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Barbara
Bába

The Source Value of Proper Names in Historical Dialectology[1]

Due to their close association with a place, a high degree of linguistic stability, and less extensive territorial distribution, proper names (besides linguistic records, contemporary dialects, related languages, and loanwords) serve as key sources not only in language history but also in historical dialectology. Based on research findings in onomastics, we now have access to an extensive linguistic corpus and knowledge of proper names, thus the revaluation of their possible use as sources in historical dialectology has also become a pressing issue.

Keywords
historical dialectology, charters,
source value, geolinguistics,
chronology

1. The possibility to study the phenomena of each language subsystem

Proper names found in linguistic records deserve special attention partly due to the possibility they offer for studying linguistic phenomena.

The study of contemporary dialectal phenomena of certain linguistic subsystems is necessarily of varying efficiency and significance, which is partly due to the differing extent of the territorial fragmentation of dialectal phenomena. Hungarian dialects exhibit a stronger division in terms of phonology than they do in morphology and syntax (Benkő 1957: 11, Juhász 2001: 266). At the same time, the fact that different dialectal phenomena are addressed to a varying degree in contemporary dialectology is also the result of methodological issues. During the collection of the material

1 The research and writing of this essay has been supported by the University of Debrecen and the MTA Premium Postdoctoral Research Program.

for the MNyA, the recall and testing of syntactic features seemed to be impossible with the active indirect method. The essence of this method is that the linguistic phenomenon studied may not be mentioned in the question either in its colloquial or its dialectal form (Balogh 2001: 165, Juhász 2001: 266, 116). It is also due to methodological considerations that it is phonology that plays a key role in modern dialectometry in general and in comparative inter-dialectal studies in particular (Vargha 2016: 160). The varying degree to which the different sub-systems may be examined and the possibility to typify the phenomena fundamentally influence their role played in the specification of the regional units of dialects. Besides the phonological and morphological phenomena that play a central role in the characterization of dialectal regions, issues related to the vocabulary and semantics, for example, do not play such an important role despite the fact that they provide a wide set of examples for segmentation in linguistic geography (Juhász 2001: 266).

Diachronic studies in dialectology also primarily focus on phonological differences despite the fact that the study of dialectal phenomena related to historical phonology is made more difficult by several factors.

Due to norms only sporadically appearing in medieval charters, certain dialectal phonological, morphological, and lexical phenomena may not even be found, meaning that medieval written culture often hides these dialectal differences.

Besides phonological phenomena, the lack of morphological and lexical phenomena in sources does not necessarily mean their absence in the given period of time. Later, as a result of the even stronger prevalence of the literary standard, even relatively powerful phenomena may not have linguistic traces including, for example, the assimilations prevailing in the western Hungarian language area (Benkő 1957: 40–41).

The mixing of different language statuses, at the same time, is significant also in another aspect regarding the opportunities and limitations of phonological studies. It is well known that many of the dualities of our linguistic records are due to the copied or forged nature of the given record. We may mention several possible reasons for the differences between the original and the copied charters: the inconsistent marking of sounds that characterized the entire Middle Ages, the shortcomings in checking the transcriptions, the standardized nature of copying, and the unifying aspirations in the name usage of the local and/or national authorities (Kenyhercz 2016: 16, 34). Therefore, the charters that have survived only in the form of copies or that were forged are of an uncertain source value from the perspective of historical dialectology: we may draw chronological and linguistic geographic conclusions about the included linguistic elements only based on devout philological scrutiny. Moreover, the transcribers or copiers used the opportunities for changes to a varying extent in these sources. Róbert Kenyhercz argues that "the practice of legal scholars at the time regularly reveals such inconsistencies also when issuing original charters", and thus "it is not a realistic expectation to see a radically different practice exactly in the case of copies" (2016: 11). With regards to the chronological source value of data in charters that have survived in copies, he also adds that the degree of accuracy in the transcripts might vary to a great extent from place to place and time to time; thus in this regard it is important to consider also who made the transcript and when. He notes that they paid most attention to the accuracy of copies mostly in papal transcripts but places of authentication also issued more accurate transcripts than what is revealed by the practice of the royal chancellery (Kenyhercz 2016: 14, Szentpétery 1942: 419).

Of course, it is not a negligible circumstance either how often the given manuscript was copied by a different person as it seems plausible that the more authors left their mark on a linguistic record, the more diverse it became linguistically. As for these modifications and fluctuations, we also know that they primarily appear in terms of phonology (Benkő 1957: 43, Szőke 2010: 95, 98, 2011: 60, Kenyhercz 2016: 10). The frequency of differences of a phonological nature may also be related to the fact that such dualities probably did not cause any problems when issuing, copying, and later using these charters as these were not considered to be differences that would have undermined the legal authenticity of the charters even to a minor extent (Kenyhercz 2016: 13). That differences not influencing the legal credibility of the charter were disregarded when checking the transcripts is also well exemplified by the fact these differences may be found not only in the spelling of proper name remnants but also in the Latin text itself (Kenyhercz 2016: 16).

Thus, the examination of certain linguistic phenomena meets significant obstacles both in the modern era and in historical sources. The limitations concerning the possibility of studying certain linguistic phenomena are the result of their absence in sources: the phonological orientation of modern dialectal collections and the traditions of marking sounds in medieval sources both result in a similar lack of data.

The mixed linguistic status of certain medieval sources might even make the perception of those phenomena uncertain which may be supported by data but whose chronological and linguistic geographical source value is questionable.

2. The source value of proper name data

Besides the consideration of the possibility for studying linguistic phenomena, the source value of proper name data also deserves attention. In this regard, we may talk about data of an uncertain source value both in terms of linguistic geography and chronology.

2.1. The source value of data which are uncertain from the perspective of linguistic geography

First of all, let us examine those theoretical principles expressed in recent studies in linguistics and historical onomastics that we might use in connection with the source value of data which are uncertain from the perspective of linguistic geography.

When assessing data related to linguistic geography, we first and foremost need to consider the unevenness of the territorial distribution of sources (e.g., the poor resources of the Transylvania region), which may easily make the testimony of linguistic geographical data uncertain (Tóth 2016: 13). This specifically means that the lack of certain data in the examined area does not necessarily entail the lack of the linguistic phenomenon itself. The unknown areas deriving from the contingency of the survival of linguistic records are sometimes explored by today's dialectal data. For example, it might be the result of the contingency of the survival of charters and data in them that certain stages of phonological changes have been preserved by our contemporary dialects but not by our linguistic records (Juhász 2001: 124).

Beyond the incidental survival of charters, the source value of certain data may also be related to their quality as common nouns and proper names.

The presence of Hungarian remnants in Latin-language charters is explained differently by different researchers and as a result they may not have the same weight as linguistic geographical data when studying the spreading of certain linguistic phenomena. As we know, the appearance of the Hungarian version of proper name remnants in the text (beyond the use of European norms) is mostly related to the role of charters as legal securities; however, the use of common nouns and common noun structures of the mother tongue can hardly be explained with such a role. István Hoffmann argues that the appearance of Hungarian remnants in the texts may be the result of a psycholinguistic situation caused by the circumstances of the creation of charters in which the linguistic consciousness of notaries kept moving between two languages all the time. This, at the same time, meant that in the wording of diplomas besides recording the names indispensable for the charter in Hungarian, some other Hungarian linguistic elements also entered the text. Beyond the sometimes conscious attitude of the writer of the charter, their linguistic disturbance could also play a role in this (Hoffmann 2007: 14, Szentgyörgyi 2014: 84–85).

Therefore, when studying the source value of Hungarian-language remnants in linguistic geography, it emerges as a central question whose language use these Hungarian linguistic elements reflect. In connection with this issue, the socio-onomastic value of toponymic remnants and proper name place-indicating elements may not be assessed the same way. The toponymic records are entered into charters using the language of the given community due to the legal function of the documents; thus, we might suppose that in most cases they reflect the language use of the community in question as this was in their interest. According to Géza Bárczi, this is related to the fact that the drafters of the charters "wanted to avoid the possibility for disputing the identification of the toponym in the case of a possible legal disagreement by preserving the local forms" (1947: 89). The assumption that the toponymic elements derive from local language and name use is explained also by the circumstance that information regarding the places and their denominations were obviously provided by locals to the officials charged with the survey (1947: 88).

As opposed to this, the elements indicating a place in Hungarian geographical common words appear in the role of Latin type-indicating lexemes (e.g. 1263: est iuxta quendam *potok,* qui wlgariter *Scorinpotok* nominatur, ÁÚO. 11: 529), thus we might suppose that they reflect the language use of the writer of the charter.

This assumption is also substantiated by the fact that those words that are the result of the less conscious behavior or mistakes of the writers may be considered as the linguistic imprints of the writers of charters (Hoffmann 2007: 16). László Hadrovics, when examining the Hungarian common words in Latin charters, highlights that in the border districts of charters related to the area of Croatia and Slavonia numerous geographical common words are recorded in Hungarian, which, however, are not typical at all as loanwords in areas with a Slav majority and they also appear only rarely as parts of toponyms. Hadrovics explains this phenomenon by arguing that these elements could mostly be added to the Latin texts administratively and this possibility might be assumed also in the case of border districts of Hungarian language areas (1970: 236). Thus, in connection with geographical common word remnants our scholars rightfully assume the relationship between these elements and the language use of the writer.

Our conclusions in terms of historical linguistic geography may thus be affected to a great extent by the circumstance that we have to expect fewer sources from certain areas and therefore the absence of data might not be equated with the absence of the given linguistic phenomenon in the region. The assessment of the common noun and/or proper name nature of data from the perspective of linguistic geography may not be possible in the case of the large-scale analysis of data, but it might be conclusive in cases when we find only scattered data in a given area in connection with certain linguistic phenomena.

By analyzing the frequency indicators, it is also obvious that from the 13th century on, the proportion of data about *patak* presents a sharp increase, and the frequency of the geographical common word *patak* 'brook', by the 14th century becomes almost dominant within the given semantic field. (The reduction of the amount of data in the corpus about *patak* at the beginning of the 14th century is related to the fact that certain compendia include data only until the end of the 13th century.) So, the rapid spread of the data about *patak* could not be limited by the flow of many other loan elements. It should also be noted, however, that no data can be found about the lexeme *patak* in the central part of the language area even in the first half of the 14th century. In the case of the data on *patak* occurring here sporadically, we must also bear in mind that they could be linked to the dialect of the given region only with uncertainty. For instance, in Baranya and Fejér counties we find only a few pieces of data about *patak* (1239: ad *patak* Kekkektowa, Gy. 2: 323, 421, 1294: ad quod *potok*, Gy. 1: 345) (see Figure 1), and in their case the context leads to the assumption that they occurred as common words. This circumstance is important because it implies that they might have been the linguistic intervention or the mark of the charter writer rather than an element of the local spoken language.

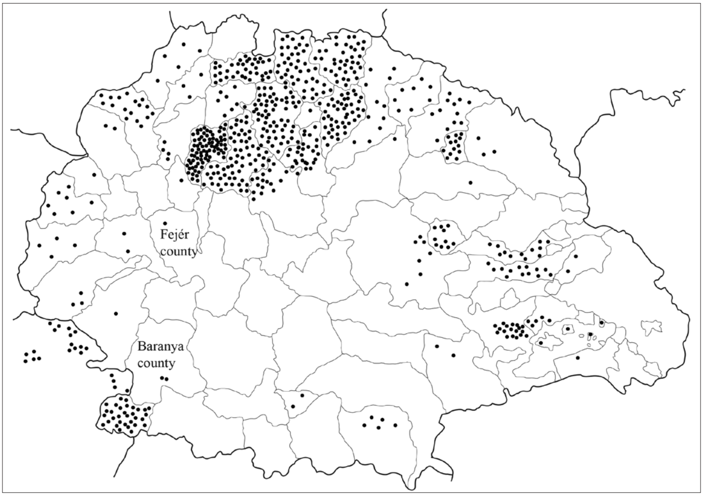

Figure 1. The spread of the geographical common word *patak* 'brook'

2.2. The source value of chronologically uncertain data

We must primarily draw our conclusions on the source value of chronologically uncertain data in historical dialectology from the attributes of sources (thus, for example, in relation to their temporal distribution).

As we know, out of the 4,419 royal charters that survived from the Árpád Era, only 198 could be connected to the 11th and 12th centuries, while the remaining 4,221 charters were produced in the 13th century (Solymosi 2006: 206–207). Therefore, when specifying the chronological features of certain linguistic phenomena, the most obvious solution is to specify their relative chronology instead of the absolute one. Anita Rácz, for example, used this methodology successfully when introducing the chronological relations of old Hungarian settlement name types. She believes that the "first written occurrence of certain name data may coincide with the time of their creation only in truly exceptional cases, moreover, there might even be a significant gap between the two. However, as we have no scientific tools that could help us establish the time of creation of a toponym without any doubt, we can only rely on their recording. However accidental the first recording of names may be, this obviously might affect all names the same way, thus the relative chronology of name types (i.e., relative to each other) is visible also based on the first occurrences in the case of a larger quantity of names." (Rácz 2016: 54)

We might use a similar approach when we would like to draw conclusions on the spreading or decline of a lexeme based on data from language history. The chronological relations of the *kerek* 'forest' and *erdő* 'forest' lexemes, for example, may be interpreted mostly in relation to one another.

In the historic data of my corpus, the first occurrence of *kerek* dates back to 1055 (1055: monarau *kerekv*, TESz. 2: 454), whereas the first authentic data of *erdő* can be traced back to as late as the beginning of the 13th century (1200 k.: *Erdeuelu*, 1211: *Erdeud*, 1224: *Erded*, OklSz. 194–5). Nevertheless, the data of the following diagram demonstrate well that despite its delay of several centuries, the lexeme *erdő* had come to prevail significantly over the geographical common name *kerek* by the early 14th century. The richest set of data on the geographical common name *erdő* can be found in the period of the early 1300s, when the lexeme was already present in twice as many names as the lexeme *kerek*; in addition, in the subsequent period the frequency of the *kerek* lexeme declined significantly. The shifting *kerek* lexeme into the background, as opposed to *erdő*, is highly likely to have been supported also by its polysemic nature, as the former was also used as an adjective meaning 'round'.

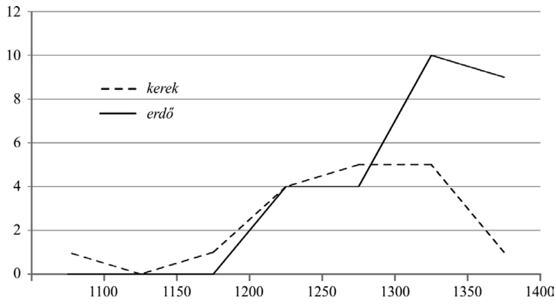

Figure 2. Distribution of the geographical common words *kerek* and *erdő* in the Old Hungarian Period

Besides the contingency present in the survival of charters, another feature may also make our chronological conclusions more uncertain. A significant part of documents survived only in a copied or forged form and as such their value is dubious: the elements appearing in these charters may not be treated the same way, as those copying the charters sometimes made changes while in other cases they did not. In line with this, the phenomena found in such records may not be deemed clearly typical of either the era of the original or that of the copied charter (Szőke 2010: 95, 98, 2011: 60).

TESz., for example, indicates an 11th-century source as the first occurrence of the *falu* geographical common word (the Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek from 1075) but is known that this charter was forged during the 13th century with the interpolation of various passages. As for the *Sárófalu* and *Mikolafalu* names of the founding charter of the abbey (1075/+1124/+1217: *Saroufalu*, *Mikolafalu*, KMHsz. 1: 188, 238), we also know that their *falu* geographical common word is probably the result of a later interpolation, thus the first authentic record of *falu* may actually be quoted only from the 13th century (Kázmér 1970: 31, Gy. 1: 418, Szőke 2010: 99–100, Szőke 2013). The chronological features of the emergence and spreading of a given linguistic phenomenon play a major role in historical dialectology because we might explore the dialectal features of certain synchronous sections only in relation to them. At the same time, naturally, the description of the history of regional features may not be separated from the temporal dimension either.

Conclusions

In my paper I highlighted the issues emerging in connection with the source value of proper names found in early charters in historical dialectology through some phonological, morphological, and lexical examples. For the revaluation of the source value of proper names in historical dialectology, however, the development of relevant methodological processes is also indispensable. At the same time, in the future we also need to use recently introduced approaches, including, for example, distinguishing the chronological levels of data in interpolated charters, which is a methodological procedure developed by Melinda Szőke (2015).

Besides the use of linguistic records in such studies, the other sources of historical dialectology deserve just as much attention, thus, for example, contemporary Hungarian dialectal data that was mentioned here only passingly. It is one of the basic tenets of historical dialectology that in "contemporary dialects (due to their unique historical development) the different chronological phases of various phenomena may be found side by side mostly with regional differences" (Benkő 1957: 44). No doubt, then that today's dialects also represent an important source of historical dialectology, moreover, the novel methods used in connection with these (for example the methods of quantitative linguistic geography) may be applied successfully also in historical dialectology.

Abbreviations

ÁÚO. – Wenzel, G. *Árpádkori új okmánytár 1–12.* Pest (Budapest), 1860–1874.

Gy. – Györffy, Gy. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza 1–4.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998.

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Laimute
Balode

Name Change and Identity in Latvia

The phenomenon of name change is an increasingly important area in socio-onomastics, although it has not been thoroughly discussed in Baltic anthroponymy. This is one of the first analyzes of the changes in given names that is based on the data from the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs of Latvia, which consists of lists compiled from 2004 to 2016 (a total of 12,616 individual cases of name changes). Unfortunately, the personal motives for these changes are not available for researchers. However, the lists of the changed names and the newly selected names reveal possible alterations.

Several types of first name changes occur, such as 1 → 1: the same name with only a minor alteration of some diacritical marks, or a changed ending (*Ruta → Rūta, Reino → Reinis*), or the replacement of a name by a very similar one, or a name beginning with the same letter (*Guna → Gunta, Mareks → Marks*); the replacement of a full name form by its hypocoristic form (*Janīna → Jana*); 2 or 3 → 1: the cases where the law of language economy has been applied by changing two or three names to one (*Brigita Rafaela → Brigita*), especially when the second name is unusual; 2 → 2: when two names exchange places (*Andrejs Vilnis → Vilnis Andrejs*); 1→ 2 or 3: the cases when, as it seems, some persons wish to officially register their baptismal second or third name, which is something that was not permitted in official documents during the Soviet era (*Astrīda → Astrīda Alma Spodra*), etc.

Many people are dissatisfied with the name that their parents gave them and change it to a completely different name; many choose a unique or rare name to distinguish themselves from the masses. In addition, some Latvians highlight their national identity by selecting the name-symbol *Jānis* as a new and their only name, or by adding *Jānis* as a second name. When someone wants to display a change in their national identity or wishes to adapt to the national environment, they rather often enter pseudotranslations of a given name (*Jānis → Ivans, Čārlzs → Kārlis*). Lists of changed names indicate how foreign anthroponyms are changed into Latvian names or phonetically, grammatically adapted names, i.e., the national identity mark is changed.

Examples of all types of name changes in Latvia reflect not only fashions and trends for naming at different periods of time, but they also convey identity transformation or a wish to preserve the national identity as well.

Keywords

Latvian, onomastics, anthroponymy, given names, identity

1. Introduction

A very important integral part of the identity of an individual is a personal name which, on the one hand, "belongs" to an individual, on the other, also has legal and social meaning. It is usually relatively constant throughout a person's life, but sometimes in the context of events in society or in human life, or when these factors interact, a person in different circumstances or conditions changes his or her name. Over time, the personal name can experience a variety of transformations, sometimes this shift is determined by social or political factors, and the private is intertwined with the public. (Feldmane 2018: 101–102)

Due to recent data on changes in personal names from the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs of the Republic of Latvia (2004–2016, with 12,616 cases of name changes) and from the in-depth article by the present author in 2018 on the trends in changing personal names published in Latvia, this is the first time an opportunity has arisen to examine this socio-anthroponic issue from the viewpoint of identity maintenance and change. By compiling extensive anthroponymic material, several schemes for change have been proposed and potential alternatives have been identified. Although the personal motives for these changes are not available to researchers, the lists of the changed names allow us to draw some interesting conclusions not only on the trends for personal names and their change, but also on the psychological reasons for making name changes.

In the Republic of Latvia, giving personal names, using them, as well as changing them is all governed by the State Language Law (*Valsts valodas likums*) (Paragraph 3 of Section 19 and Paragpraph 3 of Section 23), Cabinet Regulation No. 114 ("Regulations on spelling and usage of personal names in Latvian language, as well as their identification" – see MK noteikumi Nr. 114) and the "Law On the Change of a Given Name, Surname and Nationality Record" (*Vārda, uzvārda un tautības ieraksta maiņas likums*), where the second Section defines the following:

“1) the given name or surname hinders the integration of the person into society;
2) the person wishes to add a second name to the name recorded in the Birth Register. The name that has been entered in the Register first, shall be considered the primary name;
3) the person wishes to acquire or add the surname of the spouse to his or her surname;
4) the person wishes to acquire his or her historic family name in the direct ascending line;
5) the person wishes to regain his or her family name or premarital surname if this has not been undertaken upon dissolution of marriage, or after the marriage has been recognised as annulled;
6) the gender of the person has changed; or
7) one of the parents or both parents of a minor have been convicted of committing a deliberate, serious or especially serious crime.”

The number of names in Latvia is defined by the Law on the Registration of Civil Status Documents, Section 32, Paragraph 1: A child may not be given more than two names[1].

The State fee for a change in a given name and surname in Latvia is 71.14 EUR (Data for 2018, see Law on the Change of a Given Name, Surname and Nationality Record)[2].

2. Possible options for change of a given name

When compiling all registered name change cases, they can be divided into several groups (for more details, see Balode 2018a: 83–84):

- when a name is changed to another (1 → 1), the following may occur: the same name is usually preserved but is altered only by some diacritical marks (*Alida → Alīda)*; the name undergoes a change in the ending or suffix + ending (*Alīda → Alīde*, *Alīda → Alīdija)*; the name is replaced by a new name that is very similar to the previous one (at least the same capital letter or the sounding similar) (*Alistra → Austra*,

1 As a comparison, in Lithuania, they are limited also to two names, in Finland, they are limited to three, according new legislation, from 2019 – four names, in Germany – four, in Switzerland – six, in Austria the number is not limited, etc.

2 For comparison, in Lithuania, a change in a given name is permitted at age 18, the name change costs 12 EUR (2018), about 1,500 applications are received yearly, while in Estonia, those who wish to change their name need to pay 100 EUR state fee to change a given name.

Agris → *Aigars*); the full name form is changed to a shortened form or hypocoristic (*Aldona* → *Alda*, *Arvīds* → *Arvis*); or a name with a completely different root is selected (*Aija* → *Iveta*, *Andris* → *Kaspars*);

- when two names are changed to one (2 → 1): the first name remains as the only name (*Andīne Olga* → *Andīne*); only the original second name remains (*Helvijs Pēteris* → *Pēteris*); a completely new name is selected (*Alfrēds Pēteris* → *Jānis*); two names are combined as one (*Anna Marija* → *Annemarija*);
- when three names are changed to one (3 → 1). This is a very rare type of change and clearly attests to a selection according to the linguistic law of the economy (*Alma Anna Rozālija* → *Alma*);
- when three names are changed to two (3 → 2) by omitting a name, and usually the last one is dropped (*Alīse Līne Anna* → *Alīse Līna*);
- when two names are changed to two (2 → 2) by replacing the first name with another name (*Artis Leons* → *Raitis Leons*); by replacing the second name with another name (*Atvars Madars* → *Atvars Modris*); when two names exchange places: (*Alma Ilze* → *Ilze Alma*);
- when one name is changed to two (1 → 2) by adding one additional name as the second name (*Ausma* → *Ausma Biruta*); by adding a name as the first name (*Alfrēds* → *Ansis Alfrēds*); by replacing a name by two completely different names (*Ginta* → *Linna Lada*), however, this happens very rarely;
- by changing one name to three names (1 → 3) (which does not comply with the current legislation); by adding two new names to the existing name (*Alma* → *Alma Elvīra Elizabete*); by changing one name to three names but leaving the existing name as the second or third (*Alma* → *Ilze Alma Hermīne*, *Asja* → *Milda Delizārete Asja*);
- when two names are changed to three (2 → 3) by adding a third name (*Anna Austra* → *Anna Austra Jete*);
- when three names are changed to three (3 → 3) by exchanging their places (*Elza Marija Elizabete* → *Marija Elizabete Elza*), but these cases are extremely rare.

3. Name change and identity

Several of these cases of altering names also indicate the protection of identity or conversely, a change in identity.

The following is some more extensive comments on the above-mentioned individual cases of change.

3.1. "1 → 1"

"1 → 1" (one name is changed to another).

3.1.1. The materials compiled by the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs show that most individuals not only want another name, but also intend to modify their name slightly by adding a diacritic, removing or rejecting a diacritic, by changing a letter, ending or suffix of the name, etc. This name change is not necessarily related to a change in a person's identity but is more likely to be a mistake in the document records that has been corrected, and this name change is not related to a person's change in their identity. There is a large number of these types of changes, such as: *Asnāte* → *Asnate*, *Astrīda* → *Astrida* (4x[3]), *Daniels* → *Dāniels*, *Eduārds* → *Eduards*, *Egils* → *Egīls* (18x), *Eiženija* → *Eižēnija*, *Elina* → *Elīna* (3x), *Emils* → *Emīls* (4x), *Ervīns* → *Ervins* (16x), *Ēvalds* → *Evalds* (35x), *Felikss* → *Fēlikss* (2x), *Ģertrude* → *Ģertrūde* (2x), *Julija* → *Jūlija* (10x), *Patricija* → *Patrīcija*, *Rudolfs* → *Rūdolfs* (3x), *Ūva* → *Uva*, *Vera* → *Vēra* (21x), and *Zinaida* → *Zinaīda* (22x).

From a psychological perspective, one important observation is that the variations in names have possible changes in both directions: sometimes the diacritic is added to the same name (such as a macron), while in contrast, a diacritic can also be removed: *Adams* → *Ādams* (3x) and *Ādams* → *Adams* (2x), *Adolfs* → *Ādolfs* (12x) and *Ādolfs* → *Adolfs* (22x), *Ainars* → *Ainārs* (14x) and *Ainārs* → *Ainars* (82x), *Arturs* → *Artūrs* (64x) and *Artūrs* → *Arturs* (155x) (significantly more people prefer their name without the macron), *Diana* → *Diāna* (31x) and *Diāna* → *Diana* (29x), *Donats* → *Donāts* (14x) and *Donāts* → *Donats* (19x), *Elfrida* → *Elfrīda* (2x) and *Elfrīda* → *Elfrida* (2x), *Emilija* → *Emīlija* (17x) and *Emīlija* → *Emilija* (49x), *Gunars* → *Gunārs* (2x) and *Gunārs* → *Gunars (*114x), *Helena* → *Helēna* (17x) and *Helēna* → *Helena* (41x), *Ingrida* → *Ingrīda* (5x) and *Ingrīda* → *Ingrida* (24x), *Inguna* → *Ingūna* (15x) and *Ingūna* → *Inguna* (59x), *Irena* → *Irēna* (9x) and *Irēna* → *Irena* (38x), *Janina* → *Janīna* (14x) and *Janīna* → *Janina* (39x), *Otilija* → *Otīlija* and *Otīlija* → *Otilija* (8x). The most frequently changed names in this subgroup are the following: *Artūrs* → *Arturs* (155x) and *Gunārs* → *Gunars* (114x). It is peculiar and even surprising that amongst these name changes, the non-traditional name forms without Latvian macrons are requested much more (see *Mara*, *Janina*, *In-*

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3 The number after the name in brackets indicates the number of cases registered during the analysis period (2004–2016). The number is not specified when only one case occurs.

grida, *Irena*, *Helena*, *Adolfs*, *Donats*, etc.). In general, a tendency in name changes has emerged to abandon long vowels and palatalised consonants marked with diacritics. This may be partly explained by the desire of people of other nationalities to reflect the pronunciation of the personal name in their native language, such as: *Irīna* → *Irina* (18x), and *Regīna* → *Regina* (28x). However, it seems to be more often related to trends in globalisation to merge with the international set of names, as well as in a personal wish to emigrate from Latvia and even to break ties with their native country. Obviously this change is driven by the idea of further identifying as a European, a World citizen, who has no problem with the pronunciation, writing or spelling of his or her name.

Sometimes the change in diacritics are surprising when a more unusual, even erroneous form of the name in standard Latvian is selected, as in: *Dzintars* → *Dzintārs* (4x) < Latv. *dzintars,* 'amber' (without a diacritic) (Siliņš 1990: 103), and *Ivars* → *Ivārs* (8x) < Scandinavian *Ivar* (Siliņš 1990: 171).

3.1.2. The new changed name often differs from its former form by a single letter (a vowel or consonant) and this is an indication of a person's desire to register his or her name accurately, although it could also be a former error in the documents. Examples of this include: *Biruta* → *Beruta*, *Dadzis* → *Didzis*, *Edmunds* → *Edmonds*, *Lija* → *Leja*, *Normunds* → *Normands*, *Sandra* → *Sondra* (2x); *Ansis* → *Ancis*, *Silvija* → *Zilvija*, and *Žanis* → *Zanis*. Consonants are often duplicated to coin new forms of both traditional and non-traditional names such as: *Milija* → *Millija* (6x), *Nelija* → *Nellija* (5x), *Valija* → *Vallija* (12x), *Elīna* → *Ellīna*, *Harijs* → *Harrijs*, and *Lilija* → *Lillija* (9x). This demonstrates that even a single letter plays a significant role in a name, which is an important component of identity.

3.1.3. No feature is too small in such a relevant identity marker as a name. Changed names differ and their new forms can often only have a different ending or a suffix and an ending, such as: *Adela* → *Adele* (2x), *Adīna* → *Adīne*, *Aneta* → *Anete* (3x), *Astrīda* → *Astrīde* (15x), *Augusta* → *Auguste*, *Beate* → *Beata* (3x), *Dailonis* → *Dailons*, *Dana* → *Dane*, *Elīze* → *Elīza* (4x), *Elvis* → *Elviss* (2x), *Elvijs* → *Elvis*, *Gunvalds* → *Gunvaldis*, *Haris* → *Harijs* (2x), *Katrīna* → *Katrīne* (13x), *Māra* → *Māre* (2x), *Paulīna* → *Paulīne* (13x), *Pēteris* → *Pēters* (12x), *Raitis* → *Raits* (7x), *Ruta* → *Rute* (2x), and *Zigrīda* → *Zigrīde.* The most common of these recorded cases are the following: *Kristīna* → *Kristīne* (48x) and *Kristīne* → *Kristīna* (61x) (as previously mentioned, change is possible in both directions).

Although Latvian diminutives may function as official names, lists reveal that a name with a diminutive suffix is rather often changed to the same name without the suffix. This is understandable because adults do not wish to be associated with small children, apparently they would like to diminish the connotation of intimacy and endearment inherent in their name. This is the case for *Gaidīte* → *Gaida*, *Ieviņa* → *Ieva* (3x), *Ilzīte* → *Ilze* (6x), *Laumīte* → *Lauma*, *Lienīte* → *Liene* (8x), *Skaidrīte* → *Skaidra* (3x), *Sarmīte* → *Sarma Pārsla*. Instead of a diminutive form, the person could also select a name that has a similar suffix: *Agrīte* → *Agrita*, *Mārīte* → *Marita*, or *Irmiņa* → *Irmīna*. These cases could be considered changes based on age: a small child becomes an adult who wants to be taken seriously. However, some cases involve the reverse direction so that a name without a suffix is changed to a diminutive name (although there are not many of these cases), such as: *Dace* → *Dacīte*, *Ilze* → *Ilzīte* (3x), *Māra* → *Mārīte* (2x), and *Skaidra* → *Skaidrīte* (6x). This may reflect the person's psychological state in that he or she probably associates the diminutive form with a longing for his or her childhood or parental home. In addition, some of these diminutives have lost their diminutive meaning (for more details, see Balode 2018b). This is the case for *Mārīte*, *Ilzīte*, and *Skaidrīte*, the last one having been registered in Latvia even earlier than *Skaidra* (Siliņš 1990: 293).

Several cases indicate that inflexible male names are being changed to flexible ones, which facilitates daily communication. Examples of these include: *Bruno* → *Brunis*, *Ivo* → *Ivis*, and *Reino* → *Reinis*. There are also some opposite cases where an inflexible form is preferred, such as: *Gvidis* → *Gvido* and *Leonīds* → *Leo.*

3.1.4. The subgroup of "1 → 1" contains many examples of names that have been changed to a completely different names. It seems that many individuals are dissatisfied with the name that their parents gave them and they have difficulties identify themselves with this old name and therefore select another pleasant and more appropriate name for themselves. When asked why they wished to change their name, students at the University of Latvia in the Faculty of Humanities were often unable to articulate their motives, claiming in general that the name did not match their inner essence, that "the name did not fit", and they "felt as if it was a strange name". They rarely mentioned the motivation that the name was old-fashioned or that it did not sound pleasant. This long list of names includes only a small part of the thousands of changes mentioned in the article, it is difficult to detect any specific regularities. Thus, one can only guess why someone wants to change a long name to a shorter one (*Aleksandra* → *Ruta*, *Anastasija* → *Inese*, *Broņislava* → *Rita*, *Veneranda* → *Vija*, *Vizbulīte* → *Krista*, and *Leontīns* → *Ģirts*), or vice versa – short name to a longer one (*Ilga* → *Dominika*, *Ilga* → *Odrija*, *Ilva* → *Skarleta*, *Iveta* → *Magdalēna*), or a common name to one that is more uncommon (*Aina* → *Džuna*, *Ieva* → *Vanesa*, *Kaspars* → *Džonatans*, *Jānis* → *Džeimss*, *Vilnis* → *Ingvilds*), or a unique, rare name to an ordinary, traditional one (*Asnīte* → *Gita*, *Uma* →*Alise*, *Leongina* → *Guna*, *Lilioza* → *Lilija*, *Sholastika* → *Inta*, *Vētra* → *Vēra*, and *Amoliņš* → *Mariss*). Without pinpointing an explanation or motive for a name change or an interview, it is not possible to determine why a neutral name has been changed to another neutral name as it has in the following cases (in alphabetical order): *Agita* → *Zane*, *Aiva* → *Elizabete*, *Alise* → *Emīlija*, *Alise* → *Paula*, *Anete* → *Melānija*, *Angelina* → *Daiga*, *Anna* → *Dana*, *Anna* → *Līga*, *Baiba* → *Anna*, *Baiba* → *Eve*, *Brigita* → *Ligita*, *Broņislava* → *Dina*, *Dace* → *Ance*, *Dace* → *Ināra*, *Dace* → *Magdalēna*, *Dace* → *Rebeka*, *Dace* → *Zane*, *Dagnija* → *Anna*, *Dana* → *Sofija*, *Dina* → *Elza* (2x), *Dina* → *Ramona*, *Dzidra* → *Mirdza*, *Dzintra* → *Ieva*, *Dzintra* → *Zane*, *Edīte* → *Linda*, *Egija* → *Līga*, *Eva* → *Alise*, *Gabriela* → *Ramona*, *Gunda* → *Dana*, *Gundega* → *Magdalēna*, *Gunta* → *Agnese*, *Gunta* → *Jana*, *Gunta* → *Marta*, *Gunta* → *Viktorija*, *Herta* → *Diāna*, *Ieva* → *Maija*, *Ieva* → *Sanita*, *Ilga* → *Odrija*, *Ilona* → *Una*, *Ilze* → *Roze*, *Ināra* → *Rute*, *Inese* → *Ance*, *Inga* → *Agnese*, *Inga* → *Olita*, *Inga* → *Sofija*, *Ingrīda* → *Anna*, *Ingrīda* → *Zane*, *Inta* → *Zeltīte*, *Ira* → *Guna*, *Iveta* → *Amanda*, *Īve* → *Baņuta*, *Jana* → *Diāna*, *Janeta* → *Katrīna*, *Krista* → *Emīlija*, *Laila* → *Ieva*, *Laima* → *Anna*, *Lauma* → *Anna*, *Lauma* → *Izabella*, *Leonora* → *Inese*, *Liene* → *Dana*, *Lilita* → *Eva*, *Linda* → *Enija*, *Linda* → *Māra*, *Līga* → *Ilga*, *Marija* → *Viktorija*, *Māra* → *Anna*, *Milda* → *Elvīra*, *Nikola* → *Gundega*, *Nikola* → *Laima*, *Olga* → *Santa*, *Olita* → *Zane*, *Ramona* → *Anna*, *Rasma* → *Māra*, *Sigita* → *Jasmīna*, *Signe* → *Evija*, *Smaida* → *Lonija*, *Tekla* → *Dana*, *Una* → *Estere*, *Valentīna* → *Terēze*, *Valija* → *Diāna*, *Viktorija* → *Emma*, *Vineta* → *Eva*, and *Ženija* → *Inese.*

Several examples on this list suggest that an unusual, rare or even a unique personal name is selected during the process of change by some people in order to be different from others and to stand out by changing their names as follows: *Ance* → *Seila*, *Elīna* → *Andželīna*, *Evija* → *Dardega*, *Ginta* → *Ginita*, *Gunita* → *Greisa*, *Inga* → *Nameda*, *Jana* → *Annikena*, *Laimdota* → *Taide*, *Laura* → *Ambrosia*, *Linda* → *Ermelinda*, *Māra* → *Nāra*, *Mirdza* → *Mimoza*, *Rudīte* → *Hrīsija*, *Ruta* → *Sesila*, *Sanita* → *Unita*, *Tatjana* → *Tita*, *Velta* → *Helta*, and *Zanda* → *Zanga*. This list also includes many foreign names borrowed from literature or movies: *Dace* → *Ede*, *Solvita* → *Enija*, *Ilva* → *Skarleta*, *Ilze* → *Keilija*, *Inguna* → *Ofēlija*, and *Sandra* → *Sondra*.

The collected material refutes the stereotype that only women are dissatisfied with their names. There are also numerous examples of men who change their names – one traditional, neutral name to a completely different neutral name. Examples of this include: *Agnis* → *Roberts*, *Ainārs* → *Leo*, *Aivars* → *Marks*, *Alvis* → *Ivo*, *Andis* → *Uģis*, *Andris* → *Kaspars*, *Andris* → *Miķelis*, *Armands* → *Ivars*, *Arnolds* → *Juris*, *Atis* → *Viesturs*, *Bruno* → *Adrians*, *Edgars* → *Juliāns*, *Egons* → *Augusts*, *Elmārs* → *Arvis*, *Gunārs* → *Rolands*, *Gundars* → *Aigars*, *Haralds* → *Kristaps*, *Ivars* → *Dāvids*, *Jānis* → *Arnis*, *Jānis* → *Dāvis*, *Jēkabs* → *Osvalds*, *Jūlijs* → *Toms*, *Kārlis* → *Pēteris*, *Kristaps* → *Vents*, *Kristiāns* → *Uldis*, *Oskars* → *Arturs*, *Raimonds* → *Ludvigs*, *Ralfs* → *Jurģis*, *Reinis* → *Ģirts*, *Sandis* → *Ričards*, *Teodors* → *Andris*, *Tits* → *Matīss*, *Tomass* → *Dāvis*, *Toms* → *Pēteris*, *Uvis* → *Klāvs*, and *Voldemārs* → *Māris*. The motivation for changing a name is obvious in the following names: *Daunis* → *Jānis* (cf. Latv. *Dauna sindroms*, 'Down syndrome', in Latvian slang 'low-witted, untrained'), *Diamants* → *Mārtiņš* (cf. Latv. *dimants*, 'diamond'), *Dolārs* → *Juris* (cf. Latv. *dolārs*, 'dollar'), and *Jolants* → *Rolands* (cf. the Latv. popular female name *Jolanta*, 'flower of violet' (Siliņš 1990: 162)). However, it is difficult to understand some changes when, for example, *Toms* is changed to *Pēteris*. When men change their names, they adopt an unusual or ambitious new name less often than women, but some cases occur: *Arnolds* → *Ārvalds* (compare to Latv. *ārs*, 'the open air', *valdīt*, 'to rule'), *Artis* → *Mikijs*, *Dailis* → *Pērs*, *Dainis* → *Vako*, *Matīss* → *Tits*, *Māris* → *Siluans*, *Oskars* → *Rodijs*, and *Voldemārs* → *Varonis* (compare to Latv. *varonis*, 'hero').

It is important to emphasise that a clear trend has emerged in changing one name to another with the same initial letter, as this preserves the original. This is the case in: *Agrita* → *Argita*, *Aiga* → *Aiša*, *Aina* → *Anna*, *Alistra* → *Austra*, *Anna* → *Aina* (2x), *Daiga* → *Daniela*, *Dzidra* → *Dzintra* (8x) and *Dzintra* → *Dzidra* (2x), *Enija* → *Elizabete*, *Gita* → *Ginta*, *Guna* → *Gunta*, *Ilga* → *Inga*, *Laura* → *Lauma*, *Liāna* → *Lolita*, *Lidija* → *Linda*, *Līga* → *Lība*, *Maiga* → *Maija*, *Marija* →*Marta*, *Marta* → *Māra* (2x), *Matilde* → *Milda* (2x), *Olga* → *Olita*, *Rita* → *Ruta*, *Sanita* → *Samanta*, *Simona* → *Sigita*, *Sintija* → *Stefānija*, *Valija* → *Vilija* (2x), and *Viktorija* → *Vita*. The following examples are of similar male-name changes in where the same initial letter or sound is retained in the changed name: *Adolfs* → *Arnolds*, *Aigars* → *Aivars*, *Alberts* → *Augusts*, *Aleksandrs* → *Aigars*, *Antons* → *Ainārs*, *Edgars* → *Eduarts*, *Imants* → *Indulis*, *Konstantīns* → *Kārlis*, *Linards* → *Leonards*, *Mārcis* → *Māris*

(3x), *Saulvedis* → *Salvis*, and *Uldis* → *Ulvis*. When men change their names, like women, they also tend to select personal names that sound similar to their former names: *Daimonds* → *Raimonds*, *Edgars* → *Igors*, *Ilmārs* → *Elmārs*, *Miks* → *Niks*, *Nauris* → *Lauris*, *Raivis* → *Aivis*, and *Sandris* → *Andris*. Thus, a person's identity can somewhat alter when their name changes but without completely breaking their link to the past.

3.1.5. In the name change process, the original form of the name often becomes a form that is abbreviated or otherwise modified, such as a hypocoristic name. This is related to both language economy and contemporary language – and enables the bearer of the name to feel modern and up-to-date. Examples of this include the following: *Aivars* → *Aivis*, *Antoņina* → *Anta* (3x), *Antoņina* → *Ina* (4x), *Artūrs* → *Artis*, *Domicella* → *Dome*, *Dzintars* → *Dzintis*, *Emīlija* → *Lija*, *Evija* → *Eva* (4x), *Ingrīda* → *Inga*, *Inguna* → *Inga*, *Jaņina* → *Jana* (2x), *Jekaterina* → *Kate*, *Krišjānis* → *Krišus*, *Lidija* → *Lida* (2x), *Ligita* → *Lita*, *Lonija* → *Lone*, *Ludmila* → *Mila* (2x), *Margarita* → *Rita*, *Miķelis* → *Miks*, *Natālija* → *Nate*, *Nikolajs* → *Niks* (5x), *Oksana* → *Sana*, *Olīvija* → *Olīva*, *Oļģerts* → *Ģirts*, *Rūdolfs* → *Rūdis*, *Silvija* → *Silva* (5x), *Svetlana* → *Lana* (12x), *Valentīna* → *Tīna*, *Veneranda* → *Anda*, *Vilhelmīne* → *Vilma*, *Vilhelms* → *Vilis* (2x), and *Violeta* → *Viola*. A reverse change also sometimes occurs and a hypocoristic name becomes a full, possibly more traditional form of a name. The following are examples of this: *Jūle* → *Jūlija*, *Liene* → *Helēna*, *Niks* → *Niklāvs*, *Rita* → *Margarita*, *Roza* → *Rozālija*, *Sveta* → *Svetlana*, *Vika* → *Viktorija* (2x), and *Zane* → *Zuzanna*. Some examples contain a dialectal or colloquial form of the name changed to a form found in standard language. These include: *Reņa* → *Regīna*, *Vaļa* → *Valija*, *Jezups* → *Jāzeps* (2x), *Lizbete* → *Lizete*, *Pīteris* → *Pēteris*, *Tekļa* → *Tekla* (3x), and *Voldis* → *Valdis*. In these cases, the person obviously does not want to restrict himself or herself to an environment associated with a particular type of colloquial speech.

3.2. "2 or 3 → 1"

The third most common type of name change is "2 or 3 → 1" and this involves changing a combination of two or three names to a single name. For these cases, the law of language economy clearly is in effect.

3.2.1. When reducing the number of names, the first name is most often the only one left. This is the case for: *Ada Emīlija* → *Ada*, *Adīne Olga* → *Adīne*, *Ārija Maiga* → *Ārija*, *Ārija Spodra* → *Ārija*, *Juris Jānis* → *Juris*, *Ērika Valerija Hildegarde* → *Ērika*, *Irēna Vilma Ruta* → *Irēna*, and

Andrejs Jānis Valdemārs → *Andrejs*. This motive seems to be especially prevalent when one of the former names is rare or unusual in the Latvian environment: *Aija Dzeja Nelija* → *Aija* (cf. Latv. *dzeja*, 'poetry'), *Alberts Tristans* → *Alberts*, *Aldis Dafnis* → *Aldis*, *Aleksandra Brūkle* → *Aleksandra* (cf. Latv. *brūklene*, 'cowberry'), *Andris Džons* → *Andris*, *Ilona Strauta* → *Ilona* (cf. Latv. *strauts*, 'brooklet'), *Imants Niels* → *Imants*, *Lelde Juriveta* → *Lelde*, *Līga Īrija* → *Līga*, and *Rolands Otello* → *Rolands*. There is only one registered example of a man's name that was of Spanish tradition (*Marija* as male name) being changed to the local Latvian environment: *Kārlis Marija* → *Kārlis*.

A combination of two (three) names sometimes becomes one name due to euphony or semantics: *Jautrīte Judīte* → *Jautrīte* (cf. Latv. adj. *jautrs*, 'cheerful', *Maija Maigone* → *Maija* (cf. Latv. adj. *maigs*, 'gentle, mild'), *Cilda Gaida* → *Cilda* (cf. Latv. adj. *cildens*, 'lofty, noble', verb *gaidīt*, 'to wait'), *Dzidra Jautra* → *Dzidra* (cf. Latv. adj. *dzidrs,* 'clear, bright', *jautrs,* 'cheerful'), *Gunita Gaisma* → *Gunita* (cf. Latv. *guns* = *uguns*, 'fire', *gaisma*, 'light'), *Mirdza Smaida* → *Mirdza* (cf. Latv. *mirdza*, 'shine', *smaids*, 'smile'), and *Vilnis Dzidris* → *Vilnis* (cf. Latv. *vilnis*, 'wave', *dzidrs*, 'clear, bright').

For this change subgroup, the unusual name is selected from a few, which again indicates a desire to be original and stand out from others: *Elmunds Jēkabs* → *Elmunds*, *Līgonis Gunārs* → *Līgonis*, *Romānija Marija* → *Romānija*, *Vaironis Modris* → *Vaironis*, *Verita Velta* → *Verita*, and *Zilgma Ingrīda* → *Zilgma*.

3.2.2. The second name or sometimes even the third name is left out in the change formula "2 or 3 → 1". This indicates a person's dissatisfaction with a first name. Examples of this include: *Amanda Laura* → *Laura*, *Elga Biruta* → *Biruta*, *Elīza Elizabete* → *Elizabete*, *Gatis Mikus* → *Mikus*, *Helvijs Pēteris* → *Pēteris*, *Paula Marta* → *Marta*, *Vitolds Vilnis* → *Vilnis*, and *Līze Otilija Alma* → *Alma*. The motive for this change is topical when the first name is unusual and may even appear to be troublesome: *Blondīna Austra* → *Austra* (cf. Latv. *blondīne*, 'blonde'), *Dzilna Ausma* → *Ausma* (cf. Latv. *dzilna*, 'woodpecker (bird)'), and *Pārsla Tīna* → *Tīna* (cf. Latv. *pārsla*, 'flake').

3.2.3. The present data contains many cases of "2 or 3 → 1" when one completely different name is selected while discarding all former names. It is not possible to comment on this type of change without understanding the specific motivation for it. Examples of this change include the following: *Adele Anete* → *Luīze*, *Anna Emīlija* → *Līna*, *Armīns Sandijs* → *Zigmārs*, *Arnis Arvīds* → *Igors*, *Biruta Eda* → *Ruta*, *Dagnija Vaira* → *Aija*, *Francis Gustavs* → *Jēkabs*, *Gerda Māra* → *Lea*, *Ieva Maija* → *Agnija*, *Mērija Keita* → *Marta*, *Sibilla Loransa* → *Emīlija*, and *Sindija Roberta* → *Anna*. These examples do not contain rare or unusual names that a person would possibly wish to "get rid of". The only clear fact is that the person has not been satisfied with the two or even three names given by his or her parents.

3.3. "3 → 2"

Only a few examples illustrate the cases of change in the section of "3 → 2", that is, two names remain rather than three, mostly involving a rejection of the second name or last – the third name (for these cases, the law of language economy also applies, as well as the regulation concerning the allowed number of names in Latvia): *Juris Džordžs Egīls* → *Juris Egīls*, *Lilija Marta Eleonora* → *Lilija Eleonora*, *Zina Saulcerīte Marija* → *Zina Saulcerīte*.

3.4. "2 → 2"

"2 → 2", that is, two names are changed to two other names.

3.4.1. A two-name combination is sometimes replaced by another two-name combination, with one of the previous names retained. This occurs when a part of the person's previous identity is preserved, as in: *Ieva Adela* → *Ieva Esme*, *Velta Anna* → *Velta Alma*, and *Zenta Ilona* → *Zenta Ilma*. A unique "game" of the personal names *Skaidra Skaidrīte* (cf. Latv. adj. *skaidrs*, 'clear, bright') has been changed to *Skaidra Ausma* (adj. *skaidrs*, 'clear', *ausma*, 'daybreak, dawn').

3.4.2. One characteristic feature is that of two names exchanging places so that the first one becomes the second name and the second name becomes the first. This is a sign of a person's dissatisfaction with his or her first name. The list of these examples is very long. The following are a few examples: *Agnese Margrieta* → *Margrieta Agnese*, *Aldona Alma* → *Alma Aldona*, *Alise Venta* → *Venta Alise*, *Andrejs Vilnis* → *Vilnis Andrejs*, *Austra Ieva* → *Ieva Austra*, *Dainis Guntis* → *Guntis Dainis*, *Dzintra Elga* → *Elga Dzintra*, *Edīte Vija* → *Vija Edīte*, *Ilga Anna* → *Anna Ilga*, *Inārs Pēteris* → *Pēteris Inārs*, *Inta Grineta* → *Grineta Inta*, *Kalvis Andris* → *Andris Kalvis*, *Krišjānis Mikus* → *Mikus Krišjānis*, *Lība Laimdota* → *Laimdota Lība*, and *Pēteris Auseklis* → *Auseklis Pēteris*. It is interesting to observe that this change occurs in both directions, so that one person changes *Veronika Velta* → *Velta Veronika*, while another person changes *Velta Veronika* →

Veronika Velta. Thus, the motivation for the change and personal taste regarding names tend to be rather different.

3.4.3. Occasionally, two names are replaced by two different names, but this is rare. Examples of this include: *Baiba Barbara* → *Barba Beāte* (in this particular case, new names are euphonically similar to the previous ones, and one of these names – *Barba* – is even a hypocoristic version of the former name, *Barbara*).

3.5. "1 → 2 or 3"

"1 → 2 or 3", that is, one name is replaced by two or three names. This is an exceedingly important and a common tendency; it seems to be the preferred strategy for many people who officially register their baptismal second name or their third name (contemporary legislation by the Republic of Latvia stipulates that newborns are allowed a maximum of two names). Two and three names were not allowed to be recorded in passports and other official documents during Soviet times. So, data on name change testify to first names often being supplemented with a second name. The current trend of two names is also rather common for naming newborns. In the last 20 years, the two-name trend has been observed throughout the Baltic region (Sinkevičiūtė 2016). It is important to note that the second name in Latvian society serves a different function – it is not used in everyday life, it is often only mentioned in documents, but in the process of name giving, it often continues the tradition of an inherited family name.

3.5.1. Formula "1 → 2 or 3", so that one name is changed to two or even three names, but the former name is preserved as the first name. Examples of this include the following: *Agnese* → *Agnese Anna*, *Adele* → *Adele Jana*, *Agra* → *Agra Ausma*, *Agrīna* → *Agrīna Austra*, *Aina* → *Aina Lonija*, *Aina* → *Aina Minjona*, *Aina* → *Aina Zilvija*, *Alma* → *Alma Marija* (3x), *Anna* → *Anna Alvīne* (10x), *Anna* → *Anna Verita*, *Ausma* → *Ausma Biruta* (10x), and *Dzidris* → *Dzidris Jēkabs*. Two or even three names are often added to the first name that the person wants to identify with: *Adelheide* → *Adelheide Aleksandra Irēna*, *Agita* → *Agita Lizete Lida*, *Alma* → *Alma Marija Minna*, *Anna* → *Anna Marija Reda Helēna* (this is the only case when one name is changed to four names), *Dzidra* → *Dzidra Malle Vēsma*, *Edgars* → *Edgars Imants Edvards*, and *Ilmārs* → *Ilmārs Jēkabs Rūdolfs*.

Some cases have a rare first name and then an added traditional name. While this is somewhat unusual, the first name remains the same but is supplemented: *Cerone* → *Cerone Elza*, *Ciedra* → *Ciedra Skaidrīte*, *Heldona* → *Heldona Ārija*, *Mieriņš* → *Mieriņš Vilnis*, *Svens* → *Svens Jānis*, *Temīda* → *Temīda Angelika*, and *Venera* → *Venera Ārija*. By contrast, the newly added second (or third) name is occasionally rare and unusual. Examples of this include: *Aina* → *Aina Balva* (cf. Latv. *balva*, 'prize'), *Dagmāra* → *Dagmāra Della*, *Daina* → *Daina Bitīte* (cf. Latv. *bite*, 'bee'), *Dzintra* → *Dzintra Agrīda*, *Egils* → *Egīls Vīdo*, *Gita* → *Gita Kerlija*, *Ilvars* → *Ilvars Džons*, *Ilze* → *Ilze Donna*, *Ilze* → *Ilze Latve* (cf. Latv. *latvis*, 'Latvian'), *Jānis* → *Jānis Džerijs*, *Jānis* → *Jānis Mieriņš* (cf. Latv. *miers*, 'peace'), *Jānis* → *Jānis Vizuls* (cf. Latv. *vizēt*, 'to glitter'), *Kaija* → *Kaija Minjona Džema*, *Lidija* → *Lidija Smilga* (cf. Latv. *smilga*, 'bent-grass; stem of grass'), *Liena* → *Liena Spīgana* (cf. Latv. *spīgana*, 'night-hag'), *Kārlis* → *Kārlis Tristans*, *Renāte* → and *Renāte Pipi*, *Zane* → *Zane Skaila*.

There is a clear tendency to match the first name and second or third name according to the capital letter of the name or after the initial semantics of names. This creates unusual combinations, even plays on names. This occurs when initial letters are harmonised: *Dzintra* → *Dzintra Dzidra*, *Edijs* → *Edijs Elijs*, *Elisa* → *Elisa Elizabete*, *Judīte* → *Judīte Juta*, *Līvija* → *Līvija Līva*, *Māra* → *Māra Mārīte*, *Marija* → *Marija Magdalēna*, *Milda* → *Milda Marta Marija*, *Ralfs* → *Ralfs Rafaels*, *Solvita* → *Solvita Sola*, *Valdis* → *Valdis Voldemārs*, *Vilma* → *Vilma Vilhelmīne*, and *Vilnis* → *Vilnis Vilis*. Names are also specifically selected to match the semantics: *Gunta* → *Gunta Gaida* (cf. Latv. *gaidīt*, 'to wait', 'fire is waiting'), *Līvija* → *Līvija Smaida* (cf. Latv. *smaidīt*, 'to smile', 'Līvija is smiling'), *Selga* → *Selga Smaida* (cf. Latv. *selga*, 'deep sea, open sea', 'open sea is smiling').

3.5.2. The name-change formula of "1 → 2 or 3" preserves the former name as the second or third name, not as the first. Examples of this are the following: *Alvīne* → *Trīne Alvīne*, *Andris* → *Pēteris Andris*, *Arnolds* → *Maigons Arnolds*, *Austra* → *Līna Austra Matilde*, *Austra* → *Ida Elvīra Austra*, *Margots* → *Ilmārs Margots*, *Milda* → *Jete Hermīne Milda*, *Oļģerts* → *Ričards Roberts Oļģerts*, and *Vilma* → *Anna Olga Vilma*. These cases also indicate a certain transformation of identity – the former name is not abandoned completely, but supposedly marginalised, so that it is only used for official use. The new name that is selected to be the first one, is sometimes unusual, rare or even pretentious: *Anete* → *Brenda Anete*, *Gunta* → *Džīna Gunta*, *Edgars* → *Saulvedis Edgars* (cf. Latv. *saule*, 'sun', *vest*, 'to lead, to carry').

3.5.3. Few people have selected the formula of "1 → 2" which entails completely abandoning the old name and selecting two other names. In principle, the motivation for this is very similar to the "1 → 1" formula, where the old name is completely replaced by another, without any sentiments or settlements: *Ginta* → *Linna Lada*, *Guntars* → *Roberts Viestards*, *Ieva* → *Amanda Īvī*, *Inga* → *Belinda Kristiana*, *Inguna* → *Anna Marija*, *Kalvis* → *Alekss Mārtins*, *Kristiāna* → *Bibi Sofia*, *Laura* → *Anna Kristīne*, *Līga* → *Mona Alise*, *Sarmīte* → *Sarma Pārsla*, *Skaidrīte* → *Sniedze Lūcija*, and *Viktorija* → *Lili Vilma.* Among these examples, the traditional, ordinary Latvian names are usually abandoned, and some unusual personal names are selected that are characteristic to an alien anthroponic system: *Belinda*, *Bibi*, *Īvī*, and *Lili*.

3.6. "2 → 3"

The formula "2 → 3" which is an illegal combination of changing two names to three names is a very rare occurrence. The first name is retained as in the following examples: *Anna Austra* → *Anna Austra Jete*, *Austra Emīlija* → *Austra Mirdza Emīlija*, and *Lilija Zenta* → *Lilija Zenta Mirdza.* Is the premise for this that the more names a person adopts, the greater the resemblance to the upper classes or aristocracy?

3.7. "3 → 3"

As for "3 → 3", it is theoretically possible to replace a combination of three names with another combination of three names, as in changing the places of these names, even though these types of exchange cases are rather rare: *Austra Anna Alvina* → *Anna Alvina Austra*, *Elza Marija Elizabete* → *Marija Elizabete Elza*, *Lizete Kate Rasma* → *Rasma Lizete Kate*, *Milda Zelma Paulīne* → *Zelma Paulīne Milda*, and *Nikolajs Ilgonis Gunārs* → *Ilgonis Gunārs Nikolajs.* For these cases, the order of names is simply changed, giving preference to a more likeable, favorite name.

4. Some observations and conclusions

4.1.

When analyzing the lists of names that have been changed in recent years, two strategies stand out. One conforms to the language economy principle so that the number of names is reduced, leaving only one name (see. 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.3), and the other involves following the latest trend (or recovering an older baptised name) so that the second or third name is added to the first name (see 3.5.1, 3.5.2, 3.5.3). Furthermore, those who have two names often wish to change the order of their names (see 3.4.2).

4.2.

Many people are obviously dissatisfied with the name their parents gave them and therefore change it to a completely different name (see 3.1.4, 3.2.3, 3.4.3). Many select a unique, rare, unconventional name to distinguish themselves from others.

However, a name is often changed to a similarly sounding name or a name that begins with the same initial letter to retain the same initials (see 3.1.4), or when selecting two to three names, to match the first letters (see 3.5.1).

A separate group consists of personal names that are changed to a form of the same name (hypocoristic) that is abbreviated or modified: *Ingrīda* → *Inga*, *Janīna* → *Jana*, *Krišjānis* → *Krišus*, and *Rūdolfs* → *Rūdis*. This results in a shorter and more convenient version of the name (see 3.1.5.).

Many examples indicate that as individuals grow older, they wish to change their official diminutive name to a traditional name that does not have a diminutive suffix (see 3.1.3).

4.3.

The name *Jānis* is especially popular in the Latvian environment, which mainly symbolises Latvianness (Lawson, Balode 1998). Almost all Latvian families had or have at least one *Jānis*. For a hundred years, this name has been at the top of the most popular names, even the most popular name until 2000 (Bušs 2004, 2005, CSP 2018). The popularity of this name is also evidenced by many examples in all the change groups: "1 → 1", selecting the name *Jānis* as a new the only name: *Aldonis* → *Jānis*, *Edgars* → *Jānis*, *Ēriks* → *Jānis*, *Leonards* → *Jānis*, *Oskars* → *Jānis*, *Pēteris* → *Jānis*, *Roberts* → *Jānis*, and *Viktors* → *Jānis*; "1 → 2", by adding the first name of *Jānis* to the former name: *Ēriks* → *Jānis Ēriks*, *Harijs* → *Jānis Harijs*, *Imants* → *Jānis Imants*, *Vilis* → *Jānis Vilis*, *Dainavits* → *Jānis Dainavits*, *Vilhelms* → *Jānis Vilhelms*, and *Raimonds* → *Jānītis Raimonds*; or, even more often – by adding *Jānis* as a second name: *Alvils* → *Alvils Jānis*, *Andis* → *Andis Jānis*, *Andris* → *Andris Jānis* (3x), *Āris* → *Āris Jānis*, *Armands* → *Armands Jānis* (2x), *Dagnis* → *Dagnis Jānis*, *Eižens* → *Eižens Jānis*, and *Uldis* → *Uldis Jānis* (6x), or even a third name: *Austris* → *Austris Pēteris Jānis*; "2 → 1", replacing two names with one – the only name *Jānis*: *Augusts Jānis* → *Jānis*, *Miķelis Jānis* → *Jānis*; "2 → 2" when names change places by selecting *Jānis* as the first name: *Edgars Jānis* → *Jānis Edgars*, *Osvalds* → *Jānis Jānis Osvalds*, *Ziedonis Jānis* → *Jānis Ziedonis*, and *Zigurds Jānis* → *Jānis Zigurds*.

The formula of "2 or 3 names → 1" occurs in: *Augusts Jānis → Jānis*, and *Miķelis Jānis → Jānis*. It should be noted, however, that as many as 196 persons added another personal name to be their a second name after the name *Jānis*: *Jānis → Jānis Arvīds*, *Jānis → Jānis Žanis*, and *Jānis → Jānis Madis*. The motivation for this is apparently a desire to differentiate themselves from the people who have the name *Jānis* in Latvia. In addition, a total of 58 persons changed their name from *Jānis* to a completely different name.

No female names appear to be as dominant in the documents of name changing, with the exception perhaps of *Marija*, which can occur as follows: *Ārija → Marija Ārija*, and *Māra → Marija Māra*.

4.4.

Sometimes names are changed by means of "translation". In other words, pseudotranslations are created that reflect a change in national identity or a desire to adapt to the national environment. Examples of these include: *Jānis → Džons* (8x), *Jānis → Ivans* (36x), *Džons → Jānis* (6x), *Ivans → Jānis* (57x), *Juris → Georgs*, *Džordžs → Georgs* (3x), *Georgs → Juris*, *Džordžs → Juris*, *Jevgēnijs → Žanis*, *Čārlzs → Kārlis*, *Mihails → Miķelis*, *Fjodors → Teodors*, and *Jakovs → Jēkabs*, as well as in the following women's names: *Jekaterina → Katrīna* (15x), *Jeļizaveta → Elizabete* (5x), *Jūlija → Džūlija*, and *Ona → Anna*.

4.5.

Name-changing lists reveal how foreign anthroponyms are changed into Latvian or phonetically, grammatically adapted names. Thus, national identity is evident in these changes, as in:

- French → Latvian: *Andrē → Andrejs* and *Arjē → Ēriks*;
- English → Latvian: *Džordžs → Juris*, *Džordžs → Georgs* (3x), and *Džons → Jānis* (6x);
- Russian → Latvian*: Artjoms → Toms*, *Anfīms → Arnis*, *Dmitrijs → Aivars*, *Dmitrijs → Didzis*, *Dmitrijs → Dzintars*, *Gaļina → Gaida*, *Ivans → Ivars*, *Ivans → Jānis* (57x), *Ivans Juris → Ivars Juris*, *Jeļena → Liene* (40x), *Jeļena → Lienīte*, *Jeļena → Daina*, *Jeļena → Marta*, *Jeļena → Sintija*, *Jeļizaveta → Elza*, *Josifs → Jāzeps* (9x), *Jurijs → Juris* (89x), *Larisa → Laura* (3x), *Ļubova → Līga*, *Mihails → Miks* (2x), *Mihails → Miķelis* (6x), *Nadežda → Katrīna*, *Ņina → Dārta*, *Pjotrs → Pēteris* (18x), *Raisa → Rasma*, *Sergejs → Jānis*, *Sergejs → Gatis*, *Sirils → Jānis*, *Svetla-*

na → *Anita*, *Svetlana* → *Dace*, *Svetlana* → *Inese*, *Svetlana* → *Skaidrīte*, *Tatjana* → *Dace*, *Tatjana* → *Gaida*, *Tatjana* → *Laima*, *Vadims* → *Valdis*, *Vasilijs* → *Jānis*, *Zinaida* → *Zaiga*, *Zinaida* → *Zita*, and *Zoja* → *Zane*;
- Slavic (Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian) → Latvian: *Damirs* → *Olivers*;
- Arab, Persian, Indian, Pakistani, Azerbaijani, and other languages → Latvian: *Farhads* → *Ansis*, *Karims* → *Harijs*, *Murads* → *Māris*, *Ruslans* → *Andis*, and *Šamils* → *Aivars*;
- Lithuanian → Latvian: *Dalīte* → *Daila*, *Jonas* → *Jānis* (3x), *Jons* → *Jānis* (2x), *Lina* → *Līne*, and *Ona* → *Madara*.

It is interesting that 89 people changed their name of *Jurijs* to *Juris*, and 57 *Ivans* changed their name to *Jānis*. Several other foreign name bearers also selected *Jānis* as their first or only name.

The opposite tendency of changing the Latvian name is less common, which involves changing the only name to a name that more closely resembles or reflects the person's ethnicity (or sometimes emotional ethnicity). These includes the following: *Andris* → *Andžejs*, *Andris* → *Raiens Džejs*, *Arvīds* → *Džons*, *Dārta* → *Dorota*, *Dzintars* → *Dmitrijs*, *Eduards* → *Svens*, *Eižens Jevgenijs* → *Jevgenijs*, *Ģirts* → *Rahmirs*, *Helēna* → *Jeļena* (17x), *Igors* → *Kevins*, *Irēna* → *Irina* (7x), *Ivars Kārlis* → *Čārlzs Ivars*, *Ivo* → *Ivans*, *Jadviga* → *Jeļena*, *Jānis* → *Džons* (8x), *Jānis* → *Ivans* (36x), *Jānis* → *Janeks*, *Jāzeps* → *Osips* (2x), *Katrīna* → *Jekaterina*, *Kārlis* → *Vladimirs*, *Oļģerts* → *Oļegs*, *Otilija* → *Akulina*, *Pēteris Gunārs* → *Pjotrs Gunārs*, *Skaidrīte* → *Jekaterina*, *Valdis* → *Vladimirs* (3x), *Vilnis* → *Viļus*, *Vizma* → *Snežana*, and *Voldemārs* → *Vladimirs* (5x). As is evident in the examples, this subgroup has the most cases of change (36), with *Jānis* being changed to *Ivans*, and in 8 cases, changed from *Jānis* to *Džons*; seventeen persons changed their name from *Helēna* to *Jeļena*. One unusual case can be mentioned that involved the combination of the two Latvian names *Kārlis Juris* that were "translated" into English as *Čārlzs Džordžs*. People who intend to emigrate from Latvia apparently select this type of name change.

4.6.

The changes that have occurred in Latvian personal names in the last ten years also reflect other current processes in society, such as a possible gender change. Thus, name changes that reflect gender include the following: *Anna Viktorija* → *Oskars Jānis*, *Daina Ligita* → *Andris*, *Dzidra* → *Pauls*, *Ilmārs* → *Anita*, *Jānis* → *Andželika*, *Jēkabs Nils* → *Līga Amanda*, *Linda* → *Aleks Adrians*, and *Marts* → *Marta*. As the ending of the name in

Latvian reflects gender, it is very important to indicate gender identity in a such way.

4.7.

A number of examples in the name changing lists do not correspond to traditional name-giving in Latvia and these are difficult to explain or include in one of the described groups, such as: *Andra* → *Andra R*, *Arvīds* → *Āro Arvīds*, *Ieva* → *Ieva Helumbrotena*, *Ieva* → *Zigi*, *Ingrīda Diāna* → *Indiāna Fīniksa*, and *Rūdolfs* → *Ru*.

4.8.

Summarising this wide range of more than 12,000 instances of change, it can be concluded that the following names have been changed most frequently over the past 13 years: *Jānis/Janis* (421x), *Arturs/Artūrs* (274x), *Anna/Ana* (243x), *Irēna/Irīna* (234x), *Velta* (222x), *Juris* (221x), *Gunārs/Gunars* (211x), *Kristīna/Kristīne* (203x), *Mirdza* (165x), *Alfrēds/Alfreds* (163x), *Ausma* (160x), *Dzidra* (143x), and *Laimonis/Laimons* (143x). While *Jānis* is the most frequently changed name, *Jānis* is also among the names that are often selected as a first or second name (see 4.3). The list of the changed names refutes the myth that only women wish to change their name.

Examples of recent given name changes in Latvia – determined by personal, social or political factors – reflect not only fashions and trends in modern society, but they also convey identity transformation or preservation of national identity in a globalised world.

Abbreviations

adj.– adjective
cf. – confer = compare
Latv. – Latvian

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Is the Place-name *Rōma* Phoenician? Some Archaeological and Linguistic Annotations

The name of the capital of the Roman Empire, *Rōma*, has been etymologized in about a dozen ways. It was thought to have been originally a river-name, a clan-name, a microtoponym, it was said to be of pre-Italic-Indo-European, Italic, Etruscan origin. In 2016 finally, even a Phoenician/Semitic etymology was presented, relating the name to a Semitic word meaning 'hill'. This etymology was presented by Theo Vennemann. His argumentation is highly circular, however. And as there are not even the slightest archeological hints that Phoenicians ever settled on the Appennine peninsula, the idea that any settlement might bear a Phoenician name is actually absurd. Moreover, Vennemann argues with "a sizeable number of Phoenician loanwords" in Latin – but on closer scrutiny, alas, merely half a dozen loanwords may be accepted as sure. Thus, the only logical reaction must be to dismiss of any Phoenician etymology of that place-name.

Instead, at least half a dozen viable Indo-European etymologies of the place-name can be presented, adhering to modern standards of comparative Indo-European linguistics. According to these, *Rōma* either meant 'settlement of the Black-clan' or derives from a former microtoponym meaning '(settlement at the) fireplaces', 'arable land' or 'convention place'. Two more etymologies can be dismissed of as semantically implausible. Which of these possibilities is the right one, cannot be decided with certainty, but the 'arable-land'-solution causes the fewest problems.

Keywords

Old Italic place-names, Old Italic river-names,
Old European hydronymy, Proto-Indo-European morphology,
Old Italic phonology

1. Introduction

The article will present some thoughts about the place-name *Rōma*. After the presentation of *Rōma*, some ideas on the etymology of a rarely attested name of the Tiber, *Rumon*, will be presented. This comes as quite a consequent combination, as some researchers are of the opinion that the name *Rumon* is to be etymologically connected with the place-name *Rōma*.

According to some researchers (especially J. Udolph, see below § 2.2.1.), in the explanation of these names Old European hydronymy might play a role. These authors' research results usually tend to be (highly) problematic, however, as they are either applying a completely outdated, pre-World-War-II-variant of Indo-European linguistics, ignoring more than half a century of scientific development and progress. Thus, their etymologies and conclusions are often unreliable, sometimes they are even false. Or they want everything in Central Europe – and in the case of the place-name *Rōma* in Italy as well – to be of either Vasconic (i.e. Proto-Basque) or Semitic origin.

Rōma has by some researchers been connected to river- and place-names, primarily in Western and Northern Germany, as *Ruhr*[1] etc. (see below § 2.2.1). But the phonological equations concerning those names have never been done properly.

The reason for this is (among others) that the standard tool used so far for reconstructing the proto-forms of the river-names of the 'Old-European' hydronymy was Pokorny's *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1959). This dictionary is still today the most comprehensive comparative dictionary on the Indo-European languages. But it is conceptually a child of pre-World-War-II-scholarship, and it contains, from today's point of view, hundreds of mistakes.

Until now there is no real 'ersatz'-dictionary for it: One can make do, however, to a certain degree, with a combination of several newer dictionaries from the last two decades given in the bibliography.

Pokorny's dictionary is now outdated especially in its reconstruction of the phoneme system of Proto-Indo-European. The other point, Pokorny's, Krahe's and the others' reconstructions are not up to date in their description of the morphology and the semantics of the hydronymic material: A reconstruction is only complete, if a full account of the morphemes involved, their separate and combined meaning and, if possible, the accent of the whole word can be given. Compared to such a full etymology, traditional etymologies of river-names hardly ever made it halfway.

1 For the river-name *Ruhr* and its siblings compare now Bichlmeier 2019.

2. *Rōma*

2.1. The Phoenician thesis

Tradition in antiquity had it that Rome was founded on April 21st, 753 BCE. But the history of settlement in this area is of course much older. On the other hand, the place-name *Rōma* is attested not before the 5th century BCE in Greek sources (always as Ῥῶμα, Ῥῶμη), and not before the 3rd century BCE in Latin, always in the form *Rōma*.

Theoretically, *Rōma* might somehow be an Etruscan name, as also the Roman kings of the 6th century bear Etruscan names. But Rome lies at the utmost Southern fringes of the core Etruscan area of settlement, a fact which gives less probability to that solution. If we presuppose an Etruscan etymology, moreover, this paper might find its end here, as we know too little about Etruscan to be able to proceed with etymologizing the name under this precondition.

Another thesis, the newest one, was conceived by Theo Vennemann. According to him, *Rōma* is of Phoenician origin: He compares the name to a Semitic word, Hebr. *råmåh* 'hill, hilltop' etc. (cp. Vennemann 2016:

Table 1. Potential Semitic/Phoenician loanwords in Latin

No.	Lexeme	IEW	NIL	OLD	OLD²
1	*antae* 'square pilasters'	42	306f.	137: "cf. skt. *ā́tā* 'door-frame'" (thus IE)	151: "cf. skt. *ā́tā* 'door-frame'" (thus IE)
2	*avō* 'hi'	—	—	—	—
3	*cadus* 'large jar for wine etc.'	—	—	249: "Gk. κάδος"	273: "Gk. κάδος"
4	*(h)auē* 'hi (a greeting)'	—	—	210: "possibly a Punic word"	230: "possibly a Punic word"
5	*māgālia* 'huts, tents'	—	—	1061: "Punic"	1167: "Punic"

136f.). As Rome was built on seven hills, this looks quite nice at first. He argues that there were intensive contacts, which are reflected also in a "sizeable number of Phoenician loanwords in Latin" (Vennemann 2016: 134).

But a closer look at the situation, which Vennemann tries to cover in a fog of words, revealed two things: Of course there were intensive trade-contacts etc., but there is not the slightest archeological evidence that the Phoenicians ever settled on mainland Italy. There are only settlements on Sicily and Sardegna (cp. Bichlmeier/Gerleigner 2018: 203ff.). So why should there be a Phoenician place-name anywhere in mainland Italy?

And the second argument: The "sizeable number of loanwords". A closer look at the etymological dictionaries and some further secondary literature (which was at least partially ignored by Vennemann) reveals a maximum number of 15 possible loanwords from Semitic languages, of which only half a dozen are agreed upon as being certain. So the "sizeable number" comes down to six lexemes:

Table 1. Potential Semitic/Phoenician loanwords in Latin

LatEW	DÉLL	EDLIL	GEW	DÉLG	EDG
I, 52: IE	36: IE	44f.: IE			
I, 80f.: Pl. "seid gegrüßt"	55f.: Phoenician, but *avo* is also Sg.	—			
I, 123: "aus gr. κάδος … dies aus hebr. *kad* 'Eimer'"	82: from "gr. κάδος, lui même d'origine étrangère (cf. heb. *kad*)"	—	1, 751: "Mittel-meer-wort, vgl. hebr. *kad* 'Eimer'"	460: "Mot sémitique, à supposer en phénicien, cf. hébr. *kad*…"	614: "Generally considered a loanword, probably from Semitic…"
I, 80f.: "pun." (*avē*, *havĕ*)	55f.: Punic	—			
II, 9: "pun. Wort"	377: Punic	—			

No.	Lexeme	IEW	NIL	OLD	OLD²
6	*mapālia* 'huts of nomadic Africans'	—	—	1078: "app. Punic; cf. Hebr. *mappālāh* 'ruin'"	1186: "app. Punic; cf. Hebr. *mappālāh* 'ruin'"
7	*mappa* 'piece of cloth, towel, napkin'	—	—	1078: "Punic acc. Quint. *Inst*. 1.5.57"	1186: "Punic acc. Quint. *Inst*. 1.5.57"
8	*Nāsīca* (a cognomen)	—	—	1157: "a Roman cognomen"	1273: "a Roman cognomen"
9	*racēmus* 'bunch, cluster (of grapes or other fruit)'	—	—	1570: "perh. pre-IE"	1730: "perh. pre-IE"
10	*saccus* 'large bag or sack'	—	—	1673f.: "cf. Gk. σάκκος"	1845: "cf. Gk. σάκκος"
11	*sagēna* 'a drag-net, seine'	—	—	1679: "Gk. σαγήνη"	1851: "Gk. σαγήνη"

LatEW	DÉLL	EDLIL	GEW	DÉLG	EDG
II, 35f.: "wohl pun. Fremdwort"	386: Numidic or Punic	—			
II: 36: "nach Quint. 1, 5, 57… pun. Wort"	386: Punic according to Quintilian	—			
—	—	—			
II, 414: "voridg. Mittelmeer-wort"	562: "Mot sans doute méditerra-néen, comme les autres noms relatifs au vin et à la vigne"	511: "Prob-ably a loan-word from a medi-terra-nean lang-uage."	2, 642 s.v. ῥᾱ́ξ: "wohl Mittelmeer-wort"	932: s.v. ῥᾱ́ξ: "… on pense qu'il s'agit d'un terme de substrat …"	1274f. s.v. ῥᾱ́ξ: "probably a Mediterra-nean word"
II, 458f.: "aus gr. σάκκος…, das seinerseits aus dem Semit. stammt"	585: from Gr. σάκκος < Semit. *śaq*	—	2, 672: "Semit. LW; vgl. hebr. (phön.) śaq 'härenes Zeug, Sack, Trauerkleid' …"	950f.: "Emprunt sémitique certain, probable-ment au phé-nicien…"	1302: "a loan from Semi-tic"
II, 443: "aus gr. σαγήνη"	588: "Emprunt au gr. σαγήνη"	—	2, 670: σαγήνη: "Uner-klärt. … vielleicht fremden Ursprungs"	949: "Presque sûrement terme technique de substrat…"	1300: "without a doubt Pre-Greek" (i.e. a substrate word)

No.	lexeme	IEW	NIL	OLD	OLD²
12	*sagīnāre* ‘fatten, feed lavishly’’	—	—	1679 s.v. *sagīna*: “unkn[own].”	1851 s.v. *sagīna*: “unkn[own].”
13	*sūfēs*, *suffēs* ‘an annual chief magistrate at Carthage and in other Phoenician cities’	—	—	1860: “Punic, cf. Heb. *šôpēṯ* ‘judge’”	2050: “Punic, cf. Heb. *šôpēṯ* ‘judge’”
14	*tunica* ‘tunic’	—	—	1990: “prob. Semitic and of sim. origin to Gr. χίτων; cf. Heb. *k*^{e}*ṯôneṯ*”	2193: “prob. Semitic and of sim. origin to Gr. χίτων; cf. Heb. *k*^{e}*ṯôneṯ*”
15	*uīnum* ‘wine’	1121	—	2067f.: “cogn. with Gk. οἶνος, Arm. *gini*, Heb. *yāyin*, all prob. from a common Mediterranean source”	2279: “cogn. with Gk. οἶνος, Arm. *gini*, Heb. *yāyin*, all prob. from a common Mediterranean source”

LatEW	DÉLL	EDLIL	GEW	DÉLG	EDG
II, 463: loanword or inherited	588 s.v. *sagīna*: “Aucune étymologie. Terme technique.”	—			
II, 625: “pun. Wort nach Fest.”	663: “mot punique”	—			
II, 717: “entlehnt aus dem Semit.”	707: “terme de commerce, dû sans doute aux Phéniciens... Mais on ne peut dire si le mot a été emprunté directement…”	—			
II, 794f.: as in Gr., Arm. etc. probably “unabhängige Entlehnungen aus einer mittelmeerländischen oder pontischen Sprache”	737f.: “Il s’agit d’un mot méditerranéen…”	680: IE (no discussion of other ideas)	2, 364-366: probably IE: PIE *$\underset{\frown}{u}e\underset{\frown}{i}h_1$- ‘wind’, maybe from a Balkan-IE language	756f.: probably IE	1058f.: most probably IE

Thus, we have to come to the conclusion that the idea that *Rōma* is a Phoenician name is simply a product of Vennemann's phantasy. There are not the slightest indications of any Phoenician settlements on the Appennine peninsula. And the contacts produced only 6 (7, if no. 2 *avō* and no. 4 *(h)avē* are counted seperately) certain Semitic (but not necessarily exclusively Punic/Phoenician) loanwords in Latin.

So why should the name *Rōma* be Phoenician then?

2.2. Indo-European possibilities

As the Etruscan and the Phoenician etymologies are either improbable or dead-end streets, we are entitled to look for an Indo-European etymology. In the last decade there have been several proposals, some of them even trying to connect the place-name with some river-names, thus implying or sometimes even openly saying that *Rōma* goes back to a former river-name.

2.2.1. The reason for that has always been that the Tiberis – or a part of it – was called *Rumon* a few times in some, however, very late sources (4th cent. CE; 2x Nom. *Rumon*, 2x Abl. *Rumone*). That the name is rendered consequently *Rūmon* with *ū* by some researchers (Vennemann 2016, Garnier 2017 [2008]: 114), is actually an unfounded supposition. The name appears only in one prose text (a commentary on Virgil by Servius, 4th cent. CE) with no hint on vowel length.

On the other hand, this name is by some researchers thought to be Etruscan, although this also poses problems with the vocalism. Starting from the form *Rumon*, some tried to connect the name with river-names all over Europe, especially in Germany, Slovakia, Poland; the most prominent of them would be the name of the river Ruhr crossing the Ruhr-basin.

So the question arises: Is *Rumon* Indo-European? Well, that depends on what we make of the *-n* at the end. It might well be the reflex of an *n*-stem. But why is the *-n* still there? According to all we know about the phonology of PIE and of Proto-Italic, the paradigm should be Proto-Italic Nom. **Rŭ̄mō*, Gen. **Rŭ̄mōnes* etc. Could a form **Rŭ̄mōn*, which cannot appear in an Italic paradigm be restituted as a Nominative? We cannot be sure, but anyway there seem to no parallels to that. In the one and only text, where this name is attested, we find it twice as Nom. *Rumon* and twice as Abl. *Rumone*.

A formation PIE **reu̯Hmŏ̄n* > PItal. **rou̯amŏ̄n* > **rūmŏ̄n-* or **rōmŏ̄n* is perfectly fine (based on PIE **reu̯H-* 'to tear up, to dig'; obsolete notation:

*reu̯-/*reu̯ə-/*rŭ̄- [*IEW* 868]) and was compared to certain river-names in Europe: G. *Ruhme*, Pol. *Rumia*, Lith. *Rūmė*, WRuss. *Ruminka*, Slovak *Rimava*.[2] But – as to my knowledge – there has never been attested a river-name or a hydronym in general within the older layers of hydronyms, which had the suffix *-men-* or *-mon-*. And it is clear, why this isn't the case: These formations simply do not fit into hydronymy, as these two suffixes form primarily abstract nouns. What we usually encounter in old river-names are adjectives, *nomina agentis* and maybe *nomina instrumenti*.

The Handbook of Latin by Leumann, Hoffmann, Szantyr (1977: 357f.) gives only 5 formations of that type: *Semō* 'god of seeds' : *sēmen* 'seed'; *termō* (Ennius) = *terminus* 'border-line'; *flamōnium* 'duty of the Flāmen' : *flāmen* (maybe for older **flāmō* or **flāmē*); *pulmō* 'lungs' (inherited, but re-structured, cp. Gr. πλευμών 'id.'); *Tellumō* : *tellus* 'earth'; adj. *alimōnis* 'concerning alimentation', *alimōnium* = *alimentum* 'alimentation'.

An alternative possibility might be – if we leave aside for a moment the problem of auslauting *-n* – that **reu̯Hmŏ̄n-* > PItal. **rou̯amŏ̄n-* > **rūmŏ̄n-* or **rōmŏ̄n-* are enlargements of PIE **reu̯Hmeh$_2$-* > PItal. **rou̯amā-* > **rūmā-* or **rōmā-*. As the root meant 'tear up, dig' the meaning of that formation might have been something like 'trench', if the word had a collective meaning, because the suffix PIE **-eh$_2$-* > PItal. **-ā-* could convey such a meaning, the word might also have meant something like 'collection/system of trenches'. If this collective noun was further enlarged by the suffix PIE **-on-*, this could lead to a personalization of the formation. So *Rumon* might theoretically have been something like a theonym 'god of the trenches/channels' or so. Of course, this is a bit improbable. Further problems arise with the vocalism anyway.

Should the basis of that name be a regular zero-grade *mo*-adjective, we would get – because of the regular shortening of a pretonoic laryngeal in the given context in Proto-Italic (and Proto-Celtic and Proto-Germanic) according to Dybo's rule PIE **ruH-mó-* > PItal. **rumo-*. So in the case of the most regular formation from the given root that comes to mind in our context, we would arrive at a short vowel and not at a long one.

And it should not be forgotten that there are two further phonologically and semantically possible etymologies for a river-name (neglecting for the moment the semantic *mon*-problem and the phonological *n#*-problem): there is the root PIE **h$_3$reu̯-* 'run, hurry' on the one hand,

2 Cf. Udolph 1997: 22; Udolph 2012: 400-403. No mention is made there of the fact, that the cited names require quite different ablaut-grades, the Polish and the Byelorussian ones presuppose PIE **rou̯H-m-*, the Lithuanian and the Slovak one PIE **ruH-m-*.

leading to a name meaning ‘the quick one’, ‘the rushing one’ or so, and the root PIE *$h_2$reu̯- ‘gleam, glisten (reddishly)’[3] on the other hand leading to a name meaning ‘the quick one’ – both necessarily giving a short vowel in the root of the river-name: PIE *$h_{2}/_{3}$rumon- > Lat. *Rŭmon*(-).

Thus, the question whether *Rumon* and *Rōma* belong together, remains unsolved, it even seems that the connection of both names causes more problems than it solves (see further below). The connection of the two names is only possible, if we presuppose a form *Rūmon* with a long vowel, and the long vowel can be argued for only if there is the connection with *Rōma* – thus this is a classical case for circular argumentation. Else, regarding the historical phonology, the traditional etymology for *Rōma* would be without any problems, of course – and in the end this even might mean that *Rōma* (or a preform *rōmo-) might have been either a name of the Tiber or of a place, where trenches had been dug, maybe to drain the swamps and marshes.

This solution would be really nice, if we could prove a connection between this ‘system of trenches’ and the channel system to drain the swampy lowlands at the feet of the seven hills of Rome. Work was begun on this canalization in the late 6th century and finally it became the Cloaca Maxima.[4] But this would more or less imply that ‘our’ name for Rome, could hardly be older than the beginning of the digging of those channels and trenches. And this again would mean, that before that time, the settlement most probably had another name. And this would imply that a change of place-name had taken place. But we do not have the faintest hint at such a process for Rome. Thus we are entitled to discard of this approach as improbable and try something else.

2.2.2. Another idea was to start from the (above mentioned) root PIE *$h_3$reu̯- ‘run, hurry’. Semantically a fine choice for a river-name, as river-names of the oldest layers often have names meaning ‘the quick one’, ‘the rushing one’ or so.

But there is a phonological problem: PIE *$h_3$reu̯meh$_2$- would have developped normally into PItal. *rou̯mā- > *Rūma or *Rōma*. But only *Rōma* is attested from the 3rd century exclusively with a monophthong, we never find †<Rouma>, while amongst the appellatives such spellings as OLat. Acc. *loucom* > Lat. Nom. *lūcus* ‘(holy) forest’ etc. are common. And the

3 Cf. for this root Eichner 1978, Schaffner 2017.

4 Cf. on the early Cloaca Maxima Hopkins 2007 (with further bibliography).

Greek attestations always have <ω> already from the 5th century.[5] So there can never have been a diphthong in the root.

2.2.3. Thus, also the root PIE *$h_2$reu̯- 'gleam, glisten (reddishly)'[6] cannot be taken as a starting point, because we would stumble over the same phonological problem with the diphthong PItal. *-*ou̯*- in the root.

2.2.4. The same phonological problem with the diphthong PItal. *-*ou̯*- in the root is ignored by Garnier 2017 [2008]: 114f., who tries to explain the place-name *Rōma* as an old river-name for the Tiber from the root PIE **sreu̯*- 'flow, stream'.[7] For this he has to invent a new sound-law PIE **sr*- > PItal. **r*- which seems to work only for the root PIE **sreu̯*-, while usually PIE **sr*- gives Lat. *fr*- (cp. **sriHǵe/os*- > lat. *frīgus* 'coldness').[8]

2.2.5. So we have to try something else again. And actually there are at least four further possibilities to etymologize the place-name *Rōma*. The first explanation, by Gert Klingenschmitt (1992: 90; apud Schaffner 2014: 70f., fn. 14), takes its starting point from the personal name *Rōmulus* which is analyzed as a diminutivum **Rōmelo*-, which itself is derived from a personal name **Rōmo*-. Lat. *Rōma* < PItal. **Rōmā*- is then an old collective meaning '(settlement of the) family **Rōmā*-'. The personal name **Rōmo*- is said to be from **roh$_1$-mó*- 'black, dark' which might have existed besides **reh$_1$-mo*- > PGerm. **rēma*- > OHG *rām* 'blackness, dirt, soot'. Compare also OI *rāmá*- 'black, with a dark colour', which is also used as a personal name already in the R̥g-Veda.[9] Phonologically etc. everything is fine, but the root is nowhere else attested in Italic.

2.2.6. In 2009 Zsolt Simon proposed to derive *Rōma* from the root *h_2*erh*$_3$- 'to plow' (LIV² 272f.). The root is well attested in many IE languages, also in Italic, cf. Lat. *arāre* 'to plow' and the noun *arātrum* 'plough'. He proposes a *mo*-derivative from that root + the collectivizing suffix PIE *-*eh*$_2$- (> *-*ah*$_2$- > *-*ā*-). He arrives at the meaning 'arable land'.

5 Cf. on that Simon 2009: 466.

6 Cf. for this root Eichner 1978; Schaffner 2017.

7 Cf. LIV² 588.

8 Vgl. Meiser 1998: 112; Weiss 2009: 163. – Cf. also LatEW I, 547; DÉLL 254; EDLIL 243.

9 Cf. IEW 853; EWAia 2, 449; Mayrhofer 2003: 76; EWAhd 7, s. v. *râm*.

The suffix PIE **mo* served to form primary deverbal adjectives and primary and secondary nouns.[10] Primary formations have either *e*-full-grade or *o*-full-grade or zero-grade.[11]

So we may suppose PIE *h$_2$r̥h$_3$-mó- 'furrow, arable land' or an adjective PIE *h$_2$r̥h$_3$-mó- 'with furrows, ploughed', substantivized *h$_2$ŕ̥h$_3$-mo- 'furrow'. Then a vr̥ddhi-derivative was formed to this zero-grade word. Applying that formation-rule to our case we get the form PIE *h$_2$reh$_3$mó- 'belonging to/concerning the furrow(s) / the field' and from that the collective PIE *h$_2$reh$_3$meh$_2$- 'everything concerning/belonging to the furrow/field, the fields/furrows in their entirety' > PItal. **rōmā-* > Lat. *Rōma*.

If this is the right etymology, we can be quite sure that the founding-saga of Rome with its protagonists *Rōmulus* and *Remus* is to be connected with it.

2.2.7. If we keep that scheme of derivation in mind, we might apply it to further roots. Depending on the root, from which we start, we might get formations meaning

- 'totality/collective of fire-places/hearths' > 'settlement' (PIE *u̯erh$_{1/3}$- 'burn'[12] → *u̯r̥h$_{1/3}$-mó- 'hot, burning' → PIE *u̯roh$_{1/3}$-meh$_2$- or *u̯reh$_3$-meh$_2$- 'totality/collective of fire-places/hearths' > 'settlement' > Lat. *Rōma*) or
- 'totality [of places], where it is being spoken' → 'speaking-place' → 'convention-place, þing'? (PIE *u̯erh$_1$- 'say, speak'[13] → PIE *u̯roh$_1$-meh$_2$- 'totality [of places], where it is being spoken' → 'speaking-place' → 'convention-place, þing'?), or
- 'finding-place' (PIE *u̯reh$_1$- 'find'[14] → PIE *u̯roh$_1$-meh$_2$- 'finding-place') or finally

10 Cf. Casaretto 2004: 380.

11 Cf. for that suffix in Latin also Baldi 1999: 303f. – Cf. the following formations: with *o*-grade: PIE *h$_2$eǵ- 'drive, propel' (LIV² 255f.): PIE *h$_2$oǵ-mo- > Gr. ὄγμος 'furrow'; PIE *d^{h}eh$_1$- 'put' (LIV² 136-138): PIE *d^{h}oh$_1$-mo- > Goth. *doms* 'law', OHG *tuom* 'id.' > NHG *tum* etc.; with *e*-grade: PIE **ḱel-* 'hide, cover' (LIV² 322f.): PIE **ḱel-mo-* > Goth. *hilms* 'helmet', OHG *helm* 'id.' (EWAhd IV, 945-947) etc.; with zero-grade: PIE *d^{h}u̯eh$_2$- 'make smoke': PIE *d^{h}uh$_2$-mó- > Gr. θῡμός 'ghost, mind, soul', Lat. *fūmus*, OI *dhūmá* 'smoke', OCS *dymъ*, Lith. *dū́mai* etc.

12 Cf. LIV² 689.

13 Cf. LIV² 689f. – This root is contained at least in one darkened compound in Italic: Lat. *verbum* 'word' is now mostly reconstructed as PIE *u̯erh$_1$-d^{h}h$_1$-o-, literally 'speech-setting', cf. also Goth. *waurd*, OHG *wort*, NHG *Wort* etc. (< PIE *u̯r̥h$_1$-d^{h}h$_1$-o; cf. EDLIL 664f.). The second compound part is the root PIE *d^{h}eh$_1$- 'set, put, lay' (LIV² 136-138), contained e.g. in Lat. ***fa**cere* 'make', *con**d**ere* 'found' etc.

14 Cf. IEW 1160; LIV² 698.

- ‘robbing, robbery, place of the robbery’ (PIE *$\underset{\frown}{u}reh_2$- ‘take away’ → PIE *$\underset{\frown}{u}roh_1$-$meh_2$-).[15]

But of course those last-mentioned formations make a somewhat forced impression and may be taken out of the (serious) discussion of the place-name *Rōma*.

2.2.8. There is one more proposal (by Bernhard Gliwa), which deserves a few words: Gliwa 2017 compares *Rōma* with a number of Baltic, especially Lithuanian place-names (*Ramýgala*, *Ramistava*, *Romava*...) and hydronyms (*Ramõnė*, *Romẽlis*, *Romintà*) and comes to the conclusion that they are all to be combined with Lith. *rim̃ti* ‘become calm’, *ramùs* ‘quiet’, *romà* f. ‘unity, quietness’, *romùs* ‘quiet’ etc.,[16] based on PIE *h_1*rem*- ‘become calm, quiet’:[17]

So according to him Lat. *Rōma* and Lith. *romà* go back to PIE *h_1*rōm*-*é*h_2-, the Latin word directly, the Lithuanian one secondarily with inner-Baltic vr̥ddhi: *Rōma* would have meant ‘place for resting’. But again there is no trace of the root elsewhere in Italic.

3. Conclusions

What is the result now of this short survey of etymologies for the place-name *Rōma*?

There is an etymology proposing a ‘system of channels/trenches’, connecting the name with the draining of the Pontinian marshes and Old European hydronymy. The root is well-attested in Italic, but there are phonological and semantic problems. Moreover, we cannot be sure, whether to connect the river-name *Rumon* with *Rōma*, the more so, as *Rumon* is more easily reconstructed with a short vowel based on roots which are practically excluded for etymologizing *Rōma*.

We have the meanings ‘convention-place’, ‘fire-places’, ‘place of rest’, all phonologically unproblematic and semantically possible, but their roots are not to be found elsewhere in Italic.

And we have a derivation from a personal-name ‘the dark one, Blacky’, which has an exact counterpart in Vedic, but is also derived from a root not found in Italic elsewhere.

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15 Cf. LIV² 699.

16 Cf. LitEW 2, 695f. – Cf. also Latv. *rāms* ‘silent, calm, castrated’ (cf. LEV 2: 103f.) and OPr. *rāms* ‘*sittig*’, ‘calm’ (PKEŽ² 777f.).

17 Cf. IEW 864; LIV² 252f.

Comparing all the above mentioned possibilities, the 'arable land'-solution appears as the best one: it is the only solution which is morphologically, phonologically and semantically unproblematic and is based on a root still living on in the Italic languages.

There has never been any need for an explanation of the place-name *Rōma* based on a Phoenician lexeme (or on a Semitic lexeme in general) – the less so, as there never existed (to our and the archeologists' knowledge) Phoenician settlements on mainland Italy in general or in Latium especially.

Abbreviations

Arm. – Armenian
Goth. – Gothic
G. – German
Gen. – Genitive
Gr. – Greek
IE – Indo-European
Lat. – Latin
Latv. – Latvian
Lith. – Lithuanian
NHG – New High German
Nom. – Nominative
OI – Old Indic
OHG – Old High German
OLat. – Old Latin
OPr. – Old Prussian
PGerm. – Proto-Germanic
PIE – Proto-Indo-European
PItal. – Proto-Italic
Pol. – Polish
WRuss. – Belarusian
Semit. – Semitic

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Hans-Peter
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What's In a Name? - Place-Names as Information Carriers

Onomastics has always been dealing with the sign nature of names. But, in this discipline, a concept of information contained in these signs is usually taken for granted.

On the other hand, information management has always had a clear understanding of information as a concept, one of the first applications of which was traditional bibliographic indexing; each index entry created from one or more properties of a bibliographic unit works as a sign for that unit and thus all the information that it conveys.

Information is formed by a relationship of data with other data, other information, objects, or concepts. This way, more information can be created by finding this kind of relationships in a known context or corpus. Moreover, any known relationship of this kind conveys a piece of information.

Any name (personal name, place-name or any other name) bears relationships in at least two directions: firstly, in its sign nature, i.e. in its capability to describe a person, place or other piece of the real world; secondly, in its linguistic nature, i.e. in its composition from linguistic units and its reference to linguistic items such as language or script. In addition, most names bear a relationship to a bibliographic unit recording their (primary) source. Thus, all names represent several pieces of information.

Place-names are generally related to real geographic units; place-names represent geographic units in a similar way to traditional bibliographic indexes representing bibliographic units. This means that we can treat place-names by established, well-understood methods developed for bibliographic indexes.

In order to store and obtain information contained in names, we can treat them as we treat bibliographic indexes: we store the items in a suitable electronic form that we call a "database" and thus create a "catalogue". Then we can apply search strategies developed for bibliographic catalogues to a names catalogue.

Bibliographic catalogues contain several types of items: indexes, bibliographic units, a thesaurus of subjects suitable for the types of bibliographic units in question, and other items that are related to bibliographic units, such as persons, places or institutions. The latter may be stored as data within the same database or as references to data stored in another database.

The same can be done for a names catalogue: the item types to be stored should consist of the names, a kind of thesaurus of subjects applicable to names (such as name types and classes) and the objects (linguistic units, places, persons, sources, etc.) to which a name can be related. As with bibliographic units, these referenced objects may be stored by themselves or as a reference to items in another database.

Usually, the term *database* nowadays refers to a database schema contained in relational database management system (RDBMS). This kind of storage was introduced in the late 1970s and because of its versatility and general comprehension still forms the basis for the vast majority of data stores. It is, however, not the best suited system for storage and, especially, retrieval of highly interconnected data such as a catalogue.

For this kind of data there are better suited systems such as graph stores or document stores. A document store treats one item and all its properties, including its references, as a single document and provides methods for searching through a number of properties of all documents. A graph store treats its contents according to the mathematical model of a directed graph, i.e. a system of nodes and edges (imagined as one-way paths) connecting the nodes.

Keywords

place names, information, catalogue,
relationships, attributes

1. Introduction

One of the major problems that is faced by many names databases is to find a suitable form of storage of the information contained in those names. In this article, some aspects needed to be taken into account will be presented.

Onomastics has a notion of the fact that some information is present in names but there have been various discussions over a long time on what exactly is this information or even if there is any information present in names (cf. Mill 1843; Wittgenstein 1963). Ernst Hansack (1990) suggests a reason for this ongoing discussion: he attributes it to the fact that a name's referent is in general not clearly distinguished from the name itself.

2. The concept of information

In information science information has taken its place within a conceptual model. Usually, this model is represented by a flight of stairs (North 2016) or a pyramid: the well-known "information" or "DIKW pyramid" (Henry 1974). These representations conceptualize information as a level in a hierarchy of elements of knowledge, each built on top of its precedent.

The first step of the flight of stairs or the basis of the pyramid is formed by "values" or "character strings" consisting of literal elements that can be measured or written down (examples: "Rīga", "Владивосток", "123", "$6.022 \cdot 10^{23}$", "-37.5"). These elements do not convey any meaning, they only stand for themselves.

"Data" represents the next level: values are interpreted following the semantics of a certain context; i.e. they receive a meaning (examples: "Rīga" as a name of a city; "-37.5" as a temperature in °C). Data is usually the raw material that is stored in a "database" (hence the name).

The following step, "information", is created by relating data to other data or to information that is already present (so relating "Rīga" as a name of a city to geographical coordinates or to the state of Latvia as its capital creates information). Similarly, relating the data "-37.5 °C" to the place called by the name of "Владивосток" as the temperature once measured there creates information. Information is contained in a database in the form of relationships between data items (especially, any "relational database" makes wide use of this concept by using mathematical relations between data items in order to store information along with data).

The information pyramid (or the flight of stairs) is then further extended to the categories of "knowledge" by subjectively assessing the quality of pieces of information and "wisdom" by using knowledge to infer unknown pieces of information. In the context of this paper, however, the latter categories do not play any role because they are not connected to the role of names as information carriers.

3. Names and their relationships

Names in themselves constitute signs for items in reality, and so they are naturally related to at least one referent: personal names signify an individual (or a group); place-names signify (i. e. they are connected to) geographic places, like "Rīga" as the name of a certain city. Thus, names convey information in the sense described above.

Usually, names are considered related to many more data items and thus carry more information than just the referent. What this means in terms of name theory, will be discussed later on.

One of the types of relationships that any name carries exists to its representation in script and language (which must be considered independently: "Владивосток" or "Vladivostók" or "Wladiwostok" are different representations of the same referent – pronounced following the spelling rules of a given language, however, they all will result in a similar sound representation and thus should be related to the same name of the city in question). These sound representations may be further deconstructed into phonemes which then carry relationships to the sound representations. It should be pointed out that a direct relationship exists only between sound representation and its phonemes; the name itself does not logically take part in the relationship to phonemes.

Also, names consist of one or more linguistic items. In terms of morphology, these are morphemes which are usually related to phonemes in terms of phonology. There may also exist relations to etymological items: depending on the state of etymological research, however, these items may be known with or without certainty, unknown, or even undiscovered.

All names will have been recorded in a source like a document, a book, a map etc. at least once; otherwise, we would not know about them. These sources constitute another side of the information contained in a name. Since most such sources have been catalogued by themselves, probably a reference to such a catalogue entry will suffice as a signifier for this kind of relationship.

Additionally, there may be any number of further relationships that a name can carry. Any representation form for names must take all of these into account. Considering linguistics and sources, the relationships may be subject to discussion or ongoing research; this is also a point that must be cared for by a storage model for names.

4. The sign nature of place-names

We can achieve the necessary independence of a name from its spelling as found necessary above if we introduce the idea of one or more "abstract [place-]names" as referents to a given geographical place. Thus, we can separate the geographical reference from its literal representation in order to avoid confusing properties of that reference from properties that relate solely to its representation. In doing so, several spellings may be related to a single abstract name. It should be noted that this use of the term "abstract name" is different from Mill's (1843, §4) use. Of course, several abstract names may refer to the same referent (here: geographical location, "place"). These names should be classified by their respective linguistic properties.

A certain place at the Siberian Pacific coast, e.g., is referred to by at least two names (given here by a literal representation in unaccented Latin characters): "Vladivostok" and "Haishenwai". All literal representations of the name "Vladivostok" ("Владивосток" etc.) share linguistic properties: e.g. their base language is Russian and in that language they consist of two morphemes: "Vladi-" (translated as "to rule") and "-vostok" (translated as "the east"). On the other hand, the name "Hǎishēnwǎi" – referring to the same geographical location – is from ancient Chinese and consists of three particles: "hǎi" (海), "shēn" (參) and "wǎi" (崴), which are translated to the completely different meaning "sea-cucumber cliffs". Note that there is also a modern Chinese spelling "Fúlādíwòsītuōkè", 符拉迪沃斯托克 (Wikimedia) that tries to achieve the Russian sound representation without any etymology in Chinese so that the place can be referred to in modern Chinese both by its Russian and its ancient Chinese name. The modern Chinese representation, though, should be considered another literal representation of the Russian name.

A special case arises from homonyms, i.e. names that refer to two different places using the same spelling (e. g., the place-name "Neustadt" in Germany referring to more than 20 different places). Using the concept of an abstract place-name, we are able to consider all the spellings as identical. Because the places, the spellings are connected to, are represented by two different abstract names, the individuality of the place referenced is maintained. This, however, may only be done for true homonyms that share a common etymology, not for "coincidental" homonyms that do not: these should be considered different spellings as well.

Traditional library catalogues use signatures or other attributes of the media being catalogued. Literal representations of one or more place-names can be stored as entries for spellings in a place-name catalogue. There may exist further attributes that serve as references (in the same way that an author or keyword index is used in a traditional library catalogue).

All these considerations fall in line with the proposition (Hansack 2000) that a name serves as a sign for an individual idea of the referent, present only in the receiver's mind (and, during any communication, also the sender's). By Hansack's proposition, the idea of a name simply being a reference without any "meaning" is reconciled with the idea of a name representing in itself all possible attributes of its referent: the attributes in themselves do only exist in the mind of the receiver. The name is a significant for that collection of attributes. What exactly the significant or name refers to is subjective to the receiver (the sender, if present, may have a very different subjective collection of attributes).

5. Attributes, properties or characteristics

People use various terms for the data items that are related to an object: they are generally either called "attributes", "properties", or "characteristics". The etymology of each term shows a slightly different approach to the kind of relationship that it should describe.

The term "attribute" originates from Latin "ad-tribuere" translating into "towards" + "give to a certain group (initially: a third of the urbs for military service)". So the view is from the assigner to the object and regards a feature that has been given to the object externally.

The term "property" also originates from Latin, but this time from "proprietas" which in turn is a nominalized form of the adjective "proprius" ("one's own"). This term from its etymology thus refers to an intrinsic feature "owned" by the object in question.

The third term "characteristic" originates from Greek "χαρακτήρ" which is translated as "embossed or coined mark or sign" from the base word "charassein: engrave or cut". Etymologically, a characteristic thus points to an externally applied permanent feature which is applied in a way that others will see it. Additionally, such a mark is usually applied in order to identify the object in question.

As we saw above, all three terms denote a data item that bears a relationship to an object. The term that will be mainly used in a certain context depends only on tradition or consensus, respectively. Thus, with respect to information management, we can treat them all in the same way.

6. Catalogues and catalogue items

For quite a long time, libraries have provided catalogues on index cards to facilitate their users' access to the bibliographic units present (books, journals, articles and, recently, other types of media). The index cards were sorted according to titles and authors; also, subject catalogues have been available listing bibliographic units ordered by subjects or keywords that librarians found to be relevant. Using current technology these catalogues are stored in a database and thus provide many more search entry points such as the names and places of editors or printers as well as a much extended list of keywords and subjects. Usually, these library catalogues are made available for searching online as an "OPAC" or Online Public Access Catalogue.

A subject catalogue has always contained a number of synonymous subject terms; these synonyms were stored in the catalogue referencing the main keyword. This has been termed a thesaurus of subjects. Bibliographic units have only been recorded under the respective main entries so that a double lookup was necessary to find them starting from a synonym search.

A database storing a bibliographic catalogue contains entries for its bibliographic units referencing entries for subjects or keywords, for authors or other persons or institutions and for places of relevance. There is a widely accepted standard rule set for choosing the format of the entries (RDA). In addition, major national libraries provide authority data covering, among others, normative spellings for personal, place and other names as well as for keywords (VIAF). This ensures that a certain name has a single spelling across all catalogues using these data and can thus always be found by this spelling. There is no rule, however, forbidding to use another spelling as well – provided the normative spelling is accepted, too.

These modern catalogue databases provide access to relevant bibliographic units (or rather references to these) by searching for any characteristic a unit can have, i.e. by any data that are related to a unit. A similar approach can be thought of for a names catalogue. This kind of catalogue would differ from a standard names database or names book in that it does not contain a detailed investigation of its names but a list of names and their relationships only; at least one of these relationships should point to a description in a names book or names database to make it useful. This is similar to the fact that a library catalogue does not contain books themselves but only references to where and how to find the books. The names catalogue need not contain any information about the referents of the names; it may be convenient, however, to also provide a reference to a catalogue of the referents like a database of inhabited places for settlement names.

In order to be used as a helpful tool with onomastics, a names catalogue would thus have to contain the following items: abstract names, spellings, places or other referents, linguistic units, languages, persons and institutions as well as references to name sources, advantageously stored as references to search criteria for location in a library catalogue (such as ISBN or author and title). Places should conveniently have a reference to a geographic position, if possible. In order to facilitate a search by linguistic properties, a kind of thesaurus of subjects applicable to names would be desirable, too.

All these items should be indexed according to a controlled vocabulary, similar to the vocabulary given by a norm file from a national library (those norm files can probably be used at least for some search terms). This controlled vocabulary should be lemmatized, i.e. should not contain any inflected forms as main entries, inflections should be given as synonyms only.

7. How to store information from names

Any current onomastic research relies on digitally stored information on names: otherwise, modern publication or presentation forms would not be possible. Thus, one critical point is *how* to store this information so that it can be used for many (ideally: all) aspects of names research, including but not limited to onomastics. In this paragraph, we will look into some current methods of storing information in general and assess their value to names research.

In order to store information, i.e. data and their relationships, several database models are available: the most traditional, well understood model is the relational model (Codd 1970). This model consists of database tables containing data related to a single individual item in columns, using one row for each item similar to a spreadsheet table (cf. Table 1). Relationships between individual items are given by foreign key relationships (cf. Table 2); there are rules on how to create foreign keys in order to achieve a certain type of relationship (Chen 1976). Relational databases are in wide use; they have been optimized for many items related to many others in always the same ways, i.e. the relationships between data items having one set of properties and data items having another set of properties will always be of the same kind and should be present in the vast majority of cases. This is often not the case for information on names because many attributes are only available for part of the names in question.

Table 1. Typical tabular list of name properties

Name	Place reference no.	Language	Morphemes	Etymology
Vladivostok	12345	English	vlad-, -vostok	Russian: “rule the East”
Владивосто́к	12345	RU	vlad-, -vostok	Russian: “rule the East”
海參崴	12345	Chinese	hǎi, shēn, wǎi	Chinese: “Sea-cucumber cliffs”
符拉迪沃斯托克	12345	Mod. Chin.	N/A	modern Chinese transliteration

Table 2. Reference table used for relationships between names and places

Place ref. no.	Coordinates	Parent ref. no.	VIAF ID
12345	E131.873529 / N043.105620	123	137138173
123	E100.000000 / N060.000000	N/A	168830626

More recently, document databases have come into focus for storing information items. Documents themselves have long been stored in specialized database systems (cf. IBM 2007), but their focus has always been on traditionally recognized documents, i.e. texts and/or pictures. It has now been recognized that a “document” can be any item that contains information, i.e. that contains data that relate to each other in a semi-structured fashion: each document contains one or more pieces of information. Each document may have a different set of data items thus representing a different kind of information item (cf. Figure 1). Software has been developed to hold such data structures in a database; documents in a document database, however, do not carry explicit relationships to other documents: the only way of relating documents to each other is implicit. This is done by using a property (usually called something like “ID” or “reference”) that can be used to identify another document in the database. Generally this kind of database is well suited for storing information items that are largely self-contained; for instance, the document database eXist-db (www.exist-db.org) is used to store the surnames articles in the Digital Surname Dictionary of Germany (Heuser). Document databases generally are not very well suited for conducting complex searches; many aspects of name research, however, pose questions that produce complex searches with respect to the involved database engine.

```
placeRefNo: 12345
      VIAF ID: 137138173
      Coordinates: E131.873529_N043.105620
      Name Information 1:
            spelling 1:
                  name: Vladivostok
                  language: en
                  language: fr
            spelling 2:
                  name: Владивосток
                  language: ru
                  language: ua
            spelling 3:
                  name: 符拉迪沃斯托克
                  language: zh
            etymology: Russian-"rule the East"
      Name Information 2:
            spelling 1:
                  name: 海參崴
                  language: zh
            spelling 2:
                  name: Hǎishēnwǎi
            etymology: Chinese-"Sea-cucumber cliffs"

placeRefNo: 123
      VIAF ID: 168830626
.........
```

Figure 1. Information as stored in a document database in a structured document

Another model for storing information is based on the mathematical structures of graphs. A graph in general consists of nodes that are connected by edges. Any data item can now be represented by an individual node; its relationships to other items are represented by edges connecting this node to other nodes (cf. Figure 2). These relationships may be directional, i.e. they can be found only by starting on one side or non-directional, allowing movement along the edge starting from any side. An example of a graph store used to store information on objects of cultural heritage is given by Schering et al. (2007).

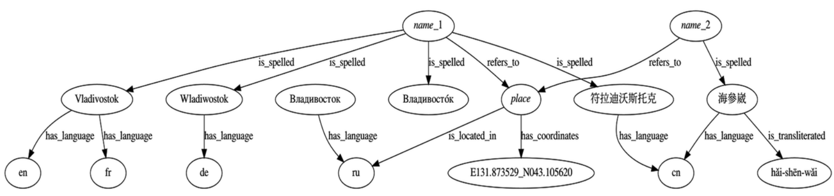

Figure 2. Information represented as a mathematical graph

Widespread use of this model is made in the context of the semantic web since the structure of the World Wide Web mostly consists of nodes connected to each other by hyperlinks. The formalism that is widely used for this kind of data is given by the resource description framework, RDF (W3C 2004). Each RDF statement consists of a subject, a predicate and an object; these can be represented by two nodes and a connecting edge. Combining many of these "triples" generates a mathematical graph. Several software solutions are available to store and query these RDF triples. An RDF store has been used recently to store a catalogue of freely available scientific figures from internet resources (Charbonnier et al. 2018)

All the major database models described above have been used for storing information on names. Most of these applications were created having in mind the needs of a single or very few research projects. Pertaining to finding a general storage method for any information conveyed by or contained in names, none has yet proved sufficient. Since flexibility on one hand correlates to complexity of the system on the other hand, an optimal solution for storing information in names catalogue is thus still open.

Conclusion

Names carry information, i.e. relationships to data items, in two distinctive ways: firstly, there is their sign nature – any name constitutes a key to an individual or group and, consequently, properties thereof. Secondly, names constitute linguistic items in their own right; as such, they are related to linguistic properties of their own – the main subjects of any onomastic investigation. These linguistic properties must be regarded independently of the sign nature of the name (even if there might have been a connection when the name was first given). It must be noted that the sign nature of a name is also independent of the expression of that name in speech or writing. Thus, the concept of an abstract name is introduced as an entity that carries a) the sign nature of the name, b) linguistic (or rather: onomastic) properties and c) relationships to various spellings of this abstract name. There can of course be several abstract names relating to the same referent; each abstract name should be classified by the linguistic properties it carries.

Names can be used as a key in a catalog similar to book titles and author names in a library catalogue. In the same way that library catalogues can be searched for by keywords or subjects, a names catalogue can be searched for linguistic keywords and subjects if these are recorded. The difference is that in a names catalogue names are used as keys to their own onomastic properties, not (only) as keys to the properties of their referents as is the case with entries in a bibliographic catalogue. Thus, the name as a key may direct not only to references "outside the database", but to properties included in the database as well. So the kind of search in a names catalog is different from searching, e.g., for places signified by a certain name in a place-names book or a geographical database.

In order to store information about names, the concept of abstract names should be applied. This avoids confusion between the name as a sign, the name as a linguistic item and the spelling in a given language or environment. Many attempts for storing names have failed due to this confusion.

It is possible to store names and the information they contain in all known kinds of database systems. Due to the complex and diverse nature of the information contained in names, a graph-based approach seems to be the most efficient but also the most costly way. So the optimal solution for storage of information in names has not yet been identified.

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Valts Ernštreits

Latvian Place Names Based on Calques from Livonian

This article discusses place names in Latvian formed as calques from Livonian. These place names are found not only in northern Courland (Kurzeme) – the last area of compact Livonian habitation – but also in all historically Livonian-inhabited territories across Latvia. Until relatively recently, the Livonians inhabited large parts of Vidzeme and Courland. As the Livonians gradually assimilated into the Latvians, Latvian came to be the dominant language in these regions, and the original Livonian place names began to be adjusted in response to the new language situation. They either became part of the Latvian place name system or were replaced with Latvian place names; however, some of these Latvian place names are calques from Livonian. Since knowledge of Livonian would have been necessary for the formation of these calques, the period when these place names were formed may also show when knowledge of Livonian still existed in particular areas. The meagre amount of extant Livonian place name data is the greatest challenge facing identification of calque-based place names. Most existing data is associated with the Livonian fishing villages of Courland and the area surrounding Svētciems in Vidzeme. Calques in Courland include the village names of Melnsils (*Mustānum* < *mustā* 'black' (lv *melns*) + *num* 'heather' (lv *sils*)) and *Jaunciems* = *Ūžkilā* (< *ūž* 'new' (lv *jauns*) + *kilā* 'village' (lv *ciems*)), and, in Vidzeme, river name *Svētupe* (LiS *Püog* < *püa* 'holy' (lv *svēts*) + *joug* ~ *jōk* ~ *jouk* 'river' (lv *upe*)). On the northern Courland coast, calque-based microtoponyms have also been documented, e.g., *Kanniztsūo* 'Pussy-willow Bog' (lv *Pūpoliņu purvs*), *Karnõdmä'g* 'Crow Hill' (lv *Vārnu kalns*), and others. Calque-based place names are also found elsewhere in historically Livonian territories. Original place names or their elements can still be identified in place names in these regions or in historical sources, e.g., *Nurmuiža* and *Nurme* Church (<*nurm* 'field' (lv *lauks*)) in present-day Lauciene in Courland; the Ķilupe River (< *kilā* 'village' (lv *ciems*)) flows through the village of Ciemupe in Vidzeme; and the earlier German name of Liepupe – *Pernigel* – was shortened from *Pernigogel* (1372) ~ *Perneyogel* (1490) (< LiS *pārn* ~ *päern* 'linden' (lv *liepa*) + *joug* 'river' (lv *upe*)). Some calque-based place names are more difficult to detect, e.g., the present-day name of Aizkraukle may be a translation of the name of the Karikste River – possibly a reduced form of Livonian *kārnaz* 'raven' or an undocumented variant in the Daugava

Livonian dialect. Another possible example of calque-based place names in Latvia are those containing the prefix *pār-*, which may be calques from Livonian or variants of other Finnic languages historically spoken in Latvia. Forms corresponding to the prefix *pār-* 'over' (ee *üle-*, fi *yli-*) are common in Finnic place names and identify places, which are located beyond an obstacle (ee *Ülejõe*, *Ülenurme*, *Ülemäe*; fi *Yli-Ii*, *Yli-Nissi*, *Yli-Maaria*, and others). The study of calque-based place names from Livonian is important not only from the perspective of better understanding place names, but also because they have cultural historical value.

Keywords

Livonian, calques, onomastics, area,
place names, language contact

Introduction

Up until relatively recently, the Livonians inhabited extensive territories across Vidzeme and Courland. As the Livonians adopted Latvian and Latvian gradually became the dominant language in this territory, Livonian place names were, at first, adapted to the new language situation and then incorporated into the Latvian place name system.

In Vidzeme, where language shift appears to have occurred more rapidly, Livonian place names largely maintained their original Livonian form and were only adapted to Latvian phonetically. In Courland, however, it seems language shift occurred gradually and processes associated with bilingualism were already underway prior to the appearance of Latvian. The Livonians lived in long-term contact with the Curonians (Vaba 2014: 174) and, as a result, place name adaptation was a gradual process. In many cases, two parallel place name systems developed – Livonian and Curonian – and later also a Latvian place name system. Therefore, the smaller number of Livonian place names in Courland (and in individual cases also in the historic Vidzeme Livonian territories) can create the incorrect impression that Livonian-origin place names form either a recent stratum or only occur sporadically in the otherwise Baltic place name landscape of Courland.

This article examines some examples of the effects of language shift on Latvian place names. Latvian place names from Courland and Vidzeme – which likely formed as calques from Livonian and are evidence of the existence of Livonian language knowledge in these areas – are used for this purpose. This kind of language knowledge is a prerequisite for using calques to create place names. The goal of this article is to provide an insight into the diversity of such calques in the Latvian place name landscape.

Several methods were used to identify calques – Livonian place name correspondences in Latvian; the presence of Livonian-origin place names in a given area, which match the semantics of a particular Latvian place name; and also the historical Livonian forms of particular Latvian place names, which have been preserved in documents or in German place names. Sources included lexicographic publications (LELD, SLW) and onomastics collections (BHO), databases (VVD), and cartographic materials (BM, LGIA)[1].

1. Calques in the most recent Livonian language speech area

A greater difficulty in identifying place names formed from calques is posed by the meagre amount of documented material on place names in Livonian, which is primarily sourced from the territories inhabited by Livonian speakers in the 19th century – the northern Courland Livonian fishing villages (i.e., the Livonian Coast) and the area near Svētciems in Vidzeme. The primary sources for Livonian place names are a number of different dictionaries (Courland: SjW, LW, LELD; Vidzeme: SLW). The greatest number of Livonian place names – a total of 185 place names – is found in the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian Dictionary (LELD) published in 2012.

Recently, as part of the Fundamental and Applied Research Programme project "Documenting and mapping Livonian place names and creating an official place name register", work has begun on the creation of a Livonian place name register. This resource will be a significant contribution to Livonian place name research, but the results of this work will only come in a few years' time. Existing publications and databases, however, already provide insight into the wealth of such place names in those Livonian-inhabited territories where the Livonian forms of place names were documented.

Calques can be found among the most important place names in these territories, for example, village names in Courland – liC *Mustānum* ~ lv *Melnsils* (< liC *mustā* 'black' (lv *melns*) + *num* 'heather' (lv *sils*)) and liC *Užkilā* ~ lv *Jaunciems* (liC < ūž 'new' (*lv jauns*) + *kilā* 'village' (lv *ciems*)), and place names in Vidzeme such as – liS *Püog* ~ lv *Svētupe* (< liS *püa* 'holy' (lv *svēts*) + *joug* 'river' (lv *upe*)).

1 In this study, if not otherwise indicated, the source for Latvian place names is the Latvian Geospatial Information Agency Place Name Database (VVD) and for Livonian place names it is the LELD (Courland) and SLW (Vidzeme).

On the Livonian Coast, thanks to significantly more extensive Livonian language sources, the widespread use of calques in forming microtoponyms can also be seen. For example, liC *Kanniztsūo* ~ lv *Pūpoliņu purvs* 'Pussy-willow Bog' (< liC *kanni* 'pussy-willow' (lv *pūpoliņš*) + *sūo* 'bog' (lv *purvs*)), liC *Karnõdmä'g* ~ lv *Vārnu kalns* 'Crow Hill' (< liC *kārnaz* 'crow' (*lv vārna*) + *mäg* 'hill' (lv *kalns*)), liC *Kēņigtarā ūrga* ~ lv *Ķēniņdārza strauts* 'King's Garden Stream' (< liC *kēņig* 'king' (lv ķēniņš) + *ūrga* 'stream' (lv *strauts*)), liC *Kukīļmä'g* ~ lv *Kukuļkalns* 'Loaf Hill' (< liC *kukīļ* 'loaf' (lv *kukulis*) + *mäg* 'hill' (lv *kalns*)); liC *Põdrõmä'g* ~ lv *Briežkalns* 'Stag Hill' (< liC *põddõrz* 'stag' (lv *briedis*) + *mäg* 'hill' (lv *kalns*)), liC *Rabādsūo* ~ lv *Drabiņpurvs* 'Dregs Bog' (< liC *rabād* 'dregs' (lv *drabiņas*) + *sūo* 'bog' (lv *purvs*)), liC *Sūrmõtsād jo'ug* ~ lv *Dižmeža strauts* 'Great Forest Stream' (< liC *sūr* 'large, great' (lv *dižs*) + *mõtsā* 'forest' (lv *mežs*) + *joug* 'river' (lv *upe*)), liC *Tubāmägūd* ~ lv *Istabkalni* 'House Hills' (< liC *tubā* 'room, residential building' (lv *istaba*) + *mäg* 'hill' (lv *kalns*)), liC *Ūžgrǭv* ~ lv *Jaunais grāvis* 'New Ditch' (< liC *ūž* 'new' (lv *jauns*) + *grǭv* 'ditch' (lv *grāvis*)).

2. Calques in other historically Livonian-inhabited territories

Place names formed from calques are also found elsewhere in territories historically inhabited by the Livonians, but where use of Livonian ended earlier. In such cases, earlier Livonian place names or their elements can still be recognised in other place names used in the immediate area or found in historical written records.

In Courland, the most well-known of these names is village name *Lauciene* (< lv *lauks* 'field') near Talsi. This name also served as the inspiration for the research behind this article as well as for identifying place name calques. The names *Nurmes baznīca* 'Nurme Church' (<liC *nurm* 'field'; cf. ee pn *Nurme*) and *Nurmuiža* (< liC *nurm* 'field' + *mȯizõ* 'manor') – located in the centre of Lauciene – show clear semantic parallels with Livonian. A similar calque is found on the right shore of Lake Engure where alongside the place name *Kārklājs* (a part of the lake; lit. 'osiery') one finds the place name *Lepstlīkums* (a bay in Lake Engure; < liC *lepšt* 'osiery' + lv *līkums* 'bend'), the homestead *Lepstes*, and also a part of the lake referred to as *Lepsts* (BS).

Calques can also be found in all of the regions in Vidzeme historically inhabited by the Livonians. For example, in the historical Daugava

Livonian region near Ogre, there is a community named *Ciemupe* (< lv *ciems* 'village'+ *upe* 'river'), through which flows the *Ķilupe* River. This river name appears to echo the original Livonian name (< liS *ķula* ~ liC *kilā* 'village'+ lv *upe* 'river').

In the historically Livonian Metsepole region on the northern Vidzeme coast, there is a community named *Liepupe* (< *lv liepa* 'linden' + *upe* 'river'). Its German name *Pernigel* (BHO: 461) appears to be a shortened form of the earlier *Pernigogel* (1372) ~ *Perneyogel* (1490), which clearly shows its Livonian origins (< liS *pārn* ~ *päern* 'linden' + *joug* 'river'). Therefore, the Latvian name completely corresponds in its semantics to the original Livonian name of this location.

In the historical Gauja Livonian region near Krimulda, *Jērkules ezers* 'Lake Jērkule' (also *Erkules ezers* and *Ierkules ezers*; < liS *järu* ~ liC *jōra* 'lake' + liS *ķula* ~ liC *kilā* 'village'; cf. ee pn *Järveküla*), which took its name from a nearby community as is clearly evidenced by the semantics of its name (i.e., *Ezerciema ezers* 'Lake-village Lake'). A reference to this community can be found less than two kilometres to the north in the place name *Ezerciema skola* 'Ezerciems school' (< *lv ezers* 'lake' + *ciems* 'village'; currently uninhabited; BM), which earlier was called *Jērkules skola* 'Jērkule school' (BM, historical layer). The name of *Ērkules ezers* 'Lake Ērkule', located near Basi in Courland, may have a similar origin (BM). Two nearby homesteads have the names *Ērkules* (in earlier maps – *Ērkuļi;* BM, historical layer) and *Ezernieki*.

3. The place name *Aizkraukle* as a possible calque from Livonian

Calques can also be significantly more difficult to detect. Convincing examples of calques can only be identified if the semantics of both languages involved in the formation of the calque are equally well understood. However, if clear indicators regarding the existence of a calque are not present, it is possible to make other conjectures based on deep analysis of place name etymology.

One example of this could be the present-day name of Aizkraukle (until 1991 this town, which was built to serve the needs of the Pļaviņas Hydroelectric Power Station, was called Stučka). It originates from the name of Aizkraukle manor, as well as the names of a church and hillfort, associated with a Daugava tributary called the *Kraukle* or *Kraukļupīte* (< lv *aiz* 'beyond, behind' + *kraukle*; Balode, Bušs 2016: 147).

The form of this place name points to a semantic link with a feminine noun, most likely a river. Kraukļupīte is actually just a kilometre-long stream that flows into the Daugava approximately one kilometre to the west of the Aizkraukle hillfort and is unlikely to have been a geographically significant enough boundary marker to have been used as a reference in the name of an entire region or inhabited locality, especially one containing a string of other significant landmarks (it should be noted that the Aizkraukle area historically has been considered a point of contact between Livonian and ancient Latgalian inhabited lands). In addition, these landmarks (including the Aizkraukle hillfort, church, castle ruins, manor, etc.) are located at a distance from the Kraukļupīte, in a line along the Daugava to the east, and the area where they are found is intersected by two other more significant waterways.

The name of the *Ašķeres upe* 'Ašķere River', which flows right along the Aizkraukle hillfort, shows parallels with the historical German name for Aizkraukle (*Ascheraden*; BHO: 37), while to the east is the even more geographically significant *Karikstes upe* 'Karikste River' (also *Karakste*, *Kārikste*, *Kāriekste*), which creates a true physical boundary in the Daugava Valley and is located near the Aizkraukle castle ruins, manor, church, and cemetery.

The name of the *Karikste River* and especially the variants of the name with the first vowel lengthened (*Kārikste*, *Kāriekste*) lead one to consider a Livonian origin, as these could be connected with a reduced form of liC *kārnaz* 'raven' (ee *kaaren*, fi *kaarne*, cf. lv *krauklis* 'raven') or a variant in the ancient Daugava Livonian dialect (cf. liC *varīkš* 'crow', ee *vares*, fi *varis*), which may have formed the basis for later calquing and the resulting present-day place name *Aizkraukle*, i.e., as a reference to a place located across the river *Karikste* (or *Kraukle*) and the beginning of a territory inhabited by a different group (the identity of this group depends on whether one is looking from the perspective of the ancient Latgalians or the Daugava Livonians).

4. Semantically calqued place names

Place names formed in one language according to the principles of another language could also be considered calques of a sort. A good example of this process are place names in Latvian, whose semantics point to a location across or beyond an obstacle. Two prefixes with different semantics are primarily used for this purpose in Latvian place names. The most widespread is the prefix *aiz-* 'beyond, behind' (in the aforementioned *Aizkraukle*, *Aizkalni*, *Aizpļavas*, *Aizpori*, *Aizvalki*, etc.); however, the prefix *pār-* 'over' is also used (Balode, Bušs 2016: 147, 148; e.g., *Pārdaugava*, *Pārgauja*, *Pārventa*, *Pārabava*, *Pārogre*, *Pārolaine*, also *Pārupe*, *Pārupi*, *Pārupji*, *Pārkalne*, etc.). According to VVD data, the prefix *aiz-* is dominant across the entire territory of Latvia (655 place names), while the prefix *pār-* (57 place names) is used considerably less and over a limited area, primarily near rivers.

Examining the semantics of prefixes used in forming place names in other languages in the region, it is clear that in the Baltic and nearby Slavic languages, forms corresponding semantically to *aiz-* 'beyond, behind' are used – Lithuanian *už-* (*Užupis*, *Užneris*), Russian and Belarusian *за-* (Russian *Заречье*, Belarusian *Задзвінне*). However, the forms corresponding semantically to the prefix *pār-* 'over' (ee *üle-*, fi *yli-*; de *ober-*) are extensively represented in place names in the Finnic languages (ee *Ülejõe*, *Ülenurme*, *Ülemäe*; fi *Yli-Ii*, *Yli-Nissi*, *Yli-Maaria*, etc.) as well as those in German, also in the Baltic region (*de Oberdüna* 'Pārdaugava', *Oberpahlen* 'Põltsamaa').

This suggests that place names containing the prefix *aiz-* are formed according the principles of the Baltic languages, while the less common place names containing the prefix *pār-* are found in areas where Latvia's Finnic languages have historically been spoken or are associated with German.

Figure 1. The distribution of place names formed using the prefix *pār-*. Data: VVD

Examining the distribution of place names containing the prefix *pār-* (see Image 1), it can be seen that these are primarily found in northern Courland, Vidzeme, and Zemgale. In southern Courland these place names are almost completely absent, but in Latgale and Sēlija they occur only sporadically – some of these place names likely formed more recently with the arrival of inhabitants of other regions, which is evidenced by the use of a form of the prefix (i.e., *pār-*) not characteristic of the High Latvian dialect. A relatively large concentration of such place names can be seen in Zemgale. This, however, could have two different additional reasons – the large number of rivers, which serve as important landmarks in the flat Zemgale landscape and the movement of inhabitants of Vidzeme into Zemgale as a result of various historical circumstances.

The distribution of place names containing the prefix *pār-* generally corresponds to the territories historically inhabited by the speakers of various Finnic languages and their varieties, i.e., the historically Livonian-inhabited territories on both sides of the Gulf of Rīga and along major rivers; areas inhabited by the North Estonians, South Estonians, and Leivu in northern Latvia; the Krevin Votic speech area in Zemgale; and the area near Madona, which may have once been home to a Finnic-speaking group whose possible existence is evidenced by peculiarities in local Latvian sub-dialects as well as by Finnic-origin place names (e.g., *Liezēre*, *Līdēre*, *Gulbēris*, etc.).

The area in which the prefix *pār-* is used in place names, suggests that the use of this prefix in place name formation could be attributed to Finnic influence in Latvian. However, it remains an open question whether the origin of these place names should instead be connected with German in which similar forms are found (e.g., *Oberdüna* 'Pārdaugava').

The use of German as a model for such place names could explain the lack of place names containing *pār-* in Latgale, where the influence of German has historically been much weaker than in other parts of the Latvian speech area. Courland, however, has been administratively unified for the most part throughout its history and exposed to about the same amount of German-language influence across its entire territory. The distribution of this prefix across Courland shows some variation, i.e., the prefix is found in northern Courland and Zemgale, but not in southern Courland and Sēlija, which suggests that the distribution of place names containing the prefix *pār-* is not connected with German or the region in which it was historically dominant.

A notable exception, however, could be the names of districts in cities located across rivers (*Pārdaugava* in Rīga, *Pārlielupe* in Jelgava, *Pārventa* in Ventspils, *Pārgauja* in Valmiera, etc.). As German has historically had considerable influence in Latvia's cities, the German, rather than the Finnic, model could have been the basis for these place names – or a synergy between both models.

Conclusion

This study provides an introduction to the diversity of calques from Livonian found in the Latvian place name landscape. Along with calques from Livonian, many other place names have entered Latvian, which may at first glance seem completely Latvian. Therefore, an understanding of these place names and their distribution can provide a better understanding of the processes which have influenced Latvian and its spread as well as the nature of the language contacts Latvian has undergone. A better understanding of these calques can be similarly useful for Livonian.

A greater difficulty in identifying calques is posed by inadequate Livonian place name sources and insufficient access to existing resources. However, specifically thanks to calques, it becomes possible to reconstruct the original form of place names in Livonian. Additionally, place name research aided by calques can help expand our understanding of those Livonian forms, which are underdocumented or even undocumented (e.g., the Daugava or Gauja Livonian language).

A prerequisite for the formation of calques is knowledge of both languages involved in the calquing process. Thus, calques can be used as indicators of the range over which a language was spoken and make it possible to identify a concrete point on a map where a language – in this case, Livonian – was spoken to a sufficient enough extent that a place name developed there with a recognisable meaning suitable for calquing and that this place name was translated into another language. Additionally, dating the first appearance of a calque can also indicate the point in time when this process took place.

The study of sociolinguistic processes is another area where research into calques is useful. Determining the proportion of translated place names to borrowed place names in different language situations could provide useful insights into the language assimilation process, the effects of bilingualism on language, and other processes in ancient as well as modern times.

The study of place names formed through calquing requires considerable attention to detail, but is an extremely compelling and fascinating topic filled with surprises and one with broad, diverse applications. There is much work left in the study of Livonian calques in Latvian, much as there still remains much research to be done on place names borrowed from Livonian, in general. However, this work is worth the effort involved, as sometimes it is only when Latvian is viewed through the prism of Livonian, that it becomes possible to recognise and truly appreciate its uniqueness.

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Abbreviations

de – German, ee – Estonian, fi – Finnish, liC – Courland Livonian, liS – Salaca Livonian, lv – Latvian, pn – place name

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Martyna Gibka

The Functions of Characters' Proper Names in Feet of Clay by Terry Pratchett[1]

The aim of this article is to examine the functions of characters' proper names in *Feet of Clay* by Terry Pratchett. The novel is the third in the City Watch cycle and the paper is the third in a project devoted to the analysis of the whole series. The examination is based on the theory of two acts, an approach to the issue of functions of *nomina propria* in a novel which presupposes that an onym is a part of two wholes: the naming act and the act of using a proper name. On the basis of these two acts, two groups of functions are identified and defined (permanent and momentary). The ultimate goal of this study is not an analysis of this one particular novel and how it is influenced by the discussed functions, but putting the new literary onomastic theory to use and preparing material for comparative analyses of the functions in the original and those in translations into different languages. The aim of the whole project is to explore the nature of the functions and propose methods of translation that would preserve the functional stratum of onyms in translations of novels. The results of this study are used in another article to compare functions served by characters' proper names in *Feet of Clay* and the book's Polish translation.

Keywords

linguistics, onomastics, literary onomastics, functions, characters' proper names, Terry Pratchett, City Watch

1. Introduction

Feet of Clay is the third novel in the City Watch Cycle written by Terry Pratchett. The action takes place in Ankh-Morpork, the biggest city in the Discworld. The guards are trying to solve murders of two elderly men and the poisoning of the Patrician. As the story unravels, the reader meets

1 This paper is the third article in a series of works devoted to Terry Pratchett's City Watch cycle.

163 named characters referred to with 274 proper names. These appellations are the subject of study in this paper. The main aim is to analyse the secondary functions served by the onyms[2]. The examination is based on the theory of two acts (see Gibka 2018). This theory is rooted in the assumption that a proper name in a novel is a part of two bigger wholes, i.e. a part of the naming act and of the act of using a name. In this approach the concept of *function* is defined according to the etymology of the Latin word *function*: 'execution, performance, carrying out'[3] and *the function of a part* is understood as the role the part has in the working of the whole[4]. Therefore, *the function of a character's proper name in a novel* has been defined as the role it serves in relation to a given element of the naming act and as the role it serves in relation to a given element of the act of using a name (Gibka 2018: 45, 57-58). Functions identified on the basis of the naming act in the novel are not identical to those distinguished on the basis of the act of using the name in the novel. In order to facilitate the distinction between these functions, the first group of them was called permanent and the latter momentary. Hence, the article is divided into two parts which provide analyses of these two sets of functions.

2. Permanent functions

Permanent functions are understood as "roles served by the name in relation to given elements of the naming act in the novel" (Gibka 2016a: 374). They appear at the moment of naming and they do not depend on the circumstances in which the name is used.[5] In order to identify them and perform an analysis of characters' proper names in a novel, a model of the naming act in that novel needs to be prepared.

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2 Secondary functions are those which can, but do not have to be served by proper names. Apart from these functions, there is one which arises in every *nomen proprium*, i.e. the identifying-differential function. It is therefore called the primary function of proper names. This function will not be the subject of this study.

3 The definition comes from an online Latin-English dictionary available at www.online-latin-dictionary.com; accessed on 30.03.2019.

4 Such an understanding of the term function has its roots in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (Aristotle 2012).

5 A detailed study of permanent functions is presented in chapter II.1 in Gibka 2018.

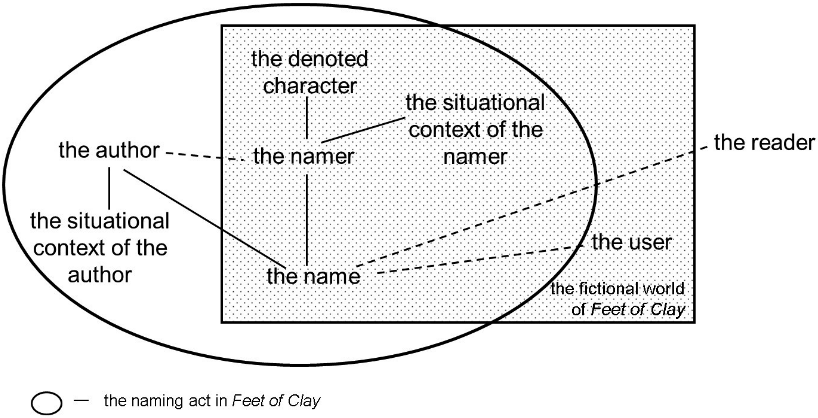

Figure 1. The model of the naming act in *Feet of Clay*[6]

An exemplary naming act in the novel "occurs in the following way: (1) the author creates a fictional figure, who due to his or her importance to the story and the social needs of communication has to have a proper name; (2) the author recognizes some motivational features (which can come from the situational context, the denoted character or the proper name itself); (3) the identified attributes become the incentive to name the denoted character – the author names the fictional figure. After the character is named, other characters in the created universe use the proprium, and finally, when the novel is published, the reader meets the name" (Gibka 2018: 45).

Characters' proper names in the analysed work serve permanent functions in relation to four elements of this act[7]. The name "is the linguistic sign given to an entity as its label" and the denoted character "is the entity that is being named and therefore distinguished from the background". Then, the namer is "the character who gives the name to another character", the category of the user "encompasses all the characters from the fictional world who use the name" (Gibka 2015: 84) and the reader refers to "every person from the real world who decides to acquaint him/herself with the literary work" (Gibka 2015: 84).

6 Compare the basic model of the naming act in a novel in Gibka 2018.

7 The naming act, all its elements and connections between these elements are discussed in detail in Gibka (2018).

2.1. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to the denoted character

In relation to the denoted character, characters' proper names in *Feet of Clay* serve three functions: semantic, sociological and conative. When a name "characterizes a fictional figure (…) according to the metaphoric or the literal meaning of the name" (Wilkoń 1970: 83), it serves the semantic function. In the analysed novel, there are twenty-six such names. Some of them refer to a characteristic of behaviour of the denoted figure, for example *Visit-The-Infidel-With-Explanatory-Pamphlets* or *The Grim Squeaker* (*the Death of Rats*)[8]. The first of these two onyms denotes a man who has "a strenuous and indefatigable approach to spreading the Word" and spends "his days off in company with his co-religionist Smite-The-Unbeliever-With-Cunning-Arguments, ringing doorbells and causing people to hide behind the furniture everywhere in the city" (Pratchett 1997: 66). The latter appellation denotes a supernatural entity who guides dead rodents to the next world. It communicates everything using only a one-syllable word 'squeak'. Another onym refers to the character's main trait, but recorded phonetically: *Coffin Henry* (who is always coughing). Then, *Rudolph Potts* (*Mr Potts*) is the president of the Bakers' Guild and *Mr Slant* is a lawyer. Some of the names reflect one deed from the character's life: *Suffer-Not-Injustice Vimes* (who executed a king), *Colonel Shrapnel*, *M. Guillotin*, *Colonel Gatling* and *Sir William Blunt-Instrument* (who invented the weapons the names refer to). Next, two prominent figures have nicknames that point to them being werewolves: *Silvertail* and *Yellowfang*; and Sam Vimes is named with his ancestor's nickname – *Stoneface* – because exactly as Stoneface, Sam opposes monarchy in Ankh-Morpork. The last three characters whose names are meaningful are *Meshugah*, *Shmata* and *Rex*. The first is a crazy golem[9] also called *Arsenic Monster* which not only points to the monstrosity of his acts, but also to the substance that covers his body. The second works at a tailor's[10] and *Rex* is a name Dragon

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8 The remaining names which were classified into this group are: *Great A'Tuin, Death*, *Mr Runs Swiftly Through The Trees*, *Mr Talks To The Forest*, *Man Trouble*, *the Duck Man*, *Foul Ole Ron*, *Arsenic* and *Wee Mad Arthur* ('*Wee Mad' Arthur, Mr Wee Mad Arthur*).

9 Compare https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/meshuga; accessed on 07.01.2018.

10 See https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/shmata and https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=shmata; both accessed on 07.01.2018.

King of Arms gives to a possible future king ('rex' in Latin means 'king, monarch'[11]), who according to him might also be a dog (being a son of a man and a werewolf[12]).

Then, when a proper name "indicates the character's social, group or national affiliation" (Wilkoń 1970: 83) or "expresses (or suggests) the social inferiority or superiority of the character" (Kuffner-Obrzut 2003: 493), it serves the sociological function. In *Feet of Clay*, some character's names indicate the group affiliation, some the national affiliation and some the superiority of the denoted character. Firstly, the names of twenty-five characters point to their connections with different groups. The majority of the appellations show that their bearers belong to the City Watch, for instance *Captain Carrot*, *Sergeant Colon* and *Constable Downspout*[13]. These onyms are created from the surname of the guard and his rank in the Watch. Two other characters are clergymen: *Father Tubelcek* (*Fr. Tubelcek*), *Pastor Nasal Pedlers*, one belongs to the military: *General Tacticus*, three are heralds: *Croissant Rouge Pursuivant*, *Pardessus Chatain Pursuivant*, *Dragon King of Arms*, one is a doctor: *Dr James Folsom* and one is the head of a guild: *Dr Downey*.

In contrast to the large number of characters' proper names indicating the group affiliation, the nationality is showed by only three appellations: *Delphine Angua von Uberwald*, *Baron Guye von Uberwald* and *Littlebottom*. The first two reveal the characters' nationality straightforwardly and the last is met with Vimes's saying: "That means you're from the Uberwald mountain area" (Pratchett 1997: 31).

The third group of sociological proper names includes onyms of sixteen characters, all of which indicate social superiority of their bearers.

11 See https://www.online-latin-dictionary.com/latin-english-dictionary.php?lemma=REX100; accessed on 07.01.2018.

12 Compare the popular and classic names for dogs at https://www.cuteness.com/popular-dog-names and https://stories.barkpost.com/classic-dog-names/; both accessed on 27.12.2017.

13 This group of names includes also the following *nomina propria*: *Commander Sir Samuel Vimes* (also *Commander Vimes*, *Commander Sir Samuel Vimes, Ankh-Morpork City Guard*), *Corporal Nobbs* (*Corporal the Right Honourable the Earl of Ankh Nobby Nobbs*, *Corporal Lord de Nobbes*, *Corporal C. W. St J. Nobbs*, *Corporal the Rt. Hon. Lord C. W. St J. Nobbs*), *Constable Angua*, *Constable Visit*, *Corporal Littlebottom* (*Corporal Cheery Littlebottom*, *Corporal Smallbottom*, *Corporal Miss Littlebottom*), *Sergeant Detritus*, *Constable Flint*, *Constable Slapper*, *Constable Dorfl*, *Corporal Gimletsson*, *Constable Glodsnephew*, *Constable Moraine*, *Constable Lucker* and *Constable Thighbiter*.

This set can be exemplified by appellations such as *Lord Vetinari* or *King Lorenzo*[14]. The first shows that Vetinari is a member of the aristocracy and the latter that Lorenzo occupies the highest social position and rules over a kingdom.

Finally, "when the name provokes a reaction" (Gibka 2015: 87) of the character it denotes, it serves the conative function. In *Feet of Clay*, there is a watchman who reacts to his name. *Constable Visit* does not approve of being called such and corrects this appellation to his full name: Visit-The-Infidel-With-Explanatory-Pamphlets.

2.2. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to the namer

In this relation, the analysed appellations perform the expressive and the revealing functions. The first occurs when a character's proper name "voices the feelings or emotions (...) of the namer" (Gibka 2016a: 374). In *Feet of Clay*, there are two such onyms: *Mr Dwarf Weird Person* and *King of the Golden River*. They are given to Cheery Littlebottom and Wee Mad Arthur respectively. The first shows the feelings of Sydney, an imp inside an iconograph, who does not understand why Cheery wants him to draw very big pictures of someone's eye rather than of the whole person. The second reveals Arthur's feelings for himself: he has a very high self-esteem, especially with respect to some areas of the town, one of them being the Cockbill stream (the golden river).

The second role – the revealing function – has not been identified as a permanent one yet. Therefore, it needs a new definition. It emerges when a character's proper name discloses a piece of information about the namer. The analysed novel offers one such onym – *Rogers* – the name of a bull. The name shows that the bull thinks it is two bulls and the reason for this is "the huge obtrusive mass of his forehead (…) [and] two eyes each with their own non-overlapping hemispherical view of the world" (Pratchett 1997: 345).

14 Other names in this group are: *Commander Sir Samuel Vimes* (also *Sir Samuel*, *Sir Samuel Vimes*, *Commander Sir Samuel Vimes, Ankh-Morpork City Guard*), *Lady Sybil*, *Lady Selachii*, *Lord Rust*, *King Carrot I*, *King Nobbs* (also *Corporal the Right Honourable the Earl of Ankh Nobby Nobbs*, *Lord de Nobbes*, *Corporal Lord de Nobbes*, *Corporal the Rt. Hon. Lord C. W. St J. Nobbs*), , *Edward St John de Nobbes, Earl of Ankh*, *Baron Guye von Uberwald*, *Old Lord Snapcase* (also *Lord Snapcase*), *Lord Winder*, *King Isiahdanu*, *General Tacticus* and *Queen Molly*. Some of them show the person's position generally in society, while others in different organizations, such as City Watch, the military or the guilds.

2.3. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to the user

Here, the examined onyms perform the humorous function, which occurs when a character's proper name amuses the user. There is one fictional figure in the examined novel, whose name serves this role: *Cheery Littlebottom* (also *Corporal Cheery Littlebottom*). It is laughed at by almost every character that the dwarf meets even though some, like for instance Vimes, try to hide it (see Pratchett 1997: 35).

2.4. Functions served by characters' proper names in relation to the reader

Finally, in relation to the reader, a part of the analysed material serves the humorous function.[15] Its actual emergence would require a study of individual readers, thus another method of its study has been proposed. Gibka and Rutkowski proposed a typology of humorous names (in relation to the reader), which includes five categories: names which are common nouns undergone onymization, the same names used in contexts which increase the probability of humorous reception, onyms created from (or including) non-neutral common nouns (for instance, words that belong to the semantic fields like human anatomy, scatology, or procreation), appellations that depreciate their bearers, and lastly clusters of names that belong to the previous groups (2015: 169-182).

As the article in which this classification was proposed aimed also at a detailed analysis of the five groups of humorous proper names in *Feet of Clay* and its Polish translation, only some examples of these *nomina propria* will be included here. The name *Carrot* exemplifies the first group (also the most numerous) which however has also the smallest possibility of the reader's humorous interpretation. *Ironcrust* (a bakery owner) and *Mrs Slipdry* (a midwife) belong to the second category, while *Fred Colon* and *Littlebottom* to the third ('colon' – "the part of the large intestine that extends from the cecum to the rectum",[16] 'bottom' – "buttocks"[17]). The last two groups could be illustrated by the names *Wee Mad Arthur* ('mad' –

15 For the linguistic humour stemming from incongruities see Veatch 1998 and for the first application of this theory to proper names see Rutkowski 2016.

16 The definition quoted from: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colon; accessed on 20.10.2018.

17 The definition quoted from: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bottom; accessed on 20.10.2018.

“arising from, indicative of, or marked by mental disorder”[18]) and *Dire Fortune* (a race horse) respectively.

3. Momentary functions

The second group of functions which can be served by characters’ proper names in a novel is called momentary. As opposed to the permanent functions, the momentary ones do not appear at the moment of naming and are not served regardless of the circumstances of use. They appear at the time of a particular use of the name and are often dependent on the circumstances in which the use occurs. Therefore, in order to identify these functions, a model of the act of using a character’s proper name in *Feet of Clay* needs to be created.

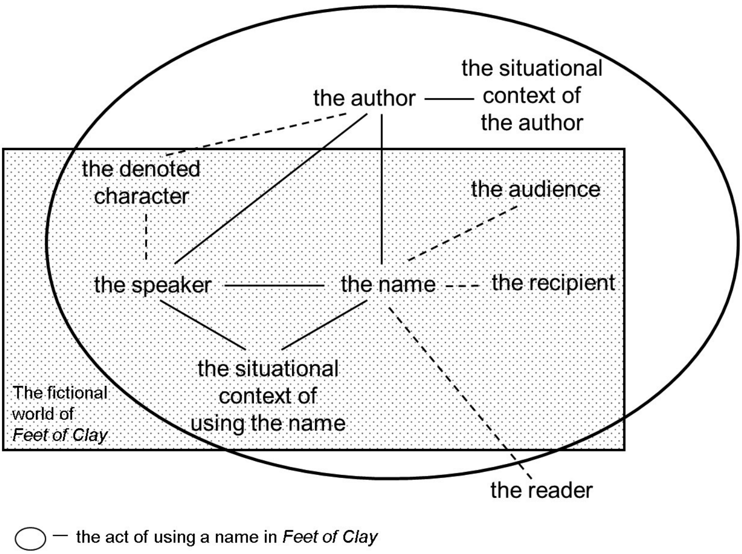

Figure 2. The model of the act of using a character’s proper name in *Feet of Clay*[19]

The act of using a character’s onym can be described as follows: “(1) according to the author’s will, a character wants to address another fictional figure or refer to him/her; (2) with (dis)regard to the circum-

18 The definition quoted from: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mad; 20.10.2018.

19 Compare the basic act of using a proper name in a novel in Gibka 2018.

stances of the situation, the character chooses the name he/she will use; (3) the character utters the chosen name (thus becoming the speaker) – the name is heard by the characters present (the recipient, the audience and the denoted character). When reading the scene, the reader witnesses the act" (Gibka 2018: 57).

The examined onymic material performs momentary functions in relation to five elements of the act presented above[20]. The term name refers to the onym that is used, the speaker is the fictional figure who uses it, the denoted character refers to the entity who bears the name, the recipient is the addressee of the utterance and the audience are all characters (apart from the recipient) who witness the act (compare section II.2.1 in Gibka 2018).

3.1. Functions served by the name in relation to the speaker

In relation to the speaker, characters' proper names in *Feet of Clay* serve the expressive, revealing and conative functions. The first emerges when a name "voices the feelings or emotions of the fictional figure who uses it" (Gibka 2016a: 377). There are three such situations in which the names *Nobby Nobbs*, *Corporal Miss Littlebottom* and *Old Stoneface* are used respectively. *Nobby Nobbs* which in itself is not an expressive name is used by Queen Molly with surprise and disbelief (Pratchett 1997: 229). Then, Captain Carrot uses the name *Corporal Miss Littlebottom* showing his prejudice against women in the City Watch (Pratchett 1997: 413). Finally, Dragon King of Arms utters the onym *Old Stoneface* with contempt (Pratchett 1997: 52).

Next, when a character's proper name discloses a piece of information about the speaker, the name serves the revealing function. When Detritus writes his name *DTRiTUS*, the appellation points to the troll's low intelligence while he is not in cold mountains as well as his literacy skills (Pratchett 1997: 38). Then, Mrs Gammage calls someone in a pub *Charlie*, even though the person is somebody else. This indicates the consequences she suffers from as a result of old age (Pratchett 1997: 124).

Lastly, the conative role is performed "by characters' names whose individual uses provoke reactions [of the speaker] or cause [him/her to undertake] actions" (Gibka 2016b: 100). *Feet of Clay* offers one such

20 Similarly to the naming act, the act of using a proper name in a novel, its elements, the process of its creation and connections between individual elements are explained, analysed and discussed in Gibka (2018).

utterance of a name; when Detritus says *Littlebottom*, he immediately comments on it: "Dat's an int'restin' name" (Pratchett 1997: 36).

3.2. Functions served by the name in relation to the denoted character

In this relation, the analysed proper names serve the semantic, conative and camouflaging functions. The first is very similar to its permanent equivalent, the only difference being the moment of its emergence and duration. The momentary semantic function does not appear at the moment of naming, but at the moment of a use of an onym. There are two characters' names that serve this role: *Nobby* and *Constable Lucker*. *Feet of Clay* is the third novel of the City Watch cycle, but only in it, *Nobby* can be described with the adjective "nobby" (see for instance Pratchett 1997: 173, 177). This word "comes from the noun "nob," which is used in British English to mean "one in a superior position in life""[21]. As guild leaders try to reinstate monarchy, they need a pawn through whom they could rule the city. They choose Nobby Nobbs and in order to make him a king, they fabricate his lineage so that everybody believes Nobby is a member of the nobility. Then, *Constable Lucker* has luck once, when Vimes gives him very expensive shoes, no ordinary watchman can afford. Vimes could have as easily given them to any other guard (Pratchett 1997: 147).

The conative function in this relation is analogous to the one served to the speaker, with the difference being that it is the denoted character who reacts. Two characters react to their names. *Cheery* (*Cheery Littlebottom*) dislikes her name so much that she changes it to Cheri and *Wee Mad Arthur* corrects Sergeant Colon saying: "That's *Mr* Wee Mad Arthur to youse, copper" (Pratchett 1997: 250).

Finally, the camouflaging function is performed by characters' proper names which conceal the identity of the fictional figures they denote or some information about these figures. The examined novel offers one such onym: *Cheery* (also in *Cheery Littlebottom* and *Corporal Cheery Littlebottom*). It hides the gender of the dwarf who bears it. It is possible because both male and female dwarfs have beards, therefore it is very difficult to determine their gender by appearance.

3.3. Functions served by the name in relation to itself

"[N]ames whose internal organisation is of an exceptional kind, which attracts attention to the name's linguistic form in the first instance"

21 Cited from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nobby; 31.05.2019.

(Rutkowski 2001: 100-101) serve the poetic function. *Feet of Clay* includes one onym like this – *B'hrian Bloodaxe*. The alliteration in this name attracts the reader's attention in the phrase "the Battle Bread of B'hrian Bloodaxe" (Pratchett 1997: 62) as in this particular use the device is emphasised.

3.4. Functions served by the name in relation to the recipient

Exactly as in relations to the speaker and denoted character, the conative function is also served in relation to the recipient. Nine fictional figures who are the addressees of used characters' proper names react to them. The most common reaction is asking a question connected with the appellation. This happens with the names *Hopkinson* (Pratchett 1997: 61), *Lucinda Littlebottom* (Pratchett 1997: 246), *Croissant Rouge Pursuivant* (Pratchett 1997: 44), *Dragon King of Arms* (Pratchett 1997: 49) and *Mr Dorfl* (Pratchett 1997: 133). Then, the uses of two onyms: *Cheery* and *Cheri* are met with comments from the recipients (Pratchett 1997: 31 and 246 respectively). Finally, two names: *Visit-The-Infidel-With-Explanatory-Pamphlets* and *Stronginthearm* are met with undertaking actions (Pratchett 1997: 66 and 198 respectively).

When a name used discloses some information about the recipient it serves the revealing function in this relation. In *Feet of Clay*, there is one such situation: when *Littlebottom* introduces herself to Vimes, the Commander responds with a brief analysis of this surname and places of birth of those who bear it (Pratchett 1997: 31).

3.5. Functions served by the name in relation to the audience

Finally, the conative function occurs also in this relation. It emerges when Detritus reacts to a conversation he hears:

A constable arrived at the bottom of the stairs. 'Is there someone up there called' – there was a muffled snigger – 'Cheery Littlebottom?'

'Yes,' said Littlebottom gloomily.

'Well, Commander Vimes says you've to come to the Patrician's palace right now, all right?'

'Dat's *Corporal* Littlebottom you're talkin' to,' said Detritus (Pratchett 1997: 83-84).

4. Closing remarks

The analysis of functions served by characters' proper names in *Feet of Clay* showed that apart from their primary role, i.e. "to identify (in the literary work to create and identify) an entity and to differentiate it from other similar entities" (Kosyl 1992: 50), some of the onyms serve other functions. The studied appellations were shown to perform not only permanent, but also momentary functions. This means that examining only one group of these functions would result in an incomplete analysis. Characters' proper names in *Feet of Clay* serve seven (variants of) permanent roles and ten momentary ones. Therefore, the number of functions does not continue to get bigger with every novel of the City Watch series (in the first part 9 permanent and 5 momentary functions are performed and in the second 9 permanent and 13 momentary). However, this is not a mistake or negligence of the author, as this number does not need to increase. This tendency was only shown by the first two parts. It would have been difficult to maintain it for eight novels and might have resulted in an oversaturation of the story with onymic functions. Another result of this study is the identification of a new permanent function – the revealing role served in relation to the namer. Hitherto this function has been recognized as served only momentarily.

What is more, similarly to the two previously analysed books (*Guards! Guards!* and *Men at Arms*), the number of onyms serving individual functions varies greatly. Some of them, like, for instance, the permanent revealing function in relation to the namer and the momentary conative function in relation to the speaker and to the audience, are performed by only one appellation each. On the other hand, the permanent semantic function in relation to the denoted character is served by thirty characters' proper names and the sociological role in the same relation by sixty-one onyms. It does not however mean that functions served by only one *nomen proprium* could be disregarded. They contribute to the diversity of the onymic effects in the novel and might, for some readers, be even more important than functions served by great numbers of names.

Last but not least, as the theory of two acts allowed successful analyses of functions served by characters' proper names in *Guards! Guards!*, *Straż! Straż!*, *Men at Arms* and *Zbrojni,*[22] it will continue to be used for the studies of the remaining novels of the City Watch cycle and their Polish translations.

22 The second and fourth novels are the Polish translations of the first and third respectively.

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Anna Elizabete Griķe

Tensions between House and Place Names: an Anthropological Case Study of Grāveri (Latvia)

House names in Latvia is a widespread phenomenon, which can be historically traced back to the 15th century. Latvian Land Reform of 1990 (PZR 1990) required naming each house in rural area thus promoting the *traditional* lifestyle and institutionalizing a common practice. Article's focus is the house naming system in a broader context in Grāveri parish, an area characterized by linguistic and ethnic diversity, where there was *no such prior tradition* of farmstead names. During fieldwork in spring 2017 I hoped to analyze the different aspects of these new given names but I found out prevalent their denial and ambiguous memories about the naming process. In the context of political confusions, it is said to be done in a Latvian manner half of the house names being issued from nature. As for the most of the other half, more visible on maps, appears the use of the historic local place names from nearby and surrounding regions, surnames and personal names thereby revealing the different layers of the local onomastic system. Moreover, it serves to protect local identity that once united people in a *sādža* (a hamlet of at least three houses), previously inhabited by tenth and hundreds, now having only some or none inhabited houses.

Nevertheless, the presumption that house names have a role in everyday life was only partly false within my own interpretation of this role. Actually, their denial and the use of the historic *sādža* names has a role in everyday life. There is an apocalyptic vision upon the surroundings due to an immense emigration characteristic to the contemporary Latvian rural areas (Dzenovska 2012). Above all, I argue that within the context of hybrid identities (Latour 1993) and mixing in religious and linguistic aspects, the idea of belonging to a larger group, namely, *sādža*, has not changed. Therefore, I support Frederic Barth's (1969) argument about more flexible social bordering between *ethnicity* and *ethnic image*: one identifies with an ethnicity, confessional belonging or language use, but almost all of the Grāveri inhabitants refer to *sādža* while talking about their geospatial provenance. It is the unifying element in the group of self-ascription.

Keywords

socioonomastics, Latgale, *sādža*,
house names, identity, resilience

Introduction

Latvia as a member of the European Union could be characterized as a global democracy; meanwhile, as a postsocial country it has to deal with several recent historical consequences, for instance, tensions within the language policy. In 1918, in the so-called Iskolat[1] Republic for the first time Latvian language acquired an official status next to German and Russian (Laganovskis 2012). During the Latvian SSR, the presence and use of Russian was intensified due to the russification policy. In 1989, Latvian language regained its status as the only official state's language, enforced in the Official Language Law in 1999 (VVL 1999). However, the rejected referendum in 2012 about Russian as second official state's language illustrates that the language debates in Latvia are still on-going: the districts situated in the south-east part of the Latvia demonstrated a higher percentage of voting for a second official language (CSK 2012).

This part of Latvia, as one of the four culturo-historical regions, is known as Latgale and is characterized by linguistic, religious and ethnic diversity (Tēraudkalns 2007). There cohabit Latvian, Russian, Latgalian, Polish, Belorussian and other languages next to such Christian denominations as Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians and Old Believers. It motivated the location choice for an anthropological investigation. Contextually, Latvian Land Reform of 1990 (PZR 1990) required naming each house in rural areas thus promoting the *traditional* lifestyle. I investigated the house naming system in a broader context in Grāveri parish, where there is *no such prior tradition* of farmstead names (e.g. Kursīte 2014: 177).

Figure 1. Inscription of the parish's name in Cyrillic near the lake Jazinks

1 From Russian *Исколат: Исполнительный комитет совета рабочих, солдатских и безземельных депутатов Латвии.*

Concentrating upon the existing tensions between house and place names, as well as between naming as a process of giving a particular name and then the utterance or the action of pronouncing it, reveals the relevance of onomastics within an anthropological investigation. Above all, I would argue that the non-utterance of the house names and reference to the *sādža* (a hamlet of at least three houses (LC.NĢI 2007: 16)) thus place names in the everyday language provides a unifying geospatial identity element for Grāveri inhabitants.

The paper is divided into three parts. Firstly, I expose the framework by presenting the context, the theoretical perspective that unites hybridization, ethnicity and identity; I analyze contested toponyms and present the methodology within an emphasis upon the ethical issues of the research. Secondly, through the Grāveri public spaces, namely, the local school and the different churches, appear both the historical context as well as strategies of protection of the community, which goes through an important decrease of the number of its inhabitants. Thirdly, I reveal how the naming system after the Latvian Land Reform of 1990[2] provides an insight in a unifying vision upon local geospatial identity of the inhabitants of the parish.

1. Research's framework

In the beginning of the research investigating on closer grounds the map of Grāveri parish my attention was drawn by some peculiarities. For example, Grāveri secondary school is named after the Metropolitan of Riga and Latvia Aleksandrs Kudrjašovs; hence, I wondered about the links with the nearby Orthodox Church. Then, there are three different churches in the area, namely, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Old Believer's, the first two having saint patrons, Saint John and Archangel Michael but as for the Old Believer prayer's house, their patron, Saint Nicholas, neither is mentioned nor is commonly known by the locals as I discovered afterwards. I classified, too, the house names according to their possible etymology: issued from nature (*Bitītes* – the bees), from a personal name (*Miķeļi* – Miķelis), from a surname (*Lipski*), from a *sādža* name (*Mateļi*) or being of particular kind (*Šerifi* – sheriffs). Several questions were raised: (1) how these houses, buildings or places got their names? (2) how are they used? (3) what kind (if!) religious or linguistic aspects are involved? During the

2 Actually, the naming took place in 1993 so people used to refer to this year instead of the year of the law itself.

first days in Grāveri, I knocked against a denial of these house names, as they existed only on maps and for official issues, so I changed the focus of research and started to investigate what stands behind this denial.

1.1. Hybridity, ethnicity and identity

Not willing to classify people, a sensible issue in Latvia where the ethnic is still pushed forward, I use the critique by the Norwegian anthropologist Frederic Barth (1969) against a sharp differentiation between ethnic bordering. Barth (1969: 10) states that "ethnic distictions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built." By following the thought while exploring how Gypsies trade stereotypes, Judith Okely (2005: 53) writes: "Ethnicity should be distinguished from ethnic identity. The first refers to the sense of difference and the image presented to the outsider and may be either repressed or elaborated. Ethnic identity rests on group self-ascription in theory and in practice." Asked by my informants about the location choice, I turned the attention to the presence of different churches in near distance that was indeed emphasized as characteristic to the locality, where lies a solid ground for a unifying element of a common identity.

> "It is a sign that people have lived peacefully here. They would have lived peacefully if someone would not have come and said that you are such or such according to ethnicity or religious belonging... because they all were united by labor, a hard peasant labor. What would we have to divide? Me, a Russian, an Old Believer, I am struggling as much as the Catholic."
>
> Ivans[3] (45)

Ethnicity and religion appeared among the informants mostly as a dichotomy: Catholics (sometimes, Latgalians or Latvians) and Russians (sometimes, Old Believers and Orthodox Christians). However, these markers were never put forward; it was more likely the mixing that was emphasized. To note that there is not a consequence towards the use of religion, language or ethnicity.

Therefore, I approach identity with French philosopher Bruno Latour's (1993: 41) analytical concept of hybridization, where he elucidates two forms of patterns, purification and deletion that allows to the hybrid to merge within the context. Spaces, like living or religious ones, are full of codes that are made, adjusted, maintained and erased by human beings themselves. Religious aspects provide great local examples of

3 Here and after: the names of the informants are changed.

hybridization. Not only people from different denominations get married, there are cases of a secret double baptism of their children and a variety of crosses in local Catholic, Orthodox Christian and Old Believer's cemeteries, where next to each other lie family members regardless their faith. In Grāveri Orthodox cemetery there is a grave of a Muslim woman who, after committing suicide in the neighboring parish, was not allowed to be buried elsewhere than here. What would Orthodox actually mean in this case of the local cemetery?

Figure 2. Graves in Grāveri Orthodox cemetery with different semiotic markers and alphabets

1.2. Contested toponyms

However, naming a cemetery as Grāveri Orthodox cemetery, having nearby Grāveri Orthodox Church and re-naming the school after the Metropolitan clearly indicates that the names are not only distinctive tools. It is quite the opposite; there is a triangulation between naming, place-making and power (Berg, Vuolteenaho 2009: 7). Within the existing power relations, the officially given-names are often contested by non-use of them or by use of another toponym. These attitudes vary among different groups of people. For instance, while analyzing attitudes to the street names in Vuosaari district in Helsinki, Finnish onomastiacian Terhi Ainiala (2016: 17-18) suggests that "since attitudes are linked to the construction and expression of identity, the relationship between attitudes and identities could also be considered". The present research frames identity in the context of a particular attitude, namely, the denial of the house names.

The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming (Hough 2016) separates dwelling names and distinguishes their functions indicating that "the function of such names is discussed, with a distinction made between the primary referential or denotative function, and various other functions which depend on the intentions of the individual house-owner" (Koopman 2016: 636). Onomastic research of historic sources in Latvia (Kovaļevska 2017, Kovaļevska 2018), Estonia (Alas 2015) and Finland (Lehikoinen 2005) mainly focus upon the linkage between toponyms and anthroponyms, indicating that they have evolved mutually and influenced each other in numerous ways.

In Grāveri parish these new house names nor have the function of denotation, neither of identification. They do not bare an obvious historical tradition and to the first sight indicate of a mismatch within the general onomastic system of house names in other parts of Latvia[4]. There are thirty-six *sādža* in Grāveri parish (LC.NĢI 2007:171-172); I have extracted two hundred and fifty-five house names from the map of Latvia provided by the Latvian Geospatial information agency. To illustrate the average situation, I have chosen Belogrudova *sādža*.

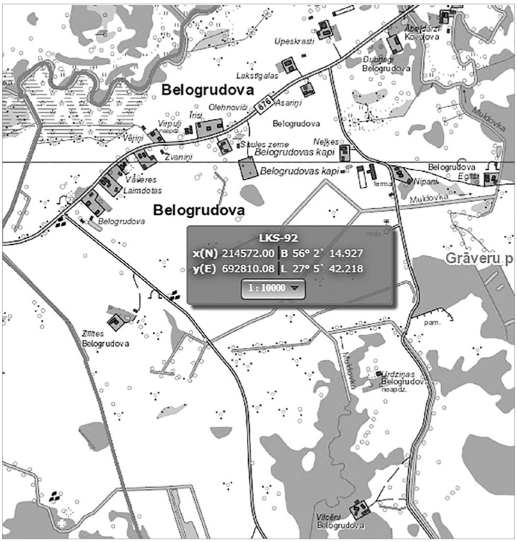

Figure 3. Map of Belogrudova *sādža* (from https://kartes.lgia.gov.lv/karte/)

4 J. Kursīte (2014: 172-173) indicates five most recurrent house naming patterns: from the surroundings, linked to ethnicity, to professional affiliation, to a personal trait or from a local event.

There are in total nineteen houses in Belogrudova sādža. The names of the houses are the following: *Vilcēni* (wolf cub), *Urdziņas* (rivelet), *Zīlītes* (tit), *Belogrudova* (from a *sādža* name), *Laimdotas* (from a personal name), *Vāveres* (squirrel), *Vējiņi* (wind), *Zvaniņi* (bell), *Virpuļi* (whirlwind), *Īrisi* (from a personal name or the flower, iris), *Saules zeme* (land of sun), *Olehnoviči* (from a surname), *Asariņi* (perch), *Lakstīgalas* (nightingale), *Upeskrasti* (rivershore), *Dubņagi* (from a place name), *Neļķes* (carnation), *Nipani* (from a place name Nipaniški?), *Eglīši* (from the historical Egļi *sādža*). Thirteen of house names are issued from nature, four – from place names and two – from personal names/surnames. Seven house names bare the diminutive and seventeen – the plural, which is characteristic to the Latvian onomastic house name system. To note that it is rather recurrent to have house names in Latgale that include reference the land (zeme), since it is perceived as the place people are living, on the contrary to other parts in Latvia, where it firstly connotes the arable land.

Without having a clear definition of the last, somehow, these nineteen house names seem particular; maybe the recurrent rarity hits the balance. According to the research tool of State Land Service of the Republic of Latvia kadastrs.lv, only these particular houses – Belogrudova, Nipani and Olehnoviči – bare this name. There are only twelve houses in Latvia called *Saules zeme*, again, not only rather unique but also lacking the diminutive and the plural. To contrast, in Latvia there are some 1528 house names derived from *kalniņi* (hills) and some 1293 – from *bērziņi* (birches)[5]. It might be also the fact that these different animals and flowers too directly indicate to the fact that indeed many Latvian house names are issued from nature.

1.3. Methodology

The anthropological part of the research is based on empirical data collected during fieldwork in Grāveri in March 2017. It includes eight in-depth interviews (two in Latvian and six in Russian, with excerpts here translated in English), participant observation, field diary, cartography and visual material from about 350 photographs (by A. Tauberts). For ethical reasons I anonymized the names of my eight informants, all permanent inhabitants of Grāveri parish, and I do not disclose any personal information.

5 In Latvia Kalniņš and Bērziņš are also among the most popular surnames (Balodis 2018).

From the very beginning, I want to emphasize a crucial ethical point of the research. Almost all of my informants pointed out an apocalyptic vision upon Grāveri: it is a place dying out. Indeed, the population decrease is illustrative to Grāveri. Lack of job, attractiveness of urban areas or even other countries among others cause it. And then there is alcohol. A cause or a consequence? I asked Marija (73) about the illegal alcohol selling points[6] – are they closed down now? She responded:

> "Now they are closed down. There are none in our *sādža*. And where there still are, people fight against them. I even wrote to Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga when she was our president. That we keep on burying people. Because of the alcohol. But she did nothing at all. In one year, we buried eleven people. Eleven! Aged of seventy, sixty, fifty and even forty. One was on his way to the selling point. He lived next to me. His heart stopped, he felt down right here and died. On the road next to my house. Horrible. And this is how *sādža* are dying out. Until today..."

Therefore, I reemphasize that it is this light that the strategies people use should be seen. There are less and less inhabitants, buildings are abandoned and rapidly turned into ruins, *sādža* are dying out, but then there are those who still live in this affected[7] environment and fight. Putting it in Georgijs (47) words:

> "We don't live nor do we expect that some perspectives will appear, we survive. When the water is running out, it is getting less and less – you can still see it, right? And then at one moment it is gone. Now we are at the moment where there is still some. But if you return after a year or two, it is more likely that you won't find here anything. This building might be destroyed, in ruins..."

Figure 4. A cross made of beer bottle corks in Kovaļova *sādža*

6 From Russian *точка*.

7 Navaro-Yashin argues the affect is created through interaction and is not disturbing since it is "only "there" (or about "that") and not elsewhere, everywhere, and about everything" (2012: 151).

2. Public spaces of Grāveri

The building Georgijs is talking about is the school. Since 2009 in Latvia there is a massive school system reorganization; those schools having an insufficient number of pupils are closed down. Grāveri secondary school is one of the main public buildings next to the parish administration, the shop and the three churches. The abandoned buildings, such as the house of culture, the canteen or the numerous *kolkhoz* facilities, called *skeletons* by the locals, reveal to what extend the local life has changed since the past decades.

There are some five hundred inhabitants in Grāveri parish, where almost half of them live in it's center – Grāveri village. There are more abandoned than inhabited houses both in the village and in the surroundings. One of the most striking examples is provided by Aleksandrs (68) who said that the locals call the part of Grāveri dominated by wooden houses Khatyn[8] – an outrages black humor since asked – why, he replied: "Simply because wooden houses burn down instantaneously!" Aleksandrs is an incomer in Grāveri, he lives in one of the *block* houses[9] built during the Soviet period and when asked about the house names, neither he is aware of this tradition nor he finds relevant a research upon them. He belongs to the generation that Sergejs (63) says to be among the last ones in Grāveri.

Figures 5 and 6. The abandoned house of culture and 'a skeleton' in Grāveri village

2.1. Grāveri secondary school

The school in Grāveri has a unique name in Latvian context since it is named after a person who still actively participates in the contemporary

8 On 22nd March, 1943, the inhabitants of Khatyn village (Belorussia) were forced to a shed which was put on fire.

9 To note that locals call these houses according to the number of flats not floors, which is more common elsewhere in Latvia.

society: the Metropolitan of Riga and Latvia Aleksandrs Kudrjašovs. Renamed in 2009 the secondary school is indeed protected by its patron[10]. Born in Grāveri, the Metropolitan has also renovated the Orthodox Church. As told me Georgijs (47) the number of pupil is "a war secret", if revealed the school would be closed down immediately. "It is our Stalingrad, if the school falls..." The decrease of number of pupils also serves as local indicator of demography. In 1945 – some two hundred pupils, in 1960s – one hundred twenty, in 1980s – about eighty, and now? In the local newspaper's article about the school, it is written: "For ten years now the inhabitants of Grāveri parish have the possibility to learn in their native school, which once was attended by their parents and grand-parents."[11] Meanwhile, if all children from Grāveri parish would attend it, the number would be sufficient.

One of the reasons why parents choose schools in district's center Aglona, is the language issue: "They want their children to learn in Latvian." (Irena, 52) Even if the school in Grāveri is supposedly bilingual, it is not the Latvian that dominates. It is a vicious circle since the presence of the school is emphasized as crucial for the future live in Grāveri. Actually, no one uses the long name, which is said to be only a formality; moreover, school naming was also practiced during the Latvian SSR. The same school was named after the Soviet Partisan Oleg Koshevoy as indicated Sergejs (63) who was astonished that I ignored this historical figure: "Seriously? Haven't you learned history?"

2.2. Catholics, Orthodox Christians and Old Believers

Names do have a particular role, not only the school has its own protector, also churches that are attached to saint patrons such as Saint John for the Catholic Church in Grāveri parish. At first sights, Maija (53) is confused while asked about the significance of the saint patron but then she replies: "On 23rd June we have the main celebration of our church. It is the day of *Jāņi*[12]. Then there are many people. Much more than usually." Is it the name that attracts or its performance? To illustrate the language performativity (Butler 1997), I have cho-

10 The school however is closed down in May 2019. See: http://www.aglona.lv/aktualitates/par-aglonas-novada-skolu-tikla-optimizaciju/.

11 *Grāveru skolas vēstures galvenie posmi*. Ezerzeme, 21.08.2018.

12 Maija uses the name *Jāņi* – one of the central Latvian festivities linked to the summer solstice. Actually, in the Roman Catholic church Saint John's day is celebrated on 24th June.

sen the example about Old Believers' destiny during the Latvian SSR after the Orthodox Church was closed down and transformed into a sport's club.

> "Then comes Kovaļova turn. The Old Believers. The Father was cunning. He once was in the partisan movement – he had war awards, medals. He put them on, went to the worship and said to the others: "Put on your medals, tomorrow is a very important day!" Then arrives the secretary of the party, the director of the *kolhoz* and other of the same kind. They will close the church down. But there, in front of them, all these men with long beard, they form a wall and don't let them in. And the Father says: "Step away, Antichrist!" They have never returned to Kovaļova again." (Ivans, 45)

What would have happened to the Old Believers prayer's house, if the Father would have not referred to Antichrist as to those who endangered it? There is in fact a reason, why the Land Reform obliged to name each house, since not all the houses bared a name. Why should all houses bear a name? Was it to defend a tradition or to oppose to the nontraditional? If a tradition must be enforced by law, what does it tell about it? The house names in Latvia's territory are fixed since the 15th century (Kursīte 2014: 173) as voluntary. If the naming now is compulsory, no one can oblige to call houses by their names in the everyday lives.

Local identities are often more mixed up, they form hybrids and only are simplified and classified for the sake of putting things simply. In the Orthodox Church there are One Believers worships that unite Orthodoxes and Old Believers, and the Catholics are welcome, too. Sergejs (65) and Marija (73) were more likely desperate waiting when their Old Believer's parish would become more active and now have turned to it; they have been criticized by the Old Believer's community. Irena (52), an Old Believer, has baptized her children in the Catholic Church, where are baptized, too, Maija's (53) children, regardless that their father is an Orthodox. Ivans (45), an Old Believer, has the impression that people are more likely converting to Catholicism. In fact, it is clear that these are Old Believers, which are becoming less and less popular.

3. Private spaces: in-between houses and places

Within all these social aspects, I turn the attention to the center of interest: tensions between house and place names. In Grāveri parish there were practically no house names prior the Land Reform of 1990. It is still today perceived as otherness. Putting in Maija's (53) words: "In Grāveri parish, all the names are given... because they had to be given. You need to understand, that as for us, these names do not carry a historical meaning. Like, for instance, in the neighboring Auleja parish. They had the names all the time." And perceiving house names as otherness it is not without reason.

Figures 7 and 8. One of the rare displayed farmstead names in Grāveri parish[13] where priory houses where identified with the *sādža* name and people's surname

3.1. Passage from Soviet to an independent Latvia

Talking about the passage from Latvian SSR to the Republic of Latvia, there is still bitterness in some voices. Georgijs (47) recalls about such a linguistic practice as turning people's names into Latvian. When Ivan Gavrilovič found out in his new passport that he was Jānis, son of Gabriels, it made it difficult to prove his identity to obtain his ancestors' lands after the collapse of Soviet Union. Or the forgotten history about the forced deportations of Russians and Byelorussians, two hundred in total from Grāveri only, during the German occupation in 1942. Not to mention that the Russian language lost its status after 1990's, a language that still dominates in the parish. So, it seems that naming houses in these years of passage would have been another shock for people seeking attachment bounds to the new system.

If the law supposedly ensures a tradition, then it brought to Grāveri a new practice. Even though the house names were given by the household members, a sense of pressure is inscribed in their words:

> *Do you live in a private house or...* A private house. *A private house?* Me... I live in a *sādža*. *And this house?* A farm... *Does it have a name?* The place I live? *Yes.* Yes. *Saulrieti* (sunsets). Saulrieti. *And since when it has such a name?* After the Land Reform. You know. The Land Reform begun and all

13 To note, that the first letter is in lower case, unlike it is prescribed by the law and the etymology (female anthroponym *Maija*) would require.

> houses **were given a name**. ***Were given or you gave them by yourselves?* By ourselves** (laughs).
>
> Maija, 53

There is always a place for exceptions: Ivans(45) told about *Līdakas* (pikes) house inhabitants who always referred to their house by its name. He could not explain their motivation but judged it as ostentation. There are some but rare signs baring a house name in Grāveri parish. Ivans will receive one, too, for his fiftieth anniversary from the behalf of the parish – this *tradition* lasts for some years now. How would it influence the seemingly only common unifying element: the will to associate oneself to a *sādža*?

3.2. House names in Latvian manner

When I turned the attention of my informants towards the house names, practically all of them associated it with a Latvian tradition. Therefore, by the time they had to name their houses, it was not an unknown but an unpracticed feature. The new house names are said to be given "in a Latvian manner" (Georgijs, 47): in the context of confusions people did not want be bothered in order to use their everyday language while naming the houses. Moreover, the naming was also perceived as a voluntary act of splitting *sādža* apart as pointed out Ivans (45): "Until the 1990's people used to live in Russian *sādža* but after the 1990's there were no longer *sādža*; they were divided into separate farmsteads, houses with purely Latvian names." Consequently, it is perceived as an offensive over the habitual local way of the space's perception.

As for the naming practices, many have inspired themselves from the surrounding nature. Irena's (52) house name *Akmeņkalni* is inspired from the nearby hill and a rock on top of it. Some used irony while the naming process. Indeed, the person who gave to his house a name with the meaning sheriffs was a person of good sense of humor. Another naming strategy was to name the house by a personal name, a surname or in the memory of a relative as it is in the case of Irena's mother's house Solveigas:

> My mother lives... her house name is *Solveigas*. I would never say that my mother lives in *Solveigas*. No one... we don't talk like that. *How do you say then? Sādža*. Yes – **a big *sādža***. I live in Eižvertiņi. My mother lives in Trūpi, *sādža* Trūpi. Or just... *sādža*. Or a distict name and that's it, right? **We don't talk about houses in such a manner.** *And the name of your mother's house Solveigas, is it a recent one?* The name comes from my grandmother. From

1930s. *By the time the house was built?* Yes, she was Solveiga so we named the house after her name. [...] Like a monument, in memory of...

Irēna (52)

This example shows not only an impossibility to refer to the house name but a different perception of space. It explains partly why one of local house naming tradition is to adjust it to the name of the closest *sādža*. For instance, in Kovaļova one will find house names linked to blacksmiths. Andrejs (60) explains:

"Historically, there were many blacksmiths living in this particular area. I inherited this house from my grandfather who built it in the 1930's when the land was given in order to build separate farmsteads. However, my grandfather never considered this house as a unit apart from the Kovaļova *sādža*. When I had to name the house, the name came itself: there is the lake *Kalvīši* just next to the house so I named the house *Kalvīši*."

From the thirty-six *sādža* in Grāveri parish, seventeen of these names are inscribed in house names. According to article 37 of the Regulations Regarding Geographical Names Information[14] (VIN 2012) "the geographical names authority shall [...] give preference to [...] a geographical name corresponding to the traditions of the relevant cultural and historical region". So, if the local tradition was and still is to use these *sādža* names, if the local place names are often mixed with surnames, then while giving to sixty-eight houses out of two hundred-fifty a name that relates to a place or a surname, it is inscribing the corresponding world-view within their own system. Such these personal names that are given in memory of ancestors also bear marks of history of the community: as for men – Viktors, Jānis and Miķelis, and as for women – Lūcija, Genovefa, Laimdota, Maija, Jūlija, Vita, Diāna, Anastasija, Raisa, Uļjana, Kristīne, Viktorija, Marija. It actually raises again the question of the mergence between personal names, surnames, place (here – sādža) names and house names.

3.3. *Sādža* names

Some of the naming could have been just an impersonal gesture. Like on a small peninsula that once united the inhabitants of Ostrovi *sādža*, a wealthy person has built a new house and called it Ostrovi. Meanwhile, Sergejs (63) who has a piece of land where stands his old house tried to persuade me that it is his house that he called Ostrovi in 1993. Anyhow, even though these names were given by inhabitants themselves, they still see it as otherness, they don't pay a particular attention to it anymore and

14 Official translation from: https://likumi.lv/ta/en/en/id/243610-regulations-regarding-geographical-names-information.

it is not surprisingly that some might even have forgotten the name that was given almost twenty-five years ago. In this sense, this neglecting attitude could be perceived, too, as a form of resilience.

Figures 9 and 10. The old and the new Ostrovi (from Russian – island) – so, a house or a place name?

Another aspect is the local interpretation or the folk etymology of these *sādža* names. For instance, I was told that *sādža* Raginski is derived from Latvian *ragi* thus horns. Or *sādža* Trūpi is the place where were buried many bodies from the Napoleon war, thus the name – dead bodies from Russian. In Kovaļova one will find new house names that are linked to blacksmiths not so much because of the fact that there were many blacksmiths historically but because it is an important referring point of ones belonging or provenance. It is a not only a resilience strategy but also a solid remembrance tool in times that do not predict a flourishing future. Ivans (45) has seen how the neighboring abandoned houses are robbed out and just in some years turned into ruins. Maija (52) knows how names disappear administratively, when a house is no more considered as a house once turned in ruins and deleted from the registers.

Conclusion

Returning to the Grāveri inhabitants' multiple identities, they can be resumed as following: one identifies with an ethnicity, denominational belonging or language use on occasional basis but they all refer to *sādža* when talking about their geospatial provenance in their everyday lives: it is the group of self-ascription that unites, thus, the geospatial identity. Nevertheless, my starting point that house names have a role in everyday life was presumingly false within my own interpretation of this role. Actually, their denial and the use of *sādža* name have a role in everyday life while referring to the places where people live in. Above all, I argue that within the context of these hybrids and mixing in religious and linguistic aspects, the idea of belonging to a larger group, *sādža*, has not changed.

Ironically, in Daugavpils museum it is still emphasized that it was during the 1930's that the *sādža* way of managing agricultural land and way of life is about to be replaced. People were encouraged to abandon their way of life and move to more individualized type of settlements. However, in the 21st century people are still using tactics of resilience in order to retain and protect what counts for themselves.

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Otīlija Kovaļevska

1599. gada Livonijas revīzijā minēto personvārdu pēdas mūsdienu vietvārdos (īpaši Vidzemē)

Traces of Personal Names from Livonian Revision 1599 in Contemporary Place Names (Especially in Vidzeme)

Materials of the Livonian revision 1599 published by J. Jakubovski and J. Kordzikovski is a rich source of place names and personal names of that time, which allows us to look into the 400-year-old history of Latvian place names. These documents relate to the 13 castle parishes, covering a large part of the contemporary territory of Latgale, Vidzeme and Estonia. The revision was carried out according to a common methodology and in a very short time, so there are great opportunities to compare the castle parishes with each other, as well as, taking into account the subsequent historical events, think about different future development paths of place names and surnames in Vidzeme and Latgale. Since the material of Latgale castle parishes was analysed in detail already in the Latgalian conference 2017 and its journal "Via Latgalica XI" (2018), this report focuses on Vidzeme.

The aim of the research was to understand how much the place names and personal names mentioned in Livonian revision 1599, as a Livonian heritage, are reflected in contemporary place names. By comparing the onomastic material of the Livonian revision 1599 with a modern map, an attempt is made to restore the borders of the castle parishes, to identify the place names mentioned therein and to look for traces of the ancient surnames in modern place names. Analysis of the materials is carried out using the MS Excel features (data selection, structuring, statistical processing). With cartographic method, using the Map Browser of Latvian Geospatial Information Agency and the Place Names Database of Latvia, correlations between the proper names mentioned in 1599 revision and modern place names were looked for. For a better understanding of the 1599 revision materials also other sources of the same age were used, in particular the Swedish cadastre of Vidzeme 1601, 1638 and 1680.

Although the 1599 revision is more than 400 years old, place names and personal names mentioned in it show a surprising number of relevance to contemporary homestead names in Vidzeme, as well as surnames and village names in Latgale. Especially attracting is the relevance of the second component of the personal name (surname?) to the latest place names. Unexpectedly high correlation is found in Vidzeme modern homestead names. The material allows to see and be aware how longstanding even the most common Latvian place names can be and what a rich historical information they contain.

Results of the research also induce reflections regarding the beginnings of surnames in Vidzeme. Despite the fact that official giving of the surnames in Vidzeme and Kurzeme occurred only in the 19th century, however, already in the revisions of the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century unambiguous presence of surnames (if the surname is defined as a heritable family name) can be noticed. Place names and surnames in the 16th–17th century Vidzeme and Latgale, look like forming a one onomastic system, in which it is difficult and even impossible to separate them from each other.

Keywords

census of 1599, place names,
homestead, surnames, Livonia, Vidzeme

Ievads

Jana Jakubovska un Juzefa Kordzikovska publicētie 1599. gada Livonijas revīzijas materiāli (Jakubowski, Kordzikowski 1915) ir bagātīgs sava laika vietvārdu un personvārdu avots, kas ļauj ielūkoties iespējami senākā Latvijas vietvārdu vēsturē. Dokuments attiecas uz 13 pilsnovadiem, kas aptver lielu daļu tagadējās Latgales, Vidzemes un Igaunijas teritorijas.[1] Revīzija veikta pēc vienotas metodikas un ļoti īsā laikā, līdz ar to ir lielas iespējas salīdzināt pilsnovadus savā starpā, kā arī, ņemot vērā turpmākos vēsturiskos notikumus, spriest par vietvārdu un uzvārdu turpmākajiem atšķirīgajiem attīstības ceļiem Vidzemē un Latgalē. Tā kā Latgales pilsnovadu materiāls sīkāk jau ir analizēts 2017. gada X Latgalistikas konferencē un tās rakstu krājumā *Via Latgalica XI* (Kovaļevska 2018), šajā rakstā galvenā uzmanība pievērsta Vidzemei.

Pētījuma mērķis ir noskaidrot, cik lielā mērā 1599. gada revīzijā minētie vietvārdi un personvārdi kā Livonijas laika mantojums atspoguļojas mūsdienu vietvārdos. Salīdzinot 1599. gada Livonijas revīzijas onomastisko materiālu ar mūsdienu karti, mēģināts restaurēt revīzijā aprakstīto pilsnovadu robežas, lai labāk varētu identificēt tajā minētos vietvārdus, meklēt seno personvārdu pēdas mūsdienu vietvārdos. Parasti uzmanību piesaista Latgales ciemu nosaukumu lielā līdzība ar uzvārdiem, tā ir arī vairāk pētīta. Taču ne mazāk intriģējoša ir Vidzemes 16.–17. gs. personvārdu (seno uzvārdu, papildvārdu) saistība ar mūsdienu mājvārdiem un pat uzvārdiem.

1 Līdzīga revīzija ap 1599. gadu tikusi veikta arī citos pilsnovados, taču šie materiāli vēl nav pietiekami apzināti.

Materiāla analīzei izmantotas *Excel* programmas iespējas (datu atlase, strukturēšana, statistiskā apstrāde). Ar kartogrāfisko metodi, izmantojot Latvijas Ģeotelpiskās informācijas aģentūras (LĢIA) karšu pārlūku un Latvijas vietvārdu datubāzi, meklētas sakarības starp 1599. gada revīzijā minētajiem īpašvārdiem un mūsdienu vietvārdiem. 1599. gada revīzijas materiālu labākai izpratnei pētījumā izmantoti arī citi laika ziņā tuvi avoti, īpaši Vidzemes 1601., 1638. un 1680.–1683. gada zviedru revīzijas (attiecīgi: Švābe 1933; Dunsdorfs 1938; 1940; 1941a; 1941b; 1974). Vietu precizēšanai noderēja arī 17. gs. 80. gadu zviedru lielmēroga kartes (Dunsdorfs 1986; Arh 2017).

Kaut arī 1599. gada revīziju no mūsdienām šķir vairāk nekā 400 gadu, tajā minētajos vietvārdos un personvārdos var saskatīt pārsteidzoši daudz atbilstību mūsdienu mājvārdiem Vidzemē, kā arī uzvārdiem un ciemu nosaukumiem Latgalē. Uzmanību īpaši piesaista revīzijā minēto personvārdu otro komponentu (uzvārdu?) atbilstība vēlākajiem vietu nosaukumiem. Negaidīti daudz šādu atbilsmju ir mūsdienu Vidzemes mājvārdos. Materiāls ļauj saskatīt un apzināties, cik seni var būt pat visparastākie mājvārdi un kādu vēsturisku informāciju tie glabā.

Pētījuma rezultāti rosina arī uz pārdomām par uzvārdu sākumiem Vidzemē. Neraugoties uz to, ka oficiāla uzvārdu piešķiršana Vidzemē un Kurzemē ir notikusi 19. gs., arī 16. gs. beigu un 17. gs. sākuma revīziju materiālos pamanāma nepārprotama uzvārdu klātbūtne (ja uzvārdu definē kā pārmantojamu ģimenes, dzimtas vārdu). Vietvārdi un uzvārdi 16.–17. gs. Vidzemē un Latgalē, šķiet, veido kādu vienotu onomastisku sistēmu, kurā tos ir grūti un reizēm pat neiespējami atdalīt.

1. 1599. gada revīzijā minēto personvārdu pēdas Latgalē

Lielākā daļa Latgales pilsnovados 1599. gada revīzijā minēto personvārdu asociējas ar vēlāko laiku ciemu nosaukumiem, tomēr ar konkrētām vietām tos saistīt ir iespējams tikai atsevišķos gadījumos. Visticamāk, Latgales apdzīvoto vietu nosaukumu stabilizēšanās mūsdienās ierastā formā notikusi vēlāk, īpaši 18. gs., pateicoties biežākām revīzijām un kartēšanai. Tomēr arī 1599. gada revīzijas materiālos var atrast diezgan daudz pazīmju, kas norāda uz konkrētu vietu vai nosaukumu vēsturi. Protams, īpašvārdu izrunu un pareizrakstību no šī avota secināt nevar, taču vietvārda senumu gan.

Diemžēl līdzīgu 16.–17. gs. avotu par Latgali ir maz, turklāt tie neaptver visu Latgales teritoriju, tāpēc ciemu nosaukumu veidošanos vairumā gadījumu ir grūti izsekot tālāk par 18. gadsimtu. Rodas iespaids, ka daudzie vietvārdi ar izskaņu *-ova*, kas poļu valodā izsaka piederību (piem., *wieś Strodowa* 'Stroda ciems'), izveidojušies tieši poļu revīziju iespaidā. Toties 1599. gada revīzijā atrodam ļoti daudzus vēlākajiem vietvārdiem atbilstošus īpašvārdus bez šīm slāviskajām izskaņām. Visbiežāk tie ir personvārdi, uzvārdi vai kādi citi papildvārdi un tiem ir kāda saistība ar vēlākajiem ciemu nosaukumiem (piem., *Kalnacz – Kalnačova* Pasienes pag., *Punciul – Punculova* Rundānu pag., *Birn – Biernāni* daudzviet Latgalē). Sīkāk par šo tēmu skat. O. Kovaļevskas rakstā (2018) žurnālā *Via Latgalica XI*, te tikai daži papildinājumi, kas tajā nav minēti.

No Ludzas pils 16. gs. atdalītās muižas *Rejnhubergka* jeb *Rembergka* nosaukums un jo īpaši tās ģeogrāfiskais stāvoklis rada asociācijas ar tagadējo *Runtortu* Isnaudas pagastā netālu no Ludzas. Taču pagaidām par to grūti spriest, jo trūkst citu avotu, kas to apstiprinātu.

Drošāk var pieņemt, ka 1599. gadā minētās tukšaines (p. *pustosz*) nosaukums *Dywułowska nad jeziorem Kadulą* attiecas uz tagadējo *Kiudolovu* pie tāda paša nosaukuma ezera. Gan senais saimniecības, gan ezera nosaukums attāli atgādina vārdu *Kiudolova*, kas varēja būt revizoru nesaprasts un pierakstīts atšķirīgos variantos (vai varbūt laika gaitā mainījies).

1599. gadā minētās *Rudas* un *Brodas* ir vai nu nosaukumu *Rogaiža* un *Brodaiža* varianti, vai izkropļota pieraksta forma, jo jau 1634. gada dokumentā (Krawczuk 2015: Nr. 452) šos nosaukumus redzam mūsdienu variantā (*Rogaisz* un *Brodaisz*). Jāpiebilst, ka nevienā citā autorei zināmā avotā *Rudas* un *Brodas* nav sastopami.

Pārdomas izraisa divu sen izzudušu pagastu nosaukumi – *Ramlen* un *Thulen* – un atbilstoši vēl pastāvošie uzvārdi: *Rams* (*Ram*) minēts 1712. gada revīzijā (Довгялло 1899: 163), Asūnes pagastā tas pastāvējis vēl vismaz 20. gs. 30. gados; *Tuļs*, *Tūls*, *Tuls* izplatīts Ezernieku pagastā un tā apkārtnē (sal. Mežs 2017: 282), varētu būt saistīts nevis ar iesauku[2], bet ar seno pagasta nosaukumu. Pie *Dubuļiem* vēl nesen bija viensēta *Tuleņmājas* (tagad iekļauta *Dubuļu* ciemā ar adresi ielā). Vēl 19. gs. kartē (Шуберт 1877) atrodams *Dubuļu* otrs nosaukums *Tulen Muiža*.

Uzvārds *Andrep*, ko gribētos saistīt ar tagadējo *Andrupeni*, 1599. gadā minēts Ludzas, nevis Rēzeknes pilsnovadā, kā to varētu sagaidīt no Andrupenes pagasta ģeogrāfiskā novietojuma. Līdzīgi ar Andzeļu pagasta *Vīsiunēm* jeb *Visuniem* asociējas 1599. gadā Ludzas pilsnovadā minētais

2 Sal. izl. *tūļs*/*tūle* 'bullis vai govs bez ragiem' (Mežs 2017: 282).

Andreas Wisson, kam piederot muiža ar kādiem padsmit zemniekiem, tomēr, visticamāk, tā atradusies citur (ja nu vienīgi Ludzas pilij bijuši kādi īpašumi arī tagadējo Ezernieku, Andzeļu, Andrupenes apkārtnē). Arī Dinaburgas pilij 1599. gadā piederošās sešas tukšaines vārdā *Lingieniszki* it kā sasaucas ar tagad jau Daugavpils teritorijā ietilpstošo vietas nosaukumu *Liginiški* Daugavas kreisajā krastā, Grīvas pusē. Bet vai Dinaburgai 16. gs. beigās vēl piederēja kādas zemes Daugavas otrā pusē? Varbūt nosaukums laika gaitā ir pārceļojis, bet varbūt tā ir tikai sakritība. Kamēr trūkst citu apstiprinošu avotu, šīs un citas asociācijas paliek tikai minējumi.

Uzmanīgi lasot 1599. gada revīzijas materiālus kopā ar mūsdienu karti, arvien skaidrāka kļūst arī tā laika ģeogrāfiskā situācija. Tā pēc Ludzas pilsnovada *Plisūna* foļvarkas (muižas) ēku atrašanās vietas apraksta – pie diviem gariem ezeriem Sebežas un Polockas zemju robežu tuvumā – var diezgan droši secināt, ka tās bijušas nevis pie Plisūna (ez.), bet pie tagadējiem Pintu un Šešku ezeriem, jo tie vienīgie no visas apkārtnes ezeriem ir gari, turklāt atrodas tieši iepretī vietai, kur pie Latvijas robežas satiekas Krievijas un Baltkrievijas robeža. Iespējams, *Plisūna* nosaukums ir ceļojis līdz ar administratīvās teritorijas centru, jo 1772. gada revīzijā[3] tas pierakstīts pat pie Landskoronas (tagadējās Šķaunes) – *Plusyno alias Landzkorona*.

2. 1599. gada revīzijā minēto personvārdu pēdas Vidzemē

Kā jau ievadā minēts, 1599. gada revīzijas materiālos ir pārsteidzoši daudz personvārdu, kas asociējas ar mūsdienu mājvārdiem Vidzemē, turklāt atbilsmes ir ģeogrāfiski konkrētas – pēc noteiktas teritorijas (piem., senā pagasta) īpašvārdu komplekta var atpazīt šo teritoriju mūsdienu kartē. Soli pa solim "izstaigāsim" 1599. gadā aprakstītos senos Vidzemes pilsnovadus no Kokneses līdz Vainižiem, izmantojot Latvijas vietvārdu datubāzi un 20.–21. gs. topogrāfiskās kartes.

Kokneses pilij 1599. gadā pieder trīs foļvarkas (muižas). Pirmā, vārdā nonosaukta, atrodas turpat pie pilsētas robežas, tai pieder četri pagasti.

Liepiņu (?) *pagastā* (*pogost Lipinów*) pēc sarakstā minētajiem personvārdiem diezgan grūti mūsdienu kartē saskatīt kompaktu teritoriju, kur koncentrētos atbilstoši vietvārdi, toties plašākā Kokneses apkārtnē atbilsmju ir daudz. Varbūt laika gaitā nosaukumi ir pārceļojuši līdz ar to nesējiem. Voits (pagasta vecākais) ir *Wilhelm Grothan*, minēts vēl kāds

3 LVVA 1772: 713. fonds, 2. apraksts, 1. lieta.

Martyn Grothan; mūsdienās *Grotānu* mājas ir pie Rīteriem, austrumos no Kokneses; *Grotāni* ir arī Daugavas pretējā pusē – Sēlpils pagastā. Pieci saimnieki ir ar uzvārdu *Lipin* (*Liepiņš*?), acīmredzot no tā cēlies pagasta nosaukums. Tik populāru uzvārdu ir grūti saistīt ar konkrētu vietu: Kokneses tuvumā *Liepiņas* ir pie Bormaņiem, *Lejas* un *Kalna Liepiņi* – Klintaines pagastā pie Pļaviņām. Turpat netālu uz ziemeļiem no Pļaviņām ir *Čulkstēni*, kas sasaucas ar sarakstā minēto *Hans Ciulkstan*. Pāri Daugavai – Seces pagastā – ir viensēta *Apsāni*, 1599. gada *Liepiņu pagastā* – *Mathis Absan*. Ar *Jakób Mikielanis* saistās *Miķelēni*, *Miķelāni*, no kuriem Koknesei tuvākie atrodas Vietalvas pagastā (*Miķelēnu ezers*), bet tādi ir arī Sēlijas pusē. *Marko Usianianis* – to varbūt var saistīt ar Kokneses pagasta *Ūsiņiem*. Plašākā apkārtnē atbilstošus vietvārdus mūsdienu kartē var sameklēt arī citiem *Liepiņu pagasta* personvārdiem (piem., *Mathys Ryksyan* – *Rikšēni* Ērgļu un Kalsnavas pag.), tomēr par šo onīmu tiešu savstarpējo saistību tas vēl neliecina. Vienīgi atbilstošo mūsdienu vietvārdu izplatība ļauj spriest, ka aprakstītais *Liepiņu pagasts* atradies uz austrumiem un ziemeļaustrumiem no Kokneses.

Otrs – *pogost Rudyssów* – *Rudušu pagasts* (sal. *Ruduši* Kokneses pagastā); 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā tam aptuveni atbilst *Apßan pagast*. Abos gadījumos pagasta nosaukums saistīts ar personvārdu: 1599. gadā vairāki saimnieki šajā pagastā ir ar uzvārdu *Rudyss*, 1638. gadā stārasts ir *Jacob Apßan*, viens no daudziem *Apsāniem*. Šāds uzvārds jau 1599. gadā ir izplatīts visā Kokneses pilsnovadā: *Mathis Absen*, *Jakób Abson* (*pogost Lipinów*), *Jan Absen* (*pogost Rudyssów*), *Hans Absen* (*pogost Jańczyński*). Vai tas atvasināts no 'apsēm', 'āpšiem' vai kā cita, tagad grūti spriest; mūsdienās *Apsānu* vai *Apsēnu* Kokneses tuvākajā apkārtnē nav, vienīgi uz ziemeļiem no *Bormaņiem* pastāv apvidus nosaukums *Āpšsalas*. Tomēr par labu 'apsēm' liecina mūsdienu uzvārdu *Apsēns*/*Apsāns*/*Apšāns* izplatība Kokneses apkārtnē.[4] Kokneses draudzes hronikās 1714. gadā minēts pērminderis *Absen Ans* (Lūsis 1944: 2), saukts jau pēc mājvārda, resp., *Apsēnu Ansis*, jo papildvārds ir pirmajā pozīcijā. Kopumā mūsdienu kartē vietvārds *Apsēni* ir diezgan izplatīts Vidzemē un tieši Kokneses pusē, lai gan ne tiešā tuvumā (1. att.); pa kādam *Apsānam* ir arī Sēlijā un Latgalē. Lai gan uzvārds ir no "dabas sērijas", līdzīgi kā *Bērziņš*, *Kalniņš* un citi 19. gs. piešķirtie uzvārdi, tā pieminējums 16.–18. gs. avotos un izplatības areāls ļauj domāt par senākām *Apsēnu*/*Apsānu* saknēm kādreizējā Kokneses pilsnovada teritorijā (protams, nenoliedzot, ka tie varēja neatkarīgi un dažādos laikos rasties arī citur).

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4 Skat. https://periodika.lndb.lv/.

1. attēls. Vietvārda *Apsēni* izplatība pēc LĢIA datiem (VDB 2018)

Spriežot pēc 1599. gadā minētajiem uzvārdiem, *Rudušu pagasta* teritorija atradusies uz ziemeļiem un rietumiem no Kokneses, atbilsmju mūsdienu vietvārdos ir vairāk nekā iepriekš minētajā *Liepiņu pagastā*, turklāt daudzas no tām var izsekot 17. gs. zviedru revīzijās (1. tab.).

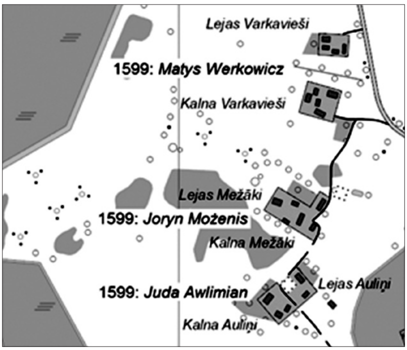
1. tabula. Kokneses pilsnovada *Rudušu pagasta* (*pogost Rudyssów*) personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē
Jan Absen	*Jahne Apßan, Starast Jacob Apßan, Petter Apßan, Bertell Abßan*	*Absen*	? *Āpšsalas* (Kokneses pag.)
Martyn Rudyss, Kryskian Rudyss	*Andres Ruddusch, Brentz Rudus*	*Ruddusch*	*Vecruduši, Upesruduši* (Kokneses pag.)
Jakób Brencen	?	?	*Brencēni* (Bebru pag.)
Symon Klawien, Bartol Klawien	? *Herman Clautzan, Herman Clautßan*	*Klautzen*	*Mazklaucēni, Lielklaucēni* (Kokneses pag.)
Kryszkian Wersan	*Marting Wersan, Marthen Wärßas*	*Währsan*	? *Vērsēni* (Klintaines pag.)
Joryn Możenis	? *Meßatzen* (*wüste Lande*)	*Meschaker, Meschak*[5]	*Kalna Mežāki, Lejas Mežāki* (Kokneses pag.)

5 E. Dunsdorfs (1974) mājvārdus sniedz zviedru un vācu versijā; ja tās sakrīt, tabulā rādīts tikai viens nosaukums.

Jakób Limiarz	*Hans Limming, Hans Limingh*	*Grefwing, Lemming, Lemming oder Krewing*	bij. *Krieviņi*, tag. *Pūces* (Kokneses pag.)
Reyn Tylsian	*Jurgen Reins, Jurgen Rein*	*Rein, Reine*	*Reiņi* (Kokneses pag.)
Jowin Słowissan	*Hans Schlaweschen, Jane Schlawistan, Schlawiß (wüste Lande), Jane Kapusta*	*Schlawistan, Schlawischan, Kapustingh, Kapustan*	*Upesslavieši, Mežaslavieši* (tag. *Mazmežkāpostiņi*) (Kokneses pag.)
Brencz Dowdzis	*Hans Doudeschen, Hans Doudiskan*	*Daudschen Marten, Daudschen Klaff, Daudischen, Daudeschan*	*Daudziešēni* (Kokneses pag.)
Juda Awlimian	*Hans Auling, Hans Aulin*	*Auling, Aulitzen, Aulizen*	*Auliņi, Auliciems* (Kokneses pag.)
Matys Werkowicz	?	?	*Lejas Varkavieši, Kalna Varkavieši* (Kokneses pag.)

Revīziju materiālus sakārtojot tabulā un ņemot palīgā karti, var pamanīt arī nosaukumu maiņu vai jaunu nosaukumu parādīšanos laika gaitā. Tā *Slaviešos* jau 17. gs. ienākuši *Kāposti*/*Kāpostiņi*; kādreizējos *Limiņus*, iespējams, nomainījuši *Krieviņi*; *Reiņi* nosaukumu varētu būt dabūjuši no 1599. gadā minētā *Reyn Tylsian* kristāmvārda. Vietām senie nosaukumi ir saglabājušies pārsteidzoši labi (2. att.).



2. attēls. Daži 1599. gada Kokneses pilsnovada *Rudušu pagasta* personvārdi un mūsdienu Kokneses pagasta mājvārdi (sal. LĢIA karšu pārlūks)

Bieži vien senajos citvalodu reģistros nosaukumi ir tik ļoti sagrozīti vai laika gaitā pārveidojušies, ka tos atpazīt mūsdienu vietvārdos var vienīgi, skatot līdzīgu nosaukumu komplektu konkrētā teritorijā. Tas sniedz zināmu drošību, ka grūti atpazīstamais nosaukums ir tas pats (kā, piemēram, visi trīs 2. attēlā redzamie nosaukumi), un palīdz atklāt arvien vairāk pagātnes pēdu mūsdienu kartē.

Trešais Kokneses muižas pagasts – *Bałthowski* jeb *Baltavas pagasts* – atradies pilsnovada ziemeļos, apmēram tagadējā Sausnējas pagasta rietumdaļā. Pagasta nosaukums, iespējams, mantots no senākiem laikiem – pie Kokneses pilsnovada ziemeļu robežas, Ogres upes kreisajā krastā, ir *Baltavas pilskalns*. Mājvārdos šis nosaukums neparādās, bet no 1937. līdz 2009. gadam pie Rīgas–Ērgļu dzelzceļa vēl pastāvēja pieturas punkts "Baltava". No 1599. gadā *Baltavas pagastā* minētajām 36 personām vairāk nekā pusi var saistīt ar mūsdienu vietvārdiem (2. tab.).

2. tabula. Kokneses pilsnovada *Baltavas pagasta* (*pogost Bałthowski*) personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē
Herman Barkazan, wójt	*Järck Barckasan, Barckas* (*wüste Lande*)	*Barkasch Landt*	*Bārkaiši**, *Bārkaišu kalns* (Sausnējas pag.)
Mathys Gierczen	*Andres Gertzan*	*Görtzan, Gärtsen*	? sal. *Ģērcēni* (Kalsnavas pag.)
Jan Priksyann	*Thomas Preskian, Berttell Prießkan*	*Praezan, Prekschan*	*Priekšēni* (Sausnējas pag.)
Jan Arsan	? *Andres Antzan, Anders undt Hans Antzan*	*Anzan, Ansan*	*Ancēni* (Sausnējas pag.)
Andrey Knapen	*Jacob Schult uf Knapan*	*Knappan*	*Kņapēni* (Sausnējas pag.)
Martyn Bienian	*Benian* (*wüste Lande*)	*Schilt, Benians Land*	*Bieņēni* (Sausnējas pag.)
Klaus Jakopen	*Märten Jakopans, Marthen Jacopin*	*Jacopan, Jacoben Land*	*Jēkabēni* (Sausnējas pag.)
Hermann Massakin	?	*Maßal*	*Masuļi* (Sausnējas pag.)
Martyn Strodan	*Herman Straddan, Jacob undt Brentz Stradan*	*Straddan, Straddan Casper, Straddan Rein*	*Stradi**, *Kalna Stradi* (Sausnējas pag.)
Jan Wagen	*Wagen* (*wüste Lande*)	*Wagen, Wagian, Wagian Landt*	? sal. *Veģēni* (Vestienas pag.)

Peter Zegatan, Barthol Zegaten	*Hans undt Jurgen Sagattan, Juring Sackaten*	*Schagaban, Saggatan*	*Žagatēni**, *Žagatiņas* (Sausnējas pag.)
Andrey Oksthan	*Jurgen Bullan uf Oxtan landt*	–	–
Andrey Bullen, Jan Bullan	*Claus Bullans, Claas Bullans*	*Bullan*	*Bulandu pilskalns* (Iršu pag.)
Gierk Rothmann, Martyn Rothmanan	*Rattman* (*wüste Lande*), *Jaane undt Jacob Rattmanen, Hans Ratmenen*	*Rattman, Milnan oder Rathman*	–
Andrey Gierenian	*Mickell Gerring, Michell Gering*	*Gerring*	? *Geriņi* (aiz Pļaviņām, patālu)
Beyth Zemithen	*Anders Semittan, Adreas Semmetan, Claus Semmitan, Samitzan* (*wüste Lande*)	*Semittan, Semmitan*	*Saimniecēni* (Sausnējas pag.) vai *Zemitāni* (Iršu pag.)
Jeży Uzen	?	*Vsingh, Ussing*	*Ūsiņi* (Kokneses pag.)
Martyn Kiewien	*Kewan*	*Kewischan*	*Ķevieši* (Kokneses pag.)
Jakób Sylinian, Andrey Sylinian	*Jacob Silan, Claus Sillian, Claas Sillingen, Brentz Sillian, Brentz Sillingen*	*Silnen, Schillingan, Silljan*	*Siljāņi* (Iršu pag.)
Hans Begenn	*Hans Begian, Brentz Gudderwitz*	*Gudderwitz, Beghan*	*Bēģēni, Gudraveči* (Kokneses pag.)
Hans Ducen	*Dutzan landt* (*wüste Lande*)	*Dutzan, Dutsen, Dutzan Jaunsem*	*Ducēni**, *Ducēnu kalns* (Sausnējas pag.)
Bartol Kiewissen	*Kewiskan* (*wüste Lande*)	*Kewischan*	*Ķevieši* (Kokneses pag.)
Tryńda Kaywin	?	?	*Kaivēni* (Vietalvas pag.)

* Mūsdienu kartē nosaukuma nav, bet tas vēl atrodams 20. gs. topogrāfiskajās kartēs.

Ceturtais – *Jančinska pagasts* (*pogost Jańczyński*); zviedru revīzijās tam apmēram atbilst *Suttan Pagast* (*Zutānu pagasts*, sal. mūsdienu *Zutēni* Bebru pagastā). Līdzīgi kā iepriekšējā pagastā, senie nosaukumi ir saglabājušies ļoti labi, atbilsmes kartē redzamas kompaktā teritorijā (3. tab.).

3. tabula. Kokneses pilsnovada *Jančinska pagasta* (*pogost Jańczyński*) personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē
Jakób Rathniczan, wójt, Juda Rathniczan, Andrys Rathniczan	*Thomas Ratnezan, Christian Rattnitzan, Michell Rattnitzan, Jane Rattnietz, Hans Ratnezan*	*Rattneck, Ratnitzen*	*Ratnicēni* (Kokneses pag.)
Beyt Ducen	? *Michel Beytans*	*Beitan*	? *Beitēni* (Pļaviņu nov., patālu)
Brencz Pump	*Pumpan (wüste Lande)*	*Stapparens, Stepperan oder Pumpan*	*Vidus Stamprāni* (Bebru pag.)
Martyn Alan, Jan Alan	*Thomas Allen*	*Allean, Alian*	*Āļēni**, *Aliņas* (Bebru pag.)
Klaus Lienian (varbūt pārrakstīšanās kļūda)	? *Andres Peian*	*Peine, Penjan, Penian oder Fengerot, Peinen, Penian oder Sprulle*	*Lejas Pieņēni* (Kokneses pag.)
Barthol Anian	*Hermen Annian*	*Anien, Anjan*	*Lejas Aņēni* (Kokneses pag.)
Jakób Dzerwan, Andrey Dzerwan, Joryn Dzerwan	?	*Serren, Servan*	*Dzērvēni, Dzērvēnu purvs* (Bebru pag.)
Andrey Zulth	? *Claus Suttan*	*Suten, Suttan, Stuttan Claws*	*Zutēni* (Bebru pag.)
Martyn Śmierdnik	?	*Schmidder oder Leibrisch*	*Šmidre**
Martyn Thupissan, Beytt Thupissan	*Bertell Tuppeschen*	*Tupeßen, Tuppischen*	*Tupiešēni* (Bebru pag.)
Thom Sylinian	*Peter Sillinggan, Sillinggan (wüste Lande)*	? *Sucko, Silian Zuke*	*Lejas Siljāņi* (Bebru pag.)
Hans Absen	*Apsen (wüste Lande)*	*Absen Tupeschen, Absan Tuppischen*	? *Tupiešēni* (Bebru pag.)
Hans Plep, Jory Plep	*Barthell Plepe, Brentz Plepes*	*Pleppi, Pleppe*	*Plepi* (Bebru pag.)
Andrys Doman	*Jakob Doman*	*Domen, Dohman*	*Gala Domēni* (Bebru pag.)
Martyn Zypsinan	*Paull Sipnan, Sipnans (wüste Lande)*	*Sipsnen, Sipsnan*	? *Dipnēni* (Bebru pag.)
Hans Wołosian	*Jacob Wallosch, Walaschans (wüste Lande)*	*Wallußken, Walloschan*	*Valušēni**, *Volšēni-Riekstiņi* (Bebru pag.)
Jan Brencen	*Jakob Brentzen, Jakob Brentzan*	*Brenzen, Brentzan*	*Brencēni* (Bebru pag.)
Jan Bierznik	*Jurgen Birßneck, Jurgen Bierßnieck*	*Bersenech, Birseneck*	*Birznieki* (Kokneses pag.)

* Mūsdienu kartē nosaukuma nav, bet tas vēl atrodams 20. gs. topogrāfiskajās kartēs.

Arī te varam vērot gan nosaukumu stabilitāti (*Ratnicēni*, *Aņēni*, *Dzērvēni*, *Zutēni*, *Tupiešēni* u. c.), gan maiņu (*Staprāni* varētu būt bijušie *Pumpāni*, daļa *Tupiešēnu* kādreiz varēja saukties *Apsēni*). Iespējamas kļūdas nosaukumu pierakstā, piemēram, 1599. gada *Klaus Lienian* varbūt domāts *Pienian*, savukārt mūsdienu *Dipnēni* varbūt saskatāmi 17. gs. *Sipsnēnos*. Tas ir tikai mēģinājums izskaidrot dažu nosaukumu pēkšņo izzušanu (*Lienian*) vai parādīšanos (*Dipnēni*), varbūt atbilde slēpjas kādos vēl nezināmos avotos.

Raksturīgs ir 3. tabulā minēto *Āļēnu* piemērs. 1599. gadā *Jančinska pagastā* minēti zemnieki: *Martyn Alan* un *Jan Alan*, katram saimniecība viena arkla lielumā, tātad kopumā tā ir salīdzinoši liela teritorija. Nosaukums turpinās 17. gs. un arī vēlāk, līdz 20. gs. 30. gadu kartē (LT 75) redzam vismaz divus *Āļēnus* atstatu vienu no otra, starp tiem vēl *Šmidre*, *Kalnvildavas*, *Lejasvildavas*. Kādā 1929. gada īpašumu uzskaitē[6] minēti diezgan savdabīgi mājvārdi: *Ālēnu Bērziņš* (pieder *Aleksandram Krastiņam*), *Ālēnu-Ivansons* (pieder *Pēterim Čaderainim-Čakam*[7]), *Ālēnu Šmidre (Bullis)* (saimnieks *Andrējs Bul*). Turpat ir vēl arī *Šmidre* (saimnieks *Johans Auziņš*) un *Šmidru Zālīte* (saimnieks *Brencis Zālīte*). Redzam, kā mājvārdus mēģināts individualizēt, vienlaikus saglabājot seno nosaukumu: mājvārdam tiek pievienots saimnieka uzvārds, tā atvieglojot orientēšanos. Līdzīgs process varēja notikt arī iepriekšējos gadsimtos, kad vieta precizēta pēc tās saimnieka vai pat vienkārši saukta saimnieka vārdā. 1942. gada krievu topogrāfiskajā kartē M 1:25 000 *Āļēnu* vietā parādās *Алини* un *Алиняс*, 1963. gadā – *Алини*, *Алени*. Mūsdienās senos *Āļēnus* atgādina vairs tikai vienas mājvietas nosaukums *Aliņas*. Vai nosaukums ir mainījies, vai tikai pārveidojies krievu rakstības ietekmē, to pēc kartēm vien ir grūti spriest.

Pie Kokneses muižas atsevišķi uzskaitīti 14 sīkzemnieki (*zagrodnicy*), kas dzīvojot netālu no pils. Vismaz dažiem uzvārdos var sazīmēt amatus: *Andrey Skodarz* (varbūt 'skroderis'); *Jan Zdun* (vecp. *zdun* 'podnieks'); *Hans Grabers* (v. *Gräber* 'racējs'); *Andrzej Kuśnierz* (p. *kuśnierz* 'ādminis'), turpat vēl cits ādminis ar uzvārdu: *Barthol Rosen kuśnierz*; mūsdienās *Kušneru* mājas ir Vietalvas pagastā, attālāk no Kokneses, acīmredzot tiešas saistības ar minētajiem nav. Trijiem ir līdzīgi uzvārdi: *Tenis Kielis*, *Hans Kielissan*, *Jndryk Kilissan*. Kādam uzvārds, šķiet, pierakstīts pēc tautības: *Peter Polith* (resp., 'polis, polītis'). Citam varētu būt iesauka maza auguma dēļ: *Wilhelm Sykulith* ('sīkulītis'). Mūsdienu kartē Kokneses apkārtnē šie personvārdi pēdas nav atstājuši.

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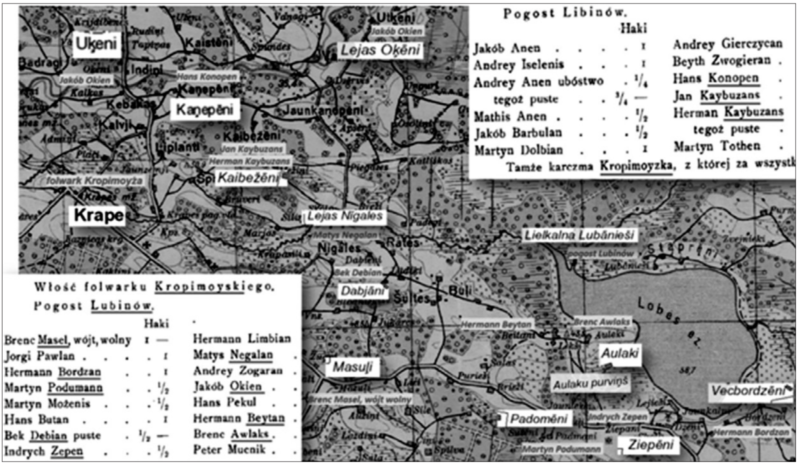
6 Nekustamas mantas saraksts [..]. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, Nr. 106 (14.05.1929), 3. lpp.

7 Dzejnieka Aleksandra Čaka tēvabrālis.

Kā otrā foļvarka Kokneses pilsnovadā minēta *Krapes muiža* (*Kropimoyża*), kurai ir divi pagasti ar ļoti līdzīgiem nosaukumiem: *pogost Lubinów* un *pogost Libinów*, izvietojušies starp Krapi un Lobes ezeru. Atbilsmju senajiem uzvārdiem mūsdienu kartē ir daudz (3. att.), bet pagastu robežas ir visai izplūdušas.



3. attēls. Personvārdi 1599. gada revīzijā un nosaukumi mūsdienu kartē starp Krapi un Lobes ezeru

Lubiņu pagasta nosaukums acīmredzot saistīts ar *Lobes ezeru* un *Lubāniešiem* tā ziemeļu krastā, kam 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā atbilst *Lobbemiz*, *Lubbanisch*. Voita uzvārdu (*Brenc Masel*) vēl glabā *Vecmasuļi*, saglabājušies arī daudzi citi nosaukumi: *Hermann Bordzan – Vecbordzēni*, *Martyn Podumann – Padomēni*, *Bek Debian – Dabjāni*, *Indrych Zepen – Ziepēni*, *Matys Negalan – Kalna Nīgales*, *Jakób Okien – Lejas Oķēni*, *Brenc Awlaks – Aulaki*. No *Libiņu pagasta* labi atpazīstami mūsdienu vietvārdos ir *Hans Konopen – Kaņepēni*, *Jan* un *Herman Kaybuzans – Kaibežēni*. Veicot detalizētāku izpēti, iespējams, atklātos vēl daudzi citi seni nosaukumi un to veidošanās vēsture.

Trešā Kokneses pils foļvarka – *Ozolmuiža* (*folwark Użełomoyski*) – atrodas vistālāk no Kokneses, uz Ērgļu pusi. Tās vienīgais pagasts ir *pogost Dumowski*, kur vārdā minēti 19 zemnieki, un gandrīz visus toreizējos uzvārdus var atpazīt mūsdienu mājvārdos kompaktā teritorijā ap bijušo *Ozolmuižu*[8] jeb tagadējiem *Sidrabiņiem* Sausnējas pagasta vidusdaļā

8 Seno muižas nosaukumu vēl glabā dīķis, saukts *Ozolmuižas Daugaviņa*.

(4. tab.). Senā pagasta nosaukums mūsdienās, šķiet, vairs nav sazīmējams nevienā šīs teritorijas vietvārdā, 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā tam daļēji atbilst *Dumusch Pagast*, A. Švābes (1921: 36; 1924: 21; 1925: 643) latviskojumā – *Dumušu*, *Dūmužu* vai *Dūmuižu pagasts*.

4. tabula. Kokneses pilsnovada *Dumušu pagasta* (*pogost Dumowski*) personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē (Sausnējas pag.)
Gier Piestan, wójt	*Starost Michell Piettzan, sein Bruder Marthen Piettzan*	*Peßidan, Pesdan; Pesdan Land*	*Pežgēni**, citos avotos *Piežděni*
Jakób Wecythan	*Jörgen Wetzetans, Jurgen undt Jacob Wetztan*	*Wetzitan, Wetzitan Brentz*	*Vecītēni*
Brenc Dzirkutan, Andrey Dzirkutan	*Marthen Ruckan uf Sircklan landt*	*Sirklan, Sirklen*	*Dzirklēni*
Mihiel Rukian	*Andres Rukian, Jaane Ruckan*	*Rukian*	*Ruķēni**
Andrey Dadzon	*Matias Dodzan, Matthis Datzan*	*Datzan, Dadsen*	*Lejas Dadzēni*
Peter Armon	*Hans Ermanan*	*Herman, Erman*	*Ērmēni*
Beyth Zylan	*Jacob Silan*	*Silan*	*Zīlēni*
Gierk Prykinan	*Prickenen* (*wüste Lande*)	*Prick, Pricken*	*Prikņi**, *Prikņu kalns*
Peter Romlen, Klaus Romlan	*Hans Rammelan, Jacob Ramelan*	*Ramilan, Rammulan*	*Ramļēni*
Andrey Jandzon	*Kalwis oder Jaunasemi*	–	*Jaunzemi**
Peter Malink	*Malneck*	*Malneeks Ahr*	–
Barthol Milnan, Andrey Milnan	*Klein Milnan* (*wüste Lande*), *Jurgen Ettickan uf Milnan landt*	*Dramske oder Milnan; Rattman, Milnan oder Rahtman*	*Milnēni**, *Dramšķi*
Jakób Jakien	–	*Jekan, Ieken, Jeken Landt*	*Jākaiņi**, *Jākaiņu kalns*
Thoni Klawen	*Jacob Clawan*	*Klawan*	–
Jakób Pankien	*Pancken* (*wüste Lande*), *Marten Pankian, Marthen Pancken*	*Panckjahn, Pankian*	*Paņķēni*

* 2018. gadā vairs nepastāv, bet vēl ir 20. gs. kartēs.

Dumušu pagasta voits 1599. gadā bijis *Gier Piestan*. Iespējams, viņa pēcnācēji manto amatu, jo 1638. gadā minēts stārasts ar līdzīgu uzvārdu – *Michell Piettzan* un viņa brālis (*sein Bruder*) *Marthen Piettzan*. 1682. gada zviedru kartē atzīmētas mājas: *Peßidan*, *Pesdan*, kā arī *Pesdan Land*. Nosaukums attiecas uz vietu, kur 20. gs. 30. gadu kartē (LT 75) iezīmēti *Pežgēni*, 1963. gada kartē – *Пежгени*. E. Dunsdorfs (1974: 248), atsaucoties uz J. Endzelīnu, min nosaukumu *Piežděni*, kas atbilst citos avotos minētajiem: *Peschdan* (1900. gada vācu kartē), *Пешданъ* (Шуберт 1877), *Piežděni* (18.–19. gs. reģistros, skat. Šķiliņš 1937). Mūsdienu kartē šai vietā ir viensētas *Viesturi* un *Burtnieki*, bet senais vietvārds nav pamanāms pat apkārtējo dabas objektu nosaukumos.

Pārējos senos uzvārdus atpazīt vēlākajos mājvārdos ir diezgan viegli. Daudzi nosaukumi ir saglabājušies gandrīz nemainīgi: *Vecītēni*, *Ruķēni*, *Dadzēni*, *Zīlēni*, *Ramļēni*, *Milnēni*, *Paņķēni*; vienīgi izskaņas *-ēni* vietā 16.–17. gs. vēl varēja būt *-āni* (sal. 4. tab.).

Daži ieraksti 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā, šķiet, norāda uz zemnieku pārcelšanos: *Marthen Ruckan uf Sircklan landt*, *Jurgen Ettickan uf Milnan landt*. 20. gs. 30. gadu kartē (LT 75) redzam, ka *Ruķēni* atrodas blakus *Dzirklēniem* un *Milnēni* blakus *Teķēniem*. Ja pirmajā gadījumā vienkārši varēja tikt pārņemta tukša kaimiņu saimniecība, tad otrajā pamanāms jauns nosaukums, kāda 1599. gadā nav bijis: *Ettickan*, varbūtējie *Teķēni*. Nosaukums *Teken*, *Текенъ* atrodams arī 19. gs. kartēs, taču 1942. un 1963. gada topogrāfiskajās kartēs M 1:25 000 šajā vietā ir *Якайни*, acīmredzot *Jākaiņi*, kas mūsdienās ir izzuduši, bet nosaukumu glabā *Jākaiņu kalns* un *Jākaiņu mežs*. Varētu domāt, ka notikusi nosaukumu maiņa, taču jau 1599. gada sarakstā blakus *Milnānam* (*Milnan*) minētais *Jakób Jakien*, kā arī *Jekan*, *Ieken* un *Jeken Landt* zviedru kartē liecina par to, ka arī *Jākaiņi* ir bijuši turpat jau 1599. gadā. Vai *Teķēni* bijis nosaukuma variants, kļūda vai citas viensētas nosaukums turpat blakus, no apskatītajiem materiāliem secināt nevar.

Iespējamie *Mālnieki* un *Klāvāni* varētu būt izzuduši vai pārdēvēti jau agrāk, jo 20. gs. kartēs šajā teritorijā tie nav atrodami. 1900. gada vācu kartē uz ziemeļiem no *Dramšķiem* ir viensēta *Malekaln*, 19. gs. krievu kartē *Малекальн*, vēlāko, bet šobrīd izzudušo *Kalna Stauģēnu* vietā. Turpat blakus atrodas *Jēķēni*, kas atgādina jau iepriekš minētos *Jākaiņus*. Bez padziļinātas izpētes grūti spriest par šo nosaukumu saistību ar 1599. gadā minētajiem *Malink* un *Jakien*. Savukārt par *Klāvānu* atrašanās vietu pagaidām nav pat minējumu.

Tātad no *Dumušu pagasta* 19 saimnieku uzvārdiem vienīgi *Janis Truslis* nav atpazīts nevienā no vēlākajiem avotiem – vai nu nosaukums izzudis jau 17. gs., vai varbūt pierakstīts tik izkropļotā formā, ka to vēlākos avotos vairs nevar atpazīt. Salīdzinot ar Latgali, tas ir milzīgs saglabājušos seno nosaukumu skaits tik mazā teritorijā. Līdzīgu pēctecību Latgalē var vērot, sākot ar 18. gs., taču pārsteidzoši līdzīga ir apdzīvoto vietu veidošanās shēma: agrākos avotos minēts personvārds laika gaitā pārtop par vietvārdu. Protams, tas nenozīmē, ka Livonijas laikā būtu notikusi īpaša uzvārdu došana, tomēr tendence pierakstīt personas vārdu kopā ar precizējošu papildvārdu (otrajā pozīcijā, līdzīgi kā mūsdienu uzvārdu) 16. gs. un 17. gs. sākumā nepārprotami pastāv. Šie papildvārdi, ja vien nav amatu, personas īpašību vai tml. apzīmējumi, varētu būt arī cēlušies no vietu vai dzimtu nosaukumiem, tomēr tie nepārprotami attiecas uz personu. Vēlāk, nostiprinoties dzimtbūšanai, papildvārds varēja pāriet pirmajā pozīcijā jau kā vietas nosaukums, resp., mājvārds.

Nosaukums *Čulkstēni* (Klintaines pag.) saglabājies arī uzvārdā, piem., 1883. gada laikrakstā[9] minēts *Jahnis Tschulkstens* no netālās Stukmaņu muižas; uzvārds nav izzudis arī mūsdienās. Vai šis un citi senie uzvārdi un vietvārdi saglabājuši arī dzimtas pēctecību, vai varbūt tie ir tikai 19. gs. uzvārdu došanas kampaņā par uzvārdu izvēlēti vietvārdi, tas ir atsevišķi pētāms jautājums. Taču nosaukums kā tāds tomēr ir ar senu vēsturi un nav radies nejauši, kā daļa no 19. gs. piešķirtajiem uzvārdiem.

Aizkraukles pilsnovads ir daudz mazāks nekā Kokneses, tam pieder tikai divi pagasti – *Mezo* un *Dźwiński*, resp., *Mezo* un *Daugavas pagasts*. *Mezo pagasts* atrodas tālāk no Daugavas – *w lesie* 'mežā'. Tā nosaukums varētu būt saistīts ar *Maizīti*, Braslas kreiso pieteku, kas sākas Aizkraukles purvā un tek caur Skrīveriem. Ap šo upīti Skrīveru apkārtnē mūsdienu kartē atrodami nosaukumi, kas asociējas ar 1599. gadā *Mezo pagastā* minētajiem personvārdiem (5. tab.).

Daļu no 5. tabulā minētajiem īpašvārdiem pagaidām nav izdevies atrast 1638. gada revīzijā, taču vēlākos avotos tie ir un nav izzuduši joprojām. 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā sastopam acīmredzami to pašu 1599. gadā minēto *Hans Ugielnik* – jau kā vecāko zemnieku un bijušo stārastu *Hans Ogelnieck*, kurš stāsta par agrākiem laikiem (Dunsdorfs 1941a: 1030–1031). Zīmīgi, ka ļoti daudzi saimnieko kopā ar radiniekiem (brāļiem, dēliem), kas, visticamāk, turpina saukties tajā pašā uzvārdā, jo nosaukums neizzūd.

9 Eekschzemes ziņas. *Balss*, Nr. 25 (22.06.1883), 5. lpp.

5. tabula. Aizkraukles pilsnovada *Mezo pagasta (pogost Mezo)* personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

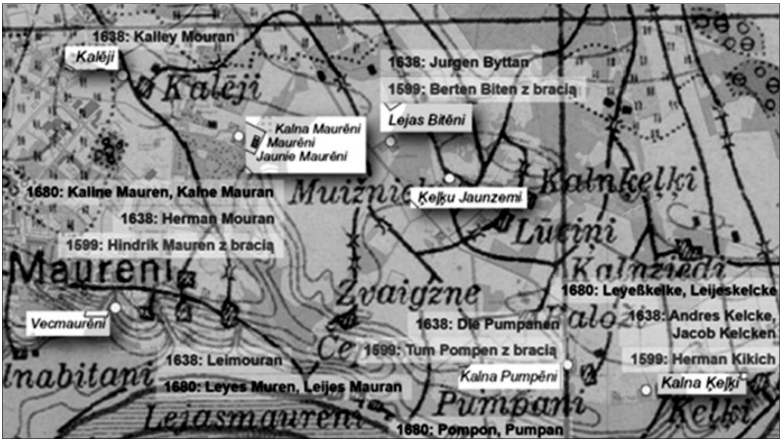
Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē
Tom Ronden z bratem, Herman Ronden	*Thomas Randain, Jacob Randain*	*Rondan, Randan*	*Vecrandāni* (Skrīveru nov.)
Martin Mucznik z bratem	*Jacob Mutzinieck, Brentz Mutzinieck*	*Mutzeneck*	*Mucenieki* (Skrīveru nov.)
Hans Ugielnik, Jakub Gielnik	*Hans Ogelnieck* (bijušais stārasts), *Michell Ogelnieck*	*Ogelnek, Ogelneck, Öegelneck oder Krewing, Ögelneck eller Abße*	*Oglenieki, Apsēni* (Skrīveru nov.)
Jan Svaren z synem	*Jacob Schuoroin*	*Swarans, Schwaran*	*Svarēni* (Aizkrauklē un Skrīveru nov.)
Kryskien Kopysz	?	*Kapske, Kabsche*	*Kapčas* (Skrīveru nov.)
Wdowa Auszkinowa	?	*Ausken, Aukschan*	*Aušķēni* (Skrīveros)
Wilem Labrenten z bracią	?	*Lapranzen, Labbrentz*	*Labrenči* (Skrīveru nov.)
Hans Mistat z bratem	?	*Mistaut*	*Mistauti* (Jumpravas pag.)
Hans Balcen z synami	?	*Balsken, Balsche*; *Belden, Beltan*	? *Bolšāres* vai *Beltēni* (Skrīveru nov.)

Arī *Daugavas pagastā* (*pogost Dźwiński*), neraugoties uz to, ka tas atradies tieši pie Aizkraukles, kur 20. gs. uzpludināta Pļaviņu HES ūdenskrātuve un izaugusi pilsēta (Aizkraukle), senie nosaukumi ir saglabājušies ļoti labi (6. tab. un 4. att.).

6. tabula. Dažu Aizkraukles pilsnovada *Daugavas pagasta* (*pogost Dźwiński*) personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē (Aizkraukles pag.)
Hindrik Mauren z bracią	*Herman Mouran*	*Kallne Mauren, Kalne Mauran*	*Kalna Maurēni*
	Leimouran	*Leyes Muren, Leijes Mauran*	*Vecmaurēni*
	Kalley Mouran	?	*Kalēji*
Berten Biten z bracią	*Jurgen Byttan*	?	*Lejas Bitēni, Jaunbitēni*

Tum Pompen z bracią	*Die Pumpanen*	*Pompon, Pumpan*	*Kalna Pumpēni*
Herman Kikich, ? Jakub Gielnik	*Andres Kelcke Jacob Kelcken*	*Leyeßkelke, Leijeskelcke*	*Kalna Ķeļķi, Ķeļķu Jaunzemi*



4. attēls. Personvārdi un vietvārdi pie Aizkraukles 16.–17. gs. revīzijās un 20.–21. gs. kartēs

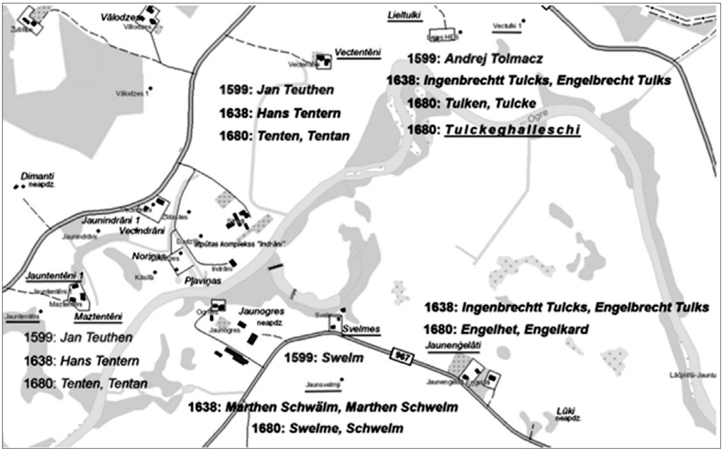
1599. gadā minēts *Hindrik Mauren z bracią* 'ar brāļiem', 1638. gadā ar šādu uzvārdu ir jau vairāki saimnieki: *Kalley Mouran und Herman Mouran*, kā arī *Leimouran* (acīmredzot *Lejas Maurāns*). Interesanti, ka abiem pirmajiem ir dēli, kurus sauc *Hindrich*, varbūt nosaukti vectēva vārdā. Zviedru laikos nostiprinājušos vietvārdus mūsdienās glabā cita no citas netālu esošās viensētas: *Maurēni*, *Kalna Maurēni*, *Jaunie Maurēni*, *Vecmaurēni* un *Kalēji*. 20. gs. 30. gadu kartē (LT 75) tepat Daugavas krastā *Maurēni* vēl atzīmēti kā ciems. 1599. gada *Berten Biten z bracią* saimniekošanu turpina 1638. gadā minētais *Jurgen Byttan*, un nosaukums neizzūd arī vēlāk (lai gan 1682. gada revīzijas materiālos nav viegli pamanāms), par ko liecina mūsdienu *Lejas Bitēni*, *Jaunbitēni*. 1599. gada *Tum Pompen z bracią* vietā 1638. gadā jau saimnieko vairāki *Pumpēni*, uz ko norāda daudzskaitļa forma *die Pumpanen*; mūsdienās joprojām nosaukumu glabā *Kalna Pumpēni*. Savukārt mūsdienu *Ķeļķu* nosaukums, kurš nepārprotami izsekojams 17. gs. revīzijās, 1599. gadā varētu slēpties uzvārdā *Kikich* vai *Gielnik*.

Vienīgi Aizkraukles pils aprakstā atsevišķi uzskaitīto vāciešu personvārdi (*Hans Wnithfej*, *Peter Drey*, *Malcher Traffen* u. c.) vēlākos avotos gandrīz vairs nav atrodami. Izņēmums ir *Jan Szkileng*, kurš apsaimnieko vislielāko platību un kura vārdu var atpazīt zviedru laika *Schillings Hoff* un arī mūsdienu *Šķiliņos* – gan Aizkrauklē, gan Skrīveru novadā. Varbūt vēl *Marcin Spunden* varētu saistīt ar mūsdienu *Spundēm*, taču tās atrodas patālu no Skrīveriem, Madlienas pagastā.

Lielvārdes pilsnovadam 1599. gadā pieder trīs pagasti – *Kurczyn*, *Idowski* un *Piszczyński*. Pirmais atradies pie Ogresgala, par ko liecina daudzi 1599. gada uzvārdiem atbilstoši nosaukumi mūsdienu kartē (7. tab.). Dažos apvidos senie nosaukumi saglabājušies apbrīnojami labi (5. att.).

7. tabula. Dažu Lielvārdes pilsnovada *Kurczyn pagasta* personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1680. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē
Andrej Stadtdulth	*Andres Staldatt*	*Stoldal, Staldoot*	*Lielstaldāti, Mazstaldāti* (Ogresgala pag.)
Peter Sloka	*Mölcher Schlock*	*Slok, Schlocke*	*Slokas* (Ogresgala pag.)
Andrej Muszka	*Jahne Muske*	*Musche, Muske*	*Lāčmuskas* (Ogresgala pag.)
Juryn Pecith	*Jahne Petzit*	*Petz, Petze*	*Lielpeči, Mazpeči* (Ogresgala pag.)
Mikiell Otto	*Michell Uttell*	? *Jocit, Jootziel*	? *Jocīši* (Ogresgala pag.)
Jan Teuthen	*Hans Tentern*	*Tenten, Tentan*	*Vectentēni* (Ogresgala pag.)
Andrej Dupon	?	?	*Vecdupēni* (Ogresgala pag.)
Jan Zagier	*Bernt Sayer*	?	*Lielzāģeri* (Ogresgala pag.)
Peter Zed, Jachim Zed	? *Hahne Schede*	?	*Ogresziedi, Garziedi, Jaunziedi* (Rembates pag.)
Swelm	*Marthen Schwälm, Marthen Schwelm*	*Swelme, Schwelm*	*Jaunsvelmes* (Rembates pag.)
Lawryn Kier	*Petter Kyre*	?	*Mazķervāni* (Rembates pag.)



5. attēls. Daži personvārdi un vietvārdi Lielvārdes pilsnovadā 16.–17. gs. revīzijās un mūsdienu kartē

1599. gadā minētais *Andrej Tolmacz*, iespējams, bijis tulks (sal. p. *tłumacz*, v. *Dolmetscher*, agrāk arī *Tolmetsch* 'tulks'), par ko liecina zviedru revīzijās šajā pašā vietā fiksētie *Tulks*, *Tulken*, *Tulcke*. Igaunijas pilsnovadu aprakstos 1599. gadā tulku ir daudz, piem., *Jakusz Tłumacz*, *Pojecki Marcus tłumacz*, *Tolke Jak* (sal. ig. *tõlk* 'tulks'). Latvijas pusē tulki tik skaidri norādīti nav, tomēr dažos uzvārdos šo funkciju var nojaust – kā tikko minētajā *Andrej Tolmacz* un varbūt arī *Spungian Talkarys* Rēzeknes pilsnovadā, kurš nez kāpēc izcelts citu *Spuņģānu* (*Spungianowie*) vidū.

Salaspils pilsnovads teritorijas ziņā ir ļoti neliels, pagasti nav izdalīti, bet zemnieki uzskaitīti, gandrīz neminot kristāmvārdus. Neraugoties uz tiešo Rīgas tuvumu, kur tik strauji mainās apbūve un šķietami nenoturīgi ir arī vietvārdi, daži no tiem, pat mājvārdi, pamanījušies noturēties jau vairāk nekā 400 gadu. Tādi varētu būt *Blaņķi* (sal. 1599. gadā *Blank Bertell*, 1638. – *Albrecht Blainck*), *Reipiņi* (1599. gadā *Repin*, 1638. – *Repen land*), vēl 20. gs. pastāvēja *Migļi* (1599. gadā *Miglis*, 1638. – *Migkeln land*), tiem blakus bija *Ruķi*, tag. *Rūķi*, *Rūķīši* (sal. 1599. gadā *Rukin*), *Vēveri* (1599. gadā *Wewer*). 1599. gadā minēti divi leimaņi: *Martt Wedmer Leyman* un *Peter Koenikk Leyman*. Mūsdienās Salaspils tuvumā pastāv divas viensētas ar nosaukumu *Leimaņi*, Daugavas kreisajā krastā iepretī Salaspilij ir *Vedmeri* (nosaukums izsekojams arī 17. gs. zviedru revīzijās: 1638. gadā *Bredick*[10]

10 Iespējams, personvārds, varbūt vārda *Frīdrihs* pārveidojums, ar ko varētu būt saistāmi tādi vietvārdi kā *Brēdiķi*, *Breidaki* u. tml.

Wedmer, 1683. – *Welldemer*, *Wedmer*). Savukārt otrs leimanis *Koenikk* ir nevis 'kājnieks', kā izskatās, bet 'ķoniņš' (faktiski 'leimaņa' sinonīms), par ko liecina 1683. gada revīzijā turpat pie Salaspils fiksētie *Kaning*, *Kivning*, *Kaningh*, *Kiöning*, *Kiöning Jost*, *Kiöning Michell*.

Vainiži – kādreizējā Rīgas arhibīskapa pils, 1599. gadā no tās palikuši tikai mūri, bet pils vietā uzcelta muiža. Tās aprakstā minēti vairāki dīķi, četri ezeri: *Sarnysz* (tag. *Sārumezers*), *Sylenickie* (varbūt tag. *Maizezers*), *Wadasz* (*Ruckas* jeb *Vada ezers*), *czarne* (*Melnezers*), kas līdz ar citiem vietu nosaukumiem ieskicē pilsnovada teritoriju. 1599. gadā Vainižu muižai jeb foļvarkai piederējuši divi pagasti: *Vainižu pagasts* ar 37 saimniecībām, biezāk apdzīvots, un otrs, vārdā nenosaukts, kurš apvieno vairākus agrākos pagastus (*Wandzelski*, *Sryknicki, Korbski*) ar 34 saimniecībām un kurā ir daudz neapsaimniekotu platību.

Atšķirībā no Piedaugavas pilsnovadiem Vainižos ļoti drīz pēc poļu revīzijas ienāca zviedri, līdz ar to ir unikāla iespēja salīdzināt tos pašus personvārdus gandrīz vienā laikā poļu un zviedru interpretācijā (8. tab.).

8. tabula. Dažu Vainižu pilsnovada personvārdu atbilsmes mūsdienu vietvārdos

Personvārds 1599. gada poļu revīzijā	Personvārds 1601. gada zviedru revīzijā	Personvārds 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 1682. gada zviedru revīzijā	Mājvārds 2018. gada kartē
Hans Aur	*Hanns Sauwr*	*Jahn Aur*	*Aure*	*Auri*
Jak Issalkal	*Jacob Weselka*	*Eßell Kay*	*Oesekay, Eeselkay*	*Iesalkājas*
Kien	*Peter Kenne*	–	*Kenne, Kenge*	*Ķeņi, Ķensbergi*
Kieper	–	*? Kippendorf*	*Körper, Köpper*	*Ķeperi*
Kithys pogost	–	*Thomaß Kütt*	*Kydte, Kyhte*	*Ķītas*
Klaus Kletnik	*Clauwes Kleettnick*	–	*Kletneck, Klähtneck*	*Klētnieki*
Jan Klynszmedt	*Jaen Kleinschmidt*	*Matz Kleinschmidt*	*Kleinschmit*	*Kliesmītes*
Peter Kolk	*Peter Kolck*	–	–	*Klokas, Lejasklokas*
pogost Korbski	–	*Thomaß Kerbe*	–	*Korbu ciems*
Laures Kraul	*Laurens Krauwell*	*Andreaß Kraull*	*Kraukell, Kraul*	*Veckrauļi*
wioska Kruczem	–	*Thonnießs Krutzzem*	*Krutsem, Krutz Zeem*	*Krūciemi*
Martyn Ladlekull	*Martten Sadilkull*	*Heinrich Sedellkull*	*Selkul, Salkull*	*Kalna Selkuļi, Serkuļi*
Andrys Melki	*Andreas Melck*	*Thomaß Melck*	*Melke, Melcke*	*Melkas*
Andrys Pergiell	*Andreas Pergull*	–	–	*Purgaiļu purvs*
Pill	*Jacob Puhll*	–	*Pille*	*Piļļi*
Bertmes Piper	*Bartelmeuß Piper*	–	*Piper*	*Pīpari, Mazpīpari*

Hans Pun	*Hans Punne*	*Ewert Penn*	*Penne Land*	*Pennes*
Tomas Rydmecz	*Tomas Remmes*	*Rimmitz Thomaß*	*Resematz, Rimmatz Land*	*Rimači*
Hans Symko	*Peter Immcke*	–	*Imke*	*Inkas*
Martyn Suyski	*Martten Susse*	*Jakob Sutzky*	*Sushe, Suskie*	*Sušķi**
Andres Tau	*Andreas Towe*	*? Taur*	–	*Taumeži*
Jurgen Tels	*Jaen Telß*	*Jahn Cels*	*Tilsche, Telsch*	*Telši 1, Telši 2*
Matys Weynig	*Mattießß Schwey-nick*	*Peter Sweyneck*	*Kalne Sweineck, Leyes Sweineck*	*Kalnzvejnieki, Zvejnieku ezers*
Peter Wildt	–	–	*Wilpe*	*Vilpas*

* 2018. gadā vairs nepastāv, bet vēl ir 20. gs. kartēs.

1599. gadā minētajam *pogost Korbski* atbilst *Paggast oder dorf Korbusch* 1638. gada revīzijā, kur pamanāms arī līdzīgs uzvārds – *Thomas Kerbe*. Šajā gadījumā uzvārds varēja būt veidots pēc vietas nosaukuma, kas ir senāks, jo *Korbe* kā pagasts vai ciems minēts 1521. gadā (robežu jautājumā starp *Korbi* un *Pociemu*) un, iespējams, pat 1455. gadā (robeža starp *Korbi* un *Kouwerlet*, ja ar to domāti *Katvari*) (sal. Stikāne 2008). Līdz mūsdienām saglabājies vairs tikai apvidus nosaukums *Korbu ciems*. Ne ciems, ne viensēta ar šādu nosaukumu nav atrodams 20. gs. 30. gadu kartē, šāda nosaukuma nav arī vēlākajās padomju laika topogrāfiskajās kartēs. Kā plašākas teritorijas nosaukums *Korbeischen* atrodams 1839. gada Rikera kartē (Rücker 1839). Mellīna atlantā (Mellin 1798) *Korbe* nav atzīmēta. Līdzīgi kā daudzi citi nesaprotami Vainižu pagasta vietvārdi, *Korbe* varētu būt lībiskas izcelsmes[11], jo Vainižu ģeogrāfiskais novietojums ļauj domāt, ka vēl 16. gs. te līdzās latviešiem varētu būt dzīvojuši lībieši.

Pie Vainižu pils piederējusi arī netālā *Umurgas muiža* (*folwarczek Ubnor*). Umurgas baznīcai ap 1599. gadu piešķirtas trīs saimniecības: *Tomasz Skierp*, *Dyrych Skierb* un *Tomasz Prync*. 20. gs. 30. gadu kartē (LT 75) vēl atrodami attiecīgi viensētu nosaukumi: *Princis* (mūsdienās izzudusi), *Ķērpa* (tag. *Lejasķērpji*), *Mazķepers* un *Ķeperis* (tag. *Kalnķeperi*, *Jaunķeperi* un *Lejasķeperi* pie *Ķeperu dīķa*). Tāpat atpazīstami ir vēl daudzi citi nosaukumi Umurgas apkārtnē.

Citos avotos var izsekot vietvārdu veidošanās procesam un izmaiņām laika gaitā. Tā 1599. gadā minēts kāds *Juger Meyk*, 1638. gada revīzijā – *Andreaß Meinck* un ciems *Maynckendorff*, 1682. gada kartē – *Maike*, *Meyke*. 1839. gada kartē *Maikendorf* atzīmēts tagadējo *Muižkalnu* jeb *Kalnmuižas* vietā (Limbažu pag.). 1599. gada *Kithys pogost* acīmredzot bijis kas lielāks par mājvārdu. 1638. gadā minēts *Thomaß Kütt*, Rikera kartē (Rücker 1839) mājvārds *Kit*, mūsdienās – *Lielķītas*, *Mazķītas*, *Lejasķītas*, *Jaunķītas*.

11 Sal. līb. *kuorbõ*, ig. *kõrbeda* ‘svilt, izdegt’ (Viitso, Ernštreits 2012).

1599. gadā minēts *Jurgen Tels*, 1601. gadā – *Jaen Telß* un *Thomas Telß*, ko Arveds Švābe (1933: 380) skaidro kā iespējamu ‘Toma dēls’. 1638. gada revīzijā ir *Jahn Cels* (ar piezīmi – *Tels*), 1682. gada kartē atzīmētas trīs mājas ar nosaukumu *Tilsche*, *Telsch* (Dunsdorfs 1974: 86), vietā, kur arī mūsdienās atrodas viensētas *Telši 1* un *Telši 2*. Nozīme ‘dēls’ ir vai nu pilnībā aizmirsta un vārds vācu-poļu-zviedru reģistros pārveidots līdz nepazīšanai, vai arī jau pašā sākumā tur bijis cits vārds, varbūt pat tuvāks mūsdienu izrunai, bet kam aizmirsusies nozīme.

3. Daži vārdi par senajiem uzvārdiem

1599. gada revīzijas materiālos ir daudz jau pilnīgi izveidojušos poļu uzvārdu, netrūkst arī apstiprinājumu tam, ka tie ir dzimtu nosaukumi, kas tiek pārmantoti. Piemēram, 1599. gada revīzijā minēts Vainižu īpašnieks *Stanislavs Koss*, savukārt 1638. gada zviedru revīzijā atzīmēts, ka Vainižos poļu laikos[12] bijis stārasts *Laurencs Koss* (*Laurentz Kosß*), pēc viņa šo amatu pārņēmis viņa dēls – *jaunais Koss* (*der Junge Kosß*) (Dunsdorfs 1940: 400). No citiem avotiem[13] zināms, ka *Laurencs* (poļu variantā *Wawrzyniec*) bija *Stanislava* dēls, tātad uzvārds mantots vairākās paaudzēs, tas ir dzimtas nosaukums. Acīmredzot pēc tā paša parauga poļi pierakstīja arī vietējās personas, kā to uzskatāmi var redzēt 1582.–1621. gada Rīgas sv. Jēkaba katoļu draudzes metrikās (Biezais 1957), kur atrodamas arī personas no daudziem Vidzemes lauku apvidiem. Tomēr šķiet, ka jau Livonijas laikos prakse pierakstīt kristāmvārdu kopā ar kādu papildvārdu nebija sveša, par ko liecina daudzi 16. gs. dokumenti.

Ja tiek atzīts, ka uzvārdi jau 15.–16. gs. bijuši pilsētniekiem (piem., Upelnieks 1936: 229), nav pamata apgalvot, ka zemnieku papildvārdi, kas izskatās tieši tāpat, nebūtu ar tādu pašu funkciju – precizēt personu, saistot to ar dzimtu vai tml. Arī pilsētnieku gadījumā senie uzvārdi bieži veidoti no amatu nosaukumiem, iesaukām utt. Zemniekiem tie varēja būt arī senāki vietu vai dzimtu nosaukumi. Tie gan varēja mainīties, tomēr uzvārda “ideja” jau pastāvēja. Iespējams, ka vēlāk, zviedru laikos, nostiprinoties dzimtbūšanai, uzvārdus pakāpeniski nomainīja mājvārdi. Kā atzīmē E. Dunsdorfs (1938: 157), 17. gs. Vidzemē “dzimtcilvēka vārds bija arī viņa ciemata vārds, turpretim ienācēja vārds reizēm bija nenoteikts – gan viņa uzvārds, gan vecais ciemata vārds. Vēl 1688. gada 30. janvāra reglāments cīnās pret šo parādību. Reglāmenta

12 Vainižos tas varēja būt vēl 17. gs. 20. gados.

13 Skat. poļu ģenealoģijas pētnieka Vernera Zureka (*Werner Zurek*) komentāru portālā *Kos Family Crest, Coat of Arms and Name History*, https://coadb.com/surnames/kos-arms.html [skatīts 20.12.2018].

32. pants nosaka, ka domēņu rentniekiem, kā arī zemniekiem jāpanāk, lai zemnieki, kas uzņemas jaunu ciematu, pieņemtu šī ciemata vārdu, nepaturot savu agrāko vārdu." Iespējamību 16.–17. gs. zemnieku papildvārdus (vismaz nosacīti) saukt par uzvārdiem atzīst arī citi 20. gs. 30. gadu pētnieki (Āboliņa 1935: 119; Bērziņš 1935a: 32; 1935b: 204).

Interesanta parādība ir personvārdi vietvārdu vietā 17.–18. gs. kartēs (6. att.).

6. attēls. Personvārds *Baldeschen Tönnis* 1690. gada zviedru kartē (LVVA 1690: 7404. fonds, 1. apraksts, 1586. lieta). Piemērs no Vecpiebalgas novada Inešu pagasta, kur joprojām pastāv ciems *Baldiešēni* pie Nedža ezera

Personvārdi (vārds kopā ar uzvārdu) reizēm sastopami pat ciemu nosaukumu vietā vēl 18. gs. poļu revīziju sarakstos (Довгялло 1899). Iespējams, daudzos gadījumos arī Vidzemes mājvārdi vīriešu dzimtes vienskaitlī tieši norāda uz esošo vai bijušo saimnieku. Šāda parādība vērojama arī jaunākos laikos, piem., 20. gs. 30. gadu mājvārdos Latgalē vai pat mūsdienu jaunajos viensētu nosaukumos. Šķiet, ka senajos 16.–17. gs. revīziju sarakstos vēl netika īpaši nodalīti personu un viņu īpašumu nosaukumi.

Secinājumi

Kaut arī 1599. gada revīziju no mūsdienām šķir vairāk nekā 400 gadu, tajā minētajos vietvārdos un personvārdos var saskatīt pārsteidzoši daudz atbilstību mūsdienu mājvārdiem Vidzemē, kā arī uzvārdiem un ciemu nosaukumiem Latgalē. Uzmanību īpaši piesaista revīzijā minēto personvārdu otro komponentu (iespējamo uzvārdu) atbilstība vēlākajiem vietu nosaukumiem. Negaidīti daudz šādu atbilsmju ir mūsdienu Vidzemes mājvārdos. Materiāls ļauj saskatīt un apzināties, cik seni var būt "visparastākie" Latvijas vietu nosaukumi un kādu vēsturisku informāciju tie glabā.

Pārsteidzoši daudz 1599. gada personvārdu "pēdu" var atrast Vidzemes mājvārdos un mazo ciemu nosaukumos. Latgales kartē šīs "pēdas" arī ir saskatāmas, tomēr izplūdušākas. Acīmredzot apdzīvoto vietu nosaukumu stabilizēšanās saistīta ar to dokumentēšanu: Vidzemē 17. gs. zviedru laikos notika daudzas revīzijas, kā arī kartēšana; Latgalē šis process sākās vēlāk, 18. gadsimtā.

Daudzie ciemu nosaukumi mūsdienu Latgalē (pretstatā mājvārdiem Vidzemē) acīmredzot ir vēlāko gadsimtu rezultāts, bet 16. gs. apdzīvotības struktūra Latgalē un Vidzemē bija līdzīga – daudzas sīkas izkaisītas mājkopas, kas vēlāk Latgalē, stipri pieaugot iedzīvotāju skaitam, izauga par lielākiem ciemiem. Vidzemē senie mājkopu nosaukumi bieži vien joprojām saglabājušies kā mājkopu, mazo ciemu nosaukumi. Mazie ciemi (mājkopas ar vienojošu nosaukumu) ir raksturīga Latvijas iezīme, kuras saknes iesniedzas vismaz Livonijas laikos, un tā būtu respektējama arī apdzīvoto vietu klasifikācijā un izmantojama adresācijā. Arī vairāk nekā 400 gadu senie mājvārdi būtu pelnījuši uzmanību, varbūt pat aizsardzību.

Daudzos gadījumos karte palīdz identificēt nosaukumus, kas citādi nebūtu atpazīstami to neskaidrās nozīmes un iespējamas sagrozītās rakstības dēļ.

Pētījuma rezultāti rosina arī uz pārdomām par uzvārdu sākumiem Vidzemē. Kaut arī oficiāla uzvārdu piešķiršana Vidzemē un Kurzemē ir notikusi 19. gs., arī 16. gs. beigu un 17. gs. sākuma revīziju materiālos pamanāma nepārprotama uzvārdu klātbūtne (ja uzvārdu definē kā pārmantojamu ģimenes, dzimtas vārdu). Vietvārdi un uzvārdi 16.–17. gs. Vidzemē un Latgalē, šķiet, veido kādu vienotu onomastisku sistēmu, kurā tos ir grūti un reizēm pat neiespējami atdalīt.

Saīsinājumi

ez. – ezers
ig. – igauņu, igauniski
izl. – izloksnē
līb. – lībiešu, lībiski
nov. – novads
p. – poļu, poliski
pag. – pagasts
tag. – tagad
v. – vācu, vāciski
vecp. – vecpoļu

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Денис
Кузьмин

Средневековые имена женщин Карелии

Denis Kuzmin

Medieval Names of Karelian Women[1]

The first documentary evidence of the Christianization of Karelians is dated to 1227. Before that, the medieval Karelian population had an own pre-Christian system of personal names. According to the earliest documentary sources from the 16th century, however, a majority of the male population of Karelian territories wore, at least officially, Christian names. On the other hand, in the first half of the 17th century we still find documents with pre-Christian male names, both national and Old Russian, cf. *Jaakko Repånpoika* (**Revon-*) *Putto* (son of the Fox) (Hyrsylä, 1618) and *Timoska Migriläinen* and his grandson *Pervo* (Russ. *Pervoi* 'first') (Lauroila, 1629). As opposed to pre-Christian male names, which can be followed up not only in documents but also in Karelian surnames and the toponymy, there are no documented traces of female pre-Christian names from the Karelian population. The pre-Christian system of female names was gradually vanishing from the Karelian land as Orthodoxy was taking over. It can be stated that the bulk of the traditional female pre-Christian onomasticon in the Karelian language has been lost irretrievably, and hundreds of pre-Christian Karelian female names 'sank into oblivion' by proxy. At present, the main source of knowledge about Balto-Finnic pagan female names is, admittedly, the oral folk poetry (cf. *Aino*, *Piltti*, *Pal'l'oi*, *Mielikki*, *Tuulikki*, *Slavnikki*, *Loviatar*, *Kuutar*, *Päivätär*). I however believe that there is another important source of information in addition to folklore, i.e. cow names (especially with the suffix *-kki*; cf. *Ainikki*, *Enčikki*, *Kyllikki*, *Lindoi*, *Mairikki*, *Mielikki*, *Peipo*, *Pienikki*, *Piäsköi*, *Piäštikki*, *Tähikki*, *Toičikki*, *Toivikki*).

The dictionary by N. Tupikov includes around six thousands Russian pre-Christian names. This fact may suggest that the number of non-calendar names among Balto-Finnic peoples, namely Karelians, was probably also quite substantial. Thus, further collection and study of Balto-Finnic names of pets and livestock can help reveal new, previously unknown non-calendar names.

Keywords

non-Christian names, pet nicknames,
Karelian language, Finnish language

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1 Публикация подготовлена в рамках выполнения государственного задания КарНЦ РАН.

1. Дохристианские и христианские имена в письменных документах

Система личных женских имен, функционирующая сегодня в среде карельского населения, это результат длительного исторического процесса. В то же время, исследований, специально посвященных этой части карельского антропонимикона, в научном мире пока нет.

После крещения карелов в 1227 году процесс становления новой системы христианских имен занял в Карелии несколько столетий. До этого у средневекового карельского населения была своя дохристианская система личных имен. Однако наиболее ранние массовые документальные источники XVI века свидетельствуют, что к тому времени бóльшая часть мужского населения карельских территорий носила официально христианские имена. В то же время еще в первой половине XVII века в документах встречаются мужские дохристианские[2] имена, как национальные, так и древнерусские, ср. в 1629 году в Тиврольском погосте в деревне Петкола проживал *Michitta Häränpoika* (букв. сын Быка), а в деревне Лауройла Timoska Migriläinen и его внук *Pervo* (*Первой) (IK 1993: 356, 364), в 1637 году в деревне Мадиала Сердобольского погоста фиксируется *Achti* Ivanof (IK 1991: 375), в деревне Иллиала Пялгозерского погоста Martyn *Nyrick*[3] Kurkojev (IK 1991: 305, 676); а в 1657 году в населенном пункте Тайпале Либелицкого погоста (совр. фин. Liperi) – Malafej *Ihalempiof* Kerkkänen (Saloheimo 2010: 200).

Женские имена карелок в письменных источниках XVI–XVII веков встречаются спорадически, при этом все они уже имеют христианский характер. Подобная ситуации была и на соседних русскоязычных территориях. При этом в письменных памятниках XVII века других регионов России фиксируются изредка и женские дохристианские имена: ср. вдовы Голуба Игнат(ь)ива, Неупокоевская жена *Любавка*, *Кунавка* Иванова (ДК 1623, 46 ob., 49–49 ob.); Павел Потрекеевъ с своею женою *Досадою*, а молитвенное имя *Матрена* Павлова дочь (1637), девка Дашка Яковлева дочь прозвище *Сорока*, а молитвенное имя *Пигасья* (ДГ 1637: 2–3). Ф. В. Степанова отмечает, что общее количество древних женских славянских имен, отмеченных в словарях Н. М. Тупикова, С. Б. Веселовского, М. Морошкина, не превышает[4]

2 Ср. также карельские торговцы в порту Оулу в 1553 году: Ignatta *Sixtuksenpoika*, *Nousia* Riionpoika, *Musta*, Vaseli *Ihanpoika* (Nevalainen 2016: 15).

3 Ср. в эпосе Калевала: дух леса и божество, покровительствующее охоте *Nyyrikki* Tapionpoika; и тут же Dimitrejko *Nyrakof* (1637) (IK 1991: 300).

4 Полагаю, что с того времени количество выявленных женских имен все же несколько увеличилось.

шестидесяти единиц (Степанова 2006). Расширение документальной базы позволяет расширить этот список. К примеру, список карельских беженцев 1650/51 годов указывает еще на целый ряд других русских по происхождению дохристианских имен, которые бытовали в то время, по крайней мере, в среде карельского населения Приладожья, ср. *Дурка*, *Гориска*, *Енидка*, *Козютка*, *Маресянка*, *Насонилка*, *Оносица*, *Саланко*, *Солвенко*, *Иелгия* (Saloheimo 1992). Нельзя, конечно же, исключать возможности того, что за некоторыми из них могут скрываться варианты каких-либо христианских имен, однако пока не удалось обнаружить для них соответствующих исходных форм.

В сравнении с национальными дохристианскими мужскими именами, следы которых сохранились в современных фамилиях карел и финнов, женские некалендарные имена практически неизвестны. Исключения редки. К примеру, в документе 1637 года в деревне Савиоя Куркиекского погоста фиксируется вдова крестьянина Власа по имени *Майма*[5] (швед. *Maima* Ulasies Änckia) (IK 1991: 86), ср. кар. *maima* 'малек, небольшая рыбешка' → *'небольшого роста, маленький'.

2. Фольклор и дохристианские имена

Основным источником дохристианского именослова прибалтийских финнов является в настоящее время устная народная поэзия, в том числе и руны карело-финского эпоса 'Калевала'. Среди калевальских женских имен встречаются, например, следующие: *Aino, Andamoine*, *Hermandone*, *Kapo, Kave, Kodžoi, Lokka, Piltti, Rauni, Pal'l'oi* (*Pal'l'oni*), *Annikki, Mimerkki, Mielikki, Slavnikki, Tuulikki, Tuuvikki, Tyynikki, Tyytikki, Vuohikki, Hongatar*, *Kujotar, Kuutar, Lohetar*, *Loviatar* (*Loviotar*), *Marjatar, Ošmotar*, *Päivätär* и др. (SKVR). Помимо фольклорных текстов есть еще один важный источник сведений о женском дохристианском именнике средневековых карел. Таким источником являются клички домашних животных, прежде всего, клички коров, оформленные суффиксом *-kki*.

3. Клички коров на карелоязычных территориях

Хорошо известно, что современные клички коров нередко восходят к женским календарным именам. В Финляндии, например, подобные клички фиксируются уже в XVIII веке (Ojansuu 1912: 34).

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5 Ср. название дома в Олонецкой Карелии в деревне Текаччула: *Maimankodi* (родовая фамилия – *Maima*, официальная фамилия – *Мальков*).

Эту ситуацию можно, на наш взгляд, спроецировать и на более ранний период, когда в конце Средневековья в женском именнике прибалтийских финнов происходят серьезные изменения, связанные со все более активным внедрением и использованием новой христианской системы именования. Однако старая некалендарная система женских имен не исчезла бесследно, она продолжила свое существование, поскольку была перенесена на другой языковой уровень – в сферу именования домашних животных, в частности крупного рогатого скота. Другими словами, в целом ряде кличек коров, бытующих сегодня в карельской среде, скрываются средневековые женские имена. Еще бóльшее количество подобных имен закрепилось в виде кличек коров в финском языке. В Карелии в силу значительного и длительного по времени влияния русского языка и культуры, особенно в южной Карелии и в Тверской области, фиксируется крайне мало национальных кличек животных, поскольку их место заняли заимствования из русского языка: ср. *Belka, Bel'ka, Pel'a* 'белая', *Rižuha* 'рыжая', *Pestruha* 'пестрая', *Buura, Buuroi, Buurikki* 'бурая', *Krasotka* 'красивая', *Zor'ka* 'рожденная утром', *Nočka* 'рожденная ночью', *Marta* 'рожденная в марте', *Dun'a, Daška, Lukoi, Lukerju, Sil'va, Maška* (женские имена) и т. д.

4. Фольклор, письменные источники и клички коров

Можно констатировать, что бóльшая часть традиционного именника коров в карельском языке уже безвозвратно утрачена, поскольку никто специально его не собирал, и вместе с этим "канули в лету" сотни дохристианских женских имен карельского населения. Однако частично клички крупного рогатого скота в карельском языке совпадают с коровьим именником, бытовавшим в Финляндии, а также в Эстонии. Это дает возможность предположить, что за кличками коров у карелов, финнов и эстонцев могут скрываться общие прибалтийско-финские дохристианские имена, которые появились, по крайней мере, 2000 лет назад[6]. Далее приведено несколько примеров общих антропонимических основ в народной поэзии и в кличках коров: см. таблицу 1.

6 Считается, общий прибалтийско-финский праязык (фин. *myöhäiskantasuomi*) начал распадаться на отдельные диалекты (языки) в самом начале I тысячелетия н. э. (Kallio 2014: 163-164) На основании того, что в настоящее время в карельском, финском, эстонском, вепсском и ижорском языках часть кличек коров имеет единые истоки, можно предположить, что и общие женские имена существовали на прибалтийско-финской прародине уже в период до распада праязыковой общности.

Таблица 1. Общие антропонимические основы в народной поэзии и в кличках коров

Народная поэзия (имена)	Клички коров	Народная поэзия (имена)	Клички коров
Ainikki[7], Aino; Ainikki Turuzenpoiga (имя парня)	кар. Ainikki, Ainikko, Aino фин. Ainikki, Ainike	Lyylikki (муж. имя) Lyylelline (жен. имя)	фин. Lyylikki
Kyllikki	кар., фин. Kylli, Kyllikki ? кар. Kul'l'ikki	Rivi-Sunni (имя парня)	? фин. Sun(n)ikki
Mielikki	кар., фин. Mielikki	Annikki	фин. Annikki
Suovakko (хозяйка Похьолы)	? кар. Suobikki, Suopo(i) ? фин. Aikasuopa, Suovi	Šulkoi-Struunu (имя парня)	? фин. Ruunikki
Tuulikki	фин. Tuulikki	Lemmingöine	кар., фин. Lemmikki
Tellervo	фин. Tellervo	Pilvelline (жен. имя)	фин. Pilvikki, Pilvi
Nyyrikki (сын Духа леса)	фин. Nyyrikki	Hermando(ine) (имя девушки)	? фин. Hermikki
Jougahaine, Joukoni, Jolgamoine, Jougamoine	фин. Joukonen	Maarjoi, Marjatar	фин. Marjonen, Marjanen
Aigamoine (имя парня)	фин. Aikanen	Hiilo, Hiile	фин. Hiilikki
Ilmori, Ilmarini	suom. Ilmikki	Piili-Vilkuna (жен. имя)	фин. Vilkuna
Päivätär (Дева Солнца)	фин. Päivikki	Tähetär (Дева Ночи)	кар. Tähikki, Tiähti фин. Tähikki, Tähdikki
Vetikkö (водяной)	? фин. Vedikki	Ošmoni, Osmari, Ošmotar	Osmo (бык)

7 Ср. кар. дохр. имя *Ainikki* 'единственный' и рус. дохр. имя *Одинец* 'единственный': кузнец *Одинец* Иванов (1568, г. Корела) (IK 1987: 62); фамилия *Одинцов* у карел-людиков в деревнях Чупа и Мартнаволок.

В следующих кличках коров (см. таблицу 2) представлены те же основы, которые аттестованы, например, в мужском дохристианском именнике прибалтийских финнов.

Таблица 2. Мужские дохристианские имена и клички коров

Антропонимы	Клички коров	Антропонимы	Клички коров
дер. Mairi/la (1618) (Сердобольский погост)	кар., фин. Mairikki	Merikirja	фин. Merikki фин. Kirjakka, кар. Kirjo
Toivottu, Toivo, Тойвутов	кар., фин. Toivikki, Toivoi	Ihakka, Ihala(inen)	фин. Ihanen
Mielitty	кар., фин. Mielikki	Lieto	фин. Lieto
Joutsi	кар. Joučikki, Joučči фин. Joutsikki, Jouhtikki	Lemmitty(inen)	кар., фин. Lemmikki, Lempi
Kyllätty, Кюллетин	кар., фин. Kyllikki	Toija, дер. Toija/la	кар.Toijo
Viljakka, Вильякин	фин. Viljakka, Vilja(nen)	Hyvö(nen), Hyväri	фин. Hyvikki
Ilmakka	фин. Ilmikki	Päiviö[8], Päiväkkä	кар. фин. Päivikki

5. Дохристианские имена, связанные с миром фауны

Фольклорные тексты свидетельствуют о том, что в числе женского дохристианского именника фиксируются и именования животных, ср. *Lokka* 'чайка', *Kajavainen* 'чайка', *Vuohikki*[9] от *vuohi* 'коза' и др. Наименования животных представлены у карел, главным образом, в некалендарном мужском именнике, ср. в 1629 году в Петколе *Michitta Häränpoika* (букв. Никита сын Быка) (IK

8 Ср. дер. *Päiwon Mäki* (IK 1991: 344), карелы *Päijwief* Prokuska, *Päiviev* Griska (IK 1991: 177, 734).

9 Ср. современная кличка коровы у карел-ливвиков *Kozočka*, типологически идентичное карельскому фольклорному *Vuohikki* (ср. кар. *vuohi* 'коза' + диминутивный суффикс). Одна из карелоязычных рун может быть свидетельством того, что имя *Vuohikki* у средневековых карел действительно существовало: ср. Šynty lapši nuorimmalla. Nuorimmalla pienimmällä. Mi hänellä nimekši pannah? Vuohikki, hyvä nimikki (КЕП 1950: 201). В тексте сообщается, что родившейся девочке дают имя Вуохикки.

1993: 356), в 1618 году в Хюрселе *Jaakko Repånpoika Putto* (букв. Яков сын Ли́са), а в Суоярви *Kondrato Kokonpoicha* (букв. Кондрат сын Орла) (IK 1987: 360–361) и др. У русского населения существовали, например, такие женские дохристианские имена как *Корова*, *Щука*, *Курица* и т. д. (Степанова 2006). Это дает основание предполагать, что за такими карельскими кличками коров как *Lokka* ‘чайка’, *Hanhikki* от *hanhi* ‘гусь’, *Huahkoi*[10] ? от *huahka* ‘сизая чайка’, *Joučikki, Joučikoi, D’oučuoi* от *joučen* ‘лебедь’, *Piäsköi* ‘ласточка’, **Kullikki* ? от *kulli* ‘кроншнеп’, *Peip(p)o*[11] ‘зяблик’, *Lindoi* ‘птица’, а также кличкой овцы *Tikki* от *tikka* ‘дятел’ скрываются именно женские некалендарные имена.

В Финляндии среди кличек коров представлены следующие названия из мира фауны: *Alli* ‘утка морянка’, *Ahma* ‘росомаха’, *Tiira* ‘крачка’, *Joukahainen* от *joukahainen* ‘лебедь’, *Sotka* ‘нырок’, *Orava* ‘белка’, кличка козы *Peippo* ‘зяблик’ (NA). Отметим, что и в русской среде известны клички коров, связанные с наименованием птиц и животных. При этом большинство из них фиксируется и среди русских дохристианских женских имен (ср. таблицу 3).

Таблица 3. Русские женские дохристианские имена и клички коров

Женское имя	Кличка коровы	Женское имя	Кличка коровы	Женское имя	Кличка коровы
Ворона	Ворона	Галка	Галка	Сорока	Сорока
Лыбедь Лебёдка	Лебёдка	Перепёлка	Перепёлка	? Голуба	? Голуба ‘голубь’
---	Лиса	---	? Белка	---	Ласточка

6. Внешность человека, его характер и порядок рождения

Еще один потенциальный источник реконструкции карельского женского именника – это соответствующий русский именник, где прослеживается связка между антропонимами и кличками коров. В списке русских женских нехристианских имен известны *Чернава*, *Беляна*, *Малюта* и другие, характеризующие признаки

10 У вепсов известна кличка коровы серой масти *Hahkoi* ‘серый’, однако ср. кар. *huahka* ‘сизая чайка; серый (о шерсти)’.

11 Ср. прозвище жительницы Суйстамо *Peippo*, которое она получила в связи с тем, что в детстве была очень маленькой или ‘pieni kuin peippo’ (NA).

внешности. При этом они зафиксированы и в качестве кличек коров[12]. Можно предположить, что и в среде прибалтийских финнов существовали некогда такие женские имена как *Pienikki* от *pieni* ‘маленький’, *Mussikki*, *Muššukki*, *Muštikoi*, *Mustikki*[13], *Mus’a* от *musta* ‘черный’, *Rusko(i)*, *Ruško*[14] от *ruškie* ‘рыжий’, бытующие сейчас в кличках домашнего скота. В этом же ряду финские клички коров *Valkonen*, *Valk(k)o* и *Valkuna* от *valkoinen* ‘белый’, карельская кличка лошади *Valko* и оленя *Valkie* ‘белый’, которые можно рассматривать как потенциальные антропонимы.

Кроме этого в русском дохристианском мужском именнике фиксируются имена, указывавшие на порядок рождения мальчиков в семье, а также время их рождения, ср. *Первой*, *Второй*, *Третьяк* (*Треня*), *Четвертак*, *Пятой*, *Суб(б)отка*. Подобные заимствованные имена фиксируются и в среде карельского населения, ср. *Pervo(i)*[15] (< *первый*): карел *Pärwoi* Räsenpoika (Лоукусенкюля, Сердобольский погост) (IK 1987: 326), *Tren’u(i)* (< *третий*): покос *Tren’uižennurmi* (букв. покос третьего по рождению) (Вендюры, Вохтозерский с/с), *Piättö*, *Piätöi*, *Pättöi* (< *пятый*): дом *Piättöilä* (Валазрека, Кестеньгский с/с), покос *Pättöilänkoda* (Сямозеро, Олонецкая Карелия), имя *Zubottu* (< *Субот(к)а*)[16] > деревня *Zubottalu* (Олонецкий район) и т. д. При этом в карельских кличках коров такое же указание на день рождения выражено карельской лексемой: *Enčikki*,

12 Видимо, и в русском языке произошел некогда перенос женского дохристианского именника на наименование домашних животных, в частности коров, ср. женское имя *Ждана* – кличка коровы *Жданка*, *Забава – Забава*, *Любава – Любава*, *Весёла – Весёлка*, *Белава – Белава*, *Белуха – Белуха*, *Бажена – Бажена*, *Люба – Любка*, *Дарена – Даренка*, *Милана – Милка*, *Блажена – Блажная*, *Кудра – Кудря*.

13 Ср. клички овец *Mičukki* от *mičči* ‘черный’; *Musturi* ‘с черной шерстью’, а тут же Иванко Микифоров Мустар (1563, Шунгский погост) (ПКОП: 149) и Sauka *Mussarin* = Савка Музурин (IK 1991: 309, 678) → антропоним **Musari*, **Musuri*, **Mustari*, **Musturi*. Можно напомнить здесь об упоминавшемся в 1553 году в порту Оулу карельском торговце по имени *Musta* (Nevalainen 2016: 15).

14 Ср. карел Сенька Козмин Рушкеев (1678, Ребольский погост) ← **Ruškie* или **Ruško(i)* (РГАДА 1678: 121).

15 Ср. вепсская деревня *Pervakoi* (рус. Перваково) ← рус. дохр. имя Первак ‘первый сын в семье’.

16 Ср. *Суботка* Корелянин, *Суботка* Петров (1597, Панозерский погост) (IK 1987: 217).

Enčoi[17]*, Endžikki, Endžoi, Ensikki*[18]*, Ensoi* ‘рожденная в понедельник’ (< **Первая*), *Toičikki, Toinikki*[19] ‘рожденная во вторник’ (< **Второй*), *Kolm(u)oi*[20] ‘рожденная в среду’ (< **Третья*), *Piäštikki, Piätkö* ‘рожденная в пятницу’ (< **Пятая*). Нельзя ли предположить, что за подобными кличками также скрываются дохристианские имена, но уже женщин, которые могли указывать, как на день рождения ребенка, так и его порядок появления на свет? Здесь существенно, что подобные клички по дням недели давались в карельской среде именно коровам, а не быкам.

В приведенных ниже примерах представлены русские дохристианские имена и карелоязычные клички коров, ранее предположительно женские имена, в которых восстанавливается одна и та же семантика. Тем самым здесь можно видеть, видимо, некоторые универсалии в именовании девочек на прибалтийско-финских территориях и в среде русского населения: ср. *Голуба* – кар. *Heluna*, *Гостена* – кар. *Gostikki*, *Kostikki*, *Ждана* – кар. *Toivikki*, *Малюта* – кар. *Pienikki*, *Забава* – кар. *Lysti(kki)*, *Чернав(к)а* – кар. *Mussikki*, *Muštikoi*, *Люба(ва)* – кар. *Lemmikki*, *Хотена* – кар. *Haluna* и др.

7. Были ли все дохристианские имена с положительной семантикой?

Можно также отметить, что в числе русских дохристианских имен нередко фиксируются такие, которые имеют пейоративное значение (ср. таблицу 4). В связи с этим, нельзя исключать возможности того, что и в среде прибалтийско-финского населения подобные имена также бытовали, хотя среди выявленных мужских некалендарных имен они в настоящее время не фиксируются[21]. В то же

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17 Ср. карел Иванко *Енчоев* ← **Enčo(i)* (IK 1991: 636).

18 Ср. пустошь (бывшая деревня) *Änsikass* Ödhe ← **Ensikkä* (IK 1991: 430).

19 Ср. ? деревня *Тойнино* в Корбе (1500, Корела) ← **Toine* (ПКВП: 549).

20 Ср. в 1678 году житель деревни Ровкулы Ребольского погоста Юшко Дмитриевъ сынъ *Колмоев* ← **Kolmoi* (РГАДА 1678: 127).

21 Можно, например, обратить внимание на новгородскую берестяную грамоту, которая датируется периодом между 1396–1409 гг., и в которой упоминается приладожский карел Вигарь (ПИОК: 83) ← **Vihari* (← кар. *viha* ‘гнев; злоба’). Заметим здесь, что в числе кличек домашних животных неоднократно фиксируются имена, оформленные суффиксом *-ri*, ср. кар. лошадь *Vihuri*, овца *Musturi*, собака *Löppöri*, корова *Kukkeri*; фин. корова *Vaipuri*, бык *Junkkari*, собака *Tomuri*, лошадь *Hilpari* (Ojansuu 1912).

время карелоязычные фамилии свидетельствуют, что в их числе представлено немало таких основ, которые имеют негативную коннотацию.

Таблица 4. Русские дохристианские имена с пейоративным значением

Болван	Драка	Дурак	Замарай
Злоба	Нерада	Неугод	Некрас(а)
Неждан(а)	*Неулыба*	Нелюба	Несмеян(а)
Неусыпа	Несговорка	Неустрой	Неупокой
Недоброй	Неудача	Олух	Плохой

В числе зафиксированных карелоязычных кличек коров явно пейоративных[22] на данный момент не зафиксировано. Однако на территории Финляндии подобные имена домашних животных все же встречаются, и особенно часто они представлены в кличках лошадей. Таким образом, если в именах коров скрываются дохристианские женские имена, то можно предположить, что и в кличках лошадей мы также можем видеть некалендарные личные имена прибалтийских финнов. По крайней мере, приведенные выше примеры из древнерусского именника могут указывать на такую возможность. В таблице 5 ниже мы можем видеть клички лошадей, а также клички крупного рогатого скота, которые имеют пейоративный оттенок.

Таблица 5. Финские клички лошадей и коров с пейоративным значением

Hituva ‘медлительный’	Kovasuu ‘строптивый’	Kiivas ‘запальчивый’	Kipakka ‘запальчивый’
Kiukku ‘злобный’	Kiista ‘строптивый’	Huima ‘буйный’	Laiska ‘ленивый’
Lempo ‘черт’	Raju ‘буйный’	Ruma ‘дурной’	Tuima ‘суровый’
Vikuri ‘норовистый’	Villi ‘неистовый’	Äkimys ‘злобный’	Äksy ‘злой’
Ärjy ‘злобно ржущий’	Laiskuri (бык) ‘ленивый’	Melu (теленок) ‘шумный’	Telmikki (корова) ‘норовистая’

22 Ср. в топонимии поле *Kuilakki* (Неккулица, Олонецкая Карелия) ← кар. *kuilakkane* ‘(о лошади) неистово игривый’ (KKS).

Выводы

Таким образом, изучение кличек домашних животных, в частности коров, является перспективным научным направлением, которое способно расширить наше представление о прибалтийско-финских дохристианских личных именах. В то же время взаимосвязь между современными кличками коров и женскими именами является все же рабочей концепцией, и данный факт должен быть, насколько это возможно, доказан. Это требует специального исследования, в котором, среди прочего, необходимо проанализировать содержание кличек животных и подумать о том, почему та или иная кличка была дана теленку, и можно ли было дать то же самое имя девушке? Похоже, что не все известные клички коров использовались в качестве женских имен. Некоторые из них, видимо, возникли в разное время, на разных территориях, согласно модели именования на *-kki*. С другой стороны, хорошим примером может быть имя коровы кар. *Tähikki*, *Tiähti*, фин. *Tähdikki* 'со звездой на лбу'. Как кличка коровы, оно указывает на животное, у которого есть пятно (в виде звезды) на лбу, и на первый взгляд подобное имя вряд ли может быть дано ребенку. В то же время в карельском языке слово *tähti*, *tiähti* известно также в значении 'родимое пятно' (KKS), и в этом случае возможность наименования девочки именем *Tähikki*, *Tiähti* в давние времена выглядит вполне правдоподобной.

В заключение отметим, что в словаре Н. Тупикова насчитывается около шести тысяч русских дохристианских имен (Тупиков 2005), что дает основания полагать, что и в прибалтийско-финском именнике, в частности, у карел, число некалендарных имен также могло быть значительным. Один из источников их реконструкции – это современные клички коров, за которыми (во всяком случае, части из них) скрываются бытовавшие в Средние века женские некалендарные имена. Дальнейший сбор и изучение прибалтийско-финских кличек домашних животных будет способствовать выявлению утраченных некалендарных имен. Стоит обратить внимание на то, что помимо рассмотренных выше, в карельском языке бытует еще целая серия кличек коров, в том числе содержащих суффикс *-kki*, за которыми могут, видимо, скрываться другие возможные дохристианские женские имена, ср., например, *Čomikki*, *Čommi*, *Halikki, Hamu(kki)* (кличка овцы), *Helleri*, *Helmi(kki)*, *Hermikki*, *Hiilikki*, *Kauni(kki)*, *Komi*, *Kortikki*, *Liipakko*, *Lysti(kki)*, *Mahikki*, *Mansikki*, *Man-*

džikki, *Onnikki*, *Orvikki*, *Orvokki*, *Perjakka*, *Piirikki*, *Päičikki*, *Rainikki*, *Rutvikki*, *Šimpukka*, *Sorokki*, *Toirikki*.

Сокращения

букв. – буквально
дер. – деревня
дохр. – дохристианский
кар. – карельский язык
муж. – мужской
жен. – женский
рус. – русский язык
фин. – финский язык
швед. – шведский язык

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Philip W Matthews

The Structure and Future of Hybrid, Doubled Duplex, Alternative and Dual Names and the Principle of Univocity: A Study of New Zealand Geonames

At its second meeting in 1967 the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (UNCSGN) referred to a hybrid geographical name [i.e. a hybrid geoname] as a structure to be avoided if possible. In another context, Naftali Kadmon, referring to geonames such as Hwang He River and River Nylstroom, stated that such "doubling... is dangerous because it may lead to tautology". Two further structures, alternative and dual geonames, which violate UNCSGN's 1967 principle of univocity, are also considered.

Hybrids, doubling and univocity do not feature in the four level model of geoname structures that can be inferred from UNGEGN's *Glossary of toponymic terminology* of 1997, 2000 and 2007. To overcome these and other gaps their model has recently been enhanced but now with five levels and some new terminology. Within it several new structures, including both hybrid geonames and doubled duplex geonames, have been clearly identified. Univocity is treated separately.

In this paper, some 35,000 New Zealand geonames are analyzed to identify their various structures and, using the enhanced model, both hybrid and doubled duplex geonames are identified as specific structures. The many dual and alternative geonames in New Zealand are also separately commented on.

Some authors have supported the UNCSGN's position that hybrid geonames should be avoided and others have argued that doubled geonames should be gradually eliminated. In contrast, the position taken in this paper is that these geonames, along with dual and alternate geonames, fall under UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Hence the geonames are part of various intangible cultural heritages of various identities, e.g. ethnic, national and individual. Finally, options for the future of these geonames in New Zealand are presented.

Keywords

New Zealand, toponyms, UNGEGN, toponymy model, hybrid toponyms, univocity, intangible cultural heritage

1. Introduction: hybrid, doubled, alternative and dual geonames and the principle of univocity

Geonames have been of interest to many for several thousand years. One recent entity that is concerned about geonames is the United Nations which had several meetings on geonames in the late 1940s and 1950s. These meetings were the starting points for establishing the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names (UNCSGN) from 1967 onwards and the subsequent sessions of the more technically oriented United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN).

At its meeting in 1967 UNCSGN indicated in Recommendation C (b) (iv) that it should be taken into account "the extent to which hybrid names should be avoided (United Nations 2009). Hybrid geonames have attracted the interest of many toponymists. Martynenko (2015) writes of "so-called hybrid toponyms, i.e. place names composed of … two languages", arising as a result of the merger of two cultures in the USA, one English speaking, the other Spanish speaking. Fekete (2015) in his study of the interaction of various Norse-Old English words identifies two types of hybrid geonames (a) personal name hybrids (also known as Grimston-hybrids) and (b) appellative hybrids (also known as Carlton-hybrids). Hengst (2015) focuses on the toponymy of the Eastern part of modern Germany where there was Slavic-Germanic bilingualism, with one consequence being Germanic-Slavic hybrid place names consisting of a Germanic stem and Slavic suffixes. Jenkins (2017) writes that many South African geonames are the product of the interaction of the many languages brought here by of successive population movements into the country with the consequence that many of the geonames have parts consisting of more than one language, i.e. hybrids. This small sample of readily available studies shows that at least in some parts of the world hybrid geonames are common though no reasons have been given as to why they should be avoided. It is to be noted that neither the Glossary nor Naftali Kadmon mention hybrid geonames, though bi- and multilingual situations are mentioned.

A second matter taken up in this study is the point raised by Naftali Kadmon (2000: 129), the former chairman of UNGEGN. He refers to geonames such as Hwang He River (Hwang River River), Mount Nam San (Mount Nam Mountain) and River Nylstroom (River Nyl Stream/River) and states that this "doubling... is dangerous because it may lead to tautology", i.e. it is inadvisable for two generic terms in different language but with the same or similar meaning to be included in the geoname for the one feature. This concern is also taken up in the New Zealand presentation (Dyer, Shaw 2017) to the UNCSGN. They write that "Many Māori geographic names are compound words that include the generic term, for example, Tararua Peaks, where the specific part translates as 'two peaks'. In this example the added English generic [Peaks] creates a tautology". They look forward to a time when "Acceptance and familiarity of Māori generics, including when they form part of a name, will help move away from tautologies". Again, reasons for tautologies being dangerous are not given.

The third geoname term to be considered is that of 'allonym' or 'alternative name'. This is defined in the Glossary as "each of two or more toponyms employed in reference to a single topographic feature. Examples: Hull, Kingston upon Hull; Vesterhavet, Nordsee; Swansea, Abertawe; Johannesburg, Egoli". Dual geonames, which have two parts, are not mentioned in the UNGEGN Glossary.

Also in 1967 UNCSGN in Recommendation C (b) (vi) called for the "Avoidance of more than one name for one feature" (United Nations 2009). This was in an era when there were, for example, few computers, no smart phones, no GPSs and no satellites. It came about because of the problems associated with trying to urgently find specific places but being hampered in the quest by the fact that two (or even more) geonames are used for the one feature. The concept is clarified in the UNGEGN Manual (2006: 39):

> "Univocity, the principle whereby one standard name is assigned to each geographical entry (place, feature or area) at any point in time, represents the ideal toponymic standardization. Every effort should be made to adhere to that principle so as to avoid ambiguity."

In a subsequent manual Ferjan Ormeling writes that "the concept of univocity… [is] the ideal of having only one unique, specific name for every geographical object" (UNGEGN 2018: 2.1) while Atoui expands on this principle when he writes that the aim of "Univocity is to have only one standardized spelling form for the name of each geographical feature in each writing system" (UNGEGN 2018: 7.1).

The final matter to be considered is that of the *UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Convention 2003). Article 1 states "The purposes of this convention are (a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage" while Article 2 lists many things that can be considered to within the scope of this convention. UNGEGN has considered this convention and is generally of the view that all geonames are part of intangible cultural heritage.

Bringing all the above together results in the following aims of the study:

(1) to use UNGEGN's *Glossary of terms for the standardization of geographical names* to build a model of geoname structures;
(2) to identify its weaknesses and enhance the model to include hybrid and doubled geonames;
(3) to apply both the UNGEGN and the enhanced model to New Zealand geonames;
(4) to identify New Zealand hybrid and doubled geonames within the enhanced model;
(5) to comment on New Zealand alternative and dual geonames;
(6) to discuss the development of the concept of intangible cultural heritage and show its relevance to geonames; and
(7) to show policies and practices that in New Zealand would continue hybrid and doubled geonames and change the status of alternative geonames thereby nullifying UNCSGN's univocity principle.

2. The UNGEGN model

The United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs has published its *Glossary of terms for the standardization of geographical names* (2002 and, with amendments, 2007) hereafter referred to as the Glossary. From this a four level model for geonames can be inferred. Central to the model is entry 'generic term' (entry No. G112) which is defined as "A common noun which describes a topographic feature in terms of its characteristics and not by its proper name. Examples: mountain, sierra, san, shan, dagh, jabal…". A generic term becomes the 'generic element' (G110) of a geoname, while the part of the geoname that does not contain a generic element is the 'specific element' (G307).

At the top level (see Diagram 1) is the term 'toponym' (G339), at the second level are two terms 'geographical name' (G216) which is for a feature on the earth and 'extraterrestrial name' (G215) which is for a feature elsewhere, and, at the third level, geographical name is divided into 'simplex name' (G227) and 'composite name' (G212) or 'compound name' (G213). A simplex geoname is defined as a "single word toponym, usually consisting of a specific component [i.e. a specific element] only". In contrast, at the fourth level, a composite name consists of either "a generic element and a specific element" or "a specific element consisting of more than one word".

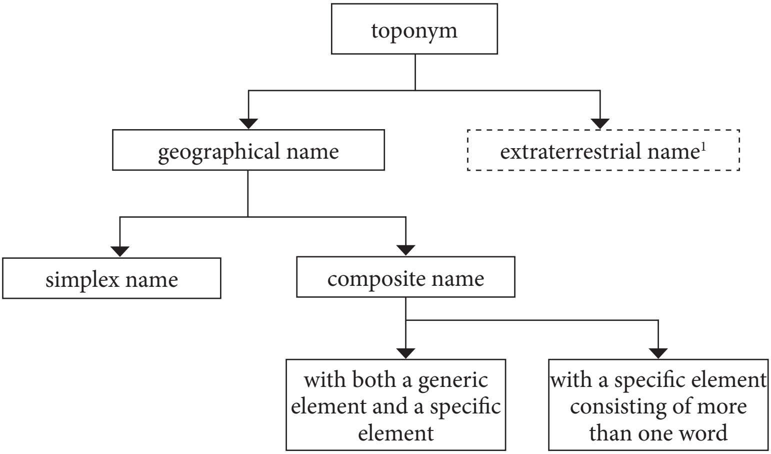

Diagram 1. The inferred four level UNGEGN toponymic model

3. An enhanced geoname model

There are several weaknesses with the inferred model. For example, the definition of simplex states that it is a single word "usually consisting of a specific component only". This is a loose definition as it seems to rule out the possibility of (1) simplexes with two or more words, (2) simplexes with only a generic element and (3) the word 'only' is exclusive while 'usually' allows for exceptions. The definition of composite limits composites to two types (see Diagram 1): those with (a) a generic element and a specific element or (b) a specific element of two or more words as in the example Stoke on Trent where there is no generic element. The question then arises as to whether the model can be improved to better show the structure of geonames.

Based on the notion that every geoname has either a specific element or a generic element or both a specific and a generic element, and using the inferred UNGEGN model as a starting point, Matthews (2018) developed a new model (see Diagram 2). In this:

- **a simplex geoname** name consists of a word or phrase of one or more morphemes with either a generic element or a specific element but not both.

1 Extraterrestrial names are not considered in this paper.

Separating the specific element from the generic element in this way leads to definitions for two types of simplex geonames which overcome the problem of 'usually' and 'only'. The definitions for these two types are:

- **a specific element simplex** geoname consists of one or more morphemes or words that form only a specific element; and
- **a generic element simplex** geoname consists of one or more morphemes or words that form only a generic element.

In contrast to a simplex is a duplex geoname and a new general definition is:

- **a duplex geoname** consists of two or more morphemes and words with both an explicit specific element and an explicit generic element.

In the enhanced model there are three specific geoname structures. These are:

- **a joined duplex** geoname contains a specific element and a generic element which are joined together as one word and may contain other words; and
- **a separated duplex** geoname contains one generic term as the generic element which is separated from the specific element.
- **a doubled duplex** geoname contains two or more generic terms, one of which serves as the generic element, and a specific element that includes the other generic term(s). It was pointed out above that Kadmon (2000: 139) was of the view that geonames which contain two generic terms were dangerous tautologies.

The generic terms in a doubled geoname can be either (a) similar in meaning, as in Kadmon's examples, e.g. *River Nylstroo*m (these are Type 1 in Diagram 2); or (b) dissimilar in meaning, e.g. *Lagoon Hill* (these are Type 2 in Diagram 2). This distinction forms a fifth level in the model.

A further level, the sixth, concerns the position of the generic element in relationship to the specific element. In duplex geonames the generic element can be found in one of three positions in relationship to the specific element. The three positions from the generic element perspective are:

- embedded, i.e. placed between the parts of the specific element;
- preposed, i.e. placed before the specific element; and
- postposed, i.e. placed after the specific element.

The model is applied to each language in a polity.

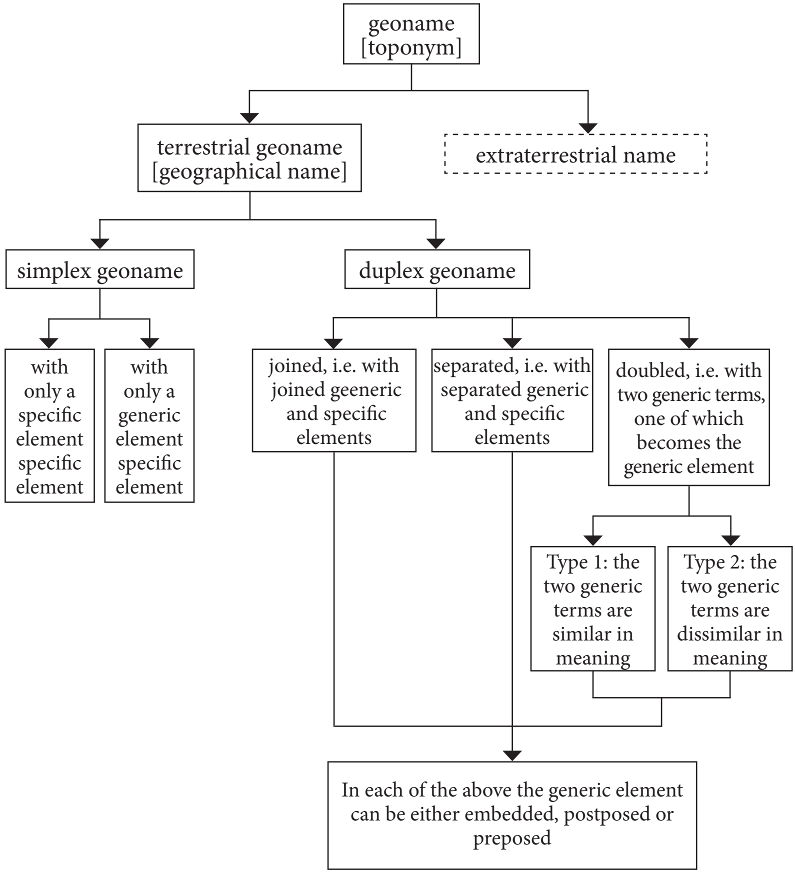

Diagram 2. The enhanced model of the structure of geonames

However, there is a further kind of geoname, common in bi- and multilingual polities such as New Zealand, in which the various languages can be mixed. This is a hybrid geoname. This can be defined as follows:

- **a hybrid geoname** name has one or more parts in one language and the remaining part or parts in another language.

Thus, in a bi- or multilingual polity the model will be applied to the geonames in each of the separate languages, e.g. L1, L2, L3 and so on, and also to hybrid geonames, e.g. those that have parts from L1 and L2, from L1 and L3 and so on.

Two further New Zealand geoname structures need to be considered. The first is an allonym (G005) or an alternative (G210) geoname. This is defined in the Glossary as: "Each of two or more toponyms employed in reference to a single topographic feature. Examples: Hull [and] Kingston upon Hull; Vesterhavet [and] Nordsee…".

In contrast is a dual geoname. This is not in the Glossary and can be defined as follows: a dual geoname is formed from combining two originally separate geonames for the one geographical feature into the one geoname.

The difference between the structures is that with alternative geonames the user can choose which of the two geonames to use, e.g. *Martello Rock* or *Ruakoura*, whereas with dual geonames the user must use the two together as they form one geoname, e.g. *Greenstone River / Hokonui* (or *Greenstone River/Hokonui*).

As part of the structures two further sets of morphemes and words need to be noted. First are the articles, such as *The*, *Te* and *Ngā*. These do not affect the categorization of the geoname, thus Bluff and The Bluff are generic simplexes. Second are those morphemes and words that indicate: a compass direction, e.g. north; relative age, e.g. new; relative position e.g. upper; and relative size, e.g. nui. These, referred to in this paper as CAPS, can precede or follow the generic element. However, if what would have been a generic element simplex, e.g. *Bluff*, has a CAPS added to it, e.g. *Bluff North*, it then becomes a duplex.

4. New Zealand geonames

New Zealand geonames come from four sources, the first being the Māori settlers from the 1200s onwards. Māori found an uninhabited land and gradually explored and settled the whole of it. As they travelled around the country Māori named the land (see NZGB 2014 for Māori generic terms) and were "prodigal in their bestowal of local names" (Williams 1912: 358).

The second source of geonames is the earlier explorers such as Tasman in 1642 and then Cook and sealers and whalers from various countries from the late 1700s onwards and the flax traders a little later. They gave geonames to many of the geographical features they encountered.

The third source of New Zealand's geonames is the later nonMāori immigrants, specifically those arriving after the signing of the treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the establishment of the colonial government.

They transferred many geonames from their places of origin. Examples from the British Isles are *Addington*, *Brynderwyn*, *Caversham*, *Milton*, *Raglan* and *Shannon*, and from elsewhere are *Dannevirke*, *Duvauchelle*, *Golgotha*, *Haast*, *Khandallah*, *La Perouse*, *Maimai*, *Malaspina*, *Parnassus*, *Ranzau* and *Rappahannock*. For this study the etymology of this second group of geonames is irrelevant as they have been appropriated by New Zealand English (NZE) speakers (in the same way that English and NZE have appropriated words such as *bungalow*, *bard*, *jungle*, *caribou*, *chav* and *shampoo* from other languages), and are treated here as NZE geonames.

The fourth source arises from the contact of the nonMāori immigrants with Māori geonames. In many cases just the Māori name was used by nonMāori, but in other cases a NZE generic term was added to a Māori geoname. Two hybrid structures emerged: those in which the NZE generic term had a different or dissimilar (Type 2) meaning to that of the Māori generic term, e.g. *Lake Te Hapua*, and those in which the NZE generic term had the same or similar meaning (Type 1) as the Māori generic term, e.g. *Lake Rotoiti*.

Responsibility for a significant proportion of the names of geographical features in New Zealand lies with the New Zealand Geographic Board (NZGB). NZGB issued a Gazetteer with some 50547 geonames (Gazetteer 2015). For this study 15038 were eliminated because they were either in Antarctica, structurally identical or similar to other entries, had been replaced or were alternative or dual geonames. This left 35502 geonames which were then coded using the inferred UNGEGN categories as simplex or composite. The results are shown in Table 2; about 12.9% of the geonames are simplexes and about 87.1% are composites.

Table 1. The numbers and percentages of the New Zealand Gazetteer geonames according to the inferred UNGEGN model

CATEGORY	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF 35502
Simplex	4590	12.9
Duplex	30912	87.1
TOTALS	35502	100.0

These results were then examined through the third and fourth levels of the enhanced geoname model. The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The structures, numbers and percentages of 35502 New Zealand geonames levels three and four in the enhanced model

CATEGORIES and SUBCATEGORIES	LANGUAGES						CATEGORY	
	MĀORI		ENGLISH		HYBRID		TOTALS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
SIMPLEX								
Specific element	3102	8.7	1207	3.4	51	*	4360	12.3
Generic element	103	*	127	*	0	*	230	*
Simplex subtotals	**3205**	**9.0**	**1334**	**3.8**	**51**	*	**4590**	**12.9**
DUPLEX								
Joined	957	2.7	742	2.1	5	*	1704	4.8
Separated	354	*	12785	36.0	9070	25.5	22209	62.5
Doubled	119	*	3412	9.6	3468	9.7	6999	19.7
Duplex subtotals	**1430**	**4.1**	**16939**	**47.7**	**12543**	**35.4**	**30912**	**87.0**
Language totals	**4635**	**13.1**	**18273**	**51.5**	**12594**	**35.4**	**35502**	**100.0**
TOTAL	**35502/100%**							

Note 1: % = percentage of 35502.
Note 2: * = less than 1.0%.

Table 2 shows several cells that are the concern of this paper: first are the hybrid simplexes, second the hybrid joined and separated duplexes, third the English and Māori doubled duplexes, and fourth the hybrid doubled duplexes. The hybrid simplexes constitute less than one percentage of the New Zealand geonames. They have two structures: either the specific element is preceded by a CAPS word, or a CAPS word that follows the specific element (see Table 3 for examples). There are no generic element simplexes.

Table 3. Hybrid simplex New Zealand geonames

HYBRID SIMPLEXES	NUMBER	%	EXAMPLES
Specific element only	51	*	Little Huia, Lower Kawhatau, Upper Kahui, North Kaweka, Awhitu Central
Generic element only	0	0	-

Note 1: % = percentage of 35502
Note 2: * = less than 1%

There are only five examples of the hybrid joined duplexes and, in these instances, the generic element is preposed. However, there are over nine thousand hybrid separated duplexes. In these, in relation to the specific element, the generic element is either preposed or postposed and there may be CAPs (see Table 4 for examples).

Table 4. Hybrid joined and separated duplex New Zealand geonames

HYBRID CATEGORY	NUMBER	%	EXAMPLES
Joined duplexes	5	*	Glentui, Glenomaru
Separated duplexes	9070	25.5	Tarakihi Stream, Lake Harihari, Mount Airini, Awahou North, Port Ohope, Cape Reinga

Note 1: % = percentage of 35502
Note 2: * = less than 1%

Hybrid doubled duplexes have more complicated structures. Kadmon has written that doubling is dangerous and from the Glossary examples it appears that only one type of doubled geoname is envisaged. That is, the two generic terms in the doubled geoname have essentially the same or a similar meaning (i.e. Type 1), e.g. lake and mere, stream and burn and cliff and bluff. However, in many doubled duplexes the two generic terms have dissimilar or different meanings (i.e. Type 2), e.g. mountain and lake, stream and plain and gorge and peak.

Table 5. English, Māori and hybrid doubled duplex New Zealand geonames

DOUBLED CATEGORY	NUMBER	%	EXAMPLES
English Language Doubled Duplex			
Type 1 (Similar)	5	*	Lake Grasmere, Craigieburn Creek, Beuzenberg Peak
Type 2 (Dissimilar)	3407	9.6	Queensberry Hill, Shenandoah River East Branch, Duncans Face, Spion Kop Peak, Saddle Creek East
Māori Language Doubled Duplex			
Type 1 (Similar)	4	*	Maraenui Marae, Paroa Pa, Pukepuke
Type 2 (Dissimilar)	115	*	Pakowhai Marae, Pukehuia Pa, Te Motu-o-Marae-Ariki
Hybrid Doubled Duplex			
Type 1 (Similar)	941	2.6	Lake Rotorua, Ngawha Springs, Mangakino Stream, Te Motu Island, Rere Falls,
Type 2 (Dissimilar)	2527	7.1	Lake Mangawhio, Mount Koinga, Ahurangi Stream, Akaroa Head, Lake Te Hapua, Whangatane Spillway, Otoki Gorge Scenic Reserve
TOTAL	6999	9.7	-

Note 1: % = percentage of 35502
Note 2: * = less than 1%

There are also several instances of geonames with three generic terms, e.g. *Avondale Stream*, *Beach Bay Recreation Reserve* and *Bannockburn Post Office Historic Reserve*.

Alternative names, both official and unofficial, are common (examples are in Table 6).

Table 6. Alternative names

OFFICIAL	UNOFFICIAL
Mount Taranaki or Mount Egmont	Roaring Meg or Kirtle Burn
Mill Creek or Corner Burn	Precipice Creek or Temple Burn
Whanganui or Wanganui	Waikeene [Stream] or Tukutukuiwi Stream

Dual names are becoming increasingly common, particularly with the successful Treaty of Waitangi claims of Māori groups against the Government for past wrongs. Examples are: *Baring Head / Ōrua-pouanui*, *Hauturu / Little Barrier Island*, *Kaioruru / Church Bay*, *Ngā Motu / Sugar Loaf Islands*, *Browning Pass / Noti Raureka*, *Mahināpua Creek / Tūwharewhare*, *Matiu / Somes Island*, *Whakapaingarara / Tapu Bush*.

5. Intangible cultural heritage

New Zealand geonames are everywhere, are part of the linguistic environment and are also part of various intangible cultural heritages.

In the development of this concept Harrison (2013: 43-47) posits three overlapping stages in the notions of cultural heritage over the last three hundred or so years. The first is the emergence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of "invented traditions" associated particularly with the emergence and unification of Britain, France, Germany and the United States of America. The second stage over most of the twentieth century was characterized by an increase in "the state's control and manipulation of heritage" (Harrison 2013: 46). The aim here was to increase the state's influence over an ever broadening range of objects, buildings and landscapes (Harrison 2013: 47).

The introduction of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 (Convention 1972) marks the beginning of the third stage. At this time, it was believed that the loss of heritage was such that there was a need for international collaboration and coordination in order to safeguard the world's natural and cultural heritages and a World Heritage list was to be drawn up. Cultural heritage (UNESCO 1989: 57) is "the entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience".

In 2003, UNESCO extended the idea of cultural heritage from its material aspects to the less tangible aspects of peoples' lives and histories and passed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Convention 2003). Article 1 states "The purposes of this convention are (a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage" while Article 2 states that

> "For the purposes of this Convention, 1. The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals. This intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity".

A state that ratifies the Convention (2003) will draw up under Article 12.1"one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory", and the Intergovernmental Committee established under Article 5 shall, under Article 17.1, "keep up to date and publish a List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding".

Where and how do geonames fit into the various aspects of intangible cultural heritage? It is to be noted that in 2007 UNCSGN recognized the above Convention 2003 and stated that toponyms are "part of the [intangible] heritage and sense of identity" (United Nations 2009). Jordan (2009: 8-9) wrote that

> "place names are an important part of the cultural heritage… place names support space-related identity building. Mentioning or remembering the name of a familiar place evokes a whole set of thoughts of that place and expresses or confirms the emotional relation of a person to a place".

Further, he states that "attempts at renaming should be met with the utmost reservation, since they interrupt identity ties, close a window to the cultural history of a place and frequently damage an interrelated system of place names". Kerfoot (2009: 13) similarly supported the link between geographical names, history and identity. In 2012 UNGEGN changed the name of its group that addressed minority and regional language group geonames, to "Geographical names as cultural heritage". Subsequently, Watt (2014: 22), the then Chairman of UNGEGN, stated that he had "no doubt that geographical names" are part of intangible cultural heritage". In 2015 UNGEGN published their Bulletin with a special section on *Geographical names as cultural heritage*. Cecille Blake (2015: 4), from the UNGEGN Secretariat, introduced the section with the following:

> "Cultural heritage is seen as the total ways of living built up by a group of human beings, which is passed from one generation to the next, given to them by reason of their birth. Geographical names are addresses, the keys to identifying specific places, but also of irreplaceable cultural value of fundamental importance to local identity, and a person's sense of belonging, and therefore must be protected and preserved".

At a *Discussion Panel: Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage* at a 2017 meeting of UNGEGN in New York (UNCSGN 2017) it was pointed out that "geographical names could be considered as part of the intangible cultural heritage, as they also do not only reference places, they also have historical, linguistic, political, cultural, sociological, and anthropological depths". Geonames provide people, variously from an individual to large entities, with a sense of identity, belongingness and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

However, while it is recognized that because "geographical names evolve through time and circumstances, they may be distorted or even abandoned [and] that could lead to a loss of the message they may convey. This is why they must be protected and preserved". At this meeting New Zealand stated that geonames

> "record New Zealand's history and the different people who have lived here. Geographic names give context to space, help us to navigate from one place to another, enable communication, link the stories associated with places, express identity and assert rights. Deeper still, they can revive or add to our knowledge of the heritage and events that occurred at a place. They are our foundation, our place in the world, our home. They give meaning". (Dyer, Shaw 2017)

Geonames can be accepted as part of one or more intangible heritages, but the concept needs to be applied to specific cases.

6. Names in the New Zealand linguistic environment

Geonames can be considered to be part of the intangible cultural heritage and are part of the linguistic environment. In New Zealand three geoname groups are identified, those in NZE, those in Māori and those that are hybrid in NZE and Māori. Future decisions about what should happen to doubled duplex and all hybrid geonames should be made in parallel to those about other names.

In the 2013 Census respondents were asked which ethnic groups or groups they identified with. For the Census "An ethnic group is made up of people who have some or all of the following:

- a shared culture, such as traditions, customs, beliefs, or language,
- a common ancestry or history,
- a similar geographic, tribal, or clan origin" (STATSNZ 2013).

The 2013 Census showed that New Zealand had a population of 4,242,048, and Table 7 shows the ethnicity figures, with the percentage of each identity speaking NZE and Māori.

Table 7. Self-reported ethnicities by the speakers of English and Māori in the 2013 Census (STATSNZ 2013)

SELECTED SELF REPORTED ETHNICITY BY PERCENTAGE OF THE NEW ZEALAND POPULATION IN THE 2013 CENSUS ENGLISH		PERCENTAGE OF EACH LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY EACH SELECTED SELF REPORTED ETHNICITY	
		ENGLISH	MĀORI
Māori	14.9	96.4	21.3
New Zealand European+	68.0	98.3	1.7
Other European (not elsewhere classified)+	*	97.1	*
New Zealander+	1.6	98.0	2.0
European not further defined+	*	98.1	*
Cook Islands Māori	1.5	96.1	#12.8
Others (other Pacific, African, Asian, Middle East, Americas)	14.0	v1	v2

Note 1: + = grouped as Pākehā, i.e. New Zealanders primarily of European origins
Note 2: * = less than 1%
Note 3: # = Cook Islands Māori and NZ Māori
Note 4: v1 variable = from 1% to >90%
Note 5: v2 variable = from 0% to ±1%

From Table 7 it can be seen that almost all Māori speak NZE but only about 21% speak Māori. Almost all Pākehā speak NZE but only a tiny percentages of each of the four subgroups speak Māori. A large number of Cook Islanders live in New Zealand and almost all speak English but only about 12% speak Māori or closely related Cook Islands Māori. Varying percentages of the remaining respondents speak NZE and Māori.

Throughout NZ the populations of each settlement, village, town and city are ethnically mixed. Consequently, all the people of different ethnicities living in a place with either a Māori, a NZE or a hybrid geoname or visiting other places with either a Māori, a NZE or a hybrid geoname use those geonames. There are two exceptions to this practice. First, there may be dispute about the spelling (and hence use) of the name, e.g. *Whanganui* or *Wanganui* (Matthews 2014). Second, there are many places with an "official" NZE geoname but an "unofficial" Māori geoname; in these cases Māori speakers will probably use that name in intraethnic intercourse but speakers only of NZE will not.

Table 7 showed that few New Zealanders speak Māori while almost all speak NZE. However, lexical borrowing has taken place between the two languages ever since first contact. For example, Māori have appropriated and modified words such as tāone, hipi, pirihamana, penihana, kawanatanga, Āperera, Haina and hoiho, while NZE has appropriated (and modified, mainly through mispronunciation and different meanings) words such as *tui*, *kiwi*, *tiki*, *kahikatea*, *whanau*, *aroha*, *hangi*, *koha*, *haka* and *manaakitanga*. In another indication of the interaction between the two languages thousands of entities are hybrids, having a Māori geoname with a NZE word before or after the geoname. Examples are *Tararua Tramping Club*, *Relish Rangitikei*, *Hautapu Pine*, *Tekapo-Twizel Highway*, *Elstow-Waihou Combined School*, *Otaki Kite Festival*, and *Whanganui Chronicle*.

Has this interaction taken place in names other than those for geographic features? Several domains where the NZE part of the hybrid name is not similar in meaning to the Māori part are:

(a) personal names: *Taieri-Louise*, *Moetu-Hippolite*;
(b) surnames: *Hanara-Benbow*, *Harris-Tatana*;
(c) full names: *Temaiharoa Tarawhata Graham*, *Laurel Ngahurihanga Abernathy*;
(d) heritage tree names: *Tāne Mahuta - Lord of the Forest*; *Te Matua Ngahere - Father of the Forest*; *Te Tangi o te Tui - The cry of the Tui*;

(e) school names: *Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Bernard Fergusson*, *Pa Harakeke Teen Parent Unit*;
(f) kindergarten names: *Kereru Kindie*, *Whakamarama Kindergarten*;
(g) café/restaurant names: *Pohutukawa Eatery*, *The Thirsty Weka*, *Kiwi Kai*;
(h) sports club names: *Kaumatua Tramping Club*, *Whiti te Ra League Club*;
(i) welfare/service/health organizations: *National Council of Independent Women's Refuges Inc Nga Whare Whakaruruhau o Aotearoa*, *Arohanui Hospice Shop*, *Ngā Purapura - Lifestyle Advancement Centre*, *Whai Rawa Savings Programme*;
(j) children's activities/events: *Tamariki Fun Page*;
(k) community events: *Whakaaro Whakairo Sculptural Symposium*, *Māoriland Film Festival*;
(l) businesses: *Te Toa Barbers*, *Kiwitown Liquor Centre*, *Vetora* [vetinarian + ora (health)], *Moana New Zealand*, *Nikau Foundation*;
(k) Government activities/entities:

- *Nga Taonga Sound and Vision*,
- *New Zealand Walking Access Commission Te Ara Hīkoi Aotearoa*,
- *Te Pā Whakamarumaru New Zealand Security Intelligence Service*,
- *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*,
- *Mana in Mahi*,
- *Te Mana Whanonga Kaipāho Broadcasting Standards Authority*,
- *Moana New Zealand* (a fisheries company),
- *NZ On Air Irirangi Te Motu*,
- *Ministry of Māori Development Te Puni Kōkiri*.

Names for Government activities/entities in which in the Māori and NZE parts of the names have the same or almost the same meaning:

- *Ministry of Education Te Tāhuhu o Te Matauranga*,
- *Land information New Zealand Toitū Te Whenua*,
- *Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori The Māori Language Commission*,
- *Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine Ministry for Women*,
- *Ministry for Children Oranga Tamariki*,
- *The Royal Society Te Apārangi*,
- *Healthy Rivers/Wai Ora*,
- *Te Whare Wananga o te Awakairangi Wellington Technical Institute*,
- *The University of Otago Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo*,
- *Te Tari Kaumātua Office for Seniors*.

Geonames themselves, the names of organizations that contain geonames and those names without geonames are also found, for example, on street signs and public transport vehicles, as part of personal and commercial addresses, in airports and shopping centres, in street names, in newspapers, brochures and billboards, in prose and poetry, and in birth, marriage and death documents. They are everywhere and are part of New Zealand's linguistic environment.

7. Options for the future

In New Zealand there is one set of geoname for NZE and another set for Māori. There is a third set for hybrid geonames. In addition, there are monolingual and hybrid dual names and alternative names.

What could happen to the hybrid geonames, doubled duplex geonames and the univocity principle in the light of UNGEGN's view that geonames are part of intangible cultural heritage? There are several options, all of which need to take account of the four views.

Table 8. Options for the structure of New Zealand geonames that accord with or do not accord with the views of UNCSGN, Kadmon, and UNGEGN

OPTION	UNCSGN		KADMON	UNGEGN
	hybrids	univocity	doubled	heritage
1. Change all hybrid simplexes into monolingual simplexes	✓	–	–	×
e.g. Big Omaha ⇨ Omahanui; Te Atatu South ⇨ Te Atatu ki Te Tonga				
A. Retain all hybrid simplexes	×	–	–	✓
2. Change all hybrid joined and separated duplexes into monolingual duplexes	✓	–	–	×
e.g. Glentui ⇨ Māruatui; Papaka Stream ⇨ Mangapapaka; Mount Wera ⇨ Maungawera				
B. Retain all hybrid joined and separated duplexes	×	–	–	✓
3. Change all NZE and Māori doubled (similar) duplexes into joined or separated duplexes by removing one of the two generic terms	–	–	✓	×
e.g. Maraenui Marae ⇨ Maraenui; Pass Brook ⇨ The Brook				

C. Retain all NZE and Māori doubled duplexes (similar)	–	–	×	✓
5. Change all hybrid doubled duplexes (similar) into NZE or Māori joined or separated duplexes	✓	–	✓	×
e.g. Lake Rotoiti Scenic Reserve ⇨ Little Lake Scenic Reserve; Hukere Stream ⇨ Mangahukere.				
D. Retain all hybrid doubled duplexes	×	–	×	✓
6. Change the two hybrid official alternative geonames for the one feature into the one official hybrid dual geoname	×	✓	–	✓
e.g. Kawhiti or Stanley Head ⇨ Kawhiti / Stanley Head; Young Nicks Head (Te Kuri) ⇨ Young Nicks Head / Te Kuri				
7. Change the two hybrid unofficial alternative geonames for the one feature into the one hybrid official dual geoname	×	✓	–	✓
e.g. Manuka or Ranger Creek ⇨ Manuka Creek / Ranger Creek; Trio Islands (Kuru Pongi) ⇨ Trio Islands / Kuru Pongi.				
E. Retain all hybrid official and unofficial dual and alternative geonames for the one feature	×	×	–	✓
8. Change all hybrid dual names into monolingual dual geonames	✓	–	–	×
e.g. Old Man Range/Kopūwai ⇨ Koroheke / Kopūwai; Old Man Range / Mullet				
F. Retain all hybrid dual names.	×	–	–	✓

KEY:
doubled: geonames with two generic terms with similar meanings in the one geoname
heritage: intangible cultural heritage view
✓ favoured by UNCSGN, Kadmon and UNGEGN
× not favoured by UNCSGN, Kadmon and UNGEGN
– not relevant

8. Conclusion

Every geoname has a structure and in a model inferred from UNGEGN's *Glossary* two structures can be identified. These are simplexes and composites, the latter being divided into two. The *Glossary* contains the entries allonym and its synonym alternative geoname but alternative geonames are not included in the model.

A new five level enhanced geoname model that includes two types of simplexes and three types of duplexes has been developed. The model includes doubled geonames and in bi- and multilingual entities hybrid geonames. This model is used to analyze the structures of 35,502 New Zealand geonames from the Gazetteer 2015. The analysis shows that there are 12,594 hybrids and 6,999 doubled geonames. The two overlap with 3,468 geonames being hybrid doubled geonames. In addition, the alternative and dual geonames found in the Gazetteer 2015 are discussed. In structure alternative and dual geonames cover the full structural range of paired geonames: hybrid with hybrid, hybrid with nonhybrid, nonhybrid with hybrid and nonhybrid with nonhybrid.

Additional to the above an emerging trend by UNGEGN is to recognize geonames as part of intangible cultural heritage.

However, there have been calls to discourage the use of hybrid geonames and doubling in geonames. There are also calls for the implementation of UNCSGN's principle of univocity, which is reinforced in UNGEGN's manual. This principle applies to alternative names but not to dual geonames.

What is the future for hybrid and doubled geonames? For hybrid geonames a process could be initiated which changed them into monolingual geonames, e.g. *Big Omaha* becomes *Omahanui*. For doubled duplexes one or the generic terms could be removed, e.g. *Lake Rotoiti* could become *Rotoiti* and *Lake Grassmere* could become *Lake Grass* or *Grassmere*. A hybrid separated duplex such as *Putoetoe Point* could become an official alternative geoname as *Putoetoe* or *Putoetoe Point*.

For alternative geonames there are several options. For example, the unofficial alternative geoname *Manuka Creek* or *Stables Creek* could become either an official alternative geoname, e.g. *Manuka Creek* or *Stables Creek* or, better, it could be converted into a dual name, i.e. *Manuka Creek / Stables Creek*. In fact all official and unofficial alternative geonames could be converted into dual geonames, some of which can be hybrids. Dual geonames do not violate the univocity principle because the two parts become a single name.

Alternative geonames violate UNCSGN's 1967 univocity principle. This principle arose at a time when regional, national, international and even local communication was difficult and often made more difficult because of the use of two names for the one geographic feature. However, these days, with the widespread, perhaps universal, use of computers, cell phones, satellites, GPS and other devices, and the zooming in capacity of online maps, it means that features are almost immediately located. The policy is now outdated.

The final matter to consider is UNGEGN's view that all geonames are part of a universal intangible cultural heritage and of specific intangible cultural heritages. New Zealanders live in a linguistic environment in which almost everyone speaks English and a proportion of the population speaks Māori, an official language. It is clear that the Māori language is being increasingly used in the names of individuals and in private and public entities. There is also an increasing understanding of the importance of Māori geonames but this should not belittle in any way the importance of NZE geonames and, more importantly, of the hybrid and doubled geonames.

All New Zealand geonames embody various historical, economic, linguistic, psychological, political, cultural, sociological and anthropological aspects of the bicultural New Zealand's history and contribute to a sense of identity, belongingness and, through intergenerational transfer, continuity. Changes should minimized.

Retaining all New Zealand geonames in their current form means the continuation of important aspects of New Zealand history and society, including that of individual, ethnic, local, regional and national identities and heritages.

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Solvita Pošeiko

Personiskā, lokālā, globālā un glokālā aktualizācija Latvijas komerciālo nosaukumu ainavā[1]

Latvian Commercial Namescape: Personal, Local, Global, and Glocal Perspectives

The most extensive Linguistic Landscape (LL) study in the Baltic states (Pošeiko 2015) shows that written texts belonging to the commercial sphere of the LL dominate in regional city centers; name signs of enterprises were identified the most often. Thus, the commercial namescape is a significant part of the LL and the cityscape and plays a significant role in the dissemination of public information and the language situation in certain places.

The article has two aims. The first, theoretical aim is to define the article's main terms (globalization, localization, and glocalization) from a linguistic point of view and to discuss naming strategies which have been used in order to express personal, local, global, and glocal information in commercial names. The second, practical aim is to describe the Latvian commercial namescape in terms of anthropocentrism, globalization, localization, and glocalization theories and to analyze some local commercial names in detail.

The most commonly used strategies for creating commercial names in Latvia are transonymization, suffixation, and inclusion of lesser-used words. Anthroponyms and toponyms; lesser-used words; culture-, geography-, history-, and social-practice-marked lexemes; local and international suffixes; and polysemy are essential linguistic tools for naming Latvian enterprises. Language contacts (foreign languages used in combination with the state language) in bilingual and multilingual names and the use of foreign languages in monolingual names are typical sociolinguistic features of commercial names in Latvia.

The analysis shows two trends in commercial naming. First, there are a number of creative commercial names in Latvian which can be considered "locally oriented" names. Second, local businessmen often take into account social and economic processes worldwide and create names that incorporate foreign languages or well-known lexemes,

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signs, and symbols; such names can be considered glocal. In both cases, locality plays an important role; the theoretical and practical discussion of this concept herein is open to other, more specialized research in the future.

Keywords

commercial namescape,
naming strategies, language,
semantics, locality, glocalization

Ievads

Mūsdienās ikvienu cilvēku apdzīvotu vietu rotā lingvistiskā ainava (turpmāk LA) – "dažādu žanru, apjomu un stilu rakstveida tekstu – valodas zīmju – kopums, kas ataino noteiktā vidē lietotās valodas, sabiedrībā esošās prestižās valodas, iedzīvotāju identitāti" (Pošeiko 2019). Pēdējās divās desmitgadēs ir strauji pieaudzis teorētisko publikāciju skaits par starpdisciplināriem LA pētījumu risinājumiem un, balstoties uz šiem teorētiskajiem risinājumiem, ir veikta LA izpēte daudzās pasaules vietās (piem., Hélot et al. 2012; Pütz, Mundt 2019; Malinowski, Tufi 2020). Tomēr nemainīgi galvenā uzmanība pētījumos tiek pievērsta valodas zīmēm, to saturam un lietotajām valodām. Autorība, izvietojums un valodas lietojuma regulācija ir sevišķi būtiski kritēriji, kas ļauj visas LA valodas zīmes klasificēt trīs grupās (pēc Gorter 2006; Shohamy, Gorter 2009):

1. Oficiālās sfēras valodas zīmes, ko izvieto valsts un pašvaldības iestādes, valstij vai pašvaldībām pilnībā vai daļēji piederoši uzņēmumi (piem., ceļa zīmes, valsts iestāžu nosaukuma zīmes, oficiāli paziņojumi un tūrisma informācijas centru izvietotie teksti). Lai gan ēku numurzīmes ar ielu nosaukumiem izvieto juridiskas personas un privātpersonas, tās arī ir uzskatāmas par oficiālās sfēras zīmēm; to forma un saturs ir stingri noteikts katras pašvaldības normatīvajos dokumentos (sk. arī Pošeiko 2020a; 2020b).
2. Komerciālās sfēras valodas zīmes, ko izvieto vietējie un starptautiskie uzņēmēji un privātpersonas ar ekonomisku motivāciju (piem., reklāmas, afišas, nosaukumu zīmes, paziņojumi par darba laiku un sludinājumi) (sk. arī Bušs 2013; Balode, Bušs 2014; Pošeiko 2018a).
3. Privātās sfēras valodas zīmes, ko izvieto nevalstiskās organizācijas, reliģiskās organizācijas un privātpersonas bez mērķa nopelnīt (piem., dievkalpojumu saraksti, etnisko biedrību nosaukuma zīmes, paziņojumi par niknu suni pie privātmāju sētām un grafiti) (par grafiti Latvijā sk. Pošeiko 2013).

Līdz šim plašākais LA pētījums Baltijas valstīs (Pošeiko 2015) rāda, ka komerciālās sfēras valodas zīmes dominē reģionālo pilsētu centros. Deviņu pilsētu LA izpētē visbiežāk tika identificētas tieši nosaukuma zīmes (~31 % no visām iegūtajām valodas zīmēm, sk. vairāk Pošeiko 2015: 171). Līdz ar to var apgalvot, ka **komerciālo nosaukumu ainava** (*commercial namescape*) ir neatņemama LA un pilsētas ainavas sastāvdaļa un tai ir būtiska loma publiskās informācijas un valodas situācijas veidošanā.

Šim rakstam ir divi savstarpēji saistīti mērķi: teorētiskais un praktiskais. Teorētiskais mērķis ir skaidrot galvenos pētījuma terminus (globalizācija, lokalizācija un glokalizācija) no valodniecības perspektīvas un iztirzāt komerciālo nosaukumu izveides stratēģijas un līdzekļus, kas tiek izmantoti personiskās, lokālās, globālās un glokālās informācijas izteikšanai. Praktiskais mērķis ir aplūkot Latvijas komerciālo ainavu globalizācijas, lokalizācijas un glokalizācijas teoriju kontekstā, plašāk analizējot atsevišķus vietējo uzņēmumu nosaukumus.

Raksta struktūra ir pakārtota mērķiem, to noslēdzot ar kopsavilkumu, kurā apkopoti galvenie secinājumi.

1. Komerciālā nosaukuma motivācijas, struktūras, nozīmes un funkcionalitātes raksturošanas iespējas

Valodas situācija nekad nav atrauta no politikas (iekšpolitikas un ārpolitikas), kultūras un izglītības, ekonomikas (vietējās un starptautiskās) un migrācijas. Likumsakarīgi, ka valodas un valodas lietojuma ieradumu pārmaiņas ir lielā mērā saistītas ar sociālajiem procesiem un cilvēku komunikāciju dažādās teritoriālajās vienībās: pilsētā, valstī, Eiropā un pasaulē. Tas ir iemesls, kāpēc ir lietderīgi iepazīties ar sociālo zinātņu teorijām un dominējošās idejas izvērtēt no valodniecības viedokļa.

Tādi termini kā *globalizācija*, *lokalizācija* un *glokalizācija* arvien biežāk tiek lietoti dažādās dzīves jomās (t. sk. zinātnē, izglītībā un medijos), par ko liecina, piemēram, rezultātu skaits meklētājprogrammas *Google* latviešu valodas versijā (attiecīgi: 55900, 51500 un 1290). Nākamajā apakšnodaļā tiks aplūkota šo trīs terminu izpratne sociālajās zinātnēs un kultūras studijās, diskutējot par to attiecināšanu uz valodniecību. Otrajā apakšnodaļā tiks raksturoti valodas un valodas līdzekļu izvēles kritēriji un mērķi sociolingvistikas un socioonomastikas skatījumā, kas ļauj komerciālos nosaukumus raksturot plašāk – starpdisciplināri.

1.1. Pamatterminu izpratne

Globalizācija sociālajās zinātnēs un kulturoloģijā galvenokārt tiek uzskatīta par pasaules homogenizāciju kultūras un ekonomikas jomā, kas ir saistīta ar vairākām cilvēku vienlaicīgām identitātēm vienas identitātes (nacionālās, etniskās) vietā. Šis fenomens nereti tiek saistīts ar ekonomisko integrāciju un starptautisko kapitālismu, amerikāņu masu kultūru un *McDonald* tīklu, rietumu vērtībām un domāšanu (*Americanization*, *McDonaldization*, *Westernization*), kas tiecas uz līdzībām cilvēku domāšanā, uzvedībā un darbībās, uzsverot pasaules mērogu kā primāro (piem., Ritzer 2000; Robertson 2000; Sucháček 2011; Roudometof 2015).

Turpretī ***lokālisms*** koncentrējas uz atsevišķām teritoriālām vienībām un tajās notiekošajiem procesiem un parādībām, uzsverot lokālo ražošanu un patērēšanu, vietējo kultūru un identitāti. Tādējādi ***lokalizācija*** ir process, kurā "svešais", ārpus kādas teritoriālās vienības (reģiona, valsts, valstu apvienības), kultūras, sociālo procesu un valodas esošais, tiek pielāgots (resp., padarīts saprotams) zināmajam: lokālām tradīcijām un ieradumiem, zināšanām un pieredzēm (piem., Roudometof 2015). Termins *lokalizācija*, kas bieži tiek lietots translatoloģijā (sk. Veisbergs 2019), konceptuāli jau ir saistīts ar nākamo aplūkojamo terminu – *glokalizācija*.

Iepriekš minētie skatījumi uz sociāliem un kultūras procesiem nav pretpoli un cits citu arī neizslēdz. "Globālais vienmēr ir saistīts ar kādu lokālu vietu, un lokālais tiek veidots un pārveidots globālā produktu, diskursu un ideju cirkulācijā" (Salazar 2010: 190). Tieši tādēļ pētnieki ir definējuši terminu ***glokalizācija***, kas apvieno abas perspektīvas un ļauj analizēt, kā idejas, cilvēku ieradumi un sociālie procesi pastāv līdzās un savstarpēji ietekmējas (piem., Sucháček 2011; Roudometof 2015). Tas ir starpkultūru attiecību un sociālekonomiskās politikas process ar cilvēku tīklošanos (*networking*), lai savstarpēji apmainītos ar tradīcijām un ieražām, zināšanām, prasmēm un pieredzēm lokālā un globālā līmenī (*global to local* un *local to global*). Tā kā šajā procesā ietekmēšanās, ieradumu un sociālo prakšu pārņemšana un dažādu neierastu kombināciju veidošanās ir neizbēgami blakus procesi, tiek runāts par fragmentāciju, hibriditāti, heterogenitāti un difūziju kā raksturīgām glokalizācijas pazīmēm (sk. arī Bērks 2013). Biznesa vidē bieži tiek lietots sauklis "Domā globāli, rīkojies lokāli!".

Ņemot vērā iepriekš aplūkotās teorētiskās idejas, valodniecībā globalizācija attiecīgi būtu saistāma ar lielo, prestižo un ekonomiski izdevīgo valodu izmantojumu, lokalizācija – ar vietējo lingvistisko kodu (valsts valodas, reģionālo variantu, minoritāšu valodu) lietojumu (t. sk.

tulkojumos) un glokalizācija – ar globāli nozīmīgo un lokāli funkcionālo valodu un valodu variantu mijiedarbību, dažādām kombinācijām visos valodas līmeņos (t. sk. transliterāciju un transkripciju, sk. 1.2. un 1. tab.). Visos gadījumos valodai/-ām var piemist simbolisks un/vai pragmatisks lietojuma mērķis.

Vēl viens līmenis, kas netika iepriekš pieminēts, bet ir būtisks komerciālo nosaukumu izveidē, ir **uzņēmuma īpašnieka/-u personiskais līmenis**, ko veido personiskā informācija (galvenokārt personvārdi), zināšanas un vērtības, intereses un aizraušanās. Lai diskutētu par antropocentrisma tendenci komerciālo nosaukumu izveidē, krievu valodniece Anna Trapezņikova (*Анна Трапезникова*) Krasnojarskā (Krievija) ir izmantojusi aptaujas metodi, intervējot 100 uzņēmumu īpašniekus un noskaidrojot trīs biežāk minētos izveides principus: tiešo pašreprezentāciju, netiešo pašreprezentāciju un ar autora biogrāfiju saistītas vai autoram nozīmīgas reālijas izmantojumu (Трапезникова 2009: 108).

Iepriekš īsi raksturotās perspektīvas ir ņemtas vērā raksta turpinājumā, lai raksturotu komerciālo nosaukumu izveidi, mērķauditoriju un funkcionalitāti Latvijas pilsētu publiskajā telpā.

1.2. Lingvistiskie un sociolingvistiskie līdzekļi komerciālo nosaukumu izveidei

Lai kādu komerciālo nosaukumu jeb ergonīmu (sk. Pošeiko 2015: 142; Sjöblom 2016: 454–455) varētu uzskatīt par individualizētu, lokālu, globālu vai glokālu nosaukumu, ir nepieciešams apzināt iespējamās izveides stratēģijas un līdzekļus noteiktas perspektīvas izteikšanai.

Daudzi reklāmas jomas speciālisti un mārketinga kompānijas angļu valodā (piem., Rivkin 2009; Blindell 2014; Harroch 2016) piedāvā samērā vienkāršas stratēģijas veiksmīgai uzņēmumu nosaukšanai. Kā tipiskākos piemērus var minēt:

- transonimizāciju (kāda onīma, piem., atroponīma vai toponīma, lietojumu par ergonīmu);
- citātu, atsauču un alūziju izmantojumu;
- abreviāciju;
- mērķauditorijai būtisku konceptu iekļaušanu;
- jaunvārdu radīšanu;
- neierastu atvasinātu vārdu vai vārdu savienojumu veidošanu;
- burtu vai skaņu atkārtošanu nosaukumā;
- daudznozīmīgu vārdu lietošanu;

- svešvalodu ar augstu ekonomisko vērtību vai, tieši pretēji, mazāk lietoto valodu (*lesser-used languages*) lietojumu;
- transliterāciju (resp., kāda alfabēta burtu un burtkopu atveidi ar atbilstošiem cita alfabēta burtiem) un transkripciju (resp., valodas vienību skanējuma grafisku attēlojumu ar noteiktu zīmju sistēmu);
- vairāku valodu apvienošanu.

Redzams, ka nosaukto stratēģiju pamatā ir valodas fonētiskās, morfoloģiskās, leksiskās un sintaktiskās vienības (lingvistiskie līdzekļi) un cita valoda vai vairākas valodas (sociolingvistiskie līdzekļi). Šo līdzekļu plašāks raksturojums ir sniegts nākamajās rindkopās.

Komerciālo nosaukumu analīzē lingvisti bieži raksturo ergonīmu izveides **lingvistiskos līdzekļus**, īpašu uzmanību pievēršot onīma un apelatīva attieksmēm nosaukumā un leksiskajiem elementiem, kas galvenokārt tiek grupēti pēc semantiskām pazīmēm (Laugale, Šulce 2012: 31–34; Bušs 2014: 354–358; Pošeiko 2015: 153–164; Sjöblom 2016: 457–462, sk. arī Стародубцева 2003; Емельянова 2007; Курбанова 2014).

Viens no svarīgākajiem jautājumiem ergonīmu gramatiskās struktūras sakarā ir apelatīvu (preču un pakalpojumu grupas – pārtika, apģērbi, ziedi, druka un šūšanas pakalpojumi) un iestāžu/uzņēmumu darbības funkciju norādošo nomenklatūras vārdu (piem., veikals, banka, bārs un salons) iekļaušana komerciālā nosaukuma sastāvā. Baltijas valstu LA daudzos gadījumos apelatīvi funkcionē kā vienīgie iestāžu vai uzņēmumu identifikatori publiskajā telpā (Pošeiko 2015; 2018a), tāpēc to nozīme komerciālo nosaukumu izveidē nav apšaubāma. Ņemot to vērā, nosaukumi tiek grupēti:

- tiešajos nosaukumos, kuru pamatā nomenklatūras vārdi, kas norāda uzņēmumu veidu, vai apelatīvi, kuri daļēji vai pilnībā parāda uzņēmumu funkciju un sortimentu (preces, pakalpojumus);
- simboliskajos nosaukumos, kas norāda uzņēmuma atrašanās vietu, metaforiski raksturo uzņēmuma darbības jomu, piedāvājumu vai mērķauditoriju vai ir saistīti ar uzņēmumu idejisko koncepciju, to filozofiju;
- jauktajos nosaukumos, kuru pamatā ir tiešie nosaukumi un simboliskie nosaukumi;
- saīsinātajos nosaukumos – abreviatūrās (sk. vairāk Laugale, Šulce 2012; Курбанова 2014).

Ja tiešie nosaukumi sniedz aprakstošu informāciju par uzņēmumu (lasītājam nav jāpieliek pūles tā izskaidrošanai), tad simboliskie nosaukumi ierosina asociācijas par uzņēmumu un ļaujas interpretācijām.

Komerciālo nosaukumu strukturālās izveides kritērijs paredz arī to klasificēšanu pēc morfoloģiskajām un sintaktiskajām īpatnībām; tā ir iespējams runāt par viena vārda nosaukumiem, salikteņiem, saīsinātiem vārdiem un abreviatūrām, vārdu savienojumiem un izteicieniem (piem., "spārnotiem teicieniem").

Ergonīmu motivācija ir saistīta ar precedentu ('to, kas noder par paraugu kam vēlākam, pašreizējam' ($LLVV_e$)) un tā semantiku. Par precedentu avotu grupām jeb tipiem var funkcionēt literatūra, kino, mūzika, vēsture, ģeogrāfija, cilvēks u. tml. vai abstrakti nojēgumi (Bušs 2013: 51). Nereti socioonomastikas pētījumos precedentu avotu grupas tiek dēvētas par ergonīmu leksiski semantiskajām grupām, to klasifikācija ir ļoti daudzveidīga (jo īpaši krievu socioonomastikas tradīcijā). Kā vienu piemēru var minēt šādu leksiski semantisko grupu klasifikāciju: dzīvas būtnes vai būtnes, kas uztveramas par dzīvām; nedzīvi priekšmeti, bezdvēseliskas būtnes un parādības; objektu grupu nosaukumi; cilvēku, piedāvājumu vai uzņēmumu raksturojoši vārdi; neskaidra semantika (Суперанская 1973: 46–88; arī Pošeiko 2015: 163–164). Savukārt krievu valodniece Oksana Jemeļjanova (*Оксана Емельянова*), analizējot ergonīmus Ufas (Krievija) pilsētvidē, ir definējusi tādus jēdzieniskos modeļus kā, piemēram, veids un paveids, daļa veselā vietā, īpašība vai iezīme, likumsakarība un personvārds (Емельянова 2007: 10–11; arī Pošeiko 2015: 161–163).

Latviešu valodnieki komerciālos nosaukumus pēc to strukturālām un tematiskām pazīmēm ir grupējuši triviālajos un netriviālajos nosaukumos (Bušs 2014: 354–358; Balode, Bušs 2014: 8–12). Par triviālajiem ergonīmiem ir uzskatīti, piemēram, nosaukumi, kurus veido īpašvārdi vai kuru pamatā ir vārdu savienojums "Pie…", bet par netriviālajiem nosaukumiem ir dēvēti nosaukumi, kuru pamatā ir reti lietota leksika, kurus veido deminutīvi vai kuros ir valodas spēle ar vārdiem vai burtiem. Pilnībā vai daļēji transliterēti vārdi vai vārdu savienojumi arī tiek uzskatīti par neierastiem un radošiem ergonīmiem.

Sociolingvistiskie līdzekļi komerciālo nosaukumu izveidē ir saistīti ar lingvistiskā koda (valodas, dialekta, izloksnes, sociolekta vai ideolekta) izvēli, tulkojumu un valodu kontaktiem.

Valodas izvēli var ietekmēt dažādi faktori. Sociolingvistikā tiek izcelti četri galvenie valodas izvēles kritēriji:

- politiskais (valsts valodas lietojums);
- psiholoģiskais vai simboliskais (dzimtās valodas, etniskās valodas lietojums);
- lingvistiskais (autoram/-iem un/vai lasītājiem zināmā valoda, labskanīga valoda);

- ekonomiskais kritērijs (potenciālo klientu skaits, valodas prestižs un ekonomiskā vērtība) (sk. arī Spolsky 2009; Cenoz, Gorter 2009; Edelman 2009).

Daudzos gadījumos tiek izmantoti vairāki kritēriji vienkopus. Tā, piemēram, latviešu valodas izvēles pamatā var būt gan vajadzība ievērot Valsts valodas likumu, gan vēlme izcelt valsts valodu kā savu dzimto valodu, kas ir zināma vietējiem iedzīvotājiem un kam piemīt ekonomiskā vērtība (vismaz nacionālā līmenī).

Jāuzsver, ka Latvijā Valsts valodas likums un tam pakārtotie Ministru kabineta noteikumi Nr. 294 "Noteikumi par iestāžu, sabiedrisko organizāciju, uzņēmumu (uzņēmējsabiedrību) nosaukumu un pasākumu nosaukumu veidošanu un lietošanu" paredz, ka komerciālie nosaukumi ir rakstāmi valsts valodā vai svešvalodā ar latīņu burtiem (Valsts valodas likums 1999, Ministru kabineta noteikumi Nr. 294). Latvijas likumdošana ir demokrātiska attieksmē pret valodas izvēli komerciālajiem nosaukumiem, ierobežojums attiecas uz alfabēta izvēli. Kirilica kā Latvijas lielākās minoritāšu valodas alfabēts nav atļauts ergonīmos.

Sociolingvistiski analizējot komerciālos nosaukumus, bieži problēmas sagādā valodas noteikšana, jo ne vienmēr uzņēmuma atrašanās vietas vai izcelsmes valsts var būt pamats nosaukuma valodu saistīt ar šīs valsts oficiālo valodu vai vairākām valodām. Valoda var būt zīme vai simbols pati par sevi, ko ietekmē vairāki sociālie stereotipi. Valoda var būt kā norāde uz starptautisku uzņēmuma orientāciju, kā pamats veiksmīgai nākotnei, kā izsmalcinātības simbols un arī kā izklaides līdzeklis (sk. Tufi, Blackwood 2010: 205; arī Edelman 2009: 141–154).

Socioonomastikā valodas izvēle komerciāliem nosaukumiem tiek analizēta, ņemot vērā arī valodas funkcionalitāti saistībā ar tirgus mērķauditoriju:

- globālam tirgum izvēloties angļu valodu (globalizācijas *lingua franca*), latīņu un grieķu valodu (universālās klasiskās valodas) vai internacionālismus, kas ir saprotami vairāku valodu lietotājiem;
- lokālam tirgum izvēloties vietējās valodas (valsts valodu, reģionālās un minoritāšu valodas) (Sjöblom 2013: 9).

Iepriekš minēto līdzekļu klasifikācija ir atainota 1. tabulā. Tā apkopo aplūkotās teorētiskās atziņas un atšķirīgās ergonīma nozīmes, mērķauditorijas un funkcionalitātes perspektīvas un sniedz konkrētus piemērus, kas turpmāk izmantojami komerciālo nosaukumu analīzei (sk. arī Pošeiko 2018a).

1. tabula. Lingvistiskie un sociolingvistiskie līdzekļi personiskās, lokālās, globālās un glokālās perspektīvas izteikšanai komerciālajos nosaukumos

Līdzekļi/ perspektīva	Personiskā	Lokālā	Globālā	Glokālā
Lingvistiskie	Personvārdi (t. sk. iesaukas) Biogrāfiska informācija (piem., dzimto māju nosaukuma izmantojums, vecāku izteicieni) Vārdi, kas ataino īpašnieka/-u pārliecības, vērtības vai simpātijas, profesionālo darbības sfēru Okazionālismi Abreviatūras vai vārdu savienojumi, kas grūti atkodējami vai nav atkodējami vairumam lasītāju (izņēmums – ģimene, tuvi draugi, kolēģi)	Nomenklatūras vārdi, retāk lietotie to sinonīmi Lokāli ievērojamu cilvēku (piem., rakstnieku, mūziķu, mākslinieku, sportistu) personvārdi vai ar viņu profesionālo darbu, izklaidēm vai biznesu saistīti vārdi Apkārtējās vides vietvārdi (piem., ciema vai pilsētas nosaukums, upes vai ezera nosaukums, ielas nosaukums) Apkārtējās vides ģeogrāfisko, sociālo vai kultūras objektu nosaukumi Kultūrzīmes (piem., tradīcijas, vietējā virtuve, mākslas un literāro darbu nosaukumi vai tēli, mitoloģiskās būtnes, dievības) Minoritāšu organizāciju nosaukumi Izlokšņu un dialektu apelatīvi, vārdu savienojumi, izteicieni Arhaismi Tiešā veidā norādīta vietējā mērķauditorija (konkrēta sociālā vai etniskā grupa)	Viegli atpazīstami un labi zināmi (universāli) nomenklatūras vārdi oriģinālvalodā Starptautisku slavenību personvārdi vai ar viņu darbu, ģimeni, interesēm vai biznesu saistīti vārdi Pasaulslavenu vietu, ģeogrāfisko, politisko vai kultūras objektu nosaukumi Globāli zīmoli Netulkoti internacionālismi Pasaulslavenu mākslas, literatūras, kino u. c. darbu nosaukumi, arī šajos darbos atainotie tēli, objekti un vietas Atsauces uz pasaules klasiku literatūrā, mūzikā, kino, teātrī u. tml. (piem., citāti vai norādes) Masu kultūras zīmes	Viegli uztverami nomenklatūras vārdi vietējās valodās Uzņēmuma pilnā nosaukuma daļējs tulkojums lokālās valodās Uzņēmuma produktu vai pakalpojumu apraksta tulkojums vietējās valodās Internacionālas (piem., klasisko valodu) morfēmas vietējo valodu vārdos Salikteņi vai vārdu savienojumi ar lokāliem un globāliem vārdiem Internacionālismi vietējās valodās Globālu konceptu, terminu atveide vietējās valodās Citvalodu personvārdu atveides varianti valsts valodā

Socio-lingvistiskie	Dzimtā valoda, dialekts vai izloksne Sociolekts, ideolekts Valoda, kam piešķirta simboliska vai ekonomiska vērtība Eifoniska valoda	Valsts valoda Reģionālās vai minoritāšu valodas (piem., minoritāšu organizāciju nosaukumi oriģinālvalodā) Transliterācija no vienas vietējās valodas citā vietējā valodā (piem., krievu valodas vārdu transliterēšana latviešu valodā)	Angļu valoda Universālās, biežāk lietotās valodas pasaulē bez teksta tulkojuma vietējās valodās Klasiskās valodas Valodu kontakti (piem., kodu jaukšana vārdā vai teikumā) bez elementiem vietējās valodās)	Biežāk lietotās valodas ar brīvu, daļēju vai burtisku teksta tulkojumu vietējās valodās Globālo valodu kontakti (piem., kodu jaukšana vārdā vai teikumā) ar vietējām valodām Transliterācija no svešvalodas vismaz vienā vietējā valodā

2. Komerciālo nosaukumu izveides stratēģijas un līdzekļi praksē

Starpdisciplināri aplūkotie termini (globalizācija, lokalizācija, glokalizācija) un izveidotais pārskats par lingvistiskajiem un sociolingvistiskajiem līdzekļiem personiskās, lokālās, globālās un glokālās perspektīvas izteikšanai ir par pamatu nākamo apakšnodaļu secībai un saturam. Katra apakšnodaļa ir veltīta vienai perspektīvai, vispirms to vispārīgi raksturojot un tad ilustrējot ar pāris piemēriem.

2.1. Personiskās informācijas izcēlums komerciālā nosaukumā

Vēsturiskās LA izpēte Latvijas divās lielākajās pilsētās – Rīgā un Daugavpilī – rāda, ka antroponīmu lietojums komerciālajos nosaukumos ir uzskatāms par stabilu ergonīmu izveides tradīciju (Pošeiko 2016; 2018b). 19. gs. beigās un 20. gs. sākumā lielā daļā komerciālo nosaukumu bija norādīti īpašnieku priekšvārdi un uzvārdi latviešu vai krievu valodā, demonstrējot **īpašnieku** tiešu pašreprezentāciju (sk. iepriekš 1.1.). Atsevišķos gadījumos izkārtnēs bija iekļauta papildu informācija par īpašnieka profesiju, lai atainotu profesionālo kvalifikāciju un atbilstību piedāvātajai darbības sfērai (sk. vairāk Pošeiko 2016: 83–84, 89; 2018b: 163). Līdzīgi gadījumi ir atrodami arī mūsdienu Latvijas LA; īpaši zobārstniecības un jurisprudences jomas pārstāvji izvēlas norādīt šādu informāciju pilsētu publiskajā telpā. Cilvēka profesionalitāte, specializētas prasmes un zināšanas un piederība konkrētās jomas organizācijām vai biedrībām funkcionē kā būtiska juridisko personu reklāma.

1. attēlā ir redzama autoskolas izkārtne no Daugavpils. Komerciālo nosaukumu veido trīs daļas: nomenklatūras vārds (autoskola), īpašnieka priekšvārda iniciālis *a* ar mazo sākumburtu un uzvārds (Porieša) un transporta vadītāja apliecību kategorijas (A, B, C, D, E) latviešu valodā.

1. attēls. Nosaukuma zīme Daugavpilī (Pošeiko 2015)

Komerciālajā nosaukumā ir vērojama ačgārna vārdu secība; latviešu valodā vārds/-i ģenitīvā nostājas pirms vārdsavienojuma otrā komponenta, arī personvārdi tiek rakstīti ar lielajiem sākumburtiem (resp., literāri pareizi būtu "A. Porieša autoskola"). Aplūkojot izkārtni, ir saprotama ierastās vārdu secības maiņas un mazā sākumburta lietojuma motivācija – priekšvārda iniciālis (burts *a*) un uzvārda galotne (burts *a*) vizuāli ilustrē automašīnas riteņus. Lai gan, pēc valodnieka Ojāra Buša domām, komerciālais nosaukums ir raksturojams kā triviāls (sk. 1.2. un Bušs 2014: 353–361), jo tā pamatā ir īpašvārds, tam piemīt netrivialitātes pazīmes multimodalitātes dēļ. Automašīna ir uzskatāma par svarīgu autoskolas simbolu, pakalpojuma nodrošinātāju un finanšu peļņas līdzekli, tādēļ šāds verbālās un vizuālās informācijas apvienojums ataino kreatīvu risinājumu uzņēmuma reklamēšanai un lasītāju uzmanības pievēršanai pilsētas publiskajā telpā.

Netiešo īpašnieka pašreprezentācijas gadījumu (sk. 1.1.) Latvijas komerciālo nosaukumu ainavā ir mazāk, kā viens piemērs ir minams kancelejas un biroja preču uzņēmums "Freko". Šis komerciālais nosaukums ir saliktenis, ko veido divu vārdu daļas: uzņēmuma dibinātāja un vadītāja iesauka (**Fre**dis) un nomenklatūras vārds (**ko**mpānija) (elektroniskā sarakste 20.08.2013.). Tātad komerciālā nosaukuma izveidē ir izmantota daļēja transonimizācija (resp., daļa antroponīma pārgājusi ergonīmā), abreviācija, onīma un apelatīva apvienošana.

Vēl sarežģītāk ir identificēt gadījumus, kad komerciālais nosaukums ataino ar īpašnieka/-u biogrāfiju saistītas vai nozīmīgas reālijas izmantojumu (sk. 1.1.); bez intervijām, elektroniskajām sarakstēm vai papildu informācijas atrašanas uzņēmumu mājaslapās to atklāt ir praktiski neiespējami. Viens piemērs: Līvānu konditorejas izstrādājumu ražošanas uzņēmuma “Adugs” nosaukums patiesībā ir abreviatūra, kas nozīmē “Ar Dievu, ūdeni, gaisu un sauli”. Ergonīma pamatā ir īpašnieka vēlme izcelt šo vārdu nozīmi viņa personiskajā pasaules uztverē, uzņēmuma darbībā un cilvēka dzīves filozofijā (sk. vairāk Pošeiko 2012: 209).

2.2. Lokālais vietējos uzņēmumu nosaukumos

Baltijas valstu komerciālo nosaukumu ainavas izpētes rezultāti rāda, ka tiešie nosaukumi veido ~40 % no visiem nosaukumiem (Pošeiko 2015: 180–182). Par lokāliem nosaukumiem ir uzskatāmi tiešie nosaukumi, kuru pamatā ir uzņēmuma veidus norādoši nomenklatūras vārdi vai sortimentu nosaucoši apelatīvi, kas nav fonētiski vai semantiski līdzīgi citās valodās (piem., *veikals*, *aptieka*, *ziedi*, *apavi*). Te minami arī radoši atvasinājumi, piemēram, “Kūkotava”, “Mājotava”, “Mielotava” un “Pasēdnīca”. Latviešu valodā substantīvu izskaņa *-ava* norāda vietu, kas paredzēta kādai konkrētai, specializētai darbībai: *kūkotava* – vieta, kur *kūkot* ‘taisīt kūkas / radīt dzeguzei raksturīgas balss skaņas / bezdarbīgi sēdēt’; *mājotava* – vieta, kur cilvēki mājo, pastāvīgi dzīvo, vai vieta, kas ir saistīta ar cilvēku pastāvīgo mājvietu; *mielotava* – vieta, kur cilvēki *mielo* ‘dod viesiem ēst/dzert ko garšīgu un neikdienišķu’ un *mielojas* ‘ēd/dzer ko garšīgu un neikdienišķu’. Līdzīga motivācija ir arī substantīva izskaņai *-nīca*: *pasēdnīca* – vieta, kur pasēdēt. Atvasinājumi paplašina pamatvārdu leksisko nozīmi, un šāda nozīmes ekspansija ir noderīga komerciāliem nosaukumiem, jo ļauj “spēlēties” ar nozīmju niansēm vai vairākām nozīmēm.

Par lokāliem nosaukumiem ir uzskatāmi arī komerciālie nosaukumi ar iekļautiem toponīmiem vai lokāli nozīmīgām kultūrzīmēm (sk. 1. tab.). Kā piemērus var minēt jauktos ergonīmus ar komponentiem *Latvija* un *Rīga*: “Latvijas Mobilais Telefons” daudzviet Latvijā, “Latvijas Maiznieks” Daugavpilī un “Rīgas Viļņi” Rīgā (sk. vairāk Balode, Bušs 2014: 1–13), arī “Spīdolas optika” un “Laimdotas skaistuma centrs” Lielvārdē (sk. vairāk Pošeiko 2018c: 203–206). Šajos gadījumos gan lingvistiskie līdzekļi (leksikas izvēle), gan arī sociolingvistiskie līdzekļi (latviešu valodas lietojums) ir vērsti uz lokālu perspektīvu.

Raksta ierobežotā apjoma dēļ netiks izvērsts jautājums par lokalitātes izpratni atšķirīgās teritoriāli un sociāli nošķiramās vienībās, tomēr tas būtu apspriežams citā publikācijā. Taču jānorāda, ka valsts vārds *Latvija* komerciālajos nosaukumos ir attiecināms uz lokalitāti valsts līmenī; uzņēmums nosaukumā rāda tā reģistrēšanas valsti un produkcijas izplatīšanas areālu, iespējams, pauž piederību valstij, ka arī tas ar savu darbību un produkciju pārstāv Latviju. Pilsētvārdi jeb astionīmi komerciālajos nosaukumos ir attiecināmi, pirmkārt, uz pilsētas līmeni, otrkārt, uz mūsdienu novada un/vai kultūrvēsturiskā novada līmeni, tad – valsts līmeni. Savukārt iepriekš pieminēto komerciālo nosaukumu no Lielvārdes gadījumā rodas jautājums, vai atsauce uz Andreja Pumpura sarakstīto nacionālo eposu "Lāčplēsis" (1888) ir uzskatāma par valsts vai pilsētas līmeņa lokalitāti. Kā izvērtēt leksisko vienību (šajā gadījumā literāro tēlu) nozīmību šaurākā un plašākā lokalitātes izpratnē?

2. attēls.
Nosaukuma zīmes Valmierā
(Pošeiko 2014)

2. attēlā ir redzamas trīs nosaukuma zīmes ar tekstu latviešu valodā no Valmieras. Lai gan Valmieras drāmas teātra nosaukuma zīme attiecas uz oficiālo LA sfēru (sk. raksta ievadu), tas ir precedents divu tajā pašā ēkā esošo uzņēmumu nosaukumiem: kafejnīcas jauktajam nosaukumam "Ceturtais Cēliens Teātra kafejnīca" un skaistumkopšanas salona jauktajam nosaukumam "Cits Teātris Skaistumkopšanas salons".

Šis gadījums ataino semantiski vienotu un lokāli orientētu nosaukumu grupu ar kopīgu tematu – teātris. Kā redzams, leksēma *teātris* ir lietota visos trīs ergonīmos: pirmajā gadījumā kā nomenklatūras vārds tiešajā nosaukumā ("Valmieras teātris"), otrajā gadījumā – kā nomenklatūras vārda (kafejnīca) diferencētājs ģenitīvā (teātra), kas vizuāli novietots zem simboliskā kafejnīcas nosaukuma "Ceturtais Cēliens", un trešajā gadījumā – kā uzņēmuma nosaukuma komponents, kas simboliski nosauc uzņēmumu ("Cits Teātris"). Tātad divu uzņēmumu nosaukšanā ir ņemta vērā to atrašanās vieta un šīs vietas funkcionālais izmantojums (teātra ēka), pielāgojot nosaukumus tai. Te lokalitāte ir saistīta ar vēl šaurāku sociālo telpu – vienu ēku.

Mazliet ļaujoties asociācijām simbolisko nosaukumu semantikas skaidrojumā, var pieņemt, ka kafejnīcas nosaukums rosina drāmas teātra apmeklētājus viena cēliena laiku nesteidzīgi pavadīt kafejnīcā, baudot kādu dzērienu un/vai ēdienu. Tas var tikt attiecināts uz dzīvi kā "īsto teātri" (piem., alūzija no Jāņa Streiča mākslas filmas "Teātris", 1978). Turpretim skaistumkopšanas salona simboliskā nosaukuma ideja var tikt interpretēta kā uzņēmuma darbinieku piedāvājums izveidot klientiem teātra aktieru cienīgu matu sakārtojumu, sejas izskatu un manikīru.

2.3. Starptautiski orientēts vai globalizāciju atainojošs komerciālais nosaukums

Ārvalstu zīmoli (piem., "Ikea", "McDonald", "Narvessen", "Zara" un "ibis") nemainīgā veidā ienāk arī Latvijas LA un ataino brīvā tirgus politiku. Savukārt daļa vietējo uzņēmēju labprātāk izvēlas savus uzņēmumus nosaukt svešvalodā, lai gan ne vienmēr uzņēmuma darbība stiepjas tālāk par valsts robežām un par galveno mērķauditoriju būtu uzskatāmi ārvalstu klienti. Tas parāda, ka valodas izvēli nosaka ne tikai ekonomiskais faktors (sk. 1.2.), ka citas valodas tiek uztvertas par simboliski vērtīgākām nekā valsts valoda to labskanības, prestiža un stereotipu dēļ un ka globālas tendences var tikt nekritiski pārņemtas vietējā praksē. Kā piemērus var minēt mēbeļu izgatavošanas un pārdošanas uzņēmumu "Elite House" un apģērba veikalu "Big! moda" Rīgā, frizētavu "Beleco" Liepājā un skaistumkopšanas salonu "j'adore" Valmierā. Tāpat daži apelatīvi ir kļuvuši par neatņemamu komerciālo nosaukumu ainavas sastāvdaļu, pat lingvistiskām klišejām (piem., *hotel* 'viesnīca', *tattoo* 'tetovējumi', *cafe* 'kafejnīca' un *barber* 'bārddzinis/frizieris').

3. attēlā ir redzama hotdogu veikala reklāminformācija Rīgas pasažieru dzelzceļa stacijā. Visticamāk, uzņēmuma atrašanās vieta – viens no starptautiskā tūrisma infrastruktūras centriem – ir noteikusi globālo perspektīvu komerciālā nosaukuma izveidē.

3. attēls. Reklāminformācija Rīgā (Pošeiko 2019)

Pie stikla piestiprināto nosaukuma zīmi nosacīti veido četras verbālā teksta daļas angļu valodā: produkta kvalitātes raksturojums *PREMIUM QUALITY* 'augstākā kvalitāte', produkta nosaukums *HOT DOG* 'hotdogs', produkta kvalitātes raksturojums *Number One* 'numur viens' un iespējamās izcelsmes vietas un gada norāde *California 1959* 'Kalifornija 1959'. Vizuāli ar lielāku burtu izmēru un treknrakstu ir izcelts piedāvātais produkts – hotdogs –, savukārt atšķirīga pamatnes krāsa (resp., sarkanā krāsa) pievērš uzmanību toponīmam Amerikas Savienotajās Valstīs (ASV) – Kalifornijai –, kas vienlaikus ir štata un pilsētas nosaukums.

Norādi uz ASV un amerikāņu sabiedrību un kultūru demonstrē arī papildu informācija: karoga attēli nosaukuma zīmē un lielformāta attēlā uz vienas no stikla vitrīnām, divas bijušā prezidenta Baraka Obamas melnbaltās fotogrāfijas, kurās B. Obama mielojas ar hotdogu, kā arī četras reklāmas ar vienu no biežāk personificētajiem tēliem – Tēvoci Semu (*Oncle Sam*) – un identisku retorisku jautājumu latviešu un krievu valodā: "Vai tu esi mēģinājis slaveno Kalifornijas hot dog?" Kalifornijas atkārtota pieminēšana, visticamāk, ir saistīta ar Kalifornijas ēstuves "Capitol Dawg" 2012. gadā uzstādīto rekordu par dārgāko hotdogu pasaulē (Good Day 2012), no Kalifornijas nāk arī viens no hotdogu ātrēšanas rekordistiem Džojs Česnats (*Joey Chestnut*) (Meldrum 2018). Tātad Kalifornija ir saistīta ar hotdogu kultūru (sagatavošanu, pārdošanu, ēšanu).

Redzams, ka nosaukuma zīmes izveidē ir izmantota angļu valoda kā starptautiskā valoda un globalizācijas simbols, leksēma *hotdogs* – kā masu kultūras zīme un viens no spilgtākajiem neveselīgas pārtikas piemēriem (pat ja tas tiek raksturots kā augstas kvalitātes produkts) un leksēma

Kalifornija – kā starptautiski atpazīstamas vietas piemērs, kas ilustrē ASV kultūru, sabiedrību un ekonomiku. Tādējādi gan sociolingvistiskais līdzeklis (angļu valoda), gan lingvistiskie līdzekļi (pragmatonīms un toponīms), gan arī vizuālā informācija (ASV karogs) ļauj šo komerciālo nosaukumu uzskatīt par tipisku globalizācijas piemēru.

Savukārt iepriekš pieminētās reklāmas iekļauj lokālus un globālus izteiksmes līdzekļus: vietējās valodas, Tēvoča Sema zīmējumu un pragmatonīmu angļu valodā (*hot dog* 'hotdogs'). Tādējādi ir radītas divas bilingvālas reklāmas (latviešu un angļu valodā, krievu un angļu valodā), kas apvieno lokāli funkcionējošas valodas ar globālu valodu un demonstrē glokāla teksta izveides principus.

2.4. Glokāls nosaukums Latvijas komerciālo nosaukumu ainavā

Izskatot LA datubāzi[2], ir redzams, ka patiesībā liela daļa komerciālo nosaukumu ir uztverami par glokāliem ergonīmiem (Pošeiko 2018a; 2018c). Var minēt tikai dažus nejauši izvēlētus piemērus, kas lielākoties ir jauktie nosaukumi: "PapīrHaus" Liepājā, "after… Kokteiļu un suši bārs" Rīgā, "Dāvanas un suvenīri 風水 feng shui" Daugavpilī, "Lion Restorāns" Ventspilī, "Hotel Wolmar Viesnīca" Valmierā, "EconomClass apģērbi jums" un "Funky Barons Hostelis" Rīgā. Jāpiebilst, ka pēdējā piemērā vārds *hostelis* ir divās krāsās: oranžā krāsā ir *hostel*, bet zilā krāsā – *is*, tādējādi ļaujot šo nomenklatūras vārdu izlasīt angļu valodā un latviešu valodā. Krāsa šajā gadījumā nošķir vienu semantikas ziņā identisku vārdu divās valodās.

Tāpat var minēt arī vairākus nomenklatūras vārdus, kuri ir fonētiski līdzīgi vairākās valodās un viegli atšifrējami: *lombards*, *kafejnīca*, *restorāns*, *bārs* un *banka*.

4. attēlā ir redzama apakšveļas veikala nosaukuma zīme no Rīgas LA, ko veido trīs daļas: vizuāli izcelti divi sākumburti (ZB), izmēra ziņā mazāki sākumburti, kas izvietoti burta *B* pusapļos (E un RA) un vārds *LINGERIE* 'sieviešu apakšveļa' angļu/franču valodā. Kopš 2017. gada oficiālais uzņēmuma nosaukums ir "Ze:Bra" (Ze:Bra 2020). Šis simboliskais nosaukums ir uztverams divējādi. No vienas puses, tas ir viena vārda nosaukums latviešu valodā – "Zebra" – ar kolu kā zilbju atdalītāju, kas uzņēmuma ārtelpas reklāminformācijā netiek izmantots. No otras puses,

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2 Digitālā datubāze ar fotogrāfijām no deviņām Baltijas valstu pilsētām ir pieejama šeit: http://lldata.ru.lv/. Taču raksta autores īpašumā pašreiz ir papildu fotogrāfijas no Rīgas, Liepājas, Lielvārdes, Alūksnes, Kārsavas un Kuldīgas.

nosaukumu veido tā pirmās daļas daļēja transkripcija no angļu valodas (*ze* no artikula *the*) un vārds angļu valodā (*bra* 'krūšturis'), tā izveidojot divu vārdu nosaukumu "Ze (the) Bra". Šis ir tiešs nosaukums, jo tā pamatā ir apelatīvs, kas tiešā veidā parāda uzņēmuma darbības jomu un funkcionē kā ergonīms – uzņēmuma nosaukums un atpazīstamības zīme (sk. iepriekš 1.2.). Ja pirmajā gadījumā asociācijas var rasties ar krūšturi un apakšbiksēm kā dzīvnieka – zebras – līnijām (tumšajām vai gaišajām), tad otrajā gadījumā ir uzsvērti krūšturi kā uzņēmuma galvenā produkcija vai viens no galvenajiem produktiem.

4. attēls. Apakšveļas veikala nosaukuma zīme Rīgā (Pošeiko 2019)

Ja uzmanību pievērš uzņēmuma reklāminformācijai pilsētā (sk. 4. attēlu), redzams, ka iepriekš minētajiem nosaukuma interpretācijas variantiem var tikt pievienots izcelto burtu fonētiskais lasījums – *Zē Bē* un vārds *ERA*, kas veidojies, apvienojot burtā B ievietotos burtus.

Zē bē ir slenga vārds (adverbs), kas tiek lietots gadījumos, kad runātājam/-ai vai runā pieminētajai personai vai vairākām personām kaut kas/kāds/viss ir apnicis (Bušs, Ernstsone 2006: 552). Adverbs ir aizgūts no vulgārisma *заебись* 'neiedomājami brīnišķīgi/vienreizēji' krievu valodā (Urban dictionary 2020). Pirmā nozīme (resp., apnicis/apnikusi) ļauj izteikt pieņēmumu, ka uzņēmums implicīti nodod ziņu: "Ja Tev ir apnikusi Tava veļa un/vai citu uzņēmumu piedāvājums, nāc pie mums!" Atsauce uz vulgārismu krievu valodā ar izteikti pozitīvu konotāciju, iespējams, var tikt lietota, lai raksturotu uzņēmuma piedāvājumu. Savukārt vārds *era* saistāms ar latviešu valodas vārdu *ēra/laikmets*, kas ar tādu pašu nozīmi tiek lietots vairākās valodās (piem., angļu, spāņu, lietuviešu un krievu valodā). Vai šī ēra ir uzskatāma par īpaši piemērotu uzņēmuma darbībai un tās produkcijai, vai laikmets ir produkcijas lietošanas laiks – šie retoriskie jautājumi un iepriekš izteiktie pieņēmumi ataino "spēlēšanos" ar nosaukuma asociācijām un interpretācijām par tā saistību ar uzņēmuma darbības misiju un mārketinga filozofiju.

Nosaukuma variants latviešu valodā (“Zebra”) nosauc uzņēmumu simboliski; tā saikne ar uzņēmuma darbību ir asociatīva. Nosaukuma variants angļu valodā (“The Bra”) un papildu informācija (*lingerie*) ir pragmatiska, vērsta uz garāmgājēju un klientu eksplicītu informēšanu par uzņēmuma darbības specifiku. Savukārt krievu valodas lietojums nosaukumā implicīti ir saistīts ar tā konotāciju, subjektīvu nosaukuma uztveri un interpretāciju saistībā ar uzņēmuma darbības sfēru un produkciju. Valodu kontakti ir gan starp latviešu valodu un angļu valodu (*ze* un *the*), gan starp latviešu valodu un franču valodu (*Zebra* un *lingerie*), gan starp latviešu valodu un krievu valodu (*zē bē* un *заебись*), gan arī pastarpināti starp krievu valodu un angļu/franču valodu (*заебись* > *zē bē* un *lingerie*).

Nosaukumā ir apvienotas atšķirīgas leksiskās nozīmes vairāk nekā vienā valodā. Burtu grafiskais izkārtojums logotipā raisa atšķirīgas nosaukuma lasīšanas stratēģijas un demonstrē teksta vizualizācijas nozīmi informācijas nodošanā un saņemšanā. Tas ļauj nosaukumu izlasīt dažādi, balstoties uz valodu un polisēmijas zināšanām. Tādējādi šis piemērs ilustrē valodas spēli sociolingvistiskā un semantiskā līmenī un ir uzskatāms par netriviāla un glokāla komerciālā nosaukuma piemēru.

Nobeigums

Šajā rakstā teorētiski tika aplūkotas sociālo zinātņu un kulturoloģijas teorijas, lai labāk saprastu valodas procesus vienā no Latvijas LA daļām – komerciālo nosaukumu ainavā. Plašāk tika raksturoti lingvistiskie un sociolingvistiskie līdzekļi, ar kuriem tiek izteikta personiskā, lokālā, globālā vai glokālā uzņēmuma idejiskā perspektīva (pat ja tā ir tikai iedomāta vai visai nosacīta). Tā rezultātā, balstoties uz sociolingvistu un socioonomastu teorētiskajām atziņām un praktiskajiem pētījumiem, ir izveidots šo perspektīvu un līdzekļu detalizēts pārskats (sk. 1. tab.), kas ir izmantots raksta otrās daļas izstrādei un var noderēt turpmāko pētījumu izstrādei.

Latvijā biežāk lietotās stratēģijas vietējo uzņēmumu nosaukumu izveidē ir transonimizācija, sufiksācija un daudznozīmīgu vārdu izmantojums valsts valodā un/vai svešvalodā. Antroponīmi un toponīmi, retāk lietoti vārdi, kultūrzīmes, sufiksi un vārdu nozīmes ir uzskatāmi par būtiskiem lingvistiskajiem līdzekļiem uzņēmumu nosaukšanā. Valodu kontakti (valodu kombinācijas ar valsts valodu) bilingvālos un multilingvālos nosaukumos un svešvalodu lietojums monolingvālos nosaukumos ir samērā tipiskas sociolingvistiskās pazīmes.

Piemēru iztirzājums raksta otrajā apakšnodaļā un aplūkotie, bet ierobežotā raksta apjoma dēļ neanalizētie ergonīmi kopumā rāda divas tendences komerciālo nosaukumu izveidē. No vienas puses, ir vērojams kreatīvu ergonīmu latviešu valodā pieaugums, kas uzskatāmi par lokāli orientētiem nosaukumiem. No otras puses, uzņēmēji ņem vērā sociālos un ekonomiskos procesus un rada nosaukumus ar daļēju informāciju citā valodā vai ar pasaulē plaši atpazīstamām kultūrzīmēm, tādējādi veidojot glokālas lingvistiskās prakses. Abos gadījumos lokalitātei ir būtiska nozīme uzņēmumu nosaukšanā, tādēļ šī koncepta teorētiskais un praktiskais iztirzājums ir atvērts citiem, šaurāk specializētiem pētījumiem nākotnē.

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Sanda
Rapa

Latvijas vietvārdi un karš

Latvian Place Names and War

Although placenames are supposed to be the most enduring part of lexis, they – being the main linguistic guardians of history – are influenced by various social events. This is reflected in the so-called incident names (see, for example, Stewart 1975: 105; Baker, Carmony 1975). For the purpose of demonstrating it in Latvian toponymy, the most dramatic event of all – war – was selected as an example. Latvian placenames show that wartimes have affected the toponymy in different ways – lexically, semantically, and even grammatically and orthographically. However, there is still no comprehensive research about the impact of war on the toponymy of Latvia.

The reflections of warfare are mainly observed in the lexical and semantic level of Latvian placenames. As the Latvian toponomastic tradition and formulas prevent the inclusion of abstract notions in placenames, there are not very many Latvian placenames containing the lexeme *karš* 'war' – among a million placenames of Latvia, there are only a few of this kind (e.g., *Kara pļava* 'War meadow', where horses of the French army were pastured, *Kara purs* 'War swamp', where the Swedish army had fought, etc.). More frequently, 'war' appears in the metadata – in stories about the places where war is the main chronotope. People remember destroyed houses, or places where refugees had hidden. Due to such place stories, the placenames survive long after the houses have been destroyed or their owners are gone. In the surface (lexical) level, placenames show only elements of the event frame structure – there is a plenty of placenames that remind about a war with the help of concrete words referring to battles, weapons, soldiers, roads etc. (*Granātbedre* 'Grenade pit', a former bomb crater; *Francūžu brads* 'French ford', a place where French soldiers crossed a river in 1812; *Jātnieku ceļš* 'Cavalryman road' where Swedish army moved; *Baterijas kalniņi* 'Battery hills'which were made by soldiers). The wars most often reflected in Latvian toponyms are: Russo-Turkish war (19th century), World War I and II, Napoleon's invasion in Russia, Polish-Swedish War (17th century), and in some cases even battles between neighbouring tribes in the 13th century.

War has annihilated thousands of house names and oikonyms, as they disappeared along with the houses and their owners (however, they often remain in microtoponyms – names of fields, meadows, forests etc.). Meanwhile, war has also created new placenames.

Many of wartime toponyms are the so-called temporal names – such as names of batallion settlements, military companies, bunkers and temporary roads. Often, they were created metaphorically (for example, fort hill name *Ferdinanda deguns* 'Ferdinand's nose' – named after Ferdinand I, the ruler of Bulgaria during World War I, or a bunker name *Jaunais Alkazars* 'New Alcazar' – named after the fortress Alcázar in Spain) or metonymically (for instance, a battalion resting place near Tukums was called *Tukuma sēta* 'Tukums' yard', and the name of a battalion resting place near Talsi was *Talsu sēta* 'Talsi' yard'). Transtoponymization is the main technique of the derivation of such wartime toponyms. The real placenames during a war were often protected and confidential. In the public reports of battles and movement of soldiers, placenames could not be written in full form (especially names of river, farmsteads and roads) – only the initials were used (war rapporteurs wrote, for example, "*Mūsu cīņu darbību apzīmē loks ap Z. ezeru*" 'The territory of our battles is around Z. lake'). In the war reports, placenames had to be precise and in the nominative case. Memories of soldiers confirm that wrong information about a placename could cause a lost battle and lost human lives.

Moreover, placenames can be also used as an ideological weapon – which was one of the most important weapons in the Cold War.

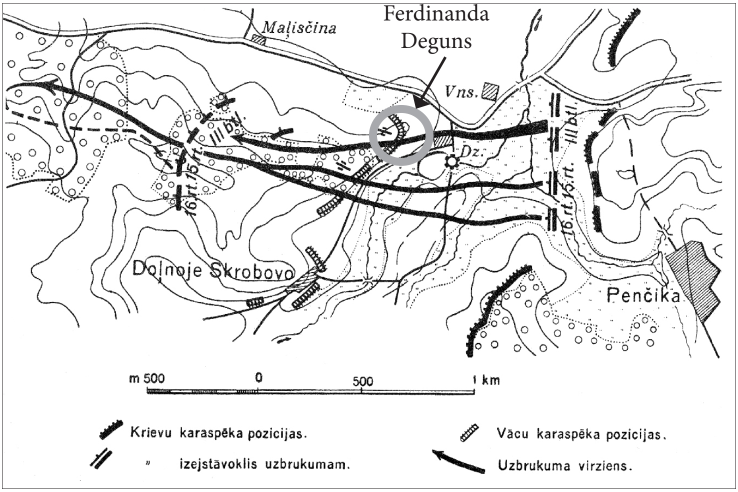
Keywords

Latvian toponyms, toponyms and war, transtoponymization

Ievads

Nav noliedzams, ka starp vietvārdiem, kuri apraksta ģeogrāfiskā objekta ārējo izskatu, apkārtni, lokalizāciju, formu utt., ir arī tādi, kas stāsta par reāliem vēsturiskiem notikumiem. Ne velti šādiem vietvārdiem toponīmikā ir radīts īpašs termins "notikumvārdi" (*incident names*; sk., piemēram, Stewart 1975, 105; Baker, Carmony 1975). Liela daļa šādu vietvārdu Latvijas toponīmijā stāsta par dažādām militārām darbībām – karu un tā sekām.

Karš var ietekmēt ikvienas valsts toponīmisko sistēmu. Par to liecina, piemēram, vietvārds *Ferdinanda Deguns* – kalna nosaukums, kas, pēc kara liecinieku un vēsturnieku ziņām, atrodams vai katrā valstī, kur norisinājies Pirmais pasaules karš. Šis vietvārds diezgan bieži pieminēts kara laika dokumentos, ziņojumos, atmiņu grāmatās, kartēs un presē. Cara Nikolaja II armijas komandieris Vladimirs Džunkovskis (*Владимир Джунковский*) atceras: "Gājām minūtes 40 līdz kalna pakājei un devāmies tālāk tik ātri, kā pavēlēts. Šo augstieni sauca Ferdinanda Deguns, tādi deguni bija modē un pastāvēja visās frontēs." (*Джунковский*) Izrādās, ka šādi kalnu nosaukumi ir metaforiski darinājumi, kam pamatā Bulgārijas kņaza, Vācijas impērijas un Austroungārijas sabiedrotā Pirmajā pasaules karā Ferdinanda I vārds. Uzskatāms piemērs redzams kartē no Latvijas armijas ģenerāļa Kārļa Goppera atmiņām (Goppers 1939: 73; sk. 1. attēlu) par Pirmo pasaules karu Brestas apgabalā (arī Latvijā tā saukts kāds zemes ķīlis pie Ilūkstes, kur bijuši iekārtojušies vācu karotāji).



1. attēls. Ferdinanda Deguns Kārļa Goppera atmiņās (attēla avots: *Lāčplēsis*, Nr. 7 (11.11.1939))

Taču par kara ietekmi uz toponīmiju liecina ne tikai acīmredzamas valodiskas (semantiskas) norādes (piemēram, jau minētais *Ferdinanda Deguns*, vietvārdi *Kara purvs*, *Ložmetējkalns*), bet arī vietu stāsti, kuri tiek stāstīti vai par kuriem atceras, pieminot vietvārdu, kas citādi par karu nemaz neliecina (piemēram, *Pogas kalns* – ar priedēm apaudzis uzkalniņš Sēmē, kur Otrā pasaules kara laikā bijusi ložmetēju ligzda, ierakumi, jo gar Sniķeru mājām gājusi frontes līnija). Karš Latvijas vietvārdu sistēmu ietekmējis arī citādi – metavalodiski: karš un kara darbības ir piespiedušas radīt jaunus vietvārdus (kur sadzīvē tie varbūt pat nekad netiktu radīti), karš ir izvirzījis īpašus vietvārdu informācijas lietošanas noteikumus, ietekmējis vietvārdu rakstību ne tikai ortogrāfiski, bet arī gramatiski. Šā raksta mērķis – apzināt visas ar vietvārdu sistēmu saistītās jomas, ko ietekmējušas militāras darbības. Raksta pirmajā daļā stāstīts par to, kādas kara liecības glabā vietvārdi un kuri kara laiki tajos visbiežāk atspoguļojas. Raksta otrā daļa veltīta kara laikā, respektīvi, kara ietekmē radītiem (un arī zudušiem) vietvārdiem, bet raksta trešajā daļā aplūkots, kā karš diktējis vietvārdu rakstības un lietošanas noteikumus.

1. Kara liecības Latvijas vietvārdos

Visuzskatāmāk kara ietekme redzama vietvārdos, kas kara notikumus atspoguļo vietvārdu leksiski semantiskajā laukā. Karš vietvārdos var parādīties tieši, pastarpināti vai slēptā veidā.

Ziņas par karu tieši izpaužas vien tādos nosaukumos, kuros pieminēts vārds ar nozīmi 'karš'. Tā kā abstrakti jēdzieni Latvijas toponīmijā nav izplatīti, šādi nosaukumi Latvijas vietvārdu kopumā visai maz sastopami, turklāt arī sugasvārdam *karš* nav absolūto sinonīmu. Jāņa Endzelīna vietvārdu krājumos un Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkā un arhīvā[1] ir sastopami vien daži ar šo leksēmu saistīti vietvārdi (piemēram, vietvārdi *Karlaīdars* Alojā: "senos laikos tur bija kara apmetnes, to norobežo purvs rietumos, mežs austrumos, ceļš ziemeļos, kalns dienvidos"[2], *Kaŗa birze* Virgā, *Kaŗa sils* Sakstagalā, *Karu placis* Vērgalē, *Kara kalns* jeb *Saldata kalns* Maltā). Visvairāk vārds *karš* izmantots karavīru apbedījumu vietu nosaukumos (*kara kapu* Latvijas vietvārdu kopumā ir vairāki desmiti). Vietvārdu lietotāji, jautāti par šādu toponīma motivāciju, bieži vien nevar norādīt ne konkrētu karu, ne konkrētus notikumus, kas šādos vārdos nosauktās vietās risinājušies, tāpēc vismaz daļā gadījumu te var runāt par pseidoetimoloģiju, kas dažreiz varētu būt rosinājusi tautetimoloģiju (kā, piemēram, vietvārda *Karlaidars* pirmajā daļā varētu būt ietverts onīms, nevis apelatīvs ar nozīmi 'karš'). Vietvārdi ar leksēmu *karš* koncentrējas lielākoties Lejaskurzemē, Dienvidlatgalē un Vidzemē, tāpēc iespējams, ka Augšlatvijas vietvārdos būtu jāmeklē kāds somugrisks kara nosaukums un šādu vietvārdu būtu daudz vairāk.

Daudz biežāk vietvārdi par kara laikiem liecina pastarpināti, netiešā veidā – to rāda vietvārdā ietvertais apelatīvs, kas nosauc tikai kādu kara elementu – karā izmantojamu reāliju vai konkrētu kauju. Šādos gadījumos no militārā notikuma struktūras tiek izcelts viens vai vairāki elementi, piemēram, kara dalībnieks (*zaldāts*), ierocis (*tanks*, *ložmetējs*), militāra vienība (*baterija*), kara dalībnieka vai bēgļu tautība vai vārds un citi: *Jātnieku ceļš* Cesvainē: "pa šo ceļu zviedru kara laikā jātnieki nākuši no Kraukļiem uz Cesvaini", *Ložmetējkalns* Babītē: "Pirmajā pasaules karā tur notikušas vēsturiskas

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1 Raksta sagatavošanā izmantoti Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkas materiāli, Jāņa Endzelīna sastādītā "Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca" (Lvv I un Lvv II) un Tautas vietvārdu datubāze (www.vietvardi.lv).

2 Šeit un turpmāk aiz vietvārda un tā lokalizācijas aiz kola pēdiņās dots teicēja komentārs par vietvārdu, ja tāds ir bijis.

kaujas", *Baterijkalniņš* Birzgalē: "kopš Napoleona kara", *Bataru kaujas lauks* Bērzē, *Napolonkalniņš* Birzgalē: "kopš Napoleona kara, te apglabāti kritušie karavīri". Par karu vietvārdos liecina arī liela daļa etnonīmisku nosaukumu, piemēram, *Krievu purs* Cirgaļos: "krievu armija būvēja dēļu ceļu, tas ir karalaika ceļš", *Krievu lielceļš* Bilskā: "kopš karalaikiem", *Poļlaidars*: "poļu bēgļi šeit uzturējušies kara laikā". Protams, tikai ar lielu piesardzību var paļauties uz teicēju stāstīto. Šeit gan izraudzīti tādi vietvārdi, kuru nosauktajās vietās vēsturnieki ir atraduši kara laika liecības (tātad kara ietekmi uz Latvijas vietvārdu leksiski semantisko līmeni var uzskatīt par pierādītu), taču turpmāk ne visos vietvārdos šāds pamatojums ir atrodams. Tāpēc turpmākais apskats šajā raksta daļā uzskatāms nevis par drošiem vēsturiskiem faktiem, bet par ieskatu tautas atmiņā, kas arī vietvārdos glabā informāciju par karu.

Kara liecības parādās ne tikai vietvārda leksiski semantiskajā līmenī, bet arī slēptā veidā: vietu stāstos – teicēja komentāros par vietvārdu, piemēram, *Āpšu kalni* Babītē: "purva malā; kara laikā zaldāti uztaisījuši veikalus, baznīcas; tur tagad aizaudzis", *Azars* bedre Barkavā: "purva malā kara laikā izrauta liela, apaļa bedre", *Spietōre* vieta Biržos: "kara laikā kritušas bumbas un lodes, bijuši žogi". Kaut arī vietvārda virsslānī šie kara laika stāsti neparādās, vietu stāsti uzskatāmi par neatņemamu vietvārda sastāvdaļu un motivētāju.

Izmantojot Džordža Stjuarta klasifikāciju, pirmos (vietvārdus, kuros karš atspoguļojas leksiski semantiskajā līmenī) varētu saukt par komemoratīvajiem vietvārdiem, bet otros (vietvārdus, kuros karš atspoguļojas tikai aprakstā) – par eifēmistiskajiem (Stewart 1975: 105), jo tie dziļi, ārpus semantiskā lauka, glabā stāstus un atmiņas par karu. Kara laiks vietu stāstos tiek izmantots kā būtisks hronotops – laika un telpas robežšķirtne. Vietu stāstos ir pirmskara laiks, kara laiks un pēckara laiks, respektīvi, karš ir laiks, līdz kuram kaut kas ir pastāvējis, laiks, kurā kāds ir cietis, un laiks, pēc kura kaut kas ir mainījies, piemēram:

- pirmskara laiks: *Jūlas akmens* Bērzē: "akmens ir šosejas malā, priekš Pirmā pasaules kara nosita paunu žīdenīti, kabatiņā 400 rubļu naudas, preces atņēma", *Krūmiņkalliņš* Birzgalē: "bija pirms Pirmā pasaules kara", *Karātavu kalniņš* Codē: "pirms I pasaules kara te izrakti ozola stabi, uz kuriem kādreiz kārti cilvēki";
- kara laiks: *Žīdenes dambis* Babītē: "pa turieni I pasaules kara laikā ebreji braukuši no Jelgavas pārdot preces";
- pēckara laiks: *Jaunā upe* kanāls Irlavā: "izrakts pēc I pasaules kara".

Latvijas vietvārdos pieminēti galvenokārt pieci karalaiki: Otrais pasaules karš (1939–1945), Pirmais pasaules karš (1914–1918), poļu-zviedru kari (16.–18. gadsimts), krievu-turku kari (16.–18. gadsimts), 1812. gada karš.

Otrais pasaules karš ir viens no visbiežāk pieminētajiem notikumiem vietu stāstos, taču komemoratīvo vietvārdu (vietvārdu, kuros tas atspoguļotos leksiski semantiskajā līmenī) nav daudz. Līdz ar Pirmo pasaules karu šis laikposms visbiežāk tiek izmantots kā hronotops vietu stāstos. No Otrā pasaules kara vietvārdiem kā piemērus var minēt šādus: *Tanku grāvis* Līvānos: "dziļš prettanku grāvis, kas tika izrakts Otrajā pasaules karā, vairāk nekā 100 metru garš", *Dzjārvoni* jeb *Dzjārvis* apdzīvota vieta Mežvidos: "tur gāja frontes līnija Otrajā pasaules karā, izrakumi vēl tagad redzami", *Ķopa bērzi* Aknīstē: "notikušas kaujas 1941.–1945. gadā, pļavas bērzu stumbros iestrēgušas lodes".

Pirmais pasaules karš ir devis daudz komemoratīvo nosaukumu – tie stāsta par vietām, kur notikušas kaujas, kur apmeties karaspēks, kur veidoti ceļi un kur aprakti kritušie, piemēram, *Ložmetējkalns* Babītē: "tur notikušas vēsturiskas kaujas I pasaules kara laikā", *Knipelceļš* Cirgaļos: "Pirmā pasaules kara laikā vācieši to nolikuši ar baļķiem", *Kaulkolniņš* Pļaviņās: "te apglabāti Pirmajā pasaules karā kritušo karavīru kauli". Nozīmīgās kaujas un neaizmirstie stāsti par tām ir palīdzējuši saglabāties arī iznīcināto vietu nosaukumiem. Tā, piemēram, *Grēņu ceļš* Babītē leģendārā vietas stāsta dēļ glabā apdzīvotas vietas nosaukumu vēl ilgi pēc šīs vietas iznīkšanas (*Grēņu ceļš* Babītē: "no bijušās Grēņu muižas uz Mazcenas skolu; tur I pasaules kara laikā gāja karaspēks, notika cīņas").

Visbiežāk sastopamais karalaiks Latvijas toponīmijā ir poļu-zviedru kari – šādu vietvārdu ir vairāki simti. Tas laikam skaidrojams ar to, ka šīs militārās darbības skāra Latvijas teritoriju, turklāt ilgi. Šie vietvārdi bieži stāsta par novērošanas punktiem, apbedījumiem, veidotiem nocietinājumiem un ceļiem, piemēram, *Krievakmins* Bilskā: "Vijas upē, bijis atbalsts pār upi ejošam tiltam zviedru-krievu kara laikā; stipri apsūnojis", *Bedru kalliņš* Dūrē: "zviedru laikā bijuši kapi", *Ķīķkalns* Basos: "Lielā Ziemeļu kara laikā zviedri uzcēluši kalnā novērojuma torni, pēc kara zviedru karavadonis tur arī apracis zobenu un cepuri un solījis pēc gadiem nākt pakaļ apraktajām mantām", *Zviedru kapi* Inčukalnā. Šīs grupas vietvārdi visbiežāk apvīti leģendām, piemēram, *Krievciems* jeb *Rušendorpa* Aiviekstē: "zviedri nākuši no Antužiem, un vācu dāmas karavīrus gan cienājušas, bet runājušas: "Kungi lobi, tik neloba smoka." Zviedri muižu nodedzinājuši, un dāmas lēkušas upē, ka brunči vien plīvojuši", *Baterijas kalniņi* Cesvainē: "tos izveidojuši zaldāti: sanesuši akmeņus šineļa stūros zviedru kara laikā", *Cepurkalniņš* Augstrozē: "zviedru karavīri to sanesuši ar cepurēm un šineļiem, lai varētu apšaudīt Augstrozes pili".

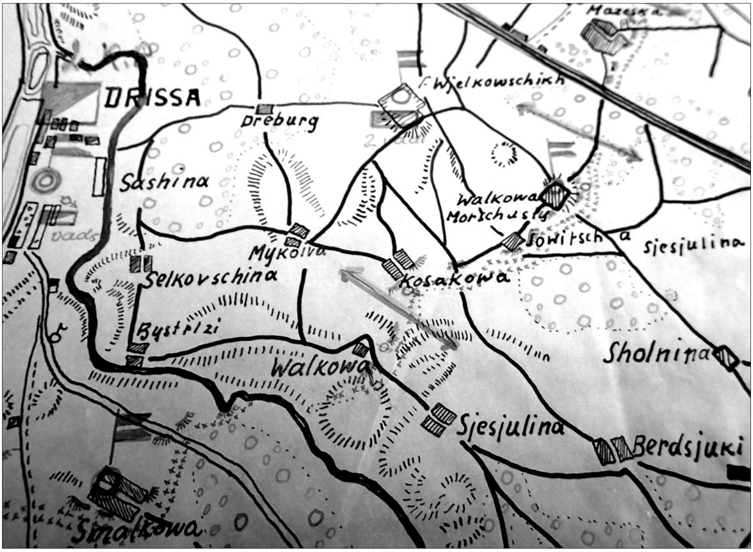
Daudz mazāk Latvijas vietvārdos iekļauta informācija par krievu-turku kariem, kaut gan tie ar pārtraukumiem ilga aptuveni tikpat, cik iepriekš minētais poļu-zviedru karu laikposms. Vietvārdi, kas kaut kādā veidā piemin krievu-turku karus, visbiežāk apzīmē vietu, kur dzīvo šajos karos piedalījies karavīrs vai kur apglabāti šajā karā kritušie, piemēram, *Krievu aste* pļava Pēterniekos: "piederēja mežsargam, kas bijis krievu-turku karā", *Turku kapi* Cēsīs: "1877.–1878. gadā Cēsīs mirušo turku gūstekņu kapi", *Turkmuiža* bijusī muiža Pastendē: "barons licis dzīvot kādam turkam pēc turku kara".

Vēl mazāk pieminēts 1812. gada karš jeb Napoleona Krievijas kampaņa. Taču viena gada karam tas ir pietiekami daudz – šie vietvārdi visbiežāk stāsta par franču karavīru pārvietošanos: *Lielgabalu tilts* Daudzesē: "pār tiltu braucot, frančiem nogrimis lielgabals", *Kara kalns* Baldonē: "tur atrasti ieroči un kauli no franču kara laikiem", *Franču brads* brasls Dagdā: "1812. gadā pāri gājis franču karaspēks (no krievu vārda *брод*)", *Franču celeņš* Dagdā: "1812. gadā gājusi franču armijas daļa".

Vietvārdi ir ļāvuši arī restaurēt vairākas daudz senākas, ar karu saistītas, vēsturiskajos dokumentos bieži vien nedokumentētas vietas. Nereti ir grūti izšķirt, vai vietvārds glabā teikas vai patiesus stāstus par vēsturiskiem notikumiem (piemēram, *Astoņu cilvēku ozols // Viestura ozols // Jundas ozols*: "palikusi tikai trešdaļa no šī ozola. Viesturs, ejot uz Saules kauju, šeit noturējis vakara jundu pēc 13. gadsimta kaujas"), taču vietvārdu informācijas patiesumu ir pierādījuši arī vēsturnieki. Tā Edgars Dunsdorfs pētījumā par lauksargiem ("profesionāli karavīri, kas saņēma noteiktu algu [latīņu *speculatores*, vācu *wartlute*]") salīdzinājis avotos minētos lauksargu sarakstus ar mūsdienās sastopamiem māju nosaukumiem un konstatējis pārsteidzošu sakritību. Vārds *lauksargs* mājvārdos parādās, kur patiesi reiz dzīvojuši vēstures avotos minētie sargi. (Dunsdorfs 1967: 93–94)

Apkopojot kara laika liecības Latvijas vietvārdos, redzams, ka vārdi ar nozīmi 'karš' un kara stāsti visbiežāk parādās māju, ceļu un ūdeņu nosaukumos. Par to, ka tieši šiem ģeogrāfiskajiem objektiem kara laikā pievērsts visvairāk uzmanības, rakstījis arī kara topogrāfs virsleitnants Alfrēds Eglītis: "Kas praksē (t. i., rakstot pavēles) visvairāk nāk priekšā –

tie ir ceļi [..], tālāk seko ūdeņu un reljefa apzīmējumi." Lai gan māju nosaukumus topogrāfs nemin, tie tomēr pavēlēs bieži sastopami, turklāt jāatceras, ka Latvijā ceļu nosaukumus veido no apdzīvotu vietu vārdiem. Par kara laika nozīmīgajiem ģeogrāfiskajiem objektiem stāsta arī kara laika kartes (sk. 2. attēlu).



2. attēls. Bauskas pulka Pirmā pasaules kara kauju karte
(avots: LVVA 4759.1.164.[3])

2. Kara laikā radītie vietvārdi

Pārskatot vietvārdu krājumu un tā izmaiņas kara laikā, jau uzreiz pamanāms, ka zudušu vietvārdu (īpaši mikrotoponīmu) ir krietni vairāk nekā no jauna radītu, piemēram, *Kārļa muiža* – muižas kalpu mājas Asītē: "nojauktas Otrā pasaules kara laikā", *Braslas placis* Babītē: "vieta, kur līdz I pasaules karam bijušas mājas", *Neimaņplacis* Babītē: "vieta, kur līdz I pasaules karam bijušas Neimaņu mājas", *Āža dzirnavas* Galgauskā: "saspridzinātas kara laikā", *Kaža butka* Dunikā: "II pasaules karā nopostīta". Vietvārdu vākšanas ekspedīcijās daudzi karu pieredzējušie atceras pirmskara nosaukumus, taču tos vairs nelieto, jo mikrotoponīmi ir cieši saistīti ar konkrētu māju, sētu un tiek lietoti nelielā areālā (nereti tikai vienas dzimtas

3 Šeit un turpmāk – Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīva fonda, apraksta un lietas numuri.

vai ģimenes robežās). Taču kara laikā sagrautās mājas netiek aizmirstas ilgi, un tās tiek glabātas atmiņā joprojām – to rāda arī 2017. gada vietvārdu talkas rezultāti, kas fiksēti jau vairāk nekā pusgadsimtu pēc kara. Diezgan bieži bijušajam mājvārdam tiek pievienots ģeogrāfiskās nomenklatūras vārds *placis*, kam vietvārdu kontekstā nepārprotami ir izveidojusies nozīme 'bijušo māju vieta', precīzāk – 'strauji sagruvušu vai sagrautu māju vieta'. Šī specifiskā nozīme tika konstatēta, tikai ekscerpējot ar kara notikumiem saistītus vietvārdus.

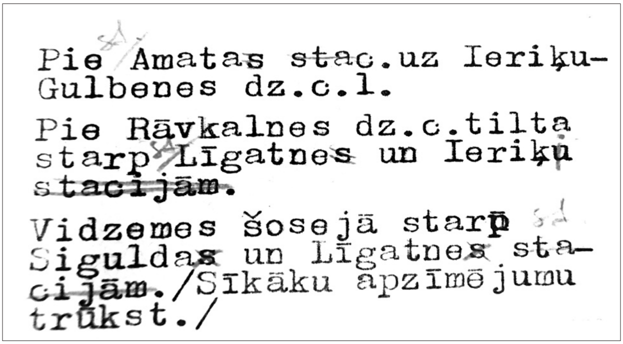
Karš ir ne tikai iznīcinājis daudzus vietvārdus, bet ir radījis arī jaunus. Iespējams, to būtu daudz vairāk nekā zudušo vietvārdu, ja daudzi no tiem nebūtu tā sauktie īslaicīgie jeb temporālie nosaukumi, proti, nosaukumi, kas pastāvējuši tikai kara laikā un līdz ar kara beigām, zūdot to lietojumam, ir pagaisuši no atmiņas. Tie ir bunkuru, ierakumu grāvju, kaujas vienību apmešanās vietu, ložmetēju ligzdu un citu ar karu saistītu vietu nosaukumi. Šos nosaukumus parasti uzzinām tikai no karalaika atmiņām, jo nevienā kartē tie nav ierakstīti. Tā, piemēram, laikrakstā "Daugavas Vēstnesis" minēti vairāki bataljonu un rotu apmetnes vietu nosaukumi Otrajā pasaules karā (*Talsu sēta*, *Tukuma sēta*, *Imantas sēta);* no Otrā pasaules kara karavīru atmiņās saglabājies arī bunkura nosaukums *Jaunais Alkazars*: "Ar saviem drošsirdīgajiem karavīriem par tēvzemi cīņā ejot, tēvzemi simboliski standartenfīrers [Kārlis Lobe] paņēmis līdzi arī kaujas laukā, likdams savu bataljonu un rotu apmetnēm mātes Latvijas vietu nosaukumus: **Talsu sēta**, **Tukuma sēta** [Šeit un turpmāk izcēlums mans. – *S.R.*]. Pats **Imantas sētā** vadīdams savu Imantas pulku kaujā, viņš, šķiet, uzņēmis sevī dzimtenes lauku mieru" (Daugavas Vēstnesis, Nr. 113, 16.05.1944); "Ir vietas, kuru nosaukumus neatrod pat vissīkākajā apvidus kartē, un tomēr tās zina ikviens frontinieks, gluži tāpat kā cilvēks dzimtenē nekad neaizmirst ceļu uz tēva pagastu. **Jaunais Alkazars** ir mazs frontes bunkurītis Plikā kalna rajonā pie V. upes. Te mēs atnācām aprīļa sākumā, kad sākās smagās cīņas šai rajonā." (Daugavas Vanagi, Nr. 24, 19.06.1955). Par šādiem temporāliem nosaukumiem var uzskatīt arī vietu nosaukumus *Ferdinanda Deguns* daudzās frontes līnijās. No šiem dažiem piemēriem redzams, ka šie vietvārdi radīti transonimizācijas ceļā, proti, izmantojot jau kādu esošo īpašvārdu. Daļā gadījumu tas darīts metaforiski – uz savstarpējās līdzības pamata (kā *Ferdinanda Deguns* un *Jaunais Alkazars*, kura pamatā ir Spānijas cietokšņa nosaukums), citos gadījumos vietvārds radīts metonīmiski – izmantojot tuvākās apdzīvotās vietas nosaukumu (kā *Tukuma sēta* un *Talsu sēta*).

3. Vietvārda funkcijas kara laikā

Vietvārds kara laikā bija slepenībā turams vārds un tajā pašā laikā varēja tikt izmantots kā ideoloģisks ierocis – viens no svarīgākajiem aukstā kara instrumentiem. Tieši tāpēc vietvārdiem kara laikā pievērsta īpaša nozīme. Vietvārds kara laikā bija galvenais orientieris, telpas organizētājs un atskaites punkts. Par to liecina kara dienasgrāmatas fragments ar 13 vietvārdiem no kaujas pie Bulduru tilta apraksta: "**Rēzeknes** pulks šodien bija nolēmis ar savu kreiso spārnu **Pūpes** rajonā un centru **Piņķu muižas** rajonā palikt uz vietu, bet ar labā spārna vienībām ieņemt **Bulduru tilta** otru galu un iztīrīt **Buļļu pussalu**. [..] pēc tam 7. rotai vajadzēja pārcelties no **Buļļu salas** uz **Buļļu ciemu**, bet I bataljona rotām ieņemt **Bulduru tiltu**. Tomēr pretinieks paspēja izjaukt 9. pulka nodomu, jo viņš ar kuģīšiem bija pārcēlis 2 rotas uz **Varkaļu kroga** rajonu, no kurienes tās uzbruka **Priedaines** virzienā. Vakarā I bataljona vienības atkal ieņēma savas agrākās pozīcijas pie **Priedaines**, bet 9. un 11. rota atgriezās atpakaļ uz **Kakariem** un **Pūpi**." (LVVA, 4759.1.159.)

Par to, ka vietvārdiem kara laikā bija būtiska nozīme, liecina jau cara laikā izstrādātie un līdz Otrajam pasaules karam ievērotie kara ziņojuma rakstīšanas noteikumi, kuros divi vispārīgie punkti no desmit attiecas uz vietvārdiem: "2) [Vietvārdi] jāraksta skaidri, lieliem burtiem, bet vietu nosaukumi jāizraksta treknāk un jāpasvītro; 3) Vietu nosaukumi jāraksta tā, kā tie rakstīti uz kartes, pie kam viņus nedrīkst locīt. Skaidrībā viņu priekšā var lietot prepozicijas – no, uz, pie un t. t. Piemēram, uz kartes ir mājas "Melderi" un "Melders", sākot locīt, var sajaukt, kuras no mājām domātas. Neraksti nekad: "ienaidnieks ieņēmis Melderu vai Meldera mājas", bet gan: "ienaidnieks ieņēmis Melderi vai Melders mājas"." (Všn. K. 1933)

Vietvārdiem kara laikā bija jābūt īpaši precīziem, nepārprotamiem. Notikumu atstāsti kara laika presē liecina, ka par kļūdīšanos vietvārda pierakstā vai nosaukšanā varēja arī nošaut, jo tas varēja ietekmēt kauju, rotu un bataljonu likteni. Kāds zemnieks, kura māju apkārtnē Daugavas krastā ieradušies kara topogrāfi, stāsta: "Jā, jā, — jauna karte jau sen bija vajadzīga: vecajā šis tas nav tā, kā vajaga. Tā, piemēram, tepat upmalā ir Ziemeļi, bet uz kartes tie nosaukti par Krieviņiem, kas patiesībā ir ap 4 km no šejienes Daugavmalā. Pasaules kara laikā krievu karaspēks gribējis nošaut kādu Kurzemes bēgli vienīgi par to, ka tas apgalvojis, ka šī māja esot Ziemeļi, kā tas īstenībā arī ir. Tikai pagasta valdei ar lielām pūlēm izdevies ieskaidrot, ka uz kartes ir kļūda un mājas patiešām sauc par Ziemeļiem. Tā bēglis palicis dzīvs...” (Eglītis 1937: 26) Tāpēc vietvārdi tika augstu vērtēti un stingri uzmanīti. Šāda prasība pēc precizitātes galu galā noveda pie vietvārda nelocīšanas, proti, lai vietvārds būtu nepārprotams un tādējādi varētu izvairīties no homonīmām dažādu locījumu formām, tas saistošā tekstā bija jāraksta nominatīvā, ja arī teikuma sintaktiskā struktūra prasīja nosaukumus gramatiski locīt, piemēram, fragments no operatīvās pavēles Pirmajā pasaules karā: “Ienaidnieks visā divīzijas frontē izdarījis izlūkošanas un saistīšanas uzbrukumus, taču visur atvairīts. Viņa spēka sadalījumi rāda smagpunktus divīzijas atiešanai svarīgo ceļu virzienā, it sevišķi uzkrītoši grupējumi – D no Chwoino ez. [..] D malā no Aljo ez. un DR no Novorschew... Divizija aizstāv savas tagadējās pozīcijas un visiem spēkiem un līdzekļiem izbūvē bāzi. Jaunās divizijas robežas: labā: Kamenez ezera austrumu mala – Jeremino R mala; kreisā: Now – Put ziemeļu mala – Oschitkowo dienvidus mala, Chrjapino ziemeļu mala.” (Citāts no ekspozīcijas Latvijas Kara muzejā) Te labi redzams, ka ar vietvārdiem rādīts atkāpšanās ceļš un tie rakstīti starptautiskā pierakstā (kā tālaika kara kartē), lai gan visos citos parastos latviešu valodas avotos šo vietu nosaukumi tolaik jau tika transkribēti. Tas redzams arī arhīva materiālos par Pirmā pasaules kara kauju aprakstiem, kur kāds izlabojis netīšām ieviestos locījumus (sk. 3. attēlu).


Pie Amatas stac.uz Ieriķu-
Gulbenes dz.c.l.
Pie Rāvkalnes dz.c.tilta
starp Līgatnes un Ieriķu
stacijām.
Vidzemes šosejā starp
Siguldas un Līgatnes sta-
cijām./Sīkāku apzīmējumu
trūkst./

3. attēls. Vietvārdu labojumi (no locījuma formām uz nominatīvu) kauju aprakstos (avots: LVVA, 1471.1.670.)

Diemžēl nav zināms, no kurienes šāda prasība nākusi. Iepazīstoties ar tālaika Apsardzības ministrijas izdotiem Kara resora rakstvedības noteikumiem, kas izdoti jau pēc Pirmā pasaules kara, nekur nav atrodams šāds rīkojums, izņemot vien piezīmi, ka tekstiem jābūt skaidriem un nepārprotamiem. Taču šāds noteikums acīmredzot ir bijis, jo vēl ilgi – pat desmit gadu – pēc Otrā pasaules kara kādam žurnālistam jākonstatē: "Latvijas armijā bija noteikums, kaujas pavēles rakstot, vietu nosaukumus minēt burtiski tā, kā tas bija rakstīts kara kartēs, tātad vietvārdus nelokot. Kaujas darbībā tas varēja novērst dažu kļūmīgu pārpratumu, bet atmiņas vai atskats par notikušā kara cīņām taču nav vairs nekāda kaujas pavēle! Tad nu klātos, ka tiklab dižkareivji, kā arī virsleitnanti un pulkveži seko latviešu valodas pareizības pavēlei." (*Laiks*, Nr. 76, 20.09.1952).

Vietvārdam bija jābūt slepenam, neizpaužamam. Kara dienasgrāmatās un žurnālos tie gan rakstīti pilnos vārdos, taču, publiskojot to fragmentus, tieši vietvārdi (un nereti arī personvārdi) bija tie, kurus neizpauda. Visbiežāk tika minēts tikai vietvārda pirmais burts – kā šajā kara ziņotāja Ulda Ģērmaņa sagatavotajā kāda bataljona dienasgrāmatas publikācijā laikrakstā: "Bataljona komandieris norāda uz kādu mazu zilu traipu apvidus kartē: "Mūsu cīņu darbību apzīmē loks ap Z. ezeru. Pirmais pusloks nozīmē atvairīšanās, otrais – uzbrukuma cīņas. [..] Boļševiki izlaupa L. mājas un pakar kādu divpadsmitgadīgu zēnu, kas nošāvis divus boļševikus."" (Ģērmanis 1944) Kara laika periodikā šādi Latvijas vietvārdu saīsinājumi sastopami ļoti bieži. Īpaši neizpaužami bija upju, māju un ceļu nosaukumi. Šie vietvārdi arī bija tie, kas parādās slepenajās kara kartēs, proti, liela mēroga kartēs, kuru mēroga attiecība ir līdz 1:50 000. Starp Pirmo un Otro pasaules karu Sarkanās armijas virsvadība bija īstenojusi vēl lielāku slepenību – sauszemes karaspēka un aviācijas daļu operatīvajos un taktiskajos rīkojumos visi vietu apzīmējumi pēc kartes tika kodēti ar sešciparu kodiem (LVVA 1474.1.1316). Pēc karavīru atmiņām var spriest, ka šādi vietas apzīmējumi tika izmantoti arī attiecībā uz Latvijas teritoriju.

Vietvārdi tika izmantoti arī kā galvenais aukstā kara ierocis. Lai tikai ieskicētu un pierādītu šo tēzi, var minēt Rīgas galveno ielu – *Brīvības ielu* –, kas (jau iepriekš piedzīvojusi vairākas nosaukuma maiņas atkarībā no valdošās varas) Otrā pasaules kara laikā pēc vācu okupācijas tika pārdēvēta Vācijas kanclera Ādolfa Hitlera vārdā, bet pēc padomju okupācijas – par *Ļeņina ielu*. Var minēt arī *Krišjāņa Valdemāra ielu* Rīgā, kas pēc vācu okupācijas kļuva par *Hermaņa Gēringa ielu*, bet pēc padomju okupācijas – par *Gorkija ielu*, kā arī *Basteja bulvāri*, kurš ir bijis gan *Vācu ordeņa gatve*, gan *Padomju bulvāris* (par Latvijas ielu nosaukumu pārdēvēšanu vairāk skat. Balode, Bušs 2008). Vietvārdi ir visai pateicīgs aukstā kara ierocis –

tas nepieciešams ikdienā sazinoties, organizējot savu apkārtējo telpu, koordinējot sūtījumus, rīkojumus un pavēles. Tos ir nepieciešams pieņemt, lai sadarbība būtu veiksmīga un nepārprotama. Ar atkārtošanos, ar ceļa norādēm un fiksējumiem kartē vietvārds iegulst tautas atmiņā un ar semantisko slāni tālāk raisa virkni psiholingvistisku likumsakarību.

Nobeigums

Izpētot kara ietekmi uz Latvijas vietvārdiem, var secināt, ka dažādu karalaiku pēdas ir vērojamas to lingvistiskajā (leksikosemantiskajā, gramatiskajā) un ekstralingvistiskajā (metadatu) līmenī un karš ir galvenais Latvijas vietvārdu informācijas kopuma ietekmētājs. Karalaiki ir mainījuši gan Latvijas vietvārdu sistēmas kvantitāti, gan kvalitāti. Īpašie, tieši uz vietvārdiem attiecinātie noteikumi karalaikus liek uzskatīt par visbūtiskākajiem vietvārdu ietekmētājiem.

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Alena
Rudenka

Proper Names in Ancient Smolensk Agreements with Riga

The Smolensk manuscripts of the 13th century are the earliest business documents of the Eastern Slavs. These manuscripts include a number of documents reflecting contacts with Riga and "the Goths' coast". Proper names in such documents are toponyms and anthroponyms. There are not many toponyms in the Smolensk-Riga acts. Anthroponyms are the names of Smolensk princes, political and religious leaders of all contacting countries, the authors of this unit of documents; the witnesses – townspeople from Gotland, Riga and other European cities – are listed. Proper names in the Smolensk manuscripts vividly describe that days and relations between states.

Keywords

the Smolensk manuscripts, a treaty,
copies, proper names, toponyms, anthroponyms.

The earliest business documents of the Eastern Slavs include the Smolensk manuscripts of the 13th century. The Smolensk documents are historically and linguistically very important. Proper names in such documents (toponyms and anthroponyms) vividly describe that days and relations between states.

Smolensk manuscripts are an extremely important source for linguists. Their linguistic significance is determined primarily by the fact that they reflect the local dialectal features, for example features of the Old Belarussian language, distinct from Church Slavonic.

This article focuses on the texts relating to the contacts of Smolensk with Riga and "the Goths' coast", or Gotland.

The purpose of the article is a brief review of the creation of these documents and proper names in them. Proper names in the early Smolensk manuscripts have already been analyzed (see Картавенко 2012, Королева 1995, Королева 2000, etc.), but we are exploring only the Smolensk-Riga acts.

The historical context of Smolensk – Riga agreements is very interesting.

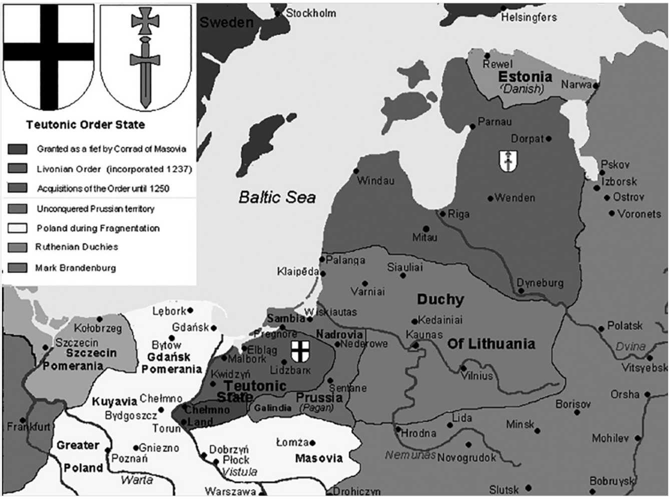

Figure 1. Baltic Sea coast in 1225-1250[1]

In 1201, the German crusaders founded Riga.

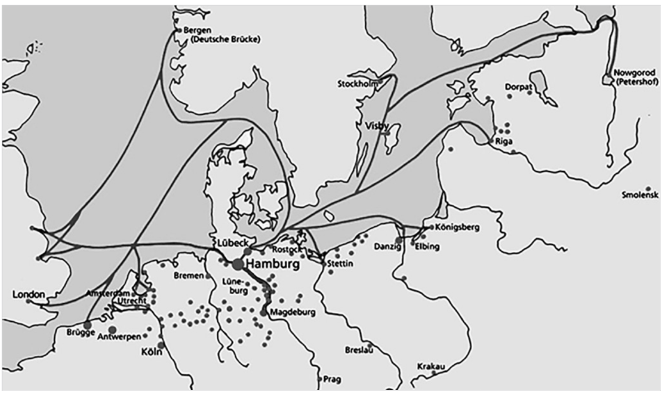

Figure 2. The Hanseatic League[2]

1 URL: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/2a/Teutonic_state_1250.png/800px-Teutonic_state_1250.png.

2 URL: http://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/images/maps/hanseatic_league.jpg.

The Hanseatic League expanded its activities on the Baltic Sea. Its administrative center at that time was located on the island Gotland, in the German colony Visby. Russian princes actively established relations with Riga and "the Goths' coast".

The island of Gotland and the ancient Goths' coast do not coincide with the historical Gothiscandza (< **Gutisk-andja* 'Gothic coast'), the northern coast of the Baltic Sea, where Goths moved from Scandinavia in the II - I centuries BC. However, the name of the island Gotland is associated with the name of the tribe Goths.

Gotland had a leading position in the Baltic trade between Eastern and Western Europe since the 11th century.

The Hanseatic League also included Eastern Slavic cities: Novgorod, Suzdal. Smolensk became a member of the Hanseatic League in the 13th century. The way "from the Varangians to the Greeks" came from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea along the Neva, Ladoga Lake, Lake Ilmen, the Lovat River, and then through small rivers to the Dnieper and the Black Sea. The route along the Western Dvina, its tributary Casplia, and then to the Dnieper and down to the Black Sea was very important, too. In Smolensk the road "from the Varangians to the Greeks" was connected with the Great Volga route to the Muslim East. Other important ancient waterways of Eastern Europe crossed here, too. Smolensk became increasingly important, it also regulated the trade relations of Polotsk and Vitebsk.

Figure 3. Ways "from the Varangians to the Greeks"[3]

3 URL: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Varangian_routes.png.

The Smolensk-Riga acts includes: 1) the agreement of an unknown Smolensk prince with Riga and the Goths' coast; 2) the treaty of Smolensk prince Mstislav Davydovich with Riga and the Goths' coast, 1229; 3) treaties of Smolensk princes with confirmation of previous agreements with Riga; 4) the document of Smolensk prince Fedor Rostislavovich on the court "case of the German bell", 1284; 5) the letter of Archbishop of Riga to the prince Fyodor Rostislavovich. These manuscripts are the most important historical evidence of the Riga – Smolensk contacts.

Numerous studies are devoted to these manuscripts, their dating, the correlation of variants and copies, as well as the history of publication of each document. Their last edition and fundamental research was carried out just in Riga in Latvian and Russian. It is a book of Alexandr Ivanov and Anatolij Kuznetsov "Smoļenskas–Rīgas aktis: 13. gs.–14. gs. pirmā puse: Kompleksa Moscowitica – Ruthenica dokumenti par Smoļenskas un Rīgas attiecībām" (Иванов, Кузнецов 2009).

One of the main documents on trade relations between Riga and Russian cities during the period of feudal disunity was the treaty of 1229. Its exceptional importance was repeatedly emphasized by all researchers.

A brief history of the treaty is as follows. After military conflicts between Smolensk and Riga, Mstislav Davydovich sent ambassadors to Riga to make a peace agreement. From Riga, the ambassadors traveled to Visby, where, in the presence of high-ranking Order Knights and representatives of German trading houses, an agreement on peaceful relations between the two sides and the rules of trade between Hanseatic and Russian merchants were signed. The treaty was translated into Latin and German.

The treaty of Mstislav Davydovich with Riga and the Goths' coast is a trade contract. In its content, it is *pravda* – "a truth", i.e. legislative act, as "Russkaja pravda" ("the Russian truth") of Yaroslav the Wise, famous prince of Kievan Rus (circa 978 – February, the 20^{th}, 1054). The main issues of this agreement are free travel for merchants, conditions of different kinds of trade – wholesale, retail, guest ones, etc. The treaty of 1229 guaranteed the right of free travel for German and Russian merchants: German merchants received the right of free way not only to Polotsk, Vitebsk and Smolensk, but also to other places of ancient Rus'; Russian merchants were admitted to Riga, Gotland, Lübeck and other cities.

Below there is an example of the treaty article.

"**Article 35. About safety of the goods at their transportation on the Western Dvina**. If a ship of the Russian or Latin merchant breaks, the goods are inviolable in the water and on the shore... the same rule has to be applied to Latin merchants in the domains of Smolensk prince, Polotsk prince and Vitebsk prince". (Here and below English translation was made from the Russian version in Иванов, Кузнецов 2009).

The original treaty in the Eastern Slavic language was lost. We have only Eastern Slavic copies made from the Riga version (in Latin) and from the Gotland variant (in the Middle Low German language). Each of these variants is represented by three copies. Versions differ from each other in the number of articles in the treaty, as well as in language. Different copies appeared due to the fact that during the 13th-14th cc. this treaty was repeatedly confirmed by princes who ascended the Smolensk throne.

Proper names in the Smolensk-Riga acts are toponyms and anthroponyms. There are not many toponyms among them. Hydronyms are **въсточноє морє** 'the Eastern Sea' (Germ. *Ostsee*) – Baltic Sea; and the rivers: **двина** 'Dvina' (Germ. *Duna*) – Western Dvina; **дн҄ѣпрь** – Dnieper; **травна** – Travia (Germ. *Trave*), a river in Germany, not far from Mönchhagen. (In brackets here and below variants of names in different versions and translations are given).

It is obvious that the Smolensk Principality is the most often mentioned Slavic state (**смоленьскаѧ волость, въласть кнѧзѧ смоленьского** (**смольнеского**)), as well as Vitebsk (**витьбьскаѧ волость, витебьского** (**витьбеского**) **кнѧзѧ волость**) and Polotsk Principalities (**полоцькаѧ** (**полотьскаѧ**) **волость, полотского кнѧзѧ волость**). Repeatedly named is Ancient Rus as a whole, for example: **оурѧдили пакъ • миръ • како было любо р<u>ꙋси</u> и всѣмоу латинескомоу ꙗзыкоу • кто то оу <u>русє</u> гостить** (Смоленские грамоты 1963, 20-21).

From the non-Slavic states the Holy Roman Empire (**римьскоє црство**) is mentioned, as well as the German land (**немецкаѧ землѧ**), the Riga land (**рижьскаѧ землѧ**) and Goths' coast (**готскии бьрегъ**). From the Slavic cities only Polotsk and Smolensk are directly named in the Smolensk – Riga acts, in numerous orthographic versions, see, for example, variants for Smolensk: **смол҄ѣньскъ**, **смоленьскъ**, **смоленскъ**, **смолинськъ**, **смольньскъ**, **смольнскъ**, **смольн҄ѣскъ**, **смол҄ѣнескъ**, **смольнескъ**, **смольн҄ѣскъ**, **смольньскъ**, **смолньскъ**, *Smalenceka*, *Smalenceke*, *Smolensko*, *Smollenske*, *Smollenseke*, *Smolenske*.

Very interesting is the name of the village *Volok*, which received its name from the appelative *volok* by onimization. Rus. *волок* comes back to *волочь* 'to drag, to houl'. *Volok* was the place, where merchants who moved by water along rivers and lakes had to transport, to carry goods overland from one water object to other, to drag, to haul them, for example, on carts – as it is recorded in one of the editions of the treaty. In the treaty of 1229, the word *volok* is used as a proper name: **а како оуслышить волоцькыи тивоунъ • ѡже гость немѣцьскыи съ смолнꙗны приѥхалъ на <u>волокъ</u> • послати ѥмоу чл҃вка своѥго въ борзѣ къ волочаномъ • ать перевезоуть немѣцьскыи гость и смолнꙗны с товаромь • а никто же иметь имъ пакостити • зане же в тои пакости вѣлика пагоуба бываѥть ѡт погани • смолꙗномъ и немцемъ** (Смоленские грамоты 1963, 42). – "**Article 15. On the going by land between the Dnieper and the Western Dvina.** Upon the arrival of the Latin merchant in *Volok*, a manager of *Volok*[4] must send a man to the citizens of *Volok* in order to transport the German and Smolensk merchants with their goods through dragging area (*volok*) immediately, as in case of delay, harm from the Pagans is possible" (Иванов, Кузнецов 2009, 352).

The dragging areas were common on the way from the Varangians to the Greeks (see Figure 3 above), because this way passed through different water objects. Such names of the settlements as *Volok*, *Voloka*, *Voloki* are now quite widespread in Central and Eastern Belarus and in North-West Russia. Galina Smolitskaya wrote about geographical names motivated by the concept of *volok* 'dragging area': *Volok*, *Volochiok*, *Vyshny Volochiok*, *Perevolochnya*, *Volokolamsk*, *Voloka*, *Volochka*, *Volokovaya*, *Voloksha* (last name is used for two settlements), etc. (Смолицкая 1990, 66-68).

Belarusian scientist Vadim Zhuchkevich studied toponyms associated with *volok* in Belarus and neighboring areas. He reconstructed the location of several ancient *voloks* by geographical names: between the Dnieper and the Western Dvina; between the Western Dvina, Lovat and Velikaja, between the Dnieper and the Neman, between the Dnieper and the Western Bug (Жучкевич 1979). Just between the Western Dvina and the Dnieper there is the *volok*, mentioned in the Smolensk – Riga agreement.

The German cities mentioned in the Smolensk-Riga acts are: *Брауншвейг – Брюньжвикъ*, Germ. *Braunschweig*; *Бремен – Брмьрнь* (*Беремень, Брямь*), Germ. *Bremen*; *Гронинген – Гроули* (*Грюнигь, Грунигь*), Germ. *Groningen*; *Дортмунд – Дротмина* (*Дортмьнъ, Доротьминъ*), Germ. *Dortmund*; *Зост – Жюжа* (*Жатъ, Жатъ*), Germ.

4 **тивоунъ** [tivun] was 'a manager at the prince's court in the Old Russian state'.

Soest; *Кассель – Кашль* (*Кашель*), Germ. *Kassel*; *Любек – Любекъ*, Germ. *Lübeck*; *Мюнстер – Моуньстѣрь*, *Моуньстерь*, *Муньстьрь*, *Мюньстьрь*, *Миштерь*), Germ. *Münster*; *Рига – Рига*, *Germ. Riga* (*Righe*, *Riiga*; *Rīga*). These names clearly show the geography of Russian trade "in the German lands". Transmission of German toponyms to the Eastern Slavic (= Old Russian) language is very funny sometimes: Germ. *Braunschweig* – OR (Old Russian) *Брюньжвикъ*; Germ. *Bremen* – OR *Брямь*, Germ. *Soest* – OR *Жюжа* (*Жатъ*); Germ. *Kassel* – OR *Кашель*.

In addition to place names, in the Riga-Smolensk acts there are anthroponyms. For example, these are the names of Smolensk princes, who confirmed the original agreement: *Alexander Glebovich* (*Александр Глебович*) – prince of Smolensk, son of Gleb Rostislavovich (1297-1313[5]); *Andrei Mikhailovich* (*Андрей Михайлович*), the son of Mikhail Rostislavovich, Prince of Smolensk; *Gleb Rostislavovich* (*Глеб Ростиславович*, 1270-1277); *Ivan Aleksandrovich* (*Iwan Alexandrowitsch, Iwan Alexandrowisz, Иван Александрович*, 1313-1359); *Mstislav*, brother of the unknown Smolensk prince – participant in one of the treaties with Riga and the Goths' coast; *Mstislav* (*Boris*) *Romanovich the Old* (*Misteslawe de Kywa, Mscislaw*, 1197-1214), Grand Duke of Kiev, son of Smolensk Prince Roman Rostislavich; *Mstislav* (*Theodore*) *Davydovich (Mstislaw Dawydovitsch, Мстислав* (*Борис*) *Романович Старый*, 1193-1230); *Fedor Rostislavovich Cherny* (*Gwiedor, Teodors*, 1279-1297).

The events preceding the conclusion of trade agreements between Smolensk, Riga and Gotland, and the history of Riga-Smolensk contacts are partly fixed in the text of the treaty of 1229. In the Gotland version we read: "… в год смерти *владыки рижского Альберта смоленский князь Мстислав Давыдов сын* прислал из Смоленска в Ригу своего *лучшего попа Еремея и умного мужа Пантелея*; из Риги они ехали на Готланд, где утвердили мир, потому что немирно было между смольнянами и Ригой и Готландом" (Иванов, Кузнецов 2009, 341). – "... in the year of the death of the Bishop of Riga Albert, the Prince of Smolensk Mstislav, Davyd's son, sent from Smolensk to Riga his best priest Eremej and intelligent man Pantelej; from Riga they went to Gotland, where they established peace, because earlier there had been no peace between Smolensk and Riga and Gotland."

5 The numbers in brackets are the years of the reign of a prince. All spellings of names in Cyrillic and Roman in different versions of the agreements are also given.

The authors of this unit of documents are mentioned in the treaty of 1229, too. For example, "*добрые люди Рольф из Касселя – божий дворянин*, и *Тумаш Михалевич* (*Смолянин*)" (Иванов, Кузнецов 2009, 367) – "good man Rolf from Kassel and God's knight Tumash Mikhalevich (Smolyanin)".

In the text of the treaty of 1229, the persons who attended the signing of the contract are also named: "*епископ рижский Николай, поп Иван (пробст Иоганн), магистр божьих дворян (Ордена меченосцев) Фолквин (Фолкоунъ, Volkwin, Folkwin)*, а также многие рижане и купцы Римского царства (и все латинские купцы и местные власти)" (Иванов, Кузнецов 2009, 367, 368, 370). – "Bishop of Riga Nikolaj, priest Ivan (Propst Johann), Magistro of God's Noblemen of the Order of the Brothers of the Sword Folkwin (Volkwin, Folkwin), and many citizens of Riga and merchants of the Roman kingdom (and all Latin merchants and local authorities)."

In the treaty, witnesses who certified it are listed: the townspeople from Gotland *Regembod* (*Регембод*, *Регенбоде*, *Regenbode*), *Tetart* (*Тетарт*, *Детярт*, *Dethard*), *Adam* (*Адам*); representatives of Lübeck *Member* (*Мемберъ*, *Мемберн*) and *Veredrik Dumom* (*Вередрик Думом, Врeдрик Думбе, Friedrich Dumom*); representatives of Soest *Andrik Goth* (*Андрик Гот*, *Индрик Гот*, *Heinrich der Gote*) and *Ilier* (*Илиер*, *Илдигер*); representatives of Munster *Kondrat Krivy* (*Кондрат Кривый, Конрат Шхель*, *Konrat Shchel*, *Konrad Blödauge*) and *Egan Kinot* (*Ягант Кинт*, *Ягант Кинд*, *Johann Kinot*); representatives of Groningen (Гроули) *Bernick* (*Берник*, *Берняр*, *Bernek*) and *Folkyr* (*Фолкырь*, *Волкер*, *Volker*); representatives of Dortmund (дротмины) *Yarembracht* (*Ярембрахт*, *Ермьбрехт*, *Arembrecht*, *Ermbrecht)* and *Albracht* (*Албрахт*, *Albrecht*); representative of Bremen (брамь) *Indrik Chizhik* (*Индрик Чижик*, *Гиндрик Цижик*, *Heinrich Zeisig*); citizens of Riga *Albrecht Sluk* (*Албрях Слук*, *Албрахт Слук*), *Bernhard* (*Берняр*), *Walter* (*Вальтер*, *Вальтр*), *Albert* – Judge of Riga (*Альбер*, *Албер-фогт*, *Albrecht*), and many others.

Sometimes the names are translated: OR *Индрик Чижик* (*чижик* is a type of beard, siskin) instead of Germ. *Heinrich Zeisig*. Sometimes they are translated very roughly: OR *Krivy* 'crooked' corresponds to Germ. *Shchel* 'slit', or *Blödauge* 'stupid eye'. Sometimes the names are transliterated, very roughly, too, for example, OR variant of Germ. *Soest* is OR *Жюжа* [Zhuzha].

The names of political and religious figures of that time convey the taste of the epoch. These are *Albrecht* (*Albert*, *Альбрехт*, *Альберт*) and *Nikolai* (*Nikolaus*, *Николай*) – Riga bishops; *Johann I* (*Иоганн I*) and *Johann II* (*Иоганн II*) – Riga archbishops of the 13th century, as well as a number of political figures from both contacting parties: *Lubracht* (*Любрахт*, *Luprecht*) – Ambassador of the Master of the Livonian Order in Smolensk in 1284; *Peskov* (*Heinrich Plescecow*, *Песков*) – knight (God's nobleman), Ambassador of the Master of the Livonian Order in Smolensk; *Ivan Pap* (*Johann Pape*, *Иван Пап*) – the municipal alderman in Riga, the Ambassador from the Riga magistrate in Smolensk.

The names of Smolensk citizens demonstrate the life of the city of that time. Despite the fact that this is an official document, an eloquent gallery of persons of the prince's court and residents of the old Russian city is clearly presented to the reader. There are, for example, Prince of Smolensk and local holy *Saint Andrew* (*Андрей*); Bishop of Smolensk *Perfilij* (*Перфилий*, *Перфирий*); viceroy of Perfilij, bishop of Smolensk *Lavrentij* (*Лаврентий*); *Andrew* (*Андрей*) – Smolensk priest. People of prince are represented in the acts, too, especially the people of prince of Smolensk and Yaroslavl *Fyodor Rostislav the Black* (*Федор Ростислав Черный*): *Artemy* (*Артемий*) and *Grigory* (*Григорий*, *Григорь*) – vice-princes in Smolensk; *Luke* (*Лука*) – okolnichy of the same prince; *Moses* (*Моисей*) – seal keeper; F*edorko* (*Федорко*) – scribe, penman; *Ostafij* (*Остафий*) – mentor (*дядко*) of the son of the prince of Smolensk and Yaroslavl *Fyodor Rostislavovoch the Black* (*Федор Ростиславович Черный*). In addition, *Ludolfus* (*Лудольф*), a "clever and wealthy man" from Smolensk, and a number of other Smolensk townpeople are mentioned: *Mikula Dyadkovich* (*Микула Дядкович*), *Putyata Dyadkovich* (*Путята Дядкович*), *Miroslav* (*Мирослав*), *Oleksa Cherny* (*Олекса Черный*), and also *Aranovic* (*Аранович*), the lawyer in a "case on the German bell".

From citizens of Riga, besides the above, only *Petr Biartolt* (*Петр Бяртолт*) is named in the text, and from Germans – *Fedor Bolkovnik* (*Федор Болковник*; *Wulveke*, *Thideke*; *Bulkownik*, *Fedor*) – a merchant from Braunschweig, *Gelmik* (*Гельмик*; *Helmich*) – merchant from Münster, as well as *Johann Warendopr* (*Яган Варендорпр*) and *Henze* (*Генци*).

Ethnonyms in the Riga – Smolensk acts correspond to the content of texts and anthroponyms in them: *немец* (*немчичь*) 'German' (Riga edition, rarely Gotland), *латинин* (*латинескыи*) 'Latin' (Gothland edition), *смольнянин* 'citizen of Smolensk', *татарин* 'Tatar', *русский* 'Russian', *русин* 'Ruthenian', *волочанин* 'citizen of Volok' and *язычники* 'Pagans' – the very ones from which it was necessary to protect foreign merchants while moving near *Volok*.

The Riga – Smolensk acts are important because their Latin, German and Slavic versions are preserved. Translations of Slavic toponyms and anthroponyms to the German and Latin languages, mutual latinographic-Cyrillic transliteration of proper names, sometimes curious, are additional evidence of the desire for mutual understanding between the Slavs and the Germans. The manuscripts described above are an integral page in the history of these peoples, their languages, as well as in the history of European onomastics.

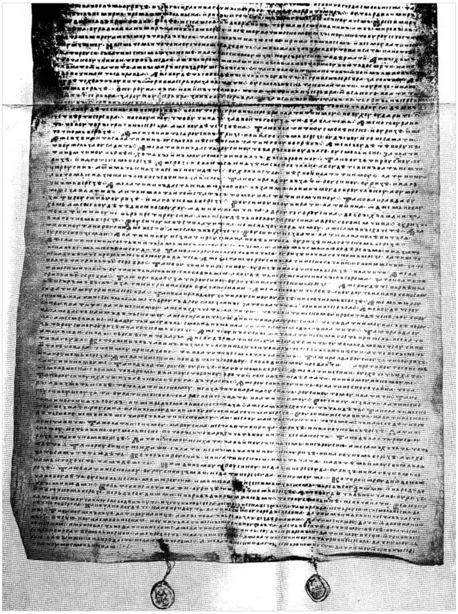

Figure 4. Old Russsian copy of the treaty of Smolensk prince Mstislav Davydovich with Riga and the Goths' coast, 1229

Abbreviations

Germ. – German
OR – Old Russian

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Renāte Siliņa-Piņķe

Āru vārdi 17. gadsimta beigu Vidzemes kartēs. Sāvienas (*Sawensee*) un Aburtu (*Lüggen*) muižas piemērs

Microtoponyms in Late 17th Century Maps of Vidzeme: The Case of Sāviena (*Sawensee*) and Aburti (*Lüggen*) Estates

Vidzeme, one of the cultural and historical regions of Latvia, became a part of the kingdom of Sweden during the 17th century. Subsequently, Swedish cartographers mapped the estates of Vidzeme and then compiled maps of larger territories then called castle districts.

The present research inspects 11 of these late 17th century maps and analyzes the microtoponyms found there. For an illustration, the maps of Sāviena (Sawensee) and Aburti (Lüggen) estates are chosen.

This paper consider as microtoponyms not only the names of meadows, forests, swamps and hills, but also some hydronyms denoting smaller rivers and lakes that had not yet been academically analyzed, in total names of 26 objects. The majority of these microtoponyms denote what was then called *streijgabali* – remote parts of agricultural land that belonged to a central property but did not have a direct border with it.

These maps depict some no longer existing lakes and swamps (e.g. *Linn Siöö*, *Linne Purwe*, *Werdig purw*), contain some almost unintelligible names of forests no longer known (e.g. E*waete Sille*), and testify about the ancient status of some place names (e.g. *Pillis Kalln*). The remote parts of land properties are often defined in map legends in Swedish as *buskland i bruk*, i.e. woodlands and scrublands. In most cases the names of these properties contain the generic element *gabals* 'piece'. These placenames are often related to objects in the area. Four of them – *Kanger*, *Pargull*, *Pasſele* and *Saulleskaln* – became farmhouse names during the following centuries.

The number of these placenames is not sufficient to reconstruct the linguistic landscape of the 17th century estates. Nevertheless, they give an insight into the concepts of centre and periphery of that time and their denominations, into the perception of reference points of a landscape, and into the creative mind of the 17th century people.

Keywords

microtoponyms, hydronyms,
Livonia (Vidzeme), 17th century, maps, Sāviena

1. Ievads

Mikrotoponīmu jeb āru vārdu[1] vākšanai un aprakstīšanai Latvijā ir dziļas un senas tradīcijas. Tā aizsākusies jau 19. gadsimta vidū[2] un ar dažādu intensitāti turpinājusies gan pirmās Latvijas brīvvalsts laikā[3], gan padomju laikā[4], gan nav pārtraukta arī mūsdienās[5]. Senākie āru vārdu vākumi tagad jau ir vēsturisks materiāls, kas tiek iekļauts mūsdienu pētnieku darbos. Daudz retāk pētījumos ir tikuši izmantoti senāku gadsimtu dati, kuri nav atrodami īpašos vietvārdu vākumos, bet ir meklējami senos dokumentos latīņu, vācu, poļu, zviedru vai krievu valodā[6].

Šī raksta **mērķis** ir parādīt Vidzemes 17. gadsimta beigu zviedru karšu materiālu un tā izmantošanas iespējas tieši seno āru vārdu apzināšanā un pētniecībā, galveno akcentu liekot uz mikrotoponīmu atpazīšanu senajās kartēs, pieraksta veidu, lokalizācijas iespējām un iespējamo saistību ar mūsdienu nosaukumiem. Lai gan pēdējos gados onomastiskās pētniecības apritē apjomīgais zviedru karšu materiāls nedaudz ir parādījies (piemēram, Bušs, Siliņa-Piņķe 2013; Bušs, Siliņa-Piņķe 2015; Siliņa-Piņķe 2018a: 53–54; Siliņa-Piņķe 2019), tas joprojām ir neatklātu onomastisku dārgumu krātuve.

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1 Ar āru vārdu šajā rakstā tiek saprasts "vietvārds, kas nosauc samērā nelielu ģeogrāfisku objektu lauku apvidū (tīrumu, mežu, pakalnu u. tml.)" (VPSV 47).

2 Piemēram, Augusta Bīlenšteina (*August Bielenstein*) nepublicētais vietvārdu vākums, kas iekļauts Jāņa Endzelīna (Endzelīns 1922; 1925) un Jura Plāķa (Plāķis 1936; 1939) darbos.

3 Piemēram, Endzelīns (1922; 1925), Plāķis (1936; 1939).

4 Piemēram, Lvv I, II; Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēka (LaVI), kas 20. gadsimta 50.–70. gados intensīvi papildināta ar jauniem lauka pētījumu datiem; tādu pētnieku kā Laimute Balode, Ojārs Bušs, Vallija Dambe, Dzintra Hirša, Benita Laumane u. c. darbi.

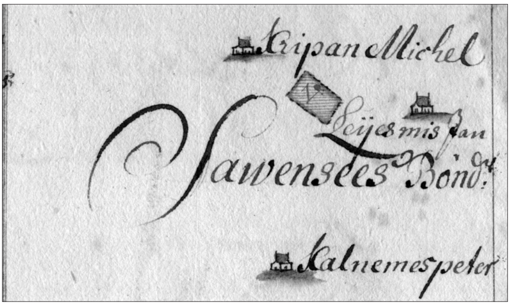
5 Piemēram, 2017. gadā aizsāktais tautas vietvārdu datubāzes projekts "Vietvārdu talka" (pieejams: www.vietvardi.lv), "Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīcas" iznākušie 5 sējumi, Latvijas valodnieku, piemēram, Laimutes Balodes, Kersti Boiko, Ojāra Buša, Benitas Laumanes, Sandas Rapas, Annas Stafeckas, Antas Trumpas, darbi.

6 Piemēram, Laumane (1996; 1987: 106–110), Siliņa-Piņķe (2010; 2012). Biežāk šie dati tiek piesaistīti, aprakstot hidronīmu vai lielāku apdzīvotu vietu – pilsētu, ciemu, īpaši pagastu centru – nosaukumus (piemēram, Balode, Bušs 2015; Bušs 2004; Duridanov 1996; Endzelīns 1933; Siliņa-Piņķe 2018b). Savos pētījumos tos nereti izmantojuši vēsturnieki (piemēram, Bielenstein 1892; Pāvulāne 1983; Zvirgzdiņš 2006; vairākkārt Margarita Brazdeviča).

2. Avots un tā izmantošanas problemātika

Zviedru mērnieku veidotās kartes aptver Latvijas kultūrvēsturisko novadu Vidzemi, kas 17. gadsimtā pēc poļu-zviedru kara, nonākdama Zviedrijas Karalistes sastāvā, ieguva (no mūsdienu onomastu perspektīvas raugoties) brīnišķīgu priekšrocību – tā tika sistemātiski revidēta un kartēta. Zviedri – sava laika labākie Eiropas mērnieki un kartogrāfi (Dunsdorfs 1974: 8) – 17. gadsimta beigās uzmērīja Vidzemes muižu zemes, veidojot muižu zemju kartes un plānus mērogā apmēram 1:10 400. Šīs muižu kartes apvienojot, tika izgatavotas lielākas pilsnovadu kartes mērogā 1:48 000 vai 1:57 600, kādēļ tās reizēm tiek sauktas arī par piektdaļas kartēm (Dunsdorfs 1986: 19). Daudzas no šīm kartēm mūsdienās glabājas Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīva 7404. fondā "Vidzemes muižu plāni un apraksti", bet savas specifikas dēļ līdz šim diemžēl maz piesaistījušas onomastu uzmanību. Lai arī ne vienmēr datētas, kartes ir veidotas laikā no 1681. līdz 1696. gadam. Tās ir specifisks avots, tāpēc jāpiemin dažas ar to izmantošanu saistītās grūtības:

1) tā kā kartes ir veidojuši zviedru mērnieki, visa rakstītā informācija tajās ir 17. gadsimta zviedru valodā; attiecībā uz kartēs fiksētajiem mājvārdiem vēsturnieks Edgars Dunsdorfs (1986: 24) ir secinājis, ka tie "ir rakstīti zviedriski, visbiežāk gan pielāgojot vāciskajai versijai";
2) ja neskaita lielās, draudzes un pilsnovadus aptverošās kartes, muižu kartes ataino mazus nesaistītus gabaliņus, kuru ģeogrāfiskā atrašanās vieta reizēm ir grūti nosakāma vai pat nav nosakāma vispār, piemēram, lielākas kartes stūrī iezīmēts atsevišķs gabaliņš ar trim zemnieku sētām un muižas tīrumu starp tām (skat. 1. att.).



1. attēls. Sāvienas muižas plāna fragments, 1689. g. (LVVA 7404.3.47.[7])

7 Šeit un turpmāk Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīva fonda, apraksta un lietas numuri.

Rakstā ir analizētas 11 kartes un tajās sastopamie āru vārdi, salīdzinot iegūto materiālu ar LU Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkas datiem. Šīs kartes aptver bijušās Sāvienas (v. *Sawensee*) un Aburtu (v. *Lüggen*) muižas, t. i., tajās ir atzīmēti šo muižu mikrotoponīmi. Tās atradās Austrumvidzemē: Aburtu muiža – Aiviekstes kreisajā krastā, bet Sāvienas muižas teritorija aizņēma abus Aiviekstes krastus, lai gan arī tās centrs un lielākā daļa zemju bija Aiviekstes kreisajā krastā[8]. Abas muižas piederēja pie Ļaudonas draudzes un pēc tā laika administratīvi politiskā dalījuma ietilpa Bērzaunes pilsnovadā.

Muižu zemes lielākoties ir zīmētas kopīgās kartēs, un attēlotie āru vārdi nereti pa muižām nav nošķirami. Turklāt 20. gadsimta pirmās puses Latvijas administratīvajā iedalījumā abas muižas ir iekļāvušās Sāvienas pagastā[9]. Mūsdienās bijušās Aburtu muižas zemes un lielākā daļa Sāvienas muižas zemju atrodas Madonas novada Ļaudonas pagastā.

3. Āru vārdi – kādi un kur?

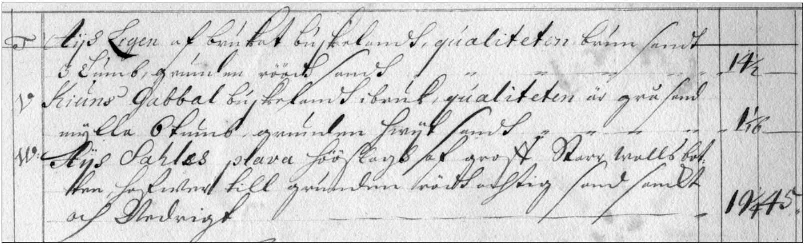
Kā āru vārdi šajā rakstā ir iekļauti ne tikai visi senajās kartēs fiksētie pļavu, mežu, purvu un pakalnu nosaukumi, bet arī atsevišķi nelielākus objektus apzīmējoši un līdz šim zinātniskajā apritē neaktualizēti hidronīmi – daži upju un ezeru nosaukumi.

Kopumā kartēs ir izdevies konstatēt septiņiem objektu veidiem piederīgus 26 objektus: pa vienai pļavai, mežam un kalnam, divus ezeriņus, trīs purvus un četras upītes, bet 14 objekti jeb nedaudz vairāk nekā puse no visiem izrādījās tāda mūsdienās neaktuāla objektu kategorija kā muižas streijgabali jeb starpgabali, kartēs zviedriski saukti *Strölender*. Tie bija muižai piederoši, attāli, saimnieciski izmantoti zemes gabali, kam nav kopīgas robežas ar pārējo muižas īpašumu. Lielākoties tie kartēs iezīmēti izkaisīti starp zemnieku zemēm vai pat citu muižu zemju ieskauti.

Lielākā daļa āru vārdu ir ierakstīti karšu leģendās, kartēs dodot tikai norādes ar burtiem vai cipariem, piemēram, 1. attēlā redzamais lauks, kas apzīmēts ar lielo burtu V, ir atšifrēts kartes leģendā kā *Kiuns Gabbal buſkelandt i bruk* (2. att.) un raksturots kā smilšains. Tomēr daži, galvenokārt upju, ezeru, pakalnu un purvu, t. i., saimnieciski neapstrādājamu objektu, nosaukumi ir rakstīti tieši kartēs (sal. 3.–9. att.).

8 Sal. mūsdienu mazciemus Sāviena un Aburti (Lģia).

9 Pirmās Latvijas Republikas laika pagastu princips ir ievērots arī LU Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkas datu lokalizēšanā.



2. attēls. Sāvienas muižas plāna leģendas fragments, 1689. g. (LVVA 7404.3.47.)

Turpmāk tiks aplūkotas fiksēto āru vārdu grupas, sākot ar hidronīmiem, turpinot ar citiem dabas objektiem un beigās pievēršoties cilvēku darbības rezultātā radīto objektu nosaukumiem.

3.1. Mazās ūdenstilpes un ūdensteces

Mazo ūdensteču kategorijā rakstā ir aplūkotas četras upītes – *Alūksnīte*, **Arona*[10], *Smerdīte* un *Timsmalīte* – un divi ezeriņi – **Linezers* un *Timseņu ezers*. Īpaši interesants šķiet mūsdienās nezināmās upītes nosaukums **Arona*. Tam ir vairāki iemesli:

1) šāds nosaukums mūsdienās ir vēl divām upēm Austrumvidzemē – 44 km garajai Aiviekstes labā krasta pietekai *Aronai* un daudz mazākajai un mazāk zināmajai 7 km garajai Vesetas labā krasta pietekai *Aronītei* (Avotiņa 1999: 107); citās Latvijas daļās hidronīmi ar šādu nosaukumu nav fiksēti;
2) šī **Arona* arī ir Aiviekstes pieteka, tikai kreisā krasta, un – spriežot pēc kartes – ietecējusi Aiviekstē tikai kādu puskilometru augstāk par labā krasta pieteku *Aronu*.

Aron Bäck[11] (LVVA 7404.1.1129.; 3. att.) ir pagaidām vienīgais zināmais šīs upītes nosaukuma pieraksts. Šajā pašā kartē redzama arī otras mūsdienās zināmās Aronas – *Aron ups* – ieteka Aiviekstē[12].

Arī otrs mūsdienās nezināmais nosaukums **Linezers* ir izzudis kopā ar pašu objektu. Šis ezers ir iezīmēts divās no analizētajām kartēm – *Linesſar* (LVVA 7404.1.1658.) un *Linn Siöö*[13] (LVVA 7404.3.47.; skat.

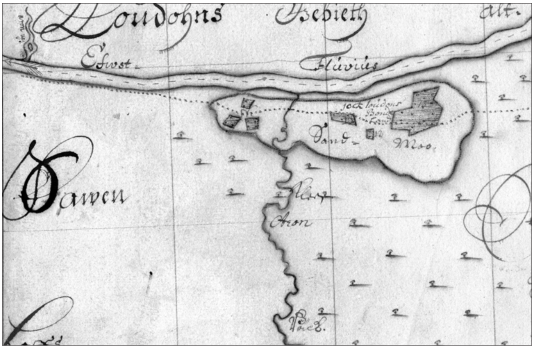
10 Kā rekonstruēti ir apzīmēti āru vārdi, kuri 20. un 21. gadsimta avotos vairs nav sastapti.

11 Sal. zv. *bäck*, vlv. *beke* 'strauts, upe'.

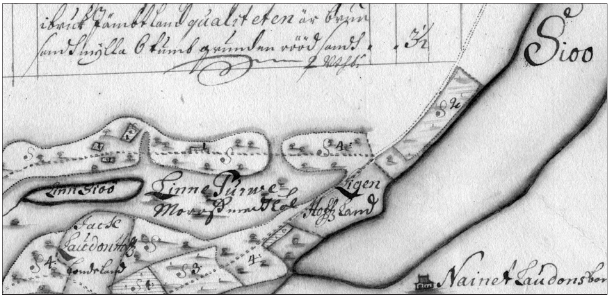
12 Šīs Aronas nosaukums fiksēts arī citās 17. gadsimta zviedru kartēs, piemēram, *Arohn fluvius* (LVVA 7404.1.1130.) un *Arons Beck* (LVVA 7404.3.2.).

13 Par hidronīmos izmantotajiem daudzveidīgajiem nomenklatūras vārdiem latviešu, (lejas)vācu, latīņu un zviedru valodā skat. Bušs, Siliņa-Piņķe (2013: 16).

4. att.). Šobrīd tas ir purvains apvidus, kam nekādi nosaukumi nav fiksēti ne kartēs, ne LU Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkā. Tomēr vēl vairākās 20. gadsimta topogrāfiskajās kartēs šajā vietā ir iezīmēts stipri pārpurvojies ezeriņš bez nosaukuma.



3. attēls. Sāvienas un Aburtu muižas plāna fragments, 1683. g. (LVVA 7404.1.1129.)



4. attēls. Sāvienas muižas plāna fragments, 1689. g. (LVVA 7404.3.47.)

Pārējās trīs upītes – *Alūksnīte*, *Smerdīte* un *Timsmalīte* – ir pazīstamas arī mūsdienās, tāpēc šeit uzsvaru varētu likt otrādi: šo upīšu nosaukumi tādā vai līdzīgā formā rakstiski ir fiksēti jau vismaz 17. gadsimta beigās:

- *Alūksnīte* kā *Allusnitz rivus* (1683. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1128.),
  Alokſeis Fluvius (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1650.),
  Alocksnes upp (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1652.),
  *Olaxmetze uppe (*1689. g.; LVVA 7404.3.44.; skat. 8. att.),
  Allusnit un *Olaxmettze upps* (b. g.; LVVA 7404.3.2.; skat. 5. att.);
- *Smerdīte* kā *Smerdis Beck* (1683. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1128.);
- *Timsmalīte* kā *Timſe ups* (b. g.; LVVA 7404.3.2.; skat. 5. att.).

17. gadsimta nosaukumu pieraksts rāda, ka deminutīva izskaņa *-īte* visām upītēm ir nostiprinājusies vēlākajos gadsimtos. Vienīgi pieraksts *Allusnitz rivus* un *Allusnit* rāda pirmos šīs izskaņas lietojuma gadījumus. No *Timseņu ezera* – *Timʃen Siö* (LVVA 7404.3.2.; skat. 5. att.) – iztekošā *Timse* nosaukumā mūsdienās ir saskaņojusies ar netālu esošo mājvārdu, vēlāko ciema nosaukumu *Timsmales*. Šīs upes nosaukums, lai arī mūsdienu kartēs atzīmēts, LU Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkā nevienā no formām nav fiksēts.

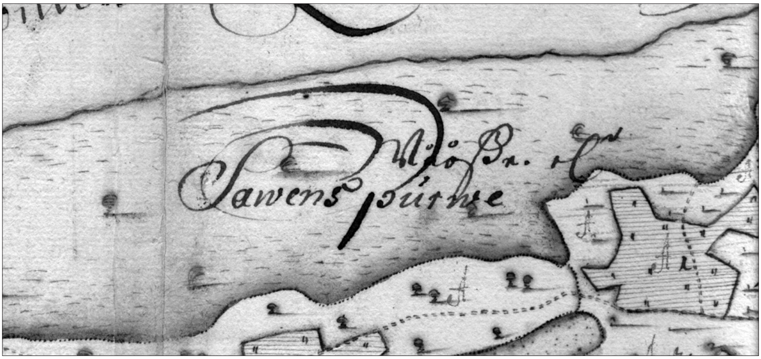
5. attēls. Bērzaunes pilsnovada kartes fragments (LVVA 7404.3.2.)

3.2. Purvi

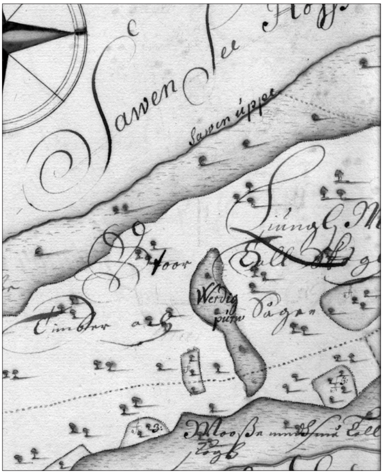
Āru vārdu aprakstā un analīzē virzoties no "slapjākajiem" uz "sausākajiem" nosaukumiem, nākamie ir purvu nosaukumi. Mūsdienās neviens no 17. gadsimta kartēs fiksētajiem purvu nosaukumiem – **Linpurvs*, **Sāvienas purvs* un **Verdigpurvs* – lietots netiek un nav vairs zināms. Pirmais – *Lin Purwe* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1658.), arī *Linne Purwe* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.3.47.; skat. 4. att.) – noteikti ir saistāms ar pārpurvotajiem iepriekš minētā Linezera krastiem, otrs – *Sawens purwe* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1650.; skat. 6. att.), arī *Sawen Purs* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1652.) – ar Sāvienas ezera purvaino dienvidu galu un Sāves upi[14], savukārt trešais – *Werdig purw* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1650.; skat. 7. att.) –, kura iespējamā mūsdienu forma ir neskaidra, iezīmēts kartē turpat netālu un nav saistāms ne ar vienu no zināmajiem apkārtējo objektu nosaukumiem ne mūsdienās, ne 17. gadsimtā. Ņemot vērā izteikti

14 Par Sāvienas ezera un Sāves (Sāvītes) upes nosaukumiem skat. Bušs, Siliņa-Piņķe (2015: 111–113) un Siliņa-Piņķe (2019: 42–44).

purvaino Sāvienas apkārtni, var droši secināt, ka kartēs nav atzīmēti visi purvu nosaukumi, bet acīmredzot tikai tādi, kas kalpoja par orientieri kādiem saimnieciskajiem objektiem.



6. attēls. Ļaudonas muižas plāna fragments, 1689. g. (LVVA 7404.1.1650.)



7. attēls. Ļaudonas muižas plāna fragments, 1689. g. (LVVA 7404.1.1650.)

3.3. Meži

Aizaugot purviem, pamazām veidojas meži. Kartēs ir izdevies atrast gan tikai vienu meža nosaukumu. Tas ir 1696. gada "Ļaudonas mežu plānā" (LVVA 7404.3.44.) ar 14. numuru minētais Sāvienas puses meža nosaukums – E*waete Sille* (8. att.), kaut gan, spriežot pēc kartes nosaukuma, tas drīzāk ir piederējis Ļaudonas muižai. Pagaidām šī vārda rakstība nešķiet droši atšifrēta. Lai kā varbūt gribētos interpretēt to par **Svēto silu*, pirmā burta rakstība tomēr to nepieļauj. Mūsdienās neviens līdzīgs meža nosaukums Sāvienas pusē nav zināms.

Citās kartēs meži ir minēti tikai aprakstoši, tos zviedriski raksturojot kā *liels mežs*, *purvains bērzu mežs* u. tml., bet tie nav nosaukti vārdos.

8. attēls. Ļaudonas mežu plāna fragments, 1696. g. (LVVA 7404.3.44.)

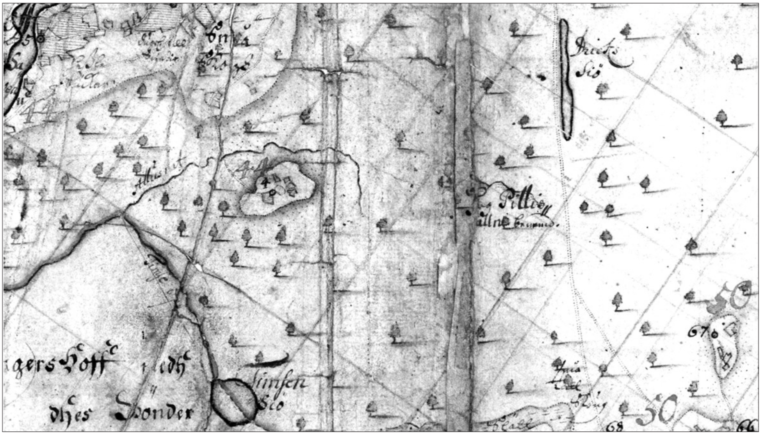
3.4. Kalni

Pēdējais ar cilvēku saimniecisko darbību nesaistītais objekts ir kalns, kurš iezīmēts un kura nosaukums ir ierakstīts plašajā Bērzaunes pilsnovada kartē[15] (LVVA 7404.3.2.). Tas nav augstākais apkārtnē, arī vientuļi nepaceļas ainavā kā zīmīgs orientieris, tomēr, šķiet, tas it bijis nozīmīgs orientieris vismaz kultūrvēsturiskajā un kultūrtelpas apziņā, jo šis ir vienīgais visās 11 kartēs pierakstītais kalna nosaukums. Mūsdienās šis kalns ir zināms kā valsts nozīmes arheoloģijas piemineklis *Sāvienas pilskalns*[16]. Par pilskalnu – *Pillis Kalln* – tas dēvēts arī kartē (skat. 9. att.)[17]. Karte uzskatāmi rāda šī nosaukuma senumu un pārmantojamību vairāku gadsimtu garumā, kas ir apbrīnas vērts fakts, ņemot vērā, ka konkrētais apvidus 17. gadsimtā ir pilnīgi neapdzīvots un pilskalna apdzīvotība arheoloģiski tiek saistīta ar laiku līdz 13. gadsimtam (Urtāns 2018: 14–15).

15 Detalizētu kartes raksturojumu skat. Bušs, Siliņa-Piņķe (2013).

16 Par arheoloģijas pieminekli skat. Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvaldes mājaslapā (http://mantojums.lv/lv/piemineklu-saraksts/1697/; skatīts 05.11.2018).

17 Kartes locījuma vieta digitalizētajā versijā neļauj visu nosaukumu skaidri izlasīt.

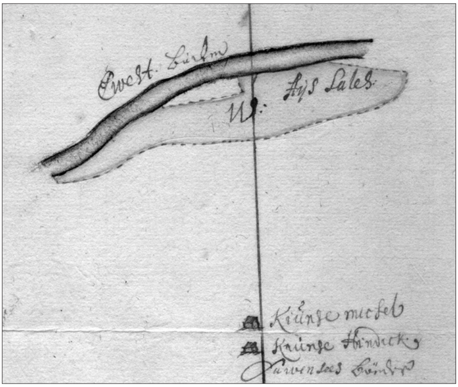


9. attēls. Bērzaunes pilsnovada kartes fragments (LVVA 7404.3.2.)

Jāpiebilst, ka vārds *kalns* kā vietvārda daļa parādās arī streijgabalu *Kanger Kalln* un *Saulleskaln* nosaukumos (skat. 3.6. punktu).

3.5. Pļavas

Pārējie kartēs minētie mikrotoponīmi ir saistāmi ar saimnieciski izmantotajām zemēm. To nosaukumi kopā ar zemes raksturojumu lielākoties ir fiksēti karšu leģendās. Lai gan pļavas ir būtiska lauku saimnieciskās dzīves sastāvdaļa, kartēs atrodams ir tikai viens pļavas nosaukums. Iespējams, ka atbildi uz jautājumu "kāpēc?" varētu atrast, atšifrējot visus karšu leģendu tekstus. Iespējams, pļavas kartēs netiek sauktas vārdos. Savukārt šī, kas ir vienīgā vārdā nosauktā pļava, ir ierakstīta pat trīs kartēs kā *Ays Sahles* un, iespējams, ar pārrakstīšanās kļūdu – kā *Aus=Sahls plawa* (LVVA 7404.1.1658.), kā *Ays Sales* (LVVA 7404.1.2029.; skat. 10. att.) un kā *Ays Sahles plava* (LVVA 7404.3.47.; skat. 2. att.), arī leģendas aprakstā saucot to zviedriski par *hööslagh*, proti, pļavu. Tā kartē ir iezīmēta pašā Aiviekstes krastā un noteikti ir bijusi palienes pļava. Daudzveidīgā nosaukuma rakstība nav viennozīmīgi interpretējama. Pamatotāka pirmajā brīdī šķiet versija ar garo saknes patskani, proti, dīvainā vārdkopa **Aizzāles pļava*. Skaidrību tomēr vieš 1724. gada Ļaudonas mācītājmuižas revīzijas dokumentā rakstītais – "Fiʃcherey, hätte es nur 2 Züge in einer Attacke bey einen Heuʃchläge Aisʃalle genandt mit Laudohn zuʃammen" (LVVA 7348.1.32.). Tātad Ļaudonas mācītājmuižai 18. gadsimta sākumā Aiviekstē ir piederējušas divas zvejvietas un par orientieri ir kalpojusi siena pļava, saukta **Aizsala*. Šāds vietvārds mūsdienās vairs nav zināms.



10. attēls. Sāvienas muižas plāna fragments (LVVA 7404.1.2029.)

3.6. Streijgabali jeb starpgabali

Pēdējais aplūkojamais objektu veids ir streijgabali. Šajā rakstā visi 14 streijgabalu nosaukumi tiks aplūkoti kopā kā vienota grupa, atsevišķi pievēršoties tikai dažām interesantām tendencēm tajos. Kopumā ir fiksēti šādi nosaukumi:

- *Ays Essar Gall*, arī *Ays Eſſar Gall*,
- *Ays Liegen*, arī *Ays Ligen*,
- *Daus Gabbals*,
- *Kanger Gabballs*, arī *Kanger Kalln*,
- *Kiuns Gabbals*, arī *Kiuns Gabbal*,
- *Kroges Zemat*,
- *Linessar Gabbal*, arī *Lyn Eſsar gabball*,
- *Pargull Gabbal*, arī *Pargull gabball* un *pargull gabball*,
- *Pasſele Gabbal*, arī *Paſelegabball*,
- *Saulleskaln*, arī *Saulles Kalln*,
- *Swergals Gabbal*, arī *Swergas Gabbals*,
- *Tillegal*,
- *Tiltinge Gabbal*, arī *Tettinge Gabball*,
- *Wilketr Selaus*, arī *Willkes Selaus*.

Lielākā daļa šo streijgabalu aprakstā ir raksturoti kā *buskland i bruk*, t. i., izmantota mežu vai krūmāju zeme, viens kā *renn åker*, proti, tīrums, tomēr ne visi zviedru teksti šobrīd ir atšifrēti. E. Dunsdorfs (1986: 25) šīs apstrādātās zemes raksturo šādi: “[..] tīrumi bija pastāvīgi iekoptie lauki, kuŗus mēsloja ar kūtsmēsliem. Turpretim mežazeme bija zeme, no kuŗas nolīda kokus vai krūmus un tos sadedzināja, pelnus ieaŗot, pēc tam kopa dažus gadus nemēslojot un tad atstāja apaugšanai ar mežu vai krūmiem, lai pēc kāda laika atkal nolīstu un apstrādātu.”

Pievēršoties pašiem nosaukumiem, pamanāms ir fakts, ka lielākā to daļa (8 no 14) ir vārdkopas ar nomenklatūras vārdu *gabals*. Šis vārds kalpo par objekta raksturotāju – no galvenās vienības atdalīta mazāka vienība. Turklāt latviešu valodā lietotais vārds *streijgabals* ir daļējs aizguvums no kartēs minētā vārda *Ströland*, kur vārda pirmā daļa ir aizguvums[18], bet otrā – pašcilmes vārds *gabals*. Līdzīga, objekta novietojumu raksturojoša nozīme ir arī nosaukumos *Ays Essar Gall* un *Tillegal* izmantotajam vārdam *gals* 'no centra attālināta, perifēra vienība'. Zīmīgi, ka *Ays Essar Gall* gabali atradās garenā Sāvienas ezera ZR galā – tieši pretī muižai. No muižas perspektīvas raugoties, tie apvieno sevī gan jēdzienu 'aiz ezera', gan jēdzienu 'gals', savukārt *Tillegal* gabali atradās ezera D galā. Iespējams, šādi vispār tika dēvētas ezera abu galu apkārtnes. Ar vārdu *gals*, iespējams, saistāms arī dažādi pierakstītais streijgabals: *Swergals Gabbal* vai *Swergas Gabbals*. Šeit noteikti jāpiemin LU Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkas 1960. gada kartīte ar ierakstu *Zvẹ̄ru- pogasc* – pagasta daļas iesauka Sāvienā – ar komentāru, ka viena saimnieka uzvārds ir Vilciņš, bet tas gan laikam neesot īstais nosaukuma iemesls; saimnieki esot bijuši nejauki tai pagasta stūrī (LaVI). Diemžēl nav nekādu norāžu par šīs pagasta daļas atrašanās vietu.

Ar nejaušību grūti izskaidrot faktu, ka streijgabals *Kroges Zemat* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.3.47.) vienīgais ir raksturots kā tīrums – *renn åker*. Pārējie tīrumi atradušies tiešā muižas tuvumā un kartēs nav saukti vārdos. Šis gabals kartē iezīmēts blakus Andzuļu mājām (*Anſull*), turklāt zemnieku sētas 17. gadsimta revīzijās nereti tiek sauktas par ciematiem[19]. Sāvienas muižas krogi 17. gadsimtā gan ir zināmi (Siliņa-Piņķe 2019: 52–53), bet par kroga vietu tiešā Andzuļu tuvumā nekādu ziņu nav.

Kā jau 3.4. punktā minēts, divi streijgabalu nosaukumi ir vārdkopas vai salikteņi ar neatkarīgo komponentu *kalns*: *Kanger Kalln* un *Saulleskaln* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.1.1658.), arī *Saulles Kalln* (1689. g.; LVVA 7404.3.47.). Šo streijgabalu ģeogrāfiskais novietojums saistāms ar stāvu DDA nogāzi. Tie gan nav vienīgie streijgabali ar šādu novietojumu. Līdzīgs novietojums ir arī streijgabaliem *Daus Gabbals*, *Pargull Gabbal*, *Pasſele Gabbal* un *Swergals Gabbal*. Uz to, ka vārds *gabals* šajā laikā, iespējams, veidojās par neatņemamu streijgabalu nosaukumu sastāvdaļu, norāda citā kartē fiksētā paralēlforma *Kanger Gabballs* (LVVA 7404.3.47.).

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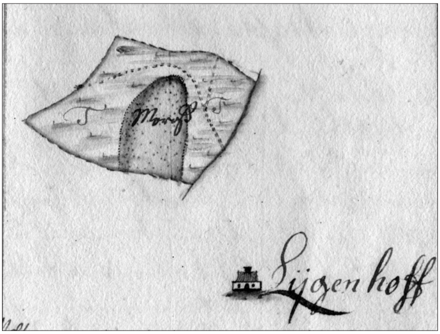
18 Sal. zv. *strö* 'kaisīt, bērt'.

19 Sal. lt. *kiẽmas* 'pagalms; lauku māja, ciems'. "Vārda *ciems* sākotnējā nozīme tātad 'nometne, mītne'" (Karulis 1992: I 171).

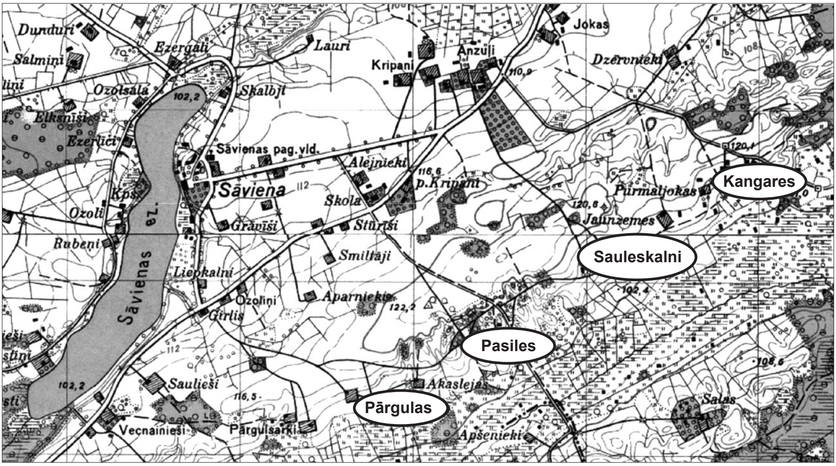
Vēl viena īpatnība ir trīs nosaukumi – diviem streijgabaliem un 3.5. punktā minētajai pļavai –, kuri ir ar prievārdu *aiz* darinātas vārdkopas: *Ays Eſſar Gall*, *Ays Ligen* (skat. 2. un 11. att.) un *Ays Sahles plava* (skat. 2. un 10. att.). Lai gan tieši šie vārdi līdz mūsdienām nav saglabājušies, tie ir reģionam raksturīgi, jo šāda tipa vietvārdi Latvijā izplatīti galvenokārt Vidzemē un Latgalē (Lģia). **Aizezera gals* un **Aizsalas pļava* ir jau analizēti iepriekš, savukārt **Aizliģene* ir vēl jāpaskaidro. Tas ir Sāvienas muižai piederošs streijgabals aiz Aburtu muižas, kas vāciski saukta *Lüggen* vai, kā ierakstīts kartē, *Lygenhoff* (LVVA 7404.3.47.). Arī latviski tā reizumis tiek saukta par *Liģeni* (LaVI).



11. attēls. Sāvienas muižas plāna fragments, 1689. g. (LVVA 7404.3.47.)

4. Senie āru vārdi mūsdienās

Pievēršoties rakstā analizēto āru vārdu pēdām Sāvienas 20. un 21. gadsimta kultūrainavā, jāsecina, ka lielākā to daļa līdz mūsdienām nav saglabājusies. Tas nepārsteidz, jo vairāki Latvijas vietvārdu pētnieki ir rakstījuši par āru vārdu samērā neilgo mūžu un izteikto mainību salīdzinājumā, piemēram, ar apdzīvotu vietu nosaukumiem (piemēram, Ancītis 1933: 41; Draviņš 1939: 410–411; Rapa 2019: 145–146). Ja neskaita 3.1. punktā analizēto ūdeņu – trīs upīšu (*Alūksnītes*, *Smerdītes* un *Timsmalītes*) un viena ezera (*Timseņu ezera*) – nosaukumus, kuros vārda sakne vai pat viss vārds, kā ezera nosaukuma gadījumā, ir saglabājies nemainīgs, par izdzīvojušiem var saukt vēl arī četru streijgabalu nosaukumus, proti, *Kanger Gabballs* vai *Kanger Kalln*, *Pargull Gabbal*, *Pasſele Gabbal* un *Saulleskaln*. Visi šie nosaukumi, sākot no 18. gadsimta beigām līdz pat mūsdienām (*Sauleskalni* līdz 20. gadsimta otrajai pusei), ir zināmi kā zemnieku sētu nosaukumi Sāvienā – *Kangares*, *Pārgulas*, *Pasiles* un *Sauleskalni* (skat. 12. att.), turklāt šīs sētas atrodas tajās pašās vietās, kur 17. gadsimta kartēs bija iezīmēti streijgabali.



12. attēls. *Kangares*, *Pārgulas*, *Pasiles*, *Sauleskalni*: no streijgabalu nosaukumiem par mājvārdiem (T25)

Pagaidām hipotētiska saistība ar mūsdienām ir arī streijgabala *Swergals Gabbal* nosaukumam, saistot to ar LU Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēkas 1960. gada ierakstu – pagasta daļas iesauku *Zvẹ́rupogasc*.

Streijgabala *Kiuns Gabbals* nosaukums gan arī sakrīt ar mūsdienās eksistējošu mājvārdu *Ķunci* (Lģia), bet šis gadījums ir atšķirīgs, jo mājvārds *Ķunci* ir zināms jau kopš 17. gadsimta. Tas fiksēts vairākās kartēs (skat. 10. att.) un ir droši saistāms ar mūsdienās zināmo zemnieku sētas nosaukumu. Savukārt senais streijgabals *Ķuncu gabals* ir atradies pavisam citā muižas daļā, vismaz 3 km attālumā, un šajā vietā nav zināms neviens vēlāku laiku nosaukums, kas saistītos ar vārdu *Ķunci*.

Kopumā var runāt par deviņu dabas objektu nosaukumiem, kas Sāvienas un Aburtu muižas kultūrainavā droši vai tikai hipotētiski ir dzīvojuši vismaz 320 gadus. Šis ir liels skaits, jo tā ir viena trešdaļa no analizētajiem 17. gadsimta āru vārdiem. Laiks un cilvēku valoda šos vārdus ir pamainījuši, gan pārveidojot formas ziņā (piemēram, deminutivizējot upīšu nosaukumus), gan mainoties vārdos nosaukto objektu kategorijām (no streijgabalu nosaukumiem par mājvārdiem).

Secinājumi

Pētījums apstiprina pieņēmumu, ka zviedru mērnieku veidotās kartes ir bagātīgs senu mikrotoponīmu un hidronīmu avots. Tā kvalitatīva izpēte no pētnieka prasa priekšzināšanas gan pētāmā reģiona ģeogrāfijā un vēsturē, gan arī zviedru valodā. Kartes atklāj gan mūsdienās izzudušus dabas objektus – ezerus, purvus, pļavas – un to nosaukumus, gan grūti salasāmus, mūsdienās nezināmus nosaukumus, piemēram, meža nosaukumu E*waete Sille*. Tās arī sniedz liecības par mūsdienās zināmu nosaukumu senumu, kā gadījumā ar *Sāvienas pilskalnu*.

Lielākā vārdos nosauktā objektu kategorija ir saimniecībā izmantojamās muižas zemes, pārsvarā streijgabali, arī viena pļava. Šis fakts it kā neļāva cerēt uz lielu fiksēto nosaukumu saglabāšanās potenciālu, tāpēc ir īpaši patīkami, ja – kā gadījumā ar vēlākajiem un tagadējiem Sāvienas mājvārdiem – šie nosaukumi ir pārgājuši uz citu objektu kategoriju. Šādā gadījumā tieši āru vārdu pētniecība ļauj izsekot mājvārdu un, iespējams, arī mājvietu rašanās laikam un veidam.

Lielākā daļa 17. gadsimta streijgabalu nosaukumu ir vārdkopas ar nomenklatūras vārdu *gabals*, un tie doti saistībā ar apkārtnes objektiem – muižām, sētām, ūdenstilpnēm u. tml., piemēram, **Aizliģene*, **Aizezera gabals* vai **Linezera gabals*.

Analizētais āru vārdu skaits, neapšaubāmi, ir pārāk neliels, lai veidotu 17. gadsimta muižu ģeolingvistisko ainavu, tomēr šie vārdi ļauj spriest par centra un perifērijas kategorijām un to nomināciju, par atskaites punktiem ainavā un par 17. gadsimta cilvēku radošo domu savas apkārtējās vides apzinātā uztverē.

Saīsinājumi

lt. – lietuviešu
v. – vācu
vlv. – viduslejasvācu
zv. – zviedru

Nepublicētie avoti

LaVI – Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūta vietvārdu kartotēka.

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Daiva Sinkevičiūtė

Tendenzen von Bildung und Gebrauch der Baltischen Vornamen mit dem Suffix -*(i)ut*- in Litauen

Tendencies of the Formation and Usage of Baltic Names with Suffix -*(i)ut*- in Lithuania

The Lithuanian stock of proper names before the adoption of Christianity made use not only of compound proper names, their shortenings, or apellatives, but also of suffixal derivatives. The national stock of proper names experienced a revival at the beginning of the 20th century and children were once again given proper names of Baltic origin. One important group are proper names with suffix -(*i*)*ut*-, which is the most common diminutive suffix of the present day stock of proper names.

During the last century the dominant group of proper names with a diminutive suffix are names of Baltic origin with suffix -(*i*)*ut*- made from shortened compound proper names (e.g. *Eim-utis* < *Eimas* (< *Eimantas*), *Sirt-utė* < *Sirta* (< *Sirtautė*)) or apellatives (e.g. *Aid-utė* < *Aida* (< *aidas* 'echo'), *Aušr-utis* < *Aušrys* (< *aušra* 'dawn')). Proper names made from compound proper names (e.g. *Dargin-utis* < *Dar-ginas*) or from other 20th c. proper names (e.g. *Daiv-utė* < *Daiva*) also occur. Finally, a third less common group are directly taken from apellatives with diminutive suffix -(*i*)*ut*- (e.g. *Eglutė* < *eglutė* 'small fir' beside *eglė* 'fir', *Žibutė* < *žibutė* 'violet'). Proper names with suffix -(*i*)*ut*- are more varied for women than for men. Some of the proper names differ only in the ending (e.g. *Danger-utė* – *Danger-utis*), though names used exclusively for men also occur (e.g. *Arvyd-utis*, *Vain-utis*).

Proper names in -(*i*)*ut*- were particularly common during the period of Independent Lithuania (1916-1943). They were also more varied than those originating in the Soviet period (1944-1985) or during the period leading to the independence (1986-). During the Soviet period children were more often given proper names in -(*i*)*ut*- used in the previous period of the Independent Lithuania than new names. Their number and variety strongly decreased during the 70-ies. Very few new names in -(*i*)*ut*- have appeared since the end of the 20th century (e.g. *Gilmin-utė*, *Eig-utis*).

The variety of proper names with suffix -(*i*)*ut*- in the Independent Lithuania was conditioned by the popularity of Lithuanian pagan proper names themselves. Their existence was further supported by proper names of apellative origin (e.g. *Vaidilutė* < *vaidilutė* 'a type of pagan priestess'). When the suffix -(*i*)*ut*- was extended to names originated in the 20th century (e.g. *Nering-utė* < *Neringa*, *Žydr-utis* < *Žydrius*) there

diminutive status became more and more apparent. This is the reason why names in -(*i*)*ut*- became less popular. The most common names in today's usage are precisely those whose diminutive value is weakly felt (e.g. *Kęst-utis, Bir-utė*).

Keywords

Lithuanian, Baltic, first names, diminutives, naming trends, suffixed names

1. Einleitung

Im litauischen Namenbestand der vorchristlichen Zeit befanden sich zweistämmige Vornamen, ihre Kurzformen sowie appellativische Vornamen, die durch Suffixe erweitert wurden. Überliefert sind vor allem männliche Namen, während Frauennamen in den Dokumenten des 14.-16. Jhs. kaum Erwähnung finden. Ab dem 17. Jh. umfasst der litauische Vornamenbestand fast nur christliche Namen (Maciejauskienė 1991: 33-35). Als sich die Tradition herausgebildet hatte, die Namen zu vererben, ist ein Teil der heidnischen Vornamen zur Grundlage der Nachnamen geworden. Im 20. Jh. kamen wieder Vornamen baltischer Herkunft in Gebrauch; zum Teil handelt es sich dabei um Neubildungen.

Die Untersuchung der auf die Natur bezogenen Vornamen (Sinkevičiūtė 2018, 247-248, 250) hat gezeigt, dass sich im Laufe des letzten Jahrhunderts in Litauen unterschiedliche mit Hilfe von Diminutiv- und anderen Suffixen abgeleitete Namenformen verbreitet haben. Die Vielfalt der Vornamensuffixe war groß, dabei zählten die Onyme mit dem Suffix -*ut*- zu den häufigsten Vornamen mit Diminutivsuffix. Deswegen bildet eben diese Vornamengruppe den Untersuchungsgegenstand dieses Beitrags. Dabei wird das Ziel verfolgt, die den Vornamen zugrunde liegenden Strukturelemente zu erforschen und die Entwicklungstendenzen der Vornamen nachzuzeichnen.

Suffigierte litauische Onyme sind bislang nicht systematisch untersucht worden. Die litauischen diminuierten Vornamen aus der vorchristlichen Zeit wurden zusammen mit anderen Vornamen unter dem Aspekt der Herkunft und der Form der Aufzeichnung analysiert (Maciejauskienė 1991; 1997). Hierbei wurde festgestellt, dass im 17. Jh. besonders diejenigen Zweitglieder einer aus zwei Teilen bestehenden Benennungsform verbreitet waren, die ein Diminutivsuffix hatten. Zu den häufigsten Suffixen zählten in ganz Litauen, darunter auch in Vilnius, -*el*- und -*ėl*-; etwas seltener begegnen -*ut*-, -*ul*- und -*uk*-

(Maciejauskienė 1977: 165-166; Zinkevičius 1977: 236)[1]. Suffigiert wurden meistens Kurzformen zweistämmiger Vornamen und Stämme von Appellativa (Zinkevičius 1977: 236).

Ein Teil der diminuierten Vornamen, welche aus der vorchristlichen Zeit übernommen wurden, gehört heute zum üblichen Namenbestand (Vanagas 1970: 21) und ist im LVKŽ eingetragen. In den Untersuchungen zu Namen von Kindern des 20. Jhs ist eine kritische Einstellung der Wissenschaftler zu der Vergabe von Vornamen mit dem Diminuierungssuffix *-ut-*, *-el-*, *-ėl-*, *-yt-* usw. bemerkbar, weil es sich dabei um Verkleinerungsformen der eigentlichen Vornamen handelt (Vanagas 1970: 21 u. a.). Es wird davon abgeraten, Kindern solche Namen zu geben. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellen sich einige Fragen, deren Beantwortung im Blickpunkt dieses Beitrages steht:

- Warum haben die heutigen Vornamen so häufig das Suffix *-ut-*, aber nicht andere Suffixe, die im Zweitglied einer zweiteiligen Benennungsform häufiger vorkamen?
- Sind die Kurzformen von zweistämmigen Namenformen und Appellativa die häufigsten Ausgangsformen für die Herausbildung der heutigen diminuierten Vornamen? Denn die litauischen Nachnamen gehen häufiger auf die Appellativa zurück als auf Kurzformen.

2. Allgemeines zum Untersuchungskorpus

Die Untersuchung basiert auf den Daten über die Vornamen der Bürger der Republik Litauen des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts, die vom Einwohnermeldeamt der Republik Litauen durch Vermittlung der Staatlichen Kommission für die Litauische Sprache im Jahre 2006 zur Verfügung gestellt und fortwährend bis einschließlich 2013 durch weitere Angaben ergänzt wurden. Der relativ späte Zeitpunkt der Datenerhebung (2006) hatte zur Folge, dass ein Teil der Vornamen aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden konnte, weil die Personen, die diese Vornamen trugen, bereits verstorben und somit nicht mehr im Register des Einwohnermeldeamtes erfasst waren. Da aber die Vielfalt der Vornamen zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts viel geringer war als jetzt, kann man davon ausgehen, dass die allermeisten der damaligen Vornamen auch noch später im Register erfasst sind. Allerdings ent-

1 Im lettischen Namenbestand (besonders unter weiblichen Namenformen) sind Vornamen mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-yt-* besonders häufig (Balode 2018).

spricht ihre statistische Repräsentation im Register nicht mehr genau dem tatsächlichen Stand der damaligen Zeit. In die Untersuchung wurden Einzel- sowie Doppelnamen (Namenkombinationen) der Einwohner Litauens und der im Ausland lebenden litauischen Bürger einbezogen. Die Bestandteile eines Doppelnamens werden wie Einzelnamen behandelt.

Als baltisch werden diejenigen Vornamen bezeichnet, die entweder mit Appellativa oder mit anderen Vornamen der litauischen oder einer anderen baltischen Sprache in Verbindung stehen. Von diminuierten Vornamen, deren Grundlage sowohl baltischer als auch fremdsprachiger Herkunft sein könnte, werden nur diejenigen angeführt, die auch eine nicht diminuierte, auf eine baltische Grundlage rückführbare und im Namenbestand der Bürger der Republik Litauen belegte Form haben. Als suffigierte Vornamen mit *-ut-* werden diejenigen Namen betrachtet, die auf einem Appellativ oder Onym basieren. Vornamen, die auf ein bereits suffigiertes Appellativum zurückgehen, wurden nicht berücksichtigt (z. B. *Lakštutė* 10 < *lakštutė* 'kleine Nachtigall', *Pakalnutė* 1 < *pakalnutė* 'Maiglöckchen'). Die Vornamen, die durch Suffigierung entstanden sind, oder auf andere bereits suffigierte Vornamen zurückgehen, werden gemeinsam behandelt, damit die Vielfalt der Vornamen besser zum Ausdruck kommt.

Das Suffix *-(i)ut-* ist ein Diminutivsuffix, das zur Bildung der Verkleinerungs- oder Verniedlichungsformen der Appellativa verwendet wird: das Sufix lautet im Maskulinum *-utis*, im Femininum *-utė*, wobei weibliche Vornamenformen viel häufiger sind als männliche. Gelegentlich kommen Ableitungen mit dem palatalisierten Suffix *-iut-* (DLKG 91) vor. Am häufigsten sind die Vornamen mit den Suffixen *-utis, -utė* (z. B. *Ged-utis, Aušr-utė*), obwohl auch seltenere Namen mit dem Suffix *-iutė* vorkommen (z. B. *Dar-iutė*). Insgesamt wurden 200 weibliche Nameneinträge mit dem Suffix *-(i)utė* gezählt und 101 männliche Formen mit dem Suffix *-utis*.

Die Vornamen mit dem Suffix *-ut-* haben in seltenen Fällen abweichende Schreibvarianten in der Endung: weibliche Namen enden auf *-ute* (z. B. *Bir-ute*) oder *-utia* (z. B. *Ram-utia*), männliche Namen auf *-utys* (z. B. *Rim-utys*), *-uts* (z. B. *Keist-uts*). Sie wurden nicht in die Untersuchung einbezogen. Bei diesen Endungsvarianten handelt es sich um Fälle, in denen die Vornamen entweder nicht in Litauen registriert oder von fremden Sprachen oder Dialekten beeinflusst wurden, denn sie haben alle die gleichen Stämme wie die üblichen Vornamen mit dem Suffix *-ut-*.

3. Die Vornamen mit -*(i)ut*- und ihre Stämme

Baltische Vornamen mit -(*i*)*ut*- können auf unterschiedliche Arten von Basiswörtern zurückgeführt werden. Folgende Gruppen lassen sich unterscheiden:

3.1. Zweistämmige Vornamen:

Algin-utė 2[2] < *Algina*[3], *Algird-utė* 2 < *Algirda*, *-ė*, *Almin-utė* 1 < *Almina*, *-ė*, *Alvid-utė* 5 < *Alvida*, *Alvyd-utė* 2 < *Alvyda*, *-ė*, *Gedamin-utė* 1 < *Gedamina*, *Germin-utė* 1 < *Germina*, *Gilmin-utė* 1 < *Gilmina*, *Midvid-utė* 1 < **Midvida* (*mid-* aus *midus* 'Met' und *vid-*). Die Namengrundlage *Daugir-* lässt sich mit folgenden Vornamen verbinden: *Danger-utė* 35, *Dangir-utė* 139 (LVKŽ 88), sowie den Varianten *Dangėr-utė* 3, *Dangier-utė* 1, *Dangyr-utė* 2, *Dangr-utė* 1, *Dauger-utė* 1;

Arvyd-utis 1 < *Arvydas*, *Dangird-utis* 1 < *Dangirdas*, *Dargin-utis* 1 < *Darginas*. Mit der Namengrundlage *Daugir-* hängen *Danger-utis* 20, *Dangir-utis* 56 und deren Variante *Dangiar-utis* 1 zusammen.

Die von dieser Grundlage abgeleiteten Vornamen sind nicht besonders zahlreich, was wohl durch ihre Länge zu erklären ist. (Sie bilden 7,3% aller Vornamen mit Suffix -(*i*)*ut*-, vgl. Tabelle 1). Die Gesamtzahl ist durch die Verbreitung der Vornamen *Dangirutė*, *-is* entscheidend bedingt. In früheren Jahrhunderten waren zweistämmige Namen ebenfalls nur selten Grundlage von Diminutivableitungen (Zinkevičius 1977: 236).

3.2. Kurzformen zweistämmiger Vornamen:

Aig-utė 1 < *Aiga* (< *Aigustė*)[4], *Aim-utė* 3 < *Aima*, *-ė* (< *Aimantė*), *Alg-utė* 17 < *Alga*, *-ė*, *Dar-iutė* 2, *Dar-utė* 26 < *Dara*, *-ė*, *Deim-utė* 2 < *Deima*, *-ė*, *Eid-utė* 2 < *Eida*, *-ė*, *Eim-utė* 49 < *Eima*, *-ė*, *Ein-utė* 1 < *Einė*, *Eit-utė* 10 < *Eita*, *Gail-iutė* 7, *Gail-utė* 455 < *Gaila*, *-ė*, *Gaud-utė* 1 < *Gauda*, *-ė*,

2 Zuerst werden die weiblichen, anschließend die männlichen Vornamen angeführt, denen jeweils die Zahl der vorliegenden Fälle (Tokens) des Namens folgt. Bestandteile von Doppelnamen werden mitgezählt. Die Angaben zur Häufigkeit der Einzelnamen ist unter *vardai.vlkk.lt* frei zugänglich.

3 Alle hier als Namengrundlagen angeführten Beispiele sind gebräuchliche litauische Vornamen, zu finden unter *vardai.vlkk.lt*.

4 Hier werden nur diejenigen Ursprungsformen der abgekürzten Vornamen angeführt, die nicht bei den Kurzformen im Herkunftswörterbuch litauischer Vornamen angegeben sind. Wenn der als Grundlage dienende Vorname nicht im gleichen Genus auftritt wie die Ableitung, wird die andere Genusform als Grundlage angegeben.

Ged-utė 8 < *Geda*, *Geid-utė* 1 < *Geida*, *-ė*, *Gelm-utė* 4 < *Gelma*, *-ė*, *Gilm-utė* 1 < *Gilma*, *-ė*, *Gim-utė* 4 < *Gima* (< *Gimbutas*), *Gin-utė* 4 < *Gina*, *Gint-utė* 31 < *Ginta*, *-ė*, *Gird-utė* 35 < *Girda*, *Gyt-utė* 1 < *Gyta*, *-ė*, *God-utė* 3 < *Goda*, *Grin-utė* 1 < *Grina*, *-ė*, *Kęst-utė* 9 < *Kęsta*, *-ė*, *Nar-utė* 29 < *Nara*, *Ram-utė* 5747 < *Rama*, *-ė*, *Rimt-utė* 1 < *Rimta*, *-ė*, *Rim-utė* 1904 < *Rima*, *-ė*, *Saug-utė* 2 < *Sauga*, *-ė*, *Sirt-utė* 1 < *Sirta*, *Skirm-utė* 84 < *Skirma*, *Vaid-utė* 266 < *Vaida*, *-ė*, *Vid-iutė* 1, *Vid-utė* 937 < *Vida*, *-ė*, *Vidm-utė* 2 < *Vidma* (< *Vidmantė*), *Vilg-utė* 1 < *Vilga* (< *Vilgailė*), *Ving-utė* 1 < *Vinga*, *Vyd-utė* 11 < *Vyda*, *-ė*, *Vyt-utė* 12 < *Vyta*, *-ė*;

Aim-utis 12 < *Aimas*, *-is*, *-ius* (< *Aimantas*), *Algim-utis* 1 < *Algimas*, *Alg-utis* 15 < *Algis*, *-ys*, *Ar-utis* 9 < *Aras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Dar-utis* 25 < *Daras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Eid-utis* 4 < *Eidas*, *Eim-utis* 482 < *Eimas*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Gail-utis* 33 < *Gailis*, *-ius*, *Gedm-utis* 3 < *Gedmas*, *Ged-utis* 43 < *Gedas*, *Gint-utis* 9 < *Gintas*, *-is*, *Gin-utis* 29 < *Ginas*, *-ius*, *Gird-utis* 15 < *Girdas*, *Girst-utis* 1 < *Girstis*, *Gir-utis* 1 < *Giras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Kęst-utis* 23234 < *Kęstas*, *-is*, *Min-utis* 2 < *Minas*, *-ius*, *Nar-utis* 33 < *Naras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Naur-utis* 1 < *Nauras*, *-is*, *-ius* (< *Naurimas*), *Ram-utis* 1090 < *Ramas*, *-is*, *Rimg-utis* 1 < *Rimgas* (< *Rimgaudas*), *Rimt-utis* 1 < *Rimtas*, *-is*, *Rim-utis* 381 < *Rimas*, *Sand-utis* 1 < *Sandis*, *Skirm-utis* 3 < *Skirmas*, *Vaid-utis* 236 < *Vaidas*, *-is*, *Vain-utis* 5 < *Vainas*, *-is*, *-ys*, *-ius*, *Vidm-utis* 2 < *Vidmas* (< *Vidmantas*), *Vid-utis* 231 < *Vidas*, *-is*, *Vild-utis* 1 < *Vildas* (< *Vildaugas*), *Vyd-utis* 4 < *Vydas*.

Manchmal bildet nur der Anfangsteil eines zweistämigen Vornamens oder eines solchen Stammes die Namengrundlage:

Algim-utė 9, vgl. *Algimanta*, *-ė*, *Bir-utė* 25618, vgl. *Birmantas*, *Dauj-utė* 1, vgl. *Daujotė*, *Gend-utė* 1, vgl. *Gendvilė*, *Gir-utė* 6, vgl. *Girmanta, -ė*, *Kar-utė* 1, vgl. *Karigailė*, *Milg-utė* 2, vgl. *Milginta, -ė*, *Skir-utė* 1, vgl. *Skirmanta, -ė*, *Tar-utė* 6, vgl. *Tarvilė*, *Tilm-utė* 1, vgl. *Tilmantė*;

Bir-utis 1, vgl. *Birmantas*, *Eidm-utis* 1, vgl. *Eidmantas*, *Eig-utis* 1, vgl. *Eigaudas*, *Vaig-utis* 3, vgl. *Vaigaudas*.

Es begegnen auch modifizierte Vornamenformen[5]:

Ber-utė 39, *Bier-utė* 2 (s. *Birutė*), *Rym-utė* 9 (s. *Rimutė*), *Ved-utė* 2 (s. *Vidutė*), *Žig-utė* 2, vgl. *Žygimantė;*

Git-utis 4, vgl. *Gytas*, *-is*, *Keist-utis* 58, *Kest-utis* 44, *Kiast-utis* 2 (s. *Kęst-tutis*), *Rym-utis* 1 (s. *Rimutis*), *Veid-utis* 1 (s. *Vaidutis*).

Die aus Kurzformen entstandenen Vornamengrundlagen sind relativ häufig: sie bilden 31,9% aller Namen (vgl. Tabelle 1). Im männlichen

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5 Als solche warden diejenigen Vornamen bezeichnet, die einen deformierten Stamm haben (ausführlicher s. Sinkevičiūtė 2006, 158-168).

Namenbestand zeichnen sich die Vornamen mit einer solchen Grundlage durch die größte Vielfalt aus. Allerdings sind die meisten Vornamen dieser Art selten. Die relativ hohe Gesamtanzahl der Namen dieser Bildungsgruppe ist größtenteils durch die große Beliebtheit sehr weniger Vornamen – *Birutė*, *Kęstutis* – bedingt. Auch die kurze, meistens einsilbige Namengrundlage kann die Häufigkeit dieser Vornamen positiv beeinflusst haben.

3.3. Appellativa, Vornamen appellativischer Herkunft und ihre Kurzformen:

3.3.1. Appellativa und Vornamen appellativischer Herkunft:

Aid-utė 11 < *aidas* 'Echo', *Aida*, *-ė*, *Aistr-utė* 1 < *aistra* 'Lust, Passion', *Aistra*, *-ė*, *Astr-utė* 3 < *astra* 'Aster', *Astra*, *Aist-utė* 1 < *aistis, -ė* 'Ästier oder Aisten' (alte Bezeichnung für baltische Bevölkerungsgruppen), *Aista*, *-ė*, *Audr-utė* 266 < *audra* 'Unwetter, Sturm', *Audra*, *-ė*, *Auks-utė* 22 < *auksas* 'Gold', *Auksa*, *-ė*, *Ausm-utė* 2 < lat. *ausma* 'Morgenröte', *Ausma*, *Austr-utė* 1 < lat. *austra* 'Morgenröte, Sonnenaufgang', *Austra*, *-ė*, *Aušr-utė* 60 < *aušra* 'Morgenröte', *Aušra*, *-ė*, *Bang-utė* 15 < *banga* 'Welle', *Banga*, *Bit-utė* 2 < *bitė* 'Biene', *Bitė*, *Dail-iutė* 1, *Dail-utė* 15 < *dailus* 'hübsch', *Daila*, *-ė*, *Dain-utė* 22 < *daina* 'Lied', *Daina*, *-ė*, *Dal-iutė* 195, *Dal-utė* 9 < *dalia* 'Schicksal', *Dalia*, *-ė*, *Dang-utė* 299 < *dangus* 'Himmel', *Danga*, *-ė*, *Deiv-utė* 1 < *deivė* 'Göttin', *Deiva*, *-ė*, *Drąs-utė* 76 < *drąsa* 'Mut', *Drąsa*, *-ė*, *Egl-utė* 83 < *eglė* 'Tanne', *Eglė*, *Gaiv-utė* 11 < *gaivus* 'frisch', *Gaiva*, *-ė*, *Gėl-iutė* 1 < *gėlė* 'Blume', *Gėlė*, *Giedr-iutė* 1 < *giedras* 'klar, unbewölkt', *giedra* 'klar, unbewölkt', *Giedra*, *-ė* (s. *Giedr-utė*), *Gudr-utė* 1 < *gudrus* 'schlau', *Gudrė*, *Jausm-utė* 2 < *jausmas* 'Gefühl', *Jausmė*, *Jaun-utė* 15 < *jaunas* 'jung', *Jaunė*, *Jautr-utė* 2 < *jautrus* 'sensibel', *Jautra*, *-ė*, *Judr-utė* 1 < *judrus* 'lebendig, rege', *Judra*, *-ė*, *Jurgin-utė* 1 < *jurginas* 'Dahlie', *Jurgina*, *-ė*, *Jūr-utė* 2 < *jūra* 'Meer', *Jūra*, *-ė*, *Kiln-utė* 4 < *kilnus* 'edel', *Kilna*, *-ė*, *Laim-utė* 8997 < *laimė* 'Glück', *Laima*, *-ė*, *Laisv-utė* 55 < *laisvas* 'frei', *laisvė* 'Freiheit', *Laisva*, *-ė*, *Ledin-utė* 1 < *ledinis* 'vereist, aus Eis', *Ledina*, *Mald-utė* 1 < *malda* 'Gebet', *Malda*, *Med-utė* 2 < *medus* 'Honig', *medis* 'Baum', *Meda*[6], *Meil-utė* 812 < *meilė* 'Liebe', *Meilė*, *Migd-utė* 1 < *migd-yti* 'zum Schlafen bringen', *Migdė*, *Migl-utė* 19 < *migla* 'Nebel, Dunst', *Migla*, *-ė*, *Mirg-utė* 7 < *mirg-ėti* 'schimmern', *Mirga*, *Ras-iutė* 3 < *rasa* 'Tau', *Rasa*, *-ė* (s. *Ras-utė*), *Rėd-utė* 4 < *rėda* 'Furche', *Rėda*, *Ryt-utė* 8 < *rytas* 'Morgen', *Ryta*, *-ė*, *Skaidr-utė* 38 <

6 Dieser Vorname kann auch auf einer Kurzform zurückgeführt werden, zweistämmige Vornamen mit dem Element *med-* sind jedoch in Litauen nicht sehr verbreitet, vlg. außerdem *medutė* 'Schattenblume'.

skaidrus ‘transparent, klar’, *Skaidra*, *-ė*, *Skaist-utė* 76 < *skaistus* ‘leuchtend, frisch’, *Skaista*, *-ė*, *Svaj-utė* 6 < *svaja* ‘Wunschtraum’, *Svaja*, *Švies-utė* 1 < *šviesa* ‘Licht’, *Šviesa*, *-ė*, *Taik-utė* 1 < *taika* ‘Frieden’, *Taika*, *Taur-utė* 2 < *tauras* ‘Auerochse’, *taurus* ‘edel, nobel’, *Taura*, *-ė*, *Uog-utė* 1 < *uoga* ‘Beere’, *Uogė*, *Žied-utė* 3 < *žiedas* ‘Blüte’, *Žieda*, *-ė*, *Žydr-utė* 55 < *žydras* ‘azurfarben, hellblau’, *Žydra*, *-ė*;

Aid-utis 6 < *aidas* ‘Echo’, *Aidas*, *-is*, *Audr-utis* 52 < *audra* ‘Sturm, Unwetter’, *Audras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys*, *Auks-utis* 2 < *auksas* ‘Gold’, *Auksas*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys*, *Aušr-utis* 4 < *aušra* ‘Morgenröte’, *Aušras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys*, *Bang-utis* 3 < *banga* ‘Welle’, *Bangis*, *Dain-utis* 6 < *daina* ‘Lied’, *Dainas*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys*, *Dang-utis* 12 < *dangus* ‘Himmel’, *Dangis*, *-ius*, *Drąs-utis* 190 < *drąsa* ‘Mut’, *Drąsis*, *-ius*, *Gaiv-utis* 1 < *gaivus* ‘frisch’, *Gaivis*, *Jaun-utis* 136 < *jaunas* ‘jung’, *Jaunis*, *-ius*, *Laim-utis* 2045 < *laimė* ‘Glück’, *Laimas*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Laisv-utis* 18 < *laisvas* ‘frei’, *laisvė* ‘Freiheit’, *Laisvis*, *-ius*, *Med-utis* 2 < *medus* ‘Honig’, *medis* ‘Baum’, *Medas*[7], *Meil-utis* 17 < *meilė* ‘Liebe’, *Meilius*, *Nars-utis* 17 < *narsus* ‘mutig’, *Narsas*, *Ryt-utis* 1 < *rytas* ‘Morgen’, *Rytas*, *-is*, *-ys*, *Rust-utis* 1 < *rustas* ‘rosafarben’, *Rustas*, *-is*, *Skaidr-utis* 3 < *skaidrus* ‘klar, transparent’, *Skaidras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Skaist-utis* 15 < *skaistus* ‘leuchtend, frisch’, *Skaistas*, *-is*, *Taur-utis* 2 < *tauras* ‘Auerochse’, *taurus* ‘edel, nobel’, *Tauras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Teis-utis* 134 < *teisus* ‘recht habend’, *Teisis*, *-ius*, *Žydr-utis* 5 < *žydras* ‘azurfarben, hellblau’, *Žydras*, *-is*, *-ius*.

Vornamen mit modifizierter Grundlage sind ebenfalls bezeugt:

Aldr-utė 1, *Avdr-utė* 2 (s. *Audrutė*), *Dras-utė* 7 (s. *Drąsutė*), *Leim-utė* 1 (s. *Laimutė*), *Židr-utė* 20 (s. *Žydrutė*);

Dras-utis 9 (s. *Drąsutis*), *Židr-utis* 1 (s. *Žydrutis*).

3.3.2. Appellativa, zumeist Adjektive und Adverbien:

Aišk-utė 2 < *aiškus* ‘deutlich’, *Aukšt-utė* 1 < *aukštas* ‘hoch’, *Blaiv-utė* 1 < *blaivus* ‘nüchtern’, *Brang-utė* 1 < *brangus* ‘teuer’, *Dor-utė* 7 < *doras* ‘anständig, gewissenhaft’,[8] *Gard-utė* 1 < *gardus* ‘lecker’, *Ger-utė* 39 < *geras* ‘gut’[9], *Graž-utė* 105 < *gražus* ‘schön’, *Greit-utė* 2 < *greitas* ‘schnell’, *Linksm-utė* 5 < *linksmas* ‘lustig’, *Nars-utė* 2 < *narsus* ‘mutig’, *Sav-utė* 15 < *savas* ‘eigen’, *Teis-utė* 10 < *teisus* ‘recht habend’;

Aišk-utis 4 < *aiškus* ‘deutlich’, *Baug-utis* 1 < *baugus* ‘furchteinflößend’, *Dor-utis* 2 < *doras* ‘gewissenhaft, anständig’[10], *Gars-utis* 1 < *garsus* ‘laut,

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7 S. Fußnote 6.

8 Evtl. auch von einer Kurzform fremder Herkunft *Dora*, *Dorė* (< *Dorotėja*).

9 Evtl. auch von der Kurzform eines litauischen oder fremdsprachlichen Vornamens: *Gera* (< *Germina*, *Geralda*).

10 Evtl. auch von der fremdsprachlichen Kurzform *Doras* (< *Izidoras*).

berühmt', *Ger-utis* 46 < *geras* 'gut'[11], *Graž-utis* 19 < *gražus* 'schön', *Linksm-utis* 13 < *linksmas* 'lustig';

Hinzu kommen Substantive:

Agent-utė 1 < (?) *agentas* 'Agent', *Diev-utė* 1 < *dievas* 'Gott', *Liet-utė* 3 < *lietus* 'Regen', *Verb-utė* 1 < (?) *verba* 'Palmbuschen, Palmbesen', *Vyr-utė* 1 < *vyras* 'Mann';

Gėl-utis 2 < *gėlė* 'Blume', *Švies-utis* 4 < *šviesa* 'Licht'.

3.3.3. Kurzformen der Namen appellativischer Herkunft bzw. deren Anfangselemente:

Ald-utė 310 < *Alda*, *-ė*, *Aust-utė* 2 < *Austa*, *-ė*, *Šar-utė* 1, vgl. *Šarūnė*;

Ald-utis 14 < *Aldas*, *-is*, *Aldžius*.

3.3.4. Appellativa, deren Struktur zwei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten zulässt, weil es gleichstämmige Wörter mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- gibt, wobei das Suffix eine Bedeutungsverschiebung erfahren hat:

Giedr-utė 133 < *giedras* 'klar, unbewölkt', *Giedra*, *-ė* oder *giedrutis* 'eine Gartenblume mit gelben Blüten', *Kregžd-utė* 1 < *kregždė* 'Schwalbe' oder *kregždutė* 'Schwälbchen', *Ras-utė* 338 < *rasa* 'Tau', *Rasa*, *-ė* oder *rasutė* 'Vergissmeinnicht', *Saul-utė* 261 < *saulė* 'Sonne', *Saulė* oder *saulutė* 'Gänseblümchen', *Snaig-utė* 13 < *snaigė* 'Schneeflocke', *Snaigė* oder *snaigutė* 'Schneeflocke', *Snieg-utė* 14 < *sniegas* 'Schnee', *Sniega*, *-ė* oder *snieguté* 'Rotkehlchen', *Žėr-utė* 1 < *žėr-ėti* 'glimmern' oder *žėrutis* 'Glimmer', *Žib-utė* 355 < *Žiba* oder *žibutė* 'Leberblümchen', *Žvaigžd-utė* 2 < *žvaigždė* 'Stern', *Žvaigždė* oder *žvaigždutė* 'Sumpf-Herzblatt', 'Traubenhyazinthe';

Giedr-utis 31 < *giedras* 'klar, unbewölkt', *Giedras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys* oder *giedrutis* 'eine Gartenblume mit gelben Blüten', *Ras-utis* 3 < *rasa* 'Tau', *Rasas*, *-ius* oder *rasutė* 'Vergissmeinnicht', *Saul-utis* 12 < *saulė* 'Sonne', *Saulius*[12] oder *saulutis* 'Gänseblümchen'.

Gelegentlich begegnen Vornamen mit modifiziertem Stamm:

Gedr-utė 16 (s. *Giedrutė*), *Sneg-utė* 1 (s. *Sniegutė*), *Žeb-utė* 1 (s. *Žibutė*);

Gedr-utis 6 (s. *Giedrutis*), *Žir-utis* 1, vgl. *Žėrutė*.

3.3.5. Die im Register einzeln erfassten Vornamen mit appellativischer Grundlage umfassen 42,9% aller Personennamen. Die größte Vielfalt

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11 Evtl. auch von der litauischen oder fremdsprachlichen Kurzform *Gerius* (< *Germinas*, *Geraldas*, *Gerasimas*).

12 Hier wird die Namenform *Saulius* auf das litauische *saulė* zurückgeführt, weil die Diminutivform des hebräischen Vornamens *Saulius* auf Litauisch *Sauliukas* lautet.

ist bei den weiblichen Vornamen zu beobachten. Die absolute Anzahl der Vornamen appellativischer Herkunft ist allerdings kleiner ist die Anzahl der Namen, die auf Kurzformen zurückgehen, weil die gebräuchlichsten appellativischen Vornamen (*Laimutė* 8997, *Laimutis* 2045) zahlenmäßig immer noch seltener sind als die populärsten abkürzungsbasierten Vornamen. Demgegenüber gibt es unter den Vornamen mit appellativischer Herkunft die meisten als relativ häufig zu bezeichnenden weiblichen Vornamen, was auf ihre Beliebtheit im Namenbestand dieses Jahrhunderts verweist. Einem Teil dieser Namen können auch die diminutiv gebrauchten Appellativa zugrunde liegen, die teilweise bereits Eingang ins LKŽe gefunden haben: *Eglutė* < *eglutė* 'Tannenbäumchen', *Gražutis* < *gražutis* 'jemand, der sehr schön ist', oder Appellativa mit *-ut-*, deren Diminutivcharakter bereits verloren gegangen ist: *Žibutė* < *žibutė* 'Leberblümchen'. Solche Wörter haben das Vorkommen und die Verbreitung entsprechender Vornamen zusätzlich begünstigt.

3.4. Weitere Onyme:

Personennamen:

Daiv-utė 190 < *Daiva*, *Gražin-utė* 7 < *Gražina*, *Indr-utė* 8 < *Indra*, *-ė*, *Mild-utė* 66 < *Milda*, *Vaiv-utė* 1 < *Vaiva*;

Daiv-utis 3 < *Daivas*, *-is*, *-ius*, *Daiva*, *Jor-utis* 1 < *Joris*, *-ius*, *Mild-utis* 3 < *Mildas*, *Milda*, *Vaiden-utis* 1 < *Vaidenis*.

Ortsnamen und davon abgeleitete Personennamen:

Aln-utė 1 < *Alna*, *Ilm-utė* 1 < *Ilma*, *Nering-utė* 1 < *Neringa*, *Nid-utė* 1 < *Nida*, *Ryg-utė* 1 < *Ryga* (nur Stadtname).

Die Vornamen dieser Gruppe sind selten (4,6% des Gesamtbestandes, vgl. Tabelle 1). Ohne Berücksichtigung des dominierenden Vornamens *Daivutė* wäre sie marginal. Die Gesamtzahl bleibt klein, weil auch die Anzahl onymischer Vornamen im Namenbestand gering ist. Die Vornamen mit dieser Grundlage bilden einen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen dem Namenbestand der Gegenwart und dem der vergangenen Jahrhunderte.

3.5. Personennamen mit zwei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten:

3.5.1. Entweder Anfangsteil eines zweistämmigen Vornamens, seiner Kurzform oder Vorname fremder Herkunft bzw. seine Kurzform:

Al-iutė 51, *Al-utė* 1 < *Alė* (< *Alvyda*, *Aleksandra*), *Alv-utė* 5 < *Alva*, *-ė* (< *Alvyda*, *Alvina*), *Arm-utė* 1 < *Arma* (< *Armina*, *Armanda*), *Aur-utė*

12 < *Aura*, *-ė* (< *Aurimė*, *Aurelija*), *Dom-utė* 4 < *Doma*, *-ė* (< *Domantė*, *Domicelė*), *Germ-utė* 6 < *Germa* (< *Germintas*, *Germanė*), *Gert-utė* 1 < *Gerta*, *-ė* (< *Gertautė*, deutsch *Gerta*), *Mil-iutė* 12, *Mil-utė* 1 < *Mila*, *-ė* (< *Milginta, Emilija*), *Ner-utė* 52 < *Nera*, *-ė* (< *Nerimanta*, *Neręja*), *Rad-utė* 5 < *Rada* (< *Radvilė*, *Radoslava*), *Vald-utė* 29 < *Valda*, *-ė* (< *Tautvaldė*, *Valdemara*), *Vil-iutė* 1, *Vil-utė* 4 < *Vila*, *-ė* (< *Vilgailė*, *Vilhelma*), *Vilm-utė* 55 < *Vilma* (< *Vilmantė*, *Vilhelma*);

Arm-utis 1 < *Armas*, *-is* (< *Arminas*, *Armandas*), *Aur-utis* 1 < *Auras*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys* (< *Aurimas*, *Aurelijus*), *Germ-utis* 2, vgl. *Germantas*, *Germanas*, *Rad-utis* 1 < *Radas*, *-is*, *Radžius* (< *Radvilas*, *Radislavas*), *Vald-utis* 24 < *Valdas*, *-is*, *-ys* (< *Valdimantas*, *Valdemaras*), *Vyg-utis* 2 < *Vygis* (< *Vygaudas*, *Vygantas*), *Vilm-utis* 5 < *Vilmas*, *-is* (< *Vilmantas*, *Vilhelmas*).

Auch modifizierte Namenformen sind bezeugt:

Nėr-utė 1, *Niar-utė* 1, *Nir-utė* 1 (s. *Nerutė*), *Vig-utė* 1, vgl. *Vygutis*;

Vig-utis 6 (s. *Vygutis*).

3.5.2. Entweder ein Appellativum, ein darauf zurückgehender Vorname oder ein Vorname anderweitiger baltischer Herkunft, seine Kurzform oder ein Vorname fremder Herkunft bzw. Kurzform:

Aug-utė 100 < *Auga*, *-ė* (< *augti* 'wachsen', *Augustė*), *Gaj-utė* 15 < *Gaja* (< *gajus* 'lebendig, robust', lateinisch *Gaja*), *Led-utė* 4 < *Leda* (< *ledas* 'Eis', griechisch *Leda*), *Lig-utė* 2 < *Liga* (< *Ligita*, *Ligija*), *Lin-utė* 220 < *Lina* (< *linas* 'Flachs', *Karolina*, *Lingailė*), *Meld-utė* 5 < *Melda* (< *meldas* 'Schilfrohr', *Imelda*), *Nil-iutė* 2, *Nil-utė* 1 < *Nila*, *-ė* (< *Nijolė*, *Leonila*);

Aug-utis 55 < *Augas*, *-is*, *-ius*, *-ys* (< *augti* 'wachsen', *Augustas*), *Lin-utis* 7 < *Linas*, *-ius* (< *linas* 'Flachs', griechisch *Linas*, *Linvydas*), *Meld-utis* 9 < *Meldas* (< *meldas* 'Schilfrohr', *Imelda*).

Vorname mit modifizierter Stammform:

Avg-utė 1 (s. *Augutė*).

Diese Personennamen haben einen Anteil von 13,3% am Gesamtbestand der suffigierten Vornamen (s. Tabelle 1). Wenn man sie der jeweiligen Herkunftsgruppe der Onyme baltischer Abstammung (also entweder den Appellativa oder den Kurzformen) zuordnen würde, so würden sie anteilig ungefähr der heutigen Verteilung entsprechen. Auch frühere Zeiten kannten solche Vornamen ebenfalls (Zinkevičius 1977: 226), denn sie sind kurz und universell einsetzbar.

3.6. Sämtliche bisher in diesem Beitrag gewonnene Zahlen werden in Tabelle 1 präsentiert.

Tabelle 1. Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- nach ihrer Grundlage eingeteilt[13]

Grundlage	Weibliche Vornamen	Männliche Vornamen	Gesamt	In Prozent
Zweistämmige Personennamen	16 (199)	6 (80)	22 (279)	7,3% (0,3%)
Kurzformen zweistämmiger Personennamen	55 (35377)	41 (26024)	96 (61401)	31,9% (78,3%)
Appellativa oder Onyme appellativischer Herkunft bzw. ihre Elemente	90 (12897)	39 (2841)	129 (15738)	42,9% (20,1%)
Sonstige Onyme	10 (277)	4 (8)	14 (285)	4,6% (0,4%)
Personennamen mit zweifacher Herkunftserklärung	29 (594)	11 (113)	40 (707)	13,3% (0,9%)
Gesamt	200 (49344)	101 (29066)	301 (78410)	100%

Auf der Basis dieser Zusammenstellung lässt sich Folgendes festhalten:

Die häufigste Grundlage der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- bilden Kurzformen und Appellativa, darauf basierende Onyme oder deren Bestandteile mit zusammen 74,8% aller Fälle. Die Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- setzen demnach die Tendenzen des vorherigen Zeitraumes fort, als die Diminuierungssuffixe vorwiegend an Vornamen mit der gleichen Grundlage wie heute angefügt wurden (Zinkevičius 1977: 226).

Die große Menge der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- erklärt sich daraus, dass weibliche Vornamen unabhängig von den Basiselementen zahlreicher sind als männliche. Die insgesamt hohe Anzahl der Vornamen mit -(*i*)*ut*- geht aber auf die überhaus hohe Frequenz einiger weniger weiblicher Vornamen zurück: *Birutė* 25618, *Laimutė* 8997, *Ramutė* 5747 *Rimutė* 1904, *Vidutė* 937. Unter männlichen Namen gibt es keine so häufigen Namenvarianten mit -(*i*)*ut*-, bis auf zwei Ausnahmen: *Kęstutis* 23234 und *Laimutis* 2045. Weibliche Vornamen sind vielfältiger als männliche. Die größte Vielfalt ist unter den Namen mit appellativischer Grundlage zu

13 Die erste Ziffer steht für die Anzahl der auf der jeweiligen Grundlage basierenden Namen. In Klammern wird angegeben, wie viele Träger der jeweilige Einzelname unter den Bürgern der Republik Litauen hat. Die letzte Spalte weist die Prozentsatz aus, diese Vornamen an der Gesamtanzahl der einzelnen Namen haben, sowie die relative Häufigkeit dieses Namentypus.

beobachten, was mit der Häufigkeit der femininen Appellativa mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- konform geht.

Unter den Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- gab es einige ausschließlich männliche. Die meisten davon sind aus Kurzformen entstanden (mit Ausnahme der Vornamen mit modifizierter Grundlage). Ihre Vielfalt zeigt, dass in den Fällen, in denen andere Eigennamen die Grundlage von Vornamen bilden, auch bei der männlichen Vornamengebung die gleiche Tendenz zu beobachten ist, dass sie nämlich häufiger als die Namen mit appellativischer Grundlage mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- erweitert werden. Somit kann man behaupten, dass die Erweiterung des Vornamenbestandes durch Suffigierung auch von der Art des Basiswortes abhängig ist.

4. Die Tendenzen der Vergabe der suffigierten Vornamen mit -*(i)ut*- in verschiedenen historischen Zeiträumen

4.1. Wenn man von der Entwicklung der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- spricht, muss man drei Perioden der Namengebung unterscheiden:

a) die Vornamen aus der Zeit der unabhängigen Ersten Litauischen Republik (1918-1939). Dazu zählen sowohl die Vornamen dieser Zeit als auch, soweit erfasst, diejenigen aus der Zeit vor 1918. Außerdem werden die Vornamen der Zeit zwischen 1940 bis 1943 hinzugezählt, die als Vornamen der Übergangszeit gelten;

b) die Vornamen der Sowjetzeit zwischen 1944 und 1985, als Litauen sich unter sowjetischer Besatzung befand. Die Vornamen der Jahre 1986 bis 1989, als der Geist der Unabhängigkeit in Litauen bereits spürbar wurde, werden separat behandelt (eine solche Periodisierung der Sowjetzeit wird auch von Historikern vertreten, vgl. Švedas 2009);

c) die Vornamen im wieder unabhängigen Litauen (1990-2013, einschließlich, wie bereits erwähnt, der Vornamen aus der Zeitspanne zwischen 1986-1989).

Diese Gliederung dient lediglich zur deutlicheren Hervorhebung der jeweiligen Entwicklungstendenzen im Bereich der Namengebung. Die Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- wurden unter der Berücksichtung ihrer Grundlage den drei genannten Perioden zugeordnet, entsprechend ihrer Erstregistrierung während der vergangenen einhundert Jahre. Die Ergebnisse dieser Gliederung sind in Tabelle 2 präsentiert (s. unten), wo die differierenden Trends der Namengebung in den genannten drei Zeiträumen ersichtlich.

Tabelle 2. Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- in unterschiedlichen Perioden[14]

Grundlage/ Basis	Genus	a) Beginn der Verwendung im UL	Weiter verwendet in der S	Weiter verwendet im BL	b) Beginn der Verwendung in der S	Weiter verwendet im BL	c) Beginn der Verwendung im BL	Anzahl gesamt
Zweistämmige Vornamen	W	**4 (24)**	3 (151)	2 (3)	**11 (20)**	0	**1 (1)**	**16 (199)**
	M	**1 (4)**	1 (14)	1 (2)	**5 (57)**	1 (3)	**0**	**6 (80)**
Kurzformen zweistämmiger Vornamen	W	**34 (9963)**	28 (24414)	10 (926)	**19 (70)**	2 (2)	**2 (2)**	**55 (35377)**
	M	**21 (1945)**	18 (21203)	12 (2827)	**17 (44)**	1 (1)	**3 (3)**	**41 (26024)**
Appellativa oder daraus abgeleitete Onyme, ihre Komponenten	W	**53 (2399)**	43 (10144)	15 (203)	**35 (146)**	3 (3)	**2 (2)**	**90 (12897)**
	M	**27 (390)**	24 (2249)	11 (171)	**12 (30)**	1 (1)	**0**	**39 (2841)**
Weitere Onyme	W	**5 (16)**	3 (240)	2 (9)	**5 (10)**	1 (2)	**0**	**10 (277)**
	M	**2 (4)**	0	0	**2 (4)**	0	**0**	**4 (8)**
Vornamen mit doppelter Ursprungserklärung	W	**19 (92)**	14 (467)	4 (12)	**10 (23)**	0	**0**	**29 (594)**
	M	**4 (10)**	4 (80)	2 (3)	**6 (18)**	1 (1)	**1 (1)**	**11 (113)**
Gesamt		**170 (14847)**	138 (58962)	59 (4156)	**122 (423)**	10 (13)	**9 (9)**	**301 (78410)**

14 Hier werden die Entwicklungstendenzn der weiblichen und männlichen Vornamen, die während der Zeit der ersten unabhängigen Republik Litauens (gekennzeichnet als UL) häufig vergeben wurden, in der Sowjetzeit (S) und später im wieder befreiten Litauen (BF) nachgezeichnet. Außerdem wird gezeigt, welche Vornamen in der Sowjetzeit entstanden sind und wie oft diese auch noch nach der Wiedererlangung der Unabhängigkeit vergeben wurden. Schließlich wird deutlich, welche neuen Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- in der Zeit nach der Wiedererlangung der Unabhängigkeit entstanden sind. Die erste Zahl gibt jeweils die Anzahl der einzelnen Vornamen an, die zweite (in Klammern), wie viele Namenträger (Tokens) diese Vornamen in den entsprechenden Zeiträumen aufweisen.

4.2. Die meisten Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- haben sich in der Zeit der ersten Unabhängigen Republik verbreitet. Aus dem Vergleich gleichstämmiger männlicher und weiblicher, in dieser Zeit zum ersten Mal registrierter Vornamen kann man schließen, dass es mehr weibliche Vornamen gibt und sie in ihrer Anzahl häufiger als gleichstämmige männliche Vornamen sind. Häufiger als weibliche sind lediglich die männlichen Namen, die mit einer historischen Persönlichkeit assoziiert werden (vgl. *Kęstutis*, *Jaunutis*), oder solche, deren Basislexeme auf ein Wort zurückgehen, das auf eine (vermeintlich) als "männlich" empfundene Eigenschaft verweist (vgl. *Drąsutis*, *Narsutis* u. a.).

In der Sowjetzeit wurde die in der Zeit der ersten unabhängigen Republik entstandene Tradition der Vergabe der suffigierten Vornamen mit -(*i*)*ut*- fortgesetzt. Die in der Zeit der Unabhängigkeit entstandenen Vornamen mit -(*i*)*ut*- waren sehr beliebt. Die häufigsten[15] darunter waren:

Birutė 16587, *Laimutė* 7273, *Ramutė* 4423, *Rimutė* 1752, *Vidutė* 800, *Meilutė* 586, *Gailutė* 318, *Rasutė* 285, *Aldutė* 278, *Žibutė* 278, *Audrutė* 259, *Vaidutė* 247, *Dangutė* 208, *Linutė* 199, *Saulutė* 181, *Daivutė* 179, *Daliutė* 159, *Dangirutė* 125, *Giedrutė* 111, *Skirmutė* 75, *Augutė* 74, *Drąsutė* 71, *Eglutė* 61, *Mildutė* 55, *Vilmutė* 53, *Aušrutė* 51;

Kęstutis 19290, *Laimutis* 1702, *Ramutis* 656, *Rimutis* 339, *Eimutis* 325, *Vidutis* 189, *Vaidutis* 158, *Drąsutis* 149, *Teisutis* 113, *Jaunutis* 76.

An diesen Beispielen zeigt sich, dass die Häufigkeit besonders der weiblichen Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- in der Sowjetzeit am höchsten und ihre Verbreitung am größten war. Die Popularität dieser Namen war so groß, dass ein Teil der in der ersten unabhängigen Republik entstandenen bzw. wiederbelebten und in der Sowjetzeit verbreiteten Vornamen im wieder befreiten Litauen weiterhin vergeben wurde. Es handelt sich um folgende Namen:

Birutė 705, *Ramutė* 147, *Laimutė* 111, *Meilutė* 32, *Gailutė* 29, *Rimutė* 21, *Eglutė* 19, *Saulutė* 16, *Linutė* 8, *Vaidutė* 8, *Eimutė* 6, *Daivutė* 5, *Darutė* 5, *Mildutė* 4, *Rasutė* 4, *Aldutė* 3, *Drąsutė* 3, *Giedrutė* 3, *Miglutė* 3, *Žibutė* 3, *Augutė* 2, *Kęstutė* 2, *Narutė* 2, *Skaidrutė* 2, *Audrutė* 1, *Auksutė* 1, *Dainutė* 1, *Dangerutė* 1, *Dangirutė* 1, *Nerutė* 1, *Skaistutė* 1, *Skirmutė* 1, *Vilmutė* 1;

Kęstutis 2710, *Laimutis* 134, *Eimutis* 74, *Ramutis* 17, *Jaunutis* 10, *Teisutis* 10, *Drąsutis* 9, *Vaidutis* 9, *Kestutis* 5, *Rimutis* 4, *Augutis* 2, *Dan-*

15 Aufgeführt warden nur die Namen, die mehr als 50 Mal vergeben wurden.

gerutis 2, *Ginutis* 2, *Meilutis* 2, *Narutis* 2, *Aimutis* 1, *Audrutis* 1, *Gerutis* 1, *Girdutis* 1, *Laisvutis* 1, *Linksmutis* 1, *Narsutis* 1, *Šviesutis* 1, *Vainutis* 1[16], *Valdutis* 1, *Vidutis* 1.

Diese Beispiele zeigen, dass sich im wieder befreiten Litauen die Vornamen *Birutė* und *Kęstutis* der größten Beliebtheit erfreuten. Ihr diminutivischer Charakter ist verblasst und man verbindet sie eher mit historischen Persönlichkeiten. Häufiger waren im wieder befreiten Litauen aber diejenigen Vornamen, die auch in der Sowjetzeit häufiger waren.

Ein Teil der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- wurde im wieder unabhängigen Litauen sicherlich auch deswegen weiter vergeben, weil diese Vornamen bereits in den Bestand des Herkunftswörterbuchs der litauischen Vornamen aufgenommen waren (vgl. *Augutė*, *Birutė*, *Dangirutė*, *Darutė, Drąsutė*, *Eimutė*, *Gailutė*, *Kęstutė*, *Laimutė*, *Nerutė*, *Ramutė*, *Žibutė*; *Augutis*, *Dangerutis*, *Drąsutis*, *Gerutis*, *Girdutis*, *Eimutis*, *Kęstutis*, *Laimutis*, *Laisvutis*, *Narsutis*, *Ramutis*, *Teisutis*, *Vaidutis*, *Vidutis*).

4.3. Zahlreiche neue Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- sind zur Sowjetzeit zum ersten Mal vergeben worden (insgesamt 122, wie aus Tabelle 2 hervorgeht). Charakteristischerweise sind diese sehr selten, einige Namen haben lediglich 1 oder 2 Träger. Zu den häufigeren Namen, die erst in der Sowjetzeit registriert werden, zählen folgende:

Žydrutė 54, *Gintutė* 31, *Snaigutė* 13, *Aurutė* 12, *Gaivutė* 11, *Aidutė* 10, *Eitutė* 9, *Gedutė* 8, *Dorutė* 7, *Drasutė* 7, *Indrutė* 6, *Svajutė* 6;

Dangirutis 53, *Gintutis* 9, *Arutis* 8, *Dainutis* 6, *Linutis* 6, *Vigutis* 6.

Außerdem ist zur Sowjetzeit das Inventar der männlichen Vornamen erweitert worden, indem Vornamen an Kinder vergeben wurden, die in der Zeit der ersten unabhängigen Republik nur als weibliche Vornamen verzeichnet waren (vgl. *Aušrutis*, *Dainutis*, *Dangirutis*, *Eidutis*, *Germutis*, *Rasutis*, *Skaidrutis*, *Vydutis* u. a.).

Im Gegensatz dazu haben die in der Zeit der ersten Unabhängigkeit entstandenen männlichen Vornamen nur relativ selten die Grundlage für neue, movierte weibliche Vornamen in der Sowjetzeit gebildet (vgl. *Aidutė*, *Aimutė, Gedutė*, *Taurutė* u. a.). Das zeigt, dass der weibliche Namenbestand häufiger als Vorbild für die Bildung neuer Namenformen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- verwendet wurde.

16 Dieser Vorname wurde im wieder befreiten Litauen erneut vergeben.

Die Sowjetzeit kann als die Blütezeit der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- bezeichnet werden: die Vornamen, die zur Zeit der ersten unabhängigen Republik zum ersten Mal vergeben wurden, haben sich in der Sowjetzeit stark ausgebreitet. In dieser Zeit sind zu den besonders beliebten suffigierten Vornamenformen movierte Formen für das jeweils andere Geschlecht gebildet worden, sofern diese noch nicht im Namenbestand vorhanden waren (vgl. *Aidutė*, *Dangirutis*, *Gedutė*). Dennoch war die Sowjetzeit zugleich auch die Zeit, in der die Vergabe dieser Namen allmählich nachlässt, denn seit den 70er Jahren sind sie immer seltener anzutreffen. Als Grund hierfür könnte vielleicht der Verniedlichungseffekt des Suffixes -(*i*)*ut*- in Betracht gezogen werden, der, da das Suffix an immer weitere neue Vornamen des 20. Jhs angefügt wurde, immer deutlicher spürbar war. Außerdem ist zu vermuten, dass die kritischen Äußerungen von Sprachwissenschaftlern und Sprachpflegern, dass diminutivische Vornamen für den offiziellen Namenbestand ungeeignet seien, ihre Wirkung in der Öffentlichkeit nicht verfehlt haben, so dass der weiteren Verbreitung dieser Vornamen Einhalt geboten wurde. Im wieder befreiten Litauen hat man lediglich einige zur Sowjetzeit neu entstandene Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- weiter verwendet:

Indrutė 2, *Aidutė* 1, *Ausmutė* 1, *Eitutė* 1, *Milgutė* 1, Žydrutė 1;
Dangirutis 3, *Arutis* 1, *Aušrutis* 1, *Linutis* 1.

Somit ist festzuhalten, dass sich die Vornamen der Sowjetzeit im Bestand der Vornamen nicht so zahlreich dauerhaft etabliert haben wie die Vornamen des vorherigen Zeitraums.

4.4. Neubildungen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- gab es in diesem Zeitraum nur wenige. Man kann von einem Einschnitt in der Tradition der Namenbildung mit diesem Suffix sprechen, denn es sind lediglich folgende Vornamen entstanden:

Gaudutė 1, *Gilminutė* 1, *Gilmutė* 1, *Kregždutė* 1, *Medutė* 1;
Aurutis 1, *Eigutis* 1 *Girstutis* 1, *Naurutis* 1.

Die Seltenheit des Vorkommens dieser Namen zeigt, dass sie aus dem Wunsch nach Einzigartigkeit entstanden sind.

4.5. Somit erfreuten sich im 20. Jh. nur diejenigen suffigierten Vornamen mit -(*i*)*ut*- großer Beliebtheit, die bereits in der Zeit der ersten unabhängigen Republik entstanden waren. Sie wurden viel häufiger verwendet als die Vornamen, die erst später entstanden. Zwar kann die Sowjetzeit als die Blütezeit der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- bezeichnet werden, der Trend der Namenvergabe lässt jedoch gerade in dieser Zeit nach. Im wieder unabhängig gewordenen Litauen sind neue Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- eine Seltenheit.

5. Schlussfolgerungen

5.1. Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- sind die häufigsten diminutivischen Vornamen im litauischen Namenbestand. Ihre Häufigkeit ist auf die Verbreitung der weiblichen Vornamen auf *-utė* zurückzuführen, deren Beliebtheit mit den entsprechenden femininen Diminutiva oder Suffixableitungen ohne diminutivische Bedeutung zusammenhängt. Außerdem war die insgesamt hohe Anzahl der Vornamen mit -(*i*)*ut*- durch die Verbreitung von einigen wenigen herausragenden Vornamen bedingt, die von berühmten Persönlichkeiten getragen worden waren. Die mit Abstand häufigsten Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- sind entsprechend *Birutė* und *Kęstutis*. Ein Teil besonders der männlichen Vornamen ist hauptsächlich in der Sowjetzeit aus Vornamen des anderen Genus gebildet bzw. moviert worden. Dies ist ein Anzeichen dafür, dass das litauische Vornamensystem sich allmählich zu einem System entwickelt, in dem feminine und maskuline Vornamenformen, die sich lediglich in der Endung unterscheiden, koexistieren.

5.2. Zu den häufigsten Stämmen der Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- zählen Kurzformen zweistämmiger Namen sowie Appellativa. Hinsichtlich der Grundlage unterscheiden sich die heutigen Vornamen nicht von den Vornamen der vorchristlichen Zeit. Wenn man die Vielfalt der weiblichen und männlichen Namen vergleicht, so sieht man, dass bei den männlichen Vornamen diejenigen appellativischer Herkunft nicht so vielfältig sind wie die aus Kurzformen zweistämmiger Vornamen entstandenen. Das zeigt, dass das Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- bei der Bildung von Vornamen aus Appellativen und Onymen auf unterschiedliche Weise Anwendung findet.

5.3. Die Vornamen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*-, die seit der Zeit der ersten unabhängigen Republik belegt sind, waren während des ganzen vergangenen Jahrhunderts die häufigsten, im Unterschied zu den Vornamen, die erst im späteren Zeitraum entstanden waren: in der Sowjetzeit sind zwar zahlreiche Namen mit dem Suffix -(*i*)*ut*- vergeben worden, die aber insgesamt selten geblieben sind. Eine solche Art Namengebung könnte als Verbundenheit der litauischen Bevölkerung mit der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit auch in der Sowjetzeit interpretiert werden. Im wieder befreiten Litauen sind nur wenige weitere Vornamen dieser Art entstanden. Daran zeigt sich, dass die Sowjetzeit den Zeitraum darstellte, in dem zwar einerseits diese Vornamen häufig waren, andererseits aber mit der Tradition einer solchen Namengebung gebrochen wurde. Das Ende dieses Trends kann zum einen mit der Kritik der Sprachwissenschaftler an dieser Namengebung, zum anderen aber auch mit der immer spürbareren Diminutivität der im 20 Jh. entstandenen neuen Vornamen in Zusammenhang gebracht werden.

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Grant
Smith

Epithets, Hyperbole, and Irony in the Names of *Much Ado About Nothing*

This paper will analyze the names and epithets in *Much Ado About Nothing* as similar tools of irony and as illustrations of linguistic meaning recently described in "Theoretical Foundations of Literary Onomastics" (*The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, 2016) and subsequently elaborated elsewhere. *Ado* names have *immediate* reference to characters on stage but also to *secondary* references easily recognized by the audience, evoking thereby relational, i.e., *symbolic*, meaning. The *secondary* referents range from the literary (*Hero*) to the scatological (*Dogberry*). The dual foci are usually clear and enhance the pervasive irony of the play – the appearance and reality of Hero's innocence, the presumed conflict of friendship and romance, the reversal of vows by Beatrice and Benedick, and the bumbling success of the lowly night watch. The names in *Ado* do not allude satirically to contemporary people and events (as sometimes seen in Shakespeare's other plays) but function primarily as simple jokes, thereby exaggerating meaning to the point of reversal.

Keywords
indexical, symbolic,
semiotic, irony

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is twofold: 1) to demonstrate the potentiality of *symbolic* meaning in all names and 2) to show, as a specific example, that Shakespeare's names had *symbolic* meanings that were clear to people of his time. This analysis focuses on *Much Ado About Nothing* (hereafter *Ado*, with all references to *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed.) and is one in a series of analyses I am doing of Shakespeare's comedies. Grammatically speaking, names are commonly discussed as fixed, *indexical* designations of individual referents. However, our use of language is fundamentally *symbolic*, an act of reference is the quintessential use of language, and the *symbolic* meanings of names can often be seen in the figurative language of imaginative literature, as I have argued in a chapter of *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, later elaborated in *Onomastica*, furthered in terms of philosophical theory at ICOS 26 and ICONN4, and as I now hope to demonstrate in a more specific way with this analysis.

2. A brief sketch of symbolic meaning

In terms of semiotic theory (àla C. S. Peirce), *symbolic* meaning arises when a *sign* evokes two or more *indexical* referents in the mind of an interpreter. For example, we may hypothesize that the *sign*/name *Verges* in this play evokes the images of two referents in our minds: 1) one of the characters on stage, and 2) someone carrying a staff and preceding a church official (a verger in the Anglican Church). When the name is used to refer to the character, it also may evoke an image of the church functionary (as suggested by Jack Heller). Thus, the meaning is *symbolic* insofar as the name evokes qualities or attributes that are presumably shared by the character's role and the verger, thereby ridiculing Dogberry's pomposity while also diminishing the significance of all vergers. Similarly, the epithet "Lord Lackbeard" hurled by Benedick refers both to Claudio and *symbolically* to the physical and emotional immaturity that characterizes Claudio throughout the play.

Of course, the *symbolic* sharing of qualities is only partial and differs slightly in the mind of each and every individual interpreter. It is primarily the attributes of the ***secondary referent*** (the church functionary) that are partially carried over and associated with the character, the ***immediate referent*** (much as M. Black, 38-47, has described the meaning of the *vehicle* in a metaphor being carried over to the *tenor*). Thus, whenever we discuss the "meaning" of any name, e.g., *Verges*, it is in terms of the presumed *secondary referent* (of course, we sometimes debate about which *secondary referent* is most relevant). However, both referents, the character on stage and the church functionary, are made more meaningful than one thing referred to by the *sign* interpreted as a single, *indexical* reference, i.e., as a simple label. The association of attributes and the sharing of qualities may be illustrated in a simplistic diagram of *symbolic* discourse (see Figure 1).

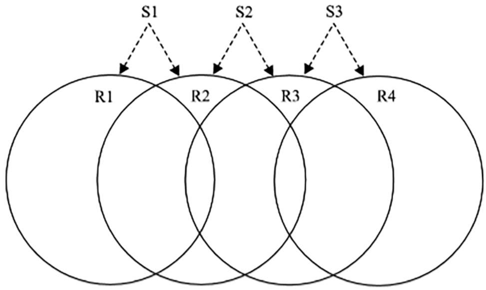

Figure 1. A simplistic diagram of *symbolic* discourse.

Hypothetically, the *signs*, S1, S2, and S3, are linked firmly by the grammar of a language, and tentatively to two or more referents. The circles represent a variable range of attributes (semantic domains) of the referents R1, R2, R3, and R4. The referents are thereby understood in terms of one another, and the meaning of the *signs* is *relational*, and thereby *symbolic*, rather than a chain of single, *indexical* references (stemming from initial "causes," or dubbing, as S. Kripke has argued). Our minds accumulate images throughout our lives, and language, by its conventions, links the sets of relationships in a way that is arbitrary and thereby stronger than the presumed links to specific data.

3. Thematic linkage

When names evoke *secondary referents*, attributes of those referents and their contexts are partially transferred to the *immediate referents*, and the significance of the *immediate referents* may then be developed thematically in terms of other *signs* and their referents. That is to say, sets of relationships are seen to be related to one another.

We need not, and should not, pursue an author's personal intentions. The study of names directs our attention squarely to the text at hand and to the *pre-existing* images (i.e., sources) which a name (or any other type of *sign*) might likely evoke. That is to say, we begin with a name, and by studying how that word is used as a specific *sign* in different, *pre-existing* contexts (e.g., in the sources or culture of Shakespeare's time), we may infer its partial relationship to the *immediate* context, understand its *symbolic* value, and gain thereby a richer understanding of themes as the story develops.

Of course, it may be that a name has a different kind of reference and context in our time that neither the author nor the audience could have known at a previous time. For example, in *Ado*, the character Dogberry insists, "O that I had been writ down an ass!" (4.2.86-87). Modern audiences laugh in part because the word *ass* now has an anatomical reference (to one's derriere, not just to a beast of burden), and a director in the twenty-first century certainly has the artistic freedom to take advantage of this new interpretation.

For Shakespeare's audience

For a contemporary audience

Figure 2. Changes in audience interpretations

However, an onomastic scholar is obliged to acknowledge that the newer reference is not an interpretation clearly available to Shakespeare or his audience. To appreciate Shakespeare's achievement as an artist we need to focus on the texts of his plays and on the specific *pre-existing* references that could and, with a high degree of probability, would be understood at that time.

4. Plots and themes

Themes are developed as stories are told, and *Ado* has three distinct plot lines that illustrate in different ways the development of friendship and love, the reversal of expectations, and the great foolishness of all the characters – of the highest as well as lowest, of course. Shakespeare appears to have borrowed his main plot, the story of Claudio and Hero, from many versions that followed Matteo Bandello's novella 22, which briefly mentions the "Sicilian Vespers" and Don Piero III's invasion of Sicily in 1282 as the context for a story of courtship and misguided shaming.

Shakespeare greatly enhances the role of the Prince and draws on classical mythology for the other principal names, i.e., *Claudio* and *Hero*, contextualizing these characters as the social elite. The second plot is the stormy romance of *Beatrice* and *Benedick*, but the meanings of those names foretell their ironic reconciliation. They are part of the educated class but are lower in rank than the Prince, Claudio, or Hero.

The third plot is that of the commoners (mostly the Watch), who are identified primarily by their occupational roles and by images familiar to Shakespeare's audience that reinforce their social status. Two of the names, *Dogberry* and *Verges*, take the form of epithets, the meanings of which are obvious hyperbole. In each of these plot lines, names and epithets are the basic tools of irony, exaggerating attributes of the referents to the point of reversing thematic expectations – i.e., the titular wisdom of the elite, the denials of lovers, and the paradoxical reversal of the commoners' presumed unimportance.

5. The main plot

For his main plot, Shakespeare follows his sources closely. However, he invents all new names as a way to cast his version of the story as fundamentally ironic, and to contrast with his very somber and sometimes tragic sources. His use of names is, in fact, the most obvious focus of the play's many reversals and comic structure. In all cases the names exaggerate the characters, some to the point of hyperbole, to tease the expectations of the audience.

For example, Shakespeare clearly augments Bandello's brief mention of the historical Don Piero III. This play first refers to the historical king as "Don Peter," which follows the common "Peter the Great of Aragon" used by English writers at the time. In five subsequent references Shakespeare emphasizes his Spanish identity with the form *Don Pedro*, but then, increasingly, he emphasizes the character's sovereign status and social rank, referring to him forty-five times as *Prince*.

This enhancement of the Prince's role and status (apparently in the writing process) heightens the irony of the main plot because this Prince, God's authority on earth, is as much fooled as anyone by Borachio's pretended ravishment of Hero. It is, in fact, the Prince's testimony, the highest authority possible, that seems to falsely convict Hero of debauchery, even in her father's eyes. Thus, the reversal of expectations is found even in this highest authority and heightens the general sense of irony, and the delight of insight for the audience.

Shakespeare also enhances the role of Leonato, Hero's father. In Bandello's story he is a respected gentleman, but not the governor, and far below the status of Claudio, his daughter's suitor. The etymology of the name means "born of the lion," which might suggest an astrological characterization—i.e., in his keen sense of honor, his outrage at Hero's shaming, and his magnanimity in forgiving Margaret and the repentant Claudio. By elevating the status of Leonato, Shakespeare adds to his irony.

Claudio is second only to the Prince in social rank, and his name, once again, amplifies that status and the comic effect of his naiveté. His name occurs often in *Plutarch's Lives*, was the name of the fourth Roman Emperor, and in many ways typifies a newly pubescent nobleman. Appropriately in this play, the character represents many of the highest principles of his class and time. He is an exemplar of loyalty, being absolutely deferential to his prince, even when he feels betrayed. He places duty above affection, having gone to war rather than pursue his earlier attraction to Hero (a possible echo of *Venus & Adonis*). He is honest about his passions even though revealing them subjects him to Benedick's jokes and mockery. In the end, he readily acknowledges and seeks atonement for his mistakes. Such qualities would have been much admired in Elizabethan England, and so the name acquires a cumulative meaning from its past references in classical literature and in the standard values represented by the character's actions.

However, Shakespeare typically reaches beyond the standard values of his time and shows us the vulnerability of those youthful ideals. This name is rooted in the Latin word *claudus*, meaning "lame," and thereby suggests an unspecified weakness. Benedick taunts him with "Sir Boy" (5.1.84) and "Boy" (5.1.185) among other epithets signifying his immaturity. Similarly, Beatrice calls him “Count Comfect” (4.1.316), meaning something covered over with an attractive glaze.

Figure 3. Count Comfect

His character is a stereotype, and, with Benedick as a foil, Shakespeare shows us the repeated and scary blunders of his honest but simplistic thinking – first, believing Don John that the Prince is wooing Hero for himself, and then believing that he has witnessed Hero’s ravishment at night, through a window, and from a distance.

When Claudio shames Hero at the altar, he is obviously mistaking appearances for reality and threatening the stability of the society he so thoroughly represents. Such a meaning is also illustrated in *Measure for Measure*, a later play, in which a youthful character named *Claudio* is similarly entrapped by his honest (but less blamable) mistakes. Of course, the name *Claudius* also suggests the moral weakness of Hamlet’s uncle.

But of all the names in the main plot, it is *Hero* that best shows the duality and irony of references. It has an obvious *secondary reference* to Marlowe’s narrative poem, “Hero and Leander,” completed and published by Chapman in 1598, a few months before *Ado* appeared on stage. In Marlowe’s mythological tale, Hero belongs to a cult of young virgins, but she and Leander fall in love at a festival, and each night thereafter Leander swims across the Hellespont to be with her, guided by a torch she lights. Then one night a storm blows out the torch, he drowns, and she throws herself off a cliff to die at the side of his body washed ashore. The goddess Venus teases Hero about her pretense of virginity.

In Shakespeare’s play the name refers to a true virgin, thereby enhancing the sense of ironic contrast and comic foolishness. When Claudio accuses Hero of promiscuity, his avowed purpose is to "make you answer truly to your name" (4.1.79). When Hero asks, "Who can blot that name / With any just reproach?" (4.1.80-81), Claudio answers by focusing on her name as if the meaning of the word were linked by nature to its referent (as Cratylus argued in Plato's dialogue): "Hero itself can blot out Hero's virtue" (4.1.82). For Claudio, the name "itself" proves that Hero is not a virgin because of its fixed, indexical reference in Marlowe's poem.

However, Shakespeare shows here that there is no necessary link in nature between the name and the person to which it refers. This plot is propelled by the truth of this woman's maidenly virtue and the social reputation that should, in truth, be attached to it. Names are social constructs, and the meaning of a name says nothing more than how others perceive the person so named (as argued in the balcony scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, 2.2). Hero temporarily "dies" in terms of her reputation, but everyone in the audience, and, of course, her cousin Beatrice, knows that Hero has been falsely slandered. Thus, Shakespeare's choice of this intertextual reference to Marlowe's poem magnifies the irony of Claudio's error, his naïve fixation on a mere name and on outward appearances rather than on the inner truth.

6. Beatrice & Benedick

The secondary plot reverses the trajectory of the main plot. Benedick immediately mocks Claudio's confession of love and swears that he himself will always "live a bachelor" (1.1.245-246). Similarly, Beatrice parodies Hero's submissiveness and swears never to marry "till God make men of some other mettle than earth" (2.1.59-60).

Beatrice and Benedick seem to deny any love interest and yet castigate one another with epithets that obviously reflect their romantic interests, even though phrased as negatives. Beatrice calls Benedick "Segnior Mountanto" (1.1.30), referring to an upward thrust in Italian fencing, a phallic metaphor that is later applied to his wit, "blunt as the fencer foils, which hit, but hurt not" (5.2.13-14). Referring to his romantic appetite, Beatrice calls him "a very valiant trencherman [eater]" (1.1.51), to which he later responds that she is "a dish I love not" (2.1.274). She repeatedly accuses him of romantic disloyalty, calling him "a double tongue," while he refers to her as "Lady Tongue" (2.1.275)

The romantic references of these epithets are obvious exaggerations, revealing insecurities in these characters and giving them genuine psychological depth, a depth that is clearly lacking in the characters of Hero and Claudio.

Beatrice's paradoxical denial and interest in marriage is referred to when she says she would be a "mother of fools" (2.1.286) should she ever marry Benedick. She also refers to Benedick as "the pestilence" that makes "the taker run presently mad" (1.1.86-88); yet when she complains of sickness, the only cure, she is assured, is "this *carduus benedictus*, and lay it to your heart" (3.4.77), a pun on Benedick's name.

Despite the many puns and epithets, there are actually fewer references to these two characters than to Hero and Claudio. However, the epithets carry more figurative meanings, enriching their personalities and making them more interesting to an audience.

The etymologies of their actual names also enhance the poetry as well as the irony of their story. *Benedick* is an English form of the Latin masculine *Benedictus*, meaning 'the one who is blessed,' while *Beatrice* means 'she who blesses.' Thus, in spite of the insults and reversals, the uses of the names *Benedick* and *Beatrice* project their inevitable linkage from the very beginning of the play, and the poetic interplay of the two names makes this couple linguistically memorable – and thereby one of the most famous romantic pairs in the history of literature.

7. The paradox of incompetence

The story of the Watch parallels the main plot, and while the main plot is the story of the social elite, the Watch is a story of the common folk (unlike "The Night Watch" later painted by Rembrandt). As in most of his plays, Shakespeare typically refers to commoners by their dramatic roles (e.g., "Messenger," "Clerk," and "Sexton") or synecdochic references to their occupations.

However, in the development of his themes, Shakespeare often adds descriptions that function much like the epithets used by Beatrice and Benedick, i.e., *redenden Namen* that exaggerate the characters or refer to images external to the action of the play but thematically relevant to Shakespeare's audience. Specifically speaking, the descriptive tags exaggerate the social status of the commoners and their presumed unimportance. They thereby enhance the total irony of the play in a significant way. That is to say, it is these presumed fools who prove Hero's actual innocence, prevent a fatal duel between best of friends (Benedick and Claudio), and paradoxically enable a happy ending.

References to images external to the play's action illustrate Shakespeare's remarkable rapport with his contemporary audience. For example, Hugh Oatcake is one of two nominees to lead the Watch who "can write and read" (3.3.11). "Oatcake" is a reference to flat cakes, usually grilled, made of oatmeal rather than wheat flour. They would rise much less than wheat flour, would be more dense, and were common faire in the streets of London. The audience would have likely brought some oatcakes into the theatre from vendors on the street.

Figure 4. Oatcakes

Shakespeare makes no further reference either to this character or to any similar image or related theme. Thus, the name is apparently a reference to something external to the dramatic action, probably a recognizable personage on the streets of London. The familiarity of such a person would have emphasized the common status of the Watch in general and would have built identity with the theatre groundlings. The fact that Shakespeare attaches a first name to this obscure character also suggests a reference to a real person (much as Chaucer used names in *The Canterbury Tales*). Of course, the more obvious the joke, the less likely Shakespeare would be to repeat it.

The other nominee to lead the Watch is George Seacole. Dogberry asks him to step forward and then deputizes him as "constable of the watch" (3.3.23) for that particular night. Like *Oatcake*, this name is probably a reference to something external to the dramatic action, and no less realistic. "Sea-coale," as the name is actually spelled in the quarto and First Folio, appears to refer to the coal shipped by sea from Newcastle. Such coal had much higher value in London than charcoal prepared from wood.

Such a name would undoubtedly refer to a begrimed actor, and likely also to a well-known coal monger. A dealer of such a commodity would need to be functionally numerate and literate, more so probably than a vendor of oatcakes. At the same time, the begrimed image of this man would emphasize his common status and heighten the irony of the commoners revealing the slander of Hero's shaming.

Like the names of the other commoners, *Dogberry* and *Verges* are used in only one scene each. However, these are the leaders of the Watch, and their names are figurative expressions that exaggerate their dramatic roles far beyond generic references. Except for one occasion, Dogberry is always referred to as "Constable" or "Master Constable" by the other characters (i.e., 22 times) and as "*Const*," "*Const Do*," or to "*Kemp*," in the speech prefixes.

However, at the beginning of Act 3, Scene 3, their first scene, Verges addresses him as "neighbor Dogberry" (8). The speech prefixes for that one scene are uniquely "*Dog*," suggesting a coinage in the development of this particular scene. Thus, the coinage should be seen as a whimsical caricature of this "Master Constable," highlighting the incomprehensibility of his speech and, like the names *Oatcake* and *Sea-coale* also in this scene, a probable reference to common experience.

Of course, Dogberry's incomprehensibility is not only comic but a crucial element of the main plot. When he and Verges go to Leonato (3.5) to tell him of Borachio's wicked deception, Leonato is baffled by Dogberry's malapropisms, perceives him to be a tedious bother, is annoyed by the delay, and finally leaves for his daughter's wedding without the intended warning. Thus, Hero's shaming could have been avoided, but isn't, and Dogberry seems to be a serious impediment, temporarily, but later isn't. He thus proves to be a minor impediment, because Hero is later exonerated, and Dogberry, and the meaning of his name, function as absurdities that are fundamental to the play's structural irony.

As noted by Davis and Frankforter (128), many suggestions have been made for the *secondary reference* of Dogberry's name, but the greatest exaggeration, and most obvious joke, would be a reference to the squalid conditions of Elizabethan England. There are many references to dogs in Shakespeare's plays, and *dog-berry* is most likely a coinage similar to *cow-pie*, or to the more recent *dingle-berry*. Of course, such a scatological reference is hyperbolic ridicule, but the extreme caricature is reinforced by the Sexton later referring to Dogberry by the name "*coxcombe*" (4.2.69) – a name that Dogberry incongruously covets as a badge of identity: "Let him write down the Prince's officer coxcomb" (71). Both names for this character thereby propel Shakespeare's ironic thrust, and the word *Dogberry* in particular would aptly exaggerate this comic impediment with a *secondary reference* to the smelly impediments commonly dodged by London pedestrians.

The name of Dogberry's sidekick, *Verges*, has two possible *secondary references*, both as slight variants of the word *verger* (*OED*, 3612). The first might be a reference to a side garden for flowers or fruits, and Verges is always at Dogberry's side and referred to as his "partner" or "neighbor" (3.3, 4.2, and 5.1). However, the possible allusion to gardens contributes little or nothing to the play's thematic development unless the name is also understood as a reference to church functionaries who signaled the approach of high church dignitaries.

The only use of this name heard by the audience comes in the pivotal scene when the two go to warn Hero's father of Borachio's deception. Pushing his way past Verges, Dogberry asserts, "Goodman Verges, sir, speaks a little off the matter" (3.5.9), but then floods Leonato's ear with incoherent and officious language, "Comparisons are odorous – *palabras*, neighbour Verges" (3.5.15). As a *secondary reference* to the church vergers, whom the audience would have seen in many processions, the name draws spectacular attention to Dogberry's absurd pretentiousness. It also rivets this scene as the turning point at which the action of the Watch appears most incompetent and yet most consequential, setting the stage for Hero's inevitable humiliation as well as her ironic exoneration by these same commoners.

8. Conclusion

The names and references in *Ado* are vital elements in the comic structure of this entire play. Without exception, they point to *secondary* meanings that exaggerate the roles of the characters in ways that would be easily recognized by Shakespeare's audience, and these exaggerations signal the reversal of expectations for both the characters and the audience. Thus, the names can be seen to carry *symbolic* value and to function as markers of thematic development.

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Melinda Szőke

The Historical Linguistic Analysis of the Interpolated Sections of the Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek[1]

The Latin charters containing vernacular toponyms and anthroponyms are important sources of the early history of European toponymic systems. However, a significant number of these charters is not authentic, but forged, and even among those that are authentic, many have been preserved instead of originals in the form of transcripts. Therefore, in order to probe and verify our onomastic and linguistic-historical knowledge, in my view it is important that in addition to authentic charters, we test also the source value of toponyms found in documents that are dubious from a linguistic point of view so that these linguistic elements, too, could be effectively utilised for the purposes of linguistic and onomastic studies as well as historical research in general.

The paper discusses this issue using the example of the Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek issued 1075. According to most recent research, the original charter could still be found in the 16th century, however, this document was interpolated at around 1237 and 1270. This charter could become a valuable source in philological and onomastic research due to its early date and rich toponymic corpus (it includes approx. 280 place names).

However, its use in linguistic research is made more complicated by several factors. Researchers need to keep in mind that the charter has not survived in its original form, only in a transcript made two hundred years later. The writers of the transcripts could change the spelling of Hungarian words. The philological analysis of the charter is also made more difficult by the fact that in the case of the founding charter we are not talking about a simple transcript. The transcription was preceded by the interpolation of the text also. Thus the charter known to us includes such sections that do not originate in the 11th century.

Using the critical edition of the charter as a basis, I analyzed what kind of information was added to the charter in the process of interpolation. An awareness of this

1 This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen – Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

is crucial for a linguistic analysis of toponyms as the different types of interpolations may serve as different clues for specifying the source value of names in language- and name-history.

Keywords

11th century, non-authentic charters,
source value of toponyms, interpolations

Introduction

The medieval charters include founding charters, donation charters, surveys of estates and possessions, land surveyor's maps, and so forth (cf. Érszegi 1994: 504-505, Gervers et al. 2012: 1615). However, a significant number of these charters is not authentic, but forged, and even among those that are authentic, many have been preserved instead of originals in the form of transcripts (cf. Gervers et al. 2012: 1618-1619, 1638). Therefore, in order to probe and verify our onomastic and linguistic-historical knowledge, it is important that in addition to authentic charters, we test also the source value of toponyms found in documents that are dubious from a linguistic point of view so that these linguistic elements, too, could be effectively utilised for the purposes of linguistic and onomastic studies as well as historical research in general.

In the case of the Hungarian language, the era of linguistic records spans one millennium. Compared with later centuries only a few charters have survived from the 11th century, an era marking the beginning of Hungarian literacy. Of these, linguists have studied primarily those early charters that were also authenticated. I believe that besides the low number of authentic sources from this early period, those of uncertain authenticity should also be studied if we specify those aspects based on which these charters can also become sources of Hungarian and European philology.

In my paper, I use examples to illustrate how and to what extent the linguistic analysis of toponyms included in non-authentic charters and their context may help us specify the chronology of such charters. For this study, I selected a charter with an uncertain linguistic source value written in Hungary. The uncertain source value of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek in terms of toponym and linguistic history is due to the fact that this charter also includes interpolated sections added to the original charter subsequently. In the case of these charters, we may designate the interpolated parts only after the careful consideration of several factors. Even if we are aware of these, however, we do not have an easy task if we want to specify the source value of toponyms included in these charter sections from the perspective of name history and historical linguistics. This is due to the circumstances of the creation of the charter, these data may not only refer to the original charter but also the age of interpolation.

From the end of the 20th century, the determination of the date of writing of charters with an uncertain chronology has received growing international attention a well. It was at this time that at the University of Toronto they began working on the DEEDS (Document of Early England Data Set) database in order to develop a computer-based method for the determination of the chronological features of the large number of undated English charters. The program uses the formulas and word patterns recorded in charters with an authentic date to associate those charters without a date with a certain time (Gervers 2000, Fiallos 2000, Gervers et al. 2012). The method may also represent a major contribution to the identification of the recording date of forged charters (cf. Gervers et al. 2012: 1638).

Georges Declercq published a case study on this topic in 2000. When studying the time of writing of a forged charter, however, he found that the method does not provide clear results in the case of all types of forged charters. The method may be used better in those cases when the forger does not want to adapt to the norms of the age for which the charter was forged (Declercq 2000: 132-133).

Therefore the method is not yet suitable for the analysis of interpolated charters like the Charter of Garamszentbenedek chosen for this study. Even more so because in the case of the forged (also including interpolated) charters, the biggest problem is that it is difficult to decide to what extent the forger relies on the text of the original document serving as the basis of forgery and to what extent they adapt to the habits of their own age.

Through the example of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek, however, we have the opportunity to introduce a method that could help us explore the chronological features of Hungarian (and more, widely European) interpolated charters. The essence of this procedure is that it does not examine the sections added to the charter subsequently as one unit but classified into different types.

1. The Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek

The Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek from 1075 is, according to most recent research, the original charter could still be found in the 16th century, however, this document was interpolated at around 1237 and 1270. The versions of the charter dated 1124 and 1217 were also recorded only after the forgery taking place at around 1270 (DHA. 1: 212).

This charter could become a valuable source in philological and onomastic research due to its early date and rich toponymic corpus (it includes approx. 280 place names). Its use in linguistic research is, however, made more complicated by several factors. Researchers need to keep in mind that the charter has not survived in its original form, only in a copy made two hundred years later. The writers of the transcripts could change the spelling of Hungarian words. This alteration became evident in the transcription of sounds absent in Latin. The philological analysis of the charter is also made more difficult by the fact that in the case of the founding charter we are not talking about a simple transcript. The copy was not made because of the disappearance of the original document (1075) or to confirm or preserve the charter, but was preceded by the interpolation of the text. Thus the charter known to us includes sections that do not originate in the 11th century. To study the founding charter from a philological aspect, it is not enough to know which parts were added later to the text, since due to multiple transcriptions it is true for the whole charter that certain parts reflect characteristics of the 11th, while others of the 13th century.

2. Types of interpolations

A critical edition distinguishes the sections of the charter from these two different centuries (the 11th and the 13th century) and György Györffy has also published the evidence that helped him to draw such a distinction (DHA. 1: 204-218, Gy. 1: 418). For example, sometimes the charter names places the ownership of which became the subject of the Abbey's legal disputes after the charter was written. Moreover, we may also rely on knowledge of settlement history when trying to identify subsequent interpolations and also make use of our knowledge of Latin word use.

Using the critical edition of the charter as a basis, I analyzed what kind of information was added to the charter in the process of interpolation. An awareness of this is crucial for a linguistic analysis of toponyms as the different types of interpolations may serve as different clues for specifying the source value of names in language- and name-history.

I suggest that we can distinguish between two main types of interpolated texts: those groups that are linguistically relevant and those that are irrelevant interpolations. I include in the group of irrelevant interpolations all subsequent additions that do not include (Hungarian) toponyms, thus such linguistic elements could serve as the basis of linguistic analysis. These interpolated sections without a toponym mostly complemented the text with information on the extent of donated land: "dedi aliam illam (…) ad arandum super eandem aquam *Sitoua* cum terra septuaginta duorum aratrorum" (DHA. 1: 214), "I gave another village (…) above the same *Sitoua* water for cultivation, with a land of 72 acres"[2].

2.1. Linguistically relevant interpolations

In what follows, I will introduce the most important types of linguistically relevant interpolations (that is, those that also including toponyms) based on the Founding Charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek.

2.1.1. It happens in many cases that in the interpolated sections of the charter there are names that also appear in the authentic parts of the document. Although these toponyms may certainly be dated to the 11th century, it does not mean that these name forms can be categorized in the 11th century based on their linguistic features. As these were inserted into the Charter of Garaszemtbenedek only two centuries later, we need to look for the presence of 13th-century phonological and written norms. At the same time, the recording of toponyms interpolated in this way was most probably also influenced by the written forms of names already present in the charter.

Besides all these, possibly when these names were subsequently added the original name-forms of the authentic charter did not affect the new ones but they adjusted the recording of 11th-century name forms of the charters to conform to the name used at the time of interpolation.

The description of a village (called Sági) provides an opportunity for the comparison of the text of the original charter with its 13th-century interpolated version. A charter dated 1338 copied the section related to the village not based on the interpolated but on the authentic charter.

2 The sections of the charter interpolated are indicated in bold.

The section appears in the interpolated charter as follows: "Villam, que dicitur *Sagi*, cum terra sua mercatumque in eadem cum vado libero; nullusque de hoc participetur, nisi solus abbas, dedi cum propriis terminis, qui termini ita dividuntur: primum ubi fluvius *Huger* de aqua *Tiza* egreditur, qui circuit totam partem aque *Kesekun* iuxta *aruch* dividens, usque ubi stat *Scilu* piscina, que cum tota insula in partem Sancti Benedicti devenit. Deinde *Taka* mons terminus est usque ad alium montem nomine *Sorul*, exinde ad quendam fontem, cuius decursus terminus existit, quoadusque circumveniens intrat ad eundem fluvium *Huger*, postea donec idem fluvius *Huger* decurrens prope villam *Kurth*, quam supradixi, et cadit in *Tiza*, ultimus terminus est" (DHA. 1: 216-217). And the 1338 charter transcribes the section as follows: "Terram, que dicitur *Sagy* cum propriis terminis, qui termini ita dividuntur: *Hucu* fluvius *eru*, qui circuit terram totam, partem aque *Kesekun* iuxta *aruk* dividens usque, ubi stat *Scilu* piscina, deinde *Tacha* mons est usque ad alium montem *Suryl*, ubi idem fons intrat circumveniens ad eundem fluvium *Hucueru*" (DHA. 1: 205).

The *Ug-ér* 'streamlet named Ug' hydronym appears twice in the boundary description of the village. The *Hucueru* forms of the 1338 charter preserved the form closer to the 11th century version as opposed to the *Huger* name-forms of the interpolated charter as the stem-ending vowel is still present at the end of the name. The disappearance of these vowels was already at an advanced stage in the 11th century and was practically completed by the mid-13th century (Bárczi 1958: 18-24). We cannot claim with certainty, however, that the name-forms in the 1338 charter preserved the toponyms of the original founding charter, as it is a general feature of charters that survived in copies that the toponyms from the original charter were not always copied with full observance of the original spelling (cf. Gervers et al. 2012: 1619). Placing the two sections (the original and the interpolated) next to each other reveals that at the time of forgery the boundary description was complemented and in this addition *Ug-ér* also appears in *Huger* form. Thus, in connection with this name we can see that at the time of using the name that was added subsequently to the charter, the writer of the charter did not choose the more original *Hucueru* form but adjusted the 11th-century names of the charter to fit the newer form. Thus in the interpolated charter all three records of the *Ug-ér* hydronym (an interpolated and two originals) appeared in *Huger* form.

2.1.2. Mentions of settlements in short sentences make up another type of interpolation including (Hungarian) toponyms. These interpolations follow one another in the first part of the founding charter as if in a list and they are about the donation of land of various sizes: "In *Sari* terram unius aratra cum silva et fenetis", "I (gave) one acre of land at a place called *Sari* with forests and meadows" (DHA. 1: 214). It is a common feature of interpolations included in this group that they include a single toponym and the charter provides no information whatsoever about the location of the place denoted by the name.

Members of this group include *Mikolafalu* 'Mikola personal name + village': "In *Mikolafalu* terram unius aratri", "I (gave) one acre of land in *Mikolafalu*" (DHA. 1: 215) and *Sárófalu* 'Sáró personal name + village': "In *Saroufalu* a superiori parte dedi terram ad quatuor aratra", "I gave 4 acres of land in *Saroufalu* starting from the upper part of the village" (DHA. 1: 215). In the case of these two names the fact of forgery may be based on clues in the name system, as the toponyms with a *-falu* 'village' second constituent are known in Hungarian toponyms from the 13th century on (Gy. 1: 418, 462).

I suggest that the identification of the interpolated parts of the charter should be the task of historians primarily but due to the linguistic, grammatical clues mentioned in connection with these two names it still seems useful to reexamine this opinion that has been voiced by many scholars, and then taken over and passed on by others (Kniezsa 1964: 469, Kázmér 1970: 31, Tóth 2001a: 156).

It is a generally accepted idea in linguistics that the toponyms with the *-falu* 'village' second constituent were not yet present in 11th-century toponyms, the first authentic records of this name type are from the 13th century (Kázmér 1970: 31-32). Based on this observation, it seems justified that the *Mikolafalu* and *Saroufalu* names would not be included in the Latin text of the charter in this form in the 11th century. If, however, we look at the additional data of the names of these settlements, we observe in the case of both names that the two-component name forms of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek are unique in the data set of settlement names. The other charters from the 13th century and those dated from later centuries mention these settlements only under the personal name toponyms of *Mikola* and *Sáró* (cf. Tóth 2001b: 218, 232, Gy. 1: 462, 471, ComBars. 90-91, 124-125, KMHsz. 1: 188, 237-238). M i k o l a f a l u: 1075/+1124/+1217 (DHA. 1: 215): *Mikolafalu,* 1247>357, 1274, 1331, 1337 (Str. 3: 301), 1391 (DF. 7738), 1414 (DF. 10263), 1454 (DF. 14854): *Mykola,* 1274, 1297/344, 1348 (A. 5: 204): *Mykula,* 1293: *Mycula, Mikula,* 1293, 1307, 1391 (DF. 7738): *Mikola,* 1307 (A. 1: 122): *Nikola,* 1332: *Micola,* 1332/PR.: *Miquala,* 1359 (DF. 4895): *Mykala,* 1350 (A. 5: 422-423): *Mykala ~ Mychala,* 1458 (DF. 15233), 1459 (DF. 15347), 1489 (DF. 19548, 19558), 1497 (DF. 20575): *Nykola* (Gy. 1: 462). Sárófalu: 1075/+1124/+1217 (DHA. 1: 212, 215): *Saroufalu,* 1245, 1259, 1305, 1307, 1324, 1328, 1332, 1339 (Str. 3: 342-344), 1343 (ÓmOlv. 161-164), 1347 (A. 5: 150), 1348 (A. 5: 216), 1391 (DF. 7708): *Sarow,* 1255, +?1255, 1271, 1292: *Sarov,* 1266, 1274, 1287, 1293, 1317, 1339 (Str. 3: 341-342): *Sarou,* 1332/PR.: *Sarro,* 1350. (A. 3: 423): *Sarouu,* 1272, 1305, [1305]/306, 1306: *Saroy,* 1454 (DF. 14827): *Saron,* 1423 (DF. 11395): *Saro,* *1327/519: *Solon* (Gy. 1: 471).

The lack of two-component name forms questions not only the interpolated nature of the names but also the actual existence of the name variant with the *-falu* 'village' second constituent. This view has partly been voiced in the work of Miklós Kázmér who wrote a monograph on this name type. Kázmér considered the connection of the *-falu* second constituent to the personal name first constituent (*Mikola* and *Sáró*) as truly exceptional among the frequent occurrences of personal name + *falva* 'village' + third person singular possessive attribute types of names (for the personal name origin of the names cf. ÁSz. 548, FNESz. *Nagysáró*). Most probably due to the idea that the personal name + *-falu* type of names could only be the result of secondary *-falva* > *-falu* changes in the Hungarian toponymic system, he included the names of *Mikolafalu* and *Sárófalu* in the Charter of Garamszentbenedek among the names with the *-falva* second constituent, although in an uncertain way (Kázmér 1970: 31, 298, 300).

Valéria Tóth, in refuting this proposition, notes that the settlement names with a personal name first constituent + geographical common word second constituent lexical structure may appear both in marked (for example, *falva*) and unmarked (for example, *falu*) possessive structures (2008: 106). Based on this assumption, we would not doubt the existence of the *Mikolafalu* and *Sárófalu* names in the 11th and certainly not in the 13th century due to their personal name first constituent + *-falu* unmarked possessive structure. But, the above mentioned circumstance showing that with the exception of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek none of the numerous documents mentioning the names record the two-component forms must make scholars pause.

Examining the other names appearing near the villages in the charter, we may find answers to questions that have emerged in connection with the names. The writer of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek concludes the list of donations of Bars County by mentioning the name of these two villages, although sometimes donations made in neighboring counties (Komárom and Nyitra) also appear among those of Bars County. Separating the interpolated names of the founding charter from the authentic names of the charter, we observe, however, that in this part of the document only names of settlements of Bars County were inserted subsequently into the Latin text. The interpolation starts with the two settlements by the Zsitva (Sári and Tajna settlements) near which in old times there was a settlement named *Mikófalu* ('Mikó personal name + village'), which name has survived to this day as the name of a barren land near a settlement (called Szelepcsény) (Borovszky 1903: 73, Fekete 1943: 75, Kázmér 1970: 283). I suggest that the scribe, being familiar with the name of this village and due to the resemblance of the *Mikola* and *Mikó* names, recorded the two-component *Mikolafalu* name instead of the single-component *Mikola*. He might have been deceived by the fact that after the listing of settlements by the Zsitva near *Mikófalu*, the charter mentions a *Mikola* name that is similar to *Mikó*. This possible mistake could also be supported by the fact that one of the charter versions transcribes the name form of the Garamszentbenedek Charter not as *Mikolafalu* but *Mikofalu* (F. 1: 431, 2: 71). Based on this charter version, historical geography locates this place near the settlement named Taszár by the Zsitva (Teleki 1863: 255), thus to a place where a settlement called *Mikófalu* really existed. If we look at the photographic copy of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek, we note that the charter clearly includes *Mikolafalu* and not *Mikofalu* (DF. 235 997). Based on mentions in other charters, we also know that *Mikolafalu* mentioned in the charter does not refer to Mikófalu by the Zsitva but Mikola by the Garam River. The above-mentioned charter version is full of misspellings, but in this case probably these are not simply clerical errors but the influence of the name of *Mikófalu* by the Zsitva upon the name of the settlement by the Garam.

All these, however, may only serve as an explanation for the presence of the *Mikolafalu* name in the charter but it still remains a question why Sáró settlement appears in the charter as *Saroufalu*. As of now, we might only propose the analogical effect of the name structure of the *Mikolafalu* name as an explanation.

In terms of this issue, it is also worth mentioning that another critical edition offers a different approach to the interpolated nature of the two names. Richard Marsina's edition considers only the *-falu* second constituent to be from the 13th century and not the entire name (CDES 1: 55). Based on our current knowledge, we cannot decide between the two approaches. Besides the fact that the name itself is entirely the result of interpolation, it could also happen that the original charter already included the *Mikola* name, which in the process of interpolation was forged with the *-falu* secondary constituent as an effect of the *Mikófalu* name. There are examples in the Charter of Garamszentbenedek also for cases when an 11th-century name form is complemented with a newer name constituent during interpolation in the 13th century. The use of the name of Ártánd in Bihar County in a *RikachiArtand* form could be the result of subsequent modification, for example, as the name of the settlement in the 11th century was most probably *Rikachi*.

2.1.3. Based on the critical edition of György Györffy, we may conclude that the biggest change affected the beginning of the charter (DHA. 1: 213-218). He believes that the 11th-century charter stated about the location of the monastery only that the Garam River ran through it, while its boundary description is the result of 13th-century interpolation. He has the same opinion about the appearance of another village (Tolmács) in the charter, which we should consider as an area belonging to the direct environment of the monastery despite the fact that its donation is presented separately from the location of the monastery and we also have its boundary description. The forged boundary descriptions of these authentic land donations may represent a newer group of interpolations.

The largest difference between the two critical editions is found in the identification of such interpolations; while György Györffy considered only the description of the monastery's location to be forged (meaning the description of the later Garamszentbenedek and Tolmács village), Richard Marsina accepted the estate donations as fundamentally authentic and with the exception of one boundary description (that of Csany settlement in Csongrád County) considered the description of all estates to be the result of subsequent addition.

Györffy includes the two boundary descriptions mentioned among the additional interpolations of the charter because these parts refer to the castle occupants with the word *castrensis* that was used in the 13th century instead of the Latin *civis* and *urbanus* expressions that were widespread in the 11th and 12th centuries (Gy. 1: 418, 443). The DEEDS method introduced at the beginning of my paper also links the undated charters to a century based on similar matches and differences in word use (cf. Declercq 2000, Gervers et al 2012: 1616).

We could better determine the source value of names used in forged boundary descriptions if we had written documents featuring the names discussed from the period between the writing of the charter and the transcription of the interpolated charter. At the same time, due to the contingent nature of the names that survived in the charter and the few charters of the period under scrutiny, the lack of the prevalence of these names does not clearly indicate the absence of the names themselves. These boundary descriptions, despite being subsequent interpolations, may also include full-value toponyms that could be dated prior to the 13th century from a linguistic, name-historical perspective. It is possible that the descriptions recorded circumstances valid in the 11th century but were added to the charter recording the foundation itself only two centuries later. Moreover, it is also possible that the scribes only forged the extent of the boundary. These, however, remain only suppositions due to lack of data and even though names included in the description also appear in the authentic parts of the charter raises the possibility of dating the toponyms of the interpolated boundary description to the 11th century, but we need to be cautious about including these toponyms among 11th-century names.

Conclusions

I hope that even based on this short analysis, it is illustrated well that the investigation of sections added to the charter subsequently (the interpolations) according to different types is indispensable for the linguistic analysis of interpolated toponyms and their general utilization in historical linguistics. The characteristics of these charters, I believe, may be explored most accurately only if we can compare Hungarian charters with those of other countries. By means of the analysis of interpolated charters of European countries according to similar principles, the types of interpolations introduced here could most probably be expanded. The issuing of charters recorded in Latin, i.e., in the administrative language of the Medieval Ages, followed strict rules at the time, thus they must abound in features that are valid internationally and which were learned by scribes participating in the drafting of the text of the charter in the same European schools. We can specify this universal set of rules, however, only if we have as many European (interpolated) charters available for analysis as possible.

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On the Connection between the Physical Environment and the Toponym: Geography's Contribution to Clarifying the Problem

This paper reflects on the "connection" between the *physical environment* and *names* in relation to the genesis and formation of toponyms. At the heart of this reflection lies the *nature* of that "connection", or the "semantic link", between the *environment* (that is, the "physical environment" or our "referent") and the name. Our aim is to contribute specific arguments to this broader debate (i.e., the 'name'-'referent' relationship) from the perspective of geography. For this purpose the article is organised in two parts. In the first, it presents a general – albeit necessarily brief – approach to the question, paying special attention to the concept of *description* and to the role that geography has traditionally played as a science concerned with the "description of the Earth" (emphasising the need this science has had to use toponymy to meet its descriptive goals). In the second, it focuses on the concept of "the differentiation of space", as developed by modern geography (and especially during the first half of the 20th century), to highlight the science's interest in all things concerned with the perception of place and the physical environment as a whole, and the way in which this perception forges a "connection" with toponyms and geographical names in general. The paper concludes by emphasising a fundamental idea: namely, the consideration of the toponym as a valid instrument when seeking to "explain" the geographical space.

Keywords
toponymy, physical environment,
geography/geographers, description,
spacial differentiation, interdisciplinarity

1. Approach to the question

Our primary goal in this paper is to reflect on the "connection" between the physical environment and names in relation to the genesis and formation of toponyms. More specifically, we seek to provide answers to the following questions: What is the nature of the "connection" between the environment/referent and the name? Is it purely a semantic relationship? Can this connection be usefully considered from the perspective of other sciences – such as geography?

Clearly such primordial questions cannot be addressed without first considering the "meaning" of proper names and examining the difficulties of differentiating between notions of common and proper names. And while this is not our primary purpose here, we do want to raise, as geographers (and, therefore, scholars who take geographical names as the raw material for our work), a number of complementary questions that, for us, are just as fundamental. These can be itemised as follows: Just how closely is the science of geography linked to the "description of place"? What are the epistemological implications of this act of "describing"? To what degree are the names that identify places (i.e., place names) "descriptions"? What factors determine, or exclude for that matter, the descriptive nature of a place name? And, ultimately, perhaps, what significant information can the description of a place contribute to our scientific understanding of the Earth?

While we could not be more aware that the answers to these questions, if indeed they exist, are likely to be far from clear, we, nevertheless, consider ourselves as scientists (working in the field of geography) duty bound to raise them and to share our uncertainties with other colleagues operating in other areas of research.

1.1. "Description" holds the key

The first question to stress here is that the concept of *description* is fundamental to the argument we present in this discussion: on the one hand, because it can be considered inseparable from the very origins of geography as a science – both its Greek etymology, the "description of the Earth", and its dictionary definition ("The science that *describes* the earth's surface, its form and physical features, its natural and political divisions, its climates, productions, etc."[1]) attest to this; and, on the other, because a high proportion of toponyms (i.e., as names applied to the physical environment) have what can be referred to as *descriptive* content, that is, they describe reality to us (in the sense attributed to the action of describing: "To set forth in words by reference to characteristics"[2]).

1 *The Oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated.* Eds.: Little, W.; Fowler, H. W.; Coulson, J.; Onions, C. T. London: Oxford University Press, 1970 (I): 787. Italics ours.

2 *The Oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated.* Eds.: Little, W.; Fowler, H. W.; Coulson, J.; Onions, C. T. London: Oxford University Press, 1970 (I): 489.

Description, or the action of describing, is a concept that by its very nature has been the subject of attention of philosophers and language scholars alike. Ferrater (2001: 828), for example, considers 'description' as "a less exact definition", and characterises it with reference to the so-called *Logique de Port-Royal* of 1662: "The less exact definition, which is called description, is that which gives some knowledge of a thing by the accidents that are proper to it; and so determines it, that we may frame such an idea of it, as distinguishes from other things." According to Ferrater, "description is sufficient for certain purposes, but is never complete". It is, therefore, a notion that might be considered imperfect as a scientific category. But, despite its limitations, it is essential, as a "cognitive tool" in those disciplines, such as geography, in which, as an epistemological premise, the need is recognised to explain, account or reflect – which often means "to express in words" – the reality of the world. Mackinder (1909: 320), a classic author, sums up the belief as follows: "one of the chief ends of geography is description". More recently, Lewis (1985: 466), reiterates the point using other words: "The job of describing the surface of this planet – accurately and vividly – lies, and should lie, at the very core of geography as an academic discipline."

But describing something as complex as reality with suitable words is not an easy task. Darby (1962: 1), in an article significantly entitled "The Problem of Geographical Description", warned, in relation to this question, that the geographer faces many specific difficulties: "One difficulty arises from the fact that he usually has to describe an area larger than can be seen at one time. This may be resolved by a choice of small representative areas, or by generalization based upon features common throughout the larger area as a whole. But even when this problem is resolved, *there still remains the inherent difficulty of conveying a visual impression in a sequence of words*."[3] Yet even more precise is the diagnosis of the problem offered by Henri Baulig (1948: 309), in the paragraph transcribed below, in which the writer captures with great clarity the great complexity of the question:

> "The geographer does not limit himself to breaking down natural complexes, to disassembling and unfolding them. He also seeks to capture them, understand them in their complexity and to describe them as such. (...) Geography leads to the reasoned and explained description of landscapes (...). Geographical description makes broad use of the image, the map, the drawing, the photograph, the film... *But its usual means of expression continues to be the word* (...). Regional description (...) speaks the language

3 Italics ours.

of everyone, largely because it addresses everyone, but also because it invites the reader to be an active participant, awakening their memory and imagination: rather than describing, it evokes."[4]

Above and beyond the complexity – as described by Darby and Baulig – involved in seeking to describe, we believe it important to insist on two points that, from our perspective as geographers, we consider fundamental and which can be expressed as follows: on the one hand, geography (and geographical knowledge in general) is inseparable from the need to explain the world using words; and, on the other hand, this need cannot be fully satisfied without recourse to geographical proper names, that is, place names. It is worth recalling here the significant role played by Claudius Ptolemy, one of the greatest geographers of Antiquity: considered the first "describer of the world", thanks to his major work, *Geography*, which includes 8,000 place names located by name and geographical coordinates (Boorstin, 1983). Likewise, germane to our discussion here is a reflection made by Bertrand Russell (1948: 90) and included in his essay on the scope and limits of human knowledge: "Maybe proper names can be reduced in number, but not avoided. All theoretical physics can be formulated without proper names, but without proper names you cannot write nor geography nor history."

2. "Spatial differentiation" as a key concept in the genesis of the toponym: the contribution of three contemporary geographers

We next wish to address a specific aspect of this relationship between names and geography. That is, the question of the interaction between place names and geographical space, through a consideration of what in geography has been identified as the "differentiation of the territory" (or "spatial differentiation"): a concept that can be understood as the study of the similarities and differences that present themselves in the geographical space, and which condition our perception and, ultimately, allow us to speak of a unique and individualised *territory*, *place* or *landscape* (Tort-Donada 2010; Tort-Donada & Sancho Reinoso 2014).

Discussions centred on this question within academic geography are longstanding. Theoretically speaking it has been, during certain periods of the 19th and 20th centuries, a central theme of debate among geographers, above all, when determining the *raison d'être* of such significant concepts

4 Italics ours.

for the geographical discipline as “landscape” or “region”. Here, this article takes upon itself to examine the fundamental thinking of three leading geographers – Carl Sauer, Paul Vidal de la Blache and Richard Hartshorne – whom it considers of particular relevance to any discussion of the question of the differentiation of the territory. All three have contributed their own original point of view on the subject, a point of view that is not only of interest from the perspective of geographical science, but also from the perspective of onomastics and, especially, that of toponymy. In what follows this discussion opts to consider their ideas independently of their chronology and of their national or academic affiliations, preferring to take as a common thread the progressive complexity of their arguments. From Sauer’s contribution, what interests us, specifically, is the correlation he establishes between the process of human observation and the areal differentiation of the territory. In the case of Vidal de la Blache, our attention is drawn to a critical aspect of his way of understanding geography: the interaction he establishes between the differentiation of the territory and place names (which he considers, literally, as the “living sources” of geography). Finally, with respect to Richard Hartshorne, our emphasis is on his particular interpretation of these questions from a perspective that is related, in a correlative and inseparable way, with philosophy and with geography.

2.1. Carl Sauer: “observation of difference” as a methodologically essential exercise

The American Carl O. Sauer has passed into the history of geography as one of the promoters of the movement known as cultural geography. That is, a way of understanding geographical knowledge that emphasises the importance of the human imprint (interpreted historically as *culture*) in the study of the Earth and of the geographical environment, in general. In practice, this approach led him to highlight the concept of *landscape*, to the point that some of his most original contributions (such as the paper “The Morphology of Landscape”, 1925) resulted in his gaining international recognition as an author of influence.

For Sauer, the question of “areal differentiation” (be it a small, medium or large area) was a constant concern. His approach, in this regard, is best summarised in a fragment in which he explains what he considers as being the geographer’s essential task: “Alone or in groups we try to explore the differentiation and interrelation of the aspects of the earth.” (Sauer 1956: 292)

For Sauer, the process of observation – which, he understood, essentially as "an in-depth reading" of the environment in which we find ourselves – holds the key to geographical perception. A reading that, with practice, anyone can learn to develop and which, in the end, constitutes a distinctive activity of the geographer's task. In Sauer's words, it would be something like 'seeing' and 'thinking' (simultaneously or correlatively) about the 'scene'; that is, what is found in the landscape: "The geographic bent rests on seeing and thinking about what is in the landscape, what has been technically called the content of the Earth's surface." (Sauer 1956: 289)

For Sauer, the observation process is based on what he calls the "morphologic eye", which he defines as "a spontaneous and critical attention to form and pattern"; an attention that facilitates "geographic identification and comparison" (Sauer 1956: 289). It is a quality that this author insists on considering as being potentially present in any human being. And, according to his arguments, the development of this quality is closely linked to the sense of survival of the species itself:

> "This alerting of the mind by observing what composes the scene may derive from a primitive survival trait when such attention meant the avoidance of peril, want, getting lost. In my days of field work in back areas of Mexico I learned to accept confidently the geographic and natural history competence of the native guides. They knew how to interpret the lay of the land, to keep a mental map, to note almost any change in the scene. They were usually able to identify the plants and were right as to systematic grouping and ecologic association." (Sauer 1956: 289)

The author completes his argument by underlining that, in his opinion, geography and natural history share the same approach; that is, the same 'field methodology', based on the observer's use of this so-called "morphologic eye". A methodology based, ultimately, on the determination of what he characterizes as *significant differences* (or differences based on the critical comparison of "likeness" and "unlikeness"), and which can be considered a fundamental aspect of the learning process in the human:

> "Geography and natural history are indeed related by their manner of observation. Much of what both identify and compare lies outside of quantitative analysis. Species are not recognized by measurements but by the judgment of those well experienced in their significant differences. An innate aptitude to register on differences and similarities is joined to a ready curiosity and reflection on the meaning of likeness and unlikeness." (Sauer 1956: 289)

This consideration for the forms and patterns, through which Sauer believed the "morphologic eye" manifests itself, has as an essential complement in an equivalent attention for the phenomena of language. Here is another aspect of the territory and the landscape in which, according to the author, it is essential that the scholar pay the utmost attention:

> "The names we apply professionally to the items or forms that we identify and perhaps even to the processes we pursue are commonly and properly derived from many vernaculars; we organize them into a vocabulary of wider and clearer intelligibility. Often the languages of primitive peoples and the dialects of our own cultures provide us with more meaningful terms than does literary speech. A familiar illustration is in the meaning of land, vegetation, and cultural forms for which we borrow from local speech and extend their application to other areas. (...) The topical and local geographical vocabulary of languages is a substratum of learning that still awaits exploitation, both for the identification of kinds of our phenomena and for comparative cultural insights." (Sauer 1956: 290-291)

2.2. Paul Vidal de la Blache: from the "observation of differences" to the "identification of differences"

Next we examine the arguments forwarded by Paul Vidal de la Blache to the matter under discussion and determine the parallelisms and analogies that exist between his point of view and that of Sauer. To do so we take as our reference a text by Vidal that explicitly sums up his position with regard to the 'differentiation of the territory', a concept that he considers transcendental: on the one hand, as a foundation of geographical perception and knowledge; on the other, because of its extremely close ties with what he considers to be the distinctive quality of the geographer, that is, a capacity for observation. The following paragraph is highly expressive in this regard:

> "Geography is not exactly a textbook science; it requires in addition the collaboration of personal observation. A good teacher can only be someone who combines an interest for personal observation with the things he has to describe. Nature, in its inexhaustible variety, places the objects of observation within the reach of everyone, and can guarantee those who dedicate themselves to them less effort than pleasure." (Vidal de la Blache 1888-1889: 4)

For Vidal, the geographical concept that best captures the idea of territorial differentiation is that of *pays*. It is not merely a theoretical concept: a *pays* is a physically differentiated territory, and the difference is captured from the outset by the person who dwells there, and who has given it a name that serves to identify it and to distinguish it from neighbouring *pays*.[5] Hence, adhering to Vidal's reasoning, we see the strong connection that exists between the *pays* and its name; that is, the toponym that identifies it:

> "Between Étampes and Orléans we travel by train across a *pays* called Beauce; and even without getting down from our carriage, we can make out a number of its landscape features: an indefinitely flat terrain, on which elongated fields of crops are laid out; a land, on the other hand, with very few trees and almost no rivers (for 65 kilometres we don't cross a single one) and no isolated homesteads; all the houses grouped into hamlets or villages. If we cross the Loire, we find, to the south, a country just as flat, but whose lands are of a different colour, in which forests and lagoons abound: this is Sologne. To the west of Beauce, between the sources of the Loire and Eure, there appears a rugged, green *pays*, broken up by fences and rows of trees, with houses scattered everywhere; this is Perche. We are entering Normandy. If, in the *département* of the Lower Seine, we examine the two contiguous districts of Yvetot and Neufchâtel, what differences we observe! In the former, all is flat, fields of cereals, farms surrounded by large trees, immense horizons. In the latter, in contrast, you see nothing but small valleys, hedgerows and pasture. We have left the *pays* of Caux and entered the *pays* of Bray (...) Sometimes it is not simply a *pays*, but a continuous series of *pays*, designated by the inhabitants with a name that makes the analogy with their characteristics clear to the observer. Thus, between Caen and Le Mans from north to south, we find a *Campagne* de Caen, a *Campagne* de Alençon, a *Campagne* Mancelle (...) This name of *Campagne* or *Champagne* is found again at the northern limit of the Massif Central: there also it designates the uniform surface of a plain that borders a completely different *pays*: Champagne de Châteauroux, which in turn borders the Marche, cut across by numerous landforms and divided into small fields that mix with meadows, woodland and moors." (Vidal de la Blache 1888-1889: 4-5)

But Vidal's arguments are not limited to underscoring the connection between places and the names that identify them; more than this, his ideas point to the central question that concerns us here: that is, the

5 Note that the French word *pays* has, in French dictionaries today, a diverse range of meanings: according to the *Dictionnaire Pratique du Français* (Dir.: P. Amiel. Évreux: Hachette, 1987, page 804), it can refer both to the idea of the "territory of a State" or the "State", as well as to the "homeland", "place, region of origin" or to different phrases formed with the word *region* and of habitual use in French geography, including "natural region", "economic region", "administrative region", etc. In France, when the *pays* is identified by a proper name or a toponym, this name is considered a *nom de pays* (equivalent to "place name").

intimate nature of the relationship that exists between the (geographical) differentiation of the territory and the "differential identification" of this territory through its place names:

> "Characteristic names are rarely lacking at the point of contact between markedly different regions. But the circumstances that call our attention change and are expressed differently in the local lexis. At the westernmost point of the Massif Central, the name of *Terres Froides* refers to the *pays* of Confolens, while the *pays* of Ruffec, also lying in the *département* of Charente, is known as *Terres Chaudes*. The name of the first *pays*, set in the Massif Central, refers to the impermeability of the land, on whose surface the waters settle and give rise to damp and mists. In the other, the cracked limestone keep retains the moisture on the surface, while the water infiltrates into its subsoil." (Vidal de la Blache 1888-1889: 5)

As Vidal shows us, there is a direct correspondence between the change in physiognomy of a given territory and the emergence of a toponymy that emphasizes this change. These last two place names – *Terres Froides* and *Terres Chaudes*, are especially expressive of this: their "limits of application" (which would be equivalent to the limits of their semantic field) coincide with the boundary between the granitic terrain – which gives rise to swampy, humid soils, the *Terres Froides* – and the chalky calcareous terrain – where the infiltration of rain gives rise to poor, dry soils, the *Terres Chaudes*. It is worth noting, too, that, in another sense, the two place names reflect the often elusive (or semantically diffuse) nature of the toponymy: although the initial meaning of these two place names points to a climatic difference between the two places (one "cold" the other "warm"), the reality is that the difference between one place and the other is explained, fundamentally, by their geology.

In short, and by way of summary, we transcribe a paragraph that seems to best capture Vidal's criterion for describing the relationship between territorial differentiation, toponymy and geographical knowledge. And, moreover, it allows us to trace some more than evident parallels, in form and in essence, with Sauer's approach:

> "These names (*noms de pays*) are not simply administrative or scholarly terms; they are names in daily use, by that we mean the local farmers know and use them. To the extent that they are a product of local observation they cannot, logically, refer to large land areas: they are limited in space, in keeping with the horizons of those that use them. (...) When we have tried to examine their meaning, we have found that they do not allude to one simple characteristic feature, but rather to a whole set of traits that refer

at the same time to the land, the waters, the crops, the settlement patterns. Here, therefore, extracted from the natural setting, we see the connections that the land as our point of departure share with man as the recipient, and which, as we stated at the outset, should be the object of geographical study! (...) These *noms de pays* are, effectively, what I would call the *living sources* of geography." (Vidal de la Blache 1888-1889: 5)

2.3. Richard Hartshorne, or the path to a holistic understanding of the physical environment

Following on from this examination of the ideas of Sauer and of Vidal de la Blache concerning the differentiation of the territory, we turn now to consider the reflections and arguments of the third of the authors cited: the American geographer, Richard Hartshorne. In particular, we focus on the considerations he raises in relation to the question in *The Nature of Geography*, a work published in 1939 and which is usually recognized as his greatest theoretical contribution to Geography. In this essay, the author provides a panoramic critique of the genesis and historical development of Geography, and on its *raison d'être* as a science. In our discussion here, the contribution of Hartshorne is of paramount importance, since, for him, the question of "similarities" and "differences" in space lies at the heart of his thinking:

> "Whereas the historical studies consider temporal sections of reality, the chorographical studies consider spatial sections; geography, in particular, studies the spatial sections of the earth's surface, of the world. Geography is therefore true to its name; it studies the world, seeking to describe, and to interpret, the differences among its different parts, as seen at any one time, commonly the present time. This field it shares with no other branch of science; rather it brings together in this field parts of many other sciences. These parts, however, it does not merely add together in some convenient organization. The heterogeneous phenomena which these other sciences study by classes are not merely mixed together in terms of physical juxtaposition in the earth surface, but are causally interrelated in complex areal combinations. Geography must integrate the materials that other sciences study separately, in terms of the actual integrations which the heterogeneous phenomena form in different parts of the world. As Humboldt most effectively established, in practice as well as in theory, though any phenomenon studied in geography may at the same time be an object of study in some systematic field, geography is not an agglomeration of pieces of the systematic sciences: it integrates these phenomena according to its distinctive chorographic point of view." (Hartshorne 1939: 460-461)

Hartshorne's approach directly echoes Alfred Hettner's geographical conception as well as Bergson's philosophical method of intuition and, as we have seen, the basic foundations of Vidal de la Blache's geographical thinking. His insistence on the need for a "full understanding of reality" and the emphasis on the unitary nature of the "place" and "region", as ambits in which the essential differentiation of the world in areas is made manifest, is a clear indication that his conception of geographical knowledge is indebted to the aforementioned authors:

> "Whatever value geography has in relating science to the problems of society, merely confirms the fact that in pure science itself the pursuit of knowledge for the sake of gaining more knowledge there is need for a science that interprets the realities of areal differentiation of the world as they are found, not only in terms of the differences in certain things from place to place, but also in terms of the total combination of phenomena in each place, different from those at every other place." (Hartshorne 1939: 461)

It is apparent that in Hartshorne we find not only a reflection of the foregoing authors, but a true worldview understood as a "global strategy for understanding of the world" that is based, ultimately, on the Kantian idea of Geography as a system of knowledge:

> "Finally, geography seeks to organize its knowledge of the world into interconnected systems, in order that any particular fragment of knowledge may be related to all others that bear upon it. The areal differentiation of the world involves the integration, for all points on the earth's surface, of the resultant of many interrelated, but in part independent, variables. The simultaneous integration all over the world of the resultant of all these variables cannot be organized into a single system." (Hartshorne 1939: 465)

This construction of what Hartshorne calls "knowledge of the world in interrelated systems" is based on these differentiated units or areas of the Earth, usually identified as "regions", or "regional entities", and which are, essentially, mentally perceived spatial units; in the words of the author, "(…) mental constructions; they are entities only in our thoughts, even though we find them to be constructions that provide some sort of intelligent basis for organizing our knowledge of reality" (Hartshorne 1939: 275). But these "mental constructions" constitute very little on their own: what is required are guidelines for the logical organization of our knowledge of reality; and these guidelines are what geography can specifically provide: a unitary knowledge, which for methodological purposes unfolds to provide us with systematic geography and regional geography.

Thus, Hartshorne's sense of global reasoning emerges with considerable clarity: only from an explicit desire to understand geography in an integrated fashion can we hope for this discipline to provide the unity of knowledge that it aspires to. If from a methodological perspective the distinction between "systematic" and "regional" approaches is essential, so is the reciprocal overlapping between these two approaches to try to account for the "differentiation of the world" and to fulfil, in this way, the ultimate goal of geography: the study of differentiation in areas of the Earth's surface (where the contact between two different areas constitutes the authentic "place of the toponym").

Conclusion.
The toponym as a way to "explain" the physical environment?

The connection between the physical environment and the toponym – the main question addressed in this article – is not readily resolved. Especially, if we take into account that it can be tackled from what are, a priori, the highly divergent perspectives and approaches of distinct disciplines, from those of linguistics, of philosophy and of geography.

From the perspective of geography, we have specifically focused on the *raison d'être* underpinning the concept of "spatial differentiation", a concept specifically related to the shapes of the Earth's surface, and which allows us to interpret toponyms and place names, in general, as means or instruments to express these differences. The three authors that we have considered in relation to this question – Sauer, Vidal de la Blache and Hartshorne – propose, from different standpoints but with a common base, ways of *looking at* and *perceiving* the environment, and of relating in some way the environment and the toponyms that identify it, which could be useful for any researcher in the field of onomastics.

Given the magnitude of the problem, it was never our intention to carry out an analysis at a range of different levels; and, even less, to consider in any great depth a subject related to it, that is, the nature and the possible meaning of the proper name. But we have tried to address what lies at the heart of the question, in such a way that it allows us to formulate, here at the end of the article, the question with which we head this last section: Can the toponym serve as a means, a way or a tool for explaining the physical environment? In our opinion, the question must be answered in the affirmative. And the answer demands, from our perspective as geographers, an emphasis on the four points that sum up the arguments that we have developed throughout the article:

a) First, the primacy of the act of "description", as a multipurpose formula for naming places (that is, with a richly diverse "potential for explanation");

b) Second, the critical importance of geographical aspects of the immediate environment when creating place names (especially toponyms);

c) Third, the overriding need for geography and history to contribute as *transversal sciences* (that is, sciences whose perspective runs through space and time and that, for this reason, provide us with special insights for a *global* understanding of the world);

d) Fourth, and in a more specific sense, the potential utility of geography for linguistic analysis, especially in areas related to lexicography and onomastics.

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Anta
Trumpa

Sāmal- / samal- un *saman- / sāman-*: divi aizguvumi ar nozīmi 'sūnas' Latvijas vietvārdos

Sāmal- / samal- and *saman- / sāman-*: Two Loanwords Meaning 'moss' in Latvian Toponyms

This article analyzes two relatively small toponym groups from the "Dictionary of Latvian Toponyms" and its card file – namely, placenames with *sāmal-/samal-* and *saman-/sāman-* and their shared semantics. They are most probably based on two different lexemes (phonetically similar but with separate origin) meaning 'moss' – one of them being a borrowing from Baltic Finnic languages (cf. Estonian *sammal* and Livonian *sǭmal*) and the other being a Lithuanian word *sãmana* and its derivatives, e.g. *samanýčia* 'place where moss grows'. The aim of this article is, through the analysis of Latvian placename data, to chart the approximate areas of distribution of these two groups of placenames. On the basis of these and also other linguistic and historic data, it will be attempted to specify their precise origin – namely, which placenames of the *sāmal-/samal-* group are really of Baltic Finnic origin and which of the *saman-/sāman-* placenames are of Lithuanian origin.

In the course of the analysis, several conclusions were drawn:

1) the distribution area of the Baltic Finnic apellative with the meaning 'moss' has probably been larger than previously thought. It is possible that it has included not only Northern Latvia and a part of Sēlija region, but also Southern Latgale, as testified by marsh names containing the root *samal-/sāmal-*, such as "Sāmaļ-pūrs" in Izvalta and hypothetically also the Lituanized form "Samalinkas" in Kombuļi;
2) the toponymy of South-eastern Latvia has been a crossroads of influences from various languages: besides borrowings from Lithuanian, there has also been a hypothetical impact of Belarussian, and possible Baltic Finnic borrowings (as a trace of Baltic Finnic substrate in the area);
3) admitting that the Baltic Finnic word *Sammal* may be of Baltic origin, the similarity of form and the close areas of distribution cannot be regarded as coincidence;
4) both Baltic Finnin *samal-* and Lithuanian root *saman-* 'moss' can be observed not only in helonyms, but also in hydronyms and farmhouse names.

Keywords

Latvian toponyms, helonyms, Southern Latgale, Baltic Finnic borrowings, Lithuanian borrowings

“Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca” un tās kartotēka ar tajā apkopoto vietvārdu materiālu ir nebeidzams pētījumu lauks onomastiem – ir iespējams pētīt vietvārdus gan cilmes, gan semantikas un motivācijas, gan arī atsevišķu vietvārdu tipu izplatības aspektā. Šajā rakstā tiks analizētas divas samērā nelielas Latvijas vietvārdu grupas, proti, vietvārdi ar *sāmal-/samal-* un *saman-/sāman-*, kuras vieno semantika – to pamatā, visticamāk, ir divas dažādas, fonētiski līdzīgas leksēmas ar nozīmi ‘sūnas’. Raksta mērķis ir, analizējot Latvijas vietvārdu materiālu, mēģināt noteikt aptuveno šo abu grupu vietvārdu izplatības areālu un, balstoties uz to un uz valodas un vēstures faktiem, mēģināt precizēt šo vietvārdu cilmi, proti, kuri no vietvārdiem ar *sāmal-/samal-*[1] varētu tiešām būt Baltijas somu cilmes vietvārdi un kuri no Latvijas vietvārdiem ar *saman-/sāman-* varētu būt lituānismi.

1. Vietvārdi ar *sāmal-/samal-*

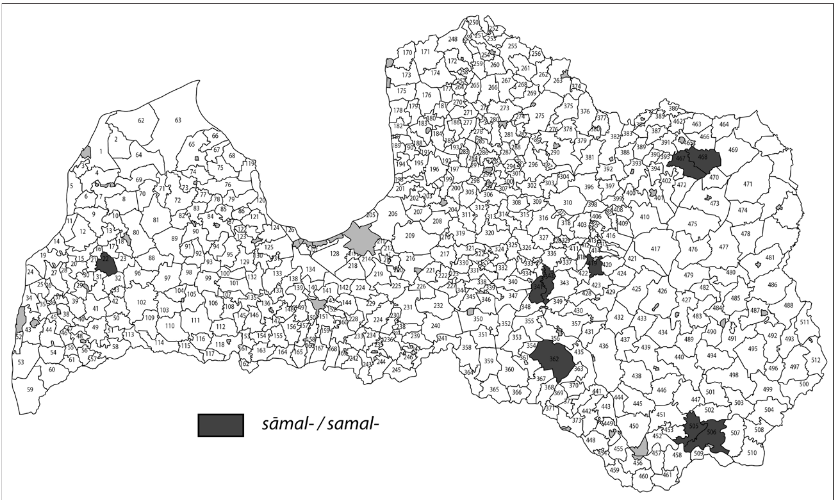
Pirms 20 gadiem zinātnieks Ojārs Bušs atklāja kādu līdz tam nepamanītu Baltijas somu cilmes vārdu, kura pēdas Latvijā vairs sastopamas tikai vietvārdos. Savā 1998. gadā publicētajā rakstā zinātnieks pārliecinoši pierādīja, ka purvu *Sāmalas purvs* (Lazdonā) un *Sāmals* (Annā) nosaukumu pamatā ir mūsdienās vairs nepazīstams apelatīvs ar nozīmi ‘sūnas’, kas, visticamāk, ir Baltijas somu cilmes vārds, radniecīgs ar somu un igauņu *sammal* ‘sūnas’, lībiešu *sǭmal*, *sā̆mal* ‘sūnas’. (Te jāpiebilst, ka jaunākajā igauņu valodas etimoloģijas vārdnīcā igauņu *sammal* tiek uzskatīts par iespējamu aizguvumu no baltu valodām (EES 2012: 459)). Saskaņā ar O. Buša rakstīto sūnas vārds purvu nosaukumos ir izplatīts gan Somijā, gan Latvijā (Somijas vietvārdu kartotēkā ir 175–180 vietvārdi *Sammalsuo*, savukārt Latvijas vietvārdu kartotēkā ir ap 90 *Sūnu purvu* un *Sūnpurvu*, kas salīdzinoši ir diezgan liels skaitlis). Baltijas somu cilmes vietvārdu Lazdonā O. Bušs (2003: 208–213) skaidroja ar Baltijas somu substrātu sēliskajās izloksnēs, savukārt Annas pagasts atrodas netālu no Igaunijas robežas, ar to tika pamatota igauņu valodas ietekme.

“Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīcas” sējumā *Saba–Sēža-* (LVV_5) (kurā ietverti vietvārdu materiāli gan no arhīviem, gan no vietvārdu ekspedīciju vākumiem, kas apkopoti Latvijas vietvārdu kartotēkā, gan no jaunākajiem vietvārdu krājumiem un datubāzēm), protams, ir iekļauti arī O. Buša minētie

1 LVV_5 visi šie vietvārdi apkopoti divos šķirkļos: Samala (LVV_5 141) un “Sāmalas-” (LVV_5 267), kopā apvienojot dažādu cilmju vārdus un šķirkļa beigās sniedzot hipotētiskus cilmes skaidrojumus visam šķirklim kopumā, atsevišķi neanalizējot konkrētus gadījumus.

nepārprotamie Baltijas somu cilmes vietvārdi. Tā “Sāmalas- purvs”[2] Sēlijas pusē, Lazdonā, ir pazīstams līdz mūsdienām un ir fiksēts gan 1994. gadā (“pag. D, 1 km no Dziļūkšņa ezeriņa” (Avotiņa 1999: 194)), gan Latvijas Ģeotelpiskās informācijas aģentūras (Lģia) vietvārdu datubāzē (Lģia 2011). Arī Igaunijas pierobežā esošajā Annas pagastā tiešām vēl mūsdienās, proti, Lģia vietvārdu datubāzē, ir fiksēti ne tikai purva, bet arī meža un grāvja nosaukumi ar *sāmal*-pamatā, turklāt tiem ir arī vairāki paralēlnosaukumi: “Sāmalu- purvs” // “Sāmalu- pūrs” // “Sāmaņu- purvs” // “Sāmaņu- pūrs” // “Samaņu- purvs” // “Sāmaļa- purvs” // “Andrejeva- purvs” tag. Jaunannas pag.; “Sāmalu- grāvis” // agrāk “Sāmaņu- grāvis” tag. Jaunannas pag.[3]; “Sāmalu- mežs” // agrāk “Sāmaņu- mežs” tag. Jaunannas pag. (Lģia 2011). Visticamāk, purva nosaukums ir bijis par pamatu grāvja un meža nosaukumam.

Tomēr LVV$_5$ bez O. Buša minētajiem nepārprotamajiem Baltijas somu cilmes vārdiem ir vēl vairāki vietvārdi ar *sāmal*-, *samal*-, *sāmaļ*-, *samaļ*-, kuru cilme nav tik droši nosakāma. Skat. 1. attēlu.



1. attēls. Vietvārdi ar *sāmal-*/*samal-* Latvijas kartē (pēc LVV$_5$ datiem)

2 Rakstā atsauces dotas nevis uz LVV$_5$ lappusi, kurā minēts vietvārds, bet uz pirmavotu, tomēr saglabājot LVV$_5$ pierasto pieraksta veidu, piemēram, vārdkopas pirmā komponenta beigās un starp salikteņa daļām liekot defisi, citējumus no avotiem (izņemot no E un U) liekot pēdiņās, literārajā valodā pārceltos ekspedīciju piemērus kursivējot, dialektālajā izrunā dotos piemērus atstājot nekursivētus (sīkāk skat. LVV$_5$ X, XI).

3 Pēc LVV$_5$ publicēšanas vietvārdu datubāzei ir pievienots arī paralēlnosaukums “Zasalu purvs”, kas ir arī senākais kartēs fiksētais šī purva nosaukums (Lģia 2019).

Salīdzinoši netālu no Lazdonas – Odzienā, tagadējā Vietalvas pagastā, O. Buša minētajā sēliskajā Baltijas somu substrāta zonā, – fiksēti vēl daži vietvārdi ar sakni *sāmal-/samal-*: "Samala" upe un "Sāmalas-ūdenskrātuve" bij. ūdenskrātuve tag. Vietalvas pag. (Lģia 2019), *Samala* jaunsaimniecība (izr.: såmåla, bijusi barona Brimmera vasarnīca) un *Samala-* dīķis Odzienā (1960). Ūdenskrātuvei, dīķim un jaunsaimniecībai vārdu, visticamāk, ir devusi upe, kuras nosaukumā varbūt tiešām varētu būt patvēries Baltijas somu cilmes vārds ar nozīmi 'sūnas' (Latvijā ir vismaz divas upes ar nosaukumu *Sūnupe*), līdz ar to pastāv tomēr iespēja (lai arī hipotētiska), ka arī šie vietvārdi ir saistīti ar minēto Baltijas somu cilmes vārdu.

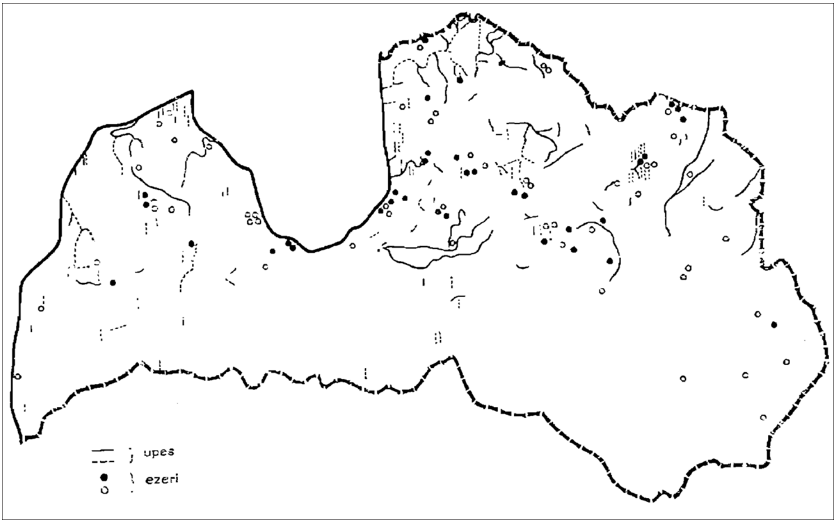
Īsti skaidra cilme nav arī aptuveni tajā pašā reģionā, Biržos, fiksētajam pļavas nosaukumam *Samaļu-* bā́rzi (U V 318). Tā kā tas ir vienīgais šī mikrotoponīma fiksējums, diemžēl nav īsti skaidrs, vai tā pamatā ir mājvārds, uzvārds vai kāds apelatīvs.

Pavisam citā Latvijas reģionā – Kurzemē, Turlavā, – 1850. gadā ir fiksēts zemnieku saimniecības nosaukums "Sammal" (U IV 165), kas ārēji ļoti atgādina atbilstošo igauņu vārdu *sammal* 'sūna' (sal. LES 630), tomēr tā īsti nav teritorija, kurā būtu pierasti aizguvumi no igauņu valodas, tas arī nav lībiskā dialekta reģions (lai arī ir netālu no tā), līdz ar to arī šī vietvārda saistība ar Baltijas somu cilmes apelatīvu šķiet apšaubāma, kaut arī nav pilnībā izslēdzama.

Paliek neatbildēts jautājums, kas tad ir šo pārējo, O. Buša rakstā neminēto vietvārdu ar *sāmal-/samal-* pamatā, ja tas nav attiecīgais Baltijas somu cilmes aizguvums. Kārļa Mīlenbaha "Latviešu valodas vārdnīcā" ir Alūksnes puses apvidvārds *sàmala* ar nozīmi 'ķīvīte' (ME III 803) un apvidvārds *sãmalas* 'putraimu smalkumi, kas ruodas maļuot', kas fiksēts Mazdzeldē tagadējā Skrundas novadā (ME III 803). O. Bušs (2003: 208–209) ļoti apšaubīja, vai šie vārdi varētu būt Lazdonas un Annas vietvārdu pamatā. Līdz ar to Turlavas un Biržu vietvārdi ar *sāmal-/samal-* pagaidām paliek neetimoloģizēti.

Patālu no Lazdonas – Dienvidlatgalē, Izvaltā, – ir fiksēts purva nosaukums "Sāmaļ-pūrs" // "Saumaļ-pūrs" ("3 km uz DA no Šķeltovas, plat. apm. 12 ha") (Kovaļevska 1997: 144), kas pirms gandrīz gadsimta fiksēts formā "Samaļ-purvs" (Pag. apr. 552). Gan formas, gan semantikas ziņā Izvaltas purva nosaukums varētu būt saistīts ar iespējamo Baltijas somu cilmes vārdu. Šis ģeogrāfiskais objekts gan atrodas patālu no t. s. Ludzas igauņu apgabala Latgales austrumos (skat. karti Breidaks 2007: 2, 286; Pajusalu

2009: 173), kurā sastopamās Baltijas somu valodu pēdas būtu jāskaidro ar dienvidigauņu superstrātu (Breidaks 2007: 2, 288). Arī Martas Rudzītes (1968: 193) pirms aptuveni 50 gadiem publicētajā pētījumā par somugriskajiem hidronīmiem konstatēts: "Somu cilmes hidronīmi koncentrēti galvenokārt Vidzemē, tie ir arī Kurzemes ziemeļrietumos un Latgales ziemeļu daļā." Tomēr tajā pašā rakstā publicētajā kartē redzams, ka Baltijas somu cilmes hidronīmi fiksēti arī Dienvidaustrumlatgalē, piemēram, Andrupenē (Rudzīte 1968: 194). Skat. 2. attēlu.



2. attēls. Baltijas somu cilmes hidronīmu izplatība Latvijā (Rudzīte 1968)

Mūsdienu arheologu pētījumos ir konstatēts, ka "1. g. tūkst. pr. Kr. Latvijas teritoriju ziemeļos apdzīvoja konsolidējušās Baltijas somu etniskās grupas, bet dienvidos – baltu etniskās grupas. To saskares josla atradās Daugavas labajā krastā" (Radiņš 2012: 61). Proti, arī Dienvidlatgali pirms dažiem gadu tūkstošiem ir apdzīvojuši Baltijas somi. Kā atzinis Antons Breidaks (2007: 2, 385), mūsu ēras 1. g. tūkst. latgaļiem sākot virzīties uz ziemeļiem, Baltijas somu ciltis "neatkāpās, bet palika savās agrākajās dzīves vietās, [..] notika abu cilšu sajaukšanās", līdz ar to Latgalē veidojās Baltijas somu substrāts, par ko liecina arī toponīmijas dati. A. Breidaks (2007: 2, 386) sniedzis Latgales Baltijas somu cilmes hidronīmu sarakstu, kur ne viens vien hidronīms ir no Dienvidlatgales, no teritorijas, kas nepavisam nav tālu no šajā rakstā analizējamā purva "Sāmaļpūrs" // "Saumaļpūrs" // "Samaļpurvs" Izvaltā, piemēram, *Ojùot'eņč* ezers Krāslavas rajonā [tag. Konstantinovas pag.] un *Siv'ers* ezers Krāslavas rajonā [tag. Skaistas pag.].[4] Līdz ar to nav neiespējams izteikt hipotēzi, ka arī minētais Izvaltas purvs būtu Baltijas somu cilmes.

Turpat netālu, Kombuļos, atrodas purvs "Samalinkas" // "Siunupūreņš" // "Siunokleits" (Kovaļevska 1997: 144), kas arī varētu būt saistīts ar minēto Baltijas somu valodu apelatīvu, tomēr izskaņas dēļ vairāk atgādina lituānismu. Interesanti, ka avotā, kurā šis purva nosaukums fiksēts, tas salīdzināts ar lietuviešu valodas vārdu *samanỹnė* 'sūnaine, sūnājs, sūneklis'[5], tomēr, lai arī šis apelatīvs *samanỹnė* atbilst semantiski, formas ziņā tas neatbilst attiecīgajam vietvārdam "Samalinkas". Fonētiski tuvāks šim purva nosaukumam ir lietuviešu valodas apvidvārds *samaliáuka* 'muklājs' (LKŽ XII 87), tomēr arī šāds saistījums ir visai apšaubāms, jo vārds *samaliáuka* 'muklājs', par kura cilmi vārdnīcas veidotāji nav bijuši īpaši pārliecināti, pie norādes uz nelietuvisko cilmi atstājot jautājuma zīmi, ir sastopams vienīgi Lietuvas ziemeļrietumu izloksnēs, proti, Pluņģē un tās apkaimē, tas ir, patālu no Dienvidlatgales. Visticamāk, tieši ar šo apvidvārdu ir saistīts Lietuvā, Klaipēdas rajonā, esošā ciema *Samãliškės* nosaukums (eVŽ).

Tā kā Dienvidlatgalē arī aizguvumi no baltkrievu valodas nav nekāds retums, būtu jāaplūko iespēja, ka attiecīgo vietvārdu pamatā ir baltkrievu personvārds *Самаль* < *Самуил*, kurš ir Baltkrievijā fiksētā lauka nosaukuma *Самальскoe* (MiB 217) pamatā un no kura ir aizgūts arī lietuviešu uzvārds *Samãlius* (LPŽ II 668). Tomēr arī šī etimoloģija nav īsti ticama, jo diezgan neiespējami, ka blakus pagastos būtu divi purvi, kuru abu nosaukumā būtu izmantots baltkrievu personvārds *Самаль*. Līdz ar to šobrīd visticamākā ir hipotēze, ka vismaz viens no šiem Dienvidlatgales purvu nosaukumiem – "Sāmaļpūrs" Izvaltā –, gluži tāpat kā O. Buša etimoloģizētie Lazdonas un Annas pagasta purvu nosaukumi (un, iespējams, arī Odzienas hidronīmi), ir etimoloģiski saistīti ar aizguvumu no Baltijas somu valodām ar nozīmi 'sūnas'. Līdz ar to var piesardzīgi secināt, ka Baltijas somu cilmes apelatīva ar nozīmi 'sūnas' izplatības areāls, iespējams, ir bijis nedaudz plašāks, nekā tika uzskatīts līdz šim, proti, tas aptver arī Dienvidlatgali.

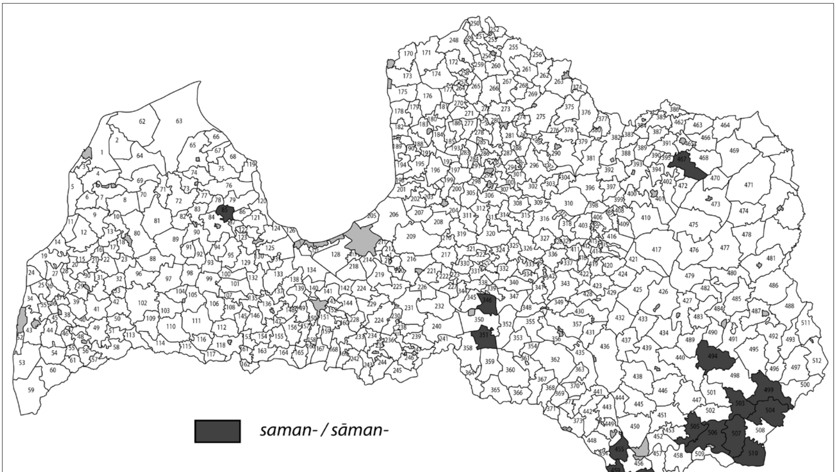
4 Iespējams, par Baltijas somu cilmes hidronīmu var uzskatīt arī ezera nosaukumu *Ots* tag. Kombuļu pagastā, uz kura saistību ar Baltijas somu valodām norādījis trimdas katoļu garīdznieks un vēsturnieks Staņislavs Škutāns (1956: 24).

5 Otīlija Kovaļevska atzīst, ka lituānismi Mateļu ciema apkaimē nav retums, jo šeit dzīvojuši ienācēji – lietuvieši.

Atsevišķu Sēlijas vietvārdu un Kurzemē (Turlavā) 19. gadsimtā fiksētā vietvārda "Sammal" cilme līdz šim ir neskaidra.

2. Vietvārdi ar *saman-/sāman-*

Dienvidlatgalē un Dienvidsēlijā ir fiksēta arī virkne iepriekš aplūkotās grupas vārdiem fonētiski līdzīgu vietvārdu (atšķiras vienīgi formants *l* un *n*) ar *saman-/sāman-*, kuru pamatā, iespējams, ir lietuviešu valodas vārds *sãmana* 'sūna' (LLV 434) vai tā atvasinājumi, piemēram, *samanýčia* 'sūneklis' (LKŽ XIII 89) (skat. 3. attēlu). Tie ir vārda *sãmana* semantikai atbilstoši purvu un pļavu nosaukumi, lielākoties ar lietuviskām vai slāviskotām lietuviešu izskaņām, piemēram, *Samanišku- luksts* pļava Asūnē (1963), Samo·nišķe // Samonu- pļava Kurcumā ("tùr àug samonas", paskaidrojusi teicēja lietuviete) (1960). Īpaši daudz gan Dienvidlatgalē, gan Dienvidsēlijā ir ģeogrāfisku objektu ar nosaukumu *Samaņica*, piemēram, Sama·ņica pļava Skaistā (vietvārdu vācējs salīdzinājis ar lietuviešu *Samanyčia*) (1962), Sama·ņica purvs Demenē (krūmiem aizaugusi staigna vieta netālu no mājām) (1960), Sama·ņica purvs Piedrujā (// Bez·donnaja- Samaņica, kādreiz šajā vietā bijis ezers) (1962), Sama·ņica // Samuņica purvs, mežs, leja Sventē (1960), "Samaņica" purvs tag. Ūdrīšu pag. (Kovaļevska 1997: 144).



3. attēls. Vietvārdi ar *saman-/sāman-* Latvijas kartē (pēc LVV_5 datiem)

Analizējot “Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīcas” kartotēkā esošos materiālus, apstiprinās, ka absolūtais vairākums vietvārdu ar sakni *sūn-* ir purvu nosaukumi jeb helonīmi, tomēr ir sastopami arī šīs saknes hidronīmi, piemēram, *Sûnęzęrs* // *Sûneksls* Cērē (U IV 180) un *Sûnupe* Lēdurgā (1961). Tāpat ne mazums ir arī mājvārdu – jo īpaši jaunsaimniecību, bet ir arī dažas vecsaimniecības ar šādu nosaukumu, piemēram, *Sûnas* zemniekmāja Piņķos (1969).

Tādēļ nav nekas neparasts, ka arī ar sakni *saman-* Latvijas vietvārdos ir gan hidronīmi, piemēram, *Samaņu-* ezers // *Samanītis* // *Lubgaņu-* ezers Ezerniekos (1971), *Samaņu-* ezers Kurcumā (1984) ar paralēlnosaukumiem “Samaņka” // “Samaņkas- ezers” // “Samanka” // “Samankas- ezers” // “Samaņku- ezers” (Lģia 2011), “Samaņica” upe Robežniekos un Indrā (Kovaļevska 1997: 33), gan, visticamāk, šo hidronīmu motivēti mājvārdi vai apdzīvoto vietu nosaukumi, piemēram, *Samaņi* 2 zemniekmājas Kurcumā (1984), *Samaniškas* ciems Asūnē (E II 164) ar paralēlnosaukumiem “Samaņiškas” (Tvd 2017), “Samaniški” (Lģia 2011), *Samanišku-* ciems (1963).

Salīdzinājumam arī Lietuvā ir virkne hidronīmu, purvu un to motivētu apdzīvoto vietu nosaukumu, kuru pamatā ir apelatīvs *samana* ‘sūna’ vai tā atvasinājumi, piemēram, *Samãnė* ezers Utenā, *Samãnis* ezers Degučos un citur (Vanagas 1981: 289), *Samanyčià* purvs Švenčoņu rajonā (eVŽ) un *Samanìškės* ciems Prienu rajonā (Ladms 271).

Tā kā Dienvidlatgale un Dienvidsēlija robežojas ar Lietuvu, lituānismi šīs teritorijas vietvārdos nav pārsteidzoši. Lietuviešu valodnieka Kazimiera Garšvas (2015: 17) grāmatā “Latvijos lietuvių šnektos” publicētajā kartē redzams, ka Krāslavas apkaimē bijušas gan senas lietuviešu apmetnes, gan 19. gadsimta beigu kolonijas, arī Dienvidsēlijā bijušas senas lietuviešu apdzīvotas teritorijas.

Par senām lietuviešu apdzīvotām teritorijām, iespējams, liecina arī jau minētā Asūnes ciema nosaukuma fiksējums 18. gadsimta poļu un krievu revīzijās: po. “Summaniszki” 1765. g., po. “Samiszki” 1738. g., minēts arī uzvārds po. “po Jendrzeju Samaniu” 1712. g., kr. “Samoniški” // “Samuniški” 1784. g. (Zeps 1984: 442–443).

Runājot par slāviskajām izskaņām atsevišķiem mikrotoponīmiem ar *saman-*, piemēram, Sama·ņica purvs Demenē un purvs Piedrujā, “Samaņica” purvs tag. Ūdrīšu pag., jāteic, ka arī baltkrievu mikrotoponīmijā šīs saknes aizguvumi no lietuviešu valodas nav nekāds retums. Baltkrievijas mikrotoponīmu vārdnīcā ir fiksēti divi pļavas nosaukumi – *Самані´на* un *Сама´нічына*, kas ir nepārprotami aizguvumi no lietuviešu *samaninė* ‘sūnu’ (MiB 217). Savukārt lietuviešu valodas ietekme uz tagadējās Baltkrievijas rietumu apgabaliem ir vēsturiski nosacīta. Par to liecina arī senie avoti, piemēram, 1542. gada Lietuvas Lielkņazistes metriku grāmatā, runājot par tagadējo Baltkrievijas teritoriju, minēts ezera nosaukums *Сомонисъ*, kas atrodas sūnainā apvidū: “А ѡтъ того полѧ повєли насъ лєсомъ ко мъхꙋ, а мхомъ ꙋ вєзєро Сомонисъ” (MVKL 2).

Kā atzīst O. Kovaļevska (1997: 6), 20. gadsimta beigās toreizējā Krāslavas rajonā bija 18,91 % baltkrievu un minētajā Piedrujas pagastā tobrīd dzīvoja galvenokārt tikai baltkrievi, no kuriem daļa, iespējams, ir pārbaltkrieviskojušies latgalieši. Līdz ar to baltkrievu valodas ietekme uz šī apvidus vietvārdiem nav pārsteidzoša un pilnīgi iespējams, ka atsevišķos gadījumos lituānismus latviešu izloksnēs vārddarināšanas ziņā ir ietekmējusi arī baltkrievu valoda.

Tomēr arī ārpus Dienvidlatgales un Dienvidsēlijas ir daži gadījumi, kad sakne *saman-* ir sastopama Latvijas vietvārdos. Divi seni mājvārdi ir salīdzinoši netālu viens no otra un nav arī ļoti tālu no Lietuvas robežas, kaut arī tradicionālajā lituānismu zonā neietilpst. Aizkrauklē ir fiksēta zemniekmāja *Samani* (E I 34), kas formā “Samman” minēta jau 1638. gada arklu revīzijā (VAR III 1036), bet 1964. gadā konstatēta kā neeksistējoša – “Samanu- mājas” bijusī zemniekmāja Miemenu līcī (Cīņa 1964: 24, 4). Salīdzinoši netālu, Daudzesē, arī ir fiksēta zemniekmāja “Samani” (E II 56), kas vēl 1982. gadā ir bijusi pazīstama ar nosaukumu *Samaņi* (1982), turpat blakus bijis “Samāna- atvars” (U V 322 k), kas gan 1961. gadā jau atzīts par neeksistējošu – Samàna- atvars bijušais atvars (1961). Lai arī semantiski šie vietvārdi īsti neatbilst apelatīvam ar nozīmi ‘sūnas’, tomēr hipotētiski lituānismi šajā teritorijā varbūt arī būtu iespējami.

Ja šo abu iepriekšminēto nosaukumu pamatā varbūt tiešām varētu būt lietuviešu valodas vārds *samanos* ‘sūnas’, tad pārējie divi gadījumi izraisa lielas šaubas. Viens no tiem ir *Samaņi* zemniekmāja Cērē (E II 109; 1973), kas atrodas Ziemeļkurzemē, pārāk tālu no Lietuvas robežas, lai būtu kaut neliela lituānisma iespējamība. Otrs, vēl mazāk ticams lituānisma gadījums ir jau minētais *Samanu-* purvs // *Sāmaņu-* purvs Annā (Igaunijas pierobežā), kas kā paralēlnosaukums minēts raksta sākumā aplūkotajam *Sāmalu purvam*. O. Bušs (2003: 211) savā publikācijā atzina, ka nosaukums *Sāmanu purvs* pēc semantiskās analoģijas izskatās pēc lituānisma, tomēr Ziemeļlatvijā šāda parādība ir diezgan grūti izskaidrojama. Zinātnieks pieļāva, ka tas tomēr varbūt arī nav lituānisms, atstājot šo jautājumu atklātu.

Salīdzinot abas šīs analizētās vietvārdu grupas, kuru pamatā ir iespējamie aizguvumi ar nozīmi 'sūnas' no Baltijas somu valodām un no lietuviešu valodas, nevar nepamanīt faktu, ka abu grupu vietvārdiem ir tuvs izplatības areāls, tā ir Austrumlatvija tās plašākajā nozīmē. Ja formu *sāmal-/samal-* un *saman-/sāman-* paralēlais lietojums Vidzemes ziemeļos, visticamāk, ir uzskatāms par nejaušu sakritību, respektīvi, *Sāmanu purvs* kā lituānisms šajā gadījumā ir diezgan apšaubāms (kaut arī gan forma, gan nozīme šķistu lituānismam atbilstoša), tad abu šo grupu areālais tuvums Dienvidlatgalē un Dienvidsēlijā kā vēsturiskā dažādu valodu saskares vietā ir likumsakarīga parādība. Tā kā igauņu *sammal* 'sūnas', kaut arī ar šaubām, tomēr tiek uzskatīts par iespējamu baltismu un salīdzināts ar lietuviešu *samanos* (EES 2012: 459), raksta nobeigumā varbūt pavisam piesardzīgi var izteikt pieņēmumu, ka Latvijas vietvārdi ar *sāmal-/samal-* un *saman-/sāman-* ir kā savienojošais posms starp diviem lieliem hipotētiski vienas cilmes leksēmu (Baltijas somu *samal-* un baltu *saman-*) izplatības areāliem.

Secinājumi

1) Baltijas somu cilmes apelatīva ar nozīmi 'sūnas' izplatības areāls, iespējams, ir bijis nedaudz plašāks, nekā tika uzskatīts līdz šim, proti, tas aptvēris ne tikai Ziemeļlatviju un daļu Sēlijas, bet arī Dienvidlatgali, par ko liecina purvu nosaukumi ar sakni *sāmal-/samal-*, piemēram, "Sāmaļ-pūrs" Izvaltā un, iespējams, arī lietuviskotā forma "Samalinkas" Kombuļos;
2) Latvijas dienvidaustrumu toponīmijā ir saskārušās dažādu valodu ietekmes: blakus teritoriāli samērā plašiem aizguvumiem ar *saman-/sāman-* no lietuviešu valodas (Dienvidlatgalē un Dienvidsēlijā), kas rāda gan senākus, gan jaunākus valodu kontaktus, ir baltkrievu valodas ietekme (derivācijā) un iespējami aizguvumi ar *sāmal-/samal-* no Baltijas somu valodām kā Baltijas somu substrāta sekas;
3) pieļaujot, ka Baltijas somu *Sammal* ir baltiskas cilmes, formālā līdzība un tuva teritoriālā izplatība starp rakstā aplūkotajiem abu grupu vietvārdiem nav nejauša;
4) gan Baltijas somu cilmes sakne *samal-*, gan lietuviskā sakne *saman-* 'sūnas' ir sastopama ne tikai helonīmos, bet arī hidronīmos un mājvārdos.

Saīsinājumi

apm. – apmēram
bij. – bijušais
D – dienvidi
DA – dienvidaustrumi
g. tūkst. – gadu tūkstotis
ha – hektārs
izr. – izrunā
k – koriģēta forma
km – kilometrs
kr. – krievu
pag. – pagasts
plat. – platība
po. – poļu
pr. Kr. – pirms Kristus
sal. – salīdzināt
skat. – skatīt
tag. – tagadējais
t. s. – tā saucamais

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Наталия Васильева

Ономастика и норма: 40 лет спустья

Natalija Vasileva

Onomastics and Norm: 40 Years Later

The issue of the onomastic norm has its own history. In 1976, the *Nauka* Publishing House in Moscow published a collection of articles entitled *Onomastika i norma* 'Onomastics and Norm'. For the first time in Russia the word *norm* was placed in the title of the book on onomastics. When we argue about the term *linguistic norm*, it is important to remind of its polysemy. On the one hand, there is a norm as various linguistic characteristics that distinguish a given speech community from others (*norm* 1), and on the other hand, there is normativity as the result of codification processes of the language (*norm* 2). Norm 1 correlates to such concepts as system and usus. Norm 2 is represented in a set of prescriptive rules, following which puts the given unit within the framework of the grammar of the literary language. What do we see in onomastics? On the one hand, 40 years ago, the attention was focused mainly on normativity from the point of view of the literary language and the grammatical norm (*norm* 2). On the other hand, it was at that time that the concept of the anthroponymic norm associated with the notion of the anthroponymic system appeared (*norm* 1). So how could we evaluate the ratio of "onomastics and the norm" for the Russian language 40 years after the issue was first raised?

1. There is a blurring of the *norm* 2 for proper names in connection with the general trend of blurring of the boundaries of the literary language (declension/non-declension of surnames, fluctuations in the morphology of patronymics, disparity in the transliteration of foreign names). 2. For the pragmatic norm (*norm* 1), the following tendencies are noted: the growth of tolerance for foreign and non-systemic names (anthroponyms and toponyms); restructuring of the traditional three-term name formula; public approval of onomastic creativity. The variability of the pragmatic parameters of the onomastic norm observed at the present time is connected with the globalization processes in modern society. As one of the criteria for discursive stratification of the pragmatic onomastic norm, the concept of onomastic implicatures (ethnic, gender, chronological, etc.) is suggested.

Keywords

linguistic norm, onymic norm as pragmatic norm, onomastic implicatures, onymic creativity

1. Постановка вопроса

Вопрос об ономастической норме имеет свою историю. В 1976 г. в издательстве "Наука" в Москве вышел сборник статей "Ономастика и норма". Впервые слово норма было вынесено в заглавие книги по ономастике, в которой обсуждались следующие проблемы:

1) стандартизация географических названий,
2) статистическая структура русского именника,
3) социальная и эстетическая оценка имен,
4) "нестандартные" русские фамилии,
5) принципы ономастической лексикографии,
6) правила склонения топонимов и антропонимов,
7) правила транслитерации,
8) исторические изменения антропонимикона, антропонимические новшества,
9) индивидуальная поэтическая норма,
10) орфографические правила для частных случаев.

Эти проблемы нашли отражение в 17 статьях известных ономатологов (Василий Данилович Бондалетов, Александра Васильевна Суперанская, Велта Сталтмане, Александрас Ванагас, Лариса Павловна Калакуцкая и др.) (Ономастика и норма 1976: 254-256).

С тех пор прошло четыре десятилетия, на протяжении которых этот вопрос для российской ономастики практически не поднимался. Можно указать отдельные работы по исторической антропонимике, связанные с реконструкцией ономастической нормы (Бабий 1991; Бабий 1998), но обобщающих работ на тему нормы в ономастике за это время не появилось. Попробуем в некоторой степени восполнить данный пробел, обратившись сначала к понятию языковой нормы, частью которой является норма ономастическая.

2. Языковая норма: двойственность понятия

Рассуждая о норме, важно помнить, что понятие языковой нормы обладает двойственностью. Как писала Наталья Николаевна Семенюк (1970), много лет занимавшаяся историей немецкого литературного языка и подготовившая один из лучших для своего времени аналитический обзор по истории языковой нормы в европейской лингвистике, к понятию нормы "наиболее часто прибегают в исследованиях, связанных с изучением специфики литературных языков, а также в работах по культуре речи, что характерно прежде всего для русских и чешских языковедов” (Семенюк 1970: 549). Привязка нормы к нормативности вытекает из общего определения нормы как совокупности “коллективных традиционных реализаций структурных потенций языковой системы”, если речь идет о таких реализациях, которые приняты обществом и осознаются им “как правильные и образцовые” (Семенюк 1970: 565-566). Связь двух вариантов языковой нормы очевидна, и не секрет, что в некоторых лингвистических работах эти варианты смешиваются. Если выйти из структурной парадигмы лингвистики, которая господствовала в 70-е гг. XX века, и перейти к парадигме антропоцентрической, характерной для лингвистики наших дней, то мы можем сказать, что с одной стороны, существует норма языкового сознания (*language consciousness*) коллектива, который пользуется данным языком (обозначим ее норма 1), а с другой – нормативность, являющаяся плодом процессов стандартизации (норма 2). Норма 1 получает место в триаде система – норма – узус, описанной Эухенио Косериу: система – это “система возможностей, координат, которые указывают открытые и закрытые пути”, из которых норма реализует лишь некоторые; узус отражает реальное употребление единиц языка (Косериу 1963: 173-174). Другими словами, и норма 1, и узус представляют собой общепринятые реализации системы, или кода, это определенный выбор говорящих в пользу одной из ряда единиц, предлагаемых системой. Норма 2 связана с понятием нормализационных процессов, которые сопровождают становление и существование литературного языка; с набором прескриптивных правил, подчинение которым ставит данную единицу в рамки грамматики литературного языка (кодификация нормы).

Некоторые исследователи, признавая двойственность понятия нормы, говорят о широком vs. узком ее понимание. В первом случае норма связана с традицией использования языковых единиц, ср.: “В широком смысле под нормой подразумевают традиционно и стихийно сложившиеся способы речи, отличающие данный языковой идиом от других языковых идиомов. В этом понимании норма близка к понятию узуса, т. е. общепринятых, устоявшихся способов использования данного языка” (Крысин 2017: 21). В узком смысле норма представляет собой совокупность предписаний, является результатом целенаправленной кодификации языка. “Такое понимание нормы неразрывно связано с понятием литературного языка, который иначе называют нормированным, или кодифицированным. Территориальный диалект, городское просторечие, социальные и профессиональные жаргоны не подвергаются кодификации, и поэтому к ним не применимо понятие нормы в узком смысле этого термина” (Крысин 2017: 22). Таким образом, норма в узком понимании – это описанная выше норма 2.

При обращении к ономастической норме как производной от нормы языковой следует обратить внимание на еще один термин. В 70-е гг. XX в., когда стало обсуждаться понятие нормы в ономастике, в лингвистике появился термин “антинорма” (ср. Горбачевич 1971; 1989). Этот термин замечателен тем, что не отрицал категорию нормы, а давал возможность обратить внимание на так называемые “нормы отклонений” – специфические разновидности нормы, свойственные различным видам нелитературной речи. В дальнейшем Виктор Алексеевич Виноградов внес терминологические уточнения, представив разновидности “нормы отклонений” как ее стратификацию, ср. дианорма (диалектная норма), субнорма (свойственна детской речи), паранорма (свойственна просторечию) и другие аллонормы (Виноградов 1976: 15-16). Таким образом, в рамках этой концепции “правильное” употребление, одобренное для одной дискурсивной практики, является “неправильным” для другой. Простой и яркий пример приводит Елена Валентиновна Ерофеева, обсуждая проблему соотношения нормы и узуса: “Например, нормативная в литературном языке форма кла́паны в профессиональной речи шоферов считается “неправильной”, а “правильной” признается форма клапан´а, и наоборот” (Ерофеева 2003: 4). Можно добавить пример из другой профессиональной среды – медицинской, где “правильными” считаются ударения наркомани́я и а́лкоголь (при литературных формах наркома́ния и алкого́ль).

3. Ономастическая норма
3.1. Норма грамматическая vs. норма прагматическая

Сказанное выше важно для характеристики ономастической нормы, которая также относится к норме языка и поэтому также имеет двойственную природу, но всё же несколько особую. Особенность ономастической нормы состоит, на наш взгляд, в том, что для имен собственных, которые присутствуют во всех языковых вариантах (коммуникативных стратах, дискурсивных практиках) прагматика чаще существеннее грамматики. Без сомнения, правильность/неправильность с точки зрения литературного языка, т.е. нормализационный аспект (ср. норма 2) в ономастике тоже важен, однако с функционально-коммуникативной точки зрения, “правильный” узус часто оказывается еще важнее. Таким образом, для ономастики большое значение имеет прагматическая норма, и задача видится в изучении именно её. История ономастических исследований демонстрирует постепенность перехода интересов от нормы грамматической к норме прагматической. В монографии “Ономастика и норма”, вышедшей более 40 лет назад, внимание уделялось преимущественно норме грамматической, т.е. нормативности с точки зрения литературного языка (норма 2). С другой стороны, десятилетием раньше появилось собственное понятие антропонимической нормы, связанное с понятием антропонимической системы (ср. норма 1). На эту норму обратил внимание Владимир Андреевич Никонов, один из основоположников современной российской ономастики. Проведя масштабное статистическое исследование именника по различным регионам России, он обнаружил, что при свободном выборе имени общие данные складываются в интересную картину: эти данные “неоспоримо доказывают, насколько жестко обусловлен выбор личных имен <…> общественным вкусом, современной антропонимической нормой, хотя бы и не осознаваемой выбирающими” (Никонов 1967: 110-111). Таким образом, по Никонову, антропонимическая норма а) относится к синхронии, б) проявляется статистически, в) выражает общественный вкус. Однако тот же исследователь предупреждал об опасности прямолинейных выводов: “Неизвестно, как распространяются вкусы. Есть лишь смутное представление, что на выбор имен оказывают влияние книги, театр, кино, телевидение. Но каков вес каждого из этих источников? Несомненны и другие силы, управляющие именами, но о них известно еще меньше” (Никонов 1974: 251). Можно считать, что этот тезис В. А. Никонова указал путь новым направлениям в ономастике XXI в., в которых используются экспериментальные психолингвистические методы. Так, методика ассоциативного эксперимента успешно применяется при исследовании моды на имена (Врублевская 2017), а также при анализе так называемых текстов-рефлексивов, репрезентирующих мотив имянаречения (ономастическую рефлексию) (Врублевская 2013; Бойкова 2017).

3.2. Ономастика и норма 40 лет спустя: основные тенденции

Итак, как можно охарактеризовать соотношение “ономастика и норма” для русского языка через 40 лет после первой постановки вопроса? Перечислим эти характеристики, вполне отдавая себе отчет в том, что каждую из названных тем можно снабдить списком литературы, появившейся за последние десятилетия.

1. Прежде всего, наблюдается размывание нормы 2 (литературной нормы) для имен собственных. Это связано в значительной мере с общей тенденцией размывания границ литературного языка, границ между функциональными подсистемами языка, отмечаемой социолингвистами в конце XX – начале XXI веков и обозначаемой часто как “коллоквиализация”, “демократизация” языка (Крысин 2000; Кронгауз 2008). В антропонимике это выражается в снятии облигаторности склонения фамилий, в колебаниях в морфологии отчеств; в топонимике – в разнобое в передаче иноязычных топонимов (ср. традиционную передачу названия города *Heidelberg* как Гейдельберг и новую как Хайдельберг; последняя набирает силу, особенно в дискурсе туризма; аналогично Мангейм – Манхайм).

2. Прагматическая норма (норма 1, узуальная норма) характеризуется следующими признаками. Прежде всего, наблюдается рост толерантности к иноязычным и иносистемным именам (антропонимам и топонимам). Кроме того, возможно, не без связи с глобализационными процессами, охватывающими общество целиком, в рамках антропонимикона происходит переструктурирование традиционной трехчленной формулы имени (знаменитая русская “тройка” ФИО – фамилия, имя, отчество). Это происходит уже достаточно давно, просто каждое десятилетие привносит в этот процесс что-то новое. Так, в 90-е гг. XX в. мы наблюдали падение отчеств, затем пришла мода на двойные имена. В целом в настоящее время наблюдается общественное одобрение ономастической креативности.

Двойные имена – одно из проявлений ономастической креативности. Приведем несколько примеров. Двойные имена воспринимаются в настоящее время в России вполне толерантно. По крайней мере, не встречают сопротивления официальных регистрирующих органов. Так, по статистическим материалам Управления ЗАГС (= запись актов гражданского состояния) г. Москвы,[1] регистрацию в 2012 г. прошли следующие имена: Анна-Виктория, Ева-Виктория, Мария-Виктория, Мария-Маргарита, Анна-Виктория, Ева-Виктория, Мария-Виктория, Мария-Маргарита, Миа-Мария. Тот же источник приводит двойные имена, данные в 2000-2011 г. мальчикам, однако помещает их в раздел "необычные": Дмитрий-Аметист, Матвей-Радуга, Николай-Никита-Нил (2000), Иван-Коловрат (2003), Кантогор-Егор (2006), Еремей-Покровитель, Архип-Урал, а также Лука-Счастье Саммерсет Оушен (2010). Таким образом, как тенденцию можно отметить тяготение женских двойных имен к интернациональному "западному" типу, в то время как мужские двойные имена характеризуются комбинацией привычного русского имени с необычным вторым компонентом, который превращает весь бином в необычный и даже экзотический.

3.3. Ономастическая норма и креативность: триада О. Бушса

Вопрос о креативности в ономастике возник относительно недавно, однако из-за буквально обрушившегося на исследователей языкового материала он стал весьма активно разрабатываться ономатологами разных стран, в том числе и России. Ономастической креативностью в большой степени "задета" городская эргонимия, ср., например, анализ с этой точки зрения эргонимии города Томска, представленный в работе (Бутакова 2012). При наличии в настоящее время разных подходов к ономастической креативности и всевозможных детальных классификаций онимов, хочется вспомнить простую, но в своей простоте совершенную триаду, которую предложил Оярс Бушс для коммерческих названий с точки зрения обычности/необычности номинации, а именно: *trivial names – non-trivial names – extraordinary names* (Bušs 2012: 16). По-русски эти термины следует, очевидно, передать как обычные – необычные – очень необычные названия/онимы. Как отметил сам автор, эта классификация может распространяться и на другие категории имен собственных, в частности, на антропонимы (ibid.). Детальный анализ категорий обычности/необычности онимов коммерческой сферы с примерами представлен в работе (Balode, Bušs 2014). Пользуясь

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1 С некоторых пор статистика имен на официальном сайте Управления ЗАГС г. Москвы www.mos.ru не публикуется. Указанные сведения взяты ранее с сайта московских загсов www.zags.mos.ru (дата доступа 05.01.2014). В целом статистика имянаречений и обсуждение статуса имен в настоящее время рассредоточились по блогам и интернет-форумам.

триадой Бушса, рассмотрим несколько примеров из такой антропонимической подсистемы, которая всегда славилась своей креативностью: это сценические псевдонимы, призванные из обычного имени (*trivial name*) сделать необычное (*non-trivial*), а еще лучше очень необычное имя (*extraordinary name*). На современной российской сцене артистов с псевдонимами много. Как известно, сценический псевдоним может быть обусловлен несколькими факторами: неблагозвучностью исходной фамилии (актер Александр Скотников – псевдоним Александр Ратников), но более всего артисты хотят уйти от фамилии обычной, незапоминающейся, например, актриса Жанна Копылова – псевдоним Жанна Фриске, певица Елена Хрулева – Елена Ваенга и т.п. Весьма интересны с социолингвистической точки зрения мотивы, руководствуясь которыми артист берет себе псевдоним. Так, Оксана Валентиновна Врублевская, исследовавшая моду на имена, приводит в своей диссертации слова певца Авраама Руссо (настоящее имя Апрахам Ипджян) о своем псевдониме: "Занимаясь своей раскруткой и постепенно входя в российский шоу-бизнес, я прекрасно понимал, что использовать свою фамилию Ипджян я не мог" (Врублевская 2017: 161). Певица Алла Перфилова выступает под псевдонимом Валерия; согласно информации, найденной О. В. Врублевской, мотив был такой: Алла звучало для европейских слушателей как слово Аллах, поэтому было решено взять псевдоним. Уже готовый псевдоним может стать поводом к дальнейшей языковой игре в псевдо-псевдоним, как это произошло у писателя-сатирика и телеведущего Григория Офштейна, взявшего себе псевдоним Горин (от фамилии бабушки Горинская). Однако на вопрос о причинах выбора такого псевдонима, он шутил, что это аббревиатура, и расшифровывается она следующим образом: Гриша Офштейн Решил Изменить Национальность (все примеры из Врублевская 2017).

4. Критерии дискурсивной стратификации ономастической нормы

Вариативность прагматических параметров ономастической нормы, которая наблюдается в настоящее время, связана с глобализационными процессами в современном обществе. Мобильность индивида, межэтнические контакты, межкультурная коммуникация, в конце концов, даже удобство набора букв на клавиатуре компьютера вносят изменения именно в прагматический кодекс имени, т. е. в сложившиеся (или еще складывающиеся) в языковом сознании индивида и общества представления об употреблении этого имени. Прагматическая норма не является однородной, поэтому необходимо найти критерии для ее стратификации.

В качестве одного из критериев дискурсивной стратификации прагматической ономастической нормы можно использовать понятие ономастических импликатур (этнических, гендерных, хронологических и др.). Этим термином в (Васильева 2015) обозначается следующее явление. Как известно, на восприятие имени влияют сложившиеся в данном лингвосоциокультурном сообществе прагматические представления и стереотипы, которые могут либо оправдываться, либо нарушаться. Термином ономастические импликатуры обозначается комплекс "имя собственное ↔ ожидание / реакции того, кто имя воспринимает", т.е. корреляции имени собственного и реакции адресата. Выделение различных типов таких импликатур позволяет стратифицировать прагматическую норму.

Рассмотрим кратко этнические ономастические импликатуры и более подробно гендерные.

1) Этнические импликатуры связаны с наличием в языковом сознании (в том его секторе, который можно назвать ономастическим сознанием) этностереотипов на антропонимическом уровне (ср. Lawson 1996). В самом общем виде это можно представить как импликативную формулу: если имя А, то этнически это В, ср. если Иван, то русский; если Ганс, то немец; если Рабинович, то еврей (Васильева 2015: 353). Ономастическое языковое сознание является особенно чутким к оппозиции "свой/чужой" (по крайней мере, у русских). Для некоторых языков и культур этнические ономастические импликатуры могут носить более дробный характер, т.е. относиться не к общенациональному языку в целом, а к его региональным вариантам (Васильева 2015: 354). В настоящее время в сфере этностереотипов наблюдается явный сдвиг прагматической нормы, своеобразный разрыв нити импликации. Личные имена меньше привязываются к национальному ономастикону и теряют функцию ономастической стигмы.

2) Гендерные ономастические импликатуры вытекают из реакций на принадлежность имени одному из гендерных полей. Это вполне укладывается в рамки оправданных/неоправданных ожиданий адресата (Васильева 2015: 354-355). Рассмотрим для ономастичес-

кого материала две оппозиции: “мужской/женский” и “мужественный/ женственный”. В первом случае речь идет о существовании в ономастической системе языка мужских и женских антропонимов и о распознавании их в речи/тексте. Как известно, системы личных имен складываются в языке исторически, в результате может сформироваться определенный набор антропоформантов, которые служат маркерами составных частей национальной формулы имени. Если для русского отчества и для типовых фамилий такие форманты очевидны и легко распределяются по признаку “мужской/женский” (*-ович*/*-овна*, *-евич*/*-евна*, *-ич*/*-ична*; *-ов*/*-ова*, *-ин*/*-ина*, *-ский*/*-ская*), то для первого компонента формулы имени – собственно личного имени – формальные показатели сводятся к минимуму. Даже *-а* как характерное окончание женского личного имени присутствует не только в мужских гипокористиках (Миша, Коля), но и в полной форме имени (Фома, Савва). В целом же можно сказать, что для русского ономастического сознания распределение имен по шкале “мужской/женский”, если это касается национального и/или привычного околонационального именника, не является затруднительным. Трудность составляют, бесспорно, иностранные имена, например, на страницах газет, гендерную атрибуцию которых невозможно установить, если отсутствует какая-либо грамматическая поддержка. Для русского языка это форма прилагательного или форма глагола в прошедшем времени. Аналогичную роль играет для немецкого языка артикль перед фамилией, ср. два предложения: *Clinton bewirbt sich auf die Präsidentschaftskandidatur* и *Die Clinton bewirbt sich auf die Präsidentschaftskandidatur* ‘Клинтон выдвигает свою кандидатуру в президенты’. Артикль во втором предложении позволяет избежать амбивалентного понимания ситуации (Lenk 2002: 52).

В современном мультинациональном обществе можно наблюдать явление, когда заимствованное имя по формальным показателям попадает в противоположную гендерную ячейку. Так, Вильфрид Зайбике в 1977 г. отмечал, что в Германии (Западной) назвать мальчика именем *Andrea* имели право только родители-итальянцы, поскольку для итальянского языка это нормальное мужское имя, а в ономастическом поле немецкого языка *Andrea* является женским именем. *Helge* – шведское мужское имя – совпадает формально с немецким женским именем. *Inger* – скандинавское женское имя – имеет ту же финаль, что немецкие мужские имена

Holger, *Dieter*, *Werner* (цит по: Thurmair 2002, 94). В настоящее время, когда в Германии в моде стали оригинальные имена, на сайте www.beliebte-vornamen.de можно увидеть список амбивалентных имен, в котором носители русского (российского) ономастического сознания найдут единицы, гендерная атрибуция которых (будь они "нашими") не составила бы особой сложности, ср. *Jascha*, *Sina*, *Maxime*, *Nikita, Deniz.* Но здесь, очевидно, мы вторгаемся в область контрастивной психоономастики, где решающим инструментом исследования должен стать ассоциативный эксперимент. Можно осторожно предположить, что русское (российское) ономастическое сознание устроено таким образом, что и в современном посттрадиционном ономастиконе гендерная граница должна быть ощутимой. Интересный материал предоставляет упомянутый выше сайт управления записи актов гражданского состояния города Москвы. Так, по приводимым данным, даже среди самых редких (единичных) имен 2012 г. нет амбивалентных. Ср. имена для мальчиков: Алтай, Гайдар, Ерофей, Зиновий, Цезарь. Имена для девочек: Ассоль, Берта, Гердтруда (в таком написании), Златоцвета, Яронега (www.zags.mos.ru, 29.10.2013).[2] Единственным исключением в списке необычных имен является имя Апрель для девочки. Здесь нельзя не удивиться научной интуиции ученого, о котором упоминалось в начале статьи. В.А. Никонов около полувека назад писал о "самом мощном факторе в выборе имен у русских – неосознаваемой нейтрализации окончаний имен по полу" (Никонов 1974: 258).

Способом исследования того, как имена распределяются по шкале "мужественный/женственный", некоторые исследователи считают фоносемантику. Здесь можно сослаться на монографию Зузанне Олькерс (2003), посвященную эмпирическим исследованиям фонологической структуры личных имен в немецком языке в гендерном аспекте. Автор утверждает, что имена в эпоху глобализма отличаются таким разнообразием, что, с одной стороны, легко удовлетворить желание родителей назвать ребенка редким именем, с другой стороны, из-за многообразия форм растушевываются гендерные различия, присутствовавшие исконно в национальной ономастической системе (Oelkers 2003: 7), и признак "мужественность/женственность" приходится реконструировать с помощью лингвистики. Проведенный анализ большого материала позволил

2 Об источнике см. сноску 1.

автору сделать вывод о том, что на “женственность” звучания имени влияют гласные, которых в женских именах больше, чем в мужских (и тенденция в новых именах такая же). “Мужественность” имени поддерживается большим числом согласных и, как правило, согласным в конце (Oelkers 2003: 227). Возникает вопрос, можно ли эти выводы экстраполировать на другие языки и не являются ли такие выводы очевидным. В целом же, когда речь идет о характеристиках личных имен, находящихся за пределами грамматики, т.е. об эмотивных характеристиках, то они, как правило, носят индивидуальный характер, и описание их выходит за пределы ономастики как научной дисциплины. Впрочем, есть один аспект, связанный с проблемой самоидентификации и самопрезентации личности в интернет-пространстве, в том числе, и в гендерном отношении. Это относительно недавно ставшие объектом внимания ономастов виртуальные имена – никнеймы, или ники, или никонимы (ср. Соков 2014). На эту тему есть рассуждение и в труде З. Олькерс, обратившей внимание на то, что личное имя, выступая в виртуальной среде изолированно, должно взять на себя задачу гендерной идентификации носителя (Oelkers 2003, 124). Таким образом, гендерный аспект прагматической ономастической нормы, репрезентируемый в гендерных ономастических импликатурах, нельзя считать полностью исследованным.

Исследования с точки зрения прагматической нормы ждут также и другие категории онимов (например, прагматическая “правильность/неправильность” зоонимов в разное время и в разной среде – городской и деревенской). В коллективном ономастическом сознании можно также обнаружить залегание имен собственных в различных хронологических пластах, и в этом смысле мы можем говорить об ономастических хроноимпликатурах – реакциях на имена собственные как на модные и/или устаревшие.

Выводы

Подведем некоторые итоги. К понятию ономастической нормы мы обратились по двум причинам. Во-первых, такой вопрос в русской ономастике не поднимался много лет, при этом другие вопросы языковой нормы (фонетической, социолингвистической, лексической) никогда не исчезали из поля зрения лингвистов. Во-вторых, ономастическая норма, являясь одним из видов языковой нормы, обладает своей спецификой, которую было важно выявить и охарактеризовать. Для этого была кратко рассмотрена двойственность самого понятия языковой нормы, которая, с одной стороны, выступает как норма языкового сознания говорящих на данном языке (норма 1), с другой стороны, как нормативность (норма 2), являющаяся плодом процессов стандартизации. Ономастическая норма также обладает двойственной природой: для имени важна как "правильная грамматика", так и "правильный узус", поэтому мы можем говорить о грамматической vs. прагматической ономастической норме. В первом случае речь идет о норме, соотносимой с нормой литературного языка и связанной с процессами нормализации и кодификации, а во втором – с функционально-коммуникативным статусом имени, что связано с употреблением ономастических единиц в различных дискурсивных практиках. В книге "Ономастика и норма", вышедшей 40 лет назад, от которой мы отталкивались в своем анализе, больше внимания уделялось ономастической норме в плане литературного языка, т.е. норме грамматической. Однако изменения в национальном ономастиконе, произошедшие со времени публикации этой книги и затронувшие многие категории онимов, демонстрируют актуальность для ономастики другого типа нормы – нормы прагматической. В функционировании имен собственных в разных дискурсивных практиках отмечаются уже не точечные изменения, а движение целых пластов. Общим признаком сдвига в ономастическом сознании говорящих на русском языке является появление ономастической толерантности, которая выражается в акцептабельности ранее непривычных единиц (например, формулы имени без традиционного отчества, двойных личных имен, вариантности в передаче иноязычных топонимов и др.). Сами факты как бы лежат на поверхности, они доступны прямому наблюдению. Однако хотелось бы для этих очень разнообразных ономастических фактов и тенденций найти общее основание, которое позволило бы стратифицировать прагматическую норму. В качестве такого дискурсивного критерия стратификации прагматической нормы мы вводим понятие ономастических импликатур (этнических, гендерных – список может быть расширен). Прагматичность ономастических импликатур связана с включением фактора адресата: это корреляция имени собственного и реакции на него говорящих. Ономастические импликатуры близки к стереотипам, они также могут либо оправдываться, либо нарушаться (“обманутые ожидания”). Ономастические импликатуры носят универсальный характер, их можно обнаружить в любом языке и культуре. Поэтому рассмотренные в статье типы ономастических импликатур могут быть добавлены к инструментарию ономастического направления, которое занимается анализом имен собственных в дискурсе и самым тесным образом связано с прагматикой имени собственного.

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Christian Zschieschang

Kito Kśižank

Ortsnamen und Gewässer – eine komplexe Beziehung

Place Names and Waterbodies – a Complex Relationship

The naming of settlements, on the one hand, and water, on the other, are connected by different relationships. Firstly many names are motivated by a characteristic location of the settlement near certain waterbodies (f. e. behind a lake) or by their unique quality (at red water). Names can also reflect the use of water for fishery and other activities. Secondly, the relationships between settlements, their names, and water networks, beyond semantics, is highly significant as well. Mapping toponyms for many regions depicts a strong orientation of early settlement along watercourses. In the context of the Slavic languages, this is typical, especially for the spreading of special place name types, which structurally were generated in an earlier period. In view of the essential importance of water this close relationship is not astonishing.

But, examining only the spreading of dots on simple blue-white maps of the stream network isn´t enough to provide authoritative arguments for the development of human settlement. Even onomastic research should seek to gain insight into the hydrographic and ecologic conditions of the investigated area. This is demonstrated by regional examples from the river basins of the Elbe. There we find specific processes which gave the landscape at these rivers a completely new shape during the Middle Ages. This is characteristic for the riversheds not only of North-Eastern Germany, but in other areas of Central Europe as well. Over a longer timespan, mighty deposits of flood loams covered the early-medieval settlement stratum. During this sedimentation, the names of many localities disappeared, as the inhabitants left their smaller settlements.

It is difficult to reconstruct early-medieval Slavic settlement under such circumstances. Intensive research on minor place-names can generate numerous relics of former settlements, but an enormous investment of time would be necessary to screen the material of an entire region.

Keywords

Slavische Siedlung, Frühmittelalter,
Flurnamen, Auelehm, Slavic settlement,
Early Middle Ages, minor place names, flood loams

Eigenschaften des Wassers, Gewässer und Sumpf bilden bekanntermaßen eine der bedeutendsten Motivationen slavischer Toponyme. In jedem slavisch besiedelten Areal wird man Namen wie diese finden können:

1) Guben / Gubin / Gubin[1]
< **guba* 'Mündung' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 128f.)
2) Jehser, Hoh/Nieder / Husoki/Dolny Jazorc / Jeziory Wysokie/Dolne
< **jezero* 'See' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 136f.)
3) Muckrow / Mokro / Mokra
< **mokry* 'nass' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 159)
4) Nablath / Nabłoto / Nabłoto
< **na błot_* 'am/auf dem Sumpf' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 161)
5) Plesse / Plesno / Pleśno
< **pleso* 'See' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 169)
6) Pokuschel / Pokužel / Gręzawa
< **po kuž_ł_* 'am Wasserstrudel' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 170f.)
7) Rodstock / Roztok / Roztoki
< **roztok* 'Flussgabelung' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 174)
8) Sablath / Zabłoto / Zabłocie
< **za błot* 'hinter dem Sumpf' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 175)
9) Seebigau / Ziębikowo
< * *žab´a jucha* 'Froschpfütze, -brühe' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 182f.)
10) Tauchel, Groß/Klein / (Małe) Tuchel / Tuchola Duża/Żarska
< **tuch* 'fauliger Gestank' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 189)
11) Wirchenblatt / Wjerchne Błoto / Wierzchno
< **viŕchne błoto* 'oberer Sumpf' (Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 199)

Bei der onomastischen Analyse ist es von großer Bedeutung, nicht nur die Lexeme zu nennen, aus denen diese Namen gebildet wurden, sondern jeweils auch zu betrachten, inwieweit die Benennungen der Lage des Ortes entsprechen. Bei *Guben* war z. B. tatsächlich die Lage an einer Flussmündung, nämlich derjenigen der Lubst in die Neiße, maßgeblich. Auch *Seebigau* liegt unmittelbar an der Lubst; sumpfiges Gelände 'Froschjauche', wie es der Name nahe legt, ist dort durchaus möglich. *Rodstock* liegt im Quellbereich eines Baches. Dessen Tal erweitert sich unterhalb des Ortes zu einer Niederung, wo es zu Verzweigungen des Wasserlaufs

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1 Bedingt durch die komplexe politische und sprachliche Geschichte der Region tragen die Ortschaften drei Namen – neben den bis 1945 amtlichen deutschen tritt eine niedersorbische Form und schließlich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg die heutige polnische Benennung. Im namengeschichtlichen Kontext sind die drei Formen jeweils anzugeben.

gekommen sein dürfte. Die Höhenangabe von *Wirchenblatt,* als ‘oben (gelegener) Sumpf’, bezieht sich auf die tiefer gelegene Lubstniederung weiter nordöstlich, der gegenüber das relativ kleine Sumpfgebiet nordwestlich des Ortes, heute eine Wiese mit zahlreichen Entwässerungsgräben, einige Meter höher liegt. *Muckrow* befindet sich westlich eines lang gezogenen Niederungsgebietes; *Groß/Klein Tauchel* und *Sablath* am westlichen bzw. östlichen Rand des breiten Sablather Bruchs. Der Name *Sablath* ist noch insofern interessant, als dass er durch seine Bildung **za błot_* ‘hinter dem Sumpf’ in Verbindung mit der Lage des Ortes einen Blickwinkel aus westlicher Richtung verrät, von dort her, wo sich das älteste slavisch besiedelte Areal der Region befand (vgl. dazu weiter unten in diesem Beitrag).

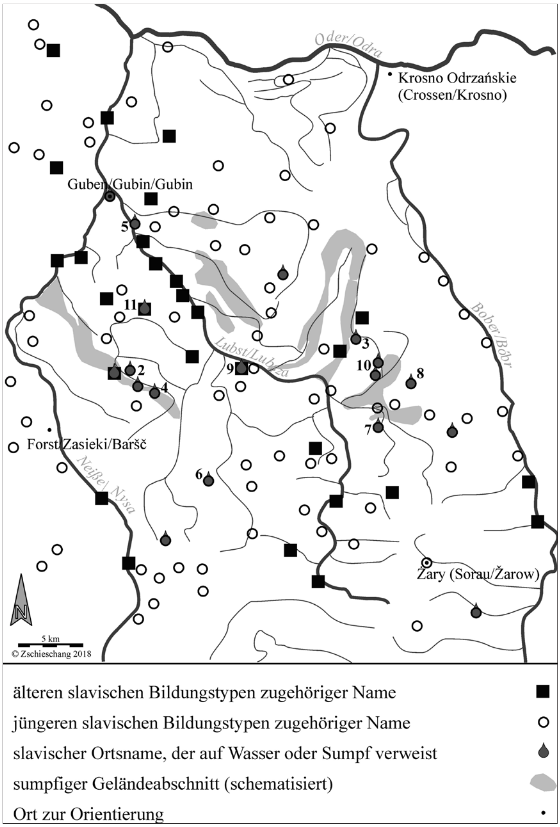

Abb. 1: Besiedlung und Wasser an der unteren Neiße

In der Region, aus der diese Beispiele stammen, dem östlichen Teil der Niederlausitz (vgl. Abb. 1), sind 15 % aller deappellativischen Toponyme von der Lage der Siedlungen an Gewässern oder Sümpfen motiviert. Ähnliche Größenordnungen finden wir auch in vielen anderen Landschaften vor. Die semantische Beziehung zwischen Ortsnamen und Gewässer ist jedoch nur ein verhältnismäßig einfacher Teilbereich der im Titel genannten komplexen Beziehung.

Eine zentrale Rolle für die Untersuchung der Entwicklung der slavischen Besiedlung in Ostmitteleuropa spielt eine Gruppe bestimmter Bildungstypen, die tendenziell in einer sehr frühen Zeit produktiv waren. Hierbei handelt es sich im wesentlichen – auf Einzelheiten kann in diesem Beitrag nicht eingegangen werden – um:

- possessivische Bildungen mit dem Suffix ursl. *-jь*, aso. *-j_* wie z. B. **Bezdě(d)ź* zum Personenamen **Bezděd* (Groß Bösitz / Běžyce / Bieżyce);
- Bewohnernamen mit dem Suffix aso. *-jane* wie z. B. aso. **Mokŕane* ‘die im Nassen lebenden’ (Mokrehne, Eichler 1985 [1962 jane], 179; Bily 1996 [DS 36], 269; Eichler SO, 2, 189).
- Pluralische Bildungen, insbesondere zweigliedrige wie z. B. aso. **Makočeŕvy*, evtl. zu **makati* ‘finden’ und zu **čeŕv́*[+Unicode 0301] ‘Made, Wurm’ (Maxdorf, Bily 1996 [DS 36], 260; Eichler SO, 2, 171), aber auch Namen wie aso. **Něm´ci* zu **něm´c* ‘Deutscher’ (Niemitzsch / Němšk / Polanowice, Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 164f.);
- Patronymika, für die das Suffix *-ici* bzw. auch *-ovici* charakteristisch ist wie z. B. aso. **Ľub_n+ici* zum Personennamen **Ľub_n* (Laubnitz / Łubnica / Lubanice, Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 150).

Entsprechende Analysen wurden zunächst für altsorbische Regionen vorgenommen (Eichler, Walther 1967 [DS 21]: 168–195; Eichler, Walther 1970; Schultheis 1970; zuletzt Eichler, Zschieschang 2011: 76–78), während im altpolabischen Gebiet die Spezifik der dortigen Onymie vetrgleichbar erfolgreiche Untersuchungen nicht ermöglichte (vgl. exemplarisch Wauer 1989 [BNB 6], 437f.). Hinzu kommen zahlreiche Aufsätze von Walter Wenzel aus jüngster Zeit, die z. T. andere Akzente setzen (zuletzt Wenzel 2017a), was in diesem Beitrag nicht näher zu diskutieren ist.

Für viele Siedlungslandschaften markieren diese Namen die am frühesten besiedelten Areale, die sich zumeist signifikant an die größeren fließenden Gewässer anlehnen. Ein solches Areal ist auch in der östlichen Niederlausitz zu finden (Abb. 1); es folgt dem Unterlauf des Flüsschens Lubst / Lubsza und der Neiße. Der Kontrast zwischen diesen älteren Namentypen und den übrigen slavischen Namen ist ebenso signifikant wie die Übereinstimmung mit den archäologischen Befunden (Domański 1983, 84–86, 89 und 93; Lodowski/Szydłowski 1991, 26; Biermann 2000, 47 mit Anm. 213; Domański 2002, 80–83).

Auf den Umstand der Gewässernähe von slavischen Toponymen wird gern verwiesen. Während man sich in der älteren Literatur durchaus bemühte, den namenkundlichen Befund in den Kontext des Naturraums einzuordnen (vgl. exemplarisch Eichler, Walther 1967 [DS 21]: 7–14 und 168–170; Eichler, Walther 1984 [DS 34]: 7–9), ist später mitunter ein Schematismus zu verzeichnen, indem die Punktwolken der Namenareale einfach mit dem Netz der größeren Flussläufe in Beziehung gesetzt wurden, ohne weitere naturräumliche Faktoren zu diskutieren. Als ein Beispiel mag hier die jüngst erfolgte Zurückweisung einer hergebrachten Namenerklärung von aso. **Starica* (Staritz sö. Belgern) als 'Siedlung am alten Flussbett' (Eichler SO 3, 249) zu Gunsten einer anderen Herleitung sein, weil der Ort etwa 2 km vom Flusslauf entfernt liegt (Wenzel 2017b [Libzi], 619). Tatsächlich befindet er sich aber unmittelbar am Rand der Elbtalaue, offensichtlich als Zeilendorf auf diese ausgerichtet, und zu seinen Füßen dürfte tatsächlich einst ein Altarm verlaufen sein; zumindest ist dieser angesichts der Topographie nicht auszuschließen. Der Blick auf die kleinmaßstäbliche Landkarte ist also nicht hinreichend, vielmehr sind die Lageverhältnisse möglichst genau zu studieren.

Dass sich menschliche Siedlungen vorwiegend an Wasserläufen befinden, besagt allerdings nicht viel. Denn grundsätzlich braucht jede Siedlung einen Zugang zum Wasser – zum Trinken, Waschen, Kochen, Kühlen usw. Und nicht nur der Mensch muss trinken – auch das Vieh braucht eine Tränke, die Schafe müssen gebadet werden, Wagenräder müssen zum Quellen gelegentlich ins Wasser gerollt werden usw. Die Feststellung, dass sich Siedlungen am Wasser befinden, ist damit eine Selbstverständlichkeit und in etwa so originell wie die, dass Wasser nass ist. Außerdem ist in Mitteleuropa das Gewässernetz sehr dicht, und Plätze, die potentiell für menschliche Ansiedlungen geeignet sind, sind sehr zahlreich vorhanden. Oftmals sind gerade kleinere Bäche und Quellmulden für Siedlungen attraktiv sind, die aber auf kleinmaßstäbigen Kartierungen von Ortsnamen gar nicht eingetragen sind.

In diesem Sinne ist das Verhältnis zwischen Siedlung und Gewässer also komplizierter. Es gilt, das naturräumliche Umfeld und dessen Faktoren möglichst genau zu studieren, um zu schlüssigen Erkenntnissen zu gelangen. Im eingangs genannten Beispiel zeigen z. B. die topographischen Karten ausgedehnte Niederungsbereiche, die Überreste von Seen eiszeitlichen Ursprungs sind. Diese verlandeten im Laufe der Zeit und wurden damit zu sumpfigen Geländebereichen. Später, in der Neuzeit, wurden sie z. T. entwässert und bilden ausgedehnte, von Gräben durchzogene Wiesen. Es zeigt sich, dass viele der gewässerbezogenen Toponyme sich bei diesen Niederungen befinden, und zudem wird das älteste Siedlungsareal von diesen Niederungen beinahe eingerahmt (Abb. 1). Ob sie damals offene Gewässer waren, Sümpfe oder verlandende Seen mit breitem Schilfgürtel, ist dabei nebensächlich, denn bei allen drei Möglichkeiten war der Schutz des besiedelten Gebietes nach außen gewährleistet (hierzu genauer: Zschieschang 2018/19). Es bleibt also festzuhalten, dass Gewässer hier nicht nur die Achsen der Besiedlung bildeten, sondern auch ihre Grenzen.

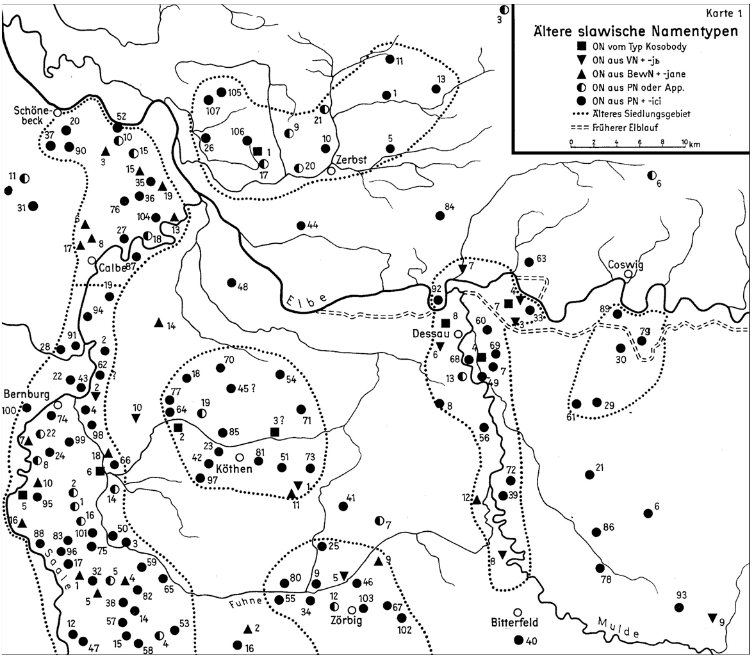

Abb. 2. Areale älterer Ortsnamen an der mittleren Elbe (Schultheis 1970: 105)

Von besonderem Interesse sind hierbei Fälle, in denen gewässernahe Gebiete als unbesiedelt erscheinen. In einem Teilbereich des Mittelelbegebietes sind z. B. die Ufer der Elbzuflüsse Saale und Mulde und einige andere Bereiche sehr dicht besetzt mit Toponymen, die den oben genannten älteren slavischen Bildungstypen angehören (Abb. 2). An der Elbe hingegen, dem größten Gewässer in diesem Kartenausschnitt, herrscht gähnende Leere. Dieser Umstand wird von dem Namenforscher Johannes Schultheis, auf den diese Karte zurückgeht (Schultheis 1970), erwähnt, aber nicht weiter beachtet. Nach dem Kartenbild allein müsste man daraus schließen, dass dieser Bereich der Elbe in der frühslavischen Zeit gänzlich unbesiedelt gewesen ist. Aber das ist ganz und gar nicht der Fall, denn die Berücksichtigung naturräumlicher Faktoren ist hier von entscheidender Bedeutung. Der Archäologe Hansjürgen Brachmann, erfahren in der interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit mit der Namenforschung, führte in seiner nur wenige Jahre später erschienenen Betrachtung des gleichen geographischen Raums treffend aus:

"Hier im Bereich der Elbaue trat neben den Faktor der Zufälligkeit zusätzlich die Ungunst der geographischen Verhältnisse. Sie zwang noch vor dem Durchsetzen einer breiteren schriftlichen Überlieferung zur Aufgabe des ursprünglich so dicht besiedelten Gebietes. Den Jahrhunderten mit relativ stabilen natürlichen Bedingungen folgten etwa seit dem 12. Jahrhundert Jahrhunderte kurzfristig wechselnder Umweltverhältnisse. Die bis dahin rapide angewachsene und sich durch Ausbau mehr und mehr verdichtende Besiedlung, die seit dem 12. Jahrhundert durch das Zusiedeln deutscher Bauern zusätzlich verstärkt wurde und nun auch in die bisher gemiedenen Mittelgebirge vordrang, griff durch ausgedehnte Rodungen derart zerstörend in das natürliche Gleichgewicht ein, daß die Folgen besonders in den breiten Flußauen bald spürbar wurden. Seit dem 12. Jahrhundert kommt es immer häufiger zu verheerenden Flutkatastrophen, die zahlreiche Siedlungen zerstören und die zugehörigen Wirtschaftsflächen unter humosen Klocksedimenten (den sogenannten Auelehmen) begraben. Mit diesen einst bevorzugten Siedlungsgebieten slawischer Zeit aber verschwanden auch ihre Namen; dem Namenforscher gingen für immer wichtige Quellen verloren." (Brachmann 1979, 81f.)

Dieses Zitat bringt eine der schwerwiegendsten landschaftlichen Transformationen in Mitteleuropa auf den Punkt. Hier vollzog sich nämlich im Hochmittelalter das, was wir heute in tropischen Ländern beklagen: Nach großflächigen Rodungen im Zusammenhang mit dem Landesausbau konnten starke Niederschläge den Boden abschwemmen. Über kleinere Bäche gelangte er in die großen Flüsse eintragen, die ihn davontrugen. Erst weit flussabwärts, wo sich im Flachland die Fließgeschwindigkeit verringerte, wurde dieser Gebirgsboden wieder abgelagert. Dieser Vorgang wiederholte sich jährlich, so dass nach längerer Zeit große Bereiche der Flussauen des norddeutschen Tieflands mit Auelehmschichten bedeckt waren, die mehrere Meter mächtig waren. Die geowissenschaftliche Literatur hierzu ist zahlreich und hier nicht annähernd vollständig zu verzeichen (vgl. exemplarisch Hiller et al. 1991: 37-45; Reichhoff 2004: 244-248; Tinapp et al. 2008; außerdem zur namenkundlichen Kontextualisierung Zschieschang 2003: 24-27).

Die slavischen Siedlungen, die sich zuvor hier befanden, waren diesen Umweltveränderungen nicht gewachsen. Nicht umsonst spricht man vom Aue*lehm* – dieser stellt an die Bodenbearbeitung ganz andere Anforderungen als die sandigen Ablagerungen, die die Flussauen zuvor geprägt hatten. Zudem dürfte die stark gestiegene Intensität des Hochwassers die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Bewohner dieser Siedlungen sehr behindert haben.

Die Auswirkungen dieses Prozesses sind überaus weitreichend. Es zeigen sich überregionale Zusammenhänge mit den Mittelgebirgen; es kam zur Gründung von großen Dörfern und zum Bau von Dämmen zum Schutz vor Hochwasser, was aber in diesem Beitrag nicht zu thematisieren ist (vgl. für das Mittelelbegebiet exemplarisch Zschieschang 2003, 36-38 und 318f.; Reichhoff 2004; Reichhoff, Noack 2005: 93-96; Reichhoff et al. 2013). Hier ist nur der Umstand wichtig, den Brachmann im letzten Satz genannt hat, dass nämlich Siedlungen in großer Zahl aufgegeben wurden, und damit auch ihre slavischen Namen in Vergessenheit gerieten. Dies ereignete sich nur in den Flussauen – also in ganz bestimmten Ökotopen und ist so signifikant, dass alle namengeographischen Interpretationen, die diesen Verlust nicht berücksichtigen, Fehldeutungen bleiben. Von entscheidender Bedeutung hierbei wären noch genauere Kenntnisse über Zeitraum, Umfang und die Art der Ablagerung des Auelehms, um einschätzen zu können, wann und in welchen Arealen Siedlungen aufgegeben werden mussten.

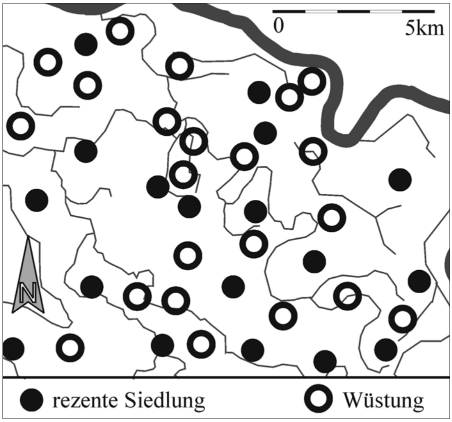

Abb. 3. Siedlungskonzentrationen in der Elbaue

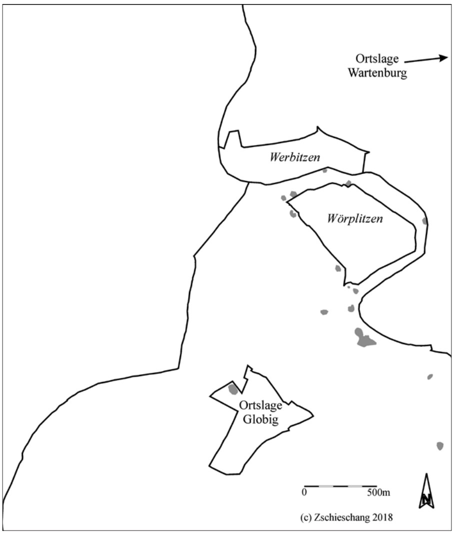

Abb. 4. Gemarkungen Globig und Wartenburg mit siedlungsanzeigenden Flurnamen

Die Anzahl dieser verschwundenen Ortschaften ist nur schwer genau zu bestimmen. Schon die namentlich bekannten Wüstungen, die oft einen slavischen Namen tragen – hier für einen Ausschnitt der östlich anschließenden Region (Abb. 3; vgl. Zschieschang 2011a: 127f.) – bieten eine Vorstellung vom Konzentrationsprozess, der in den Flussauen erfolgte. Weitere Spuren haben sich in Flurnamen erhalten. Beispielsweise finden wir an der Peripherie der Gemarkung Globig (Abb. 4) ein größeres Flurstück, das den Namen *Wörplitzen* oder *Wörblichen* (Zschieschang 2003: 140 und 327) trägt. Auf der Nachbargemarkung Wartenburg schließen sich die *Werbitzen* an. Diese Namen sind nicht anders zu erklären als aus einer altsorbischen patronymischen Bildung **Viŕb_ľici* zu einem Personennamen **Viŕb_ľ*. Somit hat sich die Benennung einer früheren Ortschaft, die sich in diesem Bereich befunden haben muss, in Flurnamen erhalten.

In einem anderen Fall wird dies noch deutlicher, wo zwei aneinander grenzende Flurstücke die Namen *Hohe Marien* und *Mittelmarien* tragen. Eine Pluralisierung des Vornamens wäre für die Toponymie der Region untypisch, vielmehr wäre ein Kompositum wie vielleicht **Marienstücken* o. ä. zu erwarten. Zusätzlich ist die Schreibung *Marinen* zu finden. Beide Graphien bilden Versuche, der mündlich gebrauchten Dialektform [marīn] (mit Betonung auf der zweiten Silbe) einen Sinn zu geben. Der Name ist lautlich geradlinig von einem altsorbischen Toponym **Merin* herzuleiten, der aus einem slavischen Kurznamen **Měr* oder **Mir* gebildet wurde. Für eine solche Ortsnamengebung findet sich in der weiteren Umgebung eine Parallele (Freydank 1962: 49; Eichler SO 2: 168). Überdies verweisen archäologische Funde darauf, dass hier tatsächlich eine Siedlung existierte: Ein Grabenwerk, zwei Siedlungshorizonte mit Pfostenlöchern und Siedlungsgruben sowie größere Mengen an früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Keramik sprechen eine deutliche Sprache (Herrmann 1994). Zudem der Fundplatz auf einer flache Talsandinsel – eine Lage, die für die Anlage von Siedlungen in Flussauen prädestiniert war (Zschieschang 2011a: 129; Zschieschang 2011b: 152f.). Eine gleichartige Fundstelle ganz in der Nähe, die ebenso eine slavische Siedlung markiert, bleibt aber anonym, da sich für sie in den Flurnamen keine Bezeichnung erhalten hat.

Diese Beispiele verdeutlichen die Komplexität der Materie. Vormalige slavische Siedlungen können durch neuzeitliche Flurnamen oder durch archäologische Funde angezeigt werden, und nur in günstigen Fällen bestätigen sich beide Befunde gegenseitig. Für die Namen bleibt eine bedauerliche Crux: So eindeutig in den beiden gezeigten Fällen die Etymologie der Namen erscheint, so fehlen doch ältere Schriftbelege gänzlich, die nach allen Regeln der onomastischen Kunst für eine zuverlässige Erklärung der Namen unabdingbar sind.

Zusätzlich können frühere Siedlungen durch Flurnamen auch sekundär angezeigt werden, indem die Namen lexematisch auf ein "altes Dorf" o. ä. rekurrieren, ohne dass dessen Name bewahrt wurde. In einem Fall (Abb. 5) ist die Ortslage von vier derartigen Flurnamen umgeben.

Abb. 5. Gemarkung Seegrehna mit siedlungsanzeigenden Flurnamen

Konsequenzen

Die genannten Beispiele verdeutlichen, dass wüst gefallene Siedlungen kein seltenes Phänomen sind, sondern ein sehr maßgebliches Charakteristikum der historischen Siedlungslandschaft. Eine toponomastische Betrachtung von Flusslandschaften lediglich auf der Basis des gegenwärtigen Siedlungsnamennetzes würde jedoch zu falschen Ergebnisse führen. Vielmehr garantiert nur die detaillierte, mühevolle und zeitraubende Bearbeitung möglichst aller erreichbaren Daten ein zuverlässiges Bild über die Flusslandschaften im Mittelalter. Hierzu ist eine flächendeckende Sammlung und Auswertung der Flurnamen nicht zu entbehren, wofür jedoch ein enormer Arbeitsaufwand vonnöten ist. Jede einzelne Gemarkung wäre gründlich zu untersuchen, was in der gebotenen Kleinteiligkeit in Nebenbeiarbeit ebensowenig bewältigt werden kann wie es den einschlägigen Institutionen der Wissenschaftsförderung nahezubringen ist. Es ist somit kein Wunder, dass eine flächendeckende Bearbeitung von Flurnamen in Verbindung mit der lokalen Topographie und der Flurstruktur (vgl. Zschieschang 2011b) bislang nur sehr selten in Angriff genommen wurde. Auch bei diesbezüglich durchaus beeindruckenden Vorzeigebeispielen (Zühlsdorff 1970–1972; Zühlsdorff 1988; Greve 2011) blieben die für namenkundliche Analysen essentiellen Gewanngrenzen leider unberücksichtigt.

Eine gründliche Untersuchung der Mikrotoponymie – und nicht nur der slavischen – im Kontext von Flurstruktur und Feldeinteilung wäre aber unabdingbar, wenn es das Ziel der onomastischen Forschung sein soll, einen Beitrag zur Erforschung der Entwicklung der Besiedlung und ihrer historischen Topographie zu leisten. Ein solches Ziel ist weit mehr als sprachwissenschaftlicher Selbstzweck. Vielmehr findet es zum Einen das Interesse der Geschichtsforschung, der Geowissenschaften und der Archäologie, für die sich die Namenforschung gern als "Brückenwissenschaft" versteht. Zum Anderen berührt es in letzter Konsequenz Grundfragen der menschlichen Existenz, denn die Flussauen als naturräumlich besonders attraktive Ökotope bilden Gravitationszentren der vorgeschichtlichen Besiedlung durch den Menschen. Wie Homo sapiens in diesen Ökotopen agierte und welchen Veränderungen er sie unterwarf, steht prototypisch für seinen Umgang mit der Biosphäre insgesamt, und im Hinblick auf die gegenwärtig drängenden Zukunftsfragen kommt der geschichtlichen Perspektive eine nicht geringe Bedeutung zu. Das Potential der Toponomastik hinsichtlich der frühmittelalterlichen Besiedlung von Flussauen ist also keineswegs ein abseitiges Spezialthema, sondern steht aktuellen gesellschaftlichen Diskussionen außerordentlich nahe.

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