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Karl Hohensinner–Hubert Bergmann
Österreichische Familiennamen kontrastiv

1. Einleitung

Im Folgenden werden mehrere Verteilungen von Familiennamen bzw. Familiennamenmerkmalen in Österreich dargestellt. Die dabei gewählte Betrachtungsweise geht kontrastiv vor und richtet sich auf das Feststellen von Komplementärverteilungen. Was leistet eine solche kontrastive Betrachtung? Komplementäre Verteilungsmuster von Familiennamen zeigen das Vorkommen eines Merkmals in verschiedenen Varianten. Jeder Verteilungskarte geht eine Fragestellung voran. Die Möglichkeiten dieser Fragestellungen sind vielfältig. Letztere können durchaus kreativ sein, müssen aber immer ausreichend begründet werden, da sie der Diskussion standhalten sollen.

Familiennamenverteilungskarten haben Gemeinsamkeiten mit anderen areallinguistischen Kartierungen, z. B. Sprachatlanten und dialektgeografischen Überblicksskizzen, sowie mit volkskundlichen, geografischen und historischen Inhalten, welche in Kartenform visualisiert wurden und werden: Regionale Verteilungsareale werden durch sie sichtbar gemacht. Aus diesen Verteilungen soll auf Ursachen sprachlicher Unterschiedlichkeit geschlossen werden. Ihr Muster kann einen Beitrag auf dem Weg zu deren Klärung leisten und den Schlüssel zu Etymologisierungen liefern. Im Idealfall steht eine Komplementärverteilung modellhaft für eine Gruppe von Merkmalen, die aufgrund von bestimmten sprach- oder allgemeinhistorischen Ursachen eine gemeinsame Verteilung aufweisen, onomastische Isoglossen also.

Die für den vorliegenden Beitrag erstellten Kartenskizzen beruhen auf Telefonanschlüssen des Jahres 2005 und sind in Punktdarstellung kartiert. Ein Punkt auf der Karte entspricht einem Vorkommen in einer jeweiligen politischen Gemeinde. Dabei wurde die Kartierungssoftware RegioGraph[®] verwendet.

Geografisch betrachtet können Familiennamen eine rein formal beschreibbare Distribution aufweisen, z. B. nördliche, südliche, westliche, östliche Verteilung, oder sonstige kleinräumigere Vorkommen. Ebenso können sich darin historische Territorien, etwa Grenzen ehemaliger Kronländer (z. B. Kärnten, Salzburg, Steiermark), abbilden.

Hinsichtlich ihres Ursprungs können die Familiennamen auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Österreich einerseits autochthonen Sprachen und Dialekten entstammen oder aber andererseits durch Wanderungsbewegungen bedingt sein.



Die autochthonen Familiennamen kann man wiederum nach Sprachgruppen einteilen. Viele Namen gehen dabei auf in Österreich gesprochene deutsche Dialekte zurück, grob gesprochen auf das Mittelbairische, das Südmittelbairische, das Südbairische sowie das Alemannische. Eine kleinere Gruppe von Namen entstammt den autochthonen Minderheitensprachen, etwa Burgenlandkroatisch (im Burgenland, historisch auch in Niederösterreich), Slowenisch (in Kärnten und Steiermark) sowie Ungarisch (im Burgenland). Unbedingt auch zu dieser Gruppe von Familiennamen zu zählen sind solche, die – allerdings häufig indirekt – auf ein sprachliches Substrat zurückgehen. Die beiden einflussreichsten Substrate bilden in Österreich das Romanische im Westen und das Slawische im Süden sowie im Osten.

Die nicht-autochthonen Familiennamen Österreichs lassen sich in zwei Gruppen gliedern: Ererbte Namen, die zur Zeit der Republikgründung (1918) bereits auf dem heutigen Staatsgebiet vorkamen einerseits und Namen von später eingewanderten Personen andererseits.

Zu ersterer Gruppe ist zu vermerken, dass hier allein schon rein numerisch den Familiennamen aus den Ländern der böhmischen Krone (Böhmen, Mähren und Österreichisch-Schlesien) eine besondere Rolle zukommt. Von dort sind neben vielen tschechischen auch charakteristisch nordbairische sowie ostmitteleuropäische Familiennamen auf das heutige österreichische Staatsgebiet gelangt. Sie sind nicht nur in großen städtischen Zentren wie Wien, Linz oder Graz anzutreffen, sondern weisen eine generelle Verbreitung auf (etwa, weil die betreffenden Namensträger als Industriearbeiter, Eisenbahner, Beamte etc. in der Monarchie weit herumgekommen sind). Im Westen Österreichs (Tirol, Vorarlberg) wiederum spiegelt sich die Binnenmigration aus dem Trentino deutlich im Familiennamenbestand wieder.

Die Unterscheidung zwischen ererbten und rezenteren (erst nach 1918 auftretenden) Wanderungsnamen ist schwierig, kann jedoch teilweise mit Hilfe bestimmter Merkmale getroffen werden (z. B. Grad der Anpassung an die deutsche oder ungarische Grafie). Dennoch erscheint diese Unterscheidung wichtig, da – wie angedeutet – eine historische Binnenwanderung innerhalb eines Staats oder lediglich innerhalb eines Kronlands, also innerhalb einer Verwaltungseinheit, andere Verteilungsmuster zeitigt als die rezente Einwanderung aus dem Ausland.

Die meisten altösterreichischen Kronländer waren zwei- oder mehrsprachig. Von den heutigen neun österreichischen Bundesländern weisen die Steiermark, Kärnten, Tirol und das Burgenland eine viele Jahrhunderte dauernde Tradition der Mehrsprachigkeit auf: Steiermark und Kärnten mit einem historisch hohen slowenischen Anteil, Tirol mit einem italienischen und ladinischen, das Burgenland mit einem kroatischen und ungarischen. Dazu kommt

der Sprachkontakt in Niederösterreich mit den areal benachbarten Idiomen Slowakisch und Tschechisch.

2. Kontrastive Musterfälle

2.1. Morphologische Unterschiede: *Weißböck* versus *Weißbacher*

Die eine Zugehörigkeit ausdrückende Ableitung zu mittelhochdeutsch *bach* lautet im Donauraum mittelhochdeutsch *-becke*, in neuzeitlicher Schreibung *-beck/-böck* (beides Realisierungen von geschlossenem dialektalen *[e]*)¹, zum Beispiel in *Rohrbecker Pfarr* für *in Rohrbacher Pfarr*. Ein an einem Gewässer namens *Weißbach* liegender Einzelhof trägt somit bei üblicher Namenbildung den Hofnamen *Weißbeck/-böck*.

Die südliche Ableitungsform ist hingegen *-bacher*, also *Weißbacher*. Gewässer namens *Weißbach* mit entsprechenden Belegreihen sind vielfach nachweisbar. Allein KONRAD SCHIFFMANN² verzeichnet in seinem Historischen Ortsnamenlexikon des Landes Oberösterreich etwa 15 solcher Hydronyme.

Die nachweisliche Häufigkeit des Hydronyms *Weißbach* in Teilen Österreichs kann als ausreichend für die große Anzahl von davon abgeleiteten Familiennamenträgern angesehen werden. Somit ist die Vergleichbarkeit von *Weißböck* und *Weißbacher* gegeben.

Der konkrete Befund sieht folgendermaßen aus: Im Donauraum (mittelbairisches Dialektgebiet) gibt es mehrere Häufungen von *Weißböck*, südlich davon (Übergangsgebiet zum südbairischen Dialektgebiet) hingegen Häufungen von *Weißbacher* (siehe Karten 1 und 2). *Weißbacher* und *Weißböck* bilden also eine Komplementärverteilung. Auffällig ist das Fehlen dieser Namen in Kärnten, Tirol und Vorarlberg. Dies kann daran liegen, dass im betreffenden Raum kaum namengebende *Weißbäche* vorkommen, da dort einerseits das romanische bzw. – in Osttirol und Kärnten – slawische Substrat in Gewässernamen stark in Erscheinung tritt bzw. in der Hydronymie andere Grundwörter und Bildungsmuster verwendet wurden, z. B. *Ache*.

In den hier skizzierten Verteilungen zeichnet sich also eine ins Mittelalter zurückreichende Grenze zwischen den Ableitungen *-becke* und *-bacher* (beide zu *-bach*) ab.

¹ WBÖ 1970–lfd.: 2, 774f.; vgl. auch *-pecker* ebd. 792.

² SCHIFFMANN 1935: 517f. HOLZER (2008: 9ff.) widmet dem Verhältnis zwischen den häufig vorkommenden Hydronymen *Weißbach* und *Schwarzenbach* eine eigene ausführliche Untersuchung.



2.2. Dialektale Unterschiede: *Ecker* versus *Egger* und *Denk* versus *Dengg/Tengg*

Die bairischen Entsprechungen von standarddeutsch *Ecke* mit seiner topografischen Bedeutung ‘Geländekante, -vorsprung’ (WBÖ 1970–lfd: 5, 1281ff.) haben in einem überwiegend alpinen oder zumindest hügeligen Land wie Österreich zahlreiche Familiennamen generiert. Die wohl häufigste Form ist dabei eine Ableitung mit *-er*, die in zwei Hauptschreibvarianten vorliegt: *Ecker* und *Egger* (siehe Karten 3 und 4). Betrachtet man die Verteilung dieser Varianten, so fällt auf, dass die Schreibung mit <-ck-> schwerpunktmäßig auf den Norden, d. h. Ober- und Niederösterreich, beschränkt ist. Im Rest des Bundesgebiets dominieren *Egger*-Belege, die allerdings im *Ecker*-Gebiet auch anzutreffen sind.

Dass die Formen mit <-ck-> nur in dem oben umrissenen Gebiet vorkommen, hat vor allem dialektgeografische Gründe: Die inlautende späalthoch- bzw. frühmittelhochdeutsche Geminata [kk] ist im Südbairischen bzw. in den südmittelbairischen Übergangsmundarten immer erhalten, ungeachtet ihrer Herkunft. Lautlich ist diese im Mittelbairischen im Zuge der Konsonantenschwächung zusammengefallen mit den Fortführungen der mittelhochdeutschen Affrikata [kx], während im Südbairischen diese beiden Konsonanten bis heute als unterschiedliche Phoneme realisiert werden (KRANZMAYER 1956: 106ff.). Im Südbairischen herrscht somit ein Bedürfnis, diesen Unterschied auch in der Schreibung sichtbar zu machen. Im Mittelbairischen ist dies nicht der Fall, weshalb man in diesem Fall auf die überregionale Standardschreibung *Ecker* ausweicht.

Ähnlich gelagert sind die Verhältnisse im Zusammenhang mit den Familiennamen *Denk*, *Dengg* und *Tengg* (siehe Karten 5–7), die alle auf das gleiche Etymon zurückgehen, nämlich mittelhochdeutsch *tenkk* ‘links’, ein Wort, das nur in den bairischen Mundarten auftritt und deshalb in der Literatur als so genanntes „bairisches Kennwort“ bezeichnet wird (WBÖ 1970–lfd: 4, 1489ff., KRANZMAYER 1960). Das Benennungsmotiv lässt sich nicht mehr exakt klären, in Frage kommt etwa Linkshändigkeit oder eine Lage zur Linken von einem bestimmten Referenzobjekt.

Hinsichtlich der Verteilung der Schreibformen mit <-k> und <-gg> ergibt sich hier ein ähnliches Raumbild wie bei *Ecker/Egger*: Aufgrund des oben skizzierten Zusammenfalls von [k] und [kx] ist im Mittelbairischen der Auslaut des Imperativ Singular des Verbs *denken* mit jenem des erwähnten *tengg* identisch, während die betreffenden Auslaute z. B. im Osttirolerischen heute klar geschieden sind. Ob die Schreibung mit *-k* in der Variante *Denk* in Anlehnung an *denken* erfolgt ist, kann nicht gesagt werden. Eine überregionale Schreibform

– wie bei *Ecker* – stand hier jedenfalls nicht zur Auswahl, da das Wort in dieser Domäne nicht vorkommt.

2.3. Schreibhistorische Unterschiede: *Artner* versus *Ortner*

Der konkrete Ausgangsbefund, der sich für die nachstehende Kartierung ergibt, ist folgender: Im Norden und Osten des Bundesgebiets tritt eine Häufung des Namens *Artner* auf, während ein *Ortner*-Areal jenes von *Artner* großteils auspart (siehe Karten 8 und 9).

Die Fragestellung geht aus folgendem Grund von der Vergleichbarkeit der *Ortner/Artner*-Verteilung aus: Wechselnde Schreibungen beim Namen *Ortner/Artner* innerhalb einer Familie finden sich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert z. B. in mindestens 30 oberösterreichischen Pfarren. Zum selben Phänomen können auch folgende Beispiele mit *o/a*-Wechsel in anderen oberösterreichischen Familiennamen gestellt werden: *Offeneder/Affeneder* (Lembach), *Offenzeller/Affenzeller* (Kleinzell, Altenfelden), *Oglstetter/Ogdlstetter/Agdlstetter* (Sankt Oswald bei Haslach), *Ollesberger/Allesberger* (Lembach), *Olmesberger/Almesberger* (Altenfelden), *Oltendorfer/Allendorfer* (Lembach), *Onetshofer/Anetshofer* (Steyregg), *Onizhofer/Anitzhofer* (Sankt Georgen an der Gusen), *Onleitner/Ahnleitner* (Hofkirchen), *Openauer/Apenauer* (Gallneukirchen, Freistadt), *Oppel/Appel* (Freistadt), *Orhold/Arhold* (Helmonsöd), *Orhold/Orholl/Arholt* (Sankt Oswald bei Haslach), *Orholl/Arholl* (Niederkappel, Niederwaldkirchen, Oberneukirchen), *Ornleitner/Ahrnleitner* (Zwettl an der Rodl), *Ortbauer/Artbauer* (Reichental, Ried in der Riedmark, Sankt Veit, Steyregg, Waldhausen, Walding, Wartberg ob der Aist), *Ortberger/Artberger* (Haslach), *Orthofer/Arthofer* (Leonfelden, Sankt Martin und Münzbach), *Ortlehner/Artlehner* (Neumarkt im Mühlkreis, Rainbach, Sankt Johann am Wimberg, Reichenau, Sankt Peter am Wimberg, Kefermarkt, Ulrichsberg), *Ortmüller/Artmüller* (Oberweissenbach), *Osanger/Asanger* (Lembach), *Osbalt/Osbalt/Aswald* (Sankt Georgen an der Gusen), *Osterberger/Asterberger* (Peilstein, Perg), *Ottenberger/Attenberger*, *Otteneder/Atteneder* (Gramastetten, Sankt Oswald bei Haslach) (HEIDER ca. 1972–1983).

Die Namen *Ortner* bzw. *Artner* gehen letztlich auf *Ort* in seiner mundartlich noch heute erhaltenen Bedeutung ‘Ende, Rand’ (DWB 1854–1971: 13, 1351ff.) zurück und leiten sich von einer am Rand bzw. Ende eines Dorfs, eines Wegs oder einer Flur gelegenen Wohnstatt ab. Der Familien- und Hofname *Ortner* findet sich in weiten Teilen Österreichs (ERNST-ZYMA 1995: 716). Er kann auf ein Toponym zurückgehen (Entstehung in situ) oder aber Herkunftsname zu einem Toponym *Ort*, *Orth* etc. sein (Entstehung non in situ). Im Folgenden wird beispielhaft die (gekürzte) Belegreihe eines entsprechenden Hofnamens in der oberösterreichischen Gemeinde Maria Neustift angeführt: 1477 und 1524

am Ortt; 1583 *Steffan am Orth*; 1647 *Peter vom Guett am Orth*; 1654 *Petter Orttner*; 1667 *Peter vom Gueth am Orth*; 1679 *Hanns Orthner* (ASPALTER 2003: 111f.).

Hier ist deutlich zu sehen, dass bei dieser In-situ-Entstehung des Namens *Ortner* der Vorgang des Festwerdens von Familiennamen im 17. Jahrhundert noch nicht abgeschlossen war.

Im Zusammenhang mit diesen Namen muss eine gewisse Bedeutungskonkurrenz durch *Art* 'Hauerarbeit im Weingarten' erwähnt werden, die sich jedoch eingrenzen lässt. Das Wort ist nämlich appellativisch nur aus dem niederösterreichischen Weinviertel belegt (WBÖ 1970–lfd.: 1, 370). Das Vorhandensein von alt- bzw. mittelhochdeutsch *art* 'das Pflügen, Pflugarbeit' in Ortsnamen wird angenommen oder ist nachgewiesen, z. B. in *Ardagger* (Niederösterreich, 11.–13. Jahrhundert mehrfach *Ardacher*, *Ardaker*, *Ardacker*, ANB 1999: 39f.) und in *Arthof* (Salzburg, 12. Jahrhundert *Arthouen*, ANB 1999: 43). Eine Ableitung zu mhd. *art* mit dem Affix *-ner* und das Eindringen eines solchen Appellativs in den Bereich der Familiennamen wurde bis jetzt jedoch noch nicht nachgewiesen. Im Kontext von *Ortner/Artner* kann das Etymon mhd. *art* somit ausgeschlossen werden, während in Zusammensetzungen wie *Orthofer* oder *Artmann* aber weiterhin damit zu rechnen ist.

In den Verteilungen von *Ortner/Artner* zeichnet sich keine Dialektgrenze ab. Mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit ist hier eine Schreibgewohnheit des Wiener Kanzleistils zu erblicken, der einen Anschluss an Appellative wie *Art* oder *artig* vornahm.

2.4. Durch Vornamenvarianz bedingte Unterschiede:

Nikolaus und Verwandtes

Gleich mehrere Themen werden durch die folgenden Beispiele berührt: dialektale Vornamenvarianten, die sich in Familiennamen wiederfinden, Sprachkontakt und sprachgrenznahe Migration im Spiegel von zu Familiennamen verfestigten Vornamen sowie das Phänomen „gleicher Familienname – unterschiedliche sprachliche Zuordnung“ bzw. teilweise sogar „gleicher Familienname – unterschiedliche etymologische Erklärung“ (d. h. letztlich Namenhomonymie).

Aus den Bereichen Namenkunde, Dialektologie und europäische Ethnologie ist bekannt, dass der Name *Nikolaus* in Europa in vielen verschiedenen Formen auftritt. Für Deutschland wurde diese Thematik von KATHRIN DRÄGER (2013) ausgearbeitet. Aus Sicht der Kulturgeschichte enthält beispielsweise das Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens (HDA 1935: 1086ff.) viel betreffendes Material. Es ist anzunehmen, dass Österreich in seiner Sprachkontaktzonensituation mehrere Verbreitungsgebiete zeigen wird.

In etymologischer und semantischer bzw. benennungsmotivischer Hinsicht muss dabei jedoch differenziert werden:

Zugrunde liegen kann den hier mit *Nikolaus* in Verbindung gebrachten Namen einerseits der Heiligenname *Nikolaus*. Die Benennung erfolgte, weil jemand nach einem *Nikolaus* benannt wurde oder etwa, weil er von einer Person namens *Nikolaus* abstammte. Möglicherweise hieß auch ein Haus nach einem Vorbesitzer *Nikolaus* und der Name wurde auf einen neuen Eigentümer übertragen. Der entsprechende Vorname tritt in den deutschen Mundarten Österreichs in zahlreichen Varianten (u. a. Hypokoristika und Diminutiva) auf,³ wie die betreffenden Einträge in regionalen Wörterbüchern zeigen, beispielsweise *Nigg-l*, *Nik-l*, *Niggile* (Kärnten; LEXER 1862: 198), *Niggerl*, *Nikerl* (Steiermark; KAINZ–WALCHER 1987: 154) oder *Nidl*, *Nigl*, *Migl* (Salzburg; ZILLER 1995: 138). Diese Varianz bildet sich auch historisch deutlich ab, wie folgende Belege (für jeweils ein und dieselbe Person) aus der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts aus Oberösterreich zeigen:⁴

Kicher Niklas bzw. *Nikolaus* (Gemeinde Pischelsdorf, Ottendorf 3, Stegergut)

Rachel Nikolaus, *Rachl Niklas* bzw. *Rachl Nickl* (Gemeinde Feldkirchen bei Mattighofen, Oichten 9, Muhrngut)

Der *Nigl* ist weiters eine geglaubte und nicht sichtbare Figur in Brauchtum und Aberglauben. Er tritt in verschiedenen Ausprägungen auf und ist mit dem Heiligen Nikolaus nicht ident, z. B. als *Thomasnigl* 'mythologische Figur in der Thomasnacht'. Sein Name kann von der Figur des Heiligen Nikolaus abgelöst und auf außerhalb des Kirchlich-Christlichen stehende Vorstellungen übertragen worden sein (SCHMIDT 1963: 197f., 200).

Nigl bezeichnet als Appellativ etwas Kleines, (im Wachstum) Zurückgebliebenes und wird häufig für Personen gebraucht, teilweise mit pejorativer Übertragung auf den Charakter, vgl. *nîg-l* 'Kosewort gegen Kinder, kleiner krüppelhafter Mensch', als Diminutiv: 'nussförmige, im Schmalz gebackene Mehlspeise' (Kärnten; LEXER 1862: 198), *Niegelen* 'kleines Schmalzgebäck' (Osttirol; SCHATZ 1956: 452); *Nig'l* 'schlimmes Kind, Dickschädel' (Niederösterreich; TATZBERGER 2004: 263), *Nigel(o)* 'boshafter, grober, kleiner, schmutziger, zorniger Mensch' (Oberösterreich; STÖCKL 2008: 398), *Nigl*, *Nickl* 'kleiner, untersetzter Mann; Kleinkind' (Salzburg; ZILLER 1995: 138). Damit in Zusammenhang steht wohl auch sein Gebrauch in Schimpfwörtern wie *Notnigl*

³ Von den Vornamenvarianten bis zu einem gewissen Grad zu trennen ist der Name der betreffenden Heiligenfigur in Kalendarium und Brauchtum, vgl. *Niggelô* 'der hl. Nikolaus bzw. die Figur, die am Vorabend des Nikolaustags als Bischof gekleidet in den Häusern erscheint und die braven Kinder belobt' (LEXER 1862: 198), *Nigelo* 'Nikolaus, Schutzpatron der Müller' (STÖCKL 2008: 398).

⁴ Quellenangabe siehe Fußnote 7.

für eine geizige und *Frißnigl* für eine gefräßige Person. Semantisch kann dieses *Nigl* vermutlich dem Heiligennamen *Nikolaus* zugeordnet werden, da auch andere Hagionyme in Schimpfwörtern vorkommen, in Oberösterreich etwa *Patzenlippel* zu *Philipp* (für eine Person, die beim Essen herumpatzt) oder *Saubartl* zu *Bartholomäus* (für eine Person, die ekelerregende Dinge tut; die vier letztgenannten Beispiele sind den Autoren aus dem Oberösterreichischen geläufig). Diese Schimpfwörter sind eher harmlos und für das Schelten von Kindern in Gebrauch. Analoge Belege können auch aus dem Burgenland erbracht werden (*Drecknigl*, *Giftnigl*, HANNABAUER 2007: 278).

Als Etymon in Betracht kommt schließlich auch *Nigel*, eine durch Agglutinierung des unbestimmten Artikels entstandene Nebenform zu *Igel* (belegt z. B. für das oberösterreichische Mühlviertel oder Tirol; MILFAIT–LANDGRAF 1993: 270, SCHATZ 1956: 452). Der Nachweis in Familiennamen kann in diesem Fall nur durch günstigen Zufall gelingen. Wie bei vielen Tierbezeichnungen in Familiennamen ist hier bezüglich des Benennungsmotivs Spekulation in viele Richtungen möglich: Eine Person sah einem Igel gleich, hatte als Hauszeichen einen Igel, handelte mit Igeln, fing Igel, aß Igel, hatte einen Charakter, der einem Igel glich etc.

Im Folgenden werden einige arealbildende Beispiele von Familiennamen, die in den hier diskutierten Kontext gehören, kommentiert.

Im westlichsten österreichischen Bundesland, dem alemannisch geprägten Vorarlberg, findet sich der Familienname *Nigsch* (siehe Karte 10). Dieser wird erklärt als eine mit dem alemannischen Pejorativsuffix *-sch* gebildete Ableitung zur *Nikolaus*-Kurzform *Nigg* (siehe Karte 11). Das betreffende Suffix findet sich häufig in Rufformen. Allerdings ist es auch möglich, dass sich *Nigsch* von *Janigg*, einer Nebenform von *Johannes*, ableitet (STRICKER–BANZER–HILBE 2008: 122).

Im Mittelbairischen begegnet wiederholt die Namensform *Nigl* (siehe Karte 12). Im Zusammenhang damit wurden – mit Blick auf *Nikolaus* als möglichem Etymon – Belegreihen von Familien- und Hofnamen erhoben, sowie Sprachatlanten eingesehen. Dabei fällt sogleich ein Wechsel von *N*- und *M*- im Anlaut auf.

Der Sprachatlas von Oberösterreich (SAO) etwa erbringt mehrfach den Nachweis von *M*- im Anlaut (*Nikolo* neben *Mikolo*). Das mehrere Gemeinden umfassende Verteilungsgebiet der *M*-Formen liegt im westlichen Donauraum um Ried im Innkreis. Vereinzelte Nennungen finden sich nördlich der Donau in den an Niederbayern grenzenden Orten Neustift im Mühlkreis und Kollerschlag. Auch in den nördlich benachbarten, auf tschechischem Staatsgebiet liegenden Orten Glöckelberg, Oberhäuser und Ottau wurden Formen mit *M*- erhoben (SAO 2010: Karte 15). Ebenso gibt es für Niederbayern gelegentliche Nachweise für

das Vorkommen von *M-* anstatt häufigerem *N-*.⁵ Der Tirolische Sprachatlas zeigt zwei Gebiete mit *M-*, das nördliche Osttirol und das Wipptal (TSA 1971: Karte 2), während der Österreichische Volkskundatlas für Tirol unter anderem die Formen *Miglas*, *Miggilas* und *Miglo* enthält. Auch für das südliche Burgenland und das Grenzgebiet Salzburg-Kärnten-Steiermark ist ebendort eine größere Anzahl von Formen mit *M-* belegt (ÖVA 1959–79: Karten Nikolausbrauchtum 1–2).

In urkundlichen Belegreihen zu Familien-, Hof- und Ortsnamen aus Oberösterreich ist ebenfalls *N-/M-*Wechsel nachweisbar, wobei sich seine geografische Verbreitung ungefähr mit dem Befund im SAO deckt. Dazu einige repräsentative Belegreihen, zuerst aus Sarleinsbach im Mühlviertel:⁶

Ein Elternpaar *Adam* und *Eva Nickel* etc. – häufig mit der Wohnortangabe *zum Schwanz*, das ist die heutige Ortschaft *Schwand* – hatte folgende Kinder: *Nickel*, *Leonhard*, getauft Oktober 1620 (Taufen, Bd. 1, 109), *Nickel*, *Georg*, getauft April 1623 (ebd. 144), *Michell*, *Veit*, getauft Mai 1624 (ebd. 157), *Mieggel*, *Maria*, getauft Juli 1625 (ebd. 169), *Niggel*, *Christina*, getauft März 1630 (ebd. 210), *Miggel*, *Jakob*, getauft Juli 1631 (ebd. 225), *Miggel*, *Eva*, getauft August 1632 (ebd. 241), *Nickl*, *Johannes*, getauft Juni 1634 (ebd. 261), *Nigckhl*, *Barbara*, getauft Mai 1636 (ebd. 301 bzw. 726). Der Vater verstarbt als *Migl Adam* im Mai 1665 (Sterberegister 001b 519).

Ebenfalls *Zu Schwanz* lebten zwei weitere Elternpaare namens *Nickel* etc., *Thomas* und *Anna* sowie das Elternpaar *Thomas* und *Barbara*. In diesen (vermutlich verwandten) Familien wechselte ebenfalls gelegentlich die *N-* zur *M-*Schreibung, so bei einer im Oktober 1629 getauften *Nickgel Katharina* (Taufen, Bd. 1, 207), die als *Mieggel Chatarina* im Jänner 1652 (Trauungen, Bd. 2, 19) heiratete.

Auch im Innviertel lässt sich dieses Phänomen nachweisen:⁷ 1780 *Miglbauerngut*, 1780 *Nickhlpaurngut* (Aiglauerngut, Gemeinde Auerbach, Höring 2, Hofname); 1752 *Nigglpaur Hanns*, 1760 *Nigglbauer Hannes*, 1780 *Niklbauer Jakob*, 1787 *Miglbauer Jakob* (Leithengütl, Gemeinde Teichstädt 23, Familiennamen der Besitzer); 1767 *Nigglgut*, 1780 *Migglgütl* (Sauldorfer

⁵ Laut freundlicher Auskunft von Alois Dicklberger, Projekt *Aus der Tradition in die Zukunft* (ATiZu), Universität Passau.

⁶ Matriken Sarleinspach, Transkriptionen nach HEIDER (ca. 1972–1983), überprüft (und teilweise korrigiert) anhand von Matricula: <http://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/oberoesterreich/sarleinsbach> (Zugriff 1. 10. 2017).

⁷ Die Belege sind dem Projekt *Hofnamen und Häusergeschichte* des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs entnommen. Dieses erfasst die Besitzgeschichte der Bauerngüter im Bundesland Oberösterreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: <https://www.doris.at/themen/geschichte/hofnamen.aspx> (Zugriff 1. 10. 2017).

Ausbruch bei dem Puchnergut, Gemeinde Kirchberg bei Mattighofen, Buch 4, Hofname)

Es zeigt sich auch in dieser Region, dass die Formen *Nigl-*, *Nickl-*, *Migl-* und *Michl-* sehr nah beieinanderlagen und von den schreibenden Beamten nicht mehr sicher auseinandergehalten werden konnten (wobei die Form *Michl-* wohl das Resultat einer falschen Restituierung in Anlehnung an *Michael* auf Grund der abgeschwächten Artikulation des [x] darstellt). Die urkundlichen Nennungen des Hofes **Michlbauer** (Gemeinde Roßbach, Bezirk Braunau) zeigen Formen mit *N-* ebenso wie solche mit *M-* und auch hier den (rezenten) Anschluss von letzteren an das Hagionym *Michael*: 1753 **Niglbauernguett**, 1771 **Niglbauerngut**, 1780 **Nicklguet**, 1788 **Miglbauerngut**, 1829 **Miglbauer**, 1840 **Niglbauerngut**, 1865 **Niglbauer** oder **Niklasgut** (HOHENSINNER 2011: 88).

Auch bei historisch belegten Ortsnamenaussprachen schließlich ist anhand der im Rahmen des Projekts Deutscher Sprachatlas in Österreich ausgefüllten Wenkerbögen *N-/M-*Wechsel in *Sankt*-Namen mit *Nikolaus* nachweisbar, etwa im Fall von St. Nikolaus im Burgenland, St. Nikolai im Sausal oder St. Nikolai ob Draßling (beide Steiermark).⁸

Der Wechsel *N-* zu *M-* in Entsprechungen des griechischen Heiligennamens *Nikolaos* begegnet uns auch in mehreren slawischen Sprachen, und dies sogar in der Normalform dieses Namens, man vgl. etwa sorbisch *Miklawš*, polnisch *Mikołaj*, ukrainisch *Mykola*, tschechisch, slowakisch *Mikuláš* oder slowenisch *Miklavž* (KEBER 1996: 355). Das Phänomen treffen wir auch im Ungarischen an, wo *Miklós* als Lehnform aus dem Slawischen angesehen wird (EWUng. 1995: 977). Auch im Kroatischen finden sich neben (häufigeren) Formen mit *N-* solche mit *M-* (*Mikola*, *Mikula* u. ä., auch in Familiennamen wie *Mikolić* etc.). In etymologischer Hinsicht wird die Erscheinung unterschiedlich erklärt, für das Slowenische etwa geht man von einer Dissimilation aus, entweder wortintern ($n - l > m - l$) oder aber in der Zusammensetzung mit *šent*, der Entsprechung von dt. *Sankt*. Möglicherweise ist auch eine Angleichung an den Heiligennamen *Michael* erfolgt (SNOJ 2009: 417).

Vor diesem Hintergrund wird auch klar, warum sich von einer mit *M-* anlautenden Variante von *Nikolaus* abgeleitete Familiennamen in Österreich schwerpunktmäßig in zwei voneinander getrennten Arealen finden: In Niederösterreich (inkl. Wien) und im Burgenland einerseits, sowie in Kärnten andererseits, d. h. in zwei Kontaktzonen zum Slawischen (siehe Karten 13–17).

⁸ <https://www.regionalsprache.de/Wenkerbogen/WenkerbogenViewer.aspx?Id=58425>, <https://www.regionalsprache.de/Wenkerbogen/WenkerbogenViewer.aspx?Id=76328> bzw. <https://www.regionalsprache.de/Wenkerbogen/WenkerbogenViewer.aspx?Id=76328> (Zugriff 1. 10. 2017).

Miklautz dominiert im slowenisch geprägten Mittel- und Unterkärnten, es ist dies die deutsche Verschriftlichung des standardslowenischen *Miklaveč* (bzw. gekürzt: *Miklavc*), eines mit dem Suffix *-ec* gebildeten Familiennamens (KEBER 1996: 354).

Mikl ist eine in der slowenischen Namenlandschaft wiederholt auftretende Kurzform für *Miklavž* (vgl. *Mikelj* bei KEBER 1996: 354 oder *Mikl* bei KARNIČAR 2012: 212f.), die betreffenden Kärntner Belege sind daher wohl dazu zu stellen. Bei den anderen Belegen aus dem Bundesgebiet könnte es sich unter Umständen auch um Varianten von deutsch *Michael* handeln.

Mikula dagegen hat (von Wien abgesehen) zwei Schwerpunkte: das slowenische Kärnten sowie das Nordburgenland und das angrenzende Niederösterreich. Für beide Gebiete kann südslawischer Ursprung angenommen werden, die burgenländischen bzw. niederösterreichischen Namen stehen wohl im Zusammenhang mit dem Burgenlandkroatischen (vgl. *Mik'u:lina* 'Nikolaustag' bei PALKOVITS 1987: 107).

Miklos, mit dem Nukleus im Südburgenland, verweist eindeutig auf das Ungarische, obwohl der Name auch im Tschechischen und Slowakischen (als *Mikloš*) belegt ist sowie vom Ungarischen aus in das angrenzende Slowenische des Übermurgebiets eingedrungen ist (vgl. *Miklôš* bei NOVAK 2006: 249).

Miksch kommt (Wien erneut außer Betracht gelassen) vor allem in Ober- und Niederösterreich vor, was einen Zusammenhang mit dem tschechischen *Mikš* (ebenfalls zu *Nikolaus*, vgl. *Mikeš*, *Mikuš* oder *Mikšik* bei GEBAUER 1904: 359) nahelegt. Auffallend ist, dass die Häufung des Namens in den nördlichsten Bezirken Niederösterreichs (Gmünd und Waidhofen an der Thaya) eine gewisse Fortsetzung auf der anderen Seite der Staatsgrenze in Tschechien findet.⁹ Dies ist wohl in den Kontext von regionalen Migrationsphänomenen zu stellen – der Name erscheint heute einmal in deutscher und einmal in tschechischer Grafie.

Zu ergänzen ist, dass der wohl häufigste von *Nikolaus* abgeleitete Familienname in Österreich *Klaus* ist, mit einem Schwerpunkt in Ober- und Niederösterreich. Die Verbreitungsgebiete dieses Namens in Österreich und Tschechien legen es jedoch nahe, dass zwar nicht alle, aber viele dieser *Klaus*-Namen das Resultat von Binnenmigration aus dem heutigen Tschechien darstellen (zum betreffenden Verbreitungsmuster siehe HOHENSINNER 2017). Ein sicher autochthones Verbreitungsnest findet sich um Kötschach-Mauthen in Oberkärnten, der betreffende Name wird bereits in den ältesten Mauthner Pfarrmatriken verzeich-

⁹ Vgl. <http://www.kdejsme.cz/prijmeni/Mik%C5%A1/hustota/> (Zugriff 3. 12. 2017).

net, wo z. B. 1641 ein *Ioannis Clauß* genannt wird.¹⁰ Einer altösterreichischen Binnenmigration verdankt sich letztlich auch der in Vorarlberg und Tirol nicht selten anzutreffende Familienname *Nicolussi*, der auf eine italienische Entsprechung von *Nikolaus* zurückgeht (FINSTERWALDER 1994: 414).

3. Conclusio und Ausblick

In diesem Beitrag wurde versucht, mittels kartografischer Methode einige komplementäre Verteilungsmuster im Zusammenhang mit österreichischen Familiennamen aufzuzeigen. Die dabei visualisierten Patterns haben ihren Ursprung in dialektalen Gegebenheiten (Beispiel *Weißböck* versus *Weißbacher*, *Ecker* versus *Egger*, *Denk* versus *Dengg/Tengg*) oder unterschiedlichen Schreib- bzw. kanzeleisprachlichen Usancen (*Artner* versus *Ortner*) bzw. reflektieren (historische oder gegenwärtige) ethnische Verhältnisse, Sprachkontaktphänomene sowie Wanderungsbewegungen.

Äußerst wichtig ist es, die Etymologie durch historische Belegreihen abzusichern, was hier aus Zeit- und Platzgründen jedoch nur auszugsweise geschehen konnte. Dazu ist besonders für das 16.–18. Jahrhundert repräsentatives regionales Archivgut heranzuziehen (Pfarrmatriken, Grundverkehrsurkunden, Steuerlisten und Urbare, Katasterakten, Weistümer etc.). Dieses existiert in großer Menge und wird immer mehr auch digital erschlossen und im Netz publiziert. Dennoch kann der für die Belegsuche unumgängliche Aufwand – vor allem im Hinblick auf einschlägige Forschungsprojekte – temporär wie pekuniär sehr umfangreich sein.

Die Familiennamenforschung wird in Zukunft durch das Beschreiben von Verteilungsmustern einen erheblichen Wissenszuwachs erleben. Durch neu erschlossenes Archivmaterial werden etymologisch-semantiche Unklarheiten genauer beschrieben werden können, eine Anzahl von derzeit gängigen (und in der Literatur nur allzu oft unreflektiert perpetuierten) Deutungen wird wohl fallen. Zudem wird man sich mit dem Gedanken anfreunden müssen, manche Bedeutungsmotivationen nie restlos aufklären zu können, auch wenn viele Familiennamen an der aktuellen Oberfläche appellativischen Anschluss zeigen.

¹⁰ Vgl. http://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/gurk/mauthen/M14_001-1/?pg=7 (Zugriff 3. 12. 2017).

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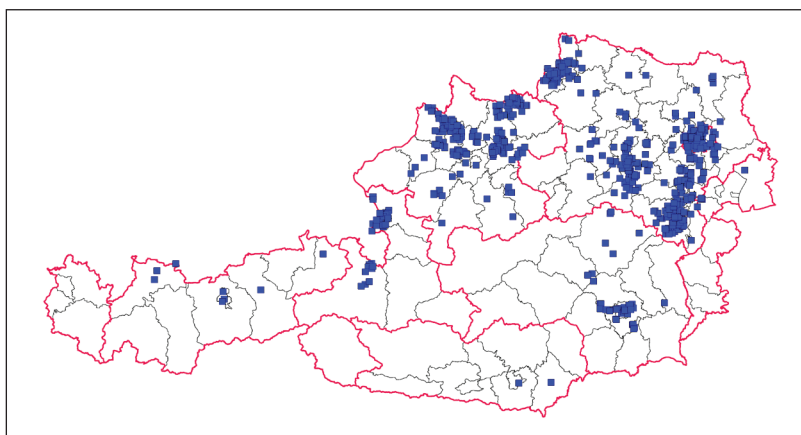
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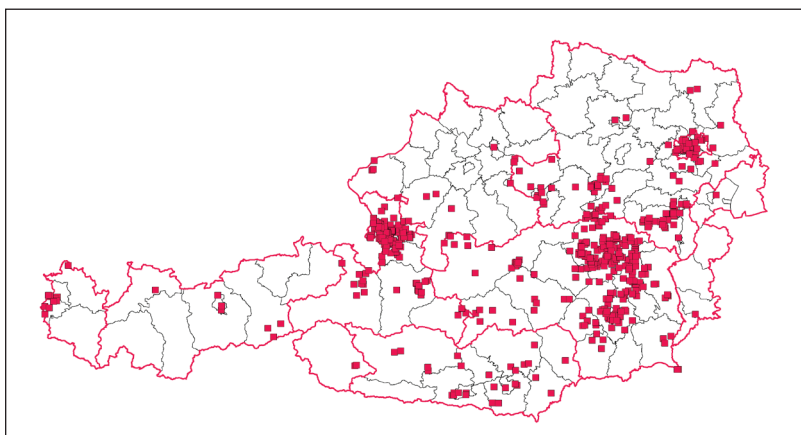
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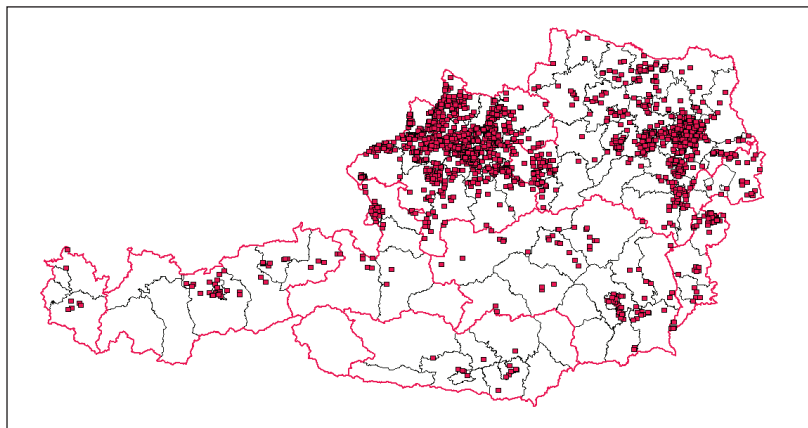
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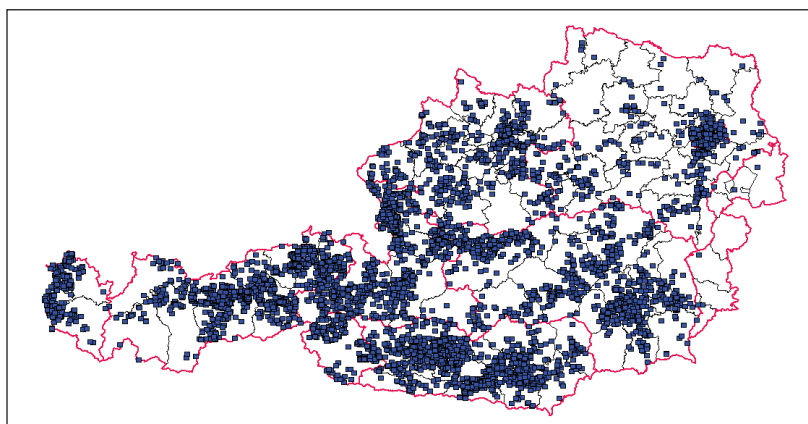
Karte 1: Familienname *Weissenböck*



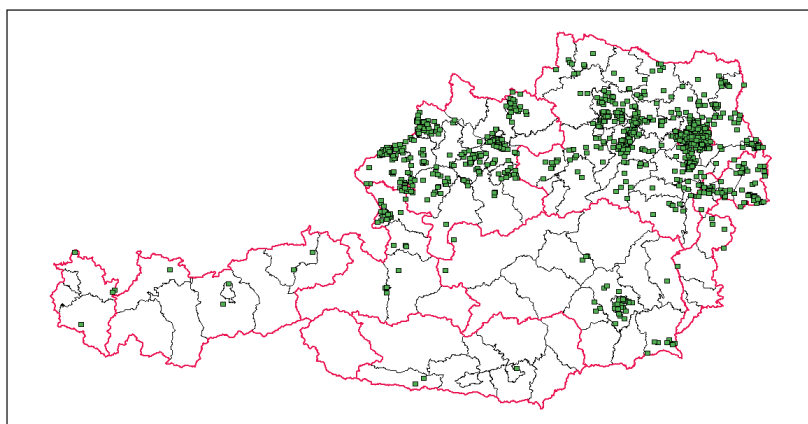
Karte 2: Familienname *Weissenbacher*



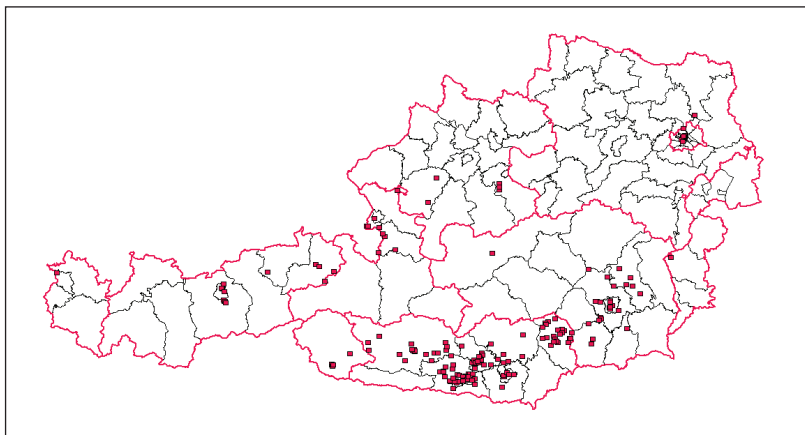
Karte 3: Familienname *Ecker*



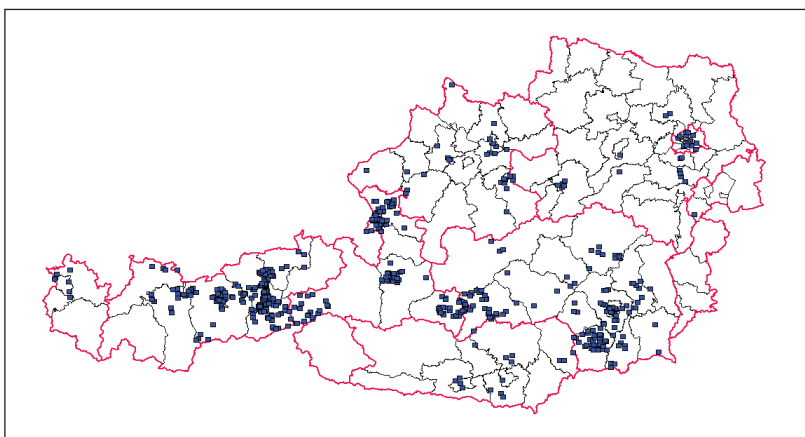
Karte 4: Familienname *Egger*



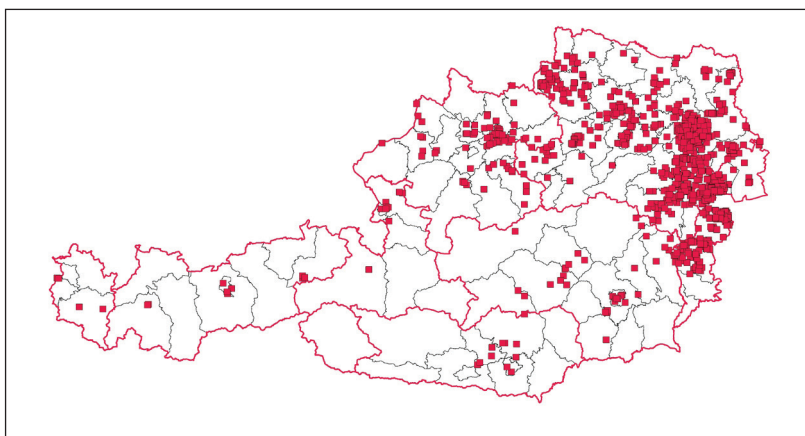
Karte 5: Familienname *Denk*



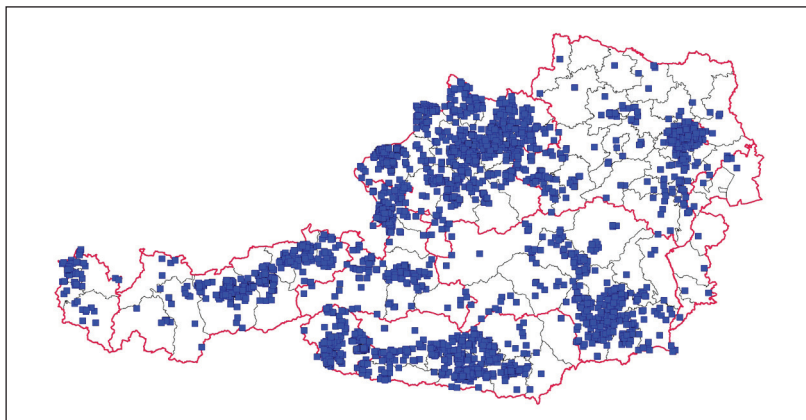
Karte 6: Familienname *Tengg*



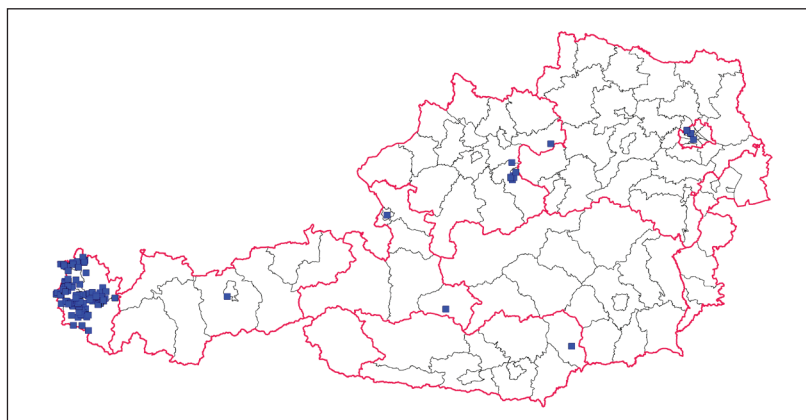
Karte 7: Familienname *Dengg*



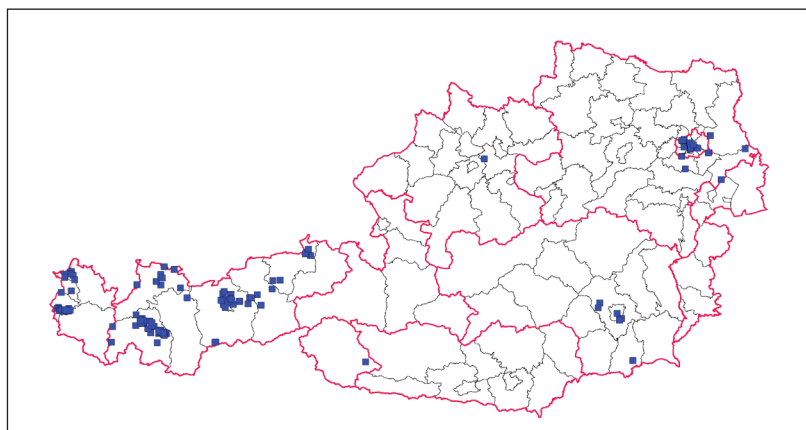
Karte 8: Familienname *Artner*



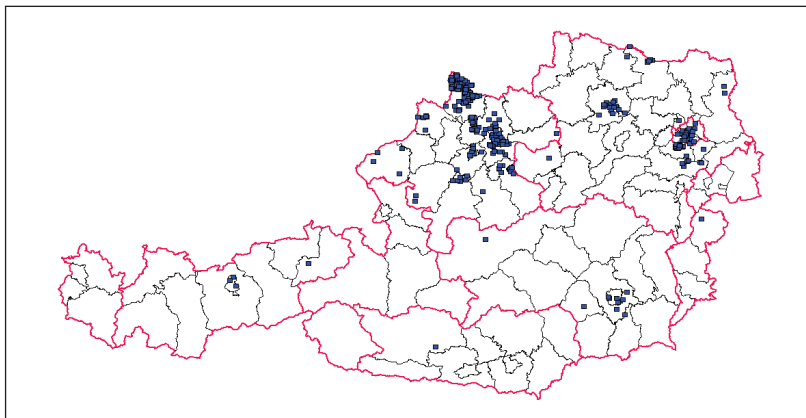
Karte 9: Familienname *Ortner*



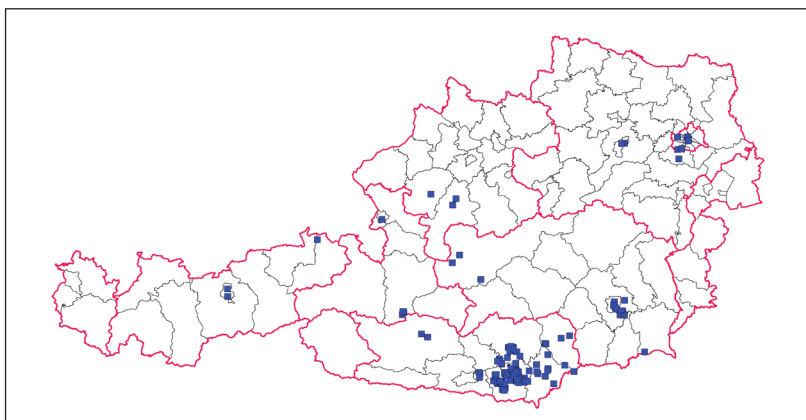
Karte 10: Familienname *Nigsch*



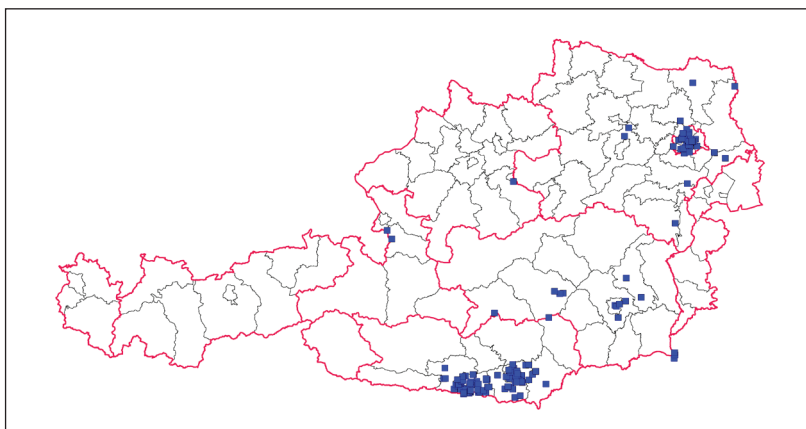
Karte 11: Familienname *Nigg*



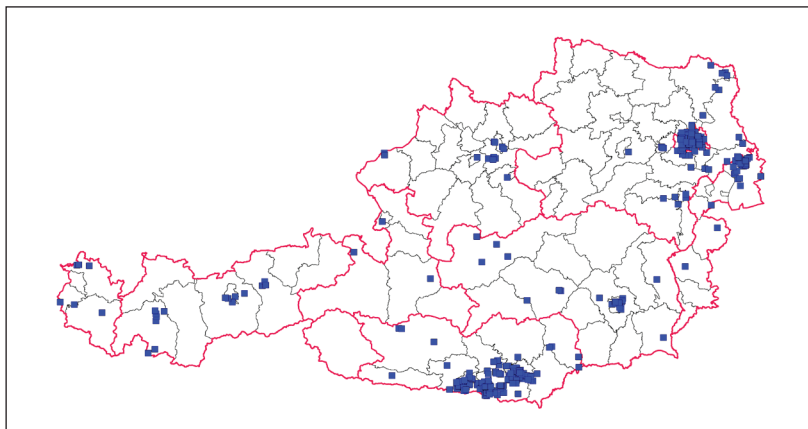
Karte 12: Familienname *Nigl*



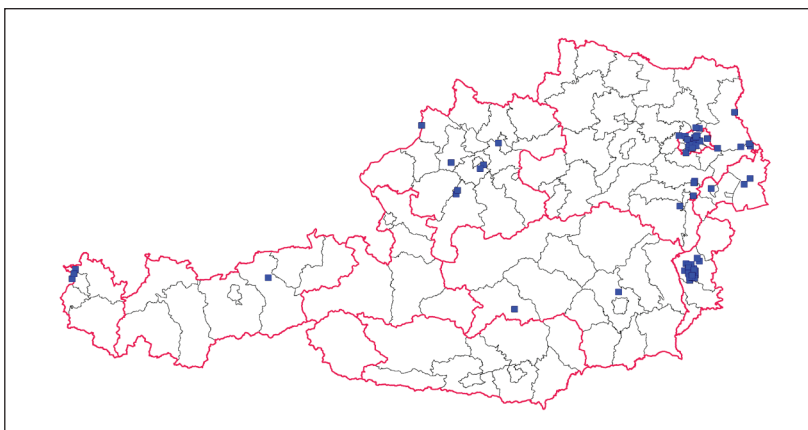
Karte 13: Familienname *Miklautz*



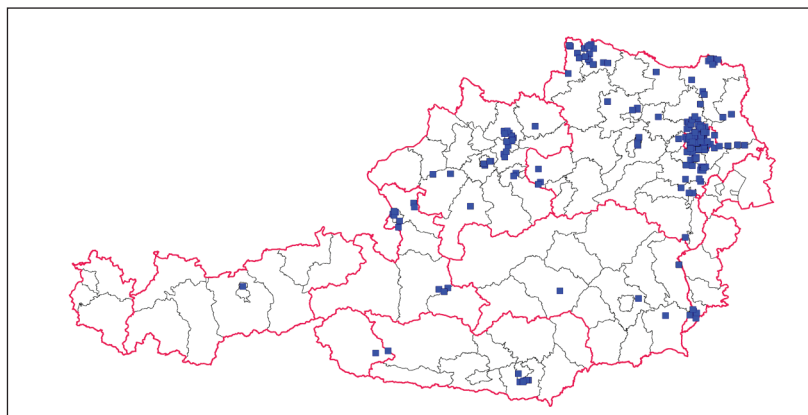
Karte 14: Familienname *Mikl*



Karte 15: Familienname *Mikula*



Karte 16: Familienname *Miklos*



Karte 17: Familienname *Miksch*

Abstract

Der vorliegende Beitrag versucht eine kontrastive areallinguistische Annäherung an das Thema Familiennamen vorzunehmen. Die dabei gewählte Methode ist vergleichbar mit der von Sprachatlanten. Durch Visualisierung geografischer Verteilungen von Familiennamen in Österreich soll eine bessere Etymologisierung erreicht werden. Zukunftsweisende Möglichkeiten, aber auch Problematiken dieser Vorgehensweise werden skizziert. Ziel ist das Sichtbarmachen von Mustern (Patterns) für einzelne Regionen Österreichs. Historische und sprachliche Gegebenheiten zeitigen Gegensätze zwischen bairischen Dialektformen im Großteil des Landes und alemannischen im äußersten Westen, mittelbairischen im Donauraum und südbairischen im alpinen Bereich, slowenischen Einfluss im Süden sowie kroatischen und ungarischen im äußersten Osten. Dialektgeografische Fragestellungen begegnen uns in den zu diesem Zweck ausgewählten Familiennamenpaaren *Weißböck/Weißbacher* (Herkunftsname zu einem Gewässernamen *Weißbach*), *Ecker/Egger* (Herkunftsname zu einer bestimmten Geländeformation) und *Denk/Dengg, T-* (zu einem charakteristisch bairischen Wort für 'links'). Kanzleisprachlicher Einfluss hingegen macht sich bemerkbar in *Artnert/Ortnert* (zu *Ort* in der Bedeutung 'Ende, Rand'). Anhand von *Nikolaus* werden schließlich durch Vornamenvarianz bedingte Verteilungsmuster visualisiert, wodurch Sprachkontaktzonen erkennbar sind.

Schlüsselwörter: Familienname, Familiennamengeografie, Familiennamenkartografie, Sprachkontakt, Österreich

Tamás Farkas

***A Surname Typology Project:
The Lessons Learnt from the Distribution of the Most
Frequent Hungarian Surnames***

**1. The program of the typological-statistical processing
of the Hungarian surname stock**

There are several methods for the comprehensive and representative analysis of surname systems. These include examining surname frequency, surname typologies, while utilising certain geolinguistic approaches, and also contrastive analysis.

The European Surname Typology Project (ESTP) combines all these approaches, the details of which were described comprehensively at the *International onomastic projects and cooperation* symposium of the 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (CHAREILLE–DARLU et al. 2017). The major characteristics of this initiative are the following: 1. It sets out to study the surname stock of several languages and countries. 2. It intends to process not complete surname stocks but is based on the analysis of the 100 most frequent surnames representing those. 3. It studies the internal structure of the surname corpora by name type distribution. 4. It carries out the analyses in territorial units and thus connects it with the geographic dimension. 5. It also aims to analyse its findings in a contrastive way.

Following this Western European initiative, I set myself the task of processing a Central European surname system, namely the Hungarian. Preliminary attention was dedicated to relevant methodological questions: overviewing arising problems, testing and evaluating these, because clarifying and following them is especially important in the case of research conducted within an international cooperation. This was followed by a comprehensive analysis of the complete picture of the surname stock of Hungary, based on complete (or at least representative) name corpora. Several subsets of the complete surname stock were examined: alongside the contemporary subset, the historical, namely the early 18th century subset, and the subset of artificially created Hungarian surnames (results of surname changes) of the 19th and 20th centuries. Findings were interpreted in comparison with each other as well as with those in other countries or languages. I gave a detailed account of this research at the ICONN3 international onomastic conference in Baia Mare in 2015 (published as FARKAS 2015).

Later phases of this research were expanded to include the geolinguistic aspects of the matter, i.e. the regional distribution of the contemporary Hungarian surname stock (in detail, in Hungarian see FARKAS 2016, 2017). This paper provides a summary of the results of this research.

2. The sources and methods of data processing

Regarding the contemporary Hungarian surname stock, work was carried out with several different name corpuses (see also in FARKAS 2015: 121–125).

Data on the surname stock of the current population of Hungary was collected based on official registries. Data for the entire country was processed based on the full dataset of the 2007 national registry. Regional distribution was examined on a dataset from 2009, containing only the 100 most frequent surnames of each region (19 counties and the capital city, Budapest). (HAJDÚ 2010, DHS. 2007 and 2009; I am indebted for this data to the late MIHÁLY HAJDÚ and FERENC VÖRÖS.) In the case of the complete surname stock sources allowed for the merging of name variants in spelling and pronunciation (that is, a higher degree of lemmatisation) as well. While in the case of regional distribution, orthographic variants had to be examined separately.

The study was extended to the surname stock of ethnic Hungarians native to Romania. An appropriate source was available for such an overview: a representative (if not absolute) onomastic survey based on the surname stock of the students of the schools in Romania where Hungarian is the language of tuition (1994–2002, 45 thousand students; MURÁDIN 2005). The area analysed by the study falls between that of the county level and the national level surname stock in Hungary, but the source does not provide appropriate information on the territorial distribution of its data. The database of Hungarian names in Romania merges orthographic variants (thus represents a certain degree of lemmatisation).

Thus, slightly different types of sources were available for the geolinguistic study. The methodology of dealing with surname variants separately versus taken together makes little or no difference, as earlier analyses (FARKAS 2015: 125–126) have demonstrated – at least in the case of the Hungarian surname stock and in its typological analysis. (In fact, typically there are relatively few variants of names in the Hungarian surname stock, and these regularly tend to be borne by significantly fewer individuals than base versions.) As a result, relevant conclusions can be reached based on these datasets of somewhat different backgrounds – and, especially for lack of better ones.



The analysis used the following methods (in detail see FARKAS 2015: 125–128). Surname variants were treated according to the possibilities offered by sources.

The analysis considered not individual names (lemmas), but their frequency – in other words, not the number of lemmas, but the number of name-bearers. The typological composition of lists of the top 100 surnames was also examined. A list like this includes approximately one third of the name stock of the given population in Hungary. Surnames of Hungarian origin were categorised in the following four main types (allowing for multiple categorisations): a) patronymics, b) occupational names (and titles, dignities), c) nicknames (personal characteristics), and d) names referring to origin (toponymic or ethnic).

However, before moving on to the findings of this typologisation, a closer look should be taken at surnames of foreign origin among the most common surnames in Hungary.

3. Surnames of foreign origin in the Hungarian surname stock

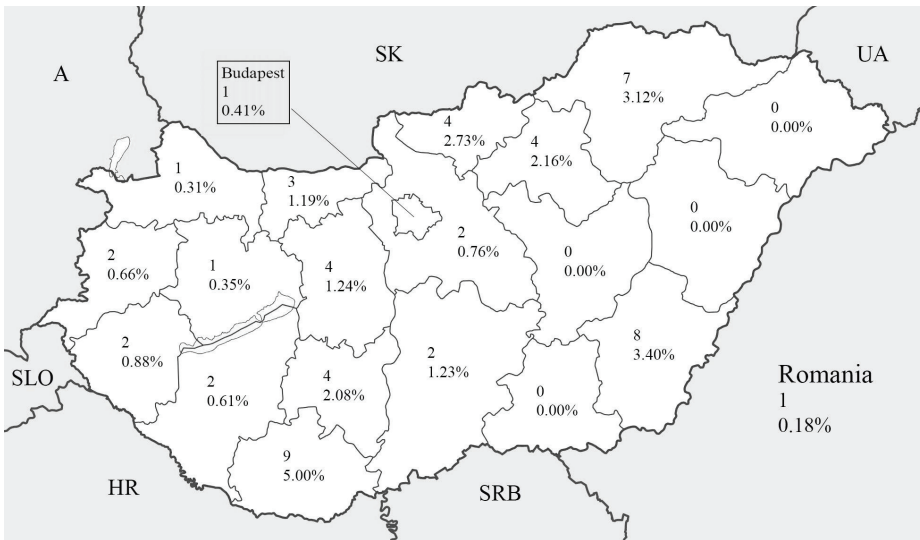
For practical reasons, and because this could be considered the most exact method, only names which originated without a doubt from a foreign language were considered surnames of foreign origin here. Thus, the surnames *Kovács* 'smith', *Kocsis* 'carter' and *Polyák* 'Pole' (which names, apart from their plausible Hungarian origin can also come, with more or less certainty, from Slavic languages) were considered Hungarian surnames (along with certain surnames that can be of Hungarian or Romani origin in the lists). It was also necessary to separate the surnames of foreign origin because they could not be categorised along with the surnames of Hungarian linguistic origin. The proportion of surnames of non-Hungarian origin is relatively low among the most frequent surnames, and their frequency is also typically a lot lower than that of surnames of Hungarian origin (cf. also HAJDÚ 2010: 528).

In Hungary, one single surname of non-Hungarian origin is found on the collated list of surname frequency: *Novák*, of Slavic origin (with 0.11% of the entire population bearing this name, which thus comes in at 83rd place if variants are considered separately and 84th if lemmatised).

A look at the different counties in Hungary shows that the number of surnames of non-Hungarian origin ranges from 0 to 9 within the top 100. The majority of these is Slavic, the minority is German, with one Romanian surname found in one single county. Names of other origins do not feature among the most frequent surnames (apart from a few that might or might not also be of Romani origin). The surnames of non-Hungarian origin featuring multiple times on the regional top lists are: *Novák* (8 regions); *Kollár* (6); *Radics* (5); *Schmidt* (4); *Lipták*, *Mayer*, *Müller*, *Sztojka* (2-2 regions). There are 25 surnames that occur in one region each. (In detail see FARKAS 2016: 50–56.)

Novák is the only surname that found its way onto the top 100 list of surnames in the capital city, Budapest. This is hardly surprising, as the Budapest surname stock tends to be a good representation of the national average. The geographic distribution of surnames of non-Hungarian origin is, obviously, not independent of the traditional regions of residence for respective ethnic minorities. Thus, for example, German names tend to feature predominantly in the Transdanubian region, while Slovak surnames in Békés county in the South East, which is also home to the only Romanian surname (*Árgyelán*) on the list.

As for the corpus of Hungarian surnames in Romania, there is a single name of non-Hungarian origin in it: *Ráduly* (0.18% of all name-bearers). This data, however, is not to be seen as absolute, due to the unique principles guiding the compilation of the corpus used (i.e. excluding names with foreign spellings). Yet, in comparison with the data from Hungary, it still shows typical regional characteristics, as *Ráduly*, a typical name in the Romanian surname stock (cf. BENŐ 2012: 123–126), is a lot less frequent in Hungary (where, even if all its variants are collapsed, it only reaches the 1159th position on the frequency list).



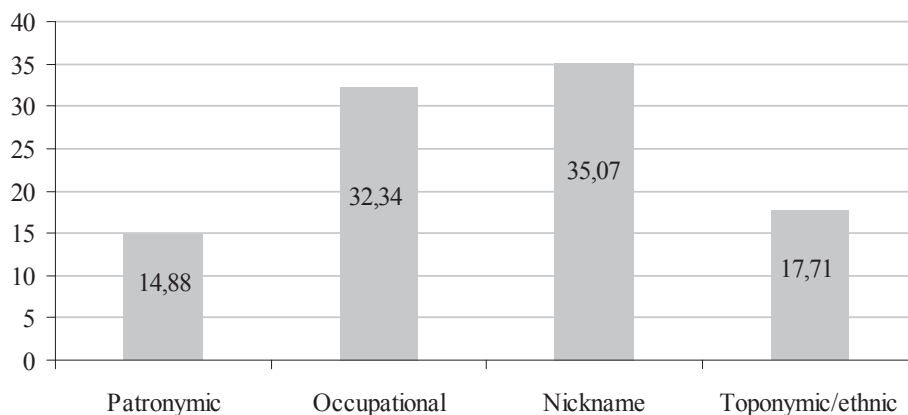
Map 1: Surnames of non-Hungarian origin among the regional top 100 surnames (number of names and proportion of name bearers)

4. The spatial distribution of the Hungarian surname types

The analysis of the typological distribution of surnames of (plausible) Hungarian origin was conducted following the methods mentioned above. Lists that provided different name variants separately were prioritised in my analysis here, apart from the list for Romania, where orthographic variants

were merged in the original source. Surnames of clearly non-Hungarian origin were excluded.

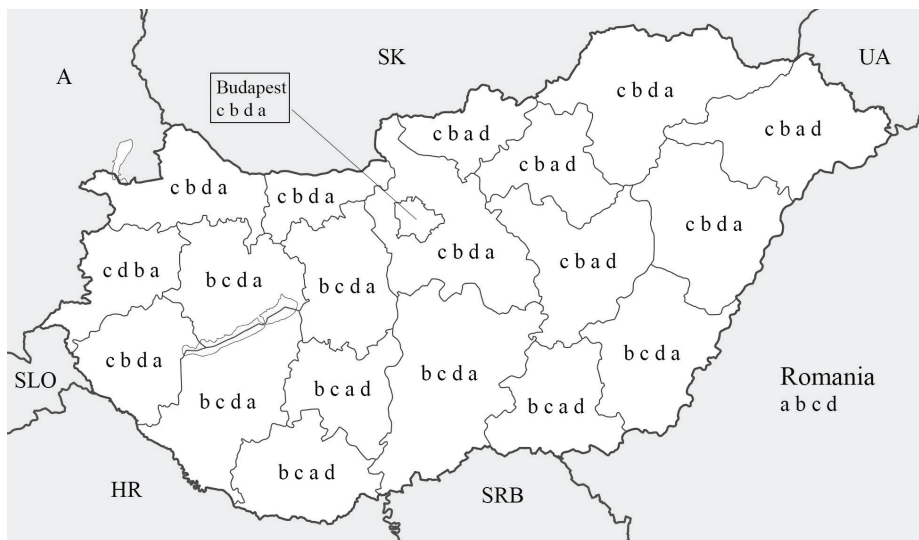
The following will provide a picture of the complete Hungarian surname stock for the top 100 list in Hungary (based on non-lemmatised names; for a slightly different picture, based on lemmatised names, see FARKAS 2015: 126, 129, 130–131). It can be seen that the patronymic and toponymic/ethnic categories on the one hand, and the occupational and nickname categories on the other hand show similar proportions.

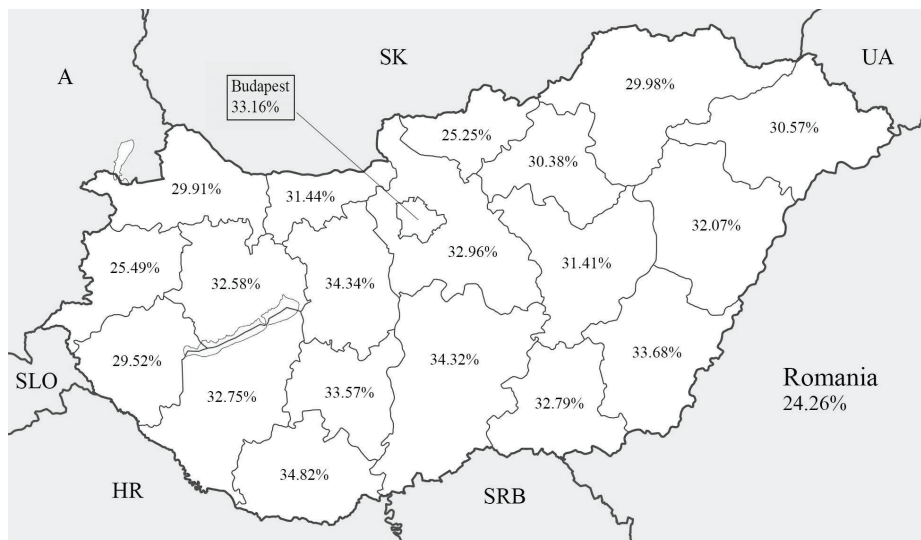


Graph 1: The frequency of different surname types within the top 100 surnames in Hungary (proportion of name bearers, non-lemmatised names)

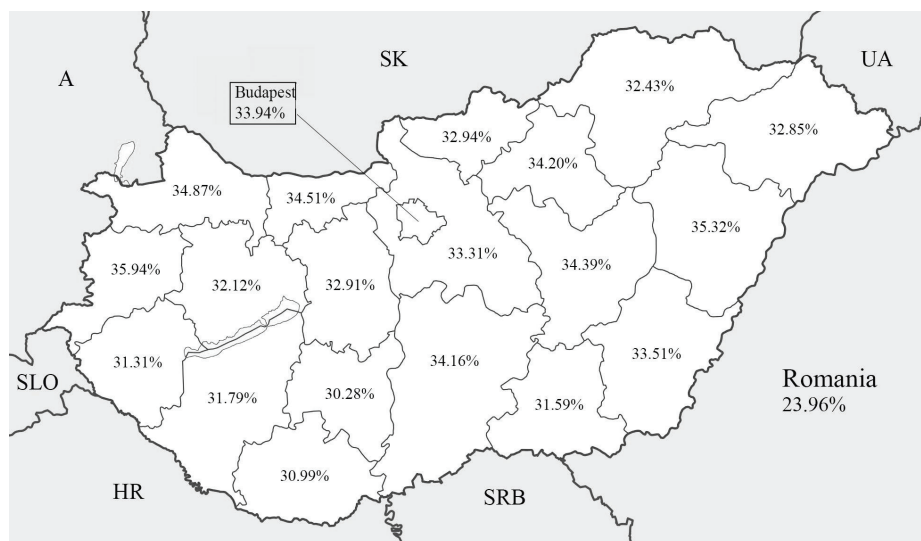
Knowing the national level, the regional distribution of surname types should also be studied. The maps showing the geographic distribution of surname types also include data for Hungarian surnames in Romania.

The most characteristic surname type in each region is always one of the two which are dominant on a national level: occupational or nicknames.

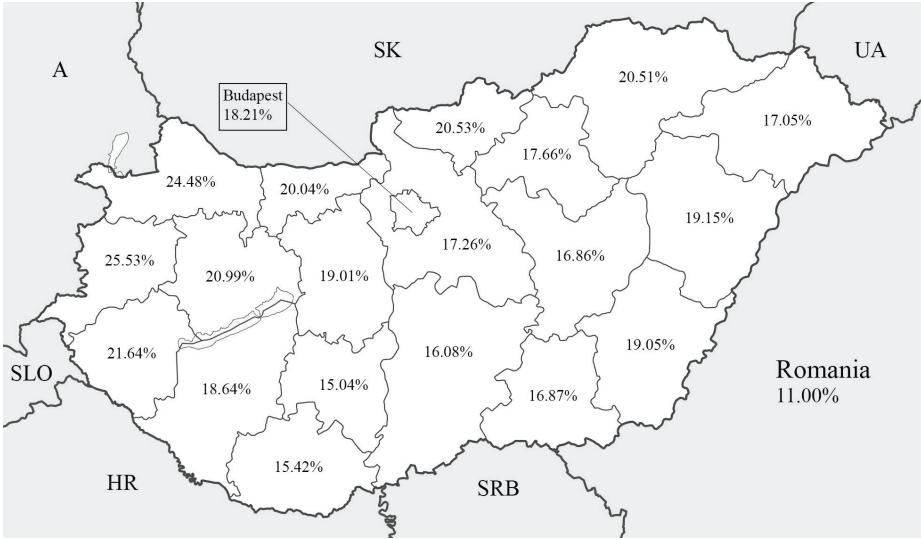




Map 4: The regional frequency of surname type b) occupational (proportion of name bearers)



Map 5: The regional frequency of surname type c) nicknames (proportion of name bearers)



Map 6: The regional frequency of surname type d) referring to origin (toponymic/ethnic) (proportion of name bearers)

The maximum difference between any two regions is only about 10% (and only half of that for the nickname category). However, it is again noteworthy that the proportions of Budapest are almost identical to the national average, which can be explained by the population history of the capital city of the country.

Surname type	Hungary				Romania
	Budapest	National	County min.	County max.	
a) patronymic	14.69	14.88	10.74	21.28	40.78
b) occupation	33.16	32.34	25.25	34.82	24.26
c) nickname	33.94	35.07	30.28	35.94	23.96
d) origin	18.21	17.71	15.04	25.53	11.00

Table 1: The frequency of surname types on different top 100 lists (proportion of name bearers)

The typological composition of the Hungarian surname stock in Romania shows a picture very different from that of Hungary. Here the distribution numbers fall outside the range of distribution in Hungary. The most obvious difference is how much higher the proportion of the patronymic category in the Hungarian surname stock of Romania is. The explanation for this is the higher proportion of such names, and their altogether higher positions on the respective surname

lists (i.e. their higher relative frequency). The frequency of the patronymic category is almost double that of the most frequent surname category in Hungary. Furthermore, partly because of this, all other Hungarian surname types in Romania are below their respective minimum regional frequencies in Hungary. The strong presence of patronymic surnames is characteristic in certain regions of Transylvania, especially in the so-called Seklerland, where there is an especially large population of ethnic Hungarians within Romania. This is known from both synchronic and diachronic studies (cf. FARKAS 2017: 114–115), however, the source used for the current study does not allow the creation of a more detailed geolinguistic picture of this phenomenon.

These findings also highlight the fact that when looking at the surname stock of a given language, research should not stop at the given country's borders. Any analysis should be extended to the whole linguistic area, especially native ethnic minorities. Geolinguistic differences can be significant even concerning basic surname types.

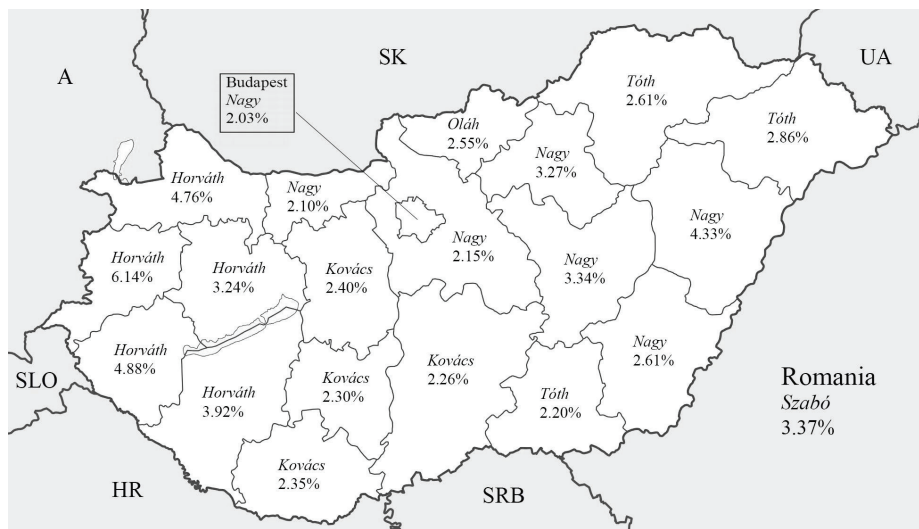
5. The three most frequent surnames

The three most frequent surnames in the surname stock of Hungary are *Nagy* 'big, large', *Kovács* 'smith' and *Tóth* 'Slav, Slovak' (both separating and merging the name variants of each), and there is little deviation from this pattern on the regional podiums. The *Tóth* 'Slav, Slovak', *Horváth* 'Croat', *Németh* 'German' (ethnonymic surnames); *Kovács* 'smith' and *Szabó* 'tailor' (occupational surnames); and *Nagy* 'big, large' (a nickname) are the surnames that make it into the top 3 multiple times in regional lists, alongside additional surnames that occur among the top three in one region each. The three most frequent surnames of the Hungarian surname stock in Romania (*Szabó*, *Nagy*, *Kovács*) correlate with the picture of Hungary. In certain regions of Romania these surnames are the absolute most frequent ones, that is, if the surnames of the whole Romanian population are included they remain the most frequent (cf. LIPAN 2012).

Thus, the regional top 3 surname lists mostly feature surnames that refer to ethnicity, occupation or personal characteristics. The surprising frequency of ethnonymic surnames, a conspicuous feature of the Hungarian surname system (cf. FARKAS 2013), can be observed in the current findings as well, while their specific regional distribution reflects specific instances of population history. These surnames were considered both in the categories of those referring to a person's origin and personal characteristics. This is because the categorisation is based on the supposed motivation behind name giving (rather than the primary meaning of the linguistic unit forming the base of the surname). In the case of

A map of Hungary with its administrative regions outlined. Neighboring countries are labeled: A (Austria) to the north, UA (Ukraine) to the northeast, SLO (Slovenia) to the west, HR (Croatia) to the southwest, and SRB (Serbia) to the south. The capital, Budapest, is located in the northwestern part of the country. A box labeled 'Budapest Nagy Kovács Szabó' is shown in the northwest, with a line pointing to a specific region. Other regions are labeled with names: Horváth Németh Nagy, Nagy Szabó Horváth, Oláh Kovács Tóth, Nagy Tóth Kovács, Tóth Nagy Horváth, Tóth Nagy Balogh, Nagy Szabó Tóth, Nagy Tóth Kovács, Nagy Szabó Kovács, Kovács Szabó Horváth, Horváth Nagy Kovács, Horváth Németh Kovács, Horváth Kovács Tóth, Horváth Kovács Orsós, Kovács Horváth Szabó, Kovács Horváth Szabó, Kovács Szabó Tóth, and Tóth Szabó Nagy. The text 'Romania Szabó Nagy Kovács' is written in the southeast.

This overview can be detailed by examining the numerical frequency of each surname, next to their order on the name lists. There can be significant (as large as threefold) differences among the frequency of the most frequent surnames in different regions. Thus, it is possible for example, that a surname is only the third most frequent in a given county, but its actual frequency surpasses that of the most frequent names of other counties.



Map 8: The most common surnames in each region (proportion of name bearers)

6. The regional characteristics of the occurrence of specific surnames

Almost half of the surnames (190 of 403) on the frequency lists for the 19 counties and Budapest only appear amongst the most frequent names in a single region. However, there are 24 surnames on these lists, which feature among the top 100 in all 20 regions. This in itself demonstrates the great regional differences in surname use among the different regions. If Hungarian surnames in Romania are also considered, this list shrinks to 21 surnames, which are also usually featured in the most frequent third of the national top 100 list. Thus, all in all, these surnames can be considered now the most typical of the entire Hungarian surname stock.

The differences between specific regional top 100 lists can highlight regional differences especially well. It is best to start this analysis with a comparison of the Hungarian top 100 list in Romania with the same list for Hungary, as differences from a typological-statistical aspect are most conspicuous here. 17 surnames can be found here that are absent from the list for Hungary, and thus are characteristic of the Hungarian surname stock in Romania. Most of these occur in the middle or towards the end of the top 100 list for Romania. The vast majority of these names – in accordance with the general characteristics of the Hungarian surname stock in Romania – are patronymic; in the basic form of the name (e.g. *Benedek* 'Benedict'), with a diminutive (e.g. *Tankó*: *Tam-* + *-kó* < *Tamás* 'Thomas') or a patronymic suffix (e.g. *Ferenci*: *Ferenc* 'Francis' + *-i*). There are also pronunciation (dialectal) variants (both belong to occupational surnames) that are, in this form, characteristic of Transylvanian Hungarian, which are only found in their base forms on the top 100 list in Hungary: *Fazakas* (~ *Fazekas* < *fazekas* 'potter') and *Szőcs* (~ *Szűcs* < *szűcs* 'furrier'). However, an inverse study is also possible, in the form of the list of surnames absent from the Transylvanian 100 list, yet ubiquitous on the lists in Hungary. This list is a lot shorter, with only *Juhász* ('shepherd'), *Mészáros* ('butcher'), and the standard form of the above mentioned dialectal occupational names (*Fazekas*, *Szűcs*), and a nickname (*Vörös* 'red').

The surnames found on just one specific region's top list supply interesting examples for various onomastic phenomena, and for the regional characteristics of the Hungarian surname stock, too.

The above mentioned example of the only surname of Romanian origin featuring on the top lists for Hungary, *Árgyelán* 'Transylvanian' is among the most frequent names in the South Eastern county, Békés, which is the epicentre of the ethnic Romanian community in Hungary (cf. FARKAS–N. FODOR 2016).

Another, lexical example is a surname of Hungarian origin with strong regional ties: *Koplányi*. This surname only features on the top 100 list in Nógrád county,



in the North of Hungary (with 300 name bearers, in the 89th position, while there were only 433 people with the surname in the whole country, and the name is not listed in the surname dictionaries for Hungary at all). The scarcity and strong regionality can both be explained easily, as the surname is based on a toponym: *Koplány* (+ *-i* ‘from, of’ suffix), the name of a village in the region that was demolished during the time of the Ottoman conquests.

An example of morphological phenomena can be found in patronymic surnames with the *-fi* suffix (‘-son’). Surnames with this suffix are characteristic of the Hungarian surname stock, albeit not very frequent, thus only two examples can be found on the regional top 100 lists in two different counties. The first is *Pálfi* (‘Paul’ + *-fi*) in Zala county in the South West, where this morphological surname type is the most widespread. The second is *Bánfi* (*Bán* ‘an obsolete title’ + *-fi*) in the South Eastern county Csongrád, and especially common in the surname stock of one specific town (Hódmezővásárhely), for currently unknown reasons of population history.

Finally, an example of a phonetic phenomenon, the surname *Kámán*, which has proven remarkably frequent in the South Western county, Zala (31st position, 746 name bearers). The surname *Kálmán*, ‘[given name] Kálmán, Coloman’, a variant of which *Kámán* is, can be found on the top 100 list in seven further counties, mainly in the western part of Hungary. Surnames originating from given names are relatively frequent in Zala county, with the mentioned lexical type (*Kálmán* ~ *Kámán*) being especially so. However, it is also this unique, local dialectal variant which has come to dominate here.

The regional frequency of individual surnames (here: how many county’s top 100 lists feature them) usually roughly correlates with their national frequency. Despite this, the surname *Orsós* ‘reelmaker or -seller’ shows an interesting deviation from this general observation. It is in the 31st position of the national top 100 list, while it is only found on 6 regional lists, but is exceptionally frequent in these (other names of this frequency are found on 17–19 regional lists, cf. VÖRÖS 2011: 195–201, FARKAS 2016: 47–48). As it is a surname characteristically borne by Roma people its unusual spatial distribution patterns reflect the special demographic features and surname characteristics of the Roma population in Hungary. The majority of Roma in Hungary have surnames of Hungarian linguistic origin, with a handful of surnames being outstandingly frequent among them.

7. Summary

This study has aimed to look at the questions of the etymological, typological and regional distribution of the Hungarian surname stock, in a comprehensive way, using large and representative name corpora. To connect to the European

Surname Typology Project, and based on its methodology, the analysis was conducted using the stock of the one hundred most frequent surnames, which, within its own limits, provides a picture that can be considered representative. However, this overview should be studied in a wider, European context in the future.

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is, based on its specific methodology, to continue the research on the structure of the Hungarian surname stock today, focusing on its etymological, typological and geographical distribution. The analysis is based on the one hundred most frequent surnames regionally in Hungary (in the 19 counties and in the capital, Budapest), and, additionally, in the Hungarian surname stock in Romania. The paper initially presents the background for this study: (1) the framework of the European Surname Typology Project, as well as (2) the sources and the methodology of the typological-statistical processing. It analyses the geolinguistic characteristics of the regionally most frequent surnames: the distribution of the surnames of (3) non-Hungarian and (4) Hungarian linguistic origin, as well as (5) the pool of the most frequent (three) surnames in the various regions. Finally, the paper demonstrates (6) the possible different types of regional characteristics of the stock of the most frequent surnames. Within its own limits, the analysis provides an appropriate onomastic methodology, and a representative picture for the given surname stock, to be interpreted also in the broader context of European surname studies today.



Keywords: geonomastics, surname geography, surname typology, Hungarian names, language contacts

A Typological Approach to the Romanian Surnames

The historical background of the formation of the Romanian surnames has been captured by the analysis of several censuses for fiscal registration from different regions of the country and the laws from 1895 and 1936 establishing the hereditary family names. The first feature of the official Romanian binomial system of naming (first name + hereditary family name) is given by its late establishment in the end of the 19th century in contrast with many other European countries¹ (see also PETRIȘOR 2006: 11, 16). A second observation concerning the Romanian surnames has to outline the historical dynamics of the process given by the existence and the interconnection of two naming modalities, an official and a popular one (see PAȘCA 1936: 61), and by the presence of two social classes, the nobility and the peasantry, opposed in their role in society, their richness and their interest in developing a hereditary family name.

The documents consulted have proved the presence of a single name in the case of the peasantry and the poor city-dwellers untill late in the 19th century when the law (1895) has given them the possibility to acquire a patronym while the boyars have already owned earlier their family names. The noblemen have been almost always (very few exceptions) registered with the first name accompanied by a byname sometimes hereditary within which a large sample is comprised of names derived from the place (*moșia*) possessed by the nobleman, similar in use to *nom de terre* in France. Many examples from *Catagrafie oficială de Toți Boerii Țării Românești la 1829* attested this etymology of the bynames: Iordache **Paladă**, [...] al stolnicului Iordache **Paladă** [...]; o moșie de zestre ce se numește Crângurile lui **Paladă** în sud Ilfov (26–27), i.e. “Iordache Paladă, [...] of the high steward Iordache Paladă [...]; an estate as dowry which is named The Paladă’s Groves in south Ilfov”, Nicolae **Ulmeanul**, [...] al polcovnicului Ștefan **Ulmeanul**, [...] are 2 stânjeni moșie fără sat, anume **Ulmii** dintr’acest județ (28), i.e. “Nicolae Elmer, [...] of the colonel Ștefan Elmer, [...] has 4 meters estate without village, namely The Elms from this county”, Mihalache

¹ P. HANKS and H. PARKIN have noted in their article that: “The binomial system has been established in most European countries since the fourteenth century. Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries (and in some places earlier) descriptive, non-hereditary bynames – typically derived from locations, relationships, nicknames, or occupations – gradually became fixed within family groups and passed down to subsequent generations.” (HANKS–PARKIN 2016: 215). See MURRU–CORRIGA 2000: 161 for the early development of the family names in Sardinia in the 12th century, see FUCILLA 1976: 144 for the development of family names in Spain in the 13th century, but also see COATES 2016: 36 for the late development of family names in Wales in the 19th century. For the first Romanian occurrence in the 11th century of several names accompanied by bynames see TOMESCU 2001: 51.

Izvoranu, [...] *al răposatului șetrar Barbu Izvoranu*, [...] *are 400 stânjeni de moșie în hotaru Izvoarele* (34), i.e. “Mihalache Springman, [...] of the deceased military chief Barbu Springman, [...] has 400 fathoms estate in the boundary The Springs”, *Costache Corlătescul*, [...] *al polcovnicului Ștefan Băiașu*, [...] *are o moșie Corlătești* (36), i.e. “Costache Corlătescul, [...] of the colonel Ștefan Băiașu, [...] has an estate Corlătești”. Another large sample taken from the nobility census attested the use of patronyms derived with a suffix from the given name or the title of the father or, simply, by conversion without any change: *Manolache Serghiad*, [...] *al cămărașului Serghie* (8), i.e. “Manolache Serghiad, [...] of the chamberlain Serghie”, *Vasilache Voinescu*, [...] *al lui Voinea neguțătorul* (8), i.e. “Vasilache Voinescu, [...] of Voinea the trader”, *Matache Clucerescu*, [...] *al clucerului Vasile* (15), i.e. “Matache Clucerescu, [...] of the lord steward Vasile”, *Ion Ceaușescu sin ceauș Dinu* (68), i.e. “Ion Ceaușescu son of usher Dinu”, *Bănică Protopopescu, Chirculescu*, [...] *al protopopului Neagu Chircu* (24), i.e. “Bănică Protopopescu, Chirculescu, [...] of the archpriest Neagu Chircu”, *Costandin Opreanu Oprescu*, [...] *al lui Oprea Gheorghiu* (25), i.e. “Costandin Opreanu Oprescu, [...] of Oprea Gheorghiu”, *Tache Zisul*, [...] *al lui Zisu neguțător* (18), i.e. “Tache Zisul, [...] of Zisu trader”. The locative bynames derived from the name of the birth place like *Sărățeanu* in the following examples may be often found between the boyars strategies of naming (see below in 2.) while the nicknames are rarely chosen and the occupational bynames are almost missing (see below in 3.): *Dumitrache Sărățeanu Înjugă-urs*, *n. Sărata*, [...] *al lui Constandin vtori vistier, șade în Sărata* (24), i.e. “Dumitrache Sărățeanu Yoke-the-bear, born Salty, [...] of Constandin the second treasurer, lives in Salty”, *Iordache Lupul*, [...] *al stolnicului Costache Lupu* (24), i.e. “Iordache the Wolf, [...] of the high steward Costache the Wolf”. In some cases the document substantiates the lack of fixity of the bynames and the hesitation of the bearers in choosing either the roots or the endings like in *Bănică Protopopescu, Chirculescu* where the patronym is formed firstly from the name of the father’s occupation (the occupational name *Protopopu*) and secondly from his given name (*Chircu*) or like in *Costandin Opreanu Oprescu* where two endings are linked to the father’s name *Oprea*. Surnames as those presented above may be found today in the Romanian system, some of them with identical forms (*Serghiad, Voinescu, Clucerescu, Ceaușescu, Protopopescu, Chirculescu, Opreanu, Oprescu, Sărățeanu*), some of them in their modern orthographic or morphological variants without accent, hyphen or the final -l (*Palada, Înjugăurs, Ulmeanu, Izvoranu, Corlătescu, Zisu, Lupu*).

On the other hand, the single name of the commonalty has been usually accompanied by one or several modifiers in the official registers and in popular use for referential precision. The indication of filiation (or other family

relationship) is widespread in fiscal censuses using official formulas containing Slavic words (*sin* ‘son’, *brat* ‘brother’, *zet* ‘son-in-law’) or the diglossic syntagm with the genitive indicating the mother or the father. In *Obşteasca catagrafie a Țării Românești. Catagrafia oraşului Ploieşti de la 1838* the majority of the given names of the family heads registered are accompanied by the given name of their father: *Tonciu sin Petcu* (93), i.e. “Tonciu son of Petcu”, *Andrei sin Mangher* (95), i.e. “Andrei son of Mangher”, *Stavri sin Tănase* (136), i.e. “Stavri son of Tănase”. In *Documente statistice privitoare la oraşul Iaşi* (1st vol.) the family appartenance may be specified also through the given name of a brother or a father-in-law: *Hriste, brat Tomii* (89), i.e. “Hriste, brother of Toma”, *Ianachi, zăt popii Velişcu* (121), i.e. “Ianachi, son-in-law of the priest Velişcu”, *Leonte zăt Rosât* (197), i.e. “Leonte son-in-law of Rosât”. The official registration (including the forthcoming laws) has preferred the agnatic line, whereas the popular use expresses the filiation both from the mother and the father. The aforementioned document illustrates also the presence of metronyms expressed by a genitive construction: *Neculai al Sârghiasiei* (64), i.e. “Neculai of Sârghiasa”, *Iordachi a Marandii* (124), i.e. “Iordachi of Maranda”. The surname *Amarandii* illustrating this structure may be found today. A name like *Sârghiasa* given to the wife of a man named *Sârghi* as indicated by the suffix *-(e)asa* shows that the uterine line is expressed here by an andronymic as a sign of a patriarchal society, but the reference to the father-in-law mentioned above highlights also the presence of matrilocal features. The forthcoming laws have given the right of taking only patronyms derived with a suffix from the given name of the father for those who have not owned a family name until 1865. Also, in the official system of naming nowadays, the husband imposes his family name to the married woman and thus the matrilocal aspects of the society remain unknown.

The functioning of all these bynames used for the strict identification and description of persons has traced out the current official Romanian surnames, usually opaque nowadays, which may be divided into four types depending upon the semantics of their etymons: relationship surnames, locative surnames, occupational surnames and nickname surnames. Similar to the categories of surnames established by other researchers (see FUCILLA 1976: 144 for Spanish, see PARKIN 2013: 201 for English, etc.) and according to the tendency for a standardised classification based on etymology (see PARKIN 2013: 210), our semantic approach includes the formation of the Romanian surnames into the general trends of surnames bestowal. In view of the precise reason of a person’s designation is sometimes impossible to be captured nowadays, the meaning of the etymon as a more accurate and less subjective basis of surnames analysis prevails over the motivational aspect in this approach. A problem has been encountered in the presence of the multiple etymology. A name like



Petrescu may be explained as a patronym formed with the suffix *-escu* from the given name *Petre*, but an etymology based on location is also sustainable. In *Catagrafie oficială de Toţi Boerii Țării Româneşti la 1829* the name is a patronym in the case of *Anastase Petrescu, [...] al lui Petre* (14), i.e. “Anastase Petrescu, [...] of Petre”, while the same name expresses place belonging in the case of *Dumitrache Petrescu, [...] al lui vtori armaş Ioniţă, şade în satu Petreşti sud Vlaşca* (49), i.e. “Dumitrache Petrescu, [...] of the second prison warden Ioniţă, lives in the village Petreşti south Vlaşca”. (See also for multiple etymology VASCENCO 1975: 94–95, see IORDAN 1983: 363.)

1. Type: Relationship surnames (patronyms, metronyms, kinship terms)

Structure	Examples
Given name without suffix	Male given names: <i>Paraschiv, Chivu, Mangher</i> Female given names: <i>Aftimiea, Paraschiva, Chiva</i>
Given name or byname + genitive morphemes	Given name: <i>Aelisavetei, Aluigheorghe, Aprofirei, Asandului</i> Byname (andronymic, locative name, occupational name): <i>Abalabanoaiei, Aluncăriței, Ajidaucei, Ajudelui, Amancei</i>
Given name or byname + suffix	-escu: <i>Ionescu, Popescu, Navrotescu, Dăscălescu</i> -eanu: <i>Filipeanu</i> -ini: <i>Petrini</i> -iu: <i>Gheorghiu, Ioaniu</i> -oiu: <i>Oproiu</i> -oni: <i>Oproni</i> -ovici: <i>Balanovici, Filipovici, Diaconovici</i> -iuc: <i>Avramiuc, Filipiuc</i>
<i>Sin</i> + given name	<i>Singheorghe</i>
Word expressing kinship	<i>Bă(i)etu, Fecioru</i>

This table presents and exemplifies the structures which express in the Romanian surnames system a family relationship with the father or the mother (patronyms, metronyms and kinship terms). The first structure illustrates the conversion of some given names, including the hypocoristic ones, into the family names (see also VASCENCO 1975: 91), the mostly used being the father's names: *Paraschiv, Chivu* which is a hypocorism of the former (see IORDAN 1983: 120) and *Mangher*. There are also examples containing the mother's name: *Aftimiea, Paraschiva* and its hypocoristic form *Chiva* (see IORDAN 1983:

120). The second structure included in the table is found nowadays mostly in metronyms (few patronyms) and corroborates the existence of a popular way of expressing the filiation both through the mother and the father which has penetrated the official system of naming. The surname's structure is formed by the given name of the mother or the father and the genitive morphemes, *a -ei* for the feminine and *a lui/ a -lui* for the masculine: *Aelisavetei* from Elisaveta, *Aghiniței* from Ghinița, *Aliței* from Lița, *Alui Gheorghe*, *Aluigheorghe* from Gheorghe,² *Amaricăi* from Marica, *Amălinei* from Mălina, *Amăriucăi* from Măriuca, *Aprofirei* from Profira, *Aradei* from Rada, *Arariței* from Rarița, *Arucsandei*, *Aruxandei* from Rucsanda, Ruxanda, *Asandului* from Sandu, *Asavei* from Sava (male and female given name), *Asiminei* from Simina, *Asoltanei* from Soltana, *Aticăi* from Tica, *Atofanei* from Tofana, *Aursei* from Ursa, *Avasilcăi* from Vasilca, *Avasilcuței* from Vasilcuța, *Azoicăi* from Zoica. The genitive morphemes *a -ei* accompany the mother's byname usually derived with a suffix (*-oaia*, *-easa*, *-eanca*, *-ița*) from the husband's given name or byname: *Abalabanoaei*, *Abalabanoaie* is a genitive form of the female byname *Balabanoia* derived in its turn from the male given name *Balaban* with the suffix *-oaia* (see PAȘCA 1975: 117 for the use of this suffix in female names). A large similar sample containing Romanian surnames coming from female bynames derived with a suffix from a male name (given name, nickname or occupational name) may be found nowadays: *Aboboaiei*³ from *Boboaia* (*Bobu* + *-oaia*), *Abuhnoaiei* from *Buhnoaia* (*Buhnu* + *-oaia*), *Aburculesei* from *Burculeasa* (*Burcu* + *-easa*), *Aburlăciței* from *Burlăcița* (*Burlacu* + *-ița*), *Abutoaiei* from *Butoaia* (*Butoiu* + *-oaia*), *Acamenîtoaiei* from *Camenîtoaia* (*Camenîță* + *-oaia*), *Achițulesei* from *Chițuleasa* (*Chițu* + *-easa*), *Acrâșmăriței* from *Crâșmărița* (*Crâșmaru* + *-ița*), *Adiaconiței* from *Diaconița* (*Diaconu* + *-ița*), *Adobroaiei* from *Dobroaia* (*Dobre* + *-oaia*), *Adomnoaiei* from *Domnoaia* (*Domnu* + *-oaia*), *Adoroaiei* from *Doroaia* (*Doru* + *-oaia*), *Aganencii* from *Ganeanca* (*Ganea* + *-eanca*), *Agavriloaiei* from *Gavriloaia* (*Gavril* + *-oaia*), *Aghiculesei* from *Ghiculeasa* (*Ghicu* + *-easa*), *Aionoaei* from *Ionoaia* (*Ion* + *-oaia*), *Alăzăroaiei* from *Lăzăroaia* (*Lăzăr* + *-oaia*), *Aluchienesei* from *Luchieneasa* (*Luchian* + *-easa*), *Aluculesei* from *Luculeasa* (*Luca* + *-easa*), *Amanolesei* from *Manoleasa* (*Manole* + *-easa*), *Amartinesei* from *Martineasa* (*Martin* + *-easa*), *Amaximoaiei* from *Maximoaia* (*Maxim* + *-oaia*), *Aneculăesei* from *Neculăeasa* (*Necula* + *-easa*), *Anichiforesei* from *Nichiforeasa* (*Nichifor*

² The provenance of this popular surname structure with a male given name is illustrated also by the documents consulted from Iași and Ploiești: *Ioan a lui Andrei* (392), *Neculai a Stanciului* (222) from *Documente statistice privitoare la orașul Iași* (1st vol.) or *Sulmut a lui Bicu* (217) from *Obșteasca catagrafie a Țării Românești. Catagrafia orașului Ploiești de la 1838*.

³ For the illustration of the surname's structures the most complete form has been chosen, but there are also variants like *Aboboaie* or *Aboboei*.

+ *-easa*), *Apetrăchioaiei* from *Petrăchioaia* (*Petrache* + *-oaia*), *Arădoaiei*, *Arădoaie* from *Rădoaia* (*Radu* + *-oaia*), *Asăndoaiei* from *Săndoaia* (*Sandu* + *-oaia*), *Asăvoaiei* from *Săvoaia* (*Savu* + *-oaia*), *Așchiopoaiei* from *Șchiopoaia* (*Șchiopu* + *-oaia*), *Asimionoaiei* from *Simionoaia* (*Simion* + *-oaia*), *Astărăstoăiei* from *Stărăstoăia* (*Staroste* + *-oaia*), *Aștefănesei* from *Ștefăneasa* (*Ștefan* + *-easa*), *Aștefculesei* from *Ștefculeasa* (*Ștefcu* + *-easa*), *Asurugiței* from *Surugița* (*Surugiu* + *-iță*), *Aursulesei* from *Ursuleasa* (*Ursu* + *-easa*), *Avasilencei* from *Vasileanca* (*Vasile* + *-eanca*), *Avătămăniței* from *Vătămănița* (*Vătamanu* + *-ița*), *Aviziteiței* from *Viziteița* (*Vizitiu* + *-ița*), *Avornicesei* from *Vorniceasa* (*Vornicu* + *-easa*), *Azapcioaie* from *Zapcioaia* (*Zapciu* + *-oaia*). Sometimes the genitive morpheme *a* is elliptical especially before a name beginning with the vowel *a*. For example names with genitive forms like *Andonesei* from *Andoneasa* (*Andone* + *-easa*), *Andricioaiei* from *Andricioaia* (*Andrici* + *-oaia*), *Arionesei* from *Arioneasa* (*Arion* + *-easa*) may be variants from *Aandonesei* (surname existing today), *Aandricioaiei* and *Aarionesei* (surnames not found today in our sample) where the first cluster of identical vowels have been considered not euphonious and have been reduced to a single *a*. Other sorts of male and female bynames may also be the etymon of the surnames with a genitive structure: *Aflăcăilor*: *Flăcăi* (boys), *Agreței*: *Greaca* (Greek woman), *Ajidaucei*: *Jidauca* (Jewish woman), *Aluncăriței*: *Luncărița* (woman living next to the meadow), *Avădanei*: *Vădana* (widow). The occupational name of one of the parents can also be used for expressing the filiation in surnames: *Ajudelui* from *jude* (judge), *Amancei* from *mancă* (midwife). In the last case an etymology from a female given name is not excluded. IORDAN 1983: 27 explained the surname *Amancei* also from the occupational name, but in *Documente statistice privitoare la orașul Iași* (1st vol.) the given name *Manca* can be found between Jewish women: *Herșcu, cu Manca* (244), i.e. “Herșcu, with Manca”.

The third structure from the table illustrates the patronyms formed with a suffix. The law from 1895 against the usurpation and the continuous change of patronyms has stated that: “Locuitorii români săteni, cari nu au un nume patronimic conform cu paragraful precedent, își vor putea forma unul cu numele de botez al tatălui lor, adăogându-i una din terminațiunile cari sunt în datina țării” (5); i.e. “The Romanian peasantry dwellers, who have no patronym according to the preceding paragraph, may form one with the baptismal name of their father, adding one of the endings existing in the tradition of the country.” The authors of the law have given even an example in the paragraphs containing the explanations regarding the necessity of such a legal act: “Acela care de pildă nu are nume patronimic și al cărui tată se chiamă Petre va putea să-și formeze un nume patronimic ca Petrescu, Petrini, Petrașcu, Petroni, Petrino etc. și va putea cere oficerului stărei civile să înscrie acest nume patronimic

în actele lui de stare civilă.” (6); i.e. “He who for example has no patronym and whose father is named Petre will may form a patronym like Petrescu, Petrini, Petraşcu, Petroni, Petrino, etc. and he will may ask to the registrar to register this patronym in his identity certificates.” The law forbids from taking historical names which constitute a real moral treasure for those who own them and gives other examples of suffixed patronyms in the cases of identical father’s baptismal names: “Fiul lui Filip va putea să se numească Filipeanu, Filipoiu, Filipini, Filipiu, etc., dar nu va putea să ia un nume istoric ca acela de Filipescu.” (6); i.e. “Filip’s son will may name himself Filipeanu, Filipoiu, Filipini, Filipiu, etc., but he will must not choose a historical name like that of Filipescu.” Thus the presence of the suffixed patronyms from the given name of the father has been strengthened by the law, but the surnames analysed here have corroborated also the existence of suffixed patronyms from occupational names: *Popescu* from *Popa* (priest) + *-escu*, *Dăscălescu* from *Dascălu* (psalm reader) + *-escu*, *Diaconovici* from *Diaconu* (deacon) + *-ovici* (see IORDAN 1983: 374, 168, 171). The most common and specific Romanian suffix is *-escu*, at origin an adjectival suffix with possessive value (see VASCENCO 1975: 95–96). The tendency of using derivatives is well attested in the Romanian onomastics in forming new baptismal names or nicknames. Their use in the formation of the family names has deprived some of them of their initial value. Many surnames suggested by the law are present today in the Romanian system: *Petrescu*, *Petraşcu*, *Petrini*, *Petroni*, *Petrino*, *Filipescu*, *Filipeanu*, *Filipoiu* and also others like *Petrovici*, *Filipiuc* or *Filipovici*. Surnames like *Gheorghiu* and *Ioaniu* considered usually as borrowings (see VASCENCO 1975: 97) may also be derived from the Romanian given names *Gheorghe* and *Ioan* with the suffix of Greek origin *-iu* which was used in the Romanian system. Some suffixes mentioned in the law are specific to particular ethnic groups like the suffix *-iuc* found very often at the Ukrainians living in Romania (see ŞEICIUC 2017: 8). The fourth structure presented in the table is rarely found between the Romanian surnames and represents an influence of the official registration of people: the surname *Singheorghe* is a compound formed with the Slavic word *sin* (son) and the father’s given name *Gheorghe* (see also BURCI 2001: 13). The last structure from the table illustrates surnames whose etymon is a kinship term: *Bă(i)etu* or *Fecioru* meaning ‘boy’ or ‘son’.

2. Type: Locative Surnames (toponymic, topographical and ethnonymic)

Locative surnames are derived from earlier bynames indicating place of residence or of birth, the location of the bearer’s estate and also his ethnic origin. Thus their most important semantic features are given by the toponymic,

the topographical⁴ or the ethnonymic elements of the bynames which have evolved in hereditary surnames. The surnames containing a toponymic element display two patterns of formation: a suffixed structure made of the place name and the suffixes *-escu* or *-ean(u)*, *-ian(u)*, *-an(u)* or a prepositional one like in *Delavrancea* (the compound preposition *de la* + the place name *Vrancea*, i.e. “from Vrancea”, see IORDAN 1983: 169). The suffixes *-ean(u)*, *-ian(u)*, *-an(u)* and *-escu* found also in the patronyms presented above are recognizable in bynames indicating the bearer’s estate, place of birth and place of residence. Many cases from *Catagrafie oficială de Toți Boerii Țării Românești la 1829* may substantiate this etymological explanation: *Ion Grecianu*, *n. sud Ilfov la Grecii de Sus*, [...] *al serdarului Mihai Grecianu* (19), i.e. “Ion Grecianu, born south Ilfov at The Greeks from the Top, [...] of the cavalry commander Mihai Grecianu”, *Grigore Drăgoescu*, *n. satul Drăgoești*,⁵ [...] *al pitarului Iordache Bucșănescu* (21), i.e. “Grigore Drăgoescu, born village Drăgoești, [...] of the bread administrator Iordache Bucșănescu”, *Ioan Budișteanu*, *n. satu Budeasa*, [...] *al vistierului Răducanu Budișteanu* (21), i.e. “Ioan Budișteanu, born village Budeasa, [...] of the treasurer Răducanu Budișteanu”, *Nicolae Giurescu*, *n. Giurești*, [...] *al lui treti logofăt Matei Giurescu*, *șade în Giurești* (30), i.e. “Nicolae Giurescu, born Giurești, [...] of the third chancellor Matei Giurescu, lives in Giurești”, *Gheorghe Vlădescu*, *30 ani*, *Costache Vlădescu*, *28 ani*, *Nicuță Vlădescu*, *25 ani*, *fiii răposatului serdar Nica Vlădescu*, *șed în Râmnic*, *au moșie în Vlădești și Cucești* (68), i.e. “Gheorghe Vlădescu, 30 years old, Costache Vlădescu, 28 years old, Nicuță Vlădescu, 25 years old, the sons of the dead cavalry commander Nica Vlădescu, live in Râmnic, they have estate in Vlădești and Cucești”. The surnames *Grecianu*, *Drăgoescu*, *Budișteanu*, *Giurescu* and *Vlădescu* are still existing today. In the case of *Vlădescu* IORDAN (1983: 488) indicates as etymon only the given name *Vlad(u)* with the suffix *-escu*, but an explanation from location (the place name *Vlădești*) is also possible. The surnames derived from topographical terms may be formed by conversion without any suffix as *Baltă* ‘pond’, *Luncă* ‘meadow’ or with a suffix like *-ariu* in *Băltariu* ‘from the pond’, *Luncariu* ‘from the meadow’ or with a preposition like *din* in *Dindeal* ‘from the hill’, *Dinvale* ‘from the valley’ (see IORDAN 1983: 173). An explanation based on toponyms is not excluded, given the large number of settlement names containing the descriptive elements *Dealu*, *Valea*, *Lunca*, *Balta*. Surnames may derive also from ethnonyms like

⁴ For the distinction between toponymic, locative and topographical features see BRYLLA 2016: 242, HANKS–PARKIN 2016: 216, COATES 2016: 35.

⁵ As PAȘCA 1936: 65 and VASCENCO 1975: 94 have shown, these toponyms ending in *-ești* are usually derived from the single name of the founder of the place and the first dweller (moșul), from whom the descendants (bătrânii) have inherited the land with the right to use it together and the interdiction to sell it.

in the following frequent cases: *Rusu* ‘the Russian’, *Cazacu* ‘the Cossack’, *Bulgaru* ‘the Bulgarian’, *Grecu* ‘the Greek’, etc., but sometimes the coining of this kind of surname is motivated also by a toponym. The same document as above *Catagrafie oficială de Toți Boerii Țării Românești la 1829* provides several examples: *Nicolae Lipoveanul*, *n. satu Lipoveni sud Ialomița*, [...] *al lui Constandin Lipoveanu sin șetrar Năstase* (66), i.e. “Nicolae the Lipovan, born village Lipovans south Ialomița, [...] of Constandin the Lipovan son of military chief Năstase”, *Ioniță Moldoveanu*, *n. Odobeștii Moldovei*, [...] *al preotului Teodor Climent* (45), i.e. “Ioniță the Moldavian, born Odobești of Moldavia, [...] of the priest Teodor Climent”. Surnames like *Lipoveanu*, *Lipovanu* or *Moldoveanu*, *Moldovanu* exist today in the Romanian system.

3. Type: Occupational Surnames

The use of the occupational bynames is proved by their presence in the modern system of surnames, but from *Catagrafie oficială de Toți Boerii Țării Românești la 1829* they are almost missing. A rare example is the following in which the surname *Mardagiu* existing also today appears: *Costache Mardagiu*, [...] *al lui Ianache Mardagiu*, *șade în București în mahalaoa Precupeștilor* (9), i.e. “Costache the Vendor, [...] of Ianache the Vendor, lives in Bucharest in the Traders’ suburb”. The boyars have preferred to coin their surnames from their father’s given names or from the place names of their estates, birth or residence. The law from 1895 has also strengthened the use of patronyms from the father’s given name for all citizens without a family name. Notwithstanding the occupational surnames are found today in the Romanian system: *Crâșmaru* ‘owner of a pub’, *Mocanu* ‘transhumant shepherd’, *Mortasipu* ‘inspector of merchandises and weights’, *Postelnicu* ‘a boyar commissioned to look after the ruler’s bedroom’, *Ruptașu* ‘payer of a tax called *ruptă*’, *Vizitiu* ‘coachman’, *Vornicu* ‘boyar commissioned with internal affairs and justice, chief of a village or announcer’, etc. In *Documente statistice privitoare la orașul Iași* (1st vol.) the designations of the registered person’s occupation accompany often their names as a source of bynames and later family names: *Neculai*, *crâșmar mitropolitului* (24), i.e. “Neculai, the metropolitan’s owner of pub”, *Ion*, *mocan* (87), i.e. “Ion, the shepherd”, *Ion mortasâpul* (71), i.e. “Ion the inspector of merchandises and weights”, *Costandin*, *postelnic* (30), i.e. “Costandin, the boyar commissioned with the ruler’s bedroom”, *Stanciul*, *ruptaș* (18), i.e. “Stanciul, payer of *ruptă*”, *Enache*, *viziteu* (34), i.e. “Enache, coachman”, *Irimie vornic* (367), i.e. “Irimie announcer”. For a larger sample of occupational surnames see OANCĂ 2016: 18 et seq.

4. Type: Nickname Surnames

The surnames coming from nicknames refer to physical and mental characteristics of their bearers or to important events in their life. For example, the surname *Botezatu* comes from the corresponding nickname used for person of other religions who have been received a Christian baptism (see IORDAN 1983: 76). *Documente statistice privitoare la oraşul Iaşi* (1st vol.) substantiates the use of this nickname: *Enache turcul, botezat* (34), i.e. “Enache the Turk, christened”, *Alexandru botezatu* (78), i.e. “Alexandru the christened”, *Iordachi botezatu din jădovi* (144), i.e. “Iordachi the christened from the Jewish”, and *Gheorghii Botezat* (104), i.e. “Gheorghii Christened”. Grammatically, the nicknames are derived from simple adjectives like *Botezatu*, *Roşu* ‘The Red’, *Şchiopu* ‘The Crippled, The Peg-legged’, *Ştirbu* ‘The Toothless’ and nouns like *Ceapă* ‘Onion’, *Morcov* ‘Carrot’ or *Brânză* ‘Cheese’ or from compound structures like *Cheleniagră* (from *chele* ‘skin’ and *niagră* ‘black’), *Gâtstrâmb* (from *gât* ‘neck’ and *strâmb* ‘crooked’), *Bounegru* (from *bou* ‘ox’ and *negru* ‘black’). A series of this kind of nicknames is formed from the noun *barbă*: *Barbă* ‘beard’, *Barbălată* (from *barbă* ‘beard’ and *lată* ‘wide’), *Barbănouă* (from *barbă* ‘beard’ and *nouă* ‘new’), *Barbărasă* (from *barbă* ‘beard’ and *rasă* ‘shaved’), *Barbăroşie*, *Barbăroşă* (from *barbă* ‘beard’ and *roşie*, *roşă* ‘red’), *Barbăscumpă* (from *barbă* ‘beard’ and *scumpă* ‘dear’), etc. For a larger sample of nickname surnames see OANCĂ 2016: 102 et seq.

In conclusion, the Romanian binomial system of naming captured through the analysis of several fiscal censuses and the laws from 1895 and 1936 has been established in the 19th century. The current system of sometimes opaque family names from nowadays has evolved from earlier bynames with a descriptive role which have functioned as additional names to a large stock of given names existing at that time. The speed of the process depended upon the social class of the bearer, the boyars being the first to acquire a hereditary family name. The Romanian family names may be classified on the basis of the meaning of their etymon into four types: relationship surnames, locative surnames, occupational surnames and nickname surnames. The first type comprises patronyms, metronyms and kinship terms. The grammatical tools used to express the relationship surnames are the conversion of father’s given names or of the kinship terms (*Paraschiv*, *Fecioru*), the morphemes of the genitive case (*Aelisavetei*), a series of different suffixes between which *-escu*, *-iu*, *-iuc*, etc. (*Petrescu*, *Gheorghiu*, *Avramiuc*) or the use of a word meaning ‘son’ like *sin* (*Singheorghe*). Locative surnames are derived from earlier bynames indicating the place of residence or of birth, the location of the bearer’s estate and also his ethnic origin. As patterns of formation the locative surnames display several suffixed structures with suffixes like *-escu*, *-ean(u)*, *-ian(u)*, *-an(u)* (*Giurescu*, *Budişteanu*) or *-ariu* (*Luncariu*), prepositional structures with the prepositions

de la (Delavrancea) or *din* (Dindeal) and converted structures (*Baltă, Rusu*). The occupational surnames are also found today in the Romanian system displaying structures made by conversion (*Crâșmaru, Ruptașu*). The surnames coming from nicknames refer to physical and mental characteristics of their bearers or to important events in their life. Grammatically, the nickname surnames are derived from adjectives or nouns or from compound structures (*Știrbu, Morcov, Cheleniagră*).

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Abstract

This paper includes the Romanian surnames into the binomial system of naming, common also to other European countries, and comprises a classification of the surnames according to the semantics of their etymon: relationship surnames, locative surnames, occupational surnames and nickname surnames. The presentation of the modern language types of surnames is accompanied by a historical background substantiated with examples of bynames and their early bearers extracted from documents in order to outline the dynamics of the naming practices depending upon the bearer’s social class and the official or unofficial status of the name. This article is intended to continue other previous research papers with the aim of describing the Romanian surname system and



to highlight the most frequent patterns used in specific surname types: the genitive in metronyms, the conversion of unsuffixed and suffixed first names in patronyms, the compound structure and the presence of adjectives in many surnames coming from nicknames, etc. The diachronical analysis undertaken in this paper is intended to illustrate how the earlier one single name system was changed by the addition of meaningful bynames which have become hereditary and later have transformed in the opaque family name system from nowadays.

Keywords: surnames, bynames, meaning, etymon, typological classification

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Personal Names and Ethnicity: The Geolinguistic Research of Historic Personal Names in Hungary*

0. Introduction

The etymological research of Hungarian surnames from the Middle Ages displays the distribution of linguistic origin and may contribute to the historical-demographical reconstruction of ethnic make-up. As of the 16th century this relationship has not always been clear. When examining language borders, Hungarian researchers mostly rely on regular censuses (including the admission of self-identity or first language of individuals) taken during the 19th and 20th centuries; however, tax censuses originating from the beginning of the 18th century which only contain personal names can be used to demonstrate the status of ethnic make-up during an earlier period. With the help of these sources, researchers in Hungary have attempted to prove the methodological applicability of name analysis. The results of their investigation have revealed that name analysis can be used to identify ethnicity when conducted on the basis of sufficient data.

Our team has created a database containing the historic personal names found in the Hungarian Kingdom and the Atlas of Historical Surnames of Hungary (AHSZ) which is based on the first and second country-wide censuses (ConsReg. 1715 and 1720). These censuses provide the most comprehensive picture of a multiethnic Carpathian Basin in the early part of the 18th century. (See csaladnevatasz.hu).

I would like to raise the possibility of investigating the origins of surnames with the help of AHSZ. Since most early censuses contain the names of tax-payers, the method of name-analysis enables us to reconstruct what languages were being spoken – as well as the borders and territories formed by these languages – within the Hungarian Kingdom.

1. The question of how personal names are connected to ethnicity

Analyzing the connection between names and ethnicity is a difficult task due to the fact that name origins and ethnic background (in other words, an individual's connection to his/her identity) can cause great uncertainty and

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result in numerous incorrect assumptions. Further complications arise in the case of historical documents, a particular instance in which ascertaining the individual's genuine ethnic background or crosschecking this information by means of other methods (such as by referring to a personal statement) is impossible. Researchers of historical sources must also not forget that ethnic identity is judged quite differently today compared to how it was judged in the past as current views are a reflection of the complex process of nation-building that occurred in Europe following the Enlightenment. In the case of sources predating the eighteenth century, ethnic identity can be approximately described as possessing a feeling of self-identification toward a certain people or group.

According to the Hungarian linguist, ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS, “a people (or ethnos) can be defined as a group that has formed throughout history and possesses a common **cultural system of symbols** which it consciously uses to **differentiate itself from other peoples** while also **having its own, consistent name for itself**” (RÓNA-TAS 1996: 24).¹ In this definition a “common cultural system of symbols” refers to a broader system within which the existence of a common language plays a role as only a single, albeit important factor. It must be mentioned that the Age of Enlightenment also marks the period when an individual's native language came to represent the essential and primary factor in defining ethnic identity in Hungary. (See also RÁCZ 2009, 2010.)

These few caveats are important due to the simple fact that proper names fulfill a basic part of any language system. As this study will demonstrate, how a proper name fits into a particular language system can point to an individual's connection to an ethnic group, yet not in a way that can be considered absolute.

To return to my discussion of ethnic identity during pre-Enlightenment times, the opinion that no sort of ethnic awareness or consciousness existed before the eighteenth century is most certainly incorrect and should be rejected. This statement is supported by the fact that a definite means of identifying ethnic background already existed in Carpathian Basin when the habit of assigning family names became customary. In fifteenth-century sources for Hungarian family names originating from the Upper Tisza region (North-Eastern Hungary), among the ten most commonly featured names first place is occupied by the

¹ As to what factors were viewed as belonging to a cultural system of symbols, a source from sixth-century Byzantium indicates that a Turkic steppe people (the Utrigurs) were not attacked by another Turkic steppe people (the Kutrigurs) because “they belonged to the same people, spoke the same language, possessed homes, clothing and lifestyles similar to theirs and came from the same lineage, even though they bowed to other rulers” (RÓNA-TAS 1996: 23; translated by Maya Tóth). The significance of this description lies in its ability to demonstrate how – beginning in the sixth century – identifying the members of a group or people included the importance of possessing a common language, yet not exclusively so.

ethnonym *Tót* (formerly meant ‘Slavic’, later referred to ‘Slovak’), while *Oláh* ‘Romanian’ takes eighth place. Out of the entire name material, *Tót* occurs at 3.38%, a number that indicates a very common recurrence (N. FODOR 2010: 97). The fact that the usage of ethnonyms was a general phenomenon throughout the entire Carpathian Basin is demonstrated by lists featuring the most common family names (including their orthographic variations) today. In 2007 the name *Tót* reached third place at 2.17%, while *Horvát* ‘Croatian’ appeared in fifth place with 1.99% of these family names located in Hungary. The name *Német* ‘German’ occurred at a rate of 0.95% and *Oláh* was eighteenth at 0.38% (N. FODOR 2010: 102). The reason for why it is less common for ethnonyms to be used as family names in other parts of Europe can be explained by a variety of historical and cultural factors. (See also FARKAS 2013.)

In the multiethnic Carpathian Basin, populations during the Middle and Modern Ages also used religious identity as a means of defining individuals, for this region also represented a sort of buffer zone where Western Catholicism met Eastern Orthodoxy. In some instances religious affiliation was defined according to ethnicity since belonging to a certain religion was specific to a particular ethnic group or two. This fact can be easily verified with the help of the *Lexicon locorum*, a source from 1773 listing the spoken languages and religious affiliation of each village in the Hungarian Kingdom (LexLoc.). Romanians and Ruthenians were originally Orthodox and later followed the Greek Catholic Church, an assumption that did not always represent reality given the fact that there were Protestant (Calvinist) Romanian villages in Southern Transylvania as well. Most Saxon Germans were Lutherans while Hungarians (before the Counter-Reformation occurred in the seventeenth century) were mainly Calvinists. The need to take this additional aspect into account emphasizes the fact that the usage of ethnonyms for proper names did not signify the individual’s native tongue alone, but also referred to other cultural factors, such as religion, customs, or a knowledge of origin.

In reference to names, the issue of what is precisely reflected by a **family name’s linguistic origin** must also be considered: does a family name indicate the name bearer’s linguistic and ethnic origin, or provide us instead with clues concerning the environment that bestowed the name? Experience has demonstrated that in the case of natural naming, the **community** itself designates a name for the individual. Furthermore, it does so in its own language, whether or not the individual is a newcomer, outsider or from a different ethnic group. This circumstance is what led to the ethnonym family names mentioned above, i.e. *Tót* ‘Slavic, Slovak’, *Oláh* ‘Romanian’, *Német* ‘German’, *Kun* ‘Cuman’, *Rác* ‘Serb’, etc. It is also necessary to remember that ethnonym family names may refer to customs, characteristics, or events and not only to ethnic background;



while this somewhat specialized instance occurs with far less regularity, it should still be taken into consideration as a possible factor.

The multifaceted reasons for why an ethnonym may have been assigned to individuals raise questions in methodology that affect the very essence of name analysis: an unequivocal **connection between a name's linguistic origin and the ethnic background** of its bearer cannot be drawn. It is absolutely essential to establish some form of methodological standpoint concerning how certain elements or groups of elements found in the given name stock are being used to explore of ethnic origins. In other words, a clear distinction must be made between the name's linguistic form (name origin) and the name bearer's ethnicity.

In the history of Hungarian personal names, the assigning of family names first began in the second half of the fourteenth century. By the end of the fifteenth century the population's majority (85 to 95%) already had some type of secondary name other than a first (Christian) name that was used to differentiate that individual from others. In this period it can be said that a name primarily referred to the name-giving environment and only secondarily (discounting a few exceptions) indicated the name bearer's linguistic background.

A few additional comments, however, need to be included to the latter statement. For a family name assigned to a newcomer by the community to remain extant, the name bearer and his or her descendents had to have become bilingual. The newcomer, in other words, had to have assimilated into the given linguistic environment. If this were not the case, before names were formalized the chances of passing down a name possessing a linguistically divergent origin would have been far less. For example, a (most likely) Romanian individual received the ethnicity-signifying name of *Oláh* from his or her Hungarian environment, then eventually became bilingual in both Romanian and Hungarian. Linguistically the next generations completely assimilated into their environment and thereby passed on this Hungarian-language name to their descendents.

Later, however, it is important for researchers to consider – as a consequence of internal migration – the way different name systems mutually influenced one another upon coming into contact. Until names were formalized (in Hungary this process occurred until 1787, or more precisely until 1814), a family name that had originally entered a linguistically foreign environment, then assimilated during the following one or two generations may have spontaneously changed (name assimilation) under the influence of its new environment. It was, however, far more common for assimilation to have occurred parallel to the family name remaining in existence, a fact supported by historical sources as well as the current name data.

Based on the factors discussed above, researchers are correct not to view certain names as a signifier of the name bearer's ethnic affiliation. Instead, this type of indication should be considered an initial clue toward investigating the **broader environment** (village, district, region) when any type of general conclusion needs to be drawn based on the compiled data regarding linguistic or even ethnic make-up.

2. Methods for analyzing names

Reconstructing ethnic background belongs first and foremost to the field of history. Within this discipline, ascertaining a region, village or district's ethnic heritage represents an important research area for historical demography and social history. The fact that linguistics and onomastics also bear a close connection to this type of investigation goes without saying. Defining the proper name's origin is a task for etymology, a field governed by its own methodological rules, a factor that cannot be forgotten in the course of historical inquiries. During the interwar period in Hungary, when the process for conducting historical ethnic examinations was evolving, the methodology for this field was developed by the Slavicist linguist, ISTVÁN KNIEZSA (KNIEZSA 1934/1965/2003). The essence of this method was summarized by historian ISTVÁN SZABÓ in his monograph on Ugocsa County: "All the collected names must be categorized according to the language to which they belong. While qualifying names by language is nothing more than an attempt to express the name's linguistic form, on the basis of this linguistic categorization it is still possible to decide a community's linguistic character and draw conclusions regarding its ethnicity. We therefore find it necessary to view as uncertain or vague those names whose form and content – in spite of their definite linguistic form – either contradict one another or show the possibility of contradiction in reference to ethnic heritage" (SZABÓ 1937: 5; translated by Maya Tóth).

The following names were categorized as uncertain: 1) the ethnonyms *Orosz* 'Ruthenian', *Lengyel* 'Polish', *Muszka* 'Russian', *Német* 'German', *Török* 'Turkish', *Zsidó* 'Jew', etc., excluding those referring to language (*Magyar*, *Székel*y = Hungarian; *Litva*, *Ruszi* = Slavic); 2. family names stemming from place names, the linguistic form of which does not comply with the name-giving town's ethnic make-up (e.g. *Bródi* is a name given in Hungarian, but settlement Bród was populated by Ruthenians); 3. the names for counties or regions possessing an ethnically mixed population; 4. occupational surnames that appear in the same/similar form in multiple languages (e.g. *Kovács* 'blacksmith', *Bodnár* 'hooper', *Takács* 'weaver'); 5. loanwords that have similar forms in two or three languages (e.g. the words *huszár* 'hussar', *kocsis* 'coachman' originate from Hungarian, but are names in Ruthenian and Romanian as well); 6. family names



that were originally first names, but exist in similar form in multiple languages (e.g. *Adam*, *Damjan*, *Daniel*, *Kozma/Cosma* found in Hungarian, Romanian and Slavic languages). (See further examinations e.g. JAKÓ 1940, BÉLAY 1943, ILA 1944.)

While many aspects of the KNEZSA–SZABÓ methodology are acceptable and should be followed, one correction is necessary: this method does not clearly separate the language’s origin (“linguistic form”) from the conclusions drawn on this basis concerning ethnicity. Furthermore, even as this method emphasizes the community’s linguistic make-up, it still attempts to expose the ethnic origins of individuals (see the increased caution expressed in I. concerning ethnonyms’ relationship to place names).

In contrast to its historical precedents, the method I utilize differs in that it separates defining a name etymon from ascertaining ethnic origin and thereby places these distinct analytical aspects in different categories.

2.1. Defining linguistic origin

In many respects, my method reflects that used by KNEZSA–SZABÓ. Regarding the list of categories for names judged as uncertain, I have only kept those that are vague from a linguistic standpoint; in other words, a name is viewed as “vague” when the presence of multiple linguistic origins renders it impossible to define the certain etymon. Those names that display a multilingual origin, yet occurred in linguistically homogenous areas are still categorized according to the language of the given area; in my analysis uncertain names refer to names found in areas of ethnically mixed populations (e.g. the name *Kovács* is classified as Hungarian if found in a Hungarian village and Slavic in a Slavic village but becomes uncertain when it occurs in a Hungarian-Slavic village). My solution is similar in the case of Christian names and loanwords commonly found in multiple languages. Based on this method it is possible to define the origin of family names and their percentage within a village, district, county, or region.

2.2. Conclusions concerning linguistic/ethnic make-up as shown by personal names

The above category is expressly rooted in linguistics and demonstrates the etymological ratios for family names in a given territory. These results can be interpreted within the field of onomastics, thereby forming an important foundation for further linguistic studies. Any type of interdisciplinarian research still demands a language-based examination of the Carpathian Basin’s ethnic make-up during a particular historical period. No matter how challenging it

may be to analyze the connection between names and ethnic heritage, it is not a task that can be ignored.

What is it that we can certainly conclude from personal names? First of all we must identify the **etymons of surnames** in order to calculate the ratio of different languages found in the corpus under investigation. In the next step **first names** can be used to **identify** what **ethnicities** are present. However, this is not always possible because census commissioners often recorded first names in their Latin form, thereby rendering them neutral with respect to native languages and ethnicities. Many examples from the census of 1715 indicate that commissioners always wrote the Latin form in the case of Hungarian names while other names (mainly those of Romanian, Serbian and partly German and Slovak origin) were left in their original form.

In my previous work (N. FODOR 2013) I presented the example of historical personal names on the basis of names from the Kővár district.² The commissioners registered 545 tax-payers here in the first census taken in 1715. The Fig. 1. shows that the complex examination of entire names can produce significantly different results in the ratio of surname etymons and ethnicities.

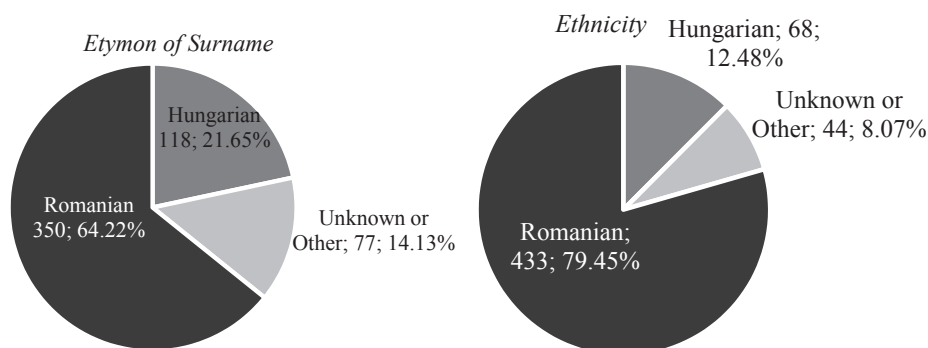


Figure 1: The Percentage of Etymon of Surname and Ethnic Make-up in the Kővár District in 1715

The etymological examination of family names in Kővár district revealed a large percentage of Romanian names: approximately two-thirds of the names (64.22%) belong here, 21.65% of the surnames display Hungarian origin while the rest (14.13%) are either uncertain or of other (Slavic or German) origin.

² The Kővár district was between Szatmár, Máramaros, Middle-Szolnok Counties as of 17th century. At the beginning of the 18th century 77 settlements were found here. It was then merged into Szatmár and Szolnok Doboka Counties in the second part of the 19th century; nowadays this area is a part of Maramures, Satu Mare and Silaj Counties in Romania.

The further approach takes into consideration the linguistic form of the first names. In many cases, the 1715 census contains Hungarian family names combined with Romanian or Ruthenian Christian (mainly Greek Catholic) first names (e.g. *Suket Kosztin* < Hung. *süket* ‘deaf’ + Rom. *Kosztin* ‘Constantine’ first name; *Orosz Alexa* < Hung. *orosz* ‘Ruthenian’ + Rom. *Alexa* ‘Alexander’; *Deák Jonucz* < Hung. *deák* ‘scribe’ + Rom. *Jonuț* ‘John’; *Baráth Jónocz* < Hung. *barát* ‘monk’ + Rom. *Jonuț* ‘John’; *Csurke Lup* < Hung. *csirke* ~ *csürke* ‘chicken’ + Rom. *Lup* ‘wolf’, etc.). According to the data, almost half of the first names listed together with Hungarian family names reflect Romanian naming in the Kővár district, therefore the percentage of Romanians shows an increase compared to the Hungarian (Romanian: 64% > 80%, Hungarian: 22% > 12%). While the Hungarian family name usually represents the previous stage of ethnicity, the first name can show the individual’s “current” state of self-identity. (See also DEMETER–BAGDI 2009: 276, DEMETER 2009: 287–288.)

3. Final note

Studies in historical demography (see e.g. TAMÁS 1996, DEMETER–BAGDI 2009) have devoted a great deal of attention to examining changes in the Carpathian Basin’s ethnic configuration. A census that includes information concerning spoken language or ethnic heritage represents the best source for this kind of analysis. Making a registry of spoken languages was first done village by village in 1787, in the *Lexicon locorum*. Later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, census commissioners had already begun to record ethnic background based on the individual’s admission. Before this period no sources existed that detailed information concerning ethnic heritage in the Carpathian Basin or throughout the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania. This is precisely why census registries containing at least personal names are extremely valuable. The first registry of this type was taken in 1713 in Transylvania, and in 1715 within the Hungarian Kingdom. Due to the fact that these tax registries only contain personal names without including information on ethnicity, name analysis is the only means for identifying ethnic groups.

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Abstract

The etymological research of names demonstrates the distribution of linguistic origin of contemporary material which may contribute to the historical-demographical reconstruction of ethnic conditions within a given area. The combined analysis of both first and last names is an important factor in determining ethnicity as family names generally reveal a previous identity (the paternal ancestors') while first names can imply the actual status of an individual's self-identification. We have created databases of historical personal names found in the Carpathian Basin which rely on the first and second country-wide tax censuses from 1715 and 1720. Roughly containing 450,000 names, these registries can provide the most comprehensive image of a multiethnic Hungarian Kingdom during the early part of the 18th century. The name systems of different languages found in the Carpathian Basin additionally reflect natural language contact. Researchers mostly rely on regular censuses for studying language-borders, but before the end of 18th century only tax censuses and tithings can be used to demonstrate the previous ethnic make-up of Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania. In my study I attempt to demonstrate the connections between historical surnames and ethnic make-up based on examples from the Kővár district. The combined analysis of both first and last names is an important factor in determining ethnicity. The results of these investigations have revealed that name analysis can be used to identify ethnicity when conducted on the basis of sufficient data.



Keywords: name geography, personal names, ethnicity, name analysis, Carpathian Basin, AHSB

1. Introduction

1.1. Question regarding variants of the name

This article analyses the given name or first name system of Latvian – one of the Baltic languages – with particular emphasis on the names of common etymons. Latvian anthroponymy does not have a unified theoretical position on name variants and independent names. For example, Latvian has many names that differ in some letters: *Denīze* (91)¹ ~ *Denisa* (14), *Oto* (176) ~ *Otto* (210), *Keita* (1,053) ~ *Kēta* (5), and those with difference in some diacritic marks that indicate long and short vowels: *Ādams* (175) ~ *Adams* (60), *Alīse* (5,038) ~ *Alīse* (96), *Amēlija* (486) ~ *Amelija* (98), *Arturs* (12,705) ~ *Artūrs* (4,159), *Emīlija* (3,256) ~ *Emilija* (232), *Egils* (1,594) ~ *Egīls* (623), *Einārs* (54) ~ *Einārs* (1,083), *Grēta* (124) ~ *Greta* (65), etc. Some names also have more than two variants: *Beāte* (944) ~ *Beate* (123) ~ *Beata* (188) ~ *Beāta* (60); *Celīna* (4) ~ *Celina* (4) ~ *Celine* (3) ~ *Selina* (18) ~ *Selīna* (128). The question is whether these are actual variants or different names. To quote the newest Dictionary of Latvian Linguistic Terminology (VPSV 2007: 438): “Variation – any modification; the specific expression in variants”, and “Variance – synchronous existence and functioning of units (variants) in a language.” Latvian onomastic theoretician OJĀRS BUŠS writes: “the difference in one letter is considered to be completely sufficient to separate two different personal names from each other” (2003: 13). In other words, let us consider two names used in Latvian: *Alīse* and *Alīse*. While they are supposed to be different names from a functional documentary perspective, at the same time, from an etymological perspective, they are variants of the same name. Until now, onomasticians of the Baltic languages have not focused on the variants of given names that exist in local anthroponymy. Furthermore, given names of common origin in the Latvian language have not been analysed in detail. Only a few articles address this problem briefly (BUŠS 2003, SILIŅA-PINĶE 2005, 2013, 2014, 2015, JANSONE 2010, 2015).

The aim of this research, which is only in the initial stages, is to collect information on all Latvian given names that have “evolved” from the same

¹ Figures after name correspond to the number of persons bearing this name in Latvia (according to the database of the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, 2017 (= PMLP, available <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/sakums/statistika/personvardu-datu-baze/>).

name or the same etymon and to create what might be called “name trees”. For these trees, we attempt to determine the time when the names first came to Latvia, to identify the names that were coined in Latvian from a definite etymon, and to ascertain the contemporary usage of the name in Latvia.

1.2. Data of the research

The author of this article has collaborated with an undergraduate student at the University of Latvia, DANA BEŅKE,² to collect and create “trees” of given names that have the same etymon. Only those anthroponymic “nests” or “trees” were drawn that have more than six names or “branches”. This research is mainly based on the dictionary *Latviešu personvārdu vārdnīca* (Dictionary of Latvian Personal Names) compiled by KLĀVS SILIŅŠ (see SILIŅŠ 1990), which includes approximately 8,000 given names (400 of them are very rare names). Of the given names, 1,114 names that share a common origin were excerpted (those with the first letters of the Latvian alphabet *A, Ā, B, C, Č*) and categorised into 159 etymological nests. The 22 largest etymological nests, containing 604 given names, were included in the Bachelor of Arts thesis of DANA BEŅKE. Ten of these anthroponymic nests are described in this article. All anthroponymical material was checked and compared with the database of *Personal Names Register of the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs* (hereafter referred to as the PMLP) where one can find contemporary data on the frequency of names in Latvia among all inhabitants.

2. Examples of Latvian given name “nests” or “trees”

To illustrate how the analysis was conducted of Latvian given names with the same etymon and structuring of possible first name “trees”, let us consider the following observations.

The Latvian first female name *Adelheide* < Germ. *Adelheid*: Old High German *adal* ‘noble’ + *-heit* ‘kind, sort, type’ (KOLHEIM–KOLHEIM 2007: 38), i.e. *Adel* ‘nobility’ (?); first recorded in Vidzeme – in the middle region of Latvia – in 1831; this name was included in name almanacs in 1901 (SILIŅŠ 1990: 40). There are currently only two persons registered in Latvia by the name *Adelheide* (PMLP). Today there are known 18 given name variants and 13 sub-variants that were coined in Latvia from the etymon name *Adelheide* > *Adaļa*, *Adelaīda* ~ *Adelaīde* (from which was made hypocoristic name > *Laida* ?),³ *Adele* (> *Adelija*, *Adelīna*/-e, from which > *Alīna*/-e, *Adella* ?), *Āla* ~ *Āle*, *Aleite*, *Aleta*,

² See DANA BEŅKE’s Bachelor thesis (BEŅKE 2015).

³ The question mark after the given name indicates that the origin of that name is not clear. Two question marks imply a high level of uncertainty.

ADELHEIDE 1831

ADALA 19. gs. IV cet.

ADELAÏDA 1877

ADELAÏDE 1877

ADELE 1876

ÄLA (?) 1781

ALE (?) 1762

ÄLE (?) 1762

ALEITE 1453

ALEITA 20. gs. III cet.

ALÄ 1856

ALÄ (?) 1857

ELISE 20. gs. I cet.

ALÄ (?) 1940

ALÄ 19. gs. II cet.

ALÄ 19. gs. II cet.

ALÄ 1702

ALÄ 1487

ÄLE 1922

ALÄ (?) 1857

ALÄ (?) 1935

ALÄ 19. gs. IV cet.

⁴ The number after given names in pictures refers to the year when the name was registered in Latvia. Due to technical reasons there are Latvian abbreviations left in pictures: Latv. gs. = century, Latv. cet. = quarter.



Other examples of analogical given name “trees” include the following: *Adriāns* – with fewer “branches” – six variants and six sub-variants, the Latvian male name of Latin origin (< ‘from (H)adria’), known in Latvia from the very beginning of the seventeenth century; the most popular names from this tree are currently *Adrija* (401, data from 2017) and *Adriāna* (309), *Adriana* (620) (see Figure 2).

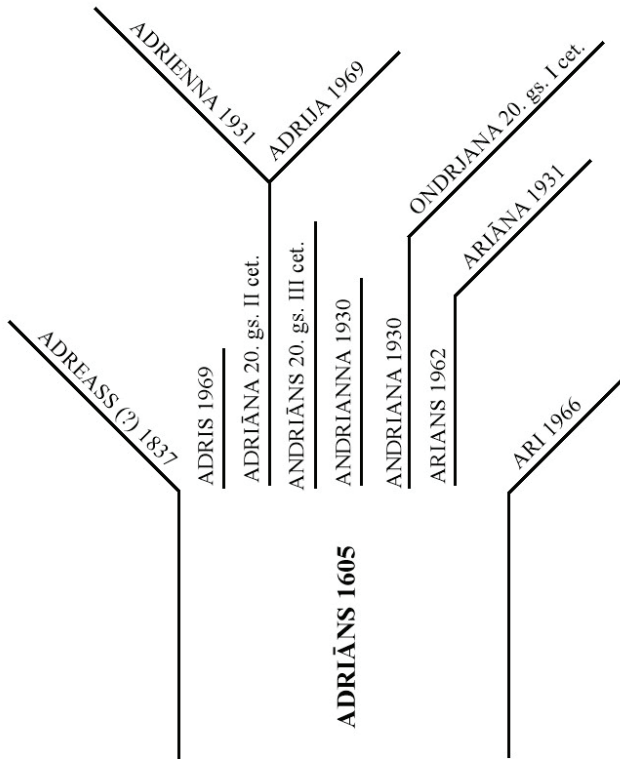


Figure 2: *Adriāns*

A rather popular Latvian female name, *Agnese*, a name of Greek origin (< *hagnós* ‘chaste’) may have been borrowed from German into Latvian (see KOLHEIM–KÖHLHEIM 2007: 42). The name *Agnese* has been used in Latvia since the fifteenth century (1462). *Agnese* is also an etymon for more than 25 names in Latvia: *Agnete*, *Agnieta*, *Agniete*, *Agna*, *Agne*, *Agnis*, *Inese*, *Inesa*, *Nēze*, etc. (see Figure 3). Today, the most widespread names are the rather new female name *Inese* (13,371), recorded first only in 1922, but at the end of the twentieth century, this name owes its popularity to the song “Inese” by the Latvian composer Raimonds Pauls; *Inesa* (816) which has spread predominantly in Russian-speaking families. Other popular names nowadays

are *Agnese* (6,259), *Agnija* (674), and the male name *Agnis* (823). However, the female name such as the hypocoristic *Nēze*, which was popular at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, is currently recorded only once – as a middle name (most probably to commemorate a grandmother) – *Elīza Nēze*.

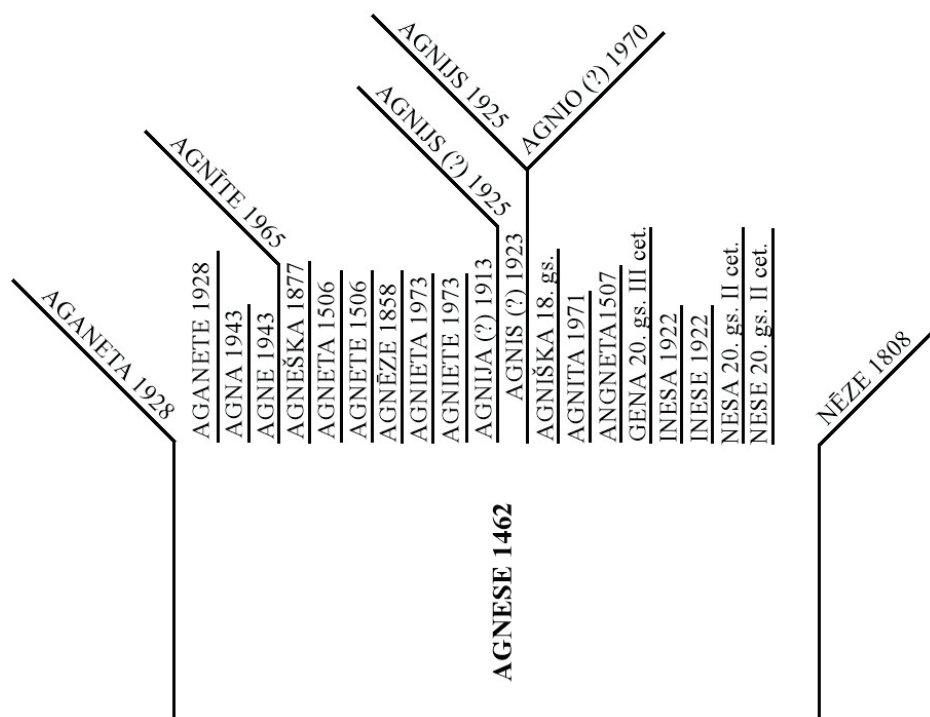


Figure 3: Agnese

The given name of the Latin origin of *Amanda* is much “younger” than previously analysed *Agnese*: *Amanda* was given to newborns in Latvia only since 1893, although it was included in the almanac as early as in 1767 (SILIŅŠ 1990: 54). *Amanda* is the etymon for eight names and four sub-variants (see Figure 4). Today, the most popular names from this anthroponymic “tree” are: *Amanda* (2,626), *Anda*⁵ (2,911), although a male name *Amands* is extremely rare, but the hypocoristic male name *Mandis* nowadays is not used at all.

⁵ The origin of the female name *Anda* in Latvian has several possible hypotheses: it can be coined from the Latvian male name *Andis*, or created as a hypocoristic form from *Amanda* or *Andris* (for more information, see SILIŅŠ 1990: 56).

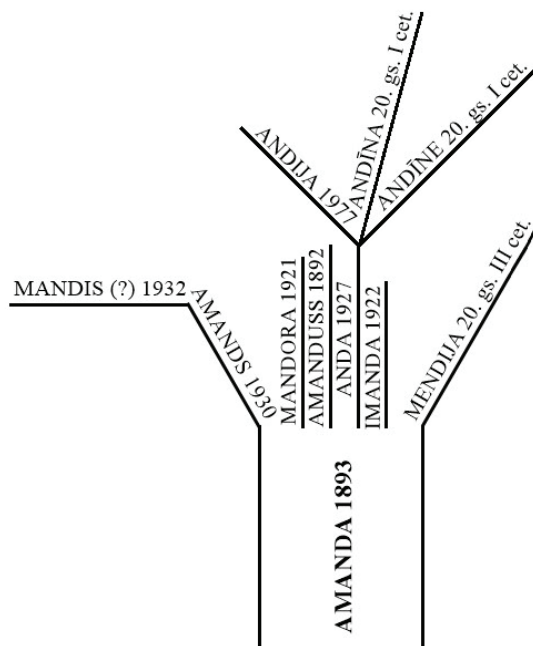


Figure 4: Amanda

The “anthroponymical tree” of the etymon *Amanda* has a rather small number of branches, but some of these “trees” have many branches. For example, 82 given names and variants from *Anna* are used in Latvian (see Figure 5), 68 from *Andrejs*, 58 from *Antonijs*, the especially forked “tree” with 51 names from *Aleksandrs*, 48 from *Bartolomejs* (see Figure 8), 43 from *Elizabete*.

The forms of personal names (i.e. given names or first names) have entered Latvian from several languages, such as the tree for the etymon *Aleksandrs*, which has been used in Latvia since 1638, and this serves as evidence for the following possible types of borrowing: *Aleksandrija*, *Saša*, *Alla* (??), *Sana*, *Šura* (?) most likely from Russian; *Allija* (?), *Aleksis* (?), *Aleksa* (?) from English; *Sandija*, *Sandijs* from English or Scottish; *Sandra*, *Sandro* from Italian; *Sanders*, *Zanders*, *Zanda* from German; *Sandors*, *Šandors* from Hungarian, etc.

The anthroponymic tree of *Anna* (used in Latvia since the 15th century) (see Figure 5) shows the wide variety of possible borrowings: *Ana* from Spanish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian; *Ane* from Danish; *Aneta* from Czech; *Anete*, *Nineta*, *Ninona* from French; *Anita* from Spanish; *Anja*, *Anjuta*, *Annuška*, *Anusija*, *Aņņa*, *Aņuta* from Russian; *Anka* from German or Polish, Bulgarian, Slovenian, etc.; *Anlīze* from Dutch, Danish, German, etc.; *Anmarija* from Dutch, German, etc.; *Anne* from English, French; *Annika* from Swedish,

Finnish; *Arianna* from Italian; *Hanna* from Hebrew; *Hana* from Czech, Slovak, Croatian, etc.

The only few “branches” from this “tree” (Figure 5) – female names *Ance*, *Annuža*, *Annele* – are coined in Latvian as diminutive forms or hypocoristic names.

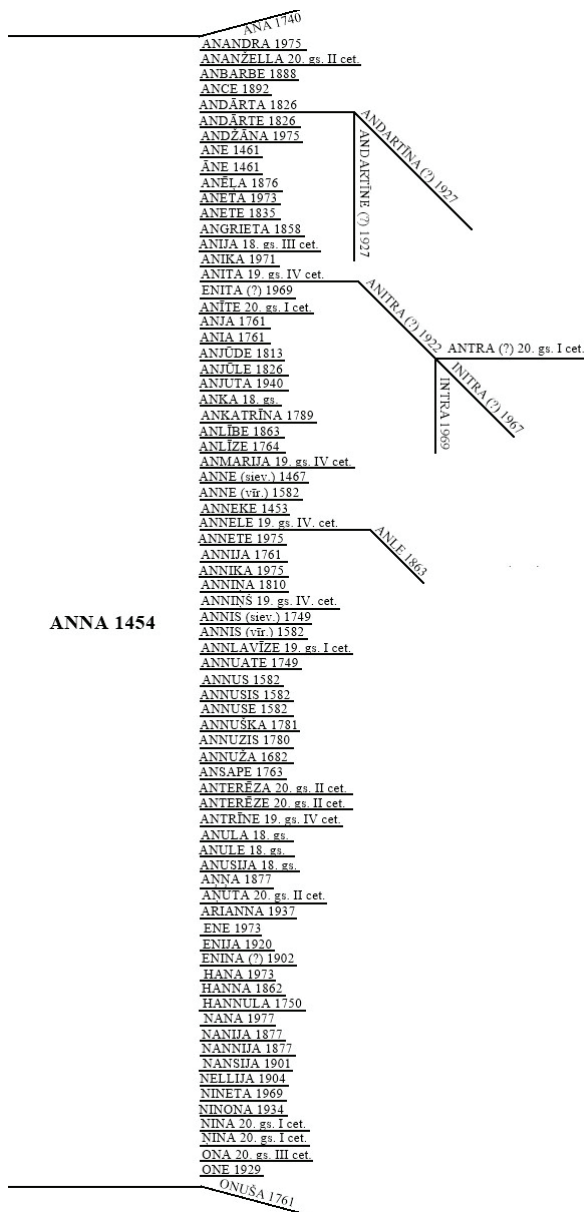


Figure 5: Anna

Some of these etymon names were borrowed throughout history from German, such as *Arnold* (< ancient German *arn* ‘eagle’ + *walt* < *waltan* ‘to rule (over), to govern’ (KOHLEHEIM-KOHLEHEIM 2007: 65)), attested in Latvia since 1590, included in the almanac since 1767 (SILIŅŠ 1990: 69). This “nest” contains approximately 20 names, predominately hypocoristic forms (see Figure 6). The etymon name *Arnolds* is currently not as exceedingly popular (1,687) as the shortened hypocoristic form of *Arnis* (4,694). The female form *Arne* is used far less (only 14 times), *Ārne* (only 2). Male name forms such as *Arends* (5), *Arens* (4) are extremely rare in contemporary usage, but the name *Arnds* is recorded only in historical documents.

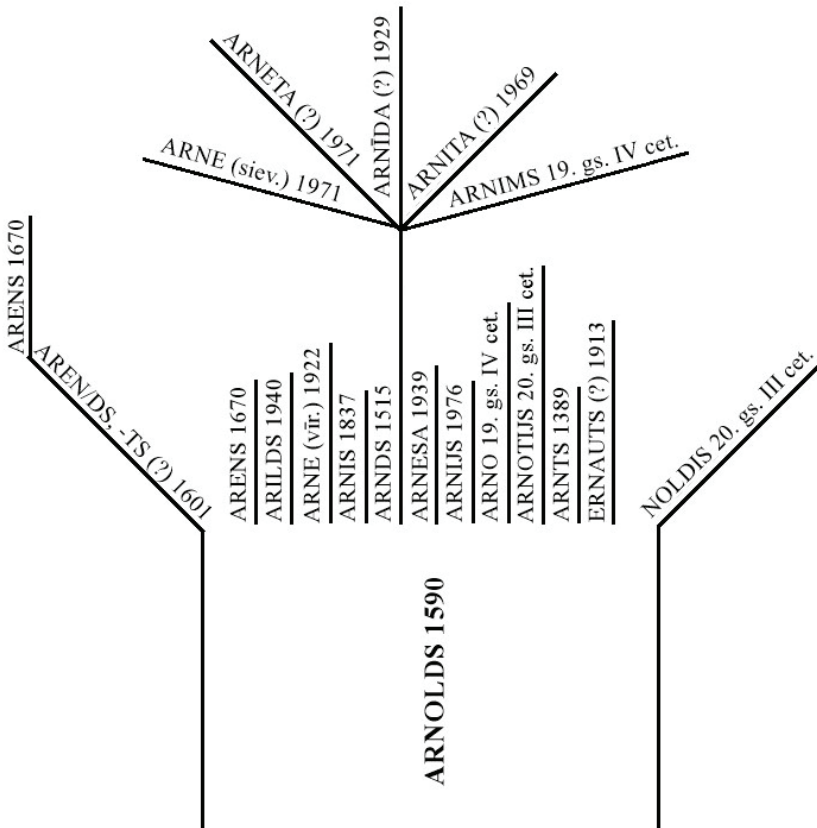


Figure 6: Arnolds

Both Latvian given names *Barbara* and *Bartolomejs* are from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries in Latvia (see Figure 7 and 8): *Barbara* was first recorded in 1399 < Latin *barbarus* < Greek *brabaros* ‘foreign’ (KOHLEHEIM-KOHLEHEIM 2007: 73, SILIŅŠ 1990: 78), and *Bartolomejs* was first mentioned in Latvia in 1289 < an Aramaic name *Bar Tolmai* ‘son of Talmai’ (SILIŅŠ

1990: 78), in German *Bartholomäus* registered already in the twelfth century (KOHLEHEIM–KOHLEHEIM 2007: 74). Both names are connected to religion and Scripture. The “tree” for *Barbara* in Latvian has 17 “branches” or names and variants. The etymon name *Barbara* is currently not as widespread, with only 101 people bearing this name, but the hypocoristic name *Baiba*, which was created by the Latvian poet Rainis and spread after his favourite play “Pūt, vējiņ!” (Blow, little wind!, 1913) (SILIŅŠ 1990: 76), is currently exceedingly popular: *Baiba* occurs 6554 times. Other names, such as *Baba* (recorded in 1618), *Babiņa* (in 1743), *Balba* ? (in 1607) and *Balbiņa* ? (known in the middle of the nineteenth century), are no longer used in contemporary Latvian. The etymon name *Bartolomejs* is likewise no longer popular in Latvia, as only one person has it as a given name, and only one has it as a middle name. A slightly more popular form of *Bartolomejs* is the shortened form *Barts* ~ *Bārts*: only five people have this name in all of Latvia. Even the male name *Bērtulis*, dating back to 1620, and adding a sub-branch to this tree with other names (*Bēts* 1691, *Bets* 1691, *Bērtus* 1638, *Bērcis* 1638, *Bērčis* 1638, *Bēcs* 1638, *Bēčs* 1638, *Bēcis* 1638, *Baiče* ? 1744, *Baics* ? 1929; see Figure 8), are currently virtually unknown; cf. *Bērtulis* (4) recorded in the PMLP, but the rest of the above-mentioned male names are recorded only in historical documents.

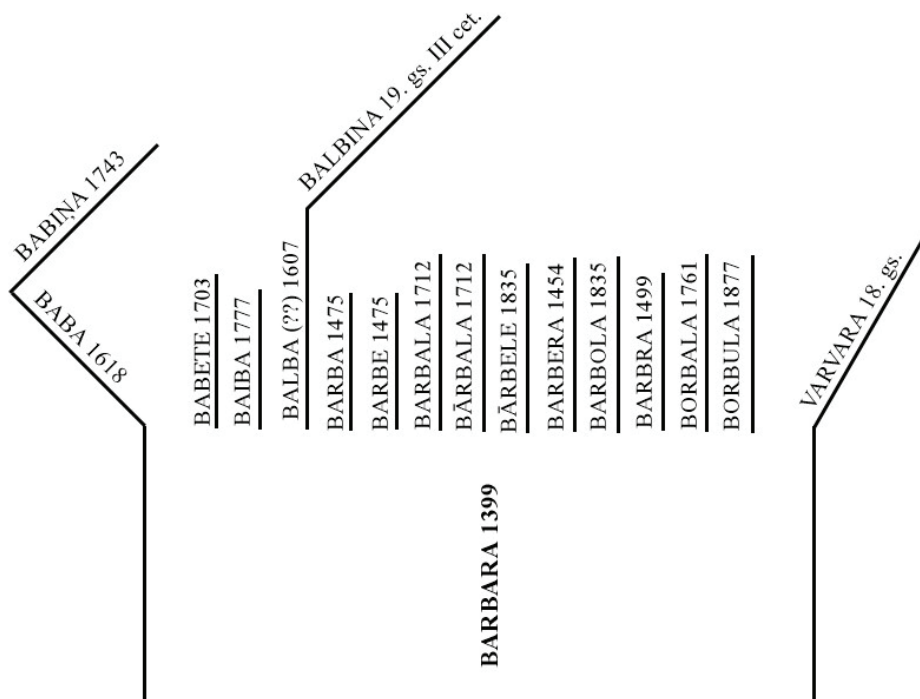


Figure 7: Barbara

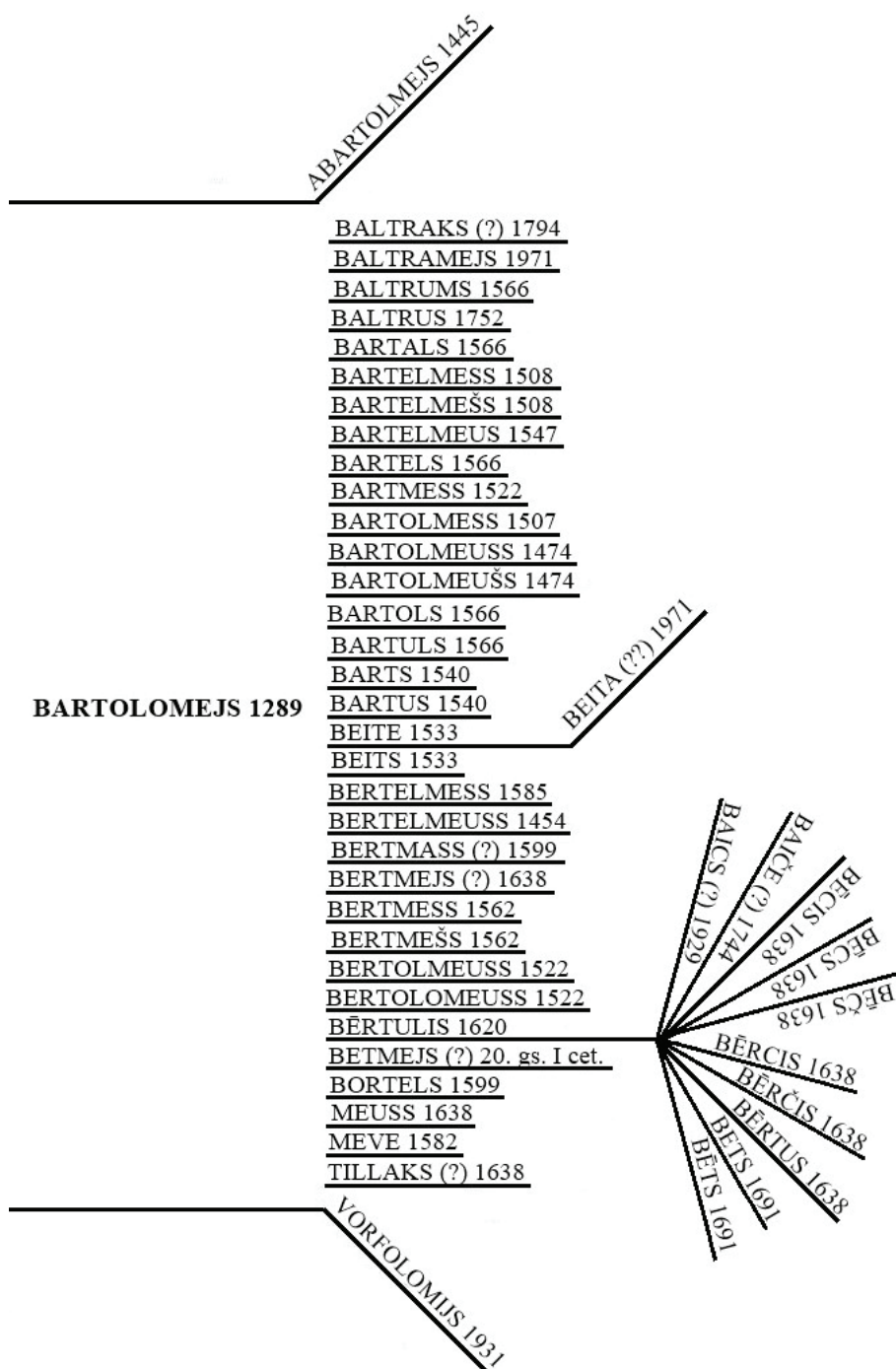


Figure 8: Bartolomejs

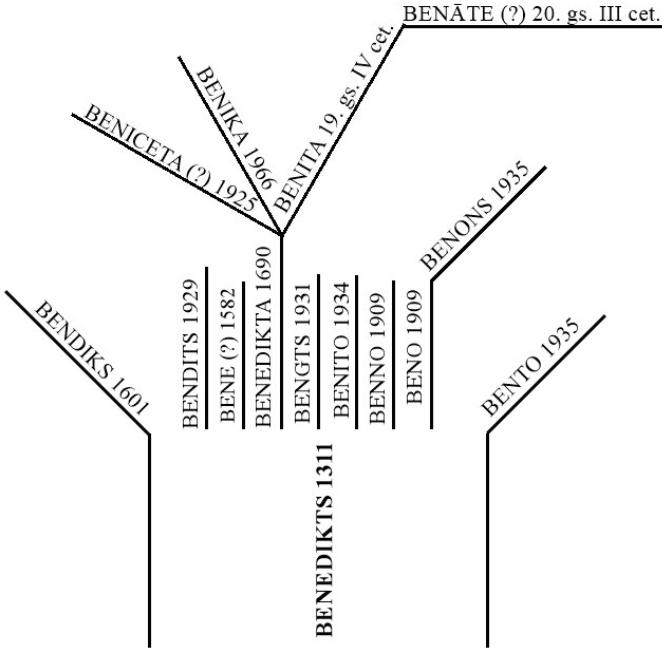


Figure 9: Benedikts

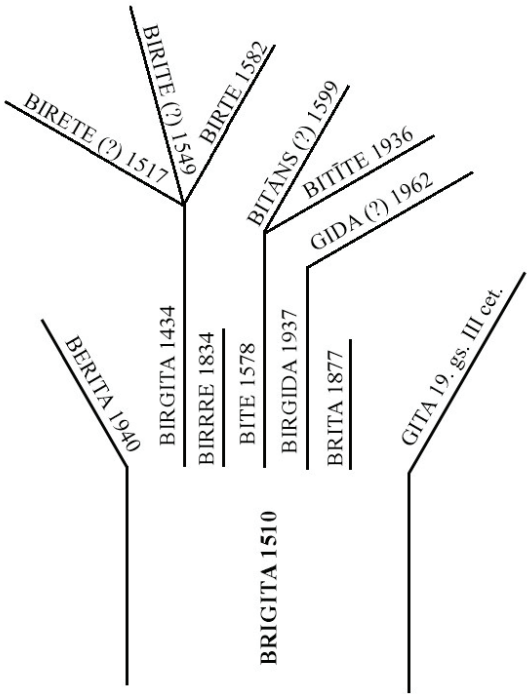


Figure 10: Brigita

The “trees” for the etymons *Benedikts* and *Brigita* do not have as many forks (see Figure 9 and 10). The given name of Latin origin, *Benedikts* (< *benedictus* ‘blessed’), is a very old name in Latvia, dating back to the fourteenth century. *Benedikts* was first recorded in Riga in 1310 and it has been included in almanacs since 1767 with its popularity peaking between 1920 and 1944 (SILIŅŠ 1990: 80). The “tree” for *Benedikts* consists of 13 branches. At present, the male name *Benedikts* is not widespread in Latvia, as only 40 men have this name and the same number of females (41) are named *Benedikta* (PMLP). But currently a shortened form of Spanish origin, *Benita* (987), is far more popular. This name appeared in Latvia only at the end of the nineteenth century and was included in the name almanac only in 1915. It was most popular for newborns from 1945 to 1970 (SILIŅŠ 1990: 80). The other names on this tree are not currently used in contemporary Latvia (except for the very rare names *Bengts*: 2 and *Benons*: 1).

The etymon *Brigita* < Celtic *brigh* ‘(morality) power’, the name of a goddess in Irish, was first recorded in Latvia (Riga) in 1510 and it has been recorded in the Latvian almanac since 1767. *Brigita* mostly spread between 1920 and 1970 (SILIŅŠ 1990: 86–87). This tree also has 13 branches. Two names derived from it are currently popular – the etymon name *Brigita* (1,884) and the hypocoristic name *Gita* (2,789), which also could have been borrowed from German (see KOHLHEIM–KOHLHEIM 2007: 178). The other names, such as *Bite* (0) and *Bitīte* (9) can also be of Latvian/Baltic appellative origin; cf. *bite* ‘bee’. The name *Bitē* occurs in Lithuanian, although a new name, which is not attested in historical sources (KUZAVINIS–SAVUKYNAS 1987: 100, DABRYTĖ–SAKALAUSKAITĖ–PAKALNIŠKIENĖ 2014: 40).

As many as 44 names are known to be derived from the etymon *Elizabete*, which was first recorded in the mid-thirteenth century (1252), and it is currently rather widespread (3,349 in all of Latvia), a name of Hebrew origin found in the Bible < *ēlišcheba* ‘my God is an oath’ or ‘my God is abundance’ (SILIŅŠ 1990: 113, KOHLHEIM–KOHLHEIM 2007: 136–137). We have not drawn an anthroponymic tree for this etymon, but the following are all the Latvian names for this “nest” (all of them are only female given names): *Elizabete* > *Eba* occurring in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, *Bete* 1513 (> *Beta* 1923, *Betija* nineteenth century), *Elīza/-e* 1861 (> *Elise* ~ *Elize* the first quarter of the twentieth century), *Elizāne* ~ *Elizane* 1935, *Ella* ? 1959 (> *Elli* ? 1971, *Ellija* 1865), *Edlīze* during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, *Elza* 1506 (> *Elsa* 1506, *Elzija* 1938), *Elsebe* 1460, *Elzebe* 1422, *Elsebete* 1913, *Elske* 1511, *Elzēns*,⁶ *Elžele*, *Elžuks*, *Elzbete* eighteenth century, *Elžbeta* eighteenth century, *Līza/-e* 1695 (> *Liža/-e* 1745, *Līzele* nineteenth century, *Līzbete* 1797,

⁶ *Elzēns*, as well as *Ilzēns*, *Ilžāns*, and *Ilžuks* are female given names, but they occur with masculine gender endings. These forms are popular in colloquial speech.

+ *Lote* = *Lizelote* ? 1922), *Ilze/-a* 1458 (> *Ilzēns*, *Ilžāns*, *Ilžuks*, *Ilzebe* 1413, *Ilze* + *Marija* = *Ilzemarija* 1927, *Ilzene* 1468, *Ilzīte* 1942, *Ilzke* 1507, *Ilža* 1461). The most widespread names that currently belong to this “tree” or “nest” in their order of frequency are: *Ilze* (11,998), *Elizabete* (3,349), *Elza* (2,640), *Elīza* (2,013), *Betija* (292). But the names such as *Beta* (10), *Eba* (2), *Elizane* (1) are extremely rare, while many others are only found in historical documents.

3. Some conclusions

In the *A-Ā-B-C-Č* segment of Latvian given names, the largest anthroponymic trees or nests are the following: *Anna* (82 new given names and of these, 75 are variants and 7 are sub-variants); *Andrejs* (68 new given names and of these, 44 are variants and 24 are sub-variants); *Antonijs* (58 new given names and of these, 19 are variants and 39 are sub-variants); *Aleksandrs* (51 new given names and of these, 24 are variants and 27 are sub-variants); *Bartolomejs* (48 new given names and of these, 37 are variants and 11 are sub-variants); *Adelheide* (31 new given names and of these, 18 are variants and 13 are sub-variants).

The following are some personal names-etymons that have been borrowed from other languages and modified: a) by omitting the first part; so-called aphesis (= loss of one or more sounds from the beginning of a word): *Fredis* (< *Alfrēds*), *Gita* (< *Brigita*), *Heide* (< *Adelheide*), *Nese* (< *Agnese*); b) by omitting the second part; sometimes it can be called as apocope (= the loss of one or more sounds from the end of a word): *Adele* (< *Adelheide*), *Agne* (< *Agnese*), *Alfs* (< *Alfrēds*), *Barba* (< *Barbara*); c) by adding the suffix and the ending: *Almīne* (< *Alma*), *Andija* (< *Anda*); d) by adding the diminutive suffix and the ending: *Agnīte* (< *Agne*), *Ainiņa* (< *Aina*), *Annuža* (< *Anna*); e) by connecting two given names and creating new two-stem names: *Anmarija* (*Anna* + *Marija*), *Ankatrīna* (*Anna* + *Katrīna*), *Anlīze* (*Anna* + *Līze*), *Elianna* (*Elizabete* + *Anna*).

Most of the analysed alterations have been coined in other languages as hypocoristic forms and have been adopted as a ready-made form in Latvian. Examples of these are: *Andžejs*, *Anžejs* from Polish, *Andrus* from Estonian, *Benita* from Spanish, Italian, *Endijs* from English.

Many forms of given names have been borrowed from or through German, such as *Adelija*, *Agneta*, *Gita*, *Heide*, and *Zanders*.

Several given names have also been created in Latvian, such as *Anna* > *Annele*, *Annuža*, *Ance*, *Amanda* > *Anda*, *Andulis*, *Agne* > *Agnīte*, *Antonija* > *Anta*, *Barbara* > *Baiba*, *Bartolomejs* > *Bērtulis*, *Bernhards* > *Biernis*.

Further research is needed to draw other possible anthroponymic “trees”. This research would include the following information: the approximate time that a



particular given name was recorded in Latvia; when it first appeared in name almanacs; from which language the name has come; which names were coined in Latvian; the popularity of a particular name in contemporary Latvia.

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Abstract

This article deals with a Latvian first-name system, and with the given names of common origin in particular. The author (together with Dana Beņķe, a student at the University of Latvia) has collected and made “trees” of the anthroponyms having the same etymon (starting with capital letters *A, Ā, B, C, Č*). The purpose is to gather information about all Latvian given names which have “grown” from the same name or the same etymon, to find the time when particular name was recorded in Latvia, when it was included into name almanacs, to ascertain the contemporary usage of the name in Latvia. The largest anthroponymic nests/trees are the following: etymon name *Anna* (includes 82 names), *Andrejs* (68 names), *Antonijs* (58 names), *Aleksandrs* (51 name), *Bartolomejs* (48 names). Most of the alterations analysed have been coined in other languages as hypocoristic forms and have been adopted into Latvian in a ready-made form. The majority of name variants came to Latvia from or through German and Polish, but there are hypocoristic forms coined and known only in Latvian (e.g. *Anna* > *Annuža*, *Ance*, *Annele*; *Barbara* > *Baiba*). The research, which includes 1114 Latvian names, connected them into “nests” or “trees” of common etymon. This article introduces 10 such anthroponymic “trees”. The research is in the beginning stage and has to be continued.

Keywords: Latvian language, anthroponymy, first name system, etymon

Zsuzsanna Fábíán

Zusammenhänge zwischen Familiennamen italienischen Ursprungs und Berufsgruppen im Ungarischen und in Ungarn

1. Hintergründe und Zielsetzungen

Historische und interkulturelle Forschungen haben bereits gezeigt, dass seit dem Mittelalter eine grosse Anzahl von Italienern, die bestimmte Berufe ausübten und meistens im nördlichen Teil Italiens lebten, nach Ungarn eingewandert sind. Dadurch wurde der ungarische Familiennamenbestand wesentlich bereichert. Viele Familiennamen italienischen Ursprungs überleben im ungarischen Raum seit Jahrhunderten, manche haben sich in ihrer Form dem ungarischen Laut- und Schreibsystem angepasst.

Eine systematische onomastische Untersuchung in Italienisch-Ungarischer Beziehung hat aber die Zusammenhänge zwischen den zwei Bereichen der Berufsbranchen und der Namen noch nicht im Detail erforscht (Teilergebnisse für die ungarische Situation finden sich in FÁBIÁN 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e; BRENDLER 2008 hat schon früher die beruflichen Beziehungen zwischen Italienisch und Deutsch erforscht). Mit Hinweis auf den historischen Hintergrund wird in dieser Studie kurz aufgezeigt, welche Berufszweige in den verschiedenen Perioden, in denen Italiener in Ungarn in grösserer Zahl anwesend waren, Bedeutung hatten.

In diesem Überblick werden die wichtigsten Berufe (meist in chronologischer Reihenfolge) betrachtet. Die Jahrhunderte der „historischen Nachnamen“ (die von Historikern meistens schon gefunden und untersucht worden sind) werden hier nur kurz präsentiert (2.1.–2.4.). Den „Nachnamen der neueren Zeit“ möchten wir aber mehr Platz widmen (2.5.–2.9.).

1.1. Allgemeine Vorbemerkungen

Wie oben gesagt, sind die italienischen Namen aus den früheren Perioden (bis zum Sieg gegen die Türken, um 1700) heute als reine „historische Namen“ zu betrachten: sie sind nicht mehr eigentlich vital/lebendig, d.h. es gibt in Ungarn keine Personen (mehr), die diese Namen tragen. Sie sind oft in älteren, auch in lateinischen (latinisierten) Formen in Dokumenten von historischem Charakter erhalten, die Namen der berühmten (und deshalb mehrmals erwähnten) Persönlichkeiten kommen sogar in mehreren Varianten vor. – Von den aus dem 18. und/oder 19. Jh. stammenden Namen sind hingegen noch viele bis heute in



Gebrauch: wir sind der Meinung, dass sich das Interesse des Namenforschers vor allem auf diese konzentrieren sollte.

Woher wissen wir eigentlich, welche Nachnamen heute „vital“ sind? Für die ungarische Situation kann als wichtigste Quelle MIHÁLY HAJDÚ's Register der ungarischen Familiennamen erwähnt werden (HAJDÚ 2012). Als Ausgangsmaterial dazu diente die offizielle Liste des Ungarischen Innenministeriums, welche den Nachnamenbestand am 1. Januar 2009 in Ungarn enthält. Einerseits enthält HAJDÚ's Register die in der erwähnten Liste quantitativ gekennzeichneten, heute existierenden Namen und Namensvarianten. Hinzu kommen andererseits auch diejenigen Namen, die der Forscher in belletristischen Werken, Dokumenten, Urkunden oder etwa als Grabinschriften usw. gefunden hat: bei diesen handelt es sich meistens um Einzelfälle, ohne Angabe der Häufigkeit.

Einige Beispiele: neben den Nachnamen-Varianten *De Francesco* 3, *Defrancesco* 1, steht auch *Defrancesko* (aber ohne Zahl) in der Liste: d.h. 'existiert heute nicht mehr, aber gefunden in alten Quellen'. Diese Namen bilden eine ziemlich unsichere Gruppe: es könnten nämlich auch andere, im Buch nicht aufgezählte (= weil vom Forscher HAJDÚ nicht gefundene) Varianten vorhanden sein, wie eben in diesem Fall: eine Google-Suche¹ hat nämlich auch *Defranceszko* (mit weiteren Anpassungen zum Ungarischen) aufgezeigt. Ein anderer, ähnlicher Fall: in HAJDÚ 2012 sind *Decastello* 6, *De Castello* 1 und *Decastelló* 3 aufgezählt, aber neben diesen haben wir auch die ausgestorbene Variante *Dekasztelló* gefunden.² In diesem Sinne ist die Studie also nicht vollständig.

1.2. Häufige Veränderungserscheinungen der Nachnamen (Italienisch → Ungarisch)

Wie aus den eben gezeigten Beispielen ersichtlich ist, soll der Forscher die Namen italienischen Ursprungs auch dann erkennen, wenn sie in einer Form auftauchen, welche Anpassungen zum Ungarischen aufzeigt. Im Folgenden werden die wichtigsten und häufigsten Anpassungsweisen in Richtung Italienisch → Ungarisch aufgezählt:

Translitteration: *Nicora* → *Nikora* (manchmal „auf deutsche Art“: *Sciaroni* → *Scharoni*);

¹ https://www.google.hu/search?q=%22Defranceszko%22&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b-ab&gfe_rd=cr&ei=sqFbWd_jG4eD3gPe_YPYCw#q=%22Defranceszko%22

² *Dekasztelló* Viktor, Buchhändler, Elisabeth-Ring 50 (*Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék*, 1899: 795), und in derselben Variante auch noch im Jahr 1954 (in der Tageszeitung *Népszava*).

Konsonantenveränderung (die auch eine Herkunft des Namens aus dem Deutschen zeigen kann): *Battisti* → *Patisti*;

Vokalverlängerung (im Fall der im Italienischen häufigen Endlaut *-o* am Ende der ungarischen Variante fast „obligatorisch“): *Mantuano* → *Mantuánó*, *Storno* → *Stornó*;

Verkürzung von Doppelkonsonanten: *Battisti* → *Patisti*;

Kombination von verschiedenen Veränderungen: *Bastoria* → *Basztória*.

Eine weitere, rein graphische Veränderung (von *-i* am Ende des Namens in *-y*) ist ein typischer Brauch bei ungarischen Nachnamen: *Nessi* → *Nessy*, *Ronzi* → *Ronzy*.

2. Berufsbranchen und italienische Nachnamen im Ungarischen und in Ungarn

2.1. „Salzkammerer“ („comes lucri camarae“)

Diese Gruppe gehört zum 14–15 Jh., und hängt vor allem mit der Herrschaft der Anjou-Könige in Ungarn zusammen (besonders Ludwig „der Grosse“ 1342–1382) und später Sigismund (1387–1437). Laut Definition war das Salzregal „das Hoheitsrecht der Salzgewinnung. Das Salzregal gehörte im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit zu den zunächst königlichen, später fürstlichen Regalien”.³ Es wurde von den Königen „verpachtet“, d.h. dem „comes lucri camarae“ zeitlich begrenzt übertragen. In Ungarn waren die Pächter, unter den genannten Königen, meist italienischer Herkunft. Geographisch betrachtet bezog sich diese Einrichtung vor allem auf die siebenbürgischen Gebiete (dort befanden sich nämlich die Salzvorkommen). Die „comes“ lebten aber nicht alle und nicht immer vor Ort, sie waren vor allem Organisateure. Um 1460 haben sich die Regelungen dann verändert: die Ungarn haben dieses Geschäft in die Hand genommen, parallel dazu sind die Italiener wie „verschwunden”.

Die wichtigste Persönlichkeit der Blütezeit der italienischen Salzkammerer war *Filippo Scolari* (anders: *Pippo Spano*, Firenze, um 1368 – Lipova/Lippa, 1426), berühmter *Condottiero* (auch gegen die Türken), Banus von Timișoara/Temesvár, Feudalherr in Ozora, verheiratet mit einer Ungarin. In den Jahren 1401–1426 war er „comes” der Salzkammer für 25 Jahre, und er berief viele andere Italiener nach Ungarn, die dann weitere Ämter erhielten. Unter diesen waren die wichtigsten: *Pero* und *Baldi* (um 1408, in Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben), die Familie *Zati* (Antonius von 1432, Niccolò, Uberto, Cristoforus Italicus um 1438–1468 ebenfalls in Hermannstadt und auch in Baia Mare/Frauenstadt/Nagybánya, Zanobio, Antal und Kristóf); Nicolaus de

³ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salzregal>

*Wagio*⁴ (um 1456); die berühmte Familie der *Man(n)ini* (mit Angelo, János, Márk, Odoardo, Papi: zwischen 1424–1499 waren sie Fedualherren in Ungarn und wurden auch in den Adelsstand erhoben).⁵

2.2. Burgbauer und Bauingenieure

In der Periode der Renaissance wurde die europäische Burgarchitektur von Italienern erneuert und modernisiert (z.B. fünfeckiger Grundriss, neue Typen von Basteien: *olaszbástya* 'italienische Bastei' usw.); deshalb gibt es auch im Ungarischen viele, zum Burgbau gehörenden Wörter und Fachausdrücke, die aus dem Italienischen stammen: *bástya* ← it. *bastione* 'Bastei', *rondella*, *kortina*, *kazamata*, *gabion*, *fülesbástya* (= ein Übersetzungskalk von it. *orecchione*) usw.

Ungarn war in dieser Periode (cc. 1550 – cc. 1700) von den Türken erobert und dem Osmanischen Reich untertan und administrativ eingegliedert. Deshalb war die Rolle der Festungen, Burgen in den insgesamt 150 Jahren der Besetzung sehr wichtig: sie wurden mehrmals abgerissen und sollten in der Folge immer wiederaufgebaut werden. Auch sind in dieser langen Periode in Ungarn sehr viele italienische Ingenieure und Burgbauer (Burgarchitekten) aufgetaucht, meist im Dienste und im Auftrag der Habsburger.

Die relative Fachliteratur ist sehr reich (in GYALÓKAY 1937 sind über 100 Namen von Burgbauern aufgezählt). Einige davon sind: die Gebrüder *Baldigara* (Ottavio,⁶ Giulio Cesare), Paolo *Mirandola*, Nicolò *Angelini*, Domenico *Ridolfino*, Mitglieder der Fam. *Secco*, Agostino *Serena* (Venediger, Mitte 1600) und *Resti* Jakab (um 1630, beide in Siebenbürgen tätig), Giulio *Turco* (Burg von Pápa für die Grafen Esterházy und am Plattensee bei der Burg Csobánc), *Savorgnano*, *Martinengo*, *Sangallo*, *Spazio* usw.

2.3. Seidenraupenzüchter (Serikultoren) und Textil-/Seidenhersteller

Nach cc. 1700 (d.h. parallel zu dem endgültigen Sieg über die Türken) sollte die Wirtschaft in Ungarn wiederbelebt werden. Der Prozess wurde auch von den Habsburgern (die zur Zeit auch Könige von Ungarn waren) unterstützt. Zu diesem Plan gehörte u.a. die Förderung der Seidenraupenzucht und der Seidenindustrie in den südlichen Teilen des Landes (s. dazu TAKÁTS 1992–1994). Da dieser Landstrich praktisch entvölkert war, sollten als erster Schritt, im Rahmen des „Einrichtungsprojektes des Banats“ (unter Leitung vom Grafen

⁴ *Vaggio* ← *Selvaggio*.

⁵ Die wichtigste Übersicht über die Salzkammerer findet sich in DRASKÓCZY 1994, 1996, 2004, 2010, 2014; KUBÍNYI 1988.

⁶ DOMOKOS 2000.

Mercy von Florisdorf)⁷ Leute aus anderen Teilen des Habsburger Reiches dorthin umgesiedelt werden: das waren teils Deutsche, teils Nord-Italiener (bes. Region Trentino).

Die Fachliteratur (SCHIFF 1934, DOMOKOS 2010) hat den Prozess der Neubesiedlung präsentiert, oft im Zusammenhang mit dem Ort Mercydorf: hier wurden (meist) Trentiner angesiedelt, sie sollten Seidenraupen züchten (zuerst aber Maulbeerbäume pflanzen). Aus einer Studie (die auf Archivsdaten beruht) kennen wir Namen von Trentinern, die um cc. 1734 nach Ungarn gekommen sind: *Schrer, Magrasso, Migliori, Valer, Pedevilla, Lectaller, Bevilaqua, Coradelli, Huber, Walter, Jenerbein, Tonetta, Aicor, Ferari, Pisetta, Franceschi, De Nardi, Zaiotta, Franceschini, Da Maggio, Pessatta, Lappio, Zegherer, Ebner, Moser, Brugna, Giacomaz, Suratto, Alessandri, Claurer, Fontana, Caldonas, Pressetta, Dalla Bona, Nicolodi, Della Piccola, Marchesi, Del Carli, Mazala, Ederihanter, Bommassaro, Valmorel, Franaia, Del Lazari, Leonardelli, Morigel, Migliori, Dal Piaz, Nardel, Pedron, Saner, Giacomaz, Spangler, Visentini, Philippi, Nocher, Battistona, Cozzi* (DOMOKOS 2010: 35–37). Namen von Siedlern in der Periode 1734–1736 wurden auch von einem anderen Forscher (SCHIFF 1934) aufgezeichnet: *Campolongo, Piccola, Scheng, Steraid, Mihelazzi, Savoy, Belloni, Gielmi, Sufadelli, Tomassin, Loppio, Petorlini, Ferre, Dal-Pra, Coradello, Ferrari, Bizetta, Majoli, Torgela, Agostini, Carli, Capra, Calarozzo, Volpe, Borgogno, Schmidt, Pelegrini, Furlanelli, Coli, Caretta, Paoli, Cararro, Carpanterra, Marchi, Buchatti, Brizzo, Baecha, Cristani, Sufatti, Dorighi, Dal-Avi, Philippi, Dal-Pezzo, Tonetta, Denelutti, Maggi, Briza, Bour, Modena, Camin*. (Es fällt auf, dass nur der Name *Philippi* auf beiden Listen zu finden ist.) Im Laufe eines einzigen Jahrhunderts waren aber die Italiener im Bánát ausgestorben oder haben sich in die deutsche Gemeinschaft eingegliedert. Auch sind hier keine italienischen Nachnamen erhalten geblieben (SCHIFF 1934).

Namen aus der späteren Seidenindustrie, die schon in der ungarischen Hauptstadt betrieben wurde: *Fac(c)hini Pál, Mazzucato Ágoston, Sol(l)enghi Károly*.⁸ Es ist noch zu erwähnen, dass der Toponym *Filatori-gát* ‘Damm der Weber’ (in Ofen, wo einst die ersten Seidenfabriken entstanden) an die ehemali- gen italienischen Seidenweber erinnert (← it. *filatore* ‘Weber’, s. dazu: FÁBIÁN 2017a).

⁷ „kommandierender General der kaiserlichen Provinz Temescher Banat und Präsident der Banater Landesadministration (1717–1734)”
(https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Claudius_Florimund_Mercy).

⁸ Autor auch eines Fachbuches über das Thema (<http://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-irok-elete-es-munkai-szinnyei-jozsef-7891B/s-A6233/sollenghi-karoly-A9D54/>).

2.4. Angehörigen des hohen Klerus bzw. des Militärs (Offiziere), Politiker, Feudalherren

Die Liste (mit hunderten von Namen) der zu dieser Gruppe gehörenden Persönlichkeiten ist sehr lang, dementsprechend kann hier die Sekundärliteratur nicht überschaut werden.⁹ Die Zahl der vielen Italiener, die in Ungarn in Politik, Kirche, usw. eine Rolle gespielt haben, könnte mit dem Namen des (Venetianer) Bischofs Sankt Gerhard, am Hof des ersten Königs von Ungarn S. Stephan beginnen und mit denen der Humanisten (z.B. *Galeotto Marzio*) am Hof von König Matthias oder der späteren „Politiker“ (wie *Frater Martinuzzi*, *Giorgio Basta*), oder der adeligen Familien (wie *Odescalchi* usw.) fortgesetzt werden. Aber, wie schon gesagt, die meisten Namen von diesen Persönlichkeiten überlebten nicht bis heute.¹⁰

2.5. Eisenbahn- und Strassenbauarbeiter

Es handelt sich um die grösste Gruppe der aus einer bestimmten Berufsbranche eingewanderten Italiener. Es besteht übrigens ein enger Zusammenhang zwischen dieser und der (nächsten) Gruppe der Steinbrecher und Steinmetzen, die wir unter Punkt (2.6) behandeln. Aus beiden Gruppen finden sich viele, bis heute weiterlebende Nachnamen, meistens in Transkarpatien und in Siebenbürgen.

Grund der Einwanderung von Italienern war der Mangel an kompetenter Arbeitskraft bei der Verwirklichung grosser Konstruktionen (wie z.B. die sog. „sekler Eisenbahn-rundstrecke“ (ung. *székely körvasút*): diese Zugstrecke sollte die grossen Städte (wie Brasov/Brassó, Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, Miercurea Ciuc/Csikszereda, Gheorgheni/Gyergyószentmiklós, Tîrgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely) verbinden. Eine erste (Teil)strecke wurde in den 1870-er Jahren gebaut, die zweite Etappe dann um die Jahrhundertwende. Besonders in der ersten Bauperiode haben in diesen Gebieten zahlreiche Italiener gearbeitet, viele sind endgültig in Ungarn geblieben.

Diese Gruppe wird hier am Beispiel zweier Familiengeschichten (Corradi und Morandini) vorgestellt. Die Ansiedlung der Familie Corradi ist teils in der Uni-Diplomarbeit¹¹ von Sára Corradi zusammengefasst (CORRADI 2011: 11–14), weitere Informationen stammen auch aus der Korrespondenz mit dem Physiker Gábor Corradi. Die Geschichte der Fam. Morandini wurde uns von Ing. Pál direkt berichtet.

⁹ Über die italienisch-ungarischen Beziehungen s. JÁSZAY 1982.

¹⁰ Als Beispiel dazu könnte der heutige Stand eines berühmten Namens dienen: die Familie *Odescalchi* lebte seit 1689 in Süd-Ungarn, heute ist aber eine einzige Odescalchi in HAJDÚ 2012 registriert.

¹¹ Damit hat sie 2012 auch einen Preis von der „Fondazione Museo storico del Trentino“ gewonnen (Serie „Storia dell’emigrazione trentina: le tesi vincitrici“).

Laut Daten in HAJDÚ 2012 leben heute 7 Personen mit dem Nachnamen *Corradi* in Ungarn; dazu sollen noch 2 in der Variante *Corrádi* mitgezählt werden; weitere Quellen bestätigen auch eine ältere, die Integration zeigende Form *Korrádi*,¹² die aber nicht weiterlebte. – Der erste *Corradi* in Ungarn war Cristano [sic!] *Giacomo Corradi*, der als Bauingenieur in den 1850-er Jahren aus Lavarone (bei Trient/Trento) nach Transkarpatien eingewandert ist. Hier hat er Viktória Kassay geheiratet und ist in Ungarn geblieben. Vom Sohn Keresztély entstammen die Enkelkinder Keresztély (der Forst-Ingenieur bei Sátoraljaújhely war) und Gyula (Kinderarzt in Győr/Raab), der letztere hatte 5 Kinder (Gyula, Etelka, Annamária, der Physiker Gábor, Surd). Zur jüngsten Generation gehören Gergely, Gizella und die schon erwähnte Sára. Letztere hat im Kirchenarchiv von Rahiv/Rahó die Liste der Italiener gefunden, die im Ort Kőrösmező (ukr. Ясіня) lebten. In der Liste sind diejenigen aufgezählt, die in Folge von Epidemien (Cholera, Fleckfieber, Tuberkulose) in den Jahren 1893–1895 gestorben sind: *Pellegrini, Nardi, Da Rin, Sperandio, Dacol, Takini/Tachini, Sartori, Rossi, Molinari, Valdán, Szala, Baldiszera, Cunico, Smid, Coletti, Aszte, Diacomio, Zannoner, Debortoli*. (Mehrere Namen dieser Liste zeigen Anpassungen zum Ungarischen.)

Für den Nachnamen *Morandini* finden wir 9 Treffer in HAJDÚ 2012.¹³ Die Familie von Pál Morandini ist auf Tomaso Michele Morandini (1826–1876) zurückzuführen: in den 1850-er Jahren kam er aus Predazzo (neben Trient) nach Maramureş/Máramaros, 1857 heiratete er Mathild Szaplanczay (aus dem Dorf Dragomireşti/Dragomérfalva). Sie hatten vier Kinder (Viktor, Manó, Rózsa, Adalbert) und lebten im Dorf Ieud/Jód (neben Baia Mare/Nagybánya), wo das Grab von Viktor noch erhalten ist. Aus dem Zweig von Manó stammt unser Bekannter, Ing. Pál (geb. 1951 in Budapest), Vater von vier Söhnen (Kristóf, Viktor, Máté, Miklós).

2.6. Steinbrecher und Steinmetzen

Die beiden Berufszweige wurden gleichfalls im 19. Jh. mit Hilfe italienischer Facharbeiter wiederbelebt. Die Italiener waren bekanntlich Meister auf diesem Gebiet. Durch ihre Arbeitstechnik wurde die ungarische Bergbauindustrie modernisiert. Die Einwanderungszentren sind natürlich die Berglandschaften, besonders drei grössere Gebiete.

¹² *Korrádi* Gyula und Sohn Keresztély (https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/Gyaszjelentesek_DebreceniRefKollNagykonyvtara_KOT_KOV/?pg=158&layout=s&query=Korr%C3%A1di).

¹³ *Morandini* ist, in Ungarn, ein „homonymischer Name“: d.h. es gibt mehrere Familien (verschiedener Abstammung und Herkunft) in Ungarn mit demselben Nachnamen. Hier wird nur die Familie von Pál Morandini vorgestellt.

Transdanubien: die Gebirge Vértes und Gerecse (zwischen dem Balaton-Hochland und dem Donauknie). Die grössten Zentren waren Süttő und Piszke (andere wichtige Ortschaften: Almádi, Esztergom und (Nyerges)Újfalú), in denen (neben den früher angesiedelten Deutschen) auch viele Italiener arbeiteten. Die Italiener kamen in Süttő in drei Wellen (die dritte um 1896); später sind aber viele nach Amerika ausgewandert.¹⁴ Aus den ungefähr 100 in Süttő und Umgebung als Italienisch bekannten Nachnamen wollen wir hier nur diejenigen aufzählen, die sicher italienischen Ursprungs sind und bis heute weiterleben (Daten in HAJDÚ 2012): *Aprili* in den Formen *Áprili* 12, *Aprily* 2, *Áprily* 46;¹⁵ *Baracca* in den Formen *Barakka* (24) und *Baraka* (3); *Giacinto* (2) mit *Giacintó* (6); *Michelutti* (2); *Paluselli* als *Paluzelli* (2), *Paluzeli* (1), *Paluzelly* (-); *Solari* in den Formen *Soláry* (11), *Szolári* (9), *Szoláry* (10). Auch einige *Adami* könnten hierzu gehören.¹⁶ Mehrere der in den Quellen erwähnten Namen zeigen viele Unsicherheiten auf.¹⁷

Das Nördliche Mittelgebirge (ungh. Északi-középhegység): das Mátra-Gebirge. Laut Daten haben 1892 in den Bergwerken von Tarnaszentmária (nördlich von der Stadt Eger liegend) 25-50 italienische Bergbauer gearbeitet. Ein berühmter Name aus diesem Dorf ist der von József *Miglierini*¹⁸ (heute gibt es 2 Personen mit diesem Nachnamen in Ungarn: HAJDÚ 2012). Ein anderer italienischer (aber unsicherer) Name aus dieser Gegend (Verpelét) ist der von Antal *Danellatta*, der aus Raccolana¹⁹ (Provinz Udine) stammen soll. Nach Erzählungen der

¹⁴ Geschichte von Süttő: <http://www.sutto.hu/kepektortenet.html> und dasselbe mit dem Titel *Családnevek nyomában jártunk* [Auf den Spuren von Familiennamen]: <https://www.kemma.hu/komarom-esztergom/kozelet-komarom-esztergom/csaladnevek-nyomaban-jartunk-152785/>

¹⁵ Ein grosser Teil der Varianten mit Endung -y könnten keinen „italienischen Ursprung“ haben, s. noch später!

¹⁶ HAJDÚ 2012: *Adami* 36, *Adámi* 101, *Ádami* 27 (der Name könnte aber einen ungarischen Ursprung mit innerer Lautentwicklung haben).

¹⁷ Die Namen (die heute in der in den Quellen gegeben Formen nicht mehr vorhanden sind, oder keinen italienischen Ursprung haben können) sind: *Todero*, *Emma*, *Gamba*, *Travioli*, *Moredores*, *Kukedetti*, *Screlli*, und *Uto* wird von Ungarndeutschen als „deutscher Name“ eingestuft (www.ungarndeutsche.de/hu/.../Tarian_csaladnevek%20nyomaban_kemma_%202008), das mit einigen Fällen in Süddeutschland bestätigt sein kann (<http://www.verwandtd.de/karten/absolut/utto.html>).

¹⁸ Um 1894; in 1898 besass er ein Haus auch in der Hauptstadt Budapest. (https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/BPLAKCIMJEGYZEK_10_1898/?pg=117&layout=s)

¹⁹ In ZABRATZKY 2006: 196–197 ist der Toponym falsch (**Raccolanta*) geschrieben, ausserdem ist der Anthroponym in dieser Form nicht zu finden: nur den Namen (Antonio) *Danelletti* haben wir (mit Hilfe einer Google-Suche) in einem alten Buch aus 1797 gefunden (https://books.google.hu/books?id=m9YL3TMiZ10C&pg=PA297&lpg=PA297&dq=Danelletti&source=bl&ots=JZ8h9U0_IR&sig=nec1wui9NSHwQcMMY0m9DCLZxDs&hl=hu&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiQzOrxzJTVAhUBVYVAKHZvgA9sQ6AEIIDAAsv=onepage&q=Danelletti&f=false).

Dorfbewohner sollen auch im Bergwerk namens Breskák/Vreskák Italiener gearbeitet haben (vielleicht waren sie Kriegsgefangene im Ersten Weltkrieg, bestätigt von mehreren Grabmälern im lokalen Friedhof; Daten in ZABRATZKY 2006).

Das Gebirge von Siebenbürgen. Beim Ausbau des Strassen- und Zugverkehrs hatten die Steinbrecher um die Jahrhundertwende 19/20 einen grossen Anteil an den Bauarbeiten in Siebenbürgen. Besonders im Gebiet von „Háromszék“ wurden mehrere italienische Steinbrecher und Steinmetzen angestellt: sie bauten Strassen, Eisenbahn-Einrichtungen, Brücken, später erstellten sie auch Grabsteine und Denkmäler. Viele von diesen Italienern haben hier eine Familie gegründet und wurden richtige, bis heute verbliebene „Sekler“: *Di Bernardo, Di Gaspero, Longo, Mamina, Kraighero*. Gewisse Namen sind an einzelnen Orte gebunden (*Zuliani* kommt in Malnaş-Băi/Málnásfürdő vor, *Bosin* in Micfalău/Mikóújfalú, *Pittino* in Oituz/Ojtoz, *Rizzotti* in Cernatu de Sus/Felsőcsernáton, *Giacomello/Gyakomello, Defrancesco/Defranceseszko, Vallerio, Pirampell, Delnegro* in Micfalău/Mikóújfalú und *Bixad/Sepsibükszád* usw.). Formveränderungen (wie z. B. im Fall von *Delesega*)²⁰ kommen ziemlich häufig vor.

2.7. Schornsteinfeger

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die Erfindung und Vervollkommen der Schornsteine im europäischen Raum sich von Italien aus verbreitet hat. Es ist daher naheliegend, dass die „Meister“ auf diesem Gebiet in ganz Europa oft Italiener (meist aus der Süd-Schweiz: Ticino/Tessin oder Grigioni/Graubünden) waren. Auch in Ungarn, bzw. im Karpatenbecken, haben italienische Schornsteinfeger diese Industrie verbreitet. Die ersten Wander-Schornsteinfeger (die oft nach einem ersten Aufenthalt in Österreich/Wien weiter nach Ungarn zogen) wurden schon im 16. Jh. in ungarischen Urkunden erwähnt. Herkunft und Verbreitung sowohl des Objektes als auch des Berufs werden (auch) in diesem Fall anhand des ungarischen Ausdrucks bestätigt (it. *camino* → dt. *Kamin* → ung. *kémény* 'Schornstein'; ung. *kémény/seprő* 'Schornstein' + 'Feger'; it. *spazzacmino*).

In Ungarn folgten die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen zu diesem Beruf dem deutsch-österreichischen Modell: die Schornsteinfeger waren als Zunft organisiert und genossen viele Privilegien. Die Industrie wurde kaiserlich/staatlich geregelt (es wurden u.a. Bezirke aufgestellt damit keine Konkurrenz entstand), die Schornsteinfegerlizenz war persönliches Eigentum (verkaufbar und erbbar). Infolge dieser monopolistischen Vorschriften sind ganze Dynastien entstanden,

²⁰ Laut Informationen von Prof. Gyula Delesega (Timișoara/Temesvár) soll auch sein Nachname auf it. *Della Sega* zurückgehen. Andere heutige Varianten in HAJDÚ 2012 sind: *Dellaszega* (7), *Dellasega* (2), *Dellaszega* (2), *Delaszega* (1).



die vor allem in Transdanubien und in Oberungarn tätig waren. (Zum Thema s. KOC SIS 2012, SZULOVSKY 1992; zur Einwanderung der Italiener s. FÁBIÁN 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e.)

Die folgenden Namen stammen aus zwei Quellen. Diejenigen, die auf beiden Listen vorkommen, sind auch die bekanntesten und grössten „Dynastien“:

a) *Franzin, Petroti (Petrota?), Peterotta, Pellato, Postolli, Bellan, Forrelli, Contrasti, Piroti, Bovorada, Del Bondio, Subanoni, Fomino, Genovi, Godone, Nodini, Orelli, Albertini, Storno, Mollini, Ronchetti, Bastoria, Sciaroni, Albertini, Devecis del Vecchio, Lafranko, Nessi, Nicora, Toscano* (KOC SIS 2012);

b) *Brizzi, Ronchetti, Fossano, Scharoni [sic!], Basztoria, Ravizza, Bandera, Zanoletti, Grasselly, Demaurici, Bagnovini, Gamma, Polin, Mantuano, Toscano, Benigni, Stornó, Ronzy, Dimola, Cucania, Politi* (*Adressenregister der Handwerker* 1892).

2.8. Salamifabrikanten

Auch an der Entstehung der (heute weltbekannten) ungarischen Salami-Industrie waren Italiener massgebend beteiligt. Besonders viele Friulaner wanderten um die Jahrhundertwende 19/20 aus Nord-Italien zuerst nach Wien aus (wo sie Wanderprodukteure und -verkäufer waren, die *salamucci* genannt wurden: das it. Wort ist später auch in ungarischen Texten aufgetaucht). Bald darauf zogen einige Italiener nach Ungarn weiter, wo sie prachtvolle Schweinearten wie z.B. die Mangalitza-Schweine (Wollschweine) als Basisprodukt vorfanden.

Nota bene, (wie im Fall von *kémény* ‘Schornstein’) kommt auch ung. *szalámi* aus dem Italienischen (← it. *salami*).

Die erste ungarische Stadt, in der ein Italiener Salami produzierte, war Szeged, mit *Rolando Péter* (um 1841). Ein weiteres wichtiges Produktionszentrum (seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19^{ten} Jahrhunderts) war Budapest, wo *Piazzoni, Dozzi*²¹ und *Del Medico*²² Salami herstellten. Im östlichen Teil Ungarns haben die (aus Nord-Italien stammenden) *Boschetti*²³ und *Vidoni*-Familien eine wichtige Industrie aufgebaut (BLASKÓ 2010, 2013a, 2013b), letztere war bis zum Ende

²¹ Die beiden waren Onkel und Neffe. *Dozzi* gehört heute zu 3 Personen (HAJDÚ 2012).

²² Der erste aus dieser Familie (die aus Tarcento/Friuli stammt), der in Buda um 1840 angekommen ist, war Pietro: schon um 1850 wurde die Salamifabrik gegründet. Pietro ist im Alter von 40 Jahren an Appendicitis gestorben, und obwohl er 8 Söhne hatte, sollte die Salamifabrik 1912 geschlossen werden. Auch heute ist der Name vorhanden (*Del Medico* 15, *Del-Medico* 2, *Del Medico* 1; frühere, aber ausgestorbene Varianten waren *Del' Medico, Del-Medicó, Del Mediko*; HAJDÚ 2012).

²³ *Boschetti* bezeichnet heute 4 Personen, einst auch in der Variante *Boszchetti* (HAJDÚ 2012).

des 2^{en} Weltkrieges tätig. Aus Grosswardein/Oradea/Nagyvárad kennen wir *Pontelli*, aus Klausenburg/Cluj/ Kolozsvár „*Benigni* und *Lászloczki*“.

2.9. Künstler

Zu dieser Gruppe zählen wir nur diejenigen Personen, die als Künstler nach Ungarn gekommen sind (solche hingegen, die von eingewanderten Nicht-Künstlern abstammen, werden hier nicht mit einberechnet, wie z.B. die Malerin *Biasini* Mari, die schon „als Ungarin“ Künstlerin geworden ist, ebenso wie die Maler *Chiovini* Ferenc, *Guelmino* Kálmán, *Kontraszty* László, oder der Musiker *Noseda* usw.).

Zu welchen engeren Berufsbranchen gehören die in Ungarn eingewanderten Künstler? Die meisten sind Musiker und Maler, aber im Ganzen genommen handelt es sich um eine geringe Zahl. Mehrere sind nach einem Aufenthalt in deutschsprachigen Gebieten (oft in Wien) nach Ungarn eingewandert (zu diesen Personen gehört ganz sicher, auf Grund der Lautform, der Baumeister und Architekt *Patisti/Patiszti/Patiszty* Károly ← *Battisti*).

Für die Namenforschung ergibt sich hier vom Lebensstil der Künstler her ein Ansatzproblem: viele Künstler (besonders die Musiker und die Sänger) führen ein Wanderleben und können in verschiedenen Ländern mit einheimischen Namen bekannt werden.²⁴ Wie kann man also in diesen Fällen entscheiden, ob sie *noch* zur ursprünglichen Geburtsnation gehören oder *schon* zu der anderen/späteren? Hinzu kommt, dass es in Künstlerkreisen häufig Mode war, einen italienischen Pseudonym zu tragen: diese Fälle sollten von den vorigen Gruppen getrennt kategorisiert und analysiert werden. Diese wissenschaftlichen Ansatzprobleme könnten mit dem Beispiel des Lebens und dem Namenswechsel von Julius Prott (Ueckermünde, 1841 – Mailand, 1901) erläutert werden: auch er war immer unterwegs. In Italien unter dem Namen *Giulio Perotti*, in Ungarn, wo er im Opernhaus 18 Jahre lang auftrat,²⁵ als *Perotti Gyula*. Zu welcher Nation gehört er? Und welcher ist sein eigentlicher Name?

Zu den bedeutendsten Musikern italienischen Ursprungs gehört die Gobbi-Familie. Der mantuaner Luigi *Gobbi-Ruggieri*²⁶ (geb. 1811) kam als Violinist

²⁴ Wie bekannt, in den 18/19. Jh. war es eine ziemlich verbreitete Mode, die Vornamen der Schriftsteller usw. in die Zielsprache zu „überstezten“ (*Jules Verne* wurde z.B. in Ungarn als *Verne Gyula* bekannt).

²⁵ „1892 nahm er stabilen Aufenthalt in Budapest, wo er bis 1900 als Mitglied der Königlichen Oper wirkte, nachdem er bereits von 1878 bis 1888 derselben angehört hatte“ (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Perotti)

²⁶ „[...] ein sehr begabter Musiker (Geigenprofessor in Budapest) und stammte aus einem vornehmen italienischen Adelsgeschlecht. Nach seiner Verheiratung mit einer Wienerin blieb er in Ungarn sesshaft.“ (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri_Gobbi)

(mit Frau Maria Roth, einer Wiener Sängerin) nach Budapest. Aus dieser Ehe stammten der Musikpädagoge *Gobbi* Alajos (Pest, 1842 – Budapest, 1932) und der Pianist *Gobbi* Henrik (Pest, 1841 – Budapest 1920).²⁷ Heute leben 5 Personen mit diesem Nachnamen in Ungarn (eine in der Variante *Gobby*, HAJDÚ 2012).

Neben Musikern waren auch Tänzer, Choreographen und Ballettmeister italienischen Ursprungs in Ungarn tätig. *Mazzantini* Lajos (Rom, 1857 – Budapest, 1921) war Tänzersolist zwischen 1876–1886 an der Wiener Oper, im November 1886 wurde er aber vom damaligen Operndirektor Gustav Mahler nach Budapest berufen (1886–1887 und 1889–1894); in den Jahren 1906–1908 war er Ballettmeister an der Volksoper und auch am Lustspielhaus in Budapest, von 1910 Direktor der Akademie der Tanzkunst in Budapest.²⁸ Weitere Ballettmeister des budapester Opernhauses waren:²⁹ *Campilli* Frigyes (Wien, 1820 – Wien, 1889),³⁰ *Smeraldi* Cézár,³¹ *Guerra* Miklós (Neapel, 1865 – Budapest, 1942),³² *Brada* Ede (Wien, 1879 – Budapest, 1955).³³

Im Bereich der bildenden Künste können wir einige Maler aufzählen. Der Begründer der ersten ungarischen Maler-Akademie war *Marastoni* Jakab (Venedig, 1804 – Pest, 1860),³⁴ sein Sohn József (Venedig, 1834 – Wien, 1895) wurde selbst Maler (die zweite Lebenshälfte hat er aber in Wien verbracht).³⁵ – Der erste Maler aus der Familie *Galimberti*³⁶ war der triestiner Luigi, der nach Studien an der Künstlerakademie in Venedig nach Ungarn gelangte. Bald nach seiner Ankunft wechselte er jedoch in die Landwirtschaft über. Sein neunter Sohn Sándor (Kaposvár, 1883 – Budapest, 1915) wurde berühmter Maler.

²⁷ Die Grabmäler von beiden Künstlern sind im Budapester historischen Friedhof erhalten geblieben. – Aus dieser Familie stammte die in Ungarn sehr populäre Schauspielerinnen Hilda Gobbi (Budapest, 1913–1988).

²⁸ *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon* und <http://www.operaszubjektiv.hu/?paged=2&cat=22>

²⁹ <http://www.operaszubjektiv.hu/?paged=2&cat=22>

³⁰ Daten aus *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon*. (Als Geburtsjahr ist 1936 in *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon* gegeben.)

³¹ Er hat mehr als 30 Jahren in Budapest verbracht. Lebensdaten in *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon* und in *Magyar életrajzi lexikon* (ohne Geburts- und Todesjahr). Der Name wurde auch in den Varianten *Szmeraldi*, *Sineraldi* + *Caesar/Cesar/Césár* geschrieben (*Hungaricana*).

³² Zwischen 1902 und 1915 Ballettmeister, Choreograph und Tänzer im Opernhaus. Daten aus *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*. In *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon* ist Cernobbio als Ort des Todes gezeichnet.

³³ Daten aus *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*.

³⁴ https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marastoni_Jakab

³⁵ https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marastoni_J%C3%B3zsef

³⁶ https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galimberti_S%C3%A1ndor

3. Schlussfolgerungen

Am Ende möchten wir noch kurz erläutern, wozu Forschungen dienen könnten, in denen die Familiennamen parallel zu den Berufen analysiert werden.

Wenn der Forscher weiss, dass bestimmte Berufe typischerweise von Angehörigen einer bestimmten Nation (oder anders gesagt: von Vertretern eines bestimmten Sprachkreises) ausgeübt werden, kann man in den kritischen Zweifelsfällen mit mehr Gewissheit über den Namensursprung entscheiden. Weiter kann die Kenntnis des Berufes eines Namensträgers gegebenenfalls den „Familienmythos“ eines etwaigen italienischen Ursprungs untermauern, oder auch entkräften (oder sogar zunichte machen).

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Abstrakt

Historische und interkulturelle Forschungen haben bereits gezeigt, dass seit dem Mittelalter eine grosse Anzahl von Italienern, die bestimmte Berufe ausübten und meistens im nördlichen Teil Italiens lebten, nach Ungarn eingewandert sind. Durch diesen Prozess wurde der ungarische Familiennamenbestand wesentlich bereichert. In den Jahrhunderten haben sich viele Familiennamen zum ungarischen Lautsystem angepasst. Eine systematische onomastische Untersuchung in italienisch-ungarischer Beziehung hat aber die Zusammenhänge zwischen den zwei Bereichen der Berufsbranchen und der Namen noch nicht im Detail erforscht: diese Studie (mit konkreten Beispielen) möchte diese Lücke teils ausfüllen.

Schlüsselwörter: Interkulturelle Namenforschung, italienische Familiennamen in Ungarn, Zusammenhänge zwischen Familiennamen und Berufe

Gergana Petkova

Bulgarian Masculine Personal Names Derived From a Roman Cognomen*

1. Introduction

Every personal name system is a language subsystem per se; it is developing and forming by accepting new items during the centuries under the influence of linguistic and extralinguistic factors (KOVACHEV 1995: 11). Anthroponymic borrowings from one language to another are typical and are usually caused by cultural contacts. When becoming part of a new name system, an anthroponym is transformed linguistically and changes in its initial form depend on the features of both the source and the receiving languages. The degree and sequence of the foreign unit naturalization during the process of its assimilation is based on phonological and morphological similarities and differences between these two languages and it is important for its orthography, too (Theory 132–133).

When used, the new foreign anthroponym is usually transcribed. That form could not be and is not correct at least phonologically because the phonological system of every language is somehow limited by the existing linguistic rules. Another weak point of its use is that preserving the new name semantics is very hard (Theory 137).

The Bulgarian anthroponymic system has been changing a lot during its development, and although the names with a Slavonic origin have always been the majority, all the foreign influences have left some traces during the centuries. Jewish, Greek, and Latin anthroponyms prevail the other non-Slavonic names. It is curious that these foreign for the Bulgarian system units have been a part of it for such a long time and are so frequently used that common people, who are not specialists in linguistics, acknowledge them as traditional Bulgarian names. Latin anthroponyms are less examined if compared with the others.

There can be observed three main periods of names, which are Latin by origin, entering the language. The first one dates back to the time when the territories of modern Bulgaria were part of the Roman Empire. A lot of questions remain unanswered about the process of coining those ancient names. It is difficult

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to fix definitely the initial appellative or basic word from which they are derived as well as its meaning. It is possible that none of the suggestions or all of them are valid (SUPERANSKAYA 1998: 80). Another feature of theirs is that they have several orthographical variations, and all of them are with the status of a separate anthroponym, as a result of their copying by hand century after century (SUPERANSKAYA 1998: 82). The second period is somehow linked with the acceptance of Christianity as an official religion in 865 AD by the Bulgarians. All the so called pagan anthroponyms had to be replaced after the act of baptizing. Later, a tradition appeared for the new-born child to be named after a saint, chosen by the parents, grandparents, or the godfather, in order to make that saint his or her patron. Bulgarians being Orthodox Christians, saints' names with Greek and Jewish origin prevail. But there are saints, canonized by both Churches – the Orthodox and the Catholic, and that is why their names are used, too. In addition, a Catholic minority has been formed in Bulgaria. The number of Latin anthroponyms in used has increased. It is worth mentioning that in the list of these so called Calendar names the majority of the ancient Roman anthroponyms are included as well as new Latin ones coined from appellatives depicting Christian virtues, traditions, holy days, etc. It is not a rare tendency for the initial meaning of a given ancient Roman name to be somehow changed in order to make it suitable for the needs of the new religion (FELECAN 2010: 75–76). These two periods can be observed not only in all Slavonic, but also in almost all European anthroponymic systems (FELECAN 2010: 67–76). The third invasion is caused by the modern fashion for foreign names, which have become international, to be preferred by future parents. Those anthroponyms are mainly English, French, Italian, Spanish, etc. but they definitely have a Latin root. It also happens that a mythological name, the name of a historical person or that of a book or a film character to be used as an official Bulgarian personal name. Most of them, beyond any doubt, are also Latin by origin.

The presented above periodization is fixed and described by the first Bulgarian scholar in the field of onomastics who is also one of the most prominent ones, YORDAN ZAIMOV, followed by STEPHAN ILCHEV and NIKOLAY KOVACHEV, authors of dictionaries of Bulgarian personal names. It is obvious that ancient Roman names have entered the Bulgarian anthroponymic system throughout all the periods, first as genuine names of Roman citizens, after that under the form of a saint's name, a book or a film character, and finally with its French, English, Italian, Spanish, or other variation.

2. Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from a Roman cognomen

This article is part of a bigger research dealing with Slavonic personal names with a Latin origin. The research object of the present text is 45 Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from a Roman cognomen. The objective of the article is to present their complete list. The anthroponyms excerpted are divided into several major groups according to the part of speech type, used as a basis for their derivation, namely if a given anthroponym is coined from a noun, an adjective, a verb, etc., and according to the model of word-building used, i.e. if the Nom. sg. form of the Latin name is basic or not. An additional classification is given based on extralinguistic information about the canonization of the bearers of the researched anthroponyms, i.e. if a name is canonized by the Orthodox church only, by the Catholic one, or by both. Such a study on the Latin name system influence on the Bulgarian anthroponymycon has not been done so far. As a main source of information for excerpting the researched anthroponyms are used *Речник на личните и фамилни имена у българите* (Dictionary of Bulgarian personal and family names) by STEPHAN ILCHEV, *Честотно-етимологичен речник на личните имена в съвременната българска антропонимия* (Etymological Dictionary of Personal Names in the Bulgarian Contemporary Anthroponymy) and *Честотно-тълковен речник на личните имена у българите* (Thesaurus of Bulgarian Personal Names) by NIKOLAY KOVACHEV, as well as the internet sites <http://www.behindthename.com> and <http://www.kurufin.narod.ru/>. Some of the researched Roman cognomina, from which a Bulgarian masculine personal name is derived, did not step directly into the Slavonic anthroponymic system, which is a matter of interest in this text, but via another, or even more than one, language. Every single “mediator” influence has left a mark on the pronunciation or the word-formation and has resulted in different phonological changes (SUPERANSKAYA 1998: 80). Bulgarian is a non-Romanic language and the initial meaning of Latin names is not very clear to the common people. Sometimes the phenomenon called “false etymology” is noted, i.e. the pronunciation of a given anthroponym is closer to a Slavonic word and so its meaning is associated with the name semantics. That may also cause a false positive or negative name connotation which may reflect on its frequency of use or even lead to its disappearance (SUPERANSKAYA 1998: 77).

3. Classification of Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from a Roman cognomen, according to the part of speech type, used as a basis for their derivation¹

3.1. Bulgarian anthroponyms, derived from a Roman cognomen, coined from a noun

3.1.1. From a proper noun (another anthroponym):

3.1.1.1. From a Roman praenomen:

Октавиан (КО,² KOV) < *Octavianus* < *Octavius* (C, D, K, KO, KOV, O); **Павлин** (I, K, KO, KOV) < *Paulinus* ~ *Paullinus* < *Paulus* (BTN, K, KOV, O)

3.1.1.2. From a Roman gentile name:

Аурелиян (КО) < *Aurelianus* < *Aurelius* (BTN, KO); **Валериан** (I, KO, KOV) < *Valerianus* < *Valerius* (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV); **Емилиан** (I, K, KO, KOV) < *Aemilianus* < *Aemilius* (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV, O); **Севериан** (КО) < *Severianus* < *Severus* (BTN, K, KO); **Татян** (I) < *Tatianus* < *Tatius* (I); **Фабиян** (КО) < *Fabianus* < *Fabius* (BTN, K, KO, O); **Юлиан** (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV) < *Julianus* ~ *Julianus* < *Iuleus* ~ *Iulius* ~ *Julius* (BTN, K, O)

3.1.1.3. From a Roman cognomen:

Руфин (КО) < *Rufinus* < *Rufus* (BTN, K); **Флориан** (I, KO, KOV) < *Florianus* < *Florus* (BTN, K, KO, KOV); **Флорин** (КО) < *Florinus* < *Florus* (BTN, K); **Юстиниян** (I, K, KO) < *Iustinianus* ~ *Justinianus* < *Iustinus* ~ *Justinus* (I, K, KO)

3.1.2. From a common noun:

Акила (КО) < *Aquila* < *aquila*, ae, f 'eagle' (BTN, K, KO, KOV, O); **Виктор** (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV, W) < *Victor* < *victor*, oris, m 'winner' (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV, W); **Викторий** (KOV) < *Victorius* < *victor*, oris, m 'winner' (BTN, K); **Павун** (КО, KOV) < *Pavo* < *pavo*, onis, m 'peacock' (КО, KOV); **Стело** (I, KO) < *Stella* < *stella*, ae, f 'star' (O); **Урсул** (I) <

¹ It is very important to emphasize that the derivational classification is given according to the morphological and lexicological rules valid for the Latin grammar. The presented classification is based on the etymology information given in the used sources.

The onimisation process happened in Latin; all the Latin names included in the research appeared and were used initially as Roman cognomina. Later on they were accepted not only as nicknames but as personal names, too. When canonized they entered directly or not other anthroponymic systems.

² The following abbreviations are used: Collins Latin Dictionary & Grammar 1997 (= C), DVORETSKI 1976 (= D), ILCHEV 1959 (= I), KOVACHEV 1987 (= KOV), KOVACHEV 1995 (= KO), Oxford Latin Dictionary 1968 (= O), WEIGAND 1926 (= W), www.behindthename.com (= BTN), <http://kurufin.narod.ru/> (= K).

Ursulus < *ursulus*, *i*, *m* ‘little bear’ (I, K); **Цезар** (I, KO, KOV) < *Caesar* < *caesaries*, *ei*, *f* ‘hair’ (BTN, K)

3.2. Bulgarian anthroponyms, derived from a Roman cognomen, coined from an adjective:

Витали (I, KO, KOV) < *Vitalis* < *vitalis*, *e* ‘vital’ (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV); **Кодрат** (I) ~ **Кондрат** (KO) < *Condratus* ~ *Quadratus* < *quadratus*, 3 ‘quadrangular; proportionate’ (BTN, I, K, KO); **Лавренти** (I, KO) < *Laurentius* < *Laurentius*, 3 ‘Lavrentian’ (BTN, I, K, KO); **Лонгин** (I, KO, W) < *Longinus* < *longus*, 3 ‘long’ (BTN, I, K, KO, W); **Лукан** (I, KO, KOV) < *Lucanus* < *Lucanus*, 3 ‘from Lucania’ (I, O); **Максим** (I, K, KO, KOV) < *Maximus* < *maximus*, 3 ‘the biggest; the greatest’ (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV); **Павел** (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV, W) < *Paullus* ~ *Paulus* < *paullus*, 3 ~ *paulus*, 3 ‘little; modest’ (K, KO, KOV, O, W); **Савелин** (KOV) < *Sabel* ~ *Sabellius* < *Sabellius*, 3 ~ *Sabellus*, 3 ‘Sabellian; unfriendly’ (BTN, K); **Север** (I, K, KO) < *Severus* < *severus*, 3 ‘severe, strict, serious’ (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV, O, W); **Феликс** (I, K, KO, KOV) < *Felix* < *felix*, *icis* ‘happy; lucky, successful’ (BTN, K, KO, KOV); **Юстин** (I, K, KO) < *Iustinus* ~ *Justinus* < *iustus*, 3 ‘just; lawful; regular’ (I, K); **Януар** (I, KO) < *Ianuarius* ~ *Januarius* < *Ianuarius*, 3 ‘belonging to Janus’ (K, O)

3.3. Bulgarian anthroponyms, derived from a Roman cognomen, coined from a verb:

Викенти (I, K, KO) < *Vincentius* < *vinco*, 3 ‘to win; to conquer, to defeat’ (BTN, K, KO)

3.4. Bulgarian anthroponyms, derived from a Roman cognomen, coined from a participle (present participle):

Валент (KO) < *Valens* < *valens*, *entis* ‘strong, sound; healthy’ (present participle from the verb *valeo*, 2 ‘to be strong; to be healthy’) (K, KO)

3.5. Bulgarian anthroponyms, derived from a Roman cognomen with more than one possible etymology:

Албин (KO) < *Albinus* < 1) Roman cognomen *Albus* (proper noun) (BTN); 2) *albinus*, 3 ‘white’ (adjective) (KO); **Валентин** (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV) < *Valentinus* < 1) *valens*, *entis* ‘strong, sound; healthy’ (present participle from the verb *valeo*, 2 ‘to be strong; to be healthy’) (present participle) (BTN, I, K, KOV); 2) *valentinus*, 3 ‘strong, sound, healthy’ (adjective) (KO); **Викторин** (KO) < *Victorinus* < 1) Roman cognomen *Victor* (proper noun) (BTN, K); 2) *victorinus*, 3 ‘winning’ (adjective) (KO); **Герман** (I, K, KO, KOV) < *Germanus* < 1) *germanus*, *i*, *m* ‘twin-brother’ (common noun) (BTN, I, K, KO, KOV); 2) *germanus*, 3 ‘fraternal’ (adjective) (BTN,



I, K, KO, KOV); **Карин** (K, KO) < *Carinus* < 1) the feminine anthroponym *Carina* (proper noun) (K); 2) Roman cognomen *Carus* (proper noun) (K); **Регин** (KO) < *Reginus* < 1) *Reginus*, i, m 'citizen of Regium' (common noun) (K); 2) feminine anthroponym *Regina* (proper noun) (KO); **Сабин** (K, KO, KOV) ~ **Савин** (K, KO) < *Sabinus* ~ *Savinus* < 1) *Sabinus*, i, m 'Sabine citizen' (common noun) (BTN, K, KO, sKOV, W); 2) *Sabinus*, 3 'Sabine' (adjective) (BTN, K, KO, KOV, W); **Флор** (I) < *Florus* < 1) *flos*, *oris*, m 'flower' (common noun) (I, K); 2) *florus*, 3 'blooming; amazing, beautiful' (adjective) (I, K, W)

3.6. Bulgarian anthroponyms, derived from a Roman cognomen with uncertain etymology:

Траян (K, KOV, W) < *Traianus* (uncertain etymology (BTN, K, O))

4. Classification of the Bulgarian masculine personal names derived from a Roman cognomen, according to the model of word-building used

4.1. Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from the Nom. sg. form of the Roman cognomen:

Акила < *Aquila*, *Виктор* < *Victor*, *Викторий* < *Victorius*, *Феликс* < *Felix*, *Цезар* < *Caesar*

4.2. Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from the Roman cognomen root:

Албин < *Albinus*, *Аурелиян* < *Aurelianus*, *Валент* < *Valens*, *Валентин* < *Valentinus*, *Валериан* < *Valerianus*, *Викенти* < *Vincentius*, *Викторин* < *Victorinus*, *Витали* < *Vitalis*, *Герман* < *Germanus*, *Емилиан* < *Aemilianus*, *Карин* < *Carinus*, *Кодрат* ~ *Кондрат* < *Condratus* ~ *Quadratus*, *Лавренти* < *Laurentius*, *Лонгин* < *Longinus*, *Лукан* < *Lucanus*, *Максим* < *Maximus*, *Октавиан* < *Octavianus*, *Павел* < *Paullus* ~ *Paulus*, *Павлин* < *Paulinus* ~ *Paullinus*, *Павун* < *Pavo*, *Плавт* < *Plautus*, *Регин* < *Reginus*, *Руфин* < *Rufinus*, *Сабин* ~ *Савин* < *Sabinus* ~ *Savinus*, *Савелин* < *Sabel* ~ *Sabellius*, *Север* < *Severus*, *Севериан* < *Severianus*, *Стело* < *Stella*, *Татян* < *Tatianus*, *Траян* < *Traianus*, *Урсул* < *Ursulus*, *Фабиан* < *Fabianus*, *Флор* < *Florus*, *Флориан* < *Florianus*, *Флорин* < *Florinus*, *Юлиан* < *Iulianus* ~ *Julianus*, *Юстин* < *Iustinus* ~ *Justinus*, *Юстиниян* < *Iustinianus* ~ *Justinianus*, *Януар* < *Ianuarius* ~ *Januarius*)

5. Canonization classification:

5.1. Saints' names, canonized by the Catholic Church: *Florinus*

5.2. Saints' names, canonized by both the Orthodox and Catholic Church:

Aemilianus, Albinus, Aquila, Aurelianus, Caesar, Condratus ~ Quadratus, Fabianus, Felix, Florianus, Florus, Germanus, Ianuarius ~ Januarius, Iulianus ~ Julianus, Iustiniaus ~ Justinianus, Iustinus ~ Justinus, Laurentius, Longinus, Lucanus, Maximus, Octavianus, Paulinus ~ Paullinus, Paullus ~ Paulus, Reginus, Rufinus, Sabel ~ Sabellius, Sabinus ~ Savinus, Severianus, Severus, Tatianus, Valens, Valentinus, Valerianus, Victor, Victorinus, Victorius, Vincentius, Vitalis

6. Conclusions

From the classification according to the basic word, it is obvious that proper nouns and adjectives are the most productive. The group of the anthroponyms derived from an adjective includes 13 names. The same number of examples are a part of a proper name group (two derived from a Roman praenomen, 7 from a Roman gentile name, and 4 from another Roman cognomen). The second largest group is that of the anthroponyms with more than one etymology (9 examples). Roman cognomina per se, as was already mentioned, date back to the ancient times of the earlier periods of the Roman Empire. Their initial main function used to show physical or psychological features of a given person as well as his/her origin, heroic deeds, virtues, etc., so such statistics are utterly expectable. Fewest in number are the anthroponyms derived from a verb and a present participle. Only one example with uncertain etymology is given.

There are two models of coining a Bulgarian masculine personal name from a Roman cognomen: first, for the name to be derived directly from the Nom. sg. form of the Roman anthroponym, and second – to be derived from its root. This research shows that the second one is more productive. Most of the Roman cognomina did not enter the Bulgarian anthroponymic system directly and that is the reason why so many phonological changes have appeared.

Thirty-eight of all the researched anthroponyms represent a saint name. The names of saints, canonized by both the Orthodox and the Catholic Church prevail (37 examples). The more popular a saint is, the more preferred is his name. That leads to acknowledging such Calendar names as traditionally Bulgarian by the common people though actually being foreign by origin and their meaning is not very clear to them.

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Abstract

The research object of the present text is the Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from a Roman cognomen. The objective of the article is to present a complete list of these names, including all their variants. They are divided into several major groups according to the part of speech, used as a

basis for their derivation, namely if the given name is derived from a noun, an adjective, a verb, etc., and according to the model of word-building, used during the process of their formation, i.e. if the given name is derived from the form for Nom. sg. of the Latin name or not. According to the extralinguistic information found about the canonization of the bearers of the researched anthroponyms, i.e. if the name is canonized by the Orthodox church only, by the Catholic one, or by the both of them, additional classification is given. It is worth mentioning the initial meaning of the Bulgarian anthroponyms when this is possible.

Keywords: Bulgarian masculine personal names, Roman cognomen

Ilga Jansone

Anthroponomical Surprises and Puzzles of the 19th Century vs. Regularities and Traditions

The paper has provided an insight into giving surnames for peasants in one part of Latvia – Vidzeme; the paper has also described the semantics of given surnames, their origin and grammatical categories. The aim of the article is to determine the most characteristic semantic groups in the nomination of surnames and exceptions in each characteristic and predictable semantic group through the analysis of the soul metrics materials from Vidzeme in 1826.

The basis of the present research is the surnames established in Vidzeme soul revision records from 1826 available at the Latvian State Historical Archives. A linguist ERNESTS BLESE confirms, “Surnames from the beginning and the first half of the 19th century are also important” (BLESE 1924: 168). He opines that surnames compiled from metrics books of parishes or parish scrolls would help to solve many issues about phonetic changes in surnames, their ethnological affiliation, etc. (BLESE 1924: 168)

It should be admitted that it was in the first quarter of the 19th century when significant changes took place in the identification system of Latvian peasantry. Prior to that time, the main identification system of peasants was according to their names and house names, but surnames existed in the rights founded upon custom, namely, surnames could be taken and amended as one wished (Upelnieks 1936: 236-237). Since 1826, the first name and surname had become the main feature of identification in soul revision.

The beginning of the 19th century gave a legal framework for surnames and to change a surname was possible only in a legal procedure. On 26 March 1819, *The Laws on Peasants in Vidzeme* were issued, and the 11th and 12th paragraphs stipulated the necessity to take surnames and the period when the process had to be accomplished. The laws indicated that surnames had to be taken by big families of peasantry, and individual people who do not have any other family members. The surname could not be changed without the authorities' assent. The last term for taking surnames was 1826 when the census was about to take place (Likkumi 53).

The practical motivation of the legal decision was the number of similar names, even within one household, not to mention the territory, a mansion estate or a parish. Thus, a specific person could not be identified any longer. (Likkumi 53) The fact that the numerous names were present within one household has been established almost in every mansion estate. For example, in Ērgeme private



mansion four men out of ten were named *Jānis*, two men's first names were *Juris*, one – *Sanders*, *Viļums*, *Pēteris* and *Pāvuls*, of four women two were named *Marija*, one *Mārieta* and also *Anna*. After giving surnames in 1826, the soul metrics lists every *Jānis* had a different surname – *Jahn Kirpets*, *Jahn Suhbur*, *Jahn Schauin*, *Jahn Ahbel* (LVVA 199. f., 1. descr., 97. l., pp. 49–50).

As indicated in the 12th paragraph of *The Laws on Peasants of Vidzeme*, all surnames had to be recorded in court proceedings in three copies in 1826 (Likkumi 54), but only some court decisions remain from Vidzeme mansion estates. For the purpose of the initial analysis of giving surnames, other equivalent remaining documents should be referred. Currently, the most reliable and complete source about the time period is the metrics lists of Vidzeme Gubernia from 1826 at the Latvian State Historical Archives. Krišs Upelnieks shows that through the procedural analysis of giving surnames in Vidzeme and Kurzeme, in Vidzeme “manor landlords, that is Boards of Manors, namely, the manor police” were entitled to giving surnames (UPELNIKS 1936: 250). Thus, giving of surnames resulted in a dual situation – “On the one hand, a person chose the surname for themselves, on the other hand, the court of a parish decides to what extent the corresponding person's demand for surname is valid, and whether the chosen surname does not contradict regulations. In case of a positive decision, the chosen surname is recorded and at the same time given to a certain individual.” (UPELNIKS 1936: 250)

To facilitate the acceptance of surnames, the calendar of 1823 provided *Advice on Taking Surnames*. It was written that surnames could be 1) names of crafts and trades, 2) names related to human body and soul, 3) animal, bird, fish names and those of other living creatures including the names of trees, bushes, grass and flowers, 4) names for tools and things. Besides, it was explained that surnames could be appended suffixes *-iņš* and *-īts* (Kalenders 1823).

The soul revision records of 1926 were written in German and Latvian. In Latvian, a house name, first name, surname and patronym were usually written. The rest of information about the person's occupation, property rights, attitude towards the proprietor and other type of information was written in German. The organizers of the census usually were not Latvians, and they made many mistakes. Besides, the text in Latvian was written in the orthography of the period that wielded German principles of writing. As a result, many allographs and allomorphs appeared. The only possible allomorph appropriate to the Latvian language could be the adjustment of a surname ending according to the gender. In most cases, female surnames do not appear because German words *Weib* ‘wife’ or *Tochter* ‘daughter’ had substituted them. Single women's surnames were usually written in the masculine gender, or they were without any endings.

Such written peculiarities did not follow the basic principle of anthroponomy because separate forenames were names with any changes in the quality and quantity of vowels or consonants, and surnames with the only difference.

Soul revision metrics materials of Vidzeme Gubernia from 1826 provide information about surnames taken by every individual, namely, surnames taken by the family and kin, and about important trends of giving surnames including traditional and expected surnames, and about peculiar surnames typical of a specific administratively territorial unit (parish, manor estate) and separate individuals.

In Vidzeme, the following surnames were established, their basis is 1) words from the common Latvian language with characteristic features of the period; 2) words lost in contemporary Latvian; 3) dialectal lexis; forty borrowings from distant and close contact languages. Quite often, in the semantic analysis of surnames with motivating appellatives it is difficult to differentiate the archaic lexis from the dialectal lexis because of the lack of lexicographical sources of the 19th century that would help to distinguish these lexical strata. Besides dialectal lexis, surnames can reveal dialectal word formation means, for example, in North West Kurzeme, the diminutive suffix *-īts* instead of the expected *-īnš*. Evidence to Germanizing trends is derivatives with the suffix *-ing*, for example, *Saring*, *Krasting*, *Siling*.

The semantic analysis of surnames was done according to thematic groups. This principle was usually followed by analysing contemporary surnames in Latvia (STALTMANE 1980, BALODIS 2009). The primary division relates to surnames of motivated common and proper nouns. As the aim of the present report is to illustrate the main trends in giving surnames, the thematic groups have been analysed according to motivating words of the Latvian language and borrowings of which the majority are from German. There are fewer examples from Estonian and Russian languages. Mostly, the most typical surnames have been mentioned without mentioning all the possible variants and nomination groups.

1. Surnames formed from common nouns

The biggest group of surnames formed from common nouns are the **surnames of flora semantics**. It is only natural because nature formed the worldview of ancient Latvians. Motivating words are often tree names in the base or diminutive forms used in common Latvian, but there are also surnames with separate dialectal and Germanized forms. For example, surnames of wild tree names *Alkfñis* < Latv. *alksnis* ‘alder’, *Behrfñ*, *Behrfññ*, *Behrfñt*, *Behrsit* < dimin. from Latv. *bērzs* ‘birch’, *Egliht*, *Eglit* < dimin. from Latv. *egle* ‘fir-tree’, *Kahrkle* < Latv. *kārklis* ‘osier, willow’, *Klawe* < Latv. *kļava* ‘maple’, *Klawiht* < dimin.



from Latv. *kļava* ‘maple’, *Leepin*, *Leepiņ* < dimin. from Latv. *liepa* ‘linden’, *Lesde* < Latv. dial. *lazda* ‘hazel-tree’, *Ohfol*, *Ohsol* < Latv. *ozols* ‘oak’, *Ohsolit* < dimin. from Latv. *ozols* ‘oak’, *Paeglis*, *Paegel* < Latv. *paeglis* ‘juniper’, *Preediht* < dimin. from Latv. *priede* ‘pine-tree’, *Wihtol*, *Wihtols* < Latv. *vītols* ‘willow’; crop names, for example, *Ausiņ* < dimin. from Latv. *auzas* ‘oats’, *Meefes*, *Meefis* < Latv. *mieži* ‘barley’, *Rudfiht* < dimin. from Latv. *rudzi* ‘rye’; flower names, for example, *Lilje* < dial. from Latv. *lilija* ‘lily’, *Rose*, *Rohfe* < Latv. *roze* ‘rose’, *Rohfiht*, *Rohsit* < dimin. from Latv. *roze* ‘rose’; names of plants and their parts, for example, *Krums* < Latv. *krūms* ‘bush’, *Kruhmit* < dimin. from Latv. *krūms* ‘bush’, *Pukkiht* < dimin. from Latv. *puķe* ‘flower’, *Salmiņ* < dimin. from Latv. *salms* ‘straw’, *Sarring* < dimin. from Latv. *zars* ‘twig’, *Wahrpiņ* < dimin. from Latv. *vārpa* ‘spike’, *Zelms* < Latv. *celms* ‘tree trunk’, *Zelmiņ*, *Zelmit* < dimin. from Latv. *celms* ‘tree trunk’.

The second biggest and most recognizable group are the **surnames of fauna semantics**. Poultry and wild birds have been motivating names, for example, *Gailit* < dimin. from Latv. *gailis* ‘rooster’, *Zahlit* < dimin. from Latv. *cālis* ‘chicken’, *Ballod* < Latv. *balodis* ‘pidgeon’, *Dfilna*, *Dfilna* < Latv. *dzilna* ‘woodpecker’, *Gulbe* < Latv. *gulbis* ‘swan’, *Irbiht* < dimin. from Latv. *irbe* ‘grouse’, *Mednis* < Latv. *mednis* ‘capercaillie’, *Rubben* < Latv. *rubenis* ‘heath-cock’, *Slohk*, *Slohks* < Latv. *sloka* ‘woodcock’, *Strasde* < Latv. *strazds* ‘thrush’, *Tetter* < Latv. *teteris* ‘black grouse’, *Wahrna*, *Wahrne* < Latv. *vārna* ‘crow’, *Zihruls* < Latv. *cīrulis* ‘lark’; names of domestic and forest animals, for example, *Ahfe*, *Ahse*, *Ahfis* < Latv. *āzis* ‘buck’, *Aun*, *Auns* < Latv. *auns* ‘ram’, *Awen*, *Awens* < Latv. dial. *avens* ‘ram’, *Lahze* < Latv. *lācis* ‘bear’, *Laps*, *Lapse*, *Lapfe* < Latv. *lapsa* ‘fox’, *Luhfe* < Latv. *lūsis* ‘lynx’, *Udre* < Latv. *ūdrs* ‘otter’, *Wahwer*, *Wawer* < Latv. *vāvere* ‘squirrel’, *Wehfis* < dimin. from Latv. *vēzis* ‘crayfish’, *Wilks* < Latv. *vilks* ‘wolf’, *Reban*, *Rebane*, *Rebban*, *Rebbane* < Est. *rebane* ‘fox’; fish names, for example: *Sutte*, *Suttis* < Latv. *zutis* ‘eel’; insect names, for example: *Dundur*, *Dunder* < Latv. *dundurs* ‘gadfly’; general names: *Putnis* < Latv. *putns* ‘bird’, *Puttning* < dimin. from Latv. *putns* ‘bird’, *Vogel* < Germ. *Vogel* ‘bird’.

It is quite easy to recognize surnames connected with crafts or professions. Motivating words have mostly been names for rural artisans, and they are words of Latvian and German origins, for example, *Bifneek*, *Bisnek*, *Bisneek* < Latv. *bis(i)nieks* ‘protector’ (literally ‘one who has a gun’), *Kurpneek* < Latv. *kurpnieks* ‘shoemaker’, *Pohdneek* < Latv. *podnieks* ‘potter’, *Ratneek*, *Rattneek* < *ratnieks* ‘wheelwright, coachmaker’, *Wehwer* < Latv. *vēveris* ‘weaver’.

In separate cases, surnames are linked to nicknames, and the basis for nicknames had been certain occupations, for example, *Wehfschukehninfsch* < Latv. *vēzis*

‘crayfish’ + Latv. *ķēniņš* ‘king’, *Wilkuschaweißch* < Latv. *vilks* ‘wolf’ + Latv. *šaut* ‘shoot’, *Kanneptehws* < Latv. *kaņepe* ‘hemp’ + Latv. *tēvs* ‘father’.

Some surnames appeared from military ranks or the name of the status, for example, *Majohrit*, *Majorit* < Latv. *majors* ‘major’, *Student* < Latv. *students* ‘student’, *Rüthel* < Est. *rüütel* ‘knight’.

A separate group refers to motivated surnames characterizing human appearance and character. It should be admitted that the majority of surnames belonging to this group are rather hypothetical and they are words well known in Latvian, sub-dialectal lexis, unknown or less used in contemporary language. They are often compounds. The biggest part of the surnames of this group are connected with external physical features (height, colour and shape of hair and beard, for example, *Baltekahje* < Latv. *balts* ‘white’ + Latv. *kāja* ‘leg’, *Leelkahje* < Latv. *liels* ‘big’ + Latv. *kāja* ‘foot’, *Lehlaus* < Latv. *liels* ‘big’ + Latv. *auss* ‘ear’, *Melbahrd* < latv. *melns* ‘black’ + Latv. *bārda* ‘beard’, *Kreil*, *Kreile* < Latv. *kreilis* ‘left-hander’, *Kurl* < Latv. *kurls* ‘deaf’, *Pundur* < Latv. *punduris* ‘dwarf’, *Sirmal*, *Sirmul* < Latv. *sirms* ‘grey’, *Pellekais* < Latv. *pelēks* ‘gray’, *Ruddit*, *Rudiht* < Latv. *ruds* ‘red-haired’, *Sprohgis* < Latv. *sproga* ‘lock, curl’, *Groschalw* < German *gross* ‘big’ + Latv. *galva* ‘head’.

This subgroup contains such surnames as *Mihlais* < Latv. *mīls* ‘dear’, *Mihlaisdehls* < Latv. *mīļš* ‘dear’ + Latv. *dēls* ‘son’, *Muddigais* < Latv. *mudīgs* ‘quick’, *Labslaw* < Latv. *labs* ‘good’ + Latv. *slava* ‘fame’.

The surnames of this subgroup are the only ones with motivating words, which are adjectives, or in compounds – adjectives and substantives. Bearers of such surnames are few – around ten individuals or just one.

Surnames of ethnonymic semantics form a small subgroup. It is obvious that this group contains such surnames as *Leitis* < *leitis* ‘Lithuanian’ and *Deutsch* German *deutsch* ‘German’, *Deutschmann* < German *deutsch* ‘German’ + *Mann* ‘man’. Such surnames as *Pinne* < Latv. dial. *pinnis* ‘Finn’ (comp. also Latv. *pinne* ‘pimple’), *Pohle*, *Pohlis* < Latv. *polis* (comp. also Latv. *pole* ‘a cow without horns’), *Sweeder* N-K, *Sweedre* A-K < Latv. *ziedrs* (comp. also Latv. *sweat*) are hypothetical.

Surnames of physico-geographical semantics are a separate subgroup. The most characteristic motivated surnames describe an elevated terrain, for example, *Kalns* < Latv. *kalns* ‘mountain’, *Kalnin*, *Kalning* < dimin. from Latv. *kalns* ‘mountain’, *Berg*, *Bergs* < Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’, *Bergengrün* < Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’ + Germ. *grün* ‘green’, *Daneberg* < Middle High German *tan* ‘Wald’ + Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’; *Grünberg* < Germ. *grün* ‘green’ + Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’, *Klokenberg* < ? Germ. *Glocke* ‘bell’ + Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’, *Limberg* < ? + Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’ (comp. Germ. Personal name *Limberg*),



Unberg < ? + *Berg* ‘mountain’, *Weinberg* < Germ. *Wein* ‘wine’ + *Berg* ‘mountain’. It is possible that the basis for the Latvian peasant surnames with a German *Berg* is not a compound, but a surname from the German language. In such cases, they would be surnames of anthroponomic semantics.

Motivated surnames designating low terrain are rare surnames, and their motivating words are found in the Latvian language, for example, *Purragals* < Latv. *purvs* ‘swamp’ + Latv. *gals* ‘end’, *Selgus* < Latv. *selga* ‘open sea’, also surnames with German *Tal*, for example, *Rosenthal* < Germ. *Rose* ‘rose’ + *Tal* ‘valley’, *Tahlberg* < Germ. *Tal* ‘valley’ + Germ. *Berg* ‘mountain’.

One of the biggest but most uncertain semantic subgroups are other surnames of concrete semantics. This group includes words from Standard Latvian and sub-dialects, and obsolete lexis that was once well known and served as motivating words for surnames.

This subgroup contains the following classes: surnames connected with foodstuffs and victuals, for example, *Eefalneeks* < Latv. *iesals* ‘malt’, *Klaipiņ* < Latv. *klaips* ‘loaf’, *Miltiht*, *Miltid* < Latv. *milti* ‘flour’, *Penzis* < Latv. dial. *pencis* ‘potato porridge’, *Puttrin*, *Puttring* < dimin. from Latv. *putra* ‘gruel’; surnames related to kitchen utensils and serving meals, for example, *Blohda* < Latv. *bloda* ‘dish’, *Kastrolle*, *Kaštrolle* < Latv. dial. *kastruolis* ‘pot, cauldron’, *Kruse* < Latv. *krūze* ‘mug’, *Pohde* < Latv. *podis* ‘pot’, *Tellek* < Latv. dial. *telēķis* ‘plate’.

Surnames referring to currencies, for example, *Grafsis*, *Grasfi* < Latv. *grasis* ‘der Groschen’.

Surnames referring to different substances, for example, *Misfin*, *Mišiņ* < Latv. *misiņš* ‘brass’, *Ohgle*, *Ohglin* < Latv. *ogle* ‘coal’, *Svekre* < Latv. dial. *svetri* ‘resin’.

Surnames motivated by materials and parts of tools, for example, *Ahkis* < Latv. *āķis* ‘hook’, *Asmenne* < Latv. *asmens* ‘blade’, *Laiwiņ* < Latv. *laiva* ‘boat’, *Pohga* < Latv. *poga* ‘button’, *Rullis* < Latv. *rullis* ‘roller’, *Runge* < Latv. *runga* ‘bludgeon’, *Seetiņ* < Latv. *siets* ‘sieve’, *Soben* < Latv. *zobens* ‘sword’, *Stabbing* < Latv. *stabs* ‘pole’, *Walge* < Latv. *valgs* ‘cord’; surnames motivated by musical instruments, for example, *Dudelle* < ? Latv. *dūda* ‘stabule’, ‘pipe’, *Taurit* < Latv. *taure* ‘trumpet’; surnames motivated by parts of human and animal bodies, for example, *Kauliņ*, *Kauliht*, *Kaulihts* < dimin. from Latv. *kauls* ‘bone’, *Lippiņ* < dimin. from Latv. *līpa* ‘scut’, *Schauin*, *Schauiņ* < Latv. dial. *šaija* ‘hollow of the hand’, *Schauwe* < Latv. dial. *šauva* ‘hollow of the hand’, *Stackle* < Latv. *stakle* ‘fork of branch’.

Surnames motivated by names of diseases and ailments, for example, *Līga* < ? Latv. *līga* ‘malaise’, *Krewels* < ? Latv. *krevele* ‘incrustation over wound’, *Pinne* < Latv. *pinne* ‘acne’.

A small subgroup is formed by surnames of abstract semantics with a noun denoting the spiritual world and its phenomena as the base, for example, *Bilans* A-K < ? derived from Latv. dial *bīles* ‘fear’, *Brihwib* < Latv. *brīvība* ‘freedom’, *Daina* < Latv. *daina* ‘[folk] song’, *Nahwe* < Latv. *nāve* ‘death’.

Although it is difficult to establish motivating words for all surnames due to the lack of information about the spoken language used in a specific vicinity in the first half of the 19th century, the author attempted to link surnames with the ones included in the most copious dictionary of the Latvian language – K. MĪLENBAHS and J. ENDZELĪNS’s (ME, EH) dictionary regardless of the area of distribution. The basis of the aforementioned surnames have been dialectal and obsolete words from the common Latvian language, and their origin might be linked to roots of ancient Indo-European and Baltic languages. They might also be borrowings from Germanic, Slavic and Finno-Ugric languages.

Besides, it is possible to mention separate surnames that cannot be included in any of the said groups, and they show the fact that giving of surnames was not a well-considered process, for example, *Septinbral* < literally ‘seven brothers’, *Nefinna*, *Nefin* < literally the one who is ignorant’, *Namatew* < literally ‘host’, *Sweestemehl* < literally ‘butter tongue’, *Beswahrdis* < literally ‘the nameless one’, *Mihlaidehls* < literally ‘dear son’, *Wetzemaate* < literally ‘old mother’.

There are quite many compound surnames with a Germanic component *Mann* ‘man’ in the second part, for example, *Buschmann* < Germ. *Busch* ‘bush’ + German *Mann* ‘man’; *Buhmann* < German personal name *Buhmann*, *Lesmann*, *Lefsmann* < German personal name *Lessmann*, *Opmann* < ? + German *Mann* ‘man’, *Purrmann* < German personal name *Fuhrmann*.

2. Surnames Formed from Proper Names

The basis of many peasant surnames in Vidzeme is a proper name. The biggest group are the surnames of the anthroponymic origin. The basis of such proper names could be either a foreword or a word from a different language.

The most recognizable surnames have a Latvianized forename of a foreign (Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German) origin as a basis. As they became surnames, the grammatical form of forenames was seldom retained, for example, *Abrams*, *Adam*, *Alex*, *Anton*, *August*, *Ludwig*, *Iwan*, *Martin*, *Richard*, *Wilip*.

The grammatical form could have changed frequently. Sometimes due to grammaticalization, surnames derived with suffixes had been formed, for example, *Andrehn* < *Andris*, *Antzing* < *Ancis*, *Jahniht* < *Jānis*, *Jurgan* <



Jurgis, *Laurit* < *Lauris*, *Pauliht* < *Paulis*. All these derivatives have a function of diminutives with or without any extra connotation.

Forenames frequently fall within compound surnames where they connect with, first of all, a well-known Latvian substantive or adjective, for example, *Lehlpeter* < Latv. *liels* 'big' + *Pēteris*, *Lehljahn* < Latv. *liels* 'big' + *Jānis*, *Lehlkarl* < Latv. *liels* 'big' + *Kārlis*, *Masjahn* < Latv. *mazs* 'small' + *Jānis*. Secondly, the Latvianized forename forms a compound with the German *Sohn* 'son', for example, *Adamsohn*, *Andersohn*, *Antzsohn*, *Brediksohn*, *Ehrichsohn*, *Endricksohn*, *Gustsohn*, *Jahnsohn*, *Janson*, *Jurrysohn*, *Marthinsohn*, *Martinsohn*, *Matzsohn*, *Petersohn*, *Petrsohn*, *Reinsohn*, *Simansohn*, *Tönnissohn*, *Willipsohn*. It is characteristic that within the compounds of German *Sohn* almost any male surname of the first half of the 19th century could have been incorporated. Besides, both components of the compound surname may be forenames, for example, *Jurjan*, *Jurjahn*, *Jurrjahn*, *Anschjahn*, *Peterjahn*, *Jankarls*, *Jankarl*, *Ansjurr*, *Jahnjurr*, *Jahnjurg*, *Jahnjurg*, *Janjacob*, *Martinjacob*, *Iwanbertul*, *Peterandrej*. Only in separate cases, one of the components of compound surnames is a derivative, for example, *Mikkeljahren*, *Peterjahren*.

The compound surname of three components is unique, and it consists of two forenames *Jānis* (*Jan*) and *Juris* (*Jur*), of which the forename *Jānis* was used twice: *Janjurjan*.

It can be admitted that the basis of many surnames of Latvian peasants is of foreign origin, mostly German. Evidence comes from the comparison of Latvian surnames of 1826 with the collection of German surnames. For the insight, contrasts from BAHLOW's dictionary of German surnames that show the fact that German has analogous surnames, for example, *Bohſche* < German PN *Bosch* (BAHLOW 1985: 70), *Bremer* < German PN *Bremer* (BAHLOW 1985: 75), *Bunfis Bunsis*, *Bunse* < German PN *Bunsen* (BAHLOW 1985: 81), *Dolgis* < German PN *Dolge* (BAHLOW 1985: 98), *Genfis*, *Gensis* < German PN *Gens(s)* < *Jens*, *Jenß* (= *Johannes*) (BAHLOW 1985: 164), *Hill* < German PN *Hill(e)* (BAHLOW 1985: 239), *Kerften* < German PN *Kersten* (BAHLOW 1985: 277), *Kiehl* < German PN *Kiehl* (BAHLOW 1985: 278), *Korts* < German PN *Körte*, *Korte* (BAHLOW 1985: 293), *Kuse* < German PN *Kuse* (BAHLOW 1985: 304), *Menfis*, *Mensis* < German PN *Mense*, *Mensing*, *Menssen* < *Meinhard* (BAHLOW 1985: 338), *Mikſche* < German PN *Micksch* (BAHLOW 1985: 342), *Reineks* < German PN *Reineke* (BAHLOW 1985: 416), *Saager* < German PN *Sager* (BAHLOW 1985: 442), *Seewald* < German PN *Seewald* (BAHLOW 1985: 477), *Seibot* < German PN *Seibot* (BAHLOW 1985: 478), *Sihden*, *Sihdehn* < German PN *Sieden* (BAHLOW 1985: 483), *Stier* < German PN *Stiehr* (BAHLOW 1985: 501), *Suhle* < German PN *Suhl*, *Suhle* BAHLOW 1985: 508), *Weisner* < German PN *Weißner* (BAHLOW 1985: 553).

A small subgroup are the surnames of toponymic origin. It is quite certain to state that the basis of the surname *Pebalg* is the place-name of Vidzeme *Piebalga*. It is possible that the surname *Meiran* is also connected with the place-name in Vidzeme *Meirāni*. However, many surnames are of the toponymic origin with a donor toponym outside Latvia and therefore it is difficult to recognize it. In addition, one of the mentioned surnames with a basis from another surname can be of the toponymic origin. Thus, for instance, a surname may arise from a German toponym given to Latvian peasants.

Many surnames remain outside the analysed semantic groups, and their origin and semantics cannot be established. That is why we can agree with the conclusion of a Latvian linguist ERNESTS BLESE, “There is a big number of separate concepts that cannot be rubricated in strictly semasiological categories including a number of those ones that, in their essence and meaning, remain obscure.” (BLESE 1929: 130).

Of all given surnames in Vidzeme manor estates in 1826, a third part consists of surnames from flora and fauna semantics, and they show the ancient Latvians’ connection with the surrounding environment. It is also a fact that Latvians themselves had a significant role in giving surnames. Thus, surnames in Vidzeme reveal a certain Latvian emphasis and accent because, according to the composition of sounds and separate morphological features, many unidentified old words are from sub-dialects or words that have been lost nowadays and they are from the common Latvian language.

It is characteristic that most surnames from Vidzeme have survived nowadays. The majority of peculiar surnames most likely derived from nicknames have not survived, and they are the surnames that were changed by those who had such last names or local authorities in the second half of the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century. The general census of 1935 contains few peculiar surnames. None of those mentioned in the article has been established.

Abbreviations

dial. – dialectal
 dimin. – diminutive
 Germ. – German
 Latv. – Latvian
 PN – personal name

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Abstract

Year 1826 has been significant in the historical Latvian anthroponymy because peasants in one part of Latvia (Vidzeme) were given official surnames that are included in the church metrics lists drawn up in the same year in Vidzeme Gubernya. Church metrics materials of 1826 in Vidzeme Gubernya provide information not only about the specific surname of every individual vs his family and kin's surname, but also about the most typical cases of giving

surnames including traditional and expected surnames, and the ones which are peculiar to every administratively territorial unit (parish, manor) or the surnames specific to concrete individuals. Surnames of Latvian peasants in Vidzeme arose from primary and secondary anthroponimization and / or because of grammaticalization. In Vidzeme, the most characteristic surnames are related to flora and fauna semantics of the Latvian appellative, e.g. *Bērziņš* (diminutive from Latvian *bērzs* ‘birch’), *Kļaviņš* (diminutive from Latvian *kļava* ‘maple’), *Liepiņš* (diminutive from Latvian *liepa* ‘linden’), *Balodis* (Latvian *balodis* ‘pigeon’), *Lācis* (Latvian *lācis* ‘bear’), surnames of physeological semantics from German appellatives, e.g. *Freibergs* (German *frei* + *Berg*), *Veisbergs* (German *weiß* + *Berg*), *Rozenbergs* (German *Rose* + *Berg*), *Tālbergs* (German *Tal* + *Berg*). Surnames of Latvianized first names of foreign origins and an appellative of the German origin *Sohn* are frequent, e.g. *Jansons*, *Jānsons* (*Jānis* + *Sohn*), *Pētersons* (*Pēteris* + *Sohn*). The materials of 1826 show that they contain several peculiar surnames that are either compounds or substantivized adjectives, for example, *Vēžukēniņš* (literal ‘crawfish king’), *Vilkušāvējs* (literal ‘wolf shooter’), *Kaņeptēvs* (literal ‘hemp father’), *Sviestamēle* (literal ‘butter tongue’), *Labslava* (literal ‘good reputation’), *Bezvārdis* (literal ‘unnamed’), *Pusplatais* (literal ‘half wide’), *Mudīgais* (literal ‘speedy’). A three-component compound can be added to the list – *Jāņjurjānis* (first names *Jānis* + *Juris* + *Jānis*).

Keywords: toponyms, anthroponyms, old Latvian, functional linguistics

Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen

Jens Nielsen, son of Niels, son of Jens

Testing the conservatism of patronymic naming traditions in pre-industrial Denmark

Naming your new-born children may have been easier in older times – at least in the peasant communities of Denmark up until the early twentieth century. Because for the bulk of peasant families from all regions of Denmark, it was customary to name the first-born son after his father's father and the second-born son after his mother's father; likewise, the two first-born girls were usually named after their grandmothers. Furthermore, until the mid-nineteenth century the name of the father was added to the first name as a patronymic surname. For instance, a man called *Niels Jensen* would be the son of someone called *Jens*. Niels Jensen's oldest son was very likely to be named *Jens Nielsen*, after his father's father (Jens) and his own father (Nielsen = 'son of Niels') respectively. A younger brother of Jens could, for instance, be named *Peder Nielsen*, especially if *Peder* was also the name of his mother's father.



Figure 1: General model of traditional naming practice among male peasantry in pre-industrial Denmark. The picture to the left of a peasant sharpening his scythe is a Dutch chalcography by CASPAR LUYKEN, c. 1700.

Due to this customary tradition, the variety of personal names within the peasant community of pre-industrial Denmark became naturally limited. For instance, the ten most popular male names alone constituted no less than 39 % of all males recorded in a national census of Denmark in 1801 (EGGERT 2009: 104). In comparison, the Top 10-names in 2016 only accounted for 16 % of new-born boys in Denmark (*Nyt fra Danmarks Statistik* 2017 no. 298). The conservative naming practice also meant that certain names were likely to continue within particular families for generations. This is especially evident with names, which were otherwise less commonly used. Partly derived from

such family traditions combined with local inspiration from other factors, some names show significant regional variations in their nationwide distribution (KRISTENSEN 1914: 6, THOMSEN 1926, MELDGAARD 1982, EGGERT 2009). Whereas a name like *Peder*, for instance, appears to have been immensely and equally popular all over Denmark for centuries, the names *Jens* and *Hans* (which are, by the way, both short forms of *Johannes*) almost seem to have been mutually complimentary with a particular usage in the northern and southern regions respectively (see Figure 2) (KRISTENSEN 1914: 6, THOMSEN 1926: 141–142, EGGERT 2009: 105–106). Even more spectacular is the regional concentration of *Rasmus* to the south-central parts of Denmark, giving name in Danish onomastics to the so-called ‘Rasmus Banana’ (EGGERT 2009: 109–110).

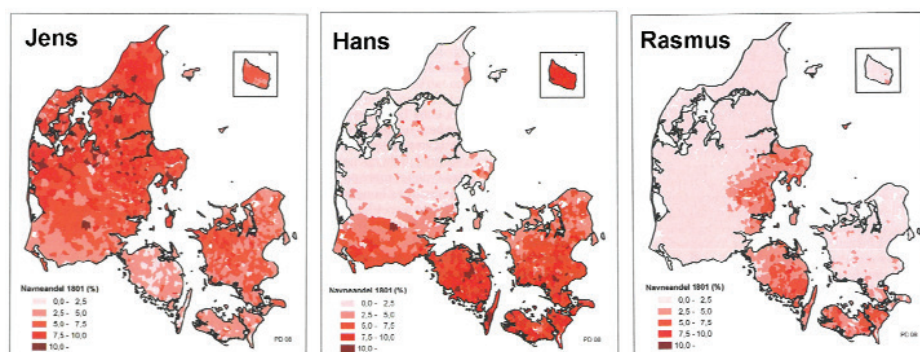


Figure 2: The distribution of Jens, Hans and Rasmus as primary first name in the Danish census of 1801, shown as percentage of the entire male population per village (‘ejervlav’); data from Sønderjylland is not included on the map for technical reasons. EGGERT 2009: 105–106 and 110 (Fig. 7, 8 and 10). Maps by PEDER DAM.

It has been suggested that due to the conservativeness of Danish naming practices among the peasant population (which historically has accounted for about 90 % of the population in pre-industrial Denmark), local variations in the popularity of particular names may go as far back as the Late Middle Ages (THOMSEN 1926, MELDGAARD 1965: 109, MELDGAARD 1982: 198–200, EGGERT 2009: 109 and 117, KÆLLERØD 2016: 107–108). One medieval factor often suggested as possible reason for such variations is saints, especially those who were mainly venerated in particular regions (THOMSEN 1926: 138–140, HALD 1961: 337, HALD 1974: 46 and 56, MELDGAARD 1982: 191–193, EGGERT 2009: 110).¹ However, an attempt to compare male names in two Danish

¹ The classic example of this is St. Theodgar (Da. *Tøger*), a missionary saint from the eleventh century, who was buried in Vestervig in north-western Jylland and after that almost exclusively

regions in 1787 with local parish church dedications, to identify possible naming after local patron saints used in Catholic times (which in Denmark would mean before the Protestant Reformation in 1536), found no evidence of such a positive correlation (KÆLLERØD 2015, 2016). While several studies by now have found reason to support a thesis that regional naming variations go as far back as to the late seventeenth century, only one has tested naming continuity systematically for the same locality for a longer time period, and that did not go further back than 1636 (MELDGAARD 1965). Thus, no systematic attempt has yet been made in Danish onomastics to test whether local naming traditions (and, from that, regional naming variations) can indeed be seen to go all the way back to the Middle Ages – and, herein, to the times of Catholic saint veneration in Denmark.

1. Regional vs. national naming patterns in the late 18th century

In order to evaluate the conservatism of patronymic naming traditions in pre-industrial Denmark, I have performed a comparative cross-section analysis of the twenty most popular male names in a particular district of Denmark at three different points in time. The chosen district is Merløse hundred, an administrative unit on the island of Sjælland, which can be expected to be quite representative for the entire country, with no beforehand-known peculiarities in terms of personal names. The district contains nineteen rural parishes, along with the town of Holbæk, but only material from the rural parishes is included in this survey (although leaving out the rural nobility).

celebrated in his home region. Still in the sixteenth century, the name *Tøger* was predominantly used by peasant families in the same region (THOMSEN 1926: 140, HALD 1961: 337). In the same way, a high frequency in modern times of the name *Knud* in southern Jylland, Fyn and Sjælland has been connected to the cult of two royal Danish saints, St. Canute the Holy and St. Canute Lavard (THOMSEN 1926: 139, HALD 1961: 337, MELDGAARD 1982: 191–193).



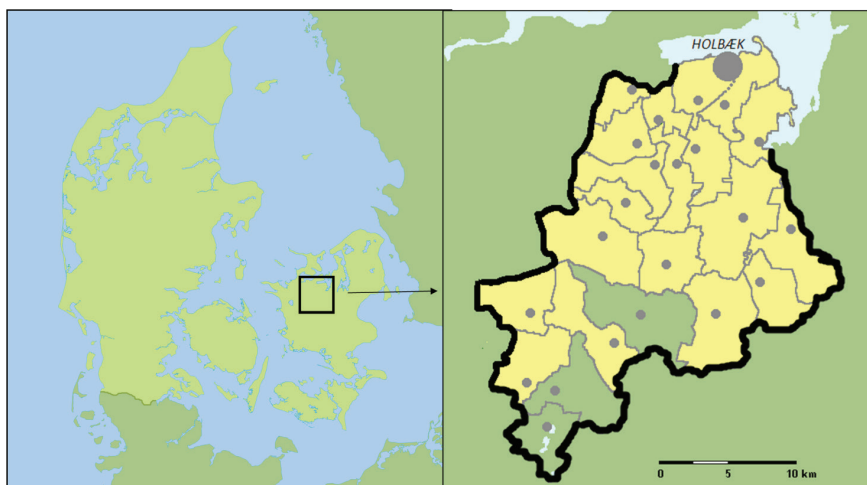


Figure 3: Map of present-day Denmark with the location of Merløse hundred pointed out (left) and the medieval borders and parishes of the district (right).

Three of the southernmost parishes were transferred from Merløse to a neighbouring hundred in the early seventeenth century and are therefore not included in the survey. Neither is the town of Holbæk, leaving a total of nineteen rural parishes to be analysed. Maps by the author.

The youngest cross-section is made with the first national census in Denmark recorded in 1787. At this time, the names *Niels* and *Jens* were the two most (and equally) popular names in the district, both covering 12.1 % of the male population. While a nationwide Top 20 has not been calculated for the 1787 census, one is available for the census of 1801, and it seems fair to assume that figures would not have changed much in the intermediate period. When compared to this it is seen that the seven top positions in both rankings are taken by the same group of names (see Table 1). There are, however, some noteworthy internal variations in the positioning. Whereas *Peder*, for instance, was only trailing fourth in popularity among male names in Merløse hundred, the name was a clear number one in the national ranking. In fact, the Top 4-names were switched exactly upside down between the district and the entire country. Moving further down the chart, *Rasmus* was the eighth most popular name in Denmark in total, but only number eleven in Merløse, corresponding well with the fact that the district is not considered a part of the ‘Rasmus Banana’. Besides the noted preference for *Niels* and *Jens* in the district, other names with a particular popularity in Merløse hundred compared to the nation as a whole are *Ole*, *Jørgen*, *Christoffer* and *Morten*. Thus, even if there are no dramatic deviations in the naming practice recorded for Merløse hundred anno 1787 compared to the nationwide patterns, some regional variations can be accounted for.

	Merløse hundred (census 1787)			Denmark (census 1801)		
		number	%		number	%
1	Niels (Nilaus, Nis)	521	12.1	Peder (Peter, Per)	65,292	7.1
2	Jens	520	12.1	Hans	62,759	6.8
3	Hans	463	10.7	Jens	52,026	5.6
4	Peder (Peter, Per)	462	10.7	Niels (Nilaus, Nis)	49,690	5.4
5	Christen	300	7.0	Christen	32,425	3.5
6	Laurids (Laurs, Lars)	267	6.2	Anders (Andreas)	31,360	3.4
7	Anders (Andreas)	237	5.5	Laurids (Laurs, Lars)	22,973	2.5
8	Oluf (Ole)	220	5.1	Rasmus	18,762	2.1
9	Jørgen	154	3.6	Søren	18,633	2.0
10	Søren	154	3.6	Christian	17,414	1.9
11	Rasmus	122	2.8	Jacob (Jep, Jeppe)	16,227	1.8
12	Christian	97	2.3	Johannes (Johan)	16,171	1.7
13	Jacob (Jep, Jeppe)	91	2.1	Jørgen	14,963	1.6
14	Johannes (Johan)	83	1.9	Mads (Mathias)	13,538	1.5
15	Mads (Mathias)	67	1.6	Oluf (Ole)	12,553	1.4
16	Frederik (Friedrich)	46	1.1	Henrik (Hendrik)	9,580	1.0
17	Christoffer	43	1.0	Claus	9,338	1.0
18	Morten (Martin)	43	1.0	Frederik (Friedrich)	8,946	1.0
19	Henrik (Hendrik)	40	0.9	Jürgen	7,087	0.8
20	Povl (Poul, Paul)	31	0.7	Povl (Poul, Paul)	7,000	0.8

Table 1: Top 20-rankings of the most frequently used male names in Merløse hundred (left column) and in Denmark as a whole (right column) at the national censuses of 1787 and 1801 respectively. The percentages show the share of each name compared to the total number of male individuals in each census. Data for Merløse hundred 1787 has kindly been provided by LARS-JAKOB HARDING KÆLLERØD, data for Denmark 1801 by BIRGIT EGGERT; the Top 10-ranking for Denmark has previously been published in EGGERT 2009: 104 (Table 2).

Cross-section analysis of naming patterns in Merløse hundred (c. 1100–1787). The cross-section of 1787 for Merløse hundred will in the following be compared to another two cross-sections from earlier periods in the very same district. One is from the Danish land register of 1688, where the peasants and cottagers (along with parish priests and millers) from every parish were listed with their names; for the parishes of Merløse hundred, a total of 923 male names is recorded. There are unfortunately no correspondingly complete name lists from the Middle Ages. In stead, I have listed all the names of peasants in the same district that I have come across in various diplomas, rolls (‘jordebøger’) and royal registers from the period 1100–1550; the bulk of this material is from after 1350. Currently, the medieval name register for Merløse hundred only counts 229 names and should be extended for future studies, but it can already now be used to suggest a possible continuity or change. A more critical problem for the cross-section analysis than the medieval ‘sample size’ is the fact that a large part the recorded names (especially from the fourteenth



century) are preserved in Latin forms only, which means that, for instance, Danish variant forms as *Jens*, *Hans*, *Johan*, *Jon* and *Jes* in these sources are all listed as *Johannes*, just as *Jacob*, *Jeppe* and *Jep* all will be called *Jacobus*. For this reason, I have grouped the three latter as just one name in all three cross-sections, but as I consider the distinction between *Jens* and *Hans* quite relevant for the period, I have only paired *Jens* and *Johannes* as one name in the medieval period, leaving *Hans*, *Jon* and *Jes* out as variant forms on their own in the Middle Ages already. The Top 20-rankings of all three cross-sections are listed in Table 2.

	Medieval period (1100-1550)		Land register 1688		Census 1787	
1	Peder (Petrus)	41	Peder	118	Niels	521
2	Niels (Nicolaus)	35	Jens	104	Jens	520
3	Jens (Johannes)	30	Niels	104	Hans	463
4	Jacob (Jacobus)	24	Laurids	83	Peder	462
5	Oluf (Olavus)	11	Hans	77	Christen	300
6	Jes (from Johannes)	10	Christen	69	Laurids, Lars	267
7	Laurids (Laurentius)	9	Oluf	48	Anders, Andreas	237
8	Mads (Mathias)	9	Anders	44	Oluf, Ole	220
9	Anders (Andreas)	8	Søren	44	Jørgen	154
10	Hemming	6	Rasmus	33	Søren	154
11	Mogens (Magnus)	6	Jørgen	28	Rasmus	122
12	Bent (Benedictus)	4	Mads	26	Christian	97
13	Jon (from Johannes)	3	Jacob, Jeppe, Jep	23	Jacob, Jeppe, Jep	91
14	Knud (Canutus)	3	Morten	16	Johannes, Johan	83
15	Mikkel (Michael)	3	Christoffer	12	Mads, Mathias	67
16	Asser (Ascerus)	2	Mikkel	12	Frederik	46
17	Bo (Boetius)	2	Povl	12	Christoffer	43
18	Clemens	2	Mogens	9	Morten, Martin	43
19	Morten (Martinus)	2	Jesper	8	Henrik	40
20	Søren (Severinus)	2	Thomas	6	Povl	31

Table 2: Top 20-rankings of the most frequently used male names in Merløse hundred at three cross-sections in time: 1100–1550 (left column), 1688 (middle column) and 1787 (right column). Data for the two oldest cross-sections has been collected by the author. For the census of 1787, see Table 1.

A comparison of the three cross-section rankings reveals several interesting things. The name **Hans**, so widely used both in 1688 (no. 5) and 1787 (no. 3), only came into popular usage among the peasant population in Merløse hundred after the Middle Ages. This originally Low German and Dutch short form of *Johannes* were not uncommon among the rural nobility of the district or the urban bourgeoisie in Holbæk in late medieval times, but apparently only later had its impact in the peasant community. Here, the most common Danish short form of *Johannes*, **Jens**, remained continuously popular throughout the studied periods (no. 3 in the Middle Ages, no. 2–3 in 1688 and no. 2 in 1787), whereas the two additional short forms of the same name from the Middle Ages, **Jes** (no. 6) and **Jon** (no. 13–15), subsequently lost their popularity. The basic form

Johannes (along with *Johan*) had re-established itself to some extent in 1787 (no. 14).

Several other male names do, like *Hans*, only occur in the Top 20-rankings after the Middle Ages. These include **Christen** (no. 6 in 1688, no. 5 in 1787), **Rasmus** (no. 10 in 1688, no. 11 in 1787), **Jørgen** (no. 11 in 1688, no. 9–10 in 1787) and **Christoffer** (no. 15 in 1688, no. 17–18 in 1787). In two cases, the names only reached the chart in the eighteenth century: **Christian** (no. 12) and **Frederik** (no. 16). Since *Christian* and *Frederik* have been the alternating names for the kings of Denmark since 1513, their late coming as popular names among the peasant population may reflect a general hesitance until then to take what were considered ‘royal names’. This may also be a part of the explanation that *Hans* only emerges in the Top 20-ranking after the Middle Ages, as this was indeed a royal Danish name until the mid-sixteenth century; although only held by one actual king (Hans, 1481–1513), it was initially lined up to be *Hans* – and not *Frederik* – that should have alternated with *Christian* as names for the Danish rulers of the Oldenburg dynasty.² Also *Christoffer* had been a royal name in Denmark in the Middle Ages, but the last king of this name (Christoffer III ‘the Bavarian’) had died in 1448, and apparently it had lost its ‘sense of royalty’ by the seventeenth century, at least enough to have been taken up by the Danish peasant community. No other names held by Danish kings since 1202 (e.g. *Valdemar*, *Erik* and *Abel*) are found in any of the rankings. ‘Royal monopoly’ cannot be claimed for any of the names *Christen*, *Rasmus* or *Jørgen*. Whereas *Christen* is hardly known as name in medieval Denmark at all and *Rasmus* was then strictly limited to Fyn, *Jørgen* was quite common in late medieval Danish nobility and bourgeoisie. Being the Danish form of *Georgius*, *Sankt Jørgen* was also widely known as patron saint for a large number of hospitals all around late medieval Denmark.

When new names entered the Top 20-rankings after the Middle Ages, it automatically follows that other names with medieval popularity must have left. In Merløse hundred, this is particularly evident for **Hemming** (no. 10–11), **Bent** (no. 12), **Knud** (no. 13–15), **Asser** and **Bo** (no. 16–20) – and, as already mentioned, for *Jes* (no. 5) and *Jon* (no. 13–15) – who all dropped out of the Top 20 after the sixteenth century. Others fell from higher to lower ranking, such as **Jacob** (no. 4 in the Middle Ages, no. 13 in 1688, no. 13 in 1787), **Mads** (no. 7–8 in the Middle Ages, no. 12 in 1688, no. 15 in 1787) and **Mogens** (no. 10–11 in the Middle Ages, no. 18 in 1688). It is difficult to point out any particular reason

² King Christian II was to have been followed by his son Hans (†1532), who would have been Hans II, when a coup in 1523 replaced Christian with his uncle Frederik, the Duke of Schleswig. Even after the death of King Frederik I in 1533, the Catholic party of Denmark wanted to crown his youngest son, also named Hans (†1580), but the Protestants chose Hans’ elder brother Christian (III), after which *Hans* fated out as a possible royal name.

for these names' fall in popularity after the Middle Ages, but it can be noted that most of them were either old Danish, pre-Christian names (e.g. *Hemming*, *Asser* and *Bo*) or well-known saint names (e.g. St. Benedict, St. Canute, St. James, St. Mathew and St. Magnus) with many known church and altar dedications in Denmark. Whereas the church dedications often remained in use in the Danish cities after the Protestant Reformation in 1536, the actual cult of the saints was gradually abandoned, and this may partly explain why some of these names lost their favour among the peasants. Still, other names closely associated with medieval Catholic sainthood – such as *Peder* (St. Peter), *Niels* (St. Nicholas), *Laurids* (St. Lawrence), *Anders* (St. Andrew) and *Oluf* (St. Olav) – remained very much popular; in the cases of *Hans* (St. John) and *Jørgen* (St. George), as already mentioned, its usage even significantly increased.

A final interesting observation from the cross-section analysis is that the regional deviation from the nationwide preference for ***Peder***, which held first ranking in Denmark as a whole in 1801, but only came fourth in Merløse hundred in 1787, does not recur in the two preceding rankings of the district, where the name did indeed hold first place. Thus, 'the decline of *Peder*' in Merløse hundred only appears to have set in after 1688.

2. Regional vs. national naming patterns in the Middle Ages

In fact, in medieval times, the name *Peder* even appears to have enjoyed higher popularity in Merløse hundred than in Denmark on average! Whereas no nationwide record has ever been made on personal names occurring in the census of 1787 or the land register of 1688, an attempt has been made to list a ranking of male names occurring in extant written sources from medieval Denmark (MELDGAARD 1982). A peculiarity about the nationwide survey is, though, that it is not based on an actual name count, which would demand an enormous effort of time, as this data (along with the sources) is still not available digitally. Still, a huge research project was implemented in the 1930s to record the majority of personal names in (predominantly then published) written sources covering the entire medieval Denmark (including Schleswig and Skåne) from around 1000 to 1500. The project recorded more than 300,000 instances of names on both men and women,³ which to some extent were catalogued in the published dictionary *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne* (4 vols. 1936-64). However, for the most popular names, which are of special interest here, only a representative sample was included in the printed catalogue. No actual count has still been made on the collected name data, but a creative 'fast track' to establish the relative ranking of the most popular names was carried out by EVA MELDGAARD in 1982, by simply measuring the stacks of records

³ These records are currently being digitized, a process still not fully implemented.

for each name. The outcome of this survey, measured in centimetres (sic!), is presented as the right column in Table 3.

A direct comparison with the medieval name data from Merløse hundred is, unfortunately, highly problematic. This is not so much due to the method of measurement in the nationwide survey or even that all the variant forms of *Johannes* (i.e. *Jens*, *Hans*, *Jon*, *Jes*, *Johan*, *Johannes*, *Henneke*, etc.) are classified as one. A bigger problem is that while the data from Merløse hundred solely includes names on the rural peasantry (and, as much as it has been possible, only counts the same person once in case of him being mentioned in repeated sources), the nationwide data basically includes every single reference to a named person in the extant written sources. And since these sources tend to focus on kings, nobility, bourgeoisie and clergy, but only rarely refer to named peasantry, the latter group can be expected to be significantly underrepresented in the material.

	Merløse hundred 1100-1536 (no.)		Denmark c.1000-1500 (cm)	
1	Peder (Petrus)	41	Johannes (incl. Jens, Hans, Jes, Jon, etc.)	262
2	Niels (Nicolaus)	35	Niels (Nicolaus)	161
3	Jens (Johannes)	30	Peder (Petrus)	150
4	Jacob (Jacobus)	24	Jacob (Jacobus)	78
5	Oluf (Olavus)	11	Oluf (Olavus)	57
6	Jes (from Johannes)	10	Anders (Andreas)	57
7	Laurids (Laurentius)	9	Laurids (Laurentius)	51
8	Mads (Mathias)	9	Henrik (Henricus)	50
9	Anders (Andreas)	8	Erik (Ericus)	40
10	Hemming	6	Mogens (Magnus)	37
11	Mogens (Magnus)	6	Knud (Canutus)	28
12	Bent (Benedictus)	4	Mads (Mathias)	27
13	Jon (from Johannes)	3	Christian (Christiernus)	24
14	Knud (Canutus)	3	Svend (Sueno)	23
15	Mikkel (Michael)	3	Mikkel (Michael)	22
16	Asser (Ascerus)	2	Bent (Benedictus)	22
17	Bo (Boetius)	2	Toke, Tyge	20
18	Clemens	2	Morten (Martinus)	19
19	Morten (Martinus)	2	Thomas	19
20	Søren (Severinus)	2	Troels (Thrugils)	19

Table 3: Top 20-rankings of the most frequently used male names in Merløse hundred (left column) and in Denmark as a whole (right column) in extant written sources from the Middle Ages. Whereas the Merløse data solely contains peasant names, the national data includes all names. The national ranking is based on MELDGAARD 1982: 198 (encl. III). (For an explanation of the measurement of the national data (in cm), please see the text.)

Thus, the high ranking of the names *Henrik* (no. 8), *Erik* (no. 9), *Christian* (no. 13) and *Svend* (no. 14) for medieval Denmark as a whole, while none of these are found in the regional Top 20 of Merløse hundred, most likely only reflects the differences in social classes included.⁴ If leaving these names out of the comparison, and taking into consideration the *Johannes*-problem, the two rankings show a lot of similarities, as well as a few differences. While *Peder* was slightly more popular than *Niels* among peasantry in medieval Merløse hundred, *Niels* was significantly more used in medieval Denmark as a whole than *Peder*. Whereas names like *Jacob*, *Laurids*, *Anders*, *Oluf*, *Mogens*, *Bent*, *Knud*, *Mikkel* and *Morten* almost find similar positions in the two rankings, some regional deviation can be noted for *Mads* (equally popular to *Laurids*, *Anders* and *Oluf* in Merløse, but significantly lower than these in Denmark as a whole) and particularly *Hemming* (no. 10 in Merløse, not listed in the nationwide Top 20 at all).

In terms of a possible 'saintly factor' in the local naming practice, the main saints with a large popular veneration in the region were St. Lawrence and St. Severin, who were patron saints for the parish churches in Undløse (Merløse hundred) and Holmstrup (in a neighbouring hundred) respectively. More importantly, both saints were also connected to holy wells adjacent to the churches, which are known to have attracted a significant pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages, and even enjoyed a post-Reformation veneration in local folklore way into the nineteenth century (Jakobsen in prep.). However, neither St. Lawrence nor St. Severin can be seen to have generated more peasants by the names of *Laurids* or *Søren* in this region than elsewhere in the country in the Middle Ages (*Laurids*: no. 7 in Merløse, no. 7 in Denmark. *Søren*: no. 20 in Merløse, just outside Top 20 in Denmark). If anything, it rather was the continued spring cult of St. Lawrence and St. Severin into post-Reformation time that can be argued to have caused an increased popularity for these names in Merløse hundred more than in most other regions after the Middle Ages, since both names rose significantly in local popularity between 1550 and 1688 (*Laurids* from no. 7–8 to no. 4; *Søren* from no. 20 to no. 8–9), but it then also needs to be noted that they both held rank positions in Merløse hundred in 1787 similar to those in the national ranking of 1801, so their rise in popularity at least eventually was nationwide (see Table 1).

⁴ While *Erik*, *Christian* and *Svend* are all royal Danish names, *Henrik* was extremely common among nobility, bourgeoisie and clergy of German origin.

3. Summary and conclusion

The cross-section analysis of consistency in naming traditions among male peasants in Merløse hundred from the Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century show signs of both continuity and change. Names like *Peder*, *Niels*, *Jens*, *Laurids*, *Anders* and *Oluf* have remained highly popular throughout the entire period, being positioned in the Top 10-rankings at all three cross-sections; *Peder*, *Niels* and *Jens* even continuously in Top 4. Other popular names from the Middle Ages, such as *Jacob*, *Jes*, *Mads* and *Hemming*, dropped out from the most frequently used between 1550 and 1688, when they had been replaced by names like *Hans*, *Christen*, *Søren*, *Rasmus* and *Jørgen*. More continuity can be seen between the cross-sections of 1688 and 1787, although the intermediate period does show signs of minor shifts in popularity for *Peder* (decline) and *Hans* (rise).

It is possible that some names associated with Catholic saints (such as *Jacob*, *Mads*, *Mogens*, *Bent* and *Clemens*) fell in popularity when the cult of saints in Denmark was discontinued at the Protestant Reformation in 1536, but other ‘saint names’ obviously stayed in usage (e.g. *Peder*, *Niels*, *Laurids*, *Anders* and *Oluf*) or even experienced a popularity growth (e.g. *Hans*, *Jørgen* and *Søren*) after the Reformation. A clearer tendency can be observed for ‘royal names’, as male names, which were still in use by the royal family, were generally avoided by the peasant community in the Middle Ages and in 1688. Thus, although popular as name among the rural nobility and the urban bourgeoisie in medieval times already, *Hans* only became a peasant name in Merløse hundred in the run of the seventeenth century, long after the death of King Hans (†1513) and his two princely would-be successors of the same name. Likewise, *Christoffer* only entered the Top 20-ranking of peasant names after the Middle Ages, when most people had forgot about the last Danish king by this name (†1448). While the peasant community still avoided presently used royal names in 1688, this ‘royal monopoly’ was apparently broken in the run of the eighteenth century, as *Christian* and *Frederik* were in use for kings as well as pawns at the census of 1787.

Finally, the study’s aim to test if variations between regional and national naming patterns observed in the pre-industrial censuses of 1787 and 1801 can be expected to reflect similar deviations and local traditions all the way back into the Middle Ages has come to a negative conclusion. While *Peder*, for instance, where less common in Merløse hundred than in Denmark on average in the late eighteenth century, it was the most frequently used name in Merløse in the Middle Ages, when it only came third nationwide. To judge from a comparison of the regional and the national rankings around 1800, *Oluf* could appear to have been a ‘regional darling’ (no. 8 in Merløse, no. 15 in Denmark), but here



it turns out that while the name has stayed at a regional rank no. 7–9 throughout the period, the difference at the end of the period is due to a significant drop in popularity on the national level, as *Oluf* used to be the fifth most popular name in medieval Denmark as a whole as well as in Merløse hundred. And, finally, while *Mads* could be argued to have been slightly more popular in Merløse than in medieval Denmark on average, this deviation would have been impossible to deduct from a comparison of the pre-industrial censuses, where the name was ranked almost identically in the district (no. 15) and the country (no. 14). Thus, regional variations identified for Merløse hundred in the censuses around 1800 appear to have almost no correspondence with variations that can be observed in the Middle Ages, or vice versa. Furthermore, the present study only concords with KÆLLERØD's warning against putting too much emphasis on local veneration of saints as an important factor in medieval (or post-medieval) naming in the peasant community, as neither St. Lawrence or St. Severin can be accounted for any particular impact on this account in Merløse hundred.

However, the registration of names from the medieval period needs to be improved in order to validate the abovementioned conclusions. This holds both in terms of the regional data, which shall be increased in numbers, and in terms of the national data, which would benefit from both a more accurate measurement (in numbers rather than centimetres!) and a distinction between variant forms of *Johannes* (*Jens*, *Hans*, *Jon*, *Jes*, etc.); if possible, it would of course also be wonderful if the on-going digitization of the national records could make it possible to classify the names in different periods, regions and social classes. On a regional level, near future studies are planned for Merløse hundred to register also the names of the rural nobility, the clergy and the urban bourgeoisie in the Middle Ages, just as the census of 1787 will be analysed for differences between the names on actual peasants (*gårdmænd*) and cottagers (*husmænd*) in the district. So, as always, more studies are needed.

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Abstract

Until the twentieth century, naming traditions in Denmark have been rather conservative. Traditionally, the firstborn son would be given the name of his father's father, while the name of his father would be included as a patronymic surname. The second-born son would often be named after his mother's father. In this way a certain selection of names was likely to continue within a family for generations. This paper tests to what degree regional variations within male first names in 18th- and 19th-century Denmark may go as far back as the Middle Ages due to this conservative naming practice. Male names in one Danish



district (Merløse hundred) as recorded in a census of 1787 are compared with peasant names found in a land register of 1688, and with peasant names of the same district found in extant documents from the period 1100–1550.

Keywords: personal names, patronymic naming, Denmark, pre-industrial period

Lars-Jakob Harding Kællerød

A distinctive local usage of middle names in Denmark

1. Introduction

The present article concerns the usage of middle names in Denmark. This is a largely unexplored field, with a limited amount known about the general practice of using middle names. With my ongoing research, I aim to address this omission by examining the distribution of middle names in Denmark during the 19th century, a period where the use of middle names increased among the wider population.

A pilot project based on statistical analysis demonstrated a remarkably heterogeneous use of middle names across Danish regions. Among the more distinctive results, a noticeably higher proportion of women were listed with middle names on the island of Mors in Northern Jutland than elsewhere. In this paper, the attribution of middle names to women on Mors will be investigated further; comparisons will be made with the distribution of middle names in the immediate vicinity, represented by Salling and Thy; and the impact of name regulations arising in the 19th century will be discussed alongside possible connections between middle names and social status.

2. The Danish middle name

2.1. Definition of a middle name

In Danish onomastics, the term ‘middle name’ refers to something more particular than the position of the name within the full onomastic profile of an individual. To qualify as a ‘middle name’, it is not enough the name appear in medial position (i.e. between first name and the last name); it must also be capable of use as a surname or family name. For example, patronymics such as *Pedersen* in the onomastic profile *Niels Pedersen Holm* and occupation names such as *Møller* ‘miller’ in *Rasmus Møller Hansen* are both classified as middle names, while *Peder* in *Hans Peder Overgaard* can only function as a (here second or subsidiary) first name and, as such, is not regarded as a middle name.

The term *mellempnavn* ‘middle name’ was introduced in 1960 in the report *Betænkning om en ny lovgivning om personnavne*. The report identified the problem of individuals being given middle names to which they had no family affiliation. These names included some which were considered as protected under the prevailing legislation (dating from 1904) and supposed to be reserved for certain families (BLP 1960: 17; cf. 33). As a result of this report, the rules were tightened in the subsequent legislation issued in 1961: only names held by



parents or grandparents could be given as middle names (LP 1961: Kapitel 3 § 14; cf. Kapitel 1 § 8, no.1).

2.2. Middle names through time

In practice, middle names existed in Danish territory long before the official designation of the phenomenon in the 1960s. The usage of names corresponding to middle names *per* the definition given above can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Occasionally, names recorded in medieval diplomas or letters contain, alongside a first name, both a patronymic and an informal byname, with the patronymic appearing as a middle name. An early example of this practice can be found in the so-called *Broderliste* from c. 1200 in *Kong Valdemars Jordebog*, a Danish book of land taxations, where the name *Pæter Palnisun Hwitæ* is listed (KÆLLERØD 2017a: 98; cf. KVJB: 84; 164 and 55r). However, such a name structure is rarely recorded and not used consistently (JØRGENSEN 2013: 14).

The usage of patronymics in medial position, resembling modern middle names, increased somewhat among those of high social class during the 16th century. The practice was not unknown before, but it increased after King Frederik I of Denmark directed the nobility to adopt fixed family names: those under the same coat of arms should bear the same name (VOGT 2005: 383). This naming pattern, consisting of patronymics followed by patrilineal family name, spread to parts of the clergy and bourgeoisie (KÆLLERØD 2017a: 98). In 1671, the aristocratic ranks of count and baron were introduced to Denmark and it was established that daughters of these noblemen, upon marriage into an equally ennobled family, were to combine their own family name with that of their spouse; in such an instance, the name that took the position of a middle name would never be patronymic (JØRGENSEN 2013: 15).

The naming legislation issued prior to the second half of the 18th century all concerned family names and was solely directed to the nobility. In this social class, use of a patrilineal family name was fully established at this time, and occasionally middle names occurred in onomastic profiles of individuals. Inspired by the nobility, similar naming patterns were known, but in a smaller degree, among the clergy and the bourgeoisie. In the wider population, however, the vast majority retained more conservative naming conventions, typically consisting of one first name (often determined by a tradition of naming after relatives; MELDGAARD 1982: 200; cf. STORM 1893), one patronymic and/or an unofficial byname used within the local community to distinguish individuals (KISBYE 1979: 83; cf. KISBYE 1981: 125f.).

2.3. Requirements for patrilineal family names

The tradition of naming after relatives led to a relatively consistent and uniform name pattern across the country. Around 1800, more than 50% of the entire population carried one of only seven names as first name (EGGERT 2009). In the separately administered Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, fixed surnames for all inhabitants were required from 1771: the changing of surnames (patronymics) from generation to generation, combined with the homogeneity of the names generated, had provided administrative difficulties in numerous legal matters (PEDERSEN 2001: 203).

Within the Kingdom of Denmark itself, similar legislation was not brought about until 1828, with clarifications issued later in 1828 and in 1829 (DEGN 2001: 17). However, these interventions did not have the desired effect as the traditional naming practices endured in many places as before (PEDERSEN 2001: 204f.), and that is most likely the reason behind the new legislation that was introduced in 1856. Here, it was established that family names were to function as patrilineal surnames passing unchanged to all subsequent generations (DEGN 2001: 18).

These later name regulations had an impact on general naming patterns during the 19th century. In this period these patterns underwent some remarkable changes, including an increase in the usage of middle names. Keeping in mind that the legislation from 1828 did not have the desired effect, it seems reasonable to assume that the traditional use of patronymics was protected by cultural, and perhaps emotional, attachment to it among the population. It seems possible that middle names became a way to maintain tradition: unlike fixed family names, they could vary from generation to generation, as well as within a brood of children. Other factors, such as agricultural reforms, military defeats and urbanisation, are highly likely to have had a significant (though more indirect) impact on changing naming patterns in the 19th century (KÆLLERØD 2017b: 120f.); however, these considerations are beyond the scope of this article.

3. Examinations of middle names

My ongoing PhD project investigates the usage of middle names in Denmark in the 19th century. For this purpose, analysis is made of the onomastic profiles of the almost 2 million inhabitants that are listed in the census from 1880 (C1880), from which records containing middle names have been isolated. This source is available online in a facsimile version (AO), but also a digitised version (DDD), the latter of which is the main source for the research while the former serves for validation purposes as necessary.

By giving a fundamental typological categorisation of the middle names reported, and linking these with geographic and demographic data, the project



will not only reveal *which* names and which types of name were in use but also *how* the names were used. Were middle names given more in certain parts of society? What regional differences are there? And what does the age of those individuals with middle names tell us about the importance of the naming regulations in the distribution of middle names?

3.1. A pilot study into the usage of middle names

In order to get an insight of what might be expected, a pilot study was conducted. Ten local areas were selected at random to be broadly representative of the geographic and demographic range within the country: seven rural parishes spread over the country, two towns (one in Jutland; one in Zealand) and one street in Copenhagen, representing the capital. These ten areas were examined manually in order to differentiate middle names from other names.

The frequencies of individuals listed with middle names in these ten areas vary remarkably from approximately 1% to almost 25%. Despite these great differences, one thing the majority of the ten areas have in common is that middle names are rarely reported for women. In two rural parishes, no women at all are listed with this type of name, while in seven of the remaining areas the frequency does not exceed 2%. However, one rural parish stands out from the rest, namely Frøslev on the island of Mors, where almost 13% of the women bear a middle name; that is seven times higher than the frequency of women with middle names in the parish with the second highest percentage, Børglum. For further details regarding the statistical results of the pilot study, see KÆLLERØD 2017a.

3.2. Data and methods

To explore whether the frequency of women with middle names is generally high across Mors, or whether the percentage in Frøslev is due to mere coincidence, the distribution of middle names in all parishes across the country has been investigated. Here, a different approach was taken, as a manual examination of each full onomastic profile in C1880 is beyond the scope of either the present article or the PhD study.

Instead, each name component reported more than 25 times in C1880 has been typified into categories such as ‘female name’, ‘male name’, ‘patronymic’ and ‘family name’. To differentiate middle names, the name components have been parsed in consonance with their positions in each individual’s full onomastic profile; name components that correspond with either patronymics or family names but occur before the surname in an individual’s onomastic profile have been classified as middle names. Some name components are categorised as ‘both male name and family name’ or ‘both female name and family name’,

and these have been classified as middle names when appearing in medial position in onomastic profiles of individuals whose sex is given as opposite to the gender for which that name might function as a first name. A more detailed introduction of the methods is described in KÆLLERØD–REVUELTA–EUGERCIOS (in press).

Some nuances are lost with this approach as a number of middle names are inevitably left out. However, coverage of approximately 98% of name components recorded in C1880 can, with certain reservations, be classified this way, giving an appropriate indication of the use of middle names in the period. It must here be emphasised that the PhD dissertation will cover further examinations and that the figures presented in this article may therefore differ slightly from those presented when the analysis is complete.

4. A distinctive local usage of middle names in Mors

The percentage of women reported with middle names in C1880 varies remarkably from parish to parish. In many parishes, no women at all are registered with middle names, while more than a quarter of the women in a few parishes have a middle name. The parish with the highest percentage, 31.1%, is Harboøre, located in the north-western corner of Jutland, not very far from Mors. As shown in Table 1, half of the 14 parishes with the highest percentages are located in one of the two hundreds (administrative districts) on Mors.

	Parish	Hundred	Frequency
1	Harboøre	Vandfuld Herred	31.1%
2	Ljørslev	Mors Sønder Herred	27.7%
3	Sønder Stenderup	Nørre Tyrstrup Herred	25.5%
4	Sundby	Mors Nørre Herred	24.8%
5	Solbjerg	Mors Nørre Herred	24.3%
6	Engbjerg	Vandfuld Herred	23.3%
7	Linde	Nørhald Herred	22.8%
8	Horne	Sallinge Herred	20.8%
9	Ovtrup	Mors Sønder Herred	20.6%
10	Tvede	Nørhald Herred	20.6%
11	Sandholts Lyndelse	Sallinge Herred	20.4%
12	Skallerup	Mors Nørre Herred	20.3%
13	Dragstrup	Mors Nørre Herred	20.0%
14	Øster Jølby	Mors Nørre Herred	19.3%

Table 1: The 14 parishes with the highest percentages of women reported with middle names in C1880. Seven of these parishes are located in one of two hundreds on the island Mors: Mors Nørre Herred and Mors Sønder Herred, marked with a brighter colour in the table.

When Mors Nørre Herred and Mors Sønder Herred are compared with the hundreds in the regions in the immediate vicinity (Table 2), it is apparent that middle names are remarkably more frequent on Mors than in the regions Thy and Salling northwest and southeast of the island, respectively. The overall occurrence in Mors is 11.1%, but the middle names are slightly more frequent in the northern part of the island, Mors Nørre Herred, where 12.2% of the women are reported with middle names, while the figure in Mors Sønder Herred is 10.3%. In Thy, 6.5% are listed with middle names, with a distribution between 5.1% in the hundred Refs Herred to 8.9% in Hundborg Herred. Middle names are less frequent in Salling, where the overall figure is 4.2%; here the span is between 3.5% in Hindborg Herred and 6.0% in Harre Herred.

Region	Frequency	Hundred	Frequency
Mors	11.1%	Mors Nørre Herred	12.2%
		Mors Sønder Herred	10.3%
Thy	6.5%	Hundborg Herred	8.9%
		Hassing Herred	6.2%
		Hillerslev Herred	5.9%
		Refs Herred	5.1%
Salling	4.2%	Harre Herred	6.0%
		Rødding Herred	5.5%
		Nørre Herred	5.1%
		Hindborg Herred	3.5%

Table 2: The percentage of women reported with middle names in C1880 on Mors and the regions in the immediate vicinity, Salling and Thy. On the left is the frequency by region, broken down by hundred on the right. It can be seen that the percentage of women reported with middle names is remarkably higher on Mors than in either Thy or Salling.

However, these figures show that middle names seem to be relatively frequent in both Thy and Salling when the results from the areas investigated in the pilot study are taken into consideration. As mentioned above, the parish Frøslev on Mors was the only place where the percentage of women listed with middle names in C1880 exceeded 2.0%. This suggests that the high frequency in Frøslev in the pilot study is no coincidence; middle names seem to be relatively well used in the entire area of north-western Jutland, with a particular concentration on the island of Mors.

	Parish	Hundred	1880	1787
1	Ljøslev	Mors Sønder Herred	27.7%	3.7%
2	Sundby	Mors Sønder Herred	24.8%	1.9%
3	Solbjerg	Mors Sønder Herred	24.3%	4.9%
4	Ovtrup	Mors Sønder Herred	20.6%	1.0%
5	Skallerup	Mors Nørre Herred	20.3%	0%
6	Dragstrup	Mors Nørre Herred	20.0%	0%
7	Øster Jølby	Mors Nørre Herred	19.3%	0%
8	Elsø	Mors Sønder Herred	16.7%	0%
.....				
31	Hvidbjerg	Mors Sønder Herred	4.5%	0%
32	Ejerslev	Mors Nørre Herred	4.3%	0%
33	Nykøbing Mors	Mors Sønder Herred	3.6%	2.1%

Table 3: The percentage of women reported with middle names in C1880 on the island of Mors, showing the eight parishes with the highest percentages and the three with the lowest. It is noteworthy that the only town located on Mors, Nykøbing, is the parish on the island with the lowest share. The column to the right shows the frequency of middle names in the Danish census from 1787.

It is noteworthy that a number of parishes in Mors have considerably higher frequencies than that found in Frøslev. Table 3 shows that Ljøslev is the parish with the highest concentration of middle names, as no less than 27.7% of the women here are listed with one. Six further parishes attain frequencies of approximately 20% or above. Despite some lower figures in certain parishes, including the only town on Mors, Nykøbing, where the frequency is 3.6%, it may seem obvious to assume that middle names have a long tradition in this area, dating back to before the 19th century legislation. However, a review of onomastic profiles listed in the Danish census from 1787 reveals no clear evidence of this: more parishes have no women at all listed with middle names; in Solbjerg, however, 4.9% are listed with one – a frequency higher than that found in most parishes in C1880.

Five of the seven parishes with the highest concentration of middle names are contiguously located in the north-western part of the island. Together, these five parishes (Dragstrup, Skallerup, Solbjerg, Sundby and Øster Jølby) comprise 1,078 women of whom 244 (22.6%) are listed with a middle name. These parishes will be the case study in the following analysis.

4.1. Did legislation affect the usage of middle names?

The census provides information about the age of each individual and, by implication, when that person was originally named (although not necessarily with that exact same name). This can give an indication of a possible link between the introduction of naming regulations and the usage of middle names.

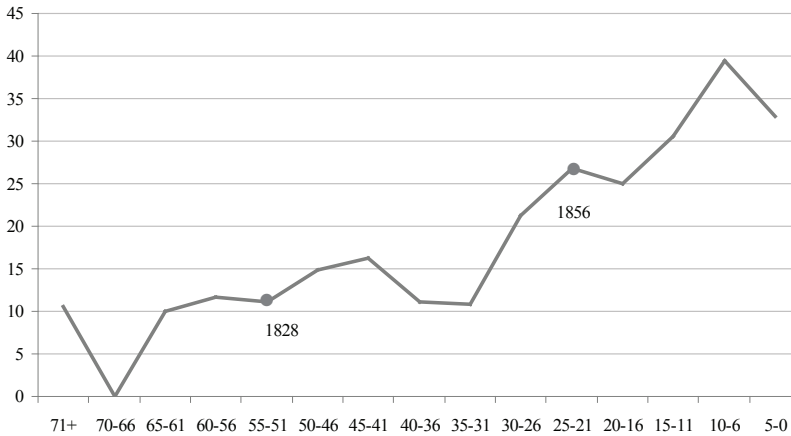


Figure 1: The age range of women reported with middle names in C1880. The regulations introduced in 1828 and 1856 are marked with dots. The diagram shows a general tendency of an increased usage of middle names through the years, which to a certain extent may be explained as a reaction to the legislation.

By sorting all women in the five parishes into birth cohorts with intervals of five years, it can be shown that the use of middle names generally increases through the period covered by the survey (Figure 1). It is noteworthy that the usage of middle names seems to increase before the introduction of the patrilineal surname, so a clear causal relation cannot be inferred. Moreover, as hinted at above, it must be understood that the census provides a snapshot of name usage in 1880 but does not give specify whether any middle name was given at baptism or adopted later. Any apparent trend by birth date, such as the rapid increase in middle names between individuals aged 35–31 and those aged 30–26, could theoretically be explained, at least in part, by relative rates of adoption of middle names later in life (e.g. at marriage).

4.2. Middle names – a social marker?

The census also provides information about the occupation, status or vocation of each individual, which make it possible to examine a potential relationship between middle names and social status. As women are often listed as *hustru* ‘wife’ or *husmoder* ‘housewife’, all men listed in the five parishes have been

divided into four categories to provide an overview of the composition of society across the locality. This showed a distribution of 69% belonging to the ‘lower social class’ (e.g. paupers, day labourers, servants), 23% to the ‘middle class’ (mainly farm owners), 3% to the ‘higher social class’ (e.g. priests, teachers) and 5% ‘unknown’.

The women listed with middle names were then categorised the same way, either by the occupation of husbands or fathers, or, when possible, by the occupation the women themselves were listed with. 49% of the women with middle names belonged to the ‘lower social class’, while 48% were categorised as ‘middle class’. Relatively, middle names are approximately three times as frequent among daughters and wives of farm owners as among servants and other women in the lower class. This could indicate that middle names might serve as a social marker; however, since less than 0.5% of middle names are borne by women in the higher social class, a clear tendency cannot be deduced.

4.3. Combinations of middle names and surnames

Continuing from the original pilot project, further analysis was made for four of the ten areas: Frøslev, Skanderborg (town, Jutland), Jørlunde (rural parish, Zealand) and Åbenrå (street, Copenhagen) (KÆLLERØD 2017b). This survey shows that, in addition to a high occurrence of women with middle names in Mors, the typological combination of middle name and surname is also locally distinctive. The existence of patronymics as middle names followed by a non-patronymic surname is not unknown elsewhere, but in Frøslev the proportion is significantly higher than in the three other areas.

The results of the present survey substantiate the results from the pilot study, as patronymics are much more frequent as middle names than other surnames, while non-patronymic names more often than patronymics are borne as surnames (Table 4).

	Combination	Amount	Frequency
1	Patronymic + Place Name	106	43.4%
2	Patronymic + ‘Other’	68	27.9%
3	Patronymic + Patronymic	22	9.0%
4	Place Name + Patronymic	17	7.0%
5	Patronymic + Occupation Name	15	6.1%
6	Other combinations	10	4.1%
7	Two Middle Names + Surname	6	2.4%
		244	100.0%

Table 4: The combinations of middle name(s) and surname among the women in Mors



The most frequent combination is a patronymic middle name followed by a surname that derives from a place name, such as in *Mettemaria Andersdatter Støvring* and *Sidsel Jensen Overgaard*. 43% of the onomastic profiles containing a middle name followed this pattern. With 28%, the second most frequent combination is a patronymic middle name followed by a surname categorised as ‘other’ (e.g. folksy bynames such as *Dam* ‘pond’ in *Sidsel Katrine Pedersen Dam* and *Vester* ‘western’ in *Antonette Poulsen Vester* or names derived from inhabitant names such as *Kilerik* ‘from Kiel’ in *Johanne Hansen Kilerik* (PR Thisted: 19.08.1799; cf. FREDERIKSEN 1985: 110).

The combination of patronymics as both middle name and surname, e.g. *Maren Simonsdatter Madsen* and *Ane Dusine Knudsen Pedersen* is found in 9% of cases, followed by Place Name and Patronymic (e.g. *Ane Aarup Pedersdatter*), Patronymic and Occupation name (e.g. *Karen Jensen Kusk* ‘carter’) and other combinations.

Of the 238 women recorded with one middle name, it is patronymic in 211 cases, corresponding to 89%. Six women are listed with two middle names, and they all have a place name as the first middle name and a patronymic as second middle name while the surname varies, e.g. *Ane Søndergaard Mikkelsen Dal* ‘valley’ and *Maren Kortbek Jensen Overgaard* (farm name).

5. Final remarks

It has been shown in this article that there is a remarkably high concentration of women bearing middle names on the island of Mors compared to other regions in Denmark in the 19th century. The areas Thy and Salling which both are in the immediate vicinity of Mors seem to have a higher concentration as well than that found elsewhere in Denmark during this time; however, the frequencies in these areas are much lower than found on Mors.

In general, more younger women are listed with middle names, which could indicate a relationship between the naming regulations introduced in 1828 and 1856 and the usage of middle names. However, as middle names appear to have been increasing before the legislation, further analysis is necessary in order to find out whether these middle names were given at baptism or adopted later in life.

No clear evidence of a relationship between middle names and social status could be found. Middle names are relatively more in use among women in the middle class than women in the lower social class, which suggests that middle names might have been used, to some extent, as a marker to distance individuals from lower social class; at the same time, however, less than 0.5% of women with middle names were classified as being of high social status.

Finally, as a large majority of the middle names are patronymics, middle names might be a way to retain the traditional naming pattern of changing patronymics; the middle names could vary from generation to generation while the patrilineal surnames could not. The middle name may have been an innovation largely designed to preserve tradition.

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Abstract

In the 19th century, Denmark's naming practices underwent significant changes. Through legislation in 1828 and 1856, the traditional chain of patronyms was officially broken and the requirement for a fixed (patrilineal) surname introduced for the entire population. At the same time, the usage of middle names (here referring to a name taking the form of a family name but placed between first name(s) and surname in the full onomastic profile) increased. A pilot study of middle names in ten randomly selected areas points to a great regional (and local) divergence in the usage of middle names. The island of Mors in Northern Jutland displays a noticeably higher proportion of women listed with middle names than elsewhere, as well as distinctive combinations of middle name and surname. In this article, this local prevalence of middle names is investigated and compared with the surrounding areas Salling and Thy. With regard to Mors, there is discussion of the impact of naming regulations and of possible connections between middle names and social status. The corpus of names used for the analysis is taken from the Danish census of 1880.

Keywords: Personal names, surname-typological middle names, women's names, 19th century, Denmark, Mors

1. Einführung

Personennamen, die die Lebensfähigkeit des Volkes bezeugen, spielen eine besondere Rolle, wenn man über ausgestorbene Völker spricht. Das tragische Schicksal der Prußen/Altpreußen bestätigt diese Behauptung. Unter dem Zwang der geschichtlichen Entwicklung spricht man heute von zwei baltischen Völkern – Litauern und Letten. Die anderen sind von der Karte Osteuropas verschwunden. Sprachlich und onomastisch gesehen hat das Altpreußische tiefe und reiche Spuren hinterlassen. Die ältesten sprachlichen Überreste des Altpreußischen – Personennamen und Toponyme – wurden schon in der Mitte des 13. Jhs. in handschriftlichen Quellen überliefert. Die spärlichen Sprachdenkmäler, handschriftliche und gedruckte, haben uns später erreicht, im 14. und 16. Jh. (s. dazu TRAUTMANN 1910: XXIIff., MAŽIULIS 1966: 27ff., DINI 2014: 329–335, BLAŽIENĖ 2015: 20ff.). Schon mehrmals wurde hervorgehoben, dass altpreußische Wörter, die von früheren Forschern des apr. Namengutes als apr. Eigennamen betrachtet wurden, vereinzelt in handschriftlichen Dokumenten auftreten und dass sie der Kanzlei des Ordens, d.h. den Schreibern, deren Namen und Herkunft nicht einfach festzustellen ist, bekannt waren. GEORG GERULLIS (1922: 27) hat in seiner Sammlung den apr. Ortsnamen *Derwayn* 1420 im Samland ohne nähere Ortsangabe angeführt. In der Handfeste des Dorfes *Labithen*, späteres *Lobitten*, russ. *Lugovskoje*,¹ im Kirschspiel Powunden, geht es um das Privileg des erwähnten Dorfes mit sehr genauer Aufzählung der Grenzen und Angabe von jedem Pfahl, Stein, Teich und anderen Objekten wie z.B. *eine Birneboum* ‘Birne’, ohne sie namentlich zu benennen: *vnde ist eyne ort grenitz dy do scheidet Karigeithin unde Labithin von Dorbin bey dem flisse Bontewisske den daß fliß nechst zcu geen bis an den grabz bey der wayen zcu eyne pfole bey Clammans kretzem* 1420 (OF 103 79v). Wie aus der Handschrift ersichtlich wird, hat es keinen ON *Derwayn* gegeben. Der Schreiber hat im Abschnitt *bis an den grabn bey der wayen* d.h. ‘bis an den Graben bei den Wiesen oder bei der Wiese’ die Pluralform *wayen* des apr. Appellativums *wayos* ‘Wiese’ verwendet. Es kann sein, dass der Schreiber die Pluralform von der Singularform nicht unterscheiden konnte doch aber anstelle des mnd. Worts *wese* ‘Wiese’ (LÜBBEN/WALTHER 1995 [1888]: 577) hat er das

¹ Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurden die eingedeutschen altpreußischen Ortsnamen einer radikalen Umbenennung unterworfen (s. BLAŽIENĖ 2000: 8).

apr. Wort verwendet, dessen Bedeutung ihm allem Anschein nach bekannt war (s. BLAŽIENĖ 2001: 14–17, 2015: 27–28).²

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Auszug aus dem OF 103 79v 1420

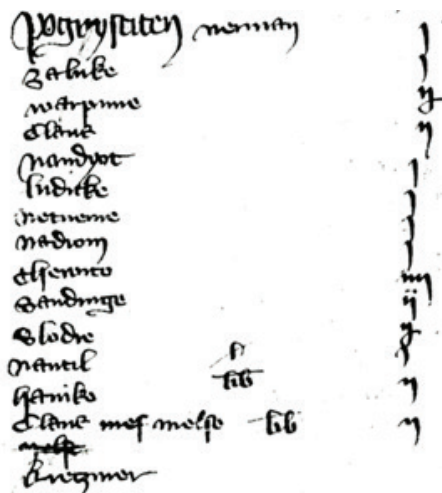
2. Zur Bezeugung der altpreußischen Personennamen

Altpreußische bzw. baltische Eigennamen wurden in tausenden Dokumenten niedergeschrieben und als die ältesten in den geschichtlichen Quellen (darunter werden nicht nur Ordensfolianten [im Text – OF] oder Ostpreussische Folianten [im Text – Ostpr. Fol.], sondern auch kleinere handschriftliche Dokumente gemeint) erwähnten Tatsachen der baltischen Sprachen für die Sprachgeschichte erhalten geblieben.

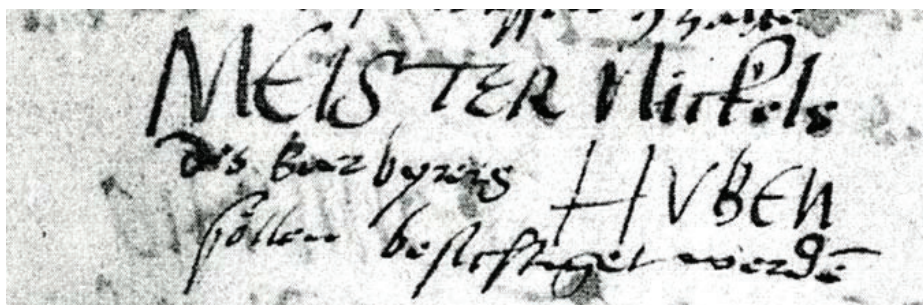
Indem Thomas Natauwe
Wir Bruder Somadt golner von Kottenfeyne homeft des ordens
Ist zute und willen imp. megebener. Vorlehen und gesen dñm yernst
Natauwen fernem rechten erben und nachkomlingen milben hofen anders
gelegen biff dem belde fremde und in finden in wamanden. Wpme den
fremgen als sie in von bñm bruch mit beuñet frey von genden und yebur
licher erben erlich und ewiglich zu bestude. Auch hune wir den eyenat
Natauwe fernem rechten erben und nachkomlingen von sunderlichen stnate

Auszug aus dem OF 107 44v 1386, wo der Altpreuße
Thomas Natauwe erwähnt ist

² Die Autorin hat darüber in der litauischen wissenschaftlichen Presse geschrieben. Diese Tatsache scheint der Wiederholung wert, weil man annimmt, dass mit diesem Beitrag die Ideen der Autorin einen breiteren Lesekreis erreichen können.



Auszug aus den Dokumenten der Urkunden Schieblade XXXI4 146 1405



Auszug aus dem Ostpr. Fol. 1271 173v das 16 Jh., wo der apr. PN *Nirtels* angegeben wird

Mit diesen Tatsachen sollte man sehr vorsichtig und präzise umgehen, was nicht immer geschah.³ Mit schriftkundigen Menschen sind als erste die Altpreußen zusammengetroffen⁴, deshalb ist ihr Namengut unter den baltischen Völkern am frühesten und vielleicht am zuverlässigsten niedergeschrieben. Es wäre hier

³ Zu nennen ist die Übertragung ins Litauische einer sehr wichtigen Quelle für die Geschichte der Balten, der *Chronica Terrae Prussicae* von PETRUS DE DUSBURG verfasst im Jahre 1326. In der litauischen Übersetzung (erschienen 1985) sind alle apr. Eigennamen lituanisiert, die Originalform wird nur in Kommentaren erwähnt. Die Chronik ist sehr wichtig auch für das baltische Namengut, das eigentlich authentische Belege braucht. Selbstverständlich kann man authentische Form in den *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* von 1861 finden, aber für viele Interessierte wird dadurch die Arbeit wesentlich erschwert.

⁴ Im Beitrag soll nicht auf die politischen und moralischen Aspekte dieses Zusammentreffens eingegangen werden.

nicht fehl am Platz zu erwähnen, dass wir, Litauer, leider weder ein historisches Personennamenwörterbuch noch ein historisches Ortsnamenbuch haben, deren Veröffentlichung zur Entschlüsselung nicht weniger etymologischer Rätsel wesentlich beitragen könnte und am ehesten die seit Jahrzehnten immer wieder gestellte Frage nach dem Alter der baltischen Gewässernamen, ihrem Zusammenhang mit den alteuropäischen Gewässernamen und der Widerspiegelung der in ihnen begehenden indogermanischen Wurzeln, die schon seit Mitte des 20. Jhs. neu interpretierten werden, lösen helfen könnte. Möge man über die Prähistorie der Balten, ihre Geschichte, das 16. und spätere Jahrhunderte schreiben, was man sich nur vorstellen kann, so kommt kein Forscher ohne Angaben zum Namengut aus. Gründliche Studien der Ordensurkunden zeigen unmissverständlich, dass es einfach notwendig ist, sich erneut mit den altpreußischen Personennamen und der anderen Benennungen der Altpreußen zu befassen. Man kann der Behauptung zustimmen, dass die apr. PN aufgrund der extralinguistischen Faktoren dem Einfluss der fremden Sprachen unterlagen, unter denen die Zuwanderung der Fremden, die Taufe der Einheimischen des Landes und die damit verbundene Entstehung der fremden Namen im altpreußischen Namengut, in erster Linie der Taufnamen zu erwähnen sind.

3. Überblick über neue Material zur apr. Personenamenforschung

Die wichtigste Tatsache, wie schon mehrmals erwähnt wurde, die die Autorin dazu bewogen hat, sich mit apr. PN zu befassen, sind Neufunde, d.h. neues Material für die apr. Anthroponymie. Neufunde kommen in den handschriftlichen Dokumenten des Deutschen Ordens immer wieder vor. Für die Namenforscher des baltischen Namengutes ist es sehr wichtig, historische Zeugnisse der Archivalien selbst gründlich zu studieren, weil man sich auf die Edition der einschlägigen Urkunden nicht in allen Fällen verlassen kann. FRIEDHELM DEBUS (2004: 112) hat betont, dass die von Historikern besorgten Editionen inhaltsorientiert und auf einen bestimmten Leserkreis hin ausgerichtet sind.⁵ Auf die Notwendigkeit einer systematischen Aufarbeitung anthroponymisch bedeutsamer Archivalien hat VOLKMAR HELLFRITZSCH (2005: 70) hingewiesen. Eben dank dem systematischen Suchen nach neuen

⁵ Zu erwähnen ist für die Geschichte der Komturei Königsberg in Preußen ein wichtiges Buch von GRISCHA VERCAMMER (2010), das ohne Zweifel sehr wertvoll für Historiker ist; aber der Namenforscher, ohne auf Details einzugehen, muss in sehr vielen Fällen die Zuverlässigkeit der Wiedergabe von apr. Personennamen überprüfen. Dazu kommt noch die Tatsache, dass die Edition der Preußischen Urkundenbücher den Zeitraum nur bis 1372 umfasst. Zu erwähnen ist auch *Das virtuelle Preußische Urkundenbuch: Regesten und Texte zur Geschichte Preußens und des Deutschen Ordens* herausgegeben von JÜRGEN SARNOWSKY (1999–2017), Zugang <http://www.spaetmittelalter.uni-hamburg.de/Urkundenbuch/>, das manche Ergänzung zu apr. Eigennamen liefert.

Tatsachen des apr. Namengutes im Ganzen kommt man zu neuen Erkenntnissen auch auf dem Gebiet der apr. Personennamenforschung, die von IZOLDA MATUSEVIČIŪTĖ (1938) durch neues handschriftliches Material aus dem Jahre 1448 bereichert wurde. Der Ukrainer ANATOLIJ NEPOKUPNYJ (1976: 114–128) hat die 1970 publizierte Handschrift von NIKOLAUS COPERNICUS *Locationes mansorum desertorum*, in der viele apr. Eigennamen, darunter auch nicht wenige apr. PN des 16. Jhs. notiert sind, sowie spätere Eintragungen in verschiedenen Dokumenten der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jhs. und, zwar vom Jahr 1581, sowie des 17.–18. Jhs., einer näheren Betrachtung unterzogen. Bei COPERNICUS und in anderen gedruckten Quellen lassen sich die Personen durch eine Ortsangabe näher bestimmen und der Region, in der Altpreußen ansässig waren, zuordnen. Es werden apr. PN und neue Personenamenformen, die bei REINHOLD TRAUTMANN nicht vorkommen, vorgestellt und ausführlich besprochen.⁶

Als eine wichtige Quelle für die Ergänzung des schon bekannten apr. Namengutes sei das *Handvesten buch Komturei Brandenburg* zu erwähnen, das als verschollen gegolten hat und zufällig in der Landesbibliothek Hannover im 7. Jahrzehnt des 20. Jhs. entdeckt wurde. Das bedeutet, dass für TRAUTMANN (1925), der ziemlich sorgfältig das empirische Material für seine Sammlung der apr. Personenamen bearbeitet hat, diese Quelle nicht zugänglich war, deshalb fehlen nicht wenige apr. PN in seinem PN-Inventar, z.B. 1360 *Medilighe Katylen son czu Marunen* (32v),⁷ 1373 *und gebin Tawlewayn Sustenniß den brudern zehen huben czu Tappelkaym gelegen* (34v). In beiden Auszügen werden auch auf Verwandtschaftbeziehungen hingewiesen, indem man die Wörter *son* und *brudern* verwendet. Im ersten Auszug werden der Vater *Katylen* (apr. **Katil-*) und sein Sohn *Medilighe* (apr. **Med-lig-* ?)⁸ zu *Marunen* (später *Maraunen*, russ. *Michailovskoje* im Kr. Heiligenbeil, zu dem ON s. BLAŽIENĖ 2005: 117) angeführt. Im zweiten Beispielsatz handelt es sich um zwei Brüder und die Verleihung von Besitz im Dorfe *Tappelkaym*, d.h., dass die beliebten Brüder *Tawlewayn* (apr. **Taul-vain-*) und *Sustenniß* (apr. **Sustenis*) über 10 Hufen Land (168 Hektar) im Dorf *Tappelkaym* (später *Tappelkeim*, poln. *Tapilkajmy* in der Gemeinde Bartoczyce, zu dem ON s. PRZYBYTEK 1993: 299f.) verfügen. 1384 werden die Altpreußen *Jeddem* (apr. **Jed-*), *Nergins* (apr. **Ner-gin-is* ? oder **Nar-gin-is*), *Rekuthe* (apr. **Rek-ut-*). Die lit. Herkunft dieses PN wäre

⁶ Das Thema wurde in gewisser Weise von der Autorin des Beitrages fortgesetzt, s. BLAŽIENĖ 2011a: 463ff.

⁷ Im Beitrag werden die Angaben des Handfestenbuches der Kompurei Brandenburg nur mit dem Hinweis auf die Seite zitiert.

⁸ Die Deutung vieler im Beitrag angegeben apr. PN wird nicht einer näheren Betrachtung unterzogen. Es wird in meisten Fällen nur die authentische Form unter Berücksichtigung des baltischen Materials rekonstruiert.

nicht auszuschließen, vgl. den lit. PN *Rekūtis*, LPDB), *Sloboth* (apr. **Slab-ut-* ?) erwähnt, deren Namen, außer *Jeddem*, in keiner der Autorin bekannten Quelle vorkommen. Sie bekommen III hoken *czu Gawayn* (37v), d.h. 3 Haken (33,6 Hektar) im Dorfe *Gawayn* (später *Guwöhnen*, russ. *Rjazanskoje* Kr. Friedland, zu dem ON s. BLAŽIENĖ 2005: 70f.) (s. BLAŽIENĖ 2011a: 471f.). Aufmerksamkeit verdient noch ein Neufund 1380 *Monteykin* (apr. **Mant-eik-*) und *synen rechten erben vir hoken gelegen czu Smircsteyn* (später *Schmerksteine*, russ. *Volžskoje* im Kr. Pr. Eylau, zu dem ON s. BLAŽIENĖ 2005: 183) (81v). Nicht zu übersehen sind die Eigenheiten der Namenlexik und Wortbildung und graphische Besonderheiten, z.B. apr. PN 1374 *Ligus* (apr. **Lig-us-*, bis jetzt nicht bekannt) *Tulegeden* (apr. **Tul-ged-*) und *Tungato* (apr. **Tung-at-ā*) *den brudern zwene hoken [...]* *zcu Royko [...]* (116v), 1376 *uff dem velde Royko genant Tungute zu Dompnow* (apr. **Tung-ut-* oder derselbe **Tung-at-ā*) (116r) (vgl. TRAUTMANN 1925: 110). In Ordensfolianten, auch in dem schon kurz besprochenen Handfestenbuch, findet man vielleicht den Entstehungsprozess der zweigliedrigen Benennung, der Zweinamigkeit, wie z.B. 1388 *Jurge Naunyn* (153v). Das erste Glied der Benennung ist ein Taufname, das zweite ein apr. Anthroponym, das auch als ein separater Zusatz bezeichnet werden kann, der „offensichtlich ad hoc zur näheren Bezeichnung des Genannten dienen sollte“ (s. DEBUS 1997/1978: 597f.). In vielen Fällen ist das zweite Glied ein Oikonym (s. dazu BLAŽIENĖ 2011b: 105ff.).

4. Namen und Namenträger

Wenn man auf eine neue Quelle stößt, hilft sie die Verbreitungsgeographie der apr. PN besser zu verstehen. Das Inventar der apr. PN ist nicht so umfangreich, wie man es haben möchte, aber eines ist klar, dass das empirische Material noch viele Jahre gesammelt werden muss, um das Corpus zu ergänzen, um die Gesamtheit und Entwicklungsstufen des altpreußischen anthroponymischen Systems erfassen zu können. Das ist keine leichte Aufgabe geschichtlich noch bevölkerungsgeschichtlich gesehen. Die Neufunde und überhaupt die Gesamtheit der Eigennamen sind einmalige Zeugnisse einer nicht mehr gesprochenen Sprache. Die Eigennamen haben das Volk überlebt. Sie bezeugen auch die Geschichte und Geographie des Landes sowie die Kultur und Mentalität des Volkes. Bis jetzt wurden die altpreußischen Personennamen sprachlich untersucht, ohne Berücksichtigung der Benennungsbedürfnisse, historischen Bedingungen und anderen außersprachlichen Tatsachen. Es entstehen viele Fragen bei der Erforschung der apr. PN, z.B. was hat der Name an Bedeutung transportiert? Das historisch vorliegende Namengut sollte doch irgendwelche Nachricht übermitteln, hinsichtlich der Sprache, hinsichtlich der Durchschaubarkeit des Namens selbst. Des Weiteren könnte man fragen, ob alle überhaupt einen Namen hatten und wie waren die Benennungsbedürfnisse,

der Austausch, wie groß war die Zahl benannter Namenträger mit demselben PN. Die Überlieferung des apr. Personennamenschatzes könnte als ziemlich vollständig gelten, wenn es nicht neue Angaben gäbe, die beweisen, dass es noch nicht alles zum Inventar gesagt worden ist. Der kompetente Sprecher weiß, dass gewisse Namen oder Namentypen ganz bestimmten Landschaften oder auch Orten eigen sind (DEBUS 1993: 195). Die Frage erhebt sich, ob das auch im 13. Jh. bekannt war. Diese Frage dürfte mit ja zu beantworten sein, weil die Namenträger auch im 13. Jh. viel kannten und verstanden, wovon die außersprachlichen Faktoren wie – Geschichte, Archäologie usw. zeugen. KLAUS JÜRGEN HUTTERER (1993: 191) betont, dass die Namen, gemeint sind altgermanische Personennamen, unter dem dynamischen Aspekt der Volksgeschichte einzelner Namenträgergemeinschaften in ihrem ununterbrochenen Wandel in Raum und Zeit begriffen werden. Natürlich entsteht dabei die ausschlaggebende Frage, ob man von einem anthroponymischen Modell bei der Benennung der Altpreußen sprechen kann. Für ein solches Modell sprechen eindeutig historische Überlieferungen und die Gesamtheit der apr. PN.⁹ Es ist völlig klar, dass man bei der Deutung der PN auf die ältesten überlieferten Formen stützt. Es ist kein Freiraum zum Nachdenken. Man muss nur im Klaren sein, welche Formen als die ältesten auszuwerten sind.

Zur Zeiten der eingliedrigen Benennung der Altpreußen wurde der Personename als Name verstanden. Man muss feststellen, dass die Erforschung des historischen altpreußischen Namengutes zu der Schlussfolgerung führt, dass die eingliedrige Benennung erforscht wird, obwohl unter Umständen erheblich später vorsichtig durchaus von Zweinamigkeit die Rede sein könnte. Man kann schon von den Namen der Einheimischen und den Namen der Zugewanderten sprechen. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass in der Kanzlei des DO und dessen Verwaltung das Bedürfnis entstand, jede Person exakt zu beschreiben, weil es immer mehr Namenträger gab, die denselben Namen hatten. Jede Person musste näher definiert werden. Zu diesem Zweck dienten Taufnamen, z.B. 1365 *Viro Johann dicto Paleyda* (apr. **Paleidā*) (121r), oder Ortsnamen 1366 *Jurge Schandaw* (später *Skandau*, poln. *Skandawa* in der Gemeinde Barciany, zu dem ON s. Przybytek 1993: 265) (161r).

Bei der Erforschung der apr. Personennamen ist es wichtig, die Lebensfähigkeit der apr. PN zu zeigen sowie die Benennungsprobleme gründlich zu erforschen. Das Wichtigste ist, Aussagen darüber zu machen, was durch zuverlässige

⁹ Man darf den Gedanken von OTTO HÖFLER (1993: 17) nicht außer Acht lassen: Zunächst ist offenbar, daß aus der Gesamtzahl der Nomina der alten Sprachen nur eine verhältnismäßig kleine Zahl in die Sphäre der Personennamenbildung hinübergenommen worden ist und es ist im Blick zu behalten, wie die Situation mit den Sprachen aussieht, deren Anthroponymie spät überliefert ist.

Quellen belegt ist. Im Weiteren wird auf Beispiele aus dem 13., 16. und 17. Jh. eingegangen.

5. Zur Lebensfähigkeit der apr. PN

Die ersten apr. PN erscheinen schon Mitte des 13. Jhs., z.B. im Jahre 1255 am 18. Januar spricht man von dem Altpreußen *Iboto* (apr. **Ei-but-*), genauer gesagt wird der lat. Dat. verwendet *Ibotoni*, *Ibutthoni* mit dem Hinweis *Sambite* d.h. er stammt aus dem Samland. Der Beliehene bekommt den Besitz *in campo*, *qui Labota (Lobeta) nuncupatur* (später *Laptau*, rus. *Muromskoje*) neben dem Feld *Keuthe*, *Kewthe*, *Kente* (später *Kiauten*, zu dem ON s. BLAŽIENĖ 2000: 53) *cum XX familiis ad eundem pertinentibus* („zusammen mit 20 Familien, die in Verbindung mit ihm bestehen“). Dieser PN ist wohl der am frühesten erwähnte Name eines Samländers (s. BLAŽIENĖ 2011a: 463f.).

Die unten besprochene apr. PN sind den Dokumenten des Etatsministeriums (im Text – EM) und dem Ostpreußischen Folianten 911 a entnommen. Sie sind zum ersten Mal im 16. Jh und teils sogar erst am Ende des 17. Jhs. belegt. Es ist nicht eindeutig, ob das zweite Glied des PN *Hans Sirgith* nicht aus einem ON stammt, aber der PN ist schon um 1400 als *Sirgite* (OF 110 42v) belegt, später als der ON. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass noch frühere Belege nur noch nicht gefunden wurden. Es besteht eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit, weitere Belege zu entdecken. Das empirische Material wartet auf Ergänzungen, um richtige Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen. 1542 Überschrift *Bitte des Hans Sirgith um Verschreibung des Grünhofs mit Mühle und Krug. Hans Sirgith*. (EM 126 d 308), vgl. 1540 *Peter vnnd Greger Hans Sirgits paur*n (Ostpr. Fol. 911 a XXX 1 76v), [1540] *Rudaw Sirgitte Dat 1 m 14 β Hans Sirgit fur 37 nacht*; (Ostpr. Fol. 911 a XXX 27 3v). 1542/1543 *Bey denen vom adell [...] 36 β fur 4 thonn Hans Syrgitth; Hanns Syrgith* (Ostpr. Fol. 911 a XXX 2 17r, 19v). HANS HEINZ DIEHLMANN (1998: 124) hat eine Liste des Adels und seiner Besitzungen zusammengestellt: *Hans Sirgit (Syrgitth)* ein (von) *Sergitten* auf *Sirgitten*. Der soziale Status des Namenträgers wird im Ostpr. Fol. 911 a hervorgehoben. Vgl. den apr. ON 1288 *das Feld Sirgite* (PUB I, 2 430) (später *Sergitten*, russ. *Serežkino* im Kirchspiel Rudau, zu dem ON s. BLAŽIENĖ 2000: 148, wo die deappellativische und deanthroponymische Herkunft des ON erwogen wird). Traditionell wird der ON als Ableitung des Suff. apr. *-it- von apr. *sirgis* ‘Ross’ betrachtet. In der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jhs. war der genannte apr. PN verbreitet, der in den Sammlungen der apr. PN nur einmal vorkommt. Er könnte am ehesten zu apr. *sirgis* ‘Ross’ gestellt werden und gehört zu den nach dem Vergleich nach Tieren benannten PN (s. EICHLER 1999: 455). Zur Semantik vgl. den lit. PN. *Žirgaitis*, den ZIGMAS ZINKEVIČIUS (2008: 505) mit lit. *žirgas* ‘Ross’ in Verbindung setzt. Die Autoren des berühmten Werkes „Lietuvių pavardžių žodynas“ (Wörterbuch

der litauischen Familiennamen) waren anderer Meinung, die jetzt sich auch in der Datenbank der litauischen Familiennamen (Lietuvių pavardžių duomenų bazė – LPDB) widerspiegelt. Die Wurzel *žirg-* wird zu lit. *žirgas*, *žirgės*, *žirgės* ‘Brotshragen; Holzblock; Kreuzhölzer auf dem Dachfirst’ usw. gestellt. Vgl. noch kur. PN *Syrge*, *Syrgyt* zu lett. *zirgs*, lit. *žirgas* ‘Ross’ (KIPARSKY 1939: 344, 390). Andererseits könnte bei diesem PN von dem ON ausgehen und ihn als Zusatz betrachten (DEBUS 1997/1978: 597f.). Vielleicht ist die suffigierte Form mit dem apr. Suff. **-it-* als die im Namengebrauch entstandene Koseform anzusehen (DEBUS 1997/1987: 709).

1689 *Galgarben* (später *Gallgarben*, russ. *Puškinskoje*) *Einwohner/ihren Nachbarn Algidus von der Myle wegen Verursachung ihres großen Brandschadens* (EM 126 d 226). Es werden in diesem Dokument zwei apr. PN erwähnt: der schon seit 1363 bekannte apr. PN *Mile* (OF 103 90v) und der Neufund *Algidus*. *Algidus* kann zweistämmig sein aus apr. **al-* und **gid-*, zu apr. **al-* vgl. die apr. PN *Algaude*, *Allemanne* (TRAUTMANN 1925: 12), die lit. PN *Axbutas*, *Axgedas* (KUZAVINIS, SAVUKYNAS 1987: 64f., 68; ZINKEVIČIUS 2008: 192), wo *al-* zu lit. *alià* *vieno* ‘jeder’ gestellt wird. Zu apr. **gid-* vgl. die apr. PN *Milagide*, *Tulagide* (TRAUTMANN 1925: 59, 108), die lit. PN *Gydaitis*, **Gydė* (LPDB), *Milgydas* (KUZAVINIS, SAVUKYNAS 1987: 272) und apr. *sengidaut* ‘erlangen’ (MAŽIULIS 2013: 841).

6. Anstelle von Schlussfolgerungen

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, dass man vieles bei der Erforschung der apr. Anthroponymie berücksichtigen muss. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass man einen ernsthaften Blick auf den Zusammenhang des PN und der apr. Lexik werfen muss. Die appellativische Lexik des Altpreußischen kann aus den PN rekonstruiert werden.¹⁰ Es ist eindeutig, dass die Namen aus der zeitgenössischen Lexik gebildet wurden, z.B. man könnte den apr. PN 1396 *Rawkete* (apr. **Rauk-it-*) (OF 107 67v) als Spitznamen betrachten, vgl. den lit. PN *Raukutis* und lit. *raũkti* ‘(die Stirn) runzeln, zusammenziehen, furchen, falten’ (LPDB). Eigentlich soll man die apr. PN in Bezug auf Bildung und Herkunft nicht nur mit Hilfe schon bekannter apr. bzw. balt. Wurzeln erforschen, sondern auch mit Hilfe der aus ihnen erschlossenen apr. Lexeme. Die Lebendigkeit der apr. PN bezeugen nicht nur Dokumente des Deutschen Ordens, sondern auch im 16. und späteren Jh. verfasste Dokumente und in ihnen notierte PN. Ungeachtet des hohen Werts der Sammlung der apr. PN von TRAUTMANN ist nicht zu übersehen, dass er viele wertvolle Zeugnisse des 16. Jhs., geschweige denn des späteren Erbes des Herzogtums Preußen, außer Acht gelassen hat.

¹⁰ Die Autorin hat schon mehrere Versuche unternommen, Appellativa aus den apr. Eigennamen zu erschließen (s. BLAŽIENĖ 2017 63–85).

Der Forscher hatte die besten Möglichkeiten, ihm stand das Königsberger Archiv zur Verfügung. Die Handfesten in den Ostpreußischen Folianten hat der Forscher nur gelegentlich benutzt aufgrund seiner Überzeugung, dass sie „viel junge und wertlose Abschriften enthalten“ (TRAUTMANN 1925: 10). Man sollte ohne Frage auf die Idee kommen, dass der Entwicklungsvorgang und der Verlauf der Formierung der Benennung der Einheimischen und der Zuwanderer im ehemaligen Land, dass später Altpreußen genannt wurde, sehr wichtig für Indogermanisten bzw. Baltisten, für Namenforscher und Historiker war und ist. TRAUTMANN kannte schon „Die Türkensteuer im Herzogtum Preußen 1540“, d.h. den Ostpreußischen Folianten 911 a. Dieses sehr genaue Register ist keine Abschrift. Die EN wurden von den Lippen der Zeitgenossen niedergeschrieben und erfassen alle sozialen Gruppen der Bevölkerung der frühen Neuzeit und ihr Hab und Gut (s. DIEHLMANN 1998: 41*f.). In dieser Quelle sind viele neue EN verzeichnet, auch ihre Varianten, die zur Festlegung der Herkunft der apr. EN von großer Bedeutung sind. Die von der Autorin bearbeiteten Dokumente des Etatsministeriums (Staatsministerium) sind ebenfalls keine Abschriften der schon bekannten Tatsachen. Das Namengut dieser Dokumente zeugt eindringlich von der Existenz der apr. PN auch im Raum der späteren Jahrhunderte.¹¹ Natürlich kann man über die Nationalität der Namenbesitzer diskutieren. Es ist jedoch schwer vorstellbar, dass die Menschen verschiedener Nationalitäten (meistenteils waren das Deutsche und Polen), die das ehemalige Ostpreußen besiegt und später das Land bewohnt haben, sich apr. Namen angeeignet haben. Wir können und müssen den Benennungsprozess der Altpreußen verfolgen. Die Namensnennungen müssen unter Berücksichtigung der Quellenüberlieferung sprachlich gedeutet werden. Jeder Name hat seine Geschichte, die viele Fragen aufwirft, wie z.B.: Was wissen wir über die Namenwörter des Altpreußischen im späteren Mittelalter (s. dazu KOHLHEIM ROSA und VOLKER 2011: 82ff.)? Wie entwickelte sich die Namengebung? Seit wann bzw. ist überhaupt mit Zweinamigkeit bei den Prußen/Altpreußen zu rechnen?

Der Gang der Forschung hat gezeigt, dass die Analyse und Deutung der apr. PN unter Berücksichtigung aller Neufunde und ihrer historischen Auswertung sowie der Fragen des fremden Anteils am apr. Namengut eine neue Sammlung der apr. Personenamen, d.h. einen neuen TRAUTMANN, braucht, der die gestellten Fragen und die erwähnten Probleme möglichst ausführlich erläutern könnte. Die Idee ist eines Versuches wert.

¹¹ DAMARIS NÜBLING und KONRAD KUNZE (2005: 150) haben betont: „Namen sind immer an Namenträger gebunden und mit ihnen gewandert, haben sich mit ihnen vermehrt, sind mit ihnen ausgestorben.“ Die Frage entsteht bei der Behandlung vom Personenamengut eines nicht mehr existierenden Volkes, ob die Namenträger nicht die Namen überlebt haben oder die apr. Namenträger noch am Ende des 17. Jhs. lebten.

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- EM = *Etatsministerium*. Dokumente aus dem Geheimen Staatsarchiv „Preußischer Kulturbesitz“.
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- LPDB = *Lietuvių pavardžių duomenų bazė*. [Datenbank der litauischen Familiennamen.] URL: <http://lkiis.lki.lt>
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- OF = *Ordensfolianten* aus dem Geheimen Staatsarchiv „Preußischer Kulturbesitz“.
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Abstract

Personennamen, die die Lebensfähigkeit eines Volkes bezeugen, spielen eine besondere Rolle, wenn man über ausgestorbene Völker spricht. Das tragische Schicksal der Prußen/Altpreußen bestätigt diese Annahme. Aufgrund der geschichtlichen Entwicklung spricht man heute nur noch von zwei baltischen Völkern – Litauern und Letten. Die anderen baltischen Völkern sind von der Karte Europas verschwunden. Von diesen Völkern haben die Prußen/Altpreußen die ausführlichsten sprachlichen und onomastischen Relikte hinterlassen. Die ältesten Denkmäler des Altpreußischen sind die Eigennamen: Personennamen und Ortsnamen, in vielen Handschriften des Deutschen Ordens schon in der Mitte des 13. Jhs. belegt. Die spärlichen Denkmäler des Altpreußischen, in handschriftlicher und gedruckter Form, sind später auf uns gekommen – im 14. und 16. Jh. Von der Autorin wird mehrfach unterstrichen, dass vereinzelte apr. Wörter im handschriftlichen Nachlass des Deutschen Ordens aufgezeichnet sind. Diese Wörter haben die Forscher des apr. Namengutes als Eigennamen betrachtet, weil die handschriftlichen Texte in nicht wenigen Fällen oberflächlich bearbeitet wurden, geschweige denn, dass der Kontext umfänglich erfasst worden wäre. Die Prußen/Altpreußen waren die ersten, die schriftkundigen Menschen begegnet sind. Der Orden war im Besitz einer sehr genau arbeitenden Kanzlei, die die Tatsachen der fremden Sprache genau festgehalten hat. Die prußischen/altpreußischen Personennamen zogen schon immer ein großes Interesse der Sprachwissenschaftler und Namenforscher auf sich. Das Interesse nimmt ständig zu, weil immer neue apr. Personennamen entdeckt werden, die in den schon bekannten Verzeichnissen fehlen. Man darf nicht außer Acht lassen, dass jedes neue Zeugnis der ausgestorbenen Sprache eine große Rolle für die Erforschung der Sprache selbst und des Namengutes spielt. Man kann heute mit Gewissheit sagen, dass die Geschichte der apr. Personennamen nicht mit der Entstehung der neuen Verwaltungsstrukturen im 16. Jh. abbricht. Prußische/altpreußische Personennamen sind in vielen Dokumenten der späteren Jahrhunderte verzeichnet. Selbstverständlich erhebt sich die Frage, wer die Namensträger waren und zu welcher Nationalität sie gehörten und ob die apr. Personennamen auch Eigentum anderer Völker wurden. Die Benennung der Prußen/Altpreußen, die Entstehung der zweigliedrigen Benennung, die möglichst genaue und ausführliche Zusammenstellung des apr. Personennamengutes verdient die genaue Aufmerksamkeit der Pruthenistik und der Baltistik sowie, selbstverständlich, der Indogermanistik.

Schlüsselwörter: Prußen/Altpreußen, Benennung, Personennamen, handschriftliche Quellen, Verzeichnisse des apr. Personennamengutes

Die lettischen Anthroponyme im ersten deutsch-lettischen Wörterbuch (1638) und ihre deutschen Äquivalente

1. Vorgeschichte

Das gegenwärtige lettische Rufnamensystem rechnet seine Anfänge seit dem ausgehenden 12. Jahrhundert, als das westliche Christentum die baltischen Kleinvölker erreichte und auf dem Territorium des heutigen Lettland Fuß fasste¹. Seit dem 13. Jahrhundert sind die selten belegten Personennamen der Letten (anfänglich – der Vertreter der baltischen Kleinvölker der Kuren, Semgallen und Lettgallen) in lateinisch² oder mittelniederdeutsch³ verfassten Quellen aufgezeichnet worden. Sporadisch kommen auch mittelhochdeutsche⁴ Quellen vor. Im 16. Jahrhundert kommen auf Grund politischer Veränderungen auch einige polnische Dokumente hinzu, zum Beispiel die unvollständige Güterrevision von 1599 und am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts die ersten schwedischen Hakenrevisionen auf Frühneuhochdeutsch. Besonders hervorzuheben sind die Mitgliederlisten der lettischen Handwerkerzünfte, z. B. der Bierträger, Salzträger, Ligger u. ä., in die die zahlenden oder neu aufgenommenen Mitglieder eingetragen wurden. Die Eigennamen sind hier ohne Kontext aufgezählt. Einige wenige Ausnahmen bilden kurze lettische Sätze oder Satzteile über die neu aufgenommenen Mitglieder unter den vorwiegend niederdeutschen Einträgen, z. B. 1515: *Gherde maen labbe meytyn* ‘Gherde meine gute Tochter’ (METIG 1892: 316), 1533: *Anna Szageryn lyck sow scryvet paer joune mahsze* ‘Anna Szageryn ließ sich als neue Schwester eintragen’ und 1549: *Tomas Pruses ar souwe gaspassche Margareta, jaune* ‘Tomas Pruses und seine junge Frau Margareta’ (ARBUSOW 1922: 31). In all diesen Fällen weisen die neuen, christlichen Namen der Letten keine Lettisierungsmerkmale auf, d. h. ihre Form entspricht vollständig oder fast vollständig derjenigen der Quellsprache. Bei der Analyse dieser Namen kann man viel über die Herkunfts- und Vermittlersprachen, Entlehnungszeit und -wege, kaum jedoch über die adaptierten, in der gesprochenen Sprache verwendeten lettischen Namenformen erfahren. Für diesen Zweck – die Erforschung von Entlehnungs- und Adaptationsprozessen der christlichen Rufnamen in lettischer Sprache – können auch die ersten lettischen gedruckten Texte nicht weiterhelfen. Sie

¹ Über die ältesten, vorchristlichen lettischen Rufnamen baltischer Herkunft s. z. B. AUGSTKALNS (1935), BLESE (1929), SILIŅA-PIŅĶE (2014a).

² Z. B. im Rigischen Schuldbuch, in der Chronik von Heinrich dem Letten u. a.

³ Z. B., in verschiedenen Urkunden, in Rigaer Stadtbüchern u. a.

⁴ Z. B. die livländische Reimchronik.

beginnen erst mit der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert, und sind ausschließlich religiösen Charakters⁵. Deswegen könnte man erwarten, dass das 1638 gedruckte deutsch-lettische Wörterbuch von Georg Manzel – als erstes Wörterbuch lettischer Sprache überhaupt – die erste Quelle lettischer, d. h. in lettisierter Form fixierter Personennamen sein könnte. Das Ziel dieses Beitrages ist die Überprüfung dieser Annahme und Analyse des gewonnenen Materials, besonders im Hinblick auf die Entlehnungswege und Adaption lettischer Personennamen.

2. Zur Persönlichkeit von Georg Manzel

Georg Manzel ist 1593 als Pastorensohn im heutigen Lettland, im damaligen Herzogtum Kurland geboren und aufgewachsen, hat in Rostock Theologie studiert und war als Pastor in mehreren Gemeinden in Kurland und als Oberpastor in Dorpat (Tartu), im estnischen Teil Livlands (im heutigen Estland), tätig. Seit 1636 war er auch Professor der Theologie und Dekan an der Dorpater Universität, kehrte dann aber nach Kurland zurück und wurde Hofprediger des Kurländischen Herzogs. Er hat lettische Predigtensammlungen, kirchliche Lieder und das erste Wörterbuch der lettischen Sprache, *Lettus*, verfasst. Sprachwissenschaftler und Literaturhistoriker, Erforscher seiner Tätigkeit, betonen, dass sein Lettisch viel besser als das seiner Vorgänger war und dass die von ihm eingeführten Grundprinzipien der lettischen Orthographie ihre Gültigkeit bis zum 20. Jahrhundert behielten. (BANKAVS–JANSONE 2010: 185)

Seine Tätigkeit ist in Lettland gründlich und vielseitig erforscht worden, besonders im Kontext der Geschichte der lettischen Schriftsprache und der altlettischen Texte⁶. Deswegen ist es besonders merkwürdig, dass er von den Onomasten unbemerkt geblieben ist, obwohl sein deutsch-lettisches Wörterbuch die erste Quelle für die eine lettische Aussprache widerspiegelnden Personennamen ist. Das einzige Werk, das die Personennamen in seinem Wörterbuch behandelt hat, ist eine Monographie über die lettischen Wörterbücher bis zum Jahr 1900 von Daina Zemzare (ZEMZARE 1961). Sie hat auf anderthalb Seiten die in allen drei Teilen des Wörterbuches vorkommenden Personennamen ohne eingehende Analyse aufgelistet (ZEMZARE 1961: 61–62). Das Wörterbuch wird auch in der Einleitung des lettischen Vornamenbuches erwähnt (SILIŅŠ 1990: 15).

⁵ Hier sei auf die ersten etwa 1200 Lemmata des *Historischen Wörterbuchs des Lettischen* (16.–17. Jahrhundert) hingewiesen. Mehr als ein Drittel der Lemmata bilden die Eigennamen (s. unter <http://tezaurs.lv/lvvv/>).

⁶ Es seien nur einige Werke zu nennen: AUGSTKALNS (2009: 96–99), BALDUNČIKS (2006), BLINKENA (1998), BRIGZNA (2004), ELKSŅĪTE (2011), FRĪDENBERGA (2012), OZOLS (1965: 152–204), POKROTNIECE (2008), SKUJŅA (2006), ZEMZARE (1961: 11–63, 423–470) u. v. a.

3. Anthroponyme im Wörterbuch *Lettus*

Das deutsch-lettische Wörterbuch *Lettus* besteht aus drei Teilen: dem klassischen Wörterbuchteil und den Teilen *Phraseologia lettica* und den *Zehn Gesprächen*, die wie ein Sprachführer strukturiert sind. Was die Personennamen betrifft, kann man Zemzare zustimmen, dass in der *Phraseologia lettica* und in den *Zehn Gesprächen* insgesamt um 30 Personennamen erwähnt sind (vgl. ZEMZARE 1961, 61). Zu ergänzen wäre noch, dass ein Name auch im Wörterbuchteil belegt ist, wo dem deutschen Wort *tölplich* auf Lettisch das Wort *Mullkis* (in moderner lettischer Schreibung *mulķis*) ‘der Tor’ und der Phraseologismus *Anting kur Stabbuling*⁷ entsprechen (Lettus 186).

3.1. Anthroponyme im Wörterbuchteil *Phraseologia lettica*

Die *Phraseologia lettica* besteht aus 51 thematischen Kapiteln. Fünf von ihnen enthalten Anthroponyme, fast ausschließlich Heiligennamen im kirchlichen Kontext.

Im ersten Kapitel *Von GOTT vnd Geiftern / No Deewu un(n) no teems Gharreems* sind im lettischen Teil die Namen *Maria*, *Peteris* und *Pawills* zu finden – *Ney ta fwähta Jumprawa Maria/ ney Peteris/ ney Pawills/ ney zitts raddietz Swähtz warr mums pallid/eht*, denen im deutschen Teil die Namen *Maria*, *Petrus* und *Paulus* entsprechen – *weder die heilige Jungfraw Maria/ noch Petrus/ noch Paulus/ noch jrgend ein ander erschaffener Heiliger kan vns helfen/* (Lettus 227). Schon in diesem ersten Beispiel ist deutlich die starke Adaptation der Namen *Peteris* und *Pawills* zu sehen. Im zweiten Kapitel *Vom Menschen / No to Zillwäku* begegnen wir noch einmal dem Namen der Heiligen Jungfrau – *Deewa Dähls gir to Zillwezibu/ Meeß vnd Affini/ no fawas Mahtes tahß Jumprawas Maries vsñehmis / Gottes Sohn hat die Menschheit von der Jungfrawen Marien seiner Mutter angenommen* (Lettus 229).

Das nächste Kapitel mit Personennamen ist das siebte mit dem Titel *Von der Thiere Nahmen / Ka ick = katru Lohpu jeb Swähru fautz*. Der Titel scheint ziemlich unpassend für Anthroponyme zu sein. Beim Thema der Schafschur stellt Manzel die Frage, wie oft jährlich die Schafe geschoren werden, und die Antwort ‘drei’ wird erläutert: *ein mahl umb Jacobi, das ander mahl umb Andreae, das dritte mahl umb Georgij*, auf Lettisch – *Ween reis ap Jäcopa deenu/ ohtru reifu ap Andreem/ treßchu reifu ap Jurgheem* (Lettus 269). Das sind also Heiligennamen, die als kirchliche Feiertage auf Lettisch im Plural gebraucht werden. Im Kapitel 31 *Von Kirchen vnd dero Gerächte / No Bafnizas vnd Bafnizas Rieku* ist die Rede von Heiligenbildern und das Wort *Bild* wird im

⁷ Mehr zu diesem Namen und Phraseologismus s. in SILIŅA-PINĶE (2015).

Lettischen in vielen Varianten, darunter auch als Marienbild – *Marias Sieme* – wiedergegeben (Lettus 369).

Das umfangreichste anthroponymische Material ist im Kapitel 36 *Von der Zeit/ vnd dero theilen / No to Laiku/ vnd no tha daļleems* zusammengefasst. Mit der Zeit wird hier das astronomische und das Kirchenjahr verstanden und alle Anthroponyme bezeichnen hier die kirchlichen Feiertage. Einige Namen wiederholen sich. Einmal sind das verschiedene Marienstage: *Reinigung Mariae / Schkieftifchana Mariae, Verkündigung Mariae / Kahpošta Mariņa, Mariae Himmelfahrt / leele Maṛi, Mariae Geburt / maše Maṛi* (Lettus 384). Während in den deutschen Bezeichnungen einheitlich der lateinische Genitiv verwendet wird, weisen die lettischen Entsprechungen sowohl übernommene als auch unterschiedlich adaptierte Formen auf. Andere Feiertage sind: *S. Johannis Tag / Jaņa Deena, Peter Paul / Petera Deena, Jacobi / Jācoba Deena, Laurentij / Labbrentfcha Deena, Bartholom[ey] / Behrtmeia Deena, Joh[annis] Enthaupt[ung] / Struppa=Jahnis, Michael / Mickeļa Deena, Simon. Judae / Sim=Juda Deena, Martini / Martiņa Deena und Andreae / Andrea Deena* (Lettus 384). Bei der Antwort auf die Frage *wann?* fällt aber das Wort *Deena* (in moderner lettischer Schreibung *diena*) ‘der Tag’ weg, bleibt nur das Anthroponym im Lokativ Plural: *Jaņohβ, Peterohβ, mafohβ Maṛohβ, Berthmejohβ, Labbrentfchohβ* (Lettus 385).

Der Vollständigkeit halber muss noch das Kapitel 38 *Von Städten / No Pileems* mit zwei toponymisierten Anthroponymen erwähnt werden, da man in Riga unter anderem auch durch die *Jacobs* = und *Sünder* = *Pforten* / *pa Jācoba* = und *pa Sundera* = *Wahrteem* hineinfahren kann (Lettus 390). Das Jakobstor befand sich in der Nähe der Sankt Jakobikirche, das Sündertor ist nach dem Familiennamen *Sunder*, einer reichen Rigaer Großhändlerfamilie benannt worden.

3.2. Anthroponyme in den *Zehn Gesprächen*

Die *Zehn Gespräche* stellen in Dialogform alltägliche Situationen im Leben der Bauern und der Reisenden dar. Den 23 Gesprächspartnern hat Manzel 22 unterschiedliche Namen gegeben. Jedes Gespräch hat einen Titel, dann folgen – wie in einem Theaterstück – die Namen der handelnden Personen, sowohl auf Deutsch, als auch auf Lettisch in zwei Spalten. Danach folgt das Gespräch (s. Abb. 1). Die Abbildung 1 zeigt den Anfang des ersten Gesprächs – *Ein Gespräch eines reisenden Mannes/ der Wagen vnd Pferde dingen wil*. Die Gesprächspartner sind der Reisende *Andreas* und *Barthold, der Wirth* auf Deutsch, und – *Andres* und *Bāhrtuls* auf Lettisch. Wie den ganzen Text, übersetzt Manzel also auch die Personennamen, d. h., gibt sie in ihrer lettisierten Form wieder.

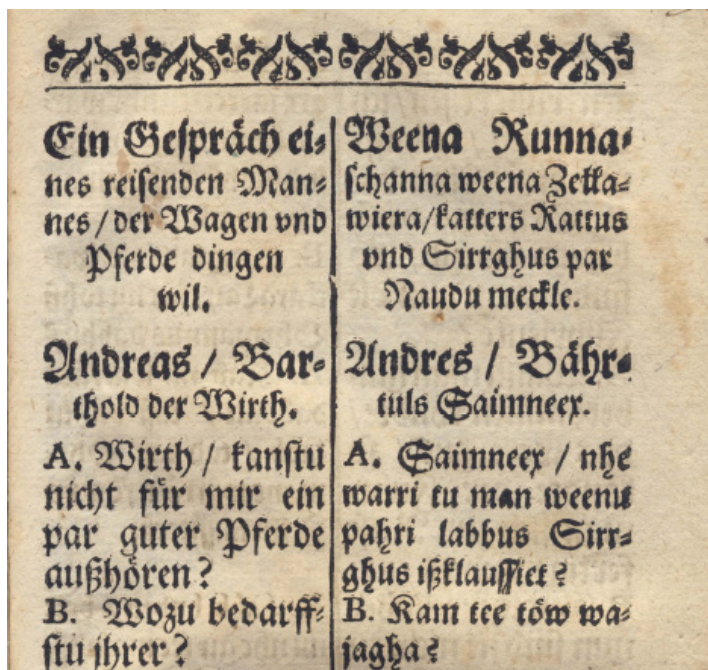


Abb. 1: Anfang des ersten Gesprächs (Lettus 415)

Es scheint glaubwürdig – und das betonen auch die Erforscher der Werke Manzels (vgl. ZEMZARE 1961: 14–15) –, dass Manzel Teile dieser Gespräche, wie auch die Namen der handelnden Personen im alltäglichen Leben gehört und in seine Texte integriert hat. Dass er ein systematischer Mann war, zeigen die Namen aus anderen Gesprächen (s. Tabelle 1). Bis zum achten Gespräch hat er alle Namen alphabetisch geordnet. Da das Wörterbuch deutsch-lettisch konzipiert ist, ist dieses alphabetische Prinzip nur im deutschen Teil zu sehen. Die adaptierten lettischen Namen können durchaus auch mit anderen Buchstaben beginnen. Vielleicht hat Manzel versucht, die ihm bekanntesten oder seinerzeit beliebtesten Namen, die er in beiden Sprachen kannte, auszusuchen. So kann man das Fehlen der Namen auf *U*, *W* und *Z* interpretieren, obwohl er solche deutschen Namen wie *Ulrich*, *Wilhelm*, *Walter*, *Zacharias* o. a. in die Gespräche hätte aufnehmen können. Das Fehlen von *K* kann mit der *C*-Schreibung erklärt werden, wie im lettischen Namen *Clawing*, der Entsprechung zum deutschen *Nicolaus*. Sein System hat nicht für alle Gespräche gereicht – die Personen waren zu viele und die Buchstaben im Alphabet haben nicht ausgereicht.

Gespräch	Personennamen deutsch	Personennamen lettisch
I	Andreas	Andres
I	Barthold	Bährtuls
II	Chriſtian	Schkehrſts
II	David	David
III	Eberhard	Ewerts
III	Friedrich	Spritzis
IV	Gotthard	Göddert
IV, X	Hans	Anſſis
IV	Georg / Jürgen	Jurring
V	Laurentz	Labbrentz
V	Martin	Marting
V	Nicolaus	Clawing
V	Otto	Otte
VI	Philip	Lipſts
VI	Röttger	Reckerts
VII	Stephan	Steppings
VII	Timotheus	Toht
VIII	Vitus	Wiets
VIII	Rudolphus	Rolops
IX	Frantz	Brentzis
IX	Jacob	Jahka
X	Michel /Michelchen	Mickelis / Mickeliet [Anrede]

Tabelle 1. Personennamen in den *Zehn Gesprächen*

Ein besonderer Fall sind die im deutschen Teil belegten Parallelförmungen *Georg* und *Jürgen*. Die erste Form ist belegt in der Einleitung und am Anfang des vierten Gesprächs, die zweite ersetzt die erste nach kurzer Zeit im Text. Dafür kann es zwei möglichen Gründe geben.

1) Da in den Gesprächen die Namen mit dem ersten Buchstaben abgekürzt werden (s. Abb. 1), hat Manzel vielleicht bemerkt, dass zwei Abkürzungen *G.* für *G[eorg]* und für *G[otthard]* verwirrend wirken, da nicht klar wird, wann *Gotthard* und wann *Georg* spricht.

2) Eventuell hat Manzel schon von Anfang an an die in Norddeutschland und in Lettland verbreitete Form *Jürgen* (vgl. HdV II 625, SILIŅA-PINĶE 2014b:

183) gedacht, da sie gut in sein alphabetisches Prinzip passt. Da er aber für die deutschen Entsprechungen konsequent die hochdeutschen statt der niederdeutschen Formen verwendet hat, wie auch zum Beispiel *Christian* und *Eberhard*, hat er sich anfänglich für *Georg* entschieden.

Letztendlich scheint, dass Manzel sich in seinem eigenen System verirrt hat. Im lettischen Teil taucht dieses Problem nicht auf, da die lettischen Namen im vierten Gespräch unterschiedliche Anfangsbuchstaben haben: *G[öddert]*, *A[nffis]* und *J[urring]*.

4. Lettisierung der Namen

Aus den aufgelisteten Namenpaaren (s. Tabelle 1) wird klar, dass dem Autor des Wörterbuches die Herkunft der lettischen Namen aus den im deutschen Sprachraum gebräuchlichen Namen klar war. Das Beispiel mit *Georg* und *Jürgen* zeigt, dass ihm auch die verschiedenen regionalen deutschen Formen eines Namens bewusst waren. Dieser Hintergrund lässt auf die lettisierten Namen aus der Perspektive der historisch relevanten niederdeutschen Namen⁸ und auf die mittelniederdeutsche Sprache als Gebersprache schauen.

Einige der Adaptationsprozesse sind universal, d. h., sie sind sowohl bei den belegten Eigennamen als auch in der entlehnten appellativen Lexik zu beobachten, z. B.: 1) der Vokalwechsel mnd. *-an-* > lett. *-en-*, wie mnd. *anker* > lett. *enkurs* und *Franz* > *Brentzis* (JORDAN 1995: 20); 2) die Dehnung mnd. *-er-* > lett. *-ēr-*, wie mnd. *herberge* > lett. *ērbergis* und *Kersten* (bei Manzel *Christian*) > *Schkehsfs*⁹ (JORDAN 1995: 21); 3) die Substitution mnd. *ö* > lett. *e*, wie mnd. *möller* > lett. *melderis* und *Röttger* > *Reckerts* (JORDAN 1995: 24); 4) die Substitution mnd. *f* > lett. *p* oder *b* (JORDAN 1995: 35), wie in den Wörtern mnd. *vlēder* > lett. *pliederis*, mnd. *junkvrūwe* > lett. *jumprava*, mnd. *vlasche* > lett. *blaške*, mnd. *vrōkost* > lett. *bruokastis* und in den Namen *Fritz* (bei Manzel *Friedrich*) > *Spricis* (mit einer *s*-Prothese, mehr dazu s. JORDAN 1995: 30), *Stephan* (aber auch mnd. schon *Steppen*) > *Stepping*, *Rudolphus* > *Rohlops* und *Frantz* > *Brentzis*; 5) die Substitution mnd. *-wr-* > lett. *-br-*, wie *wrak* > *brāķis* und *Law(e)rentz* (bei Manzel *Laurentz*)¹⁰ > *Labbrentz* (JORDAN 1995: 33); 6) der *H*-Anlaut fehlt im Lettischen, wie mnd. *herberge* > lett. *ērbergis*, mnd. *hōse* > lett. *ūzas* und *Hans* > *Anffis* (JORDAN 1995: 41).

⁸ Über die Verbreitung solcher Namen unter den Rigaer Deutschen im 15. Jahrhundert s. SILIŅA-PINĶE (2014b).

⁹ Hier auch die Palatalisation von *k* vor *e* und *s*-Prothese, auf Grund der regressiven Assimilation kommt es aber zur Entwicklung *sk-* > *šķ-* (JORDAN 1995: 31–32, 37).

¹⁰ Vgl. BACH (§ 31), LASCH (§ 304): der im Mnd. fehlende Diphthong *au* wird zu *awe*. Er erscheint aber nur gelegentlich in schriftlichen Belegen wie *Law(e)rentz* u. ä. (HdV III 19–20).

Nicht alle systematischen, bei den Appellativen belegten Lautwandlungsprozesse werden von Manzel gezeigt. Zum Beispiel wird die typische Palatalisation von mnd. *k* und *g* vor *e* und *i* nicht markiert (JORDAN 1995: 31–32): die lettischen Namen *Gederts*, *Miķelis*, *Reķerts* und *Šķērsts* sind als *Göddert*, *Mickelis*, *Reckerts* und *Schkehrfts* geschrieben. Auch ein und derselbe Prozess wird nicht immer konsequent gezeigt, z. B., die Substitution des mnd. *ö* durch lett. *e*, die im Namen *Reckerts* (< *Röttger*) zu sehen ist, wird im Namen *Göddert* (> *Gederts*) nicht verschriftlicht.¹¹

Der in den Namen belegte unkonsequente Vokalwechsel mnd. *o* > lett. *a* (JORDAN 1995: 24) kann zum Teil hypotetisch auf dialektalen Namenformen beruhen. Hier ist wichtig zu bemerken, dass Manzel mehrere Jahre im estnischen Teil Livlands, in Dorpat gelebt hat. Das Estnische kennt diesen Vokalwechsel nicht und der *o*-Laut ist auch in den nordlettischen Mundarten an der estnischen Grenze belegt, darunter auch der Name *Ote* (ZEMZARE 1961: 62), statt des standartlettischen *Ate* oder *Atis*. Auch die Schreibung *Rohlops* wirft Fragen hinsichtlich der Vokalqualität in diesem Namen auf.

Wie die Beispiele zeigen, wäre die Entstehung einiger lettischen Namen ohne die mittelniederdeutschen Namenformen, nur aus den von Manzel gegebenen Namenpaaren nicht erklärbar. Bei Manzel kommen die niederdeutschen Formen nur sporadisch vor, wie *Barthold* (hd. *Berthold*, HdV I 251), *Jürgen* (hd. *Georg*, HdV II 625) und *Röttger* (hd. *Rüdiger*, HdV III 670). Die meisten deutschen Namen sind in hochdeutscher Form geschrieben, oder aber die hoch- und niederdeutschen Formen waren identisch. Lettische Namen, die direkte niederdeutsche Entsprechungen aufweisen, sind: 1) *Schkehrfts* (in moderner lett. Schreibung *Šķērsts*) – aus *Kersten* (bei Manzel nur die hochdeutsche Entsprechung *Christian*) (HdV I 398, HdV II 678); 2) *Ewerts* (*Everts*) – aus der niederdeutschen Kontraktionsform *Evert* (< *Everhard*, HdV I 705) (bei Manzel nur die hochdeutsche Vollform *Eberhard*); 3) der unadaptierte Name *Göddert* (vgl. hd. *Gotthard*, HdV II 212–213, so auch bei Manzel), in moderner lett. Schreibung *Gederts*; 4) *Clawing* (*Klāviņš*) – aus den niederdeutschen Kurzformen *Claws*, *Clawes* u. ä. (bei Manzel nur die Vollform *Nicolaus*) (HdV II 692); 5) *Rolops* – aus der niederdeutschen kontrahierten Form *Rolof*¹² (< *Rolf*, bei Manzel nur latinisierte hochdeutsche Vollform *Rudolphus*).

5. Zusammenfassung

Im ersten deutsch-lettischen Wörterbuch von Georg Manzel ist wenig, aber wichtiges Material zur lettischen Anthroponymie aufgezeichnet:

¹¹ Vgl. dazu das 150 Jahre später erschienene Wörterbuch von Gotthard Friedrich Stender, wo der lettische Name in der Form *Gedderts* gegeben ist (STENDER 1789: 743).

¹² So auch im Rigaer Kämmerei-Register des 15. Jahrhunderts (SILIŅA-PINĶE 2014b: 163).

etwa 30 Rufnamen. Es liefert zum ersten Mal Belege für die tatsächlichen lettischen Personennamenformen im 17. Jahrhundert, deren größten Teil die Heiligennamen bilden. Die meisten Namen sind stark adaptiert. Dass diese Adaptationsprozesse schon in den vorherigen Jahrhunderten stattgefunden haben, zeigen die vielen Entlehnungen aus dem Mittelniederdeutschen, das seine wichtigste Rolle im 13.–16. Jahrhundert spielte.

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Abstract

Georg Manzel, Verfasser des ersten deutsch-lettischen Wörterbuchs *Lettus*, war der erste, der lettisierte christliche Personennamen aufgezeichnet hat. Das Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist die Analyse der Anthroponyme in seinem Wörterbuch *Lettus*, besonders der Adaptation und der Entlehnungswege von lettischen Rufnamen. Das Wörterbuch besteht aus drei Teilen: dem deutsch-lettischen Wörterbuch, der *Phraseologia lettica* und den so genannten *Zehn Gesprächen*. In den ersten zwei Teilen sind Rufnamen fast ausschließlich als Bestandteil kirchlicher Feiertage und in Beispielen religiösen Inhalts belegt. In den *Zehn Gesprächen* sind 22 lettische Rufnamen und ihre deutschen Äquivalente als Bestandteil alltäglicher Gespräche auf dem Lande integriert (Abb. 1, Tabelle 1).

Vertieft analysiert werden die niederdeutschen Einflüsse auf die Bildung lettischer Rufnamen. Ein typischer Lettisierungsprozess ist der Lautwandel, der bei der Adaptation vorwiegend mittelniederdeutscher Rufnamenformen stattfindet. Zwar nimmt Manzel in seinem Wörterbuch vorwiegend hochdeutsche Rufnamenformen auf, doch sind die lettischen Namen meistens von niederdeutschen Rufnamenformen gebildet worden, z. B., hd. *Christian*, nd. *Kersten*: lett. *Schkehrfts* oder hd. *Eberhard*, nd. *Everhard* und seine Kontraktion *Evert*: lett. *Ewerts*.

Schlüsselwörter: Anthroponyme, lettische Rufnamen, deutsche Rufnamen, Georg Manzel, 17. Jahrhundert, deutsch-lettisches Wörterbuch

Alexander Pustyakov

On the personal names of the Mari in the southwest of the Republic of Mari El in the 17th century¹

One of the topical issues in Mari onomastics is the study of the anthroponymy of the Mari in particular areas during different periods, which helps to reveal the regional specifics in the system of Mari personal names (the anthroponymy, lexical-morphological features, and some principles of the choice of names). To date, little research has been done in this direction (compare, for example, SAVATKOVA 1976, CHERNYKH 1983).

The identification of ancient personal names is made difficult by the lack of early sources about the Mari. Up to the 16th century, Mari names are scarce in documents. Currently, the main sources of the earliest anthroponymy of the Mari are scribes, census forms, as well as various personal, tax-collection, and other books of the 17th century.

In this paper, an attempt is made to analyse the personal names of the Volzhsk Mari in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost. In accordance with the modern administrative division, the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost corresponds roughly to the territory of the Karamas and Sotnur rural settlements, i.e. with the eastern part of the Volzhsk region of modern-day Republic of Mari El. The names are extracted from the census book of villages and courtyards located along the Galitskiy doroga² of Kazan district (the territory of the modern Volzhsky District, eastern part of the Zvenigovsky District, a small southern part of the Sovetsky District, the western and southern part of Morkinsky District of the Republic of Mari El as well as a small part of the Republic of Tatarstan northwest of Kazan): “Список с переписной книги митрополичьих, монастырских и ясачных сел, деревень и дворов по Галицкой дороге в волостях: Пинжан-Кукморе, Бет-Кукморе, Яране, Кундуш-Яране, Порате, Абашае, Большом и Малом Карамасе, Шале, Великом Поле, Двух Машаран, Абашае за рекой Илеть, Коркетове, Кужуморе, Тюнше, Первой, Другой и Третьей Мусморе и Красном Яре переписи Д. И. Кошелева”, i.e. “A list of the metropolitan, monastery and yasak villages and courtyards along the Galitskiy road in the volosts: Pinzhan-Kukmora, Bet-Kukmora, Yaran, Kundush-Yaran, Porat,

¹ It is based on the census books of the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost of the Galitskiy doroga (1678). This research was supported by the Academy of Finland grant “Personal name systems in Finnic and beyond: reconstructing the concepts of name giving in cultural layers of prehistory” (286129).

² *Doroga* < Rus. *дорога* (*дарыза*) ‘administrative-territorial unit of the Kazan Khanate and in newly-annexed territories of Russia before the XVII century’.



Abashay, Bol'shoy and Malyy Karamas, Shali, Velikoye Pole, Dva Masharan, Abashay za rekoy Ilet', Korketova, Kuzhumor, Tyunsha, Pervaya, Drugaya and Tret'ya Musmora and Krasnyy Yar of the census of D. I. Koshelev".³ The census book is dated March 23, 1678.

The census book is one of the most complete documents of the 17th century, in which personal Mari names are recorded. A distinctive feature of this census from other earlier documents containing lists of the tax-paying population is that it contains the names of not only the yasak-payer, but also the rest of the male family members. In this regard, it is particularly interesting for the researchers of the anthroponymy of the region. According to rough estimates, the document reflects the personal names of men born between the years 1640 and 1678. In isolated cases, the document may contain the names of men born before this period, for example, when the name of the father or grandfather of the landlord is indicated: "household of Ahmanko Ahtaev [...] pays in the name of father Ahtanajko Urazgildin quitrent and duties in grivna".⁴

The historian GENNADII AIPLATOV, who deciphered the manuscript of the document, was the first scholar to turn his attention to the anthroponymic data of this census book and write an article (AIPLATOV 1963), in which he gave a general description of the personal names of the Mari, paying special attention to the most active components of personal names. The sources of some components are not defined (*-berd*,⁵ *-sub*) or explained correctly (*-goz/-koz*, *-tereč*) by the researcher. Personal names from the census book of 1678 were also included in the dictionary of Mari personal names of Semen Chernykh (1995).

1. Common personal names and the structure of anthroponymic formulas in documents

In the census book of the Galitskiy doroga, the naming of the inhabitants is based on a two-component model consisting of a personal name of the master of the household and a patronym which is given with the suffix *-ov*, *-ev*, or *-in*. The following example from the census book provides evidence that the second part of the names is based on a patronym: "household of Atibajko Kadrjakov pays in the name of his father Kadrjačko Kugešev half-yasak" and

³ This document was deciphered and published by GENNADII AIPLATOV in the three-volume collection of archival documents *Мари́йский край в XVII в.* [The Mari region in 17th century] (Mariiskii krai II, 391–814).

⁴ Original text: "дв. Ахманка Ахтаева [...] платит отца своего Ахтанайковым именем Уразгилдина оброку и пошлин гривна" (ibid. 583). *Grivna* < Rus. *гривна* 'currency unit in medieval Russia'.

⁵ The Scientific transliteration system is used for transliteration of examples in Mari and Russian.

“household of Bajmametko Tohtarov [...] Bajmametko pays in the name of his father Tohtarko Aldejarov half-yasak”.⁶ The father’s name does not always fully coincide with the second part of the master’s name, but in these cases there are grounds to talk about incorrect recording or incorrect decoding of the document, cf. for example, “household of Jamaško Sanaev [...] they pay in the name of their father Sapajko Čoraev a full yasak”,⁷ or about using in the document different forms of the same name: “household of Timjaška Kozeev [...] pays in the name of his father Kozembajko Kuziganov a half-yasak” and “household of Ahmanko Ahtaev pays in the name of his father Ahtanajko Urazgildin quitrent and duties in grivna”.⁸ Thus, the population of the volost was written in a census book by first name and patronym and did not have last names, which was also true of the peasant population in other regions of Russia.

In the 1670s there were 101 households in the Bol’shoj Karamas Volost with a male population of 255 people.⁹ In addition to their names, the names of other Mari people are displayed in the document, such as the names of people, on behalf of whom was paid *yasak*,¹⁰ the names of people who had died, which were also included in the analysis. Thus, the total number of people, whose names are analyzed in the article is 276.¹¹

The anthroponymy of the Bol’shoj Karamas Volost is characterized by a low coefficient of the same name: 276 people have 221 names. When counting the number, the instability of the scribe’s lettering system was taken into account, so that the same name could be written in different forms, for example, with the

⁶ Original text: “дв. Атибайка Кадрякова платит отца своего Кадрячковым имянее Кугешева полъясака», «дв. Баймаметко Тохтарова [...] платит Баймаметко отца своего Тохтарковым именем Алдеярова полъясака” (ibid. 571).

⁷ Original text: “дв. Ямашка Санаева [...] платят отца своего Сапайковым именем Чораева целой ясак” (ibid. 572).

⁸ Original text: “дв. Тимяшка Козеева [...] платит отца своего Козембайковым именем Кузиганова полъясака”, “дв. Ахманка Ахтаева, платит отца своего Ахтанайковым именем Уразгилдина оброку и пошлин гривна” (ibid. 574, 583).

⁹ According to the scribe’s calculations, there were 261 male residents living in 105 households in the municipality (ibid. 568–586).

¹⁰ *Yasak* or *yasaq* was a natural tax in Imperial Russia, which was exacted from indigenous peoples of Siberia. It was exacted from the people of the Volga region until the 18th century.

¹¹ My calculations may have inaccuracies. For example, in the document, in cases where the master of the household owns a piece of land together with other people, when describing the master’s household, in addition to the master’s name, the names of these people (co-owners), indicating the municipality in which they live, can be shown. The names of “co-owners” should also be indicated separately in their households, but in some cases identical names (or even close in sound) are not found in the list of households. Apparently, it may indicate that the person who reported joint ownership was not named, but instead, for example, the nickname of this person was given, or it is indicated that the scribe wrote the same name with errors.

-ko or -ka suffix.¹² In addition, the inconsistency in the spelling of names could be affected by the scribes' ignorance of the phonetic system and the sound laws of the Mari language. In the document, for example, there are such variations of names as *Akparisko*, *Ahparisko*; *Ahtuška*, *Ahtuško*, *Ahtyška*; *Bajborisko*, *Pajborisko*, etc. The name of one person could be written in different ways, e.g. *Sabanajko* ~ *Samanajko*, *Bekmametko* ~ *Pekmametko*, *Kizylbajko* ~ *Kizilbajko* and others (Mariiskii krai II, 569, 573, 574). In some cases, discrepancies in writing the same names can be very significant; for example, *Isenbajka Čolpanov* is also *Isenbajka Čelpaev*, *Keltuško* is also *Janduško* (ibid. 575, 582). Taking into account the above reasons, the names that have minor differences in phonetic design in the document, but supposedly having one source, are considered by us to be one name.

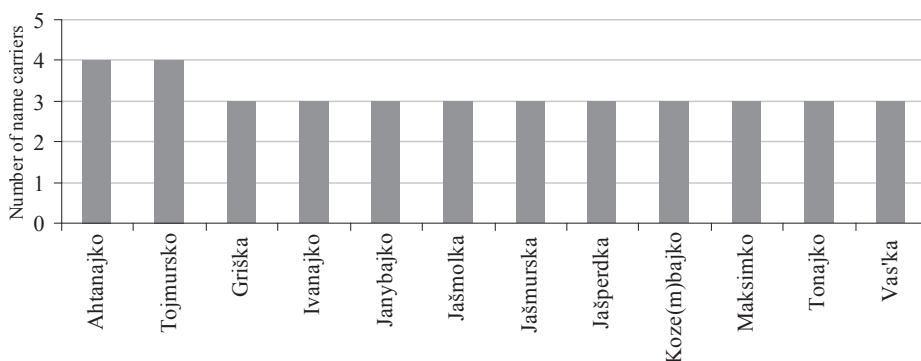


Figure 1: Frequency of names: Most common names in Bol'shoj Karamas Volost

Among the traditional Mari names, the most common are the following: *Ahtanajko*, *Janybajko*, *Jašmolka*, *Jašmurska*, and *Jašperdka* (> *Jašpurтка*), *Koze(m)bajko*, *Tojmurska*(/-ko), *Tonajko* (see Figure 1). A higher degree of frequency is observed in names borrowed from the Russian language: *Vas'ka* (< *Vasilij*, there is also another variant of the name *Vasilij*: *Vasilejko*), *Ivanajko* (< *Ivan*, also in the forms *Ivanko*, *Ivaško*), *Griška*, and *Maksimko*. It should be added that in addition to the above-mentioned Russian-language names, various forms in the document are derived from *Timofej* – *Timka*, *Timjaško*,

¹² The vast majority of examples of Mari names are given in forms with the suffix -ko/-ka. This suffix is Russian by origin as a diminutive suffix, composing the diminutive form of names, in which the peasant population was recorded in documents. The suffix was added to the Mari name by the scribe when completing the census book. At the junction of the stem of the name and the suffix, phonetic changes could occur (*Janderečko* < Mari *Janderek*, *Jaškoska* < Mari *Jaškoza*, etc.). According to my observations, the suffix -ko was most often used with non-Christian (pre-Christian) names (in 182–185 cases out of 230–233, or 79%), the suffix -ka with Russian names (in 21 cases out of 43–46, or 45–48%).

Timoška (2),¹³ and from *Tret'jak – Trenka, Tret'jačko* (2). The number of names repeated twice in the document is twenty-nine: *Ajduško, Akmolka, Emejko, Isenbajka, Janduško, Mamajko, Pektuganko, Petruška, Tojgoska*, etc. In one family, two brothers are both named *Keldybka*. There is also a case where the son is named after his father *Miška*. The vast majority of names (180 names) are used only once. The low coefficient of identical names among the region's population is due to the rich pre-Christian anthroponymy of the Mari people.

2. Interpretation of the linguistic origin of anthroponyms

It is interesting to analyse the linguistic sources of male personal names used in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost. One of the universal features of anthroponymic systems is the modification of anthroponymic units according to the laws of analogy and economy of language. This is how different diminutive forms of names are created. Some two- or three-syllable names in the list of names of the Volzhsk Mari can be the diminutive form of personal names common to the Mari. Also, such forms of names could have been borrowed in ready-made form from Turkic languages (on the formation of diminutive forms of names among Tatars, see for example: SATTAROV 1970). As an example, the above-mentioned name *Ahtanaj* is also written as *Ahtaj* (Mariiskii krai II, 568–569, 583): “household of Petruška Ahtaev [...] pays in the name of his father Ahtanajko Čokarov full yasak”,¹⁴ where *Ahtaev* comes from hypocorism of his father name *Ahtaj* < *Ahtanaj*. As a second example is the personal name *Kozembaj*, which appears in document as *Kozej*: “household of Timjaško Kozeev [...] pays in the name of his father Kozembajko Kuziganov”,¹⁵ where *Kozeev* < hypocorism *Kozej* < *Kozembaj*. It should be noted that the phonetic form of some names that do not have unambiguous etymologies indicates their Turkic origin, for example, the anthroponym *Akmaš(ko)* may be a diminutive of *Akmolla, Akmurza*, etc. It is difficult to identify the sources of a number of other anthroponyms with unclear etymology in the list without the use of additional material and methods of reconstruction.

2.1. Mari anthroponyms

There are few indigenous Mari names among the Mari of the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost. The name *Čokajko* < Mari *čukaj* ‘baby, darling’ may be Mari

¹³ The number of uses of a personal name in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost is indicated in parentheses.

¹⁴ Original text: “дв. Петрушки Ахтаева [...] платит отца своего Ахтанайковым именем Чокарова целой ясак” (ibid. 568–569).

¹⁵ Original text: “дв. Тимяшка Козеева [...] платит отца своего Козембайковым именем Кузиганова полъясака” (ibid. 574).

in origin. In the list of analysed names, there are several other names that can be correlated with Mari lexical material, for example, *Tomejko* < *tom* ‘core, embryo’, *Tamanajko* < Meadow Mari *tumna*, Hill Mari *təmana*, in Volzhsk dialect *tomana*, *tʰmana* ‘owl’. It should be noted that the Mari word *tumna*, which has various dialect variants, is a borrowing of the Chuvash word *tămana* ‘owl’ (TW: 825). Earlier the Chuvash used the names *Tomanka*, *Tomandej* (MAGNITSKII 1905: 85), that can be formed from Chuvash words *tăman* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’ or *tămana* ‘owl’. Therefore, one cannot exclude the Chuvash origin of the personal name *Tomanajko*. These proposed etymologies need further verification from a larger sample size.

The component *baj* ‘rich’, which is the most active component in borrowed names of Turkic origin (see below), was used by the Mari as anthroponymic component for the formation of new names in combination with Mari lexemes, e.g. *Izibajko* < Mari *izi* ‘little’, *Kojabajko* < Mari *koja* ‘fat, plump’, *Ošpajko* < Mari *oš* ‘white’. These names are relatively recent, arising after contacts with the Tatar population. Thus, the number of Mari names among the Mari of Bol’shoj Karamas Volost is from four to six.

2.2. Anthroponyms of Turkic origin

Among the identified personal names of the Mari of Bol’shoj Karamas Volost, a significant place is occupied by the names of Turkic origin. Turkic names are those borrowed in different periods from the Chuvash and Tatars. We can also refer to Arabic, Persian and Mongolian elements in this group since they were borrowed at different times from Turkic sources. In some cases, Turkisms are hybrid names, for instance, when one of the components is Turkic and the second is Arabic in origin. The number of personal names borrowed from the Turkic languages is 153 (69%) or more. 189 people in the Bol’shoj Karamas Volost had such names.

The overwhelming majority of the anthroponyms borrowed from the Turkic languages are compound in structure. Below I will give examples of the most common models of compound names among the Mari of the Bol’shoj Karamas Volost. The list of active components of anthroponyms is given in descending order.

The most active generic component in anthroponyms is *-baj/-paj*. The model with the generic *-baj/-paj* < Tat. *baj* ‘rich; abundant’: *Akpajko*, *Alpajko*, *Alymbajko*, *Atabajko*, *Ahtubajko*, *Badybajko*, *Ilibajko*, *Irgibajko*, *Isenbajka*, *Ispajko*, *Ištubajko*, *Jagibajko*, *Jakšibajko*, *Jalebaeka*, *Jandybajka*, *Janybajko*, *Janymvajko*, *Jašpajko*, *Jaštybajko*, *Kizilbajko*, *Kikbajko*, *Kildybajko*, *Kozebajko*, *Krymbajko*, *Pektybpjko* (< ?*Pektybajko*), *Sarabajko*, *Tansybajko*, *Tinbajko*, *Tingibajko*, *Toksubajko*, *Toktybajko*.

Models with the generic *-mamet*, *-met*, are derived from *môhämmät* ‘praised, glorified; name of the Prophet Muhammed’: *Ahmametko*, *Bajmametko*, *Išmametko*, *Kilmametko*, *Kulmametko*, *Pekmametko*, *Jašmametko*, *Dosmametko*, *Bajmetko*, *Kulmetko*, *Tojmetko*, *Tohmetko*, and others.

The other lexemes are used less than 10 times as determinants of anthroponyms.

The model with the generic *-bulat* < Tat. *bulat* ‘Damask steel’: *Ajbulatko*, *Bekbulatko*, *Čimbulatko*, *Jambulatko*, *Tinbulatko*, *Tojbulatko*, *Šabulatko*.

The model with the generic *-batyr/-patyr* < Tat. *batyr* ‘hero, brave man’: *Ahpatyrko*, *Janbatyrka*, *Jašpatyr*, *Pajbatyrko*, *Pahbatyrko*, *Pekpatyrko*.

The model with the generic *-boris/-paris* < Tat. *barys* ‘panther’: *Akparisko*, *Bajborisko*, *Ilborisko*, *Janborisko*, *Tinborisko*.

The model with the generic *-murza*¹⁶ < Tat. *morza* ‘murza’: *Akmurza*, *Jamursko*, *Jašmurska*, *Tojmurska*, *Tokmurska*.

The model with the generic *-baht(V)/-paht(V)* < Tat. *bähet* ‘happiness’: *Bmbahtka* (component *bm-* is incorrectly recorded), *Janbahtka*, *Jašpahtka*, *Kulbahtko*.

The model with the generic *-gild(V)* < Tat. *kilde* (< *kilü*) ‘came, appeared’: *Krymgildka*, *Pahtygildka*, *Pajgildka*, *Tojgildka*.

The model with the generic *-terek/-terjak/-derek* < Tat. *tiräk* ‘poplar, black poplar’: *Išterjačko*, *Janderečko*, *Pakterečko*, *Pejderečko*.

The model with the generic *-tugan/-dugan* < Tat. *tugan* ‘brother or sister; relative’ or *tugan* (< *tuu*) ‘was born’: *Ertuganko* (< personal name *Irtugan*, the word *irtugan* in the Tatar language means ‘relative’), *Jantuganko*, *Pajduganko*, *Pektuganko*.

The model with the generic *-goz(V)/-koz(V)* < *huža* ‘master’: *Bajgoska*, *Jaškoska*, *Keldygoska*, *Tojgoska*.

The number of specifics in anthroponyms is more diverse. More active are the components *baj-/paj-*, *ak-/ah-*, and *bek-/pek-*. Quite active in the anthroponymy of the Bol’shoy Karmas Volost is also the specific *jan(y)-*, which may originate from the Tatar *janä* ‘new’ or *žan* ‘soul’. If one assumes that the Tatars most commonly have names with the component *žan* ‘soul’, for most Mari names one can assume this to be the corresponding source. For the specific of the

¹⁶ In anthroponyms with endings *-za* (*-koza*, *-murza*), the consonant *z* before the Russian formant *-ko/-ka* was recorded by the scribe with the consonant *s* (Mari *c*), cf. “отца своего Акмурзиним именем” ‘In the name of his father Akmurza’ and “дв. Токмурски Чорашева” ‘household of Tokmurska Čorašev’ (highlighted by author – A. P.) (Mariiskii krai II, 577, 576).

names *Janybečko*, *Janybajko*, in turn, the most probable source is the Tatar word *jaŋa* ‘new’.

Anthroponyms with the specific *baj-/paj-* < Tat. *baj* ‘rich; abundant’: *Bajborisko*, *Bajgoska*, *Bajmametko*, *Bajmetko*, *Pajbattyрко*, *Pajgildka*, *Pajmolka*, *Pejderečko*, *Pajduganko*, *Pajduško*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *ak-/ah-* < Tat. *ak* ‘white’: *Akparisko*, *Ahpatyrko*, *Aktulatko*, *Ahmametko*, *Akmolka*, *Akmurza*, *Akpajko*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *bek-/pek-/peh-* < Tat. *bäk* ‘master’: *Bekbulatko*, *Pekpatyrko*, *Pehtulko*, *Pekmametko*, *Pektuganko*, *Pakterečko*, *Pektybpjko*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *jan-* < Tat. *žan* ‘soul’ (< Pers.) or *jaŋa* ‘new’: *Janbahťka*, *Janborisko*, *Janbattyрка*, *Jandeletko*, *Janahmatko*, *Janderečko*, *Janutuganko*, *Jandejarko*, *Janduško*, *Janybečko*, *Janybajko*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *jaš-* < Tat. *jaš* ‘young’: *Jašpajko*, *Jašpahtka*, *Jašpatyr*, *Jašperdka*, *Jašmametko*, *Jašmolka*, *Jašmurska*, *Jaškoska*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *tin* < Tat. *tiŋ* ‘equal; worthy of comparison’: *Tinbajko*, *Tinborisko*, *Tinbulatko*, *Tinsubka*, *Tinsarka*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *toj-* < Tat. *tuj* ‘wedding’: *Tojbulatko*, *Tojgildka*, *Tojmetko*, *Tojmurska*, *Tojgoska*.

Anthroponyms with the specific *iš-/is-* < Tat. *iš* ‘pair, equal’: *Ispajko*, *Išboldka*, *Išmametko*, *Išterjačko*.

Some of the components mentioned above, such as *aj-*, *ak-*, *kul-*, and *pek-*, are the basis of a number of suffixal anthroponyms, some of which may be diminutive.

In addition to the structurally compound anthroponyms, the Mari borrowed simple anthroponyms from the Tatar language. For example, the following names were borrowed from the Tatar language: *Akman*, *Akmanaj* < Tat. *Akman(aj)* (*akman* is the ancient Turkic name for the month of January, SAGAUTDINOV 2011: 29), *Mamajko* < Tat. *Mamaj* (ancient Turkic version of the name *Muhammet*, ibid. 195), *Murzanaj* < Tat. *Murzanaj* (*morza* ‘murza’ + suf. *-naj*), *Togysko* < Tat. *Tugyz* (*tugyz* ‘nine’) and other.

It should be noted that some of the Turkic personal names could be borrowed from the Chuvash language, but due to the complexity of distinguishing the Tatar and Chuvash anthroponyms in the Mari language (cf. ISANBAEV 1989: 39–40), especially taking into account the instability of the census takers’ writing, it is difficult to determine a particular source language. For example, for the following names, we can specify the Chuvash matches: Mari *Temenej* < Ch. *Těmentej*, *Temenej*; Mari *Jandejarko* < Ch. *Jandekar*; Mari *Samanaј*

< Ch. *Saman*, *Samanej*, cf. Tat. *Zamani*. Personal names of Chuvash origin among the Mari of Bol'shoy Karamas Volost may refer to an earlier period, and accordingly reflect the old contacts of the ancestors of the Volga Mari with the Chuvash. This issue requires a deeper study on a broader basis.

2.3. Names loaned from Russian

A significant share of the personal names of the Mari is borrowed from Russian-language names. Overall, there are 30–33 names borrowed from the Russian language, which is approximately 13–14% of the total number of names of the Mari in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost. According to the census book, 43–46 people in the volost had such names. The Mari population borrowed mostly Christian names that were common at the time. In the document, modified versions of Christian personal names, such as *Afonka*, *Aleška*, *Griška*, *Ivanajko*, *Ivaško*, *Kostenka*, *Mit'ka*, *Miška*, *Petruška*, *Pron'ka*, *Romaško*, *Sen'ka*, *Vas'ka*, *Vasilej* etc. are mostly recorded.

According to the document, only one person, *Griška Mikiforov*, who came from the Monan (Manan) Volost of Tsarevokokshaysk Uyezd, accepted the Christian faith (Mariiskii krai II, 579–580). The rest of the bearers of Russian names in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost, judging from the census book, are not baptized. The presence of names borrowed from the Russian language is an indication that Christian names were used by the Volzhsk Mari before they accepted Christianity. It is a result of linguistic and cultural contacts of Mari with the Russian population of the region. It is especially noteworthy that Mari are also encountered with such Russian non-Christian names as *Tret'jačko*, *Trenka* < *Tren'ka* < *Tret'jak* (see TUPIKOV 1903: 398), or vernacular form of Christian personal name *Terentij* (SUPERANSKAIA 2010: 315), and *Zamjatnja*. The borrowing of names from the Russian-speaking population as a result of linguacultural contacts is also attested by later archival documents (see PUSTIAKOV 2017a: 132).

There are no sources for thirty-one anthroponyms from list of personal names in Bol'shoy Karamas Volost at this stage of the study. It is difficult to establish the exact origin for some anthroponyms, but for a number of them it is possible to suggest several probable etymologies. It should be noted that some of the names with unclear etymology may be hypocorisms, including those with the Turkic origins. Some of the names may be Mari by origin, and etymologization of these names is difficult due to their old age. A few of the names listed in the document are written in a distorted form, for example: *Ahmanko* ~ *Jamanko*, *Bmbahtka*, *Sabanajko* ~ *Samanajko*, etc., so it is almost impossible to determine the correct form and origin of such names (or components of names) in the absence of additional material.

3. The rhymed names of the Mari of Bol'shoy Karamas Volost

As noted above, the document under analysis gives the names of several generations of men, which allows one to trace, for example, the continuity of names in a family. It is known that the Mari people had a tradition of giving a child a name that partially coincides with the name of a parent: the son's name with the father's name, the daughter's name with the mother's name. The names were rhymed by repeating the initial or final component of the parent's name in the child's name (PUSTYAKOV 2017b: 333–337). Rhyming could be carried out vertically, that is, along the line of father to son/sons, mother to daughter/daughters, or only horizontally – along the line of brother to brother, sister to sister. It should be assumed that the principal tradition was the vertical rhyming of names, since the preservation of the name's component in the new generation preserves the ancestral mark (see e.g. TOIDYBEKOVA 1997: 279).

The census book provides information on names for two, three, and sometimes four generations of men, namely, in those cases where someone pays *yasak* in the name of his father. In such cases, in addition to the name of a *yasak*-payer, the name of the father with the patronym is given, which allows one to reconstruct the name of the grandfather of the master of the household: “household of Petruška Ahtaev [...] pays in the name of his father Ahtanajko Čokarov full *yasak*”,¹⁷ i.e. *Petruška* (son) – *Ahtaj* (< *Ahtanaj*) (father) – *Čokar* (grandfather). It is worth noting, however, that the data of census books do not always allow us to draw reliable conclusions about the continuity of names in the family. First, the document does not always reveal the composition of the whole family, if, for example, an adult son lives separately from his father. Second, as noted above, there are often errors in written names. It should also be taken into account that for some households only the name of the master of the household and his father is known, which is reconstructed from the patronym, and the identical initial or final component in the names in this case could be a simple coincidence.

Overall, there are few households in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost in which the names of all the listed male members of the family are consistent according to some principle. Rhymed names across three generations (no more than four persons) are found in seven households. Names with the same initial or final elements spanning two generations also exist in seven households. For example: “household of Jantuganko Jangurasov, has children Jandeletko fifteen years, Janbahtka seven years” and “household of Ahtudko Ahtubaev, has a

¹⁷ Original text: «дв. Петрушки Ахтаева [...] платит отца своего Ахтанайковым именем Чокарова целой ясак» (Mariiskii kraj II, 569)

son Ahparisko”¹⁸. Moreover, there are cases when the brothers were given the rhymed names: brothers *Ahtuško*, *Ahpatyrko*; brothers *Jamakajko*, *Janderečko*, etc. It should be noted that in some families, despite the fact that names are not connected in all generations, there is still a tendency to use the same components in names: “household of Tomejko Semenov, has children: Temejko ten years, Togusko eight years, Tonajko three years, Togajko one year”, “household of Pekpatyrko Čotajev, he has children Pajbatyrko five years, Pajborisko three years”¹⁹ and others.

4. Final notes

Summing up, we can say that the Mari anthroponymy of the volost under consideration was strongly influenced by the Turkic anthroponymic system and most Mari names in the 17th century were Turkic in origin. The prevalence of Turkic personal names (mostly Tatar) among the Mari is the result of active contacts with Turkic-speaking peoples. The anthroponymy of the Volzhsk Mari, in particular, reflects contacts with Tatars and Chuvash. At the same time, the Mari residents of the Bol’shoj Karamas Volost had active contacts with the Russian population of the region, as attested to by the names borrowed from the Russian language.

In the future, further revealing and analysis of Mari anthroponymy of different areas in certain periods will make it possible to reconstruct the names of different Mari groups, clarify the origin of etymologically uncertain anthroponyms, and determine the geography of Mari names. In addition, the study of regional anthroponymy will expand the scientific understanding of the proportion of indigenous Mari and borrowed names in the anthroponymy of area, as well as the processes and scope of the penetration of Russian names into the anthroponymy of the Mari in different territories.

Abbreviations

Pers. – Persian

Rus. – Russian

Tat. – Tatar

¹⁸ Original text: «дв. Янтуганка Янгурсова, у него детей Янделетко пятнатцати лет, Янбахтка семи лет», «дв. Ахтудка Ахтубаева, у него сын Ахпариско» (ibid. 581).

¹⁹ Original text: «дв. Томейка Семенова, у него детей: Темејко десяти лет, Тогуско осьми лет, Тонајко трех лет, Тогайко году», «дв. Пекпатырка Чотаэва, у него детей Пайбатырко пяти лет, Пайбориско трез лет» (ibid. 568, 582).

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Abstract

This article analyses the male personal names of the Volzhsk Mari in the Bol'shoy Karamas Volost (nowadays territory of the Karamas and Sotnur rural settlements). The research was carried out on the basis of the census book of the Galitskiy doroga, 1678. The structure of anthroponymic formulas in the census book and linguistic origin of names of the inhabitants of Bol'shoy Karamas are examined in the article. The author also explores how the principle of naming children with the initial or final element identical to a parent's name is reflected in the anthroponymy of Bol'shoy Karamas Volost.

Keywords: Mari language, anthroponomastics, common names, etymology, 17th century

Mariann Slíz

The Translation of Personal Names in Latin, German, and Czech Charters in Medieval Hungary*

1. The aim of the study

As translation conventions change over time and vary according to language and name type, a translational approach to the personal names found in the medieval charters of Hungary can lead to new findings in both historical onomastics and translation studies. For this reason, the study will examine Latin, German and Czech charters written in medieval Hungary, concentrating on two main questions: on the hypothetical differences in strategies applied in the translation of personal names according to the target language, and on the change of translation strategies over time.

2. Multilinguality in Medieval Hungary

Medieval Hungary was a multinational and therefore multilingual country. Naturally, the question of multilinguality is inevitable, especially connected to scribes. Cultural bilingualism can be expected in the case of Latin. Hungarian, German and Czech, however, may have been the scribes' mother tongue. While the majority of the scribes must have been Hungarian, several German scribes were probably born in a mostly German-populated Hungarian city, or could have come from Bavarian or Austrian parts of the Holy Roman Empire. The scribes who wrote in Czech may have been born in a Northern Hungarian city which had a considerable Western Slavic population or could have come from abroad, e.g. several were employed by the Hungarian King and Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg in the royal chancellery in the first half of the 15th century. However, foreign-born scribes would have had to have learnt Hungarian, too, as they needed to interpret the documents for the concerned parties in their respective mother tongues, which could have been Hungarian even in an ethnically mixed city. (For further information cf. MOLLAY 1982, BALÁZS 1989: 102, SZENDE 2011.)

3. The sources of the study

The Latin sources of the investigation are represented by my own corpus of 20,000 name entries collected from 14th-century deeds (SLÍZ 2011, 2017),

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JÁNOS N. FODOR's name dictionary from the 15th–16th centuries (2010), the tithe collection of Bács, Bodrog and Csongrád counties from 1522 and the urbarium of the Veszprém diocese from 1524. Data on German names was found in the collection of charters from the German–Hungarian populated city of Sopron (SoprT.), while Czech names were taken from the small collection of Czech deeds written in Hungary published by ISTVÁN KNIEZSA in 1952.

German and Czech charters written in Hungary are still on the periphery of Hungarian historical onomastic studies. The typical language of documents was undoubtedly Latin from the beginning of Hungarian document writing, i.e. the very beginning of the 11th century. The first German deeds can only be found from the first half of the 14th century, and a small number of Czech deeds were written in the 15th–16th centuries. Due to the relatively narrow time-frame and the smaller number of non-Latin documents these can only be used to compare the translation strategies of the different target languages. The study of how translation strategies changed over time can only be built upon Latin charters.

4. On the methodology of the survey

Translation strategies are compared through the use of ALBERT PÉTER VERMES's model (2005). This is comprised of four operations: 1. transference, that is leaving the name unchanged; 2. substitution with the conventional target language equivalent of the name (e.g. Hung. *László* > Lat. *Ladislaus*) or the adjustment of the name form to the target language (e.g. Hung. *Farkas* > Lat. *Farkasius*), 3. literal translation (e.g. Hung. *Vörös* > Lat. *Rufus* 'red'); 4. modification, the most pronounced change, e.g. leaving out a part of the name, adding a new element to the name, or replacing the name with another name, a common noun or a paraphrase (e.g. Germ. *Heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen* > Hung. *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet* 'Saint Elisabeth of the House of Árpád').

The study is based on the names of people who were presumably Hungarian, or at least had Hungarian variants of their names, which were used in documents. Data-selection from German and Czech charters is rather complicated, as cases in which the same person is named by a Hungarian name variant in one document and by a German or Czech variant in another are considerably rare. Lacking evidence of this kind, the study can only be based upon the Hungarian orthography of the data, Hungarian name order, or a name variant that is proven to be Hungarian, or names of Hungarian origin.

5. The survey on Latin charters

5.1. Given names

In these charters, names of Latin origin were substituted with the Latin variant of the name. Transference was less typical (1357: *Petew*, AO. 6: 597; 1358: *Donch*, AO. 7: 129). Contrary to this, the translation of given names of non-Latin origin was carried out through transference (German: *Gerolth*, 1336, AO. 3: 250; Slavic: *Bogizlo*, 1355, AO. 6: 366; Hungarian: *Kakas*, 1358, AO. 7: 115) or through Latinization, that is substitution (Slavic: *Berizlaus*, 1329, AO. 2: 431; Hungarian: *Farcasius*, 1349, AO. 5: 290; German: *Luthardus*, 1355, AO. 6: 262). The variability of translation operations gradually decreased until the beginning of the 16th century, when the substitution of given names became the dominant translation operation.

5.2. Bynames and family names

Turning now to bynames and family names, it should be noted that these are treated as one category. Family names were emerging during the centuries under examination, which makes separating the representatives of these two name types difficult. It is also essential to note that an examination of the translation of patronymic and toponymic bynames and family names concentrates on the whole name structure and not on the translation of the patronym or toponym they contain. For example, the Hungarian name *Szaniszlófi* is comprised of a given name *Szaniszló* ‘Stanislaus’ and the *-fi* patronymic suffix. The latin phrase *filius Zanizlo* is the literal translation of this structure, while the patronymic given name was left unchanged by transference.

The typical operation for the translation of patronymic bynames and family names during the 14th–15th centuries was literal translation: the patronym was connected to the given name by a Latin word referring to some kind of kinship, e.g. *filius* ‘son of’, *nepos* ‘grandson’ etc. Less typically, patronyms in the genitive case also appeared in the sources without Latin common words (1354: *Nicolao Marsilii*, AO. 6: 226; 1478: *Stephano Valentini*, N. FODOR 2010: 292). By the beginning of the 16th century, the use of Latin common words became rare and the Hungarian variant of the patronym became more common than the Latin variant, e.g. 1520: *Johannis Zanÿzloffÿ* (*Szaniszló* ‘Stanislaus’ patronym + *-fi* patronymic suffix; N. FODOR 2010: 210), 1522: *Nicolaus Martthon* (*Márton* ‘Martin’ patronym + Ø patronymic suffix; SZABÓ 1954: 31, Gare settlement); 1524: *Lucas Lewryn cze* (*Lőrinc* ‘Laurence’ patronym + *-e* patronymic suffix; VeszprUrb. 62). In other words, transference superseded literal translation over time.

Toponymic bynames and family names were also used in Latin charters through literal translation for a long time: the toponym was connected to the given name with the Latin *de* ‘from’ preposition (1357: *de Hagmas*, AO. 6: 568; instead of *Hagmasi* ‘*Hagymás* settlement name + *-i* suffix’). However, transference also marginalised literal translation in this name type by the beginning of the 16th century.

Bynames and family names of different semantic types, which originated from common words, were, initially, treated uniformly in Latin translations. They were connected to the given names with the Latin *dictus* ‘called’. This operation can be regarded as modification. The name used in spoken language was replaced by a phrase, which was not the literal translation of the name. Nevertheless, *dictus* was sometimes omitted even in the earliest period and it disappeared by the beginning of the 16th century. This means that transference, which was a less typical operation in the 13th–14th centuries, became more common by then.

Of course, whether bynames and family names originating from common words were translated into Latin or were left unchanged inside the Latin phrase (*dictus* + the name) must also be studied. No consequentiality can be observed in the language of the recorded bynames or family names from the 14th century in the examined data. Translation strategies varied by semantic category. For instance, bynames or family names referring to internal characteristics or appearance were only recorded in Latin more often than in Hungarian if they belonged to the basic vocabulary of Latin. Contrary to this, ethnonymic bynames or family names and those that referred to social standing were recorded in Hungarian approximately as many times as Latin. Unlike these, names referring to plants, animals, and natural phenomena were nearly never changed. However, this diversity came to an end by the 16th century: later documents contain family names only in their original Hungarian forms (1524: *Gregorius Feyer* ‘white’, VeszprUrb. 106; 1524: *Demetrius Ersek* ‘archbishop’, VeszprUrb. 101). Concluding with the terms of the applied translation models, transference and literal translation can be said to have been equally used in the 14th century, while transference gradually became the norm in the recording of this name type by the 16th century.

As seen above, in the case of given names the chosen operation depended upon the origin of the name. The same question offers itself in the case of bynames and family names: which factors influenced their translation before the 16th century? The logical assumption is that the scribes – due to their lack of appropriate knowledge of Latin – were not able to translate the names which were left in Hungarian is only reasonable in the case of names that originated from rare, peripheral common words (e.g. 1347: *Jacobus dictus Fytus* ‘snub-

nosed', AO. 5: 106). Transference in many cases must have been motivated by untranslatability, when the meaning of the Hungarian word could not be expressed with one Latin word. Sometimes transference may have been chosen because two synonymous Hungarian words could be translated with the same Latin word, such as *vörös* and *piros* with the Latin *rufus* 'red', or the Hungarian synonyms *kopasz* and *tar* with the Latin *calvus* 'bald'. Literal translation would abolish the difference between these two words, leading to the loss of the name's identifying potential. Nevertheless, this explanation cannot be applied generally, as the following example demonstrates: the Latin *sartor* 'tailor' was usually used to translate the Hungarian *Szabó*, but at times it is used for its synonym, the word *nyírő* (cf. N. FODOR 2010: 174, 265, 208).

5.3. Conclusions regarding translation in Latin charters

Reviewing the results from Latin documents, a trend of unification can be detected in the translation of all personal name types between the 14th and the 16th centuries. The various operations used in the 14th century gave way to substitution in the case of given names, and to transference in the case of bynames or family names by the 16th century. The cause of this unification can, most probably, be found in the changes of the Hungarian personal name system and personal name stock. As for given names, those of Latin origin, that is, the elements of the common European given name stock became predominant by the 16th century and these could easily be substituted with their Latin originals. The system of family names had nearly completely emerged by the 16th century and scribes may have perceived the difference between these and bynames. Namely, since bynames expressed certain characteristics of those named, they generally could be translated literally. Unlike them, family names – being hereditary – could only function as the expression of a connection to a family if they were left unchanged.

6. The survey of German charters

In German documents, given names were mostly used through substitution with German variants (e.g. 1423: *Jorgen Rozgon*, SoprT. I/2: 240; a German form of 'George'), and rarely through transference (e.g. 1432: *Racz Miclos*, SoprT. I/3: 42; the Hungarian form of 'Nicholas').

The translation of bynames and family names draws a more colourful picture. Toponymical names were translated through transference (e.g. 1423: *Rosgoni Johansen*, SoprT. I/2: 248; a Hungarian structure *Rozgony* place name + *-i* suffix: 'of Rozgony') and literal translation (e.g. *Jörigen von Rozgon*, SoprT. I/2: 248; a German structure: 'of Rozgony') in approximately equal proportions. Only three examples of patronymic bynames or family names can

be found in the data. Two of these were translated through transference, and one through literal translation. In the case of other semantic types, whether names were originally German or were translated into German cannot be discerned, except in the case of a well-known person or family. Consequently, transference unsurprisingly seems to play an overwhelming role in this category.

Alongside the study of how different name types were translated, name order is also worth examining. The collected data indicates that the strategy was determined by the translation of bynames or family names. When these were translated through transference, the Hungarian name order was dominant (e.g. 1440: *Farkas Lasslabs*, SoprT. I/3: 193, family name + given name), while the Indo-European name order can be observed when literal translation was used (e.g. 1434: *Laszlo von Gemeren*, SoprT. I/3: 72).

7. The survey of Czech charters

Continuing with the overview of Czech charters, the substitution of given names is also a typical strategy in these. However, while in the case of Latin this operation was generally completed with the standard Latin variant of the name, translation into Czech could often be implemented through more than one variant, e.g. Hung. ‘László’: *Ladislawem* (1460, KНИЕZSA 1952: 15), *Waczlaw* (1479, KНИЕZSA 1952: 30), *Llaczek* (1479, KНИЕZSA 1952: 32), *Laczlawom* (1480, KНИЕZSA 1952: 34). Similarly to Latin and German, some rare examples of transference can be found in Czech: *Sebestyanem* (1460, KНИЕZSA 1952: 15; Hungarian form of *Sebastian*).

The translation of bynames and family names shows greater diversity in Czech. Only one patronymic family name can be found in the collected data but the number of toponymic ones is relatively high. The most frequent operation among these is literal translation (e.g. 1460: *Sebestyanem z Rozgan*, KНИЕZSA 1952: 15, a Czech structure: ‘of Rozgony’; 1467: *Franka Oczkowскеh o*, KНИЕZSA 1952: 20, Czech: ‘of Ocskó’) but transference (e.g. 1459: *Benky*, KНИЕZSA 1952: 13, Hungarian: ‘of Benk’) and substitution (e.g. 1459: *Erdahata*, KНИЕZSA 1952: 13, Czech: ‘of Erdőhát’) can also be found. The other semantic groups were represented by only a few examples of transference (e.g. 1472: *Lukacz Kardo s s*, KНИЕZSA 1952: 24, ‘sworded’).

As for name order, Czech documents do not seem to be as systematic as German ones. The Indo-European name order is usually used in the case of the literal translation of bynames or family names. Meanwhile, transference and substitution were combined with either the Hungarian or Indo-European name order, although the latter seems to be slightly more frequent.

8. Conclusion

Comparing the results of the study of translation strategies in the various languages, the following conclusion can be drawn: the strategies reflect great diversity and scribes chose between them based on both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. These were the name type; differences between the name stocks, vocabulary, and grammar of the source and the target language; the scribe's knowledge of the language; or the intention to maintain the identifying function of the name.

Similarities between the translation strategies of the three target languages seem to be more remarkable than differences. This cannot be accidental or only due to the limited number of possibilities, or language contact. It is also traceable to the common European tradition and the shared origins of document writing. However, there is a conspicuous difference between Latin and non-Latin documents: while the Hungarian name order is extremely rare in Latin texts, it is not unique in the charters of the other two languages. Moreover, it is more common in the case of some name types in German deeds. In my opinion, the explanation for this difference lies in medieval prestige and the domains in which the different languages were used. While Latin document writing, which had a longstanding tradition in Europe and Hungary, remained the main language of bureaucracy for centuries, the use of German and especially Czech was confined in space, time, and society. This is well exemplified by the fact that although German started to play an increasingly considerable role in the internal affairs of mostly German-populated cities in Hungary from the 14th century onwards, these still used Latin in statewide official cases or in correspondence (cf. SOLYMOSI 2006: 165, SZENDE 2011: 22). As a result, the spoken variants of names could be reflected more pronouncedly in non-Latin documents, which did not have a longstanding tradition and were used in more familiar circles.

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Abstract

The fact that German and Czech charters were also written in late medieval Hungary beside the majority of documents written in Latin provides an opportunity for the comparison of strategies used for the translation of personal names in these three languages in the investigated period. Intending to outline the cultural, historical, and linguistic contexts of such an investigation, the paper also demonstrates the multilingual background of scribes in medieval Hungary. The survey is based on the model for the system of translation

procedures created by Albert Péter Vermes. The investigation covers given names, bynames and family names as well, and uses only those name data which supposedly belonged to Hungarian bearers, or at least have a Hungarian variant, too. The results of the survey show that the translation strategies used by multilingual scribes depended on the types of sources, the social standing of the name bearer, the name type, the motivational type of the given byname or family name, the differences between the lexicon and onomasticon of the source language and the target language, and the scribe's command of the source and the target language. However, it can be stated that far more similarities than differences can be detected among the translation strategies used in the documents written in the three investigated languages.

Keywords: translation of personal names, given names, bynames, family names, medieval Hungary, German, Czech and Latin deeds

Barbara Vitányi

L'importance de l'onomastique des matricules ecclésiastiques au 21^e siècle

1. Introduction

Les tournants de notre vie sont notés dans le registre du bureau d'état civil compétent: la naissance, le mariage et le décès, et c'est là aussi qu'on en prépare l'extrait. En Hongrie, avant le 1^{er} octobre 1895, avant le commencement de l'immatriculation civile, seule l'immatriculation ecclésiastique existait.

Selon la Recommandation du *Règlement unifié de l'immatriculation catholique* (1988) : « Les données d'immatriculation sont d'une grande importance, non seulement du point de vue de l'individu, mais aussi de celui de la communauté ecclésiale. Les notes précises et lisibles, tenues consciencieusement donnent la possibilité de gérer les affaires des paroissiens. D'autre part, elles gardent pour l'avenir la physionomie de l'Église de l'époque et elles deviennent une source importante pour les recherches diverses. » Les matricules paroissiennes fournissent des données de valeur entre autres pour l'histoire de la famille, l'histoire régionale, les analyses statistiques historiques, l'histoire culturelle et naturellement l'onomastique. Ici, nous analyserons les matricules d'approximation onomastique.

1.1. L'objet de ma recherche

Mon étude traite de l'analyse de l'onomastique des matricules ecclésiastiques des baptisés, catholiques, de mon quartier, Rákoscaba, dans la paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène jusqu'à 1895, date de l'apparition des immatriculations d'État.

Rákoscaba est une localité vieille de 950 ans qui, depuis 1950 fait partie du 17^e arrondissement, à l'est de Budapest. Selon la tradition orale, un petit groupe de Huns, survivant aux migrations des peuples, s'est abrité sur ce territoire et l'agglomération située le long du ruisseau Rákos a été nommée Rákoscaba („Chabaracusa”), en référence à Csaba, le fils d'Attila, du roi des Huns. Dans ce quartier, la majorité des habitants est catholique, l'autre partie est calviniste, luthérien ou baptiste. L'église catholique Saint Jean Népomucène a été bâtie en 1740 ; c'est le plus ancien édifice du 17^e arrondissement.

À Rákoscaba, le début de l'immatriculation a lieu le 11 mai 1759, quand le ministre calviniste Gergely Bitskei a enregistré le nom des nouveaux-nés avec le nom de leur père et de leur parrain dans un livre particulier, sans aucune



autre donnée. L'immatriculation calviniste des mariés et décédés a commencé en 1762. L'immatriculation catholique des baptisés des mariés et des décédés a commencé en juin 1762 quand la paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène a gagné son autonomie. En effet, jusque là elle appartenait à Isaszeg. Ce village se trouve à 13 kilomètres au nord-est de Rákoscaba (NÉMETH 1983, SZÁNTÓ 1919). L'importance de mon étude est motivée par cela aussi que ces matricules catholiques de mon quartier, Rákoscaba, ne sont pas encore numérisées, que les pages sont abîmées, et qu'à quelques endroits le texte latin écrit à l'encre noire s'est terni. Il y a plusieurs agglomérations dans les environs de Rákoscaba dont l'examen anthroponymique a été effectué. Ainsi j'ai eu la possibilité de les comparer.

1.2. Les motivations de mon travail

L'idée de mon thème est venue d'une part des séries des Études d'onomastique hongroise. D'autre part, une autre motivation de la recherche était qu'à l'occasion de son centenaire, la paroisse Notre-Dame des Hongrois de Rákosliget a édité une monographie, et a demandé pour cette tâche des collaborateurs volontaires. Avec mon mari, j'ai alors entrepris d'écrire un article sur les matricules de cette paroisse. (Rákosliget fait aussi partie du 17^e arrondissement, près de Rákoscaba. Cette commune a été fondée à fin du XIX^e et, au début du XX^e siècle.) Avant d'analyser des matricules il nous faut donner leur définition.

1.3. L'histoire de l'immatriculation ecclésiastique

Les registres paroissiens officiels des fidèles, les matricules (en latin : *matricula*) sont classifiés selon les événements marquants de la vie humaine qui y sont notés. Ainsi, en dehors des matricules contenant les plus importantes données sur les baptisés, les confirmés, les mariés et les décédés, dans un sens plus large, on y trouve aussi le journal des fiancés puis des annonces. Déjà, au début du troisième siècle, des notes paraissaient sur les baptisés et les décédés, mais l'immatriculation obligatoire n'a commencé qu'au 16^e siècle. En 1563, le concile de Trento (en français : Trente) a ordonné la tenue de la matricule des baptisés et des mariés. En 1625, le rituel, *Rituale Romanum*, édité par le pape Paul V. en 1614, a été rendu obligatoire pour toute la Hongrie en 1625 par l'archevêque Péter Pázmány. Ce rituel a introduit cinq sortes de registres. En plus la matricule de baptême, de mariage et de décès, figuraient un livre particulier pour les confirmations et un cinquième nommé *Status Animarum* (états des âmes) qui contenait des données biographiques et religieuses sur les paroissiens (FÜGEDI 1980, KOVÁCS 1977).



J'ai examiné les noms des baptisés en deux étapes : d'abord les données des matricules de 1762 jusqu'à 1895, dans la paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène de

Rákoscsaba. Puis les données trouvées dans la matricule d'Isaszeg de 1735 jusqu'à 1762 (HAJDÚ 1974, KÁLMÁN 1988, ÖRDÖG 1973).

2. La matricule des baptisés dans la paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène de Rákoscsaba

La matricule des baptisés compte 13 volumes allant jusqu'à nos jours. Au début sur les pages de la matricule des baptisés, le tableau tiré à la main comportait les 5 colonnes suivantes : jour, date (du baptême), enfant, parents, parents spirituels, ministre (baptiseur). En 1765, on a adjoint une sixième colonne, « lieu », à cause des succursales de Rákoskeresztúr et Pécel, attachées à la paroisse de Rákoscsaba. Seule la religion du parent non catholique était enregistrée, après son nom, en cas de mariage mixte. Ce n'est qu'après 1770 que l'enregistrement du métier, (en général celui du père) devient répandu, noté sous le nom du lieu. Après le mois de février 1830, la religion et la condition (métier, noblesse) après le nom des parents a reçu deux colonnes. En 1852, le tableau a 13 colonnes où figurent entre autres, le numéro d'enregistrement (dans l'année), la date de naissance de l'enfant baptisé, l'adresse des parents, la rubrique des remarques, pour suivre et noter les événements de la vie de l'enfant. La page devient encombrée. Depuis 1877, le tableau de 12-15 colonnes avec les données des baptisés occupe deux pages voisines. Jusqu'en août 1836 la langue des matricules était le latin. A partir de septembre 1836 jusqu'à la fin de 1851 on a continué l'immatriculation en hongrois. Du début de 1852 jusqu'à la fin de janvier 1869, on est revenu à la langue latine.

2.1. Abréviation des noms de baptême

Dans l'immatriculation en latin, les noms de baptême (de l'enfant, des parents et des parents spirituels) étaient inscrits dans cette langue, et au début du XIX^e siècle, assez souvent sous forme abrégée, surtout ceux des parents et des parents spirituels, mais quelquefois aussi celui de l'enfant baptisé.

Des abréviations comme p. ex. *And.* - *Andreas*, *Ant.* - *Antonius*, *Mich.* - *Michael*, *Mart.* - *Martinus*, *Mathi* - *Mathias*, *Jos.* - *Josephus*, *Steph.* - *Stephanus*, *Cath.* - *Catharina* ne posent aucun problème.

Mais on n'est pas du tout sûr quant aux abréviations *Matth.* et *Math.* notées en 1800 et 1801 pour le nom du père ou du parrain, de savoir si elles renvoient au nom latin *Matthaeus* (en hongrois : *Máté*, en français *Mat(t)hieu*) ou *Mathias* (en hongrois : *Mátyás*, en français *Mat(t)hias*). Surtout que là, le nom de l'un des baptisés était écrit avec deux *t* : *Matthias*. Ces noms n'étaient pas fréquents. Avant ces années (en 1788) ces noms étaient notés sous la forme *Mathias* et *Mathaus*.

Dans les immatriculations en hongrois, on peut trouver l'abréviation *Mar*: (1848). On ne sait pas si le nom de la mère et de la marraine était *Maria* ou *Marguerite*. Ici le nom *Mária* était écrit sans accent. C'est vrai que le nom *Marguerite* est bien plus rare que le nom *Maria*, mais il existait à cette époque dans cette matricule et celles de la région de Rákoscaba p. ex. dans les matricules de Gödöllő analysées par JUDIT RAÁTZ (1996).

Une abréviation étrange, extraordinaire, est à signaler: celle du nom d'un parrain commençant par un X. Selon notre lecture, elle doit abrégé « *Xtian* ». Le nom de l'enfant baptisé est *Cristianus*, le même que celui du parrain. (Cette abréviation avec X provient du nom grec du Christ où X (khi) et P (ro) sont les premières lettres.)

2.2. L'index des noms

Les matricules sont complétées par deux volumes d'index des noms (I^{er} de 1762 à 1864 et II^e à partir de 1864), qui contiennent le nom complet des baptisés, en général avec seulement le premier nom de baptême, en hongrois. Sur les pages à onglets alphabétiques les noms sont classés selon la première lettre du prénom, écrits dans l'ordre chronologique, groupés selon l'année du baptême, qui précède chaque groupe. Ces volumes aident beaucoup quand il est difficile de lire et identifier le nom de l'enfant baptisé dans les matricules. On peut les lire facilement, et leur usage peut aider la recherche des noms de famille aussi.

2.3. Propriétés des langues de la registration

Dans cette étude, nous avons laissé les noms immatriculés dans leur forme originale. Nous n'avons pas traduit les noms latins en hongrois, bien qu'il soit vrai que la majorité des parents des enfants baptisés ne parlait pas le latin. Il est exact que la registration dans cette langue, à cette époque rendait compte des noms officiels ; on ne savait pas comment les personnes baptisées s'appelaient dans leur famille. Au temps de la registration en hongrois on peut trouver dans les matricules des noms diminutifs, des noms raccourcis ou dialectaux aussi, pour les noms féminins. Il est surprenant que pour les noms masculins cela n'existe que pour le nom *Benjamin* qui se trouve sous la forme *Béni*. (Cette forme existe comme nom officiel aussi.) Le nom *Andreas* a de nos jours deux formes officielles dans notre langue: *András* et *Endre*. A cette époque on ne trouvait que la première.

Quelques exemples des variantes des noms féminins dans les matricules : *Ilona*, *Helena*, *Ilon*, *Ilonka*, *Illus* ; *Julianna*, *Júlia*, *Julcsa*, *Julis* ; *Mária*, *Maris* ; *Terézia*, *Teréz*, *Trézi* ; *Zsuzsanna* (*Susanne*), *Zsuzsi*. Ces variantes peuvent quelquefois soulever la question : faut-il les considérer comme le même nom ou non, quand on examine leur fréquence ? Le nom *Rozália* possède les variantes *Rozál*, *Róza*,

Rózsa (cette dernière est le nom de la fleur aussi, et de nos jours c'est un nom propre officiel). La baptisée *Rózsa Julianna*, a-t-elle reçu le nom de sa mère, qui s'appelait *Róza Apollónia* et celui de sa marraine *Julianna* (1888) ? Et que dire de *Rozália*, la fille de *Rozál* (1895) ? Et encore une variante : n'oublions pas le nom *Rozina*, qui a été enregistré en latin et en hongrois aussi, qui provenait autrefois du nom *Rosalia*.

2.4. La motivation du choix du nom de baptême

En examinant les registrations des matricules des baptisés, nous cherchons d'abord les motivations possibles du choix du nom de baptême de l'enfant. Nous n'en trouvons que pour un tiers des noms environ.

La motivation principale et probable est de donner le même nom de baptême que celui du parent ou du parent spirituel. Chez les catholiques, en général, on choisit un peu plus fréquemment le nom du parent spirituel que le nom du parent. Quelquefois les filles ont la version féminine du nom du parrain (ou du père). Quelques exemples : le nom de la baptisée : *Rosina-Antonia*, le nom du parrain : *Antonius* (1813) ; le nom de la baptisée : *Anna-Midia-Henrica*, le nom du père : *Henricus*, le nom de la marraine : *Anna* (1836) ; le nom de la baptisée : *Maria Josephina*, le nom du parrain : *József*, le nom de la marraine : *Maria* (1848).

On peut choisir comme jours de fête des noms proches de la date de la naissance ou du baptême de l'enfant. Mais ici il est proposé d'être prudent, quand de nombreuses dates s'attachent à un nom dans l'année. En général ces dates sont les fêtes des saints. Il est proposé de contrôler si le saint a été canonisé avant le baptême de l'enfant, c'est-à-dire si la fête de ce nom existait à ce jour dans les calendriers à la naissance de l'enfant. Voici quelques exemples des noms des baptisés et la relation possible avec le jour du calendrier : *Maria*, baptême : le 16 août 1788, fête : le 15 août ; *Stephanus*, baptême le 20 août 1801, la fête de Saint Étienne, le premier roi hongrois, est le même jour ; le 27 et 28 septembre 1863 le nom de baptême de trois enfants est *Michael*, fête : le 29 septembre.

Traditionnellement les noms de baptêmes catholiques sont des noms des saints, y compris de personnes bibliques. Choisir leur nom pour le baptême revient à leur témoigner du respect pour eux et à leur demander d'être le patron céleste de l'enfant baptisé. La motivation est définitivement religieuse quand le nom d'un certain saint est donné à l'enfant, exprimant le respect privilégié de ce saint. Cette motivation n'est pas très fréquente. On trouve le plus fréquemment le nom *Jean Népomucène*, patron de l'église et de la paroisse, parmi les noms des baptisés. Une fois il s'agit d'une fille, *Anna Maria Joann. Nepom.* qui a reçu en troisième nom de baptême le nom de ce saint. Le deuxième nom en fréquence est *François de Xavier*, et on trouve encore les noms *Jean Baptiste*



et *Jean Évangéliste*. Le respect particulier pour la Sainte Vierge constitue la motivation, quand après le nom masculin le dernier nom de baptême secondaire d'un garçon est *Mária (Marie)*. A Rákosliget nous avons trouvé plusieurs noms de ce type, à Rákoscaba, non.

Pour la majorité des cas, l'enfant reçoit un seul nom de baptême, mais déjà dans ce chapitre aussi, nous avons vu l'imposition de plusieurs noms.

2.5. L'imposition de plusieurs noms de baptême

Pour l'époque étudiée, à Rákoscaba la proportion de l'imposition de plusieurs noms de baptême par rapport à tous les baptêmes est d'environ 3 à 5 pourcents. A partir de la fin du 19^e siècle, cette proportion augmente clairement. Plusieurs fois, des noms rares apparaissent en deuxième nom de baptême : *Johannes Vilhelmus, Augusztina Apollónia, Rosina Antonia, Michael Eduardus, Josephus Christophorus*. Naturellement les noms fréquents sont aussi répandus en tant en deuxième nom de baptême : *József, János, István, Mária, Anna, Erzsébet, Katalin*. Il y a des noms composés permanents : *Anna Mária, Mária Terézia*. Les femmes reçoivent plus souvent triple nom de baptême que les hommes. Quelques triple noms de baptême : *Anna Mária Julianna ; Julcsa Zsuzsanna Mária ; Mihály Sándor Albert*. Ce sont surtout les enfants des barons et comtes vivant à Rákoscaba ou à Pécel qui recevaient 4 ou 5, une fois 6 noms de baptême : *Albertus Simon Ferdinandus Gabriel ; Agnes Theresia Francisca Anna ; Ottilia Alexandra Paulina Gabriella Elisabeth ; Adrianus Franciscus Seraphinus Simeon Ladislaus Ernestus*.

2.6. Le nom de baptême des jumeaux

Étudiant les matricules, nous pouvons constater, que par rapport au nombre des baptêmes le nombre des jumeaux est relativement haut, non seulement à Rákoscaba et ses succursales, mais à Gödöllő aussi (à 20 kilomètres de Rákoscaba), selon une publication de recherche onomastique. Pour deux tiers des baptêmes de jumeaux, les noms de baptêmes se transmettent au moins à l'un des enfants de son parent ou parent spirituel, aproximativement en proportion identique. Quand seulement l'un des enfant a un tel nom l'autre porte souvent le nom *Adam* ou *Eve*. Le nom *Éva (Eve)* est relativement fréquent, sans jumelle ou jumeau aussi. Le nom *Adam* est rare, on n'a trouvé qu'un nom *Adam* sans jumeau ou jumelle. Pour environ une dixième des jumeaux, nous trouvons les noms *Adam* et *Eva*. Nous avons trouvé une note sur des triplés : *András, Ferenc, Gyula*. Leur père est *András*, les parrains sont *Gábor, Ferenc* et *József*.

Nous allons présenter quelques paires de noms des jumeaux, avec la motivation :

<i>Michael et Maria</i>	parents: <i>Michael et Maria</i>
<i>Maria et Eva</i>	mère: <i>Maria</i>
<i>Mihály et János</i>	père: <i>János</i> , parrains: <i>Mihály et János</i>
<i>Elisabetha et Barbara</i>	marraines: <i>Elisabetha et Barbara</i>
<i>Susanna et Agnes</i>	mère: <i>Susanna</i> , marraine: <i>Agnes</i>
<i>Michael et Adamus</i>	père: <i>Michael</i>
<i>Antonius et Anna</i>	parrain: <i>Antonius</i> , marraine: <i>Anna</i>
<i>Adamus et Barbara</i>	marraine: <i>Barbara</i>
<i>Martinus et Adamus</i>	parrains: <i>Joannes et Martinus</i>
<i>Adam et Eva</i>	

Mais souvent la motivation n'est pas connue.

3. La matricule des baptisés d'Isaszeg, jusqu'à l'autonomie de la paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène de Rákoscscaba

Les matricules d'Isaszeg sont conservées à partir de 1735. Les plus anciennes ont été anéanties au temps de la bataille de 1849. On peut trouver ces matricules numérisées à Vác, aux Archives Épiscopales et Chapitreales. Nous avons choisi parmi celles-ci les noms des baptisés de Rákoscscaba, et de ses deux communes voisines à l'est et à l'ouest: Pécel et Rákoskeresztúr, qui appartenaient à la paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène de 1765 jusqu'au XX^e siècle. (Leur église catholique est à environ 3,5 kilomètres de celle de Rákoscscaba.) Sur les pages le tableau tiré à la main contient les données des baptêmes : la date et le lieu, le nom de l'enfant baptisé, les noms des parents et les noms des parents spirituels. Quelquefois, les écritures se sont estompées ou effacées sans aucune trace. Quant aux noms on peut voir une continuité avec l'époque d'après 1762. Ici on trouve très rarement l'abréviation des noms, et en général l'enfant reçoit un nom de baptême, rarement deux.

4. Les noms de baptême les plus fréquents

D'abord en raison de la grande quantité de données, je voulais prendre pour échantillon une année tous les 25 ans à partir de 1763 pour calculer la statistique de la fréquence des noms. Mais, puisqu'à partir de 1735, peu de baptêmes ont été enregistrés chaque année dans ces trois communes (souvent moins de 30, mais par exemple en 1737, on en compte seulement 6), dans ce cas j'ai fait le total de plusieurs années.

Après l'année (ou les années) on peut voir le nombre de baptêmes enregistrés, mis entre parenthèses. Après les noms aussi. Mais notre statistique montre séparément le premier + deuxième + troisième nom de baptême.

J'ai fait quelques essais, pour déterminer, si l'une des trois communes influençait considérablement la fréquence des noms de baptême et la continuité à travers les années. Il s'est avéré que ce n'était pas le cas, et puisque ces communes se trouvent non loin l'une de l'autre, en général les noms choisis n'ont pas de grande différence. Il est vrai que, par exemple, entre 1735 et 1740 à Pécel personne n'a reçu le nom de Anna, mais les années suivantes, sa fréquence y est considérable.

4.1. Baptêmes enregistrés à Isaszeg

J'ai partagé l'époque allant de 1735 à 1761, en quatre parties. La première : entre 1735 et 1740 où Rákoscscaba, Pécel et Rákoskeresztúr appartenaient à Isaszeg. Et les trois périodes de 7 années suivantes de 1741 à 1761 où Rákoskeresztúr n'y appartenait plus:

1735–1740 (75) : *Elisabetha* (8), *Anna* (7), *Maria* (6), *Catharina* (4), *Juditha* (3), *Rosalia* (2) ; *Joannes* (11), *Andreas* (5), *Georgius* (5), *Jacobus* (4), *Josephus* (4), *Michael* (4), *Stephanus* (3)

1741–1747 (113) : *Elisabetha* (15), *Anna* (14+1), *Maria* (8), *Catharina* (6), *Juditha* (6), *Susanna* (4) ; *Joannes* (16), *Georgius* (8), *Andreas* (6), *Michael* (6), *Stephanus* (6), *Josephus* (3)

1748–1754 (157) : *Elisabetha* (22), *Catharina* (20), *Maria* (12+1), *Anna* (8), *Juditha* (6), *Helena* (3), *Susanna* (2) ; *Joannes* (25), *Georgius* (11), *Stephanus* (8), *Andreas* (7), *Josephus* (7), *Michael* (5), *Martinus* (3+1)

1755–1761 (172) : *Anna* (15), *Catharina* (15), *Maria* (10+1), *Elisabetha* (10), *Juditha* (10), *Theresia* (2+1) ; *Michael* (11), *Andreas* (8), *Joannes* (8), *Paulus* (6), *Stephanus* (6), *Georgius* (4), *Josephus* (3), *Matthias* (3)

Après l'autonomie de la paroisse de Rákoscscaba, Pécel n'appartenait plus non plus à Isaszeg.

4.2. Baptêmes enregistrés à Rákoscscaba

1762–1764 (82), à cette époque la paroisse n'avait pas de succursales : *Elisabetha* (16), *Anna* (8+1), *Catharina* (7), *Juditha* (3), *Maria* (2+1) ; *Michael* (11), *Joannes* (5), *Josephus* (5), *Paulus* (4), *Andreas* (3), *Martinus* (3), *Stephanus* (3)

Après cette époque Pécel et Rákoskeresztúr aussi y appartenait.

1765–1770 (187) : *Anna* (18), *Elisabetha* (15), *Catharina* (10), *Juditha* (6), *Eva* (5), *Maria* (4), *Rosalia* (4), *Susanna* (4) ; *Michael* (21), *Joannes* (20), *Josephus* (11), *Martinus* (8), *Andreas* (7), *Paulus* (6), *Franciscus* (5), *Georgius* (5)

1788 (56) : *Maria* (10), *Catharina* (6), *Elisabetha* (5), *Anna* (4), *Eva* (3) ; *Josephus* (5), *Antonius* (4), *Michael* (4), *Georgius* (3), *Paulus* (2), *Stephanus* (2)

1800–1801 (127) : *Anna* (19), *Maria* (10+2), *Catharina* (10), *Elisabetha* (9+1), *Susanna* (5), *Eva* (4+1) ; *Joannes* (12), *Josephus* (8), *Michael* (8), *Stephanus* (5+1), *Paulus* (5), *Georgius* (4)

1813 (85) : *Maria* (9+2), *Anna* (8), *Elisabetha* (7), *Catharina* (4+1), *Rosalia* (2) ; *Josephus* (9), *Michael* (7), *Joannes* (6), *Stephanus* (4), *Antonius* (3), *Martinus* (2), *Paulus* (2)

1838 (109) : *Erzsébet* (11), *Mária* (9) ~ *Maris* (2), *Anna* (7+1), *Katalin* (6), *Susanna* (2) ~ *Zsuzsi* (4), *Julianna* (3) ~ *Julis* (2), *Borbála* (4), *Theresia* (1) ~ *Trézsi* (3), *Eva* (3), *Helena* (1) ~ *Illus* (1) ; *János* (11+1), *István* (8), *József* (7), *Mihály* (5), *András* (4), *Mártony* (2), *Pál* (2)

1863 (134) : *Maria* (16+1), *Elisabetha* (11+1), *Susanna* (9), *Catharina* (7+2), *Anna* (5), *Julianna* (5), *Rosalia* (5), *Theresia* (4) ; *Stephanus* (16), *Joannes* (15), *Michael* (9), *Josephus* (6+1), *Georgius* (3), *Martinus* (2)

1888 (186) : *Mária* (26+1), *Erzsébet* (15), *Rozália* (10+1) ~ *Róza* (1+1) ~ *Rózsa* (0+1), *Katalin* (8+2), *Julianna* (8+1) ~ *Júlia* (1), *Ilona* (6+1) ~ *Ilonka* (1), *Terézia* (5+1) ~ *Teréz* (1), *Anna* (4), *Gizella* (2+2+1), *Margit* (2), *Vilma* (2) ; *János* (20), *István* (15+1), *József* (14), *Mihály* (9), *András* (5+1), *Ferencz* (5+1), *Pál* (5+1), *György* (3), *Gábor* (2), *Lajos* (2), *László* (0+1+1)

1895 (230) : *Erzsébet* (18+3), *Mária* (17+2), *Rozália* (15) ~ *Rozál* (2) ~ *Róza* (2), *Katalin* (15), *Ilona* (7+1), *Julianna* (13) ~ *Julis* (1), *Ilona* (7+1), *Margit* (7+1), *Zsuzsanna* (6), *Anna* (5), *Irén* (3), *Terézia* (2), *Franziska* (1+1), *Jolán* (1+1) ; *István* (22+2), *József* (20+1), *János* (18), *Mihály* (12), *Pál* (8), *Ferencz* (7), *András* (3), *György* (3), *Károly* (2), *Péter* (2), *Sándor* (2), *Lajos* (1+1), *Antal* (0+2), *Márton* (0+2)

5. Une histoire peu connue liée à Rákoscscaba

Beaucoup de monde connaît le nom du grand romancier hongrois, Mór Jókai, à l'étranger aussi, parce que ses romans ont été traduits dans beaucoup de langues. (Par exemple son roman dont le titre original en français : *Les fils de l'homme au cœur de pierre*, *A köszívű ember fia* est paru en France sous le titre *Les Baradlay*, vers 1965.)

Mais même parmi les Hongrois, peu de gens savent, que le mariage de Mór Jókai et de l'actrice renommée Róza Laborfalvy a été célébré en 1848 à Rákoscscaba, à l'église Saint Jean Népomucène, dans la paroisse de laquelle j'ai étudié les matricules avec mon mari.



Mór Jókai qui était calviniste a reçu au baptême le nom de *Móricz Jókay* (en français : Maurice). Selon certaines sources, *Lőrinc Tóth* (en français : Laurent) un poète était le premier à adresser ainsi sa lettre à l'écrivain : À *Monsieur Mór Jókay*, c'est-à-dire, qu'il a choisi la forme raccourcie du nom de baptême. Jókai s'en est offensé et il a écrit dans sa lettre de réponse : À *Monsieur Lőr Tóth*, c'est-à-dire qu'il a raccourci lui aussi le nom du poète, alors que cette forme n'existe pas. C'est sur la proposition du célèbre poète *Sándor Petőfi* qu'il a commencé à utiliser le nom *Mór Jókay* dans la littérature. En 1848 il a substitué dans son nom de famille la lettre i à y (i grec). De cette manière il a mis en évidence qu'il n'avait pas besoin des avantages de l'origine noble. La fantaisie créatrice du nom de *Jókai* est la preuve que l'onomastique littéraire a une influence sur examen des noms de personnes et vice versa.

6. Sommaire

Dans mon étude j'ai analysé les abréviations des noms de baptême, les noms des jumeaux, les doubles et multiples noms de baptême des matricules catholiques de mon quartier, Rákoscaba, du point de vue de la motivation de l'imposition du nom, de la deuxième partie du 18^e siècle, jusqu'à l'introduction de l'immatriculation d'État, complétant avec des données de la matricule d'Isaszeg, à partir de 1735. Ce sont les propriétés de l'anthroponymie de Rákoscaba. Ces thèmes possèdent une grande tradition en Hongrie. Une part des matricules étudiées était écrite en latin, l'autre part en hongrois. Aux matricules qui sont écrites à la main et ne sont pas numérisées on peut craindre qu'avec le temps, peu à peu les noms ne disparaissent.

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Résumé

Les séries de Budapest de l'onomastique hongroise, comprenant les 200 volumes (à la couverture bleue) des *Études d'Onomastique Hongrois* (MND) et les 99 volumes (à la couverture jaune) des *Collections des données des anthroponymes hongrois* (MSzA), éditées par l'équipe de recherche Onomastique du Groupe des Chaires Linguistiques de l'Université des Sciences Eötvös Loránd (ELTE) entre 1976 et 2006; 1974 et 1991 ont fait connaître et et popularisé l'onomastique hongroise à l'intérieur du pays et au delà des frontières. Le rédacteur de ces séries était le professeur linguiste Mihály Hajdú. L'idée de mon thème est venue de ces séries puisque de nombreux auteurs des articles y figurant avaient entrepris l'examen des anthroponymes de leur pays, à l'aide des matricules ecclésiastiques. L'importance de mon étude est motivée par cela aussi que les matricules catholiques de mon quartier pour une période de 255 années ne sont pas numérisées, et également que les pages sont abîmées, et à quelques endroits le texte latin écrit à l'encre de Chine noire s'est terni et, on peut difficilement le lire. Je présente la fréquence des noms de baptêmes, la motivation connue du choix du nom, ainsi que le choix de plusieurs noms de baptême et les noms des jumeaux.

Mots-clefs : séries des Études d'onomastique hongroise; paroisse Saint Jean Népomucène de Rákoscscaba; matricule des baptisés; nom de baptême des jumeaux

Apotropaic names in different cultures

1. The name is, on the one hand, part of the person and, on the other hand, symbolizes him. In most prehistoric societies, the name was equivalent to the soul; essentially, it could be regarded as identical to it. As a matter of fact, name giving was believed to be soul giving (FRAZER 1922: 321–322, TAKÁCS 2005: 249–251, see also FARKAS 1998: 29).

The inverse was also true: if someone had no name, (s)he was regarded as non-existent. This belief is evident in a Hungarian saying used during children's games like hide-and-seek and tag. One can say 'My name doesn't count, my head is a cabbage' (*Nem ér a nevem, káposzta a fejem*). In this case, this person cannot be caught, because (s)he has no name and therefore does not exist (BALÁZS–TAKÁCS 2009: 205).

Names can serve as magical protection e.g. when specific names like protective (such as the names of saints) (TAKÁCS 2005: 251) or apotropaic (derogatory-protective) names (see SAARELMA 2013: 138) are used. In some cultures, a child is given a derogatory or otherwise semantically negative name so that evil spirits would not be interested in him/her (SAARELMA 2013: 127).

In this study, I will introduce the practice of apotropaic name giving in different cultures, and in different periods of time.

2. In Hungary we have records of the apotropaic naming practice in the Arpad period (1000–1301). When a baby was feeble, seeming to lack vigour, the parents could decide not to name him/her for a while or could assign an apotropaic name to the baby to protect him/her from the evil spirits, to divert the evil influences from him/her. These names expressed worthlessness, e. g. by denying the existence of the baby or negating positive features, e.g. *Numel* 'not living', *Halaladi* 'little death', *Mawag* 'living only today' (recorded in 1138/1329), *Nemvagy* 'not existing' (recorded in 1174), *Nevetlen* 'no name'/'without name', *Nemvaló* 'not appropriate', *Nemhisz* 'not believing', *Nemhű* 'not faithful', *Beteg* 'ill', *Féreg* 'worm', *Hitvánd* 'hound', *Szemét* 'rubbish', *Disznó* 'pig'. These names seem humiliating, but they protected the baby from the force of the evil spirits by misleading them into believing the name bearers were ill, ugly, worthless or dead, and therefore not worth their attention (PAIS 1921–1922: 95, ZLINSZKY 1927: 108, HAJDÚ 2003: 104, 353, FERCSIK–RAÁTZ 2009: 10–11, SLÍZ 2011: 49, TÓTH 2016: 136; see also FARKAS 2014: 134). Names that emerged from appellatives denoting animals

like *Patkan* ‘rat’, *Cenke* ‘young dog’, or *Culqued* ‘puppy’ also belong to this name group when received at birth (HAJDÚ 2003: 353).

The name *Farkas* ‘wolf’ was first recorded in 1146 and afterwards occurred often in the written resources. BORNEMISZA (1758) in his literary work recorded the practice that children were named *Farkas* if their siblings had died before them. According to NYÍRI (1963), it was a totemistic name intended to protect the child from death and wished him to be the same strong and brave as the wolves.

Among Changos (who are living in the Romanian region of Moldavia, traditionally speaking an old Hungarian dialect), at the end of the 1950’s, a Hungarian researcher, HEGEDŰS observed the practice of the symbolical selling of the child who appeared to be weak, to a woman who had many children, each of them alive. In this case also the name of the child was changed, to deceive the evil spirit (HEGEDŰS 1956: 112).

3. Now I will look at examples from across the borders and from earlier periods of time. The same concept existed in the Egyptian belief system and was later transferred to the Greek and Roman apotropaic name practice of the ancient Greek-Roman period (SAUNERON 1966: 51, 63, 77–78, and BERNAND 1991: 103, as cited in ELLIOTT 2015: 155).

Among Egyptian personal names, we can find the following apotropaic names to neutralize the evil eye: ‘his name does not exist’, ‘they did not remain’, ‘I do not know him’, ‘we do not know him’ (RANKE 1936: 304). During the Greek-Roman period in Egypt, the practice of using apotropaic names continued. The Greek apotropaic name *Κοπρος* ‘dung’ was assigned to a child at conception if the mother had experienced difficulty in getting pregnant or if the parents had already lost several of their children, they gave their baby this apotropaic name to ensure that (s)he survived despite the evil eye (HOBSON 1989: 163–164).

In Greek mythology, Odysseus introduced himself under a pseudonym, *Uti* ‘nobody’ to Polyphemus (who was a cyclops), so as to be protected against the evil forces (SLÍZ 2013: 226).

In the ancient Roman period, names such as *Calumniosus* ‘insolent’, *Exitiosus* ‘pernicious’, *Injuriousus* ‘acting unjustly’, *Stercorius* ‘excremental’ or *Projectus* ‘cast out’/‘contemptible’ were presumably apotropaic names aimed at diverting evil influences away from children. Of these, *Projectus* and *Stercorius* were by far the most common (WILSON 1998: 58–59).

In Armenian culture apotropaic names were created by using the privative suffix *a* or *n*, as in *Anahit* ‘not nice’, ‘not beautiful’, *Anus* ‘not sweet’ (of Persian origin) or *Nvard* ‘not a rose’. Today the meaning of these names are

positive. The name *Gurken* ‘wolf’ was a wish-name (DZSOTJÁNNÉ KRAJCSIR 2004: 447–448).

In Yiddish culture, we can also find apotropaic names such as *Kayem*, given to a sick child; the etymology of this word is the Hebrew adjective *qayom*: ‘tough’, ‘enduring’ (HANKS 2003: 289).

Data from the Byzantine sources from 691/692 show that in Ossetian (a northern Iranian language spoken in the central Caucasus), the name *Ānäud* ‘being without soul’ was used. This name was meant to send away the evil spirits and thus prevent the death of the child. It is similar to the Slavic name *Nebil* ‘one who has never existed’ (WENZEL 2011: 19).

4. In the ancient Slavic name giving practices, the name *Volk* ~ *Vlk* ~ *Vuk* ‘wolf’ was given as an apotropaic name if several babies had died in a family. The spirits and demonesses would not dare harm him/her if (s)he had this name (HAJDÚ 2003: 285).

Until the end of the 9th century, in the territory of the Principality of Kiev, the following apotropaic names were used to protect babies from danger, evil forces, etc.: *Nemil* ‘not nice’, *Nekrac* ‘not beautiful’, *Nelyuba* ‘not loved’, *Neudacha* ‘misfortune’, *Nenash* ‘not our baby’ (the *ne* negation particle is found at the beginning of these names, see in WENZEL 2008: 362), *Bezohraz* ‘ugly’, etc. (SUPERANSKAYA 1995, 1999: 194). To keep a baby alive and not to attract an evil eye to it the denominations of some non-valuable objects were also used as personal names: *Bashmak* ‘a shoe’, *Gorshok* ‘a pot’, *Kocherga* ‘a poker’, *Poleno* ‘a piece of wood’, etc. (SUPRENSKAYA 1999: 194). Ukrainian apotropaic names from the oldest layer of the language are as follows: *Nezhivij* ‘not living’, *Neznan* ‘not known’, *Nekrac* ‘not beautiful’, *Nayden* ‘fell upon’/‘found’ (CHUCHKA 2011).

Among the southern Slavic languages, e.g. in Bulgarian, the ancient name giving practice of the ‘found baby’ need to be mentioned. An ill, nonviable baby was placed outside the home, found and given a new name that meant the beginning of a new life; it was believed this would result in good health. Examples of the new name are *Nayden* ‘fell upon’/‘found’ or *Obreten* ‘found’. The name of a wild animal, like *Vlko*, *Vlkan* ‘wolf’ was given as a wish-name, as the family wished the child would become as strong as the animal. Among the Serbs, the most frequently given name was the *Vuk* ‘wolf’. It was an apotropaic name not a wish-name, as they believed that the name-bearer would not be attacked by bad spirits (HAJDÚ 2003: 305–306).

In addition to the apotropaic name giving practices (that is, giving an unpleasant name to the child to divert harmful demons) discussed so far, the practice of false name giving can also be observed in Russian lands: many times a person



approaching on the street could give this false name aimed at preventing death by diverting the demons and magicians who could become animal-human hybrids. In families in which infant mortality was high or a new-born baby appeared to be weak, the parents shouted names into the stovepipe, and when they uttered a name that caused the baby to stop crying, that name was assigned to the infant. There were cases when the parents organized the funeral or selling of the child to a wanderer and afterwards they took the child back under a different name. In another case, the child was swept out with the garbage and later brought back by the relatives, already with a different name. In the Indigirka region in northern Siberia, a child could be given a second name, an animal name, to keep the harmful demons from finding him/her (RYAN 1999: 311).

The story of Ivan the Fool (*Ivan-durak*, *Ivanushka-durachok*), well known from Russian folklore, is about a young man who is unlike typical heroes: he is naive and kind and his bravery helps him to fight villains, make friends and win princesses' hearts. Ultimately he is rewarded with half a kingdom or some similar prize. When his stories were created presumably in the 15–16th century, the Russian word *durak* 'fool' did not have any negative connotation and was used to refer to the youngest son in the family. Ivan was also the youngest of three brothers. Researchers have suggested that it might have been an apotropaic name to protect Ivan from the evil eye (SINYAVSKY 2010, ANGLICKIENĖ 2013: 127–128).

5. Among the Udmurts (whose language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family) if the child was frequently ill, the parents performed the ceremony of the name change (*ut't'shan*, lit. meaning: 'soul search', i.e. through the new name, a new and healthy soul would be found) so as to mislead the harmful spirits. When the infant mortality rate was high in the family, the name of the child was concealed until (s)he reached a safe age (SOLYMOSSY 1927: 88, KEREZSI 2009: 130). An Udmurt apotropaic name is *Sakta* 'rubbish' (HAJDÚ 2003: 314).

Among the Mari, another Finno-Ugric ethnic group, in case of illness, two methods were believed to help: changing the name and 'selling' the child. The sold child was brought out of the gate and smuggled back secretly into the house through the window. A mock burial could also be organized: the mother would create and bury a clay figure to deceive the spirits that caused the illness (MOLOTOVA 2005: 178).

6. In the Russian Far East, in Siberia, among the Evens (their language belongs to the Tungusic languages), the people believe that the soul and body of the new-born baby are very fragile because their soul and body have not yet connected to each other. Therefore the child's soul and body could return or transform; their body is said to be 'open'. The child is still susceptible to the spirits of the ancestors, who have the power to kill the child before his body

closes up and become invulnerable. The apotropaic names pretend to close up the child's body by creating the illusion of it. Still among the Evens, a similar protective function is believed to be effective when the same name is assigned to several children, as this reduces the possibility that the harmful demons find the child. For example, in a family in which several children have died of illnesses, later the parents named their new-born daughter *Sasha*. Then the following child, a son, was also named *Sasha*, and (as hoped) both children survived (BRIGHTMAN–GROTTI–ULTURGASHEVA 2012: 56–57).

Among the Yakuts (who are Turkic people) a child was not considered a person until the age of seven, because it was easy for him/her to be eaten up by even a small evil spirit. At about seven, when a child could talk, learn and think, (s)he was seen as fully human. One way of protecting children was to give them a protective name in those early years (HOB DEN).

Among the Oirats (Turkic people living in Siberia) shamanism is still alive, and apotropaic names like 'dog ear', 'dung', 'manure', 'sob', and 'pus' are used even today (HAJDÚ 2003: 164).

Among the Kazakhs, a baby who was born weak might be assigned an apotropaic name so as to divert the attention of the bad spirits, to deceive them. Examples of these names are: *Tezek* 'excrement', *Ijt-Kulak* 'dog ear', *Adjal* 'death', *Sokur* 'blind', *Sangirik* 'bird dropping' (HAJDÚ 2003: 192–193).

One name category among the Mongols is the 'bad names', meaning undesirable traits, such as: *Eljigetei* 'donkey' or *Bujir* 'dirty, filthy'. According to Mongol shamanistic beliefs, a child with a name that has a positive meaning can arouse the interest of the evil spirits. Thus boys might receive the name *Keuken* 'Little girl', since male offspring were more precious than female children – no doubt this bias was shared by inhabitants of the spirits world (MIKU 1998).

In the Middle Mongolian language (in the 13th–16th centuries), the largest semantic group of personal names consisted of those related to physiological or psychological features of a given person. In this group, we can find names such as *Büjir* 'filthy', *Budayu* 'stupid, dull' and *Ködön ~ Köten* 'backside, buttocks', which carry a negative connotation. Behind such names is the superstition that 'bad names' (indicating that the child is nauseating and worthless) may discourage and repel evil spirits (RYBATZKI 2012: 335). In this corpus, we also have apotropaic names indicating that the child is similar to despised animals (e.g. *Kücügür* 'field mouse' or *Kökecü* 'titmouse'). These names may belong to the group of fortuitous or omen-names, as well. In this group falls a set of names classified as 'first animal or person seen after birth'. Most names connected with domestic animals, as well as some bird names, might belong to this group; *Nomon* 'mole', as well as the aforementioned *Kücügür* 'field mouse'



and *Kökecü* ‘titmouse’ should also be included in this group (RYBATZKI 2012: 336–337).

Also in Inner Asia, but from an earlier period, the time of the Second Turkic Khaganate (ca. 682–742/744), after a disastrous defeat, the Turkic tribe Sir, which had an important role in the region, adopted the name *Qipčaq*, meaning ‘unlucky, unfortunate’ as a protective name to ward off further misfortunes (GOLDEN 2011: 53, VÁSÁRY 2003).

7. Further to the East, in Korea, until the beginning of the 20th century, people were assigned several names. The childhood name was often an apotropaic name like *Twaeji* ‘pig’, *Kangaji* ‘puppy’, *Kaettong* ‘dog crap’ or *Malttong* ‘horse crap’, which were changed after the person became an adult. The function of these names was to deceive the evil spirits (OSVÁTH 1989: 337). According to the military registers from the Joseon period (which lasted until the beginning of the 20th century), some soldiers holding military ranks bore the names *Kaettong* ‘dog crap’ or *Malttong* ‘horse crap’. Thus, we can conclude that in these cases the childhood name was not changed once the person reached adulthood. Similar names recorded in the registers were: *O-in* ‘a person who hates virtue’, *Ak-han* ‘evil scoundrel’ or *Keom-dong* ‘blackie’. According to the records, the bearers of these names were freedmen (PARK 2011: 30).

In Japan, children could be called ‘dogs’, ‘pigs’, ‘leeches’, ‘worms’ when they became ill, or their previous siblings had died at an early age (HAJDÚ 2013: 104).

We have records of apotropaic naming practice in China, as well. The original personal name of one of the great Confucian philosophers, Xunzi (c. 310–c. 220 B.C.E) was an apotropaic name: *Bingyi* ‘his illness is over’ (XUNZI-KNOBLOCK 1988: 233). In China in the Ha Tsuen culture in the Kanton region, the newborn babies are not named until they are one month old, because in this period their soul is exposed to the phenomenon of ‘losing soul’. A long-awaited son may be assigned an apotropaic name like *Mui-jai* ‘little slave girl’, in hopes that the rambling spirits would not pay attention to him (SUNG 1981: 81–82, as cited in WATSON 1986: 620–621). In China, children could be called ‘dogs’, ‘hogs’ and ‘fleas’ against evil eye (SIEBERS 1983: 41–42).

In Vietnam, upon their birth, children, especially in the villages, may be first named after simple, dirty things such as *bùn* ‘mud’, *cát* ‘sand’, *rêu* ‘moss’, *kèo* ‘rafter’, or *cột* ‘pillar’, etc. or after animals such as *chó* ‘dog’, *chây* ‘louse’, originally intended to ward off evil spirits. Names such as *lùn* ‘dwarf’, *đĩ* ‘harlot’, etc., and also obscene words like *cu* ‘penis’, *hĩm* ‘cunt’ are present at the countryside (CADIÈRE 1944: 139). According to NGUYỄN (1995), the Vietnamese child gets an apotropaic name first so as to avert misfortune. The giving of the real name comes only later.

8. The Tangkhuls in India in the pre-Christian era believed that it was easy for evil spirits to kill a nameless person. Therefore, the family tried to name the child as early as possible and the name had to be meaningful. A naming celebration was done usually for the first child and in particular for the first son. Otherwise, the name was usually given by the family before the baby's ears were pierced. When the family had very few male members or in general the infant mortality rate was high in the family, derogatory names were given to the baby so the spirits would not want to take the child away: they named their son *Seipaileng* 'cow-dung', *Fapaileng* 'dog-dung', etc., and this applied to even the female babies. They were named *Seipaila*, *Fapaila*, etc. (JOY 2014: 75–76).

In northern India, among the precautions taken against the evil eye was throwing a child onto a rubbish or dung heap and naming it 'rubbish', 'dung heap', 'lord of refuse', 'broomstick', or 'pot'. The same applies in the northwestern state of Gujarat and in the Muslim Sindh province of Pakistan (MALONEY 1976, as cited in HOBSON 1989: 164). According to EMENEAU (1978: 127), in northern India, parents who had lost several children, sometimes gave an apotropaic name to a child, e.g. *Peṇṭa-yya* 'rubbish + male suffix', *Peṇṭ-amma* (f.), *Pull-ayya*, *Pull-amma* from *pulli-āku* 'a leftout leaf on which one ate'.

9. In northeast Africa, in Sudan, a child whose siblings have died before him/her is called *Ajefas* 'let be thrown away', or *Ajuji* 'on the dung heap' to avert God's attention from them (GREENBERG 1946: 23). In the east, in Uganda, among the Lugbaras, a woman who had previously been considered barren or whose previous children had died at birth would assign a death name (e.g. 'in the death hut') to her baby. MIDDLETON (1961) identified 144 'death' names among these people (as cited in HOBSON 1989: 164).

In the traditional Xitsonga culture of South Africa, when death or illness strikes, a supernatural cause is suspected. This unfortunate situation is, therefore, enshrined in a name. According to the informants, experts in name-giving can assign children apotropaic names such as *Telakufa* 'come to die' and *Nyamayavo* 'their flesh, their meat', which serve to publicly encode complaints to the members of the family and are also known as sarcastic names. In other words, these names are often given with a slightly teasing tone. The names of *Telakufa* and *Nyamayavo* are used when parents have lost many children and may have little hope that the child will survive. The name may thus be considered as a form of prayer in desperation to save the baby from the evil spirits, to protect him/her against the witches. The underlying belief is that the dead children were bewitched. In case of the name of *Nyamayavo*, it is believed that the witches will realise that their evil deeds are known and thus will shy away or distance themselves from the baby's family. The parents wholeheartedly hope that these names will protect the child from all the evil spirits and expect the



child to survive (NKONDO 1973: 72 and JUNOD 1938: 54, as cited in CHAUKE 2015: 310).

In Central Africa, in Gabon, apotropaic names are given to babies from birth, in particular to those whose viability is in doubt. These names are supposed to contribute to warding off evil spirits, banning curses into forgetfulness or removing children from the influence of people with bad intentions. Among the Nkomi and the Eshira, these names are spoken in the form of an anti-phrase to preserve children from death. The aim, when they are chosen, is to make the baby survive sheltered from bad intentions. (These names are called *talisman names*.) For example, if a child is born on an unfortunate day, his parents may prudently call him *Raferia* ‘manure’ or *Ratisoa* ‘pig’, since fate will not be interested in visiting its cruelty on anything as unattractive as manure or a pig. Something similar occurs with the children of princes, whose disagreeable names are intended to distract the attention of evil genies. The parents later give them attractive names, but take care to keep them in secret (TESONE 2011: 19).

In West Africa, the parents assign apotropaic or death names so as to deceive the evil spirits by communicating that the children are not precious to them, thereby protecting them from death. In Gambia, when the mother was considered barren or her children died early, her new-born baby was given the name ‘refuse-heap’ or ‘throwaway’ (AMES 1959: 269).

10. Today the practice of apotropaic names is present in traditional societies where people believe in magic and evil spirits. The apotropaic names are given in general to protect against the evil spirits; the degrading names have the function of diverting the evil influences from the child. We can see that these names could refer to a child, but for the Turks, it referred to the tribe, the people themselves, and was meant to ward off possibly catastrophic developments in the state of affairs.

In many cultures, apotropaic names were generally not applied to the first child. Only when a previous children had died, for example of some kind of illness, would the parents decide to use the apotropaic name. Therefore, we can conclude that people believed in the life saving effect of an apotropaic name, but if it became a real name accompanied by its bad connotations, as well, then it was not favourable for the person and his/her family. Giving apotropaic names is like paying for the survival of the child. The parents sacrifice something precious: the prestige of the child, of the family and presumably of the extended family, as well. If the aim were just to deceive the evil spirits, neutral names would have sufficed, but, as we know from folk tales, the greater the sacrifice, the more effective the result.



It is worth specific research to know where and in which cultures the parents changed the child's apotropaic name as time went by, and where and in which

cultures they did not. For cases in which the child possessed it all his life, we can refer to the apotropaic names of the Korean soldiers of military ranks. In Korea, these names were generally applied only in the childhood. Further examinations are required to discover in which cases, for what reasons, and under which conditions, the apotropaic names remained life-long.

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Abstract

An aspect of name magic in many regions of the world, apotropaic names were assigned to children to make them undesirable to evil spirits. After introducing the characteristics of this former practice in Hungarian culture, I will look at examples from across the borders and from earlier periods of time. The same concept existed in the Egyptian belief system and was later transferred to the Greek and Roman apotropaic name practice of the ancient Greek-Roman

period. I will also examine in detail the practice in Russia of giving a false name to a child and use of the apotropaic name ‘fool’ in the name of Ivan the Fool (*Иван-дурак ~ Иванушка-дурачок*), a stock character representing the lucky fool in Russian folklore. To present as complete a picture as possible of this phenomenon, I will also discuss its practice among the Evens, the Yakuts in Siberia, the Mongols, the Tangkhuls in India and the Tsongas in South Africa, as well as its use in Korea, China (in particular in the Ha Tsuen culture), the north Indian region (particularly the state of Gujarat), the Muslim Sindh province of Pakistan, Sudan, Uganda, Gambia and Gabon.

Keywords: apotropaic name, name-giving

Gabriele Rodriguez–Thomas Liebecke

Vornamen im Deutschen als Träger sozialer Informationen. Soziale Informationen in Vornamen erfassen

Neben der reinen Funktion der Identifikation ihres Trägers, sind Vornamen auch mit vielen Informationen über den Träger selbst und sein soziales Umfeld behaftet. Die Namenwahl wird durch die Lebenserfahrungen der Namensgeber gelenkt, findet also immer eingebettet in einen sozialen Kontext statt. Beeinflusst wird sie durch regionale und zeitliche Gegebenheiten, Familientradition, Vorbilder, Religion, Zugehörigkeit zu sozialen Gruppen und, heute mehr denn je, durch ästhetische Aspekte. Ein Vorname trägt daher immer auch soziale Informationen über Geschlecht, Alter oder Zugehörigkeit zu einer wie auch immer umrissenen Gruppe nach außen. Innerhalb eines Kulturkreises und innerhalb einer Epoche werden diese Informationen teilweise übergreifend ähnlich wahrgenommen: *Fürchtegott* und *Gottlieb* als pietistische Namen; *Mandy*, *Peggy* und *Enrico* als typische Namen in der DDR; *Adolf* und *Horst* als Namen in der Zeit des dritten Reiches sowie *Ali*, *Mohamed* und *Aishe* als fremde Namen.

Wie sieht es mit anderen charakterlichen Eigenschaften aus? Gibt es auch hier übergreifenden Konnotationen und – wenn ja – können diese sichtbar gemacht werden? Die vorliegende Untersuchung *Das Image von Namen* zur Wirkung von Vornamen basiert auf einer Online-Befragung im Rahmen einer Langzeitstudie zu Konnotationen von Vornamen, initiiert von THOMAS LIEBECKE in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Namenkundlichen Zentrum der Universität Leipzig.

Die Befragung erfasst die individuelle Wirkung von Vornamen im Hinblick auf vorgegebene Konnotationspaare eines semantischen Differentials. Die Konnotationspaare beziehen sich auf das Empfinden des Namens selbst sowie auf Zuschreibungen zu jeweiligen vermeintlichen Namensträgern. Unter anderem werden Wertungen abgefragt zu Wohlklang, Religiosität, Auftreten und zum gesellschaftlichen Status. Im deutschen Sprachraum gab es dazu bereits in den 1970-er und 80-er Jahren vereinzelt Untersuchungen, die durchaus daraufhin deuteten, dass auch bestimmte charakterliche Eigenschaften übergreifend wahrgenommen werden (KRIEN 1973, HARTMANN 1984). Insgesamt gibt es kaum Literatur und Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema.

Anders als bei den vorangegangenen Untersuchungen ist der Namenscorpus in der vorliegenden Studie erheblich umfangreicher (mehr als 2.000 Vornamen) und es werden größere Mengen an Daten erfasst (mehr als 150.000 Stimmabgaben). Aus den gesammelten Daten können grafische Wirkungsprofile, sogenann-



te *Onogramme* errechnet werden. Sie zeigen, ob und in welchen Bereichen Vornamen mit Konnotationen behaftet sind, die innerhalb des deutschen Sprachraumes übergreifend wirken. Diese können dann mit statistischen Daten aus der Vornamengebung verglichen werden und langfristige Änderungen im Wandel der Wertung von Namen aufzeigen.

Dafür werden Namen zu 13 Kriterien bewertet, die dann zeigen, ob dem Namensträger bestimmte Eigenschaften anhängen. Wichtig ist, dass die Einschätzungen natürlich nicht für einzelne Namensträger gelten, sondern wiedergeben, welche Vorstellung beim Hören des Namens mehrheitlich auftreten.

Diese Wirkungsprofile sind das Ergebnis einer fortlaufenden Online-Befragung und wandeln sich daher im Laufe der Zeit. Die hier abgebildeten *Onogramme* zeigen einen Ausschnitt bis August 2017. Jeweils aktuelle Ergebnisse findet man unter www.onomastik.com.

Den Namen **Thilo empfinde ich als ...** ?

sehr vertraut	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	fremd
modisch	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	antiquiert
wohlklingend	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	nicht wohlklingend

Ich glaube, wer **Thilo heißt, ist...**

sehr männlich	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	sehr weiblich
jung	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	alt
unsympathisch	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	sympathisch
unsportlich	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	sportlich
zurückhaltend	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	forsch
gesellig	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	einzelgängerisch
arm	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	reich
attraktiv	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	nicht attraktiv
religiös	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	atheistisch
nicht intelligent	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ●	sehr intelligent

Nur wenn alle Paare bewertet sind, zählt Ihre Stimme.

>> Abstimmen >>

Abb. 1: Online-Fragebogen zur Wahrnehmung von Vornamen
(www.onomastik.com)

Wie sind die *Onogramme* zu lesen. In den ersten drei Spalten wird gefragt, wie man den Vornamen empfindet: sehr vertraut oder fremd, modisch oder antiquiert und wohlklingend oder nicht wohlklingend. Danach schätzt man eine Person mit diesem Namen ein: ist sie männlich oder weiblich, jung oder alt,

sympathisch oder unsympathisch, unsportlich oder sportlich, zurückhaltend oder forsch, gesellig oder einzelgängerisch, arm oder reich, attraktiv oder nicht attraktiv, religiös oder atheistisch und intelligent oder nicht intelligent (Abbildung 1).

Die Balken zeigen an, wie die Befragungsteilnehmer einen Namen bislang bewertet haben. Wenn ein Name im Hinblick auf ein Konnotationspaar unauffällig ist, zeigt der Mittelwert dieses Paares den höchsten Ausschlag. Viele Namen, insbesondere weit verbreitete und lange etablierte Vornamen, wie *Stefan*, *Claudia* oder *Gabriele*, zeigen wenig Auffälligkeiten. Das ist nicht ungewöhnlich. Je weiter links oder rechts von der Mitte sich die Werte konzentrieren, desto deutlicher ist der Name mit einer übergreifenden Konnotation behaftet. *Gottlieb* evoziert das Bild eines auffällig religiösen Menschen und *Willy* wird als sehr gesellig wahrgenommen. Auch Abstufungen lassen sich ablesen. Ein *Frank* wirkt zum Beispiel männlicher als ein *Jens* und eine *Maria* attraktiver als eine *Ute*. Denkbar ist auch, dass sich Werte sowohl links als auch rechts sammeln, wie zum Beispiel die Wahrnehmung des Alters beim Namen *Greta*. Das spiegelt wider, dass dieser Name gerade eine Renaissance erlebt.

Ausgewertet wurden zum Vergleich die Namentrends der letzten 100 Jahre in Deutschland.¹

1. Beliebte Vornamen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts waren u. a. *Alfred*, *Art(h)ur*, *Adolf* ~ *Adolph*, *Bruno*, *Erich*, *Ernst*, *Franz*, *Eberhard*, *Friedrich*, *Fritz*, *Georg*, *Gerhard*, *Günt(h)er*, *Heinrich*, *Heinz*, *Helmut(h)*, *Herman(n)*, *Horst*, *Joachim*, *Karl* ~ *Carl*, *Karlheinz* ~ *Karl-Heinz*, *Klaus* ~ *Claus*, *Kurt* ~ *Curt*, *Manfred*, *Max*, *Otto*, *Paul*, *Richard*, *Rudolf* ~ *Rudolph*, *Walt(h)er*, *Werner*, *Wilhelm*, *Willi* ~ *Willy*, *Wolfgang* bei den Jungen und *Anna* ~ *Anne* ~ *Anni* ~ *Anneliese*, *Bärbel*, *Bert(h)a*, *Elfriede*, *Elisabeth*, *Elsa* ~ *Else*, *Erika*, *Erna*, *Fri(e)da*, *Gertrud*, *Gisela*, *Hedwig*, *Helga*, *Hert(h)a*, *Ida*, *Ingeborg*, *Irmgard*, *Kät(h)e*, *Lieselotte*, *Margaret(h)e*, *Maria* ~ *Marie*, *Ruth*, *Ursula*, *Waltraud* bei den Mädchen.

Betrachtet man die *Onogramme* für die Vornamen dieser Zeit wie z. B. *Elfriede*, *Karlheinz*, *Arthur* und *Adolf* (Abbildungen 2–5), fällt auf, dass Personen mit diesen Namen auffallend alt eingeschätzt werden. Und Menschen mit dem in Deutschland eher negativ besetzten Namen *Adolf* werden zudem noch sehr unsympathisch und unattraktiv eingeschätzt.

¹ Datenbank der Namenberatung der Universität Leipzig.

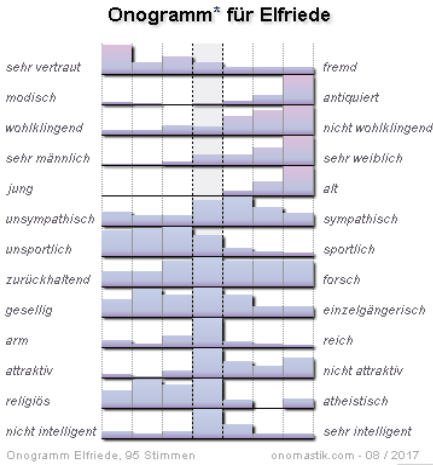


Abb. 2: Elfriede

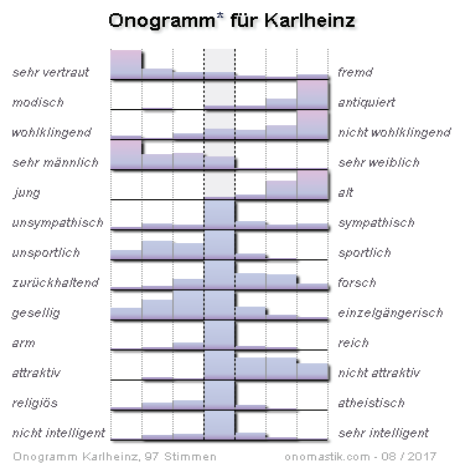


Abb. 3: Karlheinz

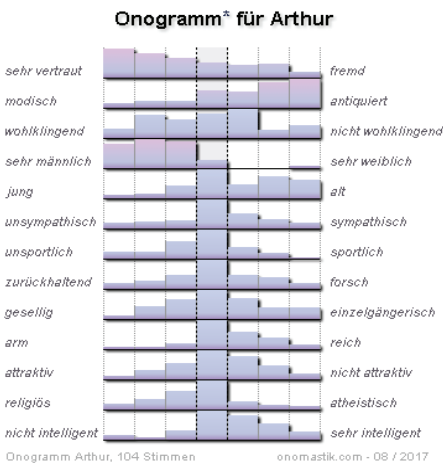


Abb. 4: Arthur

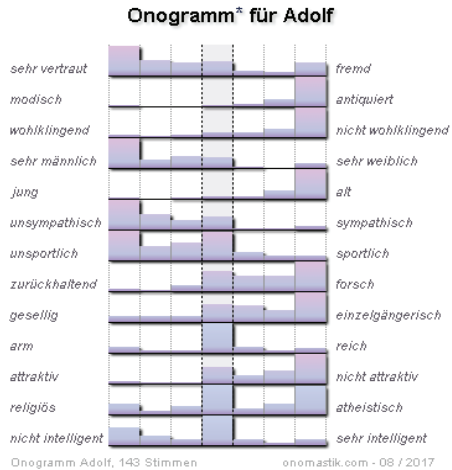


Abb. 5: Adolf

2. Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg kam es zu Veränderungen in der Vornamengebung im deutschsprachigen Raum. Beliebte Vornamen in den 1950er Jahren waren *Angelika, Brigitte, Gabriele, Ingrid, Karin, Monika, Renate, Sabine, Ursula* und *Ute* bei den Mädchen sowie *Bernd, Hans, Jürgen, Klaus ~ Claus, Michael, Peter, Rainer, Ralf, Thomas* und *Wolfgang* bei den Jungen.

Personen mit diesen Vornamen werden ebenso als alt bzw. älter eingeschätzt, aber bedeutend weniger als die unter Punkt 1 genannten Namen (Abbildungen 6–9).

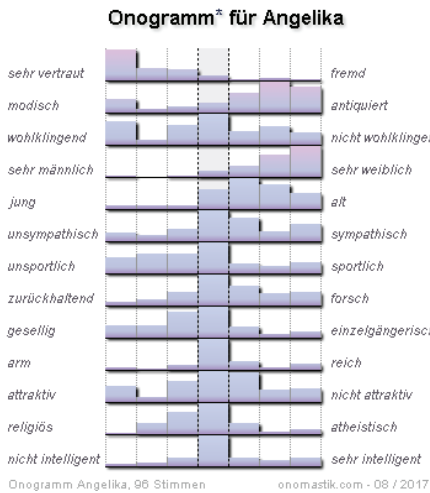


Abb. 6: Angelika

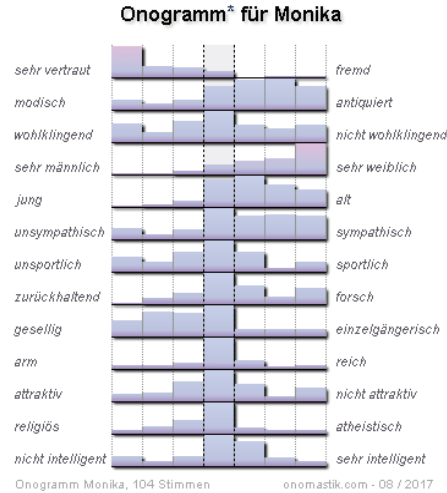


Abb. 7: Monika

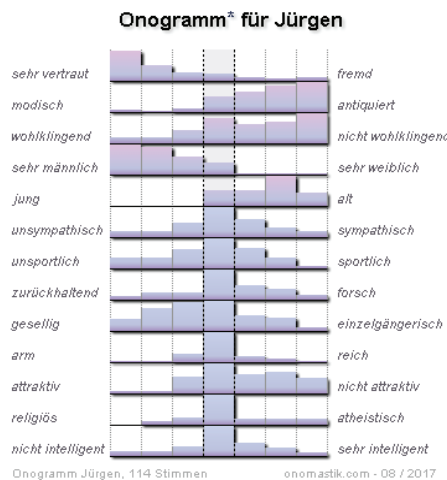


Abb. 8: Jürgen

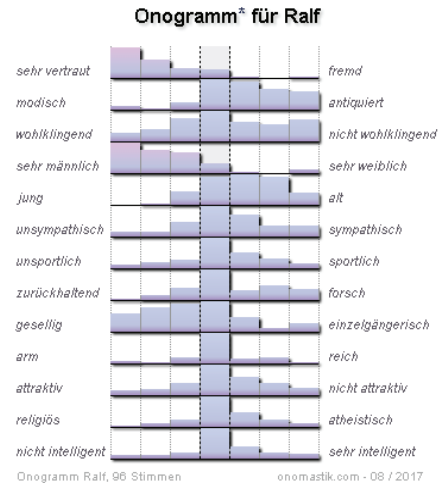


Abb. 9: Ralf

3. Beliebte Vornamen in den 1980er Jahren waren *Anna ~ Anne, Christine ~ Christina, Franziska, Julia, Katharina, Nadine, Nicole, Sabrina und Stefanie ~ Stephanie* bei den Mädchen sowie *Alexander, Christian, Daniel, Martin, Matthias, Michael, Patrick, Robert, Sebastian und Stefan ~ Stephan* bei den Jungen. In den 1990er Jahren waren die weiblichen Vornamen *Anna ~ Anne, Julia, Katharina, Laura, Lisa, Sara(h), Maria ~ Marie, Michelle* und *Sophie ~ Sofie* sowie die männlichen Vornamen *Alexander, Christian, Daniel, Florian, Kevin, Lukas ~ Lucas, Maximilian, Michael, Paul* und *Philipp* populär.

Die meisten dieser Vornamen finden sich auch heute in den Hitlisten. Es handelt sich dabei um Vornamen mit einer langen Tradition. Sie werden trotz ihres Alters als schön und wohlklingend empfunden. Diese Namen, die weder sehr alt noch sehr modern eingeschätzt werden, sind zeitlos. So werden z. B. die zeitlosen Namen *Maria*, *Marie*, *Anna* und *Alexander* als sehr vertraut und sowohl antiquiert als auch modisch eingeschätzt. Im Unterschied zu den Vornamen in den Gruppe 1 und 2 empfindet man diese Namen als wohlklingend und die Namensträger eher attraktiv und sympathisch (Abbildungen 10–13).

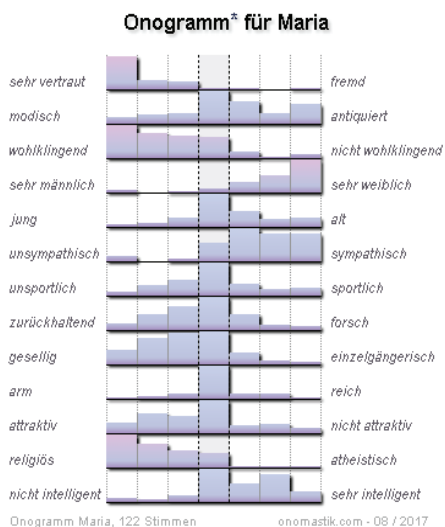


Abb. 10: Maria

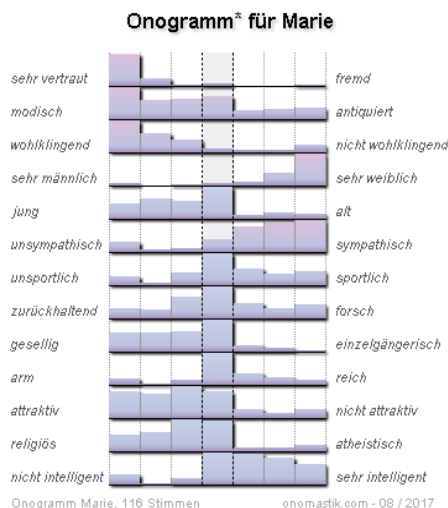


Abb. 11: Marie

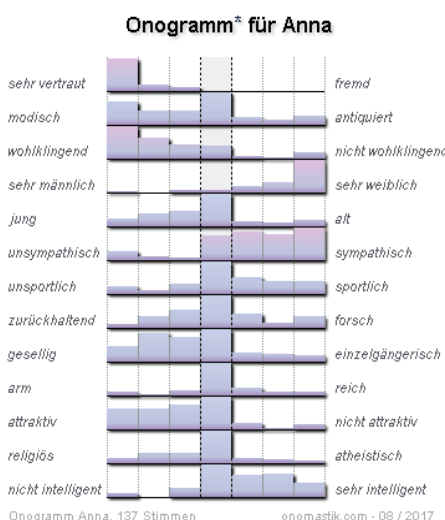


Abb. 12: Anna

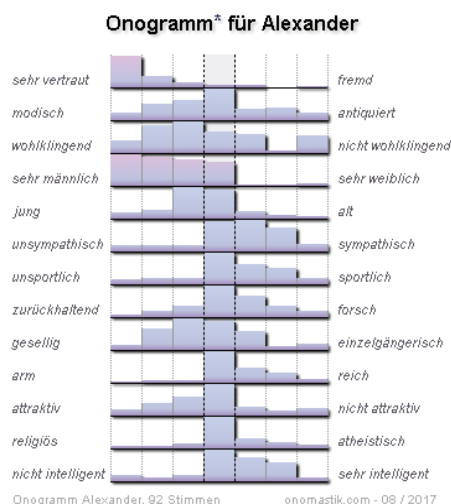


Abb. 13: Alexander

Eine Ausnahme bildet der Name Kevin. Er gehörte in den 1990er zu den sehr beliebten männlichen Vornamen. Durch zahlreiche Vorbilder in Film und Fernsehen sowie wegen seines Wohlklangs wurde er gern und häufig vergeben (Abbildung 14).

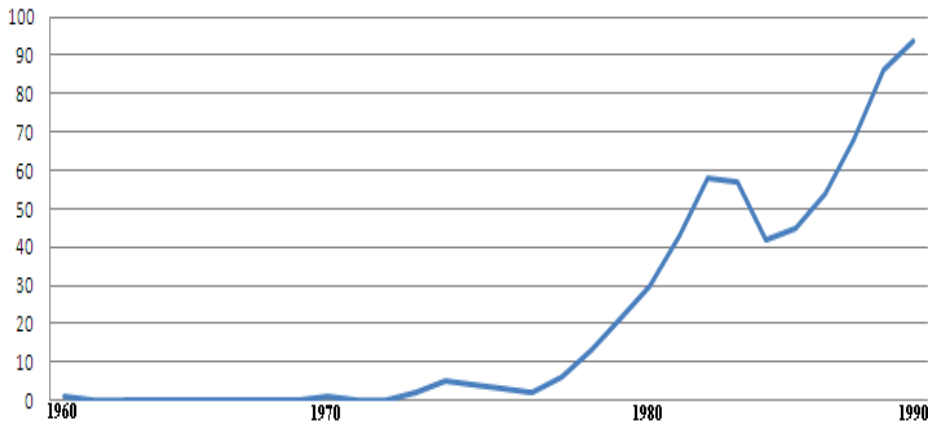
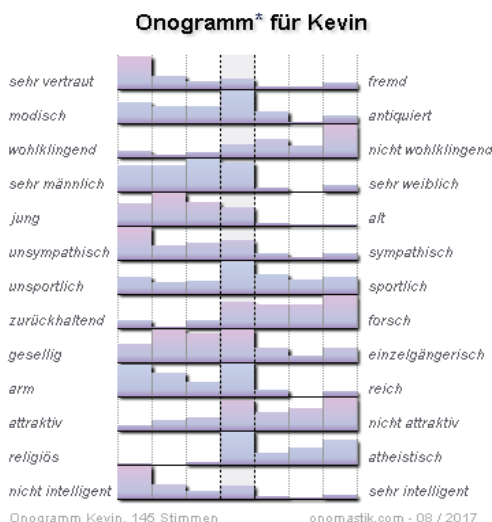


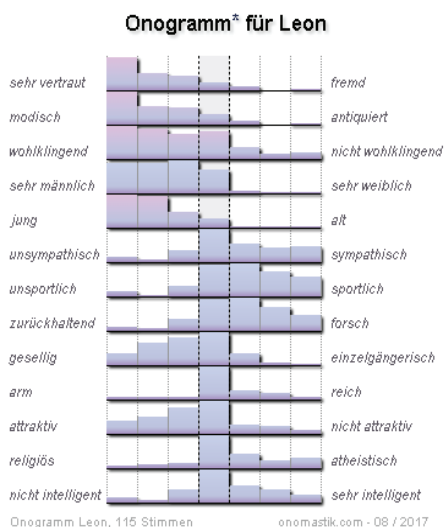
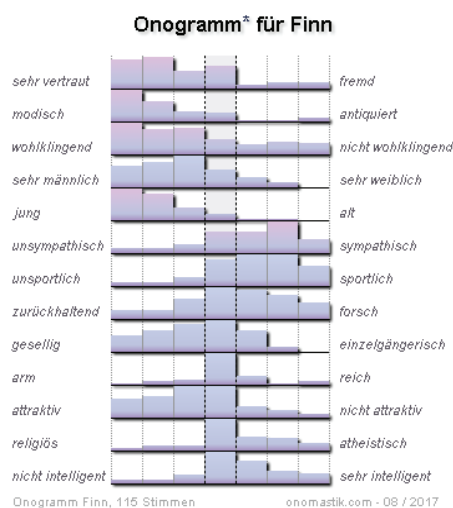
Abb. 14: Verlaufskurve der Eintragungen des männlichen Vornamens Kevin zwischen 1960 und 1990 in Deutschland
(Datenbank der Namenberatung der Universität Leipzig)

Beliebt wurden Namen aus dem englischen Sprachraum bei sozial schwächeren Familien und dazu gehörte insbesondere der Vorname Kevin. Zahlreiche Studien zu Vornamen, wie z. B. die viel zitierte Masterarbeit der Arbeitsstelle für Kinderforschung an der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg (KUBE 2009), schätzen Kinder mit den Namen *Charlotte*, *Sophie*, *Marie*, *Hanna(h)*, *Alexander*, *Maximilian*, *Simon*, *Lukas* und *Jakob* als freundlich, leistungsstark, verhaltensunauffällig und Kinder mit den Namen *Chantal*, *Mandy*, *Angelina*, *Jacqueline*, *Kevin*, *Justin*, *Maurice* als leistungsschwach und verhaltensauffällig ein. Das Zitat einer Grundschullehrerin „Kevin ist kein Namen, sondern eine Diagnose.“ ging durch die Medien. Begriffe wie *Kevinismus* und *Chantalismus* kamen auf, die diesen Vornamen ein negatives Ansehen verliehen. Entsprechend wird der ursprünglich sehr beliebte Vorname *Kevin* heute überwiegend als nicht wohlklingend empfunden und Männer, die *Kevin* heißen, werden als unsympathisch, arm, nicht attraktiv und nicht intelligent eingeschätzt (Abbildung 15). Hier spiegelt sich der Einfluss der Medien wieder, der die Vorurteile gegenüber dem Namen *Kevin* noch verstärkt.

**Abb. 15: Kevin**

4. Ab dem Jahr 2000 überwiegen vor allem kurze Namen wie z. B. *Mia, Lea(h), Lilli ~ Lilly, Anna ~ Anne, Emily, Emma, Hanna(h), Julia, Laura, Lena, Leni* neben *Emilia, Johanna, Leonie, Maria ~ Marie, Sophie ~ Sofie* bei den Mädchen sowie *Ben, Max, Paul, Tim, Tom, David, Elias, Felix, Finn ~ Fynn, Jonas, Leon, L(o)uis, Luca ~ Luka, Lucas ~ Lukas* neben *Alexander* und *Maximilian* für Jungen.

Diese Namen werden als wohlklingend und modisch empfunden. Die Namensträger schätzt man als jung, dynamisch, sportlich und attraktiv ein (Abbildungen 16–21).

**Abb. 16: Leon****Abb. 17: Finn**

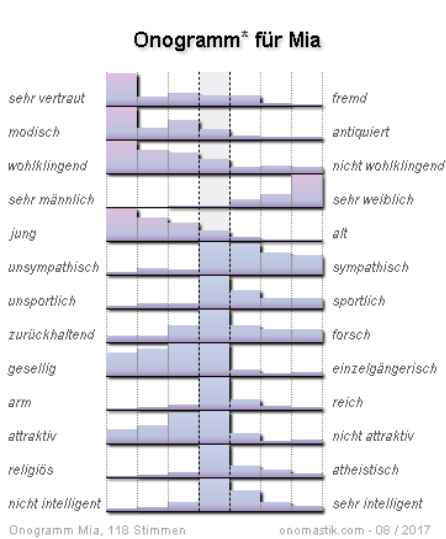


Abb. 18: Mia

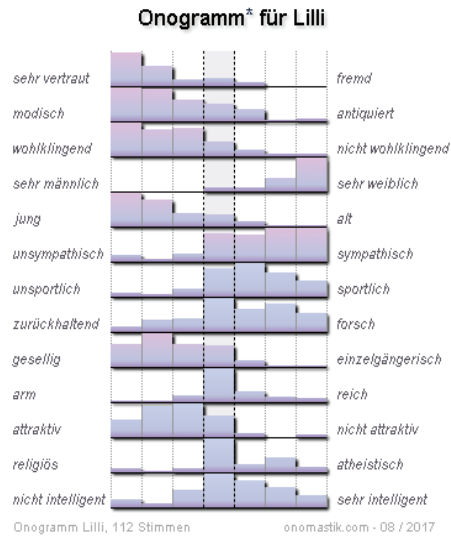


Abb. 19: Lilli

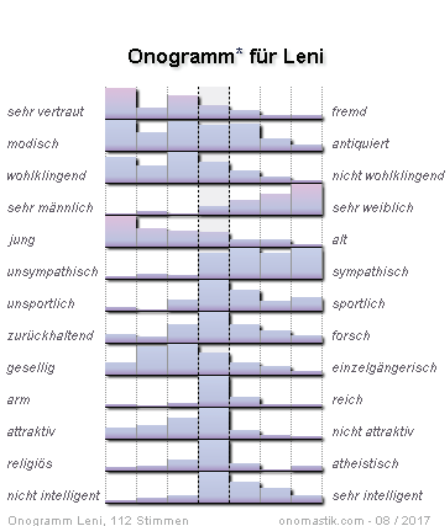


Abb. 20: Leni

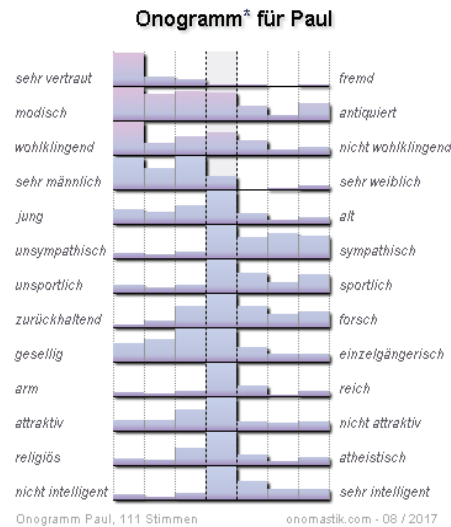


Abb. 21: Paul

5. Vornamen, die in der DDR recht beliebt waren, wie z. B. *Mandy*, *Peggy*, *Sandy*, *Cindy*, *Nancy*, *Ronny*, *Randy* oder auch *Silvio* werden heute eher abschätzig betrachtet und Personen mit diesen Namen als weniger intelligent und attraktiv wahrgenommen.

Der weibliche Vorname *Mandy* war in der DDR sehr beliebt (Abbildung 22). In der oben genannten *Oldenburger Studie* (2009) ist er das weibliche Äquivalent



für *Kevin*, d. h. Mädchen mit dem Namen *Mandy* werden als leistungsschwach und verhaltensauffällig eingeschätzt. Im ostmitteldeutschen Raum gibt es zahlreiche Frauen und Mädchen mit diesem Namen, die weder leistungsschwach und verhaltensauffällig sind, im Gegenteil. Leider wurden in der oben genannten Studie die *Neuen Bundesländer* kaum berücksichtigt. Entsprechend sind die Wertungen als nicht für ganz Deutschland repräsentativ zu werten.



Abb. 22: Verbreitung des weiblichen Vornamens Mandy in Deutschland
(Datenbank der Namenberatung der Universität Leipzig)

Die *Onogramme* für solche Namen wie *Mandy*, *Peggy* oder *Ronny* bestätigen die Vorurteile gegenüber Ostdeutschen, die man hinter diesen Namen vermutet. Sie werden als weniger intelligent, eher arm und weniger attraktiv eingeschätzt (Abbildungen 23–25).

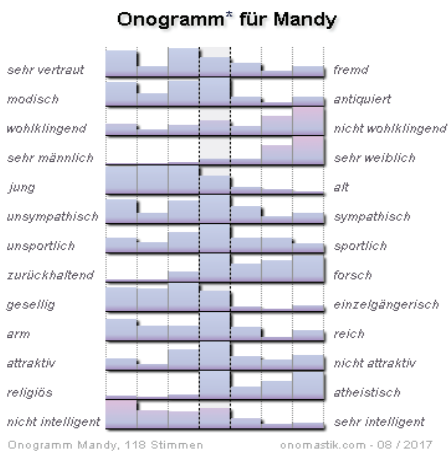


Abb. 23: Mandy

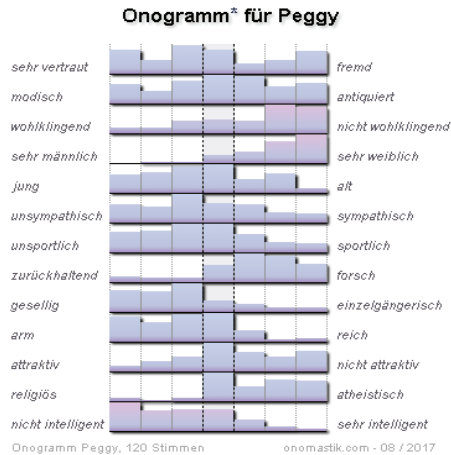


Abb. 24: Peggy

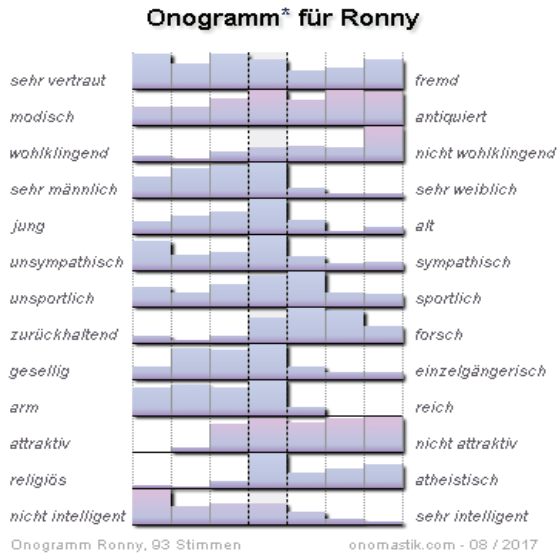


Abb. 25: Ronny

6. Ähnlich negativ werden ausländische Namen wie z. B. Ali und As(c) ha wahrgenommen. Sie sind neu und haben in Deutschland keine Tradition. Entsprechend werden sie als fremd und eher nicht wohlklingend eingeschätzt. Personen mit diesen Namen stellt man sich als eher arm, weniger intelligent und weniger attraktiv vor. Diese Namens träger werden dem Islam zugeordnet und entsprechend als sehr religiös eingeschätzt (Abbildungen 26–27).

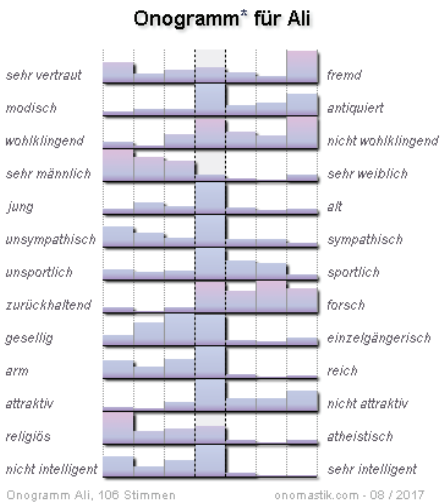


Abb. 26: Ali

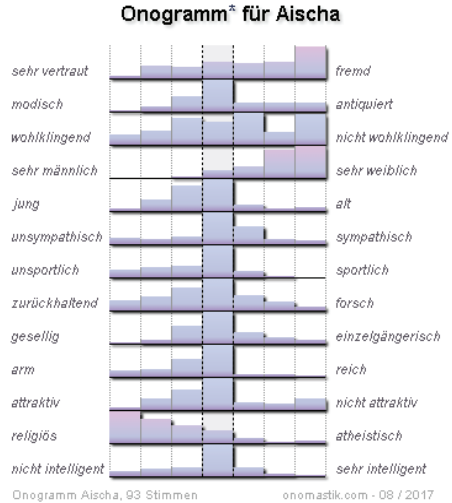


Abb. 27: Aischa

7. Seit mehr als zehn Jahren erleben wir eine Rückbesinnung auf altddeutsch-germanische Namen wie *Friedrich*, *Heinrich*, *Wilhelm*, *Bruno*, *Hugo*, *Richard*, *Frieda* und *Ida*.

Die *Onogramme* für diese Namen wirken teilweise sehr ausgeglichen bezüglich des Alters und der Attraktivität der Namenträger (Abbildungen 28-32).

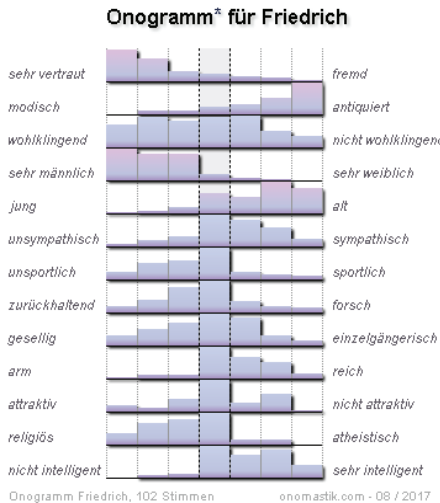


Abb. 28: Friedrich

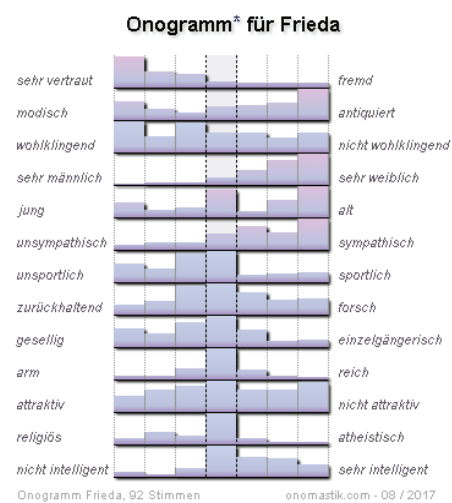


Abb. 29: Frieda

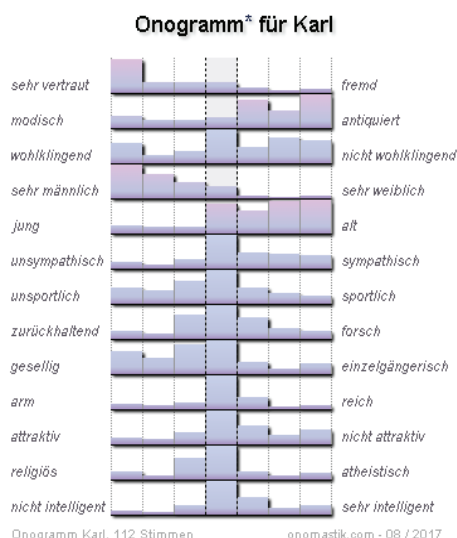


Abb. 30: Karl

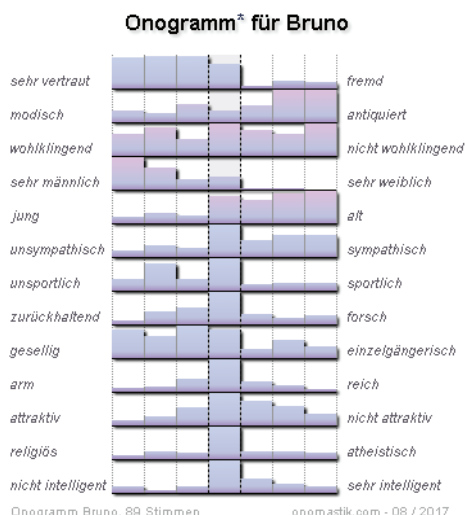


Abb. 31: Bruno

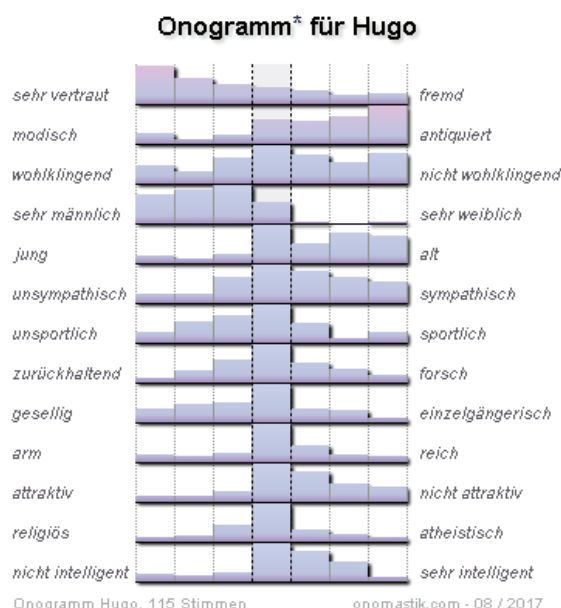


Abb. 32: Hugo

Die Rückbesinnung auf diese Namen deutete sich schon vor mehr als zehn Jahren an. Im Rahmen der Langzeitstudie *Tendenzen in der Vornamengebung in Deutschland* wurde am Namenkundlichen Zentrum der Universität Leipzig zwischen 2006 und 2008 eine Online-Befragung zu verschiedenen Aspekten der Wahrnehmung von Vornamen wie z. B. zum Alter (der Namenträger) vor-

genommen. Einzuschätzen waren die Namen *Eberhard*, *Elfriede*, *Michael*, *Claudia*, *Friedrich*, *Paul*, *Frieda*, *Hugo*, *Bruno*, *Ida*, *Emma*, *Leni*, *Lilly* und *Maria* bzw. Personen, die diese Namen tragen.

Im Ergebnis der Auswertung der Antworten wurden *Eberhard* und *Elfriede* zu 100% als alt eingeschätzt sowie *Michael* und *Claudia* zu 30% als alt. Die Vornamen *Michael* und *Claudia* wurden jedoch nicht als moderne Namen verstanden. Die heute beliebten Vornamen *Friedrich*, *Paul*, *Frieda*, *Hugo*, *Bruno*, *Ida*, *Emma*, *Leni*, *Lilly* und *Maria* wurden damals noch als alte, aber teilweise auch schon als moderne Namen eingeschätzt (Abbildung 33). Auffällig war die Wertung für Personen mit den Namen *Maria* und *Michael*, die als sehr religiös eingeschätzt wurden, *Maria* sogar zu 80%. Hier überlagert wohl das Hintergrundwissen über die *Jungfrau Maria* und den *Erzengel Michael* die reale Einschätzung der Namenträger.

1.	<i>Eberhard, Elfriede</i>	alt 100%
2.	<i>Claudia, Michael</i>	alt 30%
3.	<i>Friedrich</i>	alt 73%, modern 16%
4.	<i>Paul</i>	alt 43%, modern 48%
5.	<i>Frieda</i>	alt 83%, modern 7%
6.	<i>Hugo, Bruno</i>	alt 71%, modern 10%
7.	<i>Ida</i>	alt 53%, modern 10%
8.	<i>Emma</i>	alt 41%, modern 28%
9.	<i>Leni</i>	alt 23%, modern 38%
10.	<i>Lilly</i>	alt 13%, modern 55%
11.	<i>Maria</i>	alt 38%, modern 31%

Abb. 33: Teilergebnisse zur Online-Befragung *Wahrnehmung von Vornamen* des Namenkundlichen Zentrums der Universität Leipzig 2006–2008

In den Wirkungsprofilen (*Onogrammen*) sind offensichtlich die derzeitigen Wahrnehmungen zum Alter der Namen bzw. Namenträger klar übergreifend festgehalten. Wie zuverlässig die anderen Aspekte: Attraktivität, Religiosität, Reichtum, Armut und Intelligenz sind, kann man nicht abschätzen. Wie man bei der Einschätzung der Träger solcher Namen wie z. B. *Maria*, *Michael* oder *Gabriele* als sehr religiös sieht, bezieht sie sich eher auf Informationen über die Namen sowie ihrer Geschichte und weniger über die heutigen Namenträger. Eine Korrelation Wohlklang und Attraktivität sowie Alter und Sportlichkeit ist zu vermuten. Ein Nachteil der *Onogramme* ist, dass die Befragung anonym

durchgeführt wird. Es gibt also keine Aussage über das Alter, die Herkunft und den Bildungsstand der Befragten. Entsprechend sind die Ergebnisse eher in der Tendenz zu betrachten. Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob über einen längeren Zeitraum Veränderungen in der Bewertung zu erkennen sind.

Diese und weitere Ergebnisse bilden nur einen kleinen Teil der Langzeitstudie *Tendenzen in der Vornamengebung*. Sie werden bei der übergreifenden Auswertung herangezogen, aber nicht überbewertet. Ein nächster Schritt wird die Auswertung der Befragungen mit Angabe der Herkunft, des Alters und des Bildungsstandes der Befragten sein.

Die öffentlich zugängigen *Onogramme* sind heute schon vor allem für zukünftige Eltern interessant und hilfreich, da sie die öffentliche Wahrnehmung von Vornamen anzeigen.

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Abstract

Neben der reinen Funktion der Identifikation ihres Trägers, sind Vornamen auch mit vielen Informationen über den Träger selbst und sein soziales Umfeld behaftet. Denn die Namenwahl wird durch die Lebenserfahrungen der Namegeber gelenkt, findet also immer eingebettet in einen sozialen Kontext statt. Beeinflusst wird sie durch regionale und zeitlichen Gegebenheiten, Familientradition, Vorbilder, Religion, Zugehörigkeit zu sozialen Gruppen und, heute mehr denn je, durch ästhetische Aspekte. Ein Vorname trägt daher immer auch soziale Informationen über Geschlecht, Alter oder Zugehörigkeit zu einer wie auch immer umrissenen Gruppe nach außen. Innerhalb eines Kulturkreises und innerhalb einer Epoche werden diese Informationen teilweise übergreifend ähnlich wahrgenommen. *Fürchtegott*, *Gottlieb* als pietistische Namen; *Mandy*, *Peggy* und *Enrico* für Namen in der DDR, *Adolf*, *Horst* als Namen

in der Zeit des dritten Reiches; *Ali*, *Mohamed* und *Aishe* als fremde Namen. Wie sieht es mit anderen charakterlichen Eigenschaften aus? Gibt es auch hier übergreifenden Konnotationen und – wenn ja – können diese sichtbar gemacht werden? Es wird eine Untersuchung *Das Image von Namen* zur Wirkung von Vornamen vorgestellt, deren Kern eine Online-Befragung ist. Die Befragung erfasst die individuelle Wirkung von Vornamen im Hinblick auf vorgegebene Konnotationspaare eines semantischen Differentials. Die Konnotationspaare beziehen sich auf das Empfinden des Namens selbst sowie auf Zuschreibungen zu jeweiligen vermeintlichen Namensträgern. Unter anderem werden Wertungen abgefragt zu Wohlklang, Religiösität, Auftreten und zum gesellschaftlichen Status. Im deutschen Sprachraum gab es dazu bereits in den 1970-er und 80-er Jahren Untersuchungen, die durchaus daraufhin deuteten, dass auch bestimmte charakterliche Eigenschaften übergreifend wahrgenommen werden. (Z.B. R. Krien 1973 sowie T. Hartmann 1984). Anders als bei diesen ist der Namencorpus erheblich umfangreicher (mehr als 2.000 Vornamen) und es werden größere Mengen an Daten erfasst (150.000 Stimmabgaben bis November 2016). Aus den gesammelten Daten werden grafische Wirkungsprofile, sogenannte Onogramme errechnet. Sie zeigen, ob und in welchen Bereichen Vornamen mit Konnotationen behaftet sind, die innerhalb des deutschen Sprachraumes übergreifend wirken. Diese können dann mit statistischen Daten aus der Vornamengebung verglichen werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Onogramm, Wahrnehmungsprofil, Konnotationen, Konnotationspaare, Vornamen, Vornamengebung, Befragung, Eigenschaften, Namensträger, Wirkung von Vornamen, Image von Vornamen, Wohlklang, Daten, Geschlecht, Alter, Zugehörigkeit zu sozialen Gruppen

Litauische Vornamen naturthematischer Herkunft: Trends des letzten Jahrhunderts

1. Im Litauen in der heidnischen Zeit wurden Vornamen litauischer Herkunft verwendet, und zwar zweistämmige Personennamen (vgl. *Mindaugas*), ihre Abkürzungen (vgl. *Vytas* < *Vytautas*) und Vornamen appellativischer Herkunft (vgl. *Jaunutis* < *jaunas* 'jung'). Überliefert sind vor allem männliche Namensformen, denn die litauischen Frauen fanden in den Urkunden des 14–16. Jh.-s kaum Erwähnung. Die gängige Forschungsmeinung besagt jedoch, dass der Unterschied zwischen den weiblichen und männlichen Vornamenformen lediglich in der Endung bestanden haben soll (ZINKEVIČIUS 2008: 29).

Fremdsprachige schriftliche Quellen zeigen, dass die meisten Namen appellativischer Herkunft aus der Zeit vor der Verbreitung der christlichen Namen stammten und von verschiedenen Eigenschaftsbezeichnungen hergeleitet wurden, vgl. *Budrys* (von *budrus* 'wachsam'), *Rupeika* (von *rupus* 'grobgemahlen, körnig'), *Trumpa* (von *trumpas* 'kurz'). Manche Namen der Litauer gehen auf Lebewesen zurück, vgl. *Lokutis* (von *lokys* 'Bär'), *Žvirblis* 'Spatz', andere stammen von Pflanzen ab, vgl. *Spyglys* 'Baumnadel'. Ab dem 17. Jahrhundert werden fast nur noch christliche Vornamen fixiert (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 1991: 33–35), allerdings ist ein Teil der alten Vornamen durch die väterliche Linie zu einer Art patronymischen Zweit- oder Beinamen geworden, deren Teil sich wiederum zu Nachnamen entwickelt hat.

Seit dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts haben sich parallel mit den Ideen der nationalen Konsolidierung auch die Vornamen litauischer Herkunft, darunter auch appellativische Vornamen, ausgebreitet, was auf die im Kontext der Ausbreitung nationalistischen Ideenguts verstärkte Rolle der litauischen Sprache und Geschichte zurückzuführen ist. Ein Teil der appellativischen Vornamen fußte in den Erscheinungen der Natur und wurden Kindern neben solchen Vornamen wie *Daina* 'Lied', *Drąsius* (von *drąsa* 'Mut') gegeben.

2. Dieser Beitrag setzt sich zum Ziel, die litauischen naturthematischen Vornamen aus den letzten hundert Jahren vorzustellen und ihre Veränderungen im Laufe der Geschichte des litauischen Volkes aufzuzeigen.

Als naturthematisch werden solche Vornamen bezeichnet, die aus den Wörtern der litauischen Sprache entstanden sind, welche die Objekte und Erscheinungen der belebten und unbelebten Natur bezeichnen, und zwar Pflanzen, Lebewesen sowie andere Phänomene in der Umgebung des Menschen, darunter Himmel,

Erde, Wasser und Luft und damit zusammenhängende Vorgänge und Erscheinungen¹.

Die Zuordnung der Namen zu bestimmten Gruppen gestaltet sich manchmal schwierig, weil die Namensherleitung nicht immer eindeutig ist: gewisse Vornamen kann man sowohl als Entlehnungen aus fremden Sprachen betrachten als auch mit den in Litauen bekannten Pflanzennamen in Verbindung setzen (z. B. der Vorname *Ieva* ist ein verbreiteter hebräischer Name, allerdings gibt es im Litauischen auch die Baumbezeichnung *ieva* ‘Traubenkirsche’). Solche Fälle werden gemäß der in Litauen üblichen Wahrnehmung und typischen Erklärungsmustern als naturthematische Vornamen betrachtet. Unterschiedliche Deutungsmöglichkeiten scheinen in den letzten Jahrzehnten einen zusätzlichen Beweggrund bei der Wahl des Vornamens zu bilden.

Als naturthematisch werden in diesem Beitrag diejenigen Vornamen bezeichnet, deren Stämme auf ein litauisches Appellativum (s. LKŽ) zurückgehen, welches eine Pflanze, ein Lebewesen bzw. ein Objekt, einen Vorgang oder ein Phänomen aus dem menschlichen Umfeld bezeichnet. Die daraus abgeleiteten Vornamen können thematisch nach dem sichtbaren Geltungs-, Wirkungs- oder Funktionsbereich – also Himmel, Erde, Wasser oder Luft – des ursprünglichen Objektes oder des damit verbundenen Vorganges gegliedert werden.

Diese Untersuchung basiert auf der Grundlage der Daten über die Vornamen der Bürger der Republik Litauen vom 20. und 21. Jahrhundert, welche vom Einwohnermeldeamt der Republik Litauen unter Vermittlung der Staatlichen Kommission für die Litauische Sprache im Jahre 2006 zur Verfügung gestellt und fortwährend durch weitere Angaben bis einschließlich 2013 ergänzt wurden². In die Untersuchung wurden die Einzel- sowie Doppelnamen der Einwohner Litauens und der im Ausland lebenden litauischen Bürger einbezogen. Die Bestandteile eines Doppelnamens werden gemeinsam mit den Einzelnamen behandelt.

¹ Bei der Besprechung der naturthematischen Vornamen wurden folgende Gruppen der Personennamen außer Acht gelassen: Vornamen, die auf Toponyme zurückgehen, z. B. *Nemunas* ‘ein Fluss in Litauen’; Namen der Göttinnen und Götter, z. B. *Laima* ‘Göttin der Geburt und des Lebens’ < *laimė* ‘Glück’.

² Der relativ späte Zeitpunkt der Datenerhebung (2006) hatte zur Folge, dass ein Teil der Vornamen aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden konnte, weil die Personen, die diese Vornamen trugen, bereits verstorben und somit nicht mehr im Register des Einwohnermeldeamtes erfasst waren. Da aber die Vielfalt der Vornamen zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts viel geringer war als jetzt, kann man davon ausgehen, dass die meisten der damaligen Vornamen doch noch als separate Einheiten im Register erfasst sind. Allerdings entspricht ihre statistische Repräsentation nicht mehr genau dem tatsächlichen Stand der damaligen Zeit.

Den behandelten Zeitraum der Namensgebung kann man in drei historisch eingegrenzte Abschnitte gliedern:

2.1. Die Vornamen aus der Zeit der unabhängigen Ersten Litauischen Republik (1918–1939). Dazu zählen sowohl die Vornamen aus der Zeit der Ersten Litauischen Republik von 1918 bis 1939 als auch, soweit erfasst, diejenigen aus der Zeit vor 1918. Außerdem werden die Vornamen aus dem Zeitraum zwischen 1940 bis 1943 hinzugerechnet, die als Vornamen der Übergangszeit gelten.

2.2. Die Vornamen der Sowjetzeit zwischen 1944 und 1985, als Litauen sich unter sowjetischer Besatzung befand. Die Vornamen der Jahre 1986 bis 1989, als der Geist der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung in Litauen bereits spürbar war, werden separat behandelt (eine solche Periodisierung der Sowjetzeit wird auch von den Historikern vertreten, vgl. ŠVEDAS 2014).

2.3. Die Vornamen im wieder unabhängigen Litauen (1990–2013, einschliesslich, wie eben erwähnt, der Vornamen aus der Zeitspanne zwischen 1986–1989).

Diese Gliederung ist eine relative und dient lediglich zur deutlicheren Hervorhebung der jeweiligen Entwicklungstendenzen im Bereich der Namensgebung.

3. In der namenkundlichen Literatur werden naturthematische litauische Vornamen nicht besonders ausführlich behandelt. Auf die naturbezogenen Lexeme zurückgehende Vornamen in den historischen Personennamen werden gemeinsam mit den Spottnamen behandelt, wie bei ZINKEVIČIUS 2008 (489–606), oder gemeinsam mit den einstämmigen Vornamen besprochen, die zum Teil als Abkürzungen zweistämmiger Vornamen entstanden sind (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 1997), wobei ihre Grundlage besondere Berücksichtigung findet. Die Letten, nächste Nachbarn der Litauer, haben auch zahlreiche Personennamen, die auf naturthematische Lexeme zurückzuführen sind, und die naturbezogenen Vornamen gehörten im 20. Jh. zu den häufigsten lettischen Vornamen (BUŠS 2003a, 2003b).

Litauische naturbezogene Vornamen sind nicht eingehend erforscht. Ein Teil der häufigen naturbezogenen Vornamen wird im Herkunftswörterbuch litauischer Vornamen (KUZAVINIS–SAVUKYNAS 2007) präsentiert. Einige davon habe ich zusammen mit noch weiteren Vornamen im Rahmen der Projekte der Staatlichen Kommission für Litauische Sprache und auf der Grundlage der Daten des Einwohnermeldeamtes auf der Internetseite vardai.vlkk.lt linguistisch beschrieben. Auf der Grundlage der genannten Quellen wurden die naturbezogenen Vornamen analysiert, die im letzten Jahrzehnt in der Stadt Šiauliai vergeben wurden, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturthematik (GUDAVIČIUS 2013). Allerdings sind weder der systematische Wandel im Vornamenbestand



noch die Besonderheiten der Suffixableitungen, noch die Beziehung zwischen den neu hinzugekommenen und bereits vorhandenen Lexemen jemals eingehender untersucht worden.

4. Manche der Namen, die in der Zeit um die Erste Litauische Republik (also zwischen 1909 und 1943) entstanden sind, gehen auf die Naturphänomene zurück. Folgende Gruppen sind dabei zu nennen: Objekte und Erscheinungen im Bereich Himmel: *Aušra* ‘Morgendämmerung’ (14271),³ *Aušrinė* ‘Morgenstern’ (1774), *Danga* (8), *Dangė* (43) (von *dangus* ‘Himmel’), *Saulė* ‘Sonne’ (2972), *Šviesa* ‘Licht’ (7); *Dangis* (149) (von *dangus* ‘Himmel’), *Mėnulis* ‘Mond’ (1), *Perkūnas* ‘Donner’ (9), *Žaibas* ‘Blitz’ (2); Erscheinungen im Bereich Wetter: *Audra* ‘Sturm’ (1198), *Audrė* (149) (von *audra* ‘Sturm’), *Giedra* ‘wolkenlos’ (314), *Giedrė* (8169) (von *giedra* ‘wolkenlos’), *Migla* (45), *Miglė* (5880) ‘Dunst’, *Snaigė* ‘Schneeflocke’ (59), *Sniega* (14) (von *sniegas* ‘Schnee’); *Aidas* ‘Echo’ (4450), *Audris* (113), *Audrys* (95), *Audrius* (12018) (von *audra* ‘Sturm’), *Giedrius* (10359) (von *giedra* ‘wolkenlos’), *Ūkas* ‘Nebel’ (4), *Vėjūnas* ‘starker Wind’ (26); Objekte und Erscheinungen im Bereich Erde: *Rasa* ‘Tau’ (22083), *Šalna* ‘Frost’ (2); Objekte und Erscheinungen im Bereich Wasser: *Banga* ‘Welle’ (139), *Gintarė* (10266) (von *gintaras* ‘Bernstein’), *Jūra* (292), *Jūrė* (6) ‘Meer’, *Liūnė* (10) (von *liūnas* ‘Sumpf’); *Gintaras* ‘Bernstein’ (13911), *Jūras* (34) (von *jūra* ‘Meer’); verschiedene Zeitbezeichnungen, und zwar die Tageszeiten: *Diena* ‘Tag’ (1), *Ryta* (52), *Rytė* (189) (von *rytas* ‘Morgen’); *Rytas* ‘Morgen’ (144), *Rytis* (4376) (von *rytas* ‘Morgen’), *Vakaras* ‘Abend’ (1), Monatsbezeichnung: *Gegužis* ‘Mai’ (1), Jahreszeit: *Vasara* ‘Sommer’ (22).

Weitere Vornamen, die mit der belebten Natur zusammenhängen, sind folgende: Bezeichnungen der Pflanzen, meistens der Blumen: *Astra* ‘Aster’ (206), *Ašarėlė* ‘Mehlprimel’ (1), *Dobilė* (9) (von *dobilas* ‘Klee’), *Gėlė* ‘Blume’ (23), *Hiacinta* (3) (von *hiacintas* ‘Hyazinthe’), *Indrė* ‘Schilfrohr’ (8147), *Jacinta* (25) (von *jacintas* ‘Hyazinthe’), *Jurgina* (60), *Jurginė* (1) ‘Dahlie’, *Kamelija* ‘Kamelie’ (50), *Lelija* ‘Lilie’ (38), *Mėta* ‘Minze’ (606), *Narciza* (24) (von *narcizas* ‘Narzisse’), *Nendrė* ‘Schilfrohr’ (8), *Radasta* ‘Kartoffelrose’ (8), *Ramunė* ‘Kamille, Hundskamille’ (5868), *Ramunėlė* ‘echte Kamille’ (12), *Rasėlė* ‘Frauenmantel’ (139), *Rasuolė* ‘Frauenmantel’ (233), *Rasutė* ‘Vergissmeinnicht’ (338), *Rožė* ‘Rose’ (505), *Rožytė* ‘Malve’ (20), *Rūta* ‘Raute’ (14562), *Rūtelė* ‘Wiesenraute’ (98), *Salvinija* ‘Schwimmfarn’ (131), *Saulena* (90), *Saulenė* (63) (von *saulenis* ‘gelbes Sonnenröschen’), *Saulutė* ‘Gänseblümchen’ (261), *Snieguolė* ‘Schneeglöckchen’ (1391), *Uogė* ‘Beere’ (1), *Žibuoklė* ‘Leberblümchen’ (22), *Žibutė* ‘Leberblümchen’ (355), *Žydrė*

³ Die Zahl in Klammern bezieht sich auf die Zahl der Verwendungsfälle des Namens, die Glieder der Doppelnamen werden mitgezählt. Die Statistik der Einzelnamen ist öffentlich unter vardai.vlkk.lt zugänglich. In jeder Beispielgruppe werden zunächst Frauen- und nach dem Semikolon Männernamen präsentiert.

‘Vergissmeinnicht’ (475); *Bijūnas* ‘Pfingstrose’ (16), *Dobilas* ‘Klee’ (43), *Jacintas* ‘Hyazinthe’ (4), *Linās* ‘Flachs’ (10089), *Meldas* ‘Simse’ (15), *Narcizas* ‘Narzisse’ (60), *Ramunis* ‘Kamille, Hundskamille’ (5), *Rūtenis* ‘Lerchensporn’ (208), *Saulenis* ‘gelbes Sonnenröschen’ (12), *Saulutis* ‘Gänseblümchen’ (12) und weitere, darunter viele sekundäre Namensformen (d. h. Suffixableitungen).

Baumnamen: *Eglė* ‘Fichte’ (14481), *Ieva* ‘Traubenkirsche’ (15075); *Ažuolas* ‘Eiche’ (829), *Putinas* ‘Schneeball’ (17); Vogelnamen: *Lakštutė* ‘Nachtigall’ (10), *Sniegė* (37), *Sniegena* (30), *Sniegenė* (1), *Sniegutė* (14) ‘Rotkehlchen’, *Zylė* ‘Meise’ (1); *Aras* ‘Adler, Aar’ (poetisch) (391), *Genys* ‘Specht’ (3), *Sakalas* ‘Falke’ (14); Bezeichnungen weiterer Tier- und Insektenarten: *Bitė* ‘Biene’ (20), *Taurė* (von *taurė* ‘weiblicher Auerochse’) (4); *Liūtas* ‘Löwe’ (5), *Tauras* ‘Taurus, Auerochse’ (640).

Der Beginn der Verwendung der meisten naturthematischen litauischen Vornamen (z. B. *Rasa*, *Rūta*, *Eglė*, *Aušra*, *Giedrė*, *Aida*; *Gintaras*, *Audrius*, *Giedrius*, *Linās*, *Aidas*) fällt in diese Zeit. Diese Namen wurden während des gesamten letzten Jahrhunderts vergeben und waren in den 60er bis 80er Jahren am häufigsten. Die weiblichen Vornamen, die sich in diesem Zeitraum ausgebreitet haben, überwiegen die männlichen sowohl hinsichtlich der Vielfalt als auch hinsichtlich der absoluten Anzahl der Verwendungsfälle.

Im Unterschied zur vorchristlichen Zeit wurden seit dem 20. Jahrhundert Kindern Namen gegeben, die mit den Naturobjekten und -erscheinungen zusammen hingen. Darunter gab es sehr viele Blumenbezeichnungen, die zum Teil Suffixableitungen waren, welche ihrerseits auf den Lexemen aus dem Naturbereich fußten. Neben den Vornamen, deren Form mit der Form der entsprechenden Appellativa zusammenfiel, haben sich auch durch Veränderung der Endung entstandene Ableitungen sowie weibliche und männliche auf demselben Stamm beruhende Vornamen ausgebreitet.

5. Außerdem sind in den genannten Gruppen suffigierte Namensformen häufig. Sie können nicht nur von den nicht suffigierten Vornamen abgeleitet sein (vgl. *Egl-utė* < *Eglė*), sondern auch direkt auf Appellativa zurückgehen (vgl. *Egl-utė* < *eglė* ‘Fichte’)⁴. Ein Teil der Vornamen hat Deminutivsuffixe und kann daher direkt auf das entsprechende Appellativum mit gleichem Deminutivsuffix bezogen werden (vgl. *Eglutė* < *eglutė* ‘kleine Fichte’). Es handelt sich dabei um folgende suffigierte Vornamen: -ut- (am häufigsten): *Astr-utė* (3), *Audr-utė* (266), *Aušr-utė* (60), *Bang-utė* (15), *Bit-utė* (2), *Egl-utė* (83), *Giedr-utė* (133), *Jūr-utė* (2), *Meld-utė* (5), *Migl-utė* (19); *Aid-utis* (6), *Audr-utis* (52), *Gėl-utis*

⁴ Die meisten weiter angeführten suffigierten Vornamen haben allerdings ihre Grundlage im Vornamensbereich und gehen auf Vornamen zurück, welche aus den suffixlosen Appellativa entstanden waren. Bei denjenigen, die einer solchen Grundlage entbehren, wird das entsprechende Appellativum als Basis angegeben.

(2), *Giedr-utis* (31), *Meld-utis* (9), *Švies-utis* (4), *Taur-utis* (2); -yt-: *Astr-ytė* (1), *Aušr-ytė* (61), *Dang-ytė* (1), *Gėl-ytė* (12), *Giedr-ytė* (8), *Jūr-ytė* (5), *Ras-ytė* (111), *Saul-ytė* (32); -el-: *Aušr-elė* (517), *Bang-elė* (2), *Dang-elė* (2), *Ugn-elė* (< *ugnis* 'Feuer') (1); -ėl-: *Gintar-ėlė* (10).

Weitere Vornamen haben andere Suffixe: -ūn-: *Ar-ūna* (17), *Ar-ūnė* (565), *Jor-ūnė* (280) (< *jorė* 'Grünzeug; Frühlingsgrün'), *Žied-ūnė* (127) (< *žiedas* 'Blüte'); *Ar-ūnas* (18782), *Audr-ūnas* (55), *Vėtr-ūnas* (4) (< *vėtra* 'starker, stürmischer Wind'); -uol-: *Bang-uolė* (43), *Dang-uolė* (9587), *Švies-uolė* (15); *Dang-uolis* (17); -in-: *Audr-ina* (8), *Dang-ina* (8), *Gėl-ina* (3), *Jūr-ina* (2), *Ras-ina* (75), *Saul-ina* (63); -on-: *Audr-ona* (57), *Audr-onė* (8809); *Audr-onis* (289), *Audr-onius* (119); -ėn-: *Jūr-ėna* (4), *Saul-ėna* (3); -at- (< -ait-): *Jūr-atė* (15425); *Jūr-atis* (18); -ait-: *Jūr-aitė* (5); -en-: *Jūr-ena* (4).

Manche dieser Suffixe enthalten ebenfalls das zusätzliche Bedeutungselement der Niedlichkeit und Zierlichkeit, sie werden in Bezug auf junge Menschen oder in verschiedenen Benennungen verwendet. Ein Teil der Vornamen mit diesen Suffixen können analog den Vornamen gebildet sein, die aus den suffigierten Appellativa hervorgegangen sind, und zwar am häufigsten aus Blumennamen, welche auf die Bezeichnungen der Naturerscheinungen zurückgehen (vgl. *Rasuolė*, *Rūtelė*, *Saulenis*, *Saulutė*, *Vėjūnas*). Suffigierte Vornamen, denen keine suffixlosen auf ein Appellativum zurückgehenden Vornamensformen zugrunde liegen, bestätigen die Tatsache, dass Suffixe hier direkt an die Stämme der Appellativa angefügt wurden.

Entstanden sind außerdem noch Namen mit dem Suffix -ija: *Audron-ija* (29), *Dangel-ija* (1). Dieses Suffix kam als Erweiterung der bereits suffigierten Namensformen vor und wurde vermutlich aus den Vornamen nicht litauischer Herkunft übernommen (vgl. *Marija*, *Julija*). Das zeugt wiederum von dem Einfluss der fremdsprachlichen Namenstradition, denn im Litauischen System der Nomina Appellativa verfügt das Suffix -ija nicht über die Funktion der Personenkennzeichnung.

Bei suffigierten naturthematischen Vornamen kommen Suffixe vor, die entweder deminutive oder multifunktionale Bedeutung haben und den Appellativa eigen sind. Ein Teil der suffigierten Vornamen ist eventuell nach dem Muster anderer Vornamen gebildet worden. Trotz der Vielfalt der suffigierten Vornamen, haben die meisten eine relativ geringe Verbreitung erfahren. Suffigiert wurden meistens Appellativa oder Vornamen, die mit den Naturobjekten und -erscheinungen zusammenhingen: *audra* 'Sturm', *jūra* 'Meer', *dangus* 'Himmel', *rasa* 'Tau', *saulė* 'Sonne'.

6. Zu Sowjetzeit (1944–1985) wurden weiterhin neue Namen auf der Grundlage der Bezeichnungen für Erscheinungen und Objekte der Natur gebildet. Folgende thematische Bereiche haben dabei eine Rolle gespielt: Objekte und

Erscheinungen im Bereich Himmel: *Dausa* 'Himmel, Himmelsreich' (1), *Vakarė* 'Abendstern' (1036), *Žara* 'Morgen- oder Abendrot' (9), *Žvaigždė* 'Stern' (2); *Pragiedrulis* 'Bewölkungsauflockerung' (3), *Žvaigždžius* (3) (von *žvaigždė* 'Stern'); Wetter und Wettererscheinungen: *Sniegelė* 'erster Schnee' (1), *Šiaurė* 'Norden (kalte Luft)' (1), *Ūka* 'Nebel' (1), *Vėja* (67) (von *vėjas* 'Wind'), *Vėtra* 'stürmischer Wind' (28), *Vėtrė* (12) (von *vėtra* 'stürmischer Wind'); *Audras* 'Sturm' (1), *Miglas* 'Dunst' (1), *Miglius* 'nieselnder Regen' (63), *Šiaurius* (1), *Šiaurys* (3) 'kalter Wind, Nordwind', *Vakaris* 'Westwind' (1285), *Vėjas* 'Wind' (351); Objekte und Erscheinungen im Bereich Erde: *Jora* (1) (von *jorė* 'Grünzeug; Frühlingsgrün'), *Jorė* 'Grünzeug; Frühlingsgrün' (219), *Smiltė* 'Sandkorn' (1687), *Snaiguolė* 'Schneeflocke' (1391), *Šilė* 'Hain, Wald' (3), *Ugnė* (7443) (von *ugnis* 'Feuer'); *Joris* (1284), *Jorius* (4) (von *jorė* 'Grünzeug; Frühlingsgrün'), *Ugnius* (2166) (von *ugnis* 'Feuer'); im Bereich der Zeit: Bezeichnung der Tageszeit: *Naktis* 'Nacht' (2), Monatsname: *Vasarė* (249) (von *vasaris* 'Februar'); *Vasaris* 'Februar' (43).

Kindern wurden weiterhin Namen in Anlehnung an die Objekte der belebten Natur vergeben: Bezeichnungen von Bäumen: *Gluosnė* 'Weide' (7), *Jazmina* (9) (von *jazminas* 'Sommerjasmin, europäischer Pfeiffenstrauch'), *Liepa* 'Linde' (1907), *Žilvita* (9) (von *žilvitis* 'Korbweide'); *Ažuolis* 'Eiche' (11), *Beržas* 'Birke' (6), *Diemedis* 'Eberraute' (1), *Eglius* 'Wacholder' (1), *Jovaras* 'Schwarzpappel' (62), *Uosis* 'Esche' (33) und *Spyglys* 'Nadel' (1); Bezeichnungen der Pflanzen, vorwiegend Blumen: *Melda* 'Simse' (15), *Mirta* 'Myrte' (4), *Nendra* 'Schilfrohr' (2), *Neužmirštuolė* 'Vergissmeinnicht' (2), *Orchidėja* 'Orchidee' (2), *Pakalnutė* 'Maiglöckchen' (1), *Vaivora* (1) (von *vaivoras* 'Rauschbeere'), *Vėjūna* (18) (von *vėjūnė* 'eine Gartenpflanze'), *Vėjūnė* (188) 'eine Gartenpflanze', *Žieda* (8), *Žiedė* (85) (von *žiedas* 'Blüte'), *Žydrūnė* 'Kornblume' (1113), *Žvaigždutė* 'armenische Traubenhyazinthe' (2); *Hiacintas* 'Hyazinth' (3), *Jurginas* 'Dahlie' (1), *Ramulis* 'Kamille' (1), *Ramunėlis* 'echte Kamille' (2), *Rūtas* 'Raute' (1), *Snieguolis* 'Schneewittchen' (1), *Žvaigždūnas* (1) (von *žvaigždūnė* 'Skabiose'); Vogelnamen: *Dagilė* 'Stieglitz' (2); *Vyturys* 'Lerche' (11); Tiernamen: *Lokys* 'Bär' (2), *Tauris* 'Auerochse' (8); Reptiliennamen: *Glodenė* (1) (von *glodenas* 'Blindschleiche').

Die häufig aus den Bezeichnungen der Bäume, Blumen, Erde und Wettererscheinungen entstandenen Vornamen setzen die frühere Tradition der naturthematischen Vornamen fort, allerdings bleiben die meisten Vornamen dieser Art selten. Die in diesem Zeitraum erstmals belegten Namen, deren meisten Ende des 20. und im 21. Jh. den Höhepunkt der Popularität erreicht haben (vgl. *Ugnė*, *Liepa*, *Smiltė*, *Vakarė*; *Ugnius*, *Vakaris*, *Joris*), sind in erster Linie weibliche Namen (so war es auch im vorherigen Zeitabschnitt). Allerdings erreichen sie zahlenmäßig nicht das Niveau der vorhergehenden Periode. In der Sowjetzeit nimmt weiterhin die Anzahl der Varianten gleichstämmiger Namen

zu, besonders bei denjenigen Vornamen, die auf die ebenfalls variantenreichen Appellativa zurückgehen.

7. Die Vielfalt der suffixlosen Vornamen ist auf Kosten der in der früheren Periode entstandenen weiblichen Vornamen größer geworden, wobei daraus folgende Vornamen entstanden sind: *Astrė* (2) (< *Astra*), *Aušrė* (26) (< *Aušra*), *Rasė* (3) (< *Rasa*), *Šalnė* (21) (< *Šalna*); *Astrius* (1) (< *Astra*), *Aušras* (1), *Aušris* (6), *Aušrius* (97), *Aušrys* (94) (< *Aušra*), *Bangis* (1) (< *Banga*), *Nendris* (1) (< *Nendrė*), *Rasius* (102) (< *Rasa*), *Rūtis* (1) (< *Rūta*), *Snaigius* (2) (< *Snaigė*), *Sniegis* (1), *Sniegius* (2) (< *Sniega*, *Sniegė*).

Auch umgekehrt sind aus den männlichen Namen der früheren Periode weibliche Namensformen entstanden: *Linė* (6) (< *Linas*), *Mėnulė* (2) (< *Mėnulis*).

Sowohl weibliche als auch männliche Vornamen, die während der Zeit der Ersten Litauischen Republik entstanden waren, wurden mit anderen Endungen versehen, und zwar in folgenden Fällen: *Aidė* (17) (< *Aida*, *Aidas*), *Gintara* (31) (< *Gintaras*, *Gintarė*), *Taura* (48) (< *Tauras*, *Taurė*); *Aidis* (26) (< *Aida*, *Aidas*), *Dangius* (8) (< *Danga*, *Dangė*, *Dangis*), *Giedras* (2), *Giedris* (8), *Giedrys* (2) (< *Giedra*, *Giedrė*, *Giedrius*), *Jūris* (75), *Jūrius* (3) (< *Jūra*, *Jūrė*, *Jūras*), *Linius* (1) (< *Linas*), *Taurius* (46) (< *Tauras*, *Taurė*).

Somit bildeten die häufigsten auf die populären naturthematischen Lexeme zurückgehenden Vornamen des vorhergehenden Zeitabschnittes die Grundlage der meisten sich während der Sowjetzeit ausbreitenden Endungsableitungen. Denkbar ist aber auch, dass die Ableitungen der Sowjetzeit direkt auf die entsprechenden Appellativa zurückgehen. Die meisten durch veränderte Endungen neu entstandenen Vornamen sind männlich, wodurch der Einfluss der Häufigkeit der weiblichen Namen deutlich wird. Bei der Bildung der Vornamen aus den naturthematischen Lexemen kam das Inventar der litauischen Endungen vielfältig zur Anwendung: weibliche Vornamen haben die Endungen *-a*, *-ė*, männliche enden auf *-as*, *-is*, *-ys*, *-ius* (vgl. *Giedra*, *Giedrė* – *Giedras*, *Giedris*, *Giedrys*, *Giedrius*).

8. Die meisten suffigierten Vornamen, die in der Sowjetzeit zum ersten Mal vergeben wurden, blieben relativ selten. Ein Teil davon setzte die Tradition der Ersten Litauischen Republik fort und hatte die gleichen Deminutivsuffixe: *-ut-*: *Aid-utė* (11), *Indr-utė* (8), *Jurgin-utė* (1), *Snaig-utė* (13), *Švies-utė* (1), *Taur-utė* (2), *Uog-utė* (1), außerdem *Žied-utė* (3) (< *žiedas* ‘Blüte’); *Aušr-utis* (4), *Bang-utis* (3), *Ras-utis* (3), außerdem *Jor-utis* (1) (< *jorė* ‘Grünzeug; Frühlingsgrün’); *-yt-*: *Audr-ytė* (2), *Banguol-ytė* (1), *Danguol-ytė* (2), *Egl-ytė* (1), *Taur-ytė* (1); *Jūr-ytis* (1), *Saul-ytis* (2); *-el-*: *Audr-elė* (1), *Dang-elė* (2), *Nakt-elė* (2), *Uog-elė* (2); *Lin-elis* (1), *Ras-elis* (1); *-ėl-*: *Arūn-ėlė* (1), *Dang-ėlė* (1); *Arūn-ėlis* (1), *Gintar-ėlis* (9).

Eine weitere Gruppe der Vornamen wurde auch mit den Suffixen gebildet, die in den Vornamen der Ersten Litauischen Republik vorkamen. Es handelt sich um folgende Suffixe: *-(i)ūn-*: *Audr-ūnė* (3), *Aušr-ūnė* (6), *Gėl-iūnė* (4), *Giedr-ūnė* (1), *Indr-ūnė* (3), *Jor-ūna* (3), *Snaig-ūnė* (6), *Žied-ūna* (44); *Audr-iūnas* (4), *Aušr-ūnas* (2), *Egl-ūnas* (10), *Giedr-ūnas* (4), *Jor-ūnas* (59), *Jūr-ūnas* (2), *Ras-ūnas* (1), *Snaig-ūnas* (2), *Taur-ūnas* (6), *Žar-ūnas* (3), *Žied-ūnas* (5); *-en-*: *Aid-ena* (16), *Jūr-enė* (1), *Migl-ena* (6), *Rūt-enė* (18), außerdem *Šil-enė* (2) (< *šilas* 'Hain, Wald'); *Aid-enas* (37), *Jor-enas* (3), *Ryt-enis* (5), außerdem *Žvaigžd-enis* (5) (< *žvaigždė* 'Stern'); *-on-*: *Aušr-onė* (6), *Dang-onė* (1), *Giedr-onė* (1), *Indr-onė* (1), *Ryt-onė* (1), außerdem *Žvaigžd-onė* (2) (< *žvaigždė* 'Stern'); *Aid-onas* (16), *Audr-onas* (1); *-in-*: *Aušr-ina* (12), *Bang-ina* (1), *Egl-ina* (4), *Giedr-ina* (4); *Aid-inas* (6), *Jor-inas* (1); *-uol-*: *Audr-uolė* (3), *Aušr-uolė* (1), *Giedr-uolė* (4); *-at-*: *Giedr-atė* (1), *Jūr-ata* (5); *-ait-*: *Giedr-aitė* (1), *Gintar-aitė* (1).

Am häufigsten sind die Namen, welche mit den gleichen Suffixen wie in der Zeit davor gebildet wurden und auf Lexeme zurückgehen, die die Grundlage zahlreicher Vornamen in der Zeit der Ersten Litauischen Republik gebildet haben. Ein Teil der suffigierten Vornamen kann auf der Grundlage gleichstämmiger, suffigierter und bereits früher entstandener Vornamen gebildet worden sein (vgl. *Aušrutis*, gebildet nach *Aušrutė*, *Jorūnas*, *Jorūna* – nach *Jorūnė*).

In der Sowjetzeit sind naturbezogene suffigierte Personennamen mit neuen Suffixen entstanden, die auch in den litauischen Appellativa und weiteren Vornamen vorkamen. Ein Teil dieser Suffixe trägt bei den Appellativa die Bedeutung der Deminutivität und wird zur Bildung der Bezeichnungen für Träger verschiedener Eigenschaften verwendet. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören folgende suffigierte Vornamen: *-il-*: *Audr-ilė* (1), *Rūt-ilė* (7), auch *Rug-ilė* (3919) (< *rugys* 'Roggen'); *Rūt-ilis* (2); *-int-*: *Jor-inta* (41), *Jūr-inta* (3), *Taur-inta* (5); *Jor-intas* (22), *Taur-intas* (22); *-ik-*: *Audr-ika* (1), *Jor-ika* (3), *Gintar-ika* (1), *Ras-ika* (2); *Giedr-ikas* (1); *-ing-*: *Jor-ingė* (3); *Jor-ingis* (30).

Das Vorhandensein dieser Vornamen zeigt, dass die Erweiterung des Vornamensbestandes auf der Grundlage häufiger naturthematischer Lexeme oder bereits daraus gebildeter Vornamen mithilfe der Suffigierung und angeregt durch suffigierte Appellativa (meistens Blumenbezeichnungen), fortgesetzt wurde.

Die Anzahl der Namen mit dem Suffix *-ija-*, welches früher aus den fremdsprachlichen Vornamen entlehnt wurde, nahm weiterhin zu. Dieses Suffix wurde in der Sowjetzeit nicht nur an weibliche, sondern auch an männliche suffigierte Vornamen, die sich vorwiegend während der Periode Ersten Litauischen Republik ausgebreitet haben, angehängt. Beispiele dafür sind: *Audrin-ija* (1) (< *Audrina*), *Danguol-ija* (4) (< *Danguolė*), *Rugil-ija* (4) (< *Rugilė*); *Audron-ijus* (7) (< *Audronis*, *Audronius*).

Die Integration des Suffixes *-ij-* in den Bestand der Vornamen bezeugen diejenigen neuen Vornamen, die im Vergleich zu ihrer Grundlage 'länger' sind: *Audren-ija* (1) – *Audra*, *Audrė*; *Aušren-ija* (1) – *Aušra*; *Dangal-ija* (1) – *Danga*, *Dangė*; *Audren-ijus* (1) – *Audris*, *Audrius*, *Audrys*. Diese Beispiele spiegeln eine neue Tendenz wieder: ein bekannter Stamm kann durch eine Kombination von Suffixen erweitert werden: *-en-ij-*, *-al-ij-*.

Das Suffix *-ij-* wurde außerdem an die zu Zeiten der Ersten Litauischen Republik entstandenen nicht suffigierten Vornamen bzw. an die ihnen zugrunde liegenden Lexeme angeschlossen: *Audr-ija* (1), *Egl-ija* (4), *Giedr-ija* (1), *Gintar-ija* (16), *Indr-ija* (6), *Jurgin-ija* (19), *Ras-ija* (3), *Saulen-ija* (1), *Taur-ija* (3), auch *Rug-ija* (1) (< *rugys* 'Roggen'); *Gintar-ijus* (1), *Taur-ijus* (15).

Seit den 50er Jahren kommen gehäuft naturbezogene Vornamen mit solchen Formationsmorphemen vor, die aus den in Litauen verbreiteten Vornamen nicht litauischer Herkunft übernommen wurden: *-id-* (vgl. *Ingrida*): *Aušr-ida* (1), *Indr-ida* (1), *Jor-ida* (2), *Ras-ida* (40); *Aušr-idas* (14), *Jor-idas* (5), *Ras-idas* (4), *Taur-idas* (13); *-an-* (vgl. *Joana*, *Antanas*): *Aid-ana* (25), *Jūr-ana* (9), *Ras-ana* (11), *Vėj-ana* (1); *Aid-anas* (101), *Jor-anas* (30), *Jūr-anas* (9); *-it-* (vgl. *Edita*): *Astr-ita* (2), *Egl-ita* (7), *Indr-ita* (2), *Jor-ita* (10), *Jūr-ita* (8), *Ras-ita* (321), *Saul-ita* (8), auch *Obel-ita* (1) (< *obelis* 'Apfelbaum'); *-et-* (vgl. *Violeta*): *Aid-eta* (1), *Gėl-eta* (4), *Jūr-eta* (1), *Migl-eta* (2), *Ras-eta* (4), auch *Žar-eta* (1) (< *žara* 'Morgenrot, Abendrot'); *-ėj-* (vgl. *Salomėja*, *Austėja*): *Indr-ėja* (8).

Diese Beispiele spiegeln eine neue Tendenz wieder: zu Sowjetzeit werden an die naturbezogenen Stämme litauischer Herkunft verstärkt Suffixe angehängt, die aus den fremdsprachlichen Vornamen übernommen wurden. Dies zeugt von dem Einfluss fremdsprachlicher Vornamen und der allmählichen Verschmelzung von unterschiedlichen Schichten des Vornamenbestandes.

Bei der Bildung neuer naturbezogener suffigierter Vornamen wurde in der Sowjetzeit weiterhin auf diejenigen Lexeme zurückgegriffen, die bereits in der Zeit der Ersten Litauischen Republik zu Namensgrundlagen geworden waren und folgende Bedeutungen hatten: Sturm (*audra*), Tau (*rasa*), Echo (*aidas*), klarer Himmel (*giedra*), Meer (*jūra*), Sonnenaufgang (*aušra*) und Frühlingsgrün (*joris*). Sie dienten auch als Grundlage relativ häufiger suffixloser Vornamen.

In dieser Zeit wurden die Namen mit den einheimischen Suffixen gebildet, die sich in der früheren Periode ausgebreitet haben. Darüber hinaus aber erstarkte der Einfluss fremdsprachlicher Namen, deren Endsilben als Suffixe interpretiert und an die litauischen Stämme angefügt wurden. Suffigierte Vornamen wurden in der Sowjetzeit zunehmend zu einem typischen Namensmuster für weibliche Namen.

9. Während der Zeit kurz vor und nach der erneut erlangten Unabhängigkeit (1986–2013) wurden in Litauen weiterhin Vornamen mit Bezug auf die Objekte und Erscheinungen der natürlichen Umgebung vergeben. Seit 1990 kamen zahlreiche neue Lexeme als Vornamensgrundlage zur Anwendung. Thematisch umfassen sie folgende Bereiche: Objekte und Erscheinungen im Bereich Himmel: *Brėkšta* ‘Zeit vor dem Sonnenaufgang’ (1), *Vaivorykštė* ‘Regenbogen’ (1); *Žvaigždynas* ‘Sternbild’ (1); Wetter und Wettererscheinungen: *Kaitra* ‘Hitze’ (1), *Ūkana* ‘Dunst, Nebel’ (1); *Rūkas* ‘Nebel’ (6), *Viesulas* ‘Orkan’ (7); Objekte und Erscheinungen im Bereich Erde: *Gruoda* (3), *Gruodė* (3) (von *gruodas* ‘Barfrost’), *Pieva* ‘Wiese’ (1), *Pusnė* ‘Schneewehe’ (3), *Sala* ‘Insel’ (1), *Smiltelė* ‘Sandkörnchen’ (1), *Žemė* ‘Erde, Boden’ (1); *Giris* (1) (von *giria* ‘Urwald’), *Gruodis* (4) (von *gruodas* ‘Barfrost’), *Vėjus* ‘Wind’ (25); Wasserobjekte: *Raistė* (1) (von *raistas* ‘Moor’), *Upė* ‘Fluss’ (98), *Verdenė* ‘Quelle’ (3); *Šaltinis* ‘Quelle’ (1); die Bezeichnung der Jahreszeit: *Pavasaris* ‘Frühling’ (1).

Auch die belebte Natur wurde zu einer beliebten Quelle für neue Kinder-namen: Baumbezeichnungen: *Ėglius* ‘Wacholder’ (1), *Kedras* ‘Zeder’ (1), auch *Gilė* ‘Eichel’ (20); Pflanzen: *Amarilė* (1) (von *amarilis* ‘Amaryllis’), *Bruknė* ‘Preiselbeere’ (3), *Lugnė* (24) (von *lugnė* ‘Teichrose’), *Lūgnė* ‘Teichrose’ (2), *Luknė* ‘Teichrose’ (654), *Smilga* ‘Straußgras’ (3), *Smilgė* (1) (von *smilga* ‘Straußgras’); *Ajeras* ‘Kalmus’ (2), *Lugnius* (2) (von *lugnė* ‘Teichrose’), *Luknius* (1) (von *luknė* ‘Teichrose’); Vögel: *Erela* (1) (von *erelis* ‘Adler’), *Volungė* ‘Pirol’ (1); *Kovas* ‘Saatkrähe’ (11); Insekten und Tiere: *Bitina* (1) (von *bitinas* ‘Bienenmutter’), *Vilkė* ‘Wölfin’ (1); *Elnis* ‘Hirsch’ (1), *Tigris* ‘Tiger’ (1), *Vilkas* ‘Wolf’ (1).

Diese Vornamen kommen im Vergleich zu den Neubildungen früherer Zeiträume nicht so häufig vor. Allerdings zeigen auch sie, dass neue Frauenvornamen häufiger und vielfältiger sind. Das hinter dem Vornamen mit der höchsten Häufigkeit stehende Lexem (vgl. *lugnė* ‘Teichrose’) weist darauf hin, dass vor allem neue Pflanzenbezeichnungen für die Erweiterung des Namensbestandes eine Rolle spielen.

Die meisten dieser Vornamen sind nur einmal nachgewiesen. Daran zeigt sich, dass die neuen naturthematischen Vornamen zum Ausdruck der Besonderheit eingesetzt wurden. Vornamen der in Litauen unüblichen Pflanzen (vgl. *Kedras* ‘Zeder’) oder Tiere (vgl. *Tigris* ‘Tiger’) dienten zur besonderen Auszeichnung des Namensträgers. Weibliche naturthematische Vornamen kommen insgesamt häufiger vor. Allerdings ändert sich in der letzten Zeit die Art der neuen Namen, die von den Blumenbezeichnungen abgeleitet sind: die Vielfalt wird reduziert und die Vornamen werden im Vergleich zu früher häufiger ohne Suffix gebildet.

10. Es treten außerdem einige Vornamen auf, die von den in früheren Zeitabschnitten entstandenen Vornamen durch die Veränderung der Endsilbe abge-



leitet werden. Es handelt sich um folgende Vornamen: *Ažuolė* (1) (< *Ažuolas*, *Ažuolis*), *Rūtė* (1) (< *Rūta*, *Rūtas*, *Rūtis*), *Saula* (2) (< *Saulė*), *Ugna* (1) (< *Ugnius*, *Ugnė*); *Aušrinis* (1) (< *Aušrinė*), *Dienis* (1) (< *Diena*), *Joras* (1) (< *Joris*, *Jorius*), *Rytys* (2) (< *Rytas*, *Rytis*, *Rytė*), *Smiltis* (1) (< *Smiltė*), *Vakarius* (4) (< *Vakaras*, *Vakaris*, *Vakarė*), *Žilvitis* (1) (< *Žilvita*, obwohl vgl. *žilvitis* ‘Korbweide’).

Die Anzahl der abgeleiteten Namensformen, welche durch die Veränderung der Endung der im früheren Zeitraum verbreiteten Vornamen bzw. ihrer Grundlagenlexeme entstanden sind, wird insgesamt geringer. Dies zeugt von der Abnahme der Tendenz, die neuen Vornamensformen auf die für die litauische Standardsprache typische Weise, und zwar durch Veränderung der Endung, zu bilden. Wie zu Sowjetzeit, kann sowohl die Häufigkeit einer Namensform als auch das Variantenreichtum bei den Endungen der entsprechenden Appellativa den Grund für die Entstehung einer Namensform des anderen Geschlechts gebildet haben. Die Endungen an den neuen Namensformen sollen dem Vornamen einen exotischen Nebenklang verleihen: dem Vornamen *Saula* liegt eine mundartliche Wortform zugrunde, der Name *Vėjus* ist analog zu den fremdsprachlichen Namen *Majus*, *Titus* gebildet worden.

11. Darüber hinaus entstehen in diesem Zeitraum neue suffigierte Vornamen. Teilweise wird von den gleichen Suffixen wie in den früheren Zeiträumen Gebrauch gemacht. Einige der verwendeten Suffixe sind in den Nomina Appellativa anzutreffen und werden seit dem Anfang des 20. Jh.-s in den Vornamen eingesetzt. Folgende suffigierte Vornamen sind hier zu nennen: *-ūn-*: *Berž-ūnė* (1), *Egl-ūnė* (1), *Jūr-ūnė* (1); *-en-*: *Ryt-enė* (2), *Smilt-enė* (1); *Aid-enis* (1); *-in-*: *Migl-ina* (1); *Taur-inas* (1); *-yt-*: *Ugn-ytė* (1), *Saul-yta* (1); *-el-*: *Jor-elė* (1);⁵ *-ut-*: *Kregžd-utė* (1) < *kregždė* ‘Schwalbe’.

Die Vielfalt der Suffixe in den Vornamen wird allerdings geringer. Die Vornamen mit den Suffixen *-at-*, *-ėl-*, *-ėn-*, *-on-*, *-uol-*, die seit dem Anfang des 20. Jh.-s auf dem Vormarsch waren, wurden nicht mehr gebildet.

Einige weitere Suffixe, die für den litauischen Wortschatz typisch sind, sind seit der Sowjetzeit als Bildungselement der Vornamen bekannt. Folgende suffigiierte Vornamen sind zu nennen: *-il-*: *Aid-ilė* (1), *Dang-ilė* (2), *Gir-ilė* (1), *Ugn-ilė* (1); *-int-*: *Jor-intė* (2), *Ras-inta* (1), *Šil-inta* (1), *Žem-inta* (1); *-ing-*: *Aid-inga* (1), *Jūr-inga* (1); *Jor-ingas* (1); *-ik-*: *Žvaigžd-ikas* (1).

Auch hier zeigt sich in letzter Zeit der rückwärtige Trend bei der Bildung der Vornamen aus Appellativa mit den für das Litauische typischen Suffixen.

⁵ Seltene Namen werden hier angeführt um zu zeigen, dass in diesem Zeitraum weiterhin Vornamen mit bereits früher eingebürgerten Suffixen, welche auch in den nicht naturbezogenen Vornamen auftreten, vergeben wurden.

In der betreffenden Periode wurden die Vornamen häufiger mit den Suffixen gebildet, die aus den Vornamen fremder Herkunft übernommen wurden, welche ihrerseits sich zu Sowjetzeit ausgebreitet haben. Es geht um folgende Vornamen: *-ij-*: *Aušrel-ija* (1), *Migl-ija* (3), *Saul-ija* (2), *Saulil-ija* (1), *Smilt-ija* (1), *Ugn-ija* (1); *Audr-ijus* (1); *-it-*: *Aid-ita* (1), *Audr-ita* (1), *Aušr-ita* (1), *Gėl-ita* (2), *Gintar-ita* (1), *Migl-ita* (2), *Snaig-ita* (1), *Ugn-ita* (1); *-et-*: *Indr-eta* (1), *Ugn-etė* (2); *-id-* (vgl. *Artemidė*):⁶ *Jor-idė* (1).

Einige Suffixe sind nur für die besprochene Zeitperiode eigen; die Vornamen mit dem Suffix *-ėja*, dessen Anwendungsbeginn ebenfalls in die Sowjetzeit fällt, breiten sich aus: *Saul-ėja* (27), *Smilt-ėja* (1), *Švies-ėja* (1), *Taur-ėja* (1), *Ugn-ėja* (2), *Up-ėja* (1).

Es treten Vornamen mit neuen Suffixen unterschiedlicher Herkunft auf: *-aj-* (vgl. lit. *Indraja*): *Tigr-aja* (1); *-ed-* (vgl. *Alfreda*): *Aušr-eda* (1); *-yn-* (vgl. *Lauryna*; kommt auch in den litauischen Appellativen vor): *Saul-yna* (6).

Diese suffigierten Vornamen, die generell selten (außer *Saul-ėja*) sind, sind exemplarisch für die Tendenz, dass neu entstandene suffigierte Vornamen noch häufiger als in der Sowjetzeit Frauennamen sind. Die Neigung, suffigierte Vornamen mit Hilfe von den Vornamenssuffixen aus den früheren Zeitabschnitten zu bilden, schwächt ab. Die Suffixe werden entweder an die Vornamen angehängt, welche in allen drei Perioden häufig vorkommen, oder an die ihnen zugrunde liegenden Lexeme (am häufigsten sind dabei folgende: *ugnis* 'Feuer', *saule* 'Sonne', *joris* 'Frühlingsgrün', *aidas* 'Echo') angefügt. Daran zeigt sich, dass aus neuen Lexemen sowohl suffigierte als auch nicht suffigierte Vornamen gleichzeitig entstehen können.

12. Schlussfolgerungen

12.1. Die naturbezogenen Vornamen, die zu Zeiten der Ersten Litauischen Republik an die Kinder in Litauen vergeben wurden, sind zum festen Bestandteil des Vornamenbestandes geworden. Ein Teil dieser Vornamen, die auf die Bezeichnungen der Erscheinungen und Objekte der unbelebten Natur zurückzuführen sind, haben ein ganzes Jahrhundert lang nicht an Popularität eingebüßt. Sie sind zur Grundlage weiterer Suffix- und Endungsableitungen geworden. Zwar ist die Vielfalt der naturbezogenen Vornamen insgesamt groß, allerdings bilden die weiblichen Vornamen den höheren Anteil. Ein Teil der Vornamen und ihrer suffigierten Varianten blieben selten. Sie sind besonders in letzter Zeit symptomatisch für das Bestreben der Eltern, den Kindern außerordentliche Vornamen zu geben.

⁶ Bei den seltenen Vornamen werden in Klammern bekannte litauische Vornamen angeführt, die ebenfalls mit dem angeführten Formationsmorphem gebildet sind und möglicherweise die Entstehung dieser Vornamen beeinflusst haben.

12.2. In der Zeit der Ersten Litauischen Republik und der darauf folgenden Sowjetzeit haben sich Vornamen ausgebreitet, die aus den Blumenbezeichnungen entstanden sind, welche zum Teil auf die suffigierten naturbezogenen Lexeme zurückgingen. Möglicherweise haben diese Vornamen die Entstehung weiterer Vornamen mit gleichen Suffixen auf der Grundlage naturbezogener Lexeme beeinflusst.

12.3. Die Suffixe der naturbezogenen Vornamen spiegeln die Wandlungstendenzen des litauischen Vornamensbestandes wieder: die Vielfalt der in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jh.-s. verbreiteten Appelativ- und Vornamensuffixe nimmt allmählich ab. An die Stelle der litauischen Ableitungssuffixe treten teilweise fremdsprachliche Wortbildungsformanten. Sämtliche suffigierten Vornamen haben einen gemeinsamen Zug: sie beruhen alle auf populären Vornamen oder gehen auf die diesen Vornamen zugrunde liegenden Appellativa zurück, deren Suffixableitungen im Vergleich zu anderen suffigierten Vornamen häufiger sind.

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Abstract

Naturthematische Vornamen, die im unabhängigen Litauen der Vorkriegszeit zum ersten Mal vergeben wurden, sind allmählich in den festen Namensbestand eingegangen. Ein Teil dieser Vornamen (vor allem die Vornamen, die auf unbelebte Naturerscheinungen und -objekte zurückgehen, wie z. B., *Rasa* 'Tau', *Eglė* 'Tanne', *Aušra* 'Morgenstern', *Giedrė*, *Giedrius* (von *giedras* 'klar, unbewölkt'), *Audrius* (von *audra* 'Sturm'), *Aidas* 'Echo' sind über das ganze Jahrhundert hinweg beliebt gewesen und dienten ihrerseits als Grundlage für weitere Suffix- und Endungsableitungen. Die naturthematischen Namen bilden zwar insgesamt eine sehr vielfältige Gruppe, jedoch sind sie in erster Linie Frauennamen. Im unabhängigen Litauen sowie in der Sowjetzeit haben sich Vornamen verbreitet, die auf Blumennamen zurückgehen (z. B., *Saulutė* 'Gänseblümchen', *Snieguolė* 'Schneeglöckchen'), welche ihrerseits teilweise als Suffixableitungen aus naturthematischen Lexemen entstanden waren. Solche Vornamen haben die Bildung weiterer suffigierter Vornamen begünstigt, in denen sich gleiche Suffixe mit den Stämmen verbanden, die auf naturthematische Lexeme zurückgingen (z. B., *Audr-utė*, *Dang-uolė*). Die Veränderungen im Bestand der Suffixe naturthematischer Vornamen zeigen einen weiteren Trend in der Entwicklung des Namensbestandes auf: die Vielfalt der zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts so verbreiteter Suffixe nimmt ab und sie werden durch Formationsmorpheme ersetzt, die aus anderen Sprachen übernommen wurden (-ija: *Smilt-ija*, -ita: *Saul-ita*, -eda: *Aušr-eda*). Für sämtliche Suffixableitungen ist typisch, dass sie auf beliebte Vornamen oder auf die ihnen zugrundeliegenden Appellativa zurückgehen.

Schlüsselwörter: Onomastik, Litauisch, Vorname, naturthematische Vornamen, appellativische Vornamen, Vornamentrends

*Chinese Anthroponyms from a Grammatologist Perspective**

1. Introduction

In view of the fact that writing systems were created as a secondary representation of spoken language, the written form lies somewhat on the periphery of Euro-American linguistic interest. In light of the type of linguistic elements that are encoded in the writing systems of these languages, it must be admitted that this approach is certainly understandable. The writing system used to record the modern Chinese language significantly differs, however, from the scripts currently being used in the Euro-American area. The attribute that distinguishes, at first glance, the Chinese writing system from alphabetic scripts is the high number of graphemes that are composed of a number of strokes organized in a squared-shaped spatial configuration. It is this complexity of the external arrangement which indicates that there must be more information hidden in one character than in one grapheme of an alphabetic script.

To be specific, the significant difference consists in fact that graphemes of Chinese writing system express not only sound, but also meaning. With a few types of exceptions, every character corresponds to one syllable and carries its own meaning, i.e. it is used to record a one-syllable morpheme. Moreover, Chinese characters represent a unique writing system that has preserved, in considerable measure, the link between the graphic units and their linguistic values. Originally, the graphic units of all characters were motivated. The first characters were created as graphical depiction of the objects they denoted. Although small in number, these characters are of great importance because they represent the basis graphic units that were used as semantic and phonetic components to construct the vast majority of Chinese characters.¹

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¹ Examples of characters of a pictographic origin are 日 *rì* 'sun' which formerly had a round shape with a dot in the middle, or 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' depicting rain drops falling down from the sky. Both of these graphic units often occur as components of compound characters as well. The character 露 *lù* 'dew' consists, for example, of a semantic component 雨 'rain' and a phonetic component 路 *lù* and the character 明 *míng* 'bright' consists of two semantic components 日 'sun' and 月 'moon', two objects one of the most distinctive qualities of which is brightness (CAO-SU: 343, 370, 453, 650). For an in-depth description of the construction principles see, for example, DAVID UHER (2005).

Considering the more deeply interconnected relationship between the graphic and linguistic structure, the scientific study of the writing system, i.e. *grammatology*,² represents an important part of Chinese linguistic research. And as the title indicates, this is the perspective through with the topic of Chinese personal names shall be approached in this paper. It aims to demonstrate the significance that the secondary representation of language may play in the name giving practice.

2. Objective of the study

Modern Chinese names consist of a surname³ which is mostly monosyllabic, followed by a given name, which is nearly always mono- or disyllabic. Compared to the tradition in many European countries, given names are not selected from a closed name list, thus, when speaking about a choice of name, it is more accurate to speak about the creation of the name. Since given names are viewed as a very important part of a person's life, the creation of a name is usually a very careful and complicated procedure. There are various factors taken into consideration during the creation process. Given names usually reflect the name giver's hope that the child would become what is implied in the name, such as aspirations for the future concerning education, career or life goals, as well as desires as to what kind of person the named individual is expected to be in terms of physical or mental qualities, or for example, wishes of happiness, prosperity or good health.

As concerns the linguistic structure, there are three basic requirements for an appropriate name. Apart from the already mentioned search for a certain semantic content, the Chinese also pay great attention to sound and graphic form. Thus, the creation of a name involves three different levels: semantic, phonological and graphic. In practice, the creation process consists of a search for a suitable combination of Chinese characters in the first place, since these are recognized as the units in which all these three levels are projected. Apart from the other factors, the choice of the characters is of course determined by the gender of the named individual. LI MAO (2012: 67) mentions that the requirement of a gender specific name is directed especially to female names which are supposed to be distinguished by "a hint of femininity" and "a touch of tenderness". The question that arises is which means are actually used in order to achieve this?

² The term *grammatology*, referring to the scientific study of writing systems and scripts, was introduced by the Assyriologist IGNACE J. GELB (1952: v)

³ The majority of the population shares a limited number of the most frequent surnames. ZHANG SHUYAN (2004: 8) states that research conducted in 1982 indicated an active use of 737 surnames (729 one-syllable and 8 two-syllable). It also has been determined that the 14 most frequent surnames covered almost one half of the analyzed anthroponyms.

The discussed issues will be illustrated using the names of China athletes at the last four Summer Olympics.⁴ The reason for choosing Olympic athletes was based on the following factors: firstly, they not only represent an easily accessible name list available online, but also their biographical data can be found online; secondly and most importantly, they represent a heterogeneous sample in terms of place of origin that is distributed throughout the entire country, but at the same time a relatively homogeneous sample in terms of age. Altogether, more than 1,500 different athletes were members of the Olympic teams of People's Republic of China between 2004 and 2016. Their year of birth ranged between 1958 to 2002, although, relatively few of them were born in the 1950s and 1960s, and less than five after 2000. This was one the reasons why the analysis was narrowed to the Olympians born in the two most covered decades, i.e. the 1980s and 1990s. This reduction seemed to be reasonable also considering the significant changes that the economic, political and social systems have undergone under Deng Xiaoping's leadership since 1978. Together with the adoption of the one-child policy in 1979, they undoubtedly set an important milestone for the personal naming practices.

The analyzed sample includes 1,214 Chinese names⁵ from which 529 are male and 685 female names. As concerns the given names, 497 are composed of one character, 715 of two characters and 2 of three characters. The total number of characters used in the analyzed given names is 1,933 (843 in male and 1,090 in female names). After removing the repeated characters, a signary of 595 different characters was identified. Taking into account the gender of the named person, the male signary consists of 358 and the female signary of 390 different characters. A comparison of these two signaries has shown that they share only 26% of the characters.⁶ This number indicates that, to a considerable measure, a different signary is being used in male and female names.⁷ In other words, the

⁴ The list of Chinese Olympians, as well as their biographical data, was retrieved from the web pages provided by the Chinese Internet company Sina.com:

<http://2004.sina.com.cn/star/state/china/> (2017, July);

<http://2008.sina.com.cn/star/noc/chn/> (2017, June);

<http://2012.sina.com.cn/star/noc/chn/> (2017, June);

<http://sports.sina.com.cn/star/noc/chn/> (2016, August).

⁵ Athletes of non-Han origin, whose names follow the principles of different naming systems, were not included in the analysis.

⁶ It should be admitted that the number 26% is rather small in comparison with the findings presented by MA XIANBIN (2012: 147). In the case of the analysis using 20,000 names of university students in Guangdong province, the number of characters used with both genders was about 20% higher. Nevertheless, even an analysis of a much larger sample clearly indicates gender-specific differences in terms of the used signary.

⁷ There are a number of handbooks for name creation on the market. Most of them provide at least general advice on how to create a gender specific name (e.g. SHU 2006: 103–104; CHEN–SUN 2011: 91–92, 226–227; ZHANG 2009: 10–11). WANG DALIANG (2010: 144–214)



choice of a certain character obviously enables the creation of either a gender-specific or a gender-neutral name. This paper investigates what semantic, phonological and graphic qualities of characters are used to create gender specific names.

3. Meanings of the characters

The semantic level is used extensively to convey a desired meaning or evoke a particular image. The literal meaning is not the only one taken into consideration, but especially the associative level of the meaning plays an important role. Moreover, the use of a particular character may not only be based on generally acknowledged culturally determined meanings, but may also emerge from various privately chosen associations. In summary, it can be difficult to comprehend the full motivation without a further explanation and at times the name giver may be the only one who know the entire “story” behind the name.

This paper approaches the issue of Chinese given names from a grammatological perspective, and consequently the following investigation focuses on the denotative meanings of the characters. Based on the analyzed sample, Table 1 indicates which characters are preferably used in given names with respect to the gender of the named individual. To avoid misunderstanding, it should be emphasized that this is a highly simplified version the purpose of which is to depict the general tendencies. The spectrum of characters used in both genders is much wider than the one reflected in the table.⁸ Additionally, it also has to be mentioned that it does not necessarily mean that a character listed under males cannot appear in female names, or vice versa. Since there are no rules forbidding this, it definitely can, but the analyzed material indicates that it is not all that common.

introduced a list of the 150 most frequent characters used in male and female names, including their denotative and connotative meanings. The grammatological description of the most frequent characters used in personal names together with the qualities associated with these characters can be found, for example, in the specialized dictionary compiled by HOU TIJUN (2008).

⁸ A detailed semantic classification of the characters used in female names was introduced by IRENA KALUŽYŇSKA (2008).

	male	both	female
1) qualities	'healthy' 健; 'strong' 强; 'force' 力; 'power' 威; 'big' 大; 'great' 伟; 'magnificent' 宏; 'great, vast' 浩; 'large' 硕; 'wide' 广; 'deep' 渊; 'wise' 哲; 'wisdom' 智; 'sincere' 忱; 志; 'will', 'modest' 逊; 'honest' 廉; 'faithful' 忠; 'calm, stable' 镇; 'brave' 勇; 'blaze, bright' 炜;	'pure' 纯; 'clear' 清; 'still, quiet' 安; 'peaceful, calm' 平; 'peaceful' 宁; 'nimble' 敏; 'outstanding' 杰	'clever' 慧; 'refined, elegant' 雅; 'sweet' 甜; 'beautiful, graceful' 丽美 佳倩艳婷姝姣姝娟
2) entities a) atmosphere	'thunderbolt' 霆	'rain' 雨; 'cloud' 云	'rosy clouds' 霞; 'clouds' 雯; 'dew' 露; 'unceasing rain' 霖; 'rainbow' 虹 霓; 'frost' 霜; 'snow' 雪
b) landscape	'mountain peak' 峰; 'heap of stones' 磊; 'continent' 洲; 'seashore' 滨; 'great waves' 涛; 'wave' 波	'sea' 海; 'ocean' 洋	
c) animals	'dragon' 龙; 'giant mythical bird' 鹏; 'good horse' 骏	'wild goose' 雁; 'swan, goose' 鸿	'swallow' 燕; 'phoenix' 凤
d) plants and their parts		'tree' 树; 'forest' 林 森; 'root' 根; 'bud' 萌 type of evergreen giant tree 楠; 'poplar tree' 杨; 'pine tree' 松	'flower' 花英芳; 'chrysanthemum' 菊; 'lotus' 莲; 'orchid' 兰蕙; 'duckweed' 萍; 'wormwood' 萩; 'rue' 芸; 'rose' 蔷薇; 'jasmine' 茉莉; 'lychee' 荔; 'willow' 柳; 'osmanthus' 桂; 'apricot' 杏; 'peach' 桃; 'plum' 梅; 'bud' 蓓蕾; 'pistil/ stamen' 蕊
e) precious and valuable objects	'treasure' 琛	'treasure' 宝珍; 'jade' 玉; 'gold' 金; 'fine, beautiful jade' 玮琦 琪琳璐	'pearl' 珠玕; 'fine, beautiful jade' 琼瑶珥璠
f) examples of other symbols	'army' 军; 'pillar' 柱; 'ridgepole' 栋; 'suit of armor' 铠; 'branch of study' 科		'poem' 诗; 'flute' 箫; 'language' 语; 'musical instrument' 琴
3) actions	'construct, establish' 建; 'foster, develop' 培; 'build by piling up stones' 垒; 'add' 添; 'deliver' 发; 'spread' 布; 'join' 维; 'unite, join' 联; 'continue' 继; 'shake, stimulate' 振; 'exceed' 超越; 'win' 胜; 'rise' 升; 'sail, fly' 航; 'climb' 攀; 'road, path' 路; 'congratulate' 贺; 'celebrate' 庆	'fly' 飞; 'rise' 扬; 'succeed' 成; 'exceed' 超	

Table 1: Meanings of the characters used in the given names

As can be seen, the table is divided into four columns. For the purpose of further evaluation, the first one classifies characters, according to their meanings, into three basic categories: qualities, entities and actions. The second and fourth columns display examples of the characters preferred amongst male and females, while the third column shows characters occurring in both genders.

Empty or almost empty spaces can be observed in the table at first glance indicating different preferences. Both genders use various qualities, although the spectrum of qualities is wider in case of male names. It should be mentioned that they are not limited to those referring to physical appearance or character traits, but qualities in general can be identified, among others, especially those

describing the life journey. As concerns female names, the most desired quality is beauty and a graceful appearance. This meaning is expressed, not only by eleven different characters, but the analysis has also revealed that 14% of female names contain at least one of these characters.

Characters of the second category are various entities used as symbols conveying certain ideas. They originate from different source areas. As can be seen in the table, certain natural motifs are extremely popular. It can also be observed that the used characters often mirror expectations generally associated with masculinity and femininity. The meanings evoking firmness and strength, such as land masses, bodies of water or large animals are typical for male names. In contrast, female names make use of a wide range of plant names and meteorological phenomena that evoke the idea of beauty, softness, tenderness, etc. Apart from this, characters denoting valuable things are also quite popular, especially a range of characters carrying the meaning ‘fine, beautiful jade’. An interesting fact is that most of these characters are part of the modern Chinese lexicon, just because of their use in anthroponyms. Although they can be found in male names as well, it is clearly apparent that they occur more frequently in female names.

The third basic category, simply called actions, gathers characters whose meanings can be characterized as bearing a “dynamic” feature. Most of these characters are verbs or nouns denoting action, activity or a process. Their use in names often evokes expectations of “reaching a certain target”. The analyzed material indicates that this concept is more popular in male than in female given names. Considering the diversity of characters listed under the second category, it can be stated that female names, in contrast, make more frequent use of the symbolic system, primarily to evoke an image as to what kind of person the girl is expected to be.

In conclusion, the table aims to demonstrate that the semantic level provides space for creation both of gender-ambiguous and gender-specific names. Nevertheless, an important fact has to be kept in mind when speaking about Chinese characters as meaningful units. A relatively high level of asymmetry concerning the relationship between form and content is typical for Modern Chinese. Firstly, there can be found numerous homographs, i.e. unrelated morphemes that are written down by the same characters or, putting it the other way around, a single character may possess a range of unrelated meanings. Secondly and more importantly, the relatively limited number of approximately 1,340 syllables (ŠVARNÝ–UHER 2014: 27) in Modern Chinese creates a situation when more morphemes share the same pronunciation. An important factor helping reduce the semantic ambiguity is the context in which the morphemes are used. This is, of course, the missing element in case of the given names.

Considering this aspect, one might ask if any formal markers can be found for providing information to understand the expressed meaning?

4. The phonetic form

Modern Chinese is an analytic language, it generally does not convey grammatical relationships with inflectional morphemes and thus also the grammatical gender is absent. There are no masculine or feminine suffixes, i.e. no sound markers, that can indicate the gender of the named individual. Moreover, considering the above mentioned high level of homophony, one cannot decode the semantic information from the syllables under the circumstances when the plurality of their potential meanings is not restricted by a certain context.⁹ Thus, the phonetic form of the personal name normally does indicate the gender of the named individual.¹⁰

As it appears, only one exception can be found: the syllable *nà* written down with the character 娜 used as a one-syllable name or used as the second character of a disyllabic name. This character originally occurred only as part of a disyllabic morpheme¹¹ 婀娜 *ēnuó* carrying the meaning ‘graceful’. Later it was borrowed to record the syllable *nà* when transcribing foreign names, such as Anna (安娜 *Ānnà*) or Tina (蒂娜 *Dìnà*), into Chinese. It has been consequently adopted into the Chinese naming system. In the analyzed sample, eight one-syllable given names can be found represented by the character 娜 (e.g. 李娜 *Lǐ Nà*)¹² and 12 disyllabic given names with the character 娜 in the second position (e.g. 李冬娜 *Lǐ Dōngnà*). An attempt to create the sound image of a Western name is quite apparent.

⁹ In light of this, it should be mentioned that, on the one hand, one should be careful to avoid possible negative connotations associated with homophonic characters and, in contrast, name givers might actually make use of homophonic characters on purpose to express a certain idea.

¹⁰ Different situation can be observed in Japanese, as another language making use of the Chinese characters (even though in a reduced version and in combination with two other systems). According to IVONA BAREŠOVÁ (2016: 83–84), who analysed over 8,000 Japanese names of children born 2008–2014, there can be identified 11 most frequent end syllables from which most of them are more common for one gender or the other. The reason for this can be explained by the typological differences between Chinese and Japanese.

¹¹ As explained above, one character is generally used to record one monosyllabic morpheme. There is, however, a specific group of characters that deviate from this arrangement. The so-called characters with a zero meaning, as the name indicates, are the characters that themselves do not carry any meaning. To do so, they need to combine with another character, i.e. they become part of a two- or sometimes even more-syllable morpheme.

¹² Generally speaking, the connection between the surname and the given name is stronger in Chinese than is typical for European languages. This is especially the case for one-syllable names.



5. The graphic form

Being a pleremic form of writing,¹³ graphemes of the Chinese writing system express both sound and meaning. Unlike the phonetic structure, the graphic unit being used to write down a certain morpheme is so distinctive as to possess the ability to determine the meaning. For the Chinese naming system, this implies that it is the written form from which the encoded semantic content can be deduced.

Apart from this, one might, considering the complexity of the characters' graphics, ask if the graphic form itself evinces recognizable gender differences. The following sub-sections discuss three different issues related to the graphemes used in Chinese given names. First, the signary of male and female names is compared with the frequency table reflecting the general use of these characters in modern Chinese texts. The graphic composition of the characters is consequently analyzed, and that on two different levels: a) on the level of the smallest graphic units, i.e. strokes, and b) on the level of the basic graphic units located between the strokes and the entire characters. Considering the quantitative differences in the male and female signary, the relative frequency is used to illustrate the gender characteristic features.

5.1. Frequency of the characters

One of the main interests of modern grammatology lies in the research on characters' occurrence frequency in modern Chinese texts. Under the guidance of the State Language Work Committee, two normative lists of modern characters were assembled in the second half of the 1980s. The larger one, entitled *Xiandai Hanyu Tongyong Zi Biao* 现代汉语通用字表 (Table of Commonly Used Modern Chinese Characters), includes 7,000 items.¹⁴ These characters are supposed to represent the signary of modern Chinese. Additionally, a list of half the size was compiled which is divided into two parts: 2,500 frequently used characters and 1,000 less frequently used characters. According to the statistics, high frequency characters cover a significant part of a common Chinese text. As concerns the 2,500 frequently used characters, the coverage ratio is 97.97% (SU 2002: 52).

The following figure illustrates to which extent characters of a different frequency are used in given names. It can be observed that the given names are characterized by a higher proportion of lower frequency characters than is

¹³ For an exact definition see FLORIAN COULMAS (1999: 71, 408).

¹⁴ In 2013, a new standardized list of 8,105 characters was issued. The athletes analyzed in this study were born before the new list was published and for this reason the characters used in the analyzed names were compared with the older list from the 1980s.

common for Chinese texts. This is quite understandable in view of the fact that among the most frequently characters there can be found many of those that either have little lexical meaning (pronouns, location markers, measure words, some adverbs, conjunctions) or those expressing grammatical relationships, and thus, considering the above-mentioned requirements on characters' semantic content, remain outside the interest of the name givers. It is also worth mentioning that eleven different characters were identified that are not recognized as belonging to modern Chinese signary: five in male and eight in female signary. Their use is mostly limited to one occurrence, with two exceptions being the character 淼 *miǎo* 'vast expanse of water' in one male and two female names and the character 珞 *jùn* 'beautiful jade' in three female names.

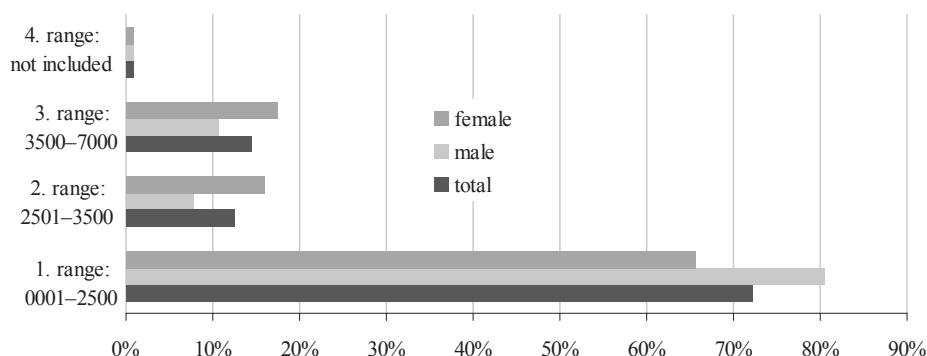


Figure 1: Frequency of the characters

As concerns gender, the Figure 1 demonstrates that name givers utilize characters more often with a lower frequency while creating female names. The reason for this must lie in the semantic preferences: specific plant names and adjectives referring to aesthetic values, as well as different expressions for beautiful jade stones generally speaking do not belong to frequent lexical units. In contrast, qualities and verbs popular in male names often belong to relatively frequent linguistic units.

5.2. Stroke count

Each character has a set number of strokes that have to be written down in a certain order. According to statistics, the 7,000 commonly used characters are on average composed of 10.8 strokes and 9 strokes can be identified in the graphics of most of the characters (YANG 2008: 132). The analysis of given names signary (585 characters) demonstrated that they are on average composed of 9.5 strokes and most of them are eight-stroke characters. In light of this fact, it can be stated that the given names do not exploit the possible spectrum of

characters with a high-stroke count. Compared to, however, the average stroke count of characters in a modern Chinese text, it should be mentioned that the stroke count of all the 1,933 characters in the analyzed given names is more than two strokes higher. While the characters of modern Chinese texts are on average composed of 7.6 strokes, the average stroke-count of the characters in the analyzed given names account for 9.2 strokes.

The following table demonstrates how the characters of a certain stroke count are used considering the gender of the named individual. To illustrate the specific difference, the characters were divided into three groups. A preference for characters composed of six to twelve strokes can be observed in relation to both genders. The use of low-stroke and high-stroke characters, however, is different. Male names appear to use more low-stroke characters and female names more high-stroke characters.

stroke count	male	female
1. range (≤ 5 strokes)	15.8%	12.6%
2. range (6–12 strokes)	71.9%	71.9%
3. range (≥ 13 strokes)	12.3%	15.5%

Table 2: Stroke count

5.3 Use of components

In dependence on different break-down approaches, more terms can be found referring to parts of character graphics larger than one stroke, such as the radical, classifier, determinative, component, element, constituent. Unfortunately, researchers are not in full agreement regarding in what context a particular term should be used. This paper adopts the term component as a general term for graphic units repeatedly occurring in characters and carrying its own meaning without reference to a specific approach (i.e. etymological explanation, structural composition, constructional composition, dictionary ordering or anything else).¹⁵

A careful look at the graphics of the characters listed in Table 1 reveals that they often share the same graphic components. This phenomenon can be observed especially in the case of female names. In light of this fact, a thorough analysis of the characters' components was undertaken. It was revealed that the female naming system indeed appears to pay more attention to choosing a character with a specific component. Previous studies (KAŁUŻYŃSKA 2008: 363, MA 2013:

¹⁵ As can be seen in the graph, three of these components, i.e. 'water', 'jade' and 'heart' occur in more graphic forms.

147) reported the component ‘women’ to be a graphical marker of femininity.¹⁶ Apart from the component ‘women’, however, a set of additional components often used in female names has been identified through the analysis.

Figure 2 pictures which components occur at least at 3% in the 1,933 characters used in the analyzed names. Nine components with this specification were identified in all. By counting their total occurrence, it was determined that they can be found in 34% of the characters of the male and 56% of the female signary. These numbers clearly indicate their more iterative use in female names.

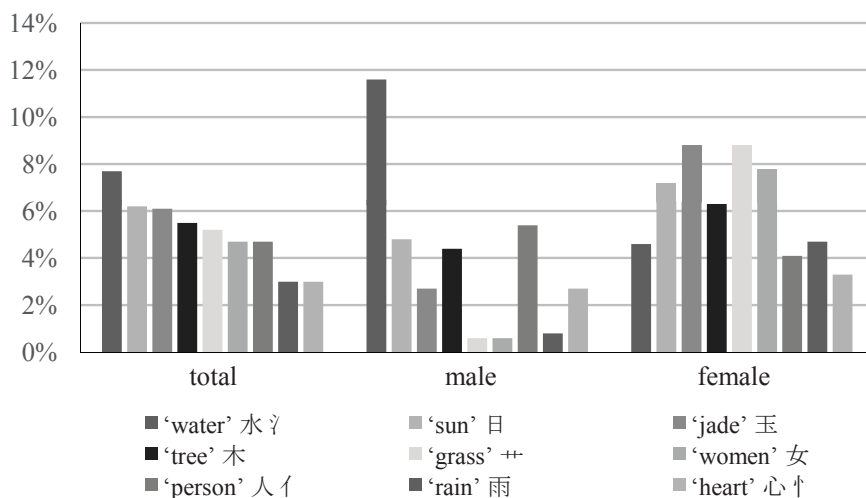


Figure 2: Use of components

As concerns the male names, the graph indicates that characters with the component ‘water’ are quite popular, although this is the only component that is significantly more intensively used in male names than in female names. One cannot fail to notice, however, that this component occurs quite often in female names as well. This is also the case with the second most frequent component used in male names, i.e. ‘person’. The occurrence of seven other components is higher in female names. Moreover, a significantly higher use in female names can be observed, not only in the case of the component ‘women’, but also in the case of ‘grass’ and ‘rain’, and in a considerable measure in the case of ‘jade’ as well. Thus, these four components can be, to a certain extent, considered gender-specific. The analysis has revealed that 43% of female names contain at least one character with one of these components.

¹⁶ According to KALUŻYŃSKA (2008: 377), the occurrence of this component in male names is mostly limited to characters whose meanings are obviously not associated with females.

6. Conclusion

This paper does not aim to provide a comprehensive overview of such a complex issue as the naming system of a certain language undoubtedly is. It only approaches one aspect and, due to length limitations, only a few selective issues are discussed in order to highlight the role that a writing system might play in the naming system. As has been shown, thoughts associated with masculinity and femininity are embedded in the meaning of the linguistic units used in given names. Thus, in a certain way, the semantic level provides a clue to the gender of the named individual. Nevertheless, the condition to be fulfilled, generally speaking, is that one knows the character(s) used to write the name down. Chinese names transcribed by the graphemes of another writing system are therefore lacking an essential distinctive feature. In addition, the graphic form itself appears to bear important gender implications. Gender specific differences were, to a smaller extent, discovered in relation to the frequency of characters and to their stroke count. More importantly, however, it can be observed that female names pay more attention to the selection of characters with specific components, i.e. the graphic parts of characters. Even if one is not familiar with the meaning of the characters, there is a set of frequently occurring components that are more common for female names. With a bit of exaggeration, these components can be considered a marker that fulfills a similar role as female endings in synthetic languages.

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Abstract

At first sight, Chinese character graphics would seem to indicate that there must be more information hidden in one character than in one grapheme of an alphabetic script. This paper investigates how specific features of the writing system used affect the choice of proper names. Compared to the European tradition, there is no official name list in China, which is the reason why Chinese given names manifest a high degree of diversity. Although there are a range of factors usually considered, in the end it is the character with its meaning and



other qualities that is chosen. The aim of this paper is to examine and identify which graphical, phonological and semantic patterns are used as distinctive features in male and female names. The grammatological characteristics of Chinese given names from the last two decades of the twentieth century will be described, based on a sample of Chinese Olympic team members.

Keywords: anthroponyms, Chinese given names, Chinese grammarology, gender-specific names

1. Introduction

Any combinations of syllables can be given names in Japanese and Japanese parents keep creating new given names. Interestingly, however, native speakers of Japanese can tell the gender of the unfamiliar given names even when they hear them for the first time although it is difficult for non-native speakers of Japanese (MUTSUKAWA 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015a). This indicates there are phonological gender differences in Japanese given names and the phonological gender differences (or at least some of them) are language-specific. Semantically, flower and plant names can be used as given names in Japanese (and probably in many other languages and cultures). But it has not been studied whether other types of proper names such as freshwater fish names can be used as given names. The present study discusses whether Japanese freshwater fish names can be given names.

The structure of this study is as follows. After introducing previous studies on Japanese given names, the structure of Japanese freshwater fish names is analyzed. Then, I introduce the results of a questionnaire I conducted and focus on judgments by native speakers of Japanese. I collected 47 Japanese freshwater fish names for this study. With respect to each name, I asked (i) whether it is structurally suitable for use as a given name, (ii) whether it is more suitable for males than for females, or vice versa, and (iii) the reason for their judgment. Finally, the present study is summarized in the concluding section. Throughout this study, Japanese names are phonemically transcribed, since native speakers of Japanese perceive and understand their given names phonemically, but not phonetically, when they judge the gender of given names.

2. Previous studies

This section reviews previous studies concerning the gender in Japanese given names. Gender in Japanese given names has not received much attention in the literature and not many studies have been done. KINDAICHI (1988) claims that the alveolar stop /t/ sounds masculine and the bilabial nasal /m/ sounds feminine, and MAKINO (1999) claims that nasal sounds are feminine.

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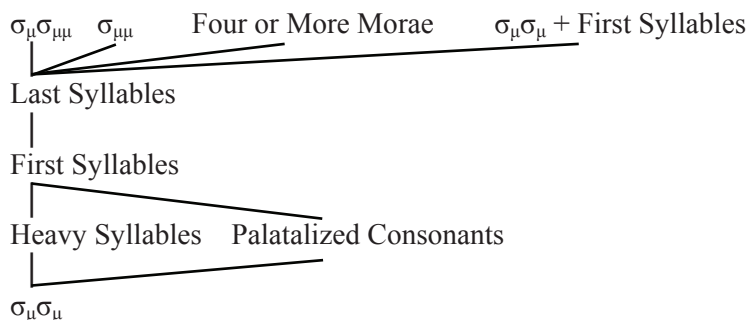
I have been working on gender in Japanese given names and my previous studies are divided into four groups. The first group is the study on gender differences found in given names. Japanese given names show one type of semantic gender difference, i.e. flower and plant names, and five types of phonological gender differences (MUTSUKAWA 2005, 2008, 2009, 2015b) (see 1). Moraic parts of syllables do not play major roles in determining gender whereas whole syllables play crucial roles in determining the gender of Japanese given names (MUTSUKAWA 2006). MUTSUKAWA (2014b) compares the gender differences found in Japanese given names with those in English given names and reveals that the majority of the gender markers found in Japanese given names do not play major roles in determining gender in English given names, and vice versa.

(1) Gender differences in Japanese given names (MUTSUKAWA 2016b)

	Masculine	Feminine
First Syllables (Onset Cs)	· k- (especially <i>ke</i>) · s- (especially <i>soo</i> and <i>shoo</i>) · t- (especially <i>ta</i>) · ry- (<i>ryuu</i> and <i>ryoo</i>) · d-	· Onsetless Syllables (especially <i>a</i>) · sa- · h- (<i>hu</i> and <i>ho</i>) · Nasals (<i>m-</i> and <i>n-</i>) · dʒ- · w-
Last Syllables	· o (–1965) · si, zi (–1985) · ki (1946–) · ke, ta, to (1966–) · ma (2002–) · ku	· ko, ho, mi, yo, ri · ka (1966–) · na (1986–) · o (2001–)
Heavy Syllables	· Yes	· No
Palatalized Consonants	· Yes (1906–1945, 1986–)	· Yes (1946–1985)
Length (Structures)	· $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ · Four or More Morae	· $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$ · $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ (ending in /n/)
Semantics		· Flower and Plant Names

The second group explores how the gender is determined. The phonological gender differences in (1) do not equally determine the gender, but they can be hierarchically ordered based on their contribution in determining the gender (MUTSUKAWA 2007, 2009) (see 2).

(2)



As illustrated in (1), Japanese given names reveal a semantic difference. Semantics plays a more significant role than phonology and kanji, i.e. Chinese characters, in determining the gender, although it is in a very limited way, and kanji also play roles but they play less significant roles than phonology and semantics (MUTSUKAWA 2008).

In Japanese, flower and plant names are the only type of names in which the gender is semantically determined. That is, when a given name is homophonic to a flower or plant name, it always sounds feminine regardless of its phonological characteristics. For example, consider the names in (3) *Momizi* in (3a) has one masculine feature in the name-final position and one feminine feature in the name-initial position. As shown in (2), last syllables play more significant role than first syllables in determining the gender, which leads to the prediction that *Momizi* sounds masculine. But, *Momizi* sounds feminine because it is homophonic to a plant name. *Kaede* in (3b), which has one masculine feature in the name-initial position and has no feminine features, also sounds feminine, because it is homophonic to a plant name.

The fact that given names that are homophonic to flower or plant names always sound feminine regardless of its phonological characteristics suggests that semantics plays more significant role than phonology in determining the gender. This is probably true, but it is very limited. Consider the names in (4) *Ume* and *Kiku* in (4), which are homophonic to flower names, sound feminine, as predicted. When they are followed by a masculine last syllable /to/, however, they sound masculine. The names in (4) indicate that semantics plays a role only when the whole name is homophonic to a flower or plant name. When a flower or plant name is a part of a given name, semantics does not play a major role and the gender is phonologically determined.

(3) Flower names = Female names

(a) *Momizi* 'maple tree' (-zi = Masculine, m- = Feminine)

(b) *Kaede* 'maple tree' (k- = Masculine)

(4) Female names → Male names

(a) *Ume* ‘Japanese apricot’ → *Umeto*(b) *Kiku* ‘chrysanthemum’ → *Kikuto*

Japanese given names are usually written in kanji. Each kanji has its own meaning and can be used in either male or female names, or sometimes in both male and female names, depending on its meaning. Japanese speakers can guess the kanji used when they hear Japanese given names. As shown in (1), the name-final onsetless syllable [o] is found in both male and female names (e.g. *Tatuo*, a male name; *Rio*, a female name). When Japanese speakers hear *Tatuo* and *Rio*, they guess that the kanji with the meaning of ‘male’, ‘man’, or ‘husband’ can be used for *Tatuo*. But, they never guess that those kanji are used for *Rio*. Why are those kanji not assigned to *Rio*? That is because, when they hear Japanese given names, Japanese speakers judge the gender before assigning kanji. In other words, the gender of Japanese given names is determined phonologically or semantically, and kanji does not play a major role in determining the gender. Assignment of kanji is schematized as in (5). In sum, kanji play a role in determining the gender in the sense that Japanese speakers can judge the gender when they see names written in kanji. But, when they hear them, kanji plays less significant role than phonology and semantics.

(5) Assignment of Kanji

Tatuo

The gender is determined phonologically or semantically: a male name



Divided into parts for possible kanji assignments:

Tatu.o or *Ta.tu.o* (but not *Ta.tuo*)¹



Kanji are assigned (/o/ = 夫 ‘husband’, 雄 ‘male’, 男 ‘man’...)

The third group deals questionnaires. The previous studies introduced so far are theoretical studies. Based on the theory I developed, I conducted four questionnaires (MUTSUKAWA 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015a). In MUTSUKAWA (2011), I asked native speakers of Japanese if they can tell the gender of 51 Japanese existing names and concluded that they can tell the gender of Japanese existing names even when they hear them for the first time. In MUTSUKAWA (2012), I asked non-native speakers of Japanese if they can tell the gender of 51 Japanese existing names, which are used for MUTSUKAWA (2011), and showed

¹ There is no kanji whose reading is *tuo*.

that Japanese language learners are not as good as native speakers but they have acquired the ability to some extent to judge the gender of Japanese existing names that they are not familiar with. In MUTSUKAWA (2013), I asked native speakers of Japanese how they judge the gender of 30 Japanese fictional names, which contain phonological and semantic features in (1), and the questionnaire revealed that native speakers of Japanese judge the gender of Japanese given names based on the features in (1). In MUTSUKAWA (2015a), I asked non-native speakers of Japanese how they judge the gender of 30 Japanese fictional names, which are used for MUTSUKAWA (2013), and showed that Japanese language learners are not as good as native speakers but they have acquired the ability to some extent to judge the gender of Japanese fictional names.

The fourth group is the study on unisex names. MUTSUKAWA (2014a) analyzes 39 Japanese unisex names and discusses their structure. MUTSUKAWA (2016a) focuses on how the gender of the unisex names are judged by native speakers of Japanese and revealed (i) native speakers believe that Japanese unisex names are used more for females than for males, (ii) judgments by native speakers and the expected judgments are different for 16 names among the 39 unisex names, (iii) the difference might be because of the structure and semantics of those names, and (iv) judgments by native speakers might be affected by the structure, especially the sound pattern, of the unisex names.

3. The Structure of Japanese Freshwater Fish Names²

I collected 47 freshwater fish names for the analysis. The freshwater fish names and their phonological features found in Japanese given names are shown in (6).^{3,4}

(6) Freshwater fish names and their phonological features

<i>Akaza</i>	(Feminine = <i>a-</i>)
<i>Amago</i>	(Feminine = <i>a-</i>)
<i>Ayu</i>	(Feminine = <i>a-</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Ayukake</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ke</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>a-</i>)
<i>Isaza</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Itoo</i>	(Masculine = Heavy Syllable, Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Itoyo</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, <i>-yo</i>)

² An earlier version of this section appears in *Studies on Japanese Language and Culture* 17.

³ Japanese people like to eat fish. But they usually eat saltwater fish and they do not eat freshwater fish much. That means Japanese people are not so familiar with freshwater fish. The list contains fish that everybody knows as well as fish that not many Japanese people know.

⁴ Palatalized consonants are not shown here because they are found both in male and female names (see 1).



<i>Iwana</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, <i>-na</i>)
<i>Ugui</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Unagi</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Etsu</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Oikawa</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Kajika</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Feminine = <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Kanehira</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Kamatsuka</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Kawamutsu</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Gigi</i>	(Feminine = $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Gibachi</i>	
<i>Kingyo</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Heavy Syllable)
<i>Koi</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Feminine = $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Gori</i>	(Feminine = <i>-ri</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Zezera</i>	
<i>Tanago</i>	(Masculine = <i>t-</i>)
<i>Tabira</i>	(Masculine = <i>t-</i>)
<i>Chichibu</i>	(Masculine = <i>t-</i>)
<i>Tsuchifuki</i>	(Masculine = <i>t-</i> , <i>-ki</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Dojoo</i>	(Masculine = <i>d-</i>)
<i>Tomiyo</i>	(Masculine = <i>t-</i> , Feminine = <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Donko</i>	(Masculine = <i>d-</i> , Heavy Syllable, Feminine = <i>-ko</i>)
<i>Namazu</i>	(Feminine = <i>n-</i>)
<i>Numamutsu</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>n-</i>)
<i>Hasu</i>	(Feminine = <i>h-</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Haze</i>	(Feminine = <i>h-</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Haya</i>	(Feminine = <i>h-</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Hariyo</i>	(Feminine = <i>h-</i> , <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Higai</i>	(Feminine = <i>h-</i>)
<i>Biringo</i>	(Masculine = Heavy Syllable, Four or More Morae)
<i>Funa</i>	(Feminine = <i>hu-</i> , <i>-na</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Masu</i>	(Feminine = <i>m-</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Maruta</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ta</i> , Feminine = <i>m-</i>)
<i>Mugitsuku</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ku</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>m-</i>)
<i>Medaka</i>	(Feminine = <i>m-</i> , <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Motsugo</i>	(Feminine = <i>m-</i>)
<i>Moroko</i>	(Feminine = <i>m-</i> , <i>-ko</i>)
<i>Yamame</i>	
<i>Wakasagi</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>w-</i>)
<i>Wataka</i>	(Feminine = <i>w-</i> , <i>-ka</i>)

Among the 47 freshwater fish names in (6), 9 names have only masculine features, 23 names have only feminine features, 12 names have both masculine and feminine features, and 3 names have no phonological features found in Japanese given names, as shown in (7)–(10).

(7) Freshwater fish names with only masculine features (9 names)

<i>Kanehira</i>	(Masculine = <i>k</i> -, Four or More Morae)
<i>Kawamutsu</i>	(Masculine = <i>k</i> -, Four or More Morae)
<i>Kingyo</i>	(Masculine = <i>k</i> -, Heavy Syllable)
<i>Tanago</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -)
<i>Tabira</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -)
<i>Chichibu</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -)
<i>Tsuchifuki</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -, <i>-ki</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Dojoo</i>	(Masculine = <i>d</i> -)
<i>Biringo</i>	(Masculine = Heavy Syllable, Four or More Morae)

(8) Freshwater fish names with only feminine features (23 names)

<i>Akaza</i>	(Feminine = <i>a</i> -)
<i>Amago</i>	(Feminine = <i>a</i> -)
<i>Ayu</i>	(Feminine = <i>a</i> -, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Isaza</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Itoyo</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Iwana</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, <i>-na</i>)
<i>Ugui</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Unagi</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Etsu</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Gigi</i>	(Feminine = $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Gori</i>	(Feminine = <i>-ri</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Namazu</i>	(Feminine = <i>n</i> -)
<i>Hasu</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Haze</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Haya</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Hariyo</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Higai</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -)
<i>Funa</i>	(Feminine = <i>hu</i> -, <i>-na</i> , $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Masu</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -, $\sigma_\mu \sigma_\mu$)
<i>Medaka</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -, <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Motsugo</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -)
<i>Moroko</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -, <i>-ko</i>)
<i>Wataka</i>	(Feminine = <i>w</i> -, <i>-ka</i>)

(9) Freshwater fish names with masculine and feminine features (12 names)

<i>Ayukake</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ke</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>a-</i>)
<i>Ito</i>	(Masculine = Heavy Syllable, Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Oikawa</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Kajika</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Feminine = <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Kamatsuka</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Koi</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Tomiyo</i>	(Masculine = <i>t-</i> , Feminine = <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Donko</i>	(Masculine = <i>d-</i> , Heavy Syllable, Feminine = <i>-ko</i>)
<i>Numamutsu</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>n-</i>)
<i>Maruta</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ta</i> , Feminine = <i>m-</i>)
<i>Mugitsuku</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ku</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>m-</i>)
<i>Wakasagi</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>w-</i>)

(10) Freshwater fish names with no phonological feature (3 names): *Gibachi*, *Zezero*, *Yamame*.

Next, let us make a prediction on how native speakers of Japanese judge the freshwater fish names with regard to whether they are structurally suitable for use as given names, and which ones of those can be male names and which ones of those can be female names. As introduced above, the gender of Japanese given names are phonologically and semantically determined. The phonological gender differences found in Japanese given names do not equally determine gender, but they can be hierarchically ordered based on their contribution in determining gender (see 1–5). Based on the ranking in (2), we can predict that native speakers of Japanese judge the freshwater fish names as in (11)–(13): 17 names including those in (7) can be male names and 27 names including those in (8) can be female names, while 3 names in (10) cannot be given names because they do not contain any phonological feature found in Japanese given names. That is, the majority of the Japanese freshwater fish names are structurally feminine.

(11) Names that can be male names (17 names)

<i>Ayukake</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ke</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>a-</i>)
<i>Oikawa</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Kanehira</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Kamatsuka</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Kawamutsu</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Kingyo</i>	(Masculine = <i>k-</i> , Heavy Syllable)

<i>Koi</i>	(Masculine = <i>k</i> -, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Tanago</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -)
<i>Tabira</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -)
<i>Chichibu</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -)
<i>Tsuchifuki</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -, <i>-ki</i> , Four or More Morae)
<i>Dojoo</i>	(Masculine = <i>d</i> -)
<i>Numamutsu</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>n</i> -)
<i>Biringo</i>	(Masculine = Heavy Syllable, Four or More Morae)
<i>Maruta</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ta</i> , Feminine = <i>m</i> -)
<i>Mugitsuku</i>	(Masculine = <i>-ku</i> , Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>m</i> -)
<i>Wakasagi</i>	(Masculine = Four or More Morae, Feminine = <i>w</i> -)

(12) Names that can be female names (27 names)

<i>Akaza</i>	(Feminine = <i>a</i> -)
<i>Amago</i>	(Feminine = <i>a</i> -)
<i>Ayu</i>	(Feminine = <i>a</i> -, $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Isaza</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Ito</i>	(Masculine = Heavy Syllable, Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Itoyo</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Iwana</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, <i>-na</i>)
<i>Ugui</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Unagi</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables)
<i>Etsu</i>	(Feminine = Onsetless Syllables, $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Kajika</i>	(Masculine = <i>k</i> -, Feminine = <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Gigi</i>	(Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Gori</i>	(Feminine = <i>-ri</i> , $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Tomio</i>	(Masculine = <i>t</i> -, Feminine = <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Donko</i>	(Masculine = <i>d</i> -, Heavy Syllable, Feminine = <i>-ko</i>)
<i>Namazu</i>	(Feminine = <i>n</i> -)
<i>Hasu</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Haze</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Haya</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Hariyo</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -, <i>-yo</i>)
<i>Higai</i>	(Feminine = <i>h</i> -)
<i>Funa</i>	(Feminine = <i>hu</i> -, <i>-na</i> , $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Masu</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -, $\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu}$)
<i>Medaka</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -, <i>-ka</i>)
<i>Motsugo</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -)
<i>Moroko</i>	(Feminine = <i>m</i> -, <i>-ko</i>)
<i>Wataka</i>	(Feminine = <i>w</i> -, <i>-ka</i>)

(13) Names that cannot be given names (3 names) (= [10]): *Gibachi*, *Zezero*, *Yamame*.

4. Judgments by Native Speakers

This section focuses on judgments by native speakers of Japanese. As introduced in the previous section, most of the freshwater fish names I collected contain phonological features found in Japanese given names, which means that they are structurally suitable for use as given names. But it is not clear how native speakers of Japanese judge those names. Therefore, I conducted a questionnaire. First, I asked 13 native speakers of Japanese whether these freshwater fish names can be used as given names. The result is summarized in (14). Japanese freshwater fish names are more commonly used as female names than as male names, as expected. As shown in (15) where the freshwater fish names that can be used as female names are summarized, however, this questionnaire revealed that most of the freshwater fish names are not commonly used as given names. This is probably because voiced consonants are disfavored and are not commonly used for Japanese given names.⁵ Among the 47 names, 24 names contain voiced consonants.

(14)

	Male	Female	Both	Total
<i>Akaza</i>	2	1		3
<i>Amago</i>	1			1
<i>Ayu</i>		12		12
<i>Ayukake</i>	2			2
<i>Isaza</i>	4			4
<i>Ito</i>	4			4
<i>Itoyo</i>		11		11
<i>Iwana</i>		3		3
<i>Ugui</i>		1		1
<i>Unagi</i>				0
<i>Etsu</i>		8	2	10
<i>Oikawa</i>	2			2
<i>Kajika</i>	3	2		5
<i>Kanehira</i>	7			7
<i>Kamatsuka</i>	1			1
<i>Kawamutsu</i>	1			1

⁵ The name-initial [d] and [dʰ] and name-final [z] in [zi] are the only voiced consonants commonly found in Japanese given names (see 1).

<i>Gigi</i>		1		1
<i>Gibachi</i>	1			1
<i>Kingyo</i>	1	1		2
<i>Koi</i>		4		4
<i>Gori</i>				0
<i>Zezera</i>				0
<i>Tanago</i>				0
<i>Tabira</i>				0
<i>Chichibu</i>	1			1
<i>Tsuchifuki</i>	2			2
<i>Dojoo</i>				0
<i>Tomiyo</i>	1	11		12
<i>Donko</i>	1	2		3
<i>Namazu</i>				0
<i>Numamutsu</i>	1			1
<i>Hasu</i>	1	3		4
<i>Haze</i>	3			3
<i>Haya</i>	7	2		9
<i>Hariyo</i>		6		6
<i>Higai</i>				0
<i>Biringo</i>				0
<i>Funa</i>		4		4
<i>Masu</i>	2	1		3
<i>Maruta</i>	1	4		5
<i>Mugitsuku</i>	2			2
<i>Medaka</i>	3	2		5
<i>Motsugo</i>		1		1
<i>Moroko</i>		4		4
<i>Yamame</i>	1	7		8
<i>Wakasagi</i>	1			1
<i>Wataka</i>	6	3		9

(15) Names that can be used as female names (27 names)

Participants	Names
13	(0)
12	<i>Ayu, Tomiyo</i> (2)
11	<i>Itoyo</i> (1)

10	<i>Etsu</i> (1)
9	<i>Haya, Wataka</i> (2)
8	<i>Yamame</i> (1)
7	<i>Kanehira</i> (1)
6	<i>Hariyo</i> (1)
5	<i>Kajika, Maruta, Medaka</i> (3)
4	<i>Isaza, Itoo, Koi, Hasu, Funa, Moroko</i> (6)
3	<i>Akaza, Iwana, Donko, Haze, Masu</i> (5)
2	<i>Ayukake, Oikawa, Kingyo, Tsuchifuki, Mugitsuku</i> (5)
1	<i>Amago, Ugui, Kamatsuka, Kawamutsu, Gigi, Gibachi, Chichibu, Numamutsu, Motsugo, Wakasagi</i> (10)
0	<i>Unagi, Gori, Zezera, Tanago, Tabira, Dojoo, Namazu, Higai, Biringo</i> (9)

It frequently happens in daily life in Japan to see someone with an unfamiliar name, but native speakers of Japanese can tell the gender of the unfamiliar given names even when they hear them for the first time. Therefore, although native speakers judged that most of the freshwater fish names are not commonly used as given names, I asked the same 13 native speakers of Japanese how they judge the gender of those names when they see them on a name list of Japanese people. A sample of the questionnaire sheet I used is shown in (16) where I asked the reason as well as the sex.

(16) *Akaza*

SEX: ① male ② female

REASON: ① Because I know someone with that name.

② Because of its meaning (the image of the fish)

③ Because of its sound pattern

④ I don't know why, but somehow...

⑤ Other (specify):

I divided judgments by the native speakers into 5 categories based on the criteria in (17). The native speakers judged that 21 names can be used more for males (S-M and W-M) and 11 names can be used more for females (S-F and W-F), while 15 names are neutral (N). The result of the questionnaire is shown in (18).

(17)

Strongly Masculine (S-M): more than 80% of the subjects judged that it is used more for males.

Weakly Masculine (W-M): 60–80% of the subjects judged that it is used more for males.

Weakly Feminine (W-F): 60–80% of the subjects judged that it is used more for females.

Strongly Feminine (S-F): more than 80% of the subjects judged that it is used more for females.

Neutral (N): Judgments not apply any of the above.

(18)

	Male	Female	Both	No-Res.	Category	Expected (11)–(13)
<i>Akaza</i>	9	3		1	W-M	F
<i>Amago</i>	5	5		3	N	F
<i>Ayu</i>		13			S-F	F
<i>Ayukake</i>	9			4	W-M	M
<i>Isaza</i>	10	1		2	W-M	F
<i>Ito</i>	12			1	S-M	F
<i>Itoyo</i>		13			S-F	F
<i>Iwana</i>	5	6		2	N	F
<i>Ugui</i>	4	6		3	N	F
<i>Unagi</i>	9			4	W-M	F
<i>Etsu</i>	1	10	2		W-F	F
<i>Oikawa</i>	10	1		2	W-M	M
<i>Kajika</i>	8	4		1	W-M	F
<i>Kanehira</i>	11			2	S-M	M
<i>Kamatsuka</i>	11			2	S-M	M
<i>Kawamutsu</i>	10			3	W-M	M
<i>Gigi</i>	4	6		3	N	F
<i>Gibachi</i>	9	1		3	W-M	?
<i>Kingyo</i>	1	10		2	W-F	M
<i>Koi</i>	2	9	1	1	W-F	M
<i>Gori</i>	9	1		3	W-M	F
<i>Zezero</i>	4	5		4	N	?
<i>Tanago</i>	6	3		4	N	M
<i>Tabira</i>	7	2		4	N	M

<i>Chichibu</i>	6	3		4	N	M
<i>Tsuchifuki</i>	7	2		4	N	M
<i>Dojoo</i>	9	1		3	W-M	M
<i>Tomiyo</i>	1	11		1	S-F	F
<i>Donko</i>	3	7		3	N	F
<i>Namazu</i>	10			3	W-M	F
<i>Numamutsu</i>	9	1		3	W-M	M
<i>Hasu</i>	2	8		3	W-F	F
<i>Haze</i>	6	3		4	N	F
<i>Haya</i>	9	3		1	W-M	F
<i>Hariyo</i>		12		1	S-F	F
<i>Higai</i>	6	4		3	N	F
<i>Biringo</i>	8	2		3	W-M	M
<i>Funa</i>	3	8		2	W-F	F
<i>Masu</i>	10	1		2	W-M	F
<i>Maruta</i>	6	6		1	N	M
<i>Mugitsuku</i>	8	1		4	W-M	M
<i>Medaka</i>	5	6		2	N	F
<i>Motsugo</i>	6	3		4	N	F
<i>Moroko</i>	2	9		2	W-F	F
<i>Yamame</i>	3	9		1	W-F	?
<i>Wakasagi</i>	9	2		2	W-M	M
<i>Wataka</i>	8	5			W-M	F

Comparing the judgments by the native speakers and expected judgments in (11)–(13), 15 names that are expected to be judged as male or female names are categorized as “Neutral”, which is probably because those names are not acceptable as given names for some of the participants and they cannot judge the gender, and 14 names show the different gender (see 19).⁶ Among the 14 names in (19), 10 names are expected to be judged as female names while 2 names are expected to be judged as male names. That is, freshwater fish names with phonological features found in Japanese female names are more commonly judged as male names.

Possible explanations for the names in (19) are as follows. *Akaza* and *Isaza* sound masculine because the name-final [za] is a masculine feature, although it is not commonly found in Japanese given names. *Isaza* and *Ito* sound masculine because the name-initial syllable [i] does not show femininity as

⁶ *Gibachi* and *Yamame* in (13), which have no phonological features found in Japanese given names, are included.

strong as other onsetless syllables. *Kajika*, *Gibachi*, and *Gori* sound masculine because of the voiced consonants in these names. Voiced consonants in Japanese onomatopoeias indicate ‘heavy/large/coarse/thick’ (HAMANO 1998: 125). The sound-symbolic meaning of voiced consonants might be related to masculinity of these names. *Unagi*, *Namazu*, and *Masu* sound masculine because of their meaning (the image of the fish). These fish are well known and these names are strongly connected to their meaning (the image of the fish). The image of the fish might be related to masculinity of these names. *Kingyo* ‘goldfish’ sounds feminine because of its meaning (the image of the fish). This fish is also well known and this name is strongly connected to its meaning (the image of the fish). The image of the fish might be related to femininity of the name. *Koi* sounds feminine because of its sound pattern. The fish name *Koi* is homophonic to the Japanese word *koi* ‘love’. The sound pattern of this word might be the reason for the femininity of this name. When I asked the native speakers to answer the questionnaire, I asked the reason as well. The reasons most frequently chosen are “② Because of its meaning (the image of the fish)” and “③ Because of its sound pattern”. The freshwater fish names *Unagi*, *Namazu*, *Masu*, and *Kingyo*, *Koi* also suggest that semantics plays more significant role than phonology, as introduced in (3). *Yamame* sounds feminine because of its kanji writing. The freshwater fish name *Yamame* is written as in ‘山女’ whose second character means ‘woman’. This might be the reason for the femininity of this name. Finally, it is not clear why *Haya* and *Wataka* are judged as male names. The masculinity of these names requires further study.

(19)

	Male	Female	Both	No-Res.	Category	Expected (11)-(13)
<i>Akaza</i>	9	3		1	W-M	F
<i>Isaza</i>	10	1		2	W-M	F
<i>Ito</i>	12			1	S-M	F
<i>Unagi</i>	9			4	W-M	F
<i>Kajika</i>	8	4		1	W-M	F
<i>Gibachi</i>	9	1		3	W-M	?
<i>Kingyo</i>	1	10		2	W-F	M
<i>Koi</i>	2	9	1	1	W-F	M
<i>Gori</i>	9	1		3	W-M	F
<i>Namazu</i>	10			3	W-M	F
<i>Haya</i>	9	3		1	W-M	F
<i>Masu</i>	10	1		2	W-M	F
<i>Yamame</i>	3	9		1	W-F	?
<i>Wataka</i>	8	5			W-M	F

5. Conclusion

The present study deals with Japanese freshwater fish names and analyzes their structure. In this study, I discuss the results of the questionnaire I conducted and focus on judgments by native speakers of Japanese. The questionnaire reveals three things: (i) most of the freshwater fish names are not commonly used as given names, (ii) judgments by the native speakers and the expected judgments are the same for 18 names and different for 14 names, and (iii) the difference suggests that semantics plays more significant role than phonology.

In this study, I conducted a questionnaire, but the number of the participants are too small for statistical analysis. Future research through a questionnaire with more participants should be done. Also, it has not been explained in this study why native speakers judged the freshwater fish names *Haya* and *Wataka* as male names. It should be pursued in future research. I would also like to study whether other types of proper names such as saltwater fish names and animal names are structurally suitable for use as given names and how native speakers of Japanese judge those names.

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Abstract

The present study deals with Japanese freshwater fish names and given names. Flower and plant names can be used as given names in Japanese (and probably in many other languages and cultures). But it has not been studied whether other types of proper names such as freshwater fish names can be given names. Based on the results of a questionnaire I conducted, the present study discusses how native speakers of Japanese judge Japanese freshwater fish names. After introducing the structure of Japanese freshwater fish names, I focus on judgments by the native speakers of Japanese. I collected 47 Japanese freshwater fish names for this study. With respect to each name, I asked (i) whether it is structurally suitable for use as a given name, (ii) whether it is more suitable for males than for females, or vice versa, and (iii) the reason for their judgment. The questionnaire reveals: (i) most of the freshwater fish names are not commonly used as given names, (ii) judgments by native speakers and the expected judgments are the same for 18 names and different for 14 names, (iii) the difference suggests that semantics plays more significant role than phonology.

Keywords: Japanese, Freshwater Fish Names, Given Names

Maria Sarhema

Motivation for appellativized given names in Finnish and Hungarian slang compounds

1. Introduction

Finnish slang contains many compounds that include a homonym of a proper name as a head or a modifier. These include the noun *ovimikko* ‘doorman’ (lit. ‘door’ + male name *Mikko*) and the adjective *oskarinkokoinen* ‘small’ (lit. male name *Oskari* + ‘sized’). In these expressions, the words *mikko* and *oskari* cannot be understood as authentic proper names but instead have gone through a process of appellativization and are understood as appellatives.

These kinds of compounds are also found in the slang of another Finno-Ugric language, Hungarian. For instance, *tankaranka* means ‘big woman’ (lit. ‘tank’ + female name *Aranka*) and *zsuzsifogkefe* ‘toilet brush’ (lit. female diminutive *Zsuzsi* + ‘toothbrush’). In this article, I will give a detailed analysis of the motivation for the appellativization of given names in Finnish slang compounds and use Hungarian compounds as points of comparison. I examine why the names in the data have been appellativized. I have found several reasons for the appellativization of given names in compounds and have created several categories based on the motivation for this practice. I will show that the main motivations are phonological structure, metaphor, metonymy, and connotation, but the appellativized expressions can also be based on the name of a real or fictive person.

The outline of this article is as follows. First, there is a brief look at Finnish and Hungarian slang (section 2) and at the phenomenon of appellativization (section 3). The data are introduced in section 4. Section 5 presents an analysis of the motivations for appellativization in the data. Finally, in section 6, the results are summarised.

2. Finnish and Hungarian slang

The data for the research have been compiled from a Finnish slang dictionary (PAUNONEN 2000) and from several Hungarian slang dictionaries and theses, which are listed in the references. The Finnish source is a dictionary of Helsinki slang, but most of the compounds can also be understood by Finnish speakers from other parts of the country, as Helsinki slang has spread far beyond the capital. Below I present a short overview of Finnish and Hungarian slang.

The roots of Helsinki slang have their origins in the end of the 19th century, a time when Helsinki was growing and rapidly industrialising. By the middle of that century, Helsinki was almost a monolingual Swedish-speaking town, although until the beginning of the 20th century almost half of its inhabitants spoke Finnish as their mother tongue. Slang arose as a common language for Finnish- and Swedish-speaking workers in the bilingual areas where they lived. Helsinki slang did not change very much until the 1940s. Then it started to lose its importance connecting Finnish and Swedish speakers, because Helsinki increasingly became a Finnish-speaking town; meanwhile, slang became used more and more by young people. It is possible to differentiate two forms of Helsinki slang: the old Helsinki slang, which was spoken from the end of the 19th century until the 1950s, and the newer slang. Nevertheless, Helsinki slang can be seen as a continuum which has constantly been changing (PAUNONEN 2000: 15–16; see also PAUNONEN 1994, PAUNONEN et al. 2009).

In Hungary, according to KÖVECSES (2009: 15–16), a typical slang speaker is a young man. Educational background also seems to affect the speaking of slang. Less well-educated Hungarians use more slang than better-educated Hungarians. Criminals also use slang. For this reason, Hungarians sometimes call slang *tolvajnyelv*, the language of criminals. In Finland as well, criminals and drug users have their own slang, a kind of secret language. When they do not want other people to know what they are talking about, they use slang (NAHKOLA–SAANILAHTI 1999: 53).

In general, there are both differences and similarities between Finnish and Hungarian slang. There are also differences between the various kinds of slang in the data compiled for this article, as all the Finnish expressions come from Helsinki slang while the Hungarian expressions represent several types (e.g. prisoner slang, army slang, student slang). However, I do not compare slangs in general, but rather concentrate on a specific vocabulary group, namely the compounds that include an appellativized given name.

There are several ways in which new slang words are formed. They can be borrowed from other languages or formed by derivation. They can also be formed by a change of meaning, giving a standard word a new definition or connotation (NAHKOLA–SAANILAHTI 1999: 72, KIS 2008: 42–43). However, the most important factor in the present analysis is change of meaning. In the compounds found in the data, the meaning of a given name has changed, with a proper name becoming an appellative.¹

¹ The question of whether proper names have meaning is a topic of lively debate in the world of linguistic and onomastic theory. I do not take up this topic here. For the meaning of names, see e.g. NYSTRÖM 2016.

3. Appellativization of proper names

Nouns are either proper names or appellatives. It is obvious, for example, that *Einstein* and *van Gogh* are proper names. Nevertheless, proper names can be used as appellatives. VAN LANGENDONCK (2007: 174) shows examples of proper names used as appellatives, such as *Newton was the Einstein of the 17th century*, in which *Einstein* is not actually a proper name but refers metaphorically to a great physicist. Another example is *I would like to own a van Gogh*, in which *van Gogh* refers metonymically to van Gogh's paintings. In these expressions, the motivation for appellativization is clear – to create either a metaphor or a metonymy. However, in the present analysis, the motivation for appellativization seems to be quite a complex phenomenon. Moreover, there can be various reasons for appellativization other than metaphor and metonymy.

The first Finnish linguist to research the appellativization of given names was SIMO HÄMÄLÄINEN (1956). He divided appellativized expressions into three groups. The first group includes the simplex words, i.e. expressions in which the name itself is appellativized, such as *uuno*, originally the male name *Uno*, and used to mean 'stupid, dumb'. In the second group are compounds that include an appellativized name, for example *ovimikko* (lit. 'door' + male name *Mikko*) 'doorkeeper'. The third group consists of sentences which include an appellativized name, such as *Johan se alkoi Lyyti kirjoittaa* 'a machine which has stopped working starts to work again', lit. 'Finally, Lyyti [a female name] started to write'. The focus in this article is on the second type of appellativization. In a discussion of the motivation for appellativization, compounds are fruitful and interesting objects to research. It is possible to identify several reasons which have motivated appellativization in compounds (see section 5), whereas the motivation for appellativized names can be vaguer. For instance, the earlier mentioned *uuno* was appellativized already in the 1910s (PAUNONEN 2000), but the motivation for its appellativization process remains unknown. Compounds including an appellativized proper name have been studied by SKÖLDBERG and TOPOROWSKA GRONOSTAJ (2006), who conducted lexicographic research on Swedish appellativized given names in compounds.

In Hungarian the appellativization of proper names has attracted a deal of interest (see e.g. PARAPATICS 2012, RESZEGI 2010, SEIFERT 2008, SZENDREY 1936, TAKÁCS 2007). Also, appellativized given names in Hungarian and Finnish as well as in Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian have been compared (TAKÁCS 2001, 2010). However, compounds have never been the focus of these comparisons. According to TAKÁCS (2007), a Hungarian name which appellativizes is usually a nickname, not an official, given name.

4. Data

As mentioned in section 2, the data for this research have been compiled from one Finnish slang dictionary (PAUNONEN 2000) and several Hungarian slang dictionaries and theses (see the references). From these resources, I have selected every compound that includes a homonym of a given name either as a head or a modifier and functions as an appellative.

The Finnish data consist of 145 compounds: 113 (78%) include a homonym of a given name as a head, 31 compounds (21%) include a homonym as a modifier and one compound has both, a head and a modifier. The Hungarian data consist of 88 compounds: 81 (92%) include a homonym of a given name as a head and 7 have compounds (8%) as a modifier.

5. Motivation for appellativization

In this section the main motivation groups are introduced or, in other words, the reasons why the given names have been appellativized in the compounds identified in the data. Not every compound will be discussed, but rather representative examples of each type will be given.

5.1. Real person

First of all, appellativization can be motivated by the proper name of a real or a fictitious person. Even a standard word can be based on a real person's name. For example, the Hungarian word *császár* and the Finnish word *keisari*, both meaning 'emperor', are formed from the name *Julius Caesar* (HAJDÚ 2003: 71; SSA s.v. *keisari*).

The data for this article contain few compounds motivated by the name of a real or a fictitious person. For example, the Finnish word *vanjaeno* 'Russian' (lit. male name *Vanja* + 'uncle') was motivated by Anton Chekhov's play *Uncle Vanya*. Another Finnish example is *tomppamesta* 'gay place' (lit. male diminutive *Tomppa* + 'place'). *Tomppa* means 'homosexual' in Helsinki slang, and the motivation for the appellativized expression was Tom of Finland (PAUNONEN 2000) – the pseudonym of a Finnish artist who became well known for his highly homoerotic art.

An interesting Finnish compound is *alberthousut* 'trousers which have a patch on the knee' (lit. male name *Albert* + 'trousers'). The motivation for this expression is not known. However, it is known that the expression was used in the 1970s (PAUNONEN 2000). In that decade a rock band called the Hurriganes (sic!) was famous in Finland, and one of its members was Albert Järvinen. It is quite plausible that Mr Järvinen wore patched or torn trousers in concert, a dress style that could have motivated the compound *alberthousut*.

In Hungarian there are three compounds that have the female name *Lujza* as a head: *lólujza*, *tonnalujza* and *donnalujza* (lit. *ló* ‘horse’, *tonna* ‘ton’, *Donna*, a female name²). These expressions all mean ‘fat woman’. It is possible that the appellativization of *Lujza* was motivated by a famous radio show called *Lujza és Jenő* (Lujza and Jenő) broadcast on Hungarian radio in the 1970s. The characters Lujza and Jenő were a fictitious married couple, and Lujza was a slightly simple woman. Of course, it is not possible to know if Lujza was fat, as the show was only on the radio, but Lujza’s character might have motivated these pejorative compounds ending with her name, *lujza*.

5.2. Phonological structure

Phonological structure is the most common motivation for appellativization in both the Finnish data and the Hungarian. There can be alliteration, assonance, consonance or rhyme between the head and the modifier in a compound. For instance, the Finnish compounds *parkkipirkko* and *lappuliisa*, both meaning ‘traffic warden’ (lit. ‘parking’ + female name *Pirkko*; ‘slip’ + female name *Liisa*), have probably been motivated by their phonological structure. In both compounds there is alliteration between the head and the modifier, and in *parkkipirkko* there is also consonance between the head and the modifier. It would be almost impossible to change the heads in these two expressions (**parkkiliisa*, **lappupirkko*) because in this case the phonological similarities with the heads and the modifiers would no longer exist. Another Finnish example of alliteration and consonance in parts of a compound is *sentraalisantro* ‘switchboard operator’, ‘gossiper’ (lit. ‘central’ + female name *Santra*). It is impossible to find any other Finnish female name that starts with the consonant *s* and has the consonant cluster *ntr* in the middle.

Phonological structure is also an important motivation for appellativized compounds in the Hungarian data. For instance, in the expressions *kíváncsifáncsi* ‘observing teacher’³ (lit. ‘curious’ + female diminutive *Fáncsi*) and *tankaranka* ‘fat woman’ (lit. ‘tank’ + female name *Aranka*) there is assonance, consonance and rhyme between the heads and the modifiers. In this sense, the phonological structure similarly motivates the appellativization in both the Finnish and the Hungarian compounds.

Nevertheless, there are also differences between the Hungarian and the Finnish data. In the Finnish, for instance, the compounds ending with *kalle* (< male

² *Donna* as a female name is not a usual name in Hungarian. It is probably the modifier of *donnalujza* because of the phonological similarity to *tonna* ‘ton’.

³ In the material used for this study, *kíváncsifáncsi* refers to an observing teacher. However, in prison slang *fáncsi* means a ‘curious person’. The expressions are motivated by a funny animal cartoon character called Kíváncsi Fáncsi created by Zsolt Richly (SZABÓ 1999).

name *Kalle*) are often motivated by the phonological structure as can be seen in these examples: *kuumakalle* ‘a person who gets angry easily’ (lit. ‘hot’ + *Kalle*), and *keppikalle* and *nappikalle* ‘police officer’ (lit. *keppi* ‘stick’, *nappi* ‘button’). In these expressions there are phonological similarities – alliteration, assonance and consonance – between the modifiers and the head *kalle*. In the Hungarian data there are no such appellativized names as a head (or a modifier) that have formed more than one or two compounds motivated by the sound structure.

Another type of appellativization motivated by the sound structure consists of words similar to the sound structures of the words to which they refer; in Finnish slang examples are *mari* (< female name *Mari*), and in Hungarian slang, *mari*, *maresz*, and *mariska* (< female name *Mária*), all of which refer to ‘marijuana’ (PAUNONEN 2000 s.v. *mari*; TAKÁCS 2006: 134). I argue that it is no coincidence that these slang words are homonyms of given names. Rather it seems to be quite common that if a slang word is phonologically similar to the word it refers to, it is a homonym of a proper name; in other words, it takes the shape of a proper name.

These kinds of expressions are found in both sets of data. In the Finnish data, for example, we find the compound *marisätkä* (female name *Mari* + ‘joint’), meaning ‘marijuana joint’, where the modifier *mari* is shortened from the word *marijuana* to which it refers. In the Hungarian data, the compounds *gépistván*, *géppista* and *géppityu* all mean ‘machine pistol’ and are used in military slang. *Gép* is ‘machine’ in Hungarian, whereas *István* is a male name and *Pista* and *Pityu* are diminutives of *István*. ‘Machine pistol’ is *géppisztoly* in Hungarian, and it is quite likely that the similar sound structure of *pisztoly* and *Pista* motivated the expression *géppista*. In the other two expressions, *Pista* is replaced by other forms of the name *István*.

5.3. Metaphor

The desire to create a metaphor motivates some of the compounds in the data. For example, the Finnish compound *rosvoroope*, meaning ‘an ATM that does not give your card back’ (lit. ‘robber’ + male name *Roope*) is motivated by personification. An ATM which is conceptualised as acting like a human being is called by a compound word that includes an appellativized name. Probably because of the alliterative sound structure with the modifier *rosvo*, *roope* is the head of the compound.

Another Finnish example of metaphor as motivation is *yrjömoppi* ‘ugly hair’ (lit. male name *Yrjö* + ‘mop’). In colloquial parlance *yrjö* means ‘vomit’, ‘disgusting’ (PAUNONEN 2000). In this metaphor, the ugly hair and the mop with which the vomit can be cleaned up are conceptualised as being visually similar.

In the Hungarian data some expressions contain an animal name as a modifier, such as *oroszlánjólán* (lit. ‘lion’ + *Jolán*) and *lólujza* (lit. ‘horse’ + *Lujza*), both of which mean ‘a big woman’. *Oroszlán* ‘lion’ and *ló* ‘horse’ are metaphors: in other words, a big woman is conceptualised as being as big as a lion or a horse. These examples are highly affective, even pejorative, which, according to KOSKI (1992: 21), is typical of this kind of metaphor, that is, animal names used metaphorically for human beings. According to the data for this research, compounds including both an animal metaphor and an appellativized given name are found only in Hungarian slang, but not in Finnish slang. Although there are numerous animal metaphors in the Finnish language (see KOSKI 1992), these metaphors apparently do not form compounds with appellativized names as in Hungarian.

5.4. Metonymy

In colloquial language names are often used metonymically as ethnic epithets, for example *Fritz* means ‘German’, *Ivan* ‘Russian’, and *Olaf* ‘Swedish’ (see HAJDÚ 2003: 74, HÄMÄLÄINEN 1956: 216, ALLEN 1983). There are metonymical expressions of this kind in the Finnish data as well. For example, *lassonikolai* (lit. ‘rope’ + male name *Nikolai*) refers to a ‘Russian ranger’. In this compound a typical Russian male name, *Nikolai*, is used metonymically to refer to any Russian man, whereas the modifier specifies the task of the soldier. Interestingly, in the Hungarian data there are no such compounds in which a given name is used as an ethnic epithet.

Nevertheless, compounds motivated by metonymy are found in the Hungarian data. The Hungarian compounds *gyohaberci* (lit. ‘bald’ + male name *Berci*) and *kopteriván* (lit. ‘bald’ + male name *Iván*),⁴ as well as the Finnish compound *nahkajussi* (lit. ‘skin’ + male name *Jussi*), all meaning ‘army recruit’, are motivated by metonymy. A word referring to a part of the body is used to mean the whole person. Metonymy has also motivated the Hungarian compound *cicijuci* ‘big breasted woman’ (lit. ‘tit’ + female diminutive *Juci*) together with the sound structure. There is rhyme between the compound’s head and the modifier, which explains the head *juci*. The modifier *cici* means a literal part of the body, the breast, but in this compound, it refers metonymically to the whole person.

5.5. Connotation

In onomastics, connotation means the content of information, images or associations pertaining to a name. The associations can be common to speakers

⁴ *Gyoha* and *kopter* are soldier slang words in Hungarian meaning ‘army recruit’, ‘bald’ (< *kopasz* ‘bald’) (Kis 2008 s.v. *gyoha*, *kopter*).

of a given language or they can be subjective, a person's own image (AINIALA et al. 2016: 32). According to AINIALA et al., the appellative use of names is based precisely on these connotations. In my opinion the appellativization of proper names, in other words, the appellative use of them, is not always based on the connotations. The motivation for appellativization is a much more complex phenomenon for which there can be several reasons, as can be seen in sections 5.1.–5.4. However, connotation is indeed an important motivation for appellativization, only it is not at all easy to say when it motivates appellativization because connotations are so subjective.

Every Hungarian compound including *Lujza* as a head in the data means 'fat'. As mentioned in section 5.1., the motivation for the appellativization of *Lujza* could be the character in a well-known radio programme called *Lujza*, which has partly motivated the connotative expressions ending with *lujza*.

In the Finnish data, the expressions *talikkotaavetti* (lit. 'digging fork' + male name *Taavetti*) and *junttieinari* (lit. 'redneck' + *Einari*) both mean 'a person living in the countryside'. In *talikkotaavetti* the head and the modifier form an alliteration, but this expression as well as *junttieinari* could also have been motivated by connotation. Perhaps *Taavetti* and *Einari* are names that connote people living in the countryside. It is difficult to say if the motivation for these expressions is in fact connotation; further research would be required to find out conclusively.

6. Summary

In this paper, some light has been shed on the motivating factors for the appellativization of given names in slang compound words in Finnish and Hungarian. Many similarities have been found between the Finnish and Hungarian expressions, but also some differences.

The analysis illustrates that the motivation for appellativization in slang compounds can be a name of a person, either real or fictive; a phonological structure; a metaphor; a metonymy or a connotation. There are Finnish and Hungarian examples in all of these groups. Phonological structure is a very common motivation for appellativizing given names in both Finnish and Hungarian compounds. Of the various motivations, connotation is the most complex, one reason being that determining motivation by connotation is highly subjective.

In this article the motivation for appellativizing compound words has been discussed. It would be interesting to see if the motivation for appellativization is similar in other cases, such as in appellativized simplex words or in sentences including an appellativized name. Probably in the case of simplex words,

the phonological structure would not be as important as it is in the case of compounds, as usually the phonological similarities lie between the head and the modifier. However, sound structure can also motivate the appellativization of given names to form simplex words, as seen in section 5.2.

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Abstract

Finnish slang contains many compounds that include a homonym of a proper name as a head or a modifier. These include the noun *ovimikko* ‘doorman’ (lit. ‘door’ + male name *Mikko*). In this expression, the word *mikko* cannot be understood as authentic proper name but instead has gone through a process of appellativization and is understood as appellative.

These kinds of compounds are also found in the slang of another Finno-Ugric language, Hungarian. For instance, *tankaranka* means ‘big woman’ (lit. ‘tank’ + female name *Aranka*). In this article, I will give a detailed analysis of the motivation for the appellativization of given names in Finnish slang compounds and use Hungarian compounds as points of comparison.

The analysis illustrates that the motivation for appellativization in slang compounds can be a name of a person, either real or fictive; a phonological structure; a metaphor; a metonymy or a connotation. There are Finnish and Hungarian examples in all of these groups. Phonological structure is a very common motivation for appellativizing given names in both Finnish and Hungarian compounds. Of the various motivations, connotation is the most complex, one reason being that determining motivation by connotation is highly subjective.

Keywords: appellativization, Finnish language, Hungarian language.

This Michel Fetzer

Appellative Use of First Names in Swiss German: Denominations for Animals, Plants, Parts of the Body, Objects, and Concepts

1. Introduction

Deonymization, deproprialization or appellativization of names is well known and described when product or company names (ergonyms) are concerned (e.g. KNAPPOVÁ 1996, ŠRÁMEK 1996). Prominent examples include the English verbs *to xerox* and *to google*. In a similar way, persons' names can be appellativized and become generic expressions when they refer to individuals well-known for a particular characteristic or deed. Such deonymic appellatives are usually based on a surname. But even given names can be appellativized when a certain person is known by this name. This is the case with Swiss German *Vit* 'wuss, ninny', which is said to be a semantic reversion of the biblical *David's* boldness (24;¹ ID. 12: 549).

In contrast to this phenomenon, the subject of this paper are given names used in an appellative way without referring to well-known individuals. This distinction between names of eponymous "individuals who stood out with positive, negative, or ridiculous deeds that were linked with great discoveries, inventions, high-quality products, or atrocities" on one hand and highly common, frequent names as eponyms on the other hand was already broached by BACH (1952: 322, § 169).²

Unlike deonomastica based on the given names of individually determinable persons (HAUBRICHS 2002: 343), the deonymic use of incognito personal names is still a bit disregarded in onomastics. Still, it is a common process. In German, *Hinz und Kunz* ('Heinrich and Konrad') simply means 'everybody', while the origin of Swiss German *Trīne* 'simple, fatuous person' (58, 25; ID. 14: 1080) is an abbreviation of *Katharina* or a hypocoristic (affectionate) form of *Dorothee*. Even though ID. (3: 1102) suggests that in cases such as *glänze" wie Fīge"-Ludi*³ ('to be shining like fig Ludwig') 'to be superbly frilly, dressed to kill' (69), there must have been a long forgotten fact such as a once well-known local grocer who used to dress like a dandy that led to the saying, and FREI (1981: 18)

¹ All one- to three-digit numbers given to each name refer to the sequential number in the alphabetical collection of 117 given names in the appendix.

² All translations of quotations from German texts by This Fetzer.

³ For the sake of compositional clearness, compounds with names are hyphenated throughout this text even though this is not standard in German.



insists there should have been an initial name bearer, though possibly forgotten for centuries, the only traceable motivation for the appellative name use is the fact that these names were very common and therefore easily seen as somehow generic.

By analyzing the whole accessible number of given names used in this way within Swiss German, I will try to add a new perspective to the outlines given by BACH (1952: 323ff., 169 ff.) and to systematize the knowledge on the phenomenon. Which categories of names and meanings are involved? What mechanisms are working in this kind of deonymization?

Uses of given names that are excluded from the analysis are: appellatives gained by means of derivation (cf. SCHWEICKARD 1992) or composition with a non-onymic primary word (e.g. *achilleisch* ‘Achillean’, DWB 1: 1351; *Adams-Britzelchen* ‘particular kind of cookies’, “Rheinisches Wörterbuch” 1: 56), thus only pure conversion (GLESSGEN 2002: 197) is considered; names used in sayings (such as the above-mentioned *glänzeⁿ wie Fīgeⁿ-Ludi* ‘to be superbly frilly, dressed to kill’); verbs and adjectives formed on the base of names (always using a suffix, such as *otmärleⁿ* ‘celebrate St. Otmar’s day [November 16th] by visiting each other’s wine cellars to degustate young wine’ [85; ID. 1: 605]); human names used for individual animals (therefore *Lise* ‘name for any individual female domestic animal lacking attributes that could serve as a name base’ [26; ID. 3: 1423] will not be considered, while *Heini* ‘stork’ [42; ID. 2: 1314] will be included as this does not refer to a particular stork, but to any stork); several names used to avoid the tabooed use of devil (cf. RIS 2002: 233); and those used as swearwords without real reference to an object (such as *Bim Toni!* [9] ‘malediction’, probably an alteration of *Bim Donner!* [‘thunder (malediction)’]; ID. 13: 262, 241).

2. Basic Figures

About 600 appellative meanings of given names could be retrieved from the almost fully searchable online version of the Schweizerisches Idiotikon (Dictionary of Swiss German, ID.). Very few are added from other sources (FREI 1981, whose records are mainly based on ID.; RIS 2002). These meanings can be allocated to only 117 different basic names, often in an abbreviated or hypocoristic form or in a compound with the name as a primary word. Many actual name forms are given with more than just one meaning. In other cases, a name can have different abbreviations all equipped with the same meaning.

Many of the appellative meanings have very limited validity: some were reported within restricted regional boundaries, a few exclusively in clearly historical context, and most of them go back to the time when the data for the dictionary were collected in the 19th and early 20th century, thus may be

unknown to present-day speakers. Some might even be individual ad-hoc creations (occasionalisms) not declared as such by ID.

So what meanings do given names used as appellatives have? The basic semantic distinction is the one between name appellatives used to describe people and those referring to animals, objects, and concepts. About two thirds of the 600 records refer to persons and are disregarded here but will hopefully be examined at a later stage. With a more formal perspective, the most important dichotomy is the one between given names used as appellatives without any modification and those which form the bases of compounds or are accompanied by an adjective. A third distinction is the one between female and male given names, the first of which account for about one third of the whole material as well as of the names used for people.

Of the roughly 200 name appellatives not referring to humans, not all are easily attached to a semantic category. Below, the most consistent and prominent categories will be introduced with each a few examples.

3. Categories

3.1. Human Functions, Hierarchy

While, as has been said above, most name-derived appellatives describe individuals (or their looks, intelligence, character, and behavior, more precisely), a few names are not used to refer to actual persons but to their function. *Büreⁿ-Joggeli* ('farmer Jakob'; 48; ID. 3: 27), *Han-Eich* ('Johannes Heinrich'; 42; ID. 2: 1315), and *Mist-Hans* ('dung Johannes'; 52; ID. 2: 1472) all stand for 'farmer', while a *Grēt* is any 'peasant woman' (74; ID. 2: 824), *Püreⁿ-Grēt* any 'farm girl' (74; 2: 825), and *Meili* simply means 'maidservant' (75; ID. 4: 356), as farming used to be as common as these names. Therefore, these actually are closer to 'any (particular) person' rather than to a function such as the following.

Gröss-Hans ('tall Johannes') was used as a term for 'someone of higher grade in military' as opposed to *Chlīⁿ-Hans* ('small Johannes') 'rank and file' (52; ID. 2: 1471). *Meister Pēter* ('master Peter') was the name of the 'executioner' (88; ID. 4: 1841), though this might be an individualism. *Chnabeⁿ-Hans* ('bachelors' Johannes') is only recorded as a surname but goes, according to ID. (2: 1472), back to the function 'master of a bachelors' association' (52). *Post-Heiri* ('mail Heinrich') is used for the 'postman' (42; ID. 2: 1315).

RIS (2002: 233) adds a few newer examples for this name usage: *Fadeⁿ-Trīni* ('thread Katharina') 'teacher for textile handicraft' (58), *Radio-Heini* ('radio Heinrich') 'radio editor' (42), *Fërnsēh-Grütli* ('television Margareta') 'television actress' (74), or *Jod-Heiri* ('iodine Heinrich') 'paramedic' (42).

3.2. Animals

The idea of naming an individual animal using a human given name is self-evident. But as has been highlighted above, the records presented here designate generic members of a species rather than referring to individually distinguishable creatures, even though this non-official language use somehow individualizes the animal in question.

31 entries belong into this category. The individual affection put into these namings can be illustrated with *Michel* ‘house cats’ pet name’ (83; ID. 4: 61, clearly indicated as appellative use). *Hans* ‘horse’ (52; ID. 2: 1470) as well as *Storcheⁿ-Heini* ‘stork’ (42; ID. 2: 1313) and *Storcheⁿ-Bäbi* ‘female stork’ (13; ID. 4: 918) also contain a certain idea of individuality (therefore, *Hans* can also be an individual horse’s name). *Gäber* means ‘gander’ (36 [uncertain]; ID. 2: 65), *Mätz* ‘bitch’ (81; ID. 4: 612; similar to English *bitch*, *Metz* means ‘bitch’ as well as ‘whore’).

A few entries stand for ‘ladybird’, all but *Anne-Bäabeli* (‘Anna Barbara’; 13; ID. 4: 917) based on *Katrīnli*, *Trīnli*; examples are *Chäfer-Trīnli* (‘bug Katharina’) and *Fraueⁿ-Trīnli* (‘Our Lady Katharina’; 58; ID. 3: 561, 14: 1079–1081). The variety is easy to explain as variations of the compound *Katrīneⁿ-Chäferli* ‘Katharina bug’ (Hotzenköcherle 6: 227, not recorded in ID.) that have lost their primary word.⁴ The reason for the naming is said to be found in the name of *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, either because she was believed to influence the weather conditions and hence the occurrence of the bug (BUCHELI BERGER–LANDOLT 2014: 81) or because the last ladybugs of the season can be seen around Saint Catherine’s commemoration day (November 25; WIMMER–MELZER 1982: 482).

No humanization is conveyed by *Hans Walter* ‘louse’ (114; ID. 15: 1676; probably a folk-etymological borrowing from argot in the primary word according to WOLF 1956: 131, no. 2060), *Jäggi*, *Jäggsch* ‘a particular species of biting housefly’ (48; ID. 3: 24). Why the ‘harvestman’ was named *Zeiger-Heini* (‘indicator Heinrich’; 42; ID. 2: 1316) and the ‘newt’ *Wasser-Pegggi* (‘water Peter’; 88; ID. 4: 1079) remains unknown.

A unique case is *Hans-Anni* ‘Johannes Anna’ used to describe ‘a hermaphrodite goat’ (8; ID.: supplementary material).

⁴ Strictly speaking, a compound with the given name as a determiner should be excluded from the analysis of deonymic appellativization by means of conversion; I will nevertheless include these words as they are probably lexicalized.

3.3. Figures, Dolls

Still closely related to human denominations are names for particular figures of human shape. The first main group consists of ‘bogles, scarecrows’. A *Hard-Joggeli* protects grainfields from being stepped into (48; ID. 3: 27; the determiner of the compound is uncertain: *Hard* ‘woodland, now often used as field’ or an abbreviation of the given name *Gebhart*; ID. 2: 1596), a *Bābi* is used in grain- or poppy fields (13; ID. 4: 916), a *Rēb-Hansel* (‘vine Johannes’) protects vineyards from children stealing grapes (52; ID. 2: 1473), while a *Trübeⁿ-Hans(eli)* (‘grape Johannes’) is put into vineyards regardless of who might invade them (52; ID. 2: 1474), just like *Bantli* (87; ID. 4: 1397). The motivation to give such figures human names is clear: they are often built to look human.

This is also true for the second group, which consists of dolls and puppets: *Bääbi* (13; ID. 4: 916) is probably the most common Swiss German expression for ‘doll’. The same meaning is conveyed by the name’s variants *Bābeⁿ* and *Bābi* as well as by the compounds *Hoscheⁿ-Bābi* (‘uncleanly [woman] Barbara’), *Titti-Bābi* (‘suckling Barbara’ or ‘puppet Barbara’), and *Toggeⁿ-Bābeⁿ* (‘puppet Barbara’ or ‘lump Barbara’; 13; ID. 4: 917–918), but also by *Bantli* (87; ID. 4: 1397; male name used with neutral gender). Some compounds give more precise information about a puppet’s characteristics: a *Biwegi-Bābeⁿ* (‘flex Barbara’) is a ‘jointed doll’ (13; ID. 4: 918), while *Brieggi-* as well as *Schrei-Bääbi* (‘crying Barbara’, ‘snivelling Barbara’) of course both denominate ‘puppets with a mechanism that produces squeaking sounds’ (13; ID. 4: 918), and *Hudleⁿ-Bääbi* (‘rag Barbara’) is ‘a puppet made of rags’ (13; ID. 4: 917).

3.4. Gaming Terms

Less closely related to human associations are given names used as gaming or playing terms. The link can be made when keeping in mind that some of the toys involve physical movement or humanlike sounds such as *Schnurreⁿ-Heirch* (‘spinning Heinrich’; 42; ID. 2: 1315) ‘humming top’ or consist of playing cards portraying human figures, hence *Schelleⁿ-Chäsperli* (‘bells Kaspar’; German cards) ‘Jack of diamonds’ (French cards; 57; ID. 3: 533). In other cases, personal names are used for players. *Schwīzer-Pēter* (‘Swiss Peter’) is the name of the ‘seeker’ in hide-and-seek (88; ID. 4: 1842). Often, the name of a player is transferred to the game itself, such as *der schwarze Pēter* (‘black Peter’) ‘the loser in the old maid game’, then ‘the last card in the game’ and ‘the game itself’ (88; ID. 4: 1841). As the loser of this game has a moustache painted on as a punishment, he as well as the last card are also called *Schnauz-Pēter* (‘moustache Peter’; 88; ID. 4: 1842). The direction of the name shift remains uncertain, though. If the card is seen as the original eponym, the



whole process would be more like the above-mentioned *Vit* ‘wuss, ninny’ < biblical *David* case because the card can be seen as a well-known individual within a particular set of cards. But the name receiver also is an individual in the framework of the game, thus it is generally not so clear if such cases should count as deonyms. Similarly, *Lunzi* is used for the ‘person walking around in a game similar to duck, duck, goose’ (65; ID. 3: 1347). The handkerchief placed behind one of the other participants by the walker is called *Lunzi* as well. In some cases, personal names denominate a particular constellation of cards, such as *Bābeli* and *Sibylle* ‘trump seven in the Emperor (Kaiser) game’ (13; 102; ID. 4: 916, 7: 63), and *Bābeli* can also mean ‘full house (all nine pins) in nine-pin bowling’ (13; ID. 4: 916). The relation in most of these constellations has a certain degree of individualism.

3.5. Parts of the Body, Illnesses

About ten entries refer to parts of the body. The association is a *totum pro parte* usage. *Der grōss Pēter* ‘big Peter’ is used for ‘middle finger’ (88; ID. 4: 1841; the *grōss* goes back to another denomination *Grōssfinger* ‘large finger’, ID. 1: 864). *Sūw-Ludi* (‘sow Ludwig’) is the name of a particular ‘bone in a sow’s back’ (69; ID. 3: 1103). According to LÜTOLF (1865: 111–112), the name is motivated by a legend in which a jew hides from Jesus in a vat prepared for slaughtered sows. The term *Lieni* is used for ‘paunch’ (64; ID. 3: 1286). *Chnoche*–*Hansli* ‘bone Johannes’ is a ‘human skeleton’ (52; RIS 2002: 233), surely imagined as the remains of a real human bearing a personal name.

The only other part of the body designated with given names is ‘membrum virile, penis’: *Heichel* (42; ID. 2: 1314), *Hans* (52; RIS 2002: 233), *Chnoche*–*Sepp* (‘bone Josef’; 53; ID. 7: 1222), *Daniël* (23; ID. 13: 101), *Willi* (116; ID. 15: 1326), and *Schangi* (50; ID. 8: 927). One main reason evokes the use of male given names in this way: The penis is the male body part par excellence and more or less tabooed due to its sexual connotation, thus humanizing or trivializing it using a rather harmless personal names comes in handy.

Among the illnesses denominated, ulcers are predominant: *Grütli* ‘suppurative eye-lid ulcer’ (74; ID. 2: 826) and *Grētli*, *Röösli*, *Urseli* ‘hordeolum’ (74, 95, 111; ID. 2: 825; 6: 1405; 1: 468). This is one of the rare cases in which ID. itself remains insecure about the origin and motivation of the usage: Should ‘hordeola’ be seen as a kind of ‘daughters of a body’, in analogy with the Latin *pupilla* ‘girl’ > ‘pupil (anatomy)’? Or is *Urseli* a folk-etymologically influenced borrowing from Italian *orzo*, French *orge* ‘barley’ (corresponding with German *Gerstenkorn* and English *hordeolum*)? *Röösli* and *Grētli* would then be secondary denominations following the model of *Urseli*.

3.6. Clothes, Garment

Even clothing items can be seen as somehow related to people. A ‘children’s bib’ is named *Ueli*, *Geifer-Ueli* (‘spittle Ulrich’), *Mues-Ueli* (‘mush Ulrich’; 109; ID. 1: 183, 184, 185) as well as *Geifer-Ludi* (‘spittle Ludwig’; 69; ID. 3: 1103). The name *Bantli* is used for ‘old outerwear that is no longer treated with care’ (87; ID. 4: 1397). This usage is probably motivated by one of the several other appellative meanings of the name such as ‘thick and tall straw puppet that is buried during carnival’ when keeping in mind that such a puppet is usually dressed with old clothes, or even *Bantli* ‘messy, untidy woman’ (87; ID. 4: 1397). *Öpmer* is used for ‘(woollen) garment, worn in wintertime by women above the shirt’ (85; ID. 1: 605). According to ID., there is a correlation between *Öpmer* and the saint *Otmar*, but this correlation is unfortunately not specified.

3.7. Plants

Thirty-five of the name records are used as plant names. As is the case with the above-mentioned names of playing cards, it is arguable to what extent the names of botanical species are appellatives or proper names. They do not refer to individual plants, but when speaking about one species out of several, the respective appellatives can have an onymic function and gain a certain degree of propriality.

Baschi (101; ID. 4: 1758), *Bābeli* (13; ID. 4: 916), *Hans-Ueli* (‘Johannes Ulrich’; 109; ID. 1: 184), and *Wēber-Hansli* (‘weaver Johannes’; 52; ID. 2: 1474) all designate particular kinds of apples. *Bābeli* is a variant of synonymous *Bābeli-Epfel* (ID. 1: 373), and *Hans-Ueli* is just an abbreviation of *Hans-Ueli-Epfel* (ID. 1: 368), which indicates that the other, too, probably are abbreviations of compounds with the primary word *Epfel* ‘apple’. Similarly, *Jörelī* ‘particular kind of potatoe’ is short for *Jörelī-Ērdepfel* (38; ID. 3: 68). *Trockene’ Martin* (‘dry Martin’) is the name of ‘a kind of pear’. (78; ID. 4: 426).

About thirty entries in this section denominate flowers. They roughly split into a half derived from male and the other half derived from female given names. *Mattūsli* is the ‘common poppy’ (80; ID. 4: 553) and *Franziske* the ‘Japanese kerria’ (33; ID. 1: 1312). *Grütli/Grētlī im Busch/im Strüss* (‘Margareta in the bush/bouquet’; 33; ID. 2: 825) seems to be a personalized interpretation of the Standard German name *Jungfer im Grünen* (‘virgin in the green’), who both also share motives with their English pendant ‘devil in the bush, ragged lady’. *Jakobē* ‘silver ragwort’ (49; ID. 3: 33) and *Joggebē* ‘common ragwort’ (49; ID. 3: 27) both correspond to the scientific denominations *Jacobaea maritima* and *Senecio jacobaea*. Vernacular flower names often apply to several species. Therefore, *Margrütli* not only stands for ‘ox-eye daisy’, but as well for ‘common

daisy’, to which add the botanically non-related ‘ragged-robin’ and, as a compound *Wald-Margrītli* (‘forest Margareta’), ‘false aster’ (74; ID. 4: 402).

3.8. Dishes And Drinks

Eleven of the records are used for dishes and drinks. The dishes are mostly very simple, old-school preparations no longer common: *Chuchi-Michel* (‘kitchen Michael’) is a ‘pastry made of milk, flour, slices of bread and spices’ (83; ID. 4: 61). *Bābi* is ‘a dish made from thinly sliced apples, slices of bread and sugar, fried in butter’ (13; ID. 4: 916). *Stunggeⁿ-Werni* (‘mush Werner’) can be either a ‘dish prepared by alpine herdsmen, made from cream that is cooked over open fire, thickened with flour’ or ‘mush from potatoes and bacon bits with cream’ (115; ID. 16: 1543, 1544). The origin and motivation of the name of the dish are unknown; interpretations such as “das stungäd den Werni, daß er eine Weile nicht mehr hungert” (‘this will stuff Werner so he won’t be hungry for a while’; 19th century manuscript in the library of the ID.) and the variant *Stunggeⁿ-Wärmi* which suggests the primary word is actually *Wärmi* ‘warmth’ are probably folk-etymological.

Hoseⁿ-Joggi (‘trousers Jakob’) ‘gingerbread’ is just a *pars pro toto* generalization of the same compound used for ‘relief of a man on gingerbread’ (48; ID. 3: 27). *Zwätschgeⁿ-Lisi* (‘plum Elisabeth’) is the name of a dessert made from ‘plum icecream with plum brandy’ (26; RIS 2002: 233; *Zwätschgeⁿ* can also be used as a short form for *Zwätschgeⁿ-Wasser* ‘plum brandy’, ID. 16: 1845). *Hans von Vivis* (‘Johannes from Vevey’) is a 16th century humorous appellation for ‘wine from the canton of Vaud’ (ID. 2: 1470; supposedly based on the comparison of this kind of wine and the given name, which are both almost generic).

3.9. Human Behavior

A few names are used to characterize human behavior itself rather than the individuals who behave this way. *Bēti am Arm* (‘Elisabeth on the arm’; 26; ID. 4: 1810), *Bābi* (13; ID. 4: 916), and *Züri^{ch}-Bābi* (‘Zurich Barbara’; 13; ID. 4: 918) all mean ‘inebriation’. *Der trunkeⁿ Ueli* (‘drunken Ulrich’) is a ‘personification of gluttony’ (109; ID. 1: 184). As LÖTSCHER (1995: 456) and CHRISTEN (2013: 84) have pointed out with regard to denominations used to describe persons, the vast majority of them focus on negative characteristics. This is even more the case with personal names denominating behavior itself.

3.10. Customs



A few names designate customs. *Chuered* is used for ‘a supper offered to masons and carpenters by their employer after finishing work on Saturday

evening' (60; ID. 3: 335). As ID. assumes, the naming could follow the name of the saint *Conrad of Constance*, who is usually depicted holding a chalice (WIMMER–MELZER 1982: 493). *Bajass-Hans* ('tomfool Johannes') is a carnival custom consisting of 'felling a large tree, decorating it, and transporting it into the village before selling it to the highest bidding' (52; ID. 2: 1472, 1: 974).

Haber-, *Chorn-*, and *Weizeⁿ-Michel* ('oat, grain, and wheat Michael') are the names of 'demons or other figures formed with the last sheaf when harvesting' (83; ID. 4: 61). These figures are often formed to resemble persons or animals (cf. the synonyms *Fuchs* ['fox'], ID. 1: 657; *Zēh^enteⁿ-Jungfrau^w* ['tithe virgin'], ID. 1: 1249; *Grōs^s-Mueter* ['grandmother', used for small sheaves], ID. 4: 592; *Bankert* ['bastard', used for sheaves differing in size], ID. 4: 1390). They are at the heart of numerous rites to celebrate the end of harvesting and to propitiate fate (once widespread in Europe, cf. *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 67 [1971]: 327; cf. *letzte Garb* ['last sheaf'], ID. 3: 1467). Similarly, *Toggeⁿ-Bābeⁿ* ('puppet Barbara') can be the name for a 'pastry shaped like a baby given as a New Year's gift' (13; ID. 4: 918), and *Hoger-Ueli* ('bump Ulrich') is a 'carnival mask with bumps' (109; ID. 1: 184).

The more a custom has an individual character (celebrated in great intervals or in limited areas), the more its denomination, gained by means of deonymization, is reappropriated.

3.11. Containers

The last semantically consistent group is made up of words for different containers. *Sami* is used for 'bedwarmer (jug)' (99; ID. 7: 942). The same object is also called *Buebeli* ('little boy', ID. 4: 929), (*Bett-*)*Münch* ('bed monk', ID. 4: 318), and (as a pouch filled with cherry pits, serving the same purpose) *Chriesi-Ma^m* ('cherry man', ID. 4: 266). The personification appearing in all these denominations is explained by ID. (4: 266) as follows: "used mainly by the gentler sex and therefore probably initially created with humorous allusion" (to the fact that a woman who needs a bedwarmer lacks a real man). *Mar-Jōsi* 'old-fashioned double jug' ('Maria Josefa'; 54; ID. 3: 76) and *Helēneⁿ* 'coffeepot; jug of a particular size' are other humorous denominations (ID. 2: 1143). As names for containers are often transferred to individuals (ID. 3: 308, annotation under *Kanaster*), the use of personal names for containers might just be a vice versa movement. The use of containers to measure volume is common, thus their names are also easily assigned to volumes, such as *Nāzi* 'one liter' (46; ID. 4: 885).

4. Discussion

As some of the examples illustrate, names can be used as appellatives in simplex form, extended in compounds as well as enlarged with an attributive adjective. There seems to be no general difference between simple and extended name appellatives: compounds and adjectival formations are just a way to stress the appellative character of a name usage.

The appellative usage of some personal names is influenced by biblical characters or saints and their attributes. Apart from the above-mentioned *Chuered* ‘meal offered by the employee on Saturday evening’ (60; ID. 3: 335), *Stëffe* used for a ‘big glass containing a particular volume; used by the guests of certain restaurants on December 26, who all drank from that same glass’ (105; ID. 10: 1424) is an example, as that day is *St. Stephen’s Day*. More common are names that are influenced by folk etymology. Many names only gain their appellative meaning by adaptation of a phonetically resembling appellative. Several names of flowers are folk-etymological variations of purely appellative plant designations: *Mareieli* ‘kind of apricot’ is probably based on the synonymous *Amarille* (75; ID. 4: 356, 1: 215), *Wäg-Heirech* (‘path Heinrich’) ‘plantain’ quite obviously just a reinterpretation of the Standard name *Wegerich* (42; ID. 2: 1315, 15: 952), and *Salemööndli* ‘poppy anemone’ is almost certainly an alteration of the scientific name *Anemone coronaria* (98; ID. 7: 693). The reason for such processes might be the fact that many flowers actually bear human names such as *Jakobē* ‘silver ragwort; *Jacobaea maritima*’ (49; ID. 3: 33, 1: 263). Other semantic categories are concerned as well, as the example of *Ferdi* ‘heavy inebriation’ shows: This is an assimilation to *Fert* ‘load’ (31; ID. 1: 995, 1038).

Generally speaking, a tendency to identify particular animals, objects, and ideas with human beings stimulates the use of personal names as appellative denominations. But in the vast majority of depropriated names, the precise motivation for the process remains unknown. It is not so hard to understand why animate creatures as well as concepts and objects that can be personalized in some way are more prone to the phenomenon – but why do some inanimate things such as dishes and containers bear human names? Why, to finish with some hardly explainable examples beyond the categories mentioned above, is the ‘state as an employer’ paraphrased as *Bund-Chrigel* (‘Union Christian’; 19; RIS 2002: 233) and a particular ‘medicine’ as *röter Heinrich* (‘red Heinrich’; 52; ID. 2: 170)?

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Appendix: List of Standard German Names in the Data

The following alphabetical list contains the 117 given names for which depropriarized use is recorded. Only full forms of names in their modern Standard German version are given, no abbreviations, variants, or Swiss German forms.

number	name	number	name	number	name
1	Adelheid	40	Gregor	79	Matthäus
2	Afra	41	Gustav	80	Matthias
3	Agate	42	Heinrich	81	Mechthild
4	Alfons	43	Helene	82	Melchior
5	Alois	44	Herkules	83	Michael
6	Ambros	45	Hermann	84	Nikolaus
7	Andreas	46	Ignaz	85	Otmar
8	Anna	47	Ingomar	86	Pankraz
9	Anton	48	Jakob	87	Pantaleon
10	Antonia	49	Jakobäa	88	Peter
11	Apollonia	50	Jean	89	Petermann
12	Auguste	51	Jodocus	90	Petronella
13	Barbara	52	Johannes	91	Philipp



14	Bartholomäus	53	Josef	92	Rebekka
15	Benedikt	54	Josefa	93	Regula
16	Burkhart	55	Justus	94	Rochus
17	Candidus	56	Karl	95	Rosa
18	Charlotte	57	Kaspar	96	Rudolf
19	Christian	58	Katharina	97	Ruprecht
20	Christoph	59	Kleophea	98	Salomon
21	Chrysostomus	60	Konrad	99	Samuel
22	Coelestine	61	Kreszenz	100	Sarah
23	Daniel	62	Kunigunde	101	Sebastian
24	David	63	Leodegar	102	Sibylle
25	Dorothee	64	Leonhard	103	Silvester
26	Elisabeth	65	Leonz	104	Simeon
27	Esther	66	Leopold	105	Stefan
28	Eva	67	Louis	106	Susanna
29	Fabian	68	Ludovika	107	Theodor
30	Felix	69	Ludwig	108	Theophil
31	Ferdinand	70	Lukas	109	Ulrich
32	Florian	71	Magdalena	110	Urban
33	Franziska	72	Malchus	111	Ursula
34	Fridolin	73	Marcellus	112	Valentin
35	Friedrich	74	Margareta	113	Veronika
36	Gabriel	75	Maria	114	Walter
37	Gebhart	76	Markus	115	Werner
38	Georg	77	Marta	116	Wilhelm
39	Gertrud	78	Martin	117	Xaver

Abstract

While the use of product and company names (ergonyms) as deonyms (appellatives) is well known and even appellatives derived from persons' (inventors', scientists', politicians') names are well established in onomastics, the denonymic use of baptismal names not referring to individuals is still a bit disregarded.

Apart from the general vocabulary presented in the Swiss German Dictionary (Idiotikon), this dictionary also documents given names that were common in the German-speaking area of Switzerland between the 13th and the early 20th centuries. Surprisingly many of these names can not only be used as baptismal names, but also with appellative sense. Deonymization of non-individual given names thus proves to be a common phenomenon.

Most of these given names are derived from relatively few basic names by means of abbreviation, suffixation, compounding, or a combinations of these. Analyzing all given names and their variants as filed in the Idiotikon, in this paper I will try to outline the processes that lead to the appellative senses of different names (e.g. frequency of certain names; folk-etymological associations and phonetical resemblance; influence of saints' attributes) and use a semantic categorization for the meanings conveyed, such as animals, body parts, and containers, while names referring to humans, but not individuals, will be analyzed at a later stage.

Keywords: deonymisation, , first names (baptismal names), Swiss German, hagnonyms, folk etymology, hypocoristic, name compounds

Rita Baranauskienė–Ilona Mickienė
Structure of Lithuanian Nicknames

1. Nicknames are non-officially used proper names denoting a characteristic attribute and constituting one of the subclasses of personal names. A nickname maybe comprehended in two ways: 1) a nickname originated from a personal name, which was usually used in the past and eventually turned into the surname (e.g. *Vilkas* ‘Wolf’, *Rudys* ‘Brown’, *Trumpius* ‘Short’) and 2) a nickname used newly by the surname (by *Vilkas* it is possible to dub any person, e.g. Jonaitis, Petkevičius and others) (ZINKEVIČIUS 2008: 16). The paper analyses current occurrence of nicknames. According to VITALIJA MACIEJAUSKIENĖ, “it is very important to know as much as possible about the specificity of one or another class (subclasses) of onyms: how the system of proper names originated and was formed, whether it is still being filled by the new items, whether it is closed or stable, what kind of linguistic and extralinguistic circumstances have determined its character” (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 2001: 168). Nicknames are used to emphasise physical attributes, manner, the content of speech, residence, origins and other traits of the nicknamed one. The ones who give the nickname to a person rely on extralinguistic factors. Extralinguistic factors are related to the constantly changing reality and aim at creating new, more effective, stylistically connoted words. Even though the motivation of words, especially of proper nouns, fades, the inner form of the name shows why that thing was named in one way or another (cf. GUDAVIČIUS 2000: 104). Veluona vicinity is characteristic of the nicknames which originated mostly due to subjective (psychological) reasons, when the nickname is given on the basis of a person’s characteristic attribute which was noticed by the people round about. Nicknaming is used to distinguish the nicknamed one from others, emphasising his/her kinship, origins, residence, physical attributes, inner features, the content of speech, activities, various associations, etc. Extralinguistic factors have the strongest influence on derivation, structure and usage of nicknames.

While studying the usage of nicknames, Politeness Theory is to be taken into account, where politeness is understood as a rational strategic behaviour to be showed in various ways in order to save the face of the person he/she is talking to. In general terms, “face” refers to an individual’s own image, the manner of self-presentation to others, and reputation (cf. HILBIG 2010: 29). Face can be understood as positive or negative. Negative face should not be understood as negatively connoted as it makes opposition to the positive face. To avoid possibly misleading terms GIEDRĖ ČEPAITIENĖ (2007: 25) offers to use the terms “contact face” and “distance face” as they denote these concepts of politeness more accurately. The positive (or contact) face is related to each



person's desire to be understood, accepted by others, considered, likable, and the negative (or distance) face relates to the desire to keep the distance, to be independent, to have freedom to act, to have the right to personal space and time, to be free, undisturbed (cf. BROWN–LEVINSON 1987: 61–63). The speaker considers whether the addressee needs the positive face (familiar, close, friendly) or the negative face (distant, formal, respectful) and chooses the correct location strategy for either positive politeness or negative politeness. In the paper the nicknames are analysed also according to the politeness theory and the politeness strategy is identifying.

The creation of nicknames could be taken as one of the ways to complement the actually used vocabulary. Under standard conditions for language development, the central way of lexis enrichment and upgrading is the creation of new words out of other existing words changing their morphological (morphemic) structure (cf. URBUTIS 2009: 37). Interlocutors' need to have a new word might be satisfied by borrowing words; it depends on outer conditions of language functioning and interlocutors' relation to foreigners.

The authors of the article have already discussed the names (MICKIENĖ–BARANAUSKIENĖ 2012a: 208–215) collected in the points of Kaunas, Marijampolė and Pasvalys, and the onomastic motivation of nicknames of 386 inhabitants in Veliuona area (MICKIENĖ–BARANAUSKIENĖ 2012b: 175–188).

The paper analyses nicknames that were recorded in Veliuona vicinity during the project of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language *Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information* (2011–2014). Nicknames recorded by the pupils of Veliuona Vicinity School from 1978 to 1990 and held in its museum are analysed as well.

Data analysis is based on a questionnaire survey method, that is, the questionnaires of points of the Lithuanian language atlas (http://www.tarmes.lt/index_meniu.php?id=5). In the process of the analysis of nicknames their recurrence was observed, thus there is no doubt that they were used by the majority of local people. It was also observed that nicknames are being passed down from generation to generation (all family members share the same nickname); therefore, it is possible to claim that the nickname outlives its owner. On the other hand, nicknames constantly change, adapt to newly arising language realities, modernise. For this reason, it is necessary to collect and study them.

The paper aims at identifying the characteristic attributes of nickname structure.



First, the analysis of nickname structure was carried out, which proved that it is necessary to group nicknames into primary and secondary. However, in the

process of research, it is difficult to set a clear criterion for grouping nicknames into primary and secondary as when derivational motivations of the nicknames and their appellatives coincide, there might be misunderstandings. Therefore, the paper invokes the structural analysis of nicknames to find universal criteria that would allow the distinction between the primary and the secondary.

Primary nicknames originate from corresponding onyms and appellatives which are categorised on onomastic level without structural changes, i.e. they do not differ structurally from the motivated word. The motivated word of these nicknames could be: derivationally non-dividable; derivationally dividable (usually appellative) possessing personal name affix; derivationally dividable, possessing another appellative affix (BUTKUS 1995: 33–34). The secondary nickname group comprises derivatives.

The paper carried out structural analysis of 241 secondary nicknames.

2. Derivation of common words could only be described during the process of the analysis of derivational relations, i.e. the opposition between derivatives and underlying words, preliminarily identifying the basis and the formative for the derivation, thus presenting the formal and semantic structure of the derivative (cf. URBUTIS 2009: 287). Structural analysis of proper nouns discloses that words that do not have a clear basis could also be called derivatives; contrasting them with other names it is possible to find the roots, or derivational formatives reappearing in other words (JAKAITIENĖ 2009: 277). According to ALVYDAS BUTKUS (1995: 33), there are quite different criteria for nickname derivation as one of the types of proper nouns in comparison to the criteria for common words in case where a nickname derives from a proper or common word and differs from it structurally.

A more detailed structural classification is provided by ŽANETA URBANAVIČIŪTĖ and VIDA ŽIČKUTĖ in the article *Lietuvių pravardės* (Lithuanian Nicknames). In the article, the nicknames are classified into: 1) non-derivatives, 2) derivatives that further are classified into inflectional, suffixal, prefixational, prefixational-suffixal, 3) composites that further are classified into blends and compounds 4) derivatives-composites, and 5) phrases (URBANAVIČIŪTĖ–ŽIČKUTĖ 1975: 60–61). According to VITALIJA MACIEJAUSKIENĖ, such classification does not connect to the identification of the types of nickname derivation, it just describes the structure of these personal names (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 2001: 173).

Structural analysis of nicknames enables determination of the structure of proper and common nouns that are chosen to create nicknames. Structural analysis of secondary nicknames showed that there are nicknames that have the underlying word and the formative(s), blends, compounds and nickname phrases.

2.1. The biggest part of the group of secondary nicknames comprises nicknames that have the underlying word and the **suffix** (111 nicknames, 46.1%).

2.1.1. The underlying word – **onym**, s.a. name (50).

The majority of them are built up from names and have Lithuanian diminutive suffixes *-(i)ukas*, *-(i)ukė*, *-elė*, *-ytė*, *-utė*, e.g. **Adom-ukas**: *Adam* (the father is *Adam*), **Dan-ukas**: *Donato* (because his name is *Donatas*), **Gil-iukas**: *Gileta* (because her name is *Gileta*), **Ingridž-iukė**: *Ingrid* (because her name is *Ingrida*), **Lev-ukas**: *Levas* (because his father's name is *Levas*), **Dan-elė**: *Dana* (because her name is *Dana*), **Laim-elė**, **Laim-ytė**: *Laima*, **Monik-utė**: *Monica* (has very female soft moves).

The data analysis reflects the tendency to use diminutives in the Lithuanian language. Lithuanian is extremely rich in diminutive suffixes: *-el-*, *-ėl-*, *-(i)uk-*, *-(i)ut-*, *-ait-*, *-yt-*, *-ul-*, *-už-*, *-(i)ūkšt-*, *-okšn-*, *-šė*, *-in-*, *-už-*, *-iš-*, *-il-*, *-ėz-*, *-ik-*, *-(i)ok-*, *-iotė*, *-al-*, *-(i)ūt-*, *-uitis*, *-ykšt-*, *-išč-*, *-yšč-*, *-yn-*, *-ėk-*, *-ėn-*, *-(i)oklis*, *-(i)okšt-*, *-ut-*, *-ein-*, *-ikas*, *-uik-*, *-yk-*, *-ekš-*, *-(i)ūz-*, *-uol-*, *-aikštis*, *-elšė*, *-uila*, *-es-*, and the others. It is possible to form a diminutive from any concrete countable noun. Diminutive nouns are used in emotional speech, e.g. **Adom-ukas**: *Adam* (the father is *Adam*). These diminutive suffixes *-(i)ukas*, *-(i)ukė*, *-elė*, *-ytė*, *-utė* are the most frequently used in the contemporary Lithuanian language.

Nicknames often take the Slavonic suffix *-ka*, *-kė*, e.g. **Maruš-ka**: *Marius* n., **Jan-ka**: *Jonas* n., **Rič-ka**: *Ričardas* 'Richard' n., **Vit-ka**: *Vytautas* n., **Zan-kė**: *Zanas* n., **Stas-ka**: *Stasys* n., **Pran-kė**: *Pranas* n.

Derivates formed with suffixes *-ka*, *-kė* are considered hybrids. They have negative connotation and are used in Lithuanian dialects.

2.1.2. There is a great number (61) of nicknames the underlying word of which is an **appellative**. The majority of such nicknames have Lithuanian suffixes *-(i)ukas*, *-utė*, *-ėlis*, *-utis*, *-elė*, *-inis*, *-ikės*, e.g. **Griūš-iukas**: *grūšia* 'pear' (pear-shaped face), **Šveln-iukas**: *švelnus* 'soft', **Maž-iukas**: *mažas* 'little' (he of little height, short and stout), **Moksl-iukas**: *mokslas* 'science' (a man who knows much, much-knowing), **Bačk-utė**: *bačka* 'barrel' (because of stoutness); **Liūdn-utė**: *liūdna* 'sad' (she often feels sad), **Džiūvės-ėlis**: *džiūvėsis* 'hardtack' (because she is very slim), **Klebon-ėlis**: *klebonas* 'parson' (talks and walks like a woman), **Kišk-utis**: *kiškis* 'hare' (walks with little jumps), **Srov-elė**: *srovė* 'stream', **Triuš-inis**: *triušis* 'rabbit' (had been growing and selling hares), **Anč-ikės**: *antys* 'ducks' (because they waddle).

The basic function of a diminutive suffix is to express smallness in size. These suffixes also indicate only an attitude – favourable (affection, good humour) or unfavourable, pejorative (depreciation, contempt) – on the part of the speaker to person or thing, with no reference to size.

There are some cases of nicknames that have Slavonic suffix *-ka*, *-kė*, ending *-(i)akas*, e.g. **Kiet-ekas**: *kietas* ‘cool’ (a person who feels superior), **Vokietka**: *vokietė* ‘a German woman’.

Only one nickname of mixed structure is recorded (0.4%), its underlying word is an onym (oikonym), e.g. **Paakmenorius**: *Akmena* mount (lived near the *Akmena* hill).

2.2. The group of nicknames with an **ending** is comparatively large as well (83 nicknames; 34.4%). These nicknames take an onym (name or surname) (45) or an appellative (38) as its underlying word.

Nicknames with an **onym** as the underlying word mostly possess the ending *-(i)us*, e.g. **Lin-ius**: *Linas* ‘flax’ n., **Cil-ius**: *Cilišauskas* surn., **Mindž-ius**: *Mindaugas* n., **Pin-ius**: *Pinaitis* surn., **Šarius**: *Šarūnas* n.

(i)us-stem nouns are not very numerous in the Lithuanian language (LG 1997: 114). Nicknames with ending *-(i)us* are the names of the quality (denominative characteristic possessors), therefore such derivatives are common in derivation of the nicknames, recorded in Veliuona vicinity.

Some of the nicknames with an ending *-ė* compiled of nicknames or names could have appeared earlier than the current variant of the surname, e.g. **Bakan-ė**: *Bakanaitė* sur., **Aldon-ė**: *Aldona* n., **Pošk-ė**: *Poškutė* sur., **Vizg-ė**: *Vizgaitienė* (from the verb ‘to wag’) surn.

Nicknames with an ending *-ė* are often used in Veliuona vicinity because they are the names of the quality (denominative characteristic possessors).

The underlying word of nicknames could be an **appellative** of various speech parts. Nouns: **Čiukč-ius**: noun *Chukchi* ‘one of the peoples in north-eastern Siberia’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary) (narrow eyes), **Durpius**: noun ‘peat’ (from the peatbog), **Guzius**: noun ‘lump’, **Knypas**: noun *knypa* ‘the one who is thin, weak, morbid, almost dead’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary), **Žuvius**: noun ‘fish’, **Ūsius**: noun ‘a whisker’. Verbs: **Bezdė**: verb ‘to fart’ (a foul woman), **Kandžius**: verb ‘to bite, sting’. Adjectives: **Švelnys**: adjective ‘soft (he)’.

2.3. Blend nicknames take the smallest part (in total 9; 3.7%).

Blend nicknames might be created out of two **onyms**, e.g. **Preikš-jurgis**: *Preikša* sur., *Jurgis* ‘George’ n.

Sometimes it is difficult to indicate whether the nickname component is a proper or common word, especially when the motivation of the word is not clear, e.g. **Gud-marė**: *gudas* ‘Byelorussian’ or *Gudas* ‘Byelorussian’ sur., *Marė* n. (a shortening of the name *Marytė* ‘little Mary’).

One of the possible components of the nicknames might be an **onym**, the other an **appellative**, out of which both are nouns, e.g. *Mol-petris*: *molis* ‘clay’, *Petras* ‘Peter’ n. (Peter who built stoves), *Tryd-marė*: *tryda* ‘the runs’, ‘the one, who get nervous without a reason, a hotspur’ (www.lkz.lt), *Marė* v. (a hotspur little Mary).

Both components of the nicknames might be **appellatives**, out of which one is an adjective, and the other is a noun, e.g. *Juo-duonė*: *juoda* ‘black’, *duona* ‘bread’, *Rūg-žentis*: *rūgštus* ‘sour’, *žentas* ‘son-in-law’, *Smulk-ia-žuvis*: *smulki* ‘small’, *žuvis* ‘fish’; both nouns, e.g. *Vėž-gaidis*: *vėžys* ‘crayfish’, *gaidys* ‘cock’; a noun and a verb, e.g. *Žem-siurbė*: *žemė* ‘earth’, *siurbti* ‘suck’ (because used to eat ooze).

In the Lithuanian language composite nouns are formed with the linking vowels *-ė-*, *-y-*, *-o-*, *-ū-*, *-(i)a-*, *-i-*, *-u-* or without them. Analysed blend nicknames mostly are without the linking vowels.

2.4. 33 compound nicknames were found (13.7%).

Both components of a nickname are **onyms** (1), e.g. *Melniko Andrius*: *Melnikas* sur., *Andrius* ‘Andrew’ n.

Such compound nicknames may only have a differential function, distinguishing one person with the same name from the other.

One of the components is an **onym** (7), e.g. *Liurbis Levas*: *liurbis* ‘a wimp, a sloven, clumsy, inept’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary), *Levas* v., *Raudonės Karalius*: *Raudonė* tw.n., *karalius* ‘king’, *Mišky Stasiukas*: *miškas* ‘the woods’, *Stasiukas* n., *Sibirinis Gaidukas*: *Sibiras* ‘Siberia’ p.n., *gaidukas* ‘little cock’, *Trolis Mumis*: *trolis* ‘troll; Scandinavian mythical creature’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary), *Mumis* ‘Mummy’ n., *Karakumų Pabaisa*: *Karakumai* ‘Kara Kum’ p.n., *pabaisa* ‘beast’, *Lietuvos Lenciūginis*: *Lietuva* ‘Lithuania’ p.n., *lenciūgas* ‘chain’ (policeman), *Džekis Kiau Kiau*: *Džekis* ‘Jacky’ n., *kiau*.

The onym of the compound nicknames is an oikonym: *Raudonė*, *Sibiras*, *Lietuva*, *Karakumai*, or a name: *Levas*, *Stasiukas*, *Džekis*, *Mumis*. The components reflect Lithuanian (*Raudonė*, *Lietuva*; *Levas*, *Stasiukas*) and not Lithuanian (*Sibiras*, *Karakumai*; *Džekis*, *Mumis*) onyms.

Some compound nicknames are created using common words (**appellatives**) as their components, out of which both are nouns (13), e.g. *Bičiulio Beždžionė*: *bičiulis* ‘buddy’, *beždžionė* ‘monkey’ (looks like a monkey), *Dievo Karvė* ‘a ladybird’. In the Lithuanian language a ladybird may be called directly *boružė* and metaphorically *Dievo karvė*: *Dievas* ‘God’, *karvė* ‘cow’, *Dinozauro Galva*: *dinozauras* ‘dinosaur’, *galva* ‘head’, *Kanalizacijos Undinė*: *kanalizacija*

‘canalisation’, *undine* ‘mermaid’ (because of the habit to walk slowly), **Lauko Gėlė**, **Laukų Gėlėlė**: *laukas* ‘field’, *gėlė* ‘flower’, **Lauko Pelė**: *laukas* ‘field’, *pelė* ‘mouse’ (very quiet), **Liaudies Išmintis**: *liaudis* ‘folk’, *išmintis* ‘wisdom’ (knows much), **Meldų Katinas**: *meldai* ‘bulrushes’, *katinas* ‘cat’, **Perkūno Oželis**: *perkūnas* ‘thunder’, *oželis* ‘goatling’ (because of thin voice), **Proto Bokštas**: *protas* ‘mind’, *bokštas* ‘tower’ (too a thoughtful person), **Uodų Bulius**: *uodai* ‘midges’, *bulius* ‘bull’.

As can be seen from the analysis of the compound nicknames the majority of these nicknames are the possessive constructions, e.g. **Bičiulio Beždžionė** ‘Buddy’s Monkey’: *bičiulis* ‘buddy’, *beždžionė* ‘monkey’ (looks like a monkey).

Only one of this group is formed from two nominative case components, e.g. **Šlipsas Šerifas**: *šlipsas* ‘tie’, *šerifas* ‘sheriff’ (because the father is a policeman).

Compound nicknames may be created from adjectives and nouns (10), e.g. **Akiniuotas Smurfas**: *akiniuotas* ‘spectacled’, *smurfas* ‘smurf’, **Brangusis Vikšrelis**: *brangusis* ‘darling’, *vikšrelis* ‘little grub’ (because of the habit to repeat the word ‘darling’), **Žąsinas Žandinis**: *žąsinas* ‘gander’, *žandinis* ‘jaw like’ (because of having a birthmark on the cheek), **Didžioji Tapkė**: *didžioji* ‘the big’, *tapkė* ‘slipper’ (very tall), **Geležinis Vilkas**: *geležinis* ‘of iron’, *vilkas* ‘wolf’, **Kuodė Baltoji**: *kuodė* ‘crested tit’ (‘shock-headed, a spastic woman’), *baltoji* ‘the white’, **Medinė Lėlė**: *medinė* ‘wooden’, *lėlė* ‘doll’, **Pavogtas Veidas**: *pavogtas* ‘stolen’, *veidas* ‘face’, **Sena Boba**: *sena* ‘old’, *boba* ‘woman’.

In such compound nicknames the adjective denotes the attribute that is specific to a person designated by the noun, e.g. **Šlapia Višta**: *šlapia* ‘wet’, *višta* ‘hen’ adjective describes the stupid women. In the Lithuanian language the names of animals and birds often are used to create the nickname that expresses subjective (usually negative) personal characteristics.

2.5. There are some cases of **nicknames–phrases** (4; 1.7%), e.g. **Viskas Kad Nu** ‘all that hupp’ (because of the habit to use this phrase), **Visų Galų Meistras** ‘master in everything’ (a person boasting of himself), **Dzindriau-Lindriau**, **Nieka Nieka** ‘nothing nothing’ (because always says so).

In summary, it is possible to claim that in terms of structure secondary nicknames have the suffix, the ending, are of mixed structure, blends, compounds and nickname phrases. It was noted that the analysed secondary nicknames recorded at Veliuona vicinities tend to be composed from appellatives.

According to the Politeness Theory, nicknames, such as familiar addressing, second person singular forms of verbs and pronouns, slang words, dialectal words are the markers for the group identity, that is why their usage undoubtedly

relates to the positive politeness strategy with a purpose to create atmosphere of belonging, to joke, to go into contact with the addressee.

On the other hand, in order to specify the purpose of the locution strategy as much as possible, the attention is paid to the real situation of the talk, to the age, social distance and social power of interlocutors, thus the conclusion can be made that it is sought to create the atmosphere of belonging or the purpose is to insult, to mock, or to demean. Since nicknames were only fixed as used by the local residents, and the real situation of talking was not evaluated, to study nicknames according to the positive politeness strategy is not recommended.

3. During the project of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language *Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information* all nicknames recorded in Veluona vicinity were analysed structurally. In the paper, on the grounds of structural analysis, nicknames were classified into two groups by universal criteria that allow the distinction between the primary and the secondary. Primary nicknames originate from corresponding onyms and appellatives which are categorised on onomastic level without structural changes, i.e. they do not differ structurally from the motivated word. The secondary nickname group comprises derivatives.

After structural analysis of 241 secondary nicknames it was revealed that nicknames that are mostly used in Veluona vicinity have the suffix (111; 46.1%) and the ending (83; 34.4%). The underlying word of nicknames with suffixes more often is an appellative (61 out of 111), and of the nicknames with the ending – onym (45 out of 83). A fair part of secondary nicknames are compound nicknames (33; 13.7%), out of which 8 are formed of onyms. Structurally, there are 4 (1.7%) nickname phrases. Out of 9 blend nicknames 4 are formed of onyms. It was noted that from all the nicknames analysed and recorded in all Veluona vicinities 108 nicknames were formed of onyms: names, surnames and oikonyms. 133 nicknames were formed of appellatives of various speech parts: nouns, adjectives and verbs.

The structural analysis of the secondary nicknames, recorded in Veluona vicinity, reveals the most usual derivation method. Nicknames are mostly formed by adding various suffixes. The diminutive suffixes *-(i)ukas*, *-(i)ukė*, *-elė*, *-ytė*, *-utė* used to create nicknames are common to the Lithuanian language. Suffixation is the most frequent method also to form appellatives in the Lithuanian language. The second group of secondary nicknames consists of nicknames with an ending, especially with *-(i)us* and *-ė*. Nicknames with ending *-(i)us* and *-ė* are the names of the quality, therefore, such derivatives are common in derivation of the nicknames, recorded in Veluona vicinity.

Structure of the secondary nicknames also indicate an attitude – favourable or unfavourable, pejorative – on the part of the speaker to person or thing.

Nicknames, such as familiar addressing, are the markers for the group identity, that is why their usage relates to the positive politeness strategy with a purpose to create atmosphere of belonging, to joke, to go into contact with the addressee.

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Abstract

The paper analyses nicknames that were recorded in Veliuona vicinity during the project of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language *Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information*.¹ The paper aims at identifying the characteristic attributes of nickname structure.

The paper invokes structural analysis of nicknames to find universal criteria that would enable the distinction of nicknames into primary and secondary. Structural analysis discloses the structure of proper and common words that are usually selected for nickname creation. Having analysed the nicknames structurally, suffixal, inflectional, mixed structure, compound, composite and phrasal nicknames were distinguished. It was determined that suffixes and inflections are mostly used for nickname creation.

Keywords: the primary nicknames, the secondary nicknames, the structural analysis of nicknames, Onima, Appellatives

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