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MUNICIPAL TOPONYMIC POLICY AS A TOOL FOR TRANSLATION OF REGIONAL IDENTITY: A CASE OF MODERN KAZAN (RUSSIA)

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Abstract

Currently, the Russian cities are involved in the marketing of territories and competition for various types of resources. This aspect determines the relevance of issues related to building a strong image of the city, including its toponymic component. The category of regional identity is one of the significant tools for managing the image of a city. According to the author, it can be used in municipal toponymic policy to build a long-term strategy for toponymic designation. The author analyzes the current toponymic policy in the city of Kazan, the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan of the Russian Federation, in terms of the manifestation of regional identity. The directions for the correction of the urban toponymicon in the post-Soviet era are considered. The dominant components of regional identity, explicated in the modern toponymy of Kazan, are revealed. The role of regulatory documents in the implementation of the municipal toponymic policy of the contemporary period is characterized.

Key words

urban toponyms, municipal toponymic policy, toponymic planning, toponymic construction, regional identity, image of the city.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Municipal Toponymic Policy: Characterization of the Concept

Managing the city as a complex economic mechanism imposes obligations on the municipal administration to ensure social communication with a sufficient number of urban toponyms that are necessary for navigation in space when carrying out any types of useful social activity. Proper names, denoting districts and neighbourhoods, streets, alleys,

squares, parks, gardens, embankments, public transport stops and other urban locations are involved primarily in the business life of the city. Therefore, the primary task of the municipal toponymic policy, referred to, in this case, as an activity that is carried out by authorized entities, is the development of signs that allow to identify and differentiate spatial realities. This function cannot be handled only by verbal designations, but also by non-verbal signs, and marking of linear spatial objects, for example, using digital indices, it does not deprive individualizing signs of their functional load. In some cases, it

even facilitates the task of orientation in space. However, the fact that the historical formation of urban toponymy is closely intertwined with the features of the economic structure, event context/background and cultural life of the territory gives toponyms the property of symbolic capital, which can transmit significant sociocultural information. Hence, it is quite natural that “the results of the municipal toponymic policy go directly into the sphere of wide public life, and the connection with other types of “policies”- with language policy, with national and ethnic policy, with cultural policy, with ideology - is not less significant for toponymic policy. This point is the actual sociocultural part of the nominative activity, which should also be decided in the course of managerial work on the toponymic designation. The effects of the perception of the territory by the residents themselves and external audiences depend on its implementation (Golomidova, 2018, p. 46). Here we deal with what is brought under the concepts of spiritual culture, cultural heritage, national and/or ethnic consciousness, refracted and reflected in the toponymic discourse of the territory.

Thus, the current municipal policy is a very complex and responsible activity. As part of management work, the modern municipal toponymic policy should be implemented based on special regulatory documents - these are local laws, special Regulations on the naming of toponymic objects, assignment rules and rules for the use of toponyms in business communication and others. Further on, we explain how these documents are developed in Russia.

In Russia, there is a federal law On General Principles of the Organization of Local Government in the Russian Federation (Federal'nyj zakon..., 2003). Per the law, all municipalities must develop their local documents for the implementation of the official toponymic naming of urban topographic objects that are owned by municipalities. In other words, the Federal Law implies that all cities should have a regulatory framework for toponymic policies, even in the minimum amount. However, this requirement is mandatory for cities that have the status of centers for administrative subjects of the Russian Federation (the capital cities of the republics, territories, regions).

Since, in this case, we are talking about local documents, their quality and quantity may vary among different municipalities. The explanatory depth, completeness, development and semantic accents in such documents, as well as the availability of related methodological materials and recommendations, largely depend on the capabilities of municipalities, primarily on the professional composition of the development team, on the expert competencies

of this team, on the understanding of the goals and tasks of toponymic designation, on attitudes to the implementation of toponymic nomination, and so on.

However, regulatory documents do not limit the content of the municipal toponymic policy. Its another aspect is the actual practical activity of toponymic designation. Practice, being more flexible and more responsive to the current demands of social life, certainly brings its specificity and its nuances to toponymic policy. In turn, it contributes to the development of managerial work and the improvement of regulatory documents. The program, scientific and methodological materials which should provide toponymic designation can be developed and updated, based on practice. Finally, the practice provides the basis for the accumulation and enrichment of linguistic and creative experience in creating new urban toponyms.

So, since the concept of “municipal toponymic policy” lies at the basis of further considerations, we give its working definition: municipal toponymic policy is a complex management activity for the toponymic designation of municipal spatial objects that are owned by the municipalities, which includes: a) the legal framework and regulations for organizational and managerial activities, b) scientific, methodological and other information support, c) actual practical actions, including linguistic and recreational activities and their expertise “(Golomidova, 2018, pp. 45–47, 56).

The municipal toponymic policy is embedded in various aspects of the life of a modern city, and it acquires particular tension during periods of political, economic and cultural transformations.

1.2. Regional Identity and its Role in the Formation of Concepts of Municipal Toponymic Policy and the Construction of a Toponymic Image of the City

In the toponymy of Russian cities, the past Soviet era has left a significant layer of names associated with the ideology which was uniform for the USSR, common values throughout the country and a certain general list of respected personalities and events. The presence of such a “cementing” worldview as a foundation for symbolic designation, of course, did not cancel, but significantly reduced the ability to transmit locally significant information in toponyms.

In connection with the change in the political system and cardinal changes in the economic and social life in Russia, modern nominators faced a serious challenge. How to upgrade the corpus of urban toponyms? What approaches should be used to develop new names? What criteria should be used

in matters of renaming or returning old names? Currently, these issues have acquired quite a sharp public tone, since unsuccessful or hasty nominative decisions receive a negative resonance in the public sphere.

The range of open questions is wide enough, and the approaches proposed to solve them are variable. Nevertheless, the nominative trend common to many municipalities is most clearly manifested in the current practice of implementing toponymic policy in Russian cities; it is a course to strengthen regional motives in the modern nomination. "The updating of urbanonymic material takes place currently in the denotative field and pays greater attention to regional and local heritage" (Golomidova, 2017, p. 198). The trend is explicated, for example, in the tendency to reflect local facts in toponyms, in returning to the map of cities the former names that took shape in pre-Soviet times, in perpetuating the memory of people whose biography is associated with the territory, and so on.

However, due to quite broad rights that are granted to municipalities, each city is guided by its understanding of what tasks need to be connected with the prospects for the further development of urban toponymy, and whether the municipality needs exclusive concepts or long-term work programs. In cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg, which have a special status (federal cities), one can observe a fairly extensive information basis for the implementation of their prospective toponymic policy (see, for example, *Peterburgskaâ...*, 1991; *O Porâdke...*, 2015). However, not every Russian city has a similar information resource. The task is much more complicated when it comes to national republics and cities located in their territories. Here, issues of the municipal toponymic policy are closely intertwined with the language and cultural policies; therefore, the theoretical justification and practical development of special strategic toponymic programs and/or concepts for a local toponymic policy designed for a long-term perspective and local toponymic construction become an urgent task.

In our opinion, the category of regional identity is one of the productive categories for discussing theoretical approaches to issues of toponymic construction and toponymic policy. It is known that toponyms can be used as one of the symbolic means of representing identity in public space and as verbal "evidence" of the manifestation of transformations in social consciousness. This property is emphasized in the latest onomastic studies of urban toponymy (Gnatiuk, 2013; Crljenko, 2008; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010; Thakahov 2019a, 2019b and others).

In our discussion, we proceed from the fact that the search for such distinctive features in the image of a territory that not only reflects its current state (here and now) but can also become the basis for long-term profitable positioning and promotion, can be associated with the category of regional identity. Furthermore, in the future perspective, we are inspired by the idea that it is the determination of the essential denotative components of regional identity that can help nominators find principles, criteria and key/dominant motives for building long-term concepts of toponymic discourse regarding specific cities.

The category of regional identity is equally interesting for representatives of many humanities because of its instrumental potential both for an objective explanation of regional uniqueness (Glazova, 2014; Korepanov, 2009), and for interpreting the cognitive mechanisms that underlie interpersonal, group and intergroup connections, derivatives from collective regional consciousness, and are used in institutionalization, in economic development, mythologizing and symbolizing space (Paasi, 2003; 2009; Raco, 2006; Semian, Chromý, 2014; Golovnevâ, 2017; Kazakova, 2008; Korepanov, 2009; Krylov, 2010; Krylov, Gricenko, 2012; Zamâtin, 2011 and others).

In general, a large-scale category is valuable not only for analyzing the current objective and subjective state but also for proactive activity, which is aimed at the future and is related to perception management, which allows to use it, for example, in building the image of a region or the image of a city (Vizgalov, 2011; Paasi, 2009; Sogomonov, 2010; Zimmerbauer, 2011).

Consider the situation in Russia in that context. At present, in Russia, there is growing economic and sociocultural competition between cities and regions for investments, for market positions in the development of certain industries, for human labour capital. The rivalry between the territories, in turn, increased attention to issues of territorial marketing - to the formation of a favourable image and strong brand of the territory. "Each territory now seeks to find new forms of representing itself in the country and the world" (Makarova, 2019, p. 18). In the context of territorial marketing, the category of regional identity, deployed in the field of toponymic policy, allows to consistently refine and develop the strong, distinctive characteristics of toponymic discourse for the beneficial image of the territory.

Transferring the statements made into the topic of toponymic designation that interests us, in this article, we will try to evaluate the modern practices of toponymic naming in the aspect of the translation of regional identity. The object of interest is the

post-Soviet nominative practices in the city of Kazan, the capital of the national sovereign republic of Tatarstan within the Russian Federation. Three ranges of questions determine the subject of research and will be considered further concerning the case:

1. What are the documents for the implementation of the municipal toponymic policy in Kazan, how do they meet the needs of building the image of the territory, and how consistently are they implemented in practical activities?
2. What components of regional identity are embodied in a toponymic "text" as part of a regional discourse?
3. What kind of semantic features are formed when a toponymic portrait of a specific territory is modified?

2. Data and Methods

The development of these issues requires entering the interdisciplinary field of research and the application of several research methods. The general methodological approach to the interpretation of regional identity in toponymy, created with the participation of public authorities and local government bodies, is a syncretic approach.

Within the framework of this broad format, we use the sociological method for assessing the regulatory framework of the municipal toponymic policy,

content analysis of documents to establish the quantity and quality of documents that affect the practical work of toponymic designation.

To interpret toponymic material, we use semantic analysis in its general semiotic version and the linguistic (onomasiological) version.

The language material of the study includes urban toponyms created on the territory of Kazan from the 1990s to the present. Besides, earlier toponyms are partially used to demonstrate the facts of renaming.

Why is Kazan chosen for research? On the territory of the Russian Federation, there are more than twenty national republics with their capitals, and the presence of a greater or lesser number of ethnically labelled toponyms in the territory of these cities is not unique. Nevertheless, the experience of Kazan is attractive for many reasons.

Tatarstan is an essential political and economic region of the Russian Federation (fig. 1).

It has a special status of a sovereign republic within the Russian Federation. During the period of reforms in the 1990s, Tatarstan applied a special budget regime and privatization according to its specific scenario. The merit in obtaining a particular status belonged to the first president of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiev, who achieved privileges for the republic under the threat of secession from Russia (Veselova, 2015, pp. 10–11).



Fig. 1. The Republic of Tatarstan on the map of the Russian Federation

Source: Segodnâ..., 2017.

The favourable geographical position, the efforts of the regional authorities to preserve and increase the economic opportunities of the region, as well as the skillful political maneuvering in relations with the federal government allowed Tatarstan to achieve impressive success. Currently, Tatarstan and its capital are a kind of showcase in many areas of public life - in the economy, innovative, cultural, social development (Veselova, 2015, p. 5).

In turn, the centuries-old history of Russian influence, the long-standing interaction of the Russian and Tatar peoples, Russian and Tatar culture in this territory determine the internal "tension" in the interpretation of regional identity. The scientific interest in assessing the contemporary experience of toponymic policy in Kazan stems from this, taking into account the complex social and ethnocultural background, on the one hand, and the ambitions of local authorities for strong competitive positions in the rivalry of territories, on the other hand.

Another circumstance that determines the choice of Kazan is the active participation of local authorities in branding the city and in building its cultural image. The significant efforts undertaken in the field of modern marketing of territories, which extend to toponymic construction, make the Kazan experience interesting for evaluation.

3. Results and Discussion

Kazan is the largest city and administrative center of the Republic of Tatarstan. The city has a population of more than 1,200,000 people. The two largest nationalities in Kazan are Russians (48.6%) and Tatars (47.6%), representatives of other ethnic groups – the Chuvash, the Ukrainians, the Mari, the Bashkirs, the Udmurts and others – amount to less than 4%. The capital of Tatarstan has a relatively high investment climate, has sound scientific, educational, cultural, leisure and sports resources. The Kazan establishment shows political and economic activity, which allows the city, and the republic as a whole, to implement productive projects for the development of the territory.

According to G.I. Makarova (2019, p. 33): "In Tatarstan, the ideas of an advanced, dynamically developing region, a center of modern technologies, the flagship of innovative Russian projects begin to be articulated. Tatarstan also claims to be a mediator in the development of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the countries of the Turkic and Islamic worlds".

The active participation of the city in marketing the territory and promoting its uniqueness is an

important factor for the toponymic policy of Kazan. In 2009, Kazan registered the brand "Russia's Third Capital." Since that time, regional authorities have been working on building and promoting the image of the territory and positioning Kazan as an open city that unites different cultures and faiths and combines a rich historical heritage with the objectives of modern development.

It should be noted that the construction of the image and brand of the territory corresponds to the general cultural policy of the regional authorities. In a special document, the Decree of the Government of Tatarstan, "On the concept of image (brand) "Historical and cultural heritage of the Republic of Tatarstan," the cultural balance, the parity of Tatar and Russian cultures, as well as the idea of tolerance are declared. It is argued that the heritage of Tatarstan is the result of the interpenetration and synthesis of traditions of different cultures, ethnic groups and faiths. The document emphasizes the objective of building a single regional identity as a meaningful platform that allows the brand to stress the common historical and cultural heritage, value guidelines and strategies for image-building of the territory, communicate semantic dominants, visual images that strengthen the feelings of the regional community (Postanovlenie..., 2014). Regarding the modern brand of Kazan, the document contains a declaration on a single supranational regional identity based on attachment to common land.

The language policy in the modern multipolar world is quite a complex and problematic field. In this respect, it is telling that the results of sociological studies and mass surveys in regions of the Russian Federation consistently confirm the importance of flexible language policy (Guboglo, 2003; Klimenko, 2011) as members of ethnic cultures see the prospects of preserving and transferring their spiritual heritage in supporting native languages (Stepanova, 2015). Significantly, in the Republic of Tatarstan, the bilingualism development policy has been receiving support from the population, and the results of sociolinguistic research testify the high level of linguistic tolerance existing in the republic: both the Tatars and the Russians consider it as a natural right of peoples to learn their native language (Stepanova, 2015, p. 176). The language policy in Tatarstan is based on a range of normative legal documents. First of all, it is necessary to mention:

- 1) The Law of the Republic of Tatarstan on the state languages of the Republic of Tatarstan and other languages in the Republic of Tatarstan (Zakon..., 1992/2009/2012);
- 2) secondly, State programs for the preservation, study and development of languages of the Re-

public of Tatarstan and other languages in the Republic of Tatarstan (Gosudarstvennaâ programma ..., 2005, 2015);

3) thirdly, local regulations – in particular, the Decision on the procedure for the placement of outdoor advertising and information on the territory of the city of Kazan (O razmešenii..., 2009).

Why is this important? According to regulations in the territory of Kazan, as well as throughout the republic, there are two state languages – Tatar and Russian. For a toponymic policy, which is implemented not only in nominative activities but also in the rules for the unification of written forms, through which official toponyms are communicated in the public sphere. First of all, this is manifested in the consistent recording of names in two state languages of the republic – Tatar and Russian. The rules for the location of names require, first of all, to indicate the name in the Tatar language, then in Russian (fig. 2). Thus, a respectful attitude to the Tatar language culture is explicated in the semiotics of written, visual forms. We will give the first examples in Tatar and Russian graphics to show the graphic differences in the design of names, and we will supplement them with transliterated forms (Application..., 2006). Further, toponyms are given in the text in transliterated versions.

Tat. *Авангард тыкрыгы* (*Avangard tykrygly*) – Rus. *переулок Авангардный* (*Avangardnyj pereulok*); Eng. *Avant-Garde alley*;

Tat. *Актубэ урамы* (*Aktubè uramy*) – Rus. *улица Актюбинская* (*ulica Aktjubinskaja*); Eng. *Aktjubinsk str.*; Aktjubinsk is a city in Kazakhstan;

Tat. *Эмэтхан Солтан урамы* (*Èmèthan Soltan uramy*) – Rus. *улица Ахмет-Хана Султана* (*ulica Ahmet-Hana Sultana*); Eng. *Ahmet Han Sultan str.*; Ahmet Han Sultan is a Soviet military pilot of Crimean Tatar origin, a participant in World War II, decorated with high military orders).

A similar rule applies to the names of public transport stops and underground stations (fig. 3). Underground station: Tat. *Авиатөзелеш* (*Aviatëzeleş*) – Rus. *Авиастроительная* (*Aviastroitel'naja* – 'Aircraft building'), Tat. *Жиңу проспекты* (*Z'ïnu prospekty*) – Rus. *Проспект Победы* (*Prospekt Pobedy* 'Victory avenue'), Tat. *Төньяк вокзалы* (*Tën'jak vokzaly*) – Rus. *Северный вокзал* (*Severnyj vokzal* 'North railway station').

The names of institutions, companies, theatres, museums, churches, mosques, as well as hotels, clubs, restaurants and other social facilities, are mandatorily recorded in Tatar and Russian. In this case, the topographic term is translated, and the individual designation is transmitted using transliteration. There are special legislative standards that provide for the mandatory implementation of the rules of language policy in official names, which are visualized in the public space, and the owners of organizations can be fined for the lack of signs in two state languages.



Fig. 2. A sign indicating the street in Kazan. The name in Tatar is at the top, and the name in Russian is at the bottom

Source: Ulica Safyan..., n.d.



Fig. 3. Entrance to the hall of Sukonnaja Sloboda underground station

Source: Surkov, 2005.

Kazan positions itself as an open city with a developed hospitality system. Massive sporting competitions, international cultural festivals and scientific events attract a significant number of visitors to the city. Therefore, English is introduced into the navigation system and the toponymic landscape. Thus, inscriptions in English supplement signboards and address plaques of topographic objects that attract the attention of foreign tourists. Also, signs in mosques contain a translation of the names into Arabic (fig. 4). The latter circumstance seems extremely important not only for external audiences but also for the residents themselves. The Arabic language in written forms manifests a connection with the common Muslim religion and is symbolically connected by the deep cultural memory of the Tatar people. For thousands of centuries, since the adoption of Islam, it was through the mediation of the Arab book culture that the spiritual values of the Tatar ethnic group were communicated and strengthened, Tatar writing was formed, education developed.

The modification of the toponymic landscape of Kazan began in 1995 when a new toponymic commission was created under the public authorities and local government bodies. At that time, the toponymy of Kazan totalled more than 1800 units, and only 10% of them were created in the Tatar language (Reestr ulic Kazani ..., 1998).

In the 90s and the first decade of the 2000s, the Kazan Toponymic Commission did significant work

to correct the city toponymicon. Following public requests to strengthen the role of the Tatar language and Tatar spiritual culture in the toponymy of the city, the toponymic commission made several renaming and approved new names that corresponded to the growth of national and ethnic identity. Here are some of them (we give the Russian name, its transliteration and translation into English):

- *ulica Sakko i Vancetti* (*Sakko and Vancetti str.*) → *ulica Rustema Jahina* (*Rustem Yakhin str.*; a Tatar composer and pianist);
- *ulica Kalinina* (*Kalilin str.*) → *ulica Amirhana Eniki* (*Amirkhan Eniki str.*; a Tatar writer and publicist);
- *ulica Revolucii* (*Revolution str.*) → *ulica Nahi Ismbeta* (*Nahi Isambet str.*; a Tatar writer, poet, playwright, folklorist);
- *ulica Volodarskogo* (*Volodarsky str.*) → *ulica Gayaza Ishaki* (*Gayaz Ishaqi str.*; a figure of the Tatar national movement, publicist, publisher and politician);
- *ulica Uhtomskogo* (*Ukhtomsky str.*) → *ulica Burhana Šahidi* (*Burkhan Shahidi str.*) and others (in total about 40 objects received new, ethnically labelled names).

In general, the acts of renaming showed attitudes towards ethnicization, partial desovetization, and partial restoration. Renaming in Kazan did not become widespread and did not acquire a cardinal character, and a significant layer of toponyms



Fig. 4. The sign above the entrance to the Kul Šarif mosque is in Tatar, Russian, Arabic and English
Source: Mečet' Kul Šarif, 2020.

associated with Soviet symbols and figures of the Soviet period did not change. In current activities, the toponymic commission does not prioritize the renaming of existing streets. Moreover, in the public sphere, it is emphasized that the Kazan authorities adhere to a balanced approach to history, do not destroy the toponymic layer that developed in the past, prefer to make targeted corrections and are primarily interested in choosing names for new locations (V Gossovete..., 2016).

However, the most critical direction in the work of the commission was the focus on ethnicization and broader involvement of the Tatar's spiritual heritage and the Tatar language in the sphere of toponymic construction. In the 1990s, the first steps were taken along this path, and the idea of the need for parity of Russian and Tatar culture in the toponymy of the city was articulated (Ismagilova, 2011).

Currently, the register of Kazan streets has about 2,300 names, of which there are more than 400 Tatar names. The toponymic commission plans to continue work on saturating toponymy with Tatar lexical units (see Otčet..., 2016, 2017, 2018). However, there is still a long way to go to get complete equilibrium, and it is unlikely to be achieved. After all, the Russian language remains an intermediary language for all the peoples of the republic, and formal mathematical calculations cannot be a criterion of communicative expediency.

In general, the equal use of two languages for the written recording of official toponyms, as well as the use of Russian and Tatar vocabulary in the creation of new names, corresponds, in our opinion, to the core of the construct of regional identity, represented in the toponymy of Kazan.

Turn to other substantial components of identity, expressed in the semantics of new names, and consider the choice of motives for the nomination, paying attention, first of all, to region-specific material.

Today, the most popular principle of toponymic nomination in Kazan is the principle of commemoration. On the map of the city, the names of the heroes of the Second World War are consistently immortalized, mainly those whose biography is connected with Kazan and Tatarstan. They include representatives of the Russian, Tatar and other peoples of the republic:

- *ulica Generala Erina (General Erin str.);*
- *ulica Galljama Murzahanova (Gallyam Murzakhanov str.);*
- *ulica Maksima Dmitrieva (Maxim Dmitriev str.);*
- *ulica Razvedčika Ahmerova (Scout Akhmerov str.)* and others.

There are more than 90 names in total. They transfer a common memory of the feat of arms, whose value is confirmed by the constant appeal to the military nominative topic.

A significant number of commemorative toponyms reflect the respect for the figures of science,

culture, art, sports of records, as well as for people who have made a significant contribution to the development of the republic:

- *ulica Gabdrahmana Rafikova* (*Gabdrahman Rafikov str.*; a teacher and an educator);
- *ulica Džamala Validi* (*Jamal Validi str.*; a linguist-Turkologist, a historian);
- *ulica Zify Basyrovoj* (*Zifa Basyrova str.*; a dramatic actress and a singer);
- *ulica Rašida Nežmetdinova* (*Rashid Nezhmetdinov str.*; an international chess grandmaster);
- *ulica Fajzrahmana Junusova* (*Fayzrahman Yunusov str.*; a scientist and an inventor);
- *ulica Nurihana Fattaha* (*Nurikhan Fattah str.*; a Tatar writer).

There are more than 140 toponyms in total.

Thus, the topic of the spiritual wealth of the region, presented in personified form, in numerous anthroponyms that can update culturally vital information, is foregrounded in toponymic discourse.

It should be noted that the active use of commemorative nomination always shifts the balance in the range of semantic models of toponymic designation as a whole. However, it may be a commemoration to the greatest extent, which allows to show the specifics of the region in terms of its achievements and its historical heritage during the periods of sociocultural restructuring.

Today, the position of the toponymic commission regarding commemoration becomes a bit more restrained. In particular, in the documents of 2018, the Toponymic Commission notes that it reduces the frequency of commemorative nomination and is actively working to perpetuate the memory of prominent personalities in other forms (Otčet ..., 2018). These include memorial plaques, museums in institutions, the introduction of memorial components in the names of institutions.

Another direction for enriching the cultural component of identity in the Tatar segment is the reflection in the street names the information related to the traditional folk culture, the names of traditional holidays and ceremonies, folklore images and folklore speech. For example:

- *ulica Bajram* (*Bairam str.*; a part of the Turkic name of the main Islamic holidays);
- *ulica Navruz* (*Nauruz str.*; a celebration of the vernal equinox);
- *ulica Nardugan* (*Nardugan str.*; an ancient Tatar holiday of the winter solstice);
- *ulica Sabantuj* (*Sabantui str.*; an traditional holiday of the end of spring fieldwork);
- *ulica Zilantovaja* (*Zilantovaya str.*; from Tatar *Zilant* – ‘winged serpent,’ is a symbol of Kazan and is depicted on the coat of arms of the city);

- *ulica Ėkijat* (*Ekijat str.*; from Tatar, *Ekijat* – ‘fairy tale’).

Several toponyms refer to the ethnic history of the Tatars, for example, those that are directly integrated into the modern mytho-design of Tatar history: *ploščad’ Tysjačeletija* (*Tsyacheletiya square*). The square is named after the millennium anniversary of the city of Kazan, which was solemnly celebrated in August 2005.

The ethnic flavour is supported by toponyms that return images of the old way of life and traditional occupations to the modern space.

Ulica Saf’jan (*Saf’yan str.*; *Saf’yan* is thin, soft coloured leather, curried from the goat and sheep skins);

ulica Ičigovaja (*Ichigovaya str.*; a type of Tatar national footwear);

ulica Mehčilar (*Mekhchylar str.*; from Tatar, *Furriers str.*).

It is known that the toponymy of many cities – and Kazan is not an exception – includes the so-called “floristic” names. They are formed from the vocabulary of nature – the names of plants, trees, varieties of forests. Along with Russian names on the city map, there are many toponyms derived from Tatar lexical units: See Russian and Tatar names transferring plant images:

- birch: *ulica Berězovaja*, *ulica Berězka*, *ulica Berězovaja Rošča* (Rus.) – *Kaenly uramy*, *Akken uramy*, *Kaensar uramy* (Tat.);
- cherry: *ulica Višnëvaja* (Rus.) – *Čijale uramy* (Tat.);
- elm: *ulica Vjazovaja* (Rus.) – *Karama uramy* (Tat.);
- arrowwood: *ulica Kalinovaja* (Rus.) – *Balanau uramy*, *Balanlyk uramy* (Tat.);
- rowan: *ulica Rjabinovaja* (Rus.) – *Miljaš uramy*, *Milvšle uramy* (Tat.);
- pine: *ulica Sosnovaja* (Rus.) – *Naratly uramy* (Tat.).

Each of these toponyms does not transfer the real properties of the location. Many of their names fulfill a decorative, conditional figurative load. However, something else is interesting – the names given in pairs refer to different denotations. That is, Tatar’s names do not duplicate Russian ones; they relate to other objects and function in both Russian and Tatar speech precisely in the sound form of Tatar words. From the toponymic derivation processes, the involvement of Tatar vocabulary, in this case, solves the problem of finding new language material for creating names. From the point of view of the linguistic landscape of the city, the process of rooting Tatar vocabulary in the toponymic fund is essential.

Ethnicity-specific toponyms can maintain deep connections with the traditional folk worldview and the folk and poetic worldview in their motivational semantics. So, the images of birds characteristic of Tatar musical art and poetry are updated in urban toponyms formed based on the Tatar language, for



Fig. 5. An example of applying the corporate look of Kazan
Source: Kazan'..., 2014.

example, *Akkoš uramy* (*Akkosh str.*; Akkosh – ‘swan’), *Karlygač yramy* (*Karlygach str.*; Karlygach – ‘swallow’), *Turgaj uramy* (*Turgaj str.*; Turgaj – ‘lark’).

Some Tatar toponyms recall the flamboyance of folklore: *Iman uramy* (*Iman str.*; Iman – ‘beliefs, faith in Allah’), *Nurly uram* (*Nurly str.*; Nurly – ‘radiant, splendid’), *Serle uram* (*Serle str.*; serle – ‘mysterious’), *Nazly uram* (*Nazly str.*; Nazly – ‘gentle’), *Tylsym uramy* (*Tylsym str.*; tylsym – ‘magic, enchantment’) and others.

Although among the Russian toponyms in Kazan, there are also abstract names with positive connotations, the proportion of the relevant Tatar names significantly prevails.

In general, if it is permissible to make a comparison here, in the general toponymic landscape of Kazan, names in the Tatar language organize a kind of semiotic “pattern” and not only enrich the toponymic substance of the city but also introduce some new spatial meanings into its perception. The comparison is probably logical, as the corporate look and visual images of the territorial brand of Kazan are also created based on the Tatar folk ornament (fig.5).

If we look at the center of Kazan, we will find that the mix of names establishing a relationship with the symbols of Russian and Tatar culture is very expressive here. For example, we see streets named after the great Tatar and Russian writers: *ulica Gabdully Tukaja* (a famous Tatar publicist and poet) and *ulica Pushkina* (a famous Russian poet, prose writer,

playwright). In the center, we can find streets associated with other symbolic objects:

- *Ulica Kremlëvskaja* (*Kremlevskaya str.*). Until 1996, it was called *Lenin Street*. The street leads to the historical and museum complex Kazan Kremlin. The Kremlin is the only surviving example of the Tatar fortress. Now on its territory, the Ottoman-style mosque Kul Sharif and the Orthodox Blagoveshchensk cathedral coexist.
- *Ulica Moskovskaja* (*Moskovskaya str.*). Until 2004, it was *ulica Kirova* (*Kirov str.*). The street got its modern name in preparation for the celebration of the millennium of the city of Kazan. The name reflects the connection with the capital of the Russian Federation.
- *Ulica Peterburgskaja* (*Peterburgskaya str.*). It is a pedestrian street, a popular walking place for citizens and tourists. The pedestrian part of the location was created in 2005, and it is a gift from the city of St. Petersburg for the 1000th anniversary of Kazan. According to the architectural concept, the street was made in the form of a stylized image of the Neva River, with bridges over it with patterned forged railing.

If we add to this list the names of public transport stops that recall the ancient names of past settlements – *Koz’ja Sloboda* (*Goat settlement*), *Sukonnaja Sloboda* (*Cloth settlement*) – but are located in the space of modern urban design. The verbal and visual

landscape will find its additional facets in the combination of antiquity and innovations.

We can add that the toponymic landscape of Kazan is harmoniously correlated with other formats of information visualization. Numerous visual forms (sculptures, panels, ornaments, graffiti, commercial signs, advertising), transmitting symbols of the Tatar culture, fill the urban space. They organically combine with Russian visual signs and form a polyphonic semiotic portrait of the territory.

Is Kazan's experience free from mistakes and inconsistent actions? Of course, no. One can call into question the excessive enthusiasm for commemoration in toponymic naming. We can observe the lack of coordination in the motivation of some names with the nature of the building and/or location of realia. Specialists note a shortage of detailed regulatory instructions for the translation of toponyms due to the lack of qualified translators (Ismagilova, 2011, p. 20). However, the noted shortcomings are inevitable costs in the way of developing new approaches and creative solutions. At the same time, the example of Kazan is beneficial for further optimization of toponymic policy and toponymic construction as part of the work on the image of cities.

4. Conclusion

Regional identity is a complex cognitive phenomenon, derived from the activities of the public consciousness of residents of a specific territory. Despite the presence of invariant components in the structure of regional identity, one can see the variability of the configuration of components in relation to different territorial situations.

In the national republics of the Russian Federation, the core of regional identity includes the perception of the linguistic environment. Therefore, the linguistic policy pursued by local authorities acquire important political significance, and toponymic policy that correlates with the linguistic policy should ideally also be pursued in the interests of the local population, taking into account the linguistic situation.

The toponymic policy of Kazan demonstrates the consistency in correlating the legislative framework with the practice of representing official names in the toponymic landscape of the city and confirms the equal respect in the Tatar and Russian languages.

Work on the brand and image of the city reinforced the key message about the parity of cultures and the joint contribution of the Russian and Tatar peoples to the development of the territory. Hence, the trend towards the addition of the Russian

toponymic layer with the vocabulary of the Tatar language, images of the traditional Tatar lifestyle and folk mentality, the names of the figures of science, culture, and economic construction is quite logical.

Mistakes and some unsuccessful nominative decisions do not cancel the values of Kazan's experience in municipal toponymic construction. Summing up, we can conclude that the overall strategy of cultural and toponymic policy in Kazan is built quite consistently. It is evidenced by the coordination of the objectives of branding the territory in its key senses and symbolic forms and toponymic naming, which supports the ideas of cultural parity and diversity.

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