

STREET NAME AS A CULTURAL CODE

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[place names] are intersections of place, landscape, thought, language, perception, value, belief, history, economy, and society, and thus provide avenues of understanding toward all of these physical-environmental, cognitive, linguistic, and cultural phenomena.

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INTRODUCTION

Following Eniar Lillebye¹ Hatice Ayatac and Selime Araz tell us the streets stories from the antiquity till our days, pass through the Renaissance, Enlightenment, 19th and 20th centuries, and determine the role of the streets in the modern times as:

“the essential components of the social structure and space of memory that encapsulate previous experience”².

If the street is an actor of the social life and space for a long time, the street name with its obvious functions appears on the stage not long ago. Till the 18th – 19th centuries in the European cities the street names were concrete and utilitarian, and designated the direction or location, the function or natural feature, local landmarks, professional communities or other regional traditions, and carried out the identification and orientation functions.

In the 19th century the new type of the street names came into life. The nominations which used the surnames of famous individuals as a street names arisen. The surnames of the religious persons, the founders of the city/village, the possessors of whole or the part of the city/village started to use for the designation of the settlement structural elements. The next step on this way was the commemorative practices which used

¹Lillebye E. The Architectural Significance of the Street as a Functional and Social Arena. *The Sustainable Street. The Environmental, Human and Economic Aspects of Street Design and Management*. Southampton and Boston: Wessex Institute of Technology Press. 2001. P. 3–44.

²Ayatac Hattice, Araz Selime. Influences of renaming streets on urban memory: the case of Turkey. *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience*, 17–21 July 2016. Vol. 04. P. 37.

the personal name of the famous person or event in street-naming process. As a result, one more function of the street name was appeared – the symbolic function. At the end, the French Revolution transformed this symbolic function into the significant political instrument of the influence³.

In parallel, the knowledge about the nature of the place names, the strategies and practices related with the place-names was transformed into the compound toponymic studies. In the beginning of the 21th century the urban names went beyond the boundaries of the linguistics and became multidisciplinary ‘branch of knowledge about the world’⁴, and a long list of the researchers and works deal with the contemporary urbanonymy exists, e.g. I. Crljenko, G. Gill, D. Light, G. Myers, E. Palonen, K. Podemski, B. Yeoh, Yu. Abdula, L. Beley, P. Dolhanov, S. Kovtiuch, V. Luchyk, H. Matsyuk, M. Takhtaulova etc.⁵.

The postindustrial societies institutionalize the street naming practices. Furthermore, the urban names are regarded as a part of the culture, as a maker of this culture with the great power of construction or destruction, and as an intricate symbol of it. Stephen Jett gives an excellent quote by Apache Keith Basso about the value and power of the place names in the human everyday life:

³ More detail see Azaryahu Maoz. Renaming the Past: Changes in “City Text” in Germany and Austria, 1945–1947. *History and Memory*. Indiana University Press, Vol. 2. № 2. 1990. P. 34.

⁴ Azaryahu Maoz, Golan Arnon. (Re)naming the landscape: The formation of the Hebrew map of Israel 1949–1960. *Journal of Historical Geography*. 2001. Vol. 27. Issue 2. P. 180.

⁵ Crljenko Ivana. The Renaming of Streets and Squares in Post-Socialist Croatian Town. *Language and society*. 2012. Issue 3. P. 230–241. Gill G. Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names. *The Russian Review*. 2005. № 64. P. 480–503. Light D. Street names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: exploring the modern historical geographies of post-socialist change. *Journal of Historical Geography*. 2004. Vol. 30. Issue 1. P. 154–172. Myers G. Naming and placing the Other: Power and the urban landscape in Zanzibar. *Critical toponymies: The contested politics of place naming*. Aldershot, UK and Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2009. P. 85–100. Palonen E. The city-text in post-communist Budapest: Street names, memorials, and the politics of commemoration. *GeoJournal*. 2008. Vol. 73. Issue 3. P. 219–230. Podemski K. Społeczna funkcja Dzielnic Zamkowej. *Odkryj Dzielnicę Zamkową*. Poznań, Moś i Łuczak Sp. J., 2011. S. 109–118. Yeoh B. Street names in colonial Singapore. *Geographical Review*. 1992. Vol. 82. Issue 3. P. 313–322. Yeoh B. Street-naming and nation-building: Toponymic inscriptions of nationhood in Singapore. *Area*. 1996. Vol. 28. Issue 3. P. 298–307. Абдула Ю. А. Перейменування населених пунктів Харківщини. *Студії з ономастики та етимології*. НАН України. Ін-т укр. мови. К., 2007. С. 3–7. Белей Л. О. Декомунізація топонімії: українські проблеми та європейський досвід. *Український тиждень*. 2015. № 16/17. С. 12–15. Долганов П. С. Ідеологічна деколонізація топонімічної системи вербальних маркерів Рівного. *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія соціологічна*. 2014. Вип. 8. С. 140–152. Ковтюх С. Л. Соціономастичні аспекти перейменувальних процесів в Україні. *Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету. Серія: мовознавство*. 2017. С. 160–165. Лучик В. В. Міські назви (урбанонімія). *Słowiańska onomastyka: encyklopedia*. Warszawa-Kraków, 2003. T. 2. С. 313–316. Мацюк Галина. Лінгвістичний ландшафт України як взаємодія мови та ідеології: минуле і сьогодення. *Мова і суспільство*. 2017. Вип. 8. P. 71–82. Тахтаулова Марія. Харківська топоніміка: етапи деколонізації. *Місто: історія, культура, суспільство*. 2017. С. 142–151.

“Place names are arguably among the most highly charged and richly evocative of all linguistic *symbols*. Because of their inseparable connection to specific localities, place names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations – associations of time and space, of history and events, of persons and social activities, of oneself and stages in one’s life. And in their capacity to evoke, in their compact power to muster and consolidate so much of what a landscape may be taken to represent in both personal and *cultural* terms, place names acquire a functional value that easily matches their utility as instruments of reference”⁶.

Such understanding of the urban place name makes possible to regard it as the cultural code.

1. Culture and Cultural Code

Culture. The notion *culture* has far more than a hundred definitions. That is why it is important to answer for the question: What does it mean culture? Here one can use the deployed definition-explanation by John J. Macionis from his *Sociology* which has had sixteen editions at 2017. Macionis considers *culture* as:

“...the beliefs, values, behavior and material objects shared by a particular people. [...] Culture is a way of life a number of people have in common. A society is a group of people who interact with one another within a geographical or political boundary and who share a culture. Obviously, neither society nor culture can exist without the other. [...] Culture provide the framework within which our life become meaningful”⁷.

The main idea of Macionis definition is that the culture needs human being, even more ‘a group of people’. And culture ‘as the beliefs, values, behaviour and material objects’ creates this group, is its glue. The instruments of culture-glue are language, mentality, history, arts, everyday life. If the French Revolution transformed the urban proper names, namely street and square names, into the political instrument, modernity transforms it into the material objects and elements of urban culture.

⁶Jett S. C. Landscape embedded in language The Navajo of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, and their named places. *Landscape in Language: Transdisciplinary perspectives*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011. P. 327–342. Basso Keith. Western Apache place-name hierarchies. In Naming Systems. *The 1980 Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society*. Washington DC: The American Ethnological Society. 1984. P. 78–94.

⁷Macionis John J. *Sociology*. Second edition. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989. P. 62.

Street and square names contain the information about the history of the place or space, the beliefs and values of the people or groups of these people, even the everyday practices of the habitants. Being the elements of urban culture, containing the complex many-sided information about the residents of the city as a cultural group and part of the nation, the geographical proper names become the *cultural codes*, the understanding of which gives us the key to the insight into the time and space, history and policy, everyday and/or intellectual/artistic/spiritual life of the society. As the elements of urban culture, the urban-name is ‘not just simple label referring to their denotata, but has a complex structure of meaning. The meaning of a proper name incorporates the speakers’ encyclopaedic knowledge about the entity bearing the name’⁸. Exactly such encyclopaedic nature of the urban name becomes the reason that these nominations can undergo the different external influences until up to modification, rewriting, erasing, and losing.

Cultural Code. Following Jenny Hyatt and Helen Simons one can explain the notion cultural codes as

“a secret system of words, symbols or behaviours that are used to convey messages that are contextually bound. Codes are generally expressed at an observable level, through verbal and non-verbal means, but they are the result of the effects of, and interaction with, the other levels of culture”⁹.

If the *cultural codes* are the ‘secret system’ this means that only the initiate or author understands what intrinsically this is about. This gives the opportunity to use these codes for different purposes. In our case, to use the street or square names for the creation of the symbolic space and getting the symbolic power – ‘a power of constructing reality’¹⁰. This constructed symbolic reality can be objectify for instance through the city map which one can read as a text with its own system of the *cultural codes-street names*. As follows, all names in the city space create the city-text where each concrete street, square, boulevard etc. name can be regard as the *cultural code* of this city-text.

⁸ Bölcskei Andrea. Culture Dependent Toponym Types: The Concept of SETTLEMENT in Different Cultures. *Onomastica*. URL: <http://www.gencat.cat/llengua/BTPL/ICOS2011/105.pdf>

⁹ Hyatt Jenny, Simons Helen. Cultural Codes – Who Holds the Key? The Concept and Conduct of Evaluation in Central and Eastern Europe. *Evaluation*. Vol. 5. Issue 1. 1999. P. 28.

¹⁰ Bourdieu Pierre. Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge: Polity Press. 1991. P. 166.

2. Soviet Heritage

The Soviet history of the street naming/renaming was started in Kyiv 1919 when the bolsheviks had proclaimed the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in Kharkiv on March, 10th. In spite of the fighting on the Kyiv streets took place, the bolsheviks have convoked the meeting of Commission of the City Economy in Kyiv. Only one question was discussed: the renaming of the streets, squares, and boulevards. The Commission met on February, 23rd 1919 and proposed to rename about 30 titles, mainly in the center. The newspaper of the Communist (bolshevik) Party “*Kievskiy Kommunist*” predicted this renaming February, 18th (№ 21 (29), p. 4) and 21th (№ 24 (32), p. 3). The information about the results of this procedure were published on February, 25th (№ 27 (35), p. 4) by the same newspaper. The list of the renaming looked like: *Luterskaia – Engelsa ulica, Alexandrovskaiia – Revoliucii ul., Tsarskaia ploshchad – pl. Internacionala, Levashovskaia – Libknekhta ul., Nikolskaia – ul. Vosstaniia, Alexandrovskaiia pl. – pl. Krasnaia, Institutskaia – Ul. 25 oktabria, Arsenalnaia ploshchad – pl. Revoliucii, Nikolaievskaiia – ul. Marksa, Bankovaia – ul. Kommunisticheskaia, Bibikovsky Bulvar – bulvar Tarasa Shevchenko, Tarasovskaia – ul. Ivana Franko, Pankovskaia – ul. Kociubinskogo, Karavaievskaiia – ul. Dragomanova, Bezakovskaia – ul. Ukrainskaia¹¹, Nazarievskaia – ul. Antonovicha, Tereshchenkivskaia – ul. Gercena, Kuzniechnaia – ul. Chernishevskogo, Funduklievskaia – proekt “Ulica Osvobozhdenia Truda”, Proreznaiia – ul. Radishcheva, Malaia Vasilkovskaia – ul. Sholom-Aleikhema, Mezhygorskaia – ul. Peretsa, Yaroslavskaia – ul. Mendele-Meikher-Soforima, Dumskaia ploshchad – pl. Sovietskia, Bolshaia Podvalnaia – Yaroslavov Val (the historic name), Bolshaia Zhitomirskaiia – ul. Mickevicha, Stolipinskaia – ul. Gershunia, Triokhsviatitelskaia – ul. Zherty Revoliucii (but exist the project to name the part of Triokhsviatitelskaia between the Michailovskyi monastery and Andreevskaiia church *Kniazhim Dvorom* – the historic name), *Tsarskyi I Kupiecheskyi sad – sad Pervogo Maia, Mariinskyi park – Sovietskyi park, Nikolaievskyi park – Universitetskyi park, Mariinsko-Blagovieshchenskaia – ul. Piatakova, Bulvarno-Kudriavskaiia – ul. Nero-novicha, Malaia Zhitomirskaiia – ul. Gorvica, Lipsky pereulok –**

¹¹ Very un-logical nomination. All streets in Ukraine are Ukrainian, or the bolsheviks regarded Kiev as non-Ukrainian city.

ul. Borisa Donskogo, Kudriavskaia – Kudriavec (the historic name), *Fabrichnaia – ul. Kreicberga, Kazarmennaia – ul. Vrublevskogo, Kerosinnaia – ul. Koli Kravchenko, Proviantskaia – ul. Gali Timofeievoi*; only *Kreshchatik, Pirogovskaia, Botanicheskaia, Glubochica*¹² did not rename.

From 1919, the Kyiv cityscape is permanently renaming. Initially the naming and renaming process were not supported by any official laws or decrees. The first Decree of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR “On the prohibition of renaming by the name of V.I. Ulyanov-Lenin without prior permission of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR”¹³ appeared on December, 28 1923 and began to regulate the renaming process in Ukraine as a part of the Soviet Union. From 1923 till 1935 there were seven Decrees of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR about the geographical objects naming and renaming. Eventually, in the 1936 the Decree of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR “On the termination of renaming cities, district centres and townships, and railway stations”¹⁴ suspended the large-scale state toponymic process in the USSR for twenty years. Only between 1957 and 1990 this process was renewed, and eight similar documents appeared. All these documents mentioned different geographical objects except of the street, square, boulevard or avenue. The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR from August, 13 1980 “On introducing changes and amendments to certain legislative acts of the USSR on the procedure for naming and renaming administrative-territorial units, settlements and other objects, as well as assigning them the names of state and public figures”¹⁵ took into the consideration the streets, and passed on the full powers of the naming/renaming process to the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics but in the frame of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR:

¹² All designations are given in the Russian transliteration because all were in Russian.

¹³ Постановление Президиума ЦИК СССР от 5 февраля 1924 г. “О воспрещении переименований именем В.И.Ульянова-Ленина без предварительного разрешения Президиума Центрального Исполнительного Комитета Союза ССР”. *Вестник ЦИК, СНК и СТО СССР*. 1924. N 2. ст. 31.

¹⁴ Постановление Президиума ЦИК СССР от 27 мая 1936 г. “О прекращении переименований городов, районных центров и местечек и железнодорожных станций” *СЗ СССР*. 1936. N 31. ст. 275.

¹⁵ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета от 13 августа 1980 г. N 2674-X “О внесении изменений и дополнений в некоторые законодательные акты СССР о порядке наименования и переименования административно-территориальных единиц, населённых пунктов и других объектов, а также присвоения им имен государственных и общественных деятелей”. URL: http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/ussr_5220.htm.

“The Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics determine the prescribing procedure of the state and public person’s names to the streets, squares and the other integral parts of the settlements in according with the principles of this Decree”¹⁶.

Thereby the republics, including the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, could influence the streets (and related objects) naming and renaming procedures. The first documents which considered the toponyms appeared in 1956, then two in 1965; but only in 1968 the Decree “On the procedure for assigning the names of state and public figures to the streets, squares and other constituent parts of settlements of the Ukrainian SSR”¹⁷ defined the order of the streets, squares, boulevards etc. naming and renaming. Also, the Law of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic “About the Council of the city, district of the city of people deputies of the Ukrainian SSR”¹⁸ on July, 15 1971 the Article 20 tells:

“In the area of housing, communal services and improvement, the City Council of People’s Deputies [...] 13) in accordance with the legislation, *shall name and rename the avenues, streets, alleys, places, squares, boulevards, parks, bridges and other structures that are in the territory of the Council* (emphasis added) [...]”¹⁹.

Consequently, the all-Union and Ukrainian Soviet legislation regulated the Soviet toponymic policy and created the common Soviet toponymic system according to the myth about the great free people state – USSR. As a result of this policy everyone Ukrainian settlement has *Lenina, Zhovtneva/Sovietskaja, Sovietskich kosmonavtov / tankistov, Sovietskoi armii / milicii/ Bukoviny, Komunistychna, Partijnoho Zjizdu,*

¹⁶ Президиумы Верховных Советов союзных республик определяют порядок присвоения имен государственных и общественных деятелей улицам, площадям и другим составным частям населенных пунктов в соответствии с принципами, содержащимися в настоящем Указе. URL: http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/ussr_5220.htm

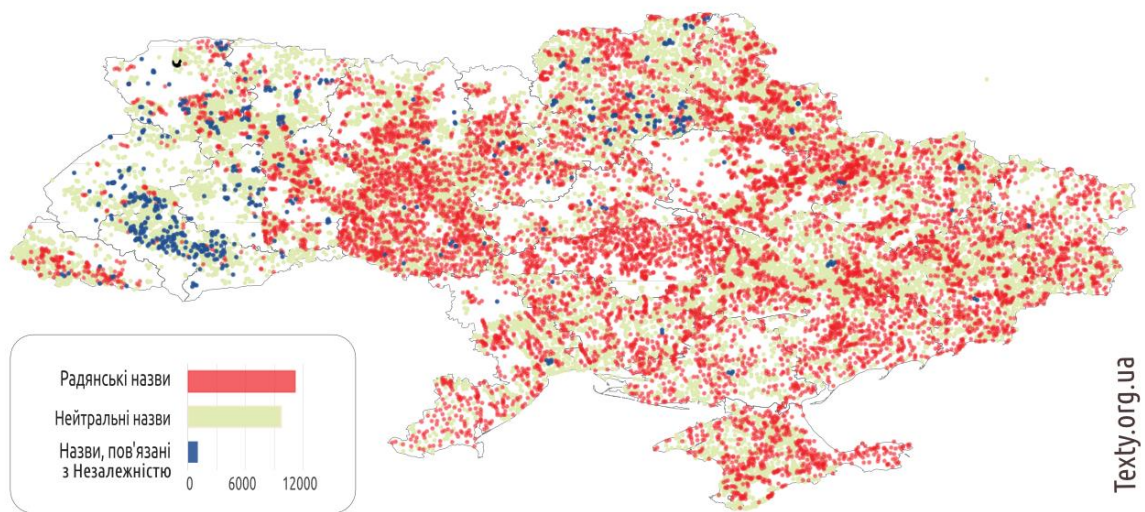
¹⁷ Указ Президії Верховної Ради Української РСР від 28 лютого 1968 року “Про порядок присвоєння імен державних і громадських діячів вулицям, площам та іншим складовим частинам населених пунктів Української РСР”. *Відомості Верховної Ради УРСР*. 1968. N 10. ст. 57. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua>.

¹⁸ Закон Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки “Про міську, районну в місті Раду народних депутатів Української РСР” від 13 грудня 1979 р., №5438-IX. URL: http://search.ligazakon.ua/l_doc2.nsf/link1/T710025.html.

¹⁹ Закон Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки “Про міську, районну в місті Раду народних депутатів Української РСР” від 13 грудня 1979 р., №5438-IX. URL: http://search.ligazakon.ua/l_doc2.nsf/link1/T710025.html. В галузі житлового, комунального господарства і благоустрою міська Рада народних депутатів: [...] 13) проводить відповідно до законодавства найменування і перейменування проспектів, вулиць, провулків, площ, скверів, бульварів, парків, мостів та інших споруд, які є на території Ради [...].

40/50-richchia SRSR, Leninskoho Komsomolu etc. streets, squares, avenues, districts.

At the <http://texty.org.ua>²⁰ one can find an excellent analyze of the soviet street names after more than twenty years of the Ukrainian independence. And Texty.org indicates that ‘although Soviet Union dissolved 24 years ago, one quarter – an impressive 25% – still have Soviet names’²¹. For instance, in 2012 *Lenina* street prevailed twenty times more, than *Nezalezhnosti* (see Picture 1. Ukraine 2012. The main street names²²).



Джерела: <http://rada.gov.ua>, <http://openstreetmap.org>, використані дані по 20 тисячам населених пунктів України

Picture 1. Ukraine 2012. The main street names

The analyze of the Ukrainian main street/square names, based on the 20 000 nominations from 30 000 settlements, authenticates the next ranking of the most popular streets with Soviet names in 2012: *Lenin* str./sq. – 4463, *Radianska* str./sq. – 945, *Myru* str./sq. – 616, *Zhovtneva* str./sq. – 529, *Haharina* str./sq. – 421, *Peremohy* str./sq. – 366,

²⁰ http://texty.org.ua/pg/article/editorial/read/61150/Chvert_ukrajinskyh_vulyc_nosat_radanski_nazvy_IN_TeRAKTYVNA; http://texty.org.ua/pg/blog/infoviz/read/37059/Navit_pisla_dvadcaty_rokiv_nezalezhnosti_sovok_prodozhuje; the Ukrainian version <http://texty.org.ua/d/streets2015/>, and the English version <http://texty.org.ua/d/streets2015/>; http://texty.org.ua/pg/article/devrand/read/37123/20_rokiv_Nezalezhnosti_Lenin_vse_nijak_ne

²¹ <http://texty.org.ua/d/streets2015/en.html>.

²² 20 років Незалежності: Ленін все ніяк не Goodbye! (ІНФОГРАФІКА). *Texty.org.ua*. URL: http://texty.org.ua/pg/article/devrand/read/37123/20_rokiv_Nezalezhnosti_Lenin_vse_nijak_ne

Pershotravneva str./sq. – 310, *Kirova str./sq.* – 245, and *Komsomolska str./sq.* – 154. The hall list is not complete and ‘includes not only the most famous figures of the period, but also cultural and social artifacts (e.g., everything associated with the most successful propaganda project of the Soviet Union)’²³. Approximately the same state of things is in Kyiv: *Lenin str./sq.* – 8, *Radianska str./sq.* – 4, *Myru str./sq.* – 4, *Zhovtneva str./sq.* – 5, *Haharina str./sq.* – 1, *Peremohy str./sq.* – 3, *Pershotravneva str./sq.* – 1, *Kirova str./sq.* – 6, and *Komsomolska str./sq.* – 4.

These eight the most frequency place names are far from being disparate elements. They belong to the certain toponymic clusters, viz. groups of similar place names correlated with similar events and practices of the social life. If regard the culture as something ‘refers to *everything* that is part of a people’s way of life’²⁴, place names deal with many aspects of the social human existence and incorporate the knowledge about time and space, history and events, persons and social activities. Consequently, each street name preserves the information or knowledge about the events and persons, place and time they designate. ‘Culture encompasses all the patterns of life within a society’²⁵ and clusters its. In this point the toponymic and cultural cluster overlap each other and the place name become its code. For example, square/street/bystreet/district name *Lenin* in Kyiv is a code of large cultural cluster titled as ‘Culture of the Proletarian Revolution and Struggle for the Soviet Power’ with the next groups of the designations ‘Lenin and his Family’ *Lenina str.*, *Leninska str.*, *Volodi Ulianova str.*, *Lenynskyi distr.* (1924, 1937; till 1992), *Leninskoho Komsomolu sq.*, *Leninhradska sq.*, *Illicha str.* *Ulianovykh bystr.*, *Krupskoi str.*; ‘Founders and Followers of Marxist Theory’ *Karla Marksa str.*, *Engelsa str.*, bystr., *Klary Tsetkin str.*, *Bonch-Bruievycha str.*, bystr., *Lunacharskoho sq.*, str., bystr.; ‘Combatants of the Proletarian Revolution’ *Kirova str.*, *Kirovska str.*, *Kirovohradska str.*, *Kirovskyi distr.* (1937); *Dzerzhynskoho sq.*, str., *Dniprodzerzhynska str.*; *Kalinina str.*, *Kalininhradska str.*, *Kalininska str.*; *Shaumiana str.*, bystr., *Shchorsa str.*, bystr., *Sverdlova str.*, bystr., *Frunze str.*, *Kotovskoho str.*, *Krasikova str.*, *Perovskoi str.*, *Plechanova str.*, *Podvoiskoho str.*, *Polupanova str.*, *Popudrenka str.* *Yakira str.* etc.; ‘the Artifacts and Concepts of the

²³ Вулиці незалежної України: навіть після двадцяти років ‘совок’ продовжує домінувати у назвах (і в головах?). *Texty.org.ua*. URL: http://texty.org.ua/pg/blog/infoviz/read/37059/Vulyci_nezalezhnoji_Ukrajiny_navit_pisla_dvadcatyrokiv

²⁴ Macionis John J. *Sociology*. Second edition. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989. P. 62.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

Proletarian Revolution' *Kreisera "Avrora"* str., bystr., *Kominternu* str., *Kominternu 1* bystr., *Kominternu 2* bystr., *Kominternu 3* bystr., *Komunistychna* str., *Proletarska* str., *Proletarskyi* bystr., *Socialistychna* str. Also, the toponyms *Komsomolska*, *Radianska* (Soviet) and *Zhovtneva* (October) belong to this cultural cluster. *Komsomolska* str., *Komsomolskyi* bystr., and composite unit *Leninskoho Komsomolu* sq., *Radianska* str., bystr., distr., *Zhovtneva* str., bystr., *40-richchia Zhovtnia* av., *Zhovtnevyi* distr. In Kyiv, the largest segment 'Culture of the Proletarian Revolution and Struggle for the Soviet Power' was created by the place names with the root *chevron-(red)*, e.g. *Chervona Presnia* sq., *Chervona* str., *Chervonyi* bystr., *Chervonoarmiiska* str., *Chervonoarmiiskyi 1* bystr., *Chervonoarmiiskyi 2* bystr., *Chervonoflotska* str., *Chervonohvardiiska* str., *Chervonohvardiiskyi* bystr., *Chervonopartyzanska* str., *Chervonopilska* str., *Chervonopraporna* str., *Chervonoprapornyi* bystr., *Chervonotkacka* str., *Chervonozavodska* str., *Chervonozavodskyi* bystr., *Chervonozorianyi* av.

The Kyiv Soviet urban names heritage covers three large clusters, namely 'Culture of the Proletarian Revolution and Struggle for the Soviet Power', 'Military Culture', and 'Culture of the Soviet *Belles Lettres* Canon'.

The codes of the military culture could have the explicit or/and implicit character. The explicit one uses the lexemes with the evident military semantics, for instance, *Barykadna* str., *Boiova* str., *Hvardiiska* str., *Harmatna* str., *Narodnoho opolchennia* str., *Pichotna* str., *Pikhotnyi* bystr., *Polkova* str., *Polkovyi* bystr., *Snaiperska* str., *Strilecka* str., *Strilkova* str., *Tankistiv* str., *Viiskova* str., *Viiskovyi* pass.; the concrete army ranks, e.g. *Marshala Biriuzova* str., *Marshala Budionnoho* str., *Budionnoho 1* bystr., *Budionnoho 2* bystr., *Marshala Grechka* str., *Marshala Govorova* str., bystr., *Marshala Zhukova* str., *Marshala Konieva* str., *Marshala Malinovskoho* str., *Marshala Rybalka* str., *Marshala Rokosovskoho* str., *Marshala Tymoshenka* str., *Marshala Tukhachevskoho* str., *Henerala Vatutina* av., *Henerala Vitruka* str., *Henerala Dovatova* str., bystr., *Henerala Zhmachenka* str., *Henerala Karbysheva* str., *Henerala Matykina* str., *Henerala Naumova* str., *Henerala Potapova* str., *Henerala Pukhova* str., *Henerala Rodymceva* str., *Henerala Tupikova* str., *Komandarma Kamenieva* str., *Komandarma Uborevycha* str., *Admirala Ushakova* str., *Polkovnyka Zatievachina* str., *Polkovnyka Potiekhina* str., *Polkovnyka Shutova* str.; and the word 'hero' linked with the name of war or soviet propaganda

cult of the war events, e.g. *Heroiv Bresta sq.*, *Heroiv Velykoi Vitchyznianoï Viiny sq.*, *Heroiv Viiny str.*, *Heroiv Dnipra str.*, *Heroiv Sevastopolia str.* even *Heroiv Stalingrada av.*

Vice versa, the implicit one uses the surname of the military person without any military distinguishing marks as *Bagriona str.*, *Kutuzova str.*, *Suvorova str.*, bystr., distr., *Vatutina str.*, *Vatutinskyi bystr.*, *Bliukhera str.*, *Budarina str.*, *Chkalova str.*, *Gastello str.*, *Laiosha Gavro str.*, *Kaisarova str.*, *Kotovskoho str.*, bystr., *Kovpaka str.*, *Kuzniecova str.* *Kyrponosa str.*, *Nachimova str.*, *Raievskoho str.*, *Rudnieva str.*, bystr., *Shepielieva str.*, *Sholudenska str.* *Tolbukhina str.*, bystr., *Yunkerova str.*, *Zholudieva str.* It is noticeable that the Russian surnames evidently prevalent and create the culture and space of the Russian military glory. Each of the Russian origin military place name is the code of this glory which is embodied in the vulgar idiom *diedy voievali*.

In the cluster 'Military Culture' the place names *Peremohy av.*, sq., str., *9 Travnia str.*, and *Myru av.*, str., bystr. are not only code the military culture, but obviously designate the Soviet version of the Second World War.

The third large cluster 'Culture of the Soviet *Belles Lettres Canon*' is overlapped by the long list of the writer surnames. These are the persons belonged to the soviet literature canon. Their texts served as an instrument of propaganda. Two large and one small person names groups by origin exist within this codes repertoire. These are the Ukrainian, Russian and foreigner (from the Soviet republics, and European) writer surnames. All authors had to be given to the Soviet system. Who had died before the Soviet state established was configured to the needs of the system. The number of the Ukrainian and the Russian surnames are the equal, and the list of the foreigners contains not more than two dozen surnames.

Taras Shevchenko, *Lesia Ukrainka*, *Ivan Franko* and *Mykola Hohol* are on the top of the Ukrainian list. Initially the proletarian revolution semantic have been attributed to the personality of *Shevchenko*, *Lesia Ukrainka* and *Franko*, and then their names was used as the codes of the culture of the proletarian revolution and the struggle for the Soviet power. According to the soviet propaganda *Hohol* belong to the Russian culture and correspond with the idea of the Ukrainian-Russian common nation and was the symbol of this unity. Some more place names from this cultural cluster, e.g. *Fedkovycha str.*, bystr., *Hrabovskoho str.*,

bystr., *Kobylianskoï* str., bystr., *Kvitky-Osnovianenka* str., bystr., *Nechuia-Levytskoho* str., bystr., *Panasa Myrnoho* str., bystr., *Kociubynskoho* str. (in three districts) etc. All of them were studied at school and high school, investigated by scientist, glorified by monuments.

The Russian list was lidded by *Gorki*, *Tolstoi*, *Lermontov*. The most popular was *Maksim Gorki*. The soviet literature studies named him ‘the flag of the proletarian revolution’ and used for the purpose of the soviet literature canon creation. The streets and bystreet by *Gorki* were in five districts of Kyiv. The same *Tolstoho* sq., str., bystr., metro were in three Kyiv districts; and *Lermontova* str., *Lermontova* bystr., *Lermontova 1* bystr., *Lermontova 2* bystr., *Lermontova 3* bystr., *Lermontova 4* bystr. were in one district.

Among the European names are, e.g. four Frenches *Onore Balzara* str., *Anri Barbiusa* str., *Ezhena Potie* str., *Romena Rollana* str.; two Czechs *Juliuša Fuchyka* str., *Jaroslava Hašek* str., two Poles *Adama Mickevycha* str., *Vandy Vasylevskoi* str. In a different way, all these people were involved to the idea of a world proletarian revolution.

Approximately two thousand streets/squares/avenues/boulevards were in the end of the 21th century in Kyiv. All of them had the names the overwhelming majority of which created the soviet toponymic culture. In the frame of this culture the codes of the proletarian revolution, struggle for the Soviet power, military power, and soviet literature canon evidently predominated. So the largest place name groups were the first candidates for renaming after the Soviet regime collapse, because the alien symbolic space must be changed if the society wants to live in its own reality.

3. New State (2014-2018)

As a rule, the new place names erase the previous history, destroy the old relations, and instead of writes a new history, creates new relations between the person and the place, as well as between the community and the place. The true essential transformation of the society takes place when not only people but the space are active. Such view is based on Henri Lefebvre thought:

“A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language, and on space”²⁶

²⁶ Lefebvre Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1991. P. 54.

The right for structuring and naming the urban space always belongs to the owners of this space, whoever they are. Anyone who labels the urban area, embodies their values, beliefs, and ideas in the city-text through the relevant nominative repertoire, and the author can be identified by this repertoire quite easily.

In Kyiv, the process of the street/square names change started one year before the official date of the USSR collapse. In February and April 1990 next place names occurred in Kyiv *Mala Zhytomyrska* str., *Prorizna* str., *Stritenska* str., *Anny Akhmatovoi* str., *Heorhiivskyi* bystr., *Kontraktova* sq., *Stepana Oliinyka* str., *Pokrovska* str., *Poliskyi* bystr., *Sofiivska* sq., *Onufriia Trutenka* str. Altogether 12 positions, and during the 24 years from 1990 to 2013 213 new street/square names have appeared in Kyiv city-text. Not so much compared with the period after the Revolution of Dignity. From 2014 to 2018 in the frame of Decomunization²⁷ 222 new street/square names had a place to be.

The name repertoire has changed radically, but the cultural toponymic clusters have not undergone the same radical transformation. Naturally ‘Culture of the Proletarian Revolution and Struggle for the Soviet Power’ disappears, and the cluster of ‘Religious Culture’ appears instead of, e.g. *Papy Ivana Pavla II* str., *Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyckoho* str., *Mytropolyta Volodymyra Sabadana* str., *Patriarkha Volodymyra Romaniuka* str., *Patriarkha Mstyslava Skrypnyka* str., *Otcia Anatolia Zhurakovskoho* str., *Avhustyna Voloshyna* str., *Iordanska* str., *Vyflyiemska* str., *Sviatyshchenska* str., *Voznesenskyi Uzviz* str., *Kyrylivska* (near Kyrylivska church) str., *Preobrazhenska* str., *Khrestovyi* bystr.

‘Culture of the Soviet *Belles Lettres* Canon’ changes into much smaller cluster ‘Culture of National Ukrainian *Belles Lettres* Canon’, and the prohibited names come to the life together with the information and knowledge about the Ukrainian prohibited literature, Ukrainian literature in Diaspora, the concept of national identity included in these authors’ texts. For instance, *Ihoria Kachurovskoho* str., *Panteleimona Kulisha* str., *Ievhena Malaniuka* str., *Yuria Klena* str., *Hryhoriia Chupryny* str. Also ‘Culture of National Ukrainian *Belles Lettres* Canon’ becomes part of the large cluster ‘Intellectual and Creative Culture’ which covers ‘Culture of Knowledge’, e.g. *Mykhaila Maksymovycha* str. (first rector of St. Volodymyr University), *James*

²⁷ See more <http://www.memory.gov.ua/page/dekomunizatsiya-0>

Mace str. (professor), *Mykoly Holeho* str. (doctor of technical sciences), *Yanusha Korczaka* str. (doctor, teacher), *Akademika Oppokova* str., *Yevhena Sverstiuka* str. (philosopher), *Mykoly Lukasha* str. (interpreter), *Yuriia Sheveliova* str. (professor), *Stefana Taranushchenka* str. (professor), *Yakova Shulhyna* str. (professor), *inzhenera Borodina* str., *Akademika Yefremova* str. (philologist, vice president of the Academy of Sciences) etc.; ‘Fine Art Culture’, for example, *Ally Horskoï* str. (painter), *Mykhaila Boichuka* str. (painter, professor), *Kvitky Tsisyk* str. (singer), *Yevhenii Miroshnychenko* str. (opera singer), *Ivana Mykolaichuka* str. (actor, film director, screenwriter), *Serhiia Pradzhanova* str. (film director), *Oleksandra Archypenka* str. (painter), *architektora Kobelieva* str. etc.; ‘Culture of Political Being’, e.g. *Vaclava Havela* str., *Valeria Marchenka* str. (human rights defender, dissident, political prisoner), *Mytrofana Dovnar-Zapolskoho* str. (public figure), *Volodymyra Vynnychenka* str. (political and state figure, writer, painter), *Viacheslava Lypynskogo* str. (an ideologue of the Ukrainian statehood, ambassador), *Kyryla Osmaka* str. (the member of the Central Council of Ukraine, Ukrainian National Republic), etc.

The cluster ‘Military Culture’ does not change the title but the content. All soviet symbols are rewritten by the symbols of Ukrainian military history and culture. The structure of the names repertoire transforms completely. If in the soviet military canon were the names of the Soviet and Russian famous people, the contemporary Ukrainian canon is created by the Ukrainian heroes which are far from the Soviet/Russian culture. The main subgroups are ‘the Ukrainian Heroes of the Contemporary Russian-Ukrainian War in the East of Ukraine’, e.g. *Ruslana Luzhevskoho* str. (1975-2014), *Yevhena Kharchenka* str. (1987-2014), *Georgia Toporovskoho* str. (1996-2014), *Yuria Popravky* str. (1995-2014), *Yurisa Paskhalina* (1984-2014), *Antona Cedika* str. (1987-2014), *Ihoria Branovyckoho* str. (1976-2015); ‘the participants of Ukrainian independence movement’, e.g. *Vasyliia Kuka* str. (the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), *Marka Bezruka* str. (heneral-horunzhyi of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), *Vsevoloda Petriva* str. (heneral-horunzhyi of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army); ‘the participants of the wars of the early twentieth century’, e.g. *Vasyliia Sukhenka* str. (the pilot of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic), *Petra Bolbochana* str. (the colonel of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic), *Henerala Almazova* str. (heneral-horunzhyi of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic), *Mykhaila Omelianovycha-*

Pavlenka str. (heneral-horunzhyi of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic), *Yevhena Konovalcia* str. (the colonel of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic), *Volodymyra Naumovycha* str. (the participant of the Battle of Kruty), *Volodymyra Shulhyna* str. (the participant of the Battle of Kruty), etc.; ‘the Cossack Age’, e.g. *Ivana Bohuna* str., *Petra Kalnyshevskoho* str., *Kostia Hordiiienka* str., *Petra Doroshenka* str.

The soviet propaganda concept *Velikaia Otechestvennaia Voina* was rewritten by the Second World War and only one name joined with this phenomenon arises in new Kyiv urban place names repertoire *Oleksii Beresta* str. (the lieutenant of the Red Army, hero of Ukraine). Such order of things takes place because not all names of the military persons got under the decommunization, and as a result this subgroup contains new designations and from the Soviet times. According to the decommunization legislation the next groups of the place names must be change the units associated with the usage of the name of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, other Soviet republics and their derivatives; with the activities of the Communist Party of the USSR; with the anniversaries of the October Revolution; with the establishment of the Soviet power in Ukraine or in its administrative units; with the prosecution of fighters for Ukraine’s independence. Also, the names or pseudonyms of the persons who occupied managerial positions in the Communist Party, senior government and administration of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and other Soviet republics, and employees of the KGB. Exceptions to the law are the names associated with prominent Soviet figures of Ukrainian science and culture, as well as with the movement of resistance to the Nazi occupation and their expulsion from Ukraine²⁸.

The place names repertoire of the contemporary Kyiv is under transformation process. The concrete names change but the toponymic structure still preserve. The main semantic tendencies naturally relate to the national identity construction (include the religious segment), military defense and building of the state.

CONCLUSIONS

Each time, when someone says, asks, indicates, writes the street name, consciously or unconsciously actualized the events associated with this name, the story of person or phenomenon in the frame of the

²⁸ See more <http://www.memory.gov.ua/page/dekomunizatsiya-0>

story of the society they belong, according to the culture of this society. A great story is embodied in one word. For instance, *Volodymyra Vynnychenka* str. tells as about the Ukrainian history not only of Vynnychenko but of the first modern Ukrainian state, the tragedy of Russian invasion, the price of political mistakes etc., etc. There is no any opportunity to write the long stories on the city wall but they are coded in the toponyms. And even so simple street names as *Vereskovi* bystr., *Nektarna* str., *Bdzholyni* bystr., *Hrechanyi* bystr., *Vulykova* str. represent the old Ukrainian beekeeping culture *bortnyctvo* dated by 16th cen. There is no any opportunity to write the long stories on the city walls but they are encrypted in the toponyms, and everyone of each is the symbolic code of some story. Actually, “[g]eographical names are also an intricate kaleidoscope of elements in which is written the story of mankind and so they are part of the cultural heritage of humankind”²⁹

Nowadays the Ukrainian society pass through the complex social and cultural transformations. Often these transformations are revolutionary, and this is manifested in the ‘creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language, and on space’. That is why 222 new street/square names have a place to be after the Revolution of Dignity versus 213 during the previous 24 years. The codes of the proletarian revolution and soviet past are under the decomunization process and replace by national codes. Completely new names occur in Kyiv streets related with the religious culture, the culture of the military defense, struggle against Russia which one could hardly imagined in soviet ages. These processes are extremely complex, ambiguous, often permeated with conflict. In effect the entire community consciously or unconsciously, actively or passively is involved the process of the renaming, rewriting the past and creating new urban text using the symbolic code which “are the accumulation of years of experience rooted in historical traditions”³⁰. This experience can be own or alien, and the urban space with its cultural codes similarly.

SUMMARY

The article deal with the problem of the correlation between the urban place names and the culture. It has been determined that the

²⁹ Cantile Andrea. Place names as intangible cultural heritage: potential and limits. *Place names as intangible cultural heritage*. IGMI – Firenze, 2016. P. 11–16.

³⁰ Hyatt Jenny, Simons Helen. Cultural Codes – Who Holds the Key? The Concept and Conduct of Evaluation in Central and Eastern Europe. *Evaluation*. Vol. 5. Issue 1. 1999. P. 28.

street/square names are a part of the culture, a maker of this culture with the great power of construction or destruction. They contain the information about the history of the place or space, the beliefs and values of the people or groups of these people, the everyday practices of the inhabitants. Being the elements of urban culture, containing the complex many-sided information about the residents of the city as a cultural group, the geographical proper names become the cultural codes. Each time, when someone says, asks, indicates, writes the street name, consciously or unconsciously actualized the events associated with this name, the story of person or phenomenon in the frame of the story of the society they belong, according to the culture of this society. Also, in the article the thesis that the true essential transformation of the culture takes place when not only people but the space are on the stage is highlighted. The Soviet and the contemporary Ukrainian urban toponymic portraits were investigated and described.

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