

A GENERAL THEORY OF NAME AND NAMING POLICY: AN OUTLINE*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Among the numerous properties constituting universal differences between common expressions and proper names, “governability”, or “governableness” strongly distinguishes the latter from the former. It is mainly the way proper names are assigned and created that has been excluded from the general arbitrariness of language elements in the Saussurean sense. Nowadays, most proper names are not freely coined, given, or used, which is due to some existing overt and covert rules, laws, and traditions. In various legal systems, acts and laws concerning proper names are incomparably more numerous and much older than those specifying the way in which appellative expressions should be used. Moreover, actual language usage cannot be decreed or effectively prescribed. If such actions can ever be successful, it is mainly (if not only) in the case of proper names.

The present paper aims to provide an outline of a general conceptual framework for perceiving, classifying, and discussing name and naming policies, as well as for explaining their drivers. The diverse rules, laws, traditions, and regularities governing name creation and name usage constitute more or less universal, and more or less coherent, polysystems of name and naming policies that are designed and executed by various entities in manifold linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. The goal is to outline a general map showing the relations between these various factors and actors, while keeping the theory as versatile as possible.

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The general concept of policy is definitely a broad and miscellaneous one. There is no place here to consider the whole spectrum of its possible content(s), and it seems sufficient to limit the discussion to its most important features. A policy is an overall plan consisting of an inventory of global goals and predefined means of achieving them. Nevertheless, it needs to be underlined that not every single name or naming policy will bear all these hallmarks of a policy.

Furthermore, the most concise explanation of the terms “name” and “naming” would be that a naming policy is about giving names, whereas a name policy is about using them.

Finally, it seems reasonable to outline the need for and purpose of an onomastic theory of names and naming policy. In the arts and humanities, most theory building attempts are aimed at setting a framework of (newly designed or redefined) concepts meant as a device of ordering, classifying, and (not always, however) explaining studied phenomena. Moreover, in the arts and humanities theories may mold or reshape the way in which phenomena are perceived, as well as the way their nature is interpreted. To give the most obvious example: at some point some onomasticians in some countries came under the strong influence of a philosophical outlook on proper names that caused them to perceive proper names as having no meaning.

The set of concepts proposed hereinafter is meant to provide a general and comprehensive perspective on an extremely broad spectrum of the properties of proper names and linguistic phenomena involving them in various ways, e.g.: the formal properties of name forms and their relations to other names within a given language or community as well as the pragmatic potential of proper names and their use within various policies. Last, but not least, the theory is aimed at highlighting the possible correspondence between the structure of a single act of name use or name establishment and the structure of name or naming policy.

There are some publications that have the expressions “name”, “policy” and “theory” in their titles. However, I am not going to be specific about them because a just and fair critique would surely require much more space than I have here, and I believe that questioning work and ideas of other scholars must be always followed by (at least concise) justification. Well, most probably we have all experienced peer reviewers at some point who kindly decided to limit their critical remarks to laconic assessments such as: “This paper proposal is of no value at all. Change my mind”.

Generally speaking, what makes me consider some existing works as not being useful in the present paper is mainly the fact that they seem to be limited to listing and describing only specific and concrete 1) instances of actors having (various kinds of) influence on names and naming or 2) examples of obligatory

formal properties imposed on names by means of policies. Basically, such works are not aimed at creating a set of abstract concepts ordering both diverse properties of names and of the policies governing them, hence the impossibility of treating them as making a contribution to the theory of name and naming policy. Nevertheless, they could surely serve as a valuable source of numerous examples suitable as illustrations of the categories and concepts outlined hereinafter.

What has been stated above allows me to proceed to an attempt to address some of the questions of a reviewer: “Why? Which research question(s) does this article answer? How should we use the article or the ‘theory’ in future research?”.

“Why?”. If onomasticians limit themselves to perceiving names and naming policies only in terms of discussing specific instances of name forms, name regulations, and naming regulators and do not try to develop any kind of more general and abstract concepts and categories, they are nothing but stamp collectors who “gather their specimens randomly, as they happen to find them, and keep them in an old shoe box to bring out on appropriate occasions for the interest and amusement of friends” — to use the neat comparison between philately and onomastics once proposed by John Algeo (1985, p. 136).

“Which research question(s) does this article answer?”. None, to be honest. An outline of a set of abstract concepts or an outline of a theory embedded in broader theoretical onomastic or linguistic stances (in this very case it is the structure of a naming act that serves as a reference plane) is not expected to answer any specific research question but to confront onomasticians with a possible complex of interwoven perspectives on interwoven properties and qualities of proper names on one hand, and of name and naming policies on the other hand. Therefore, if I may follow Algeo’s parallel between philately and onomastics, the present paper does not address any detailed question such as: “What is the dominant color of post stamps in 20th century European monarchies as opposed to republics?” but rather attempts to create a general model of possible relations between state authorities, postal institutions and authorities, post stamp designers, and available engraving and printing techniques.

“How should we use the article or the ‘theory’ in future research?”. If I were to decide, I would like the paper to be used as food for thought. Even a mere attempt to arrange very diverse factors, actors, and constraints of giving and using names as well as of designing and executing name and naming policies (see Fig. 2) may provide some assistance to researchers as an inventory of aspects they may wish to take into consideration when analyzing and describing specific name and naming cases (of course, if the scope of their research interest goes beyond purely etymological analysis — which is what still constitutes the core of onomastics).

2. A THEORETICAL ENTERPRISE: HOW THE THEORY WAS DEVELOPED

The general theory of name and naming policy (GTNP) outlined hereinafter is conceived as a microsystem of core concepts and classifications organizing the perception and facilitating explanation of multidimensional set of relations constituting the tangled context of naming and name usage. It has not been based on either a specific and defined set of onomastic data or on a limited set of specific overt or codified policies. Just the opposite: it is based on a general observation of onymic phenomena, combined with a continuous attempt to put parts of existing general linguistic and general onomastic conceptual and theoretical frameworks against those phenomena in a search for patterns that may allow the frameworks to be partially reused. This was only undertaken because no theory may be created *ex nihilo*, and the whole theory of name and naming policy itself needs to be a novel construct. The instances of name and naming policies discussed in this paper serve merely as an illustration and a testing ground on which the explanatory power of the theory may be verified.

One desired and intended quality of the newly designed GTNP is its economy, that is, it can be effectively understood, and cover and classify the widest possible range of phenomena with the least possible number of concepts (Włoskowicz, 2018). Nevertheless, the economy of a theory is not about the creation of as few general, fuzzy, vague, or — at best simply broad — concepts and categories as possible but, rather, avoiding the creation a new concept for every single phenomenon. Unfortunately, the latter tendency does appear to be relatively common within the modern humanities in general. On the other hand, however, overproduction of highly precise onomastic concepts that do not grasp any relevant or truly distinctive properties of proper names does not seem to be reasonable, either. To put it simply, we do not need the concepts of *dodecaphonemonym* ‘a name consisting of twelve phonemes’ and *orohodonym* ‘name of a road in the mountains’ if — from the onomastic point of view — there is nothing special or specific about such names beside the trivial fact that they consist of twelve phonemes or refer to a road in the mountains. We do not need such concepts, no matter how sophisticated the expressions *dodecaphonemonym* and *orohodonym* may sound.

2.1. Theoretical Foundations

In the following paragraphs, some selected parts of preexisting theories or conceptual microsystems are outlined. The discussion is limited only to those theoretical statements and proposals that have directly influenced the design of the

outlined theory. This applies particularly to the discussion of the theories of language policy; as it is a broad concept, and numerous attempts have been made to grasp it theoretically, references are made only to the theoretical stances of selected Polish linguists providing inspirations for the GTNP.¹

2.2. Language Policy

Here, language policy may be provisionally perceived as a rough-and-ready *genus proximum* of name and naming policy. Hence, theories of language policy may be used as a provisional reference plane in a search for useful concepts and categories potentially relevant in describing and explaining name and naming policies. However, there are some serious differences between language policies,

¹ As the present paper is not devoted to the theory of language policy as such and it is the quoted Polish works in that field that have served as a starting point and the only source of inspiration, I see hardly any reason to cite or quote any “classic” works in language policy published in English by authors like Robert L. Cooper, Bernard Spolsky, Elana Shohamy, and Harold F. Schiffman for the sheer sake of making the reference list longer or prettier in this way. It is my deep belief that in the Anglo-Saxon linguistics there is a serious discrimination against works in languages other than English (especially Slavic ones). Therefore, I use this opportunity to outline in English some selected Polish theoretical contributions (however, only these that have influenced my considerations). Nevertheless, some kind of “reverse comparison” of classifications and distinctions proposed in the present paper and, partially, inspired by the cited and quoted Polish works in the theory of language policy, on the one hand, and some Western ideas in the field of language policy, on the other, makes some true or seeming parallels visible. First of all, the set of questions asked by Gajda (see Section 2.2.) and used as an inspiration here corresponds with the questions previously asked by Robert L. Cooper about language planning: 1) *who?*, 2) *what?*, 3) *for whom?*, and 4) *how?*. The dichotomy between *overt* and *covert* proposed herein (see Section 3.2.) bears some analogy with the *overt* vs. *covert* distinction present in works by Harold F. Schiffman, whose theoretical stance in this respect is summarized by de Sousa and Dionísio (2019, p. 270) the following way: “the scope of language policy [...] is divided into two dimensions: overt and covert. Overt language policy is explicit, formalized, declared, *de jure*. In other words, this dimension encompasses the traditional understanding of the field that such policy is done through laws, statutes, and written statements concerning languages. On the other hand, covert language policy would be implicit, informal, latent, *de facto*, and it would be revealed within a framework of beliefs. It is in this latter dimension that the innovation proposed by Schiffman [...] resides”. The distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* as well as between overt and covert language policies is present in the theoretical proposals by Shohamy, e.g. when she declares that language policy “as defined in the book is not limited to official and declared documents which often pay lip service to inclusive ideologies, but incorporates a variety of mechanisms, some overt, others covert and hidden, that serve as major devices that affect and create *de facto* language policies. It is through the manifestations of these mechanisms that the actual and real language policies can be revealed as they are used to create real policies. The real LP, then, needs to be examined broadly, through the effects of the different mechanisms” (Shohamy, 2006, p. XVII). Had the mentioned (and some other) notions of the Western theorists of language policy and planning been projected onto the plane of the theory of name and naming policy, the outcome at some points would have been probably similar to what has been proposed in the present paper.

on the one hand, and name and naming policies, on the other, that make it impossible to project the theories of the former on the latter directly.

Recently, an attempt to grasp the nature of a state-run name and naming policy was made by Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska (2017). In her paper, she makes some remarks that are important and useful for elaborating the GTNP, in summary: (1) The concept of name policy (just like the concept of language policy) is to be perceived as a complex one; analogously to the concept of culture, it may be seen as consisting of at least three layers: axiology, actions, and results; and (2) Theorizing name and naming cannot be done without references to the existing theories of language policy (Wolnicz-Pawłowska, 2017, pp. 1–2).

Wolnicz-Pawłowska (2017) discusses two “sets” of elements constituting the concept of language policy that may serve as a starting point in the quest for essential elements of the concept of name policy, the first set being proposed by Stanisław Gajda (1999), and the second one by Władysław Lubaś (2009). These two sets turned out to be indeed a very promising reference plane and have been used in designing the GTNP proposed herein.

Gajda lists the following components of the concept of language policy:

- circumstances, in which a language policy is run (contexts)
- who runs a policy? (policy creators and executors)
- what for, with what aim? (goals, ideals)
- what is a policy’s subject?
- with what means is it run?
- how is it run?” (Gajda, 1999, p. 38, quoted in Lubaś, 2009, pp. 45–46, quotation translated from Polish by W.W.).²

This generally appears to be quite obvious and self-evident; the only exception that requires some discussion and interpretation are the “contexts”. The contexts of a language policy consist of a general demographic and societal structure of a given language’s users, a state’s political and economic system, as well as ideologies, general civilizational and cultural conditions, social, cultural and communicative needs, cultural and language traditions, and the current state of a society’s language awareness. Significantly, Gajda underlines the collective nature of policy-makers, which includes state authorities, entities of local self-government, political parties, associations, religious organizations, the media, citizens, as well as third countries, and international organizations. (Gajda, 1999, pp. 38–40, discussed in Lubaś, 2009, p. 46).

² The Polish original reads: “okoliczności, w jakich prowadzi się politykę językową (konteksty) / kto ją prowadzi? (podmioty polityki, wykonawcy) / po co, w jakim celu? (cele, ideały) / co jest jej przedmiotem? / jakimi środkami się ją prowadzi? / jak się ją prowadzi?” (Gajda, 1999, p. 38; quoted in: Lubaś, 2009, pp. 45–46).

Another set of components has been proposed by Lubaś:

The components of *language policy* are hierarchically divided into A. Basic and B. Subsidiary. To the first category (A) belong: 1. external contexts, 2. internal (systemic) contexts, 3. actors of language policy (institutions, individuals), 4. subjects of language policy (the objects the policy is about), 5. goals and ideals of language policy (communication, identification, immediate political or ideological goals, e.g. integration, disintegration), 6. methods of policy conduct. To the second category (B) belong: 1. institutional organization of executors of language policy, 2. promotion, 3. international cooperation concerning language teaching, etc. (Lubaś, 2009, pp. 82–83, quotation translated from Polish by W.W.)³

To sum up, synthesize, and slightly supplement the theoretical stances discussed above, one could state that every language policy is a constellation of the following elements and factors:

- extralinguistic circumstances
- linguistic circumstances
- policy-makers (“designers” of a policy)
- policy executors (not always identical with the policy-makers)
- axiological factors as initial values (causes)
- desired effects or results (goals)
- subject matter
- means and methods (including the way the executors are organized).

This inventory has been used in the design of the GTNP. Of course, not every single language policy and, particularly, not every single name and naming policy comprises all of the listed components. There are obligatory, as well as optional, ones. The possible variety of name and naming policy types includes, for example, some policies that are limited only to half the list.

Having established the provisional reference plane or an inventory of the components of name and naming policy, it is necessary to stress an obvious fact: naming policies find their single realizations in single naming acts, whereas name policies find theirs in single acts of name usage. In other words, every name and naming policy is in fact a scaled-up projection of a single act of name use or name establishment. Therefore, the GTNP needs to have a model of naming act and a model of functions of proper names embedded in it.

³ The Polish original reads: “Składniki polityki językowej hierarchicznie dzielą się na A. Podstawowe, B. Podrzedne. Do pierwszej kategorii (A) należą: 1. konteksty zewnętrzne, 2. konteksty wewnętrzne (systemowe), 3. podmioty polityki językowej (instytucje, osoby), 4. przedmioty polityki językowej (czym się polityka językowa zajmuje), 5. cele i ideały polityki językowej (komunikacyjne, identyfikacyjne, doraźnie polityczne, ideologiczne, np. integracyjne lub dezintegracyjne), 6. metody prowadzenia polityki językowej. Do drugiej kategorii (B) należą: 1. instytucjonalne organizowanie wykonawców polityki językowej, 2. promocja, 3. współpraca międzynarodowa w zakresie dydaktyki języków itp.” (Lubaś, 2009, pp. 82–83).

2.3. Naming Act Factors and Functions of Proper Names

The model of constitutive factors of a speech event and the corresponding set of the language functions (as proposed by Roman Jakobson) may serve as a convenient starting point in the onomastic search for a relevant model of naming act and a comprehensive set of functions of proper names.

A compact set of naming act factors has been proposed by Mariusz Rutkowski (2001), who lists the following elements: name, named object, name creator, naming situation, and name user, the latter being in fact excluded from the very naming procedure. Within a one-time naming act Rutkowski defines proper name function as a relation of a newly given name to one of the factors of the naming act:

- (1) relation of the NAME to the OBJECT → descriptive function;
- (2) relation of the NAME to the CREATOR → expressive function;
- (3) relation of the NAME to the SITUATION → commemorative (or allusive) function;
- (4) relation of the NAME to the USER → impressive function;
- (5) relation of the NAME to the NAME itself → poetic function (Rutkowski, 2001, p. 12)

However, this list of factors and resulting functions discloses some gaps when projected onto the structure of the Jakobson's model (Włoskiewicz, 2017, pp. 334–335). It seems, therefore, that a complete model of factors and elements of a naming act, on the one hand, and a model of respective functions of proper names, on the other hand, may take the following form:

Element of a Naming Act	Function of Proper Names
INDIVIDUAL CONCEPT OF THE NAMED OBJECT NAMING SITUATION (extralinguistic context) ONYM (form of the name)	DENOMINATIVE-DESCRIPTIVE function ACCUMULATIVE/COMMEMORATIVE function POETIC function
NAME CREATOR ADDRESSEE NAME USER	EXPRESSIVE IMPRESSIVE function function
USER/ADDRESSEE COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP LANGUAGE SYSTEM IN USE (language context) LANGUAGE/NAME ANALYSIS	IDENTITY function SYSTEMIC function METAONYMIC function

Figure 1. Elements of a Naming Act and Functions of Proper Names

(Włoskiewicz, 2017, pp. 335–336)

Of course, a function is always a relation of a created/given or used name form to one of the elements/factors of the act of naming or using a name. The proposed set has one additional advantage: it may be used in a description of

both a one-time naming act and an act of name use. Now, the correspondence between most components of the concept of policy (as discussed above) and the elements/factors of an act of giving or using a name are quite clear as well: extralinguistic circumstances ↔ naming situation, linguistic circumstances ↔ language in which the name is given/used, policy executors ↔ name creator/giver or name user.

It is noticeable that there is no named object included in the model which only comprises the individual concept of the named objects. This is a direct result of the adopted view on the semantics of proper names: onymic forms stand for concepts of individual objects; there is no direct link between a name form and a named object of extralinguistic reality. Of course, such understanding of semantics of proper names perfectly complies with the classic model proposed by Charles K. Ogden and Ivor A. Richards (Włoskiewicz, 2015a).

3. DISCUSSION OF THE ESSENTIALS OF GTNP

In the following paragraphs, the most important concepts and classifications of the proposed theoretical framework are briefly discussed.

3.1. Name and Naming Policy vs. Language Policy

What kind of policy is a name and naming policy? What is the difference between a name and naming policy, on the one hand, and language policy, on the other? Despite what has been suggested above, the real *genus proximum* for name and naming policy is the category of policy and not language policy. However, policy seems to be such a broad and polymorphic concept that it is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze it, and hence a somewhat intuitive understanding of the term “policy” shall be employed here. To put it simply: a policy is an overall plan comprising goals and means of achieving them. As the structure of the concept of language policy has been chosen here as the reference plane, it is rather the multiple *differentiae specifica*e between language policy and name and naming policy that may tell us more about the latter.

Various name and naming policies have different scopes, that is different ranges within which names are governed. There is a plurality of coexisting (and often fully independent) name and naming policies within one language inherently embedded in the concept, whereas it may be tacitly assumed that there is always only one global language policy within a given state (or a given administrative unit, depending on whether it is a unitary or federal system). The unity of language policy should not be confused with the possible plurality of actors that make and execute it. Some global name and naming policies may constitute a component

of a state's language policy. Furthermore, there may exist a hierarchy of policies when some (global) name and naming policies govern other (local) policies.

3.2. Policy Classifications

Name and naming policies have various ranges: some only govern a single or several specific names, and some are more general and influence vast numbers of names, but in a rather abstract and indirect way. Often, policies of the latter type govern policies of the former type.

One may think here of first/given names. In Poland, the legal rules concerning first/given names are specified by the Article 59 of the Civil Registry Records Act.⁴ Parents formally and legally choose a child's given name(s) by declaring at a registry office the name(s) that are to be entered onto a birth certificate. However, they are not allowed to declare more than two given names. The given names cannot be in a diminutive form or be ridiculing or obscene. Regardless of the parents' citizenship and nationality, they may choose a foreign given name(s). A name may be chosen that "does not indicate the child's sex"⁵ but "in its common meaning is assigned to a specific sex".⁶ The head of a registry office has to refuse to issue a birth certificate if the declared names do not comply with the outlined regulations. This is a general and abstract naming policy.

Within this scope of freedom of name choice, parents may, however, define their own criteria, which constitute a very specific naming policy covering even as little as one name. The nature of such a policy may consist, for example, in the decision that the oldest son will inherit his paternal grandfather's given name, whereas the oldest daughter will inherit her maternal grandmother's name (which is, however, not a typical or traditional Polish naming pattern).

This illustrates the first dichotomy of **global and local policies**. Of course, not every global policy governs local policies. There are some superior global policies that govern and determine subordinate global policies as well. Nevertheless, most global policies do determine local policies, which constitutes a clear **hierarchy of policies**.

This hierarchy correlates with the second dichotomy of **overt and covert policies**. Global name and naming policies are usually officially and explicitly

⁴ Ustawa z dnia 28 listopada 2014 r. Prawo o aktach stanu cywilnego [Civil Registry Records Act]. Dz.U. [Polish Journal of Law] 2014 poz. [item] 1741. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/Doc-Details.xsp?id=wdu20140001741>

⁵ For instance, (almost) all Polish female given names end with the vowel/letter *a*. The very few exceptions (e.g., *Beatrycze, Miriam, Karmen, Nicole*) comprise names that are given rarely or have gained popularity only in the recent decades and are still often perceived as somewhat extravagant.

⁶ Hence, the name *Megan* would most likely be accepted by a head of a Polish registry office, whereas the name *Jo* would not.

articulated (e.g., in form of legal acts or other public documents), whereas local policies may be tacit: there is no document that contains the wording of the son-grandfather and daughter-grandmother local naming policy mentioned above. These are policies that may only be reconstructed from their results.

Another dichotomy comprises **prescriptive and customary policies**.⁷ Prescriptive policies are (almost always) overt and usually global. In particular, they are quite prospective and focused on the properties of names to be established. On the other hand, customary policies are somewhat past-oriented in that one of their main goals is to establish names that fit into an already existing name pattern (a custom-driven policy). A nice example of customary naming policy is found in Warsaw in the district of *Saska Kępa*. Broadly speaking, there are two main groups of street names referring either to names of countries or to names of cities.

The first group comprises names such as: *ul.* (= *ulica*) *Algierska* 'Algeria Street', *ul. Brazylijska* 'Brazil St.', *ul. Bułgarska* 'Bulgaria St.', *ul. Czeska* 'Czech St.', *ul. Egipska* 'Egypt St.', *ul. Estońska* 'Estonia St.', *ul. Finlandzka* 'Finland St.', *ul. Francuska* 'France St.', *ul. Grecka* 'Greece St.', *ul. Holenderska* 'Netherlands St.', *ul. Indyjska* 'India St.', *ul. Kanadyjska* 'Canada St.', *ul. Koreańska* 'Korea St.', *ul. Kubańska* 'Cuba St.', *ul. Libijska* 'Libya St.'

⁷ *Customary policy* is a term proposed herein for a policy resulting from some kind of naming inertia which consists in following specific existing patterns. Probably all (or most) customary policies could be categorized as local ones and as having a special characteristic consisting in the fact that they are usually created and executed by the same entities. The followed patterns may be based on various properties of names and name sets. In the case of *Saska Kępa* the pattern is constituted both by the names' grammatical category (adjective) and by the fact that all names are derived from names of foreign countries and so there is some kind of semantic consanguinity between names governed by the discussed policy. Customs are observed but usually not prescribed. The same applies to customary policies. A general definition of customary policy could take the following form: a **customary naming policy** is (usually) a (local and covert) naming policy consisting in giving names that share some properties with already established names belonging to the same name set or name series determined by some shared properties of the named objects (in *Saska Kępa* it is the location of streets within a specific area). As far as anthroponymy is concerned the concept of customary policy may be well illustrated with onymic stigmatization of people (usually men) born out of wedlock done traditionally by giving them names bearing some specific and recognizable properties or belonging to a customary determined set of names. A good example may be found in the custom of the fictional continent of Westeros to give people born out of wedlock specific surnames, depending on the region a bastard came from: *Flowers, Hill, Pyke, Rivers, Sand, Snow, Stone, Storm, and Waters* (cf. *Bastardy* | *Wiki of Westeros* | *Fandom*. <https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/Bastardy#Terminology>. Last accessed: 8 August 2023). Notably, all these surnames seem to have inherited their forms from common nouns used for geographical features or weather phenomena typical for the (landscape) of each region. As for chrematonymy, (I am not going to elaborate here on the true onymic status of all expressions usually listed in this category) a customary policy may be possibly illustrated with names given car types by their producers; e.g. numerous names of car types by the Spanish car manufacturer SEAT are based on geographical names, hence the car type names: *SEAT Toledo, SEAT Málaga, SEAT Córdoba, SEAT Altea, SEAT Arona, SEAT León, SEAT Ibiza, SEAT Alhambra*.

ul. Łotewska ‘Latvia St.’, *ul. Marokańska* ‘Morocco St.’, *ul. Meksykańska* ‘Mexico St.’, *ul. Rumuńska* ‘Romania St.’, *ul. Urugwajska* ‘Uruguay St.’. Some of these street names are of pre-1939 origin. Most of them, however, were established by local authorities in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. Nevertheless, the youngest name, *ul. Urugwajska*, dates back only to 2002.⁸

Of course, among the examples, there are some names that commemorate historical events (e.g., Estonia St., Finland St., Latvia St. are supposed to commemorate the independence gained by these states after WWI). Nevertheless, most of the names (especially in the 1960s and later on) were chosen just to fit the state-name pattern, which makes the *Saska Kępa* street-name policy a brilliant instance of a customary naming policy.

Furthermore, there are **formal and pragmatic policies**. In fact, it would be more accurate to speak of the formal and pragmatic aspects of every policy; the mentioned divide refers to the aspects that prevail in a given policy. To put it simply: formal aspects of a policy are about the formal linguistic properties of given/used name forms (i.e., properties of the *signifiant*); the pragmatic aspects are about what is intended to be done or achieved through names. To return to the previously discussed example of the first/given name policy defined in the Polish Civil Registry Records Act, the policy comprises both formal aspects (no diminutive or “unisex” name forms allowed) and pragmatic aspects (no ridiculing or obscene names allowed). Many formal aspects of a given policy are determined by the pragmatic ones, for example, an invading state renames geographical features in an occupied territory with name forms in the invader’s official language in order to manifest its territorial gains (cf. the renaming the Polish city of Rzeszów as *Reichshof* by the Third Reich or the use of Russian toponym forms instead of Ukrainian ones in the western Soviet Ukraine — e.g. Львов instead of Львів, Івано-Франковск instead of Івано-Франківськ, Черновцы instead of Чернівці, not to mention Киев instead of Київ⁹). Of course, the latter set of examples is strictly connected to the general Soviet language policy aimed at suppressing the Ukrainian language.

Pragmatic **naming policies** are to be observed in marketing, where the form is a direct result of what is meant to be achieved with a name used or given to a product. Brilliant examples are to be found among names given by developers

⁸ Note that in the Polish examples, the pattern [*ulica* ‘street’] + [adjective derived from the country name] is used, and a literal rendering into English would read *Algerian Street*, *Brazilian Street*, *Dutch Street* etc. The arterial road going through the district bears the name *aleja Stanów Zjednoczonych* (‘United States Avenue’; [*aleja* ‘avenue’] + [genitive form of the country name]).

⁹ Ukraine still has to put much effort into changing the name usage in English from the Russian-oriented form Kiev into the Ukrainian-based form Kyiv.

to newly built apartments. Moreover, such naming policies seem to be quite universal and spreading: marketing-oriented naming tendencies and patterns that have been present in Poland since the 2000s had been popular in the US already in the 1980s. A comprehensive discussion of such naming strategies of US developers has been made by Karen Koegler (1986), who concludes:

The current state of apartment naming is characterized by lack of place articulation and synthetic image-building. Natural phenomena are chosen for pleasant associations rather than local physiographic reality or regional congruence. These benign landscape references reflect estrangement from the land, enshrining a bucolic past that never existed. (Koegler, 1986, p. 55)

A vast space for making and executing both formal and pragmatic (toponymic) **name policies** is provided by (state-organized) cartography. On a map, the presence of toponym forms used by local people was intended to facilitate the communication between the map user and the locals. In the pre-GPS era, this was of particular importance in the case of military topographic maps. An evident example of such pragmatic and formal name policy is to be found in survey manuals of the Third Military Survey of Austria-Hungary (executed at the scale of 1:25,000 in the years 1869–1887). The general findings concerning this issue have been summarized in a separate paper:

Both Austro-Hungarian and interwar-Polish military survey services and military cartography paid much attention to the communicative value of names that a map user would “bring along” on a map and would use in communication with local people. Therefore, toponyms fixed on a map should be convergent with or (in the case of multi-language areas) at least very similar (in a way that guaranteed no misunderstandings) to the names used by the locals. The manual from the year 1903 stated that “only the names commonly familiar to the people are of value for a soldier” (IN1903, p. 167). The manual of 1887 ordered that in mountain areas and in vast forests even those features and places that were of little importance but could serve as a help in finding one’s position were to be provided with a name (IN1887, p. 173). (Włoskiewicz, 2015b, p. 34)

There was another unanticipated advantage of the Austro-Hungarian cartographic name policy consisting in fixing locally used name forms in locally used national languages of the multinational empire. Namely, after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918, the newly (re)established national states could reuse the survey (toponymic) materials in producing their own maps.

3.3. Policy-Makers and Policy Executors

A policy does not necessarily have to be designed and then executed by the same entity and this applies especially to global overt prescriptive policies. The decommissioning of street names in Poland may serve here as a good instance.

The Act of 1 April 2016 On the Prohibition of Propagating Communism or Other Totalitarian System¹⁰ passed in the Polish Parliament by the ruling party Prawo i Sprawiedliwość ('Law and Justice') stated that the names mentioned in the act's title (including names of ways, streets, bridges, and squares) that are established by local authorities may not commemorate persons, organizations, events or dates symbolizing communism or other totalitarian system, including those referring to the repressive, authoritarian, and non-sovereign system of political power existing in Poland in the years 1944–1989. The act obliges local authorities (local self-government entities) to change already existing names that do not comply with the regulation outlined above. If local authorities do not change such names, a *voivode* (province governor appointed by the central government) acts instead and issues a supplementary order, by which the name is changed. However, a *voivode* may only change a name this way if it is classified by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance as not complying with the act. If a local authority does not agree with a *voivode's* supplementary order (e.g., believes that a name does not propagate communism, in fact), it may appeal to a court of law against it (and in fact many local authorities did so). Needless to say, many such name changes made by means of a supplementary order have become the subject of purely political struggle between political parties.

The discussed issue is not about a global policy governing local policies. It is about a single global (re)naming policy made and executed by different and separate entities. Hence, they may be differentiated between policy-makers (or policy designers) and policy executors. Of course, both policy-makers and policy executors may be **institutional** or **non-institutional**, as sometimes it is merely society or a social movement that makes a global non-formalized (re)naming policy emerge (just as it was the case with the name change process initiated by the George Floyd protests).

3.4. Other Core Concepts of the GTNP

In the discussion of the theoretical foundations of the GTNP it was clearly stated that an import of main concepts and categories of selected theories of language

¹⁰ Ustawa z dnia 1 kwietnia 2016 r. o zakazie propagowania komunizmu lub innego ustroju totalitarnego przez nazwy jednostek organizacyjnych, jednostek pomocniczych gminy, budowli, obiektów i urządzeń użyteczności publicznej oraz pomniki [The Act of 1 April 2016 On the Prohibition of Propagating Communism or Other Totalitarian System with Names of Organizational Units, Commune Auxiliary Units, Buildings, Public Facilities and Utilities, and with Monuments] (with later amendments). Dz.U. [Polish Journal of Law] 2016, poz. [item]. 744. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu20160000744>

policy is desired. The distinction between policy-makers and policy executors has been already illustrated. An outline of several further categories should follow: values, objectives, means and methods, circumstances, as well as various types of subjects and results.

The values and goals behind actions and decisions made by both policy-makers and policy executors seem to be quite self-evident and obvious concepts. Nevertheless, values and intentions belong fully to the internal subjective (psychological) sphere of (people constituting) the acting entity. The really professed and the declared values are not necessarily the same. Therefore, the declared or apparently clear goals may be indeed completely different than how they seem to be. It is a truism that pragmatics of proper names is often more about the name giver or name user than about the named object. The list of name changes made in the US as a result of the George Floyd protests is long. Most of the changes are hopefully initiated by actors that really live the value “all men are created equal”. Nevertheless, some of the changes, mainly those introduced by for-profit entities, may be rather PR driven.

Furthermore, values and goals are often deeply embedded and molded by the extralinguistic and linguistic circumstances in which a name or naming policy is designed and executed. The former generally correspond with the “contexts” of language policy as defined by Gajda (1999) and discussed above. The latter are about the inevitable need that every naming and name use is limited and determined by language elements and names available and unavailable in the language system (in the Saussurean sense) in which the particular name is to be given or used. To put it simply, ignoring all the possible associations and similarities imposed by the language system does sometimes lead to branding failures, especially when a product is introduced into a foreign market where a different language is commonly spoken. For instance, the German company OSRAM uses this name on the Polish market. The only issue is that in Polish the definite verb form *osram* (1st person, singular, future perfect) means nothing other than ‘I will have shat (on sth)’. Also, there is a car model, *Kona*, produced by the Hyundai Motor Company. Again, the problem is that in Polish, *kona* is a high register literary definite, 3rd person, singular, present continuous verb form meaning ‘is dying’.

Means and methods of making and executing name or naming policies cover a wide variety of possible options, and one may distinguish here between establishing and executing a policy, on the one hand, and disseminating its results, on the other. Means of establishing overt global policies include legal acts and resolutions, whereas their execution includes official name lists, official gazetteer, and name codification (e.g., in Poland, all official geographical names are established by means of listing them in a decree issued by the Minister of the Interior;

later on, they are transferred into the National Register of Geographical Names, which, however, covers non-official but locally used names as well). A name policy (i.e., the rules of using names) may be stated in a terms of use/service (cf. for instance the Facebook real-name policy). Obviously, all overt policies are somewhat embedded within a country's general legal system.

The final results of a naming or name policy, respectively the names established or their supported variants, are disseminated by the mere usage in texts that mold the common name use or by codification. The latter category covers several types of codification: official, linguistic (names in dictionaries), textual (names used — e.g. in textbooks), and cartographic (toponyms used on maps). In particular, the last type is a very effective way of disseminating geographical names fitting the patterns of an executed name or naming policy and a convenient tool of molding societal approval of specific toponym variants.

Finally, subjects and results of policies need to be outlined. Of course, the ultimate object and result of every policy are given or used names. Nevertheless, especially in the case of global overt policies, it is rather acts and formal documents defining name and naming regulations that constitute the immediate result of a policy and define at least some aspects of the means and methods to be used by policy executors.

3.5. General Map of GTNP

The GTNP comprises a network of concepts standing for miscellaneous factors and actors active in designing and executing name and naming policies. This constellation may be illustrated with the following map. However, at its present stage, the theory is only meant to provide a general outline of relations between the factors and actors and so the schema only provides theoretical slots to be filled up with more detailed theoretical components.

In the map, it is only the top half that is actually about naming policy itself. The bottom half, the large rectangle, concerns elements of every single act of giving, establishing or using a name. There is a considerable correspondence between the structure of a single act of name use or name establishment and the structure of elements of name or naming policy. In other words, name and naming policy is a scaled-up projection of a single act and comprises most of its elements.

Values and goals trigger and shape decisions and actions of both policy designers and executors. The means and methods of every policy that they respectively outline and use are determined by linguistic and extralinguistic circumstances and result in documents of a policy, in legal (re)naming acts, as well as in the given and used names themselves.

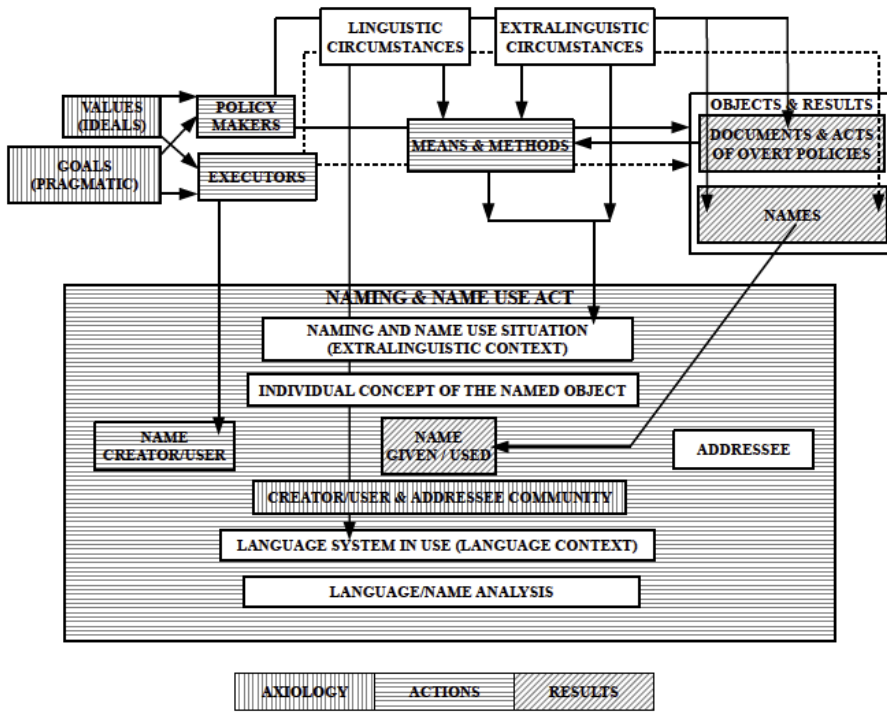


Figure 2. A General Map of Elements of Name and Naming Policy and Act of Name Use / Namegiving

The correspondence between the constellation of factors and actors of name and naming policy and the structure of a single act of name use or name establishment is of the following nature: an executor of a policy is a name giver/creator or a name user. Linguistic circumstances influencing and determining a policy as a whole are active in a single act of naming or name use. Means and methods of a given name and naming policy, together with extralinguistic circumstances (e.g., demography, political and economic system, ideologies, culture, cultural traditions), determine the naming and name use situation.

An interesting case in which the model may be applied is the (re)nominations following the George Floyd protests. It is actually the American society, the people, who initiated a global, quite generally but still clearly expressed, (re)naming policy. As a non-institutional policy maker, the society was motivated by general values of equality and non-discrimination. Then, this global policy was executed by (mainly) institutional executors (public authorities, commercial entities,

organizations). This is what makes the case so unusual: the non-institutional¹¹ policy makers determine the actions of institutional policy executors, while in most or many cases it is the other way round. The means and methods of the great-scale renaming action were molded by an extra-linguistic situation (e.g., the fact that many old names had some connotations which made them fossils of the era of racial inequality or of wrongs done to the native peoples of America). The execution of the general policy resulted both in legal acts (e.g., acts renaming multiple military bases and facilities) and in single (re)namings (e.g., of sport clubs).

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¹¹ Of course, the people as a non-institutional policy maker were at some stages supported by various (semi-) institutional actors, just like in the case of the society-initiated transition from using the expression *African American* to usage of the word *Black* being at some point facilitated by the sheer existence of the Black Lives Matters organization founded in 2013 (cf. Nick 2020, p. 133).

- in Warsaw in the light of survey manuals. *Polish Cartographical Review*, 47(1), 31–43. <https://doi.org/10.1515/pcr-2015-0003>
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SUMMARY

This paper aims to outline the general theory of name and naming policy (GTNP) that is developed therein. A broad GTNP design should have a constellatory structure, and its definition should take into account the variety of actors involved in designing and conducting naming policies (NPs). This paper discusses linguistic dimensions of NPs, along with possible overtness or covertness of NPs. It outlines the hierarchy of NPs and explains possible policy ranges. The GTNP is illustrated with a general model of NPs and some examples of Central-European toponymic, anthroponymic, and chrematonymic NPs.