

A Master's Thesis Has No Name

A study on personal names in fantasy literature

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Abstract in Norwegian

Denne masteroppgåva handlar om personnamn i fantasy-seriane *A Song of Ice and Fire* av George R.R. Martin og *The Stormlight Archive* av Brandon Sanderson. Oppgåva sitt mål er undersøke korleis personnamna frå desse seriane er bygd opp, eller velt ut, samanlikna med korleis engelske personnamn generelt ser ut. I tillegg ser oppgåva på ulike motivasjonar for oppbygginga av binamn i seriane. Trass i at fantasy sjangeren er ein svært namnerik sjanger har den ofte blitt oversett og den har blitt via overraskande lite merksemd. Sjanger er særleg interessant å utforske med tanke på den store fridommen som forfattarane har når det gjeld å velje ut og finne opp namn.

Kort oppsummert peikar oppgåva på ulike namnestrategiar som er nytta i seriane. Oppgåva ser òg på korleis kjønn er markert i namna og korleis ‘frammandheit’ er reflektert i namna. Felles for begge seriane er at namna har funksjonar utover rolla som identifiseringsmarkørar. Dei litterære personnamna reflekterer både karakterstikkar ved dei som berer namnet og plasserer namneberarane i dei ulike etniske gruppene som ein finn i seriane. Seriane er ellers ulike når det gjeld kva type namnestrategiar som er blitt brukt.

Oppgåva ser òg på ulike motivasjonar som ligg bak namngjevinga. Funna dreiar seg hovudsakleg om at binamn ofte baserer seg på fysiske og mental trekk ved karakterane, i tillegg blir sosial funksjonar t.d. yrke eller sosial status, og situasjonsbestemte hendingar brukt som grunnlag for binamn. Oppgåva ser tilslutt kort på korleis identitet og namnegjeving heng tett saman og korleis endringa av namn som regel òg fører med seg endringar i personlegdom.

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List of Abbreviations

ASOIAF – A Song of Ice and Fire

TSA – The Stormlight Archive

DFN – A Dictionary of First Names

OED – Oxford English Dictionary Online

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope

The aim of the present thesis is to study literary personal names in fantasy literature against the backdrop of general naming criteria and explore and identify different means of naming. Specifically, the present thesis looks at personal names of literary characters from two book series *A Song of Ice and Fire* (henceforth ASOIAF) by George R.R. Martin and *The Stormlight Archive* (henceforth TSA) by Brandon Sanderson. The thesis seeks to explore the onomastic landscape of the personal names in the series and identify different motivations for naming.

The present study takes a genre-based approach in that it looks specifically at the literary names found in fantasy literature. It is a genre that despite its popularity “has been relatively neglected by scholars” (Medlesohn & James 2009: 4). At the same time, scholars recognize that “fantasy literature is a new, vivid, and interesting branch of the field [of onomastics]” (Falck-Kjällquist 2016: 337) but that it is still in its beginning phase. The hope is that the present thesis can be a contribution to a growing field.

The fantasy genre is a vast and heterogenous genre, consequently the aim is not to draw conclusion that are applicable to the genre as a whole but to explore the possibility of common traits of naming within each series. That is not to say that the differences are not interesting. On the contrary, the thesis looks to explore what kind of means are used in naming and possible motivations behind the naming strategies. The sheer numbers of names differ between the two different series, thus not all names are studied to the same extent. ASOIAF is central to the present thesis, while TSA functions more as a basis for comparison. Furthermore, the motivation for names has been limited to the bynames found in the corpus.

The following are clarifications of some of the terminology necessary for the coming analysis, as “there is no established terminology for the names of fictive characters” (Berills 2003: 9). The present thesis is centered around literary personal names and the term *name*, and for the purpose of this thesis it is used synonymously with the terms *personal name* and *proper name*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary online (OED) a *proper name* consists of a proper noun or noun phrase, which designates an individual person, place, organization, etc., usually written with a capital letter, while a *personal name* is the name by which an individual or thing is known or identified, and it can also be a first name. Seeing as

the distinction between the two terms is neither clear-cut, nor necessary for the purpose of this thesis, the term *name* will incorporate both definitions.

Names are sometime referred to as *conventional names*. Names are considered conventional if they are already existing English personal names, e.g. as stated in *A Dictionary of First Names* (henceforth DFN), or if they have been registered amongst the 1,000 most popular baby names in America on *The Baby Name Wizard*. DFN is a dictionary that covers over 6,000 common first names and includes information about origin and meaning. *The Baby Name Wizard* is a database of names based on Laura Wattenberg's research on baby name trends based and on the book *The Baby Wizard* published in 2005. The tools on the website use statistics from 1880 to 2012. The names that are not considered already existing English names are thus referred to as *invented names*. These names are believed to be new coinages by the authors.

The term *pseudo-suffix* is used when discussing the endings of names, especially in relation to gender marking. A pseudo-suffix is orthographically similar to a suffix but is without morphological content (Elsen 2010; Fajardo & González 2018) and has no clear. It can be debated whether these endings should be considered as suffixes or not, as the name ending does not meet the criteria of suffixes in general, e.g. they do not form new words or function inflectionally. The pseudo-suffixes in the present thesis does however function similarly to derivational suffixes, for example in how female names derive from male names (see 4.1.4), but they do are not morphemes, which is why they are called pseudo-suffixes. It could also be argued that the pseudo-suffixes are a type of bound morph and that in terms of name they carry the meaning of gender distinction, but this debate is beyond the scope of the current thesis.

1.2 Previous research

As previously mentioned, fantasy literature is a genre that has generally been neglected by researches. Despite praise from certain researches, e.g. Burelbach (1982) who describes fantasy literature as a “fruitful field for the use of names”, and Algeo (2001) likewise calls fantasy “potentially the richest of all genres of literature for onomastic analysis focusing on a connection between the name and the named”, the genre seems to be relatively little investigated.

For the present thesis I have been greatly influenced by Yvonne Bertills' PhD *Beyond Identification: Proper Names in Children's Literature* in which she looks into the characteristics of names of literary characters in children's literature and is interested to see how these names can be a blend of general naming criteria of proper names and general word formation processes, as well as how they are affected by aspects connected to the literary context. She also shows the similarities with names in general as well as pointing out the differences. She takes an interdisciplinary approach using ideas from various disciplines of linguistics, semantics in particular, as well as onomastics, and literary theories such as structuralism and narratology.

I have also found an inspiration in a Norwegian PhD, "*Men han het Edvard...*" *Navn og navnebruk i Sigrud Undsets forfatterskap* by Benedicta Windt-Val who looks at the names and name usage in the works of Sigrud Undset and name usage in realism. She also takes an interdisciplinary approach combining onomastic and literary theory in addition to specific literary onomastic approaches related to the realism genre. The focus is on outlining the name usage and interpreting the choices made by the author, as well as developing a methodology that could be useful for further research. Additionally, she also recognizes that a personal name has a function beyond identification and that it is often characterizing.

1.3 Research questions and hypotheses

The present thesis is very much an exploratory thesis, and the research questions listed below were the starting point of this exploration. The research questions are based on previous research as well as my own experience as an avid reader of fantasy literature.

Research questions:

1. How do writers of fantasy utilize their freedom when it comes to inventing or selecting name? What kind of naming strategies do they use?
2. Is there a correlation between geographical distance and the perceived strangeness of the names? If so, how is this reflected in the names?
3. What are the author's motivations behind the formation of names?

"Fantasy writers are name-givers with no restriction other than those they choose to observe to make the whole work coherent" (Algeo 2001: 252). I found this aspect of freedom particularly interesting which is why I chose to work on a source material specifically within the fantasy genre. The source material itself was chosen based on the fact the names in these

series have not been investigated in such a manner previously. I also chose the source material on the basis that the majority of the named characters are human. This is particularly interesting when considering the freedom aspect of fantasy and I wanted to investigate how different or similar naming humans in fantasy would be to naming humans in general. Moreover, the source material contains a significant number of names, of which over 3,000 have been collected for the corpus of this thesis. Additionally, in order for other researchers to also have access to the source material I chose books that are popular and internationally recognized.

As the aspect of freedom was particularly interesting to me, along with comparing the naming in fantasy with naming in general, I chose a source material in which the majority of the named characters are human. I wanted to focus on how cultural differences are reflected in the names, rather than how the nomenclature would differ between fantastic races. That is not to say that non-human characters are excluded. These characters are a vital part of the genre and are discussed along the same lines as the human names. The hypotheses for the present thesis are listed below.

H1: Cultural and ethnic differences, within the context of the story, are reflected in the names

H2: There is a correlation between geographical distances and the perceived foreignness of the names, i.e. the further away geographically from the main culture of the story the more foreign the names are going to look.

H3: Non-human characters will have more foreign sounding names than human characters.

H4: There will be clear gender markers in the names, even in the invented ones.

1.4 Outline of thesis

This study is divided into six chapters. Relevant theoretical background is presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 presents the methodology and data of the present thesis. Chapter 4 presents the naming strategies found in the series. These are compared both in regard to regular word building processes, e.g. suffixation, and in regard to general naming criteria, e.g. gender marking. Chapter 5 explores the semantic motivations for the bynames of the corpus and the conclusion is presented in Chapter 6.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter presents general naming criteria related to the formation and function of names in general. It also presents some examples of naming practices and naming conventions centered around the practice found in the UK and the US. Additionally, the chapter presents a few examples from other cultures besides the UK and the US to demonstrate that naming practices are probably as varied and numerous as names themselves. Some historical background is also provided. The meaning of names and the present thesis' stand on this is also presented. Finally, the chapter introduces some common features of the fantasy genre in order to place the source material within the genre.

2.1 General naming criteria

Names are something we intuitively grasp, even out of context and we have no problem distinguishing proper names from appellatives (common nouns) even when the two are homonyms. Names are distinguishable from appellatives due to their form in that they are built up of nouns and adjectives. Additionally, names are orthographically distinct in English as they are usually written with a capital letter. Keeping in mind that these shapes are language specific, the only limitations to a name's shape lie in the phonetic rules of the language (Bertills 2003; Nyström et al. 2013; Van Langendonck and Van De Velde 2016).

2.1.1 Function of names and naming formation

In general, names function mainly as identifiers or referents and usually appear in a form considered to be nouns or noun phrases (Van Langendonck & Van De Velde 2016).¹ In addition to being distinguishable from appellatives by form, names can be distinguished from appellatives by their function. Simply put, names in general function as referents and identification markers, whereas appellatives classify generic things or concepts (Zilliacus 2002; Bertills 2003), e.g. the words *trousers* and *pants* both represent the class 'trousers', as they both denote 'a garment usually worn on one's lower body which cover both legs

¹ Whether or not names can be considered nouns or noun phrases is disputed, however the debate is beyond the scope of the present thesis. As pointed out by Lyons "[t]he linguistic status of names has long been a subject of controversy" (Lyons 1981: 219).

separately'. Appellatives usually do not describe or characterize their denotations, nor do names in general, i.e. the name *Jon* does not in itself describe anything about the name-bearer. However, names in literature tend to embody descriptive and/or other characterizing qualities of the name-bearer within the name. This will be discussed further in section 2.3.

Literary names tend to share both the same shape as names in general, as well as the same functions, regardless of whether the names appear as conventional names or invented names. Yet, there are some distinctions, and Smith (2016) suggests three ways in which literary names function differently from names in general. Firstly, there is a difference in the degree of inventiveness, in which “we find more play with sounds of language and fewer restraints” in literary names than with names in general. This is not to say that new name coinages with names in general are not inventive but that they tend to follow more recognizable morphological patterns (ibid.). At the same, the findings of the present thesis might suggest that invented names, even within the fantasy genre, may follow recognizable morphological patterns. Secondly, authors can manipulate associative interpretations by withholding the identification of people. This is not an uncommon trope within the fantasy genre in general, and it is also scenarios found within the source material of the present thesis, e.g. *Jon Snow*, an illegitimate born son of a northern noble man, turns out to be *Aegon Targaryen*, the rightful heir to the Iron Throne. And thirdly, the literary names can evoke associations and interpretations far beyond the author’s intention.

Literary names are also relevant in the construction of the characters of the story, which sets them apart from names in general. The names function as means of characterization not commonly found in names in general (Bertills 2003). This includes traits that can be anything from physical appearances to the character’s values and motivations, or the character’s position in society. At the same time, the latter classification can also be true for names in general, as they do often place their bearer in “his or her family, community, gender and class” (Wilson 1998: 337). The difference is that the degree of characterization is usually more apparent in the literary names.

In terms of name formation, names are most often chosen from an already existing pool of conventional names (Andersson 1994; Wilson 1998), i.e. in naming there is usually a sort of name selection rather than a name formation. New coinages tend to also be based on already existing conventions of naming (Smith 2016), e.g. using different spelling variation, or using new combinations of different name elements. In a literary context the naming

formation is “largely connected to the semantic aspects of the name” (Bertills 2003: 21), more so than with naming formation in general. Because of this strong connection between the meaning(s) of the name and the characteristics of the name-bearer the formation of literary names can be seen in connection with how place names are formed, as the formation of place names “usually express three aspects: a characteristic of the place, the type of place and the name of the place” (Bertills 2003: 23). A case in point could be *Storsjön* (example from Nyström 2016). It consists of three morphemes: *stor* ‘big’, *sjö* ‘lake’ and inflectional *-n* (definite ending). *Stor* express a characteristic; it is big, *sjö* express the type of place, and *Storsjön* is the name of the place. Note that this is a fairly transparent example and it will not be as obvious in all names.

The main word formation processes that are involved in the naming formation in the corpus are compounding, pseudo suffixation and tweaking of already existing conventional names. Compounding in the context of the present thesis is understood as the combination of two name elements. A name element is the smallest part a name can be divided into, i.e. the words and suffixes that a name consists of (Zilliacus 2002; Bertills 2003). Pseudo-suffixation is the term used when discussing the endings of names, especially in relation to gender marking as it is the ending of the name that most often mark the gender of the name (Nuessel 1992; Wilson 1998; Barry & Harper 2000). Pseudo-suffixes retain the orthographic resemblances of suffixes, but they lack semantic support (Elsen 2010; Fajardo & González 2018), e.g. *-aholic* in words such as *shopaholic* or *bookaholic*. Tweaking is understood an alteration to already existing conventional names, which involves orthographic changes beyond common spelling variation, but where it is still possible to identify an English conventional name as the source name e.g. *Corenna* (Coretta), *Alyn* (Alan), and *Lommy* (Tommy).

2.2 Naming practices and types of name

Names are universal in the sense that everybody has, at least, one. How you get your name is a different matter. It can depend on anything from the circumstances around the child’s birth, e.g. “a girl born under a dheal tree is called Dheala” (Clodd 1921: 66) to being named after the parents’ favorite fruit or poet. Either way naming practices usually follow the naming conventions of the community they are situated in and naming practices are to a large degree both language and culture specific (Wilson 1998; Van Langendonck & Van De Velde 2016).

In the English-speaking traditions of the UK and the US, a personal name is composed of a first name (also called a given name) and a last name (also called a family name). In addition, one can have bynames (or nicknames) added to these names (Crystal 2007; Lawson 2016).

2.2.1 First names

Even though there is a lot of freedom in naming, and there is little to no regulation in terms of law (at least in the UK and US), the process of naming in general remains a conservative process. Studies have shown that parents seldom deviate from the existing pool or repertoire of already existing names (Wilson 1998; Anderson 2006). Generally speaking, first names are based on already existing names and these names do not characterize their bearers, except for indicating the gender of the name-bearer (Andersson 1994: 17).

Most names in the English naming tradition are gender specific but unisex names do exist. Historically, these names are usually former male names, e.g. *Ashley*, *Beverly* and *Madison*, which have shifted to female names. However, as a name becomes more common as a name for girls, it becomes less common as a name for boys (Nuessel 1992; Lawson 2006). Additionally, while it is common to give male names to girls, giving boys female names is rare. This is due to sexism (Lawson 2016) and the tendency is also to generally avoid gender ambiguous names in naming male children (Nuessel 1992). Furthermore, many female names derive from male names, using suffixes commonly found in diminutives e.g. *Eric – Erica*, *Joseph – Josephine*, and *Henry – Henrietta*, which is also symbolic in making the female names in a sense subordinate to male names (Nuessel 1992: 37).

When it comes to gender specific name giving it seems that people are more creative and inventive with female names than with male names, e.g. female names tend to be longer and are less predictable than male names. The conservatism found in male naming is emphasized as the same male names appear year after year on the lists of popular baby names (Crystal 1993).

A part of the conventional repertoire of names includes the names of people who have lived before, be it a relative or a famous historical figure. There are different ways of naming people after other people, e.g. one Maori practice explained by Clodd (1921) involves a priest reading a long list of ancestral names and “when the child sneezed, the name which was the being uttered was chosen” (Clodd 1921: 68). Other practices involve strict rules of who can

be named after whom, e.g. the firstborn son is to be named after his father (Nyström et al. 2013). Both of these practices involve showing some kind of kinship in the name, but people are also named after non-relatives, both from the real world and from fiction. Famous and/or historical people, as well as people from legend and mythologies, are a great source for naming (Burelbach 1982; Alvarez-Altman 1987; Debus 2002). The name *Charles* for instance is a name with a long history and old etymology that is still common and popular. It stems from a Germanic word “karl”, and its popularity is largely due to the famous Frankish leader and emperor Charlemagne the Great (DFN, s.v. “*Charles*”). It is also not uncommon to see names originally created for fiction enter the conventional pool of names, or to have a name rise in popularity due to its exposure in fiction. Even some of the names found in the corpus have been adopted into the conventional naming system of the US, e.g. *Khaleesi* and *Cersei*, both stemming from ASOIAF, and recently made hugely popular through the TV adaptation *Game of Thrones* released in 2011.²

Traditionally, both in real life and in literature, naming and names are associated with power and magic (Clodd 1921; Bertills 2003). Historically, it has been common to avoid using the true names of a force seen as bad or evil, or an animal or creature that can be dangerous. This due to the fear of invoking “its presence or the manifestation of its power” (Clodd 1921: 109). To avoid offence, we often use euphemisms or other substitutes for the names. This is also common in fantasy, where names tend to hold great (magical) power, and especially when it comes to evil characters, e.g. the great threat in ASOIAF is only called *The Others*.

2.2.2 Family names

Family names are a newer invention than first names, starting out as an integral part of an individual’s name and became more common (in Europe) from around the eleventh century onwards (Wilson 1998).³ Whereas first names are given, family names are hereditary. Most English family names can be sorted into four broad categories based on the origin of the name: relational, locative, occupational and bynames (Hanks & Parkin 2016: 214).

² In 2017 there were 466 girls given the name *Khaleesi* (which is originally a title and not a personal name). 2017 was also the first time *Cersei* was registered with 11 girls named (US Social Security Administration, accessed November 23, 2018).

³ Note that “[t]his was a slow and irregular process.” (Wilson 1998: 115)

Relational family names are usually found in the shape of patronyms, which are personal names that are based on the father's name or otherwise identifies the name-bearer through a relationship to the father.⁴ These names often contain suffixes such as *-son/-s* or simply the name of the father. Other varieties within this system include Irish names beginning with *Mac/Mc*, Scottish Gaelic names with the prefix *O'* and Welsh names with the prefix *Ap-*, all meaning 'son of' or 'descendant of' (Wilson 1998; Hanks & Parkin 2016). There are also examples of patronymic names given to women, e.g. using Irish *ni* in front of the father's name, which means 'daughter of'. Furthermore, the *-s* form was not exclusively patronymic but "could signify other relationships" (Wilson 1998: 128), e.g. *Alice Thomys* 'widow of Thorne', or *Thomas at Adamys* 'servant of Adam' (ibid.).

Locative family names derive from estates or places of origin, or from the topography (Matthews 1966; Wilson 1998; Hanks & Parkin 2016). Locative family names can stem from specific features of the village, e.g. *Church*, *Corner* or *Wall*, or more commonly from features of the landscape, typically from words referring to "the most important features of village life" (Matthews 1966: 268). Names referring to water are among the most common names still today, e.g. *Brooks*, *Rivers*, and *Marsh*. The names depended on the landscape and so one could have names such as *Shore* or *Cliff*, when living along the British coastline, or names such as *Hill*, *Wood*, and *Green* further inland. *Wood* is commonly found in compounded names in general, e.g. *Greatwood*, *Littlewood*, and *Blackwood* (Matthews 1966: 268), as well as in the corpus, e.g. *Yornwood*, *Smallwood* and *Blackwood*

Another common locative element found in compounds is one referring to roads, e.g. a number of names including *-way*, of which the following examples are found in the corpus: *Fossoway*, and *Greenaway*. Historically, in medieval times *Green* could both be associated with the spring and events related to spring, but it generally refers to the village green found in and around the villages where much of the social life was centered (Matthews 1966). Together with *Green*, *Lee* (*Lea*, *Leigh*) was is another common name related to the topography of the English countryside. It originally meant 'clearing, open glade among woods' and it is the origin of the common place name ending *-ley* (Matthews 1966). Furthermore, the combination of tree names with the added *n-*, from Middle English *atte* 'at the' (shortened *atten* when preceding a noun), led to names such as *Nash*, *Nokes* and *Nelms*. If

⁴ Metronyms – names identifying the name-bearer through the relationship to the mother – are generally far less common, and not only with English (Lawson 2016).

the tree happened to be growing by a lea, one would get names such as *Ashly* and *Oakly* (Matthews 1966).

Occupational names derive from different occupations, especially urban occupations (Matthews 1966; Wilson 1998; Hanks & Parkin 2016; Lawson 2016), e.g. *Smith*, *Baker*, and *Miller*. Some occupational names are without suffixes, e.g. *Webb*, *Hunt* and *Cheese*, denoting a weaver, a hunter and a seller or maker of cheese respectively (Matthews 1966; Hanks & Parkin 2016). Others are with suffixes. The most common suffixes – from the Middle Ages – include *-(i)er* and *-ester*, e.g. *Bakestere*, *Brewster* and *Webbester*, and the most common parts of compounds includes *-man*, *-makere*, *-herde*, *-ward* and *-monger* (Wilson 1998). Occupational names are also found in the corpus, see section 5.2.

Finally, there is an almost an infinite variety of byname-derived family names. References to physical appearance, to moral behavior as well as the use of animal names are amongst the most common features of these names. Bynames will be discussed in more detail in the following section, and the bynames found in the corpus are discussed in chapter 5.

2.2.3 Bynames

A large number of the names in corpus are *byname*s (or by-names), more commonly known as *nicknames*. However, nicknames are often limited to characterization while bynames can be both positive and derogatory, or neutral (Brylla 2016). The bynames can also be used ironically as mock names, e.g. use of titles (see section 5.2). Although the term *byname* is not commonly used by English speakers, nor by all scholars (Nyström et al. 2013; Brylla 2016) it is convenient, not only for the purpose of the present thesis, but also because of the term's similarity across languages.⁵ A byname is a name that is added to an official or 'real name' and can be used either in addition to, or instead of the real name (Brylla 2016). In the present thesis the term *byname* will be used when discussing all additional names. Additionally, the bynames that are used instead of the real name of the character are referred to as aliases.

The formation of most bynames is based on using already existing words, usually adjective and/or nouns (Nyström et al. 2013; Brylla 2016). The bynames in the corpus, like bynames in general, consist of adjectives and or nouns (or noun phrases) that can be

⁵ Swedish *binamn*, German *Beiname*, Dutch *bijnaam*, to mention a few examples (Brylla 2012; Neethling 2012)

positioned either after the name, e.g. *Harwyn Hardhand* and *Harwyn Hardstone*, or before, e.g. *Young Robert* (Arryn) and *Red Robert Flowers*. A byname has the same identifying function as other names with the addition of functioning as a way to distinguish between individuals with identical sounding names, e.g. to distinguish between *Long John* and *Little John*.

One can sort bynames into an almost infinite number of semantic categories. Brylla (2016) presents the following semantic categories “home district, birthplace, and residence, family and social function, physical and mental characteristics, and characteristic incidents, habits and expressions” (Brylla 2016: 241). Based on these semantic categories, the bynames in the present thesis are sorted into three semantic categories. The first concerns bynames that denote physical or mental characteristics of the name-bearer. The second category concerns the bynames that denote social functions such as an occupation or a skill, e.g. *Devyn Sealskinner*. Additionally, it includes names that contain titles, both those that are complimentary e.g. *The Dragonknight* and those that are used ironically and/or derogatively, e.g. *Lord Snow* and *Ser Slobber*. The final category concerns bynames that derive from specific situations, events or habits, e.g. *Aemon Bloodborn* was born during a battle. Note that as the origin of these names is not always known or explained, the meaning(s) of these bynames are to certain extent based on my own interpretations.

2.3 The meaning of names

The traditional viewpoint is that proper names have denotative meaning but not connotative meaning, i.e. “they do not indicate or imply any attributes” (Aschenberg 1991, in Bertills 2003) belonging to the name-bearer, and that “proper names have no other semantic function than to refer to their name-bearers” (Zilliacus 2002: 158, my translation).⁶

Historically, names were based on meaningful and existing vocabulary, and thus were meaningful in that regard (Anderson 2006; Leiberg 2016). A lot of names have however lost their original lexical meaning, e.g. the name *Charles*. Few will immediately understand it to mean ‘free man’, as it originally did (DFN, s.v. “*Charles*”). In this regard the name *Charles* does not carry meaning and only retains its identifying function, i.e. it refers to an individual

⁶ There are other arguments against name carrying meaning beyond reference, but the discussion lies beyond the scope of the present thesis.

without describing or characterizing him or her. At the same time, *Charles* does carry meaning in the sense that it suggests ‘male’ and ‘first name’ (Andersson 1994).

In the context of the present thesis, names carry meanings, however, not in the traditional etymological sense, i.e. in the way *Charles* once meant ‘free man’. Rather a name can have meaning(s) that are both connotational, i.e. meanings related to associations, contextual, i.e. meanings related to the context in which they appear, as well as lexical meaning, i.e. literal (dictionary) meaning. Furthermore, “aspects such as nonsense, aspects of sound symbolism, onomatopoeic aspects and the connotative value of name elements are also meaningful” (Bertills 2003: 11), and these are aspects that can be particularly relevant for literary names as the names often function in a characterizing manner. Note that especially in terms of connotative meanings, it is impossible to account for all the possible associations the readers might have, thus the present thesis only provides a selection.

2.4 Features of fantasy literature

The fantasy genre is a vast genre and it has no all-encompassing definition. The consensus is currently to accept a range of critical definitions, as well as agree that “fantasy is about the construction of the impossible” (James & Mendlesohn 2012: 1). It is essentially about getting the readers to suspend their disbelief and accepting a new reality. In order to do so the genre is to a large degree dependent on the “conversation” between the reader and the writer, as Medlesohn (2008) puts it:

I believe that the fantastic is an area of literature that is heavily dependent on the dialectic between author and reader for the construction of a sense of wonder, that it is a fiction of consensual construction of belief (Medlesohn 2008:xiii)

This “conversation” is also a distinguishing feature in the form of the source material. Both ASOIAF and TSA are book *series*, which in itself is a feature of the fantasy genre as it is perhaps the genre’s most dominant form (Maund 2012). Although it is not exclusive to fantasy, the series can be seen as an extension of the conversation, as this conversation creates “a special relationship between the reader and the writer” (Maund 2012: 147). In this relationship there lies a sort of agreement in which the writer promises to keep adding and expanding the story, while the reader chooses to keep returning to the series (ibid.).

2.4.1 Types of fantasy

The type of genre, and in this case the type of fantasy, is important when choosing and inventing the names and the nomenclatures of the story (Burelbach 1982; Windt-Val 2009). As the fantasy genre as a whole is difficult to define, there are a number of sub-categories that the genre is commonly divided into. The series are similar in that they can both fit into the same subcategories of fantasy. Note that there are probably other subgenres the series would fit into, but the ones mentioned here are based on what the series have in common.

Firstly, I would place both series in what Medlesohn (2008) calls ‘immersive fantasy’. It is the type of texts that not only share a new invented world, but invites us to “accept a set of assumptions”, in which “we sit on the protagonist’s shoulder and while we have access to his eyes and ears, we are not provided with an explanatory narrative” (Medlesohn 2008: xx). This means for example that in ASOIAF we are introduced to concepts such as *the Night’s Watch* or *the king’s justice* as something familiar, without any explicit explanations. This assumption of familiarity may lie in the deictic use of noun phrases as “narrators who introduce people or places or things with *the* are assuming that readers already know about them... In this way, readers are cast, linguistically at least, as already believing the incredible” (Mandala 2010: 100-101, original emphasis). This is a typical feature of the fantasy genre as it “constructs itself both from elements that are part of the assumed common culture of the reader and writer [...] and from elements specific to the genre – magic, prophecies” (Maund 2012: 152-153).

Secondly, both ASOIAF and TSA could fit in subgenres called ‘epic fantasy’ or ‘high fantasy’, which are based on the literary tradition of the epic. Its main feature is dealing with the activities of heroes and with a setting that gradual reveals detailed historical and geographical images of secondary world(s) (Clute & Grant 1997; Stableford 2009; Mendlesohn 2012). At the same time, the series also fit into the subgenre called ‘medievalist fantasy’, in which the setting is loosely based on the European Middle Ages, with the romance of knights and sword-fighting, the power struggle between kings and the presence of magic as common ingredients (Mendlesohn & James 2012).

2.4.2 Stylistic features

One way of inducing the suspension of disbelief is through the use of certain stylistic features, and this includes naming. In terms of naming writers of fantasy are in a peculiar situation,

where they have no restrictions, other than those they choose to impose upon themselves. Together with this freedom follows a “special responsibility to fit the sound to the sense and achieve internal consistency” (Burelbach 1982: 137). To keep the reader believing the imaginary, using only conventional names or using names that just sound strange is seldom sufficient. Additionally, as argued by fantasy author C. S. Lewis, “names ought to be beautiful and suggestive as well as strange; not merely odd” (cited in Burelbach 1982: 143). The names need to fit the world in which they are a part of, i.e. they need to sound right.

J. R. R. Tolkien, wrote that “[the] sound and form of a name are equally important to its meaning” (cited in Robinson 2013: 69) and that determining the shape of a name have more to do with the sense of style, and less to do with sound symbolism or etymology of the source words (Robinson 2013). Style in this sense covers two dimensions, one through the linguistic patterns used in the shaping of the name, and the second concerns how authentic the name sounds in a given context. How a name looks, or how it rolls off your tongue, can have a great impact on how the reader perceives it, i.e. the phonological, morphological and orthographic patterns of a name can have an impact on how we perceive the name. It is, however, not clear why we appreciate some sounds or shapes over others. One factor that could affect how a name is perceived is the sense of remoteness and familiarity, usually in the sense how familiar or unfamiliar it sounds to the reader’s native language (Burelbach 1982; Robinson 2013). The perception of aesthetics is however a highly subjective matter, at the same time it is often culturally based (Robinson 2013).

How authentic a name sound relates to how the naming system fits in with the rest of the linguistic conventions in the context of the invented world, such as “how the language comes to be shaped by historical, geographical and social factors” (Robinson 2013: 69). In ASOIAF this is seen in how the different historical waves of migration affected the name giving practices in different geographical locations. Although we know less about the history of the world in TSA, there are still distinguishing features in the names that emphasize the different ethnic groups. Additionally, the distinction between human and non-human characters is emphasized by the different ways of naming.

Names can of course also be chosen, simply because the authors like them. Still there seems to be some considerations, that at least some authors have in common. These mostly relate to the accessibility of the names to the reader, for example names should not be too difficult to read or pronounce, and names should reflect the cultural and personal

characteristics of the character (Blackand & Wilcox 2011). Then again, another characteristic of fantasy is to subvert or ignore commonly known rules and considerations such as these.

3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology and the data collected for the corpus of the present thesis (hence the corpus). A brief introduction to setting and the stories of the source material is also presented.

3.1 Methodology

In collecting the names from ASOIAF, I initially started out manually going through the printed editions of *A Game of Thrones* and *A Clash of Kings*. The process was immensely time consuming and I therefore resorted to using the character lists from three online sources, namely *A Wiki of Ice and Fire* for ASOIAF, and *The Stormlight Archive Fandom* and *The Coppermind* for TSA.

These sites are wikis, consisting of fan-made entries, which means anyone can register and create an entry. This can be problematic in terms of accuracy and possible misinformation, as well as the lack of information if a character's name has not been given an entry. At the same time, the problem of overlooking or missing out on character names could happen during a manual collection. The entries on *A Wiki of Ice and Fire*, are all quite extensive and detailed in terms of information about the characters. Furthermore, each entry includes chapter references which makes it easy to look them up and find them in the books. The sites for the TSA characters were not as extensive as the one for the characters from ASOIAF, which is why I chose to use two different sites that contained different entries. Although there were few chapter references, the entries did provide references to which books the names were mentioned in.

Still, in my own experience, fans tend to be thorough when writing about their fandoms, as can be exemplified through Elio M. García and Linda Antonsson, who first created *weserots.org* in 1999 – the largest and oldest fan site for ASOIAF – and later through direct correspondence with the author came to function as proofreaders and consultants on the book series (Cooke 2015). They also contributed and co-authored the massive companion to ASOIAF, *A World of Ice and Fire: The Untold History of Westeros and the Game of Thrones* published in 2014.

3.1.1 Defining the corpus

The data for the present study has been collected from two fantasy book series, *A Song of Ice and Fire* (ASOIAF) by George R.R. Martin, and *The Stormlight Archive* (TSA) by Brandon Sanderson. In total there are eight books, five in ASOIAF, viz. *A Game of Thrones* (1996), *A Clash of Kings* (1998), *A Storm of Swords* (2000), *A Feast for Crows* (2005) and *A Dance with Dragons* (2011), and three in TSA, viz. *The Way of Kings* (2010), *Words of Radiance* (2014) and *Oathbringer* (2017).

The corpus contains personal names of 1922 different named characters from ASOIAF and personal names of 424 named characters from TSA. Additionally, there are 648 bynames collected from ASOIAF and 54 bynames from TSA (see Table 3.1). A character with both a first name and a family name has been counted as one name, likewise a character that only has a first name is counted as one name, while bynames are in addition to these names. Note that, in ASOIAF some of the names are identical, e.g. there are eight different characters named *Brandon Stark*. These names are still counted as eight different names because they refer to eight different characters. Some names are partially identical, i.e. they might share the same first name but have different family names, e.g. *Alester Norcross* and *Alester Florent*. These are also counted as two different names. Likewise, if the characters are only distinguished by bynames, e.g. *Harle the Huntsman* and *Harle the Handsome*, they are counted as two different names. In TSA there are no identical first names except for the name *Torol*, which is repeated once, i.e. there are two characters that share the same first name.

Table 3.1 Number of names in the corpus

	ASOIAF	TSA
Named characters	1922	424
Bynames	648	54
Total number of names	2570	478

If a character has only one name this is regarded as the characters first name, even though it might only be byname. It can be difficult to distinguish between the two types of names, especially in cases where the character has a name that is a homonym to a common noun, e.g. *Stranger*, *Hero* and *Carrot*. Characters who are only referred to by their family name are

excluded from both series and are not counted as part of the total number of characters. This is because of the ambiguity of the reference, i.e. it is not always clear who the name is referring to without going back into the context of story for clarification and this task would be too time-consuming and goes beyond the scope of the present thesis.

The byname and character number ratio is not one to one, which means that one character can have more than one byname. In ASOIAF the 648 bynames are divided amongst 554 characters, with the character *Arya Stark* having the most bynames, viz. 16 bynames. Generic name calling, consisting of one word, e.g. *dog*, *dwarf*, and *cripple* has not been counted as bynames, while names such as *wolf girl*, *Lumpyface* and *the cripple* are counted as bynames as these have specific referents. Although the latter examples could be considered name calling, bynames can be derogatory. Furthermore, they are shaped more like names and bynames in general, e.g. *Lumpyface* is written with a capital letter, *the cripple* contains the definite article which is very common in bynames, and *wolf girl* is a compound packed with semantic content and can only refer to two specific characters in the context of ASOIAF. Furthermore, these bynames function the same way as aliases do, i.e. as a name *instead of* the real name. As mentioned, characters can have more than one byname such as *Dunk* and *Dunk the Lunk*, or *Oberyn Viper* and *The Red Viper*, these are counted as different bynames, while bynames such as *Tall Toregg* aka *Toregg the Tall*, or *Faithful Ursywck* aka *Ursywck the Faithful*, are counted as the same name.

In TSA the 54 bynames are divided amongst 41 characters, which means only a few have more than one byname. Titles such as Nan, e.g. Nan Balat and Nan Helaran, have not been counted as bynames, as they are not used ironically. Likewise, the different titles given to the kings in ASOIAF, e.g. *The First of His Name*, *King of the Andals and the First Men*, *Lord of the Seven Kingdoms and Protector of the Realm* or *Forth of His Name Since the Grey King* have not been counted as bynames.

3.1.2 Literary onomastics

Literary onomastics is “the study of how authors make use of names as part of their literary and creative strategies” (Windt 2005). However, the field is relatively new and has no well-established common terminology or method (Bertills 2003; Windt 2005). Thus, choosing the approach for the present thesis has been one of the more challenging aspects of this process. Especially considering that the number of approaches is so vast and varied. Literary

onomastics is not a theory in its own right but more of an approach, or type of analysis (Smith 2016), and it constitutes a multidisciplinary field of research (Bertills 2003; Windt 2005; Cavill 2016). One of the most commonly examined field is names used by “individual author of world literature classics” (Bertills 2003: 40). In terms of fantasy ‘classics’ works by Ursula Le Guin, J. K. Rowling and J. R. R. Tolkien are among the most researched (Croft 2009; Robinson 2011).

One approach in literary onomastics is to divide names into Cratylic and Hermogenean names. These terms stem from Plato’s *Cratylus* (Fowler 2012; Cavill 2016). In short, Hermogenean names are “semantically empty” and its only meaning is to identify, or refer to, a person or a place, while Cratylic names have meaning beyond their identifying function, i.e. they have a characterizing function. In general, personal names tend to be Hermogenean, and place names tend to be Cratylic, while in literature it tends to be the other way around (Cavill 2016). Although these terms have proved useful, they are not without difficulties as it is not always possible to place a name “within either category exclusively” (Fowler 2012: 13). As for the present thesis, the distinction between names with and without content is useful and will be discussed when relevant. However, for the sake of simplicity the terms Hermogenean and Cratylic will not be used any further.

3.1.3 Categorization

The names collected were listed in a data base where, first name, family name and bynames were noted, as well as other categories that are relevant for name formation viz. gender, social rank, species and culture/ethnicity or group affiliation. Note that it is not always possible to supply information on all the categories for each character as some of the information might not even exist, as not every character has a (known) background story.

3.1.3.1 Gender

The gender division in the corpus is binary, although not every character fit into a binary gender division. The category affects naming as names tend to carry a binary gender distinction. I was interested to find out whether the invented names would correspond to general naming conventions in terms of gender distinction. The distribution of male and female characters in the corpus is as follows. In ASOIAF there are 1505 male characters, 402

female characters, four characters whose gender is unknown, and eleven characters of which the categorization of gender is inapplicable, while in TSA there are 312 male characters, 101 female characters, eight characters whose gender is uncertain or unknown, and three where the categorization of gender is inapplicable. The gender distribution is in itself interesting. It could be a result of the author's own gender, the genre itself, or the setting of a patriarchal medieval society. Whatever the reason(s) the discussion and investigation lie beyond the scope of the present thesis.

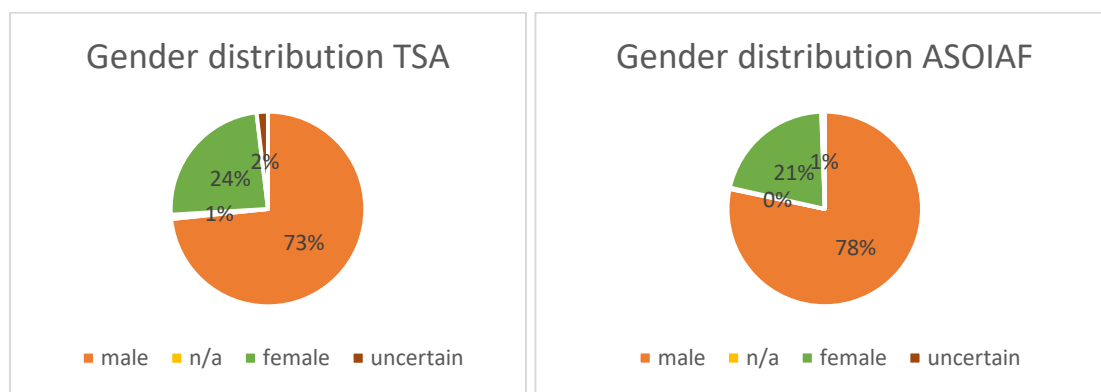


Figure 3.1 Gender distribution in TSA and ASOIAF

3.1.3.2 Social status, ethnicity and non-human species

The category of social status has been noted down albeit not in a fashion that makes it easy to generalize over or to sort. I would have liked to be able to sort the characters in social status into for instance low, middle or high class, as this can be relevant for naming practices.

Unfortunately, the social rank was not available for all the characters. Moreover, including this aspect would require a wider scope of investigation.

Ethnicity was easier to sort as this is mainly geographically based within the context of the stories. Here I additionally decided to sort the different groups into ‘main culture’ and ‘foreign culture(s)’, where the main culture is the dominant culture in the context of the story, and the foreign cultures are the cultures that differ from this. It has to be born in mind however that within the foreign cultures there are many differences and varieties that are missed when making generalizations. Finally, I have made a distinction between human characters and non-human character, as I expect the naming strategies to differ between the two. Non-human characters include animals, living objects and fantastical creatures.

3.2 The source material

The source material was chosen because no research of this type has been conducted on it. It was also chosen on the basis of the number of names for human characters it contained. This is particularly interesting as this thesis aims to compare the literary names against general naming criteria. At the same time, I wanted to investigate how the authors choose to utilize the enormous freedom they have when inventing new names, particularly within the fantasy genre.

Both series are also internationally recognized, and popular worldwide, which makes them easily available for other researches. ASOIAF has over 85 million copies sold worldwide, printed in 47 different languages and as mentioned founds the basis for the TV series *Game of Thrones*, which airs in 170 different countries (Yu 2018). TSA is also predicted to become a great series, with the two latest books debuting as number one on the New York Times Bestseller List, which is an unusual achievement for literature belonging to the fantasy genre (Jennings 2014; Tor.com 2017).

3.2.1 A Song of Ice and Fire

ASOIAF is an unfinished series where the current works have been published between 1996 and 2011. The book series has also been adopted for TV in a series called *Game of Thrones*, which was released in 2012 and is still ongoing, however the focus of the present thesis are the names found in the books.

Names are an important feature of the series, not only for thematic or narrative effects but for the structural properties of the books themselves. The books vary in length, and in number of chapters, but all of the chapter titles bear the same name as the chapter's point of view character, i.e. in a chapter titled *Arya*, we follow the character *Arya's* point of view. This system of titling changes somewhat in the two latest books in the series, *A Feast for Crows* (FFC) and *A Dance with Dragons* (DWD), where some of the chapters are titled with bynames instead of first names, such as *The Kraken's Daughter* and *The Queensguard* instead of the name-bearer's real names; *Asha* and *Barristan* respectively. Furthermore, the chapter titles follow the character development, i.e. when certain characters adopt or create new identities, the chapter titles change along with them, e.g. *Theon's* chapters (in DWD) are titled *Reek*, and *Arya's* chapters are called *Cat of the Channels* (in FFC) and *The Blind Girl* (in DWD).

Another notable characteristic of the names in this series is that family names are paramount. They form the basis for the social structure and hierarchies throughout the invented world. Furthermore, one of the biggest reveals and plot twist of the entire series revolves around the reveal of a character's real name.

ASOIAF is set in a world loosely based on the European Middle Ages, inspired by events from English history such as a conflict known as The War of the Roses; a power struggle between two noble families that lasted generations. The plot revolves around the question of who will sit on 'the Iron Throne' and rule 'the Seven Kingdoms', and accordingly who should or will be named king or queen. Furthermore, humanity is facing its biggest threat in thousands of years which means "if we don't put a side our enmities and band together, we will die. And then it doesn't matter whose skeleton sits on the Iron Throne" (Game of Thrones 2017).

The world in ASOIAF is similar to our own, except for an unusual climate, e.g. winter lasting years instead of months, the addition of fantastical creatures, e.g. dragons, and the presence of magic, which some possess, and others do not. The society is distinctly hierarchical where one's place is decided by which family one is are born into, i.e. one's name instantly reveals one's position in society and the limitations and/or freedoms that follow. One is born with a name, but one can also earn new names, one can renounce one's name in service of a higher purpose or one can lose one's name due to dishonorable behavior. One can also claim a new name or create a new name for oneself in which a new identity follows.

3.2.2 The Stormlight Archive

TSA is also an unfinished series where the current works have been published between 2010 and 2017. TSA is set in a world very much different from our own, on a planet called *Roshar*. The societies are built up around the occurrence of powerful and dangerous storms, which have shaped both the ecology and civilization of the world, i.e. animals have shell, trees hide their branches and cities are only found where there is enough shelter. The storms also provide a powerful energy source called 'stormlight', which humans are able to collect through the use of gemstones which can absorb this energy. The 'stormlight' is used similarly to how we use electricity, except that it has additional magical properties.

TSA still contains medievalist fantasy features such knights in (literally) shining armor, sword-fighting and the power struggles of kings and nobles. The presence of magic, however, is more stated and evident than with ASOIAF. As with ASOIAF the society is highly hierarchical, however in this world it is not your family name but the color of your eyes that determines your rank. Those who have lightly colored eyes, such as blue, green, yellow, light grey, or violet are called 'lighteyes' and constitute the elite and the nobility of Roshar. Those whose eyes are brown or black, called 'darkeyes', are the commoners and considered inferior to the 'lighteyes'. This distinction mirrors how skin color forms the basis for racism in the real-world, and in doing so perhaps it underlines the absurdity and arbitrariness in this distinction.

The names in TSA does not play such a predominant role as the names in ASOIAF. That does not mean that they are not important. Although royal titles are hereditary, rank is more important than the family names, which gives room for some social mobility especially amongst soldiers. Bynames are usually given to those who earn it, through a deed or a skill, or to those who have names that are difficult to pronounce, e.g. *Numuhukumakiaki'aialunamor* is nicknamed *Rock* or *Lunamor*, and there are clear ethnic differences in the context of the story that are reflected in the names. Furthermore, certain people have the ability to disguise or hide their true identity while taking on the personality of the disguise which sometimes makes it difficult for the character to separate between their true identity and the identity of the disguise.

4 MEANS OF NAMING

This chapter explores different naming strategies found in ASOIAF and TSA, and how these means of naming can be used to distinguish between different cultures and ethnicities within the context of the stories.

The names in ASOIAF are divided on the basis of the invented world's geography and history whereas the discussion of the naming strategies in TSA is divided between the dominant culture and the cultures that differ from it. As the sheer numbers of names collected from the series varies, so does the weighing of the analysis. The different strategies found within in each series will be discussed separately, as “names are made to fit into the phonological and morphological style of the ensemble to which they belong, as well as the linguistic scheme” (Robinson 2013: 73), while similarities between the series will be discussed when relevant. Note that pinpointing patterns or trends that are applicable across the genre as a whole is not possible, nor is it the intention of the present thesis.

4.1 Naming strategies in *A Song of Ice and Fire*

The general naming strategies in ASOIAF include the use of conventional names, orthographic alterations of conventional names (henceforth tweaked names) and the use of invented names. A brief lay of the land and a short history of the main continent of the story, Westeros, are provided due to its relevance for the ways in which the invented migrations, geographical and social factors all play an important part in the shaping of the different nomenclatures.

Westeros is the name of the main continent and center of the story in ASOIAF. This continent consists of seven previously independent kingdoms now united into one and ruled by whoever sits on the Iron Throne. In addition, there is a stretch of land called Beyond the Wall which is isolated from the rest of the continent by a physical wall (made of ice and magic) and is consequently also beyond the political control of the Throne. I have divided the continent into the following three parts with regards to geographical location, historical influence, and social and cultural differences; the North, the South, and Dorne, each region is separated by the topography of the continent with each own distinguishable nomenclature.

There are three major historical events that are relevant for discussion of naming practices, each of which represents a wave of migration of three different peoples. The first wave, called the First Men, established strong roots in the North. The second wave, called the Andals, had its major influence in the South. And the third wave, called the Rhoynar settled mainly in Dorne. Unlike the previous two waves who mostly assimilated the existing culture when they settled, the Rhoynar mainly integrated with the existing culture. This resulted in Dorne becoming a cultural melting pot, with customs and a way of living that make the region stand out from the rest of the continent.

There are some general naming strategies that the regions of Westeros have in common, viz. the use of conventional names, and forming new names using orthographic alterations to conventional names, as well as using compounding and pseudo-suffixation. These general naming strategies mainly concerns first names and are discussed in the following sections.

4.1.1 Conventional names in a fantastic world

Although Westeros is a part of a fantastic world, there is a high number of conventional names used. This is not typical for fantasy literature set in a secondary world. A *secondary world* is a term coined by J. R. R. Tolkien, which is used to describe different kinds of fantastic locations that take place outside our own world (Clute & Grant 1997; Stableford 2009). It is not a world which is “impossible according to common sense” (Clute & Grant 1997) but that is coherent within its own reality with its own set of rules. As pointed out by Burelbach (1982) “if you were writing a fantasy novel, one of your first concerns would be to select names for the places and characters. It is clear that ordinary names – Tom, Dick, and Jane – would not do”. However, both *Tom* and *Dick* are actual examples of conventional names found in the context of ASOIAF. At the same time, the world of ASOIAF is to a high degree based on our own reality, in addition most of the names in the corpus are for characters that are human, which makes it less surprising to find the usage of conventional names in this context.

In the corpus the name *Jon* is the most frequent denoting 22 individual characters, followed by *Jeyne* (denoting 13 characters), and *Walder* (denoting 11 characters), *Brandon*, *Rickard/Richard* and *Alyn* (each name denoting 10 characters), and *Don(n)el* and *Pate* (each name denoting 9 characters), as seen in Table 4.1 below. The letters in parenthesis represent

different spelling variants, e.g. the name *Donnel* can be orthographically represented both as *Donnel* and *Donel*, the same goes for the names separated by a slash, e.g *Richard* and *Rickard* are two spelling variants of the same name. The names *Jon*, *Brandon*, *Rickard/Richard*, and *Don(n)el* are considered conventional names, while *Jeyne*, *Walder* and *Alyn* are considered tweaked names,⁷ whereas *Pate* is an invented name.

Table 4.1 Top 10 most frequent occurring names in the corpus

	Names	Characters
1.	Jon	22
2.	Jeyne	13
3.	Walder	11
4.	Alyn, Brandon, Rickard/Richard	10
5.	Don(n)el, Pate	9
6.	Garth, Grazdan, Robert, Robin, Rodri(c)k	8
7.	Aegon, Aemon, Alys(n)e, Steffon	7
8.	Ben, Bethany, Lucas, Rol(l)and, Walda, Will	6
9.	Denys, Leo, Lyonel, Qarl, Wat(t)	5
10.	Daeron, Damon, Gyles, Maron, Martyn, Owen, William	4

Other conventional names on this list include *Garth*, *Robert*, *Robin* and *Rodri(c)k* (each of the names denoting 8 individual characters), *Ben*, *Bethany*, *Lucas*, *Ro(l)land* and *Will* (6 characters), *Denys*, *Ralf*, *Myles*, *Leo* and *Lyonel* (5 characters), as well as *Gyles*, *Owen*, *Martyn*, *William* and *Damon* (4 characters). The remaining names on the list are considered invented names, except for *Qarl* which is considered a tweaked name.

There are notably fewer female characters than male characters in the corpus, and in terms of the uniqueness of the names, there is a notably higher degree of variation with the female names, as seen in Table 4.2. This is consistent with naming trends in general, where female names tend to be more varied, as “people are much readier to be inventive and different with female names” (Crystal 1993: 54).

⁷ Altered variants of *Jayne*, *Walter* and *Alan* respectively.

Table 4.2 The most frequent occurring names in the corpus divided by gender

Female names	*	Male names	*
Jeyne ⁸	13	Jon	22
Alysan(n)e	7	Walder	11
Bethany, Walda	6	Alyn, Brandon, Rickard/Richard	10
Alys, Lanna, Nymeria	3	Don(n)el, Pate	9
Alyssa, Alyce, Arwyn, Becca, Bessa, Bellegere, Cersei, Catelyn, Dalla, Dorea(h), Elia, Joanna, Jyana, Kyra, Leona, Lyanna, Lysa, Melara, Meles(s)a, Perra, Rhaenys, Serra, Shella, Shyra, Tansy, Willow, Wylla	2	Garth, Grazdan, Robert, Robin, Rodri(c)k	8

* Number of characters

The 34 female names listed in Table 4.2 are the only female names that are repeated in the corpus, i.e. 92 % of the female names in the corpus are unique, whereas 68 % of the male names are unique. Spelling variations realized through the doubling of a word-medial consonant, e.g. *Ar(r)on*, *Eg(g)on*, and *Ron(n)el*, or the emission of a word-final consonant in names such as *Emmond* and *Emmon*, *Arneld* and *Arnell*, and *Edrick* and *Edric*, are not counted as unique names and they are considered spelling variants of the same name. The same goes for names such as *Harmund* and *Harmond*, and *Cortenay* and *Cortnay*. Furthermore, first names with bynames attached are also only counted once, i.e. *Beardless Dick* is counted as *Dick*, *Harre Half-Hoare* as *Harre*, *Likely Luke* as *Luke*, etc.

Creating names for fantasy literature requires a balance between not too ordinary and not too strange (Burelbach 1982). Although conventional, the names are likely chosen to fit in with the medieval setting of ASOIAF. Most of the names on the list above are names with old etymologies, bearing connotations to the medieval times, e.g. *William*, *Richard* and *Jon* which are all names of historical English and British kings. *Robert* in this case is a king of Westeros and is in itself a name of Germanic origin (DFN, s.v. “*Robert*”), while names such as *Bethany* and *Lucas* are of Biblical origin (DFN, s.vv. “*Bethany*” & “*Lucas*”). These types of associations help make the names fit into a ‘medieval-esque’ nomenclature.

⁸ This includes *Canker Jeyne*, who is a male character.

4.1.2 Tweaked names

The second trend concerns the orthographic alterations (tweaking) to conventional names, applied with the aim of giving them more of a medieval flare.⁹ This is achieved in different ways, mainly through orthographic means, i.e. altering the spelling of conventional names. The most common alteration is replacing one grapheme with another, in which the most frequent is replacing a vowel grapheme, e.g. <i>, <a>, <e>, or <o> with <y>, as seen in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 Vowel tweaking; <y> replacing <i>, <a>, <e>, and <o>

Alteration	Examples found in corpus
<y> replacing <i>	Alyce, Alvyn, Cayn, Elyas, Elyn, Franklyn, Godwyn, Gylbert, Harys, Janyce, Lysa, Marwyn, Melwyn, Miranda, Olyver, Quentyn, Meredyth, Tym
<y> replacing <a>	Alyn, Randyll
<y> replacing <e>	Alyx, Ellyn, Petyr
<y> replacing <o>	Karyl, Ryger ¹⁰

Other common ways of orthographic vowel alterations include <o> replacing <e> such as in *Androw*, and *Steffon*, and <e> replacing <a> such as in *Bryen* and *Merianne*. Replacing <a> with <o> such as in *Ryon* and *Ondrew* is also common, as well as replacing <i> with <e> in names such as *Cynthea*, *Patrek*, and *Meles(s)a*.

The tweaking is not limited to vowel alteration but is also include consonant graphemes replacing other consonant graphemes. The alterations are found word-medially, e.g. *Grenn* and *Corenna* (Coretta), word-finally, e.g. *Marq* and *Joseth*, and word-initially, e.g. *Jommy*, *Qarl*, and *Vortimer*. In many cases, due to the limits of the present thesis, it is difficult to conclude with certainty that this is an alteration invented by the author. Alternatively, it could be an actual attested spelling variant.

⁹ An aim stated by the author himself in an interview (blinkbox Books 2014).

¹⁰ Assuming *Roger* is the source name. Another possibility is that it is a tweaked version of *Ryder*.

The use of uncommon spelling variants of conventional names with medieval etymologies such as *Alys*, *Denys*, *Edwyn* and *Gyles* (DFN, s.vv. “*Alice*”, “*Dennis*”, “*Edvin*” & “*Giles*”) is also found in the corpus. These names emphasize the ‘medieval flare’, as they along with the tweaked names give the impression of a Middle English orthographic style, as they reflect the fact that the grapheme <y> was used interchangeably with <i> in Middle English (Barber et al. 2009). However, the style in the corpus is probably more consistent than real life Middle English orthography which at the time was not standardized. Another way of giving the nomenclature a feeling of medieval-ness is to use names known from medieval legends and poems such as *Arthur*, *Roland*, and *Tristan*, as well as the use of modern coinages with similar orthography, e.g. *Lyra* or *Mya*.

Using blending and/or clipping is also a way in which conventional names can be altered, e.g. in names such as *Barbrey*, *Frenken* and *Gorold*. In English “clipped names are monosyllables that need to have a heavy rhyme and at least one consonant” (Bauer et.al 2013: 401), at the same time “English clippings are typically created by combining a suffix to a clipped base” (Sánchez & González 2018: 41). In *Barbrey* the name is not monosyllabic, but it does consist of a clipped base *Barbr-* (from *Barbra*) and a pseudo-suffix *-ey*. The same goes for *Frenken*, assuming the source name is *Franklin*. *Frenken* then consists of the base *Frank* with a pseudo-suffix *-en* attached and where the base vowel <a> has additionally been altered to <e>. The source name can however just as easily be *Frank*, in which case the name formation would include affixation where the pseudo suffix *-en* is attached to the base. The name *Gorold* can be an example of blending using the conventional names *Gerald* and *Harold* as source names, with the additional alteration of the first vowel in the first syllable. Furthermore, the reduction of one or more letters also stands out as a productive way of tweaking conventional names and is found in names such as *Alliser*, *Byan*, *Lancel*, *Quent*, *Sylwa* and *Wayn*.¹¹

Another way of tweaking names is to use the same source name to derive different variants from it, as well as to additionally alter these derivations. There are for instance 21 characters with names that are seemingly derived from *William*, including the name *William* itself and variants of *Guillaume*.¹² In addition to the conventional variants, *Willis*, *Willem*,

¹¹ Alis(t)er, B(r)yan, Lancel(ot), Quent(in), Sylw(i)a, and Wayn(e)

¹² French variant of *William* that is not attested in the corpus.

Wilbert, and *Will* (DFN, s.v. “*William*”), there are names such as *Willam*, *Gillam*, *Gulian*, *Willamen*, *Willas*, *Willifer*, *Willit*, *Willum*, *Wyl*, *Wylis*, and *Wylla*.

Margaret is another productive source name, (including derivations from the conventional variants *Marjorie*, *Marie*, *Maria*, and *Marge*).¹³ There are conventional variants such as *Margot*, *Maggy*, and *Meg* (DFN, s.v. “*Margaret*”), and invented derivations such as *Margaery*, *Maerie*, *Mariah*, *Myriah*, *Mariya*, *Myria*, *Maege*, and *Megga*. Furthermore, there are several derivations of the name *Robert*, including the conventional variants *Robin*, *Robb*, and *Rupert*, as well as names based on the diminutive form *Hob* (DFN, s.v. “*Robert*”), including *Hobb* and *Hobber*. Additionally, *Henly*, *Renly* and *Gendry* are possible derivations of *Henry*.¹⁴

4.1.3 Germanic compounding

The third distinct naming strategy in Westeros is by the means of compounding. This naming strategy follows a pattern similar to that found in the Germanic naming system, where most names were dithematic (composed of two name elements), and where specific elements could indicate gender, status and/or kinship (Wilson 1998: 70). In addition, the “Germanic language spoke not of giving a name but of creating one” (ibid.), which is particularly fitting in the context of literary names. There are two ways in which the name elements are combined. One way is to use two conventional name elements, in an unconventional way, while the other involves combining a conventional name element with an invented name element.

Leobald is an example of the first. *Leo* is a conventional name element (and a conventional name in itself), and *-bald* is a second name element, found in conventional names such as *Archibald*. Additionally, the name *Archibald* itself, along with names such as *Gilbert* and *Manfred*, is found in the corpus. All of these names are of Germanic origin (DFN, s.vv. “*Archibald*”, “*Gilbert*” & “*Manfred*”).

Combining an invented element with a conventional element is by far the most common pattern found in the compounds of the corpus. The conventional elements are

¹³ These names (*Margaret*, *Marjorie*, *Marie*, *Maria*, and *Marge*) are not attested in the corpus.

¹⁴ *Henry* not attested in the corpus.

elements that originally carried meaning.¹⁵ It seems like the second element is used as a base when combined with an invented element e.g. using *-man* as a base resulting in names such as *Balman*, *Helman*, and *Jarman*, or using *-mond* as a base resulting in names such as *Aemon(d)*, *Colemon*, and *Tremond*. The second name element can also be a base that is more commonly found in place names,¹⁶ e.g. *-wood*, and *-well*, resulting in names such as *Samwood* and *Samwell*. In some cases, the name element is not restricted to either first or second but can be used as either, e.g. *Man-* can be found as the first name element in the invented variant *Mandon* and the conventional variant *Manfred*. This is also consistent with the Germanic naming system where many name elements could be either first or second (Wilson 1998: 71).

4.1.4 Gender marking

Historically, in the Germanic naming practice, the second element of the name determines the gender, i.e. specific elements are only used female names and other elements are only used for male names (Wilson 1998). This is also the case in the names of Westeros, however the compounded names are mainly male, which makes it difficult to say whether there are any specific name elements that mark the names as females as opposed to male.

There are a few exceptions and they as follows. Although *-mund* is most commonly found in male names in the corpus, *Rosamund*, which is a conventional female name, is also found in the corpus. This means that *-mund* is not exclusively used in male name, and so is not a clear gender marker. *Wynafryd* and *Wynafrei* resembles the compound formation mentioned above in that *-fryd* is a conventional element, and subsequently *-frei* can be a tweaked variant of *-fryd* (or *-frei*), whereas *Wyna-* is an invented element. In either case both names are likely based on their male counterpart *Wynfryd*, at least if one is to follow Germanic conventions where the suffix *-a* was often added to a male second element to create a female name, e.g. *Sigibranda/Sigibrand* (Wilson 1998).¹⁷ The difference is that the *-a* is added word-medially rather than word-finally. The word-medial *-a* is however similar to the above-mentioned *Rosamund*. Additionally, female names often derive from male name, and not vice versa (Nuessel 1992; Lawson 2016).

¹⁵ See Appendix 1

¹⁶ It is also found in conventional first names such as *Elwood* (which is a name that is also found in the corpus).

¹⁷ *Sigibranda/Sigibrand* are examples from Wilson (1998) and not attested in the corpus.

Alternatively, *Wynafryd* could be derived from the conventional female name *Winnifred*. The *-frei*, in *Wynafrei* could also be consistent with *-ei* being a pseudo-morpheme in the shape of a suffix (hence pseudo-suffix), exclusively used for female names in this corpus. This is also found in the names *Emberlei* and *Carolei*, which could both be compounds using the second element *-lei* as base, possibly stemming from Old English *-lēah* ‘wood, clearing’ (DFN, s.v. “*Kimberley*”). Alternatively, they could just as easily be based on the conventional names *Ember* and *Carol* with the pseudo-suffix *-(l)ei* attached to their base.

The most common means to mark gender in the names of this corpus is through the use of pseudo-suffixation. This is consistent with how gender distinction works in names in general, where the last sound usually distinguishes between female and male names (Barry & Harper 2000). The most common pseudo-suffixes found for the female names in the context of ASOIAF are *-ella/-elle*, *-anne/-enne*, and *-ra* (and its variants), as seen in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Common (pseudo)suffixes in female names

Suffix	Examples
-ra (-ara, -era, -dra)	Shyra, Annara, Ashara, Belandra, Cedra, Desmera, Shiera, Rhaenyra
-an(n)e/-en(n)e/-onne	Aurane, Merianne, Brienne, Olene, Delonne
-ella/-elle	Chella, Leonella, Obella, Ravella, Jorelle, Maegelle, Myrielle, Rhaelle,
-ei (-frei/-lei)	Amerei, Cersei, Janei, Marei, Mellei, Wynafrei, Emberlei, Carolei

These pseudo-suffixes are consistent with the findings related to names in general, where most English female names end in the letters *-a*, *-e*, or *-i* (Barry & Harper 2000). The most common ending for female names in the context of ASOIAF is the suffix *-ra*, with variants including *-ara*, *-dra*, and *-era*. Another variant of the ending *-ra*, which perhaps does not include suffixation but rather a doubling of the last consonant, is found in names such as *Barra*, *Perra*, *Larra*, and *Sarra*, with the addition of the conventional variant *Serra* also found in the corpus.

The endings *-ella* and *-elle*, *-en(n)e*, *-an(n)e* and *-onne* are commonly found in female conventional names. Several of these are commonly used as an extended spelling variation, e.g. *Marianne* as an extended spelling variant of *Marian* (DFN, s.v. “*Marianne*”). They are also typically used in the formation of female names deriving from male names, e.g. *Yvonne*

is the diminutive form of the male name *Yvon* (DFN, s.v. “*Yvonne*”). The pseudo-suffix *-ei* seems to have been invented exclusively for female names in the context of this corpus. It is found, mainly as part of an uncommon spelling variant, e.g. *Ashlei*, however it is rare, i.e. none of the names I found with this ending have ever been ranked among the 1000 most popular names in the US.¹⁸

The pseudo-suffixes in Table 4.4 are exclusively used for female names in the context of ASOIAF. Occasionally, the suffixes in the corpus deviate from general naming practice when it comes to indicating gender, e.g. in the case of the suffix *-lyn*. This is a common and productive suffix in female names in general (DFN, s.v. “*Lynn*”), and is found in the corpus in female names such as the conventional variant *Catelyn*, *Jocelyn*,¹⁹ and invented variant *Meralyn*. However, in the corpus the suffix is just as productive with male names, e.g. the conventional variants *Jacelyn* and *Lyn*,²⁰ as well as the invented variants *Maslyn* and *Vaellyn*.

The most common endings for male names in this corpus (see Table 4.5), in terms of gender marking is *-on*, which is a suffix found in conventional names in general, and *-don* and *-ton*, which are commonly found in place names and U.S. first names derived from place names (DFN, s.v. “*Washington*”).

Table 4.5 Common (pseudo)suffixes in male names.²¹

Suffix	Examples
-on /-eon,	Steffon, Urron, Galyeon, Luceon,
-rion	Salloreon, Aerion, Balerion, Steffarion, Vicatrion
-gon/-lon/-ron	Aegon, Daegon, Sargon, Urrigon, Balon, Daeron, Euron
- don/-ton	Cleighton, Criston, Galladon, Greydon, Luton, Qarlton, Quenton
-is	Donnis, Stannis, Vardis, Wylis, Wilis
-rek/-reg	Torrek, Torek, Toregg, Urek, Urreg
-en	Farlen, Frenken, Thoren, Tommen, Urzen, Wallen, Whalen

¹⁸ According to the results I got from using the “Name Finder Tool” on www.babywizard.com.

¹⁹ *Jocelyn*, and *Jacelyn* can be both male and female (DFN, s.v. “*Jocelyn*”).

²⁰ *Lynn* is a conventional female name (DFN, s.v. “*Lynn*”).

²¹ -o is another common pseudo-suffix found in male names but this is mainly found in foreign male names, see section 4.5

One pseudo-suffix that seems to carry a specific meaning in the context of ASOIAF is *-gon*, notably found in the names of five Targaryen kings, which are all named *Aegon Targaryen*. The Targaryens are closely associated with dragons and the suffix might stem from the word *dragon*. It is also a possible homage to one of Tolkien's coinages, *Aragorn*. On the other hand, the *-gon* ending is not exclusively found in the Targaryen names, e.g. *Urrigon*, *Daegon* and *Sargon* are not Targaryens.

The pseudo-suffix *-ys* is common in both genders, especially in Targaryen names such as the female names *Daenerys*, *Naerys*, and *Rhaenys*, and the male names *Aerys*, *Jaehaenerys*, and *Viserys*, as well as in other foreign (non-Westerosi) names such as *Kraznys*, *Monetrys*, *Orys* and *Varys* (all male names). However, it is also found in Westerosi (or non-foreign) names such as the female names, *Alannys* and *Lollys*, and the male names *Artys*, *Donnys*, *Elys*, *Geradys*, *Halys*, *Lharys*, *Lomys*, and *Melwys*.

4.2 The North

Weathered and harsh, the North is a large but sparsely populated region situated far away from the center of power. In this section, the attention is devoted to two groups called the Northmen and the Free Folk, where the Free Folk are the people who are situated in the land called Beyond the Wall.

The North retains a high degree of influence from the First Men, in old customs such as worshipping the Old Gods and they hold something that is referred to as “the tradition of hospitality” in the highest regard.²² The influence from the First Men is also reflected in their naming practices, e.g. the First Men's names were mainly descriptive English words such as *Strong* and *Stout*. The same kind of short and descriptive words are found in the names of the most powerful houses (families) of the North such as *Stark* (the ruling family), *Wull*, and *Umber*. Additionally, these kinds of names are found with suffixes added to their base, which bear resemblance to those found in conventional occupational or locational family names, e.g. *Glover*, *Bolton*, and *Dustin*. Others are compounds consisting of the same type of descriptive words, such as *Tallhart*, and *Hornwood*, as well as those composed of invented elements, e.g. *Karstark*, *Ryswell*, and *Cerwyn*.

²² Which means that “a man may offer no harm to a guest beneath his roof, nor a guest to his host” (Martin et. al 2014: 138)

The first names used among the Northmen follow the same general tendencies as the rest of Westeros, e.g. with the use of tweaked conventional names such as *Larence* (Lawrence), *Barth* (Garth), and *Cayn* (Cain), invented compounds e.g. *Benfred*, *Harwood*, and *Howland*, and the use of conventional names such as *Jon*, *Roger*, and *Beth*. What stands out in the North is that we find more variants of the name *Eddard* than anywhere else. Eddard is the name of the ruling lord in the North, and as with names in general, people often name children after famous people. The variants of *Eddard* include the conventional variants *Edmund* and *Edwyn*, and the invented variants *Edderion*, *Edri(c)k*, *Edmure*, *Edmyn*, *Edwyd*, *Edwyle*, as well as the female derivation *Eddara*. Additionally, there are several characters either named or nicknamed *Ned*, which is a conventional diminutive form for *Edward* (DFN, s.v. “*Edward*”). The practice in itself, naming people after members of the elite is not restricted to the North and is also found elsewhere on the continent.

Naming repetition, i.e. the same name is used for different people within the same family, is a practice that is more common in the North than in the South. This practice usually involves the same name being given to one person in every other generation. The most common first name in the North is *Brandon*, after the founder of the Stark house and builder of the Wall, *Brandon the Builder*. In the corpus there are ten characters named *Brandon*, eight of whom are named *Brandon Stark*. Apart from one, each *Brandon Stark* also has a byname, e.g. *Brandon the Bad*, *Brandon the Daughterless*, *Brandon the Shipwright*, *Brandon the Burner*, and the current Brandon Stark, in the context of the story, is mainly referred to with the diminutive form *Bran*.

From the same family, there are also three *Benjen Stark*; *Benjen the Bitter*, *Benjen the Sweet*, and the current *Benjen Stark* who is mainly referred to with the short form *Ben*. The pseudo-suffix *-jen* is additionally only found in the North – with one exception found from the Iron Islands (which geographically is situated closer to the North than the South) – in male names such as *Jojen*, and *Norjen*. Furthermore, the names *Richard* and *Rodrik* are names that are repeated in the *Stark* family, with three characters named *Richard Stark*, two without bynames and one called *Richard the Laughing Wolf*. Additionally, there is one *Richard Karstark*, the *Karstarks* in this case being an ancestral branch of the *Stark* family. Finally, there are two characters in this corpus named *Rodrick Stark*, one of whom is called *Rodrick the Wandering Wolf*.

Although the practice of naming repetition is mainly found within the ruling family, there are examples of naming repetition in other families, such as with *(The) Greatjon Umber* and his son *(The) Smalljon Umber*. In addition to *Jon*, the names *Jorah* and *Lyanna* are names that are repeated but not within the same family. These names were first held by members of the *Stark* family, which makes this kind of naming strategy a case of naming after the elite, cf. *Eddard*.

4.2.1 The Free Folk

In the land Beyond the Wall, the northernmost part of Westeros is where the Free Folk are situated. The Free Folk are commonly known as ‘wildlings’ amongst the rest of the continent. They are isolated from the cultural influence and beyond the political control of the Iron Throne. They are not a united people but rather a conglomeration of different tribes, villages, clansmen and any array of cultures but they share a common ancestry with the Northmen. In terms of naming practice what distinguishes them from the Northmen is that the Free Folk do not use family names.

Seen as savages by the rest of the continent (cf. the usage of ‘wildlings’ as a denotation for everyone coming from Beyond the Wall), the Free Folk value their individual freedom over anything else. This is also reflected in the naming practice where everyone is given a single individual name, i.e. names are not repeated as is common in the rest of the North. The exception being two brothers named *Harle the Handsome* and *Harle the Huntsman*. We can draw parallels with this kind of individual naming practice in the early Germanic naming systems, where although most names were dithematic (composed of two name elements) names were not repeated and “the proportion of names to person was roughly one to one” (Wilson 1998: 70).

Another parallel to the Germanic naming system in the Free Folk’s naming practice is the use of alliteration and the passing on of one name element to family members to indicate some kind of attachment or kinship, such as in the case of children of *Tormund Giantsbane*. *Tormund* has five children and they are named using what is called ‘the principle of variation’. This is one of the oldest known name-giving traditions in Europe, and which is also common in the Germanic naming system (Wilson 1998; Nyström et. al 2013). This is when you take one name element from the parent, and pass it on to the child, often meant as a sign of kinship. In the case of two of *Tormund*’s children, the second name element *-mund*, is

passed on to his son his *Dormund* and his daughter *Munda*. *Dormund* could also be said to have been named after his father simply by voicing the initial consonant, replacing <t> with <d>. Additionally *Munda* has an *-a* ending which marks her gender as female. His other two sons are named using the first name element *Tor-*, as well as using alliteration *Toregg the Tall* and *Torwynd the Tame*. Finally, the youngest son is named *Dryn*. This name does not follow any of the above-mentioned patterns. At the same time, it consists of letters that are found in the names of the elder siblings. Additionally, the name of the mother is unknown which makes it difficult to conclude either way.

Alliteration is also found among the Northmen. It is found particularly between parents and children, such as in *Jeor* and his son *Jorah*, or *Berena* and her sons *Beren* and *Brandon*. It is also found between grandparents and grandchildren, e.g. *Wyman* and his sons *Wendel* and *Wyllis*, and in the names of *Wyllis*' daughters *Wynafryd* and *Wylla*, and is particularly common among siblings as seen in the previous examples but even more so in the following example of *Rodrick Ryswell*'s children; his daughters *Bethany* and *Barbrey*, and his sons *Roger*, *Rickard* and *Roose*. The male family members of House Ryswell have alliteration in their full name.

Due to a high rate of infant mortality it is believed that naming an infant brings bad luck and so the Free Folk do not name their children until they are around two years of age. Instead they give their children what is called 'milknames'. There are two babies with known 'milknames' in the corpus of this thesis. These 'milknames' are based on the circumstance surrounding the birth of the children, e.g. the child born during a battle is called *born-in-battle* and the child born as a result of incest is called *the abomination*. Affectionately they are called *the little prince* and *little monster* respectively. While people who are not Free Folk call them *the wildling prince* and *Monster*. The infant called *born-in-battle* grows up to be named *Aemon Steelsong*, also known as *Aemon Battleborn*.

The Free Folk have short simple short names, with male names such *Del*, *Errok*, *Quort* and *Lenyl*, and female names such as *Meha*, *Dyah* and *Ferny*. Some have conventional names such as *Lenn*, *Jarl* and *Holly*. Most Free Folk names are simple names with a byname added to it. These bynames are usually earned one way or the other, either by the characteristics of their personality or appearance, or through skills or deeds, although the exact source of the bynames are not always easy to categorize. Among the leaders of the Free Folk, they all have bynames, with four exceptions; three ancient kings *Gendel*, *Gorne*, and *Joramun*, in addition

to a current leader *Brogg*. Some have earned their name from their physical or mental characteristics such as *Gerrick Redbeard* and *Raymun Redbeard*, *Blind Doss*, and *Ygon Oldfather*, while some through their skills or deeds such as *Alfyn Crowkiller*, *Gavin the Trader*, *Howd Wanderer*, *Devyn Sealskinner*, and *Soren Shieldbreaker*. This includes female leaders such as *Morna White Mask*, *Mother Mole*, and *Harma the Dogshead*, whose names are more difficult to categorize as the names are most likely based on metaphors or metonyms (the semantics of bynames are discussed further in chapter 5). Others are only known by nicknames or aliases, such as *The Horned Lord*, *The Great Walrus*, *The Lord of Bones*, and *The Weeper*. *The Lord of Bones* is additionally known through the use of mock names, such as *Bag o' Bones* and *Rattleshirt*, indicating that he might not be as respected, or as feared as he might set out to be.

Despite having a one name for each person, common people among the Free Folk, i.e. those who are not leaders or chiefs or the like, also have bynames added to their names. This could indicate that the bynames are not needed to distinguish between identical sounding names, but rather are given as part of the first name. The byname can be either in front of the name such as in *Hempen Dan* and *Longspear Ryk*, or after such as in *Arson Iceaxe*, *Henk the Helm* and *Grigg the Goat*. Others have names where it is difficult to determine whether they are bynames or first names, e.g. *Toefinger* and *Big Boil*. However, as these are the only names for these characters they are counted as first names. Some of the Northmen also have names that are difficult to classify as first names or bynames, such as *Hoarfrost*, *Hayhead* and *Alebelly*. Other ambiguous cases include names that have living appellatives, such as *Squirrel* and *Thistle*. In *Squirrel's* case it is known that she obtained her name because of her climbing skills, while *Thistle* seems to belong in a convention in ASOIAF where it is common to give names denoting plants to female characters. The convention is otherwise common in conventional names in general, found in the corpus in names such as *Willow* and *Myrtle*, but with the additional use of unconventional plant names, e.g. *Gilly*.

The northern family names often consist of descriptive English words, whereas the first names follow the general patterns found on the continent as a whole. Naming repetition and alliteration are common naming practices but as we shall see in the following sections not unique to the North. The practice of 'milknames' on the other hand is uniquely found amongst the Free Folk situated Beyond the Wall.

4.3 Dorne

Dorne is southernmost region of Westeros. Although most of the cultural influence stem from the third migration wave, the Rhonyar, the region is a cultural melting pot with influences from all the previous waves of migration. This is particularly reflected in the sheer variety names and name combinations found in the region.

Some family names resemble the northern names, e.g. *Yornwood* and *Folwer*, cf. northern *Hornwood* and *Glover*, whereas family names such as *Qorgyle*, *Allyrion*, and *Santagar*, are names more similar to the southern Andal names. This is due to their shape, as they do not contain any descriptive words, nor are they similar to any place names found in the world. They are perhaps more reminiscent of Latin, Greek or possibly French, or a combination of all three.

The variation is also reflected in the first names, ranging from conventional first names such as *Arthur Dayne*, *Archibald Yornwood*, *Myles Manwoody*, *Edric Dayne* and *Gerold Dayne*, all of which are part of families with roots to the First Men. At the same time, the invented names *Allyria Dayne* and *Ashara Dayne* show the variety within families. The first names of the members of royal family, whose family name is *Nymeros Martell*, also consist of a combination of conventional names, e.g. *Doran*, *Arianne* and *Mariah*, tweaked names, e.g. *Manfrey*, *Trystane*, and *Lewyn*, as well as invented names such as *Oberyn*, and *Maron*. Furthermore, the royal family name itself *Nymeros Martell* is a result of a marriage between the Rhoynish invader *Princess Nymeria* and a Dornish lord named *Mors Martell*.

Dorne is also a special case when it comes to its integration into the Seven Kingdom, because unlike the rest of the regions, Dorne chose to incorporate their region voluntarily. In this they gained certain concession, e.g. the right to style themselves with the titles of Prince and Princess. The ruling family in Dorne therefore has *Prince* and *Princess* as parts of their names, e.g. *Prince Doran Nymeros Martell*, *Prince Oberyn Nymeros Martell* and *Princess Elia Nymeros Martell*.

Dorne is otherwise a more liberal and less conservative region than the rest, with customs that set it apart from the rest of the continent. This includes customs such as inheritance being based on sequence of birth, rather than gender, which is the rule in Westeros in general. This is also reflected in the way names are changed after marriage, whereas in the rest of Westeros a woman will always take the name of her husband, regardless of her title, e.g. *Lady Catelyn Tully*, a highborn noble woman is called *Lady Stark* (or *Lady Catelyn*) after

her marriage to *Lord Eddard Stark*. A Dornish princess on the other hand will usually not take the name of her consort. This is a custom which is also followed by some of the major houses in Dorne, e.g. *Lady Larra Blackmont*'s children are named *Jynessa Blackmont* and *Perros Blackmont*, which means that it is *Larra*'s family name, and not that of her husband (which in this case is unknown) that is passed to her children. The exception to this Dornish custom is found in *Princess Elia Nymeros Martell* as she married the crown prince of Westeros, *Rhaegar Targaryen*. They have the children *Rhaenys Targaryen* and *Aegon Targaryen*. Thus, it is likely that Dornish people living outside of Dorne adopt the local customs. Furthermore, marrying the crown prince is likely to bring its own set of customs and rules.

Another striking custom is that illegitimate children²³ do not suffer the social stigma and loss of inheritance rights in Dorne, as they would otherwise in Westeros. This can for example be seen in the thought of *Princess Arianne Nymeros Martell*: "Arianne loved all her bastard cousins, from prickly, hot-tempered Obara to little Loreza, the youngest, only six years old. Tyene had always been the one she loved the most, though; the sweet sister she never had." (Martin 2005: 591) However, they are still given 'bastard names', which in the case of Dorne is *Sand*. At the same time, the illegitimate daughters of *Prince Oberyn Nymeros Martell*, some of which are mentioned in the quote above, are considered to be a fierce group of fighters. They are called the Sand Snakes, as a play on their 'bastard name' *Sand*, as well as their father's *The Red Snake*. 'Bastard names' are discussed further in section 5.4.

4.4 The South

The South constitutes the remaining parts of Westeros. It is the political center of power with the Iron Throne located in the capital, and with a climate that is more forgiving than in the North. The Andals had a stronger influence in the South than elsewhere, which in terms of naming is reflected mainly in that the names are less transparent in terms of the use of common English words, than those in the North. The exception being a region called the Iron Islands which is situated in the oceans just outside the middle of the continent.

The South shares some similarities in terms of naming with the North, especially when looking at the family names. There are for example names that resemble occupational family names, e.g. *Hunter* and *Piper*, as well as compounded names that consist of descriptive

²³ In the context of ASOIAF they are referred to as 'bastards'.

words, e.g. *Oakhart*, *Kettleblack*, *Blackwood*, and *Smallwood*. However, it is difficult to say whether these names actually stem from the First Men or not. At the same time, the words used in the compounded family names in the south consist of words with more cheerful associations, e.g. *Merryweather*, *Goodbrook*, and *Hightower*. These kinds of name would not fit in with the more stern and solemn image of the North.

The majority of the southern family names, however, do not consist of easily recognizable English words as they do in the North. The name mostly short, either monosyllabic, e.g. *Royce*, *Vance*, *Tarth* and *Brax*, or disyllabic, e.g. *Arryn*, *Selmy*, *Tyrell*, *Tully* and *Clegane*, and some of them might resemble appellatives such as *Frey*, *Paeye*, *Slynt* and *Swyft*. Some names resemble the shape of British place names such *Beesbury*, *Clifton*, *Connington*, *Lannister*, *Lychestor*, *Lefford*, *Stokeworth* and *Seaworth*, while others resemble non-English place names such as *Estermont*, *Bar Emmon* and *Hollard*, which are perhaps more reminiscent of French place names. Others again are more difficult to place, but they do sound more exotic than the northern names, e.g. *Dondarrion*, *Baratheon*, and *Baelish*. Additionally, several of the family names denote nature related concepts such as *Plumm*, *Crane*, *Crabb*, and *Swann*.

Repetition of a name element in first names is a common trait among the southern families. This is perhaps most noticeable in the Targaryen family, where the element *-ae-* is a particular prominent feature, found word-initially in male names, e.g. *Aegon*, *Aemon(d)*, *Aerys*, *Aenys*, and most commonly found with a consonant preceding it (in both female and male names), e.g. *Baelor*, *Daella*, *Daemon*, *Daenerys*, *Daeron*, *Daemon*, *Maegor*, *Maekar*, *Naerys*, and *Vaella*. It is even repeated within the same name, e.g. *Jaehaerys*. Two other elements which also appear frequently within the Targaryen family are *rh-*, e.g. *Rhaegar*, *Rhaella*, *Rhaena*, *Rhaenyra*, *Rhaenys*, and *vise-* in names such as *Visenya*, and *Viserys*. In terms of gender distinction some of the names follow the general trends of Westeros, e.g. names ending in *-mon*, *-gon* and *-ron* are exclusively male names, e.g. *Aegon*, *Daemon*, and *Daeron*, and names ending in *-a* are exclusively female, e.g. *Daella*, *Rhaenyra*, and *Visenya*, while the ending *-rys* can be both female, e.g. *Daenerys* and male, e.g. *Aerys*, *Jaehaerys*, and *Viserys*. The same goes for *-nys*, which is found both in female names, e.g. *Rhaenys*, and male names, e.g. *Aenys*.

The Targaryen family ruled Westeros for several hundred years, but the family stems originally from the foreign continent of Essos, which is reflected in their names as the

elements mentioned above (*-ae-*, *rh-* and *vise-*) are not commonly found in other Westerosi first names. There are some exceptions, however, in non-Targaryen names such as *Maegel*, *Maerie*, *Margaery*, *Aethan*, *Daegon*, and *Praed*, in which it is likely that *-ae-* is an extended spelling variant of <a>, similar to that found in occupational titles such as *maester* (a healer/scholar), or in conventional names in general such as *Michael*. Additionally, there are two Targaryen first names that stand out from the rest, in that they do not include the typical Targaryen features mentioned above, *Alysanne* and *Duncan*. In the case of *Duncan*, it is explicitly stated that he is named after his father's best friend. Less is known about the origin of the name *Alysanne* but as it is amongst the most frequent names found in the corpus (cf. Table 4.1) it might reflect the popularity of *Alysanne Targaryen* as she is also known as *Good Queen Alysanne*.

In the *Lannister* family there are two elements that are repeated through generation. The first one is *Ty-*, e.g., with grandfather *Tyos*, his sons *Tyget* and *Tywin*, and their sons *Tyrek* and *Tyryon* respectively. Additionally, there are a few of ancestral *Lannisters* named *Tywald* and *Tybolt*. Secondly, the use of <G> and <J> as initial letters and as a possible realization of /dʒ/ in the names of *Lannister* through generations, e.g. *Joanna*, *Genna*, *Gerion* for one generation, in the next generation we find *Jamie*, *Joy* and *Janei*, and in the third we find *Joffrey*.

Other family naming practices include naming siblings with similar endings, such as *-anne/-enne* in *Arianne*, *Alysanne* and *Brienne*, as well as with *-or* in *Gregor* and *Sandor*. Similarly, children are named with the same ending as their father, e.g. *Janos'* children are named *Morros*, *Jothos* and *Danos*. Alliterations is common, as it is found in families such as in House *Kettleblack* the father is named *Oswell* and his sons are named *Osmund*, *Osfryd*, and *Osney*, here the *Os-* element is repeated. Similarly, alliteration is found in the *Seaworth* family, in which the parents are named *Davos* and *Marya*, and their children are named *Dale* and *Devan*, *Matthos* and *Maric*. Furthermore, the two youngest sons are named *Stannis* and *Steffon*, both named after famous people in ASOIAF. There is also a son with a name that does agree with this pattern who is named *Allard*.

Additionally, there is one name that is highly productive as a source name for derivational variants and that is the name *Walder*. It is likely a tweaked version of the conventional name *Walter* and the name *Walder* is the first name of eleven individual characters in the corpus. There are six characters who share the female derivation *Walda*, with

the characteristic female *-a* ending, as their first name. Moreover, the conventional variant *Walton* is found in the corpus a long with the derived male variants *Waldon* and *Waltyr*. Furthermore, these first names are mainly found within the same family, viz. House Frey.

Titles are a crucial part of life in the South as they function as important social markers. The monarch is addressed with the honorific “Your Grace”, and usually wears the following titles: [first name] *of the House* [family name], [ordinal number] *of His/Her Name King/Queen of the Andals and the Rhoynar and the First Men, Lord of the Seven Kingdoms and Protector of the Realm*, e.g. Robert of the House Baratheon, First of his Name, King of the Andals, and the Rhoynar, and the First Men, Lord of the Seven Kingdoms and Protector of the Realm. These titles underline the importance of the historical events of the previously mentioned waves of invasion.

Titles are particularly important for the nobility as the society, especially in the South, the society is strictly hierarchical. The practice of using honorific titles is similar to that found in the English naming history, where the nobility is referred to as “Lord” and “Lady”, and these titles are hereditary (Wilson 1998:179). This means of addressing the lords and ladies seems to vary and familiarly seems to play an important part in how lords and ladies are addressed, e.g. in the following quote where King Renly addresses three different lords, in three different ways: “*Lord Mathis* you shall lead the center of my main battle. *Bryce*, you’ll have the left. The right is mine. *Lord Estermont*, you shall command the reserve” [my emphasis] (Martin [1998] 2003: 353).

The three people mentioned are all lords, and all allies of *Renly* but they are addressed in different ways. *Lord Mathis* is addressed with his title and first name, while *Lord Estermont* is addressed with his title and family name. *Bryce* on the other hand is only addressed by his first name but he is also a lord. This way of addressing seems to reflect familiarity and intimacy and the degree of formality correlates with *Renly*’s relationship to the lords; *Lord Estermont* is one of *Renly*’s vassal lords, *Lord Mathis* is a close advisor and *Bryce* is one of the king’s personal bodyguards. This would make title followed by a family name the most formal construction, and title followed by a first name a formal construction but signaling more familiarity. Finally, the use of the first name only signals a more intimate relationship in which formality is not expected.

The hereditariness of titles makes social mobility difficult. There are however titles one can earn, e.g. the title that comes with knighthood. The custom stems from the Andals,

whose influence is most prominent in the South, as one of the requirements of becoming a knight is that one has to swear a holy oath to the New Gods (the Faith of the Seven). This is one of the reasons why one sees so few men from the North knighted as they usually worship the Old Gods (Martin et. al 2014). All knights are given the honorific title “Ser” which precedes their first name, e.g. *Ser Loras*. Titles such as Lord, Lady and Ser are additionally often found in bynames that are used as mock names, e.g. *Ser Grandfather* (Barristan Selmy), *Onion Lord* (Davos Seaworth), and *Lady Imp* (Penny). Titles as bynames are discussed further in chapter 5.

One naming practice that is especially prominent in the South is the practice of renouncing one’s name in order to serve a higher purpose, which is employed by for example religious servants and scholars. When taking their vows to serve the Faith of the Seven, people renounce their family name and are given the titles “Septa” and “Septon” to precede their first name, e.g. *Septa Mordane* or *Septon Bennet*. The leader of the Faith is only referred to as “the High Septon” and has renounced his entire name. Scholars and healers, called Maester, also renounce their family name upon finishing their education. This is done to show that they can loyally serve whichever castle they are sent to.

4.4.1 The Iron Islands

The Iron Islands is one of the southern regions, which is situated outside the western coast of Westeros, around the middle of the continent. The Iron Islands is a grim place, and the people living there are often described as harsh and mean. They are also a fierce and seafaring people which produces associations with the Vikings of real life. This is also reflected in the names as either names of actual Old Norse origin are used such as *Erik*, *Ulf*, and *Rolfe* (DFN, s.v. “*Eirik*”, “*Rolf*” & “*Ulf*”), or slightly tweaked versions of Old Norse names, e.g. *Ragnor*, *Dagmer* and *Torwold Browntooth* (DFN, s.v. “*Ragnar*”, “*Dagmar*” & “*Torvald*”) are found in the corpus. There are also traces of names compounded according to the Germanic fashion, with the use of pseudo-morphemes in names such as *Boremund*, *Gormond* and *Harmund*. The female names from the Iron Islands are few but include names such as *Gwin*, *Gwynesse* and *Gysella*, as well as *Esgred*, *Kojja*, *Helya* and *Asha*, with seemingly no clear common features.

There is one family with a distinct practice of passing on a name element. It is found in the Greyjoy family in which *Quellon Greyjoy* has nine sons, all, except one, with names ending in the pseudo-suffix *-on*: *Harlon*, *Quenton*, *Balon*, *Euron*, *Victarion*, *Urrigon*, and

Aeron, as well as his grandson *Theon*. The exception is *Donel*, which does contain *-on-*, albeit not as an ending. This element is also found in another family, House Botley, in which there are the names *Bennarion*, *Harlon*, *Quellon* and *Maron*. This pseudo-suffix is not exclusively found in names from the Iron Islands but is more common here than elsewhere. One name element that is exclusively found in names from the Iron Island is *Urr-* in the names *Urrathon* (also spelled *Urragon*), *Urron*, and *Urras*, as well as the above-mentioned *Urrigon*.

The family names from the Iron Islands seem to have more in common with the northern family names. They have family names resembling occupational family names such as *Ironmaker*, *Shepherd* and *Weaver*, or compounds such as *Greyjoy*, *Greyiron*, *Balcktyde* and *Farwynd*. Additionally, some are short, and often homonyms with appellatives, e.g. *Humble*, *Sharp*, *Drumm*, *Tawny*, and *Codd*, which also resembles the descriptive style of the northern names. All of these names seem to emphasize the grimness and harsh demeanor of their bearers, as well as the topography of the Islands themselves. Furthermore, there are family names such as *Harlaw*, *Hoare* and *Botley* which seemingly do not have any transparent source word or meaning but which can still be reminiscent of appellatives related to the coastal life, e.g. harbor, roar and boat.

4.5 Foreignness realized in names from ASOIAF

The sense of foreignness is subjective and often based on one's native tongue (Burelbach 1982; Robinson 2013) and this section looks at how foreignness can be reflected in different ways. The name examples are based on the following ethnic groups in ASOIAF: the citizens from the Free Cities, the Dothraki, and the people from Ghiscar and the Summer Isles. The groups are divided based on geographical distance to Westeros, all located on or near the foreign continent called Essos. The Free Cities are located on the west coast of Essos and are therefore geographically closer than the Dothraki, who are located on the inland steps of the continent, while Ghiscar and the Summer Isles are located the furthest away from Westeros. The groups are divided by geographical location based on the hypothesis that there is a correlation between geographical distance and the perceived foreignness of the names (H2). Thus, it is expected that characters that originate from the places furthest away from Westeros will have the most foreign names.

4.5.1 The Free Cities

The Free Cities are a common name for nine independent city states found on the foreign continent Essos.²⁴ Although each city has its own features, the names of the characters from these places will be discussed as one group. The city states can be seen as analogies to the real-world Greco-Roman city states, which is not only mirrored in the climate or description of the cities but also reflected in the style of the names.

Most of the names from the citizens are simple names, e.g. *Doreah*, *Shae*, and *Varys*. While bynames are most commonly found as aliases in the names of prostitutes, e.g. *Daughter of the Dusk*, *The Lady of the Leaves*, *The Merling Queen*, *The Moonshadow*, *The Nightingale*, *The Poetess*, *The Sailor's Wife*, and *The Veiled Lady*. Most of these names seem to play on the euphemism 'a lady of the night', emphasized by the lexical meaning of the name elements, e.g. *dusk*, *moon*, *shadow*, *veil* and *nightingale*, which can bring to mind associations with *night*. The lack of a family name emphasizes the foreignness of the character, and this is especially evident in characters that travel to Westeros, as *Varys* explains to *Shae*: "You have one name. As do I. Here only the family name matters" (Game of Thrones 2013). The characters from Essos, located in Westeros, often have locative bynames such as *Alia of Braavos*, *Serala of Myr*, *Thoros of Myr*, *Pello of Tyrosh*, or *The Braavosi* (Tycho Nestrosis). This further emphasizes their foreignness as it underlines how the characters are not from Westeros. There are a few examples of characters who take Westerosi names through marriage, e.g. *Taena Merryweather* and *Mellarion Nymeros Martell* have both taken their husband's family name. Additionally, some characters do have names that resemble family names, e.g. *Daario Naharis*, *Moreo Tumits*, *Sallador Saan*, *Khorane Sathmantes*, and *Illyrio Mopatis*. These characters are either captains, merchants or magisters which suggest that family names, in the Free Cities, are reserved for those characters who are wealthy or powerful.

The style of the names seems to coincide with the analogies to Greek and Roman sounding names. This sense of style is however more closely related to stereotypical imitations of Greek or Roman sounding names, rather than resembling the shape of actual Greek and Roman names. These typically consisted of three names; a first name, a name that reflected kinship or group belonging, and a byname (Wilson 1998). An example of a

²⁴ The Free Cities consists of the following cities; Braavos, Lorath, Lys, Myr, Norvos, Pentos, Qohor, Tyrosh and Volantis.

stereotypical trait is names ending in *-is/-ys*, which is commonly found in diminutive form for male names in Greek in names in general (Lawson 2016) and is found in the presumed family names of citizens of the Free Cities, e.g. *Noho Dimittis*, *Roro Uhoris* and *Tersio Terys*. Other examples include names that seem to imitate names of Romance origin, e.g. *Mordeo Prestayn*, *Qarro Volentin*, and *Ferrego Antaryon*.

Similar to the Westerosi names, the endings of the names from the Free Cities marks the gender of the name-bearer. The endings that are used do, however, differ from the endings used in Westerosi names. In male names the most common ending is *-o*, as seen in names such as *Gyloro*, *Gyleno*, *Noho*, *Ferrego*, *Qarro*, *Roro*, *Yorko*, *Tersio*, *Denyo*, *Oro*, *Mordeo* and *Luco*. The female names are more varied, but with similar endings as the Westerosi female names (see Table 4.4) in names such as *Bellonara*, *Brea*, and *Doreah*, *Umma* and *Meralyn*. The exception is the female name *Mellario*, which ends in the pseudo-suffix *-rio*. Based on the number of names in the corpus, this pseudo-suffix is more commonly found in male names, e.g. *Syrrio*, *Illyrio* and *Daario*, than in female names.

There is also a unique naming practice in one of the Free Cities, the city called Lorath, where it is customary to avoid using names all together. Furthermore, it is seen as vulgar to refer to oneself through personal pronouns such as *I* or *me*. Instead the citizens of Lorath refer to themselves using *a man* or *a woman*, e.g. in the following quote where *Jaquen H'gar* is speaking to *Arya*. *Jaquen H'gar* refers to himself as 'a man' and to *Arya* as 'girl':

The Red God has his due, sweet girl, and only death may pay for life. This girl took three that were his. This girl must give three in their place. Speak the names, and a man will do the rest. (Martin [1998] 2003: 341)

Jaquen H'gar also refers to *R'hllor*, as *The Red God*, which not an uncommon name for the deity but is still a deliberate avoidance of the name. The name *Jaquen H'gar* itself is another example, along with *R'hllor* and *S'vrone*, of how foreignness is realized in the names, viz. in the use of an apostrophe. The use of the apostrophe does not only make the name look unfamiliar, as this is not a common construction in English names, but it also makes the name more difficult to pronounce. This enhances the foreignness of the name, and as Burelbach (1982) puts it:

What is most noticeable about such names is their utter alienness, evoked not only by their lexical opacity and their unfamiliarity, but even more by the difficulty, and in some cases impossibility, of pronouncing them, as if they were not made for modern, or even human, mouths to utter (Burelbach 1982: 142).

Although Burelbach (1982) uses different examples when he talks about “such names”,²⁵ the shape is still similar to the examples from the corpus, especially the name *R'hllor*, which resembles Lovecraftian coinages.

4.5.2 Dothraki

Another major nomenclature in ASOIAF is the Dothraki. The Dothraki are a nomadic people, who live in large groups and spend most of their lives on horseback. The leader of the group is always the strongest fighter and bears the title *khal* as part of his name, e.g. *Khal Drogo*, *Khal Bharbo* and *Khal Jhaqo*. The nomadic lifestyle combined with the use of *khal* can be seen as an analog to the real-world khans of the Mongolian empire.

All the Dothraki names in the corpus are invented names in the shape of disyllabic simple names, e.g. *Aggo*, *Haggo* and *Iggo*, with the exception of three names, *Rakharo*, *Cohollo* and *Rhogoro*. The male names have distinct vowel patterns. All the male names end with <o>, which can be preceded by <a>, e.g. *Mago* and *Quaro*, <e>, e.g. *Khal Temmo* and *Khal Zekko* and in one case <i>, e.g. *Iggo*. The <o> can also be repeated, e.g. *Zollo*, *Rakharo* and *Khal Moro*. This pattern is also followed to some extent by *Daenerys*, who is not a Dothraki, when naming her and *Khal Drogo*'s son:

What is meaning, name *Rhaego*? *Khal Drogo* asked as they walked [...] ‘My brother *Rhaegar* was a fierce warrior, my sun-and-stars,’ she told him. ‘He died before I was born. Ser Jorah says that he was the last of the dragons.’ [...] ‘Is good name, Dan Ares wife, moon of my life,’ he said (Martin [1996] 2016: 520, my emphasis).

²⁵ Burelbach uses the following examples “Mmatmuor, R'lin K'ren A'a, Qar, and Xiurhn”.

At the same time, the name is a clear combination of both Targaryen elements *rh-* and *-ae-* and the ending of *Khal Drogo*'s name, *-go*, which is a typical Dothraki male name ending. In naming her other three 'children', who are dragons, she uses a slightly different approach.

“The green one shall be *Rhaegal*, for my valiant brother who died in the green banks of the Trident. The cream-and-gold I call *Viserion*.

[...] “And the black beast?” asked Ser Jorah Mormont.

“The black,” she said, “is *Drogon*.” (Martin [1998] 2003: 141, my emphasis)

In the names of her dragons, *Daenerys* uses the name of people she has lost as a base. She names her dragons for her two brothers *Rhaegar* and *Viserys*, and for her husband *Khal Drogo*. *Drogon* and *Viserion* both have the common male ending *-on*, while *Rhaegar* is more a tweaked version of *Rhaegar* and thus the name is formed in a fashion that is more similar to the Westerosi naming practices than those of the Dothraki.

There are only two female Dothraki names in the corpus, *Irri* and *Jhiqui*, yet they are clearly distinguishable from the male names. They do, however, seem to follow the same pattern regarding vowel patterns as the male names, but using different vowels. In this case <i> is repeated in both names. The vowel <i> is often considered a light vowel as opposed to the dark vowels <o> and <a>, which emphasize the difference in the names. Furthermore, this distinction is in accordance with name in general where <i> is more frequently used in stressed syllables of female names than in male names. Additionally, the light vowel sound /i/ is often associated with smallness, brightness and femininity, while the darker vowels /oo/ and /ɑ/²⁶ are often associated with largeness and masculinity (De Klerk & Bosch 1997; Elsen 2010; Pogacar et.al 2015), which again emphasizes the distinction between the female names and male names.

4.5.3 Ghiscar and The Summer Isles

Among the groups that are situated the furthest away from Westeros are the characters from Ghiscar and the Summer Isles.

²⁶ Pronunciation according to the official pronunciation guide for the TV-series (Making Game of Thrones Blog, 2011).

The Summer Isles are a large collection of islands located south of Essos. There are not many examples of names in the corpus but the few examples that are collected are interesting because they stand out from the rest. Firstly, they stand out because of their length, with names such as *Alayaya*, *Chataya*, and *Quhuru Mo*. Furthermore, one vowel is repeated throughout the name, e.g. <a> in *Alayaya* and *Chataya*, and <u> in *Quhuru*. Additionally, there is a more extended use of uncommon letters and letter combinations, than with English names in general, involving <x> and <q>, e.g. *Jalabhar Xho*, *Xhondo*, and *Tal Toraq*. This use of uncommon letters emphasizes the foreignness of the names.

Ghiscar, once a powerful empire, can be seen as an analogue to a combination of the real-world Ottoman empire and the Persian empire. In the Ghiscari names, the use of the letters <z> and <q> is particularly widespread as seen in names such as *Azzak zo Ghazeen*, *Draquaz*, *Grazdan mo Eraz*, *Grazhar*, *Grazdar*, *Hargahaz*, *Hazrak zo Loraq*, *Larraq*, *Marghaz zo Loraq*, *Reznak mo Reznak*, *Skahaz mo Kandaq*, *Zaraq zo Loraq*. This often occurs in combination with uncommon consonant combinations such as <bh>, e.g. *Bhakaz zo Loraq*, <dh>, e.g. *Dhazzar*, *Mazdhan zo Loraq*, <kl>, e.g. *Miklaz*, and <hr>, e.g. *Hizdahr zo Loraq*, *Khrazz*. This unusual combination of letters seems to imitate Arabic sounds. At least it seems to imitate the idea an English speaker might have of Arabic, however not necessarily actual Arabic morphology.

It is not clear whether the Ghiscari use family names or not. Some use a second name in combination with their first name, e.g. *Galazza Galare*, *Kezmya Phal* and *Mezzara Merreq*. This shape is similar to the Westerosi names, which consists of the combination of a first name and a family name, but it is unclear if these names are considered family names in the context of the story. Furthermore, the shape of the second names can also be the following: *Hizdahr zo Loraq* and *Skahaz mo Kandaq*. The shape of these names resembles the Westerosi locative names such as *Jenny of Oldstone* and *Donnel of Duskendale*, or in names such as *Alia of Braavos*, *Assadora of Ibben*, and *Goghan of Old Ghis*. At the same time, the shape also resembles the patronymic ‘son of’, which in Westeros is mainly found in the names of clan members, e.g. *Chella daughter of Cheyk*, *Crawn son of Calor*, *Dolf son of Holger*, *Gunthor son of Gurn*, *Shagga son of Dolf*, *Ulf son of Umar*, and *Conn son of Coratt*.²⁷ This is especially notable in names that include naming repetition, e.g. *Timett son of Timett* and

²⁷ As both ‘daughter of’ and ‘son of’ is used, and the gender of the names that follow is uncertain, thus it is ambiguous whether these names are patronyms or metronyms.

Reznak mo Reznak. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that *zo* and *mo* are of similar meaning to that of the locative ‘of’, or the patronymic ‘son of’.

The use of imitations of stereotypes can make it easier for the reader to adjust and to orientate around the constructed world. The names seem to mirror certain cultures and naming practices found in the real world, e.g. the Dothraki as an analogue to the Mongols or the patronymic naming systems which are no longer as evident in the UK or the US but that still exist (cf. *Mac* and *O’*). The use of distinct nomenclatures is used to emphasize cultural and ethnic differences thus confirm hypothesis 1 (H1). Furthermore, the geographical distances also correlate with the perceived foreignness of the names as the further away we go from Westeros the more foreign the names look. Thus, hypothesis 2 (H2) is also confirmed.

4.6 Naming strategies in *The Stormlight Archive*

All the names in TSA are invented, except for the following three examples: *Fin*, *May* and *Liss*, which can all be considered conventional. Additionally, there are no identical names, except for one, *Torol*, which is a first name that is shared by two characters. In this section the focus is on how the ethnic or cultural differences are reflected in the names. The author himself has stated that he deliberately tries to use the names of characters to place and characterize the characters of his invented universe. The names “must give clues to the nature of the cultures involved, otherwise we might as well call the hero *Tom* as opposed to *Raoden*” (“Creating the Language of Elantris”).

A brief description of the invented world in TSA, Roshar, will be presented, followed by a short description of some of the main traits of the Alethi culture. Alethi is in the present thesis defined as the central culture and form the basis for comparison with the so-called foreign cultures. The foreign culture in the present thesis include cultures that are distinct and clearly distinguishable from the Alethi culture. The aim of this section is to look at how cultural or ethnic differences are mirrored in the names of the characters. This section will also discuss how foreignness is reflected in non-human characters.

4.6.1 Naming strategies in the central culture

The people of Roshar are divided into different kingdoms, the largest and most dominant of which is inhabited by the Alethi. Due to their dominance in the story, and the fact that the Alethi names constitutes nearly half the corpus,²⁸ the Alethi are considered the central culture.

The main characteristics of the Alethi culture is that it is a highly hierarchical society, in which one's rank is determined by eye color. The ranking system is based on the religious belief that people with lighter eye colors are set to rule those with darker eye color. Consequently, people are divided into two main social casts based on the color of their eyes. People with a lighter eye color, are called 'lighteyes' and these people constitute the nobility and elite of the society. Thus, the people with darker colored eyes, called 'darkeyes', occupy the lower ranks of society. The Alethi are a warring people, which further emphasizes the value of rank. Their rank is also marked by titles such as *Brightlord* and *Brightness*, which further emphasize the divide between 'lighteyes' and 'darkeyes'. The division is also reflected in the name where 'darkeyes' tend to have short, simple names such as *Jest*, *Misal* and *Alim*, while the 'lighteyes' tend have longer and more elaborate names such as *Eshava*, *Jakamav* and *Sebarial*. Additionally, only the 'lighteyes' have family names.

Certain elements are also seen as more typical 'lighteye' than 'darkeye', e.g. the use of certain pseudo-suffixes is more common in the names of the elite. This can be illustrated by the following quote where *Dalinar Kholin*, an Alethi prince, is naming his firstborn son:

"Name..." Dalinar said. "Adoda." Light. He glanced toward Evi, who nodded in agreement. "Without a suffix, my lord? Adodan? Adodal?"
"Lin," Dalinar whispered. Born unto. "Adolin". A good name, traditional, full of meaning. (Sanderson 2017: 439).

From this quote we learn a bit about the Alethi naming practice, in which tradition and meaning of the name seem to be important elements. Additionally, we learn that the name *Adolin* consists of the invented morpheme (or pseudo-morpheme) *adoda* 'light', combined with the invented suffix (or pseudo-affix) *-lin* 'born unto'.

²⁸ Half of the names collected from TSA, not the corpus as a whole.

From the quote above we also learn that both the pseudo-suffixes *-dan* and *-dal* are common in Alethi names. The pseudo-suffixes do not seem to indicate gender, as they are found in two names in the corpus, one female name *Aesudan*, and one male name *Thanadal*. The pseudo-suffixes seem more likely to indicate social status, as both of the previously mentioned names, along with *Adolin*, are royal characters. This is further supported by a comment made about the ‘darkeyed’ soldier *Kaladin*’s name: “What is your name? ‘Kaladin.’ Odd. That sounded like a lighteye’s name” (Sanderson 2010). The pseudo-suffix *-lin* is also found in other members of the elite, e.g. *Idrin*, *Jenin*, and *Sidin*, but also in the names of ‘darkeyed’ soldiers, e.g. *Bashin*, *Bordin*, and *Pedin*. Although the soldiers are ‘darkeyes’ they are described either as high-ranked or among the most trusted which would give them a high status. Additionally, as the Alethi culture revolves around warfare, the soldiers have relatively good opportunities for social mobility as they can rise in rank through their military achievements. Furthermore, a similar pseudo-suffix *-in* is found in the names of characters who hold other important positions in the context of TSA, e.g. in the names *Matain*, *Lhanin* and *Lirin*, whose bearers hold the position as a meteorologist, a religious servant and a surgeon respectively. Unlike *-dan* and *-dal*, however, *-lin* seems to also indicate gender as it is only found in male names.

The pseudo-affixes *-nar* and *-nor* seem to have a similar function to the previously mentioned pseudo-suffixes as these also seem to mark social status and are found in names such as *Dalinar*, *Gavinor*, *Ralinor*, and *Salinor*. In these names we additionally find that *-lin-* is not only used as a suffix but also found word-medially as an infix. Moreover, the pseudo-affixes *-nar* and *-nor* seem to indicate ‘elite male’ as it is only found in the corpus as part of the names of high-ranking male characters such as kings and high-ranking soldiers. The use of the pseudo-suffixes in naming can be illustrated with the following quote when *Dalinar* learns the name of his second son, *Renarin*:

“Renarin?” Dalinar said, trying to work out the name. He hadn’t picked that.
“Rekher... no, Re...” “Re,” Evi said. “From my language. Nar, after his father. In, to be born unto.” Stormfather, that was a butchering of the language. Dalinar fumbled, trying to work through it. Nar meant “like unto.” “What does ‘Re’ mean in your language?” Dalinar asked, scratching his face. “It has no meaning,” Evi said. “It is simply the name. It means our son’s name, or him.” Dalinar groaned softly. So the child’s name was “Like one who was born unto himself.” Delightful (Sanderson 2017: 515)

This illustrates that *-nar-* can also be used word-internally. Furthermore, the quote illustrates the conservative attitudes of *Dallinar*, as a possible representation of the conservative attitudes regarding naming traditions in the Alethi culture.

Moreover, it seems that similar pseudo-affixes such as *-kar* and *-lar*, might be variants of *-nar* as it is found in names such as *Elhokar*, *Gavilar*, and *Tinalar* whose name-bearers are either kings or ‘shardbearers’ (the highest rank possible) or both. The pseudo-affixes might not necessarily share the same meaning, but they share the same function as they all suggest ‘male’ and ‘elite’. Additionally, *Elhokar*, *Gavilar*, and *Dalinar* (and of course *Renarin*) are all related, which also shows that certain elements are repeated as a mean of family naming.

An additional trait in the Alethi culture that concerns names and naming is that palindromes and name symmetry are aspects that are considered holy. A palindrome is a “word or a sequence of words that reads, letter for letter, the same backwards as forwards” (OED). The importance of palindromes can be illustrated in the following quote about the name *Ialai*: “Her name was symmetrical. A tiny bit of blasphemy from her parents – some people dared imply such holiness of their children” (Sanderson 2010). Other palindromic names include, *Kalak* (aka *Kelek*) and *Vedeleddev* who are actual holy figures within the context of TSA. Furthermore, there are the first names *Laral* and *Rilir* in addition to the above-mentioned *Ialai*, as well as the family name *Amaram*. Moreover, there are several names that are partly or almost symmetrical, e.g. *Navani*, *Naram*, *Havarah* and *Shalash*.

4.6.2 Naming strategies in the foreign cultures

The following three cultures are compared with the central culture, Thaylen, Shin, and Unkalaki. These are all examples of cultures that in the story are considered to be foreign, and this is reflected in how each culture has a distinct nomenclature. Furthermore, both distance and foreignness seem to be reflected in the names. The foreign cultures are meant to be examples for comparison to the central culture and are only given a limited amount of attention. Each foreign culture represents a different way of reflecting foreignness in the names.

4.6.2.1 *Thaylen names*

The Thaylen people are situated on an island outside Roshar. The people share some common cultural features such as religious beliefs but have mainly their own local customs and beliefs.

Regarding the Thaylen names, these are immediately set apart from the Alethi due to their lack of vowels, as can be seen in Table 4.6. The lack of vowels reflects a distinct feature of Thaylen culture, viz. that the writing system is an abjad, i.e. it is a consonantal alphabet without symbols for vowels. This distinct feature is very different, not only from the Alethi names, but English names in general and the foreignness is enhanced by the fact that the lack of vowel makes the name harder to pronounce for English-speakers. However, we do not actually know how the Thaylen writing system looks like, and the books are written in English and so the names include vowel symbols. This can also be emphasized in how *F'en Rnamdi*, often is referred to as *Queen Fen*. This function as a sort of translation which makes the name even more familiar to the English reader as it is easier to pronounce.

Table 4.6 *Thaylen names*

Female	Ashlv, F'en Rnamdi (aka Queen Fen), Hmalka, Kmaki, Rysn
Male	Artmyrn, Fladm, Kylrm, Mraize, Mrall, Nanhel Eltorv, Nlent, Tlik, Tozbek, Tvlakv, Vstim, Wmlak, Yalb

4.6.2.2 *Shin names*

The Shin are also a people that is geographically separated from the rest of Roshar, in this case by high mountain range. Due to their isolation, not much is known about Shin culture, and thus they are often seen as barbaric by the rest of Roshar. The Shin names also immediately stand out when compared with the Alethi names due to their shape. The names are in the shape of patronyms (or metronyms), as seen in Table 4.7, in which the relationship of a parent, or another relative, is part of the name.

Table 4.7 *Shin names*

Male	Female
Gashash-son-Navammis	Ali-daughter-Hasweth
Szeth-son-Neturo aka Szeth-son-Vallano	Shauka-daughter-Hasweth
Tresh-son-Esan	Zen-daughter-Vath

The gender of the second name in the Shin names is not always known, which is why it is difficult to determine whether the names are based on patronyms or metronyms. Furthermore, based on what is known from the story the second name element does not necessarily denote a parent but can also denote other relatives, e.g. *Szeth* is named both *Szeth-son-Neuturo*, in which *Neutro* is the name of his father, and he is named *Szeth-son-Vallano*, in which *Vallano* is the name of his grandfather. The shape of the female names is similar to that of the male names, except that their own gender is denoted by ‘daughter’. It seems likely that *Ali-daughter-Hasweth* and *Shauka-daughter-Hasweth* are sisters, however the gender of, and the relationship to the second name is ambiguous.

4.6.2.3 *Unkulaki names*

The Unkulaki are a clan-like people that live in the mountains. They share ancestry with a sapient species called Singers, which means they possess some magic-like abilities that not all humans have.

Their names immediately stand out, as seen in Table 4.8 below, partly due to their length, and otherwise because they are in the shape of descriptive English words. From the context of the story we know that the names form a poem or a song, as explained by *Rock*: “So your name is a whole sentence?” Dunny asked, uncertain [...] ‘Is poem,’ *Rock* said. ‘On the Peaks, everyone’s name is poem’ (Sanderson 2010: 294).

Table 4.8 *Unkulaki names*

Female	Beautiful Song, Cord, Tuaka’li’na’calmi’nor, Kuma’tiki, Unulukuk’kina’autu’ata
Male	Gift, Lunu’anaki, Numuhukumakiaki’aialunamor, Havrom, Rock, Star
Unknown gender	Kef’ha, Sinaku’a, Tifi

The long names are often shortened by clipping and retain either the first element, e.g.

Tuaka'li'na'calmi'nor is shortened to *Tuaka*, or the final element, e.g.

Numuhukumakiaki'aialunamor is shortened to *Lunamor*. This is probably done to make the names possible pronounce for English speakers. Another way of making the names easier to pronounce is to use what is presented as their English translation, e.g. *Beautiful Song*, *Rock*, and *Gift*. This is also illustrated by a quote from *Rock*:

“Dunny,” he said to the youth. “Is odd name. What is meaning of it?”

“Meaning?” Dunny asked. “I don’t know. Names don’t always have meaning.”

Rock shook his head, displeased. “Lowlanders. How are you to know who you are if your name has no meaning?”

“So your name means something?” Teft asked. “Nu...ma...nu...”

“Numuhukumakiaki'aialunamor,” Rock said, the native Horneater sounds flowing easily from his lips. “Of course. Is description of a very special rock my father discovered the day before my birth” (Sanderson 2010: 393)

The quote also illustrates how the meaning of names is an important part of Unkalaki culture. While we have seen that the meaning of the names can also be important in the Alethi culture (cf. *Adolin*, section 4.6.1), this quote illustrates that this is not always the case as *Dunny* is an Alethi. However, *Dunny* is also a ‘darkeyed’ soldier, which suggest that the meaning of names might be more important for members of the elite such as in the case of *Adolin*.

4.6.3 Foreignness actualized in non-human names

Foreignness is not only connected to the geographical distance between the human cultures but is even evident in the ‘distance’ found between humans and non-human characters. This section is based on the hypothesis that non-human characters will have more foreign sounding names than human characters (H3). This section discusses three different types of fantastical creatures: a humanoid group that for simplicity’s sake is called *Singers* in this thesis, a group of mystical beings that for simplicity’ sake is called *Spren*, and one group consisting of magical, living objects here called *Shardblades*. As with the names from the foreign human cultures, the following are only meant to illustrate examples for comparison and so are only discussed briefly.

4.6.3.1 Singers

The Singers are a sapient species that originally predated the humans on Roshar. They are similar to humans in terms of stature and appearance, except that their skin is either black or white, marbled with red. They truly stand out from the humans in that they communicate through use of rhythms and song, and that they are able to change their physical shape almost instantly. They are able to change their appearance and use different forms for different purposes, e.g. ‘warform’ to fight and ‘mateform’ to reproduce. This also means that the Singers do not only operate within the frame of a binary gender distinction. The names listed in Table 4.8 below are sorted in terms of the gender the character most frequently appears as.

Table 4.9 Singer names

Female	Bila, Eshonai, Venli, Zuln
Male	Abronai, Chivi, Davim, Gangnah, Klade, Rlain, Thude, Varnali, Varanis,

Interestingly, although the Singers do not necessarily operate with only two genders, the names listed as female seem to follow conventional trends in terms of gender marking, e.g. the names end in *-i* or *-a* such as in *Bila*, *Eshonai* and *Venli*. On the other hand, there is just as many male names with similar endings, e.g. *Abronai*, *Chivi*, *Gangnah*, and *Varanli*. At the same time, this could be a way to emphasize the gender ambiguity that exists among the Singers.

Otherwise, the Singer names does not stand out that much when compared to the different human names. One exception could be the use of the pseudo suffix *-nai*, found only in *Eshonai* and *Abronai*. Additionally, the use of *rl-* word-initially, e.g. in the name *Rlain*, stands out as this consonant combination is not found word-initially in English, nor in any of the other names in the corpus. Moreover, the character *Rlain* goes throughout much of the story by the name *Shen* in order to fit in with the rest of the Alethi. Thus, the revelation of his true name thus underlines his ‘non-humaness’ because it is not considered a human name.

4.6.3.2 Shardblades and named swords

Shardblades are magic, living objects, usually in the shape of enormous swords. These are the most powerful weapons in the story and can take any shape they prefer. They are able to cut through rock but not flesh, instead the Shardblades cut through the soul. The Shardblades are bonded to its wielder, which means that they usually follow the will of the wielder, but they also have a mind of their own. When bonded, the wielder can speak to the blade with or without opening his or her mouth.

The names of the Shardblades are mainly simple and descriptive words, e.g. *Ivory*, *Timbre*, and *Pattern*. Others consist of invented compounds, e.g. *Firestorm*, *Nightblood*, *Stormfather*, *Oathbringer*, and *Sunraiser*. Except for *Nightblood*, the latter are examples of dead Shardblades, which means that their names are likely chosen by humans and not names they have chosen themselves as the first three have. The Shardblades can also have names, similar to that of the human names, but they are generally longer and more elaborate (at least compared with Alethi names), e.g. *Sylphrena* and *Mayalaren*. These are however, often referred to by their diminutive forms, *Syl* and *Maya* respectively, by their wielders which emphasizes the familiarity between them. It also makes them more human in a way due to their name's resemblance to human names.

Table 4.10 Shardblade names

Female	Mayalaren, Sylphrena, Timbre
Male	Ivory, Ico, Glys, Nightblood, Pattern, Stormfather, Wyndle
Unspecified	Firestorm, Oathbringer, Sunraiser

In addition to taking the shape as a weapon, the mentioned Shardblades can take whatever form they prefer. *Glys* is usually in the form of a red snowflake-like crystal, *Timbre* appears like a ball of light and *Sylphrena* usually takes the form a young woman about the size of a human hand. Furthermore, each of the living Shardblades has a personality of their own, e.g. *Wyndle* is cautious, *Ico* is practical on the brink of rude and *Pattern* struggles to understand human concepts such as sarcasm, whereas *Nightblood* is a special type of sword, which was forged with an aim of destroying evil. However, the sword itself has no concept of evil but still likes to be useful. Thus, *Nightblood* constantly encourages its wielder to draw it and use it to kill and thereby to work against its creator's initial goal.

Swords, and named swords in particular are also important in the context of ASOIAF, although they are not alive like the ones in TSA. The named swords in ASOIAF does however tend to mirror characteristics or traits of their wielder, e.g. *Brienne Tarth* has a strict code of honor that she follows, and she names her sword *Oathkeeper*. The following two example are of characters whose sword's names mirror the characteristics and character development of their wielder.

Prince Joffrey Baratheon is one example. His first sword is named *Lion's Tooth*. This name reflects his connection to the Lannister family, which has a lion as the family emblem. It can also serve as an emphasis that *Joffrey* is in fact the son of a Lannister, and not the son of a Baratheon as he is claimed to be. Joffrey loses the sword after a humiliating incident. In an attempt to redeem himself he takes out his anger on a boy called *Mycha* and the 'direwolf' *Lady* and have them both executed. Later on, he also orders the execution of *Eddard Stark* which leads to civil war in Westeros. Through these actions Joffrey's cruelty becomes more apparent, which is mirrored by his naming of his next sword, *Hearteater*. *Hearteater* is given to him on the eve of a major battle but instead of staying outside to fight alongside his soldiers, he hides inside the castle walls. In this way the name *Hearteater* does not only mirror Joffrey's cruel intentions and behavior but also his cowardice. Joffrey's third sword is given to him as a wedding gift and he calls it: "*Widow's Wail!* Yes! It shall make many a widow, too!" (Martin [2000] 2011: 804, original emphasis). The name of the sword serves as a reflection of *Joffrey* cruelty, but it is also ironic in that the only widow *Joffrey* makes is his own wife as he dies on their wedding day.

Another example of how a sword's name reflects characteristics of its owner is *Needle*. It bears physical resemblance to its owner in that the sword is small and thin and so is *Arya*. *Arya* is trained in a particular fighting style that fits well with the shape of the blade and her own physique. Additionally, her training includes a philosophy that the sword is an extension of one's arm, a part of the wielder's body. *Needle* also embodies *Arya*'s past:

Needle was Robb and Bran and Rickon, her mother and her father, even Sansa. Needle was Winterfell's grey walls, and the laughter of its people. Needle was the summer snows, Old Nan's stories, the heart tree with its red leaves and scary face, the warm earthly smell of the glass gardens, the sound of the north wind rattling the shutters of her room. Needle was Jon Snow's smile. (Martin 2005: 320)

The contextual meaning of the name is illustrated in the quote above. Arya never wanted to be a lady who wears dresses and does embroidering. In this sense *Needle* becomes an extension, not only of her body, but of her identity.

4.6.3.3 Spren

The final non-human group of this section is called Spren. The Spren in TSA are a complex group of fantastic creatures but in the present thesis only the named Spren are discussed. Additionally, some Spren can become Shardblades, and since these have already been discussed above (4.6.3.2), they are not included in this section. The Spren discussed in this section are considered evil creatures in the context of the story.

The names of the Spren stand out from the rest of the names, not only in the context of TSA, but from the corpus as a whole. The shape of the names themselves emphasizes the non-humanness of the characters, especially those who include hyphens, e.g. *Ba-Ado-Mishram*, *Re-Shepir*, *Sja-anat* and *Yelig-nar*. As with use of an apostrophe (cf. section 4.5.1), the hyphen emphasizes the foreignness of the name as we rarely see hyphens in conventional first names.²⁹ The foreignness is further emphasized by the way the hyphen divides the name parts, especially the short initial syllable makes the names resemble chants or phrases rather than names. Although we often see bynames (from ASOIAF) that are phrases (cf. chapter 5), the Spren names do not contain any recognizable English words and the unusual letter combinations also emphasize the foreignness.

Table 4.11 Spren names

Female	Hnanan, Leshwi, Ba-Ado-Mishram, Re-Shepir, Sja-anat
Male	Abray, Aharat, Ashertmarn, Moelach, Nergaoul, Yelig-nar, Ulim
Unspecified	Vatwha

The shape of the Spren names also have a Lovecraftian look about them, with letter combinations that can be difficult to pronounce. As these letter combinations are rare in English the name becomes in a sense more threatening, thus emphasizing the foreignness.

²⁹ Though it can be found in English family names.

Furthermore, parts of some of the names share phonetic similarity with snarls and growls (as well as a phonetic similarity with the words *snarl* and *growl* themselves), e.g. *Yellig-nar* and *Nergaoul*. Other names might resemble hisses or whispers, due to the placing of the (voiceless) fricatives e.g. in the first syllable of *Sja-Anat*, and the final syllable of *Moelach*, and the final part of *Ba-Ado-Mishram*. This does not only enhance the foreignness of the name but also enhance the perception of the characters as evil.

There are no clear gender markers in the Spren names, i.e. no particular ending or element that makes them easily recognizable as either male or female. This enhances the foreignness because it makes them notably different from the human characters. Note that the Spren do not necessarily operate with a clear binary gender distinction, nor do they necessarily take physical shape, which also emphasizes the differences between them and the human characters in the story.

Unlike the names in ASOIAF, the invented names of TSA are not as clearly recognizable as analogues of any existing cultures or naming practices found in conventional names. Although there are clear ethnic and cultural differences reflected in each distinct nomenclature, the names are not based on recognizable conventional names. The Alethi names are still constructed in a way which makes them relatively easy for English speakers to pronounce, thus they do follow some conventions which make them familiar, but the patterns are not as clear as they are in ASOIAF. This might have to do with the almost thirty years between the publishing of the first book in ASOIAF-series and the first book in the TSA-series. Hence, it would be interesting to investigate this in a larger diachronic perspective.

5 MOTIVATIONS FOR NAMING

“Don’t call me Lord Snow.” The dwarf lifted an eyebrow. “Would you rather be called The Imp? Let them see that their words can cut you, and you’ll never be free of the mockery. If they want to give you a name, take it, make it your own. Then they can’t hurt you with it anymore.”

(Martin [1996] 2016: 201)

This chapter presents different motivations for naming literary characters, specifically regarding the bynames found in the corpus. When naming literary characters, the lexical meaning of the names is often an important motivation in constructing or selecting the names, as it often has a close connection to the characteristics of the name-bearer (Bertills 2003). This is even more apparent in the motivations for bynames. Furthermore, literary names are usually enclosed with a semantic load that can both tie “the character to their own identity, other’s perception of the character’s personality and role, and the interaction between the characters and their place in the story” (Windt-Val 2009: 60).

Bynames in general are motivated by the characteristics of the name-bearer and so can often have transparent meaning, e.g. reflecting physical traits or based on particular habits of the name-bearer. At the same time, one name can carry multiple meanings even when the lexical meaning is fairly transparent. However, it is impossible for the present thesis to cover all possible associations. Thus, the meanings presented by the present thesis must be understood as one interpretation among many. The bynames in this chapter are sorted into three different semantic categories based on the motivation for their formation, or selection, namely physical and mental characteristics, social content and situational bynames. Note that in many cases these categories overlap but they are sorted after the features I deem the most prominent. Unless specified otherwise, the names are from ASOIAF.

5.1 **Psychical and mental characteristics**

Names related to physical appearance have been common in names in general, at least since the Middle Ages (Wilson 1998). Typically, distinguishing features such as size, color of skin and “an excess or lack of hair were liable to be remarked” (Wilson 1998: 119), and otherwise

parts of the body that were unusual in any way, were often singled out. Much of the same traits are accentuated in the bynames in the corpus.

The bynames related to physical appearance, especially size, are often transparent in meaning as these names often reflect visible, and obvious, traits of the name-bearer. Bynames that denote size in terms of height usually include adjectives such as *long*, *tall*, and *little*, e.g. *Long Lew*, *Long Jon Heddle*, *Tallad the Tall*, *Duncan the Tall*, *Toregg the Tall/Tall Toregg*, *Little Lenwood Tawney*, *Little Lew Piper*, and *Little Lucos*. Additionally, there is the name *Littlefinger* which does not only refer to the character's small stature but is locational in that it refers to the place where he is from, a place called the Fingers. Notably *small* is often used ironically, e.g. neither *Small Paul* nor *Smalljon* is short in stature, rather they are usually tall. Likewise, the name *Giant* is given to one of short stature. *Small* can also be used as a reference to someone young, e.g. *Smalljon* is the son of *Greatjon*, and *Duncan the Small* is named after *Duncan the Tall*.

To reference large size in terms of girth, it is common to use *fat* as a name part, e.g. *Fat TomTom*, *Fat Walda* and *The Fat Flower of High Garden*. In addition, *big* and *belly* are used also used to reference large size, e.g. *Big Belly Ben*, *Boros the Belly*, and *Big Bucket*. In this case *big* can also relate to age in certain context, e.g. *Big Walder* is older than *Little Walder*, even though *Little Walder* is both taller and rounder than *Big Walder*. The name *Big Boil* is name that can fit both within the category of physical appearance, and within the category of situational names because he had a big boil on his buttocks which would not be particularly obvious were it not for his complains about it. Additionally, *Big Boil* is the only names this character has, which makes it difficult to say whether this name should be considered a byname or a first name.

Other bynames which are clearly motivated by physical appearance, and which have transparent meanings, include *Raymun Redbeard* who has a red beard, *Torwold Browntooth* who has a brown tooth, *Skahaz Shavepate* who has a shaved head, and *Petyr Pimple* whose face is covered with pimples. *Redbeard* is also found as a family name, which is similar to how some bynames in general develop into family names (Wilson 1998; Brylla 2016).

Some bynames that relate to physical appearance are in the shape of metonymies, e.g. *The Mountain That Rides* is a huge man, *Longspear Ryk* is rumored to be well-endowed, and *Bethany Fair-Fingers* is a renowned singer, and it is likely that she plays a string instrument based on her name. The use of alliterations in bynames, e.g. *Blushing Bethany*, *Hazrak the*

Handsome, and *Strong Sam Stone* is also noteworthy. It gives the names a sense of rhythm and so makes them more memorable.

Most of the bynames relating to physical characteristics denote some kind of body part and this is often related to an injury, a disability, or other visible blemishes e.g. loss or lack of eye-sight: *Blind Sybassion the Eater of Eyes*, *Blind Wyl the Whittler*, *Blind Beth*, and *Blind Beqgo*, or hearing, e.g. *Deaf Della* and *Deaf Dick*. *Blind* is does not necessarily mean that the character is actually blind, it can also be used figuratively as in meaning naïve or ignorant. In the case of *Blind Doss* and *Blind Beron Blacktyde* the meaning is uncertain because there is little known about the characters, but it is likely that they still had their eye-sight based on the context in which they appear. *The Blind Bastard* on the other hand is neither blind nor a bastard but he claims to be able to know a port only by its smell.

The loss of body parts and injured body parts constitutes a large basis for the bynames, e.g. *Dagmer Cleftjaw*, *Jonnel One-Eye*, *Yna One-Eye*, *Orys One-Hand*, and *Symon Stripback*. The severity of the injury is not always accurately reflected in the names, e.g. *Tyrion No-Nose* had his entire nose cut off during a battle while *Noseless Ned* has only lost the tip of his nose. Others have defects that they likely were born with, e.g. *Clubfoot Karl*, *Lame Lothar* and *Hotho Humpback*. *Hop-Robin* is also clubfoot, and probably obtained his name on the basis of his walk. The origin of the following names is unknown, but it is likely that these are also related to the physical traits of the characters: *Sylas Flatnose*, *Otter Gimpknee*, *Jonnel One-Eye Stark*, *Pinchface Jon Myre*, *Left-Hand Lucas Codd*, *Left Hand Lew* and *Edgerran the Open-Handed*.

Age related bynames are also common, e.g. using *old* and *young* in front of names such as *Old Henly* and *Young Henly*, or *Old Ser Rodrick Cassel* and *Old Lord Locke*. In names such as *Old Tattersalt* and *Old Tarn*,³⁰ it is not clear whether the second name element is a first name, a family name, a byname or a place name. In some cases, kinship terms are used to denote old age, e.g. *Ygoon Oldfather* and *Gormond the Oldfather*, in other cases the names have a metonymic shape, e.g. *Old Crackbones*. It is, however, unclear whether *crackbones* refers to the character's own physical traits as an old man or to his skill of cracking the bones of others.

³⁰ *Old Tarn* is a name from TSA.

The presences, or lack of, (facial) hair also seems to be denoting age, e.g. *Sigfryd Silverhair*, *Edrick Snowbeard*, and *Ronald the Bald*. Although baldness does not necessarily have to denote *old*, it can be associated with old age. A beard can likewise be associated with a grown man, in contrast to a boy who is not yet old enough to grow a beard. In the corpus there are names such as *Bearded Ben*, *Beardless Dick*, and *Beardless Jon Bettley*, as well as *Hairy Hal*. Being hairy in this regard can bring along positive connotations of manliness and the vigor of youth, whereas the lack thereof might therefore have negative connotations as the opposite of these traits. At the same time, a beardless man can be a symbol of a groomed man, or a civilized man, while a bearded man might be considered uncivilized, all depending on the context of the cultural norms of the society the character is situated.

Bynames that denote mental characteristics tend to be more ambiguous in terms of meaning and origin. Some denote mood, or a mental state e.g. *Dolorous Edd*, *Jolly Jack*, and *Mad Marq Rankenfell*. Others denote values or ideals, e.g. *Theodan the True*, *Proud Martyn Cassel*, *Erik the Just*, and *Niali the Just*.³¹ Some denote behavior, e.g. *Muttering Bill*, and *Hodor* who only says ‘hodor’. Others could denote a personality trait related to their behavior, e.g. *Harrold the Arse*, *Hilamar the Cunning* and *Fearless Ithoke*.

5.1.1 Identical sounding names

One of the main functions of bynames in general is to distinguish between identical sounding names. These names are often coined by someone other than the name-bearer and are based on the demeanor, appearance or some skill, habit or deed involving or related to the name-bearer. In the context of ASOIAF, such names are given to characters that share the first name, such as *Qarl the Thrall*, *Qarl the Maid*, *Qarl Quickaxe*, and *Clubbfoot Karl*, or *Tom o’Sevenstrings*, *TomToo*, *Fat Tom*, and *Long Tom*. In some cases, the family name is included as part of the byname, e.g. *Qeer Qarl Kenning*, or such as in *Beardless Jon Bettley*, *Long Jon Heddle*, and *Pinchface Jon Myre*. Distinguishing between characters with identical names becomes particularly necessary when the characters share both the same first name and the same family, such as in the names *Leo Longthron* and *Lazy Leo* both of whose real name is *Leo Tyrell*, or in the case of distinguishing between all the characters called *Walder Frey*, e.g. *Big Walder*, *Little Walder*, *Black Walder*, *Red Walder* and *Late Lord Frey*.

³¹ *Niali the Just* is a name from TSA.

The most numerous examples of identical naming are found with the names of kings in ASOIAF. In the southern tradition of the story, the kings are distinguished using roman numerals, e.g. *Aenys I*, *Maekar I* and *Viserys II*, in which the roman numbers would be pronounced “First of His Name” or “Second of His Name”, when referring to the king’s full title. The most common way to distinguish between the kings is by using roman numerals and bynames, e.g. the most common name among the Targaryen kings is *Aegon Targaryen*, and so in the corpus the following names are found: *Aegon I the Conqueror* (aka *Aegon the Dragonlord* and *Aegon the Dragon*), *Aegon II the Elder* (aka *Aegon the Usurper*), *Aegon III the Younger* (aka *Aegon the Dragonbane*, *Aegon the Unlucky* and *The Broken King*), *Aegon IV the Unworthy*, and *Aegon V the Fortunate* (aka *Aegon the Unlikely*).

Names of northern kings, and the kings from the Iron Islands, do not include numerals, only bynames, e.g. *Edderion the Bridegroom*, *Edwyn the Spring King*, *The King Who Knelt* and *The Hungry Wolf* from the North, and *Harren the Black*, *Urron Redhand*, *Harwyn Hardhand*, *Sylas Flatnose*, and *Urras Ironfoot* from the Iron Islands. There is one exception found in *Balon XI the Brave*, namely a king from the Iron Islands, whose name contains both numerals and a byname. This character has an additional six other bynames: *Balon the Blessed*, *Balon the Twice Crowned* and *Balon the Widowmaker*, and he is also known as *The wet king*, *The kraken king*, and *The iron king*.

Similarly, no numerals are used for the names of the kings from Beyond the Wall, only bynames are used, either additionally e.g. *Bael the Bard*, *Raymun Redbeard* or as aliases, e.g. *The King-beyond-the-Wall* and *The Horned Lord*. There are also examples of kings without bynames, e.g. *Gorne*, *Gendel* and *Joramun* from Beyond the Wall, and *Rodrik Stark*, *Dorren Stark*, *Jon Stark*, *Jonos Stark*, and *Jorah Stark* from the North.

5.1.2 Color names

Several of the bynames contain a name element that includes the name of a color, especially black, red or white but also grey, green and other colors, as seen in Table 5.1 below. These colors can be considered name parts because they express a characteristic of the name-bearer, both in a transparent sense, e.g. *The Black Dread* denotes *Ballerion* a black dragon, and in a more figurative sense, e.g. in how the names *The Blackfish* and *The Black Dragon* play on the idiom *black sheep* and how this is mirrored in the characters’ personality and behavior. The colors can additionally have an array of associations attached to them.

Table 5.1 Color names in bynames

Color	Byname
Black	Black Balaq, Black Bernarr, Black Maris, Black Jack Bulwer, Black Walder, Barth Blackword, The Black Dread, Harren the Black aka Black Harren, Black Bride, The Blackfish, The Black Shepard, Black Flame, The Black Centaur
Red	Red Alyn, Red Rolfe, Red Ralf Stonehouse, Red Walder, Red Robert Flowers, Ardrian the Red Crab, Urron Redhand, Robar the Red, The Red Woman aka Red witch, The Red Viper aka Red Snake
White	Kedge Whiteye, Morna White Mask, The White Bull, The White Knight, The White Owl
Green	Garth Greenhand aka Greenhair, Guyard the Green, Greenbeard, The Green Oak, Lommy Greenhands
Grey/Silver	Grey Wind, Grey Worm, Garth Greysteel, Garth Greyfeather, Gyles Greycloak, Symon Silver Tongue, Sigfryd Silverhair
Blue	Bluetooth, Sky Blue Su, Boremund the Blue, The Blue Bard
Yellow	Yellow Dick, Emmon the Yellow, The Lemon/Lem Yellowcloak, The knight of the yellow chicken
Brown	Brown Benarr, Torwold Browntooth, Brown Ben Plumm
Others	Bryce the Orange, Pinkeye, Parmen the Purple, Bronze Yohn

The most predominant colors present in the bynames of the corpus are black, red and white, followed by grey and green. Black is a color that is “almost always conceptualized as bad” (Fonalczyk & Biela-Wołośńiej 2012) and it is generally associated with concepts such as death, darkness and fear. In addition to the names mentioned in Table 5.1 it is found in one of the antagonists called *Darkstar*. The name plays on his family name, which is *Dayne of Starfall*, which includes the part *star*. Moreover, as stars are usually bright, the name is contradictory and creates a sharp contrast. Furthermore, it plays on the idiom black sheep, which is emphasized by the name-bearer breaking with his family and creating his own cadet branch, called *House Dayne of High Hermitage*. Additionally, it is used as contrast to *The Sword of the Morning*, which is a title that is only given to someone considered worthy of carrying the sword named *Dawn*. This contrast between light and dark emphasizes the good and evil dichotomy. Another example where black is conceptualized as bad is in the term ‘taking the black’, which refers to joining the Night’s Watch whose members dress in black.

The color white is often regarded the opposite of black and is usually conceptualized as good, which is the case in ASOIAF, e.g. ‘The Whitecloaks’ is a colloquial term for the king’s own personal body guard, one of the most honorable position one can hold in this

society. This is likely a play on the idiom *a white knight*, and among the members of the Whitecloaks there are characters with names such *The White Bull*, *The White Owl* and *The White Knight*. At the same time, the color white is not always conceptualized as good. There are cases, where the color might reflect physical traits directly, e.g. *Whitesmile Wat* and *Arsan Whitebeard*, and possibly also *White Walda*, and the connotative meanings of these names makes the conceptualizing of the color white ambiguous. On the one hand white can be positive to the extent that a white smile is considered attractive, whereas having a white beard would reflect old age. Additionally, in the case of *White Walda*, white could be associated with both illness and beauty depending on the context.

In TSA there is only one byname that contains a color name, viz. *The Assassin in White*. In this context, the association with the color white is more connected to fear and death, as *The Assassin in White* is a character that dresses in white in order for his victims to see him coming, and by extension, in order for them to see death coming. Furthermore, white might also conceptualize fear in names such as *Kedge Whiteye* (from ASOIAF), as the white of one's eye becomes visible when expressing fear. Alternatively, the character might be blind and thus the color would reflect his physical appearance.

Red is another prominent color in the bynames of ASOIAF. It is also a common color to find with bynames in general and is attested as far back as ancient Rome in bynames such as *Rufus* 'red, red-haired' (Wilson 1998). Red is often seen in connection with one of the major religions whose deity is called *The Red God* in which the priest and priestesses of the religion wears red and bynames such as *The Red Woman*. This deity also goes by the name *The Lord of Light*, and so the color red can be associated with light. Fire is an essential element to this religion, as a source of light, and so the color red can also be associated with fire. Furthermore, the Free Folk uses the expression "kissed by fire" when describing people with red hair. The origin of the bynames including red is not always stated but I assume the names which consist of a color and a first name reflects physical traits, e.g. *Red Alyn*, *Red Rolfe* and *Red Walder* (cf. *Rufus*).

The color red is ambiguous in regard to being conceptualized as good or bad. On the one hand it can be conceptualized as good, in the shape of fire and light representing life, as a contrast to ice and darkness representing death. On the other hand, the color is often associated with blood, and both fire and blood can refer to death, e.g. as illustrated by the religious practices of those who worship *R'hllor* in which sacrifice by burning people is a

common ritual. Additionally, bynames such *Urron Redhand* and *Tryrion Redhand* seems motivated by red as reference to blood, as both obtained their bynames after their participation in battles.

In TSA the color red is more explicitly associated with evil. At least in the case of *Glys* as he appears as a *red* crystalline snowflake, which is an unusual shape for his kind where they normally appear as light reflected through a *clear* crystal. His unusual appearance turns out to be the result of a corruption by an evil character. Red can therefore be conceptualized as either good or bad depending on the context.

Colors are also associated with the different houses of ASOIAF, as most houses have their own emblem consisting of a symbol and a combination of colors. Some have color names explicitly in their family name, as seen in Table 5.2. Others have bynames that are associated with the family colors, e.g. *The Green Oak* (Olyvar Oakheart) whose family emblem is green oak leaves on a yellow background, and *The Red Crab* (Ardrian Celtigar) whose family emblem consists of red crabs on a white background. Members of the Targaryen family are additionally associated with the color silver, due to their distinct silver-blond hair, e.g. in bynames such as *Silver Lady*, and *Silver prince*.

Table 5.2 Color names in family names

Color	Family name
Black	Blackberry, Blackbar, Blackfyre, Blackmont, Blacktyde, Blackwood, Kettleblack
Red	Redwyne, Redbeard, Redfort
Green	Greenfield, Greenhill, Greenpools, of Greenaway, of the Greenblood
Grey	Greyiron, Greyjoy
Blue	of Bluefork

5.1.3 Animal names

The use of animal names in bynames has also historically been common in English bynames in general (Wilson 1998). In the corpus the bynames that include animal names are mostly connected to the family emblems of the different families, e.g. House Stark's emblem is a 'direwolf' which subsequently has motivated bynames such as *wolf girl*, *Rodrik the*

Wandering Wolf, *The Hungry Wolf* and *The Young Wolf*. Other bynames and their associated family names can be seen in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Animal names in bynames

Animal (Family name)	Bynames
Wolf (Stark)	Richard the Laughing Wolf, Rodrik the Wandering Wolf, The young pup, The quiet wolf, The Hungry Wolf, The Young Wolf, wolf girl
Dragon (Targaryen)	The last dragon, The Black Dragon, Mother of Dragons, Aegon I the Dragonlord aka the Dragon, Aemon the Dragonknight, Aegon III the Dragonbane, The Prince Who Thought He Was a Dragon, The Young Dragon, Hargahaz the Dragonslayer ³²
Lion (Lannister)	The Young Lion, The Laughing Lion aka The Toothless Lion
Bear (Mormont)	The She-Bear (Maegelle Mormont), She-Bear (Alysane Mormont), The Old Bear
Falcon (Arryn)	The Young Falcon, The Falcon Knight, Sweetrobin
Crab (Celtigar)	Ardrian the Red Crab
Kraken (Greyjoy)	The kraken's daughter

The emblem animals tend to be fierce predators, e.g. a lion, a wolf and a bear, which historically tended to motivate derogatory bynames (Wilson 1998), and while the animals themselves are associated with power or powerful families in this context, the bynames are often derogatory, e.g. *She-Bear*, *The Toothless Lion*, and *The Black Dragon*. Furthermore, the use of *young* in this case is often used as a reference to *inexperienced*.

Most of the other bynames related to animals are also used derogatively, e.g. snake or viper is used in association with *Oberyn Nymeros Martell*, who is otherwise known as *The Red Viper*, *The snake*, *Red Snake* or *Oberyn Viper*. The snake bears connotations of being sly and deadly. *Oberyn* himself is a well-renowned fighter that uses poisoned blades, which is considered shady in this context. Other animals with negative association include vermin, e.g. *Rat*, *Mad Mouse* and *The Spider*. Additionally, *dog*, is used derogatively in the sense of 'servant', in names such as *The Hound* and *The Great Dog*. *The Hound* is a byname shared by three different characters and in the case of Sandor Clegane, the byname could also reference loyalty.

³² Not a Targaryen.

Animals with positive associations include flying predators such as *hawk*, e.g. *The Old Hawk* and fantastic creatures such as *griffin*, e.g. *Alyn the Pale Griffin*, and *Young Griff*. However, the additional adjectives used *pale*, *young* and *old* do not necessarily promote positive connotations. Other flying animals found in bynames include *raven* and *crow*, e.g. *Lord Bloodraven* aka *The three-eyed crow*, *Euron Crow's Eye* and *Mors Crowfood*. Ravens are generally regarded more highly than crows in this context, as they function as messengers, while a *crow* is additionally used as a metaphor for members of the Night's Watch in bynames such as *Alfyn Crowkiller* and *Lord Crow*.

Other animals are more difficult to place in terms of classifying them as good or bad. Domestic animals such as *bull*, *horse*, *pig* and *goat* for instance have very different connotations. Historically names including words for *bull* "almost certainly indicated strength and heavy build" (Wilson 1998: 120), and the same goes for the bynames in the corpus that contain *bull*, or other big and strong domestic animals, e.g. *Aurochs*, *Horse*, *The Bull* and *The White Bull*. Additionally, *The Bull* can in itself be a textual echo of *The White Bull* as the latter is a legendary knight in this context. *Pig* is used as a reflection of large girth and is found in mock names such as *Ser Pigg* and *Lady Piggy*. Names for *goat* tended to mean "meek and mild" (ibid.), while *The Goat* in this context is the byname of a sadist and is more likely a reference to his physical appearance, as he wears a goatee, and as a play on the character's family name *Hoat*.

Interestingly, *frog* seems to have positive connotations while *toad* seems to have negative, e.g. *Frog* (aka *Prince Frog*) is named after his eagerness to jump on every task he is given, whereas *Toad* is name motivated by the name-bearer's appearance. At the same time, his eagerness might be also be a sign of his naivety and ultimately becomes his downfall.

Beside the bynames names mentioned in Table 5.3 there are also family names that contain animals names, e.g. *Codd* and *Crane* which have a silver cod and a golden crane as part of their family emblem respectively. Moreover, there are bynames based on family emblems such as *The Black Centaur* (Orbert Casswell), which is based on House Casswell's emblem, a yellow centaur, and the name-bearer's position as Lord Commander of the Night's Watch. Alternatively, the name could also play on the previously mentioned idiom *black sheep* (cf. 5.1.2). *The Manticore* (Amory Lorch) is another byname based on the family emblem.

5.2 Social content

Bynames in general can mirror how people regard each other in a society and which values they hold (Brylla 2016). The following are examples of bynames that denote social functions

Bynames derived from occupations are common, not only in the corpus but in bynames in general. These are the type of bynames that we find numerous examples of as conventional family names today (Wilson 1998; Brylla 2016). In the corpus the occupational names come in three different shapes, viz. occupational title only, e.g. *Skinner*, or with the byname either following or preceding a first name, e.g. *Devyn Sealskinner* and *Fletcher Dick*.³³ Some occupational names are also in the shape of metonymies such as the following examples. *Belanquo Bonebreaker* is a pit-fighter (similar to a gladiator) and does to a certain extent break bones for a living but his main occupation is surviving the day by killing his opponents. *Hempen Dan* is a ropemaker, while *Canker Jeyne*³⁴ is a male prostitute. In TSA, there are similar metonymic bynames such as *The Weeper*, an assassin, in which weeping could be considered a part of her occupation, or at least a consequence of her occupation. *Dandos the Oilsworn* is another example, as he is an artist assumingly skilled in oil-painting. Otherwise the occupational names in TSA are in the shape of titles, e.g. *The Collector*, *The Envoy* and *The Assassin in White*.

Bynames that include titles as name parts include royal titles such as *King*, *Queen*, *Prince* and *Princess*. Additionally, high ranking positions such as *Lord*, *Lady*, *Knight* and the honorific *Ser* are found. This is similar in TSA, except that the previously mentioned titled are replace by *High King*, *High Prince*, *Brightlord* and *Brightness*, in addition to various military ranks. However, the use varies, in ASOIAF the titles are used as name parts in bynames whereas in TSA the titles are not used in bynames but as a way of addressing people

Titles as name parts in bynames are often used to distinguish between royalty, and they come in various shapes. The bynames can be with the definite article, e.g. *The Made King* and *The Bright Prince*, or without the definite article, e.g. *King Scab* and *Prince Frog*, or with a preposition, e.g. *Prince of Dargonflies* and *The Prince of Stink*. They can also be in the shape of longer phrases, e.g. *The Prince Who Thought He Was a Dragon*, *The Prince Who Came Too Late* and *The Prince Who Was An Egg*.

³³ “One who makes or deals in arrows” (OED, s.v. “fletcher”)

³⁴ “A malignant or destructive influence that corrodes or corrupts, and is difficult to eradicate” Also related to diseases, and ill temper. (OED, s.v. “canker”)

Bynames that include the title *knight* are mostly given to famous knights, typically in the shape of aliases, e.g. *The Dragonknight*, *The Winged Knight*, or *The Knight of Skulls and Kisses*. The title is, however, most often used ironically, e.g. *The Onion Knight* (Davos Seaworth) and *The Knight of Flowers* (Loras Tyrell). While *Davos Seaworth* is as far away from a knight as they come, as he is a smuggler and comes from the poorest part of the capitol, *Loras Tyrell* is an actual knight. Thus, it is difficult to conclude whether his byname is complimentary or derogative. On the one hand, the byname plays of the emblem of House Tyrell which is a rose. At the same time, flowers can be associated with femininity, which is not typically associated with knights, as it is a position that can only be held by men. Furthermore, *Loras Tyrell* is also known as *Ser Daisy* and *Renly's little rose*, which are clearer examples of the title being used derogatory, as mock names that play on Loras' homosexuality. Moreover, as the name *Ser Daisy* suggest, the honorific *Ser* is always used derogatively in bynames, e.g. *Ser Slobber* (Hobber Redwyne), *Ser Horror* (Horas Redwyne), *Ser Stupid* (Hosteen Frey) and *Ser Grandfather* aka *Old Ser* (Barristan Selmy).

The title *Lord* is also mostly used derogatively in bynames, e.g. *Lord Snow*. *Snow* is a name given to children born outside wedlock and can per definition never be a lord. Similarly, the title is used in derogative bynames such as *Lord Leech* aka *The Leech Lord* (Roose Bolton) and *Lord Ham* (Samwell Tarly). *Roose Bolton* is an actual lord. The word *leech* can both refer to his habit of leeching, it could also be a metaphor for how he feeds of the blood of other, e.g. through his participation in killing most of the members of the Stark family, consequently making him the most powerful man in the North. *Samwell Tarly* is also comes from a noble family but as he has joined the Night's Watch, his birth and title is not supposed matter anymore. *Ser Pigg* is another coinage for *Samwell Tarly*, as a play on his large size and noble heritage. Moreover, *Lady Piggy* is another variant in which the diminutive suffix *-y* has been added, as an enhancement of the femininity of the name making it even more offensive. *Lady* is otherwise used with less derogative connotations, e.g. *Lady Red* for *Melissandre*, a red priestess who dresses in red, and *Lady Lance* for *Elia Sand*, whose weapon of choice is a lance.

5.2.1 Pet names

Pet names (hypocoristics) are bynames that are used to express familiarity or intimacy. These are often in the shape of diminutives. In the present thesis diminutives do not refer to

smallness, but also other positive and negative attitudes. This can be illustrated with the name *Sweetrobin*. In this case the diminutive form of the name *Robert* is used in combination with *sweet*, which gives it an infantilizing function considering that the name is given to a lord. Thus, “we must consider the specific context in which a certain diminutive form is used” (Bauer et al. 2013: 386). Diminutive forms of names in general are usually formed by affixation and/or in combination with clipping, which is also the case for the names in the corpus e.g. *Lew* (Lewys) or *Harry* (Harrion). Another strategy is using “conventionalized phonological modification” (Farjardo & González 2018), which is found in how *Ned* is used as a diminutive form for names *Eddard* and *Eddric*, similarly to how it used for the name *Edward* in conventional names.

The most common strategy to form diminutives in the corpus is by clipping, here understood as “the loss or deletion of phonological materials, which does not imply a change in the syntactical functions” (Farjardo & González 2018), where either the first syllable (or first name element) is retained or where the second syllable (or second name element) is retained. In the following names the first syllable is retained, e.g. *El* (Elia), *Pod* (Podrick), *Aly* (Alysane), and in *Salla* (Sallador) the first name element is retained. This is also found in TSA, where mainly the first name element is retained e.g. *Andro* (Androtagia), *Chana* (Chanarach), *Pali* (Paliah), but also examples where only the first syllable is retained, e.g. *Syl* (Sylphrena).

Some of the clipped names become identical to conventional ones when shortened such as the names *Matt* (Matthar), *Jon* (Jonothor), *Sam* (Samwell), and *Tom* (Tommard), as well as in *Maya* (Mayalaren) from TSA. As with names in general there are also names in the corpus that stem from names that originally were clippings of longer names and which are now considered conventional names in their own right, i.e. they are not considered hypocorisms e.g. *Jake*, *Will* and *Leo*. Others remain in the shape of invented names such as *Nym* (Nymeria), *Pyp* (Pypar), *Raff* (Rafford), *Tris* (Tristifer), *Thorr* (Thorrhen), and *Tyg* (Tygett), as well as *Vedel* (Vedeleddev) and *Taln* (Talenel’Elin) from TSA. Although *Taln* has been shortened in a slightly different way, in addition to being clipped, the last letter of the name has been added, or one could say the part between the first syllable and the last letter has been clipped.

Clipping retaining the first name element of the family name also occur in the corpus, but it is less frequent, e.g. *Drink* (Gerris Drinkwater), *Peck* (Josmyn Peckledon), and *Duck*

(Rolland Duckfield). The same goes for clipping retaining the second syllable, or second name element, of the first name, e.g. *Lanny* (Alannys), *Randa* (Myranda), *Drey* (Andrey), and *Tyr* (Waltyr), as well as *Ash* (Shalash) from TSA.

Forming diminutives using affixation is also common in hypocorisms, both with names in general and in the context of the corpus. With names in general, this is done by attaching the suffixes *-y*, or *-ie*, to a clipped name. Similarly, in the corpus this is done by attaching *-y*, *-i*, or *-ee*, e.g. *Jory* (Jorelle), *Ami* (Amerei), and *Loree* (Loreza). Both *-y* and *-i* are graphemes that are generally associated with endearment and familiarity (Bauer et al. 2013; Farjardo & González 2018), and *-ee* seems to function in the same way in corpus.

Dany (Daenerys) and *Missy* (Melissa) can stand as examples of modifications that are conventionalized in the context of the corpus. The same goes for *Merry*, which is the nickname for both *Meraly* and *Meredyth*, as well as *Merianne*. A creative way of clipping in the context of the corpus is found in the name *Wun Wun* (Wun Weg Wun Dar Wun), where reduplication of the first syllable is used to form the hypocorism. This is similar to how children often invent their own versions of names they cannot pronounce properly (Farjardo & González 2018). *Ella* is also found as a pet name for *Elza*, which might also be related to how *Ella* is easier to pronounce than *Elza*.

5.3 Situational bynames

Situational bynames are based on habits, deeds or specific events. This includes aliases. The term alias is used in the traditional sense, as an “alternative name for a person or thing; esp. a false or assumed name” (OED, s.v. “alias”). It is also used specifically for bynames that are used *instead* of the real name of a character and that does not include any recognizable part of the real name. Characters can have both aliases, e.g. *The Oakenfist*, and other bynames, e.g. *Alyn Oakenfist*, both referring to *Alyn Velaryon*.

The following are examples of situations that can earn a character a byname. These situations are often related to battles. Killing someone often earns you a byname, e.g. *Aemond the Kingslayer*, *Alfyn Crowkiller*, and *The Kingslayer*. Not being there to kill someone is just as likely to earn you a byname, e.g. *Sleepy Jack* and *Late Lord Frey* who both came too late for a battle. Another situational byname related to battle is *Homeless Harry Strickland*, who is not really homeless but the captain of a band of mercenaries for hire. *Homeless* plays on his

wavering loyalty and on his lack of support for a specific house unless he is paid to do so. Other bynames are not related to battles at all, but are highly relative and dependent on the situation the bearers are in, e.g. *Erryk* and *Arryk* are two bodyguards that are called *Left* and *Right* depending on which side of *Olenna Tyrell* they stand.

Some situational bynames are directly related to the character's birth, e.g. *Aegon Bloodborn* who was born during a battle, and *Daenerys Stormborn* who was born during a storm. *Kaladin Stormblessed* (from TSA) survived a storm and in doing so was sort of reborn as he discovers he has magical powers. *Daenerys* is similarly reborn as *The Mother of Dragons*, after walking into a fire with what people thought were three stones and coming out from the fire with three living dragons.

So called 'bastard names' are also related to the birth of the child, specifically whether or not the child is born within wedlock. These names are given to children as their family name. This clearly marks them as different from any trueborn children and the names are embedded with social stigma, e.g. people with 'bastard names' are deemed to be untrustworthy. The different regions each have a different 'bastard name' based on a feature of the typography of the region (as seen in Table 5.4), e.g. the 'bastard name' from the North, which has a cold climate and long winters, is *Snow*, whereas the 'bastard name' *Sand*, is from the dry and warm region Dorne.

Table 5.4 *Bastard names*

Name	Examples	Region
Flowers	Robert Flowers, Falia Flowers, Garse Flowers, Rusty Flowers,	Reach
Hill	Donnel Hill, Addison Hill, Joy Hill, Robin Hill	Westerlands
Pyke	Kemmet Pyke, Cotter Pyke, Ragnor Pyke, Wex Pyke	Iron Islands
Rivers	Aemon Rivers, Aegor Rivers, Walder Rivers, Mellara Rivers, Jeyne Rivers	Riverlands
Sand	Elia Sand, Nymeria Sand, Daemon I Sand, Sarella Sand, Tyene Sand	Dorne
Stone	Samwell Stone, Tim Stone, Mya Stone	Vale of Arryn
Storm	Cedric Storm, Edric Storm, Ronald Storm	Stormlands
Snow	Jon Snow, Larence Snow, Ramsay Snow	North
Waters	Aurane Waters, Jon Waters	Crownlands

5.3.1 Aliases and new identities

There are two kind of functions for the aliases in the context of ASOIAF. Firstly, they function as alternative names, i.e. names used instead of the character's real name, e.g. *The Queen of Thrones* denotes *Olenna Tyrell*. Secondly, they function as a disguise, e.g. when *Sansa Stark* goes by the name *Alayne Stone*, or *Baristan Selmy* goes under the name *Arstan Whitebeard*, or as a tool for creating new identities.

The first type of alias is usually given by other characters than the name-bearer, and they do not include any part of the real name. Most of these names carry either positive or negative connotational meanings (or both), and only a few are neutral. The aliases of certain knights can be viewed as neutral as they only denote their position as knight and which castles they hold, e.g. *The Knight of Brownhollow* (Bennard Brune), *Knight of Lemonwood* (Deziel Dalt), *The Knight of Grey Garden* (Harras Harlaw), and *The Knight of Saltpans* (Quicy Cox). At the same time, being a knight is a highly regarded and respected position in the society of ASOIAF, so one could say that these aliases are inherently positive. This can be exemplified in how *Brienne Tarth* presents herself as *Brienne of Tarth*, which is a typical way for knights in this story to present themselves. Despite *Brienne* being a great warrior and from a noble house, she is a woman and therefore ineligible to become a knight as this position is only reserved for men.

In some cases it is ambiguous whether a name is an alias or considered to be the actual name of the character, e.g. *Boy*, *Bump* and *Hayhead*. However, because this is the only name the character has, the names are regarded as first names in the present thesis, even when they are in a shape that is more similar to bynames, e.g. *The Ghost of High Heart*, *Mother Mole*, and *The Kindly Man*.

In the cases where characters themselves chose to rename themselves, there is a close connection to creating a new identity or to re-fashioning one's current position in society, e.g. *Ramsay Snow*, calls himself *Ramsay Bolton* even though he an illegitimate child of which the name *Snow* name is marker for, or *Viserys Taragaryen* calls himself *Viserys III* even though he has not been crowned king. A name can also be a powerful tool to force someone to lose their identity, e.g. in the case of *Theon Greyjoy* who is captured and tortured and is forced to call himself *Reek*. Forcing *Theon* to call himself *Reek* is a way of dehumanizing him, by taking away his identity and personality and by giving him a name that is not really a human name. *Theon's* transformation into *Reek* is also shown structurally in the books by the chapter

headings which changes from *Theon* to *Reek*, and further on to *The Prince of Winterfell*, *The Turncloak* and *A Ghost in Winterfell*, before going back to *Theon*.

Arya Stark from ASOIAF and *Shallan Devar* from TSA are examples of characters that change their names, not only as means of hiding their true identity, but also creating new identities along with the names that eventually becomes a part of themselves.

Arya goes on a quest to become an assassin, in which case she has to give up her name and her past along with it in order to complete her training. As part of this process she has to give up all her belongings and does so, except for one, her sword *Needle*. This could be interpreted as a sign that she is unable to let go of her past, and unable to let go of her identity as *Arya Stark*. During her training she takes on the identity as *Cat of the Canals*, and later the identity *Blind Beth*:

“And who are you this morning?” [...] “No one,” she replied. “A lie. I know you. You are that blind beggar girl.”

“Beth.” She had known a Beth once, back at Winterfell when she was Arya Stark. Maybe that was why she’d picked the name. Or maybe it was just because it went so well with *blind*. (Martin 2011: 593, original emphasis)

The choice of names also shows that *Arya* is not able to let go of her past, as all the names she has chosen so far are based on people she has met, e.g. *Arry* was her first disguise, when she pretends to be a boy so as to avoid being recognized as *Arya*. She continues to take on new disguises, as e.g. *Nan*, *Weasel* and *Nymeria*, all based on characters that she has met. *Arya*’s name changes are also mirrored structurally in the books. Similar to *Theon*’s chapters, the headings of *Arya*’s point of view chapters change title whenever she changes name, i.e. one chapter is called *Cat of the Canals* and the next is called *The Blind Girl*.

Shallan Devar also goes through name changes that also involves change in identity and personality. *Shallan* has the ability to create illusions which means she can alter her appearance at will, and with her new appearances she also creates new identities. The first persona she creates is called *Veil*, which mirrors the initial purpose of the disguise, to infiltrate a secret organization. *Veil* starts to function as an actual veil for *Shallan*, one that she can hide behind and at the same time dare to try out thing *Shallan* would never do. *Veil*’s name is transparent in the sense that she is just an illusion. At the same time, she also enables

Shallan to blur the trauma from her past as *Veil* is a person who has not experienced these things.

Another personality *Shallan* creates is called *Radiant*. *Radiant* is a warrior, a fighter while *Shallan* is a scholar. *Shallan* creates *Radiant* as she needs to learn how to fight, and to fulfill her role as a ‘knight radiant’. Eventually, it becomes difficult for *Shallan* to keep the personas separate from her own personality, and she uses them to escape her own mind and issues and start losing herself in the process. It becomes unclear who the ‘real’ *Shallan* is.

New identities are also a part of becoming a member of the Night’s Watch in ASOIAF. Similar to how scholars and religious servants renounce their names in order to serve (cf. section 4.4), the Night’s Watch is an institution in where the people renounce their name. Those who join the Night’s Watch does not only give up their name, but their rights to own land and to have a family. They have to renounce their past identity, to gain a new one as ‘a brother of the Night’s Watch’. In order to become a member, they have to swear the following vows:

Night gathers, and now my watch begins. It shall not end until my death. I shall take no wife, hold no lands, father no children. I shall wear no crowns and win no glory. I shall live and die at my post. I am the sword in the darkness. I am the watcher on the walls. I am the fire that burns against the cold, the light that brings the dawn, the horn that wakes the sleeper, the shield that guards the realms of men. I pledge my life and honor to the Night’s Watch, for this night and all the nights to come (Martin [1996] 2016: 549).

As previously mentioned, the institution functions more as an alternative to prison, or a second chance at life, and as the members have to give up their past identity many are given new names. Notably most of the names of the members are invented names, e.g. *Cotter*, *Lync*, and *Fornio*, which seems to emphasize the notion of having to create a new identity. There are examples of conventional names, e.g. *Owen*, *Jaremy*, *Malcolm* and *Arron*, and tweaked names, e.g. *Andrew*, *Kurz*, and *Qyle*. A lot of the names also include bynames, e.g. *Iron Emmet*, *Qhorin Halfhand*, *Tim Tangle tongue*, and *Squire Dalbridge*. While others have only one name, *Satin*, *Easy*, *Dirk*, *Sawwood* and *Spare Boot*, which seems to be based on bynames. One character in particular, named *Allister Thorne* is very productive when it comes to naming new members. He gives all the new recruits new names, mainly based on physical appearance, e.g. *Aurochs* (Grenn), *Rednose* (Gynir), *Horse* (Hareth), *Rat* (Rast), *Toad*

(Todder) or mental characteristics, e.g. *Stone Head* (Halder), *Ser Loon* (Matthar), or behavior, e.g. *Mummer's Monkey* (Pypar), *Lover* (Dareon). He also uses titles as mock names, e.g. *Lord Snow* (Jon Snow), *Lord Ham*, *Ser Pigg*, *Lady Piggy* (Sam Tarly).

In essence bynames do not only reflect physical appearance, they show brief glimpse of how the society works, and tell short stories about the name-bearer and their relations. They function both as tools for distinguishing between characters, as signs of intimacy and as tools for constructing new identities and personalities. This is similar to how bynames function in general.

6 CONCLUSION

The following is a summary of my findings based on the research questions and hypothesis presented in section 1.3. This thesis has explored the different naming strategies found in ASOIAF and TSA. In terms naming, the writers of fantasy are in an especially interesting position as they can invent their own nomenclatures based entirely on boundaries that they set themselves. Despite this freedom, they still follow some general naming criteria, e.g. all the names are written with a capital first letter. At the same time, the playfulness and creativity tend to go beyond what is commonly found in conventional names.

The thesis has shown that there are deliberate naming strategies when it comes to distinguishing between cultures and ethnicities in both series. The literary names in fantasy are connected both through historical events, cf. through migration, and through geographical placement, as the different cultures have different naming practices. In this way the names contribute to gradually revealing detailed historical and geographical images of the secondary world. This also illustrates how the names are part of the worldbuilding and the storytelling that might not be obvious at first glance. Thus, confirming hypothesis one (H1). This deliberate distinction not only helps the reader orientate in the constructed world but also gives an authenticity of the name in that their origin is geographically situated. In ASOIAF this distinction is most prominent when comparing the central culture of Westeros to the foreign cultures of Essos. In Westeros the general tendencies involve the use and selection of conventional names and tweaking of such names. The number of conventional names used was somewhat unexpected considering the genre. At the same time, the world in ASOIAF is similar to the real world and thus the selected conventional name still fit within the constructed nomenclature.

Furthermore, the names from Westeros are clearly marked for gender, through the use of certain name elements and mostly through pseudo-suffixation. In the foreign cultures outside Westeros these trends are not as prominent which enhances the difference between the two continents. The gender distinction in particular is not as clear-cut in Essos as it is in Westeros. It is even less clear in the names from TSA and even less so in the non-human character's names. The unclear gender distinction is also a way to enhance foreignness through unfamiliarity, especially in the non-human characters. Additionally, these characters do not always operate within the traditional binary gender distinction. Thus, hypothesis 4 (H4) is only partially confirmed.

The foreignness of the names in ASOIAF is reflected in the decreased use of family names and conventional names, seen both in the characters from Essos (4.5) and with the Free Folk (4.2.1). The foreignness is also enhanced by the uncommon orthography of the names, e.g. the use of apostrophes and hyphens, as well as the unusual letter combinations. Furthermore, the gender distinction is less clear in the foreign names. Similarly, each culture in TSA has a distinct nomenclature which is different from the central culture. These differences enhance the foreignness of the names. As the central culture becomes the standard what deviates from the standard is perceived as unfamiliar, and thus foreign. The geographical distance with the invented world also seems to enhance these differences as the names become more different from each other the further away they are situated. Hence confirming hypothesis 2 (H2).

Moreover, distances seem also to be connected with humanness, as the non-human characters have names in unfamiliar shapes. The less human-like the character is, the stranger the name is perceived. Additionally, the good and evil dichotomy is more evident in TSA and it is enhanced by evil characters having more unfamiliar and strange sounding names. The non-humanness of characters is likewise emphasized by having more unfamiliar names, thus confirming hypothesis three (H3). The strangeness of the name thus enhances the fact that the character is not human, hence confirms hypothesis 3 (H3).

The present thesis has investigated the motivation for the bynames of the characters and has found many similarities with bynames in general, both regarding function and semantic content. Physical traits of the name-bearer are found to be the greatest motivator for coining bynames. The bynames play an important role, not only in helping the reader distinguish between characters but as a tool in driving the story and character development. As the bynames embody a large amount of semantic content the names themselves become an important tool in the storytelling and worldbuilding as it is possible to present a character's personality or history only using a name.

6.1 Shortcomings and further research

The present thesis covers only two specific fantasy series, and as the fantasy genre is so vast it is not representative for the genre as a whole. Furthermore, neither of the series are completed which means the findings in the present thesis might not be relevant for the entire series. However, the present thesis still presents findings that can be valuable for further research.

One shortcoming of the present thesis is that I am not a native English speaker. According to Windt (2005) “the onomatologist in each country must content themselves with working on the literature of naming of their own mother tongue and culture.” Thus, I might fail to notice cultural or historical connotations and references connected with the names. Although I understand Windt’s argument I do not fully agree. I might fail to notice certain types of information, but I might also notice things that would otherwise go unnoticed by a native speaker.

Another shortcoming of this study is that I have mainly relied on English research..., while a major amount of research within the field of literary onomastics has been done in Germany. Unfortunately, my knowledge and mastery of German is limited. At the same time, the focus of the present thesis has been on English (American) fantasy, and English names, written by English-speaking authors.

This thesis provides a contribution into the overview of “the onymic landscape of fantasy literature” (Falck-Kjällquist 2016). The vastness of the genre provides unique opportunities for further research as well as challenges into how to get a comprehensive overview of the genre. I believe taking a diachronic approach would be interesting in order to identify possible patterns or changes in patterns over a longer period of time. Such an approach might not only discover naming patterns but might also provide an overview of stereotypes and attitudes within the genre reflected in the name usage and name coinages. The names used might mirror attitudes of the time they are written in. There is already a notable difference between ASOIAF and TSA regarding the use and subverting of stereotypes. The thirty years between the publishing of the first book in the ASOIAF-series and the first book in the TSA-series might have further implications than what has been discussed in the present thesis. The fact that fantasy literature often comes in the shape of a series, not only provide fruitful opportunities for comparison, but also provide a productive starting point.

At first glance, the importance of names in fantasy literature might not be obvious. The present thesis has shown that names are not only important in characterizing the name-bearers but also important tools in storytelling and worldbuilding. Internal consistency is an important factor in why names need to be predictable and an essential part in maintaining the reader’s suspension of disbelief and continued immersion.

Appendix

Appendix 1 Male names formed using the second name element as base.

Name element	Examples from the corpus	Etymology (from DFN)
-bald	Archibald**, Hibald, Leobald, Meribald, Moribald, Theobald**	- <i>bald</i> 'bold, brave'. Germanic (Frankish) origin (s.v. " <i>Archibald</i> ").
-bert	Elbert, Gilbert**, Gylbert, Harbert, Herbert**, Lambert**, Narbert, Nortbert, Orbert, Osbert**, Torbert, Wilbert**	- <i>bert</i> 'bright'. Germanic origin (s.v. " <i>Norbert</i> ").
-fred/-fryd	Benfred, Manfred**, Renfred, Umfred Manfryd, Osfryd, Sigfryd, Wynafryd*	- <i>fred/-frid</i> 'peace'. Germanic origin (s.vv. " <i>Manfred</i> " & " <i>Siegfried</i> ").
-land	Howland, Orland, Ro(l)land**	- <i>land</i> 'land' Germanic origin (s.v. " <i>Roland</i> ").
-man	Balman, Helman, Hosman, Jarman, Lyman**, Ryman, Vyman, Wyman**	- <i>man</i> 'man' Germanic origin (s.v. " <i>Norman</i> ").
-mon(d)/-mun(d)	Aemon(d), Colemon, Daemon, Desmond** Emmon(d), Gormond, Halmon, Harmond, Lymond, Normund, Ormon(d), Raymond**, Selmond, Symon(d), Tremond Boremund, Dormund, Harmund, Osmund**, Rosamund*, Rymund, Tormund, Tristimun	- <i>mond/- mund</i> 'protector' Old English origin (s.vv. " <i>Osmond</i> " & " <i>Edmund</i> ").
-nard	Maynard, Raynard, Regenard, Tomnard	- <i>hard</i> 'hardy, brave, strong'. Germanic (Frankish) origin (s.v. " <i>Bernard</i> ").
-well	Danwell, Oswell, Rodwell, Samwell, Shagwell	Suffix from family name (s.v. " <i>Maxwell</i> ").
-win/wyn(d)	Goodwin*, Harwin, Luwin, Tywin Arwyn*, Cadwyn, Edwyn**, Godwyn, Harwyn, Lewyn, Malwyn, Marwyn, Oswyn, Perwyn, Redwyn, Selwyn**, Serwyn, Torwynd,	- <i>wine</i> 'friend'. Old English origin (s.v. " <i>Edwin</i> ").
-wood	Arwood, Gilwood, Elwood** Harwood, Lenwood, Samwood	Suffix from family name (s.v. " <i>Woodrow</i> ").

* Female name

** Conventional English first name

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