

THE CONCEPT OF MEMORY IN THE URBANONYMY OF UZHGOROD

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of our article is to delve into the emergence and development of the concept of memory in the Ukrainian urbanonyms of the city of Uzhgorod. We applied the method of associative experiment, which helps to reproduce speakers' perception of the world. From the urbanonyms of Uzhgorod, we selected those which, according to the authors of these names, are associated with the formation of this concept, the purpose of which is to perpetuate a person or event in the memory of people. We found 310 units of this type. To obtain reliable results, 50 people of different ages (between 18 and 65 years old), gender, and education were interviewed. The analysis of memorial urbanonyms of the city of Uzhgorod showed that most of them form the concept of historical memory based on the key provided by the authors of the names. There are three groups of names according to the degree of their influence on the cultural mentality of speakers: the first group includes the names that are associated with the specific activities of persons whose names are immortalized in these names. The associative experiment showed that the number of such names is about 18%. The second group consists of urbanonyms, which reflect the general idea of the speakers about the person whose name is the basis of the name, but without a specific understanding of what the person did (67% of the names). The third group contains names for which speakers do not have a connection with a particular person in whose honour the urban name was given (15%). The analysis indicates that the clearest understanding of motivation is evoked in the imagination of Uzhgorod residents by names of foreigners and personalities of national importance, especially the names of artists. The reason for this is twofold: first, the fame of the persons immortalized in these names, and secondly, the relative stability of this layer of urbanonyms. The perception of names in honour of local personalities is lower, which is due to the constant transformation of this subgroup of units.

KEYWORDS: concept, historical memory, urbanonym, associative experiment, onomastics, motivation.

1. Introduction.

Urbanonyms make a special subsystem of onyms that is highly responsive to social changes, heavily dependent on a political regime, and inextricably linked with the commemorative function of the names of intra-urban objects (comp. Mistecky, 2019). Therefore, analysing the notion of historical memory in urbanonymy requires a nuanced understanding of a wide stock of theoretical concepts which underpin this research. When researching the names of Uzhgorod's inner-city objects, we started from the fact that it accumulates the speaker's perception of the world and thus acts as one of the factors shaping the worldview. An associative experiment was used to understand the effect of a name or to discover whether it coincided with the original intention of the namesakes. We analyzed only those onyms, which, according to the authors, were aimed at forming the concept of historical memory and certain historical consciousness defined by national policy. Due to the peculiar characteristics of their functioning, urbanonyms are instrumental in forming or transforming the historical memory of society. Being completely dependent on the authority and easily replaceable, yet indispensable elements of communication, the names of administrative units serve as agents that popularize certain individuals or events from the past, thus influencing the present and the future. The reflection of historical memory in toponymy has already become the object of research (Pavlenko, 2018), but such studies are still sporadic and inconsistent. *The purpose of the article* is to explore how the concept of memory functions in the urbanonymy of the city of Uzhgorod. *The subject of research* centres on the verbal reactions of speakers to those verbal stimuli that, according to the intention of the authors of urbanonyms, should form the concept of historical memory in the collective consciousness.

2. Methodology of research

In the course of conducting this research, we used the method of *associative experiment*, which helps to recreate the speakers' perception of the world. Linguists adopted this method from

psychologists who started using it first. However, subsequently, the results of the experiment conducted by psychologist Karl Marbe and linguist Albert Thumb demonstrated that the associative experiment can also be applied in linguistics as the verbal response to a certain stimulus in the recipient usually reflects the part of speech of the stimulus word, e.g. a noun is associated with a noun, an adjective with an adjective, etc.

In modern linguistics, this method is widely applied to analyze the linguistic picture of the world (comp. Denysevych, 2011). In particular, Tetiana Salenkova emphasizes the importance of using the associative experiment in the study of concepts (Salenkova, 2011). There are three types of associative experiments: free, purposeful and chainlike (Denysevych, 2011). The first type is the most popular and entails the speaker being offered a word to which they must respond with some other word.

3. Results of the theoretical study

Before embarking on the examination of the concept of memory, it seems pertinent to consider the notion of concept as such. A concept as a research category has been on researchers' radar for some time after Sergey Askoldov-Alekseev introduced the term 'concept' back in 1928. From that point on, the issues of the conceptual picture of the world have been addressed by Yurii Apresyan, Tetyana Bulygina, Dmitry Likhachov, Zinaida Popova and other researchers (Krasovska, 2009). Meanwhile, concepts with the suffix -onym are relatively recent developments in the field of onomastics and share some common ground with another new domain, namely cognitive linguistics. A comprehensive study of concepts with the suffix -onym was published by Olena Karpenko (Karpenko, 2006). According to the researchers, the concept is a unit 'that reflects knowledge with varying degrees of abstraction' (Vrublevska, 2019) about denotatum or 'a special type of onomastic knowledge that determines the semantics of proper names, knowledge about the onomastic fragment of reality (Shcherbak, 2009).'

In a similar vein, there is considerable disagreement about the interpretation of the term 'historical memory' among scholars. The above-mentioned term has been deeply studied by historians, philosophers, psychologists, and linguists, although no single definition has been proposed so far. In most studies, it is stressed that there is an underlying distinction between history and historical memory. The former is objective and based on clear indisputable facts, while the latter is changeable and dependent on the way a particular event is presented and the associations each individual has about various historic events. Thus, historical memory, oddly enough, is a subjective category that can undergo drastic changes depending on the political regime. With reference to urbanonyms, Andreev and Bordyugov rightly state that 'memory is a source of inspiration from the past that is used for the needs of the present' (Andreev, 2005), whereas the names of intra-urban objects are the tools used to animate this memory. Ultimately, if understanding of history and culture depends on the age and erudition of the speaker, urbanonyms are units that are included in their language regardless of their desire or education since each person lives at a certain address and routinely sees and hears street names.

Since the purpose of this research is to uncover the peculiarities of the concept of memory, we selected those urban names of Uzhhorod that, according to the authors of these names, are associated with the formation of this concept and have as a purpose to immortalize a particular person or event in people's memory. In general, we found 310 units of this type. In order to receive reliable results, 50 people of different ages (between 18 and 65 years of age), gender, and education were interviewed.

When analyzing the concepts inherent in commemorative urbanonyms, it is essential to take into account their peculiar features in comparison with other -onyms. For instance, Yurii Stepanov recognizes three levels of the semantic content of a name, which depend on the speaker's awareness of denotation. The surface level is related to the knowledge of the name itself, while the middle level reflects the knowledge of additional information about the subject. Thus, the bottom one reflects a deep awareness of both the name and the object it refers to (Stepanova, 2004). For example, the name Kyiv includes all the information that speakers have about this city. However, a significant proportion of urbanonyms are formed through the secondary use of information conveyed by -onyms. If an anthroponym associated with a denotatum contains all the information about it, the goal of the author of a street name who uses this anthroponym to create an urbanonym consists in foregrounding a certain layer of information about the primary denotatum, from which this name was taken for secondary use. Therefore, concepts in commemorative urbanonymy form a 'bundle' of associations, ideas, and memories (comp. Stepanov, 2004), that appear in speakers as a reaction to these names, but at the same time speakers react primarily to the anthroponyms that form the basis of urbanonym units, and the street names themselves act only as 'carriers' of specific meaning, a certain semantic cross-section laid down

in the anthroponym or other -onym unit in the basis of an urbanonym. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate to what extent the goal of name-givers to form the mentality and cultural perception of Uzhhorod residents with the help of street names is achieved. Comparing the information contained in commemorative names with the information that exists in the speech of speakers enables us to understand the features of the concept of historical memory, on the one hand, and to trace the function of urbanonyms in the speech of native speakers, on the other.

4. Results of the empirical study

The concept of memory in urbanonymy is formed primarily with the help of anthroponyms, and less often through the medium of other -onyms, even less often with the help of appellative vocabulary. In order to determine exactly what intent was laid down by the authors of the -onyms, we analyzed the motivation behind commemorative names of the city of Uzhhorod. As a result, we found that 38% of them were created in honour of local figures, 36% – in honour of foreign figures, 20% – in honour of people from other regions of Ukraine, and 6% – in honour of events, groups, cities, or different nationalities. In other words, this is the information that, according to the name-givers, should be foregrounded in the minds of speakers when using street names. However, for this foregrounding to work, it is necessary for the -onym unit to be associated with certain information about the object it refers to. For example, Julia Zhemaite Street should be associated not just with the name of the street, which is located near the centre of Uzhhorod, but with the Lithuanian writer. If such an association is triggered by the mention of the proper name, the goal of the name-givers is achieved, i.e. the name of the person is remembered and honoured. If such a name is not associated in the speaker's mind with anything other than the name of the street and performs an exclusively nominative role (i.e. only refers to a topographic object), then the commemorative function of the urbanonym is neutralized. Since the purpose of our research is to analyze the concept of memory in urbanonymy of Uzhhorod, we must look beyond the motivation behind giving such street names, since language consciousness is involved, i.e. what kind of response these evoke in an individual speaker. In order to do this, one needs to compare the information that the name-givers put in the names to foreground the memory with the associations that appear in native speakers when a certain name is mentioned. For this purpose, the associative experiment was conducted.

Despite the fact that due to the dependence on the political regime, ideologically motivated names are constantly undergoing transformation and destabilizing the naming system, name-givers primarily try to select those figures whose activities are not related to politics in order to make these street names relevant after a change on the political scene. This explains the numerical prevalence of the group of urban names honouring local figures (38% of commemorative street names) and the subgroup of street names honouring artists (39%). It is worth noting that only a few of these names are associated by speakers with a specific type of activity of persons in whose honour these streets are named (14% of associations). Thus, for the majority of respondents, the names of the streets commemorating Vasyl Grendzha-Donskyi, Fedir Potushnyak and Ivan Roshka-Irlyavsky evoke the association 'writer,' 'writer of Transcarpathia,' or 'poet,' and Yosyp Bokshay and Adalbert Erdely streets – '*artiStreet*' The majority of the units of the analyzed group are associated in the minds of speakers with the place of activity, an art form, and a social role of those whose names formed the basis of urbanonyms of the analyzed subgroup (70% of associations). For example, the reactions to the name of Bozhuk Street are '*poetry*,' '*Prosvita*' organization, Borshosha-Kumyatsky Street – '*poetry*,' '*teacher*,' Dukhnovych Street – '*enlightenment*,' '*Ruthenians*,' Dolhosh Street – '*literature*,' Popovych Street – '*enlightenment*,' '*teacher*,' Sherehiyiv Brothers Street – '*drama theatre*,' '*theatre*,' '*performances*,' Brodlakovych Street – '*painting*,' Hliuk Street – '*paintings*,' '*art*,' '*painting*,' Zador Street – '*music school*,' '*music*,' '*musician*,' Marton Street – '*music*,' Kashshai Street – '*art*,' '*painting*' etc.

The third type of reaction to the mentioned group is the search for analogies in the appellative vocabulary. As a general rule, such associations arise when there is an absence of knowledge about the person in whose honour the urbanonym was created (7% of associations), e.g. Bozhuk Street – '*zhuk*' (Ukr. for '*beetle*'), Hoyda Street – '*hoidatysia*' (Ukr. for '*to swing*'), Dolhosh Street – '*dovhyi*' (Ukr. for '*long*'), Mytrak Street – '*metr*' (Ukr. for '*meter*'), Krechko Street – '*hrechka*,' '*kasha*' (Ukr. for '*buckwheat*,' '*porridge*'), Myloslavskiy Street – '*mylyi slava*,' '*mylo*' (Ukr. for '*charming Slava*,' '*charming*').

In addition, certain names evoked personal subjective experience in some respondents (5%), e.g. Borshosh-Kumyatsky Street – *'raisins,'* Vakarov Street – *'English teacher,'* Irlyavsky Street – *'speech therapist,'* Popovych Street – *'neighbour,'* Sherehii Brothers Street – *'swimming.'*

A separate group consists of *'zero' associations* (4%), which encompasses names that do not cause any associations for many speakers, e.g. Hoyda Street, Luka Street, Dolhosh Street, Tomchani Street. By zero associations, we mean the absence of any verbal reaction of the respondent to the street name. In our opinion, such occurrences should also be recorded, since they reflect the absolute absence of a word with a certain denotation in the speaker's mind. Since commemorative urbanonyms are intended to immortalize certain information about a person or event whose name became the source of the street name, the presence of *'zero' association* indicates an absolute neutralization of the function of forming historical memory through such names. The group of names honouring scientists and public figures is almost the same in number (37%). 53% of the analyzed associations indicate the activities of persons immortalized in the names, e.g. Basylovych Street – *'philosopher,' 'public figure,'* Bachynsky Street – *'philosopher,' 'religious figure,'* Brashchaykiv Brothers Street – *'politicians,' 'public figures,'* Lehotsky Street – *'historian,'* Novak Street – *'doctor,' 'medic,'* Tyvodar Street – *'professor of Uzhhorod National University,' 'scientist,'* Fedynets Street – *'Transcarpathian educator'* etc.

Associations related to the place and field of activity of the figures in whose honour the streets are named make up 25%, e.g. Basilovich Street – *'church,'* Venelyn-Hutsa Street – *'history,' 'ethnography,'* Haraida Street – *'philology,'* Hoshovsky Street – *'music,'* Luchkai Street – *'folklore,' 'religion,'* Slyvka Street – *'university'* etc.

Rare are units in subgroups of associations connected with the search for an appellative in the name (4% of associations) or those that reflect certain events in the life of respondents (3%), e.g. Basylovych Street – *'seasoning,' 'basil'* (from Ukr. *'basylyk' – 'basil'*), Haraida Street – *'stairs,' 'rake'* (from dialect. *'garadychy' – 'stairs'*), Hoshovsky Street – *'Hosha'* (short for *'Heorhii'*), Hranchak Street – *'glass'* (from Ukr. *'hranchak' – 'a glass'*), Zhatkovych Street – *'to reap,' 'harvest'* (from Ukr. *'zhatva' – 'a harvest'*), Zapisochny Street – *'beyond the sands,' 'sand'* (from Ukr. *'za piskom' – 'beyond the sands'*), Komendar Street – *'comment';* Bachynsky Street – *'childhood,' 'sausage,'* Venelyn-Hutsa Street – *'bus driver,'* Dovhovych Street – *'pancakes,'* Fedynets Street – *'canteen.'* The percentage of *'zero' associations* (15%) in the analyzed subgroup is higher than in the previous one, which is obviously due to the greater awareness of respondents with the names of artists since urban names in honour of people of art stay unchanged longer than those that honour public figures. This confirms the claim that the stability of the political system gradually determines the formation of public consciousness that name-givers aim for. The longer the name remains relevant, the more likely it is to stay in the mind of the speaker, who sooner or later encounters a certain urbanonym in the process of life, a certain layer of information about the person immortalized by this name. Therefore, a high percentage of *'zero' associations* indicates instability, variability of a certain subsystem, which interferes with the formation of the foregrounded memory concept.

Street names that do not evoke associations in many respondents include Venelyn-Hutsa Street, Vrabel Street, Haraida Street, Hodynka Street, Hranchak Street, Dnistrianskyi Street, Kralytsky Street, Lodii Street, etc.

Only 20% of the associations that commemorate the names of military personnel are connected with the real activities of these people, e.g. Vayda Street – *'member of the military,'* Kapush Street – *'member of the military,'* Postolaki Street – *'member of the military'* etc. The rest either reflect an onym appellative (e.g. Blystiv Street – *'glitter'* (from Ukr. *'blystity' – 'to glitter'*), General Lialka Street – *'puppet theatre,' 'doll,' 'Barbie doll'* (from Ukr. *'lialka' – 'a doll'*), Palay Street – *'fire,' 'to burn'* (from Ukr. *'palaty' – 'to burn'*), Martyn Street – *'bird'* (from Ukr. *'martyn' – 'a gull'*), Popadynets Street – *'lysh popadys meni na ochi'* (from Ukr. idiom *'stay out of my way'*), Postolaki Street – *'postulate'* etc.), or have *'zero' associations*, e.g. Birovchak Street, Blystiv Street, Kapush Street, Shpontak Street etc. Almost all street names from this group appeared relatively recently (in 2016) and are associated with the names of people who died during the War in Donbas. The aim of name-givers to perpetuate the names of fallen heroes is understandable, but language lives by its own laws, so it takes time for these names to form the memory concept and not to reflect a perception that is completely unrelated to the semantics laid down by name-givers. The second-largest group of names having the purpose to form the concept of national memory consists of urbanonyms in honour of foreign figures (36% of all commemorative urbanonyms). Among them, a subgroup of names that

commemorate artists prevails as well (50% of names). The prevailing number of associations reflects the occupation, field of activity, and profession of people whose surnames are the basis of street names, often with a specification of nationality (68% of associations), e.g. Gogol Street – ‘*writer*,’ Griboyedov Street – ‘*writer*,’ ‘*playwright*,’ Dostoevsky Street – ‘*Russian writer*,’ Zhemaite Street – ‘*writer*,’ Kovach Street – ‘*Hungarian writer*,’ Krylov Street – ‘*writer*,’ ‘*fabulist*,’ ‘*poems*,’ ‘*poetry*,’ Mikszath Street – ‘*Hungarian writer*,’ ‘*literature*,’ Lermontov Street – ‘*Russian poet*,’ ‘*poems*,’ ‘*lyric poetry*,’ Aivazovsky Street – ‘*artist*,’ ‘*painter*,’ Vereshchagin Street – ‘*artist*,’ ‘*art*,’ ‘*painting*’ etc.

10% of associations are connected with the work of people immortalized in street names, e.g. Aivazovsky Street – ‘*picture*,’ ‘*sea*,’ ‘*storm*,’ Dunayevsky Street – ‘*operetta*,’ Tchaikovsky Street – ‘*Swan Lake*’ ballet, Turgenev Street – ‘*Mumu*’ short story, Rustaveli Street – ‘*The Knight in the Panther’s Skin*’ epic poem, Pushkin Street – ‘*Ruslan and Ludmila*’ poem etc. Such associations reflect not just a cursory acquaintance of speakers with different figures, but a deeper knowledge of their activity. The more such associations there are, the clearer, more unanimous, and stronger the concept of collective memory is. 6% of associations are related to the appearance and biography of artists, which indicates a massive layer of information in the respondent’s mind about these figures, e.g. Pushkin Street – ‘*duel*,’ Ryleyev Street – ‘*revolutionary*,’ ‘*the Decembrist Revolt*,’ Chernyshevsky Street – ‘*the underground*,’ ‘*exile*’ etc.

The remaining 6% of associations reflect the subjective experience of respondents (Vereshchagin Street – ‘*post office*,’ Borodin Street – ‘*swamp*,’ Aivazovsky Street – ‘*Feodosia*,’ Zhemaite Street – ‘*car parking problems*’ etc.) or are related to the appellative, -onym basis of the name (e.g. Doiko Street – ‘*to milk*’ (from Ukr. ‘*doity*’ – ‘*to milk*’), Griboyedov Street – ‘*he who eats mushrooms*’ (from Ukr. ‘*yisty hryby*’ – ‘*to eat mushrooms*’), Radishchev Street – ‘*to advise*’ (from Ukr. ‘*radyty*’ – ‘*to advise*’) etc.), or there are ‘*zero*’ associations (Oharev Street, Navoi Street, Fuchy Street, Vereshchagin Street). Street names that honour scientists, government officials, and foreign public figures make up 32% of the entire group. 53% of the associations that these street names evoke in speakers are related to the occupation and field of activity of persons whose names are immortalized in this subgroup, e.g. Vavylov Street – ‘*scientist*,’ Hus Street – ‘*liberation figure*,’ ‘*philosopher*,’ Darwin Street – ‘*biologist*,’ ‘*scientist*,’ ‘*doctor*,’ Egan – ‘*agricultural specialist*,’ ‘*economics*,’ Lomonosov Street – ‘*scientist*,’ ‘*naturalist*,’ Mendeleev Street – ‘*scientist*,’ ‘*chemistry*,’ Michurin Street – ‘*researcher*,’ ‘*biologist*,’ ‘*plant breeder*,’ Pavlov Street – ‘*physiologist*’

About 21% of reactions reflect a deeper knowledge of the activity of individuals, e.g. Tsiolkovsky Street – ‘*founder of astronautics*,’ ‘*rocket*,’ Przewalski Street – ‘*expedition*,’ Pavlov Street – ‘*nervous system*,’ ‘*reflex*,’ ‘*dogs*,’ Mendeleev Street – ‘*periodic table*,’ Cyril and Methodius Street – ‘*creators of the Slavic alphabet*,’ ‘*Cyrillic alphabet*,’ ‘*letter*,’ ‘*Ukrainian alphabet*.’ Other associations are connected with trying to explain the name using an appellative (Tikhyi Street – ‘*silence*’ (from Ukr. ‘*tysha*’ – ‘*silence*’), Stoletov Street – ‘*100 years*’ (from Rus. ‘*sto let*’ – ‘*100 years*’), Popov Street – ‘*priest*’ (from Ukr. ‘*pip*’ – ‘*a priest*’), ‘*church*,’ Michurin Street – ‘*sauce*’ (from Ukr. ‘*machka*’ – a type of traditional Christmas sauce), Hus Street – ‘*geese*’ (from Ukr. ‘*husy*’ – ‘*geese*’), Bestuzhev-Ryumin Street – ‘*shot glass*’ (from Rus. ‘*riumka*’ – ‘*shot glass*’), Dobrolyubov Street – ‘*to love the good*’ (from Ukr. ‘*dobro*’ and ‘*liubyty*’ – ‘*good*’ and ‘*to love*’) etc.) or reflect one’s own subjective experience (General Svoboda Street – ‘*free to go*’ (from Ukr. ‘*svoboda*’ – ‘*freedom*’), Egan Street – ‘*pub*,’ Kossuth Street – ‘*queue at the border*,’ Masaryk Street – ‘*the 3rd school*’). A very small proportion is made up of street names that do not evoke associations from speakers, which indicates, firstly, the greatest stability of the analyzed subgroup of names, and secondly, their old age in comparison with other subgroups (e.g. Libsher Street, Vavylov Street, Sechenov Street, Timiryazev Street).

Approximately 18% of the group consists of urbanonyms that were created to honour pilots, astronauts, military figures and foreign rulers (about 6% for each subgroup). 82 % of associations with the names of these subgroups reflect a full understanding of the respondents who the persons immortalized by these names are, e.g. Bagration Street – ‘*a military figure*,’ Razin Street – ‘*the leader of the peasant uprising*,’ Spartacus Street – ‘*gladiator*,’ ‘*uprising*,’ ‘*ancient Greek warrior*,’ Gagarin Street – ‘*astronaut*,’ ‘*space*,’ Osypenko Street – ‘*Soviet female pilot*,’ Chkalov Street – ‘*Soviet pilot*,’ Donskoy Street – ‘*prince*,’ Koryatovych Street – ‘*prince in Transcarpathia*,’ Drugetiv Street – ‘*princes in Transcarpathia*.’ 10% of associations show a deeper knowledge of the life of people whose surnames formed the basis of the analyzed street names, e.g. Admiral Nakhimov Street – ‘*cruiser*,’ Bagration

Street – *'the Storming of the Bastille,'* Koshovii Street – *'the underground,'* Maresyev Street – *'self-sacrifice,'* Drugetiv Street – *'castle,'* Koryatovych Street – *'Lithuania.'* Besides, a minor subgroup consists of associations related to the personal subjective experience of respondents, e.g. Ferenc Rakoczi II Street – *'pasta,'* Drugetiv Street – *'prenatal care,'* Chkalov Street – *'college,'* Razin Street – *'noodles.'* Street names that honour figures of national significance make up 20% of all commemorative street names of the city of Uzhhorod. As it is the case with the previous two subgroups, the major part of urban names honour artists (55%). 75% of the associations to these names clearly reflect the profession and field of activity of the people whose names have become the source of street names, e.g. Ostap Vyshnya Street – *'humorist,'* *'writer,'* Dovzhenko Street – *'film,'* *'cinematography,'* *'writer,'* Kobylanska Street – *'female writer,'* *'literature,'* Panas Myrny Street – *'writer,'* *'literature,'* Pidhiryanka Street – *'poetess,'* Saksahansky Street – *'theater,'* Teliha Street – *'emigrant female writer,'* *'poetess,'* the Tobilevych Brothers Street – *'playwrights,'* Zankovetska Street – *'actress,'* *'theater,'* *'performance,'* Ivasyuk Street – *'composer,'* *'music'* etc. 20% of the associations are connected with a deeper understanding of the role of the person mentioned in the street name rather than *'last name-profession'*, e.g. Ivasyuk Street – *'Chervona Ruta'* song, Leontovych Street – *'Shchedryk'* song, the Tobilevych Brothers Street – *'Martyn Borulya'* play, Shevchenko Street – *'Testament'* and *'My Thoughts'* poems, Lesya Ukrainka Street – *'Forest Song'* play, *'Contra Spem Spero'* poem, Sosiura Street – *'Love Ukraine'* poem, Kotsiubynsky Street – *'the iron hand of the city'* (a quotation from Kotsiubynsky's short story), *'impressionism,'* Teliha Street – *'the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists,'* *'nationalism,'* Saksahansky Street – *'a major figure in Ukrainian theater,'* Rylsky Street – *'Like a Vine Sprout, Cherish your Language'* poem etc. A very small percentage is made up of associations connected with the appellative that forms the basis of a street name (Korolenko Street – *'a king'* (from Ukr. *'korol'* – *'a king'*), Olena Pchilka Street – *'a bee'* (from Ukr. *'pchilka'* – *'a bee'*), Rudansky Street – *'ore'* (from Ukr. *'ruda'* – *'ore'*), Honchara Street – *'a pottery jug'* (from Ukr. *'honcharstvo'* – *'pottery'*)) or related to the respondent's subjective experience (Zankovetska Street – *'driving school,'* Nevytska Street – *'castle,'* Hulak-Artemovsky Street – *'school,'* Marko Vovchko – *'yellow book'*) or unit with *'zero'* associations attached to them (Hulak-Artemovsky Street, Nevytska Street, Fedkovych Street, Leontovych Street, Honchar Street).

Urbanonyms honouring Ukrainian scientists and public figures make up 45% of the names in the analyzed subgroup. 55% of the associations caused by the names of this subgroup reflect the speakers' understanding of the type of occupation, and the social role of the persons whose names formed the basis of these names, e.g. Academician Korolov Street – *'scientist,'* *'space,'* Amosov Street – *'doctor,'* *'science,'* Hrushevsky Street – *'president,'* *'political figure,'* *'scientist,'* Honhadze Street – *'journalist,'* Mechnykov Street – *'doctor,'* *'biologist,'* *'scientist,'* *'medicine,'* Pyrohov Street – *'researcher,'* *'surgeon,'* *'medicine,'* Kirpy Street – *'railwayman,'* *'railway'* etc.

Associations related to a deeper understanding of the life, activity and social role of the people after whom the streets are named form 23% of the group. In addition, it should be noted that most of these associations are expressed by abstract names associated with patriotism, e.g. Bandera Street – *'patriotism,'* *'independence,'* Klochurak Street – *'Hutsul Republic,'* Petliura Street – *'national liberation hero,'* *'Ukrainian People's Republic,'* Mazepa Street – *'Poltava,'* *'the Swedes,'* Chornovil Street – *'Ukrainian independence,'* *'patriotism,'* *'Soviet dissidence,'* Honhadze Street – *'freedom of expression,'* Hrushevsky Street – *'Ukrainian independence'* etc. The presence of such associations indicates that the goal set by name-givers when using urbanonyms as a means of forming the concept of historical memory in the minds of respondents has been fully achieved. Minor inclusions in the analyzed group include verbal reactions that reflect the relationship between the -onyms and appellatives (Pankevych Street – *'pancakes,'* Dokuchaiev Street – *'to annoy'* (from Ukr. *'dokuchaty'* – *'to annoy'*), Honhadze Street – *'horgonzola'* (a type of cheese), Hrushevsky Street – *'pears'* (from Ukr. *'hrusha'* – *'a pear'*), Bohomolets Street – *'Mantis,'* *'Beetle'* (from Ukr. *'bohomolet'* – *'a mantis'*)) or subjective experience of a respondent (Academician Korolev Street – *'kindergarten,'* Academician Filatov Street – *'flowers,'* Hrushevsky Street – *'Nova Poshta'* delivery service, Klochurak Street – *'cabbage rolls'*), as well as units that evoke *'zero associations'* (Fedak Street, Klochurak Street, Klympush Street).

5. Conclusion

The analysis of commemorative urbanonyms of the city of Uzhhorod showed that most of them form in the minds of the speakers the concept of historical memory intended by the name-givers.

Therefore, street names are a powerful means of forming national consciousness. According to the degree of their influence on the cultural mentality of speakers, we can identify three groups of street names. The first group consists of names that are associated in the minds of citizens with the specific activities of people whose names are immortalized in these names and are characterized by a full understanding of the reason why these people deserve to be honoured and remembered. It is this group that clearly shows the level of national consciousness, education, and the direction of national policy, since such reactions if they are expressed across the whole country and do not appear in the speech of only some respondents, appear as a result of long-term education about certain individuals and their significance. The association experiment showed that the share of such names equals to approximately 18%. The second group consists of urbanonyms where speakers possess some knowledge of the person whose name is the basis of the street name, but without a precise understanding of what exactly this person did (67% of street names). The third group consists of names that do not evoke a mental connection with the specific person after whom the urbanonym was named (15%). Such street names mostly perform an exclusively nominative function and are associated in the respondents' view with an -onymic appellative or with biographical facts related to the street that bears a certain name. As a result, the commemorative function of such names is completely neutralized.

According to the analysis, the most complete understanding of motivation is caused in the minds of residents of Uzhhorod by street names in honour of foreign figures and figures of national significance, especially names in honour of artists. This can be attributed to two factors. First, the fame of people immortalized by these names, and secondly, the relative stability of this particular layer of urbanonyms. The degree of perception of street names in honour of local figures is lower, which is due to the constant changes in this subgroup of units.

The following pattern is observed in all the analyzed groups: the more famous the person in whose honour the street is named, the narrower the circle of associations, the more predictable they are, and, conversely, the less famous a person is, the wider the circle.

Thus, the core of the concept of memory in the urbanonymy of Uzhhorod is made up of Ukrainian and foreign cultural and artistic figures, and local military figures are located on its periphery. Prospects for further research entail the study of other concepts in the urbanonymy of both Uzhhorod and other Ukrainian residential settlements.

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