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Political Mechanisms of Naming, The Case of "FARC-EP"

Master's Thesis

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Content

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Introduction

On August 24, 2016, after four years of negotiations, was announced the signing of the "Acuerdos de Paz entre el Gobierno de Colombia y las FARC-EP[1] para la terminación definitiva del Conflicto" (Peace Agreements between the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP for the definitive termination of the Conflict). This event marked the history of Colombia and the region for several reasons. First of all, it declared the end of the older Marxists-Leninist guerrilla in the world, it was founded in 1964. Second, it was taken as proof that the legacy of the army revolution from the XX century guerrillas of Latin America, had reached its inviability and therefore its end. And third, the four years of negotiations, as well as the post-peace agreements period, showed the key role of the images, discourses, names, and ideas in a highly polarized country between supporters and opponents of the Peace Agreements and the reincorporation of the guerrilla into the civilian life.

Immediately after the dissolution of the FARC-EP as a guerrilla, there was the creation of the political party[2] *FARC[3]*, which in 2021 would change its name to Comunes. However, the changes in the proper names of the FARC-EP did not only happen during its period as political party. During the years of the conflict between the guerrilla and the Colombian State, it is possible to identify at least other two names FARC[4] and FAR, related to the belligerent status of the group and drug trafficking/terrorism respectively.

In this context, it is difficult to neglect the fact that the proper names of the group in both moments (as guerrilla and as a political party) fulfilled important roles in the very struggle the group sustains against the Colombian government: first, in the context of the military

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[1] Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo.
[2] This was one of the guaranties the Colombian government gave to the former guerrilla: political participation.
[3] Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común. From here on, *FARC.*
[4] Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia. From here on, FARC.

conflict and then, in the legal political contest. This is especially clear given that, the names are an important part of the representation games and struggles (Hall 1997). As Michael Bhatia (2005) claims, in the context of armed movements and battlegrounds in contemporary conflicts, "the struggle over representation is directly a struggle over the legitimacy of violent acts" (Bhatia 2005: 13) and therefore "the relationship between the names applied and the decision to practice restricted or unrestricted warfare is immediately apparent" (Bhatia 2005: 14).

Thereby, having introduced the importance of names to the understanding of a still unexplored dimension of the FARC-EP, the object of study are the different names the FARC-EP had as a guerrilla and as a political party. The aims of this thesis are:

- To describe the main approaches through which the names and the naming have been studied.
- To propose a particular approach to study the phenomena of names/naming in political contexts.
- To identify and explain the semiotic mechanisms through which the naming operations occur in the names of the FARC-EP.

In order to reach the aims above, this research is divided into four chapters which possess their own questions and aims:

In the first chapter, I proposed to present the case study, namely the FARC-EP. This section is made up of two parts: first, a brief history of the FARC-EP from its beginnings as a proto-guerrilla in the era known in the Colombian historiography as "La Violencia" (The Violence) until the signing of the Peace Agreements with the Colombian government, its disarmament and its transformation into a political party. Second, the review of the studies that have been carried out about the FARC-EP. This section is guided by two main questions: 1) From what approaches has the FARC-EP been studied? and 2) What have been the role of names and naming in that scholarship?

In the second chapter, I make a presentation on the major approaches to studying names and naming. I start from the most general approaches (Philosophy of Language,

Onomastics, and Critical Onomastics) towards more specialized approaches in political naming (Political Onomastics, Politics of Naming) until reaching the approach of Political Semiotics. The review of these approaches is guided by the following questions: 1) What are the main approaches to the study of names and naming? 2) How do names work according to each approach? and 3) What are the contributions -or restrictions- that the different approaches bring to my object of study, either theoretical or methodological? Those questions allow me to identify key elements for the construction of a particular approach for the study of the FARC-EP that will be unrolled in the next chapter.

In the third chapter, I focus on developing the basis of a political semiotic approach of naming. From here on the understanding on names and naming abandon the generality display in the second chapter and focus on the proper names and naming processes that occurred in a political context. The main concern of this chapter is the question: how names work semiotically? and not just as the utterance of a nomination. For that purpose, there is the introduction of the concepts of naming operation and semiotic mechanism. Bringing to the front the questions: 1) What are naming operations? 2) Which are the naming operations and which are the specificities of each one? and 3) What is the relation between naming operations and the semiotic mechanisms?

In the fourth and last chapter, I propose the application of the approach developed in the third chapter to the object of study. Thus, this chapter is done the analysis of the different names the FARC-EP had as a guerrilla and a political party from the notions of naming operations and semiotic mechanisms. However, it should not be understood as a one-direction application, this is as the application of a finished theory to a case of study but as a double-way: the analysis of the case of study reinforms the theory bringing new elements and allowing a closer understanding of it. The chapter itself is divided into six subchapters, an introductory subchapter regarding the empirical sources used and the identification of the different names of the FARC-EP. Followed by the five names that were identify as individual subchapters. This order helps to the identification of the naming operations that take place in each one as well as their semiotic mechanisms.

After the chapters, the conclusion summarizes the findings about the object of research but also deals with the limitations or unexplored elements of the thesis. Thus, leading to the identification of productive questions and pathways for further research.

Regarding the methodology, the thesis possesses three main moments. Firstly, related with the first and second chapters, the main resource are bibliographic material related with both FARC-EP and Names/naming phenomena. Secondly, related with the third chapter, there is bibliographical theoretical resources mainly from Lotman (1975) (2001) (2013), Genette (1997) Delabastita (1993), Selg and Ventsel (2020), Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck (2006) and Woodman (2009).

The third an last moment, related with the fourth chapter, deals with empirical material that allows the identify the appearance and use of the different names. The sources here are mainly colombian newspapers: El Tiempo, El Espectador, Revista Semana and Voz proletaria. It is important to higly here than those newspapers are not innocent documents that reflect the reality but usually influence whether by the goberment or by the guerrilla. The twitter accounts of key actors as the account of the political party *FARC*, after Comunes, and the account of Alvaro Uribe Velez a key figure in the politics of Colombia, especially due to its leadership of the righwing party "Centro Democratico" (Democratic Center). And first hand documents as the foundational internal documents of the guerrilla as well as the acts of their national conferences, the document of the "Peace Agreements between the Colombian Government of Juan Manuel Santos and FARC-EP" and the documents and statutes of the "Founding Congress of the Force Party Common Revolutionary Alternative – FARC".

1. Establishing the case: the FARC-EP

The main aim of this chapter is to introduce the case study around which the present thesis is constructed. Although the FARC-EP are a quite well know phenomenon, at least in the Spanish speaking academy, because of the influence it had, and continues to have, in Colombian history, but also in the context of the guerrilla movement in Latin America, it is important to highlight two dimensions of the FARC-EP. On the one hand, the history of it. This is the contextual conditions that gave rise to this group as well as the different moments of dialogue or interrelation the FARC-EP had establish with other actors as the Colombian government, the civil population and another army groups. On the other hand, what has been written about the guerrilla: from which approaches it has been studied? What are the most common methodological trends? As well as the less explores ones. Both dimensions are diploid in this chapter aiming to the presentation of the case of study of the present thesis.

1.1 A brief history of the FARC-EP

Within several attempts to historicize the FARC-EP, it is possible to find both convergent and divergent points of view related to the possible phases or moments of the guerrilla, for instance, periodizations demarcated by the peace and pacification processes, or those which took into account the large military operations directed by the State against the guerrilla (from the LASO Plan to the Plan Patriot) (Molano 2000; Medina Gallego 2010; Peña 2014; Villamizar 2018; Arango 2020). Trying to deal with this impasse, I start from the

periodization that focuses on the historical development of the guerrilla itself, proposed by Mario Aguilera-Peña (2014), and according to which it is possible to trace four phases in the development of the FARC-EP: first phase between 1949 and 1978, second phase between 1978 and 1991, third phase between 1991 and 2008 and fourth phase between 2008 and 2013. However, considering that when Peña (2014) published his work, the Colombian peace process between the Colombian government of President Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC was taking place, I find the analytic necessity to add a fifth phase that goes from 2014 to our days.

Chronological Phase	Years
First phase	1949–1978
Second phase	1978–1991
Third phase	1991–2008
Fourth phase	2008–2013
Fifth phase	(2014) –2016–Nowadays

Table 1. Chronological phase of the FARC-EP. Adapted from Guerrilla y Población civil (17-28) by Mario Aguilera-Peña (2014).

The first phase dates back to the time that in Colombian history is known as "La Violencia" (Bushnell 1996). Within this phenomenon, it is possible to frame at least two events: the emergence of communist guerrillas after the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán and the beginning of bipartisan violence. After the assassination of the presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948, a wave of violent confrontations broke out in Colombia between the two political forces that predominated at that time: Liberals and Conservatives. This presumable ideological confrontation was followed by disruptions in class and religion dimensions, soon becoming a fight for land and territories. The peasants fought against the domination of the landlords and the high prices in the possession of the properties. In just over a decade there was a balance of between 200 and 300 thousand deaths (Palacios 2003).

The conservatives had the support of the State and the church, while the liberals were grouped as peasant self-defense groups in various regions of the country. According to the foundational myth of the FARC-EP, it was one of these liberal groups who was attacked by the Colombian army in 1964, in Marquetalia, Tolima, a region of central-western Colombia (Palacios 2003). From then on, and as an armed response to the government of the day, the FARC-EP was founded.

In its early years, the actions of the FARC-EP were cautious; its operations were focused on very specific regional foci, without much resonance in the country. However, starting in the 1980s, Las FARC-EP developed a discourse of National Sovereignty motivated by an event known as the "civic workers' strike" that occurred in Colombia in 1977, hand in hand with an ideological shift from liberalism towards the Marxism-Leninism that occurred in the late 1960s (Bushnell 1996). Although this phase takes into account the emergence of the FARC-EP in 1964 and gives it the importance it has for the history of that organization, it underlines that there were significant extensions between the communist guerrillas and Las FARC (Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus víctimas 2015). In the first years of that armed organization, the strong subordination to the Communist Party continued to operate; the lack of clarity about its strategic goals; persistence in certain areas; the continuity of some of its war methods and of a political discourse built on the agrarian conflict and the historical debt left by the bipartisan violence (Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus víctimas 2015).

This stage or phase ends with the VI Conference[5] of the FARC-EP in 1978 when this insurgent group proposed to become a national guerrilla, a "Revolutionary Army", and when it defined that its project was the seizure of power. We are talking, then, of a marginal, silent, non-combative guerrilla that mixes its old procedures with new forms of attraction and social subjection in its relations with the peasants, that advocates for the state presence

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[5] "events of democratic decision that within the organization are generating the adjustments of an organizational and strategic nature and the tactical turns for the execution of its political project" (Medina Gallego 2008: 2-3).

in its areas of influence and that is socially perceived as a guerrilla daughter of bipartisan violence and of a social conflict not resolved by the State.

The second phase, 1978–1991, is delimited, on the one hand, by the political crisis of the late 1970s, generated by the rise of the particular urban guerrilla and social protests (Molano 2000). The Colombian government tried to overcome this crisis by military means with the issuance of the so-called "Security Statute". On the other hand, it is connected with another serious crisis, that of the late eighties, derived from the rise of drug trafficking, insurgency, and paramilitarism, which led to the Constituent Assembly and the promulgation of a new Constitution (Villamizar 2018).

In this context, the Colombian armed conflict intensified to reach its peak in the next two decades. A new actor arrived on the scene of the combat: The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, a far-right paramilitary group supported by ranchers, landowners, and sectors of the army (Leech 2011). This is a transition phase for Las FARC. The guerrilla was reformulating themselves, and was obtaining important results: they were conquering new territories by offering various forms of exchange in rural areas based on regional peculiarities; The guerrilla endowed with a strategic plan for the seizure of power, which would transform the war and the recent history of Colombia; issues internal regulations; continues to combine war and politics by creating the Patriotic Union; builds the bases of its national rearguard; receives the first impact of the economy of drug trafficking, among others (Brittain 2011).

This period finished with the accentuation of the extermination of the Patriotic Union, after which the FARC-EP make the firm decision to wage war until the final victory, definitively distancing itself from the negotiation and the 1991 constitutional process. Consequently, the war would reach a stage of degradation in which hundreds of civilians were victims. This fact had closed relation with the incursion into the drug trafficking as a financing method helped the guerrillas expand their weapons and territorial dominance, to the detriment of the support of the people and various sectors of society (Bushnell 1996).

The third phase, 1991–2008, expresses the development and decline of the Strategic Plan, also known as the Campaign for the New Colombia, with which the FARC-EP tried to enter the country's capital in triumph. In this phase, this guerrilla was committed to war, developed the territorial occupation and the military offensive, including negotiation as a political strategy to lead to the accentuation of military actions or to conclude in the creation of a new republic in its zones of national rearguard and even in the possibility of the recognition of the State of belligerence (Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus víctimas 2015). The State responded with renewed Armed Forces thanks to North American support, applying Plan Colombia and developing various campaigns such as the Patriot Plan and the Consolidation Plan that ended up forcing the guerrillas into a military withdrawal. The actions of the Military Forces also implied that the FARC-EP lost a large part of their territorial control, that they confined themselves to unpopulated and jungle areas, that many of their fronts were dismantled, that several of their main commanders died, and that their force was reduced. as a result of multiple defections (Palacios 2018).

The military deployment activated by the FARC-EP burst in defying a complex picture of adverse factors, some irreversible or too important to prevent the war from being popular and having a chance of victory: the development of constitutional formulas that are taking the floor away from the insurgency through new forms of participation and investment of resources in the regions and localities; the decline of traditional social movements; the little capacity for political penetration in the cities; the absence of fractures in the political and military elites; the international changes that show, on the one hand, the collapse of socialist models and, on the other, the adverse conditions for access to political power by military means to have international respect and support; the rise and progressive territorial expansion of paramilitarism; the loss of prestige generated by war methods such as kidnapping and the use of cylinder bombs and antipersonnel mines; and the delegitimization of the management of resources from drug trafficking, among others (Peña 2014).

The fourth phase, 2008–2013, begins with the Reborn Plan formulated by Alfonso Cano (commander of the FARC-EP at that moment) upon his arrival in command and closes

with the first peace approaches with the Government of President Juan Manuel Santos and the roadmap for peace made up of five points (Peña 2014). In this phase, the guerrilla recognized the impact of the Plan Patriota, carried out vigorously during the first government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2002–2006) and, consequently, defined the strategy for its political and military recovery. The guerrillas adapted to the new conditions of the conflict, appealing with relative success to a war of resistance or survival. To do this, the FARC-EP continued to defend some of its historic areas, tries to increase its combatants, maintains its strategic corridors, establishes economic alliances with criminal gangs, and continues to protect itself through the use of minefields, mortar grenades, snipers, and car bombs (Medina Gallego 2010). This adaptation of the FARC-EP to the offensive of the Public Force and the questioning of the increasingly distant "beginning of the end" of the subversion, led the State to redesign its military strategy through the application of the Sword of Honor Plan and to formulate –in the opposite direction of all predictions– the possibility of seeking a negotiated solution to the conflict.

In the fifth and last phase ((2014) and 2016-Nowadays), Pablo Catatumbo, the commander of the western block of the FARC-EP at that moment, said "neither we could defeat the State, nor could the State defeat us" (Catatumbo 2014). In this way, the peace process, seen by the guerrillas, was understood as a transformation from the armed struggle to the political struggle. After 4 years of dialogues in Havana, the FARC-EP and the Colombian government signed Peace Agreement in 2016. From then on, the guerrilla became the political party (the FARC) that currently has 10 seats secured in Congress by the provisions of the peace agreement, not by popular vote.

1.2.　　Literary review of the FARC-EP

The FARC-EP can be also understood not as a historical that occurred in the real concrete space but as an intellectual or analytic construction. The particular question that guides this subtitle is how has the phenomenon of the FARC-EP as an object of research been

approached and constructed? It is important to state here that although the literature review is broad it is not complete or finished. Due to the important amount of works that take the FARC-EP as their object of research such enterprise (a fully comprehensive historiographic report of the totality of works about the FARC-EP) is at least virtually impossible. In order to overcome this impasse, I focus on the main researches written in Spanish and English language.

After having done the review of the literature that has been written about the FARC-EP it is possible to trace four major branches within its historiography, each of them which privileged a particular dimension of the FARC-EP: a historical approach, an ideological approach, the military, and strategical approach, and in finally some blurred and not well definable approach related with representations, mass media, and discursive formations.

The historical branch is characterized by the chronological approach of the FARC-EP, within this set of works it is possible to find several attempts to periodize their history encountering different proposals with can range from three (Brittain 2011), four (Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus víctimas 2015; Pizarro, Peñaranda 1991), five (Leech 2011) and even six (Aguilera Peña 2016; Medina Gallego 2010) periods in the history of the FARC-EP.

Within the ideological branch, it is possible to find different works that study the political ideologies embedded within the project of the FARC-EP, mainly the so-called Marxist-Leninism (Palacios 2018) and Bolivarianism (Medina, Ramón 2002). Furthermore, there are critical balances where the authors wonder whether the FARC-EP were a guerrilla with a political project or a depoliticized criminal organization, such as the case of Saskiewicz (2005).

Two works catch the attention because they move beyond the usual approach: on the one hand, the book "Cese al fuego: una historia politica de Las FARC" written by Jacobo Arenas, well-known guerrillero who was in his moment the ideological leader of the FARC-EP (Arenas 1985), the value of this book lays in the fact that it was written from the inside of the guerrilla by the main ideological and intellectual leader of the moment, and because it can be understood as the political/ideological manifesto of the FARC-EP. On the other

hand, the book "Militarized Youth: The Children of the FARC" (Higgs 2020) by Johanna Higgs proposed a vivid analysis of the ideological formations of the FARC-EP from an intersectional approach, enabling an analysis of the age, gender, and class dimension in the "child soldiers" within the guerrilla.

Regarding the military and strategical branch, it is clear a focus from the security and strategic studies field. Four main works can be named. In the first place, the paper "Las FARC después de Marulanda: ¿extinción estratégica o transformación organizativa?" by Roman Ortiz treat the possible strategical and military organizational transformations after the death of Manuel Marulanda Velez, main commander of the FARC-EP at that time (Ortiz 2008), second, the paper "Colombia's FARC: A Portrait of Insurgent Intelligence" by Gentry and Spencer study the military apparatus as well as the strategical organization of Las FARC from their category of Insurgent Intelligence (Gentry & Spencer 2010).

Finally, the works of Delgado (2015) and Ortega (2011) deal with the different military and strategical rearrangements that the FARC-EP and the Colombian State made in order to antagonize with each other, as a constitutive enemy. Delgado's work "Colombian military thinking and the fight against the FARC-EP insurgency" focuses on the image of the FARC-EP as a highly important enemy through which the Colombian State built and rearranged its military strategies between 2002–2014. On the other hand, Ortega's work "Acciones y reacciones estratégicas: adaptaciones de las FARC a las innovaciones operacionales de las Fuerzas Armadas de Colombia durante la Política de Defensa y Seguridad Democrática" focuses on the strategic actions through with the FARC-EP got adapted militarily to the innovations made by the Colombian forces in the context of the "Seguridad Democratica", an aggressive military program develop during the presidency of Alvaro Uribe (2002–2010) to fight against the FARC-EP.

The last historiographic branch that was found was the representational one[6]. This specific branch contains an important variety of different approaches: musicology,

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[6] I decided to call this branch "representational" for operational and pragmatic purposes, however, as explained in the second paragraph of the present subchapter, this category is a blurred one in which different types of works are grouped (media and mass media, discourses, representations, aesthetics, and music).

aesthetics, media studies, etc. However, it is possible to find a tendency towards the analysis of representations of the FARC-EP in newspapers and/or national television. Regarding the newspapers, it is possible to identify three main works. First of all, the master's thesis "La creación del eterno enemigo proceso de representaciones de las farc en la prensa 1964–1996" by Julian Penagos (2009) in which the author explores the representation of Las FARC in the national newspapers, the author proposes a chronological typology of representations directly related to the treatment of the FARC-EP in the newspapers.

Another work is "Miedo al pueblo. Representaciones y auto representaciones de las FARC" by Maria Victoria Uribe and Juan Felipe Urueña (2019) along this book the authors analyze some visual and discursive representations of the FARC-EP and its relationship of "enmity" with the Colombian State, through the analysis of images and discourses in the context of five relevant events in the relations between the FARC-EP and the Colombian State: Marquetalia, Dialogues of La Uribe, Dialogues of Caguán, presidential periods of Uribe Vélez and the Dialogues of Havana. The last work that had the newspapers as empirical material is "La construcción del enemigo en el conflicto armado colombiano" by Pablo Emilio Angarita et al (2015), this book focuses on the construction of the enemy between the actors of the conflict, namely the FARC-EP, the Colombian government and the paramilitary groups.

Within the same representational branch but with a different empirical material is the thesis "Rol simbólico, político e ideológico de los noticieros televisivos de la radio cadena nacional (RCN) durante las ruedas de prensa de algunas operaciones militares contra el grupo subversivo de las FARC en la política de Álvaro Uribe Vélez" by Abad García Orozco (2012) in which the empirical material shifts from the newspapers to the television news. In this case, the thesis focusses on the representation of the FARC-EP in the television news especially in the RCN Colombian Channel.

Finally, an important research within this representational approach is the master's thesis "Corcheas insurgentes: usos y funciones de la música de las FARC-EP durante el

conflicto armado en Colombia" by Rafael Camilo Quishpe (2018) in which the author analyzes the uses and functions of the music produced by the FARC-EP for the organization and its political-military work during the armed conflict in Colombia, it is remarkable to claim the pioneering character this research has.

As has been seen throughout this subchapter, the research about the FARC-EP have been wide and extensive. In this sense, it is possible to trace some tendencies within the historiography of the FARC-EP. First of all, the historical approach is the more developed and common within the literary review according to the approach of the FARC-EP. Second, the ideological and military approaches occupied some kind of marginal place within the scholarship about the FARC-EP. Finally, and probably the most important for the present thesis, despite the bunch of works I have set under the blurred branch of "representational approach" are of an important amount between books, papers and thesis there is an important theoretical gap regarding the semiotics approach that could inform this branch.

Specifically, the works related to the newspapers and television news that although deal with discussions about representations and discourses they do not take a semiotic approach. Instead of dealing with the semiotic mechanisms of the representations themselves, they focus on the content analysis as a clear reflection of the representational constructions. In this sense, I would claim that although the FARC-EP have been approached from a blurred representational or quasi-semiotic approach, the absence of a proper semiotic approach that goes beyond the media representations is evident. Consequently, the relevance of the present thesis can be found in the attempt to fulfill two major theoretical gaps. On the one hand, the gap about the semiotic mechanisms (just to mention some: translation, self-description, mythological thinking, palimpsest, pastiche, empty signifiers) that play key roles in the construction of the FARC-EP, especially their naming operations. On the other hand, the absence of a study about the names and naming phenomena of the FARC-EP due to it stays as an unexplored but powerful field to develop further studies, this is the topic that is going to be explored in the next chapter.

2. Framing naming studies: critical historiography of names and naming

In this chapter, I propose an overview of some of the main approaches to studying names and naming. The aim of this chapter is to understand the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to my object of study: the different names the FARC-EP guerrilla had before and after it became a political party. Among the reviewed approaches are the philosophy of language (especially the works from Russell, Mill, and Kripke as well as the debate between descriptivism and anti-descriptivism), traditional onomastics (focusing on the linguistic ground of these works), critical onomastics (specially the developments of critical toponomastics), a set of works that can be clustered under the label of political onomastic[7] and political semiotics (particularly the scholarship develop by Ventsel and Selg). The pertinence of this chapter lays in the possibility to understand how names and the phenomenon of naming have been conceptualized and studied. Thus, allowing the identification of common places as well as neglected zones in the scholarship.

2.1. Philosophy of language

The names have been studied from the perspective of philosophy of language and logic, especially from the perspective of analytic philosophy. These philosophical reflections regarding names can be traced to early periods, the best example of it is Plato's Cratylus dialogue. However, it was during the nineteen and twenty centuries when the bunch of works related to this regard achieved a prominent status. Among the main figures in this

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[7] In this subtitle, I shall explain the tensions and nuances between the works grouped here. Making explicit the differences between political onomastics, politics of naming, and political naming.

field, it is possible to find the analytic philosophers John Stuart Mill, Gottlob Frege, Bertrand Russell, Saul Kripke, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and John Searle.

In the context of the late production, it is possible to identify two main trends or approaches about the phenomenon of names: descriptivism and anti-descriptivism. Laclau brings a clear synthesis about the crucial issue of distinction between both approaches, namely "whether or not the reference involves a conceptual mediation" (Laclau 2006: 109). On the one hand, the classical descriptivist position (from John Stuart Mill to Bertrand Russell) claim that any objective reference involves a conceptual mediation. In other words, every name is associated with a set of descriptive features, so that when I find an object in the world showing those features, I apply that name to it (Laclau 2005). In the opposite case, one in which those descriptive features do not fulfil the role of a role or grammar for the nomination or simply do not exist, the "assignation" of the name would be entirely arbitrary.

The second perspective is the anti-descriptivist approach (linked to the work of Saul Kripke). From this perspective the conceptual mediation is absent therefore the arbitrariness of the nomination is not a mistake or an undesirable moment but a constitutive feature. That is why for Kripke naming (nomination) is a primal baptism, not grounded on any universal rule (Laclau 2006). This anti-descriptivist position will be a key theoretical background for late works regarding names and naming (see (Žižek 1989) (Laclau 2005) (Selg & Ventsel 2020)).

As can be noticed for the analytical philosophy, especially for the descriptivist point of view "the central issue is: how do names refer to objects?" (Laclau 2006: 109) how is the name attached or not to its referent? How does the name refer or identify the referent? Nevertheless, although in certain cases a name can merely identify, the name and naming processes develop much more meaningful and productive roles than just to designate the referent as a distinction from other comparable referents, and that is the main problem of the philosophy of language approach for our present case of study.

For instance, descriptive theories of names pay special attention to the true or false condition of the name as designator. Smith (2016) asserts that for the descriptive theory:

The statements, 'The present King of France is bald', and 'The present King of France is not bald', are both false because the reference is false. That is to say, the reference, 'the present King of France', is an abbreviation of the proposition, 'This man is the present King of France', and such a proposition is obviously false. There is no man, either bald or not bald, who might be described as the 'present King of France' (Smith 2016: 4).

The question here is although important, not productive in our present discussion. We are not discussing the degree of true of the names FARC-EP and FARC, neither whether the name FAR or FARC denotes "correctly" the referent (the guerrilla) nor the truth status of *FARC* or Comunes. When the discussion turns from the formal logic of the name to how the name works semiotically, the scholarship on the philosophy of language seems unproductive. For the study of FARC-EP we are focused on what makes names possible. These are the elements or processes that allow the name to work as such but which create it retroactively too. Namely, the semiotic mechanisms I shall tread in the next chapter.

2.2. Onomastics

Onomastics is the discipline that studies the history, etymology, uses and meanings of names, especially proper names. The object of research of onomastics (names) makes it a broad field with diverse approaches, methodologies and typologies. Due to this variety some authors have made distinctions within the discipline such as: Anthroponomastics (the study of personal names), Toponomastics (the study of place names), Socio-onomastics (the study of names in the context of a specific culture or society) and Literary Onomastics (the study of names in the literature realm) (Morala 1986) (Torres Cabrera 2002) (Puzey & Kostanski 2016). However, although the alleged variety of branches, the bulk of empirical studies of onomastics, in the humanities and social sciences has been traditionally dominated by what might be called an evolutionist and linguistic centered approach.

Whether we locate ourselves in Anthroponomastics, Toponomastics, Socio-onomastics or Literary Onomastics, it is possible to find discussions related to the meanings,

origins, and evolution of the names, as well as the changes that these have experienced. But usually from the morphological or etymological dimensions of the name, from a restricted linguistic optic. Therefore, two types of approaches are common in traditional onomastics[8].

Firstly, there is the name as suspended or frozen in a period of time, a synchronic approach. It leads us to the morphological study of the name, for instance, the trace and identification of the minimal linguistics meaningful units: the morphemes. In this context, some authors talk about the different types of meanings that can be found in(side) a name, such as lexical meaning and identifying meaning (Ainiala, Saarelma, & Sjöblom 2018), presuppositional meanings (Langendonck 2008) according to which there are certain amount of information in the linguistic or material part of the name that allows us to categorize it: for instance, Lazy is the name of a dog and not the name of a person as much as New York is the name of a city and not of a person), and emotionally based or affective meanings although these last ones are a great deal more subjective than categorical presuppositions or lexical associations" (Ainiala, Saarelma, & Sjöblom 2018: 33).

Second, there is the study of the name in terms of its changes and evolution, a diachronic approach. It leads us to the etymological study of the name. These works focus on how the spelling but also the meaning of the names change throughout their history. Due to the attempt to identify these changes along long-term temporalities, the authors resort to comparative studies either between texts of the epoch (literature, memories, diaries) or between languages that belong to the same family, thus tracing borrowings or imitations that can lead to stablish points of appearance or disappearance of the names.

Thus, the bunch of works within traditional onomastics are characterized by an objectification or reification of the name carry out at different levels, leading in its most radical moments to the fixation or sedimentation of the name as a linguistic self-contained object outside the world. However, the names are not linguistic units that exist and work

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[8] Which although not antagonistic to each other, sometimes they are treated separately.

neither in isolation nor detached from a denotatum. As such, to go beyond the simplification and common sense around the phenomena of names it is necessary to bring into account the particular context of actualization of the naming operations.

At this point it is worthy to think about FARC-EP within the traditional onomastics, especially what the traditional onomastics can tell us about FARC-EP. From the morphological point of view, it is possible to identify that the name is an abbreviation of Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo, however the identification of morphemes tells us little or nothing about the meaning(s) beyond the fact that it is a revolutionary group, we face a tautology: the FARC-EP are the FARC-EP are the FARC-EP[9]. Regarding the etymological approach, we would focus on the trace of the birth moment of the name and its different changes. Due to the fact that the foundation of the guerrilla goes back to the 1960's and the existence of internal organizational documents, such track would be possible. However, in the context of traditional onomastics, the changes of name would fulfil an almost anecdotic role within a series of depoliticized linguistic units (names).

Due to the above-explained, I would like to highlight two major theoretical problems, especially for the kind of study that is being developed in the present thesis. First, it is the desire to locate and to reach the birth moment of the name, the idea of the possible discovery of the moment before which the name did not exist and after which it came to existence, a birth moment that will bring unknown and privileged information about it. Second, the idea that the names are hiding an original, primordial, or Real meaning inside their linguistic structures. As a consequence, this approach suffers of a reified notion of the name as a self-enclosed entity out there ready to be discover and studied, thus neglecting its constructivist nature (the fact that names are contextual and historical constructions) and processual complexity (the names are not ended fixed objects but contingent processes).

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[9] As in "Sacred Emily" by Gertrude Stein "a rose is a rose is a rose" (1990: 376).

2.3. Critical onomastics

Towards the end of the twentieth and the first decades of the twenty first century occurred the raised of the so-called critical onomastics, this branch have been especially fruitful in the study of toponomastics.

The critical onomastics emerged as an attempt to face the two drawbacks highlighted above. These are, the names as monolithic and self-enclosed entities and the idea of a punctual and recognizable birth moment of the name, so to speak the metaphysics of the *genesis*. Consequently, critical onomastics focus especially in a non-enclosed understanding of the name and acknowledge the relationality imbricate in the names as well as in their different naming operations (naming, renaming, denaming). In order to do this, the contexts and relations in which names fulfill their roles become of main importance. Thus, the understanding of names shifts from an ideologically innocent conception to rather a crossed by the axes of economics, politics, desire, memory, and especially the role of power relations one. Names, then, flow from innocent linguistic categories toward power-charged semiotic dynamos for making meaning about identities, representations or places.

Contemporary authors like Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) have explained this turn in the field of critical toponomastics. In their words, "given that naming a place is always a socially embedded act, one that involves power relations, the "pure" linguistic standpoint remains inadequate for the critical study of toponymy" (Berg & Vuolteenaho 2009: 9). As much as naming a place is a socially embedded act, naming subjects, identities or representations are socially but also bodily embedded acts and as such the openness beyond the logocentrism is fundamental.

As Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) claim, critical toponomastics differ from traditional approaches through the exploring of "the power of naming in the construction of historical and contemporary landscapes" (Berg & Vuolteenaho 2009: 1). In other words, even if

frequently, at least in traditional approaches, names have been presented and represented in a depoliticized guise, critical onomastics, and critical toponomastics especially, states the key roles that names fulfil in the knowledge/power production as well as in the construction (*naming*), reconstruction (*renaming*) and, less often, destruction (*denaming*) of identities, representations, or even landscapes.

Despite the movement toward a more complex and reflexive conception of names by the critical onomastics, it is necessary to highlight a key aspect of the considerations about names that continue unexplored yet. This is, the persistence of an, although much more nuanced and soft than traditional onomastics, reified conception of the names as an entity. This understanding of the name as an object or entity obliterates the processual possibility to show or make evident the forces behind the names. Namely, the mechanisms through which the names become such but also the mechanisms through which names work.

2.4. Political onomastics, politics of naming or political naming?[10]

Moving to a more specific scholarship regarding the topic of the present work. I would like to comment three major works that directly engage with the realm of politics and/or the political from the perspectives of names and/or naming. Along these works the label used in their approaches fluctuates and acquired different forms: political onomastics, the politics of naming or political naming. Such a variety in their own names can brings confusion regarding the specificity of certain concepts and understanding of the phenomenon itself, due to this situation seems important to clarify what the authors understand for each label/approach and especially the differences, similarities and even contradictions between them. Thus, I shall identify the theoretical and methodological contributions these works brings to the present thesis.

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[10] Interestingly enough, the researches about names and naming cannot escape to their object of research.

First, it is the book "Names and Nunavut: culture and identity in Arctic Canada" by Valerie Alia (2006). The author develops what she decided to call Political onomastics or Politics of naming as a response to the latent superficiality when the relation between naming and power was being treated in the literature available at the date of her book. In her words, those works "increasingly address questions of power relations, though such questions remain on the margins of most works […] issues of power are implied but not identified" (Alia, 2006, pág. 7). Paradoxically (her book is a text about names), Alia does not bring up the differences between: on the one hand, political onomastics and on the other, politics of naming. Using both labels throughout the book interchangeably or as synonymous.

Furthermore, Alia does not deliver what she initially promises (or at least not completely), this is, a theoretical (concepts) and/or methodological (methods) schemata or overview of this nascent field of studies call Political onomastics or Politics of naming. This does not mean Alia's work is not full of important elements to be borrowed and further develop in order to get closer to the interrelation or overlap between politics/political and naming. However, the clearly anthropological approach of Alia's book -with a robust ethnographic component and the study of the Inuit in the north Canada- do not bring much tools to the understanding of names and naming in the frame of political contexts.

The main inconvenience with her approach is that this "classical" ethnographic approach to subcultures obscures the possibility to think Political onomastics or Politics of naming in everyday politics/political of the not-well-named western world. Thus, the focus of Political onomastics seems to be in subcultures or "exotic" groups.

Having established its limitations, there are important aspects in Alia's book that deserve mention. On the one hand, it is possible to find the seeds of the processual turn the scholarship on names and naming has taken. In her words: "my own work concentrates on naming rather than names – the sociopolitical process rather than the linguistic product (Alia, 2006, pág. 8). On the other, Alia's perceptive perspective allows her to recognize that the politics of naming is not merely "a politics on the psychological level, expressing

personality and power in the smaller social order" but it is, also, a "macro-politics affecting legal structures and the operations of governments and transgovernmental agencies" (Alia, 2006, págs. 15-16). Thus, the phenomena of names and naming escapes the private sphere of personal and individual identities to become a public matter, related with the government of the bodies and representations. The author emphasizes her failure to "locate a nation that has not passed formal legislation to regulate its citizens' naming practices" (Alia, 2006, pág. 16).   As it can be already noticeable, in the context of internal conflict and irregular warfare as between the Colombian government and the FARC, the politics of naming becomes even a hotter fact.

Second, there is a group of works published in volume 26 of 2005 of the journal Third World Quarterly. This special issue was entitled "The Politics of Naming: Rebels, Terrorists, Criminals, Bandits and Subversives". Three works deserve especial attention due to the restrictions in time and space of the thesis but also due to their different methodological or theoretical approaches to the phenomena of names in political context:

"Fighting words: naming terrorists, bandits, revels and other violent actors" by Michael V. Bhatia (2005) fulfils two roles in the issue: on the one hand, it works as an introduction and presentation of the other papers in the issue and, on the other hand, it develops Bhatia's understanding of naming and its relation with politics. However, my main interest here is to identify what he understands by political naming and its main takeaways.

In the paper, Bhatia deals with what he calls the nature of naming, at this regard the author claims that in the context of political naming "a decision is made to focus (sometimes exclusively) on a essence of a proposed story or group, with event-based reporting (on attacks, protests and other violent incidents) obscuring other aspects of an armed movement" (Bhatia, 2005, pág. 10), for Bhatia the role mass media and media corporations play in the reproduction and legitimation of the name[11] assigned is decisive. As a consequence, in the contexts of internal conflict and irregular warfare one of the most

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[11] Label for Bhatia's interests.

common roles of names and naming is "to depersonalize opponents and create fertile ground for intercommunal violence, ethnic cleansing and genocide" (Bhatia, 2005, pág. 11).

It is important to highly that Bhatia does not deal with proper names as in the present thesis but with labels, instead of studying Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)[12] he focuses on the labels assigned to it, such as terrorists, savages or evil.

Another work found in this issue is "Bandits and blanket thieves, communists and terrorists: the politics of naming Sandinistas in Nicaragua" by Michael J. Schroeder (2005), according to the author, his aim is to examine the politics of naming Sandinistas in Nicaragua during two periods, the Sandinista Revolution and Contra War (1979- 90) and the era of the Sandino rebellion against the US Marines and Nicaraguan National Guard (1927-36). Schroeder's approach is mainly historical, he pays special attention to the local and global phenomena were taking place at both moments, such as the Cold War, the consolidation of the USA as the hegemonic actor in the Americas in the struggle against the expansion of Communism and Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. Unfortunately, an explanation about what are the politics of naming and how they work is absent.

It is worthy to mention that Schroeder's text does not deal with proper names but with labels. For instance, he explains the usage of the label "cut-throat" to refer to the Sandinistas due to the radical cultural role of the machete and the cutacha for cutting and harvesting sugar cane, banana, and plantain in the country. From his argument, it is possible to understand the huge importance the contexts have for the study of the labels, in Schroeder's case, and naming operations (in our case). Similarly, the author states that "the politics of naming Sandinistas in Nicaragua was embedded within a larger politics of storytelling" (Schroeder 2005: 83), I would argue that this feature is extensive to the struggle over naming in irregular and nonconventional conflicts (as between States and Guerrillas), I shall show this during the name FARC in the fourth chapter.

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[12] He uses that case in the introduction of his paper.

The last paper, I would like to mention from the issue "The Politics of Naming: Rebels, Terrorists, Criminals, Bandits and Subversives" is "Words as interventions: naming in the Palestine-Israel conflict" by Julie Peteet (2005). In this text, the author examines the practice of naming events, actions, places and people in the Palestine - Israel conflict. Peteet recognizes the phenomena of naming as grounded, at least in her case, in a broader phenomenon: colonialism. Although the author focuses mainly on labels (terrorist, extremist) she introduces proper names two, however, no theoretical differentiation is made. Anyway, the main takeaway of this paper is the introduction of the question regarding the relationship between naming and action. She explains:

> Do rhetoric and particular forms of naming and renaming inform particular kinds of actions? Representations, discourses and imagery of Palestinians are neither inert and innocuous nor do they produce an effect on their own. Discourse engenders, naturalises and legitimises certain actions because it occurs in the institutional context of power, in this case, settler-colonial rule. Although not always neatly orchestrated, a synchronisation between forms of knowledge and practice is identifiable where the organisation of power is such that those producing knowledge of a subject are in a position to enact as well as sustain and reproduce it (Peteet 2005: 156).

Despite the important and key points highlighted by Peteet, the main obstacle is the absence of an explanation regarding the semiotic mechanisms that make the naming phenomena possible, just as in the papers mentioned above.

The last text I want to mention in this subchapter is the book "Naming violence: a critical theory of genocide, torture and terrorism" by Mathias Thaler (2018). This is a very different text compared with the ones mentioned above due to the politics of naming here are considered in the context of academic writing and research. For the author, the fact that as a researcher I name a phenomenon as "terrorism" or "liberation", as "democracy" or "dictatorship" is a manifestation of the politics of naming. In his words, although the majority of times the researchers try to avoid the involvement or entanglement with their object of research "there is no final escape from the politics of naming". Regardless of whether we are aware of it or not, when we write we exercise something like "conceptual

violence" as well as "conceptual economies". The choice of names, categories, and labels that we use in our investigations are neither innocent nor transparent but mediated by a wide spectrum of politics of naming whether manifested by schools of thought, research paradigms, or disciplinary domains. Such a turn, brings the study of the phenomena of names and naming to a broader scenario beyond political conflicts.

As I have tried to show above, there is no agreement upon what political onomastics, politics of naming or political naming are. While some authors, as Alia (2006), use two of these labels as interchangeable, other authors use only one, that is the case in the special issue of the journal Third World Quarterly, but with different meanings, thus denoting different phenomena. Therefore, labels as politics of naming have become an umbrella term leading to the erosion of its analytic and explaining capacity as a concept. Furthermore, none of the texts presented here undertake to explain how the phenomena of naming work beyond the historical explanation of their contexts of actualization.

2.5. Political semiotics: naming as a hegemonic operation

Regarding the lack of attention, the semiotic mechanisms have had from the different approaches that study names, a pioneering set of works must be recalled from the field of semiotics. These bunch of works can be set under the term of political semiotics, they are the early writings of Andreas Ventsel consolidated later in the book "Introducing Relational Political Analysis: Political Semiotics as a Theory and Method" by Andreas Ventsel and Peeter Selg (2020). Although the approach of the authors is not strictly about the phenomena of names but about the theoretical and methodological synthesis between the main schools or traditions that inform their proposal of political semiotics, namely Essex School of discourse analysis (Laclau) and Tartu-Moscow School of cultural semiotics (Lotman), the phenomena of names and especially the naming fulfil a key role in their approach.

I would like to highlight the treatment the authors carry out regarding the phenomenon of naming. In their words regard to Essex School of discourse analysis (Laclau):

The problem of naming is at the center of Laclau's theory of discourse and hegemony. Through the act of naming, the hegemonic relations are established. And the study of naming strategies is of utmost importance for political analysis. For example: names like, "war on terror" or "struggle against fascism," function as grounds for certain political discourses—not just as some ancillary labels (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 151-152).

And with regard to Tartu-Moscow School of cultural semiotics (Lotman):

The name would have a function of primary translation, since as soon as the outside world (and that can also be a world that is coded in some other language, coding system, discourse, or semiosphere) is set forth, "it is already named, that is, it is semiotized at least on the surface level" (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 152).

The authors explicitly bring up the problem of the mechanisms, "the question for Laclau is actually a question concerning the forces behind these operations that enable naming to be the ground for discourse. Laclau's answer draws mostly from Lacanian psychoanalytic conceptions of affect, desire, and drive" (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 153). At this point, Ventsel and Selg take distance from the explanation given by Ernesto Laclau, not necessary because they find it incorrect but due to the problems the psychoanalytic perspective[13] brings to the empirical and methodological dimension. Instead, the authors embrace the semiotics of culture through the works of Lotman. They continue, "the potential "forces" behind naming are to be found in Lotman's general conception of translation strategies" (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 157) linking here the translation from discrete elements into non-discrete elements from the Lotmanian perspective and the translation from the chain of difference into the chain of equivalence from the Laclaunian perspective.

At this moment, Ventsel and Selg point out the mechanism through which the naming works in the case of their approach: hegemony, naming as a hegemonic operation

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[13] Within this category are the reflections Slavoj Zizek made in "The sublime object of ideology" (1989).

(Selg & Ventsel 2020). In this new perspective, it is important to notice that Ventsel and Selg left behind the reified conception of the name and adopt a processual one[14]. This movement is evident not just in their use of the signifier *naming* instead of *name* but especially in their theoretical and ontological treatment of the phenomena of names. In addition, retroactively it is this precise movement what allows them to think about the forces (mechanism or logic) behind the name. It is the processuality and the nonfixed understanding of the names what allows them/us to explored the mechanisms in their potentiality, actuality and retroactivity[15].

In this regard, the authors wonder "is naming the only strategy of "rhetoric translation"? And the answer is, of course, "no." The potential "forces" behind naming are to be found in Lotman's general conception of translation strategies" (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 156). The last statement seems not as an easy solution or final answer but the call to go further through the pathway of naming-politics/political and its operations and mechanisms. At this several questions, which are going to guide the third chapter of this thesis, arise: what happened when a naming operation does not work through a hegemonic operation? what other forces are behind the naming apart from the hegemony? what forces or mechanisms? And what changes when the mechanism of operation of the name is not hegemony? Does the name behave or become a regular label as in Ventsel and Selg's works or does it continue fulfilling and developing this naming dimension process in other ways?

My claim during this thesis is to show, particularly with the case of FARC-EP, that the naming operations does not work only through a hegemonic logic but also through a different variety of other specific, sometimes *ad hoc*, semiotic mechanisms.

It is noteworthy that the different approaches to studying the names and naming that have been presented in this chapter are not arranged in such a way to show a linear evolution or development, as if the last approach is the most developed, advanced, and

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[14] More precisely what I will call in the third chapter naming operations (which occurred through semiotic mechanisms).

[15] And not just the birth moment. This will be treated with detail in the third chapter.

right, while the first approach is the most under-developed, archaic, and nowadays proved wrong one.

The wrongness or rightness are delimited for and by the present case of study and the objectives of this thesis, and it is in this context that they must be understood. Thus, the understanding of the names and naming should be taken by the reader as an *ad hoc* approach, that will be deploy in the next chapter, which takes the more useful elements of different approaches for the study of a specific case of study, as in the form of a collage or bricolage.

3. Towards a political semiotic approach of naming

In this chapter, I propose the construction of a set of concepts and categories to address the phenomenon of names and naming in political contexts, namely, armed conflicts, political parties, dictatorships, or revolutions. Specifically, a particular approach to address the object of study of the thesis. For this purpose, I propose the notions of naming operations (naming, renaming, and de-naming) and semiotic mechanisms, as well as the evaluatory and mnemonic functions of the naming operations and their directionality, as important elements for the study of names and their semiotic functioning. This chapter deals with the definition and theoretical grounding of such concepts for use in the fourth chapter.

What I understand for a *naming operation* is not a moment before the name, as if the naming operation were through what the name is created. If it were like this, we were simply talking about nomination, namely the act of giving a name. On the other hand, I don't consider the naming operation as a post-name moment in which it is possible to trace and pinpoint clearly the effects, consequences, or even objectives and purposes of the name or the nomination, if this were the case, we were simply focusing on a particular dimension of the wide spectrum of the naming operations, so to speak: one element is not the totality. Rather, what I mean when I talk about **naming operation** or operations is an opaque continuum of meaningful traces or particles that can be found before the actual appearance of the name (possibility), during its existence (actuality), and after it (retroactivity)[16].

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[16] This theoretical movement allows us to overcome the analytic fiction of the genesis of the name in which traditional onomastics are interested. As a consequence, there is an ontological turn within the name, where it travels from a paralyzing stagnation to a perpetual becoming.

In this sense, name and naming are not two clearly differentiated phenomena (an object (name) and a process (naming)), but both consolidate the whole phenomenon of names through their dialectical interrelationship. As a consequence, name can be understood as a contingent crystallization of a non-ending process (naming). Additionally, the naming operations are an opaque continuum due to that the semiotic mechanisms that make up them are not fixed typologies but *ad hoc* interpretative tools.

Accordingly, I understand the notions of **naming**, **renaming** and **denaming** as **naming operations** and the **semiotic mechanisms** as those through which those naming operations become actual but also work through. In other words, the naming operations are make-up of open-ended sets of semiotic mechanisms[17]. Within the **semiotic mechanisms** are at least two wide spectrums, first the transfer operations of translation: substitution, addition, deletion, repetition, and permutation. And second, the literary figures: parody, travesty, caricature, pastiche, forgery and epic. Likewise, there are the mechanisms of autocommunication, self-description, empty signifiers and hegemony, among others. As can be noticed, all the semiotic mechanisms belong to a wide conception of translation, and as such the semiotic mechanisms will be understood in these theoretical coordinates[18].

In the different approaches to the study of the names and naming[19] it is unusual to find definitions about what naming, renaming or denaming are or mean. Those categories are usually taken for granted, leading sometimes to the use of them from different points pf view or for different types of explanations. Thus, although in the present thesis the focus is on how and through what mechanisms these operations work, it seems necessary, at least roughly and introductorily, to define them.

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[17] It is important to emphasis here that the naming operation is not the name but the forces or ways in which the names work-function and also the ones that "create" the names themselves.

[18] From this point of view, a naming operation is not at the same level of description of myth or hegemony (being these understood as semiotic phenomena) but at a more general level of abstraction that agglutinate them, together with the transfer operations and the literary figures. In other words, with the danger of falling into reductionism, specific semiotic mechanisms such as hegemony or myth become, so to speak, instruments of the naming operation.

[19] See chapter two.

From the most basic perspective, **naming** refers to the assignation of a name. For our theoretical purposes, naming involves a movement from possibility to actuality. This movement might be understood, as Selg and Ventsel have argued from Lotman, as a *primary translation*:

> the name would have a function of primary translation, since as soon as the outside world (and that can also be a world that is coded in some other language, coding system, discourse, or semiosphere) is set forth, "it is already named, that is, it is semiotized at least on the surface level" ["он уже назван, то есть хотя бы поверхностно семиотизирован"] (Lotman 2004b [1989], p. 646) (Selg & Ventsel 2008: 152).

However, the naming does not finish or stops in its consequences at the reach of the actuality. Due to "the fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse {…} their specificity depends upon the structuring of a discursive field" (Laclau & Chantal 1985: 108) the naming goes beyond a pure assignation of name to an already pre-given and fixed entity and instead, "the unity or identity of the object is the retroactive result of naming it. Objects are (so to speak) created through naming. The name is the ground for the thing, not the other way around" (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 150-151). This is precisely why naming should not be taken as analog to nomination.

Correspondingly, **renaming** refers to the change of a name. For our case, renaming implies the pre-existence of another name, the one which is changed. Likewise, the renaming might be taken as a *non-primary translation* due to its condition of event that occurred after naming. In the renaming, the different transfer operations of translation (Van Gorp 2004) (Delabastita 1993) allow us to understand the broad spectrum of its semiotic possibilities: from the complete change of the name to the lightest modification of it. Between both extremes there are transfer operations of substitution, addition, deletion, repetition, and permutation (Delabastita 1993: 39).

But at the same time, especially when we are talking about political renaming, there are two highly specific functions the operation fulfils (renaming): evaluatory and mnemonic.

The evaluatory function may have two extremes: celebration or defamation. This opposition can adopt different forms as legitimization/delegitimization, glorifying/mocking[20] or bless/condemn. However, just to say that a renaming operation glorify certain referent while another one mock its correspondent referent is not enough, inside the opposition there are more nuances that complicate the renaming operation.

At this regard, the theoretical movement made by Genette (1997), this is, from genres to literary figures (parody, travesty, caricature, pastiche, forgery) and their link with the transfer operations is highly useful. For instance, in Genette's words "caricature is an *imitation* in *satiric mode* whose primary function is derision; forgery is an *imitation* in a *serious mode* whose dominant function is the pursuit or the extension of a preexisting literary achievement" (Genette 1997: 85). Thus, Genette's conceptual apparatus bring us the possibility to identify an interesting spectrum of nuances even within specific transfer operations, for instance the cases of *parodic deletion* or *pastiche substitution*. It is important to notice here that the literary figures do not work here as some kind of metaphor of the renaming operations but as very literal/immediate semiotic mechanisms.

The mnemonic function deals very roughly with the issue: to keep the past or to forget it. The two main poles can be historization and naturalization. On the one hand, historization keeps the past and uses it whether it implies celebration or defamation. In this case, it is precisely the past what function as the raw material for any rearrangement of discourses. On the other hand, naturalization tries to erase or forget the past, showing the "new" name as present since always. As it will be explained below, it is with the naturalization pole of the mnemonic function that the interrelationship between renaming and de-naming can be established.

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[20] After the 2018 presidential election in Mexico, media organizations reported that López Obrador said the victory of his party, MORENA, was "La Cuarta Transformación" (The Fourth Transformation). The phrase was a reference to three major historical reforms in the history of the country, namely Mexican independence (1810–1821), the Reform War (1858–1861), and the Mexican Revolution (1910–1917). The Partido Acción Nacional-PAN (The National Action Party) triggered a renaming from "La Cuarta transformación" to "Transformación de cuarta" which could be translated to English as shoddy transformation or tin-pot transformation.

Finally, there is **de-naming** as the removal of a name[21]. At first glance, de-naming can be seemed as the opposite or the contradiction of naming (removing *vs* giving), however de-naming must be understood as another naming operation and not as its negation. This means, de-naming occurred through semiotic mechanism too, just as naming and renaming.

An interesting example of a de-naming operation can be found in Moraru regarding the Kosovo War:

At the Yugoslav border, the Kosovar Albanians are forced to turn in their IDs. Likewise, those who own cars must surrender the license plates and their driver's licenses. "When your driver's license goes, so goes your identity," Jean Baudrillard jestingly contends in a different context (1996: 112) {…} their names are being ripped off them quite literally (Moraru 2000: 50).

As it is noticeable, de-naming, at least in the contest of political naming, implies whether materially or symbolically, a violent act. Such violence can be traced in dehumanizing people, taking away identities, depoliticizing subjects or collectives, or making places disappear from cartography. In the case of the ethnic Albanians it is not just their citizenship what is at stake but their very identity too.

Interestingly, the de-naming operation fully unfolds its erasing capacity in the terrain of memory. As Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck have identified, "the demolition of graveyards and statues often dehumanizes the dead by obliterating their names from memory" (Bodenhorn & Vom Bruck 2006: 1). Likewise, after Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 2000, "local Muslims cut the plaques carrying the names of the South Lebanon Army (SLA) collaborators from the shrine meant to honor them" (Bodenhorn & Vom Bruck 2006: 2). Thus, de-naming operations exerted in statues, commemorative plaques,

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[21] It is interesting to notice here the close similarity the de-naming operation holds with the notion of anti-text found in the "theses on the study of cultures" from the Tartu-Moscow School (Lotman J. M. [1973] 2013). The de-naming, just as the antitext, is not "the utterance which the culture does not preserve" but "the utterance which it destroys" (Lotman J. M. [1973] 2013: 62).

graveyards but also towards disintegrated groups, extinct political parties, or deceased people, work as "killing the dead".

Notwithstanding, it is important not to neglect the fact that de-naming operations are exerted towards living flesh and blood beings too. The cases of displaced people or the phenomena of slavery show us the serious and severe consequences of such operation. I want to argue, instead, that it is in the terrain of memory where we can find a pure de-naming operation. While in the cases of "living referents", any denaming operation is inevitably intertwined with at least one renaming operation.

Moraru (2000) takes the idea of the violent nature of any de-naming operation, allowing us to think about de-naming as a form of political annihilation. In his words, "when names come first and foremost under attack something very disturbing is about to happen {*whether*} the complete and irrevocable obliteration of the other, expelling the other from· a certain shared space, from culture, memory, and history" (Moraru 2000: 58).

Noteworthy is the fact that the three different operations of naming cannot be absolutely separated from each other because of either the reciprocal relationship or the inevitable overlapping. In certain cases, it is difficult, when not analytically naïve, to separate a renaming operation from a naming one or a denaming operation from a renaming one. As a consequence, to find a naming operation in isolation from the others is more an anomaly than a constant.

For instance, the relation between renaming and de-naming operations can be identify at least in two basic cases from the point of view of the mnemonic function:

- When the renaming retains the former name[22]:

At this level, we face a remembrance strategy or historization. The latter name stays as a name in itself (so to speak like a common and regular proper name) but also as a token for the remembrance of the former name. Within this category, there is a wide spectrum of

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[22] The retaining of the former name occurs in the mnemonic dimension. Because of that, to retain the former name does not mean to stop the renaming or to do not change the name.

possibilities for the use of the former name "presence": from a commemorative/celebratory one to a dishonor/defamatory one. At this level, the de-naming operation is not realized. The former name continues living quite literally in the embodiment of the new name.

- When the renaming dismisses the former name:

At this level, we face simultaneously a radical erasure and a naturalization attempt. The latter name stays as the one and only, *AS IF* it would be there since the very beginning, trying to show itself as a naming phenomenon more than a renaming one. The relation with the former name and the role it fulfills as a virtual ground for the latter name disappears. At this level, the de-naming operation is carried out. The former name is erased but also its history, its semiotic mechanisms, and its context. The latter name becomes natural as if it has been there since always. In this renaming/de-naming operation[23], the latter name does not need the former one due to it is complete by itself. It is precisely for that that the latter name brings its own history, its own cosmologies, and its own adepts, thus becoming natural.

In the context of naming operations that occurred in the terrain of the political, namely immersed in complex webs of power relations, the question about the **directionality** of the naming operation becomes of primordial importance. In this regard, the question is not who is naming but from where the naming operation is occurring or coming from, its directionality. For the case of the thesis, it is possible to identify two basic modes of this directionality: endonymic and exonymic.

The notions of exonym and endonym come from Language Geography and are further used by Toponomastics. The endonyms are "names created in and arising from within the locality, rather than names attributed from the outside" (Woodman 2009) likewise "an endonym is most frequently the product of a »bottom>up« approach to

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[23] I am explicitly talking about the de-naming operations that are triggered by renaming operations. However, there are de-naming operations that can work without the necessity of a former renaming operation. Likewise, not every renaming operation works with a de-naming one, as is the case in retaining the former name.

toponyms, with the people on the spot being its originators and determiners" (Woodman 2009). Contrary, the exonyms are names "used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken and differing in its form from the respective endonym(s) in the area where the geographical feature is situated" (Kladnik 2009: 396).

For the aims of the present work, I will privilege the opposition between inside and outside of the endonyms and exonyms respectively. Thus, a naming operation can work through **endonymic mode** whenever it is triggered from the *inside* of the agent(s) that constitute the referent of the name. Another label for it is *self-naming*. In contrast, a naming operation can work through **exonymic mode** whenever it is triggered from the *outside* of the agent(s) that constitute the referent of the name, this mode can also be labeled as *other-naming* or *naming by other*.

At this point, it is important to claim two points. First, *self-naming* or *other-naming* are no other naming operations such as naming, renaming, or denaming but modalities they can adopt and work through. Second, and as a consequence, any naming operation can adopt either of the two modalities broadening the spectrum of naming operations, for instance, *self-denaming*[24].

Naming operations	Directionality
Naming	Exonymic (Naming by *other*)
	Endonymic (*self*-naming)
Renaming	Exonymic (Renaming by *other*)
	Endonymic (*self*-renaming)
Denaming	Exonymic (Denaming by *other*)
	Endonymic (*self*-denaming)

Table 2. Naming operations and their directionality.

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[24] Self-denaming appears as an interesting turn in the understanding of the de-naming operation. It goes from a violent act to a strategic movement the agent can take consciously due to the disappearance of its name is productive. I shall expand this turn when approaching *FARC* and Comunes.

4. Analysis of the naming operations in FARC-EP

In this chapter I analyze the different names the movement had as guerrilla and as a political party. For this purpose, I use the theoretical conception of the phenomena of name/naming developed in the third chapter, especially with the concepts of naming operation and semiotic mechanism. Therefore, the identification of those concepts and the explanation of the way they work is the leading aim of the following subchapters. It is worthy to notice that with this analysis I do not try to just apply a ready set of concepts from the approach developed in the third chapter but also, through the case of study, improve the theoretical approach by showing its potentialities and weaknesses.

4.1. Empirical materials and resources

It is essential to clarify the choice of the names of FARC-EP that were chosen for the analysis in this chapter. First, what I am dealing with are proper names, this is, with a sign that refers to a particular denotatum. From the review of the different resources (newspapers, internal documents, and Twitter accounts) it was possible to identify five proper names the referent has had, whether during the guerrilla or the political party period:

Names	In Spanish	In English
1. FARC (60's)	Fuerzas armadas revolucionarias de Colombia	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
2. FARC-EP (80's)	Fuerzas armadas revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army
3. "FAR" (2000)	Mispronunciation of the name "FARC"	

4. *FARC* (2017)	Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común	Common Alternative Revolutionary Force
5. Comunes (2021)	Comunes	Commons

Table 3. Names of the guerrilla and the political party.

As such the thesis does not deal with or is interested in labels, although they have been present in the context of the armed conflict between the guerrilla and the Colombian government, as well as in the scenario of democratic and legal "confrontation", this is, when the guerrilla became a political party. However, it is worthy to mention that in the same review of the empirical resources certain labels stand out for their recurrence: terrorists, bandits, murderers on the one hand, and, comrades and partners, on the other.

Second, the delimitation of the five names and especially of the first name (FARC) as such is the answer to two criteria: first, the necessity to delimit the object of research temporarily, and consequently, the necessity to stop or crystalize the flow of naming operations to approach the object of research. FARC was chosen as the first name because it appears in the documents of the second guerrilla conference as the name of the nascent guerrilla, this material and "institutionalized" embodiment of the name is the reason why it is taken as the first one although it is possible to trace some other names associated to the guerrilla before its, so to speak, "formal" constitution. For instance, before the second guerrilla conference, according to interviews and the scholarship about the foundation of the guerrilla (Arango 1984) (Arenas 1985) (Medina & Ramón 2002), the group of peasants called themselves "Frente Sur" (South Front)[25].

Regarding the sources, they can be divided into three groups. First, the Colombian newspapers Voz proletaria, El Tiempo, El Espectador, El Siglo, El Espacio and Revista Semana. Second, the internal documents of the guerrilla and the political party, the documents of the Guerrilla Conferences as well as the documents of the foundation of the political party and the ones of the II Party's Extraordinary Assembly. Third, the twitter

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[25] However, at this moment they were not a guerrilla yet, much less a Marxist-Leninist one whose main aim was to get the political power of the State.

accounts of the Political party Comunes (@ComunesCoL), Rodrigo Londoño (@TimoComunes), Sandra Ramirez (@SandraComunes) and Alvaro Uribe Velez (@AlvaroUribeVel).

4.2. Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC)

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) was the first name the guerrilla has after its birth. This name appears for the first time in the documents of the Second Guerrilla Conference held between April 25 and May 15 of 1966. In the same Conference, the guerrilla established the rules and regulations of procedure, as well as the ratification of their main aim: "wage a prolonged struggle for the seizure of power in union with the working class and all working people"[26] (FARC-EP 1998: 31).

Over FARC is possible to find at least two naming operations. On the one hand, there is a self-naming operation related to the "baptism" of the guerrilla itself. On the other hand, there is a de-naming operation closely interrelated with the appearance of the name FARC-EP, due to the fact that the removal moment that characterizes any de-naming operation is exerted over the new name (FARC-EP) this operation will be explained in the next subchapter.

Self-naming operation

To think about the first name of the guerrilla is to think about the birth of the guerrilla. The semiotic functioning of the name becomes analog, or better isomorphic, to the birth of the guerrilla. Then, the name acquires the position of token for the origin myth of the guerrilla: "Marquetalia".

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[26] "Desplegar una lucha prolongada por la toma del poder en unión de la clase obrera y todo el pueblo trabajador"

Operation Marquetalia is known as the series of events that occurred between May and June of 1966 by the Colombian government with the aim of destroying the so-called Independent Republics and disintegrating the nascent liberal and peasant self-defense groups, the scholarship about the guerrilla agreed that this operation catalyzed and triggered the birth of FARC. However, there is no such thing as a complete agreement about which events and actions can be counted within the Operation Marquetalia. This imprecision or vagueness is not just the result of the loss of information during the years but of the very contested and contingent nature of any historical event and its mediations and remediations (Baudrillard 1995).

The last claim is clear when we check the newspapers of that moment. On the one hand, the newspaper "Voz Proletaria" in its edition of June 13 describes the Operation Marquetalia as "barbarous bombing and strafing... deadly rockets... bloodthirsty bombing... bacteriological warfare. Persecution and mass murder"[27] perpetrated by the Colombian government against the peasants of Marquetalia (Voz Proletaria 1964), while on the other, the newspaper "El Tiempo" in its edition of June 4 states "during the civic-military action that is taking place, three members of the Armed Forces were seriously injured in an ambush prepared by anti-social groups lead by the bandolero[28] Pedro Antonio Marin, alias "Tiro Fijo"[29] (El Tiempo 1964).

Whether or not Marquetalia was bombed, whether or not there was official violence from the very beginning, whether or not the United States was involved, and whether or not Cuba was sending money and weapons to the peasants and bandoleros, whether or not there was a biological or germ war and whether "Tiro Fijo" had a thousand men, two thousand, two hundred or only 48, as the guerrilla themselves affirm. Whether the

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[27] "bárbaro bombardeo y ametrallamiento... mortíferos cohetes... Sanguinario bombardeo... Guerra bacteriológica. Persecución y asesinatos masivos".

[28] The term bandolero is used to refer in general to peasants, both liberals and conservatives from different towns during the period of bipartisan La Violencia in Colombia, they were usually made up of gangs and their objective was the assault on farms of large landowners and sometimes also peasants, collection of extortion, raids on farms, looting and theft of crops, coffee for example (Palacios 1995).

[29] "Durante la acción cívica-militar que se desarrolla, fueron heridos de gravedad en una emboscada preparada por los antisociales liderados por el bandolero Pedro Antonio Marín, Alias "Tiro Fijo", tres miembros de las Fuerzas Armadas".

Colombian army attacked with 16 thousand soldiers (including airborne and paratroopers) or only with three thousand infantries, are a whole series of aspects that obscure and hinder a unanimous understanding of the event, but it is precisely because of this impossibility that such an event is endowed by a mythical and mystical veil over a small group of "poorly armed peasants who, due to their courage and tenacity, were able to withstand undefeated the Colombian and American army".

Therefore, the ambiguity regarding the question: what *really* happened in Marquetalia? fulfills an important semiotic role here. In his short story "Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote" Jorge Luis Borges claims that "ambiguity is richness" (Borges 1962). In the context of FARC and Marquetalia ambiguity becomes semiotic richness. In FARC, then, mythological description becomes the semiotic mechanism of its actualization.

In their text "Myth – name – culture" Lotman and Uspenskii introduce the notion of mythological description through the identification of certain characteristics: first, it designates an operation of identification. Second, it tends toward the level of language-object. Third, the acknowledgment of the isomorphism between the universe being described and the system of description is essential. Fourth, the mythological description is fundamentally nonlinguistic, "the objects of this world are described in terms of the same world constructed in the same manner" (Lotman & Uspenskii 1975: 212)

The relation that the name FARC establishes to what it designates, so to speak, the guerrilla: is one but identification with the total whole (Marquetalia, Revolution, rebellion, ..., etc.). In this case, FARC -as the first name- and Marquetalia -as the moment of birth of the guerrilla- are isomorphic to each other as well as belonging to the same language-object. In this sense, Marquetalia is suspended as historical referent and becomes the point of condensation or synthesis about the power relations between a criminal State and the few but a ferocious group of insurgents: FARC. In Lotman's words "mythological identification emerged from the inseparability of the name and the object […] what is at stake here is not the substitution of equivalent names, but transformation of the object itself" (Selg & Ventsel 2020: 153), thus, FARC becomes Marquelatia itself, it is one but the

semiotic birth moment of the guerrilla. This is precisely why FARC brings to the conscious the vivid idea of a possible rural world, lost and snatched away by the indiscriminate state violence.

4.3. Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia- Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP)

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) appeared for the first time in the documents of the 7th Guerrilla Conference that took place between May 4 and 14, 1982 in the region of Guayabero, Meta. Over FARC-EP weigh two naming operations. First, there is a self-renaming operation triggered by the guerrilla over a previous name (FARC) and second, there is a denaming by other operation which due to particular features allows us to re-think the erasure dimension of any denaming operation towards other forms of realization, for instance, kidnapping.

Self-renaming operation

At first sight, the movement from FARC to FARC-EP could seem as if it were the addition of some letters, however, the renaming operation triggers a series of ideological and strategic elements into account which had an impact on the struggle over legitimation/delegitimation between the guerrilla and the State.

According to the documents of the 7th Guerrilla Conference, the change in the name from FARC to FARC-EP goes along with a very pragmatic necessity and moment of the guerrilla: the change in their operational and strategic dimension regarding the war for the conquer of the power in Colombia. This renaming occurred at the same time the guerrilla established their aim of consolidating as an army, the people's army (Ejército del pueblo).

Such objective would become evident towards the 2000's when the guerrillas had increased their fronts[30] from 27 to about 70 (Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus víctimas 2015).

With the renaming operation, the actualization of FARC-EP, the guerrilla turns from a defensive and ambusher revolutionary project to an authentic offensive army. The new mode of operation means that the FARC-EP would no longer wait for their enemy to ambush them, but would go to trace them to reach them, besiege them and subdue them. In the documents of the 7th Guerrilla Conference is the statement of the Secretariat of the Central High Command[31] (Secretariado del Estado Mayor Central): "from now on we are officially called the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the People's Army (FARC-EP)"[32] (FARC-EP 1998: 34).

De-naming by other operation

It is important to highlight here the fact that the new name (FARC-EP) was not a secret hidden in the clandestine documents of the 7th Guerrilla Conference until the signing of the Peace Agreements allowed the different agents (Government, civil population, army forces, media, etc.) to be aware of such change. It's rather the opposite, the guerrilla used all the means at their disposition to let the people notice such change. For instance, the armbands the guerrilleros wore were renewed, and the graffities, paintings, and murals they made in the towns or populations where they exerted influence were emphatic signaling the name and especially the new part of the name: people's army.

However, certain agents and particularly right-wing political parties and media triggered a type of denaming that escapes to our theorization in the chapter three. The logic of this type of denaming is not necessarily that the name disappears, is deleted or suffers

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[30] A front was one of the different units in the military organization of the guerrilla (Block, Front, Column, Company, Guerrilla, Squad). A front was compound for more than one column and within each front, there were combat, support, and infrastructure elements (FARC-EP 1998).
[31] The highest organ in the FARC-EP chain of command.
[32] "de hoy en adelante nos llamamos oficialmente Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, Ejercito del Pueblo (FARC-EP)"

an erasure by the operation, but instead that the name is kidnaped of/from the free flow or circulation within a specific discourse or semiosphere (Colombian national conflict). So, what happens is not the elimination of the name but its non-recognition, it is kidnaped from its discursive circulation.

Another key feature of this particular denaming operation is the fact that although it is triggered by the appearance of the new name (FARC-EP), the de-naming operation acts or works over the same new name, and not the previous one (FARC) as in, let's say, usual de-naming operations. Due to these two features, FARC-EP does not disappear but is abducted towards its non-recognition. As a consequence, both names share their scenario of realization, in other words, FARC and FARC-EP lived together in the semiosphere of the Colombian national conflict in a continuous battle between recognition and non-recognition.

Therefore, although it is possible to detect the usage or "recognition" of FARC-EP by very specific agents, among them the guerrilla itself, but also from certain authors within the academy or media (newspapers, radio and broadcast channels) both self-declared "alternative" or leftwing. The kidnapping of FARC-EP followed by its systematic invisibilization was launched by newspapers such as El Siglo, El Tiempo, El Espacio and Semana, and political parties such as the Colombian Conservative Party and the Colombian Liberal Party[33].

The new name (FARC-EP) is not just non-recognized but the non-recognition is an epiphenomenon of the kidnaping strategy. The authorities or agents, who exerted this denaming (rightwing government, political parties and media) knew about the change of the name, the renaming that FARC had to FARC-EP. We can pretty sure there was a decision from the above mention agents or actors. It is precisely this decision, the agency involved, the reason why it is a denaming operation and not just the ignorance about the new name.

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[33] It is worthy to mention that until the political constitution of 1991 these parties were the hegemonic ones.

The claim behind the denaming operation is more "we do not recognize the new order of the things" than "we did not know the new order of the things".

However, we should not understand this non-recognition derived from the kidnapping as a step-out of the semiotic play but as an operation involved in it. Thus, it is possible to think of a secondary semiotic mechanism involve in the denaming operation: pastiche deletion. The kidnapping of "EP" allows those agents who triggered the denaming to approach the guerrilla AS IF it were another one: one that is not the people's army, one that is not recognized as a group with political agency and one associated with the phenomena of Bandolerismo and robbery.

It is important to mention than the usage of FARC by these rightwing sectors were follow for a series of pejorative adjectives and nouns, making up a whole strategy of delegitimation. Such delegitimation strategy would reach its highest and dirtiest moment in FAR.

4.4. "Far"

Far is a "neologism" to refer to the FARC created and popularized by Alvaro Uribe Velez, a famous and infamous far-right Colombian politician[34] during his first presidential term in 2002. Over this name is a renaming by operation. Here a very interesting transformation occurs because Far does not mean anything in Spanish. This "translation" paradoxically seems to do the opposite, it makes the text unintelligible.

However, the signifier "La FAR" is a mispronunciation of the signifier La FARC. In terms of the construction of the enemy, this mispronunciation of his name implies non-recognition of him or her as an equal, it is someone or something that should not be respected and therefore its name should not be pronounced correctly. Contextually, it is possible to identify two phenomena that catalyzed and to some respect legitimized this

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[34] He is being investigated for links to paramilitarism, "false positives", witness tampering, among others.

renaming operation. The government of Alvaro Uribe decided to not recognize the belligerent status of FARC, there was a controversial dispute between belligerent or terrorist insurgency. While at the same time, FARC was consolidating as one of the biggest and strongest drug trafficking organization in Colombia.

Re-naming by other operation

We find here a very specific semiotic mechanism of working: caricature semiotic deformation. According to Genette "caricature is an imitation in satiric mode whose primary function is derision" (Genette 1997: 85). The derision or mockery implies in the deformation of FARC to FAR goes in the way of the minimization or simplification of the other. Furthermore, when FARC becomes Far, the acronymic dimension of the name got suspended due to "Far" is treated as a single word and can no longer be broken down into an acronym. Therefore, losing the content of each of the elements that compound FARC there are no longer armed forces (Fuerza Armadas (F.A.)), less revolutionary (Revolucionarias (R)), and less from Colombia (C).

Far was them, the highest point in the depoliticization of the guerrilla by the Colombian government, making it up as a criminal and drug trafficking organization. Similarly, the set of pejorative adjectives attached to Far by the government and the mainstream media show the materiality of the semiotic struggle in the turn the military war tactics against the guerrilla had, as Michel Bhatia states "the struggle over representation is directly a struggle over the legitimacy of violent acts" (Bhatia 2005: 13).

However, what is of interest to me at this moment is how Farc show us that the naming operations are not radical in their appearance or disappearance and there is no such thing as clear cuts with and between each other. Thus, there are moments (maybe the majority) in which two or even more names overlap each other: Far by the right-wing sector, Farc-Ep by the academy and self-named alternative or left-wing sectors and Farc for a mixed sector composed of both ideological currents, civil people and some media. Interesting here

is to notice that while these three names are overlapping each other, the "referent" is formally the same (the guerrilla).

4.5. Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común (*FARC*)

Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común (*FARC*) was the first name the guerrilla had after its transformation into a political party next to the signing of the Peace Agreements with the Colombian government. This name appears for the first time in the party's founding congress held in the Bogota Convention Centre from August 28 to August 31, 2017.

The name *FARC* is a special and particular moment because the referent or denotatum of it changes from the guerrilla to the political party. Such a change came along with many others: from illegality to legality, from the countryside to the capital, there is also a change in the use of language, in the discursive platform both regarding the ideological and symbolic dimension but also in a very material and technical form, for instance, the access to public media, the inhabiting of the congress, etc.

There are two naming operations that collide in this name: first, a self-renaming operation due to the grounding *FARC (Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común)* has in FARC (Fuerzas armadas revolucionarias de Colombia) and second, a self-denaming operation trigger by the appearance of the name Comunes, that is why this denaming operation will be approached when dealing with Comunes.

Self-renaming operation

It can seem that as there is the creation of a new political party this should be a naming operation, however, the radical grounding that the guerrilla represents in the military project that brought to the signing of the Peace Agreements and then the creation of the

party, but also in the acronyms of the names of the guerrilla and the party, allows to see that there is not such a clear and fundamental cut or division between both facets (Guerrilla-Political party) to claim the existence of a naming operation as in the case of the first name the guerrilla had. In other words, the name of the new political party does not fulfill the function of baptism but rather it works as a re-actualization of a previous one (here the grounding that "FARC" give is fundamental).

As such, we can argue that there is a repetition mechanism involved in this renaming operation, at least from the point of view of the acronyms. *Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común* has a really close relationship with Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia through their acronyms, because they are linguistically identical: *FARC*-FARC. In this manner, the acronyms work in two dimensions, one linked to the other: first, as a form of repetition, this is, as a way to bring something that has already been done, said, or written. And second[35], emerged from the first, there is a form of analepsis expressed in a retelling, for the case of *FARC* a retelling in the form of an epic.

According to Rodrigo Londoño, alias "Timochenko", the former commander-in-chief and currently the president of the political party, in the opening discourse of the party's founding congress: "we are the offspring of those revolutionary peasants, we are the continuation of their struggle but this time from the political field and the legality"[36] (Londoño, R. 2017, September 3), in this way, the so-called new party do not work as a completely new entity detached from what the guerrilla was, but as the continuation of their political struggles through the re-actualization of the guerrilla itself in the context of legality.

Rodrigo Londoño continuous "*FARC (Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común)* carries the memories of those peasants who, overwhelmed by the different types of violence, had no other way than to take up arms and turn their lives into a revolutionary

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[35] This second dimension goes beyond the realm of the acronyms (FARC-*FARC*) and encompasses the whole names (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia and Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común).
[36] "somos descendientes de estos campesinos revolucionarios, somos la continuación de su lucha, pero esta vez desde el campo político y la legalidad"

project"[37] (Londoño, R. 2017, August 27), in this form *FARC* works as a mnemonic dimension related with the games over memory but also, and perhaps more importantly, as an epic analepsis. I follow to explain how FARC behaves in the form of an epic analepsis.

As defined by Genette, analepsis is "any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment" (Genette, 1983, pág. 40), such evocation is the one the political party (*FARC*), and Rodrigo Londoño in particular, does bring to 2017 the political struggles and the image of the peasant from the '60s. However, such a mnemonic strategy does not finish there because the very retelling process is articulated with the features of the epic. An epic is characterized by the celebration of the great feats of one or more legendary heroes. The hero usually is protected by or even descended from gods, performs superhuman exploits in battle or in marvelous voyages, often saving or founding a nation or the human race itself (Innes, 2013). Thus, the analepsis retelling focus on the ascension of the peasants to heroes of Marquetalia, those heroes who overcame an impossible duty, resisting and repelling the onslaught attack of the Colombian and USA governments.

The renaming operation over *FARC* illustrates the key role memory plays in any naming operation whether it be to commemorate it, as here, or to condemn or make it disappear. Unfortunately, the terrain of memory is a highly contestable and antagonistic one and using memory to evoke or generate close or warm feelings can bring unexpected outcomes as we will see in the next subchapter.

4.6. Comunes

In 2021 after the II Party's Extraordinary Assembly held on the 22,23 and 24 of January, the head members of the political party *FARC* express through an official communication and tweets that the party decided to change its name. The main reason that the members of

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[37] "*FARC* lleva la memoria de aquellos campesinos que, abrumados por las diferentes formas de violencia, no tuvieron otro camino que tomar las armas y convertir su vida en un proyecto revolucionario".

the party highlighted was that "the practice, the reality, showed that it was not the most successful decision (keep the name FARC) because it evokes war and pain"[38] (Londoño, R. 2021 January 20).

In Comunes is possible to find two naming operations. On the one hand, a self-renaming operation materialized in the moving from *FARC* to Comunes, and on the other hand, a self-denaming operation that although works on FARC is triggered by the appearance of Comunes. The such self-denaming operation brings new possibilities for the understanding of the denaming operations in general, allowing us to go beyond the theorization presented in chapter three.

Self-renaming operation

The renaming of the party was triggered by a broad spectrum of contextual and political events. But two are of main importance: first, as the heads of the party themselves admitted, the name *FARC* brings to the new "Peace" scenario the unbearable weight of the war. Second, the political impact of the withdrawal of some key party leaders and their declaration to create a "Second Marquetalia", rebuild the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) and continue the "revolutionary" struggle.

In the first case, it seems that when the party renamed itself through an epic repetition-analepsis (*FARC*), they assumed that the phenomenon of memory could be a tame and non-problematic dimension from where it is easy to take elements and use them to provoke or evoke feelings of closeness, as it happened with the figure of the revolutionary peasant as hero. However, the phenomenon of memory and its use is rather the opposite, a contestable, problematic, contingent and unpredictable one (Hodgkin & Radstone 2003).

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[38] "la práctica, la realidad, demostró que no fue la decisión más acertada (mantener el nombre FARC) porque evoca guerra y dolor".

From the previous claim, it comes, in a similar way, the problem of the premeditation or not of the naming operations. My argument is that due to the unpredictability and contingency of the naming operations, it is difficult to claim that the agents or groups who trigger the naming operations foreseen their outcomes. Such outcomes appear only after the actualization or realization of the naming operation. From the point of view of the "analyst", it is possible to identify the naming operations that weigh over a name only backward, because the same naming operation, whether it be naming, renaming, or denaming, can work through utterly opposed semiotic and political mechanisms. I would even argue, that this is why the movement of the naming operations from the "explanatory" or "analytic" dimension to a politically applied one does not seem responsible.

In the case of *FARC*, although the attempt could be the retaining of the history of the guerrilla in order to use the potential of their "political" project, it turned out in an opposite way, bringing to the present the different atrocities that any war implies, *FARC* would soon enough turn from the brave and heroic peasants of Marquetalia to the vivid image of kidnappings, murder, abuse to civil population (economic, sexual, etc.). As stated above, naming operations can take unpredictable outcomes.

Regarding the second aspect, between July and the first part of August of 2019 four of the former head members of the guerrilla and later head members of the political party (*FARC*) disappeared from the public eye. Luciano Marín Arango alias "Iván Márquez", Seuxis Pausias Hernández alias "Jesús Santrich", Hernán Darío Velásquez alias "El Paisa" and Henry Castellanos Garzón alias "Romaña" did not attended to their possession as delegates of the political party in the Colombian National Congress. After weeks on the 29 of August, the four members of the party appeared in a video wearing military camouflage and weaponry as in the times of the dissolve guerrilla. Ivan Marquez appears reading a communication in which he claims: first, that they are taking up arms due to the betrayal of the Colombian state, and second, that they took the name of the dissolved guerrilla (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia- FARC).

Both contextual events catalyzed the renaming that occurred in the political party. As such autocommunication and self-description work as the semiotic mechanisms of the operation. On the one hand, auto communication allowed the Political Party to differentiate from itself, while, on the other hand, self-description allowed the Political Party to differentiate itself from others. In the case of autocommunication, familiar information is forwarded from the sender to the receiver (who are the same) and during the communication process, the meaning of this information transforms as the message becomes reformulated, acquiring with that a new meaning.

According to Lotman:

> In the "I-I" system the bearer of the information remains the same but the message is reformulated and acquires new meaning during the communication process. This is the result of introducing a supplementary, second, code; the original message is recoded into elements of its structure and thereby acquires features of a new message (Lotman 2001: 22).

Thinking in the renaming operation, such an operation can be, for analytical purposes, seen as a phenomenon of I-I communication (autocommunication) where although the addresser and the addressee are the same (the political party) the information of the communication (the naming dimension) are transformed by "the intrusion of supplementary codes from outside, and by external stimuli which alter the contextual situation" (Lotman 2001: 22) both situations mentioned above fulfill the role of those external codes or stimuli.

In this way, Comunes is able to differentiate from itself (*FARC*) due to the qualitatively transformation of the subject "I" the autocommunication allows. In Lotman's words "while communicating with him/herself, the addresser inwardly reconstructs his/her essence, since the essence of a personality may be thought of as an individual set of socially significant codes, and this set changes during the act of communication" (Lotman 2001: 22).

Similarly, the self-description allows Comunes to differentiate from the FARC dissidents "Segunda Marquetalia". As Madisson explains "self-description is much more dominant in systems that are actively interacting with other systems than in relatively

isolated ones" (Madisson 2016: 205) such is the case of Comunes facing the problematic association people made with the dissidents, their acronyms were the same. Furthermore, "self-description often highlights its specificity by differentiating itself from its communication environment" (Madisson 2016: 205) allowing Comunes to establish specific boundaries relative to other groups associated with them, FARC dissidents mainly but also other guerrillas or drugtaking groups.

Lotman stated that "the system, passing through the stage of self-description, undergoes changes: assigning to itself clear boundaries and a considerably higher degree of unification" (Lotman 2009: 172), this attempt to a higher degree of unification can be seem in one of the party communications: "Commons has enormous meaning. We are ordinary people, those of us who take to the streets to conquer our rights, those of us who seek vindications, those of us who ask for change, those of us who build a new Colombia in peace and who walk the paths of reconciliation"[39] (Lobo, G 2021 January 24).

Self-denaming operation

The denaming operation that occurs over FARC is triggered by the renaming operation towards Comunes. As explained in chapter three, it is possible to appreciate here the close interrelation, not to say necessity, the denaming operation has with the renaming one. What we have here is a renaming operation (Comunes) that dismisses the former name (FARC). Thus, there are two operations that work simultaneously: on the one hand a radical erasure over FARC, due to the whole set of pejorative elements related to war, crime, and drug trafficking, here occurs precisely the opposite treatment of memory than in the renaming operation from FARC-EP to FARC, the history, in this case, should be erasure and forget, allowing the inscription of new elements or new histories. On the other hand, a naturalization attempt over Comunes which concludes with the erasure over FARC, the

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[39] "Comunes tiene un significado enorme. Somos la gente del común, los que salimos a la calle a conquistar los derechos, los que buscamos las reivindicaciones, los que pedimos cambio, los que construimos una nueva Colombia en paz y que caminos por los caminos de la reconciliación"

working logic here is that the new name (Comunes) behaves AS IF it would be there since the very beginning, trying to show itself as a naming phenomenon more than a renaming one, as rebaptism of the party, a new beginning.

The party claims: "I want to inform Colombia and the international community that as of today we will bear the name of Comunes because we have always been a party of common people working for a fair country and with well-being for common people" [40](Comunes 2021 January 24), the naturalization attempt is exemplified perfectly in their effort to claim they have been common people since always. Therefore, here the former name is erased but also its history, its semiotic mechanisms, and its context. It is highly interesting to see how the party stop right away the political use of Marquetalia and the heroic peasants who fight there and start to invoke older and wider referents such as the independence against Spain: "The word [comunes] comes from José Antonio Galán, a hero who participated in the insurrection of the Comuneros, who led that liberation process in colonial times, against the Spanish yoke" [41] (Lobo, G. 2021 January 24). Here is possible to see one of the key features of a renaming/denaming operation that dismisses the former name: the new name brings its own history, its own cosmologies, and its own adepts, putting the same elements of the former name into erasing or forgetting.

The self-denaming operation carried out here show us two important elements. First, to problematize the available scholarship regarding denaming. It is commonplace to understand denaming as an operation triggered by the outside, this is by other, and as a radical and serious event of violence, ripping out identities for instance. Although this understanding is not wrong, it is uncompleted. What the denaming operation over *FARC* shows us is the possibility to find denaming triggered by the same agent or group, this is from the very inside of the referent. Likewise, and more interesting for me, the case shows us the non-violent nature of the de-naming operation through the possibility to understand

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[40] "Quiero informarle a Colombia y a la comunidad internacional que a partir de hoy llevaremos el nombre de Comunes, porque siempre hemos sido eso un partido de gente del común trabajando por un país justo y con bienestar para la gente del común"

[41] "La palabra [comunes] viene de José Antonio Galán, prócer que participó la insurrección de los comuneros, que lideró ese proceso de liberación en la época de la Colonia, en contra del yugo español"

it as a strategic movement whether it be endonymic or exonymic. Here, the erasure over *FARC* was productive for the political party rather than the ripping out of its identity or history.

Second, that here is possible to appreciate the agency that enables "marginal" or "illegal" groups to name themselves, problematizing Bourdieu's claim about the State as the legitimate namer: "the official naming, a symbolic act of imposition which has on its side all the strength of the collective, of the consensus, of common sense, because it is performed by a delegated agent of the State, that is, the holder of the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence" (Bourdieu 1991: 239). The self-denaming operation is an example of the agency the non-hegemonic agents can display in order to struggle over semiotic and material dimensions.

Conclusions

Throughout the thesis, I tried to develop the three main objectives introduced in the first part of the text. First, I elaborated a description of main approaches through which the names and the naming have been studied, not just from a political point of view but from a broader one. This part, allows me to identify the main trends towards the study of names and naming but also the dark zones that are still wait to be studied. Second, I proposed a particular approach, or perhaps less pretentious, a set of concepts and a typology, to study the phenomena of names/naming in political contexts. In this part, I pay especial attention to the different types of naming operations (naming, renaming and de-naming) as well as the semiotic mechanisms of realization those naming operations have. Finally, I identified and explained the semiotic mechanisms through which the naming operations occur in the names of the FARC-EP from the moment of its foundation as a guerrilla to the becoming into political party. In the next table, there is a summary of the different names of FARC-EP, its semiotic mechanism, directionality and naming operations:

Naming operations	Directionality	Semiotic mechanism	Name
Naming	Exonymic (Naming by *other*)	-[42]	-
	Endonymic (*self-naming*)	Mythological description	FARC

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[42] The box in exonymic naming is empty due to the specificity of the case of study. This naming operation could not be identified. However, this does not mean that this operation is theoretical impossible or could not be found in other cases. For instance, both exonymic naming as well as exonymic denaming are a common practice in contexts of Coup d'état, dictatorship or revolution.

Renaming	Exonymic (Renaming by *other*)	*Caricature* semiotic deformation	FAR
	Endonymic (*self-renaming*)	*Pastiche* Addition	FARC-EP
		Epic repetition-analepsis	*FARC*
		Autocommunication/Self-description	Comunes
Denaming	Exonymic (Denaming by *other*)	Denaming as kidnapping*: As if it were another guerrilla*	FARC/FARC-EP
	Endonymic (*self-denaming*)	Mnemonic erasure/Strategic naturalization	*FARC/Comunes*

Table 4. Summary of naming operations, directionality, semiotic mechanisms and name

The next graphic summarizes the distribution of the names in the different naming operations:
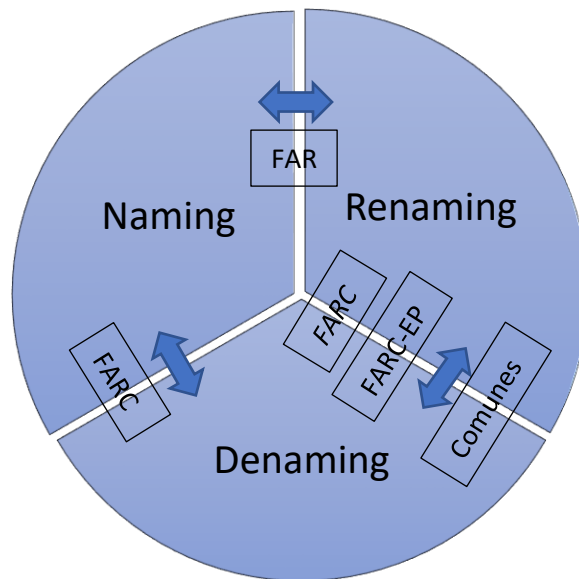

Figure 1. Names distribution on the naming operations.

As it can be noticed, the naming operations do not work in isolation but it is their interrelation and overlapping what make them possible. Another important point to mention is the ubiquity of the semiotic mechanisms regarding the naming operations, what I mean is that there is not precooked or preestablished semiotic mechanism that belongs

to a particular naming operation but a broad set of possibilities that are going to be fixed regarding the context of their realization and the case of study.

I would say then that the key feature of the naming operations is their capacity or possibility to work through a wide variety of different semiotic mechanisms, for instance through translation, hegemonic operations, Mythological description, Autocommunication/Self-description or Mnemonic erasure/Strategic naturalization, etc. As such, every naming operation behaves in a contingent way, this means each naming operation must be understood in a double dimension: on the one hand, from the very contextual situation where it is grounded, this is within a historical construction. And on the other hand, as the never-ending actualization of the totality of possibilities of naming mechanisms.

I find it important to mention two very personal, and perhaps subjective, reasons that guide me to reach this thesis. On the one hand, the commonsense that exists in some circles of political science[43] to talk about language, meaning and semiosis as self-evident phenomena, especially when talking about "language is power", "language constructs our world" or "the power of the symbols" but notwithstanding never identifying the semiotic ways in which those topics or subject are materialized in concrete cases. That is the reason for my interest to identify what I called here the semiotics mechanisms, this is: how does the naming operation work? Second, the exposure of my academic prejudices especially relating to the relation between theorization or case of study. When we have our first meeting with my supervisors I told them I would prefer a theoretical work because I feel more comfortable in that dimension, funny enough they replied yes, we all feel more comfortable there. Although it can seem an obvious conclusion for many people, it was surprising for me how the case study reinforms the theory and shows its weak points as well as the unattended elements. Theory needs cases to be applied and tested.

I am convinced the phenomena of names and naming is a fertile field of study that deserves and need further research. As Ülle Pärli claims "naming is one of the most

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[43] My Bachelor's degree is in Political Science.

important problems and research questions in semiotics, containing also the core questions of the history of semiotics. To name a few: the problem of name and object; the relation between general and particular signification; rhetorical usage of the name, etc." (Pärli 2011: 1). This thesis just encompassed a small dimension of the phenomena but there are several research topics come off from here on: further elaboration regarding the differences and similarities between naming and labeling, the application of the typology proposed in this thesis to more cases in order to "test" the typology and make it more complex, reflexive and theoretically rich, the comparative study of naming operations in different political contexts, for instance, the similarities or differences between the naming operations hold by democratic and non-democratic States. The particularities naming operations can have in contexts of Coup d'état, dictatorship or revolution. Similarly, it is important to address the phenomena of toponyms in political contexts (naming streets, parks, stadiums) and compare this with other contemporary phenomena such as globalization, neoliberalism, big data phenomenon, climatic change and global warming. Another rich field of research is the intersections between toponyms (place names), narrative and literature world and geographies.

I would like to conclude by taking the famous, and perhaps overused, quote by Foucault about power[44] (Foucault 1980) and "translating" it to the naming phenomenon:

Names are not just *names*, they traverse and produce things as identities or landscapes, induce pleasure or guilt through the status roles, form knowledge through the double role names fulfill as a semiotic operation. On the one hand, it belongs as another element of the identity, representation, landscape or ecosystem itself, within which it plays specific roles in meaningful relations. On the other hand, naming can work at the meta-level as a model of the identity, representation, landscape or ecosystem itself.

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[44] Power "doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse" (Foucault 1980: 120).

Estonian summary-Magistritöö kokkuvõte

Nimetamise poliitiline mehhanism FARC-EP näitel

Käesolev lõputöö keskendub nimede ja nimetamise nähtustele, eelkõige nende nimetamisoperatsioonidele ja semiootilistele mehhanismidele. Juhtumiuuringuna käsitleb lõputöö Kolumbia sissi FARC-EP ja põhieesmärk on uurida erinevaid nimeandmisoperatsioone, mis toimisid FARC-EP kui sissi ja erakonna nimede üle.

Esimeses peatükis tegin ettepaneku tutvustada juhtumiuuringut, nimelt FARC-EP. See osa koosneb kahest osast: esiteks on FARC-EP lühike ajalugu selle algusest proto-geriljana ajastul, mida Colombia historiograafias tuntakse kui "La Violencia" (vägivald) kuni rahu allkirjastamiseni. Kokkulepped Colombia valitsusega, selle desarmeerimine ja muutmine erakonnaks. Teiseks FARC-EP kohta tehtud uuringute ülevaade. See osa juhindub kahest põhiküsimusest: 1) Milliste lähenemisviiside alusel on FARC-EP-d uuritud? ja 2) Milline on olnud nimede ja nimetamise roll selles stipendiumis?

Teises peatükis teen ettekande peamistest lähenemistest nimede uurimisel ja nimetamisel. Alustan kõige üldisematest käsitlustest (keelefilosoofia, onomastika ja kriitiline onomastika) spetsiifilisemate poliitilise nimetamise käsitluste suunas (poliitiline onomastika, nimetamispoliitika) kuni poliitilise semiootika käsitluseni. Nende käsitluste ülevaatamisel on lähtutud järgmistest küsimustest: 1) Millised on peamised lähenemisviisid nimede ja nimede uurimisel? 2) Kuidas nimed iga lähenemise järgi toimivad? ja 3) Millised on panused või piirangud, mida erinevad lähenemisviisid minu uurimisobjektile toovad, kas teoreetilised või metodoloogilised? Need küsimused võimaldavad mul tuvastada

põhielemendid FARC-EP uurimise konkreetse lähenemisviisi koostamiseks, mida järgmises peatükis lahti rullitakse.

Kolmandas peatükis keskendun nimetamise poliitilise semiootilise lähenemise aluste väljatöötamisele. Siitpeale loobutakse nimede ja nimetamise mõistmisel teises peatükis kuvatud üldistusest ning keskendutakse poliitilises kontekstis toimunud pärisnimedele ja nimetamisprotsessidele. Selle peatüki peamine murekoht on küsimus: kuidas nimed semiootiliselt toimivad? ja mitte ainult nominatsiooni väljaütlemisena. Selleks tutvustatakse nimetamisoperatsiooni ja semiootilise mehhanismi mõisteid. Tuues esiplaanile küsimused: 1) Mis on nimetamistehted? 2) Millised on nimetamisoperatsioonid ja millised on igaühe eripärad? ja 3) Milline on seos nimetamisoperatsioonide ja semiootiliste mehhanismide vahel?

Neljandas ja viimases peatükis pakun välja kolmandas peatükis välja töötatud lähenemise rakendamise uurimisobjektile. Seega on käesolev peatükk tehtud FARC-EP-i kui sissi ja erakonna erinevate nimetuste analüüs nimetamisoperatsioonide ja semiootiliste mehhanismide mõistetest. Siiski ei tohiks seda mõista ühesuunalise rakendusena, see on valmis teooria rakendamine õppejuhtumile, vaid kahesuunaline: uuringujuhtumi analüüs annab teooriale uuesti teavet, tuues uusi elemente ja võimaldades selle lähemat mõistmist. Peatükk ise on jagatud kuueks alapeatükiks, sissejuhatav alapeatükk kasutatud empiiriliste allikate ja FARC-EP erinevate nimetuste tuvastamise kohta. Sellele järgneb viis nimetust, mis tuvastati üksikute alapeatükkidena. See järjekord aitab tuvastada igaühes toimuvaid nimetamisoperatsioone ja nende semiootilisi mehhanisme.

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