

SOME NOTES ON PERIPHERAL ITEMS AND FEATURES IN EPONYMY

SUMMARY

The article's subject matter is the study of eponymy from the viewpoint of the opposition between centre vs. periphery, both externally (i.e., concerning eponymy as a whole) and internally. The author argues that eponymy itself is a peripheral category regarding deappellative formation, since the semantics of eponymic inner form, while sharing common features with the latter (such as metaphor and metonymy), can also manifest ones that are unique to it (sanctifying, honorific, commemorative, and image-creating naming). Proceeding from the broad understanding of eponymy (as represented by any linguistic entity, both lexical and phrasal, formed with the help of proper nouns) as well as the three main parameters of the eponymic relationship (the underlying name, the derived eponym, and the relation thereof), the author proposes an approach to the said problem along these parameters. Then he concentrates on those peripheral eponymic entities and features that are linked to underlying names' characteristics. There he investigates transitory cases (most of them informal epithets), working out their tentative typology (eponyms derived from artificial proper names, eponyms with reinterpreted underlying items, and eponyms with double underlying items), and substantiating it with evidence drawn from Ukrainian, Polish, English, and other languages. Finally, he discusses cases in which the reinterpretation of inner form components was influenced by their functioning in ideological and propagandist discourse.

Keywords: eponymy, periphery, underlying item, motivation, inner form

1. INTRODUCTION

0. The widening scope of items and derivational patterns studied under the category most often called eponymy makes it feasible and worthwhile to approach this category from the perspective of the distinction between centre vs. periphery.

0.0. Indeed, the distinction of centre and periphery can be considered a universal feature of the structural organization of any natural language, irrespective of its origin, genetic association, and typology. Also, it can presumably be found in any subsystem and structural level of any language. In particular, this idea was already voiced by the Prague Linguistic Circle members in the interwar period,

and then reiterated when their relevant works were collected and published in the second issue of *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* (Vachek, 1966; see Ermolenko, 1983, pp. 155–159),¹ elucidating peripheral and central features in phonology and grammar. As far as I know, eponyms and eponymy have not yet been investigated along these lines.

The present paper does not claim to present a theory, however cursory, of centre and periphery in eponymy. Rather, it offers some preliminary observations and considerations concerning this subject.

0.1. In my dealings with eponymy, I proceed from its *sensu lato* definition that subsumes under its heading all instances of deonymic items, both lexical and phraseological, in whose formation at least one proper name (single or phrasal) has been used (Yermolenko, 2018).² Accordingly, I apply this term to deonymic lexemes and phrases (such as Polish *Wisła Kraków / Towarzystwo Sportowe Wisła Kraków SA* < *Wisła* ‘the Vistula’), onomastic and appellative (*krakowiak* ‘a Polish folk dance’ < *Kraków* ‘Krakow’; Ukrainian *Холодний яр* ‘a forest area in the Cherkasy Region’, the eponymous names of the 1934 novel by Yurii Gorlis-Gors’kyi, a vodka produced in Ukraine, a historical society, etc.). Also, I regard, as eponyms, items belonging to so-called predicative parts of speech, such as *to instagram* ‘post (a photo or video of something) on the social media application Instagram’ (Cambridge University Press, n.d.-a), *instagrammable* ‘visually appealing in such a way that is suitable for being photographed for posting on the social media application Instagram’ (Cambridge University Press, n.d.-b), as well as speech formulas, such as the greetings Ukrainian *Слава Їсусу* and Latin *Laudetur Iesus Christus*,³ sayings (Polish *Wisła się pali* expressing something utterly absurd, also used as the title of Stefan Wiechecki’s 1967 feuilleton collection), etc.

0.1.1. It should be borne in mind that, unlike such categories as phonemes or lexemes, eponyms are identified as such due to the feature shared by all of them: they are all formed from, or with the help of, the proper name. That is to say, the invariant of the system of eponymy is the derivational relationship consisting of three parts: the underlying onym, the derived eponym, and the relation between them (Ermolenko & Ostapenko, 2019, pp. 53–55). Accordingly, these features can be looked for along the three corresponding aspects of this derivational structure.

¹ The recognition of that problem was a theoretical reaction to the contemporary practice of constructing linguistic models in accordance with the view of language as a totally organized, homogeneous, and static system — a tenet later also opposed by Natural Grammar as well as some other schools of linguistic thought and individual researchers (Yermolenko, 2025, pp. 53–54).

² In his recent paper, Coates (2022, pp. 219–222) proposes using the alternative term *dionym* to refer to items derived from the underlying onym, or *eponym*.

³ From this viewpoint, the Polish traditional greeting *Niech będzie pochwalony*, an elliptical variant of *Niech będzie pochwalony Jezus Chrystus*, is an eponymic coinage (more on this below).

0.1.2. Presumably, beside these systemic domains, the peripheral/central features of eponyms can also be related to usage. In particular, as was hopefully shown in (Yermolenko, 2021a), the affiliation of eponyms with specific discursive-functional varieties with their characteristic cognitive approach to reality (such as informal colloquial everyday speech, folklore, ecclesiastic discourse, discourse of advertisement, science, etc.) correlate with their semantic and structural characteristics, and therefore are relevant to the goals of the present study. The in-/frequency of a feature can also be construed as indicative of an eponym's central or peripheral status.

In what follows I will deal with the initial point of the derivational relationship of eponymy, which is the underlying proper name. Here I will look for some borderline cases which, while used to form eponyms, are not what one may call a proper name *sensu stricto*.

2. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1.0. It should be noted, however, that from a more general viewpoint, peripheral features can be ascribed not only to individual eponyms but also to eponymy as a category of deonymic items as compared to that of deappellative ones.

1.0.1. Similarity and contiguity being two types of associations crucial for the structural organization of language (Jakobson & Halle, 1971/2002, pp. 90–96), both deonymic and deappellative derivation employ metaphor and metonymy in the semantic motivation of the inner form of derivatives. But there are also deonymic items whose inner form is not based upon any such association between them and their *denotata* since, generally speaking, rather than representing actual features of the latter, these coinages add some new ones to their content. Such formations promote (as a means of indoctrination or a sign of cultural homage or loyalty) or exploit the underlying name and its semantics. Some commemorative and honorific eponyms are coined from persons who, while worthy of paying tribute to, are hardly related to their *denotata*, if at all. For instance, there are two secondary schools in Kyiv, Ukraine, № 92 and № 117, named after two of the foremost Ukrainian poets, Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka respectively. The choice of the former's name can in part be explained as metonymic and historically motivated, since originally this school's premises housed the Pavlo Halahan College, and it was in the college's inner church that Franko's marriage took place.⁴ Yet there is no such association between Lesya Ukrainka and the eponymous Kyiv school. Also, ideological eponymic designations of places, institutions, etc. in the

⁴ The Soviet-era memorial plaque on this school did not mention it, referring vaguely to Franko's visit to the building instead.

former Soviet Union and its satellites can be, *mutatis mutandis*, compared with the older practice of the sanctifying use of names of characters and events from the holy and ecclesiastical history: both glorify their *denotata* as well as those these were named after. At the same time, the concurring motivation based on the *denotatum*'s properties is possible, cf. *ulica Świętojańska* in the historic centre of Warsaw (Stare Miasto) with the Basilica of St. John the Baptist and the Jesuit St. John Cathedral situated on it. Among several streets with sacred names in Montreal (Canada), there is *rue Saint Urbain*, which was built in the 17th century by a French immigrant named *Urbain Tessier* (FamilySearch, n.d.). And, of course, there are very many business venues, such as hotels, restaurants, etc. with image-projecting (“performative”) eponymous names derived from onyms laden with stereotyped connotations of splendour, exotism, etc. (Yermolenko & Chernysh, 2023, pp. 228–229).⁵

1.0.2. On the contrary, choosing underlying entities to promote ideological values or exploit their appeal to possible customers seems unknown among deappellative coinages.

1.0.2.1. What may seem a counterexample is the case of the Russian technical term *pobedit*. This noun was coined to denote an extra-hard alloy developed in the USSR in the 1920s (Prohorov, 1987, p. 1017). Derivationally, it is a combination of the root побед- (as found in the verb победить as well as the substantive победа) combined with the international suffix *-um*, originally Greek *-ίτης* (Seligej, 2014, pp. 145–146), used to form terms for a wide range of substances. Since drills made of this alloy can overcome most hard materials, its inner form can be considered as pointing to this “victorious” property. And yet it permits additional interpretations. The coinage may have been influenced by ideological motives: the name of this alloy could allude to the eventual future victory of proletariat’s revolution on the global scale. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that there were German expats with Communist convictions among its creators (Žuravlev, 2000).

Following World War II, the understanding of this inner form changed, since in the Soviet and then Russian discourse, both official and private, the defeat of Hitler’s Germany has become *the Victory*,⁶ and Russian *победа* (especially when

⁵ The unofficial Soviet-era toponymy of Kyiv employed the same renaming strategies, trying to escape dull Soviet realities by changing names, e.g., *Ліверпуль* (cf. the Beatles’ city of *Liverpool* in the UK), the unofficial name of a dietetic grocery store with a small in-store café; *Мічиган* (cf. the state of *Michigan* in the USA), a small cafe officially called *Грот* (*Grotto*); and *Барселона*, a nameless barbeque joint (cf. *Barcelona* of Spain) (Nekrasov, 1988).

⁶ This shift is witnessed, for instance, in the highest Soviet decoration for World War II, *орден Победы*, which, unlike the much less important medal *За победу над фашистской Германией в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945*, only mentions *Победа*; cf., too, numerous Soviet

capitalized and used in the collocation *великая Победа* ‘great Victory’) has come to express first an ideological and then largely mythological concept defining Russia’s role in the modern world and justifying its imperialism and military aggressions. In this new context, *победа*, originally an appellative elliptical variant of the cumbersome phrase *Победа Советского Союза над фашистской Германией в Великой Отечественной войне*, has turned into a sacred proper name. Thus, the reduction of a phrase produced a secondary eponym by means of the proprialization of an appellative component — arguably a peripheral kind of eponymic development (for more examples, see below).

2.0. As to individual peripheral cases withing eponymy, I start with two types of items that, while somehow or other related to proper names, themselves are not part of them.

2.1. In languages such as Polish and Ukrainian (and, on a much smaller scale, English), adjectives are formed from onomastic items, such as Polish *wiedeński* (< *Wiedeń* ‘Vienna’). It was proposed in (Yermolenko, 2022, p. 56) to consider them, in the framework of eponymy studies, as belonging to the periphery of the category of proper names. Then the notion of eponym will be extended to encompass phrases (including adverbial ones), such as *sznyceł wiedeński / po wiedeńsku* ‘veal cutlet served with a fried egg and a slice of lemon’, *sernik wiedeński* ‘cheese-cake without pastry base’, or *jajko po wiedeńsku* ‘soft-boiled egg poured in a glass with some butter’ (PWN, n.d.). The deonymic modifiers operate within their inner form as proper names *sensu stricto* elsewhere, cf. Ukrainian *комлета по-київськи* vs. *chicken Kiev / Kyiv* (chicken à la Kiev / Kyiv); cf. also the names of three Kyivan newspapers, *Kyiv Post*, *Вечірній Київ* and *Газета по-київськи*. Also, toponymic models within the same language, such as Polish, use the genitive case of a proper noun and the adjective derived from the latter, e.g., *ulica Tadeusza Kościuszki* and *ulica Wybrzeże Kościuszkowskie* in Warsaw.

2.2. There is one more variety of items that the same paper proposes to include as marginal instances in the notion of proper names as underlying members of the eponymic relationship. This is proverbial (or “winged”) phrases prototypically containing culturally marked names (fictitious, legendary, mythical, or actual) and referring to situations which have obtained symbolic significance and are metaphorically or metonymically used to convey some generalized meaning.

In terms of formal structure, they are similar to eponymic phrasal terms, cf., e.g., *Achilles heel* ‘a person’s only vulnerable spot; a weak point’ (SOED, 2002),

names of anthropogenic and even natural objects such as *пик Победы*, until 1946 *пик Военных топографов*, and prior to that, *пик 20 лет ВЛКСМ* (Central Asia Travel, n.d.; Pospelov, 1993, pp. 225–226) commemorating this event.

on one hand, and on the other hand, *Achilles tendon* ‘the tendon attaching the heel to the calf muscle’ (SOED, 2002) or *antrum of Highmore*, also known as *maxillary antrum* (Britannica Editors, 2019). The former is an idiom with an inner semantic form based on a trope and denoting a generalized sense different from its literal and very specific reference; whereas the latter ones actually denote a tendon and an antrum specified by means of proper names, that of a legendary character whose famous bodily part is directly linked to this tendon, and that of a British surgeon first to describe it, respectively (ibid.).

Proper names found in idiomatic collocations like *Achilles heel* contribute to the expression of such a meaning. Operating individually, however, they do not express their own “fragment” of the latter. Sometimes they are capable of independently conveying a secondary figurative sense, but the latter is quite different from the one they help to render when used within the proverbial phrase. For instance, *Hercules*, the name of a hero of superhuman strength in classical mythology, can in English as well as other languages secondarily denote a very strong or muscular man (SOED, 2002). Yet, appearing in the adjectival form *Herculean* in the phrase *Herculean labours* ‘2. Of a task: as hard to accomplish as were Hercules’s twelve labours; immensely arduous’ (ibid.), its meaning is essentially different, although it is metaphorically motivated by the initial story about this hero and his twelve exploits. Similarly, *Achilles* ‘Latin from Greek *Akhilleus*, a hero in the “Iliad” by Homer, invulnerable except in the heel’ can also denote ‘a person like Achilles in point of valour, invulnerability etc.’ (ibid.), but the meaning of *the heel of Achilles* is quite different, indeed opposite to, the latter meaning.

The significance of such eponyms can be limited linguistically as well culturally. Unlike aforementioned internationally known names, the Lvivian toponym Ukrainian *Кульпарків* / Polish *Kulparków* is little known elsewhere; associated with a mental facility founded at the end of the 19th century (Kozic’ki, 2010, p. 675; Krip’ákevič, 2007, p. 92), it occurs in idiomatic phrases sharing the generalized feature of psychic inadequacy, cf. Ukrainian *вар’ят з Кульпаркова, довести до / вийти з Кульпаркова* ‘to drive one to despair or madness’, (*вийти з*) *Кульпаркова* ‘be mentally ill’, *кандидат на Кульпарків* ‘someone with shocking behaviour or utterances’, *я з вами скоро буду на Кульпаркові* ‘someone who is excited, irritated, or stressed out by the other’s inadequate behaviour’ (Hobzej, 2019, pp. 409–410).

Another name, well known in Lviv until the Soviet occupation of 1939, was the surname which was rendered in Polish as *Kurkowski* and Ukrainian as *Курковський*: Antoni Kurkowski, and then his son Julian were owners of the prosperous firm *Concordia* providing funeral services (Smirnow, 2023), hence the phrase (street slang, ironical) *замовити труну в Курковського* ‘to get ready for imminent death’ (Hobzej, 2019, p. 413). Yet the general idea of death is only

expressed by *Курковський*, through the association with paraphernalia of the funeral, when it occurs as a component of this metaphoric as well as metonymic collocation.

Another local celebrity was Edmund (or, informally, Edzio) Tarlerski, one of the owners of “Atlas,” a much-frequented restaurant in interbellum Lviv (Biedrzycka, 2012, p. 390). His name, however, became proverbial, because “Atlas” was the first Lvivian establishment of that kind that provided toilet facilities to its patrons. Consequently, the phrases Polish *pójść do* (or *odwiedzić*) *Edzia* (Kotowski, 2021, p. 31) and Ukrainian (*вступити*) *до пана-едзя* ‘*ibid.*’ (Hobzej, 2019, p. 540) became a humorous euphemism, literally meaning ‘to go to, or visit, Edzio’ and conveying the generalized sense ‘to go to the lavatory’.

A somewhat similar sense development took place in colloquial English (mostly North American) *John* (*john*) ‘a toilet’ (SOED, 2002), the meaning originating within the phrase *The cousin John*, whom “people said they had to visit as they absented from company” (Holder, 2002, p. 215).⁷

3. Besides these, one may also add, as candidates for the inclusion in the eponymic periphery, some classes of names that are not generally recognized as proper ones (such as koinonyms, demonyms, chrematonyms, and other, as Van Langendonck called them, non-prototypical proper names) (Langendonck, 2007, pp. 233–245). For instance, one can regard, as such, Ukrainian dialectal *англез* ‘a long black frock-coat’ (Hobzej, 2019, p. 58) or Polish *anglez* denoting a long frock-coat as well as a dance popular in the 17–19th centuries, a curly ringlet, and a horse race, cf. French *anglais* ‘English’ (PWN, n.d.). Strictly speaking, these should be regarded more as controversial cases rather than peripheral or marginal ones.

4. It is possible, however, to point to instances when eponyms originate from seeming proper names that, as different from these, are intentionally made (or interpreted as) dual-natured ones in order to achieve some stylistic or other communicative effect.

4.1. For instance, the Ukrainian expletive *йосип на коні* (Hobzej, 2019, p. 368) literally ‘Joseph on horse(back)’ (with the first name *йосип* not capitalized) is in fact a euphemistic substitute of the phrase whose first lexical component is a four-letter word also beginning with *йо-* and meaning ‘coire’ (cf. the Russian euphemistic expletive *ёшкин кот*, in which *ёшкин* is, however, derivationally opaque or artificial coinage). In other words, *йосип* simultaneously alludes to,

⁷ Unlike the English *John* (*john*), Polish *Edzio* and Ukrainian *пан-едзьо* did not develop the independent appellative meaning of toilet.

and hides, the appellative word it stands for. In English, there are euphemisms for *membrum virile* that are not only male given names, but also rhyming slang, such as dick (cf. prick) as well as Hampton Wick (or just hampton), primarily the name of a district to the west of London (p. 180), and also the other part of this collocation (Holder, 2002, p. 440), cf. wick (obsolete) ‘a town, a village, a hamlet’ (SOED, 2002). As Holder points out, “it is a unique example of both parts of the rhyming slang phase being used individually.”

4.2. In such euphemisms of a double nature, word play is, if present at all, not predominant.⁸ There are, however, other eponymic coinages with “two-faced” underlying bases, in which striving towards the ludic effect seems to be a principal illocutionary force.

4.2.1. Among these, two varieties can be established, those with the mock and actual underlying proper name respectively. Both are jocular *double-entendres*, drawing attention to the utterance they occur in. In the Lviv vernacular, for instance, there are lexemes (possibly borrowed from, or otherwise influenced by, Polish) with the adjectival suffix *-ський / -ська* that, while expressing some negative feature, mimic masculine and feminine surnames with the same suffix, especially when preceded by the title of *пан* ‘Mister’ or *пані* ‘Mrs.’, as in *пан ображальський / пані ображальська* ‘a very touchy person’ (Hobzej, 2019, p. 515) (for a more detailed treatment, see Yermolenko, 2024, pp. 136–137).⁹

Interestingly, the same suffix, associated with Polish or Russian family names, found its way in English. There it is likewise used to coin derogatory or humoristic quasi-surnames denoting, it should be noted, persons and other kinds of objects, or just operating as a marker of expressivity, e.g.: slang (originally American) *buttnsky* ‘a person who (habitually) butts in; an intruder, a meddler’ (SOED, 2002); *Chelski*, a nickname of the English football club *Chelsea*, coined after Russian oligarch Roman Abramovich bought it in the early 2000s (GOAL, 2023). *Concordski* is the name of the Soviet supersonic transport jet *Tupolev 144*, given to it by the Western press (with implications of possible spying) due to its all too evident resemblance to the Anglo-French *Concorde* (Domeneghetti, 2023).

Donald Trump was called *Trumpski*, as in Dejevsky’s 2016 article “The art of dealing with Trumpski”; cf. also the demonstration sign “Hey Trumpsky, at least release your Russian Tax Returns” and the t-shirt sold on Amazon with the

⁸ Cf. also Russian dissidents’ euphemisms that followed the typical anthroponymic model, *Софья Власьевна* (along with *сова* and *совок*, for of *советская власть*) and *Константин Петрович* (for *коммунистическая партия*).

⁹ Following a Warsaw vernacular model (Wieczorkiewicz, 1974, *passim*), one of S. Wiechecki’s characters calls his wife’s brother Piekutowski *szwagier Piekutoszczak*; but in the feuilleton “Doktorski koktajl”, he exceptionally refers to him as *szwagrowski*: “Tu nic pikantniejszego, Feluś, nie dostaniesz — mówie — musiem zmienić local. I zaprowadziłem *szwagrowskiego* do baru ziołowego”.

portrait of Donald Trump and the legend *Comrade Trumpski*. In the first episode of the third season of the ITV series “Professor T.,” one of the characters named Adam Bernard, when imprisoned, is addressed by another convict as *Adamski*. English *brewski* ‘a beer’ is defined as “a fanciful formation from brew + *-ski*, a final element found in many Slavonic names” (SOED, 2002). Konrad *Beerski* is a Krakow-based professional tour guide (as well as stand-up comedian and teacher) registered with the Tripadvisor travel company and offering, among other things, beer tasting (“all with a dash of humour,” as he emphasizes) (Beerski, n.d.). So arguably *Beerski* is a pseudonym modelled upon Polish surnames in *-ski*, and in addition a pun played on English *beer*. And on Wiejska street in Warsaw, there is a hamburger restaurant *HELLski*.

4.2.2. Another model of informal quasi-surnames is Polish substantives in *-wicz*, such as *autostopowicz*, *balangowicz*, *dorobkiewicz*, *dwójkowicz* (*trójkowicz*, *piątkowicz*), *forumowicz*, *kąpielowicz*, *kolejkowicz*, *konkursowicz*, *ogonkowicz*, *ogródkowicz*, *operetkowicz*, *operowicz*, *spacerowicz*, *wycieczkowicz*, *weekendowicz*, etc. These derivatives are considered *ad hoc* epithets, which characterize people situationally, in relation to their fortuitous and occasional features denoted by underlying items. Their emergence was influenced by jocular surnames of comedy characters, such as A. Fredro’s *Raptusiewicz*, cf. *raptus* ‘an impetuous, impulsive person’ (PWN, n.d.), see (Grzegorzczkova, 1981, p. 46; Grzegorzczkova et al., 1998, pp. 434, 441).

In Ukrainian, appellatives *забудько* ‘a forgetful person, a scatterbrain’, *скоробагатько* ‘an upstart, a nouveau rich, a new money’, *страшко* ‘a person who is easily frightened’ are perceived as something like surnames, since the suffix *-ko* is in fact the prototypical marker of Ukrainian family names. What makes their dual nature still more pronounced is the fact that there actually are Ukrainian surnames *Забудько*, *Скоробагатько*, *Страшко*. Also, there is the Ukrainian *доробкевич* (used, for instance, in Popovych’s translation of the novel *Stiller* by Max Frisch: “[...] як кожен *доробкевич*, страшенно товариський”).

4.2.3. Still more contradictory in their character are two curious coinages in *-ський* and *-евич*, *таревич* and *тарковський*, current in the urban slang of Soviet-era Lviv. On the one hand, at least one of them reproduced the actual family name, Polish and Ukrainian *Tarkowski* / *Тарковський*. At the same time, both operated as affixal derivatives from Ukrainian (*скляна*) *тара* ‘empty glassware’ and so referred to empty glassware, then bought from private citizens at special points (Hobzej, 2009, pp. 556–557) or, rather, to such points themselves (see Yermolenko, 2024, pp. 137–138).

Superficially, *тарковський* and especially *таревич* are similar to “artificial” surnames discussed above: indeed, they can be qualified as such names derived from *тара*. And yet they are modelled upon “real” surnames, which at the same

time are semantically and derivationally reinterpreted. It is this feature of the essential reinterpretation of their initial character that makes them close to the second variety of the Ukrainian dual-natured peripheral eponymic items mentioned above. To these, one may also add Ukrainian Lvivian (*пан*) *лопатинський* ‘a grave-digger’ (Hobzej, 2019, p. 431) related to *лопата* ‘a shovel, a spade’ and parallel to the surname *Лопатинський* < the town name *Лопатин* (Yermolenko, 2024, p. 137).

4.2.3.1. Besides surnames, there are also artificial Christian names with the reinterpreted inner form. In Ukrainian, such quasi-names can be exemplified by *Варгуля* ‘1. (humorously) an non-existing female saint whose name is derived from *варга*; 2. (figuratively) a lip’ — *Чесць Богу, хвала, а святій Варгулі на офіру* — they say so when having a drink (< *варга* ‘a lip’) (Oniškevič, 1984, p. 83).

In other languages, the names of fictitious saints operating as liturgical calendar date names occur within idioms with the general meaning ‘never, on no date in the future’. To them belong such instances as: Polish *na święte nigdy / na świętego nigdy* (informal, humorous) ‘in such a way that something that is spoken about will never happen’ (WSJP, n.d.), cf. Polish *nigdy* ‘never’, the alternative variants changing its original appellative form: *świętego Migdy*, *święntego Dygdy*, as in *Na św. Migdy, co nie bywa nigdy* (Krzyżanowski, 1970, p. 625); Czech *Na svatého Dyndy* (the form of *Dynda* was possibly influenced by *jindy* ‘some other time’): *Na svatého Dyndy, co nebude nikdy* (Štěpánová, 2021); German *am Sankt-Nimmerleins-Tag* ‘never, on no occasion’ (literally ‘on the Saint Never day’), also *Nimmers Tag*, *Nimmermehrstag*, *Nimmerlestag*, or *Nimmertag* (Grimm & Grimm, 1881–1889, pp. 848–850) (cf. German *nimmer(lein)* ‘never’); Portuguese *no dia de São Nunca* ‘on the day of Saint Never’ (de Oliveira, 2022); Italian *il giorno di San Mai*, translated as Ukrainian *на кінський великдень*, i.e., ‘never’ (Kyiv Dictionary, n.d.); French *saint-Glinglin*, *à la saint-glinglin* (informal) ‘on the unspecified date; at a moment that will never come’ (Larousse, n.d.).¹⁰ There is one more fictitious saint in French eponymy, *Sainte Nitouche* (derogatorily) ‘a prudish female, a hypocrite affecting offended looks’ (< *sainte* + *n’y touche* ‘unwilling to touch it’) (CNRTL, n.d.).¹¹

4.3. Returning to тарковський, one should add that this coinage might have been influenced by the similarity of *тара* not only to Тарковський as a family name, but specifically, and especially, to this name associated with the well-known non-conformist Soviet film director Andrei Tarkovskii (1932–1986). However absurd

¹⁰ On the etymology of the French phrase, see (Brault, 1957), who explains it as the reference to the Doomsday bells.

¹¹ Also, there are actual date names that are prognostically interpreted in the folk calendar; see, e.g., Êrmolenko, 2006, pp. 146–167.

it may appear, the very contrast between the exalted culture icon and a humble point of used glassware reception (Ukrainian пункт приймання склотари) could have been one of the reasons for such a naming: after all, selling back empty bottles was not an insignificant source of income for many Soviet citizens, especially for tipplers and boozers, which artistic people stereotypically are.

4.3.1. What is more, and even more importantly, informal eponyms are quite well known for designating people and objects and derived from anthroponyms, both embodied and disembodied,¹² that lack apparent motivation (at least, from outsiders' viewpoint). One may cite, as such, Polish *gruba Kaśka*, literally 'fat Katie', the name of a water tower on the Vistula river in Warsaw (Wesołowski, 2004), whereas *chude Wojtki*, literally 'thin Wojteks', the names of the additional appliances in the vicinity of *gruba Kaśka*, were arguably coined by analogy.

But the instance of *тарковський* is still more complicated derivationally than these. Whatever the underlying name *Тарковський* is, a family name or the family of a movie celebrity, its choice was influenced by its paronymic relationship with *тара*. And as such, *тарковський* exemplifies yet another variety of double-natured eponyms, the one with two underlying bases.

One of the examples of eponyms of this kind that are discussed in (Yermolenko, 2024, p. 138) is Ukrainian *кочорудзинка* (*кукурудзинка*), a senior generation Lviv vernacular term for a student of the girls' high school named after Illia and Ivanna Kokorudzas (Hobzej, 2019, p. 381). Motivated by the name of the school, the lexeme is more or less directly corresponds to *кукурудза* 'maize' as well, and this double relation makes it a good-natured pun. A similarly non-offensive word-play is found in Russian *антоновки* as referring to Yalta female fans of the author *Anton* Chekhov. In one of his letters, he wrote: "Сегодня день моего рождения, 39 лет. Завтра именины, здешние барышни и барыни (которых зовут *антоновками*) пришлют и принесут подарки" (Bunin, 1955, p. 35). In his biography of Chekhov, Donald Rayfield played on this coinage, at the same time explaining it for English-speaking readership and further developing it into a meta-pun: "Yalta laughed at Anton's followers. Women who patrolled the promenade or the road to Autka were named *Antonovkas*, after a Russian apple, a fruit he was not tempted to pluck" (Rayfield, 2013, p. 2928). Indeed, *антоновка* is an old apple cultivar with the evidently eponymous name; nothing more is known for sure about its origin and extralinguistic motivation (Mel'ničuk, 1982, p. 77). Besides playing upon Chekhov's first name, this appellation of his female fandom also conveys connotations of the apple as a Biblical symbol of carnal temptation.

4.4. One may notice that there is irony in such examples; in the case of *тарковський*, this irony may be considered romantic one, emphasizing the

¹² In the sense of Gardiner's (1954, pp. 9–11) distinction; see also Yermolenko (2021b).

contradiction between the prose of everyday life and the romantic world of art. But more often, the rhetoric effect of employing items with double motivation is the derogatory downgrading of their denotata, including those of (supposedly) cultural value, as in the following instance (which also brings back issues touched upon in the paragraph 1.0.2.1.)

4.4.1. Thus, the informal name of *Київський національний університет культури і мистецтв*, *КНУКМ* is *кульок*. The compression of a lengthy phrasal proper name in colloquial speech is well known, cf., e.g., Ukrainian *Могилянка*, an informal and otherwise stylistically neutral variant of *Національний університет «Києво-Могилянська академія»*. With *КНУКМ*, however, this compression has resulted in its paronymically induced substitution by *кульок*, cf. Ukrainian *кульок* ‘a little bag’ (Bilodid, 1970–1980, Vol. 4, p. 393). The similarity between *культура* and *кульок* is fortuitous, yet suitable enough for an elliptical pejorative metaphorical naming. In terms of underlying structure, *кульок* as a soubriquet, too, is doubly motivated, relating at the same time to the initial phrasal name component and the similar appellative lexeme. Still, its underlying bases are arranged as a series rather than parallelly.

4.5. There is another, more widespread and also simpler variety of the formation of eponyms by means of the elliptical reduction of phrasal names, in which the appellative component of the phrase is used instead of it. In some cases, this variety, too, can involve duality of sorts regarding the underlying item (as in the instance discussed in 1.0.2.1.)

Generally speaking, ellipsis of this kind occurs frequently in informal speech. For instance, residents of Kyiv’s downtown, when speaking of *бульвар Шевченка*, one of Kyiv’s old landmarks, and *Володимирський собор*, another landmark situated on this boulevard, will refer to them just as *бульвар* and *собор* respectively. Similarly, Washington, D.C. citizens are said to refer to this area more as *the District* than *the D.C.* But these are fairly local usages (besides, in Kyiv there are other boulevards and cathedrals as well), and that is why they have not become part of the national language lexis. On the contrary, such ellipsis as *the United Kingdom* (as well as *the UK*) is used far more generally: “*United Kingdom, the kingdom of Great Britain (hist.), (after 1801) of Britain and Ireland (hist.), (since 1922) of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (in official use also United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)*” (SOED, 2002).

While this abbreviated coinage has nothing to do with ideology and propaganda, the following one does (like the one analysed in 1.0.2.1.), precisely because of its being part of the ideological and propagandist discourse. In Soviet-time public and private usage, the Ukrainian polysemous lexeme *партія* primarily had a unique reference, since the Communist party of the Soviet Union was then both the sole party and the ruling one. In this respect, cf. the definition of *партія* in the

“Dictionary of the Ukrainian language” (Bilodid, 1970–1980), where the reference to the CPSU was listed as the first meaning, followed by the second one of party as a political organization: *партия* ‘1. A voluntary militant union of communists sharing the same views and consisting of representatives of the working class, working peasants and working intelligentsia of the Soviet Union; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU; before 1919, RSDP; before 1956, VCP(b); 2. A political organization that is the highest form of organization of any class and is the most active part thereof, which protects its interests and directs its struggle against hostile classes’ (Bilodid, 1970–1980, Vol. 6, p. 78). The same semantic development took place in other languages of communist countries, first of all in Russian in the U.S.S.R., but also, *mutatis mutandis*, in the German of Hitler’s Germany, cf. the limited reference of German *Parteigenosse* ‘a male member of the former *NSDAP*’ (Dudenredaktion, n.d.). It is possible that in the Soviet Union, the emergence of this particular lexical-semantic compression was influenced by the many changes in the full name of this organization (see above). But, arguably, far more important was the fact that under Lenin’s leadership, the Communist party positioned itself as “a party of a new type” — which it certainly was, considering its totalitarian and antidemocratic orientation. In other words, the Soviet Communist party claimed itself to be *the party* (the party member’s identification card cited Lenin saying that “the party is the mind, the honour, and the conscience of our epoch” (from his 1917 article). Similarly, at party conferences, Edward Gierek, the then Communist leader of Poland, and his audience chanted the slogan, in which only *partia* stood for *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza* (*Partia — Polska, Partia — Polska!*) etc.

In such a historical context, dealing with these instances was a problem that lexicographers in Communist-run states had to tackle. There were two possible way for them to treat lexemes with the meaning of ‘party’. One is exemplified by the definition of Ukrainian *партия* (see above), in which the Communist party of the Soviet Union occupied the first place and was presented as different from parties in the traditional, democratic sense. Similarly, *mutatis mutandis*, German *Partei* was treated, for instance, in Agricola’s combinatory dictionary of German. This dictionary, listing collocations of this noun as used in the meaning of political organization, starts with *eine fortschrittliche, bürgerliche, reaktionäre P.*, which then is followed by *Partei neuen Typus (marxistisch-leninistische Arbeitspartei)* (Agricola, 1972, p. 471).¹³ Later on, albeit seen from a democratic perspective, the same difference was represented in the Duden dictionary with two variants of

¹³ It will be remembered that although the German Democratic Republic was actually a single-party state governed by *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, the latter at the same time was the controlling member of *Nationale Front*, a group of small parties.

Partei's first meaning, the first traditionally referring to political organizations with their differing goals, and the second, defined as *Staats-* or *Einheitspartei*, used only in the singular, and illustrated by *die P. hat immer recht* (Dudenredaktion, n.d.).

Yet in Witold Doroszewski's "Słownik języka polskiego," a different approach was chosen: the first definition in the entry *partia* was 'a group of people with the same political views' (although, it should be noted, the first of several citations illustrating this meaning was *Partia komunistyczna jest kierowniczym organem klasy robotniczej*), whereas the second definition was 'an abbreviation for the Polish United Workers Party' (SJP Dor, 1958–1969). Thus, according to this source, Polish *partia* meaning 'Communist party' was not an independent lexeme with unique reference, since it presumed the existence of the phrasal name, which it elliptically represented as its appellative component.

Somehow or other, it should be emphasized that in all such cases, lexical designations of ruling parties in totalitarian societies, while being monodenotational, are peripheral elements of the category of proper names rather than nomina propria sensu stricto.

3. CONCLUSIONS

While far from treating material relevant to this paper's theme more or less exhaustively, the observations and discussion in it will hopefully draw attention to less familiar aspects of eponymy, i.e., the use of proper names to form words and set phrases, and to the category of proper names as such. In this particular study, together with the widening of the extension of eponymy, analysis in terms of the centre vs. periphery opposition has been applied to onyms underlying eponymic derivational relationships, specifically, cases of contradictory, marginal, or transitory systemic character. First of all, when seen through this optic, deonymic derivation turns out to be a peripheral phenomenon, featuring not only prototypical Jakobsonian models of sense development based on similarity and/or contiguity. Also, it manifests others models (such as honorific, sanctifying, or image-creating performative naming) that are absent in deappellative derivation and produce items differing from deappellative ones in their illocutionary force and functional discourse affiliation. Analyzing various cases of dual-natured peripheral eponymy results in the establishing of structural varieties thereof; at the same time, these varieties emerge as being related to specific and, generally, secondary speech functions and discourse varieties. Thus, this approach is both system- and function-oriented, yielding a more detailed picture of eponymy.

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