

## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. V. No 1 2020

# THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL CONTEXT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGURATIVE USE OF COMMON WORDS DERIVED FROM PLACE-NAMES\*

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**Bibliographic description:** Kieltyka, R. (2020). The role of historical context responsible for the figurative use of common words derived from place-name. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2020, V (1), June 2020, p. 54-98. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** In this account, I analyse some examples of commonization, which is a mechanism whereby nouns originally used as place-names<sup>1</sup> acquired the status of common nouns accompanied by subsequent semantic changes. The main objective of the paper is to provide evidence supporting the claim that commonization may be interpreted as resulting from the working of panchronically motivated conceptual processes, such as conceptual metaphor, metonymy, or the joint-operation of the two mechanisms.

**Key words:** place-names, metaphor, metonymy, commonization, historical context, metonymic chain.

## 1. Introduction

In the history of English, one may encounter numerous instances of cases when the name on a map takes on its own meaning as a common word. In this account, drawing on lexicographic data obtained from the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (MWD, *s.a.*), *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED 2009), *British National Corpus* (BNC, *s.a.*), and *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA, *s.a.*), I will analyse selected examples of commonization, which is a mechanism, by which various proper names

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\* This paper is a preview of a pilot study, a part of a larger whole. Its aim is to present the current state of my research and to signal potential paths for future investigations. I wish to thank two anonymous reviewers whose illuminating remarks have been incorporated into the body of this article.

(here exemplified by place-names) lose the capitalization of the initial letter and start new lives as common nouns (sometimes verbs or adjectives). *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (MWD, *s.a.*) defines commonization as "the formation or development of a common noun, a common adjective, or a verb from a proper noun". For example, *Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea' is sometimes used figuratively as the verb *to shanghai* someone 'to kidnap a person onto a ship (or, more broadly, any unwanted position) and force him or her into unwilling labour'.

The main objective of this paper is to provide evidence supporting the claim that commonization may be interpreted as resulting from the working of conceptual metonymy or the joint-operation of conceptual metaphor and metonymy (originally referred to as metaphonymy by Goossens (1990), while the motivation behind selected figurative developments seems to be determined by broadly understood historical context. This means that language change, represented in this account by commonization, is "set in the context of the evolution of human understanding" (Łozowski 2008: 79). Therefore, in order to appreciate the scope of the evolution of human understanding, one needs to take into consideration the historical context, in which language change takes place. In my view, panchrony can be understood as a combination of language change and cognition, while language change seems to be motivated historically in diachrony and cognitively in panchrony. It is worth bearing in mind that in diachrony language functions in time and space, however, in panchrony it operates in human understanding. More importantly, broadly understood historical context and a panchronic approach allow for a thorough analysis of the mechanism in hand because, as argued by Bybee (2010: 105), synchrony and diachrony must be treated as an "integrated whole". "What can be recognized in language as panchronic comes from treating language as a cognitive tool of human categorization" (Łozowski 2008: 79).

The theoretical framework adopted in the research is that of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and metaphonymy theory as discussed, for example, by Lakoff and

Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Turner (1987), Goossens (1990), Radden and Kövecses (1999), Kövecses (2002; 2015; 2018), Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2003), Gil de Ruiz and Herrero Ruiz (2006), and Bierwiazzonek (2013), as well as metonymic chains, as employed by, for example, Hilpert (2007).

## 2. Methodological concepts

In this account I follow the definition postulated by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 128) according to whom "[...] metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model", or – concisely put – the conceptual entities involved belong to one and the same conceptual domain. In turn, as argued by Kövecses (2015: ix), "conceptual metaphors consist of sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings between two domains of experience and [...] the meaning of a particular metaphorical expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences".

The term *metonymic chain* or *chained metonymy* has been used in metonymy research from Reddy (1979), Fass (1991), Nerlich and Clarke (2001), Radden and Kövecses (1999: 36) to Barcelona (2005), Hilpert (2007), Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2008), and Brdar (2015) but also Kiełtyka (2018). Some of the studies in question are, according to Hilpert (2007: 80), primarily concerned with metonymies involving multiple conceptual shifts, breaking up "complex conceptual mappings into simple, well-motivated mappings with a strong experiential basis". As far as metonymic chains are concerned, Hilpert (ibid., 81) argues that the English expression *with an eye on NP* is polysemous, conveying 'vision', 'attention', and 'desire'. The model of chained metonymies (eye → vision → attention → desire) naturally accounts for this polysemy, since people tend to watch the things they pay attention to, and pay attention to the things they desire. It seems that some of the cases of commonization addressed in my research can be accounted for in terms of *chained metonymies or metonymic chains*, which involve more than one conceptual shift. Moreover, metonymy is sometimes

accompanied by metaphor and the interaction of the two mechanisms may lead to metaphonymy.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Literature of the subject and sources of data

Commonization is usually discussed in the literature of the subject under functional shift/conversion, for example, according to Brinton and Brinton (2010: 102-103): "A special kind of functional shift is what we may call commonization, in which a proper noun is converted into a common word. A proper noun, naming a real or fictional person or place, tribe, or group, may undergo commonization to a noun, verb, or adjective, often with no phonological change". Consider the following examples:

N: *Cashmere* or *Kashmīr* 'the name of a kingdom in the Western Himalayas' > *cashmere* 'soft wool obtained from the Cashmere goat'<sup>3</sup> (*BNC*: 111 hits in 64 different texts, frequency: 1.13 instances per million words) (PLACE FOR PRODUCT metonymy).

V: Charles C. *Boycott* – 'an English land agent in Ireland who was ostracized for refusing to reduce rents' > *to boycott* 'to join with others in refusing to deal with someone (as a person, organization, or country)<sup>4</sup> (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century) as a way of protesting or forcing changes' (*BNC*: 617 hits in 220 different texts, frequency: 6.28 instances per million words) (NAME FOR ACTION metonymy).

A: *Frank* 'a person belonging to the Germanic nation, or coalition of nations, that conquered Gaul in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and from whom the country received the name of France' (since the 13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>5</sup> > *frank* 'marked by free and sincere expression' (since the 16<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>6</sup> (*BNC*: 466 hits in 319 different texts, frequency: 5.3 instances per million words) (PLACE FOR SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS metonymy).

A number of studies have dealt with the problem of functional shift/conversion in cognitive perspective. In my research I refer to, among others, Radden and Kövecses (1999), Geeraerts (2003), Kosecki (2005), Hilpert (2007), Łozowski (2008), Bierwiazzonek (2013), Martsa (2013), and Kövecses (2015; 2018). Dictionary and corpora searches show that commonization is a relatively productive mechanism whereby proper names are used figuratively with reference to people, animals, plants, inorganic entities, and abstract concepts. Lexicographic sources consulted such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* or the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* and online corpora such as the *British National Corpus*, and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* have served as sources of my corpus including more than 30 cases, out of which 6 examples are analysed in greater detail (*Golconda*, *Mackinaw*, *Niagara*, *Japan*, *Shanghai*, and *Derby*) and a number of others are briefly touched upon to illustrate the scope of the research. Wherever possible, that is in cases of fully lexicalized items targeted, I will provide information about their frequency of appearance in the *BNC* in order to indicate their degree of productivity in currently used texts. Since one of the issues raised in this paper is the frequency of appearance of the analysed lexical data in the *BNC*, which may translate into productivity of the mechanism of commonization, the results of the research conducted with the aid of this corpus are collected in Table 1 (see Appendix). The adopted procedure includes measuring the number of hits and the number of different texts listed in the corpus as well as providing the frequency of appearance of the analysed words in terms of detected instances per million words.

Even a cursory look at the table shows that in the case of the data collected, the frequency of use varies from 5 to 1189 *BNC* hits and the number of hits for the majority of the items listed is over 100, which means that commonization is a relatively productive process. Notice that I have only provided *BNC* frequency for those examples of commonization that are fully lexicalized, e.g., *sherry* and not those like *Japan* or *Shanghai*, which are used both literally and figuratively.

### 3.1 A treatment of eponyms by Warren and Kosecki

The analysis of language data shows that commonization leads to the formation of eponyms – common names derived from proper names. Warren (1990: 145) views eponyms as motivated by metonymy. Therefore, examples such as *Sandwich* (BNC: 1044 hits in 485 different texts, frequency: 10.62 instances per million words) or *Homburg* (BNC: 19 hits in 18 different texts, frequency: 0.19 instances per million words) are believed to be structured by metonymy, where the metonymic vehicles take the form of place-names. Thus, the meaning of *sandwich* 'two or more slices of bread or a split roll having a filling in between' or 'one slice of bread covered with food' (since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see *MWD*) was originally derived from the name of a town on the Stour River in Kent in south-eastern England through the working of the metonymy PLACE FOR THE THING EATEN THERE, while the meaning of *Homburg* 'a hat with a narrow curled brim and a lengthwise dent in a crown'<sup>7</sup> (see Hawkins 1987: 311) was based on the German city Homburg, where it originally appeared, through the working of the metonymic projection PLACE FOR THING WORN THERE. However, Kosecki (2005: 56) argues that in each of the cases one should also postulate the presence of another metonymic projection, that of PROTOTYPICAL MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR WHOLE CATEGORY, since the meanings of the analysed lexical items are usually extended to refer to slices of bread eaten in other places than Sandwich as well as similar hats worn in other places than Homburg, respectively.

### 3.2 Metonymy versus ellipsis

Although both ellipsis and metonymy involve an omission of a part of an expression, some authors (e.g., Kosecki 2005) argue that it is not possible to equate the two mechanisms. For example, Radden and Kovecses's (1999: 36) example *crude* for 'crude oil' is an example of ellipsis rather than the metonymy PART OF A FORM FOR THE WHOLE FORM due to the fact that the omitted element *oil* "can always be inserted back into the expression" (Kosecki 2005: 25). It seems that some of the examples of commonization may, in fact, be regarded as cases of ellipsis rather than metonymy.

However, in this account the starting point for the analysis of the mechanism of commonization is verifying whether the mechanism in hand can be motivated by metonymy.

#### 4. Single metonymic projection: *Mackinaw*

Many place-names take on lives in the language as names for the products that originate from those areas, in particular fabric and clothing. In this respect the underlying conceptual mechanism is that of metonymy that may be formalized as PLACE FOR PRODUCT. For example, *Mackinaw*, used for a heavy wool cloth or a coat made from it, derives from the name of a trading post (also spelled *Mackinac*) at the northern tip of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. Consider the following *OED* quotations in (1):

(1)

1836 in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. (1892) 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser. VII. 276* Covering, a cotton counterpane, a sheet, besides my own great coats and green **Mackinaw**.

1973 *J. Ryder Trewayne (1974) xxxiv. 264* A man in a **mackinaw** coat and a fur cap.

The metonymic projection responsible for the meaning development of *Mackinaw* is portrayed in Figure 1.

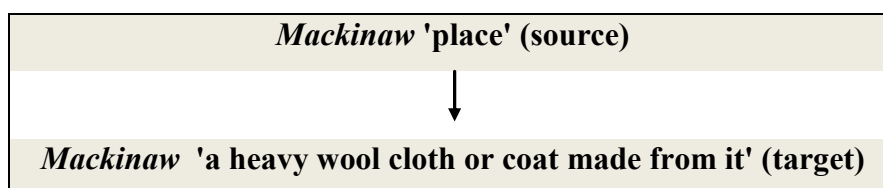


Figure 1. PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PRODUCT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE metonymy

The situation presented graphically in Figure 1 shows a simple metonymic projection whereby a place-name is used figuratively with reference to a product (fabric or a piece of garment) associated with that product. Other, similar examples portraying the general PLACE FOR ENTITY ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE metonymy type include, for example: *china* 'porcelain'; *Scotch* (from *Scotland*) 'whiskey'; *canary* (from

*Canary Islands*) 'a bird' (PLACE FOR ANIMAL sub-metonymy); *cardigan* (an anglicised variation of the Welsh place-name *Ceredigion*) originally a knitted sleeveless vest, which over time expanded to other types of garment and was named after James Brudenell, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of *Cardigan*, a British Army Major General<sup>8</sup>; *sandwich* defined by the *OED* as 'an article of food for a light meal or snack, composed of two thin slices of bread, usually buttered, with a slice of beef or ham or other filling, which is said to be named after John Montagu, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of *Sandwich* (1718–1792), who once spent twenty-four hours at the gaming-table without other refreshment than some slices of cold beef placed between slices of toast; as well as Polish *włoszczyzna* (from *Włochy* 'Italy') 'soup vegetables' (PLACE FOR PLANT sub-metonymy); *amerykanka* (from *Ameryka* 'America') 'chair-bed'; *hiszpanka* (from *Hiszpania* 'Spain') 'a type of flue', which originated in Spain and later spread to other countries of Europe between 1917 and 1918 (PLACE FOR DISEASE sub-metonymy); *włoszka* (from *Włochy* 'Italy') 'bee' (PLACE FOR ANIMAL sub-metonymy); *japonka* (from *Japonia* 'Japan') 'wheelbarrow', 'flip-flop' (PLACE FOR OBJECT sub-metonymy), *finka* (from *Finlandia* 'Finland') 'sheath knife' (PLACE FOR OBJECT sub-metonymy); *filipinka* (from *Filipiny* 'Filippines') 'a type of grenade produced and used by the Polish resistance movement, mainly during the Warsaw Uprising' (PLACE FOR OBJECT sub-metonymy).

Among other interesting examples in this group one may mention *bungalow* (*BNC*: 528 hits in 218 different texts, frequency: 5.37 instances per million words) 'originally a one-storeyed house (or temporary building, e.g., a summer-house), lightly built, usually with a thatched roof' whose meaning in modern use is generalized to 'any one-storied house' (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>9</sup>. According to the *OED*, *bungalow* is derived from the Hindustani *banglā*, understood to be identical with the adjective of the same form, meaning 'belonging to Bengal' and as such its meaning is motivated by the metonymy PLACE FOR HOUSE TYPICAL OF THAT PLACE.



In turn, the word *Cheddar* (*BNC*: 145 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 1.47 instances per million words) is the name of a village near the Mendip hills in Somerset. Hence, the meaning of *Cheddar* cheese<sup>10</sup> (or contextually *Cheddar*) seems to result from the metonymic projection PLACE FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE. Another interesting example of a single metonymic shift is represented by the semantic development of *China* 'the name of a country in Asia', which in the 17<sup>th</sup> century started to be used in the sense 'China porcelain, China-ware, china'.<sup>11</sup> In this particular case the conceptual metonymy can be formalized as PLACE (CHINA) FOR PRODUCT (PORCELAIN) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE. It is noteworthy, however, that both in the case of *Cheddar* and *china* the mechanism of metonymy is preceded by that of ellipsis, which is *Cheddar* from *Cheddar cheese* and *china* from *China porcelain*. The loss of the capital letter in *china* (*BNC*: 671 hits in 332 different texts, frequency: 6.83 instances per million words) suggests a further degree of lexicalization.

One of the examples of commonization whose origin is American English is *tuxedo* (*BNC*: 127 hits in 57 different texts, frequency: 1.29 instances per million words) 'a short jacket without tails, for formal wear; a dinner-jacket' (*OED*). This sense seems to have come into existence as a result of a single metonymy PLACE FOR GARMENT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE as the name of the garment comes from *Tuxedo Park* in New York where the jacket was first introduced at the country club in 1886.

As far as the word *magenta* (*BNC*: 74 hits in 40 different texts, frequency: 0.75 instances per million words) is concerned, the working of a single metonymy PLACE FOR SUBSTANCE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE leads to the rise of another sense representing the process of commonization. Specifically, *Magenta* is the name of a town in Northern Italy where, in 1859, the Austrians were defeated by the French and Sardinians. The common noun *magenta* is used for the name of 'a brilliant crimson aniline dye', discovered shortly after the date of the battle (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *OED*: 1860 *R. Smith's Patent 11 Aug. in Newton's Lond. Jrnl. Arts & Sci. (1861) XIII. 225 What is called 'Magenta red', may be obtained as follows.*).

## 5. Ellipsis leading to a number of separate single metonymies

In my research, I have also found a few examples of commonization, which seem to originate as cases of ellipsis leading to a number of separate single metonymies. One of them is the proper noun *Cologne* whose semantic development may be accounted for by the working of the metonymies PLACE FOR PRODUCT/THINGS OBTAINED FROM THAT PLACE and PLACE FOR SOMETHING ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE. According to the *OED*, the term is the name of a German city on the Rhine, famous in the Middle Ages on account of the shrine of the Wise Men of the East, commonly called the Three Kings of Cologne. One may argue here that when *Cologne* (*BNC*: 62 hits in 42 different texts, frequency: 0.63 instances per million words) is used attributively to designate things obtained from the city or district, especially in early names of weapons, such as *Cologne brand*, *Cologne sword*, *Cologne thread*, *Cologne water* 'eau-de-Cologne', it is employed literally rather than metonymically. However, when *Cologne* loses its capital letter, it does not represent mere ellipsis, but it is used metonymically in the sense 'a perfume consisting of alcohol and various essential oils' (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *OED*: 1863 *B. Taylor H. Thurston I. 265 Teacups, bowls, and even a cologne bottle*).

On the other hand, in the combination *Bordeaux mixture* 'a mixture composed of blue vitriol, lime, and water, used for the destruction of fungi', the place-name *Bordeaux* 'a city in the south of France' is employed literally. However, ellipsis may lead to the rise of the metonymy PLACE FOR PRODUCT, which seems to be at work in the case of another sense of *Bordeaux* (*BNC*: 6 hits in 5 different texts, frequency: 0.06 instances per million words), that of 'the wine made there, claret' (since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *OED*: c 1570 *Leg. Bp. St. Andrews in Scot. Poems 16<sup>th</sup> C. (1801) II. 342 His contagious stomach was sa owersett ['so upset'] with **Burdeous** drummake ['foul mixture']*.).

## 6. Simple metonymic chain leading to metaphorical extension

The place-name *Golconda* (*BNC*: 5 hits in 3 different texts, frequency: 0.05 instances per million words) defined by *MWD* as 'a rich mine' or 'a source of great wealth' is the

name of a historical city and fortress in southern India that thrived in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as the capital of the Qutb Shahi kingdom, a powerful Muslim sultanate. The term *Golconda* itself refers to 'a round-shaped hill'. The area was known for its flourishing diamond trade, with its mines producing famous diamonds including the Koh-i-Noor (part of the British Crown Jewels) and the Hope Diamond. In turn, the *OED* explains that *Golconda* is the old name of Hyderabad, formerly celebrated for its diamonds, used as a synonym for a 'mine of wealth'. The historical lexicographic evidence featuring some of the contexts, in which *Golconda* is used figuratively, is presented in (2) and (3):

(2) The 19<sup>th</sup> century *OED* contexts, from which the figurative use of *Golconda* emerges:

1884 *F. Boyle Borderld. Fact & Fancy* 400 *If stray diamonds were found sticking in the house-wall, there must be a new **Golconda** in the soil beneath.*

1890 *W. Sharp Browning iii. 66 To the lover of poetry 'Paracelsus' will always be a **Golconda**.*

(3) The *MWD* evidence portraying the figurative use of *Golconda*:

1871 *Anthony Trollope, The Eustace Diamonds. Lord Fawn listened, but said very little. He especially did not say that Lady Eustace had had the stones valued. "They're real, I suppose?" he asked. Mr. Camperdown assured him that no diamonds more real had ever come from **Golconda**, or passed through Mr. Garnett's hands. "They are as well known as any family diamonds in England," said Mr. Camperdown.*

2017 *The Durham Herald Sun, Malcolm Berko. Because there's grim inefficiency and redundancy in smaller municipal systems and because they lack the financing to maintain clean water standards, their purchase by public water utilities with access to technology and capital could be a **Golconda** for smart, patient investors.*

In terms of the methodological apparatus employed here, the figurative use of *Golconda* 'a rich mine' seems to be metonymically motivated: PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PROPERTY OF THAT PLACE (place associated with 'a diamond mine' for 'a diamond mine'), which gives rise to another metonymic projection of the same type (place associated with 'a rich mine' for 'a rich mine'), while the meaning 'a source of great wealth' or 'mine of wealth' may be viewed as an example of the metaphorical extension formalized as A SOURCE OF GREAT WEALTH IS GOLCONDA. The following diagram (Fig. 2) portrays the figurative meaning development of *Golconda*:

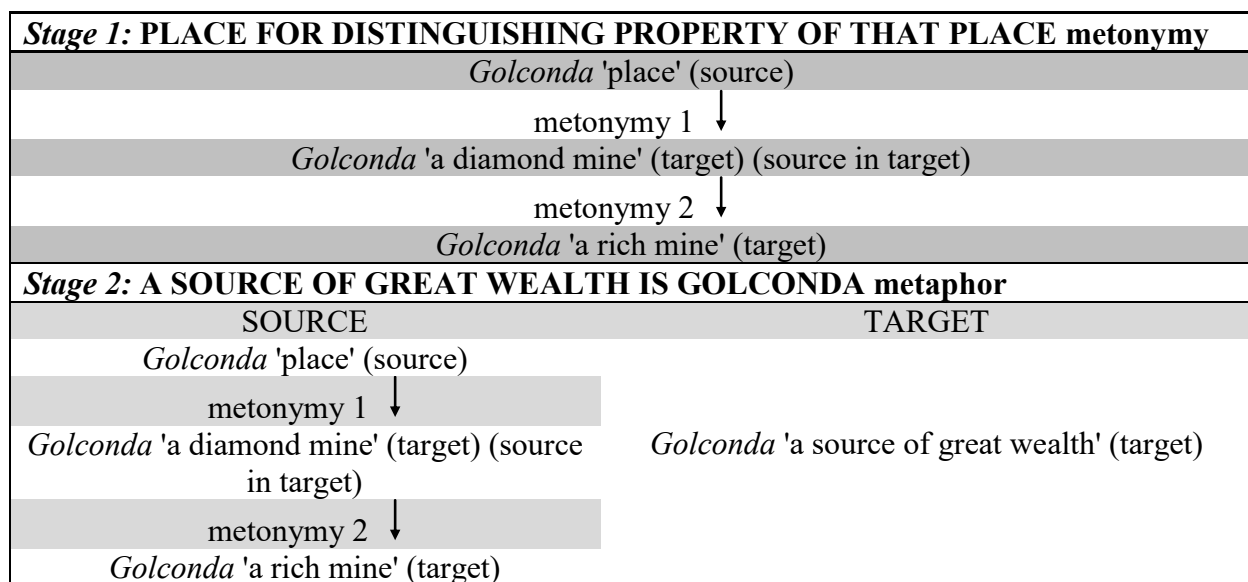


Figure 2. Metonymy-metaphor interaction in *Golconda*

As one can see in Figure 2, the semantic evolution of *Golconda* may be interpreted as an interface between a metonymic chain and a metaphorical extension of the metonymic target 'a rich mine' > 'a source of great wealth'. This means that the metonymic target 'a rich mine' serves as a source of metaphor, for which the target is the domain defined as 'a source of great wealth'. Notice that Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2003: 519-527) refer to similar cases as the target in source metonymy and metaphorical extension of the metonymic target.

The lexical material I have analysed includes other examples of metonymy-metaphor interaction. They are discussed in (4) – (13). *Bantam* (*BNC*: 80 hits in 38 different texts, frequency: 0.81 instances per million words) (4) is 'a small variety of the domestic fowl, most breeds of which have feathered legs, while the cocks are spirited fighters'. According to the *OED*, they are named from *Bantam* in the north-west of Java, whence perhaps the fowls were imported to Europe. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the word started to be metaphorically applied to battalions of small-sized soldiers.<sup>12</sup> In this case the metonymy PLACE (Bantam) FOR ANIMAL (domestic fowl) BROUGHT FROM THAT PLACE leads to the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS in the case of which reference to small size and fighting skills produces the submetaphor SMALL-SIZED SOLDIERS ARE BANTAMS.

Another interesting example in this group is that of *meander* (*BNC*: 102 hits in 44 different texts, frequency: 1.04 instances per million words) whose semantic development seems to be initiated by the working of RIVER (Meander) FOR ITS DISTINGUISHING PROPERTY (winding) metonymy, which in turn is the basis for the metaphor formalized as CIRCUITOUS JOURNEY OR MOVEMENT; A DEVIATION; A WINDING COURSE (AS IN THE DANCE) IS A MEANDER. The *OED* explains that the Latin-based word *meander* is an appellative use of the name of a river in Phrygia noted for its winding course. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the plural form *meanders* started to be used in the metonymic sense (5) 'sinuous windings (of a river)' and it also acquired the metaphorical meanings (6) 'crooked or winding paths (of a maze)', (7) 'confusing and bewildering ways; intricacies (of affairs, the law, a subject, etc.)', while in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the sense (8) 'a circuitous journey or movement; a deviation; a winding course (as in the dance)'<sup>13</sup> was dominant.

Two other examples whose semantic evolution seems to display similar conceptual motivation, that is metonymy leading to metaphor, are *peach* (388 hits in 196 different texts, frequency: 3.95 instances per million words) and *spaniel* (95 hits in 66 different texts (98,313,429 words, frequency: 0.97 instances per million words). As evidenced

by the *OED*, the former is derived from Latin *Persicum mālum* 'Persian apple' and it has been part of the English Lexicon since the 14<sup>th</sup> century: (9) 'the fruit of the tree *Amygdalus persica*, a large drupe, usually round, of a whitish or yellow colour, flushed with red, with downy skin, highly flavoured sweet pulp, and rough furrowed stone'. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century metaphorical extension led to the rise of the slang sense (10) 'someone or something of exceptional worth or quality; someone or something particularly suitable or desirable, especially an attractive young woman'.<sup>14</sup> Thus, in the case of the semantics of *peach* one may speak of the working of metonymy PLACE FOR FRUIT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE leading to the general conceptual metaphor A PERSON IS A FRUIT (e.g., AN ATTRACTIVE YOUNG WOMAN IS A PEACH).

As for *spaniel*, the etymological sources consulted (e.g., the *OED*) agree that the word is related to Old French *espaignol*, *espaigneul* (modern French *épagneul* 'Spanish dog'), which in the 14<sup>th</sup> century English started to be used in the sense (11) 'a variety of dog characterized by large drooping ears, long silky hair, keen scent, and affectionate nature, some breeds of which are used for sporting purposes, especially for starting and retrieving game, while others are favourite pet- or toy-dogs', while in the 16<sup>th</sup> century it developed the metaphorical readings: (12) 'one who pries into, or searches out, something' and (13) 'a submissive, cringing, or fawning person'. In this case the conceptual motivation behind the process of semantic change may be couched in the following terms: the metonymy PLACE FOR ANIMAL ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE leading to the metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS (A SUBMISSIVE PERSON IS A SPANIEL).

## **7. Metonymy from metaphor: *Niagara***

Situated on the Niagara River, which carries water from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario on the U.S.-Canada border, Niagara Falls is a popular tourist destination. It is the largest waterfall in North America in terms of volume and width. As evidenced by the *OED* in (14), already during the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Niagara* (*BNC*: 58 hits in 37 different texts,

frequency: 0.59 instances per million words) started to be used metaphorically in the sense 'flow or vast quantity, torrent, deluge':

(14)

1841 *F.A. Kemble Let. 28 Dec. in Rec. Later Life (1882) II. 153* Such a **Niagara** of information did surely never pour from the lips of mortal man!

1872 *Ruskin Fors Clav. (1896) I. xxiv. 492* Phlegethon falls into the abyss in a **Niagara** of blood.

1894 *Westm. Gaz. 13 June 3/2* There is a deluge, a very **Niagara** of concerts.

1909 *Chambers's Jrnl. June 383/1* In the savage blizzards of a frozen Sahara this [ice-]drift becomes a roaring, hissing, blinding **Niagara** of snow, rising hundreds of feet into the air.

1912 *I. S. Cobb Back Home 321* Rivers of red pop had already flowed, **Niagaras** of lager beer and stick gin had been swallowed up.

1970 *P. Laurie Scotland Yard iii. 86* A **Niagara** of tinted hair.

1974 *Times 9 Jan. 6/5* Mr Nixon was swept towards what the White House once called a '**Niagara**' of accusations last spring.

In this respect, one may argue that the metaphorical uses of *Niagara* are based on the comparison to the volume, width, and size of this waterfall so they are motivated by the conceptual metaphor VAST QUANTITY, TORRENT, DELUGE IS NIAGARA. However, in the case of *Niagara* one may also point to the working of metaphonymy, which is metonymy from an earlier metaphor. Specifically, the conceptual metaphor VAST QUANTITY, TORRENT, DELUGE IS NIAGARA seems to lead to the activation of the metonymic projection FLOW/QUANTITY FOR ACTION ('a deluge' > 'to pour in a deluge'). The following 18<sup>th</sup> century *OED* context in (15) represents the verbal use of *Niagara*:

(15)

1799 Southey St. Gualberto xxii, *The fountain streams had **Niagara'd** o'er the quadrangle.*

The metaphor-metonymy interrelation motivating the semantic development of *Niagara* is portrayed in Figure 3:

METAPHORICAL SOURCE	METAPHORICAL TARGET
<i>Niagara</i> 'place'	<i>Niagara</i> 'vast quantity, deluge' (source)
	metonymy ↓
	<i>Niagara</i> 'to pour in a deluge' (target)

Figure 3. Metaphor-metonymy interaction in *Niagara*

As Figure 3 shows, the shift *Niagara* 'vast quantity, deluge' > *Niagara* 'to pour in a deluge' is an example of a metonymic projection where the metonymic source/vehicle is placed in the metaphorical target domain.

### 8. Metonymic chains leading to metaphor: *Japan* > *J/japan*

The proper noun *Japan* being originally a name of the insular empire on the eastern side of Asia may, according to the *MWD*, also refer to a kind of decorative finish of hard lacquer, particularly a black kind made from asphalt. Popular in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was used for coating wooden furniture and later tinware, and is fused to the surface by way of heat. The figurative sense may be interpreted as the result of a metonymic projection whereby the name of a country is used for a product or process known to have originated in Asia (though not necessarily in Japan). The evidence quoted from *MWD* in (16) shows a verbal use of *Japan*:

(16)

1868 Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, *Mrs. Yolland dived into this rubbish, and brought up an old **japanned** tin case, with a cover to it, and a hasp to hang it up by the sort of*



*thing they use, on board ship, for keeping their maps and charts, and such-like, from the wet.*

Through the working of metonymy PLACE FOR PROCESS English speakers applied the name of the country *Japan* to the process known to have originated in Asia. The process that became known as *japanning* took hold as an imitative craft in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### *10.1 Other cases of PLACE FOR PRODUCT metonymy*

One of the instantiations of the general metonymy PLACE FOR PRODUCT is the sub-metonymy JAPAN FOR JAPANESE WORK/WORK IN THE JAPANESE STYLE represented by the 18<sup>th</sup> century evidence from *OED* in (17):

(17)

*1742 H. Walpole Lett. to Mann (1857) I. 192 He little thought that what maintained him for a whole session would scarce serve one of his younger grandsons to buy **japan** and fans for princesses at Florence!*

*1798 Jane Austen Northang. Abb. II. vi, She looked closely at the cabinet. It was **Japan**, black and yellow **Japan** of the handsomest kind. Ibid. II. x, She did not love the sight of **japan** in any shape.*

Notice that the sub-metonymy JAPAN FOR VARNISH seems to motivate the 17<sup>th</sup>-century change of the meaning of *Japan* defined by the *OED* as 'a varnish of exceptional hardness, which originally came from Japan'. The name is now extended to other varnishes of a like sort, especially to (a) 'a black varnish obtained by cooking asphaltum with oil, used for producing a black gloss on metal and other materials'; (b) 'a varnish-like liquid used as a medium in which to grind colours and for drying pigments'. Consider the following 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century *OED* evidence in (18):

(18)

1688 *Parker & Stalker Treat. Japanning Pref.*, True, genuine **Japan** stands unalterable, when the wood, which was imprisoned in it, is utterly consumed. *Ibid.* v. 19 *Of Black Varnishing or Japan.* *Ibid.* 21 *You cannot be overnice and curious in making white Japan.*

1761 *Fitzgerald in Phil. Trans. LII.* 150, *I had it varnished over several times with strong varnish, or japan.*

1851 *Illustr. Catal. Gt. Exhib. 624* **Japan** is applied with a brush.

Moreover, the following 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century *OED* evidence in (19) confirms the working of the metonymic projection JAPAN FOR STH PERTAINING TO OR ADORNED WITH JAPAN (VARNISH):

(19)

1681 *Secr. Serv. Money Chas. & Jas. (Camden)* 42 *For two japan cabinets 100.0.0.*

1688 *Parker & Stalker Treat. Japanning* xiii. 36 *There are two sorts of Bantam, as well as Japan-work. Ibid., The Japan-Artist works most of all in Gold, and other metals.*

1697 *Lond. Gaz. No. 3250/4* *Lost, a large Silver Japan headed Cane, the ground of it Shagreen, and the Japan Work most of it gilt.*

1712 *Arbuthnot John Bull* iii. i, *She had laid aside your carving, gilding, and japan work, as being too apt to gather dirt.*

1855 *Mrs. Gaskell North & S.* xiv, *Go to my little japan cabinet and in the second left-hand drawer you will find a packet of letters.*

1883 *B'ham Daily Post* 11 Oct., **Japan-stovers and Polishers, used to Cash-boxes and Coal-vases.**

One may also postulate the working of the following metonymic chain:

Metonymic chain: PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PRODUCT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE FOR STH ADORNED WITH THAT PRODUCT FOR

ACTION PERFORMED WITH THE AID OF THAT PRODUCT FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH ANY MATERIAL THAT GIVES A HARD BLACK GLOSS FOR ACTION OF MAKING BLACK AND GLOSSY AS IN *JAPANNING* FOR ACTION OF POLISHING OR COVERING WITH BLACK, which leads to the metaphorical extension TO MAKE CLERICAL/TO ORDAIN IS TO JAPAN (MAKE BLACK). This situation is presented graphically in Figure 4:

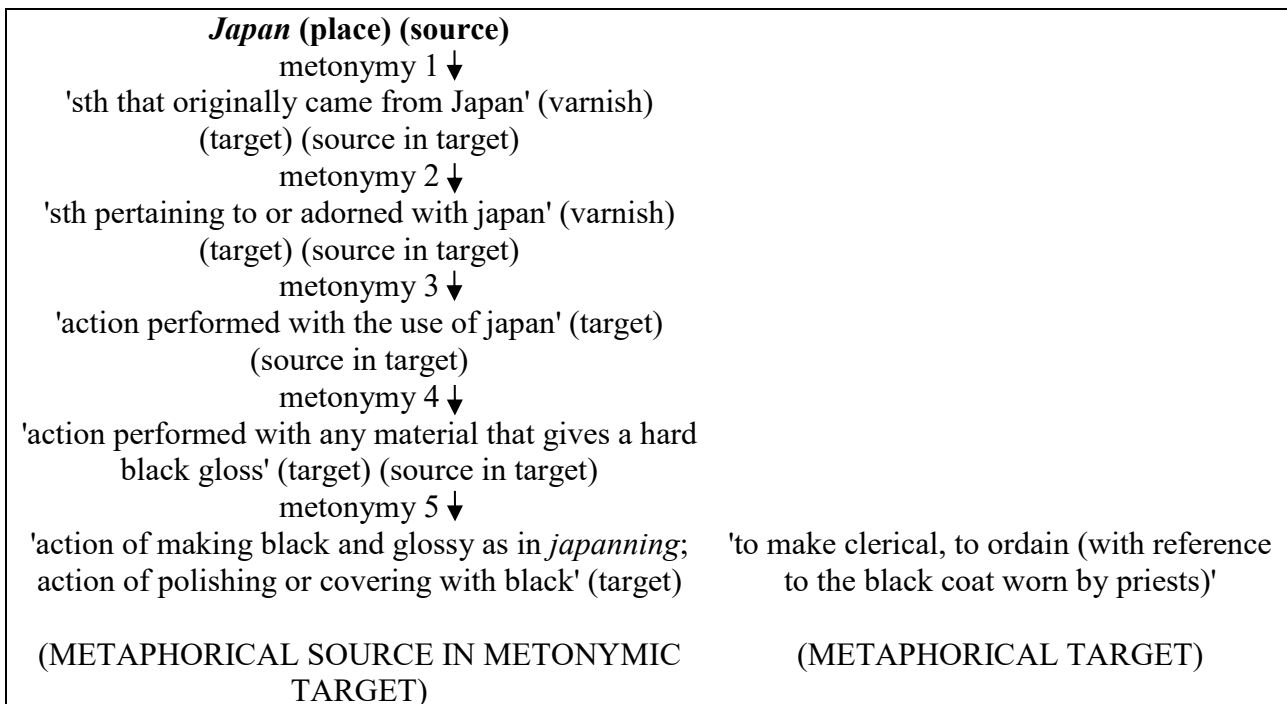


Figure 4. Metonymic chain leading to metaphorical extension

The historical evidence confirming the existence of some of the elements of the metonymic chain outlined above is displayed in (20), (21), and (22):

(20) The 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century (1688–1816) *OED* evidence:

'to lacquer with *japan*; to varnish with any material that gives a hard black gloss' (PRODUCT FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH THE AID OF THAT PRODUCT FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH ANY MATERIAL THAT GIVES A HARD BLACK GLOSS).

*1697 W. Dampier Voy. (1729) I. 400 Laquer which is used in japanning of cabinets.*

1762 Goldsm. Cit. W. lv, *A square table that had been once **japanned**.*

1816 J. Smith *Panorama Sc. & Art II. 37 Made of copper, or tinned iron plates **japanned** within and without.*

(21) The 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century (1714–1865) *OED* evidence:

'to lacquer with *japan*; to varnish with any material that gives a hard black gloss' > 'to make black and glossy as in *japanning*; to polish or cover with black' (ACTION PERFORMED WITH ANY MATERIAL THAT GIVES A HARD BLACK GLOSS FOR ACTION OF MAKING BLACK AND GLOSSY AS IN *JAPANNING* FOR ACTION OF POLISHING OR COVERING WITH BLACK).

1730 *Royal Remarks 7 'Dear Jack' has exhausted his splendid Shilling, and now cries 'Japan your shoes, your Honour'.*

1812 W. Combe *Dr. Syntax x. ix, His gaiters, too, were fresh japann'd.*

1818 Scott *Rob Roy v, The monsters of heraldry grinned and ramped in red freestone, now japanned by the smoke of centuries.*

1865 Carlyle *Fredk. Gt. xix. viii. (1873) VIII. 265 Japanning people with pitch to cure them of every malady.*

(22) The 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century (1756–1879) *OED* evidence:

'to make black' > 'to make clerical, to ordain (with reference to the black coat worn by priests)' (metaphor TO MAKE CLERICAL/TO ORDAIN IS TO JAPAN from metonymy ACTION OF POLISHING OR COVERING WITH BLACK)

1756 *Connoisseur No. 105/3 He had been double-japanned (as he called it) about a year ago, and was the present incumbent of ....*

1796 *Grose Dict. Vulg. T. s.v. 1826 Sporting Mag. XVIII. 283 My friend's son had just been ordained Deacon, or, in the language of the day, 'japanned'.*

1879 J. Payn *High Spirits II. 106 He had passed his 'voluntary', and was to be 'japanned' in a fortnight.*

## 9. A series of metonymic chains: The case of *Derby*

*Derby* 'the name of a town and shire of England, and of an earldom named from the shire or county' (*OED*) is another example of commonization. One of the changes in meaning that involves this place-name seems to be the result of the metonymic projection PLACE FOR EVENT – *Derby* (place, a town) for *Derby* 'a proper name of the most noted annual horse-race in England, founded in 1780 by the twelfth Earl of *Derby*'. Consider the following 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century (1780–1871) *OED* evidence in (23):

(23)

1844 *W. H. Maxwell Sports & Adv. Scotl.* xxxix. (1855) 305 *What care I about Oaks or **Derbys**?*

1848 *Disraeli in Harper's Mag.* Aug. (1883) 340/2 *'You do not know what the **Derby** is'. 'Yes I do. It is the Blue Ribbon of the Turf'.*

1871 *M. Collins Mrq. & Merch.* II. vi. 161, *I had been to the **Derby**.*

Other cases of the semantic evolution of *Derby* seem to result from the operation of a complex metonymic chain PLACE FOR EVENT FOR THE DAY ON WHICH THE EVENT TAKES PLACE FOR ANOTHER EVENT. Apparently, in this case the general metonymy EVENT FOR ANYTHING ASSOCIATED WITH THIS EVENT gives rise to a number of sub-metonymies: EVENT FOR THE DAY ON WHICH THE EVENT TAKES PLACE; EVENT FOR A GATHERING DURING THIS EVENT; EVENT FOR AN ANIMAL (dog) ASSOCIATED WITH THIS EVENT; EVENT FOR A WINNER DURING THIS EVENT. The historical evidence confirming the existence of some of the elements of the metonymic chain outlined above is displayed in (24), (25), and (26):

(24) The 19<sup>th</sup>-century (1838–1885) *OED* evidence:

'Derby day, the day on which the 'Derby' is run'; '*Derby* gathering'; '*Derby* dog'; '*Derby* winner'.

1838 *Observer* 26 Aug. 2/2 *During last Epsom races, on the **Derby** day we believe, [etc.].*

1862 *Times* 6 June, *It was a real Derby gathering, and, if possible, a **Derby** gathering exaggerated with all its queer mélange of high and low.*

1867 *Punch* LII. 227/1 *The Mystery of the **Derby** dog – the never-failing apparition of the Derby dog at Epsom.*

1871 *M. Collins Mrq. & Merch.* I. vi. 190 *On a **Derby** Day the hill at Epsom is thronged with them.*

1885 *Times* 4 June 10/2 *The reputation which invariably attaches to a **Derby** winner.*

Another metonymic projection, that of EVENT FOR ANOTHER/SIMILAR EVENT is at work in the case of the sense 'similar important races in other countries, such as the French Derby' (*OED*).

(25) The 19<sup>th</sup>-century (1890–1894) *OED* evidence:

1890 *Whitaker's Alm.* 584/1 *The winner of the French **Derby**.*

1894 *Daily News* 20 Feb. 5/3 *The great 'Snowshoe **Derby**' took place on Sunday and yesterday at Holmenkollen near Christiania.*

Interestingly, yet another metonymic projection (EVENT FOR ANOTHER EVENT) seems to motivate the 20<sup>th</sup>-century sense 'any kind of important sporting contest', e.g., local *Derby* 'a match between two teams from the same district'.

(26) The 20<sup>th</sup>-century (1909–1962) *OED* evidence:

1909 *Daily Chron.* 17 June 5/6 *The twenty-ninth Medway Barge Sailing Match, known locally as 'the barge **Derby**'.*

1914 *Daily Express* 3 Oct. 3/1 *A local **Derby** [sc. football match] between Liverpool and Everton.*

1914 *Whitaker's Almanack* 1915 822/2 Air '**Derby**' round London (94½ miles).

1919 *Sphere* 28 June 259 (heading) An air **derby** at 129 miles per hour.

1962 *BBC Handbk.* 37 It would still be right for local talent to be nursed and local **derbies** to be played.

The semantic developments resulting from the operation of the metonymic chain discussed in (23), (24), (25), and (26) are presented graphically in Figure 5.

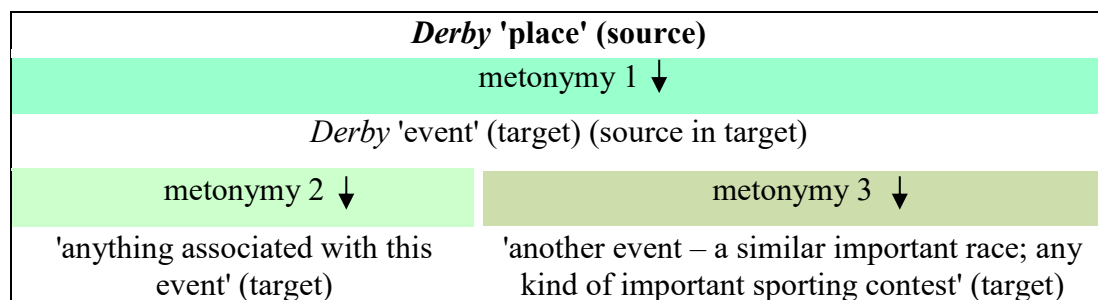


Figure 5. The semantic development of *Derby* 'place' > 'event' > 'anything associated with this event' > 'another event'

In 19<sup>th</sup>-century American English (see /27/) one may notice the use of ellipsis (*Derby* – (short) for *Derby* hat 'a stiff felt hat with a rounded crown and narrow brim'), which may result in the activation of the metonymic projection formalized as PLACE FOR OBJECT.

(27)

1888 *Pall Mall G.* 12 June 14/1 Girls or young ladies are seen with their hands thrust deep into the Ulster pocket, the **derby** tipped on one side. *Ibid.* 24 Sept. 11/1 Low felt hats – **Derby** hats, as they are generally called here [U.S.] – were universal.

As the 20<sup>th</sup>-century (1901–1968) *OED* evidence displayed in (28) shows, another instance of the working of the same metonymy, which is PLACE FOR OBJECT motivates the sense 'a kind of sporting-boot having no stiffening and a very low heel'.

(28)

1901 *Daily News* 23 Feb. 6/4 *The Prince Consort is represented as wearing low-heeled, square-toed 'Derbies', with buckles on them.*

1904 *Westm. Gaz.* 15 Apr. 10/2 *Russia calf Derbys for shooting-boots.*

1968 *J. Ironside Fashion Alphabet* 130 *Derby, the most common form of shoe. A tie shoe with eyelets and laces, the quarter and facings stitched on top of the vamp.*

The working of the metonymic projection PLACE FOR OBJECT is portrayed graphically in Figure 6.

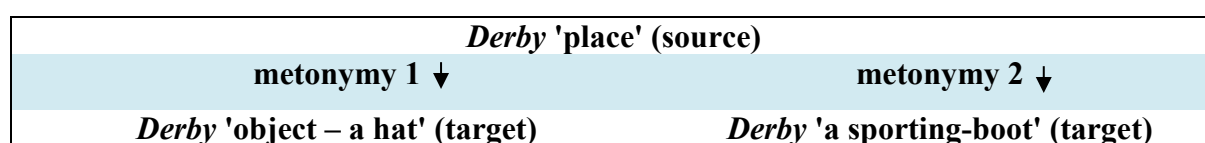


Figure 6. The metonymic development of *Derby* 'place' > 'object'

Additionally, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, speakers of British English started to associate the place-name *Derby* first with the so-called *Derby scheme* (in the war of 1914–1918, 'a recruiting scheme initiated in October 1915 by the seventeenth Earl of *Derby*') and then with its participants (*Derby* recruit and simply *Derby*, 'a soldier recruited under this scheme'). This development, supported by the *OED* evidence collected in (29), seems to result from the working of the following metonymic chain: PLACE FOR SCHEME FOR PERSON:

(29)

1915 *Times* 4 Dec. 9/6 *Last week of the Derby Scheme. Ibid.* 20 Dec. 9/2 *Men who have been attested and classified under the Derby scheme.*

1917 *P. Gibbs Battles of Somme* 177 *Old English regiments with new men in them, including some of the 'Derby recruits'.*

a 1918 *J. T. B. McCudden Five Yrs. R.F.C. (1919)* 198 *It was at that time [Feb. & Mar. 1917] that the 'Derby' scheme was operating.*

1925 *Fraser & Gibbons Soldier & Sailor Words s.v., Men of the 'Groups' of 'Derbies', awaiting their turn to be called up, wore armlets lettered 'G.R.' (General Reserve).*



1927 *W.S. Churchill World Crisis, 1916–1918 i. x. 239* It was evident that the **Derby** scheme could only be a palliative.

The operation of the metonymic chain PLACE FOR SCHEME FOR PERSON is portrayed in Figure 7.

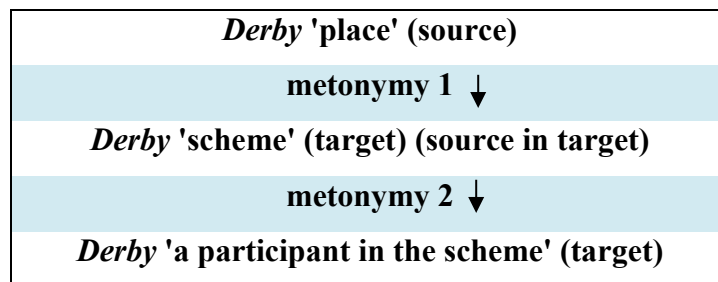


Figure 7. The metonymic development of *Derby* 'place' > 'scheme' > 'participant in the scheme'

### 10. Metonymic chain: *Shanghai*

*Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea' is sometimes used figuratively as the verb *to shanghai* someone 'to kidnap a person onto a ship (or, more broadly, any unwanted position) and force him or her into unwilling labour'. The mechanism involved in the construal of the figurative verbal sense of *Shanghai* seems to be that of a metonymic chain. First *Shanghai* must have been metonymically regarded as a place, from which people could be kidnapped to be later forced into unwilling labour and then, by another metonymic projection, the word started to be used as a verb meaning 'to kidnap a person onto a ship...'

In the case of *Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea', the general metonymy PLACE FOR ENTITY FROM THAT PLACE (*Shanghai* for something introduced from *Shanghai*) is realized by a number of sub-metonymies, for example, the sub-metonymy PLACE FOR ANIMAL, which motivates the 19<sup>th</sup>-century sense 'a domestic fowl from Shanghai' as evidenced by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century *OED* data in (30):

(30)

1853 Tegetmeier Profit. Poultry 19 Cochins or **Shanghaes**.

1853 Fortune in Wingfield & Johnson Poultry Bk. 3 The **Shanghae** breed. *Ibid.*, Some of the **Shanghae** fowls' eggs have double yolks.

1857 Agassiz Contrib. Nat. Hist. U.S. I. 164 Varieties such as the **Shanghae** fowl, for instance.

On the other hand, as evidenced by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century American nautical slang data in (31), one may also notice the operation of yet another metonymy: PLACE (Shanghai) FOR ACTION – 'to drug or otherwise render insensible, and ship on board a vessel wanting hands'.

(31)

1871 N.Y. Tribune 1 Mar. (Schele de Vere Americanisms, p. 347), *And before that time they would have been drugged, **shanghaied**, and taken away from all means of making complaint.*

1887 S. Samuels Forecastle to Cabin 46 *To be carried or forced on board of a ship in this manner is what is termed in sailor parlance being **shanghaied**.*

Moreover, in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Australian and New Zealand English one may notice the working of the complex metonymic chain PLACE FOR OBJECT FOR ACTION FOR PERSON PERFORMING THIS ACTION. As a result of these conceptual operations, *shanghai* acquired such senses as: 'an object (a catapult) associated with Shanghai, 'to shoot with a shanghai', and 'a person using a shanghai (*shanghaier*)'.

(32) The 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century *OED* evidence:

1875 *Spectator* (Melbourne) 15 May 22/1 *The lads had with them a couple of pistols, powder, shot, bullets, and a **shanghai**.*

1901 Dyson *Gold-stealers* viii. 81 *The plan brought Dicky, '**shanghai**' in hand, under the tree where Hardy sat.*

1947 *D. M. Davin Gorse blooms Pale 57 Bits of shangeye as they called their catapults.*

1972 *M. Gee In my Father's Den 44 He made me shanghai and bows and arrows.*

1917 *Chambers's Jrnl. Jan. 19/1 Once a shanghaier had been shanghai'd by a rival shanghaier.*

1926 *J. Black You can't Win xii. 152 Here I learned to beware the crafty shanghaier with his knockout drops.*

In turn, according to the *OED*, 20<sup>th</sup> c. American military slang, exemplified by the data collected in (33), shows another meaning development, which seems to be motivated by the activation of the metonymic chain, that of PLACE (SHANGHAI) FOR ACTION FOR ANOTHER ACTION: *Shanghai* 'place' > 'to drug or otherwise render insensible, and ship on board a vessel' > 'to transfer forcibly or abduct; to constrain or compel'.

(33)

1919 *in Amer. Speech 1972 (1975) XLVII. 97 The second third has been 'shanghai'd' for garrison duty.*

1974 *Sunday Times 15 Dec. 3/1 Hunt thought he was being 'Shanghai-ed'—prison jargon for a transfer to another prison as a punishment.*

1976 *J. Gibson As I saw It xxviii. 491 Most of my guests get shanghai'd into giving a general knowledge talk to the boys.*

Finally, the metonymic chain formalized as PLACE (SHANGHAI) FOR GAME OF DARTS FOR ACTION, whose origin goes back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see /34/), motivated the development of the sense 'to eliminate (a player) from a game of shanghai (darts)'.

(34) The 20<sup>th</sup>-century *OED* evidence:

1930 *Anchor Mag.* (Barclay Perkins, Brewers) 196 '**Shanghai**' may be played by teams of 8, in pairs, individually, or, in fact, any number.

1968 N. E. Williamson *Darts v. 46 Shanghai*. One of the more popular dart games for a number of players. Usually two or three numbers most often 5, 7 and 9 are nominated as '**Shanghai**' numbers, and a player not scoring on any one of these is '**Shanghaied**' or out of the game.

1980 K. Turner *Darts ix. 90* A more common variation is to '**Shanghai**' players out of the game.

## 11. Other cases of metonymic chains

The lexical item *bayonet* (BNC: 83 hits in 51 different texts, frequency: 0.84 instances per million words) used in the sense 'stabbing instrument of steel, which may be fixed to the muzzle of a musket or rifle; originally its handle was inserted in the mouth of the gun, but it is now secured by a circular band clasping the barrel' (17<sup>th</sup> century) is, according to the *OED*, derived from the name of the city *Bayonne*, the weapon being supposed to have been either first made or first used there. The motivation for this sense is the metonymic projection PLACE FOR WEAPON MADE/USED IN THAT PLACE, which may give rise to another metonymy, that of ATTRIBUTE FOR PERSON (WEAPON FOR SOLDIER ARMED WITH THIS WEAPON) in the case of the figurative sense 'a soldier armed with a bayonet' (18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>).

As for the word *parchment* (BNC: 246 hits in 113 different texts, frequency: 2.5 instances per million words) derived from *Pergamum*, a city of Mysia in Asia Minor, for which the *OED* lists the following three senses: 1. 'the skin of the sheep or goat, and sometimes that of other animals, dressed and prepared for writing, painting, engraving, etc.' (14<sup>th</sup> century); 2. 'a skin, piece, scroll, or roll of parchment; a manuscript or document on parchment' (14<sup>th</sup> century); 3. 'a certificate' (19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup>), one may postulate the existence of the metonymic chain: PLACE FOR STH (material) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE, leading to the metonymies PART FOR

WHOLE and MATERIAL CONSTITUTING AN OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT (document, certificate).

Another common noun derived from a proper noun whose frequency of use is extremely high (*BNC*: 1189 hits in 449 different texts, frequency: 12.09 instances per million words) is the word *champagne* derived from the name of a province of eastern France; hence, 'a well-known wine of different varieties, white and red, and still or sparkling, made in this district' (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century). The analysed lexical item is, according to the *OED*, used figuratively in two senses 'something exhilarating, excellent, etc.' (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>17</sup>) and 'a colour like that of champagne' (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century). The figurative use of *champagne* is motivated by the PLACE FOR PRODUCT metonymy leading to the paragonic use – champagne is a paragon of something excellent motivated by the working of the PRODUCT FOR ITS SALIENT PROPERTY (excellence) metonymy and accompanied by yet another metonymic projection of the same type, that of PRODUCT FOR ITS SALIENT PROPERTY (colour).

An interesting example of commonization is the word *blarney* (*BNC*: 25 hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.25 instances per million words) derived from the name of a village near Cork called *Blarney*. The *OED* explains that in the local castle there is an inscribed stone "in a position difficult of access". The popular saying is that anyone who kisses this *Blarney stone* will ever after have "a cajoling tongue and the art of flattery or of telling lies with unblushing effrontery" (Lewis 1837: 45). In colloquial speech, *blarney* is used in the sense 'smoothly flattering or cajoling talk' or 'nonsense' (since the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>). The metonymic chain motivating the semantic evolution in this case may be formulated in the following way PLACE FOR STONE ORIGINALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE FOR STH (flattering or cajoling talk) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT STONE.

In turn, the semantic evolution of the term *spruce* (*BNC*: 283 hits in 112 different texts, frequency: 2.88 instances per million words), which is an alteration of *Pruce*, *Prussia*, may be accounted for in terms of the metonymic chain PLACE FOR SOMETHING OBTAINED FROM THAT PLACE (the sense 'brought or obtained from Prussia' (since the 15<sup>th</sup> century), as *Spruce* board, *Spruce* canvas, *Spruce* chest, *Spruce* coffer), PLACE FOR PLANT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE (the sense 'spruce fir' /since the 17<sup>th</sup> century/) accompanied by a later metonymy PLANT FOR STH OBTAINED/MADE FROM THAT PLANT (the senses 'the wood of the spruce fir' and 'an oar made of this wood' /the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup>/). Notice that, in fact, depending on the type of approach adopted in the research the senses 'brought or obtained from Prussia' and 'spruce fir' can be said to result from ellipsis rather than metonymy. In this account they are treated as part of a metonymic chain.

Another lexical item whose semantics is motivated by a metonymic chain is *tarantula* (*BNC*: 32 hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.33 instances per million words) defined by the *OED* as 'a large wolf-spider of Southern Europe, *Lycosa tarantula* (formerly *Tarantula Apuliae*), named from the town *Taranto* in the region where it is commonly found, whose bite is slightly poisonous'. Its figurative sense is that of 'tarantism – the bite of the tarantula' (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>). In this case one may postulate the working of the chain PLACE FOR ANIMAL and ANIMAL FOR ACTION (bite of the tarantula).

According to available etymological sources (see, for example the *OED*), the word *turquoise* derived from French *turquoise* (*BNC*: 213 hits in 146 different texts, frequency: 2.17 instances per million words) 'Turkish stone' is so named as coming from Turkestan, where it was first found, or through the Turkish dominions. In the *OED* files one may find two senses of the term:

1. 'a precious stone found in Persia, much prized as a gem, of a sky-blue to apple-green colour, almost opaque or sometimes translucent, consisting of hydrous phosphate of aluminium' (since the 16<sup>th</sup> century);

2. 'a name for a colour (short for *turquoise blue*)' (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup>).

The two senses seem to result from the working of the metonymic projections PLACE FOR OBJECT (STONE) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE and NAME OF STONE FOR NAME OF COLOUR ASSOCIATED WITH THAT STONE. However, in the case of sense 2, since the missing element *blue* can easily be restored, one may opt for ellipsis rather than metonymy.

As far as the word *sherry* (*BNC*: 567 hits in 231 different texts, frequency: 5.77 instances per million words) is concerned, the *OED* informs us that originally it was the still white wine made near *Xeres* (now *Jerez de la Frontera*, a town in Andalusia, near Cadiz), while in modern use it is extended to a class of Spanish fortified white wines of similar character, and (usually with a prefixed word, as *Californian sherry*, *Cape sherry*) to wines made elsewhere in imitation of *Spanish sherry* (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Thus, the present-day English senses of *sherry* can be couched in the following terms: 1. 'a glass or drink of sherry' (since the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup>); 2. 'a small wine-glass of the size and form commonly used for sherry and similar wines' (since the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>).

The methodological framework adopted here makes it possible to interpret these senses as the working of the metonymic chain formalized as PLACE FOR WINE followed by WHOLE FOR PART ('a glass or drink of sherry'), which further gives rise to the paragonic use IDEAL MEMBER FOR CLASS ('a small wine-glass of the size and form commonly used for sherry and similar wines') (see Bierwiazzonek 2013; Paszenda & Góralczyk 2018) or the PROTOTYPICAL MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR WHOLE CATEGORY (see Kosecki 2005: 56).

In turn, the metonymic chain responsible for the development of the three senses of *milliner* (*BNC*: 22 hits in 15 different texts, frequency: 0.22 instances per million words), as defined by the *OED*: 1. 'a native or inhabitant of Milan' (a literal sense)

(since the 16<sup>th</sup> century); 2. 'a vendor of 'fancy' wares and articles of apparel, especially of such as were originally of Milan manufacture, e.g., 'Milan bonnets', ribbons, gloves, cutlery (obsolete)' (since the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>); 3. 'a person (usually a woman) who makes up articles of female apparel, especially bonnets and other headgear' (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>25</sup>), could be formulated in the following way: PLACE FOR INHABITANT OF A PLACE FOR VENDOR OF ARTICLES ORIGINALLY PRODUCED IN THAT PLACE FOR PERSON MAKING UP ARTICLES OF FEMALE APPAREL THAT WERE ORIGINALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE.

The *OED* informs us that the term *currant* (*BNC*: 69 hits in 35 different texts, frequency: 0.7 instances per million words) was originally derived from French *raisins de Corinthe* 'raisins of Corinth', which before 1500 was reduced to *corauntz*, *coraunce*, whence the later *corantes*, *currants*, and *corans*, *currence*, *currans*. The senses that the word represents can be defined as: 1. 'the raisin or dried fruit prepared from a dwarf seedless variety of grape, grown in the Levant' (since the 14<sup>th</sup> century); 2. 'small round berry of certain species of *Ribes* (*R. nigrum*, *R. rubrum*) called Black and Red Currants' (since the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>26</sup>). In this case they also seem to be motivated by the working of a metonymic chain. Specifically, the metonymy PLACE FOR FRUIT FROM THAT PLACE is accompanied by the metonymic projection CATEGORY FOR A SUBTYPE OF A CATEGORY.

The final example in this group that I would like to briefly analyse is that of *gipsy/gypsy* (*BNC*: 229 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 2.33 instances per million words) defined by the *OED* as 'a member of a wandering race (by themselves called Romany), of Hindu origin, which first appeared in England about the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and was then believed to have come from Egypt'. Gypsies tend to have dark tawny skin and black hair. They traditionally make a living by basket-making, horse-dealing, fortune-telling, etc. and have usually been objects of suspicion from their nomadic life and habits. Their language (called Romany) is a greatly corrupted dialect of Hindi, with large admixture of words from various European languages. The present-day senses of



gipsy (see the *OED*): 1. 'gipsy language, Romany'; 2. 'a cunning rogue' (obsolete) (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>27</sup>); 3. 'a contemptuous term for a cunning, deceitful, fickle woman'; a 'baggage', 'hussy'. In more recent use merely playful, and applied especially to a 'brunette' (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28</sup>), seem to be the result of the activation of the metonymic chain: PLACE FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE followed by PERSON FOR LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY THIS PERSON and accompanied by PERSON FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ATTRIBUTE (cunning, deceitful, fickle woman).

## 12. Conclusions

In this paper, I have analysed, with varying degrees of detail, more than 30 examples of the mechanism of commonization whereby nouns originally used as place-names through the working of conceptual processes acquired the status of common nouns accompanied by subsequent semantic changes. The research shows that in most cases (13) meaning shifts are motivated by sequences of metonymic projections, the so-called metonymic chains, as in the case of *shanghai*, *derby*, *champagne*, *parchment*, *blarney*, *sherry*, *turquoise*, *tarantula*, *spruce*, *milliner*, *gipsy/gypsy*, *currant*, and *bayonet*. Among the analysed examples one may find 6 cases of single metonymic projections (*Mackinaw*, *cheddar*, *china*, *tuxedo*, *magenta*, *bungalow*), 2 place-names (*Bordeaux*, *Cologne*) whose changes in meanings are also motivated metonymically or, depending on the interpretation adopted, merely result from ellipsis, though the relevant metonymic projections do not form chains in that the new senses are not necessarily related, 6 examples of metonymic projections leading to metaphorical extensions (*Golconda*, *Japan*, *meander*, *spaniel*, *peach*, *bantam*), and one example of metaphor leading to metonymy (*Niagara*). It is important to emphasise the fact that the corpus of data subject to analysis is not representative enough to make it possible to arrive at far-reaching conclusions; however, I believe it enables me to formulate a few generalizations. First and foremost, it is not merely single metonymy that is responsible for commonization. In fact, in many cases we notice the working of metonymic chains and at least in some, metonymy-metaphor interfaces. Thus, the results of the research

show how complex the changes are, whether they are motivated by single metonymies or metonymic chains, or a combination of metonymy and metaphor. More importantly, broadly understood historical context and a panchronic approach allow for a thorough analysis of the mechanism in hand because synchrony and diachrony must be treated as an integrated whole.

It is clear that further study on a larger corpus is necessary in order to confirm or refute the validity of the hypotheses formulated here. As the analysis of the historical data targeted in this paper shows, most of the cases of commonization go back to the Modern English period. Many of the figurative developments discussed originated as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, e.g., *turquoise* and some even earlier, e.g., *parchment* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In this account, I have analysed selected examples of commonization – figurative use of place-names with reference to people, animals, inorganic entities, and abstract concepts that were extracted from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. I have investigated the frequency of their use in the *British National Corpus*. The number of hits for various cases of commonization listed in the *BNC* ranges from 0 (e.g., in the case of *Mackinaw*) through 58 for *Niagara* to 1189 for *champagne*. Since in some cases the analysed examples have a limited frequency of appearance in *BNC*, other corpora had to be consulted.

The changes in meaning discussed here take place in time and space but they are conceptual in nature and the historical context or historical perspective shows their real scope or abundance. Since the changes are motivated by such cognitive processes as metonymy or the interface between metonymy and metaphor (as in the case of *japan* 'to blacken' > 'to be ordained a priest'), they help one to perceive language as a cognitive tool of human categorization. Thus, the historical context portraying the abundance of cognitively-oriented linguistic changes shows the importance of the panchronic perspective, where panchrony is understood as a combination of language change and

cognition, and enables one to realize (and appreciate?) the presence of cognitive factors in historical language description. Language operates in or embodies human understanding and language change mirrors processes of thought, conceptualisation, and categorization and although linguistic changes take place in time and space, they are deeply rooted in human cognition and the ways, in which the human mind perceives the surrounding reality.

To conclude, let me stress the fact that language change is determined historically in diachrony and it is motivated cognitively in panchrony, by which I mean that language change is part and parcel of the evolution of human thought and understanding. Since this is merely a pilot study, a part of a larger whole, I have only signalled the complexity of the analysed problem and I have not been able to determine the productivity of metaphor-metonymy patterns responsible for the process of commonization as such. This aspect of the research, as well as other issues mentioned in the introduction, need further investigation. In particular, further research might allow one to gain insight into a number of problematic areas, such as delving into patterns of metaphor/metonymy interaction in the process of commonization, the analysis of the frequency of the use of cases of commonization in other corpora, an attempt to determine the types of proper nouns employed as possible sources, as well as to investigate the productivity of the identified targets (people, inanimate beings, plants, abstract concepts). So far, I have merely tried to determine the role of historical context for selected cases of commonization that result from the working of metonymy/metaphor or both mechanisms.

## **Notes**

1. For an interesting discussion of toponyms see Panasenko (2018), while for a thought-provoking account of toponymy see Rutkowski (2019).
2. See, among others, Kiełtyka (2017; 2019) for the discussion of zoosemic data in terms of metaphor-metonymy interaction.

3. Used since the 19<sup>th</sup> century *OED: 1822 J. W. Croker Diary 11 Jan., She and Lady Eliz. were dressed in rich **cashmeres** the wide borders of the shawls making the flounce of the gown.*
4. *OED: 1880 Times 20 Nov. 10/1 The people of New Pallas have resolved to '**Boycott**' them and refused to supply them with food or drink.*
5. *OED: c 1205 Lay. 3715 Cordoille þe wes **Francene** quene.*
6. *OED: 1555 W. Watreman Fardle Facions App. 321 The bondeman lacketh the **francque** noblenes of minde.*
7. It has been used in this sense since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
8. Supposedly, Brudenell invented the cardigan after noticing that the tails of his coat had accidentally been burnt off in a fireplace.
9. *OED: 1676 Streyntsham Master MS. Diary (India Office) 25 Nov., It was thought fit to sett up **Bungales** or Hovells for all such English in the Company's Service as belong to their Sloopes & Vessells.*
10. Used since the 17<sup>th</sup> century (*OED: a 1661 Fuller Worthies, Somerset (1662) 18 The worst fault of **Cheddar** Cheese is, they are so few and dear.*)
11. *OED: 1634 Sir T. Herbert Trav. 41 They sell Callicoes, Cheney Sattin, **Cheney** ware.*
12. Consider the following *OED* context of use: *1914 Daily Express 20 Nov. 5/5 'Bigland's **Bantams**' will probably be the pet name of a battalion which is being raised of men who are just too short to enlist under the ordinary conditions. The **Bantams** Battalion has been recognised by the War Office.*
13. The *OED* quotation: *1891 T. Hardy Tess xliv, Her journey back was rather a **meander** than a march.*
14. The *OED* evidence: *1754 E. Turner Let. 16 Aug. in Dickins & Stanton 18<sup>th</sup>-Cent. Corresp. (1910) 238, I had almost forgot that orange **Peach**, your Niece.*
15. *OED: 1780 Burke Let. Merlott Wks. IX. 259 On the demand of 40,000 Irish **bayonets**.*

16. OED: 1888 C.M. Yonge *Our New Mistress* ii. 14 *She had been two years from her training college, and had an excellent **parchment** and report from the place she had left.*
17. OED: 1896 Godey's Mag. Apr. 365/1 *His candid devotion to 'small cold bottles' is unfailing **champagne** to the audience.*
18. OED: 1796 Scott Let. 26 Sept. (1932) I. 55, *I hold it (so to speak) to be all **Blarney**.*
19. OED: 1892 Sporting Life 26 March 7/5 *They were to use the new Ayling oars, and the '**spruces**' went much better than on the preceding day.*
20. OED: 1638–56 Cowley  *Davideis* i. Notes §32 *We should hardly be convinced of this Physick, unless it be in the particular cure of the **Tarantism**, the experiments of which are too notorious to be denied or eluded.*
21. OED: 1853 Kane Grinnell Exp. viii. (1856) 61 *The blue and white were mixed in a pale **turkois**.*
22. OED: 1924 Galsworthy *White Monkey* ii. ix. 192 *Will you have a **sherry**?*
23. OED: 1907 *Yesterday's Shopping* (1969) 937 *Table glass services: 12 **Sherries**, 12 Ports, 12 Clarets [etc.].*
24. OED: c 1550 Disc. Common Weal Eng. (1893) 64 *No not so much as a spurre, but it must be fett at the **milliners** hand.*
25. OED: 1857 Geo. Eliot *Scenes Clerical Life* (1858) II. 99 *It was hard for Mrs. Raynor to have to work at **millinering**—a woman well brought up.*
26. OED: 1578 Lyte *Dodoens* vi. xx. 683 *The first kinde is called Ribes rubrum; in English Redde Gooseberries, Bastard **Corinthes**.*
27. OED: 1627 E. F. Hist. Edw. II (1680) 88 *This overture being come to the queens ear, and withal the knowledge how this **Gipsie** [Spenser] had marshall'd his cunning practice, she seem'd wondrously well-pleas'd.*
28. OED: 1632 Shirley *Love in a Maze* iv. 51 *Yon. I heard You court another Mistris, that did answer it with entertainment. Thor. She was a very **Gipsie**. You were no sooner parted, but she us'd me Basely.*

## List of abbreviations

BNC – British national corpus

COCA – Corpus of contemporary American English

MWD – Merriam-Webster dictionary

OED – Oxford English dictionary

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## Résumé

In the history of English, one may encounter numerous cases when the name on a map takes on its own meaning as a common word. In this account, drawing on lexicographic data obtained from the *Merriam Webster Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I have analysed a number of examples of commonization, that is a mechanism, by which various proper names start to function as common words. For example, *Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea' is sometimes used figuratively as a verb *to shanghai* someone 'to kidnap a person onto a ship (or, more broadly, any unwanted position) and force him or her into unwilling labour'. The mechanism involved in the construal of the figurative verbal sense of *Shanghai* seems to be that of a metonymic chain. First *Shanghai* must have been metonymically regarded as a place from which people could be kidnapped to be later

forced into unwilling labour and then, by another metonymic projection, the word started to be used as a verb meaning 'to kidnap a person onto a ship...'. The paper provides evidence supporting the claim that commonization may be interpreted as resulting from the working of panchronically-conditioned conceptual metaphor, metonymy, or the joint-operation of the two conceptual mechanisms (metaphonymy), while the motivation behind selected figurative developments seems to be determined by broadly understood historical context. The theoretical framework adopted in the research is that of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory.

**Key words:** place-names, metaphor, metonymy, commonization, historical context, metonymic chain.

## Appendix

**Table 1. The frequency of appearance of selected cases of commonization in *BNC***

<b>Item</b>	<b><i>BNC</i> frequency</b>	<b>Figurative changes in meaning anchored in time</b>
<i>Mackinaw</i>	No matches in <i>BNC</i>	1. 'a trading post', 2. 'a heavy wool cloth or a coat made from it'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Golconda</i>	5 hits in 3 different texts, frequency: 0.05 instances per million words	1. 'the old name of Hyderabad', 2. 'mine of wealth'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Bordeaux (wine)</i>	6 hits in 5 different texts, frequency: 0.06 instances per million words	1. 'a city in France', 2. 'the wine made in Bordeaux, claret'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Homburg</i>	19 hits in 18 different texts, frequency: 0.19 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a city in Germany', 2. 'a hat with a narrow curled brim and a lengthwise dent in a crown'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>milliner</i>	22 hits in 15 different texts, frequency: 0.22 instances per million words	1. 'a native or inhabitant of Milan' (a literal sense); since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, 2. 'a vendor of 'fancy' wares and articles of apparel, especially of such as were originally of Milan manufacture'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'a person (usually a woman) who makes up articles of female apparel, especially bonnets and other headgear'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Blarney</i>	25 hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.25 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a village near Cork in Ireland', 2. 'smoothly flattering or cajoling talk' or 'nonsense'; since the 18 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Tarantula/ tarantism</i>	32	1. 'Taranto a town in modern Apulia', 2. 'tarantism – the bite of the tarantula'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century

	hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.33 instances per million words	
<i>Niagara</i>	58 hits in 37 different texts, frequency: 0.59 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a North American river', 2. 'flow or vast quantity, torrent, deluge'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>cologne</i>	62 hits in 42 different texts, frequency: 0.63 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a city in Germany' 2. 'a perfume consisting of alcohol and various essential oils'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>currant</i>	69 hits in 35 different texts, frequency: 0.7 instances per million words	1. 'raisins of <i>Corauntz</i> , raisins de <i>Corauntz</i> , raisins de <i>Corinthe</i> , raisins of <i>Corinth</i> ', 2. 'the raisin or dried fruit prepared from a dwarf seedless variety of grape, grown in the Levant'; since the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'small round berry of certain species of Ribes ( <i>R. nigrum</i> , <i>R. rubrum</i> ) called Black and Red Currants'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>magenta</i>	74 hits in 40 different texts, frequency: 0.75 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a town in Northern Italy', 2. 'a brilliant crimson aniline dye'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>bayonet</i>	76 hits in 48 different texts, frequency: 0.77 instances per million words	1. 'derivation from the name of the city Bayonne', 2. 'a stabbing instrument'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century 3. 'a soldier armed with a bayonet'; since the 18 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>bantam</i>	80 hits in 38 different texts, frequency: 0.81 instances per million words	1. 'Bantam in the north-west of Java'; since the 18 <sup>th</sup> century, 2. 'a small variety of the domestic fowl', 3. 'battalions of small-sized soldiers', since the 20 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>spaniel</i>	95 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 0.97 instances per million words	1. 'from Old French <i>espaignol</i> , <i>espaigneul</i> 'Spanish dog' ', 2. 'a variety of dog'; since the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'one who pries into, or searches out, something', 'a submissive, cringing, or fawning person'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>meander</i>	102 hits in 44 different texts, frequency: 1.04 instances per million words	1. 'from Latin <i>meander</i> , appellative use of the name of a river in Phrygia noted for its winding course', 2. 'sinuous windings (of a river)', 'crooked or winding paths (of a maze)', 'confusing and bewildering ways; intricacies (of affairs, the law, a subject, etc.)'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'a circuitous journey or movement; a deviation; a winding course (as in the dance)'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>cashmere</i>	111	1. 'the name of a kingdom in the Western Himalayas',

	hits in 64 different texts, frequency: 1.13 instances per million words	2. 'soft wool obtained from the Cashmere goat'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>tuxedo</i>	127 hits in 57 different texts, frequency: 1.29 instances per million words	1. 'named from <i>Tuxedo Park</i> in New York', 2. 'a short jacket without tails, for formal wear; a dinner-jacket'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Cheddar</i>	145 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 1.47 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a village near the Mendip hills in Somerset', 2. 'Cheddar cheese'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>turquoise</i>	213 hits in 146 different texts, frequency: 2.17 instances per million words	1. 'from Old French <i>turquoise</i> , later <i>turquoise</i> meaning 'Turkish' ', 2. 'a precious stone found in Persia, much prized as a gem, of a sky-blue to apple-green colour, almost opaque or sometimes translucent, consisting of hydrous phosphate of aluminium'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'a name for a colour (short for <i>turquoise</i> <i>blue</i> )'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century.
<i>gipsy</i>	229 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 2.33 instances per million words	1. 'derived from the early form <i>gipcyan</i> , which is aphetic for Egyptian', 2. 'gipsy language, Romany', 3. 'a cunning rogue' (obsolete); since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century; 4. 'a contemptuous term for a cunning, deceitful, fickle woman; a 'baggage', 'hussy' '; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>parchment</i>	246 hits in 113 different texts, frequency: 2.5 instances per million words	1. 'of or belonging to <i>Pergamum</i> , a city of Mysia in Asia Minor', 2. 'the skin of the sheep or goat, and sometimes that of other animals, dressed and prepared for writing, painting, engraving, etc.'; since the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'a skin, piece, scroll, or roll of parchment; a manuscript or document on parchment'; since the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, 4. 'a certificate'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>spruce</i>	283 hits in 112 different texts, frequency: 2.88 instances per million words	1. 'alteration of <i>Pruce</i> 'Prussia' ', 2. 'brought or obtained from Prussia'; since the 15 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'spruce fir'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century, 4. 'the wood of the spruce fir', 'an oar made of this wood'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>peach</i>	388 hits in 196 different texts, frequency: 3.95 instances per million words	1. 'from Old French <i>peche</i> based on Latin <i>persicum</i> , elliptical for <i>Persicum mālum</i> 'Persian apple' ', 2. 'the fruit of the tree <i>Amygdalus persica</i> '; since the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'someone or something of exceptional worth or quality; someone or something particularly suitable or desirable, especially an attractive young woman'; since the 18 <sup>th</sup> century

<i>frank</i>	466 hits in 319 different texts, frequency: 5.3 instances per million words	1. 'from Latin <i>Franc-us</i> , French <i>Franc</i> ', 2. 'a person belonging to the Germanic nation, or coalition of nations, that conquered Gaul in the 6 <sup>th</sup> century, and from whom the country received the name of France'; since the 13 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'marked by free and sincere expression'; since the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>bungalow</i>	528 hits in 218 different texts, frequency: 5.37 instances per million words	1. 'from Hindustani <i>banglā</i> 'belonging to Bengal' ', 2. 'originally a one-storied house (or temporary building, e.g., a summer-house), lightly built, usually with a thatched roof'; 'any one-storied house'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>sherry</i>	567 hits in 231 different texts, frequency: 5.77 instances per million words	1. 'the still white wine made near <i>Xeres</i> (now Jerez de la Frontera, a town in Andalusia, near Cadiz)', 2. 'a glass or drink of sherry'; since the 20 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'a small wine-glass of the size and form commonly used for sherry and similar wines'; since the 20 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>boycott</i>	617 hits in 220 different texts, frequency: 6.28 instances per million words	1. <i>Boycott</i> 'an English land agent in Ireland who was ostracized for refusing to reduce rents', 2. <i>to boycott</i> 'to join with others in refusing to deal with someone (as a person, organization, or country)'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>china</i>	671 hits in 332 different texts, frequency: 6.83 instances per million words	1. 'from the name of the country <i>China</i> in Asia', 2. 'China porcelain, China-ware, china'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>sandwich</i>	1044 hits in 485 different texts, frequency: 10.62 instances per million words	1. 'the name of the town of <i>Sandwich</i> in Kent', 2. 'two or more slices of bread or a split roll having a filling in between'; since the 18 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>champagne</i>	1189 hits in 449 different texts, frequency: 12.09 instances per million words	1. 'from <i>Champagne</i> derived from the name of a province of eastern France', 2. 'a well-known wine of different varieties, white and red, and still or sparkling, made in this district'; since the 17 <sup>th</sup> century, 3. 'something exhilarating, excellent, etc.'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century, 4. 'a colour like that of champagne'; since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century

Article was received by the editorial board 27.01.2020;

Reviewed 23.02.2020. and 24.02.2020.

Similarity Index 6%