.lv/MELNIK/how_use.htm) (28.05.2021).

<sup>11</sup> See: *Imeni Ismail Samani Peak*, [in:] <https://www.britannica.com/place/Imeni-Ismail-Samani-Peak> (28.05.2021).

of names of current political and state icons and were often discarded due to changes in the political situation<sup>12</sup>; or equally numerous hotels, restaurants etc. named after iconic cities<sup>13</sup> etc. What is more important, the extralinguistic motivation for such artificial nominations will in most cases be essentially different from that of embodied and “natural” proper names.

Thus, in A. Gardiner’s view, disembodied *nomina propria* can be considered virtual systemic units, “waiting”, as it were, to be selected for this or that reason and then applied to an extralinguistic entity. This viewpoint was adopted by Roman Jakobson, who mentioned A. Gardiner’s essay, although without the explicit use of the dis-/embodied distinction, in his paper “Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb”. In his typology of duplex structures, i.e. structures simultaneously utilized and referred to (pointed at), he distinguished four possible types of combination of mutual orientation of the message and the underlying code (message referring to message, code referring to code, message referring to code, and code referring to message), and associated the second, code/code, type, with proper names (actually of a disembodied variety), since they manifest the circularity: “the general meaning of a proper name cannot be defined without the reference to a code”, so that “the name [Jerry] means anyone to whom this name is assigned”<sup>14</sup>.

Speaking of onomastic research in Ukraine, A. Gardiner’s approach to proper name treatment was discussed by Andriy Bilets’kyi in his monograph *Лексикологія і теорія мовознавства: ономастика*. This author, too, did not explicitly mention the dis-/embodied opposition; yet he did indicate that in the onomastic unit inventories of any natural language, there always would be what he called “hollow items” [Russian *пустышки* in the original text. – S. Yermolenko], i.e. traditional lexical coinages with the potential individualization function (**Александр, Борис, Виктор**)<sup>15</sup>. There is no mention of A. Gardiner’s conception in the works of another prominent Ukrainian onomastics researcher, Yevhen Otin, in particular in his studies of secondary expressive semantic variants of proper names, or, as he also termed them, connotative proper names (including such given names as Ukrainian **Гапка** referring to an uncultured and uneducated woman, Russian **Алеша, Алеха** ‘a braggart, a liar’ and the like)<sup>16</sup>. In her monograph on the same type of linguistic entities (although called somewhat diffe-

<sup>12</sup> S. Yermolenko, *Categorizing Ukrainian eponyms from a socio-cultural perspective*, „Мова і суспільство” 2018, вип. 9, с. 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> S. Yermolenko H. Zymovets, *Some issues in research of business names motivation (with reference to Ukrainian onomasticon)*, „Лінгвістичні студії” 2018, вип. 36, с. 112.

<sup>14</sup> R. Jakobson, *Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb*, [in:] R. Jakobson, *Selected writings II. Word and language*, The Hague, Paris: Mouton 1971, p. 130-131.

<sup>15</sup> А.А. Белецкий, *Лексикологія і теорія мовознавства. Ономастика*, Київ: Изд-во Киевского ун-та 1971, с. 188.

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, Е.С. Отин, *Экспрессивно-семантические особенности ономастической лексики в восточнославянских языках*, [в:] Е.С. Отин, *Труды по языкознанию*, Донецк: Юго-Восток 2005, с. 112-134; Е.С. Отин, *Конотативна ономастична лексика*, [в:] Е.С. Отин, *Труды...*, с. 111-121.

rently), Halyna Lukash made a passing reference to A. Gardiner's opposition without elaborating on its role in her research<sup>17</sup>. Some Ukrainian linguists mention Gardiner's dis-/embodied opposition as quoted in the papers of two Russian scholars, Maksim Krongaus and Simon Perkas<sup>18</sup> (and, as an alternative for **не-/втілені**, the Ukrainian translation of dis-/embodied as **без-/тілесні** does not seem a better choice).

At the same time, it should be reiterated that entities and types thereof subsumed under the category of dis-/embodied proper names are somehow or other taken into consideration in Ukrainian explorations in onomastics in general and deonomastic derivation and etymology in particular, my studies in this field included, as well as in dialect, etymological, and phraseological lexicography. What, in my opinion, requires special attention and investigation is the question of whether it is feasible and expedient to apply this distinction as an analytical tool in explorations of the latter kind. It is the goal of the present article to discuss this applicability.

For this, I propose to analyze cases of deonomastic derivation registered in *Leksykon L'vivs'kyy*, which is a dictionary of the L'viv urban vernacular (i.e. the dialect of Ukrainian-speaking city-dwellers of L'viv), a reference which is fairly unique in Ukrainian dialect lexicography. From the viewpoint of this particular study, the evidence drawn from this reference source is valuable since, listing more than twelve thousand entries, it includes not only appellative lexemes but also onomastic ones (mostly toponyms denoting historical localities within the modern city area), as well as phraseological units and even proverbs, i.e. all four types of linguistic items which can be formed by using proper names. These underlying names can provide information, linguistic as well as cultural-historical, concerning their eponymous derivatives and referents thereof, and vice versa. Historical place names, however, will remain beyond the scope of the present study, and I will concentrate on those eponyms that are found among items that belong to the other three types of entries, i.e. appellative words, idiomatic phrases, and proverbs, and are formed by using given names as disembodied proper names *par excellence*. Among the eponyms of *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy*, formations of this kind prevail.

### Analysis and Discussion

It will be noted that some of these lack an apparent motivation; what is more, some can only appear to come from proper names, cf. **(м)андрони** 'nonsense, rubbish' (also in the phrase **мандрони плести** 'talk rubbish')<sup>19</sup>, which can be compared, on the one

<sup>17</sup> Г.П. Лукаш, *Актуальні питання української конотоніміки*, Донецьк: Промінь 2011, с. 5.

<sup>18</sup> М.А. Кронгауз, *Воплощенное и невоплощенное имя собственное: некоторые аспекты референции*, [в:] *Экспериментальные методы в психолингвистике*, Москва: Наука 1987, с. 118-135; С.В. Перкас, *Имена собственные и нарицательные в словаре и в художественном тексте*, [в:] С.В. Перкас, *Материалы к серии «Народы и культуры»*, вып. XXV, *Ономастика*, ч. 1, *Имя и культура*, Москва: Институт этнологии и антропологии РАН 1991, с. 141-151.

<sup>19</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 449.

hand, with the Ukrainian first name **Андрон (Андронік)**<sup>20</sup> (to whom a secondary prothetic **m** may have been added to produce its emotive expressive counterpart in accordance with a rhymingword model productive in Yiddish and elsewhere<sup>21</sup>), and, on the other, with Polish **androny** ‘nonsense, rubbish, idle talk, fiction’<sup>22</sup> (also in the phrase **prawić/pleść androny** ‘talk nonsense’)<sup>23</sup>, the Polish word explained as coming from Mediaeval Latin **androna** ‘a street junction, an alley’ (with the hypothetical semantic shift to ‘muddled or confused talking’)<sup>24</sup> or, hypothetically, from Italian **androne** ‘a corridor; a hall; an entrance’<sup>25</sup> (cf., as loose parallels, Ukrainian **андріак** ‘opium’, qualified as of unclear origin<sup>26</sup> and identical to the given name **Андріак**, a variant of **Андрій**; and Ukrainian Polissian **андія** ‘nonsense’, also of unknown origin<sup>27</sup>).

Then there are appellative lexemes whose origin from a given name is more certain, e.g.: **андрус** (also **андрух** as well as the variants with a prothetical **j**, **яндрус** and **яндрух**)<sup>28</sup> ‘an urchin’ (also in the derogatory idiomatic phrase **два яндрухи** ‘two kids of the same kind’), **андруска (яндруска)** ‘a brave, daring street girl spending all her time on the streets with her pals; a female hooligan’, all the three masculine variants having very close or exact matches among the very numerous variants of the Ukrainian given name **Андрій**: **Андрусь, Яндрусь, Яндрух**<sup>29</sup>; cf., further, Polish **andrus** ‘thief, brigand, prisoner of any kind’ and its variants **andrut, andrys, angrez**<sup>30</sup> ‘a scoundrel, a mischief-maker, a street kid’<sup>31</sup>; according to the latter reference, the word may originate from **Jędrus**, a diminutive of **Jędrzej**, another variant of the given name **Andrzej** (similarly to **antek** of the same meaning deriving from **Antek**, a diminutive of **Antony**), or from Greek **ἀνδρoς** ‘a male person’.

The appellative **antek**, too, made its way into Ukrainian, appearing in *Leksykon l'viv's'kyj* as **антек** as well as its variants with a prothetic **j**, **янтек, янтик**, cf. also **тонько** ‘an adventurous street kid, a hooligan’ and its feminine counterpart **тонька**, synonymous with **батяр** and **батярка** respectively<sup>32</sup>, **batiary (baciary)** being a spe-

<sup>20</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник українських імен*, Київ: Довіра 2005, с. 35-36.

<sup>21</sup> On this model, see, e.g., E. Stankiewicz, *Problems of emotive language*, [in:] *Approaches to semiotics: Cultural anthropology. Education. Linguistics. Psychiatry. Psychology: Transactions of the Indiana University conference on paralinguistics and kinesics*, The Hague etc.: Mouton 1965, p. 252.

<sup>22</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego*, t. 1-11, red. Witold Doroszewski, przedruk elektroniczny, Warszawa: PWN 1997; *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, red. St. Dubisz, wersja 1.0, Warszawa: PWN 2004.

<sup>23</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego*, red. J. Karłowicz et al., t. 1-8, Warszawa 1898-1927, t. 1, s. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, red. J. Tokarski, Warszawa: PWN 1971, s. 33.

<sup>26</sup> *Етимологічний словник української мови*, т. 1-6, ред. О.С. Мельничук, Київ: Наукова думка 1982-2012, т. 1, с. 73.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>28</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 53.

<sup>29</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 33-34.

<sup>30</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich*, t. 1-6, Kraków 1900-1911, t. 1, s. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego...*, t. 1-11.

<sup>32</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 563.

cifically L'viv kind of lower-class inhabitant<sup>33</sup>, not exclusively of Polish ethnicity<sup>34</sup>. Although **Антик** is registered in Ivan Triyniak's dictionary as a colloquial variant of the Ukrainian first name **Антон (Антін)**<sup>35</sup>, **антек** must have been felt as a word with a Polish background, so that, while retaining Polish **antek**'s appellative meaning 'a hooligan, a street kid' and, possibly, 'a swindler', it developed the additional senses of 'a Pole' and 'a Polish military man'<sup>36</sup>. **Йонтек**, registered by Oleksa Horbach in his monograph on the Ukrainian argot together with **йантек** and with the meanings 'a L'viv Pole', 'a Polish military man fighting in L'viv in 1918, and 'a street kid', reproduced, according to the author, a Mazur dialect pronunciation (Polish **pochylenie**) (cf. below-mentioned **мазур** 'a Pole')<sup>37</sup>. These instances of eponymy testify to the Ukrainian-Polish bilingualism of L'viv vernacular speakers.

The same semantic shift scheme, namely 'a Polish name diminutive' > 'a Pole', is manifested by some other items from the group of entries denoting a Pole (**вацек**, **йонтек**, **лешек**, **мазур**, **пшек**<sup>38</sup>). Of these five, **лешек** and **вацек** correspond to the Polish first names **Leszek** and **Wacek**, diminutives of **Lech** and **Waclaw** (**Leszek** is also used as a first name in its own right<sup>39</sup>), both of which do not have Ukrainian cognates. As different from **антек** and its variants, they seem to be autochthonous Ukrainian eponymous coinages from Polish names, possibly induced, however, by analogy with both Polish **antek** and Ukrainian **антек**.

At the same time, there seems to be an essential difference between the extralinguistic motivation of the meanings 'street kid', on the one hand, and, on the other, 'a male Pole' (and, *mutatis mutandis*, 'a Polish serviceman') as expressed by them. In the case of **антек** / **антек**, **тоньоко**, this motivation is unknown, yet it can be presumed that whatever it is, it concerns the relationship between these particular names and their referents. On the contrary, the motivation of the ethnic meaning appears clearly to be of a different nature in that it concerns the relationship of these eponyms, through their underlying names and their diminutive variants, not to their referents (whoever they may be), but to the Polish language and its lexis. In other words, it is the distinct Polishness of these proper names as systemic entities of this language, disembodied as they are from their particular referents, that makes them all an inner form fit to be used

<sup>33</sup> In the 1939 Polish film *Włóczęgi*, whose two main characters were **batyary**, one of them was named **То́нко**.

<sup>34</sup> The illustrative material in the entry **батьяр** specifically mentions Ukrainian *батьяри*, see Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський: поважно і на жарт...*, с. 79

<sup>35</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 37.

<sup>36</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 60.

<sup>37</sup> О. Горбач, *Арго в Україні*, Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАНУ 2006, с. 137.

<sup>38</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 122, 338, 424, 443, 642.

<sup>39</sup> W. Janowowa, A. Skarbek, B. Zbijowska, J. Zbiniowska, *Słownik imion*, Wrocław etc.: ZNiO 1991, s. 166.

by Ukrainian speakers to denote a Pole, the feature ‘diminutive’ providing for an additional disparaging connotation.

There are also eponymous lexical entries denoting ethnicity other than Polish, cf. **мойше, мошко** ‘a Jew; a bearded man’ < Hebrew מֹשֶׁה (Mōšē<sup>h</sup>), a male name from which Ukrainian **Мойсей, Мусій** also derive (also in the idiomatic phrase **Що буде, те буде, а ти, Мошко, грай** (‘the show must go on, whatever the situation is’, literally ‘Whatever will be, will be, but, you, Moshko, play on’)<sup>40</sup>. Among some twenty lexical and phrasal entries denoting a Jew, there is only one more of anthroponym origin: this is **гаман** (< Hebrew גָּמָן, hāmān, probably from Old Persian **hu-mana** ‘good thought’<sup>41</sup>), originally the name of a character from the Book of Esther, who was the Persian king Ahasuerus’s chief minister and whose intention was to have all Persian Jews exterminated. The biblical Haman an archetypal anti-Semite, Ukrainian **гаман** probably obtained its meaning through the stage of its being used as a name for the festival of **Purim**, a holiday celebrating Haman’s defeat<sup>42</sup> (in *Leksykon l’vivs’kyy*, the feast’s name is registered as **гамана**<sup>43</sup>). Be this as it may, it is quite clear from what has been said that in this case the underlying anthroponym, as opposite to disembodied **Мошко**, is fairly closely, if indirectly, associated with its referent as well as any connotations thereof and therefore is not to be regarded as a disembodied one. As to the Ukrainians, or Ruthenians (Ukrainian **русини**), the dictionary does not have any entries, deonomastic or other, immediately referring to them. Yet there are several entries containing the given name **Іван** that can, more or less tentatively, be associated with this ethnic meaning, cf. the collocation **русин – пізній Іван** referring to the belated beginning of an enterprise<sup>44</sup>. The idiomatic phrase **пізній Іван**, however, is also registered as an autonomous entry denoting those who begin acting too late and therefore fail<sup>45</sup>, hence **Іван** in this expression must be construed as denoting a person in general.

Also, there are two idiomatic phrases with the possessive adjective deriving from this name. The first of them is **іванова хата** (literally ‘Ivan’s peasant cottage’), the old street slang for prison<sup>46</sup> (cf. Ukrainian Uzhgorod slang **Іванова хыжа** of the same meaning<sup>47</sup>). The occurrence of the adjective **іванів** in this collocation also points to, and therefore can be explained by, its being derived from the eponym **Іван** denoting a common man with Ukrainian background. Vitaliy Zhaivoronok’s *Anthology of*

<sup>40</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 3, с. 498.

<sup>41</sup> A. Angerstorfer, *Haman*, [in:] *Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet* (WiBiLex). Ed. M. Bauks et al., Stuttgart 2006, [in:] <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wibilex/das-bibellexikon/lexikon/sach-wort/anzeigen/details/haman/ch/7074299b3dc67b4f331e0867f8d69b24/> (28.05.2021).

<sup>42</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 1, с. 464.

<sup>43</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 185.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, с. 678.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, с. 579.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, с. 331.

<sup>47</sup> О. Горбач, *Арго в Україні...*, с. 120, 277.



*Ukrainian ethnocultural signs*<sup>48</sup>, too, has this collocation, together with its variant **дядькова хата** denoting prison (cf. Ukrainian colloquial **дядько** ‘a peasant, mostly a backward one’<sup>49</sup>), but does not localize them in the L’viv urban vernacular or any other regional variety of Ukrainian. In old L’viv, however, where the majority of population was Polish, and Ukrainians for the most part belonged to its lower strata<sup>50</sup>, this name used as an eponym denoting Ukrainians must have had a distinct ethnic as well as social connotation, especially because **Jan** and **Janusz**, the Polish names that correspond genetically to Ukrainian **Іван**, are very much different from it phonetically. All this makes **іванова хата** an ironic description of prison as a dwelling place for Ukrainians.

*Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* defines **іванова хата** simply as ‘a prison’ i.e. as a generic name for institutions of this kind. The next phrasal name, however, allows one to provide it with a single concrete reference (thus making it an eponymous proper name). The same possessive adjective is also found in the collocation **іванове корзо**, a vernacular name for the L’viv street that until 1940 had been officially called Leona Sapiehy (now Степана Бандери); another colloquial designation for the same street is **студентське корзо**<sup>51</sup>. The **корзо** component of these two collocations corresponds to Polish **korso** (**corso**), a loan word of Italian origin denoting a broad and beautiful street in Italian towns, a place of leisurely promenade and carriage driving<sup>52</sup>. In old L’viv, **корзо** (**corso**) was an informal name of the central thoroughfare consisting of the Wały Hetmańskie (present-day проспект Свободи) and Akademicka (now проспект Шевченка) streets (its modern equivalents are **стометрівка**, literally ‘a 100-meter distance’, and **бродвей** < Broadway<sup>53</sup>), where people likewise strolled in the evening and on Sunday. Presumably, both slangy phrasal names with **корзо** alluded to this designation, using it to play on both similarities and dissimilarities between the two streets. **Студентське корзо** (literally ‘students’ promenade street’) can be explained more easily, since it is here that the Technical Academy, later to become the L’viv Polytechnic College (Ukrainian Львівська Політехніка, Polish Politechnika Lwowska), has been situated since 1877<sup>54</sup>.

On the same Leona Sapiehy street, there were also Austrian gendarmerie barracks, later used to house the L’viv voivodeship (i.e. district) headquarters of the Polish police, an institution which also had a prison attached to it (the so-called **тюрма на**

<sup>48</sup> В. Жайворонок, *Антологія знаків української етнокультури*, Київ: Наукова думка, 2018, с. 655.

<sup>49</sup> *Словник української мови*, т. 1-11, ред. І.К. Білодід, Київ: Наукова думка, 1970-1980, т. 2, с. 450.

<sup>50</sup> А. Фіголь, *Львів*, [в:] *Енциклопедія українознавства*, ред. В. Кубійович, Львів: НТШ 1994, т. 4, с. 1410-1411.

<sup>51</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 394.

<sup>52</sup> *Słownik wyrazów obcych...*, s. 394.

<sup>53</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 394.

<sup>54</sup> S.a., *Головний корпус Львівської політехніки*, [в:] <http://www.kray.org.ua/14374/mandrivky/golovniy-korpus-lvivskoyi-politehniky-velichna-forma-velikogo-zmistu/> (28.05.2021)

**Лонцького**) which had its main entrance on the side street Eliasza Łackiego<sup>55</sup> (now Брюллова) and was intended for political prisoners, in particular, members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, hence the prison's name with **Іванів** component in it. Alluding to **Іванова хата**, and also to **korso** as a leisure place for more affluent citizens, **іванове корзо** can be construed as an ironic variant of the latter, namely, as the name of the street down which carriages rode bringing arrested *Ivans* to a detention centre.

There are also verbal derivatives with the same root, cf.: **заіванити, зайванити** (old street slang) 'to steal'<sup>56</sup> as well as the idiom **зайванити гулею** 'coire' (гүля 'membrum virilum')<sup>57</sup>; **іванити** (street slang) 'to steal'<sup>58</sup>; **пріванити** (old street slang) 'to take away, to steal, to embezzle; to strike'<sup>59</sup>. The original sense must have been 'to strike, to beat' (and thus, euphemistically, 'coire'), cf., as a parallel, **бухати** (street slang) 'to push, to shove; to steal; to go (about a street-car)'<sup>60</sup>. The words have Polish cognates considered originating from the Russian given name **Іван: zaiwaniac** 'to do something enthusiastically or with panache; to work away; to go swiftly; to tell tall tales; to borrow a considerable sum'<sup>61</sup>; **zaiwanić** 'to steal'<sup>62</sup>. Arguably, the *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* verbs are Polish borrowings, whose motivation reflect some features of the Polish stereotype of the Russian<sup>63</sup> (cf. also Polish dialect **Iwan** 'a devil'<sup>64</sup>). Of more recent Russian origin is **іван** listed with the group of lexemes euphemistically (as well as ironically) denoting Soviet people (**іван, визволителі**, literally 'liberators', **товариші** literally 'comrades'), these coinages entered the vernacular after L'viv, with the rest of Eastern Poland, was invaded by the U.S.S.R. in 1939<sup>65</sup>.

There are some other instances of given names turned common due to their social as well as ethnic connotations, as their secondary appellative meaning demonstrates, cf., e.g., the combination of features of ethnicity and social status in (derogatory) **микита**, **микіта** '1. a bumpkin; 2. a moron'<sup>66</sup>. The word corresponds to the Ukrainian given

<sup>55</sup> *Архітектура Львова. Час і стилі. XIII–XXI ст.*, ред. Ю. Бірюльов, Львів: Центр Європи 2008, с. 274–275.

<sup>56</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 281, 282.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, с. 227.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, с. 331.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, с. 620.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, p. 115.

<sup>61</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego*, t. 1–11.

<sup>62</sup> *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego...*; B. Wiczorkiewicz, *Gwara warszawska wczoraj i dziś*, wyd. 2-gie rozsz., Warszawa: PIW 1968, s. 85.

<sup>63</sup> Cf., e.g., *Rosjanie*, [w:] *Encyklopedia Polski*, red. R. Marcinek, Kraków: Kluszczyński 1996, s. 582.

<sup>64</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, t. 2, s. 211.

<sup>65</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 30.

<sup>66</sup> For some reason the word, listed in the first edition of the dictionary (Н. Хобзей, К. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський поважно і на жарт*, відп. ред. Н. Хобзей, Львів Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАНУ 2009, с. 358) is omitted in the last one.

name **Микита**<sup>67</sup>, a cognate of Polish **Nicetas** (**Nicet**, **Anicet**)<sup>68</sup>, although the name **Mikita** is also registered in *Słownik wileński* as used “na Litwie” instead of **Nicefor**<sup>69</sup>, as well as occurring in some Polish proverbs. Besides, older Polish dictionaries have the appellatives **mikita** (**mykita**) with the meanings ‘a kind of hopping folk dance’; ‘a Cossack; a good horse rider’<sup>70</sup>; ‘a fox’<sup>71</sup>, which, however, seem unrelated or, in the case of ‘a fox’, opposite, to the meanings of **микита** (**микіта**). On the contrary, **Mikita** of the proverb **Nie kpij ty z Mikity, bo Mikita, taki kiep jak i ty**<sup>72</sup> appears to be fairly close to one of them.

In *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy*, there is also the verb **микитити** ‘to cheat, to mislead’<sup>73</sup>, which can be compared with the Polish **mikicić** (**mykicić**) ‘to err, to blunder; to swindle’<sup>74</sup>. The *Etymological Dictionary of Ukrainian* has **микитити** ‘to think, to consider; to swindle, to act dishonestly; to interfere’, the entry also listing the dialect forms **мекетити** ‘to disentangle’, **микита** ‘a clumsy person, a clodhopper; a dullard’, **замикититися** ‘to start worrying’, **змикитити** ‘finally to understand, get smart; to deceive, not to keep a promise’. They, as well as Polish the dialect form ‘**przemikicić** ‘to cheat’, are considered to be etymologically obscure and possibly related to Ukrainian **метикувати** (dialect **митикувати**) ‘to think, to ponder’ (< Polish **medytować** being of the same meaning), and their relation to the given name **Микита** is regarded as a retroactive<sup>75</sup> and, one may add, a paronymous one (the paronymous influence of Ukrainian **кмітити** ‘to think, to grasp’ does not seem impossible either). In other words, this seems to be a case that permits multiple and not mutually exclusive etymological solutions<sup>76</sup>.

Speaking of the L'viv vernacular **микита** / **микіта**, the combination in its meaning of the features ‘peasant’ and ‘simpleminded’, in itself fairly typical, if politically incorrect (cf. also **кафар** old street slang ‘a hick; an oaf; an infidel’<sup>77</sup> or American English **backwoodsman**, **country cousin**, **hick**, **rube**, **hillbilly** etc.), reflects an urban

<sup>67</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 228.

<sup>68</sup> W. Janowowa, A. Skarbek, B. Zbijowska, J. Zbiniowska, *Słownik imion...*, s. 199-200, 25.

<sup>69</sup> Edycja elektroniczna *Słownika wileńskiego*, [w:] <https://eswil.ijp.pan.pl/index.php> (28.05.2021).

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>71</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, t. 3, s. 207.

<sup>72</sup> *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrazów przysłowiowych polskich*, t. 1-4, red. J. Krzyżanowski, Warszawa: PIW 1969-78, t. 2, s. 471.

<sup>73</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський: поважно і на жарт. Видання четверте, змінене і доповнене*, Львів: Видавництво Старого Лева 2019, с. 463. Hereafter, if otherwise stated, the edition of 2019 is referred to.

<sup>74</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego*, t. 1-11.

<sup>75</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 3, с. 459.

<sup>76</sup> For discussion of the non-uniqueness of explanations in etymology, see: Т.О. Черниш, *Про неодиначність розв'язань в історико-етимологічних студіях: множинна мотивація і дериваційна багатозначність у контексті семантичної реконструкції*, „Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej”, t. 48, 2013, s. 97-102.

<sup>77</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 360.

perception of the rustic population. With respect to the relation between a first name and the idea of cheating as manifested in eponymy, in particular, as regards the enantiosemy (or auto-antonymy) 'to cheat, to understand' vs. 'to blunder; someone not too bright and therefore easy to cheat', cf. the following parallels: Ukrainian (sometimes pejorative) **петрати** 'understand' (< **Петро**)<sup>78</sup>; Russian **микулить** 'to understand', **обмикулить** 'to cheat' (< the first name **Микула**, a variant of **Николай**); **объегорить** 'to cheat' (< **Егор**, a variant of **Георгий/Юрий**), **обмишулиться**, **обмихнуться** 'to be cheated', **Мишуля**, **Михлюй** 'a gullible person, a sucker' (< **Михаил**); **обкузьмить** (**подкузьмить**) 'to swindle' < **Кузьма**<sup>79</sup>. The same general scheme is occasionally reproduced by a character in Leo Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace* (*Война и мир*), who, speaking in French, coins, as a *hapax legomenon*, the verb *macker* 'to act ineptly, to be cheated' from the surname of the Austrian field marshal Mack (Karl Mack von Leiberich), its motivation being the latter's utterly senseless decisions: **Ce n'est ni trahison, ni lacheté, ni bêtise; c'est comme à Ulm... c'est du Mack. Nous sommes mackés** (the footnote Russian translation: **Мы обмаковались**)<sup>80</sup>.

Thus, there are eponyms whose derivational relationship with the underlying name is quite transparent, while the motivation of this relationship is not, cf. the occupational eponym **шимон** 'an apartment house watchman, a caretaker' > **шимонова** 'a caretaker's wife; a female caretaker', **шимонцова** 'ibid.'<sup>81</sup> (cf. Polish **szymon** 'ibid.'<sup>82</sup>, Szymon, a male name<sup>83</sup>). Yet, in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyu* **шимон** is also registered within the idiom **мати шимона в голові** 'to be off one's rocker, be crazy; oddball, nuts'<sup>84</sup>. The general pattern of this phrase's inner form (namely, '(not) to have something in one's head') is reproduced by some Ukrainian as well as Polish collocations also denoting a person not in their right mind, cf. colloquial Ukrainian **мати мухи (тарганів) у голові**. In Polish, idioms of this kind of pattern are especially numerous due to the range of items to be found in the head, the set of such items including, among others, **kotki** 'kitties', **młynek** 'a hand-mill', **muchy** 'flies', **siano** 'hay', **sowy** 'owls', **wróble** 'sparrows' etc.<sup>85</sup> Thus, **мати шимона** should possibly be viewed as one more and less obviously motivated variant manifesting the same pattern.

A phrasal name with a similar meaning and with an eponymous component is **мішігене войтек**<sup>86</sup> (cf. Ukrainian **Войтек**, a diminutive of the given name **Войтех**,

<sup>78</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 4, с. 361.

<sup>79</sup> Б.А. Успенский, *Филологические разыскания в области славянских древностей*, Москва: МГУ 1982, с. 138-140.

<sup>80</sup> Л.Н. Толстой, *Полное собрание сочинений*, т. 9, Москва: Художественная литература 1937, с. 199.

<sup>81</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 844.

<sup>82</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego...*, т. 6, s. 703.

<sup>83</sup> W. Janowowa, A. Skarbek, B. Zbijowska, J. Zbiniowska, *Słownik imion...*, s. 255.

<sup>84</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 844.

<sup>85</sup> *Nowa księga...*, т. 2, s. 649-651.

<sup>86</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 844; с. 469.

occasionally occurring in Western Ukraine<sup>87</sup> as well as Polish **Wojtek**, a diminutive of **Wojciech**<sup>88</sup> and also a folk synonym for a fool, occurring in several phraseological expressions<sup>89</sup>). **Мишурене** (< Yiddish משיגע (meshuge) < Hebrew מְשֻׁגָּע (mēshugga) ‘insane’<sup>90</sup>) itself means ‘crazy’; still, **Войтек** cannot be qualified as a fairly empty prop-word signifying a person in general, since, being originally a proper noun, it depicts a crazy or foolish person as a concrete individual that has a name of its own – a name which can here be termed quasi-embodied. The same name appears in another nominative phrase, cf. **шандрій-мандрій-войтек** ‘a trouble maker; a promise-breaker’<sup>91</sup>.

The collocation **юзько француватий** (**юзько** < **Юзько**, a diminutive of **Йосип** (**Юзеф**)<sup>92</sup>, is synonymous with the epithet **француватий**, both items meaning ‘weird, silly’. The primary sense of **француватий** is ‘a person affected with syphilis’ (also known as **франца** ‘the French disease’), and its secondary sense is ‘repulsive, loathsome’<sup>93</sup>.

*Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* has an eponymous name for a mentally deranged female as well, which is (street slang; derogative or ironic) **міхалінця**<sup>94</sup>, cf. Ukrainian **Михалінка**, **Михалінця**, diminutives of **Михайлина**, a female counterpart of the male name **Михайло**<sup>95</sup>; cf. further the Polish idiom **ma michalki w głowie** ‘is not too bright’<sup>96</sup> as well as the substantive (regional) **michalk** / **pan Michał** ‘an evil spirit, a devil’<sup>97</sup>. Thus, **міхалінця** ‘a weird female’ can be regarded as a kind of semantic borrowing influenced by Polish **Michał** used as an eponym for ‘a devil’.

Returning to phrasal names containing an eponymous prop word, there is **знімчений юрко** ‘a person who, after serving as a conscript in an army of another nation, has forgotten his native tongue and national interests’<sup>98</sup>, its second eponymous component deriving from Ukrainian **Юрко**, a diminutive of the given name **Юрій**<sup>99</sup>, and the Ukrainian adjective **знімчений** formed from the verb **знімчити** ‘to forcibly assimilate with the German ways, culture, language etc.’<sup>100</sup>, its underlying substantive, Ukrainian **німець**, also denoting any foreigner from Europe<sup>101</sup>. Similarly, the epony-

<sup>87</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 73.

<sup>88</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, t. 6, s. 146.

<sup>89</sup> *Nowa księga...*, t. 3, s. 741-742.

<sup>90</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 3, с. 455.

<sup>91</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 838.

<sup>92</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 161.

<sup>93</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 793.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, с. 468.

<sup>95</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 236.

<sup>96</sup> *Nowa księga...*, t. 2, s. 649.

<sup>97</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, t. 6, s. 146.

<sup>98</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 871.

<sup>99</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 408-409.

<sup>100</sup> *Словник української мови...*, т. 3, с. 669.

<sup>101</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 4, с. 99.

mous noun **юсько** (< **Юсько**, another diminutive of **Йосип** (**Юзеф**)<sup>102</sup>, occurs within nominative phrases, cf.: **юсько-макольондра** ‘a street kid’ and **юсько цюхрай** (**чухрай**) ‘ibid.; a thief’; **юсько**, however, can also be used autonomously meaning ‘street kid’<sup>103</sup>, a sense, which it possibly acquired, by means of the process of semantic contagion, through being employed within these collocations.

An essentially identical phrase structure is actualized by **гойда-маріна** (street slang) ‘дуже висока дівчина’<sup>104</sup>, where **марина** is an eponym of the given name **Марина**, and dialect **гойда** a noun with the general meaning of woman, whose numerous regional semantic variants include ones sharing the semantic feature ‘tall’<sup>105</sup>.

There are some other feminine eponyms derived from female given names, which can denote people. Their meaning, too, can include social (including occupational) as well as ethnic features, cf. **маланка** (**Маланка**), which, when capitalized, refers to the St. Melania the Junior feast and, coincidentally, the New Year Eve according to the Julian calendar, otherwise its meanings are ‘a servant girl’ and ‘a prostitute’<sup>106</sup>. Both words, common as well as proper, ultimately derive from the female first name **Меланія**, one of whose numerous variants is **Меланка** and which in its turn comes from the Greek first name **Μέλανια** < **μέλαινα** ‘black’<sup>107</sup>. Basically, the semantic difference between the eponyms is determined by their having been formed from the same underlying name’s embodied and disembodied variants respectively.

The pejorative meaning ‘a common peasant or servant girl’ is also expressed by **Маріна** (**Маріська**)<sup>108</sup>. **Манька**, a word of the street or thieves’ slang (cf. Ukrainian **Манька** and Polish **Mańka**, a diminutive of Ukrainian **Марія**<sup>109</sup> and Polish **Mania** < **Maria** respectively; **Mania**, as opposed to other of **Maria**’s diminutive variants, was considered pejorative<sup>110</sup>), denoted a young female belonging to the already mentioned batiary, a L’viv population lower stratum, whose prototypical features are also reflected in this word’s definition: ‘a brave and reckless girl spending most of her time on the streets with her mates; a hooligan girl’ (cf. also the Polish proverb **Mania to pół człowieka, a pół drania**<sup>111</sup> as well as **каролька** (street slang) ‘a girl that has a boyfriend’<sup>112</sup>, a diminutive of Ukrainian **Кароліна**<sup>113</sup> or Polish **Karolina**<sup>114</sup>).

<sup>102</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 161.

<sup>103</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 871.

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, с. 195.

<sup>105</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 1, с. 546.

<sup>106</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 447.

<sup>107</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 223-224.

<sup>108</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 450-451.

<sup>109</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 213-215.

<sup>110</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, t. 3, s. 116.

<sup>111</sup> *Nowa księga...*, t. 2, s. 394.

<sup>112</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 357.

<sup>113</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 167.

<sup>114</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, t. 2, s. 317.

In the same entry, **манька** is also mentioned as a part of the slangy idiom **брати з маньки** ‘to jeer at’. This, however, is another, not eponymous lexeme, cf. Ukrainian **манька** ‘the left hand; a left-handed person’, considered a Polish borrowing<sup>115</sup>, as well as the Polish idiom **zażyć kogo z mańki** ‘to cheat someone’, in which **mańka** (**mania**) is a synonym, and also a paronym, of **mańkut**, **mańdaczka** ‘the left hand; a left-handed person’<sup>116</sup>. At the same time, it is possible that the pejorative connotation of the diminutive **Mańka** as well as the meaning of eponymous **манька** were paronymically induced by the features ‘evil, illegal, reprehensible, insidious’ associated with the linguistic image of ‘the left’ in both Ukrainian<sup>117</sup> and Polish<sup>118</sup>.

As to **мариська**, it is also found in the phrase **як у Каськи, так в Мариськи**<sup>119</sup> (literally ‘as with Kas’ka, so with Marys’ka’), referring to people that, trying to demonstrate their affluence, imitate other people. **Каська** (a diminutive of **Катерина**<sup>120</sup> or Polish **Katarzyna**<sup>121</sup>) is also found within another phrase, **догоджати як ксьондз Касьци** (literally ‘to please as a priest pleases Kas’ka’) ‘be eager to please one in everything’<sup>122</sup>. Although capitalized, **Каська** and **Мариська** in these collocations are not proper names *sensu stricto*, in that although both expressions convey some general sense, they do so as if by portraying concrete situations that involve concrete people with these names, which actually they do not, being a generalizing variety of an onomastic metaphor. This kind of usage is somewhat different from those previously discussed cases in which a given name was employed (metaphorically and at the same time metonymically, and in the singular as well as plural) as a generic designation for a group of people that share some feature and for whom this name is, or is considered, more or less typical. Here, a given name is used to portray the person in general as a specific person different from anyone else. This usage is based on the essential feature of the proper name, which is the uniqueness of its reference, and it is widespread and well-known in both the Ukrainian and Polish phraseology<sup>123</sup>. Besides, it can be encountered elsewhere, cf. the following excerpt from Jonathan Swift’s 1725 letter to Alexander Pope: „Principally, I hate and detest that animal call man, although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas and so forth”<sup>124</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 3, с. 338.

<sup>116</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego...*, т. 2, s. 877.

<sup>117</sup> О. Горбач, *Про в Україні...*, с. 66, 86, 144, 340, 469.

<sup>118</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego...*, т. 2, s. 726.

<sup>119</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 358.

<sup>120</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 167.

<sup>121</sup> J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich...*, т. 2, s. 323.

<sup>122</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 358.

<sup>123</sup> See, e.g., Г.П. Лукаш..., *passim*; А.М. Кравчук, *Польська фразеологія з ономастичним компонентом. Автореферат на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук*, Київ 1999, *passim*.

<sup>124</sup> Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), [in:] Oxford Reference, [in:] <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/ac-ref/9780191843730.001.0001/q-oro-ed5-00010553>

Other instances of this type found in *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* are: **маєш, Федько, безголов'я** 'about a man whom a great disaster has befallen'<sup>125</sup>; **гопай, Зосю** 'an expletive uttered when something fails, making one feel really bad'<sup>126</sup>; **Йосип на коні**, also an expletive, possibly a euphemism of paronymous nature<sup>127</sup>; **бити як сидорову козу** 'to beat viciously'<sup>128</sup>; **кожен Іван має свій план**, an expression describing ill-coordinated activities, with each participants abiding by their own principles and objectives<sup>129</sup>; **який Сава, така його слава**<sup>130</sup>; **юж/ шлюс Параню по коханю**, an expression denoting the end, especially an unexpected one<sup>131</sup> (**Параня** a diminutive of **Парасковія (Параскева, Параска)**<sup>132</sup>. In the last three examples, rhyme seems to be the reason behind the choice of a particular name.

Among *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* *eponyms* that derive from given names, there are, besides those denoting people, also those referring to inanimate objects, in particular material things and event names. The most obvious of them are church calendar terms, such as the already mentioned **Маланка** or **Петрівка** 'the period of fast preceding the feast of St. Peter and Paul on July 11'<sup>133</sup>; also, cf. **Миколайок** 'a gingerbread cookie in the form of Saint Nicolas' and **юрашок** 'a gingerbread cookie traditionally sold at the kermis festival of the Saint George Cathedral (Ukrainian **собор святого Юра**) on April 22-23'<sup>134</sup>. Some of these eponyms can be traced down to given names that are quite embodied, although explanations of their origin may differ, cf. **катеринка (катаринка)** 'a street-organ'<sup>135</sup>. According to O. Horbach, the noun comes from the initial line of the song *Charmante Catherine (Schöne Katherine)* performed by organ-grinders<sup>136</sup>. The compilers of the *Etymological dictionary of Ukrainian*, however, give, along with its Byelorussian and Bulgarian cognates, a somewhat different explanation: Ukrainian **катеринка** < Polish **katarynka, katryna**, in its turn borrowed from German, where **die schöne Katherine** was a name of a puppet starring in a popular puppet show accompanied by a street organ<sup>137</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 83.

<sup>126</sup> Ibidem, с. 201.

<sup>127</sup> Ibidem, с. 269.

<sup>128</sup> Ibidem, с. 380. On the origin of this idiom, whose correlates are found in various Slavonic languages, see: А.К. Бирих, В.М. Мокиенко, Л.И. Степанова, *Словарь русской фразеологии. Историко-этимологический справочник*, Санкт-Петербург: Фолио-Пресс 1999, с. 270-272.

<sup>129</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 379.

<sup>130</sup> Н. Хобзей, К. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський поважно і на жарт*, відп. ред. Н. Хобзей..., с. 631.

<sup>131</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 870.

<sup>132</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 278-279.

<sup>133</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 568.

<sup>134</sup> Ibidem, с. 463, 870-871.

<sup>135</sup> Ibidem, с. 359.

<sup>136</sup> О. Горбач, *Арго в Україні...*, с. 465.

<sup>137</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 2, 1985, с. 404, with further references, in particular, to M. Vasmer's and F. Sławski's etymological dictionaries.



**Мацсюфка (мацеювка)** is defined simply as ‘a man’s headgear’<sup>138</sup>, but the illustrations (to say nothing of the spelling) point to the Polish background of both the word and the object it denotes; cf. Polish **maciejówka** ‘a hat with the round top and the strap or string above the visor’ (**...i pańska maciejówka z szerokim rzemie-niem...**)<sup>139</sup>. In the article on the internet site of the Ethnography Museum in Cracow, two versions are given of the origin of **maciejówka**, both of which relate it with the given name **Maciej** as an underlying item: according to one, such a hat was originally worn by Count Maciej Małżowski of Chobienice, while the alternative explanation connects it with traders who imported these hats from Germany in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. and who were known as **panowie Maciejowie**<sup>140</sup>.

Concerning **шарлотка** ‘a kind of an apple pie’<sup>141</sup>, a word which has cognates in various European, in particular Slavonic, languages (Polish **szarlotka** included), denoting several varieties of dessert dishes, etymologists are unanimous in identifying, as its underlying entity, French **Charlotte**, a feminine form of **Charlot**, a diminutive of the given name **Charles**; at the same time, some of them claim **charlotte** to be the eponym of the name of British or Russian female royals, namely, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, George III’s wife, and Charlotte of Prussia, the future consort of Nicholas I of Russia<sup>142</sup>, while others qualify it as originating from the French eponym **charlotte** ‘a female headgear’ (the pie’s form resembling the latter) or as being of unknown origin<sup>143</sup>. Marie-Antoine Carême (1784-1833), the founder of the French *haute cuisine* and the putative author of the charlotte recipe, in fact listed as much as four varieties of this dish (**charlotte à la Parisienne, à la Francaise, à la Prusienne** and **à la Americaine**) in one of his cookery books<sup>144</sup>. Besides, he served as *chef de cuisine* first at the British and then Russian royal courts<sup>145</sup>, so that the naming of his culinary inventions after his august clientele, as a way of dedication, does not seem improbable and therefore cannot be excluded (cf. also **баварка** below).

<sup>138</sup> Н. Хобзей, К. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 456.

<sup>139</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego*, t. 1-11...

<sup>140</sup> E. Rossal. *Czapka maciejówka*, [w:] <https://etnomuzeum.eu/zbiory/czapka-maciejowka>.

<sup>141</sup> Н. Хобзей, К. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський поважно і на жарт*, відп. ред. Н. Хобзей..., с. 623.

<sup>142</sup> *Wyrazy francuskiego pochodzenia we współczesnym języku polskim*, red. A. Bochnakowa, Kraków: UJ, 2012, s. 333; М.Г. Блау, *Судьба эпонимов. Происхождение 300 названий. Словарь-справочник*, Москва: NTs ENAS 2017, с. 194.

<sup>143</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 6, 2012, с. 384.

<sup>144</sup> M.A. Carême. *Le Maître-d'Hôtel français, ou Parallèle de la cuisine ancienne et moderne*, v. 1, Paris 1822, *passim*.

<sup>145</sup> F. Fernádes-Armesto, *Near a thousand tables. A history of food*, New York etc.: Free Press 2002, p. 117.

**Міхалок** and **міхась** (street and thieves slang) ‘a sack’<sup>146</sup>, although apparently associated with, and influenced by, similar diminutives of the given name **Михайло**<sup>147</sup>, are suffixal derivatives of Ukrainian **міх** ‘a sack’<sup>148</sup>.

**Наполеон** is a rude game (also called **дупак**)<sup>149</sup>, eponymous with two French Emperors, **Napoléon Bonaparte** and **Napoléon III**, whose name generated various eponyms in languages of Europe. **Памфіль** as well as its apocopic paronymous derivatives **хвиль**, **хвилька** ‘ibid.’ (cf. Ukrainian **хвиля** ‘a moment; a wave’<sup>150</sup>) designate a card game<sup>151</sup>. This word and its cognate Polish **pamfil** correspond to the given names **Памфіл** and **Pamfil** respectively<sup>152</sup>; besides, the Polish item is also the name of a playing card ranking next to the queen (cf. its English equivalent **jack**) as well as an old card game alternatively called **mariasz (mariaż)**<sup>153</sup>, so that Ukrainian **памфіль** will be a semantic borrowing of Polish origin.

Thus, some *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* eponyms denoting things have underlying given names that are disembodied, either in reality or in the eye of researchers. To them also belong **зося (зоська)** ‘a six-litre vessel used to scoop up beer in the L'viv brewery’<sup>154</sup>, **півзоськи** ‘a three-litre glass jar’<sup>155</sup> (cf. **Зося**, a diminutive of the given female name **Софія**<sup>156</sup> as well as the Polish **Zofia**’s diminutives **Zosia**, **Zośka**); **міріями** ‘a mark of cigarettes’<sup>157</sup> (cf. the female first name **Miriam**<sup>158</sup>); **пан-єдзьо** ‘a toilet’<sup>159</sup> (cf. Polish **Edzio**, a diminutive of **Edward**), **йан** ‘ibid.’ (cf. Polish **Jan** as well as English **John** ‘ibid.’); **ясьок (ясік)** ‘a variety of beans’ (according to the *Etymological dictionary of Ukrainian*, a Polish borrowing: **jasiek** ‘a variety of beans’<sup>160</sup> from **Jaś**, a diminutive of **Jan**<sup>161</sup>). With all of them, the motivation is unknown. The last but not the least of this kind is **войтек** (also **войток**, **войтко**) (< Ukrainian **Войтек** or Polish **Wojtek**), used in the L'viv vernacular as a designation of the Moon<sup>162</sup>. In old L'viv with its poor city lighting, the moonlight must have been indispensable for night thief activities, hence several street slang names for the Moon, such as **лисий** (literally ‘a bald one’) and

<sup>146</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 468.

<sup>147</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 237.

<sup>148</sup> *Словник української мови...*, 1973, т. 4, с. 757.

<sup>149</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 258, 495.

<sup>150</sup> *Словник української мови...*, т. 11, с. 40-41.

<sup>151</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 539, 800.

<sup>152</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 282.

<sup>153</sup> Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, Warszawa 1992, t. 3, p. 186.

<sup>154</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 324.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibidem*, с. 574.

<sup>156</sup> І.І. Трійняк, *Словник...*, с. 344.

<sup>157</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 467.

<sup>158</sup> W. Janowowa, A. Skarbek, B. Zbijowska, J. Zbiniowska, *Słownik imion...*, s. 193.

<sup>159</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 540.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*, с. 876.

<sup>161</sup> *Етимологічний словник...*, т. 6, 2012, с. 558.

<sup>162</sup> Н. Хобзей, О. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський...*, с. 167.

**рогаль** (literally ‘one with horns’), as well as the expressions **місяць – злодійська ліхтарня** ‘the Moon is a thief’s lantern’ and **войтко капuye** ‘the Moon is shining’ (literally ‘stares’)<sup>163</sup>.

At the end, I would like to cite two eponyms with underlying entities other than first names, namely, toponyms. **Лондон**, together with such items as **Париж** and **Монте-карло**, belongs to the L’viv onomasticon items of this kind. Whatever the explanation of the two latter urbanonyms may be (**Париж** < **Париж** ‘Paris’ is an old vernacular name for the area around the Krakivs’kyi market<sup>164</sup> and **Монте-карло** (< **Monte Carlo**) a modern informal name of a little park near the Petrashevych square<sup>165</sup>), that of **Лондон** is still more complicated. Its part **лонд-** is actually an acronym for the L’viv Region Narcological Clinic, Ukrainian **Львівський обласний наркологічний диспансер**, or **ЛОНД**<sup>166</sup>. The subsequent assimilative changing of this acronym to **Лондон** (cf. Ukrainian **Лондон** ‘London’) in the modern city slang, while following the well-established pattern of coining business names from more or less prestigious or image-bearing place names, was perhaps influenced by the need somehow to ameliorate the linguistic image of that institution.

Lastly, among eponyms formed from place names, I would like to discuss **баварка** ‘tea with milk’<sup>167</sup>, cf. Polish **bawarka** ‘sweet soft drink made of hot water or tea with milk’ (< **Bawaria** ‘Bavaria’)<sup>168</sup> as well as the French **bavarois** ‘a cold dessert dish made of custard, mashed fruit, gelatin, and whipped cream’<sup>169</sup>, and also called **fro-mage Bavarois**<sup>170</sup>. Besides this French **bavarois** containing dairy products but no tea, there is another one, which can be tea-based. As described by Alexandre Dumas père in his *Le grand dictionnaire de cuisine*, **bavaroise** is a mollifying and soporific hot drink made of some herbal syrup diluted either with hot tea, water, or chocolate<sup>171</sup>. Thus, words with essentially an identical semantic inner form denote two distinct kinds of (allegedly) Bavarian cuisine speciality. As to the tea variety of these, it should be added that, as Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat notes, in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. at the Procope’s *salon de café* in Paris, tea was served that was sweetened with herbal syrup and called **Bavaroise** in honour of the princes of Bavaria who had accompanied their princess to her wedding when she became the second wife of Philippe d’Orléans<sup>172</sup>. Made to

<sup>163</sup> Ibidem, c. 425, 665, 353.

<sup>164</sup> Ibidem, c. 546.

<sup>165</sup> Ibidem, c. 473.

<sup>166</sup> Ibidem, c. 431.

<sup>167</sup> Н. Хобзей, К. Сімович, Т. Ястремська, Г. Дидик-Меуш, *Лексикон львівський поважно і на жарт*. Відп. ред. Н. Хобзей..., c. 58.

<sup>168</sup> *Słownik wyrazów obcych*..., s. 72.

<sup>169</sup> Bavarois, [in:] <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/bavarois/8458#:~:text=Entremets%20froid%20mo-ulé%2C%20généralement%20composé,et%20additionnée%20de%20crème%20fouettée>.

<sup>170</sup> See in the entry *Bavarois*, [in:] *Oxford English dictionary on CD-ROM* (v. 4.0), ed. J. Simpson, E. Weiner, Oxford University Press 2009.

<sup>171</sup> A. Dumas, *Le grand dictionnaire de cuisine*, Paris: Alphonse Lemerré 1873, p. 213.

<sup>172</sup> M. Toussaint-Samat, *A history of food*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 2009, p. 537.

commemorate and honour a royal court event (and, presumably, so to coincidentally promote this particular produce and its maker), the reference to Bavaria in **le thé Bava-rois** was onomasiologically based on such a feature of this tea that was adherent, circumstantial, even fortuitous; rather than providing objective information the name was designed to influence public opinion by projecting an attractive or prestigious image of the referent, something that potentially brings about the disembodiment of an underlying proper name.

### Conclusion

When dealing with eponyms formed from given names (and, *mutatis mutandis*, place names as well), the first issue to tackle is, once the underlying entity is identified as one of these, the establishing of coinage motivation. It is already at this stage that the question should be addressed, whether the underlying entity is an embodied or disembodied name. Arguably, one should start by presuming that the former is the case. If, however, it cannot be sufficiently proved to be so, the underlying name should be recognized as a disembodied one (bearing in mind that the opposite may eventually turn out to be true). Regarding the motivation of eponyms with disembodied underlying names, the following options seem to be possible: 1) the opaque motivation that is fortuitous to the point of being arbitrary; 2) the motivation that is not (purely) extralinguistic in that it concerns the underlying name (in particular, its phonetic form) rather than the referent of the eponym. Be it as it may, the relationship between the disembodied underlying name and the meaning of the derivative eponym should be checked against the typology of given name (or place name) semantic shifts in both lexical and phraseological derivation, i.e. the typology of the semantic change of such a name when it is used to coin a lexical or phraseological item. This typology can be more or less general or otherwise, cross-linguistic or language- (or language variety-) and culture- (or culture variety-) specific. It is my contention that the present research substantiates the need for such typology establishing recurrent patterns of the secondary use of disembodied names. Investigations in this direction should take into their scope the whole range of relevant derivatives, that is to say, they should encompass eponymous entities of an expressive and emotive character as well as stylistically neutral (including dialectal or slangy) generic names and traditional terms, with the goal of creating a holistic theory of deonomastic word and phrase formation.

Another theoretic and methodological conclusion that the analysis and discussion of selected deonomastic *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* entries point to is that adding the dis-/embodied name opposition to a set of parameters of eponymy description is not only feasible and worthwhile but also desirable and necessary, in fact indispensable. On the one hand, the application of this opposition to the treatment of eponymy serves to identify some relevant features of the underlying proper names as systemic entities. On the other, this distinction should be taken into consideration because it can account, among other features, for some traits of items derived from disembodied proper names as well as the general character of the motivation underlying these coinages.

Speaking specifically of Ukrainian eponymy and its cultural background, *Leksykon l'vivs'kyy* eponyms, in particular those formed from disembodied names, often reflect, in their origin, form, and meaning, Ukrainian-Polish linguistic and cultural contacts as well as the multiethnic and multicultural background of the L'viv city vernacular. Therefore they can provide valuable data for the investigation of Ukrainian language territorial and social varieties as well as Ukrainian-Polish linguistic and linguistic-cultural relations.

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