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**URBAN ONOMASTICS IN GDYNIA: ON THE FUNCTIONS OF STREET
DESIGNATIONS IN GDYNIA DURING WORLD WAR II***Andrzej S. Feret***Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland**Magdalena Zofia Feret**Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce, Poland***Corresponding author*

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Abstract: The article is a contrastive study showing how streets and squares in Gdynia (Poland) were named in World War II. Street renaming served as a stamp of Nazi domination. The assumed contrastive methodological perspective takes into account the social, political, and economic factors as well as the interconnections between geographical names and issues such as power, politics, domination, social identity, and collective memory. Also, an attempt is made to determine if functions proposed in professional literature can be observed in "new" urban designations.

Key words: hodonym, Gdynia, World War II, Nazi dictatorship, change of street designations.

1. Introduction¹

Street names do not only have a function of topographical-spatial orientation, but also reflect history and are an instrument of political and cultural influence. At the time of the National Socialist dictatorship, street and place names were changed in Germany. In the cities of the occupied Poland, many streets and squares were also renamed during World War II. Street renaming served among others as a stamp of Nazi domination. All street names referring to Polish history or culture were wiped out.

At the beginning of World War II the name of the German-occupied city *Gdynia* was replaced with *Gotenhafen*, which was to be in use since then. The decision to choose the name *Gotenhafen*, derived from the name of one of the Germanic tribes and implying their likely connections with the area, was justified with the claim that the name of the contemporary city's quarter, and then a neighbouring village – Oksywie (Kashubian *Òksëwié*, Ger. *Oxhöft*), recorded as long ago as in 1209 (Słownik Geograficzny ..., 1886: 437), is alleged to be derived from the old Scandinavian word *oxihoved* – [ox head]. The names of the streets were changed there as early as in the autumn of 1939 (cf. Feret 2020:

229). After that change, more followed, as one of the objectives of the new administration back then was to make new inhabitants feel "at home", sense a sort of continuity and a cultural link between the city and the German Third Reich (cf. Choroś & Jarczak 2013: 351).

Thus, the change of the street names was the result of something more than just complying with administrative needs. That makes the contrastive toponymic analysis inseparable from the social and political as well as the economic factors. As we are going to see, the interconnections between geographical names and issues such as power, politics, domination as well as social identity and collective memory can be observed in the Nazi German name-giving practices in Gdynia (Gotenhafen).

2. Objective, method, and material

The principal objective of this article is to present the process of changing street and square names in Gdynia during World War II, which was enforced by the Nazi German authorities focused on adjusting the symbolic space to both the historical as well as political ideology. The street names discussed in the contexts of historical as well as political ideology lead us to the methodology of critical discourse analysis (cf. Wodak 2009: 1-33). Street (re) naming is grounded in social, political, and ideological practices, which can be revealed through a language analysis – in this case on the onomastic level. As it turns out, the "city-text" (Rutkowski 2019: 267) is a complex structure which plays a key role in the (re)construction of social reality. Its ideological message is usually expressed only implicitly and indirectly. The application of critical discourse analysis often allows for discovering interdependencies between textual and discourse structures, on the one hand, and social, political and ideological ones, on the other.

Almost 610 Polish hodonyms have been analysed. The data come from German and Polish city maps, Gotenhafen street inventory from 1942 and studies concerning the history of Gdynia during World War II by contemporary historians. The documents regarding German hodonyms cover the period from 1940 to 1944. Polish documents made prior to the beginning of the war were a source of information concerning the urban condition of Gdynia then. To complete the picture, one has to mention that the number of German names outs the number of Polish ones by two thirds. It results from the fact that the names of the streets were repeatedly changed within the period of the German presence: from taking over the city till abandoning it. Furthermore, one must bear in mind that a street's length can be divided into sections, each being given a separate name. As this paper is a linguistic analysis, all the names from the aforementioned period are taken into consideration, regardless of their chronological order if that is what the analysis demands.

The basic methods of this contrastive analysis involve making the inventory of the Polish street names from 1939 and then the inventory of the German street names from 1940 to 1944, followed by comparing both of them with the objective of identifying differences in street naming. Furthermore, the process of street naming itself has been examined, together with the accompanying factors, causes, and consequences. An attempt was made to explain the etymology of the toponyms from the years 1940–1944 along with their properties and modifications as well as to answer the question concerning the associations of the German street and square names with the Polish toponyms and a possible justification of the changes. As we are going to see, there is a 50% correspondence between Polish names and German names. The aforementioned methodological framework integrating interdisciplinary perspectives on urban names allows for investigating its nature and the reasons behind the discrepancy.

Since toponyms are regarded as a reflection of national and cultural relations, they are sometimes replaced with the ones that do not violate political correctness imposed in the analysed period (cf. Grotek 2016: 209). This means that names of streets constitute specific cultural areas, for they convey certain mental patterns. The language and the culture of this language users' society determine perception of the surrounding reality and, therefore, shape the linguistic worldview (cf. Bartmiński 2012: 266), the indicators of which are, among others, street names, namely the names of streets in the German-occupied Poland from the World War II period. This is so because all objects of the (para)linguistic reality are perceived in terms of the co-relation between culture and reality and thus account for new ways of perception of the surrounding world, implying a particular interpretation of reality (cf. Teubert 2019: 26-34) and shaping the linguistic image of the world.

The aforementioned observation can be applied mainly to the toponyms created since the 18th century, which professional literature defines as secondary. Primary toponyms, which were created on the basis of realistic features, appear to be much older, since they have functioned as reference and orientation signs since the Middle Ages². The latter are associated with the following functions (see Nübling et al. 2015: 243-245)³:

- indicating direction – a street name reveals where this street goes;
- indicating location – a street name reveals the street's positioning in relation to another object.

Professional literature (cf. Owsinski 2018b: 296) also lists the following toponyms which may be regarded as apparently primary:

- possessive street names referring to (groups of) people who used to live in this street, or to objects

which used to be there;

- characterizing street names referring to natural objects that used to be nearby, the street's location, purpose or features;
- commemorating street names functioning as monuments: originally they reminded of their builders, former owners, at present of characters or facts important for the specified cultural area (see Feret & Feret 2021: 70).

The latter group, often imposed by the administration, may become a means linked to the area's culture, a representative of ideology or political movement connected with current historical or political circumstances (cf. Behne 2014: 42-44; Owsiniński 2018a: 258).

The classification of hodonyms as directional, locational, possessional, characterizing, and commemorating as proposed in Nübling et al. (2015) will be adopted for the exposition of the data. The order of presenting the results of the contrastive analysis in this paper also results from the adopted classification.

3. Results

This paper, as it must comply with its quantitative limits, covers only a selection of the most illustrative instances. The examples included here feature the spelling and punctuation according to the original. Each German name not included in the tables is followed by corresponding original pre-war street name in round brackets. If the analysed street name was repeatedly changed during the war, all names concerning the instance are separated with a slash.

The tables below show the conclusions drawn from the study in the light of the aforementioned functions of hodonyms. The order of the contrastive analysis results presentation is the consequence of the adopted classification as proposed in Nübling et al. (2015). The group of hodonyms indicating direction covers 158 examples and thus is the biggest in number.

Table 1. Comparison of German directional hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|--|---|
| <i>Berliner Str.</i> – [<i>Berlin St.</i>] | <i>ul. Warszawska</i> – [<i>Warsaw St.</i>] |
| <i>Danziger Str.</i> – [<i>Gdansk St.</i>] | <i>ul. Cieszyńska</i> and <i>ul. Śląska</i> – [<i>Cieszyn St. and Silesian St.</i>] |
| <i>Dirschauer Weg</i> – [<i>Tezew Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Olchowa</i> – [<i>Alder St.</i>] |
| <i>Elbinger Weg</i> – [<i>Elblag Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Techniczna</i> – [<i>Technology St.</i>] |
| <i>Görlitzer Weg</i> – [<i>Zgorzelec Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Filomatów</i> – [<i>Philomath Society St.</i>] |
| <i>Hamburger Str.</i> and <i>Kieler Str.</i> – [<i>Hamburg St. and Kiel St.</i>] | <i>ul. Polska</i> – [<i>Polish St.</i>] |
| <i>Marienburg Str.</i> – [<i>Malbork St.</i>] | <i>ul. Litewska</i> – [<i>Lithuanian St.</i>] |
| <i>Marienwerder Str.</i> – [<i>Kwidzyn St.</i>] | <i>ul. Inżynierska</i> – [<i>Engineers St.</i>] |
| <i>Sachsenstr.</i> – [<i>Saxon St.</i>] | <i>ul. Zgody</i> – [<i>Concordia St.</i>] |

However, the general image of the change within this group is not homogenous, as one encounters different techniques of giving new names. On the one hand, there are the street names, which remained quite the same, as they were just formally Germanised, such as *Sieradzkastr.* (*ul. Sieradzka*) – [*Sieradz St.*], or were replaced with their direct German equivalent, such as *Oxhöfter Str.* (*ul. Oksywska*) – [*Oksywie St.*]. Another alternative in the case of directional hodonyms was replacing the word *ul.* (*ulica*) – [*street*] with *Straße* – [*street*] or *Gasse* – [*lane*] (cf. Pelka 2012: 26). On the other hand, there occasionally appears a changed name, which can be doubtlessly regarded as commemorating, that is indicating national values, e.g., *Katzbachstr.*⁴ (*ul. Gordona*) – [*Katzbach St.* (*Gordon St.*)]. All in all, the hodonyms indicating direction were more frequent and, therefore, better represented during the war, compared to the situation prior to September 1, 1939, when there were 138 directional hodonyms, e.g., *ul. Berestecka* – [*Berestechko St.*], *ul. Chełmińska* – [*Chelm St.*], *ul. Drohobycka* – [*Drohobych St.*], *ul. Fromborska* – [*Frombork St.*], *ul. Gnieźnieńska* – [*Gniezno St.*], *ul. Halicka* – [*Halych St.*], *ul. Jasielska* – [*Jaslo St.*], *ul. Kaliska* – [*Kalisz St.*], *ul. Lidzka* – [*Lida St.*], *ul. Łowicka* – [*Łowicz St.*].

The group of hodonyms indicating location in the pre-war period features 38 examples, e.g., *ul. Kolejowa* – [*Railway St.*], *ul. Leszczyński* – [*Hazel St.*], *ul. Łąkowa* – [*Meadow St.*], *ul. Młyńska* – [*Mill St.*], *ul. Nasypowa* – [*Embankment St.*], *ul. Ogrodowa* – [*Garden St.*], *Pl. Dworcowy* – [*Station Sq.*], *Rynek Oksywski* – [*Okisywie Market Sq.*], *ul. Sadowa* – [*Orchard St.*], *ul. Warsztatowa* – [*Workshop St.*]. Strangely, after the change of names this group is less numerous (30 examples).

Table 2. Comparison of German locational hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|--|---|
| <i>Alte-Dorfstr.</i> – [<i>Old Village St.</i>] | <i>ul. Starowiejska</i> – [<i>Old Village St.</i>] |
| <i>Bahnhofspl.</i> – [<i>Station Sq.</i>] | <i>pl. Konstytucji</i> – [<i>Constitution Sq.</i>] |
| <i>Eisenbahnstr. / Eisenbahnsiedlung</i> – [<i>Railway St. / Railway District</i>] | <i>ul. Osada Kolejowa</i> – [<i>Railway District St.</i>] |
| <i>Grenzstr. / Grenzweg</i> – [<i>Border St. / Border Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Graniczna</i> – [<i>Border St.</i>] |
| <i>Hafenstr.</i> – [<i>Harbour St.</i>] | <i>ul. Portowa</i> – [<i>Harbour St.</i>] |
| <i>Kasernenstr.</i> – [<i>Barracks St.</i>] | <i>ul. Turystyczna</i> – [<i>Tourist St.</i>] |
| <i>Neustädter Str.</i> – [<i>New Town St.</i>] | <i>ul. Wejherowska</i> – [<i>Wejherowo St.</i>] |
| <i>Seebadstr.</i> – [<i>Bathing Area St.</i>] | <i>ul. Popiela</i> – [<i>Popiel St.</i>] |
| <i>Teichweg</i> – [<i>Mere Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Stawna</i> – [<i>Mere St.</i>] |

Apart from morphological and phraseological calques, one may then observe here brand-new names, all sharing the characteristic of indicating a place nearby, e.g., the name *Seebadstr.* – [*Bathing Area St.*] refers to a sandy coast where one could bathe in the sea, *Bahnhofstr.* – [*Station St.*] indicates the railway station, which was where the road would lead.

The number of possessional street names from the war period is slightly smaller than the number of those, which appeared on street name signs before the war began. The former do not necessarily present a consistent image.

Table 3. Comparison of German possessional hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|--|---|
| <i>Bäckerstr.</i> – [<i>Baker St.</i>] | <i>ul. Piekarska</i> – [<i>Baker St.</i>] |
| <i>Fischersiedlung</i> – [<i>Fishermen District</i>] | <i>ul. Niepołonecka</i> – [<i>Niepołonice St.</i>] |
| <i>Fischerstr.</i> – [<i>Fisherman St.</i>] | <i>ul. Rybińskiego</i> – [<i>Rybiński St.</i>] |
| <i>Handwerkerstr.</i> – [<i>Craftsmen St.</i>] | <i>ul. Rzemieślnicza</i> – [<i>Craftsmen St.</i>] |
| <i>Pilotenstr.</i> – [<i>Pilots St.</i>] | <i>ul. Celna</i> – [<i>Customs St.</i>] |
| <i>Richterstr.</i> – [<i>Judges St.</i>] | <i>ul. Sędziowska</i> – [<i>Judges St.</i>] |
| <i>Stellmacherstr.</i> – [<i>Wheelwright St.</i>] | <i>ul. Kołodziejka</i> – [<i>Wheelwright St.</i>] |
| <i>Vermessungsstr.</i> – [<i>Measurement St.</i>] | <i>ul. Miernicza</i> – [<i>Measurer St.</i>] |
| <i>Wikingerstr.</i> – [<i>Vikings St.</i>] | <i>ul. Jana z Kolna</i> – [<i>Jan of Kolno St.</i>] |
| <i>Zunftsstr.</i> – [<i>Guild St.</i>] | <i>ul. Cedrowa</i> – [<i>Cedar St.</i>] |

One may immediately notice that the vast majority of them correspond with the Polish patterns e.g., *Bootsmannstr.* (*ul. Bosmańska*) – [*Bosun St. (Bosun St.)*]. The case study of *Fischerstr.* lets us conclude that the German name was indirectly derived from the Polish surname in the original name *ul. (Jana) Rybińskiego*, which has the same root as a fisherman's profession (Pol. *ryba* – Eng. *fish*). Furthermore, in this group one may find the names which differ significantly from their Polish "originals": *Wikingerstr.*, *Zunftsstr.* In these cases, one can hardly speak of a genuine possessional function of the street names introduced during the war. This would rather reveal certain political measures aimed at imposing German culture. On the Polish side, one can identify 39 examples, e.g., *ul. Admiralska* – [*Admiral St.*], *ul. Bajończyków* – [*Bajończycy St.*], *ul. Celna* – [*Customs St.*], *ul. Góralska* – [*Highlanders St.*], *ul. Harcerska* – [*Scouts St.*], *ul. Inżynierska* – [*Engineers St.*], *ul. Kasztelańska* – [*Castellan St.*], *ul. Lotników* – [*Pilots St.*], *ul. Nauczycielska* – [*Teachers St.*], *ul. Oficerska* – [*Officers St.*].

The analysed material also revealed 39 examples of characterizing hodonyms.

Table 4. Comparison of German characterizing hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|--|---|
| <i>Ackerstr.</i> – [<i>Growing Field St.</i>] | <i>ul. Klonowa</i> – [<i>Maple St.</i>] |
| <i>Dorfstr.</i> – [<i>Village St.</i>] | <i>ul. Jasnogórska</i> , <i>ul. Kordeckiego</i> and <i>ul. Gen. Sowińskiego</i> – [<i>Jasna Góra St.</i> , <i>Kordecki St.</i> and <i>General Sowiński St.</i>] |
| <i>Eichenstr. / Eichenweg</i> – [<i>Oak St. / Oak Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Dębowa</i> – [<i>Oak St.</i>] |
| <i>Fichtenstr.</i> – [<i>Spruce St.</i>] | <i>ul. Cisowa</i> and <i>ul. Jodłowa</i> – [<i>Yew St. and Fir St.</i>] |
| <i>Grenzfließstr.</i> – [<i>Border Stream St.</i>] | <i>ul. Wileńska</i> – [<i>Vilnius St.</i>] |
| <i>Kreisstr.</i> – [<i>Circle St.</i>] | <i>ul. Prezydenta</i> – [<i>President St.</i>] |
| <i>Promenade</i> – [<i>Promenade</i>] | <i>Promenada Królowej Marysieńki</i> – [<i>Queen Marie's Promenade</i>] |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Schuttstr.</i> – [<i>Rubble St.</i>] | <i>ul. Nasypowa</i> – [<i>Embankment St.</i>] |
| <i>Unterführung</i> – [<i>Subpassing St.</i>] | <i>ul. Podjazd</i> – [<i>Driveway St.</i>] |
| <i>Wiesenweg</i> – [<i>Meadow Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Sadowa</i> and <i>ul. Łąkowa</i> – [<i>Orchard St. and Meadow St.</i>] |

In many cases of street names constituting this group, one can make an attempt to recreate the motivations behind such choices:

Helablickstr. (*ul. Przebendowskich*) – [*Helview St. (Przebendowscy St.)*] led towards the Baltic coast, where the Hel Peninsula could be seen then and also today.

Steinstr. (*Aleja Marszałka Piłsudskiego*) – [*Stone St. (Marshal Piłsudski Alley)*] runs along the district of Kamienna Góra (Steinberg) – [*Stone Mountain*] even today.

Ringstr. (*ul. Okrężna*) – [*Ringroad (Ringroad)*] runs around a residential area.

Near *Wiesenstr.* (*ul. Malczewskiego*) – [*Meadow St. (Malczewski St.)*] there were actual meadows.

The list of characterizing names in Polish is slightly longer; it amounts to 44 hodonoms, e.g., *Bulwar Nadmorski* – [*Seaside Boulevard*], *ul. Cicha* – [*Quiet St.*], *ul. Długa* – [*Long St.*], *ul. Falista* – [*Wavy St.*], *ul. Handlowa* – [*Trade St.*], *ul. Jasna* – [*Light St.*], *ul. Krótka* – [*Short St.*], *ul. Leśna* – [*Forest St.*], *ul. Łączna* – [*Joining St.*], *ul. Młyńska* – [*Mill St.*]. The juxtaposition of the German and Polish names reveals 50% of corresponding street names. However, the other half features the names, which are inconsistent.

The groups of commemorating street names before and during the war are almost equal in numbers (199 vs. 182 examples).

Table 5. Comparison of German commemorating hodonoms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|--|--|
| <i>Admiral-Hipper-Str.</i> – [<i>Admiral Hipper St.</i>] | <i>ul. Św. Piotra</i> – [<i>St. Peter's St.</i>] |
| <i>Bismarckstr.</i> – [<i>Bismarck St.</i>] | <i>ul. Kwiatkowskiego</i> and <i>ul. Poniatowskiego</i> – [<i>Kwiatkowski St. and Poniatowski St.</i>] |
| <i>Chamissostr.</i> – [<i>Chamisso St.</i>] | <i>ul. Sieroszewskiego</i> – [<i>Sieroszewski St.</i>] |
| <i>Derfflingerweg</i> – [<i>Derfflinger Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Sztumska</i> and <i>ul. Górna</i> – [<i>Sztum St. and Upper St.</i>] |
| <i>Eberhardstr.</i> – [<i>Eberhard St.</i>] | <i>ul. Techniczna</i> – [<i>Technology St.</i>] |
| <i>Fahrenheitweg</i> – [<i>Fahrenheit Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Krakowska</i> and <i>ul. Olsztyńska</i> – [<i>Cracow St. and Olsztyn St.</i>] |
| <i>General-Schlieffen-Str.</i> – [<i>General Schlieffen St.</i>] | <i>ul. Podolska</i> – [<i>Podole St.</i>] |
| <i>Hans-Sachs-Str.</i> – [<i>Hans Sachs St.</i>] | <i>ul. Fromborska</i> – [<i>Frombork St.</i>] |
| <i>Jürgen-Wullenwever-Str.</i> – [<i>Jürgen Wullenwever St.</i>] | <i>ul. Zgody</i> – [<i>Concordia St.</i>] |
| <i>Klaus-Störtebecker-Str.</i> – [<i>Klaus Störtebecker St.</i>] | <i>ul. Zygmuntowska</i> – [<i>Sigismund St.</i>] |

The analysis of the names themselves leads to a rather unpredictable conclusion, revealing a few surprising phenomena. While one may assume that certainly the names bearing direct connection with the National Socialist ideology or the Third Reich would account for the highest number of instances,

this is not the case. Such hodononyms amount to only 18 examples. Studying the city map reveals such names as *Adolf-Hitler-Pl.* (*Skwer Kościuszki*) [*Adolf Hitler Sq. (Kościuszeko Sq.)*] and *Adolf-Hitler-Str.* (*ul. Świętojańska*) [*Adolf Hitler St. (St. John's St.)*]. The table below shows further hodononyms associated with the Nazi ideology.

Table 6. Comparison of German hodononyms associated with the Nazi ideology and Polish pre-war names
(Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|---|--|
| <i>Albert-Forster-Str.</i> ⁵ – [<i>Albert Forster St.</i>] | <i>ul. Morska</i> – [<i>Marine St.</i>] |
| <i>Dietrich-Eckhardt-Str.</i> ⁶ – [<i>Dietrich Eckhardt St.</i>] | <i>ul. Cieszyńska</i> and <i>ul. Śląska</i> – [<i>Cieszyn St. and Silesian St.</i>] |
| <i>General-Litzmann-Pl.</i> ⁷ – [<i>General Litzmann Sq.</i>] | <i>pl. Kaszubski</i> – [<i>Kashubian Square</i>] |
| <i>Gneisenaustr.</i> ⁸ – [<i>Gneisenau St.</i>] | <i>ul. Asnyka</i> – [<i>Asnyk St.</i>] |
| <i>Gustav-Frenssen-Weg</i> ⁹ – [<i>Gustav Frenssen Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Grottgera</i> – [<i>Grottger St.</i>] |
| <i>Hans-Zöberlein-Str.</i> ¹⁰ – [<i>Hans Zöberlein St.</i>] | <i>ul. Ujejskiego</i> – [<i>Ujejski St.</i>] |
| <i>Hans-Knirsch-Str.</i> ¹¹ – [<i>Hans Knirsch St.</i>] | <i>ul. Gen. Bema</i> – [<i>General Bem St.</i>] |
| <i>Herbert-Norkus-Weg</i> ¹² – [<i>Herbert Norkus Rd.</i>] | <i>ul. Bydgoska</i> – [<i>Bydgoszcz St.</i>] |
| <i>Hermann-Göring-Str.</i> – [<i>Hermann Göring St.</i>] | <i>ul. 10 Lutego</i> ¹³ – [<i>10th February St.</i>] |
| <i>Horst-Wessel-Str.</i> ¹⁴ – [<i>Horst Wessel St.</i>] | <i>ul. Abrahama</i> and <i>ul. Wysockiego</i> – [<i>Abraham St. and Wysocki St.</i>] |

One may, however, notice that some of the hodononyms within this group seem to be neutral prior to a more detailed study. Yet, a thorough analysis reveals deliberate motivations. Some actions were taken with a specific purpose because of the war circumstances in order to imply that historical and cultural development of Poland had been shaped by the German cultural tradition.

Table 7. Comparison of German history- and culture-associated hodononyms and Polish pre-war names
(Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|---|--|
| <i>Burgunderstr.</i> – [<i>Burgundy St.</i>] | <i>ul. Zygmunta Augusta</i> – [<i>Sigismund Augustus St.</i>] |
| <i>Freikorpsstr. / Schillerstr.</i> – [<i>Freikorps St. / Schiller St.</i>] | <i>ul. Legionów</i> – [<i>Polish Legions St.</i>] |
| <i>Fridericus-Rex-Str.</i> – [<i>Fridericus Rex St.</i>] | <i>ul. Witomińska</i> – [<i>Witomin St.</i>] |
| <i>KöniggrätzerStr.</i> – [<i>Königgrätz St.</i>] | <i>ul. Dantyszka</i> – [<i>Dantiscus St.</i>] |
| <i>Moltkestr.</i> – [<i>Moltke St.</i>] | <i>ul. Batorego</i> – [<i>Batory St.</i>] |
| <i>Preußenstr.</i> – [<i>Prussian St.</i>] | <i>ul. Drogowa</i> – [<i>Road St.</i>] |
| <i>Sedanstr.</i> – [<i>Sedan St.</i>] | <i>ul. Admiralska</i> – [<i>Admiral St.</i>] |
| <i>Tannenbergpl. / Hindenburgpl.</i> – [<i>Tannenberg Sq. / Hindenburg Sq.</i>] | <i>pl. Bolesława Chrobrego</i> – [<i>Boleslaw Chrobry Sq.</i>] |
| <i>Teutonenstr.</i> – [<i>Teutonian St.</i>] | <i>ul. 3 Maja</i> and <i>ul. Kołobrzaska</i> – [<i>3rd May St. and Kolobrzeg St.</i>] |
| <i>Verdunstr.</i> – [<i>Verdun St.</i>] | <i>ul. Emigracyjna</i> – [<i>Immigration St.</i>] |

Some of the Polish names within the analysed group were not in line with the reality of the occupied country, as they commemorated both the individuals (*ul. Zygmunta Augusta*, *pl. Bolesława Chrobrego*) and the groups of people (*ul. Legionów*, *ul. Filomatów*) whose role in the Polish history was tremendously memorable. Therefore, it seems fully understandable for the Germans in the circumstances of World War II to change the street name: *ul. 3 Maja*, commemorating the Constitution

of May 3, 1791, whose objective was to save the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and which, according to Davies (1996: 699) was the first constitution of this type in Europe.

The number of the pre-war commemorating names in the Polish language is slightly higher than those introduced during the war: the analysed city map features 199 of them, e.g., *ul. 11 Listopada* – [November 11 St.], *ul. Abrahama* – [Abraham St.], *ul. Biruty* – [Biruta St.], *ul. Ceynowy* – [Ceynowa St.], *ul. Dachnowskiego* – [Dachnowski St.], *ul. Ejsmonda* – [Ejsmond St.], *ul. Fredry* – [Fredro St.], *ul. Gedymina* – [Gedymin St.], *ul. Hallerczyków* – [Haller's Army St.], *pl. Górnośląski* – [Upper Silesian Sq.]. Furthermore, one must point out that there seems to have been an extra element of German contempt accompanying motivations for changes such as, e.g., *Berliner Str.* (*ul. Warszawska*), *Mozartweg* (*ul. Moniuszki*), *Adolf Hitler Sq.* (*pl. Kościuszki*) or *Hans-Knirsch-Str.* (*ul. Gen. Bema*).

Moreover, a general trend concerning the street name changes should be identified (cf. Feret 2017: 79-83): the chosen name may have had the same initial sound as the preceding one. Also, acoustic similarity and the length of the word, that is a comparable number of syllables, may have been taken into consideration.

Table 8. Comparison of German phonetically motivated hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

| German name | Polish pre-war name |
|--|---|
| <i>Böttcherstr.</i> – [Coopers St.] | <i>ul. Bednarska</i> – [Cooper St.] |
| <i>Danielstr.</i> – [Daniel St.] | <i>ul. Danielskiego</i> – [Danielski St.] |
| <i>Herderstr.</i> – [Herder St.] | <i>ul. Hallerczyków</i> – [Haller's Army St.] |
| <i>Kniprodeweg</i> – [Kniprode Road] | <i>ul. Kujawska</i> – [Kujawy Road] |
| <i>Laubstr.</i> – [Leafy St.] | <i>ul. Lindego</i> – [Linde St.] |
| <i>Mozartweg</i> – [Mozart Road] | <i>ul. Moniuszki</i> – [Moniuszko St.] |
| <i>Ratiborer Str.</i> – [Raciborz St.] | <i>ul. Remborska</i> – [Rembor St.] |
| <i>Schönecker Str. / Weg</i> – [Schönecker St. / Road] | <i>ul. Żmudzka</i> – [Samogitian St.] |
| <i>Wagenstr.</i> – [Wagon St.] | <i>ul. Wawrzyniaka</i> – [Wawrzyniak St.] |
| <i>Zempelburgstr.</i> – [Sępólno Krajeńskie St.] | <i>ul. Sępólna</i> – [Sępólno St.] |

Obviously, only these instances of the whole corpus in which other potentially contributing factors were not at play seem to support this hypothesis.

4. Conclusions

Below we present the conclusions resulting from the comparison of Gdynia's hodonyms prior to September 1939 and after the changes imposed by the war conditions.

Regarding the hodonyms indicating direction one may observe a quantitative increase: on the analysed city map from 1938 there are 140 street names of this type, while after the change their

number rises by 13% (to 158). One must, however, note the opposite trend within the group of street names indicating location: those introduced after the onset of the war (32) are less numerous than those from 1939 (38). The discrepancy is more noticeable in the case of possessional street names: 40 Polish ones versus 15 German ones. Also, there were fewer (39) characterizing street names after the change. They appeared more frequently before the war (44). Commemorating hodonyms are nearly equally represented in both groups being subject to this comparison.

The introduction of new hodonyms in Gdynia during World War II was a very clear and important turning point for the city itself, as street names belong to the semiotic composition of the local and national identity. The "city-text", which among others includes street names, functions as a system of political identification, the aim of which is to establish a certain worldview, which also represents the balance of power in the society and can be understood as a physical manifestation of hegemonic discourse. In this respect, the change of street names in Gdynia (Gotenhafen) during World War II was closely related to the legitimization of the new political order in this geographical area, i.e. an urban space was regarded as an area where new power relations were validated. By designing or selectively re-interpreting "national" narratives of unity and tradition, landmarks were created. Consequently, changing street names, not only in the circumstances discussed in this paper, can be understood as part of a discourse that intertwines legitimacy of a given system with everyday life, controlling meanings of concepts and symbols and making alternative narratives fade into oblivion.

Notes

1. The change of street names across occupied Poland is a subject of the research project conducted by the authors of this paper. Its results – each from a different research perspective – were published in several papers (see References). This also concerns the change of street names in Gdynia, yet the functions of the newly introduced hodonyms have not been discussed so far, as considering them would have gone beyond the scope assumed for that study. To complete the picture, it should be mentioned that another publication of our series of articles concerning street name changes during World War II is planned.
2. Handke (1992: 25-27) claims they date back even to the ancient period.
3. Myszka (2018) discusses several alternative ways of classification.
4. To commemorate the Battle of the Katzbach of August 26, 1813, in which the Silesian army commanded by General Field Marshal Blücher and Major General Gneisenau defeated Napoleon's forces (cf. Biereye 2006 [1913]: 114).
5. Albert Forster was a gauleiter of the NSDAP in Gdansk from 1930 to 1945, and from 1939 was the Reich's governor there.

6. Dietrich Eckart was a writer and publisher, an early supporter and ideologist of national socialism.
7. Karl Litzmann was a general of Prussian infantry during World War I and later an NSDAP politician.
8. August Neidhardt von Gneisenau was a Prussian field marshal. It also was the name of one of the first ships whose tonnage significantly exceeded the limits imposed by the Treaty of Versailles (cf. Breyer 2001: 125; Garzke & Dulin 1985: 212).
9. Gustav Frenssen was a German novelist supporting people's socialism and national socialism.
10. Hans Zöberlein was a writer, national socialist and a leader of an SA brigade.
11. Hans Knirsch was a German politician of national movement in Austria and Czechoslovakia, a co-founder of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei DNSAP).
12. Herbert Norkus was a member of Hitlerjugend organisation, killed by communists during a propaganda campaign; he was then presented as a 'martyr' of this organisation.
13. On February 10, 1920 General Józef Haller and some representatives of the Polish government threw a platinum ring into the Baltic Sea as a sign of Poland's solidarity with the sea, granted to Poland after the Treaty of Versailles (cf. Orłowski 2007: 320-321). On February 10, 1926 the Council of Ministers issued a decree granting city rights to Gdynia, a former fishing village.
14. Horst Wessel was an SA sturmführer in Berlin, posthumously acclaimed as the NSDAP martyr.

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Contact data

Author #1

| | | |
|--|---|--|
|  | <p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title</i> <i>/ rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i> <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of</i> <i>interest:</i></p> | <p>Andrzej S. Feret Professor, PhD Hab. in Linguistics Associate Professor Institute of Germanic Philology Jagiellonian University in Cracow al. A. Mickiewicza 9a 31-120 Kraków, Poland andrzej.s.feret@uj.edu.pl Contrastive grammar, phonology, renaming places and streets on the Polish territory during World War II, German borrowings in Polish.</p> |
|--|---|--|

Author #2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
|  | <p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title</i> <i>/ rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i> <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of</i> <i>interest:</i></p> | <p>Magdalena Zofia Feret PhD in Linguistics Assistant Professor Institute of Literary Studies and Linguistics Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Poland ul. Uniwersytecka 17, 25-406 Kielce, Poland magdalena.feret@ujk.edu.pl Nominal phrase in German, cognitive linguistics, translation studies, renaming places and streets on the Polish territory during World War II.</p> |
|---|---|---|

Résumé

This paper covers a comparison of hodonyms from the pre-war and war-time periods. The name of the city of Gdynia was replaced with Gotenhafen under the German occupation, at the beginning of World War II. The street names were changed here in the autumn of 1939, as one of the most important goals of the new administration was to give the new population a sense of home, continuity, to link the city to the German Reich in terms of culture. Street names contribute to constituting a cultural

area, they convey certain thought patterns, determine the perception of the surrounding reality, and thus shape the linguistic image of the world. All objects of (para)linguistic reality are regarded as based on the culture-reality correlation, which contributes to the way the world is perceived and interpreted, forming the linguistic worldview. There were several initially neutral names, which resulted from a deliberate action taken to imply that the historical and cultural development of Poland was shaped by the German cultural tradition. When renaming a street, the name with the same initial sound as the existing one was commonly chosen. Concerning the honyms' functions, the representation of commemorative ones is nearly equal in both the compared groups. There are fewer characterising street names after the change than before the war. This discrepancy is even stronger in the case of possessional names, yet, quite unlike in the case of directional references: their number had increased by more than 13%. As for the group of locational names: those introduced after the outbreak of the war are fewer in numbers than in 1939. The change of street names was conducted so consistently that the original Polish names were no longer found in Gdynia's urban landscape, replaced with the German ones – new or created in reference to the Polish names.

Key words: honym, Gdynia, World War II, Nazi dictatorship, change of street designations.

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