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PROPER NAMES AS A NATURAL CATEGORY: PROVERBIAL PHRASES WITH CULTURAL NAMES FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF EPONYMY RESEARCH

The paper discusses proverbial collocations with names (e.g., English *the sword of Damocles*) as a possible object of research on eponymy. The author differentiates these collocations from phrasal eponyms that are scientific and technical terms (e.g. *Achilles tendon*) or composite proper names (e.g., Ukrainian *бульвар Шевченка*), in that they are derived semantically from phrases initially found in cultural texts, essentially in the same way antonomastic eponyms are semantically derived from underlying proper names. In both cases a cultural name operates as a key constituent of inner form, expressing some general meaning conveyed by cultural texts in which such names originally appeared and with which they came to be associated. Employing modern approaches to categorization in logic, mathematics, cognitive psychology, and linguistics, he argues that proper names, too, should be considered a natural rather than strictly logical category. In his opinion, collocations with cultural names, along with some other classes of linguistic items, should be considered the periphery of the category of proper names that should be taken into account in eponymy research. With these collocations, as with antonomastic eponyms, an underlying proper name determines not only their generalized cultural sense, but also the way this sense is expressed by referring to the unique object or person operating as its symbol. The importance of including these collocations to the proper name category's periphery transcends the establishing of their systemic status, since cultural names in them, like those from which antonomastic eponyms are derived, are a major asset for socio- and linguistic-cultural studies, highlighting key concepts of a society's culture as well as their origins and evolution.

Keywords: cultural name, proverbial phrase, natural categorization, eponymy, underlying item, antonomasia, systemic periphery

The paper's aim. The subject matter of this paper is twofold. Its specific goal is elucidating those features of proverbial phrases with cultural names that, in my opinion, allow them to be classified with other eponymic items. A more general theoretic issue the present paper touches upon is the delineation of classes of linguistic entities to be considered in eponymy research, along with proper names *sensu stricto*, as underlying items within eponymic derivational pairs. In defining such classes, I will have recourse to some theories of categorization and approaches to classification found in the theory of onomastics and elsewhere in general and theoretical linguistics as well as other sciences. Specifically, I will discuss the feasibility of including into the scope of eponymy studies items deriving semantically from so-called proverbial phrases with proper names, as well as some problems arising here.

Introduction. The Ukrainian term *епонім* and its parallels in other languages originate, more or less directly, from Greek ἐπώνυμος ʽbearing a name given to indicate (an essential aspect of one's nature or an event with which one is associated); (of a named person or place) so named, with the name specially chosen; (of a name) given to indicate (the nature or associations of its bearer); bearing a name (indicating origin or associations) which is derived from the already existing name; named after, celebrated because of; named so as to reflect (one's nature or essential qualities; giving one's name' [Diggle 1 : 592]. This substantive in its turn derives from Greek ἐπονομάξω ʽapply a word (as a name), give the name; call (by a name or epithet, call, name, entitle; derive; signify through the name given, indicate' [ibid. : 563-564].

As can be inferred from the former definition, the semantics of the Greek substantive reflected the dynamic nature of the eponymic relation, as ἐπώνυμος could denote both the giver and receiver of a name and, correspondingly, a name that is given to something or someone, or, on the contrary, is derived from someone. This original polysemy has generally been preserved in languages adopting this word, in particular, as a linguistic term (see, for instance [Yermolenko 2021 : 22]). These borrowings, too, convey the meaning of underlying as well as derived entity, as illustrated, for instance, by English *eponym* ʽone who gives, or is supposed to give, his name to a people, place, or institution; e.g. among the Greeks, the heroes who were looked upon as ancestors or founders of tribes or cities (*Pelops is the eponym or name-giver of the Peloponnesus*); (transf.) one whose name is a synonym for something (*Saturn becomes the eponym of all useful and humane discovery*; *Charles* [*the Great*] *had become, so to speak, an eponym of Empire*) (Assyriology) A functionary <…> who, like the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος at Athens gave his name to his year of office); a distinguishing title (*We are the modern Phœnicians, or to take a lower eponym, the Pickfords of the world*); hence *eponymic* ʽof or pertaining to an eponym; that is an eponym', *eponymism* ʽthe practice of accounting for names of places or peoples by referring them to supposed prehistoric eponyms' (*eponymic myths which account for the parentage of a tribe by turning its name into the name of an imaginary ancestor*). Additions 1993: ʽa proper name used generically; more loosely, the generic name itself, or any noun phrase of specific meaning which includes a proper name (*A great many of the old and well-known eponyms that perpetuated the names of some of the masters of Anatomy have been successfully eliminated; Some eponyms are euphemisms of a sort — Casanova, dunce and lush, for instance*)' [OED]. These definitions, too, demonstrate a gradual shift of emphasis towards what is a result of eponymic derivation, as different from its source. That this shift towards understanding eponym as an international name for a deonomastic coinage should have taken place seems but natural: after all, a linguistic entity that is the underlying member of the eponymic derivational relationship exists prior, and independently, of this relationship, whereas a derived item comes into being within, and by virtue of, the latter. For its specific systemic status to be recognized, such a coinage requires a special taxon within a linguistic classification.

Another tendency manifestéd in, and exemplified by, this Oxford English Dictionary entry but also found elsewhere is the extension of the concept of eponym by including in its range onomastic as well as appellative items, on one hand, and, on the other, not only deonomastic lexemes but also phrases containing proper names. On my part, I have argued that eponymic research should cover deonomastic common names along with appellative lexemes belonging to other

parts of speech (such as verbs, e.g. Ukrainian *микитити* 'to understand, grasp; to break one's promise by cheating or lying' or *петрати* 'be an expert in something; to understand') and phrases other than nominative (specifically, speech formulae, such as Ukrainian *слава Йсу* or English *by Jove*, political and advertising slogans, such as Polish *Balcerowicz musi odejść* and *Coca-Cola to jest to*, prepositional idiomatic phrases, such as Ukrainian *від Адама* and *не до Петра, а до Різдва*, and predicative idiomatic phraseological units and proverbs, such as Ukrainian *пройти Крим, Рим і мідні труби*. I have substantiated my claim by the desirability and feasibility of treating these kinds of entities within a theoretical framework encompassing all types of deonomastic derivatives with the goal of studying the general derivational potential of proper names [Yermolenko 2019 : 214-215; Yermolenko 2021 : ibid.]

Taking into account these tendencies and considerations, as well as proceeding on the assumption that the meaning of the term is a matter of definition rather than anything else, I use English *eponym* and Ukrainian *епонім* as designations of items deriving from, or formed with the help of, a proper name, provided their derivation or formation also involves a more or less pronounced shift in the meaning of the underlying item. Yet, somehow or other, all these definitions and concepts of eponym/eponymy share the same common feature, which is the understanding of a proper name as the underlying member of eponymic derivational relation. This feature also serves as a criterion for identifying and distinguishing concrete derivational pairs of this kind as well as members of these pairs as such.

If proper names were a category with clear-cut, well-defined, and generally acknowledged boundaries, the application of this criterion would pose no difficulties. The opposite, however, is the case, since opinions differ not only with respect to this category's extension, but also, and far more importantly, as to what are its essential features. Therefore, the debate over this issue goes far beyond terminology and its appropriate usage. It is not my intention in this paper to enter this debate or, for that matter, explore the nature of *nomina propria* at any length. Instead, I propose some general guidelines for dealing with the issue of proper names to the extent that is relevant for eponymy research, more specifically, for identifying derivative items that should be included in the scope of this research. Following these guidelines has enabled me to distinguish two kinds of linguistic items that should be considered, along with more usual proper names, as underlying items within eponymic derivational pairs. One of them is disputable classes of proper names, and the other kind is items that are not proper names themselves, yet they either have a proper name within their structure or are derivationally related to one.

The approach I suggest has to do not so much with the distinctive features and properties of onomastic units but rather with peculiarities of the structural arrangement and distribution of these features, and, consequently, with such categorization that takes into consideration these structural peculiarities. Fundamental to this approach is the conception of centre vs. periphery seen as a universal principle of natural language systemic organization. This principle is assigned both to the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of language and, correspondingly, is explained both functionally and historically (evolutionary). I happened to write about this principle already in my 1983 study published as a chapter of the collective monograph «Modern linguistics abroad» [Andersh, Garkaviets', Yermolenko et al. : 154-158]. There, while mentioning several linguists (E. Stankiewicz, A.N. Zhurinskii, V.M. Zhivov and B.A. Uspenskii among others) that made spo-

radic use of the notions of centre and periphery, I at the same time put the main emphasis on the elaboration of the said principle by Czech linguists (including F. Daneš, J.V.Neustupný, and especially J.Vachek), and cited relevant papers, particularly those collected in the second (1966) issue of «Travaux Linguistiques de Prague» [Travaux linguistiques de Prague]. In these, the systemic oppositional interrelationship of centre and periphery (with reference mostly to the phonemic system) was explained from the historical (evolutionary) as well as functional perspective, a theoretical position pronouncedly different from views prevalent in the structural linguistics of the period. In addition, I noted that this interrelationship is a corollary of natural language being a dynamic and evolving (even on the level of synchrony) system. Therefore, the language system is never fully balanced and totally structured, there are no hard and fast lines within it, and that is why the centre vs. periphery interrelation is a dynamic one, with marginal systemic elements moving to the nucleus zone and vice versa.

The idea of centre (alternatively named *core* or *nucleus*) and periphery relation has been adopted by various schools of linguistic thought and consequently found its way to various more or less influential theories and conceptions, not necessarily owing to the (direct) influence of the Czech scholars. To important models employing this concept belong, for instance, the semantic field theory (where the opposition of the nuclear and peripheral zones is regarded as the principal constitutive feature of semantic field structure) and, later, cognitive linguistics, especially its variety studying so-called linguistic concepts.

Albeit without using the terms *centre* and *periphery*, a similar stance on the issue of language model structuring and linguistic item categorization was taken by the adherents and proponents of the natural morphology theory (see [Mayerthaler 1981: passim; Dressler, Mayerthaler; Mayerthaler 1987 : 39-42; Yermolenko, Zhluktenko et al. : 310-311]. The feature of naturalness as understood in this theory was related, in particular, to the principle of natural classification in the prototype theory of E.Rosch [Rosch; Rosch, Mervis; Rosch, Mervis et al.] and, further, to L.Wittgenstein's family resemblance approach to classification [Wittgenstein], as well as to L.Zadeh's fuzzy set theory [Zadeh 1965; Zadeh 1975; Lakoff 1973]. Natural categorization, as different from logical, presumes that a category's extension comprises a variable, rather than invariable, set of attributes that can be more or, on the contrary, less typical, substantial, and prevalent.

One may add that similar ideas and intuitions seem to have always been fairly widespread among linguists. With specific reference to onomastics, one may recall that the outstanding Ukrainian linguist and Hellenist A.Bilets'kii, outlining the highlights of his research into onomastics in the introduction to his 1972 monograph «Lexicology and theory of linguistics (Onomastics)», mentioned, in particular, «<…> 3. establishing that the lexis of any natural language does not fall into two distinct and mutually exclusive classes of appellative and proper names; rather, it is characterized by two opposed functions, that of classification, or generalization, and that of individualization, or turning into a personal name; 4. establishing lexical strata that may be regarded as transitory, or intermediate, and are situated between appellative and proper names, in particular, names of human communities that, in lexical terms, are defined as marked by an «inborn», invariable, or constant feature, <…> such as family names, names of inhabitants, and ethnic group members; 5. differentiating between the logical (or logical-semantic) view of facts, phenomena and processes, on one hand, and, on the other, the linguistic in the proper sense (i.e. immanent, or language-internal) view reflected in how these

facts, phenomena, and processes are named» [Bieletski :10]. As Bilets'kii put it elsewhere, it should be recognized that language has a logic of its own; to which one may add that the latter concerns not only the language-internal structure but also the structure of the language's image of the world.

These or similar ideas were echoed in the 1996 monograph «Polskie nazwy własne. Encycklopedia» by a group of Polish scholars. In the introductory part «General problems» to this compendium of Polish onomastics, its author, Z.Kaleta, while not referring to Bilets'kii's work, argued that proper names do not constitute a homogeneous category. Specifically, she mentions personal names that are prototypic (such as anthroponyms and toponyms), on one hand, and, on the other, those that are less so, the latter variety represented by composite proper names (*Uniwersytet Jagelloński*, *Stany Zjednoczone*, *Ocean Atlantyczny*), collective proper names (*Pireneje*, *Celtowie* ʻa tribe', *Francuzi* ʻa nation', *Kowalscy* ʻa family') as well as nicknames with transparent motivation (*Łysoń* literally ʻa bald person', *Tyka* literally ʻa meagre woman resembling a long and narrow pole', *Nose* ʻa person with a prominent nose' [Polskie nazwy… : 31–32].

Among those advocating the applicability of fuzzy categorization and Wittgenstein's «family resemblance» principle, also were authors of «Phraseologie. Ein internationals Handbuch der zeitgennossisches Forschung», who mentioned them in their discussion of definition issues regarding phraseological units in general and proverbs (as different from proverbial phrases) in particular [Phraseologie… : 6, 382].

I, too, regard proper names and proverbial collocations as natural categories and fuzzy sets with «thawing», as V.V. Nabokov would have put it, edges (cf. the following extract from his autobiography where he wrote about a change in approaches to categorization in biology: «Викторианское и штаудингеровское понятие о виде как о <…> чем-то замкнутом и сплошном по составу <…> сменилось новым понятием о многообразном, текучем, тающем по краям виде <…>. . Этими более гибкими приемами классификации лучше выражалась эволюционная сторона дела <…>» [Nabokov : 100]).

It is my contention that this approach to categorization bears upon eponymy studies as well, in that defining proper names in this way will permit to broaden the scope of eponymy research, as more classes of relevant linguistic units will qualify as capable of operating in the role of underlying members in eponymic derivational pairs, since treating in this manner the notion of underlying category within eponymic relation will enable us to consider, as eponyms, items derived not only from proper names *sensu stricto vel lato* but also from items that, while not recognized as *nomina propria*, are at the same time formed from, or with the help of, proper names. As a result, the category of eponyms will include items derived from items belonging to classes of onomastic items of a transitory nature, some of which have already been mentioned above, such as collective names (in Bilets'kii's terms, koinonyms). Another class of names with the intermediate systemic status is chrematonyms (i.e. artefact and product names, cf. [Kosyl; Breza]), especially officially registered and law-protected brand, trade, and commercial designations, which, in case of mass production, have plural, rather than unique, reference, at the same time denoting a group of artefacts that in itself is considered unique[1]. Moreover, the category of eponyms will include items derived from

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[1] On some linguistic and extralinguistic, in particular, legal, issues of the coining and use of such names, see, for instance [Yermolenko 2019 : 204-205].

cross-linguistic classes of units that refer to the same kinds of *denotata* (e.g., the days of the week or the months), but whose appellative/onomastic status varies from language to language. These will be considered proper names whenever they are classified as such in at least one language (or, rather, in the linguistic tradition associated with this language); in other words, these language-specific semantic classes of proper names will unreservedly be considered general ones[2].

Among linguistic items that cannot be classified with proper names, but are closely related to the latter, there are, for instance, possessive and relative adjectives in Ukrainian and other Slavonic languages that are formed from proper names and, although derived adjectives morphologically, from the functional viewpoint are practically nothing more than grammatical declensional forms of an underlying *nomen proprium*, cf. Ukrainian *Шевченківська вулиця* (Rudnia, Kyiv Region) vs. *бульвар Шевченка* (Kyiv, Ukraine), English *Shevchenko Boulevard* (La Salle, Canada), and *Square Taras-Chevtchenko* (Paris, France), or numerous toponyms commemorating George Washington, in which the latter's surname is either in the Nominative or Possessive. Assuming this approach (which, at least for the author of the present paper, seems intuitively tenable and fruitful, and therefore acceptable) will make it possible for us unreservedly to regard, as eponyms, such chrematonyms as Ukrainian *торт Київський* along with English *Chicken Kiev*.

It is my intention to show that the eponymic items of the latter kind should also include phrases, to be more specific, expressions called proverbial, that contain proper names, In what follows, I will address this particular issue. Reiterating it once more, original proverbial phrases with proper names in no way can be subsumed under the category of proper names, and yet, as I will endeavour to show, there are still some crucial features they share with the latter that permit to consider them as peripheral elements of this category, therefore making items derived from them electable for eponymy research.

Discussion. In my recent publication, listing varieties of lexical items classifiable as items of deonomastic origin, I indicated words such as Ukrainian *крез* «a rich man», *донжуан* «a womanizer» [Yermolenko 2019 : 210]. The first of them, together with English *Croesus* etc., took origin from Greek Κροῖσος, a king of Lydia in the sixth century BC, who was famous for his riches and hence became a proverbial designation of a very rich person [OED], and the second, on the contrary, stemmed from a fictitious character who, first appearing in the 1630 tragedy «El burlador de Sevilla» («The seducer of Seville») allegedly by the Spanish playwright Tirso de Molina, subsequently became a symbol of libertinism and an archetype of hero-villain in European art and literature [Don Juan. Fictional character]. Such items include original toponyms too, cf. Ukrainian *Олімп* '1. a mountain that the Old Greeks believed to be gods' dwelling place; (also figuratively) an assembly of gods; (transferred meaning) the top of something; 2. The elite of prominent authors, artists and the like' [Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy 5 : 690].

Thus, these names denote characters and objects that originally appeared in texts of various nature (such as legends, myths, religion, historical records, literature etc.) that became part of the culture's canon and discourse. Due to such origin, these names came to be associated with salient and significant features of their denotata, and just as the latter turned into embodiments of these features, so

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[2] On deonomastic month and week day names, see: [Schmidt : 295].

their names became generalized symbolical (motivated metaphorically as well as metonymically) eponymous designations of other people and objects with similar features. In traditional rhetoric nomenclature, such cultural names are treated as representing a trope called antonomasia, cf. the definition of this term by A.Okop-ień-Sławińska: ʽ1. the use of the name of a literary character or a historical figure as a designation of a certain human type, e.g. *Kolumb* ʽa discoverer’, *Don Juan* ʽa seducer’, *Sokrates* ʽa sage’ <…>; 2. the substitution of an epithet or periphrasis for a name, e.g. *Gromowładny* instead of *Jowisz* or *autor* «*Kosmosu*» *i* «*Pornografii*» for *Gombrowicz*’ [Głowiński et al. : 26].

From the viewpoint of their inner semantic form as well as the extralinguistic motivation of their meaning, antonomastic lexical items can be compared with proverbial terms, or collocations that contain a cultural proper name (which may have or have not turned into an autonomous antonomastic lexeme), cf., for instance, Ukrainian *Авгієві стайні (конюшні)* (bookish) ʽreferring to something dirty and dilapidated; a great mess’ [Slovnyk ukrains’koi movy 1 : 9], or *дамоклів меч* ʽa collocation denoting constant danger (from an Old Greek legend about Damocles, above whom a sharp sword was hanged on a hair during a banquet)’ [ibid. 2 : 210]. Both antonomastic eponyms and proverbial collocations with a proper name denote a culturally relevant stereotypical entity or state of affairs, i.e. some typical figure, situation or scenario; but with the former, the frame of this stereotype is expressed most succinctly, whereas in the latter, this frame is represented more explicitly, its surface structure realized by a proper name and a common one (one or more).

A curious example of the combination of the two is Ukrainian *кирпа-гнуч-кошиєнко-въ*, Taras Shevchenko’s ingenious coinage referring to those of his compatriots who were arrogant as well as servile, and also ashamed of their ethnicity [Ivakin : 62-63]: on one hand, it is a fictional surname turned appellative, or, rather, a *hapax* appellative coined to look like a surname, but, on the other, its morphemic structure (and, correspondingly, its inner form, in O.O. Potebnia’s sense) is a lexicalized compression of the lexico-syntactic manifestation of the frame combining all the three facets; X *дере кирпу* (i.e. ʽbehaves arrogantly’), *гне шию* (i.e. ʽis being servile’), and adds a *-въ* to his Ukrianian family name, trying to make it look and sound «Great Russian» rather than «Little Russian».

Similar to antonomastic eponyms, proverbial (or «winged», as they are also called) expressions with a cultural name, too, possess two meanings, a primary one, which is literal and concrete, and a secondary one, which is transferred, symbolic, and generalized. From the viewpoint of their formal structure, these expressions resemble phrasal technical and scientific eponymic terms of the kind of Ukrainian *гайморова порожнина* ʽantrum of Highmore’ or *тетрода Фалло* ʽtetralogy of Fallot’. And yet, this resemblance is, actually, rather superficial, since the two differ not only as regards their inner form (more specifically, in the onomasiological significance of a person or object they name their *denotatum* after; with eponymic terminological items, this significance is mostly of metonymic and/or sometimes commemorative nature) as well as their expressive character and stylistic markedness (cf. [Dziuba 2010 : *passim*; Yermolenko : 23-24][3]. Also,

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[3]   It should be noted, however, that there are also phrasal eponymic terms that contain cultural names of the kind more typical of proverbial phrases. The motivation of such terms can involve the metaphorical reinterpretation 1) of an underlying common name, as in *митра Гіппократа* (a medical term denoting a kind of head bandage and literally

and even more significantly, they differ in that terminological composite eponyms do not have the combination of the literal primary and the secondary generalized meanings that is characteristic of proverbial phrases. For instance, *Augean stables* is not just a designation of an abominable mess, since in its primary meaning, this phrase refers to the legendary stables of Augeas, a fabulous king of Elis, which contained three thousand oxen and had not been cleansed for three years, until Hercules eventually cleansed them by turning the river Alpheus through them and so purifying them in a single day [OED]. Emerging in the Greek mythology, namely, in the legend of the fifth labour of Heracles (cf. Greek καθαίρειν τὴνΑυγέου βουστασίαν 'to cleanse the Augean stables' [Дворецкий 1 : 262]), these stables later became an epitome of a long-standing complicated unpleasant situation which finally gets resolved by applying drastic measures, and the above phrase, borrowed semantically (directly or through Latin mediation) by many other languages, came to denote a very difficult and unpleasant job fulfilled resolutely and energetically.

Similarly originating in the Greek mythology and language, *the sword of Damocles*, or *Damocles' sword*, became 'an expression used by simile of an imminent danger, which may at any moment descend upon one (Damocles, a flatterer, having extolled the happiness of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, was placed by him at a banquet with a sword suspended over his head by a hair, to impress upon him the perilous nature of that happiness)' [OED]. Thus, as different from eponymic phrasal technical or scientific terms that contain a proper name and are formed by combining underlying lexical entities, proverbial expressions are derived semantically from underlying phrases, and correspondingly are formally identical to them. To put it otherwise, in the former case, there are two or more underlying lexical units (one of them a proper name), whereas in the latter, there is a single underlying item, namely, an already existing collocation containing a proper name.

Another distinctive feature of these antonomastic designations consisting of one or more words is that they are capable to be used as secondary eponymous proper names. For instance, my search on Google Maps [Google Maps] for Ukrainian *Авгієві стайні* has yielded no result, but browsing for English *Augean stables* has brought out *Augean*, the name of a company self-described as «a leading UK operator of sustainable, compliance-led, waste recycling, recovery, treatment and disposal services» [Augean] (*plc* in the link name an abbreviation for *public limited company*). In this business enterprise name, the component *stables* is, perhaps, understandably, omitted, but the company's specialization clearly indicates that *Augean stables* is what the proverbial *Augean* alludes to.

A similar search for (*the sword of*) *Damocles* has produced more results, including place names (such as the street names *Damocleslaan* and *Damoclesstraat* in the Netherlands, *Mount Damocles*, *Damocles Peak* and *Damocles Lake* in Canada, *Damocles Point*, a peninsula in Antarctica, *Gouffre Damoclès*, a cave in France, and the asteroid *Damocles*) and business names (e.g., *Damocles Fencing Club*, Fredericton, Canada, *Damocles Contentieux*, legal services in France, *Damocles Design*, web services in the U.S.A.). Searching elsewhere, I have found *Damocles* and *the Sword of Damocles* among chrematonyms of various kinds,

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meaning 'a Hippocrates miter (i.e. a kind of head-dress)'), *слимак Паскаля* (a mathematical term); or 2) of an underlying proper one, as in the medical terms *синдром Арлекіна*, *синдром «Аліси в Країні Чудес»*, *синдром Іо* [Dziuba 2011 : 15], although metonymy is possible as well, as in *Achilles tendon* (see below).

such as (to name but a few) song names (*The Sword of Damocles* is a recurrent symbol in modern hip hop [Peralta]), and gadgetry, e.g. the first-ever virtual reality headgear called *The Sword of Damocles*, a head-mounted three-dimensional display named so since it was suspended from the ceiling of the lab and also for its foreboding appearance [The sword of Damocles], and, last not least, a targeting pod, produced in France by Thales Group and mounted on attack aircraft of the French Air Force [Damocles] (*Damocles* appears in some eponymous terms as well, see below).

Proper names found within proverbial collocations do not necessarily occur as autonomous antonomastic eponyms and therefore are not registered as corresponding appellative entries in dictionaries. Still, some cultural names can operate in both ways, i.e. as independent eponyms and as constituents of winged expressions.

For instance, this is true of an antonomastic item with more positive connotation than *Damocles*, namely English *Cupid* ʿthe Roman god of sexual love, represented as a beautiful boy with wings who is carrying a bow and arrow with which he wounds his victims. The same name (also written *cupid*) denotes an image of this god, ʿa naked winged child, typically carrying a bow, used to represent loveʾ [NOAD; LDCE], cf. also the idiom *to play cupid* ʿto try to arrange for two people to fall in love with each otherʾ [LDCE]. Latin *Cupido* was a personification of the appellative noun *cupido* ʿlove, desireʾ, from *cupere* ʿto desireʾ[OED]. Search on Google Maps found the following American and British business and place names featuring *Cupid*, either alone or in conjunction with one of his attributes, cf: *Cupid's Bow Wedding* (wedding service), *Cupid's Bow Aesthetics* (beauty salon), *Cupid's Bow Bridal Makeovers*, *Cupid's Arrow Inc* (dating service), *Cupid Dart Court*, *Cupid Dart Drive*, *Cupid Dart Street* (*Cupid's arrows* are alternatively called *Cupid darts* (OED); *Cupid Country Club*, *Cupid Chase*, *Cupid Cards*, *Cupid Homes* (real estate rental), *Cupid Removals and Surrey Move Management*, *Cupid Blooms*, *Cupid Lashes*, *Cupid Cars*, *Cupid Dating Service*, *Cupid Creative Ltd.*, *Cupid and Roses*, *Cupid In The City Dating Service*, *Gift Cupid* (*e-commerce service*), *Cupid Delights* (caterer), *Cupid Beauty* (cosmetics and perfume supplier), *Cupid Nails* etc.

In the entry *Cupid*, Oxford English dictionary mentions *Cupid's bow*, ʿdesignation of a shape or outline resembling the double-curved bow of Cupidʾ [OED]; «specifically, the phrase applies to a lip shape where the upper lip comes to two distinct points towards the centre of the mouth, almost like a letter M. <…> A Cupid bow mouth resembles the double-curved bow often seen carried by the Roman God, Cupid [Gallagher].

There are, of course, other scientific and technical, in particular, anatomical and psychological phrasal terms containing cultural names, e.g. English *Adam's apple* ʿthe lump at the front of a man's throat that sticks out slightly and moves when he swallows [MacMillan], Ukr. *Адамове яблуко* ʿibid.ʾ [Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy 1 : 19], Polish *kompleks Damoklesa* ʿenvy at others' successes and happiness combined with the idealization of their condition, the feeling of injustice, and dissatisfaction with one's own lifeʾ [Kompleks Damoklesa], English *Damocles syndrome* (cf. the title of the paper *Free of malignancy but not of fears: A closer look at Damocles syndrome in survivors of hematologic malignancies* [Cupit-Link et al.], and *Achilles tendon* (L. *tendo Achillis*) ʿthe tendon of the heel; the tendon by which the muscles of the calf of the leg are attached to the heel, being the principal extensor of the footʾ [OED]. As a metaphorical terminological colloca-

tion stemming from the same phrase used in the literal meaning from which it is derived due to the association of similarity, *Cupid bow (mouth)* differs from *Damocles syndrome*, which, albeit also based on a generalized metaphor (ʻa sword suspended above Damocles' head' > ʻa constant potential danger'), involves a metonymy (ʻDamocles' > ʻthe sword associated with Damocles') and was not primarily used to literally denote a syndrome that Damocles had (actually, he had nothing like it).

The difference is not so clear with English *Adam's apple* (which, as well as corresponding collocations in other languages, coincidentally has other secondary meanings). This phrase is considered a calque of Latin *pomum Adami*, which, according to A. Gode, is explained in Romance folklore — dating back no farther than the 15th c. — as ʻa chocking effect of the fruit of temptation in Adam's throat' [Gode] (cf. also the following commentary: «The protuberance in the fore-part of a man's throat; so called from the superstition that a piece of the forbidden fruit which Adam ate stuck in his throat, and occasioned the swelling» [Brewer : 13]). And yet, Gode adds, these explanations may be erroneous as based on an apocryphal story: the term *pomum Adami* is a very early mistranslation of Hebrew *tappūach ha ādām*, whose correct literal meaning is ʻa male hump' [Gode]. Besides, as W.S.Haubrich pointed out in his «Medical Meanings: a glossary of word origins», in Hebrew the same word meant both apple and bump, to say nothing of the fact that there is no evidence that the primordial fruit actually was an apple [Haubrich : 5]. Thus, the appearance of both *Adam* and *apple* in this phrase may have been caused by reasons that can broadly be defined as paronymic; still, be it as it may, both the English phrase and its correlates in other languages have been secondarily employed as underlying items in eponymic derivational pairs, cf., for instance, *Adam's apple* / *pomum Adami* ʻa kind of citrus fruit' [Citrus Pages].

The part of human anatomy whose designation is *the tendon of Achilles* was ʻso named from the mythological account that when the infant Achilles was dipped by his mother Thetis in the Styx, to render him invulnerable, he was held by the heel, which thereby escaped dipping and remained vulnerable' [OED]. As different from *the heel of Achilles* (also *Achilles' heel*), this anatomical meaning remained the only one expressed by this collocation in its secondary use, since the former, literally referring to almost the same object, became a proverbial phrase denoting the only vulnerable spot [ibid.] Curiously enough, according to Google Maps data, it is only the latter phrase that is used as eponymous business name (in particular, of a medical treatment institution specializing in leg and feet care): *Achilles Heel Physiotherapy & Sports Injury Clinic* in Glasgow, UK, *Achilles Heel running store*, Glasgow, UK, a shoe repair shop, *Achilles Heels* (*Shoe/Bag repairs*, *Key cutting Dry Cleaning & More*), London, UK, and *Achilles Heel*, a bar in Brooklyn, U.S.A. Among other ergonyms, or business names, from this Greek hero, Ukrainian *Ахіллес і Черепаха*, a restaurant in Kyiv, Ukraine, seems noteworthy, in this case the name alluding to one of the Greek philosopher Zeno's paradoxes, or aporias, namely, the second one, telling about Achilles and the tortoise, and directed against the idea of motion as described by Aristotle [Huggett]

As I have indicated, proverbial terms, both lexical (monomial) and phrasal (polynomial), originate in and from cultural texts, which provide them with connotations underlying their secondary semantic development, and to which these terms allude afterwards. Such allusions can be fairly vague or even arbitrary since what sometimes really matters with these terms is that they are felt as culturally marked. In instances of such a kind, it is precisely this general cultural markedness

along with semantic ambiguity that makes their unintelligibility to rank-and-file speakers natural, so to say, and therefore acceptable, and fit for being used in any possible context and with any implied meaning whatsoever. In other words, they are conceived as elements of a prestigious and influential, and at the same time not one's own, linguistic-cultural code, and as designations of entities that are important and omnipresent as well as quite unspecified. As an ultimate example of this kind, take, for instance, Russian *Пушкин*, the name of the greatest Russian poet Alexander Pushkin and one of the most noticeable symbols of Russian culture[4]. In the eponymous entry of Y.S. Otin's «Dictionary of connotative names», *Пушкин* is defined as a connotative proper name which is used in the urban substandard vernacular with the meaning of 'an indefinite, unspecified or unknown person; someone other; no one' [Otin : 290]; curiously enough, the same usage of *Пушкін* was witnessed by the Ukrainian folklorist N.S. Shumada in the Transcarpathian dialect of Ukrainian, where, according to her informant, the expletive *Пушкін би тя побив* (with *Пушкін* in no way related to the poet) was as current as autochthonous and more usual *Бог би тя побив* or *Нех тя курка копне* [ibid. : 291-292]. V.S. Yelistratov's «Dictionary of Old Moscow» lists the same entry, which describes the referent as one of the most popular characters of Moscow lore, in particular, of many legends about his life and death, which often have very little, or altogether nothing, to do with his real biography [Yelistratov : 503-504] (cf. in this respect famous vignettes (Russian *anekdoty*) about Pushkin and other Russian cultural icons by Daniil Kharms, a Russian avant-gardist and absurdist author, as well as Russian folklore jokes, often unseemly ones, featuring the same figures).

The entry *Пушкин* in Otin's dictionary also mentions the idiomatic collocation *сказки Пушкина* 'something implausible, lies, tall tales, fantasies' [Otin: 293]. Primarily referring to the fairy tales written by this author, the phrasal title (although, to be sure, not one of Pushkin's own choice), too, is part of the set of Russian cultural names. Due to this, it has been used, along with titles of some other Pushkin's or Pushkin-related pieces, as an eponymous chrematonym, cf. *шоколад «Сказки Пушкина»* (a chocolate bar confectionary, see: [Katalog sovetskogo shokolada]) as well as the chocolate sweets *«Пиковая дама»* (cf. *«Пиковая дама»*, the title of Pushkin's long story as well as P.I.Chaikovski's opera based on it) and *«Алеко»* (cf. *«Алеко»*, S.I.Rakhmaninov's opera based on Pushkin's long poem *«Цыганы»*, and later, the eponymous musical film, *Алеко* being one of *Цыганы*'s principal characters), these namings becoming possible after Pushkin had been officially readmitted in the Soviet canon of the pre-Soviet Russian culture (see: [Platt : 7-38]).

It is not only texts that can provide proverbial entities, but also their titles (if they have some, of course). Such cultural texts are not necessarily verbal, as they can belong to other channels of communication, yet they must have a verbal des-

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[4] Cf. the following fragment from M.A.Bulgakov's Мастер и Маргарита describing an uncultured Muscovite: Никанор Иванович <…> совершенно не знал произведений поэта Пушкина, но самого его знал прекрасно и ежедневно по нескольку раз произносил фразы вроде: "А за квартиру Пушкин платить будет?" или "Лампочку на лестнице, стало быть, Пушкин вывинтил?", "Нефть, стало быть, Пушкин покупать будет?" (Bulgakov : 208); Polish youth slang *twoja stara* used as a disparaging answer to a question of «who» or any other one [Rozsrtzygnienie plebiscytu Młodzieżowe słowo roku 2021], although with different motivation (Polish colloquial *stary*, *stara* can refer to one's parent, spouse, or superior [USJP]), also invokes an image of an unspecified person of authority and a higher rank.

ignation. For instance, Otin's dictionary lists, among its entries, Russian *Помпея (Помпеи)* denoting 1) the Italian town of *Pompeii* buried by the eruption of the Mount Vesuvius volcano in 79 A.D., 2) artefacts, ruins and the like discovered by archaeological excavations, 3) something first forgotten and then rediscovered, 4) stagnation, lack of changes, 5) a catastrophe, 6) chaos, confusion, disorder [Otin : 282-284]. Also, the dictionary has the entry *Последний день Помпеи*, which originally was the name of Karl Bryullov's famous picture (1833) representing a scene of Pompei during Vesuvius's eruption; in colloquial usage, the phrase conveys the meanings of something utterly unpleasant and horrible, and also of chaos or disorder [ibid. : 285].

Thus, if a cultural name also has secondary meanings, especially of a more or less creative nature, and frequently occurs in informal speech, this can serve as a criterion of assigning such a name to popular culture onomasticon, and its referent to the set of cultural icons. For instance, Russian *хор (имени)Пятницкого* is an elliptical variant of the full designation of *Государственный Русский Народный хор имени Пятницкого* (ʽThe State Russian Volk Choir named after Piatnitskii'),whose pieces were a staple on the Soviet Radio network, especially as transmitted through omnipresent *radiotochki* (cable radio receivers). Perhaps it is therefore understandable that this designation (in the reduced form of *хор Пятницкого*) should have turned into a name of a popular snack served to vodka in Soviet snack bars and low-grade eateries. According to information provided by Dr Alla Shamota, my former colleague in the Department of General and Slavonic Linguistics at the O.O. Potebnia Institute of Linguistics, this snack consisted of one piece of herring in front of a semicircle of horseradish slices, the whole composition resembling a conductor facing a choir; another version of this snack describes *хор Пятницкого* as a self-made open sandwich with narrow pieces of salted fish, resembling rows of choir singers [Zakuska s kil'koi].

Mariia Sofronivna Demchenko, a *lankova* (a field team leader) at a collective farm in Ukraine, became one of the icons of Soviet propaganda in 1935, when, speaking at the second all-Union congress of «shock-working» collective farmers, she took, and after that fulfilled, an obligation to grow not less than 50000 tons of sugar beet on a square hectare, thus initiating a vast socialist competition named (in Ukrainian) *рух п'ятисотенниць*. She was mentioned by Maksym Ryl'skyi, a major Soviet Ukrainian poet, in his 1935 poem «На буряках» («Working on beetroot field»): *Наш крок — співучий молоток, / І сила наша труд наш гріє, / І слава Демченко Марії / Теплить осінній холодок* [Rylskyi : 196-197]. Considering that beetroots were a traditional raw material for producing *samogon* (the Ukrainian for moonshine), Ukrainian *Марія Демченко* as well as Russian *Мария Демченко* (also *ликер Марии Демченко*), also fairly naturally, became a popular eponym denoting a bottle of vodka [Kotel'nikov].

These examples show that cultural proverbial names, as well as catchphrases they occur in, do not only originate from more or less old texts that are regarded as classical, influential or otherwise important. And, as the following instance will also show, nor do such names and collocations necessarily possess a distinctive proverbial meaning justifying, so to say, their secondary eponymic use. Polish *Ala ma kota* ʽAla has a cat' (where *Ala* is a diminutive form of the female name *Alina* or *Alicja*) exemplifies items of this type. It was included by J.Bralczyk in his commented collection of 500 most cited and recognizable Polish sentences used under various circumstances, on various occasions, and in various contexts [Bralczyk 12–13].

The phrase is generally associated with Marian Falski's «Elementarz» (´Primer'), a seminal handbook of reading and writing in Polish, which was first published in 1910, then went through an unprecedented number of editions and revisions (the last edition appeared in 1974 and was reprinted, as an officially appointed handbook, for the last time in 1982), becoming the longest-reissued textbook of this kind [«Ala ma kota»: to zdanie przeczytał chyba każdy z nas. Mija 45 lat od śmierci autora słynnego «Elementarza»]. Correspondingly, *Ala ma kota* grew to become a symbol of this particular primer and primary education in general, and a proverbial phrase linked, through many instances of intertextuality, to the Polish culture. The citation, in its original and altered form, has been occurring in many varieties of Polish discourse, both public and private, something that search in the National Corpus of Polish (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego, or NKJP) illustrates [National corpus of Polish] (see also: [Chlebda]). More specifically, it can be met in genres as opposite as rock songs lyrics, on one hand (e.g., *Ala ma kota*, *milicja ma pałe* etc. in the song «Durna piosenka» of the rock band «Big Cyc» [Durna piosenka]), and, on the other, religious poetry (cf. the lines *przez czytanki dla zbawionych dzieci / Ala ma cnotę / ale nie ma kota / spójrz w piekło wiary po tamtej stronie* from the poem «Odpusty» by the poet and priest Jan Twardowski [Twardowski : 16]). Also, the phrase is used as a linguistic illustration in Polish Wikipedia entries dealing with logic, information technology, and programming. Besides, the phrase became the title of several books and poems as well as the name of a kindergarten, a handicraft and needlework workshop and store, and even the ecological bag *Ala ma kota* (featuring the inscription *Ala ma kota kot ma wszystko co chce*). The portmanteau word *Alamakota* was a fantastic fictional country's name in the book for children «Tryumf Pana Kleksy» (1965) by Polish poet Jan Brzechwa, and another Polish author, Małgorzata Budzyńska, wrote a young adult fiction series named *Ala Makota* after the main character and narrator, who was thirteen in the first of the eleven books and whose first name was *Ala* and her, as well as her family's other members, surname *Makota.*

With all that, this *Ala* remains just a girl from the primer, if only distinguished from other kids in it by her cat (and, as J.Bralczyk argues, a cat, rather than a dog, was selected as her companion because, while appealing to imagination, its declension is simpler than that of *pies* 'a dog' [Bralczyk 13]. Citing the phrase as an example in his discussion of issues of semantic interpretation in literary criticism, H. Markiewicz noted that «*Ala ma kota* does not state a fact; rather, it creates a factitious, imagined state of affairs, which in its turn does not possess any autotelic value, serving as it does to provide knowledge about relevant alphabet letters, something that the primer's users, too, would be aware of» [Markiewicz : 183].

This, however, neither contradicts, nor is negated by, the fact that the underlying reason for Falski's choice of the girl's name was his close friendship with Anna Margolis, who had a daughter called Alina (Alina Margolis-Edelman, 1922-2008); on the latter's seventh birthday, he presented her with his primer, inscribing inside the cover «Ali z Elementarza – Autor», and, below, «Ala ma kota» [«Ala ma kota»: to zdanie przeczytał chyba każdy z nas. Mija 45 lat od śmierci autora słynnego Elementarza; Kośka] (in previous editions, Ala was portrayed with her dog As, also appearing with a nameless cat in the sentence *To jest kot Ali* [Szerszunowicz : 108]. The phrase *Ala ma kota* was to appear in the next primer's editions and only remained there from the thirties through 1949, yet that did not prevent it from becoming one of the most «winged», so to say, Polish catchphrases.

Conclusions. In proverbial phrases with cultural names, as well as with antonomastic eponyms, generalization is what they are all about. Items of both types denote something or somebody typical and conforming to a general idea of a character, role, situation or scenario. Yet both express this meaning not directly but as symbolized by a unique referent denoted by the underlying proper name, its primary usage taking place in some cultural text. In antonomastic eponyms, the inner form is restricted to the underlying name, and in the former, it is more explicit, including some appellative items also manifesting the relevant lexical frame. It is this combination of some general sense, on the one hand, and a proper name associated with it through appearing in a cultural text, on the other, that antonomastic lexemes deriving from cultural names share with proverbial phrases deriving from collocations with cultural names. That is why the latter, while not qualifiable as onomastic items, should, by virtue of having a proper name in their structure, be considered part of the periphery of the category of proper names, and this, in its turn, provides a reason why it is both possible and feasible to consider proper names as a natural category featuring the centre and the periphery.

It should be emphasized that, in the particular case of proverbial phrases with names, treating *nomina propria* as a natural category with centre and periphery and classifying these phrases as peripheral elements of this category means much more than just giving them a more adequate systemic status: tracing these collocations along with antonomastic lexemes back to texts in which they initially appeared, and whose content's prominent features they now highlight, scholars will get both evidence of, and insights in, not only the etymology and history of (borrowed) phrases and words but also the origin, historical evolution and present state of societal and linguistic-cultural values, priorities, preferences and orientations.

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ВЛАСНІ ІМЕНА ЯК ПРИРОДНА КАТЕГОРІЯ: ПРОВЕРБІАЛЬНІ КОЛОКАЦІЇ З КУЛЬТУРНИМИ ІМЕНАМИ В АСПЕКТІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ЕПОНІМІЇ

У статті розглядаються крилаті вирази з іменами (наприклад, англ. *the sword of Damcles*) як об'єкт студій у царині вивчення епонімії. Ми відмежовуємо ці колокації від фразових епонімів, що є термінами (наприклад, *Achilles tendon* ˈахіллесове сухожилляˈ) чи назвами (наприклад, укр. *бульвар Шевченка*), оскільки вони виникли шляхом семантичної деривації від прецедентних словосполучень, що фігурували в культурних текстах, подібно до епонімів, створених за моделлю антономазії. В обох випадках культурне ім'я є ключовим складником внутрішньої форми, передаючи узагальнене значення, наявне в текстах, у яких ці імена первинно виступали і з якими вони асоціюються. Використовуючи сучасні підходи до категоризації у лінгвістиці, математиці, логіці й когнітивній психології, розглядаємо власні імена як природну, а не строго логічну категорію. Колокації з культурними іменами ми відносимо до тих встановлених нами класів утворень, які з погляду дослідження епонімії можуть розглядатися як периферія категорії онімів. У відповідних крилатих виразах, як і в антономастичних епонімах, твірний онім не лише детермінує їхнє узагальнене культурне значення, але також визначає і те, як це значення мовно інтерпретується, поєднуючи в собі смислову абстрактність, з одного боку, і унікальність того персонажа чи об'єкта, що функціонує як символ цього абстрактного змісту, — з другого. Віднесення таких колокацій до периферії категорії власних назв не тільки уточнює їхній іманентно-системний статус, оскільки культурні імена у формі антономастичних лексем і в складі крилатих виразів становлять інтерес для лінгвокультурологічних і соціокультурних студій як свідчення про джерела виникнення, еволюцію і сучасний стан системи концептів культури відповідного суспільства.

К л ю ч о в і с л о в а : культурне ім'я, крилатий вираз, природна категоризація, епонімія, твірна одиниця, антономазія, системна периферія.