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**Variability of Proper Names**

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## **MULTIFACETED VARIABILITY IN ESTONIAN (FAMILY) NAMES**

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In recent years, Estonian name researchers have primarily been engaged in the study of family names and place names. In connection with the compilation of the Dictionary of Estonian Family Names, it has become even clearer that various types of names are closely intertwined and serve as a basis for each other.

Etymologizing names and determining their history is nowadays made easier through databases and digitized sources. In the etymologizing of family names, genealogical studies are often unavoidable. For example, in the case of the family name *Serg*, a more precise investigation reveals whether the original name comes from the word *särg* ‘roach’ or *sõrg* ‘hoof’. The meaning and origin of names that look similar can differ; for instance, the family name *Kallas* may derive from both the common landscape term *kallas* ‘shore’ and the personal name *Nikolaus*. Different etymologies are sometimes reflected in the inflection of family names – this is one reason for variation.

Several different names could have originated from the same root. For instance, the family names *Jakobi*, *Jakobs*, and *Jakobson*, as well as *Koop*, *Kumba*, *Kõpp*, *Kööbi*, *Kööp*, etc., may all have originated from the personal name *Jakob*. Variation is also caused by changes in spelling. The old spelling has been preserved in many family names and place names today, such as *Aru* and *Arro*; *Kikas* and *Kikekas*; *Seero*, *Sõõru*, and *Sõro*. The Land Board’s Department of Address Data attempts to modernize old spelling, at least in farm names, on a case-by-case basis. For example, *Marro* has been corrected to the modern form

*Maru*. Often, residents resist the correction of name spellings, as in the case of the *Mokko* farm name.

One noteworthy phenomenon has been the adoption, adaptation, and translation of names (both family names and place names) along the Estonian and Latvian border areas. For instance, the Latvian family name *Kalniņš* (diminutive 'hill') is represented in Estonian family names as *Kalnin*, *Kallin*, *Kalling*, *Kalnins*, and *Kalniņš*, interconnection of which is not necessarily obvious at once. Also, family names may have been translated from one local language to another, for example, one family has had names in different documents, such as *Lācis*, *Karu ja Bār* (Latvian, Estonian, and German word for 'bear').

Variability is a natural characteristic of names, and its impact on society may differ for various types of names. When in the case of official place names, reducing variability is considered practical, variability in family names is seen as more acceptable. The purpose of the paper is to introduce the notably high variability of Estonian names, with an emphasis on family names.

## HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF HOUSEHOLD NAME STABILITY AND CHANGE

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The main sources on household names in the 16th–19th century are various inspections, vakas books (manorial rolls) and church registers. To determine the continuity of farms as reliably as possible in successive inspections, the administration had an interest in keeping household names unchanged. Signs of the stabilization of household names can be observed already in the second half of the 16th century (e.g. in Miltciems on the estate of Sēja), and at least from the mid-17th century the stability of household names was quite high (observations in Vidzeme and Kurzeme).

Large-scale disappearance and emergence of household names was caused by war and epidemics at the beginning of the 16th century, when perhaps two thirds of the population died out, and many farms were left empty. Household names changed to a lesser extent after the plague epidemic of 1710, although the scale of depopulation was similar. Although the composition of the population changed significantly in many places, retention of the earlier household names was promoted by the administration's recording of existing and abandoned farms.

When tracing the history of farms, one can distinguish several typical situations in which household names changed or developed.

Renaming of the farm after the name, position, place of origin or ethnic affiliation of the new occupant: *Saullgens* 1601 > *Laur Saulgas* 1630 > *Laur* 1638 (Igate); *Obsul Andres* 1724 > *Osul Andreka Crist* 1750 > *Obsul* od. *Andreicka* 1795 > *Andreika* (Blome).

Division of holdings, creating the need for an additional designation or a completely new household name for holdings of the same name: *Kulcke* 1750 > *Kulcke* + *Kulcke-Michel* + *Kulcke Peter jetzt Sagke* 1816 (Palsmane).

A change in the linguistic situation: *Heinepoge* 1599 > *Hempau* 1630 > *Einpauk* 1688 > *Ehnpog* 1782 > *Empagi* (Lāde); *Kyrtschneck* 1624 > *Kirstsepp* 1630 > *Kurtzep* 1688 > *Ḳircupji / Ḳircapi* (Viļķene).

The existence of duplicate names: *Wannag* 1748 > *Praule* 1797 > *Wannage* od. *Praule* 1801 (Sece); *Wetḡ Assul*. od. *Wetḡ Selle* 1778 > *Weḡḡ Selle* 1797 (Ventspils); *Siele Ansche, Wawer genant* 1811 > *Siele Wawer* 1816 > *Vāveres* (Rauza).

The formation of “biographical” names (17th–18th century, with a tendency of simplification at the turn of the 19th century): *Ackman Kalne Uppes Jabn Jur* 1745 (Sece); *Herman Will[um] Lepar Arend Jabn* 1723 (Vecsauka); *Siele Purre Tanne Jabn* 1826 (Rauza). Such multi-component household names were probably formed by the accumulation of the real name of the farm and the names of successive occupants, and most likely relate to the documentary rather than colloquial language tradition.

In many cases, it is hard to ascertain whether a name recorded documentarily as a household name really is the name of the farm or refers to the profession of the head of the household.

Only in very rare cases can it be proven that when there was a change of occupant, the name of his former place of residence was also transferred.

Yet unexplained is a curious attempt to Russify household names in Veselava in 1913: *Кална Гурска* > *Шоссейная, Кална Стурна* > *Чудино*, etc.



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## INSIGHT INTO THE LIST OF MODERN SURNAME CHANGES IN LATVIA

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The basis of this paper is a list compiled by the Citizenship and Migration Affairs Department of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Latvia (a total of 65,365 different cases of surname changes, data from 2020). Each year about 1000–1200 cases of surname changes are reviewed (data from the Ministry of Justice’s Department of Civil Status, Upīte 2021). Although the motivation for surname changes is not available to anthroponymic researchers, certain conclusions can be drawn from the mentioned lists. Examples indicate a variety of changing cases. Most examples refer to surname adaptation to international transcription (especially non-Latvian origin surnames): *Dmitrijeva* → *Dmitrieva* 52x, *Fjodorovs* → *Fedorov* 64x, or dropping the Latvian ending: *Cimbals* → *Tsimbal*, *Ivanovs* → *Ivanov* 207x. The second most common reason is the correction of document errors: *Ciruļ* → *Cīrule*, *Čakurs* → *Čākurs*, *Eķis* → *Ēķis*, *Harkalns* → *Garkalns*.

One of the most common reasons for changing a surname is undesirable semantics or unacceptable euphony, i.e., it hinders a person’s integration into society: *Klibiķis* ‘lame’ → *Lacis* ‘bear’, *Knislis* ‘gnat’ → *Lapsiņš* ‘little fox’.

Often a person chooses to change a foreign-origin surname to a Latvian-origin family name, *Cigenbāgens* → *Mednis*, *Čabanovs* → *Krēslis*, however, there are also many opposite examples: *Cinis* → *Kabanovičs*, *Dzelme* → *Štelmabers* which are often related to family history. Typically, when changing a surname, the initial letter is retained: *Kiseļevs* → *Krastiņš*, *Kleinbergs* → *Kalnājs*.

As one of the reasons for changing a surname – too long and cumbersome to use: *Citronbaum* → *Citrone*, *Eizengraudiņš* → *Šupiņš*.

There are examples where for this reason double surnames are shortened, choosing one of the components: *Didribsons-Linards-Nuka* → *Nuka*, *Hackevičs-Katkevičs* → *Katkevičs*, thus also avoiding an undesirable semantics: *Kociņš-Klucis* → *Kociņš*, *Konstants-Plācenis* → *Konstants*, or choosing a new third surname: *Hauptmanis-Autmanis* → *Virsaitis*. However, there are also opposite cases, where the surname is lengthened, adding another surname with a hyphen, which apparently embodies family history: *Karkliņš* → *Karkliņš-Zaržeckis*, *Keišs* → *Keišs-Puķītis*.

Observations show that often a surname is changed simultaneously by husband and wife or the entire family: *Čeburaškina* → *Gulbe* and *Čeburaškina* → *Gulbis*, *Droņa* → *Bezbaile* and *Droņa* → *Bezbaile*, choosing personal names with positive connotations.

Among the most frequently changed surnames in Latvia are *Ivanovs/Ivanova*, *Fjodorovs/Fjodorova*, *Mihailovs/Mihailova*, *Ozoliņš/Ozoliņa*, *Kalniņš/Kalniņa* (they are also among the most spread surnames in Latvia).

This study demonstrates inhabitants' desire to adapt their surnames to the modern social and cultural global context, reflects the formation and development of identity, and also highlights surname changes in the context of societal integration. Especially these conclusions were reinforced by the latest cases of surname changes in recent years (2021–2023).

**Harald BICHLMEIER**

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## **HOW SLAVIC PLACE-NAMES BECAME GERMAN PLACE-NAMES IN NORTH-EASTERN BAVARIA**

---

While it has been accepted for at least a century that a great part of the place-names (and river-names) in North-Eastern Bavaria (i.e. Upper Franconia and the Upper Palatinate) are of Slavic origin, in the last years we can observe a tendency to explain ever more names as either Germanic or sometimes even as Celtic. While the Slavic etymologies tend to be mostly flawless, the Germanic and even more so the Celtic ones (sometimes by the same author), however, do not withstand scrutiny. Mostly they betray a lack of knowledge regarding the historical development of the languages involved or the word-formation processes that might (or might not) have been involved in the formation of a certain name. It appears to be the primary aim of these authors to get rid of Slavic etymologies at any cost. It can be shown that practically all these German etymologies are either unfounded or at least have minor explanatory power compared to the Slavic ones, a maximum of 10% is on the same level as the Slavic ones.

As we are quite well informed about the relative chronology of sound-laws working in Slavic and German in the Middle Ages we can often quite confidently say when a certain Slavic name was integrated into German relatively to those sound changes which can be dated also absolutely. As Slavs were firmly established around 600 CE in Bohemia and Sorabia, they entered North-Eastern Bavaria somewhat later. While it has been thought formerly that immigration happened already in the 7th cent., onomastics rather shows that this probably did not happen before the middle of the 8th cent. E.g., we only find very few forms showing that the metathesis of liquids (generally dated to ca. 775-825 CE) had not yet taken place. Similar

results can be achieved taking into account other dated processes as the rounding of PSlav. \**a* to CommSlav. \**o* (before/around 800 CE) or the denasalization of the nasal vowels (ca. 930/50 CE). As we also know quite well, what the Old High German language system(s) looked like at certain points in time, we can quite reliably tell what happened when a certain Slavic name was loaned into Old High German at any of these points.

The integration of Slavic names into German came to its end in the 11th cent., there are no forms which must have been loans after 1100. This implies that in the 12th cent. the Slavic language in North-Eastern Bavaria ceased to exist.

The Slavic language in Bavaria is no Slavic language of its own. In the greater parts it is the extension of the Upper Sorbian dialectal continuum, in a smaller area in its South-East it is the continuation of the Czech dialectal continuum, as can be shown mainly by the reflexes of the metathesis of liquids, PSlav. \**TerT/Tart* giving PSorb. \**TrēT/TroT*, but PCz. \**TrěT/TraT*.

The talk will offer several examples showing how and when these Slavic place-names were taken over into Old High German for each one showing the arguments based on the above-mentioned (and other) dated sound-changes.

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## **THE ONOMASTIC PHENOMENON OF OJĀRS BUŠS**

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We can generally speak about the phenomenon of our fellow colleague Ojārs Bušs in the field of linguistics, and his very deep and bright imprint on Latvian linguistics and far beyond it. There have been few scholars of such caliber in Europe who lived and worked during a very complex period of our lives when we could use only that literature which was within easy reach to us or which could be acquired through various means. The would-be polyglot and linguist studied the Finnish language, had the qualification of the teacher of Russian language and literature, and from 1993 officially became an onomastician, accompanied by an abundance of ideas, extraordinary expertise in European and not only European works on onomastics, the courage to delve into the spaces of modernity of that time, and his own peculiar perception of the latest onomastic phenomena. He plunged into the depths of theory alongside all other authoritative figures in onomastics, stating that each proper name is a full-fledged word and, once we turn to semantics, we should not forget research on homonymy, polysemy, and synonymy of proper names. The researcher was convinced that US President George H. W. Bush (Latv. Bušs), US President George W. Bush (Latv. Bušs), Latvian linguist Bušs and German writer Wilhelm Busch (Latv. Bušs) are four lexemes and four homonyms. And how many semes can be found here? The topics of synonymy are touched upon at their very core, and PhD students are introduced to them today, because it is important to make them aware of how ideas are born and in what context they arise. The semantics of proper names was important to the scholar. I have no doubt that the world of the theory of onomastics will discover Ojārs Bušs. The author of this presentation would gladly engage in a

discussion with Bušs and point out that, for example, in 2007, when discussing the Prussian oikonyms *Perwulken*, *Parwolke*, *Parwulken*, he relied on Georg Gerullis only, though a separate volume of Rozalia Przybytek (1993) from the renowned series *Hydronymia Europaea* conceived by W. P. Schmid was already published, in which *Parwolke*, *Perwulken*, later named *Parwólki* by the Poles, is described on page 202. The scientist enjoyed discussions, although the sharp tone of some colleagues was unacceptable to him. He found truth acceptable, acknowledgeable, and appealing. It is hard to say what was outside his scope of attention. His attention was also drawn towards non-trivial names of shops, restaurants, bars, and clubs. We should also not forget his fundamental work on the Dictionary of Latvian Place Names. In 2015, together with Laimute Balode, he wrote a short dictionary on the origin of place names “No Abavas līdz Zilupeī”. Ojārs Bušs was and will certainly remain a phenomenal scientist for as long as he lives in our memory, and he will definitely go on living his life as a scientist through his works.

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**Jana BUTĀNE-ZARJUTA**

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## **SURNAME IN THE ORAL COMMUNICATION OF TODAY'S YOUTH: SITUATIONAL CHARACTERISATION**

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In linguistics, there are topical studies that reveal different human worldviews, bringing linguistic anthropocentrism to the forefront. Such linguistic devices, as official and non-official anthroponyms, can become personal identifiers. One of the criteria that differentiates official and non-official anthroponyms is the situation or the context, in which communication occurs.

The research is based on studying and analysing the anthroponymic data provided by of young people of Daugavpils (secondary school pupils and university students), thus it is possible to compare and make significant conclusions concerning the specificity of the language used by young people in certain communication situations, or communicative purposefulness.

While analysing the data, it was significant to determine and characterize the situational, semantic and derivative peculiarities – to focus not just on recording the linguistic data (the compilation of units), but also on describing the situational context. The extensive data collected throughout the research has been further considered from the emotionally evaluative aspect, analysing the metalinguistic comments of the respondents obtained from the survey, as well as from the structural-semantic perspective, studying anthroponyms in the scope of semantics and derivatives.

Young people of Daugavpils were asked whether they are ever addressed by their surname and in which situations. Quantitatively, the largest number of communication situations is made up of educational institutions and people related to them. Similar to other semantic groups, an exception category also appears in this one,



when it is indicated that not all teachers, but some, address pupils by their surname. One such situations is the presence of several pupils with the same first name at the lesson; thus, different people are differentiated by addressing them by their surname. The comments reveal the opinion that young people are addressed by their surnames in cases of a serious conversation or when the teacher is not satisfied with something. More extended comments reveal that surname as a form of address is not really preferred; young people either avoid addressing someone directly by their surname, or surname is used with a humorous, even ironic connotation.

Basing on the data under study, it should be concluded that in everyday communication young people more commonly choose to use surname as a means of addressing someone with a humorous connotation, thus assigning conventional formality; or, on the contrary, the surname as a form of nomination is mainly used in formal communication, and often with a pejorative meaning. Similar to the first name, surname in the communication of young people has just conventional formality and, depending on the communicative situation, the traits of non-official anthroponyms.

**Hans-Peter EDERBERG**

*(Sorbian Institute)*

## **ONOMASTICS AND PROPER NAMES AT THE SORBIAN INSTITUTE – CURRENT RESEARCH**

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The presentation will give an overview of onomastic research at the Sorbian Institute (or Serbski Institut), the scientific institution dedicated to research on the Sorbian minority's language and culture. This includes researching toponyms as well as anthroponyms; currently, though, toponyms like settlement and field names are in focus. Variability of names from a minority language is much increased by misconception by majority authorities and their representatives recording those names on maps, in documents, etc., as well as inappropriate (folk-)etymological interpretation of a name in the minority language by majority language speakers. We see this as one of the fields of research that we can conduct after a substantial amount of names of a certain kind has been transferred into a suitable digital database.

The largest current project is centered on names in Lower Lusatia, the northern part of the Sorbian settlement area: we have started collecting, storing and investigating field names from various sources, including 18th century maps and earlier linguistic and onomastic research works. Many of these give a position of the name in question, partly on a map, partly by giving a direction relative to the center of a village or another, usually also named, landmark. We can give a rough geographical position for all names since in the collections each has been assigned to a certain official parish boundary. Our goal is storing all of this information together with the name given in order to make it available as far as possible. Later on, an extension to include more toponyms and anthroponyms is planned. We give an overview of the challenges and opportunities of this project.

We also present our work on a collection of field names on index cards, one of the sources mentioned above, that has never been completely published due to the collector's premature death. The names have often been recorded on a tracing of the original named entity on manual copies of official maps, so that the location is quite clearly indicated. We do not want to lose that information on storage in a digital database, which means that we will have to provide sophisticated methods of geographical location in our storage model.

To store information from these wide variety of sources and their very different scopes necessitates a sophisticated digital database. The database that we use for storage has been designed around an information schema (or ontology) suitable for flexibly describing data and information on any type of name. We present that schema, based on an RDF graph, and show why and how it can be used to provide a valuable information source for further research as well as the basis for presentation of our research outcome.

**Valts ERNŠTREITS**

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## **LATVIA'S PLACE NAMES HERITAGE AND THE OFFICIAL SIGNAGE**

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When discussing place name heritage, the focus is usually on the recognition, documentation, and research of place names' origins. However, the further usage of this heritage, including the accessibility of the place names to the general public, is also important. Such accessibility is largely provided for the official place names in standard Latvian – they are visible in various cartographic products produced by different institutions (BalticMaps.eu, LGIA, LVM Geo, VZD cadastral data, etc.), official signage, and institutional names.

Accessibility of place names that do not possess official status or are not part of the standard Latvian is more complicated. So far, such place names have mostly been available in tourism products, local history collections, and other locally available products. However, interest in historical place names has been growing in recent years and the role of place names in the manifestation of linguistic landscape uniqueness and historical heritage is also appreciated.

In recent years, there has been active discussion about the representation of placenames in Livonian and Latgalian written languages in official signage. Although initial attempts to introduce such references had been made earlier, broader inclusion of Livonian and Latgalian written language on road signs only occurred at the end of 2023. To make these signs appear, a series of actions were necessary, including legal regulation (laws and other normative documents) and creating the necessary preconditions – standardizing place names, as well as ensuring society's readiness to accept the appearance of such place names in the linguistic landscape.

Latvia's placename heritage, however, is broader – it consists of historical place names (e.g. *Sasmaka* 'Valdemārpils'), placenames

from Latvian dialects (including those from the distinctive Augšzeme dialect), as well as unique place names in the languages of Latvia's historical minorities (e.g. *Naire* 'Jaunjelgava' (in Yiddish), *Alamoiž'a* 'Lejasciems' (in Leivu); *Kirbu källä* 'Škripāni' (in Lutsi Estonian) etc.)

The paper provides an insight into the issues regarding the representation of historical place names in the official signage – into the circumstances that have ensured the inclusion of Livonian and Latgalian written language in official road signs, and also into the future perspectives and issues related to the use of other Latvian language forms and the place name heritage of Latvia's historical minorities.

**Anna E. GRIĶE**

*(Latvian Language Institute, University of Latvia)*

## **SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CHANGES IN PLACE NAMES IN LATVIA SINCE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE**

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On 24th February 2022, Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine. It was opposed by a fierce military and civil resistance which prevented immediate advances. In Latvia, the will to help Ukraine manifested in a variety of different actions, protests, donations which are still on-going defining Latvia as an active support partner. It has already attracted academic interest by approaching this phenomenon from three core perspectives: (1) impact on Latvia's policy and security (Andžāns 2023), (2) societal discussions, debates, and changes (Bergmane 2023), (3) response to refugee flow (Artiukh 2023).

In times of military conflicts, names among others, become of increased importance. The changing street names also became the central allegory in the Latvian movie "City on the River" (Kairišs 2020) on World War II. In contemporary Ukraine, the national identity is strengthened through enforcement of different linguistic, social, and cultural practices (Kulyk 2023), and language is at stake in everyday life, as in naming people or renaming places. By observing the most recent changes in place renaming practices in Latvia, the echoes from war are evident.

These changes in place names form at least three categories. Firstly, a revision of Ukrainian place name transliteration in Latvian took place, and immediate changes were applied to exclude Russian language impact on it. On 9th March 2022, State Language Centre decided to support the rendition of the following Ukrainian city names in Latvian: *Kuïb* → *Kjiiva* (priorly, *Kijeva*); *Xapkiï* → *Harkiva* (priorly, *Harkova*); *Abciï* → *Ljiva* (priorly, *Ljova*). Secondly, there was an immediate reaction, renaming the part of the street where the

Russian embassy is situated to *Ukraine's independence street (Ukrainas neatkarības iela)* on 10th March 2022. Other street name changes were more rethought and debated, still resulting in numerous changes justified by belonging to consequences of the occupation. Thirdly, in some Liv and Latgalian regions, place name signs were replaced by bilingual signs. Even if a direct linkage to the war in Ukraine could not be made, the analysis of the prior practices allow to observe that in Latvia, the war in Ukraine has opened space to make significant transformations in place names otherwise being less flexible.

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**Annika HUSSAR**

*(Tallinn University)*

## **THE FIRST NAMES OF NEWBORNS IN ESTONIA: THE CURRENT SITUATION**

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In my presentation, I will provide an overview of the most popular first names and first name trends in Estonia and compare them to the most popular names in other countries.

In recent years, the first names in Estonia have been characterised by the preference of international names (e.g. *Sofia, Lucas*). Such names are spelt in several different ways (e.g. *Kristofer, Christofer, Christopher, Cristofer, Kristopher, Cristopher*). For some names, the foreign spelling is preferred (*Lucas* vs. *Lukas* or *Luukas*), while for some the spelling reflecting the pronunciation in Estonian (*Adeele* vs. *Adele*). At the same time, there are parents who are looking for an original Estonian name for their child (e.g. *Lumi* ‘snow’, *Torm, Raju* ‘storm’). Traditional versions of international names (e.g. *Liis, Eva, Jaan*) are also used to a small extent, usually appearing in double names. For some time now, attention has been drawn to the fact that the most popular names in different countries are increasingly identical. Globalisation, emigration, a common informational and cultural space, etc. have been cited as reasons. Also in Estonia, one of the important criteria for choosing the first name is the requirement that the name should be internationally known and easy to use in the rest of the world, which further promotes the transfer of names from one country to another. It has already been noted earlier that since for a long time, Estonia was part of the sphere of influence of the German language and culture, the influence of German names in the use of Estonian names has been significant. Around a hundred years ago, names started to be borrowed also from other countries. For instance, Swedish and English names appeared in Estonian use as a new trend (e.g. *Ingrid, Gunnar* from Sweden, *Ellen, Harry* from



England). At the beginning of the 20 th century, children started to be given native Estonian names derived from and based on the Estonian language (e.g. *Laulle* ‘poetry’, *Kalju* ‘rock’). Among such names, names from Finnish as a closely related language were also favoured and recommended (e.g. *Aino*, *Väino*).

In the presentation, I will examine which of the first names that are currently popular in Estonia appear also in the popularity lists of some other countries – how many of the names overlap and what kind of names the overlapping names are, as well as what the names are that differ in the popularity lists.

**Saule IMANBERDIYEVA, Gulnar BEKENOVA**

*(S. Seifullin Kazakh Agrotechnical Research University)*

*(Al-Farabi Kazakh National University)*

## **TOPONYMS OF PAVLODAR REGION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN**

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The article examines the lexical-semantic classification of toponyms in the Pavlodar region, reveals their etymology, and reveals statistics on the categories of toponyms within one region. When creating toponyms, it is important to consider facts such as:

- differentiating features of objects, functions of names, national color: *Zhyngyldysor, Zholdyozek, Itekearaldy*;
- earlier personal names were given to nomadic places (jailau, winter quarters, etc.) to indicate the owners of the land, later – from an ideological point of view, they were given the names of the leaders of the revolution, now - the names of outstanding public figures, poets, etc., who made a significant contribution to the development countries. However, there is a limitation in assigning personal names to geographical features;
- restriction of the use of transonymization in the creation of toponyms: the name of a mountain can be assigned to a nearby oikonym, but not to hydronyms and drimonyms, it is necessary to take into account the characteristics of each object;
- replacement of names that are not related to the history of Kazakhstan (toponyms from the homeland of the settlers were used in the names), since, firstly, it damages the integrity of the country, secondly, they do not provide any information on the features of the object, thirdly, they do not correspond national identity;

- denotations of state farm, village, etc. It is necessary to give only in the Kazakh language: *konyys, eldi meken, aul*;
- it is necessary to rename neutral names that do not provide any information about the object: *Soldatskoe, Obzbornoe, Obmannoe*, etc.

In addition, toponyms formed on the basis of hydroterms will be studied. Conventionally, they can be divided into three groups: ancient Turkic substrates with a “veiled” etymology; formed taking into account the norms of the Kazakh literary language; variable names. An example of the variability of toponyms can be given in relation to the name *Keys*: in the Kazakh language there are enough names that can convey the peculiarity of an object with a specific meaning: *Bulak* ‘Spring’, *Kaynar* ‘Source’, *Bastau* ‘Keys’.

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## **DIACHRONY OF TOPONYMS OF KAZAKHSTAN (INDEPENDENCE PERIOD)**

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The article will consider toponyms renamed during the period of Independence of Kazakhstan. The basis for the renaming was:

- 1) separation from the composition of the aul district (*aul district Boraldai – to aul district Koshkarata*);
- 2) replacement of names derived from the names of the leaders of the revolution with traditional names (*Kalinin village – to Kokdonen aul*);
- 3) closure of the object that became the basis for the name of the village, i.e. lost its relevance (*aul Horse Farm - to aull Zhanasaz*);
- 4) change in geographical term (*village Zhailaukol – to aul Zhailaukol*);
- 5) replacement of names that are not related to the history of Kazakhstan (comonyms from the homeland of the settlers were used in the names: *Antonovka* village council - to *Koilyk* village district);
- 6) the appearance of a new object (*Kurenbel*) etc.

An interesting fact is that the names of pets were used in the renaming process. This is typical for the Kazakh people, who have been engaged in cattle breeding for many centuries. Zootoponyms associated with horses are especially common. For example: aul district of *Surat* (*Sur* at ‘Gray horse’); aul district *Kokdonen* (*Kok donen* ‘three-year-old gray male’). The zootonym *Akbakai* is also found. *Akbakay* is Orak’s horse, which grazed the Sultan’s horses. The people have preserved the legend about the death of the horse. This legend

was preserved in the memory of the people by the biblionym (the name of the song), as well as in the names of the aul district.

In addition, there are comonyms whose meaning is 'veiled', since the graphic and phonetic shell gives the meaning 'cattle', but, in fact, is a geographical term. For example: *Koilyk* aul district - the koonym contains the component *koi* – 'ram', but in many Turkic languages *koi/koya/kaya/kbaya* means 'mountain slope'. *Burylbaytal* station is a two-component dromonym: *buryl* 'roan', *baital* 'three-year-old mare'. However, in some Turkic languages, *baital* means 'mountain, mountainside'.

The name of the village *Botamoinak* consists of two components: *bota* 'baby came' and *moinak* has several meanings. In combination, *Tuyemoynak* means 'mountain range', respectively, *Botamoynak* means smaller 'mountain ranges'.

Renamed by resolution No. 572 of November 26, 2018, *Eshkiolmes* village has a positive connotation. Komonim also consists of two components: *eshki* 'a goat', *olmes* 'will not fall (will not die)'.

For the Kazakh people, whose daily life is directly related to livestock farming, it was important to know the places where livestock was kept and grazed. The basis of this information is toponyms. Derived from the names of domestic animals (in the Kazakh language they are collectively called *tort tulik* 'camel, horse, cattle, sheep and goats'), place names provide comprehensive information important for keeping and raising livestock. These toponyms play a special role in the development of agriculture, including livestock farming.

**Darius IVOŠKA**

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## **ISSUES IN OLD PRUSSIAN ANTHROPONYMY RESEARCH**

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The historical onomasticon remains an enduring field of scholarly inquiry, promising continual exploration and discovery. This is especially true of the onomasticon of those languages which, due to historical geopolitical circumstances, emerged and/or evolved in a heterogeneous linguistic environment, shaped by varying traditions of language usage. The fundamental thing that dictates the degree of complexity of historical onomastic research and the reliability of its findings lies in the language, whether native or foreign, in which the names under investigation are documented with time. It is even more complicated when analyzing an extinct language's onomasticon.

The focus of the report is Old Prussian personal names recorded in the 14th–15th-century German Order's (GO) chancellery documents. The aim is to unveil previously overlooked Old Prussian personal names, supplement the existing data on studied names, and offer new insights for research in this field.

The circumstances surrounding the recording of Old Prussian personal names, as found in historical sources like the GO's chancellery documents, have yielded ongoing discoveries, as, for example, the name *Hannike von Detemuthen* (OF 105 131r), recorded in a 1396 privilege issued by the Grand Master of the GO. This name was documented both as a personal and place name, highlighting naming conventions in Old Prussian society: “vorlien vnd gebin uns[er]n getruwen dethemute[n] sinen rechten erbin vnd nochkomelingen vumff hoken gelegen do selbist czu dethemuten” (OF 105 131r). This name remains absent from the registers of Old Prussian names.

Binary personal names<sup>1</sup>, such as *Claucko Waltirs* and *Hanniken Brunsieyt* (OF 105 174r–174v; 100r) are absent from the renowned German scientist and researcher of Old Prussian personal names Reinhold Trautmann’s most important compendium of personal names prepared so far – “Die altpreußischen Personennamen” (1925). There are cases when the reading of the name makes it difficult to identify the stems and therefore the origin of the personal name cannot be determined. For instance, a privilege of 1380 mentions *Anyot* or *Auyot*, a resident of the village of Kolm in Wehlau County (OF 105 204v). Its possible origins, including Prussian, are open to debate.

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<sup>1</sup> A binary naming pattern is based on naming a person with the first name and a byname. More on binary naming in Prussian onomasticon see Ivoška, 2020.

**Peter JORDAN**

*(University of the Free State, Faculty of Humanities)*

**THE VARYING USE OF EXONYMS  
AS AN EXPRESSION OF CHANGING POLITICAL  
CONSTELLATIONS. DEMONSTRATED  
BY THE EXAMPLE OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN  
SCHOOL ATLASES**

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School atlases are very suitable for using exonyms because they are published for an almost exclusively domestic audience with not (yet) developed language skills (pupils), because they convey contents of general education (no specialized knowledge) and are not only intended for geography lessons, but can also be used for teaching other subjects such as history, natural history, etc. In contrast to, for example, road maps or navigation devices they are also rarely carried into the area of the donor language and therefore do not have to present the endonym to be found locally on traffic and town signs – at least not in the primary position. At the same time, they reflect the language policy of the country of publication in a special way, since they have to be approved by an official education authority. If there has been a change in language policy, in attitudes towards the editorial language or in intercultural relations following political changes and events, this expresses itself usually clearly in the use of exonyms in school atlases.

The study to be presented includes examples of school atlases published and approved in four Central European countries before and after an essential turn in politics in this region, i.e. the fall of Communism around 1989/1990/1991: Austria, Czechoslovakia/Czechia, Hungary, Romania. So the comparison comprises school atlases of an in the political sense Western country also before 1989 (Austria) with three Communist countries until 1989 (Czechoslovakia,



Hungary, Romania) as well as exonyms in the widest possible range of languages, i.e. Indo-European/Germanic German as it is used in Austria, Indo-European/Slavic Czech, Indo-European/Romance Romanian as well as Hungarian, which belongs to the Finno-Ugric Group of the Ural Family. The comparison of exonym use in these atlases is, however, limited to the names of populated places in smaller map scales (more or less larger cities) because they show the most significant differences in the use of exonyms, while countries and natural features like water bodies and mountains are in school atlases with a few exceptions anyway denoted by exonyms – thus not displaying much sensibility to political changes. Out of the various maps of these atlases, the political or geographical (not physical-geographical) maps are used for comparison that show Europe as a whole as well as Mediterranean regions of the African countries.

Results will show that the varying exonym use documented by these atlases can indeed mainly be explained by political change, although language affinity and acquaintance with trade languages have a certain distorting effect.

**Dalia KISELIŪNAITĖ**

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## **CHANGES IN THE FORMS OF WOMEN'S SURNAMES IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE KLAIPĖDA REGION IN THE 19TH CENTURY**

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The paper aims to show one of the consequences of Germanizing residents' names in the Klaipėda region. In the history of Lithuanian personal names, the forms of married women's surnames in official records not in the Lithuanian language varied until the beginning of the 20th century. In the Klaipėda region, unlike Greater Lithuania, church registers were in German and personal names were also written in German. A comparison of church records from various periods in the database of genealogists shows that in the second half of the 19th century, with the introduction of German as the official language and the language of instruction at schools, a marked change occurred. In the documents of the beginning of the century, maiden names are still quite often registered with patronymic suffixes distributed according to regions: *-alė*, *-ikė* and *-aitė/-atė* (other suffixes were rare until 1923). The suffix *-ienė* rarely appears in official records in married women's surnames since maiden names were traditionally recorded in marriage and baptismal registers. In the first half of the 19th century, some names of girls and women of German origin were also registered with Lithuanian suffixes (*Annikke Bekkerene*, *Katryne Bekkerate*, *Mare Armonate*, *Anike Spitzmonate*). In the documents of persons born in the 1880s and 1890s, the forms of surnames of unmarried women with patronymic suffixes disappeared and did not differ from their fathers' surnames in writing. In the transitional period (~1860–1880), a variety of personal name forms among members of one family is noticeable. However, even in the first half of the 19th century, differences in the registration of personal names can be seen in individual parishes. It depended on several reasons: the ethnolinguistic composition of the

population of the neighborhood, the intensified creation of ethnically mixed families, the strong influence of the economic unit (especially manors), population migration, the establishment of new parishes and the assignment of villages to them, the linguistic attitudes of registrars (priests) and their superiors, etc. However, the differences were eliminated and the greatest breakthrough in this area was determined by Otto von Bismarck's unification of Germany and the related education and language policies. Although the official forms of female surnames were Germanized in the spoken Lithuanian language of the Klaipėda region, the traditional suffixed forms of women's surnames continued to be used, therefore, they can still be found in other historical sources (letters, epitaphs, newspapers, memoirs) at the beginning of the 20th century.

**Antra KĻAVINSKA**

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## **EXPLORING PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS ROAD SIGNS IN STANDARD LATGALIAN**

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At the end of 2023, road signs in Latvian and in Livonian or Standard Latgalian began to be installed along state roads for settlements of Kurzeme and Latgale regions. This initiative was in response to the Law on Historical Regions of Latvia (2021). For Latgale, this law states that “the State and the respective local governments shall ensure the preservation and sustainable development of the Latgalian identity and cultural and historical environment (..) by restoring and using the place names in the Latgalian language in the environment, including in road signs, location and street names” (section 4.8).

The installation of the first road signs in Latgale sparked a clash of public opinions, evident in both the media and on social networking sites. Some residents appreciated this idea as a confirmation of regional identity, while others considered it an unnecessary waste of money and a pretext for dividing society. Still others objected to the inaccurate representation of settlement names in Latgalian.

It is important to note that municipalities in Kurzeme and Latgale had already taken the initiative to showcase their linguistic identity on public signs, but faced resistance from both officials and broader societal discussions. For instance, in 2016, the Latvian State Language Centre (*Valsts valodas centrs*) appealed to Kārsava County Council to remove street signs because the letters for street names in Latgalian were larger than in Latvian. This fact caused extensive discussions in society about the Latgalian language and its role in preserving regional identity.

This research will examine settlement names in the Latgale region within the context of the implementation of the Law on Historical Regions of Latvia. The study will focus on public attitudes

towards the use of oikonyms in Latgalian on road signs. A variety of data sources will be employed for sociolinguistic analysis, including social media comments, population surveys, and opinions from local government representatives. The findings of this study will provide insights into the linguistic dynamics of Latgalian oikonyms and their role in preserving regional heritage.

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**Johanna LEHTONEN**

*(City of Helsinki)*

## **TRACES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN STREET NAMES IN HELSINKI, FINLAND**

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Helsinki was founded in 1550 and was appointed the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812. Helsinki has a long history as a city of merchants, craftsmen and government officials but developed into a significant industrial city in the second half of the 19th century. One of the biggest start impulses was the opening of the first railway line from Helsinki to Hämeenlinna in 1862. Helsinki's location centrally by the Gulf of Finland has however been a great motivator in establishing business and enterprises both locally and on an international level.

The industrial heritage still lives on in the cityscape and in street name plates even though a large part of traditional jobs in the industry have vanished from present-day Helsinki. Industrial tradition that remains in the street name plates lets us travel back in time. *Hitsaajankatu – Svetsargatan* ('welder street'), *Laippatie – Flänsvägen* ('flange road'), *Puusepäinkatu – Snickaregatan* ('carpenter street'), *Tehtaankatu – Fabriksgatan* ('factory street'), *Telakkakatu – Docksgatan* ('dock street'), *Työmiehenkatu – Arbetaregatan* ('worker street'), *Valimotie – Gjuterivägen* ('foundry road') and *Valuraudantie – Gjutjärnsvägen* ('cast iron road') are examples from different time periods and from different parts of the city. Also, long-time family-owned company names such as Strömberg, Sinebrychoff and Paulig are visible in the street names today.

What kind of traces of this theme can be seen in street names and district names of the day and what do they reflect? Is the vocabulary used still understandable to residents of the day? Many industrial areas in Helsinki are still used by smaller-scale factories and workshops whereas some have undergone a transformation

into residential areas and modern business premises. What kind of marks do modern storehouse and public utilities zones leave in the nomenclature of the cityscape? And when can post-industrial service-based society themes be seen in street names of the future – or are some in use already? Is it too early for that for the time being? And last but not least: Are women's industrial occupations or early female activity visible in the cityscape in a way or another?

In this paper former and today's industrial areas and group name themes in Helsinki's cityscape will be presented and sorted. The research is based on the information published in the street name register of the City of Helsinki. The paper will also analyze the linguistic landscape in some of the prominent industrial areas, with pictures taken by the author.

Philip W. MATTHEWS

## CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURES OF NEW ZEALAND PLACE NAMES

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In the twelfth century Māori found a terra nullius (now known as New Zealand), settled it and over time named almost all physical features they traversed and all areas they inhabited. In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries foreign explorers, sealers, whalers, missionaries and others came to New Zealand and named many places. In the mid nineteenth century large scale immigration began, with almost all the immigrants coming from the United Kingdom. In 1840 the government signed the Treaty of Waitangi with Māori thereby creating the colony of New Zealand. Immigrants and their descendants have used many of the existing Māori names but ignored or were unaware of many others. They also gave English names to many places and replaced many Māori names with English ones.

This paper takes a sample of 331 pairs from a published list of 2.160 pairs of New Zealand toponyms. The list covers the period from about the mid nineteenth century to about the end of the twentieth century. In the list the first name in the pair is a discarded name for the feature while the second is its new name. The lists consist of names used in New Zealand English situations rather than those used by Māori and others when speaking Māori.

This study has three aims. First, using a schema devised by Matthews in 2018 the structures of the toponyms in both lists are ascertained. The schema consists of simplexes (i.e. specific and generics by themselves) and duplexes (which have both generics and specifics, and which are categorized as joined, separated or doubled) The languages of the toponyms are also noted. Second, the structure of each discarded toponym for a feature is compared with the structure of its new name and the differences are noted. The nature of change from the discarded name to the new name is given, e.g.



replacement, spelling difference and translation. Third, processes for these changes are explored, e.g. community pressure and Waitangi Tribunal findings.

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Jeremy PARROTT

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## DAVID COPPERFIELD: THE HERO OF MANY NAMES

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Charles Dickens wrestled with the choice of a name for his hero for a considerable time early in 1849 before deciding that 'David Copperfield' should be his new protagonist. The figure also came to be thought of by the author as his alter ego, with his initials (DC) being those of Charles Dickens (CD) in reverse. It was only once Dickens had settled on a name that he could begin writing the novel, which constituted a new departure for the author, being his first, first-person narrative and, in many respects, an experimental piece of fiction. However, despite the apparent solidity of the name, it remains radically unstable throughout the novel, with his gender even being called into question before his birth, since his Aunt Betsey wants 'her' (i.e. the as-yet unborn baby which she is convinced will be a girl) to be called 'Betsey Trotwood Copperfield'. During the course of the novel the protagonist is addressed by some 20 different names, reflecting not only on his self-image but how others view him. He only fully assumes his given name at birth as a married man and a middle-aged adult in the novel's final pages. The names by which he addressed range from the common-place: *Davy*, *Master Copperfield* etc., to the comical or frankly bizarre: *Tomzer*, *Daisy*, *Doady*, *Six penn'orth of bad ha'pence* and *Brooks of Sheffield*. This paper will explore the hidden motivations behind some of these namings, both within the context of the novel and in terms of Dickens's personal depth psychology. Perhaps the most interesting of these are *Phoebus*, leading us to an underlying preoccupation with Greek mythology and David Copperfield's identification with the sun-god Apollo, and *David's son* pointing to the opening words of the New Testament, in which Jesus is introduced as the son of David. This topic forms one small section of my forthcoming monograph entitled 'Copperfield Unbound'.

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**USE OF PROPER NAMES IN FICTION:  
PROUST, STENDHAL, DAVID FOSTER WALLACE,  
KAREN GREEN**

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The aim of this paper is not so much to examine the linguistic transformation of proper names over the course of history, but rather the evolution of the use and evaluation of proper names in a few pieces of fiction, both French and American, from proper names cited within a novel to the author's own surname. I will first mention a central study of proper names in Marcel Proust's works by Gérard Genette in *Mimologies: Voyage in Cratylusland*. In the chapter entitled "The Age of Names" – *The Age of Names, the Age of Words, the Age of Things* being the writing title Marcel Proust had in mind before choosing *Remembrance of Things Past* – the narratologist comments on what he calls "nominal imagination" or "instinctive cratylism", i.e. the belief in "a relation of reflective analogy (imitation) between 'word' and 'thing' that motivates, or justifies, the existence and choice of the former." In this "reverie", the name is not arbitrary. There is "an active relationship or a natural affinity between signifier and signified" whether the name is real or invented, the name of a person or a place like Balbec, Florence or Guermantes. Genette also shows the gradual destruction of this illusion or "onomastic refutation" when the narrator comes into contact with reality or listens to the etymological explanations given by character Brichot who, unlike Socrates in Plato's *Cratylus*, demonstrates the "dissolubility" between sense and sound, through a few examples (Chantereine, Loctudy, Balbec, Honfleur).

I will then make reference to Jean Starobinski's study in *The Living Eye* of novelist Stendhal (alias Henri Beyle)'s immoderate use of pseudonyms – more than a hundred like "Cotonnet, César Bombet, Chamier, Cutendre, William Crocodile – comic, ridiculous or glorious

pseudonyms that all express a form of resentment towards the family name given by the father or the Other that the “egotist” refuses. Taking on a new name is a liberation, a way of “giving oneself a new face”, “a new destiny”, a “new social rank”, “new homelands”. The attitude towards the name is the opposite of that of the Proustian narrator, who is lulled into “nominalistic illusion”. Here, “the man is never quite in his name, nor quite behind his name”.

On the basis of these two canonical studies, I will then examine the return of the family name in contemporary writing by taking the example of an American literary couple who played with their first and last names in their works: David Foster Wallace who uses the narrative voice of a ghost from beyond the grave in his short story “Good Old Neon” and gives a character the name of Dave Wallace. And Karen Green who, after the death of her husband in 2008, also used her surname in the elegy *Bough Down* that she wrote. The aim here is not to disguise one’s name, but to reduce the gap between the author’s name and the name used for the narrative or poetic voice. I will analyze the meaning of this nominal redoubling, an “inverted nominalistic illusion” or “nominalistic realization” that is meant to consolidate one’s identity or vacillating filiation, or to increase one’s renown and make a name.

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## **LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES ON CHANGING PLACE NAMES DURING THE WAR**

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Changes in place names become widespread during national and socially political events. Then, placenames as a means for the orientation in space and as titles of national identity are used in communication more actively both in communication and in different socially political manipulations. War as an ultimately tragic and exacerbated political and military event has the most direct impact on the stability of place names. This has been evident also during the war between Russia and Ukraine. The war destroys people, villages and towns and cities, also place names by changing and transforming them, and by new additions. By observing and excerpting the news covering place names across different countries (not only in the aforementioned war zone) and by reviewing regulations issued by departments of war, but it is also possible to distinguish among several linguistic strategies about the reports on place names during wars: elimination, change, transliteration, transsemanticization, euphemismation, deonymization. They shape lexical, phonetic, semantic, orthographic, in some cases, also semantic levels of place names.

The aim of the study is to identify and define toponymic strategies used to shape and influence events. To illustrate the study, regulatory documents, and maps of the 20th and 21st centuries, changes of placenames observed during the war between Russia and Ukraine, and in other countries have been used (altogether, approximately 1000 facts have been identified).

Placenames during wars are used both as a means of propaganda and non-violent resistance. Both warring sides wield similar linguistic strategies; however, their intensity alters when objectives matter, and it is different on the side of the aggressor and the victim.

The first strategy – elimination or excluding the place name from

public communication is mostly used by the victim by subverting the invader's intentions. The invader also recommends applying the strategy as stated by documents issued by departments of war in order to hide operational plans to invade. The second strategy – change of place names is used by both sides when choosing politically and nationally loaded place names particularly in the beginning of the war and urbanonymy (for example, the officially confirmed name *Ukrainas neatkarības iela* (Ukraine's Independence Street) in Riga on the 10th of March 2022). Such strategies as trans-onymization or re-onymization are frequently used as urbanonyms acquire or regain a person's name); in epexegetis – an explanatory nomenclature word is added (for example, *Донецкая Народная Республика*). The third strategy – transliteration is usually used by invaders with an aim to reflect place names according to their writing system, and to introduce it into the occupied territory. It can also be noticed in cases of slight differences between the writing systems (for example, Ukrainian *Маріуполь* and Russian *Марьуполь*, Latvian *Bolderāja* and German *Bolderaa*). The fourth linguistic process – transsemanticization or metasemanticization (by adding an extra semantic component to a place name) usually occurs naturally because every heaviest combat theatre acquires a tragic story attached to it; however, the conquered side often uses it for strategic goals as a symbolic designation for war horrors (for example, the Ukrainian placename *Буца*).

The fifth and sixth strategies – euphemismation and deonymization are usually used in modern social media because official sources do not admit digression from the norm. They are mainly used by the conquered state and its supporters. Places acquire unofficial parallel names notably from well-known literary works and myths (for example, Russia is referred to as Mordor), or they may be spelled with small letters.

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## **AVOIDING AND EMBRACING 'DISCOMMEMORABILITY': THE PARADOX OF VALUES IN AKAN FAMILY NAME CONCEPTS**

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The Akan personal name system is based on the place of four entities, each with names emanating from them: the *Supreme Being* – the day name; *the father* – the family name; *the larger family* – the circumstantial name; and *the larger community* – accolades and nicknames. The Supreme Being connects one to a day of birth, and the larger family and the community connect one to the family's experience of procreation and nativity, their ideas about one's personal characteristics, and experiences in later life. But the father, guarded by the 'sunsum' (spirit), connects one to the values upon which hinge the society's pride, strength, and well-being, which are used for the construction of family names. Thus, Akan family names are invariably constructed from concepts deemed honourable. In that respect, not all concepts in the linguistic culture may be acceptable for the construction of family names. For instance, the concept of 'ti' (head) could be used in the construction of such family names as *Oti*, *Tieku*, *Atiako*, due to the sense of 'leadership and thought' associated with it. But concepts reflecting other parts of the body (the mouth, teeth, leg, hand, buttocks, nose etc.) are generally deemed not to have the associated values that qualify them to be used as family names, even though those concepts may be used for the construction of circumstantial names and accolades or titles. The cognitive system that filters concepts to determine their applicability as family name concepts is referred to as the 'commemorability' principle; and generally Akan family names are constructed to reflect 'commemorability' or to avoid 'discommemorability'.

This paper examines the paradoxical situation in which the Akan family name system both avoids dishonour in the selection of its concepts in traditional naming processes, but admits names of ‘discommemorable’ senses by promoting them from nicknames and circumstantial names to family names. The Akan family name typically manifests in name paradigms by which concepts are used in recurrent structures to form groupings of names, referred to as name paradigms; and the paper looks at situations in which probable forms could be avoided as family name, if the outcomes of the morphological processes end in forms that could be deemed ‘dishonourable’ as well as situations in which the rendition of such a form could be altered to save it from any associations with the ‘uncommemorable’, on the one hand, and other situations in which typically ‘uncommemorable’ concepts become family names, having gone through amelioration through earlier uses as appellations or circumstantial names. To illustrate, the addition of the ‘*kye*’ (enduring, long-living) to the base concept ‘*ban*’ (protection, defence) would produce BANKYE, with the same phonological form as the concept for cassava, which, like other food and household items, is normally deemed to be base and improper as a family name concept, and is likely to be avoided. Again, the concept of ‘*kum*’ (killing humans) is deemed ‘incommemorable’, and would, thus, be avoided as a family name concept. But at the same time, another concept of ‘killing humans’, *Diawuo* (lit. commit murder) would be processed as an appellation or honorific name, and later used as a family name.

The paper observes that whilst the pristine family name construction tradition maintains the connection between names and concepts of high values, the dynamism of name typologies injects ‘dishonourable’ concepts into the family naming system. It notes also that the re-interpretation of names from dishonour to honour, the loss of disdain for the ‘uncommemorable’ and the general loss of attention to name meaning have contributed to the coexistence of ‘commemorable’ and ‘non-commemorable’ concepts in the Akan family name inventory.



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## **THE AKAN DAY NAME ACROSS TIME AND SPACE**

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The Akan of Ghana and Cote D'Ivoire have a personal naming system by which a person automatically gets a name by virtue of the day of the week on which one was born and one's sex: Sunday: *Kwasi* and *Akosua/Esɛ*; Monday: *Kwadwo/Kojo* and *Adwoa/Adwoaba*; Tuesday: *Kwabena* and *Abena/Araba*; Wednesday: *Kwaku* and *Akua/Akuba*; Thursday: *Yaw/Kwaw* and *Yaa/Aba/Yaaba*; Friday: *Kofi* and *Afia/Efiba/Efua*; and Saturday: *Kwame* and *Ama*. Whilst the naming system is known to be veritably Akan, the names have spread to several ethnicities in Ghana, Cote D'Ivoire, and other neighbouring countries and have grown to become the most popular traditional system across the West African sub-region, traversing several ethnic groups. In terms of use, the day names have moved from what is believed to be an appellative use to first name in traditional contexts, to middle name in modern or formal naming, and to family name and last name in traditional and formal naming contexts respectively, making it very elusive in its functional classification and linguistic identity. Beyond its use in West Africa, the day names featured prominently in slave naming in the Americas, later to become regular names of African connection used across the Caribbean.

The paper seeks to trace the development of the Akan day name from its proto-forms into their different manifestations in present-day Akan, historical Akan and ethnographic Akan communities, drawing attention to the linguistic conditions that have resulted in variations in the manifestations of the names both in local and diasporic contexts, and how all these changes point to the historical development of the names. In Ghana for instance, whilst ethnicities such as GaDangme and those of the northern part of the country – Dagomba, Gonja,

Sissala, Mamprusi, Gurene, etc. do maintain the forms used by the Akan, the Ewe do generally have different manifestations of the names, which run parallel to the Akan forms, drawing attention to different levels of the appropriation of the day-naming system. In this consideration also, the study looks at the changing connection between the names and the associated day in some ethnic communities, and the disconnect between the names and the whole practice of day-naming, as reported in the American and Caribbean contexts.

Again, the paper discusses the changing position and roles of the names in the traditional as well as modern name syntax, drawing attention to the ethnographic factors that could have influenced the positioning of the name. For instance, whilst in traditional contexts, the Akan day name invariably functions not as a last name, the male forms have taken last-name positions in non-Akan traditional contexts. In Akan contexts, however, the names have undergone levels of Anglicisation which have moved them from first and middle positions to formal last names, bringing, thus, distinction both in form and use between *Kojo/Kodwo* and *Cudjoe* (Monday), *Kobina* and *Cobbina* (Tuesday), *Kveku* and *Quaicoo/Quarcoo* (Wednesday), and *Kofi* and *Coffie* (Friday) among others. The paper concludes on the ubiquitous nature of the Akan day name in linking ethnicities and in serving different anthroponomic roles in both traditional and modern naming contexts.

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## **ABOUT *SKUĶI* IN LATVIA**

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The aim of the paper is to assess the distribution of the placename with the root *skuķ-* in Latvia as evident in the manuscript of the “Dictionary of Latvian Placenames” to be published, and to establish the possible time of origin and motivation for nomination.

The origin of the Latvian literary word *skuķe* or *skuķis* ‘lass; also, an inexperienced and lightminded young girl’ has traditionally been explained as a Couronian word of the Latvian language (Karulis 1992, II 209; ME III 902–903). This explanation seemingly contradicts the distribution of place names established in the “Dictionary of Latvian Placenames”. In total, placenames of this root have been established in 26 civil parishes of Latvia, of which a half, namely, thirteen rural territories are in Vidzeme, but the remaining ones are distributed followingly – 5 in Latgale, 4 – in Courland, two in Selonia, and two in Semigallia.

When identified place names are grouped chronologically, they appear to be relatively new – two of them date back from the 17th century, one – from the 18th century, eight – from the 19th century, and fifteen – from the 20th century. For this reason, it is planned to use extra sources – historical maps, soul revision materials of manor estates, and other materials to verify the data for the inclusion in the manuscript by paying attention to the changing nature of place names and differences in records from various ages and languages. For example, in 1826, the farmstead *Skuķi* in Ogre rural territory was written as *Skutke* in the revision record.

The distribution of place names will also be compared with the distribution data of surnames; however, at a first glance, they correlate only fragmentarily – in Latgale and in Selonia (Mežs 2017, 250; Mežs et al. 2019, II 171). After an in-depth study of some cases, the origin

of place names will be explained by showing the potential connection with Lithuanian, Middle Low German, and also (particularly in eastern Latvia) Slavic languages.

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## **THE NAME *MARIJA* AND ITS VARIANTS: TENDENCIES OF NAME GIVING IN LITHUANIA IN THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES**

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The name *Marija* was very common in the first half of the 20th century in Lithuanian, but later its popularity decreased (cf. vardai.vlkk.lt). In this way the popularity of Hebrew names in Lithuania decreased as well (Sinkevičiūtė 2021, 244). This shows that the declining frequency of widespread names can affect the general picture of the origin of the names of a country.

Until the middle of the 20th century, *Marija* was a frequent member of double names, occupying both the first and the second position, cf. *Marija Birutė*, *Aldona Marija*. During the Soviet era double names with *Marija* became less frequent. At the end of the 20th century double names became frequent again, including those with *Marija*. These are most frequent as second member, cf. *Ieva Marija*, *Saulė Marija*. During the first half of the 20th century names that occurred in combination with *Marija* were more often borrowed names rather than Baltic names. Since the end of the 20th century, Baltic names have become even rarer in double names with *Marija*. On the other hand, the number of names with features untypical of Lithuanian increases. Thus, names that had lost their frequency become second members of double names, whereas the composition of double names changes from the viewpoint of Lithuanian. These tendencies can also be seen in double names from Lithuanian emigrants in the UK at the end of the 20th–21st century, at least in the case of names with one Baltic member (Sinkevičiūtė 2024).

Many variants of the name *Marija* are found in Lithuania, as well as names of hypocoristic origin. In the first half of the 20th century names like *Maria*, *Marė*, *Marelė*, *Marytė* or *Marutė* appeared.

Since the middle of the 20th century the number of names with borrowed suffixes increased, cf. *Mareta*, *Mariela*, *Marieta*, *Marika*, *Marita*. At the end of the 20th century forms untypical of Lithuanian begin to spread, cf. *Maria*, *Mariia*, *Mariya*, *Maryia*, *Marya*. Note also the new hypocoristic *Mija* and its variant *Mia*. In the 20th–21st centuries we also have the following names, given to non-Lithuanian girls, cf. *Marie*, *Marysia*, *Mažena*. Such a variety of names and their changes reflect systemic changes in the stock of Lithuanian names.

Most variants of *Marija*, including hypocoristics, are not very widespread. The most common ones are *Marytė*, *Maria*, *Marie*, *Mažena*, *Mija* and *Mia*. Except for *Marie*, they are mostly given alone. Except for *Mažena*, they also occur as members of double names. Till the 1970s, *Marytė* usually occurs as second member of double names, the other member being a borrowed name. The other member of double names with *Maria*, *Marie*, *Mia* is often a name untypical of Lithuanian, cf. *Anna Maria*, *Marie Natalie*. It can also coincide in form with names of other languages, cf. *Ana Maria*, *Mia Aleksandra*. In double names with *Mija* and *Mia*, which usually occur as first members, the other member is almost always a borrowed name. This shows that newly spreading names are often used as first members.

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## **DEVELOPMENT OF LITHUANIAN ONOMASTICS: FROM TRADITION TO MODERNITY**

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The report explores the dynamic evolution of Lithuanian Onomastics, tracing its journey from tradition to modernity. Onomastics, the study of names, offers insights into the cultural, historical, and linguistic tapestry of a society. Since ancient times, scholars worldwide have engaged in the scientific study of the grammatical functions and semantic properties of proper names, leading to diverse onomastic schools with varied research interests but lacking a unified theory. Historically, traditional onomastic research primarily focused on the etymology, linguistic elements, and historical contexts of toponyms, occasionally extending to the analysis of semantic aspects of names (Ainiala, Östman 2017). It was not until Ernst Hansack's groundbreaking work "Bedeutung, Begriff, Name" (1990) in Cognitive Onomastics that attention shifted globally to issues such as the meaning and conceptualization of proper names, name categorization, and prototyping, as well as the origin, identity, and cultural-social motivation of names, including conceptual metaphors and metonymy. In Lithuania, onomastic studies traditionally adhered to the approach established by Kazimieras Būga, emphasizing the etymological and derivational analysis of proper names. Aleksandras Vanagas further expanded this approach, particularly with his fundamental works on the structural-grammatical and semantic classification of hydronyms (cf. Vanagas 1970, 1981), which Dalia Sviderskienė later developed and applied to other toponym classes (cf. Sviderskienė 2006, etc.), modernizing Lithuanian onomastic studies by exploring the etymology and motivation of micro-toponyms. Concurrently, a new wave of onomasticians seeks

to depart from traditional methods, exploring toponyms within the framework of Cognitive Semantics while retaining a focus on etymology, motivation, and meaning. This report navigates through the historical development of onomastic studies in Lithuania, highlighting the significance of balancing tradition and innovation in the field. Through a multidisciplinary approach integrating linguistic analysis, historical research, and cultural studies, the author aims to illustrate how blending traditional and innovative approaches clarifies established etymologies and elucidates the motivations behind toponyms.

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**VARIABILITY OF ETHNIC FLAVORS  
REFLECTED IN THE RESTAURANT  
NAMING PRACTICES: THE CASE STUDY  
OF RESTAURANTS SERVING FAR EASTERN  
CUISINE IN PRAGUE**

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Restaurants offering ethnic cuisines often form an integral part of any urban agglomeration. Take Prague as an example, Far Eastern cuisines rank among the most widespread foreign cooking styles. Launching non-native flavors not only brings the use of new culinary ingredients, tools, or techniques but also stimulates cultural enrichment and expansion of linguistic expressions. Names of foreign ethnic dishes, beverages, and ingredients represent a noticeable vocabulary group that tends to penetrate the local language. Moreover, a specific subset of interaction is represented by restaurant names.

Apart from their primary function of identifying a single entity, selecting a suitable name is essential to the restaurant's branding. Together with many other elements, it also contributes to shaping passers-by's experiences of public space. It is driven by the interest in directing people's attention to a conducted business. To succeed in a highly competitive environment, restaurants are forced to select names that catch customers' eyes. The choice of name underlies the same two opposing principles as forming a complex linguistic landscape. First, name-givers seek new, original ways of promoting themselves through a unique name. Simultaneously, they also address the same group of potential clients; therefore, they cannot avoid adjusting their promotion techniques, including names, to align with people's expectations, values, or tastes. To achieve this, they may be induced to utilize cultural codes perceived as fashionable in the public

eye or to present favorable images of themselves to others. Language choice is one of the first steps of the name-creation process. Simply speaking, there are two reasons for using a particular language, i.e., transmitting factual information or appealing to people's emotions through the connotational value of languages.

The study investigates naming strategies adopted by over five hundred restaurants in the capital city of Czechia. Far Eastern food in Prague is represented by five main ethnic cuisines (Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Thai). The analysis is based on the photo documentation of their exterior signage. Restaurants either focus on one of them or offer some sort of mixture (e.g., a parallel offer of two or more cuisines, Asian fusion cuisine, or pan-Asian cuisine). This paper approaches their names from two perspectives: 1) the language selection and linguistic structure of the name and 2) the semantic features of the name. The results demonstrate that the restaurant names develop a relatively cohesive shared view of "Asianess" by incorporating various linguistic elements. Simultaneously, they also paint a culinary portrait showcasing the diversity of Far Eastern culinary tradition.

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**PERSONAL NAMES APPLICATION IN UKRAINE:  
MODERN MAPPING OF INHERITED OR RECENTLY  
CREATED NATIONAL IDENTITY**

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In this paper, I concentrate primarily on standardization that should be applied to personal (given) names in Ukraine; however, until now, there have been no state policy, perspective strategy, or official naming standards. After the ‘iron curtain’ failed and sovereignty was restored, among ordinary citizens of Ukraine (specifically young parents), there appeared a seduction not to be like the others and to give their children personal names, which do not preserve and present Ukrainian national identity, are far from customs, traditions, and inherited religious views, but sounds to be fashionable and popular worldwide. Such names entered into general Ukrainian onomasticon (names repertoire) via music, literature, mass and social media, movies, TV series, etc., but remain particularly strange for society and can cause unacceptability for the child in the future. To justify this issue, I use recent relevant cases of the European Court of Human Rights (following the correct application of Art. 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights).

Due to its vibrant history, Ukrainian onomasticon includes personal names of different origins, rooted in Old Slavic, Hebrew, Yiddish, Ancient Greek and Latin, Germanic, Old Norse, Arabic, Persian, etc. Modern usage of personal names in Ukraine might indicate the belonging of a person to an autochthon nation (Ukrainian) and indigenous population (Crimean Tatars and Karaites) or national minorities from neighboring countries because of tremendous territorial changes specifically during XX century (Russian, Belorussian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Moldovan) and because of in-country migration and settlement for

decades and centuries (Bulgarian, Jews, Armenian, Greeks, German, Georgian, etc.).

Evidently, every state develops and adopts a naming policy to clarify the vision of national naming laws and essential criteria for the application and registration of personal names respecting human rights, national identity issues, the rule of law, and democracy dimensions. But what to do if there is no state naming policy, criteria, or regulations? How can the state, in this particular case, create, adopt, and develop its official names' repertoire (onomasticon)? And persuade its citizens to use names for their children from it? And regulate the name-a-child process following personal (national identity, language minority) issues vs. public (state official language and citizenship) matters? Does it have enough legal space and toolkit to interfere with family life without prejudice, only using law and rationality? To answer these vital questions, we use data and desk analysis on the given name's applications in Ukraine following national identity matters, personal ties with the neighboring countries and its mapping before 2014.

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**NO NAMES BUT MANY PLACES:  
HOW TO HANDLE THE ABSENCE OF PLACE  
NAMES ON AGRIGAN (MICRONESIA)**

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The talk raises the issue of the unexpectedly absent place names on the extant maps of the Gāni-Islands in Micronesia. In continuation of a joint research project whose early phase is documented in Stolz, Levkovich (2022, 2023), we show that at different times during the last 360 years of documentation these islands have been inhabited on and off and that their present desertion is of recent origin. This gives rise to the question why there are hardly any toponomastic pieces of evidence for the previous human presence on the islands. It is argued that a number of place names – colonial or other – have not made it onto the official maps although they are mentioned unsystematically in Spanish, German, Japanese, and US American documents referring to the Mariana Islands.

The talk focuses on an island whose toponomastic history is particularly intriguing, namely Agrigan. The cartographic representation of Agrigan is in the centre of the analysis. The maps of Agrigan from the mid-19th to the last quarter of the 20th century are shown to be strikingly parsimonious as to place naming although it is known that there were several villages and other named geo-objects on the island. The almost total absence of place names is representative of the majority of the Gāni-Islands in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, whereas the three southernmost islands (Saipan, Tinian, and Rota) are equipped with rich toponomasticons. The Agrigan situation is compared to that of the unsettled Peri-Antarctic Bouvet-Island. The rich toponomasticon of this Norwegian possession strongly suggests that Agrigan's map does not have to be devoid of place names. The possibilities for place-

naming on Agrigan are described. Place names which were recorded in the 1950's are discussed. The role that place names play in the creation and preservation of a community's identity is emphasized.

On the basis of occasional mentions of place names scattered about different texts, we attempt to reconstruct part of Agrigan's toponomasticon as of the final phase of its settlement history.

## References

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## **RECONSIDERING LATVIA'S LAKE NAMES WITH *-ERIS*, *-ĒRIS*, *-IERIS***

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Linguists have repeatedly paid attention to the topic about lake names with the suffix *-eris*, *-ēris* or *-ieris*, for example, Kazimiers Būga, Jānis Endzelīns, Marta Rudzīte, Antons Breidaks, Vallija Dambe, Ojārs Bušs, Laimute Balode, Ilga Jansone. Researchers admit that a number of these names with a specific suffix may have derived from the Livonian *jōra* (*jāru*) or Estonian *järv* 'lake' (Balode 2015). Linguists' publications refer to several such limnonyms where the suffix is connected with the Baltic Finnish languages: *Āstere* in Pāle, *Dūņieris* in Sloka, *Gulbēris* in Mēdzūla, *Juweris* in Dzērbene, *Kaņieris* in Sloka, *Ķeiseris* in Mālpils, *Ninieris* in Priekuļi, *Piniers* in Liezēre, *Sasēris* in Lubeja, *Siveris* in Dagda, *Spicieris* in Valka, *Ubēris* in Mēdzūla (Balode 2015, 62–63; Bušs, Jansone 2019, 236–237); however, it is very likely that in Latvia lake names of such an origin with the corresponding suffix are even more. Lakes mentioned by the researchers have been localized mainly in north Vidzeme and central Vidzeme near Cēsis and Madona, and there are separate limnonyms in Latgale – near Dagda, and in Sloka close to Rīga.

The paper refers to the Latvian Geospatial Information Agency's database data (LĢIA 2023), and the lake names of Latvia containing the suffix *-eris*, *-ēris*, *-ieris* will be analysed. In this context, they have not been mentioned in other linguists' studies thus clearly separating names of another origin (usually Latvian, but also German, for example) from such placenames that may be connected with the Livonian *jōra* (*jāru*) or Estonian *järv* 'lake', for example, *Suķieris* in Ērgeme.

At the end of the paper, the hill name *Skaisterkalns* in Katvari will be analyzed, and explained initially with the adjective *skaists* in

the authors' S2 volume "Dictionary of Latvian Placenames" prepared for the publication. In a document written in 1357, the hill name "Kāysterkalln" has been mentioned among other placenames of Katvari rural territory (LGU, 85), and it is possibly the former name for *Skaisterkalns*. *Skaisterkalns* is close to three lakes – *Melnezērs*, *Katvaru ezers*, and *Linezers*. It is likely that one of these lake names was of the Baltic Finnish origin retained in the placename *Skaisterkalns*. It is also possible to draw parallels with the lake name *Kaistjärv* in Saaremaa Island of Estonia.

If the hypothesis is admissible, it is possible to accept the influence of folk etymology on the contemporary pronunciation of the name where the similarity to the Latvian adjective *skaists* motivated the change of the placename.

## References

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Bušs, Ojārs; Jansone, Ilga. 2019. Somugrismi latviešu valodā: pētniecības un integrācijas atspoguļojums. *Latvija: kultūru migrācija*. LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 214–249.

LGU – *Livländische Güterurkunden (aus den Jahren 1207 bis 1500)*. 1908. Riga: Kommissionsverlag von Jonck & Poliewsky.

LĢia 2023 – *Vietvārdu datubāze*. Latvijas Ģeotelpiskās informācijas aģentūra. [https://vietvardi.lgia.gov.lv/vv/to\\_www.sakt](https://vietvardi.lgia.gov.lv/vv/to_www.sakt)



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## **PANORAMA OF STUDIES OF LATVIAN PERSONAL NAMES**

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The presentation will focus on various studies about personal names in Latvia and will give a general panorama of past-to-present studies on Latvian personal names. Researchers, as well as university students in both bachelor and master level studies, have been interested in personal names in the Latvia phenomenon for many years. The current situation in onomastic research regarding personal names is saturated, therefore, to begin work on authors' dissertations and find the best focus the research about previous author studies must be conducted. It was decided that the best method for this study is to make a qualitative content analysis of previously conducted research, described in a diachronic and descriptive manner. The presentation will focus on previous studies' research questions, lines of research, objectives, methods, conclusions, research timeline, and consequential discoveries, highlighting the limitations of the previous studies. Similarities and differences between research will be emphasized. The presentation aims to present a graphic representation of the researchers' timeline. Consequently, the author reviews what has not yet been explored and assessed to find a new direction in personal name research. The presentation will outline researchers such as Ojārs Bušs, Laimute Balode, Renāte Siliņa-Piņke, Pauls Balodis, Ingmārs Mežs, Santa Briede, Ilva Skulte, and others. Not to mention bachelor and master students that explore the onomastic field within thesis writing, especially regarding personal names research. The author's contribution would be necessary not only to find a new direction in research but also to lay out all the previous revelations. As onomast and professor Laimute Balode says: "There are relatively many publications on the history and tradition of Latvian personal

names, but there are almost no studies at all about the situation of names today, especially about personal names choice for newborns” (Balode 2022). To gain insight and comprehend direction into what would be the necessary and best new research in Latvian personal name scope, presenting this study would also provide an opportunity to consult with field specialists and hear their visions, proposals, and recommendations.

## References

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Onomastikas pētījumi III. Īpašvārdu mainība /  
Onomastic Investigations III. Variability of Proper Names  
Salikts LU Latviešu valodas institūtā