practices are found in Scotland (Scottish Place Name Survey, 1951: University of Edinburgh), Australia (Australian National Placenames Survey, 1970: Placenames Australia (Inc.)), and Ireland (Placenames Database of Ireland, 2007: Fiontar & Scoil na Gaelige).

1.1 Toponymy as an Emerging Discipline

Modern linguistics has a lackluster relationship with the study of names. *Name: A Journal of Onomastics* began circulation in 1953. Vol.1:1 declares the purpose of the journal be devoted to "research in the etymology, origin, meaning, and application of all classes of names" (Nuessel 2013:5). German linguist Hans Walther linked names with society as "socio-onomastics" in 1971. W.F.H. Nicolaisen, a Scottish-German linguist, suggested the term "onomasticon" in 1978 as a way to distinguish the part of an individual's lexicon where names reside.

In the twenty-first century we see attempts at correcting this academic lapse. Recent linguists have criticized the early relegation of names to "taxonomies and etymologies" that only filled a "

2 Methodology

There is currently no single agreed-upon formal approach to the collection and analysis of toponyms. There is a general consensus that texts should be used for historical

Additionally, the Library of Congress was consulted for historical land maps (www.loc.gov). Maps were generally produced by land surveyors for government and commercial purposes. They offer an account of regional names for a given moment in time.

2.3 Consultant Documentation

Consultants were solicited through established neighborhood associations. These were approached via email and Facebook messages, depending on the contact information provided for each association.

In all, seven consultants provided ten hours of video recorded data. Each consultant was met with individually, for a minimum of one hour. These interviews were mainly open-ended conversations about their neighborhood of reference, including their knowledge of historical information and their personal perceptions about the name. They were also asked to provide short, personal descriptions of other Rochester neighborhoods.

There were additional consultants who did not wish to be formally recorded, but were willing to provide information via email and phone call. This information was not included in the formal analysis for this project.

2.4 Archive Formation

A map is the most evident way to display place-name data; since place-names are geographically rooted, it is advantageous to show their geographic spread. This medium also allows for an easy user interface that both researchers and the public (including consultants) can readily interact with.

The data for this project is displayed using ArcGIS. This program allows a new layer to be created over the base map, allowing for neighborhood boundaries to be visible. It also has access to hundreds of other relevant map. This allows users to compare the present-day map with historical plat maps, demonstrating both name change and neighborhood geographic change. The map is currently housed by the University of Rochester (https://urochester.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=46f649ffed7e4d879d5bc090e8b88cd9).

3 Grammatical Patterns in Rochester Place-Names

All names function as a subset of a larger grammar. This is true for an individual's internal grammar (Nicolaisen's "onomasticon," referred to Section 1.1), as well as for a collective speaker group's shared grammar (such as the residents of Rochester, New York). Names are a part of language, and thus, "like language, have structure." The names in a language unconsciously abide by the generative system of that language and "conform to rules and patterns," despite speakers "never having been explicitly taught [the rules and patterns]." This means that names are candidates to be "analyzed scientifically" (Mackenzie 2018:296).

Place-names demonstrate more diversity in their grammatical structures and patterns than personal names. Personal names are highly uniform; apart from differing cultural origins and phonetic distinction, personal names are limited in their constituency and phrase structure. The

place-names of one geographic area are highly unique and demonstrate a wide breadth of grammatical structures. This section explores the diverse patterns in Rochester place-names.

3.1 Elements, Morphemes and Inflection

Names function on a slightly elevated semantic plane from the rest of a language, due to their novel creation from pre-existing words along with their semiotic function. Hough (2016) presents the term 'elements' to distinguish the grammatical components of a place-name. There are three types of elements, per Hough's definition: 'generic' elements, which are the initial element in all place-names; 'specific' elements, which modify the generic element; and 'affix' elements, which are used to distinguish between otherwise homonymic place-names or fulfill an exclusively grammatical function (the former is not found in Rochester neighborhood place-names, and all affixal elements are exclusively grammatical in nature) (Hough 2016:87-88). Single-element place-names contain a generic element, dual-element place-names contain a generic and specific element, and multi-element place-names contain a generic and specific element with one or more affix elements as permitted by the language system.

Elements reflect the lowest level of semantic meaning contained within a place-name. Rochester place-names are found with a minimum of one element (also called "headwords" – Hough 2016:88) and a maximum of four elements. Affix elements fulfill grammatical functions of inflection, possession, and comparative structures.

3.1.1 Single-Element Place-Names

Single-element place-names appear as numerical forms, eponymous names, acronyms, and ellipsis. The place-name *14621* is the only purely numeric form and represents the postal code for the geographic area it encompasses. The name is pronounced as a series of individual numbers—*one-four-six-two-one*—which aligns with how postal codes are spoken in the United States.

Both postal codes and place-names, of which 14621 is both, are part of "human spatial language" that is "considered as a sign" (Javidaneh et al. 2020:20). A semantic and pragmatic assessment of global addressing systems rightfully points out that "prior knowledge...about the addressing structure is essential" to successfully understanding a given address; a speaker "cannot understand components...unless they know the structure" (Javidaneh et al. 2020:21). The American structure for postal codes is a specific series of five numerals, and this is understood by citizens from a young age. Therefore the series 14621 is the basic (and only) level of semantic meaning. Deconstructing it into the individual numbers breaks the connection between the sign and the referent.

Four single-element place-names are borrowed eponymous names. *Charlotte* and *Edgerton* are the respective first and surname of historical Rochester residents. *Charlotte* as a personal name is already a bound morpheme, and this is transferred to *Charlotte* as a place-name. *Edgerton* as a personal name contains the suffix *-ton*; does this make *-ton* a generic element modified by the specific element *Edger* when the name is transferred to a place-name?

Hough 2016 addresses this when analyzing the many affixes that appear in place-names with "the common settlement *Newton* in England (Old English n we 'new' + t n 'village')" (Hough 2016:88). Of the affixal varieties are "manorial" affixes *Newton Blossomville* and *Newton Ferrers*,

"referring to possession by the *de Blosseville* and *de Ferers* families respectively in the thirteenth century" (Hough 2016:88). Hough's elemental description of both affixes in the place-name form does not break down *Blossom+ville* or *Ferrer+s*, as could be done in the personal name form. This implies a supra-grammatical change that a name undergoes when it transfers from a personal name to a place-name. It seems that when the form transfers from being a sign for a person referent to a sign for a place referent the full form becomes the base level for semantic meaning.

Susan B. Anthony is also a single-element place-name, despite the three ethnographically separated names. While the personal name Susan B. Anthony contains three parts (first name, surname, and middle initial representing 'Brownell'), the place-name is a single element (Hayward 2018). This aligns with Hough's implication of a supra-grammatical change when personal names are transferred to place-names. As a place-name, Susan B. Anthony represents the base level of semantic meaning and is therefore a single element, or headword.

Azalea is

"nouns which have only a plural" (Corbett 2019). These place-names cover the east and west banks of the waterfall in downtown Rochester: *High Falls*, *Upper Falls*.

Street names can appear in both the first constituent: *Thurston Village*, *Cascade District*; and in the second constituent: *North Winton*, *Upper Monroe*. One constituent, *Park*, appears in the first and second position. These are different lexical iterations of the form—*Highland Park* refers to a park in its neighborhood, and *Park Ave* refers to a street in its neighborhood.

Place-

- (3) a. Where is *(the) South Wedge?
 - b. *(The) 19th Ward is big.
 - c. I rent in *(the) East End.

The large number of remaining place-names do not require a determiner. If placed in a phrase with a determiner it would be deemed incorrect by a speaker. These phrases can be resolved by the removal of the determiner.

- (4) a. Where is (*the) Browncroft?
 - b. That's (*the) Corn Hill.
 - c. I rent in (*the) Park Ave.

Three place-names are acceptable both with and without a determiner: (the) St. Paul Quarter, (the) ABC Streets, (the) Neighborhood of the Arts.

- (5) a. She rents in (the) ABC Streets.
 - b. (The) Neighborhood of the Arts has a great café.
 - c. Have you driven through (the) St. Paul Quarter?

We have established that place-names can be formed with compound nouns (*Browncroft*, *Lyell-Otis*, *Marketview Heights*). Place-names regularly form new compound nouns with an accompanying common noun. Like English compounds in general, compounds of place-names and common nouns are head-final, with the place-name becoming an attributive noun that modifies the head. This is seen in both online and spoken accounts.

(6) Compounds with Place-Names

(emphasis added throughout)

- a. "The City of Rochester identified **the Marketview Heights neighborhood** as..." (cityofrochester.gov) of tr
- b. "...the Browncroft area I always referred to as the Browncroft area..." (EugeneOberst, consultant)
- c. "**The Cobb's Hill tragedy** of an "invisible man" ten years later..." (Democrat & Chronicle, 8/25/15)
- d. "The EMMA Neighborhood Association was formed in 2013." (rocwiki.org)
- e. "This year's tour will highlight

Since place-names reflect a location, they regularly appear with prepositions of place and

be its own neighborhood, while the

23rd Ward of the City, although it was still called *Charlotte* socially (Barnes 1975:23). While this paper has not found when the City disbanded the use of wards as formal voting districts, this neighborhood has formally been called *Charlotte* since that time.

Another commemorative name that arose during Rochester's founding is *Brown Square*, originally the *Brown Brothers Tract* purchased and managed by brothers Matthew and Francis Brown (Rosenberg-Naparsteck 1988:4-5). The Brown brothers were important financiers in developing the milling industry that gave rise to Rochester's growth as a settlement. They named the tract after themselves, a choice which communicated ownership. This choice also implied the status that came with being wealthy enough to own a tract of land. The brothers purchased the land in 1810 with the main purpose of operating a grist mill on the lot. (Rosenberg-Naparsteck 1988:4) Within a few years "Brown's Race," as the area was called, "dominated village life." The Brown brothers developed a square among the parceled lots, and Brown Square (on Brown Street) spent a brief time as the social center of Rochester (Rosenberg-Naparsteck 1988:10). This original square (present-day Brown Square Park) and its surrounding streets sit within the *Brown Square* neighborhood today.

Cobb's Hill was self-named by Giden Cobb, whose brother William was brought to the region to work for his friend Matthew Brown (McKelvey 1967:17). In 1812, Gideon bought a knoll overlooking the city, followed by a brickyard, along the only thoroughfare that connected Rochester to the Village of Pittsford (present-day Monroe Ave; Loudon 2004; Gillette, 1858). As he sold off parcels of land next to his family home, the Cobb's Hill neighborhood was established. Eventually the knoll was sold to the City of Rochester for use as a public park and water reservoir, both of which still carry the Cobb's Hill name.

Wadsworth Square reflects James Wadsworth, a landowner from Geneseo who bought his own tract of land in the 1830s (Daniel McCabe, consultant). The long, narrow tract crossed the Genesee River so that he owned the waterfront on both sides (cityofrochester.gov). On the east side, he designed a square in the English fashion, with houses surrounding the square and facing each other. This design was also chosen for its connection to prestigious English society, and so the municipal affix Square was added to the toponym (Daniel McCabe, consultant).

Browncroft is named for Charles J. Brown, the final wealthy landowner to bestow his name upon a neighborhood. Brown bought a large parcel in northeast Rochester in 1894, and by the first decade of the z6 t c

Despite Rochester's incredibly diverse population, only one neighborhood toponym is named in reflection of an ethnic group. *Dutchtown* arose in the 1840s as a large German community settled in that area. These men worked the mills in *Brown Square* but congregated in the streets on the western edge of the Brown Brothers Tract. *Dutchtown* is a mispronunciation of *Deutschtown*, or "German Town."

Two toponyms reflect the spirit of the inhabitants. *U.N.I.T.* is an acronym for "United Neighbors Involved Together." Though its origin has not been found by this paper, the name clearly communicates that this neighborhood prides itself on a sense of camaraderie. *Neighborhood of the Arts* communicates the lifestyles of the inhabitants and the overall "vibe" of the neighborhood. This name was applied strategically. For many years, this area of Rochester was known as *Atlantic-University*, named after the two main roadways in the neighborhood. The area was known for crime and had few visitors. In the late 1990s, residents joined together and

Pearl-Meigs-Monroe. These place-

Maplewood, Highland Park, St. Joseph's Park, Washington Square, and Manhattan Square all

Park. It is unclear when this neighborhood came to be known as *Susan B. Anthony*. It could be a commemorative name, chosen to honor the woman who lived there. It could also be a built

acknowledges the Plymouth Trading Company that deposited the first English traders in the Genesee Country two hundred years prior.

Unfortunately, many of these newcomers usually found unskilled jobs for low pay and congregated in slum-like neighborhoods that the city cobbled together.

The twentieth century brought large populations of black Americans escaping the southern states. Unfortunately again, Rochester's redlining practices kept these communities relegated to the same poor and blighted areas. Many of these areas that were poor and blighted 50-100 years ago are still that way today. This awareness covers residents all over the city. "It's a self-perpetuating downward spiral. And that necessarily causes resentment, and I understand that," says Wadsworth Square resident Daniel McCabe. "Let's put it this way: to a Rochesterian, someone who lives, I don't know, up by Thurston Avenue

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