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WARSAW AND KYIV LODGING ESTABLISHMENT NAMES OF THE EARLY 20TH CENT.¹

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Lodging establishments (hotels, inns, etc.) belong to those businesses that, while providing their customers with goods and services, can supplement these with an attractive image, which is then conferred upon the customer and affects the way he is perceived by himself and others. Such an image can become a major asset of a product or service, even surpassing its purely utilitarian qualities. An important, and in some cases the only means of creating and conveying this image is the name of the merchandise or the establishment. An image-projecting name can subsequently be replicated, borrowed or, if it is protected legally, mimicked by others. Considerations determining the choice of a name for a venue can be other than strictly commercial, on the one hand, or simply informative, on the other, since the values this name manifests can be of an altogether different, more exalted nature.

¹ Wkład autorów w powstanie tekstu jest równy i wynosi po 50%.

The present paper is concerned with the comparative socio-cultural characteristic of lodging establishment names in Warsaw and Kyiv at the beginning of the 20th cent. as registered in two contemporary business directories: *Adresy Warszawy 1909* and *Адресная и справочная книга "Весь Киев" на 1911 г.* (hereafter, AW and VK, respectively), with some additional data drawn from *Księga adresowa Królestwa Polskiego na rok 1907* (КАКР). At that time, both cities belonged to the Russian Empire, Warsaw being the capital of the Polish Kingdom and Kyiv the centre of the Kyiv Governate. Historically, however, from 1569 till 1795, Warsaw, and till 1686, Kyiv, were of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and as late as the early 20th cent., the Polish community still played a pronounced role in Kyiv.² On a larger scale, the cities also belonged to the common European linguistic-cultural area. From the end of the 19th cent., both had been rapidly developing as centres of commerce and industry (Tron'ko 1968: 129–135, 166–174; Drozdowski, Zahorski 1981: 242–261).

All this, besides linguistic considerations proper, provides an extralinguistic *tertium comparationis* for contrasting the sets of Varsovian and Kyivan names of hotel businesses. From a linguistic perspective, this comparison will establish more or less general parallels as well as differences in names and naming patterns, yielding results that, when interpreted against their social and cultural background, can make it possible to establish practices, trends and fashions in coining business, or commercial, names³, on one hand, and, on the other, will provide new and valuable insights into the systemic status of such items as well as the structural organization and dynamics of onomastic systems, in particular, the specificity of proper name formation and further usage, including deonomastic derivation. Furthermore, this comparative research will help to elucidate the interplay of sociocultural factors behind the choice of such names, however difficult the reconstruction of this interplay may be, in particular, due to the plurality and subjectivity of factors involved.

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- 2 Quantitatively, Poles were the third, and in 1917, the second, largest ethnic group (Pavlovs'kij 1994: 1011), with Polish spoken in the university, theatres, shops, eateries and elsewhere (Starić'kij 1990: 401).
 - 3 Following the tenets of a comparative onomastic approach as presented in the pioneer works of Robert Mrózek and Vincent Blanár, Artur Gałkowski argues in his 2008 monograph, that such research can show common tendencies in the chrematonimicon of united Europe (Gałkowski 2008: 58); see also the goals of comparative research of street naming set in: Baldwin, Grimaud 1989: 115–116. With respect to hotel names, see Patryk Borowiak's research, e.g., Borowiak 2016.

Analysis and Discussion

In AW and VK, references to lodging houses are grouped under several headings. Both publications separately list hotels proper (*hotele, гостиницы*⁴) and furnished rooms (*pokoje umeblowane, меблированные комнаты*); AW has 38 and 93 such entries (AW: 215–216, 548–550), and VK 76 and 45 entries (VK: 1013–1014, 1067), respectively. Besides, AW includes a group called *Pensjonaty / Пансионаты / Pensions de famille / Pensionen (Familien-)* with 15 entries (AW: 515).

Some Kyiv hotel entries only mention the proprietor's name and address (together with the telephone number sometimes). Yet the majority of Kyiv hotels and all of them in Warsaw are represented by their names. So do most Kyivan furnished rooms, while the entries referring to Varsovian ones, as well as *Pensjonaty*, mostly indicate their owner and address.

The names of lodging facilities are predominantly eponyms, that is, deonomastic items, derived from place names either by means of semantic derivation (*Rosja, Savoy; Киев, Лувр*) or (in AW far more often) through suffixal derivation (*Angielski, Херсонская*). As its borderline constituents, we also include in this group eponymic names genetically related to chrematonyms denoting cultural and historical landmarks,⁵ e.g., the Parisian palatial complexes *Versailles, Palais Royal, and Louvre*.

Among these eponyms, there are few named after a landmark or a place in the vicinity of the lodging facility, so that their inner form is motivated by contiguity between this facility and a spatial object close to it. This pattern is seen in the name of the furnished rooms *Александровские*, called so after *Александровская* Street they were located in, and *Днепровский Порт* in the proximity of an inland port on the river Dnieper; cf. also not strictly eponymic *Вокзальные* on *Безаковская* Street that led directly to the railway station (Russian *вокзал*).

The furnished rooms *Печерские* were located in the neighbourhood of *Печерськ* (Russian *Печерск*), which referred, through its inner form, to *Киево-Печерська лавра*, the Kyiv Dormition Monastery of Caves. The *Lavra* was a famous pilgrimage destination and owned a hotel with an informative name *Лаврская*.

The onomasiological relationship between the name and an underlying item can be more or less complex. For instance, the designation of the hotel *Brühlowski* originates, in the final analysis, from the name of Heinrich, count von Brühl (1700–1763), a Polish-Saxon statesman (EP: 77). Actually, however, its relation to the underlying item is more complicated, since the hotel was situated in Kotzebue Street (now

4 Polish items are reproduced in this paper as spelt in the sources, whereas Russian ones are presented in accordance with modern orthography. In AW, the names of business groups are also given in Russian, French, and German besides Polish.

5 For discussion of the scope of the category of chrematonym, see: Kosyl 2001; Breza 2005; Gałkowski 2008: 15–50.

Aleksandra Fredry), whose former name (until 1879) was *Brylowska*⁶ (< *Bryl* being a Polonized form of German *Brühl*). Since the street was laid on Brühl's eponymous palace property, the hotel was close enough to this palace to be associated with both the street and the edifice, while the palatial association also bestowed the connotation of affluence and prestige. Similarly, a double spatial motivation can be traced in the inner form of the name of the *Театральная* hotel in Kyiv, which was situated at 3 *Театральная* street close to the rear side of the Kyiv City Theatre.

In the rest of the detoponymic hotel names, their relation to the underlying item is essentially different. For instance, *Savoy* (58 Nowy Świat) basically corresponds to *Savoy*, the name of a historical region in present-day France. Arguably, however, the underlying entity from which the designation of the Warsaw hotel was coined was the name of the iconic London luxury hotel, which opened in 1889 and whose name reproduced that of the place where first the Savoy Palace, and then the Savoy Hospital used to stand. These, in their turn, were named after Count Peter of Savoy, to whom the place was granted by Henry III (Thornbury 1878: 95–100). At the turn of the 20th century and later, the hotel's name was given to other venues of the same kind all over the world, see (Denby 1998: 300–303 and elsewhere). Similarly, the eponymous London theatre, also built on the same premises (Ainger 2002: 193), set a precedent for naming theatres and cinemas. As testified by a search in *Google Maps* or *Tripadvisor*, 'Savoy' as a theatre and especially hotel name is still in use all over Europe and even beyond. So, this lexeme has become a disembodied proper name, in that it has turned into an onomastic entity that is not (so much) associated with, and motivated by, its original referent; rather, it has entered the stock of, so to say, ready-made proper names (and, one may add, their models), present in the language system and waiting to be applied to more or less appropriate objects. The notion of a disembodied name was introduced by Sir Alan Gardiner,⁷ who cited a French official catalogue of first names as an example of a codified set of such items. In our case, however, the name *Savoy* became an international stock item through the process in which it was repeatedly borrowed as a designation that, due to its initial reference, projected the image of a stylish and luxurious establishment. Thus, names prototypically associated with prestigious venues and therefore fashionable get re-employed as performative naming items through a kind of eponymic metaphor, which imparts their original connotation to their new *denotata*. The wider applicability of such disembodied onomastic items is not unlike brand name generification.⁸ In this case, however, a proper name turns into a common name or even verb, such as English

6 Szczypiorski 1968: 65; additional information on Warsaw hotels and their localities was drawn from the site of "Warszawa1939.pl" Fund (Fundacja).

7 Gardiner 1954: 9–11. On the applicability of the dis-/embodied proper distinction in onomastic and eponymic studies, see: Yermolenko 2021.

8 On this, see: Yermolenko 2019: 204–205.

xerox ‘a photocopy; make a photocopy’, whereas a venue name repeatedly used beyond its original reference still remains a proper name.

The denotata of the remaining detoponymic designations may or may not be contiguous with the denotata of the underlying items; with these designations, it is a name itself that mattered, rather than its objective extralinguistic motivation. Since they are for the most part derived from city names, more often than not those of capitals (and also names of some other general geographical entities and features), it seems both natural and feasible to analyse them in terms of how they are distributed between states on the contemporary political map of the world.

From this viewpoint, the Varsovian items fall into the following subgroups:

- 1) the Russian Empire: 1.1. *Kowieński, Wileński* (the underlying toponyms referred to places within the then Polish Kingdom as part of the Russian Empire, and previously, that is, before the partitions of 1772–1795, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth);⁹ 1.2. *Polski, Rosja* (in KAKP registered as *Rossya*);¹⁰
- 2) the German Empire (by far the most numerous subgroup): 2.1. *Berliński, Drezdeński, Hamburski, Lipski, Poznański, Wrocławski* (Poznań and Wrocław being Polish cities in the German part of the partitioned country, and *Drezno* and *Lipsk* the capital and a major city in Saxony, historically a neighbouring German state whose Electors were the Kings of Poland between 1697 and 1763¹¹); 2.2. *Niemiecki, Saski*;
- 3) the Austro-Hungarian Empire: *Krakowski* (the name of the old capital, and so very much Polish), *Wiedeński*;
- 4) other European countries: 4.1. Great Britain: *Londyński*; 4.2. France: *Paryski; Versal* (a Polonized form of French *Versailles*); 4.3. Italy: *Rzymski, Wenecki*;
- 5) more general indications: *Europejski; du Nord*;
- 6) places outside Europe: *Pretoria; Transwaal* (after the South African capital and the South African Republic’s alternative name respectively, whose association with South Africa’s struggle for independence would have connotations significant for the Polish society).

It will be noted that the hotel with the name *Du Nord* ‘(hotel) Północy or Północny’ (6 Nowolipki Street) was situated in the Western, rather than Northern, part of Warsaw, which, together with its French name, arguably points to its being

9 The telling hotel name *Polonia*, Latin for *Polska*, was to appear on Warsaw’s linguistic landscape and in the city’s signage in 1913. It is pointed out on the today’s hotel’s website that “its founder, Konstanty G. Przeździecki, chose the name to remind all Poles that, despite not being recognized as an independent state, Poland should always exist in hearts and minds of all its citizens” (<https://www.poloniapalace.com/our-history>).

10 In the KAKP Warsaw hotel list, there are also *Grodzieński* (< *Grodno*, Byelorussian *Гродна*), *Płocki* (< *Płock*, a city in central Poland), and *Petersburski* (KAKP: 47–49).

11 KAKP also lists the hotel *Augustowski*, probably named after August III of Poland, Polish *August Sas*, of the Saxon dynasty of Wettin, known as a patron of the arts (EP: 26–27).

a replica of a fairly common European hotel name, found, together with *hotels du Sud*, *(de) l'Ouest*, and *l'Est*, in France and other Francophone European countries as well as elsewhere. On the other hand, however, a possible additional motivation for the choice of that particular name was a well-known description of Warsaw as *Paryż Północy* ('Paris of the North'), see WPP.

In Kyiv, as in Warsaw, the "toponymic" lodging establishment were predominantly named after cities, e.g.,

- 1) the Russian Empire: 1.1. *Либава* (now *Liepāja*, a city in Latvia, called *Либава* or *Libau* while in the Russian Empire, see FGN), *Киев*, *Петербургская*, *Херсонская*¹²; *Бендерские* (< *Бендеры*, a city in Bessarabia), *Владикавказ* (a city at the foothills of the Caucasus Mountains), *Кронштадт* (a city and a naval base near St. Petersburg); 1.2. *Великороссийская* (< *Великороссия* 'Great Russia,' a name referring to Russia proper, i.e., to the part of Russia other than Small and White Russias), *Древняя Русь*, *Новая Русь* (apparently an archaically styled variant of *Новороссийская губерния*, the southernmost part of European Russia bordering on the Black Sea, now mostly part of Ukraine), *Россия*, *Русское подворье* (*подворье* an obsolete substantive denoting an inn or a hotel (Dal' 1999: 166), *Таврида* (a historical and poetical name of the Crimean Peninsula); *Крымские*, *Украина* (then an unofficial and also markedly Ukrainian name of what officially was called *Малороссия*), *Юго-Западные* (*Юго-Западный край* was a collective name for three governates of right-bank Ukraine: the Kyiv, Podillia, and Volhynia governates), *Юг*, *Южные* (most probably also referring to what is now the southern part of Ukraine or Ukraine and Bessarabia);
- 2) France: 2.1. *Лион*, *Марсель*, *Руан*, 2.2. *Савой* (situated, similar to its Warsaw namesake, in the city's very centre, Kreshchatyk Street), *Франсе*, *Хеанция* (corrupted *Франция?*); *Французские*; 2.3. (hotels with chrematonymic names) *Версаль*, *Лувр*, *Пале-Рояль*;
- 3) Swiss: 3.1. *Женева* (a hotel and a boarding house), *Отель Женева*, *Сион* (cf. *Sion*, a town in Swiss); 3.2. *Швейцария*, *Швейцарские*;
- 4) Italy: 4.1. *Рим*, *Сан-Ремо*; *Венеция*, *Неаполь*, *Римские*, *Флоренция* 4.2. *Италия*;
- 5) Great Britain: 5.1. *Бристоль*, *Лондон*; 5.2 *Англия*;
- 6) The Austro-Hungarian Empire: 6. 1. *Вена*, *Прага*; *Краковские*, *Краков*; 6.2. *Австрия*, *Тироль*;
- 7) The German Empire 7.1. *Берлин*; 7.2. *Германские*, *Саксонские*;
- 8) more general toponymic entities: *Большая Северная*, *Европейская*, *Европейские*;
- 9) outside Europe: *Америка*.

12 Cf. also *Невская* (< *Нева*, the river associated with imperial Russia's capital).

Thus, as distinguished from the German- and Polish-oriented toponymic names of Warsaw hotels, Kyiv ones were predominantly related to the Russian Empire and France. At the same time, alongside different preferences in toponymic naming, there are items whose semantic inner form corresponds to Warsaw ones: Большая Северная / Du Nord, Европейская / Europejski, Россия / Rosja, Берлин / Berliński, Вена / Wiedeński, Лондон / Londyński, Рим / Rymski, Савой / Savoy.

The non-toponymic names of Warsaw lodging establishments are: Central, Continental, Grand Garni, Handlowy, Kupiecki, Metropole, National, Passage, Royal, Słowiański,¹³ Sport, Victorja; Minerwa, Syrena, Pension. Judging, among other things, from their French spelling (French being a lingua franca of the period¹⁴), the bombastic and glamorous¹⁵ designations: Central, Continental, Grand Garni, Metropole, National, Passage, Royal (and, *mutatis mutandis*, Victorja and Pension¹⁶) are international disembodied hotel names,¹⁷ whose pretentiousness and pomposity are explained not so much by their original appellative meaning as by the mimicking of prestigious venues' names. At the same time, their relation to their respective prototypical counterparts (not necessarily French) might have already been obscured, however retaining at least some of their original connotations, cf., for instance, the Metropole Hotel in London, built in 1885 in London in the vicinity of the Westminster Palace, Hotel Metropole of Vienna (opened in 1873), etc. Although applied to much more modest venues in Warsaw, two names of mythological figures, Minerwa and Syrena, too, belonged to the international set of staple hotel names. At the same time, in Warsaw, whose coat of arm dating back to the 14th cent. features *syrena* (that is, a mermaid) on a red field (EP: 656), Syrena conveyed a connotation of Polishness as well. As regards Passage, it should be added that, as its address (60 Długa) indicates, it was part, or in some other way connected with, Pasaż Simonsa, a trade and service facility at the intersection of Długa and Nalewki Streets. It will also be noted that a passage or passageway (French *passage*, Polish *pasaż*) as a kind of alley between houses or streets covered with a glass roof and housing shops was associated with Paris, cf.: "Kiedy jednak bliżej zapoznał się z Paryżem, z jego bulwarami przy wieczornym oświetleniu, z mnóstwem pasażów o szklanych dachach, błyszczących nocą jak salony od rześkiego światła..." (Władysław Daniłowski, *Notatki do pamiętników*, Kraków 1908¹⁸).

13 In AW, there are also a restaurant (AW: 229), a creamery (ibid.: 259) and a bakery (ibid.: 572) of this name.

14 It should be noted, however, that Polish toponymic names, too, might have had an alternative French variant, e.g., the street signboard of the *Saski* hotel was *Hotel de Saxe*.

15 Following Kwiryna Handke (2005: 293), these suggestive "grand" names can also be qualified as expressive.

16 *Victoria* as a hotel name is arguably of English origin, stemming from *The Grosvenor Hotel at Victoria*, which opened in 1862 as a railway hotel in Victoria Station (Denby 1998: 46–49).

17 See: ibid.: 300–303 and elsewhere.

18 <https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/pasaz;5470180.html>.

Hotel garni is in itself an appellative collocation of French origin denoting ‘a lodging-house providing bed and breakfast only’ (ShOED), but as a proper name of a Warsaw hotel, apart from deriving from the afore-mentioned collocation, it could also have been modelled after the similar designation of some other establishment (or establishments), such as *Grandhotel Garni* opened in 1905 in the Czech town of Jihlava (German *Iglau*).

In VK, the subgroup of non-toponymic names principally consists of “grand” international designations with French form (if not origin),¹⁹ some of which have Warsaw parallels: cf. *Бель Этаж*, *Виктория Гранд-Отель* (cf. *Victorja* in Warsaw), *Империаль*, *Интернационал*, *Большая Национальная* and *Национальная* (cf. *National*), *Континенталь* (cf. *Continental*), *Люнивер* (cf. French *l’universe* ‘cosmos,’ also recurrent as a commercial name), *Метрополь* (cf. *Metropole*), *Универсаль*, *Франсуа* (*Hotel François*, where the second lexeme is either the Christian name or the obsolete form of the adjective *français* ‘French,’ the name apparently chosen by a hotelier with the Polish surname *Голомбек*, cf. Polish *gołqbek*, due to its French origin, see Pêtuškova 2018), *Эрмитаж* (cf., e.g., the famous *L’Hôtel Ermitage Monte-Carlo*, opened at the end of the 19th cent. in Monaco, as well as numerous other instances of employing this word as a chrematonym). While occurring also elsewhere, in Russia the hotel name *Дазмар* was associated with the name of Marie Sophie Frederikke Dagmar of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, Princess Dagmar of Denmark, who became Empress Consort of Russia after marrying Emperor Alexander III.

The remaining items of this group are *Коммерческая* and *Купеческая*, which correspond to the Warsaw hotel names *Handlowy* and *Kupiecky*, respectively, as well as *Надежда* (<feminine first name *Надежда*, lit. ‘hope’) and *Орион* (‘Orion’), a hunter in Greek mythology and a winter constellation named after him.

Conclusions

The comparison carried out in this study was, on the one hand, synchronous and, on the other, diatopic in that its object was two sets of hotel names related approximately to the same time period and to two different localities, which were simultaneously similar and different in terms of socio-cultural appurtenance. Our comparison showed not only that these two sets were natural (or holistic) systemic groupings rather than random collections of miscellaneous onomastic items; also, these sets can be considered two manifestations of a larger systemic entity realized synchronously at different places and within different language areas. In terms of their

19 While in VK all such names are transliterated into Cyrillic script characters, photographs show that appearing on hotel signboards, they actually could be written in French.

motivation, the choice of names for hotels manifests an intention to affect rather than inform, and to reproduce the traditional and time-honoured items (such as iconic toponyms and chrematonyms) rather than create something new and original.

Semiotically, items in these sets should be treated as representing not only objects they designate but also the systemic items they reproduce. That is to say, in order to fully grasp and explain the implications of similarities and differences between the two sets and their sources, one should interpret them from a much wider perspective as well, that is, as belonging to what may be termed a common European cultural-linguistic area and so reflecting the latter's socio-cultural dynamics, in particular, the emergence of onomastic innovations and their subsequent proliferation and turning into disembodied eponyms. This is, of course, a huge but at the same time meaningful and feasible task. Even if, due to various objective and subjective limitations and hindrances, one cannot tackle this problem in all its details for the time being, one should bear in mind the existence and relevance of their common European linguistic and cultural environment when researching entities of this kind.

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Warsaw and Kyiv Lodging Establishment Names of the Early 20th Cent.

Abstract

The article presents a case study in comparative socio-onomastics of the pan-European linguistic-cultural area. In analysing the names of Warsaw and Kyiv hotels of the early 20th century and their extralinguistic motivations, the authors show that despite the differences of the languages, national-cultural orientations and popularity of certain orthonyms, the names in question were manifestations of a common European onomastic system in this industry both on the level of individual names and their semantic models. As part of the European onomastic system, the names studied here also reflect the dynamics of this system, such as the expansion of onomastic novelties and their transformations into proper names.

Nazwy warszawskich i kijowskich hoteli na początku XX w.**Abstrakt**

Artykuł zawiera studium przypadku w zakresie komparatywnej socjoonomastyki ogólnoeuropejskiego obszaru językowo-kulturowego. Analizując formę wewnętrzną nazw hoteli warszawskich i kijowskich z początku ubiegłego wieku oraz jej motywacje zewnątrzjęzykowe, autorzy pokazują, że mimo odmienności języków, orientacji narodowo-kulturowych oraz popularności pewnych onimów nazwy te stanowiły realizację na odpowiednich obszarach wspólnoeuropejskiego systemu onomastycznego w tym zakresie zarówno na poziomie poszczególnych nazw, jak i ich modeli semantycznych. Jako część systemu onomastyki europejskiej zbadane nazwy odzwierciedlają też dynamikę tego systemu, między innymi rozprzestrzenienie innowacji onomastycznych i ich przekształcenie w nieuosobione nazwy własne.