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# FEMININE URBANONYMY IN POLISH AND ITALIAN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

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**Abstract:** The paper presents an onomastic analysis of feminine urbanonymy of selected Polish and Italian towns and cities in the light of gender naming studies and proposes a typology of observed onymic and cultural phenomena in the linguistic landscape. The disparity in male and female naming in the urban space is a global cultural concern and generates emancipatory social actions that lead to a better understanding of the importance of harmony in gender urbanonymy (mainly hodonymy).

**Key words:** urbanonymy, feminine urbanonymy, hodonymy, onomastics, female, male, gender naming, linguistic landscape.

## 1. Introduction

Gender is one of the social constructs and properties that determine humans. People identify and perceive the world through the gender types framed by their cultural and linguistic features. Effectively, "[the gender] has obvious links to the real world, first in the connection between many grammatical gender systems and biological sex, and second in other types of categorization such as size, which underpin particular gender systems and also have external correlates" (Corbett 2014b: 1). Moreover, "[t]he social categories of gender are quite unlike other categories of social analysis, such as class, in being firmly and visibly connected to biological difference and function in a biological process" (Connell 1985: 266).

Apparently, there are many features that permit the distinction of one sex from the other. Furthermore, they affect the formation of gender stereotypes, views about men and women, which are the basis of the so-called world of men and the world of women, especially in the relationship between the male and female sexes. We can observe the domination of one sex over the other (the male over the female), subordination and discrimination as a consequence of sexism, and, yet, the respect, the empathy, the appreciation, the admiration and the attraction of one sex to the other. Both "worlds" manifest their specificity as well in language. In the field of linguistic and cultural phenomena, there is a need for proprial categorization and designation of men and women by the use of onyms that commemorate individuals or social groups and refer to the classes of male and female anthroponymy. From this gender determined onomastic perspective, we can note a kind of competition between men and women, emulation, and a revaluation of the parity rights adopted in the public policies of modern societies.

The gender issue emerges in many social and cultural contexts that are in the area of interests of scientists representing different disciplines; besides language studies, it is important to mention sociology, anthropology, biology and medicine, psychology, history to a certain extent, political science, law, and many others, including sub-disciplines that relate to the study of both sexes (Connell 1985; Connell & Pearse 2015; Gillis & Jacobs 2019; Kang et al. 2017; cfr. Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019: 86). Nowadays, it is the subject of a range of academic analyses, which are interdisciplinarily determined as "gender studies" (e.g., Connell 1985; Gillis & Jacobs 2019; Giora 2002; Introduction to women's... 2017; Kang et al. 2017). In some countries and social circles, this trend of scientific research, unfortunately, raises controversy: it is discredited and recognized as biased and too trivial, which prompts the emergence of various attitudes, e.g., of those who try to negate and discredit the development of this type of academic study subject (see e.g., Anti-gender movements on the rise?..., *s.a.*; Korolczuk 2016).

Gender issues have been addressed in a few linguistic works published in the last 20 years (e.g., Audring 2014; 2016; Formato 2019; Gender in grammar... 1999; Mandelli & Müller 2013; Rejter 2013; Robustelli 2014; The expression of gender... 2014; van Berkum 1996), leading to the naming of this area of research as "sex linguistics" (Karwatowska & Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010; cf., Gilbert & Gubar 1985, and the concept of "genderlect" in Motschenbacher 2007). At the same time, there are onomastic works that bring up for discussion this naming topic (e.g., Skowronek 2017; in the same scientific perspective see also Breillat et al. 2005; Ercolini 2011, 2013; Fucarino 2013b; Pignatari 2010), which may result from the use of gender studies methodology, and is the simple perception of the natural femininity and masculinity elements as objects of the onymic units submitted to research. For example, anthroponomasticians deal with the system and the functioning of personal names given to men and women (e.g., Barry & Harper 1993; Caffarelli 2011; Ndoma 1977; Sestito 2016; Thonus 1991; Wilson & Skipper 1990), while toponomasticians study male or female name motivation in the creation of deanthroponymic place names (e.g., Czopek-Kopciuch 2017; Karpluk 1955). This vision has also become a part of chrematonomastic research and, in general, concerns different categories of proper names (e.g., Nilsen 1995).

## **2. Hypothesis, materials and methods**

In this paper, I am particularly focused on the use of female identification in Polish and Italian urbanonyms, which represent two European cultures, illustrating in this manner a wider global phenomenon. The choice concerning the Italian and Polish urban linguistic landscape is based on the fact that both cultural territories have a connection to a common civilization, but at the same time they differ noticeably in historical and psychosociological terms (the concept of "linguistic landscape" is adopted from Landry & Bourhis 1997).

**The hypothesis** I set assumes the overrepresentation of onymic units motivated by names related to men, and thus the low share of references to women in Polish and Italian urbanonymy. The problem has so far been signalled by few onomasticians and

social scientists (see Walkowiak 2018; Ercolini 2011, 2013; Fucarino 2013a, 2013b; Pignatari 2010; cf., Note 1). My research contributes to the development of this field in onomastic and gender studies, and what I would like to demonstrate is the socio-onomastic recognition of the phenomenon of female references and representations in urbanonyms in a selected set of hodonymic and other toponymic, and, sometimes, "chrematonymic" units. I assume here the classical definition of hodonyms as street and square names, and chrematonyms, or, specifically, "chrematonyms", as names of cultural objects referred to their placement (e.g., business names, institutional names, building names, etc.; see ICOS lists of key onomastic terms, *s.a.*; cf., also Gałkowski 2018). Both categories are considered as "socially important elements" (Rutkowski 2019: 267). In the theory of Landry & Bourhis (1997: 26-27), the first can be englobed in the range of "government / public signs" ("road signs, place names, street names, and inscriptions on government buildings including ministries, hospitals, universities, town halls, schools, metro stations, and public parks"); the second corresponds to "private / commercial signs" ("storefronts and business institutions [...], commercial advertising on billboards, and advertising signs displayed in public transport and on private vehicles").

### *2.1 The corpus methodology selection*

**The onymic corpus** submitted to analysis originates from many sources: the Italian part is the total feminine hodonymy collected and classified by researchers and activists of the Italian *Toponomastica femminile* Association (see <http://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/>)<sup>1</sup>; in the field of Polish data, it is a collection of proprial units that I found on numerous websites, lists of public places (e.g., *Katalog ulic i placów...* 2013), and, above all, from the TERYT database of the Polish Central Statistical Office website (*Rejestr TERYT...*, *s.a.*), which has registered the hodonyms of all Polish localities: above all, street and square names, as well as district and green area names, and others that in onomastic terms belong to urbanonymy. The main attention was dedicated to four selected Polish cities: Łódź, Białystok, Płock and Skierniewice, including special analysis of the hodonymy of these

urban centres (see Bieńkowska & Umińska-Tytoń 2013; Fiedorowicz et al. 2012; Groblińska 2020; Gryszpanowicz 2016; Kita & Nartowicz-Kot 2012). The total number of analysed onyms exceeds 1,000 units. In general, the Italian corpus is larger and available on the *Toponomastica femminile* website for all Italian towns and cities, systematized in regional statistics (Censimenti..., s.a.).

As far as **the methodological selection** of the material is concerned, the study includes the names of objects directly dedicated to female figures, e.g., *ul. Emilii Plater*<sup>2</sup> (a street in Łódź and many other Polish localities; nom. *Emilia Plater*, a 19<sup>th</sup> century revolutionary woman<sup>3</sup>) or *Instytut Centrum Zdrowia Matki Polki* (Polish Mother's Health Centre Institute, a hospital in Łódź; see Fig. 1) with the status of a public place in the city, as well as those in which there are references to women because of the already named object appearing in the denomination, e.g., in Italy, *Biblioteca del Convento di S. Maria Valleverde* (Library of the Convent of St. Mary Valleverde, Celano) or the *Biblioteca del Monastero delle benedettine celestine di S. Basilio* (Library of the Monastery of the Celestine Benedictines of St. Basil, L'Aquila). More specifically, I took into consideration forms which, in their cultural context, evoke the range of semes expressing femininity, e.g., *Żeński Dom Studencki KUL* (Female Student House of the Catholic University in Lublin, Poland) or *Fontana delle Tette* (The Fountain of the Tits in Treviso, Italy).



Figure 1. Polish Mother's Health Centre Institute in Łódź and the accompanying statue of a mother with a child. Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

Nonetheless, I do not develop here the issue of grammatical femininity or "feminativity"<sup>4</sup>. It is worth noting, however, that there are then official documents that

refer to and regulate this field of linguistic use; e.g., in Italian, one can consult a guide for the use of gender in administrative language, which is a study published on the site of the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research (*Linee Guida per l'uso del genere...* 2018). The document refers to both the grammar and the lexis defined by a grammatical and natural gender, the principles of which must be observed in Italian administrative communication. In a psycho-linguistic perspective, a quite spectacular exemplary effect of the application of this guide is the final approval of Italian forms such as *la ministra* 'the woman minister' or *la sindaca* 'the woman mayor' (alongside *il ministro* 'the minister' and *il sindaco* 'the mayor', so far universal and politically correct terms, like Pol. masc. n. *minister* 'the minister' and masc. n. *burmistrz* 'the mayor' or masc. n. *prezydent* 'the president'; cf., Note 4).

### *2.3 The method of the study adopted and methodological restrictions*

This onomastic analysis is primarily of a qualitative nature, but it relies on quantitative gender naming data that are significant for observed trends. The research method goes beyond the frames of traditionally understood onomastics, however close to new directions of analysis that are determined by toponomastics or neo-toponomastics (considering toponyms that indicate, but at the same time say something about a named object, and assume the function of permanent information, often symbolic and suggestive). The applied research includes methods of fieldwork, which confirm official data in urban space and linguistic use, i.e. their occurrence, and graphic and iconic context.

In the quantitative calculations based on the research formula, a combination of onomastic facts from selected Polish and Italian towns and cities was treated, taking into account the total number of honyms in a given administrative urban space and the ratio of the number of names referring to men and women. In the qualitative analysis, a classification has been applied using the form for the census card (*Modello per la scheda di censimento*), adapted by researchers of the Italian *Toponomastica femminile* Association. It presents the names classified in 13 categories of dedications

addressed to women (see Appendix), according to *Criteri di classificazione delle figure femminili* 'Criteria for the classification of female figures' applied to the analysis as a complex methodological key (*Criteri di classificazione...*, *s.a.*).

In **onomastic terms**, all the collected denominations can be ranged within the name category **feminine urbanonymy** (cf., the concept of "urban toponymy" in Rutkowski 2019 and Pol. *nazewnictwo miejskie* 'urban naming' according to Bieńkowska & Umińska-Tytoń 2013; cf., also Bieńkowska & Umińska-Tytoń 2019 and Siwiec 2012). This category embraces official and unofficial urbanonymic, mainly, hodonymic units in a city or a town (street and square names), and other onymic terms that serve to name industrial, residential, and natural zones; buildings; public institutions; religious places; sport, leisure, and entertainment areas; places of business activity in the urban topography<sup>5</sup>, etc. Some of the specified objects will remain debatable in the onomastic context, but the urbanonymic ("chrematoponymic", see above) status of their names can be well-founded, e.g., the names of hotels as places in the city, and not the brands, which they are at the same time, or even the names of rooms in such hotels, in a special way dedicated to women.

The main **methodological restriction** relates to gender attribution, which, depending on the lexical form, is not directly associated with the world of women, but may, in fact, represent it. These are names that evoke individuals, among whom there were certainly women, e.g., in Białystok: *Rondo Nauczycieli Tajnego Nauczania* (Secret Teaching Teachers Roundabout), *ul. Honorowych Krwiodawców* (Honorary Blood Donors Street), in Łódź: *Aleja Pamięci Ofiar Litzmannstadt Getto* (Memorial Avenue of the Victims of the Litzmannstadt Ghetto), *Aleja Zakochanych* (Avenue of Lovers), *al. Rodziny Grohmanów* (Grohman Family Avenue).

In any event, the users of language should assume that political correctness can be required, and linguistic gender differentiation is possible. In theory, it can be conceived and depends on the existence of female forms in a language, e.g., hypothetically *ul.*

*Honorowych Krwiodawczyń i Krwiodawców* (Pol. pl. fem. nom. n. *krwiodawczynie* 'female blood donors'; Pol. pl. masc. nom. n. *krwiodawcy* 'male blood donors'). It is more feasible in the hodonym *ul. Bohaterów Września* (Heroes of September Street, commemorating the fighters of the first month of the Second World War, Łódź), which could possibly be extended to *ul. Bohaterek i Bohaterów Września* (Heroines and Heroes of September Street). Notwithstanding, one should not ignore the linguistic principle, which allows one to see universal terms covering male and female representatives in masculine forms in Polish (cf., Nalibow 1973; Nowosad-Bakalarczyk 2009; Woźniak 2014).

In some Polish feminine hodonyms, when a street name is reduced to a woman's surname, confusion can result, since common female surnames ending in *-ska* and *-owa* structurally resemble adjectives in the sing. fem. nom. These are then paired with the fem. n. *ulica* (=ul. 'street') in the nominal group *ulica + sing. fem. adj.* to create the illogical forms "*ulica Skłodowska*" or "*ulica Orzeszkowa*", which, in the common perception of many inhabitants of the town of Skierniewice, formally stand for *ul. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie* (elliptically, *ul. Skłodowskiej-Curie* or *ul. Curie-Skłodowskiej* or *ul. Skłodowskiej*) 'Maria Skłodowska-Curie Street' (cf., Fig. 2), and *ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej* (elliptically, *ul. Orzeszkowej*) 'Eliza Orzeszkowa Street'. The potential fem. adjs. "*skłodowska*" and "*orzeszkowa*" are treated here in the same way as the fem. adj. *krótka* 'short', *słoneczna* 'sunny' in the hodonyms *ul. Krótka* 'Short Street' and *ul. Słoneczna* 'Sunny Street', which are very frequent in Poland.



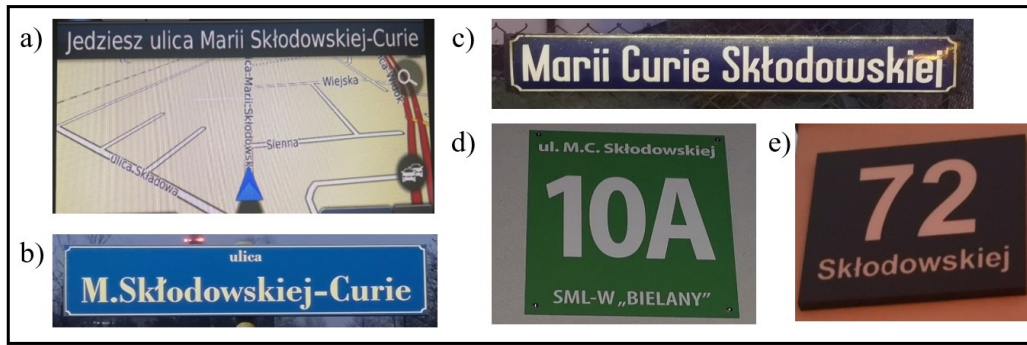


Figure 2. Different models of the name of the same street in Skierniewice dedicated to Maria Skłodowska-Curie: (a) *Jedziesz ulica Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie* 'You are going down MSC Street, a car GPS shot; (b) *ul. M. Skłodowskiej-Curie* (the latest official version); (c), (d), and (e) *ul. Marii Curie Skłodowskiej*; *ul. M. C. Skłodowskiej*; *ul. Skłodowskiej* (other versions of the name still preserved on several street plates). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

### 3. Quantitative results

The results reported below will focus on the illustration of the general situation regarding feminine urbanonymy in Polish and Italian urban spaces. The selected **data** are **exemplificatory** and serve to illustrate the observed state of public naming that exhibits a specific character when related to the male and female worlds. The results regarding the quantitative proportions of male and female presence in the urbanonymy of the selected Polish and Italian towns and cities are relevant to the research hypothesis.

#### 3.1 Polish case

The Polish situation with regard to gender-determined urbanonymy of selected examples shows a definite overrepresentation of men and masculine elements in hodonymic naming. The following list proves this. The data are presented with the specification of all numerical parameters, and then in the form of a graph.

As an exemplificatory illustration in Polish we can consider the following parameters (see also Fig. 3):

- in Łódź (Łódź Voiv.; POP. ca. 700,000; AE 293.25 km<sup>2</sup>), of a total number of 2,213 hodonyms, only 86 have a female reference (=3.9% FR), while there are nearly 600 male references (=26.8% MR);

- in Białystok (Podlaskie Voiv; POP ca. 300,000; AE 102.12 km<sup>2</sup>) the ratio is as follows: 1,151 (T) / 302 (=26.2% MR) vs 45 (=3.9% FR);
- in Płock (Mazowieckie Voiv; POP ca. 120,000; AE 88.06 km<sup>2</sup>): 524 (T) / 153 (=29.2% MR) vs 11 (=2% FR);
- in Skierniewice (Łódzkie Voiv; POP ca. 47,400; AE 36.08 km<sup>2</sup>): 316 (T) / 114 (=36% MR) vs 13 (=4.1% FR).

Other statistical findings for the selected Polish cities are reported by Walkowiak (2018: 342), in order: Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław, Szczecin, Gdańsk, Bydgoszcz, Lublin, Katowice, Częstochowa.

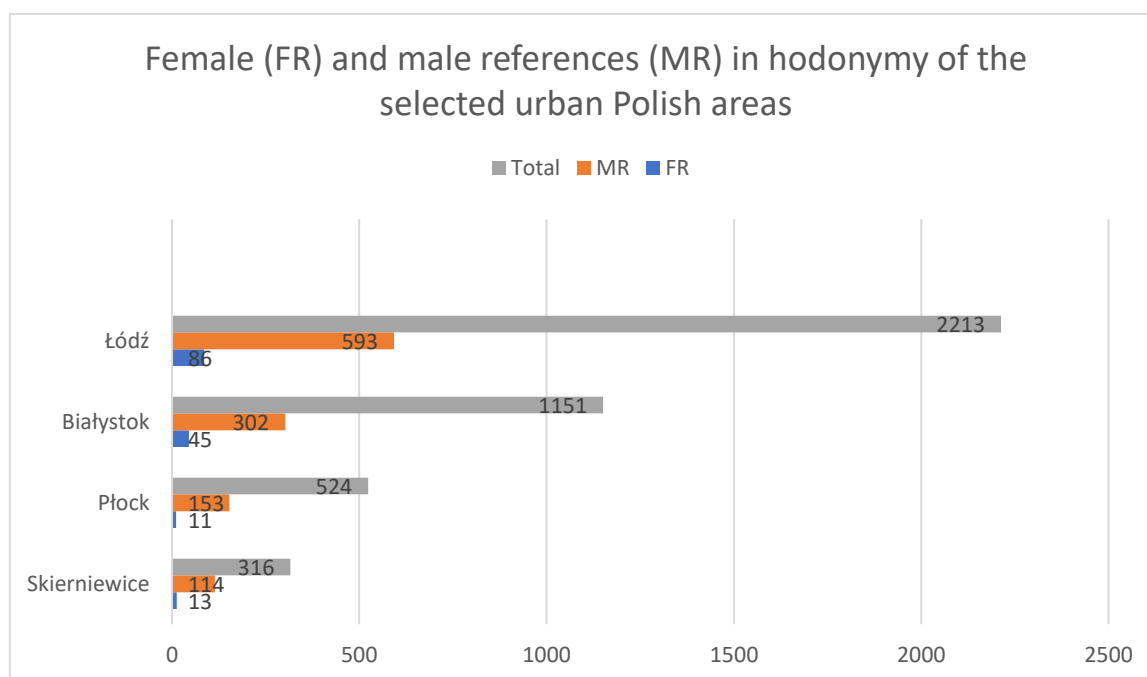


Figure 3. Illustration of gender motivated urbanonymic phenomena in Poland. Compilation based on the author's own research formula and the TERYT data. The latter available at: <http://eteryt.stat.gov.pl>

Using the *Toponomastica femminile's* methodological key, I present in Appendix the distribution of feminine hodonyms for the cities of Łódź (Table 1), Białystok (Table 2) and Skierniewice (Table 3) as of 2019.

### 3.2 Italian case

This kind of calculation for Italy is established for the whole Italian territory, as recorded in the census data of the project *Toponomastica femminile*.

The exemplificatory examples of Italian data are following (see also Fig. 4):

- Novara (Piedmont Reg.; POP ca. 102,000; AE 103 km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>6</sup>: 907 (T) / 463 (=51% MR) vs 24 (=2.6% FR);
- Turin (Piedmont Reg.; POP ca. 884,000; AE 130.17 km<sup>2</sup>): 2,235 (T) / 1,054 (=47.2% MR) vs 65 (=2.9% FR);
- Chieti (Abruzzo Reg.; POP ca. 50,200; AE 58 km<sup>2</sup>): 578 (T) / 266 (=46% MR) vs 21 (=3.6% FR);
- Pescara (Abruzzo Reg.; POP ca. 120,000; AE 34 km<sup>2</sup>): 838 (T) / 255 (=30.4% MR) vs 17 (=2% FR);
- Matera (Basilicata Reg.; POP ca. 60,400; AE 387.4 km<sup>2</sup>): 754 (T) / 350 (=46.4% MR) vs 27 (=3.6% FR);
- Potenza (Basilicata Reg.; POP ca. 67,200; AE 173 km<sup>2</sup>): 472 (T) / 211 (=44.7% MR) vs 7 (=1.5% FR);
- Reggio Calabria (Calabria Reg.; POP ca. 190,100; AE 236 km<sup>2</sup>): 1194 (T) / 266 (=22.3% MR) vs 55 (=4.6% FR);
- Napoli (Campania Reg.; POP ca. 1,248,000; AE 94.7 km<sup>2</sup>): 3,515 (T) / 1,695 (=48.2% MR) vs 280 (=8% FR);
- Salerno (Campania Reg.; POP ca. 140,600; AE 58.96 km<sup>2</sup>): 1,394 (T) / 826 (=59.3% MR) vs 80 (=5.7% FR);
- Bologna (Emilia-Romagna Reg.; POP ca. 386,300; AE 140.73 km<sup>2</sup>): 1,969 (T) / 1102 (=56% MR) vs 74 (=3.8% FR);
- Milan (Lombardia Reg.; POP ca. 1,360,000; AE 182 km<sup>2</sup>): 4,250 (T) / 2,538 (=59.7% MR) vs 141 (=3.3% FR);
- Genoa (Liguria Reg.; POP ca. 595,000; AE 243 km<sup>2</sup>): 3,800 (T) / 1,507 (=39.7% MR) vs 136 (=3.6% FR);

- Trieste (Friuli-Venezia-Giulia Reg.; POP ca. 208,600; AE 293.25 km<sup>2</sup>): 1,306 (T) / 729 (=55.8% MR) vs 39 (=3% FR);
- Mantova (Lombardia Reg.; POP ca. 46.400; AE 63 km<sup>2</sup>): 662 (T) / 347 (=52.4% MR) vs 33 (=5% FR).

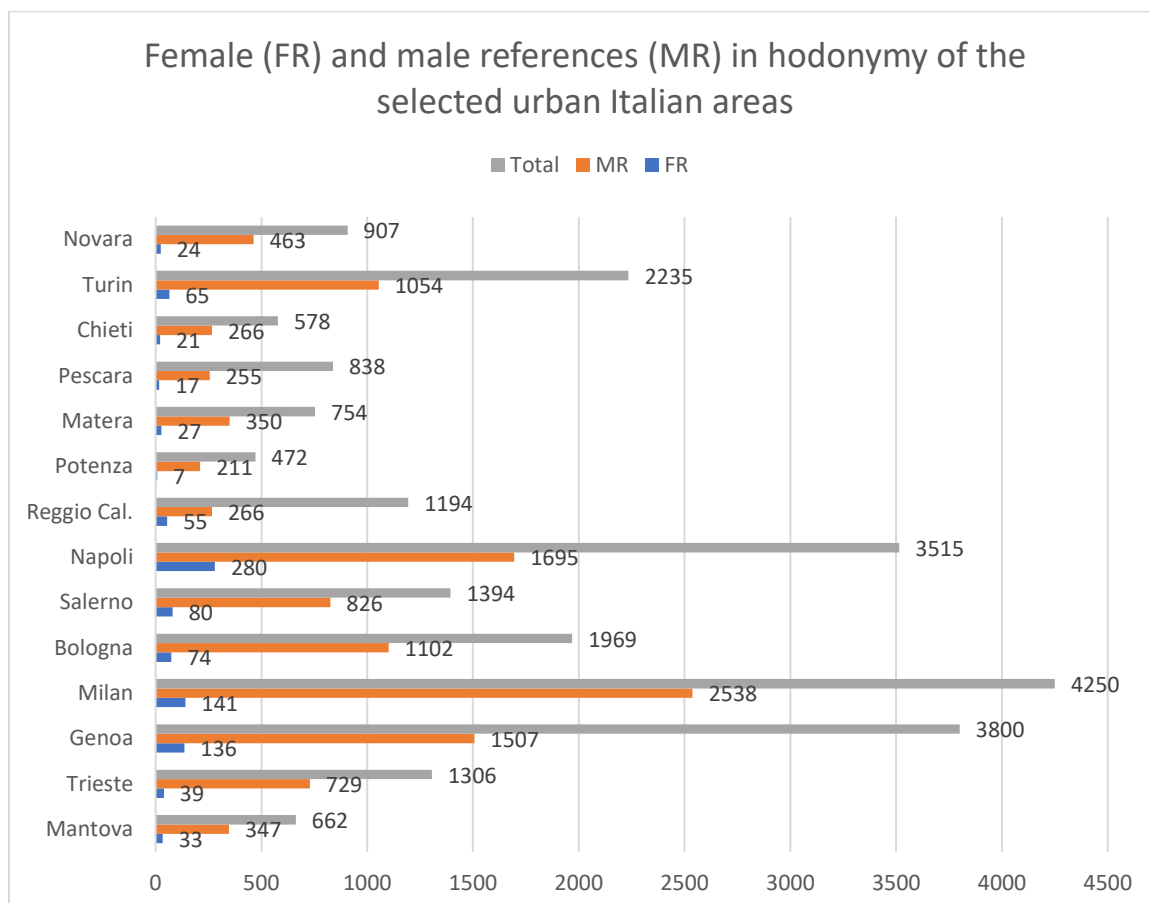


Figure 4. Illustration of gender motivated urbanonymic phenomena in Italy.

Compilation based on the author's own research formula and the *Toponomastica femminile* data. The latter available at: <https://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/index.php/censimento/italia>

The detailed distribution of the extracted hodonymic units for Italy is available on the *Toponomastica femminile* Association's website (see above). The substantial statistical survey was conducted for all towns and cities in 20 regions of Italy.

The situation of three representative Polish cities (one bigger, one medium and one smaller, Tables 1, 2, 3 in Appendix) can be compared with the set of hodonyms for any given city in the *Toponomastica femminile* census. The choice of the city of Salerno in the Campania Region (Table 4) is an example of classified data.

## 4. Qualitative findings and discussion

*"Investigating the causes for the lack of streets dedicated to remarkable women means identifying new strategies to change the situation and creating a new and more complete symbolic reality. Street plates form an extensive network of symbols that reflect the sense of the role of women in creating history. It is important to name streets after men who were partisans, scientists, and artists, but it is just as important to dedicate streets to women who were partisans, scientists, and artists. It is imperative to demonstrate their presence and to give meaning to their – hopefully temporary – absence from our collective imagination as well as from street maps."* (Nocentini 2013: 11)

Based on a generalization of the theoretical views and available data regarding the feminine urbanonymy in Poland and Italy, I propose a typology of this kind of urban naming illustrating it with examples from various Polish and Italian urban spaces. The criteria of the analysis determine the following interpretative typologies.

### *4.1 Typology I: Collective and single female general references*

Hodonyms that have transparent references to women will not raise doubts in their interpretation as examples of feminine urbanonymy. Primarily, I consider those that are not based on the names of specific women, but somehow denote, define, or connote women and the female reality. In the Italian corpus they are represented, e.g., by *via delle Donne* (Women Street lit. 'women's street' = 'street of women'<sup>7</sup>, San Carlo; Orvieto; Ascoli Piceno), *via delle Belle Donne* (Beautiful Women Street, Florence), *piazzale Donne Partigiane* (Partisan Women Square, Milan), *via delle Donne Partigiane* (Partisan Women Street, Castelfidardo), *piazza delle Donne Lavoratrici* (Women Worker Street, Trento), *via delle Canterine* (It. *la canterina* 'a woman who sang in the street doing her housework', Ascoli Piceno), *via delle Lavandaie* (Washer Women Street, Ascoli Piceno), *via delle Zoccolette* (It. *la zoccoletta* means 'bitch, prostitute' but in this context rather 'young woman', Ascoli Piceno; cf., Fig. 4). This kind of naming without personal specification appears sporadically throughout the corpus, but it is more evocative than in occurrences where the names refer to less known women.



Figure 4. *Via delle Zoccolette* (Rome). Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.).

Other Italian examples from this area are: in Alessandria (Piedmont): *strada della Gelosa* (Jealous [Woman] Street), *via della Santa* (Saint [Woman] Street), *via della Monaca* (Nun Street), *via Orfanelle* (Orphan Baby Girls Street), in many cities: *via (delle) Orfane* (Orphans Street; a popular naming motivation because of the social history regarding orphans in Italy), in Novara (Piedmont): *via delle Fioraie* (Florists Street), in Turin: *via Figlie dei Militari* (Daughters of the Military Men Street), in Naples: *cupa della Vedova* (Widow Street; It. *la cupa* 'narrow little street' < adj. *cupo* 'sombre, gloomy'), *vico delle Vecchie* (Old Women Street; It. *il vico* 'a kind of street or urban district'), in Bologna: *vicolo delle Dame* (Ladies Alleyway; It. *il vicolo* 'a kind of little street'), *via delle Donzelle* (Damsels Street), in Venice: *via de Donna Onesta* (Venetian dial. Honest Woman Street), *via Zitelle* (Spinsters Street), *via de la Comare* (Godmother Street) (cf., Fig. 5).

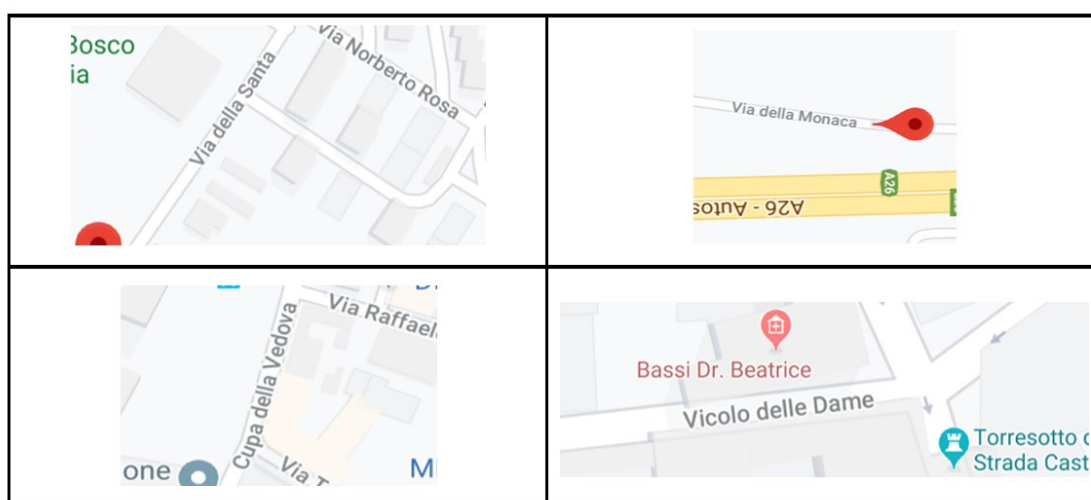


Figure 5. Google Maps pieces: *via della Santa*; *via della Monaca* (Alessandria); *via della Vedova* (Napoli); *via delle Dame* (Bologna). ©Google 2020.

Most of these hodonymic units have a historical motivation and result from the stereotyped self-perception of Italian society in which different aspects of women's status are the consequences of a hierarchical cultural system and ameliorative or pejorative connotations: the simple fact of being women, married or not, noble or humble, young or old, beautiful, fair, good- or bad-mannered, etc.

In the Polish part of the corpus, this type of reference without precise personal names is less represented and is rather the effect of recent urban naming processes that commemorate historical female activity or the effect of circumstances centred on women. For instance, in Poland one can find such hodonymic units as *ul. Wojskowej Służby Kobiet* (Military Women Service Street, Warsaw), *skwer 100-lecia Praw Wyborczych Kobiet* (The 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Women's Electoral Rights Square, Lublin), *Aleja Matek Polskich* (Polish Mothers Avenue, Łódź), *Rynek Włókniaerek Łódzkich* (Łódź Textile Women Workers Square), *ul. Matki Polki* (Polish Mother Street, Gdańsk), *ul. Sanitariuszek* (Sanitary Nurses Street, Łódź), *ul. Łączniczek* (Women Liaison Officers Street, Płock) (see Fig. 6).



Figure 6. 'Polish Mothers Avenue' (Łódź); 'Łódź Textile Women Workers Square' (Łódź); 'Women Liaison Officers Street' (Płock). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

Further examples tend to express a certain personalization, which in the name itself remains generally not transparent, but falls within the scope of the considered collection of feminine urbanonyms. For instance, the name *Skwer Latających Babć z Plusem* (Flying Grandmothers and Plus Square) in Łódź was introduced to celebrate the activity of a group of elderly people, mainly women, who, as volunteers, write texts for children and organize other types of entertainment; "Plus One" refers to a man who joined the group in 2013 (see Fig. 7). In the same way, the evocative fantasy reference



to feminine figures is ensured with the hodononyms *ul. Dobrej Wróżki* (Good Fairy Street, Łódź; cf., in Italy, *rua della Befana* 'La Befana Street', dial. *rua* 'via', Ascoli Piceno, or *strada della Befana* 'La Befana Road', Siena; It. *la Befana* 'a lay symbol of the Epiphany Feast in Italy represented by a figure of an ugly but good witch equipped with her broom'; cf., Fig. 20; Tables 1, 2, 3, v. [xi]).



Figure 7. 'Flying Grandmothers and Plus Square' (Łódź). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.). The logo of the *Latające Babcie z Plusem* Association ©Ryszard Tobiański 2013.

#### 4.2 Typology II: (Im)personal female reference expressed by first names

The general categorization referring to women is evident in hodononyms that consist of a single feminine first name without a specific personal identification. This tendency is characteristic of the Polish corpus and can be explained by several factors. For instance, in the city of Łódź, there are around 20 street names based on single female anthroponyms, such as: *ul. Antoniny* (Antonina Street), *ul. Barbary* (Barbara Street), *ul. Bronisławy* (Bronisława Street), *ul. Doroty* (Dorota Street), *ul. Eleonory* (Eleonora Street), *ul. Grażyny* (Grażyna Street), etc. (see also Table 1, v. [xiii]; cf., Tables 2, 3, v. [xiii]). The motivation for most of them is indeed of a gendered nature, which in a way emphasizes the participation of women in the social history of the city and serves to balance the phenomenon of gender inequality in hodonymy, though it might be the result of the naming solution *donne senza volto* (It. 'faceless women', thus identifying



undefined female characters who are deprived of their potential to become real; see Fucarino 2013b).

However, we are into the bargain dealing here with a characteristic administrative phenomenon (especially during the communist period), which involved the desacralization of street names dedicated to saints; e.g., before the Second World War, Łódź had *ul. św. Doroty* (St. Dorothy Street); from then on it changed its name to *ul. Doroty* (without the title 'saint'; see Fig. 8). In this manner, we can consider the replacement of the name *ul. św. Emilji* [sic!] (St. Emilia Street) by *ul. 8-ego Marca* (The 8<sup>th</sup> of March Street), as out-of-date; in an act of decommunization it was replaced by a name referring to a man, *ul. ks. bp. Wincentego Tymienieckiego* (Bishop Wincenty Tymieniecki Street). In common use, a hodonym with the name of a saint can be secularized and this is the effect of a certain mental shortcut, e.g., in Łódź, residents say *ul. Teresy* instead of the official and excessively long *ul. św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus* (St. Theresa of the Infant Jesus Street). Interestingly, this process can be reversed and the name become sacralized (cf., the pre-war *ul. Stanisława* 'Stanisław Street' is today *ul. św. Stanisława Kostki* 'St. Stanisław Kosta Street' and *ul. Antoniego* 'Anthony Street' today *ul. św. Antoniego Padewskiego* 'St. Anthony of Padua Street').



Figure 8. 'Mary Street' (Łódź); '[ex-St.] Dorothy Street' (Łódź). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).  
'St. Anne Street' (Białystok). Author: Michał Mordań 2020 (AG's p.a.).

Some of the cited female names may have literary, including fairy-tale and legendary backgrounds, e.g., *ul. Grażyny*, *ul. Jagienki*, *ul. Jagny* (nom. *Grażyna*, *Jagienka*, *Jagna*, female literary figures). This motivation can be quite obvious in such names as *ul. Balladyny* (Balladyna Street, Łódź, Białystok), *ul. Goplany* (Goplana Street, Łódź),

*ul. Halki* (Halka Street, Łódź) or lack transparency, e.g., *ul. Aliny* (Alina Street) or *ul. Agatki* (Agatka Street) in Białystok<sup>8</sup>.

In this group, some units are the onomastic products of literary reference to women, but formally they maintain the masculine grammatical form, namely *ul. Kopciuszka* (Pol. masc. nom. *Kopciuszek* corresponds to Cinderella, Białystok) or *ul. Czerwonego Kapturka* (Pol. masc. nom. *Czerwony Kapturek* corresponds to Little Red Riding Hood, Łódź; Białystok; Skierniewice; cf., Fig. 9; Tables 1, 2, v. [xi]).

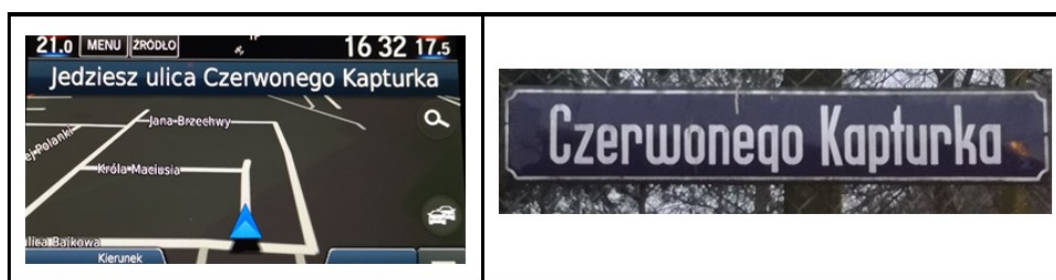


Figure 9. *Jedziesz ulica [recte ulicą] Czerwonego Kapturka* 'You are going down Little Red Riding Hood Street', a car GPS shot; and the corresponding street name plate with the elision of the identifier *ul. / ulica* (Skierniewice). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The single female names in Italian hodonymy involve rather encyclopaedic explanations. There are many hodonyms in this category referring to Roman and Greek mythology, legend, literature, oral tradition stories, etc. For instance, in Palermo (Sicily) we can find nearly 70 hodonyms structured as *via* + mythonym in apposition, dedicated to different mythological figures, e.g., *via Afrodite*, *via Andromaca*, *via Aracne*, *via Artemide*, *via Aurora*, *via Calipso*, *via Calliope*, *via Cassandra*, *via Clio*, *via Cloe*, *via Dafne*, *via Demetra*, *via Diana*, *via Elettra*, *via Leda*, *via Maia*, *via Medea*, *via Minerva*, *via Nike*, *via Pandora*, *via Urania*, *via Venere*, etc. (cf., Fig. 10). The range of this kind of demythonomical names is just as rich in numerous other Italian cities. It is important to notice that, in such cultural heritage of historical civilization, many Italian urban centres were founded and developed.



Figure 10. 'Isis Square' (Rome); 'Minerva Square' (Rome).  
 Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.).

#### 4.3 Typology III: Religious personal female reference

Another propitious circumstance in the creation of feminine urbanonyms is associated with the Christian – primarily Roman Catholic – culture of Italy, which has not been threatened to this day, except for some attempts at secularization during the period of fascism. The *Toponomastica femminile* research census shows that the names of saints and beatified women, as well as the popular and theological terms for the *Madonna* 'Saint Mary' (see Caffarelli 2016), dominate significantly the present and historical Italian feminine hodonymy, in small towns, as well as in big cities, such as Turin, Milan, Florence, and Rome (cf., e.g., Buzzi & Buzzi 2005; Rufini 1977; see Fig. 11).



Figure 11. *Via Madonnina*, a name referring to the symbolic statue of Saint Virgin Mary in Milan. Author: Giorgio Sale 2020; *via della Madonna de'Monti* (Rome). Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.). *Via Madonna dell'Idris* (Matera). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The numbers are smaller when compared to the use of male hagianymy (names of beatified or canonized persons), even considering the fact that the number of canonized men in the Church is much higher than the number of women. The proportion is approximately 1,000 female characters to 10,000 male characters, and it concerns only recognized saints and blessed women. The most popular in Italian urbanonymy are *Santa Caterina*, *Santa Chiara*, *Santa Rita*, *Sant'Anna*, *Santa Lucia*, *Sant'Agnese*,

*Sant'Agata, Santa Margherita* (cf., Table 4, v. [ii]). Their specification is often completed by a personal or local identification, which allows figures of the same name to be distinguished from one another, e.g., in Rome: *via di S. Caterina da Siena* and *piazza di S. Caterina della Rota*, in Palermo: *via / vicolo Santa Rosalia* and *via Santa Rosalia al Papiroto* ('in the papyrus garden'), in Naples: *strettoia Santa Teresa degli Scalzi* (It. *la strettoia* 'narrow street') and *via Santa Teresa a Chiaia* (cf., Fig. 12; Table 1, v. [ii]).



Figure 12. *Via S. Caterina da Siena* (Rome); *via di S. Chiara* (Rome). Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.). *Via Santa Caterina* (Altamura); *strada Santa Chiara* (Bari). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The use of the names of women saints is considered appropriate for the denomination of many other urbanonymic objects, including, above all, churches, chapels, and parish socialization centres; additionally, in Italy, hospitals, schools, and places related to artistic culture, e.g., *Teatro di Santa Cecilia* (Palermo), *Teatro di Santa Chiara* (Volterra), *Teatro di Santa Marina* (Villanovaforru), *Istituto Comprensivo Santa Lucia* (a primary and secondary school complex, Bergamo), *Scuola Paritaria Santa Dorotea* (St. Dorothy Parity School, Brescia).

In Poland, the share of hagianymy in urbanonymy is much smaller. References to female saints are fairly rare, e.g., in Białystok, only four hodonyms evoke women saints' names, *Rondo św. Faustyny Kowalskiej* (St. Faustyna Kowalska Roundabout),

*Skwer Błogosławionej Bolesławy Lament* (Blessed Bolesława Lament Square), *ul. św. Anny* (St. Anne Street), *ul. św. Kingi* (St. Kinga Street), three in Łódź, *pasaż Świętej Urszuli Ledóchowskiej* (St. Urszula Ledóchowska Passage), *Skwer Świętej Siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej* (St. Sister Faustyna Kowalska Square), *ul. św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus* (see above).

A religious indicator is not always given in the name. Until a person is beatified or canonized, he or she does not have the title, and the formal mark of theological categorization (*saint, blessed, etc.*) is not visible, e.g., in Łódź: *ul. Stanisławy Leszczyńskiej* (a street dedicated to Stanisława Leszczyńska, a servant of God).

Hagionyms are rarely used in the naming of Polish institutions. When it happens, the institution, such as a school, demonstrates its mainly catholic status, e.g., *Integracyjna Szkoła Podstawowa im. św. Rity* (St. Rita Integrated Primary School, Warsaw).

By extension, feminine connotation can be attributed to onymic phrases that relate to the feminine administration of the school, e.g., in Warsaw: *Szkoła Podstawowa Sióstr Felicjanek* (Primary School of the Congregation of Sisters of St. Felix of Cantalice), *Szkoła Podstawowa Sióstr Nazaretanek* (Primary School of the Sisters of Nazareth = the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth), *Szkoła Podstawowa Sióstr Zmartwychwstanek* (Elementary School of the Sisters of the Resurrection = the Congregation of the Sisters of the Resurrection), or in Wrocław: *Liceum Ogólnokształcące Sióstr Urszulanek* (High School of Ursuline Sisters = the Order of St. Ursula); unofficially named by the eponyms *felicjanki, nazaretanki, zmartwychwstanki, urszulanki* (Pol. fem. pl. nom. ns.) indicating the nominated school as an institution and a point in the local urban topography (cf. e.g., Pol. *uczyć się u felicjanek* 'study with the *felicjanki*').

On the other hand, references to women saints are frequent in the dedication of churches. Here again, the phenomenon of ellipsis is observed, consisting in the use of



the saint's name to indicate the place of dedication in a metonymical way, e.g., in Łódź: (św.) *Teresa* = *bazylika św. Teresy* (Basilica of St. Theresa); in Cracow: *św. Anna* = *kolegiata uniwersytecka św. Anny* (University Collegiate of St. Anne); in Białystok: (św.) *Jadwiga* = *kościół św. Jadwigi Królowej* (Church of St. Jadwiga the Queen).

Finally, names related to the Virgin Mary are not particularly popular in Poland. Examples such as *ul. NMP Królowej Rodzin* (Saint Virgin Queen of Families Street, Białystok; see Fig. 13) or *aleja Matki Bożej Fatimskiej* (Saint Mary of Fatima Street, Tarnów) are exceptional.

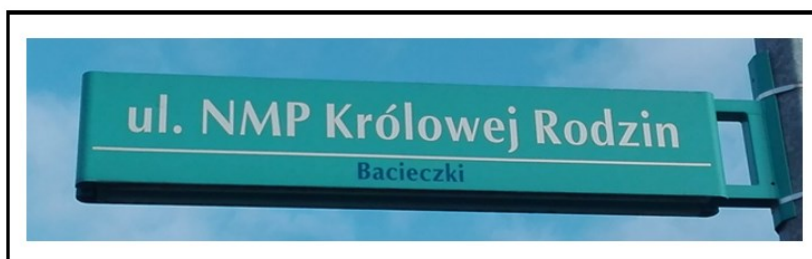


Figure 13. 'Saint Virgin Queen of Families Street' (Białystok).  
Author: Michał Mordań 2020 (AG's p.a.).

While in Italy this type of naming is quite common and gives the hodonymy a local colouration, see e.g., the long list of Marian hodonyms in Naples (in total 99), *largo<sup>9</sup> Madonna delle Grazie* (Our Lady of Grace Street), *via Madonna della bruna* (Our Lady of the Brunette Street), *piazza Madonna dell'arco* (Our Lady of the Arch Square), *fondaco / vico S. Maria a cappella vecchia* (SM in the Old Chapel Square / Street, It. *il fondaco* 'commercial storage place'), *salita S. Maria del parto* (SM of Childbirth Ascent), *gradoni S. Maria Apparente* (SM of the Revelation Stairs), *largo S. Maria del pianto* (SM of the Weeping Street), *via S. Maria di Costantinopoli alle mosche* (SM of Constantinople on the Flies Street), *via / vico S. Maria in portico* (SM on the Porch Street), *piazza / via / vico S. Maria la Nova* (SM The New Square / Street), *piazza / via S. Maria la Scala* (SM La Scala Square / Street), *supportico / traversa / via / via nuova S. Maria Ognibene* (SM Ognibene Porch / Traverse / Street / New Street), *vico S. Maria Vertecoeli* (SM Vertecoeli Street; It. *Vertecoeli* is a district name deriving most

probably from Lat. *vertice coeli* 'summit of the sky', or from the surname *Vertecelli*), etc. (see also Table 4, v. [i]).

#### 4.4 Typology IV: Secular personal female reference

The rest of the urbanonyms analysed in this study are connected with the names of women in the near or distant history, who can be classified in a mapping proposed by the *Toponomastica femminile* methodological key, as writers, poets, actresses, politicians, patriots, soldiers, queens, princesses, scientists, doctors, etc.

Among the names of Polish women in toponymic naming, there are figures more or less known on a national and local scale. In the canon, there are three famous Marias: two authors Maria Konopnicka (poet, 19<sup>th</sup> / 20<sup>th</sup>), Maria Dąbrowska (novelist, 20<sup>th</sup>), and the double Nobel prize-winning scientist Maria Skłodowska-Curie (physician and chemist, 19<sup>th</sup> / 20<sup>th</sup>; frequent in the toponymy of other countries, see e.g., Cario 2019; cf., Fig. 2). The dedication to Eliza Orzeszkowa (writer, 19<sup>th</sup> / 20<sup>th</sup>) is similarly recurrent. The names of artists are popular as well, e.g., the actresses Hanka Ordonówna (also a singer, 20<sup>th</sup>) and Helena Modrzejewska (19<sup>th</sup> / 20<sup>th</sup>). Historical figures are often represented by Polish queens and princesses, e.g., królowa Jadwiga (Pol. *królowa* 'queen'; 16<sup>th</sup>), królowa Bona (16<sup>th</sup>; cf., Figg. 14, 15), Anna Jagiellonka (16<sup>th</sup>), księżna Kinga (Pol. *księżna* 'princess'; 13<sup>th</sup>). Still, there are names of women who are known locally and deserved public recognition, e.g., the 19<sup>th</sup> / 20<sup>th</sup> century women doctors evoked in toponyms, Jadwiga Szustrowa (*ul. Jadwigi Szustrowej* in Łódź), or Berta Szaykowska (*ul. Berty Szaykowskiej* in Białystok) (see also Tables 1, 2, 3, vv. [v, vi, vii]).



Figure 14. 'Queen Bona [Sforza] Street' (Skierniewice). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.). The view of the designated new Queen Bona [Sforza] Street in Białystok. Author: Michał Mordań 2020 (AG's p.a.). A piece from Google Maps with the planned Queen Bona Street in Białystok. ©Google 2020.

In the Italian linguistic landscape, we can identify similar tendencies, e.g., the use of aristocratic personal names, as in Palermo the queens Regina Maria di Sicilia (14<sup>th</sup>), Margherita di Savoia / Regina Margherita (19<sup>th</sup>), Regina Elena (19<sup>th</sup>) and the princesses Principessa Giovanna (20<sup>th</sup>), Principessa Iolanda (20<sup>th</sup>), Principessa Mafalda (20<sup>th</sup>), Principessa Maria (20<sup>th</sup>) (cf., Fig. 15; Table 4, v. [ix]).



Figure 15. Two ways of presenting the name of the same street: *via Principessa Iolanda* and *via Princ<sup>SSA</sup> Iolanda* 'Princess Iolanda Street' (Bari). *Via Bona Sforza* with an additional explanation *Duchessa di Bari / Regina di Polonia* 'Duchess of Bari / Queen of Poland', and the adequate car GPS shot (a private street in Bari). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The recently promoted trend in giving names with a female element in the Italian urban space is to search for the names of less known, but distinguished women. This is a



result of actions and projects launched by the Association *Toponomastica femminile* and local social and administrative initiatives, e.g., the campaign for women's memory called *The 8<sup>th</sup> of March – 3 women – 3 streets*, the campaigns *A Margherita on our streets*, *A scene for Franca*, *A road for Miriam*, *The long road of Rita*, to commemorate authoritative women of Italian science, politics and culture. In the same direction, there is another initiative named *Camera d'autrice* 'Authoress's room' with the task to get one room in each hotel named after a woman who was a writer or an artist, if possible connected to the local territory.

The situation with the emergence of names referring to the world of women is generally improving, but it is far from that which the supporters of *Toponomastica femminile* would hope for. An increase in the number of female names would require the creation of new objects or the renaming of existing ones. Currently, however, there is some progress, e.g., in the green areas of Milan, we have such new names, dedicated to brave Italian 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century women, as *Giardino Marisa Bellisario* (Garden Marisa Bellisario, a business woman), *Giardino Oriana Fallaci* (Garden Oriana Fallaci, a famous journalist, writer and activist), *Parco Ravizza* (Park [Alessandrina] Ravizza, a philanthropist and emancipationist), *Parco delle Crocerossine* (It. *le crocerossine* 'adepts of the Italian Red Cross *Croce Rossa Italiana*'), *Giardino Gina Galeotti Bianchi* (Garden Gina Galeotti Bianchi, a partisan during the Second World War), *Giardino Wanda Osiris* (Garden Wanda Osiris, an actress and singer; see Fig. 16). As Cario (2019) notes, in only one year, 2019, the inland municipality of Venice gave new names to toponymic structures (streets, roundabouts, squares) dedicating them to 10 women, among others *Maria Boscola* (a rowing champion in 18<sup>th</sup> century Venice), *Lyde Posti Cuneo* (the founder of the provincial section of the Italian ASL association), *Ondina Valla* (a sportswoman), *Marisa Bellisario* (a businesswoman), *Edith Stein* (a famous German Jewish philosopher, converted to Catholicism and canonized), *Chiara Silvia Lubich* (the founder of the *Focolare* movement, after her death in 2008 proclaimed a servant of God), *Marie Curie* (see above).



Figure 16. Park plates in Milan. Author: Giorgio Sale 2020 (AG's p.a.).

This type of social movement in Poland is rather contained. An insufficient number of women's names in urbanonymy is not seen as a social problem. It is noticed, but not treated for political and other reasons, resulting from the Polish mentality, which redirects similar problems into the taboo sphere influenced by dominant ideologies or mainstream instances, such as the political parties in power or the Catholic Church. However, projects are being developed that involve the creation of quasi-tourist routes ("women's routes", see *Szlaki kobiet...* 2013; *Krakowski szlak kobiet...* 2015) that allow one to learn about the history of women referred to in street names, the history of institutions and houses in which women operated and lived, monuments to women, their birth or burial sites, etc., e.g., in Konin: *Kamienica Essowej* (the tenement house of Stefania Esse, a noble proprietary), *Dom Janiny Perathoner* (the house of Janina Perathoner, a novelist), *Dworek Urbanowskiej* (the manor house of Zofia Urbanowska, a local writer) (see *Szlaki kobiet...* 2013: 23-33).

The tendency to name a new place in Polish urban topography after a woman is still considered unusual. In some cases, the chosen anthroponyms are unknown even to the local communities, indicating women who seem important for the applicant of the hodonym, and are accepted by the city council, but in reality are difficult to find in accessible sources (e.g., in Płock: Anna Jabłczyńska and Stefania Kamińska, two local doctors who are commemorated in street names, elsewhere unknown; cf., Table 4, vv. [xi, xiii]).

Objectively speaking, but risking being accused of subjectivity, the repertoire of women's names is relatively limited, especially in historical contexts. In order to compensate for this apparent deficiency, women's names are added to the toponymy where possible, but modestly and sporadically, e.g., those of famous wives of even more famous husbands (in Łódź: *skwer Ireny Tuwim*, a square dedicated to Irena Tuwim, the wife of the Jewish-Polish poet Julian Tuwim originating from Łódź, or *skwer Aliny Margolis-Edelman*, a square dedicated to Alina Margolis-Edelman, the wife of Marek Edelman, a Jewish cardiologist originating from Łódź who participated in the 1943 uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto; see Fig. 17).



Figure 17. 'Irena Tuwim Square' in Łódź and the accompanying patroness board.  
 Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

It is symptomatic that such female names are given to smaller objects in the urban topography due to the lack of larger ones (streets, squares) to be named in already existing districts, especially in the historical and central parts of the city. It is worth explaining that Pol. *skwer*, although a borrowing from the English *square*, has undergone metonymization following the model *pars pro pars* (one type of open area starts to designate a different one); in Polish, *skwer* means 'a small square usually excluded from road traffic, a kind of mini park, a place of rest', sometimes created *ad*

*hoc* at the request of residents or organizations planning special naming actions (this was the case with *Skwer Latających Babć z Plusem* in Łódź, see above).

It must be said that the nomenclature representing the feminine gender arises spontaneously at the colloquial level, often with a slangy or even vulgar tone. For instance, I can refer to a dictionary (Groblińska 2020) including popular feminine forms in the urbanonymy of Łódź: *Teośka* or *Teofka*, hypocoristic structures coming from *Teofilów*, the name of a district; *Gosia*, a hypocoristic of the name *Małgorzata* and the result of the phonetic mimicry of the acronym *GOŚ* (Pol. *Grupowa Oczyszczalnia Ścieków* 'Group Sewage Treatment Plant'); *Cipa* (Pol. vulg. *cipa* 'cunt'), *Wagina Kropiwnickiego* 'Kropiwnicki's vagina', *Kropiwary* (a contamination of a part of the surname *Kropi[wnicki]* and the Pol. *wary* standing for the dysphemism 'lips' in a vulgar sexual context); *Kropiczka* (a similar word game: *Kropi[wnicki]* + Pol. pop. vulg. *piczka* 'pussy'), etc., a long list of names which indicate the controversial shape of a fountain placed in Łódź by the mayor Jerzy Kropiwnicki in 2009 (see Fig. 18).



Figure 18. "The Jerzy Kropiwnicki's fountain" in front of the Grand Theatre building in Łódź.  
Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

In colloquial usage these kinds of onyms, when placed in certain linguistic landscape, assume, over time, a localization function transforming them into not only specific landmark words. They become also the bearers of public information and values about chrematonymic objects that are related to the sphere of economic structures, e.g.,

department stores, store brands, manufacturers, restaurants, hotels, public institutions, etc. (e.g., *Magda*, the name of a former department store on Piotrkowska Street in Łódź, now a commonly recognised landmark; *Magda* is a hypocoristic form of the forename *Magdalena* in Polish; similarly, with *Wars & Sawa*, a department store with a long history in the centre of Warsaw; *Wars* and *Sawa* are the male and female names of the legendary founding couple of the city; despite contemporary changes, the historical distinction between *Wars*, the men's part of the store, and *Sawa*, the women's part, is preserved in the customers' memory; see Fig. 19).



Figure 19. Department stores: *Magda* on Piotrkowska Street in Łódź and *Wars & Sawa* in Marszałkowska Street in Warsaw. Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

However, the problem of different functions of urbanonyms is already an issue for another study, in which the question should be answered whether there is something specific about the use of names created with allusion to the world of women and men in marketing chrematonyms, or why (especially in Italy) there are few commercial spaces such as shopping malls with names referring to women (except for the shopping centre in Rimini, named *Le Befane*, pl. form of It. *la Befana*, see Fig. 20).





Figure 20. The name and the logo of *Le Befane* Commercial Centre in Rimini. Author: AG 2019 (p.a.). *La Befana* representation, Christmas fair in Rome. Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.). 'La Befana Road' (Siena). Author: Giovanni Favata 2020 (AG's p.a.).

## 5. Conclusions

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that personal references in urbanonymy (e.g., those linked with a professional sphere assigned to the site) have existed for as long as inhabitants of urban centres have needed to name streets, squares, and other locations in a city or a town, but the social impact of gender determined naming has never been as important as it is nowadays. It can be attributed to the growing awareness of gender as a social category that regulates modern civilization in many ways, including human relations, rules of behaviour, language use, etc. And only in our liquid modern epoch is there the opportunity to distinguish masculine and feminine urbanonymy, which can be the object of scientific investigation, especially in gender studies, but more specifically in sociology, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and onomastics. The latter perspective, decisively directed to new cultural and linguistic vectors of naming

studies, was the main background of this attempt to study feminine urbanonyms as specific proprial units in the linguistic landscape of Polish and Italian urban spaces.

It must be noted that the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy is a *signum temporis* that is considered a kind of social and psychological concept and mental process in contemporary public discourse. Feminine urbanonymy manifests itself in public and sometimes private determiners, which contribute to the creation of the linguistic landscapes, and it is a salient exhibition of these landscapes as other linguistic signs functioning in them. It is important to regulate the coexistence of feminine and masculine urbanonymy, taking in account the exponents of disparity in the general relation between men and women, such as misunderstanding, sexism, and sometimes discrimination and disregard.

Disparity and the preponderance of one sex over the other in the urbanonymic context are still feasible. This is a vital social and psychological matter which, however, will be difficult to remedy, despite quite common consent, because urbanonymy, and hodonymy in particular, is a consolidated and relatively unchanging onomastic fact of administrative arrangements and, consequently, modern linguistic landscapes and common use.

The conducted study confirms the underrepresentation of female characters and in general references to the world of women in urbanonymy (expressed especially by hodonyms, but also by "chrematoponymic" units) in the two examined cultures that are apparently rooted in a common European civilization, and at the same time present noticeable cultural differences. Moreover, the Polish and Italian linguistic areas apparently have similar socio-communicative construction.

The presence of female references in Polish and Italian urbanonymy is comparatively analogous: it sits at the level of 3-5% of the total hodonymy; while the ratios for male representations differ between the two countries: in Poland it is around 20-30%, in Italy

it rises even to 50% of all the hodonyms in a city. This is the evident predominance of masculine names in the Italian urban space, but it certainly could not be called the masculinization of this sphere. In the Italian hodonymy there are relatively fewer references to other cultural realities than in the Polish, which is more formalized. There are currently a lot of actions of naming changes in Polish cities to give new streets or squares either names embraced by a particular lexical field or anthroponyms, which are transferred to the hodonymic area in the process of transonymization, and create thematically coherent sets of names (e.g., street names dedicated to fairy tale characters in an urban district).

In both Polish cities and Italian ones, it is rather difficult to find a coherent concentration of feminine urbanonymy in one district or other zone. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future. Perhaps one day it will be possible to talk about statistically significant "feminine urbanonomasticons" in a town or city, qualitatively and quantitatively compared to "masculine urbanonomasticons". Globally, we can certainly speak of both as unobtrusive collections, irrespective of whether their units are based in one location or dispersed across a larger area.

The investigation confirms the predominance of male over female naming in Polish and Italian urbanonymy, at the same time showing similarities and differences between the two studied areas, e.g., at the level of hagionymic or mythonymic references and new trends in the perception and creation or changing of urbanonyms in the contemporary urban space. There are some particular occurrences using female first names without referring to a specific, real female figure; but the names of historical feminine personages prevail in the whole analysed urbanonomasticon, sometimes in eponymic forms. Moreover, the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy reveals the spontaneous creation of popular naming, which serves to indicate and determine characteristic objects in the urban topography, and creates informal onomasticons in linguistic landscapes in our towns and cities.



It must be finally stated that the analysed feminine urbanonymy demonstrates different functional and cultural aspects, and is currently undergoing a visible process of development and revaluation. This process brings similar results in both the linguistic and cultural areas considered in this study, but it is in Italy that it is beginning to be regulated and encouraged by activities that have ardent supporters and are noticeable and effective on the national and international scale.

It should, then, not be forgotten that the current situation is the consequence of the actual history of Italy and Poland, as well as of other countries of Europe. Men have dominated it. Male figures are more visible in history than female ones.

Notwithstanding, the introduction of the male element in urbanonymy does not necessarily have to be a sign of discrimination or advanced sexism. It is actually crucial that the problem has been noticed and is the subject of a process of gradual repair, to which onomastic studies can contribute in terms of scientific observation, description, and classification of the linguistic and cultural phenomena.

It can be suggested that the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy should enter the discussion of the problems exposed on *The Global Gender Gap Report* that has been published every year since 2016 by the World Economic Forum.

In general, feminine or female naming could be an issue of social and intellectual value in which linguists and onomasticians may participate actively<sup>10</sup>.

## Notes

1. The movement *Toponomastica femminile* has been active since 2012 and stands for a social and political project that reevaluates women in the linguistic landscape of Italy, fulfilling scientific goals, organizing cyclical conferences and publishing their proceedings, as well as promoting other books and articles (see e.g., *Sulle vie della parità...* 2013; Ercolini 2011, 2013). The current activity of the Association is reported

in other scientific sources (see e.g., Caffarelli 2019), and in social media, especially on Facebook (see <https://www.facebook.com/groups/292710960778847/?fref=ts>, last access 18.12.2019). Similar social, and not only feminist, movements and actions are emerging in other countries, see e.g., *In Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels, feminists are campaigning to name more streets after women* (by S. Franssen):

<https://www.citymetric.com/fabric/paris-amsterdam-and-brussels-feminists-are-campaigning-name-more-streets-after-women-4137>;

*Croatia, where the streets have no (women's) names:*

<https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Croatia-where-the-streets-have-no-women-s-names>;

*Bradford to name streets after women to tackle gender imbalance:*

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-48587377>;

*Historical women take the streets of Geneva: Restoring the legacy of international organizations' working bees* (by P. Ohene-Nyako, L. Piguet & M. Piguet):

<https://projects.au.dk/inventingbureaucracy/blog/show/artikel/historical-women-take-the-streets-of-geneva-restoring-the-legacy-of-international-organizations-wo/>, etc.;

last access to all quoted sites 19.12.2019.

2. The abbreviation *ul.* stands for Pol. *ulica* 'street', the identifier of the majority of hodonyms in Poland (e.g., *ulica Szeroka* lit. 'Wide Street' is usually abbreviated in *ul. Szeroka*). Other conventional abbreviations used in Polish hodonymy are *al.* = *aleja* 'avenue', *pl.* = *plac* 'square'. For conventional or logical reasons, sometimes the identifying components are evident elements of onyms and are written in full word and in capital initial letters. This applies to hodonyms with the identifier *Aleja*, e.g., coll. *Aleja Gwiazd* 'Star Avenue' lit. 'the avenue of the stars', offic. *Promenada Gwiazd* in Międzyzdroje (Pol. fem. n. *promenada* 'promenade'); *Aleja Marszałkowska* 'Marshal Avenue' in Częstochowa (Pol. fem. adj. *marszałkowska* < masc. n. *marszałek* 'marshal'); cf., *Aleje Jerozolimskie* 'Jerusalem Avenues' in Warsaw (Pol. plur. n. *aleje* 'avenues'; Pol. pl. fem. adj. *jerozolimskie* deriving from the toponyme *Nowa Jerozolima* lit. 'New Jerusalem', the name of a historical Jewish settlement on the outskirts of

Warsaw); see also the rules for the names of urban objects in Warsaw explained in *Katalog ulic i placów...* 2013).

3. The form *Emilii Plater* is the genitive case grammatically complementing the noun *ulica* (*ul.*) in the nominal group *ul. Emilii Plater* 'Emilia Plater Street', lit. 'the street of Emilia Plater' / 'Emilia Plater's Street'; cf., Note 7). All Polish personal and other dedications naming streets, squares, etc. are always declined in the genitive case (cf., *al. Jana Pawła II* 'John Paul II Avenue', while the nominative case is *Jan Paweł II*).

4. The current gender discussion is a subject that is being widely held in Polish public discourse, raising many social, scientific, and political arguments; see the official opinion of the Council of the Polish Language on female forms of profession names and titles (*Stanowisko Rady Języka Polskiego...* 2012). The main notion in these discussions is Lat. *feminativum* (Pol. plur. masc. n. *feminativa* or *feminatywa* 'female names for professions and functions'), in relation to which I use the neologism "feminativity" (cf., Hołojda-Mikulska 2016; Krysiak 2016). Indeed, in linguistic categories, "[g]ender is indeed remarkable, but to appreciate this we need to see it in the context of the other morphosyntactic features" (Corbett 2014a: 125).

5. Beside "hodononyms" ("route name (i.e. proper name of a street, square, motorway, country road, path, tunnel, ford, bridge, footbridge, railway line etc.)", ICOS lists of key onomastic terms, *s.a.*) according to the urbanonymic terminology I can indicate many pertinent notions such as "agorononyms" (names of squares), "ecclesionyms" (names of temples), "oykodomonyms" (names of buildings), "pylonyms" (names of gates), "gephyronyms" (names of bridges), "poreiurbanonyms" (names of public transport stops), "urban choronyms" (names of city districts and quarters), "ergonyms / ergourbanonyms" (names of commercial enterprises placed in urban space) (cf., Madieva & Suprun 2017; Razumov & Goryaev 2019). I would add to this list the term "microurbanonym" with the onomastic function of name of an urban object known in communities limited to minor groups of people like families, inhabitants of a street, employees of a company, students in a faculty, etc. Cf., the terms "private / commercial" vs "government / public signs" in Landry & Bourhis's (1997: 26-27).

6. The data on the number of inhabitants and surface area derive from the official websites of the cities.

7. The notation with the apostrophe would probably express better the "idea" of the logical relationship between the elements of the name composed with the Italian preposition *di* in its paradigm *del, dello, della, dell', dei, degli, delle* + *noun / nominal group*, however, for translation, I adopt the unified formula, which is more conventional for hodonymic constructions in English: *Name Street / Square*. It also relates to Polish structures, which are based on the genitive case, e.g., *ul. Marii Konopnickiej* 'Maria Konopnicka's Street' = 'Maria Konopnicka Street'. It seems that the best solution would be *Marii Konopnickiej Street*, but in this way, we lose our focus on the basic nominative form of the name. On the other hand, leaving the original genitive form would make it easier to find the street in the urban topography. Cf., Note 3.

8. *Grażyna* is a title character of a narrative poem by Adam Mickiewicz; *Jagienka* a character from the historical novel "The Knights of the Cross" by Henryk Sienkiewicz; *Jagna* a character from the novel "The Peasants" by Władysław Reymont; *Alina*, *Balladyna* and *Goplana* three characters from the tragedy "Balladyna" by Juliusz Słowacki; *Halka* a title character of an opera by Stanisław Moniuszko; *Agatka* (dim. < *Agata*) corresponds to a 1960s television programme for children intitled "Jacek i Agatka" (cf., Fiedorowicz et al. 2012).

9. The names reported in this paragraph are an illustration of different interesting hodonymic identifiers typical for the topographical specificity of the city of Naples: *la cupa, il fondaco, i gradoni, il largo, la salita, la strettoia, il supportico, la traversa, la via nuova, il viale, il vico, il vicolo*, etc.

10. See *The global gender gap report 2018*, available at: <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018>, last access 03.01.2020.

11. Apart from some cases, which I explain in the text of this paper the encyclopaedic meaning of the majority of systematized Polish and Italian names of female characters, can be directly found in various traditional and online publications and resources, starting with Wikipedia.

## List of abbreviations

adj. – adjective

AE – surface

coll. – colloquially

dial. – dialect

dim. – diminutive

fem. – feminine (gender)

FR – female reference

gen. – genitive (case)

It. – Italian

Lat. – Latin

lit. – literally

masc. – masculine (gender)

MR – male reference

n. – noun

nom. – nominative (case)

offic. – officially

p.a. – personal archive

pl. – plural

Pol. – Polish

POP – Population

Reg. – Region

S. – It. masc. / fem. adj. *santo* / *santa* 'saint'

sing. – singular

SM – St. Mary

syn. – synonym

św. – Pol. masc. / fem. adj. *święty* / *święta* 'saint'

T – total

Voiv. – Voivodeship

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## Résumé

The paper is dedicated to the problem of so-called feminine urbanonymy, i.e. names of different objects in urban topography, especially streets, which contain in their onymic structure a reference to women, or in general to the "world of women". The research question points to the representation and typology of feminine urbanonymy in Poland and Italy; the analysis is concentrated on the urbanonymic (mainly hodonymic) corpus of some selected Polish and Italian towns and cities. In the Italian area, the study is based on data systemized by the Association *Toponomastica femminile*, which has inspired the revaluation of women's names in the onymy of many countries. The investigation confirms the predominance of male naming over female in Polish and Italian urbanonymy, showing similarities and differences between the two studied areas, e.g., at the level of hagianymic or mythonymic references and new trends in the perception and creation or renaming of urbanonyms in contemporary urban space.

There are some specific representations using feminine first names without a referring to a specific, real female figure; but the names of historical feminine personages prevail in the whole analysed urbanonymasticon, sometimes in eponymic forms. Moreover, the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy reveals the spontaneous creation of popular naming, which serves to indicate and determine characteristic objects in the urban topography.

**Key words:** urbanonymy, feminine urbanonymy, hodonymy, onomastics, female, male, gender studies.

### Appendix

The 13 categories of feminine dedication according to the *Toponomastica femminile* methodological key are as follows (column [A] in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4):

[i]: Saint Mary.

[ii]: Saints, blessed, martyrs.

[iii]: Sisters / religious benefactors, meritorious sisters, founders of religious orders and / or charities.

[iv]: Lay benefactors, founders of charities.

[v]: Literary figures / humanists (writers, poets, critics, journalists, educators, pedagogues, archaeologists...).

[vi]: Scientists (mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, geographers, naturalists, biologists, doctors, botanists, zoologists...).

[vii]: Women in show business (actresses, singers, musicians, dancers, musicians, directors, set designers...).

[viii]: Artists (painters, sculptors, miniaturists, photographers, cartoonists...).

[ix]: Historical and political figures (queens, princesses, feudatories, aristocrats, patriots, women soldiers, victims of the political struggle / war / Nazism, politicians, feminists, environmentalists...).

[x]: Workers / entrepreneurs / craftswomen.

[xi]: Mythological or legendary figures, literary characters.

[xii]: Sportswomen.

[xiii]: Other (unidentified female names; common women; names linked to local traditions; mothers of famous people...).

Table 1. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Łódź (Poland).  
Based on the author's own formula<sup>11</sup>.

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	-
[ii]	4 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>pasaż Świętej Urszuli Ledóchowskiej</i> (nom. <i>św. Urszula Ledóchowska</i>; Pol. sing. masc. n. <i>pasaż</i> 'passage')</li> <li>▪ <i>skwer Świętej Siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej</i> (nom. <i>św. Siostra Faustyna Kowalska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Stanisławy Leszczyńskiej</i> (nom. <i>Stanisława Leszczyńska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus</i> (nom. <i>św. Teresa od Dzieciątka Jezus</i>)</li> </ul>
[iii]	-
[iv]	1 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>skwer Latających Babć z Plusem</i> (pl. nom. <i>Latające Babcie z Plusem</i>, see above)</li> </ul>
[v]	18 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej</i> (nom. <i>Eliza Orzeszkowa</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Ewy Szelburg-Zarembiny</i> (nom. <i>Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Gabrieli Zapolskiej</i> (nom. <i>Gabriela Zapolska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Heleny Boguszewskiej</i> (nom. <i>Helena Boguszevska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Heleny Radlińskiej</i> (nom. <i>Helena Radlińska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Janiny Porazińskiej</i> (nom. <i>Janina Porazińska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Julii Zbijewskiej</i> (nom. <i>Julia Zbijewska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Kazimiery Iłakowiczówny</i> (nom. <i>Kazimiera Iłakowiczówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Krystyny Niewiarowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Krystyna Niewiarowska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Konopnickiej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Konopnicka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Kownackiej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Kownacka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Poli Gojawiczyńskiej</i> (nom. <i>Pola Gojawiczyńska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Nalepińskiej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Nalepińska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>skwer Ireny Tuwim</i> (nom. <i>Irena Tuwim</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Stefanii Sempołowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Stefania Sempołowska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Stefanii Skwarczyńskiej</i> (nom. <i>Stefania Skwarczyńska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Władysławy Keniżanki</i> (nom. <i>Władysława Keniżanka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Zofii Nałkowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Zofia Nałkowska</i>)</li> </ul>
[vi]	4 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Alicji Dorabialskiej</i> (nom. <i>Alicja Dorabialska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie</i> (nom. <i>Maria Skłodowska-Curie</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>skwer Aliny Margolis-Edelman</i> (nom. <i>Alina Margolis-Edelman</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>skwer Jadwigi Szustrowej</i> (nom. <i>Jadwiga Szustrowa</i>)</li> </ul>
[vii]	6 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Antoniny Hoffmanowej</i> (nom. <i>Antonina Hoffmanowa</i>)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Barbary Sass-Zdort</i> (nom. <i>Barbara Sass-Zdort</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Hanki Ordonówny</i> (nom. <i>Hanka Ordonówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Heleny Modrzejewskiej</i> (nom. <i>Helena Modrzejewska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jadzi Andrzejewskiej</i> (nom. <i>Jadzia Andrzejewska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>skwer Barbary Wachowicz-Napiórkowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Barbara Wachowicz-Napiórkowska</i>)</li> </ul>
[viii]	<p>2 /</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>al. Katarzyny Kobro</i> (nom. <i>Katarzyna Kobro</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Grażyny Bacewicz</i> (nom. <i>Grażyna Bacewicz</i>)</li> </ul>
[ix]	<p>13 /</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>pl. adv. Joanny Agackiej-Indeckiej</i> (nom. <i>Joanna Agacka-Indecka</i>; Pol. <i>adv.</i> = sing. masc. / fem. n. <i>advokat</i> 'lawyer')</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Anieli Krzywoń</i> (nom. <i>Aniela Krzywoń</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Anny Jagiellonki</i> (nom. <i>Anna Jagiellonka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Anny Walentynowicz</i> (nom. <i>Anna Walentynowicz</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Dąbrówki</i> (nom. <i>Dąbrówka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Elżbiety Łokietkówny</i> (nom. <i>Elżbieta Łokietkówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Emilii Plater</i> (nom. <i>Emilia Plater</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Emilii Szczanieckiej</i> (nom. <i>Emilia Szczaniecka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Joanny Żubrowej</i> (nom. <i>Joanna Żubrowa</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Krystyny Idzikowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Krystyna Idzikowska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Księżnej Kingi</i> (nom. <i>księżna Kinga</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>rondo Marii Jasińskiej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Jasińska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Piotrowiczowej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Piotrowiczowa</i>)</li> </ul>
[x]	-
[xi]	<p>13 /</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Balladyny</i> (nom. <i>Balladyna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Czerwonego Kapturka</i> (nom. <i>Czerwony Kapturek</i>; cf., above)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Dobrej Wróżki</i> (nom. <i>Dobra Wróżka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Dziewanny</i> (nom. <i>Dziewanna</i>, the acception of legendary female divinity)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Goplany</i> (nom. <i>Goplana</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Halki</i> (nom. <i>Halka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>al. Joasi Podborskiej</i> (nom. <i>Joasia Podborska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Oleńki Billewiczówny</i> (nom. <i>Oleńka Billewiczówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>al. Salomei Brynickiej</i> (nom. <i>Salomea Brynicka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Szeherezady</i> (nom. <i>Szeherezada</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Telimeny</i> (nom. <i>Telimena</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jagienki</i> (nom. <i>Jagienka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jagny</i> (nom. <i>Jagna</i>)</li> </ul>
[xii]	<p>1 /</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Heleny Marusarzówny</i> (nom. <i>Helena Marusarzówna</i>)</li> </ul>
[xiii]	<p>24 /</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Aleja Matek Polskich</i> (pl. fem. nom. <i>Matki Polskie</i> 'Polish Mothers', see above)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Antoniny</i> (nom. <i>Antonina</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Barbary</i> (nom. <i>Barbara</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Bronisławy</i> (nom. <i>Bronisława</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Doroty</i> (nom. <i>Dorota</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Eleonory</i> (nom. <i>Eleonora</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Feliksy</i> (nom. <i>Feliksa</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Grażyny</i> (nom. <i>Grażyna</i>)</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Heleny</i> (nom. <i>Helena</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Ireny</i> (nom. <i>Irena</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jadwigi</i> (nom. <i>Jadwiga</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Janiny</i> (nom. <i>Janina</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jasia i Małgosi</i> (dim. masc. nom. <i>Jaś &lt; Jan</i>; dim. fem. nom. <i>Małgosia &lt; Małgorzata</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Joanny</i> (nom. <i>Joanna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Julii</i> (nom. <i>Julia</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Łucji</i> (nom. <i>Łucja</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Magdaleny</i> (nom. <i>Magdalena</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii</i> (nom. <i>Maria</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Natalii</i> (nom. <i>Natalia</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Rozalii</i> (nom. <i>Rozalia</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Zofii</i> (nom. <i>Zofia</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>pasaż Róży</i> (a word game: nom. <i>Róża</i> vs Pol. sing. fem. n. <i>róża</i> 'rose')</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Sanitariuszek</i> (Pol. pl. fem. nom. n. <i>sanitariuszki</i> 'sanitary nurses', see above)</li> <li>▪ <i>Rynek Włókniarek Łódzkich</i> (Łódź Textile Women Workers Square; Pol. pl. fem. nom. n.+adj. <i>włóknarki łódzkie</i> 'textile women workers', see above)</li> </ul>
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Table 2. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Białystok (Poland).  
Based on the author's own formula.

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	1 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. NMP Królowej Rodzin</i> (nom. <i>NMP Królowa Rodzin</i>; acronym <i>NMP</i> = <i>Najświętsza Maryja Panna</i> 'Saint Virgin Mary'; cf., above)</li> </ul>
[ii]	4 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Rondo św. Faustyny Kowalskiej</i> (nom. <i>św. Faustyna Kowalska</i>; Pol. masc. n. <i>rondo</i> 'roundabout')</li> <li>▪ <i>Skwer Błogosławionej Bolesławy Lament</i> (nom. <i> błogosławiona Bolesława Lament</i>; Pol. fem. adj. <i> błogosławiona</i> 'blessed')</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. św. Anny</i> (nom. <i> św. Anna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. św. Kingi</i> (nom. <i> św. Kinga</i>)</li> </ul>
[iii]	-
[iv]	-
[v]	9 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej</i> (nom. <i>Eliza Orzeszkowa</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Gabrieli Zapolskiej</i> (nom. <i>Gabriela Zapolska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Ireny Zarzeckiej</i> (nom. <i>Irena Zarzecka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Dąbrowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Dąbrowska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Marii Konopnickiej</i> (nom. <i>Maria Konopnicka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Narcyzy Żmichowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Narcyza Żmichowska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>Skwer Anny Markowej</i> (nom. <i>Anna Markowa</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>Skwer Felicji Raszkin-Nowak</i> (nom. <i>Felicja Raszkin-Nowak</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Teresy Torąńskiej</i> (nom. <i>Teresa Torąńska</i>)</li> </ul>
[vi]	4 / <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Berty Szaykowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Berta Szaykowska</i>)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. M. Curie-Skłodowskiej</i> (nom. <i>M[aria] Curie-Skłodowska</i>, cf., above)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Simony Kossak</i> (nom. <i>Simona Kossak</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>Skwer im. Profesor Agnieszki Borzuchowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Agnieszka Borzuchowska</i>; Pol. sing. masc. gen. n. <i>im.</i> = <i>imienia</i> 'dedicated to' &gt; masc. nom. n. <i>imię</i> 'name')</li> </ul>
[vii]	<b>5 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Grażyny Bacewicz</i> (nom. <i>Grażyna Bacewicz</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Hanki Ordonówny</i> (nom. <i>Hanka Ordonówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Łucji Prus</i> (nom. <i>Łucja Prus</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Nory Ney</i> (nom. <i>Nora Ney</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>Skwery Tamary Sołowiecz</i> (nom. <i>Tamara Sołowiecz</i>; Pol. pl. masc. n. <i>skwery</i> 'squares')</li> </ul>
[viii]	<b>1 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>pl. Krystyny Drewnowskiej</i> (nom. <i>Krystyna Drewnowska</i>)</li> </ul>
[ix]	<b>10 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Anieli Krzywoń</i> (nom. <i>Aniela Krzywoń</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Anny Jagiellonki</i> (nom. <i>Anna Jagiellonka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>Bulwary Ireny Sendlerowej</i> (nom. <i>Irena Sendlerowa</i>; Pol. pl. masc. n. <i>bulwary</i> 'boulevards')</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Danuty Siedzikówny</i> (nom. <i>Danuta Siedzikówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. dr Ireny Białówny</i> (nom. <i>dr Irena Białówna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Emilii Plater</i> (nom. <i>Emilia Plater</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>park Jadwigi Dziekońskiej</i> (nom. <i>Jadwiga Dziekońska</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jadwigi Klimkiewiczowej</i> (nom. <i>Jadwiga Klimkiewiczowa</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Królowej Bony</i> (nom. <i>królowa Bona</i>; Pol. fem. n. <i>królowa</i> 'queen')</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Królowej Jadwigi</i> (nom. <i>królowa Jadwiga</i>)</li> </ul>
[x]	-
[xi]	<b>7 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Balladyny</i> (nom. <i>Balladyna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Czerwonego Kapturka</i> (nom. <i>Czerwony Kapturek</i>, see above)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Kopciuszka</i> (nom. <i>Kopciuszek</i>, see above)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Oleńki</i> (nom. <i>Oleńka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Wenus</i> (nom. <i>Wenus</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Agatki</i> (nom. <i>Agatka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Aliny</i> (nom. <i>Alina</i>)</li> </ul>
[xii]	<b>1 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Heleny Marusarzówny</i> (nom. <i>Helena Marusarzówna</i>)</li> </ul>
[xiii]	<b>3 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>ul. Grażyny</i> (nom. <i>Grażyna</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Hanki</i> (nom. <i>Hanka</i>)</li> <li>▪ <i>ul. Jagienki</i> (nom. <i>Jagienka</i>)</li> </ul>

Table 3. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Skierniewice (Poland).  
Based on the author's own formula.

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	-
[ii]	1 / ▪ <i>ul. św. Siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej (nom. św. Faustyna Kowalska)</i>
[iii]	-
[iv]	-
[v]	5 / ▪ <i>ul. Anny Olszewskiej (nom. Anna Olszewska)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej (nom. Eliza Orzeszkowa)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Marii Dąbrowskiej (nom. Maria Dąbrowska)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Marii Konopnickiej (nom. Maria Konopnicka)</i> ▪ <i>Rondo Ireny Repp (nom. Irena Repp)</i>
[vi]	1 / ▪ <i>ul. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie (nom. Maria Skłodowska-Curie)</i>
[vii]	-
[viii]	-
[ix]	5 / ▪ <i>ul. Anieli Krzywoń (nom. Aniela Krzywoń)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Barbary Radziwiłłówny (nom. Barbara Radziwiłłówna)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Królowej Bony (nom. królowa Bona)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Królowej Jadwigi (nom. królowa Jadwiga)</i> ▪ <i>ul. Królowej Marysieńki (nom. królowa Marysieńka)</i>
[x]	-
[xi]	1 / ▪ <i>ul. Czerwonego Kapturka (nom. Czerwony Kapturek, see above)</i>
[xii]	-
[xiii]	-

Table 4. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Salerno (Italy)<sup>12</sup>. Based on the author's own formula.  
Data collecting source: <http://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/index.php/salerno-sa>, last access 29.12.2019 (Agenzia del Territorio, the census by Antonella Sorrentino).

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	16 / ▪ <i>via S. Maria delle Grazie (SM of Grace)</i> ▪ <i>via S. Maria della Mercede (SM of Grace)</i> ▪ <i>via S. Maria della Consolazione (SM of Consolation)</i> ▪ <i>via S. Maria del Campo (It. Campo &lt; sing. masc. n. il campo 'field, square')</i> ▪ <i>via S. Maria del domino (It. il domino &lt; Lat. liturgic phrase benedicamus Domino)</i> ▪ <i>via S. Maria Ausiliatrice (SM Mary Help of Christians)</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via S. Maria a mare</i> (SM at sea)</li> <li>▪ <i>via Maria SS Immacolata</i> (SM Immaculate; It. <i>SS</i> = adj. fem. <i>santissima</i> 'holiest')</li> <li>▪ <i>via Madonna di Fatima</i> (Our Lady of Fatima)</li> <li>▪ <i>via Madonna della Stella</i> (Our Lady of the Star)</li> <li>▪ <i>gradoni Madonna della lama</i> (It. sing. fem. n. <i>la lama</i> 'a terrain structure')</li> <li>▪ <i>via Madonna del monte</i> (Our Lady of the Mountain)</li> <li>▪ <i>via Madonna del campo</i> (see above)</li> <li>▪ <i>via S. Maria del pumbolo</i> (local distinction)</li> <li>▪ <i>via del Carmine</i> (SM of the Scapular)</li> <li>▪ <i>via Ave Gratia Plena Maggiore</i> (Lat. Marian appellation deriving from a prayer; It. [<i>Santa Maria</i>] <i>Maggiore</i> '[SM] Major'; cf., Lat. <i>major basilica</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>[ii]</b>	<b>14 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>traversa S. Anna</i></li> <li>▪ <i>gradini S. Anna</i></li> <li>▪ <i>vicolo S. Trofimen</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via S. Teresa</i></li> <li>▪ <i>vicolo S. Sofia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>vicoletto S. Lucia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via S. Lucia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>galleria S. Lucia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>traversa S. Lucia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via S. Margherita</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via S. Caterina Alessandrina</i></li> <li>▪ <i>viale S. Agnese</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via S. Maria Maddalena</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Beata Teresa di Calcutta</i></li> </ul>
<b>[iii]</b>	-
<b>[iv]</b>	<b>1 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>piazzetta Mamma Lucia</i></li> </ul>
<b>[v]</b>	<b>3 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Emma Ferretti</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Maria Guidi Vinacci</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Sorelle Vigorito</i></li> </ul>
<b>[vi]</b>	<b>4 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Guarna Rebecca</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Trotula De Ruggiero</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Costanzella Calenda</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Abella Salernitana</i></li> </ul>
<b>[vii]</b>	<b>2 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Borelli Alda</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Marietta Gaudiosi</i></li> </ul>
<b>[viii]</b>	-
<b>[ix]</b>	<b>15 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Pandolfina Fasanella</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Mafalda di Savoia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>piazza Anita Garibaldi</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Isabella Villamarina</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Raffaella Serfilippo</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Regina Sibilla</i></li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Regina Costanza</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Principessa Sichelgaita</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Margherita da Durazzo</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Maria Jervolino</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Serafina Apicella</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Antonietta De Pace</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Zanzella della Porta</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Rosina Sessa</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Marianna Mazziotti</i></li> </ul>
[x]	-
[xi]	<b>3 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Leucosia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Lavinia</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Marietta Gaudiosi</i></li> </ul>
[xii]	-
[xiii]	<b>12 /</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>via Piscarella</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Picarella</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Marinelle</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via La Mennolella</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via La Maddalena di Sant'Angelo</i></li> <li>▪ <i>largo Amalia Giovanna Galdi</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Farina Caterina</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Lucia di Marino</i></li> <li>▪ <i>traversa Rosa Bentivegna</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Angelamaria a Monte</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Elsa Maria Ricciardi</i></li> <li>▪ <i>via Maria Iazzetta</i></li> </ul>

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