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Real and quasi-heortonyms as contextualized and conceptualized intercultural names

Heortonimy właściwe i quasi-heortonimy jako kontekstualizowane i konceptualizowane nazwy interkulturowe

Abstrakt

Artykuł przedstawia onomastyczno-kognitywne studium heortonimów (nazw świąt) jako specyficznych jednostek chrematonimicznych, które funkcjonując na zasadzie ideonimów identyfikujących inicjatywy socjo-kulturowe, przenoszą kontekstualne i konceptualne treści odnoszone do obiektu nominacji, tj. kodowany przez nie przekaz semantyczny. Proponowane jest ujęcie klasyfikujące heortonimy jako nazwy cyklicznych lub rzadziej okazjonalnych wydarzeń, które upamięniają lub zwracają uwagę na kontekstualizowaną ideę z kręgu kultury niematerialnej. Są to monorematyczne bądź, częściej, polirematyczne propria, służące do konceptualizacji świąt motywowanych religijnie oraz podobnie kwalifikowanych dedykacji dni w kalendarzu, inspirowanych kulturą świecką lub parareligijną. Stąd wyodrębnienie „heortonimii właściwej”, wchodzącej w zakres onimii religijnej oraz „quasi-heortonimii”, której obiekty funkcjonują w komunikacji na zasadzie asocjatywnego przywołania wzorowanego na formule religijnej i modelu kampanii społecznych. Analiza obydwu typów heortonimicznych ma charakter interkulturowy, przy założeniu, że zarówno heortonimy właściwe, jak i quasi-heortonimy należą jednocześnie do wielu kultur i mają potencjał przenikania do nowych kręgów kulturowych, stanowiąc, w zależności od kontekstu, element dyskursu religijnego, ideologicznego, społecznego, ale także komercyjnego oraz kreatywno-medialnego. Wsunięte wnioski oparte są na badaniu głównie angielsko- i polskojęzycznego korpusu, pochodzącego z danych rejestrowanych w kalendarzach religijnych oraz świeckich kultury globalnej, w przeważającej części związanej z cywilizacją zachodnią. Studium ma też wartość dodaną w postaci opinii onomastyczno-terminologicznej dotyczącej definicji i zakresu heortonimii oraz zestawienia heortonimii właściwej i quasi-heortonimii z podobnie funkcjonującymi strukturami chrematonimii ideacyjnej oraz chrononimii.

Słowa kluczowe: heortonimy, nazwy świąt, *sacrum*, *profanum*, onimia religijna, chrematonastyka, kontekstualizacja, konceptualizacja, interkulturowość

Abstract

The paper develops an onomastic-cognitive study of heortonyms (feast names) as special chrematonymic units which, functioning like ideonyms identifying socio-cultural initiatives, transfer contextual and conceptual content related to the object of their denomination, i.e. the semantic message encoded in them. It is proposed to classify heortonyms as names of recurrent or occasional events commemorating or drawing attention to a specific idea from the circle of non-material culture. Heortonyms are monorematic, or more often polyrematic proper names used to conceptualize feasts related to religion, and similarly qualified dedications of days in the calendar, inspired by secular or parareligious culture. Hence, the classification categorizes the studied phenomenon into two groups: “usual/real heortonymy”, falling within the scope of typical religious onymy, and “quasi-heortonymy”, whose objects function in line with the communicative principle of associative evocation based on the (para)religious formula and the pattern of social campaigns. The analysis of these two types of heortonyms has an intercultural character, assuming that both real and quasi-heortonyms belong simultaneously to various cultures and have the potential to penetrate other cultural areas, depending on the context, entering religious, ideological, social, commercial and creative-media-related discourse. The discussion and conclusions are results of a cognitive analysis of Polish and English real and quasi-heortonymic units derived from data recorded in religious and secular calendars of global culture, mostly related to Western civilization. The research has an added value presenting an onomastic-terminological opinion on the definition and the scope as well as on the correlation of heortonyms with other structures of ideative chrematonymy or chrononymy.

Key words: heortonyms, feast names, sacred, profane, religious onymy, chrematonomastics, contextualization, conceptualization, interculturality

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is an onomastic-cognitive analysis of heortonymes as intercultural contextualized and conceptualized feast names. I have adopted the term ‘heortonym’ which was introduced in onomastic studies by Slavic scholars with the definition presented in Nataliya Podolskaya’s Dictionary of onomastic terminology, but only in its later issue (Подольская 1988: 48). In the first edition, lasting to 1978, this term is not included. According to the dictionary entry, a heortonym (Russ. *геортоним*)¹ is ‘the proper name of any holiday / festivity / feast,

¹ This term occurs in Slavic onomastic studies, mainly in their English abstracts. Nonetheless, I wouldn’t agree with a too direct transliteration of the Russian prototype (cfr. Russ. *геортоним* > Eng. *geortonym*, e.g. Воробьёва, Шпигун 2018: 16). A correctly adapted English equivalent of this term should be a version referring to the Greek etymon (see below). Otherwise, of course, the term “feast name” can be accepted, despite it does not entirely correspond to its possible scope, appearing to be a simplified definition than the term itself (cfr. “names of holidays”, Russ. *именования религиозного праздника*, Иванова 2018). A terminological discussion is in progress in this regard (see Gałkowski 2019a: 68).

memorable date, celebration, festival' (*собственное имя любого праздника, памятной даты, торжества, фестиваля*).

In the light of this explanation, I would put the meaning of a heortonym as the denomination of an important cultural cause which is emphasized as the motive of recurrent commemoration. I think that the event perspective is crucial in this generalized interpretative definition.

Among the examples of heortonyms Podolskaya (ibid.) quoted *День Победы* ('Victory Day'; 9.V); *Международный Женский День* ('International Women's Day'; 8.III); *День Геолога* ('Geologist Day'; 6.IV); *Новый Год* ('New Year'; 1.I); *Рождество* ('Christmas'; 25.XII); *Ураза-байрам* (*Ураза Ваурам*, a spring Islamic holiday, corresponding to Arab *Eid al-Fitr* 'The Feast of Breaking the Fast', marking the end of Ramadan); "*Москва-80*" (*Moscow 1980*, in quotation marks, which is not insignificant because it points to a specifically used name; a 'festival' that was in fact *The 1980 Summer Olympics*, officially known as *The Games of the XXII Olympiad*).

I think it symptomatic that in the order of these examples secular designations precede the religious ones, but we must consider in what kind of political environment of the 1980s the Slavic onomastic theory was developed. At that time, any religious reflection was rather inadvisable and risky taking into account the imposition of the atheist ideology and the general process of secularization (see certain discussions about the *patrocinia*, i.e. religious dedications forgotten or changed over the course of time; cfr. Tóth 2019; Štěpán 2011; Czopek-Kopciuch 2011). Nevertheless, pointing to scientific purposes and pertinence, the Russian authoress avowedly mentioned two historical and socio-religious concepts characteristic for Christianity and Islam, both present and important in the Soviet Union in the period after the Second World War.

It is relevant that by the choice of seven illustrative onymic units Podolskaya suggested the internal typology of heortonyms. This typology is based on a fundamental dichotomy noted in the whole category of heortonyms which consists in their overt sacred or profane aspects and intercultural meaning, and in the fact of the intersection between these opposite natures of the objects named by heortonyms in the extralinguistic world (cfr. Чеснокова 2006, 2011, 2012; Breza 1993).

Therefore, firstly, I can generalize and classify the heortonyms as sinsemantic onymic units motivated by religious (real heortonymy) and not religious (quasi-heortonymy) patterns (Gałkowski 2011: 192). This observation is one of three propositions that I have undertaken to investigate.

Secondly, I presume that heortonyms can be addressed not only with reference to their functional role, but on the semiotic level also to their key

cognitive and conceptual meaning expressing the above dichotomy and its mixing across the lay and spiritual cultures of different locales.

Thirdly, and in the realm of onomastic theoretical forecast, I develop the proposition that heortonyms are a group of ideative chrematonyms creating specific onomasticons (“heortonomasticons”) that operate in worldwide language cultures dependently and independently of their origins, interests, aesthetics, philosophy, and religion or convictions.

Until now, the problem of heortonyms has been discussed by few onomasticians and linguists (see e.g. Breza 1993; Чеснокова 2006, 2011, 2012; Gałkowski 2010, 2011: 192–215, 2019b; Бочарова 2011, 2016; Caruso 2013; Sieradzki, Borowiak 2015; Старикова 2016; Walczak-Mikołajczakowa, Sieradzki 2017; Kołesnyk 2018; Воробьева, Шпигун 2018).

2. Terminological, lexical and cultural background

The constitutional and objective idea of heortonyms is expressed in their etymological Greek basis that is *ἑορτή* *héortē* ‘feast, feast day, holiday, festival’ (Breza 1993). The Greek etymon is used in other rare scientific terms, e.g. “heortology” (the study of religious festivals, not only in theology and Christian culture; see Kellner 2019; cfr. also “heortologist”). This assumption would suggest the predominance of religious reference of heortonyms, but in onomastics it concerns both aspects of holidays in past and contemporary civilizations. It is worth formulating the general humanistic thesis that, from an anthropological point of view, any feast combines the mentioned dichotomic nature of feasts assumed by heortonyms with their linguistic and conceptual functions.

This ambiguity emerges intrinsically from the encyclopaedic meaning of the general common terms that determine the objects of all heortonyms, i.e. “feast”, “festival” and others similar and synonymic such as “fest”, “festivity”, “fair”, “holiday” with their equivalents in different languages, for example Fr. *fête*; Sp. *fiesta*; It. *fiesta* (Eng. ‘festivity’) < Lat. *festum*; *dies festus* ‘feast, feast day’; Germ. *Feiertag* < Lat. *Fēria* (Eng. ‘fair’); Pol. *święto*; Ukr. *свято*; Slov. *sviatok* < Old Slav. / Indo-Europ. basis **svetō* ‘strong’; Russ. *праздник* < Old Church Slav. *празднь*, etc.

The relative opaqueness of these terms defines their concepts referring to the range of cultural approaches contained in them as ‘celebration’, ‘gathering’, ‘feasting’, ‘happening’, ‘consumption’, ‘enjoying’, ‘concentrating on an object, a phenomenon, a spiritual or real being’, ‘creation’, ‘action’,

‘aim’, likewise ‘competition’, ‘manifestation’, ‘exhibition’ and other ideas confirmed by the form, the cultural context and the content of a feast as an event (see Satta 2007).

Most obscure in this way, nowadays, is the term “festival” used equally for identification of religious as well as secular (mostly artistic) events, e.g. the hinduistic *Thaipooosam Cavadee Festival* in Mauritius celebrated by Indians (processions of people, going to the temple during the Cavadee festival at the beginning of the year). It is worth noting that in Podolskaya’s dictionary (Подольская 1988: 48) the Olympiad 1980 in Moscow was considered a kind of “festival” (annotated in this context by the Russian language; see above). By the way, the Olympics and other sports meetings and competitions or simple social occasions of sports activity are often called “sport feast”, “festival of sport”, “sport festival”, e.g. *Garmin Winter Sports Festival* (Poland) or *Italian Dance Sport Festival* in Jesolo (Italy).

To demonstrate more widely this equivocality one can observe the use of these terms as identifiers in the formal structures of different heortonyms in both classes, religious and not religious, and on mixed or neutral terrain, e.g. *Feast of All Souls* (Christianity; 2.XI); *Feast of the Immaculate Conception* (Christianity; 8.XII); and *Cannes Film Festival* (France; usually in May); *National Cherry Festival* (Michigan, USA; July); Pol. *Festiwal Gęsiny* (‘Goose Meat Festival’, Legionowo, Poland; November); Pol. *Święto Kwiatów, Owoców i Warzyw* (‘Flower Fruit and Vegetable Festival’, Skierniewice, Poland; September); Pol. *Święto Podgrzybka* (‘Bay Bolete Mushroom Feast’, Międzychód, Poland; autumn); Pol. *Święto Miasta Krakowa* (‘The Feats of the City of Cracow’; June).

3. Calendars, dates and quasi-heortonyms

The constant feature of feasts is their falling on a specific date and often its recurrence year by year, in many cases, and first of all in religious contexts, they have returned at the same time for centuries. Actually, heortonyms are strictly linked with the calendar (see Breza 2008; Walczak-Mikołajczakowa, Sieradzki 2017). Their dates are formal details of their identification. This is why in many phraseological constructions indicating a *nomen omen* holiday organized for one reason or another, the word “day” appears, practically as the equivalent of the terms “feast”, “festival”, “holiday” which have more connotative charges (let’s consider the term “holiday” in its different meanings, e.g. ‘vacation’, and the locution “holy day”, e.g. “holy days of obligation” in the Catholic Church calendar).

The examples of heortonyms including the identifier “day” as a generic equivalent of “feast” are innumerable and cover all spheres of different human and spiritual causes, e.g. in the USA and other parts of the globalized world, *New Year’s Day* (1.I); *Martin Luther King Jr. Day* (the 3rd Monday of January); *Groundhog Day* (2.II); *Valentine’s Day* (14.II); *Presidents’ Day* (the 3rd Monday of February); *St. Patrick’s Day* (17.III); *April Fools’ Day* (1.IV); and the more peculiar, such as *Nurses’ Day* (6.V); *National Day of Prayer* (the 1st Thursday of May); *Armed Forces Day* (the 2^d Saturday of May). The last one is a popular commemoration in almost every country, e.g. *Dia de las Fuerzas Armadas de Bolivia* ‘Bolivian Armed Forces Day’ (7.VIII); *Dia do Exército* ‘Brazilian Army Day’ (19.IV); *Dan Oružanih snaga Republike Hrvatske* ‘Croatian Armed Forces Day’ (Croatia; 23.V); *Giorno delle Forze Armate* together with *Giorno dell’Unità Nazionale* ‘Armed Forces Day’ and ‘National Unity Day’ (Italy; 4.XI); *Święto Wojska Polskiego* ‘Polish Armed Forces Day’ (15.VIII); and similar such as *Honvédelem Napja* ‘Patriots and Homeland Defenders Day’ (Hungary; 21.V); *Le Jour de la Bataille de Vertières* (Haiti; 18.XI); *Yom Hazikaron* ‘Memorial Day’ (Israel; the 4th day of the month Iyar)².

It should be emphasized that every imaginable reason can be a pretext to celebrate, commemorate and praise. Among heortonyms arbitrarily or not arbitrarily referring to a concrete day in the year there are numerous types of causes, serious and frivolous, ludic and humoristic, imaginative, spiritual, corresponding to the needs of several social groups, e.g. foundations, associations, sects and other undetermined namers which create occasions for remembering something, raising the importance of something, stressing a problem, instructing through irony and humor. These initiative days names are a kind of “unusual/quasi-heortonyms” functioning as advertisements of social campaigns, e.g. in the USA *Veterans’ Day* (11.XI); *Parents’ Day* (the 4th Sunday in July); *Friendship Day* (the 1st Sunday in August); *National Titanic Remembrance Day* (15.IV), and among the weirdest in the USA and elsewhere, often cited not only for fun, *National Hangover Day* or *Fun Holiday – Nothing Day* (1.I); *National Grammar Day* (4.III); *Pi Day* (14.III); *National Let’s Laugh Day* (19.III); *National Common Courtesy Day* (21.III); *National Single Parents Day* (21.III); *National Find a Rainbow Day* (3.IV); *National Ex-Spouse Day* (14.IV); *National Love a Tree Day* (16.V); *National Pizza Party Day* (17.V); *National Be a Millionaire Day* (20.V); *National Weed Your Garden Day* (13.VI), etc. (for more see Table 2

² Cfr. also Table 2.

and Note 9). In point of fact, all these denominations are captions in a discourse which reflects various inter- and even multicultural convictions in contemporary, mostly democratized, societies.

In some cases, the celebrated day is indicated by its own name in the week which constitutes an integral part of the appellation, e.g. in religious circumstances, *Fat Tuesday*; *Ash Wednesday* (46 days before Easter); *Palm Sunday*; *Great* or *Spy Wednesday*; *Holy Tuesday*; *Good Friday*; *Holy Saturday* in the Holy Week in Christianity; and some “paraholidays” or “antiholidays” in non-religious circumstances, e.g. *Faux Fur Friday* (the 1st Friday of December); *Blue Monday* (18.I; the most depressing day in the year “because of a combination of post-Christmas bills, the abandonment of New Year resolutions, low sunlight levels and cold weather”, <http://www.holidayscalendar.com/event/blue-monday/>, last access 25.08.2019); *National Frankenstein Friday* (the last Friday of October, significantly just before the commercialized period around Halloween); *Black Friday* (informal name for the first Friday after Thanksgiving Day in the USA), etc.

4. Contextualizations

This introductory overview forces us to say that, for example, the secular American calendar notes over 1,500 different real heortonyms or quasi-heortonyms, falling from a few to a dozen or so on each day of the year, and this number is successively increasing because the process of their creation is spontaneous and uncontrolled. Many of these names are really littering modern social communication. This remark, moreover, applies not only to heortonyms, if we consider the dynamic world of proper names in the public space. The occasions evoked by all types of heortonyms are “celebrated” or simply formulated as ideas to remember on a national scale, but, of course, their impact is often narrowed down to events cited occasionally or designed to concentrate on significant or irrelevant problems. The popularity of these “holidays” is, however, quite large, and it is the result of their mediatization, e.g. all lists or special calendars with hyperlinks on the Internet, descriptions and presentations on special websites, reminders on TV and radio channels in the daily news, etc. I think that they are a characteristic *signum temporis* among things that people can nowadays ingeniously denominate with ideative chrematonyms; nothing negative considering the relevance or ludic aspect of the majority of causes evinced by occasional quasi-heortonyms. Therefore, it is worth underlining

that many of these special onymic units function as social advertisements (see also below the conceptual analysis of heortonyms)³.

In contrast to the neutral identifier “day”, other terms are used to determine the religious nature of their objects. Though, again, the matter is not as clear as it might seem. It concerns, among others, the Italian *sagra* and the Polish *odpust* in the Catholic tradition (cfr. Caruso 2013 and Gałkowski 2019b). Both apparently mean the same, that is a “popular feast” (It. *fiesta popolare*, Pol. *święto lokalne*). At the bottom of things, they indicate the religious ceremony of the consecration of a place or an object of worship, a patronal fair. The It. *la sagra* derives from the adjective *sagro*, the antic variant of *sacro* ‘holy, sacred’. Whereas, the Pol. *odpust* literally means ‘indulgence’, and is a synecdoche used to determine the local feast during which the faithful may receive a remission of sins, realized by a complete or partial indulgence act. These two types of religious feasts are linked with the place and the precise day or period in the calendar of a parish, a village, or a city. That is why, in Poland, this kind of feast is called *odpust parafialny* ‘parish festival’ or ‘parish fair’. It is in practice the festive ritual day of the patron saint of a given catholic church.

The names of patronal festivals are in principle elliptic, for example the denomination *odpust w kościele św. Wawrzyńca* (‘the indulgence in the church of St. Laurent’) is reduced to *odpust św. Wawrzyńca* (‘St. Laurent festival’ in many Polish localities) or *uroczystości odpustowe w parafii św. Rocha* (‘indulgence celebrations in the parish of St. Roch’, Poznań) reduced to *odpust ku czci św. Rocha* (‘indulgence / festival in honor of St. Roch’) or directly *odpust św. Rocha* (‘St. Roch Festival’).

The objective of *odpust* is basically spiritual, but the locale makes this holiday an opportunity for feasting in a purely human sense. This is even more evident in the case of the *sagra* in Italy (see Riva 1978; Saffioti 2009; Ruzza 2012). Its name reveals the relation to patron saints or other religious figures, e.g. *Sagra di Santa Greca* (‘Feast of St Greca’, Decimomannu, Sardegna); *Sagra di Maria Ausiliatrice* (‘Feast of St. Mary Help of Christians’, San Bortolo di Arzignano, Veneto); *Sagra di San Mariano* (‘Feast of St. Mariano’, Bertipaglia di Maserà, Veneto).

However, almost all Italian *sagras* are popular festivals in which the harvest or a particular food product is the object of observance. Many heortonyms designating *sagras* confirm this opportunity, e.g. *Sagra del pesce di San Fortunato* (‘Fish Sagra’, Camogli, Liguria; San Fortunato

³ Cfr. also the problem of calendars filling up with secular and new names in different cultures (e.g. Sliz 2018).

is not only the patron of the local church, but also the patron of the fishermen) or *Sagra del Biscotto Sanpirotu* ('St. John's Cake Sagra', San Pier Niceto, Sicily).

The original spiritual idea of the *sagra* has been regularly replaced by a reference to a local food product, culinary specialty, cultivated vegetable, produced wine, etc. The smallest Italian towns and villages can boast of organizing some *sagra*, even if the history of the place doesn't record this. The examples are uncountable and one can note names in standard Italian as well as in Italian dialects, e.g. *Sagra del Tartufo Nero* ('Black Truffle Festival', Riofreddo, Lazio); *Sagra dell'Ortica* ('Nettle Festival', Malalbergo, Emilia-Romagna); *Sagra della Porchetta* ('Pork Festival', Ariccia, Lazio); *Sagra del Salame alla Brace* ('Grilled Salami Festival', Dodici Morelli, Cento, Emilia-Romagna); *Sagra "Maccarruna 'nta Maidda"* (dial. 'a kind of ragù pasta', Termini Imerese, Sicily); *Sagra "Simbua fritta cun sattizzu"* (dial. 'a kind of grain polenta with sausage', Villanovaforru, Sardegna).

Most of these events are completely desacralized or at least their religious context is mixed with the profane one consisting in It. *un'abbuffata* 'a binge' that offers the people the sense of community and pride in something that characterizes their place of living. This is additionally the reason why the majority of Italian *sagras* may be referred to as It. *sagra gastronomica* or *sagra enogastronomica* 'gastronomical' or 'enogastronomical festivals' (Gałkowski 2019b).

Unfailingly, in other parts of the world we can easily recognize this kind of feast denominated in similar manner and concentrated on a local specialty, e.g. *El Festival de Exaltación del Botillo* ('Botillo Exaltation Festival'; a kind of sausage, Bembibre, León, Spain); *La Fête de la Coquille Saint-Jacques* ('The Scallop Festival', Erquy, Brittany, France); *Sarbatoarea Castanelor* ('The Chestnuts Festival', Baia Mare, Romania; Rom. *sarbatoarea* 'feast, feasting, revelry').

The pretended religious nature of an event denominated by a heortonym is not guaranteed either by terms that originate from an indisputably sacred area. And it is due to the processes of globalization, cosmopolitalization, commercialization and general laicization. This statement reflects the changes that one can see in newly commercialized and desacralized rituals of the most popular feasts with religious roots in Christianity: *Christmas*; *Easter*; *All Saints Day* and its famous eve *Halloween*; *St. Valentine's Day*; or in Judaism: *Passover* (Hebrew *Pesach*); *Sukkoth* (Sukkas Tents Feast); *Hanukkah* (Jewish Festival of Lights). There is nothing surprising in these cases as they are the result of human creativity developing the traditions and practices of the religiously based folklore. This interculturality

is today carried by heortonyms independently of their spiritual motivation. The holiday name in a given religion or socio-secular tradition becomes a lexical and conceptual unit which is shared and used by all representatives of various linguistic or cultural area groups.

This tendency is sometimes abused by the creators of feasts in dangerous social movements and alternative religions or sects in their feast calendars. Ritual objects of “occult heortonyms” generate strong controversies. They fall within the scope of a closed spiritual discourse. However, in free societies we cannot, nor should we, eliminate them as they are often signs of historical paganism, a return to the culture of the ancient Greeks, Romans, Celts, Slavic tribes, mythology, agnosticism, traditional thinking (e.g. *Winter Solstice / Yule / Saturnalia; Imbolc / Candlemas; Spring Equinox / Ostara; Grand Climax / Beltane; Walpurgis Night; Summer Solstice / Litha / Midsummer Festival; Autumn Equinox / Mabon; Corpus de Baahl; Diana’s Day; Marriage to the Beast; Feast of Nephthys; Saturnalia*⁴).

Occult heortonyms are, furthermore, evidence of the cultural diversity that surrounds us, but at the same time they testify to intentions against the universal order. In other circumstances they are a reason for criticism, and, not surprisingly, a particular area of struggle because they advance bad spiritual goals in the eyes of the recognized religious communities. From a purely onomastic point of view, as evocative and actively connotative names, these onyms enrich our culture, restore its past, and are an inspiration for ideologies, art, literature, ludic events, etc.

There is one more level of heortonymy to consider. This is the names of certain holidays that have been forgotten or removed from calendars in different socio-political contexts, e.g. Christian holidays in North Korea. There are also names of certain historical holidays that have been abolished or restored, such as *Święto Konstytucji 3-ego Maja* (‘The 3rd of May Constitution Day’) in Poland, ignored during the communist period and revived after 1989. Many heortonyms functioned in the second circulation, or even clandestinely, at that time in Poland, e.g. *Epiphany* (6.I), currently re-established as a religiously motivated, non-working day, and the *Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (15.VIII), in Poland also being the *Feast of the Miracle on the Vistula*, i.e. the anniversary of the repulsion of Bolshevik troops in 1920.

⁴ For more examples in this category and the corresponding dates in the calendar see the Appendix: Calendar abuse – the significance of ritual dates in *Ritual Abuse and Mind Control...* (2018).

Another problem in this field of observations is the modification or renaming of a feast like *Columbus Day* which, for example, in the USA Columbus District is replaced by *Indigenous Peoples' Day* to commemorate and stress certain facts connoted by the real acts of Columbus on American land⁵.

Admittedly, all heortonymes denote, but also connote bearing a specific discourse of knowledge, cognitive perspective, psychology and general desire of people to express their spirituality and their everyday needs, often consisting of happenings, entertainment and fun. The contextual interculturality and the equivocality across the cultures are intrinsic traits of heortonymic objects, i.e. their references in the extralinguistic world.

The corpus of these onyms, gathered from different cultural sources supports this conclusion. I analyzed, in total, more than 1,000 heortonymic units in different languages, mostly in English and Polish, having regard to their structural-formal and cognitive-encyclopaedic aspects. In this sample there are nearly 70 monorematic names such as – ignoring their often complex etymology – the Christian *Epiphany*, the Jewish *Purim*, the Buddhist *Obon* or the pagan *Yule*; and the rest consist of combination in one compound word or a sequence of words, creating polyrematic structures, e.g. *Winterfinding* and *Summerfinding* in the German pagan tradition; or the descriptive titles in onomastic form of phraseological ideonyms (cfr. Nowakowska 2010) as in the weird view of things of the sexist Polish *Dzień Łapania za Biust* ('Catching Bust Day'); *Dzień Kultu Masy Mięśniowej* ('Muscle Mass Worship Day'); the professional *Międzynarodowy Dzień Strażaka* ('International Firefighter Day'); the apparently global *Światowy Dzień Higieny Rąk* ('World Hand Hygiene Day'); the French *Festival de la Créativité Gastronomique* ('Festival of Gastronomic Creativity'); the Italian *Festa del Cornuto* ('Holiday of the Horned'; symbolically of the men betrayed by their women); or *Testy Festy / Testicle Festival* (an event in Byron, USA where cooked animal testicles are consumed).

It is intriguing that the names of occasional or recurring feasts can be the object of original naming manifested by marketing production of port-manteau terms or puns such as *Pyrlandia* (the artistic festival in the city

⁵ See the following statement: "There are a lot of Italian Americans who very much support the shift to Indigenous Peoples' Day because they don't want to feel themselves associated with a man who is known to have committed terrible crimes against humanity [...] Italian Americans were greatly discriminated against in this country, and it's incredibly important to have a day to celebrate that heritage. It just shouldn't be around the figure of Columbus" (<<https://www.npr.org/2019/10/14/769083847/columbus-day-or-indigenous-peoples-day?t=1580565832023>>, last access: 08.01.2020). Cfr. <<https://wamu.org/story/19/10/08/council-votes-to-rename-columbus-day-to-indigenous-peoples-day-in-d-c/>>, last access: 10.01.2020.

of Poznań, Poland; the name refers to the dialectal and popular Pol. *pyra* ‘potato’, one of the gastronomic symbols of Poznań; the second term *landia*, deriving from intern. *land*, is widely productive in marketing chrematonymy; cfr. *Babylandia* > Eng. *baby*; *Czekolandia* > Pol. *czekolada* ‘chocolate’; *Cukierkolandia* > Pol. *cukierki* ‘candies’); *Tartufesta del Po* ‘Truffle Festival’ (the sincrasis of It. *tartufo* + *fiesta*, Carbonara di Po, Lombardia, Italy); *StrEat Palermo Tour* (a hybrid orthograph of Eng. *street* exposing the verb *eat*, a gastronomic festival in Palermo, Italy); *Birrhalloween* (the sincrasis of It. *birra* ‘bear’ + *Halloween*, Pagazzano, Lombardia, Italy).

5. Conceptualizations

The intercultural concepts evoked by heortonyms are truly various and heterogenous, first of all, in their typical/usual religious or spiritual conceptualizations (real heortonyms = RH⁶), but, significantly, in the range of those unusual secular ones (quasi-heortonyms = QH), that are multiplying more and more. Both can be classified in several cognitive fields as we can see in Table 1 (RH) and Table 2 (QH) below.

For illustration of the RH cases, I used the heortonymic units from the Catholic calendar⁷ which is partially known and adopted with its fixed and movable feast days by the universal culture not only in the Occidental civilization. According to the order of the Catholic religion and its Roman rite, the holy days are categorized into solemnities (S), feasts (F) and obligatory (OBM) or optional memorials (OPM).

Illustrating the QH, I referred to different indexes with secular observation of numerous causes, certain of them announced by the UN as international events worthy of note⁸.

Several RH (e.g. RH 4, RH 5 and RH 6), and especially QH (e.g. QH 1 and QH 4), units belong at the same time to two or more types of the specified conceptualizations. The confrontation between defined cultures and religions shows that similar matters can be a motive of holidays, e.g.

⁶ RH would belong to the category of “proper/typical religious onymy” (Pol. *onimia religijna właściwa*, Gałkowski 2010: 567–568; cfr. Pol. *kultonymy* ‘cultonyms; cult names’, e.g. idem 2017: 42, 2018: 8; see also religious vs. secular / sacred vs. profane naming, *Onomastics between...* 2018).

⁷ The main source of data for RH: <<https://www.vercalendario.info/en/event/catholic-liturgy-year-calendar-2019.html>>, last access: 14.01.2020.

⁸ The main sources of data for QH: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_minor_secular_observances and <https://www.kalbi.pl/kalendarz-swiat-nietypowych> or <http://www.holidayscalendar.com/>> last access: 14.01.2020.

love, anniversaries, beginnings and changing of seasons, beliefs, human conditions and occupations, etc. Invoking love, I can cite one more time the global *Valentine's Day* / *St. Valentine Day*, as well as Pol. *Noc Świętojańska* ('The Night of Saint John') / *Noc Kupały* (the old Slavic tradition of the night of Kupala occurring between the 21 and the 22 June, during the spring solstice of the Sun) or *Dragobete* (the Romanian version of *Valentine's Day* celebrated on February 24; *Dragobete* represents a local Cupid).

Table 1. Conceptualizations of religiously motivated heortonyms in Roman Catholic rite (RH)

Pattern	Conceptualizations	Examples
RH 1	God figure	<i>Holy Trinity</i> (S; 16.VI) ^a
	Jesus Christ life events and activity and related spiritual formulas	<i>Christmas / Nativity of the Lord</i> (S; 25.XII); <i>Easter</i> (S; 16.IV); <i>Holy Thursday</i> (S; 18.IV); <i>Baptism of the Lord</i> (F; 13.I); <i>The Presentation of the Lord</i> (F; 2.II); <i>Annunciation of the Lord</i> (S; 25.III); <i>Body and Blood of Christ</i> (S; 20.VI); <i>Sacred Heart of Jesus</i> (S; 28.VI); <i>Transfiguration of the Lord</i> (F; 6.VIII); <i>Christ the King</i> (S; 24.XI)
RH 2	Metaonomastic invocations	<i>The Most Holy Name of Jesus</i> (OPM; 3.I); <i>Holy Name of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i> (OPM; 12.IX)
RH 3	References to Blessed Virgin Mary features and events of Her life	<i>Mary Mother of God</i> (S; 1.I); <i>Our Lady of Fatima</i> (OPM; 13.V); <i>Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i> (F; 31.V); <i>Mary, Mother of the Church</i> (OPM; 10.VI); <i>Immaculate Heart of Mary</i> (OBM; 29.VI); <i>Our Lady of Mount Carmel</i> (OPM; 16.VII); <i>Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i> (S; 15.VIII); <i>Queenship of Blessed Virgin Mary</i> (OBM; 22.VIII); <i>Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i> (F; 8.IX); <i>Our Lady of Mercy</i> (OPM; 24.IX); <i>Our Lady of the Rosary</i> (OBM; 7.X); <i>Mary, Mother and Mediatrix of Grace</i> (OPM; 7.XI); <i>Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i> (S; 8.XII)
RH 4	Hagionymic references (to names of different saints)	<i>Saints Perpetua and Felicity, martyrs</i> (OBM; 7.III); <i>Saint Joseph the Worker</i> (OPM; 1.V); <i>Saint Anthony of Padua, priest and doctor</i> (OPM; 13.VI); <i>Saint Mary Magdalene</i> (OBM; 22.VII); <i>Saint Teresa Benedicta of the Cross, virgin and martyr</i> (OPM; 9.VIII);
RH 5	Saints' life events and aspects linked with their commemoration	<i>Chair of Saint Peter</i> (F; 22.II); <i>Birth of Saint John the Baptist</i> (S; 24.VI); <i>All Saints</i> (S; 1.XI)
RH 6	Collective spiritual references	<i>Seven Holy Founders of the Servite Order</i> (OPM; 17.II); <i>Holy Innocents, martyrs</i> (F; 28.XII); <i>Holy Family</i> (F; 29.XII); <i>All Souls</i> (S; 2.XI)
RH 7	Important events in Church life	<i>Dedication of the Lateran basilica</i> (F; 9.XI)

^a The dates correspond to the year 2019.

Table 2. Conceptualizations of secularly motivated heortonyms (QH)

Pattern	Conceptualizations	Examples of heortonyms
QH 1	Specific individual and social causes	<i>The International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination</i> (founded by UN; 21.III); <i>Women's Equality Day</i> (USA; 26.VIII); <i>The International Day for Tolerance</i> (UN; 16.XI); <i>The International Day for the Abolition of Slavery</i> (2.XII); <i>World Day Against Beating Children</i> (28.IV)
QH 2	Health problems	<i>National Wear Red Day</i> (people wearing red show in this way their support for people suffering from heart diseases; USA / UK, first Friday of February); <i>World Bicycle Day</i> (international; founded by UN; 3.VI); <i>World Tuberculosis Day</i> (24.III); <i>World Autism Awareness Day</i> (2.IV)
QH 3	Personal dedication	<i>Mothers' Day</i> (different dates around the world); <i>The Singles Day</i> (11.XI); <i>Mother-in-law's day</i> (5.III)
QH 4	Ideological and global causes	<i>International Day of Democracy</i> (founded by UN; 15.IX); <i>International Day of Peace</i> (21.IX)
QH 5	Emotional and interpersonal needs	<i>International Friendship Day</i> (celebrated in many countries; July / August)
QH 6	Ludic and humoristic purposes	<i>International Shirt Day</i> (13.I); <i>Carrot Cake Day</i> (3.II); <i>Day of unexpected kisses</i> (4.II); <i>Freckles Day</i> (1.III); <i>International Hug a Librarian Day</i> (1.III); <i>Day of Looking at the Sky</i> (14.IV)
QH 7	Professional references	<i>International Day of Postmen and Deliverers of Parcels</i> (16.II); <i>World Geographer's Day</i> (4.IV)
QH 8	Cultural object motivation	<i>Chinese Language Day</i> (20.IV)
QH 9	Alimentary and natural products	<i>Camembert Cheese Day</i> (28.IV)
QH 10	Protection of rights and law	<i>World Intellectual Property Day</i> (26.IV); <i>World Day for Safety and Health at Work</i> (28.IV)
QH 10	Natural features, animals, plants	<i>World Bee Day</i> (20.V); <i>World Wildlife Day</i> (3.III); <i>World Wetland Day</i> (2.II); <i>International Sparrow Day</i> (20.III); <i>Willow's Day</i> (21.III)
QH 11	Lay traditional observances	<i>April Fools' Day</i> (international; 1.IV)
QH 12	Artistic and literary references	<i>Tolkien Reading Day</i> (25.III); <i>World Theatre Day</i> (27.III); <i>Winnie the Pooh's Day</i> (18.I); <i>World Puppetry Day</i> (21.III)
QH 13	Weird and nonsense motives	<i>International Masturbation Day</i> (7.V); <i>Geek Pride Day</i> (25.V); <i>Pi Day</i> (celebration of the number π ; 22.VII); <i>World Hello Day</i> (21.XI); <i>Dinosaur Day</i> (26.II)

As a matter of fact, anniversaries and name days should also be considered in terms of personal feasts, which may involve whole families, groups of friends, colleagues at work. The name days may have religious references, in any case today they are completely secularised (see the popular tradition of celebrating the so called *imieniny* ‘name feast’ in Poland, sometimes related to a specific range of customs, e.g. *Andrzejk* (a plural proper name deriving from *Andrzejek*, a diminutive form of the name *Andrzej*; ‘[St.] Andrew’s feast day’; 30.XI); *Barbórka* (a special hypocoristic form of the name [St.] *Barbara* indicating her feast day; 4.XII); *Mikołajki* (< diminutive *Mikołajek* < [St.] *Mikołaj* ‘[St.] Nicholas’s / Santa Claus feast day’; 6.XII; cfr. also *Walentynki* < diminutive *Walentynka* < feminine name *Walentyna* / masculine name [St.] *Walenty*; ‘St. Valentine’s feast day’; 14.II).

Referring to anniversaries, one can claim that each birthday is a kind of holiday despite not having a special name. There are many feasts, noted also in the corpus, that reflect and indicate the direct commemoration of a divinity, of a prophet, of a guru, of a leader, etc., e.g. *Christmas* in Christianity (the birthday of Jesus Christ, 25.XII); *Birthdate of Guru Nanak Dev Ji’s Birthday* in Sikhism (5.I); *Mawlid al-Nabi al-Sharif*, simply *Mawlid* or *Mevlit* / *Mulud* (the observance of the birthday of the Islamic prophet Muhammad; 9 or 14.XI); the *Twin Holy Days* or the *Festivals of the Twin Birthdays* in Bahais’ community which celebrates in their religion the births of both the Bab and Baha’u’llah, two prophets associated with the Bahai revelation (two days recurring in October or November).

6. Discussion and conclusions

Every opportunity to dedicate a day (sometimes a week, a month, a year) to a specific object or aim turns out to be good and, as a result, depreciates the traditional approach and understanding of the holiday, which even in its religious formula becomes somewhat trivial. On the other hand, a “holiday” celebrated for a frivolous and imaginary reason suddenly becomes something important and implies a consecutive social experience, celebration, and remembering. Of course, creating many lay heortonyms is often a matter of drawing attention to and remedying a thoughtful problem in terms of the activities that the “feast day” may generate, as is the case with social advertising campaigns in public discourse.

From a purely linguistic point of view, considering heortonyms (RH as well as QH) we mostly deal with phraseologies. These structures carry a transparent content, which presents various concepts that are

at the base of a celebration or motivate its establishment. Concepts thus presented draw attention to something relevant or insignificant and consist in a certain rhetorical game in the discourse and public behaviour, often on an inter- and multicultural level. The heortonymic meanings refer to material and immaterial cultures, matters close to man and to the world around him, as well as to ideological and spiritual features, usually identified with politics and the consolidation of attitudes, religion and faith. The development and dissemination of heortonyms and their concepts cannot be stopped in the communicational space that absorbs every new onomastic fact. Many other spheres of new categories of onymy, especially of chrematonymy, are similar in their dynamic development.

Concluding this overview study, I can validate the introductory propositions and affirm that in the open and retentive contemporary era we are surrounded by intercultural and multiconceptual heortonyms. This results from different factors, not only religious, rather actually not religious ones. All kinds of real/typical and quasi-/unusual heortonyms constitute a pertinent part of social communication as a number of expressions reflecting the different faces of human thinking and intentions, of objective and subjective prerogatives.

Finally, and to complete the theoretical considerations of this research, I would like to emphasize a terminological remark about heortonyms. As they operate with the role of titles of happening, active celebrations, acts / actions, they could be denominated quoting Česnokova (Чеснокова 2012: 41–52) “actionyms”, on the other hand, “chrononyms” because they indicate events determined by the dates in particular calendars. This relation can be estimated as hyperonymic, heortonyms being a type of chrononyms or actionyms, but for their specificity the heortonyms create an homogenous category of ideative chrematonyms, i.e. names of cultural inventions and intellectual initiatives of humans. Considering their similarity to the titles of artistic works and events, they can be in some way approached as a type of ideonyms, which was the suggestion of Podolskaya in her onomastic terminology (Подольская 1988). Though, we must remember that the heortonymic reference displays a specific and distinctive pragmatic and cognitive role, therefore the heortonyms (both RH and QH) can be explained as culturally marked onymic units as well as contextually and conceptually determined signs of the linguistic picture of the world.

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