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Latvian Surnames Motivated by Profession

Pauls Balodis

Latvia

Abstract

The article is devoted to contemporary anthroponyms (surnames) of Latvian origin motivated by occupation or profession. The amount of different surnames of this primary semantics is not large – about 7.9%. It is less than analogical groups in neighbouring countries. According to Ernests Blese (1929), surnames of such primary semantics are very old: *Arst* ‘doctor’ 1506, *Czelskallis* ‘ironsmith’ 1573. Documents of the 16th century have provided evidence for professions or occupations which are not used today anymore, such as: *Bozeneke* (= *bozenieks* ‘stick master’), *Groszenicke* (= *grožnieks* ‘rein master’). The most widespread occupational names among Latvian modern surnames are the following: *Mucenieks* ‘cooper’, *Mūrnieks* ‘bricklayer’, and *Kalējs* ‘blacksmith’; cf. such surnames whose frequency is low: *Arājs* ‘ploughman’, *Zemnieks* ‘peasant’ etc. There are also many compound surnames known only in Latvian – no anthroponyms of analogous semantics are recorded in other comparative languages, e.g.: *Mālmeisters* ‘clay master’, *Griķumalējs* ‘buckwheat miller’, *Jaunarājs* ‘new/young ploughman’, *Milzarājs* ‘giant ploughman’, *Smilšarājs* ‘sand ploughman’, *Kalnzemnieks* ‘hill peasant’. Some of them have definitely originated from oikonyms, i.e. from homestead names. The typological study comparing surname systems in Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Finnish, Russian, Polish and German shows many similarities, but also some interesting peculiarities. Especially, a large number of surnames of this etymological semantics is known in German and in Russian.

* * *

Latvia is a small country on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea with the population of 1.9 million (2014). A large number of modern Latvian personal names are borrowings. However, a significant number of Latvian anthroponyms consist of proper names derived on the basis of the Latvian language itself. Approximately 34% of Latvian surnames can be considered of Latvian origin (Staltmane 1981: 39-40). The remaining surnames are of German (mostly in the western part) and Slavonic origin (mostly in the eastern part of Latvia).

Usually it is stressed in linguistic literature that surnames in Latvia appeared very late (among the latest ones in Europe): in a legitimate way (artificially) surnames were given only at the beginning of 19th century in Vidzeme (middle part of Latvia) and Kurzeme (Western part of Latvia) and in the second half of the 19th century in Latgale (Eastern part of Latvia) (Upelniņš 1936: 225, Staltmane 1981: 7). However, according to historical sources studied by Ernests Blese (1929), it turns out that surnames were used much earlier in cities, especially in Riga (already in the 15th-16th centuries). The latest studies of archival document also show that Latgalian surnames were recorded already at the end of the 16th century (Škutāns 1974, Stafecka 2013). The giving of surnames is directly connected with abolishment of serfdom (at the beginning of the 19th century), as well as with hereditary rights (Plakans and Vezerels 2003: 31). By choosing a surname, the homestead owners were

often advised to take the name of their homestead as surnames (Upelnieks 1936: 247, Balodis 2008: 14).

The etymological-semantic groups of Latvian surnames are (according Balodis 2008):

1. surnames derived from common nouns (from non-onymic lexis):
 - surnames describing the person's outward appearance and character – 14.6%
 - surnames of ethnonymic semantics – 3.7%
 - surnames of semantics of trades and professions – 7.9% (the target of this article)
 - surnames of fauna semantics – 16.2%
 - surnames of flora semantics – 16.5%
 - surnames of physio-geographical semantics – 19.6%
 - other concrete or abstract semantic surnames – 11.3%
2. surnames of anthroponymic origin – 8%
3. surnames of toponymic origin – 2.2%

According to Ernests Blese (1929: 134-135), surnames of primary semantics of occupation/profession are very old: they were recorded in Riga in 15th-17th centuries: *Arst* 1506¹ 'doctor', *Beckers* 1521 'baker', *Blodenex* 1607 'bowl-maker', *Bruwer* 1532/3 'brewer', *Czelskallis* 1573 'smith', *Dorsseneke* 1512 'gardener', *Kalleis* 'smith', *Karwirs* 'soldier', *Kletteneck* 1607 'overseer of the granary', *Melder* 1499 'miller', *Murnix* 1511 'bricklayer', *Mutznick* 'cooper, barrel-maker', etc.

Documents from the 16th century have given evidence of such professions or occupations which are not used today anymore: *Asger* (= *āžģēris*²) 1516 'sb. who tans goat skins', *Berneaucklis* (= *bērnauklis*) 1604 'baby-sitter', *Dwelnicke* 1507 'towel-maker', *Jostneke* 1518 'belt-maker', *Groszenicke* 'reins-maker', *Kanengeters* (< Germ.) 'can master', *Pestell* (= *pestelis*) 'magician, sorcerer, wizard', *Struckennick* 1508 (= *striķenieks*) 'rope maker', *Telegannis* (= *teleganis*) 1539 'herdsman of bull-calf', *Wirbenick* (= *virbenieks*) 'bar maker' (Blese 1929: 134-135).

Most widespread names of professions among Latvian modern surnames are the following: *Mucenieks* (112) 'cooper', *Mūrnieks* (111) 'bricklayer', *Kalējs* (103) 'blacksmith', *Dreimanis* (95) 'turner', *Zvejnieks* (88) 'fisherman', *Strēlnieks* (43) 'rifleman'; cf. such surnames of occupation semantics whose frequency is low: *Zemnieks* (8)³ 'peasant', *Arājs* (38) 'ploughman', etc.

The data of Latvian Top-10 surnames do not include any surname of the semantics of occupation:

¹ The number after the surname shows the year of the record in historical documents according to Ernests Blese (Blese 1929).

² The word in brackets after historical form of surname shows the corresponding lexeme in Standard Latvian nowadays.

³ Numbers in brackets show the frequency of the surnames according to the diverse dictionary of Latvian surnames published in the monograph by Velta Staltmane (Staltmane 1981).

1. *Kalniņš* < Latv. origin ‘hill’
2. *Bērziņš* < Latv. ‘birch-tree’
3. *Ozoliņš* < Latv. ‘oak-tree’
4. *Liepiņš* < Latv. ‘linden-tree’
5. *Jansons* < Germ./Scand. origin
6. *Ozols* < Latv. ‘oak-tree’
7. *Pētersons* < Germ./Scand. origin
8. *Krūmiņš* < Latv. ‘bush’
9. *Balodis* < Latv. ‘pidgeon’
10. *Kļaviņš* < Latv. ‘maple-tree’ (data of 2009) (Balodis 2012: 34)

The typological study is based on the card-index of 2,700 Latvian surnames, coined on the basis of Latvian appellatives, and the surname material from neighbouring countries, e.g. Estonian, Finnish, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, German surnames (about 8,700 surnames altogether). The comparison of all seven anthroponymic systems has proven that almost in all languages, with insignificant exceptions, there are surnames with etymological meaning ‘blacksmith’, ‘brewer’, ‘ploughman’, ‘bee-keeper’, ‘cook’, ‘shoemaker’, ‘potter’, ‘carpenter’, ‘gardener’, ‘hatter’, ‘singer’, ‘shepherd’, ‘glasscutter’, ‘soldier’, ‘innkeeper’, ‘hunter’, ‘butcher’, ‘wheeler’, ‘saddler’, ‘judge’, ‘peasant’ etc.

For example,

- surnames with the primary meaning ‘blacksmith’⁴:
 - o Latv. *Kalējs, Kalējiņš, Apškalējs, Dzelzkalējs, Dzelzkalis, Pīpkalējs, Smilškalējs, Strīkkalējs, Kalvis, Kalvītis, Kalvāns, Kalvišs, Kaļva*
 - o Est. *Sepp, Raudsepp*
 - o Finn. *Seppä, Seppänen, Seppälä, Rautanen*
 - o Lith. *Kalvis, Kalvaitis, Kalvelis, Kalvėnas, Kalvinis, Kalvinskas*
 - o Pol. *Kowal, Kowalczyk, Kowalewski, Kowalicki, Kowalski*
 - o Russ. *Кузнецов, Кузничиков, Кузнец, Ковалёв, Ковалевский, Коваленко, Коваленков, Ковалик, Коваль, Ковальков, Ковальчук*
 - o Germ. *Schmidt, Schmid, Schmied, Schmedt, Schmitz, Schmidl, Schmidtke, Schmidtmann, Schmiedler, etc.*

- surnames with the primary meaning ‘cook’⁵:
 - o Latv. *Pavārs, Pavāriņš, Pavārnieks*
 - o Est. *Kokk, Kokkar*
 - o Finn. *Kokki*⁵
 - o Lith. *Vireika, Vireikis*

⁴ Comparison with Estonian, Finnish, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, German surnames are based on corresponding dictionaries: Kohlheim and Kohlheim (2000), Maciejauskienė, Razmukaitė and Vanagas (1985-1989), Mikkonen and Paikkala (1992, 2000), Rymut (1999-2001), Gandzhina (2001) and Nikonov (1993).

⁵ At least part of Finnish surnames (or earlier bynames) are coined from toponyms (homestead names) (Paikkala 2004: 22), so sometimes they correspond to the names of professions only formally.

- Pol. *Kucharz, Kuchar, Kucharczyk, Kucharek, Kucharski*
 - Russ. *Поваров*
 - Ger. *Koch, Kocher, Köcher, Kochs, Kock, Köck, Kocks, Köch(e)l*, etc.
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘shoemaker’:
- Latv. *Kurpnieks*
 - Est. *Kingsepp, Kängsepp, Kingisepp, Kingisepp, Kingsep*
 - Finn. *Suutari, Suutarinen*
 - Lith. *Kurpaitis, Kurpauskas, Kurpavičius, Kurpininkas, Šiaučiūnas, Šiaučiulis, Šiaučiukas*
 - Pol. *Szewc, Szewczyk, Szewczuk*
 - Russ. *Сапожников*
 - Ger. *Schuster, Schomaker, Schu(h)macher, Schomann, Schuchmans, Schumann*
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘fisherman’:
- Latv. *Zvejnieks*
 - Est. *Kalur, Kalamees*
 - Finn. *Kalastaja*
 - Lith. *Žuvininkas*
 - Pol. *Rybak, Rybin, Rybar, Rybarski*
 - Russ. *Рыбаловлев, Рыбаков*
 - Germ. *Fischel, Fischer(s), Fischle, Fischmann*
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘potter’:
- Latv. *Podnieks*
 - Est. *Pottsepp, Pottisep*
 - Finn. —
 - Lith. *Puodėnas, Puodžiukaitis, Puodžiūnas, Puodžius, Puodys*
 - Pol. *Garncarz, Garncarzyk*
 - Russ. *Гончар, Гончаренко, Гончарик, Гончаров*
 - Ger. *Topf, Töpfer, Töpfner, Töpfer, Gro(p)per, Grö(p)per, Graper Gräper, Grapner, Auler, Aul, Aulmann, Eilenbecker, Eiler, Eul(n)er, Ullner, Pott, Pottbacker, Pottbäcker, Pottbecker, Potter, Pöttger, Pütjer, Dipper, Düppenbecker, Dörper, Dopfer, Döpf(n)er, Ha(f)fner, Häf(f)ner, Hefele, Hef(f)ner*, etc. (it seems, that the largest amount of surnames of this semantics is recorded in German)
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘hatter’:
- Latv. *Cepurnieks*
 - Est. *Kübarsepp*
 - Finn. *Hattunen* (?) (most credible that this is a surname of transonymic, respectively, toponymic origin)
 - Lith. *Kepuraitis*

- Pol. *Czapnik*
 - Russ. *Шапочкин, Шапочников, Шапошников*
 - Germ. *Hutmacher, Huter, Hutter*
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘servant; farm-hand’:
- Latv. *Kalpiņš*
 - Est. *Teener, Sulane*
 - Finn. *Ankkuri, Palviainen (?)*, *Herronen* ‘servant of the lord’
 - Lith. *Tarnauskas, Tarnavičius, Tarnevičius*
 - Pol. *Ślugocki, Ślusznik, Śluzewski, Śluga, Ślug*
 - Russ. *Батрак, Батраков*
 - Germ. *Knecht, Knechtel, Knapp(e), Dienert, Bub(e)*
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘peasant’:
- Latv. *Zemnieks, Kalnzemnieks, Lejzemnieks, Vāczemnieks, Veczemnieks, Muizemnieks, Jaunzemnieks, Bērzemnieks, Mūrzemnieks, Salazemnieks, Gruntzemnieks, Brīvzemnieks, Birzemnieks, Muižzemnieks*
 - Est. *Talupoeg, Põllumees*
 - Finn. *Talonpoika, Viljanen (?)*
 - Lith. *Laukininkas, Laukionis*
 - Pol. *Chłopski, Chłopiński*
 - Russ. *Крестьянинов, Крестьянkin, Крестьянцев*
 - Germ. *Bauer, Bauermann*

In some languages surnames of analogic semantics are not fixed in the card-index under review (there are empty places in the comparative table which maybe could be filled up in the future), for example, surnames with primary meaning ‘ploughman’:

- Latv. *Arājs, Jaunarājs, Kalnarājs, Dziļarājs, Milzarājs, Mežarājs, Muižarājs, Pļavarājs, Silarājs, Smilšarājs, Zemarājs*
 - Est. —
 - Finn. —
 - Lith. *Araitis, Arys, Arius*
 - Pol. *Oracz, Oraczewski*
 - Russ. *Пахарь*
 - Germ. *Pfluger, Plüger, Pflugmacher, Pflügner, Ackermann*
- surnames with the primary meaning ‘doctor’:
- Latv. *Ārste, Dakteris, Dakternieks*
 - Est. *Arst*
 - Finn. —? cf. *Huusari* ‘healer /ārstnieks, dziednieks/’
 - Lith. *Daktaras, Daktaraitis, Daktaravičius, Daktaris, Doktoravičius*
 - Pol. *Doktor, Doktorowicz, Doktorski*
 - Russ. *Докторов, Докторенко*
 - Germ. *Arzt*

- surnames with the primary meaning ‘bee-keeper’:
 - Latv. *Bitenieks, Bitnieks, Dravnieks, Dravenieks*
 - Est. —
 - Finn. *Mesiäinen, Mehiläishoitaja ?*
 - Lith. *Bitenekas, Bitiniekas* (< borrowed from Latvian?), *Drevininkas* (?), *Drevininkaitis, Drevinskas*
 - Pol. *Bartnik*
 - Russ. *Пчелин, Пчельников, Пчёлкин, Пчеловодов, Пасечник, Пасечников*
 - Germ. *Bienemann, Biener, Bienert*

- surnames with the primary meaning ‘singer’:
 - Latv. *Dziedātājs*
 - Est. —
 - Finn. *Laulaja, Laulajainen*
 - Lith. *Dainius, Dainys, Dainaras, Dainauskas, Dainavičius, Dainelis, Dainiūnas*
 - Pol. *Śpiewak, Śpiewakowski*
 - Russ. *Песнопевцев, Песенников, Песельник, Песельников*
 - Germ. *Sänger*

- surnames with the primary meaning ‘gardener’:
 - Latv. *Dārznieks*
 - Est. *Aednik*
 - Finn. —
 - Lith. *Daržinauskas, Daržininkaitis, Daržinis, Daržininkas*
 - Pol. *Ogrodnik, Ogrodniczuk*
 - Russ. *Огородников, Огородник*
 - Germ. *Gartner, Gärtner, Gertmann*

There are some rare surnames with the primary meaning of occupation and semantic analogies are used in a few languages, for instance:

- Latv. *Students* ‘student’
- Pol. *Student, Studentkowski*
- Russ. *Студентов*

One more example of a rare surname recorded only in two comparative languages:

- Latv. *Ecētājs* ‘sb. who harrows’ < Latv. verb *ecēt* ‘to harrow’
- Germ. *Eger, Egerer, Egermann, Egger, Eggers*

There are some anthroponymic examples recorded only in Latvian and Lithuanian, for example:

- Latv. *Dzirkalis* ‘millstone cutter’
- Lith. *Girniauskas, Girnavičius, Girnikaitis, Girnikas*
- Latv. *Mērnieks* ‘land surveyor’
- Lith. *Miernykas, Mierninkas*

Many compound surnames are known only in Latvian (very often they are coined from corresponding toponyms – homestead names – which in their turn have the primary meaning of occupation): Latv. *Jaunarājs* ‘young/new + ploughman’, *Milzarājs* ‘large/huge + ploughman’, *Silarājs* ‘pine forest + ploughman’, *Smilšarājs* ‘sand + ploughman’, *Zemarājs* ‘soil + ploughman’ or ‘lowland + ploughman’, *Smilškalējs* ‘sand + smith’, *Strīkkalējs* ‘bar + smith’, *Kalnzemnieks* ‘hill + peasant’, *Lejzemnieks* ‘vale + peasant’, *Vāczemnieks* ‘German + peasant’, *Veczemnieks* ‘old + peasant’, *Muižzemnieks* ‘estate + peasant’, *Jaunzemnieks* ‘young/new + peasant’, *Mūrzemnieks* ‘brick/stone wall + peasant’, *Gruntzemnieks* ‘soil, ground + peasant’, *Brīvzemnieks* ‘free + peasant’, *Birzēzemnieks* ‘grove + peasant’, *Vārtukapteinis* ‘gate/goal + captain’, etc. By the way, some of them have very low frequency also in Latvia, e.g. *Smilškalējs* (1),⁶ *Zemarājs* (1).

On the other hand, there are surnames of primary semantics of occupation in other neighbouring languages with no analogues known in Latvian anthroponymic system, for instance:

- Finn. *Kesti* ‘stranger, foreigner, German merchant’;
- Est. *Kardsepp* ‘tinsmith’, *Katalsepp* ‘pot-master’, *Kivisepp* ‘stone-cutter’, *Töldsepp* ‘carriage master’, *Luksepp* = *Leesment* ‘key-smith’, *Pangsepp* ‘bucket master’, *Plekksepp* ‘tinsmith’, *Tahasepp* ‘coinage smith’, *Voksepp* ‘master of spinning-wheels’, *Opman* ‘steward of estate’;
- Germ. *Köhler* ‘charcoal-burner’, *Körber* ‘basket-maker’, *Splettstösser* ‘splinters chopper’, *Stricker* ‘rope maker’, *Täscher* ‘bag-maker’, *Riemenschneider* ‘belt-maker’, *Wollman* ‘wool master’, *Wächter* ‘guardsman’.

An especially large number of surnames of this semantics is used in Russian (but surnames of analogical semantics are not recorded in Latvian), for example:

- Russ. *Коновалов* ‘veterinarian’ *Солеваров* ‘salt master’, *Муковоз* ‘flour carrier’, *Водовоз*, *Водоносов* ‘water carrier’, *Быкадоров* ‘bull skinner’, *Звездочёт* ‘astrologer’, *Кожмякин* ‘tanner, skinner’, *Воскобойников* ‘candle-master’, *Перочинцев* ‘feather-master’, *Протопопов* ‘head priest’, *Дяконов* ‘assistant of the priest’, *Раснопов* ‘former priest’, *Суфлёров* ‘prompter’, *Бронников* ‘weapon master’, *Сокольников* ‘hunter with hawk’,

⁶ Frequency of Latvian contemporary surnames is given according to the Diverse dictionary of Latvian surnames published in the monograph by Velta Staltmane (Staltmane 1981).

Сумников ‘bag-master’, *Собашников* ‘grower of dogs’, *Иконников* ‘painter of icons’, *Санников* ‘sledge-master’, *Крупенников* ‘seller of goats’, *Гвоздарёв* ‘nail-master’, *Лошкарёв* ‘wooden spoons’ master’, *Бердников* ‘loom-master’, *Воротников* ‘guard of town gate or fortification gate’, *Подключников* < *ключников* ‘supervisor of food reserves/stock’, *Толмачев* < *толмач* ‘interpreter’ (Unbegaun 1989: 93-103, Gandzhina 2001)

There are only a few Latvian first names motivated by profession/occupation. Some of them are known only from historical documents (16th century), and it is not quite clear if they are first names, for example:

- ? *Kalvens* (Calven), cf. *Kalvis*? < Latv. *kalvis* ‘blacksmith’, recorded in Kurzeme in 1582 (Siliņš 1991: 189);
- *Kalvers*: Latv. *kalvis* ‘blacksmith’?, recorded in Vidzeme in 1590 (Siliņš 1991: 189);
- ? *Semneks* (Semnex), *Semniks* (Semnix, Semnick), *Semnings*, cf. Latv. *zemnieks* ‘peasant’, recorded in Zemgale in 1566 (Siliņš 1991: 287);
- ? *Gans*: Latv. *gans* ‘herd’?; or old North. *gan* ‘magic, miracle, wonder’?, recorded in Zemgale in 1566 (Siliņš 1991: 133).

Some Latvian first names with the meaning of occupation are used in 20th century and some sometimes even nowadays:

- *Dziedonis*: Latv. *dziedonis* ‘singer’, included into calendar/name-almanac in 1879, the only record at the beginning of 20th century (Siliņš 1991: 103);
- *Lidonis*: Latv. *lidonis* ‘flyer’, the only record in 1937 in Riga. (Siliņš 1991: 214);
- *Vaidelotis*: Latv. *vaidelotis* ‘ancient /pagan/ priest’, included in name-almanac in 1908, recorded in Riga in the 20th century (Siliņš 1991: 314). In the registers of citizens of Latvia in 2014 there is only one person by the name *Vaidelotis* (m.) and one person – *Vaidelote* (f.) is known (PMLP).
- *Kalvis*: Latv. *kalvis* ‘blacksmith’, included into calendar/name-almanac in 1921, recorded in 1939 in Riga, it was popular after WWII in Riga, Vidzeme and Kurzeme, has lost popularity in 70s. (Siliņš 1991: 189). In 1998 – 17 boys got this name, in 2003 – 11 boys. In 2014 – all together 692 persons by the name *Kalvis* were registered in Latvia (PMLP).

So, theoretically it is possible in Latvian to have both first name and surname of occupation semantics, e.g. *Kalvis Arājs*, *Vaidelotis Zvejnieks*, or theoretically name = surname: *Kalvis Kalvis*, *Dziedonis Dziedonis*.

This study was devoted to surnames of Latvian origin, in other words, formal principle is applied in this case – personal names were considered to be Latvian if they have a reference in appellative vocabulary. There are also indirect Germanisms in Latvian surnames which were coined from Latvian appellatives of German origin, for instance: *Skrīveris*

(Latv. *skrīveris* ‘scribe’ < Est. *krīwel* < Germ. dial. *Schrīver*, ME III 896), *Stūrmanis* (Latv. *stūrmanis* ‘wheelman’ < Germ. *Steuermann*, Germ. dial. *Stūrman*, ME III 1110). Many Latvian surnames have been borrowed from other languages (about 2/3 of all anthroponyms) – from German, Sweden, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Estonian (Balodis 2011: 19). For example, Latvian surnames originated from German names of professions: *Ģēģeris* (Germ. *Jäger* ‘hunter’), *Millers* (Germ. *Müller* ‘miller’), *Obermanis* (Germ. *Obermann*, *Ober* ‘waiter’), *Šmits* (Germ. *Schmied* ‘blacksmith’), *Šneiders* (Germ. *Schneider* ‘dressmaker’). They are still in wide use in Latvia.

The analysis of the contemporary anthroponyms of Latvian origin shows that the group of the surnames motivated by occupation or profession is not large (about 7.9%): the comparison with other anthroponymic systems testifies that it is smaller than analogical group in neighbouring countries (it seems that especially large amount of surnames of this etymological semantics is used in German and Russian). The typological study comparing surname systems in Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Finnish, Russian, Polish and German underscores many similarities, but also some interesting peculiarities which are characteristic only to Latvian (for instance, a lot of compound surnames with one component – name of the profession; supposedly these surnames are of transonymic origin, that is they are coined from corresponding toponyms).

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Zum Anteil der Familiennamen slawischer Herkunft im deutschen Familiennamenschatz¹

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Zusammenfassung

Der Anteil der Familiennamen slawischer Etymologie am Gesamtbestand der Familiennamen Deutschlands wurde bislang nie genauer bestimmt. Die Schätzungen zur Höhe des Anteils lagen zwischen 15% und 35%. Mit dem Projekt 'Digitales Familiennamenwörterbuch Deutschlands (DFD)' könnte es erstmals möglich sein, den Bestand genauer zu bestimmen. Hier werden erste Voruntersuchungen dazu vorgelegt, die noch keine exakten Zahlen hervorbringen konnten, allerdings schon eine grobe Richtung vorgeben: Von den für das Wörterbuch zu bearbeitenden über 200.000 Familiennamen mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 im Korpus sind mind. 20.000 (also ca. 10%) slawischer Herkunft, von der Gesamtzahl von ca. 850.000 Familiennamen sind mind. 180.000, u.U. bis zu 230.000 (also ca. 20-27%) slawischer Herkunft.

Abstract

Until today, the exact percentage of surnames of Slavic origin in Germany has never been determined. Estimates ranged from 15% to 35%. The academy-project 'Digital Dictionary of the Surnames of Germany' ['Digitales Familiennamenwörterbuch Deutschlands (DFD)'] might for the first time enable researchers to get more exact numbers. In this article some preliminary probes into the field will be presented that will show some initial tendencies: In the DFD research is done primarily on surnames with a frequency ≥ 10 . Among more than 200,000 surnames with this frequency some 20,000 (ca. 10%) are of Slavic origin; within the whole corpus of about 850,000 different surnames, at least 180,000, maybe up to 230,000 (thus ca. 20-27%) are of Slavic origin.

* * *

Das Projekt und seine Materialgrundlage

Das seit 2012 laufende Projekt 'Digitales Familiennamenwörterbuch Deutschland' an der Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, das in Gemeinschaftsarbeit mit der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz und der Technischen Universität Darmstadt betrieben wird, soll eine im Internet frei zugängliche Datenbank erstellen, die Erklärungen eines Großteils der in Deutschland bezeugten Familiennamen bieten soll. Das Korpus, auf dem die Arbeit basiert, ist ein modifiziertes Verzeichnis der Telefonfestnetzanschlüsse der Deutschen Telekom aus dem Jahr 2005, das nur die Familiennamen und die zugehörige Postleitzahl bietet. Es enthält knapp 28,3 Mio Einträge, was bedeutet, dass bei einer Gesamtbevölkerung Deutschlands von ca. 80 Mio ein Telefonanschluss durchschnittlich etwa 2,8 Personen repräsentiert.

¹ Der Beitrag ist aus meiner vormaligen Arbeit am Projekt Digitales Familiennamenwörterbuch Deutschlands (DFD) an der Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur hervorgegangen.

Das Jahr 2005 wurde gewählt, da einerseits in den neuen Bundesländern eine flächendeckende Verbreitung von Festnetzanschlüssen erreicht war, andererseits die Verbreitung von Mobiltelefonen noch nicht so weit fortgeschritten war, dass die durch diese allmählich erfolgende völlige Ersetzung von Festnetzanschlüssen zur Verzerrung der Ergebnisse in der Fläche geführt hätte. Bei den mittel- und hochfrequenten Namen zeigt ein cursorischer Vergleich mit den Daten von genevolu (www.genevolu.de), die auf den Festnetzanschlüssen von 1998 beruhen, dass in der DFD-Datenbank meist geringfügig niedrigere Zahlen ausgewiesen werden.

Aus datenschutzrechtlichen Gründen sind in Deutschland bekanntlich die etwa hinsichtlich der Schreibung wesentlich zuverlässigeren und umfangreicheren Daten der Meldeämter nicht zugänglich. Dies ist aus wissenschaftlicher Sicht zu bedauern, aber nicht zu ändern. Mit einem gewissen Neid blickt man als Namenkundler hier auf die Situation etwa in Polen oder in Kroatien, wo die Daten der Volkszählungen von 2002 respektive 2001 unmittelbar für die Erstellung von Familiennamenbüchern² genutzt werden konnten und eine Zuordnung der Familiennamen zu Kreisen bzw. Gemeinden stattfindet. Ähnliches gilt etwa auch für die tschechischen Internetplattformen unter www.kdejsme.cz und www.nasejmena.cz, die auf den fortgeschriebenen Daten der Meldeämter basieren, jährlich aktualisiert werden und Verteilungskarten nach Landkreisen generieren können. Vergleichbar ist weiter die Seite des Innenministeriums der Republik Slowenien (www.stat.si/imena.asp), nur dass hier bei einer Anzahl von fünf oder weniger Namenträgern keine Angabe der Landkreise erfolgt, in denen die Namenträger wohnen.

Das Verzeichnis des DFD enthält fast 1,1 Mio verschiedene Einträge. Bereinigt um Doppelnamen und Firmennamen verbleiben etwa 850.000 verschieden geschriebene Familiennamen (Types). Diese sämtlich zu bearbeiten ist selbst in einem auf 20 Jahre veranschlagten Projekt nicht möglich. Deshalb wurde für zu bearbeitende Namen eine Häufigkeitsuntergrenze von 10 Einträgen im Korpus pro Familienname als Schwelle festgelegt. Ausgehend von dieser Schwelle sind noch über 200.000 Familiennamen zu bearbeiten. Da zudem niedriger frequente Schreibvarianten dieser Namen mitaufgenommen werden sollen und können, dürfte am Ende mit 300.000 Datensätzen (oder sogar darüber) zu rechnen sein. Die Gesamtzahl der untersuchten und vorgestellten Namen wird somit voraussichtlich mindestens viermal so viele Namen enthalten wie das bislang namenstärkste Familiennamenbuch in Deutschland, Gottschald (2006), in dem (in oft schwer aufzufindender Weise) ca. 70.000 Familiennamen enthalten sind.

Zu den Familiennamen slawischer Herkunft im DFD

Bei den Namen im Korpus handelt es sich natürlich in erster Linie um Familiennamen deutscher Herkunft. Deutschland weist aber in seinem Familiennamenschatz eine große Anzahl nichtdeutscher Namen auf. Der Anteil an Types von Namen nichtdeutscher Etymologie beträgt dabei mindestens ein Drittel der Gesamttypes. Dazu gehören zunächst die nichtdeutschen Familiennamen der vier in Deutschland anerkannten nationalen Minderheiten der Friesen, Dänen, Sinti und Roma sowie der Sorben, die aber weder hinsichtlich der Tokens

² Vgl. Rymut (1999-2001, 2003), Maletić/Šimunović (2008).

noch der Types sonderlich ins Gewicht fallen, da die Angehörigen dieser vier nationalen Minderheiten zusammen kaum die Millionengrenze erreichen.

Den größten Anteil der nichtdeutschen Familiennamen bilden solche slawischer Herkunft (zu denen auch die der Sorben zählen), und unter diesen wiederum sind die Namen polnischer Provenienz mit Abstand am häufigsten. Beim überwiegenden Teil der Träger polnischer Namen handelt es sich um Nachfahren von Arbeitsmigranten, die v.a. ab dem letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts aus damals zum Deutschen Reich, heute v.a. zu Polen gehörigen Gebieten (wie etwa der Provinz Posen oder Schlesien) in das sich rasant entwickelnde Ruhrgebiet zogen. Dort liegt der Anteil ursprünglich polnischer Familiennamen heute deutlich über dem Durchschnitt, bildet in etlichen Stadtteilen bzw. Städten noch immer den (relativ bzw. bisweilen sogar absolut) größten Anteil. Eine zweite Welle von Zuwanderern mit ursprünglich polnischen und tschechischen Namen kam nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg durch die Vertreibungen der Deutschen aus den ehemaligen deutschen Ostgebieten und dem Sudetenland in die vier Besatzungszonen, später in die BRD und DDR. Ab den 1960er Jahren ist ein verstärkter Zuzug von Trägern südslawischer Namen als Arbeitsmigranten („Gastarbeiter“) zu verzeichnen. Diese Gruppe wurde Mitte der 1990er Jahre durch ca. 200.000 (teils mittlerweile wieder zurückgekehrte) Flüchtlinge aus den Kriegsgebieten im ehemaligen Jugoslawien verstärkt. Eine große Welle von Trägern ostslawischer bzw. ostslawisch überformter Familiennamen kam ab Ende der 1980er Jahre, v.a. in den 1990er Jahren aus der Sowjetunion und deren Nachfolgestaaten in die BRD und danach in das wiedervereinigte Deutschland, in erster Linie Spätaussiedler und „Kontingentflüchtlinge“, schließlich auch weitere Zuwanderer ohne deutsche oder jüdische Wurzeln. Die Gesamtzahl der Zuwanderer dieser Gruppe liegt weit über 2 Mio, nach manchen Schätzungen sollen es bis zu 4 Mio sein.

Eine genaue Zählung des Anteils ursprünglich, d.h. etymologisch slawischer Namen an der Gesamtzahl der Familiennamen in Deutschland hat bislang nicht stattgefunden. Diese wird aber auch nach den Arbeiten am DFD nicht ohne Probleme möglich sein: Da nur ein Bruchteil der Familiennamen slawischen Ursprungs im Projekt behandelt werden wird (max. 10-20% [s.u.]), kann eine genaue Anzahl bzw. eine genaue Bestimmung des Anteils auch nach Beendigung des Projekts letztlich nur ermittelt werden, wenn sich jemand der Aufgabe unterzieht, die Liste der 850.000 verschiedenen Familiennamen komplett durchzugehen. Die Schätzungen zur Höhe des Anteils reichen von 15% bis zu über einem Drittel.

Eine annäherungsweise Bestimmung der Höhe des Anteils etymologisch slawischer Namen kann zunächst über das Auszählen von Namen mit typisch slawischen Suffixen bzw. Wortausgängen und deren Varianten geschehen, die sich einfach abfragen lassen.

Einige Abfragen nach solchen häufigeren, v.a. typisch slawischen Suffixen bzw. Wortausgängen und deren eingedeutschten Varianten (wobei die einfachste Art der Eindeutschung im Auslassen von Diakritika bestand) ergab die im Folgenden aufgelisteten und im Anschluss zum Teil kommentierten Ergebnisse. Unter den genannten Gesamtzahlen befinden sich auch immer in unterschiedlichem Maße Familiennamen, die aus anderen Sprachen stammen und nur zufällig den jeweiligen Wortausgang aufweisen. Je länger dabei eine Zeichenkette ist, umso größer ist der Anteil klar slawischen Sprachen zuzuordnender Wortausgänge. Die „reinsten“ Ergebnisse erzielt man bei den Abfragen nach dem

patronymischen Suffixkonglomerat gemeinlaw. **-ov-icb* und dem possessivischen Suffix gemeinlaw. **-bskb/-a* und deren diversen Varianten.

Die Tabellen führen jeweils die abgefragte Form des Wortauslauts an, die Zahl der Gesamttokens und Gesamttypen zu einem bestimmten Ausgang, die Anzahl der Typen mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 (also die Anzahl der im DFD primär zu erarbeitenden Datensätze) und den prozentualen Anteil der Typen dieser Frequenz am Bestand der Gesamttypen.

Manche Abfragen wurden noch genauer aufgeschlüsselt, um zu zeigen, wie groß bei dieser Gruppe von Familiennamen der Anteil der niedrigst frequenten (1-5 Tokens) ist: Er liegt in etlichen Fällen über 90%. Hierbei handelt es sich größtenteils um Familiennamen von Zuwanderern der letzten dreißig Jahre.

In den Abfragen sind auch Familiennamen enthalten, die auf Ortsnamen slawischer Herkunft in Deutschland beruhen, sowie die slawisch überformten, ihrer etymologischen Grundlage nach aber turksprachigen, iranischen, arabischen etc. Familiennamen, deren Träger besonders aus Südosteuropa und den nichteuropäischen Teilen der ehemaligen Sowjetunion stammen. Da diese durchweg niedrigfrequent sind, würde sich das Endergebnis hinsichtlich der Gesamttypen- und Gesamttokenzahlen nur geringfügig nach unten verändern, wenn man diese herausrechnen würde.

Untersuchung der relevanten Wortausgänge

Eine Untersuchung der bzw. Abfrage nach den relevanten Wortausgängen kann nur aufgrund der Kenntnis der Morphologie der slawischen Familiennamen erfolgen. Im Folgenden werden Abfragen nach einer Reihe von Wortausgängen vorgeführt, die z.T. entgegen ihrer etymologischen Herkunft aufgrund ihrer teils (in der Regel erst bei der Eindeutschung) zusammengefallenen Reflexe zusammengefasst wurden.

Suffixe *-ic/-icz/-ic* und Varianten

Das Suffix urslaw. **-itja-* > gemeinlaw. **-icb* bildet(e) zunächst Diminutiva, als Untergruppe entstanden daraus patronymische Bildungen,³ die heute den Hauptanteil dieser Familiennamen stellen. In einigen südslawischen Sprachen ist aber die Bildung von Diminutiva mit diesem Suffix produktiv geblieben, weshalb es falsch wäre, das Suffix durchweg als onymisch zu bezeichnen.

³ Daneben ist die Verwendung dieses Suffixes in der Ortsnamenbildung häufig (vgl. Kunze/Nübling 2013: 364-375 [K. Dräger]). Eine Unterscheidung zwischen Familiennamen aus Ortsnamen und solchen aus anderen onymischen Basen wurde hier nicht vorgenommen, da diese Ortsnamen in der Regel solche mit slawischer Etymologie sind (auch wenn die davon abgeleiteten Familiennamen selbst deutsch sind, wenn sie schon in rein deutschem Umfeld entstanden). Rechnet man die ebenda genannten Namen mit einer Weiterbildung um *-er* hinzu, erhöht sich die Zahl der Familiennamen mit slawischer Etymologie weiter.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
-ic	115.498	15.137	462	3,05%
-yc	192	61	5	8,20%
-ics	1.269	514	19	3,70%
-ycs	4	2	0	0,00%
-icz	13.858	3.430	219	6,39%
-ycz	262	118	2	1,69%
-itch	580	347	3	0,86%
-ytch	3	3	0	0,00%
-its	2.362	575	29	5,04%
-yts	84	23	2	8,70%
-itsch	25.934	2.385	236	9,90%
-ytsch	120	52	1	1,92%
-itz	198.511	6.598	1.650	25,01%
-ytz	239	22	3	13,64%
-itzsch	6.548	212	87	41,04%
-ytzsch	0	0	0	–
	365.464	29.479	2.718	9,22%

Tabelle 1. Suffixe -ic/-icz/-iĉ und Varianten

Die Types sind zu mind. 95% direkten oder indirekten slawischen Ursprungs. Die auslautende Affrikate wurde in den verschiedensten Weisen eingedeutscht, diese Eindeutschungen wurden in der Abfrage berücksichtigt. Einen geringen Anteil türkischer Familiennamen findet man unter den Namen mit -ic, unter denen mit -tz und -t(z)sch findet sich (besonders bei den höherfrequenten) eine Reihe von Namen deutscher oder unklarer Herkunft wie etwa *Fritz*, *Frit(z)sch* etc.

Bei den Formen mit -cs handelt es sich in der Regel um ungarische bzw. magyarisierte Familiennamen meist slawischen Ursprungs.

Teilmenge mit dem Suffixkonglomerat -e/ov-iĉ und Varianten

Eine Teilmenge der entsprechenden gerade abgefragten Familiennamen bilden die Namen, die das patronymische Suffixkonglomerat urslaw. *-*ay-īŕja-* > gemeinslaw. *-*ov-iĉb* (mit der nach palatalen Konsonanten auftretenden Variante *-*ev-iĉb*) aufweisen.

Mit abgefragt wurden weiters die Varianten, die eine Ableitung auf gemeinslaw. *-*v-iĉb* von Stämmen auf -*a-* oder -*i-* bzw. häufiger von Stämmen auf gemeinslaw. *-*iĉb* von Stämmen auf -*v-* aufweisen.

Die Namen mit den hier abgefragten Wortausgängen sind zu annähernd 100% slawischen Ursprungs; da diese Lautkombinationen in anderen Sprach(famili)en praktisch

nicht vorkommen können.⁴ Es handelt sich somit um die (neben der Abfrage nach *-ski*) am zuverlässigsten slawische Ergebnisse generierende Abfrage.

Suffix-gestalt/ Wort- auslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Types mit Fre- quenz 6-9	Anteil der Ty- pes mit Fre- quenz 6- 9	Types mit Fre- quenz 1- 5	Anteil der Types mit Fre- quenz 1-5
<i>-evic</i>	10.137	1.572	168	10,69%	103	6,55%	1.301	82,76%
<i>-ewic</i>	96	65	0	0,00%	1	1,54%	64	98,56%
<i>-ovic</i>	37.174	4.608	639	13,87%	340	7,38%	3.629	78,75%
<i>-owic</i>	369	224	2	0,89%	2	0,89%	220	98,12%
<i>-evich</i>	240	145	1	0,69%	1	0,69%	143	98,52%
<i>-ewich</i>	221	30	5	16,67%	4	13,33%	21	70,00%
<i>-ovich</i>	553	284	2	0,70%	15	5,28%	267	93,92%
<i>-owich</i>	90	36	2	5,56%	1	2,78%	33	91,26%
<i>-evics</i>	79	44	0	0,00%	1	2,27%	43	97,73%
<i>-ewics</i>	6	6	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	6	100,00%
<i>-ovics</i>	483	191	8	4,19%	12	6,28%	171	89,53%
<i>-owics</i>	58	20	1	5,00%	3	15,00%	16	80,00%
<i>-evicz</i>	28	27	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	27	100,00%
<i>-ewicz</i>	8.160	1.921	162	8,43%	156	8,12%	1.603	83,45%
<i>-ovicz</i>	72	48	0	0,00%	1	2,08%	47	97,92%
<i>-owicz</i>	5.045	1.204	117	9,72%	92	7,64%	995	82,64%
<i>-evitch</i>	178	107	1	0,93%	2	1,87%	104	97,20%
<i>-ewitch</i>	13	13	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	13	100,00%
<i>-ovitch</i>	265	148	2	1,35%	3	2,03%	143	96,62%
<i>-owitch</i>	15	13	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	13	100,00%
<i>-evits</i>	37	20	0	0,00%	2	10,00%	18	90,00%
<i>-ewits</i>	16	6	0	0,00%	1	16,67%	5	83,33%
<i>-owits</i>	491	177	5	2,82%	15	8,48%	157	88,70%
<i>-owits</i>	29	20	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	100,00%
<i>-evitsch</i>	39	28	0	0,00%	1	3,57%	27	96,43%
<i>-ewitsch</i>	1.416	471	15	3,19%	47	9,98%	409	86,83%
<i>-ovitsch</i>	112	70	0	0,00%	1	1,43%	69	98,57%
<i>-owitsch</i>	2.282	637	49	7,69%	42	6,59%	546	85,72%
<i>-evitz</i>	41	13	1	7,69%	0	0,00%	12	92,31%
<i>-ewitz</i>	12.962	1.185	238	20,08%	154	13,00%	793	66,92%
<i>-ovitz</i>	100	49	1	2,04%	2	4,08%	46	93,88%
<i>-owitz</i>	8.025	936	197	21,05%	109	11,65%	630	67,31%
<i>-evitzsch</i>	0	0	0	–	0	–	0	–

⁴ Ausnahmen sind vereinzelte türkische Familiennamen, die den Ausgang *-vic* zeigen.

<i>-ewitzsch</i>	34	8	2	25,00%	0	0,00%	6	75,00%
<i>-ovitzsch</i>	0	0	0	–	0	–	0	–
<i>-owitzsch</i>	64	5	3	60,00%	1	20,00%	1	20,00%
<i>-av-</i>	1.008	176	8	4,55%	9	5,11%	159	90,34%
<i>-aw-</i>	1.085	129	25	19,38%	15	11,63%	89	68,99%
<i>-iv-</i>	268	77	7	9,09%	4	5,19%	66	85,72%
<i>-iw-</i>	537	78	9	11,54%	3	3,85%	66	84,61%
<i>-(v/w)y-</i>	604	358	2	0,56%	2	0,56%	354	98,88%
	92.402	15.149	1.672	11,04%	1.143	7,55%	12.336	81,41%

Tabelle 2. Suffixkonglomerat *-e/ov-ic* und Varianten

Vier Namen enthalten die Lautfolge *-av/wy-*.

Aus den beiden vorangehenden Abfragen ergibt sich für die Familiennamen mit slawischer Etymologie eine Anzahl von mind. 2.500 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von mind. 25.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 300.000.

Bei den Formen auf *-cs* handelt es sich in der Regel um ungarische bzw. magyarisierte Familiennamen meist slawischen Ursprungs.

Suffixe *-ac/-acz* und Varianten

Beim Suffix *gemeinslaw. *-ačb* handelt es sich ursprünglich in der Regel um Zugehörigkeitsbildungen mit dem Suffix *urslaw. *-jo-* zu Ableitungen mit dem Augmentativa und seltener Agentiva bildenden Suffix *urslaw. *-āka-*: *urslaw. *-āk-ja-* > *gemeinslaw. *-āčb*. Ausgehend von diesen Prototypen konnte das Suffixkonglomerat dann auch als Ganzes zur Namenbildung verwendet werden. Daneben kann es sich im Falle von westsüdslawischen Namen auch um Fortsetzer des Nomina agentis, aber auch Diminutiva bildenden Suffix *urslaw. *-ika-* > *gemeinslaw. *-bcb* handeln.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz \geq 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz \geq 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz 1-9
<i>-ac</i>	8.405	1.759	158	8,98%	91,02%
<i>-acs</i>	1.372	98	7	7,14%	92,86%
<i>-acz</i>	2.149	339	49	14,45%	85,55%
<i>-ats</i>	1.180	113	9	7,96%	82,04%
<i>-atsch</i>	6.917	430	113	26,28%	73,82%
<i>-atz</i>	43.490	974	269	27,62%	72,38%
<i>-atzsch</i>	1.479	37	15	40,54%	59,46%
	65.992	3.750	620	16,53%	83,47%

Tabelle 3. Suffixe *-ac/-acz* und Varianten

Aus der Abfrage ergibt sich für die Namen slawischer Provenienz eine Anzahl von bis zu 600 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von mind. 3.500 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 60.000.

Suffixe *-ec/-ecz* und Varianten

Bei den beiden Suffixen handelt es sich einerseits um das v.a. Nomina agentis, aber auch Diminutiva bildende Suffix urslaw. **-ika-* > gemeinslaw. **-bcb* sowie die davon abgeleitete Zugehörigkeitsbildung urslaw. **-ik-ja-* > gemeinslaw. **-bčb*. Durch die Eindeutschung können diese beiden ursprünglich klar getrennten Wortausgänge vermengt worden sein.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz \geq 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz \geq 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz 1-9
<i>-ec</i>	8.536	2.050	176	8,59%	81,41%
<i>-ecs</i>	42	29	0	0,00%	100,00%
<i>-ecz</i>	399	147	9	6,12%	93,88%
<i>-ets</i>	2.414	347	28	8,07%	91,93%
<i>-etsch</i>	17.924	309	94	30,42%	59,58%
<i>-etz</i>	69.132	1.668	358	21,46%	78,54%
<i>-etzsch</i>	3.424	76	26	34,21%	65,79%
	101.871	4.626	691	14,94%	85,06%

Tabelle 4. Suffixe *-ec/-ecz* und Varianten

Aus der Abfrage ergibt sich für die Namen slawischer Provenienz eine Anzahl von mind. 600 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von mind. 4.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 90.000.

Suffixe *-ov/w(a)* und Varianten

Mit dem Suffix gemeinslaw. **-ovь/-a* wurden zunächst Zugehörigkeitsadjektive gebildet, die von maskulinen Grundwörtern abgeleitet waren (die Ableitung von femininen Grundwörtern erfolgte dagegen mit dem Suffix gemeinslaw. **-in-*; beide Suffixe sind somit ursprünglich nichtonymisch)⁵. Diese Zugehörigkeitsadjektive wurden im Onymisierungsprozess substantiviert und als Familiennamen verwendet.⁶ Die in den slawischen Sprache

⁵ Von einer Auswertung von Bildungen mit diesem Ableitungssuffix wurde abgesehen, da sich der Anteil der nichtslawischen Familiennamen auf *-in(a)* als sehr hoch herausstellte. Diese Belege gehen aber auch in die am Ende des Beitrags gebotenen Gesamtzahlen ein.

⁶ Daneben ist die Verwendung beider Formantien in der Ortsnamenbildung häufig (vgl. Kunze/Nübling 2013: 346-363 [K. Dräger]). Eine Unterscheidung zwischen Familiennamen aus Ortsnamen und solchen aus anderen onymischen Basen wurde hier nicht vorgenommen, da es sich letztlich auch bei den Ortsnamen in der Regel um solche mit slawischer Etymologie handelt (auch wenn die Familiennamen selbst freilich als deutsch einzustufen sind, da sie meist in rein deutschem Umfeld entstanden). Rechnet man zudem die ebenda genannten Namen hinzu, die eine stärker eingedeutschte Schreibung zeigen (*-ow* > *-au*, *-a*, *-o*; *-in* > *-ien*, *-iehn*, *-ihn* etc. [vgl. Kunze/Nübling 2009: 583f. (K. Dräger)]) sowie solche, die eine Weiterbildung um *-er* zeigen, erhöht sich die Zahl der Familienamen mit slawischer Etymologie weiter.

automatisch bei der Bezeichnung weiblicher Personen erfolgende Movierung wurde durch Antritt der (adjektivischen) Femininendung gemeinslaw. **-a* angezeigt.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
- <i>ov</i>	26.938	9.762	383	3,92%
- <i>ow</i>	109.664	9.360	1.335	14,26%
- <i>ova</i>	12.508	6.255	140	2,24%
- <i>owa</i>	4.114	1.599	28	1,75%
- <i>ev</i>	9.392	4.105	124	3,02%
- <i>ew</i>	6.323	2.438	83	3,40%
- <i>eva</i>	4.159	2.183	47	2,15%
- <i>ewa</i>	2.546	608	20	3,29%
- <i>eff</i>	5.675	457	53	11,60%
	181.719	36.767	2.218	6,03%

Tabelle 5. Suffixe *-ov/w(a)* und Varianten

Aus der Abfrage ergibt sich für die Namen slawischer Provenienz eine Anzahl von mind. 2.000 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypezahl von mind. 35.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 160.000.

Der Wortausgang *-of(f)* wurde wegen der vielen Namen auf *-hof(f)* etc. gesondert abgefragt. V.a. bei den höherfrequenten Namen sind hier solche slawischen Ursprungs recht selten. Aus ähnlichen Gründen entfällt *-ef* als nicht aussagekräftig, da in dieser Abfrage zahlreiche deutsche, niederländische, arabische Namen enthalten sind.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
- <i>ef</i>	9.104	547	80	14,63%
- <i>of</i>	26.875	1.654	330	19,95%
- <i>off</i>	109.695	4.021	1.071	26,64%

Tabelle 6. Wortausgänge *-ef*, *-of*, *-off*

Aber auch aus dieser Abfrage ergibt sich für die Namen slawischer Provenienz eine Anzahl von bis zu 500 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypezahl von mind. 3.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 30.000.

Suffix *-ski* mit seinen flexivischen und Schreibvarianten

Das aus dem Urindogermanischen ererbte Suffix(konglomerst) urslaw. **-iska-*, gemeinslaw. **-ьска*, fem. **-ьска* bildete Zugehörigkeitsadjektive, bevorzugt zu Ortsnamen, daneben auch zu Substantiven allgemein. Bei den slawischen Familiennamen spielt es eine besondere Rolle. Ausgangspunkt der Verwendung sind hier ebenfalls zu Ortsnamen gebildete Zugehörigkeitsadjektive, die im Rahmen des Onymisierungsprozesses dann zu

Familiennamen werden konnten. Primär entstanden solche Namen etwa in Polen und Russland in adligen Schichten, das zum Namen gewordene ursprüngliche Adjektiv bezeichnete den Besitz bzw. die Herkunft eines Adligen (und später seiner Familie). Das ist der Typ ON poln. *Tarnów* → Adj. *tarnowski* ‚aus Tarnów stammend‘ → FamN *Tarnowski*. In einer zweiten Phase (besonders im 18. und 19. Jh.) wurden sekundär solche *ski*-Bildungen zu bereits bestehenden (bürgerlichen) Familiennamen gebildet, um diesen ein adliges Aussehen zu geben, Typ: Subst. poln. *nowak* ‚Neumann, Neuling‘ → FamN *Nowak* → FamN *Nowacki*. Nur im letzten Fall handelt es sich bei dem Suffix um ein tatsächlich onymisches Suffix.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
-ski	305.447	28.359	4.793	16,90%
-ska	19.068	4.961	255	5,14%
-ska(i/j/y)a	2.136	1.656	2 ⁷	0,12%
-ske	47.140	1.660	477	28,73%
-sky	44.344	7.217	1.005	13,93%
-sko(i/j/y)	65	39	0	0%
-sk(i/y)(i/j/y)-	3.521	2.454	4	0,16%
-cki	19.669	2.685	385	14,34%
-cka	4.147	874	93	10,64%
-cka(i/j/y)a	87	46	2 ⁸	0,43%
-cky	1.915	409	28	6,85%
-cko(i/j/y)	1	1	0	0%
-ck(i/y)(i/j/y)-	163	112	0	0%
-zki	30.270	3.110	589	18,94%
-zka(i/j/y)a	392	117	2 ⁹	1,71%
-zke	30.560	997	326	32,70%
-zky	10.716	1.589	282	17,75%
-zko(i/j/y)	4	3	0	0%
-zk(i/y)(i/j/y)-	167	132	0	0%
	519.802	56.421	8.243	14,61%

Tabelle 7. Suffix *-ski* mit seinen flexivischen und Schreibvarianten

Aus der Abfrage ergibt sich für die Namen slawischer Provenienz eine Anzahl von mind. 8.200 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypezahl von ca. 56.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 510.000.

⁷ Beides türkische Familiennamen. Insgesamt finden sich unter den Namen auf *-kaya* neben zahlreichen (ost)slawischen auch viele türkische.

⁸ Beides türkische Familiennamen. Insgesamt finden sich unter den Namen auf *-kaya* neben zahlreichen (ost)slawischen auch viele türkische.

⁹ Beides türkische Familiennamen. Insgesamt finden sich unter den Namen auf *-kaya* neben zahlreichen (ost)slawischen auch viele türkische.

Separat genommen wurde die Abfrage nach *-cke*, da diese eine sehr große Anzahl v.a. niederdeutscher diminutivischer Namen enthält.¹⁰ Ähnliches gilt weiter unten für die Abfragen nach *-ak* oder *-ok* und deren Varianten, in deren Ergebnis sich zahlreiche arabische und türkische, bei *-ok* auch viele deutsche Namen fanden, allerdings war das Ergebnis nicht in dem Maße kontaminiert wie im Falle von *-cke* oder auch im Falle von *-ack*.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
<i>-cke</i>	135.794	3.747	1.106	29,52%

Tabelle 8. Wortausgang *-cke*

Trotz dieser Einschränkungen waren bei Durchsicht der Treffer dieser Abfrage für die Namen slawischer Provenienz noch max. 200 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von ca. 1.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von ca. 20.000 zu finden.

Es ergibt sich somit für die *ski*-Bildungen, dass ca. 8.500 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von ca. 58.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von ca. 530.000 vorliegen.

Suffix *-nik* und Varianten

Das Suffixkonglomerat gemeinlaw. **-bnikъ* stellt einen Sonderfall der agentivischen Bildungen auf gemeinlaw. **-ikъ* dar. Es sind dies nämlich diejenigen Bildungen, die von denominalen (meist Zugehörigkeit ausdrückenden) Adjektiven auf gemeinlaw. **-bnъ* abgeleitet sind. Sekundär konnte das Suffixkonglomerat auch abgetrennt werden und zur Ableitung von Substantiven von Wortstämmen verwendet werden, zu denen es eigentlich kein Adjektiv auf gemeinlaw. **-bnъ* gab. Das Suffix war niemals onymisch.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
<i>-nik</i>	23.850	2.650 ¹¹	444	16,75%
<i>-nyk</i>	415	145	5	3,45%
<i>-nick</i>	12.332	761	207	27,20%
<i>-nyck</i>	3	3	0	0,00%
<i>-nigk</i>	1.643	92	29	31,52%
<i>-nygk</i>	0	0	0	–
<i>-nig</i>	77.410	1.585	286	18,04%
<i>-nyg</i>	0	0	0	–
	115.650	5.136	971	18,91%

Tabelle 9. Suffix *-nik* und Varianten

¹⁰ Vgl. zu diesen und verwandten (nieder)deutschen Bildungen Kunze/Nübling 2012: 332-353 [M. Schmuck].

¹¹ Darin enthalten sind noch knapp 100 Firmennamen auf *-technik* u.ä., die aber durchweg nur jeweils 1 Token aufweisen.

Besonders der Typ *-nig* weist starke Interferenzen seitens deutscher Bildungen auf. Trotz dieser Einschränkungen ist bei dieser Abfrage für die Namen slawischer Provenienz noch von mind. 500 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von ca. 4.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 40.000 auszugehen.

Suffixe *-ko/-ka*

Die slawischen Suffixe *-ko* und *-ka* bilden in erster Linie Hypokoristika. Ursprünglich handelt es sich bei ihnen wohl um Suffixkonglomerate aus dem meist diminutivischen Suffix gemeinslawisch **-ькѡ* und den Hypokoristika bildenden Suffixen **-a* bzw. **-o*.¹²

Den Wortausgang *-ka/o* weisen freilich auch Namen aus anderen Sprachen auf, ein Großteil der bei der Abfrage ermittelten Treffer sind slawische Familiennamen. In der Abfrage nach dem Wortausgang *-ka* sind auch die oben schon angeführten Wortausgänge *-(c/s/z)ka* enthalten.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Fre- quenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Types mit Fre- quenz 6-9	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz 6-9	Types mit Fre- quenz 1-5	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz 1-5
<i>-ko</i>	41.415	7.993	801	10,02%	505	6,32%	6.687	83,66%
<i>-ka</i>	120.221	12.790	1.910	14,93%	794	6,21%	10.084	78,86%
	161.636	20.783	2.711	13,04%	1.299	6,25%	16.771	80,70%

Tabelle 10. Suffixe *-ko/-ka*

Untergruppe: Suffixe *-enko/a*

Fast ausschließlich slawischen und dabei besonders ukrainischen Ursprungs sind die Namen auf *-enko*. Die wesentlich selteneren Namen auf *-enka* sind meist westslawischer, vereinzelt auch weißrussischer Provenienz. Im Falle von westslawischen Namen liegt eine Bildung auf gemeinslaw. **-e/ěn-ьka* vor, bei weißrussischen Namen handelt es sich hingegen durchweg um Fortsetzer von gemeinslaw. **-e/ěn-ьko*. Bei den beiden Suffixen handelt es sich ursprünglich um Ableitungen mit den hypokoristischen Suffix(konglomerat)en *-ko* und *-ka* von denominalen und deverbalen Adjektiven auf gemeinslaw. **-e/ěnъ*.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
<i>-enko</i>	12.328	3.563	242	6,79%
<i>-enka</i>	2.029	223	43	19,28%
	14.357	3.786	285	7,53%

Tabelle 11. Suffixe *-enko/a*

¹² Vgl. zur eingedeutschten Variante auf *-ke* Kunze/Nübling 2012: 354-365 [F. Fahlbusch]. Da diese Bildungen ebenfalls ursprünglich slawisch sind, erhöht sich die Gesamtzahl der Namen mit slawischer Etymologie weiter. Die ebenda vorgenommene Klassifizierung dieser Ableitungen als Patronyme kann gegenüber der oben vorgenommenen allenfalls als sekundär eingestuft werden. – Zur Konkurrenz der oft gleichlautenden Bildungen germanischer Herkunft vgl. Kunze/Nübling 2012: 332-353 [M. Schmuck].

Es ergibt sich somit für die Bildungen auf *-ka* und *-ko* (unter Vernachlässigung der oben schon eingerechneten Fälle mit *-(s/c/z)ka*), dass mind. 500 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypezahl von mind. 8.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 40.000 slawischen Ursprungs sind.

Suffix *-ak* mit Varianten

Im Slawischen bildete das Suffix urslaw. **-āka-* > gemeinlaw. **-akъ* meist deadjektivische Agentiva und Augmentativa. Die Abfrage erbrachte auch zahlreiche arabische, türkische, aber auch deutsche und niederländische Namen.

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
<i>-ak</i>	105.638	9.568	1.381	14,43%
<i>-ack</i>	72.856	2.442	634	25,96%
<i>-agk</i>	323	35	14	40,00%
<i>-ag</i>	44.996	1.418	284	20,03%
	223.813	13.463	2.313	17,18%

Tabelle 12. Suffix *-ak* mit Varianten

Es ergibt sich für die *ak*-Bildungen, dass ca. 1.000 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypezahl von mind. 7.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 100.000 slawischer Provenienz sein dürften.

Wortausgang *-ok* mit Varianten

Unter dem Wortausgang *-ok* samt seinen Varianten verbergen sich, soweit es um ursprünglich slawische Namen geht, etymologisch verschiedene Suffixe (abgesehen von den zahlreichen arabischen, türkischen, aber auch deutschen und niederländischen Namen). Slawischenfalls handelt es sich entweder um die polnisch-dialektale, v.a. schlesische Variante von *-ak* und ist damit augmentativ oder agentivisch, oder es liegt die ostslawische Variante von *-ek* vor und ist damit diminutivisch (oder agentivisch).

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
<i>-ok</i>	24.487	2.306	469	20,34%
<i>-ock</i>	79.500	2.063	523	25,35%
<i>-ogk</i>	363	26	7	26,92%
<i>-og</i>	18.750	472	96	20,34%
	123.100	4.867	1.095	22,50%

Tabelle 13. Wortausgang *-ok* mit Varianten

Es ergibt sich für die *ok*-Bildungen, dass max. 500 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von max. 2.000 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von max. 50.000 slawischer Provenienz sein dürften.

Suffixe auf *-Vš/-Vsz/-Vsch*

Den Bildungen auf gemeinslaw. **-Všb* liegen in der Regel Zugehörigkeitsbildungen mit dem Suffix urslaw. **-ja-* zu hypokoristischen Kurzformen auf gemeinslaw. **-Vchb* zugrunde: urslaw. **-Vch-ja-* > gemeinslaw. **-Všb*. Ausgehend von diesen Prototypen konnte das Suffixkonglomerat dann auch als Ganzes zur Namenbildung verwendet werden. Berücksichtigt werden in der Aufstellung nur die polnische orthografische Form *-Vsz* sowie die häufigste eingedeutschte Form *-Vsch*. Weitere hierher gehörige Formen verbergen sich noch unter den Namen auf *-Vs*. Insgesamt ist der Anteil der Namen slawischer Etymologie unter denen auf *-Vsz* deutlich höher als bei denen auf *-Vsch*, aber auch dort findet sich ein großer Anteil deutscher Familiennamen mit archaischer Schreibung *-sz* für *-ß* (bzw. *-ss*) sowie zahlreiche ungarische Familiennamen.¹³

Suffixgestalt/ Wortauslaut	Tokens	Types	Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10	Anteil der Types mit Frequenz ≥ 10
<i>-asch</i>	26.873	893	238	26,65%
<i>-asz</i>	1.356	250	27	10,80%
<i>-esch</i>	28.006	868	230	26,50%
<i>-esz</i>	880	180	19	10,56%
<i>-isch</i>	79.321	2.184	718	32,88%
<i>-isz</i>	1.554	286	31	10,84%
<i>-osch</i>	24.723	730	171	23,42%
<i>-osz</i>	1.445	233	33	14,16%
<i>-usch</i> ¹⁴	39.910	1.008	230	22,82%
<i>-usz</i>	960	207	15	7,25%
<i>-ysch</i>	1.351	90	31	34,44%
<i>-ysz</i>	367	79	10	12,66%
	206.746	7.008	1.753	25,01%

Tabelle 14. Suffixe auf *-Vš/-Vsz/-Vsch*

Es ergibt sich für die Bildungen aus *-Vsz/-Vsch*, dass ca. 800 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 bei einer Gesamttypenzahl von ca. 2.500 und einer Gesamttokenzahl von mind. 70.000 slawischer Provenienz sind.

¹³ Vgl. zu diesem Typus auch Kunze/Nübling 2012: 500-511 [J. Nowak]. Dass es sich, wie ebenda behauptet, bei den Suffixen auf *-š* um Diminutivsuffixe handle, ist so kaum richtig. Zu dieser Auffassung kann man allenfalls kommen, wenn man Diminutiva, Hypokoristika (und Patronymika) letztlich für dasselbe hält. Diminutive Funktion haben diese Suffixe im appellativischen Wortschatz jedenfalls nirgends.

¹⁴ Ohne Namen mit dem Element *-busch* und ohne *Busch*. Dadurch wurden zwar auch einige Namen slawischen Ursprungs aussortiert (z.B. *Babusch*), aber eine größere Verzerrung beseitigt.

Auswertung

Betrachtet man von den im Vorhergehenden vorgestellten Abfragen nur die mit den in erster Linie typisch slawischen Wortausgängen auftretenden Namen und rechnet die sich unter den weniger eindeutigen Abfragen nach *-cke*, *-ak*, *-ok* etc. zahlreich verbergenden slawischen Namen hinzu, so ergibt sich allein mit diesen schon eine Menge von mind. 150.000 Types (und somit ca. 18% der Gesamttypes) bei mindestens 1,5 Mio Tokens (ca. 6% der Gesamttokens). Davon haben mind. 18.000 Types eine Frequenz ≥ 10 (ca. 9% der Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10).

Da es in den slawischen Sprachen jedoch eine große Anzahl von Familiennamen gibt, die nicht durch ein typisches Suffix bzw. einen bequem abfragbaren Wortausgang charakterisiert sind (vgl. z.B. die auf Hypokoristika zum Rufnamen *Jakub* basierenden Familiennamen *Kub*, *Kuba*, *Kubo*, *Kuby* etc.), ist damit zu rechnen, dass insgesamt ca. 20.000 Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 (ca. 10% der Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10) auf Namen slawischer Etymologie beruhen. Somit dürfte als absolute Untergrenze wahrscheinlich mit 20% der Gesamttypes als auf ursprünglich slawische Namen entfallend zu rechnen und damit mindestens 180.000, eher 200.000, u.U. sogar bis zu 250.000 orthografisch verschiedene Familiennamen in der Datenbank des DFD und damit in Deutschland etymologisch slawischen Ursprungs sein.

Wieviele davon dann letzten Endes bei Projektende bearbeitet worden sein werden, ist freilich allenfalls ungefähr abzuschätzen. Aktuell (Januar 2015) arbeitet jedenfalls kein Slawist bzw. kein ernstlich in slawischer Onomastik bewandelter Mitarbeiter an diesen Familiennamen slawischen Ursprungs. Die in den Aufstellungen gegebenen Zahlen für die Types mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 liegen im Schnitt in jedem Falle bei den Suffixen bzw. Wortausgängen, bei denen keine Interferenz anderer Sprachen zu gewärtigen ist, großteils deutlich unter 10% der jeweiligen Gesamttypezahl. Ausnahmen sind hier v.a. *-ski* und *-ow* mit ihren Varianten und *-enka*. Insgesamt ist bei den Wörtern mit typisch slawischen Wortausgängen zuzüglich der Namen slawischer Etymologie ohne charakteristischen Wortausgang mit ca. 20.000 Types zu rechnen. Zuzüglich der trotz ihrer niedrigeren Frequenz als Varianten mitbehandelten Namen sollten am Projektende sicher 40.000 bis 50.000 Namen slawischen Ursprungs behandelt worden sein. Umgekehrt heißt das freilich, dass bis zu 200.000 Namen slawischer Etymologie (also ca. 80%) voraussichtlich nicht erfasst werden. Genauere Zahlen kann nur das Auszählen des Gesamtmaterials erbringen.

Zusammenfassung

Das DFD ist der Versuch, das bislang umfangreichste Namenbuch in Deutschland bezeugter Familiennamen zu erstellen. In diesem Familiennamenbuch stellen die slawischen Namen mindestens 20%, wahrscheinlich über 25% der Gesamttypes, also ca. 180.000–230.000 Namenformen. Mit voraussichtlich ca. 40.000 bis 50.000 Lemmata (davon ca. 20.000 mit einer Frequenz ≥ 10 , d.h. ca. 10% der im Namenbuch zu behandelnden Types) bilden Namen slawischer Etymologie den mit Abstand größten nichtdeutschen Teil. Problematisch bleibt aber weiterhin oft deren exakte Analyse und/oder sprachliche Zuordnung.

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A New Personal Names Act in Sweden?

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Abstract

Since 1983, official Swedish personal names have been governed by the Personal Names Act of 24 June 1982. The current Act has now been in force for just over thirty years. The government agency responsible for personal names has come under pressure from two directions: on the one hand, it has been accused of being too tolerant and allowing too much, and on the other it has been criticised for preventing progress by being too restrictive. There is now a significant problem with the 1982 Act, namely that it is out of step with the present-day situation and current practice.

In 2010 a committee of inquiry was set up by the Swedish Government to review the Personal Names Act, with terms of reference that stated that it was to look into ‘whether there is scope to take somewhat greater account of the interest of individuals in choosing their own names’.

In May 2013 a report was published in which the committee proposed a wide range of changes. In this paper I shall present and comment on the most important innovations in the report.

* * *

Introduction

Since 1983, official Swedish personal names have been governed by the Personal Names Act of 24 June 1982. This Act, which regulates official names – given names, middle names and surnames – has now been in force for just over thirty years. The government agency responsible for personal names, the Patent and Registration Office, has come under pressure from two directions: on the one hand, it has been accused of being too tolerant and allowing too much, and on the other it has been criticised for preventing progress by being too restrictive. There is now a significant problem with the 1982 Act, namely that it is out of step with the present-day situation and current practice (Andersson 1995: 33-46, 2013: 43-47; Brylla 2005: 73-75).

For this reason, a committee of inquiry was set up by the Swedish Government in 2009 to review the Personal Names Act. In its terms of reference (*Kommittédirektiv*), it was stated that the committee was to look into ‘whether there is scope to take somewhat greater account of the interest of individuals in choosing their own names’. The committee was also to consider whether linguists and name scholars should be involved to a greater extent in dealing with cases and matters arising under the personal names legislation. In May 2013 a report (*En ny lag om personnamn*) was published in which the committee proposed a wide range of changes. In this paper, I shall present and comment on the most important innovations in the report from a linguistic and language cultivation point of view.

Surnames

The ‘Suitability Requirement’

The 1982 Act is concerned with the individual’s freedom to choose his or her own names. The Patent and Registration Office and its linguistic expert have often come under pressure from two directions: on the one hand, they have been accused of being too tolerant and allowing too much, and on the other they have been criticised for preventing progress by being too restrictive. It is evident that the appeal body, the Court of Patent Appeals, and the Supreme Administrative Court, the final court of appeal in cases relating to personal names, have adopted quite a liberal attitude. The factor that has had the greatest impact on the surname stock as far as newly formed names are concerned is how the ‘suitability requirement’, which is extremely vaguely worded in the Act, is interpreted. Section 12, first paragraph, of the Act states that a newly formed surname ‘which in terms of formation, pronunciation and spelling has such a linguistic form that it is not suitable as a surname in this country is not to be accepted’. Invoking a more international outlook that is also expressed in the Act, the Court of Patent Appeals has gone to unusual lengths of tolerance, approving names such as *Beachman* – which in fact was an English translation of the applicant’s Swedish name *Strandman* – and *Mortaigne* as newly coined surnames. Of course, surnames that have been able to put down roots in the Swedish surname system and give rise to native formation in line with the development of the Swedish surname stock should be approved. This nomenclature, like other aspects of the language, has undergone considerable change over long periods of time. In the long run, the integration of foreign name elements is legitimate. But, like other linguistic developments, this should be a gradual process, and the result of a natural cultural influence. The court judgments mentioned have paved the way for the approval of similar coinages, i.e. surnames which are obviously formed from English and French elements, e.g. *Melkemichel*, *Bonfils*, *Swedenrose* and *Skywolf* (Andersson 1995: 40-43; Andersson and Brylla 1998: 109-111; Brylla 1998-1999: 165-166, 2005: 73-75, 2009: 62-64, 2013: 135-136).

In addition, newly coined surnames formed from unknown name elements have been approved for use by Swedes, including *Barnosho*, *Shahho*, *Shirazimohager* and *Bintkacimé* (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 314-316).

The 1982 Act can thus be said to be out of step with the present-day situation and current practice, and when practice changes, the relevant legislation also has to be amended. Provision needs to be made for immigrants wishing to adopt newly formed surnames connected with their own cultural circles. At the same time, Swedish name customs must be protected.

The Committee’s Proposal

To avoid unsuitable forms and spellings of surnames, the committee proposes that linguists and name scholars should be involved to a greater extent in dealing with applications relating to newly created surnames (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 492, 510-511).

Protection of Existing Surnames

In the 1982 Act there is a section (section 13) barring new surnames that are similar to existing ones. The Act stipulates that new surnames which could *easily* be confused with existing names are not to be approved. The kinds of resemblance that lead to rejections primarily concern pronunciation, and less often spelling. A name such as *Halgren*, for instance, is too similar to an existing name *Hallgren* or *Halegren*, and a name *Mineus* is too close to *Meneus*. In recent times the Court of Patent Appeals has shown a degree of tolerance which appreciably increases the risk of confusion, approving names like *Dekhil* (in relation to *Deckel*) and *Korske* (in relation to *Koschke*) (Andersson 1995: 38-40; Brylla 1998-1999: 164-165, 2009: 60-61).

The Committee's Proposal

The committee proposes that the wording of the Act should be made somewhat more restrictive by deleting the word 'easily'. Thus, newly created surnames should not be approved if they could be confused with existing names. This would strengthen the necessary restriction based on the risk of confusion (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 372).

To make it easier for people who wish to adopt a common name, the committee proposes the introduction of what it calls 'free' surnames, i.e. all surnames that have more than 2,000 bearers (at present there are around 470 such names) would be freely available for adoption by anyone (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 373). This could facilitate integration and could be useful for people who have been given a protected identity. Such a change would also be in line with existing legislation in Norway and Denmark.

Middle Names

The term *mellannamn* (middle name) was introduced in the 1982 Act, and was in fact a concept based on Danish and Norwegian naming patterns. A middle name in this sense consists of what was originally a surname, placed between the given name and the surname proper, e.g. Kristina *Lindman* Karlsson.

A middle name is written without a hyphen before the surname. It is thus to be distinguished from old double names consisting of two surnames, which are usually combined with a hyphen, e.g. *Ask-Upmark*.

The purpose of middle names is to show kinship in the case of spouses and between parents and children. But such names are not inherited and they are surrounded by quite strict restrictions.

A major problem here is that most people in Sweden cannot distinguish between middle names and real surnames. The situation is not made any easier by the fact that middle names and surnames are usually placed together in the registers of different authorities under the heading of *efternamn* (surnames) (Brylla 2002: 61-65, 2013: 130-132).

The Committee's Proposal

Owing to the problems mentioned, the committee proposes that the term and the concept of *mellannamn* should be abolished. Instead, it should be possible to bear double surnames. The relative order of these names will be freely determined by the name bearer, and it will be possible to write them with or without a hyphen. However, only two names will be able to be included in a double surname (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 431-432, 446-451).

Given Names

Under section 34 of the Personal Names Act of 1982, the authorities are not to approve as a first name any name which might cause offence, or lead to unpleasantness for the person who is to bear it, or which for any other reason is obviously not suitable as a first name. This wording in the Names Act does not offer precise guidance. As a result, judicial evaluation of names has been fairly subjective and, in many cases, arbitrary. The authorities and courts responsible have hitherto varied in their application of the Act (Andersson 2013: 43-59, Brylla 2015).

On occasion, given names diverging from the norm have been allowed. For instance, names with a (to Swedish eyes) strange orthography have been accepted, e.g. *Axl*, *AnnaCarin*. Names consisting of only one letter, e.g. *Q*, and abbreviations of names, e.g. *A-C*, have been allowed. Also, pet names and names with pet-like forms, e.g. *Bebben*, *Ummis*, have been approved. Even more startling perhaps are given names that are not in keeping with the normal structure of Swedish names, such as *Mig*, *Summercloud* and *Twilight* (Andersson 2013: 51-56, Brylla 2015: 44-45).

The Committee's Proposal

The committee proposes a more standardised procedure with fewer courts. Moreover, all new names should be subject to linguistic examination 'if it is not evidently unnecessary', in order to prevent unsuitable names (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 464-466).

Gender-Neutral and Cross-Gender Given Names

The common pattern of given names in the Germanic world involves a pronounced difference between female and male names. We also have some gender-neutral names in our onomasticon, designating both girls and boys. Often, these are imported names like Arabic *Ahmad* and *Mahamed*, Asian names such as *Li* and *Noor*, and other names with endings that have been wrongly interpreted in the Swedish system, such as *Andrea* and *Nicola*, which in Romance languages are masculine, but have been seen as feminine owing to the *-a* ending.

Recently, certain political parties in Sweden have wished to eliminate the existing sex-typed naming practice, an aim that could have a radical impact on the name system. One function of given names is to individualise – they serve a practical purpose. Gender-neutral names may, for obvious reasons, cause problems.

Until recently, the established practice was to reject male given names for women and girls, and vice versa, on the grounds that such names were considered unsuitable. The courts and authorities were more restrictive than they have now become. (Brylla 2007: 191-197, 2001: 11-29, 2013: 148-150.)

A major change in this regard came in 2009 when the Supreme Administrative Court gave an adult man permission to take the name *Madeleine* as an additional given name. This judgment can be applied to an adult who wishes to add to his or her existing given name(s) a name that is normally borne by the opposite sex. The question is whether it can also be applied to parents' choices of given names for their children. The Swedish Tax Agency has chosen to 'err on the side of leniency' (my translation) in interpreting the judgment (Brylla 2010: 151-154, Andersson 2013: 48-51).

The Committee's Proposal

Following the 2009 judgment of the Supreme Administrative Court, cross-gender given names for adults must be considered acceptable. In 2012 the committee carried out an attitude survey, which showed, among other things, that an overwhelming majority of Swedish citizens were against cross-gender given names (69%, *En ny lag om personnamn*, 568). The committee attached great importance to this survey, which established that attitudes on this matter among the Swedish population are predominantly conservative (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 458, 464-466).

Judicial Procedure in Name Cases

In its report, the committee clearly shows that judicial evaluation of personal names has been fairly subjective and, in many cases, arbitrary. It proposes changes to the judicial procedure for appeals: the procedure should be simplified and the Swedish Tax Agency should be the responsible authority for all matters concerning names (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 492).

Stricter linguistic requirements should also apply. Onomastic expertise should be involved in the process, and this should be explicitly required in the Act (*En ny lag om personnamn*, 502, 510).

Conclusion

From a linguistic point of view, this committee report is mostly to be welcomed. The proposal to bring personal name matters within the remit of a single authority is also satisfactory, since the handling of such matters by the authorities has been both arbitrary and inconsistent. Particularly gratifying is the fact that the review focuses on the linguistic aspects of choosing and forming new personal names.

The report is currently under consideration following a consultation process. Most of the comments received on the proposals are positive, and hopefully new legislation in line with the committee's recommendations will come into force as soon as possible.

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One Knight, Several Names

Silvia Corino Rovano

Italy

che già fu al soldo del
comune di fiorenza e uno
cavaliere el quale egli
bene conobbe ma non
salnome [...].¹

Abstract

During the 14th century, Italy was the field of several campaigns where knights who came from all over Europe could show their value and bravery. But often the most popular knights were known by different names in the different towns of Italy. This research aims to examine some documents which witness the passage through Italy of one of the most famous mercenaries of his time, John Hawkwood.

He entered Piedmont in the second half of 14th century and became *Johannes Acutus*, the name which is still on his grave in Florence's Cathedral. But he was also known as *Giovanni Aguto* and *Johannes Augut*, etc. We will analyse the different interpretations within the frame of the Italian phonetics.

* * *

One of the most famous mercenaries of his time,² John Hawkwood entered Piedmont at the beginning of the second half of the 14th century to pursue a career which led him to the main cities of northern Italy. He settled in Florence, where he died, and was buried in the Cathedral there. On his burial monument on the Cathedral wall, made a few years after his death by Paolo Uccello, we can still read his name: *Johannes Acutus*. But this was not the only name by which he had been known.

In our study we will try to examine the changes of his names through some representative documents connected with his distinguished military career.

During the 14th century many mercenaries came through Italy and were involved in the various war scenarios of that time. Almost all of them during their stay in Italy obtained a new name according to an understandable and acceptable Italian interpretation. Most of them were Germans like Werner von Urslingen, known as *Conte Guarnieri*, and Konrad von Landau, known in documents as *Conte Lando* (Balestracci 2003: 63) or *Comite Lando*.³

When Hawkwood first entered Piedmont between 1361-1363, as attested in an account of castellanies⁴ of Lanzo, he was known as a destroyer, along with his group of

¹ ASS, *Lettere al Concistoro*, n. 1778, 1375, c. 83.

² *Si y vy monseigneur Jehan Agut un chevalier d'Angleterre qui regna en Ytalie bien .xxx. ans; cil servi les seigneurs et citoyens de Ytalie vaillaument et fu sages et bien cremuz par son sens et hardement* (Piccat 2008: 437). So wrote Thomas III, the last count of Saluzzo, at the end of the 14th century.

³ ASS, *Biccherna*, 237, c. 98.

⁴ These are the documents (in parchment rolls) where all the taxes of the Savoy county were noted and they are usually called *rolls*.

mercenaries, only mentioned as *angliis*.⁵ In another document in Piedmont, a notarial minutory, we find an indication about [...] *anglici et societas anglicorum locum lancei in canapicio* [...].⁶ The same note can be found in a third one in Pavone.⁷ In a roll of Ivrea⁸ they were not mentioned at all. In that roll we can only read that the castle was destroyed as were many others in the region.⁹

The absence of mentions does not mean that the situation was easy. The Count of Savoy received a letter from the King's son in which he reassured the Count that his soldiers were forbidden to destroy the country!¹⁰

We summarize these attestations of the State Archives of Turin as follows:

Year	Language	Fund/Series	Attestation
1362-1363	Latin	Rolls of Lanzo	<i>angliis</i>
1364	Latin	Protocolli Camerali	<i>anglici et societas anglicorum</i>
1363-1365	Latin	Rolls of Ivrea	(none)
1364-1366	Latin	Rolls of Pavone	<i>Anglicos/anglicorum</i>

The element of ethnical identification will follow Hawkwood for most of his life.

In the embassies related to the destruction carried out by his company, his name never appears but only the reference to their provenance: *Anglios*, *anglicos* or *societas anglicorum*, *compagna anglicorum*. It is worth noting that nowadays in everyday language we use the expression *English* as a synonym of *British* (De Mauro 1999-2003: III, s.v. *Inglese*). It is the easiest way to identify all English speakers, no matter if they are Scottish, Welsh, American or Australian. Moreover, with regard to *Angliis* and *Anglicis*, we observe that the first is the literary form (from Tacitus) and the second the usual medieval word (Pfister 1979-2010: II, 1217: s.v. *anglus*).

It does not seem that the nickname *Acutus* was given to Hawkwood during his movements in Piedmont, even if the anthroponym *acutus* had already been attested as a surname in this territory since the 12th century in Chieri: *oddonus de la planca cui dicitur*

⁵ AST, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei Conti, Piemonte, Articolo 41, Lanzo*, r. 28, 1361-1363. Cfr. also Caferro (2006: 46).

⁶ AST, Sezione Corte, *Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Protocolli Camerali Serie Rossa, Protocolle du Nottaire Besson*, 1364, c. 43.

⁷ AST, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei Conti, Piemonte, Articolo 56, Pavone*, r. unico, 1364-1366. The rolls mention *operibus dicti castris factis post recessum anglicorum*. Pavone is a town not far from Ivrea in Canavese, a region in Northern Piedmont.

⁸ AST, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei Conti, Piemonte, Articolo 40, Ivrea*, §1, r. 19, 1363-1365.

⁹ It is not easy to distinguish in this period who did the destroying. It was obvious, because the county administration spent a huge amount of money in rebuilding the castle. But it is not clear if the damage was caused by the Englishmen or internal *jacqueries*. In a few points there are mentions of *obsidionie castris per XLVIII dies* (AST, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei Conti, Piemonte, Articolo 40, Ivrea*, §2, rot. 2, 1362-1363).

¹⁰ [...] *notre dit coufin vous mandons et commandons sur quantque vous pourrez meffaire emis nons que aus pais ne subgiz de notre dit cousin ne portez ne soefrez et avant come nullement pourrez estre portez ne fait aucun damage ne destruccion : Ainz per toutes les voies que vous pourrez empeschez et destorbez toute homine qui mal y voudra faire a votre loial pouoir. dautrepart mandons a vous et a chescun de vous que on cas que notre dit cousin ait affaire de vous ou besoigne de votre service [...]* (AST, Sezione Corte, *Materie politiche per rapporto all'estero, Corti straniere, Inghilterra*, 1365, m. 1, f. 4). (The text, as happened in ordinary medieval documents, is shortened. We wrote the integrations in italic).

bechus acutus (Rossebastiano 2010: 36).¹¹ This second name, a nickname, is related to the Italian adjective *acuto*, from the Latin word *acūtus*, from late Latin (13th century) *acūtāre* ‘aguzzare, sopravvivere’ (Cortellazzo and Zolli 1999: s.v. *acuto*). This adjective can become a nickname in a physical sense to indicate a person with a prominent nose or, in a psychological sense, can indicate a smart and cunning personality. In Old Italian it could also mean ‘sharp, cruel, painful’.¹² We do not know much about what Hawkwood looked like; but his life does not seem far from the second meaning.

Between 1375 and 1377 he was involved in several military actions, when his company destroyed territories in Tuscany and Romagna. He was also the focus of interest of the Italian diplomacy. His intentions were observed, his actions were watched and reports were written to the various institutions of the cities involved. At a certain moment the crowns of Aragon wanted Hawkwood to fight against Castille and Venice wanted him to fight against the Duke of Austria. These circumstances offer many documental samples of his names, but also a great variety of the ways he was called.

We decided to study the documents of two archives in particular, both in Tuscany, but with a different political role and a different destiny with regard to Hawkwood.¹³

Firstly, Florence where he spent much of his time and secondly, Siena, one of the towns most threatened by him and one which had sent many people to enquire about his movements. In fact, it is among these documents that we find the highest variety of attestations and a sort of presentation of the character of the company: *malignam presentem societatem anglicorum eius capitaneum esse dicitur dominus Johannis augut*.¹⁴

Another point of interest is the language used. It is also useful to distinguish public documents like the ones produced by a public authority and private ones (produced, for example, by spies and informers).

During this period in Piedmont, we can find that the documents are almost always in Latin, although sometimes in French when they were produced by Savoy authorities. Notaries wrote only in Latin. In Siena, it is possible to find documents in Latin but also in Italian (the dialect of Tuscany during 14th century) used by private individuals.

In the tables below it is possible to see the attestations. They are ordered chronologically, specifying the language, the archival fund and the various mentions in the same document. The name was often repeated simply as *Messer/Domino Giovanni*. In this case, we mention the attestation just once. As is normal in medieval documents, there are many abbreviations. We have written our expansions in italics.

¹¹ And it was a Roman name before (Forcellini 1864-1926: s.v. *Acutus*).

¹² ‘maligno, crudele; aspro, doloroso, pungente, violento, penetrante (sentimenti, affetti)’ (Pfister 1979-2010: I, 586, s.v. *acutus*).

¹³ It was worth beginning with the State Archives of Turin because Piedmont was the first place he arrived.

¹⁴ ASS, *Capitoli* 71, 1367.

State Archives Florence

Year	Language	Fund/Series	Attestation 1	Attestation 2	Attestation 3	Attestation 4
1375	Latin	Capitoli Registri n. 1 (c. 160r and v)	Domini Johannis anguod	milite domino Johanne haukevode capitano compagne anglicorum	Dominus Johannes Augud Anglicus miles	Ipsi domino Johannj et eius uxorj et familie
1375	Latin	Balie n. 13 (c.34)	domino Johannj Aughud capitano	dominj Johannis		
1375	Latin	Signori Missive I cancelleria reg. 15 (c.2 r et v)	Anglicorum ferale comport[...]	domino Johannj haughud		
1375	Latin	Signori Missive I cancelleria reg. 15 (c. 3v)	domino Johannj hauchud	dominus Johannes		
1375	Latin	Signori Missive I cancelleria reg. 15 (c. 7r)	domino Johannj hauchud			
1375	Latin	Signori Missive I cancelleria reg. 15 (c. 9v)	domino Johanne hauchud			
1375	Latin	Signori Missive I cancelleria reg. 15 (c. 66r)	domino Johanne haucud			
1375	Latin	Signori Missive I cancelleria reg. 15 (c. 69r)	Magnifico et egregio militi domino Johannj hauchvod capitaneo societatis anglicorum			
Copy Da una cronaca manosc ritta	Italian	Carte Bardi 3a Serie	Funerale di Gio: Acuto Capitano di Guerra de Fiorentini	Gio: Acuto Capitano di Guerra de Fiorentini		

State Archives Siena

Year	Language	Fund/Series	Attestation 1	Attestation 2	Attestation 3
1364	Latin	Consiglio Generale 171 (72 r)	Balia <i>contra compagnam Anechinj et Anglicorum</i>		
1364	Latin	Consiglio Generale 171 (93 r)	Balia <i>pro compagna Anglicorum</i>	congeries <i>Anglicorum</i>	<i>anglicorum perversa armatorum setta</i>
1365	Latin	Consiglio Generale 173 (42 r)	compagnie <i>Anglicorum</i>		
1366	Latin	Consiglio Generale 174 (42 r)	[several different groups] et <i>anglicorum</i>		
1366 Florence	Latin	Capitoli n.70	<i>societas dominj Johannis haucut</i>		
1367	Latin	Capitoli n.71	<i>dominus Johannis augut</i>		
1367	Latin	Consiglio Generale 176 (c. 18b)	<i>anglicorum compagna</i>		
s.d. [1369]	Latin	Particolari famiglie forestieri (m.1) Letter from a private person	<i>viris et militibus dominis Johanni Agud</i> [this letter was addressed to Hawkwood]		
1369	Latin	Concistoro 1778 (c. 14)	<i>dominus Johannes auchud</i>		
1369	Italian	Concistoro 1778 (c. 14)	<i>missere giovanj aguto</i>	<i>missere giovanj Aguto con la sua brigata</i>	
1373	Italian	Concistoro 1783 (c. 21) Letter from a private person	<i>messere giovanj aguti</i>	<i>a missere giovanj aguto</i>	<i>missere giovanj agutj</i>
1375	Latin	Concistoro 77 (c.5r. and v.)	<i>Compagna Angliorum</i>	<i>societate Angliorum</i>	<i>Compagna Angliorum domini Johannis agud</i>
s.d. Crema [1375]	Latin	Particolari famiglie forestieri (m.1) Letter from a private person	<i>domino Johannj de Agud</i>		
s.d. Perugia	Latin	Particolari famiglie forestieri (m.1) Letter from a private person	<i>magnifico et et potenti militi domino Johanni Achuto</i> [this letter was addressed to Hawkwood]		

1375	Italian	Concistoro 1778 (c. 32)	messere giovannj agut	Messer giovannj	
1375 Florence	Italian	Concistoro 1786 (c. 82)	messer giovannj agut	messer giovannj	
1375 Florence	Italian	Concistoro 1786 (c. 83)	messer giovannj agut	messer giovannj	
1375 Frosinone	Italian	Concistoro 1787 (c. 49)	misser Giovanj aghuj		
1375 Florence	Italian	Concistoro 1787 (c. 64)	misser giovannj agud	misser giovannj	misser giovannj
1377 Florence	Italian	Concistoro 1792 (c. 20)	giovanni aghuto	misser giovanj achuto	
1377 Florence	Latin	Concistoro 1792 (c. 80 ¹)	Anglicos	domino Johannj hauhevvod	
1377	Italian	Concistoro 1792 (c. 80 ²)	Giovani agudj	misser Giovanj	misser Giovanj
1377 Florence	Italian	Concistoro 1792 (c. 90)	misser giovannj		
1377 Florence	Latin	Concistoro 1792 (c. 94 ¹)	dominus Johannes haukevvod	dominus Johannes	
1377 Florence	Latin	Concistoro 1792 (c. 94 ²)	domino Johannj haukevvod		
1381	Latin	Capitoli n. 86	dominus Johannes augud		
1388 Florence	Latin	Particolari famiglie forestieri (m.1) Letter from a private person	magnifico militi domino Johanni haucud capitano [this letter was addressed to Hawkwood]		
1388 Florence	Latin	Particolari famiglie forestieri (m.1) Letter from a private person	magnifico militi domino Johanni haucud capitano [this letter was addressed to Hawkwood]		

First of all, a general observation can be made: in the beginning, he was seen just as an Englishman and his company was identified by their language, non only a foreign language, but the English language, and the people were the Anglios/Anglicos (as in Piedmont).

We can now analyse the main attestations of Hawkwood's name. In Florence we can find the closest samples to his English name. The first *h-*, a Latin element that was soon lost in the Italian language, is preserved. This is usual in medieval Italian documents and it is considered a Latinism, as it probably was, but in this case it happens to show regard (maybe an involuntary regard) for English phonetics. The same happens for the 'double *v*', the name that the letter *w* still has in the Italian alphabet.

We suggest that official documents wanted to honour the powerful mercenary even with respect to his foreign name.

The right name appears also in letters stored in the Siena Archives, but just in the ones originally from Florence. This suggests that the correct name was quite accepted in Florence.

We see the widest variety in Siena, where enough was known to leave the generic indication of *compagnia anglicorum*.

We can summarize and analyse the attestations as follows:

1. The first sample in Siena (1366), *Haucut* can be considered quite a faithful interpretation for Hawkwood. It preserves the first *h-* lost in Italian and the phonetics that we can perceive through the graphics can be considered rather close to the original, even if it is probably a Latinism by a public notary. *Au-* is apparently the way they pronounced the group *-aw-*. Then, the /k/ in the intervocalic position is rather permanent¹⁵ and in the literary language it is possible to find both alternatives (voiced or voiceless).¹⁶ The transformation of the final *d>t* from voiceless to voiced was quite common in northern Italian dialects.
2. After that period we can see samples which fit the Italian phonetical point of view. In fact, *au-* does not become *o-* as in the ordinary transformations from Latin into Italian (*aurum>oro*). As happens in *augustum>agosto*,¹⁷ we have the simplification of the protonic *au>a* because of the influence of the further *-u-* (as in *Agud*). The transformation of the velar occlusive in the intervocalic position from voiceless to voiced (*k>g*)¹⁸, which is possible also in Tuscany, is typical of northern Italian dialects.
3. In 1369 in Siena the first Italian version *aguto* with final vocalic sound *-o* and in 1373 the final in *-i* appear. The vocalic sound at the end of a word is perceived by an Italian mother tongue speaker as a natural sound, and the *-i* is a traditional ending for anthroponyms in Tuscany and some other areas. We must also remember that during the middle ages in Tuscany (Siena and Lucca) the adjective *aguto* was usually used instead of *acuto*.¹⁹
4. The form *aghuj* hides the fall of the intervocalic voiced consonant. We do not know where the writer came from although it may be of Northern influence. We can also see the form *Giovanj* instead of *Giovanni* with one intervocalic consonant, typical of Northern Italy, instead of the reinforced sound. The same

¹⁵ The debate about the matter of intervocalic /k/ in Italian was quite sharp among the linguists; we follow the opinion of Rohls who affirms that the voiceless sounds are the natural and popular Tuscan sounds, but they change under the influence of northern Italian and Gallic-romance dialects: *Si è andata sempre più affermando la convinzione che in Toscana i suoni sordi rappresentino il risultato indigeno e popolare, mentre g, d, v, ś tradiscono influssi provenienti dall'Italia settentrionale e dai parlari gallo-romanzi: [...]* (Rohls 1966-1969: §213).

¹⁶ *In taluni casi la lingua letteraria presenta entrambe le forme, per esempio soffocare e soffogare, faticare e fatigare, acuto e aguto [...]* (Rohls 1966-1969: §194).

¹⁷ Cf. Rohls (1966-1969: §134).

¹⁸ Cf. Rohls (1966-1969: §197). In the south, the /k/ between two vowels does not change (*Ibidem*: §198).

¹⁹ Cf. Battisti-Alessio (1950-1957: I, s.v. *acuto*).

phenomenon in *Giovani agudj* (1377) where the voiced sound *-d-* instead of the voiced *-t-* is together with the first name in the form *Giovani* with the simple *-n-*.

5. In 1377 we find again a sample which can be considered conservative: *haukevvod*.

In conclusion, what seems a trivial matter in today's knowledge about *Hawkwood* > *Acuto*,²⁰ actually reveals an unexpected richness on closer observation.

In fact, we can observe a huge variety of samples of the anthroponym connected to his person.

In the documents it is not obvious that *Acuto* represents the semantic interpretation of the name. A phonetical interpretation of the anthroponym is possible, which, when eventually reinforced by the meaning of a certain local usage, helps the memory. We can also see the influence of the northern dialects in the transformation and interpretation of the anthroponym.

The first attestations in Florence, *anguod* and *haukevvide* (quite approximate), represent a graphic interpretation to reproduce the original sound, especially in the difficult element *-uod/-vvod*. In general, Latin texts are rather conservative. The Italian version ignores the semantics: nobody seems to care what *Hawkwood* means.

So, the Italian modified forms can represent a way to remember a word which cannot be understood, and the best way to remember an expression is to have something which has a meaning in the language it comes to.

Finally, we do not consider *Acuto* as a way to reproduce its heraldic symbol or a surname for a smart person, but a complex phonetic way from something unknown to something familiar, from an unknown and scary Englishman to a known and respected knight.

It is probably thanks to Paolo Uccello and his fresco, that Italian people nowadays mention *Giovanni Acuto* as an old friend.

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²⁰ We can find the two names, *Hawkwood* and *Acuto* one after the other, also in schoolbooks nowadays (cfr. Paulucci-Signorini-Marisaldi 2012: 344).

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- ASS, *Consiglio Generale*, 171, 173, 174, 176
- ASS, *Concistoro*, 77, 1778, 1783, 1786, 1787, 1792
- ASS, *Biccherna*, 237
- ASS, *Capitoli 70, 71, 86*
- ASS, *Particolari famiglie forestieri*, m.1

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- AST, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei Conti, Piemonte, Articolo 40, Ivrea*, rot. 19, 1363-1365.
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New Hebrew Names in the Second Temple Period: A By-Product of Biblical Exegesis

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Abstract

Biblical names are a vital historic-linguistic aspect of Hebrew culture in Antiquity. This paper will discuss biblical personal names and name giving practices that evolved in the Second Temple period (539 BCE-70 CE). Personal names reflect such dramatic historic processes, as the canonization of the Bible and its early exegesis. The clarification of the biblical text resulted in the creation of new personal names, e.g. from misread genealogical terms (Ahian, Vashni, Avihu), misunderstood foreign words (Hen) or paleographic errors (Yinnon for *yikkon*), as well as the reinterpretation of the sacred texts (Avigdor, Malachi). Other synchronic onomastic developments that will not be dealt with in this paper include a renewed popular religious commitment (Yosef>Yehosef), the growing influence of Aramaic and Greek cultures that led to the adoption of non-Hebrew names as well as the fashion of giving double Hebrew and vernacular names. On the other hand, the increased frequency of papponymy reduced the number of unique names known from an earlier period. All of these onomastic developments enriched and invigorated the Jewish reservoir of Hebrew names that would continue to develop up until our own times.

* * *

This paper will discuss Hebrew personal names and name giving practices that evolved in ancient Israel during the Second Temple period (539 BCE-70 CE). Personal names reflect such dramatic historic processes as the dissolution of the tribal society of an earlier period, the formation of the Jewish Diaspora, and the subsequent influence and impact of Aramaic and Greek languages, which brought about the adoption of non-Hebrew names, as well as the fashion of giving double names, a Hebrew and a vernacular one (Demsky 1999). On the other hand, the fashion of papponymy reduced the number of unique creative names characteristic of the biblical period (Demsky 2016).

Yet another important development at this time was the canonization of the Bible and the exegesis needed for clarifying the meaning and establishing the best reading of the sacred text. In particular, I will try to demonstrate how this interface with the written canon resulted in the creation of a select number of new Hebrew names. A close scrutiny of these new names indicates that they were created either because of a palaeographic error or a misreading or misunderstanding of a foreign word or a technical term, especially kinship designations. Moreover, these names might be the result of intentional reinterpretation in light of later sensitivities. However, once the text was canonized, these new names were accepted as legitimate Hebrew personal names.

I have called this type of name a 'ghost-name' (in Hebrew: *shem refa'im*), an onomastic category that has not been given proper recognition in name studies (Demsky 2011). Like a ghost-word, i.e. a word that has come into a language through a misreading of a

text, or a typographical error or misunderstanding, so too ‘ghost-names’ were the result of textual emendation or interpretation.

The ‘ghost-name’ is not to be confused with another category, i.e. a ‘no-name’, such as biblical Piloni-Almoni (Ruth 4:1) or Palmoni (Daniel 8:13), used in a pejorative sense (Demsky 1997). Compare also Beit-Halutz-Hanna`al (Deuteronomy 25:10), or the rabbinic epithet Aḥer ‘The Other’, for the apostate Elisha ben Abuya, or its plural form Aḥerim, i.e. ‘Others’, given his disciple Rabbi Meir as a punishment for trying to usurp the authority of Rabbi Shimon ben Gamliel (Babylonian Talmud, Horayot 13b). This latter no-name was a cruel punishment for someone like Rabbi Meir, who is considered to be the first Jewish onomastician, a scholar meticulous in investigating names (Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 83b). Comparing these two types, the no-name is always intentional and very often a literary device created by the author of the text, while the ghost-name for the most part is accidental. However, as we will see below, rabbinic exegesis may also have had a hand in creating some of these new names. In sum, all of these onomastic developments enriched and invigorated the reservoir of Hebrew names that would continue to develop in Antiquity (Ilan 2002, 2008, 2011, 2012).

Let us now return to these novel names that broadly fit the definition of a ghost-name which became a legitimate part of Hebrew nomenclature because they were found in the Bible.

Yinnon – A Scribal Error

The Hebrew name Yinnon is an example of a ghost-name, which is apparent by how it came to be: the unique verb *yinnón*, translated contextually as ‘will endure’, is found in Psalms 72:17, in a prayer blessing King Solomon with longevity (Paul 1972):

May his name be eternal // while the sun lasts, may *his name endure*;
Let men invoke his blessedness upon themselves // Let all nations count him happy.

The passage echoes verse 5 in that chapter:

Let them fear you as long as the sun shines, while the moon lasts, generations on end.

No doubt, of all creations, the sun and the moon exemplify endurance and eternity.

The difficult *hapax yinnón* in the imperfect tense is derived from a supposed root *nun*. It has been interpreted in its context as meaning ‘to endure’ and related to the noun *nin* ‘(great) grandchild’, signifying ‘perpetuity’ (Gen 21:23, Isa 14:22, Job 18:19). However, a glance at another blessing formula in Ps. 89:38 *kayareah yikkón `olām*, i.e., ‘As the moon, established forever’, as well as one in the Phoenician version of the Azitawadda inscription: *šem Azitawad ykn km šem šemeš vyrḥ* ‘May the name of Azitawadda endure forever like the name of the sun and the moon’ (Donner and Röllig 1964: 35-43, Younger 2000: 150), suggests that the verb *yinnón* in Ps. 72:17 has been miscopied for a paleographically similar *yikkón* (the letter *kaf* has been misread as a *nun*) meaning ‘to establish’.

All of this is academic for already in a Talmudic discussion about the name of the Messiah, it was Rabbi Yannai who citing this passage in Psalms proclaimed – according to the Aramaic principle *shma` garim* (i.e. *nomen est omen*) – that the Messiah's name was Yinnôn, like his *own* derived from Yannai (Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 98b). The verb in the imperfect tense became the nominal subject of the sentence and a new Hebrew name was born.

Hen – A Misunderstood Foreign Term

I suggest that the so-called personal name Hen, written *lhn* 'for/to Hen' with prepositional *lamed*, in Zachariah 6: 14: 'The crowns shall remain in the Temple of the Lord as a memorial to Helem, Tobiah, Yedaiah and to Hen son of Zephaniah', was actually the borrowed Aramaic term *lahēn* meaning 'a (temple) steward' (Demsky 1981). Certainly, the name Hen could be a hypocoristic of the personal name Hanan, Hananiah or even Hanibaal. However, since Hen ben Zephaniah in 6:14 is substituted for Josiah ben Zephaniah in vs. 6:10, I proposed that *lhn* was his title, i.e. the steward in charge of the temple treasury, who was the recipient of the aforementioned donated crowns. *Lehen* is the Hebrew cognate of the Assyrian temple official the *lahhinu* and of the Aramaic official called *lhn* who served in the Jewish sanctuary at Elephantine in Egypt during the Persian period (5th century BCE). This term went out of use in the later Hellenistic period. It seems to me therefore that the word *lhn* here indicates Josiah's title or occupation as the Jerusalem Temple's treasurer, the appropriate address for the above donation, and is not an alternate Hebrew name as claimed by some and accepted by many medieval and modern commentaries as a legitimate personal name.

Malachi – Naming an Anonymous Prophet

Some commentators of the Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets following the Septuagint, which reads in the first verse: ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ 'by the hand of *his messenger*', see in the name of the prophet Malachi not a personal name, but rather the epithet 'My messenger'. This position would make the name Malachi, found only in the editorial superscription (1:1) of this small book, another example of a ghost-name created by a later editor's intent on identifying an anonymous collection of prophecies. The name is seemingly based on Malachi 3:1: 'Behold, I am sending *malachi*, literally *My messenger* (cf. Haggai 1:13), to clear the way before Me...As for the *angel* of the covenant that you desire, he is already coming' (Smith 1960: 9-11). Other than the two nouns *mal'ak* 'messenger'/'angel' and *mel'akah* 'work', derived from the root *l'ak*, there are no other nouns or verbs, nor other personal names in Hebrew from this root.¹ Furthermore, the morphology of the name with a first person possessive pronoun is not common, whereas most biblical Hebrew names are verbal sentences with a third person Divine subject.² In light of these considerations, the name

¹ The late Prof Hanan Eshel pointed out to me the inscribed handle from Tel Arad written in a vulgar script that has been read, not without palaeographic problems, as the name 'Malachi' (Aharoni 1975:110, fn97).

² Of course, there are exceptions, such as the first person in such names as Shealtiel, meaning 'I have asked God' as well as the problematic Giddalti and Romamti-ezer (I Chr 25:4, 29,31), or in declined nouns e.g. El-Yeho-einai, 'My eyes are toward Yeho', which became a popular name in Second Temple times. In addition,

Malachi should be taken as another ghost-name that was created to identify an anonymous collection of prophecies. The phenomenon of anonymous collections of prophecies that have been editorially attached to other books has been recognized for Isa. 40-66, generally called Second Isaiah, or for Zach 9-14 called Second Zachariah.

Avigdor – A Reinterpreted Text and a New Identity

While the above examples of ghost-names emanate from problems encountered in the biblical text, it is also possible that a particular ‘name’ is the result of a later interpretation suggesting a new meaning to a difficult text, such as the tribal genealogies. These genealogies, from an earlier social context based on tribal kinship, lost their historic relevance in the Second Temple period. To overcome this matter a new name with new meaning is intentionally created.

A case in point would be the late Hebrew name Avigdor, which is derived from I Chron. 4:18: ‘Yered the (eponymous) (clan-) *father* of (the *town* of) *Gedor*’. In a conscious effort to give new meaning to these archaic tribal genealogies, the Midrash, i.e. Rabbinic interpretation, found in the lineage of the tribe of Judah names that hinted to major figures in the story of the Exodus. This line of interpretation was supported by the fact that certain Judean clans, e.g. Caleb and Hur, were called after their namesakes mentioned in the Exodus story. The Midrash then assigned new identities to the names in the genealogies: Efrat was the code name for Miriam, Moses’ sister, Bitiah bat Pharaoh was identified as Moses’ step mother and Mered was Caleb. It was assumed that Moses too should be found in the cluster of these somewhat strange and no longer identifiable names. The Midrash identified Moses with the new name of Avigdor (Babylonian Talmud Megillah 13a). This innovative turn is noteworthy for it overrides the fact that this early genealogy in I Chron. 4:18 is that of the clans of Judah and not of Levi, Moses’ tribe. Moreover, it changes the meaning of ‘*avi*, meaning here ‘clan father/chief’ located in the town with the toponym Gedor. Moreover, the new name Avigdor symbolizes the change in definitions of identity in ancient Israel from the earlier tribal and clan allegiances to the supra-tribal, national patterns of the Second Temple era.

Vashni, Ahian, Hotam, Abijah – Creating Names from Kinship Terms

Biblical genealogies are replete with technical terms indicating kinship ties. Originally they helped the reader follow the intricate relationships recorded in this genre (Levin 2001). Subsequently, in post-biblical times these terms went unnoticed or were corrupted or just identified as uncommon personal names (Demsky 1993). Following a structural approach in studying biblical genealogies, I have identified several Hebrew terms distinguishing them from the proper names which they define. The more obvious ones are those like *bekhor(o)*,

¹Immadiyah, meaning ‘Yah is with me’ and ²Immanuyahu, meaning ‘Yahu is with us’ are found on personal seals from the biblical period (Avigad and Sass 1997: 64-65). They are feminine equivalents of the first person plural ³Immanuel (Isaiah 7:14), meaning ‘God is with us’.

i.e., ‘first son/born’, while the second son is noted as *vahašeni* or *mishšnehu*, literally ‘and the/his second’, or simply *ve’ahiv* ‘and his brother’. The sister mentioned in some of the patriarchal genealogies is listed last, regardless of her relative age vis-à-vis her younger brother (cf. ‘Miriam the sister of Aaron’, Exodus 15:20), and was identified by the term *‘a hotam* ‘their sister’. In several cases, some of these terms became personal names which I identify as ghost-names.

Following Rabbi David Kimhi (Radak), I Chron. 6:13 has been translated: ‘And the sons of Samuel, the eldest Vashni and Abiah’, i.e. not taking the kinship term *vashni* literally ‘and the second’, but rather as an alternate proper name for Joel, the son of Samuel, as in I Samuel 8:2. However, the distinguished Bible commentators Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi) and especially Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (on Numbers 21:14) correctly read the term literally ‘and (the) second (brother)’.

Another example of a ghost-name can be found the vicissitudes of the term *‘ahi*, literally ‘brother’, but when following a name in the genealogies could serve as a kinship term indicating that that person *is* ‘the second brother’ of a previously mentioned referent. This is the case in I Chron. 7:3: Ben Helem [Bimhal] *ahiv*, who is the second son of Yaflet. Occasionally, the term *‘ahi* is corrupted. A case in point is the name Ahian (I Chron. 7:19) where we read ‘And the sons of Shemida: Ahian and Shechem and Likhi and Ani`am’. In my analysis of the genealogy of Manasseh (Demsky 1982), I noted that in the Chronicler’s version, the three major western clans that remained after the Assyrian conquest were 1) Asriel, 2) Hephher, represented by Milkah (Hamolekhet), the daughter of Zelophehad, and 3) Shemida. In the fuller tribal lists of Manasseh found in the Books of Numbers, and Joshua 17, they are listed in order #3, 5 and 6. Keeping this older list in mind, the Chronicler (ca. 400 BCE) presents Zelophehad as ‘the second’. If so, then I would expect that he would note that Shemida was also a sibling of the first rank. He could refer to him as ‘the third’, if he was counting further sequence (cf. I Chron. 2:13-15), or just say ‘his brother’. Therefore it seems to me that the unique name Ahian, seemingly the first son of Shemida, is actually a scribal error for *ahiv*, ‘his brother’. I read the letter *waw* for the letter *nun*, in either the Old Hebrew script or the later Jewish (Square) script.

For another misreading of the word ‘his brother’, now divided into two, see I Chron. 7:34: ‘The sons of Shemer: Ahi *and* Rohgah, and Hubbah and Aram’. Since Shemer (alternatively: Shomer) is the second son of Heber, mentioned above, we would have expected the word *ahiv*, ‘his brother’, to follow his name and read: ‘The sons of Shemer *his brother*: Rohgah, and Hubbah and Aram’.

Among the women mentioned in these patriarchal genealogies, there are those who achieved renown either as the metronym of a clan (Efrat, Maachah, Hoglah, Milkah, Serah) or as an historical personality in their own right as mentioned in the narratives (Rebecca, Achsah). As I said above, in a patriarchal genealogy these women are always placed last and defined in relation to their brothers by the term *‘a hotam* ‘their sister’. For example, in the tribal genealogy of Asher in I Chron. 7:32 we read: ‘And Heber begot Yaflet and Shomer and Hotam and Shua their sister’ (Demsky 1993). Even though the male personal name Hotam does appear once in I Chron. 11:44, it seems to me that here in the Asher list Hotam is a conflate or scribal error for the following *‘a hotam*.

There is no doubt that the biblical genealogies are complex and refer to all sorts of alliances that do not appear in the narrative, some of which might have been more illicit or otherwise banned. There is an interesting reference to such a complicated relationship in I Chron. 2: 24: ‘After the death of Hezron in Caleb-ephraim, *Abijah*, the wife of Hezron, bore Ashhur, the father of Teqoa’ (New Jewish Publication Society translation). However in I Chron. 2:19 and again in 2:50 it is clear that Caleb had an alliance with Ephraim, expressed in marital terms, and with whom he has several offspring, Ashhur among them (Chron. 2:19; 4:4-5). In light of these genealogies with an explicit reference to Caleb marrying Ephraim, I propose that the verse in question should read: ‘After the death of Hezron, Caleb married Ephraim – the wife of Hezron *his father* – who bore him Ashhur the father of Teqoa’ (Demsky 1986). In this case, changing the assumed original kinship term *’abihu*, i.e. ‘his father’, to the proper name Abijah would seem to be an intentional attempt to cover up what might be considered an illicit marriage, even an incestuous alliance. Creating the feminine ghost-name Abijah was an elegant way of avoiding this possibility.

Mondegreens

While all of these examples of ghost-names that I find in Scripture are either based on scribal error or the misunderstanding of foreign terms or alternately intentionally reinterpreting different literary genre, there is another complimentary onomastic phenomenon in creating names that were mispronounced or misunderstood in *oral* recitation or transmission.

The phenomenon of ghost-names in an oral context with a sometime whimsical tone has been noted. For instance, Naftali Kadmon (2000: 90), in a chapter dedicated to ‘Humour in Toponymy’, notes a case where unfamiliarity with the Arabic language led British mapmakers to repeatedly record the toponym Musharif, Musharifa, and Mushairifa for many places in what was Mandate Palestine (before 1948). Actually, these forms could be real toponyms meaning ‘outlook’, ‘view point’, ‘high place’, ‘height’, derived from the Arabic root *šarufa*. However, as Kadmon says, the mapmakers simply misunderstood their local Arab informants when asked to name the place would reply: *muš`arif* – ‘I don’t know’.

It is significant that this onomastic category has been identified, particularly in the sometimes accidental creation of names in the oral recitation of a misheard literary text. Some of these texts had a religious aura expressing a concept with an exalted meaning or using an archaic term. By making that word into a name the passage became comprehensible to the undiscerning ear. This universal onomastic phenomenon has been termed ‘mondegreens’, a term coined by the American writer Sylvia Wright (1954) based on a line in the Scotch ballad ‘The Bonnie Earl O’Murray’:

Ye Highlands and ye Lowlands,
 Oh were hae ye been?
 They hae slain the Earl Amurray (!)
 and Lady Mondegreen [i.e., and laid him on the green].³

³ I thank Prof Scott Catledge for bringing mondegreens to my attention.

Wright has even suggested a biblical example: ‘Surely Good Mrs. Murphy shall follow me all the days of my life’ based on Psalms 23:6: ‘*Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life*’.

Other examples abound, as in the rote recitation of The Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6:9; Luke 11:2–4), which gave the phonetic distortion ‘Our Father who art in Heaven, *Harold* be Thy name’. The misheard name ‘Harold’ is strengthened by the proximity to the reference to ‘(Thy) *name*’ and the use of the archaic term ‘*hallowed*’ for ‘sanctified’. Furthermore, the phrase referring to a hallowed divine name is somewhat remote from common parlance. It is based on the Hebrew value concept of *kiddush hashem* – ‘the sanctification of God’s name’ as concretized in prayer (Holtz 1964).

In conclusion, I have brought together a small and overlooked group of biblical names found in Scripture that, for a better term, I call ghost-names, and related them to the so-called mondegreens, which are names that were created in oral transmission. Under close scrutiny, we find that the biblical names originally were not meant to be actual personal names, but rather formed accidentally or through misunderstanding. Some were the results of scribal error (Yinnon) or a misunderstood borrowed foreign word (Hen). Additional ghost-names were identified in the Chronicler’s genealogies that seem to be corrupted readings for terms of kinship (Vashni, Ahian, and Hotam) and not personal names at all.

However, since these names are found in the Bible, we must assume that some were created as a result of exegetical and literary considerations attempting to find new meaning in a no longer intelligible text (Avigdor, Abijah and Malachi). Ultimately, these names gained currency and were accepted as part of the reservoir of Jewish names.

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Abbe bis Zyprian. Patronyme im Deutschen Familiennamenatlas

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Abstract

Der Deutsche Familiennamenatlas (DFA) wird von Band 6 "Familiennamen aus Rufnamen" abgeschlossen. Patronyme sind – neben den Herkunftsnamen – als einzige Motivationsgruppe unter den Familiennamen ausnahmslos selbst wieder von Namen abgeleitet, nämlich von Rufnamen. Diese stammen aus verschiedensten Sprachen und unterlagen dadurch jeweils unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen. In Band 6 sollen Beispiele dokumentiert werden, die einerseits die Rezeptionsräume einer jeweils repräsentativen Anzahl von ererbten (z.B. Heinrich, Konrad) und fremden (Jakob, Peter) Rufnamen mit ihren Varianten abstecken. Andererseits soll es möglich werden, durch Vergleich dieser Beispiele regionale Präferenzen in den Formen der Aneignung und des Gebrauchs der Ausgangsnamen aufzuweisen, beispielsweise die Bevorzugung von Vollformen (Eberhard), Kurzformen (Eber) oder Suffigierungen (Eberl). Mit dem Vortrag sollen das Konzept, die Gliederung sowie einige Beispiele und Ergebnisse dieses letzten DFA-Bandes vorgestellt werden.

Der DFA wird seit 2005 an den Universitäten Mainz und Freiburg unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. Damaris Nübling und Prof. Dr. Konrad Kunze erstellt. Von den rund einer Million verschiedenen Familiennamen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland werden die häufigsten und geeignetsten Beispiele ausgewählt, um grammatikalischen, lexikalischen und auch außersprachlichen Fragestellungen nachzugehen. Bislang sind vier Bände erschienen (siehe Abstract Fahlbusch/Peschke).

Name Giving of Russian-Finnish Families

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Abstract

This study analyses the naming of children of Russian-Finnish families living in Finland. Russians are the largest group of immigrants in Finland (15.4% in 2012). The main aim is to research what are the motives of name selection in Russian-Finnish families. The research method used is situated in the field of qualitative research (interviews). The most popular naming motives are 1. practical points of names (spelling and pronunciation suitable for both languages), 2. naming after family and relatives, and 3. the name's appeal. A forename influences a person's identity, so it is interesting to examine the construction of ethnical identity through names: how the selected names represent the identity of the person. Since some immigrants change their forename or surname to the one that comes from the hosting society, I examine also official changes of names (according to decision of Committee on Names) as a form of assimilation/integration into Finnish society. Do Russians-Finnish families want their children to assimilate/integrate into Finnish society by choosing a Finnish name or do they want to show the child's Russianness by choosing a Russian name?

Weit mehr als Müller, Meyer, Schmidt: Berufsnamen im Deutschen Familiennamenatlas

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Abstract

Müller, Meyer, Schmidt – die vierzehn häufigsten Familiennamen in Deutschland gehen auf berufliche Tätigkeiten zurück. Sie zeugen nach wie vor von der ausdifferenzierten Arbeitsteilung mittelalterlicher Städte: Darunter heute noch existierende Gewerbe wie Fischer, Weber, Koch, unbekannte Aufgaben wie Hamacher ('Sattler, der Halsgeschirr für Zugtiere herstellt'), Löscher ('Hersteller eines feinen Leders, das auf der einen Seite weiß und auf der anderen rot präpariert ist'), Mutschler ('Weißbrotbäcker'), ausgestorbene wie Baader ('Badestubenbetreiber'), Weißflog ('Wollkämmer'), Zeidler ('Waldbienenzüchter') oder solche, die heute ganz andere Berufe bezeichnen wie Heiler ('Tierkastrator'), Kellner ('Kellermeister; Steuerbeamter, Verwalter'), Schaffner ('Aufseher, Verwalter'). Diese Vielfalt systematisch zu erfassen und entsprechende Namenlandschaften auszumachen, ist das Ziel des fünften Bandes vom Deutschen Familiennamenatlas (DFA), der sich neben den hier interessierenden Berufsnamen auch den Familiennamen nach biographischen, charakterlichen und körperlichen Merkmalen, sogenannten Übernamen, widmet.

Datenbasis des auf sechs Bände angelegten Atlasprojekts der Universitäten Freiburg und Mainz bilden die Festnetz-Telefonanschlüsse der Deutschen Telekom (Stand: 2005). Bislang sind vier Bände erschienen. Die ersten drei konzentrieren sich auf grammatische Phänomene und behandeln neben Vokalen sowie Konsonanten in Familiennamen auch deren Morphologie, während drei weitere Bände der Lexik der Familiennamen gelten. Sie betreffen Familiennamen 29 nach Herkunft und Wohnstätte, aus Rufnamen, sowie Berufs- und Übernamen. Der Vortrag wird insbesondere das Konzept, die Gliederung sowie einige Beispiele und Ergebnisse des derzeit in Arbeit befindlichen letztgenannten Bandes erläutern.

The Typology of Changes in the History of Hungarian Surnames¹

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Abstract

The history of a family and their surname was often fraught with numerous variants and different types of changes. The paper aims to provide an overview of the different types of these name changes in the case of the Hungarian surname stock. It presents the types of the formal and structural changes of surnames: entire changes, partial and regular structural changes (including: syntactic and morphological changes), partial and irregular structural changes (including: semantic changes on a formal basis and formal changes on a semantic basis), and partial formal changes (including: written and oral changes). It also presents the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that influenced these changes, and refers to further, non-structural and non-formal types of changes affecting other characteristics of surnames. The paper also studies briefly the types of changes in diachrony, aiming to identify the most typical tendencies among them. Some of the possible characteristics of surnames (e.g. archaic orthography, dialectal variation, morphological markedness) are treated here, which were sometimes affected by contradictory tendencies in different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts. The typology of changes presented here is partly language specific and characterises only the given historic, social and cultural circumstances, but partly conveys more general lessons to be learned about the nature of surname change.

* * *

Introduction

Topic of the Paper

The aim of my paper is to give an overview of the types of changes and most characteristic tendencies that can describe the history of a surname as an existent element of the language and by definition an inherited type of personal names in the Hungarian linguistic and cultural context.

In the given framework I am in no position to address the problematic nature of the notions of ‘surname’ and ‘Hungarian surname’. When saying ‘Hungarian surname’, however, I mean not only surnames of Hungarian linguistic origin, but the whole of the surname stock used by members of the Hungarian language community (cf. Farkas 2010). My paper thus also includes the changes occurring to surnames of non-Hungarian origin in a dominantly Hungarian linguistic and cultural context, i.e. the phenomena of surname assimilation, although I cannot address these in great detail in the present paper (for more on this question, however, see Farkas 2009, 2012).

The Hungarian surnames that ended up in a dominantly foreign language context (which, over the course of 20th-century history, mostly meant non-Hungarian official state languages in Central Europe) would add valuable considerations concerning our topic.

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However, these changes are ruled by non-Hungarian linguistic systems, so I shall not deal with them here, for theoretical as well as practical reasons. It must be noted, however, that the formally ‘new’ Hungarian surnames and their bearers can easily appear in Hungary and thus cannot be separated from our current topic. Some typical examples for the phenomenon: Hung. *Füstös* ‘smoky’ > Rom. *Fistoș* ~ *Fustes*; Hung. *Görög* ‘Greek’ > Ukr. *Гупух* > Ukr. *Gyrykh* ~ *Hyrykh*; Hung. *Szabó* ‘tailor’ > Slov. [female] *Szabóová* ~ *Sabová*; Hung. *Sebes* ‘< Sebastian; or swift; or wounded’ > Serb. *Sebesics* etc.

Identifying Surname Changes

Establishing and following the historic changes concerning a specific name on the basis of the sources is not always an easy task, for several reasons:

Due to the diverse and, compared with modern orthography, ill-structured orthographic practice, some (mainly phonetic) changes are impossible to follow, and certain (orthographic) changes cannot be considered necessarily relevant.

Behind the data found in the sources there can also be individual, *ad hoc* mistakes (misspellings), which may have become fixtures, yet may provide misleading data.

Usually, we are not familiar with the name use value of a recorded piece of data: we do not know whether that name was only used in writing or also in oral communication, and in what (social) context it was used in what ways.

The surname data concerning one particular person or family recorded at different points in time do not necessarily refer to a change (a cause-and-effect relationship), but can also record diversity (parallel or fluctuating name use).

Preliminary Remarks

The topic of the typology of surname changes calls for some more general remarks to be made at the outset.

Name changes happen for a wide range of reasons, some lingual, some extralingual. These are, of course, mutually interconnected.

Name changes always occur in the linguistic and extralinguistic environment of the given period. These circumstances influence the triggers of changes, the exact way they happen and the features of the new name variants.

A name change can occur for the specific name bearer, or can happen when the name is transferred (inherited), i.e. when naming the next bearer of the name.

Name changes can happen naturally or artificially. The latter can involve processes that would be inconceivable and impossible to explain in the system of natural name changes.

A name change can be initiated by the community (natural and typically spontaneous name changes) or by the individual, the latter being the name bearer (artificial and typically conscious name changes) or the person registering the name (artificial and typically spontaneous name changes).

Name changes can occur on the oral or the written plane of name use.

Name changes can happen as unofficial processes or, following the required historic developments, in an official (or at least more official) fashion.

Some of the changes are linguistically more ‘regular’ (more predictable), while others are more ‘irregular’ (less predictable). Among the former we find for example the surname changes related to phonological changes, while among the latter the surname changes based on slips and errors.

In the following, I will not be able to present and consider all of these remarks in detail, but when giving an overview of the possible types of changes, I shall refer to some of these considerations.

The Framework of Surname Change Typology

The most fundamental, complex changes concerning a surname are its creation and termination.

There are several questions we could address in connection with the creation of a surname, including the interpretation of the category of ‘surname’, the background of the process, the differences between natural and artificial surname creation and their various possible ways. As for the elimination of surnames, the (traditional and/or legally regulated) order of name inheritance, demographic correlations and the potential effects of name changes are some of the questions that could be dealt with.

However, I do not have the opportunity and the intention to address these issues here. In my paper I shall focus on giving an overview of the possible types of surname₁ > surname₂ changes. I am also going to ignore changes here when a surname becomes a different type of proper name or a common noun.

I wish to present the system of changes in the stock of Hungarian surnames according to the following typology:

- entire changes;
- partial and regular structural changes (including: syntactic and morphological changes);
- partial and irregular structural changes (including: semantic changes on a formal basis and formal changes on a semantic basis);
- partial formal changes (including: written and oral changes);
- and finally: other, non-structural and non-formal types of changes.

The typology I created and present here is based on the typologies of place name changes by István Hoffmann (1993, 1999) and Valéria Tóth (2005, 2008), as well as on the typology used for surnames by János N. Fodor (2010). The examples cited here are taken from many different sources (primary and secondary literature, impossible to list them here), and written as they were found there (especially in the case of surnames of foreign origin: sometimes in a partially already Magyarised, i.e. Hungarianised form).

The Typology of Surname Changes

Entire Changes

The entire change is a type of name changes, when an utterly new surname takes the place of the previous one. The new name is the manifestation of some kind of new name giving motivation, e.g. an individual characteristic, naming a relative, etc. (*Nagy* ‘big’ > *Süket* ‘deaf’; *Szabó* ‘tailor’ > *Somogyi* ‘from Somogy county’; *Horváth-Szabó* ‘Croat + tailor’ > Sl. *Gergulits*). With artificial name giving, the motivation can be just the name taste (Ger. *Schnierer* > *Bérczvály* ‘peak + castle + -i suffix’; Ger. *Schmidt* > *Zongor* ‘old Hungarian name’).

Entire name change is sometimes realised through using an alias (*András* > *András ~ Kovács* > *Kovács*), sometimes through double surnames (*Schwarcz* > *Fekete-Schwarz* > *Fekete*; *Bába* > *Bába-Tóth* > [*B. Tóth* >] *Tóth*).

Partial and Regular Structural Changes

The next main type of surname changes is the type of partial and regular structural changes. These can be the changes of the syntactic structure (the level of functional name constituents) or of the morphological structure (the level of the name elements within the functional parts). In both types it is possible to add or retain a structural part. The possibility of changing such a structural part is more limited.

Changes of Syntactic Structure

Changes of syntactic structure are changes pertaining to the functional name constituents of a surname, in the case of double surnames.

This change can be the addition of a new name constituent, whose origin can be in family names or nicknames (*Andok* > *Kis Andok*), but also a completely new name creation as well, in the case of name Magyarisations (*Karleusa* > *Keresztes-Karleusa*). The creation of double surnames was administratively limited for different considerations throughout most of the 20th century, but for the past decade this type of name change has been rapidly increasing: connecting the two family names at marriage has become a new, legally possible form of marital names in Hungary, and these names can be given to the children of the couple, too.

The change can involve the omission of one name constituent of the surname as well (*Löki-Nagy* > *Nagy*, *Pándi Deák* > *Pándi* or *Deák*). Behind this there are usually practical considerations, especially the intention of a simpler name use.

The swapping of certain name constituents of double surnames is also possible, but it must be very rare, thus I cannot cite a specific example for that type at present.

Changes in syntactic structure are typically motivated by extralinguistic factors.

Changes of Morphological Structure

Changes in the morphological structure involve changes of the name elements: lexemes and suffixes.

This change can take the form of adding a new name element, primarily one of the typical name formants ($\emptyset > -i$ [‘from somewhere, belonging to somewhere or to someone’]: *Illyés* ‘Elias’ > *Illyési*, Sl. *Hudák* > *Hudáki*; $\emptyset > -fi$ [‘someone’s son’]: *István* ‘Stephen’ > *Istvánfi*, Ger. *Lackner* > *Lacknerfi*), but also with lexical elements (*Tóth* ‘Slav, Slovak’ > *Tóthfalvi* ‘Slav, Slovak + from the village of; from the village of Tóthfalu’).

The change may be the omission of the name element, primarily the suffixes ($-i > \emptyset$: *Árvai* > *Árva* ‘from Árva county’ or ‘orphan’, *Páli* > *Pál* ‘Paul’; $-s$ [‘having something’] > \emptyset : *Kaszás* > *Kasza* ‘scythe’, *Kockás* > *Kocka* ‘dice’), but also with lexical elements (*Örökkéélő* ‘forever living’ > *Örökké* ‘forever’; *Serfőző* [*ser* ‘ale’ + *főző* ‘person who cooks’] ‘brewer’ > *Főző* ‘person who cooks’).

Finally, the change can involve swapping name elements, even of different kinds (*Nyolcujjú* ‘eight fingered’ > *Nyolcas* ‘eighth, number eight’; *Földházi* ‘from an earthen house’ > *Földi* ‘from the earth or field’; *Kerekes* ‘person who has got wheels or wheelwright’ > *KerékJártó* ‘wheel + maker; wheelwright’).

Behind the changes of morphological structure there are mainly intralinguistic factors. Addition is typically a result of the intention of morphological markedness, involving surnames of both Hungarian and foreign origin, while the other two types require a transparent Hungarian name structure. The most typical agent of these changes is the suffix $-i$ ‘from somewhere, belonging somewhere or to someone’, in many cases as a participant of synchronic variability rather than clear-cut diachronic name changes.

Partial and Irregular Structural Changes

Partial and irregular structural change is a type of surname changes, when the unpredictable structural changes are not compliant with the structural patterns of morphological and syntactic structures, but irregular in form. The relationship between the old and the new surname can be formal or semantic and the change can likewise be semantic or formal in character.

Formally Based Partial and Irregular Semantic Changes

As for formally based partial and irregular semantic changes, the surname is transformed into a different name, similar in its form, but different in terms of lexical and semantic structure.

The change can occur by adding lexical and semantic content in diverse ways (Sl. *Hostya* > *Ostya* ‘hostia’; Rom. *Kendris* > *Kenderes* ‘person who has got hemp’; Sl. *Kaszavits* > *Kaszaviszi* ‘carries a scythe’). This is one of the ways of spontaneous (or sometimes conscious) Magyarisation (in other term: Hungarianisation) of surnames. The change can involve a shortening of the surname (Sl. *Gasparovics* > *Gáspár* ‘Casper’), or, primarily with conscious name Magyarisations, an extension of the original (Ger. *Munk* > *Munkácsi* ‘from *Munkács* settlement). The artificial name changes, typically involving just a small part of the

name, most often the initial letter or sound also have to come under this category (Ger. *Berger* > *Bajor* ‘Bavarian’ or *Bíró* ‘magistrate’ or *Beregi* ‘from the Bereg region’ etc.). These changes are often also close to the type of entire name changes, but because of the definite intention and mode of preserving the initial of the original name, I discuss them here. Finally, we can also mention here a special type of change that cannot actually be analysed structurally, but results in a phonetic form which (only) seems to be morphologically transparent for the name users, as a result of an irregular transformation of the ending (Sl. *Krivácsik* > *Krivácsi*, Arm. *Murátin* > *Muráti*; cf. the typical surname ending suffix *-i*).

The type of formally based partial and irregular semantic changes can involve the omission of lexical or semantic content as well (*Czank-Kiss* ‘a kind of tool’ + ‘little’ > *Czankis*).

Finally, the change can also involve swapping the existent lexical and semantic content for a different lexical and semantic content (*Zeke* ‘a certain kind of vest’ > *Eke* ‘plough’; *Pruszkai* ‘from *Pruszká* settlement’ > *Pruszklik* ‘a certain kind of vest’).

Thus the most typical change occurring here is the making meaningful of the existent surname.

Semantically Based Partial and Irregular Formal Changes

I consider another type of partial and irregular structural changes the type of semantically based partial and irregular formal changes. These occur among the natural name changes as well, but are more typical for artificial name changes. It is a special type of name change, as it presupposes a degree of bilinguality and always relies on the involvement of a foreign language in some way.

This change can involve literally translating the original surname (Ger. *Feldmann* or Rom. *Cimpian* > Hun. *Mezei* ‘from a field’; Ger. *Krieger* or Sl. *Voicsik* > Hun. *Csatár* ‘fighter’).

The change can be based on a looser or partial semantic relationship as well (Ger. *Goldschmidt* ‘goldsmith’ > Hun. *Kovács* ‘smith’, Ger. *Rozenberg* ‘rose hill’ > Hun. *Rózsafi* ‘rose + son of’).

The third logically possible option: a name change with no semantic or formal correlations does not belong here, as it is the type of entire surname changes already discussed above.

Partial Formal Changes

Partial formal change is a type of surname change which involves only the written or the phonetic form of surnames, causing a slight modification in the written or spoken form of the name, with no semantic or structural changes. Their detailed typology is purely formal and very long-drawn, and not even specific for this type of proper names. (For this latter reason the earlier name change typologies referred to in the *Introduction* do not even deal with these under the changes concerning the name type in question.)

In the following, then, I shall focus not on their detailed typology, but on presenting the main tendencies influencing these types of changes.

Changes in Written Form

In written language in earlier centuries there was a great diversity of sound notation. The processes of simplification and standardisation that determined the history of orthography did, of course, involve the writing of surnames as well. They were diminishing the number of variants and pushing surnames towards modernisation and the phonemic orthography generally typical of Hungarian written language.²

For example the surname *Tót* ('Slavic, Slovak'), consisting of only three sounds, can be found in 27 different spelling versions in historic sources (thanks to the numerous potential representations of the sounds /t/ and /o:/ and the frequency of this surname). Even today we encounter 11 different spelling versions of the name in Hungary (*Tóth, Toth, Tót, Tot, Tóthh, Totth, Tooth, Toóth, Thot, Thót, Tóóth*), with 98.6% of the name bearers sharing the first orthographic type, *Tóth*. As this example clearly shows, in the case of certain particular sounds and letters (e.g. -t[h] at the end of surnames) there is a strong prevalence of the traditional spelling even today. But the great majority of Hungarian surnames are no doubt characterised by the non-traditional spelling, as with other names or common words (e.g. the standard spelling of the surname based on *kovács* 'smith': *Kovács* 98.7%, *Kováts*: 0.7%, with the other 10 possible varieties constituting only 0.6% of the cases).

At the same time, the use of foreign surnames could increase the number of written variants (e.g. in the case of a German surname, even apart from the variations of the German spelling, we find: *Schäffer, Schaeffer, Scháeffer, Scheffer, Schéffer, Seffer, Séffer, Schäfer, Schaefer, Schefer, Schéfer, Sefer, Séfer*). In the early 19th century an orthographic issue was resolved: surnames, it was ruled, had a special status (even among other proper names) in that they could retain their traditional spelling, avoiding further modernisation. Official administration in general also tended to preserve more and more the unchanging nature of earlier name forms.³

There are, however, certain phenomena that are just the opposite of the main tendencies of the history of orthography. The archaic name variants, dominant in the case of certain phonological positions and certain surnames, could also have a unifying effect, by force of analogy. Also, during the official name Magyarisation waves of the 19th-20th centuries, many name bearers opted for the archaic (by that time perceived as more prestigious) form of the surname to be taken. And even though from the 20th century onwards surnames created by artificial name formation also have to follow the rules of modern orthography, the state has made exceptions in some historic periods with certain personages for certain reasons, even by changing only the orthography of their existent surname into the more archaic form (*Kovács* > *Kováts*, *Tolnai* > *Tolnay*). The most popular archaism is changing the most typical surname ending, the suffix *-i* into *-y*, which is considered (erroneously, in fact) to be a sign of aristocratic or noble descent.

This purely orthographic change naturally only plays out in the written form, with no consequences for oral language use. But there is also an atypical type of change, first occurring in the written and then the spoken form that is the abbreviation of one component

² The source of the specific name sets and numeric data here is Hajdú (2010).

³ Even though we should remark that misspellings occurring while entering a name in a registry can still produce variations even among names of the closest relatives and even nowadays.

of a double surname into its first letter (*Benkő-Nagy* > *B. Nagy*). The pronunciation of these abbreviations, even if very rarely, could affect even the written form of the given surname (*B. Nagy* > *Bénagy*, the pronounced form of *B. Nagy*). The use of these abbreviations was legally not supported throughout the second half of the 20th century (resulting in *B. Nagy* > *Nagy* changes), yet the first letters of ancestors' surnames can now be registered again.

Changes in Spoken Language

In spoken language, the diversity of dialects (more characteristic in earlier centuries) and to some extent different conditions of the phonetic system were prevalent. Thus the phonetic form of surnames was influenced by the phonetic history, dialectal history and general standardisation processes. With surnames of foreign origin there was also the process of spontaneous and conscious Magyarisation.

Looking at surnames, we encounter the same changes as in the case of common words and other types of names, for example the typical features of Hungarian: the phenomenon of vowel harmonising (*Bénda* > *Bende*, *Bertha* > *Bartha*), and the disappearance of consonant clusters (*Kmetykó* > *Metykó*, *Jakl* > *Jakli*), processes that could be especially typical for surnames of foreign origin. The standardisation of language and the increasing ubiquity of official administration, however, acted to diminish the diversity. This is also illustrated by the processes of the official surname changes in the 19th and 20th centuries: while some people changed their dialectal surname to the standard variant (*Körösztös* > *Keresztes*, cf. *keresztes* 'cross bearer'; *Ruzsa* > *Rózsa*, cf. *rózsa* 'rose'), it never happened the other way round: none of the name changers opted for a dialectal variant of a surname.

The written form of the name typically wished to reflect or follow the changes of the spoken form, as written language is only secondary to orality, and its standardisation arrived relatively late. It is to be noted, however, that in the more infrequent case, it was the written form that affected the orality: the unchanged, traditional orthography of a surname, in contrary to the general orthographic practice changed in the meantime, resulting in a change in the spoken form. This can happen to historic, now extinct surnames (written *Zach* ~ spoken [za:x] > [za:tʃ]), and to contemporary surnames due to hypercorrection in the pronunciation (written *Zántó* ~ spoken [sa:nto:] > [za:nto:]).

Other, Non-structural and Non-formal Types of Changes

There are other changes in the history of surnames, which are also relevant, but do not influence the structure, the basic meaning and not even the spoken/written form of the name. Earlier typologies in the literature do not usually deal with these, and here I only enumerate them:

Other semantic components of the surname can also change: its etymological transparency, motivational content, information content and connotational-associative value. These changes, in turn, can serve as motivation for surname changes of other types.

The status of the surname can also change: spoken and/or written status, official and/or non-official status. The scope and mode of name use are also important factors throughout the life of a surname.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we can say that the history of a family and their surname was often fraught with numerous variants and different types of name changes. The diversity of the surname stock and the typicality of surname changes, however, decreased over time in general, as official administration and linguistic standardisation became more and more dominant. Meanwhile the spontaneous and conscious Magyarisations of surnames of foreign origin has enriched the Hungarian surname stock, and the diversity of surnames and the typology of surname changes has also been enriched by the introduction of new surnames of foreign origin and the new types of artificial name changes.

My paper was an attempt at giving an overview of the many different types of name changes characterising the history of Hungarian surnames. The change typology presented here is partly language specific and characterises only the given historic, social and cultural circumstances, but partly conveys more general lessons to learn about the nature of surname change. Studying these questions, in my view, can be fruitful from both aspects.

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A Psycholinguistic Approach to Nicknaming (With Reference to Nicknames Given by Students to Teachers)

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Abstract

The present paper aims to study the *psychological processes* (and, implicitly, the *linguistic products*) by means of which students nickname teachers and to analyse the *discursive functions* that the corresponding onomastic variants develop in actual communication situations.

A *multi-disciplinary* approach is proposed, as the intention is to deal with language facts from an *onomastic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic* perspective. While describing the link between the structure of nicknames and mental processes that underlie their production, these language units are interpreted against the backgrounds in which they occur (in schools and universities). Moreover, the paper assesses the extent to which name givers' temperamental traits affect *unconventional onymic creation*. The products of unofficial name giving can be stored for a short or long period of time, in a micro-community (the classroom or school) or a macro-community (nicknames that frequently occur beyond the confines of the institutional framework in which they were created). Some nicknames can even be studied *diachronically* (i.e. nicknames passed down to successive generations of users).

Methodologically, this research is based on three methods (survey, observation, and experiment), which my students have helped to apply in schools and universities in north-western Romania, a multi-ethnic area.

* * *

This study is part of *Unconventional Romanian Anthroponyms in European Context: Formation Patterns and Discursive Function*, an extensive research project managed by Assoc. Prof. Daiana Felecan and funded by CNCS for a period of three years (2011-2014). It aims at studying the *psychological processes* (and *linguistic products*, implicitly) by means of which students give nicknames to teachers.

Theoretical Premises

In onomastics, nicknaming is the most frequently used means of naming, as it is available to everyone, regardless of status, age, ethnicity, religion, or education. The choice of an official name (a first name) implies an intimate relationship with the baptised person: one has to be a child's parent, godparent, close relative (grandparent, uncle, aunt, sibling), or even the priest that performs the ritual act, according to the customs from a certain community. In order to name a business or a commercial product, one has to be its owner, an employee, or a specialised consultant – therefore, a person that is professionally related to the business or product in question. Nevertheless, there are no restrictions to nicknaming someone, which is

why any individual may be involved in the attribution of such names, as nickname giver or recipient.

In comparison with ritual name giving (baptism), ‘nicknaming is a kind of deviation from the standard act of giving a name to a person and it is explained through the need of the rural micro-community to replace the name. This need appears because the official, institutional name is considered either inadequate or not adapted enough to the (phonetic and) lexical fund of that specific local dialect’ (Felecan 2009: 65). Thus, ‘nicknames are used in social groups (clubs, associations, village communities, schools etc.). They refer to a person’s physical or moral particularities and they may have critical or humoristic functions’ (Spillner 2012: 217). By extending the sphere of the use of nicknames, one can see that they occur in every part of social life, the only difference being in the intensity with which they are employed. Critical eye and irony are part of human nature, and nicknaming, which does not imply recording a name in official documents, is the product of a fuzzy, imprecise, unidentifiable naming entity (*vox populi*), able to capture a nicknamed person’s vulnerable point (especially a physical or mental flaw).

As Van Langendonck notices, ‘concerning modern bynames, i.e. unofficial individual or collective personal names replacing or complementing official names, we have to distinguish between names given by adults and those given by young people, since quite different systems are used’ (2011a: 487). We have different ways of relating to people; therefore, nicknames convey our (subjective) perception of others. On the one hand, ‘adults especially focus on the familial or geographic origin, and the professions of their acquaintances, whilst young people concentrate on external, especially physical characteristics, or on conspicuous behaviour, or special personality features’ (Van Langendonck 2011b: 283). On the other hand, children’s imagination is much more developed, and the nicknames they invent are a striking example of their playful ability to mock everything that is not in agreement with their hierarchy of values or scale of aesthetic evaluation.

Research Area and Methodology

The subjects investigated mainly consisted of students I teach, who were asked to mention ten nicknames of their middle-school, high-school, and university teachers. Most students revealed nicknames of teachers they had in high school and middle school, which turn out to be the most prolific periods from this viewpoint.

The area investigated is north-western Romania, from which almost all the one hundred surveyed subjects come – thus, the study concerns some tens of schools from urban and rural environments. Some students used to be classmates or schoolmates, and this facilitated the validation of the authenticity of the nicknames and the confirmation of the stories behind the names, thereby reinforcing their faithfulness. I appreciated the honesty of the answers, even when they were related to current university professors, who are my colleagues.

Classification of Nicknames

Regional, Archaic Nicknames / Neological Nicknames

Being highly complex, nicknames given by children to adults may be divided according to several criteria, as ‘the way in which young people give by- or nicknames, is rather different than the way in which adults bestow bynames on other adults. As a rule, characterization is omnipresent in the system of motivations in juvenile nicknames, whereas relational naming is almost absent. Clearly, young people are more interested in characterizing their comrades or teachers than finding out where they come from’ (Van Langendonck 2011b: 283). For instance, of the several hundred nicknames analysed, I came across only one example that referred to the place of origin; however, it did not do so directly, but by means of the collective nickname of the inhabitants from the neighbouring village, which was that teacher’s locality of origin. This settlement is called *Lipideu* (‘bed linen’), a regional term, as the villagers are nicknamed *Lipideauă*. In fact, in this case, students took over a nickname they had heard used by their parents and grandparents, and employed it to label the teacher (the nickname can be explained in association with the place of birth).

While nicknames in rural areas contain many regional, old, or dialectal words, nicknames given by students are usually innovative, as they consist of neologisms. Among the name forms derived from regional / archaic words, one can find *Boconc* (‘boot’; the teacher did not let students enter the gym unless they wore proper shoes, and when this did not happen, the teacher would say ‘Mary, this is no place to enter with boots!’), *Claie* (‘mop’; the teacher’s hair was short, thin, and curly), *Dețu*¹ (sometimes, the teacher would go to class drunk), and *Farmazoana* (the explanation for this nickname consists in the teacher’s particular beauty, although the dialectal term refers to a sneaky, cunning person). Nevertheless, neologisms are plentiful, regardless of school or grade: *Blonda Cool* (‘cool blonde’; she was obese and wore unsuitable make-up and clothes, while giving advice on what one should wear), *Savarina* (‘rum baba’; the teacher’s hairstyle resembled the delicious cake). It is natural for regional words to occur less frequently than neologisms, as schools promote literary, standard language, and students are tempted to use terms they hear or learn in an academic environment.

The same explanation can be provided for borrowings from foreign languages, of which the most predominant are Anglicisms: *Big ass* (< a stout woman, with an extremely large posterior), *Big-ul* (< the teacher was short), *Cocky* (< the teacher of English had an upright strut, just like a rooster’s), *Cowboy* (< due to the clothes and boots he used to wear daily), *Crispy* (< the teacher was excessively tanned, despite the season, and dressed so that her tan would show), *Gipsy* (< the teacher used to wear a stained shirt and had a dark complexion), *OK* (< the teacher used this Anglicism all the time), *Peace and Love* (< the teacher smiles all the time, talks kindly, is patient, calm, and friendly), *Whatever* (< the teacher of English said the word *whatever* very often). The fact that Anglicisms are the most used loans by students should not come as a surprise, as on the one hand, English is the

¹ From *deț* ‘a unit for the measurement of liquids, the equivalent of 25 or 50 grams. Usually: a glass of *pălincă* brandy’ – see *DEX Online*, s.v. *deț*.

most studied language in Romanian schools and, on the other, it is the language of globalisation.

In comparison with nicknames of English origin, those borrowed from other languages are numerically insignificant. Thus, I came across nicknames of various origins: French (*Très Bien* < this was what the teacher of French would reply to every answer provided by the students), Italian (*Donna Alba* < the teacher's temperament, her appearance, grace, stylishness, and elegance), German (*Micu Klein* < the teacher's surname was *Micu* and he was short + the analogy with a historical figure from Romanian culture), Latin (*Lupus Malus* < the Latin teacher), and Spanish (*Corazón* < the teacher was absent from school for nearly a year, due to heart surgery; *Jorje* < the teacher's first name is *George* and he is in love with Spanish music and culture).

Nicknames Originating in Phonetic Devices

Starting from the last example, it should be stated that I found several nicknames derived from the teachers' own names, in view of obtaining laughter (= language-based humour) or of characterising. This phenomenon does not occur in Romania alone, but in Western space as well. Van Langendonck estimates that 'especially in the naming practices of young people at school, bynames for teachers or for other pupils derive not only from appellatives or even appellative-like structures, but from all possible linguistic sources, including first and family names, or even a combination of figures' (2011a: 488). The devices are manifold and among them there are:

- Syncope: *Miță* (< *Mihăiță*, formed with a diminutive suffix from the first name *Mihai*); *Vera vuvuzela* (< the teacher's first name was *Veronica* and she would shout extremely loudly when she was angry).
- Apheresis: *Lică* (< the diminutive *Vasilică*, because the teacher used this name to address every student, as he did not know their names), *Toni Burtică* ('Toni belly' < the teacher's forename was *Anton* + he had a big belly).
- Apocope, sometimes with the attachment of the fashionable suffix *-i* to family names (*Dichi* < *Dicu*, *Doamna Tot* 'Mrs Tot' < *Toth*, *Feri* < *Fereștean*, *Suio* < *Suiogan*, *Șovi* < *Șovago*) and first names (*Beni* < *Beniamin*, *Codru* < *Codruța*, *Oli* < *Oliviu*).
- Anagram: *Bliț* ('blitz' < the teacher's surname is *Bilț* and she is photogenic), *Scafandra* ('woman diver' < the teacher's first name is *Cassandra*).
- Reduplication: *Lulu* (< the first name *Iulian*).
- Derivation with diminutive suffixes: *Condorel* (< to distinguish him from his wife, a teacher at the same high school, their family name being *Condor*), *Micuțu* (< the teacher's surname is *Mic*, lit. 'little, short', and he is short), *Muscuța* ('the little fly' < the teacher's family name is *Muscală* and she is very short), *Trifoiăș* ('little clover' < the teacher's surname is *Trifoi*, lit. 'clover'); gender suffixes: *Mâța* ('kitten', definite feminine form < the teacher's family name is *Mâț*, lit. 'kitten', and her husband, also a teacher, was nicknamed *Motanul* 'the tomcat'), *Puica* ('the

- chick' < the teacher's family name is *Puiu*); other suffixes: *Ghețar* ('iceberg' < the family name is *Gheață* 'ice').
- Back-formation: *Ciumă* ('plague' < the teacher's family name is *Ciumău* and she has got a hysteric nature).
 - Blending the family name with the first name, so as to create a new word, which is evocative enough to amuse students: *Papurel* ('little bulrush' < *Pop Aurel*), *Porodica* ('the tomato' < *Pop Rodica*). Another type of blending was found, between the verb *a zâmbi* ('to smile') and the family name (*Lici*), resulting in *Zâmbilici* (< the teacher was always smiling).
 - Deformations of the family name or first name with the help of paronyms: *Bală* ('drool' < the family name is *Balla*), *Cărăbuș* ('May beetle' < the family name is *Dărăbuș*), *Maraton* ('marathon' < the history teacher's family name is *Marton* and he dictates a lot during his classes), *Margarina* ('the margarine' < the teacher's first name is *Margareta*), *Știrbu* ('toothless', definite masculine form < Professor Știru had several missing teeth), *Vișină* ('sour cherry' < the family name is *Vișeu*).

Depending on the closeness established between teachers and students, several nicknames derived from diminutives or hypocoristics were encountered: *Gobi* (< the first name *Gavril*), *Gobitzi* (< *Gobi*), *Poli* (< the first name *Paul*).

Nicknames Obtained by Means of Analogy with Illustrious Figures or Fictional Characters

Another source of nicknames consists of names of well-known real-life individuals or characters from the fictional world of mythology, literature, films, cartoons, and others. This fact can be accounted for by young people's imitation of their role models, their wish to resemble certain idols or to compare, by means of metaphor and metonymy, persons from their entourage with favourite characters. In this context, in agreement with D. Felecan:

nicknaming implies the following sequential acts: *choice, designation, spreading, use*, as well as the following instances:

- *the patient (the nicknamed)* must be known, as he is the one whose traits, which are either judged, or appreciated, sustain the forming of an *initial point of view* underlying the semantics of the nickname;
- *the agent (the nicknamer)* is the one that chooses the nickname (either independently or in collaboration) and then designates it;
- *the newsmonger* is the one who spreads the nickname;
- *the users* are those that repeatedly make use of the nickname, whether they are aware or not of its meaning (2009: 70-71).

Nicknames whose sources are real-life characters are inspired by:

- figures in the world of politics: *Bin Laden* (< he looked like the famous terrorist and was very tough), *Boc* (< he was short and resembled the former prime minister of

Romania, Emil Boc), *Udrea* (< the teacher was blonde and also held a position in the management, precisely like the former minister Elena Udrea from Emil Boc's government);

- figures in the world of art and science: *Aristotel* ('Aristotle' < teacher of philosophy), *Cicero* (< Latin teacher; he would always say a Latin proverb), *Da Vinci* (< the teacher was passionate about art, painting in particular), *Einstein* (< because of the hair), *Mozart* (< music teacher);
- figures in the universe of religion: *Gură de Aur* ('golden-mouthed', 'Chrysostom' < the teacher wore golden braces), *Iuda* ('Judas' < a teacher of religious education, who was very tall, wore a beard, and was also very strict, as he used to give many poor marks), *Moș Nicolae* ('Saint Nicholas' < he was old, had a white beard, and his first name was *Nicolae*), *Sfânta* ('holy', definite feminine form < an extremely conservative teacher of religious education);
- figures that receive great attention from the Romanian mass media: *Bote* (< the teacher tried to imitate a famous Romanian fashion designer, Cătălin Botezatu), *Elodia* (< the teacher looked like Elodia Ghinescu, the lawyer who, as a result of her disappearance, kept making the headlines of Romanian newspapers for many years);
- actors, singers, sportspersons: *Bruce Lee* (< physically, the teacher was the actor's opposite), *Fuego* (< the teacher bears a striking resemblance to this Romanian singer), *Shakira* (< the teacher's hairstyle is similar to the one of the Columbian singer), *Tatae* (< he looks very much like the Romanian gangsta-rap singer who uses this stage name);
- historical figures: *Ceașescu* (< a very strict, authoritarian teacher), *Hitler* (< the teacher fancies politics and history, and she sometimes quotes the Nazi dictator), *Tutankhamon* ('Tutankhamun' < an old history teacher²).

In comparison with the aforementioned nicknames, the ones inspired by fictional characters are more numerous, a fact that is indicative of young people's preferences. Divided into categories, in the order of their occurrence, these nicknames refer to:

- cartoon characters: *Captain K'nuckles* (< *The Marvellous Misadventures of Flapjack*), *Cruella* (< the teacher's hairstyle and make-up are similar to the ones of the character in *One Hundred and One Dalmatians*), *Dexter* (< the teacher was red-haired and freckled, and wore spectacles, just like the homonymous character), *Fred Flinstone* (< *The Flintstones*), *Louie* (< he looked like the main character in *Life with Louie*), *Pepe Le Pew* (< French cartoon character; the teacher's clothes always smelled of mothballs), *Pink Panther* (< in winter, the teacher used to wear a long pink coat), *Pumbaa* (< plump, honest, and earnest, just like the character in the cartoon series *Timon & Pumbaa*), *Samurai Jack* (< he had long hair, which he wore in a ponytail), *Shaggy* (< he looked like the character in the *Scooby Doo* cartoons), *Shaolin* (< the teacher resembled the character in this animated series), *Tweety* (< the

² For this nickname, only the teacher's age mattered, in comparison with the students' age. Thus, it did not refer to the age of the pharaoh who lived 3300 years ago and died when only 18.

- teacher looked like the character in the cartoon series *The Sylvester & Tweety Mysteries*);
- feature film or soap opera characters: *Betty* (< *Yo soy Betty, la fea*), *Coana Mare* ('Big Momma' < the teacher moved about like the character in *Big Momma's House*), *Elf* (< he looked like an elf in *The Lord of the Rings*), *Frankenstein* (< a very stern teacher, who always frowned), *Lassie* (< the teacher resembled the famous dog), *Mister Bean* (< a very jocular nature, whose gestures were similar to the ones made by the comedy actor), *Morticia* (< she looked like the character Morticia Adams: pale complexion, always gloomy, dressed in black), *Nostradamus* (< the teacher gave tests without notice), *Piedone* (< due to the teacher's resemblance to the actor Bud Spencer), *Stan și Bran* ('Stan and Bran' < two teachers from the same school looked like the beloved characters played by Stanley Laurel and Oliver Hardy), *Xena* (< due to the resemblance to the main character in *Xena: Warrior Princess*);
 - literature characters: *Don Juan* (< he was a ladies' man and a charmer, despite his old age), *Lungilă* ('lanky' < he was extremely tall, just like the character in *Povestea lui Harap-Alb* 'The Story of Harap-Alb'), *Păcală* ('trickster' < he used to play tricks on certain students), *Utnapishtim* (< as she was a teacher of world literature, she was very particular about this character in *The Epic of Gilgamesh*);
 - mythological characters: *Afrodita* ('Aphrodite' < although the teacher was no longer young, this nickname stuck to her throughout the years), *Dionysos* (< he often smelled of alcohol);
 - computer-game characters: *Mario* (< the teacher had a prominent moustache and looked like the eponymous character in the game *Mario Forever*).

From the previous examples, one can conclude that Romanian students are more familiar with politicians, autochthonous highlife representatives, and significant international figures (in the world of art and science). Western films and cartoons are closer to them, a proof in this respect being the choice of nicknames from among names of characters pertaining to those cinematic or animated productions. Entertainment shows are not ignored; on the contrary, they are appreciated by many young people, who choose for some of their teachers nicknames that are identical to the names of the television shows in question. For instance, the nickname *The X Factor* was given to a music teacher who, when students sang, suggested that they should participate in this television music competition.

Analytic, Synthetic, Anecdote Nicknames, and Metanicknames

According to D. Felecan's classification, 'Semantically speaking, nicknames can be analytical, synthetical, anecdote nicknames or metanicknames' (2009: 70-81).

Analytic nicknames illustrate a neutral attitude, socially speaking, towards nicknamed individuals' particular features:

- physical appearance: *Broscoiu* ('the toad' < he was overweight and had big eyes), *Ciuperca* ('the mushroom' < her hairstyle resembled porcini mushrooms),

Mecanicul ('the mechanic' < the teacher came to class wearing a blue smock, similar to the one worn by mechanics), *Panda* (< the teacher had a round face);

- skin, hair, or clothing colour: *Albaneza* ('the Albanian woman' < the teacher had white hair), *Cartoful* ('the potato' < the teacher always wore brown clothes), *Creola* ('the Creole woman' < she was ugly and dark-skinned), *Doamna Mov* ('Mrs Purple' < she used to wear something purple at all times), *Madame Blue* (< she was always dressed in blue and even painted the classroom walls in this colour).

Synthetic nicknames 'translate general traits' of the nicknamed person (Felecan, D. 2009: 78). In this category, one can include nicknames derived from:

- qualifying adjectives or nouns: *Atotștiutorul* ('all-knowing', definite masculine form < the teacher believed he knew everything and did not allow others to contradict him), *Bărbosul* ('bearded', definite masculine form < he had a big beard), *Bătrânelul* ('the little old man' < he was the oldest teacher in the school), *Cerbu* ('the stag' < he had a bald spot atop of his head), *Diva* ('the diva' < she wore modern clothes), *Mătreasă* ('dandruff' < the teacher had long dark hair, but plenty of dandruff, as well), *Sconcsul* ('the skunk' < the teacher smelled, because he did not use deodorant), *Spiriduș* ('sprite' < the teacher was thin and short; he had big ears and a big nose), *Stafida* ('the raisin' < an old teacher), *Zâna* ('the fairy' < she believed herself to be gorgeous);
- active metaphors: *Adormita* ('sleepyhead', definite feminine form < she was very sleepy and passed this state on to her students), *Cavalerul* ('the knight' < he was extremely polite and well bred), *Ecologista* ('the ecologist', definite feminine form < the biology teacher was very keen on ecology), *Vulpița* ('the little fox' < the collar of her fur coat had a fox's tail).

Anecdote nicknames 'describe noteworthy accounts in the nicknamed's life' (Felecan, D. 2009: 79): *Baciul* ('the shepherd' < he 'lectured' students about life and always concluded by saying 'you will learn to know that what the Shepherd said is true'), *Broschi* ('little frog' < the students put a frog under the teacher's desk, which scared the teacher greatly and determined her to punish the wrongdoers), *Doamna Vest* ('Mrs West' < she often mistook the West for the East), *Familista* ('the family woman' < she always talked about family and its importance), *Ghiozdănel* ('little backpack' < the teacher wore a backpack all the time), *Gorila fără coadă* ('the tailless gorilla' < ever since the school principal told the students 'you are tailless monkeys!', he received the nickname 'the tailless gorilla'), *Jandarmul* ('the policeman' < a very authoritarian teacher, who showed students videos about training policemen), *Miss Univers* ('Miss Universe' < as a student, she had won a beauty pageant), *Potim* ('pwease' < the teacher could not utter the letter *f* and, instead of *poftim* 'please', one only heard *potim* 'pwease', a word that, in time, became a nickname), *Prăjitura* ('the cake' < the teacher frequently talked about cake recipes during classes), *Securista* ('the Securitate officer', feminine form < the teacher put down in writing everything naughty students would say and then gave these notes to the principal), *Tiristul* ('the lorry driver', masculine form < the teacher of religious education once told the students how he had driven a lorry), *Zâna*

Surprizelor ('the fairy of surprises' < she was in the habit of catching students by surprise by giving them unscheduled tests).

Metanicknames include nicknames based on ethnic names (*Bozgoroaica* 'the Hungarian woman', offensive form < the teacher was of Hungarian origin; *Chinezoaica* 'the Chinese woman' < the shape of the teacher's eyes resembled that of people from the Far East; *Mercedesa* 'Mercedes' < the nickname given to the teacher of English, for racial reasons, as she was of Gypsy origin; *Unguroaica* 'the Hungarian woman' < she spoke Romanian poorly, much to the students' amusement) or social status (*Burlacul* 'the bachelor' < the teacher was not married; *Domnișoara* 'miss' < the teacher was old and unmarried). Albeit scarce, these nicknames reveal certain ethnic sensibilities displayed by students in north-western Transylvania, on the one hand, and their concern for teachers' marital status, on the other.

Nicknames Derived from Physical Appearance

Through the nature of their profession, teachers are more exposed to other people's sense of observation, as opposed to other social classes, and 'whenever deviations occur, regardless of their nature, the person in question will be sanctioned by means of a nickname, which may be known or unknown, accepted or tolerated' (Felecan 2010: 103). Despite the diversity of the nicknames, most of them refer to physical appearance, which is normal if we consider that the first contact between individuals is established visually, and one's outward aspect is a kind of visiting card. The prominent physical traits that students notice are related to height, weight, complexion, or a flaw that can be noted about one's eyes, nose, ears, mouth, teeth, and so on. The following nicknames are proofs of students' critical eye: *Așchie* ('splinter' < she was very thin), *Barbie* (< she was blue-eyed and blonde-haired), *Broscoiu* ('the toad' < he was fat and had big eyes), *Bubulina* ('the little bubble', feminine form < she was plump), *Căstorel* ('little beaver' < his front teeth were prominent), *Chițailă* ('squeaky' < the teacher looked like a little mouse), *Cioara* ('the crow' < she was ugly and dark-skinned), *Frumușelul* ('cutiesy', definite masculine form < he was young and very handsome), *Ghiobu* ('hunchback', definite masculine form < his back was hunched), *Lungu* ('lanky', definite masculine form < he was very tall), *Ochiuț* ('little eye' < he had a glass eye), *Panda* (< the teacher had a round face), *Pinguinul* ('the penguin', definite masculine form < the teacher walked with great difficulty, because of a condition of one of his legs), *Ponei* ('pony' < she was really short), *Porky* (< she was overweight and gluttonous), *Prince Charming* (< the students find him good-looking), *Sprâncenatu* ('big brows', definite masculine form < the teacher had large eyebrows), *Stafia* ('the ghost' < she was short, thin, and long-haired), *Țuți* ('titties' < she had big breasts).

Specific Nicknames / Universal Nicknames

'The number and variety of nicknames is extremely vast, which means that they are an inventory open to every kind of innovation. Many are "universals", occurring everywhere' (Felecan 2010: 109) – nicknames like *Baba* ('the old woman'), *Mr. Bean*, or *Scorpia* ('the shrew'; lit. 'the scorpion', feminine form) –, while others differ from one classroom or school to another, thus showing that children's fantasy knows no bounds. The same nickname found

in two schools refers to distinct aspects. Two eloquent examples are *Ceas*₁ ('watch' < the teacher never let students go before break time), *Ceasul*₂ ('the watch' < the teacher always looked at his watch), and *Einstein*₁ (< his hairstyle resembled that of the famous scientist), *Einstein*₂ (< he claimed to know everything and always gave low marks). Just as 'many aspects of the language faculty are universal' (Costa *et al.* 2011: 531), many nicknames display general features, with respect to their dissemination and the stories behind them.

There is no hierarchy as regards student nickname givers. Every grade / group has got the right / freedom to ironise a teacher by means of a nickname that, depending on how successful it is, stands a chance of becoming widespread in the entire school / university and of perpetuating for generations to come. Some students confessed that several nicknames for their elderly teachers were identical to the ones remembered by their parents, who went to the same schools; thus, these nicknames were about 25-35 years old. Psycholinguistically, this means, on the one hand, that they are the best such names to capture teachers' physical or behavioural characteristics and, on the other, that teachers are conservative and refuse to make any efforts to change in time.

With reference to teachers' behaviour, present-day youth are particularly inventive and willing to penalise any deviation from what they think is normal. This marks yet another difference in the means of nicknaming across generations: 'Whilst in adult byname-giving, familial or geographical origin as well as characterization figure, young people limit themselves to the category of characterization, i.e. occupations or other activities, or physical, psychological, or social properties' (Van Langendonck 2011a: 487-488).

Nicknames Derived from Language Peculiarities

Among the most frequent nicknames bestowed on teachers by young people, there are those related to language peculiarities, or as Van Langendonck calls them, 'delocutives, i.e. nicknames referring to habitual sayings of the name-bearer' (2011b: 282). I will mention here several situational contexts (a catchphrase or an event in an individual's life) or speech acts that are related to verbal tics, the distortion or incorrect pronunciation of certain words, the way in which teachers address students, 'or a particular line or event. [...] Actually, these are anecdote nicknames, given by an individual to another person and communicated to the community, who, attracted by the singularity of the situation, easily takes on these nicknames' (Felecan 2010: 113): *Amin* ('amen' < the teacher had a verbal tic that consisted of saying this word), *Atenție* ('attention' < the teacher used this word very often), *Circuit* ('circuit' < when the teacher said the word *circuit*, the students knew that they were going to have to step out to the blackboard and answer the teacher's questions, or they would be given a pop quiz), *Corigența* ('the failed class' < the nickname originates in a combination of the teacher's demanding attitude and her first name, *Corina*), *Doierul* ('playing card number 2' < the nickname of a mathematics teacher, who was in the habit of threatening students with giving them the mark 2, which is the next-to-last poorest mark in the Romanian system of assessing school work), *Domnul meu* ('my lord' < the teacher always addressed students using this phrase), *Felie* ('piece' < he would often tell students 'Move it, or I'll let you have a piece!'); *Iepuraș* ('little bunny' < when a student was asked to come to the blackboard, the teacher would tell him / her 'Little bunny, start running!'), *Lapsus* ('lapse' < the chemistry

teacher used to answer every question by saying she was having a lapse), *Mamă dragă* ('mother dearest', cognate of English *sweetheart* < the teacher addressed students that were called on to answer a question 'What did you learn for today, *sweetheart*?'), *Neșcu* (< this professor of English pronounced his family name, *Nașcu*, according to the rules of English pronunciation), *OK* (< the teacher used this phrase very often), *Porumbelul* ('the dove' < the teacher used to tell students who gave a wrong answer 'The bird has flown'), *Profa Daaa?* ('teacher yees?' < she always said this at the end of students' sentences), *Prospects* (< the teacher would frequently refer to a workbook bearing this name), *Ș-anume* ('which is' < the teacher used this phrase in every sentence).

With other kinds of nicknames, young people's ludic intention, inexhaustible fantasy, and skilfulness in nicknaming individuals that stand in front of them during classes are salient. However, in the previous examples one can see that students only took advantage of what they were provided through teachers' repetitive, poor, or faulty expression. For instance, one of my students noted that she counted 36 occurrences of the adjective *teribil* ('terrible, awful') during a lecture and a seminar held by a literature professor. On the other hand, just as after important examinations – such as the baccalaureate – the mass media quote, to everyone's amusement, numerous 'pearls' coined by students, nicknames of this kind may be interpreted as a retort given by students who, although hierarchically inferior, can still 'penalise' their teachers' linguistic imperfections.

I also came across some nicknames related not to teachers' expression, but the subjects taught or their hobbies: *Drosophila Melanogaster* (< the biology teacher used to say the following about students that were not prepared for her class: 'Look at this *drosophila*, she doesn't know anything, shame on her!'), *Madame Poulet* ('Mrs Chicken' < the name of the professor of French is *Puiu*, lit. 'chicken'), *Ribo(zom)* ('ribosome' < biology teacher). Psycholinguistically, these nicknames capitalise on the terms that students acquired while learning for the subjects taught by the teachers in question.

A Nickname / Several Nicknames for the Same Person

Some nicknames originate in associations between a teacher's countenance, appearance, nature, and behaviour or, as Van Langendonck states, in 'a continuum from activities to physical properties, i.e. from professions, occupations, or other activities, social behavior, social status, personality features, psychological peculiarities, to physical appearance' (2011b: 282): *Baubau* (< the teacher is very stern), *Blonda cool* ('the cool blonde' < she was overweight, wore inappropriate clothes and make-up, but offered advice about clothing), *Claxon* ('horn' < the vice principal always shouted at disobedient students), *Fericitu* ('happy', definite masculine form < his gait was believed to be suggestive of homosexuality and, as he was a teacher of English, he always translated the word *gay* by 'happy'), *Madame Fatigué* ('Mrs Fatigued' < a teacher of French whose attitude during classes was languid), *Mimoza* ('the mimosa' < the teacher was easily upset and had numerous complexes), *Scorpiia* ('the shrew' < she was stern, demanding, and her laughter was ironic).

While most teachers only have a (characterising) nickname, there are some who have several nicknames, which one may call *cascade-nicknames*. They pertain to different grades / generations or multiple situational contexts, which are memorable to students with a

well-developed sense of humour. In this case as well, ‘the taxonomy divides into four categories: physical traits, psychological and behavioral characteristics, playing with sounds and word-forms, and finally, the combination of these sounds and forms with meanings associated with the teachers’ family-names’ (Van Langendonck 2011b: 283): *Balena* (‘the whale’) / *Clopot* (‘bell’) / *Tomo* (< the professor is overweight / her family name is *Tomoiağă*), *Buni* (‘granny’) / *Baba* (‘the old woman’) / *Bety* (< she was approaching retirement / her first name is *Beatrice*), *BuŃniță* (‘owl’) / *Melcișor* (lit. ‘little snail’) (< the teacher’s hairstyle / the family name *Melcea*), *Curcubeu* (‘rainbow’) / *Multicolora* (‘multi-coloured’, definite feminine form) / *Pălăriuță* (‘little hat’) / *Cușmă* (‘fur hat’) (< the clothing style), *Gay* / *Femeiușcă* (‘little lady’) (< he was classy, well dressed, passionate about fashion, clothes, and appearance / the teacher had a sharp voice and a ladylike gait), *Hălencuță* (‘little turtleneck’) / *Povești nemuritoare* (‘immortal tales’) (< the teacher wore thick clothes and turtlenecks / during every class, the teacher spent about 10-15 minutes recounting all sorts of events from her university years), *Mami* (‘mum’) / *Cloșca* (‘the broody hen’) (< she cared very much about her students, whom she called ‘my children / chicks’), *Sexy Luci* / *Pui congelat* (‘frozen chicken’) (< very thin teacher), *Umbreluță* (‘little umbrella’) / *Preci* (from *precipitații* ‘(rain) showers’) (< the teacher stood in front of the first row of desks in the classrooms and she ‘showered’ the students with spit), *Vampir* (‘vampire’) / *Demon* / *Vrăjitoare* (‘witch’) (< the teacher had a gloomy and sombre look).

Nicknames – A Lexicological Perspective

Lexicologically, the nicknames bestowed on teachers by students may be divided into base forms and derivative forms, which are obtained especially with the help of diminutive suffixes. Nicknames with a simple structure consist of nouns without articles (*Crin* ‘lily’ < the teacher is beautiful and wears a perfume that smells like this flower; *Fată* ‘girl’ < a very young teacher, who is treated with little respect; *Pinguin* ‘penguin’ < short, stout teacher, with short, curly hair; *Portocală* ‘orange’ < the teacher looked like this fruit) or nouns with the definite article: *Pisica* (‘the cat’) < the teacher had green eyes and keen sight, just like a cat; *Șchiopul* (‘limp’, definite masculine form) < he was limp. As N. Felecan notes, nicknames inspired by animals, birds, or insects may occur with everyone, and they ‘constitute a relatively constant, predictable subclass, but they are defined by the fact that, once chosen, they become indicative of the nicknamed person’s behaviour. [...] Negative aspects are taken into account, either regarding an animal’s appearance: big, strong, fierce, and so on, or its characteristics: ferocity, slyness, greed, savagery, slowness, and so on’ (2010: 112-113).

Names of various beings, alongside other lexical-semantic categories, also appear in nicknames obtained through the addition of diminutive suffixes, which are omnipresent in all the stylistic registers of the Romanian language: *Așchiuță* (< *așchie* ‘splinter’ + suffix *-uță*; tall and thin teacher), *Băiețaș* (< *băiat* ‘boy’ + suffix *-aș*; he is young and gets along well with students), *Băluță* (< *bală* ‘drool’ + suffix *-uță*; the students sitting in the first row of desks needed umbrellas or tissues), *Bestiuța* (< *bestie* ‘beast’ + suffix *-uță*; due to the teacher’s nature), *Broscuță* (< *broască* ‘frog’ + suffix *-uță*; despite his looks, the teacher was loved by the students), *Bretonelu* (< *breton* ‘fringe’ + suffix *-el*, definite form; the teacher had

a short fringe), *Bulinuță* (< *bulină* ‘dot’ + suffix *-uță*; he used the term *dot* very often), *Castronașul* (< *castron* ‘bowl’ + suffix *-aș*, definite form; the teacher always wore a hat that looked like a bowl), *Crăcănel* (< the verb *a crăcăna* ‘to sprawl’ + suffix *-el*; a physical education teacher, who was tall, thin, and used to sprawl), *Cuțulache* (< the dialectal term *cuțu* ‘doggie, pup’ + suffix *-ulache*; the teacher always talked about his four dogs), *Lebădel* (< *lebădă* ‘swan’ + suffix *-el*, masculine form; a teacher who moved gracefully and talked slowly and drowsily), *Mustăcilă* (< the verb *a mustăci* ‘to smirk’ + suffix *-ilă*; he had a funny moustache), *Pătrățelu* (< *pătrat* ‘square’ + suffix *-el*, definite form; a teacher of mathematics, who was short and had a large head), *Rățușca* (< *rață* ‘duck’ + suffix *-ușcă*, definite form; the teacher had a waddling gait), *Scărpini* (< the verb *a scărpina* ‘to scratch’ + suffix *-ici*; the teacher scratched all the time), *Vițică* (< *vițel* ‘calf’ + suffix *-ică*; a malicious teacher of mathematics). These nicknames highlight their emotional nature or their metaphorical one, and they are ubiquitous in Romanian schools.

Another word-building device used in nicknames given by students to teachers is back-formation. In Romanian, this process ‘seems to be more productive and diversified than in Latin and the other Romance languages’ (Vasiliu 2001: 483). In the realm of onomastics, back-formation facilitates the creation of masculine first names from feminine ones, as in the following example: the principal of a high school is called *Mirel*, because the first name of the vice principal is *Mirela*.

I also recorded nicknames formed by the blending of words, especially proper names, although this mechanism is not as widespread in Romanian as it is in German, for instance: *Memo* (< *Mihăilă*, the principal’s family name + *Nemo*, because he was strict and scary), *Tonpom* (< *Tonciu*, the surname of a Romanian show business personality, who has got a long nose + *Pomian*, the teacher’s family name).

Of the word-formation devices that are based on lexical-semantic contraction, clipping and acronymy occur in nicknames given to teachers by young people. Clippings: *Crăci* (< *Crăcita* ‘sprawling’, definite feminine form; she had a funny gait and a strange way of sitting down at the desk), *Iepu* (< *Iepure* ‘rabbit’; the teacher had large, rabbit-like teeth), *Pisi* (< *Pisică* ‘cat’; very young and pretty, especially admired by students), *Zgripti* (< *Zgripturoaica* ‘the harpy’; mean and strict teacher). Acronyms: *H₂O* (< the chemistry teacher; she was obsessed with the pronunciation of this chemical formula), *PDI* (< the initials of the teacher’s name: *Pop Dumitru Ion*), *PDI* (< the mathematics teacher used to say ‘o problemă depinde de ipoteză’ ‘a problem depends on the hypothesis’), *TC* (< full name initials: *Tatiana Cauni*). A particular situation is that of the nickname *SIL*, which is not based on the teacher’s name, but on the fact that he chose these letters for his licence plate. Since many car owners opt to have certain number plates when they register their cars, plates that contain their (first or last) names in full form, as acronyms or clippings (see Felecan 2013: 445-455), some students turned to the reverse, unconventional mechanism of naming their teachers after the licence plates they have on the cars they drive to school: *EMO*, *SOE*.

Nicknames – A Structural Perspective

According to D. Felecan, nicknaming promotes ‘a grammatical configuration that renders it prone to stereotypy and expressivity’ (2009: 70); thus, from a structural point of view, there are one-word, phrasal, and sentence nicknames.

As the previous examples have shown, the first category (one-word nicknames) is the best-represented one, because it combines the law of least effort in pronunciation with the efficiency of a suitable nickname: *Albina* (‘the bee’ < a short, lively teacher, who wears colourful clothes and enormous hats), *Băscuță* (‘little hat’ < he wears a knitted cap all the time), *Bilă* (‘marble’ < he used to fillip students), *Bișnițarul* (‘the dealer’, masculine form < the teacher counts his money during classes, under the desk), *Pălărie* (‘hat’ < the teacher wore a different hat every day), *Șobolanca* (‘the female rat’ < the teacher’s appearance and hair colour made her look like a rat), *Țapu* (‘the billy goat’ < he has got a beard).

Phrasal nicknames are relatively numerous and allude to a teacher’s outward aspect or his / her psychological and behavioural characteristics, a memorable event that occurred in class, or famous phrases in literature, films, religion, and so on: *Balena Roz* (‘the pink whale’ < an overweight teacher that often dressed in pink), *Cetățeanul turmentat* (‘the tipsy citizen’ < referring to a character in a well-known play; the teacher enjoyed going out for ‘coffee’ with students), *Doamna cu senzații* (‘the lady putting on airs and graces’ < the teacher had the appearance, clothing style, voice, and airs of a diva + the conversations she used to have), *Madame Îhî* (< she utters this sound of approval at each word said by the interlocutor), *Marele Alb* (‘the great white’ < he was tall and white-haired), *Nas strâmb* (‘crooked nose’ < he had a flawed nose), *Pom de Crăciun* (‘Christmas tree’ < she used to come to school wearing flashy, loud-coloured clothes), *Porcu epileptic* (‘the epileptic pig’ < he talked to students in an offensive manner and, as a result of an accident, his hand used to shake terribly), *Piticul porno* (‘the pornographic dwarf’ < a hint at a character in adult films + he was short and fancied students), *Regina fișelor* (‘the queen of worksheets’ < she always gave worksheets to students), *Scuturăciunea Dumneavoastră* (‘your shakiness’ < referring to a form of address from historical literature + he had a motor tic that caused him to shake all the time), *Sfânta Linguriță* (‘the holy teaspoon’ < the teacher of religious education once said, by mistake, *Holy teaspoon* instead of *Holy Mass* – Romanian *linguriță* / *liturghie*), *Speedy Gonzales* (< she was short and wore glasses), *Ting Tang* (< due to the her size, the teacher had a waddling gait).

Sentence nicknames are fairly rare, probably because, in the youth’s opinion, a successful nickname must be short and incisive: *2 metri și-o barbă* (‘two metres and a beard’ < he was very tall and had a beard), *2 metri și-un zâmbet* (‘two metres and a smile’ < she was very tall and smiled all the time), *Nu te mai juca cu pixul!* (‘Stop playing with your pen!’ < a sentence employed compulsively by the teacher in reply to every movement made by the students), *Stai acasă!* (‘Stay at home!’ < when there was clamour, she told students to stay at home, so they would not disturb her classes), *Students, nu intrați în bac* (‘Students, you will not make it to the baccalaureate exam’ < the teacher of English used to say this sentence very often during the last two years of high school), *Un metru și-un zâmbet* (‘a metre and a smile’ < she was short, but always kind and smiling).

Nicknames – A Morphological Perspective

Morphologically, most nicknames bestowed on teachers by students consist of nouns: *Bila* ('the marble' < a tall, fat, and bald teacher), *Capra* ('the nanny goat' < based on the teacher's countenance + she edited the school journal, which she called *Muguri* 'buds'), *Cocostârc* ('heron' < very tall and thin), *Contrabas* ('double bass' < a plump music teacher), *Foca* ('the seal' < due to the sounds the teacher made when laughing), *Libelula* ('the dragonfly' < due to the teacher's oblong face and large spectacles), *Meduza* ('the jellyfish' < she was short and fat, and had a wobbly gait), *Mop* ('mop' < she always came to school with the hair tied at the top of her head), *Pușcăria* ('the jail' < he had the hairstyle and countenance of a prisoner), *Rândunica* ('the swallow' < she was short, frail, and had a nice voice), *Șuvița* ('the lock of hair' < albeit bald, he had a lock of hair that dangled over his glasses).

In the order of frequency, adjectives come in second: *Cheala* ('bald', definite feminine form < her hair got thinner in time), *Crizatul* ('hysterical', definite masculine form < he yells often), *Gotica* ('gothic', definite feminine form < she has got a strange clothing style), *Împuțitu* ('stinky', definite masculine form < he smelled horribly), *Puturoasa* ('stinky', definite feminine form < her breath smelled disagreeably), *Supta* ('emaciated', definite feminine form < she was so thin that her face was emaciated), *Șocata* ('shocked', definite feminine form < she spoke slowly and drowsily, only to raise her voice suddenly).

One finds that there occur few interjections (*Fâl-fâl* 'flap-flap' < the teacher had chubby cheeks; *Oac-oac* 'croak-croak' < the teacher had big, bulging eyes), adverbs (*Rapidu* 'fast', definite masculine form < he walked with great speed), numerals (*Cinciucu* lit. 'small five' < the mathematics teacher gave many such marks, namely 5, and uttered the numeral with the diminutive suffix), and pronouns (*Dumneavoastră* 'you' < the teacher addresses students using this politeness pronoun).

Another interesting grammatical feature of nicknames consists of their abolishing gender differentiation, that is, 'the transfer from an appellative to a nickname does not observe grammatical gender' (Felecan 2010: 116). Words that display a masculine form designate female individuals (*Cocostârc* 'heron' < very tall and thin; *Hitler* < a malicious teacher; *Mâț* 'kitten' < a woman biology teacher, who spoke in an affected manner and with a squeaky voice; *Pinocchio* < a woman teacher of literature, who had a long nose; *Ponei* 'pony' < she was extremely short; *Rambo* < a woman teacher of logics, who was easily recognised from a distance by her gait) and vice versa, feminine words are associated with men: *Girl* (< an effeminate teacher of art), *Pupăza* ('the hoopoe' < a teacher of physical education whose name was *Pupeze Claudiu*).

Concluding Remarks

In school, nicknames can be considered language products, concise messages that students convey to their peers in relation to their opinion about certain teachers. Usually, teachers are sovereigns during classes and, at the same time, they establish the rules of the game: what, how, and how much students should learn. 'Investigations carried out in different locations and countries around the world have shown that in classroom interactions, teachers talk approximately 75% of the time' (Hinkel 2010: 251). During breaks, however, students are the

ones who decide on the schedule and means of their relaxation: the verbal sanction of certain flaws, behaviours, attitudes, vocal tics of their teachers – nicknaming is the way in which students manifest their authority; they make the rules of the game, while those sitting at the teacher's desk become mere puppets, named according to the students' liking and good humour. 'Much of the classroom spoken language centers around knowledge and information elicitation turns between the teacher and the students, cohesive topical stretches of talk, or exchanges motivated by instructional activity in the classroom. In general terms, teacher-student exchanges reflect the unequal and hierarchical relationship of their participants in teacher-fronted classrooms' (Hinkel 2010: 251). Whereas teachers steer discussions during classes in the direction of their choice, students claim the right to demonstrate total freedom and express their preferences in nicknaming their teachers. The use of the name of a famous character to nickname a teacher is yet another proof of young people's tendency to be imitative, to the detriment of being creative. The explanation may lie in speakers' lack of difficulty in understanding such a nickname: the analogy facilitates the comprehension / interpretation of a nickname by students' peers. While in other environments – the rural one, for example – the motivation behind a nickname is often vague and irrecoverable, in student groups it is transparent and easily available to any informant.

Psycholinguistically, the diversity of nicknames can also be accounted for through their oral character. A nickname is almost the only kind of name that is linked to orality, and the cases when it is set in writing (by means of graffiti, for instance) are extremely rare. Due to this fact, on the one hand, young people give free rein to their imagination and rebellious nature, without taking into consideration the potential repercussions of their written action.

On the other hand, nicknaming does not imply constant effort – such as the complexity of the learning or memorising process –, but only attention, intuition, keen observation, and humour. 'The act of producing language is a peculiarly human ability that typically proceeds quickly (2-3 words/second) and without apparent effort' (Berndt 2011: 565). Therefore, it can be performed by most students. Taking into consideration the difference in social status, nicknaming appears as an exciting activity, as it offers students the chance to exert unbridled freedom.

At the same time, one can identify a similarity between nicknames and slang. In schools, a nickname may be seen as an argotic means employed by students to name teachers, and the success of certain nicknames corresponds to young people's attraction to slang words and phrases. Originating in classroom talk or classroom interaction, nicknames become a form of relaxation for nickname givers and their peers, provided that the circuit of their use is kept closed (namely that they do not meet the ears of their bearers). 'Nicknames are normally not combined with address terms, and they often are not even known by the person to whom they refer' (Spillner 2012: 217). Students' perception of nicknames bestowed on teachers is almost always positive. However, the effect these names have on teachers is mainly negative, as most nicknames are pejorative, deprecating. As they are created continuously and occasionally, nicknames are characteristic of the act of unconventional naming in teaching institutions, regardless of geographical space or historical context.

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Wie Entstehen Onomastische Grenzen? Der Einfluss von Dialektarealen, Sprachgrenzen, Historischen und Rezenten Territorialgrenzen auf Familiennamenlandschaften am Beispiel der Familiennamen im Luxemburgischen Grenzgebiet

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Abstract

Dass sich die Familiennameninventare benachbarter Länder in verschiedenen Einzelphänomenen erheblich unterscheiden, ist in zahlreichen Untersuchungen belegt, die aber auch zeigen, dass es häufig grenzüberschreitende Gemeinsamkeiten und Übergänge gibt. Der Vortrag zeigt, wie sich diese gegensätzlichen Tendenzen kleinräumig im konkreten Grenzraum abbilden, und welche Schlüsse sich daraus ziehen lassen, wann und wie sich Familiennamenlandschaften bilden.

Das Untersuchungsgebiet besteht aus dem heutigen Luxemburg und jenen Gebieten in Belgien und Deutschland, die bis 1815 bzw. 1839 Teil Luxemburgs waren. Es umfasst somit sowohl die german.-roman. Sprachgrenze als auch historische und rezente Territorialgrenzen, und ist zudem vielfältig dialektal gegliedert.

Die Untersuchung kombiniert quantitative-explorative und qualitative Ansätze: Zunächst wird die räumliche Struktur des gesamten Nameninventars ermittelt, indem die Isonymie (=Übereinstimmung der Nameninventare) mit statistischen Modellen im Raum abgebildet wird. Ursachen und Erklärungen dieser Raumstruktur werden dann mit qualitativen Methoden gesucht.

Die onomastische Raumstruktur erweist sich als sowohl von linguistischen als auch außerlinguistischen Faktoren beeinflusst: sie folgt maßgeblich der romanisch-germanischen Sprachgrenze und den heutigen Landesgrenzen; auch dialektale Einflüsse lassen sich beobachten.

Die historischen Territorialgrenzen hingegen bilden sich nicht ab. Dies ist erstaunlich, da zum Zeitpunkt sowohl der Entstehung der Familiennamen als auch ihrer Festwerdung (um 1800) nicht die heutigen, sondern die historischen Grenzen Bestand hatten.

Isonymie und Lasker-Distanz: Möglichkeiten Quantitativer Ansätze für die Familiennamengeographie in Deutschland

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Abstract

Bisherige Arbeiten zur Familiennamengeographie Deutschlands untersuchen meist Einzelphänomene anhand eines jeweils ausgewählten Teils des Gesamtinventars der Familiennamen. Dies gilt für den Deutschen Familiennamenatlas (DFA), der anhand von ausgewählten Namenkarten einen umfassenden Überblick über alle denkbaren linguistische Bereiche gibt, ebenso wie für zahlreiche, meist kontrastiv angelegten Einzeluntersuchungen, in denen daneben v.a. auch der statistische Vergleich der Verteilung der Benennungsmotive (meist an den häufigsten Familiennamen) im Zentrum steht (Marynissen/Nübling 2010, Farø/Kürschner 2007 u.a.).

Demgegenüber können mit statistischen Methoden der Bioinformatik, die sich (v.a. außerhalb Deutschlands) auch in der quantitativ orientierten Namenforschung bewährt haben (vgl. den Überblick von Cheshire *et al* (2009)), vollständige Nameninventare untersucht werden. Als ein geeignetes Vergleichsmaß hat sich hier die sog. ‚Isonymie‘ etabliert, die als die Ähnlichkeit von zwei Populationen auf der Grundlage der Häufigkeitsstruktur der Familiennamen definiert (Lasker 1985).

Im Vortrag werden die Ergebnisse einer Pilotstudie, die für ganz Deutschland das gesamte Nameninventar nach Telefonanschlüssen des Jahres 2007 analysiert, vorgestellt und diskutiert, inwiefern dieser Ansatz eine wertvolle Ergänzung zu den in Deutschland verbreiteten qualitativen Ansätzen sein kann.

Occupational Surnames in the Older Scots Language in their Lexicographical Environment

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Abstract

Much of the research into Scottish surnames focuses on names coined in the Gaelic language, and is rooted firmly in the socio-historical context of kinship ties and clan lineage. By comparison, the occupational surnames coined in the Older Scots language in the lowland burghs have received little scholarly attention, and although information on many individual names can be found in George F. Black's 'The Surnames of Scotland', there is no distinct corpus of this category of names.

This paper will focus on Scots occupational surnames within their lexicographical environment. The 12-volume *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (covering the period from 1100 to 1700) will be used as the basis for establishing a corpus of occupational surnames. This will allow the development of specifically Scots names such as Bremner, Cordiner, Dempster, Falconer, Ferrier, Grieve and Lorimer to be examined against the wider context of occupational terms such as aulnager, coalhewer, guster, lapider, palfurner and pargener which are also attested in the Older Scots lexicon but did not evolve into hereditary surnames.

Some Remarks on the Anthroponymy of Dura Europos (and on the Name of the City)

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Abstract

Roman Syria is characterized by a multilingual environment, and a composite anthroponymy, both Semitic and Indo-European.

The city of Dura Europos, in the Middle Euphrates, is a good example of cultural, linguistic and onomastic interactions, as is clear from its double name: founded in ca 300 BC by the Seleucids, the city was conquered by the Parthians at the end of the 2nd century BC, and was disputed between the Arsacids and the Romans for centuries. Finally, the city was conquered in 256 AD by the Sassanians, and then abandoned.

Situated on the border between the Roman and the Parthian empires, Dura was cosmopolitan in character, as is evident from the 19 sanctuaries, from the several languages attested in its numerous (more than 1000) inscriptions (Greek, Latin, Palmyrene, Hatran, Early Syriac, Jewish Aramaic, Hebrew, Safaitic, Middle Persian), and from the variety of its anthroponyms. The paper will focus on the anthroponymy of the city, offering an overview of the different onomastics traditions interacting in the city, and trying to evaluate their respective weight and characteristics.

* * *

Introduction

The city of Europos was founded as *phourion* (military citadel) in ca 300 BC by Nicanor, general of Seleucus I Nicator,¹ on a site already inhabited, on a cliff hanging over the right bank of the Middle Euphrates.² The city was conquered by the Parthians at the end of the 2nd century BC, and was disputed between the Arsacids and the Romans for centuries, since it was located on the border between the two empires. The Romans occupied briefly the city in 116 AD, but they were subsequently forced to leave, and they could definitively take the city only in 165 AD. Finally, in the middle of the following century (256 AD), the city was conquered by the Sassanians, after a long siege, and subsequently abandoned.³

The sand of the desert covered the city for several centuries, until it was discovered by chance in 1920 by the British army. The Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres entrusted the renowned Belgian scholar Franz Cumont to study the city between 1922 and 1923. Systematic excavations were undertaken in 1928, by the Académie and Yale University and they lasted until 1937, for a total of ten campaigns, directed by Michail Rostovtzeff.⁴

¹ The identification of Nicanor is somewhat problematic; the *status quaestionis* may be found in Cohen (2006: 163).

² For Dura and its foundation, see Leriche (1997), Cohen (2006: 156-169).

³ For the chronology of the city, see Leriche (1997), Leriche and Al Mahmoud (1994) and Leriche *et al.* (2011).

⁴ For the discovery of Dura and for a survey of the discoveries of the archaeological campaigns of 1928-1937, see Hopkins (1979); for the most recent excavations, see the overviews in Leriche and Al Mahmoud (1994) and Leriche *et al.* (2011).

The excavations were interrupted by World War II, and the exploration of the city was resumed only in 1986 by a French-Syrian group of scholars, directed by archaeologist Pierre Leriche, who worked in the site until the outbreak of the ongoing Civil War.

The sand of the desert preserved the city, but all that is visible is dated to its last years, and little is known about the Seleucid and Parthian Dura. What is certain, is that the city, situated on the border between two empires, and a crucial halting-place for the caravans which travelled from Palmyra to Lower Mesopotamia, is a good example of the different linguistic and cultural energies simultaneously operating in Syria during the Roman/Parthian period, as is reflected in its sanctuaries,⁵ in the several languages attested in its inscriptions (Greek, Latin, Palmyrene, Hatran, Early Syriac, Jewish Aramaic, Hebrew, Safaitic, Middle Persian), in its anthroponymy, and in its very name.

The Double Name of the City

Dura-Europos is likely the only city of the Roman Near East to be known by a double name, which moreover contains two toponyms of different origin.

The name Europos (Εὐρωπός) is Greek, and it was imposed after the name of a Macedonian city (Cohen 2006: 157), possibly the one in which king Seleucus himself was born (Cumont 1926: xvii).

However, the site was already inhabited in the 2nd millennium BC, and its name was likely Damara, as attested on a Cuneiform tablet coming from the city (and possibly on another Neo-Babylonian document).⁶ Damara is the Neo-Babylonian form of Akkadian *da-wa-ra, dūru(m)*, ‘fortress’, an element which was quite common in Akkadian toponymy, mostly followed by the name of the founder of the settlement; curiously enough, the city is known as ‘Dura Nicanoris’ in the *Ravenna Cosmography* (ca 700 AD),⁷ with a construction which is quite similar to the Akkadian ones, and which mixes up the Akkadian and the Greek names of the city. Dura (Aramaic *dwr’*) is the Aramaic name of the city, from Akkadian *dūru(m)*.

It has been recently suggested by Pierre Leriche and his collaborators that the name of the city should be Europos Dura and not Dura Europos, because the name Europos would have been used before that of Dura, the latter being attested only in the 3rd century, to be replaced again in the middle of the same century, when the city received the status of autonomous colony (Leriche *et al.* 2011: 38). The name of the city is Europos in the 2nd century AD, becoming Dura in the 3rd. It is registered as *dwr’* in two undated Palmyrene inscriptions (Bertolino 2004, inscriptions A.H1.01a; BA.J7,01). If it is plausible, as suggested by Leriche *et al.* (2011: 38) that the toponym was changed in the 3rd century by the Romans in order to create a gap with the Macedonian past, it is hard to understand why the acquisition of the status of a colony should have changed the situation, which is far from being clear cut.

⁵ For the list of the 19 sanctuaries excavated in Dura, see Leriche *et al.* (2011: 19). The most famous religious building is the synagogue, because of its well preserved frescoes, but there is also one of the most ancient Christian buildings. Some temples are related to the Roman army; others are dedicated to deities of local origin, who often have a Greek ‘equivalent’.

⁶ For the Cuneiform tablet found in Dura, see Stephens (1937) and Leriche (1997: 196-197). Wiseman (1967: 496, n. 8) suggests that the name Da-ma-[ra], ‘i.e. Dūr Europos’, may be read in a Late Babylonian document.

⁷ For the attestations of the name of Dura Europos in Greek sources, see Cohen (2006: 156-169).

The ethnonym is Εὐρωπαῖος until 180 AD, Δουρηνή/ός in 200 AD; according to Leriche (2011: 38), it would be again Εὐρωπαῖος in 254 (as attested in Papyrus 32,⁸ and in the inscription published in Leriche 1999), but this is not exactly the case: in the inscription found in 1999, and dedicated to Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος Λυσίας, an exponent of one of the most powerful families in the city, is mentioned the ‘boulé of the Europaioi’ (τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ἡ βουλὴ), and in the papyrus dated to 254 AD (number 32), the city is actually called ‘the colony of the Europaioi’; however, in the latter the ethnonyms are Δουρηνή and Δουρηνός. It is possible that the man and the woman bearing this ethnonym were not entitled to be called ‘Europaioi’. In any case, this document clearly demonstrates that the two names of the city coexisted. We should also keep in mind that the attestations of the toponyms come from official documents, and that the two names of the city were possibly chosen in everyday life according to the context or to personal preferences. Since the site was already inhabited when Seleucid troops founded the *phourouion* of Europos, it is likely that the place had a name, and that this name was Dura, a name of Akkadian etymology which may hardly have its origin as late as the 1st millennium AD.

Anthroponymy

The city seems to have remained faithful to the language of its Hellenistic founders, but the use of languages other than Greek was apparently commonplace. However, their use seems to be circumscribed to specific groups and contexts: Iranian languages were employed by Parthian administrators, Latin was circumscribed to the army and to the dedications to the Roman Emperors, and Jewish Aramaic was in use by the Jewish community. Palmyrene, Hatran and Safaitic are witnesses to the presence of merchants and travelers, whose permanence in the city was not necessarily short. We have in Dura 155 parchments/papyri, and more than 1,200 inscriptions, ranging in date from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD.⁹ Greek is definitely the dominant language: the approximate percentage of the Greek texts—not considering that several texts are bilingual—is 78%, while Latin covers 11% of the documentation, Semitic languages 8%, and Iranian languages 3%.

The number of languages used in the epigraphs is reflected in anthroponymy. In this brief survey of Dura anthroponymy, only the Greek texts are considered, because the great majority of the texts are in Greek, and Greek is the favored language of the inhabitants of the city. The Latin parchments and papyri are not included, because they are mainly related to the army, and the army at Dura has been defined as a ‘total institution’, *i.e.* as a self-standing horizon, with few or no contacts with the civilians (Pollard 1996). The Semitic and Iranian texts have not been taken into consideration, because their anthroponymy is rather predictable: the anthroponymy of the Iranian texts is uniquely Iranian, with one exception;¹⁰ similarly, the onomastics of Semitic texts is mostly Semitic, with extremely few exceptions.¹¹

⁸ The number of the parchments and papyri follows Welles *et al.* (1959).

⁹ For more details about the languages in use in Dura, see Gascou (2011) and Grassi (2015).

¹⁰ See Grenet (1988: 144, 155).

¹¹ We may notice the Greek name Λεύκιος (Iwqy) in Palmyrene, hardly Latin Lucius at such an early date (31 AD): see Grassi (2012a: 70), and the Greek name Θεόδωρος (tδrws) in Jewish Aramaic (Bertolino 2004, inscription H.L7.01a).

The Weight of Greek, Latin, Iranian and Semitic Anthroponyms

If Greek is definitely dominant as a language, the situation of anthroponymy is much more complex, since Semitic anthroponymy is well represented: Greek and Semitic anthroponyms are the two largest groups in the city.¹²

In the Greek texts from Dura ca 1,000 different anthroponyms are attested (each variant is considered one anthroponym) for which it is possible to establish an etymology. Of these 1,000 names, ca 55% are Semitic, ca 31% Greek, ca 12% Latin and ca 2% Iranian. Even if these numbers must be taken cautiously, given the high percentage of doubtful readings and the ambiguity of some names, the proportion and the weight of the different onomastic groups are clear.

However, Semitic names are not as overwhelming as the percentage may suggest, because each Semitic anthroponym is attested few times, often just once, and in the inscriptions with a predominantly Semitic onomastics we hardly have complete genealogies. Conversely, each Greek name may occur frequently: the ruling class remains Macedonian at least until the Roman conquest and Macedonian ruling families used to write abundantly (the same bearer of a name may be attested several times) and to provide far-reaching genealogies, where papyponymy was frequent. Moreover, if the families of Macedonian origin tend to avoid Semitic anthroponyms, there are families with a predominantly Semitic onomastics and presumably local origin in which the use of Greek names is rather common: Greek anthroponymy was evidently considered prestigious, while Semitic was not.¹³

In fact, if we consider the names (with variants) attested 10 or more times, Greek anthroponyms are by far predominant. The names are:

Ἀδαῖος; Αἰδαῖος; Ἀθηνόδωρος; Ἀλέξανδρος; Ἀμμώνιος; Ἀντίοχος; Ἀντωνῖνος;
 Ἀπολλοφάνης; Ἀπολλώνιος; Ἀρτεμίδωρος; Αὐρήλιος; Βαραθης / Βαρατης /
 Βαργατης; Βαρλαας; Βαρναῖος / Βαρνεῖος / Βαρνεος; Βαρχαλβ / Βαρχαλβας /
 Βαρχαλβος; Γερμανός; Δαμόνικος; Δάνυμος; Δημήτριος; Διογένης; Διόδοτος;
 Διόδωρος; Διοκλῆς; Ἡλιόδωρος; Θεόδωρος; Ἰούλιος; Κόνων; Λυσανίας; Λυσίας;
 Μαλχος; Μαρῖνος; Νικάνωρ; Ξενοκράτης; Ὀλυμπος; Πατροκλῆς / Πάτροκλος;
 Σέλευκος; Τιμώνασσα / Τιμωνάσση.

Remarkably, we have here 37 names, of which 26 are Greek, 5 Latin, and 6 Semitic, while there is no Iranian name with 10 occurrences or more.

The Greek proper names are numerous and varied. It is worth mentioning that some Greek names are not attested in Syria outside Dura (e.g. Δαμόνικος or Δάνυμος), while others are among the most frequently attested in Syria (e.g. Θεόδωρος; Ἀντίοχος; Ἀλέξανδρος). Some names are Pan-Hellenic, while others are names particularly frequent in Macedonia

¹² For the anthroponymy of Dura, see Bradford Welles *et al.* (1959: 58-65) (parchments and papyri); Grassi (2007, 2012a, 2012b, 2015), Greek and Latin epigraphs and Greek papyri and parchments.

¹³ It cannot be excluded that sometimes a Greek name attested within families with a predominantly Semitic anthroponymy hides a Semitic name, which would have been used in a Semitic inscription. If overtly double names are rare in Dura (see Grassi 2007), as well as in the whole Near East (see Sartre 1998), the case of a bilingual (Greek – Palmyrene) epigraph (Bertolino 2004: 42-43, inscription BA.N7.01), in which the same man is called Σέλευκος in the Greek text, and br'ṯh (an Aramaic name) in the Palmyrene text is surely a *caveat*.

(Ἀδαῖος; Ἀλέξανδρος; Νικάνωρ), or related to the Seleucid dynastic family (Ἀντίοχος; Δημήτριος; Σέλευκος, which is the most common name in Dura).

Latin anthroponyms, if not borne by soldiers, may be split into two groups, which are valid also outside this list. Latin names are usually either Imperial names (as Antoninus, Aurelius – which is also related to the acquisition of Roman citizenship after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*) – or Iulius), or names which are similar to Semitic anthroponyms, and thus relatively popular in the Near East: Germanus is frequent in Southern Syria (and the Semitic root *grm*, ‘to cut; to decide’ is common in North and South Arabian onomastics), while Marinus is popular in Northern Syria, where anthroponymy is mainly Aramaic, and *mr*, ‘Lord’, is a well attested element in Aramaic anthroponymy.¹⁴

The majority of the Semitic names attested in the list is Aramaic, and formed by the noun *br*, ‘son’, followed by a theonym: Βαραθης; Βαρλαας; Βαρναιος; Βαρχαλβος. Also Ἀδδαῖος is an Aramaic name, which contains the theonym Hadad, the storm god, in a short form. Μαλχος, ‘King’ is one of the few names attested in the whole Near East. Not recorded among the anthroponyms with ten or more occurrences are Hebrew names, which are attested in the city, and borne by members of the Jewish community.

Chronological Aspects

As mentioned above, the ruling class remained Macedonian at least until the Roman conquest, and even after it there are inscriptions originating from this milieu. That means that several names tend to remain the same along the history of the city, because the families of Macedonian origin used a conservative onomastics. If in the dated epigraphs there are names attested only in a reduced chronological span, names such as Θεόμνηστος, Δάνυμος, Λυσίας or Σέλευκος are continuously attested from the most ancient inscriptions of Dura up to the end of the Parthian period. With the arrival of the Romans, these names are less attested, even if some of them do not disappear. According to Bradford Welles (1951: 267), after the conquest of Dura by the Romans (165 AD), the anthroponymy of the city changed deeply, ‘Graeco-Macedonian names disappeared almost completely’ and ‘Semitic names are in the great majority’, while both Semitic and Greek names are not the same names as previously.

If it is actually quite clear that in the Roman era the ruling class was recruited also among the populations bearing Semitic names, the idea that the anthroponymy of the city was so deeply affected is somewhat problematic. It is actually hard to find a dated epigraph bearing the names of the Macedonian families after the Roman conquest, but their names are sometimes attested, even if without the predominance they used to have. For example, the anthroponyms attested in a deed of sale dated 180 AD (Papyrus 25) are indisputably the names of families of Macedonian origin. Even more significant is the already mentioned inscription found in 1999 (Leriche and El ‘Ajjī 1999), which, albeit undated, is datable to the 3rd century AD because of its anthroponymy (the imperial name Septimius is related to the Severan dynasty): the inscription, originally the basement of a bronze statue, is dedicated by the βουλή of the city to Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος Λυσίας, an exponent of a family of the

¹⁴ For the phenomenon of Greek and Latin anthroponyms chosen because of their similarity with Semitic anthroponyms, see also Sartre (1998, 2007), Grassi (2015). The vast majority of Latin anthroponyms are attested in their Greek form.

Macedonian ruling class of Dura, and still evidently prominent in the Roman period.¹⁵ This seems to suggest that the influence of the Macedonian ruling class was curtailed rather than put to an end.

As regards the change in the typology of the anthroponyms, this is a phenomenon that is difficult to evaluate. On the one hand, dated epigraphs—i.e. epigraphs bearing a date—are relatively rare, they seem to be circumscribed to specific occasions,¹⁶ and they are in general less common during the Roman rule than in the previous centuries, because they are mainly the expression of the Macedonian ruling class. On the other hand, Semitic names (and several Greek names) are often attested only once, or a few times, and it is thus very difficult to evaluate their popularity from a chronological point of view. However, we can observe that some names or some typologies of names seem to have been always popular: for example, Βαργατης is attested as a patronymic in 61/2 AD (Cumont 1926, inscription 114), in 153 AD (PVIII, 871) and in 178 AD (PVIII, 874); Ζαβιδαδος, with its variants Ζαβιδαδαδος and Ζεβιδαδαδος, is recorded in 7/6 BC (Cumont 1926, inscription 57), in 54 AD (PV, 418) and in 175 AD (PVIII, 873). Other names are attested at the very beginning and at the very end of the chronological span (e.g. Αβινναιος, documented in 37 AD and then in 249/50, respectively in Frye *et al.* (1955, inscription 2) and PIX, 962), but this is likely due to the scarcity of dated inscriptions. As regards the typology and the elements contained in the anthroponyms, we may observe, for example, that names formed with the above-mentioned element *br* are attested from the beginning to the end of the chronological range, or that the theonym Nabu was never out of fashion.¹⁷

There is a category of names which is particularly attested in the 1st century AD, or at the very beginning of the 2nd, at least in dated inscriptions: that of female anthroponyms. Even more: the dates which occur in the inscriptions are frequently the same. They are in correspondence with the ‘fièvre édititaire’ which shaped the *salles aux gradins* of the sanctuaries of Dura in 35-40, 61-67, and 102-107 AD (Arnaud 1997, 117). These *salles aux gradins* have been found in several sanctuaries of the city devoted to female deities (Artemis; Atargatis; Azzanathkona). The inscriptions on the steps are a mine of genealogical information, because they bear the names of the owners of the seats. The analysis of one *salle aux gradins* conducted by Arnaud clearly demonstrates that the families are almost always the same as those attested in the other sanctuaries, and that the families with a Semitic onomastics are in a peripheral position (Arnaud 1997: 140). Moreover, these *salles aux gradins* are particularly important for us, because they provide the majority of the female anthroponyms attested in the city, which are otherwise rare. The most interesting aspect is that the female anthroponyms, differently from the male anthroponyms, were in use also

¹⁵ See Leriche and El ‘Ajjī (1999); Grassi (2012b: 133, n28). The dedication of a statue was a rare honor in Dura. The same man appears on a Latin inscription (PI: 149, s.n.).

¹⁶ A typical example is the use of dated inscriptions in the so-called *salles aux gradins* which were used in sanctuaries (see below).

¹⁷ Among the names attested only once in dated inscriptions, Βηλοοβασσαρος and Μηκατναια are particularly interesting, because their etymology is Akkadian (surely for the first name, possibly for the second name: see Zadok 1987: 258, Grassi 2012a: 173, 228); the fact that the inscription in which they are recorded (Cumont 1926, inscription 57) is dated to 7-6 BC may suggest that the Akkadian component of Dura anthroponymy, still alive in the 1st century BC but no more recorded in later inscriptions, was perhaps more significant in the previous centuries. Akkadian names are extremely rare in Roman Syria.

among the Macedonian families of the ruling class, where they likely entered through mixed marriages (Grassi 2012b).

Conclusions

Apparently, the Parthian and Roman dominations did not affect the city culturally as deeply as the Greek one, in spite of the fact that Dura Europos remained under Arsacid control for the great majority of its history. Latin and Iranian names are relatively rare, the first ones often related to the army, and the second ones borne predominantly by Iranians. On the contrary, Greek names are frequent, and used both by the descendants of the Macedonian colonisers—who remained the ruling class at least until the Roman domination—and by families of local origin. Among the families of indisputably Macedonian origin, male anthroponymy tends to remain Greek, while female names may have a Semitic etymology. Semitic anthroponymy—mostly Aramaic, but also Arabic—is various and well attested during the entire life of the city, where Greek influence and the persistence of local onomastic traditions did coexist until the end of the city.

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Das Digitale Familiennamenwörterbuch Deutschlands (DFD): Gaßl-, Weber-, Käsbauer- Ergebnisse und Perspektiven am Beispiel der Komposita mit *-bauer*

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Abstract

Der Beitrag präsentiert erste Ergebnisse des 2012 begonnenen Langzeitprojekts Digitales Familiennamenwörterbuch Deutschlands (DFD). Erste Artikelstichproben zeigen zum einen den dringenden Bedarf, die Erkenntnisse der vorhandenen Literatur zu bündeln, zum anderen die Wichtigkeit einer Überprüfung, Präzisierung und Neubewertung der in den einschlägigen Lexika aufgeführten Etymologien. Insbesondere Berufsnamenkomposita (z.B. mit *-bauer*) geben nicht nur einen Einblick in das mittelalterliche Berufsfeld, sondern führen auch die überraschende Materialfülle vor Augen, die erst jetzt – dank digitaler Abfragemöglichkeiten – systematisch erschließbar ist und die im Rahmen des DFD viele Erstaufnahmen und/oder Erstdeutungen erwarten lassen. Bei der Deutung der oftmals nur wenig frequenten und bislang nur zu einem Bruchteil überhaupt erfassten Familiennamenkomposita hat sich der Abgleich möglicher Varianten und die Überprüfung mithilfe des Kartenbildes als unabdinglich für die Namendeutung erwiesen. Neben unproblematischen Fällen wie Kesselbau(e)r 18+19, Gaßlbauer 22 Krapfenbauer 26 Telefonanschlüsse (Telef.) erscheinen Namen wie Urlbauer 118, Blätterbauer 14, die erstmals gedeutet werden müssen. Ein Teil der Familiennamen kann mithilfe des Kartenbefunds entsprechenden Hofnamen (Wurmbauer 21 < Wurmhof oder Siedlungsname Wurmberg?) zugeordnet bzw. grenzübergreifend in neue Zusammenhänge gestellt werden (z.B. Donnerbauer mit den Hauptverbreitungsgebieten in Ober- und Niederösterreich und im Raum Passau), andere lassen sich erst durch Zuhilfenahme weiterer historischer Quellen klären.

'Vor lauter Bäumen ...' – Die unbekannteren -inger

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Zusammenfassung

Im Jahr 2011 erschien ein Band des „Familiennamen-Atlas von Oberösterreich“ mit dem Titel „Namen und Berufe“. Seine Grundlage bildet statistisches, handschriftliches Material aus der Zeit um 1825, das in systematischer Weise das Namengut im Gebiet dieses österreichischen Bundeslandes in vorindustrieller Zeit abdeckt. In dem aktuell laufenden FWF-Projekt „Etymologien der Familiennamen auf -inger in Oberösterreich“ wird auf dieser Datenbasis die Entstehung der Endung -inger analysiert, da sie den häufigsten Bildungstypus darstellt. Das Verbreitungsgebiet reicht auch weit nach Süddeutschland hinein.

Der primäre Typus der -inger-Familiennamen ist bekannt. Es handelt sich hier um -er-Ableitungen zu Siedlungsnamen auf -ing aus ursprünglichem -ingen. Von den sekundären Typen sind die Ableitungen auf -inger aus Siedlungsnamen, Hofnamen und Flurnamen auf -ach/-ahi am häufigsten. Hier stellt sich z. B. *Haslinger* zu den Haselbüschen, *Linninger* zum Lindenwäldchen, *Puchinger* zum Buchenwäldchen, *Pühringer* zum Birkenwäldchen, oder *Danninger* zum Tannenwald.

In Oberösterreich sind sekundäre Formen wesentlich höherfrequent als die primären Ableitungen. Dies wurde bis jetzt meist nicht erkannt und in der Literatur nur unzureichend dargestellt. Diese hohe Frequenz ist dadurch verursacht, dass bei den -ach/-ahi-Namen wesentlich mehr homonyme Ausgangspunkte gegeben sind als bei den echten -ing-Ortsnamen, die meist singular existieren. Mithilfe von historischen Belegen und Namenverteilungskarten soll diese Behauptung untermauert werden.

Abstract

The first volume of the 'Surname Atlas of Upper Austria' was published in 2011 and was subtitled 'Names and Professions'. It is based on hand-written statistical data from around 1825, which systematically documents the surnames existing in this Austrian state in pre-industrial times. The current project 'Etymologies of Surnames ending with -inger in Upper Austria' (funded by the Austrian science fund FWF) is also based on this data and analyzes the origin of the surname ending -inger, which marks the most common type of surname formation. It is also common in wide areas of Southern Germany.

The primary formation type of surnames ending in -inger is well known. Surnames of this type are formed by attaching -er to toponyms ending in -ing (originally -ingen). Of the secondary types, the derivations from toponyms (settlement names as well as field names) ending in -ach (from earlier -ahi) are most common. Some examples for surnames of this secondary type: *Haslinger*, derived from toponyms based on the appellative *Haselgebüsch* 'hazel bushes', *Linninger* < *Lindenwald* 'linden grove', *Puchinger* < *Buchenwald* 'beech grove', *Pühringer* < *Birkenwald* 'birch grove' or *Danninger* < *Tannenwald* 'fir grove'.

In Upper Austria, the secondary type is much more frequent than the primary type. This matter has received little attention in literature and is due to the fact that there are much more homonymous toponyms for surnames of this secondary type than there are for surnames of the primary type, where toponyms tend to appear only once in most cases. The project uses evidence from historical documents as well as historical name distribution maps to support this statement.

* * *

Einleitung

Die Familiennamen (FN) auf *-inger* sind das Untersuchungsobjekt eines aktuellen FWF-Projektes (P25681: Etymologien der Familiennamen auf *-inger* in Oberösterreich; Projektstandort: StifterHaus Linz). Im Rahmen dieses Projektes sollen die historische Verteilung und die Etymologien dieses Namentyps erforscht werden, der in Österreich und Süddeutschland überaus häufig ist. Besonders in Oberösterreich (OÖ) lässt sich aufgrund der auffälligen Häufigkeit – knapp 40% der österreichischen Telefonanschlüsse mit einem solchen FN finden sich in diesem Bundesland (siehe Abbildung 1) – dieser Namentyp gut beforschen und anhand urkundlich gut greifbaren Belegmaterials können sichere Etymologien ausgearbeitet werden.

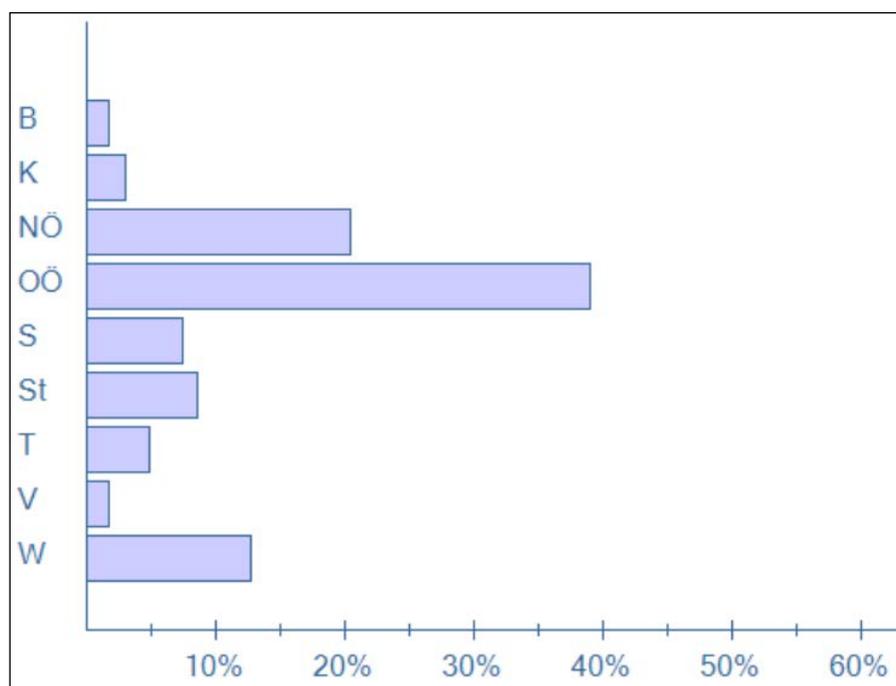


Abbildung 1. Verteilung der Telefonanschlüsse auf *-inger* auf die Bundesländer Österreichs (Quelle: GEOGEN 2005)

In diesem Beitrag soll das Augenmerk auf einer Teilgruppe der *-inger*-FN liegen, die nach Meinung der Verfasser zu wenig Beachtung findet bzw. ungerechtfertigterweise mit anderen Teilgruppen in einen Topf geworfen wird (was in dem zweiten Teil des Beitragstitels – „Die unbekannteren *-inger*“ – zum Ausdruck kommen soll). Es handelt sich hierbei um jene FN, die auf sogenannte *-ahi*-Ortsnamen (ON) zurückzuführen sind.

Der erste Teil des Titels – „Vor lauter Bäumen ...“ – rührt daher, dass sich hinter dem Großteil dieser Familiennamen Baum- und Strauchbezeichnungen sowie weitere Ausdrücke aus dem Sinnbezirk Wald verbergen, deren Ursprungscharakter wohl bei so manchem Etymologisierungversuch trotz aller Offensichtlichkeit keine Beachtung gefunden hat.

Gängige Erklärungsmodelle

Sucht man in den gängigen Nachschlagewerken nach FN auf *-inger*, so werden diese zumeist als *-er*-Ableitungen zu ON auf *-ing* dargestellt, was zunächst naheliegender erscheinen mag – man denke an klassische Herkunftsnamen wie *Adenauer* (< ON *Adenau*) oder *Oberndorfer* (< ON *Oberndorf*).

Tabelle 1 zeigt die Etymologien der 10 häufigsten FN auf *-inger* in Österreich, wie sie in den bekanntesten Nachschlagewerken gebracht werden. Die herangezogenen Werke sind Kohlheim (2005), Brechenmacher (1960/63), Bahlow (1972), Hornung (1989). Wenn Zellen leer bleiben, so ist in dem jeweiligen Nachschlagewerk kein Eintrag zu dem entsprechenden Namen verzeichnet.

Nr.	FN	KOHLHEIM	BRECHEN-MACHER	BAHLOW	HORNUNG
1	<i>Reisinger</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Reising</i>	von ON <i>Reising</i> , älter <i>Reisach</i>	von ON <i>Reising</i>	Wohnstattname zu <i>Reisach</i>
2	<i>Wiesinger</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Wiesing</i>	von ON <i>Wiesing</i>	—	Herkunftsname zu <i>Wiesing</i>
3	<i>Steining</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Steining(en)</i>	von ON <i>Steining(en)</i>	—	—
4	<i>Haslinger</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Hasling(en)/Haslach</i>	—	—	Herkunftsname zu <i>Haslach</i>
5	<i>Holzinger</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Holzing(en)</i>	von ON <i>Holzing(en)</i>	—	—
6	<i>Feichtinger</i>	-inger-Ableitung zu <i>Feicht</i>	—	—	—
7	<i>Stockinger</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Stocking</i>	—	—	—
8	<i>Pühringer</i>	—	—	—	Wohnstattname zu <i>Birkach</i>
9	<i>Aichinger</i>	-er-Ableitung zu <i>Aiching</i>	von ON <i>Aiching</i>	—	—
10	<i>Edlinger</i>	—	—	—	—

Tabelle 15. Etymologien in gängigen Nachschlagewerken

Aus Tabelle 1 ist ersichtlich, dass in den meisten Fällen ein ON auf *-ing* zugrundegelegt wird, nur in einzelnen Fällen werden ON auf *-ach* – so Kohlheim (2005) tlw. für 4, Brechenmacher (1960/63) tlw. für 1, Hornung (1989) für 1, 4, 8 – oder auf \emptyset – so Kohlheim (2005) für 6 – als Ursprung genannt. Wie sich im Rahmen des gegenständlichen Projektes gezeigt hat, ist jedoch – zumindest im Untersuchungsgebiet OÖ – bei keinem (!) dieser 10 häufigsten Namen ein klassischer ON auf *-ing* als (Haupt-)Ursprungsort anzusetzen. Im Gegenteil: acht dieser zehn FN sind auf *-ahi*-ON, die zwei restlichen (*Wiesinger*, *Holzinger*) auf ON ohne Endung (\emptyset) zurückzuführen.

FN auf *-inger* aus *-ahi-ON*

Bei den *-ahi-ON* handelt es sich um Kollektivbildungen mit ahd. *-ahi* bzw. mhd. *-ach*. Den FN *Reisinger* können wir z.B. zu ON wie *Reisach*, *Reised* oder *Reiset* stellen (wie dies auch bei Hornung (1989) geschehen ist – man merkt in diesem Werk den Bezug zu Österreich). Ein ON *Reising* ist in ganz Oberösterreich kein einziges Mal zu finden, obwohl dies der häufigste FN auf *-inger* in Oberösterreich ist.

Bei den Benennungsmotivationen (siehe Tabelle 2; Etymologien nach Lexer) zeigt sich eine starke Dominanz von Baumbezeichnungen, Strauchbezeichnungen sowie weiteren Appellativa aus dem Sinnbezirk Wald.

Weiters sehen wir, wie stark die Bildungen aus *-ahi-ON* unter diesen häufigsten Namen vertreten sind. Acht von zehn dieser Namen sind solche Ableitungen. Lediglich bei den *Wiesinger* und *Holzinger* sind keine ON wie **Wiesach* oder **Holzach* zu finden. Diese Namen sind ebenfalls sehr interessant, repräsentative Belegreihen dazu müssen aber noch im Laufe der Projektarbeit erstellt werden.

Alle anderen acht FN sind jedenfalls auf ON wie *Reisach*, *Haslach*, *Feichtach*, *Stockach* etc. zurückzuführen und somit als FN aus *-ahi-ON* einzustufen.

	FN	ON (z.B.)	von mhd.	Bedeutung
1	<i>Reisinger</i>	<i>Reiset</i>	<i>rîs-ach</i>	Koll. zu 'Zweig'; 'Gebüsch'
2	<i>Wiesinger</i>		<i>wise</i>	'Wiese'
3	<i>Steinger</i>	<i>Steinödt</i>	<i>stein-ach</i>	Koll. zu 'Stein'; 'Gestein'
4	<i>Haslinger</i>	<i>Haslach</i>	<i>*hasel-ach</i>	'Haselgebüsch'
5	<i>Holzinger</i>		<i>holz</i>	'Wald'
6	<i>Feichtinger</i>	<i>Feichtach</i>	<i>vieht-ach</i>	'Fichtenwald'
7	<i>Stockinger</i>	<i>Gstocket</i>	<i>*stock-ach</i>	Koll. zu 'Baumstumpf'
8	<i>Pühringer</i>	<i>Pireth</i>	<i>*pirch-ach</i>	'Birkenwald'
9	<i>Aichinger</i>	<i>Eichert</i>	<i>aich-ach</i>	'Eichenwald'
10	<i>Eddinger</i>	<i>Erlat</i>	<i>erl-ach</i>	'Erlengebüsch'

Tabelle 16. Benennungsmotivationen und mögliche zugrundeliegende ON der 10 häufigsten *-inger*

In der Projekt-Endpublikation wird diese „Rangliste“ weiter geführt werden. Vorerst sei lediglich erwähnt, dass unter den nächsten zehn Namen weitere sieben solcher *-ahi*-Ableitungen zu finden sind. Der erste FN, der wirklich auf einen *-ing-ON* zurückzuführen ist, zeigt sich erst auf Rang 25.

Beispiele für *-inger*-Bildungen aus dem mündlichen Bereich

Es gibt also Herkunftsnamen auf *-inger* zu Ortsnamen, die nicht auf *-ing* enden. Diese Tatsache spiegelt sich auch sehr deutlich auf der dialektalen Ebene. Im Rahmen des Projektes „Sprachatlas Oberösterreich“ (vgl. SAO-Fragebuch) am Adalbert-Stifter-Institut in Linz

wurden zahlreiche Dialekterhebungen in ganz Oberösterreich durchgeführt, bei denen die Probanden – neben vielen anderen Fragen – auch nach der Bezeichnung der Bewohner in ihrem Ort gefragt wurden. Also: „Wie heißt diese Ortschaft im Dialekt?“ Und: „Wie heißt jemand, der von hier ist?“. Es wurden also Herkunftsangaben zu den jeweiligen Ortsnamen erhoben, und nichts anderes sind ja die meisten FN auf *-inger*, nämlich Herkunftsamen. Für eine konzise Definition der Gruppe der Herkunftsamen sowie der weiteren vier gängigen Gruppen von FN siehe z.B. Kunze (2004: 63).

In Tabelle 3 folgen nun einige Beispiele für Herkunftsangaben auf *-inger*, die allesamt aus ON in OÖ abgeleitet sind, die nicht auf *-ing* lauten. Die dialektalen Angaben sind hier nicht phonetisch, sondern nur in Behelfsform verschriftlicht, um eine bessere Lesbarkeit zu gewähren.

Standardform	Dialektale Form (Annäherung)	Herkunftsbezeichnung
Taufkirchen	<i>Tafkira</i>	<i>Tafkir-inger</i>
Waizenkirchen	<i>Watzenkira</i>	<i>Watzenkir-inger</i>
Gosau	<i>Gosa</i>	<i>Gos-inger</i>
Aurach	<i>Aura</i>	<i>Aur-inger</i>
St. Aegidi	<i>St. Aegidi</i>	<i>Aegid-inger</i>
St. Roman	<i>St. Roma</i>	<i>Rom-inger</i>
St. Johann	<i>St. Hans</i>	<i>Hans-inger</i>
Pramet	<i>Pramet</i>	<i>Pramet-inger</i>

Tabelle 17. Dialektformen von ON und daraus abgeleiteten Herkunftsbezeichnungen auf *-inger*

Diese dialektalen Formen weisen darauf hin, dass die Endung *-inger* wohl als eigenständiges Wortbildungselement aufgefasst wurde und wird – gleichbedeutend wie die einfache *-er*-Ableitung (in der Bedeutung 'ein aus diesem Ort Stammender').

Ein weiterer Grund für die Verwendung von *-inger* dürfte auch eine Ausspracheerleichterung sein, vor allem bei den ON mit vokalischer Endung (z.B. *Aegidi*, *St. Roma*, *Gosa*, *Aura*), bei denen eine Ableitung mit *-er* z.B. Formen wie **Aegidi-er*, **Roma-er*, **Gosa-er* oder **Aura-er* ergeben hätte und somit ein Behelf nötig wurde, um diesen Hiatus zu vermeiden.

Beispiele für *-inger*-Bildungen aus dem urkundlichen Bereich

Folgende urkundliche Belege aus verschiedenen Urbarien in Oberösterreich zeigen anhand von Hofnamen das Aufkommen der *-inger*-Ableitung am Übergang von Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Hier wird nur eine kurze Auswahl des erhobenen Materials geboten, die exemplarisch sein soll. Die Belege aus dem Jahre 1499 zeigen noch keine *-inger*-Ableitung, in den Jahren 1590 und 1636 zeigen sich jedoch schon die *-inger*-Ableitungen gemeinsam mit den zugrundeliegenden Ausgangs-Hofnamen (relevante Namenformen wurden von den Verfassern unterstrichen).

- **Aus dem Jahre 1499:** *Hanns Im Nidern Reysach* (Urb. Freistadt 1499, f. 8); *Jörg im Stainach* (Urb. Freistadt 1499, f. 10); *Conradt an der puechach* (Urb. Freistadt 1499, f. 109).
- **Aus dem Jahre 1590:** *Lucas Pirchinger diennt von seinem Guet Zu Pirach*, (Urb. Freistadt 1590, f. 80); *Hanns Ferchinger vom Hof Zu Vorhach*, (Urb. Freistadt 1590, f. 218);
- **Aus dem Jahre 1636:** *Staininger oder Erb im Stainach* (Urb. Windhaag 1636, f. 208); *Pürcha ain Erb, [hat] Michael Pühringer*, (Urb. Windhaag 1636, f. 328.);

Auch in den Belegreihen im Ortsnamenbuch des Landes Oberösterreich (ONB OÖ) finden sich deutliche Anzeichen dieser Entwicklung (in Fett die rezente Namenform sowie die vierteilige Ordnungszahl; die erste Zahl entspricht der Bandnummer, die weiteren Zahlen der Systematik innerhalb des jeweiligen Bandes; Belegreihen wurden aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit tlw. gekürzt und ohne Quellenangaben übernommen; relevante Namenformen wurden hier wieder von den Verfassern unterstrichen):

- **11.2.7.3. Pühringer-Häuser:** 1557 *Veith vonn der Hofstatt im Pirach*; 1591 *Jörg auf dem Guett Zu Nidern Pirichach*; 1707 *Vorder Püra*; 1711 *Ober Piering*; 1713 *Pircheth*; 1774 *Püringergut*; 1857 *Ober-, Vorder Pühringer*.
- **11.2.3.44. Steininger:** 1547 *Stainach*; ca. 1775 *Steininger*; 1857 *Steininger*.
- **9.2.10.29. Öhlinger:** 15. Jh. *das Wenig Erleich*; 1528 *Kleinedlinger*.

In der Belegreihe des ersten Beispiels (**Pühringer-Häuser**) finden sich oftmals wiederkehrende Variationen: vom mhd. regulären *Pirach* über die Einfügung eines Sprossvokals in *Pirichach*, den verschriftlichten Endsilbenverfall (-ch-Schwund) in *Püra*, zum schon aus einem *Pieringer* rückverkürzten *Piering* und dem Ersatz von -ach durch ebenfalls kollektivbildendes -at/-et, das auch -öd geschrieben werden kann, aber streng vom ON-Grundwort -öd im Sinne von 'Einöde; unbebautes oder unbewohntes Gebiet' zu unterscheiden ist.

Der „-inger-Druck“ und seine Auswirkungen

Diese Bildungen spielen sich wohl meist zu Beginn auf der mündlichen Ebene ab und demonstrieren die Möglichkeiten des Sprachsystems zur Bildung entsprechender Wortformen. Auch Wortendungen, die klangliche Ähnlichkeiten mit -inger aufweisen, können in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart an -inger angeglichen werden. Als Verdeutlichung folgen zwei Beispiele für Appellative auf -iger, bei denen eine solche Angleichung an die Endung -inger durchgeführt wurde, zuerst ein historisches Beispiel und anschließend ein sehr aktuelles.

Die einstmals im Salzkammergut sehr geläufige Berufsbezeichnung *Salzfertiger* für einen Berufsstand, der sich mit der Verarbeitung und dem Transport von Salz beschäftigte,

findet sich in vielen amtlichen Schriftstücken als *Sal(t)zfertinger*, hier im Beispiel einer gedruckten Ordnung für diesen Berufsstand von 1618 (Abbildung 2 und Abbildung 3).

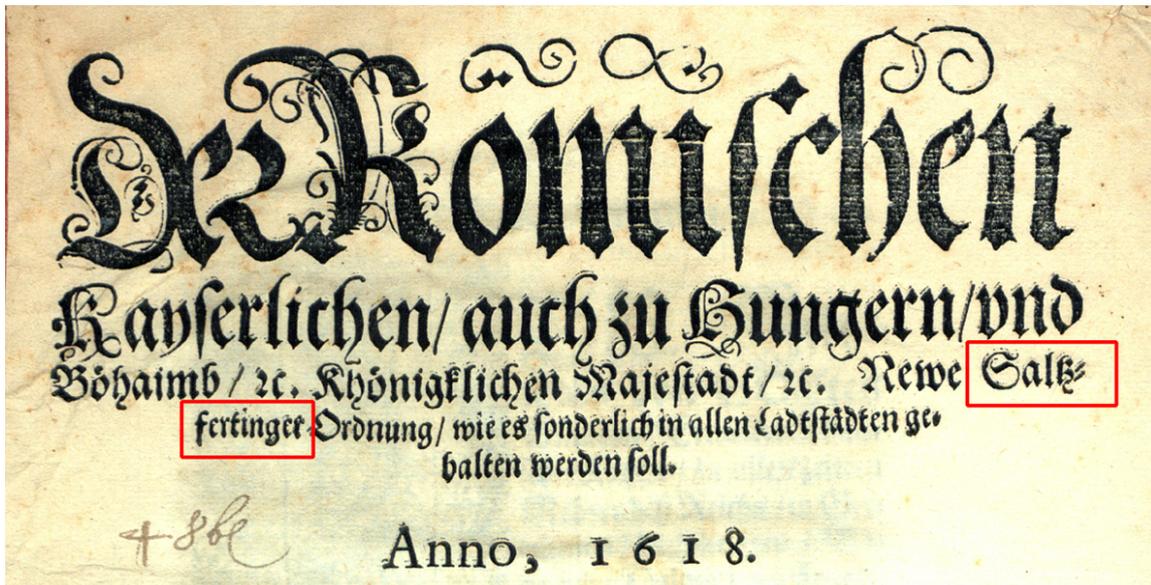


Abbildung 2. Beispiel für -inger statt -iger (Quelle: Salzfertinger Ordnung, S. 1)

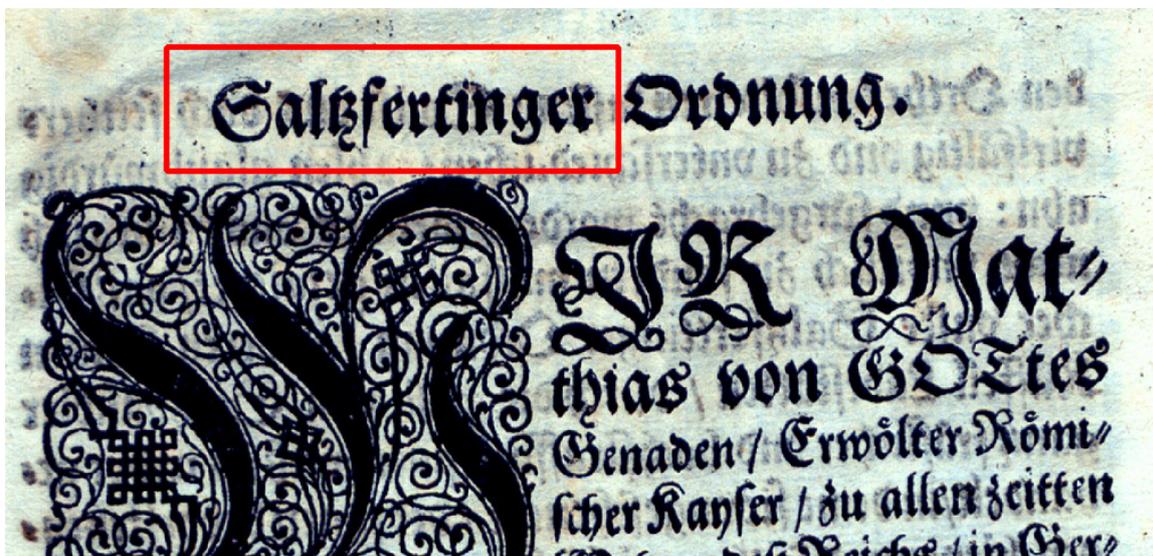


Abbildung 3. Beispiel für -inger statt -iger (Quelle: Salzfertinger Ordnung, S. 3)

Als rezentes Beispiel (aus einem Möbelmarkt): *Scheibenreiningen* statt regulärem *Scheibenreiniger* (Abbildung 4).

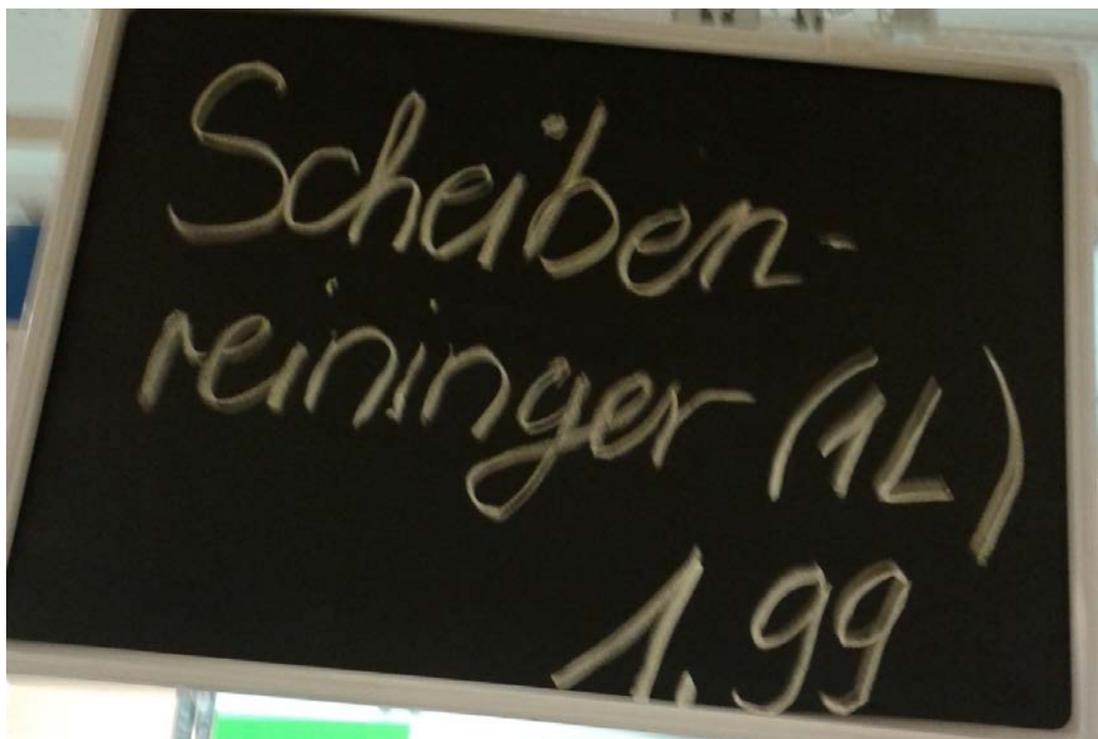


Abbildung 4. Scheibenreiner (eigenes Foto, Oktober 2013)

Im Rahmen der Projektarbeit wurden zahlreiche weitere Beispiele für solche historische wie auch rezente sekundäre *-inger*-Bildungen im appellativischen Wortschatz gesammelt – diese beiden Beispiele sollen wie erwähnt nur eine kleine, exemplarische Auswahl darstellen.

In den historischen Quellen ist ein mehrere Jahrhunderte andauernder „*-inger*-Druck“ zu beobachten, der offenbar auch heute noch auf der appellativischen Ebene wirksam ist, und dessen markanteste, dauerhafteste und zahlreichste Hervorbringung wohl die *-inger*-FN sind.

Verteilungskarten aus historischem Datenmaterial

Im Rahmen der Projektarbeit werden mehrere hundert historische Verteilungskarten erstellt, die zumeist den Ausgangspunkt der Herkunftsnamen nahelegen. Die bäuerlichen Herkunftsnamen sind in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts noch sehr wenig mobil (dies ist die Entstehungszeit des zugrundeliegenden Datenmaterials, das auf den Grundeigentümern im Kataster um 1825 basiert, vgl. hierzu Jandaurek 1938-1942). Somit kommt dem in den Karten abgebildeten geografischen Verhältnis zwischen Ausgangspunkt und Verbreitungswolke der Familiennamenträger hohe Aussagekraft zu.

Hinsichtlich der Anzahl der kartierten Symbole ist jedoch immer mitzudenken, dass nur die Grundbesitzer erfasst sind, man also zur Abschätzung der Gesamtbevölkerung noch mit einem Koeffizienten von etwa 7 multiplizieren müsste (ein Schätzwert, der anhand des vorliegenden Grundbesitzerverzeichnisses sowie der damaligen Bevölkerungszahlen des Landes OÖ von den Verfassern errechnet wurde). Dieser Koeffizient unterscheidet sich stark von jenem, der bei heutigen Telefonbuchdaten anzusetzen ist, und laut Kunze (2004: 199) bei etwa 2,8 liegt.

Im Folgenden nun einige Kartierungsbeispiele für zwei absolut konträre Typen von *-inger*-FN: zuerst jene, die sich aus *-ing*-ON ableiten, und danach jene, die sich aus den bereits erwähnten *-ahi*-ON ableiten.

Beispielkarten zu FN aus *-ing*-ON

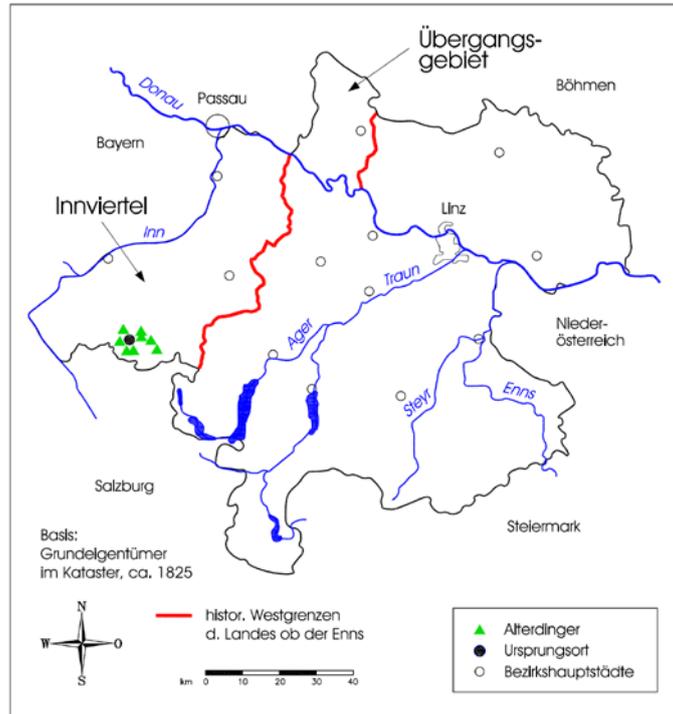


Abbildung 5. Verteilung des FN *Alterdinger*

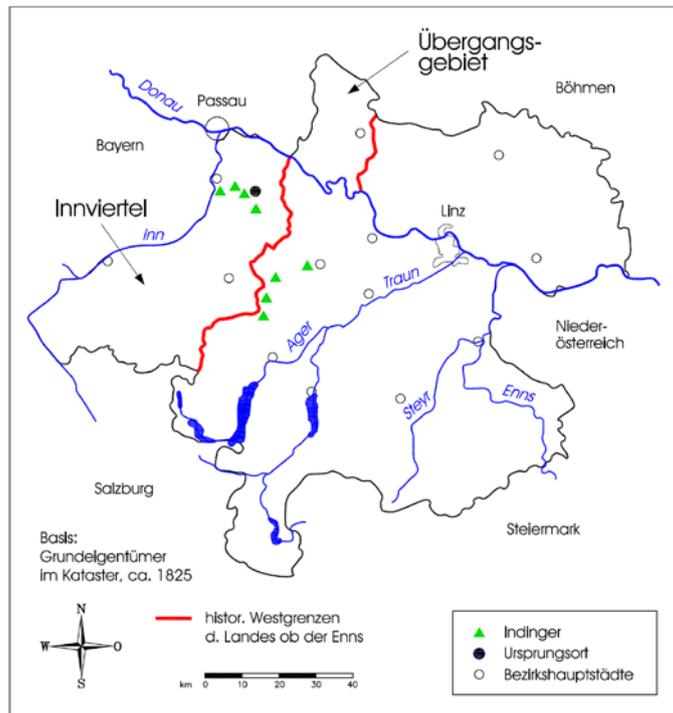


Abbildung 6. Verteilung des FN *Indinger*

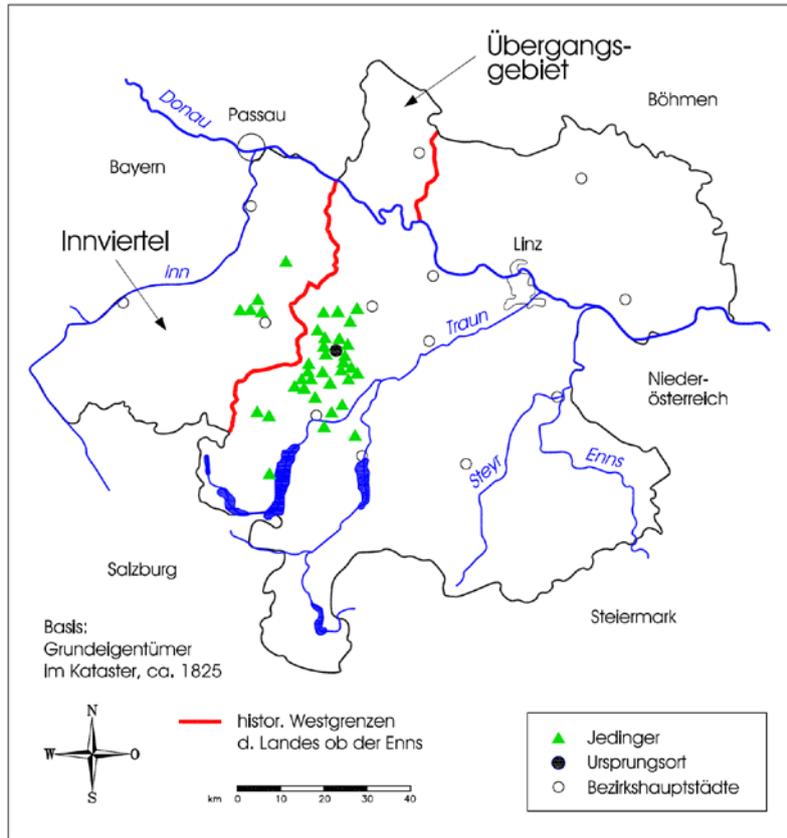


Abbildung 7. Verteilung des FN *Jedinger*

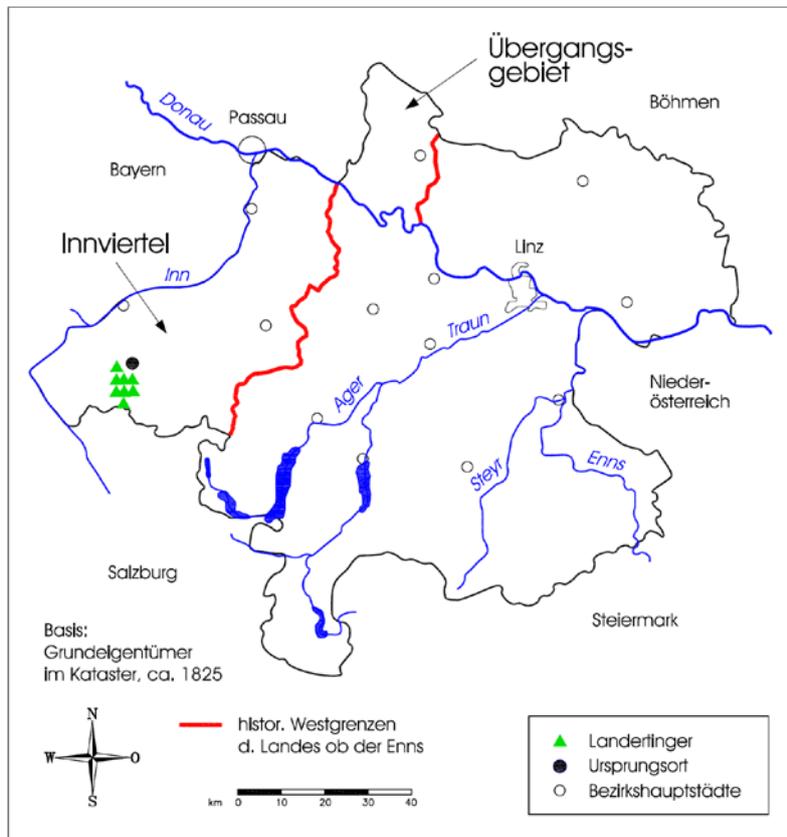


Abbildung 8. Verteilung des FN *Landertinger*

Beispielkarten zu FN aus -ahi-ON

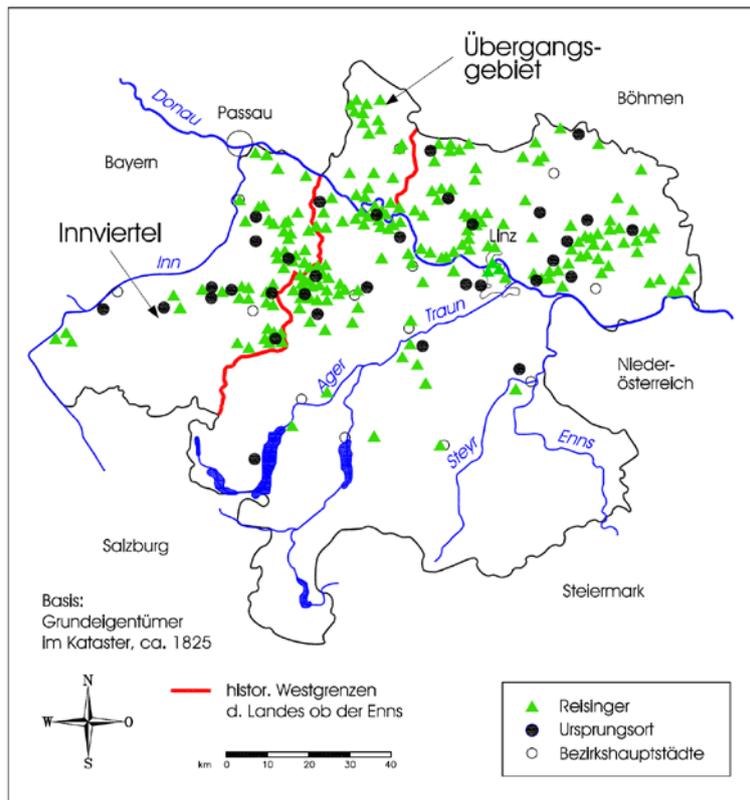


Abbildung 9. Verteilung des FN *Reisinger*

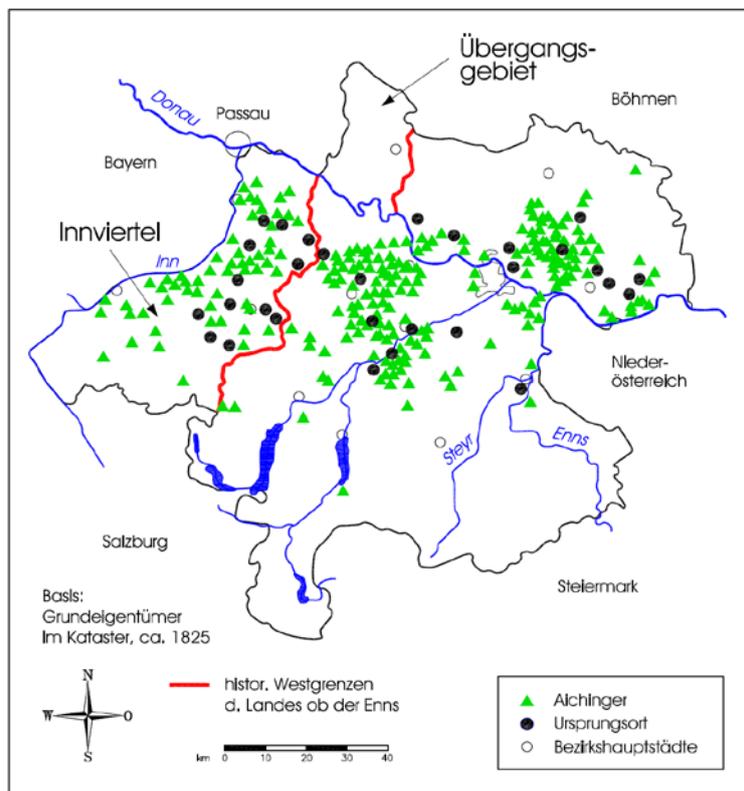


Abbildung 10. Verteilung des FN *Aichinger*

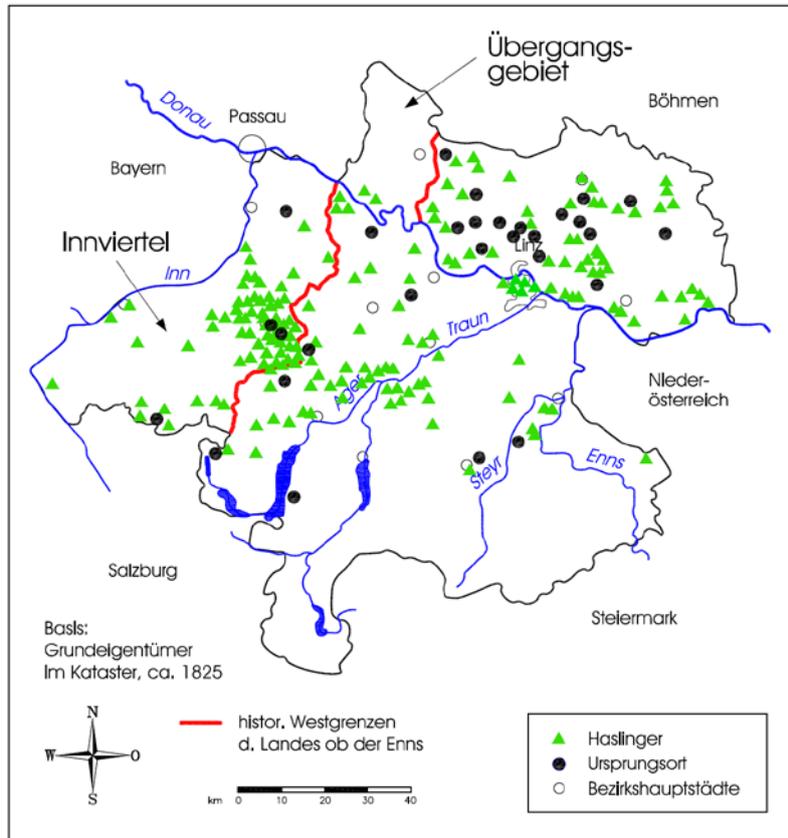


Abbildung 11. Verteilung des FN *Haslinger*

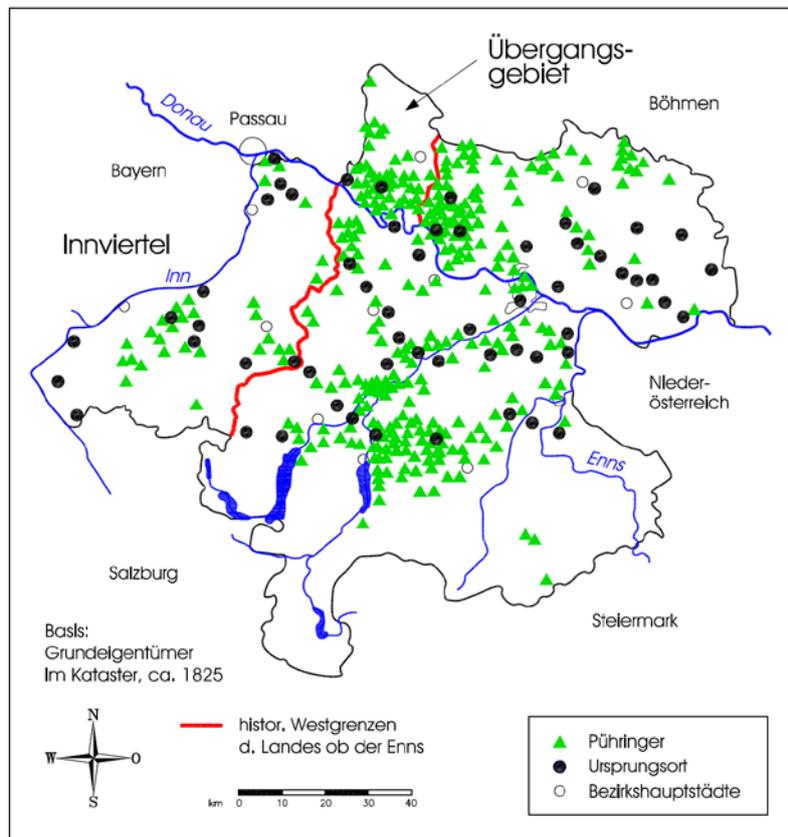


Abbildung 12. Verteilung des FN *Pühringer*

Interpretation

In den vorangegangenen Kartenbeispielen zeigen sich eindrucksvoll zwei unterschiedliche Typen: auf der einen Seite die Herkunftsnamen zu den *-ing*-ON mit einem einzelnen Ausgangspunkt und einer mehr oder weniger großen Verbreitungswolke um diesen Punkt und auf der anderen Seite die *-inger*-Bildungen zu den ursprünglichen *-ahi*-ON (Hofnamen). Bei diesen gibt es mehrere bis zu einer Vielzahl von Ausgangspunkten. Allerdings muss nicht jeder dieser Ausgangspunkte produktiv geworden sein (also einen FN von sich abgespalten haben).

Dies gilt grundsätzlich auch für den ersten Typ. Von häufigen ahd. PN kann in Oberösterreich mehrfach und voneinander unabhängig ein ON gebildet worden sein. So ist ein *Wolfing*, ein *Willing* und ähnliche ON mehrfach mit eigenständiger mittelalterlicher Belegreihe vorhanden. Meist wurde auch in diesen Fällen nicht jeder Punkt produktiv, sondern die Verteilungswolke der FN *Willinger*, *Wolfinger* etc. zeigt, welches *Willing*, *Wolfing* etc. tatsächlich als Ausgangspunkt anzusetzen ist.

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag wurden die beiden Haupttypen der FN auf *-inger*, nämlich jene aus *-ing*-ON sowie jene aus *-ahi*-ON, dargestellt. Zum Zeitpunkt dieser Tagung nach etwa einem Drittel der Projektlaufzeit lag hierfür ausreichendes Material vor. Im Projektverlauf ist eine Ausarbeitung weiterer *-inger*-Typen zu erwarten.

Weiters wurde anhand einer Auswahl der häufigsten FN auf *-inger* in OÖ dargelegt, dass diese – entgegen der vorherrschenden Meinung – zumeist nicht auf *-ing*-ON, sondern auf sogenannte *-ahi*-ON zurückzuführen sind.

Nachdem bereits mehr als die Hälfte der Karten in Rohfassung vorliegt, kann abschließend eine weitere Erkenntnis vorweggenommen werden: Hinweise auf Wanderungsbewegungen sind kaum zu finden. Ausgangspunkt und Herkunftsname weisen nahezu immer eine sehr kleinräumige Struktur auf.

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- Urb. Windhaag 1636 = Urbar der Herrschaft Windhaag 1636, OÖLA, Stiftsarchiv Windhaag, Hs. 7.

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Male and Female First Name Attribution Regarding Family Heritage, Catholic Calendar Influence, and Fashion in Tlalnepantla de Baz, Estado de México (México)

Selene Jiménez Segura

Mexico

Abstract

This paper discusses the influence of Catholic calendar names, family nominal heritage and fashion on first name attribution of a Mexican community. The corpus analyzed (1,453 records) was gathered from birth certificates by taking representative samples for the synchronic cuts of 1930, 1960 and 1990. The overall aim was to try to recognize both general tendencies, and possible changes in first name attribution models throughout the 20th century.¹

* * *

Introduction

In México, it is commonly believed that first names are chosen in a chaotic and erratic way, that they are picked only because of parents' personal taste. Nevertheless, studies with different approaches have shown that the selection of given names is not an arbitrary nor a disordered act in which solely parents' predilections are evidenced, but a process in which certain social factors are taken into account (López Franco 2007, Aldrin 2011, Billy 2012); in other words, that first name attribution relates closely to the social, cultural, and historical context in which they are selected and used by the speakers (Caprini 2001). Such a relationship between first names and the space-time dimension in which they are chosen can become more evident by studying the selections already made, as they are actually registered on birth certificates; by doing so, we would be able not only to recognize the different nominal attribution models existent in a community, but also to have a closer look at their changes through a period of time.

At this moment, I would like to address first name attribution in regard to three social parameters: religion (particularly, with Catholic calendar and festivities), family heritage, and fashion. In order to try to recognize the influence these social factors had on first name attribution, I analyzed a corpus composed of 1,453 records (730 boys and 723 girls). The data was collected directly from birth certificates housed at the Registry Office number one of Tlalnepantla de Baz, Estado de México, by taking a representative sample of 10 per cent over the total registers for the synchronic cuts of 1930, 1960, and 1990. My hypothesis was that first name attribution models concurred throughout the 20th century, although there was a

¹ I would like to take the opportunity to thank Dana McMillan and Daphne McAuley for checking my grammar and spelling in English.

tendency to prefer one or another depending on the extra-linguistic context in which names were chosen. By the sociolinguistic, onomastic and statistical analysis of the data I wanted to recognize which models were in use for each of the synchronic cuts, how they related to each other, and whether or not tendencies changed throughout the 20th century.

General Demographic and Social Characteristics of Tlalnepantla de Baz

I decided to study the Spanish speaking community of Tlalnepantla de Baz because of its demographic and historical characteristics. Tlalnepantla is one of the municipalities of the Estado de México, which is one of the 31 states of México and part of the 32 federate entities that exist in the country. Tlalnepantla de Baz is located at the east side of the Estado de México, and it adjoins five other municipalities of the Estado de México as well as the Distrito Federal. In fact, the Distrito Federal physically divides the municipality of Tlalnepantla in two. For its geographic position, Tlalnepantla de Baz has been an important part of Mexico's trade and commerce routes since the very beginnings of the 20th century.

In the early 20th century, Tlalnepantla was composed mainly of villages and haciendas, and it was engaged in agriculture and livestock ranches, therefore its inhabitants were mostly farmers and day labourers. Since 1930, industry started changing the lifestyle and trades of the people who lived in the municipality; consequently, the region started having more factory workers and employees. Furthermore, the need for workers attracted many immigrants from different parts of the country (mainly from the Distrito Federal). By the 1960s, Tlalnepantla was an industrialized region, and the people living in it were mainly factory workers or employees. Nowadays, very much like in 1990, Tlalnepantla's main source of economy is industry, followed by commerce and increasing tourism. On the other hand, the municipality's most professed religion throughout the entire 20th century was Catholicism.²

Given Name Attribution Models Identified

First name attribution models found in Tlalnepantla de Baz during the period established for our study were the following: a traditional model and a fashion-influenced model. Within the traditional model, two variants could be distinguished: Catholic calendar influence, and family nominal heritage. The impact the Catholic calendar had on first name attribution was established by comparing the name of the child registered and the information contained in the religious calendar by the day of the child's birthday. For example, a girl born on April 8 of 1930 was named *Alberta* because her birthday fell on the day of 'San Alberto de Jerusalén'. Cases for family nominal heritage were established by comparing the name of

² It is interesting how Tlalnepantla's inhabitants became increasingly more secular, onomastically speaking, as the 20th century progressed: secular in the sense of having less concern on Catholic names when giving a name to a newborn citizen of the community. People living in Tlalnepantla did not become 'less' Catholic nor Catholics decreased in number, but started taking into consideration other factors to name their children: separating their choices from evident religious influences.

children registered on birth certificates and the names of their close relatives, that is, their parents and their grandparents (from both their father's and mother's side). For example, a girl born in 1960 was named *Natalia* after her grandmother, whose name was also just *Natalia*. We only took account of parents and grandparents' names because it was the information registered on birth certificates.³ Another first name attribution model found in Tlalnepantla was the fashion-influenced model, which was active during two of the cuts for girls, and only in the last one for boys, as we will see later on. Cases classified as part of this model were recognized by reconstructing the attribution cycles of the 20 most frequent names throughout the entire 20th century as well as of those most chosen during the three cuts studied. I was able to achieve this by taking the results obtained by López Franco (2010) concerning the main tendencies on first names attribution in Tlalnepantla de Baz. This way I could recognize that, for example, the name *Patricia* was in fashion for a period of time (from 1960 to 1975, but it peaked during 1960).

In addition to the above, I found a group of children whose registered names did not respond to any of the previous models; I decided to classify these cases as attributed by 'free choice'. For example, the name *Berta* given to a girl born on April 10, 1930 was not directly or indirectly connected with the name of any of her relatives or with any Catholic celebration close to the day of her birth, so it was considered a 'free choice'. However, I have to further explain that even though they are classified as 'free choices', I was still able to recognize that the great majority of the names considered in this category fell into what was identified as being the onomastic norm⁴ of that community and period (even though they were not assigned by influence of the traditional model or because they were in fashion). Thus, if the rule in 1930 was to choose a name taken out of the religious calendar, it was expected that most of the names classified as 'free choices' were part of the liturgical calendar also, even though there was no direct correspondence between the child's birthday and the Catholic celebration. So, in the example above, *Berta* was a name that fell into the norm of Tlalnepantla in 1930. On the contrary, names like *Exquer Exequer*, also given in 1930, fell outside the norm for the period. However, it is important to point out that both names that fell inside the norm and names that fell outside the norm were considered as being part of the 'free choice' category mainly because they were not chosen in relation to any of the first names attribution models already mentioned.

Results on First Name Attribution Models

Results concerning given name attribution in Tlalnepantla de Baz will be shown here in the following way: first, I will present results on simple models, that is when given names were chosen only because of one of the attribution models established for each cut or the 'free choice' set; afterwards, I will review the results of co-occurrence among not only given name attribution models, but the 'free choices' as well.⁵ This was decided in order to demonstrate

³ Having had any information concerning given names of godparents it would have been possible to determine the influence these had on the selection of newborn names in the community.

⁴ The general concept of *linguistic norm* was taken from Lara Ramos (1976 and 2009)

⁵ A good example of the co-occurrence of first name attribution models is e.g. a boy born in 1990 who was named *José Christian* because his grandfather's name was *José*, and *Christian* was a name in fashion during that

how first name attribution models related to each other, and to try to recognize the possible ways in which onomastic preferences changed. All percentages were calculated from the samples taken for each cut and gender: for 1930 we took a sample of 258 boys and 248 girls, for 1960: 143 boys and 146 girls, and for 1990: 329 boys and 329 girls.

Simple Models

Looking at the results on simple models, we can see that for the year of 1930 (Figures 1 and 2), there was a preference for Catholic Calendar names in relation with the child's day of birth for both boys (62%)⁶ and girls (55%). Also, it's evident that fashion was not taken into account when choosing a name for the newborn during this year.

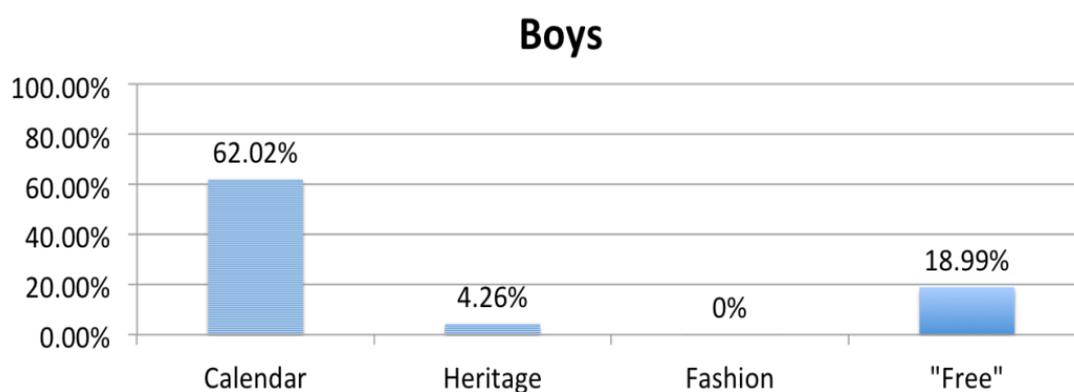


Fig. 1. Given name simple attribution models for boys, 1930

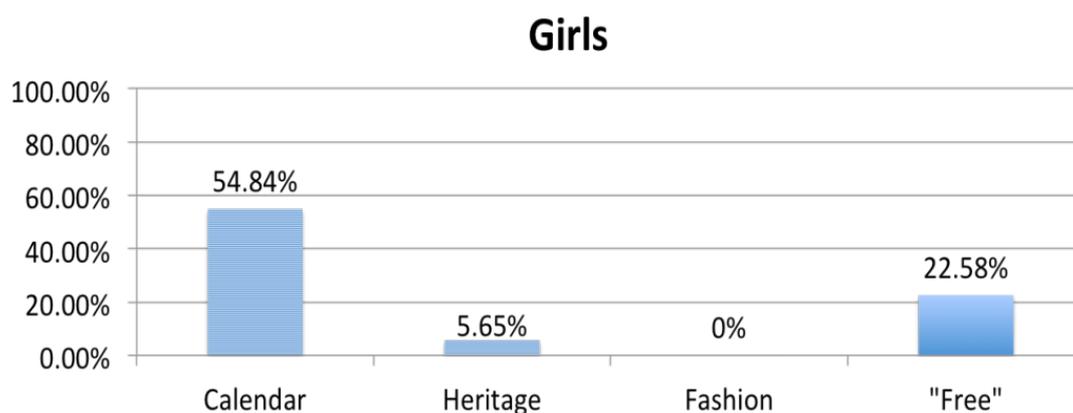


Fig. 2. Given name simple attribution models for girls, 1930

year. Combinations could go from the co-occurrence of two models like the example just given, to the co-occurrence of all of them.

⁶ For this part, percentages do not sum up to a hundred because they were calculated taking into consideration co-occurrences (shown below).

As shown below (Figures 3 and 4), family first names heritage increased in 1960 for boys: from 4% to 12%; conversely, it decreased for girls: from 6% to 3%. There was still a tendency towards Catholic calendar names, in spite of the fact that their percentages decreased for both boys (39%) and girls (29%). 'Free choices' increased, and fashion had no importance for male names during this synchronic cut either. Fashion starts to have a presence on female's attribution during this year: 1%.

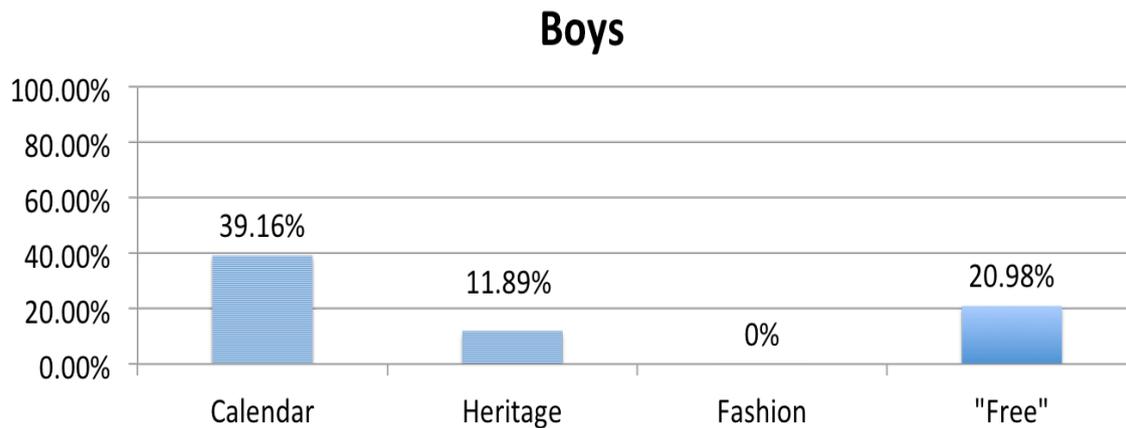


Fig. 3. Given name simple attribution models for boys, 1960

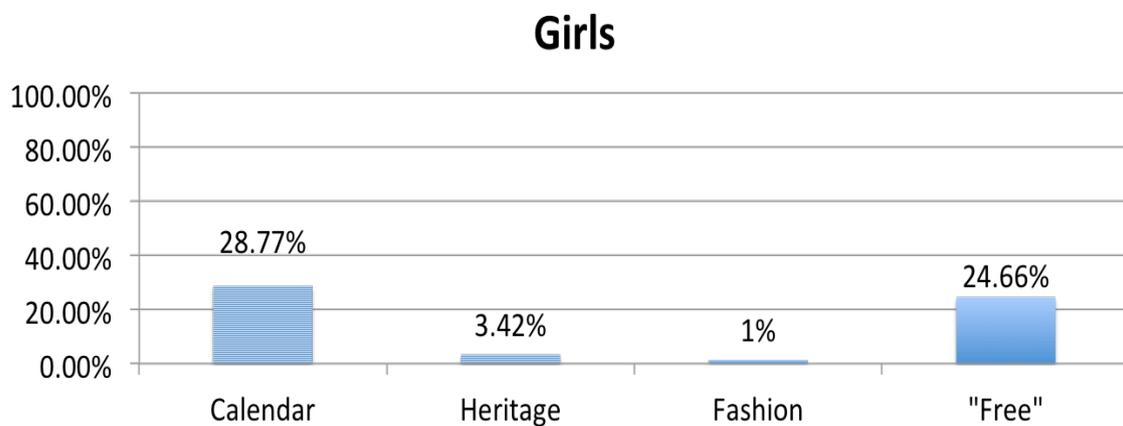


Fig. 4. Given name simple attribution models for girls, 1960

In 1990, the Catholic calendar criterion was taken into account even less frequently (see Figure 5 and Figure 6): for boys it achieved 10% and for girls, only 5%. There was a decrease in first names transmission within the same family for boys (8%) and a slight increase for girls (5%). Fashion influence for both boys and girls increased: 9% for each gender. 'Free choices' decreased also for both genders (12% for boys and 21% for girls), although they were more preferred than any simple attribution model for both boys and girls during this cut.

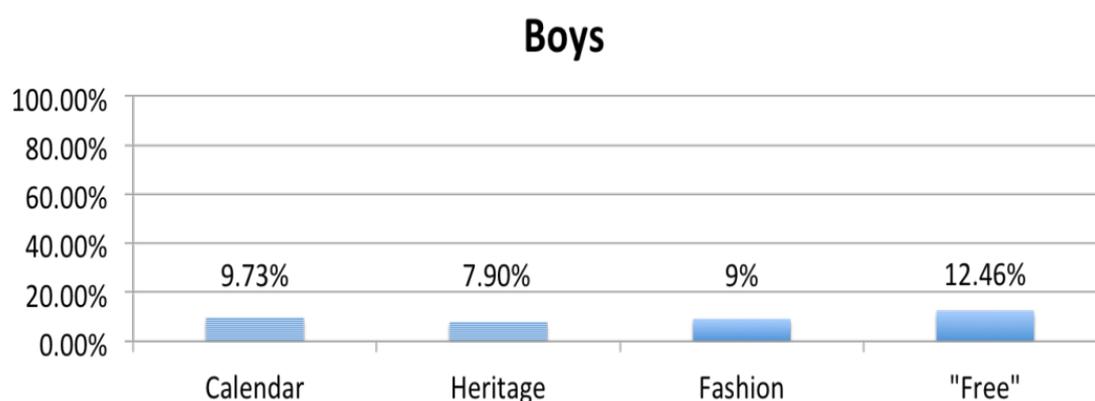


Fig. 5. Given Name Simple Attribution Models for Boys, 1990

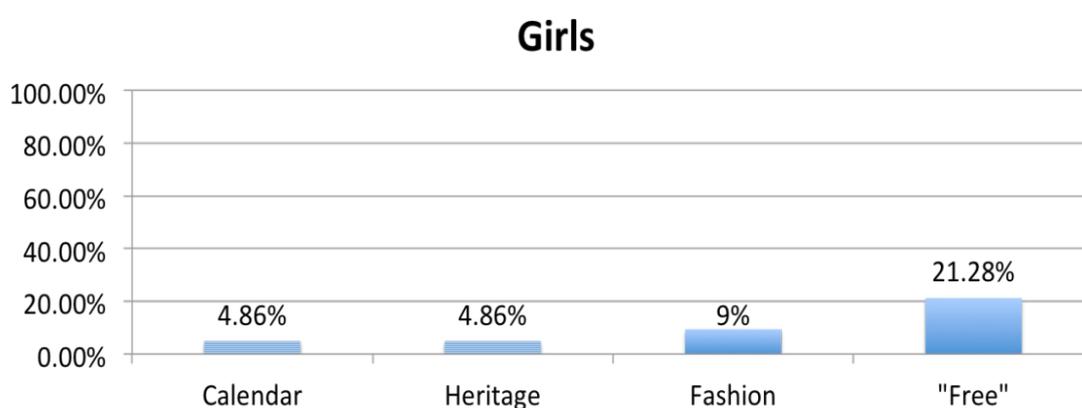


Fig. 6. Given name simple attribution models for girls, 1990

As we can see on both graphs displayed next, throughout the 20th century, the influence of the Catholic calendar decreased and, even though the family transmission of given names never obtained high percentages, it seemed to stay stable throughout the century. 'Free choices' appeared to be of more consequence during 1990 for girls than it was for boys. Finally, fashion emerged by the end of the century for boys, 30 years later than it did for girls.

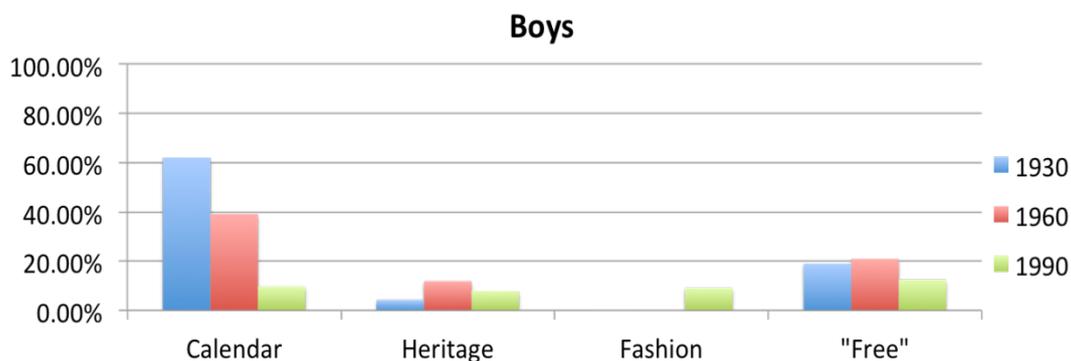


Fig. 7. Given name simple attribution models for boys throughout the period studied

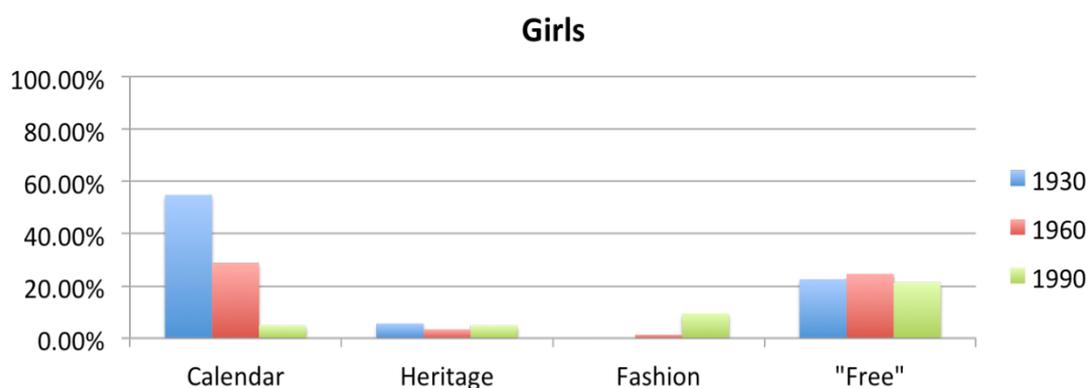


Fig. 8. Given Name Simple Attribution Models for Girls Throughout the Period Studied

Co-occurrence of First Name Attribution Models

Information contained in charts presenting the concurrence of attribution models must be explained before going over the actual results. First, it must be said that the letters presented on pie charts stand for the following models: C for Catholic calendar, H for family heritage, Fa for fashion, and F for 'free choices'; co-occurrences of models were written by combining the letter corresponding to each of the models so that, for example, for the coincidence of Catholic calendar influence and, let's say, fashion, resulted in CFa. On each chart we can find not only the percentages corresponding to the co-occurrences, but also the ones pertaining to simple models just reviewed. For this part, I focused on co-occurrences since I wanted to emphasize the increasing number of combinations as the century evolved.

During 1930 there were no co-occurrences formed with the fashion-influenced model for either boys or girls. As shown in Figure 9, there were three possible combinations during this year for both genders: calendar and heritage, calendar and 'free choice', and the mix of all of the above; for boys, we also found heritage and 'free choices', a combination we did not find among female attributions.

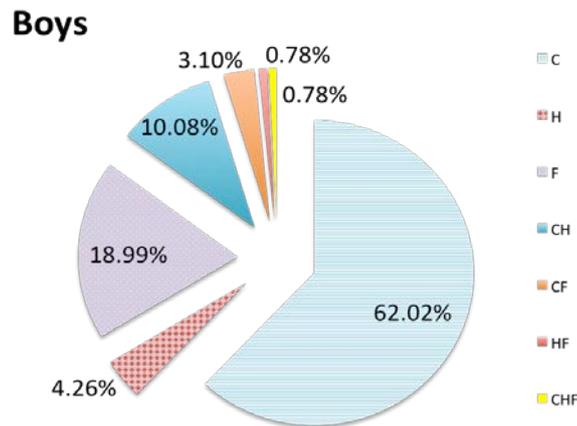


Fig. 9. Co-occurrence of Given Name Attribution Models for Boys, 1930

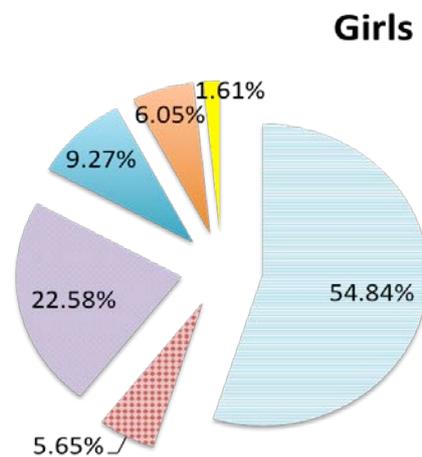


Fig. 10. Co-occurrence of given name attribution models for girls, 1930

During 1960 fashion was not present as a simple model among male names, therefore there were no combinations with names in fashion either. Possible combinations for boys were the same ones found for the last cut studied (Figure 11). For girls we found an increase on the variety of models concurrences, probably because fashion became one of the simple models active during this year (Figure 12). We found 6 models combinations, the same three ones found in 1930 plus three more: Heritage and fashion, heritage and ‘free choice’, fashion and ‘free choice’. There was no calendar and fashion combination for girls. All simple models established for Tlalnepantla as well as the ‘free choice’ set were in use for girls for this second cut studied.

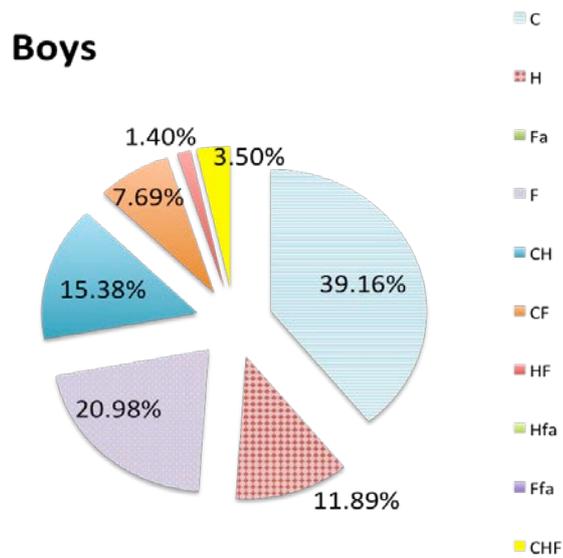


Fig. 11. Co-occurrence of given name attribution models for boys, 1960

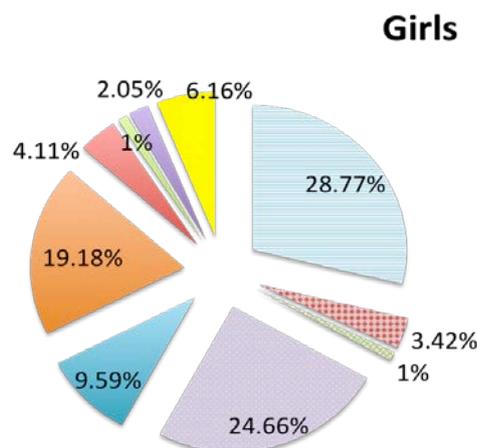


Fig. 12. Co-occurrence of Given Name Attribution Models for Girls, 1960

Evidently, there was an increase in the number of possible co-occurrences during 1990 (see Figures 13 and 14); for both boys and girls we found 11 possible combinations of simple models active for this year (percentages under 0.5% were not marked in a written way on the chart).

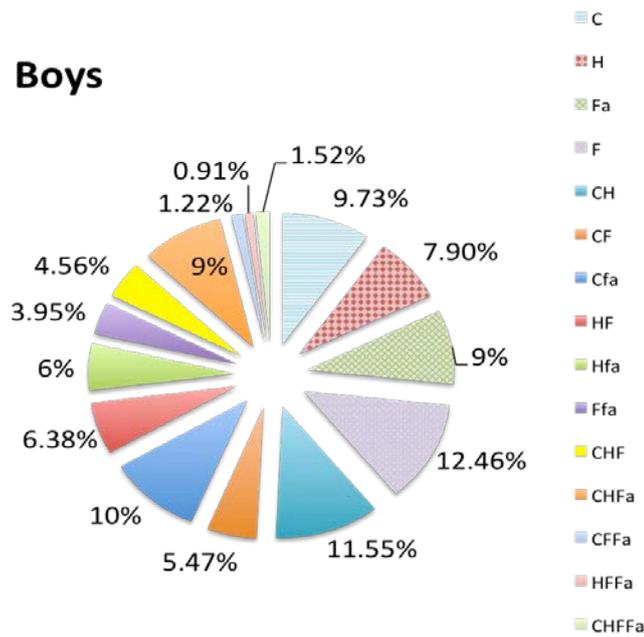


Fig. 13. Co-occurrence of given name attribution models for boys, 1990

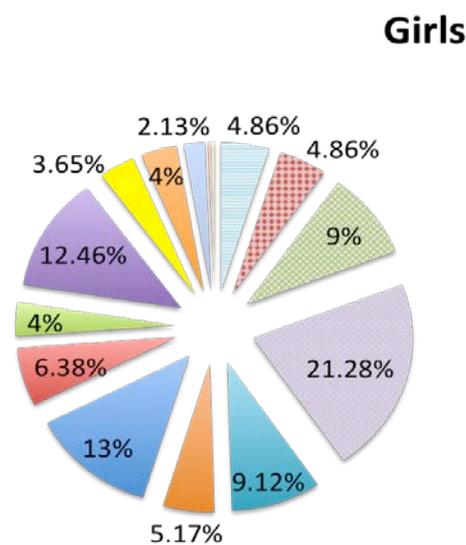


Fig. 14. Co-occurrence of given name attribution models for girls, 1990

When we take a look at the changes found in both the use of simple models and their co-occurrences, we can see that percentages in the simple models tended to decrease, probably because there were more options to choose from: not only were there more simple models active (by this I mean the more recent introduction of fashion) towards the end of the century, but also more possible combinations between models. Nevertheless, it is clear that, simple models or ‘free choices’ were the most chosen ones throughout the century (see Figures 15 and 16).

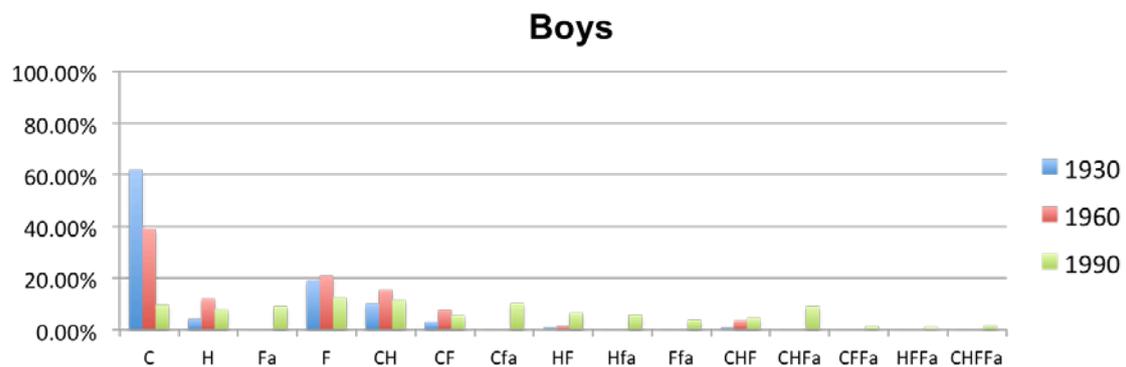


Fig. 15. Co-occurrence of given name attribution models for boys throughout the period studied

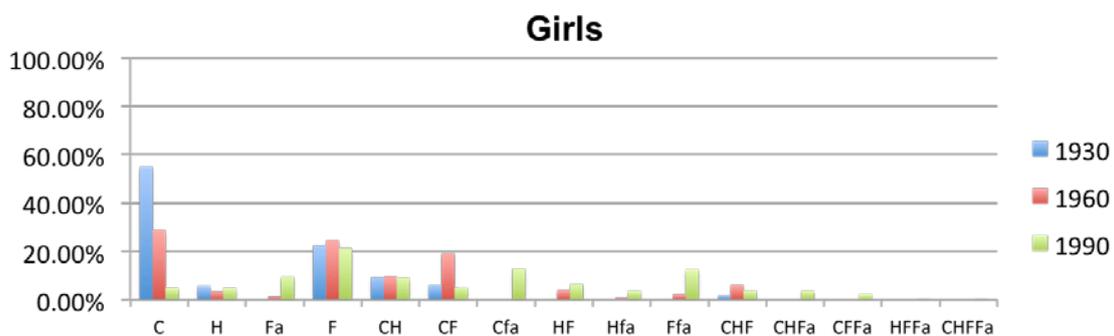


Fig. 16. Co-occurrence of given name attribution models for girls throughout the period studied

General Tendencies

To sum up, we can say these were the general tendencies for first name attribution models in Tlalnepantla de Baz throughout the 20th century:

- Family heritage seemed to stay stable, although it never achieved high percentages for either boys or girls.
- The influence of the Catholic calendar and festivities on given names decreased as the century progressed.
- Fashion seems to become more important for both genders at the end of the century, even though it was introduced earlier for girls than it was for boys.
- Co-occurrences were made, mainly, depending on simple attribution models in use for each cut.
- Options for models combinations increased as more models became active.

Final Words

In conclusion, we found that first name attribution models correlated to Tlalnepantla de Baz social characteristics throughout the 20th century: as people became more involved in commerce and trade professions, fashion names were selected more often. In contrast, at the beginning of the century, people living in the municipality preferred to choose names from either the Catholic calendar or family nominal heritage, in concordance with a more traditional and conservative society.

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Balto-Finnic Personal Name Systems

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Abstract

Balto-Finnic peoples have two main personal name systems: official and unofficial. For the small Balto-Finnic peoples in Russia – Karelians, Vepsians, Votes and Izhorians – the official personal name system is in the Russian language, but their own personal names belong to the unofficial personal name system. Nowadays Finns and Estonians have personal names of their own, earlier Finns also used Swedish personal names, but Estonians used German ones. The last Livonians used Lettish names, earlier German ones were used. The traditional first names of Lutheran (until the 16th century Roman Catholic) Finns, Estonians and Livonians are of Latin origin, but they have got them via Swedes and Germans. The first names of the orthodox Balto-Finnic peoples in Russia are of Greek origin, but they have got them via Russians. Orthodox Estonians in the south-east and on the islands of western Estonia have first name systems that are different both from each other and from the Lutheran Estonians. The personal name system of Ingermanland Finns differs a little from the personal name systems in Finland. The unofficial anthroponymic systems of the Balto-Finnic peoples have their similarities being rich in personal name suffixes.

* * *

European peoples speak mainly Indo-European languages. The only other larger language family group in Europe is the Finno-Ugrian language group, one part of which, are the Balto-Finnic languages.

The peoples everywhere have their informal names too. The special characteristic of the Balto-Finnic anthroponymy is that their official name system is or in the beginning was in foreign languages. Their own names existed as an unofficial name system. The contemporary traditional first names of Lutheran (until the 16th century Roman Catholic) Finns, Estonians and Livonians are of Latin origin, but they have got them via Swedes and Germans. The first names of the orthodox Balto-Finnic peoples in Russia are of Greek origin, but they have got them via Russians. Orthodox Estonians in the southeast and on the islands of western Estonia have first name systems different from each other, as well as from the Lutheran Estonians. The personal name system of Ingrian Finns differs a little from the personal name systems in Finland.

Votes, Izhorians (or Ingrians), Karelians and Vepsians, who live in Russia, have official names in Russian (Joalaid 2007a: 856-857, Joalaid 2007b: 285-286, Karlova 2007: 363-364, Mullonen 2007: 847). The Northern-Karelia has Finnish cultural influence too (Karlova 2007: 365-366). As a part of Ingria belonged to Estonia between the two World Wars, the Balto-Finnic peoples of Estonian Ingria, first of all Izhorians, had also official names in Estonian (Järvinen 1990: 44).

The Livonians are almost extinct; they inhabited the territory which now belongs to the Latvian Republic. Therefore, their name system has most recently been influenced by the Lettish (or Latvian) one. There are two registers of Lettish which have influenced Livonian names: Lettish Standard and Tamian dialects of Lettish. The latter has no grammatical gender

(naturally, the substratum of Livonian) (Halling and Joalaid 2007: 485). Earlier the Germans were landlords in Latvia and in Estonia too, so German language and name system has influenced the Estonian and Livonian ones. The Russian orthodox culture is also an influence.

The Finnish territory was, until the beginning of 19th century, a part of the Swedish Kingdom and has been influenced by the Swedish culture even later on. There are also local differences, for example between the anthropological systems of Western and Eastern Finland. The latter has also been influenced by the Russian orthodox culture (Paikkala 2007: 206).

Nowadays, Estonians and Finns have their independent countries. Their official name systems are in their standard languages and have taken examples from the German and Swedish name systems. Their own name systems remained on the level of dialects or spoken languages. This also means that with the small Balto-Finnic peoples it is easier to differentiate between the unofficial name systems and their official name systems than it is with the Finnish and Estonian ones, where both systems are in their own languages. Actually, there is rather an opposition between the oral tradition and the literary tradition.

The first records of the Balto-Finnic personal names belong to the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. The twenty Livonians, eight Estonians and one Finn mentioned by name in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia have mostly one name. So do a couple of men, who have Estonian personal names in another source from the beginning of the 13th century – in the lists of Estland of the Liber Census Daniae. The general opinion is that originally people had only one name (Kiviniemi 1982: 29). The reason can be, of course, that there were fewer people at that time and there was no need to call people by more than one name. However, the first Balto-Finnic persons mentioned by name in the year 1184, two Livonians in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, are identified by their sons: *Ylo, pater Kulewene, et Viezo, pater Alonis* ‘Ylo, father of Kulewene and Viezo, father of Alo’ (*Ylo*, cf. Fin *ilo* ‘joy, fun, pleasure’; *Kulewene* – **Kuulevainen*, cf. Fin *kuulla* ‘hear’; *Viezo* – **Vihatso* < *viha* ‘anger’ + suffix *-tso*; *Alo* < *ala* ‘under’) (HChL (I, 4) 1982: 24, Alvre 1984: 539-541, Mägiste 1962: 314).

Two main types of anthroponyms are used in the early sources: compound names and suffixial names. Eduard Roos, who has investigated Estonian names in the documents from the 13th-15th century, lays down as a fact that in the tax registers of the Northern Estonia between the years 1350-1500 only some of the simple names are recorded, but there are about 25 compounds and suffixial names. The picture is the same in the Ruhja and Helme landbook from 1420-1480 (Roos 1976: 120). Ruhja is located in the territory historically populated by Estonian, but situated in the present day Latvian territory and called Rūijena in Lettish.

A famous Finnish name researcher Viljo Nissilä considered compound names to be names of the members of the upper class, created under the influence of Germanic names (Nissilä 1969: 91-94). However, this type of personal names existed for centuries and, at least in Estonia, it is difficult to consider all of them to be the names of famous men. It also seems that such names were not spread among Balto-Finnic peoples eastward, Vepsians and Karelians.

Some examples of the compound names from the 13th century are: Estonian *Hildælēpæ* (LCD 47r) (< *Hilde* + *lempe* < *lempi* ‘love’), *Unnepewe* (HChL (XXI, 5) 1982:

180) (< *Unne* + *päivä* ‘day’), Livonian *Lembewalde* (HChL (X, 8) 1982: 58) (cf. Fin *lempi* ‘love’ + *valta* ‘power’), Finnish *Petrus Kakuwalde* ~ *Kakewalde* ~ *Kaikewalde* ~ *Kakinwalde* (HChL (XIX, 4, 7; XXIV, 1; XXIX, 7) 1982: 162, 168, 210, 262) (< *kaike* ‘every’ or *kauko* ‘far’ + *valta* ‘power’) (Alvre 1984: 539, Mägiste 1962: 305).

The compound names have disappeared from Balto-Finnic unofficial anthroponymic systems, but the model still exists in the Estonian and Finnish family names, which are of later origin.

As their first names the Balto-Finnic peoples today use Christian names, which are borrowed. The unofficial name system modifies the borrowed Christian names mainly by the use of suffixes.

The most popular of the suffixes is *-oi*. Its variant was *-ēi* (today it is turned into *-e*). The suffix is originally a diminutive suffix, although it has lost its diminutive character in names (Mägiste 1928: 56). Nowadays the suffix may appear both in the first and the family names. In the different Balto-Finnic languages it has either kept its primary phonetic form or developed phonetically from diphthong to monophthong. It seems that in Livonian and Estonian the suffix *-oi* / *-ēi* had already started changing to be a monophthong (*-oi* > *o*, *-ēi* > *-e*, *-e*) at the time of Henry of Livonia: Livonian *Alo*, Estonian *Meme* in the Chronicle. The first recordings of names in Izhorian (**Pelgui* – *Pelguši* in the year 1240), Votic (**Toššui* – Fedko Toshshujev in the year 1500) and Vepsian language (**Ihkui* – Mikiforik Ikhkujev in the years 1495-1496) are with that suffix (Joalaid 2008: 534). The developing of *-oi* to *-ui* has obviously happened on a Russian basis. The suffix is very productive even today, mostly in the unofficial systems, but some names with this suffix have reached the official use of Estonian (*Liisu*, former *Liiso* < *Elisabeth*) and Finnish (*Eero* < *Eerik*) (Vilkuna 2003: 54). Concerning the anthroponymy of Estonian today, there are some difficulties in identifying the suffix in concrete names, because it is turned to *-u* and so mixed up with the other quite old suffix *-u*. Besides also the palatalization is incorporated into the suffixial personal names in Estonian: *Joh̄nu* (< *Joonatan*), *Kat’s* (< *Katrin*). The *-u* can also disappear, but the palatalization remains, e.g. almost all women with the official names with *Ma-* in the beginning (*Mariliis*, *Mariko*, *Manda*) are called *Mañnu* or *Maññ*.

The other suffix used in the early Balto-Finnic names and preserved until now is *-nen* (with its phonetic modifications), which points to belonging to a group or family. It is popular in the north language groups of the Balto-Finnic – Finnish, Karelian and Vepsian. In Finnish, in the first place in the Eastern Finland, it is now used as a family name suffix (*Nissinen*). In Karelian and Vepsian it has the same function, but it belongs to the unofficial system of names (Karelian *Kuikkani* (Karlova 2007: 368), Vepsian *Habukahñe*). In the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia the suffix was used by Estonians and Livonians too, e.g. Livonian *Kyrianus* and *Layanus* (HChL (X, 5) 1982: 56). The names have a Latin suffix *-us* at the end of the name, and these must be read as **Kirjane* and **Laajane*, cf. Finn. *kirja* ‘figure, pattern, writ’ and *laaja* ‘wide’ + suffix *-ne* (Alvre 1984: 541). Obviously, the king of the pagan Curonians in the year 1230 also had this type of name: *Lammekinus* ~ *Lammechinus* (Bielenstein 1892: 419-420; Bunge 1853: 134), which must be read as **Lemmekine* (< **Lempi* ‘love’, but using weak stem with assimilation as in Finnish *lemmikki* ‘favourite, darling’). Vowel *a* instead of *e* appears also once among the name variants of famous Estonian head chief *Lembitu* in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonian: *Lambito* (HChL (XIV, 12) 1982: 116).

As a rudiment the suffix appears in the Estonian unofficial name system: *Ruudine poig*, where the meaning is vague. Though, in the Estonian folk poetry we can find *Kalevine poisikene*, and it is clear that the boy (*poisikene* in diminutive) belongs to the clan of *Kalev*.

Some suffixes used in the 12th-15th centuries (e.g. *-tu*, *-tso*, *-ndi*, *-ko*, *-das*, *-mas*, *-va*) are not productive any more. Instead of them other suffixes such as *-u*, explosive (*p*, *t*, *k*) + *s* and others are used in the Balto-Finnic unofficial name stock.

Suffix *-u* seems to be quite old, because it appears in every Balto-Finnic peoples name stock, sometimes, as already said, mixed up with suffix *-oi*, which may have been developed *-oi > -o > -u* (Estonian *Anu*, Izhorian, Vote *Añu*) (Joalaid 2008: 536).

Very popular in Estonian anthroponymy, and also popular in Finnish and Livonian ones, is the suffix: explosive (*p*, *t*, *k*) + *s*: Estonian *Pet's* (< *Peeter*), Livonian *Pēt š*, Finnish *Kaitsu* (< *Kai*).

During the centuries some Finns and Estonians got a family name. However, in their entirety the Balto-Finnic peoples of the Russian Empire got their family names after the abolition of serfdom. It happened in the beginning of the 19th century in the Baltic Governments and in the year 1861 in the rest of Russia (Votes, Izhorians, Ingrian Finns, Vepsians, Karelians). The year 1835, when the giving of family names ended in the Government of Estland (Northern Estonia), is considered to be the end of giving family names to Estonians. A hundred years later the Estonianizing of German names was in its peak. Mostly family names were changed, less so with first names (Hussar and Päll 2007: 171, 178-179). The same process, making names Finnish has also taken place in Finland. The way how people got their family names is different in Eastern and Western Finland. The family name system of Finnish today was established towards the end of the 19th century. The first Finnish Family Name Law was accepted in 1920 (Paikkala 2007: 206, 204). The Balto-Finnic peoples in Russia got their official family names only in the first half of the 20th century.

Two centuries have passed since Estonians and Livonians got their family names. So it is now difficult to decide, if and which clan names they had before. The question is not investigated either. We also do not know very much about unofficial Finnish clan names. However, the small Balto-Finnic peoples in Russia have abundant clan name stocks, though they are not very often used practically. Especially bird and animal terms are used among the Balto-Finnic clan names: Izhorian: *Suzi* 'wolf' (*Suen Peto*), *ReBoi* 'fox' (*Revo*in *Sīteri*), *Härkä* 'ox' (*Härän Mīttoi*), *Kajava* 'gull', *Harakka* 'magpie', *Čirkkulain* 'sparrow'; Vote: *Tedri* 'grouse', *Metso* 'capercaillie', *Sakkali* 'hawk', *Kronni* 'raven, crow' *Jänes* 'hare' (Nissilä 1943: 201, Krjukov 2005a: 14); Karelian: *Repo* 'fox', *Kurki* 'crane' (Karlova 2007: 367); Vepsian: *Habuk* 'hawk', *Vaza* 'calf', *Kaži* 'cat', *Tik* 'woodpecker', *Kärbhähne* 'fly'.

Sometimes such names have become official family names, but with a Russian modification: Izhorian *Härän Mīttoi* – Dmitrij Gergin, *härg* 'ox'; Vepsian *Habuk* (*habuk* 'hawk' – Gabukova), or translation: Izhorian *Rejkahan Ilja* – Ilja Kol'cov (Izhorian *rengaz*, Russian кольцо (kol'co) 'ring'), Vote *Jänežē Troša* – Trofim Zaicev (Vote *jänes*, Russian заяц (zajac) 'hare') (Nissilä 1943: 201, Krjukov 2005a: 14), Vepsian *Koñd'ij Stjopu* – Stepan Medvedjev (Vepsian *koñd'ij*, Russian медведь (*medved*) 'bear').

In the Finnish family name stock such names occur less often, but among the Lutheran Finns in Ingria these are widespread (*Karhu* 'bear', *Susi* 'wolf', *Tikka*

‘woodpecker’). The old Izhorian clan names that the Izhorians took with them when they changed their Orthodox faith to Lutheranism can also be found among those (Krjukov 2005b: 160-168).

The official name systems of Estonians, Finns and Livonians are similar to the systems common in Europe. The order of the person’s names is: first name + family name, for example Estonian *Marje Joalaid*, Finnish *Viljo Nissilä*. The Livonians do not have names in their own language as Estonians and Finns do, but in Lettish: *Kārlis Dambergs*. The small Balto-Finnic peoples in Russia have their official names in Russian. They use the modern Russian name system structure: first name + father’s name (patronym) + family name: Vepsian *Maria Ivanovna Zaiceva*.

The main difference in comparison with the official name systems is that the order of the person’s names of the Balto-Finnic own name systems is opposite: family name + first name. The family name is in the genitive case: Estonian *Joalaiu Marje*. Until the Balto-Finnic people were given their family names, they used surnames, for the most part patronyms, but also farmstead names. After getting a family name, it also started to appear in the first place of people’s names, e.g. Estonian: (unofficial, from newspaper) *Rebase Pet’s* – official Peeter Rebane, *Rõõmuse Riks* – official Riho Rõõmus.

In Russia the farmstead names are not used, but Finns, Estonians and Livonians have farmstead names and often also use them (Livonian *Kielk Kõrli*, official *Kārlis Dambergs*) (Halling and Joalaid 2007: 485-486). The order of names with first name in the second place seems to be general not only in the Balto-Finnic anthroponymy, but in the anthroponymy of the whole Finno-Ugrian language group, cf. Hungarian (e.g. *Pacsolay Gyula*).

Some examples of the Balto-Finnic names, one part of which are patronyms, are: Vote: *Platonā Trofima* – in Russian Trofim Platonov, *Levō Il’ja* – Ilja Leontjevič; Izhorian: *Porissan Vaña* – Ivan Borisov, *Maksimān Okoi* – Agafja Maksimovna (female name); (Krjukov 2005a: 12); Vepsian: *Vaškan Marfa* (Kettunen 1920: 48); Karelian: *Ohvon Homa*, *Ol’okan Iivana* (Karlova 2007: 364), *Arhipan Miihkail*; Finnish: *Matin Olli* (Paikkala 2007: 209).

Sometimes both the grandfather’s name and father’s name are used as a surname, e.g. Karelian: *Jürgizen Pešan Vaša* (Nissilä 1943: 200). The same person can sometimes be called by their father’s name, sometimes by their grandfather’s name. An Izhorian man, whose official name is Mikhail Stepanovich Lukin is after his father *Stjopan Mihalka*, after his grandfather *Lukan Mihalka*. A Vote man Konstantin Tikhonovich Leontjev can be both *Tihkanā Kostja* and *Levō Kostja* (Krjukov 2005a: 12).

A metronym can also be used. An Izhorian man Aleksander Ivanov is *Houran Oleksander*. Sometimes the name of an ancestress is used in place of the mother’s name: Izhorian Sergei Petrov – *Annun Sergei*, Ivan Andrejev – *Iriškan Vaña*, Petr Ivanovich Petrov – *Varvanan Pet’a* (Nissilä 1943: 201).

Also wives’ names have been used. A Vote woman Marja Boranova said that her grandfather’s name was *Īvana*, and he was called after his wife’s name: *Pol’u Īvana* (Saar 2000: 9).

In Hungarian it is very usual not to name the wife by her own first name, but to use the husband’s name: *Jánosné*. The suffix *-né* here comes from the word denoting a woman. Such andronym suffix appears also in Ingria. The andronym before the suffix is in the

genitive case and the ending of this case *-n* constitutes a kind of compound suffix: Vote: *-n + -nā*: *Fokannā* ‘Foka’s wife’, *Jefreimannā* ‘Jefreim’s wife’ (Joalaid 2007a: 860); Izhorian: *-nnā ~ -nnain* *Tihhonannā* ‘Tihkhon’s wife’, *Ser’onnain* ‘Sergei’s wife’, *Ivanannain* ‘Ivan’s wife’ (Joalaid 2007b: 289). The Vepsians generally do not use such a suffix, except for Southern Vepsians, who had borrowed their andronym suffix *-ihh* < Russian *-иха* (*-ikha*): *ondreihh* ‘Andrei’s wife’.

The question is whether the appellative suffix *-na* (later *-nna*) that marks a woman, imported into Standard Estonian in the 19th century (*kuningaana* > *kuninganna* ‘queen’, cf. *kuningas* ‘king’), originated from such an andronym suffix or not.

The other appellative suffix that marks a woman *-tar*, borrowed from Finnish, was imported into standard Estonian a little later, in the beginning of the 20th century. In Eastern Finland it was a name suffix until the 19th century, but is now out of use. A woman’s name *Kovotar* corresponds to the man’s name *Koponen*, in the gradational names in the weak stem (Närhi 1996: 25, Paikkala 1997: 6).

In the unofficial name system a person can be called in many different ways. A Vote man Gavriil Agafonov from Luuditsa is usually called *Agafonā Gaurila*. His clan name is *Metso* ‘capercaillie’, but by nickname he is called *Tšikkarpää* ‘curly-headed’ (Joalaid 2007a: 860).

The unofficial anthroponymic systems of the Balto-Finnic peoples have many similarities compared to each other, being rich in personal name suffixes, but there are also features that we can find only in one or some of the languages.

To sum up, there are two different name systems in the Balto-Finnic anthroponymy: official and unofficial. The unofficial name system is much richer than the official one. It has more possibilities to name people. It is also very old. From the forming types of the ancient names the suffixial name type has been preserved. Some of the suffixes have persisted at least from the 12th century up to the present. The forming names with the suffixes is most productive in the unofficial anthroponymy of the people, whose official name system is in their own language: Estonians and Finns. The official family name systems of Estonians and Finns have been traced back to the name system of the other main model of ancient Balto-Finnic names, the compound names. In addition, the two systems are mixed up a little. We can even say that the own system is not so much changed but rather that its components have shifted.

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Surnames and Migrations: The Barcelona Area (1451-1900)¹

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Abstract

Catalan onomastics, and specifically the evolution of surnames, has been conditioned by several demographic, political and social processes that have imparted singular characteristics over the course of centuries. The combination of these factors resulted in a significant number of homonymic surnames, making it impossible to correctly identify their geographical origin based solely on linguistic criteria. As a possible solution to this, this paper proposes the use of the cluster analysis method to introduce a further criterion for their identification and classification. Historical registers of Marriage License Books from the Diocese of Barcelona are the source selected to achieve this goal. These records, which collect information on more than two million surnames, were maintained between 1451 and 1905 in a set of 291 books (*Llibres d'Esposalles*) kept at the archives of the Barcelona Cathedral.

* * *

Introduction

The study of historical migrations is one of the most difficult demographic phenomena to investigate due to the absence of specific records until recent times. Given this lack, it is necessary to rely on indirect sources and methods that have already shown great potential, such as the analysis of surnames.² However in the Catalan case – as well as in others – the evolution of onomastics, and specifically the evolution of surnames, has been conditioned by several demographic, political and social factors that have imparted singular characteristics over the course of centuries. The combination of these processes, as explained below, has made it necessary to propose the use of complementary methods to correctly identify the geographical origin of surnames and to complement existing linguistic criteria.

¹ This paper is part of the ongoing PhD research project of Joan-Pau Jordà, 'Aproximación a las migraciones históricas a través del estudio de la información nominal' ['Approaching historical migrations through the study of nominal information'] supervised by Dr Anna Cabré and Dr Joana-Maria Pujadas-Mora. The project is funded by the Spanish FPU program (AP 2010-5699) and is part of the larger Advanced Grand Project 'Five Centuries of Marriages' (ERC-2010-AdG_20100407) directed by Dr Cabré. The authors would like to acknowledge the collaboration of Dr Patxi Salaberri, Dr Carles Castellanos, Dr Joan García-Roman, Dr Conchi Villar and Antía Domínguez in the preparation of this paper.

² Some prominent recent examples are the papers of Mateos (2006: 83-102; 2010: 73-103), Busto *et al.* (2010: 287-296) or Berretta *et al.* (1993: 4), among others.

Catalonia experienced at least two great migratory waves between 1451 and 1900.³ The first one took place from the late 15th century to the first half of the 17th century, and was led by migrants from the kingdom of France, mainly from the south. These migrants settled in Catalonia because of the higher salaries as compared to those in France, as well as the relative depopulation after the Crisis of the Late Middle Ages and the security offered in Catalonia in contrast to the French religious wars (1560-1598) (Moreu-Rey 1959: 7-9, Nadal and Giralt 1960: 121-122, Gual-i-Vilà 2005: 7-9). The second great immigration process in Catalonia has been the arrival of people from the rest of Spain, who brought the Castilian language with them. Although this migration has been constant over time (Moll 1959: 41, Moreu-Rey 1987: 2-5), it was not until the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1715) and the Nueva Planta decrees that this migration intensified.⁴ The first immigrants were traders, officers and soldiers from the rest of the Spanish Kingdoms (Ferrer-i-Bosch 1978: 105, Cerro 2007: 327-328, Alcoberro-i-Pericay 2009: 206-207) and then, from the second half of the 19th century, there was a continuous influx of Aragonese and Valencian workers attracted by the nascent industrialisation process in the Barcelona area (Arango 1982: 644, Nadal 1984: 227-228, Camps 1993: 30-36, Recaño 2000: 3-4, López-Gay: 2007: 178-179; 2014).⁵

All of these migration processes have not only led to the introduction of new surnames in Catalonia, but have also altered the distribution and frequency of already existing ones (Moll 1959: 39-42, Vall-Llobera 2010: 47, Jordà *et al.* 2013: 116). This is mainly due to the similarities between Catalan and Occitan onomastics (Vall-Llobera 2010: 47, Peytaví 2010: 122-127) and, to a lesser extent, between Catalan and Castilian onomastics (Moll 1959: 49, Faure *et al.* 2001), but also as a consequence of the process of diglossia favourable to the Castilian language that has occurred in Catalonia in modern times. Regarding this last point, while the influence of Castilian on Catalan surname forms has been constant since at least the political unification of the Castilian Kingdom and the Crown of Aragon under the Catholic Kings (1474-1516) (Moll 1959: 41), it was not until the aforementioned Spanish War of Succession that Catalan was gradually replaced in the administration and marginalised in public life (Castellano 1980 58-59, Congost 2002: 125-126). One of the main consequences of these processes was that some Catalan surnames were recorded in their Castilian forms or adapted to Castilian onomastics between the 18th and 20th centuries.⁶ The whole process was exacerbated by the lack of Catalan grammar rules, which could have regularised the notation of surnames, until the 20th century.⁷

³ Catalonia has experienced other less important migratory waves, such as the internal rural migrations to the Barcelona area (Arango 1982). However, in this paper it is accepted that these constant processes did not substantially affect the onomastic structure. Furthermore, it has been shown that the Basque, Italian and Portuguese languages, as well as the Germanic, Jewish and Muslim cultures also influenced Catalan surnames. Nevertheless, these influences after the end of the Middle Ages are so small as to be insignificant (Moll 1959 Marcó-i-Dach 1985, Lascortz 2000).

⁴ Among other consequences of this war, Catalonia lost its self-government and a new public administration common to the rest of Spain was introduced, meaning the substitution of Castilian for Catalan as the administrative and cultural language (Castellano 1980 58-59, Congost 2002: 125-126).

⁵ This first migration is not to be confused with the migratory wave that came to Catalonia in the 20s and 60s of the last century, mostly from southern Spain (Andalusia, Murcia).

⁶ For more information see Moll (1959), Cabré (1999) and Peytaví (2010), among others.

⁷ It was not until the Civil Registration Act of 1870 that all individuals were required to have two surnames, from the father and mother respectively. In addition, it was not until the 20th century that the first modern official Catalan grammar was established, based on the studies of Pompeu Fabra. This served as the foundation

Consequently, the combination of these factors resulted in a significant number of homonymic surnames, making it impossible to correctly identify their geographical origin based solely on linguistic criteria. As a possible solution to this, this paper proposes the use of the cluster analysis method to introduce a further measure for the identification and classification of the surnames present in a specific region and time, based on the evolution of their Growth Rates. This methodology is based on the premise that surnames are transmitted from fathers to their children in a stable form, as in the Catalan case since the 14th century (Roigé 1991: 38-39). Thus, as the transmission of surnames is stable, different family lines may be identified, allowing us to establish a direct relationship between the number of existing surnames and the demographic evolution of those who bear them. Therefore, the abnormal disappearance of surnames – in the absence of catastrophic causes such as wars or famines – is primarily due to emigration. Similarly, and most relevant to this study, the unusual appearance of new surnames and the increase in frequency of others already present in the population are mainly conditioned by immigration.⁸

Dataset

For this study it is necessary to use a source such as the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database (BHMD), which offers continuity over time and onomastic richness. This source provides us with the surnames of all individuals who married in the Barcelona area (250 parishes in 1900) between the 15th and 20th centuries (1451-1900), representing 2,248 different surnames and 453,911 unions (Figure 1).⁹



Fig. 17. Spain, Catalonia, the Diocese of Barcelona and the Main Deanship of Barcelona

The BHMD was created as part of the Advanced Grant Project Five Centuries of Marriages (5CofM) and is based on the data-mining of the marriages recorded in the so-called Marriage License Books (*Llibres d'Esposalles*) preserved in the Archives of the Barcelona Cathedral.¹⁰

for Catalan onomastic standardisation, which has been built since then through the direction of the Catalan Language Academy (IEC), which was set up in 1907.

⁸ These assumptions are based on isonymy studies. For more information see Crow and Mange (1965), Lasker (1977) or Fuster (1986), among others.

⁹ For comparative purposes the analysis focuses only on the period 1451-1900.

¹⁰ The Marriage Licenses Books also contain other non-nominative variables (tax paid, marital status, occupations, etc.). Information regarding the origins of each bridal couple is particularly interesting when it is

The historical origin of this source dates back to the early 15th century, when in September 1409 Pope Benedict XIII (1328-1423) granted a tax privilege to the Barcelona Cathedral for its construction and subsequent maintenance. As a result, every union recognised by the diocese required, since then, a tax payment determined by the socioeconomic status of each couple.¹¹

Methods

A cluster analysis is a multivariate statistical technique that facilitates the aggregation of cases –in this instance, surnames – in order to classify groups with high intragroup homogeneity and the highest intergroup difference. This classification is obtained without any prior assumption about what potential clusters might exist and what surnames could be a part of them.¹²

In order to create clusters large enough to mitigate possible overestimations as a result of the few cases reported annually of some surnames, the BHMD has been converted from a flow source (continuous record) – which collects all the marriages recorded daily in the diocese of Barcelona – to one that groups all the marriage licence records into periods of fifty years (Table 1). Furthermore only those surnames that appear in the Marriage License Books a minimum number of times, set at twenty-five, have been taken into consideration.¹³

Years	Marriages	Different Surnames
1451-1500	5.895	1.183
1501-1550	15.255	1.554
1551-1600	30.267	1.921
1601-1650	41.151	2.056
1651-1700	31.390	2.118
1701-1750	42.555	2.291
1751-1800	58.981	2.344
1801-1850	80.652	2.411
1851-1900	147.765	2.435

Table 1. Number of marriages by period

Finally in order to avoid other biases, such as the creation of clusters made up of the most common surnames, each surname's Growth Rate (GR) has been used as a reference variable

registered (between 1573 and 1643), as it allows us to identify the birthplace of the individuals regardless of the name they bear.

¹¹ Because of the irregularity in the registration of some of the nominal variables, such as the surnames of women (82% of total cases) or the name of the parents of the brides (they are only registered in 18% of the cases) and to facilitate the comparability of data, this study only analyses the surnames of the groom (future husband), which is recorded in 99.6% of the marriage records.

¹² This paper takes the previous study of Francesc Calafell 'Els noms dels Catalans del segle XXI' (2013: 159-176) as a reference.

¹³ Uncommon surnames introduce a high variability between each observation period. For example, a surname registered one time in an observation period, and two times in the following period, means a relative frequency increase of 100%, although this increase may be the result of chance or a registration problem at its source.

to create the cluster classification, rather than the total number or the relative frequency.¹⁴ This measure allows us to observe the percentage increase or decrease of each surname in two observation periods.¹⁵ Therefore for each surname nine GR were generated, one per period observed (1451-1500, 1501-1550, 1551-1600, 1601-1650, 1651-1700, 1701-1750, 1751-1800, 1801-1850, 1851-1900).

$$GR[x, x + n] = \frac{P x + n - P x}{P x}$$

Where $Px + n$ is the number of surnames in the second period of observation and Px is the number of surnames in the first period of observation.

This cluster analysis was conducted by the method of minimum distance using the Pearson correlation as a measure.¹⁶ This method is based on measuring the distances between cases, which in our analysis are the GRs of each surname, grouping those which are the most similar. These initial clusters are then linked to other surnames or surname groups, creating new groups. The process is repeated until the smallest possible number of clusters is found.¹⁷ The result is a hierarchical aggregation of surnames in which they are grouped by the similarities in the intensity and time of their Growth Rates.

Homonymic Surnames in the Catalan Anthroponymy

Surnames with the same pronunciation or written in the same way, but with different origins and original meanings are a constant phenomenon over time in Catalonia, which may introduce a bias in anthroponymic studies. Thus, originally different surnames were registered in the BHMD in the same manner, becoming the same surnames for all intents and purposes. Roughly 50-70% of the surnames are likely to have been affected by these coincidences (Jordà *et al.* 2012, 2014). These similarities occurred largely as a result of the linguistic similitudes between Catalan, French and Occitan (Vall-Llobera 2010: 47, Peytaví 2010: 122-127) (Table 2).¹⁸

¹⁴ If the relative frequency or the total number of cases observed is used in this study, the increase or decrease estimates are affected by the weight of each surname in the total population. These differences could introduce a bias. The GR allows us to avoid this by analysing, in relative terms, the increase or decrease in each surname regardless of the total number of observed cases.

¹⁵ The 'GR' is similar to the 'PGR' (Population Growth Rate). This is the rate at which the number of individuals in a population increases in a given time period as a fraction of the initial population. A positive growth rate indicates that the population is increasing, while a negative growth ratio indicates that it is decreasing.

¹⁶ The Pearson correlation coefficient, designed for quantitative variables (minimum interval scale) is an index that measures the degree of correlation between variables linearly related. The Pearson correlation coefficient is a measure of easy implementation and equally easy to interpret, and it has been selected because it is the most common measure when quantitative data and the method of minimum distance are used.

¹⁷ To explore this method more profoundly see Kaufman and Rousseeuw (2009).

¹⁸ This estimate is based on the comparison between the origins of each French bridal couple in the Marriage Licenses Books, and it has been linked to previous linguistic studies (Moll 1959, Alcover and Moll (1963), Bas-i-Vidal 1988, Moreu-Rey 1991, Coromines 1995, Albaigès 2005). In this paper 'French' is used for all the surnames introduced by immigrants from the Kingdom of France regardless of whether they came from Occitan

CATALAN	FRENCH	OCCITAN	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
<i>Ferrer</i>	<i>Forgeron</i>	<i>Ferrièr</i>	‘Smith’
<i>Font</i>	<i>Fontaine</i>	<i>Font</i>	‘Fontaine’
<i>Serra</i>	<i>Sierra</i>	<i>Sèrra</i>	‘Mountain chain’
<i>Prats</i>	<i>Pré</i>	<i>Prats</i>	‘Field’
<i>Bosch</i>	<i>Bois</i>	<i>Bòsc</i>	‘Forest’
<i>Valls</i>	<i>Vallee</i>	<i>Vals</i>	‘Valley’

Table 2. Similarities between Catalan, French and Occitan surnames: some examples

Furthermore according to several authors, in the absence of a standardised onomastics a Catalan scribe could choose one of three options at the time of registering a surname that was foreign to him: he could preserve the original spelling, if he knew how to write it; he could adapt it to the forms of the host language, which was the most common solution; or he could translate the surname from the original language into Catalan (Peytaví: 2010: 353-354). In contrast, surnames introduced in the Barcelona area by immigration from the Castilian language domain (primarily the Crown of Castile and the Kingdom of Aragon), did not present the same confusion. Surnames of Castilian, Aragonese, Murcian and Andalusian origin are for the most part easily identifiable from other surnames by the terminal ‘-ez’: *Pérez*, *Rodríguez*, *Gómez* or *González* (sometimes Catalanised with the ending ‘-is’, as in *Pérez* / *Peris* or *Gómez* / *Gomis*) (Moll 1959: 41).¹⁹ However, there are also several cases in which surnames in Catalan and Castilian show certain graphemic or phonetic similarities. In the Marriage License Books approximately 8% of the surnames that are considered Catalan, but may originally have been Castilian have been identified (Table 3).²⁰

CATALAN	CASTILIAN	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
<i>Torre(s)</i>	<i>Torre(s)</i>	‘Tower’
<i>Cas(a)/Cas(es)</i>	<i>Casa(s)</i>	‘House(s)’
<i>Sal(a)/Sal(es)</i>	<i>Sal(a)/(as)</i>	‘Room/House’
<i>Martí</i>	<i>Martín</i>	‘Martin’
<i>Roca</i>	<i>Roca</i>	‘Stone’
<i>Roja</i>	<i>Roja</i>	‘Red’

Table 3. Similarities between Catalan, and Castilian surnames: some examples

or the French linguistic domain. Similarly all the surnames introduced by immigration from the Castilian language region are called ‘Spanish’ or ‘Castilian’.

¹⁹ Termination ‘-ez’ is also present in Basque language in the form ‘-itz’. Other singular Castilian surnames with non ‘-ez’ are *Hidalgo*, *Cortés* and *Herrero*, among others.

²⁰ This estimate is obtained through the comparison of the information contained in the Marriage License Books with the *Diccionario de Apellidos Españoles* (Faure 2001).

Almost all other surnames that are registered in the BHMD are identified as Catalan with no homonyms found in French, Occitan or Castilian, according to several onomastic dictionaries (Moll 1959, Bas-i-Vidal 1988, Moreu-Rey 1991, Coromines 1995, Albaigès 2005). This is the case with surnames such as *Vendrell*, *Manresa*, *Figueres*, *Mataró*, *Martorell*, *Girona*, *Vilaplana* and *Perelló*.

Catalan Surname Classification Through Cluster Analysis

The large number of homonymic surnames, as already presented above, makes it necessary to formulate complementary and independent classifications of the linguistic origin of surnames in order to understand completely the evolution of Catalan onomastics. Thus, cluster analysis has provided the opportunity to configure a categorisation of surnames that can be classified hierarchically according to the degree of uniqueness of each one. This division into subgroups can go from the individual or the surname (2,248 cases) level up to two groups. However, in this paper, after several tests,²¹ only a three-group cluster classification is presented. This hierarchisation is selected for its explicative capacity and its simple organisation.²²

The first of the three major clusters mentioned, which has been designed Group A, consists of 724 different surnames (29.6% of the cases), which represent 155,455 individuals (34.2%) in total. Some of the surnames that form this group are: *Ferrer, Serra, Puig, Soler, Sala, Riera, Bosch, Duran, Roig, Garau, Coll, Plana, Torrent, Oliver, Gener, Pasqual, Colomer, Ros, Bertran, Figuera, Rossell, Oller, Sabater, Llobet, Mateu, Gil, Vilar, Ferran, Miquel, Miró, Bonet, Vendrell, Lledó, Llorenç, Trilla, Borrell, Roure, Raimon, Nadal, Mallol, Torrella, Mir, Dalmau, Bofill, Palau, Joan, Gelabert, Pujada, March, Cerdà, Oliva, Fuster, Marquès, Cardona, Navarro, Arnal, Moragues, Ribera, Nicolau, Galceran, Gual, Rei, Verdaguer, Alemany, Bassa, Guardiola, Canyelles, Salvador, Vilanova, Segarra, Balaguer, Benet, Pedrós, Català, Martorell, Piquer, Huguet, Ferrera, Quintana, Major, Pont, Perellada, Vilardell, Messaguer, Vicenç, Rabassa, Roure, Castelló, Jordà, Montmany, Terrer, Campderrós, Morell, Febrer, Ametller, Sastre, Agustí, Colom, Aguilar, Pellisser, Castellar and David.*

The second, Group B, is formed of surnames such as: *Font, Vidal, Ponç, Carrera, Batlle, Abadia, Camp, Amat, Esteve, Garriga, Busquets, Vinyals, Anglada, Bruguer, Andreu, Verger, Calbet, Gibert, Romeu, Guitard, Teixidor, Noguera, Porta, Morera, Oms, Maure, Ricard, Bover, Burnet, Masó, Cassany, Gallard, Barceló, Fontanet, Bartra, Lleonard, Rigal, Mongells, Arús, Brú, Galí, Gurí, Jofre, Forcada, Subirachs, Blanchart, Borruell, Guinard, Bonanat, Giol, Reinalt, Fages, Oriach, Gorgui, Constans, Mallola, Turó, Gai, Forest, Reiner, Francí, Sangés, Fontanilles, Darder, Bolart, Massacs, Albanell, Riambau, Domenjo, Guimerà, Bigorra, Borgunyó, Fontana, Viura, Pereta, Albi, Bastida, Brell, Condal, Prous, Bruna, Jolís, Catlla, Grimalt, Comba, Verdú, Montclús, Colet, Llemosí, Sauleda, Dunyó, Gastó, Maurici, Crusat, Jaumira, Llauder, Avellaneda, Salvanya and Arbona.* This group comprises 369 different surnames (15.1%) and 71,790 individuals (15.9%).

Finally, Group C is the most diverse and numerous of all. There are 1,355 different surnames (55.3%) representing 226,666 individuals (49.9%) composed of surnames like:

²¹ In order to identify which hierarchisation of surnames is the most explicative and easily understandable, several cluster classifications have been analysed (clusters of 15, 9, 7, 5, 3 and 2 groups respectively).

²² For each observed period (1451-1500, 1501-1550, 1551-1600, 1601-1650, 1651-1700, 1701-1750, 1751-1800, 1801-1850, 1851-1900): Group A: Average 0.87, 0.78, 0.61, 0.52, 0.48, 0.44, 0.42, 0.42, 0.43; Standard Deviation 1.70, 1.52, 1.31, 1.18, 1.18, 1.08, 1.06, 1.02, 0.99; Group B: Average 0.31, 0.36, 0.59, 0.67, 0.52, 0.42, 0.40, 0.37, 0.35 Standard Deviation 0.81, 0.86, 1.14, 1.21, 1.11, 0.91, 0.89, 0.85, 0.76; Group C: Average 0.18, 0.21, 0.24, 0.27, 0.33, 0.38, 0.39, 0.41, 0.40; Standard Deviation 0.67, 0.70, 0.73, 0.77, 0.85, 0.86, 0.87, 0.87, 0.84.

Martí, Vila, Valls, Mas, Roca, Torres, Prats, Rovira, Pujol, Ribes, Cases, Costa, Casanoves, Comes, Carbonell, García, Pi, Pagès, Julià, Domènech, Solà, Canals, Rius, Alzina Moliner, Mates, Castell, Sanç, Ventura, Pla, Fàbrega, Martínez, Codina, Artiga, Pérez, Armengol, Fernández, Pou, Simó, Amigó, Perer, Rodríguez, González, Llobera, López, Cortés, Feliu, Olivera, Borràs, Capdevila, Tomas, Petit, Creu, Llopart, Domingo, Elias, Muntaner, Obac, Tort, Abril, Cabot, Eimerich, Berenguer, Gomez, Rodó, Comella, Jover, Torner, Montserrat, Llopis, Güell, Iglesias, Robert, Isern, Sánchez, Faura, Lluc, Margarit, Sunyol, Irla, Reventós, Rosselló, Ramoneda, Baró, Claramunt, Ximenes, Cirera, Marcet, Bellver, Escuder, Miralles, Munt, Saladrigas, Romagosa, Piera, Albereda, Enric, Subirana, Marçal and Padró.

Cluster Classification and Its Relation to Migration Processes

If the evolution of these three clusters of surnames is related to the time of arrival of the migratory waves from France and the rest of Spain, certain complementarities can be observed (Figures 2 and 3).

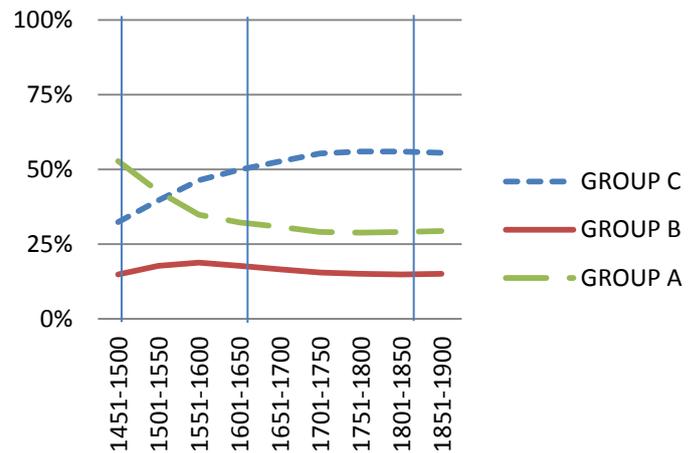


Fig. 18. Surname classification through cluster analysis: number of surnames

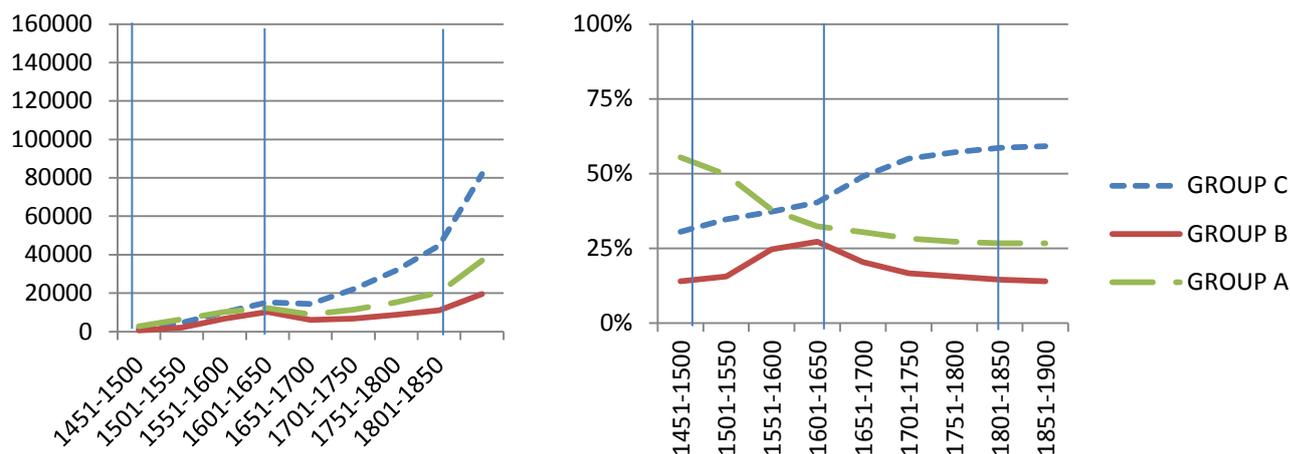


Fig. 19. Surname classification through cluster analysis: number of individuals.

Group A – which is distinguished by surnames already existing in the Barcelona area from the mid-15th century – is characterised by a continuous decline over time: in the period 1451-1500, this group represents over 50% of surnames and registered individuals. However, from 1851-1900, it represents only just over 25% (Figures 2 and 3). This pattern could suggest that it is formed of surnames which were little influenced by the migrations of the Modern and Contemporary eras.²³

In contrast, the evolution of Group B is characterised by an irregular distribution of the number of individuals over time (Figures 3 and 4). This group represents around 25% of the couples recorded in the Marriage License Books throughout the 17th century, while in other periods they add up to only 15% (Figures 2 and 3). This calendar coincides with the period of the highest level of French immigration, suggesting that many of the French immigrants of the 16th and 17th centuries had carried surnames that belong to Group B.

Finally Group C is characterised by constant growth in the number of surnames and individuals registered between the 15th and 19th centuries, especially after 1850, coming to represent over 50% of surnames registered in the Marriage License Books from that time onwards (Figures 2 and 3). These results suggest that this group is composed of surnames introduced in the Barcelona area by continuous migration flows, and by immigrants who settled in Catalonia from the second half of the 19th century, like the Spanish migration wave.

Its Relation to the Origins of Surnames

Group trends are confirmed if the classification made by the cluster analysis is linked to a linguistic classification of the same surnames. Thus each group of surnames that emerged from the cluster analysis was studied to find how many of them can be classified as ‘Catalan’,

²³ Population flows could have introduced surnames from outside Group A throughout time in the Barcelona area, causing a continuous decline in the relative weight of this group.

‘French or Occitan’ and ‘Castilian’ according to different onomastic dictionaries (Moll 1959, Bas-i-Vidal 1988, Moreu-Rey 1991, Coromines 1995, Albaigès 2005) (Table 4).²⁴

GROUP	CATALAN	FRENCH/ OCCIT.	CASTILIAN		CATALAN	FRENCH/ OCCIT.	CASTILIAN
A	705	493	10		97.4%	68.1%	0.4%
B	333	286	27		90.6%	77.5%	1.1%
C	1120	633	181		82.7%	46.7%	7.4%

Table 4. Catalan surnames classified by cluster aggregation and linguistic origin

Although in all cases surnames considered to be Catalan are in the majority and all groups have a large number of surnames that could also be considered as originating from the Kingdom of France (Table 4), Group A is the one characterised by the highest percentage of surnames considered to be Catalan according to linguistic criteria (97.4%); in parallel Group B consists of a large number of surnames that might have been introduced by French immigration (77.5%); and Group C, in relative terms, has the highest percentage of Castilian surnames (7.4%) and the lowest number of French and Occitan surnames (46.7%). These results suggest that different immigration waves have made this last cluster. Therefore this group could be formed by surnames and individuals who have been influenced by the Spanish immigration of the 19th century as well as by Catalan surnames with little relation in relative terms to French immigration, which would suggest that they were immigrants from the rest of Catalonia who were not affected by the French migration wave of the 16th and 17th centuries (like the rural migration to the Barcelona area).

Discussion

This study has shown how the interrelations between Catalan, Occitan, French and Castilian have conditioned the evolution of surnames collected in the Marriage License Books during the Modern and Contemporary eras. Immigration from France, then from the rest of Spain has enriched Catalan onomastics by introducing new forms of surnames. This influence by migratory flows, together with the relatively high number of homonymic surnames and the absence of a standardised onomastics, make it necessary to develop new avenues of study. For this purpose, this research has presented a first approach to an alternative classification of surnames based on cluster analysis, seeking to complement onomastic studies.

Consequently the cluster analysis performed helps us to visualise certain trends that identify similarities between surnames independently from linguistic and historical origins. Thus from the classification generated it has been observed that surnames considered to be Catalan from linguistic criteria are the majority in all groups. Similarly, it has also been found that a significant number of them may have been introduced or (re)introduced by French immigration during the 16th and 17th centuries. If we analyse each group in detail, it can be seen that Group A has the highest number of Catalan surnames, Group B has the highest

²⁴ The sum of percentages for each group does not necessarily add up to 100% because surnames could have two or more different linguistic origins.

percentage of surnames borne by foreigners, and Group C, the most heterogeneous of all, comprises the largest number of Castilian surnames and the smallest number, in relative terms, of surnames influenced by French immigration. These hypotheses are corroborated by the evolution over time of each group, which coincided with the major immigration periods. It should be noted that these results do not show that each cluster is formed solely by Catalan, French and Spanish surnames respectively, but rather finds three main frequency patterns where all surnames in the Barcelona area can be classified.

Cluster analysis has definitely proven to be a useful tool, providing substantial complementary information about the complex evolution of Catalan onomastics between the 15th and 20th centuries. However it remains for future research to deepen the classification of surnames from cluster analysis by introducing new variables to create them. In this study we used the GR between periods for the classification of surnames, but this could be complemented by other measures such as the relative frequency or the total number of surnames. Further study would allow us to corroborate and complement the proposed classification of Catalan surnames presented in this study.

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Finnish Female Name Pattern with the Suffix *-iina*

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Finland

Abstract

This paper discusses Finnish given names, name formation and variation in the popularity of given names in Finland. The topic of this study is the female names ending in *-iina*, such as *Eveliina*, *Josefiina*, *Katariina*, *Pauliina* and *Vilhelmiina*. The *iina*-ending name type can be considered a productive pattern for creating new Finnish female names, since there are more than 600 different names ending in *-iina* in the data. The data of this study consists of all the given names that end in *-iina* given between the end of the 19th century and the year 2012 to Finnish girls who have Finnish as their mother tongue. The suffix *-iina* is a feminine suffix, since all the names ending in *-iina* are female names, which makes the name type very particular in the Finnish nomenclature. According to the data of this study, the name type is most popular in the late 19th century and again at the turn of the millennium. It is originally a borrowing from Western European name systems and the suffix has originally been written as *-ina* also in Finnish, but since the Finnish names are usually written as they are pronounced, the form *-iina* is nowadays far more common.

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Introduction

A choice of name for a child is never made completely independently. The choice reflects social influences, and the choice is always made within a community. According to Emilia Aldrin (2011), naming a child is not done through a single performative act, but rather a process that has several different phases, such as a phase of inspiration, a phase of comparison, a phase of decision-making and a narrative phase that occurs after the choice is made. Through the naming process the name givers create identities for both the child and for themselves (Aldrin 2011: 34-35, 252-253).

Nowadays in Finland it is increasingly common to give a child a name that is rare or even unique, and the name givers seem to be very creative with their choice of names. Namesakes are often not desired for the child. This is a trend that has begun after the middle of the 20th century. When it comes to choosing a name, a child is nowadays seen as an individual who has to have an individual name, not so much as a member of a community. An individual name choice represents both the child's individuality as a name bearer and also the parent's individuality and creativity as a name giver (Saarelma-Paukkala 2013: 59-60). In the early 19th century a common naming practice was to choose a name that was common in the community, and many children were named systematically after relatives. The stock of different names was narrow. Later the rigidity of name giving has been abandoned, and the changes in name fashion are now more apparent (Kotilainen 2008: 247-270).

However, the need for new names is not a new phenomenon. Because of the Finnish national awakening in the 19th century, many name givers in the late 19th and early 20th century wished to choose a name that was more Finnish than the Christian names that were in

common usage at the time. There were not many Finnish given names in common usage, since the Finnish names had almost entirely been replaced by the Christian names when Christianity spread to Finland, and therefore lots of new Finnish names had to be created in a short amount of time (Kiviniemi 2006: 419–420).

As was noted, in the 21st century it is more usual to favour names that are infrequent. The urge to give a child a rare name has created a need for a larger name stock, and new names are created constantly. According to the Finnish Name Act, which was issued in 1946 and most recently reformed in 2005, a given name has to be in accordance with the domestic practice to name a child. The Act also says that a girl must be given a female name and a boy must be given a male name (Ainiala *et al.* 2012: 188-190). Interpretation of the law is somewhat subjective, though, since the definition of the domestic practice is not unambiguous. On the whole, in Finland naming a child is rather unrestricted and it is also fairly effortless to form a totally new name that no one in Finland has.

The Data of the Study

The data of this study consists of all the given names that end in *-iina* given between the end of the 19th century and the year 2012 to Finnish girls who have Finnish as their mother tongue. The data is from the Population Register Centre and is given for this study by the Institute for the Languages of Finland. The database that this data is based upon has been constructed in 1965 and it contains all Finns that were alive in 1965 or have been born since. There might be some flaws in the database, since the earliest occurrences are from the end of the 19th century and they are interpretations of the handwritings of priests or other clerks.

The present data consists of all given names – that is, both first given names as well as second and third given names. In Finland a child can be given one to three names and generally children are given two or three names. However, they usually are referred to with their first given name and the other given names are not used in the everyday life. The first given name is typically shorter than the other given names, due to a rhythm pattern many name givers prefer to follow (Kiviniemi 2006: 413) – e.g. *Anna Vilhelmiina* is a much more common name than *Vilhelmiina Anna*. Therefore the multisyllabic *iina*-ending names are more common as a second or a third name. As was noted, all the names in the data are given to Finnish girls who have Finnish as their mother tongue. It is notable that although Finnish is marked as the child's mother tongue in the database, it is not necessary that both the child's parents – or either of them – speak Finnish as their mother tongue.

This data includes 608 different names that end in *-iina* and that represent the *iina*-ending name type. Some *iina*-ending names are more similar to compound names than the *iina*-ending name type, such as *Annastiina*, *Eevaliina* and *Maijatiina*. There are quite many names of this type as well, but in these names both the beginning and the ending function more as independent names than as a root and a suffix: for example, *Maija* and *Tiina* are Finnish female names, as is *Maija-Tiina*. These names are more linked to compound names than to the *iina*-ending name type and are therefore excluded from the data of this study. In addition, the names that end in *-iina* but have only two syllabics (*Iina*, *Niina*, *Tiina* etc.) are also excluded from the data.

New Names and Name Formation

Since in Finnish names are usually written as they are pronounced, it is a custom by the Finnish onomasticians to segregate all different variations. Every different spelling is considered to be a different name. The name *Eveliina* has the same origin as the names *Evelina*, *Eeveliina*, *Eveniina*, *Eveliina*, *Ewelina* and *Eve-Liina*, for example, but to an onomastician in Finland, these are seven different names. Nowadays modifying the name's spelling can be seen as a way of forming a new name, but during the first hundred years of the data of this study, different spellings are more or less unintentional, since the spellings of given names were not established until the middle of the 20th century.

In the 1950s approximately 1,500 different female names were given during one year in Finland. In the beginning of the millennium the number was approx. 3,500, and nowadays it is even higher: e.g. in 2012 Finnish girls were given in total 4,048 different names. The annual number of female names given is higher than the number of male names, even though every year more boys are born than girls.¹ Girls are more often given a new, rare, special and even unique first name than boys, who more often are given a traditional name that perhaps runs in the family (Kiviniemi 2006: 32-35, Yliopiston nimipäiväalmanakka 2014: 50-51).

So where do new names come from? When choosing a name for a child, the name giver can find a suitable name among the old names that have been popular a hundred years ago or earlier. An example of a name that was popular over a hundred years ago in Finland and is popular once again is the female name *Emma* (Kiviniemi 2006: 415-419). Another phenomenon is borrowing names from other languages, most commonly due to bilingual families or due to the pursuit of internationality. Names are an element of language that is easily influenced by cultural change or other changes in the world. Names can be easily borrowed from one language to another or from one culture and one naming system to another (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003). New names can also be found in the world of literature, music, movies and television.

Other selections, where new names can be found, are lexicon and the large variety of nicknames. Parents can name their child *Omena* ('apple') or *Kaneli* ('cinnamon'), for instance. These names can be called homonym names, since the names have the same pronunciation and the same spelling as the lexemes, but the meaning differs. Homonym names were popular especially during the Finnish national awakening in the 19th century, when given names of Finnish origin were favored. On the other hand, nicknames can also transfer into formal given names. *Liisa* is a very common female name in Finland but it is originally a nickname for someone called *Elisabeth* – also the female name *Maija* is originally a pet form of the name *Maria*. Choosing a name that is typically known as a nickname is an ongoing phenomenon in Finland. For example, in the beginning of the 21st century, such names as *Late* (a typical nickname for someone called *Lauri*) and *Valtsu* (a typical nickname for someone called *Valtteri*) have been chosen for boys.

However, names being borrowed from different cultures or names being transferred from lexicon or nicknames becoming formal given names, are not the same as forming new names. Instead, forming new given names in Finnish is either by compounding or derivation,

¹ In 2012 in total 52,294 Finnish children were born in Finland, who have Finnish as their mother tongue: 25,671 girls and 26,623 boys. Finnish boys were given in total 3,313 different given names.

which means that new names are formed by the same principles as new words. Compounding happens usually by using a hyphen (*Maija-Liisa*), but it is also possible to compound two names without a hyphen (*Maijaliisa*). Derivation on the other hand can be very regular: a root plus a suffix make a derivative. It can also be fairly loose, when using models and patterns.

The multisyllabic *iina*-ending name type can be seen as a derivational name pattern. Using existing names as a model is a common way to create new names. For example, existing names as *Vilhelmiina*, *Katariina* and *Eveliina* have likely been used as a model for creating new names such as *Vilmiina*, *Vilmelmiina*, *Katriina*, *Kataliina*, *Aveliina*, *Eevellina* and *Eveniina*. But as the name type becomes more common and there are many given names in the similar shape, it is no longer the individual names that are used as a model, but the name type becomes a pattern.

The *iina*-ending Name Type as a Pattern

The name type that ends in *-iina* is an exceptionally clear pattern. This research shows that in the Finnish speaking community, even new, unique names are recognized as female names, as long as they end in *-iina*. Because of the clear pattern, even if an *iina*-ending name is never heard before, it is usually understood as a given name instead of a random element of language.

In some names the beginning of the name can be considered a root. In most cases (approx. 10% of all the names in the data) the root is a male name: such old names as *Vilhelm* > *Vilhelmiina*, *Josef* > *Josefiina* and *Paulus* > *Pauliina* and such new names as *Antti* > *Anttiina*, *Jussi* > *Jussiina*, *Matti* > *Mattiina* and *Tomi* > *Tomiina*. This can be seen as the origin of the *iina*-ending name type. Originally most of the names are probably derived from male names and therefore *iina*-ending names are originally female forms of male names. For example, *Anttiina*, *Jussiina*, *Mattiina* and *Tomiina* are therefore new names created by using the old model. The new names debut in the data in the beginning of the 21st century, and they only have one or a few bearers. The male names *Antti*, *Jussi*, *Matti* and *Tomi* are all commonly chosen names for boys in the 1980s, so it is possible that these are patronymics and derived from the child's father's name.

According to the data of this study, it is much more untypical that the root is a female name. These names are all fairly new – they debut in the data at the earliest in the late 1900s. Some examples are *Elliina* (< *Elli*), *Jenniina* (< *Jenni*), *Mariina* (< *Mari*), *Nelliina* (< *Nelli*), *Outiina* (< *Outi*) and *Peppiina* (< *Peppi*). The root can also be a lexeme. There are only a few of this category in the data, and they all, too, debut in the data at the earliest in the 1900s, but they are very peculiar and therefore worth categorizing: e.g. *Manteliina* (*manteli* 'almond'), *Sipuliina* (*sipuli* 'onion'), *Vadelmiina* (*vadelma* 'rasberry'), *Vauhtiina* (*vauhti* 'speed') and *Villiina* (*villi* 'wild').

Dividing the names into categories based on their roots is, naturally, not at all unambiguous. It is not always clear if there is a name or a lexeme used as a root when forming the name, or not. The root is most easily found when the name or the lexeme used as a root ends in the letter *i*: *Lauri* (male name) > *Lauriina* and *Emmi* (female name) > *Emmiina* and *Pippuri* ('pepper') > *Pippuriina*. But in most cases the etymology is not that explicit. For

example, the names *Hanniina*, *Janniina* and *Sanniina* might be derived from female names *Hanna* or *Hanni*, *Janna* or *Janni* and *Sanna* or *Sanni*, but they can just as well be variations of the fairly popular name *Anniina*.

Often it is impossible to see a root in a name before the suffix *-iina*. It can be construed that most of the names in the data are formed not by combining a root and a suffix but by using the pattern. It seems that the element before the suffix *iina* can be any given name but also almost any pronounceable element of language: *Adassiina*, *Airiina*, *Alehtiina*, *Almiina*, *Amaliina*, *Carmiina*, *Florentiina*, *Helviina*, *Hyldeimiina*, *Jatriina*, *Jerriina*, *Loliina*, *Luviina*, *Mandeliina*, *Melbiina*, *Obeliina*, *Pepperiina*, *Rullakartiina*, *Sehveriina*, *Sikuriina*, *Westiina*, etc.

In the field of onomastics one often has to take a stand on the concept of name in general. Proper names are separated from common names usually by their function: as Willy Van Langendonck argues, ‘a proper name denotes a unique entity at the level of established linguistic convention to make it psychosocially salient within a given basic category’ (2007: 322). However, due to the existence of the clear pattern, many new and unique *iina*-ending names are understood as female names. So must a given name have at least that one bearer for it to be considered a name? One interpretation is that there is such a group as potential names, which are names that could be given and would be understood as female names – at least among the Finns – but which are yet to be given. Examples of potential names are **Terhiina* (< Finnish female name *Terhi*) and **Maijiina* (< Finnish female name *Maija*) and **Suniina* (does not have a clear root name). According to the data of this study, these names do not refer to an individual and they do not specify anyone or anything.

The name type is originally a borrowing from Western European languages, such as Swedish and German, and it is still known in other European countries and languages as well: for example, *Catalina* and *Caterina* are Spanish and Italian forms of the name *Katharine*. However in French and English the name type usually ends in *-ine*: e.g. *Christine*, *Claudine*, *Katherine*, *Josephine* (Hanks and Hodges 1990: 57, 63, 66, 182). In Finnish the suffix *-iina* has originally been written as *-ina*, but since Finnish names are usually written as they are pronounced, the form *-iina* has been more common since the Finnish national awakening of the 19th century. In the beginning of the 20th century, *Vilhelmiina*, for example, became quickly more common than *Vilhelmina* or *Wilhelmina*, at least among the Finnish natives, since it was considered a more Finnish name. In the data of this study, which only includes girls in Finland with Finnish as their mother tongue, the most common *ina*-ending names are *Annina* and *Kristina*, as they both have a little less than 900 bearers in the data. The frequency for *Anniina*, though, is 14,457 (as a first name 3,880), and for *Kristiina* 78,151 (as a first name 4,284). Originally the suffix is a Latin diminutive suffix, and it is still known for example in Italian: *casa* ‘house’ and *casina* ‘a small house or a cottage’. As the suffix ends in the letter *a*, it is a feminine form. The suffix is still a feminine suffix: all the names that end in *-iina* are particularly female names and a male name ending in *-iina* is not possible.

In most naming systems and also in the Finnish language, male names and female names are usually separated. By knowing a person’s name, the sex of the person is also known. Usually at the time a child is given a name, he or she is also becoming a representative of one or the other sex. By naming a child, we are also representing gender and attesting the sexual distinction. If the given name does not bare the person’s sex, people are

usually confused. In Finnish there are, however, some names that are so-called unisex names, which suit both sexes, but they are rather rare (see Leino 2014). A male name that ends in *-iina* is not possible, so in consequence, a name that ends in *-iina* cannot be a unisex name. Often when forming new names, the name is seen as a unisex name for some time, until it later on usually becomes established in either female names or male names. However, if the new formation ends in *-iina*, it is inevitably seen as a female name. In this sense, the name type is very peculiar in the Finnish nomenclature: usually Finnish given names cannot be all-inclusively divided into female names and male names based on their form alone. Therefore it is notable that this name type is quite popular nowadays, too, when at the same time unisex names are becoming more and more popular and also gender-neutral education is on display in the media. Choosing an *iina*-ending name to one's daughter, the child's sex is represented very clearly to everyone in the community.

Variation in Popularity

In the data there are 608 different *iina*-ending names. Only nine of them are fairly common names in Finland that have a name day in the Finnish name calendar:² *Anniina*, *Eveliina*, *Josefiina*, *Karoliina*, *Katariina*, *Katriina*, *Kristiina*, *Pauliina* and *Vilhelmiina*. Most of the 608 names are very rare: when all the given names are included, in total of 461 different names (76%) are so infrequent that they have fewer than 10 bearers in the data, and 44% of the names are unique among the Finnish-speaking community (see Figure 1).

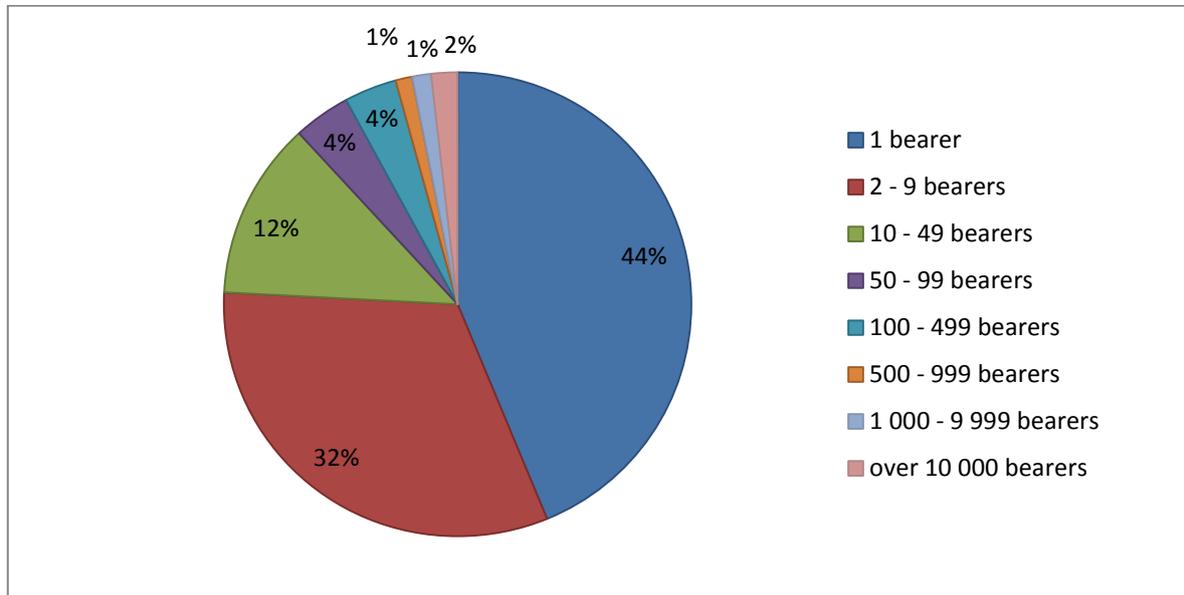


Fig. 20. The 608 different *iina*-ending names divided by the amount of bearers they have in data

The figure shows that all though the *iina*-ending name type is a productive pattern for forming new names, most of the names created are very infrequent. It is a productive pattern, since 608 different names is an exceptional amount of names that are similar in type.

² More about the name day tradition in Finland, see Ainiala *et al.* 2012: 185–186.

However, most Finns are probably not aware of the number of different names of this name type – Finns may not come across most of the different names, since none of the names are really common individually. As a first given name, the most common *iina*-ending name is *Kristiina* (which is Finnish form of *Christina*), as it has 4,284 bearers in the data as a first given name in the Finnish-speaking community, and the second most common is *Katariina* (which is Finnish form of *Katherine*) with 4,111 bearers. As a first given name, neither of them can be considered a popular name. For instance, the name *Maija* has more than 24,000 bearers as a first name, and that is not even considered a highly popular first name in Finland. An example of a popular first given name is *Anna* with approximately 82,000 bearers among the Finnish-speaking community.³ Both *Kristiina* and *Katariina* are clearly more common as a second or a third given name, since in total the name *Kristiina* has 78,151 bearers and the name *Katariina* has in total 54,556 bearers in the data of this study. However, for the sake of comparison, the most popular female names in Finland are *Maria*, *Helena* and *Johanna*, as the frequency for *Maria* is approximately 373,000, for *Helena* approximately 170,000 and for *Johanna* approximately 147,000.⁴ Therefore, the frequencies for the most common *iina*-ending names are not significantly high. Accordingly, it is more practical to study the variation in popularity as a name type than as an individual name, since none of the names by themselves are very popular at any point.

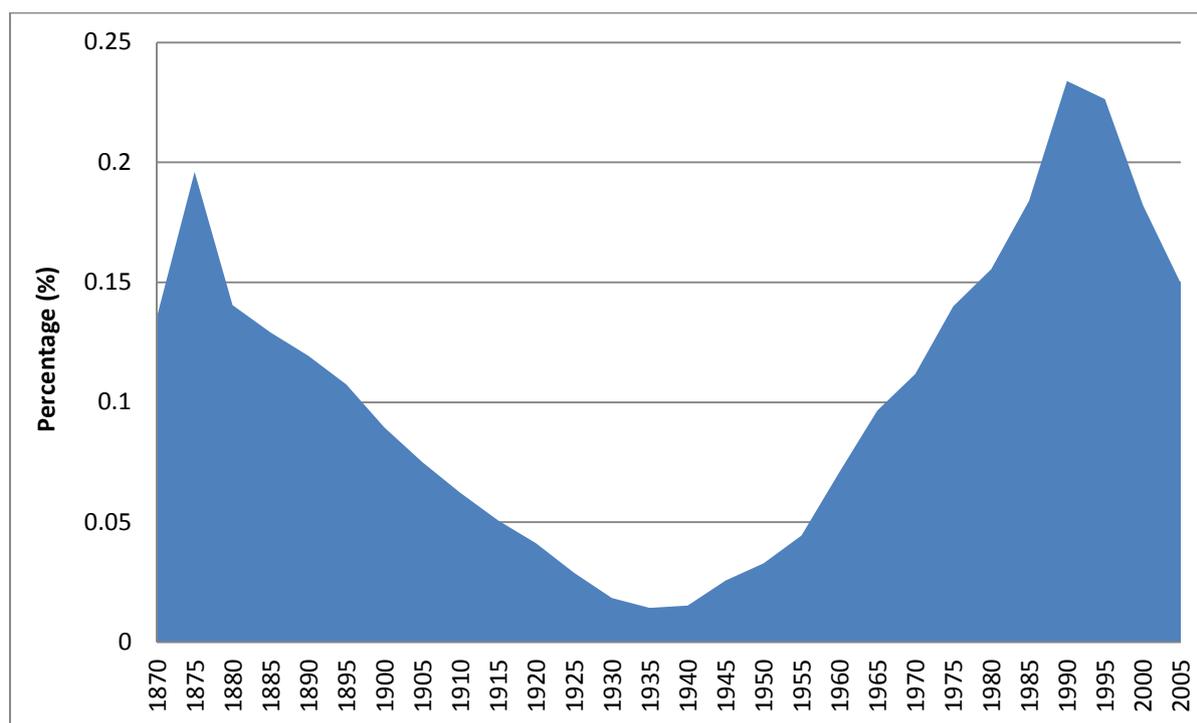


Fig. 21. The choices of given names that end in *iina*, given in Finland between the years 1870 and 2012

³ These numbers for *Maija* and *Anna* are from the data that is received from the Institute for the Languages of Finland and it includes all the female names ending in *-ija* or in *-inna* and given as a first given name to girls who have Finnish as their mother tongue.

⁴ These numbers for *Maria*, *Helena* and *Johanna* include all Finns regardless of their mother tongue. The information comes from the Population Register Center. (<http://verkkopalvelu.vrk.fi/Nimipalvelu/default.asp?L=3>).

The name type's variation in popularity is shown in figure 2. The figure shows the percentage of girls born annually between the end of 19th century and the year 2012 given an *iina*-ending name among the Finnish-speaking community in Finland. According to the data of this study, the name type that ends in *-iina* is most common in Finland in the late 19th century and again at the turn of the millennium.

The first peak of popularity is due to the popularity of several names – primarily due to the popularity of the name *Vilhelmiina*, but also to the popularity of the names *Josefiina* and *Katariina*. The names *Kristiina*, *Katariina*, *Karoliina* and *Pauliina* ascend to peak of popularity from the mid 1900s – yet the later peak of popularity is rather due to the popularity of the name as a whole than due to the popularity of single names, since several new *iina*-ending names are created during the latter part of the 20th century. On the other hand, the reason for the reduction of the name type's popularity towards the turn of the 20th century is presumably due to the popularity of Finnish given names. In consequence of the Finnish national awakening in the 19th century name givers started to choose names that appeared domestic increasingly more often. The name type that ends in *-iina* is originally a borrowing, and therefore name givers at that time might have found it foreign.

However, fashion does not need a specific reason to change, for due to its internal mechanisms fashion changes regularly anyway. According to Stanley Lieberman (2000), as long as there is free choice, there is fashion, since every name's appeal changes in general in the course of time. Fashion is bipartite: on the one hand there is the urge to imitate and be attached to a social group, but on the other hand there is also the need to separate oneself from others and underline one's individuality. Fashion needs to change regularly. Changes in external conditions can cause a fashion to change, but fashion can change without any changes in the external conditions, because fashion has its own internal mechanisms that generate change anyway. The popularity of different names varies, as does the popularity of different kinds of hairstyles, for instance, or pieces of clothing. The big difference is that there is no external gainer who influences how names change. Other difference is, of course, that the name chosen impacts on the name bearer's life and the choice of name has long-term influences on another person – unlike the choice of trousers. However, the changes in fashion should be separated from the existence of customs. It is not a matter of fashion, if, for example, a specific type of clothing is static and unchanging, as it is custom to wear a suit at many offices. In China, for example, it is a custom to choose a name for a child from a rather narrow selection, but however, one cannot say in that case that it is fashionable to pick a name from that stock (Lieberman 2000: 29-37, 66-68).

Conclusion

The multisyllabic name type that ends in *-iina* is a very clear pattern for forming new female names in Finnish. There are more than 600 different names of this name type, which is quite an exceptional amount of different names with the similar type in Finnish nomenclature. Therefore the name type is also considered a highly productive pattern for forming new names. Forming new given names is either done by compounding or derivation, and

derivation can be very regular or fairly loose. Using a pattern is a loose form of derivation, since it is not as regular as combining a root and a suffix.

The name type has two peaks of popularity in the data of this study. The latter and higher peak is in the turn of the millennium when most new *iina*-ending names are also created. The most common multisyllabic names that end in *-iina* are *Kristiina* and *Katariina*, which are also some of the oldest female names ending in *-iina*, but none of the *iina*-ending names is by itself notably popular at any point in the data. Most of the *iina*-ending names are highly infrequent. Approximately 76% of the names have fewer than 10 bearers in the data.

In a pattern the ending can hold a meaning, as it does in this case: the suffix *-iina* is a feminine suffix and an *iina*-ending male name is not possible. Even a new formation that ends in *-iina* is construed as a female name, and not a unisex name, as most new given names. Therefore by choosing a name of the *iina*-ending type, the sex distinction is attested. This is notable at a time when gender-neutral education and unisex given names are also becoming more popular. It will be interesting to see which is more popular in the future for the newborn: new unisex names or the *iina*-ending name type as a pattern for forming new given names.

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Names of Chinese Singsong Girls (up to the End of the 19th Century)

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Abstract

China's long historical tradition of male dominance and patriarchal authority based on patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence is deeply embedded in its culture and institutions. For more than 3,000 years of the history of China women have held an inferior position within the family and society, and their social status has had a great influence on female personal naming. Chinese 'famous women', i.e. the women recorded in various historical documents and biographical dictionaries (999 females of the research material) can be divided on the basis of their 'professional' or 'daily life' activities into certain social-professional groups. One of these groups consists of singsong girls or special female entertainers (95 females; 9.5%). These professional society ladies were of literary, musical, political, and emotional importance in China. It so happens that in the long history of China singsong girls and prostitutes were almost the only women more freely known and recorded by their given names, occurring together with their surnames or as separate appellations. However, their given names in many cases should rather be considered as being their artistic or stage names, and not their standard given names, bestowed on them by their parents or relatives. Many of these names have their own specific features, and they are meaningful, usually descriptive and affectionate.

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Names of Chinese Singsong Girls (up to the End of the 19th Century)

Physiological differences between men and women and philosophical differences in the attitude to both sexes have brought about great dissimilarities in their work activities, social roles, and other aspects. China's long historical tradition of male dominance and patriarchal authority based on patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence is deeply embedded in its culture and institutions. For more than 3,000 years of the history of China, women have held an inferior position within the family and society, and their social status has had a great influence on female personal naming (Kałużyńska 2008).

Confucian social philosophy in China stood for a society with an emphasis on distinction between superiority and inferiority, for obedience, for recognition of authority in a family as well as in a state, for sexual differentiation, separation of men and women, and for the division of labour into men's duties outside and women's duties inside the household. In the best spirit of Confucianism, sexual differentiation was considered not as a subjection of women to men, but as the harmony of relationships. One can read: 'Only when males and females are treated differently, can proper relations between husband and wife be established in conformity with the principles of morality and justice' (*Liji* 1957: 2385). However, the basic notions of female inferiority were there.

Confucius and other people of the early period of China (5th BC-3rd AD) set down basic definitions of Chinese womanhood and moral standards for women, that were endowed by later generations with enormous authority and respect.

Social-Professional Groups of Chinese ‘Famous Women’

Chinese ‘famous women’ are the women recorded in various historical documents, and later collected in two biographical dictionaries: *Zhongguo renming da cidian* [The Great Dictionary of Chinese Persons], hereafter abbreviated to ZRD, published in 1921, and *Huaxia funü mingren cidian* [Dictionary of Famous Chinese Women], hereafter abbreviated to HFMC, published in 1988. They can be divided on the basis of their ‘professional’ or ‘daily life’ activities into certain social-professional groups.

According to the research material, the main groups of 999 women living from the beginning of recorded Chinese civilization to the end of the 19th century (approximately to 1880) are:

(1) exemplary mothers, wives (or private concubines) and daughters, generally called *liè nǚ* 列女 or *liè nǚ* 烈女 ‘outstanding women; paragons of chastity’ (143 females; 14.3%);

(2) imperial court ladies, i.e. empresses, princesses, imperial consorts, imperial concubines, imperial maids, etc., that can be labelled as *gōng nǚ* 宮女 ‘palace ladies’ (342; 34.25%);

(3) singsong girls and prostitutes, classified as *jì jū* 妓 ‘singsong girls; prostitutes’ (95; 9.5%);

(4) women as Buddhist or Taoist nuns, recorded generally as *nǚ sēng* 女僧 ‘nuns’ (21; 2.1%);

(5) other women, living mainly in the 18th and 19th centuries, recorded because of their outstanding achievements in various domains of intellectual or artistic activities, and generally called *cái nǚ* 才女 ‘talented women, gifted female scholars’, or considered as heroines of some historical or cultural events, and usually labelled as *nǚ yīng xióng* 女英雄 ‘heroines’ (398; 39.85%).

Concubines and Singsong Girls

The separation between men and decent women was a fact of Chinese society, and it became even more distinct with time. There was almost no opportunity for any social intercourse between sexes, except through marriage. Laws, traditions and customs severely guarded this separation, mainly the seclusion of women. A decent Chinese woman was loyal, obedient, and instinctively chaste. However, there was an acceptance of sexual freedom for men. As a result, concubinage and prostitution came in as a relief for them, and such arrangements were lawful and quite fashionable in China, especially among the higher classes of society. There is a Chinese proverb: ‘We select a wife for her virtue, a concubine for her beauty’.

Concubinage has been present in Chinese history since the beginning. If the marriage was somewhat unsatisfactory, the man could, with public consent, take a concubine. This solution was also greatly encouraged by the insistence on male progeny. The law of the Ming Dynasty officially sanctioned the taking of concubines in the case of a man who had reached forty years of age and was still without any male progeny (Lin 1936: 156). The Chinese regarded marriage as a family affair, and if the marriage failed in any aspect, they accepted concubinage, which kept the family intact as a social unit. Concubines usually lived with the wife and served as her assistants and maids, their rights were duly protected and their children were treated by law as those of a wife.

The insistence on the segregation of the sexes, and the seclusion of decent women of elite families, greatly limited the possibilities for elite men to associate with educated females outside their own families. However, there were special female entertainers, i.e. singsong girls, usually publicly presented as artists or actresses, who fulfilled the need for female companionship during various festive gatherings.

The Chinese term *ji* 妓, under which these females are categorized, has two somewhat different meanings. These are: 'singing girl; female performer' and 'prostitute' (HD 1994: 4.295, Mathews 1963: 439, 'Shuowen' 1981: 621). According to Arlington (1923: 317), the original meaning of the term was 'woman's trinkets', denoting something of small value, a mere trifle. The original meaning has been lost, and nowadays it simply refers to a prostitute. This term probably originated during the Han Dynasty, when the emperor Wu (140-86 BC), established a women's camp for unmarried troops. The term 'singsong girl' in *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* is explained as: '(in China) a female entertainer, informal a prostitute' (TNODoE 1998: 1739). Thus the term 'singsong girl' is preferred here for such women to the term 'courtesan', defined as 'a prostitute, especially one with wealthy or upper-class clients' (TNODoE 1998: 422).

The great majority of these women were sold in early youth to brothel-keepers by poverty-stricken parents or relatives, or kidnappers. They were usually taught singing, dancing, playing musical instruments and sometimes reading. Some of them were quite well educated, trained in all the skills of witty conversation, painting, poetry, music and dance, so they could be the professional companions of elite men. The entertainment they provided might extend to sexual services, but not necessarily.

Singsong girls had to be courted before permitting a man to pass a night in their boudoirs. It was, in fact, the only kind of courtship legitimate and proper in China. Singsong girls waited upon banquets and acted as hostesses for the host, because in China wives never participated in men's feasts. The overwhelming majority of these female entertainers lived a miserable life, but for a few women this kind of activity provided an opportunity to pursue an independent life outside the strict confines of the family.

Alongside the development of Confucian ethics, society continued to establish its own frames, based on social conventions, and even more on economic pressure. It seems that more important than the influence of Confucianism was in many cases the fact that in China men controlled the finances of the family, with the property generally passed along the male line. The accumulation of wealth and the rise of great houses during the Wei and Jin dynasties (the 3rd-5th century AD), coupled with the general political disorder, encouraged

the development of concubinage and prostitution. In these times rulers and rich noblemen had many concubines and plenty singsong girls in their palaces and private households. In short, many women had become the playthings of rich men.

Quite a few singsong girls were closely connected with the political events of the Chinese nation, e.g. Chen Yuanyuan 陳圓圓, the beloved mistress of general Wu Sangui (1612-1678). Her capture by Li Zicheng (1606-1645) during the latter's conquest of Peking led Wu Sangui to enter Peking with the assistance of Manchu troops for her recovery, and thus directly contributed to the downfall of the Ming Dynasty and the establishment of the Qing Dynasty. After this event, she decided to live out her life as a nun in a monastery (HFMC: 620, Lin 1936: 154, ZRD: 1092.4).

Singsong girls became a very visible presence in urban China throughout the ages. At the beginning they were primarily noted as performers, actresses and artists. The last decades of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century witnessed an extraordinary flowering of courtesan culture, and many of the best-known singsong girls established their reputations as poets.

The history of Chinese intellectual women could be sought partly in the lives of many accomplished singsong girls. Among the females of the research material there are 95 singsong girls recorded altogether and they stand for 9.5% of the women recorded in the period until the end of the Qing Dynasty. One record (at the same time the earliest) concerns the singsong girl of the Northern Qi Dynasty (479-502). There are 30 singsong girls recorded from the Tang Dynasty (618-906), 7 from the Song Dynasty (960-1279), 22 from the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368), 25 from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1662), and 10 from the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912).

Names of Chinese Singsong Girls

A Chinese woman, in theory, could be given all of the categories of given names proper for Chinese civilization: a childhood name, a standard great name, a style, or other appellations. In practice, however, most girls and women were simply called 'daughters', 'wives' and 'mothers', and even if they had any names, they were usually not used and recorded. It was even considered improper for a woman to reveal or use her given name. Chinese women were generally treated as additions to males, and they were identified or referred to not by their own personal names, but by the personal names of their family members.

It happens that in the long history of China singsong girls and prostitutes were almost the only women more freely known and recorded by their given names, occurring together with their surnames or as separate appellations. However, their given names in many cases should rather be considered as their artistic or stage names, *yì míng* 藝名, and not their standard given names, bestowed on them by their parents or relatives (Kałużyńska 2008: 101-105, Yin 1998: 231, Liu 2000: 208).

Personal names consisting of a surname followed by a kind of given name are the most typical forms of Chinese personal names, in the past and at present. The form was introduced at the beginning of Chinese civilization and during the Han Dynasty it acquired the status of the standard form of Chinese personal names. However, as far as women are

concerned, such forms of recording were rather limited and used for certain groupings of women, especially unmarried girls of mainly noble families, famous talented women and famous singsong girls.

On the basis of the research material, one can establish that this form of recording was used in the case of 459 women born up to 1880 (46%), 70 singsong girls (73.7% of all of them) included. Since in the past a Chinese could have a number of given names, the forms are differentiated as to the category of the given name concerned. However, 47 singsong girls (67.14% of the group) have only one name recorded, without any information on its kind. The rest of them have their other names additionally recorded: 10 – style (*zì* 字), 2 – appellation (*hào* 號), 1 – style and appellation, 9 – standard name (*míng* 名). Only in the case of one singsong girls it is stated that the given name recorded is her adopted name, a kind of pseudonym.

In early times of China the method of recording people by their given name or appellation without surnames was mainly caused by the lack of more complicated naming systems or detailed information concerning the people recorded. Later, the method was used rather sporadically, and was considered as impolite, depreciating, or even as reflecting a kind of disapproval, typically on moral grounds. The women recorded in ZRD and ‘Dictionary’ without their surnames were mainly of a low social status, i.e. nuns, concubines of the lowest rank and singsong girls.

The given names of females, recorded as separate names without surnames, are standard given names bestowed by parents, relatives or teachers, or kinds of adopted appellations, artistic pseudonyms chosen by the persons themselves or given by their hosts or other persons. This pattern of identification in some roundabout way reflects the low position of their bearers. Sometimes it is impossible to distinguish standard given names from nicknames or artistic pseudonyms.

Altogether 25 singsong girls are recorded in dictionaries under their standard given name or appellation (32.86% of all). 16 singsong girls (64% of the group) have only one name recorded, without any information on its kind. The rest of them have their other names additionally recorded: 6 – surname, 1 – surname and standard name, 1 – surname and appellation, 1 – surname, style and appellation.

Semantic Content and Structural Features of Given Names of Singsong Girls

Names of Chinese singsong girls usually have their specific features, and they are meaningful, usually descriptive, affectionate and often hypocoristic and very feminine. The names of the singsong girls of the research material can be divided into 8 main groups.

(1) Hypocoristic Reduplicated Names

Among traditional Chinese methods of creating hypocoristic given names there is one that originated in the 5th century, and nowadays is quite fashionable and common. This method is based on the process of reduplication, i.e. an exact repetition of a linguistic element (a

syllable/a morpheme/a word). Names created using this method are usually called *diémíng* 疊名 ‘reduplicated names’. Reduplicated names are broadly used to convey an appealing diminutiveness, and to express an affectionate or condescending attitude. Chinese people consider them as having a maximum amount of softness and tenderness, and as being beautiful in sound and appearance.

Women in their lives had to conform to standards provided by men. Reduplicated names gave the impression of intimacy, and as such were well-suited to men’s emotional needs. They also reflected the inferior position of women, as those purposely currying favour with men, and were often considered as having the quality of a commercial label of women. As Yin (1998: 231) notes:

Chinese singsong girls and actresses made their living by exposing their feminine charms. For this reason their artistic names mainly sought for beautiful sounds and sensual pleasures. People hearing their names felt affected and delighted... Names of some famous singsong girls and actresses were: Zhen Shenshen, Li Shuaishuai, Mao Xixi, Chen Yuanyuan, Xue Susu... Although these names were full of poetic charm, they revealed their painful life. In those past times, singsong girls and actresses lived as slaves within the lowest levels of society. They had no personal liberty. Their artistic names were simply commercial labels attributed to them by their owners.

22 singsong girls (23.15%) of the research material have reduplicated names. The first reduplicated name recorded in historical documents is the name of [Su] Xiaoxiao [蘇] 小小, ‘Small; Little’, who was a famous singsong girl from Qiantang (present Hangzhou) during Southern Qi Dynasty (ZRD: 1775.4). Some examples of these names as below:

- [Zhang] Haohao [張] 好好, ‘[Small] Good’ (ZRD: d14.4);
- [Sun] Xiuxiu [孫] 秀秀, ‘[Small] Beautiful’ (ZRD: 754.2);
- [Luo] Aiai [羅] 愛愛, ‘[Small] Loving’ (ZRD: 1752.1).

(2) Given Names with Lexical Markers of ‘Diminutiveness’

Some Chinese hypocoristic names are formed by the use of lexical markers of ‘diminutiveness’. Such methods of denoting the nature of a pet name or a diminutive form of a name are morphological methods of compounding or of affixation. So-called diminutive terms, also named terms of endearment, have various statuses in the name as either root morphemes/words having the lexical meaning of ‘diminutiveness’ (‘small’, ‘young’, ‘child’, etc.) or affixes, serving to mark the semantic function of ‘diminutiveness’. Among the names of singsong girls figuring in the research material there are altogether 12 names with the terms (12.63%). The terms and names used are as below:

- *xiǎo* 小 ‘small’; ‘little’; ‘young’, 6 names, e.g.: [Huo] Xiaoyu [霍] 小玉 ‘Small Jade’ (*yù* ‘jade’; ‘pure’; ‘beautiful person’), Tang Dynasty (HFMC: 1108; ZRD: 1626.1);
- *ér* 兒 ‘child’; ‘suffix added to nouns to express smallness’, 3 names, e.g.: [Zhang] Ben’er [張] 奔兒 ‘Running Child’, ‘[Small] Runner’ (*bēn* ‘to run’; ‘to hasten’), Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 937.2);
- *nú* 奴 ‘slave’; ‘maid’; ‘term of endearment for girls’, 1 name, i.e.: [Wang] Baonu [王] 寶奴 ‘Treasured Darling’, ‘Treasured Slave’, ‘[Small] Treasure’ (*bǎo* ‘treasure’; ‘precious’), Ming Dynasty (ZRD: 159.4);
- *wá* 娃 ‘baby’; ‘child’; ‘small animal’; ‘girl’, 1 name, i.e.: [Li] Wa [李] 娃 ‘Baby’ (surname *lǐ* ‘plum’; surname and given name together mean ‘Plum Baby’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: 404.2);
- *tóng* 童 ‘child’; ‘young’, 1 name, i.e.: [Li] Zhentong [李] 真童 ‘Sincere Child’, ‘[Small] Sincere’ (*zhēn* ‘true’; ‘sincere’), Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 414.3).

(3) Names with Terms of Relationship or Rank

Typical general terms for women, terms of female relationship, self-reference, address or rank are mostly those written in Chinese characters having the radical *nǚ* 女 ‘woman’ – the marker of femininity and female names. Among the names of songsong girls figuring in the research material there are altogether 12 names with the terms (12.63%):

- *niáng* 娘 [孃] ‘woman’; ‘mother’; ‘mistress’; ‘wife’; ‘lady’; ‘form of address to an elderly married woman’, 7 names, e.g.: [Wang] Daniang [王] 大娘 ‘Great Woman’ (*dà* ‘big’; ‘great’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: d3.2);
- *jiě* 姐 ‘elder sister’; ‘sister’; ‘young woman’, 1 name, i.e.: Chongjie 寵姐 ‘Favoured Sister’ (*chǒng* ‘to bestow favour on’; ‘to honour’, Tang Dynasty (ZRD: d24.3);
- *jī* 姬 ‘concubine’; ‘professional female singer or dancer’; ‘complimentary term for women’; ‘lady’, 1 name, i.e.: [Cao] Wenji [曹] 文姬 ‘Talented Lady’ (*wén* ‘literary talent’; ‘knowledge’; ‘gentleness’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: 984.4).

There are also other terms of relationship or rank which sometimes occur in names of women, however, they are considered as typical for male names:

- *gē* 哥 ‘elder brother’; ‘brother’; ‘term of endearment’, 1 name, i.e.: [Li] Ge [李] 哥 ‘Brother’ (surname *lǐ* ‘plum’; surname and given name mean ‘Plum Brother’), Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 411.3);
- *qīng* 卿 ‘minister’; ‘term of endearment’, 1 name, i.e.: [Ma] Suqing [馬] 素卿, ‘Pure Minister’ (*sù* ‘white’; ‘pure’) Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 867.1).

(4) Names with Lexemes Denoting Personal Ornaments

Names consisting of terms for personal ornaments are generally considered as female-specific. However, the lexical items denoting jewels, especially various kinds of jade, are not solely found in the names of women. Jewels also function as symbols of moral or aesthetic qualities. Among the names there are altogether 14 names with the terms (14.73%). These are:

- yù 玉 ‘jade’; ‘pure’; ‘moral excellence’, 9 names, e.g.: [Qin] Yulian [秦] 玉蓮 ‘Jade Lotus’ (*lián* ‘lotus’), Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 827.1);
- yuàn 瑗 ‘large ring of fine jade’, 1 name, i.e.: [Wu] Yuan [吳] 瑗 ‘Jade’, Qing Dynasty (ZRD: a7.2);
- jué 玦 ‘two pieces of jade joined together’, 1 name, i.e.: [Fan] Jue [范] 玦 ‘Jade’, Ming Dynasty (ZRD: 709.4);
- qióng 瓊 ‘fine jade’; ‘good’, 1 name, i.e.: [Nie] Shengqiong [聶] 勝瓊, ‘Defeating Jade’, ‘Superior Jade’ (*shèng* ‘to win’, ‘to defeat’; ‘to be superior to’), Song Dynasty (ZRD: 1722.4);
- zhū 珠 ‘pearl’; ‘valuable’, 2 names, e.g.: Zhenzhu 真珠 ‘True Pearl’ (*zhēn* ‘true’; ‘sincere’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: 821.3).

(5) Names with Lexemes Denoting Colours

Given names with lexemes denoting colours are generally considered as revealing certain female aesthetic values. Many of the terms can also be treated as symbols of certain moral qualities. Among the names there are altogether 12 names with these terms (12.63%). They are:

- cǎi 彩 ‘colorful’; ‘ornamented’; ‘brilliant’, 1 name, i.e.: Caiyun 彩雲 ‘Colorful Cloud’ (*yún* ‘cloud’), Qing Dynasty (HFMC: 1081);
- cuì 翠 ‘emerald green’; ‘beautiful’, 1 name, i.e.: [Su] Cui [蘇] 翠 ‘Emerald Green’, Song Dynasty (ZRD: 1782.3);
- hóng 紅 ‘red’; ‘successful’; ‘beautiful’, 4 names, e.g.: Honglan 紅蘭 ‘Red Orchid’ (*lán* ‘orchid’; ‘subtle beauty or fragrance’), Qing Dynasty (ZRD: 679.2);
- qīng 青 ‘colour of nature’; ‘blue’; ‘green’; ‘black’; ‘luxuriant’, 1 name, i.e.: Qiaoqing 樵青 ‘Firewood Colour’ (*qiáo* ‘firewood’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: 1585.2);
- sù 素 ‘white’; ‘plain’; ‘pure’, 4 names, e.g.: [Xue] Susu [薛] 素素 ‘[Small] White’, ‘[Small] Pure’, Ming Dynasty (ZRD: 1667.3);
- zǐ 紫 ‘purple’; ‘loyalty’, 1 name, i. e.: [Cui] Ziyun [崔] 紫雲 ‘Purple Cloud’ (*yún* ‘cloud’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: 909.3).

(6) Names with Lexemes Reflecting Female Aesthetic Values

It is assumed that women love beauty, thus their names need to express their longing for beauty. In China many aesthetic terms also have moral connotations. There are altogether 6 names of singsong girls figuring in the research material with these terms (6.3%). The terms and names are as below:

- *xiù* 秀 ‘beautiful’; ‘delicate’, 4 names, e.g.: Tianranxiu 天然秀 ‘Heavenly Beautiful’ (*tiān* ‘the sky’; ‘the heavens’; ‘*rán* ‘like’; ‘suffix’), Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 39.2);
- *juān* 娟 ‘beautiful’; ‘graceful’; ‘elegant’, 1 name, i.e.: [Wu] Juanjuan [吳] 娟娟 ‘[Small] Beauty’, Ming Dynasty (ZRD: a7.2);
- *yán* 妍 ‘beautiful’; ‘fine’, 1 name, i.e.: [Yang] Yan [楊] 妍 ‘Beauty’, Qing Dynasty (ZRD: 1268.3).

(7) Names with Lexemes Denoting Fragrances

Perfumes or simply fragrances are generally associated with women, and in China it is considered proper and gender-specific to coin female names with the use of such terms. Among the analysed names there are altogether 4 names (4.21%) with the term *xiāng* 香 ‘fragrant’; ‘aromatic’; ‘perfume’; ‘flower’; ‘women’s things’; ‘woman’. Hui (2002: 354) notes that ‘when it is used in personal names, its main meaning is to denote females as having a fragrance of flowers and things from female apartments’, e.g.:

- [Fan] Xiangge [樊] 香歌 ‘Fragrant Song’ (*gē* ‘song’), Yuan Dynasty (ZRD: 1506.1).

(8) Names with Lexemes Denoting Dresses and Fabrics

In Chinese personal naming the use of terms for dresses and fabrics is considered as typical for female names. Among the names of singsong girls figuring in the research material there are altogether 3 names with the terms (3.15%). The terms and names are as below:

- *qǐ* 綺 ‘figured woven silk material’; ‘thin silk’; ‘beautiful’; ‘gorgeous’, 1 name, i.e.: [Zhou] Qisheng [周] 綺生 ‘Silk Born’ (*shēng* ‘to give birth’; ‘to be born’), Ming Dynasty (ZRD: 542.3);
- *sī* 絲 ‘silk’; ‘silks’; ‘thread-like thing’; ‘string’, 1 name, i.e.: Liusi 柳絲 ‘Willow Silk Threads’ (*liǔ* ‘willow’), Qing Dynasty (ZRD: 661.4);
- *xiāo* 緞 ‘raw silk’; ‘plain silk’; ‘silks’, 1 name, i.e.: Hongxiao 紅緞 ‘Red Silk’ (*hóng* ‘red’; ‘successful’), Tang Dynasty (ZRD: 679.2).

Conclusions

Singsong girls, the professional society ladies, were of literary, musical, political, and emotional importance in past China. They are also very important for onomastic studies on Chinese female names, as their names were known, used, and sometimes recorded, and could serve for later generations as a model of typical female names.

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Prénoms peu usités à Montpellier, France, de 1960 à 1985. Une étude socioanthroponymique.

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Résumé

L'objectif de cette communication est d'aborder les prénoms peu usités dans une communauté linguistique de langue romane, Montpellier, France, pendant la période 1960-1985, depuis la socioanthroponymie, la lexicologie et la sociolinguistique. Les bases théoriques sur lesquelles se fondent les analyses sont les études de l'onomastique classique, spécialement française, de la pragmasémantique et de la socionomastique. Voici les présupposés sous-jacents : a) le nom propre —et par conséquent le prénom— est un signe linguistique à part entière, et b) c'est aussi un bien symbolique, culturel, obligatoire et gratuit dont le choix synthétise le projet parental de ceux qui prénomment l'enfant. Dans cette étude qui fait partie d'un projet comparatif plus étendu, les unités lexicales attribuées une seule fois dans le corpus ont été analysées selon trois facteurs : 1) la langue moderne dans laquelle elles ont été inscrites ; 2) le genre grammatical auquel elles appartiennent, et 3) la catégorie nominale qui leur correspond selon la norme d'usage de l'époque (prénom, nom de famille, hypocoristique, toponyme ou « nom commun »). Nous concluons qu'une précision terminologique s'avère nécessaire : il faut définir ce qu'on entend par prénom « rare », prénom « peu usité » et prénom « non conventionnel ».

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine uncommon first names in the Romance language speech community of Montpellier, France, during the period 1960-1985, from the perspective of socioanthroponymy, lexicology and sociolinguistics. The classic onomastic studies, especially French onomastics, as well as pragmasemantics and socioanthroponymy, provide the theoretical bases on which the analysis is grounded. Our underlying presuppositions are: a) a proper name, and consequently a first name, is a complete linguistic sign in its own right, and b) it is also a symbolic, cultural, compulsory and free entity, the choice of which embodies the parental project of those who name the child. In this study, which is a part of a more extensive comparative project, first names in the corpus appearing only once were analyzed in terms of three factors: 1) the modern language in which they were registered, 2) the grammatical gender (masculine or feminine) to which they belong, and 3) the nominal category to which they are assigned, based on the norms of language use of the times (first name, surname, hypocoristic, place name or 'common noun'). We conclude that, in terms of terminology, we need to define exactly what we understand by 'rare', 'little used' and 'non-conventional' first names.

* * *

Introduction

« Prénom peu usité », « prénom rare », « prénom non conventionnel ». Voilà trois dénominations pour un (même ?) objet d'étude socioanthroponymique. Si on l'observe de plus près, on se rendra compte que le critère de la *fréquence un* —le fait d'être des hapax— est insuffisant étant donné qu'il ne rend pas compte des facteurs sociolinguistiques qui situent chaque attribution prénominale, chaque acte de prénomination concret, dans un contexte

spatio-temporel : la communauté linguistique spécifique de référence et la période où l'on se penche sur elle.

Comme on peut s'en douter, des concepts comme ceux de norme linguistique (Coseriu 1962, Heger 1974 et Lara 1976), de traditions discursives (Lara 2012), et du phénomène social de la mode (Lieberson 2000, Besnard et Desplanques 2003), sont centraux dans la définition de « prénom peu usité » d'un point de vue théorique. Quant à la pratique sur les corpus, l'observation de glissements catégoriels tels que le changement de genre ou le changement de catégorie nominale sont aussi des faits d'usage linguistique qui permettent de cerner la notion. Nous y reviendrons au moment de la discussion des résultats.

Cadre théorique et méthodologie

Cette communication fait partie d'un projet de longue haleine qui aborde la prénomination à Montpellier, France, et à Tlalnepantla de Baz, commune de l'agglomération de Mexico, au Mexique, tout au long du XX^e siècle. Le corpus est constitué par plus de 11 mille actes de naissance de l'État Civil. Il est analysé depuis la socioanthroponymie, avec les outils de la lexicologie et de la sociolinguistique. En raison de l'espace alloué, l'objectif de cette communication est d'aborder les prénoms peu usités dans la communauté linguistique de Montpellier pendant la période 1960-1985. On fournira cependant à l'occasion quelques exemples de Tlalnepantla.

Les unités lexicales attribuées une seule fois dans chaque échantillon sont étudiées afin d'y observer 1) la langue moderne dans laquelle elles ont été inscrites ; 2) le genre grammatical auquel elles appartiennent, et 3) la catégorie nominale qui leur correspond, selon la norme d'usage de l'époque (prénom, nom de famille, hypocoristique, toponyme, « nom commun » ou autre). Les bases théoriques sur lesquelles se fondent les analyses sont les études de l'onomastique classique, spécialement française, de la pragmasémantique et de la socioanthroponymie. Les présupposés sous-jacents à cette étude sont que le nom propre —et *a fortiori* le prénom— est un signe linguistique à part entière ; qu'il n'y a pas de division véritable entre le nom commun et le nom propre puisqu'ils se trouvent tous deux sur le continuum de la catégorie du nom, ce qui leur permet de passer d'un usage à l'autre lorsqu'on franchit le « seuil du nom » (Fabre 1987 ; Van Langendonck 2007) ; que le prénom est aussi un bien symbolique, culturel, obligatoire et gratuit (Besnard et Desplanques 2003), dont le choix synthétise le projet parental de ceux qui prénomment l'enfant (Offroy 1992) ; et, finalement, que la comparaison de la prénomination dans ces deux communautés linguistiques est possible étant donné qu'elles parlent majoritairement une langue romane et ont des tendances relativement similaires quant à l'attribution des prénoms au XX^e siècle.

Dans cette étude, tout aussi bien le premier prénom que les prénoms secondaires sont analysés. Dans un premier temps nous avons constitué des listes structurées des prénoms hapax, et puis, nous en avons éliminé a) ceux qui étaient attestés la même année dans les positions secondaires, et b) ceux qui étaient inscrits sous une forme graphique non canonique et qui pouvaient être regroupés avec le lemme correspondant, ce qui leur donnait une fréquence supérieure à un au cours de la même année, par exemple, des prénoms qui avaient un accent en moins ou des graphies différentes —*Claué* / *Chloé*. Nous avons gardé, par

contre, les équivalents dans des langues différentes ayant la même forme graphique, comme *José* qui peut appartenir au vocabulaire prénominal du français, de l'espagnol ou du portugais.

Nous avons ensuite procédé à classer les unités linguistiques selon la langue dans laquelle elles figuraient dans les actes de naissance, et à marquer tout changement de genre grammatical ou de catégorie nominale, par exemple, quand il s'agissait d'un hypocoristique, d'un nom de famille ou d'un toponyme jamais attribué auparavant en tant que prénom de par son inscription sur un acte d'État Civil.

La dernière étape de marcation a consisté à situer chronologiquement les attributions par rapport à l'ensemble du corpus (de 1900 à 1993 à Montpellier, et de 1901 à 2000 à Tlalnepantla). Ceci a permis de classer les attributions de nos listes comme des prénoms « vieux », « nouveaux » ou « vieux qui retournent à l'usage », par rapport au moment observé (1960-1985), ainsi que ceux qui restaient en dehors de tout classement possible. Dans le cas des prénoms montpelliérains, nous avons pu contraster nos résultats avec les statistiques pour la France entière, fournies par l'étude de Philippe Besnard et Guy Desplanques (2003), ainsi que par les données publiées par l'INSEE.¹ Des travaux similaires n'existant pas encore pour le Mexique, nous avons dû nous contenter des données issues de notre propre corpus d'actes de naissance constitué par 6203 registres. Ce marquage quantitatif et qualitatif nous a permis d'entrevoir la norme d'usage de chaque prénom figurant sur les listes structurées.

Résultats

Comme nous l'avons dit ci-dessus, pour des raisons d'espace, nous nous centrerons sur les résultats de Montpellier, et nous nous réserverons pour un autre article ceux de Tlalnepantla. Nous passerons également sous silence la plupart des résultats concernant les langues représentées dans les deux échantillons, étant donné que cet aspect de la recherche a déjà été abordé plus en détail ailleurs (López Franco 2014, 2013 et 2011). Commençons par présenter notre corpus.

L'échantillon montpelliérain d'actes de naissance qui va de 1960 à 1985 est constitué par 1335 hommes et 1336 femmes. Les premiers portent un total de 305 prénoms différents en première position et les secondes 368, plus 3 prénoms épicènes, *Camille*, *Dominique* et *Claude* qui nomment 12 filles et 9 garçons. De ces totaux, 165 prénoms masculins et 204 féminins ont été attribués une seule fois au cours de la période, ce qui représente un peu plus de la moitié des unités lexicales de chaque genre (54,1% des premiers prénoms masculins — 12,4% des porteurs— et 55,4% des premiers prénoms féminins —15,3% des porteuses). Situés sur un plan diachronique, nous pouvons observer qu'il y a eu une augmentation progressive du nombre d'hapax.

Le premier facteur ici étudié étant **la langue** moderne dans laquelle ces prénoms hapax ont été inscrits à l'État Civil, nous dirons seulement que le français est la langue dominante —à plus des 50%— dans les premiers prénoms féminins et masculins entre 1960

¹ Ces données sont ensuite exploitées par des sites web qui tracent les graphiques correspondant à la chronologie de l'attribution de chaque prénom dans l'ensemble de la France. Cf. par exemple : <http://www.ancestry.fr/learn/learningcenters/prenom.aspx?> ou <http://dataaddict.fr/prenoms/>

et 1975. En 1980 et 1985, la proportion des langues étrangères prendra désormais le dessus. Les parents semblent chercher le caractère unique du prénom en dehors de la langue nationale. Il faut mentionner, bien entendu, la présence de parents immigrés pour qui ces prénoms hapax sont pris du vocabulaire de leurs langues maternelles. L'occitan, seul substrat de la région, est quasiment absent tout aussi bien chez les garçons que chez les filles.

Dans le domaine des prénoms secondaires, place intime où s'insère plus aisément la transmission du patrimoine nominal familial, la langue française domine sans conteste : elle concerne entre les 60 et les 80%, voire un peu plus, des unités lexicales hapax masculines et féminines. La présence de l'occitan à l'intérieur des syntagmes nominaux est une fois de plus minimale : chez les garçons on découvre uniquement le féminin francisé *Mireille*, attribué à la troisième position en 1985, et chez les filles *Josépha* (1960 et 1985), *Anna*, *Aurélia* (1965), *Maguelone* (1980), *Magali* et *Suzanna* (1985). Des choix qui rendent sans doute hommage à un ancêtre.

Les sélections faites dans les vocabulaires prénominaux étrangers semblent être en rapport avec le phénomène social de la mode et le début de la mondialisation. Les média ont aussi donné de la visibilité à des unités lexicales qui n'étaient pas usuelles auparavant dans la communauté linguistique. De cet ensemble, certains prénoms perçus comme situés en dehors de la norme, voire comme « bizarres » sont liés à l'immigration, comme on vient de le dire. Seulement quelques-uns de ces prénoms du patrimoine culturel et familial exogène figurent en première position du syntagme nominal. Voici, d'abord les masculins : *Boussiengue*, *Tamuno-Ibim*, *Thanh*, *Eklou* (1960), *Kaoudio*, *Mýtho* (1970), *Amour-N'Zaghou*, *Volanosy*, *Vidjanhenagni* (1975), *Admir*, *Mounkaïla*, *Bunara*, *Ombandza*, *Pisey*, *Sandam*, *Wibirama*, *Lawann* et *Sunu* (1985). Et maintenant les féminins : *Mithyl*, *Ameyo* (1960), *Daovy*, *Maïka*² (1970), *Blim-Adjoa*, *Childem*, *Sandia*, *Vohangy* (1975), *Kessamony*, *Amoin*, *Viala* —comme le nom de famille méridional courant, mais attribué par des parents indonésiens— (1980), *Abila*, *Ito*, *Kamvula*, *Blinda*, *Dela*, *Quynhlan*, *Midjeune*, *Naryvonne*—similaire au franco-breton *Maryvonne*, mais attribué par des parents laotiens— *Yawoavi*, *Saniva* et *Youyou* (1985).

Abordons maintenant le sujet de la **perception chronologique**, liée au concept de la norme linguistique et des traditions discursives. Comme on l'a signalé ci-dessus, les unités lexicales hapax ont été classées en « vieilles », « nouvelles » ou « vieilles qui retournent à l'usage » par rapport aux fréquences d'attribution maximale dans le corpus analysé et aussi dans l'ensemble du pays.

Dans les premiers prénoms masculins de la période 1960-1985, les « nouvelles » sont les unités hapax dominantes. Elles représentent toujours plus de la moitié des effectifs et leur progression est constante. Voici quelques exemples : un garçon est prénommé *Fabrice* en 1960 et le sommet de fréquence de cette pièce lexicale est situé entre 1968 et 1974 ; un autre est appelé la même année *Xavier*, attribution pionnière puisque la mode bat son plein 10 ans plus tard, entre 1970 et 1977 ; un *Kévin* est né en 1985, tandis que la période de plus grande fréquence de ce prénom va de 1989 à 1994 ; la même année a vu le jour un *Clément* dont la mode n'arriverait qu'en 1994. Le décalage n'est parfois pas bien grand mais il est

² *Maïka* n'est pas dans ce cas l'hypocoristique espagnol de *María del Carmen* mais une unité attribué par des parents ivoiriens

suffisamment important pour créer une perception de prénoms « uniques » et « originaux » l'année de leur seule attribution.

La situation est similaire dans les premiers prénoms féminins hapax : les unités « nouvelles » sont toujours dominantes entre 1960 et 1985, dépassant les 50%. On constate également que la dernière année les prénoms « hapax totaux », c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont été attribués une seule fois sur les 5,588 actes de naissance collectés dans la ville méridionale française, ainsi que les « très rares » —i.e. ayant 2 ou 3 attributions dans l'ensemble du corpus montpelliérain du XX^e siècle— sont plus nombreux. Mentionnons quelques exemples de ces prénoms « nouveaux ». En 1960 ont été déclarées à l'État Civil une *Karine* et une *Nathalie* ; ces attributions précèdent la diffusion des unités prénominales qui deviendront des modes : *Karine* est à son sommet de 1972 à 1975 et *Nathalie* de 1964 à 1971. En 1970 sont nées *Caroline* (très fréquent entre 1977-1982) et *Sarah* (entre 1995-2001, sous l'effet de l'immigration maghrébine) ; puis, en 1985 on trouve une *Amandine* dont le prénom sera à la mode entre 1986 et 1992. Chez les filles, comme on a pu le constater dans d'autres phases de cette même étude (López Franco 2014 et 2013, par exemple), le vocabulaire disponible est plus large et les cycles de la mode plus courts.

Si l'on compare maintenant les statistiques des prénoms secondaires, on constatera immédiatement que le type dominant y est celui des « vieilles » unités lexicales. Et pour cause : c'est dans cet espace intime de la prénomination qu'est inscrit le patrimoine nominal familial et l'héritage culturel des parents et des grands-parents. C'est ici aussi qu'est inscrite la parenté spirituelle des parrain-marraine, lorsque la tradition religieuse catholique est observée dans l'acte d'attribution des prénoms au nouveau-né.

Chez les garçons les « vieux » prénoms secondaires hapax atteignent des pourcentages toujours supérieurs à la moitié des effectifs, entre les 51,2% et les 65,6%. Prenons quelques exemples. En 1960 un garçon a reçu en deuxième prénom *Jean-Jacques* qui était à la mode entre 1948 et 1956. En 1965 on trouve en attribution secondaire *Aimé* qui était très populaire en 1920 ; cette même année on observe un *Gabriel*, unité très fréquente en 1921 qui atteint un deuxième sommet en 2012. C'est donc un « vieux prénom qui retourne ». En 1980 on trouve un *Yvon* dont la popularité maximale va de 1937 à 1951, et un *Edmond*, troisième prénom en 1985, courant en 1920.

Du côté des filles la tendance est similaire : les « vieux » prénoms sont dominants quoique leur diminution soit progressive. Seulement en 1985, dernière année étudiée, ils représentent moins de la moitié : 46,4%. Voici quelques exemples de ces « vieux » prénoms féminins hapax, avec l'année de leur plus haute fréquence nationale entre parenthèses : *Colette*, prénom 2 en 1960 (1937), *Marcelle*, prénom 3 en 1965 (1920), *Emilienne*, prénom 2 en 1970 (1920), *Solange*, prénom 3 en 1975 (1932), *Joséphine*, prénom 3 en 1980 (1902), et *Ghislaine*, prénom 4 en 1985 (1956-1959).

Quant aux « vieux prénoms qui retournent » à l'usage entre 1960 et 1985, les hapax masculins ne sont pas très nombreux. En première position on trouve un maximum de 3 cas par année étudiée. En 1960, par exemple, a été déclaré un *Renaud*, dont le prénom du Moyen Âge deviendra une mode entre 1970 et 1993. Parfois, ce sont des emprunts qui retrouvent preneur plus tard en France, comme *Manuel* en 1970 qui a atteint son sommet de fréquence en 1959 en Espagne, ou *Angelo* en 1985, populaire en Italie en 1967. On observe souvent ce décalage temporel dans les prénoms choisis par les parents immigrés : ils portent avec eux

des unités courantes dans leur propre génération ou tout de suite après, mais qui sont déjà en retard par rapport à l'ensemble de la communauté linguistique restée au pays natal.

Chez les filles, ces « vieux prénoms hapax qui retournent » à l'usage sont un peu plus abondants. Voici quelques exemples : *Marianne*, attribué en 1970, avait atteint un sommet de fréquence en 1958 et en atteindrait un autre en 1989 ; *Maria*, accordé la même année dont les sommets se situent en 1901 et 1971 ; en 1985 on observe une *Adélaïde*, unité relativement fréquente en 1900 qui le sera de nouveau en 1987, et *Eulalie* dont les pics de fréquence sont 1901 et 2007. Il faut se rappeler que, étant des prénoms hapax, ce sont pour une bonne proportion des pièces lexicales dont la fréquence est basse au niveau national.

Il faut maintenant examiner le dernier facteur analysé, les **changements de genre et de catégorie nominale**. Puisque ce sont des cas exceptionnels —sauf en ce qui concerne les hypocoristiques— ils seront abordés individuellement. Commençons par les changements de genre qui se présentent toujours dans les positions secondaires des syntagmes nominaux afin d'éviter des ambiguïtés car ils consistent en l'attribution d'un prénom dont le genre grammatical ne correspond pas au sexe du porteur.

Voici les cas d'attribution d'une unité lexicale féminine à des garçons : en 1960 on observe en prénom 3 *Isabelle* et *Marie-Joseph* ; en 1975 à la même position il y a *Andrée* et *Margueritte* [sic] ; en 1980 on découvre en prénom 2 *Marie-Antoinette* et en prénom 3 *Odile* ; à la deuxième position on observe une pièce lexicale intrigante, *Mimi* qui pourrait être l'hypocoristique d'un prénom féminin français, comme *Mireille* ou *Michelle*, voire espagnol, comme *Noemí*, ou bien qui pourrait dériver de l'adjectif *mignon* employé en tant que prénom secondaire. On découvre finalement à la troisième position en 1985, *Mireille* attribué à un garçon.

Voyons maintenant les cas d'attribution d'une unité masculine à une fille. En 1960 on trouve en prénom 2 *Aimé* ; en 1965 en prénom 3 *George* [sic] ; en 1970 en prénom 3 aussi *Olivier* ; en 1975 en prénom 2 *Pierre* —courant en tant que deuxième format d'unité composée, comme dans *Marie-Pierre*, mais rarement en prénom simple— ; enfin, en 1985 en prénom 2 ont été attribués *Joseph*, *Lysandre*, et en prénom 3 *Michel*. Le cas de *Joseph* féminin est analogue à celui de *Pierre* féminin.

Le dernier point de notre analyse concerne les glissements entre catégories nominales. L'un des présupposés de cette étude, souvenons-nous, est qu'il n'y a pas de frontière infranchissable entre les « noms communs » et les « noms propres ». En effet, les résultats issus du travail sur les corpus montrent que le glissement inter-catégoriel —entre « noms communs » et « noms propres »— et intra-catégoriel —entre les différentes sortes de ces derniers— est relativement fréquent. On va pouvoir le constater par les exemples suivants.

Le premier glissement intra-catégoriel que nous allons aborder ici est celui des hypocoristiques promus à la catégorie de prénoms pleins de par leur inscription à l'État Civil. C'est le cas de figure le plus fréquent et l'un des mécanismes traditionnels de création lexicale, particulièrement dans l'expansion du vocabulaire prénominal féminin. On pourra observer dans ces unités hapax plusieurs mécanismes dérivatifs à l'œuvre, tels que la suffixation, l'apocope ou l'aphérèse. Certains sont aussi des emprunts à des langues étrangères, plus fréquents lorsqu'on approche de la fin du XX^e siècle. Parfois ils sont épiciens puisque leur suffixe le permet (-ie / -y).

Dans les hapax masculins on trouve les hypocoristiques suivants.

Année	Prénom 1	Prénom 2	Prénom 3
1965	Aldo	Tino	Max
1970	Manolito / Tony	Fred / José ³	
1975	Alex / Bastien	Jeannot	Jackie
1980	Baptiste / Dany / Hans / Jacky / Rudy / Sammy / Steve	Colin / Dania / Marceau / Milko / Tonino	Jeannot / José
1985	Bastien / Billy / Colin / Franc [sic] / Freddy / Harry / Mathis / Rocky / Ruddy / Samy ⁴ / Steven	Gerry / Jeannot / Johnny / José / Léo / Marceau / Tony	Bill

Table 1. Hypocoristiques masculins hapax

Voici les hypocoristiques hapax féminins que l'on trouve dans l'échantillon de 1960 à 1985 à Montpellier. Ils sont plus nombreux que les masculins.

Année	Prénom 1	Prénom 2	Prénom 3
1960	Nelly	Betty / Colette / Elise	
1965	Marion	Colette / Liselle / Rosette	Line
1970	Annie / Cathy / Katie ⁵ / Nelly		Arlette / Nadja
1975	Jenny / Lisa / Rosita / Sandra	Danny / Fanny / Rita	Annick / Maguy
1980	Dora / Fafa ⁶ / Laury / Manon / Sandra	Elise / Nancy / Peggy	Dany / Ginette / Maguy / Nelly / Rosette
1985	Elise / Eliza / Elli / Joany / Jovanka / Mandie / Naïs / Tania	Annie / Anouchka / Bettina / Jacky / Jany / Lise / Margot / Natacha / Rita / Sandie / Tina	Annick / Anouk / Dany / Dora / Sonia / Suzy

Table 2. Hypocoristiques féminins hapax

Tous les autres changements intra-catégoriels sont bien moins nombreux que les hypocoristiques devenus des prénoms. Considérons maintenant les noms de famille attribués une seule fois dans des positions prénominales. Comme pour les autres glissements catégoriels, leur traitement est délicat puisqu'il se situe parfois à la frontière de l'étymologie et les plus courants ont pour référent initial culturellement prééminent un saint ou une sainte chrétiens. Les hapax masculins que l'on trouve dans la période ici étudiée sont les suivants. En 1960 et 1980 a été attribué une seule fois *Xavier* dont la période de fréquence maximale

³ Donné pour 'diminutif' par Besnard et Desplanques (2003: 194). Rappelons que c'est aussi la forme canonique —et par là, base lexicale, nullement hypocoristique— des équivalents espagnol et portugais de *Joseph*.

⁴ *Samy* ou *Sami* est aussi un prénom plein masculin arabe. Nous avons considéré ici seulement les cas où les parents du porteur n'étaient pas d'origine arabo-musulmane. La forme graphique des unités lexicales est citée telle qu'elle figure dans les actes de naissance.

⁵ Le premier est considéré en français et le second en anglais.

⁶ C'est un hypocoristique du prénom arabe *Fatima*, accordé souvent au Sénégal, d'après un informateur consulté en communication orale.

va de 1970 à 1977. Il provient du nom du domaine de la famille de saint François Xavier, issu à son tour d'un toponyme basque, *Etchaberri*. En 1965 et en 1970 il y a *Régis*, nom de famille d'un saint dont le prénom était Jean-François et qui provient d'un surnom. Ces deux unités lexicales, *Xavier* et *Régis*, sont courantes et nous les trouvons en premier prénom. En 1965 on découvre à la troisième position le nom de famille *Rouville*, issu également d'un toponyme dont l'un des étymons est déjà un anthroponyme. Deux autres cas similaires se sont produits en 1975 : *Cléry* et *Keith*, des noms de lieu à l'origine qui ont donné par la suite des noms de famille, puis des prénoms. En 1980 un bébé a reçu le nom de famille *Jauffret* en première position ; c'était un vieil hypocoristique de nom personnel ; et la même année un père qui avait déjà en prénom secondaire le nom de famille du réformateur Martin *Luther* l'a accordé en troisième prénom à son fils. Finalement, en 1985 l'emprunt à l'anglais *Leeroy* a été accordé à un garçon en prénom 2. C'était une ancienne forme du nom de famille *Leroy*, issu d'un sobriquet.⁷

Chez les filles, les noms de famille hapax devenus des prénoms sont plus rares encore. On trouve trois cas, uniquement en 1980 et 1985 : celui de sainte Jeanne de *Chantal*, dont la fréquence maximale se situe entre 1950 et 1955, a pour origine un toponyme et figure dans des positions secondaires. *Leslie*, prénom 1 en 1980, est un nom de clan écossais, et *Lindsay*, également prénom 1 en 1985, est un nom de famille issu d'un toponyme. Ces deux emprunts, ainsi que *Keith* et *Leeroy*, étaient devenus des prénoms dans leur langue d'origine avant d'entrer dans l'usage français.

Voilà pour les glissements entre catégories d'anthroponymes. Considérons maintenant celle des théonymes attribués une seule fois dans la période qui nous occupe. Il y en a seulement deux, l'un masculin, *Hermes* [sic], prénom 3 en 1980, et, l'autre féminin, *Athéna*, la même année, en tant que prénom 2.

Une catégorie de frontière est celle des traitements ou titres. À Montpellier on trouve seulement deux hapax masculins : en 1980 à la 4^e position a été attribué *Junior*, qui souligne la présence d'un prénom transmis par un aîné, le porteur « *senior* ». Et en 1985 un garçon a reçu l'unité arabe composée *Sid-Ali*, qui comporte le titre équivalent de 'saint' en français. Ce serait un peu comme l'espagnol *Santiago* qui comporte le titre de '*san(to)*' sauf que dans cette unité linguistique le titre est morphologiquement assimilé et complètement lexicalisé, tandis que dans le prénom arabe, c'est encore un formant d'unité composée. Nous n'observons pas de glissement catégoriel similaire dans les prénoms féminins, si ce n'est justement le prénom espagnol *Santa*, attribué à la troisième position à une fille née en 1980. Mais d'après nous, la motivation serait plutôt l'expression d'un vœu et non pas un traitement ni un titre.

Le changement catégoriel suivant est celui des toponymes devenus des prénoms. On en a déjà rencontré plusieurs ci-dessus lorsqu'on a parlé de certains noms de famille. Ils sont plus nombreux chez les filles que chez les garçons. La seule occurrence masculine s'est produite en 1970 en deuxième position : *Mýtho*, nom d'une ville vietnamienne, probablement lieu de naissance du père du porteur.

⁷ Les étymologies citées ont été prises de Dauzat (1951 [1972]) et celle des prénoms anglais, de Dunkling & Gosling (1983).

De toutes les années étudiées pour cette communication, seule 1970 ne comporte pas de toponyme attribué en tant que prénom à une fille. Les unités féminines hapax que nous y observons sont les suivantes : en 1960 on trouve *Iaffa* [sic], ville israélienne, second prénom d'une fille appelée *Sabrina* qui ferait probablement allusion à quelqu'un né en Palestine, un Juif « sabra ». En 1965 et 1980, on retrouve *Maguelone*, unité occitane francisée déjà mentionnée, également nom de lieu. En 1975 et 1980, figure dans les positions intérieures *France*, hypocoristique de *Françoise*, mais homonyme du nom du pays, prénom qui représentait une forme de résistance à l'époque de l'occupation allemande.⁸ Pour la période étudiée, c'est sans doute un prénom hérité du patrimoine familial. 1980 est une année relativement riche en toponymes devenus des prénoms féminins hapax puisqu'on en trouve trois autres en première position : *Adua*, *Alexandrie* et *Indiana*, le premier, nom de lieu éthiopien où s'est déroulée une bataille célèbre, le second, ville égyptienne dont le nom dérive déjà de celui d'Alexandre le Grand —donc d'un anthroponyme— et le troisième, nom d'un des États-Unis qui a un référent culturellement proéminent en France : la fille de Georges Sand s'appelait ainsi. Enfin, en 1985 on trouve *Lovagna*, forme italienne de la ville de Louvain en Belgique, dernier toponyme devenu prénom hapax féminin de l'échantillon.

Avant de passer à la discussion de ces résultats, nous aborderons les glissements catégoriels les moins fréquents qui concernent : a) un nom d'astre, *Sirius* (1985), attribué en premier prénom à un garçon, bien avant que le personnage de la saga *Harry Potter* ait été publiée ;⁹ b) le chrononyme, *Floréal*, attribué la même année à un garçon en tant que prénom secondaire, nom de temps déjà devenu prénom à l'époque de la Révolution française et sans doute hérité d'un membre ascendant de la famille ; et c) des unités du lexique de la langue générale employées en tant que prénoms : *Zépher* (1970), *Benefice* [sic] (1985), masculins, et *Gracieuse* (1965), *Câline* (1975), *Cérise* [sic] et *Amour* (1980), féminins.

Passons maintenant à discuter brièvement ces résultats.

Discussion

Certains faits qui semblent se dégager des observations que nous venons d'exposer sont les suivants. D'une part, que les glissements entre les sous-classes de « noms propres » —ou « intra-catégoriels », comme nous les avons ici désignés— sont relativement nombreux et courants même si la fréquence de leurs occurrences n'est pas élevée dans l'ensemble. Les changements de genre, c'est-à-dire l'attribution d'une unité prénominale dont le genre grammatical ne correspond pas au sexe du porteur, ou les masculinisations / féminisations, tirées d'une base lexicale appartenant à l'autre genre grammatical, semblent être des mécanismes linguistiques qui servent, sociolinguistiquement parlant, à honorer un ancêtre. L'effet d'étrangeté que produit, par exemple, le fait d'appeler *Odile* un garçon ou *Olivier* une fille —à Tlalnepantla, *Martín* pour une fille, ou *Margarito* pour un garçon— est atténué par la position secondaire où ces unités linguistiques sont placées dans le syntagme nominal, dans la plupart des cas. D'autre part, le fait qu'il existe des prénoms épïcènes qui deviennent une

⁸ Information issue de l'enquête sociolinguistique effectuée dans les années 1993-1994 (Cf. López Franco 2000).

⁹ Dans le corpus analysé figurent aussi des prénoms qui signifient 'étoile', *Estelle* ou *Stelio*, mais qui, étant plus courants, nous ne les considérons pas dans cette catégorie.

mode ou qui appartiennent aux traditions discursives d'une communauté linguistique donnée, montrent aussi que la frontière entre les genres grammaticaux et le sexe des porteurs n'est pas complètement étanche.

Le passage qui se produit entre les différentes catégories nominales semble assez courant sur le plan diachronique. Nous observons des va-et-vient permanents entre des toponymes qui deviennent des noms de famille, qui sont ensuite des prénoms, puis qui sont attribués de nouveau à des lieux, etc. Dans l'échantillon d'actes de naissance de l'État Civil de Montpellier qui couvre la période 1960-1985 ici analysé, nous avons constaté ce passage entre la catégorie des prénoms et celles des hypocoristiques, des noms de famille, des titres et traitements, des théonymes, des chrononymes, des toponymes, voire des unités lexicales de la langue générale qui deviennent des prénoms lorsqu'ils franchissent le « seuil du nom », d'abord dans l'usage, dans la parole, puis dans la langue. Les pièces lexicales qui sont ainsi employées sont tout aussi bien des substantifs (*Benefice*) que des adjectifs (*Gracieuse*). Ce dernier fait linguistique semble prouver dans les données concrètes qu'il n'y a pas de séparation absolue entre les ainsi appelés « noms communs » et les « noms propres », mais que la catégorie linguistique du nom est une seule et la même, comme l'affirmaient déjà Fabre (1987), Caprini (2001) ou Van Langendonck (2007).

Conclusions

De tout ce qui vient d'être dit, une révision du concept et de la terminologie concernant le prénom « *rare* », « *peu usité* » ou « *non conventionnel* » semble nécessaire.

Un prénom donné serait *rare* relativement à sa basse fréquence dans un corpus suffisamment ample et représentatif. Il serait *peu usité* quant aux normes spatio-temporelles et aux traditions discursives de la communauté linguistique spécifique dans laquelle il est en circulation. Et il serait *non conventionnel* dans la perception de cette même communauté pour qui il semblerait « original », « non conformiste » voire « bizarre », pendant un certain temps, dans un espace donné, par rapport aux modèles d'attribution prénomiale traditionnel ou de la mode, en tant que phénomène social.¹⁰ Il va sans dire que de nombreuses unités lexicales réunissent dans l'usage les trois critères.

Nous voudrions finir cette communication tout en invitant les socionomasticiens et les linguistes en général à poursuivre la réflexion et les recherches dans ce domaine.

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¹⁰ Cette même année 2014, le Centre d'Onomastique de l'Université de Baia Mare, Cluj-Napoca, en Roumanie, éditera un ouvrage collectif, sous la direction d'Oliviú Felecan, qui rassemble des études sur différentes sortes de noms « non conventionnels ». Il abordera non seulement les prénoms mais aussi d'autres catégories nominales, comme les sobriquets, les surnoms, les pseudonymes, les noms dans l'espace cybernétique, etc.

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De la construction plurielle de l'anthroponyme à travers repérage et créativité

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Résumé

Nommer un objet du monde est une procédure cognitive qui subsume des modes de nomination divers à travers, entre autres, la taxinomie. Intégrés à un substrat socioculturel donné, les objets du monde extraits de l'indéfini ou de l'inconnu deviennent également des moyens de repérage. Si nommer les objets du monde est une fonction corrélée à la connaissance et à la 're-connaissance', qu'en est-il de la nomination de l'être humain par le biais de l'anthroponymie ?

Abstract

Naming an object in the world is a cognitive process that subsumes the various methods of nomination through, among others, taxonomy. Integrated in a given socio-cultural substrate, the objects of the world extracts of the indefinite or the unknown also become referencing means. What about the nomination of the human being through anthroponomy?

* * *

Nommer, une procédure déclinée entre sacré, rejet et paradigme humain

Qu'en est-il dans le cadre de la nomination de l'être humain ? 'Exister' (CNRTL 2012a) est une unité lexicale empruntée au latin classique *ex (s)istere* : 'sortir de, se manifester, se montrer'. Réinscrit dans la structure groupale humaine, ce concept est corrélé à celui d'identité ; identifier quelqu'un, c'est le 're-connaître'. *A contrario*, un individu n'ayant aucune identité sous forme nominale n'a pas d'existence dans la représentation que l'autre a de lui, car c'est à travers cette dernière que notre existence prend son sens. L'anthroponyme renvoie à des instances telles que la procédure taxinomique ; en effet le fait de nommer est une manière de donner à tel objet une place déterminée au sein de l'ensemble des objets dans lequel il est inscrit ; le *nomen* renvoie à sa relation au 'je', c'est à dire au concept d'unicité liant un individu à son nom ; il correspond également à la structure qui signe l'appartenance du sujet à la société civile. Dans le roman de Samuel Beckett 'L'innommable', le personnage ne peut être nommé, car '[...] trop bas, trop abject pour être nommé, qualifié, décrit' selon le dictionnaire (CNRTL 2012a), fait exprimé par le héros dans la réflexion suivante : 'seul dans l'indicible et l'incommunicable où je n'ai cessé d'être' (*alone, in the unthinkable unspeakable, where I have not ceased to be, where they will not let me be*, Parrott 2004: 211).

L’identité nominale intègre *de facto* l’individu dans son groupe d’appartenance généalogique, que cette dernière soit réelle ou par adoption ; comme le mentionne Ghasarian : ‘[...] Le patronyme, ce nom de parenté qu’un individu reçoit à sa naissance, témoigne de son identité’ (1996: 48). Chauchat et Durand-Delvigne précisent également que : ‘L’acte de nomination est le début de toute identité. Il en est le point de départ tout comme l’est l’acte de nomination du sujet par celui qui lui donne son nom. Dans notre société, le nom du sujet indique sa filiation, c’est-à-dire sa place dans la lignée’ (1999: 62). Cet espace nominal inscrit l’individu dans son unicité représentationnelle ; il est aussi un ‘ensemble structuré des éléments identitaires qui permettent à l’individu de se définir dans une situation et de se définir en tant qu’acteur social’ (Taboada-Leonetti 1990: 44). Différents facteurs sont à l’origine de ces marqueurs identitaires tels que la nationalité, le sexe, la profession, etc. ; ils se construisent à partir des différentes instances qui fédèrent la structure du groupe.

La construction du groupe humain oscille entre invariants (tel génotype, telle appartenance sexuelle...) et contingences (situation économique donnée, rôle et statut de l’individu dans le groupe...). À travers de nombreuses études, anthropologues et ethnologues ont montré toute la richesse de la déclinaison anthroponymique. Par la conscience que l’homme a d’être au monde, il se construit en se nommant. Comme le stipule Martin (2012: 44-45) : ‘La poïèse qui préside à la mise en place du *nomen* et de sa transmission est articulée bien souvent autour de la chaîne généalogique’. Lévi-Strauss (1962: 230) cite ainsi les Penan de Bornéo qui utilisent le tecknonyme signifiant : ‘père d’un tel’ ou ‘mère d’un tel’. Mead (1963: 182) a étudié d’autres procédures nominales comme les systèmes dits ‘de corde’, soit un lien qui ‘groupe un homme, sa fille et les fils de sa fille ou bien une femme, son fils et les filles de son fils’.

Dans une étude faite sur la parenté, Ghasarian (1996: 48) précise que ‘le nom n’est pas systématiquement donné à la naissance’. Ainsi l’anthropogenèse peut prendre en compte des considérations d’ordre pratique comme ces groupes qui ne nomment le nouveau-né que lorsqu’il a atteint un âge où sa survie semble assurée. Emperaire (1955: 236) donne l’exemple des Alakalufs, ethnie vivant en Terre de Feu, qui ne donnent pas de nom aux nouveau-nés : ‘À leur naissance, les enfants ne reçoivent pas de nom ; ce n’est que lorsqu’ils commencent à parler et à marcher que le père en choisit un’. D’autres facteurs interviennent dans la nomination du nouveau-né comme le mentionne Mead (1963: 34) en évoquant les Arapesh¹ : ‘Quand il sourira en regardant son père, on lui donnera un nom, celui d’un membre du clan paternel’.

Les jeux de parenté et d’alliances font l’objet d’agencement limité ainsi que l’a analysé Héritier dans le cadre de ses recherches. Cette auteure (Héritier 2008: 31) précise que : ‘[...] les règles qu’on suit localement pour trouver un conjoint s’adaptent aux systèmes des nomenclatures de parenté’ ; elle ajoute que les rapports de parenté et d’alliance peuvent être modifiés subtilement par ‘les jeux du pouvoir, de la sorcellerie, de l’économie...’.

¹ Cette étude fut réalisée en 1924, dans la région du Sépik (Nouvelle-Guinée).

Sacralisation du nom et pouvoir

Un invariant comme notre appartenance au groupe des hominidés a quelques incidences sur la nomination dans le cadre du concept de pouvoir. Comme le stipule la primatologue Servais (1993) : ‘L’ordre des primates compte environ 200 espèces. Il se subdivise en deux sous-ordres : les prosimiens (36 espèces), comme les lémurs d’Amérique du Sud, et les simiens (158 espèces, dont *Homo sapiens*)’. Dans une autre étude relative à la notion de pouvoir, Servais (1993) mentionne : ‘Le rang formel d’un chimpanzé est déterminé par les rituels de salut. Les subordonnés saluent leurs supérieurs avec déférence et un dominant ne salue jamais un subordonné’, ce qui nous renvoie aux différents protocoles en cours dans les sociétés humaines au sein desquelles la hiérarchie est réalisée. De manière symbolique, certes, ces pratiques sociales sont actualisées avec des buts similaires sous les régimes de type monarchique, entre autres, où roi et reine, sujets dominants, portent couronne et attributs divers, ce qui est une manière tout à la fois de se distinguer de ses congénères et d’imposer son autorité.

À quoi renvoie la notion de pouvoir chez les humains ? Pour Boudon *et al.* le ‘pouvoir consiste en relations asymétriques entre acteurs et groupes d’acteurs ; et son exercice est conditionné par une distribution inégale de ressources’ (1999: 183). Pour Crozier et Friedberg, elle ‘implique toujours la possibilité pour certains individus ou groupes d’agir sur d’autres individus ou groupes’, et d’ajouter qu’il est ‘une relation, et non un attribut des acteurs’ (Benabou et Abravanel 1986: 352). Comme le précise Martin : ‘[...] dans des cas de servitude extrêmes, force est de constater que l’exercice du pouvoir est réalisé unilatéralement et que seul est engagé activement dans ce processus le protagoniste inscrit dans cette logique de domination. Le pouvoir est donc une relation d’échanges au sein de laquelle tel acteur A impose à tel acteur B de procéder à telle action’ (2009: 32).

Ceci posé, l’anthroponymie reflète l’exercice du pouvoir par la création de territoires symboliques sacralisés. Il en est ainsi des systèmes politiques et religieux. En ce qui concerne ces derniers, les divinités créées par l’homme, posées comme réalité dans un paradigme situé hors de celui de l’humain, ouvrent sur la création de territoires sacrés et tabous, dont le nom. Chevalier et Gheerbrant mentionnent ainsi que chez les Hébreux : ‘[...] trois noms sont dits exprimer l’Essence même de la Divinité, dont le principal est le Tétragramme, Nom secret qui ne peut être prononcé que par le Grand Prêtre’ (1969: 675).

Situé entre paradigme divin et humain, le roi dit ‘de droit divin’ est perçu par ses sujets en qualité de représentation d’un être possédant des pouvoirs particuliers tirés du monde du divin à travers l’univers du symbole, c’est-à-dire situé en-dehors du monde du Réel. Dans un opuscule anonyme, datant de 1819, il est montré que lors du sacre, l’engagement du roi était articulé autour de cinq serments en relation avec l’Église catholique et romaine. Comme il est relaté dans ledit opuscule : ‘Clovis, le premier des Rois chrétiens de France, est aussi le premier dont nos annales attestent le Sacre. Cet événement se passoit² en 496’ (3). En relation avec la généalogie, le troisième serment est ‘celui de l’Ordre du Saint-Esprit. Le Roi s’y engage à n’admettre parmi les commandeurs et officiers de cet ordre que des gentilshommes de trois quartiers paternels’ (6).

² Cet ouvrage ayant été publié en 1819, nous avons respecté les formes grammaticales en cours à cette époque, dont l’imparfait ‘étoit’ pour ‘était’.

Dans le tableau 2, il est présenté l’étymologie des différents noms de roi ainsi que les attributs qui leur sont attachés en qualité d’êtres sacralisés.

Charlemagne (742-814)	Du germanique <i>carl</i> , fort, robuste, et <i>mann</i> , homme, devenu en latin <i>Carolus Magnus</i> , ‘Charles le Grand’. Il fut le fondateur de l’Empire chrétien d’Occident (Cretin 2006: 199).
Charles-le-Chauve (869-875)	Du germanique <i>carl</i> , fort, robuste. Forme latine du prénom : <i>Carolus</i> (M) (Cretin 2006: 199).
Louis-le-Bègue (846- 879)	Du germanique <i>hlod-</i> , gloire et <i>-wig</i> , combat. Formes latines du prénom : <i>Aloysius</i> , <i>Ludovicus</i> (M), (Cretin 2006: 561).
Saint Louis (1214-1270)	Du germanique <i>hlod-</i> , gloire et <i>-wig</i> , combat. Formes latines du prénom : <i>Aloysius</i> , <i>Ludovicus</i> (M), (Cretin 2006: 561).
Henri IV	Du germanique <i>haim-</i> , maison et <i>-ric</i> , puissant. Forme latine du prénom : <i>Henricus</i> (M) (Cretin 2006: 452).

Tableau 2. Anthroponymie et pouvoir

Ainsi que le mentionne Vasileva (2013) : ‘Le nom de la dynastie carolingienne elle-même remonte au nom de Charles que portaient ses premiers représentants, y compris Charles le Grand, Carolus Magnus en latin, et son grand-père Charles Martel. Or Martel est le surnom qu’il a mérité pour son audace et son intrépidité dont il a fait preuve lors de la bataille de Poitiers en 732 (martel signifie marteau)’. Comme nous pouvons le constater, au prénom devenu un anthroponyme unique identifiant le représentant de la monarchie, des ajouts ont été faits afin de mettre en valeur une particularité associée au personnage royal. À propos du surnom attribué aux différents membres de la dynastie carolingienne, l’auteure précitée précise ceci : ‘Les ancêtres des Carolingiens portaient des surnoms, par exemple, Pépin de Landen avait le surnom Vieux = Pépin le Vieux, tandis que Pépin de Herstal est connu comme Pépin le Jeune’.

La relation de hiérarchie existant dans ces systèmes et reflétée par l’acte de nomination, est exemplifiée par ce constat formulé dans l’opuscule déjà cité : ‘Lorsque le Royaume fut démembré et que plusieurs provinces eurent des souverains particuliers, relevant de la couronne de France, ces souverains-vassaux, comme les plus élevés en dignité, remplacèrent les grands officiers de la maison royale ; ils furent appelés Pairs [...]’ (1819: 7).

Réification du nom et pouvoir

Comme il a été montré précédemment, le pouvoir est une procédure incluant dominant (s) et dominé (s). Dans le cas de figure de la nomination des dominés par des dominants, l’anthroponymie est signifiante. Prenons l’exemple de la période esclavagiste où il est stipulé dans l’article 44 du Code Noir, ouvrage juridique édité en 1685 sous le règne de Louis XIV : ‘Déclarons les esclaves être meubles et comme tels entrer dans la communauté [...]’. Ainsi que le spécifie Martin : ‘Le système esclavagiste est construit sur une relation de pouvoir pervertie sur la base d’un des deux termes qui en disposait en quasi-totalité’ (2009: 52). Ce système prit fin en 1848. Lapiere précise à ce sujet : ‘Le système esclavagiste disloquant

lignages et parentés et empêchant la constitution de liens de filiation ou d’affiliation, il n’y avait pas de noms de famille ou de clan dans la condition servile. Cependant, la généralisation du nom unique aboutissant à une forte homonymie qui rendait difficile l’identification individuelle, l’ajout de surnoms s’est développé’ (1995: 42-43).

Dans une étude dédiée aux noms réunionnais, Fuma stipule ainsi : ‘Tels esclaves prendront les prénoms de *Misère*, de *Malade*, de *Vapeur*, tels autres ceux de *Jacquot*, *Victoire*, *Toutou*. Dans d’autres cas, ce sont les caractéristiques physiques comme *Mollet*, *Barbe*, *Bras*, *Chinois*, *Caffre* qui tiennent lieu de prénoms. Certains autres seront appelés *Jupiter*, *Samson*, *Goliath*, mais pourront recevoir, comme marque de dédain du maître, des désignations telles que : *Bouillon*, *Boue*, *Cartouche*, *Couscous*, *Domino*, *Extrait*, *Gigot*...’ Brunet *et al.* (2002: 85). Le processus de réification de l’homme par le biais de la désignation est présenté dans le tableau 3.

<i>Anthroponymes</i>	<i>Analyse lexicale</i>
<i>Bouillon</i>	Aliment liquide où l'on fait bouillir certaines substances.
<i>Boue</i>	Mélange de terre ou de poussière et d'eau formant une couche plus ou moins épaisse et plus ou moins sale sur le sol.
<i>Cartouche</i>	Ornement en forme de carte aux bords enroulés dont le champ porte des armoiries, une inscription ; Ensemble formé de la douille et du/des projectile (s) des armes à feu portatives.
<i>Couscous</i>	Semoule de blé dur étuvée préparée à la vapeur.
<i>Domino</i>	Jeu consistant à apparier les combinaisons de points figurées sur les dominos suivant certaines règles départageant les adversaires.
<i>Extrait</i>	Art culinaire – concentré ; Résumé, concentré, de petit format.
<i>Gigot</i>	Cuisse d'animal (et plus particulièrement de l'agneau, du mouton, du chevreuil) coupée pour être mangée.

Tableau 3. La nomination comme processus de réification

Comme nous pouvons le constater, chaque terme analysé renvoie au monde objectal, or la nomination anthroponymique étant un repérage de type identitaire, ce choix onomastique reflète bien la volonté d’ancrer la notion de pouvoir des dominants sur les dominés.

Société civile et construction anthroponymique

Dans le cadre de la création anthroponymique, nommer est un processus qui s’inscrit dans différentes strates langagières, dont le symbole qui a été présenté à travers les noms inscrits dans le paradigme du divin et celui de la réification. Chevalier et Gheerbrant mentionnent à ce propos : ‘La tradition celtique implique donc toujours, à haute époque, une équivalence réelle entre le nom du personnage et ses fonctions théologiques ou sociales, ou encore entre son nom et son aspect ou son comportement’ (1969: 676).

En termes de repérage, la nomination se décline à partir de moult possibilités. Dans la société civile usuelle, là où le pouvoir n’est pas considéré comme un marqueur majeur d’appartenance et d’identité, la désignation fera appel à d’autres champs lexico-sémantiques. Il en est ainsi des noms de métier. Dans une étude faite sur ces derniers en Haute-Marne,

Richard dévoile une très grande richesse anthroponymique. Dans le tableau 4, il en est présenté quelques exemples.

Noms de famille	Noms de métiers (en ancien ou moyen français)	Noms de famille	Noms de métiers (en ancien ou moyen français)	Noms de famille	Noms de métiers (en ancien ou moyen français)
Anier	<i>asnier</i>	Berger	<i>bergier</i>	Bailly	<i>bailli</i>
Barbier	<i>barbier</i>	Boucher	<i>bochier</i>	Multier	<i>muletier</i>
Fargnier	<i>farinier</i>	Lécrivain	<i>escrivain</i>	Lépicier	<i>spicier</i>
Source : Richard (2013:262)					

Tableau 4. Noms de famille attestés en Haute-Marne en relation avec un métier attesté

Les toponymes ont servi l’anthroponymie comme ces patronymes connus : ‘Dupont’, ‘Delatour’, ‘Dupré’, etc. Des événements historiques peuvent aussi inférer sur la création anthroponymique. Il en est ainsi de la migration des Français vers la Nouvelle-France. Comme le mentionne Fournier : ‘Sous Talon, la colonisation de la Nouvelle-France prend un véritable essor et son territoire se développe. De 1663 à 1680, plus de 2542 arrivants s’installent en Nouvelle-France, dont 774 filles du Roi’³ (1981: 4). Dans le tableau 5, il sera présenté quelques surnoms et variations de noms devenus patronymes.

Patronyme d’origine	Surnom ou variation du nom	Patronyme d’origine	Surnom ou variation du nom	Patronyme d’origine	Surnom ou variation du nom
<i>Dufour</i>	<i>Bonvivant</i>	<i>Piesso</i>	<i>Cœur de Roi</i>	<i>Limoge</i>	<i>Delimoge</i>
<i>Dupont, Martin, Picard</i>	<i>Lafortune</i>	<i>Bauché</i>	<i>Laruine</i>	<i>Figueneil</i>	<i>Marie du Sacré-Coeur</i>
<i>Boulier</i>	<i>Roulier</i>	<i>Coiteux, Roger, Meunier</i>	<i>St-Jean</i>	<i>Estiambre</i>	<i>Sansfaçon</i>
Source : Fournier (1981: 200 et suiv.)					

Tableau 5. Variations de noms et surnoms

Ces modifications anthroponymiques renvoient à différents champs lexico-sémantiques : caractéristiques personnelles avec les noms de *Bonvivant* et *Sansfaçon*, religion avec *Marie du Sacré-Cœur* et *St-Jean*, royauté avec *Cœur de Roi*, toponymie avec *Delimoge*, souhaits et craintes avec *Lafortune* et *Laruine* ; quant à *Boulier*, les raisons de la modification du nom sont plus difficiles à analyser. Ainsi que le précise Fournier à propos des surnoms devenus patronymes : ‘C’est ainsi que le surnom de *Jolicoeur* fut attribué à seize immigrants bretons.

³[...] il n’y a pas assez de femmes en Nouvelle-France pour assurer son peuplement. Pour répondre à cette impasse démographique, Louis XIV décide de favoriser le passage de jeunes femmes célibataires, appelées les Filles du roi, depuis la France jusqu’à la colonie, en vue de les marier aux colons et d’encourager la formation de familles.

http://www.patrimoine-culturel.gouv.qc.ca/rpcq/detail.do?methode=consulter&id=26366&type=pge#.U7q0dpR_uSo – Page consultée le 7 juillet 2014.

Au cours de notre histoire, plusieurs immigrants ont conservé ce surnom qui, avec le temps, est devenu l’unique nom de famille’ (*ibid.*: 199).

La nomination permet donc à l’individu d’exister dans sa communauté ; elle donne également des indices sur le fonctionnement du groupe concerné. Dans la culture vietnamienne, le prénom attribué au nouveau-né se décline de la manière suivante (Luong 2003) : ‘[...] Le premier nom emblématique donné à l’enfant vietnamien sert à son usage familial, privé. Ce n’est pas toujours un beau nom, mais un qualificatif substantivé qui surgit selon l’événement ou le vécu de la famille au moment où le bébé arrive’. Afin d’induire en erreur un mauvais génie ‘qui pourrait, en passant par là, emporter l’enfant encore fragile en entendant son beau nom’, il est donné des noms peu séduisants aux nouveaux-nés (*ibid.*). Les auteurs⁴ de cette étude précisent également : ‘Le nom donné à l’enfant revêt en général une signification, une qualité morale, ou bien c’est le nom d’un élément de la nature dont la littérature en fait un symbole. Au Vietnam, qui est un pays tropical, le nom *tuyet*, qui veut dire neige, est donné en référence à sa blancheur comme un symbole de pureté et de netteté telle que la littérature d’inspiration chinoise le rapporte’. Les anthroponymes peuvent donc être construits à partir des noms de métier, des toponymes, des événements en cours ou le vécu de la famille au moment de la naissance, pour ne citer que les exemples donnés dans cette présentation.

Il arrive que les noms donnés dans la société civile aient des connotations désobligeantes pour leurs porteurs. Changer de nom permet alors de pallier ce genre de problèmes : ‘Dans la pratique, la plupart des demandes proviennent de personnes portant des noms ridicules ou chargés d’une histoire désobligeante’ (Delacôte et Delacourt 1999: 138). En France, il est dit dans l’article 61,⁵ créé par Loi n° 93-22 du 8 janvier 1993 — art. 4 JORF 9 janvier 1993 en vigueur le 1er février 1994 : ‘Toute personne qui justifie d’un intérêt légitime peut demander à changer de nom. La demande de changement de nom peut avoir pour objet d’éviter l’extinction du nom porté par un ascendant ou un collatéral du demandeur jusqu’au quatrième degré. Le changement de nom est autorisé par décret.’

Société virtuelle et construction anthroponymique

La pseudonymie comme procédure identificatoire sur Internet ne s’articule pas autour des mêmes repères que dans la société civile : chaîne généalogique corrélée aux noms divers étudiés précédemment. Comme le stipule Martin, dans ce cas de figure : ‘[...] c’est sur une ambiguïté que se fonde la définition du lexème ‘pseudonyme’. La racine pseudo est proposée par le dictionnaire Le Robert 1⁶ comme un élément du grec pseudès, menteur’ (2006: 30). À partir d’une enquête mise en ligne en 2005 où il était demandé aux internautes de donner les raisons du choix de leur pseudonyme, nous trouvons un grand nombre d’explications reflétant une autopoïèse particulièrement riche ; quelques exemples sont présentés dans le tableau 6.

⁴ Càn-Liêm Luong, Thành-Châu Nguyen, Hong-Nhung Le Thi, Patricia Do-Dang

⁵ <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/>

⁶ Le Robert 1, 1977, p. 1560.

<i>Nomen falsum</i>	<i>Raisons invoquées à la question relative au choix du pseudonyme</i>
<i>holger</i> <i>carlsen</i> <i>c. holger</i>	Ils sont faciles à retenir, mais on me prend facilement pour un nordique (Martin 2005: 21)
<i>Kinneri</i>	Contraction de Kinnen Eric (Martin 2005: 170)
<i>grigoui</i>	Parfois, on m’appelle <i>grigou</i> sur les ‘chats’, [...] mais c’est un surnom que m’avait donné ma toute première petite amie quand j’avais 15 ans, alors j’y tiens malgré tout (Martin 2005: 209)
<i>sosotiti</i>	romantique (Martin 2005: 219)
<i>malinche</i> <i>crisis</i>	<i>crisis</i> par satire de la réalité <i>malinche</i> relatif à notre histoire familiale (Martin 2005: 246)
Source : Martin (2005) – Extrait d’une enquête mise en ligne (2002-2003) ayant recueilli 300 réponses.	

Tableau 6. Pseudonymes sur Internet

La production des pseudonymes sur Internet est certainement une des bases de données les plus riches quant à la création onomastique. En effet, l’utilisateur peut faire appel à n’importe quel type de nomination, y compris des pseudonymes reflétant des opinions relatives à des points de vue sur des phénomènes sociétaux comme nous pouvons le voir dans le tableau 7. Lors de la coupe du monde du football de 2010 et en référence à plusieurs incidents qui avaient émaillé cet évènement, les internautes ont fait des commentaires en ligne et ont choisi des pseudonymes qui reflétaient leurs opinions.

<i>çapeutplusdurer</i>	<i>MORTAUX</i> <i>FACHOS</i>	<i>Pasbesoindenom</i>
<i>pasdevague</i>	<i>superfranc</i>	<i>une bonne vérité</i>
Source : Martin (2012: 179)		

Tableau 7. Pseudonymes traduisant une opinion

Sobriquets, insultes et hypocoristiques

D’autres formes de nomination prennent forme dans le champ de l’émotionnel comme le sobriquet, l’insulte et l’hypocoristique. Quelques exemples sont présentés dans le tableau 8. À ce propos, huit familles d’émotions fondamentales ont été répertoriées par Plutchik (2003) : le chagrin, la peur, la colère, la joie, la confiance, le dégoût, l’anticipation et la surprise (Blumenthal 2009: 44).

Sobriquet Surnom familial donné par dérision, moquerie ⁷	Insultes Parole ou acte qui offense, qui blesse la dignité ⁸	Hypocoristiques Terme qui exprime une intention caressante, affectueuse ⁹
<i>Legros, Le Petit, le Petit Caporal</i> pour Napoléon 1 ^{er} , etc.	<i>fricoteur</i> ¹⁰ = tricheur <i>goinfre</i> = vorace <i>goujat</i> = personne sans éducation <i>idiot</i> = individu borné	<i>Bibi</i> <i>Titi</i> <i>Mon petit canard</i> <i>Mon Trésor</i> <i>Chaton</i>

Tableau 8. Se nommer dans certains champs de l’émotionnel

L’anthroponymie déclinée sous la forme du sobriquet, de l’insulte et de l’hypocoristique renvoie aux émotions de base énoncées précédemment. Il s’agit là encore d’un moyen de repérage construit dans le cadre du domaine affectif.

Conclusion

Si nous référons à l’approche sociologique donnée au terme ‘identité’, elle renvoie à ceci : ‘Le mot identité, qui vient du latin *idem* (le même), désigne ce dans quoi je me reconnais et dans quoi les autres me reconnaissent. L’identité est toujours attachée à des signes par lesquels elle s’affiche, de sorte qu’elle est à la fois affirmation d’une ressemblance entre les membres du groupe identitaire et d’une différence avec les autres’ (Akoun et Ansart 1999: 264). La construction du Moi participe de ce jeu subtil entre ressemblance et différence : tel sujet social X, par son génotype, ressemblera à certains de ses ascendants, mais il en différera par des agencements autres réalisés dans le cadre de son code génétique.

À cette inscription onomastique à travers le statut de l’identité s’ajoute le phénomène de repérage. Ce dernier est traduit par la place occupée ou/et le statut et le rôle joué dans le groupe. Il est retranscrit également dans la création onomastique dans le cadre du pouvoir exercé par un individu sur les autres ou, au contraire, subi en qualité de subalterne, quel qu’en soit le niveau ; la créativité onomastique fait appel également aux noms de métier, aux toponymes, aux évènements familiaux, aux surnoms devenus noms de famille, aux pseudonymes, dont ceux créés sur Internet ou encore à une poïèse renvoyant au champ de l’émotionnel dans ses aspects les plus divers. Richesse anthroponymique et repérage sont les éléments majeurs de l’inscription de l’individu dans la société humaine. Comme le mentionne Martin : ‘Rappelons également que le fait identitaire est un nouage entre les autres et soi-même et que son absence réifie le sujet, en un faisant un élément informel pris au sein d’une classe générique’ (2009: 49).

⁷ Voir Larousse (s.d.)

⁸ Voir Larousse (s.d.)

⁹ Voir CNTRL (2012)

¹⁰ Voir Édouard (1983: 215, 230, 231, 248)

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On Japanese Unisex Names

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Abstract

This study deals with Japanese unisex names and discusses 39 confirmed unisex names.

First, I analyze the structure of Japanese unisex names. My previous studies revealed that there are five types of phonological gender differences that determine gender and one type of semantic gender difference. Among the 39 unisex names I collected, 20 names are structurally masculine, while 19 names are feminine.

Next, I focus on judgments by native speakers of Japanese. I conducted a questionnaire in which, with respect to each name, I asked if it is more commonly used as a male name than as a female name, or vice versa. 52 native speakers judged that 11 names are more commonly given to males and 22 names are to females, while only 6 names are neutral.

This study reveals: (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.

* * *

Introduction

The present study deals with Japanese unisex names. I have been working on Japanese given names for about 10 years, but the given names that I had worked on were mostly male and female names. In this study, I focus on unisex names and analyze them to understand Japanese given names better.

This paper is structured as follows. After introducing previous studies on how the gender of Japanese given names is determined, the structure of Japanese unisex names is analyzed. Then, I focus on judgments by native speakers of Japanese. I collected 39 unisex names, which are confirmed to be used for both males and females, and conducted a questionnaire. With respect to each name, I asked if it is more commonly used as a male name than as a female name, or vice versa. The results of the questionnaire are discussed. Finally, the present study is summarized in the concluding section.

Previous Studies

This section reviews previous linguistic studies concerning the gender in Japanese male and female names. Gender in Japanese given names has not received much attention in the literature and not many scholars have studied it. 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.

I have been working on the gender in Japanese given names. My previous studies are divided into three groups. The first group is a series of studies 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: first syllables, last syllables, heavy syllables, palatalized consonants, and length (Mutsukawa 2005, 2008, 2009) (see (1)). Moraic parts of syllables do not play major roles in determining the gender, whereas whole syllables play crucial roles in determining the gender of Japanese given names (Mutsukawa 2006). Mutsukawa (2010) 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 the gender in English given names, and vice versa.

(1) Gender Differences in Japanese Given Names (Mutsukawa 2010)

	Masculine	Feminine
First Syllables (Onset Cs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 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- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Onsetless Syllables (especially <i>a</i>) · sa- · h- (<i>hu</i> and <i>ho</i>) · Nasals (<i>m-</i> and <i>n-</i>) · d^z- · w-
Last Syllables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · o (–1965) · si, zi (–1985) · ki (1946–) · ke, ta, to (1966–) · ma (2002–) · ku 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · ko, mi · ka (1966–) · na (1986–) · o (2001–)
Heavy Syllables	· Yes	· No
Palatalized Cs	· Yes (1906–1945, 1986–)	· Yes (1946–1985)
Length (Structures)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ · Names with Four or More Morae 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$ · $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ (ending with /n/)
Semantics		· Flower and Plant Names

The second group focuses on how 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). For example, each name in (2) - (6) has one feminine feature and one masculine feature, but interestingly none of them sound neutral. Analysis of those names leads to the ranking in (7).

(2) Last Syllables >> First Syllables

Male Names	(a) Masaki	(m- = Feminine, -ki = Masculine)
	(b) Naoto	(n- = Feminine, -to = Masculine)
Female Names	(c) Kazuko	(k- = Masculine, -ko = Feminine)
	(d) Tomomi	(t- = Masculine, -mi = Feminine)

(3) Length >> First Syllables

Male Names	(a) Motoharu	(Quadrimoraicity = Masculine, m- = Feminine)
	(b) Naonori	(Quadrimoraicity = Masculine, n- = Feminine)

(4) Length >> Last Syllables

Male Names	(a) Yosihumi	(Quadrimoraicity = Masculine, -mi = Feminine)
	(b) Yuktaka	(Quadrimoraicity = Masculine, -ka = Feminine)

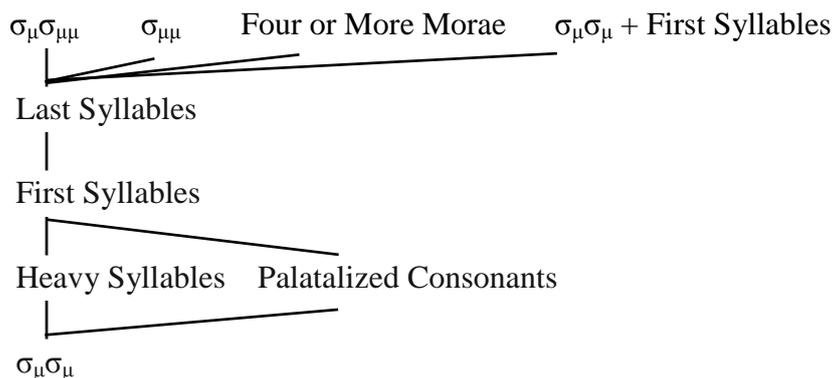
(5) Last Syllables >> Heavy Syllables

Female Names	(a) Yooko	(-ko = Feminine, Heavy Syllable = Masculine)
	(b) Yuuka	(-ka = Feminine, Heavy Syllable = Masculine)

(6) First Syllables >> Heavy Syllables

Female Name	(a) Miiru	(m- = Feminine, Heavy Syllable = Masculine)
-------------	-----------	---

(7)



As mentioned above, Japanese given names also reveal a semantic gender 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 gender is determined semantically. 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 (8). *Momizi* in (8a) has one masculine feature in the name-final position and one feminine feature in the name-initial position. As shown in (7), 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 (8b), 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 in a very limited way. Consider the names in (9). *Ume* and *Kiku* in (9), which are homophonic to flower names, sound feminine. When they are followed by a masculine last syllable /to/, however, they sound masculine. The names in (9) 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.

(8) Flower Names = Female Names

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) Momizi | ‘maple tree’ | (-zi = Masculine, m- = Feminine) |
| (b) Kaede | ‘maple tree’ | (k- = Masculine) |

(9) Female Names → Male Names

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|---|--------|
| (a) Ume | ‘Japanese apricot’ | → | Umeto |
| (b) Kiku | ‘chrysanthemum’ | → | Kikuto |

Japanese given names are usually written in kanji, i.e. Chinese characters. 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’ and *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 the male name *Tatuo*. But, they never guess that those kanji are used for the female name *Rio*. Why are those kanji not assigned to the female name *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 (10). 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.

(10) 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’...)

Questionnaire studies are the third group of my previous studies. The previous studies mentioned above are theoretical studies. Based on the theory I developed, I conducted three questionnaire studies (Mutsukawa 2011, 2012, 2013). In Mutsukawa (2011), I asked native speakers of Japanese if they can tell the gender of 51 Japanese existing names and found out 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 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 revealed that native speakers of Japanese judge the gender of Japanese given names based on the features in (1) and the ranking in (7).

Structure of Japanese Unisex Names²

Japanese parents keep creating given names, but unisex names are not common. I collected 39 unisex names, which are confirmed to be used for both males and females. Each of the unisex names has at least one phonological or semantic feature in (1). The unisex names and their phonological and semantic features are shown in (11).

(11) Unisex Names and Their Phonological and Semantic Features

Aoi	(Feminine = a-, Plant Name)
Akira	(Feminine = a-)
Akemi	(Feminine = a-, -mi)
Kaoru	(Masculine = k-)
Kazumi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi)
Katumi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi)
Kimi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi, $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)

¹ There is no kanji whose reading is *tuo*.

² An earlier version of this section appears in *Studies on Japanese Language and Culture* 14.

Kei	(Masculine=k-, Feminine= $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Koo	(Masculine=k-, $\sigma_\mu\mu$)
Kokoro	(Masculine=k-)
Sinobu	(Masculine=s-, Feminine=Plant Name)
Jun	(Masculine= $\sigma_\mu\mu$, Heavy Syllable, Feminine= d^z -)
Sunao	(Masculine=s-, -o, Feminine=-o)
Sora	(Masculine=s-, Feminine= $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Tiaki	(Masculine=t-, -ki)
Tiharu	(Masculine=t-)
Tihiro	(Masculine=t-)
Tukasa	(Masculine=t-)
Terumi	(Masculine=t-, Feminine=-mi)
Tomomi	(Masculine=t-, Feminine=-mi)
Towa	(Masculine=t-, Feminine= $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Natuki	(Masculine=-ki, Feminine=n-)
Hikaru	(Feminine=h-)
Hinata	(Masculine=-ta, Feminine=h-)
Hiromi	(Feminine=h-, -mi)
Makoto	(Masculine=-to, Feminine=m-)
Masami	(Feminine=m-, -mi)
Masumi	(Feminine=m-, -mi)
Mahuyu	(Feminine=m-)
Maya	(Feminine=m-, $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Miki	(Masculine=-ki, Feminine=m-, $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Mizuki	(Masculine=-ki, Feminine=m-, Plant Name)
Miroku	(Masculine=-ku, Feminine=m-)
Yuu	(Masculine= $\sigma_\mu\mu$, Heavy Syllable)
Yuuki	(Masculine=-ki, Heavy Syllable)
Yuki	(Masculine=-ki, Feminine= $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Yoo	(Masculine= $\sigma_\mu\mu$, Heavy Syllable)
Yosimi	(Feminine=-mi)
Rui	(Feminine= $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)

Among the 39 unisex names in (11), 10 names have only masculine features and 11 names have only feminine features, whereas 18 names have both masculine and feminine features ((12)-(14)). Each name contains up to 3 features, as summarized in (15). In terms of features they contain, they are not unisex because 10 names have only masculine features and 11 names have only feminine features.

(12) Unisex Names with Only Masculine Features (10 names)

Kaoru	(Masculine = k-)
Koo	(Masculine = k-, $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$)
Kokoro	(Masculine = k-)
Tiaki	(Masculine = t-, -ki)
Tiharu	(Masculine = t-)
Tihiro	(Masculine = t-)
Tukasa	(Masculine = t-)
Yuu	(Masculine = $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$, Heavy Syllable)
Yuuki	(Masculine = -ki, Heavy Syllable)
Yoo	(Masculine = $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$, Heavy Syllable)

(13) Unisex Names with Only Feminine Features (11 names)

Aoi	(Feminine = a-, Plant Name)
Akira	(Feminine = a-)
Akemi	(Feminine = a-, -mi)
Hikaru	(Feminine = h-)
Hiromi	(Feminine = h-, -mi)
Masami	(Feminine = m-, -mi)
Masumi	(Feminine = m-, -mi)
Mahuyu	(Feminine = m-)
Maya	(Feminine = m-, $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Yosimi	(Feminine = -mi)
Rui	(Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)

(14) Unisex Names with Both Masculine and Feminine Features (18 names)

Kazumi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi)
Katumi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi)
Kimi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi, $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Kei	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Sinobu	(Masculine = s-, Feminine = Plant Name)
Jun	(Masculine = $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$, Heavy Syllable, Feminine = d ² -)
Sunao	(Masculine = s-, -o, Feminine = -o)
Sora	(Masculine = s-, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Terumi	(Masculine = t-, Feminine = -mi)

Tomomi	(Masculine = t-, Feminine = -mi)
Towa	(Masculine = t-, Feminine = $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Natuki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = n-)
Hinata	(Masculine = -ta, Feminine = h-)
Makoto	(Masculine = -to, Feminine = m-)
Miki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = m-, $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)
Mizuki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = m-, Plant Name)
Miroku	(Masculine = -ku, Feminine = m-)
Yuki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$)

(15)

# of features	# of names
1 masculine	5
2 masculine	5
1 feminine	5
2 feminine	6
1 masculine and 1 feminine	13
1 masculine and 2 feminine	3
2 masculine and 1 feminine	2

The features found in names in (12) - (14) are categorized as in (16) and (17).³ It is not clear yet why the names in (11) are used as unisex names but, if they are unisex names because they sound unisex, i.e. not masculine nor feminine, to native speakers of Japanese, it suggests that the contribution of the features in (12) and (13) in determining the gender is less than the contribution of the features found only in (14) because, as mentioned above, the gender differences in (1) do not equally determine the gender.

(16) Features Found in (12) and (13)

	Masculine (found in (12): n=15)	Feminine (found in (13): n=17)
First Syllables (Onset Cs)	· k- (3) · t- (4)	· Onsetless Syllable <i>a</i> (3) · h- (2) · m- (4)
Last Syllables	· ki (2)	· mi (5)
Heavy Syllables	· Yes (3)	
Length (Structures)	· $\sigma_\mu\mu$ (3)	· $\sigma_\mu\sigma_\mu$ (2)
Semantics		· Flower and Plant Names (1)

³ Numbers in parentheses in the tables indicate the number of names each feature is found.

(17) Features Found in (14)

	Masculine (n=20)	Feminine (n=21)
First Syllables (Onset Cs)	· k- (4) · s- (3) · t- (3)	· h- (1) · m- (4) · n- (1) · d ^z - (1)
Last Syllables	· o (1) · ki (4) · ta (1) · to (1) · ku (1)	· mi (5) · o (1)
Heavy Syllables	· Yes (1)	
Length (Structures)	· $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ (1)	· $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$ (6)
Semantics		· Flower and Plant Names (2)

Finally, let us make a prediction how native speakers of Japanese judge the gender of the unisex names. The unisex names in (11) are confirmed to be used for both males and females, but they are not well-known and native speakers of Japanese are not familiar with (at least some of) them. As introduced above, the gender of Japanese given names is phonologically and semantically determined. The phonological gender differences found in Japanese given names do not equally determine the gender, but they can be hierarchically ordered based on their contribution in determining the gender (cf. (1) - (9)). Based on the ranking in (7), we can predict that native speakers of Japanese judge the gender of the unisex names as in (18) and (19): 20 names including those in (12) might sound masculine while 19 names including those in (13) might sound feminine.

(18) Names That Might Sound Masculine (20 names)

Kaoru	(Masculine = k-)
Kei	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Koo	(Masculine = k-, $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$)
Kokoro	(Masculine = k-)
Jun	(Masculine = $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$, Heavy Syllable, Feminine = d ^z -)
Sunao	(Masculine = s-, -o, Feminine = -o)
Sora	(Masculine = s-, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Tiaki	(Masculine = t-, -ki)
Tiharu	(Masculine = t-)
Tihiro	(Masculine = t-)
Tukasa	(Masculine = t-)
Towa	(Masculine = t-, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Natuki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = n-)

Hinata	(Masculine = -ta, Feminine = h-)
Makoto	(Masculine = -to, Feminine = m-)
Miroku	(Masculine = -ku, Feminine = m-)
Yuu	(Masculine = $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$, Heavy Syllable)
Yuuki	(Masculine = -ki, Heavy Syllable)
Yuki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Yoo	(Masculine = $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$, Heavy Syllable)

(19) Names That Might Sound Feminine (19 names)

Aoi	(Feminine = a-, Plant Name)
Akira	(Feminine = a-)
Akemi	(Feminine = a-, -mi)
Kazumi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi)
Katumi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi)
Kimi	(Masculine = k-, Feminine = -mi, $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Sinobu	(Masculine = s-, Feminine = Plant Name)
Terumi	(Masculine = t-, Feminine = -mi)
Tomomi	(Masculine = t-, Feminine = -mi)
Hikaru	(Feminine = h-)
Hiromi	(Feminine = h-, -mi)
Masami	(Feminine = m-, -mi)
Masumi	(Feminine = m-, -mi)
Mahuyu	(Feminine = m-)
Maya	(Feminine = m-, $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Miki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = m-, $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)
Mizuki	(Masculine = -ki, Feminine = m-, Plant Name)
Yosimi	(Feminine = -mi)
Rui	(Feminine = $\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$)

Judgments by Native Speakers

This section focuses on judgments by native speakers of Japanese. The unisex names I collected are confirmed unisex names. But it does not mean that they are totally unisex: some of them can be used more as male names and others can be used more as female names. I conducted a questionnaire in which, with respect to each name, I asked 52 native speakers of Japanese if it is more commonly used as a male name than as a female name, or vice versa. A sample of the questionnaire is shown in (20) where native speakers are asked to choose the reason as well as the sex.

(20) *Aoi*

- SEX: ① male ② female
- REASON: ① Because I know someone with that name.
 ② Because of its meaning
 ③ Because of its sound pattern
 ④ I don't know why, but somehow...
 ⑤ Other (specify):

The reasons I conducted this questionnaire are twofold: (i) to find out how these names are really used, and (ii) to see how native speaker judge the gender when they are not familiar with those names. I divided judgments by native speakers into 5 categories based on the criteria in (21). They judged that 11 names are more commonly given to males (S-M and W-M) and 22 names are more commonly given to females (S-F and W-F), while only 6 names are neutral (N). The result of the questionnaire is summarized as in (22).

(21) Strongly Masculine (S-M): More than 85% of the subjects judged that it is used more for males.

Weakly Masculine (W-M): 70-85% of the subjects judged that it is used more for males.

Weakly Feminine (W-F): 70-85% of the subjects judged that it is used more for females.

Strongly Feminine (S-F): More than 85% of the subjects judged that it is used more for females.

Neutral (N): Judgments that do not apply any of the above.

(22)

	Male	Female	Both	No Response	Category	Expected (=18)(19))
Aoi	3	49	0		S-F	F
Akira	50	1	1		S-M	F
Akemi	0	52	0		S-F	F
Kaoru	23	26	3		N	M
Kazumi	10	41	1		W-F	F
Katumi	49	3	0		S-M	F
Kimi	2	49	1		S-F	F
Kei	34	16	2		N	M
Koo	40	11	1		W-M	M
Kokoro	1	50	1		S-F	M
Sinobu	7	43	2		W-F	F
Jun	46	5	1		S-M	M
Sunao	39	12	1		W-M	M

Sora	30	21	1		N	M
Tiaki	5	46	1		S-F	M
Tiharu	2	50	0		S-F	M
Tihiro	3	48	1		S-F	M
Tukasa	41	11	0		W-M	M
Terumi	8	43	1		W-F	F
Tomomi	0	50	0	2	S-F	F
Towa	25	24	1	2	N	M
Natuki	5	41	4	2	W-F	M
Hikaru	28	18	4	2	N	F
Hinata	10	39	1	2	W-F	M
Hiromi	9	38	3	2	W-F	F
Makoto	47	3	0	2	S-M	M
Masami	3	46	1	2	S-F	F
Masumi	13	36	1	2	W-F	F
Mahuyu	6	43	1	2	S-F	F
Maya	2	47	1	2	S-F	F
Miki	1	49	0	2	S-F	F
Mizuki	6	42	2	2	W-F	F
Miroku	44	6	0	2	S-M	M
Yuu	22	24	4	2	N	M
Yuuki	40	6	4	2	W-M	M
Yuki	0	50	0	2	S-F	M
Yoo	46	4	0	2	S-M	M
Yosimi	12	37	1	2	W-F	F
Rui	40	9	1	2	W-M	F

Comparing the judgments in (22) and expected judgments in (18) and (19), 16 names are judged differently (see (23)). Among the 16 names in (23), 12 names are expected to be judged as male names while 4 are expected to be judged as female names. That is, names that are expected to be judged as male names are more commonly judged differently. There are two possible explanations for this asymmetry. One, it is simply because unisex names are more commonly used for female names as native speakers judge. Two, semantics and structure play a role. In terms of semantics, *Kaoru*, *Kokoro*, *Hinata*, and *Yuki* are homophonic to Japanese words *kaoru* ‘to smell sweet’, *kokoro* ‘heart, mind’, *hinata* ‘sunshine’, and *yuki* ‘snow’. The meaning of these words might be relevant to the non-masculinity of those names. Regarding the structure, the assignment of kanji, i.e. Chinese characters, for *Tiaki*, *Tiharu*, and *Tihiro* must be *Ti.aki* or *Ti.a.ki* (but not *Tia.ki*), *Ti.haruru* or *Ti.ha.ru* (but not *Tiha.ru*), *Ti.hiro* or *Ti.hi.ro* (but not *Tihi.ro*), respectively. Impossibility of kanji assignment $\circ_{\sigma\sigma}\circ_{\sigma}$ might be relevant to the femininity of those names. Asymmetry found in (23) requires further study.

(23)

	Male	Female	Both	Non-Res.	Category	Expected (= (18)(19))
Akira	50	1	1		S-M	F
Kaoru	23	26	3		N	M
Katumi	49	3	0		S-M	F
Kei	34	16	2		N	M
Kokoro	1	50	1		S-F	M
Sora	30	21	1		N	M
Tiaki	5	46	1		S-F	M
Tiharu	2	50	0		S-F	M
Tihiro	3	48	1		S-F	M
Towa	25	24	1	2	N	M
Natuki	5	41	4	2	W-F	M
Hikaru	28	18	4	2	N	F
Hinata	10	39	1	2	W-F	M
Yuu	22	24	4	2	N	M
Yuki	0	50	0	2	S-F	M
Rui	40	9	1	2	W-M	F

When I asked native speakers to answer the sex of those names, I asked the reason as well. Some participants chose ‘I know someone with that name’ for some names. But the participants are not familiar with most of the unisex names adopted in the questionnaire and the most common reason they chose is ‘because of its sound pattern’. The answers from those who know someone with the unisex names and the answers from those who do not know anyone with the unisex names do not show any difference. This result suggests that judgments by native speakers are affected by the structure, especially the sound pattern, of unisex names.

Conclusion

The present study deals with Japanese unisex names and analyzes their structure. In this study, I introduce the result of the questionnaire I conducted and discuss judgments by native speakers. The present study reveals: (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.

In future research, I would like to continue the study on Japanese unisex names and pursue the following 3 questions.

- (i) How are Japanese unisex names really used?
- (ii) Why are those names used as unisex names?
- (iii) What is the origin of those names?

Cassidy *et al.* (1999) claim that '[t]he vast majority of unisex names were originally restricted to males but then became extended to females'. I would like to study if their claim applies to Japanese unisex names as well.

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Patronymika als Familiennamen im Jahre 1801

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Zusammenfassung

Diese Präsentation basiert auf der Volkszählung, die im Jahre 1801 stattfand. Damals trug der größte Teil der norwegischen Bevölkerung Patronymika als Beinamen, und das heißt allmählich echte Patronymika (Primär-Patronymika). Die Namenträger waren Söhne und Töchter des Mannes, aus dessen Namen das Patronymikon gebildet ist. Nur wenige der Patronymika waren erblich geworden. Die nicht-erblichen Patronymika waren keine Familiennamen, sie haben von Generation zu Generation gewechselt. Patronymika als erbliche Beinamen, Sekundär-Patronymika genannt, sind ein marginales Phänomen im Jahre 1801, aber der Typus wurde später in der norwegischen Namenlandschaft besonders wichtig, und darum ist gerade diese Minorität eine interessante Gruppe. Die Hauptgruppe dieser Studie setzt sich aus allen Vätern in Bergen und Kristiansand zusammen, deren Kinder Sekundär-Patronymika führen. Eine Kontrollgruppe ist aus einer Auswahl von Vätern aus Bergen und Kristiansand zusammengesetzt, deren Kinder Primär-Patronymika führen. Danach werden die beiden Gruppen nach sozialen und namensstrukturellen Kriterien verglichen. Die Hauptgruppe tritt in sozialem Zusammenhang als die überwiegend höherstehende hervor. Die Kontrollgruppe gibt einen durchaus proletarischeren Eindruck. Der namenstrukturelle Vergleich der Gruppen zeigt, dass die Kontrollgruppe weit weniger urban als die Hauptgruppe ist. Die Namenträger in der Hauptgruppe treten als die Vorläufer der Familiennamenmode hervor, die heute die norwegische Namenlandschaft dominiert.

Abstract

This presentation is based on the census of 1801. At that time, the largest part of the Norwegian population used primary patronymics. They were sons and daughters of men from whose names the patronymics were formed. Few patronymics had become hereditary. Non-hereditary patronymics were not family names, but changed from generation to generation. Hereditary surnames (secondary patronymics) are a marginal phenomenon in 1801, but later became dominant among Norwegian family names, and this minority is therefore an interesting group. The main group in this study consists of all fathers in Bergen and Kristiansand whose children had secondary patronymics. A control group is composed of a selection of fathers from Bergen and Kristiansand, whose children had primary patronymics. The two groups are then compared according to social and name-structural criteria. The main group occurs in a context of predominantly higher social standing. The control group gives a more 'proletarian' impression. Comparison of the name structure in the groups indicates that the control group is far less urban than the main group. The main group appears as the precursor of the custom that dominates Norwegian family names today.

* * *

Einleitung

Diese Präsentation ist ein kleinerer Teil einer Untersuchung des Nach- und Familiennamengebrauchs in Süd- und West-Norwegen im Jahre 1801 (Nedrelid 1998). Die Untersuchung basiert auf der Volkszählung im damaligen dänisch-norwegischen Königreich, die in jenem Jahr stattfand. In der Zeit trug der größte Teil der norwegischen Bevölkerung

Vatersnamen als Beinamen, und das heißt in diesem Falle allmählich echte Patronymika oder Primär-Patronymika, um Kousgård Sørensens (1983: 142) Term zu benützen. Die Namenträger waren tatsächlich Söhne und Töchter des Mannes, aus dessen Namen das Patronymikon gebildet ist. Nur wenige der Patronymika waren damals erblich geworden. Die nicht-erblichen Patronymika waren selbstverständlich keine Familiennamen, sie haben von Generation zu Generation gewechselt. Diese Studie, die hier präsentiert wird, ist von dem neuen Typus, Patronymika als erbliche Beinamen, *Sekundär-Patronymika* genannt. Die sind ein marginales Phänomen im Jahre 1801, aber der Typus wurde später in unserer Namenlandschaft besonders wichtig,¹ und darum ist gerade diese Minorität eine interessante Gruppe. Und gerade im diesen Material kann man den Übergang zwischen den beiden Typen tatsächlich sehen, wie z.B. in dieser Familie in Bergen:

Name	Alter	Stellung in der Familie	Zivilstand	Beruf
Niels <u>Andersen</u>	35	Hausvater	2. Mal verh.	Geselle
Elen Christina Iversdatter	30	Seine Frau	1. Mal verh.	
Alida <u>Andersen</u>	3	Ihre Tochter		
Martha Malena Andersen	2	Ihre Tochter		
Sophia Andrea Andersen	1	Ihre Tochter		
Anders <u>Jonsen</u>	80	Vater des Mannes	Witwer nach 1. Ehe	Von seinem Sohn versorgt
Marthe Johanne Andersdatter	18	Dienstmädchen	Nicht verh.	

Tabelle 1. Die Familie von Niels Andersen, Bergen, 1801

Hier sehen wir, dass der Mann, Niels Andersen, der Sohn von Anders Johnsen ist. Aber seine kleinen Töchter werden nicht mit seinem Namen, als „Nielsdatter“ (d.h. Tochter von Niels), bezeichnet, was sonst das gewöhnlichste ist, auch in der großen Stadt Bergen, aber sie stehen alle drei mit ihrem Vatersnamen, Andersen. Sie stehen, wie Georg Søndergaard es formuliert hat, wie „Söhne ihres Großvaters“ (1991: 18).

Material und Methode

Kurz etwas über die Untersuchung, welche einen Bestandteil dieser Studie bildet: 1801 fand die erste nominative Volkszählung im damaligen dänisch-norwegischen Königreich statt. Alle Einwohner wurden mit vollem Namen und Lebensunterhalt erfasst. Das Material besteht aus einer Auswahl aus dieser Volkszählung, die etwa 47.000 Personen umfasst. Die Auswahl enthält die Städte Bergen, damals die größte Stadt Norwegens, und Kristiansand, ganz im

¹ Heute sind die 13 frequentesten Familiennamen in Norwegen Patronymika, vergl. <http://www.ssb.no/a/navn/alf/etter100.html>.

Süden Norwegens. Dazu kommen verschiedene Kirchspiele auf dem Lande in West- und Süd-Norwegen, damit die Auswahl ungefähr zur Hälfte Stadt- und Landbevölkerung umfasst. Kurz zusammengefasst zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass es im Jahre 1801 auf dem Lande fast keine Familiennamen gab. Die kleine Minderheit, die Familiennamen führte, bestand aus Pfarrern, Offizieren und Gutsbesitzern und ihren Familien (Horgen 1985). Die anderen wurden mit Patronymika registriert, und das heißt, wie schon erwähnt, Primär-Patronymika (Kousgård Sørensen 1984: 12).

In den Städten sieht es anders aus. Auch dort trägt die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung Patronymika, und auch dort sind der größte Teil von Vatersnamen Primär-Patronymika. Aber man findet auch einige Patronymika als Familiennamen. Um zu sehen, von welchem Typus die Rede ist, muss der Vatersname sich als Primär- oder Sekundär-Patronymika dokumentieren lassen. Um solche Patronymika zu finden, müssen mindestens zwei Generationen innerhalb derselben Familie vorhanden sein. Dann sieht man an den Namen der Kinder, ob sie einen anderen Namen als ihr Vater tragen, d.h. Primär-Patronymika, oder denselben Namen wie der Vater tragen, also wie „Söhne ihres Großvaters“ (Søndergaard 1991: 18) hervortreten, d.h. Sekundär-Patronymika. In dem gesamten Material gibt es 36854 Personen, die mit Patronymika aufgeführt sind. Von den nachweisbaren Patronymika, 11731 von total 36854, sind nur 558 als Sekundär-Patronymika nachweisbar, gegenüber 10511 Primär-Patronymika. Die letzten 662 in dieser Gruppe sind zweideutig, die Träger sind Kinder von Vätern mit Namen wie *Hans Hansen*.

□ Verteilung auf verschiedene Patronymika-Typen im gesamten Material											
	1) Nicht nachweisbare Patronymika, die sich nicht als primär oder sekundär dokumentieren lassen		2) Nachweisbare Patronymika, die sich dokumentieren lassen						Alle Patronymika		
			Primär-Patr.		Sek.-Patr.		Zweideutige				
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	=
Landgemeinden	6075	7441	4139	3579	5	3	266	197	10485	11220	21705
Kristiansand	864	1287	299	222	30	12	14	5	1207	1526	2733
Bergen.	3845	5611	1158	1114	254	254	105	75	5362	7054	12416
=	10784	14339	5596	4915	289	269	385	277	17054	19800	36854
= 25123			10511		= 558		= 662		= 36854		
			Alle nachweisbare Patronymika: 11731, 6270 Männer und 5461 Frauen.								

Tabelle 2. Verschiedene Patronymika-Typen im Volkszählungsmaterial, 1801

Wir sehen, dass Sekundär-Patronymika die kleinste und ganz unbedeutende Gruppe ist. Mehrere der Namenträger mit Sekundär-Patronymika sind Geschwister, dafür gibt es 265 Familienväter, deren Kinder mit solchen Namen registriert sind. Und jetzt gehen wir weiter mit dieser kleinen, aber in unserem Zusammenhang sehr interessanten Gruppe.

Hauptgruppe und Kontrollgruppe

Die Hauptgruppe dieser kleineren Studie besteht aus allen Vätern von Kindern, die Sekundär-Patronymika tragen. Um einen Vergleich zu ermöglichen, muss eine Kontrollgruppe vorliegen. Eine Kontrollgruppe ist aus einer Auswahl von Vätern aus Bergen und Kristiansand zusammengesetzt, deren Kinder Primär-Patronymika führen. In jedem fünften Haus, wo es Kinder mit Primär-Patronymika gibt, ist der Vater als Kontrollgruppe ausgewählt. Auf diese Weise werden zwei numerisch etwa vergleichbare Gruppen zusammengestellt, die Hauptgruppe, deren Patronymika weitergeführt wird, und die Kontrollgruppe, wo man dem gewöhnlichen Gebrauch folgt und die Patronymika in jeder Generation wechseln. Die Kontrollgruppe besteht aus 242 Familienvätern, 189 in Bergen und 53 in Kristiansand. Die Zahl ist etwas geringer als in der Hauptgruppe, aber einfache Prozentrechnung ermöglicht einen Vergleich.

	Hauptgruppe	Kontrollgruppe
Bergen	239	189
Kristiansand	19	53
	258	242
Landgemeinden	7	

Tabelle 3. Väter von Kindern mit Sekundärpatronymika (Hauptgruppe) und Kontrollgruppe (Väter von Kindern mit Primärpatronymika)

Danach werden die beiden Gruppen nach sozialen und namensstrukturellen Kriterien verglichen.

Vergleich der beiden Gruppen nach sozialen Kriterien

Hier wird der Beruf sämtlicher Familienväter in beiden Gruppen verglichen:

	Hauptgruppe	%	Kontrollgruppe	%
Seefahrt	64	24,24	57	23,55
Handwerk	84	31,94	72	29,75
Handel/Verkauf	33	12,55	5	2,07
Angestellte bei Kirche, Schule, Militär, Polizei, Zoll, Brandwesen usw.	34	12,93	23	9,50
Arbeiter verschiedener Art	42	15,21	62	25,62
Fischerei, Fischbearbeitung	5	1,90	13	5,37
Landwirtschaft	3	1,14	10	4,13
	265		242	

Tabelle 4. Berufliche Verteilung der Väter auf beide Gruppen

Die Hauptgruppe tritt in sozialem Zusammenhang als die überwiegend überlegene hervor. Man sieht es gerade an der höheren Prozentzahl bei Arbeitern und in der Landwirtschaft Tätigen und bei Fischerei/Fischgebundener Arbeit in der Kontrollgruppe, sowie an der höheren Prozentzahl bei Kaufleuten und öffentlichen Angestellten aller Art in der Hauptgruppe.

Noch deutlicher wird das Bild, wenn wir auf die verschiedenen Gruppen eingehen. Die Seeleute stehen mit nahezu identischen Ziffern in den beiden Gruppen, 24,24 % in der Hauptgruppe, und 23,55 % in der Kontrollgruppe. Aber lassen Sie uns diese Gruppe genauer ansehen:

Beruf/Lebensunterhalt	Hauptgruppe	Kontrollgruppe
Schiffsführer/Kapitäne	26	7
Matrosen	24	39
Steuermänner	10	3
Lotzen	2	2
Schiffszimmermann	1	3
Seemann/Seefahrende	1	3
Alle	64	57
In % ihrer Gruppe	24,24	23,55

Tabelle 5. Detaillierte Verteilung in der Berufskategorie Seefahrt

In der Hauptgruppe finden wir 26 Schiffsführer/Kapitäne, 10 Steuermänner und 24 Matrosen. In der Kontrollgruppe gibt es nur 6 Schiffsführer und 3 Steuermänner, aber 39 Matrosen.

Etwa dasselbe finden wir bei den Handwerkern. Es gibt viele Handwerksmeister in der Hauptgruppe, aber nur wenige in der Kontrollgruppe. Ein großes Fach ist die Böttcherei. In der Hauptgruppe sind 2 Böttchermeister, 2 Gesellen, 8 nicht-spezifizierte Böttcher und 3 Böttcherarbeiter. In der Kontrollgruppe sind 14 Böttcherarbeiter, keine gelernten Böttcher. Die Männer in der Hauptgruppe repräsentieren weit mehr verschiedene Fächer als die in der Kontrollgruppe, die sich besonders in drei Fächern konzentrieren, nämlich Holzbau, Böttcherei und Schuhmacherei. In der Hauptgruppe findet man z.B. drei Goldschmiede, drei Perückenmacher, drei Stuhlmacher und ein Buchbinder. Solche Berufe sieht man nicht in der Kontrollgruppe.

Unter den zehn Militärs der Hauptgruppe gibt es einen Oberst und einen Hauptmann. Die vier Polizisten in dieser Gruppe sind ein Polizeimeister und drei Wachtmeister. Wir finden auch einen Kirchenschreiber, einen Priester und den Bischof in Kristiansand. Solche Koryphäen gibt es in der Kontrollgruppe nicht. Keiner in der Kontrollgruppe ist bei der Kirche angestellt, und der einzige Polizist in der Gruppe ist ein Wachtmeister. Unter den neun Militärs in der Kontrollgruppe ist Grenadier der höchste Rang. Auch im Handel und Verkauf wird es deutlich, dass die Hauptgruppe in sozialer Hinsicht hervortritt. Hier gibt es mehrere Kaufleute als Kleinhändler. Im Gegensatz dazu gibt es weit mehr Arbeiter in der Kontrollgruppe. Zusammengefasst darf man sagen, dass die Kontrollgruppe einen durchaus proletarischeren Eindruck gibt.

Vergleich der beiden Gruppen nach namenstrukturelle Kriterien

In dieser Zeit war das Sekundär –Patronymikon ein Stadtphänomen. Es zeigt sich, dass sie auch in höheren sozialen Schichten mehr verbreitet sind. Aber die Arbeiter kommen danach, das sieht man an den vielen Matrosen, Böttcherarbeitern und anderen Arbeitern, die ihre Kindern mit solchen Namen ausstatten. Das ist wie erwartet, wenn man bedenkt, wie Namenmoden (und andere Moden) sich verbreiten.

Wenn von sozialen Ambitionen in einer Familie die Rede ist, ist es natürlicherweise nicht nur der Vater, der solche hat. Die Mutter ist besonders wichtig in diesem Zusammenhang. Darum ist es interessant nachzusehen, von welchem Typus ihr Name ist, denn der Namentypus kann ihren sozialen Hintergrund indizieren. Darum ist die Namenstruktur der Familienmitglieder in den beiden Gruppen untersucht worden. Die Mütter in beiden Gruppen werden verglichen, und deutliche Unterschiede zeigen sich, sowohl was die Nachnamen betrifft (Patronymikon oder nicht), und wenn von der Anzahl der Vornamen die Rede ist. Doch trägt die Mehrheit der Frauen in beiden Gruppen Namen der gewöhnlichsten Struktur, Gesamtnamen, die aus nur einem Vornamen und einen Patronymikon, dem auf *-datter* (Tochter) bestehen, wie zum Beispiel *Elen Ellingsdatter*. Weniger als die Hälfte (47,01 %) der Frauen in der Hauptgruppe trägt einen solchen Namen, aber zwei Drittel (66,67 %) in der Kontrollgruppe. Die zweitgewöhnlichste Struktur in der Hauptgruppe, mit 17,52 %, ist der Typus mit zwei Vornamen und einem Nachnamen, der kein Patronymikon ist, wie z. B. *Johanne Regina Paasche*. Diese Struktur steht für nur 2,99 % in der Kontrollgruppe.

Namentypus	Hauptgruppe		Kontrollgruppe	
	Zahl	% der Gruppe	Zahl	% der Gruppe
<i>Elen Ellingsdatter</i>	118	47,01	156	66,67
<i>Barbara Cathrina Magnusdatter</i>	18	7,17	46	19,66
Patronymikon mit –datter (Tochter)	136	54,18	202	86,33
<i>Johanne Regina Paasche</i>	44	17,52	7	2,99
<i>Lene Hielm</i>	41	16,33	6	2,56
Nicht Patronymikon	85	33,85	13	5,55
<i>Ingeborg Knudsen</i>	12	4,78	6	2,56
<i>Engel Maria Iversen</i>	12	4,78	4	1,71
Patronymikon mit –sen (Sohn)²	24	9,56	10	4,27

Tabelle 6. Verteilung der verschiedenen Namentypen in beiden Gruppen

Auch die Namen der Kinder in den beiden Gruppen sind untersucht worden, wie viele Vornamen sie tragen. Die alte Sitte war ja, nur einen Vornamen zu führen. Mehrere Vornamen sind eine neue Mode, die erst in höheren Schichten aufgenommen wird, und langsam hinunter tropfen. Der namenstrukturelle Vergleich der Gruppen zeigt, dass die Kontrollgruppe weit weniger urban als die Hauptgruppe ist. Die Familienmitglieder der Kontrollgruppe tragen überwiegend traditionelle, ‚altmodische‘ Gesamtnamen, die aus

² Hier kann zugefügt werden, dass wir in der Hauptgruppe zwei Frauen finden, die ein Patronymikon ohne Nachglied trägt, wie *Ingeborg Catharina Gabriels*. Das könne Verkürzung von Tochter oder Sohn sein. Es gibt auch acht Frauen, vier in jeder Gruppe, die nur mit einem oder mehreren Vornamen registriert worden sind.

einem, höchstens zwei, Vornamen und Vatersnamen bestehen. In der Hauptgruppe finden wir viel mehr von neuen Namenmoden, mehrere Vornamen, Mittelnamen, und wir sehen Frauen mit Patronymika, die nicht auf das weibliche *-datter* (Tochter), sondern auf das männlichen *-sen* (Sohn) enden. Viele der Mütter in der Hauptgruppe tragen auch einen Beinamen, der kein Patronymikon ist, und ziemlich viele davon sind bekannte Familiennamen. Es sieht so aus, dass eine solche Familienkonstellation, Vater mit Patronymikon und Mutter mit Familiennamen (z.B. *Anders Gabrielsen* und *Johanne Regina Paasche*), sehr oft dazu führt, dass die Kinder Sekundär-Patronymikon bekommen. Die Namenträger in der Hauptgruppe, oder eher ihre Eltern, sind ohne Zweifel ‚moderne‘, anpassungsfähige Menschen. Sie treten als die Vorläufer der Familiennamensitte hervor, die heute die norwegische Namenlandschaft dominiert.

Wenn man die Vatersnamen vergleicht, welche es sind, findet man keine großen Unterschiede. Es sind in den beiden Gruppen gewöhnliche Männernamen, die das erste Glied ausmachen. Wir finden *Olsen, Hansen, Andersen, Larsen, Erichsen, Knudsen, Nielsen, Peersen, Jonsen*, und *Rasmussen* unter den 12 gewöhnlichsten in den beiden Gruppen. Doch gibt es einigen Namen in der Hauptgruppe, die in Dänemark gewöhnlicher sind als in Norwegen, z.B. *Axelsen, Brodersen, Enevoldsen, Frantzen, Frellsen, Jessen, Henningsen, Ibsen, Lassen, Thygesen* og *Willumsen*. Es deutet darauf, dass diese Dänen sind, oder Söhne von Dänen. Sen-Namen als Familiennamen kamen in Dänemark früher in Gebrauch als in der Provinz Norwegen. Um 1750 ist die Sitte in unteren Schichten in dänischen Städten üblich geworden (Nielsen 1899: 112-113). Aber in Norwegen ist es, wie wir gesehen haben, noch 1801 ziemlich ungewöhnlich.

Warum Patronymika als Familiennamen?

Wenn Vatersnamen in dieser Zeit erblich werden, gilt dieselbe Observation wie für anderen Typen von Familiennamen: Ein erblicher Beiname ist ein Zeichen sozialer Position oder sozialer Ambition (vergl. Utterström 1985: 10). Der Kapitän wird Muster für den Matrosen, der Meister für seine Arbeiter, und der Großkaufmann für die Kleinhandler. Vielleicht könnte man die Anwendung solcher Namen in unteren Schichten als einen Wunsch nach sozialem Aufstieg ansehen. Der Matrose gibt den Kindern Namen gleicher Art wie der Kapitän, denn seine Ambition ist, selber Kapitän zu werden. Es gab realistische Hoffnungen auf Statushebung, zum Beispiel für die Handwerker. Der Stand war hierarchisch aufgebaut, aber dies hing mit dem Lebenszyklus zusammen. Alle Meister waren einmal Gesellen gewesen. Alle Gesellen konnten nicht Meister werden, aber alle konnten mindestens die Hoffnung haben, einmal Meister zu werden. Die Matrosen konnten sich als zukünftige Kapitäne sehen, und die Unteroffiziere vielleicht, wenn sie Glück hatten, als Leutnante. Diese Leute sind schon ‚etwas‘, oder sie streben danach, ‚etwas‘ zu werden.

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Die Grabinschrift des Thoctebadus. Ein germanischer Personennamenname in romanischem Umfeld

Irene Rettig
Schweiz

Zusammenfassung

Das Frühmittelalter gilt als Umbruchzeit, auf der Grundlage der spätantiken römischen Strukturen entstanden neue Reiche. Im Zuge der Völkerwanderung trafen verschiedene Sprach- und Kulturgruppen aufeinander. Auch das Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz bildete eine Kontaktzone zwischen den so genannten germanischen Stammesverbänden und der autochthonen romanischen Bevölkerung. In dieser Untersuchung wird eine Grabinschrift aus der Abtei Saint-Maurice, in der heutigen Westschweiz gelegen, vorgestellt. Die Inschrift stammt aus dem 6. Jh. n. Chr. und enthält den Namen *Thoctebadus*. Während das Zweitglied des Namens *-bad* als germanisches erkannt werden kann, ist die Deutung des Erstgliedes nicht eindeutig. Die Verschriftung des Namens zeigt einige sprachliche Interferenzen. Die Inschrift an sich zeugt von der sprachlichen und kulturellen Verschmelzung der Oberschicht der Stammesverbände mit den autochthonen Traditionen.

Abstract

The Early Middle Ages were a period of change; based on Late Antique Roman structures, new kingdoms developed. During the Migration Period various linguistic and cultural units came into contact. The territory of Modern Switzerland was a contact zone of the so-called Germanic peoples and the indigenous Romance population. The topic of this paper is a Latin funeral inscription from the Saint-Maurice abbey in Western Switzerland dating to the Migration Period. The inscription includes the personal name *Thoctebadus*, a dithematic Germanic name. The second element *-bad* is well known, but the linguistic interferences of the name's first element require further analysis. The inscription as a whole points towards an assimilation of the Germanic tribes with the Roman or Romanized population of the former Roman Empire.

* * *

Einleitung

Im Gebiet der heutigen Westschweiz trafen im 6. Jh. n. Chr. Personen verschiedener Sprach- und Kulturgruppen aufeinander. Bis in die 530-er Jahre war die Region politisch dem Burgunderreich zugehörig, danach dem Frankenreich. Die burgundischen Könige hatten römische Ämter inne und auch die Franken arbeiteten mit der romanischen Oberschicht zusammen. Germanische Volksverbände stiessen auf die autochthone romanische Bevölkerung. Hinter den Burgundern steht keine homogene Gruppe, sondern ein Stammesverband bestehend aus verschiedenen Ethnien. Germanische Elemente finden sich in archäologischen und sprachlichen Zeugnissen. Archäologische Funde sind Fibeln, welche als Grabbeigaben in der Genferseeregion hinterlassen wurden (Steiner 2003: 67). Vom Kulturkontakt der Stammesverbände und der autochthonen Bevölkerung zeugen Inschriften auf Stein, welche in der lateinischen Sprache verfasst sind und germanische Personennamen

enthalten. Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht eine Grabinschrift aus der Abtei Saint-Maurice, die den Namen *Thoctebadus* enthält.¹

Bevor die Inschrift vorgestellt wird, folgen ein paar Vorbemerkungen zum historischen und sprachlichen Hintergrund. Die Grabinschrift stammt aus der Genferseeregion, wo das zweite Burgunderreich von der Mitte des 5. Jhs. n. Chr. bis zu seiner Eroberung durch die Franken 532/34 n. Chr. bestand. In der darauffolgenden Zeit war die Region Teil des Merowingerreiches. Von der Sprache der Burgunder im engeren Sinn, also vom Burgundischen, gibt es nur wenige Zeugnisse. Überliefert sind beispielsweise ein paar Fachtermini im *Liber Constitutionum*, dem Gesetzestext der Burgunder und eine Runeninschrift von Charnay-lès-Chalon, die ostgermanische Züge aufweist (Nedoma 2010: 40). Die hier behandelte Inschrift enthält den Namen *Thoctebadus*. Es ist also ein zweigliedriger Name mit dem Zweitglied *-bad*, welches zu den typisch ostgermanischen Namensbestandteilen gerechnet wird (Haubrichs 2009: 140).

Das Burgundische wurde denn auch in der Forschung meist zum Ostgermanischen gerechnet. Dies, weil Plinius der Ältere im 1. Jh. n. Chr. den Stamm der Burgunder zusammen mit den Goten als Teil der *Vandili* (Hist. Nat. IV, 99) erwähnte. Die Erwähnungen von Plinius dem Älteren und Ptolemäus (Geogr. 2, II.) im 2. Jh. n. Chr. deuten darauf, dass die ostgermanischen Stämme seit dieser Zeit geographisch von den Nord- und Westgermanen getrennt waren und die sprachliche Weiterentwicklung daher unabhängig von ihnen verlief (Klein 2001: 579). Das Burgundische zeigt in der Phonologie und Morphologie teilweise Übereinstimmungen mit dem Gotischen.²

Die Sprache der Burgunder war noch im 5. Jh. n. Chr. lebendig. So beschwert sich Sidonius Apollinaris in einem Gedicht über die Burgunder mit ihrer germanischen Sprache und ihren Liedern und über ihre ranzigen langen Haare (Carm. XII). Unklar ist der Werdegang dieser Sprache im 6. Jh. n. Chr. und darüber hinaus. Die bereits erwähnte Runeninschrift von Charnay-lès-Chalon bietet einen Anhaltspunkt für das Fortbestehen einer ostgermanischen Sprache im fränkischen Teilreich Burgund, da die Fibel, auf der die Runeninschrift angebracht ist, im zweiten Drittel des 6. Jhs. n. Chr. hergestellt wurde (Haubrichs und Pfister 2008: 75). In der Regel wird mit einem Fortbestehen der burgundischen Sprache bis in das 7. Jh. n. Chr. gerechnet. Die Sprache hätte sich demnach – trotz der schnellen Assimilation in den übrigen Lebensbereichen – recht lange gehalten (Gamillscheg 1936: 197; Felixberger 2003: 600).

Amts- und Verkehrssprache im Frühmittelalter war Latein. Grabinschriften sind in lateinischer Sprache verfasst. Die mündliche Sprache wich sicherlich von der Schriftsprache ab. Die Forschung setzt für das Frühmittelalter aber keine Diglossie an, sondern postuliert ein sprachliches Kontinuum für den ganzen romanischen Sprachraum (Vitali 2007: 95; Herman 1996: 368). Die lateinische Schriftsprache des Frühmittelalters hatte sich vom Standard der Antike entfernt, es handelte sich aber immer noch um eine Schriftsprache, welche nicht mit der gesprochenen Sprache der Romanen gleichgesetzt werden kann. Gleichwohl schimmert in den schriftlichen Quellen teilweise die gesprochene Sprache durch. Die Standardsprache des Frühmittelalters ist einerseits davon geprägt, eine schriftliche Norm aufrechtzuerhalten,

¹Diese Inschrift wurde mit weiteren Inschriften aus dem 6. Jh. n. Chr. im Rahmen einer Lizentiatsarbeit an der Universität Zürich im Fach Vergleichende germanische Sprachwissenschaft untersucht, vgl. dazu Rettig (2012).

²Zum Burgundischen allgemein vgl. Haubrichs und Pfister (2008) und Haubrichs (2009).

andererseits zeigt sie Einflüsse aus der mündlichen Sprache (Stotz 2002: 9). Die schriftlich bezeugten Reflexe, welche die gesprochene Sprache in der Schriftsprache hinterliess, werden in dieser Arbeit mit Vulgärlatein bezeichnet.³ Die sprachliche Untersuchung des Personennamens muss Lautstand, Morphologie und Graphie auf mögliche germanische und auch auf lateinische Phänomene beinhalten. Die Rückschlüsse auf die gesprochene lateinische Sprache sowie der Standard der Schriftsprache im Frühmittelalter sind bei der Inschriftenanalyse mit einzubeziehen.

Zuletzt noch ein paar Bemerkungen zu Namen und Namengebung. Die Namengebung in den Oberschichten des Frühmittelalters erfolgte sehr bewusst. Königsnamen wurden weitertradiert und zudem als glorreich empfunden (Greg. Hist. X, 28; Venantius Fortunatus, Carm. IX, 1, Vers 21ff.). Davon zeugt auch die so genannte Ansippung, mit welcher die merowingische Königsfamilie versuchte, die Herrschaft über das Burgunderreich zu legitimieren (Ewig 1991: 28f.). Die Frage, ob ein germanischer Personenne gleichzeitig eine germanische Herkunft seines Trägers bedeutet, wurde in der Forschung verschieden beantwortet. Die ältere Forschung ging geradezu von dieser Annahme aus, die jüngere Forschung ist vorsichtiger. Dies nicht zuletzt, weil die Volksstämme an sich keine Einheit bildeten und von Stammesverbänden ausgegangen wird. Zudem wurde der Zusammenhang zwischen Volk und Sprache kritisch hinterfragt (Geuenich 1996: 1721). Gerade auch im Zusammenhang mit den Burgundern wurde betont, dass der Name nicht Ausdruck der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit ist, sondern die Funktion der Person, in diesem Fall die Unterscheidung zwischen Militär/Hof und Kirche, zeigt (Amory 1994: 13). Diese Ansicht wurde als zu einseitig kritisiert, aktuell erhofft sich die Forschung Resultate aus der umfassenden Namensammlung des Projektes „Nomen et Gens“ (Goetz 2006: 331; Kampers 2002).

Es kann angenommen werden, dass bereits zu Beginn des 6. Jhs. n. Chr. die Oberschicht ethnisch gesprochen gemischt war und die Träger eines romanischen Personennamens sich in Bildung und Kultur kaum von jenen eines germanischen Personennamens unterschieden (Amory 1994: 28f.). Personennamen sind keine starren Gebilde, sie sind nicht an die ethnische Herkunft ihrer Namensträger gebunden. Personennamen können von Personen anderer Schichten oder anderer Herkunft übernommen, im Verlaufe der Zeit abgeändert, Moden unterworfen oder auch im Verlaufe eines einzigen Lebens geändert werden.

Die Grabinschrift des Thoctebadus

Ab der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. n. Chr. treten im Rhonegebiet Grabinschriften und Epitaphe mit germanischen Personennamen auf. Solche Namenzeugnisse finden sich vor allem auf der Landschaft zwischen Genf, Lyon und Valence (Martin 1995: 39). Die Inschrift, die hier behandelt wird, stammt aus der Abtei Saint-Maurice, einem wichtigen religiösen Zentrum des Burgunderreiches. Die Stellung der Abtei äussert sich in ihrer Inschriftenproduktion. Die

³ Der Begriff Vulgärlatein ist problematisch, da er in der Forschung verschieden verwendet wird und in sich schon fragwürdig ist, denn der Begriff Vulgärlatein verweist auf eine mündliche Sprache, die jedoch nur über schriftliche Quellen zugänglich ist (Schmitt 2006: 656).

Abtei Saint-Maurice ist bekannt für ihre Vielzahl von überlieferten Inschriften, welche gerade auch im 6. Jh. n. Chr. eine hohe Qualität aufweisen (Koch 2007: 63).

Die hier vorgestellte Inschrift beinhaltet, dass unter ihr eine Person namens *Thoctebadus* ruht.⁴ Sie befindet sich auf einer Platte aus Serizitmarmor, deren ursprüngliche Grösse nicht rekonstruiert werden kann (80x29x? cm). Ebenso sind die Fundumstände, also der ursprüngliche Fundort und das genaue Funddatum, unbekannt. Es wird angenommen, dass die Platte bei den Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1896–1906 beim Kloster Saint-Maurice gefunden wurde und sich darauf im Turmmuseum der Abtei befand. Seit 1948 ist die Platte in der Eingangshalle der Abtei ausgestellt. Die Inschrift ist sehr kurz. Angaben zum Verstorbenen, zu seiner Herkunft oder sozialen Stellung wie auch zu seinem Alter fehlen. Auch sind keine Stifter genannt, die das Grab und die Inschrift widmen, ebenso fehlt eine Datumsangabe. Die Datierung in das 6. Jh. n. Chr. stützt sich auf Schrift, Formular und die Namenform. Letztere wirft jedoch einige Fragen auf, wie anschliessend noch diskutiert wird. Die Kapitalis ist regelmässig und schlank ausgeführt und zeigt eine starke Dreiecksporenbildung an den Enden der Hasten und Balken. Die Inschrift lautet:

SVB HVNC TITVLO//REQVIESCIT//B(ONAE) M(EMORIAE) THOCTEBA//DVS

Übersetzung: Unter dieser Grabinschrift ruht Thoctebadus seligen Angedenkens.

Grabsteine und ihre Inschriften sind im Frühmittelalter Ausdruck der römischen Tradition der Oberschicht (Heidrich 1968: 169). Das Auftreten von germanischen Personennamen innerhalb dieser Inschriftengattung kann zweifach gedeutet werden. Entweder handelt es sich um romanisierte Germanen oder aber um germanisierte Romanen, wenn angenommen wird, dass ein Romane einen germanischen Personennamen trägt. Die vorliegende Inschrift lässt keinen Rückschluss auf die ethnische Identität des verstorbenen Namensträgers zu, da keine Angaben zu dieser Person überliefert sind.

Das Latein der Inschrift weist im Eingangsforumular *sub hunc titulo* Abweichungen zum klassischen Latein auf. Hier vermischen sich Akkusativ- und Ablativformen, bedingt durch den Schwund des auslautenden *-m* in der Aussprache. Dieser Schwund führt in der Schrift zu einer regelrechten Unsicherheit und – wie hier besonders gut ersichtlich – Kombination der Formen (Stotz 1998: 58).

Der Name *Thoctebadus* ist deutlich zu lesen und das Zweitglied kann eindeutig germ. **badwa-* m. ‘Kampf’ zugeordnet werden. Die Endung ist latinisiert wiedergegeben. Ungeklärter Herkunft ist das Erstglied des Namens *Thoctebadus*. Es wurde vorgeschlagen, den Namen mit den Personennamen *Droctebadus* und *Droctebodes* in Beziehung zu setzen (CIMAH I: Nr. 12). Der Anschluss daran erfolgt unter der Annahme, dass in der vorliegenden Grabinschrift der Liquid *r* im Erstglied des Namens *Thoctebadus* ausgefallen sei. Das Erstglied würde somit zum *ti*-Abstraktum germ. **druhti-* f. ‘Gefolge, Schar’ gehören, dieses liegt in verschiedenen germanischen Personennamen, so im ostgotischen Personennamen *Droctarius*, vor (Francovich Onesti 2008: 268). Gehört das Erstglied des

⁴ Die Wiedergabe der Inschrift, ihre Übersetzung und allgemeine Angaben stammen aus CIMAH I, Kat.-Nr. 12, S. 60f. Eine Abbildung der Inschrift findet sich im dazu erschienenen Tafelband: Tafel 6, Figur 11.

Namens *Thoctebadus* zu diesem Etymon, ist es jedoch sehr auffällig, dass der Liquid *r* nicht verschriftet oder als <h> verschriftet wurde. Ist der Liquid *r* irrtümlicherweise als <h> wiedergegeben, ist Folgendes zu bedenken: Wie im Frühmittelalter eine Inschrift hergestellt wurde, ist nicht bekannt. Es kann aber angenommen werden, dass die antiken Traditionen im Wesentlichen weitergeführt wurden. Demnach wurde die Inschrift von einem Ordinator aufgrund einer Vorlage auf den Stein vorgemalt, worauf der Steinmetz die Inschrift einhaute (Koch 2007: 33). Die Vorlage war in der Regel in Kursivschrift geschrieben. Im vorliegenden Fall wäre also ein kursives <r> als <h> gelesen worden, was nicht sehr wahrscheinlich ist, da die beiden Buchstaben sich in der Kursivschrift in der Bauweise ziemlich von einander unterscheiden.

Denkbar ist auch, dass das inschriftliche TH einen Dental wiedergibt und der Liquid *r* aus Versehen nicht verschriftet worden ist. Eine solche Verschreibung ist nicht völlig auszuschliessen, die Inschriftausführung macht aber sonst einen sorgfältigen Eindruck. Unwahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht ganz auszuschliessen, ist als weitere Möglichkeit, dass der Ausfall des *r* mit der Aussprache in Zusammenhang stehen könnte. So wurde in der Verbindung [tr] der Liquid von lateinischen Sprechern relativ schwach ausgesprochen. Zeugnisse für diesen dissimilatorischen Schwund stammen aber erst aus dem Hochmittelalter (Stotz 1996: 277). Im Übrigen zeigen alle anderen belegten Personennamen, die mit *Dr-* anlauten, den Liquiden, also auch die postulierten etymologisch verwandten *Droctebod* u. ä. (Reichert 1987: 238-240). Das inschriftliche TH steht daher kaum für *Dr-*. Ein Ausfall des Liquiden *r* kann nur ungenügend erklärt werden, es sind einige Zusatzannahmen nötig. Das Erstglied des Namens *Thoctebadus* kann also nicht zu germ. **druhti-* ‘Gefolge, Schar’ gestellt werden. Die Anlautkombination <Th> gibt viel eher einen Dental wieder. Bevor dieser Anlaut geklärt wird, blicken wir auf die Lautfolge dahinter, auf das inschriftliche OCTE.

Die germanische Lautfolge *-ūht* entspricht der romanischen *-oct* (Kaufmann 1968: 99). Der germanische Kurzvokal wurde gedehnt und geschlossen. Ebenso kann germ. **ht*, also die Kombination aus Reibelaut und stimmlosem dentalen Plosiv als <ct> erscheinen. In frühen altenglischen Quellen stellt die Graphie <ct> gar die normale Wiedergabe von germ. **ht* dar (Seiler 2014: 163). Auch in Personennamen ist diese Graphie belegt, wie etwa im Namen *Mactaric* mit dem Erstglied zu germ. **mahti-* f. ‘Macht’ (Reichert 1990: 565).

Das in der Fuge belegte <e> entspricht einem unbetontem *i*. In der Spätantike verlor die Unterscheidung nach Länge und Kürze der lateinischen Vokale an Bedeutung und die Aussprache der Vokale verfärbte sich. So wurde beispielsweise der Langvokal *ē* sehr geschlossen ausgesprochen und näherte sich somit einem *i* (Tagliavini 1998: 184; Väänänen 1981: 29f.). Dies äussert sich in der Schrift, <e> und <i> geraten durcheinander (Stotz 1996: 34f.). Eine Umsetzung von <e> anstelle von <i> ist hier beim auslautenden Vokal des Erstgliedes <Thocte> geschehen. Zwar weist die Inschrift sonst keine solche vulgärlateinische Umsetzung auf, wie *requiescit* in der zweiten Zeile belegt, dennoch ist gerade bei einem Personennamen nicht-romanischer Herkunft eine solche möglich. Ausserdem bezeugt die Inschrift in der Eingangsformel die Unsicherheit des Schreibers bezüglich Graphie und Aussprache.

Somit handelt es sich beim Erstglied des Namens *Thoctebadus* um ein germanisches ti-Abstraktum, das mit einem Dental anlautet. Germanische Dentale sind: **p*, *t*, *d*. Folgende Lexeme könnten zugrunde liegen:

- germ. †*Puhti*-
- germ. **tuhti*- f. ‘Ziehen, Zucht’
- germ. **duhti*- f. ‘Tüchtigkeit, Kraft’

Die Kombination <th> steht anlautend in der Regel für ein germanisches **p* (vgl. z. B. *Theoderic*) (Reichert 1987: 671). Im vorliegenden Fall ist dies aber nicht anzunehmen. Es ist kein entsprechendes ti-Abstraktum in den germanischen Tochtersprachen belegt, womit germ. †*Puhti*- ausscheidet.

Daneben bietet es sich an, den Anlaut als Verschriftung von germ.**t* zu sehen, wofür es Belege gibt (siehe beispielsweise *Thotila* zu germ. **tōt*-) (Reichert 1987: 707). Das Appellativum germ. **tuhti*- f. ‘Ziehen, Zucht’ ist in den germanischen Einzelsprachen gut belegt, so auch im Althochdeutschen als *zuht* f. ‘Unterhalt, Nahrung, Erziehung, Zucht’ oder im Gotischen *us-tauhts* f. ‘Ausführung, Vollendung’. Es handelt sich um eine deverbative Ableitung zu germ. **teuhanan* ‘ziehen, erziehen, führen’ (Orel 2003: 411; Kroonen 2013: 515 und 525). Es sind keine parallelen Personennamen bezeugt, aber germ. **tuhti*- f. würde zu der semantischen Bildungsweise der germanischen Personennamen passen. Es ist denkbar, dass beim Namen *Thoctebadus* germ. **tuhti*- f. ‘Ziehen, Zucht’ vorliegt, noch plausibler ist es aber, das inschriftlich bezeugte THOCTE mit germ. **duhti*- f. ‘Tüchtigkeit, Kraft’ zu interpretieren, denn es finden sich parallel gebildete germanische Personennamen.

Germ. **duhti*- f. ist ein ti-Abstraktum zu germ. **dugan* ‘nützlich sein’ ein Verb, das zu der Klasse der Präterito-Präsens gehört. In dieser Klasse finden sich auch die Verben germ. **mugan* ‘vermögen, fähig sein’ und germ. **aigan* ‘besitzen’. Mit den von ihnen abgeleiteten ti-Abstrakta germ. **mahti*- f. ‘Stärke’ respektive germ. **aihti*- f. ‘Besitz’ wurden Personennamen gebildet: *Mactaric*, *Mactichild* (Reichert 1987: 482) und *Aigttheus* < **Aihtbewaz* (Haubrichs 2006: 301). Wie in diesen Namen liegt also auch bei *Thoctebad* zu germ. **Duhtibad* ein solches ti-Abstraktum vor. Germ. **duhti*- f. ‘Tüchtigkeit, Kraft’ passt zu der kriegerischen Semantik, welche germanische Personennamen aufweisen.

Einzuwenden ist, dass Personennamen, welche mit germ. **d* anlauten in der Regel nicht mit <Th> geschrieben werden (Reichert 1987: 231-241). Dennoch kann hier nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass der Anlaut auf ein **d*- zurückgeht. Die Kombination <th> ist seit der Antike in griechischen oder vermeintlich griechischen Wörtern und Namen für griechisches Teta bezeugt (Stotz 2011: 135). Und so erschien der Name *Thoctebadus* wohl auch dem Schreiber fremd, was in der speziellen Markierung des Anlautes zum Ausdruck kommt. Dasselbe wurde auch für einen Namen angenommen, der im 9. Jh. n. Chr. in den *Traditiones Corbeienses* (§ 234) belegt ist. Ein Zeuge einer Schenkung an das Kloster Korvey trägt den Namen *Throitbold* für *Droitbold* (Kaufmann 1968: 99f.). Auch hier wurde germ. **d* als <Th> verschriftet. Es ist also plausibel, THOCTE zu germ. **duhti*- f. ‘Tüchtigkeit, Kraft’ zu stellen.

Dies gilt auch, wenn man eine romanisch-germanische Hybridform in Betracht zieht und das Erstglied des Personennamens *Thoctebadus* romanisch zu erklären versucht. Im 9.

Jh. n. Chr. gibt es auf gallischem Gebiet Personennamen, welche als Erstglied ein *Duct-* oder *Doct-* aufweisen. Es handelt sich um Namen wie *Doctiricus* oder *Ductefredus*, deren Erstglied bisher als romanisch erklärt wurde (Morlet 1968: 76). Damit würde es sich beim Namen *Thoctebadus* um eine hybride Bildung handeln, deren Erstglied mit lat. *dux* ‘Führer, Anführer’ und lat. *ductus* ‘Zug, Führung’ verwandt wäre. Diese Erklärung überzeugt nicht vollends, da es sich um eine Partizipbildung handeln würde und *Thocte-* die Bedeutung ‘der Gezogene’ hätte. Die erläuterten germanischen *ti-*Abstrakta passen semantisch einiges besser.

Ebenso scheiden andere romanische Wurzeln aus, wenn man einen weiteren Lautwandel in Betracht zieht. Das Graphem <o> kann eine monophthongierte Form von [au] wiedergeben. Dabei handelt es sich um einen romanischen Lautwandel, der seit der Antike anzutreffen ist und im altfranzösischen bereits abgeschlossen ist (Rheinfelder 1968: 33f.). Eine lateinische Rekonstruktion †*dauct-* oder †*tauct-* ist ohne Grundlage und daher nicht anzunehmen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es aber auch denkbar, dass ein germanischer Diphthong **au* als <o> wiedergegeben wurde. Demnach würde es sich also um eine germanische Wurzel handeln, welche beispielsweise mit **tau-* anlauten würde. Auch solche Fälle sind unwahrscheinlich, da keine entsprechende *ti-*Abstrakta belegt sind.

Dem Erstglied des Personennamens *Thoctebadus* liegt wohl das *ti-*Abstraktum germ. **duhti-* f. ‘Tüchtigkeit, Kraft’ zugrunde. Zusatzannahmen, wie sie für den Anschluss an Namen wie *Droctebadus* nötig sind, fallen weg. Germ. **duhti-* f. passt in die Wortfelder Herrschaft, Kampf und Krieg, welche sich in germanischen Personennamen finden. Zudem hat dieses *ti-*Abstraktum Parallelen in der Personennamenbildung. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass das Erstglied des Namens *Thoctebadus* stark romanisiert wiedergegeben wurde (germ. **uhti* als <octe>) und der Anlaut TH die Unsicherheit des Schreibers bezeugt.

Schlussbemerkungen

Die hier behandelte Grabinschrift zeigt exemplarisch, wie in romanischem Umfeld mit germanischen Personennamen umgegangen wurde. Die Inschrift ist ein Zeugnis der Verschmelzung verschiedener Traditionen. Die Inschrift an sich zeugt von der kulturellen Assimilation. War der Träger des Namens *Thoctebadus* germanischer Herkunft, so stand ihm die romanische Kultur und Religion, welche in Saint-Maurice im 6. Jh. n. Chr. wichtig blieb, offen. Thoctebadus scheint eindeutig in die romanischen kirchlichen Traditionen integriert gewesen zu sein, wie die Grabinschrift als solche bezeugt. Stammte Thoctebadus aus romanischem Geschlecht, wäre dies ein Indiz für eine Namenübernahme. Beide Hypothesen lassen sich nicht weiter ausführen, da über die Person Thoctebadus sonst keine Nachrichten bekannt sind und auch die Inschrift selber keine weiteren Informationen liefert. Es kann einzig die Aussage gemacht werden, dass Thoctebadus aus der Oberschicht des 6. Jhs. n. Chr. stammte.

Auch auf sprachlicher Ebene zeigt sich die Verschmelzung. Die Inschrift ist auf Lateinisch verfasst und enthält den germanischen Personennamen *Thoctebadus*. Während das bekannte Zweitglied des Namens lediglich lateinisch flektiert wird, weist das Erstglied einige sprachliche Interferenzen auf. Das inschriftliche OCTE steht für germ. **uhti*, TH steht

wohl für germ. **d* oder **t*. Eine Romanisierung des Erstgliedes ist also im Anlaut, Inlaut und in der Fuge festzustellen.

Typisch burgundische Elemente auf morphologischer Ebene sind nicht vorhanden, da der Name nicht germanisch flektiert wird. Gehört germ. **badwa-* m. ‘Kampf’ zu den typischen burgundischen Namensgliedern, läge hier ein Hinweis auf das Burgundische vor. Allenfalls ist das Vorderglied des Namens *Thoctebadus* ostgermanisch. Gehört es zu germ. **duhti-* f. ‘Tüchtigkeit, Kraft’, kann es mit den parallel gebildeten Namen *Agittheus* und *Mactaric* in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Die Grabinschrift des Thoctebadus bezeugt das Fortführen der romanischen Traditionen und des Handwerks, die schlanke Kapitalis mit Sporenbildung steht für die neuen Einflüsse und Weiterentwicklung der Traditionen. Bezeichnend ist auch der Fundort Saint-Maurice, welcher politisch gesehen im 6. Jh. n. Chr. wichtig war.

Zuletzt sei daran erinnert, dass germanische Namen erst ab Ende des 5. Jh. n. Chr. im Rhoneraum inschriftlich bezeugt sind und im 6. Jh. in Chr. innerhalb von Grabinschriften und Epitaphen die Minderheit gegenüber den lateinischen Namen darstellen. Der Name *Thoctebadus* gehört zu den ältesten germanischen Zeugnissen auf dem Boden der heutigen Schweiz.

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Revision of the Finnish Name-Day Calendar

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Abstract

Finland is one of those European countries where the custom of celebrating name-days is widespread today. This custom is secular by nature, but it has its roots in the medieval Calendar of Saints. After the Reformation, hundreds of new names have been accepted to the Finnish almanac, and many have been removed. Nowadays, the Finnish name-day calendar is revised every fifth year, based on the popularity of names. Other factors, linguistic and cultural, are also taken into account.

This paper analyses the latest revision of the Finnish name-day calendar, which was published for the Finnish media in August 2013. In 2015, 39 new names will be added to the Finnish almanac. Some of these are Finnish-language names, e.g. the girls' name Taika 'magic', or the boys' name Sisu 'persistence'. Many of the new names have Biblical origin, e.g. Annu (< Anna), Isabella (< Elisabet), Sarita (< Sara); Kimi (< Joakim), Luka, Nooa, and Paulus. Other international names are represented by Isla, Kiira, Mimosa, Vanessa; Hugo, Milo, Noel and Robin. This paper analyses all these new names and their origins. The criteria for the choice of names, and their placement in the calendar, shall be discussed as well.

“Der muss ja auch zum Alter passen” - Zur Alters- und Geschlechtskodierung am Rufnamen beim Namenwechsel von Transgendern

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Abstract

Sowohl Noah als auch Rolf sind im Deutschen verbreitete Männernamen - auch wenn sie in ihrer Lautstruktur kaum unterschiedlicher sein könnten: Noah vokalreich mit vokalischem Auslaut, Rolf einsilbig, mit Frikativ im Auslaut und hohem Konsonantenanteil. Bei genauerer Betrachtung fällt auf, dass die Häufigkeit der beiden Namen im Zeitschnitt große Unterschiede aufweist. So war Rolf fast ausschließlich in den 1940er Jahren unter den Favoriten der Jungennamen, Noah erfreut sich dagegen vor allem im neuen Jahrtausend zunehmender Beliebtheit. In beiden Namen spiegeln sich die präferierten phonologischen Muster zur Geschlechtskodierung der jeweiligen Zeit wider, sodass auch Laien erstaunlich präzise Alterseinschätzungen vornehmen können, wie die Arbeiten von Rudolph/Spörrle (1999) und Rudolph/Böhm/Lummer (2007) zeigen.

Dieser Schnittstelle zwischen Namenphonologie, Alter und Geschlecht widmet sich der Vortrag. Anliegen ist es, die Interdependenzen von Alter und Geschlecht in deutschen Rufnamen darzustellen. Diese sollen am Beispiel der Namenwahl von Transgendern aufgezeigt werden. Anhand von qualitativen Interviews soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, welchen Einfluss das Alter zum Zeitpunkt der Geschlechtstransition auf die Namenwahl hat. Hier ist zu vermuten, dass die jeweilige Peergroup starken Einfluss auf die Entscheidung für den neuen Namen hat, dass also Namen gewählt werden, die in der eigenen Generation geläufig sind, um ein unauffälliges Aufgehen in der neuen Genderrolle zu ermöglichen. Jedoch ist auch das Gegenteil denkbar, nämlich ein Up- oder Downgraden des Namenalters, um mit dem Wechsel der Geschlechterrolle auch auf anderen Ebenen eine soziale Neupositionierung vorzunehmen.

Comparative Study of the 100 Most Frequent Russian, French, German and British Surnames

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Abstract

This paper presents a contrastive study of the 100 most frequent Russian, French German and British surnames. The aim of the study is to elaborate and evaluate name-based materials for four countries in the form of statistical data, then to analyse and confront surname percentages in order to determine their naming patterns and name giving properties.

* * *

Introduction

Through a variety of means names express the identity of a society (Shokhenmayer 2009: 83). Not only from a historical perspective, but also from a statistical point of view, they give evidence of valuable non-linguistic information on cultural, social, economic and other levels. So-called *surnames* or *family names* represent a particularly interesting group of names which are to be found throughout Europe. From the number and the dwelling place of people bearing definite surnames we can speculate over the diffusion of certain traditions, crafts, activities, interests, and thus in some degree recreate the structure of medieval societies. A lot of names, regions, occupations and local crafts fell into oblivion, but the information on their former value is well encoded in onomastic evidence, mostly in surnames, as well as in their statistics.

In regard to surnames studies, the situation is more than just confusing. Although European onomasticons are ones of the most complex, numerous and varied in the entire world, they have received much less attention in the context of frequency analysis. There had been a lot of investigations on the origin of names in a concrete area or town, but all of them have been done from the historical perspective (Nölle-Hornkamp 1992, McClure 2010).

On the basis of the 20 most frequent surnames in various European countries, Brozović Rončević (2004: 168-169) clearly shows different traditions in naming patterns: for example, in Hungary 8 surnames derive from professions, in England – 5, in France – 2, in Italy – 1, in Sweden, Norway and Denmark – 0 and in Germany – 17.

Of course, we must admit that an analysis of the most frequent surnames may be likened to the observation of the ‘tip of the iceberg’, but, however, they may be illustrative and shed light on some specific details. It is a well-known fact that the most frequent surnames are of polyphyletic origins. The typical polyphyletic surnames, alternatively to the monophyletic ones, have dozens or hundreds of genetic sources of the surname where

hundreds or thousands unrelated men used a surname based on common trades, occupations, activities, clans or topographic terms. In this regard, Manni points out that it can be easily shown that the etymologies of the first 100 most frequent surnames are ‘very similar’ in European countries: ‘this datum reflects the similar natural and social environment of Europe, and implies the polyphyletic origins of corresponding patronymic markers’ (2005: 223). For our part, we set as a goal to clarify to what extent the meanings, or so to say name-driven motives, are to be similar in European countries.

Therefore, the establishment of a contrastive study of the 100 most frequent Russian, French German and British surnames is reasoned by the singular situation of their onomasticons: for although they have much in common with the rest of neighbouring communities in the essential linguistic system due to their genetic relationship and cultural affinity, their surnames subsist in and have originated within very different historical and social circumstances. The intention here is, first, to compare percentages of motivation surname groups from each country, second, to note similarities and differences between them and, third, to discuss results.

German Surnames

In 2002, Lüderitz (cited in Marynisson and Nübling 2010: 314) has demonstrated by comparing the 100 most frequent German and Danish family names that surnames share of two Germanic-speaking countries differ considerably:

	Denmark			Germany		
Motive	Rank	Surnames %	Bearer %	Rank	Surnames %	Bearer %
Patronymic	1	65	92	3	22	14
Topographic	2	25	5.3	4	10	5
Nicknames	3	6	1	2	24	20
Occupational	4	4	2	1	44	61

Table 1. Percentage of motivation name types for the 100 most frequent German and Danish surnames

We may conclude that, for instance, German occupational surnames within the national onomasticon represent one of the richest and highest Europe-wide percentage. Let us represent German data in the form of a diagram:



Fig. 1. Motive-related percentage of German surnames

Percentage Variability Depending on Surnames' Quantity

In order to relativize these data, we shall plot a percentage 'curve' of above-mentioned groups by points according to various numbers of surnames.

In 2007, Farø and Kürschner (cited in Marynisson and Nübling 2010: 315), having criticized the latter research for the unrepresentative method of sampling, examined 1,000 surnames in Germany and Denmark respectively. But, to ensure the homogeneous geographical spread, all transparent surnames (those of foreign origin and obscure etymology have been filtered out) assigned to typical street names throughout the countries – *Lindenstraße 30* and *Kirkevej 5* – have been selected from the phone directories. The results differ from the 100 most frequent surnames considerably: this time occupational names (*Berufsnamen*) in Germany amounted to 25% instead of 44%, patronymic names (*Rufnamen*) to 33% instead of 22%, nicknames (*Übernamen*) to 18% instead of 24% and topographic names (*Herkunftsnamen* + *Wohnstättennamen*) to 29% instead of 10%.

Marynisson and Nübling (2010) compared the 200 most frequent surnames in Germany, the Netherlands and Flanders and revealed their naming motives as follows:

Rank	Flanders		The Netherlands		Germany	
1	Patronymic	40.0%	Topographic	41.7%	Occupational	34.16%
2	Topographic	32.4 %	Occupational	25.9%	Patronymic	32.33%
3	Occupational	18.1%	Patronymic	22.5%	Nicknames	22.25%
4	Nicknames	9.5%	Nicknames	9.92%	Topographic	11.25%

Table 2. Percentage of motivation name types for the 200 most frequent German, Dutch and Flemish surnames

Rosa and Volker Kohlheim (2001), after having analysed the 1,000 most frequent German surnames according to the phone register of 1996, found out that, besides 15% of ambiguous and 1% of foreign names, occupational surnames constitute about 20% of the most frequent family names in contrast to 35% for patronymics, nicknames – 18% and topographic surnames – 11%.

As we may conclude, these discrepancies confirm the very fact that methodologies of analysis and quantities of surnames do play a significant role for name-landscapes. The percentage of surnames can be summarized in the form of a diagram which reflects the share of surnames from top 10 (added by us) and top 20 (Brozović Rončević 2004) through top 100 (Lüderitz 2002) and top 200 (Marynisson and Nübling 2010) to top 1000a (Farø and Kürschner 2007) and top 1000b (Kohlheim and Kohlheim 2001):

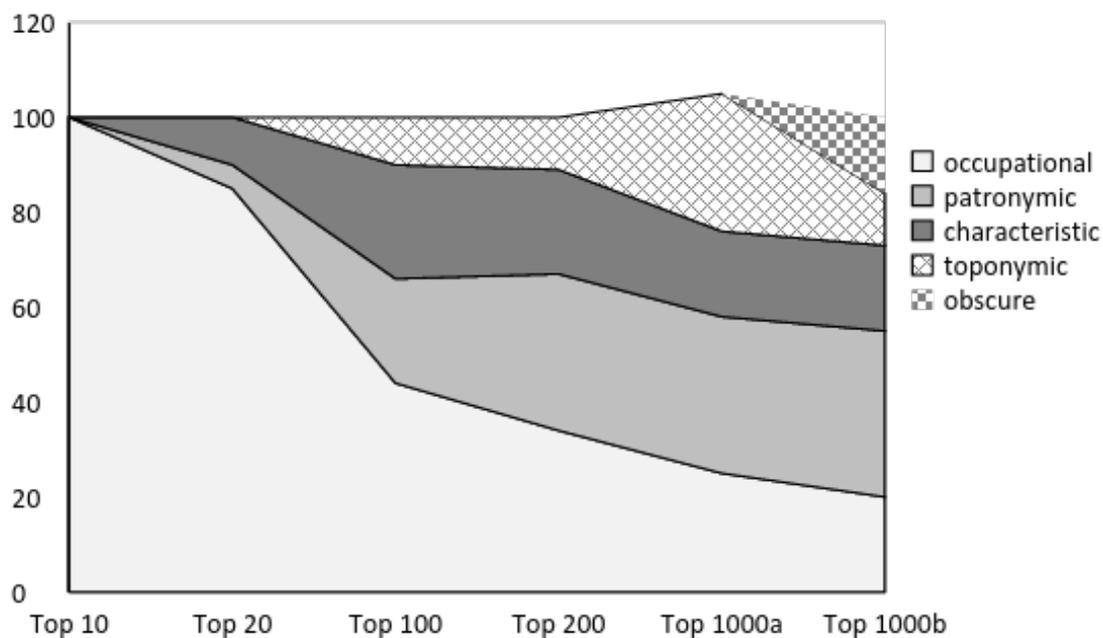


Fig.2. Percentage of motivation name types for German surnames from top 10 to top 1000

French Surnames

French surnames were first used in the 11th century to distinguish people who had the same given name, but surnames for all did not become common until centuries later. French surnames developed from four major sources: patronymic, occupational, characteristic and geographic surnames. A patronymic surname is the most common category of French last names.

Marie-Odile Mergnac numbers (2000: 68) 46% of patronyms (*noms de baptême*), 20% of occupational surnames (*noms de métier*), 18% of nicknames (*noms de caractéristiques physiques ou morales*) and 11% of topographic surnames (*noms de lieux*). Let's recheck these amounts. The onomastic data of births between 1891 and 1990 from the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies are available on the websites Geopatryme (n.d.) and Genealogie (n.d.), and others. In order to be objective, we shall categorize one surname of various origins into the relevant graphs. In so doing, we have classified 105 proprial lemmas of 100 surnames (see Table 3).

Meanings of patronymic surnames can be described in terms of origin and history of French culture: 20 surnames are of Germanic origin (*Bernard*), which reflects the Frankish background of early *Francia*; 10 Latin names are reminders of the parental relationship of French and Latin languages (*Laurent*); 8 surnames of Hebrew origin refer to ecclesiastic name giving traditions in the Middle Ages (*Thomas*); 5 Greek names tell us about the general Hellenistic influence (*Nicolas*); 5 surnames of Spanish origin are surely related to the common border between Spain and France and to the Provençal South (*Martinez*); one Basque name (*Garcia*) in the top 100 is to be explained by the French Basque Country with 262,000 inhabitants (1999 census).

Among 22 occupational surnames, five denote forging (*Lefe(b)vre*, *Faure*, *Schmitt*, *Fabre*), three – clerical activities (*Leclerc(q)*, *Lemaire*), two – bakery (*Fournier*), milling (*Meunier*), trading (*Mercier*), status estate (*Chevalier*), military (*Lacroix*), and one – farming (*Meyer*), shepherding (*Boyer*), wagon-making (*Caron*), hairdressing (*Barbier*) and religious occupation (*Lemoine*).

As for toponymic surnames, seven refer to natural landscape (*Dubois*), four – to artefacts (*Dumas*) and only one – to a regional toponym (*Picard*).

In respect to nicknames, eleven surnames characterize a set of colours (*Rousseau*) and qualitative attributes (*Bonnet*) respectively, and two describe the size of a person (*Legrand*).

Name Groups	Patronyms	Occupational surnames	Toponyms	Nicknames
Surnames	Martin1, Bernard2, Thomas4, Robert5, Richard6, Simon11, Laurent12, Michel14, Garcia15, David16, Bertrand17, Vincent19, Girard22, André23, Lambert27, François29, Martinez30, Garnier32, Guérin36, Henry38, Nicolas40, Perrin41, Mathieu43, Clement44, Gauthier45, Lopez47, Robin50, Masson51, Sanchez52, Gérard53, Denis56, Gautier60, Roger61, Noel64, Lucas66, Jean68, Perez69, Marie73, Colin80, Fernandez8, Pierre82, Renard83, Arnaud84, Rolland85, Aubert87, Giraud88, Vidal90, Renaud92, Philippe96	Lefebvre13, Fournier20, Lefevre24, Mercier25, Faure33, Müller37, Chevalier49, Boyer55, Lemaire57, Meyer65, Meunier67, Marchand70, Dufour71, Barbier74, Schmitt78, Caron86, Leclerc89, Bourgeois91, Lemoine93, Leclercq97, Lacroix98, Fabre99	Dubois3, Dupont26, Dumont46, Fontaine48, Duval58, Roche62, Dumas76, Pierre82, Picard94, Lacroix98, Dupuis100	Petit7, Durand8, Leroy9, Moreau10, Roux18, Morel21, Bonnet28, Legrand31, Rousseau34, Blanc35, Rousset39, Morin42, Lopez47, Nguyen54, Joly59, Roy63, Blanchard72, Brun75, Brunet77, Leroux79, Renard83, Lemoine93, Gaillard95

Table 3. Categorization of the 100 most frequent French surnames with corresponding ranks

The chart of these results may be presented in the form of a diagram as follows:

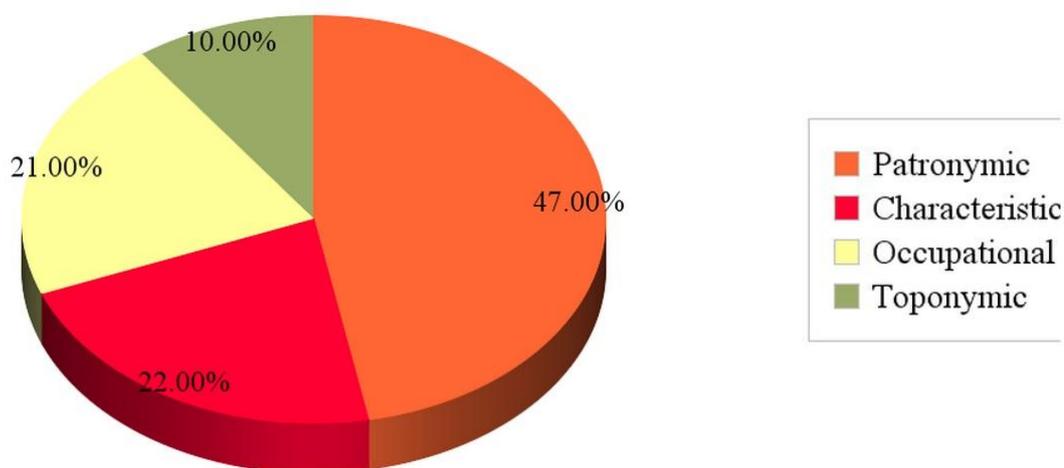


Fig. 3. Motive-related percentage of French surnames

Russian Surnames

Zhuravlev from the V.V. Vinogradov Russian Language Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences collected top 500 of the most frequent Russian surnames (Журавлев 2005). The classification of the first hundred is presented below (see Table 4).

As we may conclude, the majority of Russian surnames (60%) are formed from personal names (*Sergeyev* – Sergey’s son, *Vasilyev* – Vasily’s son, etc.). Among 33 nicknames, 19 originate from names of animals, birds, insects and plants (*Lebedev* – the possessive adjective from *лебедь*, ‘swan’; *Korovin* – the possessive adjective from *корова*, ‘cow’; etc.), which have long ago been used as additional personal names; ten reflect appearances or inherent properties and four denote colours. Eight surnames have their origin in people’s professions and crafts (*Kuznetsov* – Smith’s son). And only the surname *Polyakov* refers to a toponym (*Pole*, from *Poland*).

Name Groups	Patronyms	Occupational surnames	Toponyms	Nicknames
Surnames	Иванов1, Васильев5, Петров6, Михайлов8, Фёдоров10, Морозов11, Алексеев13, Семенов15, Егоров16, Павлов17, Степанов19, Николаев20, Андреев22, Макаров23, Никитин24, Захаров25, Борисов28, Яковлев29, Григорьев30, Романов31, Сергеев33, Кузьмин34, Фролов35, Александров36, Дмитриев37, Ильин41, Максимов42, Антонов49, Тарасов50, Филиппов53, Давыдов55,	Кузнецов3, Попов4, Новиков9, Ковалев46, Мельников69, Казаков73, Коновалов92, Пономарев97	Поляков43	Смирнов2, Соколов7, Новиков9, Морозов11, Волков12, Лебедев14, Козлов18, Орлов21, Зайцев26, Соловьев27, Воробьев32, Королев38, Гусев39, Киселев40, Сорокин44, Виноградов45, Белов47, Медведев48, Жуков5, Баранов52, Комаров54, Беяев56, Крылов65, Куликов66, Чернов79, Щербаков84, Калинин86, Чернышев88, Быков89, Маслов90,

	Герасимов57, Богданов58, Осипов59, Сидоров60, Матвеев61, Титов62, Марков63, Миронов64, Карпов67, Власов68, Денисов70, Гаврилов71, Тихонов72, Афанасьев74, Данилов75, Савельев76, Тимофеев77, Фомин78, Абрамов80, Мартынов81, Ефимов82, Федотов83, Назаров85, Исаев 87, Родионов91, Лазарев93, Климов95, Филатов96, Прохоров100			Воронин94, Голубев98, Кудрявцев99
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Table 4. Categorization of the 100 most frequent Russian surnames with corresponding ranks
 The chart of these results may be visualized in the form of a diagram as follows:

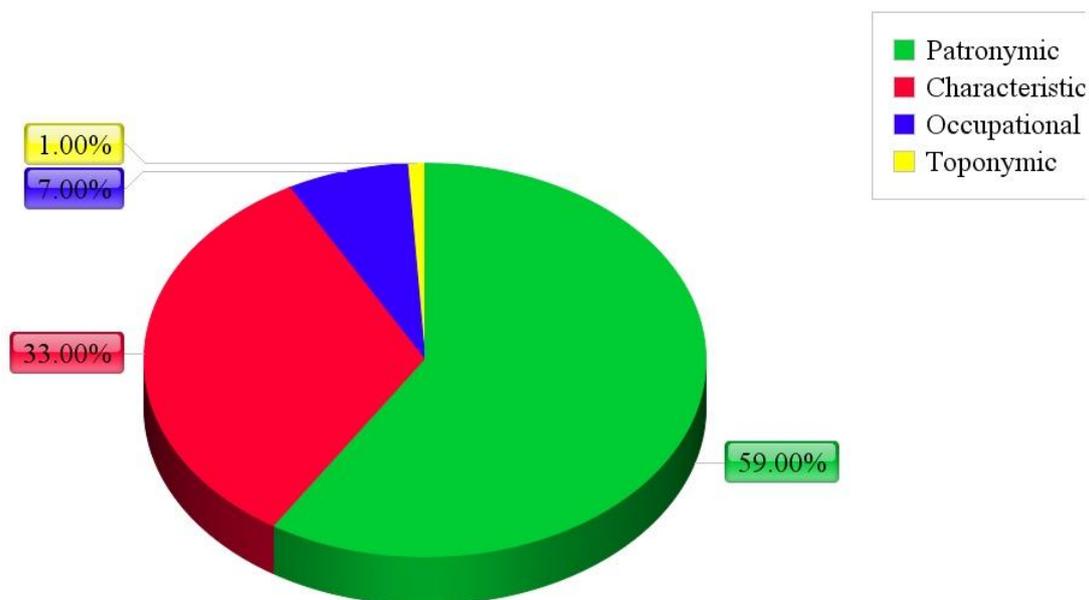


Fig. 4. Motive-related percentage of Russian surnames

British surnames

The onomastic data of UK are available on such websites as So Feminine (n.d.), British Surnames (n.d.), and others. Because of different theories of the origins of these surnames, we have classified 123 proprial lemmas for 100 surnames:

Name Groups	Patronyms	Occupational surnames	Toponyms	Nicknames
Surnames	Jones2, Williams4, Davies6, Evans7, Wilson8, Thomas9, Roberts10, Johnson11, Lewis12, Robinson14, Thompson16, Watson18, Jackson19, Harris22, Martin26, James2, Edwards31, Harrison35, Morris38, Ward40, Phillips43, Mitchell44, Adams46, Anderson48, Davis54, Price56, Griffiths59, Kelly60, Simpson61, Collins63, Richardson66, Robertson72, Reynolds74, Ellis76, Richards77, Wilkinson79, Murray84, Powell85, Rogers88, Stevens89, Thomson92, Matthews93, Saunders100	Smith1, Taylor3, Walker13, Wright20, Cooper23, Clarke27, Moore33, Clark34, Hall39, Ward40, Turner41, Carter42, Patel45, Cook50, Bailey51, Parker52, Miller53, Murphy55, Bell57, Baker58, Marshall62, Chapman70, Hunt71, Stewart82, Palmer86 Hunter91, Mason96, Knight97, Butler99	Wood15, Thompson1, Green21, Lee25, Hill32, Moore33, Scott36, Hall39, Ward40, Bell57, Kelly60, Cox65, Gray68, Shaw73, Graham81, Murray84, Holmes87, Ross94	Brown5, White17, Green21, King24, Morgan29, Hughes30, Moore33, Young37, Morris38, Hall39, Turner41, Mitchell44, Campbell47, Allen49, Bell57, Collins63, Bennett64, Cox65, Fox67, Gray68, Rose69, Shaw73, Lloyd75, Ellis76, Russell78, Khan80, Reid83, Walsh90, Ross94, Owen95, Kennedy98

Table 5. Categorization of the 100 most frequent British surnames with corresponding ranks

Meanings of patronymic surnames can be described in terms of origin and history of Great Britain as well: 18 surnames are of Germanic origin which reflects its Anglo-Saxon background (*Wilson*); 15 Celtic names of Scottish, Welsh, Irish and Gaelic diaspora are a reminder of the persistence of regional naming patterns (*Evans*); 9 surnames of Hebrew origin refer to ecclesiastic name giving traditions in the Middle Ages (*Jones*); 3 Greek names tell us about the general Hellenistic influence of Renaissance period (*Phillips*); 4 surnames of Latin/French/Norman origin are surely related to the Norman Conquest (*Martin*). After it, ‘the Old English naming system gradually dissolved. Old English names became less common and were replaced by popular continental European names. The earliest surnames in England were found shortly after the Norman Conquest in 1066’ (Davies 2012: 43).

British occupational surnames reveal the picture of medieval society: forging (*Smith*), clothing (*Taylor*), white-collars (*Clark(e)*), woodwork (*Wright*), watercrafts (*Moore*), servant activities (*Bailey*), military (*Ward*), milling (*Miller*), bakery (*Baker*), trading (*Chapman*), hunting (*Hunter*), etc.

Among 18 topographic surnames, nine refer to natural landscape (*Wood*), two – to artefacts (*Bell*), four indicate some concrete settlements (*Graham, Kelly*), and two mean an area (*Scott, Murray*).

As far as nicknames are concerned, 12 of them denote a set of colours (*Brown, White, Russell*) and 20 describe some peculiar features (*Morgan, Allen, Shaw, Kennedy*).

The percentage diagram of these results looks like follows:

■ Patronymic ■ Characteristic ■ Occupational ■ Toponymic

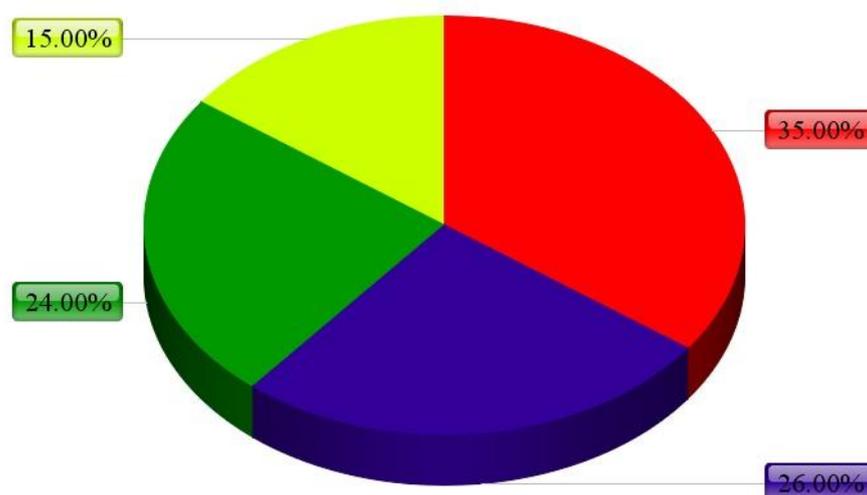


Fig. 5. Motive-related percentage of British surnames

Conclusion

Percentile proportions vary from one country to another. They depend on local history, culture and name giving traditions. The summarizing table is presented below in Table 6:

Surnames →	Russian		German		French		British	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Name type ↓								
Patronymic	1	59	3	22	1	46	1	35
Nicknames	2	33	2	24	3	18	2	26
Occupational	3	7	1	44	2	20	3	24
Toponymic	4	1	4	10	4	11	4	15

Table 6. Percentage table of Russian, German, French and British surnames

As we can observe, topographic surnames always ‘finish in the cellar’. For the latter, aside from Russian names, any natural landscape is of greater importance. Surnames based on given names, on the contrary, rank as number one for each country except for Germany where occupational surnames prevail considerably. We suggest that such an interesting detail should be explained by the impact of the Hanseatic League created in Germany of the 12th century as ‘a commercial and defensive confederation of merchant guilds and their market towns that dominated trade along the coast of Northern Europe. The Hanseatic cities had their own legal system and furnished their own armies for mutual protection and aid’ (Dollinger 1999: 15).

German occupational surnames surpass corresponding amounts in the UK or France twice, and they are six times more common than in Russia. However, several unvaried elements are to be found in all of them: family names mostly denote the metalworking (*Кузнецов, Ковалёв, Lefèvre, Schmied, Smith*) bread making (*Мельников, Baker, Fournier, Bäcker*), horse serving (*Коновалов, Chevalier, Marshall, Roßmann*) and religion (*Понов, Пономарёв, Lemoine, Bell, Palmer, Kirchner*) as pillars of the medieval society.

Almost everywhere nicknames reflect external characteristics (colour, height) and inner properties (character, livelihoods).

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Von *Hindrik* zu *Indulis*: mittelniederdeutsche Spuren in heutigen lettischen Vornamen

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Lettland

Zusammenfassung

Die Namenlandschaft Lettlands ist im 13.-16. Jahrhundert eng mit dem Einfluss der mittelniederdeutschen Sprache verbunden. Die Grundlage dieses Beitrages bilden die ältesten lettisch-deutschen Sprachkontakte und ihre Auswirkung auf die heutige Vornamengebung der Letten.

Von den etwa 1000 lettischen Kalendernamen, die die meistvergebenen Vornamen repräsentieren, ist bei zwölf Namen ihr mittelniederdeutscher Ursprung oder Vermittlungsweg nachweisbar. Das sind die Namen *Henriks*, *Everts*, *Gerda*, *Ģederts*, *Brencis*, *Indriķis*, *Jurģis*, *Tenis*, *Ints*, *Indulis*, *Ingus* und *Inta*. Sie lassen sich ungefähr nach ihren Erstbelegen in mittelalterliche (*Henriks* bis *Tenis*) und neuzeitliche (*Ints* bis *Ingus*) Entlehnungen einteilen. Bei der Analyse der (immer noch ergänzungsbedürftigen) Belegreihen, kann man schlussfolgern, dass der Name *Henriks*, obwohl im Mittelalter belegt, nicht lettisiert worden ist, was auf eine wiederholte Entlehnung im 19. oder gar 20. Jahrhundert hinweist. Bei den Namen *Everts*, *Gerda*, *Ģederts*, *Brencis*, *Indriķis*, *Jurģis* und *Tenis* sind die Belege über die Zeitperiode vom 15., bzw. 16. Jahrhundert bis zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert nachweisbar. Auch ihr Prozess der Lettisierung ist nachvollziehbar. Einige Namen waren eventuell nur im mündlichen Gebrauch und haben sich als selbständige Namen erst später etabliert. Zu solchen Namen zählen *Ints*, *Indulis*, *Ingus* und *Inta*.

Abstract

In the 13th-16th centuries, the namescape of Latvia was closely linked to the influence of the Middle Low German language. This paper deals with the oldest Latvian-German-speaking contacts and their impact on the present-day personal names of the Latvians.

Of the approximately 1,000 Latvian calendar names, those that represent the most popular names, a Middle Low German origin or development is detectable in twelve names. These are the names *Henriks*, *Everts*, *Gerda*, *Ģederts*, *Brencis*, *Indriķis*, *Jurģis*, *Tenis*, *Ints*, *Indulis*, *Ingus* and *Inta*. They can be divided roughly according to their first appearance into medieval (*Henriks* to *Tenis*) and modern (*Ints* to *Ingus*) borrowings. When analyzing the (not fully comprehensive) documentation, it can be concluded that the name *Henriks*, although recorded in the Middle Ages, had not been Latvianised, which indicates a repeated borrowing in the 19th or even 20th century. As regards the names *Everts*, *Gerda*, *Ģederts*, *Brencis*, *Indriķis*, *Jurģis* and *Tenis*, there are records for the period from the 15th or 16th century until the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, the process of their Latvianisation can be reconstructed. Some names were possibly only in oral use and only later established themselves as independent names. Such names include *Ints*, *Indulis*, *Ingus* und *Inta*.

* * *

Einleitung

Es ist praktisch unmöglich das Vornamenkorpus eines Volkes zu umfassen. Lettland hat aber einen Anhaltspunkt, der die beliebtesten lettischen Vornamen, von Vornamen anderer ethnischen Gruppen Lettlands – Russen, Ukrainern, Polen, Litauern u.a. – separat behandeln

lässt. Das ist die historisch eingebürgerte Feier der Namenstage und der dieser zugrunde liegende weltliche Kalender mit den etwa 1000 gängigsten Vornamen, deren Bestand regelmäßig erweitert wird. Aus diesen Kalendernamen – mit einer etwa 250 Jahre alten Entwicklungsgeschichte – werden den meisten lettischen Kindern ihre Vornamen gewählt, einerseits da sie wirklich großes Vornamenmaterial zur Auswahl stellen und andererseits, weil wenige ihr Kind ohne Fest, d. h., ohne Namenstag lassen wollen. Die Kalendernamen bilden das Korpus der Untersuchung. Aus diesem Material sind alle Vornamen, die niederdeutsche Spuren in sich aufweisen, exzerpiert worden.

Die Vornamen der Letten sind bis jetzt vorwiegend von Baltisten, teilweise auch von Historikern analysiert worden. Das Hauptinteresse lag bei den alten vorchristlichen und somit auch baltischen Namen (z. B., Blese 1929: 17-20, Augstkalns 1935, Siliņa-Pinķe 2014a u. a.). Auch die Namenstatistik und mit ihr verbunden auch die Modetendenzen der Vornamen im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert sind im Blickfeld der Forscher gewesen (z. B., Balode, Lawson 1998; Bušs 1985, 1999, 2003 u. a.).

Um die Frage, warum die Spuren des Mittelniederdeutschen in den lettischen Vornamen gesucht und gefunden werden können, zu beantworten, muss zuerst der Platz des Niederdeutschen, vor allem des Mittelniederdeutschen, in der Geschichte Lettlands kurz skizziert werden.

Historischer und sprachlicher Kontext

Bis zum 13. Jahrhundert hatten die Letten, damals noch die baltischen Kleinvölker Kuren, Lettgallen, Selen (oder Selonier) und Semgallen, ihr eigenes, aus dem indoeuropäischen geerbtes und weiter entwickeltes Namensystem. Man kann Parallelen zu den altindischen, germanischen und slawischen Namensystemen, wie auch dem eng verwandten litauischen Namensystem ziehen. Das Mittelniederdeutsche auf dem Territorium Lettlands ist seit dem ausgehenden 12. Jahrhundert zu verfolgen, in dem die ersten andauernden Kontakte zwischen den einheimischen baltischen, wie auch ostseefinnischen Völkern und den deutschen Kaufleuten, Missionaren und Kreuzrittern historisch belegt sind. Die Christianisierung des heutigen Territoriums Lettlands im 13. Jahrhundert wurde vorwiegend von Norddeutschland aus durchgeführt; die meisten Geistlichen und Ordensbrüder des Schwertbrüder-, späteren Livländischen Ordens, wie auch Kaufleute kamen aus Niedersachsen, Ost- und Westfalen (vgl. Benninghoven 1961: 105-107, Schmidt 1938: 2-3). Die letzten bildeten bald die höhere und mittlere gesellschaftliche Schicht der städtischen Bevölkerung. Schon 1198 oder 1201 wurde Riga, die größte und wichtigste Stadt der Region, gegründet. 1282 trat Riga dem Bund der Hanse bei. Noch weitere sieben Städte im heutigen Lettland sind im Mittelalter Mitglieder der Hanse gewesen.

Mittelniederdeutsch war also die Verkehrs- und nach der Aufgabe des Lateins seit dem 15. Jahrhundert auch die einzige Schriftsprache Landes. Sie war die Sprechsprache deutscher Einwohner Rigas und Livlands mindestens bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, in dem ein allmählicher Übergang zur frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache begann. Im mündlichen Verkehr hat das Mittelniederdeutsche länger überdauert, wurde aber auch allmählich durch das Baltendeutsch, einer auf hochdeutscher Grundlage entstandenen lokalen

Varietät mit niederdeutschen Zügen, verdrängt (Bušs 1977: 56). In den dreieinhalb bis vier Jahrhunderten ihrer Dominanz hat die mittelniederdeutsche Sprache großen Einfluss auf das Lettische ausgeübt. Viele neue Realien und Sachverhalte entstanden oder wurden in dieser Zeit eingeführt, und mit ihnen wurden auch ihre Bezeichnungen in die lettische Sprache übernommen. Auch die Taufnamen wurden als "Importware" aus Norddeutschland miteingeführt. Als solche verbreiteten sie sich unter der lettischen Bevölkerung und wurden vielen lautlichen Veränderungen unterworfen, die spezifisch lettische Rufnamen entstanden ließen. Wenn auch keine Verordnung über die Vergabe der Taufnamen bei neugetauften Völkern in dieser Zeit belegt ist, sind schon in den ersten Quellen gewisse Tendenzen zu beobachten: die Rigaer Letten sind im ausgehenden 13. und im 14. Jahrhundert sowohl mit baltischen dithematischen Namen, als auch mit christlichen Vornamen und einem lettischen Beinamen belegt, z. B., *Baldune*, *Darbeslawe*, *Sedegovde* oder *Henneke Semigallus*, *Johanne piscator Semigallus* u. a. im Rigaer Schuldbuch (1286-1352) (Benninghoven 1961: 158, 159). Für die ländliche Bevölkerung darf dieser Übergang mit einer Verzögerung von mehreren Jahrzehnten und in einigen Gegenden auch von über einem Jahrhundert angenommen werden. Es fehlen leider onomastische Forschungen über diese Zeitperiode.

Wenn in den heutigen lettischen Vornamen ihr niederdeutscher Ursprung erkannt werden kann, kann man vorsichtige Schlussfolgerungen über ihre Verbreitungszeit unter den Letten ziehen. In den besten Fällen werden diese Annahmen mit historischen Belegen begründet.

Die niederdeutschen Merkmale der Kalendernamen sind während mehreren unterschiedlichen Studien entdeckt worden. Von den zurzeit festgestellten zwölf Namen sind neun Namen deutscher Herkunft. Sie sind während der Studie der Vornamen deutscher Herkunft in Lettland entdeckt worden. Die meisten Vornamen deutscher Herkunft – etwa 100 Namen – können als überregional bezeichnet werden; identische oder sehr ähnliche Formen sind in verschiedenen deutschsprachigen Regionen belegt worden. Zwei von den analysierten Namen sind lateinischer und ein Name griechischer Herkunft. Sie wurden bei der Untersuchung lettischer Rufnamen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert entdeckt und auf ihr Vorhandensein im heutigen Kalender überprüft.

Zwölf Namen, das ist keine große Zahl, sie wäre viel größer, wenn hier alle in den historischen Quellen fixierten lettischen Namen miteinbezogen wären. Dieser Aufsatz beschränkt sich aber nur auf die heute gebräuchlichen Vornamen. In der Tabelle 1 sind diese Namen nach dem Jahr ihrer Erstbelege gruppiert. Die Quelle für die Erstbelege ist das 1990 veröffentlichte lettische Vornamenbuch von Klāvs Siliņš.

<i>Henriks</i> (1305)	<i>Jurģis</i> (1599)
<i>Everts</i> (1433)	<i>Tenis</i> (1599)
<i>Gerda</i> (1478)	<i>Ints</i> (1726)
<i>Gederts</i> (1507)	<i>Indulis</i> (1877)
<i>Brencis</i> (1520)	<i>Ingus</i> (1925)
<i>Indriķis</i> (1599)	<i>Inta</i> (?)

Tabelle 1. Vornamen mit Mittelniederdeutsch als Geber- oder Vermittlersprache im lettischen Kalender

Alle Namen sind in der heutigen lettischen Schreibung mit Endungen *-s* und *-is* für männliche und *-a* für weibliche Namen. Sie lassen sich auf den ersten Blick ungefähr nach ihren Erstbelegen in mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Entlehnungen einteilen. Die erste und auch die größte Gruppe sind die acht Namen aus der mittelniederdeutschen Zeit bis zum 17. Jahrhundert. Zu den neuzeitlichen Namen kann man die übrigen vier Belege ab dem 18. Jahrhundert zählen.

Die mittelalterlichen Entlehnungen

Die Namen *Henriks* (1305), *Everts* (1433), *Gerda* (1478), *Ģederts* (1507), *Brencis* (1520), *Indriķis* (1599), *Jurģis* (1599) und *Tenis* (1599) sind sowohl in der Periode des aktiven mittelniederdeutschen Sprachgebrauchs, als auch im 21. Jahrhundert im lettischen Kalender belegt. Die ersten drei sind eindeutig aus den mittelniederdeutschen Vornamen *Henrik*, *Evert* und *Gerda* entstanden. Wenn *Henrik* (neben *Hinrik*) die niederdeutsche Entsprechung zu dem hochdeutschen Namen *Heinrich* (Seibicke II: 360) darstellt, so sind *Evert* und *Gerda* niederdeutsche Kurzformen zu den Namen *Everhard* (hochdeutsch *Eberhard*) (Seibicke I: 706, 709) und *Gertrud* (Seibicke II: 143, 165-166). Sie weisen – im Unterschied zu den übrigen fünf lettischen Namen – keine Lettisierung auf. Gerade dieses Fehlen der Lettisierung macht ihr kontinuierliches Überleben über sechs oder sieben Jahrhunderte verdächtig. Nur Belegreihen aus älteren Jahrhunderten können diesen Verdacht bestätigen oder ablehnen. Solche können aufgrund bisheriger Forschungen nur zum Teil zusammengestellt werden. Man muss bei diesen Reihen daran denken, dass die Namen, obwohl von Letten getragen, in den ältesten Überlieferungen in lateinischen oder mittelniederdeutschen Texten belegt und meistens derjenigen Schreibung angepasst sind. Typisch ist eine große Formenvielfalt. Es sind sowohl zahlreiche Schreibvarianten wie auch Suffigierungen belegt. Viele Formen liefern die frühneuhochdeutschen Protokolle der 1638 durchgeführten schwedischen Hakenrevision, die das ganze schwedische Livland, bzw. sein lettisches Teil umfassen (Dunsdorfs 1938-1941). Ihr Vornamenmaterial ist bearbeitet, aber nur zum Teil publiziert (Siliņa-Piņķe 2005, 2014b, 2014c). In späteren Jahrhunderten sind auch lettisierte Formen belegt, anfänglich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert vorwiegend in zwei Wörterbüchern – 1638 von Georg Manzel und 1789 von Gotthard Friedrich Stender. Die in den Wörterbüchern fixierten Formen sind als solche mit WB markiert. Diese früheren Lettisierungen weichen zum Teil von den heute gebräuchlichen Formen ab.

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Everdt</i>	1433	1. Erbebuch Rigas, Nr. 682 (Napiersky 1888: 74)
<i>Evert</i>	1458 u.a. im 16. Jh.	Blese (1929: 162)
<i>Euert</i>	1460/65	Blese (1929: 190)
<i>Ewert, Efwertt, Euert, Evert, Evertt, Ewerdt, Ewertt</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Ewerts</i> WB	1638	Mancelius (1638: 426)
<i>Ewerts</i>	1718	Kirchenbuch von Ērgeme nach Jansone (2010: 22)
<i>Ehwerts</i> WB	1789	Stender (1789: 375, 743)
<i>Ehwarts, Ehwerts</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)

Tabelle 2. Belege für den Vornamen *Everts*

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Gertke</i>	1468 u.a. im 15. und 16. Jh.	Blese (1929: 272 u.a.)
<i>Gerteke</i>	1473	Blese (1929: 271)
<i>Gerda</i>	1478	Blese (1929: 246)
<i>Gerdeke</i>	1483 u.a. im 15. und 16. Jh.	Blese (1929: 189 u.a.)
<i>Gerdecke</i>	1488 u.a. im 15. und 16. Jh.	Blese (1929: 184 u.a.)
<i>Gerde</i>	1504 u.a.	Blese (1929: 203 u.a.)
<i>Gerke</i>	1512	Blese (1929: 223)
<i>Gherde</i>	1515 u.a.	Blese (1929: 209 u.a.)
<i>Ghertke</i>	1515	Blese (1929: 165)
<i>Gehrd, Gert</i>	1721-1725	Kirchenbuch von Ērgeme nach Jansone (2010: 30)
<i>Ģedde, Ģehrde, Ģerte</i> WB	1789	Stender (1789: 376, 744)
<i>Gehrta</i>	1821-1825	Kirchenbuch von Ērgeme nach Jansone (2010: 30)
<i>Ģeda, Ģehda, Ģehrda, Ģerta</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 352)

Tabelle 3. Belege für den Vornamen *Gerda*

Bei den Vornamen *Everts* und *Gerda* (s. Tabelle 1 und 2) ist der kontinuierliche Gebrauch über mehrere Jahrhunderte zu sehen. Es sind sowohl mittelalterliche als auch neuzeitliche Vornamenbelege vorhanden, sowohl in deutscher als auch lettisierter Schreibung, sowohl in den Wörterbüchern als in den Aufzeichnungen realer Personen, vorwiegend in den Kirchenbüchern des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Die älteren Belege von *Gerda* weisen den niederdeutschen Suffix *-(e)ke* auf, während diejenigen aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert die für das Lettische typische Palatalisierung von *g* vor *e*, die als *ġ* wiedergegeben ist (Sehwers 1918: 61). In den älteren Belegen ist der Name mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit als Kurzform

des Namens *Gertrud* aufzufassen, die in den Kirchenbüchern belegten Formen weisen aber auf einen unabhängigen Gebrauch der Kurzform hin.

Bei dem Namen *Henriks* (s. Tabelle 4) ist diese Kontinuität nicht vorhanden. Belege entstammen nur den Texten bis zum 17. Jahrhundert. Kein Name ist in lettischen Texten belegt. Dazu kommt der wechselnde, synonyme Gebrauch von den Formen *Henrik* und *Hinrik*, wobei die letztere Variante dominiert (die Formen sind in der Tabelle 4 nicht angeführt). Da der anlautende Konsonant *H-* im Lettischen bei allen mnd. Entlehnungen ersatzlos fehlt (Sehwers 1918: 61, Jordan 1995: 41), wurde er am wahrscheinlichsten nur von Deutschen geschrieben und gesprochen. Diese Entwicklung ist in der von Polen fixierten Form *Endryk* festgehalten. Es scheint, dass der Name in seiner heutigen Form im 20. Jahrhundert neu wiederentlehnt wurde (vgl. auch weiter den Namen *Indriķis*).

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Henricus</i>	1305	Rigisches Schuldbuch nach Benninghoven (1961, 160)
<i>Hinricus</i>	1349-1406, 1403	Blese (1929: 175, 188)
<i>Henrik</i>	1508	Blese (1929: 156)
<i>Henrick</i>	1508, 1513, 1514 u.a. im 16. Jh.	Blese (1929: 169, 209, 188 u.a.)
<i>Henrich</i>	1516, 1517 u.a. im 16. und 17. Jh.	Blese (1929: 188, 271 u.a.)
<i>Hinricks</i>	1561	Blese (1929: 178)
<i>Endryk</i>	1599	Polnische Revision nach Jakubowski, Kordzikowski (1915: 79)
<i>Henrich</i>	1607	Blese (1929: 165 u.a.)
<i>Henericus, Henricus</i>	o. J. (~ Anf. 17. Jh.)	Blese (1929: 181, 171 u.a.)
<i>Hendrich, Hendrig, Henrich, Henrick, Henrik</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands

Tabelle 4. Belege für den Vornamen *Henriks*

Alle fünf im 16. Jahrhundert zum ersten Mal belegten Vornamen – *Gederts* (1507), *Brencis* (1520), *Indriķis* (1599), *Jurģis* (1599) und *Tenis* (1599) – haben Veränderungen in lettischer Sprache durchgemacht und sind unterschiedlich stark lettisiert worden.

Der Vorname *Gederts* (s. Tabelle 5) ist aus den niederdeutschen Varianten des Namens *Gotthard* – *Goddert*, *Göddert*, *Godehard* u.ä. – entstanden (Seibicke II: 21-213, Bahlow 1990: 177). Die Substitution *ö > e* ist für die ältesten lettischen Entlehnungen typisch, da der *ö* Laut im Lettischen nicht vorhanden war (vgl. Sehwers 1918: 29, Jordan 1995: 24). Die Palatalisation von *g* vor *e* ist schon beim Namen *Gerda* behandelt worden. Es sind aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert für diesen Namen nur Wörterbucheinträge belegt. Da die Forschungen über diese Zeitperiode sehr dürftig sind, kann man aus dem Fehlen der Belege noch keine Schlußfolgerungen ziehen.

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Geddert</i>	1507	Blese (1929: 166)
<i>Göddert</i> WB	1638	Mancelius (1638: 436)
<i>Gedertt, Gödert</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Ģedderts</i> WB	1789	Stender (1789: 375, 743)
<i>Ģedarts</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)

Tabelle 5. Belege für den Vornamen *Ģederts*

Der Vorname *Indriķis* (s. Tabelle 6) ist mit dem Konsonantenschwund im Anlaut aus dem niederdeutschen *Hindrik*, einer Parallelf orm zu *Hinrik*, entstanden (vgl. auch Sehwers 1918: 53). Das belegt auch die wechselnde Schreibung in den älteren Quellen (vgl. oben bei *Henriks*). Die ersten Belege ohne *H*-Anlaut sind in den Texten der polnischen Revision von 1599 fixiert.

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Hindrik, Hindryk, Indrych, Indryk</i>	1599	Polnische Revision nach Blese (1929: 326, 330, 338)
<i>Hindrich</i>	1611	Blese (1929: 181)
<i>Hindrich, Hindrig, Hinrich, Hinrick, Hinrik, Hinrikh</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Indrick, Indrik</i>	1721-1725	Kirchenbuch von Ērgeme nach Jansone (2010: 23)
<i>Indriķis</i> WB	1761	Stender (1761: 53)
<i>Indriķis</i> WB	1789	Stender (1789: 375, 743)
<i>Indrik</i>	1821-1825	Kirchenbuch von Ērgeme nach Jansone (2010: 23)
<i>Indriķis</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)

Tabelle 6. Belege für den Vornamen *Indriķis*

Auch alle drei in diesem Beitrag analysierten aus den Heiligennamen entstandenen lettischen Vornamen gehören in diese Zeitperiode. Der mittelniederdeutsche Einfluss bei ihrer Entstehung ist klar oder sehr wahrscheinlich.

Der Name *Brencis* (s. Tabelle 7) scheint eine lettische Kurzform vom Namen *Laurentius* zu sein. Im Lettischen ist aus dem niederdeutschen *Lawrenz* u.ä. durch Adaptation der Name *Labrencis* gebildet worden (vgl. deutsch *Laurentz* und lettisch *Labbrentz* bei Mancelius (1638: 448)). Die Substitution der Lautfolge *-wr-* durch *-br-* ist auch in anderen lettischen Entlehnungen belegt, z. B., mnd. *wrak* > lett. *brāķis*, mnd. *wrange* > lett. *branga* (Jordan 1995: 33). Die Verbreitung des Namens im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert muss noch untersucht werden.

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Brentze</i>	1520	Blese (1929: 165)
<i>Brenc, Brencz</i>	1599	Polnische Revision nach Jakubowski, Kordzikowski (1915: 79, 82, 85, 88)
<i>Brens, Brents, Brentsit, Brentz</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Brentzis WB</i>	1638	Mancelius (1638: 460)
<i>Brenzis WB</i>	1761	Stender (1761: 25)
<i>Brenzis WB</i>	1789	Stender (1789: 375, 743)
<i>Brenzis WB</i>	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)

Tabelle 7. Belege für den Vornamen *Brencis*

Die Entstehung des Vornamens *Jurģis* (s. Tabelle 8) aus dem niederdeutschen Vornamen *Jurgen* ist klar, der Adaptationsprozess ist aber schwer nachvollziehbar, da in den Quellen viele verschiedene Namenvarianten, die schwer voneinander zu trennen sind, sowohl in deutschen als auch lettischen Formen belegt sind. Die Mitwirkung anderer Sprachen bei der Entstehung der Formenvielfalt muss noch untersucht werden. Die kleine Belegzahl kann mit der größeren Beliebtheit der Form *Juris*, bei deren Entstehung auch russische, schwedische und estnische Namen mitgewirkt haben können, erklärt werden. Diese Variante – als *Jurr*, *Jurre* und *Jurris* belegt – gehört auch zu den fünf beliebtesten Namen in der Gemeinde Ērgeme in den Jahren 1721-1725 und 1821-1825 (Jansone 2010: 24).

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Jurģi, Juergen</i>	1599	Polnische Revision nach (Jakubowski, Kordzikowski 1915: 36, 155)
<i>Jurg, Jürg, Jurge, Jurgen, Jürgen, Jurgenn, Jurgg</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Jurģis WB</i>	1789	Stender (1789: 375, 743)
<i>Johrģis, Juris, Jurģis u.a. WB</i>	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)

Tabelle 8. Belege für den Vornamen *Jurģis*

Der Vorname *Tenis* (s. Tabelle 9) ist lettische Adaptation niederdeutscher Kurzformen *Tonnies*, *Tönnies* u.ä. zum Namen *Antonius* (vgl. Formen bei Seibicke I: 177-179 und Seibicke IV: 278-283). Der Name weist viele Belege aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in unterschiedlicher Schreibung auf und scheint über lange Zeit beliebt gewesen zu sein. Die Substitution $\ddot{o} > e$ ist schon bei *Ģederts* erwähnt worden. Der bei Siliņš (1990: 304) im Jahr 1599 fixierte Erstbeleg weicht von den Belegen in der Tabelle 9 ab, weil der Autor sich für ein separates Lemma *Tons*, *Tonnis* im Vornamenbuch entschieden hat (Siliņš 1990: 308). Die von Jansone in der Gemeinde Ērgeme an der estnischen Grenze belegten Formen *Tonn*, *Tonne* sind nach Meinung der Autorin eventuell vom estnischen Namen *Tõnnu* beeinflusst worden (Jansone 2010: 27).

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Tonnis</i>	1519 u.a. im 16. und 17. Jh.	Blese (1929: 262 u.a.)
<i>Tonnys</i>	1521	Blese (1929: 242)
<i>Tönnis</i>	1544	Blese (1929: 221)
<i>Tonnies</i>	1577	Blese (1929: 173 u.a.)
<i>Tonies</i>	1578	Blese (1929: 237)
<i>Tenis, Thoni</i>	1599	Polnische Revision nach Jakubowski, Kordzikowski (1915: 83, 88)
<i>Tenis</i>	o. J. (~ Anf. 17. Jh.)	Blese (1929: 197)
<i>Tonnies, Tönnies</i>	1607	Blese (1929: 224 u.a.)
<i>Tennis, Tenniß, Thonnies, Thonnieß, Thönnieß, Thönniß, Tönes, Tönn, Tönne</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Tonn, Tonne</i>	1721-1725	Kirchenbuch von Ērgeme nach Jansone (2010: 27)
<i>Tennis, Tennis WB</i>	1761	Stender (1761: 161)
<i>Tennis WB</i>	1789	Stender (1789: 376, 743)
<i>Tenis WB</i>	1872	Ulmann (1872: 352)

Tabelle 9. Belege für den Vornamen *Tenis*

Die neuzeitlichen Bildungen

Nach der allmählichen Aufgabe der niederdeutschen Schreibsprache im 16. bis 17. Jahrhundert und der gesprochenen Sprache in den folgenden Jahrhunderten sind zwei Wege festzustellen, auf denen die niederdeutschen Namen den lettischen Vornamenbestand weiter bereichert haben. Erstens: Namen die schon früher bekannt waren und weitere Adaptation, z.B., Kürzung oder Suffigierung, erleben und zu selbständigen Namen werden. Zu solchen sind die Namen *Ints* (1726), *Indulis* (1877), *Ingus* (1925) und *Inta* (?) zu zählen. Zweitens: Namen, die aus Norddeutschland stammen, erleben Beliebtheit in weiteren Kreisen und werden, eventuell durch Vermittlung literarischer Werke, entlehnt. Solche Namen weisen dann meistens keine Adaptation, außer der lettischen Endung, auf und können nicht mehr als mittelniederdeutsche Entlehnungen betrachtet werden. Zu nennen sind die Namen *Voldemārs* und *Egmonts*. Der eine ist seit dem 19. und der andere – erst seit Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts bekannt.

Hier werden nur die adaptierten Namen behandelt. Ihre späten Erstbelege beruhen auf einer innersprachlichen Entwicklung der Namen. Sie sind Ableitungen früher belegter Namen und als solche sind sie vorerst nicht in offiziellen Dokumenten verzeichnet worden. Frühere Belege sind manchmal unter Siedlungsnamen, in denen die inoffiziellen Formen festgehalten sind, zu finden.

Der schon im 18. Jahrhundert belegte Name *Ints* (und seine Movierung *Inta*), gehen auf solche niederdeutsche Kurzformen von *Hinrik* oder *Hindrik* wie *Hinze*, *Hintz*, *Hintze*

(Bahlow 1990: 222, 240; Seibicke II: 406-407) zurück. Wie Belege in der Tabelle 10 zeigen, sind diese Namenformen über Jahrhunderte unterschiedlich lettisiert und niedergeschrieben worden – niederdeutsche Namen ohne Adaption im 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert und verschiedene Adaptionen ab dem 17. Jahrhundert. Für die Formen *Hinth* und *Hinte* waren keine niederdeutschen Entsprechungen festzustellen, was sie als zum Teil adaptierte Niederschrift betrachtet lässt. Schon 1638 sind auch Bauernhöfe mit Namen *Hints*, *Hintz*, *Hintzen*, *Hinzen*, *Inden*, *Inte*, *Inten*, *Intens* u.ä. belegt (Dunsdorfs: 1941, 101), was als zusätzlicher Beleg für frühe Adaptation des Vornamens *Ints*, *Inte* oder *Inde* zu betrachten ist. Die fehlenden Belege bei Stender (1761, 1789) und Jansone (2010) lassen jedoch vermuten, dass der Name nur sporadisch vergeben wurde. Die Annahme bestätigt auch die Aufnahme des Namens in den Kalender erst im Jahr 1901 (Siliņš: 167).

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Hintze</i>	1406 u.a. im 15. Jh.	Blese (1929: 235 u.a.)
<i>Hinze</i>	1460	Blese (1929: 246)
<i>Hinth</i>	1503, 1504	Blese (1929: 246)
<i>Hynde</i>	1538	Blese (1929: 156)
<i>Hinde, Hinte</i>	1566	Blese (1929: 283, 279)
<i>Hinte, Hintz, Hintze, Inde, Indus</i>	1638	Hakenrevision Livlands
<i>Ints, Intis, Inte</i> ¹	1726	Kirchenbuch von Lēdurga nach Siliņš (1990: 167)
<i>Inta</i>	1755	Kirchenbuch von Apriķi nach Sloka (1928: 53)
<i>Inde, Indus, Indfe, Inte, Inzis</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)

Tabelle 10. Belege für den Vornamen *Ints*

Noch ein Name mit mittelniederdeutschen Zügen, der nach dem lettischen Vornamenbuch zum ersten Mal im 19. Jahrhundert belegt ist (Siliņš 1990: 164), ist *Indulis* (s. Tabelle 11). Die Datierung des Erstbeleges mit dem Jahr 1877 ist jedoch zweifelhaft, da der Name schon im 1789 veröffentlichten lettisch-deutschen Wörterbuch von Gotthart Friedrich Stender und im 1872 veröffentlichten Wörterbuch von Carl Christian Ulmann belegt ist. Der Name ist – gleich den Namen *Ints* und *Inta* – aus einer lettischen Kurzform zu *Hindrik* eventuell mit dem lettischen Suffix *-ul-* entstanden. Im 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert sind in Lettland Kurzformen *Hynde*, *Hinde*, *Inde*, *Indus* belegt (vgl. Tabelle 10). Im Jahr 1638 sind schon Bauernhöfe mit Namen *Hindul*, *Hindulin*, *Inden*, *Inding*, *Indulan* fixiert (Dunsdorfs: 1941, 101), was auf einen noch älteren Gebrauch der Vornamen schließen lässt.

¹ Die Vornamen im lettischen Vornamenbuch von Siliņš (1990) sind standartisiert und nicht in der Originalform wiedergegeben.

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Induls</i> WB	1789	Stender (1789: 375, 743)
<i>Indulis</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)
Indulis	1877	Kirchenbuch von Rūjiena nach Siliņš (1990: 164)

Tabelle 11. Belege für den Vornamen *Indulis*

Das gleiche lässt sich auch über den Vornamen *Ingus* (s. Tabelle 12) sagen. Auffallend ist die Tatsache, dass seine Aufnahme in den Kalender im Jahr 1884, also 53 Jahre vor dem Erstbeleg stattgefunden hat (Siliņš 1990: 166), und der erste Wörterbuchbeleg – *Ingus* und *Inga* –, mit 1872 datiert, noch 12 Jahre älter ist. Dort ist diesem Namen, wie auch einer ganzen Reihe verwandter Namen, die deutsche Entsprechung *Heinrich* gegeben (Ulmann 1872, 351). Es lohnt sich aber auf die im 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert in Riga und Kurland unter Letten fixierten Kurzformen *Hinke* (1349-1406), auch *Hynke* (1456) und *Hincke* (1582/83) aufmerksam zu werden (Blese 1929: 265, 267, 294); vgl. auch die Bauernhofnamen *Hinge*, *Hincken*, *Hinckull*, *Inken* und *Inkull* im Jahr 1638 (Dunsdorfs 1941, 101). Wegen fehlender oder nicht erforschter Urkunden einer mehr als 250-jährigen Periode kann man jedoch keine Aussagen über die konkreten Adaptationsprozesse des Vornamens treffen.

Namenform	Jahr	Quelle oder Literatur
<i>Inga, Ingus</i> WB	1872	Ulmann (1872: 351)
Ingus	1925	Siliņš (1990, 166)

Tabelle 12. Belege für den Vornamen *Ingus*

Der im lettischen Vornamenbuch gegebene Erstbeleg des weiblichen Namen *Inta* im Jahr 1755 erwies sich als fehlerhaft – es ist mit diesem Namen eine männliche Person genannt worden: *Inta, des schmidts Ehwett sein sohn* (Sloka 1928, 53). Es ist also zurzeit keine erste Datierung des Namens bekannt. Der Name ist weder in einem der Wörterbücher des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (Stender 1789, Ulmann 1872) noch in wissenschaftlichen Studien über diese Zeit (Jansone 2010) fixiert worden. Es müssten noch Forschungen über das Aufkommen und die Verbreitung dieses Namens erfolgen. Da dieser Name erst im 20. Jahrhundert – im Jahr 1933 – in den Kalender aufgenommen wurde (Siliņš 1990: 167), kann er vorläufig als neue, eventuell am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts entstandene Movierung des männlichen Vornamens *Ints* (s. Tabelle 10) eingestuft werden.

Heutige Frequenz der Namen

In Lettland leben heute etwa zwei Millionen Einwohner, davon sind fast 1,3 Millionen Letten. Die Information über die Frequenz der Vornamen in der Datenbank des Amtes für Staatsbürgerschaft und Migration der Republik Lettland (LRIM 2015) zeigt, dass im Oktober 2014 unter ihnen 11844 Personen mit Namen *Henriks*, *Everts*, *Gerda*, *Ģederts*, *Brencis*, *Indriķis*, *Jurģis*, *Tenis*, *Ints*, *Indulis*, *Ingus* und *Inta* als Einzelnamen waren (s. Tabelle 14). Da die Vergabe von Zweit- und Drittnamen in Lettland wenig verbreitet ist, sind diese Fälle nicht mitgezählt worden.

<i>Inta</i> 6493	<i>Henriks</i> 234
<i>Ingus</i> 2001	<i>Everts</i> 148
<i>Indulis</i> 873	<i>Indriķis</i> 78
<i>Jurģis</i> 785	<i>Tenis</i> 20
<i>Ints</i> 685	<i>Ģederts</i> 17
<i>Gerda</i> 509	<i>Brencis</i> 1

Tabelle 14. Heutige Frequenz analysierter Namen (auf 29.10.2014)

Abgesehen von den Namen *Inta* und *Ingus*, kann die Zahl der Namensträger als ziemlich bis sehr gering eingestuft werden. Zum Vergleich einige der frequentesten lettischen Vornamen: *Jānis* (54116), *Andris* (20627), *Juris* (17561), *Māris* (13386) und *Anna* (23775), *Kristīne* (14873), *Ilze* (12105), *Dace* (10309) (LRIM 2015).

Schlussfolgerungen

Es sind ganz wenige mittelniederdeutsche Spuren in den heutigen lettischen Vornamen geblieben. Es gibt aber viele Forschungslücken, die bei ernsthafter Auswertung neue Erkenntnisse liefern könnten. Bei der Betrachtung und Analyse früherer Zeitperioden, wären die Ergebnisse deutlich anders, da viele Vornamen heute nicht mehr vergeben werden. Bei einigen werden heute die hochdeutschen Entsprechungen bevorzugt.

Ein umfangreiches Thema ist die Lettisierung der Namen, für dessen Analyse noch ungenügend Belegmaterial ausgewertet ist. Es lassen sich klar zwei Gruppen der Vornamen unterscheiden – mit und ohne Adaptation (abgesehen von den lettischen Endungen). Zu der ersten Gruppe gehören Namen *Ģederts*, *Brencis*, *Indriķis*, *Jurģis*, *Tenis*, *Ints*, *Inta*, *Indulis* und *Ingus*. Ihr Prozess der Lettisierung ist nachvollziehbar. Die frühesten Spuren adaptierter Namen sind manchmal als Siedlungsnamen belegt. Die zweite Gruppe ist erst im 19. oder 20. Jahrhundert entlehnt (*Voldemārs*, *Egmonts*) oder neu entlehnt (*Henriks*), oder die Namen entsprachen von Anfang an dem lettischen Sprachsystem (*Everts*, *Gerda*).

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- LRIM = Latvijas Republikas Iekšlietu Ministrijas (2015) 'Personvārdu Datu Bāze' <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/sakums/statistika/personvardu-datu-baze/>
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Personal Names Originating from Literature or Motion Picture in the Hungarian Name Stock – A Historical Survey¹

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Abstract

The paper introduces a special segment of the real Hungarian name stock: personal names originating from literature or films. The 13th-15th centuries can be regarded as the first period of this phenomenon when some members of the higher classes named their children after the heroes of chivalric literature, e.g. *Tristan*, *Roland*. These names never became frequent, and disappeared after the 15th century. The second period in the history of names of literary origin was the 19th century, the time of Romanticism in Hungarian literature, when writers focused on the history of Hungary. Additionally, this was the period of the birth of Hungarian novels. Due to this, new literary names were created in large amounts; some of them became a part of the real first name stock and have become popular. There are some family names that also originated from or became frequent thanks to a novel (e.g. *Kárpáthy*, *Szentirmay*). They became a part of the family name stock through official name changes. The third period started in the second half of the 20th century: nowadays these fictional names are mostly traceable to films. The paper reveals the sociocultural-historical background of the spread of these names in these different periods.

* * *

As in many languages of the world, personal names originating from literature, mythology or films appear in the Hungarian personal name stock as well. This is not a new phenomenon, contrary to what most Hungarians may think on the basis of the relatively large amount of newly accepted, but rarely used given names, such as *Anakin* or *Gandalf*. The first period in which this kind of name giving appeared in Hungary was in fact rather a long time ago, throughout the 12th-15th centuries. The adoption of these names was related to the appearance and bloom of chivalric culture in medieval Hungary. The sources of these names may have been made known in Hungary by queens of French or German origin and knights and ladies of their entourage, by the French or Western-educated clergy and by Walloon or German settlers. The data I will mention comes from the corpus of Ágnes Kurcz (1988) and Klára Korompay (1978), along with my own corpus which has been built upon deeds from the 14th century and in its present state contains about 20,000 names.²

Names originating from literature arose from two kinds of sources in the Middle Ages: from the Breton cycle of legends (the Arthurian Cycle, *Tristan and Isolde* and *The Song of Roland*) on the one hand, and from romances, legends and stories deriving from the antiquity (e.g. the Trojan Cycle and the Alexander Romance) on the other hand. The

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² The first part of the database containing approximately 14,000 names was published as a dictionary of names (Slíz 2011a). The publication of the second part is in progress.

members of the latter type were mediated by Latin authors respected in the Middle Ages. For instance, the 13th-century Hungarian historiographer Master P (called Anonymus in secondary literature) indicated in the foreword of his *Gesta Hungarorum* ('The Deeds of the Hungarians') that he had compiled a Trojan Romance during his academic years (for more details see e.g. Moór 1937, Korompay 2011, 2012, Slíz 2012).

These names are of enormous importance for both scholars of literature and history, since hardly any other traces of the existence of chivalric literature in Hungary are known, except for some remarks from medieval historiographers and for the South Slavic Trojan and Alexander Romances, which can be traced back to an assumed Hungarian version (cf. Hadrovics 1955, 1960). It is crucial to investigate these names with the correct methodology to conduct a successful analysis. Since one or two appearances of these names may only be the consequence of linguistic and cultural contacts and not evidence of chivalric literature existing in Hungary, these kinds of names must be examined together. For this reason, name pairs have been of the utmost importance in this investigation: while the presence of a *Roland* on the family tree can simply be due to fashion or to linguistic and cultural contact, its occurrence along with *Olivér* within one family proves that the name giving parents knew the romance.

The majority of the name bearers were highborn, since the romances were connected to the high culture of medieval Hungary. These names cannot be regarded as frequent ones, as the upper classes were only a small part of society. Even among them (and the whole population) the most frequent names came from the Bible or were given after saints. For the sake of comparison, the most popular male name, *János* ('John') appears over a thousand times in my corpus, while the most frequent name of literary origin, *Roland* appears only 28 times among 20,000 items, and some of these literary names occur only once or twice.

The most popular names originating from chivalric literature among men were – as mentioned before – *Roland* and his friend's name, *Olivér*. *Roland* occurred 66 times and *Olivér* 42 times in the sources until the 14th century, while they occurred 38 times and 16 times, respectively, in the 14th century according to Klára Korompay's corpus (1978). There may have been another name from this story which was used by both sexes: *Elephant* or *Alivant*, albeit in Endre Tóth's opinion (2006) it originates from the German personal name *Helfant* and not from the name of Roland's horn.

As for the Arthurian cycle, only a few examples have been found so far for *Artheus* ('Arthur') and *Lancret* ('Lancelot'), and there is only one *Weniwer* ('Guinevere') and *Yven* ('Yvain') (cf. Kurcz 1988: 63). There are more traces of the romance of Tristan and Isolde among personal names; the latter one can be regarded as a relatively fashionable name among women of the upper class in the 14th century (cf. Slíz 2011b: 124-125).

The earliest examples of personal names of literary origin are derived from the Trojan romance. They appeared in Hungary as early as the 12th century (cf. Kurcz 1988: 248). *Paris* and *Hector* were used until the middle of the 14th century (cf. Kurcz 1988: 250), but *Achilles* was preserved for a longer period through the traditions of some families: an example can be found as late as 1412 (see Engel 2003, in the Cseleji branch of the clan Bogátradvány). In addition, two instances of the name *Priamus* can be mentioned. There were also several other names originating from the antiquity: *Dedalus*, *Mercurius*, *Vlixis*, *Medea*, *Hercules*, *Venus*, *Ennea* (*Aeneas*), *Caesar* and *Seneca* (cf. Kurcz 1988: 307-309, Slíz 2012: 267).

The only name undoubtedly traceable to the Alexander romance is *Olimpias*, but even the name of Alexander the Great's mother was scarcely used (cf. Moór 1937: 60). The other characters' names, *Fülöp* ('Philip') and *Sándor* ('Alexander'), and *Ilona* ('Helen') from the Trojan romance were more frequent. *Fülöp* and *Sándor* can be ranked as names of average popularity, while *Ilona* was one of the most fashionable female names in medieval Hungary. The explanation for the difference between the popularity of these three names and of the other ones is that *Fülöp*, *Sándor* and *Ilona* were also popular saints' names.

The majority of names originating from literature did not survive until the 15th century; even the inheritance of names within families could not keep them alive after that period. It was a result of the decline of chivalric culture and the takeover of canonical names. Although many names of literary origin were renewed in the 19th century, there was no direct connection to their previous usage. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that settlement names emerged from *Tristan* (*Terestyénfa* in Vas county), from *Alivant* (*Elefánt*, in Slovakia today), from *Hector* (*Iktár*, in Romania today) and from *Priamus* (*Perjámos*, also in Romania today). Some of the names coming from literature survived as family names (e.g. *Lorántffy* < *Loránt* + *-fi* 'son of', *Terestyén* < *Tristan*). *Ilona*, *Sándor* and *Fülöp* can be mentioned as the only exceptions which have been used permanently, but their continuation may have been the consequence of their religious role. Some other names in question, such as *Roland* (and its alternations *Loránd* and *Lóránt*) or *Olivér* were revived by Romanticism; moreover, *Roland* has been a fairly fashionable name since the last decades of the 20th century: it held the 37th position among new-born boys' names in 2013 (see KEKKH 2014). Most of the other names mentioned previously may also be chosen according to the current laws in Hungary, but are nevertheless fairly scarce and rather atypical.

Between the second half of the 15th century and the end of the 18th century, names stemming from literature were not used in Hungary. Even the Hungarian humanists, who were well-accepted and well-known in the virtual community of European scholars and literarians, and who Latinized their names to signal their scientific commitment and European identity, did not give names of literary origin to their children. Knowing this fact is essential to understanding the indignation of the notable Transylvanian historiographer, István Szamosközy, on the name change of Krisztina Báthory, the niece of the Prince of Transylvania. She was given her new name, *Griseldis* by the Italian doctor Giorgio Blandrata. According to Szamosközy's comment, changing her beautiful name connected to Christ to a name which must have been borne by a whore in a comedy or by Achilles's mistress was a humiliation (Szamosközy 1991: 111-112).

The second period rich in names stemming from literature in the 19th century was due to the Enlightenment and more significantly to Romanticism. The Enlightenment brought mythological names back to life, albeit their usage never became fashionable. For instance, Ferenc Kazinczy, one of the greatest Hungarian poets and linguists of the first half of the 19th century, named two of his daughters *Thalia* (1809-1866) and *Iphigenia* (1817-1890), and one of his sons *Aemilius* (1811-1890) (cf. Vaderna 2013: 83), while the archaeologist Ferenc Pulszky named his daughter *Polixena* (1857-1921). Romanticism made literarians turn to historical times across Europe, and as many nations in those times, Hungarians also started to explore their origins and history. Discovering medieval gests and chronicles, forgotten old Hungarian names of princes and kings (like *Árpád*, *Zoltán*, *Gyula*, *Béla*, *Géza*) and fictional

names from these works, which they considered historical, became fashionable. The other source of names of literary origin in this period was Romantic novels and other literary works of Hungarian writers and poets. Many of them turned to the history of Hungary, and gave historical names to, or created historical-like given names for, their characters. Given names of positive characters in Romantic novels, which took place in their contemporary times or in imaginary worlds, also became popular, such as *Tímea*, made by Mór Jókai or *Tünde*, created by Mihály Vörösmarty from the word *tündér* 'fairy'. Some of these names, unlike medieval names of literary origin, became fashionable relatively quickly, not only in the upper classes but in the middle class as well. Many of them are common or highly popular in Hungary even nowadays. For instance, *Dalma* and *Enikő* (created by Vörösmarty) or *Kincső* (created by Jókai) were among the 100 most common names of new-born girls in 2013, while *Csilla* (created by András Dugonics) held the position of 39th most common female name in the country (see KEKKH 2014).

This difference between the two periods can be explained by various cultural and historical factors. Firstly, in the Middle Ages there was only a narrow stratum of society that had the opportunity to get acquainted with the source literary works in the courts of kings and aristocrats. Conversely, during the 19th century a middle class was forming, which gradually became stronger and wider. Beside a part of the aristocracy and of the nobility committed to the cause of the nation, the educated citizenry served as the audience of newly established papers and literary journals. Correlating with the widening stratum of readers, publishing and distributing books developed at a quick pace, as did national theatres, literary salons and literary societies. These media were the transmitters of fictional names to the relatively young middle class, which was partly allogenic but assimilated and which was more open to new influences than the society of the previous centuries. In addition, these names stemming from 19th-century literature were pronouncedly Hungarian, many of them were connected to the assumed or real national history. It made them highly appreciated in the climate of nationalism, especially during and after the revolution and war of independence in 1848-1849. Bearers of these names and their creators became symbols and heroes of national history and memory. For instance, *Etelka* was created by Dugonics as the name of a heroine of his novel, which takes place at the time of the Hungarian settlement in the Carpathian Basin. The name was formed from *Etele*, another form of *Attila*, the Hun prince's name. The reason why this name served as the source of *Etelka* is that Huns were regarded as the ancestors of Hungarians on the basis of a medieval historiographic tradition.

The spread of some names was accelerated by famous name bearers. For instance, *Zoltán*, an Old Hungarian name of Turkic origin, known from the gest of Anonymous became popular due to the fact that the greatest Hungarian poet, Sándor Petőfi gave it to his son. After Petőfi's leading role in the revolution and his disappearance in the last days of the war of independence in a lost battle, he became the symbol of freedom and the subject of national legends. In addition, his son, who was born during the war, became the 'orphan of the nation'. The other cause of the popularity of this name was Jókai's novel, *Kárpáthy Zoltán*, since its main character (Zoltán Kárpáthy) became a symbol of the nationalistic, brave and honest aristocrat. Since many of these names were strongly connected to Hungarian national history, they also became signs of ethnicity and thus they were preferred also by Jews assimilating into the nation in the second half of the 19th century (cf. e.g. Hajdú 2003: 550,

Fenyves 2009: 148). In the 20th century, they became popular among Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin due to the fact that they cannot be translated into another language.

The 19th century was also the classic period of family name changes in Hungary. Artificial names created by people for themselves can be regarded as the impressions of the name style of the given era. In the 19th century, Romanticism made an impact on family names as well, since many of the newly created names were inspired to suggest their bearers' noble origins from an ancient bloodline. Old Hungarian given names newly discovered in gests and chronicles, especially in the gest of Anonymous and the Illuminated Chronicle served as perfect tools of this expression. Names from the Hun-Hungarian tradition or the names of the leaders of the Hungarian tribes at the time of the Hungarian settlement in the Carpathian Basin became family names on their own or with a name formant: *Etele*, *Csaba*, *Álmos*, *Árpád*, *Árpádfi*, *Böngérfi*, etc. (cf. e.g. Juhász 2009: 98-99). Since a misbelief had emerged by the 19th century, according to which family names deriving from place names with the formant *-i* and especially with its written variant *-y* are the signals of nobility, many artificial family names were created in this style (see e.g. Farkas 2012). For instance, *Kárpáthy* ('Carpathians' + *-i*) appeared in the first part of the 19th century in the documents of family name changes, but it became the most popular artificial family name in the history of family name changes in Hungary partly due to Jókai's novel and character mentioned before, Zoltán Kárpáthy.³ While this family name had an antecedent in the real name stock, another family name of literary origin, *Szentirmai* was the creation of Jókai's mind completely. It follows the real family name type place name + *-i* formant, but the assumed place name cannot exist, since it should have stemmed from the name of a church named after Saint Irma. The problem is that a saint called *Irma* cannot be found in any martyrologies. As this name belongs to a romantically noble and heroic character, a nationalistic aristocrat in Jókai's novel mentioned before, it proved to be a perfect device to suggest nobility and ancient origins of the name bearer. As a result of family name changes and the inheritance of the newly adopted name, 511 bearers of *Szentirmai* (with all of its written variations and combinations) and 124 bearers of *Szentirmai* lived in Hungary in 2007 (according to the official register of population).

The third period of adopting fictional names into the real name stock started in the second half of the 20th century. One of its main characteristics is that a new source appeared on the scene: motion picture. Recently most new names of this kind come from cinema (e.g. from the *Lord of the Rings*: *Árven*, *Frodó*; from the *Matrix* trilogy: *Triniti*; or the *Star Wars* series: *Anakin*, *Amidala*) or from TV series (e.g. *Izaura* from the Brazilian soap opera *Isaura the Slave Girl*) and a smaller part of them derives from literature (*Otello*, *Rómeó*, *Dezdemóna*, and *Ofélia*, etc. by Shakespeare; *Aramisz* and *Atosz* by Dumas; *Fadett* by George Sand; *Berzsián* by Ervin Lázár; *Bóbita* by Sándor Weöres). As we can see, in many cases it cannot be decided whether the novel or the film made an impact on the name giving parents. A great amount of mythological names can also be found (*Ámor*, *Ariadné*, *Herkules*, *Kasszandra*, *Minerva*, *Orfeusz*; *Damajanti*, *Krisna*; *Freja*, *Odin*; *Ízisz*, *Ozirisz*; etc.), and some classical ones (*Brútusz*, *Cézár*, *Ciceró*, *Dáriusz*, *Kleopátra*, etc.) in the contemporary given name stock, although these names appear extremely rarely in the population.

³ For more information about the history of the family name Kárpáthy, see Farkas (2007).

According to the current Hungarian laws, given names can be chosen from a list of names available in a dictionary of names (Ladó and Bíró 1998) and on the internet (male names: <http://www.nytud.hu/oszt/nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/osszesffi.pdf>, female names: <http://www.nytud.hu/oszt/nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/osszesnoi.pdf>). If someone would like to give a name that cannot be found in this list, he/she has the right to apply to the Given Name Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This body consists of onomasticians. Their task is to consider whether these names can be given to new-born babies. According to their guidelines, names regarded as Old Hungarian ones may be accepted only if there is a source for their use from the Middle Ages. Names taken from literature or from a motion picture of a foreign language are accepted only if there are some examples of their usage as given names in other countries. Hungarian fictional names may be given only if they are not disadvantageous for their bearers: for example they do not support names of negative characters or names with ludicrous meanings. (For the principles followed by the Committee, see: <http://www.nytud.hu/oszt/nyelvmuvelo/utonevek/alapelvek.html>). Since 2013, a page has been available on the internet for searching in the whole given name stock according to several different aspects, e.g. the linguistic origin, the original meaning, the frequency, or the sounding of a name (Raátz and Sass 2013).

While names of literary origin were found in the upper classes between the 12th and 15th centuries, and other fictional names were spread by the middle class in the 19th century, nowadays they are more common in the lower classes, especially among Romany people and in the circles of newly rich people (cf. Szivós and Tóth 2013: 131-132). In consequence, they play a role in signalling ethnicity and social standing. Choosing rare names to distinguish children from others by their names has also become one of the most significant motives in name giving in the whole of contemporary Hungarian society. Despite this tendency, names motivated by foreign films or literary works usually come across as ridiculous and may serve as a source of discrimination. At first glance, this could be hard to comprehend, since names of literary origin have become common since the 19th century. The difference, however, is that those names were connected to Hungarian culture, while newly adopted fictional names (such as *Aladdin*, *Otello*, *Rómeó*, *Aramisz*, *Amidala*, *Gandalf*, or *Boromir*) are evidently connected to foreign cultures. In addition, we do not associate fictional names from 19th century with their original bearers; and what is more, the majority of people do not even know about their fictional origin. Contrary to this, newly accepted fictional names – because they are too close to their source in time and currently they are extremely rare – conjure up their first bearers in films or literary works strongly and promptly, with all of their characteristics.

To sum up, we could see that three periods of accepting fictional names in the real name stock of Hungary have many differences. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that personal names are determined by cultural, social and historical factors. Consequently, the use of fictional names as given names cannot be investigated without reference to these factors.

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Ingevald Panka and Kalle Braxen Bynames in Medieval Arboga and Modern Sigtuna

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the bynames represented in the medieval town court record book of Arboga and in an oral corpus from 20th-century Sigtuna. I analyse the data mostly from a name-semantic point of view and categorise them into the following groups: names which originate in a person's 'descent and kinship', 'origin and place of residence', 'occupation and social status', 'external characteristics', 'internal characteristics', 'clothing and equipment', or 'habits and events'. I have also added a morphological group 'names which are a play on or formed from a family name'. The study shows that there are examples of bynames from both periods in all of these categories except the last one, which is found exclusively in the modern corpus.

* * *

Introduction

Over the last ten years, I have devoted much of my time to bynames from different points of view. My interest has mostly been in the bynames of medieval Arboga, collected from contemporary court records. In recent times, I have also studied bynames from Sigtuna in the 20th century. In this study, I combine the two corpuses and will examine the way people designate each other.

The data originate from two small Swedish towns with quite a similar geographical and economic background, situated by or close to Lake Mälaren to the north or west of Stockholm. Both towns were of great political importance in the Middle Ages. During the time when bynames were frequently used, crafts and trade formed the economic base for life there.

My Arboga corpus is collected from court records, which mostly consist of particulars of economic transactions, but also the names of individuals who held office or enjoyed the franchise. I have restricted my material to the years 1450-1500. The 20th-century corpus contains about a hundred bynames used by my father Sigurd Christensén, born in 1927 and living in Sigtuna since he was 3 years of age. Many of the names were used from the beginning of the 1930s onwards. For ethical reasons, I do not mention the name bearers' official names.

There are differences between the two corpuses, and on the whole these are reflected in the names they contain. The medieval source consists of court records, it is a written one, and it is 500 years older than the modern data. Because of the time factor, the interpretation of the semantics of the names could be uncertain and perhaps even deceptive. The modern

source, on the other hand, is oral and young. This could make the name-semantic interpretation easier, as users may still be alive. Another difference is the size of the corpuses, the medieval one containing about 400 names, while the modern one comprising slightly more than 100. However, even with these problems, I believe that a comparison is of interest.

Examples of previous research on bynames during medieval times are Elof Hellquist's article 'Fornsvenska tillnamn' (1912) and Ivar Modéer's survey of bynames in *Svenska personnamn* (1989). Eva Brylla has studied bynames in several articles, including 'Anna Mædh inga hænder, Karl Dængenæf and Ingridh Tiuvafinger' (1999). For further examples, see Sundström (2006: 12-14). Modern bynames have recently been studied by Katharina Leibring in her article 'Karl mä kappa, Börje lata och Kockla: Binamn i ett värmländskt brukssamhälle' (2004). Other works relating in some way to urban bynames are Ruben G:son Berg's (1936) study 'Några stockholmska vedernamn på 1840- och 50-talet' and A.T. Ålander's (1944) article 'Personbeteckningar i en svensk småstad omkring sekelskiftet'. J.A. Lundell's articles (1932-1944a, 1932-1944b) deal with names in the Swedish provinces of Möre and Öland and are worth noting as they contain name-semantic explanations, even if his study is mostly rural. One chapter in Ivar Modéer's handbook *Svenska personnamn* (1989) also concerns modern bynames.

I do not give an account of all my data, neither the medieval nor the modern material, though the complete corpuses do of course form the basis for my conclusions. I have analysed the data primarily from a name-semantic point of view and have categorised them as follows.

Classification

In my study I have categorised bynames in terms of their semantics, and have therefore examined the reasons the names were given. I have categorised the data into the following groups: 'descent and kinship', 'origin and place of residence', 'occupation and social status', 'external characteristics', 'internal characteristics', 'clothing and equipment', and 'habits' and 'events' (Andersson 2003: 601-603). For practical reasons I will combine the two final groups, as it is difficult to decide what occurred only on rare occasions and what happened frequently. Slightly different categories have been used for the same purpose by other scholars (Brylla 1999: 15-16, Kousgård Sørensen 1975: 123). In my investigation, I have added another, morphological category, 'names which are a play on or formed from a family name' (see Leibring 2004: 77). The basic analysis used in categorising the material has been described previously (Sundström 2006, 2008b and 2012). In this study I will present and compare the different corpuses. What has happened in 500 years? What similarities and differences can be discovered? Did women also have bynames, or were they reserved for men?

Names Referring to Descent and Kinship

There are quite a number of bynames referring to a person's descent or kinship. In Sigtuna, we find several women who were given bynames for that reason: *Grevinnorna Plåt och Plunta*, their name meaning 'the countesses tinplate and pocket flask' (Sundström 2012: 274), were two ladies who were fastidious about their appearance, and who were also friends and the daughters of a tinsmith and a brewer, respectively. *Kolas Märta* 'Märta the wife of Kolas' (Sundström 2012: 274) was married to a man called *Kolas*, while *Bad-Olle* 'Bath-Olle' (Sundström 2012: 274) shows that Olle was the son of a female bath attendant.

In Arboga, the same group is frequently used. Here we find, for example, compounds ending in *-magher* 'son-in-law', e.g. *Svennungsmagher* (Sundström 2008b: 434), a byname showing kinship with a person called Svennung. In this group there are also so-called 'wives' names', connecting women to their husband by their husband's first name or byname in the genitive. Examples are *Bakares* (Sundström 2008b: 434) and *Julahustru* (Sundström 2006: 40, 105), which link the women concerned to men called *Bakare* 'baker' and *Jul* 'Christmas'. Men, too, could be given similar designations, as in the case of *Vendelabonde* (Sundström 2006: 39), where *-bonde* 'farmer' is used in the sense of spouse and the byname shows that the person called by it is married to a woman called Vendela.

Names Referring to Origin and Place of Residence

Bynames emanating from a person's place of geographical origin or residence are not unusual in the Sigtuna corpus. Here, names like *Humparn* 'man living at the farm Humparboda' (Sundström 2012: 275) and *Glädjen* 'the pleasure' (Sundström 2012: 275) can be found. The first-mentioned bearer lived at the farm Humparboda and the latter at a cottage called Glädjen, both situated a few kilometres north of Sigtuna. A woman called *Kullan*, meaning 'Dalecarlian woman' (Sundström 2012: 275), was born in the province of Dalarna.

In Arboga this group is quite common. It includes unchanged place names, which are frequently used as bynames, both names of places close by, such as *Djupmyra* and *Helvetet* (Sundström 2008b: 434) and names of distant places, such as *Lunger* (a village in the parish of Götlunda) (Sundström 2008b: 435). Other bynames showing people's places of origin and residence are *Rekbo* 'person from the province of Rekarne' (Sundström 2008b: 435) and *Skæriakarl* 'man from the archipelago' (Sundström 2008b: 434). *Finne* 'man from Finland' (cf. Hellquist 1912: 106, Sundström 2008b: 435; for a partly different interpretation, cf. DGP 2: 271 concerning ODa. *Finne*; also cf. Lind 1920-21: 80 concerning OWS scand. *Finni*) and the feminine equivalent *Finska* were common bynames in Arboga.

Names Referring to Occupation and Social Status

Names referring to a person's occupation or social status represent one of the most common categories in Sigtuna. *Snickar-Olle*'s 'carpenter-Olle's' occupation as a carpenter is obvious, as is the fact that *Möbel-Anders* 'furniture-Anders' was the owner of the furniture store. *Kalle Braxen*, where *braxen* means 'bream', was a fisherman and was also called simply *Braxen* (Sundström 2012: 275). The byname of *Buss-Jerker* 'Bus-Jerker' tells us his occupation is

that of a bus driver. Only one woman is represented in this group, *Krog-Alma* ‘restaurant-Alma’ (Sundström 2012: 276); Alma did the waiting in the only restaurant in the town.

Many bynames in Arboga derived from people’s occupations, and to some extent also from their social status. We find *Jakob Tunnobindare* ‘cooper’ (Sundström 2006: 42), who obviously made barrels, *Jönis Skræddare* ‘tailor’ (see Sundström 2008b: 435; cf. Hellquist 1912: 105, Brieskorn 1912: 149 ff.), and *Sone Nøtakarl* (cf. Hellquist 1912: 105), who took care of the cattle of the town. The byname of *Birger Almosogubbe* ‘old man who lives on alms’ clearly tells us about his social status (Sundström 2008b: 436). The woman who was called *Sapokonan* ‘the soap woman’ (Sundström 2004: 129) may have fabricated and sold soap (or been married to a man with that profession), and was at least well known, as there was clearly no need for a first name. There are also other bynames belonging to this group which are not occupational designations, for example *Gester* ‘stranger; stranger staying in the town; guest’ (cf. DGP 2: 332 concerning ODa. *Gest*, with a partly different interpretation; also cf. Lind 1920-1921: 108 concerning OWScand. *Gestr*, again with a slightly different interpretation).

Names Referring to External Characteristics

A focus on external characteristics is very common in designations for people. In Sigtuna we find *Bleka Ville* ‘pale Ville’ (Sundström 2012: 276), who was pale-skinned or fair-haired; *Hak-Johan* ‘chin-Johan’ (Sundström 2012: 276), who probably had a conspicuous chin; and *Storis* ‘big’ (Sundström 2012: 276), who was short in stature. The man called *Klumpfot* ‘club foot’ had such a foot, and *Rödtopp* ‘redhead’ was red-haired.

In Arboga, bynames referring to a person’s external characteristics were frequently used. Examples are *Træfoter* ‘wooden foot’, the bearer of which probably had such a foot (cf. Lind 1920-1921: 386 concerning OWScand. *Tréfótr*); and a person called *Tumalös*, his name meaning ‘thumbless’, who was missing one or both thumbs (Sundström 2008b: 436). *Ragvald Mædh ena handene* meant ‘Ragvald with one hand’ (Sundström 2008b: 436), and *Bleka Luci* ‘pale Luci’ was probably pale in hair colour and complexion (cf. DGP 2: 86-87 concerning ODa. *Blek* and Lind 1920-21: 29 concerning OWScand. *Bleiki*; also Hellquist 1912: 102, Sahlgren 1944: 211, Peterson 1996: 24 and Sundström 2004: 129). The person designated *Mædh rødha hareth*, on the other hand, was endowed with red hair. *Krokfoter* had a crooked or bent foot (see Sundström 2008b: 436; cf. Jónsson 1907: 220 concerning OWScand. *Krókfótr*; for an alternative interpretation of that name, cf. Lind 1920-1921: 220 and 1920: 305-306). A common way of naming people was to refer to their size. Several people in Arboga were designated in that way, for example with a byname *Langher* ‘tall’, though it is not certain that the person was tall; the name could just as well have been used ironically to refer to someone of short stature (cf. the modern *Storis* ‘big’ above).

Names Referring to Internal Characteristics

Bynames stemming from a person's internal characteristics are not frequently used in Sigtuna. There are only a few examples: *Vilden* 'the wild one' (Sundström 2012: 276) was an apt description of the man in question; *Buse* (Sundström 2012: 276) 'hooligan', on the other hand, was not as unpleasant as his name implies.

In Arboga, however, names in this category are not uncommon. References to a person's age are commonly used in designating people, examples being: *Gamle* 'old' and *Unger/Unge* 'young', which are both representatives of this name-semantic group (cf. DGP 2: 321-323 concerning ODa. *Gamal*; Lind 1920-21: 98-101 concerning OWScand. *Gamli*; Hellquist 1912: 102, Peterson 1996: 24 and cf. DGP 2: 1159-1160 concerning ODa. *Ung, Unger*; Lind 1920-21: 391-393 concerning OWScand. *Ungr/Ungi*; Hellquist 1912: 103). The bynames *Urvædher* 'snowstorm' and *Storm* 'storm' may have their origins in a comparison between weather and a person's temper (cf. concerning *Urvædher* Hellquist 1912: 98; see Sundström 2008b: 437 and cf. DGP 2: 1077-1078 concerning ODa. *Storm*; Lind 1920-21: 363 concerning OWScand. *Stormr*; Hellquist 1912: 98; see Sundström 2008b: 437).

Names Referring to Clothes and Equipment

References to the way people dress or their habit of using certain equipment rarely occur in my corpus from Sigtuna. As I see it, there is only one person who was given his byname for either of these reasons: *91:an*, meaning 'number 91' (Sundström 2012: 276), may have taken his byname from a popular Swedish comic-strip character, who is described as a good-natured national serviceman (NEn 14: 185); the person so designated may have been similar in character, and was also well known for his habit of not changing out of his military uniform before starting work mending bicycles while on leave from his military service.

The material from Arboga shows a slightly different picture, as naming people with reference to their clothes and other equipment is not uncommon. Here are a few examples: two men are designated *Mædh bla kapona* 'with the blue gown or coat' (cf. Brylla 1999: 13), and probably they wore such a coat. *Olaf Ringapunger* 'pouch of rings or made of rings?' could have worn such a pouch (Sundström 2008b: 437), and *Erik Spænnklo*, the byname meaning 'claw or hook that fastens something together?', probably kept his clothes closed by means of a special hook (Sundström 2008b: 437).

Names Referring to Habits and Events

As I have already mentioned, it is difficult to determine whether something occurred regularly or whether it was an occasional action, and I have therefore chosen to combine the categories 'habits' and 'events'.

In my material from Sigtuna this group is the largest. A man called *Kanada-Gösta* 'Canada-Gösta' (Sundström 2012: 277) had worked in Canada in his youth, and *Snus-Ejnar* 'snuff-Ejnar' had the habit of using oral snuff (Sundström 2012: 277). *Bandy-Johan* (Sundström 2012: 277) 'bandy-Johan' was well known as a good bandy player, and that the female teacher *Smällan* 'the smacker' (Sundström 2012: 277) sometimes used to give her

pupils a slap was common knowledge. The man by the name of *Ständig semestern* ‘constant holiday’ (Sundström 2012: 277) was often out of work and therefore had a lot of free time, which was explained (by him) as a result of his being on holiday.

Using a person’s habits or a special event as a basis for a byname is not uncommon in Arboga. The men called *Skökendiævul*, the byname being a curse meaning ‘prostitute-devil’ (Sundström 2006: 62), and *Peter I bætta matto* ‘to the best degree’ (cf. Brylla 1999: 18, Modéer 1989: 106 and Sundström 2008b: 437) probably used these expressions regularly. A woman with the byname *Fæhuset* ‘cow-house’ (Sundström 2004: 129 and 2008b: 438) possibly got her name from her habit of living in such a building. In Arboga, the reasons for the name-semantic interpretation are sometimes uncertain, though there are a few examples where we can be fairly sure why a particular name was chosen. The reason *Ingevald* with the byname *Smidh* ‘smith’ was called *Ingevald Panka* is well known. He was accused of stealing small bream, the name *Panka* meaning ‘small bream or similar fish’ (see Alvered 1996: 28, Sundström 2008a: 176-179 and 2008b: 439; cf. DGP 2: 796 concerning ODa. *Panke*, with an alternative origin; and cf. Hellquist 1912: 97). How the man called *Stuten* ‘young ox or bull’ came by his name is not known (cf. DGP 2: 1087-1088 concerning ODa. *Stut*; Lind 1920-1921: 366 concerning OWScand. *Stútr*; Hellquist 1912: 97), but it is probably connected with a special occasion.

Names which are a Play on or Formed from a Family Name

In my analysis I have also used another possibility when categorising bynames, and that is a morphological category: names which are a play on or formed from a family name (see Leibring 2004: 77). The bynames *Ludde*, *Linkan* and *Ljunken* are formed from the family names *Lundin*, *Lindkvist* and *Ljunggren*, respectively (Sundström 2012: 277). This group is only found in the Sigtuna material and is one of the largest categories in that corpus.

Uninterpreted Names

I have been forced to leave some names uninterpreted. Not because they are semantically vague, even if this is sometimes the case, especially in the Arboga material, but because the name-semantic basis is unknown. Concerning the data from Sigtuna, I have usually tried to avoid speculation.

Discussion

One of the interesting observations made in this study is that bynames referring to a person’s occupation or social status are one of the most popular categories in both medieval and modern times. Bynames emanating from habits and events also form a large group in Sigtuna, but in Arboga they are used less often.

In Arboga bynames originating in a person’s external characteristics are fairly common, whereas this way of designating people is not used as often in Sigtuna. The categories ‘descent and kinship’ and ‘origin and place of residence’ occur frequently in Arboga, but less often in Sigtuna. Showing a family relationship to a man by constructing a

‘wife’s name’, which connects a woman to her husband by his first name or byname in the genitive, for example *Bakares*, is common in Arboga. Such a name is also found in Sigtuna: *Kolas Märta*, Märta being married to a man called *Kolas*. Names ending in *-magher* ‘son-in-law’ are not uncommon in Arboga, but are non-existent in Sigtuna. Bynames stemming from a person’s place of geographical origin and residence are not unknown in the modern corpus and are commonly used in the medieval one. During both periods, it is common to use bynames based on the name of a farm or village. Compounds with *-bo* and *-karl* are used in the medieval material, but not in the modern corpus.

Compared with the more popular categories, bynames belonging to the groups ‘internal characteristics’ and ‘clothing and equipment’ are not used very often. One way of designating people is only found in Sigtuna: names which are a play on or formed from a family name, and strictly speaking, this is not a name-semantic, but a morphological way of analysing names. Nevertheless, it is useful when discussing bynames. This category is quite a popular one in Sigtuna, but is not represented in Arboga.

The popularity of certain categories is probably due to the fact that a person’s occupation, for example, clearly distinguishes him or her and is therefore useful in designating people (Sundström 2012: 279). In the same way, people’s external characteristics are easily observed and clearly distinguish one individual from another, and therefore frequently give rise to bynames (Sundström 2012: 279).

At the beginning of this article, I asked the question whether anything has happened in the space of 500 years. The answer is, not much. The study shows that all name-semantic categories are used in both periods. But there are small differences as well as similarities. A person’s occupation or social status frequently serves as a basis for a byname in both periods. External characteristics are also often used, though they figure more prominently in Arboga. Using a person’s habits or memorable events as a basis for a byname is more common in Sigtuna than in Arboga. The morphological category of names which are a play on or formed from a family name is only found in Sigtuna. One reason for this could be that there are few family names in Arboga. Inherited bynames, bynames used in two succeeding generations or by two siblings (Ryman 2002: 25), are found in Arboga, though it is difficult to prove that they stem from a play on words. In the court records from Arboga, the names mentioned are the official ones, that being the nature of the source. Perhaps it is possible to regard the above-mentioned *Panka* (see Names Referring to Habits and Events) as unofficial, and individuals who have more than one byname (such as *Andres Finne Mædh bla kapon* ‘Anders the Finn with the blue coat’, and *Hans Krokfoter* ‘crooked foot’, who is also called *Klysnare*, meaning ‘hermit’) may regard one of them as the official one.

The inhabitants of Arboga surely wanted to joke with their neighbours or to play on their names, but it is difficult to prove. The question of official names is also crucial; bynames in Sigtuna are never official, being used in oral contexts to identify a person. In Arboga, the bynames observed are official, as they appear in court records.

One interesting question is: did women have bynames? There are few women with bynames in my data (10% of the entire corpus in Arboga, 9% in Sigtuna). To receive such a name, you have to be part of public life; if that is not the case, you will be less often spoken of and will probably not need a byname (see Leibring 2004: 78-79, Sundström 2012: 278). Women given a byname are rare in Sigtuna, but they are found in all categories except names

referring to clothes and equipment, names referring to internal characteristics and names which are a play on or formed from a family name. In Arboga, women's names occur in all categories in which bynames are found.

Another question is whether there are names that are used in both medieval and modern times. As may be expected, certain names are found in both periods, for example *Laures Snidhkare* has a modern counterpart in *Snickar-Olle* (*snidhkare* meaning 'carpenter'; see Names Referring to Occupation and Social Status); *Mædh rødha hareth* 'with the red hair', has his equivalent in the modern *Rödtopp* 'redhead', both names referring to the bearer's red hair; and *Bleka Luci* corresponds to *Bleka Ville*, both of them probably pale-skinned and fair-haired, *bleka* meaning 'pale' (see Names Referring to External Characteristics).

Conclusion

The result of my investigation is that the same name-semantic categories are used in designating people in Arboga and Sigtuna, the only exception being the morphological category of names that are a play on or formed from a family name, which is new in Sigtuna. In addition, some categories are preferred to others. Often these popular groups consist of names based on easily observed and clearly distinguishing characteristics. The way people thought about these matters remained similar in many ways down the centuries; even if their circumstances were different, when it came to naming people they had similar ideas.

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Nicknames: Offline and Online Secondary Nicknaming Contexts

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Abstract

The paper is focused on analysing English and Russian nicknames of persons functioning in everyday communication and mass media.

Nicknaming context is viewed in this research as: 1) a verbal environment of a nickname; 2) non-verbal (extra-linguistic) circumstances in which a nickname occurs. Thus it includes motivation, evaluative and functional information, the facts concerning the sphere and the circumstances of nickname generating and use, characteristics and attitudes of the people involved in nicknaming practices. In reality this information is presented partially, implicitly as nicknames emerge and function in oral colloquial discourse characterised by fluency, spontaneity and irreversibility. As a result nicknaming environment can be analysed on the basis of secondary contexts created as a reaction to a request to motivate a nickname.

Secondary nicknaming contexts available for a researcher can be taken from:

- 1) offline resources (questionnaires, print media);
- 2) online resources, e.g. internet discussion sites as well as news sites reporting about celebrities.

Further on, the paper deals with the structure of nicknaming contexts extracted from the aforementioned resources with a special focus on the commentaries concerning pragmatic, cultural and psychological peculiarities of nicknaming such as social behavior patterns, attitudes and opinions, culturally predetermined motivations.

* * *

Introduction

The present paper is aimed at exploring contexts in which people's nicknames appear and function in real and virtual communication. The object of study is nicknames of persons accompanied by the contexts in which they are used. The objectives of describing and analyzing these contexts are the following:

- 1) extracting, revealing, interpreting extra-linguistic information, concerning cultural and pragmatic factors behind nicknaming practices;
- 2) constructing a learner's culture-oriented dictionary of nicknames based on the interpretational linguo-cultural analysis of nicknaming contexts.

This research is based on the following investigations dealing with discourse and its social, communicative and cultural specificity Dijk (1989), Wodak (1997), Hall (1981), Crystal (2001), Karasik (2004).

Data, Resources, Methods of Research

The present sample of data consists of over 4,000 English (British and American) and over 2,000 Russian nicknames and nicknaming contexts, taken from internet forums and blogs as well as questionnaires and interviews with native speakers. Occasionally I resort to examples from contemporary fiction for illustrative purposes.

Thus the methods employed in the course of study include:

- 1) those aimed at collecting the data (continuous sampling from the above-mentioned resources, interviewing, questionnaire filling);
- 2) those connected with discourse analysis (contextual analysis, interpretational analysis).

Discussion

Challenges of Research

Investigating nicknames results in a number of challenges, connected with:

- 1) collecting nicknaming contexts in which nicknames naturally come up and are used, as the act of nomination is hidden from the researcher. It must be underlined that collecting nicknames of any culture is not as challenging as catching and accurately recording the precise contexts in which nicknames are born. The same problem occurs with most of the follow-up nicknaming contexts.

Another challenge for a researcher is connected with getting trustworthy, accurate, unbiased information about nicknaming practices. Intimate or pejorative nature of nicknames can result in subjective and incomplete information about their motivation which can require expertise to avoid misinterpretation of culturally-specific nicknaming practices. This effect can be due to the influence of political correctness (political correctness effect).

Besides, collecting nicknaming contexts is challenging due to an unrecordable number of nicknames, many of which represent occasional cases of nomination;

- 2) sorting out and retrieving culturally-specific information and its appropriate decoding for the purposes of teaching a language and culture;
- 3) creating a complete learner's culture-oriented dictionary of nicknames which can address the needs of modern competence-based approach in teaching a foreign language and culture.

These challenges create the need to find a discourse in which the personality of an interviewer is not intruding into the nicknaming practice or becomes less obvious for the interviewee, and establishing the conditions for anonymous expression of opinions and attitudes.

In this respect the space of internet discourse can be to some extent regarded as a source of nicknaming contexts from real-life communication.

Nicknaming Context: Definition

Nicknaming context is viewed in this research as a verbal environment of a nickname. In a wider sense a nicknaming context also includes non-verbal (extra-linguistic) circumstances in which a nickname occurs. These circumstances determine the structure of a nicknaming context (see below).

Classification of Nicknaming Contexts

The classification of nicknaming contexts presented below is aimed at analysing their potential to reveal culturally-specific information.

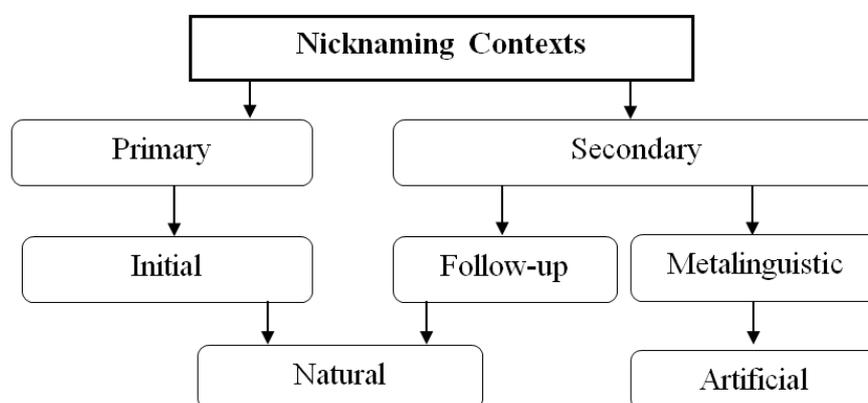


Fig. 22. Classification of nicknaming contexts

Primary or coinage contexts are initial contexts, representing unique circumstances in which nicknames emerge or are coined. Such contexts are highly subjective and involve the following components: the nominator/name giver, the nominee/name bearer and the witnesses of the nickname giving act.

Secondary contexts are those in which a newly-coined nickname starts to circulate. We distinguish between two types of secondary contexts: follow-up contexts and metalinguistic contexts.

Follow-up contexts represent further uses of a nickname in the natural environment functioning as a means of addressing or specifying a person.

Illustrative examples below, though taken from fiction, demonstrate possible algorithm of coining a nickname and its coming into use.

Stage 1. Appellative (based on comparison):

(1) It was quite a shock to see Doreen Slater for the first time. <...> She is as thin as *a stick insect* (Townsend 2002: 105).

Stage 2. Metaphorical appellative:

(2) Went to school today, couldn't concentrate, kept thinking about *the stick insect* (Townsend 2002: 106).

Stage 3. Metaphorical nickname. Further on the nomination *stick insect* is used as a metaphorical nickname both in Adrian Mole's inner monologues (example (3)) and dialogues with other characters (example (4)). Functioning as a nickname it is used without articles and becomes capitalized:

(3) My father, *Stick Insect* and Maxwell House saw me off at the station (Townsend 2002: 146).

(4) I said, 'What's brought him here.'
'His mother. I don't know her name,' she said.
'*Stick Insect*,' I said. 'Otherwise known as Doreen Slater.' (Townsend 2010: 57).

Metalinguistic contexts (reflective or reaction contexts) are contexts representing a reflection on a nickname as a linguistic sign, interpretation of its motivation, connotation, pragmatic aspect. This context can be produced by any person who knows about a nickname in question. In example (5) metalinguistic contexts are given in italics.

(5) Mr Turner – 'Trog' – *because he looked like a cartoon character with that name.* He was also known as 'The rubber-necked man from Mars' *because of his long neck* (Interview 2009, BrE).¹

Primary and secondary follow-up contexts can be called natural contexts as opposed to secondary meta-contexts as artificial contexts. Natural contexts are those of nomination and address (direct or indirect).

Examples (3) and (4) above illustrate the 'behind-the-back' or indirect address contexts of a nickname.

Nicknames in the function of direct address are any examples of the vocative use of nicknames:

(6) Nigel said, 'The rolling stone gathers no moss, eh, *Moley?*' (Townsend 1999: 321).

Artificial contexts are secondary nicknaming meta-contexts created as a reaction to a request to motivate a nickname, e.g. provoked by a researcher or anyone interested in the motivation of a 'cloudy' nickname. Example (7) is an extract from the internet forum under the heading

¹ The label 'BrE' stands for the British nicknaming contexts. The label 'NAme' stands for the US nicknaming contexts.

‘Everyone has co-workers or friends with nicknames, share a few’, asking its users to share nicknames they know:

(7) Obviously some need no explanation, such as the ubiquitous ‘knuckles’ or ‘scrap iron’ that are flexible and can be applied to whomever messed up last. Over the years there have been some pretty colorful ones.

Start with your own if you have one and it wont get you in trouble (Everyone has co-workers or friends with nicknames, share a few).²

Further on, this thread starter is followed by nicknaming contexts in which the users reflect on their personal experiences with nicknames:

(8) Funny, yes, I was thinkning the very samething myself earlier. Mine, Rango of course, from an old Tim Conway tv western in the ‘70’s, he was constantly falling off his horse, my Dad was given the nick after a horse mishap that landed him in the ER, I was LIttle Rango until he died, then the little was dropped (Everyone has co-workers or friends with nicknames, share a few).

Another example of artificial nicknaming contexts is a questionnaire, designed to focus on particular aspects of the phenomenon under investigation:

(9) Did you have a nickname as a child? *Yes.*

If so, what was it? *Chubs.*

How did you come to have that nickname? *As a child, I was a little heavy.*

Who called you by that nickname? *Brothers.*

Do they still call you that name today? *Yes.*

How did/do you feel when called by that name? *Indifferent.*³

Natural contexts represent a nickname in an authentic environment. However, as a rule such contexts lack linguistic and extra-linguistic information about the nickname itself. On the other hand, secondary artificial contexts represent the information behind nicknames explicitly. They are more likely to express opinions, attitudes, values, thus serving as sources of culturally-specific information.

Nicknaming contexts of the aforementioned types find their representation in oral and written discourse.

In-group or micro-group nicknames mostly function in oral discourse, in which nicknaming contexts are scattered in time and space. As a result the researcher has to deal with written discourse represented by:

² Please note that we preserved the original spelling and punctuation hereafter.

³ Part of nickname questionnaire, 2007 (NAmE). The answers are given in italics.

- 1) offline resources (the data received from the respondents' interviews as well as printed media, reference books and dictionaries);
- 2) online resources, such as internet discussion sites (message boards, blogs) as well as news sites reporting about celebrities.

Discussing language and internet, Crystal (2001) states:

The web is truly part of a new linguistic medium – more dynamic than traditional writing, and more permanent than traditional speech.

The intermediate status of online discourse gives it an advantage of interactivity. As a result, online messages of any format, style, genre and topic can get responses in the form of follow-up or meta-contexts, expressing valuable information about people's opinions and attitudes which are in most cases culturally charged.

Written nicknaming contexts, found in offline and online mass media, are often targeted at celebrities. An extract below is taken from the *Huffington Post UK*'s blog under the title 'Britain's Best and Worst Political Nicknames' to illustrate a mixture of follow-up (example (10a)) and meta-contexts (example (10b)) embedded in the introductory part of the blog about politicians' nicknames, *Lord Baldemort* (Liam Byrne) and *Teflon Tony* (Tony Blair):

(10a) Muggles beware – *Lord Baldemort* is back!

Prime Minister David Cameron used this name during Prime Minister's Questions on Wednesday to refer to Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary, Liam Byrne.

(10b) It is not the first time he has been blessed with this nickname, *a play on the Harry Potter villain Lord Voldemort*.

Nicknames are often used by politicians in order to belittle their rivals, but often they can have the reverse effect – elevating an otherwise unknown figure, giving them a narrative that they can use to define their career. For example, some would suggest that 'Baldemort' *might give the impression that, like his fictional counterpart, Liam Byrne could be a figure of immense power*.

Here are Huffington Post UK's favourite British political nicknames.

Teflon Tony

Former Prime Minister Tony Blair was known as 'Teflon' *because for a very long time, criticism never seemed to stick to him* (Huxley 2012).

Online resources provide more opportunities for interactivity and involvement of the target group of readers in further discussion and extension of natural contexts into meta-contexts. Meta-contexts are of special interest in our research as they explicate opinions, attitudes,

public sentiment, evaluating the figures in focus. Such meta-contexts are found in the ‘Comments’ section of a blog:

(11) Comments:

jankul456

Dr. Tony Blair, the greatest UK Prime Minister ever! The best friend of common working man. British people need leaders right him right now.

6 FEB 2012 00:19

Hugh_Albert

It's a joke, right? You forgot to put in a smiley face and/ or lol.

28 APR 2012 20:05

jankul456

This world we live in now couldn't handle a real leader like Tony Blair. They just don't make them like him anymore unfortunately!

28 APR 2012 22:16

Belthazor_A

Bliar known as teflon, not just because as in your article ‘criticism’ never seemed to stick, but an awful lot of murky stuff as well never seemed to fix to his coating either.

3 FEB 2012 21:22 (Huxley 2012).

Besides websites discussing celebrity nicknames there are online forums and blogs devoted to discussions of in-group or micro-social nicknames.

Analysing online nicknaming contexts from the cultural perspective we must take into consideration the following criteria:

- a) degree of interactivity;
- b) degree of formality;
- c) mono-cultural vs poly-cultural character;
- d) occasional / individual / subcultural, culturally-specific contexts vs universal contexts;
- e) high vs low nicknaming contexts, by analogy with high and low context cultures distinguished by Edward T. Hall (1981). High nicknaming contexts as opposed to low contexts are holders of implicit information, concerning the motives of nomination:

(12) Copper Knob.....<<< *for obvious reasons* (What was your childhood nickname?).

(13) One girl is known as ‘Dr Teeth’ – *you can guess why* (Do you make up nicknames for people at work?).

(14) Butter bean: *not the boxxer but similar in shape and is known to consume a large pizza in one sitting* (Nicknames for co-workers).

(15) Punkinhead and Big Foot *need no explanation* (Everyone has co-workers or friends with nicknames, share a few).

(16) *Grendel* – girl across the hall in our dorms freshman year...*self-explanatory* (Nicknames for co-workers).

Such commentaries as ‘for obvious reason’, ‘you can guess why’, ‘need no explanation’ appeal to the users’ background knowledge. Whereas the representatives of a foreign culture are likely to experience the informational gap about *Copper Top* being a nickname for red-haired people, and *Dr Teeth*, which can be a false friend leading to a generalized interpretation of a nickname and failing to explicate the image of the ‘Muppet Show’ character, with a broad smile and a golden tooth.

However, in cases when culturally-specific phenomena undergo the process of globalization, motivation of nicknames alluding to such phenomena needs no further explication. Thus, the ‘Smurf’ nicknames, based on associations with blue colour (example (17a)) and mushrooms (example (17b)), are easily decoded by a Russian speaker:

(17a) *Smurf Nutt*

A few ppl at school call me Smurf Nutt cause freshman year *I had blue streaks in my hair* (Nicknames your friends give u).

(17b) My nickname in high school was ‘Smurf’. I was a good art student so some of the potheads in my art class asked me *to draw pictures of mushrooms for them* (Huff).

Analysing nicknaming contexts according to the enumerated criteria we can judge about their relevance to the core aim of our research, connected with selecting between culturally marked and unmarked nicknames and nicknaming contexts.

Structure and Analysis of Nicknaming Contexts

Further on the paper deals with the structure of nicknaming contexts extracted from the resources mentioned above with a special focus on the commentaries concerning pragmatic, cultural and psychological peculiarities of nicknaming such as social behavior patterns, attitudes and evaluation, culturally charged motivations.

The structure of a nicknaming context is predetermined by the type of discourse. Any nicknaming context can include:

- a) motivation;
- b) evaluative information;
- c) functional information;

- d) the facts concerning the sphere and the circumstances of bestowing a name and its further use;
- e) characteristics of the people involved in nicknaming practice (nickname giver, nickname user, nickname bearer) and relations between them;
- f) reference to culturally significant concepts, values, attitudes.

Let us analyse the nicknaming context given below (examples (18)-(18b)).

(18) RateMyTeachers. Teachers Nicknames

by arkangel on Tue Nov 20, 2007 4:46 pm

Anyone know nicknames of ur teachers??

(18a) by Dodger on Fri Dec 28, 2007 3:23 am

Location: Arkansas

The principal at my school is obsessed with the dress code. I mean, we don't have uniforms, but obviously there's still rules. And she will STUDY you as you walk down the hall, just to be absolutely certain you are within the dress code. It's scary. She stares at people. So we call her the '*Clothes Nazi*'.

(18b) by jcb on Thu Jan 03, 2008 8:41 pm

Location: near Boston, MA (USA)

Gender: Male

I think it would be more amusing if you called her the *clothes horse* (RateMyTeachers).

The first stage of our analysis concerns the surface structure of the extract as part of internet discourse.

1. General characteristics, the type of internet discourse. The context under analysis is part of the thematic online forum characterized by cultural heterogeneity (users from the USA, UK, Canada). Gender, age and other characteristics are mostly not specified. Anyway due to the anonymity these characteristics are not to be trusted. The discussion was launched in November 2007.
2. The heading, stating the topic or the thread of the forum: *RateMyTeachers. Teachers Nicknames*.
3. Information about the author of the suggested topic (no information given).
4. A message topic, clarifying the problem, inviting a discussion: *Anyone know nicknames of ur teachers??*

Message topics are very informative for a researcher as they also testify to some current issues and prove the significance of the problem in society: 'Did you have a nickname growing up or in school?', 'Evil nicknames acquired in high school', 'Nicknames of school teachers?', 'Do Tell: Nicknames Between You and Your Friends', 'Do you make up nicknames for people at work?', 'Funniest Nicknames', 'What funny/cute nicknames do you

have for your baby or child?', 'Why do we have such naff nicknames?', 'Jazz Nicknames', 'Mafia nicknames: Are you calling me "baby shacks"?', 'Player Nicknames'.

Message topics can be extended into introductory paragraphs (thread starters) where authors share personal experience, explaining the reasons for the topic, giving examples, etc. (examples (10a), (10b) of the present paper).

1. Multiple replies, representing exchange of other members' experiences (example (18a)).
2. Feedback commentaries of other members (example (18b)).

The second stage of our analysis is aimed at interpreting the contents of the given extract as a nicknaming context.

The kernel element of the nicknaming context is the nickname itself (the '*Clothes Nazi*').

The inner peripheral zone includes interpretation of motivation and connotation concerning the name-bearer, which is in this case explicit: strict and demanding head teacher, obsessed with school dress-code. Negative, pejorative character of the nickname is expressed explicitly through a number of devices:

- emotionally charged lexical and graphic expressive means (*obsessed with the dress code; It's scary. She stares at people, she will STUDY you*);
- allusion to a universal concept of Nazi as the embodiment of violence and brutality.

Evaluative component is extended in another user's remark, expressing advice to rename the head teacher into the *clothes horse*, which would express mockery through emphasizing her obsession with clothes.

The outer peripheral zone includes the following extralinguistic information about the nickname:

- 1) sphere of function (school);
- 2) temporal characteristics, frequency of the event described (regular);
- 3) demographic characteristics of the name-bearer(s): age (unknown), sex (female), social status (head teacher), citizenship, nationality (the USA, Arkansas), personal traits (authoritarian, demanding);
- 4) demographic characteristics of those using the nickname (school students, the USA, Arkansas);
- 5) characteristics of the author, who posted this information (coincides with point 4);
- 6) relations between the participants of the described situation, their patterns of behavior, social roles (hierarchy due to age and status differences between the head teacher and students; restraint, expressed in the head teacher's strict attitude to her students, who feel disdain and fear to her);

- 7) rules of social behaviour, norms and values of a culture (ambiguous attitude to the rules of dress code at school; ironical attitude towards the concept of 'clothes horsing', as a kind of shopaholism);
- 8) predominant functions of this particular nicknaming context, usually expressed indirectly through explicit information. The nickname under analysis is used in 'behind-the-back' contexts and the main function of this nickname is integrating students in order to overcome negative emotions through collective mocking at the source of these emotions, a person who supervises and frightens them.

Conclusion

In conclusion it is necessary to emphasize the types of nicknaming contexts which can be treated as relevant for further culture-oriented analysis:

- 1) secondary contexts as opposed to primary ones;
- 2) artificial meta-contexts as opposed to natural ones;
- 3) online or offline interactive contexts as opposed to offline non-interactive ones;
- 4) mono-cultural contexts as opposed to poly-cultural ones;
- 5) culturally-marked low or high contexts as opposed to universal ones.

Nicknames and nicknaming contexts selected and interpreted according to these criteria can be integrated into an entry of a dictionary on nicknames and culture.

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By the Rivers of Babylon, We Served our Master

Lieselot Vanderpe

Abstract

Undoubtedly, names were as important in Mesopotamia as they are in modern societies and not only for the ease of reference in administrative and legal texts. Information on the naming practices in the Ancient Near East is quite sparse and for the most part circumstantial due to the nature of our cuneiform text sources. This poster represents an in-depth analysis of the naming of slaves in Old Babylonian Sippar (1st half of 2nd millennium BC). For, as Patterson (1982: 54) already noticed, a man's name is more than simply a way of calling him, it is the verbal signal of his whole identity, his being-in-the-world as a distinct person and establishes and advertises his relation with kinsmen.

First, an analysis of the slave names of Old Babylonian Sippar, with particular attention to gender, age, date, etymology, etc. is made. Secondly, the hypothesis of the uniqueness of slave names is treated, in comparison to slave naming practices from different cultures and periods. Thirdly, the possibility of a 'rite de passage' during the enslavement ritual as being the moment of name change is investigated. Finally, attention is paid to aspects of kinship terms in Mesopotamian slave names.

It's all Greek to Me: Cacophony in the Hellenic Diaspora

Stavroula Varella

Abstract

This paper has two aims. First, it describes patterns of name change in the Greek diaspora, including the linguistic motivations for family name modification, and the particular processes involved in making names less dissonant, easier to pronounce (and spell), and better fitting in an English-speaking context. Second, it looks at the psychological repercussions of such changes, touching upon issues of cultural adaptivity and self-identification for those concerned.

One Kingdom, Two Languages. Anthroponomastics in Early Modern Navarre

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Abstract

This paper focuses on Navarre, a small kingdom near the French border, which was independent during the Middle Ages. The original language of Navarre was Basque, a non-Romance language, which was also unwritten, as the political powers used Latin, Navarrese Romance, French, Occitan or other languages. In 1512 Navarre was conquered by the Catholic king, Ferdinand, and incorporated into Castile as part of the Spanish kingdom. After the union the Navarrese elite tried to adapt to their new situation by learning Spanish; this was also a way of gaining access to overseas trade. There were cultural as well as linguistic differences between Navarre and Castile for example in the conception of a woman's role in the household and in the transmission of property from one generation to the next. Rules governing inheritance also affected the transmission of family names. The result of the incorporation of Navarre into Castile was a peculiar anthroponomastic system, a mixture of both cultures.

* * *

Navarre: An Introduction

Navarre is strategically located on the European mainland, bordering France and Spain. Extending between the great chain of the Pyrenean mountains and the Ebro river, it encompasses a wide variety of ecosystems; however it is a mainly mountainous country and during the Medieval and Early Modern Ages it was quite poor. Navarre had powerful neighbours, challenging topography and, from 1135, there was no border with Muslim territory, a potential source of income; in addition, from 1200 Navarre had no access to the sea. It was therefore not an attractive territory to the various historical invaders of the Iberian Peninsula. Neither the Romans, Visigoths (a Barbarian tribe), nor Muslims apparently paid very much attention to Navarre because of its peripheral situation, scarce population and poor agricultural resources. On closer analysis, there is a clear contrast between the North and South of Navarre. The Northern sector of Navarre, close to the Pyrenees, is more isolated, covered with forest, has a rainy and foggy climate, and is characterised by small villages dotted throughout the rural landscape, whose populations spoke Basque exclusively, until the 20th century. The Southern sector of Navarre, the sunny Ebro valley, is an area of flat ground with open horizons, whose inhabitants were Romanised early on and lost the Basque language; it was a crossroads for people travelling from Castile and Aragon. The Northern and Southern sectors have sometimes been identified with *saltus* and *ager* respectively (Iriarte López 2000); Southern Navarre was much more affected by Romanisation. The town founded by Pompeius in 79 BC, according to legend – *Pompaelo*, the current city of

Pamplona – was situated at a meeting point between the Northern and Southern sectors. Some historiographers consider that the *saltus vasconum* has preserved the original identity of this kingdom; these scholars argue – and this is a matter for contention – that one can still find all the original features of Basque people in the *saltus*.

One fact is unquestionable, the language spoken by most of the Navarrese, called Basque, was the only pre-Roman language that survived on the Peninsula after a long period of intense Romanisation. The decline of the Roman Empire, which began in the 3rd century AD, the subsequent urban decadence and the ability to come to terms of agreement with invading people instead of confronting them – attributed by some authors to the Basque people – help to explain this extraordinary conservation. The Latin spoken in the *ager*, consisting mainly of the Ebro valley and the Eastern part of the kingdom, bordering Aragon, evolved towards a local dialect, called Navarrese, which had merged with Spanish by the time of the conquest. These processes explain the particularities of the Spanish spoken by natives of this region nowadays; on the other hand, native Basque speakers usually speak a very pure Spanish, because they learn standard Spanish in school, but it is not a language they use in ordinary life.

A Kingdom at the Crossroads

In 810AD a legendary leader, Iñigo Arista, first king of Pamplona came to power in this approximately 12,000 km² territory. At that time the Iberian Peninsula was dominated by Muslims, with whom Iñigo's dynasty became related by marriage. The territory had been previously dominated by the Roman Empire (from 2nd century BC until 5th century AD; the era in which Pamplona was founded). After the collapse of the Roman Empire the area was invaded by Visigoths, who dominated from 6th century to 713, and later by Muslims. These conquerors ruled over the native population, mostly *Bascones*, a folk whose origins remain mysterious; it is difficult even to determine exactly where they settled down (Andreu Pintado 2009). Iñigo ruled his small kingdom until 851, and it became one of the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula during the Muslim era. From 1150 onwards his successors adopted the title 'king of Navarre', instead of 'king of Pamplona', changing the more restrictive concept – Pamplona was the bishopric town, the place where nobility lived – to a territorial, broader conception of its dominion. At the same time, in the context of the *Reconquista*, a period of expansion was followed by a retrenchment in which Navarre lost part of its territory, reducing in size from approximately 20,000km² to 12,000km². One can infer that here, as in other regions of the continent, a variety of languages co-existed throughout this long period: Latin was the language used in most official documents during the Pamplona's kingdom era and afterwards; Arabic, specially in the Ebro valley; Jewish, in the main towns, such as Pamplona, Tudela and Estella.

During the Middle Ages, the discovery of St. James the Apostle's tomb in Galicia was the origin of the road to Santiago – sometimes called the 'high street of Europe'. The massive movement of pilgrims through Navarre had an important influence on art, culture, religion and onomastics. From the urban recovery until the end of 11th century new inhabitants called Franks settled in this territory; some of them – the merchants – spoke Occitan, as we can see

from the documents they produced (García Larragueta 1977). It is clear however that the vast majority of the Navarrese population spoke only Basque during this period, and that the language was rarely written down although it was widely spoken. This was not a bilingual population, with the exception of the priests, notaries and local nobility and, as mentioned before, Basque was a pre-Roman language, the sole surviving example in the Peninsula and one of the few in Europe as a whole. There is therefore no similarity between Basque and Latin or any other Romance language. This probably resulted in the Basque population experiencing a form of social isolation, although they were generally ruled by Latin-speaking powers. This was not an exceptional situation, aside from the fact that communication was almost impossible for those who speak only one of both languages, Basque or Romance. The East and the Ebro valley had a different situation as it had been conquered by Christians before 1119.



Fig. 1. The Road to Santiago (Archivo General de Navarra)

In Navarre the development of Romance languages in the Middle Ages produced a variety called Navarrese which was spoken in the Southern third of the kingdom between the 10th to 17th centuries, approximately. According to González Ollé (1997), Navarrese originated with Basque speakers who were affected by the diffusion of Latin and, as they lived near the borders of other kingdoms which were also Latinised, abandoned their mother tongue. From the 13th century – and to a much greater extent the 14th century – Navarrese became the official language of the court and the royal chancellery, replacing Latin; Basque remained apart from the written culture. The situation was even more complex after 1234; the royal

dynasty became extinct and was replaced by the Champagne family (1234-1274), a French dynasty who were described as ‘kings of strange country and strange language’ (Miranda García 2012). The new king did not much like having Navarrese Romance used in Court and continued to use his native French, for instance when writing poems. This added to the complexity of the linguistic panorama.

Throughout the centuries, the boundary between Latin and Basque has been social rather than geographical; as a result, both languages have coexisted for hundreds of years, even after Latin became a Romance language; this coexistence has produced a mix of words, including words used in everyday life.

Table 1 represents the complexity of the linguistic history of Navarre – a complexity which is quite typical of Europe – in a simple fashion:

Century	Language(s)
16th – 21st	<i>Spanish</i>
11th AD	<i>Navarrese Romance</i> <i>French/Occitan/Arabic/Jewish</i>
1st BC – 9th AD	<i>Latin</i>
? – 21st	<i>Basque (pre-Roman)</i>

Table 1. Navarre: Linguistic strata

Of course it is necessary to distinguish between little villages, whose entire population were devoted to agriculture and livestock, and urban milieux; there were some towns where local craftspeople served the surrounding area. The social structure of Navarre thus used to be more complex, as we can see from tax-collector’s lists, such as the one dating from 1553 (see Figure 2).

All the local people – a population of one hundred households – appeared in this list under their Christian name and surname, but there was no strict rule about how to refer to individuals. The document reproduced in Figure 2 belongs to a place close to Pamplona, a town called Urroz-Villa at the junction between *ager* and *saltus*. Some of its inhabitants were referred to by the official in today’s style: Christian name followed by what might be considered a family name. Sometimes the two names were linked by ‘de’, for example *Joanes de Erdozain* (this surname is the name of a little village nearby); but sometimes they were not, as in *Martín Zunzarren* (the surname is the name of another village). In this region most of the surnames were taken from the individual’s home village; most people left their home village when they married, so the name – usually a Basque name, as in these examples – could be used for individual identification. We also find in this list a few people referred to by a patronymic, in the Castilian style, for example *Pasqual Martínez*. In one case we find a surname which is a patronymic followed by a locative, *Joanes López de Ardanaz*; sometimes only the surname is listed, for example *Ursúa* or *Epároz*. The case of the individual who is identified in the list by the Basque name of his household, *Miguel Joançabalena*, is particularly interesting. Other people seem to have been known only by their profession, such as *Domingo el cantero* (the mason), *Adame fustero* (‘the carpenter’ in ancient Spanish) or *Mase Martín barbero* (‘the barber’, his name preceded by ‘Master’).

Cajja del guar tel de los vezinos q' habi en las de la villa de urroz del año 1553

Laparra quia de yrejoien		Laparra quia de san pedro		Laparra quia de san tomas	
p' p' mo pedro berrio /	p' laparra quia de san pedro /	p' p' mo torre blanco mayor /		p' p' mo morzayri /	
p' maria arceiz /	p' p' mo garcia galduroz /	p' joan de yriso /		p' torre blanco menor /	
p' myñ de redin /	p' sancho elcano /	p' miguel delcosin /		p' garcio larrangor /	
p' aldaue /	p' myñ noef /	p' petri boroqui /		p' adame fustero /	
p' joan carlos /	p' p' edo de costia /	p' alonso yloz /		p' joan jayme /	
p' miguel gorri /	p' miguel deloco /	p' sancho lafite /		p' myñ luis /	
p' joanes te adoz /	p' joan miguel ochoo /	p' myñ dario /		p' myñ tomas /	
p' lope dolla /	p' myñ cuniorron /	p' miguel sotra /		p' alonso gallego /	
p' joanes herdoain /	p' catalina felipe /	p' alonso gallego /		p' pedro monreal /	
p' miguel gorri menor /	p' don jayme /	p' myñ gorri /		p' beltran pelayre /	
p' garcia elias /	p' don miguel rector /	p' joan bagorri /		p' joanes de janorri /	
p' joan dalcuz /	p' joanes anduea /	p' miguel ochoo /		p' miguel ochoo /	
p' joan periz dorondo /	p' charles de arceiz /	p' pedro hierro de her nauton /		p' myñ gil ste /	
p' joan de helia /	p' miguel arango /	p' miguel fustero /		p' miguel fustero /	
p' el alcaide /	p' an ton de tabar /	p' joanot gracion /		p' miguel joanca balino /	
p' gas ton myñ /	p' joanes de cuniorron /	p' tomas garcio /		p' tomas garcio /	
p' mass myñ barbero /	p' lope benedit /	p' ro drigo larrangor /		p' ro drigo larrangor /	
p' myñ de san telteban /	p' joanes pele jero /	p' myñ soler pele jero /		p' miguel soler pele jero /	
p' pedro de costia /	p' miguel de hereto /	p' joanes garro /		p' joanes garro /	
p' joan miguel menaut /	p' gracion basio /	p' joanes de ardanaz /		p' joanes de ardanaz /	
p' myñ myñ sab tee /	p' gil de layon /	p' joan de riaz /		p' joan de riaz /	
p' myñ capatero /	p' joan docoz /	p' joanes cordalero /		p' joanes cordalero /	
p' pedro belcunegui /	p' joan de azporez /	p' pas qual myñ /		p' pas qual myñ /	
p' joanes ydoate pele jero /	p' myñ petron /	p' pedro andio /		p' pedro andio /	
p' joanes lopez de ardanaz /	p' myñ azpoz /	p' pedro bobco /		p' pedro bobco /	
p' joan periz menor /	p' tomas myñ /	p' joanes de cuarti /		p' joanes de cuarti /	
p' myñ /	p' joan dolla /				
p' geral de myñ /	p' joan de noain /				
p' myñ gil sotra /	p' sancho elias /				
p' miguel belcunegui /	p' joanes cibica /				
p' myñ carlos /	p' pedro lica joan /				
p' sancho elias /	p' joanes de herdoain /				
p' joan de garaypo /	p' pedro alfonso /				
	p' joanes de yriso /				
	p' myñ ago /				
	p' almirante /				
	p' hurru /				
	p' azporoz /				
Sumo / eedm /		Sumo / eedm /		Sumo / eedm /	
todas las cosas do bre di /					
chas y myñ de lica joan /					
noef sin que del libro del guar /					
tel y frime mi nombre /					

Fig. 2. Tax-collector List. Urroz-Villa, Navarra, 1553 (Archivo General de Navarra)

Still others were referred to by their position, *el Alcalde* (the Mayor), *Almirante* (a local officer) or title, such as *Torreblanca*, one of the local noble lineages. The priest is listed under his Christian name only, preceded by *don*, *don Jaime*. In some cases, the way the person was known officially seems quite informal, for example *Joanicot el dulero* ('the cow's shepherd'); *Joanicot* is a common nickname for *Joanes*. In some cases individuals are identified on the basis of their kinship with other local people, living or dead, for example *Pedro, yerno de Hernauton* (his son-in-law); in this instance the father-in-law is referred to by his nickname and is not given a surname. Sometimes it is difficult to determine if the Christian name is followed by a surname or a nickname, such as in *Pedro Andia*, *andia* is the Basque word for 'big' and it is well-known that it is the origin of many surnames. Providing evidence of the urban character of this village, the list contains three individuals characterised by their foreign origins: *Gracián Basco* and *Pedro Basco* would without doubt have been born in the Northern part of Navarre, on the other side of the Pyrenees, a territory abandoned by the Spanish king after the Castilian conquest in 1512 due to the strategic difficulty of defending this small space beyond the Peninsula. In the 16th century, the word *Basco* (Basque), or more precisely *tierra de Bascos* (land of Basques), referred specifically to this part of the old kingdom. There was a traditional migration from the poorer North to the South that explains the presence of people from Northern territories in this Southern village. Another inhabitant was called *Alonso Gallego* (from Galicia), Galicia was a remote part of Castile including Santiago de Compostela, the centre of pilgrimage; even the Christian name Alonso was unusual in the kingdom of Navarre by the date of this list. As we can see, the vast majority of people on the list were men, but two women are also named, *María Ardaiz* and *Catalina Felipe*; although the officer does not explain this, it would have been because, as widows, they were mistresses of their houses.

In summary, this list, written in 1553, 40 years – approximately one generation – after the conquest shows us that there were a variety of ways of identifying people at that time. Before the formation of the modern Spanish state, individuals did not have an official name and a person never used his or her own name; in fact, names changed during the course of life as the individual's role, status or relationships changed. During the Ancien Régime, names told more about the person who called another or their relationship, than about the one being called by that particular name. This may be the reason for the very different registers we have found when analysing this list; it provides a snapshot of one moment in the life of one hundred people.

Passing Hosts: The Household at a Glance

Basque was not only a language; it was also a culture. People living in this region have never been isolated, but they have gradually developed their own culture, through the process of adapting to a difficult natural environment.

The Basque men dedicated most of their time to managing livestock and forestry, activities which took them away from home, sometimes for long periods of time, so women have traditionally played a very important role in Basque households; they were also usually the sole heirs on their parents' death. Our empirical research suggests that during the 16th

century more than 40% of households chose a woman as an heir (Moreno and Zabalza 1999: 279); this implies that in at least some cases parents chose a daughter as their heir, although they also had sons. It is important to note the real content of domestic space during the Ancien Régime, the rise and development of the modern state, were based on annexing skills and capabilities previously developed by individuals. The increasing power of the state has however affected the woman's role in household more than the man's, in my opinion. During the Early Modern period the household was a school, an orphanage, a hospital, an asylum, a bank, a farm, a barn, a cellar, a shop, a weaver's workshop, a haven for pilgrims, wanderers and fugitives and many other things. In Basque culture all tasks associated with birth, life and death were the domain of women (Caro Baroja 1976: 131) and everyone in a household was under the authority of the woman who ran it; this seems to have been true among the upper classes as well as the peasants, especially at the end of the period, as we can see from the *Tratados de Economía Doméstica (Treaties on Domestic Economy)*, written by the Marquis of San Adrián in 1772 (Zabalza-Seguín 2010). The prosperity of a household and the longevity of the family – the highest goals of a family – had much to do with its mistress. A specific feature of this region is that, in contrast to the practice in other Pyrenean territories such as Catalonia (Barrera González 1989), parents choose their heir freely from among all their sons and daughters, without consideration for their sex or birth order; this may have been because it was important that the person who would rule the property in the next generation had the right attributes for the role. It is also important to note that women entered marriage with much more protection than men; a woman's dowry would be almost double than that of her brother (Moreno and Zabalza 1999: 344) and in consequence, choosing a daughter as heir and disinheriting her brother meant paying just half a dowry, instead of a full one. This might have been sufficient reason for choosing a female heir, but one should also bear in mind that the female heir's husband would contribute a half-dowry to his new household. In any event, personal qualities play a significant role in the choice of heir although parents might come under external pressure such as the sudden availability of a good partner in the local marriage market or – as often happened – the early death of a father, mother or both.

When a woman inherited, there were some limits to her authority, for instance, mistresses never took part in the *concejo abierto* (open council), the local government in which all the local households were represented. However, when a husband who was only master by marriage represented his household at the *concejo*, he did so on the basis of instructions given by his wife, as some documents from lawsuits show. Women never had a political role; external activities were the domain of men, whereas internal matters were managed by women. There were not an interchange of roles, but who was the heir or heiress was a circumstance never forgotten.

The important social unit in this system was the household, and this was the level at which individuals had rights and duties; the household was also the institution that controlled population growth, by ensuring that only one son or daughter inherited the land, whilst the rest were expelled or condemned to celibacy. The heir belonged to the house, rather than the house to the heir. Material and non-material benefits were attached to the household; my empirical research focused on one material resource, land, which was the most important source of wealth in a society which was barely monetarised, and on one non-material benefit,

the family name. Despite their very different natures, both benefits were closely linked. As in most other regions of Europe, during the Ancien Régime land was the real source of wealth and, further, the key to individual and family identity; a proof of its importance is that people used the name of their land as a surname (Moreno and Zabalza 1994). Not until 1870 did the Spanish State have a *Registro Civil*, a public register where all newborns were recorded under their Christian name, family name and the names of their parents. This register obviously helped to fix the use and transmission of surnames, bringing to an end a historical process that produced largely meaningless surnames in the sense that, for instance, *Joanes de Erdozain* only meant that *Joanes*'s father's surname was also *Erdozain*, but it did not necessarily indicate that he had been born in the village of *Erdozain*. Before the *Registro Civil* was established, the names of people living in a region in which the sole-heir system prevailed could change during the course of life, according to circumstance.

Women, as the real masters of the family's house, and more importantly of its land, until the 16th century, could transmit their own surname – in practice the name of the household (at this time the concept of household extended to non-material benefits such as prestige, ancestry etc. as well as material resources) – to their legitimate children, whilst her husband's surname was soon forgotten. To use an expression coined by Klapisch-Zuber, but applying it to men rather than women, these non-heir husbands seem to have been 'passing hosts' (1990: 249).

Relatively few documentary sources have survived from the 15th to the mid-16th century, but it seems likely that this matriarchal system continued to operate until the Castile conquest. The powerful Castilian kingdom had a massive cultural impact on Navarre; the local nobility were the first to adopt new customs, followed by other social groups, first in the towns. In the 17th and 18th centuries Castilian influence was felt even in the mountainous borders of the country. These changes in inheritance traditions were preceded by the adoption of Spanish or the converging of Spanish and Navarrese Romance; it is difficult to determine what happened.

Finally, as we have already seen, in 1512 the Catholic King Ferdinand put an end to Navarre's independence by military conquest. First and foremost this meant the end of Navarre as a kingdom, but at about this time, in 1515, this small country joined the main powers of its time in Europe and the Western world. Navarrese people became Castilians and as a consequence they acquired the privilege of participating in the Monarchy government – previously they learned to speak, read and write Spanish – and also in trade with Spanish America. Very soon Navarrese, who had effectively been driven from their country by the sole-heir inheritance system and the lack of cultivable land, began to establish themselves in other territories, although emigration increased markedly during the 17th and 18th centuries.

As long as only Castilians were allowed to trade with America, it was important to look, as well as be, Castilian. This prompted some Navarrese with surnames that were unpronounceable in Spanish either to translate them – if they knew the meaning – or choose a word which sounded similar.

Basque surnames	Spanish translation or adaptation
<i>Jáuregui</i>	<i>Palacio</i> ('Palace'; translation)
<i>Nagore</i>	<i>Noguera</i> ('Walnut tree'; adaptation)
<i>Dorrezuri</i>	<i>Dorre</i> = Torre ('Tower') <i>Zuri</i> = Blanca ('White'; translation)

Table 2. Basque surnames and Spanish equivalents

When Basque surnames were pronounced or written by non-Basque speakers, they often underwent change; this was quite common in America, for example *Belzunce* became *Belsunse* and *Zamalloa* became *Samayoa*, a surname which was widespread in Central America.

The Torreblanca example is particularly interesting. From various documentary sources we know that this high-ranking family translated their surname from Basque to Spanish after the conquest of the kingdom of Navarre and its incorporation into Castile, in order to best serve their new king (Zabalza-Seguín 2011); in fact, the original form *Dorrezuri* seems to be a mixed word, *dorre* is the Basque pronunciation for *torre* (tower), whereas *zuri* is *blanco/a* (white) in Spanish.

In the end, only the members of the Torreblanca family who settled in other parts of the Spanish Empire became rich and powerful, for example branches of the family became established in Andalusia and perhaps also in Chile. The Torreblancas who remained in their native Navarre suffered gradual impoverishment and were divided by family quarrels.

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