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EUROPÄISCHE PERSONENNAMENSYSTEME: EIN HANDBUCH VON ABASISCH BIS ZENTRALLADINISCH

Anlässlich der 65. Geburtstage von Rosa Kohlheim und Volker Kohlheim. Herausgegeben von Andrea Brendler und Silvio Brendler.

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In writing this review in English, I do not only want to make this voluminous and important handbook of European anthroponymic systems known to the English-speaking world, but also to indicate that German remains a language that one cannot possibly ignore for science, surely not for onomastics and linguistics. This book of 861 pages is dedicated to the Kohlheims, Rosa and Volker, two onomasts well known in the German onomastic world and beyond, on the occasion of their 65th birthdays. The editors, the Brendlers, Andrea and Silvio, are another couple, much younger but promising researchers of German and even English names, both on the diachronic and the synchronic level. V. Kohlheim and S. Brendler are pioneers of the new approach of names, which they call *nomematics* (Kohlheim 2005; Kohlheim & Hengst 2011; Brendler 2008; see for a review of the latter Van Langendonck 2010).

Brendler & Brendler realized a painstaking work in supervising this gigantic project, coordinating all these articles, which deal with 77 European languages presented in alphabetical order, pertaining to seven linguistic families (Indo-European, Basque, Uralic, Turkic, Caucasian, Arabic, and Mongolian). The systems described are meant to be representative of the European area, which is to be understood as a political and cultural construction rooted in the Ancient Greek tradition, rather than as a geographical unit. The contributions are structured ac-

ording to the present state of the art, presenting specific core information. By the term *system*, the editors mean a structured and functional complex of personal names. In general, the authors use more or less the same model, beginning with the system containing one name, but quickly turning to a two-name system with first names and surnames, which started as bynames and gradually became family names. Three-name systems also occur. The perspective is diachronic, going from the origin of the system until the present day situation. Sometimes, the contemporary system is discussed first, and then one goes back to the origin. In addition, it seems clear that the papers are of unequal length and quality.

In view of the confines of this review, I will limit myself to a few Germanic languages, and also French, Latvian and Lithuanian, Russian, and one non-Indo-European language, Basque. I will begin with the three main Germanic languages: English, German, and my native language Dutch. It could be expected that these three personal name systems have a lot in common, also in their historical development. However, this is not so well deducible from the articles in question since the respective authors focus on different aspects of the anthroponymic system dealt with. As the reading proceeds, there is a growing impression that the three papers are largely complementary in that, all in all, concurrent developments have taken place (see also Van Langendonck 2007, Chapter 4).

The **English** personal name system is described by John Insley. This author clearly takes the chronological approach, starting with individual names in Old English. In this initial stage, the system is clearly Germanic. As in other languages of this group, the primary formations are dithem(at)ic men's names consisting of two appellative stems, which together form a semantic unit, at least in the beginning, e.g., *AElf-weald* 'elf-king'. Women's names are formed in the same way, e.g., *AEdel-hild* 'noble-fight'. Many first and second elements are discussed. When the sense of the compound disappears, this is in the first place due to the so-called principle of variation of Germanic name-giving (see below, under German). The author should have explained what this is about, since he wrote for a manual. As other Germanic languages, Old English had several categories of monothematic names. First, there were nicknames like *Ceorl* 'farmer'. Secondary are short forms (*Tida*) and hypocorisms (*Tottel* < *Torht-*). From the end of the 9th up to the 13th century, Scandinavian conquerors brought along their own onomastic inventory, typically names beginning with *As-*, as well as numerous Danish hypocorisms. Many forms were anglicized. Of major importance was the year 1066, in which the Norman Conquest took place. The original systems died out, except that reflexes of them are to be found in family names. In the Middle English era, a

number of Northern French, especially Romanized Frankish names, pushed aside the autochthonous name treasure. Other Germanic names came from Flanders and Northern Germany. These were supplemented by a series of Biblical names, such as the still well known *John, Peter, Simon, and Thomas*. New hypocorisms were coined, with new suffixes, such as *-kin* (from Dutch), yielding *Thomkin*, as well as Romance formations with *-in, -ot*, and so on. For these ancient periods, we do not know much about sociological and historical factors in name giving. This is of course different in the New English era. Some late medieval names have survived, e.g., *Geoffrey, John, Margaret, Peter, Thomas, and William*. The Renaissance had also given rise to Greek and Latin names like *Alethea, Ambrose, Caesar, Diana, Julia, Lavinia, Penelope, and Virgil*. The Reformation led to Old Testament names, such as *Abraham, David, Esther, Ruth*, etc. Dynasties and literary works are a further source of new names. Some first names have come from family names ever since the Elizabethan period, e.g., *Ashley, Clifford*. All the time, new names are being coined, from Celtic or other areas. Middle class names (*Hugh, Simon*) seem to differ from lower class names (*Wayne, Lee*).

Insley does not go so much into the origin of family names. As everywhere, from the Middle Ages, little by little, forenames were supplemented by patronymics and nicknames, especially because of the initial paucity of Christian names, and the increase of bureaucracy.

As elsewhere, the development of fixed family names was a long process, going from south to north in this case. The usual types are mentioned here, too: patronymics, geographical (appellative and proprial), occupational, and nicknames. In the last category, we encounter surnames like *Shakespeare*, or *Lovejoy*, with the original meaning 'womanizer'. Coincidentally, the last two are 'Satznamen', compounds consisting of a verbal stem plus an object or subject noun.

Damaris Nübling and Antje Dammel describe the **German** personal name system, starting with the contemporary situation. The two-name system contains a forename and a family name, as in all Western Europe. Although the law allows a couple to choose the family name either of the husband or of the wife, in most cases the husband's name is chosen for wife and children. Up to the Middle Ages, the Germanic one-name system was in use. Here too, the gradual development of the actual two-name system goes from south to north. The early Germanic names, such as *Bern-hard*, or *Hilde-gund* (see below) almost died out in favour of Christian names, such as *Johannes* or *Katharina*. Surnames came into use for the same reasons as elsewhere (see under English). Likewise, the number of first names has been growing for centuries. Derivation and diminutivization played a part here. Religious

or factors of tradition played a greater part in West than in East Germany. Nowadays, secularizing and internationalizing factors play an ever-increasing role, so the number of names has expanded especially from the second half of the 20th century. As in other European countries, the choice of a forename is now largely determined by the subjective, romantic criterion of euphony: does the name sound 'good' or not? Forenames have to be 'fashionable', whatever that may mean. They are no longer given the names of saints, ancestors, or rulers. Additional forenames, however, continue to refer to tradition or religion, where a difference may still occur between Evangelical and Catholic names. According to modern law, first names must differentiate between boys and girls. As everywhere, women's names are longer, and are more subject to fashion, innovation, and foreign influences.

Then, the authors turn to the history of the name system. As in Old English, initially, many dithematic names were coined, which showed a wishing character in the beginning. As such, they were 'programmatically' names. In later stages, when coining such names became mechanic and lost the motivation, new systems were created. For instance, the genealogical principle of variation was introduced, whereby the names of the children were composed of the four forename stems of the parents, e.g., *Hildegund* and *Friedger* were reconstructed as *Friedhild*, *Gerhild*, *Hildger*, *Gundfried*. Children's names could also be formed on the basis of alliteration, e.g., *Grimhilt*, *Gunther*, *Gernot*, *Giselher*. However, these two strategies did not square with the principle that the second member of the compound had to indicate sex: the gender was masculine for men's names, feminine for women's names. Sex and gender were still more related than nowadays. As elsewhere, a number of short forms saw the light.

In family names, we see more or less the same types of initial motivation: patronymics ending in *-mann*, *-sen* (< *son*), an *-s* genitive, or simply nothing. The main motive appears to be occupational names, with or without metonymy (e.g., *Müller* 'Miller', the most frequent German surname). The third category concerns nicknames pointing to physical or psychological properties of the name-bearer. As a fourth subclass, the authors mention names derived from words for dwelling places (*Busch* 'Bush'). Related to this are names of places and countries, e.g., *Bayer* 'Bavarian'; simply *Wien* 'Vienna'. For Austria and Switzerland, names derived from appellatives for dwelling-places appear to be typical, e.g., names in *-er*, such as *Hofer* 'farmer'; *Zumbach* 'at the brook'. Strong and weak genitives are typical of areas neighbouring the Low Countries (e.g., *Peter-s*, *Hein-en*). In the rest of the German area, so-called nominative forms dominate (e.g., *Schmitt* 'Smith').

The **Dutch** personal name system in the Low Countries, i.e. the Netherlands and Flanders (Belgium) is covered by Doreen Gerritzen. In contrast with the papers

on English and German, not much is said about the Germanic roots of the system. The author states that the pre-medieval one-name system was gradually replaced by a two-name paradigm consisting of a Christian name and a surname, mostly a patronymic, a geographical name, an occupational name or a nickname. In Holland's Golden Age, a three-name system was fashionable, for instance in the following example with two first names and two surnames: *Dirck Ghijsbrecht Pellenzoon van Waetselaer*. In the last example, a patronymic with *-zoon* 'son' and a geographical surname with *van* 'from' are combined. We can also mention such combinations as *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft* (with a patronymic and a byname, referring in this case to a famous poet). The byname is called an alias name, which is very clear in such explicit instances as *Willem Pietersz, alias Schijtgelt*, a 'Satzname' meaning 'shit-money'. The suffix *-zoon* was abbreviated as *-z*, and disappeared in later generations, leaving just the genitive *-s*. As elsewhere, there were several factors in the development of the surname system: Christianization, which replaced the bulk of the Old Germanic dithematic names, i.e. names with two stems of the type *Hilde-brand*, by Christian names such as *Johannes* and *Elisabeth*, which in the beginning were of course too few in number. Another cause of the introduction of surnames was the growth of the population, then beginning to be concentrated in towns and cities. Matronymics were rare and always had special motivations, as elsewhere. In 1796, Napoleon's Civil Code imposed the adoption of an official family name in Flanders. In the Netherlands, this occurred around 1811, at least theoretically, as only in 1934 were family names established officially: it had to be the father's name until 1998, when parents were allowed to decide themselves whether their children would bear the father's or the mother's surname. In Belgium, this change of law is still under discussion. In the Low Countries, there is a considerable freedom concerning the choice of the first name. In contrast with the German situation, in these two countries, a distinction between boys' and girls' names has not been imposed. On the other hand, forenames should be decent and not identical to family names. Nevertheless, Belgium is still somewhat stricter regarding the choice of a first name than the Netherlands, especially for the orthography. A phonetic spelling like *Ansjeliek* for *Angélique* is accepted in the Netherlands, not in Belgium. As in most other areas, the first name precedes the family name, except in official enumerations and the like. As elsewhere, in the dialects, modern nicknames have come into use since family names became fixed, and lost their initial sense. In certain Flemish areas, we still encounter the order [byname + forename], but this system is on the decline in favour of the reverse order, which is the normal order for first name and surname anyway.

The **French** personal name system was dealt with in detail by the late Martina Pitz. Somewhat later than in the Netherlands (2005), French parents acquired the right to decide themselves whether their children would bear the father's or the mother's surname.

The origin of French forenames is mainly to be found in the Gallo-Roman era. Some Celtic names like *Brice* have been maintained thanks to Christian support. Until the present day, the French forename system has been dominated by traditional Christian name lore containing Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Germanic elements. Yet, from the Merovingian era, there has been a considerable Germanic, especially Frankish influence. However, the Germanic dithematic names were not understood, and Romanized, e.g., *Walt-hari* > *Gautier*, *Willi-helm* > *Guillaume*, *Bern-hard* > *Bernard*, *Hluthu-wigaz* (*Ludwig*) > *Clovis* > *Louis*. From the 10th century, the number of these forenames decreased rapidly, whereby it is uncertain whether this process is due to or a consequence of the advent of by- and surnames. Whilst in the 12th century, favourite men's names were still of Germanic origin (*Guillaume*, *Gautier*, *Robert*, *Renaud*, *Raoul*...), in the 13th century, we see a considerable increase of Christian names due to an increase in popular piety (*Jean*, *Pierre*, *Simon*, *Nichole*, *Etienne*, *Jeanne*, *Marie*, *Isabel*...). Concerning the formation of forenames, it is well-known that in the 7th century, Latin endings faded away, also in names, so first names often became ambiguous between masculine and feminine (*Claude*, *Dominique*, *Camille*...). To avoid this, the definite article was often added, which is still visible in surnames derived from them (*Lemartin* vs. *Lamartine*). For the same reason, many suffixed hypocorisms were formed (*Paul-in*, *Claud-el*, *Paul-et*, *Paul-at*, *Paul-ot*, *Paul-in-et*...). Old Germanic second stems became suffixes as well (*Mich-ard*, *Mich-aud*, *Jak-ier*). Apocope and reduplication have been applied until the present day (*Coco* < *Colette*). Compounds have been coined (*Jean-Paul*, *Marie-Louise*...). Women's names were derived from men's names, ending in *-e* (*Albert-e*, *Paul-e*...), *-ie*, *-ine*, *-ette*; these are no longer fashionable. For men, forenames of Germanic origin have become popular (*Gilbert*, *Hubert*; *Thierry*, *Bertrand*, *Richard*). After World War II, Anglo-American influence can be observed (*Dany*, *Freddy*, *Harry*, *Johnny*). As in all Europe, a number of new forenames have been introduced from 1968, coming from any area in the world.

As elsewhere, there is an evolution from the one-name to the two-name system, starting with nicknames and other bynames, and ending in the establishment of family names. The first people to bear surnames were of noble origin. From the 11th/12th century, patronymics of the type *X filius Y* were formed, geographical names or nicknames could be added to this pattern, e.g., *Pierre [li filz] Guillaume*

d'Arras, Jehan [dit] la Chievre du Hamel. Because of the growth of the population, and the formation of towns and cities, the use of surnames spread to other classes. In 1539, the regulation of Villers-Cotterets gave rise to a civil code, which furthered the adoption of surnames. This was corroborated by the introduction of church registers at the Council of Trent in 1547. Both events furthered the process of surnames becoming hereditary. In the formation of family name types, patronymics played a major part. In this process, Germanic suffixes were often used: (*Acc-ard, Bern-ard, Bern-ier, Mich-aud...*). As elsewhere, matronymics were rare. However, these so-called patronymics can be seen as ordinary bynames according to the author. This moot question pops up repeatedly. The high frequency of surnames like *Martin* (with its derivations: *Martinet, Martinon...*), *Michel* (with *Michelet, Michelin...*), and so on, is out of all proportion to the frequency of the related forenames in the late Middle Ages. By contrast, it squares well with the high frequency of the related patron saints. This fits in with the numerous surnames of the type *Saint-Martin, Saint-Michel, Saint-Paul, Saint-Remi, Saint-Etienne*, which apparently are mostly not bestowed after a place, but after the patron of the baptismal church in question. Therefore, if we want to classify surnames, we should bear in mind that there exists a category of surnames that are not father's names. In my view to call them 'bynames' does not solve the problem. The category of 'bynames' is often used as a waste-basket for unclassifiable names. As elsewhere, French surnames may have originated as geographical names, with a preposition (e.g., *Darras, Demetz*) or without (*Arrambourg, Bretteville, Espagne*), or in the form of inhabitant names, with an article (e.g., *Lebreton, Lallemand*) or without (*Picard*). Especially in the countryside, terms for dwelling-places occur: *Duval* 'from the valley', *Dupont* 'from the bridge'. Occupational names are, for instance: *Boulangier* 'baker', *Cordonnier* 'shoemaker', *Fèvre* or *Lefèvre* 'blacksmith', etc. Metonymy is sometimes found here: *Marteau* 'hammer'. The last category comprises nicknames of all kinds: *Petit/Lepetit* 'small', *Noir/Lenoir* 'black', etc. Names such as *Lévêque* 'bishop', *Leroi* 'king' are classified among the nicknames. Likewise kinship terms (*Lefils* 'son', *Lepère* 'father') as well as animal names (*Le-loup* 'wolf', *Lechat* 'cat'), which generally seem to refer to personality features. As elsewhere, 'Satznamen' (taken in a rather wide sense) play a considerable part: *Boileau* 'drink-water', *Quinement* 'who does not lie', *Grosjean* 'fat John'. As for the frequency of all these name classes, it should be pointed out that not names of dwelling-places like *Dupont* are as numerous as people seem to think, but rather patronymics (*Martin, Bernard, Richard*).

Laimute Balode and Ojārs Bušs deal with the **Latvian** personal name system.

Pre-Christian forenames are not well attested. In 12th and 13th century chronicles, we encounter some Old Latvian personal names, especially of tribal chiefs. In that time, Latvians bore mainly dithematic names, e.g., *Tali-baldus* 'wide+reign' (still a contemporary first name: *Tāļivaldis*), *Wari-gribbe* 'power+want'. Monothematic names also occurred: *Gaile*. From the 12th to the 15th century, German missionaries tried to eradicate these 'pagan' formations and to replace them by (Low German) Christian names. Thus, Biblical names were introduced. A few of them have remained until now (*Indriķis* < *Hindrik*). Latvian forenames of the 15th and 16th centuries are: *Andres*, *Hinrick*, *Hansz*, *Pauwel*, *Jacobus*; *Margrethe*, *Ilske*, *Magdalene*, *Anna*, *Katherine*, etc. From the 17th century, Latvian formations have been on the increase: *Ansis*, *Jānis* (< *Johannes*). In the 17th century, Latvia was under Swedish rule, which gave rise to Scandinavian based names like *Ivars*, *Gunārs*, *Gustavs*, *Ingrīda*, furthered by the popularity of Scandinavian literature in the 20th century. An onset of truly Latvian first names came at the end of the 18th century. At that time, the inventory of forms was still limited. In the last quarter of the 19th century, nationalism brought about more truly Latvian names, such as *Guntis*, *Dainis* for men, and *Velta*, *Aina* for women. Nowadays, a number of Western European, especially Anglo-Saxon names have come in: *Roberts*, *Ralfs*; *Laura*, *Samanta*.

The making of the contemporary Latvian family name system goes back to the first half of the 19th century. An important factor was the liberation of serf farmers by Tsar Alexander I, which called for the introduction of surnames for all farmers. On the other hand, in big cities, the need for a surname had already arisen. As everywhere, family names developed out of nicknames and other by-names. The main motivation appears to be the occupation of the person to be named, e.g., *Kalējs* 'blacksmith'. Surnames like *Beķeris* 'baker', *Brūveris* 'brewer', or *Melderis* 'miller' are German borrowings. A geographical source is to be found in *Libietis* 'Livonian', *Leitis* 'Lithuanian', *Prūsis* 'Prussian', etc. Other surnames were derived from nicknames, e.g., *Garais* 'long', *Mazais* 'short', *Lielgalvis* 'big-headed'. A number of other surnames go back to denominations for animals and plants, e.g., *Balodis* 'pigeon', *Vilks* 'wolf', *Ozols* 'oak-tree'. Surnames are often formed by suffixes like *-īn(š)*, or *-īt(is)*, which in appellatives are diminutive suffixes. A grammatical peculiarity of Latvian surnames is the distinction between masculine and feminine forms according to the sex of the name-bearer. Masculine nominative suffixes are (as in appellatives) *-s*, *-š*, *-is*, *-us*, *-a*, *-e*. The last two can be feminine as well, except if functioning in contrast: *Balodis* vs. *Balode*. A number of surnames were borrowed from other linguistic areas, e.g., Scandinavian (*Karlsons*), so much

that *-sons* became a surname suffix. Still more are of German origin: *Grünbergs* (< *Grünberg*), *Freimanis* (< *Freimann*), *Bušs* (< *Busch*); of Polish origin are, e.g., *Dombrovskis*, *Jankovskis*.

Some are Russian: *Petrovs*, *Markovs*. A few are Italian, but remained uninflected: *Rosini*, *Martini*. In the Soviet era, the Russian three-name system (see below) was introduced. Colloquially, forename and patronymic were used as one unit. After this era, the two-name system was restored. Finally, nowadays, two first names can be given, and even two surnames combined.

The **Lithuanian** personal name system is dealt with by Vitalija Maciejauskienė.

The author starts from contemporary name giving, and distinguishes between official and unofficial uses. Officially, here too, there is a two-name system of [first name + family name]. As almost everywhere, family names are inherited from the father's family name. Feminine forms are derived from the father's name by means of the suffixes *-aitė*, *-ytė*, *-utė*, and *ūtė*, which are added according to the ending of the father's name, e.g., *Rimšaitė* < *Rimša*, *Skinkytė* < *Skinkis*, *Žitkutė* < *Žitkus*. In case of marriage, the wife can take the husband's surname, whereby, as a rule, the suffix *-ienė* is added: *Dausienė* < *Dausa*. Since 2003, it is also possible to add the suffix *-ė*, as in: *Agilbė* < *Agilba*. In a colloquial context, the official model undergoes various changes, on linguistic and extralinguistic grounds. Either the forename, the surname, or a nickname can be used on their own. Forename and nickname can be combined, several suffixes added to women's names. As elsewhere, the development of the pattern [forename + family name] went slowly and took several centuries for its completion. In the anthroponymy of the 15th to the 17th century, three types in the naming of persons prevail in historical sources. The first is the one-name system. Later on, we find first names plus bynames derived from appellatives, e.g., *Czeputis doilida* 'carpenter', *Bartłomiej, bojarzin* 'Bojar', or near-patronymics as in *Zygmunt, Pawlow zięc* 'Paulius' son-in-law'. Real patronymics can take Lithuanian suffixes such as *-aitis*, *-onis*, *-ūnas*, *-ėnas* (*Mykolay Petrutaytis, Michno Dawtortonis*), Slavic suffixes (*Adam Sruogiewicz*), or no suffix at all (*Jan Alksnis*). At the same time, three components show up: *Stefanus Andruszkowicz Jatolgowicz*.

The prevalent pattern is [forename + patronymic]. Little by little, the surname becomes inheritable, and hence, a real family name. As elsewhere, the nobility started this pattern from the 15th century. The first family names of people in cities were attested in the beginning of the 16th century; those of farmers by the end of it. The system spread rapidly in the 17th century. In the 18th century, the process ended. However, after the incorporation of Lithuania in the Russian Em-

pire in 1795, a three-name system originated, as in Russian, where the father's name was added, or rather inserted, though not always in a consistent way, e.g., *Mykolas sūnus Jokūbo Grigžentis*; *Juozapas Simonov Avinaitis* [= forename + father's name with Slavic suffix *-ov* + family name]. The same applies to the naming of women, e.g., *Kačergytė Angelė, Jono* [= family name + forename + father's name]. After independence, the three-name system was abolished in favour of the two-name pattern, where patronymics have prevailed as family names. Morphologically, Lithuanian family names underwent a slavization, especially in the 18th–19th centuries. Lithuanian suffixes, especially patronymic ones, were replaced by Slavic suffixes of the *-sk-* type (*-auskas, -inskas, -skis*). These or *-avičius, -evičius* were added to suffixless family names. Finally, family names could be translated into Polish or Russian, whereby their structure was altered. As for contemporary family names, names with the Lithuanian patronymic suffixes *-aitis, -onis, -ūnas* developed out of the patronymics of the 16th–17th centuries. The family name suffixes *-avičius, -evičius* show that family names could derive from patronymics, and were slavized or borrowed. Nowadays, names with the Slavic *-sk-* type suffix are the most frequent. Many names are not suffixed at all, e.g., *Balsys, Girdenis, Vaivada*. Most of them go back to nicknames. The main sources of Lithuanian family names as to their origin are Christian (60%), and Baltic (30%). Among the latter, we find those that come from dithematic personal names, e.g., *Tvirbutas, Vilmantas*. Other names of Lithuanian origin go back to terms for dwelling-places, e.g., *Kalniškis* 'from the mountain', to occupational terms, e.g., *Dailidė* 'carpenter', to ethnonyms, e.g., *Lietuvoys* 'Lithuanian', to nicknames, e.g., *Kreivys* 'crook-legged', or to animal and plant names, e.g., *Vilkas* 'wolf', *Ažuolas* 'oak-tree'. Only few names go back to place names, e.g., *Kaunietis* < *Kaunas*. There are about 55 000 different Lithuanian family names.

The choice of first names is free. However, there are about 4 000 first names that are recommended by linguists, and represent tradition. They were brought together in a dictionary, with their etymology. Several strata are distinguished. First, there are the 'old pagan names', which can be dithematic (*Vytautas* 'saw people'), or monothematic (*Kęstutis* < *kęsti* 'suffer'). A second stratum consists of Christian names. Full and short forms are official (*Kazimieras* – *Kazys*; *Simonas* – *Simas*). The third stratum originated in the 20th century, and displays a plethora of new names, as in other countries, but here derived from appellatives, ethnonyms, mythonyms, place names, and the like, or taken from literature. A few new forenames were borrowed from other languages, e.g., *Aivaras, Edita*. This situation seems to go together with the fact that 40% of modern forenames are not in the above dictionary, and hence, are not considered 'Lithuanian'.

The last paragraph is about modern nicknames, i.e. unofficial personal names, often indicating some physical property of their bearer (*Žilius* < *žilas* ‘with gray hair’), an occupation (*Batsiuovys* ‘shoemaker’), or a personality feature (*Vanagas* ‘hawk’). Other nicknames refer to kinship relations, such as ‘son-in-law’, or to dwelling-places. Thus, it appears that the same motivations show up repeatedly, at all times and places.

Karlheinz Hengst discusses the **Russian** anthroponymic system. Since Russian belongs to the Slavic, hence the Indo-European family, we see a more or less similar development as in Germanic and Baltic. (Note that the Latin system of the Romans shows a quite different system, probably due to Etruscan influence). However, there is an important difference in that Russian has always had a two-name and a three-name system, the use of which depends on the social context. The author is aware of the different factors that influence the Russian personal name system(s), but cannot go into this in detail. He discusses the development of forenames (*Michail, Nadežda*) with unofficial variants (*Mika, Nadja*). Hypocorisms are coined as well: *Lala* for *Lena*. Motives for name-giving are: 1) honouring ancestors or friends, 2) referring to popular personalities, 3) aesthetic reasons, 4) being original or unique. Historically, we can distinguish four stages: i) Old Slavic names like *Dobromysl, Mirogost’, Nekras*; ii) calendar or canonical names such as *Sergej, Marija, Sofija*; iii) more recent names: *Gelij, Ideal, Stratosfera, Ėlita* (from the early Soviet period), and iv) modern name variants, usually from Western European languages: *Majk, Kristina*. At present, the religious factor again gains some weight.

In the beginning, there was the Indo-European one-name system. The appellative origin is still clear from forms like *Volk* ‘wolf’, *Dobrynja* < *dobr-* ‘good’. From the Viking era (9th c.), Scandinavian names like *Igor, Oleg* and *Ol’ga* have remained. As names for monarchs, dithematic formations with second stems like *-slav* and *-mir* prevailed: *Gostislav, Putislav, Jaroslav, Ostromir, Vladimir*. As elsewhere, in Old Russian we find already suffixed short forms and hypocorisms, e.g., ending in *-ilo*: *Putilo, Tomilo*, or in *-jata*: *Gostjata, Putjata*. Corresponding feminine forms such as *Krasava* or *Milava* are rarely encountered. Women were called after their father, e.g., *Jaroslavna*, Jaroslav’s daughter, or after their husband. Christianization in the 10th century furthered the rise of Christian names: *Andrej, Aleksandr, Vasilij; Elena, Irina*. The sources are well known: Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syrian; cf. also *Ivan, Marija, Anna*. Such names even enhanced the phoneme inventory of Russian: the sound [f] came into being with names like *Filipp, Sofja* (with Greek *phi*), *Feodor, Timofej* (with Greek *theta*). Yet, until the 17th century, pagan names persisted. These names were designed to deceive evil

spirits, e.g., *Durak* ‘dummy’, *Istoma* ‘weakness’, *Nevedom* ‘unknown’, *Nekras* ‘not handsome’. However, Peter the Great forbade such non-Christian forms. Little by little, names have been borrowed from Western European sources, especially from the end of the 20th century. Suffixes abound; officially, over 100 for men’s names, 55 for women’s names, unofficially even over 600, which has resulted in a plethora of hypocorisms.

As surnames, patronymics, and sometimes matronymics, are to be found in the oldest written sources. They were formed from adjectival short forms and the element *syn* ‘son’. After the 12th century, only suffixes remain: *-ov/-ev*, *-in*, and *-ič*, later *-ovič/-evič* for the nobility, e.g., *Mikita Andrejevič*. Monarchs with real estate introduced names in *-skij* derived from place names. From the 14th to the 17th century, we find a lot of variation. To properly indicate their descent, monarchs included the name of their grand- and even great-grandfather, which could lead to a four-name system. This could extend to other social classes. Since the 16th century, we encounter the three-name system [forename + patronymic + family name], e.g., *Boris Fedorovič Godunov*. This was preceded by the stage [forename + patronymic + byname]. By the end of the 17th century, the nobility possessed a family name, which for them became obligatory in the 18th century. Gradually, this pattern spread to other social classes. However, it was the Soviet administration that finally made family names official in the 20th century. By contrast, the three-name system remained obligatory only in official documents and at big festivities. As everywhere, bynames have played an essential role in the history of Russian anthroponymy. For their origin, the same motivations are encountered. The use of bynames and pseudonyms is unofficial. In addition, internet nicknames (*nikis*) have been introduced. Until the present day, the three-name system has been official, although there is a recent tendency to adopt the Western two-name system of [forename + family name], especially in the media (cf. *Vladimir Putin*). Note, however, that this development was prepared by 19th century Russian literature, where we encounter *Anna Karenina*, and the like. The use of [forename + patronymic] is standard, but less official, used by young people in front of adults, as well as among less familiar acquaintances, and also when one speaks about a third party. Fathers’ names are a sign of respect. On the other hand, mothers’ names are promoted, if only since many children grow up without a father. The use of the father’s name by itself is common among the inhabitants of a village. Only in contexts of familiarity and friendship can forenames and their short forms be used.

The **Basque** personal name system is dealt with by Henrike Knörr. Basque is a non-Indo-European language, spoken only by 750 000 Basques in Basque Coun-

try. Further, there are still 100 000 speakers in Spain, France, and in North and South America. The language contact with Spanish and French is also visible from the personal name system. In the Roman era, Latin as well as Basque names occurred. Inscriptions of the first centuries show such names as *Andere* ‘woman’, *Nescato* ‘girl’ (with diminutive suffix *-to*), *Cison* < *gizon* ‘man’, *Ummesahar* ‘old child’. The presence of numerous palatalized forms with diminutive sense is striking, e.g., *Xembus* < **Sembe*. Some of those elements are found back in the Middle Ages: *Umma* ‘child’, *Jaun Umea* ‘mister child’ (with the definite article *-a*), *Gizon* ‘man’. Since the 10th century, we have a relatively big repertory of personal names at our disposal (especially from the ancient kingdom of Navarra). Basque adaptations of Latin and Romance are frequent, e.g., *Dominicus* > *Dominiku*, with the feminine derivations *Domeka* and *Domikusa*; *Jacobus* > *Jakue*, *Jakobe*, *Jakube*. Another example of language mixture is *Ochoa* < *otso* ‘wolf’, with definite article, next to the Spanish equivalent *Lope*, taken over in Basque, as such, and also with a diminutive suffix: *Lopeco*. Afterwards, the patronymic suffix *-i(t)z* (< lat. *-ici*) was added: masc. *Lopeitz*, fem. *Lopeitza*. *Lope* is found back in the place name *Lopetegi* ‘Lope’s dwelling-place’, which in turn became a family name, in the same form. Among medieval names, we often encounter *seme* ‘son’ in the palatalized form *Cheme* (14th c.), or with the diminutive suffix *-no*: *Semeno*, which developed into *Semen*, *Ximen*, etc. From the patronymic *Semen(o)iz* the very frequent name *Jiménez* was formed, which spread all over the Iberian Peninsula, and Latin America. Basque names became popular among Jews in Basque Country, e.g., *Salomón Ederra* ‘Salomón the Handsome’. In the Middle Ages, five name types occur: the forename by itself, forename with nickname, with patronymic, with a geographical name, or a combination of these types. As forenames by themselves, we find *Antso* < *Santso* < span. *Sancho* < lat. *Sanctius*, *Azeari* < *Azenari* < lat. *Asinarius*. The pattern [forename + byname] displays the usual motivations of bynames: physical properties (*Orti Belça* ‘Orti the Dark’), personality traits (*Garcia Vicinaya* ‘Garcia the Opportunist’), occupations (*Domicu Zamarguina* ‘Domicu the furrier’), animals (*Eneco Beya* ‘Eneco the Cow’), and clothing (*Sancho Abarca* ‘Santso the sandals’). In the pattern [forename + patronymic], the father’s name is suffixed with *-iz* (< lat. *-ici*), e.g., *Lope Garceiz* ‘Lope, son of Gartze’, or with the Basque genitive *-rena*, as in *Garcea Ansorena* ‘Gartze of Antso’. The pattern [forename + geographical name] indicates dwelling-places or settlements: *Domicu Iturr Aldeco* ‘Domicu from the source’, *Maria Ipuça* ‘Maria from Guipúzcoa’. These types can be mixed or combined. As elsewhere, this medieval pattern with bynames gradually led to inheritable surnames, i.e. family names. The process was com-

pleted in the 16th century. Officially, this was confirmed by law in France in 1792, in Spain in 1870. The great majority of family names go back to geographical names, but the other types are represented as well.

Highly frequent are hypocorisms, derived from forenames, and accepted in civil and religious documents, e.g., *Michelco* ‘little Michael’, *Juanco/Johango* ‘little John’, *Mecheri* ‘little Emeterius’ (dim. from *Meteri* < lat. Emeterius). Until the present day, we encounter such forms, often developing into autonomous first names, e.g. *Bernart* > *Bernat* > *Beñat*. These hypocoristic forenames were believed to be truly Basque, e.g., *Cherran* < cat. *Ferran* ‘Ferdinand’, *Menete* < fr. *Bernadette*.

Early Modern Times saw the return of the majority of traditional Basque forenames, which before had to give way to Spanish and French formations, and were pushed back to private usage. Sabino Arana (1865–1903), founder of the nationalist party of Basque Country, brought about a real landslide with his list of saints’ names, published posthumously in 1910 by Luis de Eleizalde Breñosa. Arana’s extreme prejudices led to the unwarranted systematic use of the suffix *-a* for men’s names (*Joseba* ‘Joseph’), and *-e* for women’s names (*Josebe* ‘Josepha’), thereby following the idea of the priest P. P. Astarloa that boys crying at their birth formed the sound *-a*, whilst girls were supposed to utter *-e*. Apart from some neologisms, the list contained also traditional names like *Mikel* and *Txomin* (in fact a hypocorism derived from *Domingo*). Arana’s proposals were at first rejected by the Church and by intellectuals, but tolerated by subsequent regulations. However, Franco’s victory led to the prohibition of Basque names until 1957, when a new law again allowed for them provided there was no alternative Spanish counterpart. Basque names, including (former) hypocorisms, became completely legitimate in 1977. In recent times, various factors play a role in name giving: the local situation, parents’ political opinion, and so on. In France, the pattern [first name + family name] is obligatory; in Spain it is still unofficial, which allows for adding the father’s name, e.g., *Idoia Etxeberria Landaluze*. Basque usage opts for the continuation of the maiden name after marriage. Another usage is to identify each other by using the name of the place of birth, e.g., *Tolosa* ‘the one from Tolosa’, sometimes in diminutive form: *Toloxa*.

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